

THE ARVERNI AND ROMAN WINE

ROMAN AMPHORAE FROM LATE IRON AGE
SITES IN THE AUVERGNE (CENTRAL FRANCE):
CHRONOLOGY, FABRICS AND STAMPS

Matthew Loughton

Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 2

Archaeopress

Gordon House
276 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7ED

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978 1 78491 042 6
ISBN 978 1 78491 043 3(e-Pdf)

© Archaeopress and M Loughton 2014

Cover image: Deposit of Dressel 1B amphorae from Gondole 'Les Chaumes' well F146 (photo: Yann Deberge/A.R.A.F.A).

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owners.

Printed in England by CMP (UK) Ltd

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com

Contents

List of Figures.....	iii
List of Tables	viii
Acknowledgements	ix
Plate 1.....	x
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: The Auvergne and the Arverni.....	5
Chapter 3: Greco-Italic Amphorae.....	14
Chapter 4: Dressel 1 Amphorae	27
Chapter 5: Other Types of Republican Amphorae.....	75
Chapter 6: Methodologies.....	80
Chapter 7: The Republican Amphora Assemblages from the Auvergne.....	89
Chapter 8: Assemblage Comparisons.....	311
Chapter 9: Provenance	383
Chapter 10: Stamps	396
Chapter 11: Distribution.....	418
Chapter 12: Modification, Reuse, and Deposition.....	428
Chapter 13: Associated Material Culture	443
Chapter 14: Conclusion	457
Appendix 1: Catalogue of Stamps, Painted Inscriptions, and Graffiti	470
Appendix 2: Gazetteer of Republican Amphora Findspots in France	491
Bibliography.....	568

List of Figures

Figure 1. The Auvergne.....	4
Figure 2. Departments of France.....	6
Figure 3. Regions of France.....	6
Figure 4. Late Iron Age tribal boundaries in central France	7
Figure 5. Late La Tène sites in the southern Grande Limagne.....	10
Figure 6. Main types of Greco-Italic amphorae according to Will (1982).....	14
Figure 7. Greco-Italic amphorae from various wrecks.....	15
Figure 8. Greco-Italic amphorae from the Bon Capó wreck	16
Figure 9. Greco-Italic amphorae from Sigean ‘Pech-Maho’	18
Figure 10. Greco-Italic amphorae from the Héliopolis	19
Figure 11. Greco-Italic amphorae from the Tour d’Agnello wreck	20
Figure 12. Greco-Italic amphorae from Mas	21
Figure 13. Greco-Italic amphorae from various wrecks.....	22
Figure 14. Location of Republican amphora kilns in Italy and Sicily.....	24
Figure 15. Republican amphora rims from the Roman camps at Numantia, Spain	28
Figure 16. Republican amphora rims from the Roman camps at Numantia, Spain	29
Figure 17. Republican amphora rims from the Roman camps at Numantia, Spain	30
Figure 18. Republican amphorae from the <i>oppida</i> of Bouc-Bel-Air ‘Le Baou-Roux’	31
Figure 19. A: Republican amphorae from the earliest layers at Valencia, Spain	32
Figure 20. Rim profiles of vessels with consular dates	33
Figure 21. Republican amphorae from Ileso, Spain, including one with a consular mark of 121 BC or 116 BC	33
Figure 22. Dressel 1A amphorae from various wrecks.....	34
Figure 23. Dressel 1A (nos. 1–7) and Lamboglia 2 (nos. 8–9) amphorae from the Cap Roux B wreck	35
Figure 24. Dressel 1A amphorae from various wrecks. Cavalière	36
Figure 25. Dressel 1A amphorae from various wrecks.....	37
Figure 26. Republican amphorae from the Cap Gros wreck	38
Figure 27. Republican amphorae from the Dramont C wreck.....	39
Figure 28. Republican amphorae from various wrecks.....	40
Figure 29. Republican amphorae from the L’îlot Barthélémy and L’Estérel wrecks.....	41
Figure 30. Republican amphorae from the Ciotat C wreck	42
Figure 31. Republican amphorae from Burriac, Spain	44
Figure 32. Republican amphorae from Burriac, Spain	45
Figure 33. Republican amphorae from the Roman camps at Alesia	46
Figure 34. Republican amphorae from the ditches of the Roman camp at La Roche Blanche (dep. Puy-de-Dôme)	47
Figure 35. Dressel 1B amphorae from the Albenga	48
Figure 36. Dressel 1B amphorae from the Cassis	49
Figure 37. Dressel 1B amphorae from the Fourmigue C wreck.....	50
Figure 38. Dressel 1B amphorae from the Jaune-Garde A wreck	51
Figure 39. Dressel 1B amphorae from the Madrague de Giens	52
Figure 40. Dressel 1B amphorae from various wrecks.....	53
Figure 41. Dressel 1B amphorae from the Capa di Muru A wreck.....	53
Figure 42. Dressel 1Cs from the Capo Mele wreck (no. 1), the Cap Negret wreck (nos. 2–3).....	54
Figure 43. Dressel 1C amphorae from the Colonia de Sant-Jordi A wreck	55
Figure 44. Republican amphora production centres in Spain	56
Figure 45. Republican amphora kilns in the <i>ager Cosanus</i>	58
Figure 46. A selection of Dressel 1 rims and bases from Albinia.....	60
Figure 47. A selection of Dressel 1Bs from Albinia	61
Figure 48. Republican amphorae from production centres in northern Etruria.....	61
Figure 49. Distribution of Republican amphora kilns in the plain of Fondi	62
Figure 50. Distribution of amphora kilns at Mondragone, <i>ager Falernus</i>	63
Figure 52. Spanish imitations of Republican amphorae	66
Figure 51. Republican amphorae and related forms manufactured in Spain	66
Figure 53. Examples of Tarraconensis 1 rims.....	67
Figure 54. Republican amphorae from production centres in Spain	68
Figure 55. Republican amphorae from production centres in Spain	69
Figure 56. A: Republican amphorae from the Baelo Claudia kiln, Spain	70
Figure 57. Production centres for Dressel 1, Dressel 2–4, and Pascual 1 amphorae in France and Switzerland	72
Figure 58. Lamboglia 2s from the Sud-Caveaux 1 wreck	76
Figure 59. The main types of Republican amphorae from Brindisi	78
Figure 60. Some of the main types of Republican amphorae from the cargoes of Mediterranean wrecks.....	81
Figure 61. A: Rim height and inclination against vessel height for amphorae from Mediterranean wrecks	82

Figure 62. Comparison between the Republican amphora rims from Clemency, Luxembourg	82
Figure 63. Republican amphorae from the Miladou wreck.....	83
Figure 64. Republican amphorae from the Miladou wreck	84
Figure 65. Comparison between the Republican amphora rims from the Basel-Gasfabrik, Switzerland,	86
Figure 66. A: Olmer's diagnostic Republican amphora rim, shoulder and base types	87
Figure 67. Diagnostic shoulder and base types for the Auvergne assemblages.....	90
Figure 68. Location of the main assemblages of Republican amphorae from the department of the Puy-de-Dôme.....	94
Figure 69. Proportion of upper and lower body sherds for selective amphora assemblages.	95
Figure 70. Proportion of upper and lower body sherds for selective amphora assemblages.	96
Figure 71. Proportion of upper and lower body sherds for selective amphora assemblages.	97
Figure 72. Rim height against inclination scatter plots.....	99
Figure 73. Rim height against inclination scatter plots.....	100
Figure 74. Rim height against inclination scatter plots.....	101
Figure 75. Rim height against inclination scatter plots.....	102
Figure 76. Rim height against inclination scatter plots.....	103
Figure 77. Rim height against inclination scatter plots.....	104
Figure 78. Rim height against inclination scatter plots.....	105
Figure 79. Rim height against inclination scatter plots.....	106
Figure 80. Rim width against height scatter plots.	107
Figure 81. Rim width against height scatter plots.	108
Figure 82. Rim width against height scatter plots.	109
Figure 83. Rim width against height scatter plots.	110
Figure 84. Rim width against height scatter plots.	111
Figure 85. Rim width against height scatter plots.	112
Figure 86. Rim width against height scatter plots.	113
Figure 87. Rim width against height scatter plots.	114
Figure 88. Rim diameter against height scatter plots.....	115
Figure 89. Rim diameter against height scatter plots.....	116
Figure 90. Rim diameter against height scatter plots.....	117
Figure 91. Rim diameter against height scatter plots.....	118
Figure 92. Rim diameter against height scatter plots.....	119
Figure 93. Rim diameter against height scatter plots.....	120
Figure 94. Rim diameter against height scatter plots.....	121
Figure 95. Rim diameter against height scatter plots.....	122
Figure 96. Aigueperse 'Clos Clidor'. Plan of the main structures,	123
Figure 97. Aigueperse 'Clos Clidor'. Republican amphorae.	124
Figure 98. Clermont-Ferrand 'rue Elisée Reclus'. Plan of the structures and well 78	126
Figure 99. Clermont-Ferrand 'La Grande Borne'. Plan of the main features:	127
Figure 100. Clermont-Ferrand 'La Grande Borne'. Number and weight of Republican amphora sherds.	128
Figure 101. Clermont-Ferrand 'La Grande Borne' Chantiers 1–3. Republican amphora rims.....	129
Figure 102. Clermont-Ferrand 'La Grande Borne' Chantiers 1–3. Republican amphora rims.....	130
Figure 103. Clermont-Ferrand 'La Grande Borne' Chantiers 1–3. Republican amphora rims.....	131
Figure 104. Clermont-Ferrand 'La Grande Borne' Chantiers 1–3.	132
Figure 105. Clermont-Ferrand 'La Grande Borne' Chantiers 1–3. Republican amphora rims.....	133
Figure 106. Clermont-Ferrand 'La Grande Borne' Chantiers 1–3.	134
Figure 107. Clermont-Ferrand 'La Grande Borne' Chantier 1.	135
Figure 108. Clermont-Ferrand 'La Grande Borne' Chantier 4.	138
Figure 109. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat' 2001. Plan of the main features,	140
Figure 110. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat' 2001. Number of amphora sherds for individual features.....	141
Figure 111. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat' 2001. Weight of amphora sherds for individual features.	142
Figure 112. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat' 2001. Number of amphorae for each structure.....	143
Figure 113. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Plan of pit F27	144
Figure 114. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Plan of pit F110	145
Figure 115. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Plan of well F134 and Republican amphorae.	146
Figure 116. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from F1, F213, F349, and F390.....	147
Figure 117. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from well F443. 4: stamped sherd.....	148
Figure 118. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from the cellar F551, well F599, and the forge F631.	149
Figure 119. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Plan of the well F644	151
Figure 120. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from the well F644.	152
Figure 121. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from the well F644.	153
Figure 122. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from the well F715.	155
Figure 123. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from the well F715.	156
Figure 124. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from various features.	157
Figure 125. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat' 2003. Features with sherds of Republican amphorae.....	158
Figure 126. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat' 2003. Number and weight of amphora sherds for individual features.....	159

Figure 127. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat' 2003. Number of amphorae for each structure.....	160
Figure 128. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from layer/pavement F800/806 etc.	161
Figure 129. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from layer/pavement F800/806 etc.	162
Figure 130. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from layer/pavement F800/806 etc.	163
Figure 131. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from F807 and F808.	164
Figure 132. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from F822 and F869.	165
Figure 133. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from F868.	166
Figure 134. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Plan of pit F872 and Republican amphorae.	167
Figure 135. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Plan of pit F873 and Republican amphorae.	169
Figure 136. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from pit F873.	170
Figure 137. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from pit F873.....	171
Figure 138. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from pit F873.	172
Figure 139. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from F881, F888, and F890.	173
Figure 140. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from well F900.	174
Figure 141. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from pit F907 and F937.....	175
Figure 142. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from F959, F978, and F982.	176
Figure 143. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from ditch F1003.	177
Figure 144. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from ditch F1003.....	178
Figure 145. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from ditch F1003.	181
Figure 146. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from ditch F1003.	182
Figure 147. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from ditch F1003.	183
Figure 148. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from well F1010.	184
Figure 149. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from well F1010.	185
Figure 150. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Plan of the well (?) F1041.	186
Figure 151. Clermont-Ferrand 'Gandaillat'. Republican amphorae from F1066, F1070, and pit F1200.	187
Figure 152. Plan of the late La Tène structures at Le Brézet 'rue Georges Besse'	188
Figure 153. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'.	190
Figure 154. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'.	191
Figure 155. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from river channel AF628.	194
Figure 156. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from river channel AF628.	195
Figure 157. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from river channel AF628.	196
Figure 158. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from river channel AF628.	197
Figure 159. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from river channel AF628.	198
Figure 160. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from river channel AF628.	199
Figure 161. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from well AF632.	200
Figure 162. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphora shoulders from well AF632.	201
Figure 163. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from well AF632.	202
Figure 164. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from well CF15.	205
Figure 165. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from well CF15.	206
Figure 166. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from well CF15.	207
Figure 167. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from well CF15.....	208
Figure 168. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from well CF15.	209
Figure 169. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from well CF15.	210
Figure 170. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from pit CF25 and pit CF30.	211
Figure 171. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from various structures.	212
Figure 172. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from the scatter CF96.	213
Figure 173. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from pit CF229.	214
Figure 174. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from pit CF335.	215
Figure 175. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from pit CF343.	216
Figure 176. Le Brézet 2000 'rue Georges Besse'. Republican amphorae from layer CF344.	217
Figure 177. Le Brézet 'rue Jules Verne/Béthelseimer'. Republican amphorae.	218
Figure 178. Clermont-Ferrand 'Pontcharaud III'. Republican amphorae.	220
Figure 179. Clermont-Ferrand 'Pontcharaud III'. Republican amphorae.	221
Figure 180. Clermont-Ferrand 'Pontcharaud III'. Republican amphorae.	222
Figure 181. Clermont-Ferrand 'Pontcharaud III'. Republican amphorae.	223
Figure 182. Clermont-Ferrand 'Pontcharaud III'. Republican amphorae.	224
Figure 183. Clermont-Ferrand 'Pontcharaud III'. Republican amphorae.	225
Figure 184. A710 excavation. Republican amphorae from various structures.	227
Figure 185. Sarliève 'La Grande Halle d'Auvergne'. Republican amphorae from various structures.	229
Figure 186. Sarliève 'La Grande Halle d'Auvergne'. Republican amphorae from various structures.	230
Figure 187. Sarliève 'La Grande Halle d'Auvergne'. Amphorae from F2217.	231
Figure 188. Sarliève 'La Grande Halle d'Auvergne'. Republican amphorae from well F2474/2485.	233
Figure 189. Sarliève 'La Grande Halle d'Auvergne'. Republican amphorae from well F2474/2485.	234
Figure 190. Sarliève 'La Grande Halle d'Auvergne'. Republican amphorae from well F2493 and well F3004.	236
Figure 191. Le Bay and Corent.	238

Figure 192. Republican amphorae from Pont du Longues and Le Bay.	239
Figure 193. Le Bay. Republican amphorae from various features.	240
Figure 194. Le Bay. Republican amphorae from various features.	241
Figure 195. Plateau of Corent and the location of the 1992–1993 and 2001 excavations	244
Figure 196. Corent 1992 excavation. Plan of the stone pavement and occupation layer.	245
Figure 197. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae.	246
Figure 198. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae.	247
Figure 199. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae.	248
Figure 200. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae.	249
Figure 201. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae.	250
Figure 202. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae.	251
Figure 203. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae.	252
Figure 204. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae.	253
Figure 205. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae.	254
Figure 206. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae.	255
Figure 207. Corent 1992 pavement. Republican amphorae and stamped sherds from Corent 1991–1993.	256
Figure 208. Chaniat. Republican amphorae from the cremation 5516.	258
Figure 209. Plan of Gondole.	260
Figure 210. Gondole. Republican amphorae from fieldwalking.	261
Figure 211. Gondole. Republican amphorae from fieldwalking.	262
Figure 212. Plan of Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’ (2005–2008)	263
Figure 213. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from pit F11.	266
Figure 214. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from pit F11.	267
Figure 215. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from cellar F13.	268
Figure 216. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from cellar F17.	270
Figure 217. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F47.	272
Figure 218. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F47.	273
Figure 219. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F146.	274
Figure 220. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F146.	275
Figure 221. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F146.	276
Figure 222. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F228.	278
Figure 223. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F228.	279
Figure 224. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F395.	281
Figure 225. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F395.	282
Figure 226. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F395.	283
Figure 227. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F429.	284
Figure 228. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F429.	285
Figure 229. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from well F448.	287
Figure 230. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from pit F521.	288
Figure 231. Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’. Republican amphorae from pit F521.	289
Figure 232. Clermont-Ferrand ‘rue Albert-Elisabeth’. Republican amphorae from ditch F50.	291
Figure 233. Clermont-Ferrand ‘rue Albert-Elisabeth’. Republican amphorae from layer F10–11.	292
Figure 234. Clermont-Ferrand ‘rue Albert-Elisabeth’. Republican amphorae from layer F12–15	293
Figure 235. Gergovie ‘Chemin de la Croix’. Republican amphorae.	295
Figure 236. Gergovie ‘Chemin de la Croix’. Republican amphorae.	296
Figure 237. Gergovie ‘Chemin de la Croix’. Republican amphorae.	297
Figure 238. Gergovie ‘Chemin de la Croix’. Republican amphorae.	298
Figure 239. Gergovie ‘Chemin de la Croix’. Republican amphorae.	299
Figure 240. Gergovie, ‘Chemin de la Croix’.	300
Figure 241. Gergovie fieldwalking. Republican amphorae.	302
Figure 242. Gergovie fieldwalking. Republican amphorae.	303
Figure 243. Gergovie 2006. Amphorae from various structures.	305
Figure 244. Gergovie 2007. Amphorae from various structures.	306
Figure 245. Chaniat plan of the funerary structures and cremation scatters.	308
Figure 246. Chaniat. Amphorae from cremations 2828, 5902, and 5903.	309
Figure 247. Frequency of Republican amphorae (% of the ceramic MNI)	315
Figure 248. Frequency of Republican amphorae (% of the ceramic MNI) at Roanne (dep. Loire)	318
Figure 249. Frequency of amphorae (% of the ceramic MNI)	319
Figure 250. Median rim height and inclination values for the Auvergne assemblages.	321
Figure 251. Median rim height and inclination values for Republican amphora assemblages	322
Figure 252. Comparison of the rim height and scatter plots for the Auvergne La Tène C2/D1-D1a.	323
Figure 253. sites with Republican amphorae from La Tène C contexts.	331
Figure 254. Auvergne median rim height and inclination values	334
Figure 255. Comparison between the Republican amphora rims.	335
Figure 256. Comparison between the Republican amphora rims.	337

Figure 257. Republican amphorae from Saint-Gence, Blagnac ‘Raspide 1’, and Vaires-sur-Marne ‘L’Ille Ronde’	342
Figure 258. Distribution of sites with assemblages of Dressel 1A/B and/or Dressel 1B	345
Figure 259. Distribution of late (La Tène D2b-Augustan) Dressel 1 assemblages.....	346
Figure 260. Distribution of Dressel 1C amphorae in France	360
Figure 261. Distribution of Lamboglia 2 amphorae in France and Switzerland	364
Figure 262. Distribution of Brindisi amphorae in France	365
Figure 263. Distribution of Italian Dressel 2–4 amphorae in France and Switzerland.....	370
Figure 264. Distribution of Dressel 1 Tarraconensis and Tarraconensis 1 amphorae in France and Luxembourg.....	374
Figure 265. Distribution of eastern Mediterranean Dressel 2–4/Dressel 5 and Rhodian amphorae	380
Figure 266. Republican amphorae from production centres in southern Etruria, Latium, and Campania.....	385
Figure 267. Republican amphorae from production centres in southern Etruria, Latium, and Campania.....	387
Figure 268. Republican amphorae from production centres in southern Etruria, Latium, and Campania.....	388
Figure 269. Republican amphorae from production centres in southern Etruria, Latium, and Campania.....	389
Figure 270. Republican amphorae from production centres in southern Etruria, Latium, and Campania.....	390
Figure 271. A: Placement of the Republican amphora stamps from the Auvergne..	397
Figure 272. Frequency of stamping for sites and assemblages from the Auvergne.....	398
Figure 273. The distribution of Sestius name stamps in France	401
Figure 274. The distribution of Sestius symbol and single-letter stamps in France	402
Figure 275. Double-letter stamps on the shoulder/base of the handle from the Auvergne.....	405
Figure 276. Distribution of stamps from Feniglia, <i>ager Cosanus</i>	407
Figure 277. Distribution of square symbol stamps from Latium in France	409
Figure 278. Distribution of stamps on the top of the handle possibly from Latium.....	410
Figure 279. Distribution of C.SEX, CL.SEX, C.SEXTIL.I.L.F, L.SEX, and related stamps in France	412
Figure 280. Distribution of ABEL LAEL, APOL.LAEL, DAMALAE, MEN.LAE, MEN.LAEL, and SELLAEL stamps in France. .	413
Figure 281. Distribution of L.M, L.LENTV.P.F, MOC DAUPHIN, PILIP, and PILIP//SVL stamps in France	414
Figure 282. Distribution of Republican amphorae in the territory of the Arverni.	419
Figure 283. A: Amphora MSW for the main assemblages from the Auvergne. B: Amphora recovery (%).	430
Figure 284. Distribution of late La Tène and early Gallo-Roman tombs in France, Germany, Luxembourg, and Switzerland.	440
Figure 285. Distribution of Campanian in France	444
Figure 286. Distribution of Campanian in the territory of the Arverni.	445
Figure 287. Distribution of early Campanian in France (findspots in Mediterranean France are not shown)	448
Figure 288. Comparison of the frequency (MNI) of Campanian and Republican amphorae	451
Figure 289. Distribution of imported metal-vessels in France	454
Figure 290. Distribution of rich La Tène C-D1a tombs with or without Republican amphorae	458
Figure 291. Stamps.....	471
Figure 292. Stamps.....	473
Figure 293. Stamps.....	475
Figure 294. Stamps	477
Figure 295. Stamps	479
Figure 296. Stamps	481
Figure 297. Stamps	483
Figure 298. Stamps	485
Figure 299. Photos of stamped sherds.	487
Figure 300. Photos of stamped sherds.	488
Figure 301. Photos of various impact/modification marks and amphora-discs/worked sherds.	489
Figure 302. Distribution of Republican amphorae in France. The findspots are plotted by commune.....	492
Figure 303. Sites with 50, 100, 500, 1,000, or 5,000 Republican amphorae.	493
Figure 304. Departments with 50 or more Republican amphora findspots.	495
Figure 305. Regions of France: number of Republican amphora findspots.....	495

List of Tables

Table 1. Greco-Italic production sites in Italy and Sicily.....	23
Table 2. Dressel 1 production sites in Italy.	57
Table 3. Republican amphora production sites in France, Spain, and north Africa.....	65
Table 4. Details on the main assemblages of amphorae from late Iron Age and early Gallo-Roman sites.....	89
Table 5. Details on the median rim height and inclination values, and percentage of rims.....	92
Table 6. Number and percentage of Greco-Italic rims according to Hesnard's rim ratio scheme	93
Table 7. Rim diameter: median, minimum and maximum values, and correlation between rim diameter and rim height.	93
Table 8. Aigueperse 'Clos Clidor': details on the main assemblages of Republican amphorae.....	123
Table 9. La Grande Borne Ch.4: details on the main assemblages of Republican amphorae.....	137
Table 10. Gandailat: details on the main assemblages of Republican amphorae.....	139
Table 11. Le Brézet 'rue Georges Besse' (2000): details on the main assemblages of Republican amphorae.	193
Table 12. Sarliève 'La Grande Halle d'Auvergne': details on the main assemblages of amphorae.....	232
Table 13. Le Bay: details on the main assemblages of Republican amphorae.....	237
Table 14. Gondole 'Les Chaumes' (2005–2007)	265
Table 15. Gondole 'Les Chaumes' (2005–2007)	265
Table 16. Gondole 'Les Chaumes' (2005–2007)	265
Table 17. Gondole 'Les Chaumes' (2005–2007)	265
Table 19. Gergovie 2007: details on the main assemblages of amphorae.....	307
Table 18. Gergovie 2006: details on the main assemblages of amphorae.....	307
Table 20. Summary and seriation of the main stratified assemblages of Republican amphorae from the Auvergne....	313
Table 21. Densities of Republican amphorae for sites in France.	316
Table 22. Earliest contexts with Dressel 1 amphorae.....	324
Table 23. Early findspots of Greco-Italic amphorae from Spain	325
Table 24. Median rim height and inclination values, and rim class data.....	329
Table 25. Earliest marine and terrestrial Dressel 1B findspots.....	340
Table 26. Details of amphora assemblages dating from La Tène D2b until the late Augustan period.....	356
Table 27. Dated findspots of Dressel 1C amphorae from Europe and north Africa.....	358
Table 28. Dated findspots of Lamboglia 2 amphorae from Europe and north Africa.....	363
Table 29. Dated findspots of Brindisi amphorae from Europe and north Africa.....	367
Table 30. Early marine and terrestrial findspots of Italian Dressel 2–4s from Europe and north Africa.....	369
Table 31. Dated findspots of Tarraconensis 1, Dressel 1 Tarraconensis, and Greco-Italic-Dressel 1.....	373
Table 32. Dated findspots of Haltern 70 amphorae from Europe and north Africa.....	377
Table 33. Late Iron Age and Augustan findspots of eastern Mediterranean Dressel 2–4/5 amphorae.....	379
Table 34. Late Iron Age and Augustan findspots of Rhodian amphorae from north-western Europe.....	382
Table 35. Summary of the main fabrics for the Auvergne amphora assemblages.....	384
Table 36. Greco-Italic fabrics at Sigean 'Pech-Maho' and Ampurias, Spain.....	391
Table 37. Republican amphora fabrics for sites in the department of the Aisne, northern France	392
Table 38. Republican amphora fabrics at Numantia, Spain, Lastours	392
Table 39. Republican amphora fabric groups for sites in eastern France (Videau 2013, 366 fig. 18).....	393
Table 40. Republican amphora fabrics at Augst, Avenches, and Vidy, Switzerland	393
Table 41. La Tène D2b-Augustan sites with Republican amphorae from Albinia and/or Cosa.....	395
Table 42. Chronological breakdown of stamps from the main stratified assemblages of Republican amphorae	400
Table 43. Dated findspots of Cosan symbol and single-letter stamps from north-western Europe.....	404
Table 44. Findspots of Republican amphorae from the Auvergne.....	427
Table 45. Findspots of Campanian from the Auvergne.....	447
Table 46. Number, MNI, and percentage of Campanian sherds for selective late La Tène features and sites in France.....	450
Table 47. French departments: number of Republican amphora findspots	497
and number of square km for one findspot.....	497
Table 48. Regions of France: number of Republican amphora findspots and number of square km for one findspot.....	497
Table 49. Types of site with Republican amphorae.....	497


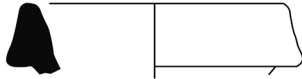



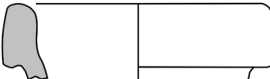

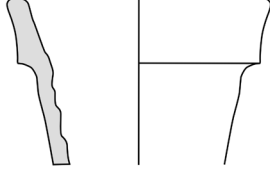
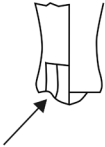

Acknowledgements

This research was funded by the School of Conservation Sciences, Bournemouth University, while the C.N.R.S. (France) also provided grants to attend research meetings at Paris. This research would not have been possible without the help of many individuals who allowed me access to assemblages of Republican amphorae, provided information/papers and samples of Republican amphorae. I would specifically like to thank the following for permission to study the amphora assemblages from the Auvergne: Philippe Arnaud (Elisée Reclus), John Collis (La Grande Borne, Le Pâtural, Gondole interior), John Dunkley (Le Pâtural), Magali Garcia and Sandrine Oesterle (Gergovie sanctuary), Vincent Guichard (A710, Chaniat, Corent, Le Bay), Yann Deberge (Gondole 'Les Chaumes'), Steve Jones (Malintrat), Daniel Leguet and Denis Tourlonias (Gergovie), Sophie Liégard (Le-Puy-en-Velay, Maréchal), Gilles Loison (Pontcharaud III), Christine Mennessier-Jouannet (Aigueperse, Albert-Elisabeth, Lempdes, Saint Ours), the late Robert Périchon (La Grande Borne), Thomas Pertlwieser and Iris Ott (Gergovie fortifications), Matthieu Poux (Corent, Le Brézet), Viviane Richard (Elisée Reclus), Gerald Vernet (Le Brézet, Sarliève 'La Grande Halle d' Auvergne'), Christine Vermeulen (Gandaillat), and Claire Watson (Issoire).

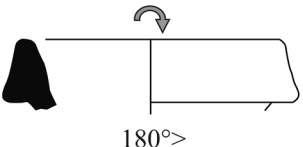
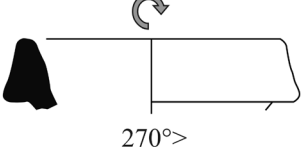
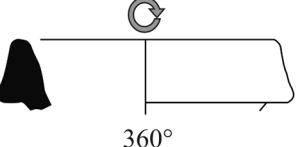
Much of this work would not have been possible without the specific help and logistical support over many years of John Collis (University of Sheffield), Yann Deberge (I.N.R.A.P), Jemima Dunkley (I.N.R.A.P), Vincent Guichard (Centre for European Archaeology at Mont Beuvray), Steve Jones, and Christine Mennessier-Jouannet (I.N.R.A.P).

Thanks are also in order for the following individuals who have discussed their work, provided information and help, and copies of papers: Paul Arthur, Laurence Benquet, John Collis, Yann Deberge, Andrew Fitzpatrick, Vincent Guichard, Steve Jones, Marie-Caroline Kurzaj, David Lallemand, Fanette Laubenheimer, Christophe Mathevot, Guillaume Maza, Fabienne Olmer, Lionel Orengo, Marinella Pasquinucci, Matthieu Poux, Anne Schopfer, Paul Sealey, André Tchernia, Gisela Thierrin-Michael, and Daniele Vitali.

I would also like to thank Louise Joyner who provided guidance for the descriptions of the thin-sections and Fanette Laubenheimer for invites to the Amphora round-tables for 1998 and 1999, at Paris. I would further like to thank my supervisor Dr. Kevin Andrews for help and guidance during the completion of the Ph.D thesis and my examiners (Professor Ian Ralston and Professor Mark Brisbane) for helpful comments. Finally, I would like to thank Henri Desfeuilles for use of the archaeology base at the Maison Domat, Mirefleurs.

	Western Italian (Greco-Italic/Dressel 1/Dressel 2-4)	
	Dressel 1C	
	Adriatic (Brindisi/Lamboglia 2)	
	Non-Italian	
Impact mark 		Resin/burnt resin 

Circumference

		
180°	270°	360°

Rim classes

0						100%
class 1	class 1 or 2	class 2	class 2 or 3	class 3	unclassified	

Fabrics

<p>Southern Etruria</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ⓐ Albinia Ⓒ Cosa ⒫ PDR (La Parrina?) Ⓖ Feniglia ○ ? 	<p>Latium</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> △ Astura △ Canetto △ Fondi △ Garigliano △ Minturnae △ Marine clay △ Torre San Anastasia △ White nodules (stamp: LLENTV.P.F) △ ? 	<p>Campania</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ⓒ Carinola Ⓕ Falerne (coarse fabrics) Ⓕ C.SEX/L.SEX etc. stamps Ⓖ Mondragone ⒫ Pompeii/false-Pompeii Ⓕ Sinuessa (false-Pompeii) ■ ?
	<p>Latium-Campania</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⊗ Mottled/marbled 	<p>Southern Italian?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ★ Granitic

PLATE 1. KEY TO THE AMPHORA DRAWINGS.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This volume is derived from a PhD which examined the assemblages of Republican amphorae from late Iron Age sites in the Auvergne, central France (Loughton 2001). Aspects dealing with the distribution of Republican amphorae in the Auvergne (Loughton and Jones 2000), the morphology and typology of the rims (Loughton 2000, 2003b; Deberge *et al.* 2007a), and the stamped sherds (Loughton and Olmer 2003; Loughton 2005), have already been published. The Republican amphorae from the late Iron Age farm at Le Pâtural has also been published (Loughton 2007).

Since the completion of the study, the author has studied additional amphora assemblages from the region including Clermont-Ferrand ‘Albert-Elisabeth’, Clermont-Ferrand ‘Gandaillat’ (second trench), Corent (sanctuary), Gergovie (fortifications, sanctuary), and Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’, most of which are included in this study. The amphorae from the sanctuaries on Corent and Gergovie will be published separately (Loughton in prep. 1, 4) although these assemblages will occasionally be referred to. A small number of amphora assemblages from Gondole ‘Les Chaumes’ are included here although the complete assemblage will be published separately (Loughton in prep. 3). Altogether a sample of *c.*155,000 amphora sherds, weighing 16 tons from *c.*3,900 vessels, and from sites spanning from the second century BC until the early first century AD form the basis of this study. Naturally, these additional assemblages have resulted in various modifications to the original PhD, while recent research and publications on various aspects of Republican amphorae have also necessitated further revisions. Finally, the passage of time has resulted in a certain amount of re-interpretation of the material and the modification and development of various ideas expressed in the PhD. Hence, the following work is substantially different and expanded.

Scope of the study

The scale of the Italian wine trade to Gaul during the late Iron Age is remarkable. For example, a recent excavation of *c.*2.6 ha at Toulouse ‘caserne Niel’ (dep. Haute-Garonne) in south-western France uncovered 875,000 sherds of Republican amphorae with a weight of 97.5 metric tons (Loughton and Alberghi 2012). Five recent excavations of *c.*7.6 ha at Toulouse (dep. Haute-Garonne) have uncovered 126 tons of amphorae, mostly from Republican vessels (Benquet *et al.* 2013; Loughton and Alberghi 2012). Excavations on the *oppidum* of Mont Beuvray ‘Bibracte’ (Burgundy, dep. Nièvre) have since 1984 uncovered approximately 500,000 sherds of amphorae with a weight of 50 tons (Olmer 2011). For Bibracte around 1 million amphorae were imported to the site (Olmer 2003, 136)

while Tchernia has estimated that 55–65 million Dressel 1s were exported to the whole of Gaul (1986, 86).

Republican amphorae provide an ideal dating tool for the later prehistoric period. Not only are they found over a wide area of Europe (and beyond), they are also found on sites associated with historical events (Carthage, the Roman camps at Numantia, sites from the Gallic War), while sometimes they provide absolute dates in the form of consular marks. Uenze (1958) was one of the first individuals to use Republican amphorae as a dating tool although Peacock (1971, 161, 165) queried the precision of the dates he assigned to assemblages of Republican amphorae. Subsequent work, especially over the last 20 years, has supported many of Uenze’s findings and demonstrated the great value of his work (Benquet 2007; Hénon 1995; Guichard 1997a; Loughton 2000, 2001; Maza 1998a; Poux 1999a). This volume builds upon this approach. There are various strands to this study:

1. Description and datation of Republican amphora assemblages from sites and features. This analysis concentrates on the morphology of the diagnostic amphora sherds (rims, shoulders, handles, and bases).
2. Provenance of the Republican amphorae. This is achieved via a visual analysis.
3. Comparing the amphora assemblages from the Auvergne with well-dated assemblages from other parts of France and from adjacent countries.
4. Description and provenance of the 328 stamped sherds (Appendix 1).
5. The distribution of Republican amphorae in the Auvergne.
6. Analysis of the contexts in which Republican amphorae were deposited in the Auvergne and the practices leading to the deposition of this material.
7. A brief examination and discussion of the other types of Mediterranean imports (ceramics and metal-vessels) found in the Auvergne during the late Iron Age.

Current debates

Over the last 15 years, there has been an increasing volume of research devoted to Republican amphorae especially dealing with the material from France. There have been many regional studies of Republican amphorae (Audé 2007; Barthélémy 2001; Barthélémy-Sylvand 2005, 2007; Chaidron and Dubois 2013; Hénon 1995; Lemaître and Sanchez 2009; Lemaître *et al.* 2007; Maza 1998a; Olmer 1997, 2003; Piot 2002; Sanchez 2009; etc.). Amphora assemblages from many late Iron Age settlements

including farms, agglomerations, and *oppida* have been published (Audé and Dixneuf 2007; Aulas 1983, 1985, 1988; Benquet 2002, 2007; Benquet and Piot 2000; Colin 2000; Guichard 1997a; Landreau 2012; Laubenheimer and Barthélemy-Sylvand 2010; Poux and Sellès 1998; Schopfer 2004; etc.). A major conference was recently held on the *Itinéraires des vins romains en Gaule (IIIe-Ier siècle savant J.C.)* which has just been published (Olmer ed. 2013). Many papers have appeared dealing with the morphology of Republican amphorae (Olmer *et al.* 1995), stamped sherds (Olmer 1997, 2003; Desbat and Maza 1997; Laubenheimer 2007; Loughton 2005; Loughton and Olmer 2003), and fabrics (Hesnard *et al.* 1989; Thierrin-Michael 1990, 1992). Brun (2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005) has reviewed the evidence for the production of wine and olive oil in the eastern and western Mediterranean during the Roman period. Recently there have been excavations on one of the main Republican amphora production centres at Albinia, Italy (Vitali ed. 2007; Olmer and Vitali 2002). A volume dealing with the excavations on the amphora kilns at Giancola near to Brindisi, Italy, has also appeared (Manacorda and Pallecchi eds. 2012). One of the main aims of this study is to publicize this work by applying many of these research methodologies to the material from the Auvergne.

One of the main areas of debate concerns the classification of Republican amphorae which are presently divided into two main groups: the earlier Greco-Italic and the later Dressel 1 with its three subtypes (Dressel 1A, 1B, and 1C) (Lamboglia 1955). Several researchers (Loughton 2003a, 2003b; Olmer 1997, 133; Tchernia 1986, 310–311) have questioned the validity of this scheme and highlighted the difficulty of reliably assigning sherds to the different forms. Various, and often conflicting, methodologies for studying and classifying Republican amphora sherds have been developed. Most of these are concerned with the morphology of the rim sherds although some schemes also classify the shoulders and bases. Another approach involves examining the morphology of complete Republican amphorae from the cargoes of Mediterranean wrecks and comparing them with sherds from terrestrial assemblages. These different methodologies are outlined and discussed including their advantages and disadvantages.

The assemblages of Republican amphorae from the Auvergne have several advantages for typological and chronological studies. The available corpus is large and there are many substantial assemblages ranging from a hundred to over a thousand vessels. Various types of site are represented from farms, to agglomerations, possible urban sites (*oppida*), and funerary and cult sites. Crucially, the sites and assemblages also provide a good chronological span from the second century BC to the early first century AD. It is therefore possible to examine how the morphology and provenance of Republican amphorae evolved over nearly two centuries. At the other end of the scale, it is also possible to study these changes over relatively short periods as the associated finds from these assemblages have been studied as part of the *Projet*

collectif de recherche les mobiliers du second âge du Fer en Auvergne (Mennessier-Jouannet ed. in prep. 1, 2; Deberge *et al.* 2007a). Reports on the iron finds (Orengo 2003) and the coinage (Guichard *et al.* 1993; Malacher and Collis 1992) have already appeared. A brief preliminary summary of the evolution of the late Iron Age ceramics, small finds, and imported wares has been published (Deberge *et al.* 2007a). This allows the assemblages of amphorae from pits, wells, occupation layers, and ditches to be more precisely dated. It also allows the types of amphorae to be compared with the ceramics and small finds. Finally, there is a sequence of well-dated, but briefly occupied sites from the late second to the end of the first century BC (Guichard *et al.* 1993).

In contrast, studies of other regions of France have suffered from various limitations. Many assemblages of Republican amphorae are studied in isolation without providing any detailed information on the associated ceramics, imported wares, and small finds (Barthélemy-Sylvand 2005, 2013; Benquet 2007, 2013; Maza 1998a; Hénon 1995; etc.). Often the amphorae from a site are analysed as one sample with no attempt to examine the material from individual features (Hénon 1995; Poux 1999a; etc.). Another approach treats Republican amphorae as type fossils, and sites are dated by the presence of one or two diagnostic sherds. For example, a Greco-Italic rim will indicate La Tène C occupation and a Dressel 1B rim the Caesarian period.

The data from the Auvergne is then ideally suited to address many of the crucial questions concerning the Republican wine trade to north-western Europe. These include when the trade commenced, especially to non-Mediterranean France. Are there examples of Greco-Italic amphorae that are generally believed to be rare outside of Mediterranean France? Most models have generally seen the Republican wine trade to Gaul as being late, only starting after the conquest of southern France in 121 BC by Rome (Arthur 1995, 242; Cunliffe 1982, 52–53, 1984, 4, 1988, 81; Metzler *et al.* 1991, 162; Nash 1976a, 1984, 102; Tchernia 1983, 101). Finally, when did it end? Some researchers have argued for a sudden decline in the Italian wine trade starting around 50 BC (Desbat 1998a) while others have argued for a later date during the Augustan period (Sanchez and Auroux 2004, 339, 342).

Other crucial questions concern the provenance of the Republican amphorae. This topic is often neglected in many studies of Republican amphorae from France; an exception is the recent work of Thierrin-Michael (1990, 1992, 1995, 2000, 2003; Thierrin-Michael and Maza 2002) and Olcese (2004, 2005–2006, 2006, 2010). Detailed fabric studies, using thin-sectioning, have been mainly limited to small assemblages of Republican amphorae from southern England (Williams 1985, 1987). It is difficult to ascertain any chronological patterning in the kilns/regions supplying Republican amphorae to sites in France because of the scarcity and the reliability of much of the data. Instead, diagnostic Republican amphora

stamps have been used to provenance amphorae. The distribution of diagnostic stamps it has been argued shows that kilns in Latium and Campania supplied south-western Gaul while the *ager Cosanus* (southern Etruria) supplied the central-eastern and northern regions (Olmer 2003; Olmer *et al.* 2013). However, this approach is fraught with problems, most notably the fact that the majority of vessels were never stamped.

An important aspect of this study involved collecting details on Republican amphora findspots in the Auvergne and for the whole of France (Loughton and Jones 2000; Loughton 2003a). Appendix 2 provides basic details on 4,997 Republican amphora findspots from France. Most studies still rely on distribution maps from the 1970s and 1980s. It was decided to create new distribution maps for the Dressel 1 and for the other main Republican amphora varieties in France, and from this to discern any spatial and temporal patterning.

Although the wine trade to Gaul during the later Republican period is typically seen as an Italian monopoly, evidence is appearing which questions this assumption. Firstly, vine growing and viticulture appears during the late second century BC in parts of Languedoc and Roussillon (Brun and Laubenheimer eds. 2003; Mauné 2013) and soon after the middle of the first century BC in the Lyon area (dep. Rhône) (Poux 2011). Secondly, considerable evidence has emerged over the last couple of decades for the production of Republican amphorae in Spain (López Mullor and Martín Menéndez 2006; Bernal and Lagóstena eds. 2004; etc.) and France (Brun and Laubenheimer eds. 2003). The distribution of Spanish Dressel 1s and related vessels (Tarracensis 1–3/Laietana 1–3) and the scale of this trade to Gaul are poorly understood. It is possible that some of the amphorae and wine exported to the Auvergne during the first century BC came from Spain and southern Gaul.

The last 20 years have seen a profusion of studies exploring various aspects of eating, drinking, and feasting during prehistory (Arnold 1999; Dietler 2005; Dietler and Hayden eds. 2001; Parker-Pearson 2003; Poux 2004; etc.). Topics investigated include the role of feasting in the expression and maintenance of social identities (Pitts 2004, 2005) and social groups (Dietler 1990), and its role in the political economy (Dietler 1990, 2005). Researchers have also attempted to identify feasting sites and feasting remains in the archaeological record (Poux 2000a 2002b, 2004; Poux and Feugère 2002; Ralph 2007). Many of these studies have argued that access to amphorae was under elite control and the consumption of wine restricted to special feasts organized by the nobility (Haselgrove 1996, 171–173; Metzler *et al.* 1991, 167, 172; Poux 2004; Poux and Feugère 2002; Roymans 1990, 42). In contrast, other researchers have argued that the exchange of Mediterranean goods was controlled by a new class of merchants and traders (Wells 1995a 240–241). Finally, some have argued for the development of a market economy (Nash 1976a, 1978b). Are these interpretations

applicable to the Auvergne? Which social groups were drinking imported wine in the Auvergne during the late Iron Age?

Another important development has been the recognition that amphorae and amphora-parts, such as handles and bases, were often modified and reused (Peña 2007; Lawall and Lund eds. 2011). While there is considerable and varied evidence relating to the modification and reuse of Dressel 1s this evidence has not always been noted or systematically recorded.

Finally, the Republican wine trade is obviously an important source of information for understanding the scale, nature, and the development of the Roman economy (Bowman and Wilson eds. 2009; Scheidel 2009; Wilson 2009a, 2009b; etc.). Yet surprisingly this debate has made relatively little use out of the increasing number of stratified late Iron Age and Gallo-Roman amphora assemblages from France. Such data has the potential to shed light on the level of Roman trade and elucidate trends for different commodities and export regions. In contrast, Roman Mediterranean shipwrecks and their amphora cargoes have contributed more to this debate (Parker 1992; Wilson 2009b, 219–229, 2011).

To summarize, this volume aims to compare how the assemblages of Republican amphorae from the Auvergne compares and contrasts with the evidence from other regions of France. This research will provide an opportunity to assess the validity of current models concerning the chronology of the Republican wine trade and the modification and deposition of amphorae in Gaul during the second to first centuries BC.

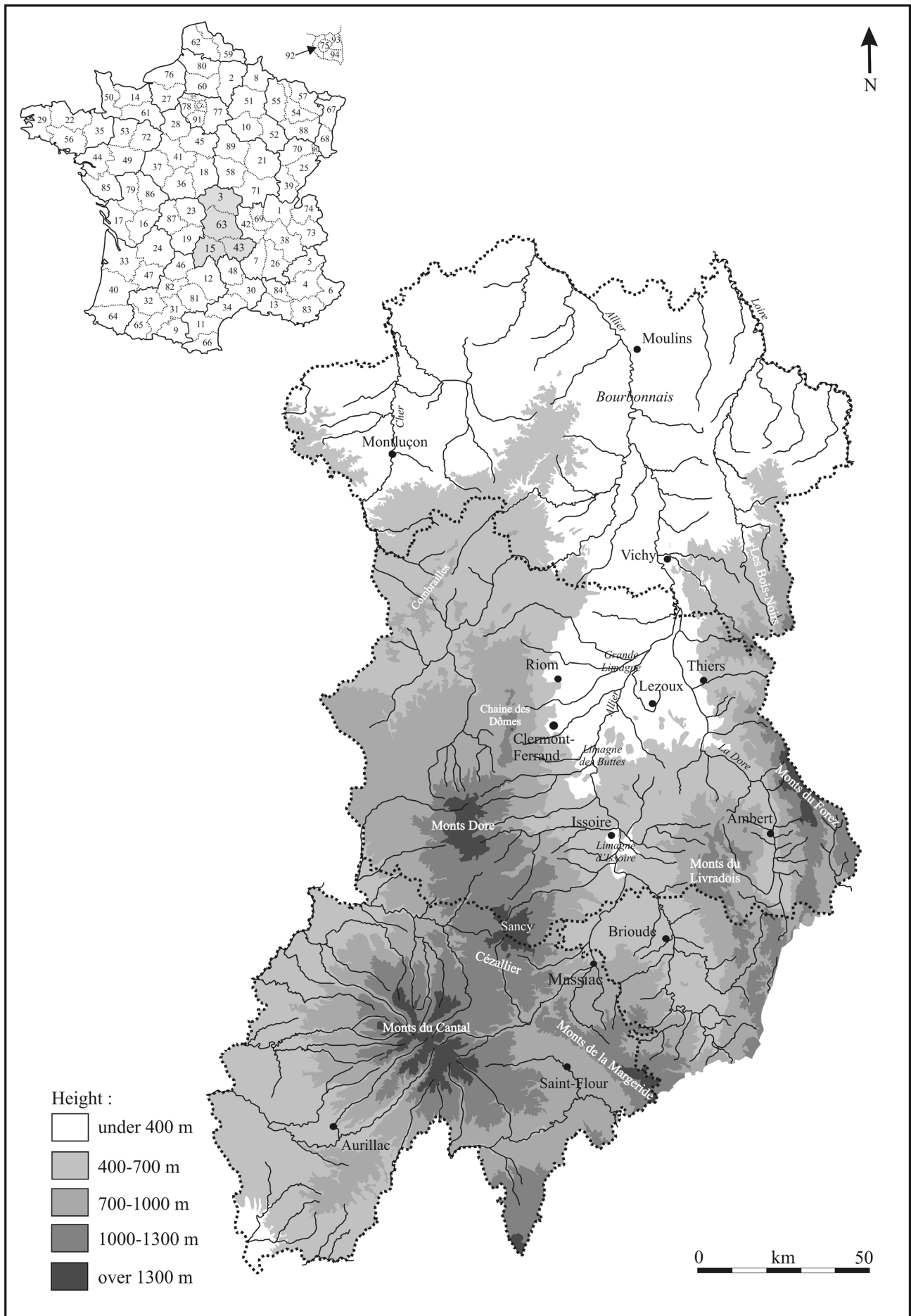


FIGURE 1. THE AUVERGNE.

Chapter 2

The Auvergne and the Arverni

Geographical background

Situated within the north-east of the Massif Central mountain range the administrative region of the Auvergne comprises the modern departments of the Allier (3), Cantal (15), Haute-Loire (43), and Puy-de-Dôme (63) (Figures 1–3). This study is mainly concerned with the amphora assemblages from the department of the Puy-de-Dôme as this department has seen the majority of archaeological excavations over the last 40 years because of the expansion of Clermont-Ferrand and surrounding towns. This situation is finally beginning to change with the investigation and excavation of various Iron Age sites in the northern department of the Allier (Lallemant 2004, 2007a, 2009, 2010; Lallemant and Orengo 2007), and in the south and the Cantal (Milcent and Delrieu 2007). The late Iron Age occupation of the south-eastern Massif Central (departments of the Haute-Loire and Loire) has recently been studied by Kurzaj (2012).

The Auvergne is an isolated, rural region; most of the population is concentrated around the city of Clermont-Ferrand—the capital of the department of the Puy-de-Dôme. The landscape has been shaped and warped by geologically recent volcanic activity. Great linear faults have created a wide depression surrounded on either side by blocks of higher land (Mills 1985). This central depression contains the Allier river and three sedimentary basins; the Issoire Limagne in the south, and the Grande and Petites Limagnes near to Clermont-Ferrand.

The Grande and Petites Limagnes contain thick deposits of *terres noires* overlying the limestone bedrock. These soils were deposited from the Neolithic to the Gallo-Roman period (Ballut 2007; Daugas *et al.* 1983) and were apparently formed by soil erosion resulting from human activity, especially the deforestation of the higher lands and slopes. The *terres noires* provide fertile agricultural land but require extensive draining to be cultivated.

The Petite Limagne basin is broken up by several small lava plateaux to form the Pays de Buttes. Here the basaltic lava flows seeped into the limestone rocks, to leave behind (once the softer surrounding limestone had eroded away), flat topped and steeply sided plateaux. This area also contains gentle limestone hills with thin, poor soils (Mills 1985, 193). This area has poor agricultural potential with the upper slopes being uncultivated and given over to scrub, while the lower slopes provide rough grazing (Mills 1985, 196).

To the west are the Chaîne-des-Dômes and the Mont Dores mountains (Figure 1). The former developed between

80,000–5,000 years ago, and contains *c.*100 volcanic cones and craters that range in height from 700 metres to the highest the Puy-de-Dôme at 1464 metres. South of this range are the mountains of the Mont Dores and the Sancy, which contain the remains of volcanoes that formed between four million and 250,000 years ago. These mountains are higher than the Chaîne-des-Dômes and the highest peak, the Puy-de-Sancy, reaches 1885 metres. The highlands of the Massif Central are used as pasture. The Auvergne is bordered to the east by the granite mountains of the Forez, Livradois, and Bois Noirs, beyond which lies the Loire valley (Figure 1). These mountains reach comparable heights to the Chaîne-des-Dômes and the Mont Dores.

The Auvergne is a raised plateau enclosed by higher land on both its western and eastern sides, and further south by the Monts du Cantal (the highest peak here, the Plomb du Cantal reaches 1855 metres) and the Cévennes. There are few communication routes cutting east-west, and the main axis of communication lies north-south with the Allier valley but even this is not very accessible. The main north-south routes are further to the east with the Loire and the Rhône rivers. To the north and the department of the Allier, the landscape is more open and less than 400 metres above sea level. For a more detailed description of the geography and geology of the region see Jones (2001) and Provost and Mennessier-Jouannet (1994a, 55–61).

The Arverni

The Auvergne takes its name from the Arverni one of the Gallic tribes, which invaded Italy in the fourth century BC (Nash 1975, 212). Their core territory was located around the modern day city of Clermont-Ferrand (Figure 4). Defining the exact tribal boundaries of the Arverni is difficult. Nash has suggested that, for central France, Medieval dioceses and Roman administrative borders directly followed the late Iron Age tribal boundaries (1976a, 114, 1978b, 464–465). Other researchers have used the distribution of coins belonging to different polities and distinctive pottery types to delineate tribal boundaries in central France (Guichard *et al.* 2002). From these approaches a rough approximation can be made (*cf.* Trément *et al.* 2007). The core territory of the Arverni probably included the eastern part of the department of the Allier, the whole of the department of the Puy-de-Dôme and the Cantal, and the western part of the Haute-Loire (Provost and Mennessier-Jouannet 1994a, 71–72) (Figure 4).

Guichard *et al.* (2002, 167) have assigned the north-eastern part of the Allier department (from the Loire to the Allier) to the Aedui and the eastern Haute-Loire to

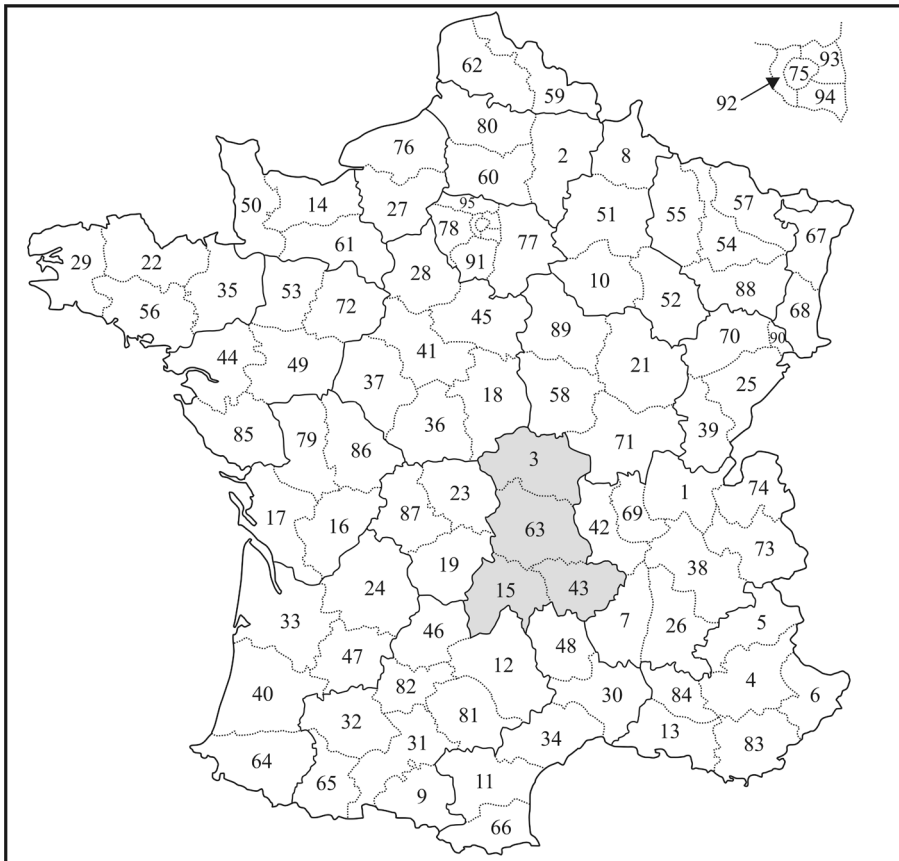


FIGURE 2. DEPARTMENTS OF FRANCE.

- 1: AIN, 2: AISNE, 3: ALLIER, 4: ALPES-DE-HAUTE-PROVENCE, 5: HAUTES-ALPES, 6: ALPES-MARITIMES, 7: ARDÈCHE, 8: ARDENNES, 9: ARIÈGE, 10: AUBE, 11: AUDE, 12: AVEYRON, 13: BOUCHES-DU-RHÔNE, 14: CALVADOS, 15: CANTAL, 16: CHARENTE, 17: CHARENTE-MARITIME, 18: CHER, 19: CORRÈZE, 21: CÔTE-D'OR, 22: CÔTES-D'ARMOR, 23: CREUSE, 24: DORDOGNE, 25: DOUBS, 26: DRÔME, 27: EURE, 28: EURE-ET-LOIRE, 29: FINISTÈRE, 30: GARD, 31: HAUTE-GARONNE, 32: GERS, 33: GIRONDE, 34: HÉRAULT, 35: ILLE-ET-VILAINE, 36: INDRE, 37: INDRE-ET-LOIRE, 38: ISÈRE, 39: JURA, 40: LANDES, 41: LOIRE-ET-CHER, 42: LOIRE, 43: HAUTE-LOIRE, 44: LOIRE-ATLANTIQUE, 45: LOIRET, 46: LOT, 47: LOT-ET-GARONNE, 48: LOZÈRE, 49: MAINE-ET-LOIRE, 50: MANCHE, 51: MARNE, 52: HAUTE-MARNE, 53: MAYENNE, 54: MEURTHE-ET-MOSELLE, 55: MEUSE, 56: MORBIHAN, 57: MOSELLE, 58: NIÈVRE, 59: NORD, 60: OISE, 61: ORNE, 62: PAS-DE-CALAIS, 63: PUY-DE-DÔME, 64: PYRÉNÉES-ATLANTIQUE, 65: HAUTES-PYRÉNÉES, 66: PYRÉNÉES-ORIENTALES, 67: BAS-RHIN, 68: HAUT-RHIN, 69: RHÔNE, 70: HAUTE-SAÔNE, 71: SAÔNE-ET-LOIRE, 72: SARTHE, 73: SAVOIRE, 74: HAUTE-SAVOIE, 75: VILLE DE PARIS, 76: SEINE-MARITIME, 77: SEINE-ET-MARNE, 78: YVELINES, 79: DEUX-SÈVRES, 80: SOMME, 81: TARN, 82: TARN-ET-GARONNE, 83: VAR, 84: VAUCLUSE, 85: VENDÉE, 86: VIENNE, 87: HAUTE-VIENNE, 88: VOSGES, 89: YONNE, 90: TERRITOIRE DE BELFORT, 91: ESSONNE, 92: HAUTS-DE-SEINE, 93: SEINE-SAINT-DENIS, 94: VAL-DE-MARNE, 95: VAL-D'OISE.

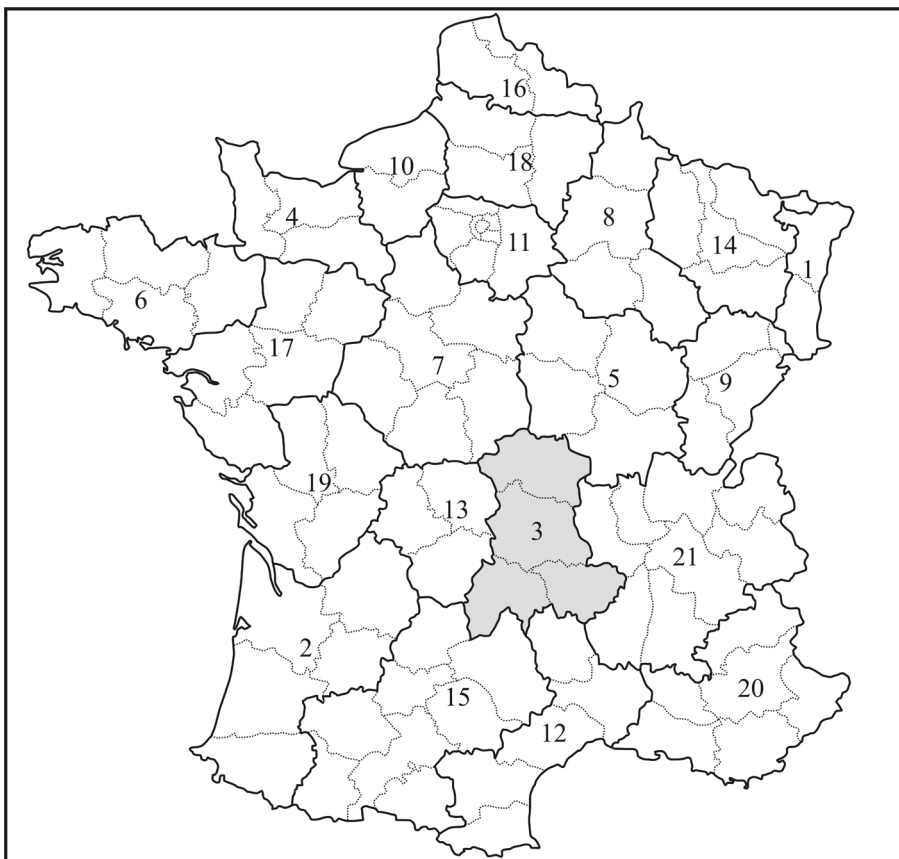


FIGURE 3. REGIONS OF FRANCE.

- 1: ALSACE, 2: AQUITAINE, 3: AUVERGNE, 4: BASSE-NORMANDIE, 5: BOURGOGNE, 6: BRETAGNE, 7: CENTRE, 8: CHAMPAGNE-ARDENNE, 9: FRANCHE-COMTÉ, 10: HAUTE-NORMANDIE, 11: ILE-DE-FRANCE, 12: LANGUEDOC-ROUSSILLON, 13: LIMOUSIN, 14: LORRAINE, 15: MIDI-PYRÉNÉES, 16: NORD-PAS-DE-CALAIS, 17: PAYS DE LA LOIRE, 18: PICARDIE, 19: POITOU-CHARENTES, 20: PROVENCE-ALPES-CÔTE-D'AZUR, 21: RHÔNE-ALPES.

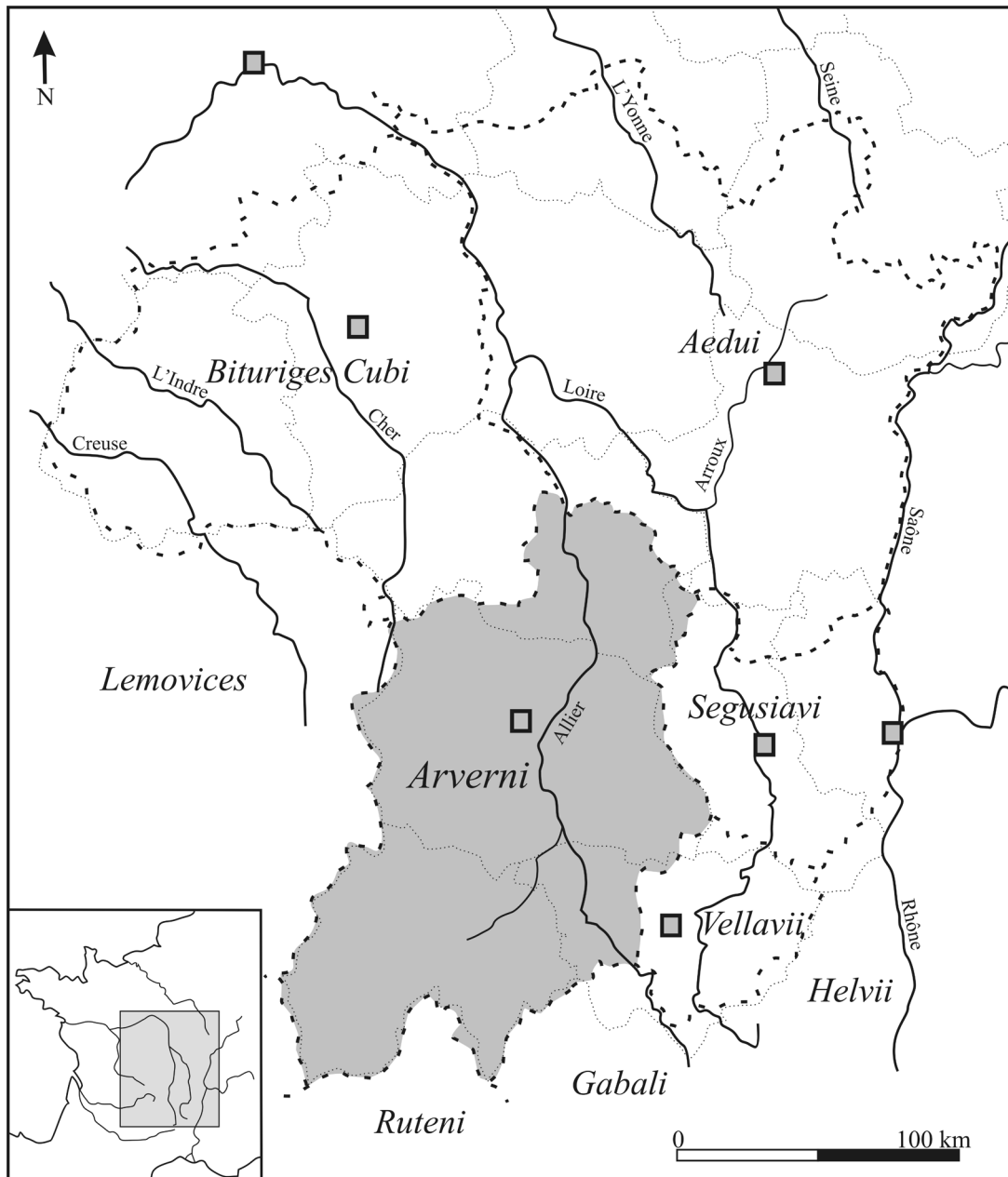


FIGURE 4. LATE IRON AGE TRIBAL BOUNDARIES IN CENTRAL FRANCE (AFTER GUICHARD *ET AL.* 2002, 160 FIG. 1).

the Vellavii a client tribe of the Arverni (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 7.75). To the north Arverni territory bordered with that of the tribes of the Bituriges Cubi and the Aedui; to the east with the Segusiavi, who were allies of the Aedui; to the west with the Lemovices; and to the south with the Ruteni and the Gabali (Figure 4). These last two tribes may also have been subjects of the Arverni (Provost and Mennessier-Jouannet 1994a, 72). Caesar also refers to further dependant tribes: the Cadurci who were located in the departments of the Lot and part of Tarn-et-Garonne; and the Eleuteti (*De Bello Gallico* 7.75). The location of the Eleuteti is unknown although the south-eastern part of the Cantal has been suggested (Trément *et al.* 2007). According to Caesar the Cévennes mountains separated the territory of the Arverni from the Helvii of the Roman province (*De Bello Gallico* 7.7–7.8).

The Arverni during the third to second centuries BC may have controlled larger territories. This is the impression given by the classical writer Strabo who mentions that ‘the Arverni had extended their rule as far as Narbonne and the boundaries of the territory of Massalia and ruled over the tribes as far as the Pyrenees and to the ocean and the Rhine’ (*Geography* 4.2.3). There has been considerable debate over the veracity and the meaning of this statement (*cf.* Jones 2001; Stevens 1980, 81–84). As Strabo was writing much later (first century AD) we have no idea of the source(s) of his information although it most likely came from the Greek philosopher and historian Posidonius of Apameia who wrote about the wars between Rome and Gaul.

It is worth noting that Strabo's grasp of geography was often inaccurate; for example, he wrongly placed the Arverni capital, *Nemossus*, on the river Loire instead of the Allier (*Geography* 4.2.3). It is possible that Strabo was simply exaggerating Arverni power to magnify the Romans' defeat of their king Bituitus in the late second century BC. Finally, there is Strabo's use of the term 'rule', which could refer to political connection and/or alliances over this area rather than explicit territorial control. According to Caesar, the Arvernian Celtillus won control over the whole of Gaul during the early first century BC (*De Bello Gallico* 7.4). Yet, Caesar mentions that the Aedui and the Sequani were the two dominant tribes in Gaul during this period (*De Bello Gallico* 6.11).

The classical sources also suggest that in the second century BC the Arverni had strong ties with the Allobroges from around Vienne and the right bank of the Rhône and possibly with the Volcae from Languedoc (Dyson 1985, 138–139, 143, 155). For the first century BC Caesar refers to connections between the Arverni and the Sequani of eastern France (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1.31). During the revolt of Vercingetorix against Rome in 52 BC the Arverni formed alliances with the following tribes: Andes Aulerici, Cadurci, Lemovices, Parisii, Pictones, Senones, and all the tribes along the western coast (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 7.4). Some of these tribes may have had long-standing connections with the Arverni.

During the second century BC the Arverni were ruled by kings, as was the case with other areas of Gaul during this period (Roymans 1990, 33). We do not know whether this was a recent development, or was long established. The Arvernian king Louernius and his son Bituitus are mentioned in Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* IV, 152) and Strabo (*Geography* 4.1.11); both writers probably took their information from Posidonius. Confusingly Appian refers to Bituitus as the king of the Allobroges (*De Rebus Gallicis* XII, 2). These accounts note the wealth and power of Louernius and Bituitus.

The Arverni and Rome

Apollodoros Athenaeus refers to a treaty between Rome and the Arverni and the *Aidousioi* (Aedui), which dates to around 144 BC (Collis 2003, 19, 114, 124). This would correspond with the reign of Louernius and it is naturally tempting to suggest a link. Perhaps the fabled power and wealth of Louernius stemmed from Roman connections and patronage. The Aedui were recognized as Roman allies in 122 BC, however, this may have formalized the earlier alliance of 144 BC (Dyson 1985, 152; Ebel 1976, 70).

Roman interest in southern Gaul began in the third century BC, because of the strategic importance of this area for the Romans in their wars against the Carthaginians in Spain (Ebel 1976). During the second century BC Rome intervened on Massalia's behalf on several occasions when local tribes threatened the city (Ebel 1976, 64). In 125 BC, an alliance of tribes centred on the Arverni threatened

Massalia, which resulted in Roman military intervention in the area (Dyson 1985; Ebel 1976). Two Roman armies in southern France defeated a force of Arverni and Allobroges under the command of Bituitus in 121 BC (Rivet 1988, 41; Ebel 1976, 71). Bituitus and his son (Comm, Congentiatius or Congonnetiacus) were captured and exiled (Dyson 1985, 153). Bituitus was later displayed in Rome (Florus I, 37.5). The Arverni and the other tribes of central Gaul were not placed under direct Roman control, the Romans however, may have claimed hegemony over all of Gaul (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1.45) and the Arverni and their allies may have been seen as Roman clients (Ebel 1976, 79).

By the first century BC Caesar states that Gaul was divided into two factions: Arverni/Sequani and the Aedui (*De Bello Gallico* 1.3, 6.11). According to Caesar, the Arverni and Sequani brought over German mercenaries from the Suebi who defeated and subjected the Aedui (*De Bello Gallico* 6.11, 7.4) but then apparently (and predictably) turned on their hosts.

Dyson suggests that there was further Roman military action against the Arverni during the early first century BC, and at this time the Vellavii were detached from their control (Dyson 1985, 156; Strabo, *Geography* 4.2.3). Caesar mentions that the Arvernian Celtillus attempted to claim the kingship but was executed (*De Bello Gallico* 7.4). Perhaps these events were connected and the Romans may have again feared the consequences of a unified Arverni under the direction of a monarch (Dyson 1985, 165–166). The Romans may have bolstered or created support within the Arverni aristocracy (and with other tribes) by offering money and gold, or favourable access to merchants and Mediterranean goods, such as wine. One possible example, although dating to the later first century BC, is the noble Epasnactus who according to Caesar was a 'loyal friend of the Roman people' (*De Bello Gallico* 8.44). The use of the term 'friend' may imply a formalized form of recognition by Rome (Dyson 1985, 170 note 261). It is also likely that some individuals (perhaps hostages following the events of 121 BC?) from important families were held and educated in Rome, as has been suggested for elements of the British nobility during the early first century AD (Creighton 2000). Possibly, some of these hostages were later allowed to return home.

The chaos of the Roman conquest of Gaul allowed the Arvernian Vercingetorix to reclaim the kingship and to lead the revolt against Rome. Vercingetorix defeated Caesar at Gergovia in the Auvergne, but was finally defeated at Alesia in 52 BC. Intriguingly, according to the Greek Historian Cassius Dio, Vercingetorix 'had once been on friendly terms with Caesar' (XL 40.6, 41.3). Perhaps the great Arverni chieftain had Roman connections and may have served as an auxiliary in the Roman army?

Auvergne: the Iron Age settlement

This section provides an outline of the Iron Age occupation of the Auvergne (for earlier reviews *cf.* Collis 1975a,

1984a; Nash 1978a). Jones (2001) provides a current interpretation and so too the collection of papers from the *Actes du XXVIIe colloque international de l'Association Française pour l'Étude de l'Âge du Fer* (Clermont-Ferrand 2003) which was dedicated to the Iron Age of the Auvergne (Mennessier-Jouannet and Deberge eds. 2007). The Iron Age database for this region is not perfect, as most of our data is confined to an area around Clermont-Ferrand and the Allier valley. Less is known about the Iron Age exploitation of the uplands and outlying areas. However, following systematic archaeological fieldwork and excavation by members of the *Association pour la recherche sur l'âge du Fer en Auvergne* (A.R.A.F.A), the area around Clermont-Ferrand has provided a detailed picture of the Iron Age settlement. Many of the sites mentioned below are described in more detail later when their assemblages of Republican amphorae are examined.

Hallstatt and Early La Tène

During the late Bronze Age (950–800 BC) settlement was concentrated on several large hilltop sites bordering the southern Grande Limagne including Corent, Côtes-de-Clermont, and Gergovie (Milcent 2004; Provost and Mennessier-Jouannet 1994a, 63–64 fig. 4).

During Hallstatt C (800–620 BC) the number of sites increases significantly with the first evidence for occupation of the Grande Limagne with the appearance of small farms, while the hilltop sites were apparently abandoned (Milcent 2004). There are also several sites in the south around Issoire and on the northern Grande Limagne (Milcent 2004; Mennessier-Jouannet and Milcent 2007). In the southern Massif Central, especially the Cantal mountains, there are inhumation burials in tumuli dating from Hallstatt C until early La Tène A (Milcent and Delrieu 2007).

For the Auvergne, few sites can be dated to Hallstatt D1–3 (620–480 BC) (Mennessier-Jouannet and Milcent 2007). Moreover, the dating of Hallstatt and early La Tène sites here is hampered by the general lack of brooches. Small finds are found in some inhumation burials, but they generally lack any ceramic offerings to allow cross matching. For the southern Grande Limagne the site of Le Pâtural contains a small inhumation cemetery with 12 tombs dating from the late seventh to the first half of the sixth century BC (Burgess *et al.* 2000). There is Hallstatt D2/3 activity at Aulnat 'Îlot des Martyres' (Arnaud 2005) and at Clermont-Ferrand 'Belde' (Mennessier-Jouannet and Milcent 2007).

Evidence for La Tène A and B (480–250 BC) settlement is more widespread although still concentrated on the southern Grande Limagne (Mennessier-Jouannet and Milcent 2007). A cemetery at Pont-du-Château 'Champ-Lamet' possibly started during La Tène A and continued into La Tène B2 (Blaizot and Milcent 2002). During the early twentieth century an important cemetery at Courmon d'Auvergne, dating to La Tène B was uncovered. Sadly, the material was dispersed before it could be properly

studied however many burials were richly furnished with various pieces of weaponry (Orengo 2003).

Middle and Early Late La Tène

From La Tène C to La Tène D1b (c.250–110 BC) the settlement record for the region becomes particularly rich although the majority of sites are concentrated on the southern Grande Limagne and surrounding areas (Mills 1985, 197; Collis 1995a).

Southern Grande Limagne

Aulnat, to the east of Clermont-Ferrand, has produced a dense group of sites spanning from La Tène B2 to La Tène D1b (Figure 5) (Deberge *et al.* 2007b). This agglomeration includes the sites of Aulnat/La Grande Borne (excavated by John Collis and Robert Périchon), Elisée Reclus, Gandaillat, Le Brézet (Poux and Vernet 2001), and Pontcharaud. These sites contain large numbers of pits, wells including some stone-lined examples, and timber buildings (Deberge *et al.* 2007b). The site was involved in a variety of industrial and craft activities, including the smithing of iron, the working of precious metals, coin manufacture, and pottery production (Collis 1975b, 1980; Deberge *et al.* 2007b; Orengo 2003). Inhumation burials (of adults and children) are found throughout the agglomeration. Most are interned with one or two ceramic vessels, brooches, and bracelets (Deberge and Orengo 2007). Rich burials are rare although one or two contain weaponry. Gandaillat also has two small zones of cremation burials (Deberge and Orengo 2007; Deberge *et al.* 2007b). Most of this activity dates to the second century BC and earlier occupation is mostly limited to La Grande Borne.

This complex covers approximately 150 hectares (Collis 1975a, 185, 1995a; Malacher and Collis 1992, 191) although it is not clear if it represents a village or some form of proto-urban settlement (*cf.* Jones 2001, 108–111). Collis has suggested that the nearest parallels are with earlier sites in the Mediterranean such as Rome, Athens, and certain Etruscan sites (Deberge *et al.* 2007b). Other important second century BC agglomerations from France, such as Acy-Romance (dep. Ardennes), Alluyes-Saumeray 'Bas des Touches' (dep. Eure et Loire), Feurs (dep. Loire), Levroux 'Les Arènes' (dep. Indre), Roanne (dep. Loire), and the Basel-Gasfabrik in Switzerland (Collis *et al.* 2000) are smaller than the Aulnat/Gandaillat complex.

The most extensively excavated settlement for the late La Tène period in the region is the farm of Le Pâtural, which is about five kilometres north of La Grande Borne, on the Grande Limagne (Deberge *et al.* eds. 2007). This site differs significantly from the Aulnat complex consisting of a sequence of ditched enclosures with timber buildings and occasional pits and wells. Again, inhumation burials are found within the area of settlement. There were two iron forges (Orengo 2003, 60, 69–70), but unlike Aulnat there is no evidence for the production of coins or the working of precious metals.

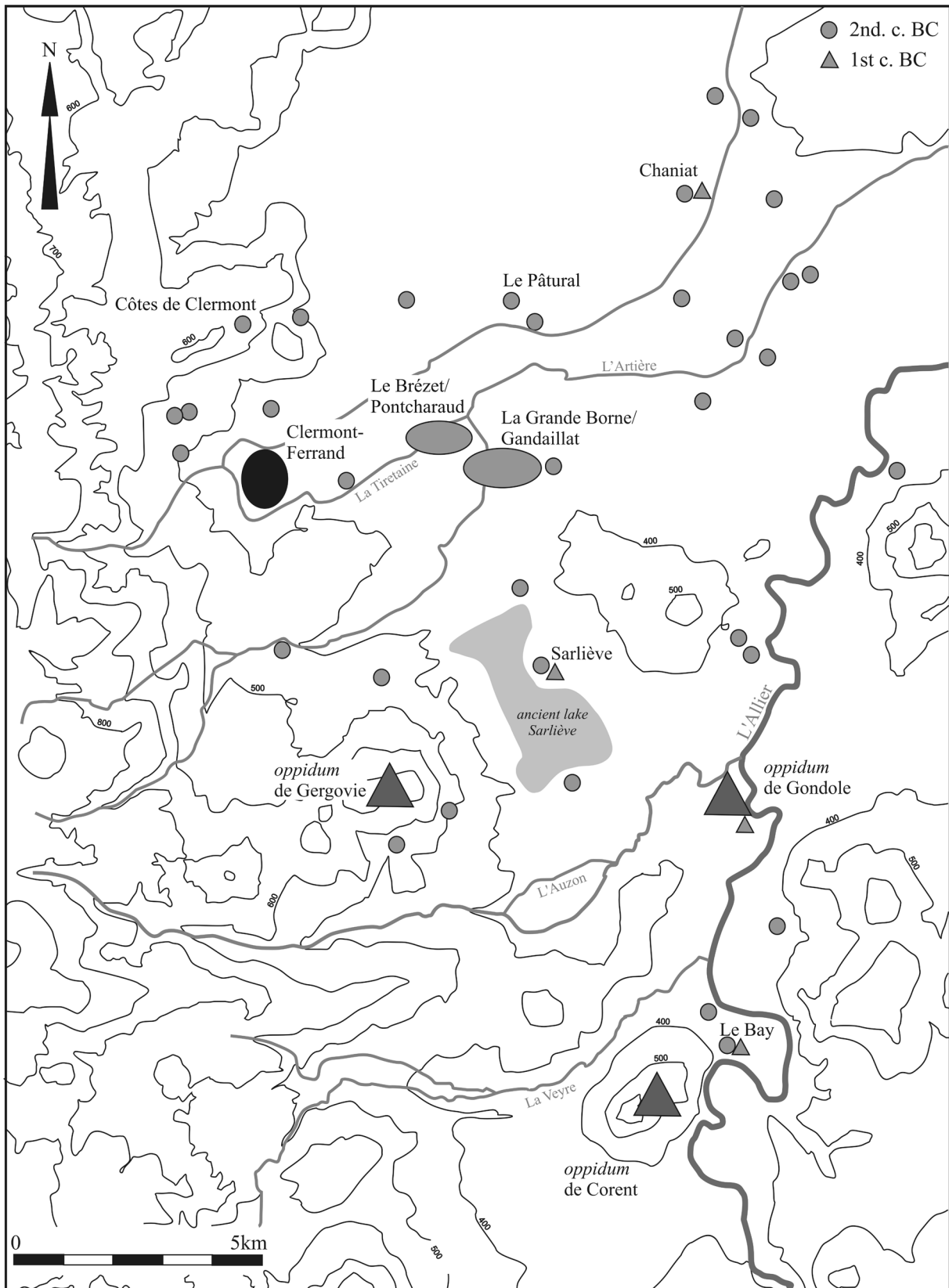


FIGURE 5. LATE LA TÈNE SITES IN THE SOUTHERN GRANDE LIMAGNE (AFTER A.R.A.F.A.).

In contrast to the southern Grande Limagne, the surrounding hills were generally devoid of settlement during the second century BC. The exceptions are the Côtés-de-Clermont and Chanturgues, which have produced a scatter of La Tène C2-D1 ceramics on the plateau top and its slopes

(Nash 1978a, 124; Collis 1975a, 189). The nature of this settlement remains poorly understood but it possibly represents an extension of the Grande Limagne sites. Few Iron Age sites are known in the west and on the plateau des Dômes and the Combrailles. Recent excavations have

uncovered an enclosed farm at Saint-Ours-les-Roches ‘Le Brus’ (Mennessier-Jouannet *et al.* 2009; Deberge 2007) and a small rich cremation cemetery at Pulvérières (Dunkley *et al.* 2005). Both of these sites date from the second to the first century BC.

Lezoux

Further to the east around Lezoux, there are several middle-late La Tène settlements (Provost and Mennessier-Jouannet 1994b, 116–117, 132 fig. 56). Again, these sites are poorly understood with limited archaeological data (*cf.* Jones 2001).

Northern Grande Limagne

For the northern Grande Limagne there are several middle and late La Tène sites but less evidence for the first century BC (Mennessier-Jouannet 1993, 1994). Only the site of Aigueperse has been excavated. This appears to be an agglomeration covering several hectares with evidence for iron and bronze working, and pottery production (Mennessier-Jouannet and Dunkley 1996; Deberge ed. in prep. 1).

Issoire

Twenty-five kilometres to the south of Clermont-Ferrand, only two late La Tène settlements are known from the Issoire basin, both near to Le Broc (Watson 1999, 57–58). Prehistoric (Bronze Age and early Iron Age) and Roman sites were more frequent (Watson 1999, 57–59) and Iron Age sites may be masked by later activity.

Department of the Allier

Work by David Lallemand has uncovered evidence for a major settlement of *c.*20 hectares, starting in La Tène C2 and continuing into La Tène D1, at Varennes-sur-Allier towards the northern border of Arvernian territory (Lallemand 2007a; Lallemand and Orengo 2007).

First century BC: the oppida

By the end of the second century BC there was a major change in the settlement of the region, with the abandonment of most of the rural sites on the Grande Limagne such as Aulnat/Gandaillat and Le Pâtural, and a succession of nucleated *oppida* (Collis 1982, 1995a; Malacher and Collis 1992). Caesar used the term *oppidum* to denote the large defensive settlements he encountered during his conquest of Gaul (Collis 1984a, 5). Caesar was never consistent in his use of the term, and he occasionally describes some of the more important *oppida* as *urbs* e.g. Bourges ‘Avaricum’ (dep. Cher) and Mont Beuvray ‘Bibracte’ (dep. Nièvre). Archaeologists use the term with an equivalent flexibility and confusion (Woolf 1993a).

For the Arverni, six sites can be identified as *oppida*. Corent, Gondole, and Gergovie are close to Clermont-

Ferrand (Figure 5). The fourth at Viermeux ‘Cusset’, near Vichy (dep. Allier) is approximately 25 kilometres north-east of Clermont-Ferrand (Lallemand 2007a). The fifth Saint-Just-de-Baffie, is 15 kilometres south-east of Ambert in the south-west of the department of the Puy-de-Dôme and near to the eastern border of Arvernian territory (Provost and Mennessier-Jouannet 1994b, 306). Finally, the sixth site at Bègues is near to Gannat (dep. Allier) (Lallemand 2007a).

Corent, a large flat-topped lava plateau, was the first to be occupied with abundant evidence for settlement and cult activity from *c.*110 BC until 80 BC (Guichard *et al.* 1993). Recent excavations by Matthieu Poux (2002a, Poux *et al.* 2002; Poux ed. 2011) suggest that occupation continued until around 60/50 BC. There is considerable evidence for industrial and artisanal activities, notably textile production, the working of leather and animal furs, and the production of bronze and lead (Poux ed. 2011). At the base of Corent was a contemporary settlement of approximately 20–30 hectares at Le Bay, adjacent to the Allier river (Guichard and Collis 1992, 22).

The fortified lowland *oppidum* of Gondole was occupied during La Tène D2 (*c.*80–30 BC) and abandoned before the Augustan period (Deberge *et al.* 2009). Recent excavations have demonstrated that occupation continued beyond the rampart with various zones given over to funerary and industrial activities (iron and bronze working, coin minting) and the large-scale production of pottery (Deberge *et al.* 2009).

Finally, the plateau of Gergovie, which was occupied just before the Gallic war and since the eighteenth century has been identified as the location of Caesar’s defeat by Vercingetorix. Recent excavations on the edge of the ancient lake Sarliève ‘La Grande Halle d’Auvergne’, close to Gergovie, have uncovered a major second to first century BC settlement (Vernet 2002b; Trément *et al.* 2007; Deberge and Orengo 2007).

Gallo-Roman

The *oppidum* of Gergovie was abandoned during the early first century AD in favour of settlement once again on the Grande Limagne plain, with the founding of the Roman town of *Augustonemetum* which survives today as Clermont-Ferrand. By the Gallo-Roman period numerous farms and villas are found on the Grande Limagne, the Petites Limagnes, and in the Allier valley (Mills 1985, 198; Provost and Mennessier-Jouannet 1994b, 77–78; Dousteysier *et al.* 2004; Dousteysier 2011, 59–79). The presence of late La Tène ceramics (including sherds of Republican amphorae) on many of these sites has been used to argue for settlement continuity from the late Iron Age to the Gallo-Roman period (Trément and Dousteysier 2000; Dousteysier *et al.* 2004). However, most of these late La Tène ceramics date to the second and not the first century BC (Vallat 2004, 200–201; Y. Deberge pers. com.) suggesting a break in settlement. A situation confirmed

by the excavations at Romagnat ‘Maréchal’ (Liégard and Fourvel 1996), Le Pâtural (Deberge *et al.* eds. 2007), and Beaumont ‘Champ Madame’ (Alfonso and Blaizot eds. 2004) which all show no continuation of settlement from the late Iron Age to the Roman period.

Conclusion

The settlement record for the department of the Puy-de-Dôme during the later Iron Age shows a society dominated by open settlements involved in cereal and arable farming (Richardson 1997; Deberge 2007; Jones 2001). Settlement was concentrated on the Grande Limagne with less dense settlement in the outlying regions (northern Grande Limagne, Lezoux, and Issoire). The impression given is that the majority of the late Iron Age population was confined to a small area of the Auvergne; a pattern in some ways similar to the distribution of the modern population of the region.

Many sites show evidence for a variety of craft and industrial activities (Orengo 2003). Most sites were self-sufficient producing the iron tools and objects they needed, either by the use of itinerant specialists or by members of the settlement itself. Only some of the larger settlements, such as La Grande Borne, were engaged in a wider range of industrial activities. Excavations at other parts of the Aulnat complex, such as at Gandaillat, have not found the same range or level of industrial activities (Deberge *et al.* 2007b).

The late La Tène settlements in the department of the Puy-de-Dôme had access to a wide range and quantity of goods in the area around Clermont-Ferrand at least. From the second century BC onwards a range of more standardized and specialized forms of pottery began to be manufactured. During the late second century BC fine wheel turned vessels that copy Italian Campanian forms (imitation Campanian) appeared. La Tène C-D saw the production of fine painted pottery often with complex zoomorphic designs (Guichard 1994, 2003), which Andrews (1997), has argued were produced by skilled full-time artisans. These fine wheel-made ceramics are found on most of the La Tène C-D1 sites in the region and it is even possible that the painted vessels were exported to surrounding regions.

The lack of settlement hierarchy for the middle and late La Tène period in the department of the Puy-de-Dôme is reflected in the burial record, which is relatively impoverished in terms of the number and types of grave goods (Deberge and Orengo 2007). There is limited evidence for a military elite in the burial record (Deberge and Orengo 2007; Loison *et al.* 1991) and rich burials are rare for the Auvergne throughout prehistory, even when we know of the existence of powerful individuals such as Louernius.

From the end of the second to the first century BC the Auvergne saw the formation of several *oppida*. These sites may have been deliberately planned, and show an

increasing concern with defence and the control of space and people. The *oppida* in the Auvergne are not near to the best farmland (the Grande Limagne) and are instead located in marginal areas showing a greater concern with communication routes such as the river Allier. It is noteworthy that the *oppida* of Corent and Gergovie were located on hilltops previously settled during the late Bronze Age/Hallstatt period. There appears to be a desire to make use of and invoke earlier ritual and ancestral authority.

The Auvergne is unusual with its succession of centrally located *oppida*, for other areas of France the continued use of a dominant *oppidum* was the norm and the Arverni appear to have had less need for fortified settlements to control their territory unlike other tribes. The Aedui had a political centre at Mont Beuvray ‘Bibracte’ (dep. Nièvre), a trading settlement at Châlon-sur-Saône ‘Cabillonum’ (dep. Saône-et-Loire), and lesser *oppida* controlling the more distant parts of their territory, such as at Mâcon (dep. Saône-et-Loire) (Barral and Guillaumet 2000; Barral *et al.* 2002; Caesar *De Bello Gallico* 7.42, 7.90). The Bituriges Cubi had a number of *oppida* dispersed throughout their territory (Ralston 1988; Guichard *et al.* 2002) including Bourges ‘Avaricum’ (dep. Cher), Châteaumeillant (dep. Cher), and Nevers ‘Noviodunum’ (dep. Nièvre).

For the Segusiavi the settlements at Roanne (dep. Loire) (Lavendhomme and Guichard eds. 1997) and Poncins ‘Goinct’ (dep. Loire) (Collis *et al.* 2000, 75) continued to be occupied alongside the local *oppida* at Chambles ‘Essalois’ (dep. Loire), Saint-Jean-Saint-Maurice ‘Joeuvre’ (dep. Loire), and Saint-Marcel-de-Félines ‘Cret-Châtelard’ (dep. Loire). For the Carnutes there is a similar complex pattern with some sites such as Orléans (dep. Loiret) being occupied from the second century BC until the Gallo-Roman period while the open settlement of Alluyes-Saumeray ‘Les Bas des Touches’ (dep. Eure et Loire) was abandoned during the first century BC (Collis *et al.* 2000, 80; Riquier 2005). The second century BC agglomerations at Pons (dep. Charente-Maritime) and Châteaumeillant (dep. Cher) were both succeeded by fortified *oppida* (Houdusse and Landreau 2010; Büchsenschütz *et al.* 2010).

The nearest comparison to the Auvergne is the Aisne valley in northern France with a similar shift from second century BC rural sites to a succession of short-lived *oppida*: Condé-sur-Suippe ‘Varriscourt’ (dep. Aisne), Villeneuve-Saint-Germain ‘Les Grèves’ (dep. Aisne), and Pommiers ‘Moulin à Vent’ (dep. Aisne) (Haselgrove 1990a, 1996).

For the Auvergne Collis (1982) has proposed a crisis model to explain the pattern of settlement change during the late La Tène period. A crisis causes the nucleation of previously open settlement into more defensible locations. However, it is possible that the *oppida* here had a slightly more gradual evolution developing out of earlier sites, as is the case with Pons (dep. Charente-Maritime) and Châteaumeillant (dep. Cher). Indeed current excavations on Corent are suggesting that this might have been the

case. In contrast, the pre-*oppida* agglomeration at Aulnat/Gandailat/La Grande Borne suggests a relatively rapid growth around the middle of the second century BC (Deberge *et al.* 2007b). It is possible that the development of the Aulnat agglomeration was connected with the rise to power and the rule of Louernius and Bituitus. The decline and abandonment of this site would then be connected to the emergence of a new dynasty or chiefs, following the capture of Bituitus, who chose to found a new settlement on Corent.

The defeat of the Arverni in 121 BC, the end of kingship may have resulted in a decline in population and a period of instability. However, the abandonment of the southern Grande Limagne sites appears to occur a generation after the defeat of the Arverni unless our chronology is slightly out (?). Other changes occurring during this period include the decline of many of the established ceramic types such as the fine painted wares (Guichard 2003, 110) and the *jatte d'Aulnat*. As well as being new foundations, the *oppida* also saw a break with the material culture of the preceding open settlements.