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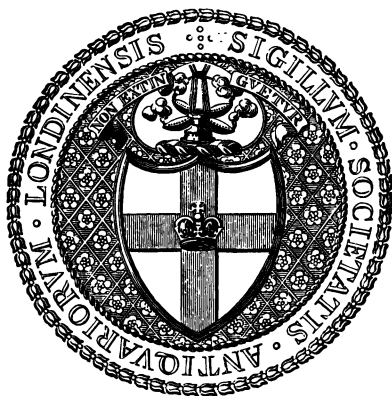
No. XIX

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# Hill-Forts of Northern France

By  
Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *President*  
and  
Katherine M. Richardson, F.S.A.

With an Appendix on *Muri Gallici*  
by M. Aylwin Cotton, O.B.E., F.S.A.



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TO  
CLAUDE AND ODILE  
SCHAEFFER



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# ABBREVIATIONS FOR PERIODICALS

(For bibliography under Authors, see pp. 133 ff.)

- A.F.A.S. Association française pour l'Avancement des Sciences (Comptes rendus des Congrès annuels) (Paris).  
B.M. Bulletin Monumental (Publié sous les auspices de la Société française d'Archéologie) (Paris).  
B.S.A.F. Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France (Paris).  
B.S.A.N. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie (Caen, Rouen, and Paris).  
B.S.A.P. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie (Amiens and Paris).  
B.S.É.C.-N. Bulletin et mémoires de la Société d'Émulation des Côtes-du-Nord (St. Briec).  
B.S.N.É.P. Bulletin de la Société Normande d'Études Préhistoriques (Evreux).  
B.S.P.F. Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française (Paris).  
B.S.P.M. Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan (Vannes).  
C.A.F. Congrès Archéologique de France (Comptes rendus des Congrès annuels de la Société française d'Archéologie) (Paris).  
C.P.F. Congrès Préhistorique de France (Comptes rendus des Congrès de la Société Préhistorique Française) (Paris).  
M.S.A.F. Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France (Paris).  
M.S.A.N. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie (Caen, Rouen, and Paris).  
R.A. Revue Archéologique (Paris).



## PREFACE

*This Report records the results of two seasons' exploration, lasting in all for about thirteen weeks, in northern France during the summers of 1938 and 1939, with minor excursions in 1954-6. It contains an analytical list of ninety-three fortified enclosures, mostly hill-forts, of Early Iron Age type, with detailed accounts of our excavations in five of them. On the basis of this work, three groups of enclosures are isolated and discussed, with special reference to the Caesarian campaigns which in various ways they appear to illustrate. To the documented pottery from the excavations is added a miscellaneous assemblage of unclassified material from museums as a partial indication of the scope of the general problem and the extent of present ignorance. An appendix surveys the French *muri Gallici* to which our excavations contributed two new examples, respectively in Brittany and western Normandy.*

*The arrangement of the Report is illogical but, it is hoped, convenient. Certain of the conclusions which have been drawn from the material have been placed at the beginning, instead of being reserved for their properly secondary position at the end. It is not intended thereby to overemphasize their importance; such value as may be claimed for the Report lies primarily in the excavations and field-survey which follow. But we have thought that a preliminary recension may help the inquirer, however provisionally, through some of the complexities of the main bulk of the evidence, which is by its nature a catalogue rather than a coherent review.*

R. E. M. W.

K. M. R.



## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN the summers of 1938 and 1939 Miss Richardson and I took a large party of colleagues and students to Brittany and Normandy. Most of us had been engaged during the preceding years upon the excavation of Maiden Castle and two adjacent hill-forts in Dorset, and it had become increasingly clear to us that, whatever the insular contribution, we could not place the results of our work in a sizeable context without some examination of the material—structural and other—across the Channel. Geologically and geographically, the granite outcrop of Cornwall and the chalk downs of the southern counties were an extension of the identical formations of northern France, and there was reason to suppose that cultural links between the two regions in the active period with which we were dealing (approximately the third century B.C. to the first century A.D.) would be proportionately significant. A preliminary reconnaissance, carried out on our behalf by Miss Leslie Scott (now Mrs. P. Murray Threipland, F.S.A.) in 1935, showed, on the one hand, that the supposition was likely to be well founded and, on the other, that in the absence of classified material we should have to seek it ourselves.

Accordingly, in the winter of 1936-7 Miss Scott, Mr. C. A. Raleigh Radford, V.-P.S.A., and I carried out a further rapid survey from the Manche to the Atlantic coast. This survey enabled us to define areas of research and, for the first time, to appreciate incidentally the close affinity of type between the cliff-castles of southern (partly Venetic) Brittany and those of our own south-western coastline. This similarity accorded with historical probability but had not been adequately considered in an archaeological context. In the course of our work at Maiden Castle I had come to the conclusion that the multiplication of lines of defence at that and other sites had resulted, as indeed one might expect, from the introduction of new and foreign modes of attack; and now in the whole of north-western France it was at once apparent that only in southern Brittany was the same phenomenon emphatic. It became therefore one of our main aims to test this observation by further ground-survey and by selective excavation.

Subsequent negotiations may be summarized. The Society of Antiquaries of London became the patron of the project and contributed liberally from its Research Fund. The Leverhulme Trustees twice added handsome contributions, and the University of London Research Fund made a useful grant. The Ministère des Beaux Arts in Paris gave its blessing, largely on the kindly intervention of M. Raymond Lantier and Dr. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, both Honorary Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. The formidable stumbling-block of the compulsory insurance of a large State Forest in Brittany against the risks of fire during an excavation was ultimately overcome by a Lloyds underwriter with a sense of humour. By the end of our last season's work at Maiden Castle in 1937 the new enterprise was ready.

The whole operation was carefully planned from the outset. With suitable rotation, our large party was split into two sections. On the basis of an uncritical list of earthworks compiled from literary sources, the countryside was divided into areas, and these areas were allotted individually to small teams of investigators who examined the listed sites and sought others by local inquiry. At short intervals these teams reported back to headquarters, and where necessary their work was followed up by further investigation. In that way Brittany and most of Normandy were covered systematically in a pioneer fashion. I have no doubt that sites, and even important sites, were missed, but the resultant picture may be regarded as reasonably representative. Such work, on modern standards, had not previously been undertaken.

The remainder of the party, normally under my direction, undertook a limited excavation on sites chosen as likely to be relevant to our immediate problem or in other ways typical of distinctive categories. Five sites in all were sampled in this fashion, and the motives for their choice may be indicated at the outset. They were as follows.

1. *The Camp d'Artus at Huelgoat*, in the centre of Finistère, is of pre-eminent size in a region where enclosures of the kind are normally small, as befits a rocky terrain of very moderate fertility. It must have been nearly central in the territory of the Osismi of northern Brittany. Furthermore, in a region of single-ramparted earthworks, the Camp d'Artus had in part a secondary line of defence which, however sketchy, seemed to bring the site more nearly within the scope of one of our primary problems—that of the source of our own multivallate *oppida*.
2. *The Châtellier, Le Petit Celland, Manche*, lies on the western fringe of Normandy, inland from Avranches. The region was perhaps in the tribal territory of the Venelli or, less certainly, of the neighbouring Ambibarii, but we have no firm knowledge of the disposition of the Caesarian tribes hereabouts. The site is a notably strong one, and, like the Camp d'Artus, has slight vestiges of an outer line at one point. It was known to have produced relics, particularly Gaulish coins; and these various facts, combined with the dominance and manifest distinction of the place, decided us to investigate it.
3. *Kercaradec, Penhars, southern Finistère*, is a small multiple enclosure on a hill-top near Quimper, within or adjoining the ancient territory of the Veneti. It had every appearance of being an inland version of the multiple promontory-forts which mark the south Breton coastline and recall those of Cornwall. Its small size and determinedly multivallate plan differentiated it sharply from the Camp d'Artus and the Petit Celland Châtellier. It seemed likely to be a characteristic south Breton work of the kind ascribed by Caesar to the Veneti. Owing to circumstances, the excavation here was of a slighter character than at the other four sites, but yielded evidence of interest.
4. *The Camp du Canada, Fécamp, Seine-Inférieure*, is a noteworthy coastal site in Normandy, opposite Sussex and within the tribal area of the Belgic Caleti. Its great

landward defence, with massive in-turned entrance and broad flat-bottomed ditch of a distinctive Normandy type found also in Kent (Oldbury), together with its accessibility from a good harbour on an otherwise rather inhospitable coast, made its date and character matters of manifest importance.

5. *The Câtelier or Châtellier at Duclair, overlooking the Seine in Seine-Inférieure*, lay probably within the tribal territory of the Belgic Veliocasses. It is a somewhat more complex site than the Camp du Canada, but incorporates the distinctive in-turned entrance, high rampart, and flat-bottomed ditch characteristic of the latter. Opportunity was taken here to supplement the Fécamp results and so to place this remarkable Normandy group in a clear category (p. 8). Sixteen examples of the type have been identified between the valleys of the Seine, Somme, and Aisne.

On all these five sites, excavation was carried out upon a set plan. Our limited purpose was to ascertain (*a*) the character of the defences, (*b*) their date, and (*c*) whether the enclosed area had been occupied for some considerable time or merely as a temporary refuge. Work was accordingly limited to a section or sections through the defences; to the uncovering of one or more gateways, where, if anywhere, the builders or users were likely to have left informative material; and to a sufficiently widespread sampling of the interior to indicate intensity of occupation. The excavation of large areas lay beyond our scope.

These unambitious excavations and the more ambitious field-survey which lay behind them may, I think, be claimed to have carried the knowledge of the north French material an appreciable stage beyond the point at which we found it. Structurally, certain of the earthworks are beginning now to fall into useful categories, and a pioneer effort has been made to date characteristic examples. It is only fair to state that the difficulties which have confronted us, both in the field and in the subsequent collation of the results, have been formidable. Whilst our French colleagues have at every turn assisted us in our rather extravagant project, and our gratitude to them cannot be adequately stated, it must be admitted that French archaeology has not in the past taken any very active interest in the sort of problem with which we were concerned. The information with which we set out was of the flimsiest. Where information professedly existed at all, it was, more often than not, wrong. This difficulty need not be further elaborated, save in so far as it will re-emerge from the review which follows. Suffice it that French archaeology has pursued other objectives.

More serious has been the mutilation of the results of our work by the War of 1939. The latter stages of our enterprise in 1938 had been uneasy enough. Day after day in that September the cathedral bell of Avranches had tolled its mournful tocsin; in response, day after day successive classes of the reserve had left their fields and workshops and had stumbled into the market-place with their bundles and their womenfolk about them. In the unreal respite which followed, work was resumed with half-minds. On a Friday morning in mid-August 1939 I suddenly handed over to Miss Richardson, and on the

following day was engaged upon an alien task in London. Miss Richardson and her colleagues hastily, but with great skill, rounded off the unfinished work, and the last members of my party reached England on the eve of the declaration of war. Subsequently, with the help of Miss T. M. I. Newbould and Miss Richardson, I jotted down a few additional notes in the intervals of active service. And only now, fifteen years later, have Miss Richardson and I been able to turn back to those notes and such field-records as have survived, the freshness of the work all gone from our minds. We will make of them what we may, well aware how much that was in our thoughts at the time has vanished beyond recovery.

In fact the records of the five excavations are tolerably intact. What is missing is much of the museum-work—drawings and notes—and some of the details of the field-survey of unexcavated sites. That loss is a considerable one, and weakens this Report in what should be a primary contribution. But if the gazetteer is less ample than it should have been, it is at least an appreciably better index of the material than any hitherto published.

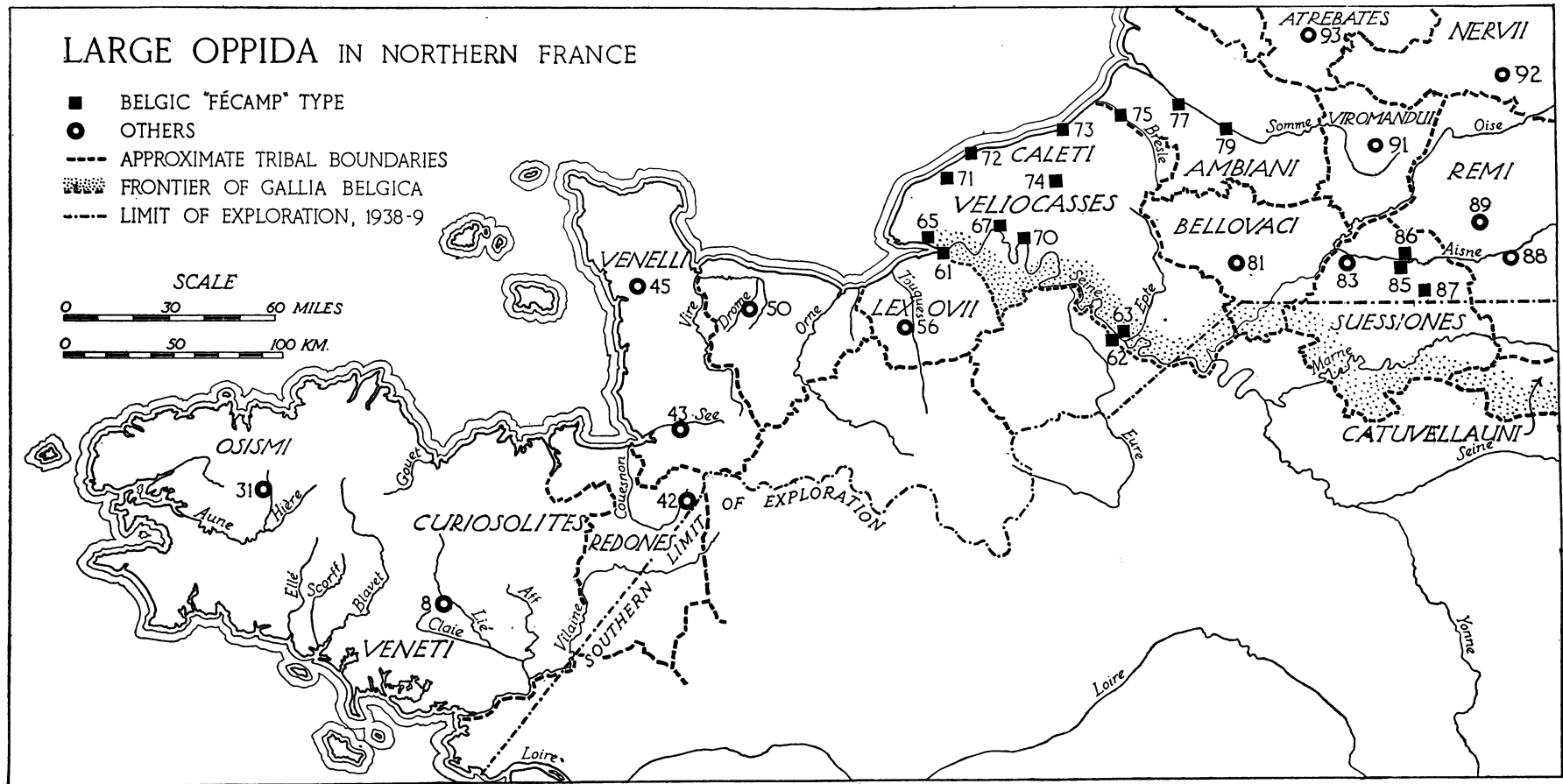
A word must be said as to the personnel of the two expeditions. With Miss Richardson and myself was closely associated Miss T. M. I. Newbould, who shouldered much of the administration. From many others, the following names recur to my memory amongst those of senior colleagues: Mr. C. A. Raleigh Radford, F.B.A., V.-P.S.A., Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins, C.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A., the late Mr. P. Murray Threipland and Mrs. Murray Threipland, F.S.A. (Miss Leslie Scott), Mr. Huntly S. Gordon, F.S.A., Mr. J. S. P. Bradford, F.S.A., Mr. W. P. D. Stebbing, F.S.A., Mr. A. H. A. Hogg, F.S.A., Mr. S. H. Cruden, F.S.A., Mr. Robert Stevenson, F.S.A., Mr. A. L. Rivet, F.S.A., Mr. Dudley Waterman, Mr. Timothy Crosthwait, Mr. John Reid-Dick, Miss Margaret Collingridge (Lady Wheeler), Miss Albinia Gordon (Mrs. Gell), Miss Margot Eates, and Miss Eve Dray (Mrs. J. Stewart). Mr. William Wedlake was throughout in charge of the principal working-gangs of diggers and was in the fullest sense a colleague; and Mr. M. B. Cookson was the expedition's experienced and resourceful photographer.

Subsequently, Professor P. R. Giot and Dr. J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu have been consulted on various points and have collaborated with the utmost generosity; and Mrs. Ruth Daniel has helped in the preparation of some of the maps.

The present Report is divided into three parts. Part I deals in anticipation synthetically with certain aspects of the material; it isolates three main categories of earthwork, and attempts to place them in the historical perspective of the Caesarian period. Part II, the main body of the Report, sets forth the material evidence, consisting of a factual account of our five excavations, a gazetteer of sites, and a bibliography, with a few supplementary notes on pottery recorded in museum-collections. The third part is an Appendix in which Mrs. M. Aylwin Cotton, O.B.E., F.S.A., has laid us under a deep debt by assembling the evidence relating to the type of defence which Caesar specifically defines as the *murus Gallicus*.

R. E. M. W.

PLATE I







PART I  
SYNTHESES

I. THREE CATEGORIES OF EARTHWORK IN  
NORTHERN FRANCE

AMONGST the ninety-three earthworks described or listed in the main body of this Report, three distinctive categories can now be usefully isolated. In part, these categories were in contemporary use, but differences of structure, culture, and function cut across such historical unity as they may possess. They are here designated by the names of typical sites, two of which were examined by the present expedition whilst the third was explored with some skill nearly a century ago. They are respectively the major tribal *oppida* of the 'Petit Celland' series, cliff-castles of the 'Castel Coz' series, and Belgic earthworks of the 'Fécamp' series. Their characteristics are as follows.

(a) *Tribal oppida of the 'Petit Celland' series* (map, pl. 1)

Of the five sites, hereafter described, on which excavation was carried out in 1938-9, the Châtellier at Le Petit Celland near Avranches (Manche) in western Normandy provided the clearest evidence of date (p. 42). The abundant Gaulish coins of the Caesarian epoch, the limited occupation, the unfinished character of the defences, the burning of the main gate, and the impressive size, combine to indicate that the work was a reaction to the events of 56 or, less probably, 51 B.C. In the former year, it may be recalled, Caesar staged his main attack on north-western Gaul. Whilst he himself with his main force dealt drastically with the Veneti of southern Brittany, his general Q. Titurius Sabinus led three legions to victory against a confederacy of tribes from Normandy and the Côtes-du-Nord under the supreme command of Viridovix, chief of the Venelli, who occupied the Manche. The Petit Celland *oppidum* must have lain at the core of this episode. The great stone obelisk, newly risen upon the hill of neighbouring Avranches to commemorate General Patton and his American armour, reminds us of the enduring mastery of nature which, in A.D. 1944 as in 56 B.C., focused a crucial and lethal struggle upon this arterial passage between the highland and the sea. In 51 B.C. tribes of Brittany and Normandy again rose, this time under Belgic leadership; but the brief campaign was fought farther east and south than Avranches, and the Petit Celland is alien to the picture. The significant date for our *oppidum* is 56 B.C.

The method of fortification adopted by the engineers of the Petit Celland was essentially that of the *muris Gallicis* described by Caesar (see p. 159), save for a fatal variation

at the main gateway where vertical timbers in the wall-face must have assisted the final conflagration. At another of the excavated sites, the Camp d'Artus at Huelgoat (Finistère), the *muris Gallicus* was again employed and the defences might there be used as a standard example of the type. On direct evidence the date of the Camp d'Artus is less substantially defined than is that of the Petit Celland; but (1) the general presence of no more than a single uniform though discontinuous occupation-layer which, incidentally, produced a Gaulish coin of the first half of the first century B.C. and pottery bearing a partial analogy with that of Le Petit Celland (125 miles away), and (2) the violent destruction of the south-east gate soon after construction, are significant pointers. No less significant is the great size of the enclosure (75 acres) which, as du Chatellier remarked, is unapproached in Finistère—or indeed in western Brittany. This magnitude is not imposed tactically by the size of the ridge which the camp occupied, for in fact, as we shall see, the western defences are carried down the hill-side, with some loss of command. The deliberate intention therefore was to shelter a considerable concentration of tribesfolk and their food-animals. With all allowance for the presence of silver-lead ores in the neighbourhood, it is impossible to suppose that a region so rigorously barren as the granite massif of central Finistère can have supported economically a population large enough either to inhabit permanently so extensive an area or even to find commensurate use for it as a convenient occasional refuge. Exceptional military or political factors must be adduced. The camp reflects some abnormal occasion when the scattered population of a large region was rallied in emergency under strong central discipline. The devastating Cimbric invasion of Gaul in the closing years of the second century B.C. may be recalled, but need not detain us; this obscure spot, sheltered as it must have been by its remoteness if not by the resistant barrier of the Belgae to the east (*B.G.* ii, 4), has no place in that setting. The Caesarian campaign of 56 B.C., when the Veneti stirred their neighbours to active resistance, is the natural context and is here accepted as such. In origin, we regard the Camp d'Artus as the focus of the Osismi or Osismii in that year, leaving the secondary work within its northern end to some minor resurgence such as that of 51 B.C.

It is not likely that these two great fortifications were the only reaction of the kind in north-western France to the lively events of 56 B.C. In fact, we are beginning to recognize something of a tribal pattern in the disposition of the major *oppida* throughout the region (map, pl. 1). Starting westwards from the Seine frontier of the Belgae (who had ideas of their own and must be dealt with separately, p. 8), we have first the Lexovii, who have bequeathed their name to Lisieux and must have included eastern Calvados in their dominion. Their *chef lieu* is not in doubt; immediately west of Lisieux, near the village of St. Désir and the farmstead of La Motte, is the largest *oppidum* of northern France, something like 400 acres in extent. Excavation is said to have shown that its rampart, like those of the Camp d'Artus and the Petit Celland, was a *muris Gallicus*. West of the Lexovii, an area including Caen and Bayeux is not securely allotted on the tribal map, but it contains one fairly notable *oppidum* near its western fringe, at St. Jean de Savigny near St. Lô. This is a promontory camp about 14 acres in extent (smaller than the

remainder of this series) with a steep stone-faced rampart, though whether a *murus Gallicus* has not been ascertained. West again, the Manche, which certainly included the formidable tribe of the Venelli or Unelli, has an obvious focus in the Grand Montcastre, an *oppidum* of some 40–50 acres west of Carentan. At the south-western end of the Manche, in the Avranches gap, stands our Petit Celland (45 acres) with its *murus Gallicus*, rallying-point perhaps of Caesar's Ambibarii or Ptolemy's Abrincatui.<sup>1</sup>

The Breton peninsula, west of a line from the Bay of Mont St. Michel to the mouth of the Loire, held five tribes: the Redones, Curiosolites, Osismi, Veneti, and Namnetes (*alias* Samnitae). The last, as Strabo notes (4. 2. 1), bordered on the Loire; and, if we concur in identifying both the *Sena* of Pomponius Mela and the *Gabaion promontory* of Ptolemy with the Île de Sein or the Pointe du Raz, we have the authority of both authors for placing this landmark within the territory of the Osismi. For the rest, the positions of the tribal boundaries can be, and have been, argued to and fro without prospect of finality.<sup>2</sup> In general it is fair to say that the earlier ecclesiastical dioceses of northern France reflect the cantonal system which the Roman administration took over from the pre-Roman tribes. But in Brittany there is a good historical reason why the equation between diocese and tribe does not work. The British immigrations of the latter part of the fifth century cut clean through the historical tradition, and, when the situation clarifies itself again in the ninth to eleventh centuries, there are no fewer than nine dioceses in the peninsula. Amidst so much fragmentation there is now no possibility of resurrecting the five pre-Christian tribes. Without disputation, therefore, it must suffice here to equate the Veneti roughly with the Morbihan, the Osismi with Finistère and perhaps the western part of the Côtes-du-Nord, and the Redones with Ille-et-Vilaine, leaving the Curiosolites between them and the Osismi, always with the proviso that this is geographical guesswork, not history.

Nevertheless, even thus vaguely three of these Armorican tribes fit readily into our scheme of centralized tribal defence. Twenty miles south of Avranches, in the western fringe of the Forêt de Fougères and within any potential area of the Redones (whose name survives in Rennes), are the bulwarks of an emplacement of some 50 acres, again with a stone-faced (*murus Gallicus*?) rampart (pl. XLVII, B, and fig. 31). But, even more obviously than at the Petit Celland, its lines were never completed. The rallying tribesmen presumably arrived too late or too untidily upon the scene.

<sup>1</sup> These identifications are very uncertain; see Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (1911), pp. 366, 499. To assume that the diocese of Avranches represents a tribal or sub-tribal area is a fair guess, but no more. The best evidence for such a unit is the Petit Celland itself. The Abrincatui in particular have been vaguely equated with the modern Avranchinçais; certain Gaulish coins from the region, bearing a bearded head, have even been attributed to Ptolemy's tribe. But there is no sound evidence whatever for a coinage of the Abrincatui. See J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu, 'L'Attribution controuvée d'un monnayage gaulois aux "Abrincatui"', *Revue belge de Numismatique*, xcvi (Brussels, 1950), 27.

<sup>2</sup> For arguments prior to 1911, see Rice Holmes. For a more recent discussion, with references, see Fr. Merlet, 'La formation des diocèses et des paroisses en Bretagne', in *Mém. de la Soc. d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, xxx (Rennes, 1950), 5–61; *ibid.* xxxi (1951), 137–72; P. Merlat, 'Notice sur la limite sud-est de la cité des Osismes', in *Annales de Bretagne*, 1952 (Rennes), fasc. 1 and 2, pp. 93–105; Fr. Merlet, *ibid.*, pp. 105–9; and, above all, P. Merlat in *Paulus Real-Encyclopädie*, Bd. VIII, s.v. 'Veneti'. The last is a new and comprehensive review of the evidence relating to this tribe.

For the rest, of the Osismi with their Camp d'Artus we have already spoken. The other predictable tribe was that of the Veneti. Here history tells a plain story: the Venetian *oppidum* was the Venetian fleet, and no land-refuge on a tribal scale need be sought.

Of the Namnetes by the Loire nothing can be said in the present context without further fieldwork. There remain on the one hand the Curiosolites and, on the other hand, one notable earthwork not otherwise allotted: that of Guégon, 7 miles west of Josselin, some 60 acres in extent. The work is outstanding in this part of France and can scarcely have been less than a tribal stronghold. It would be pleasant to ascribe it to the Curiosolites, who have no rival refuge, and probably it would be correct to do so. But there is no evidence whatsoever as to where the western boundary of that tribe lay; the assumption that it coincided with the neighbouring River Oust<sup>1</sup> is pure speculation.

With this one uncertainty, the principle is consistently valid from the Seine to the Atlantic: that, under the threat of Roman conquest, the tribesmen of each tribe rallied to a central point which, if not already fortified, they proceeded to arm on a formidable scale. And in at least three instances (the others have not been tested) the method chosen was that of the *murus Gallicus* which, outside Belgic Gaul, seems suddenly and significantly to have become the standard anti-Roman device.

(b) *Cliff-castles of the 'Castel Coz' series* (map, fig. 1)

We turn now to the cliff-castles along the Atlantic coast of Finistère and Morbihan, grouping them under the name of Castel Coz (p. 109). Castel Coz itself (pl. XLV), on the rugged southern coast of the Bay of Douarnenez, was probably not within the tribal area of Caesar's Veneti. But it is typical of the cliff-castles along the southern and western shores of Brittany, it was the first to be explored, and it has long been known to English readers: three adequate reasons for attaching its name to the series.

Before considering the historical and tribal context of these works more closely, let us review the archaeological picture. It is at the same time clear and individual. From La Baule at the mouth of the Loire, through the Morbihan and western Finistère as far north as Ploumoguier west of Brest, headland after headland, whether thrusting into the stormy seas of these parts or commanding the flanks of more placid estuaries, is barred by one, two, or three lines of bank and ditch across the landward approach. In all, ten examples with a single defence and ten with multiple defences<sup>2</sup> were visited by our expedition, and there are doubtless others. Local differences do not mask the fact that these bleak refuges present a unitary problem. For refuges they manifestly were, the tiny refuges of a folk whose livelihood lay scattered upon the sea rather than focused on the land. Their builders were of no mind to crowd into sprawling *oppida* tricked out for siege;

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Fr. Merlet, *Mém. de la Soc. d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, xxx (1950), 23.

<sup>2</sup> Excluding the second example catalogued under no. 33, although this may have had multiple defences like its fellow under the same number; and excluding also the more inland

no. 6 (St. Avé, near Vannes), although this, like Kercaradec (p. 54), has all the characters of our multiple cliff-castles and overlooks the lower reaches of the river. Sites in Jersey and Guernsey should probably be added, but were not visited by our expedition (p. 102).

in the whole of this 200-mile stretch of coast and coastal hinterland there is no fortress remotely comparable with those which occupied our previous section. If rallying there had to be hereabouts, it was a rallying of ships, not of sappers. If wealth had to be secured in time of crisis, it was lugged on shipboard, not sunk into the ground; the hoards of

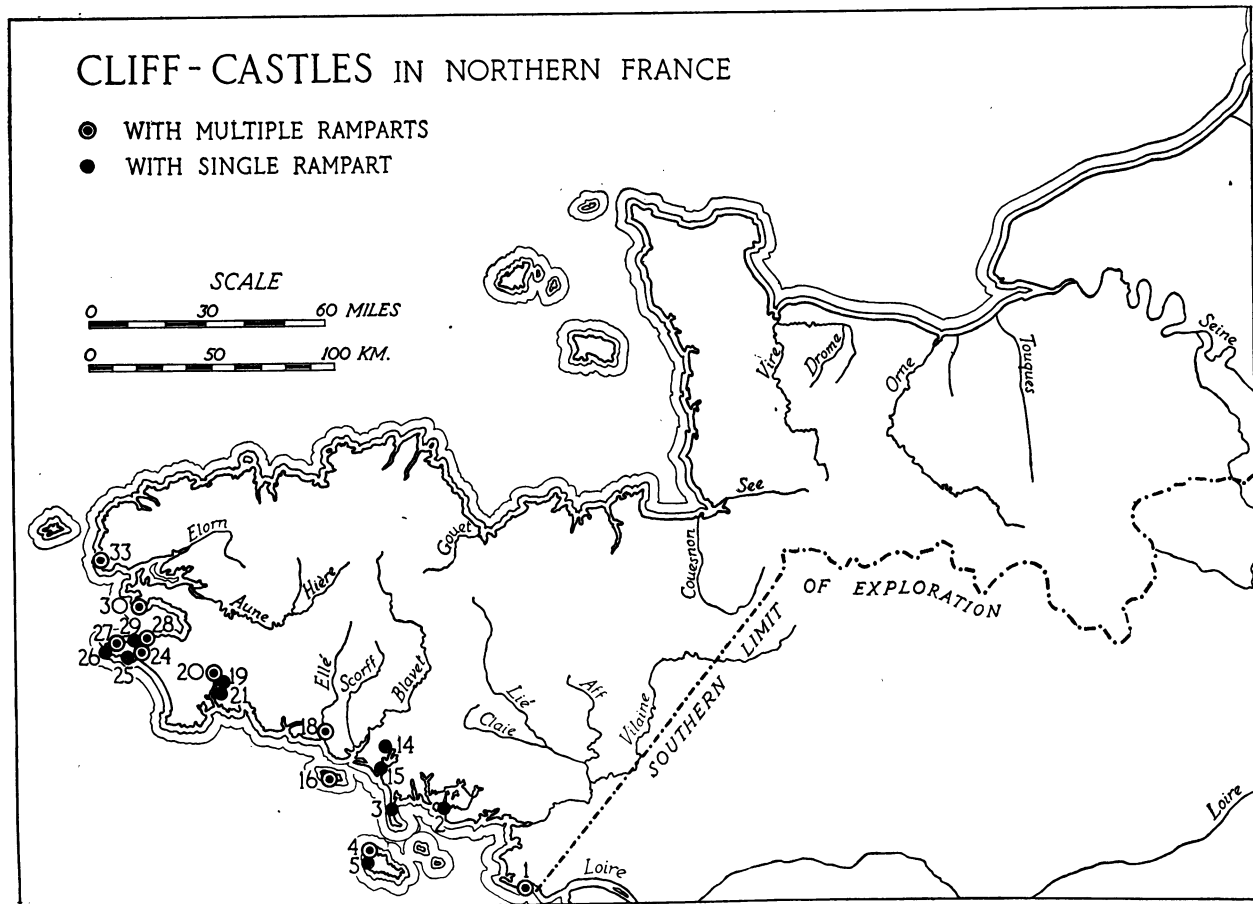


FIG. I

Note. Cliff-castles on Jersey and Guernsey not visited by the expedition are omitted from this map. See p. 102.

tribal currency which elsewhere in Brittany and Normandy mark the Roman conquest scarcely occur in the Morbihan, whose traders had nevertheless been famous above all for their enterprise. Venetian wealth in 56 B.C. perished with the Venetian fleet.<sup>1</sup>

These cliff-castles are essentially of the Atlantic, the eyries of deep-sea sailors, places where families could be stowed away whilst the younger menfolk were at sea. For the most part their sullen crags, *d'un effet grandiose et impressionnant*, are suspended in an enduring sea-mist between the mournful screaming of the sea-birds and the relentless

<sup>1</sup> So J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu, 'Une énigme de la numismatique armoricaine: les monnaies celtiques des Vénètes', in *Mém. de la Soc. d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, xxxiii (Rennes, 1953).

crashing of the breakers. Strangely enough, and yet emphasizing their exclusiveness and tallying with Caesar's account, many of them have no good landing-place within easy reach. Only north of the Bay of Douarnenez a change becomes perceptible; there the harsh Atlantic begins, however hesitantly, to tune itself to the gentler harmonies of the Channel, and open stretches of sand begin to interrupt the wall of rock. Adjoining the cliff-castle of Lostmarc'h near the northern entrance to the Bay (pls. XLVI and XLVII, A), casemates of Hitler's West Wall and a line of concrete 'dragons' teeth' proclaim the accessibility of a *plage* which on a summer's day is alive with bathers. Thereafter the coastline becomes intermittently but increasingly accessible, its privacy gone. Significantly, the little castles of our discreet kind gradually cease, until they reappear at long range on the cliffs of Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and Cornwall.

The character of these refuges, in so far as the evidence reveals it, will be indicated in the *Gazetteer* (pp. 102 ff.), but a few of their more salient traits may be anticipated. The type-site, Castel Coz at Beuzec-Cap-Sizun in the canton of Pont-Croix, was examined in 1869 with a skill in advance of the time, and scraps from the site can be seen in the Government Archaeological Museum at Penmarc'h (St. Guérolé) near Pont-l'Abbé. Like most others of the series it is small, about 2 acres of rugged headland cut off by three ramparts, of which the innermost, fronted across the promontory by a stone wall, is carried round the sides in reduced form. Three outer lines, not necessarily of the same date, also bar the approach. The interior is packed with hut-floors; some, as their pottery shows,<sup>1</sup> must have been medieval, but others produced an assortment of Early Iron Age wares whereof a typical selection is here illustrated (fig. 24, 1-15). Amongst the latter are forms comparable with some of our own 'South-Western B' of the latter part of the Early Iron Age. Other finds from Castel Coz included more than a hundred sling-stones.

Eight miles west of Castel Coz a similar cliff-castle, known as Castel Meur, was summarily explored in 1889. Here an area of some 5 acres, containing many hut-floors, is barred by three lines of bank and ditch (pl. XLIV). Pottery comparable with that of the Iron Age from Castel Coz is stored with the du Chatellier collection at the museum of St. Germain-en-Laye, together with 'javelin-points, swords, sickles, daggers, an iron helmet, numerous flint-points, stone pendants, beads, part of a gold bracelet, strikers, sling-stones, and mill-stones'—surely material worth resurrecting from long storage!

For the rest, excavation—and that on a small scale—has been limited to the seemingly allied site of Kercaratdec, withdrawn slightly from the coast near Quimper and the Odet estuary (p. 54), and to the maritime sites on the Île-de-Groix and Belle-Île-en-Mer (pp. 106 and 103). Incidentally, all these sites produced sling-stones. Inadequate though these explorations be, they accumulatively stress the resemblance between the Breton works and those of Cornwall. Much of the description of Castel Coz, for example, might be applied to a site such as Trevelgue near Newquay. The stepped stone rampart of Kercaratdec is almost identical with that on Gurnard's Head in Penwith, where likewise wheel-

<sup>1</sup> Note by P. R. Giot, 'Un type de céramique antique inédit de Cornouaille et d'ailleurs', in *Annales de Bretagne*, lxiii (1955), 202-13.

turned pottery and sling-stones were found (p. 55). Even an archaeologist unacquainted with the sufficiently familiar historical background would scarcely hesitate to recognize the affinity between the Cornish and the Breton series. With the added testimony of Caesar and Strabo, the affinity becomes significant and unassailable.

In a series of well-known passages, Caesar gives a vivid sketch of the Veneti of southern Brittany and their habitat. 'The positions of their strongholds were generally of one kind. They were set at the end of tongues and promontories so as to allow no approach on foot, when the tide had rushed in from the sea—which regularly happens every twelve hours—nor in ships, because when the tide ebbed again the ships would be damaged in shoal water' (*B.G.* iii, 12). When pressed, the occupants of these strongholds 'would bring close inshore a large number of ships, of which they possessed an unlimited supply, and take off all their goods and retire to the nearest strongholds, there to defend themselves again with the same advantages of position'. Their ships were of massive oak, flat-bottomed, with high bows and sterns and leather sails, and were readily manœuvred in the shoal-waters of the coast. The tribesmen 'knew that on land the tracks were intersected by estuaries and that our navigation was hampered by ignorance of the locality and by scarcity of harbours, and they trusted that the Roman armies would be unable to remain long in their neighbourhood by reason of the lack of corn' (*B.G.* iii, 9). The picture of a rugged coast inhabited by small mobile groups of sea-folk with a limited agriculture is complete, and is the exact counterpart of the archaeological evidence. The extension of that picture to Cornwall follows equally from the historical sources. The Veneti, says Strabo (*Geog.* 4. 4. 1), 'were ready to hinder his [Caesar's] voyage to Britain because they were already marketing there'. And Caesar himself records that, when his attack upon the Veneti was impending, 'they sent to fetch auxiliaries from Britain, which lies opposite those regions' (*B.G.* iii, 9). This intimate relationship between the Veneti and the accessible parts of Britain in the pre-Caesarian era, combined with the similar topography of the Cornish and Breton coasts, provides the perfect context for that identity of habitat and fortification which the archaeological evidence has demonstrated. On both sides of the Channel the Veneti and their friends clung largely to small promontories and defended themselves with the sling (incidentally, a singularly appropriate weapon for sea-fighting)<sup>1</sup> and, often enough, with the defensive counterpart of the sling-missile—a multivallate barrier designed to keep the attacker at maximum range. One of us has elsewhere suggested that it was the sling-using Veneti who first introduced the multivallate idea to Britain, perhaps in the second century B.C.<sup>2</sup> The wheel-turned and polished pottery from Gurnard's Head hints at the possible emergence of more detailed cultural links when the material both from our Cornish cliff-castles and from those of France is better known.

A minor question, already touched upon (p. 3), is that of the extent of the Venetian territory in Caesar's day.<sup>3</sup> Caesar himself attempts no definition. Strabo, writing half a

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.* cvi, Supplement (1952), 75.

<sup>2</sup> Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset*, pp. 48–56.

<sup>3</sup> All previous discussions of this matter are superseded by P. Merlat in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. 'Veneti'.

century after Caesar, mentions the Veneti first amongst 'those Belgae who live on the ocean coast' (*Geog.* 4. 4. 1), a statement which adds inaccuracy to vagueness, for the Veneti were never Belgae in any sense of the term.<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy, writing about A.D. 150 largely from first-century sources, places the Veneti north of the 'Samnitae' and south of the Osismi, whose southern boundary, he affirms, reached the Gobaeon promontory, identified with the Pointe du Raz. This promontory Pomponius Mela in the first century appears also to include in Osismian territory. But the Samnitae, who, according to Poseidonius (Strabo, *Geog.* 4. 4. 6), dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Loire estuary, are probably an ancient misreading for the Namnetes, who are placed in the same neighbourhood both by Strabo himself (4. 2. 1) and by Polybius (34. 10. 6), so that we are carried no farther. The original shape of the diocese of Vannes, did we know it, might have helped; but the chaos of the fifth century lies between us and certain knowledge (above, p. 3). On a conservative reading of the literary authorities, it may be averred that Venetia lay somewhere between the Guérande peninsula and the Pointe du Raz, whilst towards the north the map proclaims the east-west massif of the Black Mountains as the obvious if undefined frontier with the Osismi of Finistère.

Whether in the hey-day of their commercial activity, prior to 56 B.C., the Veneti were restricted closely to this limited and, on the west, somewhat artificially defined region may be doubted. Both Strabo and Ptolemy's authorities long post-date Caesar's savage revenge upon the tribe, when he 'put the whole of its senate to the sword and sold the rest into slavery'. It is fair to assume that the domineering Veneti had not been over-popular with their neighbours; Caesar hints as much.<sup>2</sup> It is equally reasonable to suppose that these neighbours, who did not incur the full violence of Caesar's wrath, took the opportunity of encroaching upon devastated Venetia, with or without Roman encouragement, and that it is therefore a reduced Venetia that is reflected in the geographical tradition and perhaps in the early diocese of Vannes. But there is no positive evidence of this. We must be content with Caesar's testimony that the Veneti ruled the seas hereabouts and had 'as tributaries (*victigales*) almost all those whose custom is to sail that sea'.<sup>3</sup> And, amplifying history, the cliff-castles such as Castel Coz and Castel Meur, with others as far north as the Pointe de Kermorvan west of Brest, sufficiently imply that the folk of those parts shared the way of life ascribed by Caesar to the Veneti. Whether nominally independent or not, they may be thought to have lain within the Venetian sphere of influence.

(c) *Belgic earthworks of the 'Fécamp' series and some others* (map, pl. 1, and fig. 2)

Whilst the Belgae of Britain have received a fair share of archaeological attention since the publication of Sir Arthur Evans's classic paper on the Aylesford cemetery in 1890, their kinsmen in Gaul have scarcely been studied on or in the ground in modern fashion.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Strabo had at the back of his mind the temporary alliance between the Veneti and Belgic maritime tribes (the Morini, the Menapii, and possibly the Ambiani) in 57 B.C. (*B.G.* iii, 9).

<sup>2</sup> *B.G.* iii, 8, 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



The skilful review of the available evidence by Hawkes and Dunning in 1930<sup>1</sup> found no commensurate echo across the Channel. What has subsequently been done there relates mainly to eastern Belgica where, in Brabant and Holland west of the Yssel, F. C. Bursch has usefully defined four groups of pre-Roman Iron Age pottery.<sup>2</sup> These groups are dominated by the Dutch Hallstatt urnfield tradition, imperfectly modified by sub-Marnian elements, particularly the pedestal, within the last two centuries B.C.—i.e. during the phase of active coherence that marked the Belgae of protohistory.<sup>3</sup> But, though this composite craftsmanship, accompanied by the rite of cremation, was certainly representative of an appreciable part of Gallia Belgica, it was by no means peculiar to the Belgae. It has a recognizable affinity, for example, with the contemporary pottery from the cremation cemeteries of the Wetterau, far away to the south-east across the Rhine.<sup>4</sup> As often, there was no close approximation hereabouts between political and cultural boundaries, and a 'Belgic culture' *par excellence*, if it existed at all on the Continent, still remains to be isolated.

In one respect, however, and in a limited part of Gallia Belgica, we were able to identify a characteristic which seems to have been peculiarly Belgic. Belgica as a whole, it may be recalled, was bounded by the Rivers Matrona and Sequana, the Marne and the Seine, and by the lower Rhine.<sup>5</sup> How far it spread to the south-east is less clear. There, on the Moselle and the Rhine, lay the Treveri, whose political affinity is ambiguous. They are nowhere specifically included amongst the Belgae, but the fact that their German characteristics are stressed<sup>6</sup> implies at least that they were not regarded as a purely Germanic folk. Generally, the valley of the middle Meuse and the northern foot-hills of the Eifel massif may be said to have constituted the south-eastern flank of the Belgic area.

Of this territory, some 200 miles from east to west and about the same average distance from north to south, our expedition explored only the western portion, extending as far eastwards as Arras and Reims. Within that region, however, it succeeded in recognizing a distinctive type of *oppidum* as characteristic of certain of the Belgic tribes, and in associating with this type a scatter of potsherds which, if nothing else, serve to emphasize the need for further work of this kind.

The *oppida* in question we have classified as the 'Fécamp' type, from the Camp du

<sup>1</sup> 'The Belgae in Gaul and Britain', *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii (for 1930), 150-240.

<sup>2</sup> 'Onze Urnenvelden', in *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen*, n.r., xxiii (Leiden, 1942), 48 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For a valuable discussion of the Belgae of an earlier phase, see C. A. R. Radford, 'Contributions to a Study of the Belgae', in *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* xxi (1955), 249 ff.

<sup>4</sup> H. Schönberger, 'Die Spätlatenezeit in der Wetterau', in *Saalburg Jahrbuch*, xi (Berlin, 1952), 71 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Caesar, *B.G.* i, 1. Strabo, writing half a century after Caesar, places the Belgae between the Rhine, the Loire, and the ocean and includes the Veneti amongst them. This statement, in so far as it conflicts with Caesar's account, cannot stand as serious evidence. It may be that Strabo was misled

by the fact that certain of the Belgae rallied to the aid of the Armoric tribes in 56 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> *B.G.* viii, 25 (Hirtius). Rice Holmes, pp. 394-5, is inclined to the view that the Treveri should be included amongst the Celtae rather than the Belgae. U. Kahrstedt seems to group them with the Belgae, but does not discuss the matter. 'Methodisches zur Geschichte des Mittel- und Niederrheins zwischen Caesar und Vespasian', in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cl (1950), 65. On etymological evidence a Gallic or Celtic (as against a German) bias is also inferred by W. Jungandreas, 'Die Treverer zwischen Germanen und Kelten', in *Trierer Zeitschrift*, 22 Jahrgang (1953), 1-14; but this writer does not discuss the Belgic as distinct from the Celtic aspect.

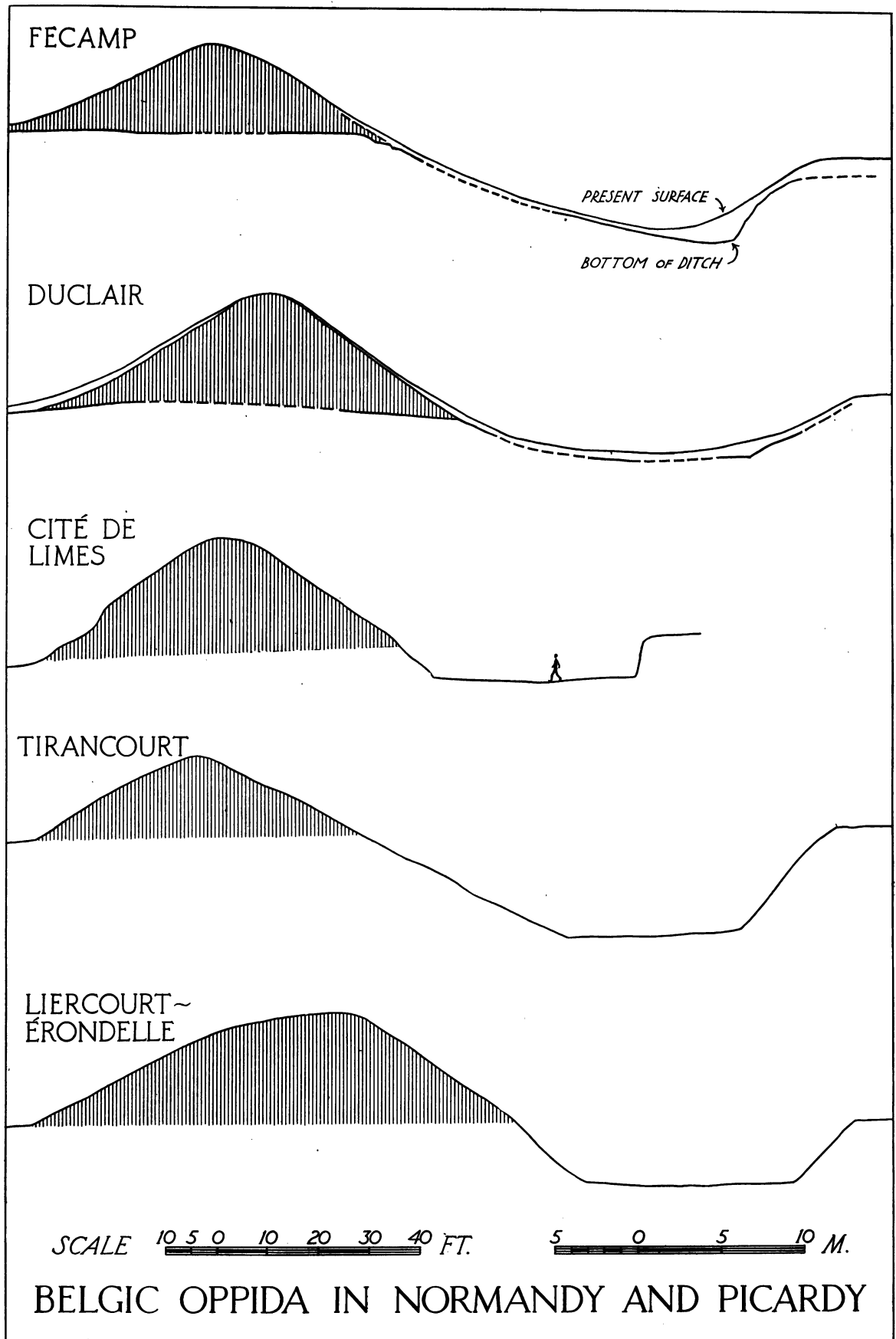


FIG. 2. Typical profiles of the 'Fécamp' series

Canada at Fécamp where their specific features were first recognized in 1939 (p. 62). The characters of the type are these: (*a*) a preference for commanding promontories, which are cut off by a huge rampart, 20–30 ft. high, and a broad, flat, or bluntly rounded, canal-like ditch, with steep external side sometimes reinforced by a small counterscarp bank (fig. 2); and (*b*) formidable entrances often flanked by bold in-turns of the main rampart. In the region explored these fortifications were sometimes sited upon a subsoil in which clay-with-flints was a dominant element; though it is very speculative to suppose that this water-holding subsoil was deliberately sought for the purpose of ensuring surface-reservoirs (see p. 65). Of more obvious significance is a tendency to include easy access to the sea or a main river; three of the sites are on the coast, the remainder are on arterial valleys.

These combined traits have not been found south or west of the Seine valley, but they are represented by not less than nine sites in the Department of Seine-Inférieure, two in the northern fringe of Eure beside the southern bank of the Seine,<sup>1</sup> two in the valley of the Somme, and at least three in the valley of the Aisne. Neither in Calvados nor in Eure away from the Seine valley, be it emphasized, do they occur at all. Investigation to date suggests that their distribution is limited by the valleys of the Seine, Somme, and Aisne, and that they were characteristic of the Veliocasses, the Caleti, the Ambiani, and the Suessiones (see map, pl. 1)—the first three, it may be recalled, being amongst the tribes which fought to the end in 51 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The sixteen sites already recognized are listed as nos. 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 85, 86, and 87 in our Gazetteer (pp. 120 ff.). They are at St. Samson-de-la-Roque in the canton of Quillebœuf; at St. Pierre d'Autils in the canton of Vernon and at Vernon itself (Eure); at Bracquemont in the canton of Dieppe (Seine-Inférieure); at Caudebec, Duclair, and Fécamp (S.-I.); at Heugleville-sur-Scie in the canton of Longueville (S.-I.); at Incheville in the canton of Eu (S.-I.); at Sandouville in the canton of St. Romain (S.-I.); at Veulettes in the canton of Cany (S.-I.); at Liercourt-Érondelle in the canton of Hallencourt (Somme); at La Chaussée-Tirancourt in the canton of Picquigny (Somme); at Pommiers (Aisne) near Soissons, Muret-Crouttes 12 miles south-east of Soissons, and Ambleny west of Soissons. Perhaps of all these sites, the Cité de Limes on the coast at Bracquemont, near Dieppe, is the most obvious challenge to English eyes: a fine open place, rapidly succumbing to the sea but still full of potentiality, certain to repay a properly equipped expedition with cross-Channel problems in mind. Typical profiles of the series are illustrated in fig. 2; see also pls. XLVIII–L.

In date, the two sites explored by us overlapped the advent of Roman things in Normandy and the type was clearly therefore in use in the second quarter of the first century B.C. Additional evidence is provided by old excavations at Pommiers, where something like 2,600 Gaulish coins indicate a concentrated occupation in the first half of the first century B.C. How much earlier the type of fortification began cannot be affirmed without

<sup>1</sup> It was long ago observed by Hawkes and Dunning that as the north side of the Seine valley was Belgic'. Op. cit., 'below the neighbourhood of Les Andelys the south as well p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> B.G. viii, 7 (Hirtius).

more excavation. Its dominating character is consonant with Belgic invention, and the Belgae had arrived in these parts and developed a strong federal consciousness there before, alone of the Gauls, they successfully resisted the incursions of the Cimbri and Teutones in 113–101 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The possibility that some at least of the Fécamp series began as a reaction to this episode must be borne in mind; but a Caesarian context fits much of the evidence that is at present available. Incidentally, *muri Gallici* are seemingly very rare in the Belgic area, and the high dump-ramparts and wide, blunt ditches of the Fécamp series may well have been the Belgic counter to the Roman siege-engine—individual in character as was the Belgic habit. It may be recalled that when Caesar attacked Noviodunum, the rallying-point of the Suessiones in 57 B.C., he was unable to storm it ‘because of the breadth of its ditch and the height of its rampart, although its defenders were few’ (*propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem paucis defendentibus expugnare non potuit*); and Noviodunum may well have been the Pommiers *oppidum* of our series.<sup>2</sup> Caesar clearly regarded the scale of the Noviodunum defences as abnormal.

A feature of these specifically Belgic *oppida* is their considerable number in the area examined. Unlike the large, isolated *oppida* farther west, where we have recognized something like a system of isolated focus-points for tribal concentration (above, p. 2), the Belgic series is multiplied freely within the appropriate tribal areas and was clearly there a normal expression of the Belgic military tradition. As remarked above, four tribes—the Caleti, Ambiani, Vellocasses, and Suessiones—are now known to have possessed, between them, at least sixteen *oppida* of the distinctive type, many of impressive size; and when Caesar asserts that Galba, king of the Suessiones, was reported to have twelve *oppida* within his tribal area and to have promised 50,000 men-at-arms to the resistance,<sup>3</sup> major works of our sort (among others) were clearly in question. A part of the outstanding potential of Gallia Belgica lay in this developed scheme or habit of large-scale fortification in depth.

An interesting ‘hang-over’ of the type was identified in 1938 at Oldbury in Kent.<sup>4</sup> There Mr. Ward Perkins found a similar flat ditch and abnormally high rampart, the latter with an external stone cresting as at Duclair. The associated culture was Belgic and was dated by its discoverer to the eve of the Claudian invasion of A.D. 43. If this dating is correct,<sup>5</sup> it would appear that, nearly a century after the Roman conquest of Normandy, the old tradition of Belgic engineering was still sufficiently alive to re-emerge in Belgic Britain at another time of major crisis.

A note may here be added on certain other major French *oppida* within the Belgic enclave. Outside the Somme–Seine area, dominated, as we have seen, by the ‘Fécamp’ type, is a series of notable *oppida*, mostly on conventional hill-top or promontory sites but lacking the Fécamp *differentiae* and possibly, at a guess, of pre-Belgic origin. Such are

<sup>1</sup> B.G. ii, 4; Strabo, 4. 4. 3, and 5. 1. 8; Livy, *Epit.* 63 and 67.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 139 f., and J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu’s analysis of the Pommiers coins in *Revue Archéologique*, vi, fasc. 3 (1955), 260–70.

<sup>3</sup> B.G. ii, 4.

<sup>4</sup> J. B. Ward Perkins, *Archaeologia*, xc (1944), 139.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Raleigh Radford suggests the possibility of a somewhat earlier date, and this would more easily link up with the French evidence. *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* xx (for 1954), 6.

the camp on the Mont César near Beauvais (no. 81), which has a good claim to have been the precursor of Beauvais as the *chef lieu* of the Bellovaci; 'Vieux Laon' at St. Thomas between Reims and Laon (no. 89); the 'Camp de César' at Avesnes (no. 92); the 'Camp de César' at Etrun near Arras (no. 93), probably the *chef lieu* of the Atrebatas;<sup>1</sup> and the hill-fort which contains the village of Vermand, west of St. Quentin, and in its place-name preserves, it seems, a memory of the time when it was the *chef lieu* of the Viromandui (no. 91). All these are marked by defences on a grander scale than is normal west of the Seine valley, and suggest a more determined and practised pugnacity, stimulated presumably by a larger abundance of covetable wealth within the compass of the great rivers. But the outstanding site of this part of France is of another kind (no. 88). It lies on flat alluvium beside the River Aisne 11 miles north-north-west of Reims and is calculated to have been no less than 275 acres in extent. It is known today as 'Vieux Reims', and the name is a proper tribute to the manifest distinction of the place. Mutilated by the Aisne canal, flattened by intensive agriculture, and quarried for its sandy subsoil, its traceable remains still indicate a site remarkable alike for size and situation. It is probably to be identified with the Bibrax where, in 57 B.C., Caesar rescued his allies the Remi from the Belgic confederacy which had invested them.<sup>2</sup> The site owes nothing to contour, though on the north, west, and south the River Aisne and its little tributary the Suippe supplemented its artificial defences in an appreciable measure. It was clearly, however, the proximity of the Aisne as an arterial route that determined the location; a factor emphasized in the nineteenth century by the canalization of the river and its continued use today for a considerable traffic. The notorious prosperity of the Aisne-Marne region in the La Tène period was based upon trade no less than upon farming, and sites such as Vieux Reims must have approached more nearly to a comfortable urban condition than did the average hill-settlement of the period.

Riverside sites such as Vieux Reims constitute, indeed, a distinctive and significant class amongst the Iron Age earthworks of the richer regions of eastern France and beyond. A smaller but noteworthy example occurs just outside our maps, at La Cheppe, 8½ miles north-east of Châlons-sur-Marne and 25 miles south-east of Reims.<sup>3</sup> Here a rivulet, the Noblette, too small for traffic but useful as a guaranteed water-supply and as a slight additional protection, clasps a part of two sides of an imposing *oppidum*, roughly oval on

<sup>1</sup> Has 'Etrun' any etymological affinity with 'Atrebatas'?

<sup>2</sup> Alternative sites for Bibrax have been proposed, notably Beaurieux farther west in the Aisne valley and the 'Vieux Laon' above mentioned. (See summary by Rice Holmes in *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, pp. 398-400; but Rice Holmes does not exhibit any first-hand knowledge of the terrain and clearly did not know of 'Vieux Reims'.) Beaurieux may be dismissed, in the absence of evidence on the ground or of any special appositeness. 'Vieux Laon' is a stronger candidate, but cannot rival the immense site of 'Vieux Reims' as a probable tribal focus. Napoleon III identified a large Caesarian camp

3½ km. to the west of the latter at Mauchamp, north of the river. Rice Holmes makes something of Caesar's (alleged) assertion that the Remic stronghold was 8 miles from his camp. But Caesar does not say this; he affirms (*B.G.* ii, 6) that the stronghold was 8 miles from the bridgehead camp of his lieutenant Sabinus, which was south of the Aisne and is likely to have been near the principal crossing hereabouts, at Berry-au-Bac: i.e. in fact 7 or 8 km. from 'Vieux Reims' by any feasible route.

<sup>3</sup> See Caylus, iv, 392-5, pl. cxx; Déchelette, p. 475; Fourdrignier, p. 173; Letaudin, p. 189; Savy, p. 224.

plan and upwards of 50 acres in extent. The site and its environs are perfectly flat, but the absence of local command is compensated by the immense size of the defences, which still rise to 15 ft. above the interior and about 30 ft. above the present bottom of a huge V-shaped ditch, the latter omitted only where the rivulet renders it unnecessary. The camp is known alternatively as 'Vieux Châlons' and 'Le Camp d'Attila', and was doubtless the *chef lieu* of the rather shadowy little tribe, the Catuvellauni, who are not mentioned by the earlier classical authorities but are thought to have occupied the territory represented by the diocese of Châlons, and may have been tributaries of the Remi.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, if (as may be presumed) this tribe was the parent of the Catuvellauni of Hertfordshire, we may recognize in the steep defences of Vieux Châlons a fitting prototype for those of our Wheathampstead.

Other flat riparian sites, outside the Belgic territories, occur to the mind: the vast Manching, for example, in Bavaria (see p. 213), the La Tène settlement itself, possibly the trading-station of Châlons-sur-Saône,<sup>2</sup> less clearly the famous Avaricum (Bourges), the outline of which has not been determined but presumably included the slightly rising ground upon which the cathedral now stands at the junction of the Yèvre and the Auron (see p. 199). It is the natural fate of these low-lying sites to suffer more readily from subsequent building and cultivation than those on the remoter hill-tops, but their ancient importance may well have been in inverse ratio to their present impressiveness. To repeat, they would appear to represent the *oppidum* on the way to the *urbs*.

<sup>1</sup> Rice Holmes, p. 468. The site of the camp is marked on the Michelin 1/200,000 map, no. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv, 444-5.

## II. JULIUS CAESAR AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN NORTHERN GAUL

EARTHWORKS and episodes in this Report will in a number of instances be related to the campaigns of Julius Caesar between 57 and 51 B.C., and in anticipation the equation may be presented briefly in historical narrative.

It may be recalled that by the end of 58 B.C. the greater part of central Gaul had signified submission to the Roman invader. During that year the Celtic tribes had in fact faced a dilemma: their eastern flank had been threatened by swarming hordes of Swiss and Germans, their southern limits were the camping-ground of Caesar's legions. Of the two threats, the former was in some sense the more awesome, involving, as it did, not merely defeat but obliteration; on the other hand, few save those in the immediate path of the Helvetian and German invaders were prepared without hesitation to welcome rescue in the shape of Roman exploitation. The most faithful of Caesar's mid-Gaulish allies, the Aedui, were themselves of two minds, although their official attitude remained one of collaboration. It is an idle thought that Vichy lies within their former territory.

Caesar's victories successively over the irrupting Helvetii and the Germans of Ariovistus left him as the ostensible champion of Gaul and as its impending master. But not yet was Gaul in a mood for submission, whether to the Romans or to the Germans. Indeed, Caesar's triumph in the Centre was a new challenge to the North. The Belgic tribes between the Seine and the Rhine now banded together to resist him as, half a century earlier, they had combined with unmatched success to resist the invading Cimbri and Teutones. In the spring of 57 Caesar, returning from Italy to Besançon with fresh troops, found, as usual, dissidents or 'collaborators' amongst his foes: this time the Belgic border-tribe the Remi, whose name remains in Reims. But, save for the one friendly salient, the Belgae were solid against him. Levies from the constituent tribes were 'assembled in one place' to a total, it was averred, of nearly a quarter of a million fighting men. The extravagance of this estimate does not belie the magnitude of the threat. The Bellovaci, round about Beauvais, were 'predominant in valour, influence and numbers'; and today their greatest *oppidum*, on an isolated and commanding hill known as the Mont César, 8 miles south-east of the city, is their most manifest memorial. The neighbouring Suesiones, whose former territories round Soissons 'included twelve *oppida*',<sup>1</sup> now provided the Belgic commander-in-chief in the person of their king, Galba. The Nervii, Atrebates, Ambiani, Morini, Menapii, Caleti, Veliocasses, Viromandui, Atuatici, Condrusi, Eburones, Caerosi, and Paemani all rallied to the Belgic standard and promised substantial contingents. Of them only the Caleti, the Veliocasses, the Viromandui of Vermand, and (in part) the Ambiani, the Nervii, and the Atrebates of Etrun came within the scope of

<sup>1</sup> Amongst them presumably Pommiers, Muret-Crouettes, Montigny-l'Engrain, Ambleny, and Vieux Moulin.

our survey, but, within those limits, the archaeological picture can be described as one of vigorous tribal effort. Three of the tribes are marked by an individual type of *oppidum* which certainly existed at this time, though whether actually built in this emergency is less certain: the type which we have named after Fécamp, marked by a notably high rampart, a broad shallow ditch, and normally an in-turned entrance (p. 8). Of these 'Belgic' works, ten have been identified in the tribal area of the Caleti and the Veliocasses, and three in the incompletely explored kingdom of the Ambiani, whose name survives in Amiens, with two or three more near Soissons itself. The peculiar expanse of their flat ditches and the mighty ramparts which tower above them might perhaps be explained as a device for neutralizing the siege operations of the mechanized legion rather than as a barrier to normal tribal forays; in other words, they may have been a Belgic equivalent to the *muri Gallici* of Celtic Gaul. Caesar may indeed, as we have observed above, have had a defence of this sort in mind when he remarked that his failure to storm Noviodunum (probably Pommiers), chief city of the Suessiones, during the campaign now in question was due to the notable width of its ditch and height of its rampart (*propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem*—*B.G.* ii, 12).

Having the territory of the Remi with their headquarters at 'Vieux Reims' (Guignicourt) as a firm base for supplies, and with promised aid from the Aedui, Caesar marched upon the massed forces of the Belgae and met them somewhere on the northern bank of the Aisne, within the bounds of the Remi and probably in the vicinity of Berry-au-Bac (p. 13). A difficult battle led to the utter dispersal of the brave but motley multitude, and, without taking breath, Caesar hurled his legions across the borders of the neighbouring Suessiones. After the false start already mentioned, he overwhelmed their principal *oppidum*, Noviodunum, in the vicinity of Soissons, and the victory was swiftly followed by the surrender of the Bellovaci and of the Ambiani, who lay next athwart the lower Somme. A pause followed. Beyond the Ambiani to the north-east, between the Scheldt and the Sambre, were the Nervii: an austere folk, as Caesar tells us, independent, fierce, and of great courage. To them were now joined the Atrebates and the Viromandui, whilst the Atuatuaci were on the move in support. In the valley of the Sambre Caesar confronted his new enemies with his usual speed; and in a dozen chapters (*B.G.* ii, 17–28), unsurpassed for their clear and vivid action, he has immortalized one of the most ferocious battles of his career. The result was to 'bring the name and nation of the Nervii almost to utter destruction'; so much so that to the pitiful remnant of the tribe Caesar was able to display a measure of mercy such as did not always follow his hard-won victories, and 'bade them keep their territory and *oppida*'.

He adds an interesting note on the Atuatuaci or Aduatuaci who were on their way to aid the Nervii but returned home on receipt of the news. This small tribe straddled the middle Meuse and was in fact a relict of the Cimbri and Teutones on their famous southward march at the end of the second century B.C. They thus constituted a Germanic enclave in the eastern fringe of Gallia Belgica. Now, pursued in their withdrawal, they 'abandoned all their *oppida* and *castella* and gathered all their goods into a single *oppidum* out-



standingly fortified by nature. On every side of its circumference it looked down over the steepest crags, and on one side only was left a gently sloping approach, not more than 200 ft. in breadth. This place they had fortified with a twofold wall of great height (*duplici altissimo muro*), and at this time they were setting stones of great weight and sharpened beams in the wall' (*B.G.* ii, 29). The meaning of the phrase *duplex murus* has been disputed; it is scarcely a likely expression for 'two lines of defence', but whether it means rather a composite rampart, or one with a stone facing front and back, is impossible to say. The general picture of a strong 'promontory camp' is, however, clear enough.

Whilst he was dealing with this ultimate resistance in the far north-east of Gaul, Caesar was not oblivious to the situation in the west. Armed with the high prestige of the recent victories and escorted by a single legion, Publius Crassus was sent to secure the formal submission of the tribes of Brittany and western Normandy. For the moment the Veneti, Venelli, Osismi, Curiosolites, Esubii, Aulerici, and Redones, 'the maritime states which border upon the Ocean', saw fit to yield. The legions went into winter quarters in the neighbourhood of the Loire, whilst Caesar himself returned to Italy and was acclaimed with unprecedented honours in Rome.

It seemed that Caesar's primary task in Gaul was now completed. His own words are unequivocal (*omni Gallia pacata*); embassies from across the Rhine, offering hostages and obedience, prove that his estimate of the situation was shared by the barbarian world; the fifteen days' *supplicatio* is the testimony of Rome. But, although Caesar does not yet make this clear, one enterprise lay immediately upon his mind: the subjugation of that ill-known reservoir of revolt, the island of Britain. The community of political and commercial interests between the two shores of the Channel was familiar to him, and his work was manifestly incomplete until those interests were equally vested in Rome. There is some circumstantial evidence, which has been skilfully analysed by Mr. C. E. Stevens in relation to the political situation at Rome,<sup>1</sup> that already during the winter and early spring of 57-56 B.C. preparations were afoot for the invasion which in the event had to be deferred until the late summer of 55. The headings of the evidence relevant to the present context are these.

In the winter of 57-56 the Veneti of the Atlantic coast took the first step in a widespread revolt by detaining officers sent by Crassus to collect corn amongst them for his troops. The reason, as Strabo (not Caesar) tells us (*Geog.* 4. 4. 1), was that Caesar's intention to invade Britain was already known to them, and they feared the loss of their market there. It may be that Crassus had already carried out a reconnaissance of the western approaches towards Cornwall and its tin-mines, if we follow Mommsen and others in identifying the Publius Crassus of Diodorus Siculus (*Geog.* 3. 5. 11) with Caesar's legate, and the Cassiterides, which Crassus visited, with Cornwall and the Scilly Isles.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 'The *Bellum Gallicum* as a Work of Propaganda', *Latomus, Revue d'études latines*, xi (Brussels, 1952), 8 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Discussion by T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 483 ff. Stevens, loc. cit., suggests that Caesar may

at this time have had in mind a double invasion of Britain, by the 'Venetic' route at the western end of the Channel and by the 'Belgic' route at the eastern.

It may also be that, as Mr. Stevens gives ingenious reason to suppose, Caesar had already taken steps to collect shipping along the Channel coast for the transportation of his expeditionary force. Be these things as they may, there is no doubt that now, early in 56, the coastal tribes from Brittany to the Low Countries became anxiously aware, in one way or another, of their impending loss of the freedom of the Channel and came out with determination under the Venetian standard. The Veneti themselves 'fortified their *oppida*, gathered corn thither from their fields, and assembled as many ships as possible in Venetia'; their allies, as Caesar tells us, included not merely the Namnetes of Loire-Inférieure, the Osismi of Finistère, the Lexovii of Calvados, the Ambiliati (possibly the Ambiani of the Somme), and the Belgic Morini, Diablintes, and Menapii, but also auxiliaries summoned from Britain. In brief, the Channel powers were suddenly aflame; there was no longer question of an invasion of Britain in the year 56; and though, if we may believe Mr. Stevens, Caesar as a politician deliberately glossed over the breakdown of his plans, he at least as a soldier confronted the new situation with urgency and wisdom.

His first task was to prevent the revolt, already wide enough, from spreading. He sent his second-in-command, Labienus, with a force of cavalry to show the flag amongst those Belgae who had not yet committed themselves, and then amongst the Treveri and along the Rhine. Crassus was dispatched into Aquitania to prevent the possible reinforcement of the rebels from the south-west. Sabinus with three legions was sent to the Côtes-du-Nord and the Manche to divide the rebel alliance; no doubt the burning of the Petit Celland *oppidum* marks his passing. And Decimus Brutus the younger was ordered to prepare a fleet on the Bay of Biscay, whilst Caesar himself marched with a land force against Venetia. The impeccable strategy of this great scheme is a tribute alike to Caesar's genius and to the astonishing accuracy of the geographic knowledge available to him, comprehending as it did 150,000 square miles of almost uncharted country.

The outcome of the contest is familiar, but its reflection in archaeology deserves further emphasis. Both the preparations for the struggle and its cataclysmic result have left tangible and sometimes vivid remains on or in the ground. One region only is notably barren of such evidence: the homeland of the Veneti themselves. Their cliff-castles and related fortifications, little explored though they be, may be supposed not infrequently to date back to the second century B.C. or earlier and to be the prototypes of the similar works established by Venetian agents or their British partners in the Cornish peninsula. The recorded dominance of the Veneti in cross-Channel trade sufficiently explains and proves this. But of the Caesarian episode itself scarcely a hint remains, so far as is known, on Venetian soil. Here there is no great fortified rallying-point, no sudden discharge of hoarded wealth. And the reason for both these omissions is plain to see: the rallying-point and principal refuge was the Venetian fleet (into which *sua deportabant omnia*—*B.G.* iii, 12), and that was shattered beneath the eyes of Caesar and his legions off the Morbihan coast (above, p. 5). From that complete and final defeat, with its sequel of massacre and slavery,<sup>1</sup> 'very few [Venetian] ships reached land in the gathering darkness'. A scatter

<sup>1</sup> 'He put the whole of their [the Venetian] senate to the sword, and sold the rest of the men as slaves.' *B.G.* iii, 16.

of seemingly Venetian coins in the territories of adjacent tribes has been attributed to these few survivors in their headlong flight.<sup>1</sup> A sudden spread of alien pottery-types and methods of fortification in south-western Britain about this time has been ascribed to refugee chieftains and their followers from Brittany and, in particular, Veneti under the stress of Caesar's drastic vengeance.<sup>2</sup> This probability, if that be not too strong a word, is of considerable insular interest as providing a potential time-point in our south-western archaeology. But beyond these likelihoods all is dark.

Outside the Venetian area, in the regions where Caesar's lieutenants were conducting individual campaigns, a more positive picture presents itself. Attention has already been drawn (p. 2) to the tendency of the major *oppida* to group themselves in a tribal pattern. Huelgoat, Guégon (Josselin), St. Désir (Lisieux), and others proclaim themselves by their location and by their egregious magnitude as places of tribal assembly. Into some such place must have crowded the Atuatuci when, in the year 57, they abandoned their minor fortifications and concentrated their whole tribal strength on to a single fortified promontory (above, p. 16). Other tribes in emergency doubtless did the same thing; the general evidence for the procedure has been considered earlier in this Report and need not be amplified here. But a particular aspect of it deserves brief discussion.

Three of these focal *oppida*—Huelgoat, the Petit Celland, and St. Désir—have been partially excavated and shown to have been defended by *muri Gallici* of the kind clearly defined by Caesar. The bonding of a stone-faced wall by isolated stages of interlocked timbers was a device, as Caesar tells us, which minimized the risk of fire and withstood the battering-ram (*et ab incendio lapis et ab ariete materia defendit*—B.G. vii, 23). If this Gallic variant of the timber-laced ramparts characteristic of Early Iron Age Europe was in fact devised specifically to counter the battering-ram it must be regarded as a reaction to Roman methods of attack and is not earlier therefore than Caesar's campaigns. That this was so is suggested by other evidence. No *murus Gallicus* is known in Gallia Narbonensis, which became a Roman province in 121 B.C.; a fact which, without undue emphasis, is consistent with a later origin for the type. Indeed, no *murus Gallicus* has anywhere been proved to have been built before the Caesarian epoch, whilst some of them, including our Petit Celland and probably Huelgoat, are shown to be of that time. Mrs. Cotton's valuable analysis of the evidence at large need not here be anticipated.<sup>3</sup> It will suffice to add that the wide intertribal distribution of the type in *Gallia Comata*, with outliers in Germany, cuts across a great variety of local cultures and itself suggests some overriding impulse such as the Roman invasion provided. Whilst not pretending that every native fortification put up during the Caesarian campaigns was a *murus Gallicus*—indeed the independent Belgae seem to have preferred their own methods<sup>4</sup>—we provisionally accept the trend of the evidence and follow Caesar in regarding it as the normal Gallic defence

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu, 'Une énigme de la numismatique armoricaine: les monnaies celtiques des Vénètes', *Mém. de la soc. d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, xxxiii (Rennes, 1953).

<sup>2</sup> For possible consequences in Britain, see Wheeler,

*Maiden Castle* (1943), pp. 56, 206, 209, 383.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix, pp. 159 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In the large area of Belgic Gaul not more than three *muri Gallici* are recorded, and none of these is certain.

in his day. No doubt excavation would readily multiply examples, and we may suggest the *oppida* at Guégon, Fougères, and St. Jean de Savigny as likely subjects. It may be added that neither Huelgoat nor the Petit Celland nor St. Désir suggested a *murus Gallicus* construction until they were excavated; the only feasible advance is by the spade.

We may suppose, then, that in northern Gaul Caesar was confronted by a nucleated defence, primarily on a tribal basis but with an intertribal nexus, particularly in Gallia Belgica in 57 and in western Normandy and northern Brittany in 56. The nucleation involved, at least in some instances, the temporary abandonment of local *castella* and the crowding of the tribesmen, with their goods and families, into a large focal fortification within the tribal territory. Intertribal armies or multitudes such as that commanded in 57 for the Belgic confederacy by the Suessionian king Galba were another matter; they were essentially evanescent field-forces whose aim was to overwhelm the legions by offensive action and weight of numbers. But the hard core of native defence, whether inside or outside Belgica, remained the tribal *oppidum*. This *oppidum* might or might not be constructed for the occasion: both at Huelgoat and at the Petit Celland there is evidence that this was so, and there are similar hints elsewhere. Outside Belgica, such new constructions were more likely than not to be built to the *murus Gallicus* pattern. In Belgica other types appear to have prevailed, whether new or old. The *chef lieu* of the Bellovaci, on the isolated Mont César near Beauvais, suggests by its challenging and obvious site a traditional rather than an *ad hoc* stronghold, and no doubt a proportion of the other focal *oppida*—Etrun, Vermand, 'Vieux Reims', and 'Vieux Châlons' have been mentioned—were of long standing and of various design. Others again, such as the uniform 'Fécamp' series, may have been new. Once more, only the spade can show.

During the campaigns in northern Gaul Caesar and his lieutenants struck hard and widely, and it is to be expected that, unless among the sea-borne Veneti, wealth should find its way into hiding and often enough into oblivion. Something like fifty hoards of Gaulish coins have in fact been more or less recorded from north-western France and the Channel Islands, and most of them have been ascribed to this episode. Fresh study of the hoards, such as that now being pursued with skill and scholarship by Dr. J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu, may reduce a little the uniformity of this attribution: Armorican coins were certainly deposited both before and after 56 B.C.:<sup>1</sup> but the main burden of the evidence is scarcely mistakable. Reference may again be added to the attempt of Colbert de Beaulieu to track down Venetian issues in the tribal areas to the north and north-east of Venetia, along routes which, he suggests, may represent the *diaspora* of Venetian stragglers after the disaster of 56 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Alternative explanations of these strays cannot be excluded, but the theory is interesting and not unlikely.

Caesar's year of victories ended in a stalemate. The Veneti had been uprooted, Viri-

<sup>1</sup> For example, two of the Jersey hoards include Roman coins respectively of c. 39 and 32 B.C., and the Carantec hoard, near Morlaix, contains small billon pieces which Colbert de Beaulieu shows reason for regarding as post-Caesarian. Jacquetta Hawkes, *Archaeology of the Channel*

*Islands*, ii (refs. prior to 1937); Colbert de Beaulieu, 'Notices de numismatique armoricaine', *Annales de Bretagne*, lx (1953), 317.

<sup>2</sup> 'Une énigme de la numismatique armoricaine', as cited on p. 19.

dovix and his allies in the Manche had been scattered to the winds, the tribes of Aquitania brought to heel. Late in the season, the commander himself set out eastwards upon a punitive expedition against the Morini and the Menapii in Artois and Belgium. Confronted, however, by forests, marshes, and Flanders weather, the expedition was brought to a standstill, and, after a gesture, the legions were withdrawn to winter quarters in Normandy.

Thereafter it becomes unnecessary in the present context to review in any detail the vicissitudes of the Gallic campaigns. After the frustrate British expeditions of 55 and 54 B.C. fresh anxieties crowded upon Caesar; during a new insurrection he lost a legion in eastern Belgica, and the success encouraged 'the states called Armorica' to penetrate western Normandy. Caesar's arrival amongst the Nervii stemmed the revolt, and, on receipt of the news, the fickle Breton rebels 'departed so hastily that their departure resembled a flight' (*B.G.* v, 53). Further intrigue and warfare kept Caesar busily occupied in Belgica, across the Rhine, and amongst the Senones and Carnutes south of Paris throughout the rest of the year. At the end of it he was able to speak once more of *quieta Gallia*; but the quietude was the stillness before a yet greater storm.

The climactic events that followed in 52 B.C., the rise and fall of Vercingetorix, were staged in central Gaul and do not concern us here. The relics of an imperial civilization and a colossal statue to its chief opponent are their twin memorials. But the end was not quite yet. Like the ground-swell after a gale, revolt still surged uneasily amongst the beaten tribes. At the end of 52 and early in 51 incipient trouble south of the Loire was quickly dealt with. The western Belgae and their neighbours of eastern Normandy and Picardy—the Atrebates, Ambiani, Vellocasses, Caleti, and Ebuovices—made a better showing under the leadership of the Bellovaci of Beauvais, but they too were taught a final lesson. Meanwhile the states 'situated in the most distant borders of Gaul, next the Ocean, the Armorica states so-called', had been preparing to strike yet again, but, with these and other examples before them, now regretted of their purpose. Whether the intent has left any mark upon the territory examined in this Report cannot be said; but the possibility that the reduced fortification at Huelgoat and that which appears to mark the northern end of the *oppidum* at Guégon near Josselin—likely headquarters respectively of the Osismi and the Curiosolites—reflect this resurgence is worth bearing in mind.

One last point may be urged. The final subjection of *Gallia Comata* in 51 B.C. can have produced little or no immediate change in the material culture of the countryside. A generation had yet to pass before the Roman way of life could substantially replace that of tribal Gaul. During that generation, under such surveillance as the Roman power may have found necessary and feasible, we may imagine the tribesmen still quartered in their crude homesteads and even in their hill-top *oppida*,<sup>1</sup> still minting their own coinage. Some of the *oppida*—the famous Alesia itself, and Avaricum crowned today by the great cathedral of Bourges—were destined to become Roman cities. Others, like Bibracte,

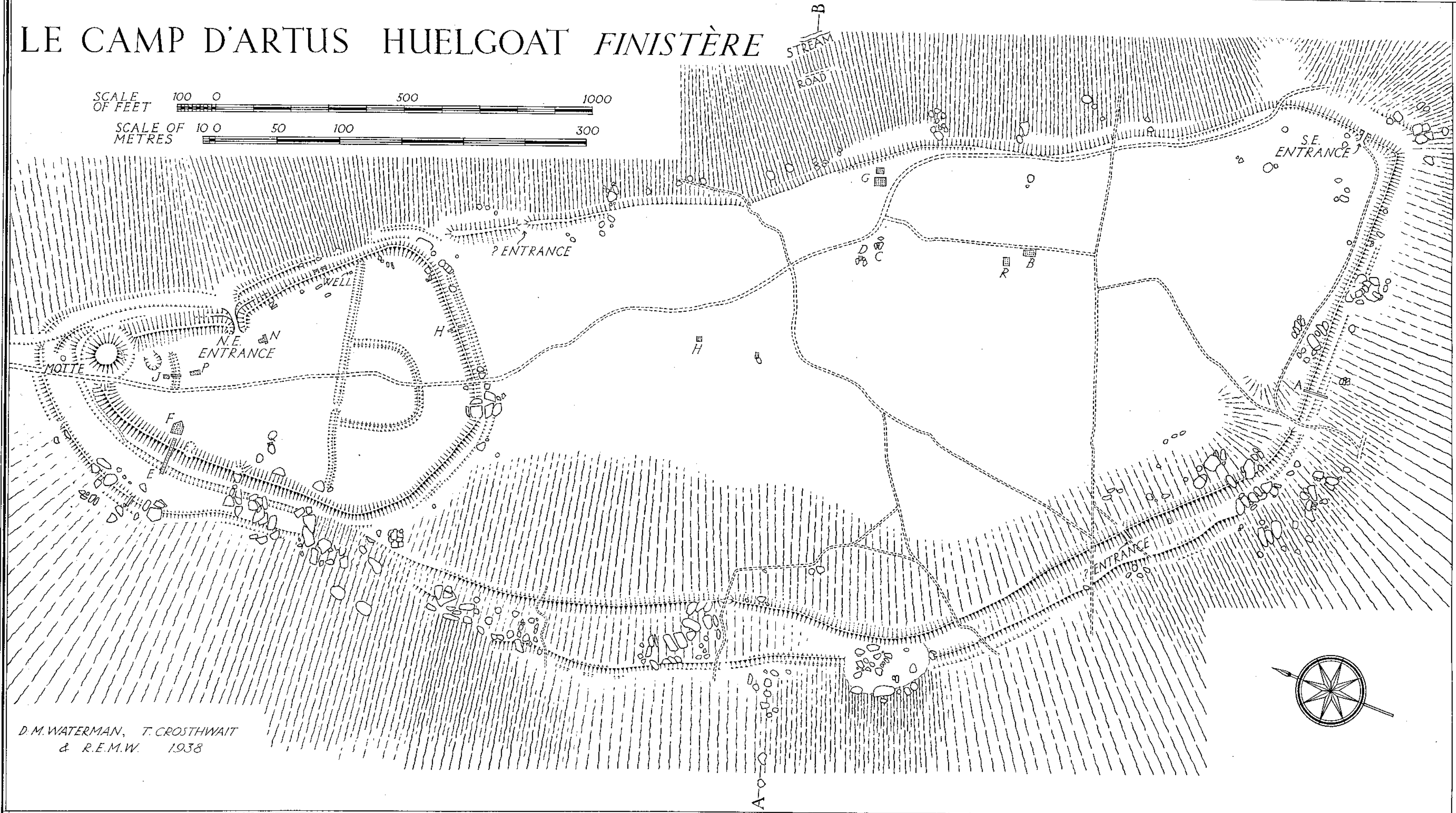
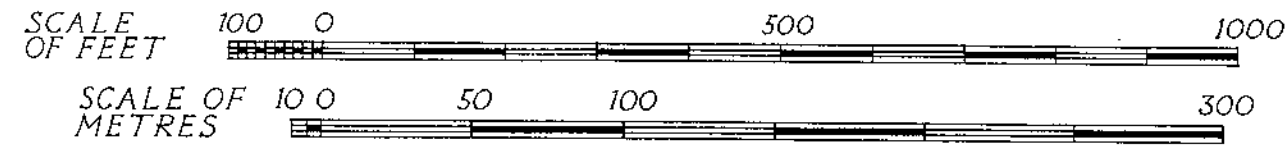
<sup>1</sup> Cf. *B.G.* ii, 28, regarding the shattered Nervii, 'quos Caesar . . . diligentissime conservavit suisque finibus atque oppidis uti iussit'.

where Vercingetorix was acclaimed and where Caesar spent a restless winter, were ultimately abandoned in favour of less arduous sites. In the meantime, the tribesman returned to his kraal and his ancestral fields, only modifying his equipment with such Roman wares and knickknacks as the traders brought his way. At Fécamp, excavation has hinted that these exotic wares were strewn within the *oppidum* long after the warlike Caleti had come finally to heel; the extensive coin-series from Pommiers suggests the same thing for the Suessiones<sup>1</sup> and at Mont Beuvray and the Crêt Châtelard,<sup>2</sup> to say nothing of Alesia itself, continuity of occupation is even clearer. Similar evidence is forthcoming from this side of the Channel; at Maiden Castle in Dorset, after the conquest, new roads were laid through the demilitarized gateway and the place was used by the Durotriges for a quarter-century or more until, in Flavian days (as it seems), the Roman town in the valley below, at Dorchester, succeeded it. 'Shaggy Gaul' was Roman by 50 B.C. but was scarcely Romanized until the last decade of the century.

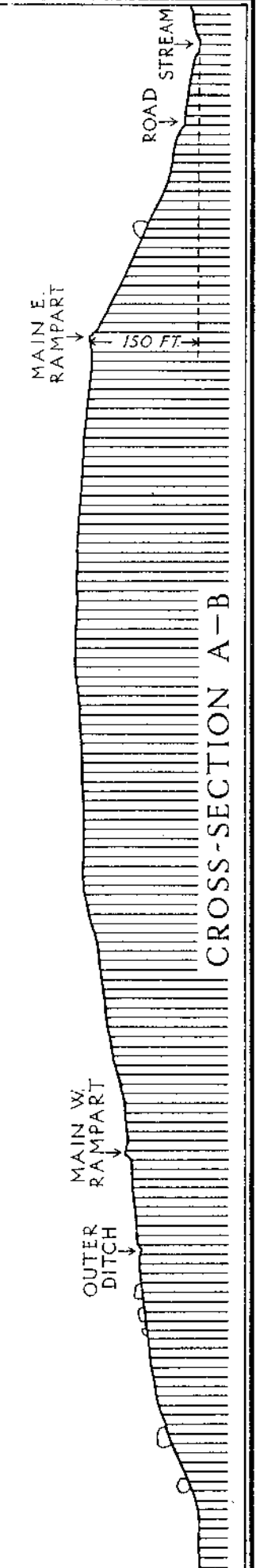
<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Below, pp. 178 and 190.

# LE CAMP D'ARTUS HUELGOAT FINISTÈRE



D. M. WATERMAN, T. CROSTHWAIT  
& R. E. M. W. 1938



PART II  
MATERIALS

III. FIVE SITES EXCAVATED IN 1938-9

(i) LE CAMP D'ARTUS, HUELGOAT, FINISTÈRE

LE CAMP D'ARTUS (variously written Arthus and Arthur) occupies a ridge some 2,000 metres long overlooking the small town of Huelgoat (Finistère) from the north. Less than a century ago the hill is said to have been covered with briar and scrub; this was replaced by a state pine forest, planted originally for utilitarian purposes but now an inviolate accessory to the landscape. Geologically the ridge forms a part of the bleak and infertile granite massif and is covered with immense blocks of waterworn granite detached by sub-aerial weathering from the mass. These great lumps of granite encumber the scene like herds of elephants (pl. VI, B), and their incorporation in the defences of the camp was a factor which here and there influenced the plan in detail.

Towards the south and south-east, the ridge declines steeply to the Rivière d'Argent. Towards the east it tumbles precipitously to the tributary Ruisseau du Pont Pasquion, which flows some 160 ft. (nearly 50 metres) below. To the west, the fall is steep though less precipitous towards the smaller Ruisseau de Kervao, another tributary of the Argent. Only towards the north is the ridge easily approachable up a gentle slope.

The defences have never previously been planned with any approach to accuracy. A very inaccurate diagram is attached by Paul du Chatellier to his account of the work in *Les époques préhistoriques et gauloises dans le Finistère* (1907), pp. 210 ff., plan, pl. xxvii. For the rest, du Chatellier's account is of no value save for its indication of the general dimensions of the camp and its emphasis on the proximity of silver-lead mines. Indeed, for its size and obvious importance, the camp has hitherto received singularly little attention although it is one of the few camps of northern France which have achieved the distinction of reference in the *Guide bleu*.<sup>1</sup>

The present plan (pl. II) is primarily the work of Mr. Dudley Waterman and Mr. Timothy Crosthwait, with a number of assistants. It was prepared under all the difficulties which thick forestation and limited time present, but may be taken as generally accurate. Structurally it falls into three parts:

1. The enclosure as a whole, 75 acres within the defences.
2. The pear-shaped subdivision at the northern end, 10 acres in extent.
3. The circular (medieval) mound inserted at the northern apex.

<sup>1</sup> See also Ogée, p. 355; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 157, list xxxi; Mortillet, p. 199; Fréminville, i, pt. 2, p. 234.



There are in addition within the northern enclosure secondary works of slight elevation and probably of medieval or later date. The chronological sequence of the three main divisions lies in the order named. It is evident that the camp was originally planned as a large single unit and that the pear-shaped subdivision is a later though nearly contemporary work. This sequence can be seen from the fashion in which at its south-eastern and south-western corners it cuts through the line of the main defences of the larger work; and is further proved by the fact that the eastern and western ramparts of the reduced enclosure, though originally uniform in structure with those of the southern part, have been reinforced whereas both the latter and the southern rampart cutting across the interior of the original camp are of a single structural period. This point will be elaborated below in connexion with the description of the rampart cuttings. Meanwhile, it remains to add that the essential contemporaneity of the original work and of the reduction is suggested (*a*) by the fact that there is no deposit, human or natural, between the original structure of the side ramparts and the additional material heaped upon them at the time of the reinforcement, and (*b*) by the fact that the distinctive structural scheme—berm, small outer bank, and ditch—is identical both in the original defences and in the added cross-rampart (see below, pp. 25, 27).

The third phase is represented by the insertion of the mound at the northern end. This mound was formed by disconnecting a section of the main rampart at this point and by using the material thus available to spread the detached portion into circular form. The material was added laterally, the height of the new mound remaining the same as that of the rampart into which it was built. The ditch which formerly surrounded the mound is now partially filled up to form the present entry into the camp from the north. Much of the material from the filling has apparently been quarried from the adjacent end of the rampart.

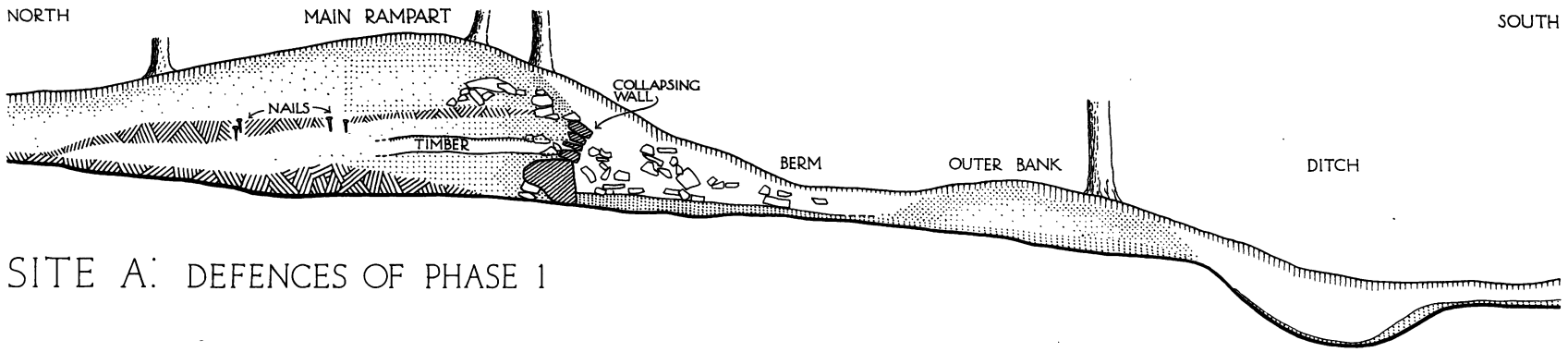
Du Chatellier, like many of his contemporaries, failed to recognize the medieval character of castle-mounds such as this, and regarded the present example as a strong-point along the line of the prehistoric defences. In point of fact it is a typical castle-mound of the eleventh or twelfth centuries and had at one time a stone tower, the remains of which are recorded to have been visible in the early part of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The tower is said to have been of octagonal plan and to have contained a well. A trial-cutting across the summit of the mound during the recent work, however, showed only a great cavity in which the tower had stood, and served to verify its former existence but not its details.

One hundred and fifty feet to the south of the mound are remains of a bank and ditch which presumably represent the former bailey. A section showed that the ditch was rock-cut and that the bank had been revetted front and back with dry-stone walling (fig. 4A). Only one sherd of early medieval pottery was found during the excavation.

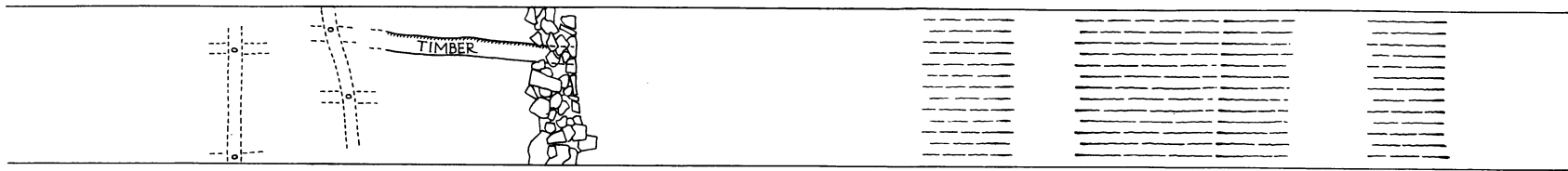
In regard to the prehistoric earthwork, the excavation of August 1938 included three cuttings through the defences, the complete clearance of the north-eastern and south-

<sup>1</sup> Fréminville, i, pt. 2, p. 234.

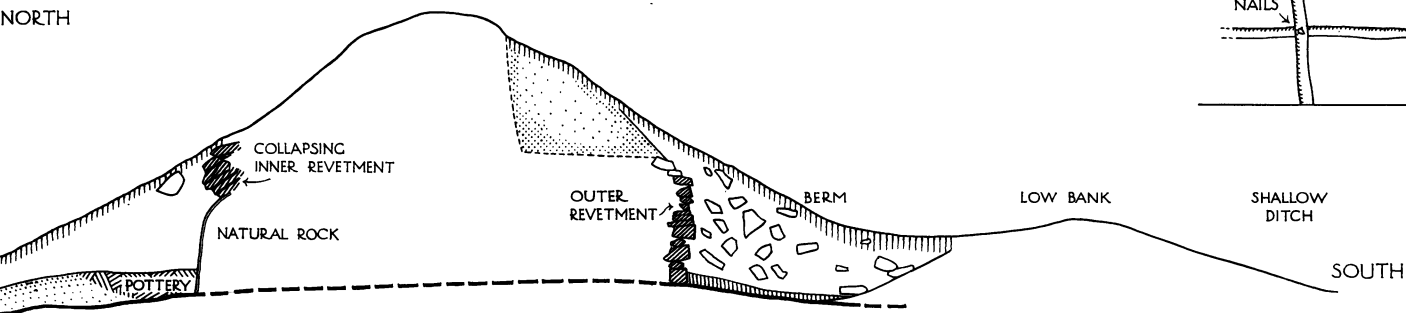
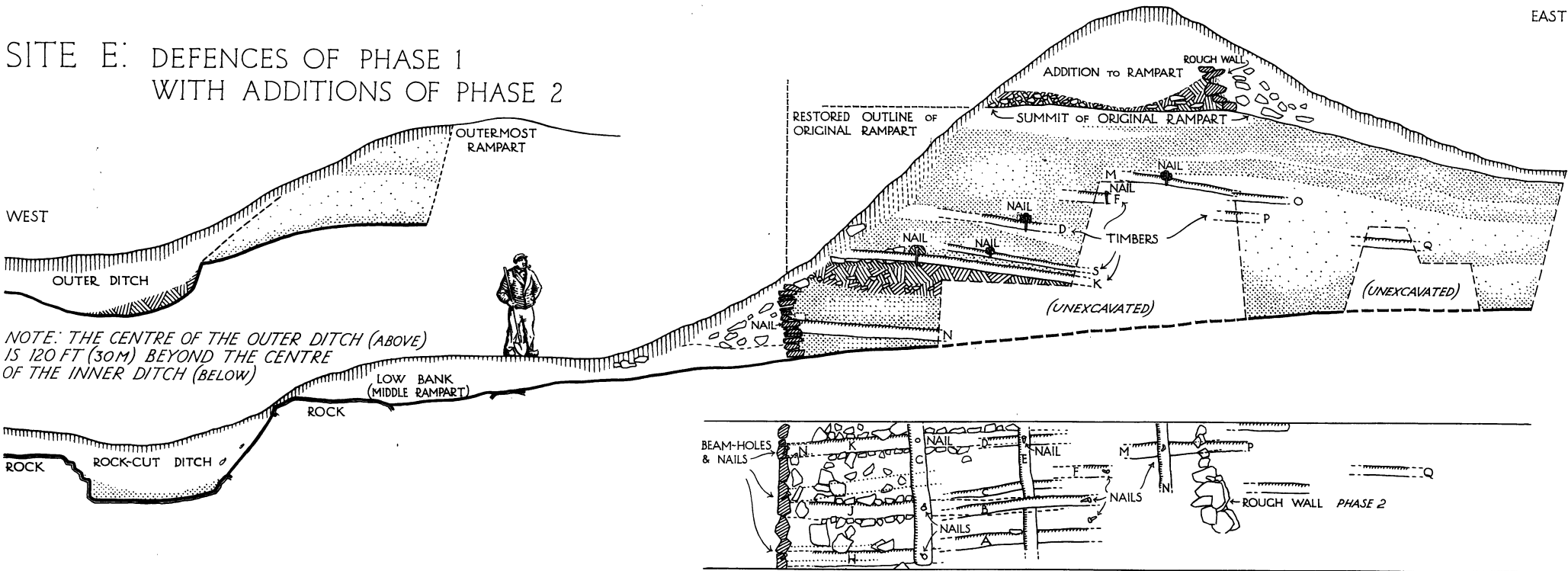
PLATE III



SITE A: DEFENCES OF PHASE 1

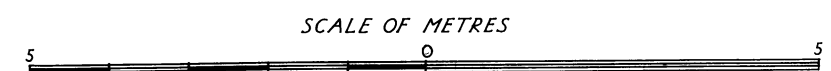


SITE E: DEFENCES OF PHASE 1 WITH ADDITIONS OF PHASE 2



SITE H: CROSS-RAMPART OF PHASE 2

LE CAMP D'ARTUS HUELGOAT FINISTÈRE  
SECTIONS THROUGH DEFENCES





eastern entrances, and the excavation of eleven areas within the enclosure. These cuttings may now be described. Their description will be followed by a general recension of the evidence revealed and by an account of the objects found.

### *Rampart Sections*

#### *Site A* (pls. III, XI, XII)

This section was cut near the southern end of the camp through part of the original (unmodified) defences. Although much denuded, the main features of these defences were clear. They consisted of an earthen rampart originally about 30 ft. wide, here surviving to a maximum height of 7 ft. Elsewhere they occasionally survive to a somewhat greater height and, as will be seen later, the original height is known to have been 12 ft. In the sand of the body of the rampart were found vertical nails indicating the junctions of former internal timbering, and in one case it was possible to identify the actual socket of a transverse timber. The socket was approximately 9 in. in diameter. The system of timbering was more clearly identified on site E (see below) and will be more fully discussed in that context. The fluid character of the sand in which it had been embedded on site A prevented the recovery of the system in detail.

The front of the rampart was faced by a vertical dry-built stone wall which survived to a height of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft., i.e. not quite high enough to indicate the relationship of timbering and masonry. This point also will be dealt with below in connexion with site E.

Outside the wall was a level platform or berm, 28 ft. wide, on the outer margin of which was a small bank derived from a shallow ditch—only 3 ft. deep—which completed the defences at this point.

Save for the nails and for a small sherd of wheel-turned pottery in the upper levels of the debris no objects were found during the excavation of this site.

#### *Site E* (pls. III, VII-IX, X, A)

This section was cut through the western rampart of the reduced and reinforced portion of the camp and therefore revealed work of both Phases 1 and 2.

*Phase 1.* The original rampart was here some 40 ft. wide and had been preserved, in part, by the capping of Phase 2, to its original height—12 ft. (over  $3\frac{1}{2}$  metres). Indeed, this is perhaps the first time that the original height of a rampart of this construction has been ascertained.

As on site A, the earth and sand of which the main body of the rampart consisted had been held together by timbering in the form of an internal scaffolding of timbers upwards of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. in thickness and nailed at points of intersection. Four main layers of timbering were identified placed at vertical intervals varying from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. Owing to the fineness and mobility of the earth or sand of which the upper part of the rampart was constructed, the details of the upper timbering are less clear than those of the lower; but sufficient evidence in the form of timber sockets and of the vertical nails at the former points of intersection was recovered to show the main principles of construction (fig. 3).

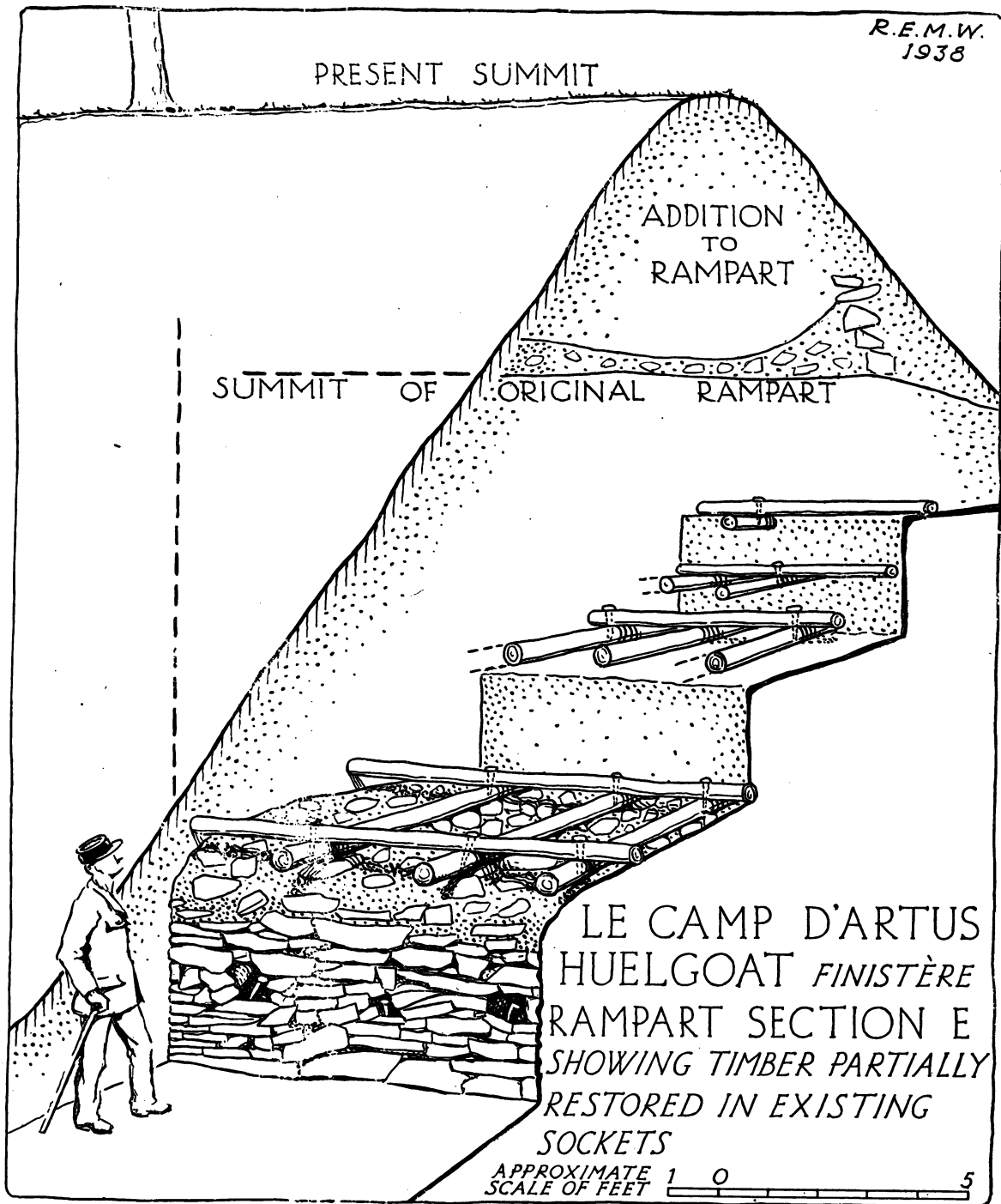


FIG. 3

The main transverse timbers projected into the wall-face and are now represented by holes, resembling put-log holes. In almost all these holes lay a nail which must obviously have served to fasten a cross-timber running parallel with the face of the wall and immediately behind it, placed in such a fashion as to take some part of the weight of the rampart off the rather fragile skin of masonry.

Unlike certain *muri Gallici*,<sup>1</sup> that of the Camp d'Artus had no masonry revetment along its inner face. Indeed, the whole construction was rougher in character than that familiar at Murcens or Mont Beuvray, but nevertheless conforms substantially to the familiar descriptions of the typical *murus Gallicus* by Caesar (*B.G.* vii, 23). A discussion is appended below on the distribution and date of the *murus Gallicus* construction (pp. 159 ff.).

Outside the main rampart was a berm 26 ft. in length, the outer margin of which was occupied by a low mound (not more than 2 ft. in height) derived from a shallow ditch similar to that already described under site A. At this point the ditch was cut mainly in the solid granite: it had an overall width of 11 ft. and a depth of 3 ft., with a flat bottom 6½ ft. broad.

Some 120 ft. beyond the centre of this ditch there is at this point an outer line of defence consisting of a simple earthen bank now 5 ft. high with a shallow ditch some 9½ ft. broad and 2 ft. deep below the natural surface. This outer line doubtless owes its existence to the fact that on this, the north-western, side of the camp the natural slope is unusually slight.

Save for the iron nails, the whole of the material of these defences was, as in the case of site A, devoid of relics. In the layer of occupation-earth which accumulated on the berm against the outer foot of the wall was found a fragment of very decayed bronze which had probably been a Gallic coin but had perished beyond definite recognition.

*Phase 2.* On the flat summit of the original rampart had been placed a supplementary heap of earth strengthened at the back by a very rough stone wall which had probably never been designed to stand free. The inclusion of internal constructional walls in a rampart is a familiar expedient. It is illustrated in Britain by Maiden Castle, Dorset, and Sudbrook, Monmouthshire, and elsewhere.

No trace of timber-work was found in the added material and no relics occurred in this section of it.

#### *Site H* (pls. III and XIII, A)

The cross-rampart which divides the reduced northern area of the camp from the remainder was tested by a cross-section which revealed essentially similar features. The defences consisted of a rampart, a berm with a low mound on its outer margin, and a shallow ditch; i.e. in general aspect it conforms precisely with the scheme of the main defences of site A or of the main line of defence on site E. The section showed that the main rampart had a rough external wall here standing to a height of 4½ ft. It was

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 168.

uncovered to a length of over 14 ft. and showed no traces of the timber sockets of the *murus Gallicus*; nor were nails or other evidences of timbering visible in the eastern structure of the rampart. On the other hand, on the inner side a natural block of granite had been supplemented by a rough stone revetment which, as in the case of the addition to site E, had probably not been intended to stand free. Had it been so intended it is almost certain that derived stones would have been found in the earth which now holds it in place, whereas, save for one stone near the surface, such debris was completely absent here. On the other hand, prior to the construction of the rampart a layer of occupation had accumulated against the back of the granite block and this layer of occupation included pottery of types elsewhere distinctive of the main occupation of the camp (fig. 5, 82-88). This pottery, being overlaid by the earth and bank at the back of the rampart, may be regarded as prior to its construction. It was, however, capped by no sort of turf-line and it may be inferred that the occupation and the construction were closely consecutive episodes.

*North-eastern entrance (pls. iv and xiv)*

The main entrance appears to have been that in the north-eastern side of the camp, where the approaching track ran for some distance parallel with the defences and, whilst conveniently graded for traffic, was commanded by them.

Structurally, the entrance consisted of a passage-way, 9 ft. wide at its narrowest point, flanked inside by the in-turned rampart. The stone facing of the rampart turned with it to form the side-walls of the entrance, but these were supplemented towards the outer angles by low stone kerbs placed where the approach had been cut slightly into the natural soil to ease the gradient.

The flanking walls each incorporated three vertical posts which had been approximately of a foot scantling, placed in large packed post-holes. The outermost pair of posts had apparently held the gate, since at this point there was a slight change in the level of the road. The other posts may have held a bridge or tower such as those which Caesar describes as erected by the defenders of Avaricum along their rampart in imitation of Roman works of the kind. A cut into one of the in-turned flanks of the entrance revealed no trace of a guardroom.

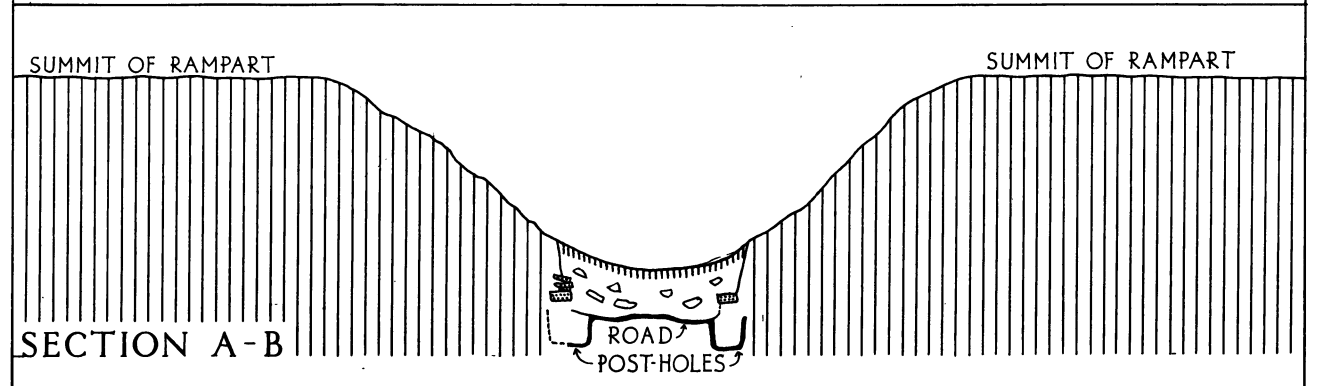
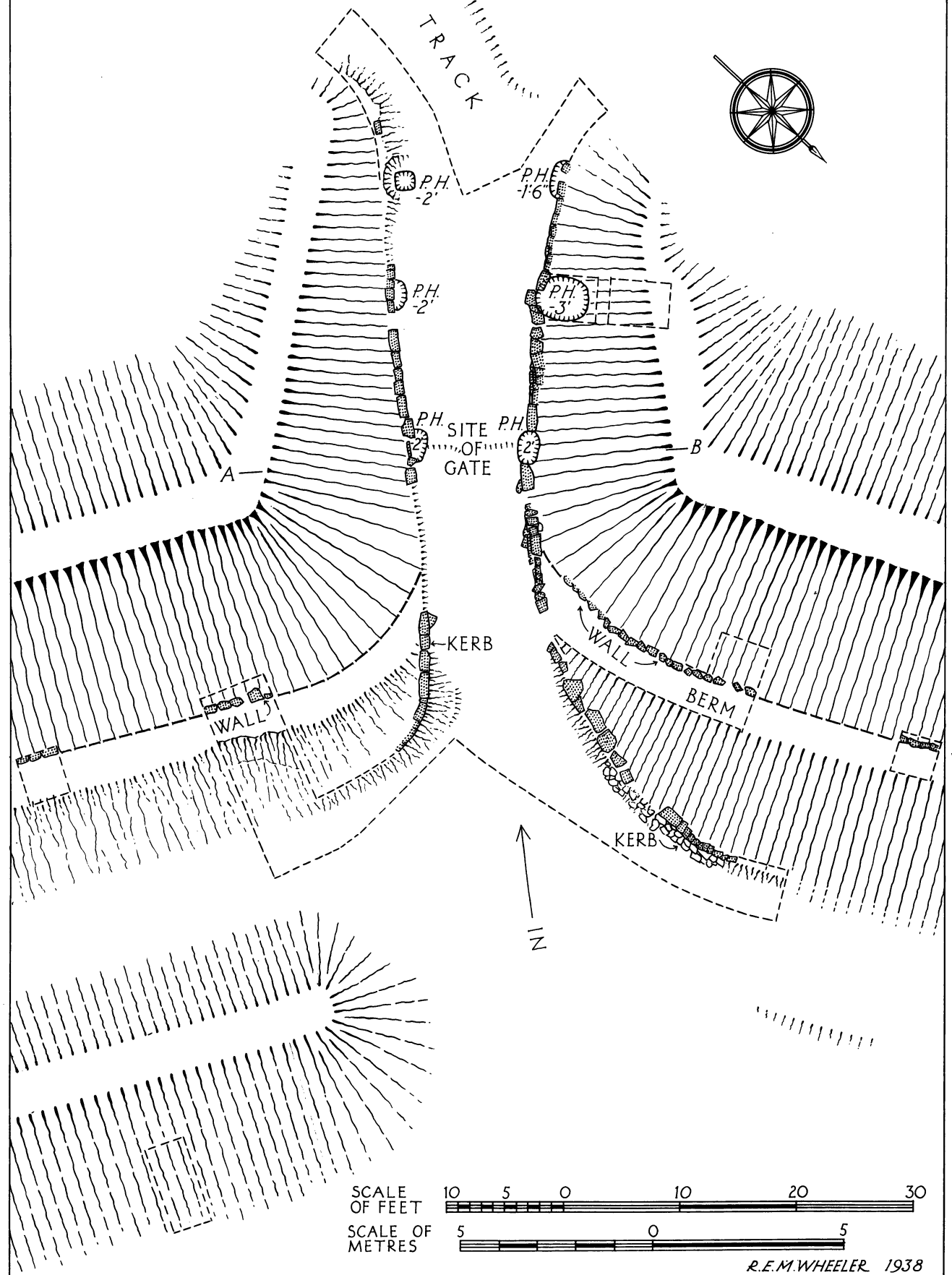
The structure of the gateway had been badly robbed, perhaps owing to the proximity of the Norman motte (pl. vi, A). The original strata, however, were reasonably intact. They contained no relics and the roadway indicated only a moderate amount of wear mainly towards the sides and perhaps therefore indicating wheel-traffic.

*South-eastern entrance (fig. 4 and pl. xv)*

The south-eastern entrance opening on to the steep end of the promontory was completely cleared. It was of simple plan with in-turned flanks round which the stone wall of the main rampart was carried. On each side were three post-holes, of which the innermost pair probably carried the gates, since a shallow depression between them would

LE CAMP D'ARTUS  
 HUELGOAT FINISTÈRE

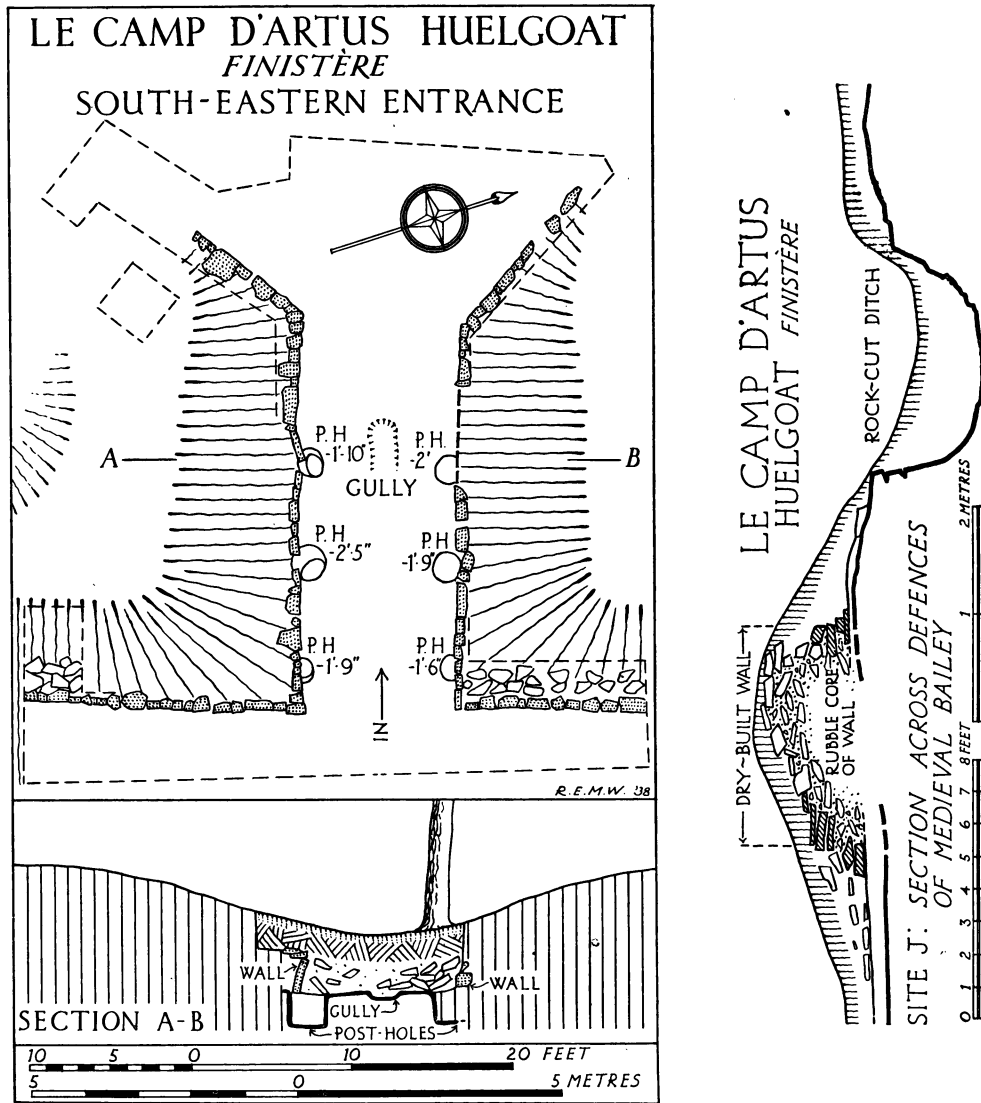
NORTH-EASTERN  
 ENTRANCE







appear to have formed the equivalent of a gate-stop. The other post-holes may have helped to support a bridge or indeed some sort of tower. Throughout the gateway remains of large iron nails were abundant along the line of the walls.



FIGS. 4 and 4A

Only one phase of construction was represented and there was very little evidence of wear or of any sort of accumulation upon the road-surface. This surface was not metalled, but consisted merely of the trodden subsoil; and the absence alike of metalling and of wear suggested a very brief period of use. Furthermore, scarcely any pottery, save for a

few fragments of Roman amphora of the usual early reddish fabric, was recovered from the site.

A massive burnt beam on the road-surface between the innermost and central pair of post-holes indicated the fate of the gate structure. Furthermore, the stones and rampart-material from the flanks of the gate lay heaped over the road-surface without intermediate deposit and likewise indicated a violent end.

In brief, the structural evidence showed that the gate was overthrown shortly after its construction.

#### *Areas cleared in the interior*

Within the area enclosed by the fortifications eleven small sites were cleared down to the natural soil. These areas, which are shown on the general plan (pl. II), were chosen either for their accessibility amongst the closely planted trees of the pine-forest or because they were associated with some natural feature which seemed likely to have attracted occupation. Thus a point (site C) where two large lumps of granite converge upon one another, an obvious site for a hearth, was found on exploration to have been so used (pl. XIII, B). A thick layer of burnt ash and stones containing a few potsherds was uncovered. At another point (site Q) an overhanging rock provided an obvious shelter, and beneath it a small area of occupation contained Iron Age potsherds, part of an early Roman amphora, and a Gaulish coin (pl. xv, B). Of the other areas excavated, the most productive was site B, where a hearth and a relatively thick but uniform layer of occupation produced about 50 per cent. of the total number of potsherds from the whole camp. On site F a straight line of stones at right-angles to the rampart and immediately behind it marked the edge of a roughly metalled area some 40 ft. in length and 30 ft. in width, which had perhaps been used as a threshing-floor, but careful search failed to reveal other structural details.

The identification of post-holes was rendered difficult or even impossible by the extent to which the subsoil was riddled with tree roots. On site B, however, two isolated post-holes were found and on the neighbouring site R loose fragments of stone, forming part of a rough circle, possibly represented the margin of a hut or tent. On sites B and R a suspicion of two successive strata was carefully conformed with in the digging and is observed in the account of the pottery (below); but it was clear that the trial-areas contained no evidence either of prolonged occupation or of substantial building.

#### *The date and purpose of the Camp d'Artus*

In a consideration of the date of the camp, certain factors may be tabulated.

1. The immense size of the enclosure (75 acres) is not conditioned by the size of the ridge, since it is due in part to the fact that the western defences are carried a considerable way down the hill-side, actually with some loss of command. The deliberate intention, therefore, was to provide for the safety of a large population, with or without cattle. But

it is impossible to suppose that a region so exceptionally barren as the granite massif of central Finistère can have supported economically a local population large enough either to inhabit permanently so extensive an area or indeed to find normal use for it as a convenient occasional refuge. The presence of silver-lead ores in the immediate vicinity may have helped to determine the siting of the *oppidum* but cannot explain its size. That size must be attributed to military or political, not to economic, causes; it suggests a rallying-point, built on some occasion when, under exceptional stress, the tribesmen of a large area had been momentarily assembled under central discipline.

2. The uniformity of the pottery-groups throughout the camp, and the presence of only a single layer of occupation on almost every site which produced any sign of occupation at all, indicate a relatively brief period of occupation. Moreover five of the trial-areas produced little or no sign of occupation—a further point in favour of the brief use of the enclosure.

3. The south-east gateway had been destroyed violently almost immediately after its construction.

4. The reduction of the fortified area, combined with the enlargement of the appropriate stretches of the original main rampart, was carried out shortly after the first building of the camp, and cannot be held to indicate more than a secondary peak of the same general crisis.

5. An occupation level on site Q produced a well-stratified Gaulish coin ascribable to the first half of the first century B.C. (pl. xv, B), with consistent pottery.

These five points combine to indicate some major military event in the first half or middle of the first century B.C. as the governing factor in the problem. The Cimbric invasion of Gaul in the closing years of the second century B.C. may be recalled in this context, but need scarcely detain us long. If a single sealed coin may be regarded as firm evidence, the occupation of the Camp d'Artus cannot be carried back into the second century; nor on general grounds is it likely that the Cimbri and their allies penetrated in force into the foodless region of Finistère. Furthermore, although less than might be hoped is known as to the dating of the *urus Gallicus* construction described by Caesar,<sup>1</sup> there is no hint that it existed before the Caesarian campaigns (see p. 19).

Unimpeachable evidence will be shown below for ascribing a similar *urus Gallicus* camp at Le Petit Celland, Manche, to the Caesarian campaigns of 56 B.C. Without more ado, the main framework of the Camp d'Artus is assigned to the same date. It represents, with little doubt, the central rallying-point of the Osismi against Caesar's armies in that fateful year. The precise territorial limits of the tribe are not known, but Finistère north of the Black Mountains may safely be included within them,<sup>2</sup> and Huelgoat forms an obvious focus. If an historical context be demanded for the reduced enclosure at the northern end, it is permissible to recall the recrudescence of activity amongst the Armorican tribes in 51 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The interval (56–51 B.C.) between the first and last stand of these

<sup>1</sup> Caesar, *B.G.* vii, 23.

*Gaul* (1911), p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> Discussion by T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of*

<sup>3</sup> Caesar, *B.G.* viii, 31; and above, p. 21.

tribes would accord with the dual structural and uniform cultural evidence from the site. There is no indication of significantly earlier or later occupation until the building of the motte in the early Middle Ages.

## FINDS

### A. POTTERY

All the pottery from the Camp d'Artus is certainly or probably wheel-turned. The clay is normally of coarse texture and is dark brown in colour.

#### *Fig. 5*

Nos. 1-43 are from the same stratum on site B, and form a single contemporary group.

1. Bowl with a roughly polished surface.
2. Small pot of coarse ware with rough horizontally incised lines and concentric circles on the underside of the base. A comparable pot found on the Île Callot, off Carentec north of Morlaix (Finistère), contained 45 Gaulish coins to which Dr. J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu is inclined to ascribe a date after rather than before 56 B.C.<sup>1</sup> See fig. 24, 23.
3. Rim of a bowl with the beginning of a carination on the angle of the shoulder (possibly a part of no. 12).
4. Bowl with four zones of fine horizontal grooving.
5. Lower part of vessel with three zones of fine horizontal grooving.
6. Rim of vessel with the roughly horizontal striations which are a feature of much of the coarser Huelgoat pottery.
7. Fragment of a pedestal of graphite-coated ware.
8. Fragment of a bowl, roughly made but with a well-polished surface.
9. Bowl with zones of fine horizontal striations.
10. Rim of polished black ware.
11. Vessel, probably wheel-turned, of coarse ware with grooved and cordoned shoulder and dished base.
12. Bowl with polished black surface and fine horizontal striations below shoulder. No. 3 may be a part of the same bowl. A comparable bowl from a cemetery at Guimilliau, near Morlaix, has possible traces of a graphite surface and smoothed panels on the interior (fig. 24, 21).
13. Rim of dark ware with horizontal striations.
14. Rim of polished dark ware.
15. Rim with graphite coating.
16. Rim of coarse ware.
17. Rim of polished ware with reddish-brown surface.
18. Dark polished bowl with cordoned shoulder.
- 19, 20, and 21. Sherds of fine fabric with sharply everted rims.

<sup>1</sup> *Annales de Bretagne*, lx (Rennes, 1953), 311.

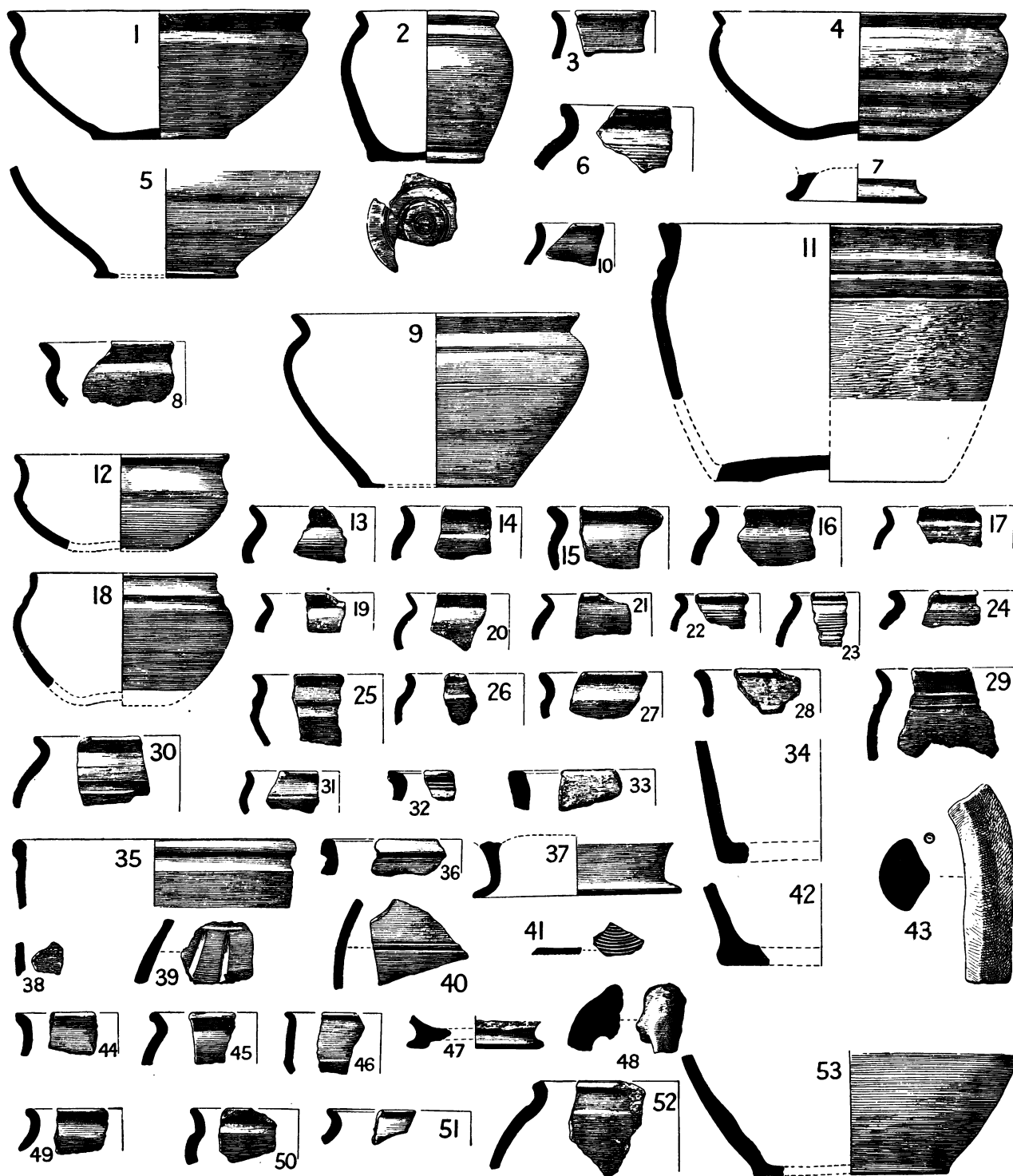


FIG. 5. Pottery from Le Camp d'Artus, Huelgoat (1/4)

22. Rim of vessel with striated shoulder and slight groove on the upper surface.
  23. Similar rim with groove on the upper surface.
  24. Rim of dark polished ware.
  25. Bowl with cordoned shoulder.
  26. Rim with slightly carinated shoulder.
  27. Rim of graphite-coated ware.
  28. Rim with bluntly carinated shoulder.
  29. Rim and cordoned shoulder of coarse ware.
  30. Rim and shoulder of smooth brown ware with cordoned or carinated shoulder.
  31. Rim of small bowl with bluntly carinated shoulder.
  32. Rim with horizontal grooving.
  33. Thick rim of coarse fabric.
  34. Base of coarse fabric.
  35. Fragments of straight-sided bowl with heavy metallic rim.
  36. Fragment of rim with horizontal grooving.
  37. Pedestal of polished black ware.
  38. Small sherd with roulette pattern.
  39. Fragment of pot with shallow-grooved pattern.
  40. Fragment of bowl of fairly fine polished ware with cordon. This is possibly a part of a bowl similar to Le Petit Celland type 1 (see pp. 43 and 47).
  41. Fragment of underside of base with grooved concentric circles.
  42. Fragment of a heavy base of coarse fabric.
  43. Handle of a Roman amphora of orange-red ware.
- Nos. 44-48 come from the material immediately overlying the preceding layer, but no clear division was discernible between the two.
- 44-46 call for no comment.
47. Pedestal of polished dark ware.
  48. Handle of coarse ware. It was probably not countersunk.
- Nos. 49-51. Rims from site N.
- 51 is graphite-coated and has a groove on the upper surface of the rim (below, p. 58).
- Nos. 52 and 53 are from site C and are of coarse fabric.
- 53 has a clumsy foot-ring.

*Fig. 6*

- Nos. 54-63 are from two closely related levels on site R.
54. Rim of coarse fabric, from the lower level.
- 55-63 come from the main layer and demand no special comment, save that no. 57 with its strong horizontal grooving or combing is a characteristic type.
- Nos. 64-73 come from a single stratum on site G.
- 68 has a brightly polished black surface.
  - 72 has traces of a pattern formed by shallow grooving.

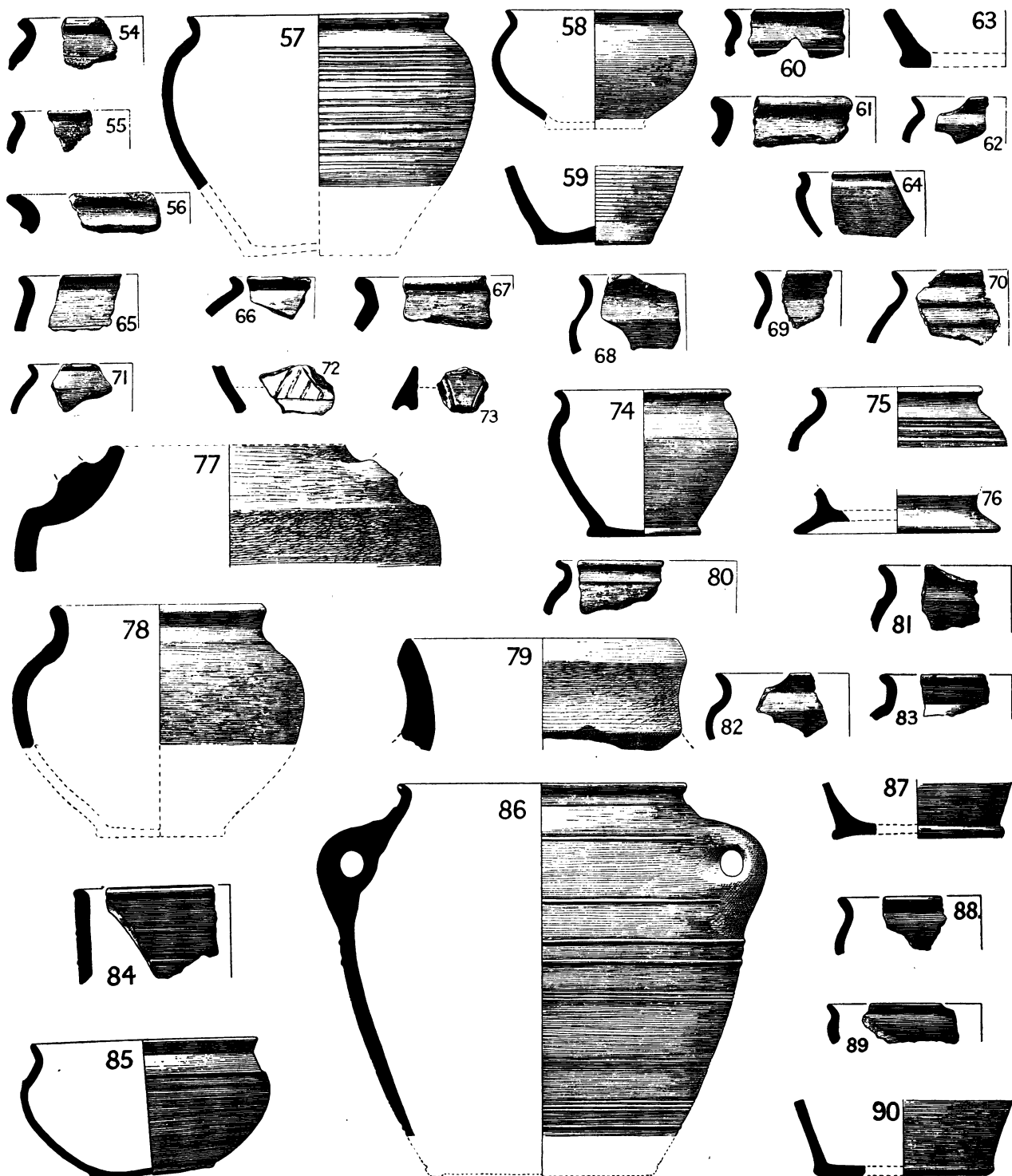


FIG. 6. Pottery from Le Camp d'Artus, Huelgoat (4)



73 is a fragment of a well-made handle with marginal lines.

Nos. 74-77 come from two closely related layers on site S.

74. Small pot with a faint groove round the shoulder and a pronounced foot-ring, from the lower layer.

75-77 come from the higher layer and include a pedestal (no. 76) of black polished ware and the shoulder of a Roman amphora (no. 77). The amphora is of orange-red ware.

Nos. 78-80 are from a single layer on site Q. They were found with a Gaulish coin (see p. 37).

79 is another fragment of orange-red amphora.

No. 81 is a solitary fragment from site E and presents no special feature.

Nos. 82-88 are from the occupation level which underlies the tail of the cross-bank of Phase 2 on site H (position marked on Section, pl. III).

82 is of polished black ware similar to no. 68.

84 is of hard ware with a carefully polished black surface, and may be classified as 'Gergovia' ware (see below).

86 is a cordoned pot with countersunk handles (see below, p. 100).

88 is a rim of graphite-coated ware (below, p. 58).

Nos. 89 and 90. Two sherds from site H.

Considering the pottery of Huelgoat as a whole, certain features demand special comment. The graphite ware, nos. 7, 15, 27, 51, and 88, in one case (no. 51) with a grooved rim, is closely similar in general character to the graphite-coated sherds found at Le Petit Celland and Keraradec, Penhars. For the fabric and the grooving, see p. 58.

No. 40, as observed above, is possibly part of a vessel similar to the cordoned bowls found at Le Petit Celland with Gaulish coins and there compared with bowls of the Hengistbury Class B (see pp. 43, 47). It may on the other hand be a fragment of a finer variety of Huelgoat type 86.

Bowl no. 74 bears a close similarity to certain 'dumpy pedestal-vessels' found in Sussex and Kent.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ward Perkins ascribes this type to La Tène III, and the ascription would fit well with the date of the Huelgoat example. It must be confessed that the type is not sufficiently distinctive to enable a comparison between the Huelgoat and British examples to be regarded as definitely significant, but pending the discovery of further examples in northern France the similarity is worth placing on record. If the comparison is soundly based, it may be supposed that the Huelgoat and the Sussex examples represent respectively the western and the northern extensions of a type originating somewhere in central Normandy.

No. 84 is unique at Huelgoat both in type and in fabric. The hard, light-coloured ware, the lustrous polished black surface, and the fine cordons bring it into relationship with a fabric found at Gergovia (near Clermont-Ferrand) and at other sites in central

<sup>1</sup> See J. B. Ward Perkins in *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.* v (1938), p. 154.



A. Le Camp d'Artus (central background) from the north



B. Huelgoat from the south-west, with Le Camp d'Artus in forest, centre background

(See p. 23)



PLATE VI



A. Le Camp d'Artus: Norman motte at the N. end of the camp



B. Le Camp d'Artus: granite blocks immediately below the W. defences of the camp



C. Le Camp d'Artus: main rampart and ditch near the NE. entrance of the camp

(See p. 23)



Le Camp d'Artus: Site E, showing traces of *murus Gallicus*

(See p. 25)





Le Camp d'Artus: Site E, showing rock and ditch in foreground  
and *muris Gallicus* in background

(See p. 25)





A. Le Camp d'Artus: exterior of *murus Gallicus* adjoining site E.



B. Le Camp d'Artus: face of *murus Gallicus* adjoining site E, showing timber-holes and nails

(See p. 25)





A. Le Camp d'Artus: Site E, showing traces of *murus Gallicus* with nails in position



B. Le Camp d'Artus: Site A showing traces of *murus Gallicus*

(See p. 25)



Le Camp d'Artus: Site A, showing traces of *muris Gallicus* with nails in position  
(See p. 25)



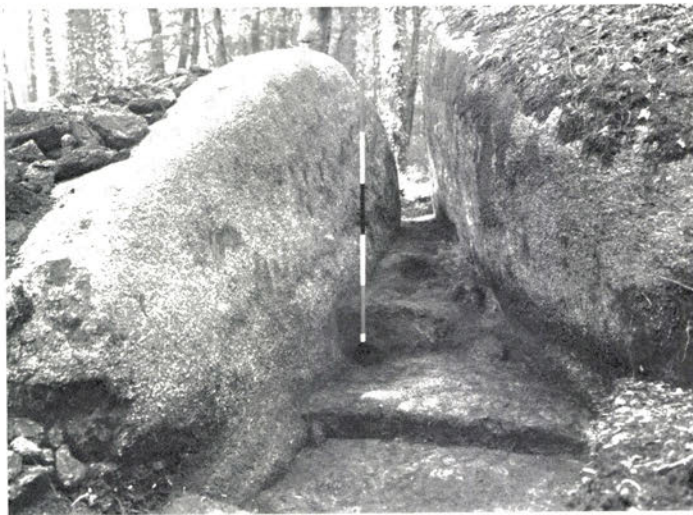


Le Camp d'Artus: Site A, showing exterior of *murus Gallicus*  
(See p. 25)



A. Le Camp d'Artus: cross-rampart and site H

(See p. 27)



B. Le Camp d'Artus: Site C, showing hearth in natural rock-shelter

(See p. 30)



PLATE XIV



Le Camp d'Artus: NE. entrance from the outside

(See p. 28)



A. Le Camp d'Artus: SE. entrance from the outside

(See p. 28)



B. Le Camp d'Artus: Gaulish coin (1)

(See p. 37)



and southern France which have been brought into relationship with that famous stronghold. In discussing the Gergovia pottery, Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins<sup>1</sup> has noted the occurrence of this ware at Angers on the Loire, at Mont Beuvray, and at Pont Maure in the Corrèze, with partial analogies at Toulouse. Farther north, a solitary bowl of this distinctive cordoned fabric occurs with early La Tène III brooches and coarser pottery in an inhumation burial at Kerné, commune of Quiberon (Morbihan), and is preserved in the Carnac Museum.<sup>2</sup> The present sherd from Huelgoat represents the northernmost extension of the fabric, although allied and derivative forms are found at Haltern<sup>3</sup> at the beginning of the first century A.D., at Hofheim<sup>4</sup> in the Claudian period, and at Verulamium<sup>5</sup> in the Tiberio-Claudian period. The distribution of the original fabric suggests a starting-point along the Mediterranean coast, with diverging lines of penetration up the Rhône valley to the east of the *massif central* on the one hand, and down the Garonne valley towards Bordeaux, to the west of the massif, on the other. The latter route, bringing the fabric to the Atlantic coast, would readily explain the outliers in the lower Loire valley and in Brittany.

No. 86 is of interest as providing a further example of the countersunk handle which in northern France is confined to the north-west, and in Britain is a distinctive feature also of the later hill-fort pottery of Dorset and the adjacent counties west of the Salisbury Avon.<sup>6</sup> Two vessels closely similar to that from Huelgoat are derived from Le Parc Bras in the canton of Plouzévédé, northern Finistère, and are preserved in the Penmarc'h Museum (fig. 31, 1 and 2).<sup>7</sup> Two other countersunk handles, from a different type of vessel, come from St. Donan, 10 km. south-west of St. Briec, Côtes-du-Nord, and are in the St. Briec Museum (fig. 31, 9). Another was found during the digging of a dock at St. Nazaire, Loire-Inférieure, and is in the Nantes Museum (fig. 31, 8); but the site most productive of this type of handle is Kerhillio in the commune of Erdeven, north-west of Carnac, Morbihan, where at least five examples, now in the Carnac Museum, have been recovered from 'Gaulish' huts (fig. 31, 3-7). It is difficult not to suppose that this very distinctive form owes its presence in the Wessex complex to transference from Brittany: that, in fact, we have here another example of the incorporation of isolated traits and tricks of the Breton craftsmanship in a provincial British setting (see below, p. 100).

### B. GAULISH COIN (pl. xv)

As recorded above (p. 30), a small occupation-area within the camp, known as site Q, produced native sherds, a fragment of a Roman amphora, and a Gaulish coin, all in

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.* xcvi (1940), 54-57.

<sup>2</sup> Z. le Rouzic, *Carnac, fouilles faites dans la région: sépultures de Kerné* (Vannes, 1935), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> S. Loeschke, *Keramische Funde in Haltern* (Mitteilungen der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen, V, 1909), type 88.

<sup>4</sup> E. Ritterling, *Das frühromische Lager bei Hofheim i. T.*

(*Annalen des Vereins für nassauische Altertumskunde*, 1913), type 108.

<sup>5</sup> Wheeler, *Verulamium Report* (Soc. Ant. Lond., 1936), p. 161, no. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (Soc. Ant. Lond., 1943), pp. 210-11.

<sup>7</sup> Du Chatellier, *Les Époques préhistoriques*, p. 97.

stratigraphical relationship with one another. Mr. Derék F. Allen, F.S.A., formerly of the British Museum, reports on the coin as follows:

An Armorican coin, attributed more or less at random to the tribe of the Osismi.<sup>1</sup> The provenances of this type of coin recorded by Blanchet<sup>2</sup> are: Huelgoat (numerous), Morlaix (numerous), Scrignac (thought by Blanchet to be the same find as Huelgoat), Plestin, and Grand-Hugen. The date is, as usually with these Gaulish pieces, uncertain. The present type, owing to its close connection with similar gold pieces, appears to be somewhat earlier than the Armorican coins which are mostly found in Jersey. That would put it into the first half of the first century B.C. More precisely than that I cannot date it.

The head on the obverse is surrounded by three or four tiny heads roped together. Over the top of the head is a boar. The human-headed horse on the reverse is similarly surrounded with roped heads, and there is a boar beneath. The coins are not rare, but very few of them show the whole design.

Mr. Derek Allen's report is dated 1939. More recently, Dr. J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu has devoted much study to the classification of Gaulish coins, particularly with reference to the dies employed. Writing of our Huelgoat coin, he remarks<sup>3</sup> upon its interest for the reason that 'this piece of the Osismi has been struck from the same die as one found during the nineteenth century at Huelgoat (exact spot unrecorded) and as another found in 1888 at Chateauneuf-du-Faou (Finistère). The coin belongs to a category of types localized almost exclusively in the north of the Department of Finistère'.

### C. METAL OBJECTS (fig. 7)

No. 1. Child's bronze bracelet, lacking specific feature, from the only occupation-layer on site B.

No. 2. Bronze object from the same layer as no. 1, shaped vaguely like an animal's head, possibly a sheep; from a figurine or, more probably, a knife-handle (cf. Déchelette, *Manuel d'arch.* iv, 1927, fig. 600, 1, from Mont Beuvray, modelled animal figurine.

Nos. 3-5. Typical square-shanked iron nails from the *murus Gallicus*.

### (ii) LE CHÂTELLIER, LE PETIT CELLAND, MANCHE

As revealed by excavation, the character and special function of the Camp d'Artus were not cognate to our initial problem—the 'origin' of our multivallate camps—and it became additionally necessary to investigate the only other multiple earthwork of any considerable size in the northern fringe of north-western France—the Châtellier in the commune of Le Petit Celland, 8 km. east of Avranches, Manche. The earthwork consists for the most part of a single line of defence, but at one point includes a short length of outer rampart and ditch with very doubtful traces of a third line for a short distance at the

<sup>1</sup> See de la Tour, *Atlas de monnaies gauloises*, nos. 6504-55.

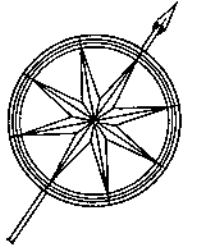
<sup>2</sup> *Traité des monnaies gauloises*, fig. 220.

<sup>3</sup> In a letter to R. E. M. W., April 1954.

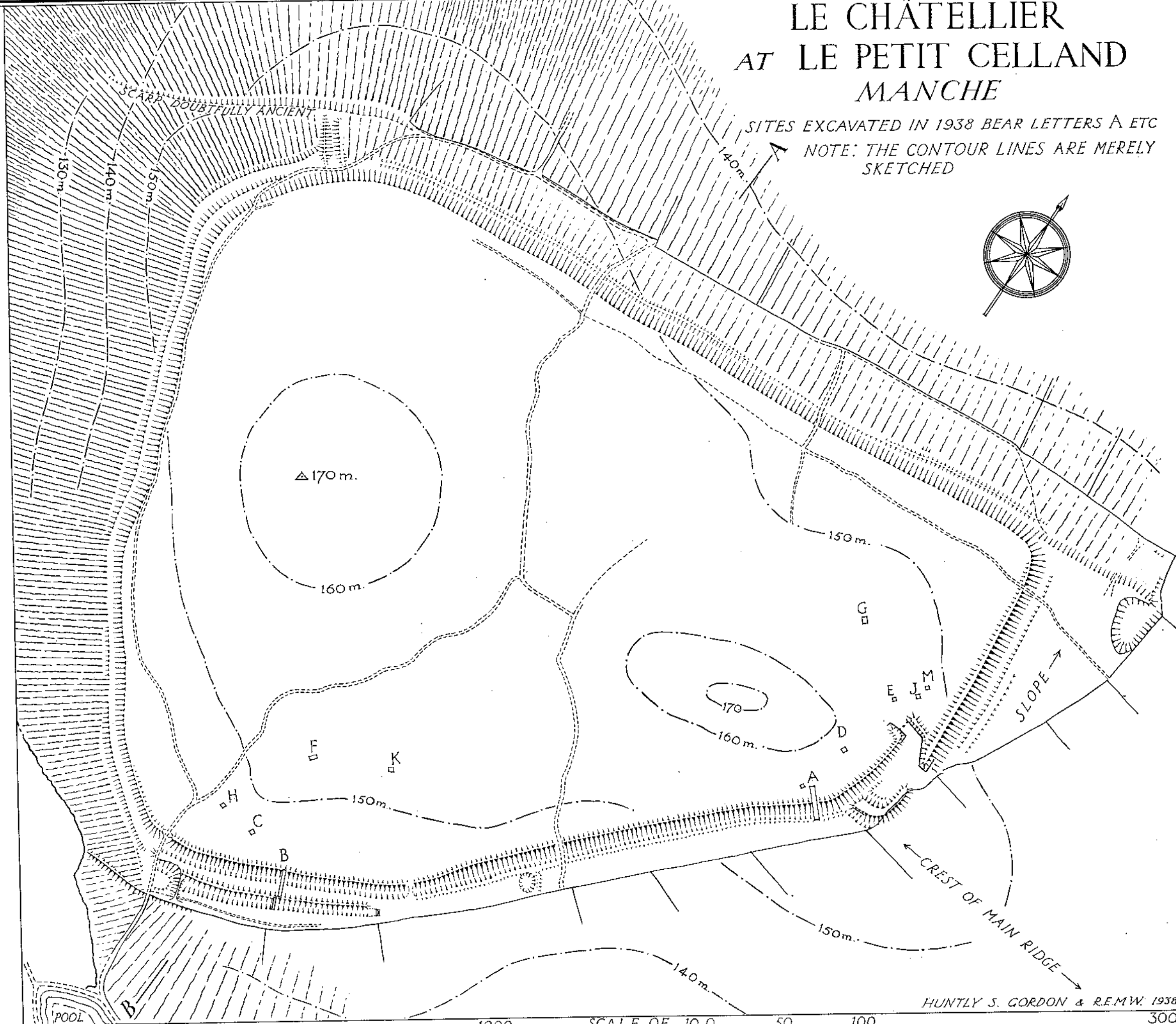


# LE CHÂTELLIER AT LE PETIT CELLAND MANCHE

SITES EXCAVATED IN 1938 BEAR LETTERS A ETC  
NOTE: THE CONTOUR LINES ARE MERELY  
SKETCHED



CROSS-SECTION A-B



SCALE OF FEET

100 0

500

1000

SCALE OF METRES

10 0

50

100

300

HUNTLY S. GORDON & R.E.M.W. 1938



southern corner; and it encloses an area of 48 acres, thus exceeding in size every other hill-fort in the Department. It occupies a steep-sided promontory formed largely by a craggy outcrop of Palaeozoic greywacke, with a poor subsoil likely to carry, under natural conditions, alternating forest and heath. The promontory is approached with comfort only along the ridge to the east, where the elaborate main gateway controlled access. At

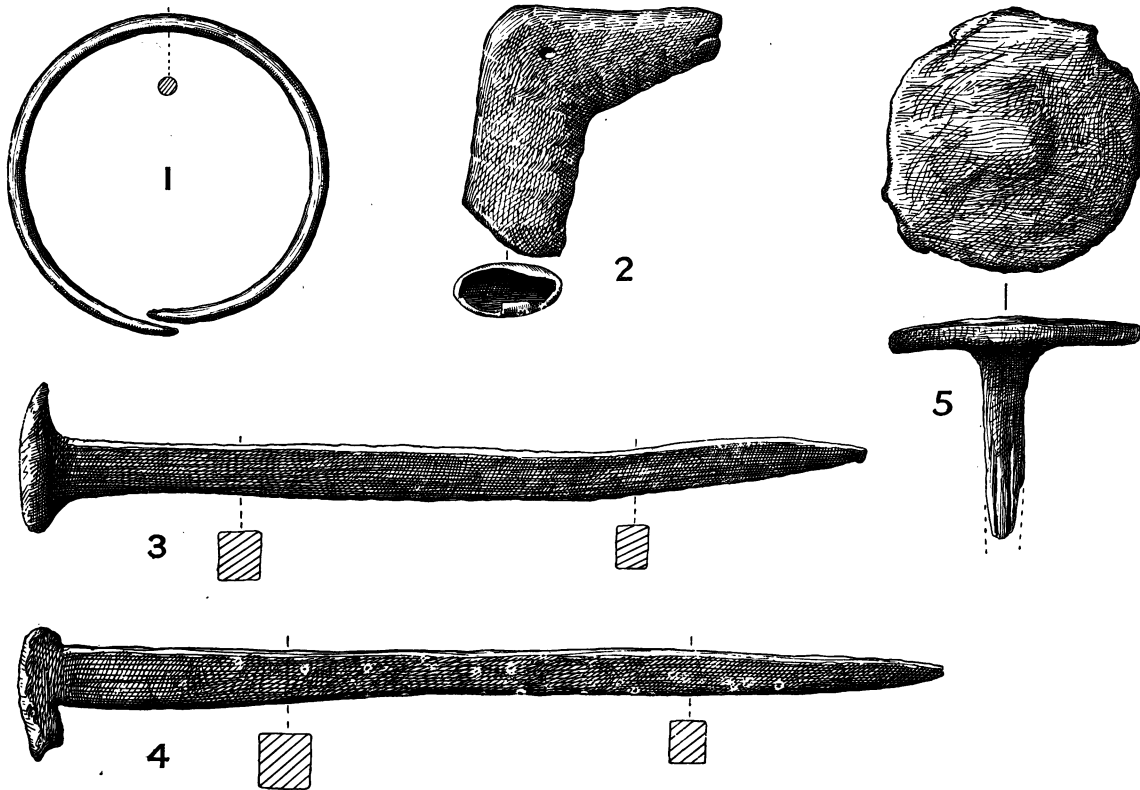


FIG. 7. Metal objects from Le Camp d'Artus (1 and 2,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; 3-5,  $\frac{1}{4}$ )

the southern and north-western corners there may have been posterns, but the former site is mutilated by an old sand-pit and the latter is obscured by a modern path and by dense undergrowth. From the enclosure may be seen a fine panorama of wooded ravine and pastoral sea-plain, extending towards the great bay of Mont St. Michel.

The Châtellier has been known to antiquaries at least since the forties of the nineteenth century. It is mentioned by J. Hairby in his *Descriptive and Historical Sketches of Avranches* (Avranches, 1841), p. 163; and by F. Girard in *Mémoires de la société archéologique d'Avranches*, i (1842), 161-92. The latter was of those who identified the camp as that of Caesar's lieutenant Sabinus in his campaign against Viridovix in 56 B.C., an identification which was lengthily supported or contested both by earlier and by later

writers.<sup>1</sup> His view was shared by E. Le Héricher, who referred to the camp in 1845 (*L'Avranchin monumental et historique*, Avranches, i (1845), 311) and subsequently, in 1862, carried out excavations there.<sup>2</sup> Le Héricher states that he trenched the south-eastern gate and found there stones which had been submitted to the action of fire. Farther north 'indeterminate objects of iron' were brought to light, and farther west an iron object thought to be a socketed spear-ferrule was discovered vertically in the ground. Elsewhere four Gaulish coins 'similar to those figured by M. Lambert, *Numismatique gauloise*, pl. 5, no. 9',<sup>3</sup> were found, and an iron axe and fragments of bronze fibulae complete the list. The writer concludes that the Châtellier might date from the conquest of Julius Caesar. Incidentally, he refers to earlier excavations, some twenty years previously, in the course of which several silver coins had been found.<sup>4</sup> Mention is later made (*Revue de l'Avranchin*, v, 57) of the finding of some rusty weapons and rotary querns by a *douanier*; the querns were taken to a neighbouring village where they served as bases of gate-posts. The writer himself found some Gaulish coins.

Subsequently, officers of Napoleon III's État Major drew up a plan of the Camp du Châtellier, identifying it with the camp of Sabinus.<sup>5</sup> On this basis, Coutil produced a minute sketch-plan in 1906.<sup>6</sup> Lieutenant Pérès also gives a tiny plan with contours together with plans of the Montebourg, the Camp de Vast, and Camp de Jobourg (all in the Manche), and discusses Sabinus's campaign, suggesting the Grand Montcastre at Lithaire as the scene of the final defeat of the Gauls in those parts.<sup>7</sup>

Lastly, M. J. Séguin of Avranches has published a rough plan, drawn up in one day's survey.<sup>8</sup>

Permission to carry out a trial-excavation was readily accorded by the owner of the site, Madame la Comtesse de Belloy de Bouéxic, and our gratitude is due also to M. J. Séguin, who not only acted as our intermediary in the matter but also rendered much help in other directions.

The necessary preliminary step was the preparation of a survey of the camp—a task rendered peculiarly difficult by the jungle of trees and undergrowth with which the hill is covered. The work was undertaken with admirable skill by Mr. Huntly S. Gordon, F.S.A., assisted by Mr. Robert Stevenson, F.S.A., and Miss M. Whitley, and the resulting plan (pl. xvi) represents the first reasonably accurate survey of the site.

The excavation included two sections through the defences, the extensive exploration of the main entrance, and the opening up of ten small trial-areas in the interior (see plan).

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Revue trimestrielle de la société archéologique d'Avranches*, i (1882). 'C'est là que périt pour toujours la liberté des peuples du nord de la Gaule.'

<sup>2</sup> See Bibliography under Le Héricher for further references.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. 'Essai sur la numismatique gauloise du nord-ouest de la France', in *M.S.A.N.* xiii (1844), 101–264.

<sup>4</sup> The finds resulting from Le Héricher's excavations were destroyed when the Avranches Museum was burnt down

towards the close of the nineteenth century.

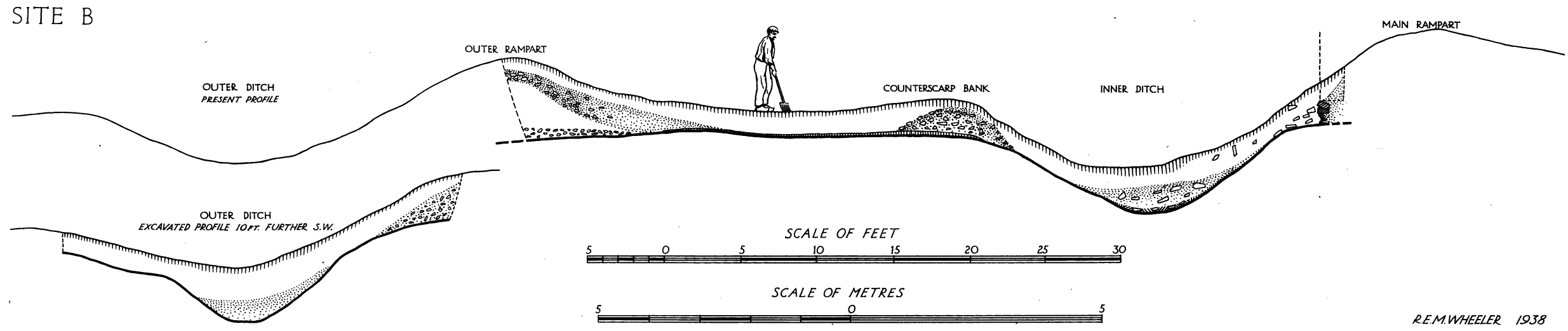
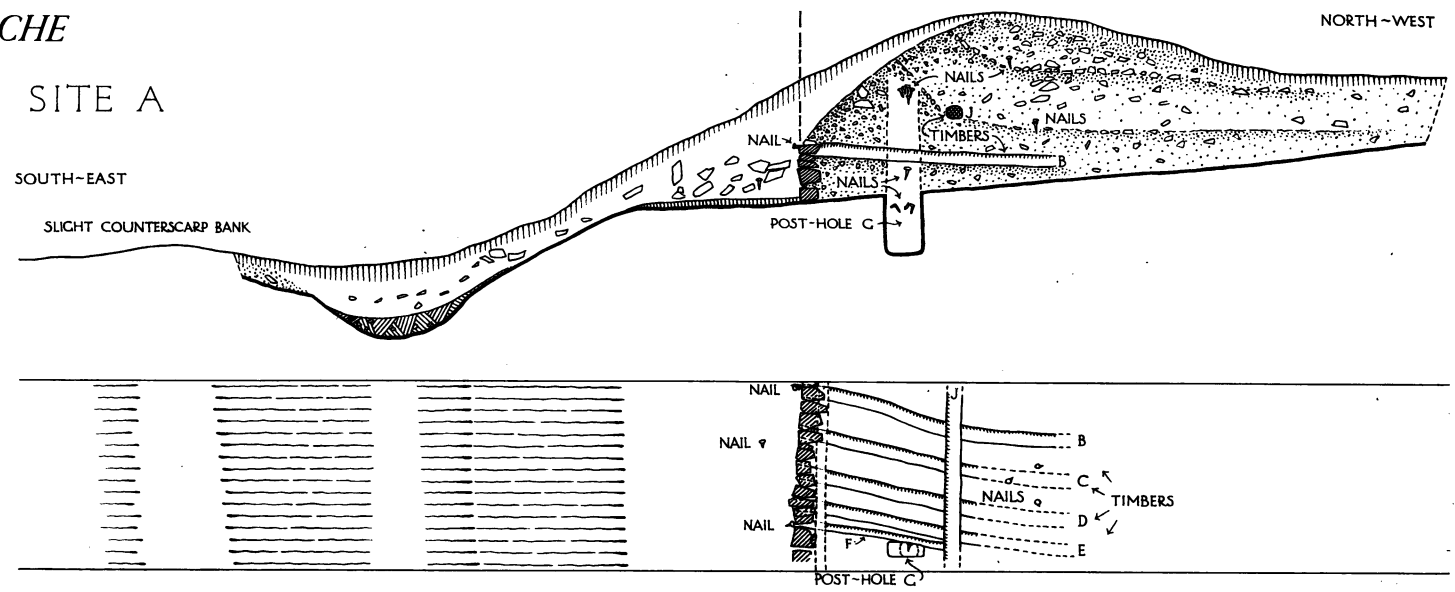
<sup>5</sup> Napoléon III, *Hist. de Jules César*, ii (1866), 114, pls. 12 and 13.

<sup>6</sup> Coutil, *Époques gauloises*, pp. 23, 255, plan p. 246.

<sup>7</sup> Pérès, *Conquête du Cotentin par les romains* (St. Lô, 1913).

<sup>8</sup> *Revue de l'Avranchin*, xx, no. 182 (1922), p. 49. For the site see also *B.S.P.F.* xiii (1916), 162, list LII; Mortillet, p. 201.

LE CHÂTELLIER, LE PETIT CELLAND *MANCHE*  
SECTIONS THROUGH THE DEFENCES





*The defences.*

*Site A* (pls. xvii, xix, A, B). A section through the rampart and ditch in the vicinity of the entrance indicated their general character but showed a less adequate state of preservation than had been encountered at Huelgoat. The rampart, of earth and broken stone, had been upwards of 20 ft. wide and was preserved to a height of 7 ft.; it had been revetted externally by a dry-built stone wall and had been bonded by a scaffolding of nailed timbers, identified in part by their sockets and in part only by the nails which marked the points of intersection. The wall had been destroyed at the point where the lowest layer of timbers had protruded into it, but some of the nails still lay approximately in position on the stonework. A stout vertical timber (tree-trunk?) was an intrusion into the conventional scheme, but it is clear that the general construction conformed with the distinctive *murus Gallicus* type.

In front of the wall was a berm or platform 7 ft. wide, beyond which lay the ditch, some 17 ft. wide but only 3 ft. deep. On the outer lip was a low counterscarp bank.

No non-structural objects of any kind were found in or under the rampart or in the filling of the ditch.

This arrangement of rampart-ditch-counterscarp bank is normal to the site and is modified only where the steepness of the slope demanded. Both the general character of the rampart and the insignificant size of the ditch are reminiscent of the Camp d'Artus.

*Site B* (pls. xvii, xx). A second section was cut nearer the southern corner at a point where the defences are doubled. The main stone-faced rampart and ditch, with counterscarp bank, conform with site A, but to them are added an outer rampart, 20 ft. wide and 5 ft. high, of simple 'dump' construction, and an outer ditch, 22 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep. Again, no objects were found in association with these works.

Some 150 ft. north-east of site B, the outer rampart and ditch cease; and, since at the point of cessation they were approaching the back of the ridge where their presence would, from a military point of view, be most necessary, it was clearly important to ascertain whether in fact they had originally continued beyond this point. A trench showed that this had not been the case; the outer ditch came to a rough and unfinished end, its lower part altogether uncut (pl. xix, c). The work had been interrupted at a vital stage—a significant piece of evidence to which further reference will be made (below, p. 43).

*The main entrance* (pls. xviii, xix, D, xxi, xxii, A)

The main gateway consists of an oblique entry through the rampart, the ends of which are in-turned to flank the passage. The stone facing of the rampart turns with them and, from the angles inwards, was reinforced by stout vertical posts set approximately at 3-metre intervals and secured by iron clamps and nails. In part, particularly on the southern side, the gateway had been damaged by earlier excavators, whose trenches were easily identified; but it is evident that the gate had consisted of two leaves with a central post, behind which a further post had apparently strengthened the framework or helped to support a superstructure.

The approach had been partially masked by an L-shaped hornwork, now in some measure mutilated by an overlying field-bank. This hornwork had been faced front and back by a very rough dry-stone wall, with no traces of timber reinforcement (pl. XIX, D). That this hornwork had been a feature of the original design of the entrance was shown by the fact that the main ditch was not carried past it, as it must have been had the hornwork been an afterthought. On the other hand, the hornwork was not joined to the main rampart, and the interval between the two structures would have provided easy entry at this point. Moreover, within the line of the hornwork is an uneven heap of earth which is reasonably explained as unused material accumulated for its building. In short, it is evident that this feature of the entrance, whilst an integral part of the plan, was never finished.

As noted long ago by Le Héricher (above, p. 40), the gates had been destroyed by fire. The main northern post-hole contained a great mass of charred wood, and the roughly metalled road-surface of the approach was covered with a single layer of combined occupation- and destruction-material, interpenetrated with wood ash. The evidence was conclusive: the entrance had been violently destroyed before completion. The fact that the construction of the defences had here departed from the normal scheme of the 'fireproof' *murus Gallicus* by the inclusion of vertical posts in the facing doubtless contributed to its vulnerability.

In the single compact layer of occupation-cum-destruction material, nineteen Gaulish coins were found (pls. XXIII and XXIV). They were too widely scattered over the approaching roadway within the limits of the structure to indicate a hoard (see positions on plan, pl. XVIII), but they were specially concentrated at the site of the actual gates, suggesting loss during traffic (perhaps the payment of some form of octroi or levy) or during looting. They are described and discussed below by Mr. Derek Allen and Dr. Colbert de Beaulieu (pp. 48 ff.). Here it will suffice to observe that, whether M. Blanchet's view that the types represented were minted in 56 B.C. be accepted literally or not, no one would dispute their appropriateness to the Caesarian period. With the coins was found a fair quantity of potsherds, mainly at the foot of the flanking walls (p. 45).

#### *Trial-areas within the camp*

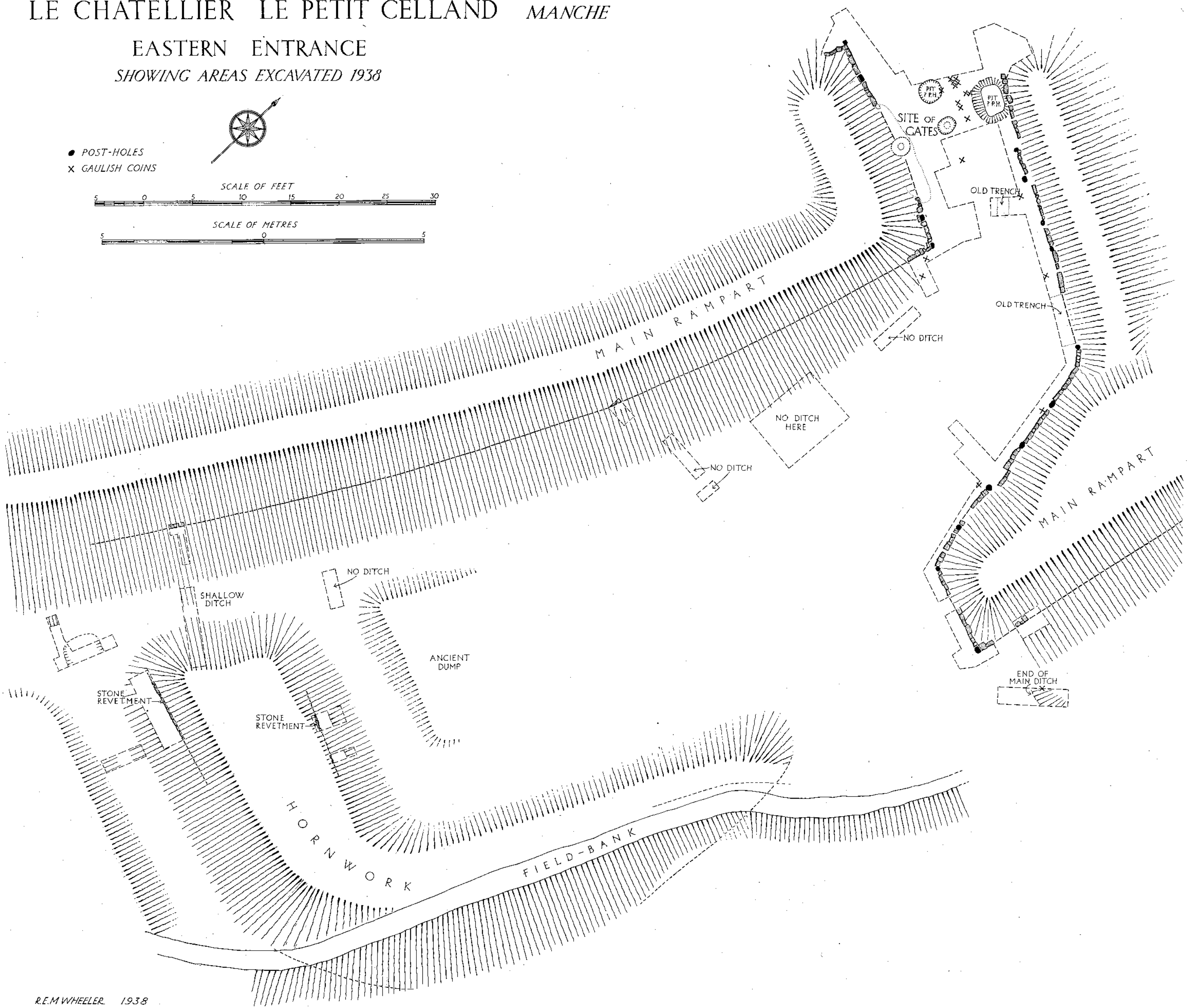
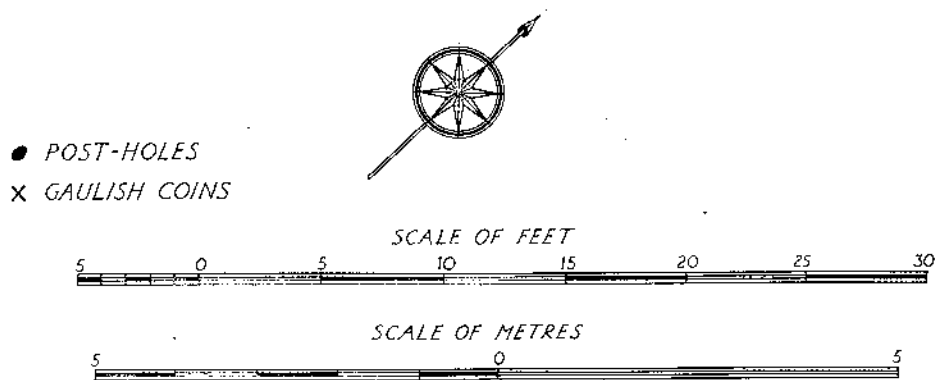
Ten small areas (shown on the plan, pl. XVI) were opened up within the enclosure. Of these, a majority, even in the vicinity of the entrance, produced no relics at all, and not one yielded structural evidence of occupation. Two Gaulish coins were found, respectively on sites A and F, and the latter site showed traces of a hearth and contained a few sherds of types similar to those from the entrance. But if, as seems likely enough, the trial-areas are typical, the camp was not long or intensively occupied.

#### *The date and purpose of the Châtellier*

From the foregoing account certain factors emerge which together indicate a close dating for the building and destruction of the Châtellier. These factors may be tabulated as follows:

# LE CHATELLIER LE PETIT CELLAND MANCHE

## EASTERN ENTRANCE SHOWING AREAS EXCAVATED 1938



1. Although smaller than the Camp d'Artus, the Châtellier, with its 48 acres, is so outstanding in this region of France that it suggests a political or military, not an economic, context. Its countryside is, for the most part, poor farming land interspersed with scrub, and is devoid of useful ores in appreciable quantity. Once more we appear to be confronted with a coalescence of the population at a strategic spot under conditions of exceptional compulsion.
2. There is evidence, both in the outer line of defence and at the entrance, that the work was left unfinished, and it is clear that the gateway was violently destroyed.
3. There is likewise evidence that the site was not long or intensively occupied.
4. The single layer of occupation and construction at the entrance yielded nineteen Gaulish coins of types ascribed to *c.* 56 B.C. and certainly in circulation in the Caesarian period. Two similar coins were found in the interior of the camp.

The inference is that the camp is another product of organized Gaulish resistance to Caesar in 56 B.C., and that it may reasonably be referred to the activities of Viridovix, chief of the Unelli or Venelli, and commander in that year of a large composite force representing a number of adjacent tribes.<sup>1</sup> Whether it was or was not the actual site where Viridovix is recorded to have encamped his main force prior to his ill-fated attack upon Sabinus cannot of course be known. All that can be said is that the Châtellier takes a place in the general picture of the campaign and that its outstanding size would be consistent with a leading role.

## FINDS

### A. POTTERY

Figs. 8 and 9 illustrate all the significant fragments of pottery found at Le Petit Celland. Whenever the fragment is sufficiently large for diagnosis it is evident that the wheel was used. The clay is normally micaceous and somewhat coarse, and dark brown in colour, often with a slightly 'blistered' surface. The majority of the sherds come from the single occupation-layer at the eastern entrance and may be ascribed with reasonable certainty to 56 B.C. Sherds from other sites within the camp include a similar range of types and, in view of the brevity of the occupation of the earthwork, must be ascribed to the same date.

#### *Fig. 8*

1-15. Cordoned bowls of fine black or dark brown ware. These bowls must all have approximated to the type reconstructed as no. 1 (see also pl. xxii, B, 2). In no case was the centre of the base preserved, but the 'kick' or omphalos (included in the reconstruction) may be regarded as certain on the analogy of the closely similar pots from Hengistbury Head (Class B) and from the vestigial omphalos which occurs sometimes on derivative Belgic bowls (see below). The distinctiveness of the shape and fabric and the frequency of the occurrence of the type at Le Petit Celland makes it possible to regard

<sup>1</sup> Caesar, *B.G.* iii, 17-18.



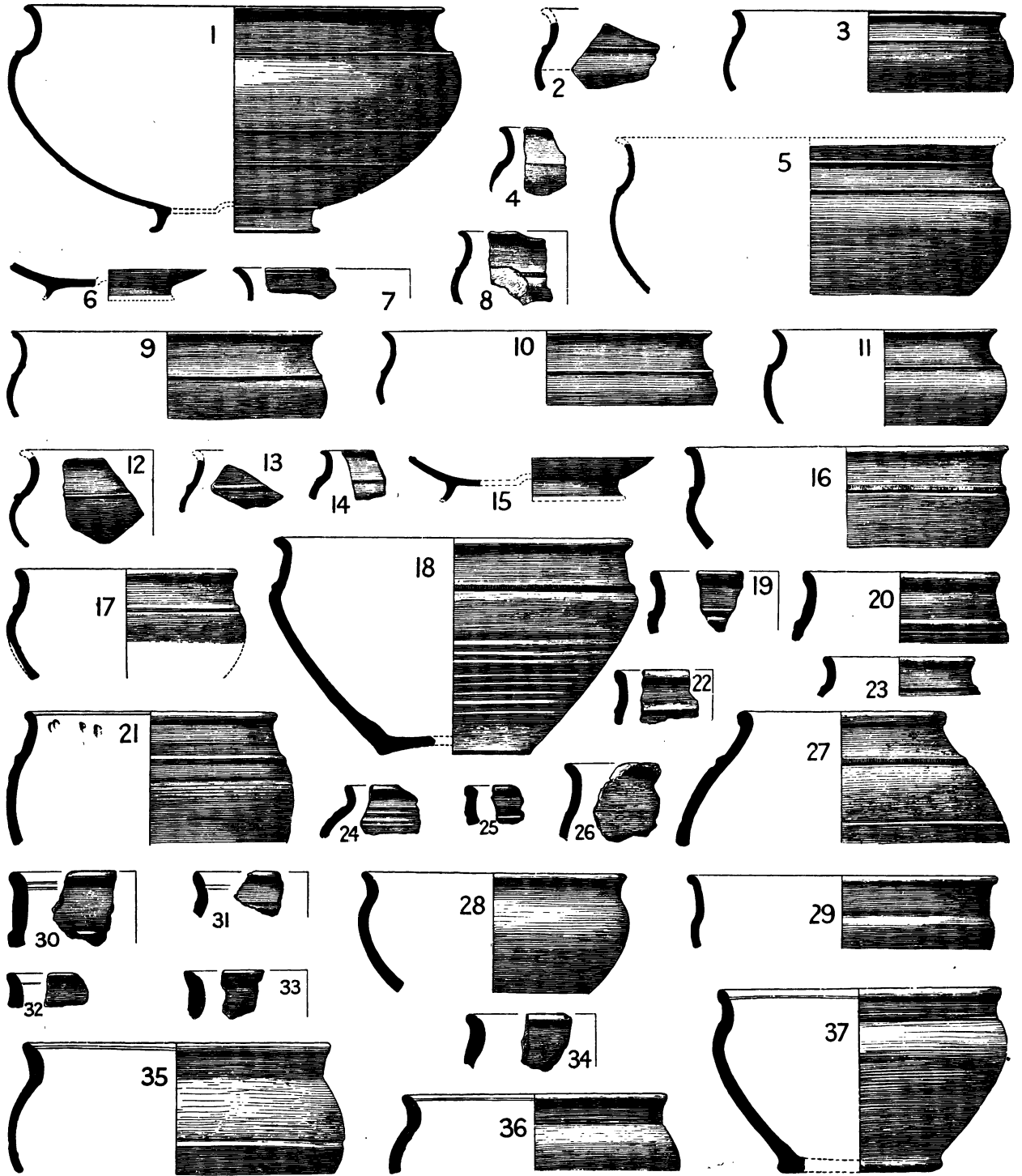


FIG. 8. Pottery from Le Petit Celland (1)

these bowls as the 'type-fossil' of the site, with some additional emphasis from the fact that the type apparently recurs in the neighbouring Channel Islands.<sup>1</sup> Nos. 1 and 3-10 were found in the East Gate in the layer of mud and wood-ash which immediately overlay the road-surface. The layer contained the nineteen Gaulish coins dating approximately from the middle of the first century B.C. (see below, p. 48).

17-23 were found in the same layer and constitute a second type which is characteristic of the site. The fabric is normally coarser than that of the preceding and sometimes has a 'blistered' surface. Its colour is brown verging sometimes upon black. The cordon on the shoulder is characteristic of the series and may be derived from this feature on the preceding type.

24, also from the same layer, is of gritty grey ware with a brown surface. The shoulder is rippled in reminiscence of cordons.

25, from the same layer, is a fragment of a rim of similar ware but of uncertain type.

26, from the same layer, has a ledge or slight cordon at the shoulder and is probably a derivative from types 17-23 above.

27, from the same layer, is of coarse reddish-brown ware and represents a large jar of a type apparently not otherwise represented on the site.

28 is a shallow bowl from the same layer.

29 is of fine hard dark brown ware and from the same layer.

30-37 are marked by a groove, more or less pronounced, on the inner surface of the rim. This feature is discussed in connexion with the pottery from Ker-caradec (below, p. 58). It seems to have been derived ultimately from metal prototypes. All the present examples are from the same layer as the preceding.

### *Fig. 9*

38-52 are from the same ashy layer on the road-surface at the East Gate. No. 39 is a grooved bowl with a heavy rim of a type somewhat similar to Huelgoat nos. 32, 35. Nos. 41-52 show the range of bases, many of which have an emphatic foot-ring or even a low pedestal. No. 42 is of reddish-brown ware with a graphite coating.

53-63 come from the lower of two very slightly differentiated strata on site Q within the camp. The range of types includes that already noted under nos. 17-23 above, together with four examples of the internally grooved rim.

64-71 come from the upper of the two layers on this site, and include the solitary example of a bead-rim, no. 70; unfortunately, the complete profile of this vessel was not recovered.

72 and 73 are from site G which also produced a fragment of a cordoned bowl of type 1; see above, no. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Jacquetta Hawkes, *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands*, ii (Jersey, 1937), 187-8, fig. 48 (sherds from Maîtresse Île, 15 miles south of Jersey).

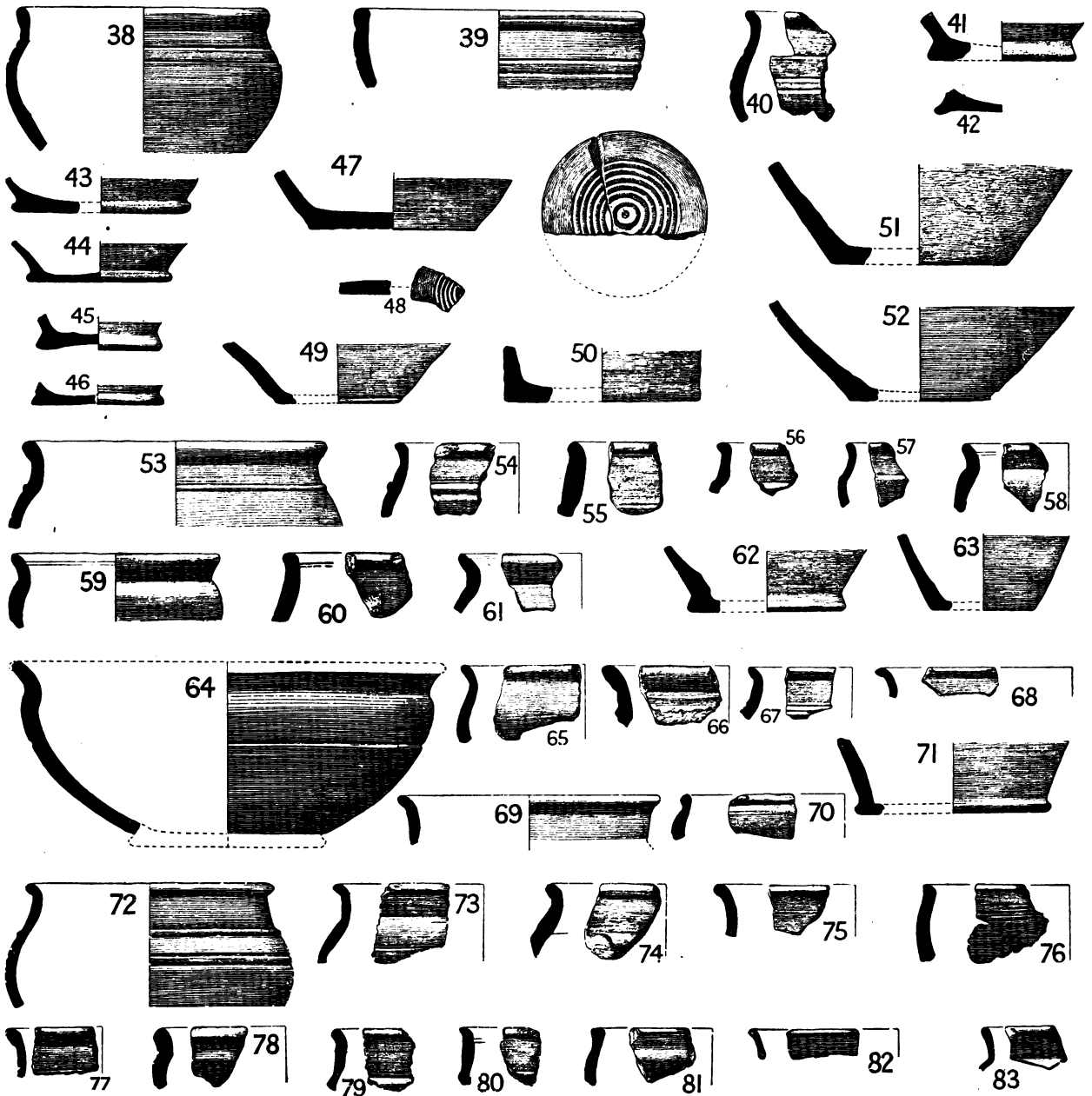


FIG. 9. Pottery from Le Petit Celland (1)

74–81 are from site F and require no special comment save that no. 81 is of a flattish rim-form which does not occur elsewhere in the camp.

82 and 83 are from site K, the former being probably the rim of a cordoned bowl similar to no. 1.

Of the two characteristic types—best illustrated respectively by nos. 1 and 18—the cordoned bowl, no. 1, etc., is of special interest to British archaeology by reason of its close identity with a type found at Hengistbury and included by Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox in his Hengistbury Class B.<sup>1</sup> On the little evidence available when the Hengistbury Report was written, the Class B bowls were ascribed roughly to ‘the third or fourth century B.C.’, and the omphalos, which is a feature of those bowls and with probability ascribed *in absentia* also to the Petit Celland examples, was thought to have disappeared from pottery by the middle of the second century B.C. In the light of evidence accumulated since the writing of the Hengistbury Report, this dating requires drastic revision. The omphalos is now known to have lasted to an advanced stage of the Belgic period: it occurs at Swarling,<sup>2</sup> and at Maiden Castle, where both a true and two vestigial examples were found in a deposit dating from the second quarter of the first century A.D. At Glastonbury, although not closely dated, it almost certainly belongs to the Belgic infiltration which marks the last phase of the site.<sup>3</sup> Indeed one example at the lake-village<sup>4</sup> is a late and devolved descendant of the Hengistbury–Petit Celland type, and another derivative, also with vestigial omphalos, was found at Maiden Castle in a layer dating from the eve of the Claudian invasion.<sup>5</sup> The allocation of the Hengistbury–Petit Celland prototype to the first half of the first century B.C. thus allows a reasonable period for a normal typological progression, and brings the type into place in the ‘Ultimate Marnian’ series in which our Belgic pottery forms a specialized and provincial group. Incidentally, it may be observed that the cordoned bowls from Hengistbury are wheel-turned and, at a time when the wheel was very rare elsewhere in western Britain, this fact may be taken to imply actual importation. It was not for nothing that Hampshire and the Manche (with the Channel Islands) confront each other across the Channel. Furthermore, the complete absence of the Hengistbury bowls (so far as is known) in their undeveloped form elsewhere in Britain suggests only a momentary cross-Channel contact; and, although there is an easy risk of overworking the possibility of associating such contacts with the rigorous campaigns of Julius Caesar in north-western Gaul, it is by no means unlikely that these bowls, together with another class of ‘foreign’ Hengistbury pottery noted in connexion with Ker-caradec (p. 58), are the relics of a few ship-loads of refugees at the time of the Caesarian conquest.<sup>6</sup> They may, on the other hand, be commercial products of a somewhat earlier date.

<sup>1</sup> *Report Research Committee Soc. Ant. Lon.*, no. iii (1915), 34, ‘Excavations at Hengistbury Head, Hampshire’.

<sup>2</sup> *Report Research Committee Soc. Ant. Lon.*, no. v (1925).

<sup>3</sup> For examples see Bulleid and Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake-village*, ii, 515, fig. 168; pl. LXXX, p. 190; and pl. LXXXIV, p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. LXXX, p. 190.

<sup>5</sup> Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (1943), p. 240 and fig. 75, no. 234.

<sup>6</sup> We might add that in 1938 we showed the Petit Celland sherds to Mr. Bushe-Fox, the excavator of Hengistbury, and he at once accepted both the identity of type and the consequent modification of his dating for ‘Hengistbury B’.

## B. GAULISH COINS

(i) *Report by MR. DEREK F. ALLEN, F.S.A., dated 1939*

The twenty-one Gaulish coins found at Le Petit Celland belong to a well-known series of Armorican coins usually found together in hoards. The three types represented are closely akin to one another and all exhibit the same strange local development of Gaulish art. The coins, which are all of billon, have on the obverse a flamboyant representation of a human head facing right. The hair is indicated in three sinuous rolls which intertwine at their ends. The sex of the head is uncertain; though derived through an infinite chain of copying and emendation from the head of Apollo on the stater of Philip of Macedon, it has suffered so drastic a change that it could well be taken to represent a female.<sup>1</sup> The reverses of the coins bear a horse galloping to right beneath whose body is a boar, or perhaps a boar standard. The horse's head takes various forms, being sometimes human and sometimes bird-like. In the field above and behind the horse are various ornaments, the last memory of the charioteer and flying victory on the prototypes; on these coins they have been reduced to a fan-like or even caterpillar-like formula. The differences between the types are as follows:

	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
<i>Class A.</i> <sup>2</sup>	Head correctly rendered with straight nose; sinuous ornament in front of face.	Horse with human head; two fan-shaped ornaments above. Nos. 1-3.
<i>Class B i.</i> <sup>3</sup>	Head with ε shaped nose, otherwise similar.	Horse similar; one of the fans, however, semi-humanized. No. 4.
<i>Class B ii.</i> <sup>4</sup>	Similar.	Horse with elongated head, and mane terminating in a flying scroll. Only one fan above. Nos. 5-7.
<i>Class C.</i> <sup>5</sup>	Head with straight nose and { in front.	Horse with bird-like head; the fans replaced by an object half-way between a kite and a caterpillar. Nos. 8-21.

There are minor variations in the form and disposition of the details.

The coins are made of a mixed metal containing tin, copper, silver, and traces of iron and gold.<sup>6</sup> Copper always predominates; according to the somewhat unreliable analyses which are available, the tin varies from 2 to 12 per cent. of the whole, the silver from 1.5 to 18. No record exists of which precise types were analysed.

<sup>1</sup> This may be partly due to the subsidiary influence of the silver drachms of Emporiae in Spain and of their later imitations in south-west Gaul. Little work has as yet been done on this source of Gaulish coinage.

<sup>2</sup> De la Tour, *Atlas de monnaies gauloises*, no. 6634; Blanchet, *Traité des monnaies gauloises*, p. 315, not illustrated; J. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, not illustrated.

<sup>3</sup> Opp. cit. De la Tour, no. J. 62; Blanchet, not illustrated; Evans, pl. E, no. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Opp. cit. De la Tour, no. J. 28; Blanchet, fig. 218; Evans, pl. E, no. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Opp. cit. De la Tour, no. 6598; Blanchet, fig. 217; Evans, pl. E, no. 1.

<sup>6</sup> De Donop, *Les Médailles gallo-gaéliques* (1838), p. 24; reproduced in Evans, p. 128. Mention of more recent analyses in Blanchet, *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress* (1935), p. 280.

Coins of these and similar types are generally known in England as 'Channel Island coins', the name being derived from the discovery of a number of large hoards there.<sup>1</sup> French archaeologists generally attribute them to the tribe of the Curiosolites who occupied approximately the Côtes-du-Nord.<sup>2</sup> The first name is definitely misleading. Coins of this class are found singly over a large area of north-west France,<sup>3</sup> the Channel Islands,<sup>4</sup> and even south-west England.<sup>5</sup> Besides those from Jersey, hoards have been found in the departments of Finistère,<sup>6</sup> Côtes-du-Nord,<sup>7</sup> Ille-et-Vilaine,<sup>8</sup> Manche,<sup>9</sup> and Calvados,<sup>10</sup> that is the areas occupied in antiquity by the tribes of the *Unelli*, *Abrincatui*, *Redones*, *Curiosolites* and *Osismii*. The attribution of these coins to the *Curiosolites* does not at present appear to be based on sufficient evidence, but is not intrinsically improbable.<sup>11</sup>

The three types, together with a fourth and fifth, not found at Le Petit Celland, occur frequently together in these hoards. It is more likely that the types form a chronological sequence than that they are the work of different mints. The order A-B-C for the types in this hoard is suggested but by no means proved by their increasing divergence from the nearest gold prototypes,<sup>12</sup> and may be confirmed by the proportions in which they occur in the hoards. C is always the commonest and the best preserved and therefore presumably the latest. The types not found at Le Petit Celland are probably the earliest, and indeed are the only ones of this group which have been found associated with gold staters.<sup>13</sup>

It has long been realized that these coins represent the last phase of pre-Roman coinage in Armorica, and belong to the first half of the first century B.C. M. Adrien Blanchet has recently gone farther and maintained that the issue was actually struck on the occasion of the expedition of Decius Brutus in 56 B.C.<sup>14</sup> This view is, however, far too limited and unsupported by the evidence. A token coinage so widespread and plentiful, showing so many signs of hard use and testing, can hardly be a temporary money of necessity. No coinage produced in exceptional circumstances would have been struck from dies so carefully, even meticulously, manufactured. The somewhat similar token coinage of

<sup>1</sup> Evans, p. 127, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Blanchet, *Traité*, p. 315. Lambert, *Essai sur la numismatique du nord-ouest de la France*, p. 26, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Huelgoat, Lannéanou (Finistère); Moncontour, Hénan-Bihen, Dinan, Corseul, Callac, near Guingamp (Côtes-du-Nord); Bedée, Bain, Saint Servan (Ille-et-Vilaine); Avranches, Châtellier, near Avranches, Tourlaville (Manche); Le Lorey, St. Pierre de Plesguen, Camp de la Nouée-Blanche, Île-de-Ebahiens. Taken from Blanchet, *Traité*, p. 315, as are the other French find-spots.

<sup>4</sup> For find-spots in Jersey, see Major N. V. L. Rybot, 'Armorican Art', *Bulletin of the Société Jersiaise* (1937), xiii, 153; and Jacquetta Hawkes, *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands II: The Bailiwick of Jersey* (Jersey, 1937), pp. 124 ff. A new and enlarged edition of Rybot's *Armorican Art* was published in Jersey in 1952.

<sup>5</sup> Somewhere in Devonshire, Maiden Castle, Hengistbury

Head, south Hants, Mount Batten, Fareham, Nettleton, Sussex coast, Hexham, South Ferriby, Lesmahago.

<sup>6</sup> Scignac, Lannéanou.

<sup>7</sup> Merdrignac, La Hauttaie, Kevern, Rusquellec, St. Denoual, Hénan-Bihen.

<sup>8</sup> Pertier, St. Méen.

<sup>9</sup> Graignes, Plessis Grimault, Avranches.

<sup>10</sup> Plessis Grimault (perhaps a duplication).

<sup>11</sup> It has been the practice of French numismatists to attach tribal names to Gaulish coins without much evidence. Coins are sometimes distributed between tribes on the basis of the symbols which occur on them rather than from the find-spots. This is most misleading and inclines the unwary to believe that more is known about these coins than is the case.

<sup>12</sup> De la Tour, op. cit., nos. 4395, 4417, 6728, 6826, etc.

<sup>13</sup> Corseul, Saint Solan, for example.

<sup>14</sup> Blanchet, *Trans. Int. Num. Congress*, 1935, pp. 280-1.

Dorset and Wiltshire<sup>1</sup> is known to have had a long life, and there is every reason to suppose that the Armorican coinage had also.

It is nevertheless likely that the conquest of Armorica is responsible for the burial of so many hoards over such a wide area. It has been suggested that the Jersey hoards were deposited by fugitives from Gaul at the time of the consolidation of Roman rule there, and that the coins, having little or no intrinsic value, may have been discarded as worthless.<sup>2</sup> This date is confirmed by the circumstances of the finding of the Petit Celland coins, and gives a fairly certain *terminus ante quem*.

A large hoard of coins was discovered at Rozel in Jersey in a cliff fall in the year 1875.<sup>3</sup> Besides coins of these classes it contained a large number of other Gaulish types, some of which appear to be Armorican. It also contained a number of Roman denarii, the latest of which was dated 39 B.C. It is not necessary to suppose for this reason that the types found at Le Petit Celland continued to be struck after the Roman conquest; if coins were struck at all, the years between the Roman conquest and the date of burial may well be accounted for by some of the additional Armorican types known only from the Rozel hoard, and the earliest Republican denarius found there dates from the middle of the second century B.C. Caution, too, must be exercised in using the hoard as evidence, since some contamination must have occurred. A coin of Trajan Decius is published as from the find!<sup>4</sup>

The date *post quem* for these coins must remain uncertain, as their gold prototypes have not been accurately dated. These clearly have a long history of their own before the appearance of the billon coinages and it is not likely that the latter were struck before well into the first century B.C. Degree of debasement or variation from an original is the poorest possible criterion of date, and it is to be hoped that the gold coins will soon be better classified.

The following is an analysis of the coins found at Le Petit Celland:

Class A	.	.	.	3
Class B i	.	.	.	1
Class B ii	.	.	.	3
Class C	.	.	.	14
			Total	<u>21</u>

All coins were badly corroded except one specimen of Class A and three or four of Class C. This example of Class A appears to contain a higher proportion of silver than the others. At least seven coins have been tested for plating in antiquity by a blow struck with a blunt instrument across the centre. This is commonly found both on Armorican coins and on the similar British issues of Dorset and Wiltshire. One coin is fragmentary and another has little left but a copper core.

[Note: Mr. Allen has since seen the recent report of Dr. Colbert de Beaulieu printed

<sup>1</sup> Brooke, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1933, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Jacquetta Hawkes, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Barthélemy, *Revue numismatique*, 1884, p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Cable, *Bulletin of the Société Française*, 1880, pp. 207-10.



below. Dr. Colbert de Beaulieu's work on Armorican coins has for the first time put the study on a secure basis, and he is glad to accept his correction of the order of the classes.]

(ii) *Abbreviated report by DR. J. B. COLBERT DE BEAULIEU, dated 1954*<sup>1</sup>

(a) *Attribution*

In spite of their defective condition, all these billon<sup>2</sup> pieces are easily recognized as belonging to the series attributable to the state of Corseul—the Curiosolites. Pending fuller publication of the coinage of the Curiosolites, useful reference may be made to Rybot's *Aarmorican Art*, where the principal types are illustrated.<sup>3</sup>

(b) *Classification*

We have divided the coinage of the Curiosolites into six classes.<sup>4</sup> Of the Petit Celland examples, one (no. 15) is too corroded for precise classification, although certainly of the tribal series. The remaining twenty represent three of our classes, as follows:

Class I: nos. 1, 2, 3.

Class II: nos. 8-14, 16-21.

Class III: nos. 4-7.

An almost identical proportion of the three classes characterizes the immense hoard of about 1,200 coins known as 'Jersey 9', found in 1935 on Le Marquanderie Hill, St. Brelade, and, though studied usefully by Rybot, still awaiting definitive publication. Admittedly the Petit Celland analysis is based upon twenty coins only, but the positive resemblance is emphasized negatively by the seeming absence of Classes IV-VI alike from the Petit Celland series and from Jersey 9. Identity of origin for the two collections may be accepted on the basis of identity of composition. But that is not all.

(c) *Coin-dies*

Dies used for four of the Petit Celland coins in Classes I and III appear to have been used also for over 200 of those of Jersey 9. The dies for Class II have not yet been fully examined, so that this criterion of identity may ultimately prove to be even more formidable than it at present is. For Classes I and III the present analysis is as follows:<sup>5</sup>

*Petit Celland*

No. 1 is of the die I D 16.

<sup>1</sup> This report has subsequently appeared in full in *Annales de Bretagne*, lxi (Rennes, 1954). The present précis is by R. E. M. W.

<sup>2</sup> The silver content of this class of coin varies normally from 10 to 20 per cent., as is indicated by ten analyses of similar specimens: five made by the collaboration of M. Fauconnier, director of the laboratories of the Monnaie, Paris; four others made at the request of the curators of the museum of the Société Jersiaise by the Royal Mint, London; and one published by Adrien Blanchet, *Traité des monnaies*

*gauloises*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> N. V. L. Rybot as cited, pp. 153-90.

<sup>4</sup> Our classes correspond to Rybot's illustrations as follows: Class I = figs. 1-31; Class II = figs. 32-42; Class III = figs. 75-89 and 91; Class IV = figs. 43-58; Class V = figs. 59-68; Class VI = figs. 69-74. See also the plates of our 'Les Monnaies celtiques des Vénètes', *Mém. de la Soc. d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, xxxiii (1953), nos. 40-50.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Colbert de Beaulieu's enumeration, from his analysis of the dies used on coins attributed to the Curiosolites.

No. 2 is of the die I D 1.

No. 3 is of the die I D 52.

No. 5 is of the die III D 34.

### *Jersey 9*

In the Jersey hoard are 45 examples of Petit Celland no. 1, 29 of P.C. no. 2, 34 of P.C. no. 3, and about 100 of P.C. no. 5.

### *(d) Cuts or gashes*

The following Petit Celland coins bear cuts or gashes:

on the obverse, nos. 2, 3, and 6;

on the reverse, nos. 3, 4, 9, 14, 16, and 20.

No. 3 is scarred thrice on the obverse and thrice on the reverse. Similar scars have been observed at Mordelles,<sup>1</sup> in a hoard composed of base-metal coins of diverse origins. These systematic cuts would appear to be explained by the circulation of the coins amongst strangers who desired to prove the quality of the metal.

### *(e) Conclusion*

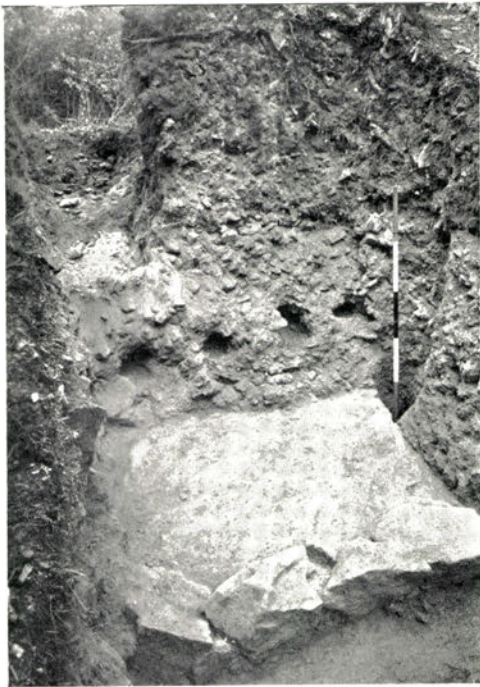
In the light of the evidence as a whole, we conclude that the Petit Celland coins came from the same mint as those of Jersey 9. The latter, an immense treasure, cannot have been the property of an individual; it must have belonged to a large body, an army, and must be supposed to have been buried after the disaster to the troops under Viridovix in 56 B.C. Incidentally, some of the coins had apparently circulated outside the issuing tribe, the Curiosolites, for they had been tested for intrinsic worth. The views originally put forward by the finder of the Petit Celland series are confirmed by this further study.

## C. MISCELLANEA

### *Fig. 10*

1. Clay spindle-whorl from the only occupation-level on site F, in the interior of the camp.
2. Clay spindle-whorl from the interior of the camp.
3. Bronze bracelet with flattened ends from the ash-layer in the eastern entrance.
4. Fragment of bronze bracelet with incised trellis-pattern. From the same level as no. 3.
5. Fragment of bronze bracelet with beaded linear ornament. From the same level as no. 3.
6. Fragment of twisted blue glass bracelet from the same level as no. 3.
7. Part of the spring-coil of a bronze fibula from site B (cutting across the defences), 1½ ft. down from the surface in the material of the main bank.

<sup>1</sup> See Colbert de Beaulieu and Émile Guibourg in *Annales de Bretagne*, 1952, 2, pp. 221-33, pl.



A. Site A: outer wall, and rampart cut back to show *murus Gallicus* construction



B. Ditch of preceding



C. Rough end of unfinished outer ditch



D. Wall and barrow of hornwork (probably unfinished)

Le Petit Celland

(See p. 41)



PLATE XX



Le Petit Celland: outer ditch, site B

(See p. 41)



Le Petit Celland: eastern external angle of main entrance, with post-hole

(See p. 41)





A. Le Petit Celland: flank of main entrance, with post-hole

(See p. 41)



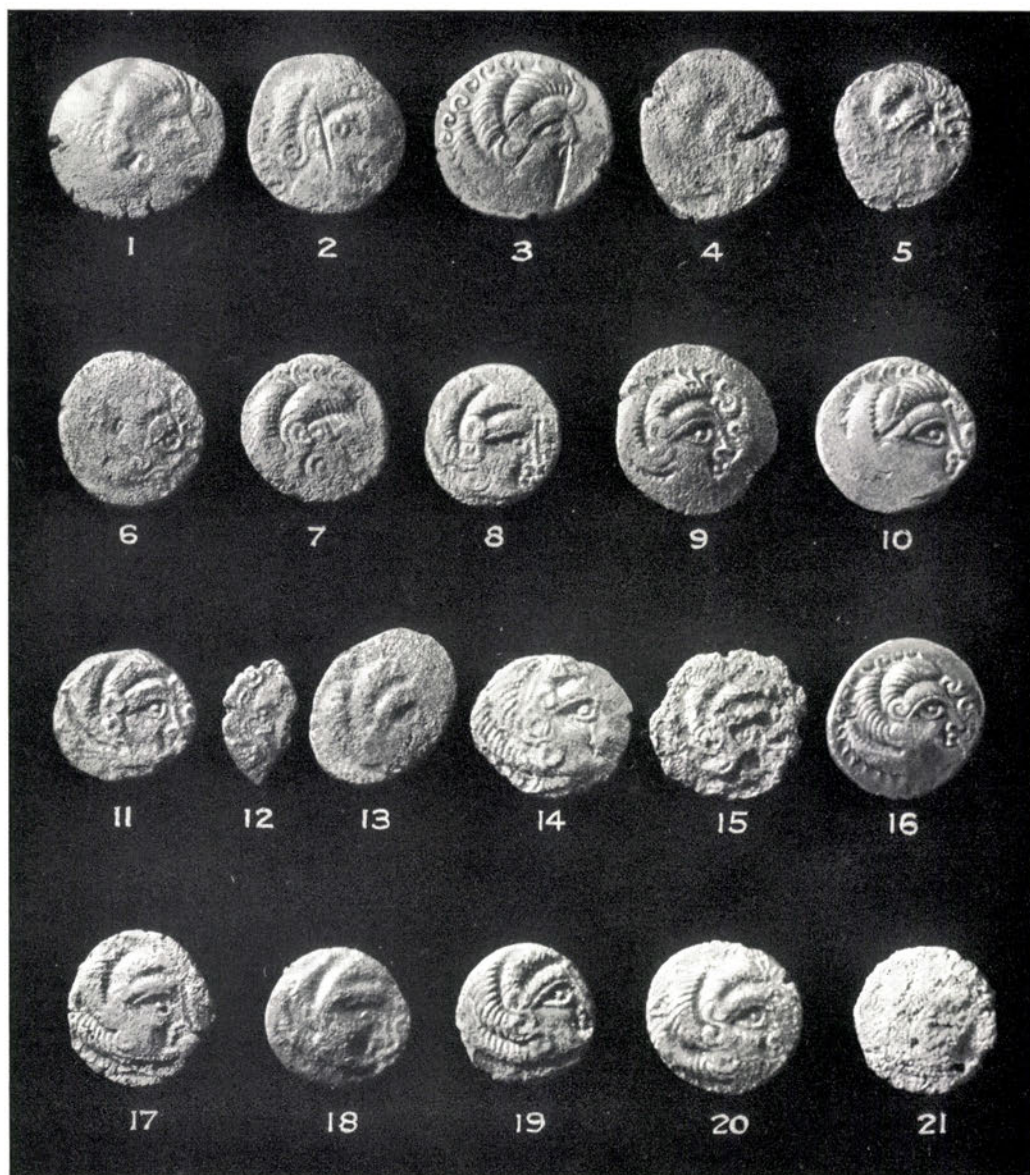
B. Pottery from Le Camp d'Artus (1, 3-8) and Le Petit Celland (2)

*Length of scale, 6 in.*

(See pp. 32 and 43)







Coins from Le Petit Celland: obverses (1)

(See p. 48)



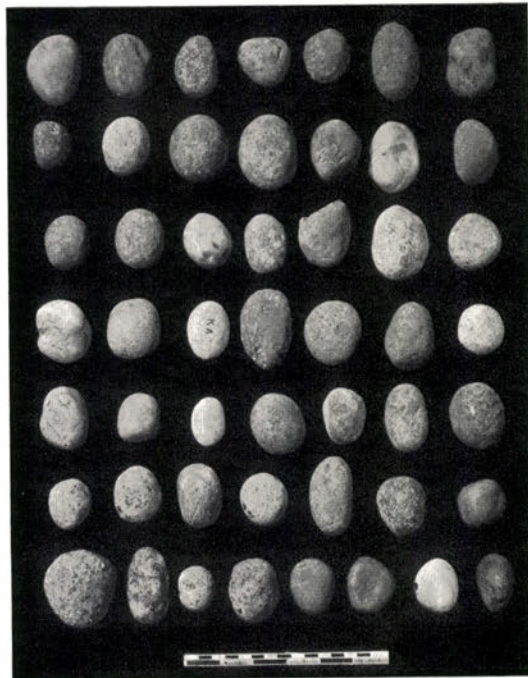
Coins from Le Petit Celland: reverses (1)

(See p. 48)





A. Ker-caradec: internal ledges of main rampart, with post-holes  
(See p. 54)



B. Sling-stone pebbles from Ker-caradec  
*Scale of cm. and in.*  
(See p. 56)

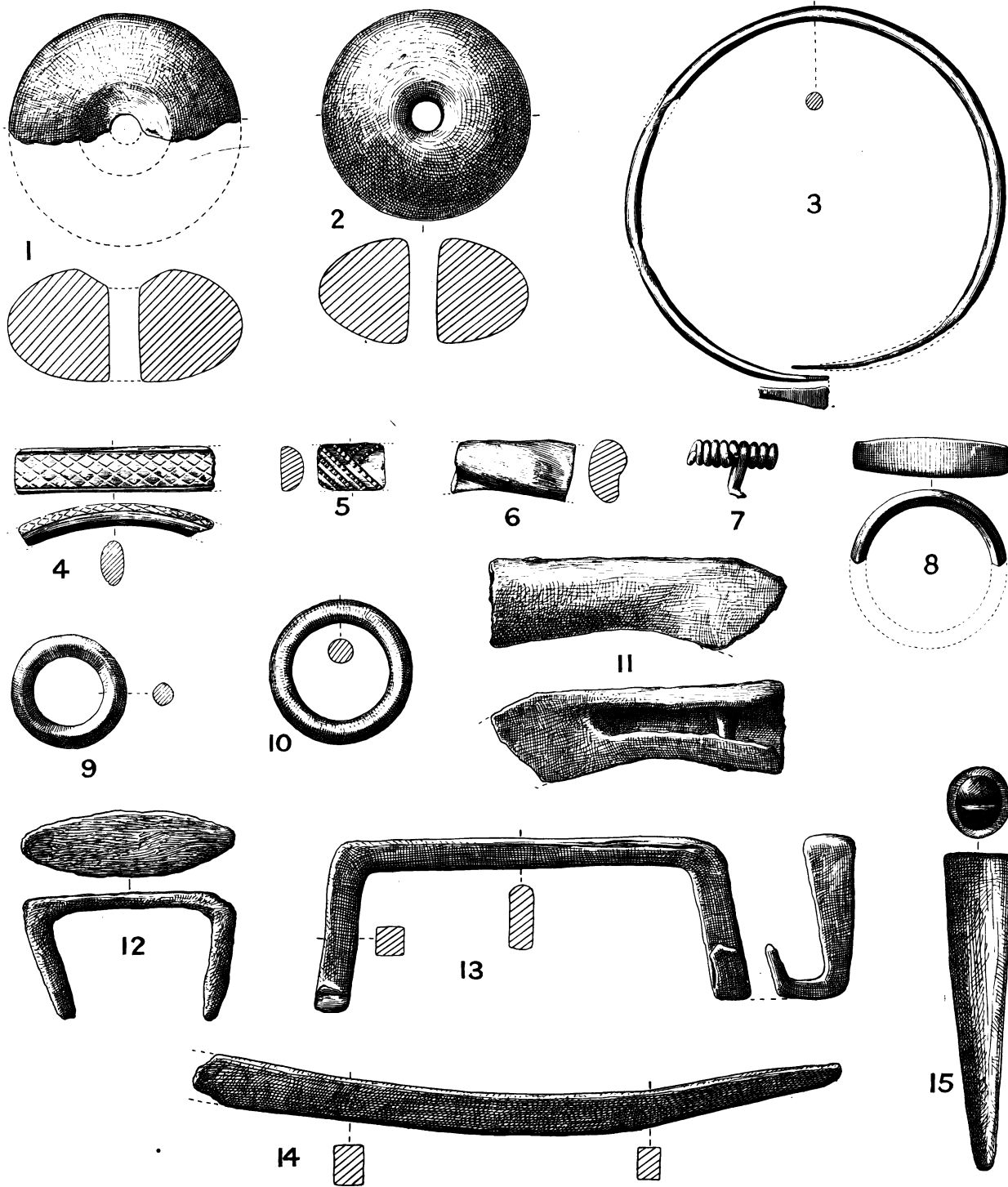


FIG. 10. Objects from Le Petit Celland (1-8,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; 9-15,  $\frac{1}{2}$ )

8. Part of a flattened bronze ring from the same level as nos. 3-6.
- 9-10. Iron rings from the same level as nos. 3-6, etc.
11. Iron socket from the only occupation-level on site G, in the interior of the camp.
12. Iron clamp from the same level as nos. 3-6, etc.
13. Iron handle from the same level as nos. 3-6, etc.
14. Part of iron nail from a post-hole in the revetment-wall of the eastern entrance.
15. Iron ferrule from the same layer as nos. 3-6, etc.

### (iii) KERCARADEC, PENHARS, FINISTÈRE

In the commune of Penhars, on an isolated hill 3 km. west of Quimper in Finistère, lies a small contour-camp,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  acres in interior area, commanding the valley of a tributary of the River Odet.<sup>1</sup> The interior of the camp rises to a central eminence whence a glimpse of the main estuary and an extensive view of the broken granite hill-country around can be obtained. The name of the camp, Kercaradec, now borne equally by the farm lying at its foot, recalls the *Caer Caradoc* familiar to Shropshire lads.

The camp, roughly triangular, is protected on the north by triple defences (pl. xxvi). Elsewhere there are two banks and ditches except for a short portion on the south side where the ground falls away more steeply. Part of the eastern defences, outside the main bank, has been ploughed out and much of the circuit of the main rampart has been converted into a field wall. The southern half of the camp has been extensively quarried. Outside the north entrance, a bank, which appears to join the outer bank of the main defences, curves away from the camp and ends abruptly on a modern field wall at a distance of about 200 ft. A similar bank exists on the south, but whether again as a possible cattle-enclosure outside another entrance it is impossible to say owing to quarrying at that point.

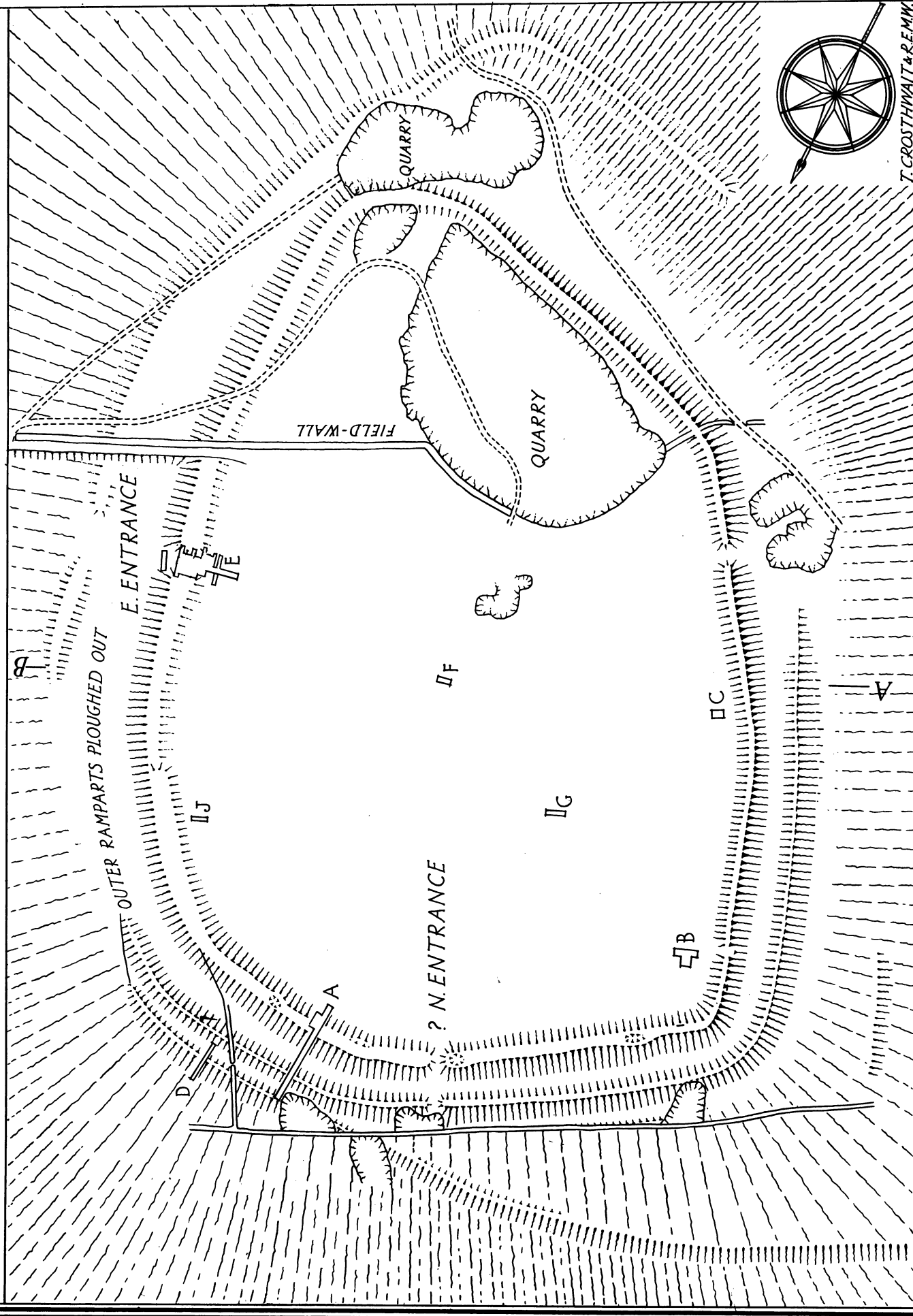
During a fortnight's excavation carried out under the direction of Miss Leslie Scott (Mrs. P. Murray Threipland), sections, sites A and D, were cut through the defences at the north-east corner of the camp; whilst of the two recognizable entrances, respectively near the middle of the eastern and northern sides, the eastern was partially explored, and a number of small areas, sites B, C, F, G, and J, were excavated in the interior of the camp, mainly on the sheltered parts of the shallow quarry-ditch inside the ramparts.

Permission to excavate the camp was readily given by the owner of the land, M. Bosser, and gratitude is due both to him and to Madame Bosser.

Sites A and D together form a composite section through the northern defences (pl. xxvii). The innermost rampart (pl. xxv, A) showed an elaborate stone construction. An area appears to have been levelled in the rock and a low stone-revetted platform (level 4*b*) built on it. On this was set up the inner face of a wall 12 ft. thick. This wall, filled with heavy granite rubble, had two posts 7 ft. apart on its inner side, evidently forming a portion

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 158, list xxxi; Mortillet, p. 199; Chatellier (1), p. 333; Fréminville, i, pt. 2, pp. 133-5; Le Men, p. 178.

KERCARDEC, PENHARS NEAR QUIMPER FINISTÈRE







of a palisade or fence. An intermediate step (level 4a) was added between the lowest platform and the face of the wall.

The outer face of the rampart presents a more difficult problem. The face of the wall leans dangerously outward on the extreme edge of a small ditch, which, from its shallow and irregular character, can scarcely be other than a quarry. Beyond this quarry lies the innermost defensive ditch cut roughly to a depth of 6 ft. into the intractable granite of the site; and a regular slope between the inner edge of this ditch and the face of the wall was provided by filling the quarry-ditch with a considerable layer of sand and covering it with carefully laid flat slabs to prevent the sand from being washed away. That this prepared slope was an original feature of the construction is shown by the complete absence of silt between itself and the floor of the underlying quarry; furthermore, the absence of stones on the floor of this quarry shows that the ramp was in position before the wall began to collapse. Whether the quarry represents in fact an abortive attempt to cut the main ditch at this point—an attempt discontinued perhaps owing to the risk of weakening the wall—can only be guessed. But the sequence and the final form of the rampart-ditch construction were undoubtedly as indicated above.

The section through the two outer banks and the ditches shows no peculiarities. All the ditches are rock-cut and now there are no banks visible above the natural soil. It would seem likely, however, from the number of stones in the filling of the ditches that there had been small ramparts which have partly been robbed for stone and partly fallen back into the ditch again.

The major part of a pot (fig. 11, 1) lay at the bottom of the inner ditch (level 8), and one or two indeterminate sherds were found in the debris of the ramparts. Sling-stones (selected pebbles) were found in the rampart debris, in the sand banked up against the outer face of the inner rampart, and in the outermost ditch.

The structure of the main rampart, with its stepped back, is reminiscent of that of the 'oppidum des Césarines' near St. Cère (Lot),<sup>1</sup> and was probably designed to facilitate the manning of the summit by the defending slingers. The date of the 'Césarines' was not established,<sup>2</sup> and it may or may not be relevant to observe that the *murus Gallicus* in the *oppidum* at Murcens in the same Department likewise has a stepped back<sup>3</sup> and may reasonably be ascribed to the Caesarian period (below, p. 183). The composite stone ramparts which, in Britain, are familiar at Worlebury, Somerset, and are well represented in France and Germany,<sup>4</sup> are not closely comparable with Kercaradec, although they may also have been stepped in some instances. On the other hand, excavation has shown that the rampart of the 'cliff-castle' at Gurnard's Head in Cornwall is almost identical with that of Kercaradec.<sup>5</sup> It lacks (apparently) only the palisade or fence which is present

<sup>1</sup> A. Viré, 'Les Oppida du Quercy et le siège d'Uxellodunum', *Bulletin de la société des études littéraires et artistiques du Lot* (Cahors), fasc. 1, jan.-mars 1936.

<sup>2</sup> 'Nous pouvons, semble-t-il, considérer cet oppidum comme occupé et fortifié dès l'époque hallstattienne, entre les années 800-500 av. J.-C., sans pouvoir préciser davantage'!

Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> C. W. Dymond, *Worlebury* (2nd ed., 1902), pp. 21 ff. and p. 124, pl. v; J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie*, III (1927), 191, fig. 270.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Journ.* xcvi (1940), 96.

along the inner side of the uppermost surviving step of the latter. This fence, if such it be, is difficult to explain unless as a protective device to prevent children and animals from scrambling over the fighting-platform. The accessibility of the latter from the interior of the camp would readily justify some barrier of the kind.

*The western entrance (site E)*

The western entrance of the camp was partially excavated and revealed two phases of construction. In the later period the gateway, only the southern half of which was fully explored, was flanked by a stone wall which, with the inner face of the stone wall inside the innermost defence, formed a square end to the rampart. Two post-holes lay immediately inside the flanking wall just west of the middle of the rampart. The earlier phase showed the ends of two pits or ditches underlying the flanking walls at the western end of the rampart and an oval pit deep in the centre of the gateway. This had been filled up with stones when the later roadway was made up over it.

*Sites B, C, F, G, and J*

Amongst these small areas excavated in the interior of the camp only site B produced pottery in any quantity (below). Sling-stones (pl. xxv, B), a fragment of a stone rubber, charcoal, and daub were also found and presuppose a hut site in the shallow depression in the rock under the shelter of the inner rampart. Further evidence of hut sites was lacking, three sherds only and a few sling-stones coming from site C. There were no finds on any of the other sites.

It is worth noting the statement of M. Bosser that in quarrying the top of the hill inside the camp he came across a pit covered with stone slabs and containing 'several thousand' sling-stones.

## FINDS

### A. POTTERY (fig. 11)

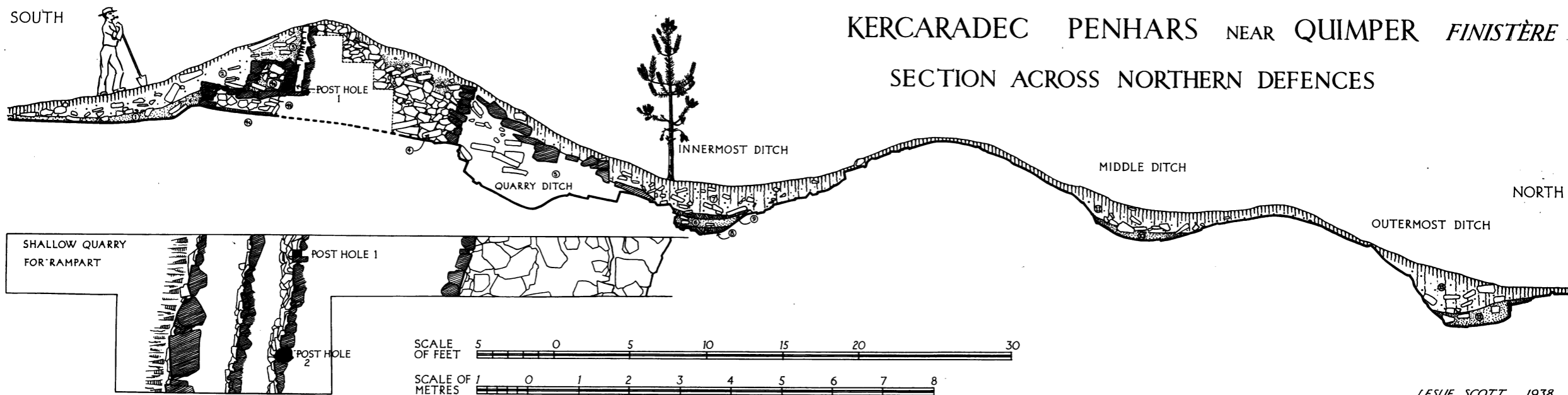
The twelve potsherds here illustrated comprise all the significant pieces found during the very slight trial-excavation of this site. They are in every case made from micaceous clay, and, with the exception of no. 12 and the possible exception of nos. 2 and 3, are wheel-turned. No. 1 was found in the bottom of the inmost ditch (pl. xxvii, layer 8); the others were all recovered from the same stratum layer 1 in a small area (site B) opened within the shelter of the western defences.

1. Jar of coarse brown ware with a shallow groove round the shoulder. Above the shoulder the surface has been smoothed.

2. Fragment of flattened rim of brown ware. The sherd is too small to show definitely whether the wheel was used—probably not.

3. Fragment of bases of similar ware.

4. Pot of brown ware with a shallow groove on the shoulder. Above the groove the surface is smoothed.



LESLIE SCOTT 1938



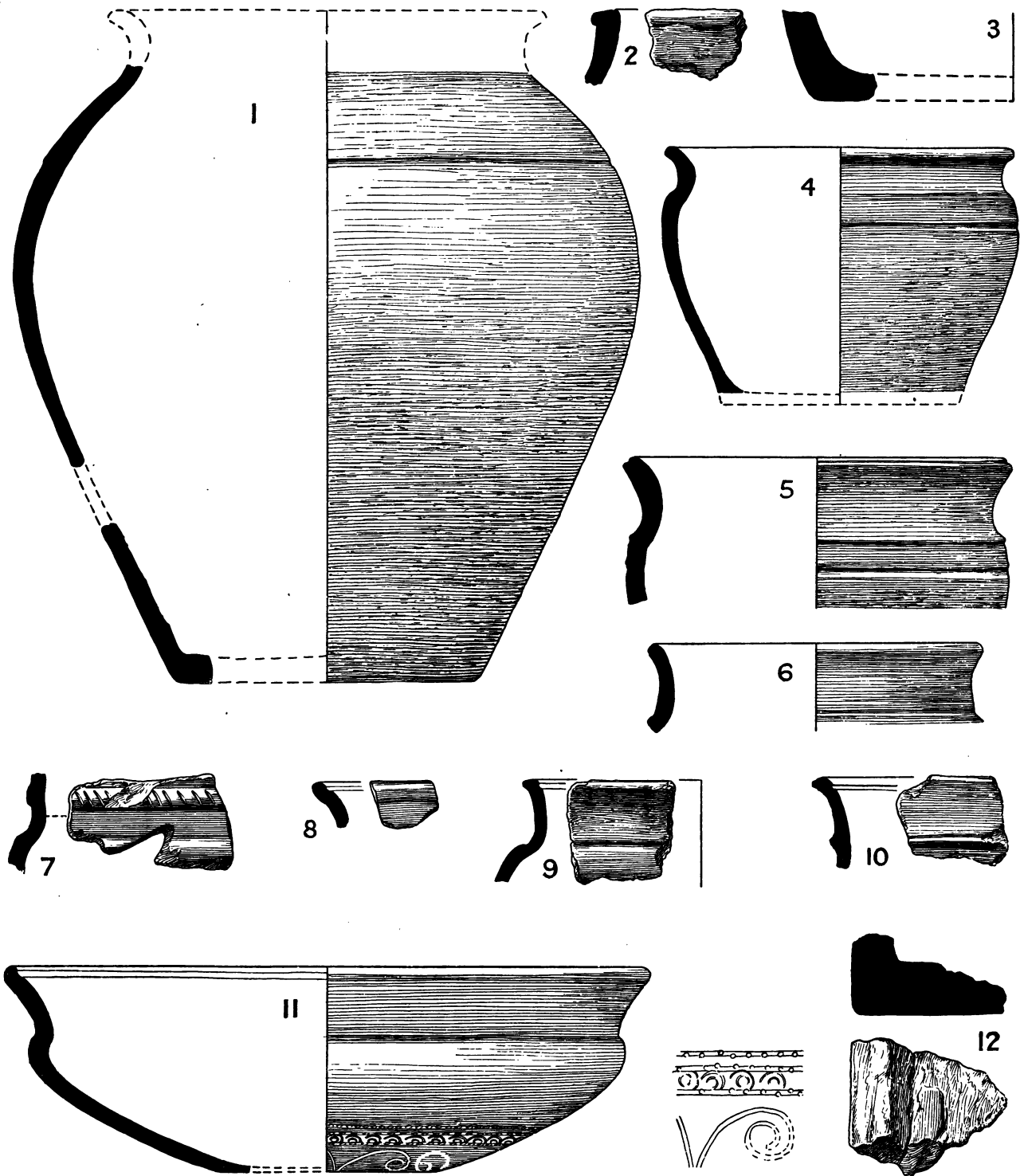


FIG. 11. Pottery from Ker-caradec ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

5. Fragment of pot of brown ware with small cordon and groove round the shoulder and slight groove on the upper surface of the rim.

6. Rim of brown clay. This type of rim, not perhaps very distinctive, occurs at Gurnard's Head, Cornwall (*Arch. Journ.* xcvi, 1940, p. 108, fig. 7, 2, and p. 110, fig. 8, 1), and is not uncommon in south-western Britain.

7. Part of shoulder of fine brown ware, with traces of graphite-coating, and round the shoulder a slashed cordon.

8. Fragment of rim of graphite-coated brown ware with an internal groove.

9. Internally grooved rim of coarse brown ware.

10. Internally grooved rim of graphite-coated ware. On the neck is a cordon.

11. Fragments of a bowl of graphite-coated brown ware. The rim is internally grooved; on the lower part of the vessel is a band of ornament including a series of stamped concentric circles, somewhat suggesting a running-spiral. Below this band branching spirals are smoothed on the surface of the clay. Part of a comparable bowl of smooth black micaceous ware from Tronoën, near Pont l'Abbé, is preserved in the Penmarc'h museum. For the general type (bowls with internally grooved rims), see below.

12. Fragment of straight-sided tray(?) of rough micaceous clay with a red surface and a grey core. For a comparable fragment from Castel Coz (Finistère), see *Arch. Journ.* xxix (1872), fig. 4 facing p. 321.

Save for no. 1, all the above sherds are contemporary, and no. 1 may be regarded as of the same general period. Since Ker-caradec occupies a prominent position near the fringe of the tribal area of the Veneti, that period may be assumed to have preceded the obliteration of the Veneti by Julius Caesar in the year 56 B.C. On the other hand, certain features—the internal rim-groove on nos. 8–11 and the somewhat sketchy decoration on no. 11—seem to be typologically late in their series, and it is perhaps unlikely therefore that the pottery as a whole is earlier than the beginning of the first century B.C.

No. 2 has the flattened rim and the coarse aspect of a familiar 'Ultimate Hallstatt' type. The finer sherds (nos. 7, 8, 10, 11) show the graphite-coating which is a Hallstatt tradition and is fairly widespread upon wares of the present class in Brittany. In Britain it seems to occur only at Hengistbury Head (Class H); indeed, in this as in other respects, it is in this class of Hengistbury pottery that the nearest British affinities to the Ker-caradec types 5, 6, 9, and 10 can at present be found.<sup>1</sup> The internally grooved rim appears, if somewhat poorly, on certain of the Hengistbury examples, and it is a recurrent feature of the Glastonbury wares; whilst in France it is known from twelve sites in Brittany and one in western Normandy (map, fig. 12). It is derived from metalwork, and a bronze prototype found in Ireland, at Keshcarrigan in Co. Leitrim, has recently been published by Mr. E. M. Jope and Professor Stuart Piggott.<sup>2</sup> The Keshcarrigan bowl, or at least its model, was presumably brought from north-western France, though at what date can

<sup>1</sup> *Hengistbury Head Report*, pl. xxii, upper half, nos. 1–5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, xvii (1954), 93 ff.; *Archaeologia*, xcvi (1955), 223, 231. The bronze cup con-

taining the Colchester mirror (*Ant. Journ.* xxviii (1948), p. 136) is comparable and is lathe-spun; its associated pottery suggests a date in the first quarter of the first century A.D.

only be conjectured. An elaborated reminiscence or variety of the type can be recognized in the two inadequately known bronze bowls found with the Birdlip mirror and now preserved with it in the Gloucester Museum. At Hénon (Côtes-du-Nord) a pottery bowl of the type is decorated with an acanthus or half-palmette pattern (fig. 30, 6), which is ascribed by Jacobsthal to the fourth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> and is typologically unlikely to be very much later than 300 B.C.; but the Irish bronze bowl is lathe-spun, a technique thought to be of later date, the Birdlip bowls (also lathe-spun) are of the first century A.D., and some at least of the British pottery derivatives (at Glastonbury and elsewhere) must be ascribed to the first centuries B.C.–A.D. At Kercaradec the groove is more emphatic than is usual at Glastonbury, but approaches the lake-village types sufficiently closely to suggest no vast difference of date. It may be added that the groove has nothing to do with the seating for a lid (as one of us formerly suggested), but perpetuates and emphasizes a constructional feature in the fashioning of the metal rim.

The following is a list of sites which have produced internally grooved rims in north-west France and southern England.

*France*

1. Kercaradec, Penhars, Finistère. (Present excavation.)
2. Parc al Leur, (?) Leure, Finistère. (Penmarc'h Museum.)
3. Castel Coz, Finistère. (Penmarc'h Museum.)
4. Kervilré, St. Jean Troliman, Finistère. (St. Germain Museum.)
5. Kerhillio, Morbihan. (Carnac Museum.)
6. Mané Roullard, La Trinité, nr. Carnac, Morbihan. (Carnac Museum.)
7. Trehuinec, St. Pierre de Vannes, Morbihan. (Vannes Museum.)
8. Grottes de St. Glan. nr. St. Brieuc, Côtes-du-Nord. (St. Brieuc Museum.)
9. St. Donan, nr. St. Brieuc, Côtes-du-Nord. (St. Brieuc Museum.)
10. Henon, nr. St. Brieuc, Côtes-du-Nord. (St. Brieuc Museum.)
11. Tertre Aubert, Côtes-du-Nord. (St. Brieuc Museum.)
12. Pludual, nr. St. Brieuc, Côtes-du-Nord. (St. Brieuc Museum.)
13. Le Petit Celland, nr. Avranches, Manche. (Present excavation.)

*England*

14. Glastonbury, Somerset. (Taunton Museum.)
15. Meare, Somerset. (Taunton Museum.)
16. Maiden Castle, Dorset. (Dorchester Museum.)
17. Worlebury, Somerset. (Taunton Museum.)
18. Ham Hill, Somerset. (Taunton Museum.)
19. Hengistbury Head, Hampshire. (British Museum.)
20. Milber Down, Devon.
21. St. Mawgan-in-Pyder, Cornwall.
22. Blackbury Castle, Southleigh, Devon.

So far as I am aware, the feature does not occur in pottery from central or eastern Normandy.

<sup>1</sup> *Early Celtic Art* (Oxford, 1944), p. 95.



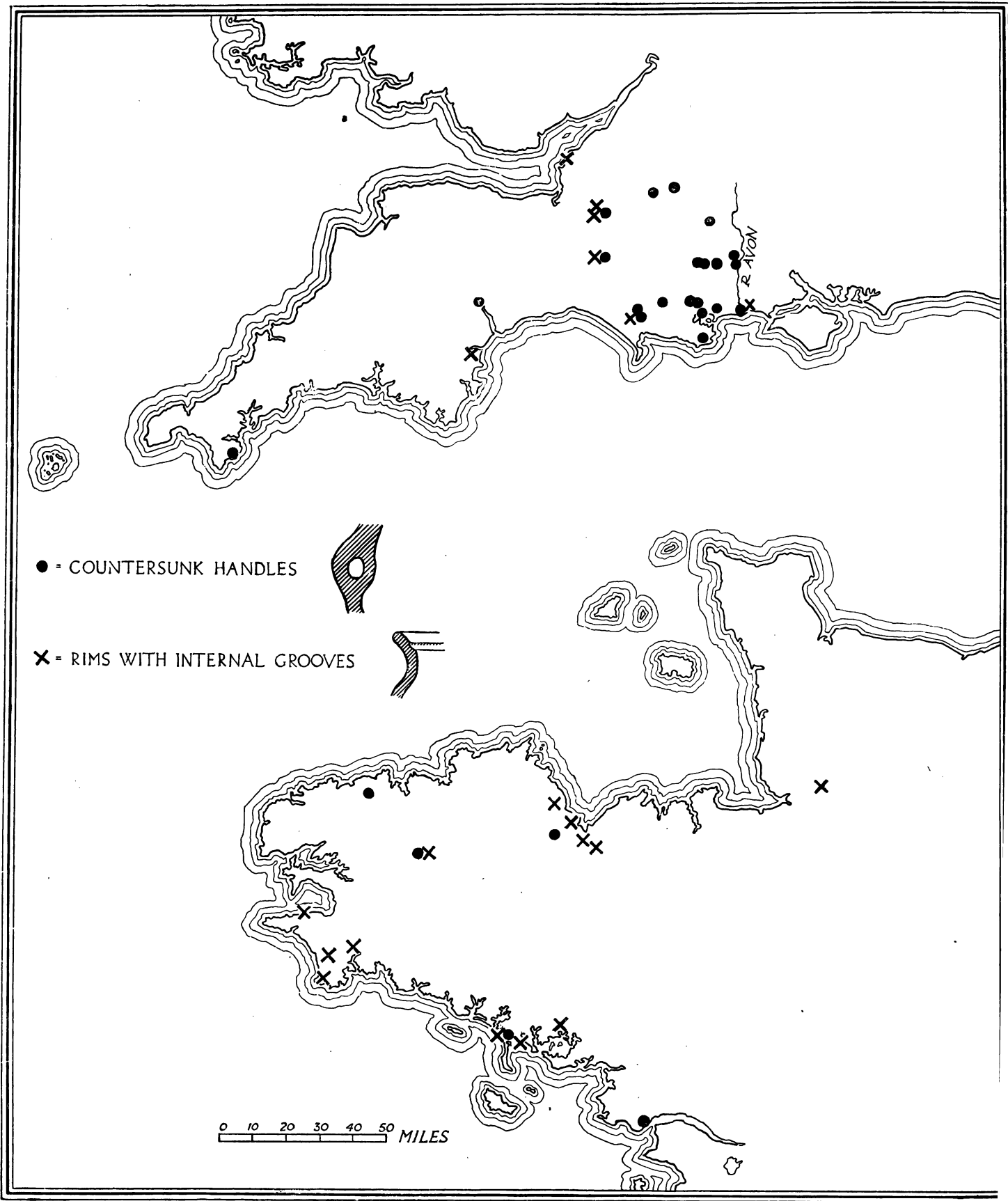
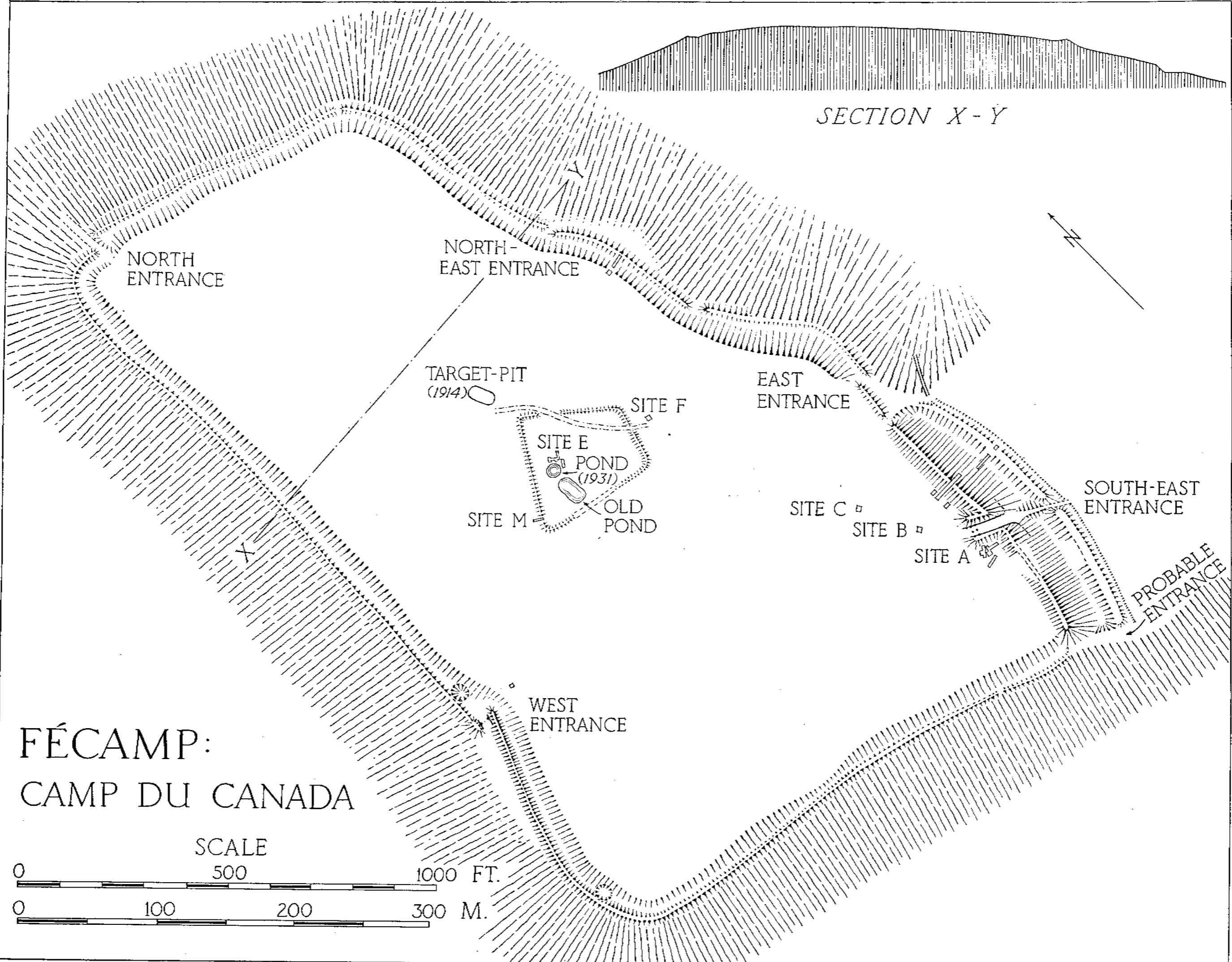
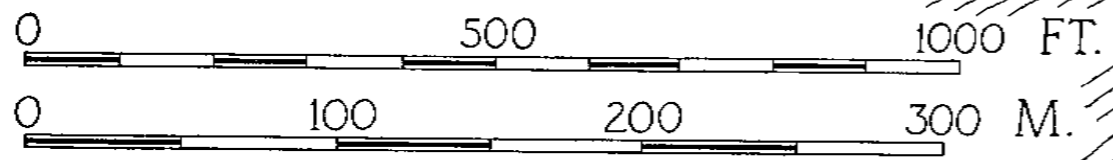


FIG. 12. Distribution of pottery (a) with countersunk handles and (b) with internally grooved rims in Britain and France



FÉCAMP:  
CAMP DU CANADA

SCALE



No. 7 in the Kercaradec series bears the slashed cordon which occurs also in Brittany at Kerhillio, near Carnac (Carnac Museum), and is familiar on pottery of Iron Age B in south-western Britain. It occurs, for example, on pottery from Chun in Cornwall<sup>1</sup> and is an integral feature of wares of the Glastonbury type.

The zone of stamped decoration on no. 11 brings it into line with a fairly large and somewhat amorphous group of decorated Iron Age ware from Finistère and the adjacent departments, although it is a poor and late-looking example of its class. Representative examples of this Iron Age pottery, illustrated in figs. 26-29, show the range of form on which this decoration occurs and its variation in detail. It constitutes a cultural unit in that it is for the most part small in scale, geometrical in character, and made by the use of stamps. The concentric circles, arrangements of semicircles and dotted squares or lozenges are typical elements. These characters are derivable from decorated metalwork of the Hallstatt period and have little or nothing of the feeling of La Tène decoration about them. In this respect, as in their common association with graphite-coated ware, they represent a prolongation of Hallstatt influence in a remote region which was reached spasmodically and imperfectly by developed La Tène cultures. Only here and there, as in the well-known group of sherds from Hénon, St. Brieuc, Côtes-du-Nord (fig. 30, 1-6), or in the still better known pot from Plouhinec, Finistère, are intrusive motives derived from La Tène metalwork associated with these early elements. The present example from Kercaradec may show a more summary influence of La Tène in the smoothed spiral pattern below the stamped band; a somewhat comparable spiral decoration occurs on a sherd from Parc-al-Leur (fig. 28, 13). On the other hand, Hallstatt prototypes for this pattern can also be found.<sup>2</sup>

Generally, it may be said that the pottery from Kercaradec exhibits features both of the Hallstatt and the La Tène traditions combined in a provincial complex; Hallstatt elements being the rim-type of no. 2, the stamped decoration of no. 11, and the graphite-coating of nos. 7, 8, and 10, and the La Tène elements including the cordon of no. 10 and perhaps of nos. 5 and 7, and possibly the spiral decoration of no. 11. As a whole this group of pottery is not known to have reproduced itself in Britain, although certain elements of it can be traced there from Hampshire westward. It remains to be seen whether further exploration in Cornwall and elsewhere along the southern coast can produce more complete analogies.

#### B. SLING-STONES

Some 30-40 beach-pebbles of the kind used as sling-stones were found during the excavations (pl. xxv, B), and a large hoard, previously discovered on the site, has been mentioned above (p. 56). The average weight of the pebbles is 2 ounces; they correspond exactly with those found in great numbers at Maiden Castle, Dorset, and elsewhere, and reference has been made to them above (p. 7).

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, lxxvi (1926-7), 223, fig. 9.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. on Este situlæ; Montelius, *La Civilisation primitive en Italie*, pt. 1, pl. 58, 7.

## (iv) LE CAMP DU CANADA, FÉCAMP, SEINE-INFÉRIEURE

The central and western part of the department of the Seine-Inférieure is the Pays de Caux, a chalk plateau bounded towards the south by the valley of the Seine and cut sharply by the sea towards the north-west. The surface of the chalk is diversified by certain beds which range from clay to gravels: patches of Clay-with-flints, and of sands, loams, and pebble-beds which correspond to the Thanet Sands and the Woolwich Beds of the Lower London Tertiaries. The plateau is dissected by streams which have cut deep valleys, broadening towards the sea and, at Fécamp, forming an inlet of some considerable magnitude and moment.

The town of Fécamp—notable for its abbey and its Benedictine liqueur—is still a port of considerable importance as the headquarters of a deep-sea fishing fleet. The accessibility of the site from the sea may partially explain the situation of the notable hill-fort (pl. xxviii), rather more than 50 acres in extent, which occupies a promontory some 300 ft. above sea-level and 2 miles from the shore but thrusting northward towards it. The hill-fort has been known as the Camp du Canada or Camp des Canadas at least from 1700.<sup>1</sup> It is actually in the commune of Toussaint in the canton of Valmont, and is noted by the Abbé Cochet.<sup>2</sup>

The promontory lies between the streams of Valmont on the east and Ganzeville on the west, and is defended across the level approach from the south by an immense rampart and ditch with a slight counterscarp bank. The rampart rises to a height of 16 ft. above the interior of the camp and 37 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch which is comparatively shallow and flat-bottomed and has a steep outer side, features to which attention has been drawn above (p. 11). A section through these defences showed no very definite structural details, but at the outer foot of the rampart an artificially levelled ledge carried a heaped line of large flints which had probably formed either a rough kerb or a marking-out bank. In the back of the rampart an immense cavity, upwards of 18 in. in diameter, penetrated from the original surface of the mound into the natural soil beneath. Lateral search for a distance of 14 ft. failed to reveal any equivalent hole and it seems likely that the cavity resulted from the incorporation of a growing tree within the structure. Certainly, no function suggests itself for so immense a post so deeply buried.

Outside and parallel to the main ditch is a small bank and ditch which, to the south of the approach-track, has the aspect of a relatively modern field or woodland boundary. It is continued to the north of the track, but the ditch is there up to 8 ft. in depth and suggests that an ancient feature is incorporated in the boundary. If so, the small outer ditch at Duclair (p. 76) offers an analogy: a sort of trip-wire beyond the main defences.

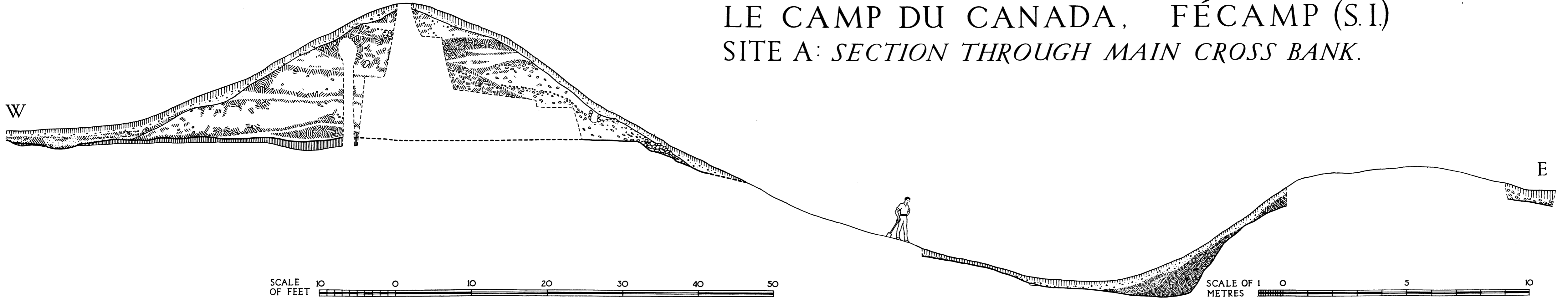
Near the centre of the main rampart is the principal entrance to the camp (pls. xxx,

<sup>1</sup> The date of a plan reproduced by Martin, *Histoire de Fécamp illustré* (Fécamp, 1893-4), i, 12, pl. vi.

<sup>2</sup> p. 198. For a more recent account see Doranlo, *B.S.A.N.* xxxvi, 37-318, with useful bibliography. Slight cuttings were made into the defences by Vauvillé in 1890,

without result; Vauvillé, *M.S.A.F.* lii (1891), 133-42, plan, pl. v; and see also Bibliography under Coutil (1), pp. 22, 127. Also Gaillard, p. 6; *B.S.P.F.* xvi (1919), list LXXVII, 187; Mortillet, p. 204.

LE CAMP DU CANADA, FÉCAMP (S.I.)  
SITE A: SECTION THROUGH MAIN CROSS BANK.





xxxv-xxxvii). It is flanked by the in-turning banks which form another characteristic feature of the series to which this hill-fort belongs. Excavation showed that these in-turns had been faced by a rough flint wall, and that the original width of the roadway had been 23 ft. The post-holes of the gate-structure itself were found near their inner ends, where three were identified on the north-eastern side and two on the south-western, with two others along the median line. The post-holes were  $5\frac{1}{2}$ - $6\frac{1}{2}$  ft. deep and were about 3 ft. in diameter; the packing which they must have contained was no longer identifiable. Their plan suggests that they carried not merely the gate but a bridge or fighting-platform above it.

This entrance was not, however, a primary feature of the plan. Excavation proved—as superficial appearance suggests—that the sagging causeway which approaches it across the line of the ditch was of artificial construction, the ditch having originally been continuous here. At the same time trenches cut into the back of the main rampart and the in-turning flanks showed that both alike lay upon the same ground-level and were associated with the same sequence of secondary deposits. Furthermore, there was no hint of an underlying rampart of earlier date. It is evident, therefore, that no appreciable interval of time separated the building of the main structure and the entrance, and in effect it may be regarded as an essential feature of the hill-fort.

It seems likely that a lateral causeway at the extreme south-western end of this line of defence represents an original entrance. At the north-eastern end the evidence is more certain; for where the great rampart ends an oblique gap intervenes between it and the minor defensive system which constitutes the remainder of the enceinte.

This minor defence outlines the brow of the almost precipitous side of the promontory. It consists of an artificial scarp, a shallow scoop or ledge, and a rampart about 4 ft. high thrown up on the outer edge. The external slope of this rampart normally blends into the hill-side. The summit of the scarp was devoid alike of rampart and of palisade.

Apart from the entrance already referred to as an opening upon the back of the promontory, three original gateways may be traced in the circuit of the camp. They are all of them formed by interrupting and side-stepping the line of the rampart. The most elaborate of them, on the western side of the camp, was excavated (fig. 13) and its flanks were found to have been revetted with rough flint walling similar to that of the main entrance. Three post-holes were found, marking the site of the double gate. The end of the outer rampart was thickened and heightened at this entrance, partly to ensure a symmetrical plan of the inner gate at a point where the rampart changed direction, and partly to form a sort of bastion commanding the approach.

Within the camp, half a dozen small areas were opened in a search for signs of occupation. The search was fruitless save for the recovery of a large number of flint flakes, cores, and scrapers to which further reference will be made. Only under the shelter of the in-turned south-western flank of the main entrance did any appreciable quantity of Iron Age material come to light. The whole of this was subsequent to the defences. It fell



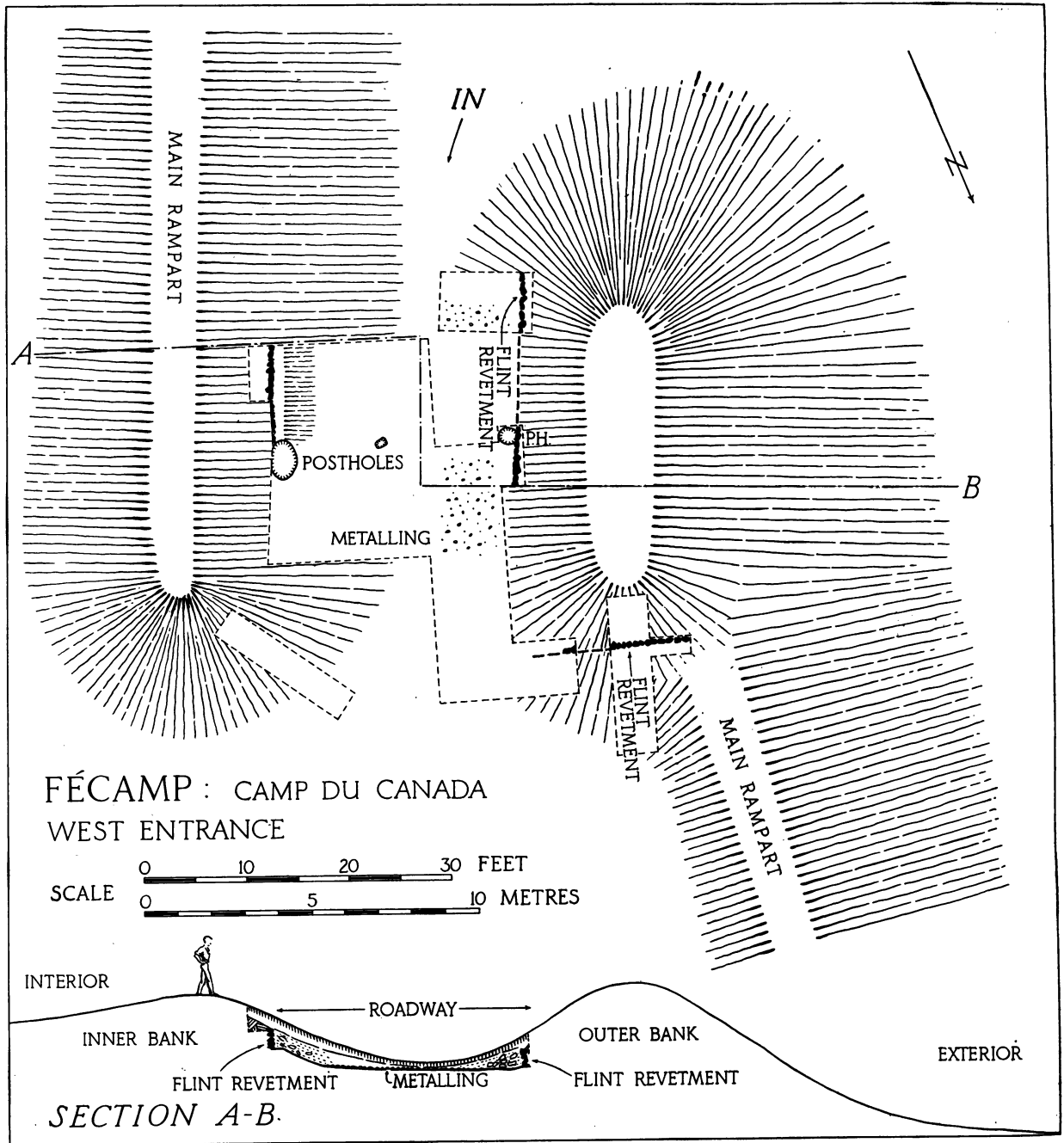
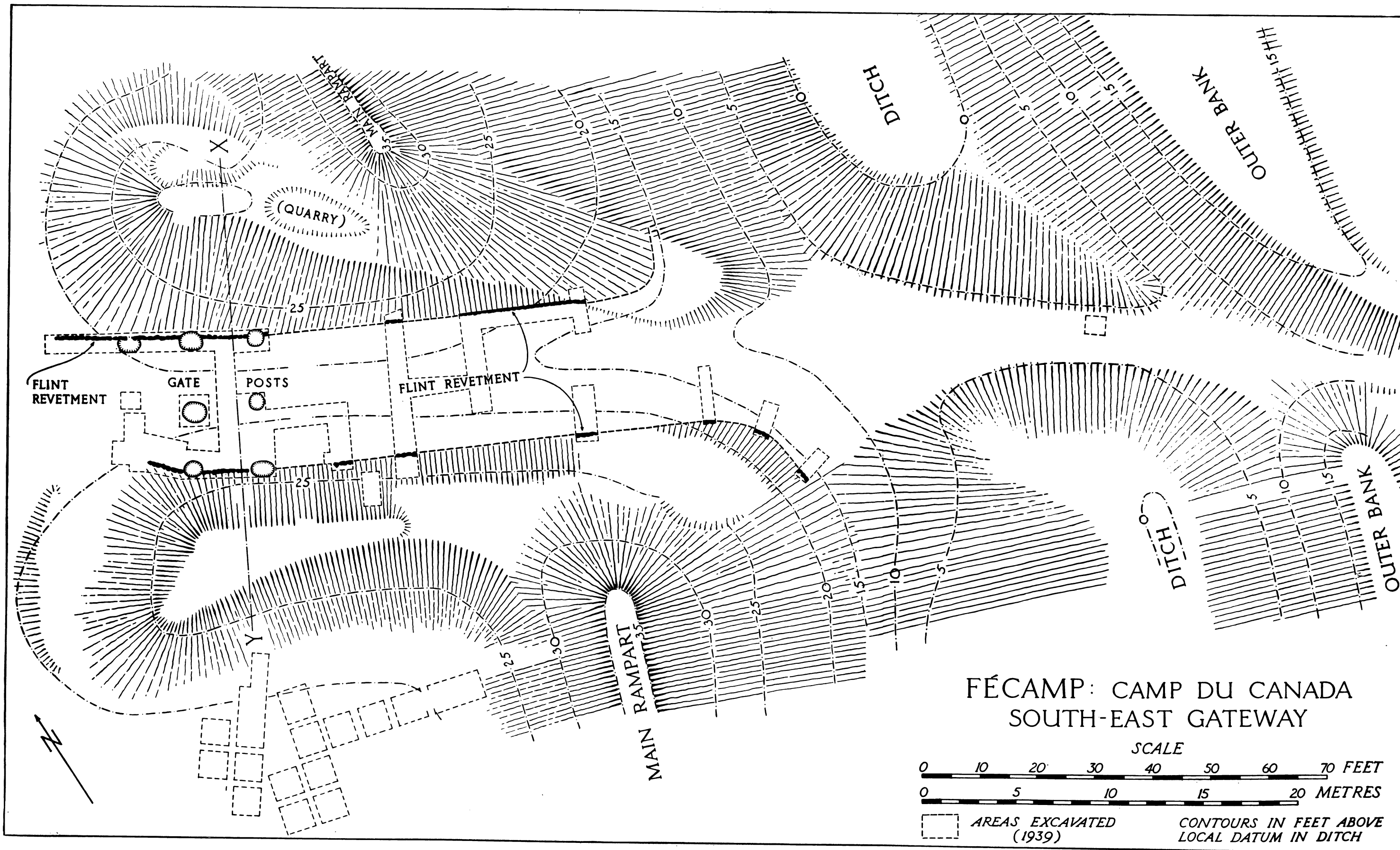
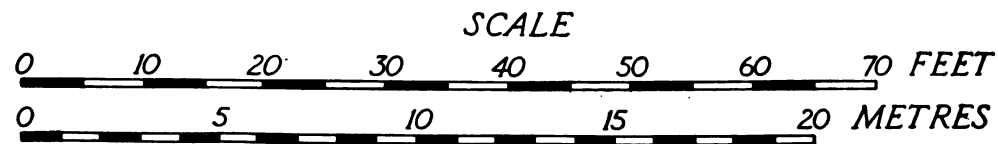


FIG. 13



FÉCAMP: CAMP DU CANADA  
SOUTH-EAST GATEWAY



— AREAS EXCAVATED (1939)      CONTOURS IN FEET ABOVE LOCAL DATUM IN DITCH



approximately into three layers or groups, of which the uppermost and latest contained amongst other wares a few scraps of *terra sigillata* and could be ascribed to the second quarter of the first century A.D. The underlying middle layer was of considerable thickness and included Belgic sherds, some of which, imitating Arretine forms, are unlikely to be earlier than the Augustan period, i.e. the end of the first century B.C. The lowest layer contained less distinctive sherds which, however, included Belgic features. From this evidence certain inferences can be drawn. The camp itself with its vast defences cannot on general grounds be later than the conquest of the region by Julius Caesar in 56–51 B.C. The strata of the site offer no hint of interruption in the comparatively slight occupation which followed the construction, and of the material evidence the greater part is unlikely to be earlier than the last quarter of the century. It follows that the fortification cannot have been occupied much before the Caesarian conquest. Structural evidence is in accordance with this deduction. Where the collapsed flanking walls of the main entrance lay upon the road-surface, that surface showed no evidence of hard wear; only in the centre, beyond the main collapse, was the road hollowed and slightly rutted. In other words, whether by accident or design, the gateway was in a state of collapse within a short time of its construction.

In any case, it is evident that the site as a whole was not a permanently occupied *oppidum*; save for intermittent visitation, it was either abandoned shortly after construction or was kept in cold-storage for emergency. So far as excavation has been carried, it was only in the vicinity of the main gateway that anything like a continuous occupation is represented, and that was slight enough. The endurance of this tenuous occupation into the first century A.D. is fully in accordance with evidence from other *oppida* both in France and Britain. Thus in France, apart from the exceptional case of Alesia, sites such as the Cité de Limes, Pommiers, St. Marcel-de-Felines, Essalois, Murcens, l'Impenal, Bibracte, Villejoubert, the Camp de la Ségourie, and Jœuvres were all occupied for half a century or more after the Caesarian conquest (p. 22); and in Britain, Maiden Castle, Dorset, remained in use for thirty or forty years after its slighting about A.D. 44. Until the slow process of Romanization was completed—and even after that event—natives in some cases continued to occupy or resort to their demilitarized hill-forts.

In an area adjoining the pool of surface-water which the clay subsoil holds permanently in the centre of the camp, coins, *terra sigillata*, and other potsherds are further evidence of the utilization or re-utilization of a small part of the site between the middle of the first century B.C. and the latter part of the first century A.D. These evidences were partly discovered in the nineteenth century, when the Abbé Cochet appears to have dug a little round the margins of the pool. Two gold Gaulish coins were found and deposited in the Rouen museum, and a gold coin of Vespasian, now (1939) in the possession of Monsieur Marcel Olivier, of the Château, Toussaint, near Fécamp, and of Le Vieux Manoir, Les Essarts, near Elbeuf, is said to have been discovered by the Abbé; whilst in the making of a second pool into a duck-decoy close by in 1931 Monsieur Olivier found Roman pottery, including scraps of *terra sigillata*, forms 18 and 29, with a fragment of a grey Belgic

plate. Trenches hereabouts in 1939 revealed more fragments of Roman pottery (p. 69), together with an area very roughly paved with flints.

Both the ancient pond and the paved area lie within a trapezoidal enclosure marked by a bank and ditch of relatively feeble proportions, the bank 2 ft. above the interior and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. above the round-bottomed ditch. Elsewhere in Normandy similar enclosures are found in association with the sites of Romano-Celtic temples, which are not infrequently situated near pools and on hill-tops;<sup>1</sup> and it may well be that further exploration would discover another of these temples in this likely spot.

A further feature of the site relates to an earlier period. Underlying the defences near the main gate and extending throughout the adjacent area, a well-marked stratum which represented the surface of the site prior to the Iron Age occupation produced a large number of flint flakes, scrapers, and three *petits tranchets* (p. 71), together with a minute and unidentifiable scrap of pottery and, at one point, a hearth. To these must be added a considerable number of flint blades, scrapers, points, and chisels, with fragments of two polished axes, collected from war-trenches in the camp in 1917. The flint of which the flakes, etc., were made is thought to have been imported from the chalk of the surrounding countryside rather than derived from the clay capping of the actual site, but this would not appear to be beyond doubt. It is at any rate evident that the promontory was extensively used during the latter part of the neolithic, to which the *petit tranchets* and polished axes may be ascribed. Numerous other flint flakes and scrapers of the same kind from the Iron Age layers were presumably derivative.

## FINDS

### A. POTTERY

#### *Fig. 14*

This includes pottery from levels representing three phases of Iron Age occupation. There appears to be very little difference in time between the second and third phases, but the gap between the first and second may cover some fifty years. All the pottery is certainly or probably wheel-turned.

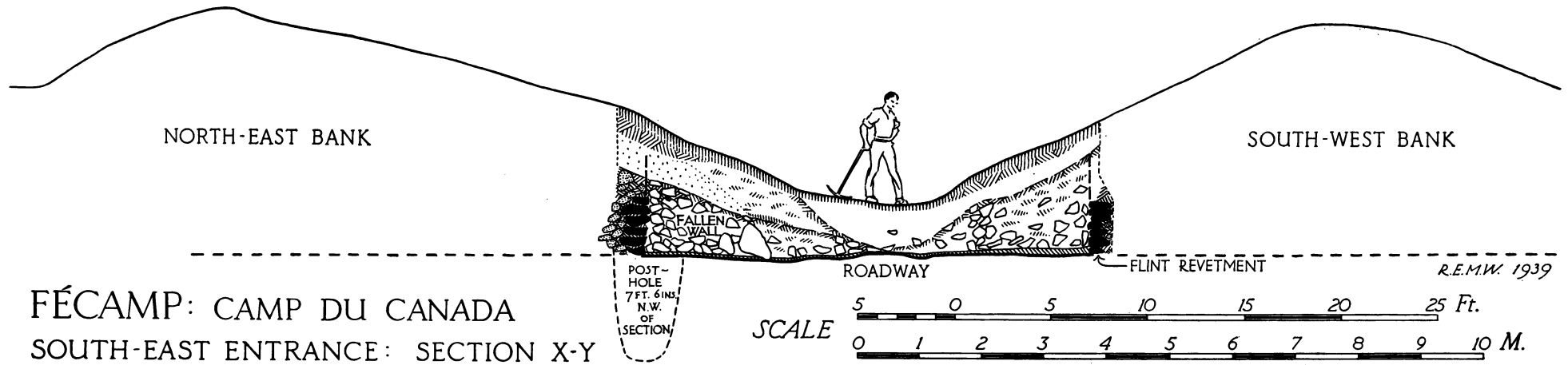
Nos. 1-3. Fragments of three pots from the earliest Iron Age occupation on the site, subsequent to the building of the rampart and directly overlying the neolithic level. From site G, level 5.

1. Rim and carinated shoulder of corky brown ware with burnished surface. This type, of late Hallstatt origin, survived in Britain and apparently in France until the first century B.C.

2. Base of pot in corky brown ware.

3. Rim of vessel in hard brown ware, slightly burnished.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, L. Deglatigny, *Documents et notes archéologiques*, fasc. 2 (Rouen, 1927).



FÉCAMP: CAMP DU CANADA  
SOUTH-EAST ENTRANCE: SECTION X-Y





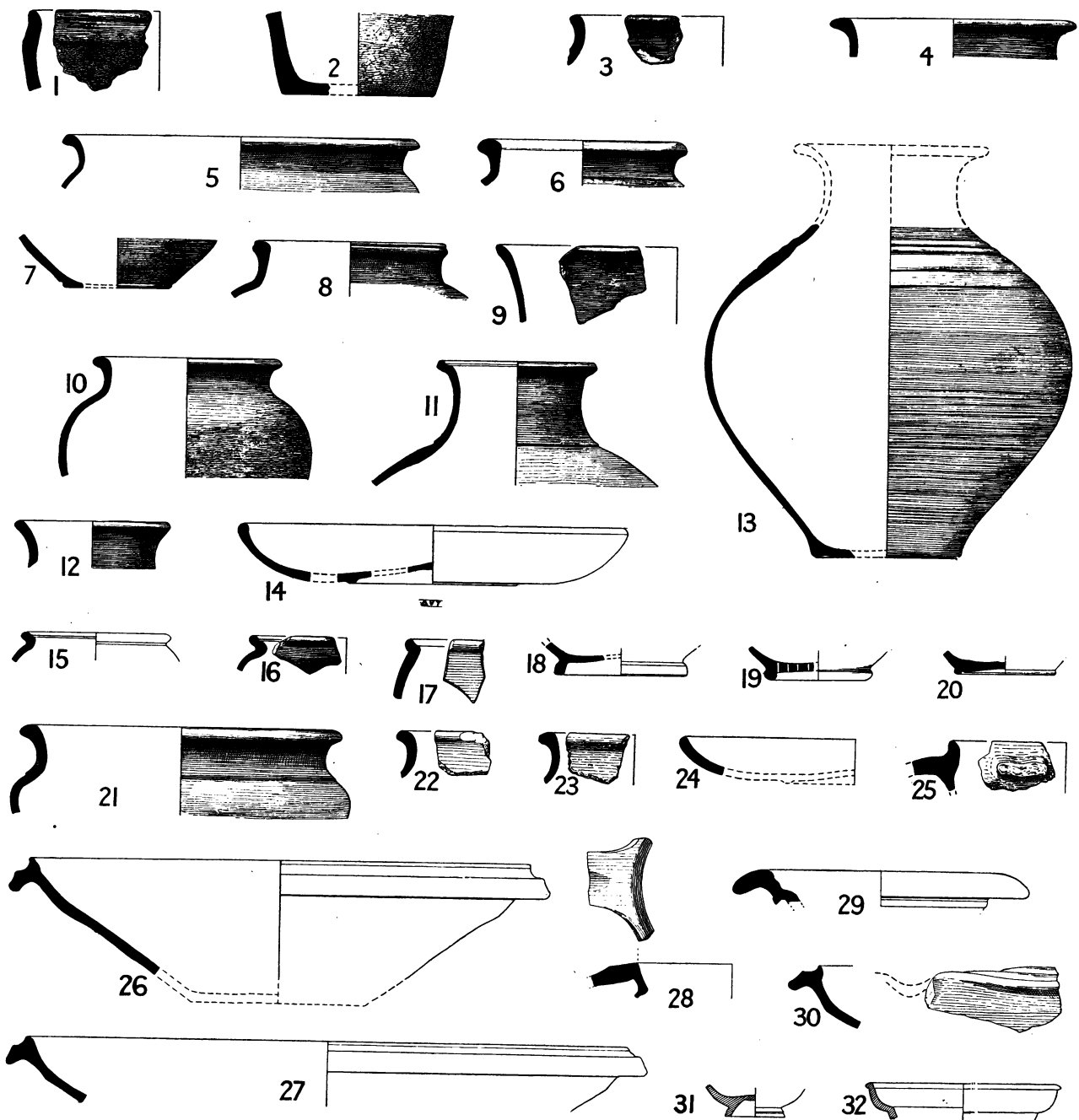


FIG. 14. Pottery from Le Camp du Canada, Fécamp (4)

Nos. 4-10 and 12-14 are from two gullies or pits, representing the second phase of Iron Age occupation, site L, pit 2, and site G, pit 5, respectively. This group shows a more sophisticated facies than the Duclair series. The hard sandy ware of nos. 4, 6, and 8 would not be out of place in a Roman context. A scrap of unidentifiable *terra sigillata* was found with this group. No pedestal bases occur in the Fécamp series.

4. Rim of jar in hard grey ware.
  5. Finely cut rim of vessel in brittle brown ware.
  6. Rim of jar in ware similar to no. 4.
  7. Base of pot with foot-ring, greyish-buff ware.
  8. Rim of jar in ware similar to nos. 4 and 6.
  9. Rim of buff ware with grey polished surface.
  10. Part of jar in same ware as no. 5.
  11. Part of a vessel of hard drab ware. The rim is grooved on the inside. From the fall of the wing or 'in-turn' inside the entrance.
  12. Rim in light grey ware with darker grey surface.
  13. Vessel of buff ware with grey slip, grooved round the base and neck.
  14. Fragments of rim and footstand of Belgic plate in light grey ware with darker grey surface; the base is stamped AVT, but the name is probably incomplete at both ends. The footstand is only just functional. The form is allied to Ritterling's types 99B and 100 from Hofheim (Taf. xxxvi) but lacks the angle between the base and side of the dish.
- Nos. 15-32 represent the third phase of Iron Age occupation.
- Nos. 17, 20, 23, and 24 are from a level stratigraphically later than nos. 4-10 and 12-14, but not appreciably younger.
- 15-16. Small jars with everted rim grooved on the inner side in light grey-buff ware with darker grey surface. From site H, level 3, and from the sub-humus on site G.
  17. Bowl with everted rim in hard grey ware similar to that of nos. 4, 6, and 8 above. Cf. also the grooved everted rim of nos. 15 and 16 above. From site L, level 3.
  18. Base with footstand in softish dark grey ware with buff surface. From site H, level 3.
  19. Base with foot-ring of similar ware to no. 16 and pierced (before baking) for use as a colander. From site G, level 3.
  20. Base of pot in fine, hard grey ware, grooved round the underside of the base. From the same level as no. 17.
  21. Vessel of hard grey ware with grooved shoulder. From site H, level 3.
  22. Rim in buff ware with grey surface. From site G, level 3.
  23. Rim in greyish-buff ware. From the same level as no. 17.
  24. Part of a Belgic plate in light buff ware, cf. above, no. 14. From the same level as no. 17.
  25. Fragment of rim and handle of a vessel of dark grey ware, similar to nos. 26 and 27. From the same level as nos. 27 and 29. From site H.
  26. Part of a flanged bowl in brown ware with dark grey surface on both the inner and

outer faces. There are no grits on the inner side. Occurring in this context, this angular form must presumably be regarded as an early type in spite of its 'late' look. From the sub-humus, site H. It may be observed, without emphasis, that a comparable mortarium occurred with otherwise exclusively Early Iron Age wares in Hut B at Gurnard's Head, Cornwall (*Arch. Journ.* xcvi, 1940, 109), and, but for its late form, might be regarded as having there a pre-Claudian context.

27. Part of a flanged bowl of similar ware and form to the preceding. From site H, level 3.

28. Part of the handle and rim of a vessel in hard grey ware. From the same level as nos. 19 and 22. From site G.

29. Part of an amphora-rim in grey ware with pinkish-buff surface. From the same level as no. 27 on site H.

30. Fragment of a flanged bowl similar to no. 26; the flange is twisting towards the spout. From the sub-humus, site L.

Nos. 31-32. (Note by the late Mr. T. Davies Pryce, F.S.A.) Two fragments of Samian pottery, probably of the same cup, form 27. The fracture is 'softish' and unlike that of south Gaulish fabric, except in some very early examples. The glaze is lustrous and glossy—Ritterling notes that many examples of form 27, found at Claudian Hofheim, have a brilliant, glossy glaze (Hofheim, p. 208). The wall is not rouletted, as is usual in Italian fabric (cf. Oswald and Pryce, XLIX, 1). The footstand displays the early external groove and also a slight internal groove, as in some early south Gaulish examples (cf. Oswald and Pryce, XLIX, 7). Period: Tiberio-Claudian. From sites L and H.

Fig. 15

The pottery illustrated in this figure was found within the central enclosure: nos. 1-3, 11, and 12 are from the 1939 excavations, nos. 4-10 were recovered in the process of digging a second pond in 1931.

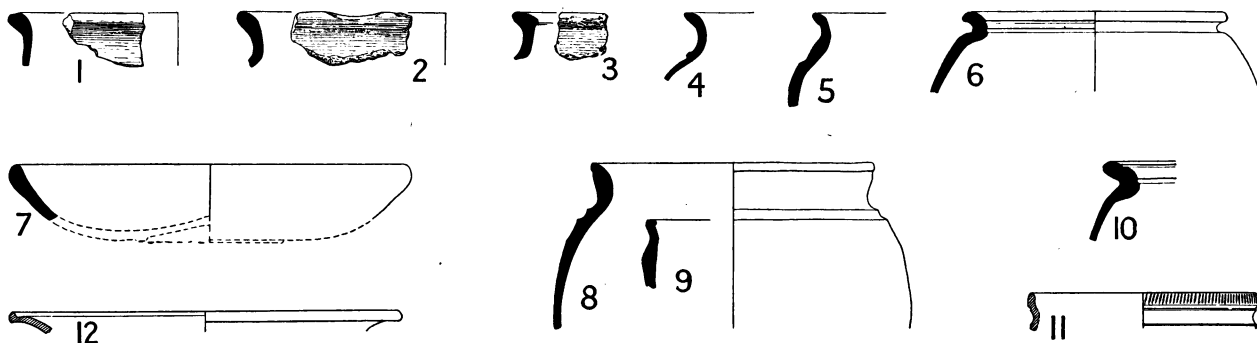


FIG. 15. Pottery from Le Camp du Canada, Fécamp ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )

1-3. Three rims of vessels in hard grey ware. From the Roman level, associated with the *terra sigillata* forms below.

4. Rim of vessel in grey ware.
5. Part of a jar in buff ware.
6. Vessel in grey ware.
7. Fragment of grey Belgic plate; cf. fig. 14, no. 14.
8. Vessel in rather coarse grey ware, hand-made, or very roughly wheel-turned.
9. Fragment of a flat-rimmed, sub-Hallstatt type of pot, but wheel-turned.
10. Rim in grey ware.

Nos. 4-10 were associated with a fragment of *terra sigillata*, form 18, first century A.D., south Gaulish ware, and an unrecognizable sherd of form 29.

11. (Note by the late Mr. T. Davies Pryce.) Arretine ware. Part of the rim of a cup (cf. Ritterling 5; Oswald and Pryce, xxxviii) or a plate (cf. Loeschcke 2a; Oswald and Pryce, xlii, 1). The rim is rouletted, a not uncommon feature in this type. The glaze is typically Italian, as also the paste and texture, the fracture of which is 'soft', not hard as is usual in south Gaulish ware. Period: Tiberian.

12. Belgic *terra rubra*. Part of the rim of a Belgic dish (cf. Loeschcke, 77; Oswald and Pryce, lv, 2). This type does not appear to have been found at Claudian Hofheim nor at Richborough. Period: probably Tiberian.

*Fig. 16*

(Note by Mr. G. C. Dunning, F.S.A.) The stoneware pottery illustrated in this figure was all derived from the humus, sub-humus, and an intrusive level (layer 5) on site L, excepting no. 1, which came from the same level as nos. 17, 23, and 24 of fig. 2, and is undoubtedly a stray. A rim and base of different bowls or cups are combined in no. 2 to show the complete form. All the sherds are of light grey stoneware, and a thin, slightly glossy yellow finish round the collar of the bowls is probably salt-glaze.

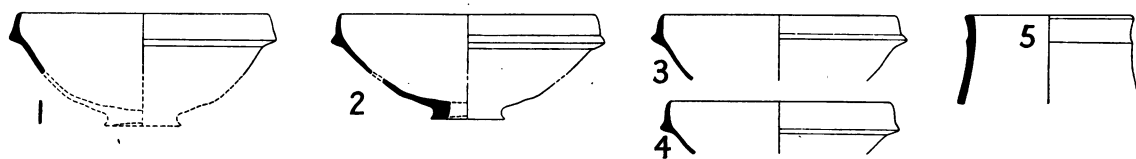


FIG. 16. Medieval pottery from Le Camp du Canada, Fécamp (‡)

Bowls of this type are known from many sites in Normandy<sup>1</sup> and also at Paris. A kiln and heap of waste sherds was found at Savignies, near Beauvais, and other centres of production were probably in Lower Normandy (Pays de Bray) and at Paris. The bowls appear to be a local type limited to northern France, and occur rarely if indeed at all in the numerous groups of stoneware in the Rhineland and Low Countries.

<sup>1</sup> List given by the Abbé Cochet in *Archaeologia*, xxxix (1863), 120.

The dating of these stoneware bowls has been determined by the Abbé Cochet,<sup>1</sup> who collected instances of their occurrence in graves, etc., of known date. Apart from a single and doubtful instance of the fourteenth century, the finds are consistently of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and it is to this period that the Fécamp bowls may be ascribed.

### B. METAL OBJECT (fig. 23, 3)

Socketed bronze object of unknown use, from the single occupation-layer on site L.

### C. FLINT INDUSTRY

The flints illustrated in figs. 17-19 fall into two groups: (*a*) those recovered from a layer which underlay the rampart and, though not found associated with any pottery, are presumed to be of pre-Iron Age date (fig. 17); and (*b*) those found in trenches where no pottery was present in any level and which may not therefore be assigned to any definite period on stratigraphical grounds, together with those found in layers associated with Iron Age or Roman pottery (figs. 18-19). In the latter case it is not possible to tell whether the flints are contemporary with the pottery or entirely derived from the pre-rampart levels. One can only say that taken together, neither group (*a*) nor (*b*) would be out of place in a normal neolithic industry. It should also be added that flakes and implements were certainly relatively more abundant in the presumed neolithic levels; e.g. whereas in one cutting 81 flakes and 10 scrapers were found in the pre-Iron Age layer, only 24 flakes and 9 scrapers were recovered from the total of the subsequent levels, and again in another cutting 12 implements occurred in the neolithic level and only 2 came from the total of the Iron Age and Roman layers.

Flint implements have been found at several points in the immediate neighbourhood of Fécamp, the most noteworthy finds having come from St. Leonard. During the Great War of 1914-18 the Camp du Canada was used as a military training ground and trenches were dug north-east of the central enclosure. These were examined by M. R. Doranlo who states that in less than two hours he collected 300 flakes and worked flints. These included scrapers, blades, borers, *burins*, *tranchets*, tanged arrowheads, fabricators, knives, cores, chisels, hammerstones, and fragments of two polished axes. Most of these finds are in the Musée du Vieux Fécamp.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that apart from the two axes, one *pointe de fleche*, and one *pointe à cran*, most of the types enumerated are represented here below. As M. Doranlo has remarked, the flint utilized probably came from the upper chalk which here underlies the natural sands and gravels and clay with flints. The implements are glossy black in colour or are patinated a greyish-brown or yellow. A few appear to be made of surface flint or of chert. Apart from the flints illustrated below, the following were recovered from the site: from pre-rampart (neolithic) levels, 19

<sup>1</sup> *Sépultures gauloises, romaines, franques et normandes* (1857), pp. 354, 376.

<sup>2</sup> Doranlo, *B.S.A.N.* xxxvi, 13-14.

end-scrapers and 1 side-scrapers; from Iron Age and Roman levels, 3 hollow scrapers, 7 side-scrapers, and 29 end-scrapers.

*Fig. 17*

From the level underlying the rampart.

1. Side-scrapers of greyish-yellow flint.
2. Roughly made keeled scraper of blackish-brown flint.
3. Side-scrapers of greyish-yellow flint.
4. Large coarsely made scraper of dark grey-black flint.
5. End-scrapers of dark grey flint.
6. Neatly worked thumb-scrapers of greyish-brown flint.
7. Side-scrapers of pale grey flint.
8. Core used as a rough scraper of greyish-brown flint.

*Figs. 18-19*

From the Iron Age and indeterminate levels.

1. Neatly worked side-scrapers of black flint.
2. Side-scrapers of pale brownish-grey flint.
3. Side-scrapers of greyish-yellow flint.
4. Flake with carefully toughened hollow blade of black flint with grey mottled patination.
5. Rough side-scrapers of grey flint.
6. Borer of pale brownish-grey flint.
7. Neatly worked end-of-blade side-scrapers of dark grey flint.
8. Keeled scrapers of black flint.
9. Thumb-scrapers of black flint with much of the cortex remaining.
10. Flat end-scrapers of pale grey flint.
11. Scrapers of greyish-black flint.
12. Hollow end-scrapers of pale yellowish-grey flint.
13. Side-scrapers of orange-grey chert.
14. Roughly made chopper of white chert worked on both faces.
15. Core used as a rough scraper of greyish-black flint.
- 16 and 17. Two cores of black flint.
18. Small side-scrapers of pale brown to grey flint.
19. Tranchet-shaped implement of greyish-brown flint, with cutting edge toughened to serve as a chisel.
20. *Petit tranchet* of dark greyish-brown flint. A common neolithic type in northern France and Brittany, Professor Grahame Clark's Type A.<sup>1</sup> The two edges at right-angles to the main line of the flake are blunted by almost vertical secondary flaking.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.* xci (1934), 38. In Britain the *petit tranchet* Type A survives into the Early Bronze Age; poor examples having been found with beaker pottery of the overlap period.



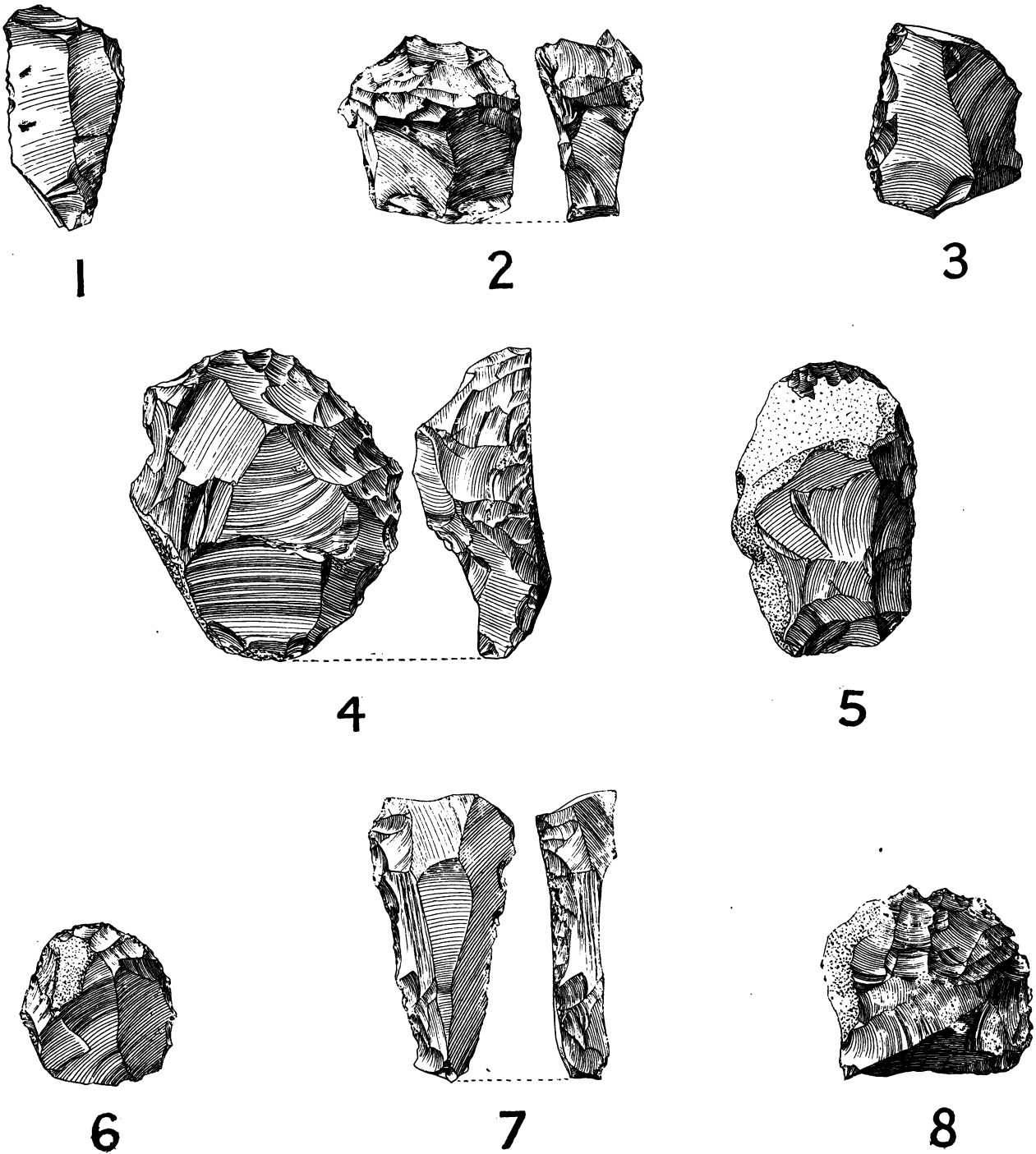


FIG. 17. Flints from beneath the rampart of Le Camp du Canada ( $\frac{2}{3}$ )

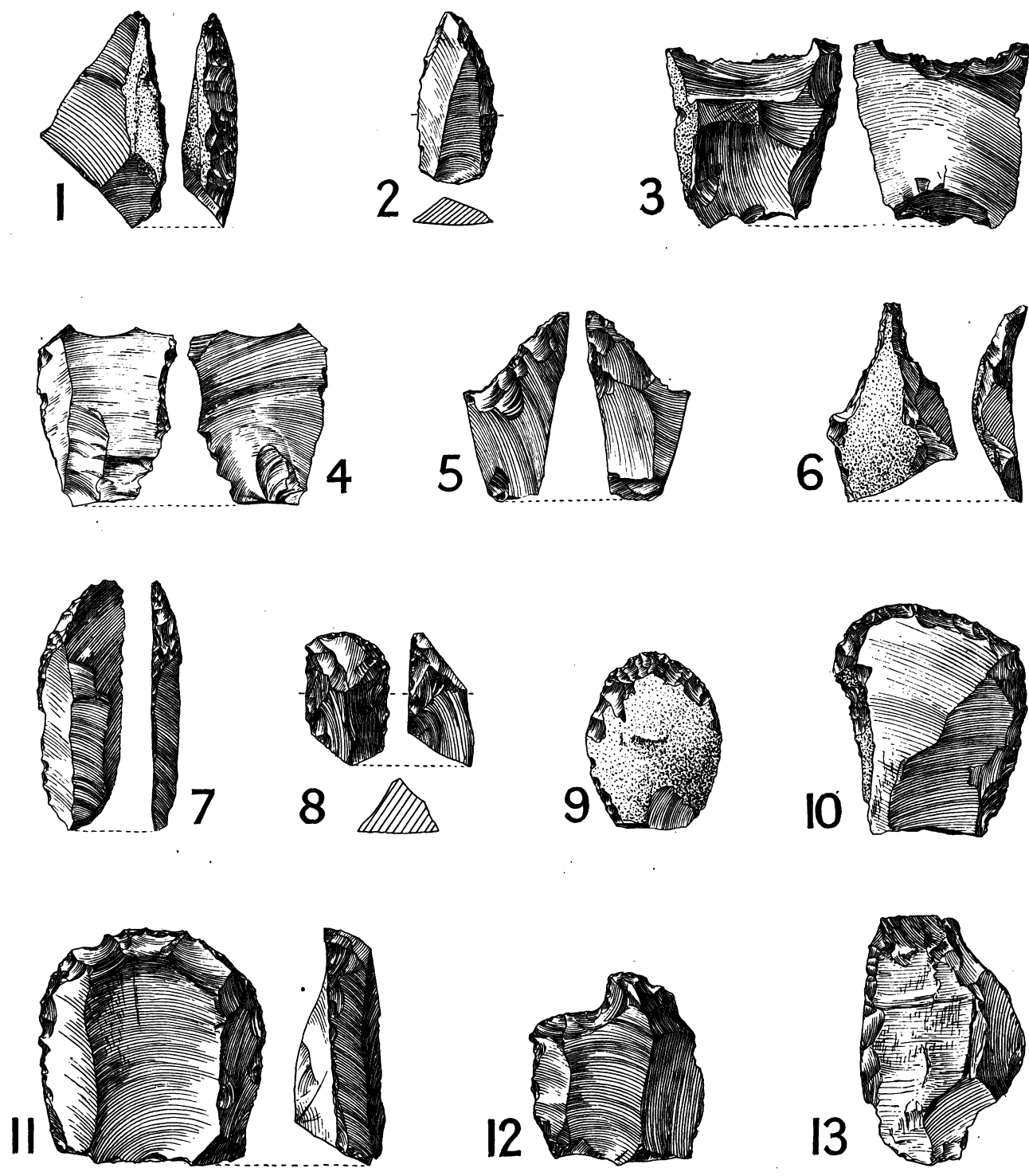
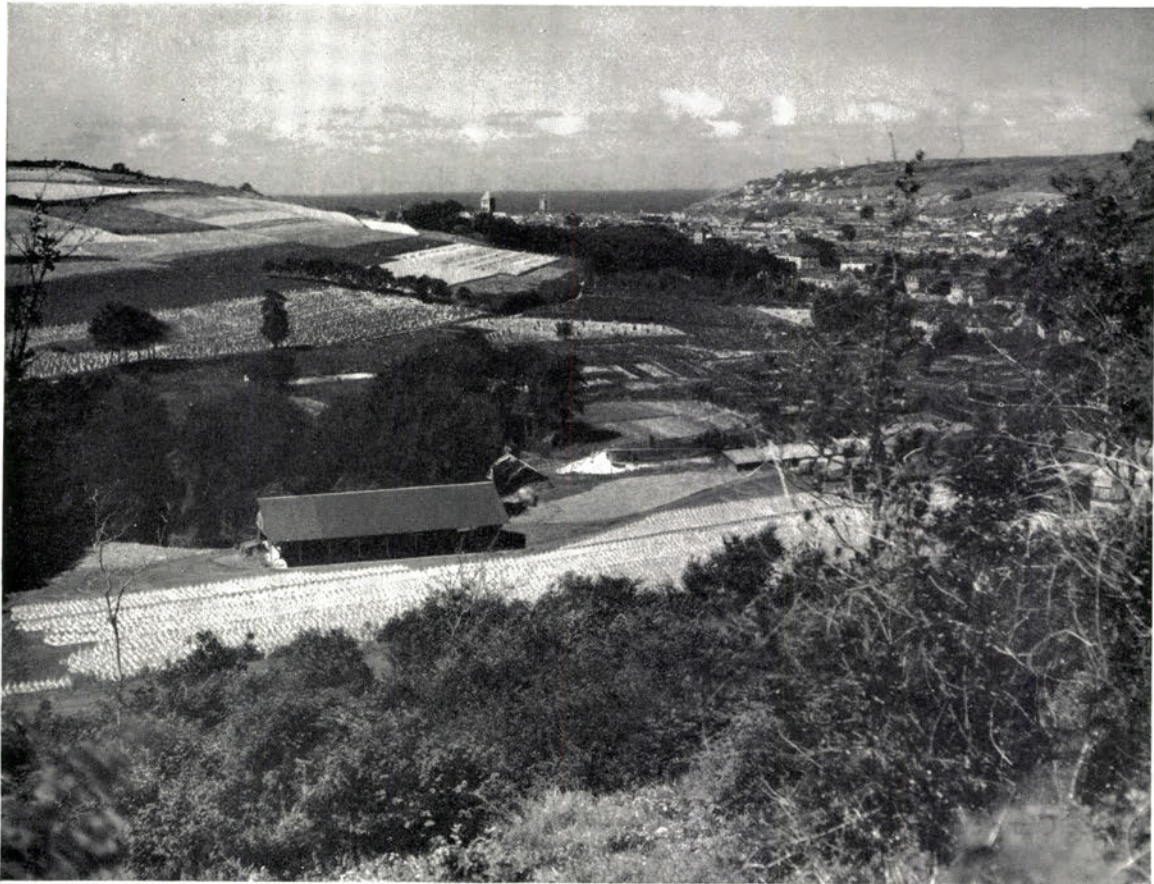


FIG. 18. Flints from Le Camp du Canada (3)



A. Le Camp du Canada (on hill in distance) from the coastal plain



B. The port of Fécamp from Le Camp du Canada

(See p. 62)





Le Camp du Canada: main cross-rampart N. of SE. entrance. The upper figure is half-way up the outer slope

(See p. 62)





A. Cut through inner slope of main cross-rampart, N. of SE. entrance



B. Outer end of main ditch. The figure stands against the outer scarp on the flat bottom of the ditch

Le Camp du Canada

(See p. 62)





A. Exterior of SE. entrance



B. Flint revetment of W. entrance: hollowed roadway in foreground

Le Camp du Canada

(See p. 62)





A. Flint revetment of SE. entrance (behind pole), with fallen flints across roadway in foreground



B. Post-hole at SE. entrance  
Le Camp du Canada

(See p. 63)





Le Camp du Canada: flint revetment of SE. entrance

(See p. 63)

21. *Petit tranchet* of greyish-brown flint; cf. no. 19 above.  
 22. Large *petit tranchet* of pale grey flint.  
 23. Borer of greyish-brown flint.  
 24. *Lame de dégagement* of pale grey flint.

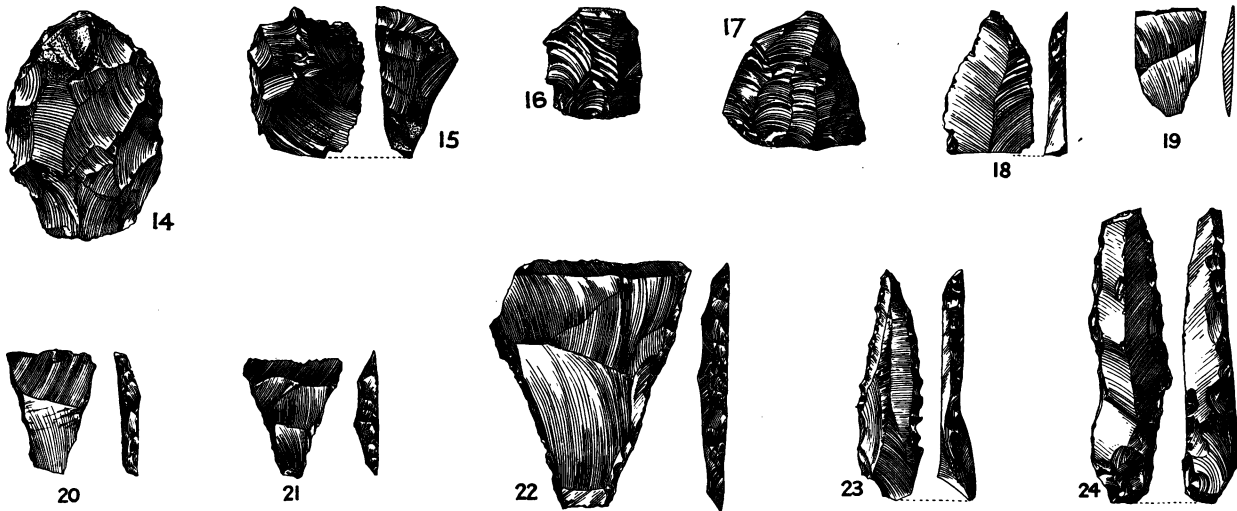


FIG. 19. Flints from the Camp du Canada. ( $\frac{2}{3}$  except 14-17, which are  $\frac{1}{3}$ )

#### (v) DUCLAIR, SEINE-INFÉRIEURE

A hill-fort known as the Câtelier or Châtellier lies in the commune of St. Pierre de Varengeville, in the canton of Duclair (Seine-Inférieure), and south of the latter village. It is situated on the right bank of the Seine, on a chalk promontory defined by the river on the south and the dry valley of the Asnerie to the north, and commands an ancient river-crossing still perpetuated by one of the few ferry-boats between Rouen and Le Havre. Although only  $24\frac{1}{4}$  acres in area it forms one of a group of major hill-forts which dominate the valley of the Seine between Vernon and Sandouville. As at Fécamp, the natural soil on the promontory is Clay-with-flints capping the chalk, but here the chalk is nearer the surface and was actually quarried. The adjoining plateau is highly cultivated at the present day, and was presumably under cultivation in the latter part of the Early Iron Age, to which the fortifications belong.

In 1939, with the kind permission and assistance of the owner, M. E. Fauquet, a limited excavation-programme was begun on the site. It was suddenly interrupted by the war and is in many respects incomplete, but the results are not insignificant and are here recorded from the surviving notes.

The hill-fort was originally described by Fallue<sup>1</sup> and was classified as a 'camp gaulois' by the Abbé Cochet, who refers to it as 'Les Portes de la Ville' or 'Le Câtelier'.<sup>2</sup> Deglagny planned it more or less accurately on a small scale, and our fig. 20 is based partly on his survey. The promontory is cut off from the mainland first by a small bank and ditch and secondly, 50 yards to the west, by defences built on a considerably larger scale,

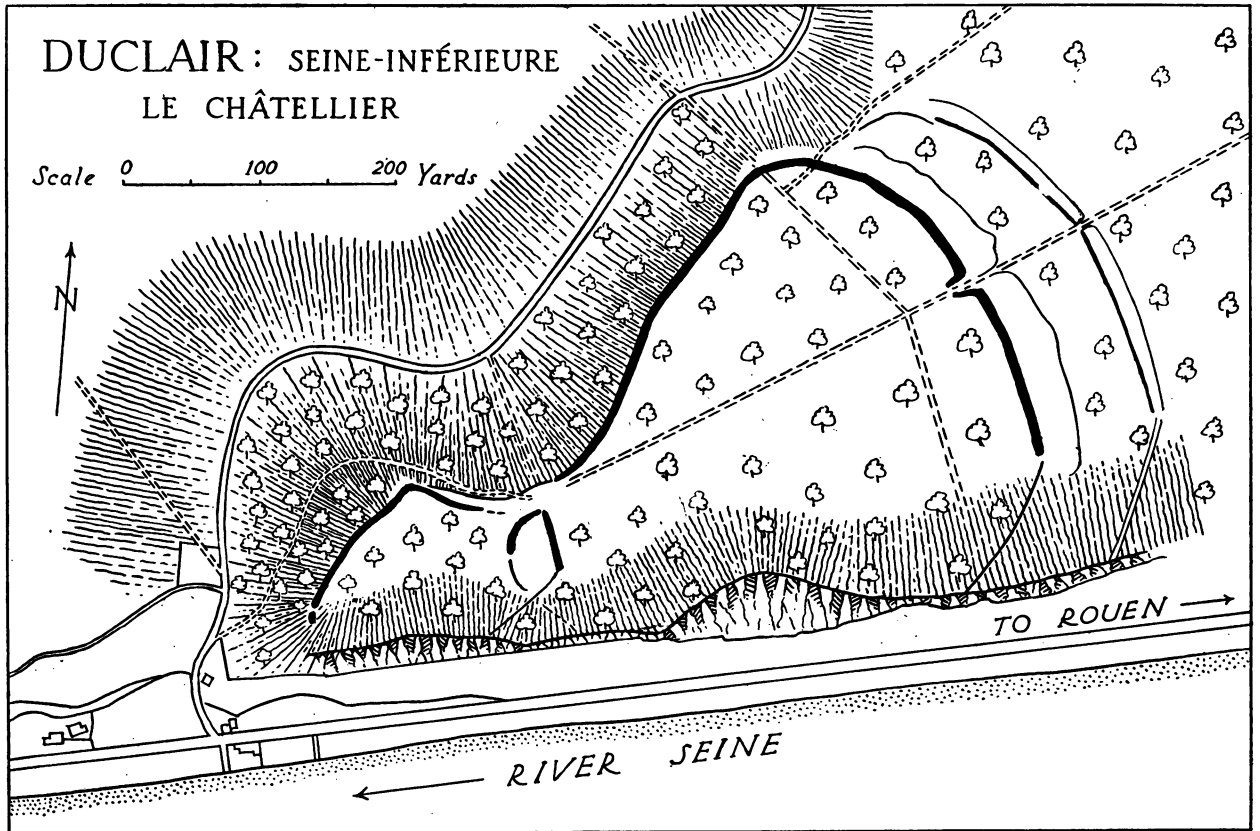


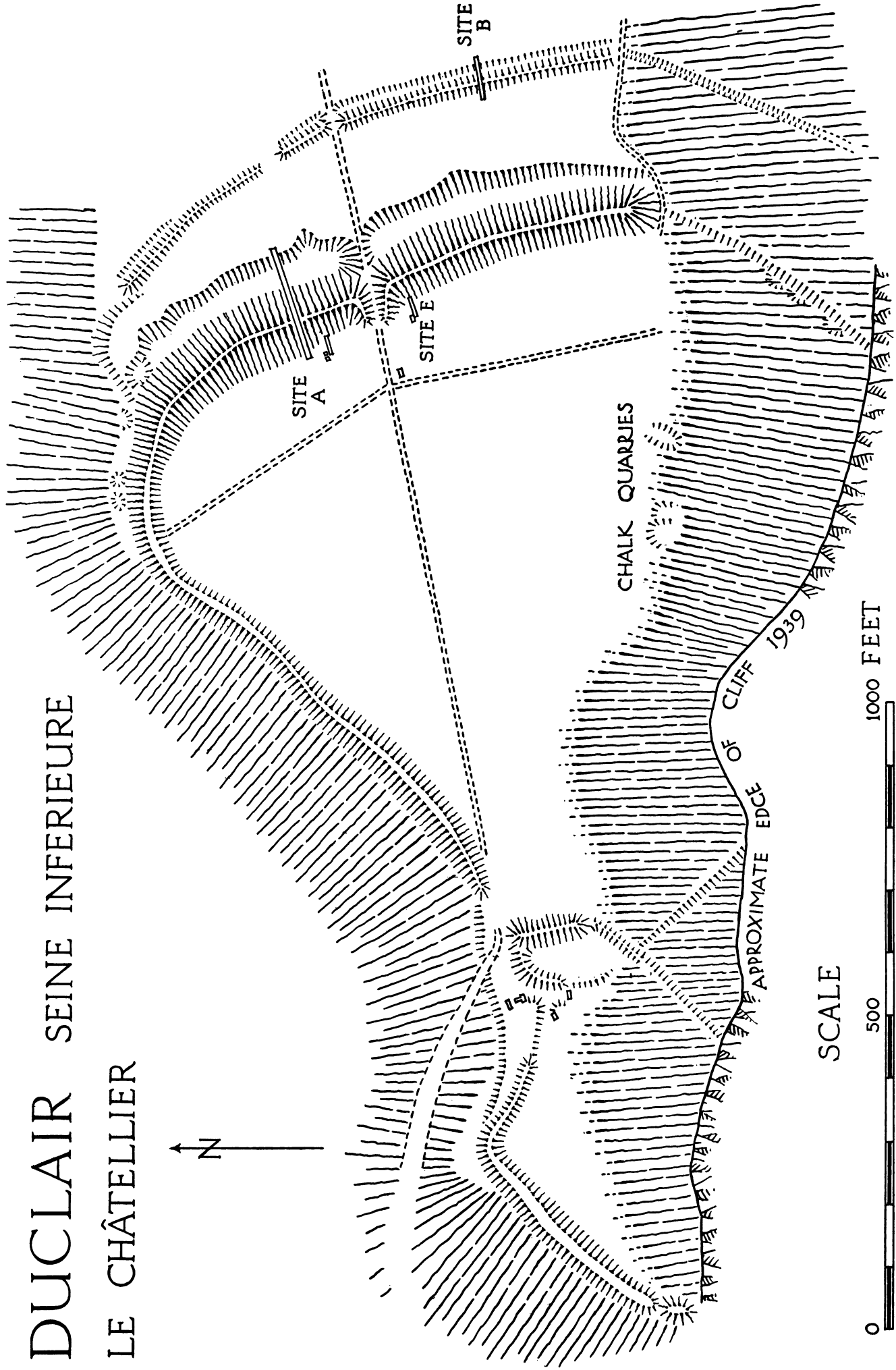
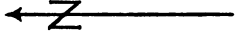
FIG. 20. Sketch-plan of environs

consisting of a massive rampart and wide, flat-bottomed ditch. Near the centre of the rampart is the entrance, of the same type as at Fécamp, with strong flanking wings. The bank and ditch cease where the ground begins to fall away towards the Seine, but their line is continued to the cliff edge as a low bank with an inner quarry-ditch. There are no artificial defences along the southern line, which is well protected by the cliffs, but at its northern end the main rampart swings round and, diminishing in size, follows the valley edge till it peters out where the level ground ceases and the land begins to fall away westwards. At this point the promontory is divided by a large cross-bank which, stopping

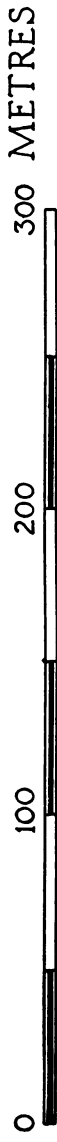
<sup>1</sup> *M.S.A.N.* ix, 199-201, 290, plan, pl. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Cochet, p. 448. See also *B.S.P.F.* xvi (1919), list LXXVII, 188; Mortillet, p. 204.

# DUCLAIR SEINE INFÉRIEURE LE CHÂTELLIER



SCALE





short of the Asnerie valley, appears to curve outwards and back on itself, forming a wing with a faint parallel ditch. At its southern end, where the ground begins to slope down to the Seine, the high rampart tails away to an indefinite bank which swings downward in a south-westerly direction. A second, slightly more defined bank, with a quarry-ditch on the eastern side, curves down to the south-east, starting from the fading main bank, and almost at right-angles to it. A bank of some size defends the tip of the promontory. Beginning at the cliff edge it runs to the Asnerie valley and then eastwards till, short of the cross-bank, it appears to be interrupted and side-stepped to form an entrance. The western area thus enclosed slopes fairly sharply in a south-westerly direction, whereas the eastern area is level.

A brief study of the plan (pl. xxxviii) suggests two if not three periods of construction. Thus the little bank and ditch on the east are completely out of scale and might well be the defences of an earlier camp. Pottery was found in the make-up of the main rampart, suggesting a previous occupation of the site. Furthermore, the main occupation of the camp may have preceded the westernmost defences which are on steeply sloping ground and are perhaps unlikely to have been laid down until the plateau had become overcrowded. On the other hand, the intention of this feature may have been to enclose a possible if arduous approach from the river bank. There is today a steep riverward path on this side.

#### *Site A*

*Cutting through the main rampart and ditch north of the main entrance* (pls. xxxix, xli, xlii)

The crest of the rampart at the present day is 22 ft. 6 in. above the interior of the camp and 31 ft. above the ditch bottom, which has silted up in the centre only to a depth of 1 ft. 6 in.

The rampart proved to be of 'dump' construction consisting of clay and flints. A particularly resistant clay tip had been piled along the edge of the ditch as a kind of retaining wall or marking-out bank, and the body of the rampart heaped up behind it. Near the top of the rampart a revetment, consisting of a single row of chalk blocks, retained a layer of flints which capped the outer face of the summit. It is noteworthy that a revetment built near the summit of the rampart has been found both at Oldbury<sup>1</sup> in Kent and Poundbury<sup>2</sup> outside Dorchester in Dorset; in each case the revetment is a feature of the reconstruction in the Belgic period. There was nothing in the construction of the rampart in this section to suggest more than one period.

The ditch is typical of this series, wide, shallow, and flat-bottomed. Nothing was found in it, but pottery occurred in the rampart. Part of the tough clay 'retaining wall' along the ditch edge consisted of dark occupation material which also produced some sherds. Pottery and a La Tène III brooch came from an occupation-layer overlying the tail of the rampart inside the camp.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Cantiana*, li (1939), fig. 6, section A-B; and *Arch.* xc (1944), 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* xx (1940), 433, and pl. lxxi, site G.



*The Entrance*

Excavation of the entrance was not attempted, but a 3-ft. square trench dug in the causeway proved this to be original, and exposed a metalled surface of large flints lying on the natural soil. Judging from appearances, the wings flanking the entrance and the rampart itself are contemporary, and the solid causeway supports this contention.

*Sites C and E*

Two small areas were opened at the foot of the rampart, north and south of the main entrance. A layer of occupation-material was encountered overlying the natural surface in both areas. In one case, site E, it was possible to relate this level to the rampart. The section showed it running up over the tail of the rampart, thickening considerably. It stopped two-thirds of the way up the bank, and on its levelled top had been heaped a dump of clay and flints. It thus appeared to form part of a rough addition to the rampart. Pottery recovered from the slip of the bank and from a level equating with it on site E is typologically the same as that from the occupation-layers on sites E and C and overlying the tail of the rampart on site A. All this pottery is therefore substantially of one period and leads one to conclude that the occupation, at any rate at this end of the camp, was not prolonged over a great number of years. On the other hand, the thick layer of dark clay apparently composed of occupation-debris, together with the few sherds found in the rampart, indicate that there was some occupation previous to, rather than contemporary with, the building of the main rampart.

*Site B*

A trench was dug through the small outer rampart and ditch. This produced no particular features except a post-hole in the body of the rampart on its outer face. Though the cutting was enlarged to locate further post-holes none was found. Scrapers and indeterminate sherds came from the rampart.

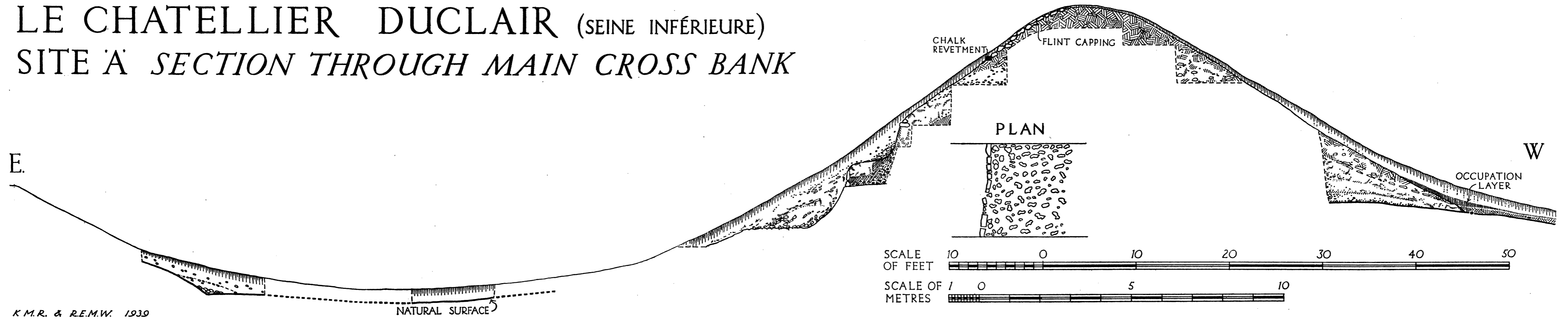
*Sites F and G*

A trench was dug across a hollow running parallel to and west of the cross-rampart wing. This revealed a shallow unsatisfactory ditch. The ground here consisted of flint and clay and it was hard to distinguish the natural soil from the ditch filling. Another trench dug across the supposed causeway between the dry valley edge and the wing showed that the ditch, still very indefinite, continued north beyond the wing and then ceased, leaving a causeway.

*The Date of the Camp*

The material evidence from the Duclair camp, more abundant than that from the Camp du Canada, justifies a fairly close dating of its principal constructional phase, which represents the reinforcement of a lightly defended enclosure probably not long antecedent to it. The single occupation-layer which immediately succeeded the building of the

# LE CHATELLIER DUCLAIR (SEINE INFÉRIEURE) SITE A SECTION THROUGH MAIN CROSS BANK



K.M.R. & R.E.M.W. 1930



large cross-rampart contained two developed La Tène III brooches and pottery which included pedestals and cordons of familiar Belgic types. Apart from amphorae, no Roman forms or fabrics were represented; and it would appear that, unlike the Camp du Canada, the Duclair camp was not appreciably occupied after the Roman conquest. In short, the main occupation of the site may safely be ascribed to the eve of that conquest, and, although apparently more intensive than that of the Canada, was evidently of brief duration.

## FINDS

## A. POTTERY

With the possible exception of no. 21, the pottery is wheel-turned. Much of the pottery from the site was destroyed by a bomb during the 1939-45 war.

*Fig. 21*

1. Part of a bowl, sandy orange ware, containing flint grits. The surface is destroyed. This is the only sherd recovered from the body of the rampart which could be published. The remaining sherds were of corky texture and uncertain form.
2. Rim of bowl of coarse grey ware with smooth orange-brown surface. The paste contains flint grits and is insufficiently 'pulled'.
3. Neatly moulded rim of a vessel in fine grey ware with dull surface. The fineness of this fragment is exceptional.
4. Rim of bowl of same ware and colour as no. 2.
5. Roughly made bowl of grey-brown ware with dull surface showing flint grits.
6. Rim of soft, sandy orange ware.
7. Rim of hard, sandy buff ware with dull grey surface.
8. Bowl of sandy grey ware with gritty buff surface.
9. Rim of bowl of the same ware as no. 2. The shoulder is carinated.
10. Rim of bowl of grey ware with dark brown polished surface.
11. Fragment of bowl in hard grey ware with black lathery surface. The shoulder is sharply carinated and the rim everted.
12. Portion of a bowl in grey sandy ware with dull orange surface. The rim is everted and the shoulder is carinated.
13. Bowl with everted rim in grey ware with flint grits and reddish surface. There is a cordon on the shoulder.
14. Rim of bowl of the same ware as no. 13, with a blunt cordon at the base of the neck.
15. Rim of the same ware as no. 2, and belonging to a bowl similar to no. 16.
16. Part of neck and body of a bowl in the same ware as the preceding. There are horizontal striations below the carinated shoulder.
17. Fragment of a vessel in grey ware with dark polished surface, decorated below the carination with a tooled lattice pattern.

18. Rim and wall of straight-sided vessel, tapering slightly upwards, in sandy orange ware with a dark brown smooth surface. There is a groove on the inner side of the pot.

19. Rim of large jar in soft sandy grey ware with large grits and buff surface.

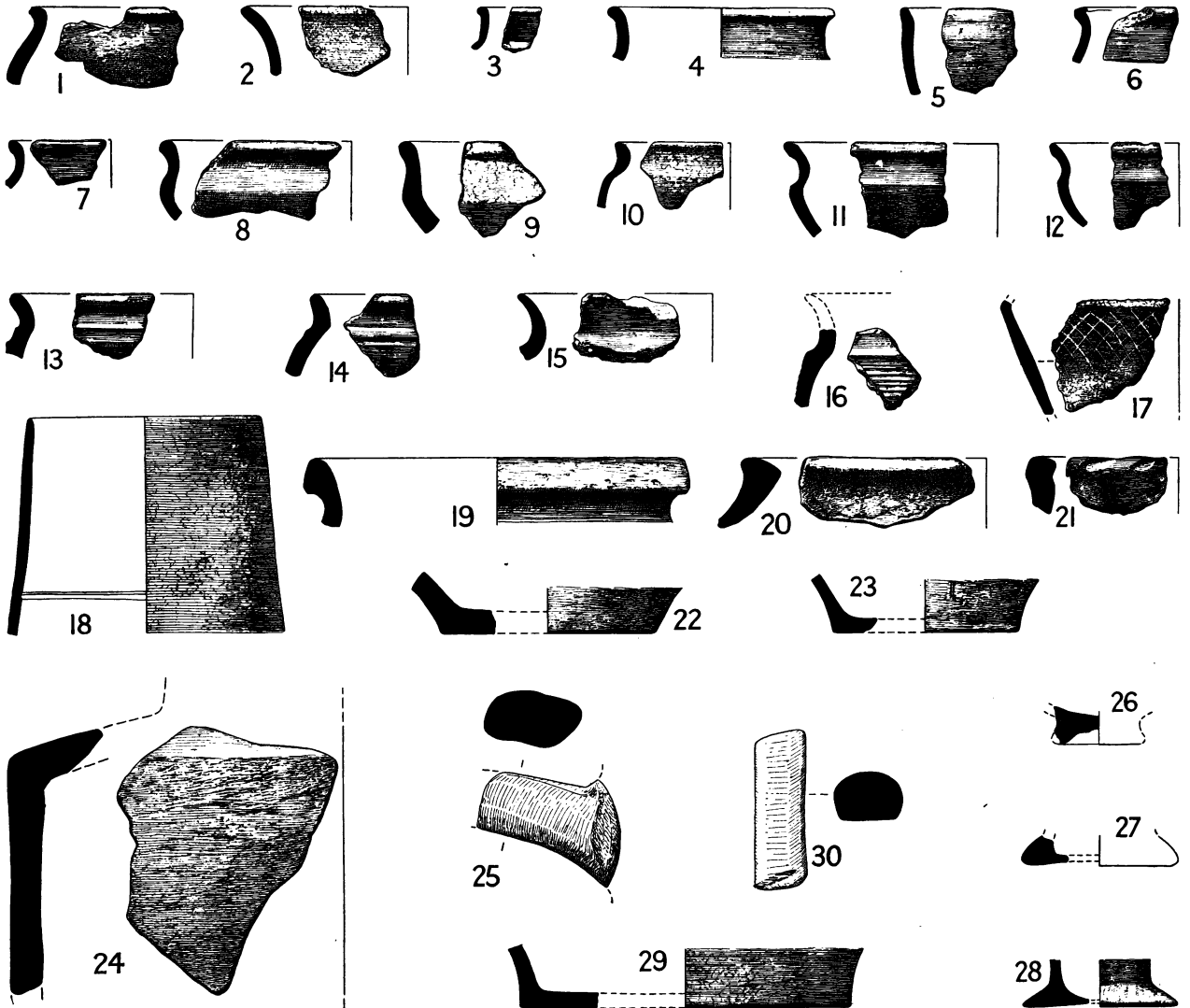


FIG. 21. Pottery from Le Châtellier, Duclair ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )

20. Rim of jar in gritty buff ware.

21. Rim of coarse grey-black ware with rough surface. There are two finger-dab impressions on the lip externally.

22. Base of vessel in the same ware as no. 2.

23. Base of vessel similar to the preceding.

24. Angular shoulder of amphora in sandy pink-buff ware with drab surface.  
 25 and 30. Amphora-handles in the same ware as above.  
 26. Fragment of small pedestal base with omphalos in rough grey ware.  
 27. Part of a quoit-shaped pedestal base in soft, sandy, pale orange ware.  
 28. Fragment of a quoit-shaped pedestal base of grey ware with orange surface.  
 29. Base of a pot in the same ware as nos. 22 and 23.

Typical of this group is the grey, badly 'pulled' ware, with flint grit backing and an orange or orange-brown surface. Three types of bowl appear to be characteristic of the site:

- (a) Nos. 11 and 12, with everted rim and sharply carinated shoulder.  
 (b) Nos. 15 and 16, which have the everted rim and carinated shoulder, but the side does not 'tumble home' as sharply as in the (a) group.  
 (c) Nos. 13 and 14, which show an everted rim with a fairly sharp inner angle, but the shoulder is not carinated.

There were fragments of more than one vessel horizontally brushed below the shoulder, but nos. 13 and 14 were the only fragments of cordoned vessels.

Rough horizontal or vertical brushing, cordons, and pedestal bases are a common feature of Belgic wares. Nos. 27 and 28 have the almost flat pedestal base typical of Normandy vessels, a feature which continued without change in form as late as the reign of Nero.<sup>1</sup> Analogies for the series of bowls are not easy to find, as hitherto the pottery illustrated comes almost exclusively from burial-groups, which seldom include this type of vessel. Nos. 11 and 12 may, however, be compared with pots from the Alizay cemetery (Eure) and the Belizanne cemetery (Seine-Inférieure).<sup>2</sup>

## B. FLINT INDUSTRY

Fig. 22 illustrates seven worked flints from a total of sixteen found on the site. This industry shows distinctly poor workmanship and appears to have been made largely of surface flint from the Clay-with-flints overlying the upper chalk. Only one scraper, no. 4, is of quarried unpatinated flint. The artifacts came from all levels, and, as the Iron Age occupation directly overlay the natural gravel, it is not possible to claim a pre-Iron Age date for any of these implements on stratigraphical grounds, though worked flints were also found alone, without associated pottery. On the other hand, the industry is so rough that it might well be contemporary with the Iron Age pottery. The following have not been illustrated: six scrapers and one core.

*Fig. 22*

1. Very poorly made end-scraper of yellow-grey flint.
2. Triangular tool very roughly trimmed along two sides to a point. Greyish-white flint.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii (1930), 199 and 203, fig. 13, nos. 26 and 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 12, 18, and 15, 45.



3. Poorly made scraper of pale grey cherty flint.
4. End-scraper of glossy black flint.
5. Hollow scraper of pale yellow-grey cherty flint.
6. Borer of similar flint to no. 5.
7. Side-scraper of greyish-yellow flint.

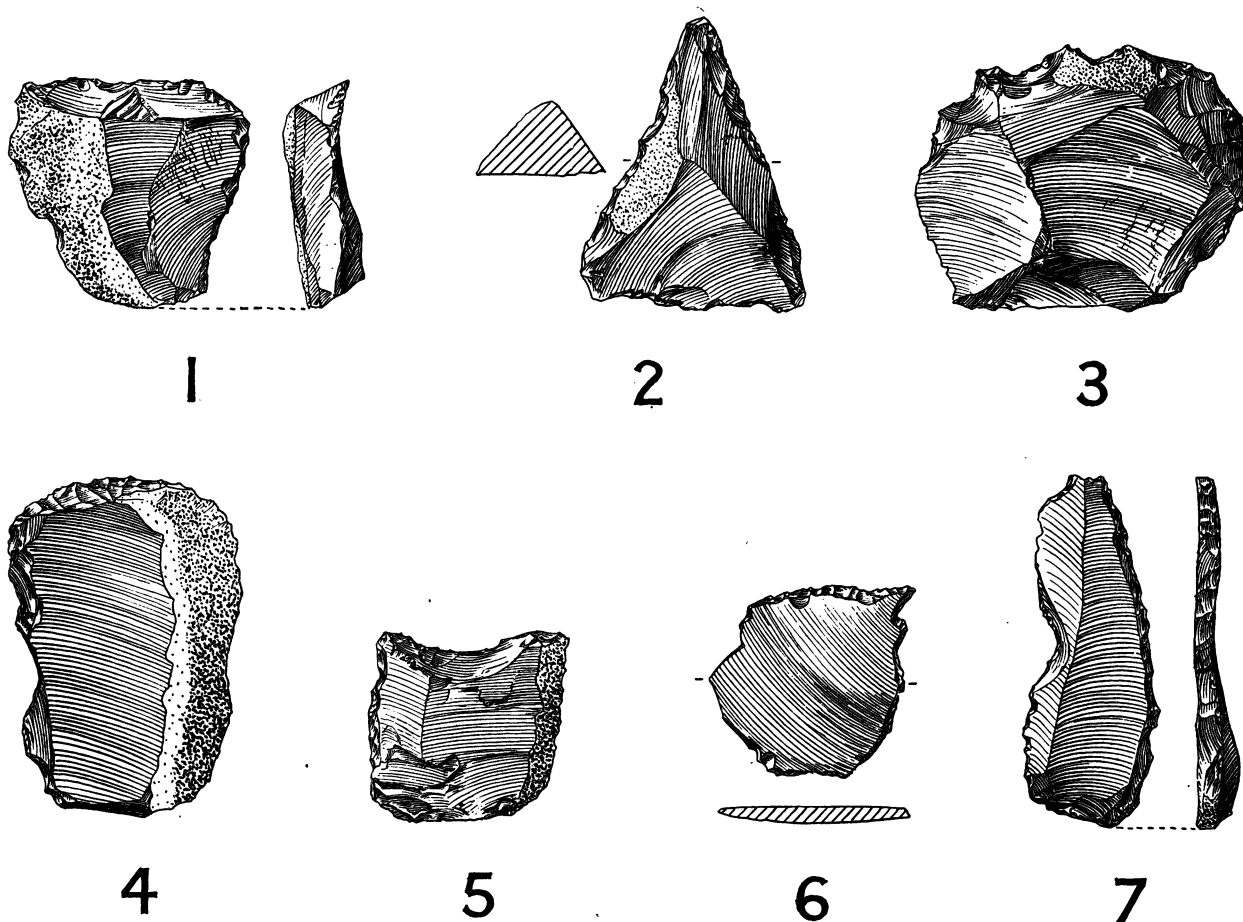


FIG. 22. Flints from Le Châtellier, Duclair (3)

C. BROOCHES (fig. 23, 1 and 2)

Two bronze brooches of La Tène III types were recovered from the single occupation-layer which overlay the inner margin of the main cross-bank, near the principal entrance. They are not of very distinctive form, and might occur at any period in the first century B.C. or the earlier half of the first century A.D. No. 1 is ornamented with an engraved line following the edge of the expanded bow and the foot, which was probably open. Cf.



A. Site of Le Châtellier, Duclair, from across the Seine



B. The Seine, from Le Châtellier, Duclair

(See p. 75)





Le Châtellier, Duclair: main ditch and rampart, showing cresting

(See p. 77)



A. External cresting, summit of main rampart



B. Inner slope of main cross-rampart

Le Châtellier, Duclair

(See p. 77)





Coutil, *Archéologie gauloise de l'Eure*, ii, 140, nos. 25-29, from Lèry (Eure), found in graves with pottery similar to that from Alizay, i.e. characteristic Belgic types of the first half or middle of the first century B.C. (Coutil, pl. on p. 106). No. 2 shows decoration

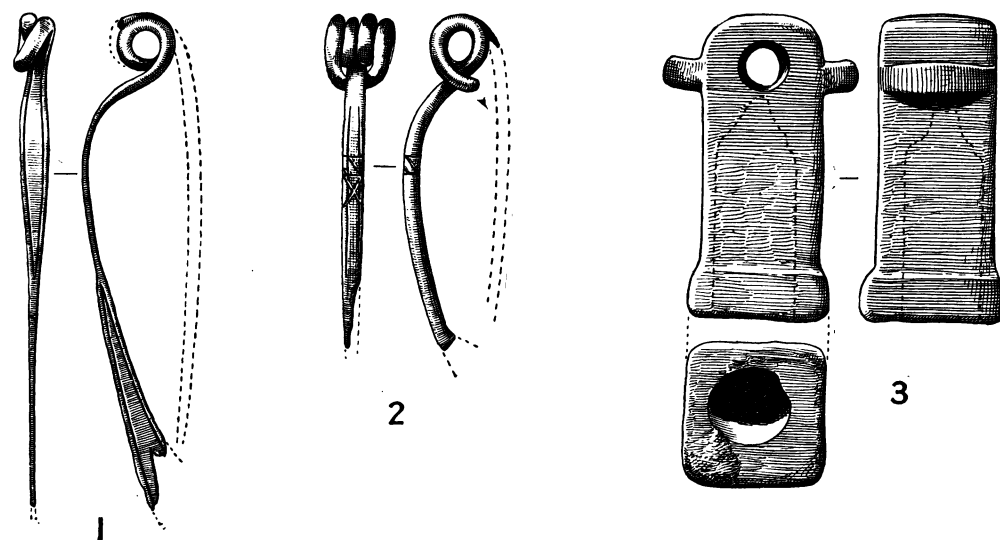


FIG. 23. 1 and 2, bronze brooches from Duclair; 3, bronze object from Fécamp ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )

reminiscent of the central binding of La Tène II predecessors, and is comparable with examples from Rotherley, Maiden Castle, and elsewhere in southern Britain dating from the end of the first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D.



## IV. POTTERY SCRAPBOOK

IT is an understatement to say that Early Iron Age pottery from northern France has not been lavishly illustrated by modern standards. We have accordingly thought it desirable to abstract from our notebooks a selection of the measured drawings made by ourselves and our colleagues in the museums of the region under study. In doing so, our purpose has been partially to provide analogies for certain of the dated types from our own five excavations, but partially also to render a little of the available material, in however inchoate a form, accessible to future workers. Our aim is thus strictly limited. Objectively dated pottery is almost uniformly absent from the museums in question, and it is not proposed here, in a volume devoted mainly to the collection of factual material, to discuss theoretical chronologies and relationships. Only more work in the field can supply a context for renewed discussion; it is chastening to reflect how few new facts have emerged since Professor C. F. C. Hawkes and Mr. G. C. Dunning produced their masterly survey in 1930,<sup>1</sup> or indeed since Déchelette wrote his *Manuel* twenty years earlier.

Many problems suggest themselves: for example, that of the trends which culminated in the superb metallic and ceramic craftsmanship of the Marne region in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and may be recognized in derivative or cognate form alike in Britain and in Brittany during the following centuries. In Britain a useful datum-line is drawn through the midst of this complex sequel by the recorded Belgic immigrations which, in the first century B.C., introduced the continental sub-Marnian familiar to British archaeologists as 'Belgic' *par excellence*. In Brittany we have no such historical control; the Cimbric and Teutonic invasions of the end of the second century B.C. are unlikely to provide a satisfactory fixed point, and in any case have not yet been recognized archaeologically. As it is, we have there a variety of scattered types which embody Marnian features or go even more directly back towards late Hallstatt forebears, often with a superadded individuality which may be vaguely described as 'local'; but in all this amalgam we have at present no major fixed point, not one. Even the continental Belgae, particularly in western Belgica, are singularly ill known to us culturally, save in the most general terms. Orderly excavation in France is the essential preliminary to clearer understanding. Without it, many elements in our own later prehistoric cultures must likewise remain incompletely understood.

To the Armorican peninsula there seem to have been two main lines of approach during the latest Hallstatt and the La Tène periods. The first extends directly westwards from the Paris Basin to the coastal tract north of the Monts d'Arrée, and is marked notably by the finely decorated, and indeed famous, pots from Hénon, south of St. Brieuc (Côtes-

<sup>1</sup> 'The Belgae of Gaul and Britain', *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii (for 1930), 150-335.

du-Nord),<sup>1</sup> and from Plouhinec and St. Pol-de-Léon in northern Finistère. In their close adherence to the Marnian metalwork tradition, these pots are unmatched elsewhere in the north-west. Stylistically they may be ascribed to the turn of La Tène I-II, though there is the risk that in their remote location they may be slightly later. The second route is from the south, from southern Gaul and the Iberian peninsula. It is strikingly represented by a sherd of 'Gergovian' ware from the Camp d'Artus at Huelgoat (see p. 36), with links at Kerné in the commune of Quiberon and at Angers on the Loire. It may, however, be more amply indicated by the globular, high-necked pedestal urns characteristic of Brittany in and about La Tène II, if our supposition that these are descended from the late Hallstatt pedestal urns of the Gers plateau and the Dordogne is correct (below, p. 91). And, above all, the friezes of stamped circles, lozenges, interlacing arcs, S- and X-patterns or the (rare) duck-motif (below, pp. 93-95) were derived by the Breton potters at long range from Italo-Greek metalwork either via the Narbonne-Bordeaux route or from the Iberian peninsula, or both. Again, further systematic fieldwork and excavation alike in France and in Spain can alone advance our knowledge.

*Fig. 24*

1-15. These are representative Iron Age sherds, now in the Penmarc'h Museum (Finistère), from the cliff-castle of Castel Coz (see below, p. 109, no. 28). Several of them are related to our 'South-western B' series, and the affinity is doubtless significant. They are not dated, but the century 150-50 B.C. probably covers most of them.

1. Grey ware, probably hand-made, with roughly beaded rim.
2. Hand-made grey ware.
3. Hand-made reddish ware.
4. Hand-made reddish ware.
5. Hand-made reddish-brown ware, slightly micaceous.
6. Hand-made reddish-buff ware.
7. Hand-made reddish-buff ware, micaceous.
8. Grey ware, probably hand-made.
9. Coarse black hand-made ware, slightly burnished.
10. Grey ware with incised pattern, probably wheel-turned.
11. Grey ware, made either by hand or on the slow wheel.
12. Fine dark grey ware, wheel-turned, with internally grooved rim.
13. Reddish-black externally, black internally; wheel-turned, with narrow groove inside the rim.
14. Grey ware, probably wheel-turned; rim internally hollowed.
15. Pedestal base of coarse brown ware, doubtfully wheel-turned. This flat and rather formless pedestal is unlikely to be earlier than the first century B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Below, p. 98.

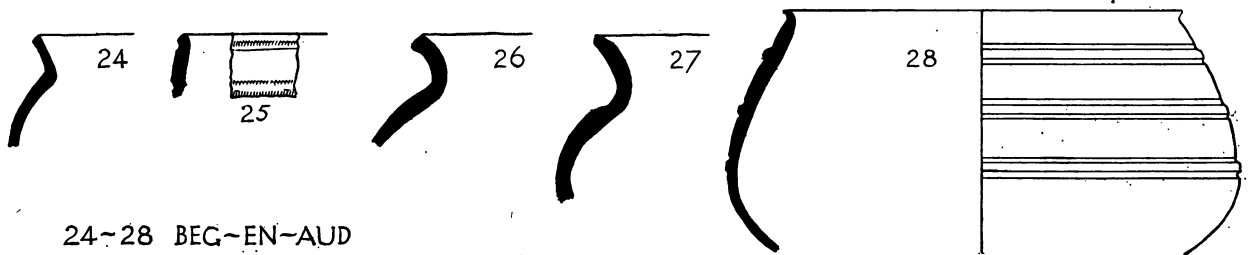
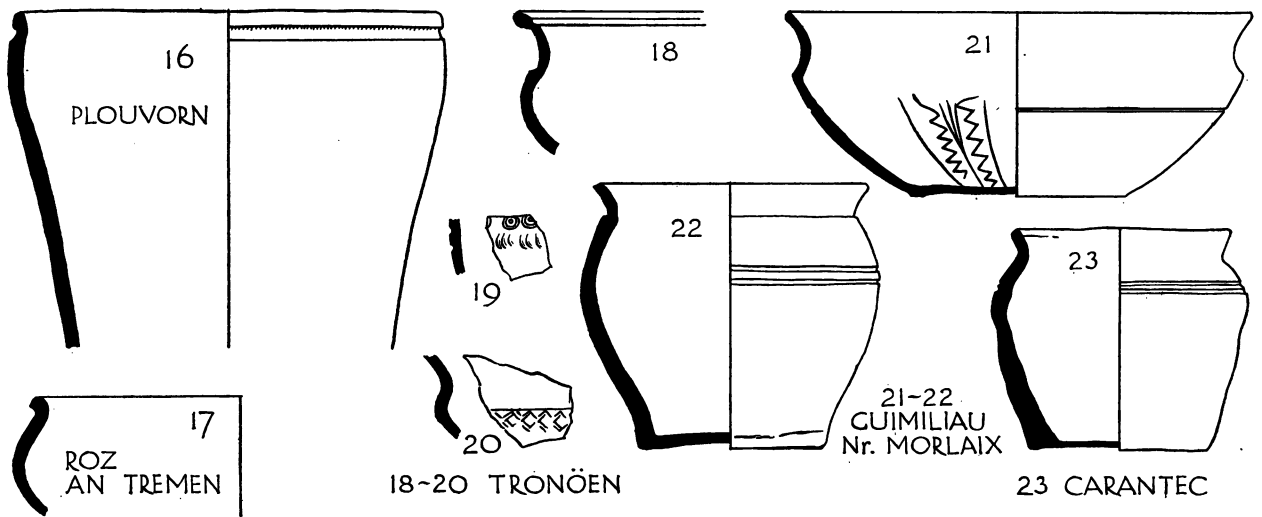
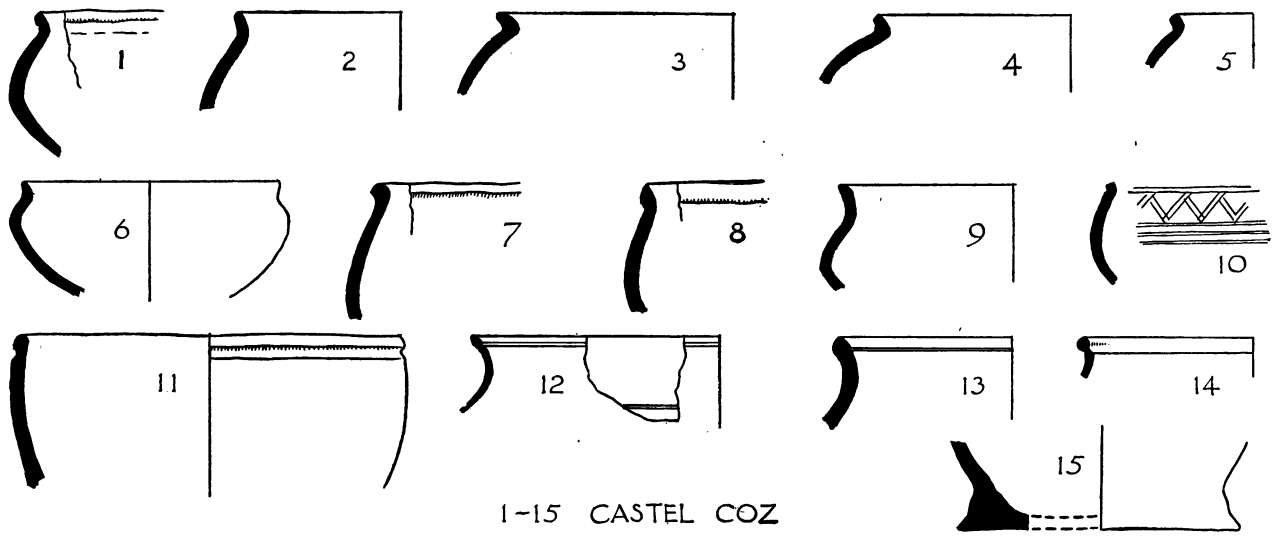


FIG. 24. Pottery from Breton sites (1/3)

16. Bead-rimmed urn of grey ware, either hand-made or turned on a slow wheel. 'From the tumulus of Keruzoret', Plouvorn, Morbihan. In the Penmarc'h Museum.

17. Bead-rimmed bowl of grey ware with a black slip, probably wheel-made. From one of a number of sand-covered sites on the Bay of Audierne (Finistère), near the village of Roz-an-tré-men. Here a roughly fluted maenhir marked the position of a La Tène cemetery; other maenhirs were in the vicinity but have been largely destroyed within memory. The burials were partly by inhumation and partly by incineration, and a typical group has been reconstructed in the Penmarc'h Museum. The bulk of the pottery seems to be of La Tène II. See B. le Pontois, *Le Finistère préhistorique* (Paris, 1929), pp. 282-90; also below, fig. 26, no. 3.

18-20. These sherds, in the Penmarc'h Museum, are from the site to which du Chatellier gave the grandiose but unjustified name of the *oppidum de Tronöen*, west of St. Jean Trolimon and in the canton of Pont l'Abbé (Finistère). The neighbouring cemetery of Kerviltré is a part of the complex (see fig. 28). The remains from this general area range from the Middle or Late Bronze Age to the Roman period, and cannot be adequately analysed without much new digging. It is clear that there was a considerable settlement here in La Tène II, but whether the illustrated sherds are of that period or of La Tène III can only be conjectured. See B. le Pontois as cited, pp. 281-3; and du Chatellier, *Les Époques préhistoriques*, etc., p. 324.

18. Black, smooth micaceous ware, wheel-turned, with internally grooved rim.

19. Polished black ware, perhaps graphite-coated; wheel-turned. The stamped circles and slashed or nail-impressed pattern are widespread in Brittany and belong to a group of motifs which go back to Late Hallstatt metalwork.

20. Reddish ware, graphite-coated and wheel-turned. Stamped with a frieze of lozenges.

21-22. Under the modern cemetery of Guimiliau, south-west of Morlaix (Finistère), traces of a cremation-cemetery of La Tène III have been found during the digging of graves. Two examples of the pottery, in the Morlaix Museum, are here illustrated. See du Chatellier, *Les Époques préhistoriques*, etc., p. 74.

21. Wheel-turned bowl of polished black ware, with three bands of smoothed lattice-pattern (one shown in the drawing) on the interior and a slight external groove.

22. Wheel-turned pot of coarse black ware, of a common but nondescript type (cf. 23 below, and fig. 5, 2).

23. Coarse grey ware, roughly wheel-turned on a slow wheel. Found on the Île Callot, off Carentec, north of Morlaix (Finistère), containing forty-five Gaulish coins to which Dr. J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu ascribes a date somewhat after 56 B.C.<sup>1</sup> In the Penmarc'h Museum.

<sup>1</sup> *Annales de Bretagne*, lx (Rennes, 1953), 311.

24-28. Sherds picked up by Mrs. C. M. Piggott, F.S.A., in the cliff-castle of Beg-en-Aud on the Quiberon peninsula (Morbihan). See below, p. 103, no. 3. Nos. 24-25 were extracted from the material of the rampart. So far as it goes, the pottery from the site may be ascribed to La Tène III.

24. Coarse, lumpy brown ware, hand-made.
25. Black, somewhat gritty ware; wheel-turned.
26. Coarse black, grit-laden ware, probably wheel-turned.
27. Coarse, grit-laden reddish-brown ware, wheel-turned.
28. Coarse, grit-laden ware, reddish-brown internally and black externally; wheel-turned, with strong cordons. A type of bowl which derived from Marnian prototypes and survived into La Tène III. Cf. Hawkes and Dunning, fig. 16, no. 56 (from a Belgic cemetery at Ste Beuve-en-Rivière).

*Fig. 25*

1-18. The four small groups of pottery here illustrated from the famous Fort Harrouard (Eure-et-Loir) were drawn in 1939 under the eye of the excavator, the late Abbé J. Philippe, and their grouping therefore has his authority. With Hawkes and Dunning, *op. cit.*, fig. 14, nos. 33-37, they represent the pottery of the Iron Age occupation, which seems to have extended from the latter part of the second to the middle of the first century B.C. and may have been ended by the Caesarian wars. Whether the initial Iron Age fortification of the site reflected the Cimbric invasions of 113-101 B.C. is more conjectural. The much earlier (Hallstatt D) brooch in Group A is an anomaly, but is included in the drawing as it was included by the Abbé in the group.

*Group A*

1. Wheel-turned pedestal base of rough grey-black ware. This and the other pedestal bases illustrated are of the flat discoidal type which, though not invariable, is characteristic of the first century B.C.
2. Wheel-turned pedestal base of grey-black ware with slight polish.
3. Wheel-turned cylindrical base of black ware lightly polished.
4. Wheel-turned pedestal base of rough grey-black ware.
5. Wheel-turned beaded base of rough grey ware.
6. Bronze brooch with vestigial division on the bow, cast in one piece; an early La Tène III type.
7. Bronze brooch of Hallstatt D type; before rather than after 500 B.C. Whether this in fact belongs to the group must be doubted, though no independent Hallstatt D occupation has been recognized at Fort Harrouard.

*Group B*

8. Wheel-turned cordoned bowl of grey-black ware, slightly polished; low pedestal foot. A not uncommon type in La Tène II-III; cf. Hawkes and Dunning, fig. 12, no. 21.

9. Neck and shoulder of wheel-turned cordoned jar of grey-black ware. Possibly part of a pedestal urn.

10. Flat pedestal base of dark buff polished ware, wheel-turned. First century B.C.

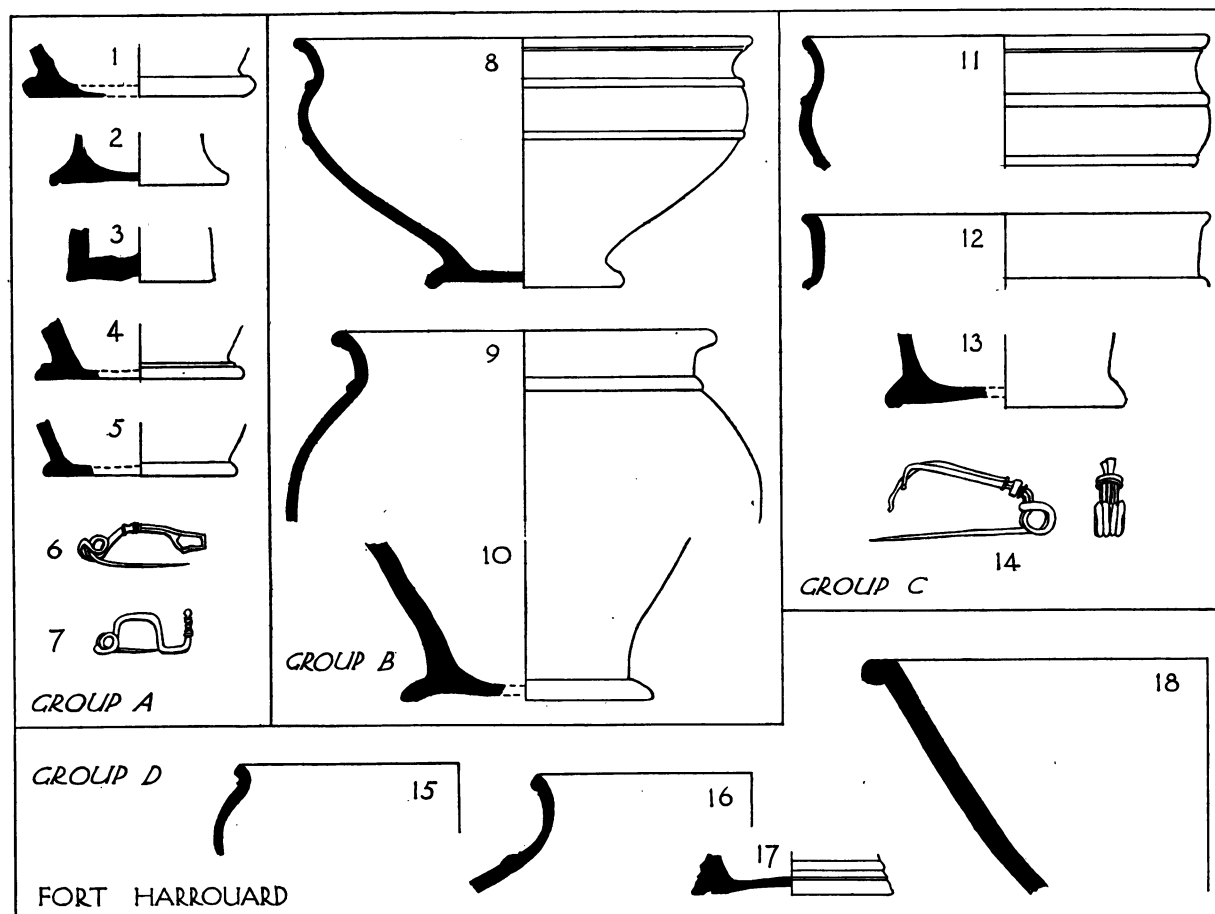


FIG. 25. Pottery from Fort Harrouard (1/3)

*Group C*

11. Part of cordoned bowl of polished dark grey ware, wheel-turned.

12. Rim of similar ware, with traces of cordon at the junction with the body.

13. Flat pedestal base of similar ware; devolved type.

14. Bronze brooch of late La Tène II type. The two strands on the bow are still separate, but the junction-band has become a non-functional moulding. A theoretical date would be c. 100 B.C.

With the group was found a 'debased bronze Gaulish coin of Fort Harrouard type'; this we did not see.



*Group D*

15. Neck and shoulder of a wheel-turned bowl of dark grey ware. Below the rim is a slight flange, and the general effect is that of a bead-rim.

16. Rim and cordoned shoulder of a black wheel-turned pedestal urn.

17. Pedestal base of rough grey-buff ware, wheel-turned. The cordoned base is unusual, but other examples have been found at Fort Harrouard.

18. Part of a pie-dish of coarse grey ware, wheel-turned. This is a reminder that, alongside the better cordoned wares which dominate the cemeteries and are always liable to be singled out for illustration, are many cruder vessels used for domestic purposes such as storage and cooking. This ceramic substratum, as it may be called, is evident in the sherds illustrated earlier in the present Report from the five excavated sites.

*Fig. 26*

1-2. Two pots allegedly from Bagatelle, in the commune of St. Martin-des-Champs (Finistère), to the south-west of Morlaix on the route to Ste Sève. Now in the Morlaix Museum. The site was that of an incineration-cemetery, possibly with hut-floors nearby. It was discovered in 1871, and more than forty-five urns containing ashes are mentioned, together with brooches, bracelets, arms, and gold and bronze coins, both Gaulish and Roman. The Gaulish coins include examples of the billon issues which the latest investigator, Dr. J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu, is inclined to date after rather than before the Caesarian epoch.<sup>1</sup> The cemetery was certainly in use in the first century B.C., but how much earlier it began is less evident. Typologically, no. 2 should be no later than La Tène II. It is labelled as from Bagatelle in the Morlaix Museum; du Chatellier, who appears to illustrate it in a slightly more complete condition,<sup>2</sup> affirms that 'it is said to have been found near Lannion' in northern Finistère, but the illustration is pretty clearly that of the present example, and its decoration is consistent with the assertion in the original account of the Bagatelle cemetery that some of the pots were decorated with 'des ronds et des carrés concentriques, des combinaisons de lignes, des étoiles à nombreux rayons, des espèces de S, des croix ou X'.

1. Wheel-turned pedestal vase with cordons, of coarse grey ware. The type is of the 'Fort Harrouard' period (earlier half of first century B.C.), and is more characteristic of Normandy than of Brittany.

2. Wheel-turned pedestal urn of grey ware with three friezes of impressed circles or squares. The use of the wheel and the late 'pull' of the evidence from the cemetery suggest the second century B.C. as the earliest likely date, but both in shape and decoration the pot presents archaic features. Unlike the flat, discoidal pedestals normal to Belgic Normandy, the high foot of the present example recalls Marnian traits of the fifth or fourth centuries B.C., and may represent pre-Belgic links between the Marne and Brittany. On the other hand, there is much to be said for associating this and allied Breton types with

<sup>1</sup> *Annales de Bretagne*, lx (1953), 328 ff. (n.). For the cemetery, see *Bull. Soc. archéol. du Finistère*, iv (1876-7), 19-21; du Chatellier, *Les Époques préhistoriques*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *La Poterie*, pl. 16, no. 6, and p. 57.

the Late Hallstatt pedestal urns of central and southern France, and with this association the survival of typical Hallstatt–La Tène I motifs (such as the stamped squares and circles)

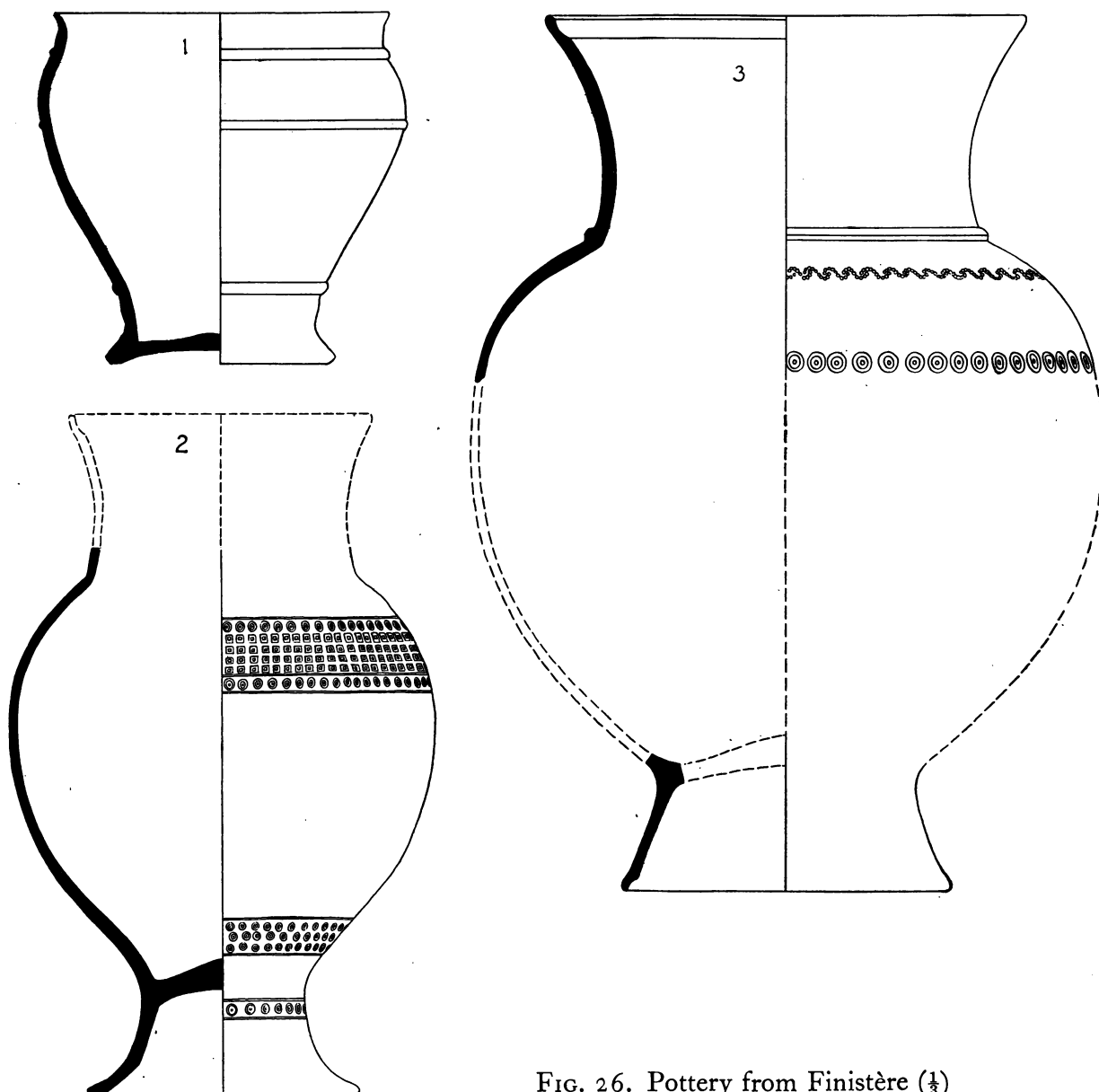


FIG. 26. Pottery from Finistère (1/3)

accords. Incinerations on the Gers plateau and in the Dordogne, for example, are frequently contained in globular, high-necked, and high-footed vessels<sup>1</sup> which might well be related to our Breton series; and the dominance of incineration in Brittany, in contrast to the Marnian practice of inhumation, points perhaps in the same direction.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Déchelette, *Manuel*, iii (1937), figs. 329–30.

Consistent with this supposition is an affinity in shape and, more pronouncedly, in decoration with pottery from certain of the *castros* of northern Spain and Portugal. From these in fig. 27 are illustrated, by courtesy of Miss Ilid Anthony,<sup>1</sup> examples of high-

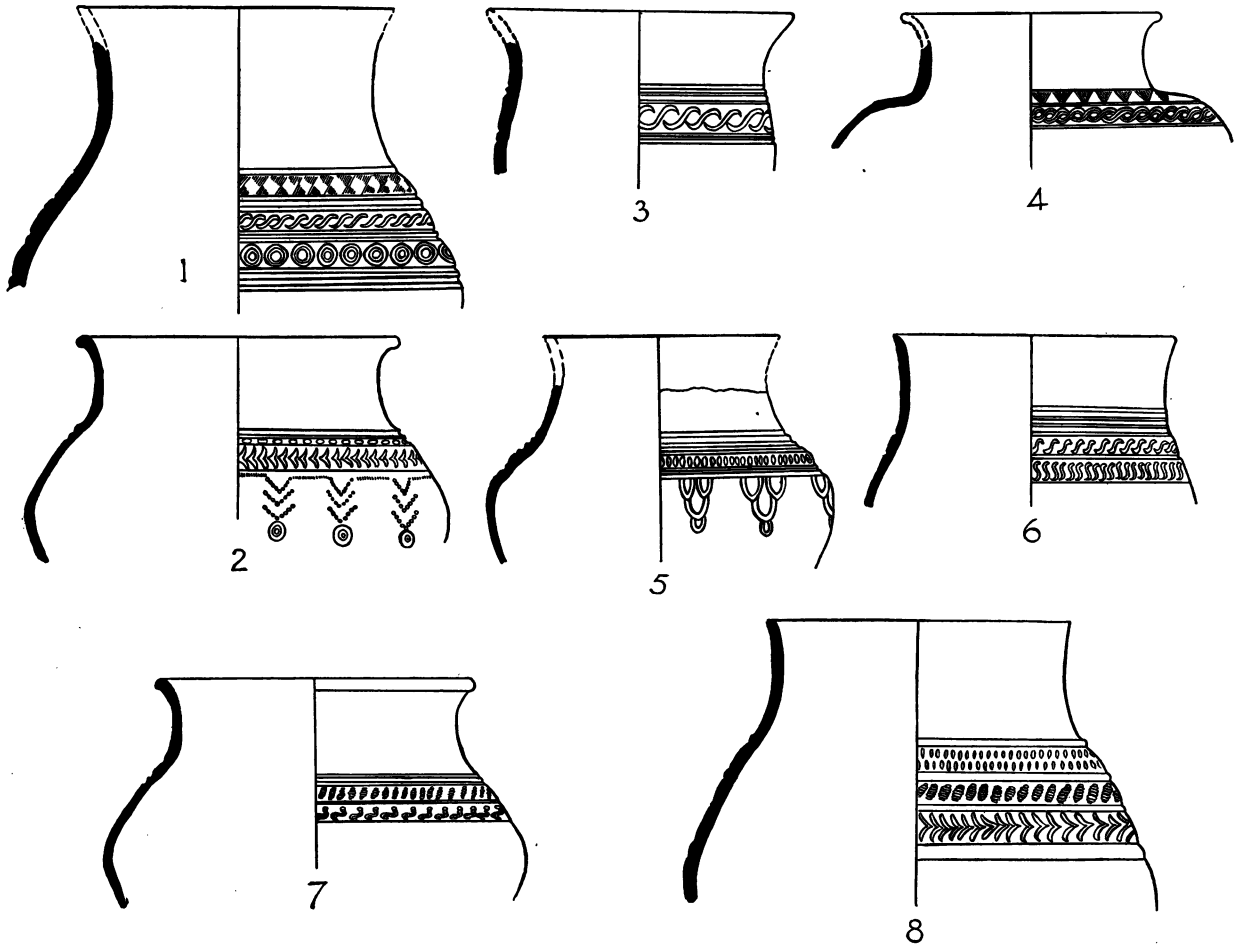


FIG. 27. Pottery from *castros* in north-west Spain and Portugal ( $\frac{1}{3}$ )

By courtesy of Miss Ilid Anthony

<sup>1</sup> Miss Anthony has very kindly supplied the following notes on fig. 27:

No. 1. Hand-made pot of coarse black ware with slight burnish, decorated with horizontal bands of stamped lozenges, S-curves, and circles. Examples from Briteiros (N. Portugal), Borneiro, and Cameixa (both in NW. Spain). At the last site the type occurred in level II of the four levels, numbered from bottom to top. The top-most layer is of the Roman period, and level II is thought to antedate 300 B.C.

No. 2. Hand-made pot of brownish-black ware, with stamped chevron-patterns and circles. From Cameixa, level II (? prior to 300 B.C.).

No. 3. Hand-made pot of gritty reddish-brown ware, with impressed running-scroll pattern. From the lowest layer (level I) of Cameixa.

No. 4. Hand-made pot of yellowish-brown ware with mica and other gritty particles in the fabric; stamped decoration. From a low level of San Ciprian das Las (in Barbantes near Orensa, north of Minho).

necked vessels bearing incised or stamped patterns comparable with those of our nos. 2–3 and of other Breton pottery represented in figs. 28–29.<sup>1</sup> A relationship between Breton and Iberian pottery of the Iron Age was long ago recognized by Déchelette<sup>2</sup> and was subsequently discussed more fully by E. Thurlow Leeds,<sup>3</sup> and the present examples amplify the resemblance. Unhappily the Iberian pottery, like the Breton, is very inadequately dated; the *castros*, or some of them, were occupied from Hallstatt D to the Roman period, and their stratigraphy is not clear. At the moment, their chief contribution in the Breton context is that they appear to supply a link, however tenuous, between Brittany and northern Italy where, in the Hallstatt–early La Tène period, Italo-Greek and derivative metalwork supplied prototypes for several of the decorative motifs now in question. The link, presumably induced by the exploitation of metals and particularly tin, is more likely to have been maritime than overland, but is not at present strong enough to establish, for example, more than a theoretical cousinship between the Venetians of Brittany and those of the Adriatic. A little controlled excavation on modern lines alike in the Spanish peninsula and in Brittany should, without great difficulty, go far to solve this and related problems.

3. Fragments of a high-necked pedestalled urn, wheel-turned, of grey clay, with bands of stamped circles and *pointillé* wave-pattern. From the Roz-an-tré-men cemetery (Finistère) and now in the Penmarc'h Museum. The wave-pattern or running-scroll, already referred to as of Italo-Iberian origin, was extensively used in Brittany, and seems there to have lasted into La Tène II, to which most of the Roz-an-tré-men burials appear to belong.

*Fig. 28*

1–5. Sherds from Kerviltré, in the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye. This famous La Tène cemetery, situated in the commune of St. Jean-Trolimon in southern Finistère, requires a fresh analysis, if possible with further excavation. Meanwhile, its dating in its remote and provincial locality cannot be closely fixed; many of its decorative elements hark back to Hallstatt–La Tène I, but their duration in ultimate Brittany is at present unknown in the absence of ‘closed finds’ and may have been appreciably longer than elsewhere. The frequent use of the potter’s wheel is consistent with this supposition.

Upwards of eighty urns containing burnt bones are said to have been found here, together with a number of inhumations, with bronze bracelets and torques, but very few

No. 5. Wheel-turned and highly burnished thin black ware, decorated with incised trilobe pendants. From Montealegre, near Vigo on the coast. Unstratified.

No. 6. Hand-made pot of brownish-purple ware, with bands of S-decoration. From Montealegre. Unstratified.

No. 7. Hand-made pot of brownish-black ware with mica particles; decorated with bands of ‘shell’ spirals and devolved running-scroll or ‘duck’ pattern. From Cameixa, level IV, Roman period.

No. 8. Hand-made pot of gritty blackish-grey ware, with

stamped running-scroll pattern. From Penela in Arcade, near Pontevedra.

No. 9 (I, 3). Hand-made pot of greyish-black ware, with stamped ‘wreath’ and other patterns. From Cameixa, level II, possibly before 300 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> For these patterns generally, see Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii, fig. 174, and iv, 975; Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, pp. 67 ff.; and B. le Pontois, *Le Finistère préhistorique* (Paris, 1929), p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> *Manuel*, iv, 975–8.

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia*, lxxvi (1927), 223–38.

weapons. Fragments of at least two Late Bronze Age swords, a bronze spearhead, and a palstave are illustrated amongst the relics, but their context is not recorded. The pottery includes high-necked urns akin to fig. 26, nos. 2-3.

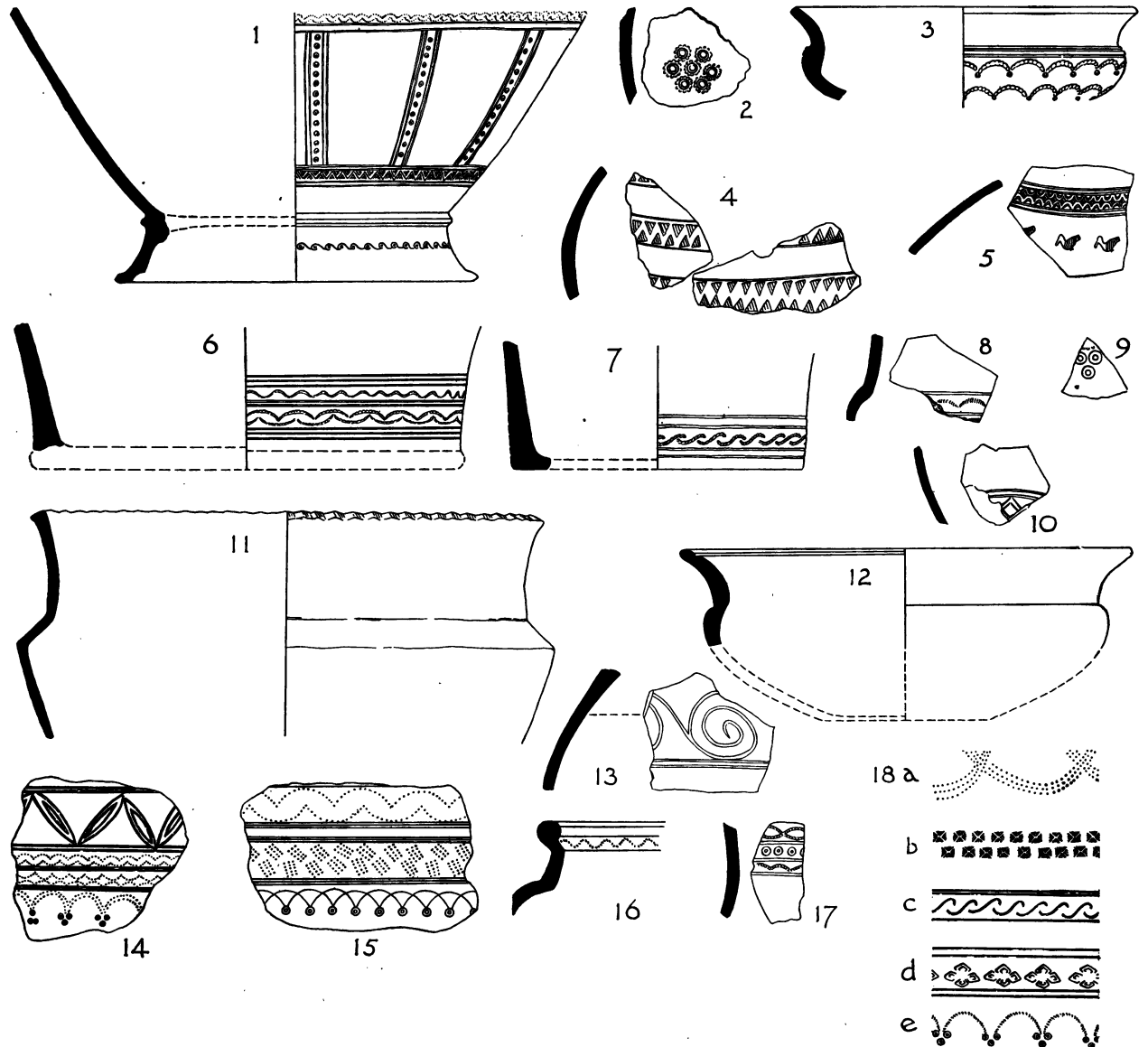


FIG. 28. Pottery from Finistère and Morbihan (‡)

1. Wheel-turned pedestal base of smooth dark red ware, with stamped patterns of the type referred to above.
2. Sherd of brown ware, probably hand-made, stamped with rosettes of a type found on Villanovan and related wares.

3. Bowl of grey ware, probably wheel-turned, with impressed arcading.
4. Sherd with zigzag pattern 'reserved' by means of a stamped background. This may be a Bronze Age hang-over.<sup>1</sup>
5. This famous sherd, with impressed duck-pattern, has been adequately discussed by Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv, 977-8, and E. T. Leeds, *Archaeologia*, lxxvi (1927), 223-8. Whether these Iberio-Breton ducks are in fact the parents of the so-called 'duck pattern' or 'S-pattern' of certain of our late La Tène wares in south-western Britain is less certain than is sometimes thought. In many, perhaps most, instances the S-pattern is merely a devolved running-scroll.

6-11. These sherds and others, 'Gaulish and Roman', were dug up in 1889 on the plateau of Kersigneau in the commune of Plouhinec, south-west Finistère, on a habitation-site marked by a rectangular system of earthworks of non-military character. These are 400 yds. west-north-west of the farm Kersigneau, on a hill overlooking the river Goyen. The sherds are now in the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye.<sup>2</sup> The decorated bases, nos. 6 and 7, recall those of the well-known pots from St. Pol-de-Léon and Plouhinec (Finistère).<sup>3</sup> The decoration of the former, with its unconcealed reminiscence of the palmette, should not be later than the end of La Tène I or the beginning of La Tène II, with *c.* 300 B.C. as a terminal date;<sup>4</sup> whilst the latter, on typological grounds, should be later, well into La Tène II. To the same middle period the present bases may be ascribed, in the absence of more definitive evidence.

Again on subjective grounds, nos. 8-10 may be of La Tène II-early III. No. 11 retains the carinated shoulder of the Hallstatt metal prototype, though the chronological implication of this in western Brittany is unknown. A similar doubt is presented by equivalent British pottery bucket-types.<sup>5</sup>

6. Smooth black ware, apparently with graphite surface; roughly wheel-turned. Friezes of impressed wave-pattern and alternating segments.

7. Similar ware, with impressed S- or rope-pattern.

8. Similar ware, with frieze of impressed segments.

9. Sherd of polished black ware, with impressed circles; probably wheel-turned.

10. Hand-made sherd of micaceous black ware, apparently with graphite surface. Frieze of impressed lozenges.

11. Dark brown ware, hand-made, with indented rim.

12-13. From a 'chambre souterraine' at Parc-al-Leur in the commune of Pont Croix, Finistère. Now in the Penmarc'h Museum.

<sup>1</sup> As on Breton handled biconal jars of the Middle Bronze Age. Du Chatellier, *La Poterie*, etc., 13, no. 5; and Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii, fig. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Du Chatellier, *Les Époques préhistoriques*, etc., p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> *R.A.* 3rd ser., xviii (1891), 383; Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv, 974.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobsthal ascribes the St. Pol-de-Léon vase to the fourth century B.C. *Early Celtic Art*, p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> K. M. Kenyon, 'The Chronology of Iron Age A', in *Univ. of London Inst. of Arch. Eighth An. Report* (1952), p. 40, etc.



12. Wheel-turned bowl of hard red ware with graphite surface; internally grooved rim. Probably of La Tène II–III. For the grooved rim, see above, p. 58.

13. Similar ware, with burnished running-spiral pattern.

14–16. Sherds, apparently wheel-turned, from Tréhuinec (Morbihan). Now in the Vannes Museum. These represent in a devolved form the festoons, lozenges, waves, and alternating arcs which La Tène I derived from Italo-Greek metalwork (possibly by way of the Iberian peninsula), together with a geometrical leaf-pattern (on no. 14) which is probably abstracted at long range from the palmette. They may be conjecturally ascribed to the end of La Tène II or even to La Tène III. No. 16 exhibits a variety of the internally grooved rim.

17. Sherd with similar decoration from the site of a Roman villa found in 1882 by the River Bélon in the park of the Porte Neuve, near Pont Aven in the commune of Riec, southern Finistère. Now in the Penmarc'h Museum.

18, *a–e*. Typical impressed patterns from Breton La Tène pottery; *a–c* from Tréhuinec (Vannes Museum), and *d–e* from Kerhillio (Carnac Museum). See above, p. 93.

*Fig. 29*

1–3. From a La Tène II–III site at Pludual, 15 miles north-west of St. Brieuc (Côtes-du-Nord). In the St. Brieuc Museum. Beyond the probability that they belong to the latter part of the La Tène period (*c.* second to first century B.C.), little can be said at present about vessels of this class. They exhibit devolved Italo-Greek and broken-palmette motifs of the types already illustrated above. The internally grooved rim (see p. 58) is present in a number of examples, and seems to be especially characteristic of the earlier half of the first century B.C., though the limits of its dating have not yet been established. The three vessels here depicted appear to have been wheel-turned.

4–9. From a site of similar period at Kerhillio, on the coast 5 miles north-west of Carnac (Morbihan). In the Carnac Museum.

4. Wheel-turned bowl of grey ware with shallow groove inside rim. Comparable with fig. 11, no. 11, from Kercardec, and fig. 28, no. 12, from Parc al Leur. A not uncommon Breton type of the second to first century B.C. For the type generally, see above, p. 58.

5. Pedestal base of the 'high' type which is exceptional in Belgic Gaul. The present example shows at the centre a vestigial 'omphalos' which is equally foreign to northern Gaul so far as present knowledge goes;<sup>1</sup> though its occasional occurrence in Belgic Britain suggests that our knowledge of the continental material is at fault.

6. Fragment of a bowl of graphite-coated ware, with internally grooved rim.

7. Neck and shoulder of vase with burnished lattice-pattern and internally grooved rim.

8. Bowl with internally grooved rim and crudely stamped pattern; a devolved and probably late example.

<sup>1</sup> See Hawkes and Dunning, *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii (1930), p. 206.

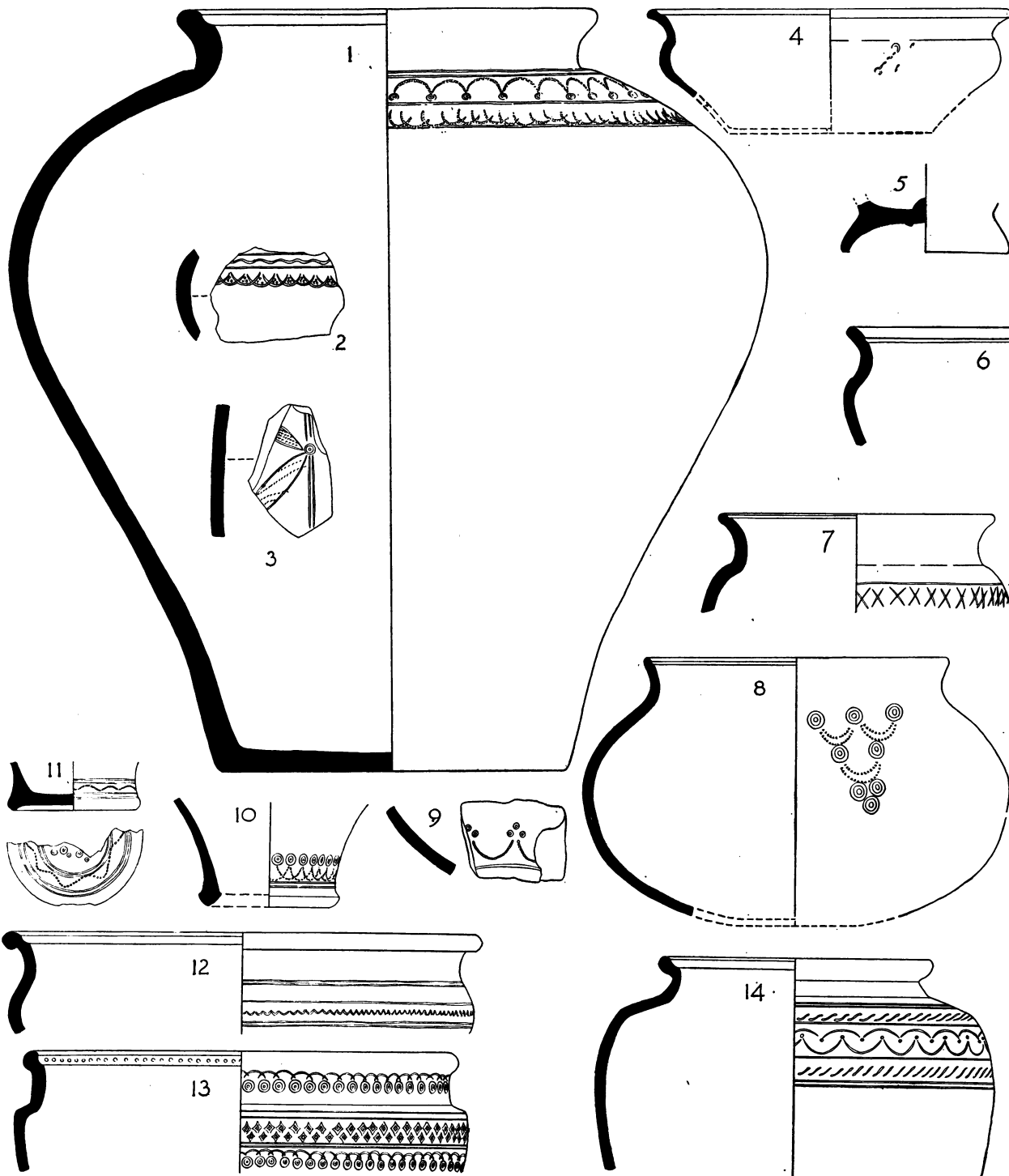


FIG. 29. Pottery from Cotes-du-Nord and Morbihan ( $\frac{1}{3}$ )

9. Fragment with similarly devolved decoration.

10-14. Stamped sherds from a La Tène II-III site at Mané Roullard in the commune of La Trinité (Morbihan). All in the Carnac Museum. The internally grooved rim is normal to this series; the decoration is mostly degenerate. A provisional date in the vicinity of 100 B.C. may be suggested, pending further evidence.

Fig. 30

This miscellaneous collection of pottery preserved in the St. Briec Museum (Côtes-du-Nord) has already been illustrated in Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (1943), pl. xxviii. It includes (nos. 1, 5, 6) well-known but exceptional examples of sub-Marnian decoration based, as the dominant *pointillé* background shows, on metal prototypes; together with a number of the internally grooved rims which are characteristic of Brittany in La Tène II-III and are found consistently in the British 'Glastonbury complex' (see map, fig. 12). Both features are discussed briefly in *Maiden Castle*, pp. 216-17. How far the sub-Marnian decoration of Britain entered by way of Yorkshire and the east coast, and how far it reached the south-west by more direct cross-Channel routes, cannot be determined until more evidence is forthcoming, particularly from the French side. The last half-century has added almost nothing to the scanty though distinguished material known from north-western France.

1-7. From 'chambres souterraines à la carrière de Blavet', Hénon (Côtes-du-Nord), 9½ miles south-south-east of St. Briec.<sup>1</sup> The sherds are of a lustrous black ware, sometimes micaceous, and appear to have been turned on a *tournette* or slow wheel. The decoration, stamped and incised, shows clear traces of derivation from metal-ware, such as the famous La Tène I helmet from Berru (Marne)<sup>2</sup> or the bronze basin from a chariot-burial of the same phase from Les Saulces-Champenoises (Ardennes) published by Déchelette.<sup>3</sup> It would appear that in La Tène I-II influences from the Marnian culture penetrated westwards along the coastal regions to the Côtes-du-Nord and northern Finistère (St. Pol-de-Léon and Plouhinec); but there is no present indication that they took firm root there. The date of the Hénon sherds can only be conjectured; typologically the earlier half of La Tène II (soon after the beginning of the third century B.C.) would be consistent with the stage of devolution reached by nos. 5 and 6, but the durability of these motifs in north-western France is quite unknown. For the internally grooved rim, see above, p. 58.

8-11. From a grotto at St. Glen, 5 miles east of Moncontour (Côtes-du-Nord). No. 9 is a bead-rimmed 'saucepan' of a type freely represented in a somewhat earlier-looking variant in the La Tène I part of the cemetery at Les Jogasses, near Epernay (Marne).<sup>4</sup> In La Tène III, bead-rim 'saucepans' approximating to the present example are found

<sup>1</sup> Du Chatellier, *La Poterie*, etc., p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *R.A.* i, 244.

<sup>3</sup> *Manuel*, iv, 958, 961.

<sup>4</sup> Example illustrated in Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, p. 205, fig. 62, vi.

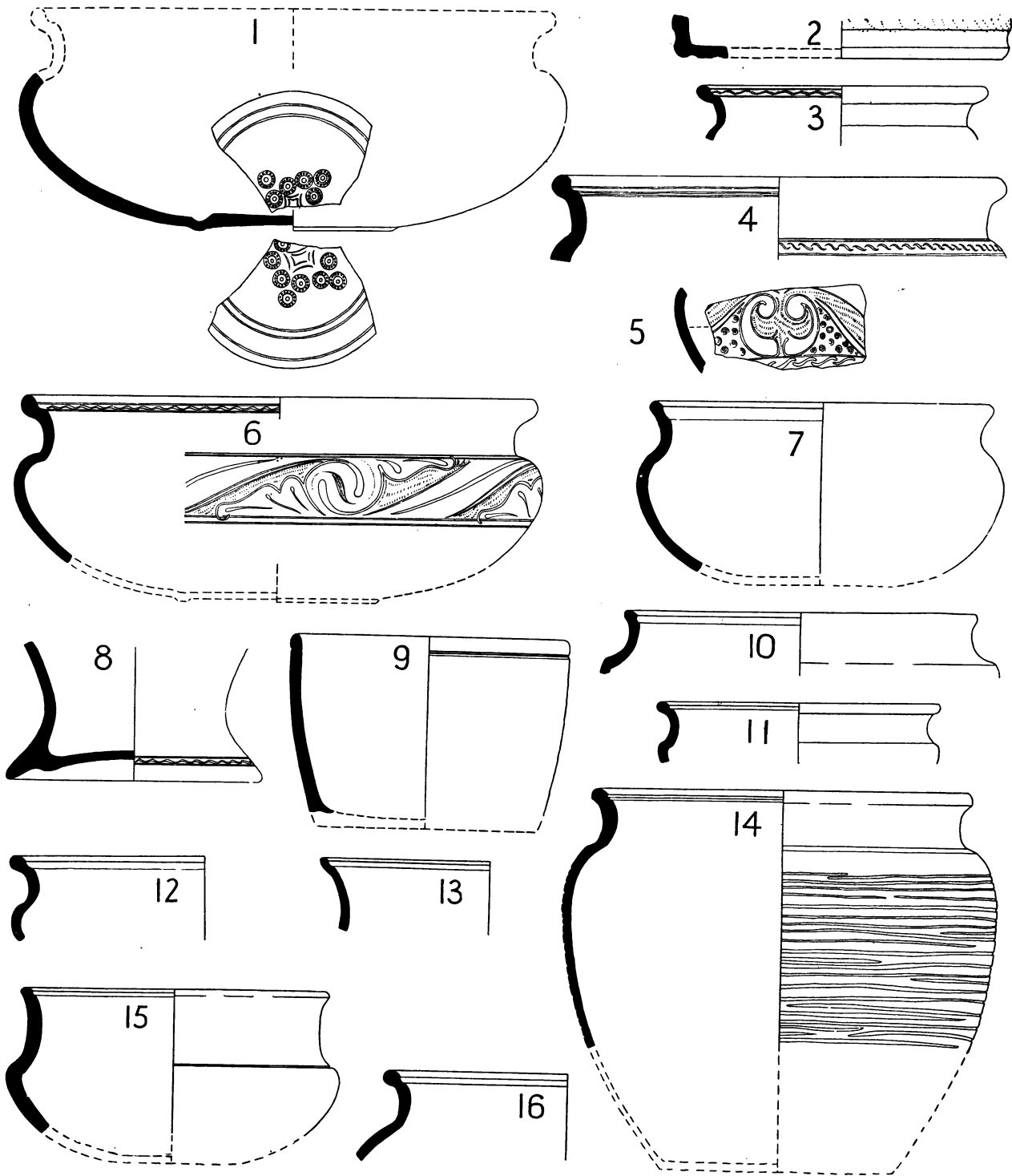


FIG. 30. Pottery in St. Briec Museum (1/3)

in southern Britain, from Dorset to Sussex (*Maiden Castle*, p. 228), and it is probably to this late phase that the St. Glen series also should be ascribed.

12. From 'Tertre Aubert'; where this site is, we have been unable to ascertain, but it may be supposed to lie within 20 or 30 miles of St. Brieuc. The sherd further illustrates the popularity of the internally grooved rim in north-western France.

13-16. From St. Donan, 6 miles south-west of St. Brieuc. A further series of internally grooved rims, probably of La Tène III. All the sherds appear to be wheel-turned.

*Fig. 31*

This illustration, already published in Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (1943), pl. xxvii, is a collection of countersunk handles from north-western France. Normally, handles are modelled separately and attached to the vessel before firing; but in limited times and regions a small eyelet-handle has been formed by pinching a thickened portion of the shoulder, so that one side of the eyelet is constituted by a cavity in the profile of the shoulder. This type of handle is characteristic of British Iron Age B pottery west of the Salisbury Avon and is particularly common in Dorset. In France it appears to be confined to Brittany and the Loire-Inférieure. The distribution on the two sides of the Channel, regarded in the light of parallel distributions, presumably reflects cultural interaction. See map, fig. 12.

1-2. Two wheel-turned pots, of grey-black ware, with cordons and countersunk handles. Found in 1873 with a dozen other vessels, which were destroyed, at Le Merdiez, in the *parcelle* called Parc Bras at Plouzévelé (Finistère). Now in the Penmarc'h Museum. The type is illustrated also from our excavations in the Camp d'Artus, Huelgoat (above, fig. 6, 86), and may be ascribed to the first half or middle of the first century B.C. We have not encountered it outside northern Finistère.

3-7. Countersunk handles of coarse grey ware, possibly hand-made, from the La Tène II-III habitation-site at Kerhillio, commune of Erdeven, north-west of Carnac (Morbihan). In the Carnac Museum.

8. Countersunk handle of brown ware, possibly hand-made, from the site of a dock at St. Nazaire (Loire-Inférieure). In the Nantes Museum.

9. One of two similar handles of coarse burnished ware, either hand-made or roughly wheel-turned, from St. Donan, 6 miles south-west of St. Brieuc (Côtes-du-Nord). In the St. Brieuc Museum.

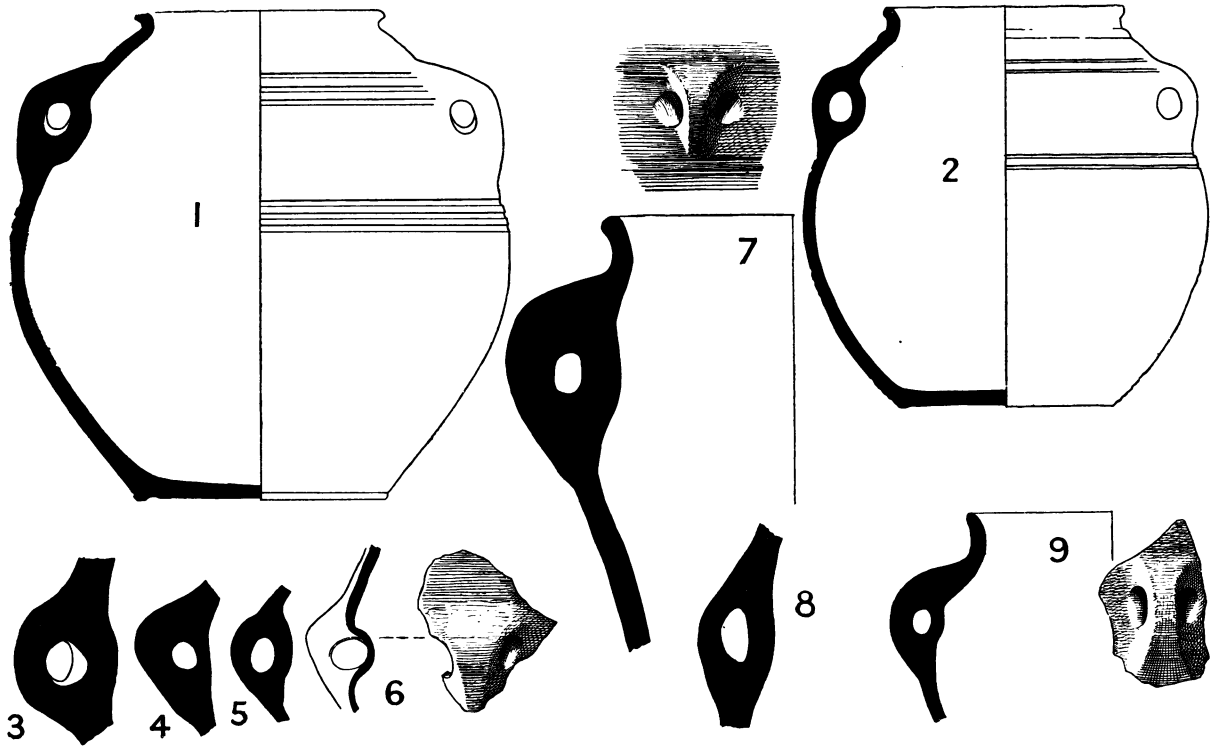


FIG. 31. Pottery with countersunk handles from north-western France (¼)



## V. GAZETTEER OF HILL-FORTS AND CLOSELY RELATED STRUCTURES IN NORTHERN FRANCE

(Map, pl. XLIII)

THE area covered by this Gazetteer is the whole of Brittany (Departments of Finistère, Côtes-du-Nord, Morbihan, and Ille-et-Vilaine) with extensions into the fringe of Loire-Inférieure; Normandy (Manche, Calvados, Orne, Eure, and Seine-Inférieure); Picardy, and part of Artois. With rare exceptions, the list is confined to works which in part use hill-slopes or cliffs as an ancillary defensive factor, and the principle adopted has been to exclude works which, for one reason or another, seem to fall outside the hill-fort or promontory-fort category or outside the Early Iron Age. In this respect, our gazetteer is considerably more selective than any of the previous French lists. At the same time it must be emphasized that our survey was a relatively hasty one and claims to be no more than a preliminary reconnaissance. Close regional surveys, both on the ground and from the air, are now required and, when undertaken, will unquestionably produce notable additions, particularly in the eastern part of our zone, which has been less thoroughly combed.

In all, of some 200 sites investigated 93 are listed: 44 in Brittany and Loire-Inférieure; 27 in Normandy and Eure-et-Loir; the remainder in and adjoining Picardy and Artois. The preponderance in Brittany is due to the extensive use of small coastal promontories there, a feature to which some special consideration has been given in the introductory sections of this Report (pp. 4 ff.). The sites are mostly listed by Departments and Communes. They have all been visited by us or our colleagues.

A promontory-fort in Jersey and another, with multiple ramparts, in Guernsey,<sup>1</sup> not visited by our expedition, are omitted from the Gazetteer.

### *Loire-Inférieure*

(Only the districts adjoining the mouth of the Loire on the north have been investigated.)

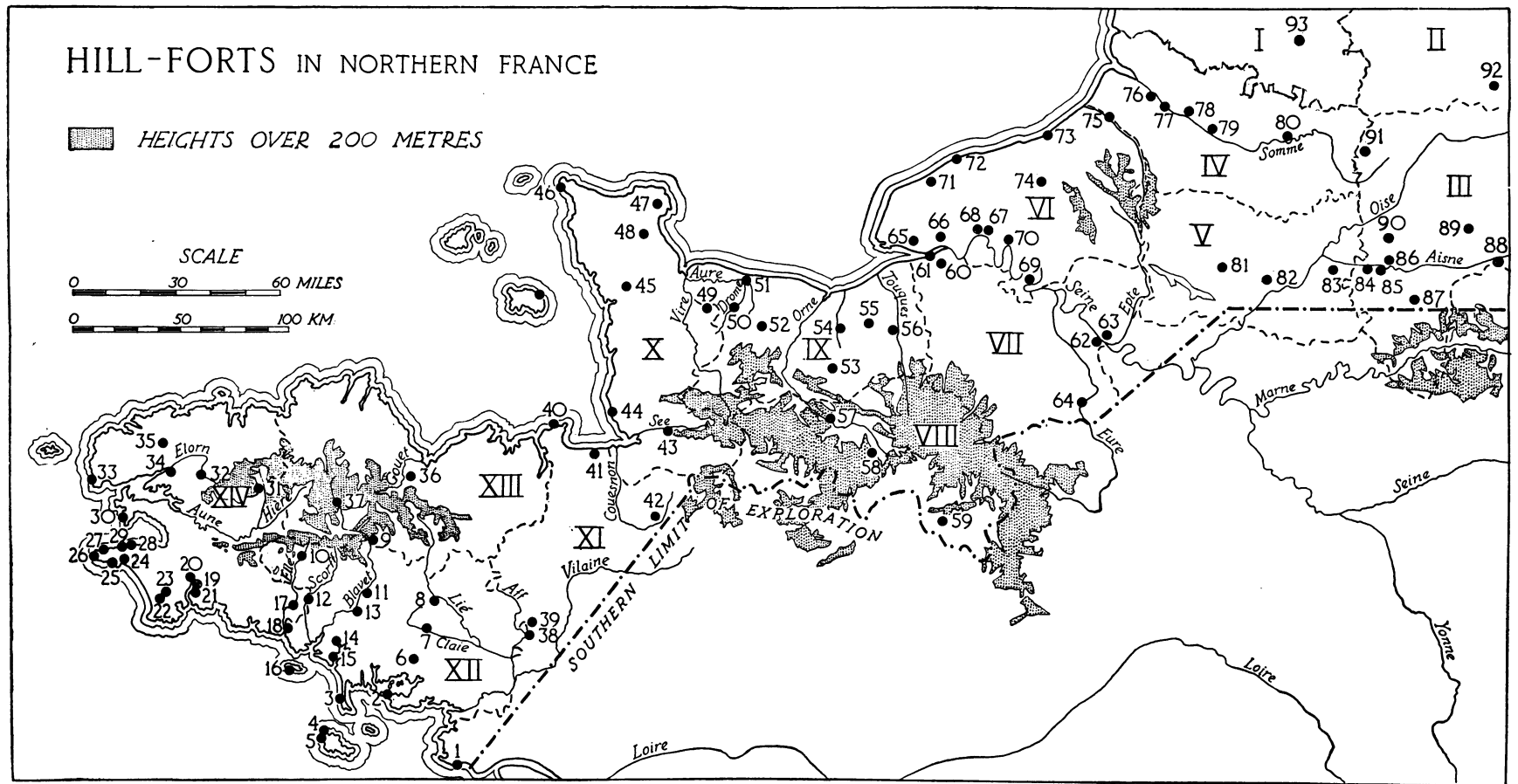
#### 1. Pouliguen. Canton of Le Croisic.

A promontory (schist) known as Pen Château projecting into the sea on the W. side of the Bay of La Baule is defended by four lines of rampart across the neck, the innermost now about 12 ft. high. The ramparts are apparently constructed of earth with layers of pebbles, but are much destroyed by cultivation. Each was fronted by a ditch, but these also are largely destroyed. A section of the defences can be seen alongside a road which passes through them on the W. flank.

<sup>1</sup> See Jacquetta Hawkes, *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands*, ii (Jersey, 1937), 192-3. Another cliff-castle, at the Pinnacle Rock on the north-west coast of Jersey, is less cer-

tainly of this period. For the important site on the Jerbourg peninsula of Guernsey, see T. D. Kendrick, *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands*, i (1928), 177-9.

PLATE XLIII





The position of the original entrance is uncertain. The area thus defended approaches 18 acres in extent; it is now covered by a suburb of La Baule.

See Lisle de Dreunec; Mortillet, p. 201; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 290, list XLIV.

### *Morbihan*

#### 2. Arzon. Canton of Sarzeau.

On a point projecting into the Bay of Morbihan, opposite the Moulin de Pencastel, is a small cliff-castle under 3 acres in extent. Across the neck of the promontory is a single large bank rising to a maximum height of 14 ft. above the interior and 25 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch. An exposed section indicates that the rampart is of sand with an external revetment of stone. The outer end of the promontory has remains of a medieval building, alleged to have been occupied by the Templars, and it is just possible that the whole work is medieval.

See Délandre, p. 215; Fouquet, pp. 52 and 97; Rosenzweig, p. 216; Mortillet, p. 202; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 455, list LVIII.

#### 3. Beg-en-Aud. Canton of St. Pierre-Quiberon.

At the NW. corner of the Quiberon peninsula a high cliff is barred by a bank and ditch about 150 ft. long, the ditch said to be about 60 ft. broad and the bank 15 ft. high. The central access is modern, and the original entrance must have been along one or both of the cliff-edges, which have crumbled away. The rampart was dug by the Abbé Collet in 1867, and the finds, now in the museum at Vannes, include iron nails, fragments of wood, and pottery. Other sherds (see fig. 24, 24-28), of the Early Iron Age, have been picked up on the site since the Second World War. (The site was much mutilated during the German occupation.)

See Collet, (1) and (2); Vannes Museum Catalogue, p. 69, nos. 1210-15. Information from Professor P. R. Giot and Mrs. C. M. Piggott, F.S.A.

#### 4. Sauzon. Canton of Belle-Île-en-Mer.

A promontory of schist or *Phyllades de St. Lô*, near the N. end of the island, is known as the Pointe du Vieux Château from the conglomeration of earthworks at its base. The area within the system is 12-13 acres (not 'over 90 acres' as reported) and may well owe its somewhat exceptional size as much to the conformation of the headland as to any deliberate intent. The neck of the promontory, 500 ft. wide, is dominated by a medieval motte and a large bank and ditch which turn the promontory into a bailey. Under the bank are traces of a former (pre-medieval) bank and in-turned entrance, verified by excavation; and outside these works are three small banks and ditches which are likewise presumably of the Early Iron Age. Trenches cut in the interior revealed little stratified occupation, the rock-surface being only a few inches below the turf, and the whole site has been much mutilated during modern military works. It would appear that the original fortification had generally resembled that of the Camp de César on the Ile de Groix, and the few Iron Age sherds recovered by the excavator are consistent with a date in the first century B.C. Slingstones were found.

See Délandre, p. 538; Le Bourdelles, p. 418; Rosenzweig, p. 17; Le Sallen; La Sauvagère, pp. 281-4, pl. xxvii; Murray Threipland, p. 141; Mortillet, p. 202; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 455, list LVIII.

#### 5. Sauzon. Canton of Belle-Île-en-Mer.

About 1½ miles S. of the Pointe du Vieux Château, on the W. coast of Belle-Île, is a small island which becomes a peninsula at low tide. It is known as *Hastellic*. Across the base of the island or

promontory runs a rampart, without surviving entrance, isolating an area of little more than an acre. The headland is thus converted into a small and simple cliff-castle.

Omitted by Délandre, Fouquet, Rosenzweig, and *B.S.P.F.*

#### 6. St. Avé. Canton of Vannes.

The Camp de Villeneuve, or Castel Ker Neué, lies on a commanding promontory with an extensive view towards the S. and SW. The subsoil or underlying rock is of granulite *feuilleté*. An area of little more than half an acre is strongly fortified by three ramparts and rock-cut ditches; but the two inner banks amalgamate towards the S. and NE. The innermost rampart rises to a height of 12 ft. above the interior level whilst the middle or main ditch is 60 ft. broad from crest to crest. This system is penetrated by a single straight entrance from the back of the ridge. In the interior are traces of hut-circles, including in the SE. corner what appears to be the remains of a composite group consisting of two circles and a courtyard. Roman tiles are said to have been found here.

Mentioned by Délandre, pp. 544-5; Fouquet, p. 95; Rosenzweig, p. 221; Mortillet, p. 202 ('Castel Ker Nevé'); *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 459, list LVIII.

#### 7. Plumelec. Canton of St. Jean Brévelay.

Two km. SSW. of Plumelec the Camp du Château Blanc occupies a promontory of schist overlooking a ford over the River Claie. An area of about 5 acres is enclosed by a rampart and ditch with a counterscarp bank in places, especially along the N. half of the E. side. The rampart rises to a height of about 4 ft. above the interior level and about 15 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch. A gap in the S. side represents the entrance along the back of the ridge or plateau, and a gap at the NE. corner possibly represents a postern providing access to the river. From the head of the promontory the camp commands a vista of some 2 km. towards the N.

Mentioned by Délandre, p. 369; Fouquet, p. 108; Rosenzweig, p. 162; Mortillet, p. 202; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 459, list LVIII.

#### 8. Guégon. Canton of Josselin.

To the N. of the Josselin-Lochiné road at a point 7 km. W. of Josselin and within 250 yds. of the easternmost house of the hamlet named Pigeon Blanc, the Camp de Lescouais occupies a flat, round-topped ridge protected on the S. and E. by a shallow valley with a stream, probably once marshy. The underlying rock is schist. The W. half of the fortification is now lost amidst fields and field-banks, but on the E. and N. a rampart rising to a height of nearly 30 ft. is visible, with traces of a counterscarp bank; and on the N. side this line is supplemented for a short distance by remains of an inner bank and ditch. About 280 yds. S. of the N. rampart a strong bank with a S. ditch cuts off (a part of) the N. area of the camp, but only 90 yds. of the cross-bank, with an entrance-gap, are preserved. Whether this cross-bank represents the S. limit of an earlier and smaller camp, or whether it is contemporary with the main work and provides a *château fort* within its N. end cannot be determined without excavation. The total area enclosed was certainly very large; it may have been more than 80 acres, but the obliteration of the W. defences leaves the area uncertain. As it is, the site must be regarded as that of a major *oppidum* strongly embanked.

See Délandre, p. 363; Fouquet, p. 103; Rosenzweig, p. 130; Mortillet, p. 202 ('Camp de Lescouet'); *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 456, list LVIII.

#### 9. S. Aignan. Canton of Cléguérec.

Two km. WSW. of Mur-de-Bretagne and on the promontory immediately to the NW. of the dam across the Brest-Nantes canal (the River Blavet) lies Castel Finans. The defence now

consists of a great bank of fallen stones cascading down the hill-side with a gap on the S. where there is an in-turned entrance. At the W. end there is an outer line of rampart extending to a distance of 150 ft. beyond the inner line which presumably either represents a curtailment of the camp or its original W. boundary. Between these two major ramparts are traces of two smaller banks with a ditch between them. A central gap through the W. system possibly represents another entrance. The total area enclosed is about 10 acres.

See Délandre, p. 424; Fouquet, p. 113; La Grancière, (1) p. 121, and (2) p. 706; Rosenzweig, p. 79; Mortillet, p. 202; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 459, list LVIII.

#### 10. Langonnet. Canton of Gourin.

Two km. S. of the Abbaie de Langonnet is a small promontory-fort about 1½ acres in extent, on a granulite hill overlooking a sharp angle made by a branch of the River Ellé and on the N. side of the road to Le Faouet. The promontory is cut off by a single rampart with slight traces of an external ditch.

Very doubtfully mentioned by Délandre, p. 448 ('Ker Castellou'); Leroux, pp. 289-91 ('Minez Lescrec'h'); Rosenzweig, p. 95 (Kercastel); Mortillet, p. 202; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 456, list LVIII.

#### 11. Bieuzy. Canton of Baud.

On a peninsula formed by the winding River Blavet, S. of the village of Castennec and 50 m. N. of the Chapelle de Ste Trinité, a rampart and ditch traversing the neck of the promontory is now cut by the road from Bieuzy to Plumeliau. The area thus defended is some 15-20 acres but the relatively large size seems to be conditioned mainly by the conformation of the promontory, and the camp cannot be included amongst our substantive 'tribal centres'. The bank rises to a height of about 5 ft. above the level of the interior and is returned with a scarp or light ditch along a part of the E. side of the promontory. The entrance was presumably at the point where the road cuts into the defences; these are said to have been faced internally with masonry.

See Délandre, p. 407; Fouquet, pp. 64 and 112; La Grancière, (1) p. 372; Rosenzweig, p. 69; possibly Mortillet, p. 202; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 455, list LVIII.

#### 12. Plouay. Canton of Plouay.

Due W. of Plouay is a promontory projecting westwards within a hairpin bend of the River Scorff. Near the base of the promontory is a chapel to Ste Anne, and to the W. of this is a motte. E. of the motte and flanking the chapel on the E. and W. are two sets of cross-ramparts, of which the outer (eastern) probably incorporates a pre-medieval bank, ditch, and counterscarp bank extending from the cliffs above the river on the S. to a tributary stream on the N. The extent of the promontory thus isolated is about 70 acres in extent. Excavation is required to prove the Early Iron Age nucleus of this complex, but the work is provisionally included on our maps on analogy, for example, with that at Sauzon on Belle-Île-en-Mer (above, no. 4).

See Délandre, p. 462; Rosenzweig, p. 79 (à Kernouen); Mortillet, p. 202; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 458, list LVIII.

#### 13. Quistinic. Canton of Plouay.

A tongue of land between the River Blavet on the N. and a tributary stream on the S. is cut off by a rampart, rising 3 ft. above the interior level and 4 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch, which has a low counterscarp bank. The work is nearly over the railway-tunnel which penetrates the promontory. The road from Quistinic to Baud traverses the camp and has presumably destroyed the entrance. The area thus defended is large, but much of it is steep and indifferently habitable.

See Délandre, pp. 403; Fouquet, p. 100; possibly Mortillet, p. 202; possibly *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 459, list LVIII.

## 14. Nostang. Canton of Port Louis.

Immediately W. of the side-road from Nostang to Ste Helène, at the point where the side-road approaches the estuary of the River Etel, is a promontory with a rampart rising  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ft. above the interior level and 10 ft. above the present bottom of the external ditch. To the NW. the promontory is protected by a tributary stream and a bog, supplemented by an artificial escarpment along the edge of the enclosure. The area thus defended amounts to about 10 acres. At the point of the promontory a medieval motte has been inserted.

See Délandre, pp. 495 and 499; Fouquet, pp. 64 and 84; Rosenzweig, p. 59; Mortillet, p. 202; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 458, list LVIII.

## 15. Plouhinec. Canton of Port Louis.

On the outskirts of the village of Vieux Passage near Plouhinec on the granite promontory E. of the village-harbour is an entrenched point commanding the narrow straits of the River Etel. The village marks one end of an old ferry-route across the estuary. The defences consist of a single rampart rising 5 ft. above an interior quarry ditch and 9 ft. above an exterior escarpment without a ditch. The rampart crosses the neck of the promontory and is carried along a part of the N. side. On this side near the turn is a gap which may represent an original entrance from the adjacent sandy beach. Elsewhere the promontory falls steeply to the sea. The defended area is about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  acres. Trial-trenches cut in the interior (but not through the rampart) by Mrs. Murray Threipland, F.S.A., in 1939 revealed no appreciable stratification in the shallow earth-deposit on the rock, but produced a few sherds of the first half of the first century B.C. and a blue glass bead of distinctive type with protuberances such as those on glass bracelets found with Gaulish coins of the same period at Guervech in the commune of Brech, Morbihan. Sling-stones were also found.

See Délandre, p. 502; Fouquet, pp. 64 and 85; Rosenzweig, p. 61; Threipland, p. 138; Mortillet, p. 202; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 458, list LVIII.

## 16. Île de Groix. Canton of Île de Groix.

Camp de César. This camp is a small but impressive cliff-castle  $\frac{1}{2}$  km. SW. of the village of Kervédan, on the W. end of the island. It is on mica-schist, is some 2 acres in extent, and is defended across the neck of the little promontory by a complex of banks and ditches. On the W. the banks end on the cliff face, while on the E. an arm of a marshy valley has been utilized and deepened; the entrance is roughly central. The interior of the camp is practically denuded to the bare rock, except for a slight accumulation of soil in the lee of the ramparts. Trial-excavations by Mrs. Murray Threipland, F.S.A., in 1939 showed that the innermost rampart, originally 21 ft. wide and now preserved to a height of 8 ft. above the natural surface, is built of clay, rubble, and turves revetted externally and internally with dry-built stone walls with no traces of timbering. The innermost (rock-cut) ditch is W-shaped in section, though whether the mid-rib is an intentional and constant feature is not known. Beyond it are three small banks of dump-construction and five shallow ditches, of which the last underlies a large outermost bank. This bank has a well-cut flat-bottomed ditch, with a counterscarp bank. The whole represents three phases: (i) the innermost revetted rampart, its ditch, and the five small banks and ditches with a central entrance were constructed; (ii) the outer small ditches were partially filled or silted, an oblique approach ran across them, and other small modifications took place; (iii) the large outermost bank and ditch were built. Behind and adjacent to the innermost rampart was found a roughly circular stone-walled hut with four post-holes, built over debris from the rampart and therefore of appreciably later date. On the floor were found fragments of pottery, particularly a sherd of grooved ware (probably wheel-turned), which were ascribed, somewhat uncertainly, to the first half of the first century B.C. Sling-stones were also recovered from the site.



Délandre, p. 493; Fouquet, p. 116; Rosenzweig, p. 55; Threipland, p. 129; Mortillet, p. 202 ('camp de Romains'); *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 456, list LVIII.

*Finistère*

17. Arzano. Canton of Arzano.

Near St. Adrien, about 4 km. E. of Quimperlé, there is a small promontory (granulite) which carries a hill-fort above the River Ellé; the camp is known locally as the Camp de César. An area of 2-3 acres is cut off by a single bank and ditch, the former about 6 ft. high with a gap, probably the original entrance, on the E. side. The extreme end of the promontory is isolated by a further short line of bank and ditch forming a separate unit and doubtfully contemporary with the preceding.

Apparently mentioned by Chatellier, (1) p. 342; Mortillet, p. 198; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 156, list xxxi.

18. Clohars-Carnoët. Canton of Quimperlé.

A promontory-fort known as Kergastel on a mica-schist headland 5 km. E. of Clohars-Carnoët, projects into the broad River Laita which thus clasps the end of it on two sides. A small cove provides a convenient landing-place near the end of the promontory. The main rampart, which encloses an area of about 3 acres, is continuous save on the precipitous NW. side where it is replaced by an escarpment. Across the base of the promontory the main rampart rises to a height of about 16 ft. with a basic width of about 60 ft., and has a well-marked main ditch and two slighter outer ramparts, each with a shallow supplementary ditch. The original entrance probably occupied approximately the site of the present pathway towards the NW. end of these multiple works. No stone walling is visible.

Brief reference by Chatellier, (1) p. 355; Mortillet, p. 198; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 156, list xxxi.

19. Ergué-Armel. Canton of Quimper.

Promontory-fort on granulite, known as Beg-ar-Castel, 300 m. S. of the Château of Lanros. The promontory projects into the estuary of the Odet, at a point of junction with a tributary from the E., and is cut off by a single rampart and ditch which fortifies an area of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres. The rampart is about 8 ft. high and 45 ft. wide at the base; the ditch is about 17 ft. wide with a maximum depth of about 12 ft. A gap W. of the centre may represent the original entrance. The rampart is partially visible in section at this point and shows a layer of charcoal 2-3 in. thick at a depth of about 10 in. below the summit. Patches of burning also appear in the end of the section on the SE. Many of the patches are buried deeply in the rampart and there are suggestions of vitrification amongst the granite boulders of which it is largely constructed. This small cliff-castle lies immediately opposite no. 21.

Mentioned as a 'vitrified fort' by Chatellier, (1) p. 329; Le Men, (1) pp. 171-3; Serret, pp. 251-2; Mortillet, p. 199, noted as vitrified; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 157, list xxxi.

20. Penhars. Canton of Quimper. Kercaradec.

See this Report, p. 54.

21. Gouesna'ch. Canton of Fouesnant.

At St. Cadou, 4 km. N. of Gouesna'ch, a small promontory-fort on granulite, 3-4 acres in extent, lies immediately opposite no. 19 and, like it, is flanked by the estuary of the Odet (tidal below this point) and a tributary rivulet. The promontory slopes steeply to the river and is so

thickly overgrown as to render investigation difficult. It is barred by a single huge bank, 100 ft. wide, which possibly owes its size in part to the incorporation of a natural feature. The bank is returned for some distance along the E. side of the promontory. A gap on the axis of the promontory possibly represents the ancient entrance, but may be comparatively modern.

Mentioned by Chatellier, (1) p. 269; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 157, list xxxi.

22. Plonéour-Lanvern. Canton of Plogastel-St.-Germain.

Badly mutilated remains of a hill-fort with a single rampart and a quarry-ditch on the inside, to be seen on a high hill (granulite) about 400 m. SW. of Kervélan farm. The former area of the camp is uncertain, but it must have been at least 4 acres. A number of tumuli are included within it.

Mentioned by Chatellier, (1) p. 278; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 158, list xxxi.

23. Plonéour-Lanvern. Canton of Plogastel-St.-Germain.

About 500 yds. E. of the farm of Kergoulouarn, on the top of a commanding hill above the stream from the mill of Drémillec, is a camp with three rectilinear sides and a fourth, on the E., following the steep contour of the hill, but here partially destroyed. The defence consists of a single rampart, a ditch, and a counterscarp bank; the rampart rises to a height of 10–20 ft. above the bottom of the ditch and 8–10 ft. above the interior. In the centre of the S. side is an entrance, featureless save for two stretches of embankment flanking the approach. Du Chatellier records the finding of 'Gaulish pottery' on the site, and both for this reason and because of its typical hill-fort position the camp is included here. The straightness of three of the sides may indicate the work of a Gaul who had seen Roman encampments. The camp is closely comparable with that at Hottot (Calvados), no. 52 below.

See Chatellier, (1) p. 278; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 159, list xxxi.

24. Pont-Croix. Canton of Pont-Croix.

On a commanding promontory of granite rock projecting into the estuary of the River Goyen at the point of junction with a tributary, 2 km. from Audierne on the Pont-Croix road, an area of less than an acre is cut off on the W. and N. by three ramparts and ditches to form the so-called Menei Castel. The innermost rampart may have been carried originally round the whole of the camp either as a bank or as an escarpment. Near the centre of the system is a damaged entrance which appears to have been flanked by the in-turned ends of the main rampart. At the NE. end there are possible slight traces of a fourth rampart.

Du Chatellier appears to indicate that Roman debris, bricks and pottery, were found on the site in 1889, but his reference is not clear.

See Chatellier, (1) pp. 302–3; Le Carguet, pp. 33–52; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 159, list xxxi.

25. Primelin. Canton of Pont-Croix.

A cliff-castle about 2 acres in extent, on a granulite promontory, projects into the sea about 600 yds. W. of the centre of Castel village. The defence across the neck of the promontory consists of a rampart now about 5½ ft. high above the bottom of a shallow and often indistinguishable ditch.

Du Chatellier's reference to the site is confused but it may be here that the flint flakes and stone axes mentioned by him were found.

See Chatellier, (1) p. 304; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 159, list xxxi.

26. Plogoff. Canton of Pont-Croix.

An area of about 6 acres on granulite at the end of the Pointe du Raz is cut off by the remains of

a cross-rampart now under 3 ft. high, with doubtful traces of a ditch. The rampart is very badly wrecked, but possible traces of a few facing-stones in position are visible here and there. A gap towards the S. end possibly represents an entrance.

Du Chatellier, who mentions the site, records the 'frequent' finding of barbed flint arrow-heads upon it.

See Chatellier, (1) p. 298; Le Men, (1) p. 167; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 158, list xxxi.

#### 27. Cléden-Cap-Sizun. Canton of Pont-Croix.

One km. N. of the village of Kernot and 4 km. WNW. of Cléden-Cap-Sizun, a cliff-castle, known as Castel Meur (pl. XLIV), is situated on a granulite promontory projecting into the sea and rising to a height of some 200 ft. above it. It is closely similar to Castel Coz (below). An area about 300 yds. long and on the average 80 yds. broad (about 5 acres) is barred by a triple rampart and ditch with possible slight traces of a fourth rampart or counterscarp bank immediately outside them. A central gap in the defences doubtless represents the original entrance, and in the interior numerous hollows (pl. XLIV, B) represent the 95 rectangular or oval huts which P. du Chatellier explored in 1889. These hollows have level floors and range from 11 ft. by 11 ft. to 23 ft. by 14 ft., with a depth of 3-4 ft. at the inner (higher) end. They are definitely scoops for huts, not storage-pits; the sides were revetted with dry-stone walling. There was evidence that all the huts had been destroyed by fire. Du Chatellier records the finding in them of much coarse pottery, spearheads, swords, daggers, an iron helmet, an iron ploughshare, sickles, flint points, blue glass beads, a fragment of a gold bracelet, grinding stones for corn, and sling-stones. The du Chatellier collection is now at the museum of St. Germain-en-Laye, where much of it is still packed as it arrived. The authorities have, however, very kindly unpacked some of the pottery, which included a few fragments of medieval 'pie-crust' ware similar to that noted below at Castel Coz and a few sherds of finer ware of indeterminate form. A barrow in the interior of the camp seems to have been of the Beaker period.

See Chatellier, (1) p. 288, (2) pp. 401-12. Three potsherds are illustrated by Chatellier, (3) pl. 15, nos. 4-6; a fourth sherd, *ibid.*, pl. 13, no. 9, from the same site is, as Déchelette remarked, medieval. See also Le Men, (1) p. 166; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 156, list xxxi.

#### 28. Beuzec-Cap-Sizun. Canton of Pont-Croix.

Cliff-castle known as Castel Coz (pl. XLV). Three ramparts and ditches cut off the higher and outer end of the promontory (granite), some  $2\frac{1}{4}$  acres in extent. The main cross-rampart was revetted externally with a stone wall; as a low bank it was continued round the promontory, but the outer cross-ramparts terminate on the flanking cliffs. The ramparts and ditches have a central interruption which is doubtless the original entrance. To the south of them, and roughly parallel with them, there is a wall consisting of earth or rubble between two lines of orthostats. This has been called a *cheval-de-frise* but is evidently the vestige of an independent, probably earlier, line of defence, conjecturally neolithic. (A comparable wall near the Pinnacle Rock on the NW. coast of Jersey has been claimed as neolithic, but on no adequate evidence; the headland was occupied from neolithic times to La Tène III. See *Société jersiaise, bulletin annuel*, 1949, pp. 27 ff.; 1920, pp. 169 ff. It may be observed that the Iron Age rampart of the cliff-castle known as Maen Castle in the parish of Sennen on the N. coast of Cornwall is also identically constructed. See *Proc. West Cornwall Field Club (Archaeological)*, n.s., i, no. 3, 1954-5, 98 ff.) Two further slight banks bridge the isthmus at the point where it joins the main coast-line. On the summit of the headland are remains of a masonry look-out post, probably of the eighteenth century. The area cut off by the triple defences contains numerous hut-hollows, some of them, immediately behind the inner-

most rampart, roughly oblong in shape. Of these, at least some seem to have produced early medieval pottery.<sup>1</sup> The site was excavated in 1869 and some of the objects from it are preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Guenolé near Penmarc'h (Finistère). Finds included saddle-back querns, a flat millstone, clay spindle-whorls, glass beads, polished stone axes, flint nuclei and flakes, part of a bronze sword, ten fragments of iron swords, more than a hundred sling-stones, and a considerable quantity of pottery which falls into three main categories:

- (a) one or two sherds of Beaker of the late neolithic or early Bronze Age;
- (b) an Early Iron Age (probably La Tène III) series which includes forms with bead rims. One fragment of thick ware has a red haematite coating. Much of the pottery is hand-made but a few sherds seem to be wheel-turned. A selection is illustrated (fig. 24);
- (c) coarse dishes and sherds, some with 'pie-crust' ornament, which seem to be of early medieval date (ninth to tenth century A.D.?) but deserve further study.

See Bertrand, (1) p. 164; Chatellier, (1) p. 287 (with other local entrenchments); Le Men, (1) p. 139, (2) pp. 314 ff.; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 156, list xxxi; and this Report, p. 85.

### 29. Beuzec-Cap-Sizun. Canton of Pont-Croix.

About 400 yds. W. of Castel Coz, the next small (granite) promontory is cut off by a single rampart with a maximum height of 5 ft., the area thus isolated being less than half an acre in extent. No external ditch is visible, but a small quarry-ditch can be observed at the inner base of the rampart. No original entrance can be seen; entry was probably obtained at one or other of the flanks.

See Chatellier, (1) p. 287; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 156, list xxxi.

### 30. Pointe de Lostmarc'h. Canton of Cozon.

On the W. coast 5 km. N. of the Cap de la Chèvre at the N. entrance to the Bay of Douarnenez, a small promontory of shaly rock projects into the Atlantic and was utilized as a cliff-castle (pls. XLVI, XLVII, A). N. of the promontory is a small cove where landing is possible at low tide. S. of it is a broad bay with an easy low-lying shore which the Germans thought necessary to cover with two casemates and anti-tank 'dragons' teeth' in the 1939-45 war. Thus, though locally defensible, the cliff-castle is more readily outflanked from the sea than are the more southerly defences such as Castel Coz or Castel Meur. The defences across the 50-yd. neck of the promontory consist of two ramparts and ditches, the former apparently of dump-construction. About 20 yds. from the S. end a gap represents the entrance, approached by a causeway of solid rock. Within the defences the length of the promontory is 150 yds., with an area of rather less than 2 acres. A few shallow depressions may represent hut-floors, and the highest point is crowned with the ruin of a small look-out post ascribed to Vauban. Beside it are remains apparently of a neolithic chambered tomb. The site was visited in 1955 with Professor P. R. Giot, who was the first to draw attention to it.

See note by Giot, p. 254, and air-view in P. Diolé, *4,000 Years under the Sea* (London, 1954), pl. XIII.

### 31. Huelgoat. Canton of Huelgoat. Le Camp d'Artus or d'Arthus.

See this Report, pp. 23 ff.

### 32. Sizun. Canton of Sizun.

Two km. NW. of Sizun church on a plateau (schist), but conforming partially with the contours,

<sup>1</sup> See P. R. Giot, 'Un type de céramique antique inédit de Cornouaille et d'ailleurs', in *Annales de Bretagne*, lxxii (1955), 202-13.

is a hill-fort known as Castel Doun or Castel Longue, some 7-8 acres in extent and defended by a single rampart and ditch. The rampart reaches a maximum height of 14 ft. above the ditch and 9 ft. above the level of the interior. A gap on the SW. side probably represents the original entrance.

Mentioned by Chatellier, (1) p. 107; possibly Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 160, list xxxi.

### 33. Ploumoguer. Canton of St. Renan.

The peninsula of Kermorvan (granitic gneiss) consists of a main promontory with a small promontory projecting from its N. side. Both the major and minor promontories are cut off by lines of rampart. The earlier defences of the main promontory are much mutilated by an intrusive motte and bailey, the former bearing traces of a mortared stone tower. It is not now clear whether there were previously two ramparts or one at this point, but as the complex stands at present the outermost or E. unit, in the margin of which is an *allée couverte*, with many cup-marks on its stones, may be regarded as pre-medieval. This now reaches a maximum height of 10 ft. and at the S. end returns for some distance westward along the cliff. The minor N. peninsula is cut off by a small rampart apparently with two subsidiary and perhaps fragmentary outer ramparts across the centre of the neck. The remains as a whole suggest a pre-medieval fortification of the two promontories with a hint in one or perhaps both of the use of secondary lines; the site is therefore included provisionally amongst the multiple Iron Age fortifications.

Incidentally, two potsherds, probably of the Early Iron Age, were shown to the investigator as having come from the peninsula.

See Chatellier, (1) p. 160; Le Men, (1) p. 179; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 159, list xxxi.

### 34. Dirinon. Canton of Landerneau.

Two km. NW. of Dirinon and 100 m. S. of the farm of Brenot is a small promontory camp on quartzite, known as Castelleic, with an area of less than half an acre. The promontory is cut off by a single rampart and ditch, both much damaged, the former still standing in places to a height of 7 or 8 ft. A gap towards the N. end possibly represents the original entrance.

Mentioned by Chatellier, (1) p. 128; also Mortillet, p. 198; possibly *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 157, 'Goaren-ar-C'hastel'.

### 35. Le Folgoët. Canton of Lesneven.

Promontory camp known as Castel Pen-Lédan, or Castel Bras-Landivern, or Camp de César, about 4 acres, on a granite hill some 1,200 m. S. of Le Folgoët, near the Mill of Folgoët and close to the road from Lesneven to Brest. On the N., W., and S. the single rampart follows the contour of the hill; on the E. it forms a straight line across the promontory and here rises to a vertical height of some 20 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch and 10 ft. above the level of the interior. At the SE. corner this cross-rampart turns at right-angles inside the line of the S. rampart to form in effect an in-turned entrance. At two points on the S. side, in a quarry and near the SW. corner, traces of an outer revetment of dry-stone walling can be seen. At a distance of about 210 ft. to the E. of the cross-ditch are possible traces of a second rampart, now incorporated in a field boundary; a plan of 1900 shows this as continuous with the bank of the main enclosure and indicates an internal entrance to the S. If this outer work is ancient it would form an outer enclosure or annexe and cannot be regarded as an integral element in a multiple system. The NE. corner of the main enclosure is cut off by a rampart and ditch through which, in the heavy undergrowth with which this part of the site is now covered, no entrance can be seen. In this small enclosure is a

well and the subdivision is unlikely to be older than the Middle Ages. The camp, although not large, is notable as the most formidable in western Finistère.

See Chatellier, (1) pp. 137 and 141; Mortillet, p. 199; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 158, list xxxi.

#### *Côtes-du-Nord*

##### 36. Plédran. Canton of St. Briec.

A well-known camp, called the Camp Romain or the Camp de Péran, is a plateau-camp of approximately circular plan, with the ground falling slightly away from it to the S. where there are remains of an in-turned entrance. The defences consist of two ramparts and ditches with an overall measurement approaching 80 ft. from the crest of the inner rampart, which stands to a maximum height of 8 ft. above the interior of the camp and 12–18 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch. The area enclosed is some 2–3 acres. The main rampart is of heavily vitrified gneiss interpenetrated with sockets of former timbering, the imprint of which still remains in some of the sockets. These indicate timbers 4–6 in. in diameter, set at intervals of about 3 ft.

See Barthélemy, pp. 483–7; Bourgogne, pp. 1–8; Daubré, pp. 18–28; La Messelière, p. 66; Mottay, p. 170; Poirier, p. 172; Mortillet, p. 197; *B.S.P.F.* viii (1911), 131, temporary list.

##### 37. Trémargat. Canton of Rostrenen.

A fine hill-fort—the largest in the Côtes-du-Nord—on a porphyroid granite ridge flanked on one side by a stream and on the other by the River Blavet at the point where it forms the beauty-spot of Toul Goulic. The camp, some 12 acres in extent, is defended by a single rampart, rising to a maximum height of 9 ft. above the interior. The rampart follows the steep contours along the flanks, and at each end forms a fairly straight line across the ridge which falls away somewhat from the N. end. Here and there, particularly on the E. side, there are traces of a stone outer facing to the rampart. There are indications of ditches at the two ends, but along the side their place is apparently taken by an escarpment. In each end there is an entrance, and there are possible traces of a postern on the W. side. The N. entrance lies a little to the W. of the modern gap at a point where there is evidence of a causeway across the ditch.

See Harmois, (2) p. 167; La Messelière, p. 65; Mottay, p. 215. Not listed by Mortillet or *B.S.P.F.*

#### *Ille-et-Vilaine*

##### 38. Comblézac. Canton of Maure.

On the borders of Morbihan and Ille-et-Vilaine, and sometimes included in the commune of Carentoir, Morbihan, is the Camp de Mur or the Camp des Romains, on a promontory (schist) in the grounds of the Château de Marsac, 500 yds. W. of the bridge. The steep-sided promontory above the Aff is artificially scarped at the summit and is defended towards the W. by a main rampart and ditch, with traces, possibly, of two outer ramparts in the vicinity of the entrance which lies towards the N. end. The main rampart still stands to a maximum height of some 18 ft. above the interior level of the camp and appears to have included an external stone revetment, though this is not certain. The area thus protected is about 14 acres in extent. On the lower slopes of the hill, below the point of the promontory, is a medieval motte known as the Butte au Fées. On the ridge to the SW. is said to be the site of an octagonal Roman temple, near which were found coins of Augustus and Tiberius and Roman glass, pottery, and tiles.

See Banéat, i, 432; Borderie, i, 332; Délandre, p. 283; Le Claire, p. 15; Maître, p. 9; Mortillet, p. 200; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 278, list xxxvii.

## 39. Les Brûlais. Canton of Maure.

One km. E. of the village of Brûlais, a steep promontory (schist), projecting into marshland, was apparently cut off at its W. base by a rampart and ditch now almost entirely destroyed by cultivation save for traces at the N. end. The area thus enclosed would approximate to 9 acres.

See Banéat, iv, 24; Mortillet, p. 200; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 279, list xxxvii.

## 40. St. Coulomb. Canton of Cancale.

Promontory-fort known as the Ville des Mues. The headland of the Pointe du Meinga (mica schist and gneiss) running N. into the sea from the village of La Guimorais, about 3 km. NW. of St. Coulomb and 12 km. NE. of St. Malo, is cut off by an approximately straight line of rampart, which a section shows to have consisted of a wide and rough wall of beach-stones backed by earth. The rampart rises to a present height of 9 ft. The character of the external facing, if still existing, is obscured by a field wall, but on the inner face of the S. half of the rampart there were in 1938 patches of burnt wood which may represent former internal timbering. Banéat states that 'the rampart is composed of earth mixed with stones, and includes logs of wood which seem to have been subjected to the action of fire; it is partially revetted externally with dry stones and pebbles'. The site was visited again in 1954; a gap cut for the erection of a German concrete observation-post showed that most of the front (S.) and upper part of the rampart consists of stone rubble, many of the front blocks being as much as a foot in length. But without excavation the evidence is not sufficiently clear to justify its classification as a *muris Gallicus*. Outside the rampart there are possible traces of a large buried ditch, but the ground has been heavily cultivated and here again excavation is required. The area cut off by the fortifications is approximately 36 acres, the long (N.-S.) axis being about 700 yds. and the cross-ridge rampart upwards of 220 yds. Much of the E. half of the rampart has been levelled.

See Banéat, iii, 367; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 279, list xxxvii.

## 41. St. Broladre. Canton of Pleine-Fougères.

A steep-fronted promontory to the W. of the village commands a wide expanse of the coastal plain and is defended by a rampart standing 3-4 ft. high above the interior level and probably containing stone-work. The site is known as the Châtel, or the Cour-Baudouin. On the landward or SE. side there is a rock-cut ditch, and in the centre of this side is an entrance causeway. In the middle of the E. side there is a gap which probably represents a postern. The interior, which is less than half an acre in extent, is very irregular. In the absence of excavation the date of this work is uncertain; it may be pre-Roman but a later period is likewise possible.

Banéat, iii, 348. Not mentioned by Mortillet or *B.S.P.F.*

## 42. Landéan. Canton of Fougères.

In the W. fringe of the Forêt de Fougères is a large camp known as the Oppidum du Poulailler situated on a promontory projecting from a plateau of granulite between two steep stream-valleys. The defences consist of a single rampart and ditch, the former with dry-stone external revetment still partially visible on the NE. side (pl. XLVII, B), but whether of *muris Gallicus* construction is not known. The defences are clearly unfinished; on the S. side a re-entrant provides an easy approach at a point where there is no indication that the rampart was ever built, and similar gaps which do not appear to be due to subsequent destruction are evident on the W. There is an entrance at the S. end and another probably beside the present path near the centre of the N. end, whilst there is a possible postern on the NE. side (see sketch-plan, fig. 32). At a distance of nearly 200 ft. within the line of the northern defences is a detached length of rampart and ditch almost 200 ft. long, of lighter construction and likewise unfinished at both ends. The area enclosed by the main defences



is approximately 50 acres. The possible significance of this *oppidum* is discussed elsewhere in this Report (p. 3).

See Banéat, ii, 250, and map facing 244; Pautrel. Not mentioned by Mortillet or *B.S.P.F.*

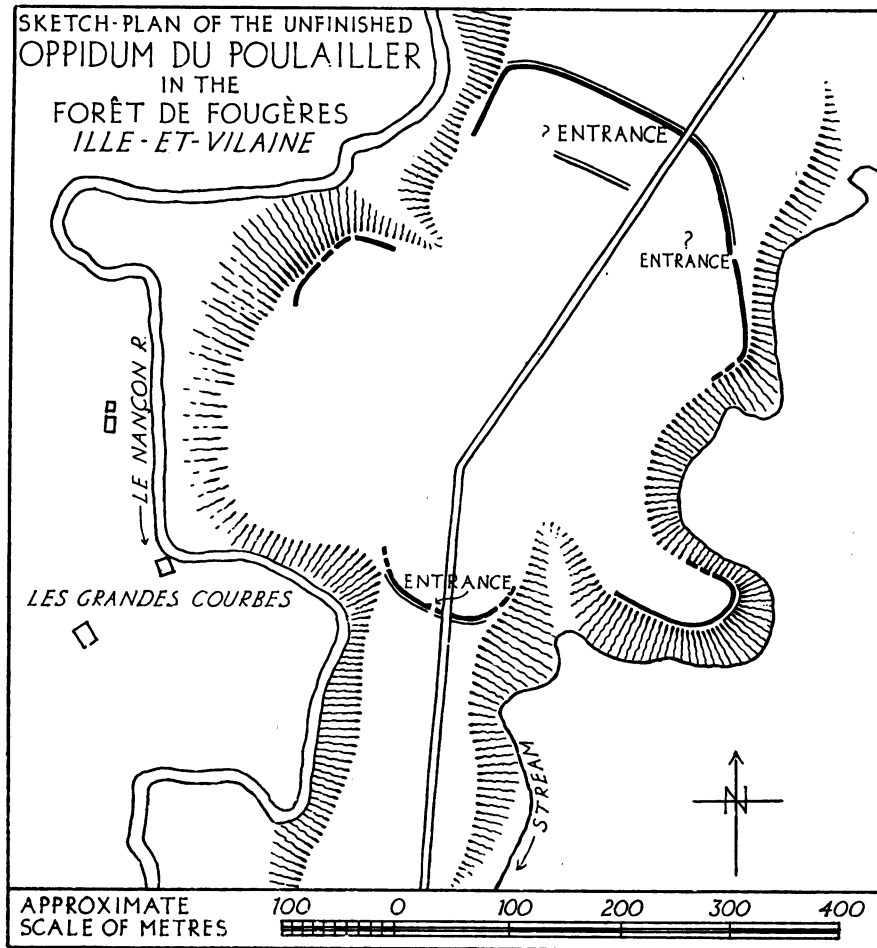


FIG. 32

*Manche*

43. Le Petit Celland. Canton of Brécey.

The Camp du Châtellier. See this Report, p. 38.

44. Carolles. Canton of Sartilly.

An area on the sea cliff (granite), protected also by valleys towards the N. and E., is artificially defended by a single rampart and ditch on the landward sides. The rampart rises to a height of about 5 ft. above the interior level and about 10 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch. The main area of the camp forms an irregular square, but to the N. an annexe (or possibly the original extent of a camp subsequently reduced), likewise defended by a single rampart and ditch, carries the work

to the main escarpment in this direction. This annexe, roughly triangular in plan, projects to a maximum distance of 250 ft. beyond the main N. defences. A gap near the E. end of the S. rampart of the main enclosure probably represents an original entrance and another gap in the N. end of the same enclosure was probably a postern. On the seaward side the S. rampart returns N. for a short distance in the vicinity of a coastguard's hut and may formerly have been continuous along the (original) cliff edge. The area enclosed is approximately 17 acres. On a hill to the N. of the camp are overgrown foundations of a building known as Les Chapelles and thought to be Roman.

See Coutil, (1) p. 259; Gerville, p. 190 (plan, pl. vi); Le Héricher, (1) ii, 92, and (3) p. 345; Mortillet, p. 201; *B.S.P.F.* xiii (1916), 162, list LII.

#### 45. Lithaire. Canton of Haye du Puits.

The Grand Moncastre (Mont-Castre), or the Camp de César, occupies a part of a steep-sided ridge lying E. and W. The site is rendered very difficult to investigate by impenetrable undergrowth, but it appears to include a single rampart rising to a height of 15 ft. On the steeper sides this rampart is fronted by a berm or escarpment rather than by any visible ditch, but towards the W.—the more easily approached end—a ditch about 30 ft. wide and now 5–10 ft. deep lies at a distance of some 70 ft. from the rampart. Both ditch and rampart are interrupted centrally for the main entrance and the latter is in-turned to flank it. Towards the S. and E. there appears to be another entrance, in the vicinity of which there is a counterscarp bank. Gaulish coins are said to have been found in the camp. The area enclosed is difficult to estimate but may approach 45 acres. Slight excavations were carried out here in 1839 and 1862, and mill-stones, tiles, coarse pottery, and hearths are said to have been discovered.

The site was visited by our party in 1937, 1939, and again in 1954; but on the last occasion it was found that untraversable undergrowth had completely swallowed the earthworks, and checking was impossible.

See Coutil, (1) pp. 251–5 (sketch-plan, p. 246); Gerville, p. 192; Le Héricher, (3) p. 422; *B.S.P.F.* xiii (1916), 163, list LII.

#### 46. Jobourg. Canton of Beaumont Hague.

On the Nez de Jobourg (schist) is a promontory-camp covering an area of upwards of 20 acres, and defended on the landward side by a single rampart and ditch with traces of a counterscarp bank, all much reduced. The head of a coomb is included within the circuit towards the ENE. The main rampart rises to a maximum height of 15 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch and shows some traces of an external stone revetment. The site is known as the Camp romain or the Vaux du Câtél.

See Coutil, (1) pp. 24 and 258; Gerville, p. 186; Pérès; *B.S.P.F.* xiii (1916), 163, list LII.

#### 47. Le Vast. Canton of St. Pierre l'Église.

The Camp romain, or Camp de Pepinvast, or Camp des Castiaux, is situated on a hill of schist in the grounds of the Château of Pepinvast, near Le Vicel. The fort consists of a single rampart some 4 ft. high above the interior level and following the upper contour of a hill towards the W. side above the valley of the Saire. To the NE. and SE. the rampart continues as a much-reduced bank of earth and large stones crossing the flat plateau of the hill. On the steep W. side there is a quarry-ditch along the inner margin of the rampart. The area enclosed is 7–8 acres.

See Coutil, (1) p. 257; Gerville, p. 177 (plan, pl. v, 2); Pérès; *B.S.P.F.* xiii (1916), 163, list LII.

#### 48. Montebourg. Canton of Montebourg.

The camp, known as the Petit Moncastre (Mont-Castre), crowns the summit of the hill of *grès*

*armoricain* 1½ km. NW. of the town. Towards the N. and E. the camp is tilted slightly over the brow of the hill. The defence comprises a single rampart some 9 ft. high with a dry-built external stone facing and probably with a corresponding inner facing 20–25 ft. from it. The material between the two faces is a sandy earth. No ditch is clearly visible on the rocky surface save near the SE. entrance, which itself has been mostly obliterated. The area enclosed is about 3–4 acres.

See Coutil, (1) p. 257; Gerville, p. 176 (plan, pl. v, 1); *B.S.P.F.* xiii (1916), 163, list LII.

#### 49. St. Jean de Savigny. Canton of St. Clair.

About 500 yds. SE. of the church of St. Jean de Savigny (which is oriented north-and-south), and 11 km. NE. of St. Lô, on a farm known as Le Grand Câtél, the rounded end of a promontory flanked by steep valleys is cut off by a steep-sided rampart about 20 ft. high and 280 yds. long. The N. valley contains the tiny stream of the Elle; the S. valley holds an equally small tributary, the Branche. A modern cutting shows that the rampart consists of clayey earth and fragments of schist, with the core of a former stone revetment externally, i.e. towards the ESE. No trace of a ditch could be identified on a visit in 1954, but the adjacent ground has long been ploughed and was under crop, and in fact traces of a ditch were observed by Lepingard in 1895. About 50 yds. from the S. end a gap probably represents the entrance; 60 yds. farther N. is a wide modern gap of about 35 yds. The area enclosed is about 14 acres. The stonework of the rampart has been described as partially vitrified, but examination failed to confirm this.

See Coutil, (1) p. 263; Lepingard, pp. 29–33; *B.S.P.F.* xiii (1916), 162, list LII, identified with 'La Butte des Romains, Cérisy la Forêt', and said to be vitrified.

*Note.* Circumstantial references exist to two other camps in the Manche, but we were unable to identify them on the ground. They are: (1) N. of the Nez of Carteret, W. of Barneville, dominating the bays of Carteret and Port-Bail, with the sea on the NW. See Coutil, p. 259, and plan by de Gerville, pl. v, 3. (2) At Tourlaville, E. of Cherbourg, is said to be a camp called the Fossé-Catel, 1 km. long, comparable in size with the Grand Montcastré. The steep ridge to the N. of the town includes fields named *Les Cateliers* on the cadastral map and is the obvious site for a promontory-camp, but it has been greatly disturbed by German defensive works.

See Coutil, (1) pp. 258–9; Gerville, pp. 183 and 187 (plan, pl. v, 3); Mortillet, p. 201; *B.S.P.F.* xiii (1916), 162, list LII.

### *Calvados*

#### 50. Castillon. Canton of Balleroy.

A large camp on a low-lying promontory surrounded entirely by a bank and ditch save at the very steepest points, which are scarped. Castillon village lies within it. The large area enclosed lies between two tributary streams of the River Drôme which flanks the N. side. The bank across the neck, i.e. towards the S., was probably very much stronger than at present, but the surviving fragments of it today consist only of a tree-covered bank some 9 ft. high and 50 ft. wide. The ditch has been ploughed out. No recognizable entrance remains. The area enclosed is about 110 acres. Within the area, just above the château which lies on the N. defences, were found 180 Gaulish coins in a pot. Some of these are at Paris, some at Rouen, and some in the possession of the owner. They are in good condition and of the 'Philip' type, with a boar.

Caumont, (1) ii, 314 (plan, pl. xxxii, 3), and (2) iii, 342; Doranlo, (1) p. 804, (2) p. 233; Mortillet, p. 196; *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 282.

#### 51. Commes. Canton of Ryes.

Le Chevalier d'Escures, or Butte. A strongly fortified promontory-fort overlooking the River

Aure, immediately above the road from Bayeux to Port-en-Bessin, to the right after crossing the Aure. The terrain here is formed by flat limestone hills with strongly scarped edges which have been converted by ploughing into huge lynchets, and the N. side of the camp consists of lynchets of this type. The S. side is for the most part very steep and may doubtfully have been scarped. Across the narrow neck to the E. is a rampart of great width, some 12 ft. high above the interior and 15 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch; it probably owes some of its command to a natural transverse depression. On the top of the rampart is a medieval or later limestone wall. The area enclosed is about 8 acres. There is a doubtful and featureless entrance at the NE. corner.

See Caumont, (1) ii, p. 313 (plan, pl. xxxi, 8), and (2) iii, p. 612; Doranlo, (1) p. 796, and (2) p. 225; Guébhard, p. 1011, fig. 37; Mortillet, p. 196 ('camp d'Escures'); *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 282, list xvi.

#### 52. Hottot. Canton of Caumont-l'Éventé.

Camp des Anglais. A small promontory-camp here occupies a square-ended promontory above the River Seules. The ground falls steeply towards the S. and W., i.e. towards the river. On the NE. and NW. are two rectilinear lines of rampart, respectively about 170 and 240 yds. long, the whole thus forming a roughly oblong enclosure of about 8 acres. The rampart is about 8 ft. high above the interior and 18 ft. above the ditch, which is now flat-bottomed and extends to a depth of only 3 ft. below the external level. On the steep W. side the rampart is replaced by a shallow scarp and on the S. it is absent. No certain entrance remains, but there are approximately central gaps on the N. and E. sides. The camp is closely comparable with that at Plonéour-Lanvern (Finistère), no. 23 above.

See Caumont, (1) ii, p. 327 (plan, pl. xxxi, 7), and (2) iii, p. 298; Doranlo, (1) p. 797, (2) p. 226; Valette, p. 405 (plan, fig. 3); Mortillet, p. 196; probably *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 282, list xvi.

#### 53. Soumont-St.-Quentin. Canton of Falaise.

Camp du Mont Joly. A promontory-camp, containing the tomb of Marie Joly (actress, d. 1798), and the Chapel of St. Quentin de la Roche, ends towards the W. at the gorge known as La Brèche du Diable, at the bottom of which runs the River Laizon. Towards the N., W., and S. the camp is defended by steep cliffs; on the E. it is protected by a mutilated rampart, now nowhere more than 5-6 ft. high and probably never very large. The greater part of this rampart has been destroyed by building. At its N. and S. ends it turns briefly westwards as a scarp. A track, probably ancient, enters the enclosure near the NE. corner. The area enclosed is approximately 8 acres. The tomb of Marie Joly may be the battered remains of a megalithic structure.

See Caumont, (2) ii, 323; Doranlo, (1) p. 800 and fig. 9, and (2) p. 229; Lange, p. 106; Mortillet, p. 196; *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 283, list xvi.

#### 54. Moulton. Canton of Bourguébus.

Camp de la Hogue, or Camp d'Ouézy. A commanding promontory-fort immediately to the NE. of Moulton and to the W. of the main road from Caen to Lisieux encloses an area of about 9-10 acres. Towards the NE. it is defended by a large but now much reduced rampart and wide ditch. The former remains to a height of 10 ft. above the interior and 15 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch. At the NW. side the hill-side is scarped. The entrance lies between the end of the cross-rampart and the SE. slope and is marked by a slight inward bend of the rampart.

See Caumont, (1) ii, 319, and (2) ii, 107; Doranlo, (1) p. 799, and (2) p. 228; Mortillet, p. 196; *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 283, list xvi.

## 55. Cambremer. Canton of Cambremer.

Château des Anglais, on the summit of Mont Argis. A promontory-camp which dominates the Vallée d'Auge. It is reached by turning left at the Carrefour St. Jean, 2 km. E. of Corbon on the Caen–Lisieux road, taking the road to Pont l'Évêque. Take the second on the right, a rough road past the Chapelle de Pontfort, up to the top of the hill where there is a cross-road; fork right here and continue a quarter of a mile straight to the site. The camp is defended on two sides by the declivity and on the third or E. side by a rampart and ditch, quadrant-shaped on plan. The rampart is about 16 ft. high above the interior and 30 ft. high above the present bottom of the ditch, which is itself about 60 ft. broad. Towards the NE. is an interruption in the defences which is otherwise featureless but may represent an original entrance; and at the SW. end the defences stop short of the cliff, probably to provide a lateral postern. The area enclosed is about 6 acres. In the interior are farm buildings and a romanesque chapel.

See Caumont, (2) iv, 158; Doranlo, (1) p. 804, (2) p. 233, (5) pp. 3 and 16.

## 56. St. Désir. Canton of Lisieux.

Camp du Castellier. Intermittent traces of an immense enclosure, some 1,800 by 1,200 m., lie to the S. of the Lisieux–Caen road and to the N. of the Lisieux–St. Julien road, 1 km. W. of Lisieux.

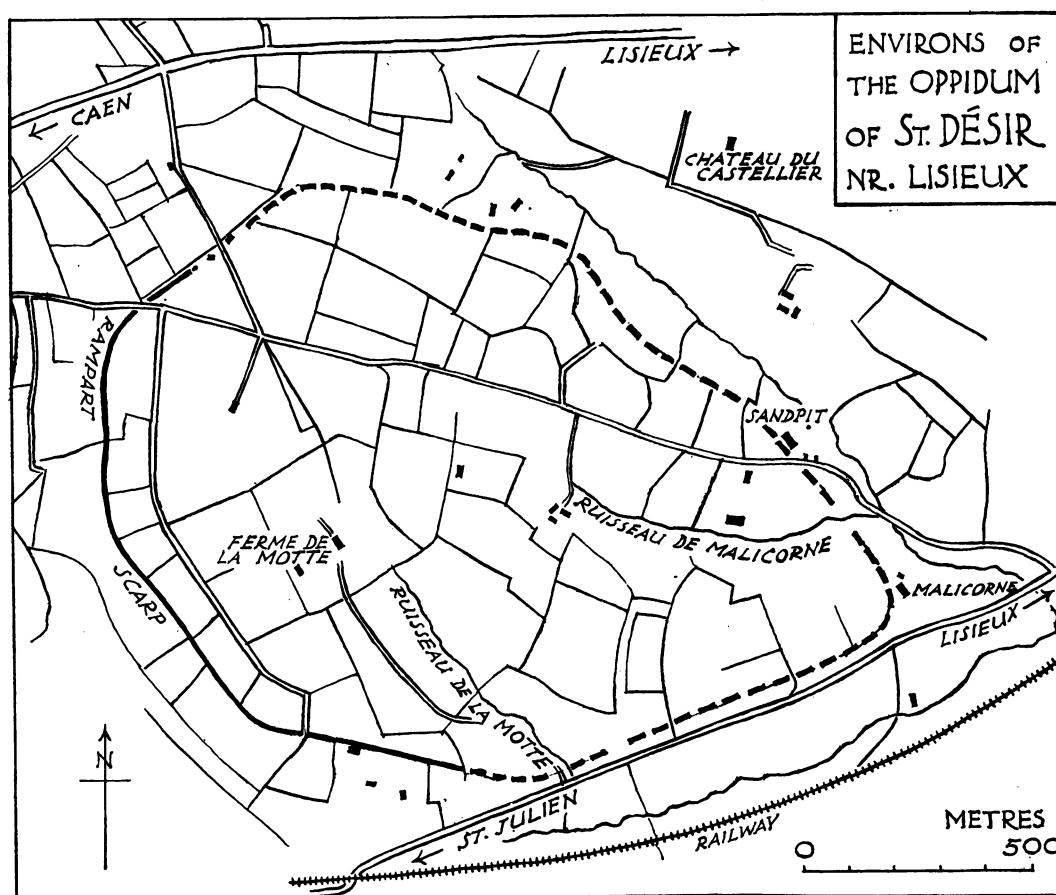


FIG. 33

The area includes parts of two stream-valleys, the western of which is the Ruisseau de la Motte, and the eastern the Ruisseau de Malicorne. Some parts of the rampart, notably near the Ferme de la Motte beyond the hamlet of Malicorne on the road from Lisieux to St. Julien, are mere scarps, though rising to upwards of 12 ft.; some parts are completely ploughed out; but a fairly well-preserved stretch of rampart 12–15 ft. high, with traces of a substantial ditch, can be seen towards the NW., 200–300 yds. from the milestone 'Halicorne 2, La Pommerie 4 k.2' on the by-road Malicorne–La Bosquetterie. About 350 yds. W. of the Ferme de la Motte are vestiges of an overlapping entrance. An examination of the rampart seems to have revealed at several points a *murus Gallicus* construction with iron nails in the core of the rampart. The immense area of the camp—alleged to be more than 400 acres—sufficiently indicates its importance. It is by far the largest in Calvados, and was doubtless, as the precursor of Lisieux, the *chef lieu* of the Lexovii. (See above, p. 2, and below, p. 203.)

The site is now difficult to find on the ground, and the sketch-map (based on air-photographs) may be of use to the visitor though it is in no sense a critical survey (fig. 33).

See Caumont, (1) ii, 322 (plan, pl. xxxii, 1), and (2) v, 185; Doranlo, (1) p. 797, fig. 8, (2) p. 227, (5) p. 7; Neuville, pp. 14–17; Sauvage, p. 514, note 3; Mortillet, p. 196; *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 283, list xvi. Neuville and Sauvage mention iron nails.

### Orne

#### 57. La Courbe. Canton of Écouché.

Château Gontier, Les Vieux Châteaux, or Les Pierres Brûlées. The camp lies on the neck of a promontory stretching NE. into a loop of the River Orne. The neck is about 400 yds. long and 140 yds. wide and is defended by an earthwork at both ends though not along the sides. The N. defences consist of two ramparts and ditches; the main rampart rises some 12 ft. above the interior and 15 ft. above the bottom of its ditch, and is reported to have included an iron nail, whilst the outer rampart rises 7 ft. above the outer ditch. At the S. end are remains of two ramparts and ditches with traces of a counterscarp bank on the outer margin of the outer ditch; these defences are more widely spaced than those at the N. end and cover a stretch of some 70 yds. A road cuts the defences and has probably destroyed the original entrance. The area of the enclosure is about 7 acres.

An important feature of this camp is that the ramparts are constructed of large blocks of stone (cf. Montmerrei, below) which are in part vitrified.

See Caix, p. 270; Coutil, (3) p. 606; Daubré, pp. 18–28; Galéron, (2) p. 467; La Sicotière, p. 47; Vimont; Mortillet, p. 203 (mentioned as vitrified); *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 473, list LXII.

#### 58. Montmerrei. Canton of Mortrée.

S. of Montmerrei at the Château de Blanchelande an area of 12 acres on the edge of the plateau is defended on the N., W., and S. by a rampart 17 ft. high above the interior and 21 ft. high above the exterior, but no ditch is now visible. On plan this rampart is horseshoe-shaped; in structure it is built of large blocks of stone ranging up to 2 ft. in length. No evidence of coursing is visible. On the steep E. side there is no rampart but the brow of the declivity is emphasized by slight scarping. The only visible entrance is along the line of the Château drive at a point where the latter cuts the N. defences, but it has been much damaged; on plans of 1756 and 1831 it is recorded to have been in-turned. The work is presumably but not certainly of the Iron Age.

See Caumont, (1) p. 329 (plan, pl. xxxii, 5); Caylus, iv, 382–5 (plan, pl. cxvi); Coutil, (3) p. 610; Galéron, (1) pp. 17–21, (2) pp. 447–53; Sevray, pp. 120–6; Mortillet, p. 203; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 475, list LXII.

## 59. Igé. Canton of Bellême.

At Crochemelier is a tiny promontory-camp, defended across the neck by a denuded rampart rising about 7 ft. above a 25-ft. rock-cut ditch, with a simple entrance. The subsoil is oolite; below the SW. corner of the camp is a spring. The camp was excavated in 1875 and a report of that date by Jousset records the finding of a nail, a sword and a lance of bronze, animal bones, and human skeletons laid in rock-cut graves outside the defences, to the SE. In the Alençon Museum are sherds of late Hallstatt type with finger-tip decoration, but the sword and lance have not been seen.

See Charles, pp. 345-57 and 393-400; Coutil, (3) p. 618, (4) p. 325, with sketch-plan fig. 2; Jousset, pp. 162-7; Mortillet, p. 203; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 474, list LXII.

*Eure*

## 60. Bouquelon. Canton of Quillebeuf.

Les Forts. A promontory-camp known as Les Forts on Mont Finet facing S. over the valley of the River Risle and flanked on the E. by a small gully cut steeply into the plateau. At the nose of the promontory a slight scarp emphasizes the natural command, and on the N. or inner side is a cross-rampart which stands to a height of 5 ft. above the interior and 7 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch. Near the E. end of this rampart the only entrance is marked by a gap at which the rampart slightly side-steps. The area enclosed is about 5 acres.

See Canel, (1) ii, 75, (2) p. 397; Coutil, (6) v, 15, plan; Doranlo, (3) p. 206; Le Prévost, i, 389; Mortillet, p. 198; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 152, list xxix.

## 61. St. Samson-de-la-Roque. Canton of Quillebeuf.

Camp aux Anglais. An enormous promontory-camp of irregular shape is enclosed by a rampart and ditch across the neck and down the upper part of a re-entrant valley towards the W. The lower part of the N. and E. are protected by steeply scarped slopes and cliffs above the old bed of the River Seine, now the Marais Vernier. At the N. end is a lighthouse. The defences consist of a rampart 9-12 ft. high above the interior and either a ledge or a flat-bottomed ditch with similar counterscarp bank, the former now 15 ft. below the summit of the rampart. No original entrance can be traced with certainty. The area of this camp is about 240 acres. Compare the Camp de Calidu at Caudebec (S.-I.). Probably of 'Fécamp' type.

See Canel, (1) ii, 73, (2) p. 392; Coutil, (6) v, 53, plan, (7) p. 341; Doranlo, (3) p. 208; Fallue, p. 205, (plan, pl. vi); Le Prévost, iii, 37 ('La Roque-sur-Risle'); Leroy, pp. 283 and 879-80; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 154, list xxix.

## 62. St. Pierre d'Autils. Canton of Vernon.

Le Goulet, Le Pied d'Anglais, or Le Trou aux Anglais. A promontory-fort on a strong natural spur across the neck of which, towards the S., runs a very large rampart with a wide flat ditch. The rampart is 13 ft. high above the interior and 25 ft. above the ditch, which is itself 100 ft. broad and 10 ft. deep. The other sides are defended by scarping which on the E. side merges with a bank and ditch. Towards the SSW. an original entrance is marked by in-turned flanks described by Poulain and at the E. end of this rampart there was probably a second entrance at the point where the main rampart slightly overlaps the scarp brow of the hill. The latter entrance led down to the river. The area enclosed is about 25 acres. The camp belongs to the 'Fécamp' series. Gallo-Roman pottery found here by A. G. Poulain in 1907 is preserved in the Vernon Museum.

See Coutil, (6) iv, 352, plan; Doranlo, (3) p. 158; Le Prévost, i, 59 and 152; Poulain, pp. 79-101; Mortillet, p. 198; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 154, list xxix.



## 63. Vernon (Vernonnet). Canton of Vernon.

A promontory-camp of great size known as the Camp de César or Camp romain or Camp de Mortagne occupies a long steep-sided hill on the NE. bank of the River Seine, and is bounded towards the N. by the road to Gasny. The main artificial defences consist of a bank and ditch on the NE. side and at the E. end the bank rises to a height of 13-15 ft. above the interior and 25 ft. above the flat-bottomed ditch. Two entrances with strongly in-turned flanks remain on the NE. side, and a third entrance, marked by an overlap, can be seen close beside the road some 550 yds. NW. of the more westerly of the two. The chalk here appears to be capped by Clay-with-flints which holds pools of standing water. With a circuit of about 2 miles, the camp is a large and notable example of the 'Fécamp' series. A few sherds of Iron Age ware from the site are preserved in the Vernon Museum.

See Coutil, (6) iv, 357, 362; Doranlo, (3) p. 158; Mortillet, p. 198; *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 155, list xxix.

*Eure-et-Loir*

## 64. Sorel-Moussel. Canton of Anet.

Fort Harrouard. This famous promontory-camp, excavated over a period of years by the late Abbé Philippe, is marked today by a rampart and ditch across the neck of a flat-topped promontory commanding a view across the valley of the River Eure. The area thus enclosed is about 20 acres. The rampart is about 300 yds. in length and stands to a height of 8-10 ft. above the interior and some 20 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch. W. of the centre a causeway presumably marks an original entrance which is otherwise featureless. Towards the SE. the rampart extends to the steep hillside, but to the NW. it stops short to provide a pathway, possibly ancient, along the brow. It may be supposed that this defence in its present form dates from the La Tène III occupation of the site, but on the SE. side the excavations have revealed a chalk rampart of late Bronze Age date overlying the Neolithic occupation. The cultures represented on the site include two phases of the Neolithic and a late Bronze Age occupation; thereafter there is a hiatus until La Tène III, which is represented by a culture of Belgic type. Several of the late La Tène huts had been finally destroyed by fire, and their destruction has been tentatively associated with the Caesarian campaigns.

See Philippe, (1) and (2); *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 155, list xxx.

*Seine-Inférieure*

## 65. Sandouville. Canton of St. Romain.

Camp de César. A large camp, upwards of 200 acres in extent, occupies a triangular flat-topped hill extending westwards between the valleys of the Rivers Seine and Oudalle, the nearest point about 300 m. SW. of the parish church. A smaller tributary of the Seine steepens the E. angle. The defences, about a kilometre in length across the base of the promontory, consist of a single large rampart and flat ditch, the former rising to a height of 20 ft. above the interior of the camp and 30 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch. There are a number of gaps in the rampart, but no original entrance has been preserved in a state sufficiently complete to illustrate structural features. Fallue mentions the discovery of pottery, bones, coins (including a gold Gaulish coin), and mill-stones of pudding-stone on the slopes below the camp, but all details are lacking and the Abbé Cochet was inclined to be sceptical. This camp belongs to the 'Fécamp' series.

See Caumont, (1) p. 190; Cochet, (1) p. 220, (2) p. 126; Coutil, (1) pp. 22 and 130-2; Delie, p. 439; Fallue, pp. 182-7 (plan, pl. vi); Gaillard, p. 6; Romains, pp. 43-45; Mortillet, p. 204; *B.S.P.F.* xvi (1919), 186, list LXXVII.

## 66. St. Nicolas-de-la-Taille. Canton of Lillebonne.

Camp de Boudeville, or Le Câtelier. This camp occupies a promontory between the valleys of the Seine and the Tancarville, 2 km. SSW. of the church of St. Nicolas-de-la-Taille. The camp is a small one, more nearly 3-4 acres in extent than the 150 acres alleged by Cochet, but a part has been destroyed by quarrying at the S. end. The defence on the gently sloping sides to the N. and W. consist of a rampart, ditch, and counterscarp bank, with a simple entrance in the N. side. On the precipitous E. side there appears to have been only a single bank. The main rampart is about 2 ft. high above the interior of the camp and reaches a maximum of about 9 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch.

See Caumont, (1) p. 191; Cochet, (1) p. 245, (2) p. 138; Coutil, (1) p. 22; Fallue, pp. 188-92 (plan, pl. vi); Mortillet, p. 204; *B.S.P.F.* xvi (1919), 186, list LXXVII.

## 67. Caudebec. Canton of Caudebec.

(i) On the hill overlooking the River Seine immediately to the E. of Caudebec are the mutilated remains of a strong promontory-fort now covered by woodland. The promontory is cut off by a large single rampart and ditch, the former rising to a height of some 25 ft. above the latter, which has the tendency to flatness characteristic of the 'Fécamp' type. The entrance has disappeared owing to the digging of gravel and clay but the camp may with reasonable safety be classified in the 'Fécamp' series. In places there is a very small counterscarp bank. On the E. and W. flanks the defences are reinforced by a re-entrant valley and when it approaches these, at any rate on the W. side, the bank is markedly reduced in size. In the present damaged state of the camp the area is difficult to estimate, but is probably 10-15 acres.

See Cochet, (1) p. 298, (2) p. 486; Fallue, pp. 193-6 (plan, pl. vi); Guérout, (3) pp. 269-72 (map, pl. 1).

## 68. Caudebec. Canton of Caudebec.

(ii) Camp de Caledon, or Camp de Calidu. To the W. of Caudebec a steep-sided promontory, partially interrupted by a small re-entrant valley, bears a very large camp, sometimes known as the Camp de Caledon or Calidu. The W. rampart strikes the Caudebec-Lillebonne road opposite the 2-km. 'milestone'. The site is covered by woodland and divided by roads—including the main road just mentioned—and so the area is difficult to estimate but must lie between 50 and 100 acres. The defences enclose not merely the top of the promontory but also a great deal of ground sloping fairly steeply eastward towards Caudebec, and enclosing at the SE. corner the re-entrant valley already referred to, thus emphasizing the intention of the builders to provide for easy access from the river. The main defences, now much mutilated, are on the landward side, where the main entrance, now removed, must formerly have existed. Towards the NE., where the ground slopes gradually, the defences consist of a bank some 10 ft. high above a platform 30 ft. wide with a very low bank on its outer margin. Beyond this low bank is a small flat-bottomed ditch about 9 ft. wide and 5 ft. deep. The defensive units consist, however, essentially of a single rampart and ditch, the latter being occasionally carried outwards in such a manner as to leave a platform or berm. The site is obviously an extremely important one and merits exploration. It has been equated theoretically with the Calidu of certain Gaulish coins and with the Calates. Cochet records the finding of tiles, pottery, Roman and Gaulish coins, and mill-stones on the hill.

See Cochet, (1) p. 297, (2) p. 486; Coutil, (1) pp. 139-43; Fallue, pp. 193-6 (plan, pl. vi); Guérout, (1) pp. 208-17, (2) p. 254, (3) pp. 269-72; Mortillet, p. 204; *B.S.P.F.* xvi (1919), 186, list LXXVII.

## 69. Orival. Canton of Elbeuf.

An irregular hill-top stretching beside the Seine towards the village of Orival is surrounded by a system of earthworks now thickly covered with woodland. The main defence consists of a rampart, ditch, and counterscarp bank, the first about 4 ft. high above the interior of the camp and 12 ft. above the present bottom of the flat ditch. Towards the W. an outer line of defence of similar character leaves the main line and follows the foot of the slope until it reaches a re-entrant valley at the S. end. This low-lying outer line is a remarkable and exceptional feature. The main surviving entrance is at the N. end where the camp is approached from the NE. by a path leading up a narrow neck. The defences are in-turned, the length of the in-turn being 60 ft. from the centre of the bank; and towards the E. the outer rampart is looped back on to the inner line, which is continued as a solitary scarp along the steep E. side of the hill. At the S. end the re-entering valley probably formed another approach: the defences here are much denuded and difficult to understand, but following the contour appear to have curved inwards at the entrance. E. of this point a spur projects southwards; the main defences appear to have been carried across the base of this projection although the latter was itself protected, save on its steep E. side, by a single rampart. The projection is known as Le Câtelier.

About 100 yds. to the W. of the N. entrance the outer rampart has been quarried slightly and in the quarry and up-cast material from it a large number of potsherds were collected during a visit in 1939. These sherds were destroyed during the war, but they included a cordoned fragment and sub-pedestal bases, ascribable to the Belgic culture of La Tène III. During a short further visit in 1954 more sherds were found, including a fragment of a cordoned rim and of the flange of a pedestal-base; again the *facies* was Belgic. All these sherds came from the interior of the rampart and may be accepted as good dating evidence, implying that the camp was built (or rebuilt) in the last pre-Caesarian phase, i.e. the first half of the first century B.C. Deglatigny refers to a Romano-Celtic temple within the SW. loop of the enclosure.

See Deglatigny, (2) pp. 14-18, plan, pl. III.

## 70. Duclair. Canton of Duclair.

Le Câtelier or Les Portes de la Ville. See this Report, pp. 75 ff.

## 71. Fécamp. Canton of Valmont.

Le Camp du Canada, or Camp de César. See this Report, pp. 62 ff.

## 72. Veulettes. Canton of Cany.

Le Câtelier, or Le Tombeau de Gargantua. This is a small fragment of what was probably once a large enclosure on a sea-cliff which has been much eroded in this region. It consists of a large rampart with some traces on the W. of a counterscarp bank rendered unnecessary on the E. half by the steepness of the hill-side. The rampart is some 11 ft. above the interior of the camp and 50 ft. above the flat bottom of the ditch. Midway in the surviving fragment is an entrance with in-turned flanks; immediately outside it, the approaching trackway has been banked up on its E. edge to facilitate traffic on the precipitous slope. The camp lies at the W. end of the little bay now occupied by the *plage* of Veulettes and the position would appear to have been determined by the proximity of this natural landing-place. Cochet records the finding of late Roman bronze coins in the camp about 1840. This camp belongs to the 'Fécamp' series.

See Cochet, (1) p. 281, (2) p. 483; Mortillet, p. 204; *B.S.P.F.* xvi (1919), 188, list LXXVII.

## 73. Bracquemont. Canton of Dieppe.

Cité de Limes, or Camp de César (pl. XLVIII and figs. 2 and 34<sup>1</sup>). A large camp on the chalk cliffs

<sup>1</sup> Sketch-plan based on an air-photograph.

to the NE. of Dieppe, situated on a shallow promontory bounded on the N. by the sea, on the S. by a valley running obliquely inland. It is roughly triangular on plan, still with an area of about 120 acres; but the cliffs hereabouts are continually falling into the sea, and the original area was indefinitely larger. The enclosure is divided in two by another smaller valley running down to the sea, and there can be no doubt that the camp was deliberately sited so as to include this former means of access. Across the neck of the promontory on the NE. the defences consist of a bank more than 30 ft. high above the present bottom of the ditch. The ditch has been partially levelled

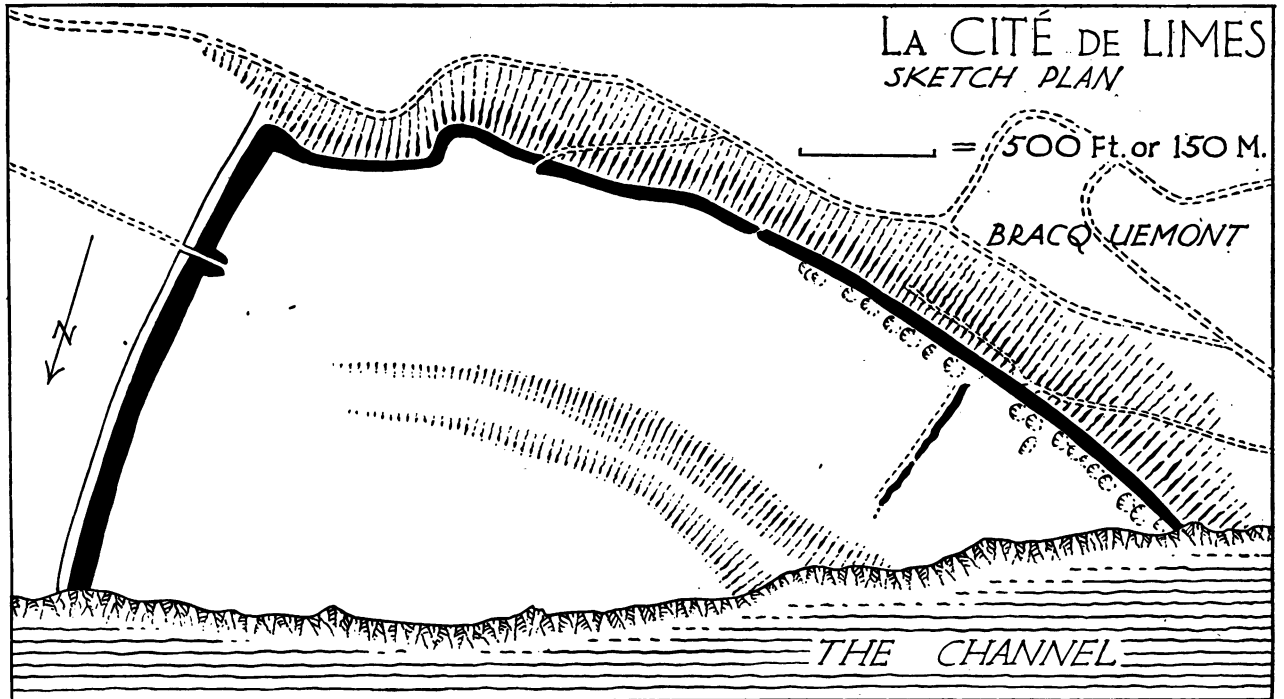


FIG. 34

by ploughing but must in any case have presented the flat contour typical of the 'Fécamp' series. Near the centre of this stretch of rampart is a formidable entrance with strongly marked in-turns (100 ft. inwards from the centre of the rampart) and another possible entrance can be seen on the S. side. On reaching the head of the lateral valley the defences turn sharply W. along the brow and for the greater part of this sector consist of a bank constructed mainly of material quarried from the interior of the camp. The ditch is slight and there is a small counterscarp bank (not shown on the sketch-plan) for the first 100 ft. towards the E. end. Towards the W. end, however, there is a change of plan. The rampart is here sited some 20–30 yds. back from the brow of the hill and in front of it lie a ditch, a wide berm, and, on the brow itself, a second bank (likewise omitted from the sketch-plan). It seems possible that the change of plan was due to the incorporation at this point of an earlier earthwork defending only a part of the camp to the W. of the small dividing valley. The junction of the two sectors is unfortunately obscured by a modern track; but inside the camp there are the mutilated remains of a ploughed-out cross-rampart (maximum present height about 4–5 ft.) which runs across from the cliff edge to join the landward defences at precisely this

point. This cross-rampart is cut by the quarry-ditches of the main defences and is presumably of earlier date. It seems possible, therefore, that originally only the end of the western of the two hills was fortified, and that later the defences were enlarged to include the smaller valley with its access to the sea.

The camp was first recorded in 1731, and a considerable if unimportant literature grew up round it. The first serious attempt to explore it, however, was in 1822-7 by P. J. Féret, who dug into certain small mounds and hollows in the interior and found a Romano-Celtic temple which has since gone into the sea. The mounds contained charcoal, rough 'Gaulish' pottery, tiles, copper rings, remains of iron, shells, and animal-bones, amongst which deer, fox, cattle, sheep, and pig were identified. The mounds were thought to be sepulchral, but the evidence is far from clear; the hollows were regarded as hut-floors, oblong rather than round. In the debris of the Roman building was an inhumation-burial, the head to the W., with a coin of Constans beside it and another of Constantine II by the thigh. Round about were found sixty-two other Roman coins, ranging from 'Augustus' to Valens, and twenty-four bronze Gaulish coins.

In 1871 C. Flammarion dug near the 'porte de Puys' without intelligible result. A more productive excavation was undertaken in 1874 by Michel Hardy, who explored further 'light oblong depressions' and mounds, and found hearths and coarse pottery. In 1891 General de la Noë, investigating earthworks for the Ministry of Instruction, charged O. Vauvillé with the examination of the site, and extensive trenches and *sondages* along the lines of the defences produced Gaulish and Roman pottery and flint implements. In 1898 L. Coutil dug up Roman and 'coarse' pottery here. Lastly, in 1926 sections were cut through mounds thought to represent dwellings; two pedestal-bases, two late La Tène brooches, and a Gaulish coin were found.

For summaries and bibliography of the excavations, see Cochet, (1) pp. 97-102, (2) p. 63; and Coutil, (1) pp. 21 and 110-22. Also Caumont, (1) p. 188; Féret, (1) pp. 47-58, (2) pp. 3-101; Fontenu, (1) pp. 76-102, with plan; Gaillard, p. 6; Guilmeth, (2) iv, 150; Hardy, pp. 304-20; Vauvillé, (1) pp. 108-33 (plan, pl. iv); Mortillet, p. 204; *B.S.P.F.* xvi (1919), 186, list LXXVII.

#### 74. Heugleville-sur-Scie. Canton of Longueville.

A promontory-fort on a blunt-ended promontory round the steeper sides of which the defences are partially omitted and partially consist of a scarp or platform and slight ditch. On the more level side towards the E. and NE. are a single bank and ditch, quadrant-shaped on plan. The bank is 10-11 ft. high above the interior of the camp and the ditch is about 8 ft. deep beyond the natural level, but has been much disturbed by gravel-digging. The area enclosed is about 7 acres. Towards the N. end remains half of the main entrance which shows quite a strong in-turn of the 'Fécamp' type, and, although more lightly defended than the rest of the 'Fécamp' series, the camp may without doubt be included in it.

See Cochet, (1) p. 106, (2) p. 50.

#### 75. Incheville. Canton of Eu.

Camp de Mortagne. This camp occupies the end of a plateau commanding the valley of the River Bresle,  $\frac{3}{4}$  km. S. of Incheville church. The defences consist of a single rampart and ditch some 900 ft. long across the base of the promontory. The inner part is 10-12 ft. high above the interior of the camp, and some 25 ft. high above the present level of the ditch. There are now two gaps in the defences, of which the W., which is nearly central, probably represents the original entrance. The gap has, however, been widened, and any structural features which the entrance may have possessed have disappeared. E. of the E. gap the rampart is being quarried (1939) for the sand of which it is built. It appears to be of pure dump-construction. The remains of a hearth containing burnt wood lay on what appeared to be the natural surface under the middle of the

rampart at this point; otherwise no traces of early occupation were visible in the cutting. The area of the camp is about 30 acres. The Abbé Cochet records that *sépultures antiques*, both inhumations and urn-cremations, were found in and about 1856 either within the camp or close outside it. The Abbé also conducted excavations and found 8-10 graves, apparently of the latter part of the fourth century A.D. This camp belongs to the 'Fécamp' series.

See Cochet, (1) pp. 157 and 165-6, (2) p. 42; Coutil, (1) pp. 22 and 126; Gosselin, pp. 38 and 87; Mortillet, p. 204; *B.S.P.F.* xvi (1919), 187, list LXXVII.

### *Somme*

#### 76. Mareuil Caubert, Mont de Caubert. Canton of Moyenneville.

SW. of Abbeville, across the River Somme, a dominant promontory projecting NNE., known as the Mont de Caubert, carries a 'Camp de César' fortified towards the S. by a strong cross-rampart 340 yds. in length. The promontory commands a wide view up and down the Somme valley, and, like its successors, Roman and medieval Abbeville, overlooked the lowest point at which the marshy valley could be crossed. On the W. side the steep slope has been partially emphasized by scarping, the material thus available being heaped up as a slight counterscarp bank. The E. side has been mutilated beyond recognition by chalk-quarrying. Towards the N. the original extent of the camp is not easily evident; much further fieldwork and probably excavation are required to determine it; but the area was certainly large. No original entrance is visible. A modern gap appears to indicate that the rampart is of dump-construction. The height of the rampart above the interior is 10 ft.; above the present bottom of the ditch, 14 ft.

The camp was a battlefield in 1940 and is scarred by 'fox-holes' and other modern military works.

See Boulanger, p. 592; Pascal, pp. 207-8; Prarond, (1) and (2); Vauvillé, (1) p. 102; Mortillet, p. 205; *B.S.P.F.* xvii (1920), 56, list LXXIX.

#### 77. Liercourt-et-Érondelle. Canton of Hallencourt.

A large and imposing camp, the Camp de César or Le Catelis (pl. XLIX and fig. 2), on the steep-sided end of the plateau here overlooks the valley of the Somme from the SW. at a distance of just over a mile NW. of Liercourt. It is about 80 acres in extent and is roughly five-sided, with steep natural scarps on the N., E., and S. sides. On the SW. side the rampart is one of the finest of its kind; it rises 22-25 ft. above the interior level and 33 ft. above the present bottom of the broad, canal-like ditch, which owes its flatness partially to ploughing but has not been filled in appreciably from the rampart and must represent approximately the original contour. The camp is thus an outstanding example of the 'Fécamp' series. Beyond the ditch is a platform bounded by remains of a low outer bank with traces of a second, smaller ditch now almost ploughed out, and possibly a slight third bank. Towards the N. end of the W. side the defences are marked partially by a scarp without superimposed rampart, which has here either been levelled or never built. Along the more easterly sides is a relatively small rampart, partly with and partly without traces of a ditch. At the S. corner the rampart side-steps at an opening which is presumably therefore original. About the centre of the more easterly side is the possible site of a major entrance much mutilated by what appears to be a medieval fortification (motte?) which is now obscured by impenetrable jungle; its ditch is said to have yielded pottery of the 'ninth or tenth century'. An excavation carried out during the nineteenth century in the main ditch on the SW. side is said to have produced 'Gaulish', Merovingian, and medieval pottery. Traces of 'neolithic', 'Gaulish', and 'Gal-

Roman' occupation have also been found at three points in the interior. Coins of Marcus Aurelius, Faustina the Elder, and Commodus are vaguely recorded from the site.

See Allonville, pp. 85-124 (plan, pl. v); Boulanger, p. 592; Cagny, p. 411; La Noë, pp. 12-17; Vauvillé, (1) pp. 90-102 and 106-7 (plan, pl. III); Mortillet, p. 205; *B.S.P.F.* xvii (1920), 56, list LXXIX.

#### 78. L'Étoile. Canton of Picquigny.

The 'Camp de César' or 'Le Castelet' overlooks the marshy valley of the Somme from the SW. end of a promontory adjoining the church of l'Étoile. At the end, above the church, a medieval motte has been built into the prehistoric rampart. The area of the camp is 23 acres, which are enclosed by a continuous rampart of varying altitude; the rampart is of dump-construction and across the back of the promontory rises to a height of 14-18 ft. above the interior. Two sections cut in the nineteenth century across the E. side revealed two ditches of rounded profile across the back of the ridge, the sequence apparently being: main bank and ditch, platform or levelled bank, outer ditch. Along the steep sides of the promontory there is apparently no ditch. 'Gaulish', Gallo-Roman, and Merovingian pottery are said to have been found. On the steep N. side the rampart appears to have been derived mainly from an internal spoil-ditch. A featureless gap through the cross-ridge rampart in the SE. side, on the edge of the escarpment, doubtless represents the original entrance and is said at one time to have been masked by a hornwork. It is likely that this camp was of the 'Fécamp' type but it cannot be included in that series without further digging.

See Allonville, pp. 36-67 (plan, pl. III); Boulanger, p. 591; Caumont, (1) p. 332 (plan, pl. xxxII, 6); Fontenu, (2) pp. 96-102; La Noë, pp. 12-17; Vauvillé, (1) pp. 85-90 and 103-6 (plan, pl. II); *B.S.P.F.* xvii (1920), 56, list LXXIX.

#### 79. La Chaussée-Tirancourt. Canton of Picquigny.

The 'Camp de César' or 'Grand Fort' commands a wide vista of the Somme valley and adjacent country from the edge of the chalk plateau  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles NW. of Amiens, which can be seen from the site. The end of the plateau, about 50 acres, is bounded by the Somme valley towards the S. and by the lesser but emphatic valley of the Acon towards the N. From the E. it has been cut off by a steep cross-rampart, 550 yds. long and convex on plan, rising to a height of 17 ft. above the interior and 35 ft. above the present level of a broad canal-like ditch (pl. 1 and fig. 2). A section dug across the ditch before 1890 is said to have revealed a rounded profile, but the present flat contour, though emphasized by ploughing, is not due to in-filling from the rampart and must be essentially original. The camp may safely be included within the 'Fécamp' series. In the centre is a featureless gap which may represent an original entrance. There is no rampart on the N.; on the S. the site has been much mutilated by chalk-quarrying. A little 'Gaulish' pottery was found during the digging, and similar sherds are recorded to have been picked up on the fields within the enclosure.

See Allonville, pp. 32-36 (plan, pl. II); Boulanger, p. 591; Caumont, (1) p. 331; Fontenu, (1) pp. 125-56, plan; La Noë, pp. 12-17; Vauvillé, (1) pp. 77-84 (plan, pl. 1); Viellard and Pinsard, p. 18; *B.S.P.F.* xvii (1920), 56, list LXXIX.

#### 80. Chipilly. Canton of Bray-sur-Somme.

On the W. side of the Somme valley, which here bends southwards, 15 miles E. of Amiens, an area of about 25 acres on the plateau has been cut off on the N. and S. by cross-ridge ramparts, with a minor rampart, now about 3 ft. high, on the brow of a declivity towards the W. The steep E. side, towards the Somme, has been mutilated by quarrying. The N. rampart, about 150 yds. long, is stony and fairly well preserved; it rises to a height of 13 ft. No ditch could be detected, but



the adjacent field has been intensively ploughed and was under crop at the time of the visit. The S. rampart, about 400 yds. S. of the N., has been much reduced but survives to a maximum height of 5 ft. and was obviously at one time much larger.

See Boulanger, p. 593; Josse, p. 29; Pinsard, p. 367; *B.S.P.F.* xvii (1920), 56, list LXXIX.

*Note.* On the opposite (E.) side of the Somme valley, above and immediately E. of the village of Méricourt, the edge of the plateau is known as Les Cateaux and is said to bear traces of a camp. Examination in 1954 failed to confirm this, but the hill-side is marked by steep lynchets which may have given rise to the idea.

### Oise

#### 81. Bailleul-sur-Thérain. Canton of Noailles.

The Mont César, 8 miles ESE. of Beauvais, is an isolated and dominant hill of shaly rock rising some 400 ft. above the plain. Towards the W. the hill has been bordered by marsh, towards the S. by the River Thérain, and towards the E. by a stream called the Tiré. Its flat top, said to be 87 acres in extent, is fortified partly by the natural scarp and partly (on the E. and S.) by a rampart, now much mutilated by quarrying but originally of considerable strength. At the S. corner is an opening which probably represents an original entrance, but now lacks significant detail. A levelled platform in the centre of the enclosure may have carried an ancient building (a Roman temple?), but may be of more recent date; the site was used during the 1939-44 war. Cuttings in the vicinity, on the E. side of the camp, are littered with Romano-Gaulish pottery and Roman roof-tiles. Renet states that excavations were carried out by Berton in 1878 in a *tumulus* inside the camp and that Gaulish and Roman coins, pottery, wall-plaster, and a La Tène brooch were found.

The site may well have been the precursor of Beauvais as the *chef lieu* of the Bellovaci (above, p. 12).

See Cambry, pp. 194-6; Fontenu, (2) pp. 116-19; Graves, p. 46; Renet; Achenbach-Wahl, pp. 41-48; Mortillet, p. 203; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 469, list LXI.

#### 82. Catenoy.

S. of the Clermont-Compiègne road and 6½ m. ESE. of Clermont, a promontory between Catenoy and Sacy-le-Grand is barred towards the W. by a rampart and ditch, forming a promontory-camp about 11-12 acres in extent. The bank, about 130 yds. in length, rises some 15 ft. above a ditch of rounded contour. There is much stone in the rampart, but no clear evidence of a revetment wall. Not of 'Fécamp' type.

See Capitan, pp. 1 and 211; Ledicte-Duflos, p. 369; Fontenu, (2) p. 120; Graves, p. 49; Groult, p. 41; Ponthieux, pp. 1-166; Mortillet, p. 203; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 469, list LXI.

#### 83. Vieux Moulin, St. Pierre-en-Chastre.

In the Forest of Compiègne, 6 m. SE. of Compiègne, a 'Camp Romain' is marked on the Michelin map and is well known locally. It is a contour-camp enclosing about 65 acres on a steep, flat-topped hill in the Forest, now much overgrown. Under Napoleon III it was excavated and in 1862 was 'tidied up' by Viollet le Duc, apparently in a somewhat drastic manner to conform with current notions of Roman fortification. In fact, it is a normal Gaulish *oppidum* with a single rampart, quarried largely from the interior owing to the steepness of the slope. An outer fortification (bank and ditch) subsists in part, but is suspected by Vauvillé to have been added by the excavators. The NE. (corner) entrance is elaborate and needs careful planning. Amongst the objects found are noted Gaulish coins which are said to be in the Musée de St. Germain.

See Graves, p. 51; Vauvillé, (6) p. 160, with inadequate plan; Mortillet, p. 203; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 469, list LXI.

*Aisne*

84. Montigny-l'Engrain.

A camp known as Le Châtelet formerly existed on the promontory which projects NW. above the village, between Compiègne and Soissons, SSW. of Vic-sur-Aisne. The area is said to have been about 22 acres. Excavations in 1887 showed a rampart with an external stone wall of two periods, of which the second was thought to have been medieval. In the lower wall were numerous long nails, suggesting the possibility that it may have been a *murus Gallicus*. A ditch upwards of 18 ft. wide was also trenched. Today, a few slight fragments of the wall and rampart can be seen at the W. end of the promontory, and a short length of rampart survives at the NE. corner; for the rest, the whole work has been destroyed. Gaulish coins and pottery were found during the excavations.

See Baudet, (1) p. 265; Fleury, p. 53, fig. 19; Vauvillé, (2) p. 314, plan and sections; Mortillet, p. 195; *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 101, list II.

85. Ambleny.

In the commune of Vic-sur-Aisne, 6 m. W. of Soissons, the camp (Châtel) of Ambleny crowns the end of the plateau NE. of the village. Its area is rather more than 20 acres, and the approach from the NE. is barred by a strong bank and ditch 250 yds. long. On the SE. and S. the natural defence provided by the steep hillside is emphasized by scarping and sometimes a slight bank at the summit. There may have been an oblique entrance at the S. corner, but the present entrance through the main cross-rampart is thought to be modern. The whole site is now too thickly overgrown with trees for adequate inspection. Excavations in 1899 are said to have revealed traces both of neolithic and of medieval occupation, together with pottery and numerous Gaulish coins of the period of the earthwork. The ditch, no less than 80-90 ft. wide, is cut into the underlying rock, and has a blunt, irregular profile. Above the ditch the rampart rises to a height of 20-30 ft., and is thought to have been originally revetted with a dry-stone wall (none found *in situ*).

The work is of our 'Fécamp' class, though its relatively small area, as Vauvillé points out, indicates a *castellum* rather than an *oppidum* in the full and normal sense of the term.

See Baudet, (1) p. 265; Fleury, p. 53, fig. 20; Vauvillé, (7) p. 173, plan and section, (9) p. 15, coins, and (10) pp. 124-44, plan and sections; *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 98, list II.

86. Pommiers.

This great *oppidum*, 100 acres in extent, must have been one of the twelve in the canton of the Suesiones (*B.G.* ii. 4), and is more likely than any other to represent the Noviodunum of *B.G.* ii. 12 (see p. 12). It is a promontory-camp standing 250 ft. above the Aisne immediately NE. of the village of Pommiers, some 3 m. NW. of Soissons. The promontory, scarped on the steeper sides, is barred towards the level N. approach by a massive rampart, 250 yds. long, 18 ft. above the natural soil, and, as excavation has shown, over 30 ft. above the original bottom of the ditch. The latter is 50-60 ft. wide, of bluntly rounded profile, and cut down into the rock. Numerous stones in the ditch suggest that the rampart was originally revetted with a stone facing. Its immense size and the broad, relatively shallow ditch place the work in the 'Fécamp' class. Excavations were carried out in 1860, by (or for) General de la Noë in and after 1887, and by O. Vauvillé in 1903-4. Vauvillé estimates that about 2,600 Gaulish coins have been found in the camp, and gives a

summary list of more than 1,900. Analysing this list, with an actual examination of some of the coins, Dr. J. B. Colbert de Beaulieu (in a letter)<sup>1</sup> offers the following conclusions:

1. The site was abundantly occupied during the last years of Gaulish independence, and above all during the Caesarian war; altogether *c.* 70–51 B.C.
2. Occupation continued in some measure into the principate of Augustus.
3. There was slight occupation or visitation from the time of Tiberius to that of the Gaulish emperors of the third century A.D., indicating no more than the normal presence of a population in the countryside at large.

Traces of dwellings are recorded but details are lacking. The site would amply and speedily repay re-examination.

Immediately N. of the *oppidum* alleged traces of another fortification, with a V-shaped ditch, have been tentatively identified as Caesar's siege-camp of 57 B.C. But the outline as planned by Vauvillé follows the contour in a non-Roman fashion, and if the work exists at all it is more likely to represent an earlier Iron Age fortification than anything Roman. Trees at present hinder an adequate examination of the site.

See Baudet, (1) p. 265; Brunehaut, p. 153; Fleury, p. 54, fig. 24; Vauvillé, (3) p. 45, plans and sections, (4) p. 1, small finds, and (8) p. 153; Mortillet, p. 195. For additional bibliography, see *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 101, list II.

#### 87. Muret-et-Crouttes.

In the canton of Oulchy-le-Château, about 9 miles SSE. of Soissons, is a promontory-camp with the large church of *c.* A.D. 1200 and a ruined château in its NW. end. The camp, known as the 'Camp de César', is said to have an area of some 40 acres. It is cut off on the approachable side (approximately the SW.) by an imposing cross-rampart 300 yds. long, 15–20 ft. high above the interior, and 30–40 ft. above the bottom of the bluntly rounded ditch, which is as much as 80–90 ft. wide. Dense forest prevents adequate examination, but the whole work is unquestionably of the 'Fécamp' class. A much smaller rampart and counterscarp run along the S. part of the SE. side, and Vauvillé shows an in-turned entrance here with flanking approach, not now accessible.

See Baudet, (1) p. 265; Fleury, p. 58, fig. 29; Poquet, p. 263; Vauvillé, (5) p. 216, plan and sections; *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 101, list II.

#### 88. Guignicourt.

'Vieux-Reims', an immense *oppidum*, said to have been 275 acres in extent, situated on the sandy alluvium within the angle of the Aisne and its small tributary, the Suipe, between Guignicourt and Condé-sur-Suipe, 11 miles NNW. of Reims. On the N. and NW. it was destroyed when the Canal Latéral Aisne was constructed in 1842, but on the SW. and E. there are considerable remains of the rampart, though the ditch has largely been filled and the rampart itself flattened in places by agriculture. (Note: remains of a disused and decayed railway-embankment beside the road from Guignicourt to Condé must not be mistaken for a rampart of the *oppidum*!) Immediately N. of the little bridge over the Suipe at Condé, the rampart can be followed NW. for 450 yds. towards the canal; and SE. from the same point it can be traced, partly under trees, across the Reims–Laon railway, a particularly good stretch about 10 ft. high being visible in the fields immediately W. of the railway. E. of the railway the rampart, here much flattened, veered northwards towards a wood, where it is lost. Near this point the interior has been quarried for sand; and hereabouts some Gaulish pottery and a plain bronze bracelet, partly gilt, were found

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently amplified in an interesting paper on 'Peut-on dater par la numismatique l'occupation gauloise d'un oppidum?' in *R.A.* vi, fasc. 3 (1955), 260–70.

before the Second World War. They were formerly in the possession of Dr. Ch. Perono of Guignicourt, but were taken from him by the Germans in 1940 and are said now to be at Koenigsberg. Thanks are due to Dr. Perono for help in investigating the site.

Three km. to the WSW., on the road from Guignicourt to Soissons, Napoleon III identified a large Caesarian camp, and marked at least two of the corners (SE. and NE.) with boundary stones which survive (1956). In the centre he erected a monument, the remains of which, shattered in the First World War, can be seen on the S. side of the road. See also p. 13.

See Baudet, (1) p. 266 and (2) p. 81; Fleury, p. 181, fig. 89; Mortillet, p. 195; *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 99 (Condé-sur-Suippe), list II.

#### 89. St. Thomas.

In the commune of St. Thomas, N. of the village and 12 miles SE. of Laon, a spectacular contour-camp on a flat-topped hill encloses an area of 80 acres. Two notices on the Route Nationale Reims-Laon direct the visitor to it under the name 'Camp des Romains', but it also shares the names 'Vieux Laon' and 'Camp de César'. It is of two structural periods. (1) Save where, on the S., the steepness of the hill-side renders further defence unnecessary, the camp is defended by a rampart and, on the N., a broad, blunt ditch. Excavation in 1887-8 showed that the latter was partly rock-cut. The rampart stands to a height of about 10 ft. above the interior of the camp. In the middle of the N. side, the excavator claimed to have located an entrance with stone-revetted flanks. (2) Immediately W. of this entrance, a larger and obviously secondary cross-rampart, running NW.-SE., excludes about 15 acres at the eastern end of the original enclosure. This curtailing rampart is of great size, rising some 15 ft. above the interior to the W. and 25 ft. above a roughly pointed eastern ditch, which has been partially filled in. It is on the 'Fécamp' scale and may well be of the same (approximately Caesarian) period, but the pointed and rather narrow ditch is alien to the series. In the interior, wells and other traces of permanent occupation were found.

See Baudet, (1) p. 267; Caylus, v, p. 316, pl. cxiii; Devisme, pp. 407-20; Fleury, pp. 55, 176-8, fig. 26; Gobert; Jacob, p. 328; Lemaistre, pp. 8-21; Vauvillé, (2) p. 295, plans and sections. For additional bibliography, see *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 102, list II.

#### 90. Pont St. Mard.

In the angle between the line of the Roman road Soissons-St. Quentin and the River Ailette, W. of the narrow-gauge railway, a steep, isolated, flat-topped, and heavily wooded hill is surrounded by a defence which encloses an area of 20 acres. The rampart rises to a maximum height of 6 ft. above the interior; for a short stretch on the E. side, where the hill is particularly steep, it is dispensed with and is replaced by a scarp. The principal modern approach (for purposes of *la chasse*) is on the E. side, but further search is necessary to ascertain whether this is also the original entrance. There are said to be the remains of a priory within the enclosure, and fragments of rough mortared walling amongst the tangled undergrowth on the SE. side are presumably part of this; but the whole site is so heavily overgrown that detailed investigation is impossible.

See Marville, p. 108, with plan.

#### 91. Vermand.

On the St. Quentin-Amiens road,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  miles from St. Quentin, the village of Vermand crowns an eminence above the W. bank of the Omignon rivulet. The nucleus of the village lies within the formidable defences of a hill-fort said to enclose an area of 37 acres. On the S. and SW., where the approaches are relatively easy, the rampart is immense, rising to a maximum of 20 ft. above the interior. The height above the ditch must have been 30 ft. or more, but roads, gardens, and houses have obscured both the width and the depth of the ditch, although slight traces on the

SW. seem to indicate that it was of great width: whether or no of the flat 'Fécamp' type, however, cannot be guessed. On the E. and N. sides, where the natural slope is very steep, a scarp seems to have replaced the rampart and there is no ditch. Which of the modern roads traverse ancient entrances cannot be determined superficially.

Gaulish coins of the Lucoti and Roman coins from Tiberius onwards are recorded to have been picked up here.

It is a fair speculation that this, the major earthwork in the tribal area of the Viromandui,<sup>1</sup> was the tribal *chef lieu*, and that the tribe's name survives in that of Vermand.

See Baudet, (1) p. 264; Cagny, p. 413; Fleury, pp. 182-5, fig. 90; Gomart, p. 249; La Lande; Lemaistre, pp. 21-29; Raison, p. 107. For additional bibliography, see *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 103, list 11.

### Nord

#### 92. Avesnes.

'Camp de César' on the N. edge of the plateau, 1 km. E. of Avesnelles, which is itself a suburb on the E. outskirts of Avesnès. The camp was evidently a fairly large one, but the W. and N. ramparts and almost the whole of the interior have been destroyed by a deep limestone quarry. Part of the S. rampart is still 12 ft. high, but the ditch has been filled. There are probable entrances on the E. and S. sides, the former with slight in-turns. General de la Noë says that it is a *murus Gallicus*, but no other information is available.

This site must have lain within the territory of the Nervii.

See La Noë, (2); *B.S.P.F.* (Avesnelles), xiv (1917), 468, list LX.

### Pas-de-Calais

#### 93. Etrun.

'Camp de César', adjoining the village of Etrun on the W., 7 km. NW. of Arras, on the undulating edge of the plateau between the rivulets Guy and Scarpe. The by-road to Etrun leaving the main Arras-St. Pol road at Pont du Guy runs centrally through the camp from W. to E. The area enclosed is upwards of 50 acres. On the E. the defences have been destroyed by the village, but on the W. the rampart is formidable, rising to a height of 20 ft. above the natural surface; the ditch has everywhere been filled in, and the great surviving height of the rampart suggests that the ditch may have been shallow, as in the 'Fécamp' type—otherwise more of the rampart is likely to have been destroyed in the process of filling. The road may pass through a widening of the original entrance, but no determining features are now visible.

This is the only *oppidum* known to us in the tribal territory of the Atrebates. Whether the name Etrun has anything to do with that of the tribe is beyond our competence to say.

See Harbaville, p. 211, plan; Ternynck, p. 221; Mortillet, p. 203; *B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 476, list LXIII.

<sup>1</sup> The territory of the Viromandui has been equated with the diocese of Noyon. Rice Holmes, pp. 499-500.



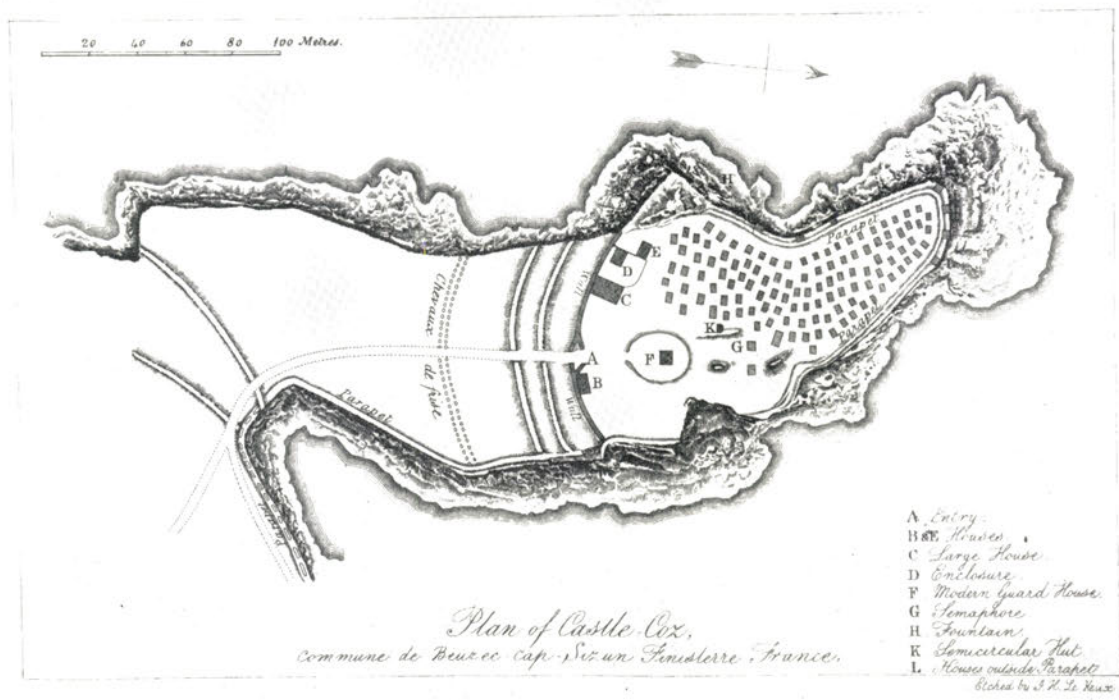
A. Castel Meur from the SW., showing figures standing on each of the three ramparts



B. Castel Meur: hut-platforms

(See p. 109)





A. Plan of Castel Coz, about 1869



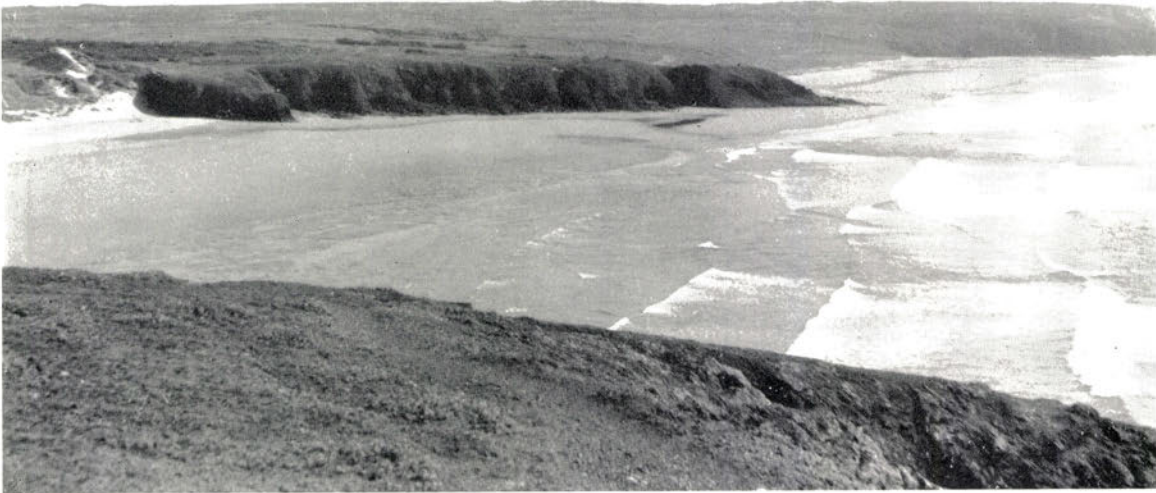
B. Castel Coz, Finistère (on right-hand promontory) from the SW.; on the left the figures are on the rampart of a small adjacent promontory-camp

(See pp. 109-110)





A. Pointe de Lostmarc'h; cliff-castle from the NE.



B. Bay from the Lostmarc'h cliff-castle, looking S.

(See p. 110)



A. Pointe de Lostmarc'h: in foreground, shore armed with 'dragons' teeth' of World War II  
(See p. 110)

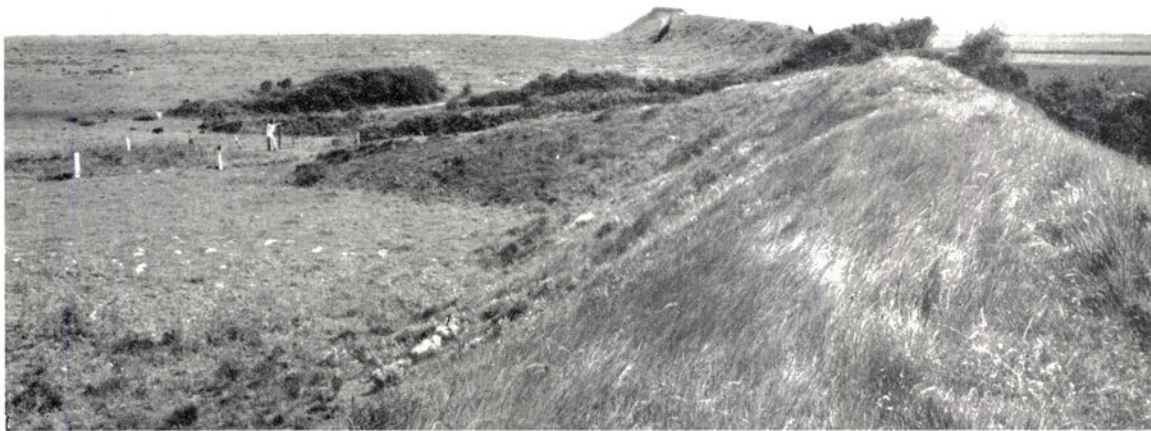


B. Oppidum du Poulailier, near Fougères: exterior of rampart, showing stone revetment  
(See p. 113)





A. Outer slope of E. rampart and flat ditch



B. In-turned flanks of main entrance, looking across the interior of the camp from the top of the E. rampart

La Cité de Limes, near Dieppe

(See p. 123)

PLATE XLIX



A. Outer slope of rampart and flat ditch



B. Inner slope of rampart

Le Camp de César, Liercourt-et-Érondelle

(See p. 126)



Le Camp de César, La Chaussée-Tirancourt: rampart and flat ditch

(See p. 127)





## VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIOR to 1938 less than half a dozen fortified enclosures of prehistoric or proto-historic type in Brittany and Normandy had been submitted to anything approaching systematic excavation. Even in these rare instances, the term 'systematic' must be interpreted in terms of the standards prevailing between 1822 and 1926; for not a single earthwork (unless Fort Harrouard) was explored in this considerable region after the latter date save in the most desultory fashion. Such cultural material of the Early Iron Age as has been forthcoming has been derived mainly from cemeteries, none of them very adequately recorded. In this scene of archaeological desolation, the lonely figures of the enterprising few acquire a preternatural stature.

If for the moment we set aside an early excavator of a Roman building in the Cité de Limes, the first among these pioneers is Geslin de Bourgogne, who about 1845 carried out slight excavations at the remarkable *Camp romain* or *Camp de Péran* at Plédran in the Canton of St. Brieuc (Côtes-du-Nord). See above, p. 112, no. 36, and below, p. 135, s.v. 'Barthélemy'. Apart from the identification of the vitrified core of the main rampart, the excavator noted something of its structural stratification, and describes finds of pottery overlying an ashy layer on the tail of the bank. On the whole, the exploration showed a sense of method in advance of its time.

The next enterprise of note was that of E. Le Héricher, who in 1862 trenched the main gateway of the camp at Le Petit Celland, Manche (see p. 40). He observed traces of fire, and found Gaulish coins and other relics which were subsequently lost in the burning of the Avranches Museum; but his main results were confirmed in 1938.

Thirdly, in 1869 R. F. Le Men of Quimper excavated the cliff-castle or promontory-fort of Castel Coz, on the south-west coast of Finistère (pp. 6 and 109). He produced a tolerable plan (pl. XLV), and a sensible report, which indicates that the small windswept enclosure was extensively occupied, and points the desirability of further exploration on this or a similar site. The work was, in standard, ahead of contemporary work in Britain.

In fact the lead of Le Men was followed up by P. du Chatellier twenty years later, with the excavation of Castel Meur, another cliff-castle, near Cléden-Cap-Sizun, west of Castel Coz (pp. 6 and 109). The results were similar to those of the earlier excavation, but the material, now mostly stored at the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye, needs review and republication.

Lastly, the great Cité de Limes, on the Normandy coast at Bracquemont near Dieppe, has been dug into on five occasions: first, in and after 1822, by P. J. Féret, who found a Romano-Celtic temple and potsherds, of which, with a perspicacity ahead of his time, he judged some to be pre-Roman; and last in 1926, without very determinate result (pp. 11 and 123). This vast and impressive site, now greatly reduced by the sea, was clearly



occupied in one way or another during several centuries, and cries aloud for methodical excavation.

To this slender list, the five trial-excavations of our expedition in 1938-9, with those carried out independently on the Île-de-Groix, Belle-Île-en-Mer, and at Vieux Passage in the latter year by Mrs. Leslie Murray Threipland (pp. 103 and 106), constitute a relatively substantial addition.

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l'Étoile. (Our no. 78.)

Tirancourt. (Our no. 79.)

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#### *Calvados*

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#### *Orne*

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Camp du Châtellier, Carqueil, iv, 382-5, pl. cxvi. The plan indicates an in-turned entrance. (Our no. 58.)

Camp d'Attila, La Cheppe, iv, 392-5, pl. cxx. Profiles are given of bank and ditch. (See our p. 13.)

Camp du Vieux Laon, St. Thomas, v, 316, pl. cxiii. (Our no. 89.)

CHARLES, l'Abbé R. *B.M.* xli (1875), 345-57 and 393-400. 'La Station de Cröchemelier (Orne).'

He gives Dr. Jousset's description of the site and then goes on to describe finds from the rampart. These include Early Iron Age A sherds from situlate vessels with finger-print decoration on the body of the vessel on applied bands, or on the rim; also wavy applied bands and raised squares. He also mentions small finds, decorated clay spindle-whorls, clay loomweights, and three Gaulish coins, obverse with head, reverse, horse and charioteer. These finds are carefully illustrated to scale. A useful article. (Our no. 59.)

CHATELLIER, P. du. (1) *Les Époques préhistoriques et gauloises dans le Finistère*, 2nd edition (Rennes and Quimper, 1907).

This work covers the Neolithic to Roman periods and deals with various ancient monuments and objects. Sites are described under the head of the commune in which they were found, and there is no attempt to group them by period. There is no subject-index, which greatly detracts from the usefulness of the work. Information on sites has been compiled partly from the author's own observations and partly from less reliable local contributors; this has led to some confusion, as a site may appear as two different earthworks if near the border of two communes. The inclusion of field-banks and other unspecified earthworks often adds to the difficulties of identifying a particular site, as well as the lack of information as to size, exact location, and nature of the work. Nevertheless this is a comprehensive and useful basis for further study.

Castel Doun, Sizun, p. 107. (Our no. 32.)

Castellic, Dirinon, p. 128. (Our no. 34.)

Castel Pen-Lédan, or Bras-de-Landivern, pp. 137 and 141. (Our no. 35.)

Ploumoguier, Kermorvan, p. 160. (Our no. 33.)

Camp d'Artus, Huelgoat, p. 210, and plan, pl. xxvi. (Our no. 31.)

St. Cadou, Gouesnac'h, p. 269. (Our no. 21.)

Kervélan, Plonéour-Lanvern, p. 278. (Our no. 22.)

Kergoulouarn, Plonéour-Lanvern, p. 278. (Our no. 23.)

Castel Coz, Beuzec-Cap-Sizun, p. 287. (Our no. 28.)

Castel Beuzec, Beuzec-Cap-Sizun, p. 287. (Our no. 29.)

Castel Meur, Cléden-Cap-Sizun, p. 288. (Our no. 27.)

Pointe du Raz, Plogoff, p. 298. (Our no. 26.)

Menei Castel, Pont Croix, p. 302. (Our no. 24.)

Castel-ar-Romaned, Primelin, p. 304. (Our no. 25.)

Beg-ar-Castel, Ergué Armel, p. 329. (Our no. 19.)

Kercaradec, Penhars, p. 333. (Our no. 20.)

Camp de César, Arzano, p. 342. (Our no. 17.)

Kergastel, Clohars, Carnoët, p. 355. (Our no. 18.)

(2) *L'Anthropologie*, i (1890), 401-12. 'Oppidum de Castel-Meur en Cléden (Finistère).'

A good general description of the site with small plan. The ramparts are described in detail, as are a number of the square hut-floors (95 of which were excavated), and the finds from them. The finds include pottery, iron spearheads and sickles, spindle-whorls, hones, rotary querns, and sling-stones. The huts were square with stone revetting and had clay floors, hearths, and signs of turf roofing. An excellent report, clear and detailed. (Our no. 27.)

(3) *La Poterie aux époques préhistoriques et gauloises* (1897), pl. 15, nos. 4-6; pl. 13, no. 9. (Our no. 27.)

CHESNAY, C. Berthelot du. *L'année préhistorique dans les Côtes-du-Nord* (1904), 14; (1905-6), 23. Not consulted.

COCHET, l'Abbé. (1) *La Seine-Inférieure historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1864).

This work has an index of Roman and other place-names, French place-names, and a subject-index. A chapter on territorial divisions of the department in Gaulish, Roman, and Frankish times is followed by a chapter on Roman roads. The inventory proper describes where finds have been made, gives historical notes, and groups the finds and sites under the head of Gaulish, Roman, and Frankish, by communes. At the end of each section on a commune there is a bibliography, as well as references in the body of the text. The descriptions of the hill-forts considered to be Gaulish are reasonably accurate as to location, but not detailed or precise as to the size, height, number, etc., of the defences and general layout of each earthwork, which the author has not necessarily visited in person. His references are not always correct, but he covers a great deal of ground and includes much information. This inventory forms a very useful basis for research.

Cité de Limes, Bracquemont, pp. 97-102. (Our no. 73.)

Heugleville-sur-Scie, p. 106. (Our no. 74.)

Camp de Mortagne, Incheville, pp. 157 and 165. (Our no. 75.)

Camp du Canada, Fécamp, p. 198. (Our no. 71.)

Camp de Boudeville, St. Nicolas-de-la-Taille, p. 245. (Our no. 66.)

Le Câtelier, Veulettes, p. 281. (Our no. 72.)

Camp de Calidu, Caudebec, p. 297, and second camp, p. 298. (Our nos. 68 and 67.)

Les Portes de la Ville, St. Pierre-de-Varengeville, p. 448. (Our no. 70.)

Camp de César, Sandouville, p. 220. (Our no. 65.)

(2) *Répertoire archéologique de la France: Département de la Seine-Inférieure* (1871).

On similar lines to the previous work and supplies no fresh information.

Camp de Mortagne, Incheville, p. 42. (Our no. 75.)

Heugleville-sur-Scie, p. 50. (Our no. 74.)

Cité de Limes, Bracquemont, p. 63. (Our no. 73.)

Camp du Canada, Fécamp, p. 106. (Our no. 71.)

Camp de Boudeville, St. Nicolas-de-la-Taille, p. 138. (Our no. 66.)

Camp de César, Sandouville, p. 155. (Our no. 65.)

Les Portes de la Ville, St. Pierre-de-Varengeville, p. 321. (Our no. 70.)

Le Câtelier, Veulettes, p. 483. (Our no. 72.)

Camp de Calidu and second camp, p. 486. (Our nos. 68 and 67.)

COMMISSION POUR L'ÉTUDE DES ENCEINTES PRÉHISTORIQUES. *B.S.P.F.* iv-xvii (1907-20).

An inventory of earthworks in France, recorded under communes, which are listed alphabetically by departments. The departmental lists are usually headed by general bibliographies. The information has been compiled from local authorities and from previous lists, notably de Mortillet's 'Camps et Enceintes de France'. Occasionally very brief descriptions are given, otherwise merely the name of the site or the number of earthworks in the locality, with nothing to indicate position, size, nature, or age: the same site may appear under several names. However, this is a useful basis for further work if only by reason of the bibliographies, though totally unselective.

In connexion with the compiling of these inventories, brief notes on sites are published in the *Bulletin* from time to time as they are sent in by various contributors, and these may be in more detail and sometimes give plans.

- Aisne, x (1913), 98, list II.
- Côtes-du-Nord, viii (1911), 130, temporary list.
- Calvados, x (1913), 281, list XVI.
- Eure, xi (1914), 151, list XXIX.
- Eure-et-Loire, xi (1914), 155, list XXX.
- Finistère, xi (1914), 155, list XXXI.
- Ille-et-Vilaine, xi (1914), 278, list XXXVII.
- Loire-Inférieure, xi (1914), 289, list XLVI.
- Manche, xiii (1916), 162, list LII.
- Morbihan, xiv (1917), 454, list LVIII.
- Nord, xiv (1917), 468, list LX.
- Oise, xiv (1917), 468, list LXI.
- Orne, xiv (1917), 472, list LXII.
- Pas-de-Calais, xiv (1917), 476, list LXIII.
- Seine-Inférieure, xvi (1919), 186, list LXXVII.
- Somme, xvii (1920), 55, list LXXIX.

COUTIL, Léon. (1) *Époques gauloises dans le Sud-Ouest de la Belgique et le Nord-Ouest de la Celtique* (Louviers, 1902-7).

A dissertation on territorial divisions, coinage, burials, finds of helmets, and selected hill-forts of the period. The writer gives a reasonably accurate and fairly detailed description of most of the sites, with areas, heights of banks, and location. A detailed account is given of excavations carried out by Féret, Hardy, and Vauvillé at the Cité de Limes, Dieppe, and there is a useful bibliography for that site. A number of sites mentioned, however, are not described, which makes it impossible to arrive at their age or nature. The Manche list is based on de Gerville's work, and sites are discussed in connexion with the defeat of Viridovix by Sabinus. On the whole a useful work.

#### *Seine-Inférieure*

- Cité de Limes, Bracquemont, Dieppe, pp. 21, 110-22. (Our no. 73.)
- Camp du Canada, Fécamp, pp. 22, 127. (Our no. 71.)
- Camp de César, Sandouville, pp. 22, 130-2. (Our no. 65.)
- Camp de Calidu, Caudebec, pp. 139-43. (Our no. 68.)
- Camp de Boudeville, St. Nicolas-de-la-Taille, p. 22. (Our no. 66.)
- Camp de Mortagne, Eu, pp. 22, 126. (Our no. 75.)

#### *Manche*

- Le Chastellier, Carolles, p. 259. (Our no. 44.)



- Le Câtel, Jobourg, pp. 24, 258. (Our no. 46.)  
 Le Camp de César, au Mont-Castre, Lithaire, pp. 251-5; plan, p. 246. (Our no. 45.)  
 Le Camp de Montcastre, Montebourg, p. 257. (Our no. 48.)  
 Le Camp du Châtellier, Petit Celland, pp. 23, 255; plan, p. 246. (Our no. 43.)  
 Camp du Castai or des Castiaux, Le Vicel, Pepinvast, p. 257. (Our no. 47.)  
 La Butte des Romains, Cerisy-la-Forêt (St. Jean-de-Savigny), p. 263. (Our no. 49.)  
 Le Câtel de Carteret, p. 259.  
 Le Câtel de Tourlaville, p. 258. } Not identified on the ground in 1954. (See our p. 116.)

- (2) *L'Homme préhistorique*, iv (1906), 8. 'Les Presqu'-Îles de la Courbe près Écouché (Orne), leurs monuments mégalithiques et leurs remparts vitrifiés.'

He describes the situation and ramparts, five in number, of 'Les Vieux Châteaux' or 'Pierres Brûlées' (Château Gontier, our no. 57), giving their heights and noting calcination and vitrification, but does not distinguish between the different periods of construction. He reports that fragments of iron are said to have been found in the bank and that this is probably the site of a Gaulish camp.

- (3) *C.P.F., Beauvais*, v (1909), 599-620. 'Essai d'Inventaire des Mottes et Enceintes du Département de l'Orne.'

A schedule of 22 mottes or mounds, and 16 camps grouped as (1) promontory-camps, (2) more or less rectangular camps, (3) motte and bailey earthworks, (4) mottes without banks and ditches. Although areas are not given and heights of banks are approximate, the list is useful by reason of the sketches, plans, and good descriptions of location and site which give some idea of the type of earthwork in question.

- Les Pierres Brûlées, La Courbe, p. 606. (Our no. 57.)  
 Camp de César, Montmerrei, Mortrée, p. 610. (Our no. 58.)  
 Crochemêlier, Igé, Bellême, p. 618. (Our no. 59.)

- (4) *B.S.P.F.* vii (1910), 325, and fig. 2.

A note on Igé, Crochemêlier, with sketch-plan showing the bank across the neck of the promontory, a motte(?), the Butte des Châtaigniers, and the River Lachantereine. (Our no. 59.)

- (5) *Association française pour l'avancement des Sciences* (Toulouse, 1910). 'Les tumulus et camps voisins de Tourneville.'

No information.

- (6) *Département de l'Eure, archéologie gauloise, gallo-romaine, franque et carolingienne* (Paris, 1925), 5 vols.

An inventory of sites and objects found in the department. The index is by communes, with qualifying initials, e.g. *M.G.* for 'monnaies gauloises'. The sites are described under the heading of their canton and commune and by period. The author had visited most of the camps and gives a brief description of their situation, and height of banks, with sketch-plans. A useful work.

- Le Goulet, St. Pierre d'Autils, iv, 352, sketch-plan. (Our no. 62.)  
 Camp de César, Vernon, iv, 357, 362. (Our no. 63.)  
 Les Catelets, Bouquelon, v, 15, sketch-plan. (Our no. 60.)  
 Camp aux Anglais, St. Samson-de-la-Roque, v, 53, sketch-plan. (Our no. 61.)

- DAUBRÉ. *R.A.* xli (1881), 18-28. 'Examen minéralogique et chimique des matériaux provenant de quelques forts vitrifiés de la France.'

As the title shows, the work is concerned solely with vitrification and how it was obtained. The

author deals with La Courbe (Orne) and Le Camp de Péran (Côtes-du-Nord). (Our nos. 57 and 36.)

DÉCÉJÉAN, Duhamel-. *B.S.A.P.* xv (1883-6), 130. 'Refuges gaulois et camps romains.'

No information.

DÉCHELETTE, Joseph. *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine*, iv (1927), chap. ii, pp. 452-75, 494. 'Les principaux oppidums de La Tène III en France.'

Mention is made of a number of sites, with bibliography.

DEGLATIGNY, Louis. (1) *Inventaire archéologique de la Seine-Inférieure, période gallo-romaine* (Evreux, 1931).

This has no index but is arranged by communes. It is intended to cover the Roman period, and pre-Roman sites are mentioned in passing only if coins or other finds of the Roman period have been recovered from them. Of little use in the present context.

(2) *Documents et notes archéologiques*, fasc. 2 (Rouen, 1927).

This deals mainly with Gallo-Roman temples. The camp at Orival (Seine-Inférieure) is mentioned, pp. 14-18, as the site of one of these and considered to be probably of medieval date. This article is, therefore, of little use to us, but the site is shown on plan (pl. III). (Our no. 69.)

DÉLANDRE, Cayot. *Le Morbihan, son histoire et ses monuments* (Vannes, 1847).

This work consists of a historical introduction, a dissertation on Roman roads and 'Druidic' monuments (dolmens, etc.), followed by a description of sites by cantons, including hill-forts which the author considers to be Roman or medieval. The situation of the camps is usually well described, but the earthworks themselves only briefly so, without mention of area or entrances. There is some confusion when there is more than one earthwork in a locality. A useful work.

#### *Ille-et-Vilaine*

Camp de Mur, Comblezac, p. 283. (Our no. 38.)

#### *Morbihan*

Arzon, Sarzeau, p. 215. (Our no. 2.)

Camp de Lezcouet (Lescouais), Guégon, p. 363. (Our no. 8.)

Camp du Château Blanc, Plumelec, p. 369. (Our no. 7.)

Quistinic, Plouay, p. 403. (Our no. 13.)

Bieuzy, Baud, p. 407. (Our no. 11.)

Castel Finans, St. Aignan, p. 424. (Our no. 9.)

Langonnet, Gourin, p. 448 'Kercastello'? (Our no. 10.)

Plouay, p. 462. (Our no. 12.)

Camp de César, Kervédan, Île de Groix, p. 493. (Our no. 16.)

Nostang, Port Louis, pp. 495, 499 (confused account). (Our no. 14.)

Plouhinec, Port Louis, p. 502. (Our no. 15.)

Pointe du Vieux Château, Belle-Île-en-Mer, p. 538. (Our no. 4.)

Camp de Villeneuve, St. Avé, pp. 544-5. (Our no. 6.)

DELIE. *B.S.A.N.* i (1860), 439.

Note on a Gaulish coin found by a peasant in a field near to, but not in, the Sandouville camp.

A note on the coin is in Lambert's 'Essai sur la numismatique gauloise du nord-ouest', *M.S.A.N.* xx (1863), 487, no. 14, and p. 535 (plan). (Our no. 65.)

DENECK, G. *Les Origines de la civilisation dans le nord de la France* (1943).

No information.

DEVISME. *M.S.A.F.* ii (1820), 407-20, with plan. 'Sur le camp de César situé au territoire de St. Thomas, canton de Craonne, arr. de Laon.'

The author gives a detailed account of the site, its situation and defences, but the plan lacks detail. His main concern is to refute any arguments against the earthworks being Roman in origin, which he does at some length. Nevertheless of some use as antedating Vauvillé's description and doubtless used by the latter. (Our no. 89.)

DORANLO, R. (1) *C.P.F.* ix (Lons-le-Saunier, 1913), 791-814.

(2) *B.S.A.N.* xxix (1914), 219-49. 'Camps, enceintes, mottes et fortifications antiques du Calvados.'

These two inventories are supplementary to the lists published by the Commission pour l'Étude des Enceintes Préhistoriques. The author gives an emended version of the Commission's list, followed by his own, which is based on the work of Galéron and de Caumont. The arrangement is by arrondissements and cantons; the index is by communes and earthworks, but without page-references. There are useful bibliographies, and more details than in the Commission lists.

Chevalier d'Escures, (1) p. 796; (2) p. 225. (Our no. 51.)

Hottot, (1) p. 797; (2) p. 226. (Our no. 52.)

St. Désir, (1) p. 797, fig. 8; (2) p. 227. (Our no. 56.)

Moult, (1) p. 799; (2) p. 228. (Our no. 54.)

Soumont-St.-Quentin, (1) p. 800 and fig. 9; (2) p. 229. (Our no. 53.)

Cambremer, (1) p. 804; (2) p. 233. (Our no. 55.)

Castillon, Balleroy, (1) p. 804; (2), p. 233. (Our no. 50.)

(3) *B.S.A.N.* xxxiv (1921), 117-238. 'Camps, enceintes, mottes et fortifications antiques du département de l'Eure.'

This inventory is similar to (1) and (2), but has an introduction on earthworks regarded as Neolithic.

St. Pierre d'Autils, p. 158. (Our no. 62.)

Camp de César, Vernon, p. 158. (Our no. 63.)

Les Catelets (Les Forts), Bouquelon, p. 206. (Our no. 60.)

St. Samson-de-la-Roque, p. 208. (Our no. 61.)

(4) *B.S.A.N.* xxxvi (1925), 37-318. 'Le Camp des Canadas à Fécamp et sa station néolithique.'

Gives a full bibliography and a good summary of previous work done on the site, with a brief description and a rough plan. A useful article. (Our no. 71.)

(5) *Bull. de la Soc. Hist. de Lisieux*, xxvi (1924-5), 3125. 'Fortifications antiques du Lieuvin.'

Not consulted.

LEDICTE-DUFLOS. *Mém. Soc. Acad. d'archéologie, science et arts du département de l'Oise*, i (1851), 369, 4 plates.

The author gives verbatim de Fontenu's description of the Camp de Catenoy (Oise). He believes it to have been occupied first by the Gauls then by the Romans. (Our no. 82.)

FALLUE, Léon. *M.S.A.N.* ix (1835), 180-327 (atlas with plans). 'Sur les travaux militaires antiques des bords de la Seine.'

A description of five sites on the banks of the Seine in Seine-Inférieure and Eure, followed by a discussion of the age and origin of camps which, he argues, were erected in the post-conquest period by natives under Roman direction as a protection against piratical invasions. A very detailed account, not always accurate, giving areas of the sites, heights of banks, and other features then in process of destruction and not visible at the present day. A useful work.

*Seine-Inférieure*

Camp de César, Sandouville, pp. 182-7, pl. vi. (Our no. 65.)

Camp de Boudeville, St. Nicolas-de-la-Taille, pp. 188-92, pl. vi. (Our no. 66.)

Camps de Caudebec, pp. 193-6, pl. vi. (Our nos. 67 and 68.)

Camp de Varengeville, pp. 199-201, 290, pl. vii. (Our no. 70.)

*Eure*

Camp de la Roque (St. Samson-de-la-Roque), p. 205, pl. vi. (Our no. 61.)

FÉRET, P. J. (1) *Soc. Libre d'Émulation de Rouen* (1825), pp. 47-58. 'La Cité de Limes ou Camp de César près Dieppe', reported by E. H. Langlois.

A résumé of his excavations of alleged tumuli inside the earthwork, and of hut-floors (actually quarry-ditch scoops) from which he obtained pottery. The site is judged by him to be a Gallo-Belgic *oppidum* as described by Caesar. He gives a plan of the camp and of a tumulus. His attitude is contrary to contemporary opinion that the hill-fort was of Roman or medieval origin. (Our no. 73.)

(2) *M.S.A.N.* iii (1826), 3-101. 'Recherches sur le Camp de César ou Cité de Limes, monument voisin de la ville de Dieppe, d'après sa position, son mode de défense et les fouilles qu'on y a pratiquées.'

An expanded version of (1) with a description of the site, its size and height of banks, and mentioning also the author's excavation of a Romano-Gaulish temple (since fallen into the sea). This article is informative. (Our no. 73.)

FLEURY, Édouard H. *Antiquités et monuments du département de l'Aisne* (Paris, 1877-9), 3 vols.

The author has divided this work into sections covering the Stone Age to the medieval period. In vol. i he includes certain hill-forts in his chapter on the Stone Age and argues that since worked flints have been picked up in them they have been occupied from that period, though reoccupied and added to in Gallo-Roman times. His descriptions of the earthworks are very brief (save for a detailed account of St. Thomas and Vermand) and his plans are too small except as a rough working basis.

Montigny-l'Engrain, p. 53, fig. 19. (Our no. 84.)

Ambleny, p. 53, fig. 20. (Our no. 85.)

Pommiers, p. 54, fig. 24. (Our no. 86.)

St. Thomas, pp. 55, 176-8, fig. 26. (Our no. 89.)

Muret-et-Crouettes, p. 58, fig. 29. (Our no. 87.)

Condé-sur-Suippe (Guignicourt), p. 181, fig. 89. (Our no. 88.)  
 Vermand, pp. 182-5, fig. 90. (Our no. 91.)

FONTENU, l'Abbé de. *Mém. de l'Acad. Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. (1) xv (1731-3, published Amsterdam 1741), 73-156. (2) xx (1734-7, published Amsterdam 1743), 96-125. 'Dissertation sur quelques camps romains connus en France sous le nom de Camps de César.'

A rambling and learned discourse written to prove that the sites in question are Roman. The author visited the sites and made plans, or obtained information and plans from reliable persons. The descriptions and plans are somewhat vague, but the work has its place as an early attempt to explain these earthworks, and includes details not visible at the present day; e.g. he shows on plan the line of tumuli partly excavated by Féret at a later date in the Cité de Limes.

Cité de Limes, Dieppe, (1) pp. 76-102, plan. (Our no. 73.)  
 Camp de Pequigny (Picquiny), Tirancourt, (1) pp. 125-56, plan. (Our no. 79.)  
 Camp de l'Étoile, (2) pp. 96-102, plan. (Our no. 78.)  
 Camp de César, Bailleul-sur-Thérain, (2) pp. 116-19. (Our no. 81.)  
 Camp de Catenoy, (2) p. 120, plan. (Our no. 82.)

FOUQUET, A. *Des monuments celtiques et des ruines romaines dans le Morbihan* (Vannes, 1853).

This work has no index, but a schedule of sites by communes. It includes a discussion on the nature of cromlechs, etc., and earthworks. The author considers that the hill-forts were built by the Romans to police the conquered territories, though some might be medieval. With the exception of Pen Castel, Arzon, and Castel Ker Nehué, St. Avé, the sites are not described in detail, nor are location, area, and height of banks given; the work is therefore of little use compared with that of Délandre.

Arzon, Sarzeau (Pen Castel), pp. 52, 97. (Our no. 2.)  
 Bieuzy, Baud, pp. 64 and 112 (a confused reference to the hill-fort; earthworks near Castennec are identified as the 'Station de Sulis' de Castennec, where Roman finds are alleged to have been made. Cf. Rosenzweig). (Our no. 11.)  
 Camp des Romains, Île de Groix, p. 116. (Our no. 16.)  
 Camp de Lezcouëts (Lescouais), Guégon, p. 103. (Our no. 8.)  
 Nostang, Port Louis, pp. 64, 84. (Our no. 14.)  
 Plouhinec, Port Louis (Vieux Passage), pp. 64, 85. (Our no. 15.)  
 Camp du Château Blanc, Plumelec, p. 108. (Our no. 7.)  
 Quistinic, Plouay, p. 100. (Our no. 13.)  
 Castel Finans, St. Aignan, p. 113. (Our no. 9.)  
 Castel Ker Nehué (Neué), St. Avé, Vannes, p. 95. (Our no. 6.)

FOURDRIGNIER. *B.S.A.F.* 1881, 173.

A list of Gaulish coins found in the Camp de la Cheppe and environs. (Our p. 13.)

FRABOULET. *B.S.É.C-N.* (1895), p. 32.

Not consulted.

FRÉMINVILLE, C. P. de la Poix de. *Antiquités de la Bretagne* (Brest), 2 vols.: i, pts. 1 and 2 (1832-3) *Finistère*; ii, pt. 1 (1834) *Morbihan*, pt. 2 (1837) *Côtes-du-Nord*.

The author is mainly concerned with standing stones and medieval castles. He mentions (i, pt. 2, p. 90) that he cannot identify sites in the Cap Sizun region, but he does describe quite fully

Kercaradec and the Camp d'Artus, mentioning that he noted the footings of an octagonal tower and a well on the top of the motte at the latter site.

C'hastel Kercaradec, Plugoff, i, pt. 2, pp. 133-5. (Our no. 20.)

Camp d'Artus, Huelgoat, i, pt. 2, pp. 234-7. (Our no. 31.)

GAILLARD, E. 'Recherches archéologiques pour servir d'introduction à un voyage dans la Seine-Inférieure' (1832), pp. 1-13.

A dissertation on sites of interest and the need to study them. In passing he mentions the Cité de Limes, the Camp du Canada, and Sandouville (p. 6) as Gaulish camps perhaps reused in the Middle Ages. Of no use in the present context. (Our nos. 73, 71, and 65.)

GALÉRON. (1) *M.S.A.N.* ix (1835), 1-49. 'Rapport sur les monuments historiques de l'arrondissement d'Alençon (Orne).'

A somewhat rambling account of ancient sites under the head of 'monuments celtiques', 'monuments romains', and 'du moyen âge'. The article is of no use in this context, apart from a brief description in the Roman section (pp. 17-21) of the Châtellier de Cercueil (Montmerrei), giving height of bank and size. (Our no. 58.)

(2) *M.S.A.N.* ix (1835), 431-94 (with Caumont and de Brix). 'Rapport sur les monuments historiques de l'arrondissement d'Argentan (Orne).'

Under 'monuments celtiques' are grouped dolmens, etc.; under 'époques romaines' there is a vague description of the Camp de César, Montmerrei, described above as Châtellier de Cercueil, and an attempt to prove it Roman. Under 'moyen âge' the author gives an account of Château Gontier (La Courbe), distinguishing one set of defences as of earlier date and vitrified, but reused in medieval times. Not a clear account and of little use.

Camp de César, Montmerrei, pp. 447-53. (Our no. 58.)

Château Gontier (La Courbe), pp. 466-72. (Our no. 57.)

GARINET. See LETAUDIN.

GERVILLE, M. C. de. *M.S.A.F.* vii (1826), 175 ff. 'Sur les camps romains dont on remarque encore les traces dans le département de la Manche.' (4 plans.)

A discussion on the origin of the coastal hill-forts of the Manche which the author considers to be in the nature of the English Saxon Shore Forts and of that date. The descriptions are not detailed, the locations rather vague, and the plans mere sketches, but Coustil's descriptions in his *Époques gauloises* seem to be largely based on de Gerville's work.

Petit Montcastre, Montebourg, p. 176, pl. v, 1. (Our no. 48.)

Pépinvast, St. Pierre l'Église, p. 177, pl. v, 2. (Our no. 47.)

Tourlaville, p. 183. (See our p. 116.)

Vaux du Câtel, Jobourg, p. 186. (Our no. 46.)

Le Câtel de Carteret, p. 187, pl. v, 3. (See our p. 116.)

Camp du Chastellier, Carolles, p. 190, pl. vi. (Our no. 44.)

Grand Montcastre, Lithaire, p. 192. (Our no. 45.)

GIOT, P. R. *Gallia*, vii (1949), 254.

A note drawing attention for the first time to the cliff-castle on the Pointe de Losmarc'h. (Our no. 30.)

GIRARD, Fulgence. *Mém. de la Soc. archéol. d'Avranches*, i (1842), 161–92. 'Mémoire sur le camp romain dont les ruines couronnent la hauteur dit le Châtelier dans la commune du Petit Celland.'

A verbose article to establish that the camp was Roman and the site of the defeat of Viridovix by Sabinus. There is a good description of the situation of the camp, but the earthworks are very vaguely described. (Our no. 43.)

GOBERT. *Le Vieux Laon et la Bibrax de J. César* (1873).

Not consulted.

St. Thomas. (Our no. 89.)

GOMART, Ch. *B.M.* xxii (1856), 249, plan.

A brief description of the Camp Romain, Vermand (Aisne), and its situation, with a rough sketch-plan. The author tries to make the earthwork conform to the plan of a Roman *castrum hibernum* in spite of finds of Gaulish coins of the LVCOTI. (Our no. 91.)

GOSSELIN. *Bull. de la Commission des antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure*, iii (1874), 38 and 87.

Description of pottery alleged to come from the foot of the hill on which stands the Camp de Mortagne, Eu (Seine-Inférieure). (Our no. 75.)

GRAVES (de Beauvais). *Notice archéologique sur le département de l'Oise* (Beauvais, 1839).

The author gives a list of Celtic, Gallo-Roman, Roman, and Medieval monuments, which include some earthworks. His information is collected from other people, and he has not always visited the sites himself. No plans are given, and though he notes the area, situation and height of banks of the Camp de Catenoy, and finds of coins, his descriptions of the two other sites are vague.

Bailleul-sur-Thérain, pp. 46–47. (Our no. 81.)

Camp de Catenoy, p. 49. (Our no. 82.)

St. Pierre-en-Chastre (not certainly), p. 51. (Our no. 83.)

GRENIER, A. S. *Les Gaulois* (1945).

GROSSIN. *Bull. Soc. Acad. de Brest*, xxv (1899–1900), 195. 'Notes sur la position fortifiée de Pen Ledan', with plan.

Gives a good description of the location and of the site itself; the plan is adequate and indicates a medieval reuse of the site and a second rampart to the east with an apparent in-turned entrance.

Castel Pen Ledan, Le Folgoët (Finistère). (Our no. 35.)

GROULT. *Mém. Soc. Acad. d'archéologie, science et arts du département de l'Oise*, xviii (1901), 41.

A description of an expedition to the Camp de Catenoy (Oise), and the excavation of a hut-floor producing pottery with finger-tip impressions. (Our no. 82.)

GUÉBHARD, A. *C.P.F.* iii (1907), 1011, and fig. 37.

Commes, Ryes, Le Chevalier d'Escures (Calvados). Only mentioned in the text, with a small photograph showing a rampart very indistinctly. (Our no. 51.)

GUÉROULT, E. (1) *B.S.A.N.* iv (1866), 208–17. 'Notes sur quelques antiquités des environs de Caudebec-en-Caux.'

A brief description of the hill-fort on the Mont Calidu, Caudebec, giving situation, area, details of banks, foundations of huts, and noting previous finds of Gaulish and Roman coins and



pottery. The author encountered strong opposition to his view that this camp was the *oppidum* of the Caletes, even its existence being denied. (Our no. 68.)

(2) *B.S.A.N.* vii (1875), 254. 'Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Caudebec gaulois.'

A confused account of various mounds and hollows within the confines of the Mont Calidu hill-fort, probably the result of quarrying.

(3) *Travaux de la Soc. Hâvraise d'études diverses* (1874), pp. 269-72. 'Notes sur les antiquités gauloises de Caudebec-en-Caux.'

Pl. I gives a plan of the area showing two camps on heights to west and east of the town. Pl. II is a sketch-plan of the camp on Mont Calidu. The author refers to his earlier descriptions of the site and hopes that he has proved it to be a Gaulish *oppidum*. (Our nos. 67 and 68.)

(4) *R.A.* xxxiii (1877), 45.

A repetition of the author's earlier publications.

GUILMETH, A. A. (1) *Descriptions géographiques, historiques et statistiques des principales communes du département de l'Eure* (1892), vol. ii, 81-82, 169-78; and vol. iv, 30-32.

Not consulted.

(2) *Description géographique, historique et monumentale de l'arrondissement de Dieppe*, iv, 150.

Not consulted.

Cité de Limes. (Our no. 73.)

HAIRBY, J. *Descriptive and Historical Sketches of Avranches* (1841), p. 163.

The author visited the site of the Camp du Châtellier, Petit Celland, hoping to see a Roman town with walls, and was disappointed to find only a few ditches. (Our no. 43.)

HARBAVILLE. *M.S.A.F.* v (1823), 211, plan. 'Sur les restes de camps romains que l'on trouve près d'Arras.'

A brief description of the situation and earthwork of the Camp de César, Etrun (Pas-de-Calais), with inadequate sketch-plan. The author considers it to be Roman. (Our no. 93.)

HARDY, Michel. *Bull. de la Commission des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure*, iii (1874), 304-20. 'Nouvelles recherches sur la Cité de Limes.'

A brief description of the camp, mentioning the in-turned entrance (plan, p. 314). An account of the author's excavations, showing that Féret's alleged hut-floors were in fact the irregular scoops of the quarry ditch of the eastern rampart. He also examined a few of the tumuli and claims that they are not incineration burials as the bone fragments are all of animals, and that the pottery was thrown in as rubbish; he does not, however, come to any satisfactory explanation as to their real function. (Our no. 73.)

HARMOIS, A. L. (1) *B.S.É.C-N.* xlvii (1909), 1-86. (2) *Ibid.* xlviii (1910), 115-79. 'Inventaire des découvertes archéologiques du département des Côtes-du-Nord.' (Arron. Dinan and Guingamp.)

An enlarged version of an earlier inventory published by de la Chenelière, 'Inventaire des monuments mégalithiques compris dans le département des Côtes-du-Nord' (1880), and 'Deuxième Inventaire' (1883), which added mottes and camps. Replacing also J. G. de Mottay's 'Répertoire. . .'. The inventory is classified alphabetically under arrondissements, by cantons and

communes, with subdivisions by periods, and gives details of antiquities recovered, ancient monuments, etc. Although referred to the wrong period, the brief descriptions he gives of earthworks make this a useful basis to work on and it is more informative than the *B.S.P.F.* lists.

Trémargat, (2), p. 167. (Our no. 37.)

HOLMES, T. Rice. *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (Oxford, 1911).

This vigorous and scholarly survey of the Caesarian period in Gaul is still of basic value as a recension of the written sources, ancient and modern (to 1911). But it is essentially an 'indoor' survey; it shows little real knowledge of general topography, still less of archaeological vestiges in the field, and must be used with caution when these factors are in question.

JACOB, G. *M.S.A.F.* i (1817), 328-39. 'Sur un camp de César et dissertation sur l'ancien Bibrax.'

This article is of no value; the author does not describe the earthwork and is only concerned with its being Roman or not.

St. Thomas. (Our no. 89.)

JOSSE, H. *Histoire de la ville de Bray-sur-Somme* (Amiens, 1882), p. 29.

Rather vague description of 'Les Catiaux de Chipilly' as a Roman camp, giving area, situation, and banks. Of little use. (Our no. 80.)

JOUSSET, Dr. *B.M.* xxxiii (1867), 162-7. 'Poteries anciennes trouvées près de Bellême.'

The author gives a description of Crochemelier camp and of pottery discovered as a result of levelling-operations carried out by a farmer around the earthworks. He includes a good drawing of a sherd of an Early Iron Age A situlate vessel with finger-print decoration on the shoulder. See also l'Abbé Charles. (Our no. 59.)

LA BORDERIE, A. de. *Histoire de Bretagne*, i (1896), 332.

Mention of 'castrum de Marsac', that is, the Camp de Mur, Comblessac, Ille-et-Vilaine. (Our no. 38.)

LA GRANCIÈRE, Aveneau de. (1) *B.S.P.M.* (1902), pp. 120 and 371. 'Le préhistorique et les époques gauloises, gallo-romaines et mérovingiennes dans le centre de la Bretagne armorique.'

A description by communes of Neolithic, Bronze Age, and 'Gaulish' monuments, sites, and finds. This gives brief but comparatively useful descriptions of two sites:

Castel Finans, St. Aignan, p. 121. (Our no. 9.)

Castennec, Bieuzy, Baud, p. 372. (Apparently our no. 11.)

(2) *C.P.F.* iii (1907), 706. 'Inventaire des enceintes du Morbihan.'

As a foreword to this yet unpublished work Grancière gives a sketchy description of Castel Finans, St. Aignan, and of finds of pottery, iron slag, etc., from an excavation. Of little use. (Our no. 9.)

LA LANDE, Mangon de. *Soc. Acad. des sciences, arts, belles-lettres, agric. et ind. de St. Quentin*, ii (1827). 'Fouilles de Vermand, 1826-28.'

Not consulted. (Our no. 91.)

LAMBERT. *M.S.A.N.* xiii (1844), 101-264. 'Essai sur la numismatique du nord-ouest de la France.'  
Petit Celand coins, pl. v, no. 9. (Our no. 43.)

LA MESSELIÈRE, Frottier de. *B.S.É.C-N.* lxx (1933), 51-79. 'De l'âge probable des châteaux de terre des Côtes-du-Nord.'

A list of tumuli, mottes, hill-forts, and earthworks, grouped according to their shape, from which the author deduces their age. No precise details, and some very sketchy plans. A schoolboy essay.

Camp de Péran, p. 66, plan no. 38. (Our no. 36.)

Trémargat, p. 65. (Our no. 37.)

LANGE. *M.S.A.N.* i (1824), 106.

Mention of Mont Joly, Soumont-St. Quentin. (Our no. 53.)

LA NOË, le Général G. O. de. (1) *Bull. de géog. hist. et descriptive du Comité des Travaux hist. et scient.* (1891), pp. 12-17. 'Compte rendu des fouilles exécutées dans diverses enceintes fortifiées de la vallée de la Somme.'

Adds little to the information given by Vauvillé on the excavations carried out by the latter at Liercourt, l'Étoile and Tirancourt. (Our nos. 77, 78, and 79.)

(2) *Ibid.* (1887), p. 201. 'Mémoires sur les principes de la fortification antique pour servir au classement des enceintes.'

Mentions the Avesnes earthwork as having a *murus Gallicus*. (Our no. 92.)

LA SAUVAGÈRE, de. *Recueil d'antiquités dans les Gaules* (Paris, 1770).

Claimed to be a continuation of the work of Caylus. Under the heading of 'Recherches sur les antiquités des environs de Vannes . . . descriptions historiques des pierres extraordinaires et de quelques camps des anciens romains, etc.', the author sets out to prove that the Carnac alignments were constructed by the Romans to shelter their tents in their campaign against the Veneti, and thinks that the Roman fleet sheltered in the Port du Vieux Château, Belle-Île-en-Mer, using the camp there before they attacked and routed the Venetic fleet which lay in the Baie de Quiberon.

Camp des Romains, Belle-Île, pp. 281-4 and pl. xxvii, which gives a map of the bay and promontory of the Vieux Château, showing the bank cutting off the Pointe du Vieux Château. (Our no. 4.)

LA SICOTIÈRE, Léon de (P. F. L. Duchesne de la Sicotière). (1) *Excursions dans le Maine* (1841).

A description of the countryside and ancient monuments encountered in a journey through the Maine region. The author is interested in geological features and discusses on p. 47 the alleged vitrification of the medieval town-wall of Ste Suzanne, which he compares with that of Château Gontier, La Courbe, described by Galéron and Caumont. (Our no. 57.)

(2) *L'Orne archéologique et pittoresque* (1854).

No information.

LE BOURDELLES. *B.S.P.F.* vi (1909), 418.

Mention of a 'cap barré' at Sauzon, Belle-Île-en-Mer. (Our no. 4.)

LE CARGUET, H. *B.S.É.C-N.* xxviii (1890), 33-52. 'Découvertes et exploration d'une station gauloise et d'un camp romain sur la rive gauche du Goayen, rivière d'Audierne (Finistère).'

The author describes a Gaulish settlement with Roman camp abutting on its east side, situated on the plateau of Kersigneau in the angle of the River Goayen, and on its left bank; here he explored twenty-five hut-floors and found sling-stones, loom-weights, spindle-whorls, and pottery,

apparently of the Iron Age, some with graphite coating and decoration of S-patterns, interlace, and rectilinear designs. He also examined the Roman camp and recovered *terra sigillata*, brooches, coins, etc. He describes incidentally a small earthwork situated on the opposite bank, the 'camp de Suguenou', which he thought to be a look-out for the Roman Camp de Kervennec. The former is apparently Menei Castel. He gives a good description of the situation of these sites, with a general map showing the three earthworks, and describes the finds in detail, although an alleged plate of small finds and pottery does not appear to have been published. He thinks the Gaulish site was occupied by some of the tribe of the Veneti. (Our no. 24.)

LECAT. *Précis des travaux de l'Académie de Rouen* (1816), p. 116.

On the Cité de Limes. (Our no. 73.) Not consulted.

LE CLAIRE, l'Abbé. *L'Ancienne Paroisse de Carentoir* (1895), pp. 1-439.

A history of the parish, mainly in the medieval period, but on p. 15 the author gives an adequate description of the 'Camp de Marsac' (Camp de Mur, Comblessac, Ille-et-Vilaine), mentioning that it is defended on the west by a huge rampart of stones covered with earth, 5 m. high, and that the ditch is still visible. He quotes a life of Ste Mélanie, c. A.D. 490, where the site is referred to as 'castrum situme st quod vocatur Marciacum'. He thinks it is Roman with medieval additions. (Our no. 38.)

LEDICTE-DUFLOS. See under DUFLOS.

LE HÉRICHER, E. (1) *Avranchin monumental et historique* (1845-65), 3 vols.

A description by communes of the countryside, with historical and botanical notes, and notes on churches, etc. Vague but pleasant reading. Table by cantons and communes. Vol. i, pp. 311-13; description of the Camp du Châtellier, Petit Celland, before it was excavated. Vol. ii, p. 92, brief description of Les Châtelliers, Carolles. Vol. iii, pp. 197-210, is a repetition of the author's anonymous report on Le Petit Celland in *B.S.A.N.* (see (2) below). (Our nos. 43 and 44.)

(2) *B.S.A.N.* ii (1862), 542-8; article published anonymously and signed *Anonyme*, 'Sur les fouilles faites au Châtellier, près d'Avranches'.

An account of excavations carried out at Le Châtellier, Petit Celland (Manche), by Le Héricher on behalf of the Commission de la topographie des Gaules. This gives a good description of the site and its location, noting the double rampart, the spring in the secondary enclosure, etc. Work was carried out at the E: entrance hornwork and resulted in finds of five Gaulish coins (Lambert, *Numismatique gauloise*, pl. v, 9), burnt stones, a *pilum*, and other iron objects. The author would like to identify this camp as that of Sabinus but realized that its irregular shape and situation, and the absence of Roman finds, were against its being Roman in origin. (Our no. 43.)

(3) *Mém. de la Soc. archéol. d'Avranches*, iv (1873), 335-48. 'Rapport sur les fouilles faites au Châtellier et dans d'autres localités de l'Avranchin.'

A repeat of (2). In passing he mentions that the Société Archéologique de St. Lô dug in the banks of Mont Castre and found a dry-stone wall on the inner face. At Carolles, p. 345, twenty trenches dug within the earthwork produced nothing. (Our nos. 44 and 45.)

(4) *Revue de l'Avranchin*, v, 57.

A note on the finding of rusty weapons and rotary querns by a 'douanier' and of coins by the author in the Petit Celland earthworks. (Our no. 43.)

LEMAISTRE, L. F. *M.S.A.F.* iv (1823), 1-53, plans and sections, pls. II and III.

An article on the tumuli, roads, earthworks, and coins of the Vermand area, all considered by the author to be Roman. He gives a very detailed description of the situation of the St. Thomas earthworks and their defences, but his plan is biased by his belief that they are Roman in origin. His description of the Vermand camp is vague and the plan inadequate.

Camp de César, or du Vieux Laon (St. Thomas), pp. 8-21. (Our no. 89.)  
Vermand, pp. 21-29. (Our no. 91.)

LE MEN, R. F. (1) *Assoc. bretonne, comptes rendus et procès-verbaux, mém.* iv (1873), 139-80. 'Oppidums du Finistère.'

An intelligent approach to the question of the origins of the major earthworks of Finistère considered by the author to be Gaulish *oppida*. It includes detailed descriptions of Castel Coz and excavations carried out there, of the excavation of a 'tower' at Keraradec, and of prehistoric finds from this hill-fort. Mention is also made of the vitrified banks of Beg-ar-C'hastel, and hut-sites on the Kermorvan Peninsula, and there are good brief descriptions of other sites.

Castel Coz, pp. 139-65. (Our no. 28.)

Castel Meur, p. 166. (Our no. 27.)

Pointe du Raz, p. 167. (Our no. 26.)

Beg-ar-C'hastel, pp. 171-3. (Our no. 19.)

Keraradec, p. 178. (Our no. 20.)

Kermorvan Peninsula, p. 179. (Our no. 33.)

(2) *Arch. Journ.* xxix (1872), 314-30.

An English version, with plan, of the preceding article (1).

LEPINGARD, E. *Soc. d'agriculture, d'archéologie, et d'histoire naturelle du département de la Manche*, xiii (1895), 29-33. 'La Butte des Romains à Cérisy-la-Forêt.'

An adequate description of the situation of the earthworks near St. Jean de Savigny. At that date the ditch was still visible at the east end of the defences as a hollow, 1 m. 50 cm. deep, and 26 m. across. The writer mentions pieces of fused stone and pieces reduced to the state of pumice in the rampart face. He gives a rough plan and profile of bank and ditch. He considers the work to be Gaulish or Norman. (Our no. 49.)

LE PRÉVOST, A. *Mém. et notes pour servir à la topographie et à l'histoire du département de l'Eure* (1862-9), 3 vols.

Part 1 of vol. 1 is an historical and archaeological note on topography, and a general report on Gaulish and Roman finds. Part 2 is a general note on camps and earthworks with vague mention of some hill-forts, followed by an alphabetical inventory of villages and towns with notes on place-names, local history, etc., including a brief description of some of our earthworks.

Le Goulet, St. Pierre d'Autils, Vernon, i, 59 and 152. (Our no. 62.)

Le Catelet, Mont Finet, Bouquelon, i, 389. (Our no. 60.)

Camp aux Anglais, La Roque-sur-Risle, iii, 37. (Our no. 61.)

LEROUX, A. *Bull. Soc. archéol. de Nantes et de la Loire-Inférieure*, lii (1911), 241-853. 'Recherches archéologiques dans le Haut Ellé.'

Pp. 275-338 contain a confusing account of various earthworks in this area. The descriptions do not help to assess their nature or age. On pp. 289-91, however, an earthwork on a small promontory called Minez-Lescrec'h appears to equate with Menei Castel, Langonnet, Gourin. (Our no. 10.)

LEROY, J. *A.F.A.S.*, 36th session (Reims, 1907), pp. 283 and 879–80. 'Le camp retranché de St. Samson-de-la-Roque (Eure).'

This note adds nothing to our knowledge of the site. Coutil claims that the author merely repeats what has already been said by Canel and Fallue, and that he erroneously adds 1,500 m. to the rampart's length. (Our no. 61.)

LE SALLEN. *Histoire de Belle-Île-en-Mer* (Vannes, 1906).

Not consulted. (Our no. 4.)

LETAUDIN. (1) *Études historiques sur La Cheppe* (1869).

Not consulted. (See our p. 13.)

(2) *C.A.F.*, XXII, *Châlons-sur-Marne*, 1855, pp. 189–98. 'Excursions archéologiques à la Cheppe', by Letaudin and Garinet.

Garinet gives an inadequate description of the earthworks, but recognizes that they were occupied by the Gauls and mentions finds of Gaulish and Roman coins. (See our p. 13.)

LISLE DE DREUNEC, C. Pitre de. *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Loire-Inférieure* (1882).

Apparent mention of Pen Château, Pouliguen. (Our no. 1.)

MAÎTRE, LÉON. *Bull. Soc. archéol. de Nantes et de la Loire Inférieure*, xlii (1901), 9–20. 'Le temple hexagone de Mur-en-Carentoir (Morbihan).'

The author mentions in passing the banks of the Camp de Mur, Carentoir, Comblessac. (Our no. 38.)

MARSILLE, L. *B.S.P.M.* (1923). 'L'Âge du fer dans le Morbihan.'

Mainly a schedule of barrows considered to be of the Iron Age, but it mentions 'oppidums' and habitation sites.

St. Aignan, Castel Finans, p. 28. (Our no. 9.)

St. Avé, Castel Kernevé, p. 29. (Our no. 6.)

MARTIN, A. *Histoire de Fécamp, illustrée* (Fécamp, 1893–4), 2 vols.

In vol. i, p. 12, he mentions the Camp du Canada and reproduces a plan of the site (pl. vi) made in 1700 for the owners, the Abbaye de Fécamp. (Our no. 71.)

MARVILLE, C. P. H. *B.S.A.P.* viii (1862–4), 108.

A brief description of the situation and earthworks on the 'Montagne de Plain-Chatel', near Pont St. Marc (Aisne), with rough sketch-plan, in relation to the question of the situation of 'Noviodunum Suessionum, Bibrax et la frontière des Rèmes'. Mention is made of the enclosed ruins of a priory. (Our no. 90.)

MORTILLET, A. de. *L'Homme préhistorique*, iv (1906), 195–6. 'Inventaire des camps et enceintes de France.'

An inventory of earthworks by communes listed alphabetically under departments. Usually merely the number of earthworks in the commune is noted, and no details are given as to their nature, size, or location. The information, such as it is, was obtained from local antiquaries and the author did not himself visit the sites. These lists were offered as a basis only for the inventory to be drawn up by the Commission pour l'Étude des Enceintes Préhistoriques.

MOTTAY, J. G. de. *Mém. de la Soc. archéol. et hist. des Côtes-du-Nord* (1883), pp. 5-557. 'Répertoire archéologique du département des Côtes-du-Nord.'

Index by communes. An enumeration of finds, sites, and monuments, under the headings of Celtic, Gallo-Roman, Roman, and Medieval. The earthworks are referred to the Roman period. Brief descriptions are given of the following two camps, but otherwise this work is of little use.

Camp de Péran, p. 170. (Our no. 36.)

Trémargat, Rostrenen, p. 125. (Our no. 37.)

NAPOLÉON III. *Histoire de Jules César* (1866), 2 vols. and Atlas.

In describing the expedition of Sabinus against the Unelli the author selects the Camp du Châtelier, Petit Celland, as occupied by the Romans before the battle with Viridovix (vol. ii, p. 114, and pls. 12 and 13 of the Atlas). A good plan is given of the earthwork with details of entrances and on a smaller scale a map of the area showing the physical features. A sketch-plan by Léon Coutil is based on this earlier plan. (Our no. 43.)

NEUVILLE, L. de. (1) *Bull. de la Soc. archéol. du Midi de la France* (1879), pp. 14-17. 'Étude sur le Camp du Castelier près Lisieux.'

The author of this report gives a good description of the situation of the camp, noting the lack of naturally defensive features. He estimates the area as about 200 ha. In his day quarrying had much reduced the banks, and workmen had noticed pieces of rusted iron in them. Members of the Société Historique de Lisieux visited the site, realized these were nails, about 20 cm. long, and found them *in situ* in the core of the rampart set at 60-cm. intervals in a line parallel with the run of the bank. De Neuville recognized these nails as belonging to a *murus Gallicus* as found by Castagne at Murcens and thought that the camp was a temporary refuge set up in some crisis by the Gauls. A useful report. (Our no. 56.)

(2) *C.A.F., XXXVII, Lisieux, 1870*, pp. 104 and 108. 'Les Enceintes de terre des environs de Lisieux.'

The author draws a vague distinction between three types of earthwork: (1) Regular, and probably Roman; (2) Mottes with moats; (3) Irregular and probably prehistoric. In passing, mention is made of the St. Désir earthwork. (Our no. 56.)

OGÉE, J. *Dictionnaire archéologique, historique et géographique de la province de Bretagne* (1843-53).

Monographs of communes, giving history, size, population, industries, etc. Information is mainly on medieval or later sites, and the author mentions only a few dolmens and the Camp d'Artus (p. 355). (Our no. 31.)

PASCAL, J. *Revue des études anciennes*, xvii (1915), 207-8. 'Le prétendu camp romain des Monts du Caubert.'

The author notes that this earthwork was ignored by Allonville and first mentioned in print by E. Prarond in *Topographie d'Abbeville* (1854) and *Histoire de cinq villes*, i (1861), when the site was thought to be a Gaulish *oppidum*. (Our no. 76.)

PAUTREL, E. *Notions d'histoire et d'archéologie pour la région de Fougères* (1937).

Mention of Camp du Poulailier. Not consulted. (Our no. 42.)

PÉRÈS, le Lieutenant. *Conquête du Cotentin par les romains* (St. Lô, 1913).

A dissertation on Sabinus's campaign in the Manche region, and the defeat of Viridovix, etc.



The author selects the Grand Montcastre, Lithaire, for the scene of this disaster. In passing he mentions the Camp du Châtellier, Petit Celland, the Camp de Vast, St. Pierre l'Église, and the camp at Jobourg, and he gives small plans of these earthworks. (Our nos. 43, 47, and 46.)

PHILIPPE, l'Abbé J. (1) *B.S.N.E.P.* xv (1907), 101; xviii (1910), 36; xx (1912), 61; xxi (1913), 22; xxv (1922), 17; xxv *bis* (1927), 1-175. (2) *L'Anthropologie*, xlvi (1936), 257; xlvii (1937), 253.

Reports on excavations carried out by the author on the Neolithic-Bronze Age-Iron Age site of Fort Harrouard (Eure-et-Loir). The last report covers five years' work, and includes a plan of the site. The results of the excavations are given in some detail and the finds are carefully catalogued, but though some photographs of the small finds are reproduced there is an unfortunate lack of drawings of objects. There is no satisfactory section of the rampart of Iron Age date, showing its construction, nor is the general plan very adequate. (Our no. 64.)

PINSARD, G. *B.S.A.P.* xiv (1880-2), 367-8. 'Note sur deux camps refuges.'

Mainly describing very briefly the alleged Camp de Méricourt, said to face that of Chipilly-sur-Somme, which is only mentioned in passing. (Our no. 80.)

POIRIER, P. *Bull. Soc. archéol. de Nantes et de la Loire Inférieure*, xxii (1883), 172. 'Notes sur les constructions vitrifiées.' Mention of Camp de Péran (Côtes-du-Nord). (Our no. 36.)

PONTHIEUX, N. *Le Camp de Catenoy (Oise)* (Beauvais, 1872), 166 pp. and 40 plates.

The author gives a detailed account of the situation of the camp, but inadequate description of the earthworks. His main concern is with the Neolithic occupation, which he illustrates in detail. Pls. I and II give poor sketch-plans. Mention is made of Gallo-Roman huts. (Our no. 82.)

PONTOIS, B. de. *Le Finistère préhistorique* (Paris, 1929).

This covers the Neolithic to Roman periods. The Early Iron Age section is mainly devoted to burials and Gallic memorial stones; only a brief and uninformative reference is made to camps (pp. 305-6). A vague work of no value in the present context.

POQUET, l'Abbé. *Bull. de la Soc. hist. et archéol. de Soissons*, iii (1872), 250.

A brief description of the earthworks of Muret-et-Crouttes on the occasion of a visit to the site by the Archaeological Society. (Our no. 87.)

POULAIN, G. *B.S.N.E.P.* xiii (1905), 79-101. 'Fouilles au Camp du Goulet (Eure).'

An account of excavations carried out at Le Catillon (or Le Pied d'Anglais, or Puy Anglais). The author gives a good description of the situation of the site, and of the defences, mentioning the main in-turned entrance, a second entrance with way down to the river, the quarry-ditch inside, and the scarping which equates with the ditch. He cut through the bank and describes its make-up. He found hearths and pottery, which he describes in detail, comparing the latter with pottery from Pommiers (Aisne) and Puy d'Issolud. But there are no drawings, pls. I and II being photographs. Figs. 1-3 are adequate sketch-plans; fig. 1 showing the position of the camp; fig. 2 the camp and in-turned entrance; and fig. 3 the cut through the rampart showing its make-up. A useful report. (Our no. 62.)

PRAROND, E. (1) *Topographie d'Abbeville* (1854). (2) *Histoire des cinq villes* (1861).

The first mention of the Mont Caubert, Camp de César, near Abbeville, which the author thought to be Gaulish. (Our no. 76.)

PULLIGNY, F. A. de. *L'Art préhistorique dans l'ouest de la France* (1879).

Coutil says that this is a tissue of errors as the information was not checked by the author.

RAISON. *Soc. acad. des sciences, arts, belles-lettres, agric. et ind. de St. Quentin* (1839), p. 107. 'Rapport sur plusieurs mémos . . . sur les fouilles de Vermand.'

Not consulted. (Our no. 91.)

RENET, P. R. C. *Le Mont César de Bailleul-sur-Thérain* (Bar-le-Duc, 1879).

A description of the Gaulish and Roman finds from the excavation of a tumulus within the banks carried out by Isidore Berton, with illustrations which include a La Tène II brooch and Gaulish coins of the Caleti, Carnutes, Senones, Educes, and Bellovaci. (Our no. 81.)

RICE HOLMES, T. See HOLMES, T. Rice.

ROMAINS, G. *B.S.N.E.P.* xiii (1905), 43. 'Compte rendu du 22 octobre 1905, au Camp de Sandouville.'

Of no value. (Our no. 65.)

ROSENZWEIG, L. *Répertoire archéologique de la France, département du Morbihan* (1863).

This inventory is in the same series as the Abbé Cochet's *Répertoire de la Seine-Inférieure*, but compares unfavourably with it. The index is by communes only and the information is grouped as Celtic, Roman, and Medieval, hill-forts being classed as Roman. The notes on each site are very brief and do not give the exact location or description.

Sauzon, Belle-Île-en-Mer, p. 17. (Our no. 4.)

Plouay 'à Kernouen', p. 39. (Our no. 12.)

Camp des Romains, Kervédan, Île de Groix, p. 55. (Our no. 16.)

Nostang, Port Louis, p. 59. (Our no. 14.)

Plouhinec, Port Louis, p. 61. (Our no. 15.)

Pointe de Castennec, Bieuzy, Baud, p. 69 (doubtful reference). (Our no. 11.)

Castel Finans, St. Aignan, Cléguérec, p. 79. (Our no. 9.)

Kercastel, Langonnet, Gourin, p. 95. (Our no. 10.)

Camp de Lezcouëts, Guégons, Josselin, p. 130. (Our no. 8.)

Camp du Château Blanc, Plumelec, St. Jean Brévelay, p. 162. (Our no. 7.)

Pencastel, Arzon, Sarzeau, p. 216. (Our no. 2.)

Ker Nevé, St. Avé, Vannes, p. 221. (Our no. 6.)

SAUVAGE, R. N. *C.A.F.*, LXXV, *Caen*, 1908, ii, 502-15. 'La Basse Normandie gallo-romaine.'

In Note (3), p. 514, Sauvage reports the partial destruction at the north-east end of the St. Désir earthwork. This showed the rampart to have a flint core held in place by vertical and horizontal logs held together by iron nails. (Our no. 56.)

SAVY. *C.A.F.*, XXII, *Châlons-sur-Marne*, 1855, pp. 203-32. 'Notices sur les chemins, camps et tumulus romains du département de la Marne.'

On p. 224 the author gives a brief description of the La Cheppe earthworks and their situation. (Our p. 13.)

SÉGUIN. *Revue de l'Avranchin*, xx, no. 182 (1922), 49.

Survey, with rough plan, of Le Petit Celland, carried out by the author. (Our no. 43.)

SERRET. *Bull. Soc. archéol. du Finistère*, xii (1885), 251-2. 'Note relative au prétendu camp vitrifié de Beg-ar-C'hastel.'

The author describes the camp's situation and high rampart, but denies that the rampart is vitrified. (Our no. 19.)

SEVRAY, H. de. *Bull. de la Soc. hist. et archéol. de l'Orne*, ii (1883), 120-6 and plan. 'Le Camp de César de Montmerrey.'

A brief description of the site, its situation, shape, area, and ramparts, with a useless map. The author records that in the making of a cutting for a road bronze bracelets, glass beads, a Roman coin, and querns were found. He argues that the camp was constructed by the Romans. (Our no. 58.)

TERNYNCK, A. *Mém. Soc. des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, v (1839-40), 209-32.

A diffuse note on various antiquities of the region. On p. 220, under 'Roman', there is a vague description of the earthworks near Etrun alleged by the author to have been occupied by Julius Caesar. (Our no. 93.)

THREIPLAND, L. Murray. *Arch. Journ.* c (1943), 128. 'Excavations in Brittany, Spring 1939.'

Camp de César, Kervédan, Île-de-Groix, p. 129. (Our no. 16.)

Vieux Passage, Plouhinec, p. 138. (Our no. 15.)

Pointe du Vieux Château, Belle-Île-en-Mer, p. 141. (Our no. 4.)

TIRARD. *B.S.A.N.* xvi (1892), 167 and 192. 'Recherches sur les travaux militaires du littoral du Calvados.'

No information.

VALETTE, L. *B.S.P.F.* iv (1907), 405.

Fig. 3, a plan sent in by the author, though very small, shows the situation of 'Le Catelain de Hottot, Les Bagnes (Calvados)' (Camp des Anglais, Hottot), with regard to the River La Sendles and tributary stream; also gives a tiny profile. (Our no. 52.)

VAUVILLÉ, O. (1) *M.S.A.F.* lii (1891), 77-143. 'Notes sur quelques enceintes anciennes du département de la Somme et de la Seine-Inférieure.'

#### *Somme*

Camp de César, Tirancourt, pp. 77-84, pl. I plan. (Our no. 79.)

Camp de César, l'Étoile, pp. 85-90, 103-6, pl. II plan. (Our no. 78.)

Camp de César, Liencourt, pp. 90-101, 106-7, pl. III plan. (Our no. 77.)

Camp de César, Mont Caubert, pp. 102-3. (Our no. 76.)

#### *Seine-Inférieure*

Cité de Limes, Bracquemont, pp. 108-33, pl. IV plan. (Our no. 73.)

Camp du Canada, Fécamp, pp. 133-42, pl. V plan. (Our no. 71.)

(2) *M.S.A.F.* I (1889), 295-320.

Camp de César, St. Thomas (Aisne), p. 295, pls. II and III. (Our no. 89.)

Le Châtelet, Montigny-l'Engrain (Aisne), p. 314, pl. V. (Our no. 84.)

(3) *M.S.A.F.* lxxv (1906), 45-90, figs. I and II, plans and sections. *Oppidum* of Pommiers (Aisne). (Our no. 86.)

(4) *M.S.A.F.* lxxvi (1907), 126; pottery and small finds. *Oppidum* of Pommiers (Aisne). (Our no. 86.)

- (5) *M.S.A.F.* lxxvii (1908), 216-30, fig. 1 plan and section.  
Camp de César, Muret-et-Crouttes (Aisne), figs. 1 and 2 plans. (Our no. 87.)
- (6) *M.S.A.F.* lxxviii (1909), 160-84, figs. 1 and 2 plans.  
Vieux Moulin, St. Pierre-en-Chastre (Aisne). (Our no. 83.)
- (7) *M.S.A.F.* lxxix (1910), 173-93, figs., plans and sections.  
Camp de la Cheppe, Ambleny (Aisne). (Our no. 85.)
- (8) *C.A.F.* liv (1887), 153, plans and sections.  
Camp de Pommiers (amplified repeat of (3)). (Our no. 86.)
- (9) *Bull. et mém. Soc. d'anthropologie de Paris*, 5 series, i (1900), 15.  
Brief note on 32 Gaulish coins from Ambleny (Aisne). (Our no. 85.)
- (10) *Bull. de la Soc. archéol., hist. et scient. de Soissons*, ix (1899), pp. 128-44.  
An earlier version of (7) with plans and sections. (Our no. 85.)

The above reports are the result of excavations undertaken by the author in collaboration with General de la Noë to determine the nature of certain earthworks. The work was largely financed by the Ministère d'Instruction Publique. His sections and plans of earthworks, huts, etc., are schematic and often inadequate, but his descriptions of the situation of the hill-forts and of their defences are more detailed. In general his notes are more correct than earlier or contemporary accounts and are amplified by cuttings made at various points showing features not visible on the ground. These he carefully records though he may ignore others in error, e.g. the in-turned entrances at Fécamp and the Cité de Limes, which he omits because he did not consider them to be original. Although his descriptions of small finds and pottery are summary and lack illustration, he records the depths at which finds were made, and deduces from these the age of the earthworks, recognizing the medieval date of certain features included in the earlier earthworks, and the Gaulish origin of the latter. His information is set down in an orderly manner and altogether his reports show a more scientific approach to the problems of the hill-forts than is found in contemporary or even later works.

VIELLARD ET PINSARD. *B.S.A.P.* xv (1883-5), 18. 'Notes sur le pré d'Acon, Tirancourt.'  
No information. (Our no. 79.)

VIMONT. *Les Monuments historiques du Menil Glaise et de La Courbe*.  
Not consulted. (Our no. 57.)

VITET, L. *Histoire de Dieppe*.  
Not consulted. (Our no. 73.)

WAHL, G. Achenbach. *Recherches sur l'origine du Camp de Nucourt, etc.* (1879), pp. 1-60. 'Origine vraisemblable du camp de Bailleul-sur-Thérain', pp. 41-48.

This adds nothing to previous descriptions of the site and the writer merely tries to prove that the earthworks were put up by the quaestor M. Crassus and hastily abandoned on the revolt of the Eburones. He mentions Loisel, *Mémoires du Beauvoisis*, as alleging that it was the scene of the rising of the Bellovaci against Caesar. (Our no. 81.)

WOILLET, E. *Répertoire archéologique de la France, département de l'Oise* (1872).

Of the same series as Cochet's *Répertoire de la Seine-Inférieure*. Under Bailleul-sur-Thérain the author enumerates objects of Roman age found on the Mont César, but does not describe the site itself. (Our no. 81.)

## APPENDIX

### MURI GALLICI

By M. AYLWIN COTTON, O.B.E., F.S.A.

A *murus Gallicus* is a special type of defence work as described by Caesar in the *Commentaries*,<sup>1</sup> apropos of his siege in 52 B.C. of Avaricum (Bourges). He defines very precisely the rampart construction which he considered typical of the Gauls:

'All Gallic walls are, as a rule, of the following pattern. Balks are laid on the ground at equal intervals of two feet throughout the length of the wall and at right angles thereto. These are made fast on the inside and banked up with a quantity of earth, while the intervals above mentioned are stopped up on the front side with big stones. When these balks have been laid and clamped together a second course is added above, in such fashion that the same interval as before is kept, and the balks do not touch one another, but each is tightly held at a like space apart by the interposition of single stones. So the whole structure is knit together stage by stage until the proper height of wall is completed. This work is not unsightly in appearance and variety, with alternate balks and stones which keep their proper courses in straight lines; and it is eminently suitable for the practical defence of cities, since the stone protects from fire and the timber from battery, for with continuous balks generally forty feet long made fast on the inside it can neither be breached nor pulled to pieces.'<sup>2</sup>

The essential features therefore of a Caesarian *murus Gallicus* are:

- (i) A timber framework of transverse and longitudinal timbers which are fastened at their points of intersection.
- (ii) Outer and sometimes inner dry-stone revetting walls of which the outer are certainly penetrated by the projection of the transverse timbers.
- (iii) A core filled with rubble, stones, and earth.

The first recognition of a *murus Gallicus* by excavation was in 1868. Castagné,<sup>3</sup> then chief road-surveyor for the Department of Lot, excavated the *oppidum* of Murcens, near Cahors (pp. 183-6). It is noteworthy that his first description of the defences of this site, which agreed closely with that of a Caesarian *murus Gallicus*, was made without his being aware of Caesar's text. In his later accounts he was aware of this analogy and added that this type of fortification was not peculiar to France,<sup>4</sup> but was found also in Dacia. When Trajan conquered Dacia in A.D. 101-6, the Dacian strongholds must have had similar defences, as one of the reliefs on Trajan's column depicted Roman soldiers conferring outside one built in somewhat similar fashion.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Bello Gallico*, vii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> This translation is from the Loeb edition (1917). The text is: 'Muri autem omnes Gallici hac fere forma sunt. Trabes derectae perpetuae in longitudinem paribus intervallis, distantes inter se binos pedes, in solo collocantur. Hae revinciuntur introrsus et multo aggere vestiuntur: ea autem, quae diximus, intervalla grandibus in fronte saxis effarciuntur. His collocatis et coagmentatis alius insuper ordo additur, ut idem illud intervallum servetur neque inter se contingant trabes, sed paribus intermissae spatiis singulae singulis saxis interiectis arte contineantur. Sic deinceps omne opus contextitur, dum iusta muri altitudo expleatur. Hoc cum in speciem varietatemque opus deforme non est alternis trabibus ac saxis, quae rectis

lineis suos ordines servant, tum ad utilitatem et defensionem urbium summam habet opportunitatem, quod et ab incendio lapis et ab ariete materia defendit, quae perpetuis trabibus pedes quadragenos plerumque introrsus revincta neque perumpi neque distrahi potest.'

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin Monumental*, xxiv (4<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1868), 662-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Congrès Archéologique de France* (41<sup>e</sup> sess., Agen et Toulouse) (1874), 448.

<sup>5</sup> Reinach, S., *Répertoire de reliefs Grecs et Romains. I. Les Ensembles* (1909), 360, for line drawings; Conrad Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traiansäule* (1896-1900), cxiii, for reliefs. See also I. A. Richmond, 'Trajan's Army on Trajan's Column', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xiii (1935), 27 and

A wall of this construction had, however, already been observed and described by de Caumont in 1852 at Vertault,<sup>1</sup> but he had not then realized its significance.

The first general study of *muri Gallici* appears to be that of General de la Noë in 1887.<sup>2</sup> The sites then excavated were Murcens, Bibracte (Mont Beuvray), and Boviolles. He thought that the Gaulish fortress or *oppidum*, as known from passages in the *Commentaries*, had appeared in history at the moment of the conquest of Gaul, had played an ephemeral role, and had soon disappeared with the independence of the people it was designed to safeguard. By various calculations he concluded that the Gauls had had some 1,200 *oppida*. These were fortified towns and not places of refuge, which would be in secret and hidden places. The population might, however, use these towns in times of danger as they were large in area. Their sites were so chosen that they were easily defended. In general they were enclosures with a single defence. Internal citadels and outworks had not been demonstrated. Archaeology was fortunate in possessing Caesar's description of these defences. That they were in existence in his time was certain, but it could not be shown how much earlier they had been used. Out of twenty *oppida* mentioned in the *Commentaries*, eleven were described as having a wall. The excavations at Mont Beuvray, Murcens, and Boviolles showed that their walls agreed closely with Caesar's description. He thought that when Caesar noted how efficacious this method of building in wood and stone was as a defence against the battering-ram, it did not of necessity mean that these defences had been built for that purpose, as until the arrival of the Romans this weapon was not known in Gaul. This result was fortuitous: the walls had more likely been designed to withstand sapping and scaling. He included in his list of Gaulish *oppida* several sites which he knew did not possess a timber-laced rampart, but he explained this by saying that it was the method preferred by the Gauls when they had any choice in the matter.

Thirteen years later Young,<sup>3</sup> in 1890-1, published his account of the rampart at Burghead, Morayshire, Scotland, which he recognized as having a nailed timber-framework and as a site then unique in the British Isles.

In 1897 Bertrand<sup>4</sup> published a list of *oppida* in Central France and one in Switzerland which had ramparts known to contain iron nails. He used a primitive distribution map<sup>5</sup> to support a hypothesis that there was in central Gaul, at the beginning of the second half of the fourth century B.C., a central unifying Celtic power in spite of the everlasting inter-tribal quarrels. Quoting de la Noë on the unified character of these defences, he went so far as to suggest that there then existed among the Gauls 'something like an architectural manual or, what comes to the same thing, a centralized teaching of military architecture'. He overcame any dating problems by stating that if this type of construction had been of more recent date Caesar would certainly have said so, and that the system was not invented for the needs of defence in the year 58 B.C. but was a continuation of an existing state of affairs.<sup>6</sup>

In 1914 Déchelette<sup>7</sup> summarized the information available on *muri Gallici*. He reached the following conclusions:

- (i) That whilst camps of this type found outside France had stone and timber ramparts, they

36-40, where different forms of Dacian defences are illustrated and discussed, with a commentary on the relief depicting the defences of Sarmizegethusa, the Dacian capital. He notes (p. 37) how many devices common to the Romans appear at this fortress. The reliefs suggest, at this later date, an elaboration of the simpler Gaulish type prevalent in Caesar's time. Of especial interest is Richmond's interpretation of the three machines standing outside the defence as very large hammers or pounders, each mounted on a chassis, used perhaps in the construction of the Dacian wall to ram the core

tightly in its frame of stone and wood (pp. 37-40).

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin Monumental*, xviii (viii, 2<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1852), 241-2. See also *ibid.* xxxiv (iv, 4<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1868), 659-62.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive* (1887), 119 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, xxv (1890-1), 435-47.

<sup>4</sup> *La Religion des gaulois* (1897), 247.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxiv.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 246.

<sup>7</sup> *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 491-500.

differed in some respects from the French examples. The use of iron nails was specific to the Gallic walls and above all to those of central France. In the German camps (e.g. Altkönig)<sup>1</sup> the timbers were simply mortised. Attributing the camps in his list, in general, to the La Tène III period, he pointed out that central Gaul was then one of the principal districts of the iron-working industry and was richly wooded. In areas less rich in iron ore the costly nails were dispensed with, and in areas where stone was more readily available than was timber other methods of increasing the solidity and resistance of the walls were employed. In these areas the ramparts were built entirely of stone with internal faced revetments and were of the 'stepped-rampart' or *murus duplex* type.

- (ii) That many of the vitrified forts or calcined camps found in France or elsewhere might have ramparts built in wood and stone which were destroyed by fire.
- (iii) That the construction method in which a masonry of dry stones or bricks was consolidated by a timber-framework was used in Greek countries from an early date and that it was a method that might well have been invented spontaneously in different areas.
- (iv) That no camps with this type of fortification were known to exist within the boundaries of the *Provincia Romana*.

In 1935 Viré,<sup>2</sup> when President of the French 'Commission d'Études des Enceintes Pré-historiques et Fortifications Anhistoriques', noted that the examples studied in Gaul seemed to belong to the La Tène epoch. At Murcens and l'Impèrnal the *murus Gallicus* defences succeeded earlier calcined ramparts of Hallstatt date. From Béarn to the Franche-Comté, crossing l'Agenais, le Quercy, l'Auvergne, and la Bourgogne, there stretched a string of Gaulish *oppida*, reconstructed or built towards the second century B.C. in order to resist the menace of the Romans. The latter, by wily intrigues as much as by force of arms, following the defeat of the Allobroges and the Arverni in 121 B.C., had then completed the conquest of all southern Gaul and had founded the *Provincia Romana*. The nearest neighbours of this province, who were most menaced, were in a state of defence and built these fortresses. He stressed the need for systematic excavation of the known sites, irrespective of the resuscitation of the literary quarrels which had pervaded the field for so long in the many attempts to link these sites with names drawn from Caesar's *Commentaries*. Such exploration would enhance immeasurably the knowledge of the prehistory and protohistory of Gaul.

In spite of the work of the Commission and the pleadings of M. Viré, the subject seems to have received but little attention in France in recent years. In the section on Gaulish *oppida* in Grenier's recent study of Gaul nothing new is added, and no more composite list of camps with nailed *murus Gallicus* ramparts has been traced than that of Déchelette of 1914.

Excavations in Germany in the years 1936-9, however, added a new chapter to this study. Before that date a number of camps in Germany had been described as having a wall of *murus Gallicus* build but, as Déchelette noted, the use of a nailed timber-framework was believed to be confined to France, and no distinction was made between the type of timber-framework known in these German ramparts and those of the classic French sites. In 1936-7 the work of Dehn at the Ring of Otzenhausen (see pp. 210-12) showed that Germany also had a camp with a nailed timber-framework. He also showed that comparable ramparts were known at Manching (see pp. 213 f.) and Tarodunum (see p. 212).<sup>3</sup>

In 1938-9 the Wheeler Expedition to north-western France, when working on the Iron Age camps in that region, found by excavation two new examples of nailed *murus Gallicus* defences at

<sup>1</sup> Altkönig does not possess a nailed timber-framework.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.P.F.* xxxii (1935), 397 and 628-9.

<sup>3</sup> For a recent survey of Caesar's references to Gaulish

sites, see Dehn, 'Die gallischen "Oppida" bei Cäsar', *Saalburg-Jahrbuch*, x (1951), 36-49.



Huelgoat (see pp. 24 ff.) and Le Petit Celland (see pp. 38 ff.). Following these new discoveries, Sir Mortimer Wheeler suggested that the information now available on camps with this distinctive type of defensive construction and their distribution merited a fresh study of the subject. Initially, only camps with a defence in which there is a *nailed* timber-laced rampart, as defined by Caesar, are considered. This particular form of timber-lacing has been called here the 'Avaricum' type.

*Data on Camps with 'Avaricum'-type Timber-laced Ramparts<sup>1</sup>*

Twenty-four camps have been traced in which a nailed 'Avaricum'-type timber-framework has been proved to exist in part at least of their defences. Seven camps are listed which are possible, but unconfirmed, examples of this type of defence,<sup>2</sup> and one tumulus is recorded which may perhaps contain a wall of this construction. These sites are:

FRANCE

*Oppida of the Segusiavi. Loire.*

Le Crêt Châtelard, St. Marcel-de-Félines, near Chassenay.

Le Palais à Essalois (or La Ruthe), Chambles.

Le Châtelard de Chazi (or Crêt Châtelard), St. Georges-de-Baroille.

L'Oppidum de Jœuvres, St. Maurice-sur-Loire. (An unconfirmed example.)

*Oppida of the Lemovices. Corrèze and Haute Vienne.*

Le Puy du Tour, Monceaux, Corrèze.

L'Oppidum de Villejoubert (or Camp de César), St. Denis-des-Murs, St. Léonard, Haute Vienne.

*Oppida of the Cadurci. Lot.*

Murcens (or Murceint), Cras, near Cahors.

L'Impernal, Luzech.

*Oppidum of the Aedui. Saône-et-Loire and Nièvre.*

Bibracte, Mont Beuvray, St. Léger-sous-Beuvray.

*Oppidum of the Mandubii. Côte d'Or.*

Alesia, Alise-Sainte-Reine.

*Oppida of the Lingones. Côte d'Or.*

Vertault (*Vertillum* or *Landunum*), near Laignes, Châtillon-sur-Seine.

Mont Lassois (or Montagne St. Marcel), near Vix.

*Oppidum of the Bituriges. Cher.*

Avaricum, Bourges.

*Oppidum of the Pictones. Vienne.*

Le Camp de Cornouin, Lussac-les-Châteaux, Montmorillon.

*Oppidum of the Andes. Maine-et-Loire.*

Le Camp (or Oppidum) de la Ségourie, Fief-Sauvin, Cholet.

<sup>1</sup> For notes on each camp see pp. 178 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The *oppidum* of Židovar (see p. 215) has not been in-

cluded as there is as yet insufficient evidence on its rampart structure.

*Oppidum of the Osismii. Finistère.*

Le Camp d'Artus (or Camp d'Arthur), Huelgoat.

*Oppidum of the Unelli or Venelli. Manche.*

Le Châtelier, Le Petit Celland, near Avranches.

*Oppida of the Lexovii. Calvados.*

Le Camp de Castellier, St. Désir, Lisieux.

La Burette, Banville, Ryes. (An unconfirmed example.)

*Oppidum of the Leuci. Meuse.*

Mont Châtel (or Mont Châté, Camp de Naix, Oppidum of Boviolles), Boviolles, Naix, near Void, Commentry.

*Oppidum of the Suessiones. Aisne.*

Le Châtelet, Montigny l'Engrain, near Vic-sur-Aisne.

*Oppidum perhaps of the Petrocorii. Dordogne.*

Le Camp de César (or Camp de Coulounieix, or Camp de Périgueux), Coulounieix, near Périgueux. (An unconfirmed example.)

*Oppidum perhaps of the Namnetes. Loire-Inférieure.*

Vue. (An unconfirmed example.)

*Oppida perhaps of the Ambibarii. Ille-et-Vilaine.*

L'Oppidum de Poulailier, Landéan, Fougères.

La Pointe du Meinga (or Ville des Mues), St. Coulomb, Cancale. (Both are unconfirmed examples.)

*Oppidum perhaps of the Nervii. Nord.*

Le Câtelet (or Camp de César), Avesnelles, Flaumont-Wandrechies, near Avesnes. (An unconfirmed example.)

The Tumulus of Bois Vert, Lavilleuve, Côte d'Or. (Unconfirmed.)

## BELGIUM

*Oppidum perhaps of the Aduatuci.*

Hastédon, near Namur.

## GERMANY

*Oppidum of the Treveri. Rhine Province.*

The Ring of Otzenhausen, near Hermeskeil, Hunsrück.

*Oppidum of the Raurici. Baden Province.*

Tarodunum, Zarten, near Freiburg-im-Breisgau.

*Oppidum of the Vindelici. Bavaria.*

Manching, Ingolstadt.

## SWITZERLAND

*Oppidum perhaps of the Raurici. Berne Canton.*

Mont Terri, Cornol, near Porrentruy (or Pruntrut).

*Oppidum perhaps of the Helvetii. Berne Canton.*

The Engehalbinsel, Berne.

SCOTLAND

*Oppidum of an unknown Celtic tribe. Morayshire.*

Burghead.

*Distribution* (Fig. 35)

These camps are therefore distributed as follows: 19 certain and 7 probable examples in France, 1 perhaps in Belgium, 3 in Germany, 2 reasonably certain examples in Switzerland, and 1 in Scotland. The French examples are all outside the *Provincia Romana*, are mainly in *Gallia Comata*, but thin out in *Gallia Belgica*. Two of the German examples and the Swiss examples are also in Gaulish territory, whilst Manching in Bavaria and Burghead in Scotland are outliers. The majority of the sites have been found to be Celtic tribal centres.

*Extent of excavation*

The extent to which these sites have been excavated or explored varies considerably. The earliest excavation in which a *muris Gallicus* was recognized is usually cited as that of Castagné at Murcens in 1868. De Caumont, however, pointed out that he had described and published a comparable defence at Vertault in 1852. But only in 1868 at either site was it recognized that the ramparts were built in the manner described by Caesar at Avaricum as typical of the Gaulish *oppida*. Vertault has been excavated at varying times since 1884 by the Société Archéologique du Châtillonnais, but no new account of the Gaulish defence has been traced; and at Murcens also new trenches have been cut recently but details of this work do not as yet seem to have been published.

The next site at which a *muris Gallicus* was found was Bibracte. In 1865 Garenne and d'Aboville made exploratory trenches on Mont Beuvray, and d'Aboville discovered the first iron nail from the rampart and the first Gaulish silver coin. Bulliot examined the rampart and main defence in 1867-8. Except for a temporary exposure of the wall face, this rampart has not been re-excavated. The interior of the site was excavated on a large scale by Bulliot from 1867 to 1895 and by Déchelette from 1897 to 1901.

In 1871 le Bœuf dug a trench parallel to the rampart of the Camp de la Ségourie and recognized that it was of *muris Gallicus* build. Otherwise this camp would appear to be unexcavated, and in 1910 Desmazières commented that nothing remained of the defences.

Following his work at Murcens, Castagné excavated l'Impérial in 1872. He described the *muris Gallicus* very thoroughly. The site was re-excavated by Viré in 1913 and 1918-22 and he found that the defences were of three periods: a calcined rampart of Hallstatt date, a *muris Gallicus* built in front of and on the debris of the calcined rampart, and a later 'barbarous' wall built on top of the calcined rampart.

Between 1872 and 1887 Chaverondier and Durand were working at the Crêt Châtelard, St. Marcel-de-Félines. Numerous pits in the interior were excavated and the *muris Gallicus* rampart was discovered. Earlier exploration of the site by Micol in 1848, and later work by Déchelette in 1895, were confined to emptying pits.

In 1877 *muris Gallicus* ramparts were found at two new sites—Boviolles and St. Désir. At Boviolles Maxe-Werly, inspired by Castagné's work, examined the defences and was satisfied that they belonged to this series, but his work was limited in extent. The work of de Neuville and the Société Historique de Lisieux at St. Désir in 1877 seems to have been overlooked, as this site was omitted from later lists of *muri Gallici*. In a small exploration of the site the rampart was

recognized as being of nailed timber-laced form (a fact which de Caumont had reported as early as 1831), but, owing to the scarcity of stone in the area, the rampart was built of marl.

Essalois would appear to have been explored rather than excavated, but a *muris Gallicus* was found there, perhaps by de Thiollier in 1880, although this is not clear. Durand reported in 1885

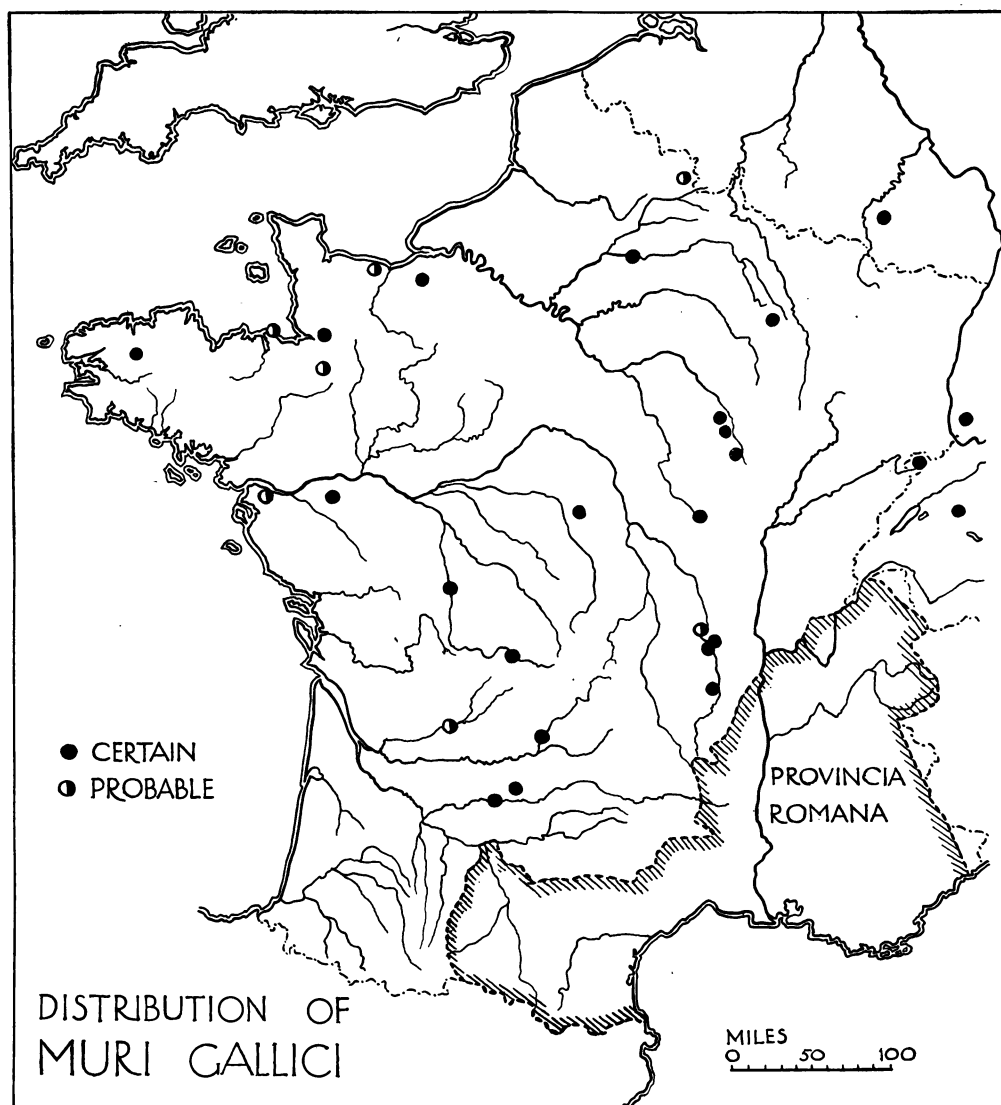


FIG. 35

that the Châtelard de Châzi at St. Georges-de-Baroille also appeared to have a *muris Gallicus* defence. Vauvillé trenched the defences of Le Châtelet at Montigny l'Engrain in 1887 and claimed that he had found evidence, supplementing that of earlier date, that the defences were of this category.

Young's excavation of the inner rampart at Burghead, Scotland, in 1890-3 is the only occasion

on which a rampart of this type has been excavated in the British Isles. Although it was discovered by the Elgin Literary and Scientific Society in 1861 that this defence consisted of logs and stones, at that time, with only de Caumont's description of Vertault to serve as a precedent, the true nature of the defence was not appreciated. Young was able to quote Castagné's conclusions in his account of the structure and to compare it with the known French sites.

Fabricius and Leonhard discovered nails in the entrance of Tarodunum in 1901 but did not appreciate their significance.

Bombal's work at the Puy-du-Tour from 1906 to 1911 added another site to the list, and in 1911 Espérandieu uncovered a section of the *murus Gallicus* of Alesia. That a Gaulish defence existed at this site had been known since its partial demolition when the statue of Vercingetorix was erected before 1866, but it does not appear to have been excavated at that time. The interior of Alesia has been excavated at varying dates throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but only from 1910 onwards does it appear that much work was done, by Toutain and Espérandieu, on the Gaulish occupation.

In 1920 and 1923-4 Delage and Gorceix discovered a further site at Villejoubert, and in 1924 Delage examined a break in the defences of the Camp de Cornouin and found that it too belonged to this series.

In 1936-7 Dehn's work at the Ring of Otzenhausen demonstrated for the first time that a nailed timber-framework existed in Germany.

Finally, two new sites to add to the list were discovered by Wheeler in 1938—Huelgoat and Le Petit Celland. With the exception of exploratory work by le Héricher in 1826 at the latter, in which the nature of the defences was not recognized, both sites were previously unexcavated. In 1938 Wagner excavated at Manching and proved that this site also had a nailed timber-framework.

At Avaricum, the type site of Caesar's description, the Gaulish defences have yet to be discovered and their exact position is a controversial subject.

#### *Area and subsoil*

The areas enclosed by the defences of these camps were presumably conditioned by the extent of defendable ground on the site chosen and the size of the population needing to use them as an *oppidum* or as a place of refuge. In the largest camps the defended area varies from 135 to 350 hectares, e.g. Villejoubert (350), Tarodunum (190-200), St. Désir (153-162), Murcens (150), and Bibracte (135). In smaller camps an area of some 16-50 hectares was defended, e.g. Boviolles (50), Huelgoat (c. 30.5), St. Marcel-de-Félines (25), Le Petit Celland (c. 19.5), Poulailier (c. 18.5), Pointe du Meinga (c. 16.2), and l'Impérial (c. 16). In the smallest camps only an area of at most 10 hectares was defended, e.g. the Camp de Cornouin (c. 10), the Ring of Otzenhausen (c. 10), Montigny l'Engrain (8.8), St. Georges-de-Baroille (7.8), Banville (2.2), and la Ségourie (2).

The subsoil of these sites has no special significance. Whereas many are sited in stony country (e.g. Murcens and l'Impérial on Jurassic limestone, the Pointe du Meinga on mica schist and gneiss, Huelgoat, Poulailier, and Bibracte on granite or granulite, and the Ring of Otzenhausen on quartzite), others are on chalk (e.g. Banville) or on lowland marshy sites (e.g. Manching and Avaricum). If suitable stone was not available it was imported or a substitute was used (e.g. the marl sods of Montigny l'Engrain). Both area and subsoil appear to be those existing in the site best suited for defence otherwise in each tribal centre.

#### *The Form of the Camps*

(i) *Promontory-forts*. In form this series of camps has many features in common. Most are situated on sites which are defended on more than one side by strong natural features and, in general, the

*murus Gallicus* was reserved for sides which were approachable by the enemy. Promontory-forts, easily accessible across their isthmus, were defended only by a *murus Gallicus* across that isthmus (e.g. La Ségourie, with a chevron-shaped bank; Alesia, Vertault, and St. Georges-de-Baroille, in so far as their plans are known; and Villejoubert and Banville, which have two cross-ramparts). Owing to inadequate knowledge of the plans, some of these sites may belong to a second group in which the *murus Gallicus* defence was reserved for the isthmus, whilst the other sides of the promontory were defended by a dry-stone non-timbered wall. Murcens, l'Impernal, Boviolles, and the Camp de Cornouin appear to have defences of this type. Promontory-forts in which the natural escarpments were not so steep or unapproachable have a single *murus Gallicus* and ditch on all sides, usually placed below the plateau top so that a level platform can be cut on which to site the wall. St. Marcel-de-Félines and Montigny l'Engrain are typical examples. The Puy-du-Tour and Essalois may also belong to this category, and the Petit Celland has an outer ditch and supplementary outworks on its south.

(ii) *Plateau- or contour-forts*. Other sites are best described as plateau- or contour-forts with a single encircling *murus Gallicus* which again tends to be sited below the top of the crest. This is especially obvious at Bibracte. Huelgoat is a multivallate fort whose main encircling rampart was of *murus Gallicus* build, and the Ring of Otzenhausen has a second defence on two sides. At Poulailier there is a single encircling bank and ditch.

(iii) *Headland-forts*. Two headland-forts are known. Burghead has triple ramparts across the isthmus, of which the innermost is of *murus Gallicus* build, and it may have had an encircling wall on the other three sides. The camp was divided by a cross-rampart. The Pointe du Meinga is a headland-fort with a bank across the isthmus.

(iv) *Lowland sites*. Avaricum and Manching are situated in lowland areas defended by marshes and streams.

#### *Constructional details of muri Gallici*

(i) *Transverse timbers*. In Caesar's description of the wall at Avaricum transverse timbers were laid on the ground at equal intervals of 2 ft. and at right angles to the line of the wall. The upper courses were placed at regular intervals, separated by stones. Not all the excavated examples of this type of wall have the transverse timbers laid flat on the natural soil. When the wall was sited on a slope, a levelled platform was cut or built up on which they are laid so that the lowest course is raised above the ground externally. The height above the natural soil varies therefore with the slope of the ground (e.g. Manching (2 m.), Villejoubert (1.5 m.), l'Impernal (0.6 m.), St. Marcel-de-Félines (0.4–0.5 m.), Alesia (0.3 m.), and Boviolles (0.2 m.)). Levelled platforms were noted at l'Impernal, Villejoubert, Burghead (of imported rolled beach-stones), and Bibracte (where the hollows in the levelled rock were filled with stones and clay). At Bibracte the levelled platform was built out over part of the berm.

The intervals between each transverse timber vary as they are laid to conform with variations in the wall. They are, however, fairly consistent in any one site (e.g. Murcens (2.7 m.), l'Impernal (2 m.), Alesia (1.5 m.), St. Marcel-de-Félines (1–1.5 m.), Huelgoat (1–1.3 m. or 3½–4½ ft.), Manching and Boviolles (1 m.), St. Désir and Camp de la Ségourie (0.6 m.), Villejoubert (0.4 m.), and Burghead (0.2 m. or 9 in.)). The interval between the superimposed courses of transverse beams also varies (e.g. Murcens (1.3 m.), Burghead (0.9 m. or 3 ft.), Boviolles (0.4 m.), and l'Impernal 0.3–0.4 m.)). In arrangement, the transverse beams can alternate or be directly superimposed. Both arrangements were found in the wall of Murcens. Whilst they normally penetrate the external facing wall only, an exception was noted at Burghead where they penetrated only the inner facing wall.

In only one instance has it been possible to ascertain with certainty the original height of a

*murus Gallicus*. At Huelgoat, where in the northern part the rampart was slightly reinforced at the period of curtailment of the camp, the *murus Gallicus* was preserved beneath the additional material and stood 12 ft. high.

Whether the transverse timbers were used as round logs or were hewn and squared has been left an open question. Castagné imagined that the transverse beams projected for 15–20 cm. beyond the external face of the wall and were rounded to withstand the battering-ram, but this view is controversial. The most usual measurement for the dimensions of the beam-holes left on the facing wall by the decay of the transverse beams is 0.3 × 0.35 m. or 0.3 m. square. Bulliot stressed the irregularity and inconsistency at Bibracte (and Castagné found variations at Murcens) of the details of the timber-framework, but Bulliot appears to be the only excavator who claims to have found diagonal timbers in this framework as well as transverse and longitudinal ones. Déchelette was, however, sceptical about this observation.

(ii) *Longitudinal timbers*. The number of rows of longitudinal timbers used in the framework is seldom stated. Castagné found three in places at Murcens, and Bulliot, in a reconstruction of the Bibracte wall, depicts four without stating specifically that four were found. Three rows were found at Manching, and at least four at Huelgoat. The outer row has been found from 0.2 m. to 1 m. behind the outer facing wall. The intervals between the superimposed rows, varying with those of the transverse timbers, range from 0.6 to 1 m. Castagné thought that at l'Impernal the longitudinal timbers were 6–8 m. long, and at Alesia each one was nailed to four transverse timbers. In Caesar's description they were usually 40 ft. long. Burghead is again unusual in having hewn longitudinal planks 2–3 in. thick and 10 in.—1 ft. wide. The question of whether or not these timbers were mortised or half-timbered at their points of intersection with the transverse beams is again an open one, although Bulliot felt that this must be so because of the length of the nails, and Castagné states categorically that it was so.

(iii) *The iron nails*. The form of iron nail or bolt used to join the timber-framework is remarkably constant. They are quadrangular in section and headless with a flattened top, and taper to a point. More rarely they have a round section. They vary in length from site to site, and on the same site, between 14 cm. and 55 cm., but average about 20–25 cm. Espérandieu's theory that they were used also to tie the beams to the masonry (see p. 197) does not appear to have been pursued, although Viré, when working at l'Impernal, looked for nails in the positions postulated by Espérandieu and did find a few.

(iv) *The external facing walls*. At Avaricum Caesar described the wall as having the intervals between the transverse timbers stopped up on the front side with big stones. In all the excavated examples, with one exception, a vertical external dry-built stone wall has been found. The exception is St. Désir, where it is suggested that, owing to deficiency of stone in the area, marl sods were used which have now disintegrated. Young thought that Burghead differed from the French camps because the stones of the external facing wall were dressed. This does not appear to be so. At l'Impernal they were said to be chosen, but not dressed, and at Boviolles they were undressed, but at both Bibracte and Alesia they are described as roughly worked. At the Pointe du Meinga beach-stones were used. At Bibracte the wall showed evidence of repair, especially at the entrance, and had mill-stones built into it.

(v) *The internal facing walls*. An inner revetment wall has not been found in all the camps. It was missing at Huelgoat and the Ring of Otzenhausen. At Burghead it was 3 ft. 7 in. thick and rested on the oak planks or logs which were laid on the boulder-stone foundation platform. At Murcens the wall was stepped internally in some areas to reduce its width by half and to form a platform. At l'Impernal it was not stepped, but the inner wall was backed by earth to make a 16 m. wide platform. Tarodunum also had an internal earthen ramp. At Bibracte the wall varied in width from



4.5 m. up to 7 m. in places and Bulliot thought that the wide stretches may have represented the lower parts of internal platforms.

(vi) *The core of the rampart.* The core of the rampart behind the outer facing-wall was in all cases composed of a debris thrown in to cover the timber-framework. At Murcens Castagné described a system of hand-packing with small stones against the edges of the beam-channels, but Viré was unable to confirm this in his sections. The usual make-up of the core is of earth, small stones, and rubble, often with traces of carbonized wood from the timbers. At Bibracte the core was of a sterile yellow clay from the ditch, except in areas where the wall had been repaired. Here earth with amphora sherds was found and cinerary urns had been inserted. At Alesia flat stones had been laid obliquely behind the outer wall and rested against the debris of the core. The core of the rampart at St. Désir was of yellowish-white marl. Castagné described at Murcens, under the top row of beams, a layer of yellow clay 0.25–0.35 m. thick which he thought had been placed there to keep the lower timbers dry and to protect them.

(vii) *The ditches.* A ditch, normally separated from the wall by a berm, is usual but not universal. In some cases it appears to have been dug to provide material for the core of the rampart rather than as an essential part of the defence. The dimensions of the ditches and berms vary considerably. The ditch at Huelgoat was shallow and rock-cut with a flat bottom. At the Ring of Otzenhausen it was merely an external hollow dug to provide material rather than a true ditch. At Bibracte the ditch had been dug in places down to 6 m., but was probably discontinuous.

(viii) *The entrances.* At only a few of the camps have the entrances been excavated. At Huelgoat both entrances were in-turned and the stone revetments of the flanking ramparts were reinforced with vertical posts, partly to carry the single-span gates and partly perhaps to carry a bridge or tower over the passage. At the Petit Celland the vertical reinforcing posts were 3 m. apart and the gateway was unfinished. It was destroyed violently. The Ring of Otzenhausen had an in-turned main entrance with three post-holes in the centre to support a possible gatehouse and two roadways 2–5 m. wide. At Bibracte the main entrance, or *Porte du Rebut*, was in-turned and both the main ditches had in-turned ends which reduced the width of the causeway from 19 to 7 m. Wooden rectangular towers were found outside the entrance, which had been burnt. The in-turned ends of the ramparts were of *murus Gallicus* build for the first part only and the tails were of earth and stone. The western flank was destroyed by the insertion of cinerary urns. At St. Désir the entrance is said to be of overlapping type.

(ix) *The purpose of this type of construction.* Caesar's description of Avaricum gives a contemporary reason for this distinctive type of construction. These defences he describes as eminently suitable for the defence of cities, since the stone protects from fire and the timber from battery, for, with continuous balks, generally 40 ft. long, made fast on the inside, it can neither be breached nor pulled to pieces.

#### *Gaulish huts and houses*

Foundations of Gaulish huts and houses have been found at Bibracte, Alesia, Murcens, the Puy-du-Tour, Boviolles, Jœuvres, Manching, and the Ring of Otzenhausen. The first hut to be recognized was that found by Garenne and d'Aboville at Bibracte in 1865–6. It consisted of an oval area measuring 10 × 7 m. lined with foundations of dry-stone walling. Two stones and rough paving marked the entrance. As no tiles were found, Bulliot considered that it must have had a thatched roof and that in general it may have corresponded to Strabo's description of a Gaulish hut. Déchelette thought that it was certain that most of the stone house-foundations found at Mont Beuvray did not antedate the Roman conquest, but some foundations he was inclined to class as Gaulish. These had dry-stone walls of rectangular plan with corner-stones and entrance-supports of dressed granite slabs. Some had vertical timbers incorporated in the wall-build which

was taken as evidence of Gaulish technique. The floors were of beaten clay or were coarsely paved.

At Alesia, in 1906, wattle-and-daub from hut walls was found under the Roman levels of one of the Gallo-Roman temples, and was considered to be of Gaulish origin. Work in the En Curiot area in 1910-12 showed that a Gaulish quarter in the native tradition persisted there under the Roman régime (a feature observed also at Bibracte). It contained remains of round huts with hearths founded on the natural soil, and a few rectangular excavations into the natural soil, equipped with rock-cut staircases or occasionally with laid stone stairs. Cellars were also found which had a lining wall of dry-stone build. The floors were of beaten clay and there existed a superimposed occupation-layer, 10-15 cm. thick. Some of the superficial hollows found were interpreted as being silos rather than hut foundations. There was no clear-cut division between the Gaulish and Gallo-Roman occupation of the hut-sites, a feature which was common to both Alesia and Bibracte. Some of the Gallo-Roman houses at Alesia were, however, built over cellars which had timber-and-stone walls as at Bibracte. Barbe thought that such finds as could be attributed to the earlier hut-sites were of the first century B.C.

At Murcens, Castagné described the hut-sites he found as elliptical or very occasionally square. He attempted a reconstruction of one, using as a pattern the dry-stone build of isolated huts still prevalent in the area.

At the Puy-du-Tour post-holes only were found and a hut-plan was not obtained. At Boviolles Maxe-Werly found round, oval, square, and oblong huts of different sizes with foundations of dry-stone walls and an occupation-layer on stone-paved floors. At Jœuvres a rock-cut hut-site, measuring 2-3 × 4 × 2.5 m. deep, with a dry-stone wall 0.35 m. thick, was found. Hut-sites are mentioned at Manching.

Dehn recovered the ground-plan of two huts at the Ring of Otzenhausen. The larger was a rectangular hut measuring 3.5 m. × 5.5 m. It had corner- and side-posts with the timbers still in position. Squared hewn corner-posts and soil discoloration were found, suggesting sleeper-beams. In addition a row of post-holes down the centre of the hut may have had posts which supported a ridge-pole. The second was a smaller square hut measuring 3.5 × 3.5 m. with squared posts still in the corner post-holes. No floors remained at this site.

#### *Pits*

Although the existence of pits is mentioned at a number of the camps, few descriptions differentiate between those which may be attributed to the Gaulish occupation and those which are Gallo-Roman. The chief exception is St. Marcel-de-Félines. At this camp more than 200 pits have been excavated. They were usually narrow and cylindrical but occasionally were squared or rectangular. They were described as mostly contemporary with the defences, but with fillings of different periods. Pits were found also at Essalois, and were square with rounded corners and without masonry lining.

#### *Industrial sites*

Although Bibracte had a quarter described as that of the metallurgists, and isolated hearths of potters and metallurgists were mentioned at Alesia, no examples can be selected which are described as certainly pre-conquest in date. The Gallo-Belgic kiln-site at Vertault seems to be of post-conquest date.

#### *Roads and wheel-tracks*

At Alesia the main Gaulish road is described as having wheel-tracks cut deliberately in the rock with a gauge of 1.52 m. They were 0.8 m. wide and 0.1 m. deep.

*Finds and dating evidence*

At nine at least of these camps<sup>1</sup> a post-conquest occupation has been found, but for few of them is there a clear-cut division between the finds of post-conquest date and those that might be or certainly are earlier. The finds from these camps listed below are those which appear to be of pre-conquest date. Four of the camps, which have been excavated by modern methods, have produced valuable dating evidence. In these, Huelgoat, Le Petit Celland, the Ring of Otzenhausen,<sup>2</sup> and Manching, the finds are especially important as indicative of the building date and occupation period of this series of camps.

(i) *Pottery*. In his account of *muri Gallici* camps, Déchelette observed that the pottery from them had not been studied as a whole. This statement still holds. In the French series the Bibracte material is partially illustrated, but at an early date. Several vessels from the Loire forts are illustrated in *Diana*, and pottery from Le Petit Celland is illustrated above (pp. 43 ff.). Dehn published a photograph and profiles of the few sherds found at the Ring of Otzenhausen. The only type-series from these sites which has been studied is the pottery painted with geometric designs, of La Tène III date, published by Déchelette.<sup>3</sup> With so few illustrations and no catalogues, generalizations are at present unjustifiable. The details available are summarized below.

Amphora sherds are usual in these sites and at some (e.g. Essalois) are extremely prolific. Castagné found them at Murcens and l'Impernal in the rampart filling and in the actual foundations of the *muri Gallici*. They were mixed with the native pottery in the occupation-layers at Huelgoat and Le Petit Celland, and occurred at Montigny l'Engrain and the Ring of Otzenhausen. At Jœuvres, three intact handled amphorae containing ashes and bones were recovered from a hut-site. They were also plentiful at Bibracte, some having potters' stamps, and Déchelette regarded them as imports from Italy or the Narbonnais. In so far as can be seen, the type was fairly uniform and was an early form with a pointed base, a thin high neck, and two handles.

Pottery described as 'Gaulish' was mentioned from most of the sites, both from the ramparts and from the hut-sites. Déchelette regarded Bibracte as a type-site for La Tène III material. He divided the Bibracte pottery into indigenous and imported. Among the latter he placed the amphorae mentioned above and yellow-and-white Italianate handled jugs. The indigenous pottery consisted of flat-based spherical pots with flat rims and a zone of decoration round the top of the body of incised pattern. Three-legged cooking-pots were characteristic. Plain grey-ware pots and plates were found, without potters' stamps, but as beaker sherds and a few sherds of Arretine ware also occurred, these may be Gallo-Belgic wares of post-conquest date. Pottery analogous to the Bibracte indigenous wares was found at St. Marcel-de-Félines, Essalois, Boviolles, and Tarodunum. Boviolles produced a three-legged cooking-pot and Tarodunum pots with characteristic wavy-line, stamped impression and barbotine-spot decorations.

Pottery described as of La Tène III date was found at l'Impernal and the Ring of Otzenhausen. Viré writes of the l'Impernal material as being 'small coarse pots', but Dehn was more specific in his report. He divided the few sherds found into flasks and beakers with everted rims in smooth or polished wheel-turned wares, and coarse hand-made pottery comparable with that found on settlement sites of the Treveri. Only one sherd of the Late Hunsrück-Eifel culture (dated as Middle La Tène) was found and this must have been a hangover as it was associated with a bowl of one of the finer wheel-turned wares. Late La Tène sherds were found in the ditch and in the post-holes of the houses.

<sup>1</sup> St. Marcel-de-Félines, Essalois, Murcens, l'Impernal, Bibracte, Alesia, Villejoubert, Camp de la Ségourie, and Jœuvres.

<sup>2</sup> The Roman period at the Ring of Otzenhausen can be differentiated easily as it is confined to a late third-century

Romano-Celtic temple in part of the camp only.

<sup>3</sup> *RA*, xxvi (3<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1895), 196-212. Pottery illustrated at pls. iv-v; *Catalogue du musée de la ville de Roanne* (1895); *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 994-1000 and fig. 682.

Wheeler described the pottery from Huelgoat and Le Petit Celland as a uniform complex including, among coarser wares and fragments of Roman amphorae, a certain number of what may be called Ultimate Marnian types.

The camps in this series which have produced sherds or pots of the geometric painted wares are St. Marcel-de-Félines, Bibracte, Vertault, Manching, the Ring of Otzenhausen, and Tarodunum. The sherds from the ditch at Tarodunum had a lattice pattern painted on a red ground. The Ring of Otzenhausen produced one sherd with painted red stripes. These wares are known to have a fairly wide distribution. In addition to finds at these camps, Déchelette lists their occurrence at:

*France.* Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme; Roanne, Allier, and Terrail, Loire; Lyons, Rhône; Alizay, Eure, and in Normandy.

*Germany.* Geisenheim, near Mayence; Alwig, near Trèves; Worms and Carlsruhe (admittedly an incomplete list).

*Switzerland.* Geneva (Quartier des Tranchées and Fins d'Annecy); Joutens, Canton of Vaud; Avenches, Berne, and Constance.

*Czechoslovakia.* The Hradischt of Stradonitz, Bohemia.

Déchelette founded his study of this pottery series on the Roanne collection. He discussed whether or not it was an indigenous product or an import. The amount found at and in the vicinity of Roanne led him to believe that it was indigenous and that the centre of production was not far from that place, but that more than one centre might exist. He rejected the idea that the decorative motifs employed were due to Hellenistic or Asiatic influence as the nearest prototypes there were archaic and were not in use at the time of the Roman conquest, and he postulated a purely Celtic origin. These types were perhaps perpetuated and perfected after the conquest, but they were essentially Celtic in character and their most active period of manufacture would appear to be the second half of the last century B.C. It may be noted that the distribution of this pottery series coincides closely with that of the *muri Gallici* camps.

Arretine, Samian, and Gallo-Belgic wares at the sites indicate the probability of a post-conquest occupation, but may in some instances be the result merely of casual visitation.

(ii) *Coins.* Gaulish coins have been found in many of these camps. Between 200 and 300 seem to have been found at various times at Essalois. They included coins of the Aedui, Sequani, Segusiavi, and of Marseilles. Some of those of the Aedui and Segusiavi were, however, of post-Caesarian date, and the coin series continues down to Germanus in 15 B.C. No Roman Imperial coins were found. An Aeduan coin was found during the excavation of the *murus Gallicus* of Alesia. Gaulish coins, not further identified, were reported from St. Marcel-de-Félines, the Camp de la Ségourie, Montigny l'Engrain, and Jœuvres. Coins of the Pictones and Lemovices were found at the Puy-du-Tour. At Murcens, Castagné found silver coins of the Cadurci, bronze coins of the Bituriges, and coins from Nîmes. At l'Impérial he found coins of the Tectosages, of Augustus and Agrippa, and of the Roman Empire. Viré found a bronze Armorican coin of the Curiosilites in front of the *murus Gallicus* and elsewhere a forged bronze coin of a type attributed to either the Aedui, Adecavi, or Turoni. Among the bronze and alloy coins from Boviolles, a coin of MATVGINOS is mentioned, and a silver coin bearing the Greek letters ΚΑΑ. Among the thirty-four silver and bronze Gaulish coins from Jœuvres (now sold or lost) were some of the Arvernian chief VERGASILLAVNVS. At Huelgoat Wheeler found a possible destroyed Gaulish coin in occupation material on the berm against the outer foot of the wall, and in the single occupation-layer inside the camp a Gaulish coin known in the areas of the Osismii. In the occupation-layer of Le Petit Celland he found twenty-one coins of types ascribed to 56 B.C., and Gaulish coins (now lost) were listed in the earlier series of finds from the site. In Bulliot's excavations of the rampart and main entrance of Bibracte coins were found in the main ditch and in the flanking ditches of the in-

turned entrance. On the east side of the latter he found five Gaulish coins associated with a coin of Augustus; on the west side only Gaulish coins occurred. The coin series from the main ditch stopped with coins of 27 B.C. Nineteen bronze coins of Germanus, struck after 27 B.C., and thirty-three coins from Nîmes, struck after 36 B.C., were the latest coins found at Bibracte. Déchelette thought that the coin evidence showed that the most active period of occupation was the second half of the first century B.C. The Ring of Otzenhausen produced two Celtic coins, one of the Catalauni and one of the Senones. At Manching a hoard of barbarous half-moon gold coins (*Regenbogenschlüsselchen*) was reported which Déchelette noted as being analogous to those found at Stradonitz. Coins of unspecified types are mentioned among the finds lost or sold at the early demolition of the inner rampart at Burghead.

(iii) *Brooches*. Few accounts of these camps mention brooch finds. Among the early finds from Le Petit Celland, lost during the burning of the Avranches Museum, brooches are listed, and Boviolles apparently produced some examples. At l'Impèrnal Viré found a La Tène III brooch in front of the *murus Gallicus*, and Déchelette observed that no types earlier in date than La Tène III were found at Bibracte. A La Tène III brooch was found in the wall of the Engelhalbinsal.

(iv) *Querns*. No useful data have been traced on the quern finds in these camps. They are listed among the lost material from Le Petit Celland and are mentioned as occurring at Essalois. At Murcens those found by Castagné were mostly of rotary type, and earlier finds included eighteen sandstone discs thought to be intended for rotary querns.

(v) *Bronze objects*. Bronze objects that can be assigned to a pre-conquest date are few in number. Déchelette thought that the small bronze horse and the bronze boar amulet from Jœuvres should be dated as La Tène III. The bronze stud with spiral decoration from the Ring of Otzenhausen, and the bronze enamelled stud from l'Impèrnal, may perhaps be Celtic work, but it is not possible to be certain that a like date can be attributed to the charming bronze statuette of a recumbent Gaul found at Alesia.

(vi) *Iron objects*. With the exception of the iron nails from the ramparts, few of the iron finds from these sites can be attributed with any certainty to a pre-conquest date. Possible exceptions are the iron horseshoe, wheel-tires, and horse-trappings from the excavated entrance of the Ring of Otzenhausen; the spear-heads and battle-axes found during the demolition of the Burghead rampart; and the bridle-bits and sword fragments reported as found at the Camp de Cornouin in 1896 but now lost. At Bibracte Bulliot thought that there was evidence that the iron nails for the walls had been forged on the site.

(vii) *Worked flints*. Worked flints and polished stone axes are plentiful in several camps but, with the exception of the Ring of Otzenhausen, it is not stated whether they belonged to a Neolithic, Hallstatt, or La Tène occupation of the sites. At the Ring the very few examples found were considered as possible, but unconfirmed, evidence of an early occupation rather than as part of the La Tène material.

(viii) *Miscellaneous finds*. The pits at St. Marcel-de-Félines yielded a wealth of material (including wooden objects, nuts, and fruit-stones), but no distinction was made between those derived from the Gaulish and those from the Gallo-Roman pits. Burghead produced a blue melon bead and a bone hairpin, of doubtful date; and a glass bracelet from the Ring of Otzenhausen is not of necessity Celtic.

#### *Opinions on the dating of the camps*

Durand believed that the Crêt Châtelard at St. Marcel-de-Félines was built immediately before the Roman conquest of the area; it showed no evidence of having been occupied or built long before that period. He considered Essalois as an important Gaulish exchange centre which in pre-conquest times imported goods, especially amphorae, into the Loire valley via the Rhône valley.

Bulliot considered this camp to be of Gaulish origin. Bombal dated the Puy-du-Tour as a Gaulish *oppidum* contemporary with the Roman conquest, and Gorceix and Delage, on structural evidence rather than on finds from the site, dated the camp at Villejoubert as La Tène III. Delage dated the Camp de Cornouin as La Tène II or III or a Gaulish *oppidum* of the first century B.C., again on structure rather than finds. In spite of the slight extent of excavation at Boviolles, de la Noë felt that a Gaulish date had been proved.

At Murcens, Castagné argued that the walls must have been in good condition at the date of the Roman conquest. Assuming that they had been built at an earlier date, there were two events which might be causative. The first was the defeat of the Arverni in 121 B.C. and the founding of the *Provincia Romana*. The second was the attacks of the Cimbri and Teutones in 110 B.C. Either or both events might have stimulated the Gauls to defend their *oppida*. If, however, the first cause was the stimulus, he doubted whether the timber in the ramparts would have lasted until 56 B.C. The Gauls could perhaps have overcome this problem by charring the timbers first to harden them, or they could have used good hard oak which would have stood up to the wear and tear for at least a hundred years, or a longer period than the time factor involved. Murcens was abandoned during the Augustan period.

Espérandieu dated the wall at Alesia to the first century B.C. and thought that it had not been in existence for more than a few years at the time of the Roman conquest.

Of the French sites excavated in the nineteenth century, the most carefully dated is undoubtedly that of Bibracte. Neither Bulliot nor Déchelette was able to distinguish stratification in the interior of the camp,<sup>1</sup> and the coin evidence was not helpful in dating the huts or houses. Using the coin evidence alone, Déchelette could not determine whether or not the occupation of the huts or houses preceded the years 58–55 B.C. or whether they were built in masonry before the arrival of the Romans or only afterwards under Roman influence. The native indigenous pottery was intermixed with Arretine wares whose import into Gaul he did not place before Caesarian or Augustan times. The earlier carinated pots had disappeared from the native series and were replaced by ovoid forms with decorated shoulders. The existence of the painted pottery was not entirely indicative, as this was at its zenith, he believed, at the very end of the Gaulish age of independence. On the coin evidence Bibracte was deserted c. 5 B.C. when the population moved down to the newly founded Roman township of Augustodunum (Autun).

Young considered that he lacked the evidence to date the Burghead defences, but that structural comparisons with the French camps suggested that they were later in date.

At Huelgoat, Wheeler found that the occupation-debris inside the camp was confined to a single layer, and throughout the camp the pottery formed a uniform complex which may be regarded as a western counterpart of the groups which farther east would be associated with the Belgae. Comparable pottery was found at Le Petit Celland together with mid-first-century B.C. Gaulish coins. The incompleteness of the defences of this site, together with the uniformity and extremely restricted character of the occupation, indicated that it was held for a very short space of time, and that that time cannot have been very far removed from the middle of the first century B.C. The end of the *oppidum* was associated with violent destruction. Wheeler describes these two camps as products of some exceptional political or military crisis which necessitated a sudden coalescence of tribal units at a focal point for self-preservation. Between the end of the second century and the mid-first century B.C. there were two episodes which could have stimulated these defensive measures. In the last years of the second century B.C. France was ravaged by the Cimbri and their allies and only the Belgic tribes east of the Seine were able to withstand them; whilst in 56 B.C. Julius Caesar was beating down organized resistance in north-west Gaul. That the former

<sup>1</sup> The area of the Fair Ground, with its long and continuous use into medieval times, was excepted.

invasion was not the cause was shown by the fact that the pottery at Le Petit Celland could not be ascribed to so early a date. Its uniformity with that found at Huelgoat, together with the coin evidence, favoured the latter invasion as the causative factor. Whereas at Huelgoat it might have been possible to assign the earlier of the two periods found in the defences to measures taken against the Cimbri, and the later to those against Caesar, the occupation found was insufficient to cover the half century involved. It was more realistic to ascribe the main defences to 56 B.C. and the refortification and curtailment of the site to the recrudescence of activity amongst the Armorican tribes in 51 B.C.

Dehn dated the Ring of Otzenhausen to the last century B.C. as an *oppidum* of the Treveri. Tarodunum (mentioned by Ptolemy) is placed as an *oppidum* of the Raurici of the same pre-conquest date. For Manching, Déchelette observed that the finds from the camp itself were of La Tène III or Roman date only. Wagner ascribed the two building periods found in the rampart to a late Celtic date and noted their close analogy with the French *muri Gallici*. It was a tribal centre of the Vindelici before their submission to the Romans in 15 B.C.

### *Conclusions*

The conclusions reached are as follows.

The form of the timber-framework in an 'Avaricum'-type rampart is that described by Caesar, in which transverse and longitudinal timbers are laid in alternate layers and are bolted with iron nails at their points of intersection. The transverse timbers may in some cases be 'tied in' to the stone facing walls.<sup>1</sup> Rarely (or doubtfully) are diagonal timbers used and no vertical timbers occur in the classic examples. The transverse timbers always penetrate the outer revetting wall and may or may not penetrate the inner revetting wall (when there is one). Each course of the timber-framework is isolated by earth and facing stones from the stages above and below. There is no continuous, all-over, facing wall; it was the *intervals* between the outer ends of the transverse timbers that were walled up, and the lines of timber-heads were a special feature of the façade. When these timbers decay, beam-holes are left.

These camps are usually univallate. Promontories are defended either by a single *murus Gallicus* across the isthmus, which may be supplemented by a dry-stone encircling wall round the edge of the escarpments, or by a single encircling wall of *murus Gallicus* build. The rampart of a hill-fort often shows rectilinear tendencies, and the contours are ignored. Where outer or additional banks occur, they are not timber-laced. Lowland sites are known. Ditches are not an important defensive feature and often served only to supply material for the wall. Greater stress was laid on choosing a natural defensive position. Berms are usually present. Entrances are in-turned and can have flanking walls of *murus Gallicus* build. Bridges over the gateway and outer wooden towers have been found.

The centre of diffusion of 'Avaricum'-type camps, as known at present, is France. Nineteen certain examples have been traced there and seven doubtful examples. On the borders of France, two examples are known in Germany, two reasonably certain examples in Switzerland, and an example in Belgium. Outliers to this distribution pattern are a camp in Bavaria and one in the north of Scotland. This French distribution appears to be significant. It coincides with *Gallia Comata* and extends down to but does not cross the frontier of the *Provincia Romana* which was established in 121 B.C. (fig. 35). It thins out in *Gallia Belgica*. As Wheeler has written:<sup>2</sup> 'It coincides, in other words, with the Caesarian battlefield of 58-51 B.C., and we have Caesar's word for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Espérandieu's theory, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> 'Earthwork since Hadrian Allcroft', *Arch. Journ.* (Supplement, 1952), 71-72.



it that it was the normal type in 58 B.C. It is a plain inference that the distribution as we have it is bracketed between that date and 121 B.C.'

This special type of stone and timber-laced rampart may well have been evolved as a suitable defence against a weapon new to the defenders of these camps—the Roman battering-ram—and against fire. Caesar described them as resistant to the ram and not easily burnt. It should be noted that the severely burnt vitrified and calcined ramparts have not been found to contain nails. If therefore these walls were designed, in an area rich in iron-working, as an 'anti-battering-ram' defence, they were erected specifically against the advancing Roman armies, and a date nearer to 58 B.C. rather than 121 B.C. is a more feasible one for their initial construction. That this is so is supported by the excavation evidence. Few camps show any intensive or long-lasting pre-Roman occupation. But in many, a La Tène III culture has been found to be contemporary with the defences. At Le Petit Celland and Huelgoat, Wheeler was able to associate the build of the *murus Gallicus* defences with the Caesarian episode of 56 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Durand, at the Crêt Châtelard, Chassenay; Espérandieu, at Alesia; Dehn, at the Ring of Otzenhausen; and Déchelette and Wagner, at Manching, have all suggested building dates for the *muri Gallici* on the eve of the Roman advance against these sites. As Wheeler writes:<sup>2</sup> 'It has yet to be shown that any *murus Gallicus* in France or Germany was built before the first century B.C., and the evidence converges on the Caesarian period with an occasional hangover (as at Manching) on the periphery of the Roman world.' The submission of the Vindelici at Manching was not until 15 B.C. An even later date is possible for Burghead which could perhaps have been built by immigrants from Gaul, remembering this type of defence in their home country, in face of the Agricola advance into Scotland in the late first century A.D. In France, as Wheeler suggested,<sup>3</sup> 'the uniformity of this specialized pattern throughout a battle-area otherwise culturally so various suggests the inspiration and authority of one man or at any rate of one planning-committee'.

### *The Misuse of the Term Murus Gallicus*

When Déchelette wrote of *muri Gallici*<sup>4</sup> he separated the French examples with a nailed timber-framework from timber-laced ramparts found elsewhere, especially in Germany and Scotland, on the grounds that the latter differed in many respects and that none was nailed.<sup>5</sup> His *murus Gallicus* group was therefore confined to French soil. But since then this close adherence to the Caesarian definition has been increasingly ignored. In Germany the Ringskopf near Allenbach, the Heidenmauer near Durkheim, the Donnersburg, Altkönig, and other sites acquired a *murus Gallicus* label.<sup>6</sup> In Scotland, Childe, in isolating a group of camps as the 'Abernethy complex', described their timber-laced ramparts as 'Gallic walls'.<sup>7</sup> In England, Corley Camp, Warwickshire, has long been claimed as an approach to a *murus Gallicus*,<sup>8</sup> and in recent years Varley has so described the timber-laced ramparts he discovered in camps in Yorkshire and Cheshire.<sup>9</sup> Detailed examination of the construction of these walls showed that they are far from forming a homogeneous group and that none fulfils the exact requirements of the Caesarian definition of a *murus Gallicus*. In attempting to relate these sites to the French, complex difficulties have arisen over dating evidence and confusion has resulted. Nor has this confusion been diminished by experiments made to prove that a vitrified or calcined rampart is simply a *murus Gallicus* that has been burnt.<sup>10</sup> Varying combi-

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 72-73.

<sup>4</sup> *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 497-500.

<sup>5</sup> In Scotland he placed Burghead with Abernethy as without nails, and in Germany he thought that at the only site he knew, Tarodunum, only the main entrance was nailed.

<sup>6</sup> *Germania*, xxiii (1939), 23-26.

<sup>7</sup> *The Prehistory of Scotland* (1935), 195 and 236-7; *Scotland before the Scots* (1946), 12-15.

<sup>8</sup> *Antiquity*, v (1931), 82-85.

<sup>9</sup> *Arch. Journ.* cv (1948), 60.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. M'Hardy, *P.S.A.S.* xl (1905-6), 130-50; Childe and Thorneycroft, *P.S.A.S.* lxxii (1937-8), 44-55.

nations of stone, earth, and timber have been built and set alight, and it has been proved, *inter alia*, that in an Abernethy-type timber-laced rampart some vitrification could be produced. But to carry these experiments to a logical conclusion, it would be necessary to demonstrate any contrasts obtainable between burning a Hallstatt-type timber-framework and a nailed Caesarian timber-framework, and this does not seem to have been tried.

Dehn obviously recognized in Germany in 1938 that the description *murus Gallicus* was being abused. In that year he excavated a fort at Preist, near Bitburg, in the Rhine Province, and in his report<sup>1</sup> he divided the German timber-laced ramparts into two groups:

- (i) The type with a nailed timber framework in which the balks not only penetrate the whole wall but are also an important structural part of the wall. This is our 'Avaricum'-type wall.
- (ii) The type with a timber framework, without nails, consisting of upright posts, joined together with transverse timbers by dovetailing or mortising of the joints, in which the balks certainly play a constructive role, but in which the timber-framework was not nearly so compact and the walls stand alone without it. The upright posts serve also to anchor a breastwork. The transverse beams are arranged differently in that they cut up the walls into sections analogous to bulkheads in a ship's hull and so decrease the danger of collapse of the wall as each stretch is an independent unit.

In group (i) he placed the Ring of Otzenhausen, Tarodunum, and Manching. In group (ii) Preist was a typical example and was analogous to the German forts that had wrongly acquired a *murus Gallicus* label. Preist was dated to a phase, possibly a late one, of the Hunsrück-Eifel culture, that is, a date equivalent to Middle La Tène. This, Dehn suggested, was the native building technique, and the 'Avaricum' type was a late development built up and disseminated by the Celts in their *oppida* of Late La Tène or La Tène III date.

With this evidence before us, and with the closer dating now ascribed to the Avaricum-type ramparts, the stage is set for a fresh assessment of timber-laced ramparts in Great Britain. The Hallstatt-derived, or Hallstatt to Middle La Tène or 'Preist', type timber-laced walls with vertical posts, of the kind found at Maiden Castle, Dorset, and elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> and of Iron Age A date in Great Britain, form a clear group. Burghead is the only known example that can be assigned to the 'Avaricum'-type group. But the Cheshire and Yorkshire camps, the Scottish 'Abernethy' complex, and the vitrified and calcined camps do not certainly belong to either group. They require separate treatment and a discussion of their relationship to these two clear-cut and now well-dated continental types.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, when dealing with ramparts in which transverse timber balks are a prominent feature, let us avoid calling them 'Gallic walls' unless we can join with Caesar in saying 'Muri autem omnes Gallici hac fere forma sunt. . . '.

#### *Acknowledgements*

This study was undertaken, at the request of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, as a necessary part of this report. He cannot have foreseen the many pleasant experiences that would go to its production. Its dependence on his work for the conclusions reached is obvious; but I wish to offer also my gratitude for his inspiration and vision in crystallizing out these conclusions from the turgid solution of evidence and confused thinking I collected at first.

I wish also to thank Professor Dehn for supplying me with references, and for help derived from his work at Preist which, at an early stage in the study, clarified many problems.

<sup>1</sup> *Germania* xxiii (1939), 23-26. For a reconstruction of this wall, see Abb. 2, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (1943), 31-32.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of these British camps with timber-laced ramparts see *Arch. Journ.* cxi (1954), 26-105.

But in addition I would also like to express something of my feeling of indebtedness to the French archaeologists on whose past work this paper is based. They became more than printed names when one visited their sites and saw their collections. In imagination I can see Déchelette in his simple study in the Musée de Roanne, or checking the references of the *Manuel* in his fine Library; Bulliot stands by the monolithic fireplace in his Gallo-Roman excavation hut on the inclement heights of Bibracte, though I cannot be sure that it still exists as when I was there visibility was limited to some 5 ft.; Castagné indicates the side of easiest approach to Murcens and l'Impèrnal, a very necessary help; and Viré's museum at Luzech inspires the confidence that a La Tène III *muris Gallicus* is superimposed on a Hallstatt Preist-type wall. My Vertault reprint from the museum of Châtillon-sur-Seine is signed by a son-in-law of Lorimy. The first time it was realized that Mont Lassois belonged also to this series was when M. Joffroy displayed one of its iron nails against the rampart in the television 'Buried Treasure' programme on the Celtic Princess of Vix. At Alesia I thought of Espérandieu when searching for any surface remains of the defence across the isthmus. How suitable that Napoléon III should unknowingly have sited the statue of Vercingetorix on the ruins of one of the *muri Gallici* that he and his 'All-Gallia staff' had designed and defended to the last!

#### NOTES ON CAMPS WITH 'AVARICUM'-TYPE TIMBER-LACED RAMPARTS

*Le Crêt Châtelard, Saint-Marcel-de-Félines, near Chassenay, Loire. Oppidum of the Segusiavi.*

The Crêt Châtelard, in the commune of Saint-Marcel-de-Félines, near Chassenay, is situated on a height above the River Loire. The first mention of the site is in the *Almanach de Lyon* of 1759. The author noticed ruins resembling the ramparts of a town which might, as the site was nameless, be considered (somewhat illogically) to be the work of the Romans. Granjon, an advocate, in a voluminous unpublished manuscript, the 'Statistique du département de la Loire', thought at first that the 'Crêt' was a tumulus. He later attributed it to the work of a Roman cohort whiling away their leisure time. The belief that the 'Crêt' was a funerary monument was adopted by various savants (especially the professors of the Seminary of Saint Jobard) who called it the 'Tombeau des Romains'. In 1848 a M. Micol, an Inspector-General of the National Guard, was staying at Saint-Marcel. He collected antiquities and old weapons and, as Durand suggests, presumably having as much leisure in his mission as did Granjon's Roman cohort, excavated at the site. He emptied two pits and found broken pottery and fragments of statuettes. His most important acquisition, however, was a Roman portable sundial (known locally as 'Julius Caesar's watch') which he obtained from a M. Antoine Faber who had found it on the surface. Later owners of the site, when digging water pits, found a few whole pots, which were given to the Curé, and some silver rings, which were sold to Chaverondier. Gruner mentioned the site, but regarded it as a natural dome of prismatic sandstone.

The first serious study was that of Coste. He thought it a permanent Roman camp. He observed numerous pits in the interior. The quantities of nails which had been found on the site he believed had been used as tent-pegs. The site was examined more methodically by Chaverondier (with the benefit of Durand's advice). The enceinte had a perimeter of c. 2,150 m. and enclosed an area of 25 hectares. It was trapezoidal in form. On the north lay the ravine of Coux or Flandre; on the west the ravine of Echaravey; and on the south was the River Loire. The narrow isthmus on the east was defended by the bank known as the 'Crêt'. Built of made-up earth, it stood at least 10 m. high, 60 m. wide, and was 100 m. long. Except at the east end and on part of the north side, the

encircling rampart did not occupy the extreme edge of the plateau but was placed part-way down the slope, a feature noticed also at Mont Beuvray. At the north-west angle the rampart came to within 500 m. of the River Loire, and was only some 15 m. in height above its bed. Possibly this was to enable the defenders to reach the river if need be, or to control the river traffic. The greater part of the encircling rampart had been reduced to its foundation course, or quite destroyed, by agricultural operations. In places, however, soil slip had protected it to some extent and it was preserved to a height of 0.6–1 m. In order to build it, a flat platform 2.5 m. wide had been cut into the side of the slope. On this a dry-stone wall with a small-stone rubble core was built. Beam-holes, 1 m. and 1.5 m. square, of a layer of transverse beams, appeared at regular intervals, 0.4–0.5 m. above the ground. They were joined to longitudinal beams with iron nails, which were found *in situ*, some having fragments of wood still adhering to them. Nowhere could a second or third row of transverse beams be found. It was expected that a similar wall might be found in the 'Crêt', but as this was under a vineyard it could not be excavated. Iron nails from the surface in this area were plentiful. Chaverondier and Durand described this defence as of typical *murus Gallicus* construction. In the interior, worked and polished flints, Gaulish coins, and much pottery were found. There were no traces of contemporary hut-sites, but, as these were thought to be only simple barracks of planks and *pisé* walls with a thatched roof, the excavators did not expect to recognize them. The central and west part of the plateau, however, showed much evidence of Roman occupation. Wall foundations, slabs of *opus signinum* floors, tiles, pottery, and Roman coins dating from Julius Caesar to Maximinus, were found. One of the main features of the site was the pits which were scattered throughout the interior, with an especial concentration in the central area. It has been claimed that there are more than two hundred of them. Coste opened about thirty. A greater number were destroyed during the nineteenth century in agricultural operations. Chaverondier excavated thirty-three, and Déchelette excavated three more and gave his finds to the Musée de Roanne. Generally speaking the pits were very narrow and practically always cylindrical. Only occasionally were they square or rectangular. Their average depth was 5 m. and occasionally they reached 6–7 m. in depth. With the sealing layer removed and the water drained off, the pit-fillings were of a fine grey clayish silt and contained a large and varied assortment of finds. Owing to their damp state, wood, nuts, and fruits (prunes, raisins, and figs) had been preserved. A small well-turned cylindrical wooden box and a carved statuette were unusual objects. The pottery was very broken and as little could be restored it was believed that the breakages had occurred before the pottery was put into the pits. It was of both Roman and pre-conquest date. Coarse wheel-turned pottery of badly baked paste, with thick walls and decorated with a row of rudimentary guilloches, was found.<sup>1</sup> Urns with a single short handle<sup>1</sup> and *ollae* were comparable to types from Mont Beuvray. In association was a group so described that it appears to be *terra nigra*.<sup>1</sup> Decorated *terra sigillata* is mentioned. But amongst the chief pottery finds were the vessels painted with geometric designs.<sup>1</sup> Durand stated that although this pottery was found elsewhere in Gaul, nowhere was it so abundant as in the *oppida* of the Segusiavi. He agreed with Déchelette in attributing a Gaulish origin to this series and drew attention to a similarity of decorative motives on the pottery and on the metal work.<sup>2</sup> As a final touch to this rich cultural ensemble, Durand mentions some rare and very small fragments of porcelain taken from one of the pits which he thought were Chinese; and, from the slopes of Écharavey, a Celtiberian coin with a Punic inscription. Durand felt that the pits were rubbish pits or water pits rather than funerary pits; some contained pots which still had the remains of chains round the necks and must have been used for withdrawing water. One walled cistern had been found still provided in one of its corners with wooden steps for descending

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated *Diana*, x (1898), 19, figs. 2, 4, and 5; *ibid.*, p. 20, fig. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The bracelets from Vinol, in the Musée de la Diana, are examples.

to water-level, and the contents of this cistern did not differ materially from the majority of the other pits. A water-table runs across the site, and the pits may have been used when the river was difficult of access. Durand concluded that the Crêt Châtelard was a Gaulish *oppidum*, of the time of the independence, but that it did not antedate the Roman period by any great length of time. It flourished in the Roman epoch, but may have been deserted when the barbarian invasions started. The pits were mostly contemporary with the construction of the defences, but had been filled up at different times and under different circumstances.

*Almanach de Lyon* (1759), 56–57 and 137.

\*Granjon, 'Statistique du département de la Loire'. Unpublished MS. of 1806 in the archives of the Société de la Diana.

\*Fauchoux, 'Voyage pittoresque de Balbigny à Roanne: Le Crêt Châtelard'. *Écho de la Loire*, no. du 22 août 1841.

Gruner, *Description géologique et minéralogique du département de la Loire* (1857), 403–4.

Coste, *Description de plusieurs emplacements d'anciens camps, près des bords de la Loire* (1862), 6–14.

Chaverondier et Durand, *Diana*, iii (1885), 204 and 207–9.

— — —, *C.A.F.* (52<sup>e</sup> sess., *Montbrison*) (1885), 25–26 and 23–33.

Noëlas, *ibid.* 190. (Mentioned as not the site of Mediolanum.)

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 303. (Mention.)

Vachez, *Forez* (1889), 201–2.

Déchelette, *Catalogue du musée de la ville de Roanne* (1895), 93–99. (MS. copy in the Musée de Roanne.)

— — —, *R.A.* xxvi (3<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1895), 207.

Bertrand, *R.G.* (1897), 247. (Mention.)

Durand et de la Noë, *M.S.A.F.* vii (6<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1898), 1–38. Portable sundial.

Dumoulin et Gonnard, *Diana*, x (1898), 19–21. Figs. 2, 4–5, and 9 illustrate pottery.

Durand, *Diana*, xi (1899–1900), 382–97. Plan at p. 384. Main description.

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 200. (Mention. Called 'beuvraysien'.)

Bouttet, *B.S.P.F.* ix (1912), 443. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lviii. (Bibliography.)

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 496 and 997.

#### *Le Palais à Essalois (or La Ruthe), Chambles, Loire. Oppidum of the Segusiavi.*

The earliest reference traced to a fortified camp at Essalois, in the commune of Chambles, is that of du Mesnil, *c.* 1880. He noticed piles of broken stones which contained bones, long square nails, and sherds of amphorae. Querns and a serpentine axe had already been found on the site and three pits had been cut in the conglomerate. The site was explored by de Thiollère, who gave his finds to the Société de la Diana. The etymology of the name Essalois, and a possible Celtic origin, were discussed by Durand. Durand also suggested that the prodigious amount of pottery, especially amphorae, indicated that at the end of the Gaulish independence Essalois was a great exchange centre which imported into the Loire valley goods from Italy and the Rhône valley. The camp was the nearest point on the Loire to the Rhône and was not far from the frontier of the *Provincia Romana*. Bulliot pointed out that it was essentially a Gaulish site, not occupied in medieval times, as the Château of the same name is some 500 m. away. Known as Le Palais, it is on the culminating point of a hill-chain and some 700 m. from the River Loire. The site had been subjected to vandalism as agricultural and stone-quarrying operations had destroyed the remains and the finds had been dispersed without being recorded or studied. Hut-floors had been lost in an area which had not then been explored for local types. A portion of the site was, however, intact. The exact extent of the enclosure had not been determined, but on the southern slope a *murus Gallicus* of crossed timbers, similar to those described at Avaricum and Bibracte, had been found. The native rock was too near to the surface for there to be any hope of finding further hut-sites, but there were indications that the site had been occupied. Surface finds were plentiful. The amphorae were of

the same type as those found at Bibracte and the quantity was proportionately greater. He had never seen anywhere so many of these 'vases chers à nos ancêtres et pour lesquels, d'après le voyageur grec Posidonius, ils donnaient parfois leur liberté ou leur vie'. Some of the necks bore the same potters' stamps as those of Bibracte. The plateau possessed one spring, but there were a number of pits dug into the rock which could have been used as water cisterns. These were 4 m. deep, with either squared or rounded angles, but without masonry. No traces had been found of burials in them. Black and brown pots were found at the bottom of these pits, but they did not contain ashes or bones. Although of a different material, the forms and decorations of these pots were very similar to those from Bibracte. Decorative motives were pricked or combed festoons, wavy lines, and chevrons. The similarity and diversity appeared to denote a school using the same types and the same methods of manufacture in the different tribes (Aedui and Segusiavi), or even nomadic workers passing from one to the other. Despite the absence of hut-sites, the pottery, pits, and querns indicated a fixed nucleus of habitation. The Gauls usually built in wood and *pisé*, and the abundance of nails in the soil at Essalois confirmed, he thought, the use of this building method there. Whilst the 'barracks' were normally thatched, the debris of flanged tiles on the site suggested that more substantial houses had been built. Bulliot thought that metallurgists, jewellers, and armourers must have had their place in the *oppidum*, although no industrial quarter was known as at Bibracte. According to Posidonius, before inviting all Gaul to sit at his table for a year, the Arvernian king, Luern, made in advance a great requisition of cauldrons and basins in the neighbouring *oppida*. Essalois was both a fortress and a market town and the population must have deserted its hearths at the beginning of the Roman régime at the same time as the Aedui deserted Bibracte c. 15 B.C. Although there was no historical evidence for this, the archaeological evidence was there. Some 200–300 Gaulish or southern coins had been found at Essalois and, as at Bibracte, the Imperial Roman coinage was missing. Coins from Marseilles suggested that this *oppidum* of the Segusiavi had, also like Bibracte, been supplied by merchants of that town. Coins of neighbouring Gaulish towns were plentiful, the majority being those of the league of the Aedui and Sequani set up against Ariovistus. Other coins of the Aedui and Segusiavi, of post-Caesarian date, suggested later commercial and political relations between the two tribes. The latest dated coins in the series, as at Bibracte, were those of Germanus of 15 B.C. The two *oppida* therefore were both deserted at a date that can be fixed.

Révérènd du Mesnil, *Diana*, i (1876–81), note on p. 180.

\*— *L'Ancien Forez*, ii (1884), 344–56.

\*Pliquet, *L'Ancien Forez*, iv (1885), 225–9. For amphorae stamps.

Durand, *C.A.F.* (52<sup>e</sup> sess., *Montbrison*) (1885), 33.

— *Diana*, iii (1885–6), 208. For etymology, *ibid.* 385–9.

\*Révérènd du Mesnil, *L'Ancien Forez*, vi (1887), 30–31. Etymology.

Bulliot, *Forez* (1889), 386–93. Plan at fig. 680. Pottery and objects at figs. 681–2.

Durand, *Diana*, vii (1894), 363. (Mention.)

Steyert, *Nouvelle histoire de Lyon et des provinces de Lyonnais, Forez, Beaujolais . . .*, i (1895), 78, 80, and 259–60. (Mention.)

\*Prajoux, *Notes et commentaires sur Chambles* (1897), 52–54.

Dumoulin et Gonnard, *Diana*, x (1898), 22. Illustrates an amphora.

Bouttet, *B.S.P.F.* ix (1912), 437–8. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lviii. (Bibliography.)

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 496. (Mention.)

*Châtelard de Chazi (or Crêt Châtelard), Saint-Georges-de-Baroille, Loire. Oppidum of the Segusiavi.*

Durand described this site, in the commune of Saint-Georges-de-Baroille, as defended by a

rampart which appeared to be of *murus Gallicus* construction and contained iron nails. His plan has not been traced. Thioller and Tardieu described the camp as situated 500 m. south-east of the town, at the confluence of the Rivers Loire and Aix. It is a promontory-fort defended by these rivers on the east and south and on the north and west by two converging ravines. A narrow isthmus gives access to a plateau 7–8 hectares in area. The isthmus is defended by an earthen rampart of imported soil, then planted as a vineyard. It conceals the remains of a timber-laced dry-stone wall which contains iron nails.

Durand, *C.A.F.* (52<sup>e</sup> sess., *Montbrison*) (1885), 26 and 33.

—, *Diana*, iii (1885–6), 208. (Mention.)

Thiollier et Tardieu, *Forez* (1889), 218.

Déchelette, *Catalogue du musée de la ville de Roanne* (1895), 83.

Bouttet, *B.S.P.F.* ix (1912), 442. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lviii. (Bibliography.)

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 496. (Mention.)

*Puy-du-Tour, Monceaux, Corrèze. Oppidum of the Lemovices.*

The Puy-du-Tour is in the commune of Monceaux, near Argentat, the capital of the arrondissement of Tulle. It was first described by Lalande, who stated that it occupied a tongue of land formed by a bend of the River Dordogne. The plateau enclosed was bounded on three sides by a partly filled ditch, and on the fourth or south side by an escarpment which sloped rapidly to the right bank of the river. The low country occupied by the Lemovices was not included in Caesar's campaigns, and the site is not mentioned in the *Commentaries* except that, after the pacification of Gaul, it was indicated that the conquerors cantoned two legions in the territory of this tribe.<sup>1</sup> The Puy-du-Tour might perhaps have served as a refuge for the local population during the troubled times of the Roman conquest. Pottery has been found on the plateau and Bombal mentioned an iron weapon, since lost. As no Gaulish coins were found at first, a Gaulish origin for the site was considered unproved. Bombal then excavated there in 1906–11. He described the site as a defensive enceinte in which the population took refuge at different prehistoric times, and where they finally established a Gaulish fortress. The upper parts of the ramparts were timber-laced and produced iron nails in abundance. The coins found in 1906 were identified by Blanchet as fourteen of the Pictones or Lemovices and the rest coins with the legend MOTVIDIACA. In 1911 Bombal and Muzac (having been furnished with a subvention of 200 francs by the Touring-Club de France) opened an area 25 × 6 m. on the east side of the site which overlooks Argentat. The top 1.5 m. of soil was sterile. Underneath was an occupation level in which was found a series of post-holes of a hut or huts, 0.7–0.35 m. in diameter and 0.65–0.2 m. deep. The living floor might have been raised, and the ground level used for storage and stables. Finds were plentiful. Blanchet identified the coins found as six bronze coins of the Pictones or Lemovices; a bronze with a boar's head surmounted with a cross and with a Roman legend; and a silver coin comparable to one found at Chastel-sur-Murat. Between 1906 and 1911 Bombal had collected twenty-six coins from the site, of which twelve were bronzes of the Pictones and two bore the MOTVIDIACA legend. Small finds included bronze, iron, glass, and stone objects. Pottery was plentiful but does not seem to have been adequately described or illustrated. Bombal concluded that the site had been occupied for a long time. The occupants of the huts appeared to have been expelled violently by new-comers to the site, thought to be the Gauls, who had raised a new rampart of nailed timber-laced *murus Gallicus* type. The finds were lodged in the museum at Argentat. The Puy-du-Tour is quoted in *Gallia* (1943) as a Gaulish *oppidum* contemporary with the Roman conquest which was, like Mont Beuvray, an active industrial centre.

<sup>1</sup> *B.G.* viii. 46: '... in Lemovicum finibus, non longe ab Arvernīs...?'



Lalande, *Bull. Arch. de Tarn et Garonne*, ii (1872), 273-4.

—, *C.A.F. (57<sup>e</sup> sess., Brive) (1890)*, 189-91.

\*Imbert, *Monographie etc.* (1894), 25.

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 197. (Mention.)

Bombal, *B.S.P.F.* iii (1906), 365. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. ii. (Mention.)

\*—, *Rapports sur les fouilles opérées au Puy-du-Tour, commune de Monceaux (Corrèze), juillet et août 1906.*

—, *B.S.P.F.* iv (1907), 92. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. v.

—, *B.S.P.F.* vi (1909), 403-4. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. xxxi. (Coin finds.)

—, *B.S.P.F.* viii (1911), 650-3. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lii.

—, *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 297. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxiii. (Bibliography.)

\*Hatt, *Bull. Soc. Sci. Hist. et Arch. de la Corrèze*, lxii (1941).

*Gallia*, ii (1943), 251.

*Murcens (Murceint or Ville des Murs), Cras, near Cahors, Lot. Oppidum of the Cadurci.*

The *oppidum* of Murcens, some 6 km. from the River Lot, in the commune of Cras, crowns the summit of an escarped hill overlooking the valley. The Celtic name of the *oppidum* has been lost, but traditionally the site was called 'Ville des Murs', from which Murcens or Murceint (*Muris Cincti*) may be derived. The flat-topped 316-m.-high hill has high cliffs on all sides except the north and north-west. It dominates the streams of the Rause and Saint Martin whose beds are 130 m. below it. Delpon described the site as defended on all sides with escarped rocks except the north, which was defended by an earth-and-stone entrenchment. He refers to excavations by Valery, who discovered in this entrenchment, at all points examined, blocks of a sort of lime breccia and of calcined stone. He saw a mixture of carbon and lime fragments and concluded that the wall had been burnt. This defence was, he thought, raised on the ruins of a Gaulish rampart. Eighteen sandstone rotary querns were found in a space of some 30 m. square, which he attributed to the Gauls. That the Romans had also occupied the site was inferred from the presence of amphorae, which included whole vessels, some being large enough to hold up to a hectolitre of fluid, and because he found Consular and Imperial coins all earlier in date than Constantinian. There was a tradition that the English had been entrenched there in the fifteenth century, and the local inhabitants believed that they had left buried treasure, for which they searched often but in vain. The Roman occupation may have related to the building of the aqueduct for nearby Davona; it was built during the reign of Constantine by Poncius-Polemius, the prefect there under that emperor. Abbé Cuquel put forward the view that Murcens was the site of Uxellodunum of the *Commentaries*, but latterly opinion has tended to place this *oppidum* at the Puy d'Issolu.<sup>1</sup> This attracted the attention of M. Pébeyre, prefect of the Department, who arranged for Castagné to excavate the site in 1868. Castagné published his first results in the form of an address to M. Pébeyre. At once de Caumont drew attention to the fact that he had observed and illustrated, sixteen years previously in 1852, a wall of the type found by Castagné at Murcens, at Landunum (Vertault, see p. 198), but that his premises and communications had been forgotten. He published extracts from Castagné's private paper in the *Bull. Mon.* (1868). Describing the position of the site, he added that on the north the remains of a long and high wall were obvious. Its outer facing was made of stones of large dimensions; it had an inner filling of stones, rubble, and earth derived from the adjacent ground. Transverse beams, placed at right-angles to the line of the rampart and composing its first row, were spaced very regularly 2.7 m. apart as was shown by nails found in position. These nails, which were so abundant that the country folk used them to make small tools, were quadrangular in section, 0.14 × 0.16 m. and 0.32 m. long. The transverse timbers

<sup>1</sup> Following recent examinations and excavation by M. le Professeur Sallesse of the Université de Toulouse, the claims of Murcens to be the site of Uxellodunum may, I understand, be revived.

rested horizontally on the rock and occupied the whole thickness of the wall. Two rows of longitudinal beams joined them together, the first being 1 m. behind the wall facing and the second 1.2 m. behind the first. The regularity of the spaces showed that the beams had been straight and joined by halving. Their dimensions were, Castagné thought,  $0.32 \times 0.35$  m. The second transverse-beam course was 1.3 m. above the first, the superposition of the beams alternating with those of the first course, and this arrangement continued to the top of the wall. The relative arrangement of the beams was not always uniform and varied with the lie of the ground, the height of the construction, and the nature of the materials used. The ramparts had their greatest dimensions opposite the isthmus. A trench through here showed a ditch, 2 m. wide and 1.1 m. deep, dug 4.6 m. in front of the wall. Four rows of beam-holes were found and the arrangement of the timbers varied. The transverse beams were superimposed and the longitudinal beams alternated. Hand-packed stones were found round the beams, but otherwise the filling of the core was thrown in pell-mell. Under the top row of beams there was a layer of yellowish clay, 0.25–0.3 m. thick, derived locally, which formed a sort of protective cloak for the lower beams to keep them dry. The external wall-facing was vertical and the interior was stepped so that in places the thickness of the wall was reduced by half. This gave the defenders a chance to stand on the defences behind a *vallum* in order to launch their missiles. In this section the transverse beams were better preserved and their channels suggested that they had measured 0.32–0.35 m. and were not squared before use. Five courses remained and the wall stood 3.8 m. high, but its original height was estimated at 9 m. In another section the transverse beams were found to be closer. The amount of wood used was proportional to the solidity required. Gaulish pottery was found which was either black externally with quartz grains in the paste, or bluish without the quartz. It was mixed with amphorae sherds with pointed bases and elongated necks finished with two handles. The paste was a pale-yellow or reddish clay. So plentiful were the amphorae that in places they had been used as part of the rampart filling. They occurred at all heights and in the foundations of the wall, which confirmed the Gaulish use of Roman amphorae. Fifteen of the iron nails were given to the Musée Saint-Germain-en-Laye.<sup>1</sup> As at Bibracte, Aurès thought he could deduce the size of the Gaulish foot from these measurements. In 1874 Castagné published a very comprehensive account of his work. He thought that the Romans had made a temporary camp at Murcens, after the conquest, possibly while they were building the aqueduct which starts below Murcens to supply the baths at the neighbouring site of Davona. The site was occupied during the Middle Ages, and in the fifteenth century the English were entrenched there. The wall at Murcens was a contour-defence. He discussed the different kinds of Gaulish walls, based on a comparative study of Murcens, l'Impernal, and the Puy d'Issolu, the three most important camps in the Département du Lot. Quoting Caesar's description of the *muris Gallicis* of Avaricum, he claimed the Murcens isthmus defence as of the same construction. It was not, however, peculiar to Gaul. It had in fact been used in Dacia, as was shown by one of the reliefs on Trajan's column (see p. 159). He suggested that the Gauls used timber-laced ramparts in places where they needed a defence against an attack by battering-rams. In areas which could not be reached by the rams, they were content with dry-stone walls, without timbers, which were sufficient defence against the scaling assaults of the enemy. This was illustrated at Murcens where the timber-laced *muris Gallicus* was built across the isthmus only; the walls on the escarped sides were simple stone or earth entrenchments like those found at the Puy d'Issolu. On the date of the defences, all that was known was that it existed in a good state in Caesar's time. Earlier events which might have given cause for its erection were the defeat of the Arverni and the founding of the *Provincia Romana* in 121 B.C., or the attacks of the Cimbri and Teutones in 110 B.C. He doubted whether the wood

<sup>1</sup> The present exhibit of Murcens material has at least fifteen iron nails, a La Tène III brooch, and amphorae, Gaulish and Gallo-Roman pottery.

would have lasted well until 56 B.C., but thought that the Gauls knew how to harden it by burning it, or, if good hard oak had been used, it might have lasted for a century. He was inclined to date the walls therefore as posterior to 121 B.C. but anterior to 110 B.C. The defences would have been well maintained in Caesar's time, but during the reign of Augustus started to fall into decay and the site was deserted by the population. He calculated that the cost to the Cadurci of this fortress was the raising of a defence of 164,000 cubic metres content, of which 83,000 cubic metres was required for the dry-stone wall defence, and 81,000 cubic metres for the *murus Gallicus*. In the latter, 13,500 cubic metres of wood must have been needed, or one-sixth of the total, and not less than 11,200 kilogrammes weight of iron nails. Murcens had produced no Roman arms. It was not rich in coins. Silver deniers of the *à la croix* type occurred and other small silver coins, identified for the first time, were attributed to the Cadurci. Bronze coins, notably those of the Bituriges and of Nîmes, were found. He stressed the point that amphorae were found down to the foundations of the walls, both at Murcens and at l'Impèrnal. The querns from Murcens were principally of rotary type. The industrial quarter was in the south-east corner. Several hearths were found which may have been bloomery sites where the iron nails were forged. Several Gaulish hut-sites were found. In plan they were round, sometimes elliptical, or very occasionally square. One round hut had post-holes and a stone foundation. Their occupation levels produced pottery, iron nails, and some small finds. All burials found were incinerations and were in amphorae. These were plentiful in the earthen entrenchments and were contemporary with them and not later than the abandonment of the site. This was in keeping with Caesar's statement that the Gauls burnt their dead. In some of the amphorae small nails had been found which might perhaps have come from the warrior's shield which had been burnt with him. General de la Noë was not wholly convinced that parts of the defences of Murcens were not medieval rebuilding. The original enceinte, and the traces of the huts in the interior, however, he was convinced were of Gaulish origin. The later work on the site, by Viré, is unfortunately not available here for consultation. The site has also been re-examined recently and it has been reported that Castagné's plan and area need correction from 150 hectares to 73, and that the stretch of wall examined did not agree with the description and dimensions given by him.

Delpon, *Statistique du département du Lot I* (1831), 423-6.

de Crazannes, *B.M.* i (1834), 15.

\*Cuquel, *Uxellodunum à Murceint. Nouvelles recherches sur l'emplacement de cette ville* (1865).

\*Castagné, *Mémoire sur la découverte d'un oppidum avec murailles et emplacements d'habitations gauloises à Murcens, commune de Cras, adressé à M. Pébeyre, préfet du Lot* (1868). For extracts see *B.M.* xxxiv (4<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1868), 662-7.

de Caumont, *B.M.* xxxiv (iv, 4<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1868), 661-8. Drawing and plan of wall opposite p. 666.

\*Cuquel, *Observations sur un mémoire adressé par M. Castagné à M. de Pébeyre, préfet du Lot, touchant les ruines de Murcens* (1868).

Anonyme, *R.A.* xviii (2<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1868), 73. (Mentions iron nails given to the Musée Saint-Germain-en-Laye.)

\*Truart, *Le Midi pittoresque* (? date), 172 ff.

\*Aurès, *Mém. Acad. du Gard* (1868-9), 17. On the Gaulish foot.

Castagné, *C.A.F.* (41<sup>e</sup> sess., *Agen en Toulouse*) (1874), 427-538. Plan at p. 432. Drawings and plans of walls at pp. 454, 456, 462, and 446-7. (For translation of extracts by Young, see *P.S.A.S.* xxv (1890-1), 435-47.)

\*—, *Mémoire sur les ouvrages de fortification des oppidums gauloises de Murcens, d'Uxellodunum et de l'Impèrnal* (1875). Plans.

\*—, *Les Oppidums de Murcens, l'Impèrnal et Uxellodunum* (1877).

\**D.A.G.* (1875-8), s.v. Cras.

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 261-2 and 319-21. Plan and wall diagrams at pl. VII.

Bertrand, *R.G.* (1897), 247-8.

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 201. (Mention. Called 'beuvraysien'.)

\*Viré, *Le Lot. Guide du touriste, du naturaliste et de l'archéologie* (1907), 85 and 284.

Viré, *B.S.P.F.* v (1908), 23 and 74. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. xiv. (Mention.) *B.S.P.F.* xii (1915), 95. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxxviii.

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 493. Diagram of wall at fig. 411.

Calmon, *Essai de bibliographie du département du Lot* (1934). (Bibliography.)

\*Viré, *Bull. de la Soc. des Études Lit. Sci. et Ant. du Lot*, 1<sup>er</sup> fasc., janvier (1936). Plan. *Gallia*, ix (1951), 175.

*L'Impernal, Luzech, Lot. Oppidum of the Cadurci.*

The town of Luzech, a cantonal capital of the arrondissement of Cahors and some 20 km. distant, occupies the isthmus of a promontory, the Butte de la Pistoule, formed by a loop of the River Lot. The isthmus has been cut through by a 100 m. long canal.<sup>1</sup> The promontory, to the north of the town, is an escarped hill, 223 m. high, with a fairly wide plateau on the top which dominates the river. The *oppidum* of l'Impernal is on this plateau. In 1860 members of a commission set up to ascertain the site of Uxellodunum of the *Commentaries* placed it at l'Impernal.<sup>2</sup> Castagné excavated here in 1872 and found a rampart of *murus Gallicus* construction. His attention had been drawn to the site by surface-finds of iron nails. He described the defences as enclosing an area of 16 hectares, or 800 m. long by 200 m. at the widest point. On the east side, the Cevennes de Caïx, the plateau is unapproachable from the valley below. On this side, as at Murcens, the defences consisted of a simple stone wall or earth entrenchment as part of a *chemin de ronde* encircling the *oppidum*. On the north side the plateau narrows to a col. Here, and on the west and south sides, it is protected by a high wall 710 m. long. The only approach usable by carts is along the col on the north side where lay the principal entrance. The natural subsoil is of Jurassic limestone, and the site is without natural springs. Whilst the construction of the long wall conformed generally to the timber-laced wall at Murcens, it differed in detail. It was founded on levelled natural rock. The transverse timbers, which determine the width of the wall, were 3.3 m. long, at all heights, and were spaced regularly 2 m. apart. Three rows of longitudinal beams were used, the first 0.6 m. behind the external facing wall and the others 1.1 m. apart. The timbers were joined with nails at their points of intersection and some of the nails still had traces of wood adhering to them. The first layer of transverse timbers was 0.65 m. above the foundations, and the others were separated by 0.4 m. These timbers, 0.3–0.33 m. in diameter, were all directly superimposed. Internally, at the bottom of the wall, they lay on the natural rock, but in the upper courses they abutted against, but did not penetrate, the inner dry-stone facing wall. Externally the wall was faced with flat limestone dry-stone masonry, derived from the neighbouring heights. The inner face of the stone rampart was not stepped but it had an earth bank, up to the height of the wall, which formed a 10 m. wide platform. The height of the wall varied from 4 to 6 m. On curved stretches the transverse timbers were placed radially to fit the terrain. As at Murcens, the transverse beams projected for 0.15–0.2 m. beyond the external face of the wall, and the ends had been rounded to give less hold for the battering-ram. It was not possible to determine the length of the longitudinal timbers in the straight parts of the wall, but in the curved parts the position of the nails showed that they covered either three or four transverse beams and were therefore 6–8 m. long. Castagné thought that l'Impernal was a fort secondary in importance to Murcens and the Puy d'Issolu, designed to serve as a refuge for a limited population. It continued to be occupied

<sup>1</sup> When seen in September 1949 this canal was being filled in.

<sup>2</sup> Although the Puy d'Issolu (or Capdenac), Lot, has in recent years been regarded as the most likely site, both Murcens (see p. 183) and l'Impernal still have supporters who

claim that their site is that of the final Gaulish resistance to the Roman conquest. In 1949 Luzech was preparing to celebrate in 1950 the bimillennium of this stand, cf. *Le Figaro* of Sept. 29th, 1949.

after the Roman conquest as the whole plateau was covered with Gallo-Roman remains. The site yielded coins of the Tectosages, of Augustus and Agrippa, and of the Early and Late Roman Empire. De la Noë considered l'Impernal to be on the small side for an *oppidum* and preferred to regard it as a *castellum*. The site was next excavated by Viré in 1913. He described it as a fortified promontory of *c.* 1,000 × 200 m. On the col he found a small and hitherto unsuspected medieval fortress. Underneath its walls, at a depth of 3 m., was the *murus Gallicus* with its iron nails, 0.25–0.38 m. long. This wall was exposed over a length of *c.* 20 m., but only its external side was studied so as not to destroy later superimposed walls dated as possibly fifth to sixth century A.D. The *murus Gallicus* was 3 m. thick at least and was faced with flat stones. It was very unstable and tended to collapse before it could be photographed. In this part of the wall the beam-holes were spaced at intervals of 1.9 m. There was no longer any liaison between the facing wall and the rubble filling, but the nails were still in position at the points of intersection of the beams in the filling. Here the wall showed evidence of having been built hastily. It lacked the beauty and finish of Gallic walls as described by Caesar, or as described by Castagné at Murcens and in his sections at l'Impernal. At three points, fairly near to each other, Viré found three infants' skeletons which had been inserted between the facing wall and the rubble filling. Inside the *oppidum*, Labry, who was excavating the Gallo-Roman sites, found a Roman building of careful, well-mortared masonry of first-century date, and later buildings of coarser construction. Viré concluded that l'Impernal was occupied from the beginning of the Iron Age until the twelfth century A.D., when the population had left for Luzech. His sections through the col defence showed that it was of three periods:

- (i) a rampart with a calcined core (which may or may not have been founded on the natural rock),
- (ii) the *murus Gallicus* defence, outside the calcined rampart and built on its spill,
- (iii) a 'barbarous' wall superimposed on the calcined rampart.

The *murus Gallicus* has a foundation of large limestone blocks laid on the earlier debris level. Two vertical facing walls were built on this 3.9 m. apart. The stones used were not worked but were carefully chosen and of varying sizes. Between the two facing walls stones, earth full of sherds, slag, and occupation debris had been thrown in to form a core. On this foundation, 0.3 m. deep, the first row of transverse beams had been laid. They extended through the thickness of the wall, and were joined together by two rows of longitudinal beams, 1.3 m. apart, the first being 1.3 m. behind the outer facing. Only two rows were found, although Castagné, in two of his sections, described three rows. Nails were found in position. Successive layers of stones and rubble or timbers were added at intervals between timbers of 0.3 m. The upper part of the wall had been destroyed by the later wall of 'barbarous' date and only three rows of transverse timbers remained. These were not superimposed, nor was there any very symmetrical arrangement. Castagné's observation that the beams in the interior of the wall were packed with flat stones was not confirmed. The external facing wall stood only 1.7–2 m. high and had to be revetted during excavation to keep it intact. Viré estimated the size of the beams as *c.* 0.3–0.35 m. in diameter, and the nails as varying in length from 0.39 to 0.24 m. They were of a quadrangular pyramidal form with slightly flattened heads, perhaps due to hammer blows, and, on the whole, were very well preserved. Although the majority were at the points of intersection of the beams, a few were found nearly at the end of the beams against the wall facing, as at Alesia (see p. 197). In addition to the infant skeletons and odd human bones mixed in the rubble filling, an adult burial was found between the outer facing wall and the rubble core. The head had been severed below the atlas vertebra and was placed on a flat stone laid on the thorax and then surrounded by a sort of cairn of flat stones. Although there were no associated datable objects, this burial appeared to be contemporary with the build of the wall. Other burials outside and against the wall were of medieval date. Viré, helped by three professionals,

experimented with the use of the 'Sorcerer's Ring' and forecast the site and depth of metal finds at one spot. Excavation there produced iron arrowheads, bronze rings, and pottery. An attempt was made also to trace the line of the nails in the *murus Gallicus* (which was not apparent on the surface and the position of Castagné's sections was no longer known). A 600-m. line was worked out which it was hoped could be tested by trial trenching. No hut-sites were found in 1913. Long trenches opened in the interior produced no evidence of occupation. A single Gaulish coin was found in front of the rampart, and a bronze Armorican coin of the Curiosolites. Gallo-Roman remains scarcely existed except in the centre of the *oppidum*. Castagné's reference to them was vague and only one of those shown on his plan was found, but foundations of buildings of two to three periods were excavated.<sup>1</sup> Excavation, interrupted by the 1914-18 war, was resumed for short periods in 1918-21, and a full season was worked in 1922. Viré now added l'Impèrnal to his list of French calcined camps, with the reservation that, as only a very small stretch of the bank had been examined (3-4 m. at the col), he could not be dogmatic about its structure or about calcination in general. The calcined wall was formed of a core made of limestones of small size, of all shapes, but rarely flat as were the facing stones of the Gallic wall. The lime was hard and compact and formed an excellent cement. The calcination was inconsistent and irregular and the wall contained carbon and ashes. The bank sloped externally but was fairly vertical internally. Its original height could not be determined exactly, but it may have stood 3 m. high and have been 3 m. wide. A trench inside the wall showed that it was composed of alternate beds of cinders and carbon mixed with pottery sherds and of half-calcined stones and lime debris. Much wood must have been used as the cinder beds were more than 1 m. thick. Viré thought that the lime had been produced behind the wall in great open fires and thrown on to the stone layers as they were put in place. The lime did not appear to have been quenched but thrown into the middle of other material as it came out of the fire. It must have been put out by rain-water or by the humidity of the atmosphere. The pottery found included only small vessels. To quench lime would require a great deal of water which would have had to be carried from the river. To do this the inhabitants would surely have used vessels of ampler dimensions. The pottery from the calcined rampart and the hearths behind it were of one period. No complete sections were obtained, but a build-up of the fragments showed that they were pots with everted rims, rounded bodies scarcely carinated, and round bases, sometimes with a light foot. They were characteristic of Hallstatt pottery. No other finds belonged to this period and the rampart was of Hallstatt date. In 1922 the *murus Gallicus* was re-examined at several points. It was found, as before, to be in poor condition. Wherever seen it was founded on the Hallstatt rubbish layer and not on the natural rock. Although only c. 4 m. separate it from the Hallstatt calcined rampart, it produced no finds of Hallstatt date but only La Tène II-III material. The pottery consisted of small coarse pots mixed with sherds of amphorae. Five brooches and some brooch fragments were found, of La Tène II and La Tène III type. Viré thought that the iron nails might have been made on the site. Other finds included an iron javelin head, bronze rings (one with an intaglio), a glass bead, and an enamelled stud. The only coin found was a forged bronze of the type attributed to either the Aedui (a barbarous copy of a Marseilles coin) or to the Andecavi or Turoni. Castagné's, and earlier, coin finds had not been described and were not available for comparison. The finds were lodged in the Musée de Luzech.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Viré's accounts of the Roman and medieval finds have been omitted.

<sup>2</sup> A contoured model of the site and Viré's 1922 section are exhibited in this museum. Hallstatt pottery from the calcined rampart or debris level under the *murus Gallicus* was noted during a visit in 1949, but, as rearrangement of the

collections was then planned, the La Tène pottery was not seen. A La Tène III brooch, found in August 1922 in the col in front of the Gallic wall, was noted, and iron nails from the wall which measured 0.24-0.39 m. Four similar nails from l'Impèrnal were also noted in the Musée de Cabrerets, Lot.

- Castagné, *R.A.* xxiv (2<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1872), 193-4.  
 —, *C.A.F.* (41<sup>e</sup> sess., *Agen et Toulouse*) (1874), 442-6 and 477-85. Plans at pls. II-III. Wall elevation, plans, and section at pp. 478-9 and 482-3.  
 \* —, *Mémoire sur les ouvrages de fortification des oppidums gauloises de Murcens, d'Uxellodunum et de l'Impernal* (1875). Plans.  
 \* —, *Les Oppidums de Murcens, l'Impernal et Uxellodunum* (1877).  
 \* *D.A.G.* (1875-8).  
 de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 328-30.  
 Bertrand, *R.G.* (1897); 247. (Mention.)  
 de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 201. (Mention. Called 'beuvraysien'.)  
 \* Viré, *Le Lot. Guide du touriste, du naturaliste et de l'archéologie* (1907), 85 and 284.  
 —, *B.S.P.F.* v (1908), 75-76. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. xiv. (Mention.)  
 —, *B.S.P.F.* ix (1912), 665-9. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lx. Notice of the excavations and list of supporters of theories on the site of Uxellodunum.  
 —, *B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 265, 333, and 687-711. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxxv. Excavation report. Plan at fig. 2. Ramparts at figs. 2-7. Nails at fig. 8.  
 —, *C.P.F.* (9<sup>e</sup> sess., *Loss-le-Saunier*) (1913), 828-30.  
 —, *B.S.P.F.* xx (1923), 51-76. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxxvi. Excavation report. Hallstatt pottery at fig. 1. *Fibulae* at fig. xx, 2.  
 Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 496-7. (Mention.)  
 Hawkes, Myres, and Stevens, *P. Hants F.C.* xi (1930), 65, footnote 1. (Mention.)  
 \* Viré, *Bull. de la Soc. des Études Lit. Sci. et Ant. du Lot*, 1<sup>er</sup> fasc., janvier (1936). Plan.  
*Gallia*, ix (1951), 139-40.

Oppidum de Villejoubert (or Camp de César), Saint-Denis-des-Murs, Saint-Léonard, Haute-Vienne.  
 Oppidum of the Lemovices.

A camp at Villejoubert, in the commune of Saint-Denis-des-Murs, canton of Saint-Léonard, was recorded by de Mortillet and Drouet. The latter described the site, with a sketch-plan of its position, but deplored the lack of information concerning it. He did not think it of Gaulish date. It was not until 1923 that Delage and Gorceix remedied this deficiency. In the commune of Saint-Denis-des-Murs the Rivers Vienne and Maulde approach to within 600 m. of each other and flow parallel for a short distance before they join. The narrow tongue of land between them forms a promontory, with an undulating plateau top, some 100 m. above the beds of the rivers. On it the camp lies between the right bank of the Vienne and the left bank of the Maulde. Four slight hillocks on the plateau are separated by cols opposite the concavities of bends in the River Maulde, and were suitable sites for successive lines of fortification. The plateau was cultivable and has wooded slopes which are particularly steep on the Maulde side. At the narrowest part of the isthmus, where the rivers first converge, tradition has always placed a 'Camp de César'. Between 1880 and 1890 the rampart across the neck was cut through to make a road. Finds recovered were thought then to indicate a Roman date, but they do not seem to have been preserved. The rampart, 350 m. long, is continuous except where cut by the road. The natural subsoil is of gneiss. In places an external ditch, 15 m. across, can be traced but may be shallow in the rocky subsoil. In 1920 the proprietor of the site, wishing to obtain building materials, cleared the overgrowth on the rampart and dug into it. Delage and Gorceix then examined it and collected information from the workmen. They reported that the defence was undoubtedly of *murus Gallicus* construction, comparable to those of Alesia, Bibracte, Murcens, and Luzech. The defence was faced externally with a dry-stone wall, 0.8-1 m. thick, of roughly dressed stones set regularly. It stood up to 3 m. high on a levelled platform of natural rock. Square beam-holes, 0.3 m. in size, were observed, and 'canals' ran through the wall at right-angles to its face which the workmen took to be aqueducts. Their length



was not determined, nor was the existence of longitudinal beams recorded. The rampart filling was of earth and stones. Iron nails were recovered at two levels, one 1.5 m. above the soil and the other 0.8 m. higher. They were spaced 0.4 m. apart and the greater number were vertical whilst others lay obliquely. The nails produced for Delage and Gorceix to see were quadrangular, practically headless, and ranged in length from 0.16 to 0.4 m. They dated the wall on this evidence as late La Tène III. They searched the plateau for other fortifications. Supplementary defences seemed to exist at several points parallel to the Rivers Vienne and Maulde, and a smaller cross-rampart parallel to the main one across one of the cols. These works could not be dated without excavation. The area enclosed by the main cross-rampart was *c.* 350 hectares. The smaller cross-rampart reduced this area to *c.* 120 hectares. Only chance finds were available for study. The iron nails were the only metal objects, and a search of the interior of the camp failed to produce any surface pottery sherds. A polished stone axe was found at the bottom of one of the robber trenches dug into the main rampart. At various points in and around the camp amphorae had been found. Three rotary querns of Gaulish or Gallo-Roman type had been recovered inside the camp, and a fourth in the bed of the River Maulde. The site is not mentioned in the *Commentaries*, which do not record any military operations in the territory of the Lemovices. Villejoubert was not thought to be a town, but a camp of refuge for a rural population. In 1923 Delage and Gorceix tried to find a portion of the *murus Gallicus* defence which was undisturbed. They dug a 2-m. wide trench across the ditch to the top of the bank at its left end. In this area the wall had collapsed completely except for its foundation stones. It appeared to have had an inner and an outer facing wall separated by an interval of 2–3 m., the outer one being thicker and founded on a levelled rock platform. However, the tumble of this wall produced no iron nails. They concluded, therefore, that the centre and right end only of this rampart were of true *murus Gallicus* build with a shallow external ditch; the left side was a wall of strong dimensions without a nailed timber-framework and had a larger and deeper rock-cut ditch. Without long and costly exploration it could not be ascertained certainly whether or not this latter stretch was timber-laced, with or without iron nails.

Allou, *Description des monuments de différents âges observés dans le département de la Haute-Vienne* (1821), 278. (Mention.)

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 196. (Mention.)

Drouet, *B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 208–9. Sketch-plan of situation at p. 209.

Delage et Gorceix, *B.S.P.F.* xx (1923), 208–28. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxxvi. Plan at fig. 1. Ramparts at figs. 2–9.

Delage, *Bull. Soc. Arch. et Hist. du Limousin*, lxxii (1927–9), 123–52. Plan at p. 125. Illustrations of the ramparts, iron nails, and rotary querns at figs. 2–8.

—, *B.S.P.F.* xxxii (1935), 388. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxxvii. (Mention.)

*Bibracte, Mont Beuvray, Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray, Saône-et-Loire and Nièvre. Oppidum of the Aedui.*

Bibracte, the tribal capital of the Aedui, is situated on the summit of Mont Beuvray, a mountain over 800 m. (2,675 ft.) high which dominates the Morvan. The departmental boundary of Saône-et-Loire and Nièvre crosses the top of the height, and the camp is in the communes of Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray and Glux, 2.5 km. from Autun. Mont Beuvray is a granite mountain whose flanks are cut by three valleys from which flow small streams, all tributaries of the Loire basin. Geographically the site was well situated to serve as an emporium for central Gaul, as it is in easy reach of the River Loire and of the Seine through its tributary the Yonne which rises *c.* 4 km. from the foot of the mountain. The valley of the Saône also is only *c.* 4 km. away. Beech-trees cover the flanks of the mountain and alternate with thin pastures on the plateau on its top. Just below the

edge of the plateau a continuous rampart, Les Fossées du Beuvray, surrounds the summit following the contours of the ground. The area enclosed is 135 hectares and includes the four hills of Porrey on the east, the Teureau de la Wivre on the extreme north, the Teureau de la Roche on the west, and the Plateau de la Terrasse on the south. The principal road of the *oppidum* enters by the Porte du Rebout on the north-east, crosses the area, and leaves by the Grandes Portes on the south-east.

In 58 B.C., when Caesar was pursuing the Helvetians, he found himself some 18 miles from Bibracte, and turned aside to replenish his corn supplies there, the best-provisioned town of the Aeduan territories. The Aedui were old allies of the Romans and only opposed them when they joined the great Gaulish Confederacy in 52 B.C. at the end of the war of Gaulish independence. Bibracte itself was not the scene of any of the battles of this war, although the defeat of the Helvetians took place at a site *c.* 27 km. away. When the Aedui joined the Gauls in 52 B.C., it was at Bibracte that Vercingetorix called the assembly of all Gaul. A defeat, in which three of the Aeduan chiefs were taken prisoner, obliged Vercingetorix to take refuge at Alesia. Following the fall of Alesia, Caesar exercised discretion towards Bibracte and went there himself to receive its submission and then established his winter quarters there in the winter of 52–51 B.C. His quaestor, Marcus Antonius, accompanied him and established a camp in the *oppidum*, with probably the X and XII Legions.

From the fifteenth century onwards the site of Bibracte was placed by historians on Mont Beuvray. The main protagonists supporting this view were Raymond de Marliano (*c.* 1470) and Guy Nivernais (*c.* 1595). In the seventeenth century, however, the historians of Autun forsook this tradition and claimed their city to be the site. The controversy was only terminated by the excavations of Bulliot on Mont Beuvray from 1867 onwards in which he produced archaeological proof that it was the site of a Gaulish and Gallo-Roman town; and the work of Roidot-Deléage,<sup>1</sup> who showed that Autun was originally laid out on a chequer-board plan, bore no evidence of Gaulish occupation, and was the site of the Roman city of Augustodunum.

In 1853, when Bulliot was working on the defensive system of the Romans in the Aeduan country, he was shown the defences on Mont Beuvray as the site of a Roman camp. Impressed by the ramparts and their characteristics, he put forward the view, against all current schools of thought, that it was the site of Bibracte. He had great difficulty in getting this view adopted. In 1865 Colonel Stoffel, sent to Autun by Napoléon III, was scornful of Bulliot's theory, but, returning to the site later, he examined it with Garenne (who had been well primed on the subject by Bulliot) and reversed his opinion. He gave Garenne a small grant for excavation which was used that year to spend three days trial-trenching in the camp. The Vicomte d'Aboville, owner of the greatest part of the site, did some further excavation in 1866. He had the honour of discovering the first nail from the rampart and the first piece of Gaulish silver coinage. In the Pasture du Sabotier he found a large oval hut-foundation which had been partially uncovered by Garenne the year before. Bulliot described it as the first found and only specimen of the residences of the earliest inhabitants of the site. He commented that its plan agreed with Strabo's text that Gaulish building was round in form, covered with a great roof, and built of timbers and willow wands. Vitruvius (Book I, Chap. 1) wrote of their building in the same terms (save for the roundness) and added that they were built of branches of trees, of reeds, and mud or clay. The hut was 10 × 7 m. with foundations of dry-stone walling. Two stones marked a roughly paved entrance. The absence of tiles suggested that it had had a thatched roof. D'Aboville attracted the interest of Mgr. Landriot, Archbishop of Reims, who re-interested Napoléon III in the work. Napoléon then appointed Bulliot to undertake systematic excavation and financed him until 1894, when the responsibility was assumed by the Ministry of Education. Napoléon III accepted Mont Beuvray as the site of Bibracte.

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires de la Société Éduenne* (1872), 371.

Bulliot's excavations were:

- 1867-8. A small forger's workshop 100 m. from the Porte du Rebut. Rampart and entrance. The workshops of the founders and forgers at the Come-Chaudron.
- 1869. Further work at the Come-Chaudron. The workshops of the enamellers.
- 1870. The Come-Chaudron.
- 1872-6. The Terrasse. The Temple. The Forum. Further work at the Champlain.
- 1877-83. Large dwellings of the Parc aux Chevaux.
- 1884. The Teureau de la Roche. Region of the Pierre Salvée.
- 1885-7. The Parc aux Chevaux.
- 1894-5. Pasture d'Échenault. Houses of the Parc aux Chevaux. Aqueduct of the Come-Chaudron.

From 1897 Déchelette continued the work. His chief sites were:

- 1897-8. Houses and large forger's workshop in the Pasture du Couvent.
- 1899. Small bath-house in the Parc aux Chevaux. Houses in the Pasture de l'Écluse.
- 1901. Very large dwelling in the Parc aux Chevaux.

The work relevant to this study is that done on the ramparts and entrance in 1868. Bulliot's trial trench in the Champlain area in 1867 had shown the presence of a nailed timber-framework in the ramparts similar to that of Murcens. In 1868, therefore, he examined the rampart from east to west between the Porte du Rebut and the Come-Chaudron. He uncovered a continuous stretch of the wall over 100 m. and then trenched at intervals for a further 290 m. as far as the valley. The stream of the Come-Chaudron had debris of stone blocks and nails from the wall in its bed. He found a large ditch outside the wall and the remains of wooden towers which had protected the main entrance. The length of the rampart round the camp is *c.* 5 km. It follows the ground contours and is founded on levelled rock or on a rocky subsoil used to fill in hollows in the native rock. This subsoil layer, mixed with clay, projected beyond the line of the wall over a third of the berm between it and the ditch. All the materials used to build the wall had been derived locally. The stones were but roughly dressed and included broken mill-stones, which, with other evidence, showed that the wall had undergone repair at different times. This was especially noticeable at the entrance where Gaulish coins, found on both sides of the wall, suggested a date contemporary with the siege of Gergovia and the Aeduan insurrection which preceded the siege of Alesia. In the 100-m. stretch of the wall exposed, four courses of stones were still *in situ* and 140 beam-holes were seen, half of which still contained nails. The stone facing was of small blocks and timber had been used lavishly. The beam-holes measured 0.2 × 0.27 m., and the nails were 0.55-0.3 m. in length, suggesting that the junctions were of halved timber as otherwise the nails would not have been long enough. It was not possible to say whether or no the beams had been squared. Bulliot estimated that if the wall had originally stood 5 m. high and the transverse beams were 3 m. long and were spaced 1 m. apart, the wall would require 37,000-40,000 cubic metres of wood for this alone. The first longitudinal timber was placed 0.2 m. behind the facing wall. Bulliot's diagram shows four rows of longitudinal beams 0.80 m. apart. The timbers were arranged *en quinconce*. The wall was usually 4.8 m. wide, but expanded in places to 7.3 m. where platforms may have existed. The lengths of the transverse beams varied considerably, and in any case the timbering tended to be irregular and inconsistent. Pieces of wood crossed the horizontal timbers diagonally, sometimes from top to bottom and sometimes flatly, and were found at a sufficient number of places for Bulliot to think that they were used generally.<sup>1</sup> In some places the timbers

<sup>1</sup> Déchelette was doubtful about their existence. They are shown on Bulliot's original sections, preserved in the Musée of the Hôtel Rolin, and are described by Hamerton in his eyewitness's account of Bulliot's work.

showed evidence of burning: this, and damp, had probably caused the decay which had necessitated the repairs found. The nails, universally present, were squared and mostly headless, although some had flat, squared, or rounded heads. Except where the walls had been repaired, their filling was of a sterile yellow clay derived from the ditch. In places cinerary urns had been inserted. The ditch was 11 m. wide and 6 m. deep. It was traced for 300 m., but may possibly exist all round the enceinte. Finds came from all levels of its filling, the latest coins dating to 27 B.C. Bulliot concluded that one could only attribute this work to the Gauls and that the lack of Roman finds could only be explained by a mass removal of the population to Augustodunum when that town was founded.

The main entrance, the Porte du Rebut, is the only one at all accessible with any ease and the only approach road to the summit that carts can use unless more than two oxen are used to pull them. This entrance is in-turned, as are the ends of the main ditch which reduce the distance between the flanking walls from 19 m. to 7 m. Remains of a wooden rectangular tower were found outside the entrance, a find at that time without parallel. The entrance itself had been burnt. On the east side the return of the ditch produced five Gaulish coins, at a depth of 2-3 m., associated with a Roman coin of Augustus. On the west side the return of the ditch produced Gaulish coins only. These finds were posterior to the cutting of the ditch and proved its Gaulish date. The flanking wall of the entrance on the east side was of *murus Gallicus* construction for half its length of 20 m.; the remainder was of earth and stones only. On the western side the flanking wall was much destroyed by the insertion of cinerary urns. Both the angles of the in-turned rampart showed traces of wooden constructions which may well have been the wooden towers of the *Commentaries*.

De la Noë noted that the wall at Mont Beuvray was rectilinear, but he was not satisfied that it was the site of Bibracte. Aurès believed that he had found in the dimensions used in the wall of Bibracte evidence supporting the use of the metric system of the Chaldeans, imported from Asia by the Celtic immigrants.

Déchelette did not re-examine the defences. He was the first to study the finds as a whole.<sup>1</sup> He attributed the occupation of Bibracte to La Tène III and considered it as a type-site for that period. He divided the pottery found into indigenous and imported. The imported wares were mostly amphorae from Italy or the Narbonnais, some with potters' stamps, and yellow- or white-handled Italianate jugs. The chief indigenous wares were the flat-based spherical pots with flat rims with a zone of decoration round the top of the body of incised patterns, three-legged cooking-pots, and plain grey (*terra nigra*) pots and plates, the latter devoid of potters' stamps. Butt-beaker sherds occurred and a few small fragments of pots painted with geometric designs. A few sherds of Arretine completed the picture.

On the coin evidence, both the analysis by de Barthélemy of earlier finds, and his own study, produced the same answer. The most active period of the occupation of the site was the second half of the first century B.C. The number of forged bronze coins of the period of autonomous coinage made up half the total and supported the evidence supplied by nineteen bronzes of Germanus Indutilli, struck after 27 B.C., and of thirty-three colonial bronzes of Nîmes, struck after 36 B.C. He appreciated that it was difficult on the coin evidence alone to fix with any precision the date at which the Bibracte houses were built. The provenance of many of the coins was uncertain; house groups were not clear; and in any case, without stratification, such groups would show a preponderance of coins of the period immediately preceding the evacuation of the site. Stratification had not been recognized at Mont Beuvray, and it was only in rare cases that a house-site showed an earlier substruction. The majority were founded on virgin soil. In all the houses the

<sup>1</sup> His material, and some of Bulliot's, is in the Musée de l'Hôtel Rolin, Autun. Finds are also shown in the Musée Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

forged bronze coins with a horned bull type were the most plentiful. None had been ruined or abandoned before the population took itself *en masse* to Augustodunum. On coin evidence alone it could not be determined whether or no the occupation of Bibracte had exceeded the years 58–5 B.C., and whether the houses had indeed been built in a masonry form prior to the arrival of the Roman legions or only afterwards under their influence.

In his comparison of the material from Bibracte with that derived from the Hradischt of Stradonic in central Bohemia, in which there was a striking similarity of culture, he noted that the pottery of the *oppida* of the Gauls had not then been studied as a whole. In 1904 the most abundant material available for such a study was that from Bibracte and the Crêt-Châtelard, Saint-Marcel-de-Félines. In general, at Mont Beuvray the stamped Arretine ware was mixed with the indigenous pottery. He dated the import into Gaul of Arretine to the time of Caesar and Augustus. Earlier carinated pots had disappeared and were replaced by the ovoid forms with decorated shoulders. The painted geometric Greek vase types were especially abundant at the time of the end of the Gaulish independence and the time of the Roman conquest. Bibracte had produced no fibulae earlier than La Tène III. Whereas it was certain that many of the houses did not antedate the conquest, certain might be Gaulish. They had dry-stone walls and were rectangular in plan with corner stones and entrance supports of dressed granite slabs. The floors were of beaten clay or were coarsely paved.

No account is given here of the famous metallurgical or enamelling industries of Bibracte, or of its Gallo-Roman buildings. It is worth noting, however, that some of the masonry walls of the houses incorporated large vertical timbers in their build, a feature also observed at Alesia and considered as typically Gaulish in origin. The final desertion of the *oppidum*, c. 5 B.C. on the coin evidence, would appear to be an organized move to the new Roman city of Augustodunum in which the population took with them the bulk of their possessions.

Caesar, *B.G.* i. 23; vii. 55, 63, 90; viii. 2, 4.

Napoléon III, *Histoire de Jules César*, ii (1866), 67.

\*Rossigneux, *Revue des questions historiques* (1867), 427. On the siting of Bibracte at Autun.

Garenne, *Bibracte* (1867). Plan at pl. II.

de Caumont, *B.M.* xxxix (iv, 4<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1868), 668–70. (Mention.)

Bulliot, *Ann. de l'Institut des Provinces des Sociétés Savantes et des Congrès Sci.* xii (2<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1870), 164–6.

de Villenaut, *Bull. Soc. Nivernaise*, iv (2<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1870), 503–9. On the Gaulish metallurgical industry.

de Barthélemy, *R.A.* xxii (1870–1), 16–33. Coins found 1867–9.

Aurès, *ibid.* 73–82. On the Gaulish foot measurement.

\**D.A.G.* (1875–8).

\*de Fontenay, *L'Oppidum de Bibracte, guide historique et archéologique au Mont Beuvray*. Published anonymously at Autun (1876). Obsolete guide.

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 263, 306, and 324–8. Plan and reconstruction of the wall at pl. VIII.

Bertrand, *R.G.* (1897), 247. (Mention.)

Bulliot, *Fouilles du Mont Beuvray 1867 à 1895*, i–ii (1899). Rampart excavations at i, 18–48. Drawings of rampart opposite p. 21. Sketch-plan of oval Gaulish house opposite p. 299. Plan, pottery, and finds in Album.

Déchelette, *C.A.F.* (66<sup>e</sup> sess., Mâcon) (1899), 119–82. Comparison with the Hradischt of Stradonitz. (Included in the *Fouilles du Mont Beuvray* of 1904.)

—, *C.I.A.* (12<sup>e</sup> sess., Paris) (1900), 418–27.

—, *L'Oppidum de Bibracte. Guide de touriste et de l'archéologie au Mont Beuvray et au Musée de l'Hôtel Rolin* (1903). Plan at end of book.

—, *Les fouilles du Mont Beuvray de 1897 à 1901* (1904). Plan.

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 203. (Mention. Called 'beuvraysien'.)

Déchelette, *B.S.P.F.* iv (1907), 310. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. x. (Mention.)

Guébbard, *C.P.F.* iii (3<sup>e</sup> sess., Autun) (1907), 1032–3. (Mention.)

*B.S.P.F.* xvi (1919), 179–80. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxxi. (For full bibliography.)

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 452–63 and 500. Plan at fig. 395. Fig. 412 reproduces a diagram of the wall. Hamerton, *Le Mont Beuvray* (1927).

Hawkes, Myres, and Stevens, *P. Hants F.C.* xi (1930), 81. (Mention.)

*R.A.* xiii (6<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1939), 272. Note on the pottery at Autun.

*Alesia, Alise-Sainte-Reine, Côte-d'Or.* Oppidum of the *Mandubii*.

Mont Auxois is a high isolated promontory standing 150 m. above the valleys of the Rivers Brenne, Ozerain, and Oze. Its south-west slopes, above the plain of Les Laumes, are occupied by the village of Alise-Sainte-Reine, in the arrondissement of Semur. On the summit of the plateau is the Gaulish and Gallo-Roman *oppidum* of Alesia. The site was mentioned frequently by the ancient authors, but is best known, perhaps, from Caesar's account of his siege of the place in 52 B.C., and the defeat there of the Gaulish Confederacy and surrender of Vercingetorix. According to Caesar:<sup>1</sup>

'... the actual stronghold of Alesia was set atop of a hill, in a very lofty situation, apparently impregnable save by blockade. The bases of the hill were washed on two separate sides by rivers. Before the town a plain extended for a length of about three miles; on all the other sides there were hills surrounding the town at a short distance, and equal to it in height. Under the wall, on the side which looked eastward, the forces of the Gauls had entirely occupied all this intervening space, and had made in front a ditch and a rough wall six feet high. . . .'

Napoléon III identified Mont Auxois as the site of Alesia of the *Commentaries*. Its summit formed an elongated ellipse of 2,100 × 800 m. at its widest. The main town occupied most of the plateau whose rocky escarpments protected it against attack. From 1861 to 1865 he ordered Colonel Stoffel to excavate in the surrounding country to find the ditches and banks of the encircling Roman siege lines. He thought it would also be interesting to find on the plateau the old Gaulish wall. Broken defences of dry-stone walling were exposed at places on the edge of the escarped plateau, and a remarkable wall was visible at the point where the statue of Vercingetorix had been erected.

De la Noë was not content to accept the identification of the site as that of Alesia until it was shown that a Gaulish wall did exist there. Although the area of the plateau was 97 hectares, it had still been too small for the army of Vercingetorix, who had had to station some of his troops outside.<sup>2</sup>

Sundry collections of chance finds were made by the inhabitants of Alise-Sainte-Reine from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century several prefects of the Côte-d'Or tried to organize research there. In 1819 the Comte de Girardin founded the Commission des Antiquités de la Côte-d'Or who undertook excavations on the site in 1819, 1822, 1836, and especially in 1839.<sup>3</sup> Exclusive of Napoléon's work outside the *oppidum*, the only work done between 1865 and 1904 appears to have been that of V. Pernet, Stoffel's foreman. He explored the vicinities of the Fontaine of Sainte-Reine on the south-west slope of Mont Auxois and the Croix Saint-Charles at the eastern end of the hill.<sup>4</sup> On September 18th, 1905, a gathering of some 400 people was held on Mont Auxois, presided over by Héron de Villefosse as President of the Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de Semur, at which it was agreed that the site should be systematically excavated. Trenching of the site in the areas of La Combe (or La Combe), Le Cimetière-Saint-Père, and En Curiot was undertaken from October to December 1906, under Pernet. Foundations, two cellars, a wall, and a Roman road were found, together with

<sup>1</sup> *B.G.* vii. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *B.G.* vii. 69.

<sup>3</sup> For accounts of excavations before 1840 see: Héron de Villefosse, 'Antiquités romaines trouvées à Alise-Sainte-Reine', *M.S.A.F.* (1904–5), 207–72; Espérandieu, *Les Fouilles d'Alésia de 1906*, 7 ff.; G. Testart, 'Les Anciennes

Fouilles du Mont Auxois', *P.A.* (2<sup>ème</sup> à 5<sup>ème</sup> années).

<sup>4</sup> For accounts of this work see: Pernet, 'Notes sur Alises et ses environs', *P.A.* (1906), et suiv.; *ibid.*, 'La Fontaine Sainte-Reine d'Alésia', *P.A.* ii (N.S.), 102–3; Pernet et Toutain, 'Les Aqueducs antiques découverts en 1898–99 à l'extrémité orientale du Mont Auxois', *P.A.* iii (N.S.), 40–53

pottery and Gaulish coins.<sup>1</sup> Since then the site has been excavated each year during 1906-14, 1922-39, and from 1941 onwards. Much of this work has been devoted to uncovering and preserving the Gallo-Roman and medieval structures found on the site. In this account only the Gaulish finds are described.

The first Gaulish remains recognized were hut-foundations. These were suspected in 1861, but in 1906 wattle-and-daub from Gaulish huts was found in a layer below the Roman level under one of the Gallo-Roman temples. The excavations of 1910-12, in En Curiot, demonstrated that it had been extensively occupied in the Gaulish era and had continued in occupation in a Gaulish manner under the Roman régime. The hut-foundations consisted of round huts with hearths founded on the natural surface, round huts with hearths dug into the natural soil, and rectangular huts with foundations dug into the natural soil. The latter had rock-cut staircases or occasionally steps of laid stones. The cellars had sometimes a lining wall of dry-stone build. The floors were of beaten earth and were covered with an occupation-layer 0.1-0.15 m. deep. The rectangular foundations were, in general, considered to be hut-sites, but a number of superficial circular hollows were thought to have been silos. There did not appear to be any clear-cut division between the Gaulish and the Gallo-Roman occupation of the hut-sites, and, indeed, it was stated that the Gaulish quarter had kept its character under the Roman occupation. In the centre of the town the oldest houses of the Gallo-Roman period seemed to possess earlier Gaulish foundations. In several points in the town isolated hearths of potters and metallurgists were found under the Gallo-Roman level. Toutain found that many of the Gallo-Roman houses were built over cellars in which it was possible to recognize walls of wood and stone of Gallic type. In a house excavated in 1924 the cellar had on its north and south sides dry-stone walls with vertical slits which had held timber beams. This was taken as proof that the cellar antedated the Roman period, or that, if it dated to that period, it was built in the Gaulish tradition. Barbe suggested that such finds as could be attributed to the foundations of the Gaulish huts were probably of first century B.C. date. Finds from 1906 onwards are lodged in the Musée Alesia, Alise-Sainte-Reine, and noteworthy finds of early date include the small bronze statuette of a recumbent Gaul and the wooden 'pipes of Pan'.

The Gaulish defences of Alesia have been studied at various times. Before 1865 the defence across the isthmus at the east end of the camp still survived in much of its length. When the statue of Vercingetorix was erected, Napoléon III ordered that some 1.5 m. in height of the western portion of the plateau should be levelled so that it could be seen clearly from the plain of Les Laumes. In this levelling, the greater part of this defence was demolished. It survived only for c. 50 m. to the south-west of the statue and at a point to its north near the edge of the plateau for some 20 m. south of an iron cross. On May 25th, 1908, Déchelette visited the site and, at his request, part of the defence, where it was practically level with the slope of the hill, was opened for him to see. It was then photographed. It consisted of four dry-stone courses standing up to 0.75 m. The rampart was examined more thoroughly in 1911 by Espérandieu. He showed that it was certainly of nailed *muris Gallicus* construction. He traced a stretch of 25 m. from the edge of the plateau on the east. The first 6 m. had been destroyed down to its foundation on the rock. The remainder stood 5-7 courses high (0.6-0.8 m.). It was founded on the native rock with the lowest layer of timbers c. 0.3 m. above the rock. The longitudinal beams were 0.6-0.8 m. apart and the wall was 6.05 m. wide. Each longitudinal beam had four nails in position which showed that the transverse beams had been spaced 1.5 m. apart. The external facing wall was 0.7-0.75 m. wide and was built of blocks of unequal dimensions. The facing blocks were laid flat and were roughly worked: behind them less carefully worked flat stones were placed on each other, and inside flat stones lay obliquely against the core. At 13.7 m. from the edge of the plateau

<sup>1</sup> Reported by Espérandieu, *Les Fouilles d'Alesia de 1906*, 45 ff.



a second stretch of rampart started which ran in a north-westerly direction and made an obtuse angle with the first stretch. It masked the ends of the first stretch, and had internal and external facing walls. Only one course remained of its external facing, but nails were collected from its entire length. Internally this wall stood 3–6 courses high. Espérandieu thought that this second wall was slightly later in date and might have served to protect one side of the entrance. Its core was of stones, earth, and ash, and the ash was particularly abundant. He was inclined to date these defences to the first century B.C. and thought that they had not been in existence long before the Caesarian siege of Alesia. At the north end of the isthmus defence a large wall of blocks of stone similar to a 'cyclopean wall' was found. In spite of this, he thought that the *oppidum* was defended by a single *murus Gallicus* across the isthmus. Some thirty nails were collected from the wall. They were quadrangular in section, headless, and measured from 0.12 to 0.3 m. in length, but in general averaged 0.25–0.27 m. They were all well preserved. In every channel formed by the decomposition of the wood, a nail was found whose distance from the outer facing did not exceed 0.8 m. This was a detail which was fairly constant for all Gaulish ramparts (e.g. Mont Beuvray, the Crêt Châtelard, and elsewhere). These nails he believed had been used to tie the beams to the masonry and not to the longitudinal beams.

At Alesia a Gaulish road ran parallel with, but at some metres distant from, the main 'chemin du Mont Auxois'. Its distinctive feature was its wheel-tracks, described as having been dug purposely in the rock. The gauge was 1.52 m. and the width of each track 0.12 m. and its depth 0.8–0.1 m.

Espérandieu is not specific in his description of the finds obtained from the rampart. He mentions eight Roman coins ranging from Augustus to Vespasian, an Aeduan coin, two fragments of inscriptions, the remains of a funerary stele, two stone projectiles, two iron javelins, and the front part of a painted head of the statue of a woman.<sup>1</sup> Most of this material has been derived from the levelling of the site which has destroyed the stratification. In a recent dry summer (possibly that of 1949) the line of this defence was visible in the lucerne crop. M. Formerot, Vice-President of the Société des Sciences de Semur, mapped its course, and the Capitaine Grandperret of the Dijon air base took air photographs.<sup>2</sup>

For full bibliographies of the site see:

*B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 404–18. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxiv. Mention of the site by ancient authors is included Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 464 ff.

Selected bibliography for the Gaulish features only:

Caesar, *B.G.* vii. 68–84. The siege of Alesia.

Napoléon III, *Histoire de Jules César*, ii (1866), chap. x, 298 ff. *Atlas*, pls. 25–28.

\**D.A.G.* (1875–8).

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 295–7.

Jobard, *L'Archéologie sur la terrain* (1903), 95. (Mention.)

Anonyme, *P.A.* (1<sup>ière</sup> année, no. 10) (1907), 159–60. For Gaulish huts.

—, *P.A.* (4<sup>ème</sup> année, nos. 39–40) (1909), 596. Photograph of the *murus Gallicus* at pl. lxxx.

\*Espérandieu, *Bull. Soc. Sci. Hist. et Nat. de Semur-en-Auxois*, xxxvii (1910–11), 152–88. For Gaulish huts.

Guébbard, *B.S.P.F.* v (1908), 484. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. xxxiii. *B.S.P.F.* vii (1910), 54, 225, and 328.

*C.E.P.F.A.* Rapports nos. xxxiv, xxxvii, and xxxix.

Barbe, *P.A.* (3<sup>ème</sup> année, nos. 34–38) (1910), 505–7, 535–7, and 547–52. For Gaulish huts.

Toutain, *Bull. Arch.* (1911), 324–31. For cellars.

—, *C.R.A.I.B.L.* xxxix (1911), 237–48. For Gaulish hut-sites. Photograph of one at p. 242. Plan of the Gaulish area at p. 238.

Espérandieu, *ibid.* 554–6. For the *murus Gallicus*.

<sup>1</sup> A photograph of the defence and nails from Espérandieu's cutting is exhibited in the Musée Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

<sup>2</sup> From a note in the French press.

- Espérandieu, *Bull. Arch.* (1912), 195-9. Photograph of the *muris Gallicus* at pl. xxix. Sections and diagram of the rampart at figs. 2 and 4. Nails at fig. 3.
- Toutain, *Bull. Arch.* (1913), 378-83. For Gaulish huts in the En Curiot area.
- , *P.A.* (1924), 130-2. For a cellar with stone-and-timber walls.
- , *P.A.* i (N.S.) (1925), 97-107.
- Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 464-72 and 496.
- \*Toutain, *La Gaule antique vue dans Alesia* (1932).
- , *Le Passé et la découverte d'Alésia* (1948).

*Vertault (Vertillum or Landunum), near Laignes, Châtillon-sur-Seine, Côte-d'Or. Oppidum of the Lingones.*

The *oppidum* of Vertault, the *vicus Vertillum* of the Lingones, on the site of the Gallo-Roman town of Landunum, is a promontory-fort at the end of a chain of small hills near Laignes, in the arrondissement of Châtillon-sur-Seine. In 1852 de Caumont visited the site when the Archaeological Commission of the Côte-d'Or was excavating the Gallo-Roman city under the supervision of Coutant. De Caumont was struck by the remains of a dry-stone wall partly exposed in these excavations. It showed regular square beam-holes which were said to contain pieces of oxidized iron. It was not then appreciated that this was a *muris Gallicus*. In 1868 de Caumont wrote that the point of attachment of the promontory was narrow, and that it was this isthmus that was defended with a well-preserved wall and ditch. The wall showed two rows of beam-holes, and iron nails, from 0.2 m. or more in length, were found in large numbers and had been seen *in situ*. It was therefore a *muris Gallicus* defence comparable to those known at Murcens and Mont Beuvray. Adequate accounts of the excavations on the site later in the nineteenth century have not been traced.<sup>1</sup> The Société Archéologique du Châtillonnais have excavated frequently since that date, but much of the work has been on the post-conquest occupation of the site. Bohn quotes Vertault as an excellent example of an *oppidum* of the Avaricum type, and Lorimy states that at Vertillum there existed, as at Alesia, an important Gaulish township which lay around the Gallo-Roman town, especially in the central part, and formed an 'indigenous faubourg' which continued to be occupied in Roman times. It had been built into the subsoil at an earlier date than the stone houses, which in places were superimposed, and the area had produced first-century Gaulish pottery. Hawkes and Hull include Vertault among the centres of production of Gallo-Belgic wares.

de Caumont, *B.M.* xviii (viii, 2<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1852), 241-4. Drawing of the wall at p. 242.

—, *B.M.* xxxiv (iv, 4<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1868), 659-62. Drawing repeated at p. 661.

\*Lapérouse, *Bull. Soc. Arch. du Châtillonnais* (1884), 234 ff.

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 330. (Mention.)

Bertrand, *R.G.* (1897), 247. (Mention.)

Daguin, *B.S.A.F.* (1898), 161.

Jobard, *L'Archéologie sur le terrain* (1903), 98. (Mention.)

\*—, *Les Enceintes défensives antiques* (1906).

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 197. (Mention. Called 'beuvraysien'.)

*B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 423. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxiv. (Bibliography.)

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 496 and fig. 413. (Mention.)

Bohn, *Germania*, 6 (1922), 123-5. (Material excavated in 1910-13 in the Châtillon-sur-Seine Museum.)

Lorimy, *Bull. Arch.* (1934-5), 167-9.

*Gallia*, ii (1943), 258-9.

Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum* (1947), 203.

(References to Lorimy's reports on the post-conquest material in *Bull. Arch.* (1923, 1926, 1933, and 1938-40) and to Bohn's discussion of the Gallo-Belgic wares have been omitted.)

<sup>1</sup> Daguin refers to excavations there in 1895-7. *B.S.A.F.* (1898), 161.

*Mont Lassois (or Montagne Saint-Marcel), Commune of Vix, Côte-d'Or. Oppidum of the Lingones.*

Mont Lassois, sometimes called 'Montagne Saint-Marcel', is a commanding height 5 km. north-north-west of Châtillon-sur-Seine, and some 100 m. from the River Seine which flanks it on the east. Its top forms a spur of which the longer branch has a plateau top measuring c. 400 × 100 m., whilst the shorter branch, which is narrower, is of lesser altitude. The subsoil is of marl over limestone. The hill's slopes are steep and it affords an admirable strategically defensive position. Its proximity to the Seine is also of importance. The site has produced evidence of an intensive occupation of Hallstatt date and, following a gap, a La Tène III occupation, followed by some use of the plateau in the Gallo-Roman period for modest dwellings and perhaps two villas, and terminating with the siting on the lower spur of a large Merovingian cemetery.

The area was first explored in 1889 by the Société Historique et Archéologique du Châtillonnais who uncovered the cemetery and also found iron nails and pottery whose importance was not then appreciated. In 1930 Lagorgette, when engaged in geological research, discovered an important Hallstatt occupation near the most northerly point of the plateau and on the north-eastern slope of the hill (site Vix I). He worked at this area until 1939. After his death Joffroy resumed the investigation of the area from 1948 onwards. His first site (site Vix II) was also on the eastern slope, but to the south of site Vix I, and again a Hallstatt occupation, of lesser extent, was found. In 1949 he explored the base of the western slope (site Vix III) and discovered there a ditch and destroyed bank which represented the Hallstatt defence of Mont Lassois. The main interest of the occupation of this period was its richness in imported pottery and objects of Greek origin and influence. In 1952-3 Joffroy explored the top of the slope on its western side and it was here, on the periphery of the plateau on the larger branch of the spur (site Vix IV), that he discovered a timber-laced nailed *murus Gallicus* which would appear to be of true Caesarian form. The stratification at this site showed also a La Tène III occupation level under the modern humus which overlay the earlier Hallstatt occupation. In 1953 he excavated a tumulus which lay between the foot of the hill and the River Seine in which was found the rich and spectacular chariot-burial of a Celtic princess who wore a golden fillet on her head and was buried with imported treasures, including an amazing bronze vessel of unusual size and decoration.

Exploration of the plateau top has shown that it is eroded and that only some 20 cm. of soil now cover the natural rock. Post-holes exist, but no hut-plans have as yet been published. Only preliminary reports are as yet available of the La Tène III period occupation and no pottery or finds of this date are mentioned, nor have any sections or detailed description of the *murus Gallicus* defence been traced at the time of writing.

Corot, H., 'Note sur la découverte faite par J. Lagorgette sur le Mont Lassois.' *Rev. des Musées*, 6, nr. 35/6 (1931), 32 ff.

Lagorgette, J., 'Fouilles de la station hallstattienne de Vix.' *Bull. Arch.* 1932/3 (1937), 599 ff. 'La Céramique grecque de Latisio (Vix) au premier âge du fer.' *Ibid.* 1938/40 (1940), 463 ff.

Joffroy, René, 'La Poterie peinte hallstatt remue à motifs zoomorphes de Mont Lassois.' *B.S.P.F.* (1950), nr. 5, 281 ff.

Wernert, Paul. 'Mont Lassois, Côte d'Or.' *Gallia*, 7 (1949), 247-50.

Joffroy, René. 'La Station hallstattienne du Mont Lassois (Commune de Vix, Côte-d'Or).' *Rev. Arch. de l'est et du centre-est*, iv (1953), 97-107. Map of site at fig. 15.

—, 'Das oppidum Mont Lassois, Gemeinde Vix, Dép. Côte-d'Or.' *Germania*, 32 (1954), 59-65. Position of *murus Gallicus* on profile of slope shown at Abb. 1.

*Avaricum, Bourges, Cher. Oppidum of the Bituriges.*

The Roman town of Avaricum, the tribal capital of the Bituriges, on the site of modern Bourges,

is the classic site for a rampart of *murus Gallicus* construction. References to Avaricum in the *Commentaries* state that:<sup>1</sup>

‘When this business had been dispatched, Caesar moved off to the town of Avaricum, the largest and best fortified in the territory of the Bituriges, and situated in a most fertile district. He felt confident that by the recovery of that town he would bring the state of the Bituriges again into his power. . . . Having experienced three continuous reverses . . . Vercingetorix summoned his followers to a convention.’

In an impassioned speech Vercingetorix advised the Gauls that:

‘. . . any towns which were not secure from all danger by fortification or natural position ought to be burnt, in order that they might not afford the Gauls a refuge for the avoidance of service, nor offer the Romans a chance to carry off plunder and store of supplies. . . . This view was approved by general consent, and in a single day more than twenty cities of the Bituriges were set on fire. . . . They deliberated in a general convention whether Avaricum should be burnt or defended. The Bituriges flung themselves at the foot of all the Gauls, entreating that they might not be compelled with their own hands to set light to almost the fairest city in all Gaul, the safeguard and ornament of their state. They declared that they would easily defend themselves by its natural strength, for it was surrounded by river and marsh on almost every side, and had a single and very narrow approach. Leave was granted to their petition: . . . Caesar pitched his camp on that side of the town which was unenclosed by the river and the marshes, and had, as above mentioned, a narrow approach. He began to prepare a ramp, to move up mantlets, and to build two towers; for the nature of the locality precluded an investment.’

The description of the attack on the town states that:

‘. . . they [i.e. the Gauls] had furnished the whole wall on every side with a superstructure of wooden turrets, and covered these over with hides. Then in frequent sallies by day and night they tried to set fire to the ramp or to attack the troops engaged in the works; and whatever increase was made in the height of our turrets by daily additions to the ramp, they equalled by joining fresh scaffolding to their own turrets, and tried to check the progress of our mines where they opened up, and to prevent their approach to the walls by means of timbers fixed and sharpened to a point, boiling pitch, and stones of very great weight.’

‘All Gallic walls are, as a rule, of the following pattern. Balks are laid on the ground at equal intervals of two feet throughout the length of the wall and at right angles thereto. These are made fast on the inside and banked up with a quantity of earth, while the intervals above mentioned are stopped up on the front with big stones. When these balks have been laid and clamped together a second course is added above, in such fashion that the same interval as before is kept, and the balks do not touch one another, but each is tightly held at a like space apart by the interposition of single stones. So the whole structure is knit together stage by stage until the proper height of the wall is completed. The work is not unsightly in appearance and variety, with alternate balks and stones which keep their proper courses in straight lines; and it is eminently suitable for the practical defence of cities, since the stone protects from fire and the timber from battery, for with continuous balks, generally forty feet long, made fast on the inside it can neither be breached nor pulled to pieces.’

Napoléon III tried to identify the position of this *murus Gallicus*. Avaricum was situated, as is Bourges today, at the end of ground which is surrounded on the north and west by the marshy streams of the Yèvre, the Yévrette, and the Auron. The Gaulish town, adorned with public places and sheltering 40,000 souls, doubtless surpassed the Gallo-Roman enceinte. The appearance of the site has now changed: the marshes have been drained, the streams controlled, and the ruins have accumulated during several centuries and have raised the levels at several points. To the south of Bourges, at a distance of 700 m., the ground forms a col which, in the time of the Gaulish wars, was narrower than now. It slopes somewhat towards the square and shows, at 80 m. from the enceinte, a sharp depression resembling a ditch. The slopes, then steep towards the Yévrette and the Auron, mark clearly the one very narrow entrance giving access to the town. The ravine which descends to the Yévrette can still be recognized, between the Porte Saint-Michel and the Porte Saint-Paul,

<sup>1</sup> B.G. vii. 13–15, 17, and 22–23. (Loeb Classical Library. Translation by H. J. Edwards.)

by the sharp slope of the ground. Old plans of Bourges showed it marked as the valley of Saint-Paul. The opposite ravine, which lies towards the Porte Bourbonnoux, has disappeared under the successive fillings which make up the soil of the garden of the Archevêché. The extent of the area forming the entrance need not, in Caesar's time, have been more than 100 m. wide. It has lost its original appearance, above all by the building of the Place Sérancourt in 1700, on a site whose level did not then exceed that of the present fair ground. The depression which existed before the wall is no longer visible; it has been filled up during the different sieges of Bourges.

Buhot de Kersers, however, regarded this tracing of the Gaulish enceinte as premature. Insufficient evidence existed. He described an earthwork, the 'Vallum du Château', which was visible and could be traced in the vicinity of the Rue Carolus, the Route Dun-le-Roi and the Rue Chèvrerière. This vallum lies in front of the Porte de Lyon, which seems to have been one of the four gateways of Gallo-Roman Avaricum. It is, however, square in form and appears to be later or contemporary with the Roman road and aqueduct. He regarded it as contemporary with the Gallo-Roman enceinte. Its size was too small, and its apparent date too late, for it to be one of Caesar's camps raised during the siege.

De la Noë, whilst agreeing that Avaricum was located at Bourges, disagreed with the line of the Gaulish enceinte as traced by Napoléon III. He thought the area thus enclosed, some 44 hectares, was too small, and the line too far from the streams. If these were followed, the area would be increased to some 70 hectares and would be of a suitable size to accommodate the 40,000 defenders Caesar said were in the *oppidum*. Avaricum was unusual as being an *oppidum* situated in a plain. Du Buisson gives plans of possible lines of the Gaulish enceinte and submits reasons why he thinks that the *muris Gallicus* and traces of Caesar's siege should be discoverable by excavation at the neck of the peninsula. He thought that even small excavations would yield profitable results.

Caesar, *B.G.* vii. 13-15, 17, and 22-23.

Napoléon III, *Histoire de Jules César*, ii (1866), 255. Plan at pl. 20.

Buhot de Kersers, *Mém. Soc. Ant. du Centre*, i (1868), 15 and 43-46. Plan of the 'Vallum du Château' at pl. vii.

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 294-5.

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 197. (Mention. Called 'beuvraysien'.)

*B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 293. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxiii. (Bibliography.)

du Buisson, *R.A.* xiii (6<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1939), 60-72. Outlines of the enceintes at figs. 2-4.

*Camp de Cornouin, Lussac-les-Châteaux, Montmorillon, Vienne. Oppidum of the Pictones.*

The Camp de Cornouin occupies a spur of land which rises above the River Vienne in the commune of Lussac-les-Châteaux. The site was first described by Pinot in 1896, when part of the southern rampart was being demolished for the extraction of stone. Pinot saw in this rampart a fairly large quantity of iron pegs or nails which he described as *pointes de lances*, 0.35-0.4 m. long. They were all alike and were pieces of rusty iron, squared at one end with a flat head, and pointed at the other end. Madame Ferré, the owner of the site, wrote also of bridle-bits and fragments of swords having been discovered. The only one of these finds which survived appears to be a nail which Pinot presented to Delage. This is typical of those found elsewhere in ramparts of *muris Gallicus* construction. Pinot ascribed the camp to the Romans. Deloche put forward the view that it was the camp of Caninius, Caesar's lieutenant-general who came to the aid of Poitiers when it was menaced by the Andes.<sup>1</sup> Delage, following his work at Villejoubert (see p. 189), felt that a Roman date was very improbable and that a re-survey of the camp was desirable. He describes how between Lussac-les-Châteaux and the plain in which Civeaux lies, the River Vienne flows from south to north. Nearly opposite Cornouin there is a ford, one of several, but one to which

<sup>1</sup> *B.G.* viii. 26.

is attached a legend. Of this 'Gué de la Biche' it is said that Clovis, crossing Poitou to fight the Visigoths, found himself held up by the river which was swollen by heavy rains. A hind leaving the woods walked into the river and crossed easily, thus showing the existence of this ford which Clovis was able to use. The Camp de Cornouin is a triangular promontory-camp with steep escarpments on the west and north-east, the River Vienne on the west, and with its isthmus on the south-east and south. The defences enclose an area of *c.* 10 hectares and the camp has a long axis of 500 m. On the long west and north-east sides Delage traced, in many places, a dry-stone wall 2.5 m. thick and some 2.4 m. high. At the point of the camp there may have been a tower or redoubt which commanded a view of the ravine. The main defence was the rampart across the isthmus. A modern break in its centre showed that it had a core of mixed stones and earth. In places flat limestone slabs were also seen. The vertical external wall was faced. It varied in width from 7 m. to 15 m. and had spread in places to 26 m. When Delage saw it, it was 4 m. high, but in Pinot's time, before it was robbed for stone, it stood up to 8 m. high. Delage concluded that the Camp de Cornouin was not a Roman camp but a typical Celtic camp of La Tène II or III type. The rampart with iron nails was characteristic of the large Gaulish *oppida* of the first century B.C. and was a *muris Gallicus* such as Caesar described. It might be the work of a Gaulish chief, possibly of the tribe of the Pictones.

\*Pinot, *Revue Poitevine et des confins de la Touraine et de l'Anjou*, no. 9 of Sept. 15th, 1896, 280-1.

Desmazières, *B.S.P.F.* vi (1909), 351. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. xxx. (Mention.)

\*Pinot, *L'Avenir de la Vienne*, Jan. 1910.

*B.S.P.F.* xvii (1920), 126-7. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxxiv. (Bibliography.)

\*Deloche, *L'Énigme de Civaux, Lémovices et Pictons, le Christianisme en Poitou* (1924).

Delage, *B.S.P.F.* xxi (1924), 109-10.

Delage, *B.S.P.F.* xxxii (1935), 386-97. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxxvii. Plan at fig. 1. Photograph of a rampart nail at fig. 6.

*Le Camp (or Oppidum) de la Ségourie, Fief-Sauvin, Cholet, Maine-et-Loire. Oppidum of the Andes.*

The Camp de la Ségourie was first described by Godard-Faultrier and by Parentau. Situated on the left bank of the Loire, in the commune of Fief-Sauvin, some 50 km. south-west of Angers and 200 m. from the Ferme de la Ségourie, it is a promontory-camp bounded by the River Evre on the east, the stream of La Paillerie on the south, and a ravine on the west. On the north there is a rampart, 120 m. long and 7 m. high, of chevron form, barring a plateau measuring 250 × 135 m. and of some 2 hectares area. Roman remains exist to the north-west but outside the camp, at the Petit-Nombault, which was identified as the site of Segora. Parentau stated that the farmers had found in the rampart pieces of iron of unequal length. He claimed that this rampart was identical with that of Bibracte and a true illustration of a *muris Gallicus* as described by Caesar. It contained beams joined by iron nails.<sup>1</sup> This claim was probably based on the work of le Bœuf who had dug a trench parallel to the rampart in order to find out whether it had been built as a defensive work. He had found a dry-stone wall from which at 0.6 m. intervals he had collected ninety headless iron nails, square in section, which tapered to a point. They were 0.3 m. long and comparable to those found at Bibracte. He regarded this defence as a *muris Gallicus* and was supported in this view by de Caumont who confirmed its similarity with the wall at Vertault. Desmazières drew attention to the fact that the original discovery of the site was due to Tristan Martin who had mentioned it in 1810. He also commented that in 1910 nothing remained of the Gaulish wall, but that the site had at various times produced pottery and Gaulish coins mixed with Roman debris and numerous polished axes.

<sup>1</sup> A 'bundle' had been presented to the Musée de l'Oratoire, Nantes.

Godard-Faultrier, *C.A.F.* (29<sup>e</sup> sess., Saumur) (1863), 54.

Parentau, *Bull. Soc. Arch. de Nantes*, x (1870), 82-91. Sketch-plan at pl. iv. Drawing of the wall at pl. iii, 2.

le Bœuf, *C.A.F.* (38<sup>e</sup> sess., Angers) (1871), 58-59.

\**D.A.G.* (1875-8), v. Fief-Sauvin.

\*Godard-Faultrier, *Inventaire du musée Saint-Jean d'Angers* (1884), 263.

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 330. (Mention.)

Bertrand, *R.G.* (1897), 247. (Mention.)

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 201. (Mention. Called 'beuvraysien'.)

Desmazières, *B.S.P.F.* iv (1907), 492. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. xiii. (Mention.)

—, *C.P.F.* (6<sup>e</sup> sess., Tours) (1910), 1053-4 and 1074. (Bibliography.)

—, *B.S.P.F.* viii (1911), 427. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. xlix. (Mention.)

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 496. (Mention.)

*Camp d'Artus (or Camp d'Arthur)*, Huelgoat, Finistère. Oppidum of the *Osismii*. See above, pp. 23 ff.

*Le Châtellier*, Le Petit Celland, Manche. Oppidum of the *Unelli* or *Venelli*. See above, pp. 38 ff.

*Camp du Castellier*, Saint-Désir, Lisieux, Calvados. Oppidum of the *Lexovii*.

The Camp du Castellier, in the communes of Saint-Désir and la Motte, 3 km. south-west of Lisieux, with an area of *c.* 200 hectares (380-400 acres), is the largest camp in the Department of Calvados. De Caumont described it as occupying a plateau, defended by shallow valleys, which slopes to the valley of the Cirieux on the south-east. On the north-west there is a large entrenchment across the isthmus, 12-15 ft. high and 30-40 ft. wide at the base. There had been found in the centre of this rampart, which had been destroyed in several places to spread soil over the fields, a fairly large number of pieces of iron dispersed in the ground. De Neuville stated that the rampart had obviously suffered greatly by the time he saw it as it only stood *c.* 3 m. high in the best-preserved parts. It was fronted by a fairly well-preserved ditch, then 4 m. wide and 2 m. deep. The main point he makes is that the defence was constructed chiefly of a yellowish-white marl derived from the Lower Chalk formation and probably not from the ditch. The natural soil of the site is a very compact pebbly clay of Miocene derivation which makes this locality one of the most infertile areas in the arrondissement. This overlies the marl layer which is only reached by digging pits. The bank has therefore served for many years as a rich quarry for marl for fertilizing the adjoining areas. This explains the constant depredations that it has suffered. By 1879 only a few segments could be discerned. In 1877 the owner of one of these portions, when exploiting this source of material, was struck by the numerous iron objects found by the workmen. He reported this to members of the Société Historique de Lisieux. They visited the site and observed that in the centre of the bank, and on a straight line parallel to it, iron nails, 0.2 m. long, occurred at 0.6 m. intervals. De Neuville opened a trench in a different section of the bank and found nails *in situ*. He recalled Castagné's description of the *murus Gallicus* of Murcens in which the wall had possessed dry-stone facings and its core had been filled with stone rubble. He pointed out that in the country of the *Lexovii* stone was not so readily available, and that as a result they had had to modify their building technique. He suggested that the wall of the Castellier had possessed a nailed timber-framework, comparable to those of the *oppida* of the Cadurci and the Bituriges, but that the facing and filling had been made of marl. When freshly cut, marl sods could have formed blocks which could have been used for facing as were stones. Under the action of damp and frost these would disintegrate into a shapeless earthen mound. The timbers would not last long without protection and would have disappeared, but the nails remained to prove the original type of construction. He considered the camp, therefore, as an example of a *murus Gallicus* and a work of the



last centuries of the Gaulish independence. In view of its immense size and the poverty of its soil it probably served as a camp of refuge for the local population and their cattle in time of danger rather than as an occupied town. Sauvage mentions the defence as having a core of flints supporting the wooden timbers which were joined with iron nails. He stated that traces of the transverse and longitudinal tree-trunks could be clearly seen, and regarded the site as characteristic and well suited to rank as the camp of refuge of the Lexovii. Doranlo also appears to have accepted this evidence.

When the camp was visited by the Wheeler expedition of 1938-9 it was found that intermittent traces of an immense enclosure existed to the south of the Lisieux-Caen road (see above, p. 118). The area included two stream valleys, the western being the Ruisseau de la Motte, and the eastern the Ruisseau de Malicorne. Some parts of the ramparts were mere scraps; some were ploughed out; but a fairly well-preserved stretch remained by the entrance to La Motte Farm beyond the hamlet of Malicorne on the road from Lisieux to St. Julien. Here the rampart rose to a height of nearly 20 ft. above the present bottom of the ditch and there was a slight counterscarp bank. Three hundred and forty-five yards west of this point there was another free-standing stretch of rampart. An overlapping entrance existed.

de Caumont, *C.A.* ii (1831), 322-3. Plan at Atlas (1833), pl. xxxii, 1.

—, *Stat. Mon.* v (1867), 185.

de Neuville, *C.A.F.* (37<sup>e</sup> sess., *Lisieux*) (1870), 108. (Mention.)

\**D.A.G.* (1875-8).

de Neuville, *Bull. Soc. Arch. du Midi de la France* (1878-9), pp. 14-17.

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 196. (Mention.)

Sauvage, *C.A.F.* (75<sup>e</sup> sess., *Caen*) (1908), ii, 514, footnote 3.

*B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 283. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxiii. (Bibliography.)

Doranlo, *Bull. Soc. Arch. de Norm.* xxix (1914), 227. (Mention.)

—, *Bull. Soc. Hist. de Lisieux*, no. 26 (1924-5), p. 7.

*Mont Châtel* (or *Mont-Châtel*, *Camp de Naix*, *Oppidum de Boviolles*), *Boviolles*, *Naix*, near *Void*, *Commeny*, *Meuse*. *Oppidum of the Leuci*.

At a short distance from Boviolles, in the canton of Void, on one of the heights which dominate the village of Naix (the ancient Nasium), is situated the *oppidum* of Boviolles. It occupies a plateau on an end promontory which commands the valleys of the Barboure to the north and the Ornaïne to the south. It was first described and partially excavated by Maxe-Werly in 1877. A roughly quadrilateral area of c. 50 hectares was surrounded on three sides by a wall on top of escarped slopes, and on the fourth and accessible side was crossed by a rampart, 'La Bosse'. A possible entrance, which had been defended, may exist on the side overlooking the valley of the Ornaïne. His attention was drawn to the site by discovering that the local inhabitants had collected finds from the plateau during some fifty years, and he surmised that it might have formed a place of refuge for the peoples of that part of the country of the Leuci during the troubled times of the Roman conquest. Learning of Castagné's work at Murcens and l'Impèrnal, he thought that Boviolles might perhaps also be defended by a *murus Gallicus*, and on further inquiry in the village discovered that the inhabitants had collected a number of nails from the site. These were 0.2-0.3 m. long. He then examined 'La Bosse' and soon found a wall, 1.7 m. high, dry-built of undressed stones with a vertical outer face. Part of it had collapsed into the ditch dragging with it its internal timber structure. However, remembering Castagné's descriptions, he felt it essential to demonstrate beam-holes in position on the external wall-face. He identified one with a nail *in situ*, and then had to leave further work for his assistants after the harvest. In the autumn they enlarged the trench along the face of the wall and found regular beam-holes, the lowest being 0.2 m. above

the soil and spaced 0.4 m. above each other, and 1 m. apart. They identified the longitudinal timbers in the wall, and were able by measurements to predict and find the nails in position, and to recognize four levels of transverse beams. Maxe-Werly considered that the whole of 'La Bosse' was of *murus Gallicus* construction. It is not clear whether the remaining defences were explored. In trenches in the interior of the camp he found a rich occupation-layer and hut-sites. The occupation-layer was superimposed on a floor of irregularly placed stones. The huts were of varying dimensions and were round, oval, square, and rectangular, with dry-built stone walls. Finds seem to have been plentiful. Bronze and iron work, brooches, coins, and glass (possibly *milleflore*) are mentioned, but no detailed description or illustrations are given. The coins were mostly of alloy or bronze, one bearing the legend MATVGINOS, and a silver one with the Greek letters ΚΑΑ. Pottery was plentiful, but Maxe-Werly did not describe it as he knew nothing about the subject and contented himself with collecting the principal types. He did, however, mention that he had found a three-legged pot like those from Mont Beuvray, Lisieux, and Tours which were to be seen in the Musée Saint-Germain-en-Laye.<sup>1</sup> Bones he also ignored, as he could not distinguish them and there were plenty to be found if anyone should be interested in them. De la Noë published a plan of the site, and a diagram of the reconstruction of the wall in which he shows six courses of transverse beams and two rows of longitudinal timbers. He notes that the encircling walls on the three sides, other than the isthmus, may be of *murus Gallicus* construction, but that this was not proved. A berm at the foot of these walls could be distinguished as at Mont Beuvray. The dimensions of 'La Bosse' he gave as 300 m. long, 15 m. wide at the base, and 4-5 m. high. It is separated from a ditch *c.* 20 m. wide and *c.* 3.5 m. deep. He noted an opening through the centre of 'La Bosse', but doubted its being an original entrance, which would be more strategically placed, he thought, at its northern end. He believed that the main entrance to the camp was at its south-western angle, but that this had been obscured by a possible medieval château at this point. Although the excavations at Boviolles were of small extent, he felt that a Gaulish date had been proved.

Maxe-Werly, *M.S.A.F.* xxxviii (viii, 4<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1877), 276-92.

\**D.A.G.* (1875-8).

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 262-3 and 321-4. Plan and reconstruction of the wall at pl. ix.

Bertrand, *R.G.* (1897), 247. (Mention.)

Blanchet, *T.M.G.* ii (1905), 510. (For coin finds.)

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 202. (Mention.)

*B.S.P.F.* iv (1907), 498. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. xiii. (Mention.)

*B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 453. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxx. (Bibliography.)

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 494. (Mention.)

*Le Châtelet, Montigny-l'Engrain, near Vic-sur-Aisne, Aisne.* Oppidum of the *Suessiones*.

Le Châtelet, in the commune of Montigny-l'Engrain, is situated on the point of an escarped hill which lies between Courtieux (Oise) and Ressons-le-Long (Aisne). The area enclosed by the defences is 8 hectares 88 ares. The east side of the site carries the strongest defences, but all sides, though scarped, are surmounted by a single wall. Vauvillé, in 1887, examined the defences at nine points and made three trial trenches in the interior. On the north, south, and east sides of a squarish enclosure there had existed a timber-laced rampart which contained iron nails. On the east side the rampart was mostly in the ditch which existed across that approach. These fortifications had been largely destroyed during a rebuild of the defences in historic times and only the lower courses remained. No description was available, therefore, of the facing walls or of the relation of the enclosed timbers to them. The later medieval wall was built of much larger stones and

<sup>1</sup> Typical nails and La Tène III pottery from Boviolles are exhibited in the Musée Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

had an earth bank on its inner side. The ditch on the east side was cleared to the bottom and showed evidence of re-cutting. Its upper levels produced medieval pottery; below this was a sherd of an amphora, and at the bottom Gaulish pottery. The trial trenches in the interior produced Gaulish pottery and Gaulish coins. Vauvillé observed that the small area of the camp is against its being described as an *oppidum* and suggests that it may have been a *castellum*. He made no attempt to date the medieval occupation from the finds, but related it to extracts from Floard's *L'Histoire de l'église de Reims*, which affirmed that in A.D. 938 King Louis seized a place named Montigny in the Soissonnais country, then occupied by a brigand called Serle. On the prayer of the Archbishop Artaud he spared the brigand's life, but confiscated the stronghold. In A.D. 945 Bernard, Count of Senlis, Thibaut de Tours, and Héribert attacked the site at Easter and burnt and destroyed it. On this, Vauvillé dated the medieval rebuild of the defences to A.D. 938.

Vauvillé, *M.S.A.F.* x (5<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1889), 314-20. Plan and diagram of the rampart section at pl. 5.

—, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Hist. et Sci. de Soissons*, xx (2<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1889-90), 85-89. Sketch plan at fig. 1. Section of rampart and ditch at figs. 2-3.

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 195. (Mention. Called 'beuvraysien'.)

Baudet, *L'Homme préhistorique*, iv (1906), 265. (Mention.)

—, *B.S.P.F.* v (1908), 308. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. xx. (Mention.)

*B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 101. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxi. (Bibliography.)

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 494. (Mention.)

*Oppidum de Jœuvres, Saint-Maurice-sur-Loire, Loire. Oppidum of the Segusiavi.*

Jeannez described the *oppidum* of Jœuvres, in the commune of Saint-Marcel-sur-Loire, as situated on a promontory on the right bank of the River Loire formed by a deep bend of that river. The banks are steep and escarped and rise to a small hillock which commands the area. The hamlet of Jœuvres is situated on the hillock, opposite Saint-Maurice-sur-Loire, and from it a rock-cut wagon-track leads down to the Loire. The isthmus of the promontory, on the east flank of the hillock, is defended partly by a ditch, *c.* 70 m. wide and 120 m. long, and a rampart *c.* 15 m. high consisting of made-up earth, and partly by a small ravine. The promontory has a plateau top surrounded by a regular terrace which dominates a ditch. Other terraces, with small banks and no ditches, cross the isthmus at a lower level and, from frequent discoveries in them of long iron nails, it was believed that they were of *murus Gallicus* construction. The hamlet of Jœuvres itself overlies the site of the Gaulish and Gallo-Roman *oppidum*. All evidence of occupation is reported to have been found within an area of 100 × 120 m., centred on the house of M. Brissac which is in the centre of the hamlet. In sundry diggings in the area from *c.* 1876 onwards, a rectangular rock-cut hut-site, 3 × 2.4 × 2.5 m. deep, was found to the north of the house. The hut had a dry-stone wall clothing the rock *c.* 0.35 m. thick. Inside were found three intact handled amphorae, with thin necks and pointed bases, lying side by side. They contained ashes and some bones. Later some fifteen parallel rectangular cellars were found to the east of the house built into the rock. They measured 2 × 1.2 m. and were 1.8 m. deep. A pot fragment of black wheel-turned ware, with a straight rim-grooved handle and a flat base, was found with a piece of burnt wood said to be mortised. In 1886 a mortared wall was uncovered to the south-east of the house, and in one of the attached rooms, which had a stone staircase, was a cache of thirty amphorae. Adjoining this site two water-cisterns were found. M. Brissac was reported to have in his possession a number of finds from the site which were of Gaulish and Gallo-Roman date, but the rest and greater number had been sold. Among these were thirty-four silver and bronze Gaulish coins, some being of the Arvernian chief VERGASILLAVNVS. Durand associated the name of Jœuvres with a possible derivation from the site of a temple dedicated to Jupiter. A small figurine of a bronze horse, found by a farmer on the site, was described by Déchelette. He thought it an amulet, quoted analogies

from Alesia, the Rhine Province, and Carinthia, and dated it as La Tène III. A small bronze boar amulet of the same date was found in the same area. Déchelette made a trial excavation at this point and found silver and bronze Gaulish coins, bronze and iron La Tène III brooches, and Gaulish pottery. Bouttet mentions that Déchelette collected together a number of earlier finds from the site. Some of these were lodged in the Musée de Roanne. Déchelette did not, however, include this site in his list of *muri Gallici* and it must be admitted that as far as is known at present, the only evidence that it is such a site is the vague report that iron nails have been found in the terraces. He does include the site as an *oppidum* of the Segusiavi.

Jeannez, *Forez* (1889), 150-3. Plan at fig. 230.

Durand, *Diana*, vii (1894), 356.

Steyert, *Nouvelle histoire de Lyon et des provinces de Lyonnais, Forez, Beaujolais . . .*, i (1895), 80. (Mention.)

Déchelette, *Diana*, xvii (1910-11), 51-53.

—, *ibid.* 144.

Bouttet, *R.P.* (1910), note on pp. 12-13.

Bouttet, *B.S.P.F.* ix (1912), 444. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lviii. (Bibliography.)

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 813.

*Camp de César (or Camp de Coulounieix or Camp de Périgueux), Coulounieix, near Périgueux, Dordogne.* Oppidum, perhaps, of the Petrocori.

The Camp de César at Coulounieix is quoted as an example of a *murus Gallicus* camp by de la Noë, Bertrand, and Déchelette, and de Mortillet puts it in his 'beuvraysien' class. Viré says that it is wrongly called the Camp de Coulounieix and should be the Camp de César, Périgueux. Presumably the only description of this camp is that of Imbert, which is not available here. As no definite evidence has been traced to show that its defences are of *murus Gallicus* construction, it has been included at present as a doubtful example.

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 330. (Mention.)

\*Imbert, *Monographie etc.* (1894).

Bertrand, *R.G.* (1897), 247. (Mention.)

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 198. (Mention. Called 'beuvraysien'.)

*B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 147. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxvi. (Bibliography.)

Viré, *B.S.P.F.* xx (1923), 228. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxxvi.

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 497. (Mention.)

*Vue, Loire-Inférieure.* Oppidum, perhaps, of the Namnetes.

Déchelette includes a site at Vue among his twelve examples of *muri Gallici* in France, quoting as his authority the *Catalogue du musée de Nantes*, which is unfortunately not available here for consultation. The only reference to this site traced is that of Parentau, who stated that in the Musée de l'Oratoire, Nantes, there was a packet of iron nails from Vue identical with those from the Camp de la Ségourie (see p. 202). He hoped to be able to identify this site with the Viriliacum mentioned in a text of Feodard, relative to King Raoul, in A.D. 935: 'Rodulfus rex quoddam castrum Gosfridi vocabulo Viriliacum, quod contra eum quidam Aquitanorum tenebant, obsidens cepit, et Gosfrido reddidit, indeque in Franciam remeavit.'

Parentau, *Bull. Soc. Arch. de Nantes*, x (1870), 87-88.

\**Catalogue du musée de Nantes* (1903), 40.

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 496. (Mention.)

*Oppidum de Poulailler, Landéan, Fougères, Ille-et-Vilaine. An oppidum, perhaps, of the Ambibarii.*

On the western fringe of the Forêt de Fougères, at Landéan in the canton of Fougères, and some 20 miles south of Le Petit Celland, is the plateau-camp of Poulailler. Wheeler states that, with an area of *c.* 46 acres, it far exceeds in size any other camp of the region and is patently unfinished. The subsoil is granulite. The defences consist of a single rampart and ditch, the former an earthen bank with a dry-stone external revetment still partially visible on the north-eastern side. There is an entrance at the southern end and possibly also a northern one, and a postern at the north-east. Within the line of the northern defences is a detached length of rampart and ditch of lighter construction which is unfinished at both ends. The rampart structure is generally similar to that at Le Châtellier (see p. 41) and Huelgoat (see p. 25), though whether the structure includes timber-lacing can only be ascertained by excavation. Inspection of the visible remains, however, suggests by analogy with these camps that it is another large refuge constructed by an aggregation of tribesmen under stress and never completed.

Banéat, *Le Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine* ii (1928), 250.

Wheeler, *Ant.* xiii (1939), 69.

—, *R.A.* xiii (6<sup>e</sup> sér.) (1939), 114.

*Pointe du Meinga (or Ville des Mues), St. Coulomb, Cancale, Ille-et-Vilaine. An oppidum, perhaps, of the Ambibarii.*

The headland of the Pointe du Meinga, north of the village of La Guimorais and 3 km. north-west of St. Coulomb, in the canton of Cancale, is cut off by an approximately straight line of rampart. The area enclosed is approximately 40 acres. The headland is formed of mica schist and gneiss. The single rampart consists of a wide and rough wall of beach-stones backed by earth. It rises to a present height of 8 ft. with a present width of 30 ft. The character of the external facing of this rampart is obscured by a field wall, but on the inner face of the southern half of the rampart there are patches of burnt wood which may represent former internal timbering. Without excavation the evidence is not sufficiently clear to justify its classification as a *muris Gallicus*. Outside the rampart there are possible traces of a large buried ditch, but the ground has been heavily cultivated and excavation is required to confirm this.

Banéat, *Bull. et Mém. Soc. Arch. du Dépt. d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, xxiv (1895), xlvi. (Mention.)

Banéat, *B.S.P.F.* iii (1906), 415. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. iii. (Mention.)

*B.S.P.F.* xi (1914), 279. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxvii. (Bibliography.)

Banéat, *Le Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, iii (1929), 367.

*La Burette, Banville, Ryes, Calvados. Oppidum of the Lexovii.*

The hill of La Burette, at Banville in the canton of Ryes, situated on the left bank of the River Seule, 2 km. to the north-west of Caen, is a chalk eminence which stands out as a promontory between a river and a deep ravine. The narrow isthmus is defended by two parallel banks and ditches, the inner one dividing the whole area of 5½ acres into two. The inner ditch had been much flattened by cultivation. The camp was described by de Caumont. He specifically excludes the earthworks at the point of the promontory from the older defences, as he states that these were made by soldiers garrisoned at Courseulles nearby in 1744–55. When the ground in the camp was cleared at several points, rows of large hooked nails were found which the inhabitants supposed had been used as tent-pegs. In addition a man working the ground on the steepest side of the hill had recognized three rows of iron points sealed in the rock which appear to have been thus arranged in order to scale the rampart. The camp commands the sites of Courseulles, Bernières,

and the country between Caen and the sea, and is well placed to dominate the passage of the River Seulle. A mosaic, bricks, and tombs had been discovered in the neighbourhood, which led de Caumont to believe that the camp was of Gallo-Roman origin. The tombs, he thought, dated to the fourth century A.D. On this evidence it is impossible to be sure that this is a camp with a *murus Gallicus* rampart. Doranlo reported surface finds of worked flints and suggested the possibility of a neolithic occupation.

de Caumont, *C.A.* ii (1831), 315-17.

—, *Sta. Mon.* iii (1857), 542-3.

\**D.A.G.* (1875-8).

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 196. (Mention.)

Gidon, *B.S.P.F.* iv (1907), 446. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. xii. (Mention.)

*B.S.P.F.* x (1913), 281. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxiii. (Bibliography.)

Doranlo, *Bull. Soc. Ant. Norm.* xxix (1914), 222 and 248. (Mention.)

*Le Câtelet (or Camp de César), Avesnelles, Flaumont-Wandrechies, near Avesnes, Nord.* Oppidum, perhaps, of the Nervii.

Among the twelve French camps listed by Déchelette where a *murus Gallicus* was known to exist is included that at Avesnelles. He quotes de la Noë as an authority for this. De la Noë, however, only mentions Avesnelles as one of a number of sites at which there was noted the use of the stone-and-timber method of construction and whose Gaulish origin therefore appeared certain. De Mortillet includes the camp as an example of his 'beuvraysien' class. In an anonymous note in *L'Homme préhistorique* it is stated that in 1905 three Gaulish coins were found at Le Câtelet d'Avesnelles, and workmen found human bones on the north-east part opposite the village of Flaumont-Wandrechies in a compact black earth under an assembly of stones which may have been mortared. It was suggested that the camp deserved exploration. Without better evidence it has been listed here as a doubtful example of a *murus Gallicus* construction.

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 330. (Mention.)

de Mortillet, *C.E.F.* (1906), 203. (Mention. Called 'beuvraysien'.)

Anonyme, *L'Homme préhistorique*, iv (1906), 376.

*B.S.P.F.* xiv (1917), 468. *C.E.P.F.A.* Rapport no. lxx. (Mention.)

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 494. (Mention.)

*Tumulus of Bois Vert, Lavilleneuve, Côte-d'Or.*

Déchelette mentions that a large tumulus in the Bois Vert, near Lavilleneuve, was explored by the Société Archéologique du Châtillonnais. It had a peripheral wall, 1 m. high, which was built in stone and wood like the Gallic ramparts. The bank did not apparently produce any closely datable objects.

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 500 (note 2).

*Hastédon, near Saint-Servais, Namur.* Oppidum perhaps of the Aduatuci.

According to Schuermans the Aduatuci, who are believed to have settled the plateau of Bollandorf when they were admitted to the Belgic Confederacy, built stone-and-timber ramparts which may have been in the Gaulish style. The rampart of the camp at Hastédon, on the left bank of the River Sambre, is said to be an example. Déchelette thought that it might belong to the *muri Gallici* group, but Viré only quotes it as an example of a calcined camp. Recently some trenches

were dug on the site, and it has been stated that in one of them the traces of a *murus Gallicus* were clearly visible. No mention was made of any iron nails in the brief note which is all that has been traced at present.

Napoléon III, *Histoire de Jules César* (1866). Plan at pl. II of Atlas.

Bequet, *Ann. Soc. Arch. Namur*, xvii (1886-8), 422.

de la Noë, *P.F.A.* (1887), 330. (Mention.)

\*Bequet, *Compte rendu du Congrès Archéologique de Liège* (1890), 225.

Schuermans, *Ann. Soc. Arch. Namur*, xxi. 2 (1896), 282-5.

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1937 ed.), 498. (Mention.)

Viré, *B.S.P.F.* xx (1923), 57. (Mentioned. Calcined.)

*Fasti Archaeologici*, viii (1956), no. 4374, p. 321.

*The Ring of Otzenhausen, near Hermeskeil, Hunsrück, Rhine Province. Oppidum of the Treveri.*

Of a line of prehistoric forts on sites in the uplands of Hunsrück and Hochwald, of which those best known include the Wildenburg near Kempfield, the Ringkopf near Allenbach, and the Vorkastell near Borfink, the largest is the Ring of Otzenhausen. It is indeed the largest in the west German area. It was regarded originally as one of a chain of forts which played a part in the successive settlements in the area of the Celts and Germans in the last century B.C., sometimes perhaps serving as a refuge camp and sometimes as a settled *oppidum*, but it was uncertain whether it should be attributed to the builders of the Chieftain Graves people, of the Hunsrück-Eifel culture of Early and Middle La Tène date, or to the Celtic tribe of the Treveri just before the Roman conquest. Up to 1936 no scientific excavation of the site had been undertaken and all that was known of it was that there was a collection of sherds from it, of La Tène and Roman date, found over a period of fifteen years by Hettner from the vicinity of the spring.<sup>1</sup> Nor were the other sites of the series dated. In 1936 it was decided to investigate the Ring. The site was first planned. A ruined stone wall shuts off the south-western promontory of the Dolberges, which rise from the Hochenwald chain. The height occupied by the fort, 600 m. above sea-level, commands the Primstal, the valley of the upper Nâhe river and the Birkenfeld hinterland to the south-east of Hermeskeil and between Otzenhausen and Nonnweiler. In form the fort is triangular. The main defence was a single wall on all sides of the triangle, which was supplemented by a second wall which started from the main wall on the south-eastern side and followed its line round to the west where it faded out, possibly where an entrance existed. The main wall consisted of wide rubble slopes, best preserved at the south-west corner. A second entrance may have existed at the junction of the two walls on the south-east, but no entrances showed on the ground surface. The in-turned western entrance was said to be typical of La Tène *oppida*. The area inside the main wall was a flat plateau of 10 hectares. Between the inner and outer walls the ground fell away steeply and outside the defences were rocky slopes. The chain of hills on which the fort stands is of Taunus quartzite and this rock had been used to build the walls. Dehn excavated the site in 1936-7. In 1936 he examined the interior of the fort. Long trenches were cut across the plateau from north-west to south-east and from east to west, whilst a larger area was uncovered in the centre. In the trenches the remains of a destroyed humus-layer and a thin occupation-layer, which could not be separated stratigraphically, were found. Rubbish-pits and post-holes were found. The post-holes contained four-edged hewn post remnants, and colour-changes in the soil suggested sleeper-beams or foundations of huts or houses. The ground-plans could not be recovered in these trenches but, from the finds, they were dated as La Tène. The finds were few in number. A retouched flint blade and a stone axe were possible evidence of early occupation, but this was indeterminate. The

<sup>1</sup> These were lodged in the Trier Provincial Museum.



sherds were mostly of La Tène date, although some Roman material was found. The La Tène sherds consisted of a group of finely smoothed or polished wheel-turned ware and of some coarse hand-made pottery. The first group, of black-polished ware, included bowls with out-turned rims, flasks, and slender beakers of types which are found plentifully at Friedhofen and on the upper Nähe at Schwarzen den and Ruckweiler where they coincide with the appearance of the Vangionengebietetes. A few sherds were pale red and one had painted red stripes. The coarse hand-made wares were considered usual for those of the Treveri sites. Many had an applied unsmoothed black slip. Sherds of pointed Roman amphorae were found and were usual in a La Tène context. One sherd of the later Hunsrück-Eifel culture might represent a 'hang-over' of this culture, as it was associated with a black-polished bowl of quite late La Tène date, rather than evidence of earlier occupation of the site. Bronze finds were scarce, the most noteworthy being a stud with spiral decoration. Iron objects were plentiful and included numbers of pointed spears, knives, tools, and many nails which must belong to the timber-work of the walls. So many pointed spears and so much iron slag was found that it was postulated that they might have come from an armourer's workshop. Two Celtic coins were found, one of the Catalauni and one of the Senones. In addition there were fragments of a simple glass bracelet. The Roman finds were of differing dates. Sandstone fragments found on the edge of one of the cuttings were attributed to a Roman building. On this evidence, combined with that from the earlier finds, it was concluded that:

- (i) The Ring of Otzenhausen belonged to the series of late La Tène *oppida* and its occupants were, as one of the written traditions showed, the tribe of the Treveri.
- (ii) In Roman times a native sanctuary was founded in the town probably perpetuating an older tradition.
- (iii) In the unruly times at the end of the Roman domination the Ring was used as a place of refuge.

During 1937 the areas investigated were the central part of the interior of the plateau, the western entrance, the main wall, and a barrow which lay to the north of the main wall which had already been plundered. In the centre 2,700 square metres were completely cleared. Two ground plans of houses were then obtained. The main one was a long rectangular building with post-holes. Remains of the corner- and side-posts still existed, and a row of post-holes down the middle ran the length of the building and must have served to carry the ridge-pole. The entrance of this house could not be determined. The other house was smaller and was square, 3.5 × 3.5 m. In its angles stood four-cornered posts. The ground at the Ring was not suitable for finding house-floors or hearths and only post-holes remained of their plans. The post-holes produced sherds of late La Tène date. Earlier finds from the site, a limestone statuette of Diana and a sandstone boar now in the Trier Landsmuseum, had long suggested that there was a Roman occupation. In 1937, on the highest point of the site, there was found a small squarish building which is presumed to be a temple. The Roman pottery and coins found suggested that it was of the third century A.D. The spear finds mentioned above, it was then suggested, might be an oblation as often found in other sanctuaries of the Treveri.<sup>1</sup> An indistinct and non-continuous ditch was also found in the central area which evidently served as a boundary separating it from the rest of the interior. It appeared to have been filled in during the occupation as it contained La Tène sherds and bronze and iron remains, but further work was considered necessary before it could be dated more specifically. The position of the western entrance of the camp was proved. It was 6 m. wide and the wall-ends on each side had three large stone-faced post-holes. The gateway itself had at one time been divided by two similarly faced posts which may have supported a gatehouse over two roadways *c.* 2 m. and 5 m. wide. The roadways were paved with small flat stones and the area had

<sup>1</sup> See Hettner, *Drei Tempelbezirke in Treverlande* (1901). Details of this Roman building have been omitted.

been levelled by filling in the sloping hollows. In the paving of the entrance an iron horseshoe was found, and in the outer half of the gate fragments of iron wheel-tires and harness-trappings. In the wall to the south-west, two further post-holes occurred in the outer face; otherwise the wall was built of an outer facing of large set-out blocks, filled behind with rubbish, but nowhere was an inner facing found. On the other side of the entrance the wall was not well preserved, but it was found that it had been laid on a flat foundation dug out of the sloping hill and had an outer faced wall. In the foundation and under the wall late La Tène sherds were found. These, together with similar ones from the rubbish throw-up, date the wall to the last century B.C. The northern wall of the camp produced a row of quadrangular iron nails, up to 0.17 m. long, which joined obvious and plentiful timber balks. In 1883 Hettner had also found iron nails in the main wall. The type of wall construction in the Ring of Otzenhausen was therefore described as a *murus Gallicus*. Up to 1937 a nailed timber-framework had, Dehn observed, only been found in Gaul Proper.<sup>1</sup> The walls at each side of the gateway were only partially examined and it was considered that they should be cleared further at a later date. Outside the main wall a flat hollow had been scooped out to provide material for the walls, but it did not appear to be a true or continuous ditch. The barrow proved to be of late La Tène date and belonged to the Hunsrück-Eifel II culture. The wall of the Ring itself was dated to the last century B.C. and was attributed to the Treveri.

Hettner, *W.Z.K.* 2 (1883), 53. For nail finds in the main wall.

\*Lehner, *Der Ring von Otzenhausen* (1894).

\*Schumacher, *Katalog des Römisch-germanischen Centralmuseums*, 5 (1913).

Baldes and Behrens, *Katalog Birkenfeld*, iii (1914), 59 and 122.

Schumacher, *P.Z.* 8 (1916), 148-9. (Mention.)

Kruger, *Germania*, 1 (1917), 41-42. For the Roman limestone statuette of Diana.

Schumacher, *S.K.G.* i (1921), 131-2. Photograph of the site at Abb. 44.

—, *R.V.* 9 (1927), 319. See Otzenhausen, plan at Taf. 241.

\*Steiner, *Vorzeitburgen des Hochwaldes* (1932), 67 ff. Figures of Roman limestone statuette of Diana and sandstone boar at Abb. 44, p. 78.

\**Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik*, 41 (1937), 872. Abb. 5 for the sandstone boar.

Dehn, *Germania*, 21 (1937), 78-82. Excavation report. Photographs of the wall at Taf. 1-2 and of the entrance at Taf. 17. Plan. Photograph and profiles of pottery sherds at Taf. 1 and Abb. 1-2. Photograph of the two Celtic coins at Abb. 2.

—, *ibid.* 229-32. Excavation report.

#### *Tarodunum, Zarten, near Freiburg, Baden Province. Oppidum of the Raurici.*

In the midst of a stretch of high hills overlooking Talkessel, and between Zarten and Wiesneck, is the height of Dreisam flanked by the Rotbach and Wagensteinbach streams. It carries an *oppidum*, c. 1,400 m. long, with an area of 190-200 hectares. Its defence has been shown to be of nailed *murus Gallicus* type. The wall or 'Heidenmauer' has an external ditch and is backed by an earthen ramp. It was excavated in 1901 by Fabricius and Leonhard, but they did not determine either the extent or type of fortification or its date. Iron nails and timbers were, however, observed in the entrance defences. Schumacher noted that the sherds found in the ditch, 12 m. wide × 4 m. deep, were scarce but characteristic, and were comparable with those from Basle in the Freiburg Museum. They had the same rim profile and decoration: a lattice pattern of black, printed on a red ground, and wavy-line bands, stamped impressions and barbotine spots like those of Bibracte.<sup>2</sup> Tarodunum was a Gaulish capital, and a tribal centre of the Raurici who held the right bank of the Rhine in Caesarian times. Schumacher thought that the evidence for identifying the site with the

<sup>1</sup> It would appear that Burghead in Scotland had been overlooked.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Déchelette, *Mont Beuvray* (1904), pls. ix, 22, and xxxiii.

Tarodunum of Ptolemy was satisfactory. Dehn includes this site as one of the three known examples in Germany of a nailed *muris Gallicus* defence.

\*Fabricius, *Die Besitzergreifung Badens durch die Römer* (1901), 13 ff.

Anthes, *B.R.G.K.* 2 (1905), 32–33. (Mention.)

\*Wagner, *Fundstätten und Funde*, I (1908), 221–3, Abb, 146.

\*Schumacher, *Katalog des Römisch-germanischen Centralmuseums*, 5 (1913), 162, nr. 266.

—, *P.Z.* 6 (1914), 242.

—, *S.K.G.* I (1921), 142–3. Photographs of the site at Abbs. 50 and 51.

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 499. (Mention.)

Schumacher, *R.V.* xiv (1929), 483. (Bibliography.)

Dehn, *Germania*, 23 (1939), 26. (Mention.)

*Manching, Ingolstadt, Bavaria. Oppidum of the Vindelici.*

The camp at Manching, to the south-east of Ingolstadt and not far from the Danube, occupies a site in the midst of a plain, at an old river junction above swamps and sandy banks. It is an oval walled fort with an outer earthen bank, *c.* 7 km. long and 6–8 m. high, with several entrances, which encloses an inner stone wall. The interior contains a number of hut-sites. The site is unusual in that it is situated in a plain and is not on a hill-top (cf. Avaricum, p. 199). In the vicinity of the fort, Weber described a cemetery which has produced much material of La Tène II date, but, as Déchelette noted, nothing earlier than material of La Tène III date together with a small amount of Roman material has been derived from the fort itself. These finds are dispersed among the museums of Berlin, Ingolstadt, and Munich. Déchelette considered Manching as a type-site of La Tène III date, which was one of the links on the trade route he thought existed between Bibracte and the Hradischt of Stradonitz in Czechoslovakia. Among the finds from Manching, he noted particularly the possible presence of barbarous gold coins known as *Regenbogenschlüsselchen* (or half-moon pieces) which were plentiful at Stradonitz. He considered the site as an *oppidum* occupied by the Celtic tribe of the Vindelici before their submission to the Romans in 15 B.C. The site was re-examined in March 1938, after a report had been made to the Bayer Land-Courts on the damage it had then suffered. Wagner, in an interim report, stated that the *oppidum* is 4.5 km. in diameter and that its stone walls stand 2–3 m. high. It is of late La Tène date. The walls of the fort show two building periods. In the earlier period there was a narrow stone and timber-laced wall, 4 m. wide, backed by an earthen bank 9 m. wide. In the later period the carefully built outer wall-facing was destroyed and a new facing wall was built some 0.7 m. farther back between perpendicular posts, which were visible on the outer face, and the interior was again filled up with earth. Although the precise dating of the two periods was not ascertained, there was nothing against their being referred to a late Celtic date. This examination produced little evidence additional to that obtained in the earlier one, with the exception of a clearer appreciation of the form of the Period I wall, as a better stretch of *c.* 30 m. was uncovered. Both walls at Manching have been much destroyed by stone-robbing. The structure of the Period I wall showed that it had had three rows of longitudinal timbers, the outer just behind the facing stones, one in the middle of the wall and an inner one. The transverse beams were usually set at 1-m. intervals. That the lowest course of longitudinal and transverse beams were nailed together was shown by finding numbers of nails, some 0.25 m. long, at the points of intersection of the beams. No nails were found, however, in the upper courses, but the beam-channels found some 2 m. above the ground-surface showed that the timber-framework existed throughout the whole wall. There was no indication that perpendicular timbers had been used in the framework and, with one exception, all the nails found were vertical in position, but it was admitted that only in the lowest course were nails found *in situ*. The rest of the timber-framework may have been piled up

in blocks as was shown by the beam channels of the upper layers. The transverse beams overlay and projected beyond the outer longitudinal beams and their beam-holes showed on the outer face of the wall. The interior of the wall was filled with alternate layers of earth and stone and the outer side was faced with a carefully built dry-stone wall. Wagner noted the astonishing uniformity of this wall with those of the French *oppida* and of Caesar's description of a *muris Gallicis*.

Fink, Schmid, and Krüss, *Beiträge zur Anthropologie und Urgeschichte Bayerns*, 11 (1895), 34-44. For the La Tène II cemetery.

Anthes, *B.R.G.K.* 2 (1905), 32-33. (Mention.)

Weber, *ibid.* 16 (1907), 19-54. Description. Rampart photograph at Abb. 1. Fort finds at Abb. 2. Also the La Tène II cemetery.

Birkner, *ibid.* 16 (1907), 55-62. Cemetery finds illustrated at Taf. III-XIV.

\*Weber, *Altbayer. Monatschrift*, 9 (1909), 115 ff.

Reinecke, *A.u.v.H.* 5 (1911), 288-94. Cemetery finds at Abb. 1 and Taf. 51.

\*—, *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 4 (1911), 21 f.

Schumacher, *P.Z.* 6 (1914), 255.

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 476-7.

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\*Reinecke, *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter*, 9 (1930), 42 ff.

Wagner, *Germania*, 22 (1938), 157-60. Photographs of the wall at Abbs. 1-2; drawings of nails at Abb. 3; reconstruction of the wall at Abb. 4.

Dehn, *Germania*, 23 (1939), 26. (Mention.)

*Mont Terri, Cornol, near Porrentruy (or Pruntrut), Berne Canton. Oppidum perhaps of the Raurici.*

Déchelette noted that Bertrand had included a site at Porrentruy in his list of *muri Gallici*, presumably on information supplied by A. Quiquerez, but that it needed checking. There are, however, five iron nails from Porrentruy exhibited in the Musée St.-Germain-en-Laye. They are headless and are shorter than those from Boviolles. The site is evidently that of Mont Terri. Stähelin notes that it is near the Roman road which passes Bellelay-Glovelier-La Caquarelle-Mont Repais-Pruntrut. It does not appear to have been excavated.

Bertrand, *R.G.* (1897), 247. (Mention.)

Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, iii (1908-10), 157, note 4.

Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv (1927 ed.), 498.

*Catalogue du Musée St.-Germain*, 2, 115.

*Jahresbericht der Schweizer Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte*, 15 (1923), 77, no. 6. (I am indebted to Professor Dehn for this reference.)

Stähelin, *Die Schweiz im römischen Zeit* (3rd ed., 1948), 360.

*The Engehalbinsel, Berne. Oppidum perhaps of the Helvetii.*

The Roman occupation of the Engehalbinsel, near Berne, has been excavated at various times, but in 1935 the rampart on the northern edge of its plateau was sectioned in four places. Here a 56-57 m. stretch of the bank is visible, 0.78 m. high at its middle, but it has been destroyed by digging at the western end and is there only 0.56 m. high. It was shown that on a loam foundation transverse and longitudinal timbers had been laid which were joined together by headless angular iron nails 20-27 cm. long. The core of the rampart, and the intervals between the timbers, were filled in with stones and loam and with stone blocks. On the top of the rampart and in its tumble were stones of tufa which did not occur in the stone and loam infilling. This stone is found in the Nähe, and its use by the Celts has been attested elsewhere. Other than the iron nails, the only find

derived from the wall was a bronze La Tène III fibula. On this evidence, Tschumi suggested that the defences of the site were raised during that period, and cited the invasion of the Cimbri from the north, in 113 B.C., as a possible cause.

Tschumi, *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums in Bern*, xv (1935), 66–68. Iron nails and the fibula illustrated at p. 67.<sup>1</sup>

*Židovar, Deliblatski Pesak, Yugoslavia. Oppidum perhaps of the Scordisci.*

This site has been discovered recently and it is suggested that it might possibly have a defence of *murus Gallicus* type. Židovar is a high dune of loess at the east end of the sandy plain of Deliblatski Pesak, near to the River Karas and some 12 km. from the left bank of the middle Danube. Gavela, in his excavation report, described two main occupation periods, of which the upper and later is dated, on pottery and other finds, to La Tène III. Quadrangular hut-sites were found which had been destroyed by fire, perhaps by the Romans. The pottery was wheel-turned and analogous to that found in French Gallo-Roman cemeteries or approaching Italian pottery of the first century B.C. It included La Tène III painted types. This site is the first to be discovered in the Balkan area at which Celtic cultural material can be demonstrated in stratigraphical sequence with the earlier indigenous cultures. On the periphery of the plateau was a dry-stone wall which was said to be perhaps timber-laced as in a *murus Gallicus*. The dating suggested for the foundation of the Celtic *oppidum* was 113 B.C., when the Scordisci retreated before the Romans from the valley of the Morava to the left bank of the Danube. It is claimed that life in the *oppidum* lasted until the arrival in Dacia of the Romans, in 15 B.C., when Tiberius added the territory to the Roman Empire. This site is mentioned as a doubtful example pending confirmation that the dry-stone wall is proved to have a timber-lacing of Avaricum type. If so, it would be the most easterly example known at present.

Gavela, *Keltski Oppidum Židovar* (1952).

Cotton, *Ant. Journ.* xxxiv (1954), 244–5. (Review.)

*Burghead, Morayshire, Scotland. Settlement of an unknown Celtic tribe.*

Burghead is a headland-fort, at the termination of a low undulating range of sandstone hills, on the south coast of the Moray Firth to the north-east of the Bay of Findhorn. Its defences consisted of triple ramparts drawn across the neck of the headland. The area within the rampart appears to have been divided by a cross-rampart, between two natural plateaux, forming an upper camp 520 × 300 ft., and a lower camp 850 × 250 ft. A strong wall is said to have existed round the three remaining sides of the promontory. From 1808 the proprietors of the site decided to fill up a small bay below the fort and then removed some 18 ft. in height of the north-west inner rampart over a wide stretch. The top surface of the upper camp was also demolished, and the cross-ramparts were thrown into the fosse. At the same time many coins, battle-axes, and spearheads found were dispersed, and the larger stones from the banks were used to build harbour piers.

In 1861 the Elgin Literary and Scientific Society made a partial excavation in the inner rampart and showed that it was a stone wall laced with timber. Macdonald then refuted earlier attributions of the camp as Danish or Roman and suggested that it was of early British origin.

In 1890–3 Young excavated the few remaining portions of the inner ramparts. He found 400 ft. of the timber-laced wall at the extreme north-east end and uncovered a stretch of 70 ft. This defence he recognized as of nailed *murus Gallicus* type, then without parallel in the British Isles. The outer facing-wall was of solidly built dressed stones standing 9 ft. 7 in. high and c. 3 ft.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Dehn for calling my attention to this site and for this reference.

wide on a foundation of rolled pebbles. The stones used were of freestone brought from a distance of 1-2 miles; the native Burghead freestone was not used. The inner facing-wall was 3 ft. 7 in. wide at its foundation, stood 4 ft. high and rested on oak planks or logs laid on the beach. The core contained stones, wood, and rubble, and the whole defence was 24 ft. wide. It was laced with transverse timbers which projected on to the face of the inner revetting wall, penetrated the core for at least 12 ft., but did not reach or show on the outer revetting wall. These were joined across by hewn oak planks and logs riveted together with iron bolts. It was not possible to tell whether they had been mortised, but the beams were some 6-9 in. square, and the planks 2-3 in. thick by 10 in.-1 ft. wide. It could not be shown whether the logs were hewn or whether they were round or square. On the foundation beams of the inner facing-wall a row of boulder stones was laid; then another layer of decayed oak extending several feet into the wall. At one point in the inner facing-wall, which was filled in with flattish freestone slabs, it was found that the transverse timbers of the lowest course were set 9 in. apart. The boulder stones of the foundation had been fitted together in order to form a flat platform or beach on which to build the defence. Young estimated that the top of the central part of the rampart, then 7-8 ft. above the top of the sea-facing wall, may have stood originally 20 ft. high. The length of the iron bolts could not be determined, but they were at least 8 in. long, nearly 1 in. thick, and had had square heads.

In comparing this defence with Castagné's description of those of the French *muri Gallici* then known at Murcens and l'Impenal, Young pointed out:

- (i) that the Burghead rampart had thicker and stronger facing-walls which were two or three stones thick whereas the Gaulish were usually only one stone thick;
- (ii) that the Burghead rampart was causewayed in that it had a foundation course of boulders which added to its strength and stability. It was not laid on logs on the bare ground as in Caesar's description;
- (iii) that the longitudinal timbers were planks and not logs laid between the rows of facing stones, which would give an amount of coherence to the work which the Gaulish walls seem to lack, and would enable the whole mass to settle down into a more perfect stability;
- (iv) that the stone in the Gaulish walls was described as undressed. Those at Burghead were dressed.

He concluded that the Burghead rampart was a superior work to those of the French forts, but, allowing for the differences noted, was otherwise identical. He did not excavate the outer ramparts. He thought that there was nothing conclusive in the construction of the main rampart on which to suggest a building date, and suggested that the outer rampart and a remaining part of the cross-bank were worthy of further investigation. Much of the area of the fort is now built over. Excluding the early demolitions, there have been few finds from the site. The 1890-3 excavations produced a melon bead and a bone hairpin, but not a single piece of pottery nor any coins.

Pennant, T., *A Tour in Scotland*, 1769 (1790), 169.

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*Ant.* *Antiquity.* Newbury.  
*A.u.h.V.* *Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit.* Römisch-germanisches Centralmuseum in Mainz. Mainz.  
*Bayer. Vorgeschichtsblätter* *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter.* Fortsetzung der bayerischen Vorgeschichtsfreunde. Munich.  
*Beiträge zur Anthropologie und Urgeschichte Bayerns* *Beiträge zur Anthropologie und Urgeschichte Bayerns.* Organ der Münchener Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. Munich.  
*B.G.* *De Bello Gallico.* See CAESAR.  
*B.M.* *Bulletin Monumental.* Publié sous les auspices de la Société française d'Archéologie. Caen.  
*B.R.G.K.* *Bericht über die Fortschritte der römisch-germanischen Forschung.* Römisch-Germanische Kommission. Frankfurt-am-Main.  
*B.S.A.F.* *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.* Paris.  
*B.S.P.F.* *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique de France.* Paris.  
*Bull. Arch.* *Bulletin Archéologique.* Organ du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques. Paris.  
*Bull. Arch. de Tarn et Garonne* *Bulletin archéologique de la Société Archéologique de Tarn et Garonne.* Montauban.  
*Bull. et Mém. Soc. Arch. du Dépt. d'Ille-et-Vilaine* *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine.* Rennes.  
*Bull. Soc. Ant. de Norm.* *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.* Paris, Caen, and Rouen.  
*Bull. Soc. Arch. de Nantes* *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Nantes et du Département de la Loire-Inférieure.* Nantes.  
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*Bull. Soc. Hist. de Lisieux* *Bulletin de la Société Historique de Lisieux.* Lisieux.  
*Bull. Soc. Nivernaise* *Bulletin de la Société Nivernaise des Sciences, Lettres et Arts.* Nevers.  
*Bull. Soc. Sci. Hist. et Arch. de la Corrèze* *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique, Historique et Archéologique de la Corrèze.* Brive.  
*Bull. Soc. Sci. Hist. et Nat. de Semur-en-Auxois* *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique, Historique et Naturaliste de Semur-en-Auxois.*  
*C.A.* *Cours d'antiquités monumentales.* See DE CAUMONT.  
*C.A.F.* *Congrès Archéologique de France.* Comptes rendus des congrès annuels de la Société française d'archéologie. Caen.  
*Camulodunum* *Camulodunum. First Report on the Excavations at Colchester 1930-1939.* Report no. xiv of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London. See HAWKES and HULL.



## HILL-FORTS OF NORTHERN FRANCE

- C.E.F. Camps et Enceintes de France. *L'Homme préhistorique*. See DE MORTILLET.  
 C.E.P.F.A. Commission d'Études des Enceintes préhistoriques et Fortifications anhistoriques.  
 C.I.A. Congrès Internationaux d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistorique. Comptes rendus des congrès. Masson: Paris.
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- Katalog Birkenfeld Katalog West- und Süddeutscher Altertumsammlungen. Herausgegeben von der Römisch-germanischen Kommission. III Birkenfeld. Sammlungen des Vereins für Altertumskunde im Fürstentum Birkenfeld. Frankfurt-am-Main.
- Manuel Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine. See DÉCHELETTE.  
 Mém. Acad. du Gard Mémoires de l'Académie du Gard.  
 Mém. Soc. Ant. du Centre Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre. Bourges.  
 Mém. Soc. Arch. d'Avranches Mémoires de la Société Archéologique d'Avranches. Avranches.  
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