

Beyond Typology:
Late Iron Age and Early Roman Brooches
in Northern France

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this thesis was to go beyond typology and consider the form, material, size and context of brooches in order to determine their meanings and functions to the Late Iron Age/early post-Conquest peoples of northern France. Apart from assembling a database of these ubiquitous objects, the objectives were: first, to standardize typological language and description in order to consider material and size; second, to ask broader questions about contexted finds from sanctuaries, funerary, rural sites and *oppida*.

The evidence examined demonstrates that brooches were seldom stand-alone finds, as one would expect of lost or casually discarded objects. Rather, their deposition with other objects demonstrates their integration into ritualized practices that were more complex and varied than previously assumed. Moreover, the increase of ornamental types during La Tène D2 marks a distinct change from the homogeneity of earlier types; perhaps relating to the impact of increased competition, or need to promote co-operation, between the different family, household groups and social classes at that were increasingly intermingled at *oppida*, as well as sanctuaries. The transition from iron to copper alloy during this period matches the amplified interest in ornamental types, aided by the malleability of the material. However, this shift also parallels certain changes in iron production in the study area, echoing possible increased restriction of iron production during La Tène D2b/GR1.

Beyond typology, brooches are a useful means of tracking changes in Late Iron Age social and ritual practice, as well as responses to conquest and increasing contact with the Roman world. By considering the chronological and contextual relationships of brooches this thesis examines how Late Iron Age and Early Roman societies in northern France reproduced themselves through material culture.

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List of Abbreviations

AFAN	<i>Association pour les Fouilles Archéologiques Nationales</i>
CAG	<i>Carte Archéologique de la Gaule</i>
CNRS	<i>Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique</i>
DF	Decorative Filiform Brooch
HvD	Heavily Decorated Brooch
HnB	Hinged Brooch
IB	Interrupted Bow Brooch
INRAP	<i>Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives</i>
LT	<i>La Tène</i>
NMI	<i>Nombres de Membres Individuelles</i>
RAP	<i>Revue Archéologique de Picardie</i>
RB	Reverted Bow Brooch
SF	Simple Filiform Brooch
SRA	<i>Service Régional de l'Archéologie</i>

Chapter One Introduction

Brooches are one of the most ubiquitous objects of Late Iron Age date in northern France, found in increasing numbers in contexts dating between 190 BCE and CE 15. In the Picardy region of northern France, where this project is centred, these items are variably described as clothing fasteners, items of personal adornment, votive deposits, or as female items. These multiplicitous definitions are problematic and some, like their identification as female objects, are often based on unproven assumptions. For example, Werner (1955) identified Nauheim brooch types as female based on their absence at military sites, while Böhme (1975) and Ludwig (1988) interpret burials with brooch pairs as female because of evidence from the later first century CE grave stelae depicting women wearing multiple brooches (Wild 1968: 173).

The majority of brooches recovered in Picardy are studied with an eye to dating them, mainly using typo-chronologies created outside of northern France (e.g. Feugère 1985; Gebhard 1991; Gaspar 2007; Metzler 1995). The concern with classifying and dating has, in some ways, worked to limit the appreciation of how they might have been used. As few typologies specifically question how or why brooches were formed, shaped or decorated as they were. Nevertheless, despite these limitations there has been a distinct reluctance, at least in France, to take analysis beyond typological considerations. This unwillingness possibly reflects an aversion to producing research at least superficially similar to the 'Culture History' of the earlier 20th century (Graves-Brown and Jones 1996: 7; Hides 1997: 42-43; also for an overview of cultural-historical archaeology see, Trigger 2006: 147-206). Where, for example Kossina's (1911; 1921: 48) used brooches, among other objects, to distinguish culturally active peoples, 'kultur-völker,' from culturally passive peoples, or 'natur-völker.' However, the need to avoid the mistakes of the past has nevertheless also allowed outmoded theories and assumptions to provide the de facto basis for current interpretations. For example, researchers such as Mantel (1997: 26) still express surprise at recovering 'female' items like brooches at 'warrior' sanctuaries. Bataille (2008: 194, 197) avoids similar bafflement and identifies sanctuary finds of iron brooches as male deposits, associating rare copper alloy brooch finds with sporadic female activity. Given the frequency with which brooches are recovered from Late Iron Age contexts, an explicit study was needed in order to address these and similarly ungrounded speculations. By tapping into the rich resource of excavated material available from Picardy, and surrounding regions, this

project aims to examine some of this conjecture and re-assess the ideas that permeate current conceptions about the role(s) and meaning(s) of brooches.

Away from gendered associations, questions of meaning have, to a certain extent, been addressed in Britain. Hill and Jundi (1997), Carr (2006) and Crummy and Eckhardt (2008) have stressed the importance of brooches as personal objects, used to construct individual and social identities. Support for these ideas is slowly gaining momentum in mainland Europe. Roymans' (2007: 323) study of Late La Tène bracelets in the Lower Meuse acknowledges that such objects serve more than functional or ornamental purposes and examines their integration into expressions of divergent and overlapping identities, e.g. age-class, ethnicity or group membership. Studies of Late Iron Age coinage in northern France by British scholars have also tended to emphasize how small objects were often integrated into individual and communal rituals, hinting at a similar role for brooches (Haselgrove 2005; Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005; Gruel 2007; Wellington 2005: 306).

Picardy was chosen as the core study area because development-led archaeology carried out here since the 1970s has generated enormous amounts of good quality data, allowing for analysis of contexted brooch finds at several types of site.¹ Moreover, as no large-scale study of La Iron Age brooch finds has to date been published in northern France it seemed valuable to use the data available from the numerous small-scale publications and grey-literature to create a more detailed overview of these finds and their contexts. Assembling these data emphasized the absence of an over-arching regional brooch typology because, as previously mentioned Late Iron Age brooches in Picardy tend to be identified and dated using external typologies, eg. from southern France (Feugère 1985), Germany (Gebhard 1991) and Luxembourg (Metzler 1995). While several local publications do include what seem to be typologies (e.g. Lambot et al. 1994; Lambot and Friboulet 1996; Brunaux and Méniel 1996; Stead et al. 2007), these works are often based on negligible site-based collections, making them too small-scale to serve as truly useful regional typologies. Here typology is defined here as an over arching concept based on Adams

¹ Note that development-led archaeology in France (termed *fouilles programmées* or *systématiques* since 2001) should not be confused with developer funded work in Britain. In the former, work is most always conducted and costs shared by the central or regional governmental bodies, such as CNRS, INRAP (formerly AFAN) or SRA. This contrasts to work in Britain which is typically contracted out to the lowest bidder, with costs born entirely by the developer (Demoule 2002: 172; Demoule 2009: 289 Kristiansen 2009: 244).

and Adams (1991: 368) as a particular kind of classification, made specifically for the sorting of entities into mutually exclusive categories called types. These ‘pseudo-typologies’ do, however, provide more local dating evidence for brooch finds than extra-regional brooch publications based on larger collections.

In northern France the dependence of brooch identification on extra-regional typologies is problematic for several reasons. For example, Feugère’s (1985) study, based on a comparatively small dataset from often uncontexted sites, still forms the backbone for understanding brooch types, even if they are re-dated using more recent typologies from Germany or Luxembourg (e.g. Gebhard 1995; Metzler 1995; Gaspar 2007). Moreover, these outside typologies all use different descriptive language and standards for identification as well as variable criteria for sorting. These differences make it difficult to cross-compare datasets, as the connections between typologies are not immediately apparent. These limitations are mainly the result of the essentially subjective nature of typologies, which are inherently constricted by their role as purpose driven classificatory systems (Adams and Adams 1991: 157, 370). This is especially true in the case of Late Iron Age brooches, where the interest in these items as dating type-fossils means that brooch typologies are of limited use beyond identification and dating. The problem here is in defining what typologies are actually meant to do. In North America the debate about what typologies are, how they should be formulated and what they mean continues (*ibid*: 265-277). In northern France typologies are practical tools, meant for use in identifying and dating brooches and therefore were never structured with the intent of asking questions outside these parameters.

Nevertheless, despite limitations, typologies are still integral to brooch studies, providing a means of sorting complex dataset into more manageable categories. So while, typologies can be barriers, especially in terms of linking cross-typological characteristics such as size, they are still essential as ordering systems. Nonetheless, while typologies are necessary, studies also need to go beyond sorting and approach questions of function and meaning. In Anglo-American literature this is generally termed a ‘material culture approach’ (see Buchli 2002: 308; Tilley 1989; Yentch and Beaudry 2001: 219-233; Hicks 2010). To date this type of analysis has never been attempted in northern France, where beyond traditional typo-chronological analysis, the brooch’s role in Late Iron Age societies has never been fully considered. Other than the

previously mentioned aversion to Culture Historical studies, it was also perhaps felt that brooches, as elements of 'Celtic' culture, were already understood. As a result, emphasis was placed on their ubiquity across Europe, focusing on stylistic variations as markers of regional difference (Wells 1995: 132). This might explain why specific regional typologies have not been thought necessary for northern France.

The overall absence of in depth material culture analysis in northern France is also partially reflective of the essentially processual/functionalist nature of French archaeology; where functionality is emphasised and used to get to the root of processes of cultural change (Trigger 2006: 314-384). Moreover, the quasi-historical nature of the Late Iron Age in northern France means that archaeology is often used to illustrate and expand upon classical sources such as Caesar's, *De Bellum Gallico* (for further discussion about French archaeology, especially its role in constructing national identities see, Audouze and Leroi-Gourhan 1981; Dietler 1994; 1995 1998). This theoretical bent provides a likely, albeit simplistic, explanation for the bias in archaeological interpretation in France; particularly why settlement studies, have long outnumbered material culture studies. Beyond dating, items such as ceramics, animal bones or brooches are used to situate sites within an overarching landscape hierarchy as per Caesar's descriptions (Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1991; Auxiette and Méniel 2005; Gransar et al. 1999; Malrain 2000; Malrain et al. 2002; Malrain et al. 2006; Méniel 1987; 1988; 1989a; 1994; 1996a; 1996b; 1999; 2000; 2001).

The general absence of a regionally specific brooch typology in northern France, or methods for interpreting brooches outside typological classification, means that a great deal has yet to be determined about their significance. Therefore, one goal of this project is to develop an appreciation of the changing role(s) of Late Iron Age brooches in northern France. Beyond reassessing their identification as female objects, this project questions how aspects such as material, size and form influenced their function(s) and meaning(s). Additionally, as this project focuses on brooches from well-excavated and recorded archaeological contexts, it is possible to discuss where they are found on both an inter- and intra-site level, as well their association with other objects such as animal bones, weaponry or ceramics. The in situ appreciation of brooches reveals how chronological changes in depositional patterns at a variety of site types (eg. funerary, rural sites, sanctuaries and *oppida*) can be used to reflect upon processes of social

reproduction. In this way brooches are not only identified as objects of dress or adornment, but as key vehicles for individual and/or communal agency.

1.1 Why Late Iron Age brooches in northern France? An overview of Late Iron Age archaeology in Picardy

Although the picture of regional settlement in Picardy is developed within the body of the thesis, it is instructive to give an over-view here outlining why the Late Iron Age archaeology of this particular area provides such fertile ground for research.

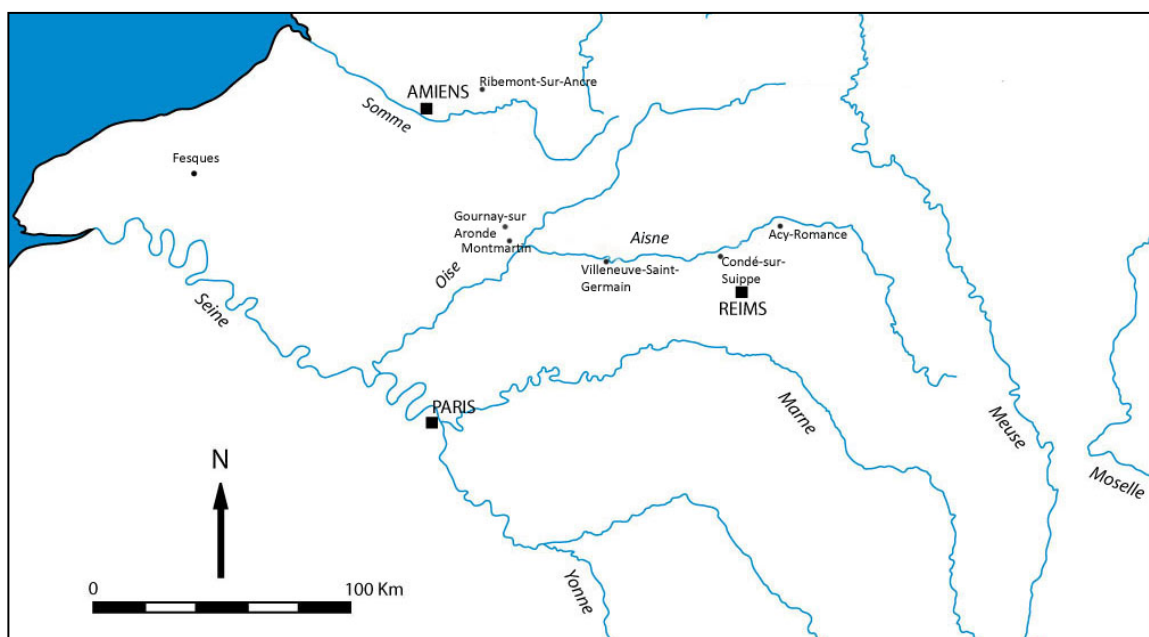


Figure 1.1: Map of the study area

The core of the Study Area centres on the modern administrative region of Picardy, comprising the departments of the Aisne, Oise and Somme, a 19,399 km² area approximately 55 km north of Paris (Figure 1.1). Well excavated sites in neighbouring regions, such as Fesques (Seine-Maritime) and Acy-Romance (Ardennes) will also be examined. This region was chosen because of the quality and accessibility of archaeological data for this region. Moreover, the established Late La Tène chronology used here, as well as development-led excavations at a wide variety of Late Iron Age sites of different types provide excellent fodder for questions concerning brooches, material culture, and deposition, as well as queries concerning Late Iron Age settlement and society.

The chronological period between approximately 190 BCE and 15 CE was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, the Middle to Late Iron Age transition (La Tène C1/C2, 190/180 BCE) saw a change from primarily funerary archaeology to include rural sites, sanctuaries and eventually *oppida*, or large fortified sites. This, as well as the transition from inhumation to secondary cremation as the main burial rite, also distinguishes the Late Iron Age from the preceding period (see Haselgrove 2007: 493-514). Moreover, while brooches occur in Middle Iron Age burials, they are found in increasing numbers at all sites from the start of the Late Iron Age, presaging the brooch 'event-horizon' described by Hill and Jundi (1998: 96-107) in Britain.

The availability of contextual data raises an interesting point about the differing nature of British and French archaeology. In Britain, brooches are consistently integrated into discussions of Late Iron Age social change (see Hill and Jundi 1998; Hunter 2006; Carr 2006; Eckhart and Crummy 2008), but discussion is typically hampered by the low numbers of stratified finds as well as by the rather dispersed nature of the available data (eg. Taylor 2007: 1-3, 11-18). In Britain, brooches are primarily uncontexted finds recovered by metal-detectorists. While good relations between detectorists and the Portable Antiquities Scheme, as well as public outreach programs by the latter governmental body, have resulted in good reporting figures (Lewis 2010: 25). The lack of contextual brooch data has tended to restrict analysis in Britain to observations about type, form, material and size; leading brooches to be examined in terms of adornment or dress (Chapter Five). In contrast, stratified brooch finds in Northern France allow them to be explored not only typo-chronologically, but also in terms of depositional context; although typically due to regionally specific research methodologies only the former has garnered much interest.

1.1.1 Archaeology, geology and the *Belgae*

In Northern France, in particular Picardy, increasing land exploitation from the 1970s onwards and the excavation of large tracts of landscape has developed a diverse picture of Late Iron Age settlement comprising of sanctuaries, funerary sites, rural sites, as well as *oppida*. While the character of these types of site is discussed in more detail within the thesis (see Chapters Six through Nine) it is necessary to outline a few points regarding the chronology and regional specificity behind the archaeology.

Deserving a mention here, is the overlap between the Picardy and the tribal groups described by Caesar (*de Bello Gallico* I.I), as *Belgae*. The identification of this region with these tribes has resulted in its long being emphasized as a distinct area of study (Hawkes and Dunning 1930; Hawkes 1968). Nevertheless, as these distinctions refer to the mid first century BCE they should NOT be projected back and used to describe the peoples of the preceding two centuries (Haselgrove 1990; 2007: 413; Roymans 1996: 16).

Problems with Caesar aside, the distinctive geology of Picardy marks it as an ideal region for study. The geology of Picardy, and immediately surrounding regions, consists of an old limestone ocean floor situated between the southern central massif and the chalk uplands extending north west from the Ardennes (Dottin 1980). Despite this geological homogeneity, differential erosion between the chalk and the limestone, as well as differences in post-glacial deposition of loess (known locally as *limon*) has produced a great deal of variability. For example, along the upper Aisne River which traverses the chalk plain of the western Ardennes, the landscape is fairly open. While running through limestone, the lower Aisne is an area sharply defined by cliffs. In terms of agricultural potential, in the Aisne and Oise which share basic limestone geology, post-glacial erosion has resulted in highly fertile valley bottom deposits of loess (known locally as *limon*). Whereas in the Somme, similar post-glacial activity has produced a variable clay with flints landscape, with fewer fertile loess deposits. Patches of *limon* are also found on the Ardennes plain and a direct association between these deposits and pre-historic settlement has been noted (Lambot and Méniel 2000: 10).

The variable landscape of Picardy and supposed tribal differences have been used to explain dissimilarities between site-types excavated in the region (e.g. Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1991; Fichtl 1994). Archaeological bias also has a part to play. Gravel exploitation in the Aisne and Oise has led to the high recovery of rural sites there (see Chapter Three, Haselgrove 2007: 494-496), while aerial photography, road, rail development and industrial construction have all shaped site recovery in the plateau areas of the Somme, Oise and Ardennes, such as sanctuaries and funerary sites, (Agache 1978; Haselgrove 2007: 494-496; Stead et al. 2007).

While some might interpret this as reinforcing regionality, as well as Caesar's tribal distinctions, the even distribution of material culture, particularly coins (eg. Haselgrove 2005: 167), as well as the brooches discussed in this thesis, speaks to the close link between groups and underscores

the need to deal with the region as a unit before applying a de facto diversity that may or may not exist. For example, the supposed absence of valley-bottom *oppida* in the Oise may not be due to regional or tribal difference but rather to lack of subtlety in settlement terminology, compounding problems between distinguishing rural sites, from sanctuaries and *oppida* (Bradley 2006: 182). For example, Montmartin (Oise) a La Tène C1/D1a site identified as an aristocratic settlement is comprised of a domestic enclosure, replete with palisade walls and ‘fortifications’ of split-post construction comparable on a smaller scale to those at Manching, as well as a ritual enclosure replete with votive offerings (Brunaux and Malrain 1997). Similar mixed rural and ritual features are also identified at Acy-Romance (Ardennes) (Lambot 1999; 2002). While problems and pitfalls involved in the likely fallacious need to project modern ideas about the separation of secular and sacred also come into play here, northern French methodologies that see differential interpretation of finds at so-called ritualistic and domestic sites are also influential. While this is discussed in detail in Chapters Five, Six and Eight, problems stemming from site identification, and the subsequent interpretations, underscores the methodological issues working to falsely reinforce notions of regionally based diversity.







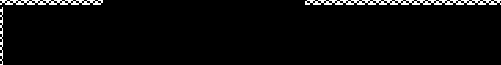
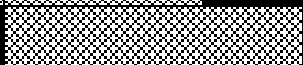












1.1.2 A ‘snapshot’ of Late Iron Age settlement in Picardy

Despite differences in archaeological exploration, initial identification of the area with the Belgae as well as geological factors, links drawn between excavated sites (e.g. sanctuaries, *oppida* as well as rural sites) and settlements described in Caesar and other classical sources have created a compelling case for employing the regional archaeology of Picardy in the formation of models of Late Iron Age settlement and society, particularly those depicting rise of sanctuaries, *oppida* as the outcome of increasing social hierarchisation (see Pion 1990; Brunaux 1988; Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1991; Haselgrove; 1995; 1996a; 1996b; Roymans 1996). Nevertheless, despite the presence of these sites, settlement in the region is undeniably rural in character, with sanctuaries and *oppida* not in use, or only present during the later part of the Later Iron Age (see Table 1.1).

Following their earliest built phases, most sanctuaries saw only sporadic use during La Tène C2/D1a and post-Conquest refurbishment (Chapter Six). Unlike counterparts in Luxembourg and Germany, *oppida* in Picardy were not long-lived proto-urban settlements (see Brun 1995a;

Fichtl 2000; Kaenel 2006; Metzler et al. 2000; 2006; Chapter Nine). Instead, these densely occupied short-lived sites possibly represent a local form of settlement based on the agglomeration of rural sites/households; supported by the seeming contraction of rural settlement during the period in question (Haselgrove 2007: 511).

Table 1.1: Settlement over time in the study area

	200/190 to 150 BCE	150 to 120 BCE	120 to 85 BCE	85/80 to 50/55 BCE	55 BCE to 15 CE
Sanctuaries					
Rural Sites					
<i>Oppida</i>					
Funerary Sites					

This ‘snapshot’ or settlement does not fit with notions of increased settlement hierarchisation. Moreover, the issues of site identification, for example at Montmartin and Acy-Romance, as well as the increasing identification of mixed ‘domestic’ and ‘ritual’ activity at all sites during this period also plays havoc with current interpretations which consistently associate ‘ritual’ or ‘votive’ activity, typically identified by the identification of structured deposits (Malrain et al. 2006: 238; cf. Hill 1995), with elite or aristocratic status rather than developing questions about how different sites might have functioned.

This is why brooches, which are consistently recorded at all sites throughout the Late Iron Age, provide a unique opportunity to explore how settlement, society and deposition have been interpreted. Whether at sanctuaries, rural sites or *oppida*, brooches are always recorded, as they are key indicators of date, whereas items attributed with an overly domestic function such as tools, nails or loom-weights, whilst present at most sites are not consistently recorded. So while it is necessary first to examine their classification, both to resolve issues from the mixed use of outside typologies in the region as well as to organise a diverse dataset, brooches provide a means of asking questions about how we identify Late Iron Age sites, interpret finds and deposits at them and the dubious influence of societal models in these actions.

1.2 Research aims and objectives

Beyond developing a typology of northern French brooches, the aim of this thesis is to determine the significance of these objects to the Late Iron Age societies that used them. To meet this aim several objectives were accomplished. First, I amassed a corpus of Late Iron Age brooches in the study area. This data was then collated into a database, which included information about brooches as well as context. Finally this data was integrated with current and developing conceptions about the meaning and function of material culture within prehistoric societies. The specific research questions driving analysis are as follows:

1. When and where were different types of Late Iron Age brooches used in Northern France and for how long?
2. What can the adoption and distribution of specific brooch types tell us about regional identities in Northern France?
3. What kinds of depositional practices were Late Iron Age brooches incorporated into? Do these vary regionally and temporally and if so what might this signify socially?
4. What does the presence/absence of brooches at different types of sites signify about the identity and status of their wearers/users?

By examining brooch finds, in context, from different types of sites, this project goes beyond typology to question how brooches were used by Late Iron Age peoples. Nevertheless, despite this contextual emphasis, non-contexted brooches were also integrated into the dataset for typological consideration; although they were excluded from the contextual analysis, a necessary concession to the often uneven nature of archaeological data.

Another issue affecting research is the rather unsystematic description of brooches in publications and grey-literature across the study area. One of the major outcomes of this project was the standardization of the language used to describe brooches, allowing me to integrate my data with developing conceptions of material culture. By using standardized descriptions, brooches were more easily sorted into cross-typological categories based on common characteristics. This allowed me to overcome some of the restrictions involved in strictly typological analysis and consider attributes such as, form, material, and size. In addition, by examining finds from different types of sites as well as their relation to other objects, I was

able to consider how Iron Age societies in northern France reproduced themselves through material culture.

1.3 Chapter outline

This thesis is constructed as follows. Following this introduction, my data and sources are outlined in Chapter Two. As my project is based on archival research and not firsthand analysis of the brooches themselves, work was constrained and shaped by the material available. In this chapter the methodology behind the collection and the collation of the available data is also discussed. Chapter Three discusses the current state of brooch studies in the area of study, with particular attention paid to how brooch typologies have formed the basis for the development of Iron Age chronologies in western temperate Europe. This is relevant as most existing typologies focus on charting brooch development, rather than exploring how form relates to function, use and meaning and offer no direct interpretations of how these objects were used.

Chapter Four discusses the adoption of external brooch typologies in northern France, in conjunction with the problems and pitfalls inherent in their development and use. Of particular note is how the lack of systematic and standardized brooch description makes cross-typological comparison nearly impossible. It was necessary to highlight this problem, as the development of a standardized system of brooch description was imperative to taking analysis beyond typology. The 'Edgar Typology' is also outlined in Chapter Four.

In order to test the strength of the categories outlined in the Edgar Typology, cross-typological comparisons of certain features are further explored in Chapter Five. The intent here was to move beyond typology and discuss how features such as size, material and form, shape the meaning (s) of brooches and reflect upon the identities of those who used them. The differences in how Late Iron Age brooches have been interpreted in Britain versus Temperate Europe are also explored, with particular reference to material cultural approaches. Particularly salient are discussions of the difficulties involved in associating brooches with a particular mode of dress or gender, as well as exploration of size differences between brooches recovered at different types of sites. Following this, brooch context is further explored, with particular interest in how these objects are frequently recovered in structured, intentional deposits.

These terms serve to introduce discussions in later chapters of how assumptions about a site's function as either a proto-urban, domestic or specialist ritual site have served to isolate what, in effect, seem to be very similar types of deposits, and are perhaps reflective of common practices.

The following chapters analyze brooch deposits at sanctuaries, rural sites, funerary sites and *oppida*. Of particular note is the way specific research interests in the function of these sites have shaped finds analysis. A good example is the difficulty in reconciling the presence of brooches across *oppida* sites with the notion of specialized workshop and domestic areas, often leading to their being discounted in distribution based analyses (e.g. Pion 1996a: 287, 299), while at Montmartin (Oise), Brunaux and Méniel's (1997) interest in distinguishing 'ritual' from 'domestic' areas results in manipulation of the finds in order to alternately emphasize and de-emphasize objects, such as brooches or loom-weights, which are in fact recovered evenly across the site.

In this way my research explores not only when and where different types of Late Iron Age brooches were used in northern France and for how long, but also the kinds of depositional practices into which they were incorporated. By moving beyond typology to include cross-typological analysis of size, material and form, as well as contextual evidence, these small portable objects are used to reflect on not only Late Iron Age deposition practices but also identity and processes of social reproduction.

Chapter Two Data and Sources

As this project focused on object-based and contextual analysis of brooches, it required a diverse dataset, which included detailed information about brooches, but also about contexts and associated finds. Moreover, although brooch-centred, this project also surveyed sites where these items were not recovered ('non-brooched' sites) in order to determine if emergent patterns were due to excavation practices or recording factors. Therefore, in tandem with information about brooches, data about both 'brooched' and 'non-brooched' sites was also collected.

Information on sites was gathered from numerous published sources, including journals such as the *Revue Archéologique de Picardie* (RAP), *Cahiers Archéologique de Picardie* (CAP) and *Gallia*. Other sources include the *Carte Archéologique de Gaule* (CAG) volumes for Aisne and Oise (Pichon 2002; Woimant 1995), and the yearly *Bilan Scientifiques Régional* (BSR's). However, as most sites in the above are published only in summary form, grey-literature, such as excavation reports, were also consulted at the *Service Régional d'Archéologie* (SRA) in Amiens. Due to the financial restrictions imposed upon data collection it was not feasible to include material outside the wider Picardy and western Ardennes area. Therefore, only one site in Seine-Maritime was looked at in detail. Fesques, located on the Somme border, was included in this case as a rare example of an excavated and thoroughly published Late Iron Age sanctuary (Mantel 1997); particularly in contrast to the Brunaux's, well excavated but limitedly published, sanctuaries in Picardy. The above materials were used to create a dataset of Late Iron Age and Early Roman sites, both with and without brooches; only the former of which are included in Appendix Three due to word-count limitations.

The following is a summary of the available material, including an overview of the problems associated with brooch and site data, and their influence on compilation and recording. These are discussed in order to familiarise readers with the excavation practices and source material for the study area; and helps to outline why only 29% of Late Iron Age and Early Roman sites are recorded as 'brooched.'

2.1 Site data

There are a number of gaps in the source material. A *CAG* volume has yet to be published for the Somme; delayed due to fears that its release would cause a similar rise in metal detecting activity that followed the publication of the Aisne and Oise volumes (Ben Redjeb, pers. comm.). Moreover, although the *CAG* provides only basic summary descriptions of past excavations, these are balanced with material from grey-literature reports and published data. However, these additional materials were not available in every case. Another major issue with the *CAG* is the lack of precise dating, with many sites simply classified as Late Iron Age or Gallo-Roman; terms referring to any time between the second century BCE and fourth century CE. Nevertheless, the *CAG* volumes are a key source for information on excavations prior to the release of regular *BSRs* in 1996, including Eighteenth and Nineteenth century antiquarian excavations.

CAG data present further dilemmas, for instance whether to include sites identified only via aerial or landscape surveys. These were ultimately discounted due to identification problems and the lack of datable evidence. Moreover, as the information in the *CAG* is sourced from many different types of investigation (i.e. from simple test-pits, antiquarian surveys, as well as areas cleared and excavated ahead of construction) it was therefore necessary to remember that, although each entry seems to be given equal weight, this masks certain excavation-based distinctions. For example, as many excavations, particularly those at gravel extraction sites, were conducted on neighbouring land plots, what may represent a single site may have multiple entries. Where possible I have tried to amalgamate these sites. However, in many cases this was impossible as precise mapping co-ordinates are not included in the *CAG* and sites are only situated within their respective communes with little additional cartographical information. Annual *BSR*'s also present problems regarding date classification and geography, although sites here are typically given more precise La Tène dates and situated on a map, albeit of poor resolution.

Using these sources a dataset of 391 Late La Tène and Early Roman sites was compiled, allowing for a broad comparison of 'brooched' versus 'non-brooched' sites in the study area. As brooches are key to dating in the study area their recording is fairly consistent. However, absence of evidence isn't always evidence of absence. For example, corroded or fragmentary

pieces are not always identifiable as brooches, leading unidentified items to simply be listed as ‘metal finds’ before being sent to the *Conservare* in Compiègne for analysis. This body, which took over from the *Institut de Restauration et de Recherches Archéologiques et Paléométallurgiques (IRRAP)* in 2006, is now responsible for the restoration and preventative conservation of excavated metal objects from across France. Consequently, although they treat approximately 2000 objects per year they have quite a backlog, even closing their doors to the public and researchers (Press Release: April 23, 2007). Therefore, many of the objects sent there for analysis have yet to be published. Despite these limitations, there is still a great deal of information available for analysis.

2.2 Regional differences in site data

Using these data, approximately 391 Late Iron Age and Early Roman sites, including *oppida*, sanctuaries, funerary and rural sites, were identified in the study area (figure 2.1). The distribution shown below is very much the result of regional differences in the development-led excavation rather than real settlement variation. Gravel quarrying, road and rail construction have heavily influenced the types of land explored in the region and the types of sites recovered. For example, the high number of rural sites in the Aisne and Oise, is mainly the result of the high intensity gravel-extraction that has occurred in these regions.

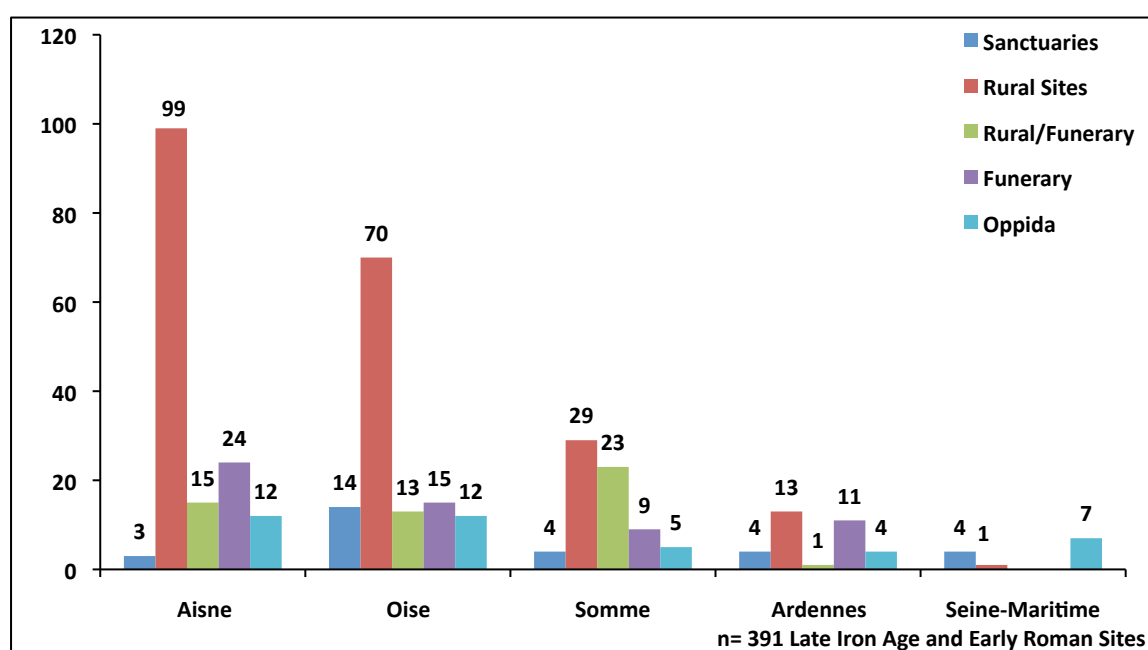


Figure 2.1: Late Iron Age and early Gallo-Roman sites in the study area

Approximately 97% of the sites discovered ahead of gravel extraction are located in the Aisne and Oise, 63% of which were rural sites. Despite being outside the gravel-quarrying region the Somme also has a fairly high number of rural sites, mainly because of large-scale road and rail construction; major works on the A29, A16 and *TGV Nord*, account for 57% of sites recorded in this area of Picardy. Contrastingly in the Ardennes, academic or museum-led research is the leading reason behind excavation and construction, particularly of industrial complexes (known in France as ZACs), only account for 36% of excavated sites.

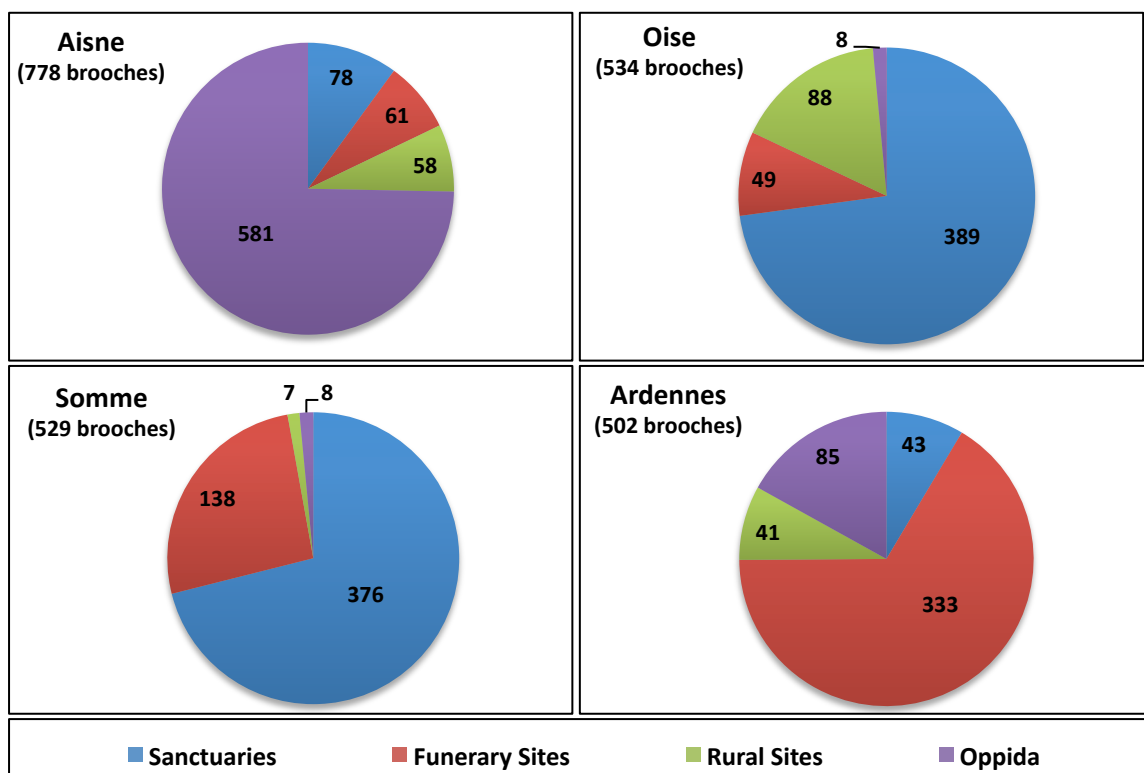
These regional differences in development-led archaeology also resulted in variations in the types of landscapes explored. For example, in the Aisne and Oise, gravel extraction has resulted in excavation of mainly valley-bottom sites. While in the Somme, road construction has resulted in more even excavation across both valley-bottom and plateau areas (Auxiette and Méniel 2005: 132). In the Ardennes archaeological excavation is mainly the result of academic research and block development of the plateau. Interestingly, while this has led to the identification of fewer sites overall, academic interest and the large size of the construction plots means that these are more likely to be completely excavated. The identification, and subsequent excavation, of fewer sites in the Ardennes is also due to the heavily wooded nature of the region, which has restricted aerial survey compared to Picardy (Agache 1979; Boureux 1974; 1982; Vasselle 1982; Joy 1997). However, as unexcavated sites identified only via survey have not generally been included, differences in the effectiveness of aerial survey have not unduly unbalanced the data shown in Figure 2.1 above. Nevertheless, the limitations placed on past settlement by the Ardennes plateau should not be overlooked. For instance, Lambot and Méniel (2000: 10) have observed a direct correlation between scarcity of arable land, ground water and pre-historic settlement. Therefore, the relatively low number of sites in the Ardennes is not just a matter of archaeological bias, but is possibly reflective of a genuine regional Late Iron Age settlement pattern.

Understanding regional differences in archaeological practice within the study area provides a basis for understanding how regional differences in brooch recovery and publication have evolved. These are discussed in the following section.

2.3 Factors influencing brooch recovery and recording

Many factors impact upon brooch recovery and publication. Only 29% of the Late Iron Age sites in this study are recorded as having brooches; a number likely reflective of differences in between development-led and other types of excavation, as well as incomplete publishing resulting from the backlog of work at the *Conservare*, rather than actual distribution. These factors are discussed here.

Over 80% of the brooches recovered in the Aisne and Oise are from developer-led excavations. However, information from these sites is very inconsistent, as the quality of published and grey-literature reports vary widely. In the Oise, Malrain *et al.* (2006) published many sites, including detailed information about finds assemblages. Contrastingly, few sites in the Aisne have been published to this extent; most documented in journal articles and grey-literature, which may or may not include detailed information about brooches or other finds. Finds Information from site summaries in CAGs, BSRs, or documented in grey literature, typically reflects the expertise of the individual(s) leading the excavation. For example, on rural sites, the focus is often on ceramics or animal remains.



*Sample Size 2343 Brooches (plus 74 Brooches from Fesques, Seine-Maritime)

Figure 2.2: Regional brooch recovery

In the Ardennes, where 81% of brooch-finds are from museum-led excavations of funerary sites, analysis and publication of finds was a priority. This resulted in a fortunate build-up of available local expertise, so that when a large site was found ahead of development, e.g. Acy-Romance, finds could be analyzed and published in detail. Therefore, the Ardennes brooch sample is notably larger than for the Oise's, despite being outnumbered in terms of sites. Whether this represents real variation or archaeological bias is hard to say. However, low brooch recovery from rural sites, in comparison to *oppida* and sanctuaries (see figure 2.2), could just as easily be the result of their short-lived nature or smaller populations. Therefore, brooch recovery in the study area has likely shaped by a multitude of factors. With the sheer amount of developer-led excavation being both a help and a hindrance in terms of brooch recovery and publication. Nonetheless, there remains sufficient data, approximately 2417 brooches, to form a useful dataset for analysis.

Having summarized regional differences in excavation and brooch recovery, criteria used for the identification of sites also needs to be discussed, since this forms the basis for contextual analysis.

2.4 Site categorisation

Sites in this thesis are identified after Malrain *et al.* (2006: 48), as sanctuaries, funerary, rural, or *oppida*. These categories were chosen because they are fundamental to studies of Iron Age settlement in the region (Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1991; Buchsenschutz 1994; 1995; 1999; Pion 1990a; 1996a; 1996b; Pion *et al.* 2006; Fichtl 2000; 2003; 2004; Fichtl *et al.* 2000). While I recognize that these classifications have their own problems (see Woolf 1993; Malrain *et al.* 2007), as my research focuses on contextual analysis of brooch finds rather than settlement this choice was made to maintain conventional identification practices.

These categorizations provide a means of contextualizing brooch finds and, as such, are a primary step in analysis. Thus, while I am aware of the pitfalls of site identification, these broadly defined groupings provide a starting place for analysis; allowing for some unity even as they acknowledge the reality of functional diversity within the wider landscape. The method-

ologies by which these various site types have been, and continue to be, identified and defined are outlined below.

2.4.1 Sanctuaries

Following Brunaux (1988; 2002; 2003; 2006a), sanctuaries are defined as sites with a predominantly ritual character; containing large ritualized deposits of ‘votive’ objects (i.e. weapons, coins and brooches as well as animal and human remains). Malrain *et al.* (2006: 238; after Hill 1995) defines ritual deposition as the intentionally structured placement of human and animal remains as well as other objects. However, he cites several examples from rural sites such as Verberie, “La Plaine d’Herneuse II” (Oise), slightly complicating matters. Moreover, several votive or ritualistic deposits have been identified at rural sites, causing them to be rather awkwardly identified as aristocratic, for example at Montmartin (Oise) (Brunaux and Méniel 1997) or Acy-Romance (Ardennes) (Lambot 1999; 2002; Verger 2000). However, such confusion arises only when modern western conceptions of ‘ritual’ versus ‘domestic’ cause the terms to be treated as mutually exclusive opposites (see Bradley 2005: 3-40).

The presence of ‘ritual’ deposits at supposedly ‘non-ritualistic’ sites raises concerns over the relevance of ritual versus non-ritual categorizations, and therefore the identification of sanctuaries and other sites in the study area; a discussion outlined in later chapters (see Chapter Eight, page 183). Nevertheless, despite these problems, sanctuaries are still recognized as a distinct site type in the study area, and therefore remain a site category here.

2.4.2 Funerary sites

Funerary sites range from smaller burial sites associated with settlement, e.g. Jaux “Camp du Roi” (Oise) to large cemeteries such as Ménil–Annelles (Ardennes). So as not to create separate data entries for related funerary and rural sites in the sites dataset, the latter are entered as rural/funerary, while the former are recorded as funerary. This classification is not repeated in my brooches database, and is listed here simply as funerary; in these cases, this is understood via reference to sites’ data as either an isolated funerary find or a funerary find related to settlement and discussed accordingly.

Please note that, although human remains are recognized at non-funerary sites, these are not discussed as funerary remains. While these remains may be related to funerary rites, their deposition elsewhere than the final burial pit links them (rightly or wrongly) with other ritualistic practices. While the variable interpretation of human remains is certainly a problem that bears further discussion, being outside the remit of brooches I was unable to explore it further within the limitations of this thesis. Nonetheless, the frequent recovery of brooches with deposits of human bone outside funerary sites provides an interesting link between deposition, funerary practice and the differential treatment of human remains; particularly as secondary cremation deposits presage deposits of brooches, human bone and burnt material at other sites.

2.4.3 Rural sites

Smaller settlements are labelled as rural rather than farm sites, not because they exist in opposition to urban sites, but because evidence indicates that not all functioned purely as agricultural settlements (Malrain *et al.* 2007). Rural sites had a wide range of functions: from salt-production, e.g. Pont-Rémy, “le Baraquin” (Somme); stock rearing, e.g. Jaux, “Le Val Adam” (Oise); to mixed economy sites where farming, as well as metal-working were evident, for example, at Allemant, “La Vallée Guerbette” (Aisne). Nevertheless, the idea of functional variability in rural sites is a recent addition to French archaeology, where traditional views explain variation at rural sites in terms of status or hierarchy (Brun and Ruby 2008: 119-120). For example, in Malrain *et al.* (2006: 246), rural sites are ranked hierarchically, based on factors such as access and control of agricultural resources, or site plan. Nevertheless, as with sanctuaries, because these sites continue to be identified as ‘rural’, the designation is kept here.

2.4.4 *Oppida*

Oppida, or large (20 to 35 ha) enclosed settlements, are typically identified as proto-urban or central-places (Dehn 1963; Bintliff 1984; Collis 1975; 1984; Wells 1984; Nash, 1976; Audouze and Buchsenshutz 1991; Fichtl 1994; 2000; Brun and Ruby 2008); although this has been disputed (Woolf 1993; Haselgrove 1995; 2007; Thurston 2009: 362-367). Smaller, nine to 15 ha enclosures often identified as ‘fortified’ settlements (i.e. Fichtl 2000: 45), are also included in this category because, although the majority of these sites might be labeled differently, they are

still generally discussed as *oppida* (Andouze and Buchsensschutz 1991; Buchsensschutz 2000; Fichtl 2000; Kaenel 2006). Problems resulting from the identification of these smaller sites as *oppida* are minimal in any case, as few fortified sites have been excavated.

2.5 The datasets

My site and brooch datasets were compiled using Excel, because its sort and filter functions allowed for easy analysis and graphing. Initially, I intended to link several spreadsheets together, to form a relational database of brooches and associated contextual finds, but the size of the dataset prevented this from being viable. Instead, some sorting fields, such as site name, site type and date, had to be repeated across several spreadsheets. Therefore, as my data is not organized within a true relational database it should technically be referred to as a flat-model database, or simple dataset (Fischer 2004: 34). The form of the spreadsheets, and the included data fields are discussed below.

2.5.1 Site data

Due to variability in source material the data compiled in this dataset were reduced to the most commonly provided information. Fields include region, commune, site name and date. Following this, the site is either marked as brooched (X) or un-brooched (0). For the former, further information is then provided about the brooch data, for example, if the finds are contexted or there is further information on typology. This is followed by a brief site description, the organization responsible for the excavation, the reason for the work, the excavation history and finally the bibliographic reference. This information allowed for comparison of the source material, as well as factors influencing excavation and brooch recovery across the study area. This was mainly useful for discussing regional differences included above, but also provided a handy reference tool when paired with the information in the brooch dataset.

2.4.2 Brooch data

The brooch dataset is composed of 2417 entries, sortable by region, site type as well as site name, date, context number and context description. The latter includes identification on whether the brooch was recovered from a pit or a ditch, or for funerary sites, its location within

the burial. As the date field was complicated by factors, such as the presence of multi-phased sites, an additional field describing the specific date of the brooch context was added. In order to reference entries back to their original documentation, as well as to separate image files stored elsewhere on my computer, published inventory or catalogue numbers as well as bibliographic information were also included as separate fields.

The bulk of the data fields relate to typology and description. Many brooches had already been identified using a variety of classificatory systems. Feugère (1985) or Gebhard's (1995) typologies were used variably throughout the Aisne, Oise and Somme, while classification schemes were specifically formed for brooch finds in the Ardennes (e.g., Lambot *et al.* 1994; Stead *et al.* 2007). As a result, separate fields were included to record the original typological assignments, as well as the typological designations developed and used for this project (see 'Edgar Typology' in Chapter Four).

The typological designations developed for this project were reliant on consistent object descriptions; something not always easy to achieve given the variable, or even absent descriptions, available in grey and published literature. Therefore, when possible brooch description was based on direct visual analysis of object drawings, rather than in-text depictions. Moreover, rather than limit brooch description to a single field, separate fields were included for size, material, bow-type, bow-form, bow-profile, bow-section and catch-plate type (see Appendix One). These categories, as well as the subsequent descriptive classifications, were based on Pion (1996a: 133-135) and Guillaumet's (1984: 6) work, as they contained the most systematic breakdown of brooch elements and descriptive terminology (see Chapter Four, page 39). Nevertheless, while these terms are found in most brooch typologies, i.e. Feugère (1985) or Gebhard (1995), they are seldom given precise definitions. This results in a great deal of inconsistency. The problem of variable identification of typological attributes, although smoothed over somewhat in the dataset by standardizing description, can never completely be avoided. However, the issues relating to typological formation and classification are more appropriate to Chapter Four.

An additional field relating to completeness was also included to record the extent of fragmentation, recorded via the number of component parts. This was tabulated using the French,

'*Nombres de Membres Individuelles*' (NMI) system. Discussed in more detail in Chapter Five (see page 100-101), this system is based on the methodology proposed for analysis of metal finds at rural and sanctuary sites in northern France (Guillaumet and Nillesse 2000; Bataille 2008).

Further fields recording whether the brooch was complete/unfinished or intentionally bent or twisted were also included. Initially, a field listing brooch repairs was included after seeing similar data recorded for brooches at the *oppidum* of Titelberg (Gaspar 2007). Unfortunately however, this category had to be excluded, as repairs, such as re-soldering, were not recorded for any of brooches in the study area. In future through direct analysis of the brooches themselves, it might be possible to determine the extent to which the Late Iron Age brooches of northern France were subject to maintenance and repair.

2.5.3 Context data

Parallel datasets were also constructed for contextual analysis. These were divided by site type and separate spreadsheets were developed for rural, *oppida*, sanctuary and funerary sites. Outside funerary contexts precise locational data, such as exact stratigraphy, was seldom available. At other sites, contextual information was restricted to recording finds by context number, listing if the context was recorded as a pit or a ditch and stating which part of the site this context was found in (eg. site quadrant, enclosure ditch, inside enclosure etc.). Nevertheless, despite this limitation, additional information was always available by referring to the original documentation.

Contextual analysis mainly focused on identifying associated objects. Therefore, fields were included for separate objects, with various categorical groupings recognized, such as personal ornament, tools, toilet kits, weaponry, or textile working (see table 1). These categories were based on methods used for sorting material in French as well as English publications of Late Iron Age sites (for example, Cool 1995; Brunaux and Malrain 1997; Malrain *et al.* 2006; Stead *et al.* 2007). This was done so that objects most associated with brooch finds could be identified and compared, a matter of particular relevance as brooches were seldom found in isolation. Of course this type of categorization represents a certain amount of simplification, as each of the listed items has its own features, explained by either typology or description. Nevertheless, as

this project was brooch-centred, it was inappropriate to overload the dataset with detailed information about other finds, such as coins or glass beads. As a result, only presence and absence were noted.

Table 2.1: Types of object recovered with brooches

Find Category	Finds
Personal Ornament	Brooches Beads Pendants Rings Torques/Necklaces Belt Hooks
Bone	Human Bone Animal Bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog and horse)
Ceramics	Presence and Absence (X, 0) If Amphora present then listed as 'Amphora'
Toilet Kit	Shears Razors Tweezers
Fittings for Wooden Objects	Bucket Fittings Miscellaneous
Construction	Studs Rivets Nails Joiners Dogs/Clamps
Tools	Axes Knives
Locking Mechanisms	Lock Plates Spring Locks Keys
Coinage	Coins Rouelles
Weaponry	Presence and Absence (X, 0) Swords Scabbards Lance and Spear Points Shield Bosses
Textile Manufacture	Spindle Whorls Loom-weights Awls Needles
Miscellaneous	Other Iron Other Copper Alloy Clay Rattles (clay balls with pebbles inside) Other Non-Metallic

2.6 Conclusion

The datasets described here fulfill the diverse criteria set by this project, allowing for typological reassessment, examination of brooch features, as well as site-based contextual analysis. Data

compilation, and its subsequent organization, was also key for developing further queries pertaining to the meaning(s) and role(s) of brooches in the study area. Moreover, recognition that the majority of brooches were recovered from stratified contexts with other finds, indicates that that few were casual losses or discards, but were placed as intentionally 'structured deposits', like those described by Hill (1995).

Chapter Three Brooches: Typology and Chronology

The La Tène chronology used in this study is based on Haselgrove's (2007: 496, table 1) amalgamation of Miron (1986; 1989; 1991) and Metzler's (Metzler *et al.* 1991; 1999; Metzler 1995; 1996) chronologies for Luxembourg and the Hunsrück-Eiffel. These chronologies have also been adopted by other archaeologists in northern and central France (e.g., Vaginay and Guichard 1988; Lambot and Friboulet 1996; Friboulet 1997; Brunaux and Méniel 1997; Stead *et al.* 2007). The short sub-divisions of the La Tène C and D correspond well to the short lived rural sites in Picardy (especially the Aisne and Oise), as well as the Ardennes, helping to smooth the adoption of these new dates (Debord 1993; Haselgrove 1996b: 135; Pion 1997; 2007). The chronologies developed from funerary assemblages in the Ardennes has also helped (Lambot and Friboulet 1996; Friboulet 1997; Stead *et al.* 2007). Unfortunately however, Malrain *et al.*'s (2006) comprehensive publication of La Tène rural sites in the Middle Oise does not specify how sites are dated in the work; meaning that it does not fit with any specific Late Iron Age chronology, nor can it help refine Pion's (1996a; 1996b) Late Iron Age chronology for the Aisne.

These phases of the Miron-Metzler-Haselgrove chronology are identified via material markers, typically brooches, which are shown below in table 3.1. Brooch typo-chronologies form the basis of this chronology due to the limited number of absolute dates for northern Europe. Very few dendro-dates in Europe apply to stratified contexts containing brooches or other finds (Haselgrove 1996a: 136; *cf.* Colin 1998: 21; Curdy and Kaenel 1985; Durost and Lambert; 2007; Kaenel 1990). For this reason, brooch typo-chronologies are still a central feature of Late Iron Age archaeology in northern Europe.

The period between the La Tène C1/C2 transition and the Early Gallo-Roman period can be divided into five major phases: the Middle/Late La Tène Transition, the Earlier Late Iron Age, Middle Late Iron Age, Final Late Iron Age, and Post-Conquest Iron Age/Early Roman Period (see table 3.1). These overarching date groupings are more relevant to the study area, where occupation tends to overlap the 30-40 year periods defined by the traditional La Tène scheme. Problems with exact dating highlight the difficulties arising from dating via material chronological markers, particularly as residuality or continued use of certain objects tends to over-ride set phases.

Table 3.1: Material Indicators of Late La Tène Chronology

		Dates	Chronological Markers
Middle To Late Iron Age Transition	La Tène C1/C2	200-190 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inhumation burial - Hand-made pottery - Type 1 Reverted Bow Brooches
	La Tène C2	190-150 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transition from inhumation to cremation burial - Transition from hand-made pottery with Middle La Tène antecedents to wheel-made pottery - Transition from Type 1 Reverted Bow Brooches with mould-made decoration to Type 3 Pseudo-La Tène II Reverted Bow Brooches with hammered decoration held high on the bow.
Earlier Late Iron Age	La Tène D1a	150-120 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Continued use of La Tène C2 Pseudo-La Tène II brooches - Appearance of Nauheim Brooches - New forms of wheel-made pottery - Increased standardization of pottery forms - Earliest appearance of Dressel 1A amphora
Middle Late Iron Age	La Tène D1b	120-85 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Continued use of Nauheim Brooches - Wheel-thrown pottery with comb impressed decoration
Final Late Iron Age	La Tène D2a	80-55 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>À Coquille</i> (Type 7) and early <i>Arc Interrompu</i> (Type 8) Brooches - The first appearance of lids for wheel-thrown pottery
	La Tène D2b	55-20 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proto-Gallic and Gallic Brooches (Type 9 and Type 14a) - <i>À Collarette</i> Brooches (Type 10) - Wheel-thrown hemispherical bowls as well as globular jars
Post-Conquest Iron Age	Gallo-Roman 1	20 BCE – 10 BCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Queue de Paon</i> Brooches (Types 16, 18a, 18b, 19 and 20) - Alésia and Aucissa Brooches (Type 21 and 22) - Early Gallo-Roman/Gallo-Belgic pottery forms
	Gallo-Roman 2	10 BCE – 50 CE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aucissa Derivative Brooches (Type 23)

Although La Tène chronology is dependant on relative dates archaeologists in northern Europe tend to see it dates as absolute; using it with confidence, rather than with caution as might be warranted (e.g. Wendling 2007: 119-138). The development of Late La Tène chronology is summarized below with the aim of explaining the current state of brooch research, particularly the use of Feugère's (1985) southern French typology in conjunction with Gebhard's (1991) German typo-chronology for dating brooches in northern France.

3.1 Late La Tène chronology and the divergence of brooch typologies

The La Tène chronology of northern Europe originated in Germany, where Reinecke (1902) developed a system based on the stylistic evolution of brooches. Following Reinecke, refinements were made based on further data from excavations across northern Europe (Major 1940;

Haffner 1969; 1974; 1976; 1984; Polenz 1971; 1982; Furger-Gunti 1979; Berger and Furger-Gunti 1980; Miron 1986; 1991; Metzler 1995; Berger and Matt 1995; Wendling 2007). Chronological contributions from France have been relatively minor, often based only on unstratified or incomplete brooch publications from the *oppida* of Bibracte and Alésia (Colin 1998; Déchelette 1914; Feugère 1985; Guillaumet 1984; Lerat 1979). While the above works might have been expected to produce conflicting sets of regional chronologies, the general homogeneity of brooch finds across northern Europe was believed to reflect a unified Celtic culture (for discussions of the 'Celts' see, Green 1995: 3; James 1998; Megaw and Megaw 1989a; 1989b; 1992; 1997; 2000; Sims-Williams 1998). Therefore, northern European La Tène chronologies are still nominally perceived as a unified entity (Morin-Jean 1910; Colin 1998; Haselgrove 2007: 492-493).

Continuous modification of northern La Tène chronology by mainly non-French archaeologists, in addition to arguments over the date of potin coinage (Guichard *et al.* 1993; Haselgrove 1996: 135). This explains why northern European typo-chronologies might have fallen out of favour in France during the 1980s. Coin dating in northern France traditionally relied on historical dates, e.g. the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones, and changes in coin production, such as the adoption of potin, were linked to the Gallic Wars (Beaulieu 1970; 1973). British numismatist Allen (1980) objected to this interpretation and saw an earlier date for the adoption of potin. In northern France, increasing problems with dating coins saw them removed as a dating tool from most chronologies (Collis 1998; Haselgrove 2005; Lambot and Méniel 1992: 144); explaining why brooches, rather than coins, now form the basis of La Tène chronology.

Partially as the result of the argument over potin, Feugère's (1985) southern French brooch typo-chronology emerged as the primary means of dating Iron Age finds and sites in northern France; for example, the brooches from *oppidum* of Villeneuve-saint-Germain (Aisne) (Debord 1996). Feugère drew heavily on stratified brooch finds from southern France, Germany and Switzerland to create his chronology (e.g. Ettlinger 1973; Riha 1979; Furger-Gunti 1979). However, the majority of these dates are now recognized as late or residual and therefore cast Feugère's typo-chronology into doubt (Feugère 1993; 2009; Riha 1994; Striwe 1996; Haselgrove 1997). Ultimately, the increase in stratified brooch finds from northern France identifying the earlier origins of Nauheim or *Arc Interrompu* types, resulted in the complete re-evaluation of

Feugère's dates (Vaginay and Guichard 1988: 153-154; Lambot 1994; 1996: 129; Lambot and Friboulet 1997; Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 94-96; Stead *et al.* 2007: 79, 81, 161). Brooches in northern France are now dated after finds in Germany (Gebhard 1991) and Luxembourg (Miron 1986; 1991; Metzler 1995; Gaspar 2007). Nevertheless, Feugère's work should not be dismissed. Even today it represents one of the most complete analyses of brooches from across Europe, including finds from northern and southern France, Germany, Switzerland and Luxembourg.

While Feugère's typo-chronology is no longer appropriate for dating brooches in northern France, its comprehensiveness means that it is still widely referenced; with the majority of northern French researchers using studies from Germany and Luxembourg for dating, but turning to Feugère for type identification. Consequently, because archaeologists are using La Tène terminology for dating, awareness of which specific *chronology* they are using is essential. For example, sites dated using Feugère, such as Villeneuve-Saint-Germain or Estrées-Saint-Denis (Oise), generally need to be moved 30 years earlier (Debord 1996; Haselgrove 1996a: 135-137; Woimant 2002a; Kaenel 2006: 23-26). However, in the case of the latter, phasing has proven too convoluted for re-assessment (Brunaux *et al.* 2003: 56). This is further discussed in Chapter Six.

As the majority of recent typo-chronologies developed in northern Europe reference Feugère's typology this makes him the common, or key-typology, linking them all. Thus, his typology forms the basis of the brooch classification in this thesis, while Gebhard's typo-chronology is used for dating. This methodology has already seen some use in the study area. However, because Feugère and Gebhard's typologies are based on different principles, few exact equivalencies exist between the two. The use of both systems by researchers, who typically ignoring these basic differences between the classificatory systems, has introduced a great deal of inconsistency into brooch analysis, making it very difficult to compare brooch finds in northern France. The means by which Feugère and Gebhard's typologies have been adapted for use in the study area are outlined below.

3.2 European brooch typologies and their impact in northern France

Before discussing the various choices that researchers are now making regarding the study of brooches in northern France, it is best to begin with an overview of typological analysis; particularly, as these fundamentals of this type of investigation are at the root of problems arising from variations in brooch classification.

Feugère's typology is the natural product of late 18th and early 19th century studies, which typically sought to group brooches into form-based types and examine how these developed or changed over time. These methods are seen in early works such as, Morin-Jean (1910), Almgren (1913) or Tischler (1885). Similar methodologies are in evidence within most major brooch studies of the 20th century: where typologies focus either on morphology (Ettlinger 1973), descriptions of type (Faudet 1973), or the development and distribution of types over time (Feugère 1985; Gebhard 1991; Gaspar 2007). These typologies are typically based on large collections of brooches and traditionally demonstrate the internal consistency and attention to detail, albeit not always the same details, that define true typologies (Adams and Adams 1991: 280, 347; *cf.* Cormack 1971: 379)

Complications arise when non-specialist researchers, working at a single rural site or a small group of cemeteries, classify and date small brooch collections with regards to larger typologies (e.g., Vaginay and Guichard 1988; Lambot *et al.* 1994; Debord 1996; Lambot and Friboulet 1996; Pion 1996a; Brunaux and Méniel 1997; Debord 1996; Friboulet 1997; Stead *et al.* 2007). These actions mean that small site-based studies reference larger collections such as Feugère or Gebhard, but seldom others from the same region, thereby creating a confusing array of somewhat conflicting mismatched typologies. This has had an oddly isolating effect on brooch research in the study area and explains why, despite the large numbers collected in the region, a unified study has yet to be conducted. Nevertheless, the reliance on these objects for dating made their rapid classification and dating an understandable priority, explaining this somewhat slap-dash approach.

As previously mentioned, Feugère and Gerbhard's typologies show a great deal of variation in how brooch types are distinguished from each other and how sub-types and sub-variants are

identified. For example, Feugère seems to employ little consistency with regards identifying types. With regards to his Reverted Bow brooches, material, size and spring-coil number are marked as key identifiers for the Type 1. While for the Type 3, it is the form of the bow's profile, or side view, followed by the shape of the bow in section that are rated most important (Feugère 1985: 186, 190). In contrast, while Feugère compresses different Reverted Bow types into just two categories, Gebhard (1991: 80-86) divides these into several types. However, this issue goes beyond type and extends to differences in what elements were considered central to brooch fabrication and appearance. For instance, Feugère does not identify material as a significant factor for many of his types, often not even listing it in his catalogue. This differs from Gebhard (1991: 6), who believes material to be the deciding factor in identifying types, stating explicitly that the different properties and appearance of iron or copper alloy are integral to typological considerations.

In view of these differences there is considerable doubt regarding the compatibility of these two typologies, something best illustrated by examining the application of Gebhard and Feugère to the small brooch collections in northern France. For simplicity, Reverted Bow types from three published typologies in the study area are compared: from the rural site of Montmartin in the Oise (Brunaux and Méniel (1997) as well as Stead *et al.*'s (2007) and Lambot *et al.* s (1994) typologies from cemeteries in the Ardennes. These typologies do not simply re-name Feugère or Gebhard's types but apply fundamentally different typological principles to their own small collections.

The examples shown in table 3.2 below reveal that no strict distinction is made between La Tène II and Pseudo-La Tène II Reverted Bow types after Feugère's original division, or the divisions used in the Haselgrove-Miron-Metzler chronology. This is odd given the wide acceptance of this chronology in the study area. The strange associations between types developed by researchers in the study area and Gebhard also provide some insight into the peculiar nature of the typological processes at work. For instance, specific features such as arched profiles, which are identified as diagnostic in Gebhard (1991: 130-137), are not identified for brooches equated with these types in northern France (e.g. Stead *et al.* 2007: 66). This awkwardness stems mainly from the fact that although these small-scale typologies (or more correctly pseudo-typologies)

reference Feugère or Gebhard, they do not respect the original diagnostic principles after which they defined their types.

Table 3.2: The identification of Reverted Bow Types in northern France

Lambot <i>et al.</i> (1994)				
1	- <100 mm - Rectilinear Bow - 8 Coiled Spring - External Chord	- Moulded Bead - Decorated with Hammered Chevrons	Gebhard 19c	Feugère 1
2	- 40-70 mm - Rectilinear/Curved Bows	- 10 to 18 Coils - External Chord - Hammered Ring	Gebhard 22	
3	- Similar to the Type 2	- 4 to 6 Coiled Spring	Gebhard 16	
Brunaux and Méniel (1997)				
2	- 'Small' - Iron - 4 Coils	- Wide Springs - External Chord - Hammered Ring	Gebhard 13a	Feugère 1
3	- Iron - 4 Coils - External Chord	- Hammered Ring - Decorated with a Moulded Bead	Gebhard 15	
4	- Iron - 4 Coils - External Chord - Rectilinear Bow	- Hammered Ring - Decorated with a Moulded Bead	Gebhard 14	
5	- Iron - 4 Coils - External Chord - Stretched Bow	- Moulded Bead - Decorated with Two Moulded Beads	Gebhard 17a	
6	- Iron - 8 Coils - External Chord	- Curved Bow - Hammered Ring	None	
7	- Iron - 12 to 16 Coils	- External Chord	Gebhard 22/24a	
8	- Iron - 6 Coils	- External Chord - Hammered Ring	None	Feugère 3
Stead <i>et al.</i> (2007)				
A	- Copper Alloy - 4 to 6 Coils	- External Chords	None	Feugère 1
B	- Iron - 6 to 16 Coils	- External Chord	Gebhard 20 Gebhard 22	
C	- 'Large' - Iron - 4 to 6 Coils	- External Chord - Wide Coils	Gebhard 16-18	
D	Other Unidentifiable Reverted Bow Brooches.		Gebhard 19	

This disjunction raises questions of why equivalencies with Gebhard were made at all. The answer lies in the need to re-evaluate the dates for these brooches; with researchers seemingly choosing brooches from Gebhard with the dates believed appropriate. However, this methodology is complicated by the obvious difficulties involved in making Gebhard's typo-chronology

match Feugère's types; particularly as the types defined by the latter do not recognize Feugère's distinct division between Middle and Late La Tène Reverted Bow brooches. For example, while Gebhard (1991: 95) recognizes continuity between all of his Reverted Bow brooches this contrasts with Feugère (1985: 186, 190) who identifies brooches with moulded nodules as Middle La Tène and those with hammered rings as Late La Tène. While this is partially overcome by the possibility that features such as reverted feet held high on the bow might easily identify Gebhard's Late Iron Age Reverted Bow type (Sievers pers. comm.), this must be taken with some skepticism; especially as this attribute is not given any significance by either Feugère or Gebhard. Resultingly, the difference between early and later Reverted Bow types is not definitively recognized by researchers in northern France, who instead loosely group Reverted Bow types under Feugère's Type 1 or 3, while also equating them with Gebhard for dates.

The disparities between typologies highlight their basis, not on objective, scientific principles but on subjective beliefs about what is most important about a brooch; beliefs that vary between typology and typologist. In northern France, date rather than morphology, is believed to be a brooch's most important aspect. The disparity between the types described in the above typologies not only prevents the further recognition of these types, but also effectively sends a message that archaeologists need only access larger brooch typo-chronologies, such as Gebhard, to find the brooch type and date that most easily matches their requirements.

The situation described above is not entirely tenable. However, a remedy raises further issues related to the philosophies of typology formation. For example, two classes of typologists, 'lumpers' and 'splitters' are recognized via differences in the values they ascribe to descriptive factors as a means of separating out or linking types. The former would advise dividing brooches so that each type specifically matched each description, whereas the latter would find these rough descriptions acceptable as useful broad indicators of type (for further discussion about philosophical differences in typology formation see, Adams and Adams 1991: 280-280: *cf.* Kidder and Shepard 1936: 626; Judd 1940: 430; Simpson 1945: 22-24; Brew 1946: 55; Taylor 1948: 126-127; Cormack 1971: 329; Sokal 1977). Given the difficulties involved in relative dating, it would be helpful to have a means of independently dating brooches. However, given that pottery chronologies are constructed relative to metal finds, as well as the absence of other absolute dating methods, there is no quick fix here.

The philosophical differences between lumping and splitting raise questions about what to do in this specific case. Here, I have decided that lumping is the best option, as the creation of new types would only serve as a barrier for further analysis and pattern recognition. Therefore, Feugère's types have generally been maintained as a broad overarching category, with broad date ranges taken from Gebhard. Following identification under these broad categories, brooches are then systematically described so that variation, both within and between types, can be assessed. This process is explained in more detail in the following chapter.

Lumping, rather than further splitting brooches, helps alleviate some of the problems involved in making the various typologies used and developed in this study area work together. Moreover, this approach appears successful as, in all cases, the dates ascribed to these types generally fit with those already given to the site and the brooch. This fix has served to both simplify the various discrepancies between the various typologies developed and used within the study area.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to encapsulate the origins and development of brooch studies in northern France and situate these within a wider northern European context. In doing so, the need to distinguish between *chronology* and *typology* has become apparent. Because, although these concepts are often discussed together, the latter refers only to the act of sorting into types, while the former is associated with the process of dating those types. Typo-chronologies developed in northern France have walked a fine line between these processes, producing typologies shaped by chronological re-evaluations in other research. This is because, in this case, the need for typology has been inextricably linked with dependence on relative dating.

There are no quick solutions to the wider problems of chronology and typology in northern European Iron Age archaeology, and this lies outside the scope of this project. However, as this work involves brooches, the acknowledgement of problems related to their study is of relevance. I have tried to develop solutions that keep the overall goals of the thesis in mind, namely the aim to discuss the meaning(s) and role(s) of this object to the societies that used them. Therefore, although typologies are organizational necessities, they are only a means to a further end.

Chapter Four The Edgar Typology

As Chapter Three indicates, the plethora of brooch typologies in northern Europe has proved quite an impediment to the study of these items. For instance, many of the brooch types used as chronological markers, are not specifically identified by typologies developed or adopted in the study area. The main goal of this chapter is, therefore, to explain how types were defined in this project. In particular, the central importance of systematic or standardized description in assimilating the discrepant and divergent nature of the various typologies produced and used in the study area. This process that ultimately forms the bases for the recognition of categories and the definition of types within the Edgar Typology.

4.1 Typologies: a necessary evil or an indispensable device?

In order to achieve harmonized or systematic description, the arguments surrounding typology formation first need to be explored. Only once the limitations and benefits surrounding these processes are understood, can the real work of categorization begin. Therefore, the description of types in the Edgar typology follows a summary of debates surrounding the typological processes and a discussion of terminology used to describe brooch form.

Typological classification involves the physical act of sorting objects into different categories, types, or classes, based on a number or cluster of attributes. As discussed above, in many instances, the attributes chosen to define categories are shaped with some purpose in mind; albeit dating, or the analysis of morphological development. While some archaeologists have searched for a way to make typologies completely objective (for example, Adams and Adams 1991: 274; *cf.* Doran and Hodson 1975: 158-186; Brown 1982: 183-185), the human typologist invariably drives the decision making process. The continuing dialectic between object and typologist explains why typologies are a controversial subject in archaeology; especially in the Anglo-American world where their purpose, role and even their validity have sparked a great deal of debate (For a review of the so-called typological debate please see Adams and Adams 1992; Klejn 1982: 75-111; Wylie 2002: 42-56). At one extreme, while some may view them as embodiments of fetishism (Adams and Adams 1992: 157; *cf.* Kluckhohn 1939: 338; Bennet 1943: 208; Hill and Evans 1972: 231, 267; Vierra 1982: 164; Hayden 1984: 81). Nevertheless, they

remain an essential part of the archaeological process, as the variables making up most objects are far too complex to be ordered without recourse to a typology (Adams and Adams 1992: 165; *cf.* Miller 1956; Wallace 1961; Sokal 1977: 188). Researchers working in northern Europe have tended not to get involved in these debates and here typologies still form a very integral and often unquestioned part of the archaeological process (Buchsenschutz 1987; Demoule *et al.* 2002). This is very much the case with regard to Late Iron Age brooches, where typologies represent in most cases both the means and end of analysis.

Typologies are generally defined by their purpose, which may or may not be stated explicitly (Adams and Adams 1992: 157; *cf.* Gardin 1980: 81; Klejn 1982: 51-54). As discussed in the previous chapters, most brooch studies have sought to show how these objects changed over time, forming typo-chronological criteria based on the assumption that brooches evolved from simple to more complex types, or how they evolved in response to specific design issues. Basing categorization on ideals of evolutionary determinism however, acts as a barrier to determining wider significances; especially as 'complex' types are used in conjunction with 'simpler' ones. Therefore, although types are typically given hierarchical ordering via numerical nomenclature, many were used concurrently. This is problematic in regards to northern European brooch studies, which typically use typologies as the basis for relative chronology.

Given the limitations of typologies, even categories identified as archaeologically meaningful might not have held significance to the culture(s) being studied (Adams and Adams 1992: 282). This note of typological scepticism was a key factor in decisions underpinning the formation of the Edgar typology; because typology should not be the primary goal of brooch analysis, but used simply as a tool for asking further questions about these objects, particularly regarding what elements or attributes might have had real significance.

4.2 Is a new typology necessary?

When weighing the necessity of creating an entirely new typology it seemed relevant to consider whether this would produce something useful for the study of Late Iron Age brooches in the study area. In the end, the prospect of adding yet another system to the mix seemed to confuse rather than streamline matters. Therefore, in the interest of clarity and continuity,

rather than create an entirely new system, Feugère's (1985) types were retained as the backbone for most of my typology.

As noted in Chapter Three, the limitations of using Feugère's typology are evident. Consequently, it was substantially revised here, with new dates and some alterations to basic types based on information provided by more recent works (see Section 4.4). Furthermore, given the varied nature of typologies formed by Feugère and others, as well as the differences between various brooch types, it was also crucial to standardize not only which attributes were chosen but also the language used to describe them. The terminology used to describe brooches is outlined below.

4.3 Basic brooch anatomy

Brooch typologies general focus on the configuration of a brooch's primary elements: first identifying the diagnostic or universal attributes for a specific type, then expanding to include variations of these elements. As many elements make up overall brooch form, many attributes are therefore incorporated into the identification of types.

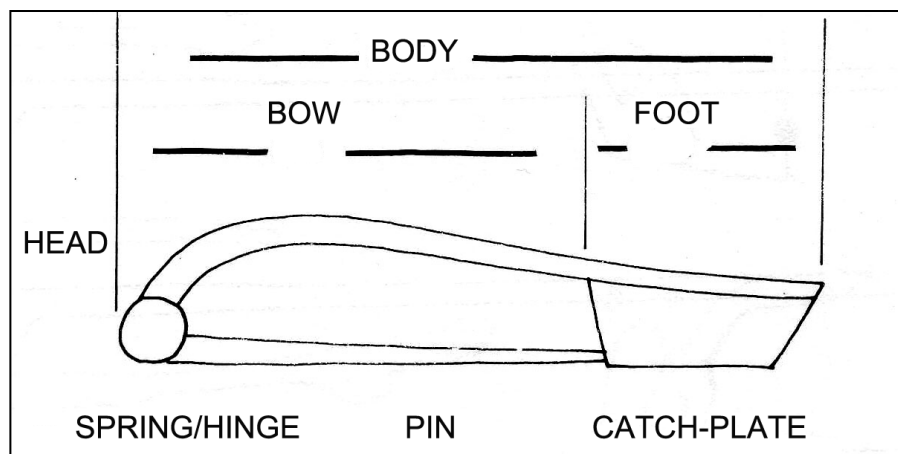


Figure 4.1: Brooch parts (after Guillaumet 1984: figure 1)

The terms used for brooch parts give it an almost human or biological anatomical feel (figure 4.1): the 'head', or part closest to the pin/spring is known via its opposition to the 'foot', or the lower part of the brooch between the catch-plate and the bow; while the 'body', between the head and the foot, consists of the bow. While these terms imply that brooches have a very specific orientation, we should not assume that this reflects how they were worn. For example,

while brooches are typically seen in head-down positions on Roman grave stelae in Germany, this might not have been how most Late Iron Age brooches were worn (Wild 1968; 1985: 393; Rothe 2009: 15).

Table 4.1: Brooch construction and variation therein (Guillaumet 1984: 7; Pion 1996a: 133-135)

HEAD/MECHANISM			
Method of Liason	Chord Position/Hinge Type		Coil Number
Spring - Naked spring - Plated spring - Hooked spring - Hooked and plated spring - Covered spring	- External Chord - Internal Chord		- Two-coiled - Three-coiled - Four-coiled - etc.
Hinge	- Formed by bending the bow outward - Formed by bending the bow inward		N/A
BOW			
Section	Profile	Bow Shape	Decoration Type
- Filiform - Cylindrical - Flat/Ribboned - Semi-cylindrical - Profiled - Composite	- Flat - Curved - Arched - Bent to cover the spring	- Filiform - D-shaped - Faceted - Rectangular - Triangular	- Moulded - Hammered - Beads - Disks - Cut-ut/Trimmed - Added elements, i.e. enamel
			Decoration Location
			- Bow/Spring junction - Middle bow - Catch-plate junction
FOOT/CATCH-PLATE			
Formation/Construction		Perforation	
Reverted Bow - Free type (Early Iron Age) - Held by a moulded bead (Middle/Late Iron Age) - Held by a hammered ring or hook (Late Iron Age)		N/A	
Hammered - Trapezoidal - Triangular - Rectangular		- Perforations - Unperforated - Fenestrated - Pierced	

Brooch typologies generally work by focusing on the configuration of the primary elements of morphology: first, the central diagnostic or universal attributes for a specific brooch type are identified; then these are expanded to include variations. However, the way this is done and the descriptive language used can vary greatly depending on the typologist in question. Compounding difficulties is the fact that the main typologies studied here were published in German and French, while this thesis is in English. Therefore, the importance of consistency in translating these typologies cannot be understated (see Glossary of Terms in Appendix Two).

Gaspar (2007) provided a great deal of help in this regard, as his typology was written in both French and German.

Basic diagnostic elements and their variations are shown above in table 4.1. These were chosen from Pion (1996a: 133-135) and Guillaumet (1984: 6), as these works contained the most systematic breakdown of brooch elements and descriptive terminology. Please note that, while brooches also contain pins these elements are not specifically diagnostic and are therefore not considered in determinations of type. Another factor in regard to hinged brooches, is that drawings are seldom detailed enough to determine the construction of the mechanism. For this reason, more detailed description and analysis of hinged mechanisms was impossible. This terminology forms the basis for brooch description in the Edgar Typology.

4.4 The Edgar Typology

In this typology, type definitions are ordered first by universal and then by variable attributes; these are characteristics that are both shared by all brooches of that type and that vary between those brooches. Where possible I have used the Feugère's numbering system as a base. However, when brooches are not found within Feugère they are inserted using an alphabetical designation. Additionally, I have been required to modify Feugère's typology on several occasions: to clarify some of his sub-type divisions and to allow for new information from larger data sets, most notably from Titelberg (Gaspar 2007). However, in regards to the Alésia, Aucissa and Aucissa derivative Hinged brooches I have decided to avoid using Gaspar's Titelberg typology, mainly because, while these brooches are not rare in the study area, they are typically from unstratified contexts at sites dating to the Gallo-Roman period. Also please note, what is included below represents a brief summary of this typology. For more detailed information please see Appendix One.

There are a total of 26 types in the 'Edgar' Typology, which are sorted into six groups based on form, manufacturing technique and decoration: Reverted Bow Brooches (RB), Simple Filiform Brooches (SF), Decorative Filiform Brooches (DF), Interrupted Bow Brooches (IB), Heavily Decorated Brooches (HvD) and Hinged Brooches (HnB). These larger grouping encompass several brooch types, as well as brooches which could not be identified with a specific type but

could be placed within a larger group. For example, SF Brooches are wire-made types, whose individual type distinctions depend of spring type and coil number. However, in many cases these springs are too fragmented to allow for precise type identification. Therefore, rather than leave these fragmented brooches unidentified, they can instead be placed into the SF category. These groupings are outlined for reference in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Brooch groups and types in the ‘Edgar’ Typology

Brooch Groups		Variable Attributes	Universal Attributes	Group Attributes
Reverted Bow Brooches (RB)				
1	Middle La Tène RB (La Tène C1 to D1b/D2a)	- Five to 21 coils - External chord	- Moulded Bead/Ring	- Reverted Bow
3	Pseudo-La Tène Type II RB (La Tène C2/D1a to D2)	- Two to 18 coils - Internal/External Chord	- Hammered Hook/Ring - Copper Alloy/Iron	
Simple Filiform Brooches (SF)				
2	Filiform with External Chords and Narrow-Coiled Springs (La Tène D1a to D1b/D2a)	- Two to four coils	- Wire-made - Catch-plate - External chord - Undecorated	- Wire-made - Catch-plate - Undecorated
A	Filiform with External Chords and Multi-Coiled Springs (La Tène D1a/D1b to D2a)	- Six to 21 coils - Catch-plate style	- Wire-made - External chord - Undecorated	
4	Iron Filiform with Internal Chords and Short-Coiled Springs (La Tène D1a to Gallo-Roman 1)	- Two to four coils - Catch-plate style	- Wire-made - Iron - Internal chord - Undecorated	
5b	Copper Alloy Filiform with Internal Chords and Narrow-coiled springs (La Tène D1a/D1b D2a/D2b)	- Two to four coils - Catch-plate style	- Wire-made - Copper Alloy - Internal Chord - Undecorated	
6	SF Variable Bows (La Tène D1a/D1b to GR 1)	- Four coils - Catch-plate style	- Wire-made - Hammered Bows - Undecorated	
Decorative Filiform Brooches (DF)				
5a	Nauheim Brooches (La Tène D1a/D1b to D2a/D2b)	- Decoration - Catch-plate style	- Wire-made - Triangular bow - Flat section - Internal chord - Incised Decoration	- Wire-made - Hammered bows - Decorated bows
5c	Nauheim Variant (La Tène D1a/D1b)	- Four Coils - Catch-plate style - Internal chord	- Wire-made - Flat Section - Internal chord - Trimmed/Cut Bows	
7	À Coquille Brooches (La Tène D1a to D2a/ D2b)	- Catch-plate style - Shell style	- Wire-made - Shell-shaped bulge Internal chord	
9	Proto-Gallic Brooches (La Tène D2a/D2b to GR 1)	- Wire-made - Four to eight coils - Internal/External chords (w/ External hooks)	- Wire-made - Catch-plates: often fenestrated, i.e. window-like perforations	

Interrupted Bow Brooches (IB)				
8	Arc Interrompu Brooches (La Tène D1b to D2)	- Two to seven coils - Internal/External chords - Interrupting bead style	- Wire-made - Interrupting mould-made decoration	- Wire-made - Bows Interrupted: Moulded Beads /Disks
10	À Collarette Brooches (La Tène D2b/GR 1 to GR 2)	- Six coils - External chord - Mould-made disk	- Transverse mould-made disk	
15	À Disque Médian Brooches (GR 1/GR 2)	- Six coils - External chord - Mould-made disk	- Bow replaced by mould-made disk	
Heavily Decorated Brooches (HvD)				
14b	Langdon Down Brooches (GR 1 to GR 2/ Late First century CE)	- Four to eight coils - External chord - Stabilizing hooks and platelets/ spring covers	- Rectilinear bow - Stretched profile - Profiled section - Longitudinal grooved decoration	- Wire-made - Partially/Totally Covered springs - Stretched/ Rectilinear profile - Variable section - Variable bow - Decoration: Moulded/Incised
16	À Disque Médian avec Queue de Paon (La Tène D2b/GR 1 to GR 2)	- Covered spring - Disk held with pin - Mould-made disk style - Decoration: Moulded/Incised	- Covered spring - Disk partially replaces bow - Flaring foot - Profiled section	
18a	Queue de Paon Brooches (GR 1/GR 2 to Late First century CE)	- Partially/Total covered spring - Variable bow - Decoration: Moulded/Incised	- Flaring foot - Pre-foot decoration	
18b	Zoomorphic Brooches (GR 1/GR 2 to Late First century CE)	- Zoomorphic variation	- Mould-made bow - Zoomorphic Bow	
19	À Disque Médian avec Rosette (GR 1/GR 2 to Late First century CE)	- Decoration: Moulded/Incised	- Covered spring - Profiled section - Disk shaped bow - Disk held with pin	
20	One-piece Thistle Brooches (GR 1 to Late First century CE)	- Decoration: Moulded/Incised	- Covered spring - Profiled section - Bow replaced by moulded disk - One-piece Construction	
Hinged Brooches (HnB)				
21	Alésia Brooches (La Tène D2b to GR 1)	- Decoration style	- Hinged brooch - Triangular bow - Transverse moulded decoration	- Hinged
22	Aucissa Brooches (La Tène D2b/GR 1 to second century CE)	- Decoration style	- Hinged brooch - Triangular bow - Terminal knob	
23	Aucissa Derivative Brooches (GR 1/GR 2 to Mid/Late second century CE)	- Triangular/ Rectilinear bow - Decoration: Moulded/Incised/ Added element	- Hinged brooch - Stylized terminal moulding - Bows perforated laterally	

This is far from a 'perfect' typology and there is occasional overlap of attributes between types and the occasional odd non-conformist outlier. However, the goal of this typology is not

perfection, should such a thing exist, but the production an organizational system for sorting brooches into recognizable categories and groups. As stated previously, because archaeological typologies are constructs that may or may not have had meaning to individuals making or using these items, they are only useful a basis for future analysis and should not represent an end in and of themselves. Therefore, because my project focuses asking questions regarding the meaning(s) and role(s) of these objects, my categories (or types) needed to be inclusive of attributes relevant to brooches as a whole, and as such, representative of broader trends in brooch form, manufacture and decoration.

4.4.1 A note about illustration and language

As my research is based on library and archival research, data are limited to recorded images rather than first hand analysis. As a result images here are re-renderings of previously drawn brooches, which despite the existence of explicit illustration conventions for brooches in France (for example, Feugère 1982: 20-22), show a great deal of variability: with different scales, shading techniques and a tendency to not always show both the profile and birds-eye view of the brooch or even its section. This inconsistency partly stems from simple omission, but is also partially explained by the fact that there is little central oversight in the study of brooches and therefore no forced adherence to drawing conventions. Therefore, given the source material, the illustration-styles adopted in this project are by necessity, diverse; although I have attempted some standardization by drawing all brooches at a scale of one to one.

In regard to naming individual types, English names are the general rule. However, French terms are maintained in several specific instances, particularly when no exact English equivalents exist or when the English term has a different connotation that may well only refer to English variants of this type. Therefore, *Arc Interrompu*, *Queue de Paon* or *À Disque Median* types are referred to as such, and the term *À Coquille* is used in lieu of Spoon-bow. Again, as both French and German typologies were consulted, a glossary brooch related terminology with English translations is provided in Appendix Two.

4.5 Brooch types: from evolutionary progression to tagential expansion

The brooch dates in table 4.3 below reveal that certain types over-lap each other, showing that more is at work here than evolutionary progression from simple to more complex types. Of all the types the SF Edgar Type 4 shows the longest use, from the La Tène D1a to the Gallo-Roman 1, paralleling the use of more complex types.

Table 4.3: Phases of brooch development

	La Tène C1	La Tène C2	La Tène D1a	La Tène D1b	La Tène D2a	La Tène D2b	GR 1	GR 2
Phase 1: Continuity with the Middle Iron Age								
TYPE 1								
TYPE 3								
Phase 2: Simple Filiform								
TYPE 2								
TYPE A								
TYPE 4								
TYPE 5a								
TYPE 6								
Phase 3: Decorative Phase								
TYPE 5a								
TYPE 5c								
TYPE 7								
TYPE 9								
TYPE 14a								
TYPE 8								
TYPE B								
TYPE 10								
TYPE 15								
Phase 4: Heavily Decorated and Hinged Phase								
TYPE 14b								
TYPE 16								
TYPE 18a								
TYPE 18b								
TYPE 19								
TYPE 20								
TYPE 21								

TYPE 22							
TYPE 23							

In general, the groups above demonstrate that brooch development can be grouped into four overlapping phases. Initially Late Iron Age brooches follow the conventions of the middle Iron Age and Reverted Bow types proliferate. During the second phase, Simple Filiform types begin to dominate. These brooches start to appear in the La Tène C2 and remain in use until the Augustan period. In the third phase, beginning in the La Tène D, we see two parallel developments in brooch design. First, more types of decorative variation start to creep into brooch design, this can be seen in the Nauheim, *À Coquille*, Proto-Gallic and Gallic brooches. In tandem with this, as brooch makers begin to become more confident, moving away from filiform or hammered types, towards manufacturing brooches with mould-made decoration on their bows. These are the so-called Interrupted Bow brooches. Early variants appear in the La Tène D1a and remain in use until the Augustan period. At the end of this experimental phase brooches become more heavily decorated and hinged variants begin to appear.

During the Post-Conquest Iron Age and Early Gallo-Roman periods, Heavily Decorated and Hinged Brooches take precedence. However, while brooches may be dated within this period, it is likely that these dates represent more than just their period of manufacture or use-life. Nevertheless, the overlap in date between simpler and more complex brooch types indicates that generally they did not develop along simple evolutionary lines. So, although brooches do seem to develop more complexity over time, there is no evidence that simpler brooch types fall out of favor. Consequently, it seems obvious that these objects need to be examined as more than just points along a unidirectional line of development.

4.6 Reverted Bow Types

These are identified by their long bows which are generally bent back and reattached to the bow to form the foot, i.e. the mechanism holding the pin in place. As discussed previously, Feugère (1985) identifies two types of RB brooches, earlier Middle La Tène Types and later Pseudo-La-Tène II types. This project sees the Pseudo-La-Tène II brooches as chronological markers for the start of the Late La Tène. However, somewhat paradoxically, although this

chronology is widely accepted in the study area, the division between earlier and later RB types is not. This is because typologies based on small collections in the study area tend to follow Gebhard's typo-chronology from Manching, which envisages a longer period of use and overlap for a larger varieties of RB types, and subsuming this within Feugère's typo-chronology through identifications with his Type 1 or 3.

Approximately 301 RB brooches are identified in the dataset. However, of these, approximately 14% are too fragmentary or corroded for precise identification. Problematically, this compounds difficulties in identifying earlier from later RB types and, consequently, it is very difficult to determine how these types developed in the study area. Although some attempt was made to distinguish earlier Edgar Type 1 from later Edgar Type 3 brooches, this should be taken with a great deal of scepticism. Nevertheless, it seemed preferable, especially given the limited information available, to work with Feugère's two RB categories, rather than make an attempt to work with Gebhard's (1995: 91) fifteen types.

4.6.1 Edgar Type 1: La Tène II (La Tène C1 to D1b/D2a)

Feugère (1985: 186) identifies his Type 1 by the reverted foot, which is bent back attached to the midpoint of the bow with a moulded ring, bulb or a nodule. The re-curved portion can be decorated but this does not appear with enough regularity to identify these as specific type (*ibid*: 197). These brooches are found in both copper alloy and iron. In keeping with Feugère's (*ibid*) observations, iron types are typically the largest variants, with examples measuring up to ten centimetres. These brooches vary widely in terms of spring number, and there are examples with as few as four or as many as 21 coils (see figures 4.2 and 4.3).

Approximately 56% of the 163 Type 1 brooches identified in the dataset were recovered from funerary contexts, followed by 23% at rural sites and 15% at sanctuaries. Only six percent were associated with the latest chronological form of settlement, the *oppida*. In terms of regional variation, the percentage shown in figure 4.4 below, with high numbers recovered from the Ardennes and Oise, is likely the result of the large number of funerary sites in the latter and rural sites in the former, particularly those of earlier date. Interestingly this diverges from Feugère (1985: 187-190), who records the largest percentage of Type 1 brooches (75%), from

sanctuaries, and the lowest (8%) from funerary sites. However, as Feugère only records 66 examples of RB brooches in his dataset, mostly from poorly understood sites, such as the grotto of Sargel I (Saint-Rome-de-Cernon, L'Aveyron), his results are hardly definitive. Moreover, the later Roman date for many of Feugère's sites, as well as the possibly residual nature of his recorded RB brooches, also cast doubt on his observed findings. This underscores the need to examine brooches from well excavated and independently datable contexts.

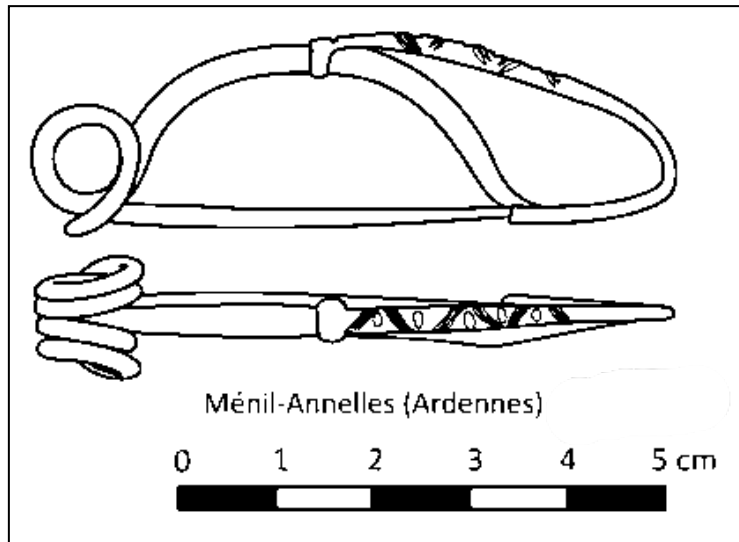


Figure 4.2: Edgar Type 1 (after Stead *et al.* 2006: figure 66.2)

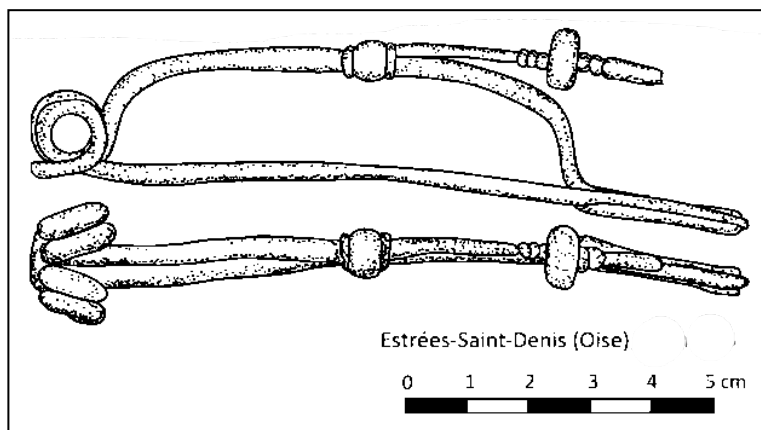


Figure 4.3: Edgar Type 1 (after Woimant 2002: figure 1)

Edgar Type 1 brooches display a great degree of variation, but are identifiable by their externally chorded multi-coiled springs and reverted bows that are held relatively low on the bow by a mould-made mechanism. However, these attributes only roughly define this type, particularly as the mechanism holding the reverted foot in place is often missing. However, hammered elements, particularly hooks and rings, have also been identified in these types. For instance, in

the M  nil-Annelles example, the hammered ring mechanism holding the reverted foot is attributed to the Middle La T  ne by the fact that the brooch is found within a late La T  ne C1/C2 inhumation; when it possibly represents residual deposition of an earlier Middle La T  ne type (Stead *et al.* 2007: figure 66.2).

Table 4.4: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 1

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts		
			Site Type	Brooches per site-type	Brooches per context	Context date	
Aisne	11	7%	Sanctuary	0	0	n/a	
			Rural	2	2	La Tène C2/D1a	
			Oppida	6	6	La Tène D1b	
			Funerary	3	3	La Tène C1/C2	
Oise	65	40%	Sanctuary	21	10	La Tène C2/D1a	
					6	La Tène D1a/D1b	
					1	La Tène D1b/D2a	
					2	GR 1/GR 2	
					2	No Date	
			Rural	25	21	La Tène C2/D1a	
					1	La Tène D1a/D1b	
					3	La Tène D1b/D2a	
			Oppida	2	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
			Funerary	17	16	La Tène C1/C2	
					1	La Tène D1b/D2a	
Somme	13	8%	Sanctuary	0	0	n/a	
			Rural	0	0	n/a	
			Oppida	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
			Funerary	12	12	La Tène C1/C2	
Ardennes	71	44%	Sanctuary	0	0	n/a	
			Rural	11	11	La Tène C2/D1a	
			Oppida	0	0	n/a	
			Funerary	60	7	La Tène C2	
					34	La Tène D1a	
					6	La Tène D1a/D1b	
					9	La Tène D1b	
					4	La Tène D2a	
Seine-Maritime	3	1%	Sanctuary	3	1	La Tène C2/D1a	
					2	La Tène D1a	
Total	163	100%					
Sanctuary	24	15%	11	La Tène C2/D1a			
			6	La Tène D1a/D1b			
			2	La Tène D1a			
			1	La Tène D1b/D2a			
			2	GR 1/GR 2			
			2	No Date		Total	24
Rural	38	23%	34	La Tène C2/D1a			
			1	La Tène D1a/D1b			

			3	La Tène D1b/D2a	Total	38
Oppida	9	6%	6	La Tène D1b		
			3	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Total	6
Funerary	92	56%	38	La Tène C1/C2		
			34	La Tène D1a		
			6	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			9	La Tène D1b		
			1	La Tène D1b/D2a		
Total	163	100%	4	La Tène D1a	Total	92

In the dataset, approximately 81% of identified Type 1's are of iron, the rest either copper alloy (4%) or unidentified (14%). Nearly all examples have external chords, with the vast majority comprised of either four-coiled (32%) or six-coiled (12%) variants. However, there are examples with five to twenty-one coils. However, just as many (27%) were with recovered either with absent springs or with springs of unidentifiable number. Therefore, due to fragmentation or corrosion, it is difficult to discuss the mechanism holding the reverted foot or spring number in more detail.

Type 1's have been recovered from contexts ranging in date from the La Tène C1/C2 transition through to the later Gallo-Roman period (table 4.4). Unfortunately, it is difficult to know if this long span represents residual use, continued manufacture, or incorrect identification; particularly given the problems distinguishing earlier RB types from later Pseudo-La Tène II RB types. Furthermore, dating the exact transition from Middle to Later La Tène RB types is also complicated by fragmentary examples that cannot be directly identified as either. Nevertheless, as many Middle and Later La Tène RB types are found together in La Tène C2/D1a contexts, for example at Juvincourt-et-Damary (Aisne), this indicates relative continuity between these two types (Haselgrove 1991; 1992). Given these reasons, as well as problems associated with the correct identification of these types, the decision was ultimately made to lump together both Type 1 and 3 brooches together under the category of 'Reverted Bow Brooch'.

4.6.2 Edgar Type 3:

Pseudo La Tène Type II (La Tène C2/D1a to D2)

Type 3's are similar in form to Type 1's, however their bows are generally thinner in section with their reverted feet held via hammered rings or hooks (Feugère 1985: 190). Type 3's also have a

multi-coiled springs, and while both external and internal chorded types are known, the former is most common (figures 4.4 and 4.5).

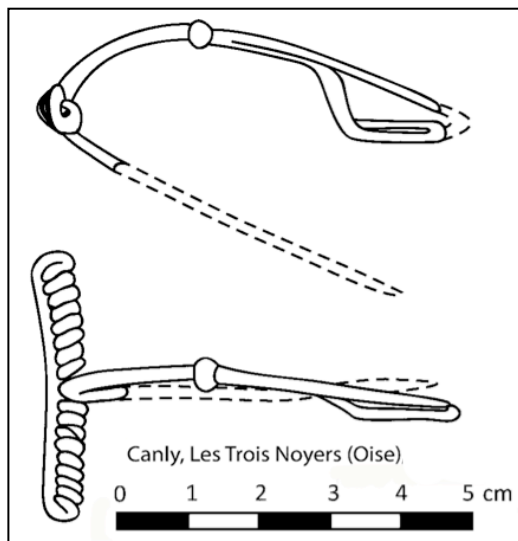


Figure 4.4: Edgar Type 3 (after Malrain 2006: site inventory no. 34)

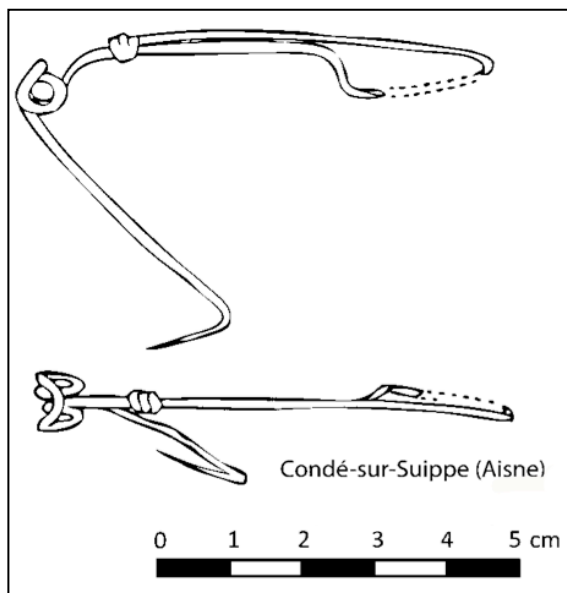


Figure 4.5: Edgar Type 3 (after Pion 1996a: plate 357.1)

At Manching, Sievers (pers. comm.), identifies these types via the high position of the mechanism holding the reverted bow. However, some brooches seem to straddle this classification. In particular Gebhard's Type 21b and 22 which could either be identified as either Edgar Type 1 or 3's. Pion (1996a: 138) also sits astride this identification, associating his Type 214 with Feugère's 3a and Gebhard's 4 and 21b. Most typologists avoid the problem of precise identification, by either simply identifying their brooches with Feugère's Type 3 and avoiding Gebhard altogether; for instance, Metzler (1995), Riha (1997) or Gaspar (2007). Or typologists

hide their uncertainty by making convoluted mixed-references to Gebhard; e.g., Lambot *et al.* (1994), Lambot and Friboulet (1996), Brunaux and Méniel (1997), Friboulet (1997), Stead *et al.* (2007).

By avoiding connections with Feugère, or others referencing him, the above works avoid dividing their RB brooches into separate Middle and Later La Tène categories. However, the fact that so few researchers in the study area recognize Feugère's Middle and Pseudo-La-Tène II division is not a simple oversight, but a declaration that most no longer believe that these brooches should be divided into only two types. This is something that needs resolution given that these brooch types currently serve as material markers for the Haselgrove-Miron-Metzler chronology. However, these issues cannot be solved without direct examination of the brooches themselves. Perhaps if attributes, other than the position or style of the mechanism holding the reverted foot in place, could be identified, the development Reverted Bow types would be better understood.

Approximately 95 brooches in my dataset are identified as Type 3's. These are found in contexts ranging in date from the La Tène C2/D1a through to the La Tène D2b (table 4.5). These brooch types are recovered from nearly all regions of my study area, with the exception of the Ardennes. Their total absence from this region is explained because as researchers working there (e.g. Lambot *et al.* 1995; Lambot and Friboulet 1996; Friboulet 1997; Stead *et al.* 2007) identify their Reverted Brooches Types with those from Gebhard's typology that have been loosely equated with Feugère's Type 1. Nevertheless, fragmentation makes re-evaluating the identification of the Ardennes brooches untenable, particularly without direct examination. Nevertheless, as these brooches are ultimately discussed as RB brooches, re-identification seems unwarranted.

Of these Type 3 brooches recorded in the dataset, approximately 44% are iron and over half have external chords. As 86 out of the 95 brooches were found intact, more can be said about the mechanism holding the reverted foot; which in this type seem to be held in place by either by hammered rings, hooks or beads, as well as by moulded rings. However, moulded ring Type 3's, identified at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, likely represent false identifications based on the age of the site (Debord 1996: plate 3.56-57). The filiform or wire-made construction of these

brooches fits, both morphologically and chronologically, with the construction of most Late La Tène brooches. This is in keeping with the general trend, starting in the La Tène C2/D1a, away from mould-made types.

Due to fragmentation and because I was unable to examine these first hand, exact identification of Type 1 versus Type 3 brooches remains difficult. As a result, the problems associated with the clear identification and seriation of RB brooches remain outside of the scope of this project. Therefore, although I have had maintained loose Type 1 and 3 identifications, mainly following Sievers method of identifying these brooches at Manching, I still harbour a great deal of scepticism regarding the nature and identification of these types. As a result, Edgar Type 1 and 3 brooches were grouped together under the category of Reverted Bow Brooches for analysis. This is especially relevant, given that of the 407 RB types identified in my dataset, nearly 40% were unidentifiable as either Type 1 or Type 3 brooches.

Table 4.5: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 3

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	47	50%	Sanctuary	0	0	n/a
			Rural	8	8	La Tène C2/D1a
			Oppida	26	21	La Tène D1b
					5	La Tène D2a/D2b
			Funerary	13	4	La Tène C2/D1a
					7	La Tène D1a/D1b
					2	La Tène D1b
Oise	30	32%	Sanctuary	15	9	La Tène C2/D1a
					1	La Tène D1a/D1b
					5	No Date
			Rural	8	5	La Tène C2/D1a
					2	La Tène D1a/D1b
					1	La Tène D1b/D2a
			Oppida	0	0	n/a
			Funerary	7	3	La Tène C1/C2
					2	La Tène C2/D1a
					2	La Tène D1b/D2a
Somme	15	16%	Sanctuary	1	1	La Tène D1b/D2a
			Rural	0	0	n/a
			Oppida	0	0	n/a
			Funerary	14	1	La Tène C1/C2
					13	La Tène C2/D1a
Seine-Maritime	3	2%	Sanctuary	3	1	La Tène C2/D1a
					1	La Tène D1a
					1	No Date
Total	95	100%				
Sanctuary	19	20%	10	La Tène C2/D1a		
			1	La Tène D1a		

			1	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			1	La Tène D1b/D2a		
			6	No Date	Total	19
Rural	16	17%	13	La Tène C2/D1a		
			2	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			1	La Tène D1b/D2a	Total	16
Oppida	26	27%	21	La Tène D1b		
			5	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Total	26
Funerary	34	36%	4	La Tène C1/C2		
			19	La Tène C2/D1a		
			7	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			2	La Tène D1b		
Total	95	100%	2	La Tène D1b/D2a	Total	34

4.7 Simple Filiform Types

Brooches in this group are typically wire-made, i.e. filiform, types formed by twisting long metallic filaments into shape; forming the spring, bow and pin, with the catch-plate hammered into a form suitable for holding the pin in place when closed (Guillaumet 1984: plate 2). Several brooch types fall within this category (e.g. the Type 2, Type A, Type 4, Type 5b, and Type 6). These are identifiable via the placement of the chords, the number of spring-coils, as well as material. However, as there are exceptions to these rules, and because these types all seem to overlap, this makes their categorization within a large over-arching group more practical. A total of 455 SF brooches are recorded in my dataset. Their identification as separate types, as well as their similarities are discussed here.

4.7.1 Edgar Type 2:

External Chords and Four-Coiled Springs (La Tène D1a to D1b/D2a)

These predominantly iron brooches are identified by their externally chorded, two to four-coiled springs (figure 4.6). Type 2's possibly represent the earliest appearance of the catch-plate mechanism, although the Type A brooch, with wider multi-coiled springs, is just as likely to have arisen contemporaneously. These brooches possibly represent an improvement to RB types, whose mechanisms are generally believed to be more prone to breakage (Jones 1996: 154). However, despite this apparent functional advantage, RB types appear to have been manufactured and used well into the La Tène D2a. This type demonstrates a close relationship in form with both Type A and 4 brooches, as both types are mainly of iron and wire-made. This similarity likely reflects the parallel development and use of most filiform types.

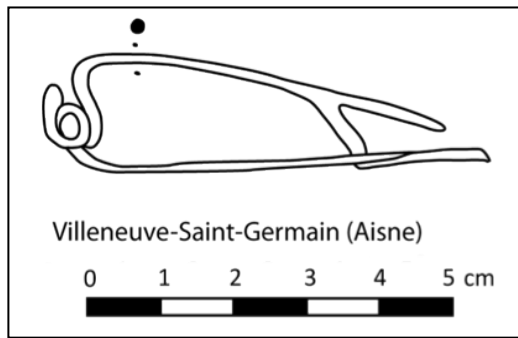



Figure 4.6: Edgar Type 2 (after Debord 1996: plate 1.2)

One-hundred and six Type 2's are recorded in my dataset. More than half, 60%, were equated via Feugère 's typology, the remainder identified by researchers in the study area, via associations through Gebhard (For example, Debord 1996; Lambot and Friboulet 1996; Pion 1996a; Friboulet 1997; Stead *et al.* 2007).

These brooches were recovered, at *oppida* (61%), funerary (18%), sanctuary (14%) and rural sites (seven percent). In keeping with these figures, the largest numbers were recovered in the Aisne, where the majority of excavated *oppida* are located. The broader recovery of these brooch types, i.e. from all types of site, is also represented in the wider date range of discovery contexts (table 4.6).

Table 4.6: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 2

Department	Brooch 	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	65	61.3%	Oppida	65	7	La Tène D1b
					55	La Tène D2a/D2b
					3	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Oise	12	11.4%	Sanctuary	10	1	La Tène D1a/D1b
					2	La Tène D1b/D2a
					1	GR 1/GR 2
					6	No Date
			Rural	1	1	La Tène D1a
			Funerary	1	1	La Tène C2/D1a
			Somme	5	4.7%	Sanctuary
1	La Tène D2b/GR 1					
Rural	1	1				La Tène D1a
Ardennes	24	22.6%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date
			Rural	4	4	La Tène C2/D1a
			Funerary	19	4	La Tène D1a/D1b
					7	La Tène D1b
					2	La Tène D1b/D2a
					6	La Tène D2a
Total	106	100%				

Sanctuary	15	14%	1	La Tène D1a/D1b				
			5	La Tène D1b/D2a				
			1	La Tène D2b/GR 1				
			1	GR 1/GR 2				
			7	No Date				
				Total	15			
Rural	6	6%	4	La Tène C2/D1a				
			2	La Tène D1a				
				Total	6			
Oppida	65	61%	7	La Tène D1b				
			55	La Tène D2a/D2b				
			3	La Tène D2b/GR 1				
				Total	65			
Funerary	20	19%	1	La Tène C2/D1a				
			4	La Tène D1a/D1b				
			7	La Tène D1b				
			2	La Tène D1b/D2a				
Total			106	100%	6	La Tène D2a	Total	20

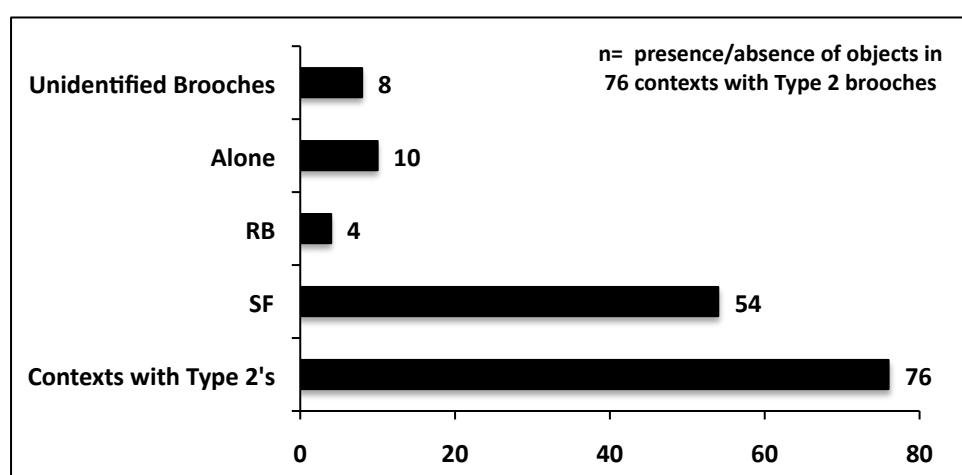


Figure 4.7: Brooches found in association with Edgar Type 2 brooches

Despite their identification by Feugère (1985: 188-189) as brooches with external chords, several non-conformist examples have been identified. A copper alloy Type 2 brooch with internal chord was identified at the rural site of Chambly, “ZAC Porte de l’Oise” (Oise) (Beaujard 1996: plate 2, figure 5), but this was a preliminary publication in a yearly *BSR* and may be a misidentification. Nevertheless, several other copper alloy Type 2’s were also identified in the dataset: one, at the *oppidum* of Condé-sur-Suippe (Pion 1996a: plate 360.4) and three at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord 1996: plate 2.11-14). Given these accepted variations, it becomes more difficult to define Type 2 as a group distinct from other SF brooches. Moreover, the similarities between these brooches and other filiform types makes them difficult to identify and distinguish typologically. Additionally, as they are most often found in contexts with other SF types it seems likely that they were used in similar ways (figure 4.7). In this light, the need for exact typological distinction seems irrelevant.

4.7.2 Edgar Type A:

External Chords Medium to Large Springs (La Tène D1a/D1b to D2a)

Type A's represent the first deviation from Feugère's typology. These types are similar to other SF brooches. However, they vary in regard to their spring, which are externally chorded, with between six and 21 springs (figure 4.8). These brooches were first identified by Gebhard (1991) at Manching. Later, in the study area, they were recognized by Lambot *et al.* (1994: 162), Pion (1996a: 138) and Friboulet (1997: 109).

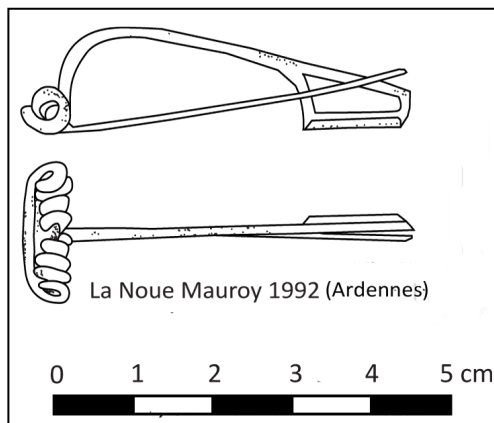


Figure 4.8: Edgar Type A (after Friboulet 1997:109)

Approximately 15 Type A's are recognized in my dataset: 67% from funerary contexts (mainly in the Ardennes), followed by 20% at sanctuaries and 13% at rural sites. Interestingly, no Type A's were recovered at *oppida*. This could mean that *oppida* were not favoured sites for use/deposition of these brooches, but it is more likely that, by the time these sites were occupied, multi-springed brooches were no longer being used or deposited. Indeed, the vast majority of springed brooches at *oppida* (442 of 615 or 72%) have two to four coils. This is underscored by the fact that to date no Type A brooches have been recovered from contexts post-dating La Tène D2a (table 4.7).

Table 4.7: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type A

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	3	19%	Funerary	3	3	La Tène C2/D1a
Oise	1	7%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date
Somme	1	7%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date
Ardenne	9	60%	Rural	2	2	La Tène C2/D1a
			Funerary	7	2	La Tène D1a
					2	La Tène D1b
					3	La Tène D1a

Seine-Maritime	1	7%	Sanctuary	1	1	La Tène D1a
Total	15	100%				
Sanctuary	3	20%	1	La Tène D1a		
			2	No Date	Total	3
Rural	2	13%	2	La Tène C2/D1a	Total	2
Funerary	10	67%	3	La Tène C2/D1a		
			2	La Tène D1a		
			2	La Tène D1b		
Total	15	100%	3	La Tène D2a	Total	10

Nevertheless, we must remain open to the possibility that more brooches of this type were recovered from the study area, but remain unidentified due to fragmentation. This is reflected in my dataset where a total of 27 spring fragments are identified as Type 1, Type 3 or Type A brooches: mainly from sanctuaries (57%) and funerary sites (43%) throughout the Aisne, Oise and Somme valleys. However, these fragments also keep within the date parameters defined by the Type A's above, and none were recovered in contexts post-dating La Tène D2a, nor at *oppida*.

4.7.3 Edgar Type 4:

Iron with Internal Chords and Four-Coiled Springs (La Tène D1a to GR 1)

Type 4's have four-coiled springs, internal chords and are most commonly made in iron (figure 4.9) (Feugère 1985: 200). As with Type 2, these identifying characteristics are problematic and many atypical variants have been noted, including, several three-coiled examples (Stead *et al.* 2007: 71; Woimant 2002a).

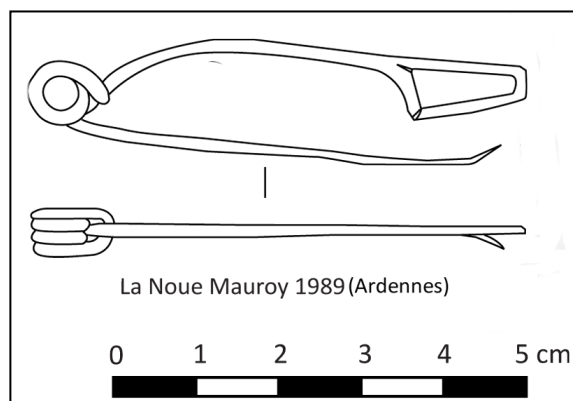


Figure 4.9: Edgar Type 4 (after Lambot *et al.* 1984: 85, fig. 49)

As with all SF types, positive identification remains difficult. For example, Gebhard (1991: 22-23, 87) identifies his Type 26c four-coiled filiform brooch with Feugère's Type 4. However

Gebhard's Type 26c has been linked by researchers in the study area to both Feugère's type 4 and 5b (Lambot *et al.* 1994: Lambot and Friboulet 1996; Brunaux and Méniel 1996: Stead *et al.* 2007). In all probability, the overall similarity of these brooches in manufacture and form, as well as their frequent association with each other, as discussed in reference to the Type 2 brooch, means that they were likely perceived and used similarly.

290 Type 4's are recorded in my dataset: 61% from *oppida*, 28% from funerary sites, 8% from sanctuaries and 2% from rural sites. In keeping with these figures, 64% were recovered in the Aisne, where most excavated *oppida* are located (table 4.8).

Table 4.8: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 4

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	186	64%	Sanctuary	5	5	No Date
			Rural	2	2	La Tène D1a/D1b
			Oppida	177	36	La Tène D1b
					139	La Tène D2a/D2b
					2	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Oise	18	6%	Sanctuary	15	4	La Tène C2/D1a
					2	La Tène D1a/D1b
					2	La Tène D1b/D2a
					2	La Tène D2a/D2b
					4	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					1	No Date
			Rural	3	1	La Tène D1b/D2a
					1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					1	GR 1/GR 2
Somme	6	2%	Sanctuary	3	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					1	No Date
			Oppida	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
			Funerary	2	2	La Tène D1a
Ardennes	80	28%	Funerary	80	2	La Tène D1a
					1	La Tène D1a/D1b
					9	La Tène D1b
					9	La Tène D1b/D2a
					28	La Tène D2a
					15	La Tène D2a/D2b
					4	La Tène D2b
					7	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					4	GR 1/GR 2
					1	No Date
Total	290	100%				
Sanctuary	23	8%	4	La Tène C2/D1a		
			2	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			2	La Tène D1b/D2a		
			2	La Tène D2a/D2b		
			2	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			4	GR 1/GR 2		

			7	No Date	Total	23
Rural	7	2%	4	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			1	La Tène D1b/D2a		
			1	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			1	GR 1/GR 2	Total	7
Oppida	178	62%	36	La Tène D1b		
			139	La Tène D2a/D2b		
			3	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Total	178
Funerary	82	28%	6	La Tène D1a		
			1	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			9	La Tène D1b		
			9	La Tène D1b/D2a		
			28	La Tène D2a		
			15	La Tène D2a/D2b		
			4	La Tène D2b		
			7	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
Total	290	100%	4	GR 1/GR 2		
			1	No Date	Total	82

4.7.4 Edgar Type 5b:

Filiform Nauheim (La Tène D1a/D1b to D2a/D2b)

Type 5b's, with four-coiled springs and internal chords, were originally identified as a sub-type within the larger Nauheim category by Feugère (1985: 200). He classified these as Nauheim brooches because, unlike his Type 4, they were thought only to have been made in copper alloy (*ibid*). Subsequently however, this identifying characteristic was ignored and several iron brooches of this type have been identified in the study area; for example, at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord 1996: plate 12. 211, 228, 227) and at cemeteries in the Ardennes (Lambot and Friboulet 1996; Friboulet 1997; Stead *et al.* 2007). As Feugère's original identification of these as primarily copper alloy types seems to no longer hold relevance, these brooches should be viewed as very similar to the Type 4 (figure 4.10).

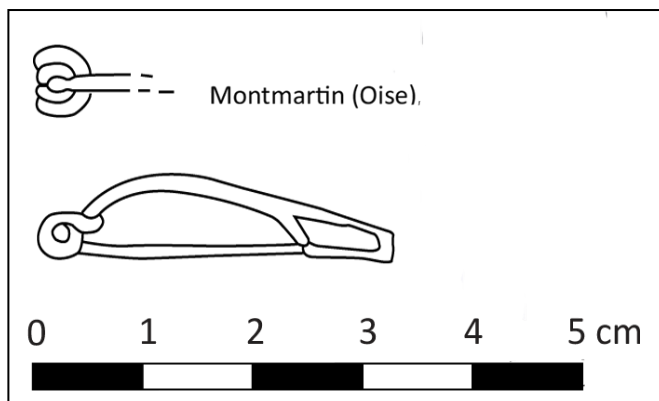


Figure 4.10: Edgar Type 5b (after Brunaux and Méniel 1997: figure 42.14)

One hundred and nine Type 5b's are recorded in the study area: 46% from funerary sites, 43% from *oppida*, 7% from sanctuaries and 5% from rural sites. In keeping with these numbers it is no surprise that the largest numbers were recovered from the Ardennes and Aisne (44% and 45%), where most excavated funerary sites and *oppida* are located (Table 4.9). As with Type 2 and 4 SF brooches, these brooches are found in contexts throughout the Late La Tène and into the Gallo-Roman period. However, an interesting feature regarding the find spots of these brooches emerges from the distribution pattern outlined in tables 4.6-4.9 above and below. For example, although rural sites occupy the chronological time period occupied by these Types, very few SF brooches (including Type A's, Type 2's and Type 5b's) have been recovered from these sites. Of the 544 brooches identified in the dataset as Simple Filiform, only 22 (4%) are from rural sites. Perhaps while this figure could possibly be skewed by the explosion in deposition at later *oppida*, it is telling that these common brooches are not found more often at rural sites.

Table 4.9: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 5b

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts		
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date	
Aisne	50	46%	Sanctuary	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
			Rural	2	2	La Tène D1b/D2a	
			Oppida	47	9	La Tène D1b	
					38	La Tène D2a/D2b	
Oise	2	2%	Rural	2	1	La Tène C2/D1a	
					1	No Date	
Somme	7	6%	Sanctuary	4	2	La Tène D1b/D2a	
					2	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
			Rural	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
			Funerary	1	1	La Tène D1a	
					1	GR 1	
Ardennes	48	44%	Funerary	48	2	La Tène D1a/D1b	
					19	La Tène D1b	
					5	La Tène D1b/D2a	
					19	La Tène D2a	
					3	La Tène D2b	
Seine-Maritime	2	2%	Sanctuary	2	1	La Tène GR 1/GR 2	
					1	GR 2	
Total	109	100%					
Sanctuary	7	6%	2	La Tène D1b/D2a			
			3	La Tène D2b/GR 1			
			1	GR 1/GR 2			
			1	GR 2			
Rural	5	5%	1	La Tène C2/D1a			
			2	La Tène D1b/D2a			
			1	La Tène D2b/GR 1			
			1	No Date			
Oppida	47	43%	9	La Tène D1b		Total	5

			38	La Tène D2a/D2b	Total	47
Funerary	50	46%	1	La Tène D1a		
			2	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			19	La Tène D1b		
			5	La Tène D1b/D2a		
			19	La Tène D2a		
			3	La Tène D2b		
Total	109	100%	1	GR 1	Total	50

Reverted Bow brooches represent the largest identified brooch group at rural sites, accounting for 64 of 194 brooches recovered at rural sites (33%), while DF brooches are next at 28 (14%). As only a negligible number (2%) are identified as either RB or SF brooches it may be that SF brooches had yet to amass the critical mass in terms of popularity and use to fill the chronological niche occupied by rural sites. While the presence of DF brooches would seem to argue against this, the high number of these brooches should perhaps be highlighted as abnormal for rural sites, being as they were recovered from sites highly associated with ritual activity. As discussed in Chapters Six and Eight (see pages 124-125, 180), aristocratic/high status sites such as, Acy-Romance, Montmartin, Estrées-Saint-Denis “Les Sablons,” straddle the divide between sanctuaries and rural sites. The ill-fitting identification of these sites clearly indicates the need for a more nuanced way of identifying and labelling sites. Indeed, a more graduated identification method, perhaps taking into account length of occupation, size, presence of domestic/ritualistic activities (i.e. not selecting one over another for discussion), would provide a more balanced framework within which to highlight the continuity of depositional behaviour between sites.

Notably, the majority of aristocratic/high status or ritualistic rural sites are located in the Oise, where few *oppida* have been identified to date. Whether or not this indicates regional variation, with such sites taking the place of *oppida*, remains to be seen. Given that they tend to pre-date *oppida* elsewhere in the study area, a more immediately local explanation is perhaps called for. Rather than presaging *oppida*, perhaps these unique rural sites were borrowing depositional rituals or practices witnessed at sanctuaries. Therefore, the sanctuaries and special rural sites in the Oise and nearby Somme valley seem more likely to have presaged the later large scale deposition at *oppida* in the Aisne. The presence of a possible aristocratic/high-status/ritualistic rural site at Juvincourt-et-Damary “Le Ruisseau de Fayau” (Aisne) underscores such a possibility.

4.7.5 Edgar Type 6:

Copper Alloy with Internal Chords and Four-Coiled Springs (La Tène D1a/D1b to GR 1)

Feugère (1985: 229) identifies these copper alloy types via their internally chorded four-coiled springs and often full, although sometimes pierced catch-plates. As with many SF types, these represent rather a catch-all category (figure 4.11). However, due to similarities with other types and resulting difficulties in identification, few researchers recognize this as a specific type. Only eight such brooches are identified in the study area: by Debord (1996) at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, Pion (1996a) at Pommiers and Woimant (2002a) at Estrées-Saint-Denis (Oise).

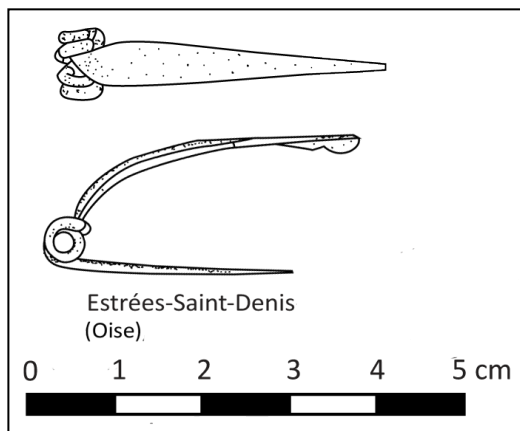


Figure 4.11 Edgar Type 6 (after Woimant 2002a: figure 2)

Stead *et al.* (2007: 81) note a possible connection between their Type Ha and Hb brooches and Feugère's type 6b, but more easily equate these brooches with his Type 4. Therefore, given the limited number of these brooches, and the problems associated with identifying these as a distinct type, it seems more useful to view them generally as SF types. However, it should be noted that, with their hammered sections and triangular shapes they bear more in common with Classic Nauheim's (5a), possibly representing a rare variant. As with previous SF types these brooches tend to be recovered at sanctuaries and *oppida*. One, however, was recovered at a rural site in the Aisne (table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 6

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	4	50%	Rural	1	1	La Tène D1a/D1b
			<i>Oppida</i>	3	2	La Tène D2a/D2b
					1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Oise	4	50%	Sanctuary	4	1	La Tène D1a/D1b
					3	GR 1/GR 2

Total	8	100%				
Sanctuary	4	50%	1	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			3	GR 1/GR 2	Total	4
Rural	1	12%	1	La Tène D1a/D1b	Total	1
Oppida	3	38%	2	La Tène D2a/D2b		
Total	8	100%	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Total	4

4.8 Decorative Filiform Types

The following group consists of brooches produced using manufacturing techniques designed to produce more variable and decorative varieties than SF types. However, as each brooch begins as a wire, the links with SF brooches remains; hence their name, ‘Decorative Filiform’ brooches. DF brooches exhibit wide decorative variation, generally involving more manufacturing steps. For example, the Nauheim or Type 5a Brooch, is manufactured similarly to most SF types, but has a bow that is hammered into a flat triangular shape (Guillaumet 1984: 45). This category is inclusive of brooches that, while manufactured similarly to SF types, exhibit more decorative variation.

4.9.1 Edgar Type 5a:

Classic Nauheim (La Tène D1a/D1b to D2a/D2b)

The Classic Nauheim was originally identified by Quilling (1903). It is one of the most recognizable Late Iron Age brooch types. Type 5a is identified by its flat triangular hammered bow, which often has incised decoration (Feugère 1985: 214). These types typically have internally chorded four-coiled springs, perforated catch-plates and stretched profiles (figure 4.12). These brooches occur in copper alloy or iron.

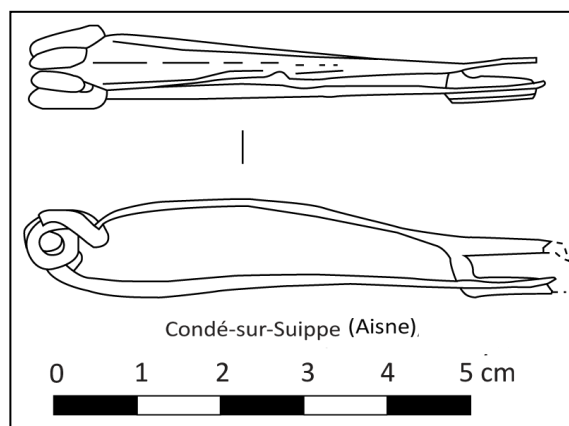


Figure 4.12: Edgar Type 5a (after Pion 1996a: plate 350.5)

The flat surface provided by the hammered bow, seems to have been related to a need or an increasing desire to include incised decoration on these brooches. Striwe (1996) attempts to identify and map distributions of decorated Classic Nauheim brooches across Europe. However, the sheer extent of variation results in the creation of more than 1000 types, making for a rather unwieldy analysis. Therefore, simplicity was decided on as the best option for this project and all Classic Nauheim's are grouped together regardless of decoration. In the future it may be worthwhile to view the decoration exhibited in these types in comparison with other ornamental types and look, as Striwe did, for regional variation. Although, as Striwe found, the sheer variation present rendered analysis difficult. It is helpful to underline again that, as hand made objects, brooches will always exhibit more variation than can be accounted for in standard typologies. Perhaps reducing decoration to basic forms (e.g. curvilinear, linear, angular, floral, dots or zig-zags), rather than sub-dividing into increasingly differential decorative motifs, would prove more useful in terms of analysing decoration.

Classic Nauheim's have been the focus of chronological debate, now mostly resolved. They are now dated securely to La Tène D1a (Vaginay and Guichard 1988; Lambot *et al.* 1994; Lambot and Friboulet 1996; Friboulet 1997; Gebhard 1991; Gaspar 2000). Approximately, 166 Type 5a's are recorded in my dataset: 33% each from *oppida* and sanctuaries, 25% from funerary sites and 9% from rural sites. Of these nearly half were recovered from the Aisne, the remaining percentage split relatively evenly between the Oise, Ardennes and Somme (table 4.11).

Table 4.11: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 5a

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	76	46%	Sanctuary	12	3	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					9	No Date
			Rural	5	1	La Tène C2/D1a
					2	La Tène D1a/D1b
					2	La Tène D2b/GR 1
			<i>Oppida</i>	52	38	La Tène D1b
					12	La Tène D2a/D2b
					2	La Tène D2b/GR 1
			Funerary	7	3	La Tène D1b
					4	La Tène D1b/D2a
Oise	22	13%	Sanctuary	14	1	La Tène C2/D1a
					2	La Tène D1a/D1b
					2	D1b/D2a
					9	No Date
			Rural	6	5	La Tène C2/D1a

					1	La Tène D1b/D2a	
			<i>Oppida</i>		2	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
Somme	25	15%	Sanctuary	24	1	La Tène D1a/D1b	
					5	La Tène D1b/D2a	
					17	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
					1	GR 2/Outside Phasing	
			<i>Oppida</i>	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
Ardennes	37	22%	Rural	2	2	La Tène C2/D1a	
			Funerary	35	1	La Tène D1a	
					5	La Tène D1a/D1b	
					17	La Tène D1b	
					1	La Tène D1b/D2a	
					11	La Tène D2a	
Seine-Maritime	6	4%	Sanctuary	6	1	La Tène C2/D1a	
					2	La Tène D1a/D1b	
					3	No Date	
Total	166	100%					
Sanctuary	56	34%	2	La Tène C2/D1a			
			4	La Tène D1a/D1b			
			7	La Tène D1b/D2a			
			20	La Tène D2b/GR 1			
			1	GR 2/Outside Phasing			
			22	No Date		Total	56
Rural	13	8%	8	La Tène C2/D1a			
			2	La Tène D1a/D1b			
			1	La Tène D1b/D2a			
			2	La Tène D2b/GR 1		Total	13
Oppida	55	33%	38	La Tène D1b			
			12	La Tène D2a/D2b			
			5	La Tène D2b/GR 1		Total	55
Funerary	42	25%	1	La Tène D1a			
			5	La Tène D1a/D1b			
			20	La Tène D1b			
			5	La Tène D1b/D2a			
Total	166	100%	11	La Tène D2a		Total	42

Notably, as with SF types, these brooches also have a relatively low recovery from rural sites (13/166; 8%). As with SF brooches, examples of DF brooches recovered at rural sites are mainly from those like Acy-Romance that straddle the identificatory divide between sanctuary and rural site. The rarity of SF as well as DF brooches at rural sites is perhaps skewed by later large-scale deposition at *oppida* and sanctuaries. While no doubt obscuring the deposition of these types, it also highlights the longevity of RB brooches at rural sites throughout the Late La Tène.

Given the absence of all site types across the study area, it is difficult to get an idea of what is happening regionally. It may, nevertheless, be helpful to examine funerary finds. In the Ardennes, both SF and DF brooches (particularly Nauheim's) see continuous low-level deposition in funerary contexts throughout the Late La Tène. What this means in terms of wider use of these brooch types is uncertain. Nevertheless, it appears that outside funerary contexts,

at least until the development of *oppida* and later sanctuaries, very few SF and DF brooches were deposited.

4.9.2 Edgar Type 5c: Nauheim Derivative (La Tène D1a/D1b)

These brooches are similar in appearance to the 5a: they are found in copper alloy or iron and have flat triangular bows, four-coiled springs and external chords. What distinguishes this type is that they are decorated by cutting off or trimming portions of the bow (figure 4.13). Only 5 these brooches have been identified in the study area and it is likely that they simply represent a variant of the Classic Nauheim (table 4.12).

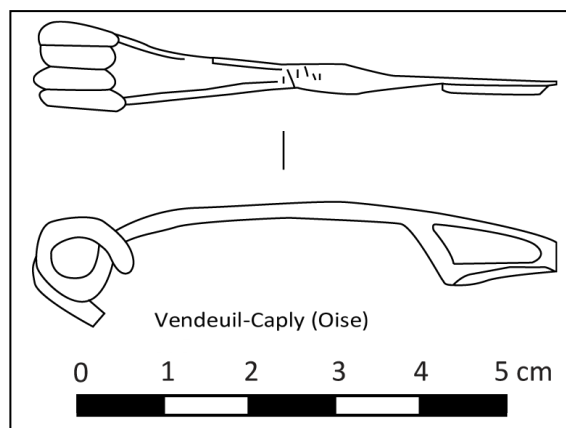


Figure 4.13: Edgar Type 5c (after Piton and Dilly 1985: figure 24.42)

Table 4.12: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 5c

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	2	40%	<i>Oppida</i>	2	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Oise	2	40%	Sanctuary	2	2	No Date
Somme	1	20%	Rural	1	1	La Tène D1a
Total	5	100%				
Sanctuary	2	40%	2	No Date	Total	2
Rural	1	20%	1	La Tène D1a	Total	1
Oppida	2	40%	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Total	2
Total	5	100%				

4.9.3 Edgar Type 7: À Coquille (La Tène D1a to D2a/ D2b)

These covered head, or *Tête Couvrante*, brooches are identifiable by their bows, which fold up to cover the springs (figure 4.14). However, they are most often called *À Coquille* or

Schüsselfibel because of the shell-like appearance of the head (Feugère 1985; 232-233; *cf.* Bessou 1976). These brooches are found in copper alloy or iron.

The exact date for the development of these types is roughly dated to the La Tène D2, and the chronology used in this project identifies them as a material marker for the La Tène D2a. Some scholars recognize earlier externally chorded variants, but these lie outside the study area (see Vaginay and Guichard 1988: 153; Metzler 1999: 293-294). Approximately 70 Type 7's are recorded in the dataset: 55% were recovered from *oppida*, 24% from sanctuaries, 20% from funerary sites and one percent from rural sites (table 4.13). The latter figure is in keeping with the generally low number of DF brooches recovered at these sites.

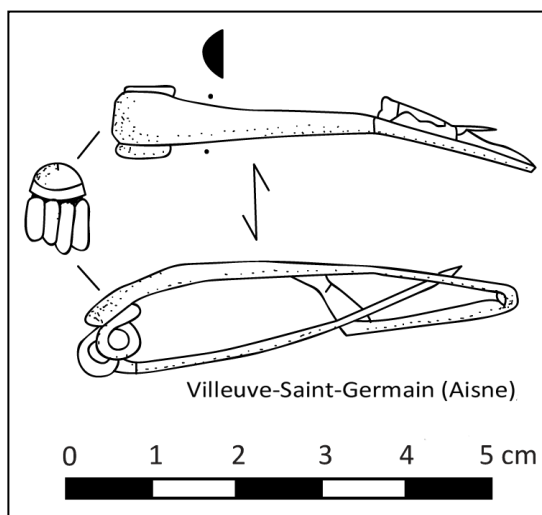


Figure 4.14: Edgar Type 7 (after Debord 1996: plate 14.257).

Table 4.13: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 7

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	42	60%	Sanctuary	4	4	No Date
			<i>Oppida</i>	38	37	La Tène D2a/D2b
					1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Oise	6	9%	Sanctuary	6	1	La Tène C2/D1a
					1	GR 1/GR 2
					4	No Date
Somme	7	10%	Sanctuary	7	7	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Ardennes	14	20%	Rural	1	1	La Tène C2/D1a
			Funerary	13	9	La Tène D2a
					1	La Tène D2a
					3	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Seine-Maritime	1	1%	Sanctuary	1	1	La Tène D1a
Total	70	100%				

Sanctuary	17	24%	1	La Tène D1a		
			7	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			1	GR 1/GR 2		
			8	No Date		
					Total	17
Rural	1	1%	1	La Tène C2/D1a	Total	1
Oppida	38	55%	37	La Tène D2a/D2b		
			1	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
					Total	38
Funerary	13	20%	9	La Tène D2a		
			1	La Tène D2a		
Total	70	100%	3	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Total	13

4.9.4 Edgar Type 9:

Proto-Gallic (La Tène D2a/D2b to GR 1)

Type 9's have uninterrupted bows which are often faceted in section. They are also identified by their more complex decorative features, including fenestrated catch-plates, as well as stamped, or incised decoration. Feugère (1985: 42) presents them as precursors to the type 14, Gallic Brooch. Unlike the later Gallic types however, these brooches do not have platelets or wings, protecting the outside of the spring, or a hook to hold the external chord in place (figure 4.15).

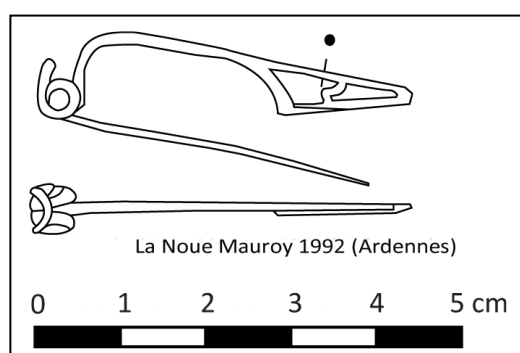


Figure 4.15: Edgar Type 9 (after Friboulet 1997: 216)

Gaspar (2007:40-41), Stead (*et al.* 2007: 81) and Friboulet (1996: 112) accept Feugère's La Tène D2b/Gallo-Roman 1 date. However, Lambot and Friboulet (1996: 129, 131) propose an earlier La Tène D2a date, based on finds from Acy-Romance. However, these are almost certainly wrongly attributed *À Coquille* types (Lambot 1998: 24-25). Nevertheless, based on finds from Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord 1996: plate 21.333-336) a La Tène D2a/D2b date seems possible. However, as the latter are mainly from unstratified locations it is uncertain if or when they were deposited during the site's history.

Approximately 25 Type 9 brooches are recorded in my dataset: 44% recovered from sanctuaries, 36% from funerary sites, 16% from *oppida* and 4% from rural sites. Forty percent of these types

were recovered from the Ardennes, with the remaining percentage split relatively evenly between the Aisne, Oise and Somme (table 4.14).

Table 4.14: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 9

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	6	24%	Sanctuary	2	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1
			Oppida	4	4	La Tène D2a/D2b
Oise	6	24%	Sanctuary	6	1	La Tène D2a/D2b
					3	GR 1/GR 2
					2	No Date
Somme	3	12%	Sanctuary	3	3	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Ardennes	10	40%	Rural	1	1	No Date
			Funerary	9	6	La Tène D2b
					1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					2	GR 1/GR 2
Total	25	100%				
Sanctuary	11	44%	1	La Tène D2a/D2b		
			5	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			3	GR 1/GR 2		
			2	No Date	Total	11
Rural	1	4%	1	No Date	Total	1
Oppida	4	16%	4	La Tène D2a/D2b	Total	4
Funerary	9	36%	6	La Tène D2b		
			1	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
Total	25	100%	2	GR 1/GR 2	Total	9

4.9.5 Edgar Type 14a:

Gallic (La Tène D2b to GR 2/Late First century CE)

Feugère's (1985: 262) Type 14 has been separated into Edgar 14a and 14b based on general recognition of the unique qualities of these brooches, as well as their different dates (Metzler *et al.* 1991; Metzler 1995; Metzler *et al.* 1999; Stead *et al.* 2007: 81; Gaspar 2007: 41). The Edgar type 14a Gallic brooch, typically has a six to eight-coiled spring and an external chord protected by projecting platelets and held in place by a hook. This type also frequently has a long fenestrated catch-plate. While these attributes link them to the Type 9 Proto-Gallic brooch, they are distinguished by the projecting platelets at the spring, as well as the hook holding the external chord in place (figure 4.16). These brooches date to the La Tène D2b/Gallo-Roman 1 transition (Lambot and Friboulet 1996: 31; Metzler 1995: 241; Friboulet 1997: 113; Gaspar 2007: 41). This is supported the majority of finds from the study area which come from contexts of similar date, for example at Champlieu-Ourroy (Oise) (Woimant 1993: 85, 144).

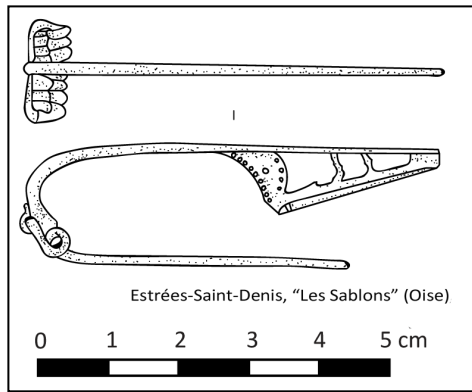


Figure 4.16: Edgar Type 14a (after Legros 2002: figure 84)

Approximately 76 Type 14a's are recorded from later, post-Conquest Iron Age contexts: 63% from sanctuaries, 16% from rural sites, 14% from *oppida* and 7% from funerary sites. Given the predominance of excavated sanctuaries in the Oise, more than half of these types were recovered here, with the rest split relatively evenly between the Aisne, Oise, Somme and the Ardennes (table 4.15). Similarly to other DF brooches, few Type 14a's were recovered from rural sites. In this case, they were recovered at “Les Sablons,” a site closely associated with the nearby sanctuary of Estrées-Saint-Denis.

Table 4.15: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 14a

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	6	8%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date
			<i>Oppida</i>	5	1	La Tène D2a/D2b
					4	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Oise	33	43%	Sanctuary	21	1	La Tène D1b/D2a
					1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					16	GR 1/GR 2
					3	No Date
			Rural	12	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					4	GR 1/GR 2
					7	No Date
Somme	15	20%	Sanctuary	14	1	La Tène D1b/D2a
					11	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					2	GR 2/Outside Phasing
			Funerary	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Ardennes	13	17%	Sanctuary	3	3	No Date
			<i>Oppida</i>	6	6	No Date
			Funerary	4	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					3	GR 1/GR 2
Seine-Maritime	9	12%	Sanctuary	9	9	No Date
Total	76	100%				
Sanctuary	48	63%	2	La Tène D1b/D2a		
			12	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			16	GR 1/GR 2		

			2	GR 2/Outside Phasing		
			16	No Date	Total	48
Rural	12	16%	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			4	GR 1/GR 2		
			7	No Date	Total	12
Oppida	11	14%	1	La Tène D2a/D2b		
			4	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			6	No Date	Total	12
Funerary	5	7%	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
Total	76	100%	3	GR 1/GR 2	Total	5

4.10 Interrupted Bow Types

The following group have bows interrupted by mould made decoration, marking a change in manufacture away from simple wire-made or hammer-flattened types.

4.10.1 Edgar Type 8:

Arc Interrompu (La Tène D1b to D2)

Almgren (1923) initially identified these brooches via their bows, which are interrupted by a moulded bead. The French term for these types, *Arc Interrompu*, references the interruption while the German, *Knotenfibeln* focuses on the knot-like appearance of the interrupting bead (Feugère 1985: 237; Gebhard 1991: 13, 26 ; Gaspar 2007: 40) (figure 4.17).

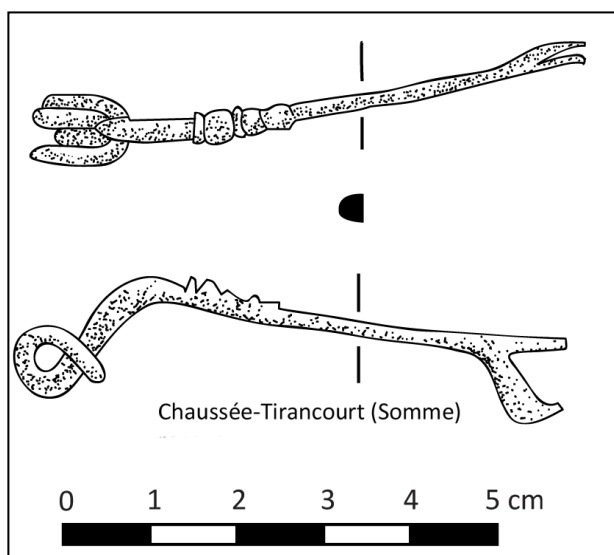


Figure 4.17: Edgar Type 8 (after Brunaux and Marchand 1993: 9)

An exact date for these brooches in the study area is problematic and extra-regional typologies provide little help. For example, while Gebhard (1991: 94) recognizes an early La Tène D1a type,

Gaspar (2007: 40) simply dates these to the La Tène D. Metzler's (1995; Metzler *et al.* 1999: 291-292) assessment is rather conservative, at the La Tène D2a/D2b. In the Ardennes, only Friboulet (1996: 45) pushes the date for her F10 *Arc Interrompu* type as far back as the La Tène D1b, and finds at Pont-Remy (Somme), Béthisy-Saint-Martin (Oise), as well as at Acy-Romance, seem support this earlier date (Jouvé 1973: 36; Prilaux 1997; Pion 1996a: 13; Lambot 1998: 124-125). However, the danger remains that some of these early examples might actually be Pseudo-La Tène II Reverted Bow types that were not properly identified due to corrosion or fragmentation. Indeed Lambot (*et al.* 1994: 55) remarks upon the similarity between these two types. However, without direct examination the original identification made in the publication or report must be taken at face-value.

Table 4.16: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 8

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	47	34%	Sanctuary	3	3	No Date
			Oppida	44	3	La Tène D1b
					41	La Tène D2a/D2b
Oise	13	9%	Sanctuary	8	8	No Date
			Rural	1	1	La Tène D1a/D1b
			Oppida	1	1	La Tène D1a/D1b
			Funerary	1	1	La Tène D1a/D1b
Somme	69	49%	Sanctuary	67	1	La Tène D1a/D1b
					1	La Tène D1b/D2a
					63	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					2	No Date
			Rural	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
			Oppida	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Ardennes	8	6%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date
			Rural	1	1	La Tène C2/D1a
			Oppida	2	2	No Date
			Funerary	4	2	La Tène D1b
					1	La Tène D1b/D2a
					1	La Tène D2a
Seine-Maritime	3	2%	Sanctuary	3	1	GR 1/GR 2
					2	No Date
Total	140	100%				
Sanctuary	84	60%	1	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			1	La Tène D1b/D2a		
			63	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			1	GR 1/GR 2		
			18	No Date		
					Total	84
Rural	3	2%	1	La Tène C2/D1a		
			1	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			1	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
					Total	3
Oppida	48	34%	1	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			3	La Tène D1b		
			41	La Tène D2a/D2b		
			1	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			2	No Date		
					Total	48
Funerary	5	4%	1	La Tène D1a/D1b		
			2	La Tène D1b		

			1	La Tène D1b/D2a		
Total	140	100%	1	La Tène D2a	Total	5

Approximately 140 Type 8's are recorded: 60% from sanctuaries, 34% from *oppida*, 4% from funerary sites and 2% from rural sites. Unsurprisingly given the predominance of excavated sanctuaries in the Oise more than half were recovered here, with the remainder split relatively evenly between the Aisne, Oise, Somme and Ardennes (table 4.16). The later La Tène date of these brooch types is in keeping with the late recovery contexts of the majority of the finds, as well as their general dearth from rural sites; although the example recovered from Acy-Romance, on the surface of silo-pit St.406, is possibly one of the latest brooches deposited at the site (Lambot *et al.* 1994: 79, 130).

4.10.2 Edgar Type B: Broken-Bow (La Tène D1b/D2a)

The next divergence from Feugère is represented by the Type B Broken-Bow Brooch; identified by their sharply bent, almost broken bows. As Gebhard (1991: 26) and Riha (1997: 67) identify these as separate types based on Almgren's (1923) study it is useful here to point these brooches out. Nevertheless, as these brooches are of similar date and form the *Arc Interrompu*, it is likely that they simply represent a variant. This is supported by their rarity in the study area; with only one example identified a cremation burial near Acy-Romance (figure 4.18) (Friboulet 1996: 112). Consequently, although other typologies identify these as a distinct type, the one Bent-Bow Brooch in my dataset will be included with Edgar Type 8 during analysis.

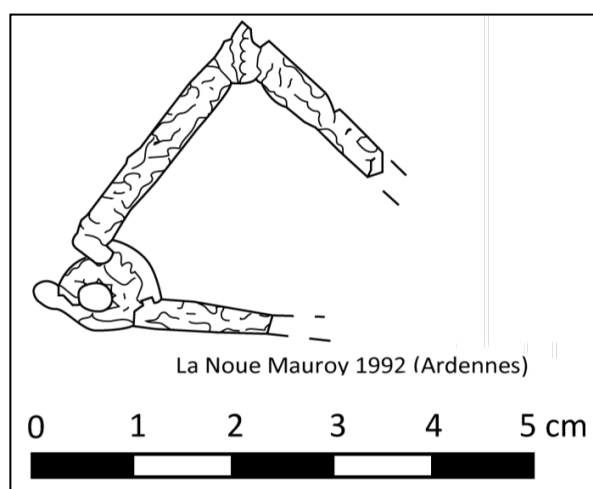


Figure 4.18: Edgar Type B (after Friboulet 1997: 140)

4.10.3 Edgar Type 10: À Collarette (La Tène D2b/GR 1 to GR 2)

Type 10's have triangularly shaped, or faceted bows, interrupted by circular or semi-ovular collars, fixed to the bow at right angles (Feugère 1985: 243-244) (figure 4.19). These brooches are not found at Manching, but frequent examples from Titelberg and Goeblange-Nospelt, are dated to La Tène D2b (Metzler and Gaeng 2007: 227; Gaspar 2007: 41). A possible À Collarette find at Ménil–Annelles tentatively supports this date (Stead *et al.* 2007: 81). However, these brooches are more frequently found in later La Tène D2b/Gallo-Roman 1 contexts; for example at Dompierre-sur-Authie (Somme) or Pommiers (Aisne) (Piton and Dilly 1987; 1988; 1990; Pion 1996a: plate 156.1-2). Despite problems pinpointing examples from pre La Tène D2b contexts, if these are the brooches appearing on CRICIRU coinage as stipulated by Allen (1972:122-132), this places them well within the pre-conquest period

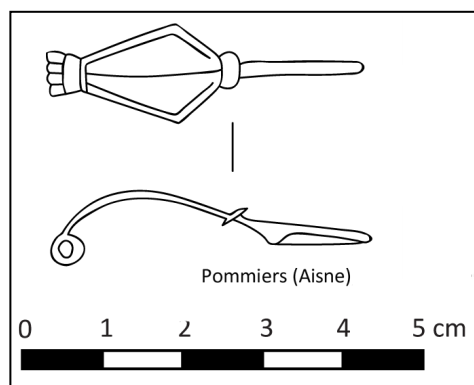


Figure 4.19: Edgar Type 10 (after Pion 1996a: plate 369.10)

Approximately 20 Type 10 brooches are recorded: 60% recovered from sanctuaries, 20% from *oppida* and 10% each from funerary and rural sites. These brooches are found in relatively low numbers across the study area, and in keeping with their date, in later contexts (table 4.17).

Table 4.17: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 10

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	4	20%	<i>Oppida</i>	4	4	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Oise	4	20%	Sanctuary	3	1	GR 1/GR 2
					2	No Date
			Rural	1	1	No Date
Somme	8	40%	Sanctuary	8	8	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Ardennes	3	15%	Rural	1	1	No Date
			Funerary	2	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					1	No Date

Seine-Maritime	1	5%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date
Total	20	100%				
Sanctuary	12	60%	8	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			1	GR 1/GR 2		
			3	No Date	Total	12
Rural	2	10%	2	No Date	Total	2
<i>Oppida</i>	4	20%		La Tène D2b/GR 1	Total	4
Funerary	2	10%	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
Total	20	100%	1	No Date	Total	2

4.10.5 Edgar Type 15: À Disque Médian (GR 1/GR 2)

This type is recognized by the circular disk sitting at the bow-foot junction, as well as their highly arched bows and stretched feet (figure 4.20) (Feugère 1985: 268; Gaspar 2007: 41).

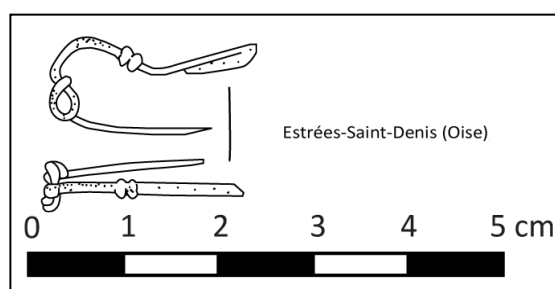


Figure 4.20: Edgar Type 15 (after Woimant 2002a: figure 4).

In contrast to Gaspar (2007: 41), who dates them between the La Tène D1 and Early Imperial period, they are mainly recovered from Gallo-Roman 1 contexts in the study area. As only ten examples are recorded in the dataset, few from securely datable contexts, this leaves the question open as to whether an earlier date is supportable here (figure 4.32, table 4.18). It remains possible that, as with the Type 10, these brooches might have developed much earlier than suggested by their depository contexts. Feugère (1985: 269) speculates that these, rather than the Type 10's, are the brooches depicted on CRICIRU coinage. Interestingly, although most of these brooches were recovered from sanctuaries, the majority were found in the Aisne where few sanctuaries have been excavated (Table 4.18). This odd distribution is explained by the inclusion of uncontexted surface finds around the tentatively identified sanctuary site of Marteville (Dilly and Sallandre 1978; Faudet 1993: 20).

Table 4.18: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 15

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts		
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date	
Aisne	5	50%	Sanctuary	3	3	No Date	
			<i>Oppida</i>	2	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
Oise	3	30%	Sanctuary	3	2	GR 1/GR 2	
					1	No Date	
Ardenne	1	10%	Funerary	1	1	GR 1/GR 2	
Seine-Maritime	1	10%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date	
Total	10	100%					
Sanctuary	7	70%	2	GR 1/GR 2			
			5	No Date		Total	7
Oppida	2	20%	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1		Total	2
Funerary	1	10%	1	GR 1/GR 2		Total	1
Total	10	100%					

4.11 Heavily Decorated Types

These brooches no longer conform to techniques used to manufacture wire-made types but are formed in moulds. They also exhibit a greater variation in decoration. The springs for these brooches are also covered or completely encased in cylindrical spring-covers.

4.11.1 Edgar Type 14b:

Langdon Down (GR 1 to GR 2/ Late First century CE)

These brooches are recognized by their rectilinear bows, often concave in shape towards the centre, appearing slightly cinched-in (Feugère 1985: 262, 265-266; Gaspar 2007: 41). These brooches also have covered springs and are typically decorated with longitudinal grooves along with the bow (figure 4.21).

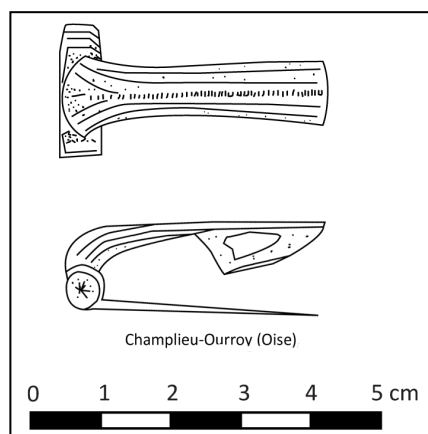


Figure 4.21: Edgar Type 14b (after Woimant 1993: figure 10.6)

Although Feugère (1985: 265) identifies these as a subtype of his Type 14, this represents an agglomeration of types previously recognized as distinct by Ettlinger (1973). As Feugère is the backbone of this typology, his 'a' and 'b' designations for the Type 14 brooches remain in use here. However, this should not detract from the fact that these identify two very different types of brooch, and not subtypes. Feugère's typology blended Ettlinger's Type 9 and 21 to 23 into a single type based on the observation that all of the above are held by a hook and protected by projecting platelets, or even covered completely. However, based on the different technique needed to manufacture these brooches, Ettlinger, Gaspar (2007) believe these brooches represent two distinct types. This difference is recognized here as, in contrast to the Type 14a, 14b brooches are cast rather than wire-made. This method of construction also distinguishes Type 14b brooches as part of the Heavily Decorated Brooch group.

Type 14b's are currently dated to the Gallo-Roman 1 and 2 (Metzler 1995: 241; Gaspar 2007: 41). This date is supported by finds in the study area, for example at Dompierre-sur-Authie or Estrées-Saint-Denis (Piton and Dilly 1990: 41-44; Woimant 2002). Feugère (1985: 265) links these with brooches Neomartus Type, inscribed variants found in Britain and elsewhere on the continent. However, while the dates for the Langdon Down have been pushed back, the Neomartus remains firmly dated to the Tiberio-Claudian period (Gaspar 2007: 43). Nevertheless, this indicates that these decorative brooches, in one form or another, continue to be manufactured and used well into the Roman period.

Approximately 67 Type 14b's are recorded: 72% recovered from sanctuaries, 21% from *oppida*, and seven percent from rural sites. Although 14b brooches are found in relatively low numbers across the study area, the largest numbers were recovered from sites in the Oise, likely because of the concentration of excavated sanctuaries there (table 4.19). The majority of these brooches are recovered from contexts post-dating the conquest, in keeping with the date for this type. However, as 66% of these brooches are from undated contexts very little can be said about the development of these types. Or, if like the Interrupted Brooch Type 10's and 15's, an earlier date can be postulated.

Table 4.19: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 14b

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	8	12%	Sanctuary	7	7	No Date
			Rural	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Oise	26	39%	Sanctuary	24	13	GR 1/GR 2
					11	No Date
			Rural	2	1	GR 1/GR 2
					1	No Date
Somme	13	19%	Sanctuary	12	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					4	GR 2/Outside Phasing
					6	No Date
			Funerary	1	1	No Date
Ardenne	16	24%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date
			Rural	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
			Oppida	14	14	No Date
Seine-Maritime	4	6%	Sanctuary	4	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					3	No Date
Total	67	100%				
Sanctuary	48	72%	3	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			13	GR 1/GR 2		
			4	GR 2/Outside Phasing		
			28	No Date	Total	48
Rural	4	6%	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			1	GR 1/GR 2		
			1	No Date	Total	4
Oppida	14	21%	14	No Date	Total	14
Funerary	1	1%	1	No Date	Total	1
Total	67	100%				

4.11.2 Edgar Type 16:***À Disque Médian-Queue de Paon (La Tène D2b/GR 1 to GR 2)***

Dolfus was one of the first to characterize these brooches, based on the presence of the large decorative disk on the bow. Dolfus originally separated these into three types, only two of which were recognized by Feugère (1985: 270; *cf.* Ettlinger 1973) and, subsequently, by Metzler (1995: Metzler *et al.* 1999; Metzler and Gaeng 2009: 292), Stead (*et al.* 2007: 81) and Gaspar (2007: 42). These brooches distinguished from the Type 19 Rosette Brooch and Type 20 Thistle Brooch by the fact that its foot emerges from under the round portion of the bow, rather than directly from it. These mould-made brooches are typically made in one piece.

The identifying characteristics of these types are difficult to determine as exhibited variations are quite broad. Nevertheless, other than the placement of the foot, the following attributes typically distinguish the Edgar Type 16 Disked-*Queue de Paon* brooch: its round or rhomboidal interrupting disk; its thick and stocky arched bow; as well as its wide flaring foot. These

brooches also have covered springs and are often decorated with incised grooves similarly to the 14b (figure 4.22).

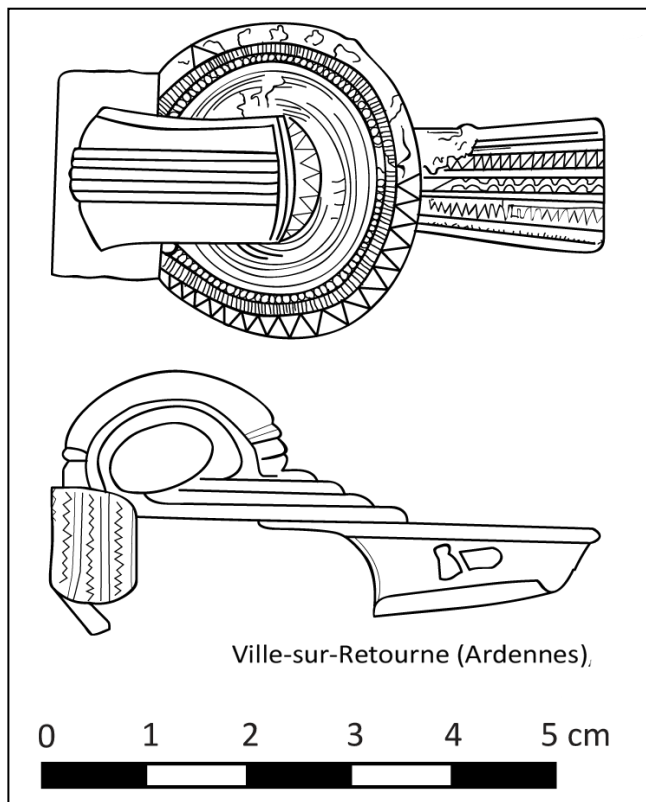


Figure 4.22: Edgar Type 16 (after Stead *et al.* 2007: fig. 137)

Feugère (1985: 270) initially dated these to Gallo-Roman 1 and this is generally supported in the study area. Böhme-Schönberger (2009: 141) has hinted at an earlier, La Tène D2b/Gallo-Roman 1 date based on variants recovered in graves A and B at Goeblingen-Nospelt. Unfortunately, the near absence of contexted finds in the study area makes an early date difficult to confirm. As with Collared Brooches (Type 10 and 15), with which these share some affinity, perhaps these could have had an earlier development while only later deposits remain.

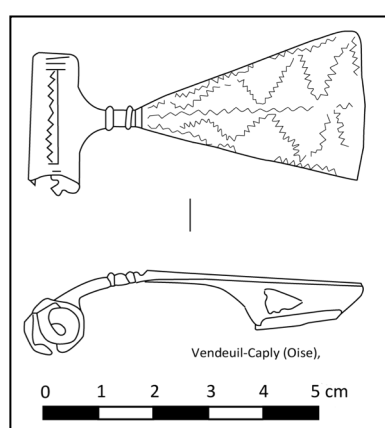
Approximately 13 Type 16 brooches are recorded: 46% recovered from sanctuaries, 46% from *oppida*, and 8% from rural sites. Although these are found in relatively low numbers across the study area, the largest concentration is in the Ardennes, mostly consisting of uncontexted finds from Chateau-Porcien (table 4.20).

Table 4.20: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 16

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts		
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date	
Aisne	1	8%	Sanctuary	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
Oise	2	15%	Sanctuary	2	1	GR 1/GR 2	
					1	No Date	
Somme	2	15%	Sanctuary	2	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
Ardenne	7	54%	Oppida	6	6	No Date	
			Funerary	1	1	GR 1/GR 2	
Seine-Maritime	1	8%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date	
Total	13	100%					
Sanctuary	6	46%	3	La Tène D2b/GR 1			
			1	GR 1/GR 2			
			2	No Date			
Oppida	6	46%	6	No Date		Total	6
Funerary	1	8%	1	GR 1/GR 2		Total	1
Total	13	100%					

4.11.3 Edgar Type 18a:***Queue de Paon* (GR 1/GR 2 to Late First century CE)**

Type 18a brooches are made similarly to the brooches above, except their bows are uninterrupted. Feugère (1985: 278-279) initially identified these, as well as mould-made zoomorphic brooches as variants of the same type. However, as others (i.e., Metzler 1995 and Gaspar 2007) now recognize these as distinct, they have been separated here; although Feugère's nomenclature has been maintained to avoid confusion. These brooches are recognized by their covered springs and short decorative flaring bows (figure 4.23).

**Figure 4.23: Edgar Type 18a** (after Piton and Dilly 1985: fig. 26)

Type 18a's date slightly later than the period examined in this project. However, they are included as they are sometimes found in association with earlier brooch types, most notably in the foundation deposit at Dompierre-sur-Authie (Piton and Dilly 1988). Only nine Type 18a's are

recorded: 67% of these from sanctuaries, 22% from rural sites and 11% from *oppida*. Given this distribution, it is no surprise that more than half of these brooches were recovered from the Oise, where the majority of excavated sanctuaries are located (table 4.21).

Table 4.21: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 18a

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Oise	5	56%	Sanctuary	3	2	GR 1/GR 2
					1	No Date
			Rural	2	1	GR 1/GR 2
					1	No Date
Somme	1	11%	Sanctuary	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Ardenne	1	11%	<i>Oppida</i>	1	1	No Date
Seine-Maritime	2	22%	Sanctuary	2	2	No Date
Total	9	100%				
Sanctuary	6	67%	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Total 6	
			2	GR 1/GR 2		
			3	No Date		
Rural	2	22%	1	GR 1/GR 2	Total 2	
			1	No Date		
<i>Oppida</i>	1	11%	1	No Date	Total	1
Total	9	100%				

4.11.4 Edgar Type 18b:

Zoomorphic *Queue de Paon* (GR 1/GR 2 to Late First century CE)

These brooches are identified by their zoomorphic, typically lion-shaped bows (figure 4.24) (Feugère 1985: 278-279).

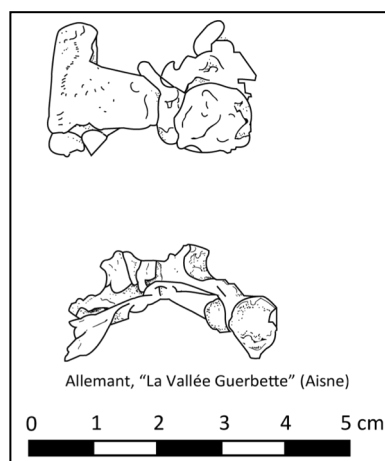


Figure 4.24: Edgar Type 18b (after Robert and Baillieu 1997: figure 13)

Perhaps because of their late date only three of these brooches were recorded in my dataset. However, as one example at Dompierre-sur-Authie, was found with a number of re-deposited Late La Tène brooches they are included in this typology (Piton and Dilly 1992: 48). Nevertheless, as only three of these brooches are identified in the study area, it is difficult to provide much detail about how these brooches were used and developed (table 4.22).

Table 4.22 Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 18b

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts		
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date	
Aisne	2	67%	Sanctuary	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
			Rural	1	1	GR 2/Outside Phasing	
Somme	1	33%	Sanctuary	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1	
Total	3	100%					
Sanctuary	2	67%	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1		Total	2
Rural	1	33%	1	GR 2/Outside Phasing		Total	1
Total	3	100%					

4.11.5 Edgar Type 19: Rosette (GR 1/GR 2 to Late First century CE)

These brooches are recognized by their large circular disks that are generally decorated with large dentils, forming a rosette or flower-pattern (Feugère 1985: 288). These brooches typically have the same grooved decoration on their bows and feet (figure 4.25). These brooches are generally dated to the GR 1/GR 2 transition (Metzler 1995; Gaspar 2007: 42). One notable example from my dataset was possibly recovered on the surface of the ossuary at Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme) (Cadoux 1994).

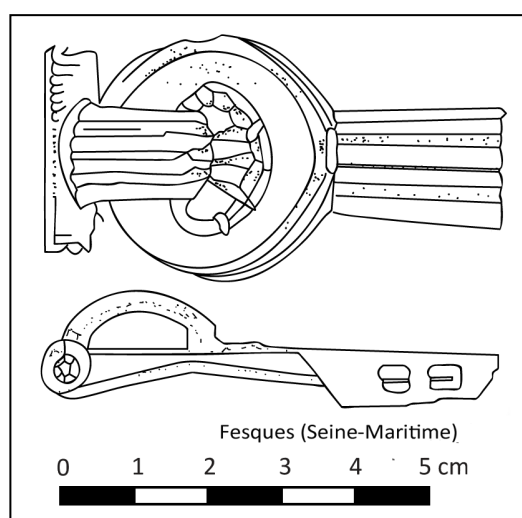


Figure 4.25: Edgar Type 19 (after Mantel 1997: 189)

Approximately 12 Type 19's are recorded, all but one from sanctuaries. These types are found relatively evenly across the study area, the largest concentration consisting of five brooches at Estrées-Saint-Denis in the Oise (table 4.23).

Table 4.23: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 19

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	3	25%	Sanctuary	3	3	No Date
Oise	5	43%	Sanctuary	5	3	GR 1/GR 2
					2	No Date
Somme	2	16%	Sanctuary	2	1	GR 2/Outside Phasing
					1	No Date
Ardennes	1	8%	<i>Oppida</i>	1	1	No Date
Seine-Maritime	1	8%	Sanctuary	1	1	GR 1/GR 2
Total	12	100%				
Sanctuary	11	92%	4	GR 1/GR 2		
			1	GR 2/Outside Phasing		
			6	No Date	Total	11
<i>Oppida</i>	1	8%	1	No Date	Total	1
Total	12	100%				

4.11.6 Edgar Type 20: One-Piece Thistle (GR 1 to Late First century CE)

Type 20 brooches are of one-piece construction, with a large plaque instead of a bow (Feugère 1985: 293). These types also have covered springs and fan-shaped feet (figure 4.26). Gaspar (2007: 42) notes their distribution throughout Gaul, Great Britain, the Rhine and the Danube and places them between the Gallo-Roman 1/Gallo-Roman 2 and the Late First century CE. In the study area these brooches are typically found at sanctuaries that were re-planned during Roman period, for example, Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Fesques or Vendueil-Caply.

Twenty-two Type 20 brooches are recorded, all but one from sanctuaries. The largest concentration, 11 brooches, was recovered from the sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre in the Somme (table 4.24). Unfortunately, these are mainly from deposits excavated in the 1980's which have not yet been fully published (Cadoux 1994).

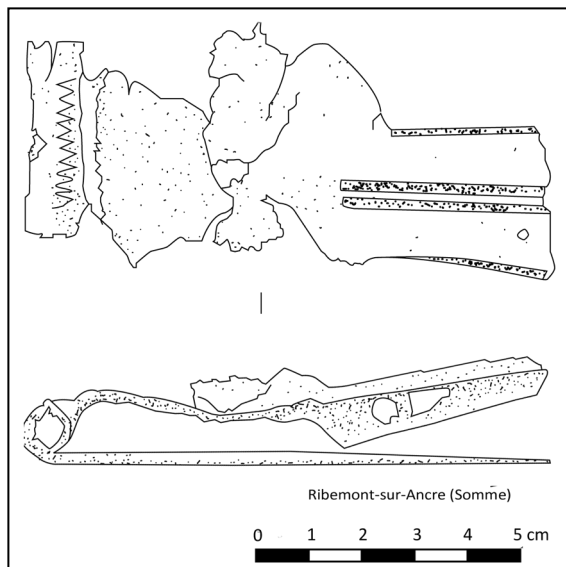


Figure 4.26: Edgar Type 20 (after Unknown 1994: cat. no. 121)

Table 4.24: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 20

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Oise	6	30%	Sanctuary	6	6	No Date
Somme	12	60%	Sanctuary	12	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					2	GR 2/Outside Phasing
					9	No Date
Ardennes	1	5%	<i>Oppida</i>	1	1	No Date
Seine-Maritime	1	5%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date
Total	20	100%				
Sanctuary	19	95%	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			2	GR 2/Outside Phasing		
			16	No Date	Total	19
<i>Oppida</i>	1	15%	1	No Date	Total	1
Total	20	100%				

4.12 Hinged Types

Hinged brooches, typically dating from the Post-Conquest Iron Age and Early Roman period, mark a break from spring-made brooches. While Feugère (1985) does notes hinged variants of earlier types, as these are seldom identified in the study area, the majority of hinged brooches are identified with the types discussed below. Unfortunately, as the majority of these types are surface finds or were recovered from disturbed or undated contexts, very little can be said with certainty about the development of hinged brooches.

4.12.1 Edgar Type 21: Alésia (La Tène D2b to GR 1)

Type 21 brooches were initially defined as a type by Duval (1974) based on their recovery from the ditches supposedly cut by Roman legionnaires around the site of Alésia in central France. These represent one of the earliest brooches found only as hinged types; although hinged variants of earlier brooch types are likely contemporary. These brooches, identifiable by the absence of a terminal button on the foot, are generally seen as precursors to the Aucissa type (Feugère 1985: 299-300). Type 21's generally have flat triangular bows, curved profiles and unperforated catch-plates. Their bows are usually decorated, either with incised or moulded ornament, although this varies greatly (figure 4.27).

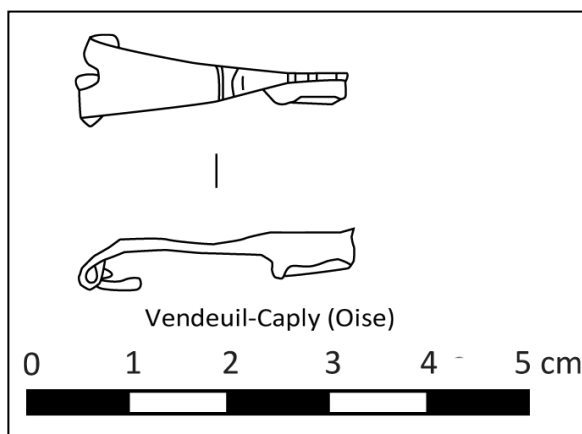


Figure 4.27 Edgar Type 21 (Piton and Dilly: figure 27)

Gaspar (2007: 42) dates these brooches between the Late First century BCE and the Augustan period. In northern France there is no secure evidence confirming this early date; although uncontexted finds from Pommiers and Chaussé-Tirancourt, both La Tène D2b/GR 1 sites, provides some support for this date (Vauvillé 1912: 304; Brunaux and Marchand 1988: 11; Pichon 2002: 353-354).

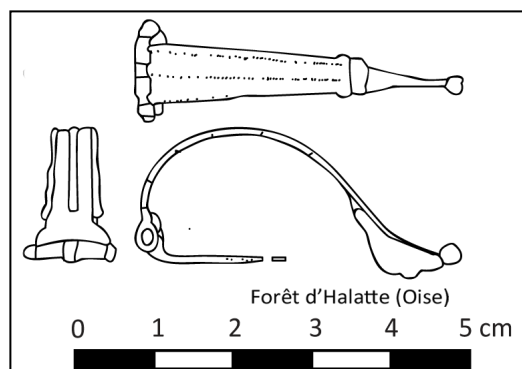
12 Type 21 brooches are identified in my dataset: 42% from *oppida*, 42% from sanctuaries and 16% from rural sites. The largest concentration of Alésia brooches was recovered from Pommiers in the Aisne (table 4.25). Vauvillé (1912: 304) discovered four in the exterior ditch of this site, along with other Late La Tène D2 and Early Gallo-Roman brooches, the majority of which are now lost.

Table 4.25: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 21

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	6	50%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date
			Rural	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
			Oppida	4	4	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Oise	2	17%	Sanctuary	2	1	GR 1/GR 2
					1	No Date
Somme	2	17%	Sanctuary	1	1	GR 2/Outside Phasing
			Oppida	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Ardennes	2	17%	Sanctuary	1	1	No Date
			Rural	1	1	No Date
Total	12	100%				
Sanctuary	5	42%	1	GR 1/GR 2		
			1	GR 2/Outside Phasing		
			3	No Date	Total	5
Rural	2	16%	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			1	No Date		
Oppida	5	42%	5	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Total	5
Total	12	100%				

4.12.2 Edgar Type 22:**Aucissa (La Tène D2b/GR 1 to Second century CE)**

These hinged brooches are recognized by their almost semi-circular bow profiles as well as their full triangular the catch-plates which terminates in a button (figure 4.28) (Feugère 1985: 312). They are named Aucissa after the most frequent mark found on brooches of this type, although brooches with this stamp are seldom found outside of southern France (*ibid*: 321). As with Type 21's, they are typically associated with the Roman military, particularly as they are mainly recovered at Roman military sites, such as the limes forts of Haltern, Mainz and Oberaden (Feugère 1985: 319; *cf.* Gechter 1979).

**Figure 4.28: Edgar Type 22** (after Devilliers 2000: plate 1.8)

Feugère (1985: 312) identifies many sub-types based on the shape of the bow in profile and sub-variants based on the shape of the bow in section while Gaspar (2007: 44) separates these into five different brooch types based on form and decoration. As so few Late La Tène brooches have been found in association with Aucissa brooches I have decided to maintain these together as a united type. Gaspar (2007: 44) dates these brooches to the Gallo-Roman 1 period. This is supported by finds recovered at La Noue Mauroy 1992 (Friboulet 1997: 113).

Sixty-nine Type 22's are identified in my dataset: 42% from *oppida*, 42% from sanctuaries and 16% from rural sites. As with Alésia Brooches, the largest concentration consisting of Aucissa types was recovered from Pommiers (table 4.26).

Table 4.26: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 22

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	25	36%	Sanctuary	25	25	No Date
Oise	11	16%	Sanctuary	10	5	GR 1/GR 2
					1	GR 2/Outside Phasing
					4	No Date
			Rural	1	1	GR 1/GR 2
Somme	10	14%	Sanctuary	10	3	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					3	GR 2/Outside Phasing
					4	No Date
Ardenne	23	34%	Sanctuary	8	8	No Date
			<i>Oppida</i>	13	13	No Date
			Funerary	2	2	GR 1/GR 2
Total	69	100%				
Sanctuary	53	77%	3	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			5	GR 1/GR 2		
			4	GR 2/Outside Phasing		
			41	No Date	Total	53
Rural	1	1%	1	GR 1/GR 2	Total	1
<i>Oppida</i>	13	19%	13	No Date	Total	13
Funerary	2	3%	2	GR 1/GR 2	Total	2
Total	69	100%				

4.12.3 Edgar Type 23:

Aucissa Derivative (GR 1/GR 2 to Mid/Late Second century CE)

These hinged brooches are characterized by their bipartite or tripartite bows divided by moulded decoration or projecting arms (figure 4.29). They are typically identified by their superficial terminal buttons which imitate those found in true Aucissa types (Feugère 1985: 331). Similar multiple sub-types and types are recognized for the derivatives as for true Aucissa types (*ibid*; Gaspar 2007: 45-46). However, for the same reasons mentioned above these have

not been maintained here. Some examples of these brooches are illustrated below. These brooches are generally dated to the end of the first Gallo-Roman period, although examples recovered from an occupation layer at Champlieu-Ourroy possibly push this back to the earlier Gallo-Roman 1 (Woimant 1993: figure 10.1-2).

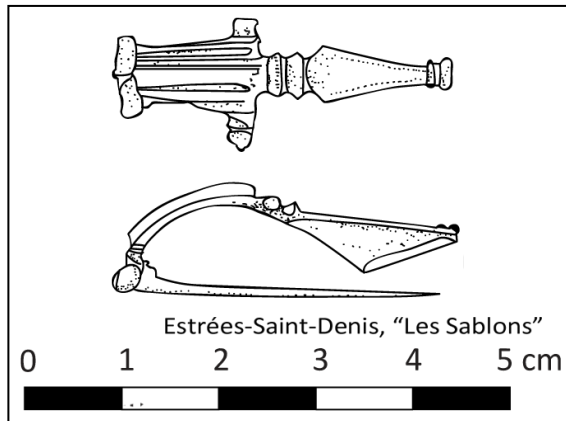


Figure 4.29: Edgar Type 23 (after Legros 2002: figure 84)

Approximately 156 Aucissa Derivative brooches have been recovered in the study area, the majority of these (65%) from sanctuaries. Just under half of brooches identified with this type have been recovered in the Ardennes, unfortunately consisting mainly of surface finds identified by Lambot (1993), for example at the *oppidum* of Chateau-Porcien, rather than contexted brooches. These brooches account for the distribution shown in the figure below (table 4.27).

Table 4.27: Regional, site based and temporal distribution of the Edgar Type 23

Department	Brooch Number	% of Total	Recovery Context		Dated Contexts	
			Site Type	Brooches per context	Brooches per context	Date
Aisne	2	1%	Sanctuary	1	1	La Tène D2b/GR 1
			Oppida	1	1	La Tène D2a/D2b
Oise	49	31%	Sanctuary	41	20	GR 1/GR 2
					3	GR 2/Outside Phasing
					18	No Date
			Rural	5	5	No Date
			Oppida	3	3	La Tène D2b/GR 1
Somme	22	14%	Sanctuary	22	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					7	GR 2/Outside Phasing
					13	No Date
Ardennes	70	45%	Sanctuary	25	25	No Date
			Rural	6	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1
					4	No Date
			Oppida	39	39	No Date
Seine-Maritime	13	9%	Sanctuary	13	1	GR 1/GR 2
					12	No Date
Total	156	100%				
Sanctuary	102	65%	3	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			21	GR 1/GR 2		

			10	GR 2/Outside Phasing		
			68	No Date	Total	102
Rural	11	7%	2	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
			9	No Date	Total	11
Oppida	43	28%	1	La Tène D2a/D2b		
			3	La Tène D2b/GR 1		
Total	156	100%	39	No Date	Total	43

4.13 Conclusion

In this chapter I explored typology formation and developed the Edgar Typology. While the limitations of typologies are evident, they are generally considered integral to brooch analysis. Nevertheless, the categories developed here are determined by criteria that in all probability do not reflect how these objects were used or seen in the past. This places considerable constraint on analysis. In the next chapter, in order to test the strength of these categories, cross-typological comparisons of certain features, such as size, material and form, will be explored. By scrutinizing these characteristics it might be possible to move beyond typology and develop questions about what these objects might have meant to the peoples who used them.

Chapter Five Beyond Typology: Brooches, Meaning and Material Culture Analysis

Approximately 2417 brooches are recorded in my dataset, from *oppida*, funerary and rural sites, as well as sanctuaries. The variations demonstrated in figure 5.1 below reflect various factors, not the least of which is chronology; with later sanctuaries, i.e. Dompierre-sur-Authie, having the largest proportion of later brooch types, although many of these are surface finds, or are otherwise uncontexted.

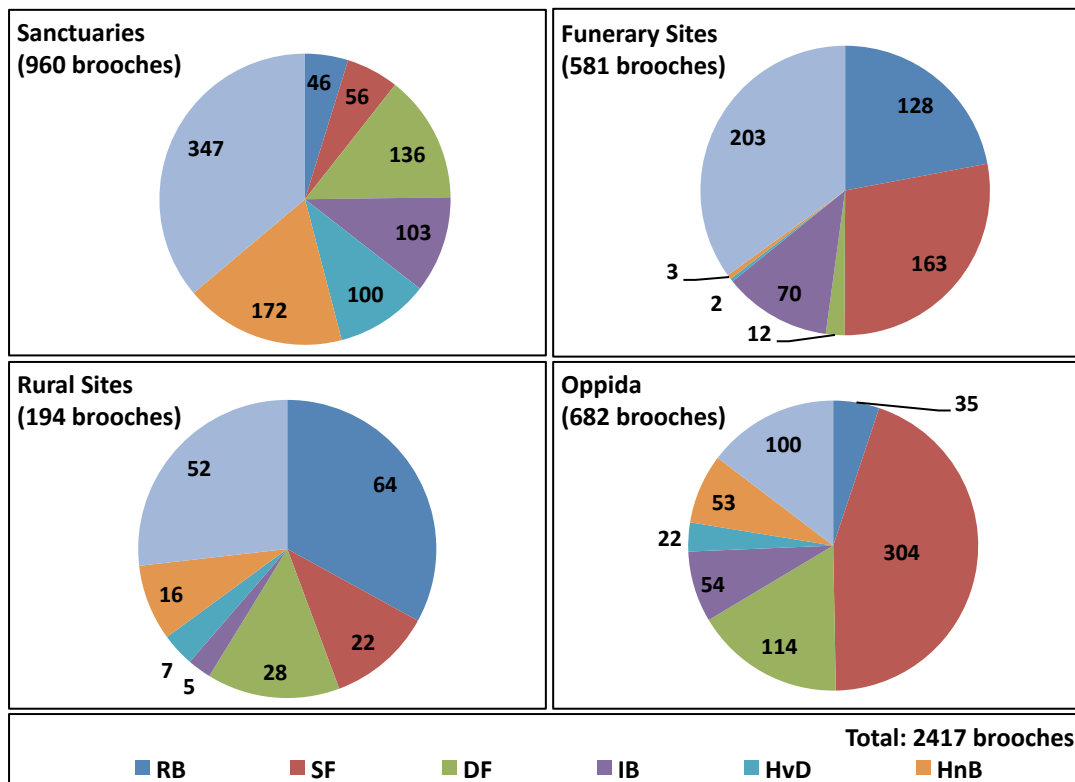


Figure 5.1: Site based brooch analysis

5.1 Dating contexts and dating brooches: a tight tautology

The distributions above are strongly influenced by brooch chronologies, with later brooches mainly recovered from sites of later dates. This is an especially salient point given that brooches form the basis for dating. However, these dates represent not just their period of manufacture or use-life, and other factors should be considered. In particular, residuality, defined as the re-deposition of earlier brooches in later contexts, also influences brooch recovery figures. Although brooches can be deposited at the various stages of their 'life' it is often difficult to tell how long these items were in circulation before their 'death'.

Several instances of brooch repair were noted in studies outside the study area, indicating that many Late Iron Age brooches had long use-lives and were not immediately discarded upon incurring damage (Gebhard 1991; Gaspar 2007). While no information regarding repair has been noted in the study area, this does not preclude its occurrence. For instance, a brooch's re-invention as a necklace or bracelet at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain indicates that brooches could serve as more than just simple linear-use items (Debord 1996: plate 13.244). Nevertheless, although the actual picture is likely to be more complicated, we are essentially restricted to viewing brooches at the end of their lives. Therefore, approaching brooch finds from the point of view of understanding residual use and deposition, provides an interesting means of getting past a standard linear view.

The ability to recognise use-life versus residual deposition is unfortunately complicated where datable evidence arises primarily from brooches. In these cases, a tight circular argument is formed between brooches and associated deposits. Identifying residuality is only possible where finds are recovered from closed contexts with other reliable dating evidence, i.e. ceramics, later brooches, means of absolute dating and/or stratigraphical placement. However such instances are rare. There are few absolute dates for the region and stratigraphy is often not made explicit in publications or records. While other relative chronologies, e.g. from ceramics, are often themselves based on brooches. Further complications also arise when chronological systems are applied without further clarification of their associated material assemblages. For example, ceramics, brooches and other small finds from sites in the Oise, published in the otherwise comprehensive volume by Malrain *et al.* (2006), are not integrated into a regionally specific Late La Tène chronology.

The tautology between brooch and context date makes it difficult to estimate approximate either use-period or residuality. Analysis of long-lived types, such as SF brooches (see figure 4.7), reveals that that these were frequently recovered with others of like-kind; this suggests that they were not used differently, hinting at specific aspects of meaning for these brooches and how they were perceived by past societies. Nevertheless, the problems associated with dating use-life versus residuality complicates understandings of typological development, for example why, and how long it took to replace RB types by later SF brooches and so on. This makes it difficult to provide exact assessments of how certain features, such as the catch-plate,

developed, or how more ornate brooches developed alongside simple wire-made forms. As these features likely defined brooch use and function(s), related questions about meaning become exponentially more difficult to answer.

The difficulties involved in interpreting meaning(s) from material culture are well-recognized. Aside from difficulties constructing full object life histories, objects are most frequently recovered at the end of their lives, from contexts representative of their loss, abandonment or deposition (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1986; Shanks 1998; Joy 2009). Moreover, upon their archaeological recovery these objects are further separated, both temporally and spatially, from the original social and cultural contexts that gave them meaning (Hodder 1992: 12). Despite issues involved in ascribing meaning to material culture, the limitations of typological analysis are more onerous. In particular, the unlikelihood that the typological criteria identified by researchers were of any meaning to past societies is especially relevant. Seen in this light, material culture analysis provides the best way of escaping the confines of typology.

5.2 Beyond typology

As discussed in Chapter One, there is considerable chronological and regional variation in settlement archaeology throughout the study area, particularly in the distributions of site types. Nevertheless, despite this, the relative homogeneity of brooch finds across the region, even accounting for sites with large assemblages, such as Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, points to a low likelihood that groups living in certain regions (e.g. the Remi or Suessiones of the Upper and Lower Aisne, or the Bellovaci of the Oise) preferred specific types (figure 5.2 to figure 5.7). For example, the high numbers of unidentified brooches in the Oise and Somme, mainly from funerary sites, is a likely explanation for the low proportion of SF brooches in these regions. While the high proportion of later Heavily Decorated (HvD) and Hinged (HnB) brooches in areas outside of the Aisne is the result of later deposition, possibly resulting from the later establishment or reconstruction of sanctuaries there.

Regional patterns, if present, are masked by strong chronological, and site-based factors that seem to determine brooch deposition. For example, the continuing preference at Funerary sites for undecorated types (i.e. SF brooches, see Chapter Seven, pages 148-149). Given these

factors, it seems unwise to view brooches as markers of tribal identity. In English publications, this is a feature of brooch studies that is often inconclusive in any case (see, Carr 2006: 40-42; Eckhardt and Crummy 2008: 140). Therefore, considering the limitations of typology, another approach is needed in order to ascribe brooches with meaning.

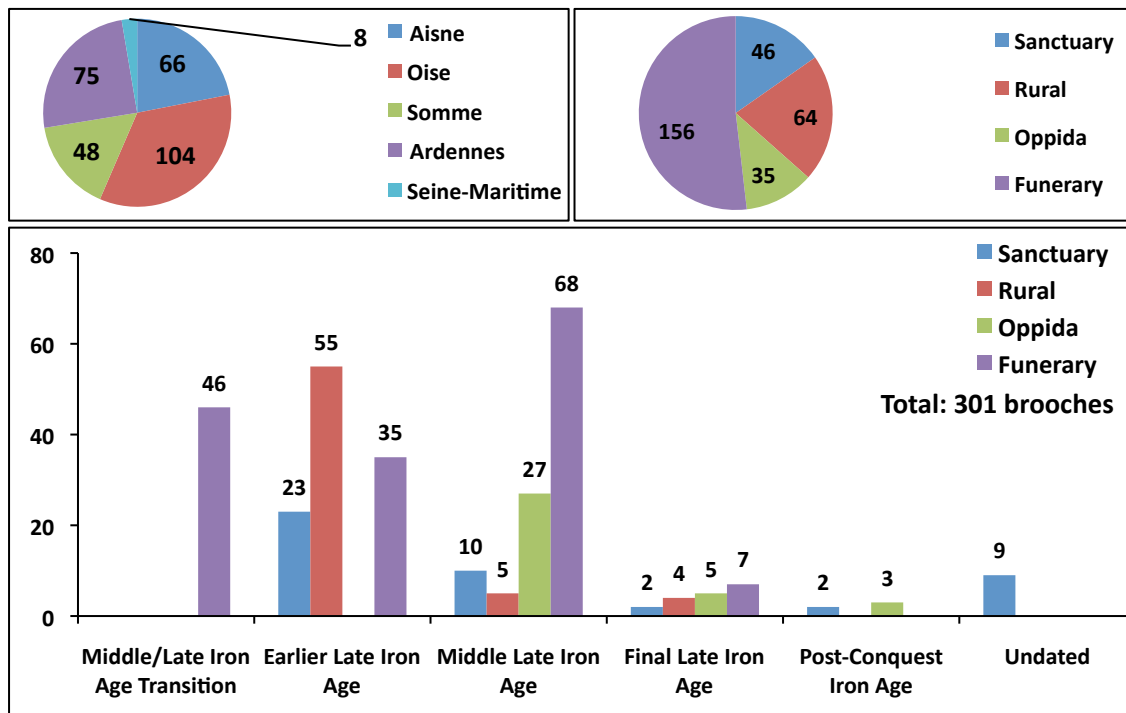


Figure 5.2: Regional, chronological and site based distribution of RB Types

Asking extra-typological questions raises issues about what brooch features might have been considered meaningful, queries typically found in material culture approaches. Precise definitions of what constitutes material culture are problematic, especially as these have evolved reflexively and in tandem with archaeological theory (see, Buchli 2002: 3-8; Tilley 1989; Yentch and Beaudry 2001: 219-233; Hicks 2010). General arguments can be reduced to how objects are perceived. For example either, as active objects or artefacts (see, Hurcombe 2007: 1-3; Shanks 1998: 27), or as reflective of nebulous aspects of the archaeological record, such as social practice, making the objects themselves social products with their own agency (see, Hodder 1982a; 1982b; 1987; 1989a; 1992a; McCall 1999; Tilley 1989: 187). This dual aspect explains perhaps why studying material culture remains so challenging (for further related discussion see, Buchli 1995; Fitzpatrick 1996; Hodder 1989b; Shanks 1998; Shanks and Tilley 1992); because, not only are archaeologists dealing with materiality, or the substance and form

of objects, but also with the more unknowable aspects of symbolic meaning (Hodder 1989a: 36; 1992a: 11-12, 51-52; Hodder 2005: 210; Hodder and Hudson 2003: 191).

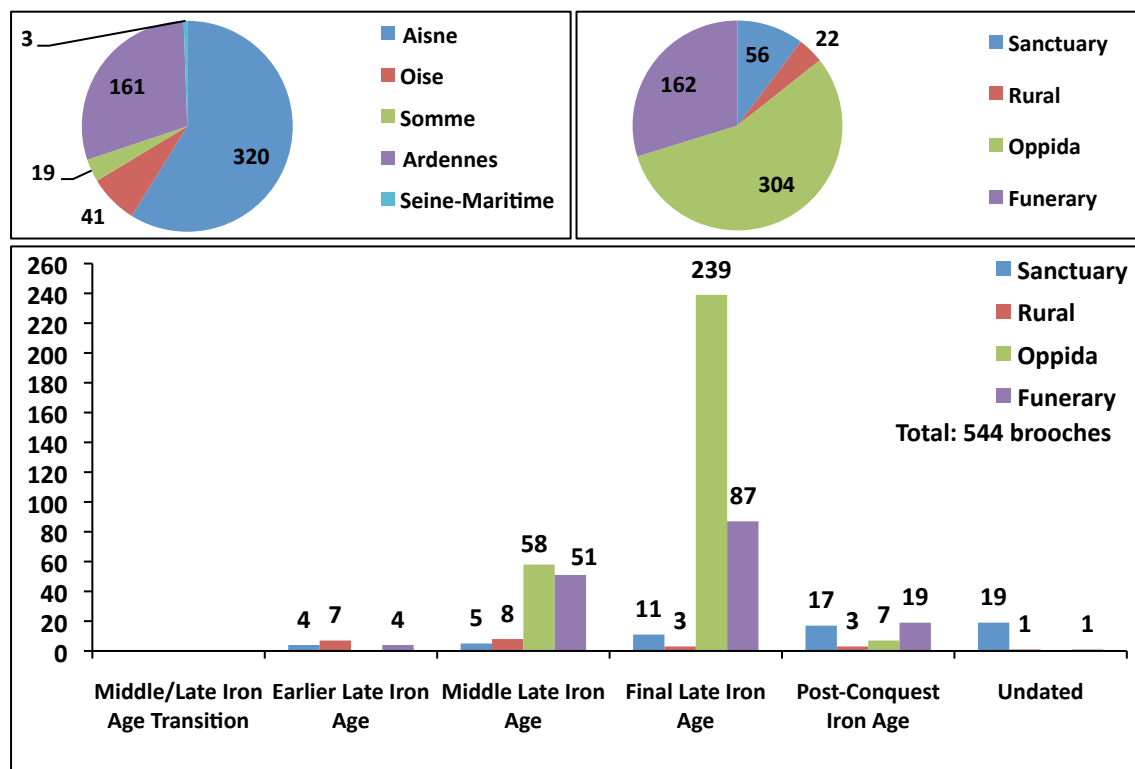


Figure 5.3: Regional, chronological and site based distribution of SF Types

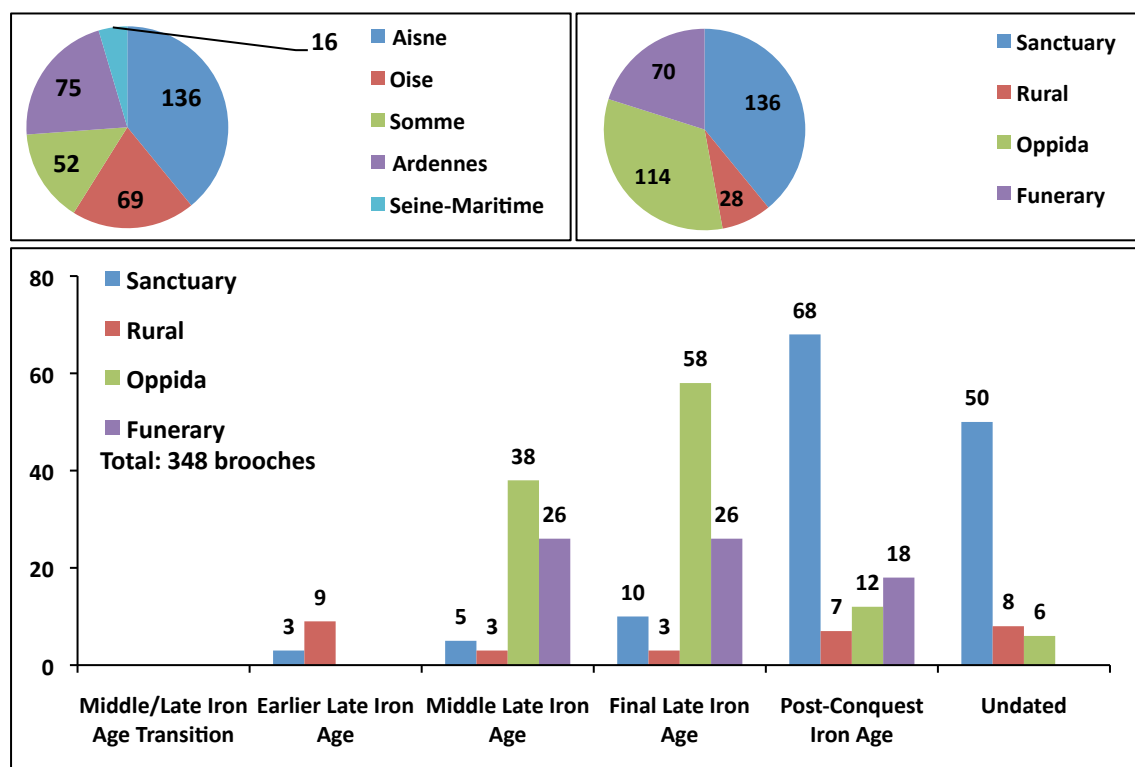


Figure 5.4: Regional, chronological and site based distribution of DF Types

As objects of material culture, brooches need to be examined beyond materiality and form, and symbolic meaning(s) should also be considered. However, how can the latter be assessed if brooches are typically only analysed typologically; a process intent on marking only variation, thereby ignoring commonalities and isolating types from one another. Paradoxically, although typological studies focus on form and style, facets often identified as the basis for an object's social and symbolic meaning (e.g. Wiessner 1989; 1990; Caple 2006: 21), the catalogues produced by these studies are not easily adapted to wider queries about meaning or significance; how they were made, worn, used or deposited. Contrastingly, questions about meaning seem more comfortably applied within generalized works about jewellery, adornment, or dress. For instance, they are most often found in studies concerning identity (e.g., Wild 1965; 1968; 1985; Wild and Todd 2004; Hill and Jundi 1998; Carr 2006; Crummy and Eckhardt 2005; 2008; Rosten 2007; Rothe 2009). However, this type of research is mainly conducted in Britain. In northern France, aside from typologies, research explicitly discussing the meaning of brooches is conspicuously absent.

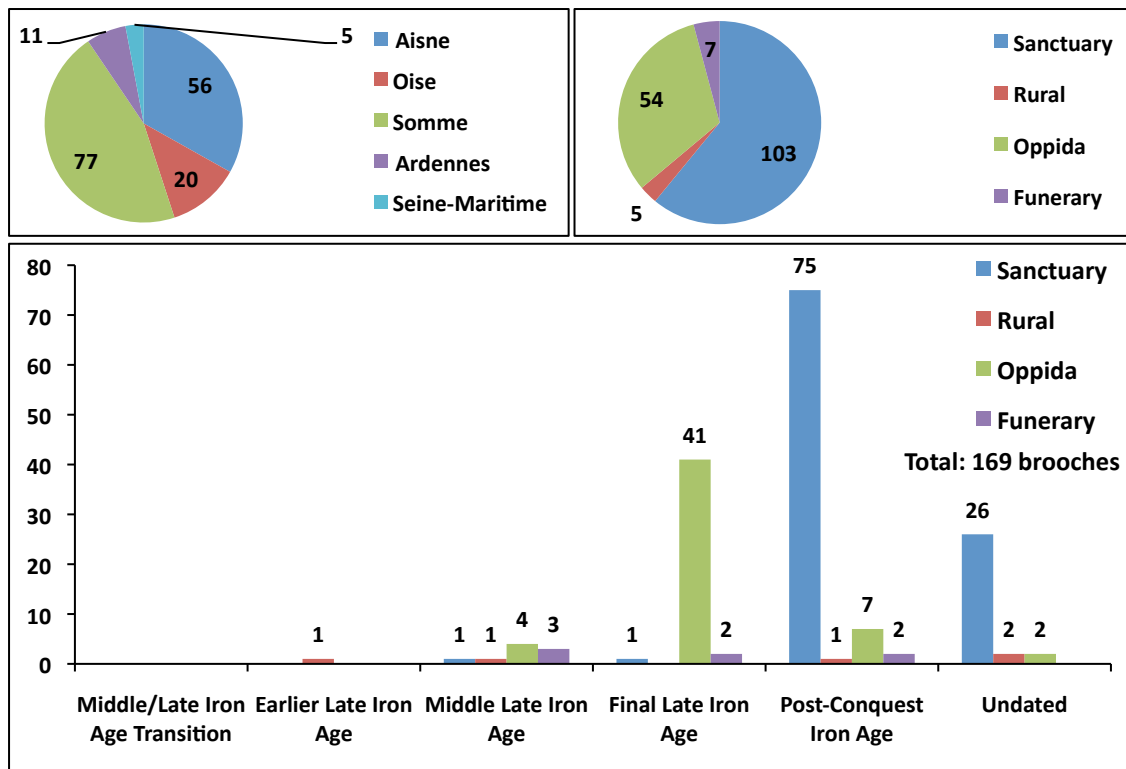


Figure 5.5: Regional, chronological and site based distribution of IB Types

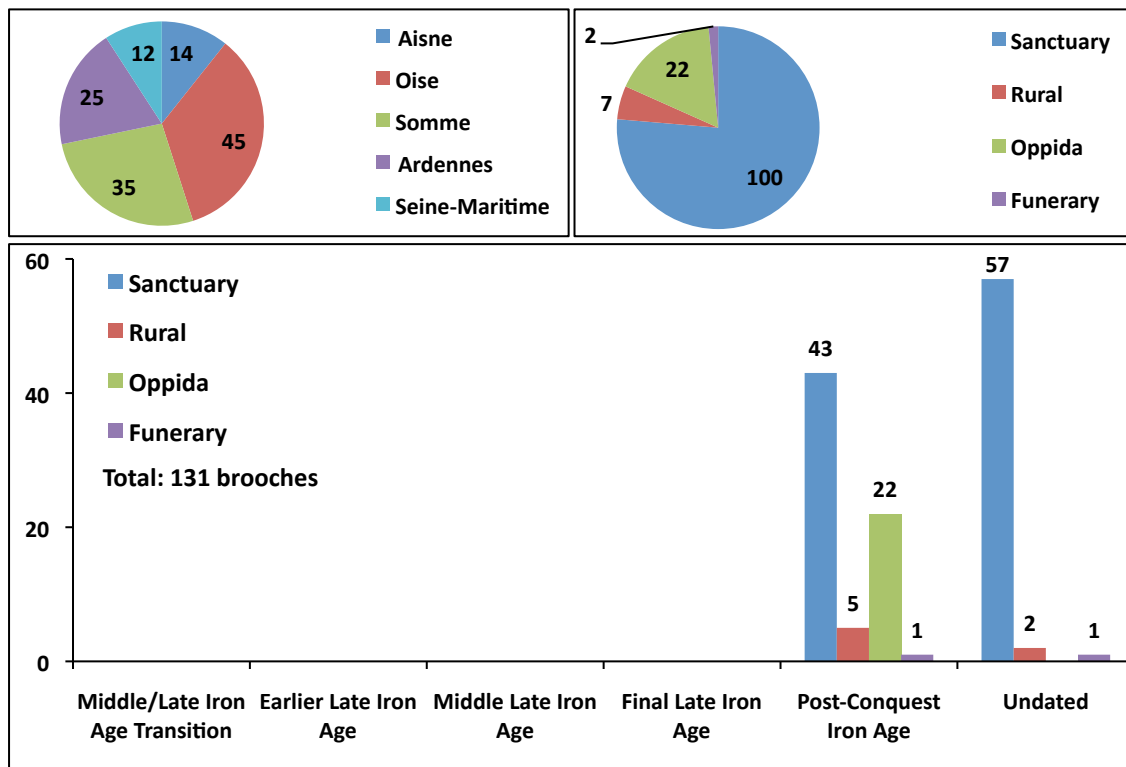


Figure 5.6: Regional, chronological and site based distribution of HvD Types

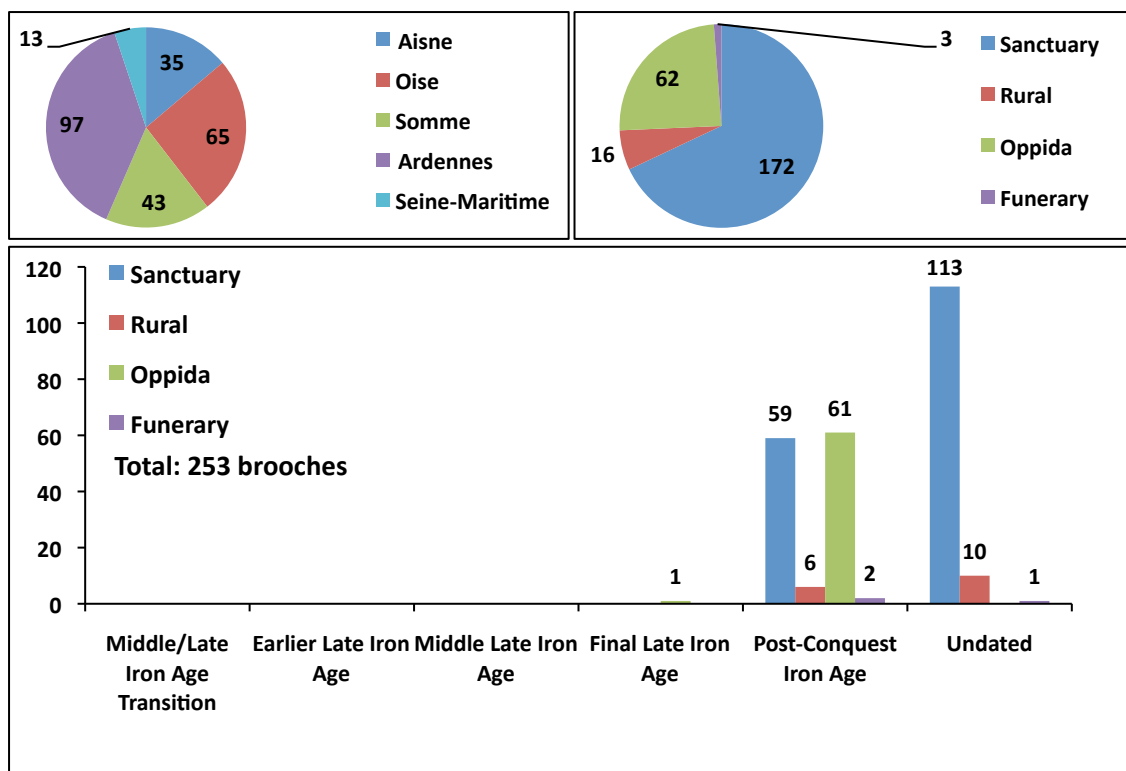


Figure 5.7: Regional, chronological and site based distribution of HnB Types

5.3 'Material culture' analysis and brooches in northern France

I use the above term in quotations, as methodologies associated with this type of analysis have not been explicitly adopted in northern France, nor have the associated theories been a matter of much debate. Nevertheless, material culture analysis can occur indirectly, as archaeologists cannot help but interpret their objects of study. Such is the case in northern France, where rather than being discussed explicitly, interpretations of meaning are more subtle; most often found within object catalogues or site reports, where description or analysis suggest, rather than reflect, basic assumptions. For example, in the study area interpretation is often confined to off-hand suppositions, rather than developing from consistent and precise evidence-based statements.

Aside from their dispersed and indirect nature, assertions about Late Iron Age brooches in the study area are also framed within the context of wider researcher interests, for example typology, chronology, proto-urbanism, or hierarchical site ranking. Therefore, as contextualisation can lead us down many tangents, it is best to isolate each instance and define each research interest against the backdrop of a particular type of material culture analysis. In this way, interpretations can be more sharply defined. Caple's (2006: 21) rather pragmatic approach to defining general material culture approaches provides a means of framing how northern French scholars have interpreted brooches. Caple lists six methods of analysis: typological classification, contextual analysis, consultation of written and illustrative sources (i.e. historical writings and/or art), and finally consideration of associated social and symbolic meanings. All but the last of Caple's steps represents a type of, albeit indirect and limited work done with Late Iron Age brooches in northern France.

As discussed, brooch typologies form the basis of northern European Late La Tène chronology. Most studies generally stop here, effectively isolating brooches within illustrated typologies or catalogues of finds. The focus on typology has implications for studies that include contextual analysis, typically found where interest lies in using brooches for dating. This is certainly the case at funerary sites, where brooches are used to phase burials (for example, Lambot *et al.* 1994; Friboulet 1997; Stead *et al.* 2007). In most cases, because these studies are not intended as interpretive works, restriction to cataloguing and dating can be excused. Nevertheless, in

many reports the same grave goods have been used as indicators of 'status' and 'aristocracy' (e.g., Duffressigne 1994: 72-73; Baray 1997a: 275; 1998: 224-226, 230; Buchez *et al.* 1998: 101-202, 205; Robert *et al.* 2008). As these terms are never explicitly defined, there appears to be no standard way of assessing a burial's status; with criteria ranging from burial size to the number of ceramics or metal finds. Therefore, in northern France, aside from use in dating, brooches have been loosely interpreted as status objects, leading burials with these objects to be identified as 'aristocratic.'

At *oppida* and rural sites, contextual analysis typically focuses on using object distributions to distinguish production or agricultural areas from living spaces or ritual from domestic areas (for example, Lambot and Méniel 1992; Debord 1993; Pion *et al.* 1997; Brunaux and Méniel 1997; Auxiette 2000; Auxiette *et al.* 2000a; Méniel 2000; Malrain *et al.* 2006). However, because brooches are frequently recovered across all areas of a site they often work against the identification of strongly differentiated site plans. For instance, Pion (1996a: 287, 299) interpreted brooch distributions at Condé-sur-Suippe as 'random' and thereby discounted them from his spatial reconstruction. At Montmartin, Brunaux and Méniel (1997) alternately emphasise and de-emphasise objects such as brooches or loom-weights, in order to identify 'ritual' and 'domestic' areas.

These, and further examples of differential interpretation, are discussed in later chapters. However, mentioning these here highlights a certain lack of consistency in the analysis of material culture in the study area, particularly brooches. At most sites, these objects serve first for date or phasing; at cemeteries, this is typically followed by their use in vaguely defined attributions of status; and finally, they are generally subsumed within a site's interpretation, where they are either used or discarded as a means of discussing differential organisation.

With regard to Caple's next to last step, consulting historical or illustrative materials, researchers in northern France have nearly nothing to build on. Instead, anecdotal evidence from Caesar's *de Bello Gallico*, as well as other historical sources, is generally used to discuss larger themes such as, settlement patterns, societal organization, or ritual (Andouze and Buchsenshutz 1991; Brunaux 1988; 1996; 2000; Goudineau 1990; 1998; Fichtl 1994; 2000; 2004; Brun 2002; Arcelin and Brunaux 2003; Buchsenshutz 2004). Interestingly, studies of brooch meaning are

more common outside France, where researchers such as Wild (1965; 1968; 1985) use various sources, including later Roman grave stelae in Germany, to substantiate claims of traditional 'Celtic' dress.

Wild's (1968: 41; 1985: 221; *cf.* Decker 1968: 41-43; Gebhur 1976; Böhme 1978) studies of Gallic dress are based on relatively unsubstantiated links between paired brooch finds in northern German and Scandinavian graves, images on later Roman Grave stelae from Mainz, and the Danish textile identified as the 'Huldremose-Peplos'. Aside from the fact that the majority the considered graves date to the Roman period, they are also only sexed using grave goods rather than skeletal evidence. Moreover, the so-called Peplos with which these paired brooches are associated is just as likely to be a cape, or blanket (Hald 1980: 363).

The association between brooches and Late Iron Age female dress is, for the most part, based on indirect evidence from the Roman period applied in retrograde. This is an interesting occurrence, as researchers who specifically study Late Iron Age brooches rarely attempt to relate them to specific modes of dress, or identify the gender of the wearer (Rothe 2009: 18; *cf.* Stead 1981: 130). Nevertheless, despite the difficulties associated with linking brooches to female dress, studies of this type are continuously referenced within broad general works on Celtic or Iron Age Europe, incidentally lending support to their unsubstantiated claims (eg., Cunliffe 1986: 24; James 1993: 69; Müller 2009: 84). Moreover, evidence from anthropological analysis of Late Iron Age burials suggests that individuals of both sexes used brooches (Metzler-Zens *et al.* 1999: 279; Stead *et al.* 2006). Unfortunately, given the limited number of burials with sex identification, it is difficult to get a substantial statistical picture, let alone discuss gendered associations; particularly as gender does not always overlap with biology (Sørensen 2000: 42-45; Rothe 2009: 5).

This summary provides an overview of the rather accidental nature of brooch interpretation within northern French scholarship. Where outside of typological analysis, brooches are rarely discussed with the direct intent of determining their meaning. Even so, casual statements made about them do indicate that brooches are still interpreted as objects of status and import. The dispersed, disparate and rather inadvertent nature of brooch interpretation in northern France, in spite of the excellent contextual information available, underlines the need for more focused

and deliberate research; especially in regard to substantiating, qualifying, or adding depth to assertions already made about brooches.

5.4 Brooches: aspects of materiality

While the symbolic aspects remain elusive, observable details of materiality, or the elements making up a brooch, are accessible for analysis. Nevertheless, before beginning wider discussion certain problems, mainly stemming from brooches themselves, need outlining; namely their varied aspect and how this has been classified and organized, rightly or wrongly, using typologies. Typological analysis generally views variation as somewhat problematic, typically resulting in the production of numerous sub-types and sub-variants; the attributes of which, are not consistently maintained between typologies (e.g., problems matching Feugère 1985 to Gebhard 1991). Moreover, as hand-made items brooches are inherently influenced by unknown variables, such as individual or group choice, metallic impurities, or skill level (see, Guillaumet 1984: 10-16; Wells 1995: 133, 138; *cf.* Drescher 1955; Furgur-Gunti 1977). As a result, brooches will always demonstrate greater variation than can be accounted for by standardized typologies. Rather than seeing variation as problematic, it should instead be embraced as key part of brooch manufacture, or as an element of their materiality. Unfortunately, although analysis of production would be useful in regard to meaning, limited information about these processes has resulted in their exclusion from consideration.

Nevertheless, given the level of variation demonstrated by Late Iron Age brooches and the fact that this project is limited to archival analysis, a complete consideration lies outside the scope of this project. Therefore, the focus was instead placed on attributes, such as material or brooch length, which are commonly recorded across all types. These details were selected because they are less vulnerable to subjective variation; limiting problems introduced because of differences in recording and/or illustration between sources. The commonality of these attributes also permits easy movement outside of the narrow confines of traditional typological distinctions, allowing for discussion of characteristics relating broadly to brooch use and function. While there is no escaping from the basic truth that any choice will be subjective and possibly not reflective of Iron Age values, there is more to be gained by asking the questions than by avoidance (Wylie 2002b: 172; Hodder 2005: 208). Furthermore, as many brooches are recov-

ered from large 'structured deposits,' knowledge of function may also help define some of their more numinous qualities (Hill 1995; Gagliardi 1999: 314; Auxiette 2000; Méniel *et al.* 2006: 186; Bataille 2008: 194).

5.5 Brooch size

"Does size matter?" Carr (2006: 30) asked this question in relation to whether brooch type alone relayed identity, or if size was also influential. Jundi and Hill (1998: 129) certainly believed size to be an issue, citing the increased visibility of thistle/rosette brooches in contrast to earlier wire-made brooches. However, this perspective focuses on 'bulk' rather than size, which typically refers to length; usually the only measurement of size recorded. While length measurements are included in most typologies, terms like 'large' and 'small' are usually applied as descriptors. Feugère (1985), Gebhard (1991) and Gaspar (2007) use these terms without listing precise ranges of measurements, or noting whether the terms mean the same things for brooches of different types. The lack of a consistent approach to brooch size, in particular length, highlights a need for this type of work. However, before jumping into size-based analysis of brooches some caveats need mentioning. In particular, that complete examples of these items are seldom recovered.

5.5.1 Assessing the length of fragmented material

As mentioned briefly in Chapter Two, the *NMI* system was developed by French researchers to assess and numerate fragmentation. While this system was designed for assessing pottery, it has also been applied to brooches (Guillaumet and Nillesse 2002; Bataille 2008: 23). The system divides each brooch into four components, each defined as a quarter of the whole, i.e. the spring/hinge, bow, foot/catch-plate and the pin. Brooches with all component parts are given a number of one, while those with a missing component, such as a catch-plate are assessed at 0.75 and so on (figure 5.8).

While this system solves the problem of how to measure and quantify fragmentation, it raises a number of additional issues; the most significant being that all parts, including non-diagnostic elements, such as the pin, are given equal weighting. As the raw *NMI* provides little information

about what brooch-elements are specifically present, it cannot be used alone as an indicator of fragmentation. To solve this problem the *NMI* has been used herein conjunction with description of present components, i.e. spring, bow, catch-plate, pin. Listing extant components gives *NMI* figures more traction, allowing for their use in assessing the true extent of fragmentation and, as a result, the viability of associated length data for size assessments. For example, although pins are the most frequently absent component, size measurements for brooches only missing pins are still viable. Therefore, the *NMIs* for these brooches were reassessed as nearly complete (0.75 to one), allowing for their incorporation into size analysis.

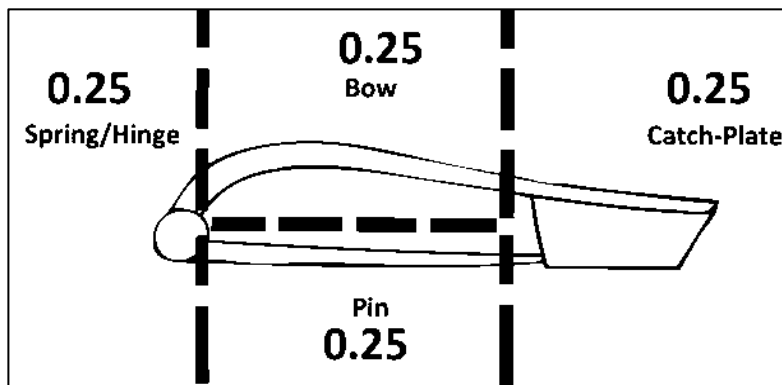
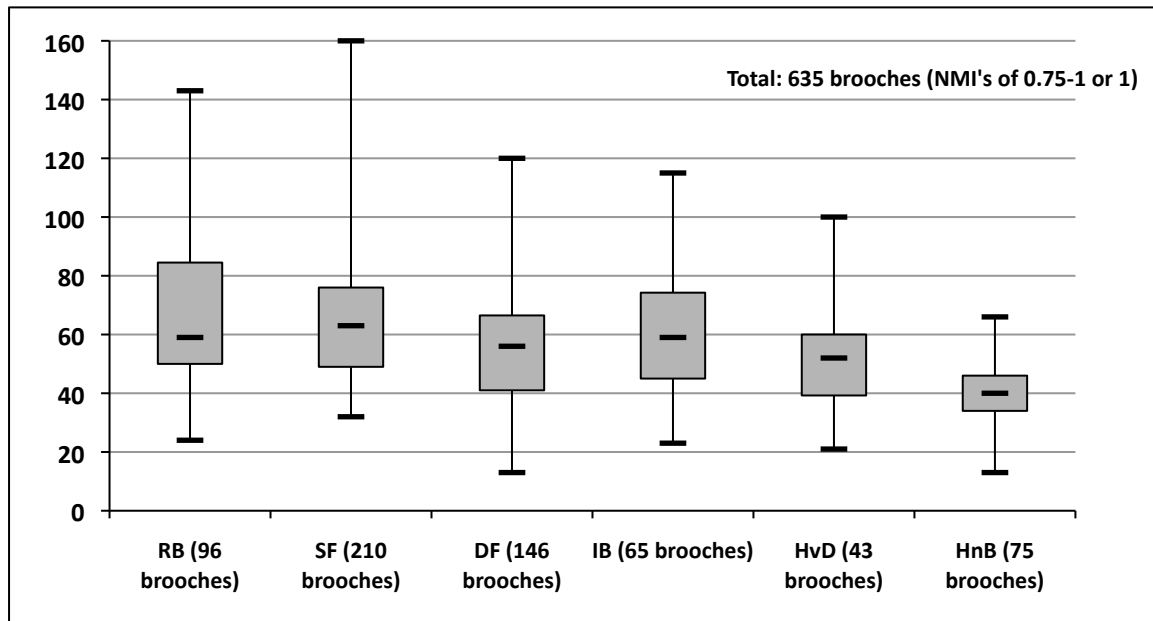


Figure 5.8: Brooch Components, showing *NMI*

5.5.2 It's how you use it?

Brooch size is sometimes correlated with function (e.g. Jones 1996: 148). This seems a reasonable assumption given that smaller brooches would have been unable to pin as much fabric as larger ones. Therefore, it is assumed here that size analysis can tell us about how brooches were being used. For example, were smaller brooches used for decoration rather than fastening, while larger examples served more traditionally as cloak or dress fasteners? Can brooches be linked to other functions? While size can be reasonably linked with function, the influence of social context also needs considering. For example, examining the larger brooches that tended to be recovered at cemeteries in Late Iron Age and Early Roman cemeteries in Essex and Hertfordshire, Carr (2006: 31) cited the need for increased visibility at funerary contexts for the proper display of identity. The contextual influence on size is an interesting facet that will be considered here.



* Brooch length measured in millimetres

Figure 5.9: Comparison of length between brooch type-groups

The size-ranges brooches are found in show some change between the Late Iron Age and the Early Roman period. The box and whisker diagram above demonstrates the size range of the major type groups (figure 5.9). The majority of Pre-Conquest wire-made types are found in sizes ranging between 32 and 72 millimetres. There are rare outliers of course; for example, less than three percent of Reverted Bow and Interrupted Bow types are found in lengths over 100 millimetres, while brooches measuring less than 30 millimetres account for only 11%. However, interestingly, ornamental types such as Decorative Filiform, Interrupted Bow and later Hinged types, tend to cluster in the lower size range. For instance, Heavily Decorated and Hinged Brooches, tend to be shorter, bulkier items, measuring approximately 40 millimetres in length on average.

The shortness of more decorative immediately Pre and Post-Conquest types, in contrast to earlier wire-made types, possibly indicates that these brooch types were made and used differently. In Britain, Post-Conquest brooches are thought to mark a distinct shift in production, perhaps indicating changes in modes of dress and/or increased access to finer textiles (Jones 1996: 153; Jundi and Hill 1998: 129). By extension, this is somewhat true of northern France as well. However, the smaller size of later brooch types should not be mistaken for a complete shift in how brooches were used, as the continued production and use of longer Proto-Gallic (Type 9) and Gallic brooches (Type 14a), between the La Tène D2a/D2b and the Early Gallo-Roman period, demonstrates a certain reluctance to shift completely to short bulky types. For

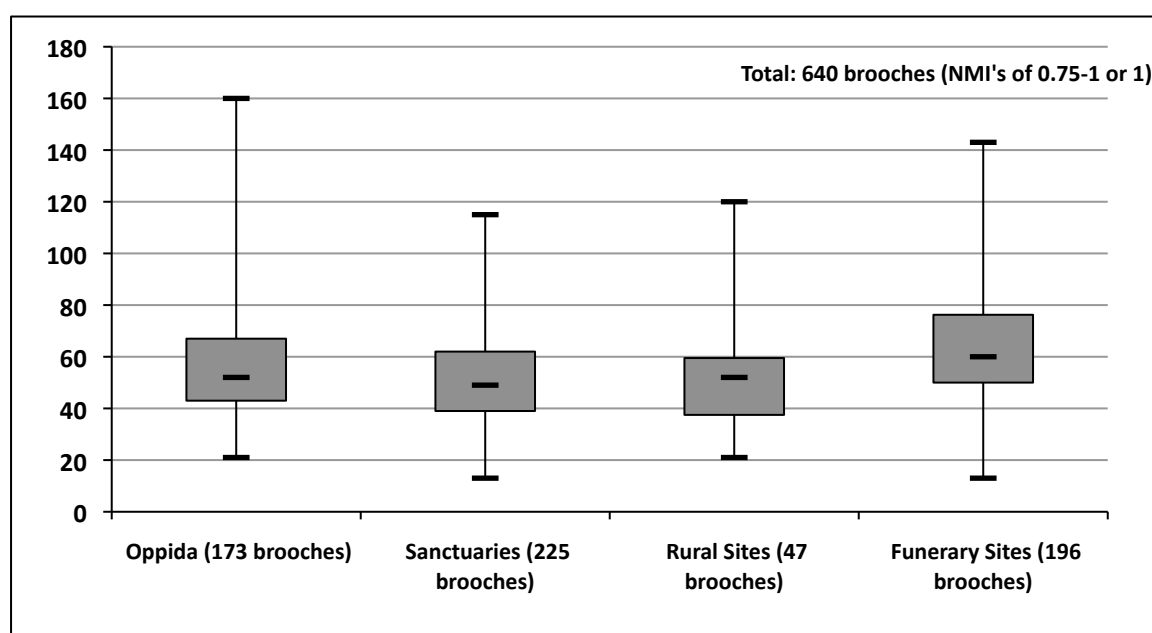
example, the average length of these brooches was 56 millimetres, with around 20% measuring more than 70 millimetres long.

The continued production/use of earlier Late Iron Age, e.g. longer Simple/Decorative Filiform types, which are also recovered in post-conquest contexts undermine the notion of a wholesale switch to smaller more decorative types. Nevertheless, given the disturbed nature of many late contexts it is difficult to assess the exact nature of Post-Conquest brooch deposition. However, examining closed context funerary deposits demonstrates that approximately 44% of Post-Conquest brooches were longer Simple Filiform types. However, as the majority of these brooches were recovered from cemeteries in the Ardennes, this does not support widespread continuity throughout the study area. Given the decline in brooch deposition in funerary contexts during the Roman period and the general preference throughout the Later Iron Age for undecorated types, this could just as easily represent the exception proving the rule. With ‘old-fashioned,’ undecorated brooches possibly denoting traditional holdouts, or elderly individuals cremated and buried with earlier types. Unfortunately, exact age details are rare (Stead *et al.* 2007: 100-107).

Now that the average lengths of Late Iron Age versus Early Roman brooches are better understood, we can examine their distribution across variety of different sites (figure 5.9). Chronology, again plays a part determining distribution, with later finds at *oppida* and sanctuaries skewing these towards the smaller range. Nevertheless, chronological influence should not be given too much weight as rural sites, rare in the Post-Conquest Iron Age, displays the same size distribution. Note that although the graph below is based on a larger sample size than the above (through the inclusion of all brooches with size data) this does not change the distribution significantly.

On the surface figure 5.10 seems to show that brooches were found in fairly standard lengths across most sites, except funerary sites. The presence of larger brooches at funerary sites fits with Carr’s (2006: 31) hypothesis that larger brooches were a part of funerary ritual because of the “greater necessity for visibility at [funerals] in order to display identity to mourners during the period of waiting/viewing the body before the cremation.” However, if we look at the inter-burial location of some of the larger brooches recovered from burials, a different pattern

emerges. For example, many of the brooches measuring over 90 millimetres were recovered from just outside the cremation heap and were possibly used as fasteners for perishable ‘bone-bags’; e.g. burial nine and 16 at M  nil-Annelles (Stead *et al.* 2007: 216, 221). Additionally, some brooches of average size, e.g. in burial one at Jaux, “Camp du Roi,” also seem to have been used in this way (Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 36).



* Brooch length measured in millimetres

Figure 5.10: Comparison of brooch length between brooches from at different sites

The fact that most cremated remains are found in regularly shaped heaps within burials has lead researchers to speculate about the use of perishable boxes or sacs to contain bone remains (e.g., Baray 1997a: 11; Friboulet 1997: 209; Stead *et al.* 2007: 109). This is supported by Le Goff’s (2009) work on cremated remains at La Calotterie, in Nord-Pas-de-Calais. Le Goff determines that bones were either, dispersed/dumped in the burial pit, placed inside a vase/urn, wrapped inside a circular/supple perishable container, or placed inside a rectangular/rigid perishable box (*ibid.*: 119, table 1). Taking this further, several steps of cremation burial are reconstructed, described as part of the “*constitution sociale du corps*” (*ibid.*: 115-116): from the selection of cremated remains from the pyre, to the collection and placement of cremated remains inside containers, and finally the procession and deposition of the cremated remains inside the burial pit. However Le Goff makes no specific mention of brooches in relation to these containers, perhaps because of the general dearth of brooch finds

at La Calotterie. Instead, the perishable containers are reconstructed as string-closed pouches (Le Goff 2009: 118, figure 3).

Nevertheless, given the general similarity of burial rites at La Calotterie to the study area, the presence of long brooches in association with regularly shaped burial heaps seems to indicate that they were used, not just as items of adornment, but as *fasteners*. This raises the possibility that larger brooches were specially manufactured for this use. However, there is no direct evidence linking manufacture to funerary sites and it is just as likely that larger brooches, possibly used for exterior cloaks, could have also been adopted for funerary use. This has fascinating implications regarding the socially reconstructive elements of funerary ritual; with the item used to clothe people in life, helping to enclose them in burial.

The implied re-use of cloak-brooches within these contexts also points to the strong associative elements made between these items and socially contextualized conceptions of personhood in Late Iron Age northern France (Fontjin 2002: 30; *cf.* Morris 1994; La Fontaine 1996: 132). According to this perspective, the objects used in life and death can be seen as meaningful expressions of personhood or identity, rather than as manifestations of individual status (Brück 2006: 297). Therefore, the brooch's use as a material symbol, rather than as adornment, points to more discursive meanings, i.e. those reached by following a line of reasoning versus those reached by intuition, e.g. that brooches are only for dress (Bernbeck 1999: 96).

Taking this a step further, the possibility that brooches were emblematic of personhood in funerary contexts has implications for determining the meaning of deposits outside of burials; where, when deposited, they might have been seen as symbolic-actors for the individual(s) involved in the action. Therefore, brooch choice was not simply demonstrative of dress style (as discussed by Wiessner 1989; 1990) but was perhaps reflective of *mentalité*, or culturally and temporally situated forms of ideology and action (Chartier 1982: 13; Knapp 1992: 7; Fontjin 2002: 23). However, before beginning contextual analysis of brooch finds, their material first needs discussion, as this would have influenced not only their manufacture, but also their appearance, perception and use.

5.5.3 Fragmentation and ritual damage

Brooch fragmentation may not be accidental but may reflect intentional, ritualised damage. For example, in Gournay-sur-Aronde's initial excavation report Brunaux (1977: 11) notes that many brooches appear to have been ritually damaged. The subject of ritual damage or killing has, however, mainly been discussed for weaponry, again perhaps because these deposits have tended to focus on sanctuaries (see Roymans 1996; Brunaux 1988: 125-127). Nevertheless, the criteria for injury is the same for all ritually injured objects, namely that they be rendered functionally useless and irredeemable via forceful and elaborate deformation or breakage. Therefore, when looking at fragmentation it is essential to view it alongside intentional spoliation.

Although determining accidental versus intentional damage is difficult, the statistics below evidence that it is not impossible. For example, logically sites with the largest deposits, typically *oppida* and sanctuaries, have the most fragmented and possibly intentionally damaged examples. And these sites both account for 80% of brooches with *NMI*'s of zero point five or less. Interestingly however, nearly 77% of brooches with intentional damage, i.e. bent or twisted bows or uncoiled springs, were recovered from sanctuaries; indicative, perhaps, of special ritual practices there. Moreover, this percentage is likely considerably higher given the absence of detailed brooch recording at many excavated sanctuaries. In comparison with other sites, sanctuaries also exhibit the largest amount of variations in ritual damage. The preferred method of injury seems to have been either bending or twisting the bow (figure 5.11). At other sites spoliation is restricted to bent bows. In many instances specialist tools would have been required to bend and twist brooches in this way; perhaps linking the practice of ritual spoliation with manufacturing; meaning that many brooches were possibly manufactured at sanctuaries, as already observed at Nanteuil-sur-Aisne (Lambot 1978: 93; Wellington 2005: 175).

The main focus for ritual damage at sanctuaries seems to have been wire-made types: with Simple and Decorative Filiform as well as Type 8 *Arc Interrompu* types amounting to 69% of intentionally damaged brooches. Notably, more than half of these are found in Post-Conquest contexts. However, as at Dompierre, these are mainly the result of deposition associated with the Roman period restructuring of the site and the damage was likely inflicted much earlier.

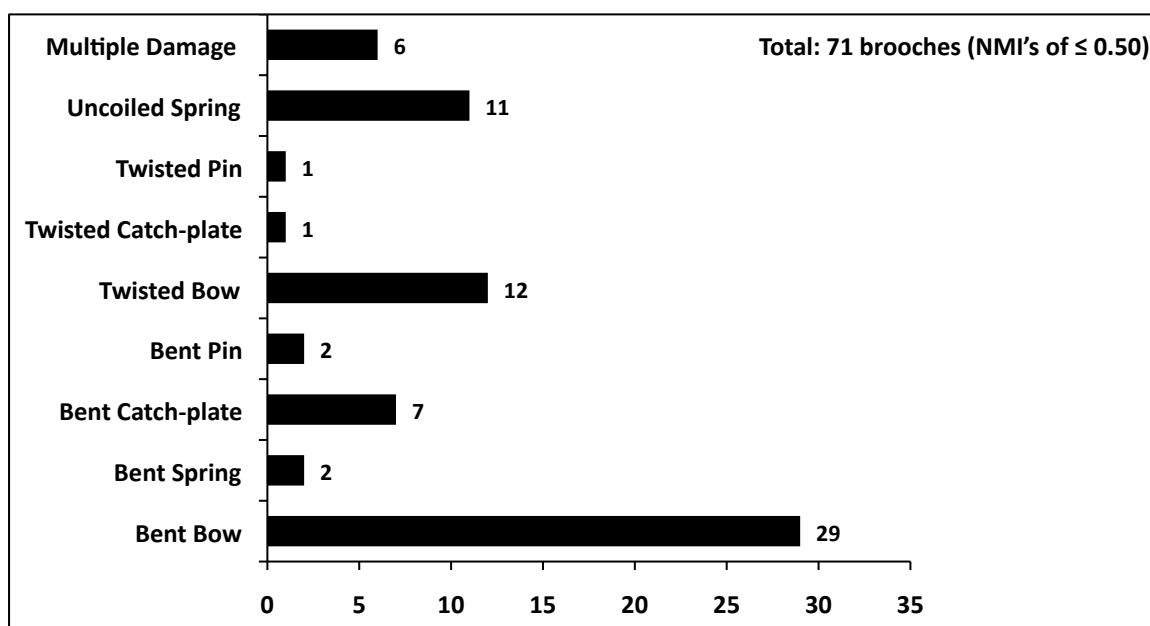


Figure 5.11: Types of brooch damage observed at sanctuaries

Given the widespread nature of brooch deposition, it is surprising to find ritual damage mainly restricted to sanctuaries. The primacy of fragmentation and intentional damage at these sites points to their being a focus of specialized practices; perhaps linked with manufacture, given the tools needed. The bent and twisted brooches found at sanctuaries also match damage inflicted on other items, such as *barre à douilles*, ploughshares, coinage or weaponry, linking them with wider depository practices involving metal objects. Resultingly, brooch finds at sanctuaries should be viewed as integral, rather than incidental, to the rituals carried out there.

5.6 Material

Approximately 63% of the 1633 brooches in my dataset with recorded material are of iron. In Britain iron, identified as a widely available and cheap commodity, has been correlated with the increasing brooch numbers recovered from Late Iron Age contexts (Collis 1975: 53; Megaw and Megaw 1989: 157-158; Wells 1998: 254; Hunter 2006: 95). However, whilst detailed lab testing is becoming more common in Britain (Bayley and Butcher 2004), this is not typical practice in France where visual analysis is the norm. This has had some impact on the way brooch material has been recorded in the study area, and therefore how it is dealt with in this project.

5.6.1 Recording material

Material is only recorded for 67% of the brooches in my dataset. Based on this, brooches in the study area appear to have been most commonly manufactured of iron or copper alloy. While the possibility remains that gold, silver may have also been employed, examples of these materials are rarely recorded, such as the gold-plated and silver examples found at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (Debord 1996: plate 15.273, plate 18.300). In some instances tinning has also been noted in connection with copper alloy brooches (*bronze étamé*), mainly for Post-Conquest Hinged types (Dilly and Sallandre 1978; Jobic 1987; Piton and Dilly 1990; Piton 1992). Nevertheless, even if tinning was present, recording it is not standard practice. As a result, only copper alloy and iron brooches are studied here.

5.6.2 Iron and copper alloy brooches

As mentioned, 63% of recorded brooches in the dataset are of iron and 36% are of copper alloy. The extent to which this figure represents a change from the Middle La Tène is uncertain. However, the earliest La Tène C2 inhumations recorded in the Ardennes mainly contain copper alloy brooches, with iron examples primarily recovered from later cremations (see, Stead *et al.* 2007: 208, 211-212). The higher melting point of iron raises the possibility that the transition from inhumation to cremation is related to the increased preference for iron brooches. Approximately 89% of brooches in Late Iron Age funerary contexts are iron, supporting the notion of general preference for these types here. However, as the melting point of copper alloy is over 1000°C it seems unlikely that open-air cremation pyres would have ever burned hot enough to seriously damage metal objects (Fluzin *et al.* 1994: 287; Lambot *et al.* 1994: 257; Northover and Montague 1997: 90-91; Patreau 1994: 306-314; Stead *et al.* 2007: 110). Therefore, the preference for iron was likely shaped by other reasons.

Questions regarding the reaction of brooches to pyre heat raise some interesting points. Firstly, when burned the fire would have appeared to renew the iron brooch by burning off corrosion (Fluzin *et al.* 1994; Pernot 1994). The regenerative aspect of iron is perhaps why it became a preferred material for brooches in the Late Iron Age (see, Hingley 1997: 217 for a discussion of the regenerative properties attached to iron). This is demonstrated at even the very earliest La Tène C1 cremation cemetery at Allonne, “ZAC de Thère” (Oise), where all but

one of the 12 Reverted Bow Brooches are iron (Paris *et al.* 1998). Nevertheless, although copper alloy and iron would have reacted in very different ways to fire, it is uncertain just how many brooches were placed on the body during cremation; as pyre damage/impact, if visible, is not typically recorded. Moreover, the possibility that some were used as fasteners for bone-bags demonstrates that not all brooches adorned the corpse prior to cremation. This raises the importance of identifying when and how brooches were added during burial ritual.

Manufacturing differences might also account for the preferential use of iron. While the exact amount of specialized training needed to manufacture iron brooches is uncertain, experiments estimate that it was very little (Wells 1995: 135; *cf.* Drescher 1955). Also, the processes of smelting, and the shaping and tempering of iron brooches would have been very different to those used for copper alloy. Copper alloy brooches were partially cast and then shaped when malleable, while iron examples were formed by progressive reheating and hammering (Guil-laumet 1984: 10-11). The switch to iron also involved a very different skill-set, possibly explaining why early iron examples were straightforward, relatively undecorated, wire-made forms. For example, even Decorative Classic Nauheims employed principles that anyone partially familiar with iron-working would be comfortable with. Starting as a long wire of uneven width, the Nauheim's flat triangular bow was achieved by hammering (Striewe 1996: 21, figure 10.2).

Following the Classic Nauheim, other more decorative types were also developed; perhaps indicating increased felicity with the mouldable properties of iron. Increasingly ornamental mould-made *À Disque Mediane* brooches followed *Arc Interrompu* types, which were decorated by simple moulded beads. Interestingly however, as brooches became more decorative, they were also increasingly manufactured of copper alloy. So, while 25% of *Arc Interrompu* brooches are of iron, this material only accounts for five percent of *À Disque Mediane* types. Finally, with the development of Heavily Decorated and Hinged types, during the La Tène D2a/D2b, nearly all of which were made using copper alloy (Figure 5.12).

The increased use of copper alloy in immediately Pre and Post-Conquest Iron Age brooches marks a distinct shift in production and perhaps preference. This change, while possibly indicative of significant disruption in iron manufacture (discussed in the section below) is also linked

to an increased preference for smaller brooches; which are more easily made from moulds with copper alloy. Unfortunately production of these types is a bit of a mystery. Rare examples of clay brooch moulds have been recovered at Bibracte and Stradonice (Guillaumet 1984: plate 55; Wells 1995: 136; *cf.* Pěc 1906). However, exactly which types these were for is unknown. In any case, as most brooch moulds would have destroyed after use during extraction of the finished brooch, their rarity is understandable.

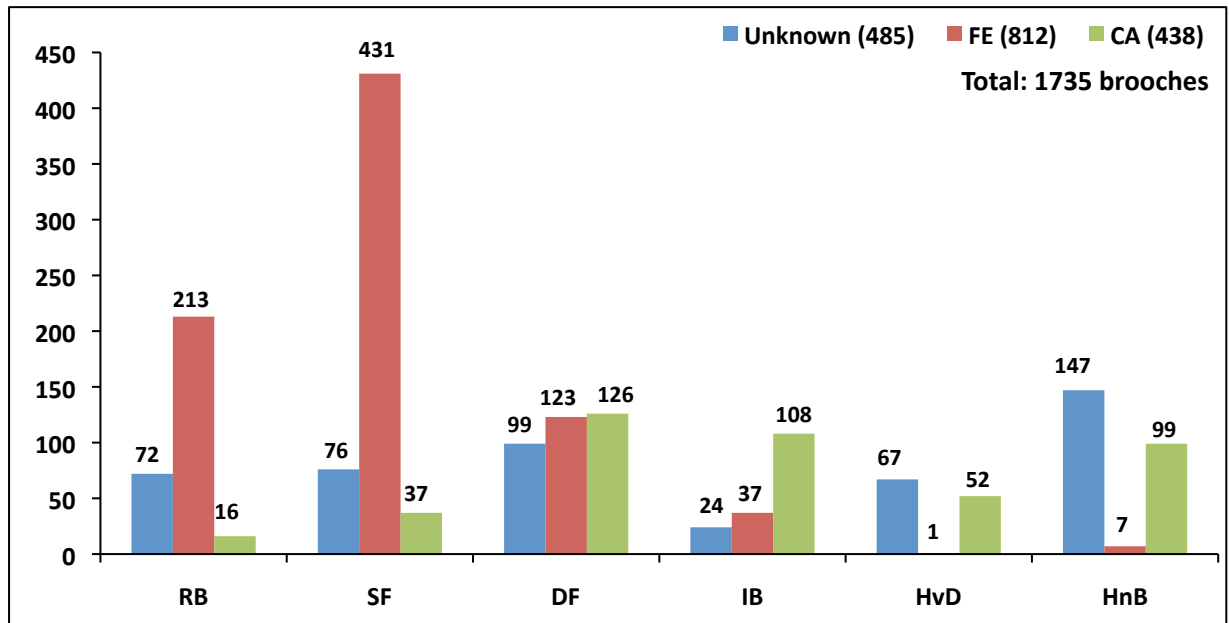


Figure 5.12: Brooch material from Reverted Bow to Hinged Types

The chronological overlap between the increased use of copper alloy and the Roman conquest is sometimes thought to correlate with Roman influence or 'Romanization' (Jones 1996: 149), although the extent to which this is so is not measurable. Nevertheless, many late brooch types seem to have originated locally, appearing earlier throughout northern Europe in comparison to southern central France (Feugère 1985; Riha 1994; Demetz 1999; Gaspar 2007; Böhme-Schonberger 2008: 40-41). While Hinged types may be associated with the Roman military (see Feugère 1985: 319; Ettlinger 1973: 21-22; Demetz 1999: 156-167), their exact origin and the timeline for their adoption is uncertain; particularly as most are recovered as surface finds, for example, around Vendeuil/Marteville (Aisne), or at Chateau-Porcien (Ardennes) (Dilly and Sallandre 1978; Lambot 1983). Furthermore, very little evidence exists for their manufacture. The production of these brooches is likely to have followed very different lines from earlier brooches; especially as the addition of glass paste or enamel to hinged brooches required a more specialized skill set (Jones 1996: 171).

5.6.3 Iron production and Late Iron Age societies in northern France

The increased proportion of copper alloy brooches in the Roman period contrasts with the preference for iron in earlier types; perhaps highlighting the importance of this material to Late Iron Age societies. Ethnographic analogies are often invoked to explain the symbolic and transformative properties of iron and the special status often ascribed to smelters (Halaand 2004; Hingley 2007: 217, 220; *cf.* Aldhouse-Green 2002; Gillies 1981; Herbert 1984; 1993). Bradley (2005: 23) identifies restricted knowledge of iron working as central to its status. Nevertheless, despite these ‘magical’ properties, indications are that knowledge of iron production was not restricted in the study area. For example, evidence from the Aisne valley shows that smelting is likely to have occurred at a series of sites, all working together to produce the raw product, with various parts of the *chaîne-opératoire* in evidence at different La Tène D settlements, such as Bazoches-sur-Vesle, “Les Chantraines” (Bauvais and Fluzin 2005: 128). Shared production across the landscape is indicative of a certain level of co-operation between sites. Instead of contradicting the special status of iron working, interconnected acts of manufacturing perhaps transformed the material into ritualized symbol of communal or group identity. Therefore, in this case, restricted knowledge is not a *de facto* explanation for specialness of meaning.

Evidence for networked iron production becomes more limited during the La Tène D2a, paralleling the contraction of rural settlement. When rural settlement expands again in the Post-Conquest period, indications are that iron manufacture was restricted. At the La Tène D2b/Gallo-Roman 1 site of Ronchères “Bois de la Forge” (Aisne), all the stages of production are in evidence at the one site (Malrain *et al.* 2010: 101). While this is a limited study, changing methods of production could be a factor behind the decline of iron brooch production and a subsequent loss of its symbolic qualities during the Early Roman period.

Increasingly restricted production is possibly related to pre-Conquest transformations in settlement, which saw the construction of densely occupied *oppida* (Haselgrove 2007: 517). However, it is uncertain if the metalworking detected at the *oppida* of Condé-sur-Suippe or Ville-neuve-Saint-Germain represent centralized production, as their bigger populations are equally likely to have contributed to the detection of larger-scale manufacture (Wells 1995: 135).

Moreover, the extent of the decline of rural settlement is also difficult to measure. For example, while valley sites such as Bazoches and Beaurieux appear to have been abandoned during La Tène D2a, survey evidence seems to indicate a certain continuity of occupation on the plateau (Haselgrove 2007: 408; *cf.* Haselgrove 1996). Therefore, while sites such as Ronchères, Cuiry-les-Chaudardes or Beaurieux, “Les Grèves” (Aisne) seem to indicate a return to rural settlement after the conquest (Demoule and Ilett 1982; Malrain *et al.* 2010: 101), because of difficulties dating sites from this period, very little else is known about immediate post-conquest settlement (Haselgrove 1996: 165-166).

5.7 Brooch deposition and contextual analysis

After size and material, brooch context, also sheds light on their roles in the processes of social reproduction, or their uses as vehicles for individual, or communal, agency (see, Barrett 2001: 1-11). Context here refers, not only to site, but also includes intra-site, as well as relation with other objects. Archaeological context can be dealt with in a variety of ways. Joy (2009: 544) for instance, suggests using both depositional and societal contexts in order to, “infer aspects of...performance.” Considering context and its formative actions, permits discussion of the multivariate aspects of an object’s life-trajectories; specifically, that objects can become alive or inactive according to situational or societal context and thereby experience a series of ‘lives’ and ‘deaths’ or even re-incarnations (*ibid.*: 543-544; *cf.* Strathern 1988; Moreland 1999: 198).

Considering the limitations of standard biographical approaches, examining the actions behind deposition seems the best way forward. According to Robb (2010: 494), the socially reproductive qualities inherent in action are both defined and mediated by objects; materials not only providing the context for relationships between individuals and objects, but also between individuals and the wider community. Therefore, the actions behind deposition and the decisions to incorporate items, like brooches, were both materially, contextually and relationally constituted. Given the premised centrality of action in this argument, in order to prove that brooches were vital actors the onus is placed on proving meaningfulness behind deposition. This is problematic, given that this concept has seen continuous debate, following Hill’s (1995: 95) development of the term ‘structured deposition’ (see Bradley 1998; 2003; 2005; Brück 1999; Insoll 2005; Handelman 2006; Fogelin 2007). Nevertheless, in this project, deposition is broadly

defined as objects found in stratigraphic conjunction with structured remains (i.e. pits, ditches, or postholes) on sites where ritual or religious acts may or may not have been the main focus. An open definition for what constitutes a meaningful deposit was needed as brooches were found in similar types of deposits at all types of sites. Such ubiquity perhaps suggests the wide-ranging nature of ritual action, both sacred and secular, although dichotomous segregation of these concepts is not necessarily warranted; particularly as actions likely functioned along a continuum (Bradley 2005: 34).

Ritualistic ‘closure deposits,’ i.e. offerings associated with abandonment, are evident both at rural sites and *oppida* (Bradley 2005: 52-53). At Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, Verberie, “La Plaine d’Herneuse II” and Montmartin, structures, or in the latter case the entire settlement, were seemingly intentionally burned, then materials collected and re-deposited, often in association with hearth structures or burnt stone (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 122; Debord 1996: 77, 141; Malrain *et al.* 2006: 238). Whether or not this is connected in some way with funerary ritual, with settlements mourned and buried similar to individuals remains to be seen (Bradley 2000: 57). The possibility that these actions are also associated with cessation of ownership, possibly related to death of the individual in charge of the settlement or changes in ownership, should also be considered (Craven 2007: 38).

Given the possible overlap between sacred and secular it is necessary to explore current conceptions of these practices. For instance, Late Iron Age ritual practice is often associated with acts of power sharing and/or competition between religious specialists and political leaders (Thurstun 2009: 55; *cf.* Rausing 1997; Sievers *et al.* 1998; Arnold 1999; Sievers 2000; Bradley 2003; Maier 2006: 58). In these rituals, feasting and/or the consumption of alcohol were of central importance (Dietler 1990; 1996; 1999; Dietler and Hayden 2001). From this basis, a survey of amphora presence/absence at sites across the study yields interesting results. The presence of wine amphora at rural sites and *oppida* certainly supports Dietler’s theory, while their near absence from sanctuaries is curious. A partial explanation lies in the early date of many sanctuaries, but this does not explain their absence from later sanctuaries. At Fesques and Estrées-Saint-Denis, both occupied throughout the La Tène D, few if any amphora were recovered (Mantel 1997: 26; Woimant 2002a: 31, 44). This contrasts with finds at Ribemont-sur-Ancre, where amphora were recovered in association with the site’s La Tène D2

reorganization; perhaps demonstrating a change in the site's function, from a victory or military trophy to a feasting site in the last quarter of the 1st century BCE (du Leslay 2000: 121-123).

There is no simple answer for what is happening at sanctuaries. However, the differential nature of amphora recovery at these sites does show that they were all unlikely to have functioned in exactly the same way. Moreover, the absence of amphora doesn't necessarily mean absence of wine, as transport and consumption in alternate containers, such as perishable wine-skins, is certainly possible (Poux 2008: 202-205). Also, the absence of amphora doesn't necessarily mean that feasting did not occur, especially given the presence of animal bone in quantity at most sanctuaries. Nevertheless, the general absence of amphora from sanctuaries during the Late Iron Age, compared to their relatively frequent recovery from *oppida* and rural sites, does seem to indicate the existence of differential feasting and consumption practices. Triadan (2006: 165) suggests that feasting, and related ingestion of intoxicants, bolsters ritually inspired communal feeling. This feature explains perhaps, why wine-drinking is not evidenced at sanctuaries; where the focus is estimated to have been on triumphalism, or large-scale warrior-elite deposition, (Brunaux 1988; 2004).

It is equally likely that the military or elite roles of sanctuaries has been somewhat exaggerated. For example, discussion of key sites, such as Ribemont or Gournay, tends to focus on weaponry rather than on other objects, i.e. brooches, prefiguring their identification as elite/warrior sites (see, Brunaux *et al.* 1985; Brunaux 1988; 2002; 2004; Lejars 1998; Brunaux and Arcelin 2003: 59, 64). This is perhaps because brooches are seen as comparatively more ambiguous than weaponry, whose functions are superficially more obvious. Therefore, given their ubiquity, brooches are perhaps central to the elucidation of different ritual practices; something best approached through close examination of deposits at various site types.

5.8 Deposition, ritual practice and meaning

As previously discussed brooch meaning, is something that has only ever seen glancing attention by researchers in northern France. This contrasts with work conducted in England, as well as in the Netherlands, where the significance of brooch finds is something that has also seen some discussion. Roymans (1990: 77) has already suggested the high numbers of brooches recovered

from Late Iron Age sites identifies them as votive offerings. Hunter (2006: 105) also focuses on the social implications behind the large numbers of finds, noting that more and more people seemed to have access to means of adornment. Hill and Jundi (1998: 96-107) discuss the brooch 'event-horizon' in Late Iron Age Britain, associating increased interest in appearance and adornment with social change.

Amplified Late Iron Age brooch numbers in Europe are often linked with decreasing ornamentation, and increasing functionality as well as homogeneity. A feature often associated with their growing commonality is the fact that they are more frequently manufactured of iron, a widely available and hence cheaper material (Collis 1975: 53; Megaw and Megaw 1989: 157-158; Champion 1995; Wells 1998: 254; Hunter 2006: 95). The variable interpretation of brooches as votive offerings, adornment, or common functional items does not clarify matters. However, there is no reason why a brooch cannot be all of these things, as well as common and meaningful; particularly as meanings and uses are and determined, created and reproduced by both social and contextual elements (Hunter 2005: 20; Joy 2010: 552; Strathern 1998). Moreover, the regenerative and symbolic qualities of iron and its suitability to cremation ritual argue against its straight-forward dismissal as an invaluable material.

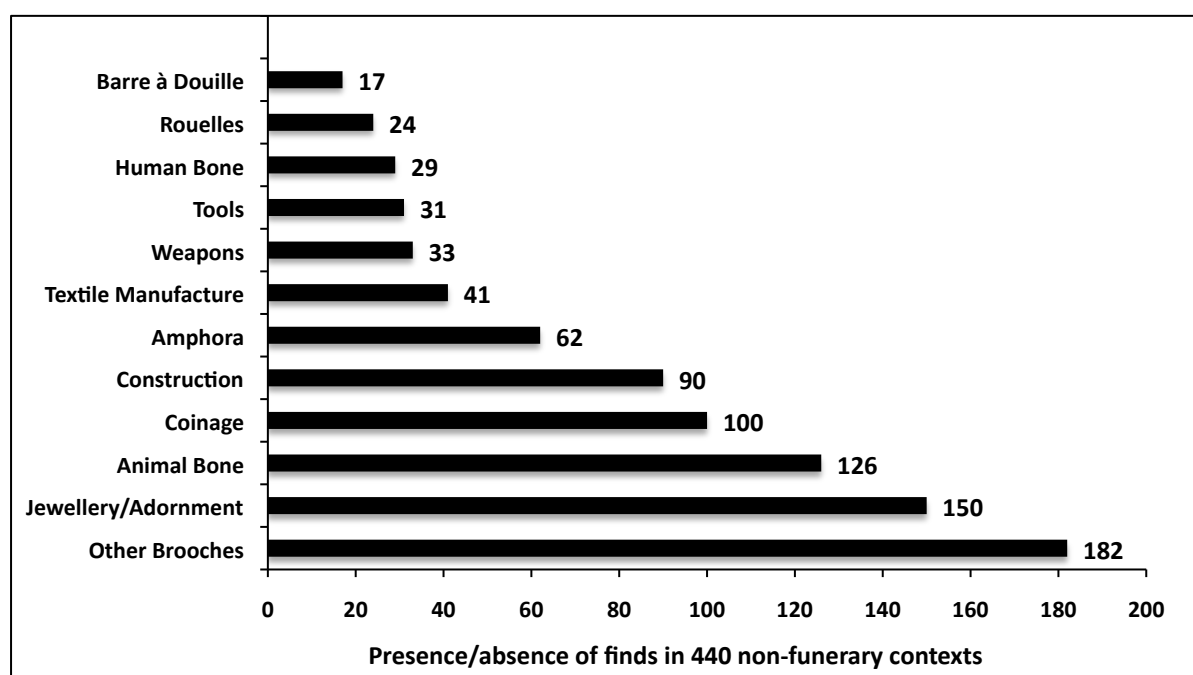


Figure 5.13: Objects commonly recovered with brooches

I would argue that, although less ‘valuable’ in terms of metallic content, their near constant recovery in deposits with other items, reveals that a brooch’s ‘worth’ was determined by considerably more than its base components. Contextual associations include, human and animal bone, amphora, glass beads, bracelets, weaponry, coins, *rouelles* (small metallic wheels), tools, and *barre à douille* (currency-bars) (figure 5.13). The appearance of brooches on CRICIRU coinage (Scheers 191/ LT 8124), some recovered from votive contexts, further underlines the social importance of this ‘cheap’ and widely available item (Allen 1972; Wellington 2006: 82). The close association at rural sites, sanctuaries and *oppida* also indicates a certain ubiquity in depositional practice. While, differences in the frequency and recovery of certain objects between sites, such as amphora, also demonstrate a certain variability of practice (figure 5.14).

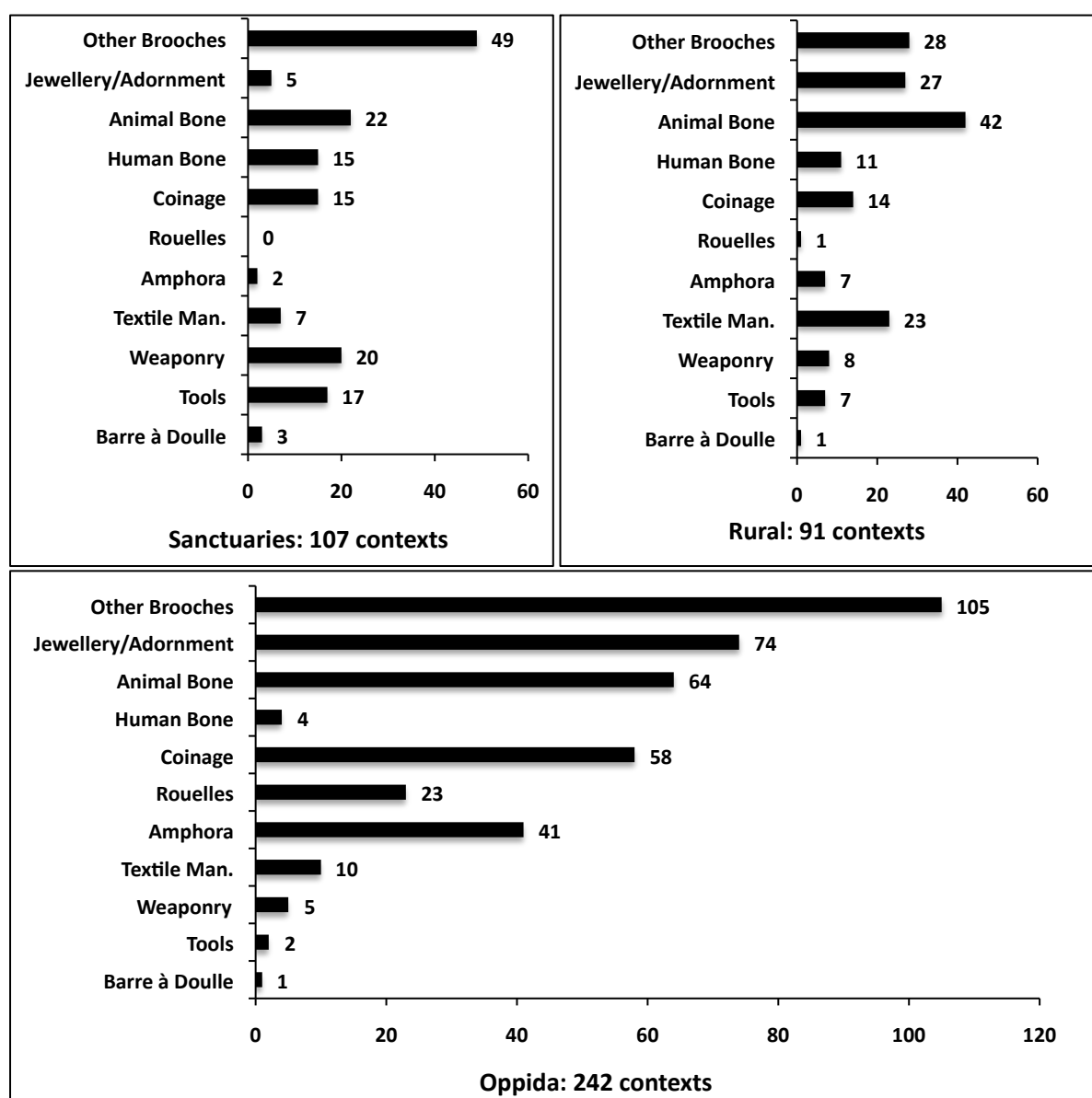


Figure 5.14: Objects commonly recovered with brooches, site-based distribution

The general acceptance of Hill's (1995) theory of structured deposition by archaeologists working at rural sites in the study area (for example Méniel *et al.* 2006) as well as its recognition at *oppida* and sanctuaries (e.g. Fichtl *et al.* 2000; Brunaux 2000; 2002; Metzler *et al.* 2006) allows for a wider discussion of depository practices. However to-date, the means of identifying and attributing meaning to deposits at various type of site has been anything but straight-forward. For example, in regards to the rural site at Jaux, "Camp du Roi" (Oise) four types of deposition are noted: intentional, placed, washed-in, lost or dumped; which are at least partially defined by the fragmentation of the recovered pottery (Malrain *et al.* 1996: 287-288, figure 49). However, as these supposedly distinct deposits are found mixed together in the same contexts, it raises the question as to whether they all got there by similar means, namely collection and then deposition. Many examples, of collection and deposition are evident across the study area. For instance, at Montmartin a pair of enclosures, one identified as domestic the other as ritualistic, both contained similar mixed deposits of degraded pottery, jewellery, brooches as well as animal and human, all collected and deposited, following a fire (Brunaux and Méniel 1997:89, 122).

Looking at deposition this way it might be useful, after Hill (1995: 1-2), to divide the number of find/pits (expanded here to include wider context types such as ditches and postholes) by the length of time the site was occupied. According to Hill (*ibid*) the number given demonstrates how representative, i.e. reflective of consumption, the recovered objects are. In contrast to Hill's analysis in Wessex however, contexts examined in this thesis include several kinds of pits, e.g. cisterns, silos and wells, as well as ditches; depositional contexts that are difficult to compare and contrast in the same way as they are all subject to alternative use, maintenance and post-abandonment processes. Nevertheless, as borne out in later chapters, finds in these contexts seldom represent constant/casual loss, but rather excavated stratigraphy points to concentrated episodes or acts of deposition. While the rarity of complete finds or context inventories makes it difficult to ascertain exact figures for sites in the study area, this is balanced by their short-lived occupations; 20 to 30 years in contrast to hundreds of years in Wessex. Resultingly, finds/context to occupation ratios for Late Iron Age sites in northern France are shown to be relatively high for the duration of occupation. For example at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (La Tène D2a/D2b), a total of 405 brooches from 222 contexts points to a higher consumption/discard figure than can be accounted for by casual loss (see Debord 1996). The

same pattern is evident at Montmartin (La Tène C2/D1a), where just under 10,000 inventoried objects, e.g. brooches and other elements of ornamentation, weaponry, ceramics, human and animal bone, were recovered from under 50 contexts (Brunaux and Méniel 1997). At these sites, the high number of objects recovered together in discrete locations not only suggests that deliberate and purposeful actions lie behind their deposition, but also behind the high numbers of objects preserved in the archaeological record.

The idea of collecting items from across the site and then depositing them together is a likely explanation for how so many items variably identified as either domestic or ritualistic are frequently found together in the same contexts. Moreover, as brooches are recovered from contexts attributed with either of these functions, it highlights the need for a new methodology to describe the formative actions behind deposition. Therefore, by identifying the types of deposit brooches were incorporated into, this project can explore their involvement in purposeful structured actions and/or rituals representative of social reproduction.

Walker and Lucero's (2000) study of ritual in the prehistoric north American southwest provides an interesting comparative example, demonstrating that the creation of specialised temples for the enactment of large-scale rituals drew on smaller-scale practices previously carried out within individual households. In northern France, the development of sanctuaries during La Tène C2/D1a indicates that something similar could have happened (see, Roymans 1996: 90; Brunaux 2002: 232). However, the continuing presence of complex deposition at rural sites and *oppida*, points to a slightly more complex situation. In northern France it is perhaps the reverse of what Walker and Lucero describe, with rituals typically performed at sanctuaries being adopted and transformed for use at other sites.

5.9 Conclusion: brooch finds in the study area, moving towards site-based depositional analysis

Only 29% of the Late Iron Age and Early Roman sites identified in the study area are brooched, generating a total of 2343 brooches, including an additional 74 from Fesques in the Seine-Maritime. The vast majority of these finds are from sanctuaries, followed by funerary sites and *oppida* (figure 5.15).

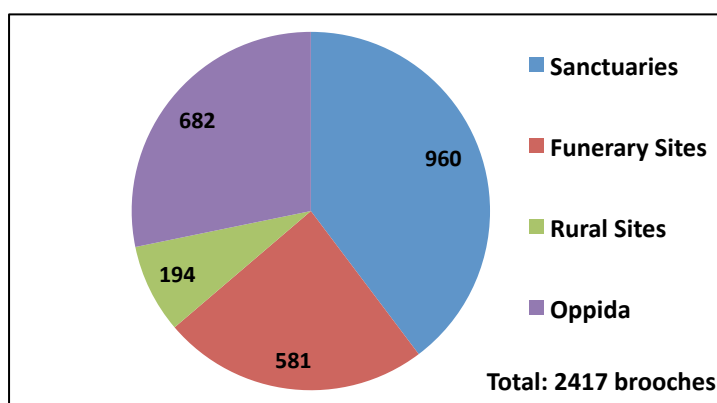
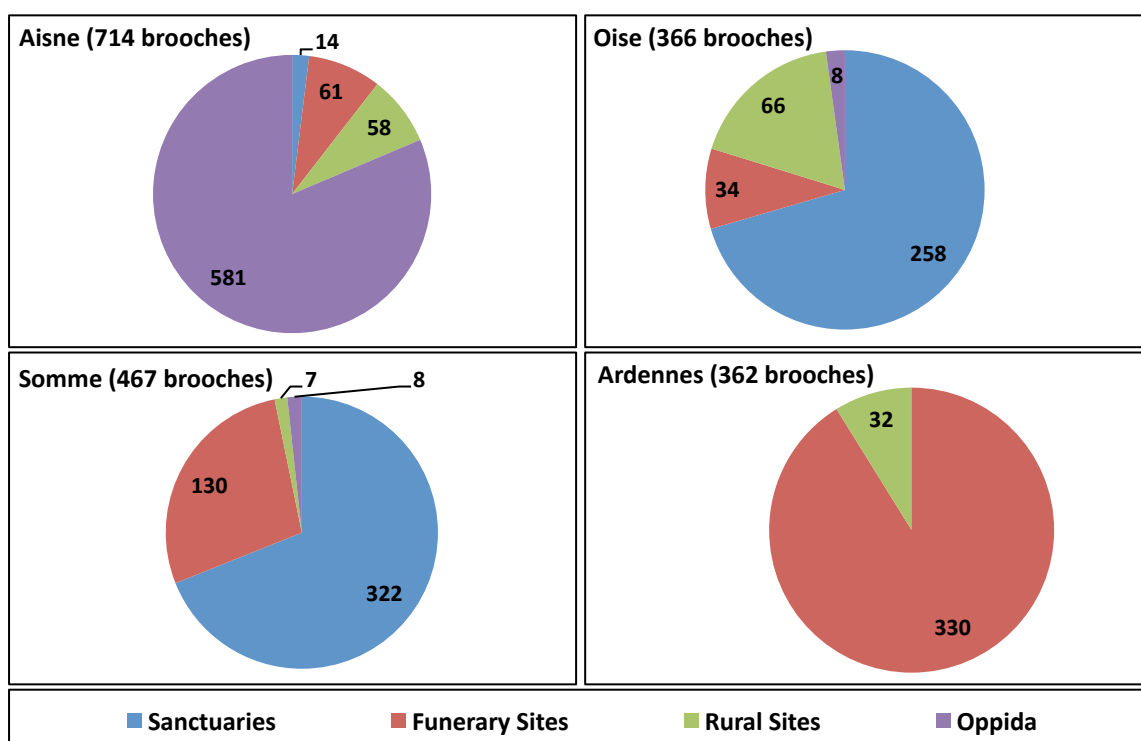


Figure 5.15: Brooches recovered from each type of site

The low number recovered from rural sites is understandable given their short occupation, as well as some regional under-excavation. However, these features can also be explained by population density, multi-phased use, as well as factors that might have favoured certain sites for deposition. As noted in Chapter Two, the types of excavation carried out in the study area, are also responsible for the differential brooch recovery. Variations in settlement patterns, particularly the general lack of excavated *oppida* in the Oise Valley may also be a factor (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 131).



*Sample Size 1909 Brooches (plus 42 brooches from the Sanctuary of Fesques, Seine-Maritime)

Figure 5.16: Regional recovery of brooches from datable contexts

Due to the short occupation of certain sites, particularly rural sites and *oppida*, as well as the close dating of deposits at multi-phased sites, it is possible to chart the rise and fall of brooch deposition over the course of the Late Iron Age. The 1951 brooches used to create the graphs below comprise approximately 81% of my total dataset, primarily selected for use here because of their recovery from dated contexts. Overall, allowing for the high numbers recovered from the *oppida* of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain in the Aisne, the number of brooches from dated (and undated) contexts recorded in each region is roughly similar (figures 2.2 and 5.16). Nevertheless, not all site types are equally represented. Nor are brooch numbers alone, benchmarks of depositional activity, as some locations, such as small rural sites, given their small size and short occupations, will always have fewer brooches than *oppida* or sanctuaries.

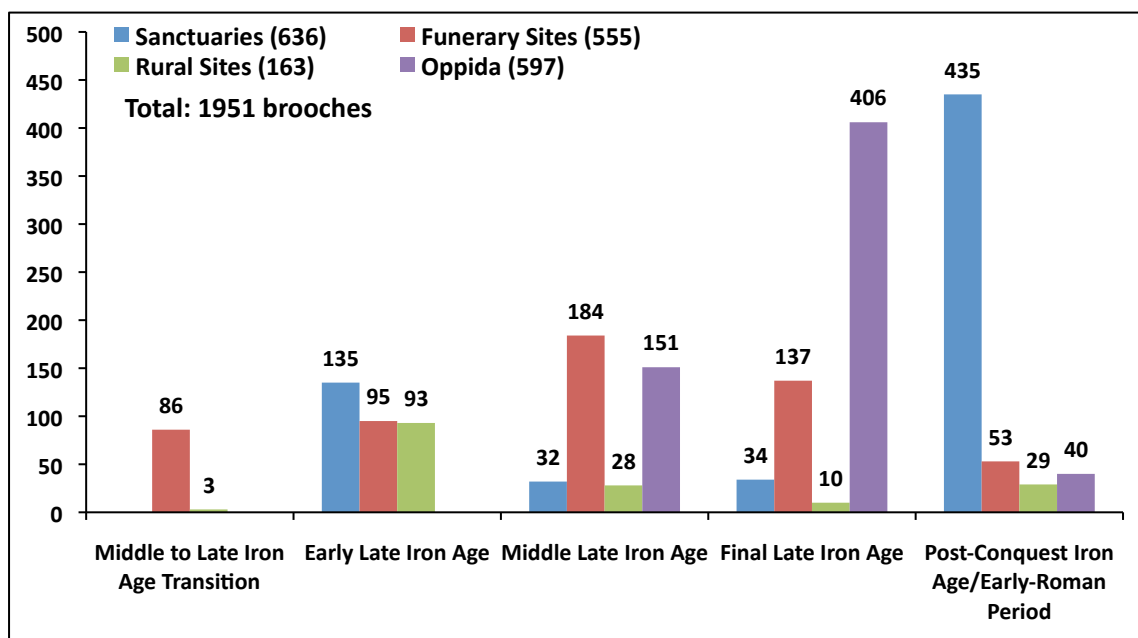


Figure 5.17: Brooch deposition from the Middle/Late Iron Age Transition to the Post-Conquest Period

While various archaeological and regional factors play a part here, the numbers can be seen as indicative of general trends in brooch deposition (Haselgrove 1997: 51). The parallel crest and trough of brooch finds at *oppida* and sanctuaries is of particular interest (figure 5.17); although this is pattern mainly the result of the large number of finds recovered from large mixed deposit outside the Roman sanctuary Dompierre-sur-Authie. Nevertheless, in comparing depositional activity between rural sites versus sanctuaries, an interesting observation emerges. For instance, while deposition continues throughout the Late Iron Age at rural sites, after the initial burst of activity at sanctuaries deposition seems to slow down. However, as discussed further in

Chapter Six, this observation is somewhat complicated by problems associated with dating La Tène C2/D1a deposits at sanctuaries.

As all site types are not well equally well excavated and represented across the study area, it is critical to tread carefully whilst analysing deposition, choosing well-excavated sites with good examples of contextual brooch deposits in order to see if patterns visible there can be discerned at other less well excavated sites. In the following chapters the nature and changing patterns of brooch deposition at rural, funerary, sanctuary and *oppida* sites will be studied in order to understand deposition across the study area.

Chapter Six Brooch Deposition at Sanctuaries

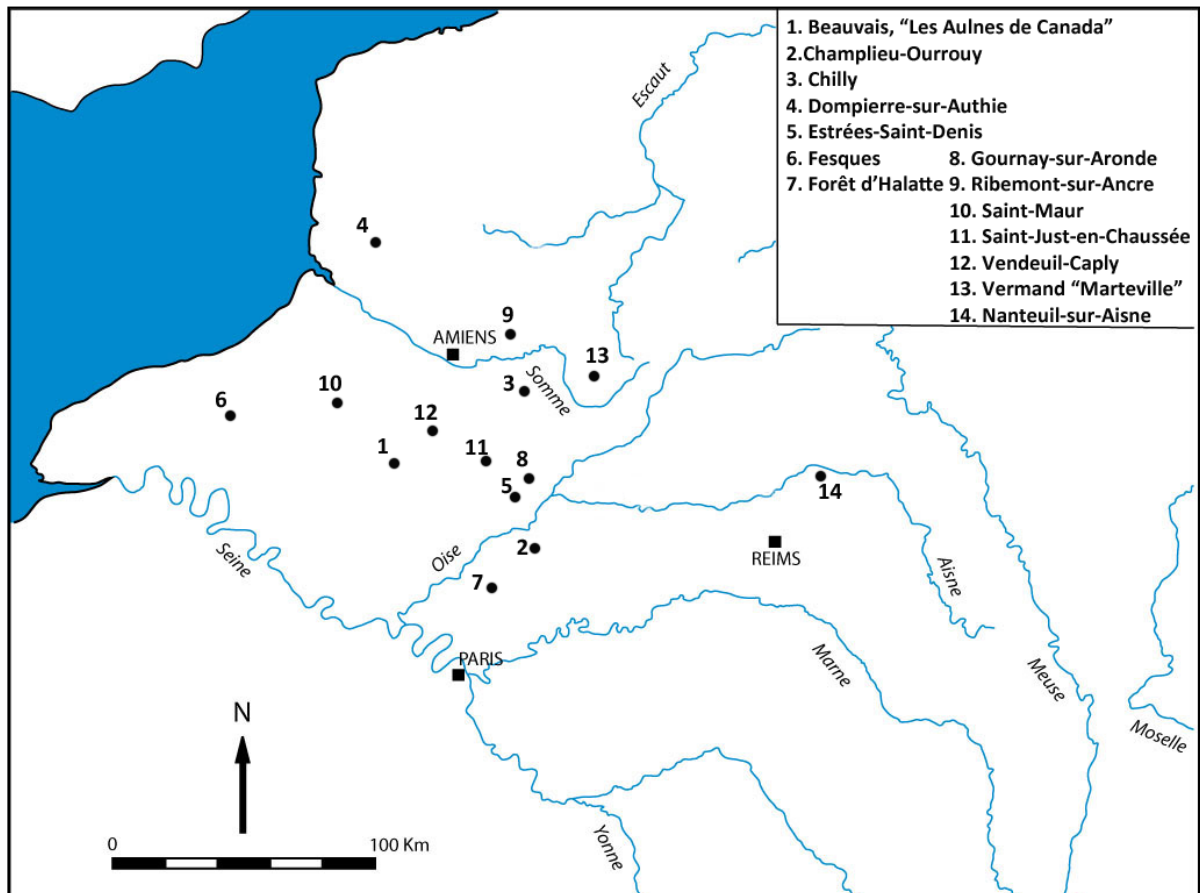


Figure 6.1: Map of sanctuaries mentioned in this chapter (after Haselgrove 2007: figure 1)

In northern France, Late Iron Age sanctuaries (figure 6.1) are identified via the presence of dense concentrations of finds such as, weaponry, coinage, as well as human and animal bone (Brunaux 1983; 1988; 1991; 1999). Brunaux (1978: 15) defined sanctuaries as a site type based on his interpretation of finds at Gournay-sur-Aronde, where a densely packed enclosure ditch deposit containing hundreds if weapons, tools, brooches, as well as human and animal bones was identified with the Gallic religious sites discussed by Caesar (6.17.1), Diodorus Siculus (5.27), Strabo (4.1.13) and Suetonius (54.2). The notion of specialized ritual sites is part and parcel with theoretical paradigms regarding the increasingly hierarchical nature of Late Iron Age society, leading to their interpretations as foci for expressions of elite identity (Brunaux 2002: 233; 2004: 33-38; Roymans 1990: 84; 1993: 33). However, the idea of specialist, elite religious sites is complicated by the continued recovery of similar deposits at *oppida* and rural sites, where they are instead associated with site organisation and/or elite status (Chapter Five, pages 96-98). While, deposits at sites other than sanctuaries are not relevant to this chapters, there are

certain issues involved in the identification of ritual sites which are best discussed here. The nature of ritual activity has been the subject of much discussion. Hill (1995) and Bradley (1993; 2003; 2005) have done much to dispel the notion that votive or structured deposits are only present at specialist Iron Age sites. Nevertheless, research conducted in northern France tends towards conservatism and publications about ‘Celtic’ religion and sanctuaries, led by Brunaux (2000; 2002; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; Brunaux and Arcelin 2003) generally ignore wider debates from outside French scholarship.

Table 6.1: Ritual deposits at key sanctuaries

Site	Date	Deposit	Stratigraphy and Finds	Comment on Finds
Gournay-Sur-Arondé	La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D2	Ditched Enclosure	1 st Deposit (Yellow Fill): cattle Bones (by entrance), swords and shield bosses (La Tène C1b) 2 nd Deposit (Densely Packed with little Earth): broken, folded or cut swords, shield bosses, and lance points, 104 brooches, 23 Coins (including Scheers 191 and Senone LT 7417).	The main focus of analysis is given to weaponry and animal bone. Only the stratigraphy of the ditch near the entrance is published.
		Interior Pits	Early deposit of a bracelet and horse-gear (La Tène C1b/C2).	Early features were very eroded.
Ribemont-sur-Ancre	La Tène C1 to La Tène D2b/GR 1	Enclosure Ditch	40 cm thick layer of bent and twisted La Tène C and D weaponry, human and horse bone, silver coins as well as Dressel 1b amphora	Stratigraphy highly disputed and finds under-published.
		Ossuaries	Inside the enclosure, to the north and southeast. The ossuaries consist of highly structured layers of human long bones and horse remains. Finds here include La Tène C1 weaponry, possibly residual, as well as La Tène D1b/D2a weaponry and harness-pieces. The 3 ossuaries here contained 2000 bones from approximately 300 human individuals. A 1 m deep cylindrical pit was also noted in the centre of the northern ossuary, interpreted as a features predating the bone deposit. Other excavations in the interior revealed La Tène D2 brooches.	Stratigraphy highly disputed and finds under-published.
		Charnier	Some articulated headless human remains, animal bone, La Tène C1 weaponry and gold Late Iron Age coins	Stratigraphy disputed, finds under-published.

Brunaux supports many of his observations with finds from his excavations at Gournay-sur-Arondé and Ribemont-sur-Ancre (table 6.1). Nevertheless, as these sites have never been fully published, interpretations tend to focus on attributes and features that Brunaux most wants to emphasize, such as weaponry or horse-gear, presumably because of their good condition (Ménier and Uran 1978: 30; Lejars 1994: 1-2). However, at Gournay, these represent only 61% of the the 2164 metal finds recorded; other objects include plough-shares, various tools, 61

barres à douilles, 74 wire fragments and 144 brooches (Unknown 1994). Contrastingly at Ribemont, the structured human remains, not the weaponry, are the focus of analysis, used to identify the site as a military trophy (Brunaux 1999: 190, 202). Nevertheless, Ribemont's stratigraphy remains in dispute, waiting for the final report on the site (Brunaux 1994; 1999; 2001a; 2001b; Fercoq du Leslay 1996; 2000). Therefore, as Brunaux's definition is based mainly on incomplete information, much remains unknown about the nature and function of these sites.

In Chapter Five (see page 112), a broad definition of what constitutes meaningful deposition was adopted allowing for recognition of ritual activity at multiple types of site. Nevertheless, this idea has not been widely accepted in Europe, and finds of 'ritual' and 'domestic' activity at Late Iron Age enclosures, i.e. *Viereckshenzen* or *Enclos Cultuelles*, are still cause for some discussion (Buchsenschutz 1991; Wieland 1999). While Venclová (1993: 63) now believes that these sites possibly encompassed both functions, Von Nicolai (2006; 2009) thinks that this is mainly the result of the mis-identification of domestic sites. The lack of excavated *Viereckshenzen* outside Germany means that this debate is likely to remain unresolved for the foreseeable future (see Bradley 2005: 16-23 for a basic summary; or Jansen 2000 for a more in depth discussion). As these enclosures lie outside the study area, they fall outside the aegis of this project. Nevertheless, the possibility that domestic and votive activity were not completely isolated within specific sites raises interesting points, particularly in how sites are identified and how finds have subsequently been interpreted.

6.1 Ritual or domestic: problems of interpretation

Problems with the identification of ritual versus domestic activity at Late Iron Age sites are symptomatic of the current conceptualisations of this chronological period in France. For example, Brunaux's use of historical sources to interpret his excavations prefigured the preferential analysis of finds emphasising 'warrior' or 'elite' elements, so that sites with weapons are automatically identified as sanctuaries or ascribed with elevated, or aristocratic, status. Aside from the fact that the historical sources are mainly based on Posidonius' lost work about southern Gaul (e.g. Nash 1976; Tierney 1960) and cannot be seen as accurate reflections of northern Gallic societies, there are other issues, such as political motivation, to consider. For

instance, although Caesar was in northern France during the period, his *commentarii* were not intended to describe the 'life-ways' of Late Iron Age Gallic people, but instead to explain his illegal campaigns and promote himself as a victorious military leader (Adcock 1956; Gardner 1983; Stevens 1952; Wiseman 1998). Moreover, Roman bias aside, the use of Latin terminology to describe non-Roman institutions and sites adds a further layer of difficulty to using these sources (Collis 1984a; Buchsenschutz and Ralston 1986).

Another factor influencing interpretation, is the notion that Late Iron Age ritual activity was becoming increasingly monumentalized and isolated from everyday life at warrior-elite sanctuaries, as a means of expressing the unique relationship between aristocrats and the gods (Brunaux 2002: 233; 2004: 33-38; Roymans 1990: 84; 1993: 33). The identification of votive activity at settlements raises the possibility that ritual was not restricted to sanctuaries (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 318). Even at Gournay the presence of a little understood La Tène D2 'domestic' and 'craft-working' site within the nearby *oppidum*, confuses the situation considerably (Brunaux 1985: 43-46). Parallel discoveries of domestic and ritual activity are also evidenced at Estrées-Saint-Denis, (Oise), a few kilometres north of Gournay-sur-Aronde, where a domestic site developed at "Les Sablons" in tandem with the sanctuary. Unfortunately, poorly published antiquarian excavations, as well as modern metal detecting activity, means that some uncertainty about these sites will likely remain (Woimant 2002a; 2002b; Legros 2002; Quérel 2002a; 2002b; 2002c). Estrées-Saint-Denis is well-known as a Roman centre, but Iron Age finds, particularly 199 coins, including 61 pre-conquest potin, indicate significant activity between La Tène C2 and D1a. The re-dating of some of the brooch types found here indicates not insignificant Late Iron Age activity, however their recovery within largely eroded stratigraphy, as well as Woimant's (2002b) persistence in using Feugère's brooch dates and a post-conquest date for potin, compresses Late Iron Age activity considerably. Nevertheless, the co-presence of sanctuary and habitation elements here is thought comparable to the rural site of Montmartin, where separate domestic and ritual enclosures were also identified (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 16).

In light of these observations there is obviously a great deal of continuity between northern French sites identified as sanctuaries and others; although traditional identifications are maintained in this project. Moreover, given the variations in deposits found in sites identified as

sanctuaries, it is highly unlikely that all functioned in the same way. In the following sections special attention is focused on sites with brooch deposits. Brooched sanctuaries account for just under 80% of identified Late Iron Age sanctuaries in the study area. However, only excavated sanctuaries with brooches are discussed in this chapter, with other brooched sanctuaries listed in Appendix Three.

6.2 Brooch deposition at sanctuaries

The pattern of brooch deposition at sanctuaries, as with all site types, is heavily influenced by site-date (figure 6.2). This is an understandable tautology, given that brooches form the basis for northern European Late Iron Age chronology and typo-chronological factors play a strong role in dating sites and phases of occupation. Nevertheless, as sanctuaries are key to understanding Late Iron Age deposition and ritual practice in northern France, any consideration of these aspects necessarily begins here.

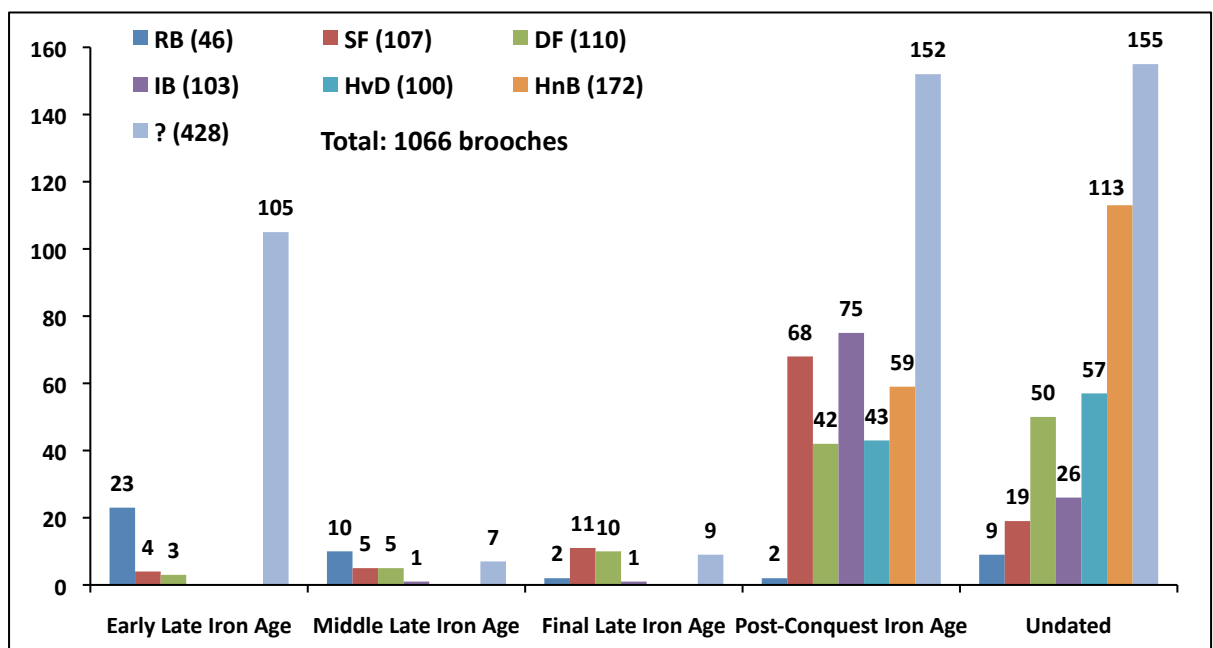


Figure 6.2: Brooches deposited over time at sanctuaries

Earliest sanctuary deposits are rather shakily dated to the La Tène C2/D1a. Brooch finds at these early sites are possibly of the Reverted Bow type, although earlier Free Bow types, i.e. Reverted Bows with non fixed feet, are likely in the mix considering the prevalence of La Tène C1 weaponry. In many cases, e.g at Fesques and Saint-Maur, these early deposits contain early weapons recovered with later brooches and coins; leaving open the possibility that these

deposits are likely much later than the La Tène C2/D1a. The absence of drawn brooches at sites like Gournay makes this difficult to confirm here. As a result, the official date for these early features and their deposits remains loosely fixed at the La Tène C2/D1a.

Following the La Tène C2/D1a sanctuary brooch deposition seems to decline. This pattern is most likely the result of several factors: possible incorrect dating of earlier deposits, the lack of stratigraphy at many eroded plateau-edge sanctuaries, later Roman reconstruction, as well as problems resolving the dates for brooches, e.g. Estrées-Saint-Denis. This is born out by the upswing in deposition at Final Late La Tène and Post-Conquest sanctuaries; although the decision to switch to coins may also be a factor. Wellington (2005: 27) noted that coin deposition maintained a relatively even intensity throughout the Middle and Final Late La Tène. In order to develop a broader picture of votive behaviour at Late Iron Age sanctuaries, a survey of these sites is presented here, with special attention to brooch deposition.

6.3 Earlier Late La Tène brooch deposits at sanctuaries

Brooch deposits dating between 150 and 120 BCE are found at Ribemont-Saint-Ancre, Gournay-sur-Arnonde, Saint-Maur and Fesques. Early and Middle La Tène finds hint at earlier activity, but as these are often uncontexted or mixed with later items, the Middle/Late La Tène transition marks the first securely datable period of activity. At Ribemont, an Early La Tène Duchov-Münsingen Free Bow brooch was recovered inside a test pit with a La Tène C1 sword and Lance-point, as well as a La Tène D1a scabbard (Brunaux 1994: 72; Hodson 1968). At Gournay, Saint-Maur and Fesques the earliest deposits also contain finds ranging in date, that were possibly mixed and redeposited by later rebuilding. Considering these difficulties and the lack of detailed publication, it is difficult to say much with certainty regarding La Tène C2/D1a brooch deposition. Nevertheless, many of these sites are key to the definition and understanding of sanctuaries and votive deposition. In this regard, Fesques, a well published site just outside of the study area in the Seine-Maritime, offers a good indication of what might be expected at La Tène C2/D1a sanctuaries.

6.3.1 Fesques

Although surface deposits hint at earlier activity, the earliest features at Fesques date to the late third century BCE (Mantel 1997: 19). Nevertheless, brooch deposition is not securely evidenced until the La Tène C2/D1a, when a single Type 1 Reverted Bow brooch was deposited in close association with rings, horse-gear and glass within an early pit cut inside the centre of the enclosure. Three other brooches, including two more Reverted Bow brooches (a Type 1 and 3) as well as a Decorative Nauheim were recovered in a slightly later deposit, within the large 10 hectare peripheral enclosure; along with human, and animal bone (95% of which were young one to two year old cattle), nails, rivets, tools and La Tène C1/C2 weaponry (figure 6.3) (*ibid*: 172). This indicates that brooches were mainly deposited in the tail end of this period, more towards the La Tène D1a than the C2/D1a transition. Prior to this weaponry seems to have been the item of choice for deposition.

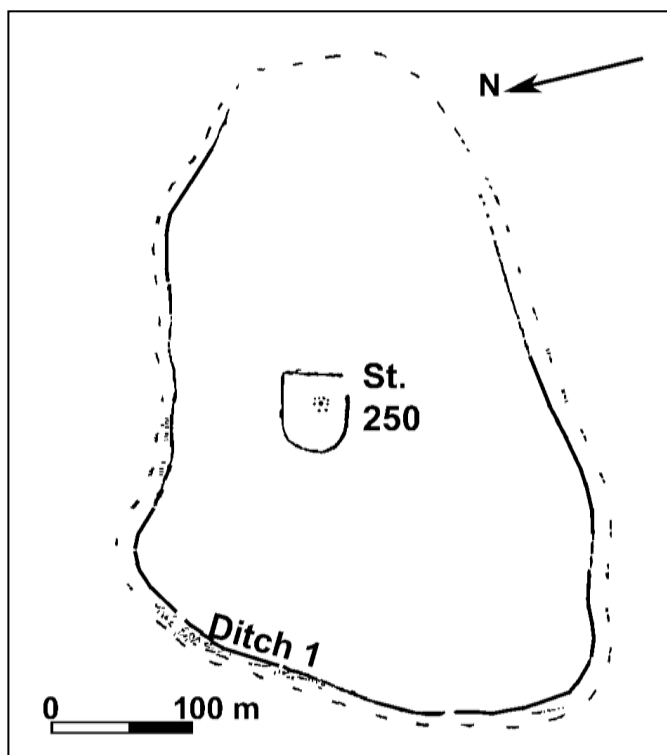


Figure 6.3: Plan of Fesques, La Tène C2/D1a (after Mantel 1997: figure 46)

The brooches recovered from the peripheral enclosure, demonstrate some intentional fragmentation. The Nauheim brooch, although complete, was found in several pieces. Ritual damage is also evidenced with weaponry found inside the bottom fill of internal enclosure ditch, along with human bone (Mantel 1997: 192). The character of the slightly later enclosure finds

contrast with the earliest central-pit finds, which mainly consists of small personal finds and horse-gear. However, given the disturbance brought about by later restructuring, very little is known about the earliest pit phases here. At Gournay, an Early La Tène bracelet and horse-gear were also found within the earliest central pits (Brunaux *et al.* 1985: 99). Therefore, if the picture of earliest deposition is correct in these cases, while small personal finds might have been seen as appropriate for deposition inside ritual enclosure, weaponry was most often incorporated into rituals outside it. By the later La Tène D1a this seems to have changed, and the increased deposition of small finds, including and brooches, is evidenced within exterior enclosure ditches.

At Fesques the brooches found inside the first phase horse-shoe shaped ritual enclosure were mainly in the top fill along with animal bones (75% pig, 16% beef, nine percent caprids), ovoid and cylindrical goblets as well as bracelets. Coins recovered here, including one potin Scheers 191, date the fill well into the to the La Tène D1a (Mantel 1997: 192 283-295). Brooches deposited during the La Tène D1a are not numerous however, although this might be because of plough damage, or because only the southwestern portion of this ditch was excavated (*ibid*: 116). Only seven brooches were recovered here: including, iron and copper alloy Reverted Bow brooches (Type 1 and 3), iron Simple Filiform types (Type A and 2), several unidentified iron as well as one untyped copper alloy brooch. The most notable find is of an iron Type 7 À *Coquille*, the latest brooch recovered, showing that deposition possibly continued in these early features until at least the La Tène D1a/D1b.

The publication of Fesques concentrates on dating and phasing as well as comparisons with Gournay-sur-Aronde (Mantel 1997: 124). Finds in the disturbed central pits are similar to Gournay, hinting at the small scale of activity inside the enclosure, datable to the La Tène C2/D1a transition. However, brooch and coin finds within the top fill of the first phase enclosure ditch demonstrates the increase in deposition during the La Tène D1a, when deposition of small items, like brooches or coins, seems to take precedence over weaponry (*ibid*: 57); although interestingly both brooches and weaponry show similar types of ritual damage, such as bending or breaking.

6.3.2 Gournay-sur-Aronde

The site of Gournay is located on the northern slope of the Aronde valley, four kilometres from the contemporary sanctuary of Saint-Maur. Only three sides of the enclosure are extant, the western side unfortunately cut by a local road (figure 6.4). Brunaux (1977: 3) described the deposit excavated at the eastern entrance as extremely compact, with objects likely placed immediately following the completion of the ditch, as finds, particularly weapons, were found inserted vertically with little to no alluvium present. The stratigraphy at the eastern entrance was subsequently examined and two layers of deposition were identified, although a third surface deposit was posited (Brunaux *et al.* 1978: 10). Unfortunately, the stratigraphy uncovered at the entrance was not in evidence elsewhere; although this is just as likely because the sparse nature of finds away here also made these sections much less favoured for analysis. Therefore little is known about variations in stratigraphy and deposition throughout the enclosure; although some attempt has been made to examine variations in the recovered animal bones (Ménier 2000: 267-270).

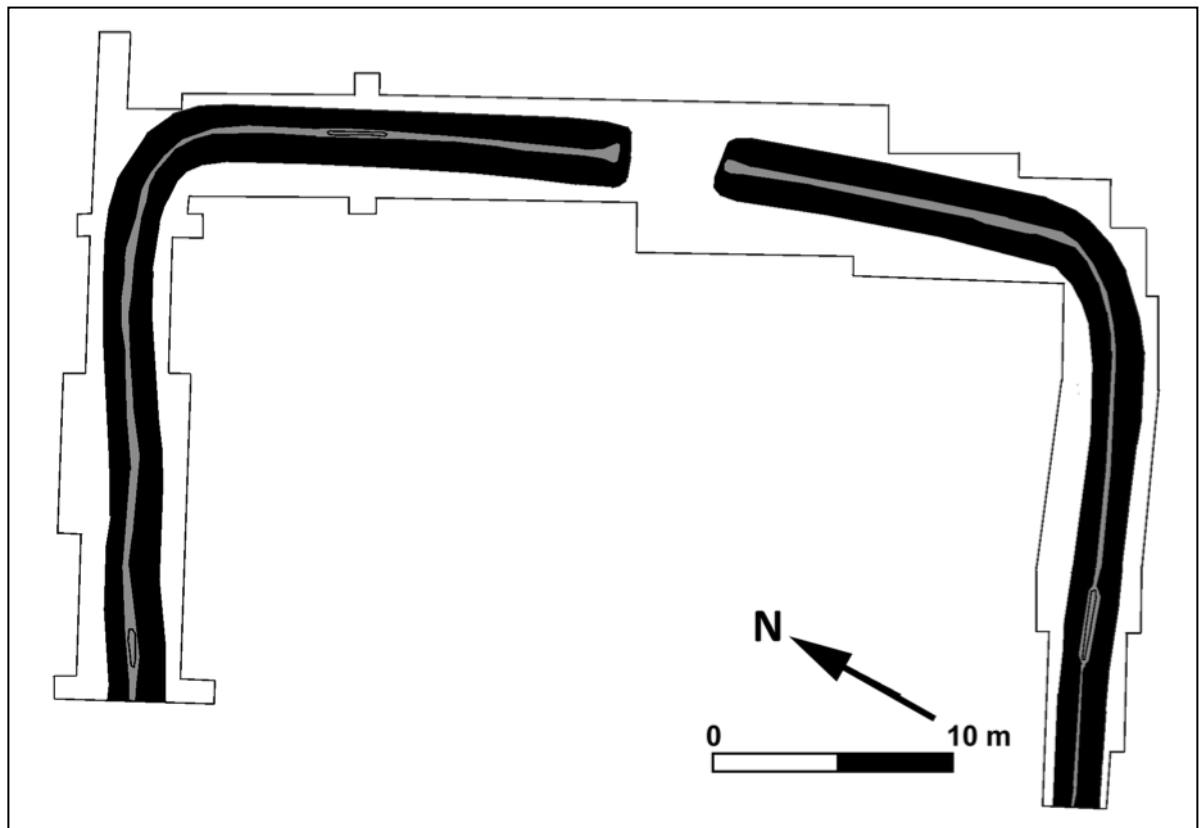


Figure 6.4: Plan of enclosure ditch at Gournay-sur-Aronde (after Brunaux *et al.* 1985 fig. 59)

Unfortunately, although the stratigraphy of the ditch is explained in many reports and publications, there is some contradiction between them regarding the date of initial deposition. Therefore, while summary publication exists (e.g. Brunaux *et al.* 1985a; 1985b) the dating of the finds, particularly the brooches which are never drawn, cannot be clarified.

Nevertheless, the generally accepted phasing of the site is as follows (from Arcelin and Brunaux 2003: 56-61). In phase one, a ditched enclosure, identified as the *Fossé Périphérique*, was cut. This ditch measured roughly 44.50 by 37 metres and was associated with several postholes. These were dated via ceramics to the Early La Tène. Unfortunately, most of this phase was lost during later re-cutting. In the second phase, a wood-lined palisaded ditch, or *Fossé d'Exposition*, was built and the eastern entrance blocked by an external rectilinear pit. The bulk of the finds were recovered from this phase of construction. Given the similarities with Fesques, these could range in date between the La Tène C2/D1a and the La Tène D1a/D1b. However, because the brooches found at Gournay are not identified this cannot be clarified and the dating rests on the presence of La Tène C2/D1a weaponry. Nevertheless, the presence of potin within the assemblage (including Scheers 191) points to a La Tène D1a date (Brunaux 1987: 14-32).

The 104 brooches recovered in the *Fossé d'Exposition* at Gournay are initially identified as Middle La Tène Reverted Bow types (Brunaux *et al.* 1978: 10). However, this changes in a later publication where they are described as Reverted Bow, Filiform and Nauheim types (Brunaux 1985b: 103). Difficulties with identification partially stem from the fact that Feugère's (1985) typology had yet to be published during the site's initial excavation. There was evidently little interest in the brooches. Brunaux (1985b: 110) mistakenly identifies all the brooches at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain as *Arc Interrompu* types; which even considering their limited publication at the time, is clearly not the case (see Debord 1982: 244).

Nine circular pits in the centre of the enclosure are also associated with the earliest phases at Gournay (figure 6.5). Finds, including a bracelet and horse-gear, date deposition between the La Tène C1b and D1a. Unfortunately, these features were reconstructed on many occasions, making exact identification and dating of activity difficult. For example, although a 'temple' was built over the central pits during the third phase of construction, the absence of associated finds only allows for this to be loosely dated between the second and first centuries BCE (Arcelin and

Brunaux 2003: 65). The sanctuary was largely rebuilt in phase five and coins recovered from the central pit, including Tiberian issues, date this to the later Gallo-Roman period (Haselgrove 1995:57; *cf.* Brunaux 1987). However, the recovery of a potin Scheers 191 here, possibly remaining from an earlier phase, points to Tène D1a activity.

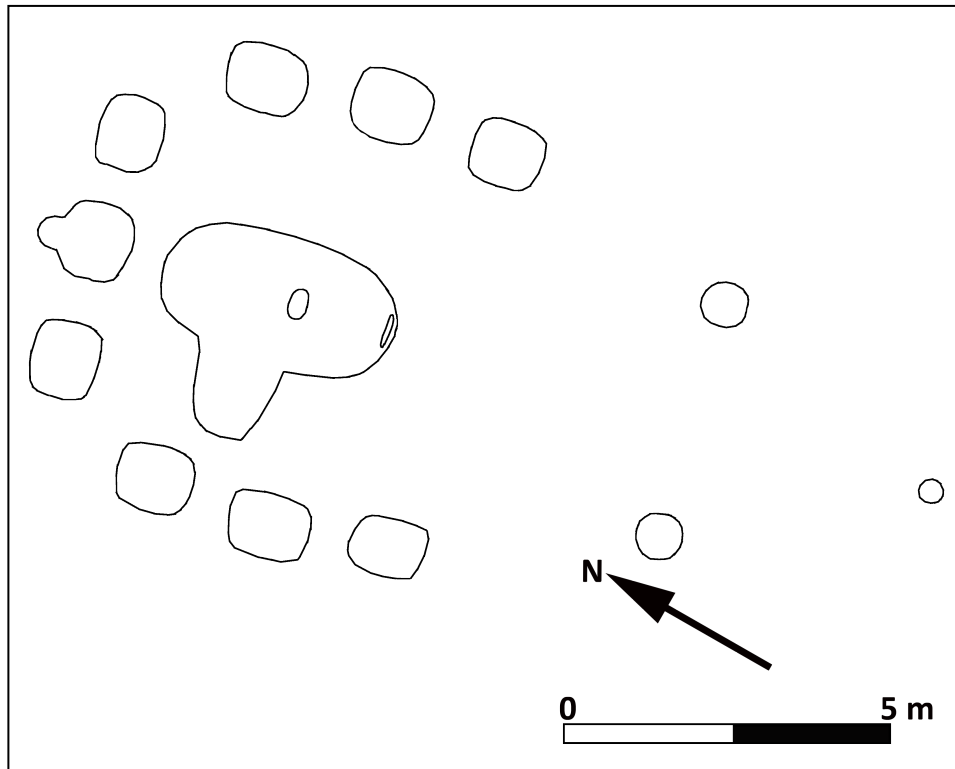


Figure 6.5: Plan of central pits at Gournay-sur-Arond (Phase 1) (after Brunaux 1979 fig. 4)

The many subsequent stages of re-planning affecting both the main enclosure and the central pits, make dating initial deposition very difficult. However, the presence of weaponry in fill of the *Fossé d'Exposition* indicates that deposition took place here around the La Tène C2/D1a transition (Brunaux 1977; Brunaux *et al.* 1985a: 58; 1885b: 103). The densely packed nature and the lack of alluvium suggests rapid deposition, probably of objects from the earliest enclosure with later finds, such as brooches. As at Fesques, the brooches, if identified, might move deposition further into the La Tène D1a. The switch from weaponry to smaller items, like brooches, inside the enclosure is very similar, hinting that a transition in depositional practices occurred sometime early in the La Tène D1a.

6.3.3 Saint-Maur (Oise)

Located just four kilometres from Gournay the layout of Saint-Maur, comprised of central pits within an enclosure, is quite similar to the sanctuaries discussed above. This site was also excavated by Brunaux, with the aid of Lambot, later the excavator of Acy-Romance (Brunaux and Lambot 1985; 1986; 1988; 1991). The principal aim of work here was not only to determine the context of the large number of coins and metal objects collected by antiquarians, but also to date the pre-Roman occupation of the site and correct the 19th century plan (Liebbe 1898). Like Gournay, weaponry deposits indicate a La Tène C1/C2 foundation, followed by reconstruction sometime during the early La Tène D1a. Also similar is Saint-Maur's use into Post-Conquest period, although due to erosion not much is known about later activity.

Excavation uncovered approximately 2500 objects, including ceramics, coins, iron and copper alloy brooches, as well as glass and lignite bracelets. Due to soil acidity no bones were recovered, although these were probably deposited as well. Intact La Tène C1b/C2 weaponry was found at the base of both excavated sections of the enclosure ditch, with fragmentary weapons and smaller finds deposited on top (Brunaux and Lambot 1988: 7). The 27 brooches recovered were found within this top deposit. They range from Reverted Bow, Simple Filiform, *À Coquille*, to Decorative Nauheim types. These were recovered alongside La Tène D1a coins (Scheers 191 potin and Scheers 121 struck bronzes), at the time given post-conquest dates.

Brunaux and Lambot (1985: 11; 1986: figure 12; 1988: 6-7) explain this as one deposit made from items collected across the site then subsequently dumped in the ditch, with coins and some later brooch types ritually deposited on top. This is possibly the case, however, as at Gournay, this phase of deposition could follow re-planning of the site after initial La Tène C1/C2 deposition. Considering the re-dating of potin coinage as well as many of these brooch types, deposition of the smaller finds dates well into the La Tène D1a. Making deposition at Saint-Maur very similar to Fesques and possibly Gournay; with deposition of smaller objects following initial deposition of weaponry. Therefore, as with Fesques and possibly Gournay, this second phase of deposition likely dates slightly later than the La Tène C2/D1a transition.

6.3.4 Conclusion: Earlier Late La Tène brooch deposits at sanctuaries

The dating of the earliest Late La Tène deposits at sanctuaries is extremely tenuous. Although earlier La Tène C1 weaponry is present at all the sites discussed above, where recovered in stratified contexts it is mixed with later objects such as coins and brooches. While the uncertain identification of the brooches means that this cannot be confirmed at Gournay-sur-Aronde, the presence of potin within the ditch deposit points to a date more towards the La Tène D1a. Finds from Saint-Maur and Fesques, where later brooch types (i.e. DF) and coins have been identified, supports a later date, in La Tène D1a, for initial brooch deposition at sanctuaries. Moreover, the fact that Middle La Tène free reverted brooches are rarely found at sanctuaries underscores the fact that brooch deposition here is a predominantly Late La Tène phenomenon.

6.4 Middle Late La Tène brooch deposition at sanctuaries

The types of deposition at sanctuaries throughout the La Tène D1a/D1b mark a transition in votive behaviour, from weaponry and large scale deposition in earlier periods to more individualised deposits of coinage and jewellery. This change, continuing into the La Tène D1b period, is illustrated by several examples from across the study area.

6.4.1 Fesques

La Tène D1a/D1b activity at Fesques is fairly contiguous with earlier La Tène C2/D1a occupation (figure 6.6), although in this period brooches were mainly recovered from features inside the central enclosure. These finds straddle the abandonment of the first phase, as well as the third phase reconstruction in the La Tène D1b/D2a (Mantel 1997: 26). Finds from this phase mainly consist of small personal items such as belt attachments, bracelets, beads, rings, as well as brooches. Many of the brooches are Early La Tène Free-bow types falling outside of the Edgar Typology, but as they are found with Iron Age coins their deposition is dated within the La Tène D1a (*ibid*: 293). Similar finds were noted in the foundation trench (St.300) of the third phase temple, where an Early La Tène brooch was found in association with several Scheers 191 potin.

Whilst possibly placed as closing or opening deposits, these finds illustrate more of the transition between earlier La Tène D1a and La Tène D1b/D2a deposition; where coinage and

jewellery are more common deposits (Mantel 1997: 46). However, the apparent decision to deposit earlier brooch types rather than contemporary ones with the first coin deposits is interesting, and perhaps indicates an interest in legitimizing these new objects for votive use. This shows some correspondence to earlier deposits in the exterior enclosure ditch, where contemporary deposits were deposited with earlier weaponry. This perhaps indicates that each new type of object chosen for votive dedication needed to be legitimised by depositing it with an earlier version of the previously preferred objects: earlier weapons with contemporary brooches, earlier brooches with contemporary coins.

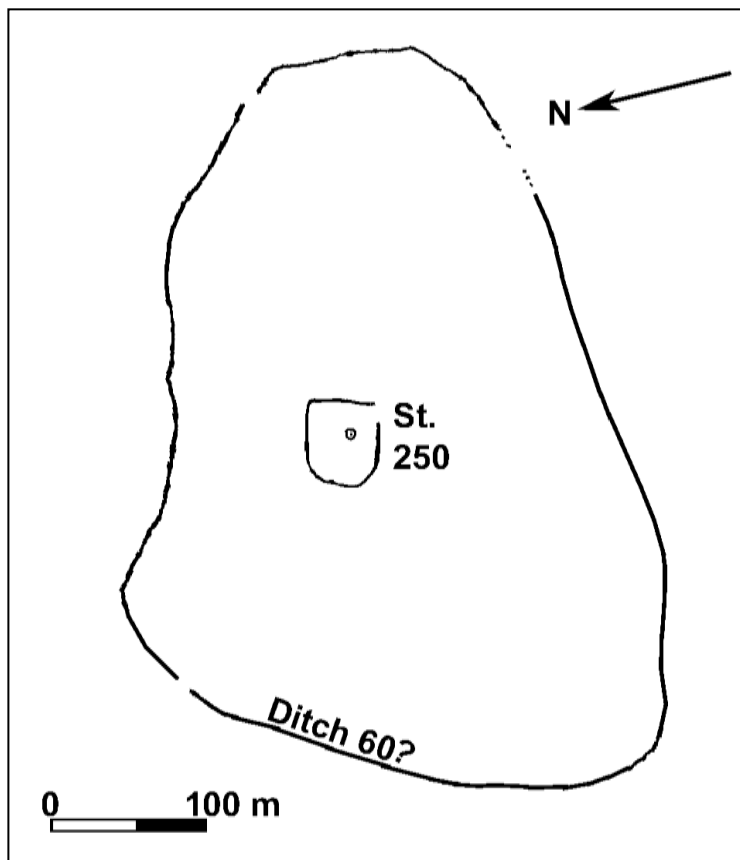


Figure 6.6: Plan of Fesques, La Tène D1a/D1b (after Mantel 1997: figure 46, B)

6.4.2 Estrées-Saint Denis

Estrées is located on the plateau just a few kilometres north of Gournay-sur Aronde. It is a well known Roman centre, but its Iron Age levels indicate that it functioned as a sanctuary well before this. Unfortunately, poorly published antiquarian excavations, modern metal detection as well as extensive erosion, means that uncertainty about pre-Roman activity is unavoidable. However, Woimant's 1983-88 and 1993 excavations, published in the 2002 *RAP*, tell us

something about the sites early history; although the pre-Roman phasing provided is tenuous at best.

As there is very little stratigraphy, phasing at Estrées is wholly reliant on finds: Feugère's brooch dates are employed along with a somewhat lukewarm acceptance of the pre-conquest date for potin (Delestrée 1996; Woimant 2002a: 20, 31; 2002b). However, because the dates for most Late Iron Age brooches have now been pushed back, it is entirely possible that the history of the site is also much earlier; explaining the frequent recovery of La Tène C1 suspension rings and earlier ceramics (Arcelin and Brunaux. 2003: 56). Nevertheless, as many early finds are mixed with later objects, there is no sure means of differentiating earlier from later deposition. Therefore, the later La Tène D1a/D1b date remains securely in place for the first phase. Estrées' phasing is further complicated by the rather late date given to contexts with potin, odd considering Woimant's (2000a: 52) acknowledgement of their pre-conquest date. The majority of these coins occur within deposits dating to the La Tène D2b/GR 1. While the deposition of these coins in later contexts is entirely feasible, sorting this out is made difficult through the use of alternative numbers for contexts with coins. Therefore, the pre-conquest phases at Estrées are compressed considerably, with further complication added by later first and second century CE re-organization, including the construction of three stone *fana*.

A total of nine occupation phases were noted, from the La Tène D1a/D1b through to the mid third century CE. Although Middle La Tène activity is evidenced by earlier ceramics as well as the aforementioned suspension rings (Woimant 2002: 20, 74). The first phase, tentatively dated to the La Tène D1a/D1b, consisted of several pits surrounded by a rectilinear palisaded trench (see figure 6.7). The earliest finds were mainly recovered from pits and postholes. This is unusual in comparison with other sanctuaries, like Gournay or Saint-Maur, where most initial deposits were excavated from enclosure ditches. Finds including coins, brooches, rings, miniature vases, weaponry, as well as human and animal bone were recovered here, leading to the site's identification as a sanctuary (*ibid*: 23).

There is no reason to assume that simply because a site was found under a later sanctuary, that earlier features served the same function. For instance, Estrées nearness to Montmartin, a unique aristocratic site, as well as subsequent construction of a site next-door at Les Sablons,

Sixteen ‘ritual pits’ were identified at Estrées, labelled as such because of unique dark fill layers containing more burnt material, dolia and pig bone than the light sandy fill found elsewhere at the site (Woimant 2002a: 28-29). These pits are also notable because of their depth (approximately two metres), although in diameter and form they are quite similar to postholes (*ibid*). Comparisons with Gournay aside (*ibid*: 28), the deposits have more in common other rural sites, e.g. Jaux or Bazoches. This should not detract from their possible ritual functions; nevertheless the monumentality of the Roman features might have coloured the appreciation of the Iron Age site somewhat. Therefore, rather than see these pits as evidence of ritual activity I would ascribe them with a mixed function, although it based on evidence from other rural sites, it seems that that domestic and ritual activity were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Table 6.2: La Tène D1a/D1b brooch finds in pits, Estrées-Saint-Denis

Context	Location	Brooch Type	Associated Finds	
In C7 near St.313	Pit in Central Area	Iron Type 1	No Associated Finds	
St.1217	Southwestern Edge of Site (Ivb 1bc)	Type 6	Ceramics	
St.313	Posthole in Central Area	Iron Type 1	Ceramics Sheep Bones Coins	
St.359/360	Western North-South Ditch (If 7a)	Iron Type 1	Human Bone Ceramics Unidentified Iron	Iron Lance-point Loom-weight Daub
St.426	Posthole associated with structure (Iea 28)	Iron Type 2	<i>Barre à Douille</i>	
St.80	Ritual Pit (Id2)	Copper Alloy Type 5a	Bracelets Pig Bone	Loom-weight Iron Suspension Ring
St.9	Pit (IVa 1c)	Iron Type 4	No Associated Finds	
St.936	Posthole (Ib20)	Iron Type 1	No Associated Finds	
Surface Find	Central Structure	Iron Unidentified	Human Bone Unidentified Iron	

Because many of the ‘ritual’ pits cut earlier features Woimant (2002a: 29) places them toward the end of the first phase. Given that curation deposits are in evidence in the palisaded ditch, similar practices may be evidenced here, particularly as pits like St. 658 saw subsequent re-use in phase three (*ibid*: 66). However, other than ceramics and burnt daub, very little material is recorded from these contexts, the major exception being the complete Type 5a brooch, iron ring and ceramics found in pit St.80 (table 6.2). Intriguingly, separate halves of the same vessel were recovered from both St.80 and St.44, located four metres away. Interpreted as ritual breakage, or ‘*coupe rituelle*’ this represents a unique type of deposit here (Woimant 2002a: 29).

Several distinct brooch deposits were also recovered inside the palisaded ditch. These deposits are seemingly more ritualistic in character, although many could result from later intrusion and dating is uncertain (table 6.3).

Table 6.3: La Tène D1a/D1b brooch finds in the palisaded ditch, Estrées-Saint-Denis

Context	Location	Brooch Type	Associated Finds	
St. 359/360	Posthole in Palisaded Trench If, Western Side	Iron Type 1	Human Bone <i>Barre à Douille</i> Iron Lance-Point	Loom-weight Miniature Ceramics
St.139/140	Posthole in Palisaded Trench If, possibly Phase 2	Unidentified iron brooch Iron Type 4 Iron Type 11	Scabbard Fragment Iron Lance-point Blue Glass Ring	<i>Barre à Douille</i>
St.140/1	Posthole in Palisaded Trench If, placed within Phase 3 and 4	Type 1, 3 or A Type 9 Type 15 Two Unidentified	Two Miniature Lance-points Bucket Rings	

The large object concentration in post-hole St.139/140 contained the only Feugère 11 *Ungiform* brooch recorded in my dataset; recognizable by its flat wide tongue-shaped bow. Feugère (1985: 251) dates this brooch to the mid-first century CE. This is the first solid evidence, beyond the two unreliable surface finds at Chateau-Porcien, providing strong support for an earlier pre-conquest date (Lambot and Varillon 1975). Moreover, given that no examples were recorded from other dated contexts in the study area, or at *oppida* in Luxembourg or Germany, this brooch represents one of the few contexted finds of its type in northern temperate Europe. This has significant impact regarding finds in England, as examples of this type are recorded at both Baldock and Meare (Gray and Bulleid 1953; Stead and Mackreth 1970).

Interestingly, all of the major deposits found in the palisade are in places that saw continuous use, most likely representing more than casual loss or dumping; especially as so few of the postholes recorded elsewhere in the ditch contained comparable finds. Unfortunately, lack of stratigraphy makes these deposits very difficult to situate within the site's history. Nevertheless, the enclosure's regular curation over at least 100 years of the site's early history, hints at the continued importance of certain locations for deposition. This has implications for other deposits at the site, revealing that while pits and postholes were initially *foci* of deposition this expanded in later phases to include ditches. Therefore, although initially deposition at Estrées had more in common with contemporary rural sites (see Chapter Eight), this changed in later

phases when deposits were placed more frequently in ditches. This unique feature indicates a function perhaps somewhere between sanctuary and rural site.

6.4.3 Beauvais, “Les Aulnes de Canada”

Woimant excavated this La Tène D1a/D1b site, located on the edge of the Therain plateau 15 kilometres southeast of Saint-Maur between 1981 and 1982. Unfortunately, most of the site had already been destroyed by ploughing, and only one 82 metre long side of the enclosure was extant. At the time of its excavation, very little was known about other Late Iron age sites in the region and comparisons were made, based on its quadrangular shape, with *Viereckschanze* in Germany (Woimant 1990: 30); although initially it was interpreted as a large rural site (Woimant 1982: 11). The identification remains tenuous as the *dolia* and loom-weights found here are thought more in keeping with rural sites (*ibid*: 31). However, as discussed above Woimant (2002a) ignored these at Estrées. Of course *viereckschanze* themselves are very little understood and, as discussed earlier in Chapter Five, debates surrounding their often mixed domestic and ritual nature continues. As no Iron Age features were recovered inside the Beauvais enclosure, there was little else here to clarify the function of the site.

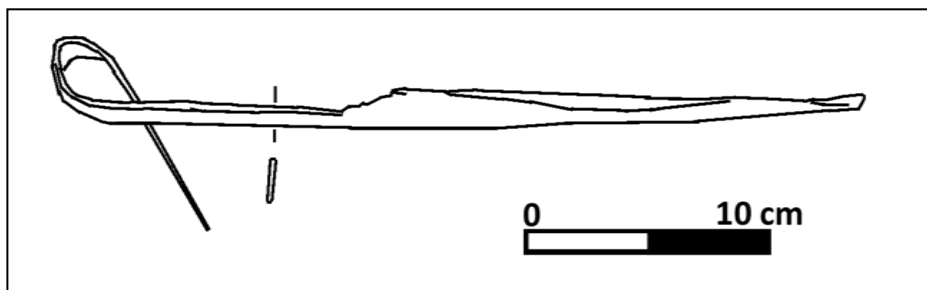


Figure 6.8: *Barres à Douille* from Beauvais, “Les Aulnes de Canada” (after Woimant 1985: figure 7.1)

Finds from the enclosure ditch include human and animal bones, iron tools, bracelets, five brooches, three coins and several fragments of Dressel 1a amphora. Eighty-eight iron *barres à douille* were also recovered (Woimant 1995: 13). These are tentatively interpreted as coin substitutes, based on a broad similarity to currency bars and Caesars mention of *taleae ferrae* (Woimant 1990: 83; cf. BG X, XII). However, in appearance they seem more similar to purposely bent, unfinished iron knives (figure 6.8).

Given how little is understood about the enclosure at Beauvais, it is difficult to make any firm assertions about how the site may have functioned. Nevertheless, there are certain intriguing aspects, particularly in regard to the apparent intentional destruction or deformation of objects, that seem to signify the ritual nature of activities here. For instance, the majority of the bracelets found in the ditch exhibit clean, obviously intentional breaks (*ibid*: 29). A potin Scheers 197 coin was also cut in half (Woimant 1990: 4). The latest brooch type found in the enclosure ditch, a Type 5a Nauheim, is also the most fragmentary, with an absent, and possibly intentionally removed, spring, pin and catch-plate. While this is not proof-positive of intentional destruction, another brooch was also found with its spring twisted open. Given this evidence, it seems that small portable personal items, including brooches, were integrated into similar votive practices as the bent iron *barres à douille*. Notably however, the absence of earlier finds, e.g. weaponry, points to a focus on the deposition of small-objects, practices that evolved at sites with slightly earlier histories, such as Gournay, Saint-Maur or Fesques.

6.4.4 Ribemont-sur-Ancre

Although there is evidence of La Tène C1 activity at Ribemont, many of the earliest features were destroyed during La Tène D1a/D1b reconstruction. Many early weapons are also found mixed with later finds, e.g. coins, making it difficult to recognize early deposition. Cadoux (1994) records 134 brooches, very few from securely datable contexts, although some were recovered in foundations of the later Roman temple or theatre. These brooches range in date between La Tène C2 and the early Gallo-Roman period. Similar foundation deposits are recognized at Dompierre-sur-Authie and may represent the norm for sites that saw major reorganization in the Roman period. As only three percent of these finds pre-date the La Tène D2a there is very little to say with regards to earlier brooch deposition. Nevertheless, as a few brooches were recovered in association with the La Tène D1a/D1b site, Ribemont is discussed here; although this mainly serves to highlight the difficulties involved in interpreting Iron Age activity.

During the La Tène D1a/D1a the earlier 1850 m² enclosure was expanded, with the addition of a southern ditch. The ditch fill also became more anthropogenic, contrasting with earlier alluvial deposits. The finds include bent and twisted La Tène C and D weaponry, human and horse bones, silver coins as well as Dressel 1b amphora fragments. All were recovered in a 40

centimetre thick layer covered by a burnt deposit. Fercoq du Leslay (2000: 122-124) seriates these finds, placing activity between the mid 1st century BCE and the second half of the 1st century BCE, also hinting at an early Post-Conquest date for its final deposition. This observation is based on the erosion evident on the amphora, many of which were likely exposed for some time on the surface before deposition. Therefore, although the majority of the material found within this layer dates to the La Tène D1a/D1b, its final deposition dates to the Roman period re-organization of the site.

However, the most unique features at Ribemont were the deposits of human bone: the *charnier*, and the ossuaries (figure 6.9). The *charnier*, consisting of a large deposit of articulated headless human skeletons, lay outside the southeast corner of the enclosure. Other finds from here include La Tène C1b weaponry, La Tène D1a potin (Scheers 191) as well as a Reverted Bow brooch (Lejars 1998: 236). Brunaux (1999: 196) initially identified the *charnier* as a display set up over the enclosure ditch, which then decayed and was silted over. However, this interpretation is in doubt due to the highly structured nature of the bone remains and the overall absence of alluvial material (Fecoq du Leslay 2000: 134-135). Notably, although purposely deformed weaponry were found within the *charnier*, none were associable with particular individuals (Duday 1995: 115; Lejars 1998: 240).

Three dense circular three to four metre diameter deposits of approximately 300 human individuals, identified as ossuaries, were excavated inside the enclosure: one in the northeast and two in the southeast. These contained human long bones, horse remains, La Tène C1/C2 weaponry and harness-pieces (Brunaux *et al.* 1999: 202). A one metre deep cylindrical pit, packed base to surface with bones and other finds, was also noted in the centre of the northern ossuary, possibly filling a posthole from an earlier structure or part of a structure related to the ossuary (*ibid*: 204; 204; Fercoq du Leslay 2001: 45). This deposit is of particular interest as finds included four early gold coins, two quarter staters, two half staters, an iron Nauheim brooch and a fragment of Dressel 1b amphora (Delestrée 2001; Lambot 2004: 124).

The small finds in the *charnier* and the northeastern ossuary mark a conscious switch, as at other sanctuaries, to the deposition of smaller objects such as coinage and brooches. While, on a much-reduced scale in comparison to other sites, this is possibly related to Ribemont's func-

tion as a military trophy or a specific type of funerary rite (Brunaux 1986: 19). Nevertheless, the transition to smaller finds demonstrates that, despite its uniqueness, La Tène D deposition at Ribemont follows trends developed elsewhere. The presence of amphora at Ribemont pointing to rituals involving wine consumption is notable as these finds are relatively rare at sanctuaries (see discussion Chapter Five). Therefore, although there was some common ground between this site and other sanctuaries, Ribemont maintains its distinctive qualities.

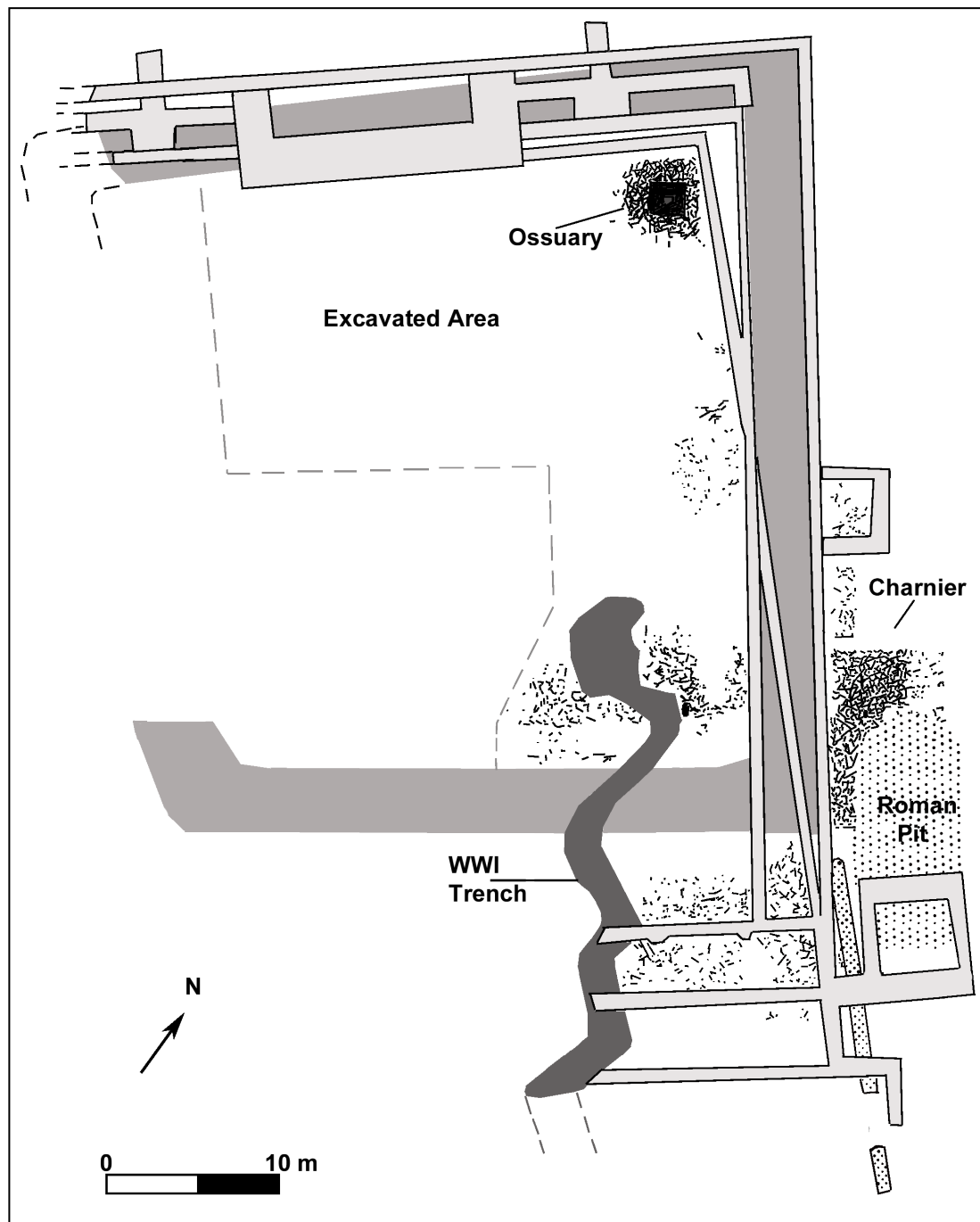


Figure 6.9: Plan of the La Tène D1 enclosure and associated features at Ribemont-sur-Ancre (after du Leslay 2000: figure 17)

6.4.5 Conclusion: Middle Late La Tène brooch deposition at sanctuaries

In contrast to La Tène C1/C2 activity, La Tène D1a/D1b deposition at sanctuaries is easier to identify with certainty. At this latter period, votive behaviour is characterized by brooch, coin, or jewellery deposition, rather than of large-scale weaponry. Interestingly, although depositional foci seem to switch from weaponry to smaller metal finds, evidence at Beauvais indicates that a need to deform or 'ritually' kill the objects remains important. Moreover, while the transition to small objects appears to have occurred across the board at sanctuaries, other differences indicate that not all these sites served the same ritual functions. For instance, the recovery of wine amphora at Ribemont, in contrast with their general absence elsewhere, indicates that activities here were possibly associated with wine consumption. Other differences indicate the disparate nature of activities at sanctuaries. For instance, although brooches as well as human and animal bone are found together at the sanctuaries discussed above, variations in the context (ditch/pit), as well as the size of the deposit, indicates the range of practices occurring at these sites. These differences are not only visible between sites but also over time at multi-phased sites. For example, at Estrées earlier pit deposits appear to be replaced by ditch deposition in later phases.

While, some of these differences have been explained by identifying some deposits (e.g. the human bone deposits at Ribemont) as high status military trophies, this does little to explain the non-military nature of other finds and structures recovered at sanctuaries. The identification of structures and finds similar to those recovered at rural sites at Estrées-Saint-Denis underscores the problematic nature of the current one-dimensional view of sanctuaries as dedicated elite ritual sites. The issue of sanctuary versus rural sites has had the effect of limiting analysis at sites such as Estrées and Beauvais, "Les Aulnes du Canada," where finds like *dolia* and loom-weights have been over-looked. The characterization of sanctuaries as elite warrior sites does not sit well with the brooches, tools, plough-shares and loom-weights that are also found there. The insufficiency of the current elite-military-warrior understanding of sanctuaries draws attention to the need for a more-nuanced appreciation of depositional activities, as well as the status and function of these sites.

6.5 Final Late Iron Age brooch deposition at sanctuaries

Deposition at sanctuaries during the Final Iron Age is poorly understood. Particularly as finds from this period mainly originate from poorly stratified deposits.

6.5.1 Estrées-Saint-Denis

Between the La Tène D1b and La Tène D2a very little was built at the site and occupation is attested by only a few dispersed pits, containing fragments of *dolia* and pig bones (figure 6.7) (Woimant 2002a: 52-53). This limited occupation contrasts with the creation of the domestic enclosure at Les Sablons (Quérel 2002a). Approximately 19 brooches were recovered from contexts dating between the La Tène D1b/D2a and the Early Augustan period. However, given the uncertainty surrounding the location of brooch finds and their relation with other objects, particularly coins, it is very difficult to say much about depositional behaviour here during this period. As previously mentioned, curation, particularly in the palisaded ditch, has been tentatively identified here. Similar behaviour is also associated with the features dating to this period. Although this is problematic as Woimant (2002a) dates contexts with limited stratigraphy based only on finds; meaning that mixed later deposits might have mistakenly been given early dates.

At least two brooches were found inside pits (*Ilc*): a copper alloy Type 2 and an iron Type 4; the former in association with pig bones, burnt daub and an iron *barre à douille*. However, as this area is quite disturbed by a later Roman construction, it is hard to tell if these pits date to this period or not; especially as these contexts are assigned to multiple phases. This problem extends to most contexts dated to this phase. For example, the northern palisade trench (St.83/67) contains an intrusive Aucissa Derivative brooch (Type 23). As a result, very little can be said about deposition at Estrées during the later first century BCE.

6.5.2 Saint-Just-en-Chaussée, “Le Rossignol”

Woimant excavated this Late Iron Age site on the edge of the Oise Plateau during the 1990s (Woimant 1995: 416-417; *cf.* Woimant 1994; Brunaux *et al.* 2005: 68-69). Dated between the La Tène D1b and early Gallo-Roman period, Saint-Just consists of a ditched enclosure, pits, post-

holed features and a palisade (for a recent plan see Kiefer 2007: 93). The site was identified as a sanctuary based its similarity to Gournay, particularly the structured deposits of horse bones, cattle skulls and human remains (Toussaint 1995; Brunaux *et al.* 2005: 68). Other finds include horse-gear, a shield boss, amphora, in addition to late Iron Age coins, including Scheers 156 and Ambiani LT 8593 staters. Further excavations in 2007 at Rue Plainval, uncovered a *rouelle* and an unidentified brooch inside a well, as well as a human pit burial reminiscent of the box-burials from Acy-Romance (Kiefer 2007: 92).

Unfortunately, very little is understood about Late Iron Age activity at Saint-Just. The remaining 20 metres of the surviving enclosure ditch seems to initially have been left open, as the bottom fill is mainly alluvial. However, the top fill is anthropogenic in nature, consisting of cattle skulls, articulated horse skeletons, daub, weaponry and burnt material. Woimant (1995: 416-417) identified this as a destruction deposit, related to the burning of a nearby nine-post structure. According to Brunaux (2005: 69) the finds were too limited to identify the site as ritualistic. Given that the only brooch found here is an unidentified surface find recovered 100 metres to the east, very little can also be said about the nature of deposition here. Nevertheless, the clearance and deposition following a fire finds parallels with what is seen elsewhere, for example at Montmartin (see Chapter Eight, pages 189-194). This, as well as the presence of amphora, mark this site as unusual compared with other sanctuaries in Picardy and it is likely, that with further excavation, more comparisons will be drawn between Saint-Just and Montmartin than with Gournay.

6.5.3 Chilly

Chilly, located approximately 45 kilometres northeast of Amiens, was excavated between 1979 and 1980; exposing approximately 25 features over 224 square metres (Collart 1979; 1980; Woimant 1980: figure 1). What little of the Iron Age sanctuary survives is mainly identified via Collart's (1987) study of the coin finds. The earliest features were originally dated to around 50 BCE, but are now tentatively placed at La Tène D1b/D2a transition (Brunaux *et al.* 2005: 55). Despite this re-assessment, the nature and scale of Late Iron Age deposition is still difficult to determine, particularly as the majority of the earliest contexts were disturbed by later construction (Fitchl 1994: 158; Arcelin and Brunaux 2003: 55).

Table 6.4: Brooches at Chilly

Context	Location	Brooch Type	Associated Finds	
St.12	F1	Two Type 2 Three Type 5a Type 5b Three Unidentified	Bracelet Belt Hook Animal Bone (Beef, pig, sheep, dog, horse)	Lance-point Unidentified Tool Chain Copper Alloy Plaque Ceramic Plaques Worked Bone Coin Moulds
St.13		Type 2 Type 3 Type 5a Type 8 Type 14a Unidentified	Beads Ceramics Coin Animal Bone (Beef, pig, sheep, dog, horse)	
St.8	Pit inside Enclosure	Type 5b Type 5a	Potin Scheers 191 Unidentified Potin LT 6377 Dressel 1a <i>Barre à douille</i>	Animal Bone Hearth Remains Shield Bosses Glass Rings
St.14	Pit inside Enclosure	Type 22	Hadrianic Coin (Surface Find)	

A total of 19 brooches were recovered; these were mainly Filiform types, although one later Hinged brooch was also found on the surface of a disturbed pit (table 6.4). Only pit St.8 is undisturbed. This pit, measuring approximately 0.60 metres deep, is completely filled by an anthropogenic black deposit. The deepest and earliest recovered find was an unidentified potin (Collart 1980: 12). Following this, at a depth of 0.29 metres, Type 5a and a Type 5b brooches, were found with a Scheers 191 (Collart 1980: 7, 12). These date the deposit to the La Tène D1a at the earliest, while a loose *terminus ante quem* of 50 BCE is provided by a surface find of a LT 6377 bronze coin.

While the finds in St.8 suggest a date between the La Tène D1a/D1b and the La Tène D2a/D2b, the dense homogenous nature of the fill identifies it as an act rapid voluntary deposition, perhaps in the La Tène D2a (*ibid*: 12). Post-fire deposition and additional finds, such as a hearth, also parallel finds at from other sites, such as Montmartin (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 53). While the exact nature of the earliest practices at Chilly are largely unidentifiable, the possibly undisturbed St.8 may help shed light on the nature of La Tène D2a deposition. Nevertheless, given the long date range of the finds in the enclosure ditch as well as the later brooch find in St.14 (table 6.4) indicate that the site had a history both pre and post dating this. Some of these objects could represent residual re-deposition of earlier finds, as at Gournay or Saint Maur, the

exact nature and scale of early activity at Chilly remains a mystery. This is unfortunate as it represents the first significant non-funerary deposit of Late Iron Age brooches in the Somme.

6.5.4 Conclusion: Final Late Iron Age brooch deposition at sanctuaries

Evidence for Final Late Iron Age brooch deposition at sanctuaries comes mainly from Chilly. Along with Ribemont-sur-Ancre, this provides the only evidence for significant pre-conquest brooch deposition in the Somme. However, despite this regional distinction, deposition at Chilly is similar to sanctuaries in the Oise. Nevertheless, given the extent of erosion, stratified objects were mainly recovered from deep pit features; enclosure deposits similar to Gournay, Saint-Maur or Estrées were not identified. Nevertheless, the types of objects recovered within these deposits (e.g. brooches, human and animal bone, coins and weaponry) demonstrate continuity with activity recorded at sanctuaries during Middle Late La Tène. Given this and the problems associated with identifying and dating Final Late Iron Age deposits at other sanctuaries, the extent to which the Gallic war or increased Roman presence disrupted activity is unknown. Away from Chilly, the association between deposition and fire is interesting. At Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Saint-Just-en-Chaussée, deposits were associated with burnt material, possibly related to destruction. While there are many possible interpretations of these deposits, fire related deposition is also evident at rural sites and *oppida*. Deposits at these latter types of site are discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine, but the occurrence of fire related deposition at all types of sites points to a certain level of continuity in Late Iron Age ritual practice between sites. A feature that is indicative of the centrality of deposition to the Late Iron Age societies of northern France.

6.6 Post-Conquest Late Iron Age brooch deposition at sanctuaries

Very little direct evidence is available regarding brooch deposition at sanctuaries during this period. Whether this is the result of a real interruption of activity, or simply because of disturbances caused by Later Roman construction, is difficult to say. The specifics of post-conquest deposition at sanctuaries are discussed below. The line graph shown earlier (see figure 6.2) depicts a distinct rise in brooch deposition at sanctuaries during the post-conquest

period. However, much of this is found in later first century CE contexts, outside the period covered by this project.

At Fesques for instance, as with Estrées-Saint-Denis and Champlieu-Ourroy, brooches were mainly recovered from later first century CE contexts, particularly as foundation deposits under later Roman temples. However, some surface brooches were also collected outside the central enclosure at Fesques, which Mantel (1997: 48) identifies as an open-air depository comparable to Dompierre-sur-Authie. However, finds from the latter are only tentatively identified as the product of this type of votive behaviour. The large mixed deposit of over 2500 objects at Dompierre consists dating from the La Tène C2 to the Early Gallo-Roman period, including 231 brooches (Piton and Dilly 1987; 1988; 1989; 1990). These finds were not the result of surface collection, but excavated directly from the clay substrata. While the objects were not associated with any features, leading to its tentative identification an open-air depository (see Piton and Dilly 1990: 3), others find this unlikely and correlate the absence of monumental structure with erosion (Arcelin and Brunaux 2003: 55). Until the a definitive site publication is released for Dompierre, it is probably wise to refrain from speculation.

Post-Conquest activity is also possible to at Champlieu-Ourrouy (Oise), where Woimant's excavation uncovered several Iron Age coins and brooches Cadoux and Woimant 1977; Woimant 1980; Woimant 1995). Unfortunately, as at Forêt-d'Halatte, these were mainly recovered from later contexts, i.e. as foundation deposits under the walls of the later Tiberian temple (Durand 2000a: figure 7; 2000b: 209; Woimant 1995: 358). The chance recovery of six Late Iron Age coins and 14 brooches at Nizy-le-Compte (Aisne), near the site of a Roman *fanum* and *vicus*, also hints at La Tène D2b/GR 1 deposition (Ben Redjeb 1987; Fedi 1987; Jobic 1987). The finds were mainly recovered from the disturbed sandy area near the river, possibly washed down from features pre-dating the Roman site. Brooches include Simple Filiform, Decorative Filiform and Hinged Types, as well as one rare Penannular brooch (Ben Redjeb 1987). Nevertheless, given the absence of precise context, little can be said about the exact nature of deposition at any of the above sites before the Roman period.

6.7 Conclusion: brooch deposition at sanctuaries

The limited contextual information from sanctuaries hinders detailed analysis. This is in direct conflict with the centrality of these sites to understandings of ritual and votive practice. Despite these problems, the presence of brooches at nearly all the major sanctuaries, possibly beginning as early as the La Tène C2/D1a transition, identifies them as important votive objects. Therefore, although somewhat under discussed in comparison to coins or weaponry, brooches were key components of Late Iron Age votive practice at sanctuaries. Although substantial enclosure deposits are certainly in evidence (e.g. at Gournay or Saint-Maur), deposits are also recovered from pits or post-holes (Estrées, Saint-Just, Chilly). At Estrées votive behaviour seems to change over time, transitioning from dispersed pit to ditch deposits. However, this trend is not easily observed at all sanctuaries, especially as so many brooches are from undated and unknown context types (figure 6.10).

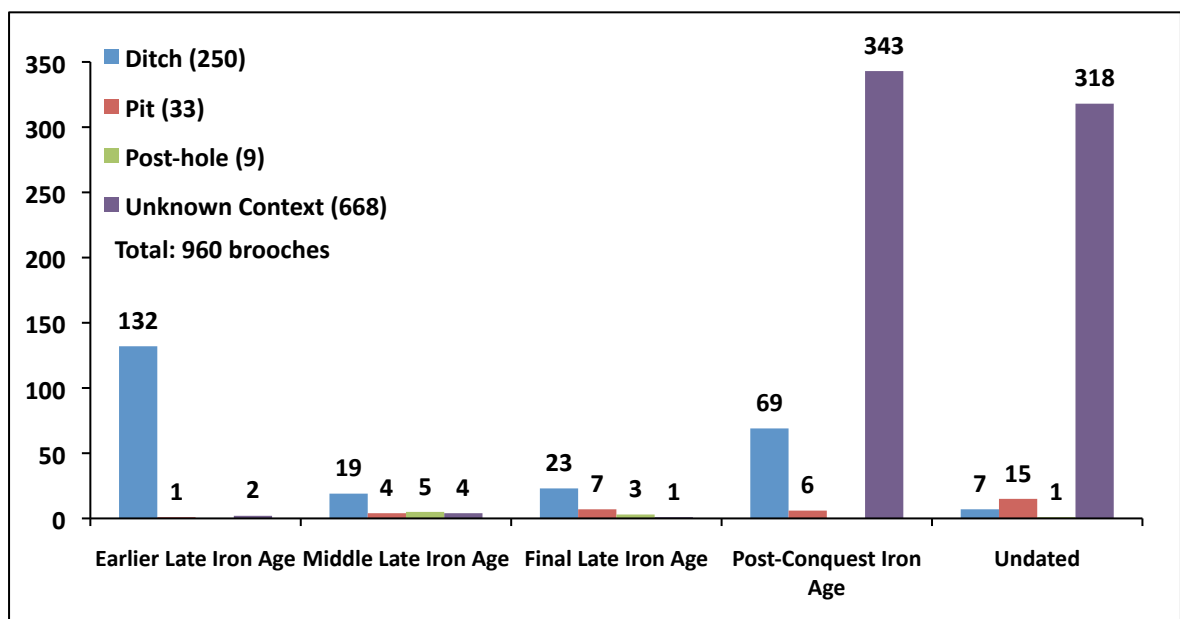


Figure 6.10: Ditch, pit and post-hole deposits at sanctuaries over time

The presence of tools and loom-weights in sanctuary deposits has implications in terms of how votive behaviour is interpreted. The presence of finds that are typically identified as non-ritual/domestic draws attention to the connections between practices that are typically segregated when interpreting Late Iron Age sites. Taking this knowledge forward, we can begin to see brooch finds at other types of site in a new light. The association between deposition and fire is particularly striking, given that secondary cremation emerges as the predominant burial

rite during the La Tène C1/C2. The link between the development of sanctuaries, cremation and funerary enclosures has not gone un-remarked. In fact, the close temporal relationship between the development of sanctuary and funerary enclosures, and the similar structured deposits evidenced there, indicates that similar rules possibly governed ritual behaviours at both of these site-types (see discussion, Chapter Seven, page 156). Brooch deposition at funerary sites is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven Brooch Deposition at Funerary Sites

Thirty-three funerary sites are recorded in the study area, amounting to 457 burials, more than half of which (59%) contained brooches (see figure 7.1).

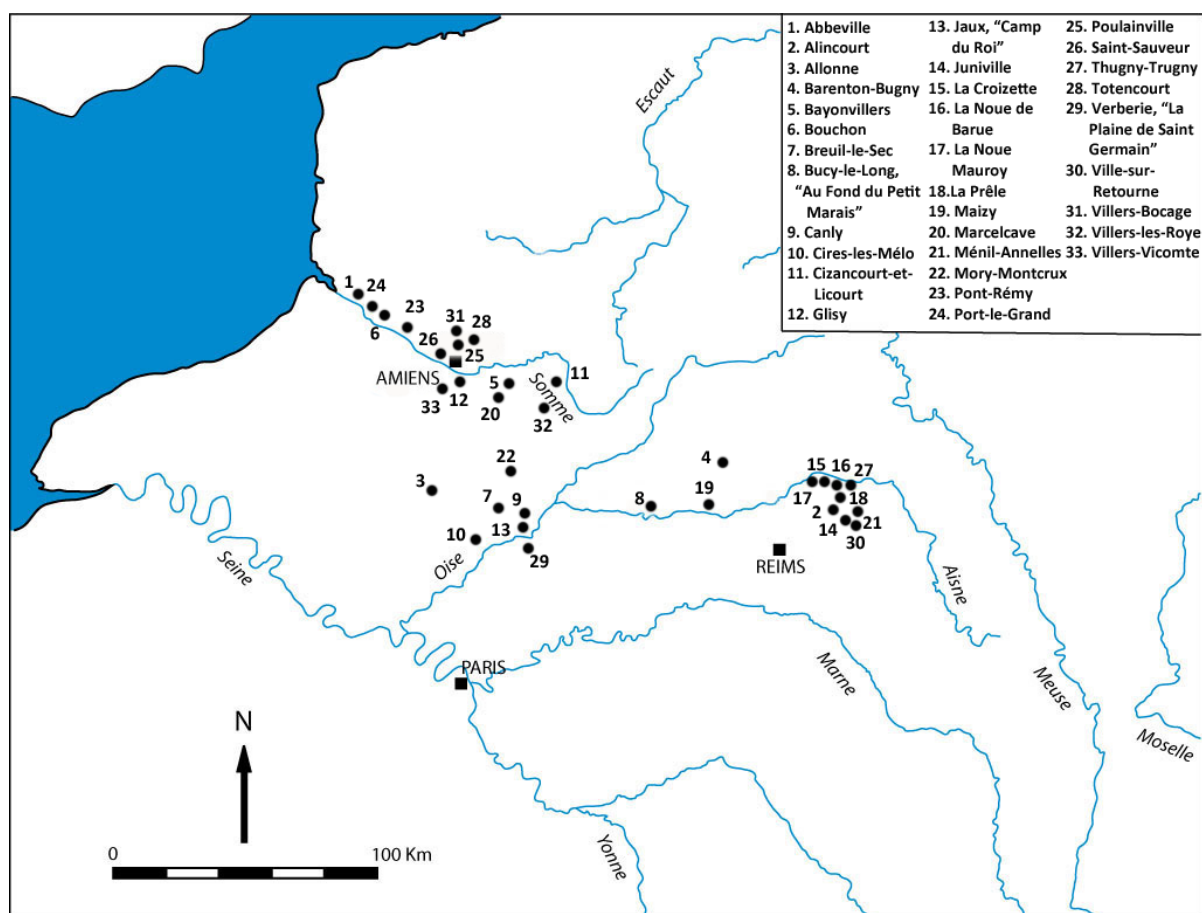


Figure 7.1: Map of funerary sites with brooches

Brooches are recovered in burials at the beginning of the Middle to Late La Tène transition, likely part of a continuing Iron Age practice. Funerary brooch finds persist until the Post-Conquest Iron Age and Early Roman Period when they diminish considerably. As with most sites these finds are instrumental in dating; although in the Ardennes, where the bulk of funerary sites have been excavated, this is tempered somewhat by ceramics typo-chronologies (e.g. Friboulet 1997; Stead *et al.* 2007). The pattern shown below (figure 7.2) demonstrates a strong preference for depositing Reverted Bow or Simple Filiform brooches in burials, with other types found only occasionally.

Increasing numbers of brooches are found during the La Tène C2/D1a transition, when cremation becomes the predominant funerary rite. The preference for cremation in the Late La Tène

means that it becomes increasingly difficult to directly relate brooches with dress. Additionally, increased difficulty in sexing cremated remains complicates linking finds with men/women and establishing gendered associations for these items. Nevertheless, the position of brooches in burials can reveal a great deal about their role in Late Iron Age funerary rites. As the earliest examples of deposition, predating sanctuaries, they provide the first datable evidence for the integration of brooches into structured votive practices. Even so, funerary brooch finds are often unidentified (figure 7.2). This restricts analysis somewhat and further complicates the study of brooches in funeral contexts.

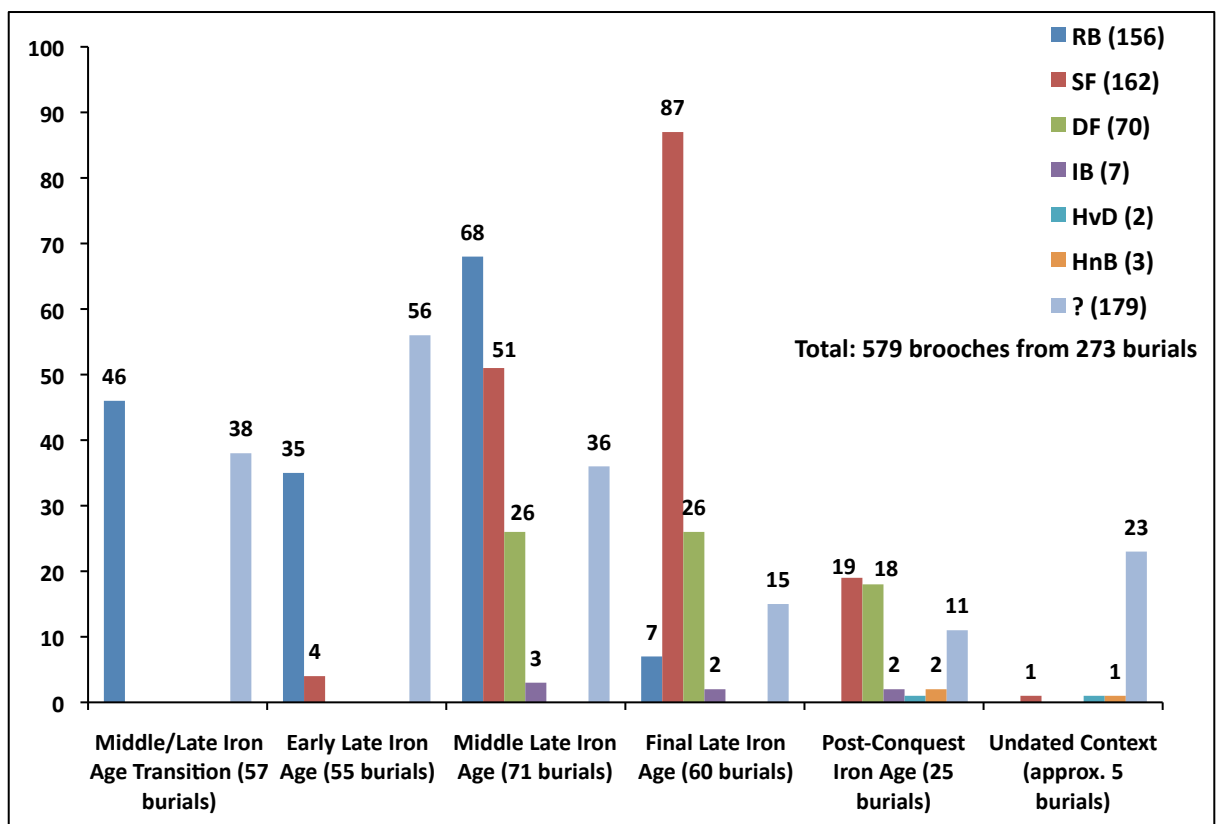


Figure 7.2: Brooches deposited over time at funerary sites

There is a marked increase in brooch deposition at burial sites during the Late La Tène, with burials showing a marked preference, in contrast to other sites, for Reverted Bow and Simple Filiform brooches throughout the period in question. Therefore, given the lack of data for the majority of funerary sites, following a general discussion of Late Iron Age cemeteries in the study area (focusing on differences in available data), analysis of brooch deposits at funerary sites is restricted to well-published case study sites, such as Bucy-le-Long, “Le Fond du Petit Marais,” Jaux, “Camp du Roi” and Ménil–Annelles.

7.1 Late Iron Age cemeteries in northern France

From the La Tène C1/C2 transition, the most favored method of disposing of human remains was to secondary cremation, i.e. the internment of cremated remains inside a pit (Sprague 2005: 138). Inhumation becomes increasingly rare at this time, usually reserved for infants or neonate burials. Single and multiple burials are in evidence, with adults of both sexes and various ages being found together. At many cemeteries the presence of all sexes and ages points to the likelihood that they were used and maintained by a family group (Haselgrove 2007: 499; Stead *et al.* 2007: 123). Unfortunately, sex and age information is not broadly available across the study area.

While the adoption of cremation burial is elsewhere associated with the arrival of the *oppida* (see Perrin 2000: 86) this is not the case study area, where cremations precede these sites by at least 100 years. Moreover, as cremations are found in northern France until the Final Hallstatt, the adoption of inhumation burial perhaps represents a brief change in cultural preference (see Baray 2001; 2004). In Picardy, information on Late Iron Age cemeteries is mainly from dispersed journal articles or unpublished grey-literature (e.g. Brunaux *et al.* 1997). Contrastingly in the Ardennes, the longstanding interest in funerary archaeology has produced several major works, as well as a PhD thesis in which the majority of cemeteries around Acy-Romance are published to some degree (see Lambot *et al.* 1994; Friboulet 1997; Stead *et al.* 2007). This makes it highly desirable to compare burials from the Ardennes with those in Picardy. While the broad similarity in burial ritual between these areas would suggest that such a comparison is appropriate, caution is required, especially given the difference in cemetery size between these regions (Haselgrove 2007: 497-499).

In the Aisne valley, as with most of Picardy, Late Iron Age cemeteries are mostly found near settlements. However, few brooches have been recovered from these sites. There are only three sites with sufficient brooch data from this department. At Bucy-le-Long, “le Fond du Petit Marais” brooch finds are either fragmentary or not recorded in detail (Unknown 1991; Auxiette, Pommepeuy and Desenne 1998; Thouvenot and Desenne 2007). At Maizy, brooch information is available but is balanced by poor publication in regards to other details, such as anthropological analysis (Roger *et al.* 2008). Finally, at Presles-et-Boves, “le Ferme de Saint Audebert” the

brooches are recorded, but there no additional information regarding context (Pichon 2002: 358).

In the Oise, information is also limited. As in the Aisne, cemeteries are generally associated with settlements: some, for example, Longeuil-Sainte-Marie “Le Vivier des Grès,” are unexcavated; while others, such as Canly, “Les-Trois-Noyers” have only received preliminary excavation. Sites with good information, regarding both the brooch and its context are mainly found in sites published by Malrain *et al.* (2006). However, rare sites, such as Allone, “ZAC de Ther” have also been published (Paris 1998).

In the Somme, many excavated cemeteries were found during work on the A29 motorway, for example Cizancourt-et-Licourt or Abbeville, “le Sole de Baillon.” However, brooch information is limited (e.g. Baray *et al.* 1998; Lefebvre 1999). Moreover, because of the compilation of the CAG volume for the Somme the bulk of grey literature for these sites was absent from the archives. While I was provided with provisional data from a prototype database of regional brooches, Iron Age brooches were disproportionately under-represented, as the project for which it was assembled was focused on Roman and Merovingian Brooches (Benredjeb and Leman-Delrive, *in press*). Consequently, funerary brooch data is extremely limited from this region.

In Picardy Later Iron Age cemeteries are generally smaller than examples dating to the earlier La Tène. They are also most often associated with settlements. In the Ardennes, cemeteries are more monumental in character, either located within one large enclosure, such as La Noue Mauroy 1989, or associated with several smaller enclosures such as at Ménil–Annelles (Friboulet 1997; Stead *et al.* 2007). In the Aisne, the site of Bucy-le-Long, “le Fond du Petit Marais” stands apart as a rare example of a monumental funerary site similar to Ménil–Annelles, although erosion has unfortunately damaged a great deal of the site (Unknown 1991; Haselgrove 2007: 514). More unique burials are also attested in the study area, such as the box burials at Acy-Romance, as well as nearby silo burials at Nanteuil-sur-Aisne (Lambot 1989; 1993a; 1993b; Rougier *et al.* 2003).

Given the regional variations, as well as differences in available material, it is difficult to generalize about Late Iron Age burial across the study area. Nonetheless, the types of finds recovered

and the disposition of the remains in a secondary pit, is quite similar across the study area. Therefore, despite certain limitations, it is possible to study brooch deposition at funerary sites on a case study basis. Starting with a well-published site, for example, M  nil–Annelles, finds there can be compared with the reasonably well-recorded or published cemeteries from the Oise and Aisne. First though, in order to put brooch finds in their proper context, the process and nature of Late Iron Age cremation burial in northern France will be discussed.

7.2 Cremation ritual: processing the body

From the La T  ne C1/C2 transition onward, the preferred method of funerary disposal was secondary cremation. To date no definite evidence of pyre-sites has been discovered in northern France, although pits with burnt material have been found in cemeteries, e.g. at M  nil–Annelles, La Noue de Mauroy and Barenton-Bugny (Audebert *et al.* 2006: 31–33; Stead *et al.* 2007: 40). Unfortunately, very little direct evidence is available regarding the specific crematory practices of Late Iron Age peoples in the study area, especially as certain elements of funerary ritual leave very little evidence. For example, secondary cremation involves steps, such as the display or procession of the corpse before cremation, which leave no traces in the archaeological record. Moreover, there are varying degrees to which the body can be burnt, depending on the length of exposure to fire and the type of crematory apparatus used (see Williams 2008: 241). All of these factors impact upon the collection of remains from the pyre and their final burial.

Awareness of the many elements involved in cremation and burial ritual is necessary when reconstructing these events, especially as burial only represents a small part of funerary practice. Roymans (1990: 219) describes Late Iron Age cremation as a five-step process, by which portions of the body and its associated artifacts can be either added or lost. Recent studies of cremation practice and analysis of human remains (e.g. Stead *et al.* 2007; Sofaer 2006; Williams 2008) allows for some reconstruction of these events via indirect evidence (see table 7.1). Even so, given the variable nature of excavation, recording and publication across the study area it is often impossible to gauge how broadly comparable burials, from different regions, are. Nevertheless, if the burial is properly recorded and drawn, a brooch’s physical

location should reveal information about its temporal location in the burial, and therefore, something about its meaning within the context of burial ritual.

Table 7.1: Cremation ritual (after Roymans 1990: 219)

	Actions	Materials Added/Lost	Direct Evidence	Indirect Evidence
1. Pre-Cremation Ritual	Display Washing Dressing Transport	No Evidence	None	Dress reconstructed via the presence of Brooches with inhumed cremated remains
2. Cremation	Pyre Construction. Burning of Corpse.	Added: animal remains, organic material, metal objects Loss: organic material	Fire Damage	Pyre Type: reconstructed after burnt remains Body Placement of on Pyre: reconstructed after burnt remains
3. Post-Cremation/Collection	Pyre left to cool Remains selected for burial	Loss: incomplete collection Added: collection & placement in burial container: urn, sac or box	None	Analysis of Remains: weight and number of bones present, evidence of post-cremation washing/curation
4. Burial	Inhumation of cremated remains.	Added: animal bones, organic material, metal objects	Burial site	Analysis: multiple vs. single burials, sex and age of remains, pathology, genetic factors and kinship groups.
5. Post-Burial	Ritual practices at or near gravesite	Artefacts in the upper fill of the burial.	None	Burial Monument: post-built structures, burial mounds.

7.3 Cremation burial: the body, ritual and deposition

A full reconstruction of cremation and burial ritual is outside the scope of this project. It is the context of brooches, both temporally (i.e. their time of entry into the ritual sequence), as well as spatially (i.e. their location within the burial) which is of paramount interest here. However, often only the latter is recorded, leaving the former to be inferred with difficulty. For instance, fire/pyre damage is seldom recorded for brooches. Nevertheless, while it may not be possible to place brooches within the ritual sequence of burial, it is possible to reconstruct certain aspects of burial rituals based on their final resting place in the burial pit.

In this section I provide an outline of where brooches are found within burial contexts and discuss how this reflects on their location within the operational sequence of funerary ritual. In turn, this placement is used to discuss the probable meanings of brooches in burial contexts; for example, whether they represent items of dress, votive objects or otherwise. Accounting for post-depositional disturbances, such as erosion, cremated remains can be characterized in the following ways (figure 7.3): firstly, the cremation deposit can be placed in one or multiple

ceramics (1); or the bulk placed in one pots with lesser complementary deposits in others (2); the cremated remains could also be interred aceramically, in one or several heaps (3), or divided between a vessel and a heap, sometimes with additional small deposits placed in other pots (4). Moreover, depending on the level of conservation remains might also be found in a vessel as well as scattered throughout the fill (a), associated with a broken pot and scatter (b), or in scatter, as is the case with very poorly preserved burials (c).

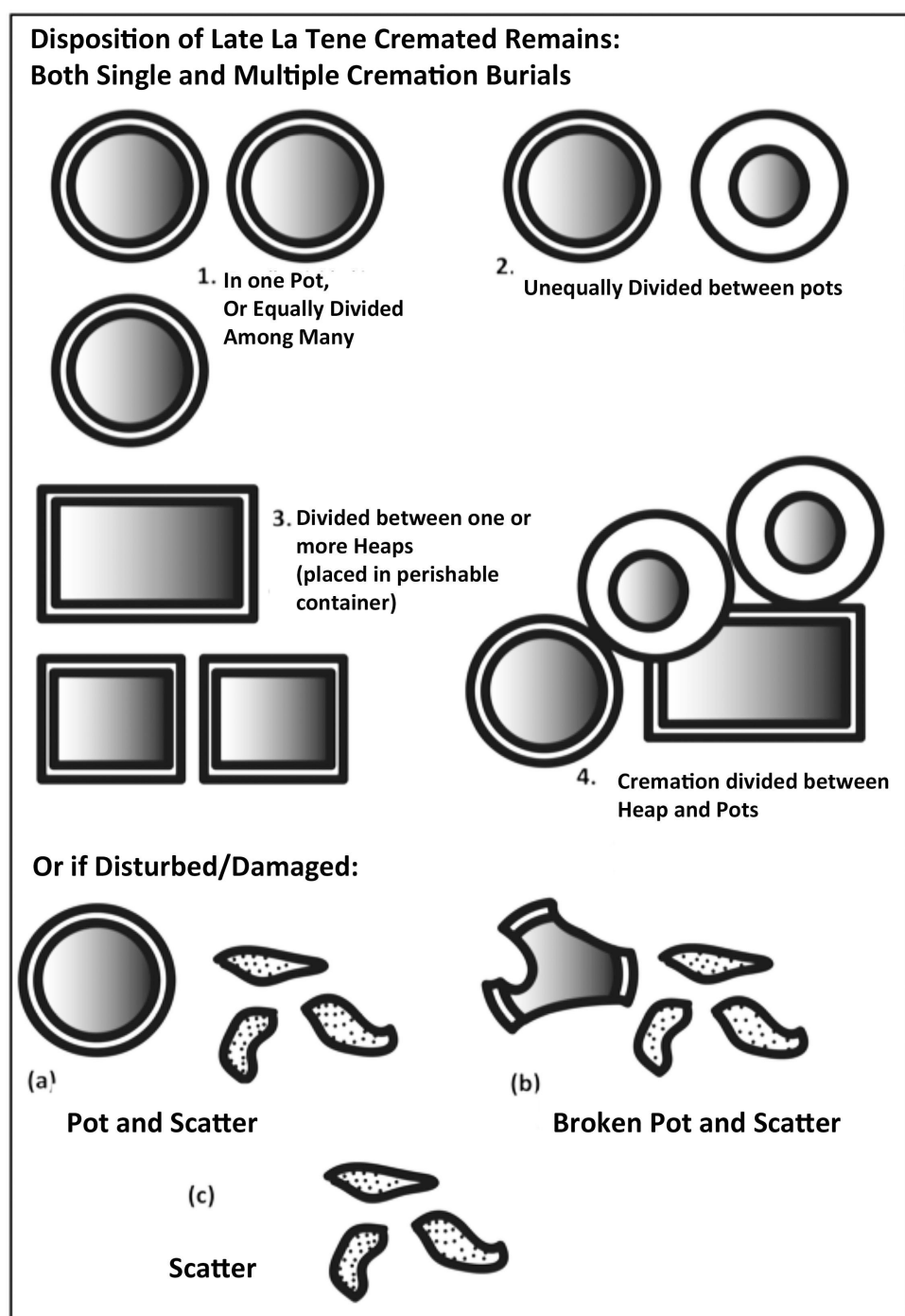


Figure 7.3: Disposition of Late La Tène cremated remains (after Friboulet 1997: figure 37)

In regards to 'heap' deposits (see Stead *et al.* 2007: 209), many examples are too distinct to be the result of simply dumping cremated material into a burial pit. In these cases, archaeologists postulate that the bones must have been held in some sort of perishable container, either inside a wooden box as at Marcelcave or Glisy (Somme) (Bucheze *et al.* 1998: table 1; Gaudefroy and Pinard 2007: 134) or in a cloth bag held closed by a brooch as at Barenton-Bugny or at Menil-Annelles (Audebert *et al.* 2006: 32; Stead *et al.* 2007: figure 710).

The internal structure recorded for funerary deposits demonstrates that burials were intentionally structured, with each placement having deliberate meaning (see Duday 2006: 37; Flouest 1993: 201-202; Gerard-Rosay 2004: 105-106; Roymans 1990: 219-220; Rowlands 1998: 49-50). While the symbolic connotations of this practice are not always obvious, there are indications that not all funerary brooch finds served the deceased as items of dress or adornment. Thus, viewing cremation as part of a long chain of events demonstrates that items, particularly brooches, also require consideration and integration into the sequence of the entire funerary ritual. For instance, the highly structured and ritualized nature of burials, as well as their enclosed site plans has resulted in parallels drawn between funerary sites and sanctuaries (Brunaux 2000; Leman-Delrive 1998; 2000). This has obvious implications regarding interpretation of funerary finds, particularly in regards to the elevation of metal finds to symbols of status (see Chapter Five, page 105).

7.4 Ancestral sanctuaries?

The rise of funerary enclosures in the La Tène C1/C2 seemingly parallels the rise of enclosed sanctuaries. For example, a 28.40 by 27 metre double enclosure at Thugny-Trugny is compared to the earliest enclosures at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Lambot *et al.* 1994: 99). Nonetheless, while this and other funerary enclosures, e.g. La Noue Mauroy 1989 and Ménil-Annelles, contained scattered deposits of pottery, bone, daub and the occasional brooch, finds are nowhere near as dense as deposits at Gournay or Ribemont (*ibid.*: 78; Stead *et al.* 2007: 244-254). Therefore despite broad similarities, differences in deposition and the fact that many funerary enclosures seem unrelated to the earliest burials, also point to differences between cemeteries and sanctuaries. For example, at La Noue de Mauroy 1989 the earliest La Tène D1b burials are irregularly arranged within the enclosure, while later La Tène D2a/D2b burials are

found between the enclosure ditch and a central four-post structure (Lambot *et al* 1994: 78). In contrast to enclosures at sanctuaries, Lambot (2000: 155) interprets funerary enclosures as a measure to delineate family groups. Indeed, the presence of all sexes and ages, as well as certain osteological kinship factors at Ménil–Annelles seems to support this assertion (Stead *et al.* 2007: 123).

In Picardy, there is only limited evidence for the association of sanctuary activity and funerary enclosures. Gournay contained only one extremely eroded burial of later Roman, date (Brunaux 1975: 27-28). While in the Aisne, a small Late La Tène C2 enclosure at Soupir, with finds of pottery, querns and numerous animal bones, was uncertainly identified as either a funerary or ritual enclosure; or even perhaps as a site type unique to the region (Haselgrove and Lowther 2005: 367). In the Somme at Bayonvillers, a deposit of brooches and pottery at a cemetery site was also tentatively identified as a funerary or votive deposit (Prodeo 2000: 259).

Regardless of the differences between Late La Tène funerary and sanctuary deposits, the highly structured nature of these burials reveals them to be highly ritualized entities. A comparison of funerary sites in the Ardennes and Luxembourg noted certain rules governing the deposition of materials, particularly animal remains, within burials (Lambot *et al.* 1996: 334). The similarity in how finds are disposed in burials across the study area also points to similar rules governing the funerary deposition. This is outlined in the following section.

7.5 Brooches and funerary ritual

Brooches provide an excellent test subject to explore ideas about the roles and meanings of material objects within the societies of Late Iron Age northern France. Moreover, as funerary finds are excellent examples of structured and selective deposition, they provide a solid starting place for queries about the uses and perceptions of these objects. Approximately 93% (425) of the 457 burials recorded in my dataset are cremations. Eighty-seven percent of these have no associated data regarding the age or sex of associated individuals. Nevertheless, the placement of the remains and other objects in the burial pit, hints at marked continuity of funerary rites throughout the Later Iron Age in northern France; with the majority of brooches in cremations found in association with or near the burnt human remains (figure 7.4).

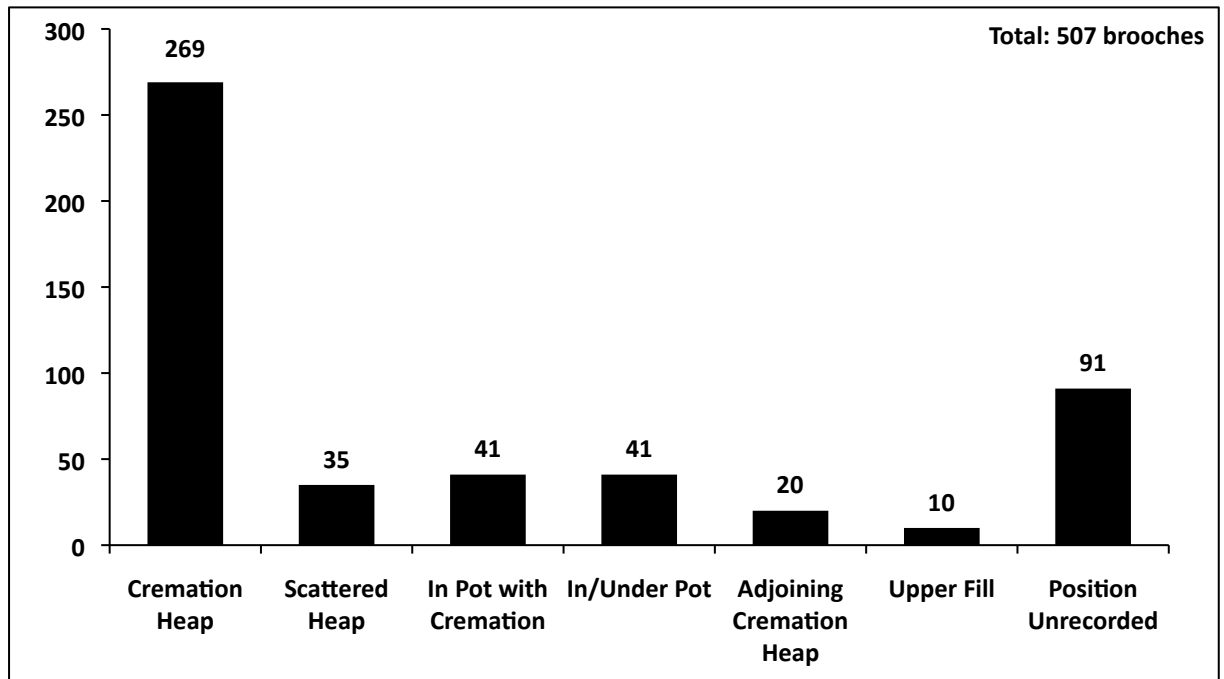


Figure 7.4: Location of brooches recovered from cremation burials







In spite of the relative homogeneity of brooch finds in burials, the scale of deposition seems to shift over time, with a marked decrease from the La Tène D2b/Gallo-Roman 1 transition. This perhaps marks a change in burial ritual at the start of the Post-Conquest period. For example, in the Ardennes, this decrease parallels a similar dwindling in excavated Early Roman burials (Stead *et al.* 2007: 98).

At funerary sites, Late Iron Age brooches are most frequently found in association with cremated remains. Nevertheless, as demonstrated in the figure above, other contexts are also evidenced; many of which are difficult to directly associate with dress or adornment. Therefore, I have tried to consider other meanings (table 7.2). While these are speculative, they do offer an alternate method of interpreting brooches from funerary contexts; especially, in the case of cremation burials where deposits represent the end result of lengthier rituals wherein artefacts could have been added or removed at any point in the sequence.

While brooches not associated with human remains might still represent items of adornment, their isolation from the body divorces them from the requirements of this function. For instance, brooches found outside or just next to the cremation heap were possibly used as fasteners for perishable containers. While examples recovered from the upper fill of a

cremation pit, separated in terms of both time and space from the body, were potentially integrated into post-burial rituals (Roymans 1990: 220). Since finds and remains within multiple burials were disposed of similarly, the above categorizations are valid for both single and multiple burials; although, the limited nature of osteo-archaeological analysis for multiple cremations leads to difficulties in associating specific finds with particular individuals.

Table 7.2: Location of brooches in funerary contexts and possible meaning

In Pot with Cremated Remains		Dress/Adornment
In Cremation Heap		Dress/Adornment
Outside Cremation Heap		Burial Sack
In Upper Fill		Post-Burial Ritual
Under Pot/In Pot		Burial Deposit (w/ Remains: Dress/Adornment?)
Scattered Remains		Disturbed Cremation (Burial Sack or Dress/Adornment?)

7.6 Case studies

Although the lack of consistent publication and available archival material for Late Iron Age cemeteries makes it difficult to discuss each burial site individually, the relative homogeneity of funerary ritual throughout the study area facilitates the discussion of brooch deposits via representative case studies. These include, the inhumation/cremation cemeteries of Bucy-le-Long “Au Fond du Petit Marais” as well as Ménil–Annelles. They both represent large continuously used family cemeteries, associated with one or many nearby settlements. The small cemetery at Jaux “Camp du Roi,” also discussed here, is immediately associated with a contemporary rural site. These three case studies encapsulate, both the typical data available for brooches at rural sites, as well as the major differences between larger monumental cemeteries and small settlement-based burials. Although these three sites represent the best published examples in the study area, there are still differences in the types of information available. As a result, they are discussed here, beginning with the site with the most limited brooch and burial data.

7.6.1 Bucy-le-Long, “Le Fond du Petit Marais”

The La Tène C1 to D1a burial site at Bucy-le-Long is located between the Thérain and Berneuil valleys, in a meander of the Aisne River (for site plan see Gransar 2009: figure 1). Bucy is a key site for understanding inhumation to cremation transition; not only does it encompass both rites, but the alignment of later cremations with earlier burials also demonstrates continuous use (*ibid*: 269). Nevertheless, the exact transition between these rites is difficult to date, with the loss of earliest cremations via plough damage likely masking the exact rate of change (Pommepuy *et al.* 2000: 209; Haselgrove 2007:514).

The La Tène C1/C2 cemetery consists of 22 inhumations, all but two single burials, arranged around a square enclosure with a robbed chariot burial of an adult male (Pommepuy *et al.* 2000: 208). Fragmentary brooches, the majority of them unidentified iron types, were recovered from at least 14 of the 29 inhumations. None were found in positions indicative of dress, i.e. on the shoulder (see Rogers 2007: 45; Wild 1965; 1968). For example, several were found to the right or left of the inhumation, between the feet or between the hand and pelvis (figure 7.5). Perhaps, like the Middle La Tène inhumations at Bucy-le-Long, “La Héronnière,” the disposition of the remains is more indicative of wrapping in a perishable shroud (Auxiette 1995: 375).

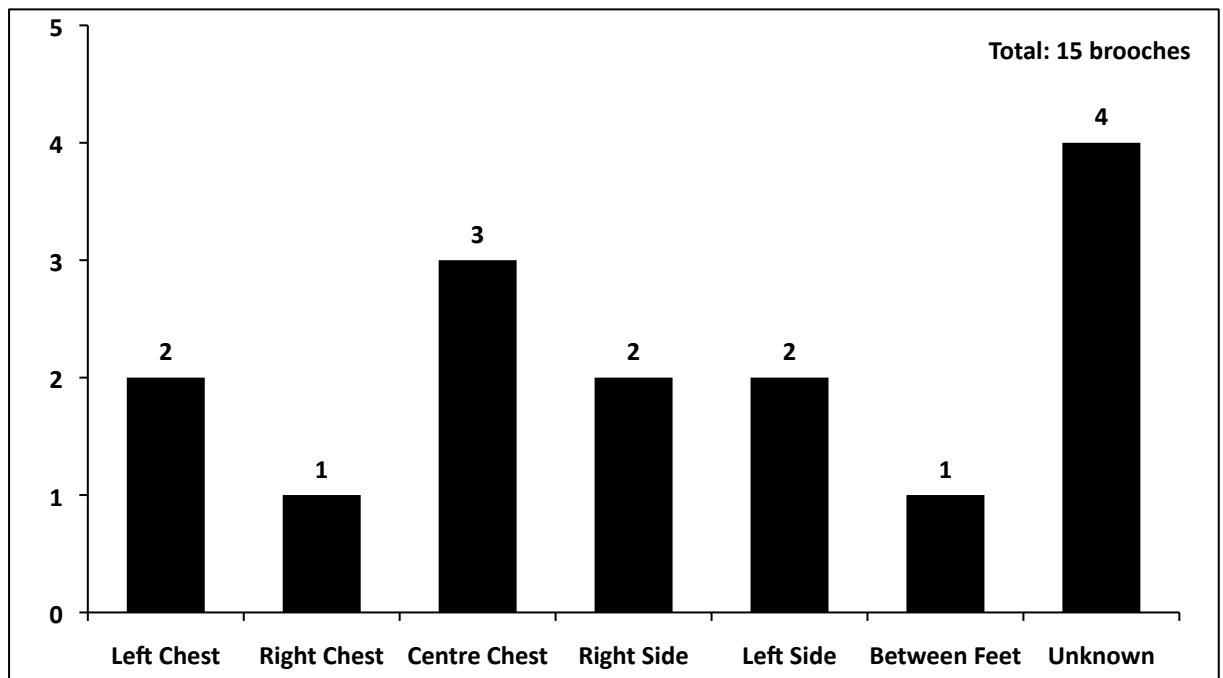


Figure 7.5 Brooch locations in La Tène C1 inhumations, Bucy-Le-Long

Location and brooch number do not seem to correspond to sex, as males and females demonstrate equal variety. Child burials are limited to one brooch (table 7.3). Sixteen possible La Tène C2/D1a secondary cremations were also excavated, only five of which contained human remains (Unknown 1991; Gransar 2009: 270). These burials consisted of small rectilinear pits, with the remains of single or multiple individuals found in heaps (Unknown 1991: 321). Finds include, ceramics, copper alloy and iron rings, knives, tweezers, shears and razors. Only two of these burials contained brooches, all unfortunately fragmentary and unidentified. Brooches were found in pairs or in threes, with the greatest number recovered in burials with the highest number of ceramics. For example, although no remains were excavated from Burial 246, eight vessels, two iron, as well a copper alloy brooch, were recovered. This relatively rich burial, established in direct relation to the earlier chariot burial, also included animal bone, rings, as well as a razor and tweezers.

Table 7.3: Brooch Location by Age and Sex in La Tène C1 inhumations, Bucy-Le-Long

Burial	Age	Sex	Brooch No.	Brooch Location
St.247	6 Years	n/a	1	Left Chest
St.250	8 Years	n/a	1	Centre Chest
St.261	2 Years	n/a	1	Right Leg
St.264	11-14 Years	n/a	1	Left Foot
St.267	7 Years	n/a	1	Right Chest
St.265	Adult	Female	2	Left Chest
St.262	Adult	Female	1	Between Feet
St.268	Adult	Female	2	Right Chest
St.252	Adult	Male	1	Left Side
St.259	Adult	Male	1	Left Foot
St.260	Young Adult	Male	1	Left Side
St.249	Adult	Male	2	Centre Chest

Although anthropological analysis was possible for many of the earlier inhumations, the poor state of the cremated remains made this type analysis impossible for later burials. The lack of evidence regarding the individuals and the brooches within the later cremations at Bucy makes it very difficult to detail the associations between individuals and brooches. Although interestingly, unlike earlier inhumations at La Héronnière, where brooches were possibly for funerary shrouds, brooches from cremations were not recovered in direct association with cremated remains, but found deposited inside pots. Nevertheless, given the poor condition and recording for the Bucy cremations, it is difficult to state if this separation represents an actual trend. For a

better look at the inhumation/cremation transition and the use of brooches in burial ritual we must look to better published sites.

The large cemetery of M  nil–Annelles represents the best published, and longest continuously used funerary site in the Ardennes. While burials at M  nil–Annelles are similar to those excavated across the study area, encouraging broad comparisons, it should also be remembered that large burial sites are not the norm across the study area. For example, small cemeteries, with one or two burials in association with rural sites are also found, particularly in the Aisne and Oise, as at Jaux, “Camp du Roi.”

7.6.2 Jaux, “Camp du Roi”

An enclosed settlement was founded here Jaux “Camp du Roi”, 13 kilometres east of Estr  es–Saint-Denis in two phases: starting in the La T  ne C2 and then expanding in the La T  ne D1a/D1b. A small cremation cemetery with 5 burials was also established 120 m to the north-west during the La T  ne D1a expansion (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 226; Haselgrove 2007: 515). This cemetery was possibly enclosed, although the level of sedimentation and plough damage makes this difficult to determine (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 227). Additionally, while four of the burials contained adult human remains, three were extremely plough damaged, and while four brooches were recovered from two burials (St.1, St. 5), only St.1 was drawn (figure 7.6).

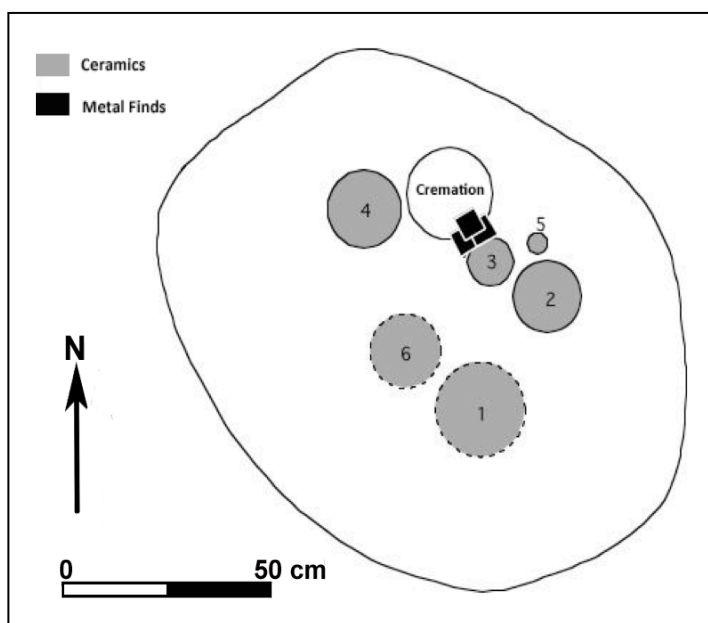


Figure 7.6: Plan of St.1 at Jaux, “Camp du Roi” (after Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 36)

The three brooches in St.1 were found just outside and on top of the cremation, which was deposited inside a burial urn. None were complete, but two at least allow for a reconstructed length of around 60 mm (Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 36). The presence of the brooches in a location outside the urn suggests the ceramic was possibly wrapped in sack of perishable material. Although, given the absence of direct evidence, it is also possible they were deposited individually. The six or eight-coiled Reverted Bow brooch recovered in St.5 was a large 86 mm long type (*ibid*). A pair of iron shears was also recovered here. The cremated remains were found in a round heaps, possibly deposited as per Le Goff (2009), inside a perishable sack. Unfortunately, because St.5 is undrawn, the intra-burial location of this brooch is unknown; its large size could possibly identify it as a fastener.

7.6.3 Ménil –Annelles

Discovered in 1964 (Le Breton 1966), the site was excavated in the 1970s. The site contains a total of 23 enclosures. Several post-holed structures were also uncovered, some possibly related to burials, although none contained finds. The plentiful grave goods, particularly the ceramics and brooches, allowed for the close dating of its structures and burials (figure 7.7) (Stead *et al.* 2007: 161); although some enclosures and burials (e.g. P, Y) are undated.

7.6.3.a Ménil-Annelles: brooch material and type over time

Forty-nine brooches were excavated from burials at Ménil-Annelles, the majority of which were identifiable. Nearly half (42%) were Reverted Bow Type 1's, restricted to La Tène C2 inhumations and La Tène D1a cremations. While Stead *et al.* (2007: 160) interpret these as Middle La Tène forms the distinction isn't all that straight-forward, especially as they span the time period traditionally expected for the adoption of Pseudo La Tène Type 3's. For example, while those in La Tène C2 inhumations are identifiable Middle La Tène types, with decorative reverted feet held low on the bow, brooches in later cremations exhibit the characteristics of later Type 3's; e.g. bows of variable width, as well as the high placement of the reverted foot on the bow (Sievers 2009: personal comm.).

As discussed in Chapter Four, the distinction between Type 1 and 3 Reverted Bow brooches is poorly understood. At Ménil-Annelles, Stead *et al.* (2007) ignore this division altogether. While

I do not agree with their methodology, I also believe that it is counterproductive to get involved in a debate on the earliest development of Pseudo La Tène Types; not only because there does not seem to be a clear transition between the two types, but because this masks the fact that, despite their presumed differences, brooches with a reverted bow were used well into the Late La Tène period. So, rather than identifying an exact transition point between earlier and later reverted bow brooches, the question should be, why this form was so resilient.

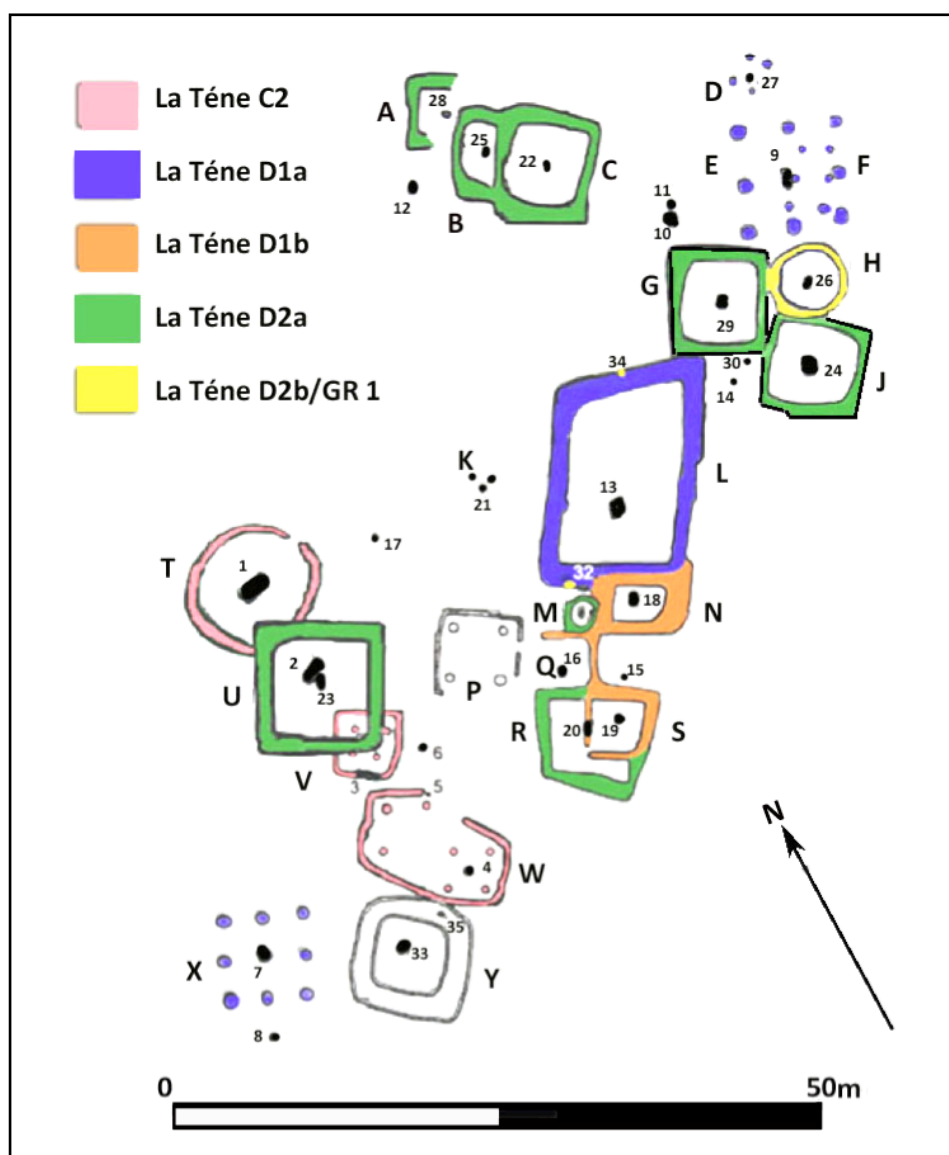


Figure 7.7: Plan of Ménéil-Annelles (after Stead *et al.* 2007: fig.2)

In the earliest La Tène C2 phase, copper alloy brooches are the norm, with only two fragmentary iron examples. This trend is reversed in the La Tène D1a, when all 16 brooches are iron. In all likelihood the transition from inhumation to cremation is related to this change. As previously discussed in Chapter Five, iron has very different properties from copper alloy. For example,

although more vulnerable to corrosion when exposed to damp, iron also has a higher melting temperature, making it less vulnerable to deformation if exposed to high temperatures (Fluzin *et al.* 1994; Pernot 1994). Moreover, manufacturing iron types would have required a different production technique, mainly involving progressive hammering and reheating; while copper alloy brooches were partially cast and then shaped when malleable (Guillaumet 1984: 10-11). Thusly, the switch to iron would have involved a very different set of skills. However, it is equally possible that a disruption in tin/lead supply, materials needed to cast copper alloy brooches, brought about this change; spurring a community-wide response to the increased demand for iron (see Chapter Five, pages 111-112).

At Ménil-Annelles, the inhumation/cremation transition also marks the general disappearance of elaborate ornament. This is notable, as it mirrors changes in pottery, and other items of personal adornment, towards standardization and simplicity. For example, the elaborate notched and stamped relief decoration on La Tène C2 vessels is replaced by incision and broad combing which required little to no skill to master (Stead *et al.* 2007: 46). However, while brooches seem to have standardized, they do show a great deal of variation in terms of other means, particularly in the number of coils on the spring. Spring-width is a key factor determining how a brooch might have been worn. For instance, multi-springed brooches would have been able to stay upright when worn, better displaying decorative moulding. In the first phase at Ménil-Annelles the widest spring sat at six-coils, however in the La Tène D1a, this expanded to include brooches with as many as 16 coils. This might mark a change in how brooches were worn, although there is nothing here that directly associates these with dress. For example, in Burial 9 a large 126 millimetre brooch recovered just outside a cremation heap was possibly used as a fastener for a cloth burial sack. Such a situation is also evidenced at Clemency in Luxembourg, as well as other cemeteries in the Ardennes (Metzler *et al.* 1991:141; Friboulet 1997: 271). Other than the brooches, very little jewellery was recovered from the La Tène D1a, limited to a simple copper alloy bracelet with poorly executed line incision and undecorated band rings (Stead *et al.* 2007: 76-77, 82-83).

During the La Tène D1b and D2a, Stead *et al.* (2007: 160) note the first appearance of Late La Tène filiform types. The majority of these 21 brooches have four-coiled springs and internal chords.

Those without four-coils being the 7 examples found without springs or undescribed. This change represents a distinct technological shift from the external chords of earlier phases, a modification making the spring much more resilient to breakage (Guillaumet 1984: 14). The adoption of Classic Nauheim types also represents a shift for the first time away from wire-made forms. More decorative *Arc Interrompu* and *À Collarette* types are mainly recovered from La Tène D2b/GR 1 burials. During this phase there is a sharp decline in brooch numbers and only three brooches were found in a single phase. However, as this represents the end-life of the cemetery this decrease just as likely matches the declining use of the site for burial. Nevertheless, this seems to match the general decline in brooch deposition in later burials across the study area (figure 7.2); demonstrating a change in burial ritual, but also movement away from the use of La Tène funerary sites for Post-Conquest burials. Interestingly early Roman funerary sites, such as Limé, “Au Sables Nord,” contain no brooches (Duvette and Soupart 2005: 293-313)

7.6.3.b Ménil–Annelles: brooch pairs and groupings

This section explores the brooch pairs or groups recovered at Ménil–Annelles. Wild (1965: 107; 1968: 168) associates brooch pairs with a specific type of northern European Iron Age female dress, the Menimane outfit. Despite the issues with this association (see Chapter Five, page 98), Ménil–Annelles will be examined to see if the evidence supports Wild’s assertions. For instance, while brooch pairs seem normative during the La Tène C2, this trend does not demonstrate continuity. Furthermore, the context of these finds is explored, in terms of meanings regarding both brooch usage and deposition.

In the earliest inhumations at Ménil–Annelles, brooches are mainly found in pairs. For instance, in the case of those found with the female in double inhumation St.1, matching pairs. These 64 mm brooches, both with the same decoration on the reverted foot, were recovered on the shoulders of an adult female. Although this location may be incorrect, as St.1 was excavated at an earlier date by Le Breton (1966) and is poorly recorded. Unfortunately, no data is available on the placement of the brooch with the male interred in the same burial. The brooches within the remaining inhumations were mainly found behind the heads: one with a male in St.2, and a matching pair with the female in St.3, along with a brooch fragment between the right hand and the pelvis. As at Bucy-le-Long, “La Héronnière” these finds were possibly related to the brooch’s

use with burial shrouds. However the absence of textile evidence makes this impossible to substantiate.

During the La Tène D1a, the trend of matching pairs declines. Possible brooch pairs were limited to two of five La Tène D1a burials, only of which was a true matched set. For example, although child Burial 11 contained two nearly complete reverted brooches of similar size they were not identical in terms of profile or even spring length. Moreover, it seems likely that, because they were placed in separate pots with discrete cremation deposits, they were never considered as pairs. The 10 brooches in double Burial St.9 were all recovered inside one heap with the remains. The majority these were multi-coiled springed brooches (12 to 16 coils), between 60 to 80 millimetres in size; nevertheless, although these seem to match it impossible to tell if they pairings originally. However, one extremely large 126 mm brooch stands out in this burial not only because of its size, but also because of its isolated position outside the cremation heap links it to possible use as a fastener for a burial sack. Considering the evidence, it is very difficult to use the brooch finds at Ménil–Annelles to support Wild's ideas about the Menimane costume. However, the presence of double brooches in a child burial here is notably different to what was seen at Bucy, perhaps hinting at regional differences.

Brooches found in La Tène D1b burials are mainly found in groupings larger than two. However, these are not the identical matched sets of the La Tène C2, but rather more homogenous groupings. The brooches in this phase consist of both copper alloy and iron Classic Nauheim, as well as Filiform Nauheim types. Nevertheless, some variations in material are notable. For instance, of the three brooches in adult male Burial St.16, three similarly sized copper alloy 5a's were identified as roughly identical, although with pronounced differences in decoration (Stead *et al.* 2007: 79). As La Tène D1a burials, the majority of metal finds were recovered with cremation heaps. However, in St.16, one pair of Classic Nauheims were found directly outside of the heap, making it likely that, like St.9, the cremation was held inside a brooch fastened sack.

La Tène D2a brooches are mainly Simple and Classic Nauheim types, although *Knotenfibel* also appear at this time (Stead *et al.* 2007: 162). Half of these burials contain more than one brooch, the largest grouping recovered in double burial St.23 with the remains of an older female. It can be postulated that the 3.55 millimetre long iron Filiform Nauheims are close to

being a matching set as none differed in terms of material or type. Interestingly, *Knotenfibel* only appear singly in adult cremations.

All the brooches from the final La Tène D2b/GR1 phase were found in St.3, placed inside the cremation urn with the remains of an adult female. These variably sized iron brooches include an Type 4, a Type 10 Collared brooch and a copper alloy Proto-Gallic brooch. The Iron brooches were large, measuring between 85 and 92 millimetres, while the copper alloy brooch was only 55 millimetres. Although limited to one burial, it seems as though the trend of homogenous groupings was not maintained in this period.

Examining pairs or sets of brooches at Ménil-Annelles, there seems to be a general shift from the identical or near identical pairs of the La Tène C2/D1a, towards more homogeneous groupings in the La Tène D1b/D2a. Finally, in the La Tène D2b/GR1, these loose groupings cease to exist and brooches of varying type are found together. Nevertheless, aside from brooches recovered from La Tène C2 inhumations, brooch groupings are not restricted to female burials, nor can they be seen as coming from contexts directly attributable with dress. For instance, following the La Tène C2, brooch pairs were also identified with men and children. As only a small number of the graves are sexed here, it is impossible to make a strong connection between brooch pairs/groups and a particular sex. However, as brooches are found with men as well as women throughout all periods of use, there can be no direct identification of these objects as female items. This marks a change from Middle La Tène burials when brooches are only very seldom found with men (Thouvenot 2007: 7; Desenne *et al.* 2009). Again, I refer to biological sex not gender, as one does not necessarily overlap with the other (Sørensen 2000: 42-45).

7.6.3.c Inter-burial brooch context at Ménil-Annelles

A brooch's position inside a burial can reveal information about how/when the item was introduced/used in the sequence of burial ritual. Two types of context are considered here: first inter-burial, i.e. the association of brooch finds between burials; and secondly, intra-burial, or the association of brooches and other finds from the burial context. Given that the majority of burials at Ménil Annelles are enclosed in some way, the choice to delineate the deceased seems

to have been important (Stead *et al.* 2007: 5-7). Therefore, as brooches were often integrated into these structured burials, are correlations between brooches and enclosures possible? For example, if distinct family groups were using these burials, as Haselgrove (2007: 501) and Lambot (2000: 155) suggest, can brooches be viewed as emblematic of familial ties?

Establishing connections with earlier enclosures seems especially relevant for La Tène D2a burials, most of which reference earlier, as well as contemporary enclosures. All these burials demonstrate a distinct preference for Filiform Nauheim brooches. However, can this connection be seen as relevant, especially as Nauheim brooches seem to have been the preferred type during the La Tène D1b and D2a? Perhaps so, as St.17, the lone La Tène D1b burial undisturbed during the La Tène 2a, contained no brooches. Additionally, as there was no crowding at the site during the La Tène D2a, it seems as though the decision to cut earlier burials was made consciously, based on other factors (Stead *et al.* 2007: 7-10).

7.6.3.d Intra-burial brooch context at Ménil-Annelles and elsewhere

Nearly all the brooches at Ménil-Annelles were recovered in direct, or near, association with the interred remains. In the first phase, brooches were placed on or near the body (figure 7.8). However, following the adoption of cremation they were most commonly found in the cremation heap; possibly collected along with the bones from the pyre or added afterwards. In many cases it seems as though brooches may have been used to hold the remains inside some sort of cloth wrapping.

During the La Tène D1a brooches are very rarely found outside of cremation heaps and non-heap brooch deposits are only to be found in rare instances where remains were deposited within vessels. For example, in St.11, two non-matching Reverted Bow types were found in pots, with no remains. As this burial was the only child cremation dating to this phase, this reflects this difference, perhaps with mourners depositing their own brooches into the burial. In La Tène D1b, brooches are rarely recovered from cremation heaps. For example, in St.16 brooches are found outside of the cremation heap, or in the upper fill. In St.18 they were placed inside the pot with the adult remains. Only in St.19, a single adult cremation, were brooches found inside the heap along with other items of personal adornment, perhaps marking

a change towards using brooches to fasten burial sacks. Nevertheless, during the La Tène D2a the trend shifts back to heap deposition. In the case of double cremation St.23, brooches are found in the heap with the majority of one individual, an adult female, while in child burial St.31, brooches are again separated. All of the brooches dating to the La Tène D2b/GR 1 were found inside one pot with the remains of an adult female. The lack of data for this phase makes it difficult to determine preference here.

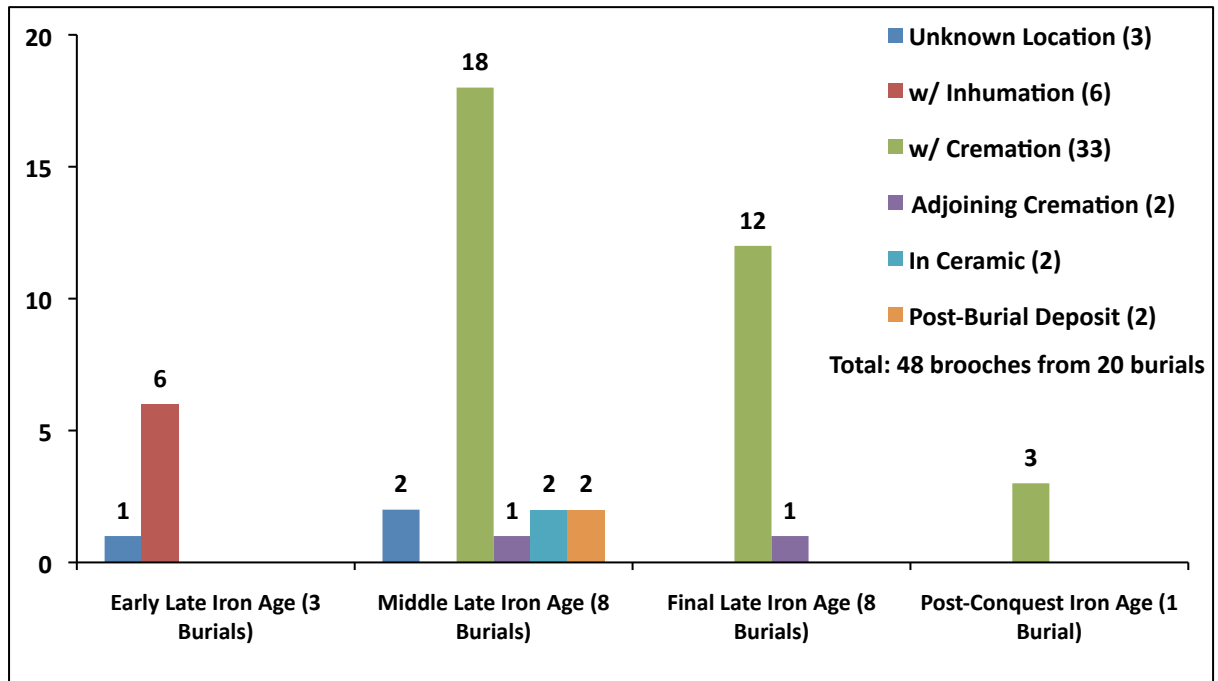


Figure 7.8: Intra-burial brooch context over time at Ménéil-Annelles

Based on the data from Ménéil-Annelles, it seems that intra-burial brooch context is possibly related to the age of the interred; with brooches from child burials more likely to be deposited separate from the remains. Unfortunately there is not enough age data to see if this pattern is broadly reproducible across the study area. However, this information is available from the other burials in the Ardennes (e.g. Juniville, Ville-sur-Retourne). Of these 24 burials, only one child burial was noted in St.10 at Ville-sur-Retourne, where six brooches were recovered with the cremation heap. However, as this burial was of a young adolescent, this possibly represents the bestowal of adult status (Stead *et al.* 2007: 80).

Of the 19 child burials recorded across the study area, only four were deposited in pottery vessels; the majority from Ménéil-Annelles. While, this low figure could reflect of age-restricted access to burial rites this is uncertain, given the absence of age-data throughout the study area.

In regards to adults, approximately 70% of brooches were recovered from cremation heaps and only 8% from pots (both with and without remains). Therefore, regardless of age, burial deposition in ceramics should be seen as a rare phenomenon. Indeed outside the Ardennes approximately 53% of brooches are recovered from cremation heaps; likely even higher considering that in 18% of burials, brooch position is unrecorded.

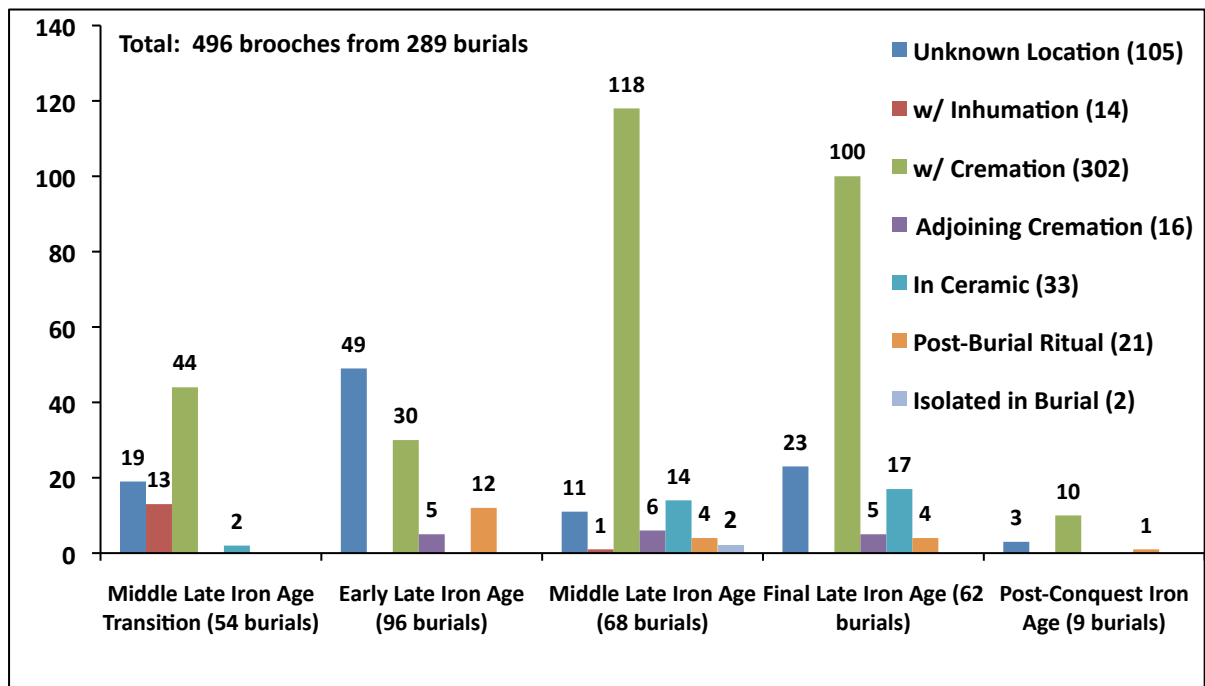


Figure 7.9: Intra-burial brooch context over time across the study area

With regard to intra burial deposition over time, brooch location in burials across the study area seem to broadly follow the same trends as M  nil–Annelles, with the majority being found in cremation heaps during the Middle Late La T  ne, with a dip in these types of finds at the end of the Final Late La T  ne (figure 7.9). This is perhaps because M  nil–Annelles, as with funerary sites across the study area, show is a distinct dip in burial, as well funerary deposition, at this time. While this is possibly the result of a difficulty in dating rather than real decline; the influence of the rise of sanctuaries during the Post-Conquest Iron Age, as well as the pre-Conquest influence of *oppida* should not be discounted. The latter sites possibly becoming preferred depository locals.

7.6.3.e Brooches and other grave goods, Ménil-Annelles and elsewhere

As burials represent discrete contexts it is possible to directly associate the objects recovered therein with single or related acts of deposition; even more so than with stratified contexts at other types of site. Therefore, in addition to brooch placement, their associations with other objects also reveal details about burial ritual. For example, the link between brooches and feasting is quite tangible at Ménil-Annelles. Animal remains, either burnt with the cremation as offerings or un-burnt portions of the funerary feast, were recovered: the latter mixed with the cremated remains, the former placed to the side of the burial. Burnt animal remains mainly consisted of sheep (61%), followed by mixtures of other domestic animals such as pig, dog, chicken or horse. Un-burnt offerings were mainly pig (45%), with rare deposits of chicken and cattle (Stead *et al.* 2007: 109, 114, 117).

While cremated animal remains were burnt on the pyre, un-burnt remains likely represent part of the funerary feast; with bi-sectioned skulls demonstrating that animals were cut in half for roasting (*ibid*: 116). Interestingly, butchery seems to have been integrated into funerary ritual, with 90% of knife and axe finds recovered in graves with butchered animals. Furthermore, burials with the most butchering equipment and un-burnt animal bone were also those with the greatest number of brooches. Animal bones, butchering equipment and brooches also converge in double cremations (St.18 and St.23). Given that these burials would have had more participating community members, it seems logical that greater feasting and deposition activity would overlap in these contexts. Additionally, double burial St.9, from which 11 brooches were recovered, contained the only cattle-bone find at Ménil-Annelles, suggestive of high status feasting (Stead *et al.* 2007: 117, 215).

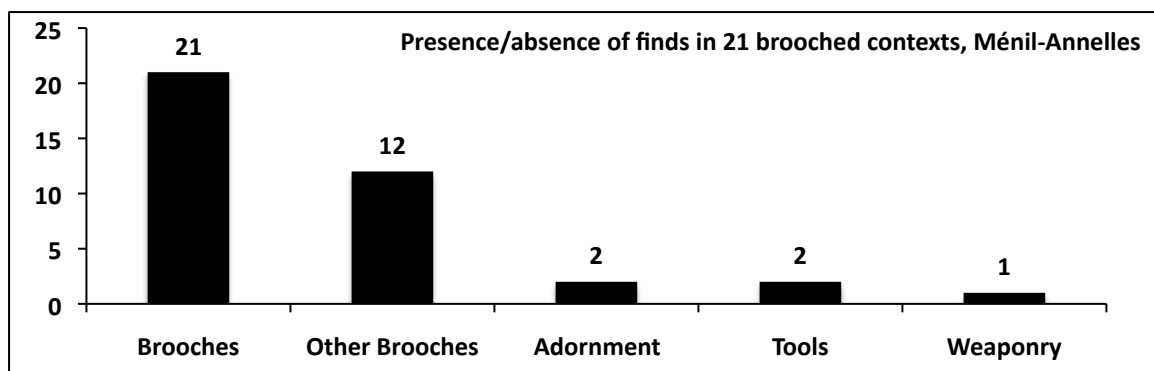


Figure 7.10: Objects recovered with brooches at Ménil –Annelles

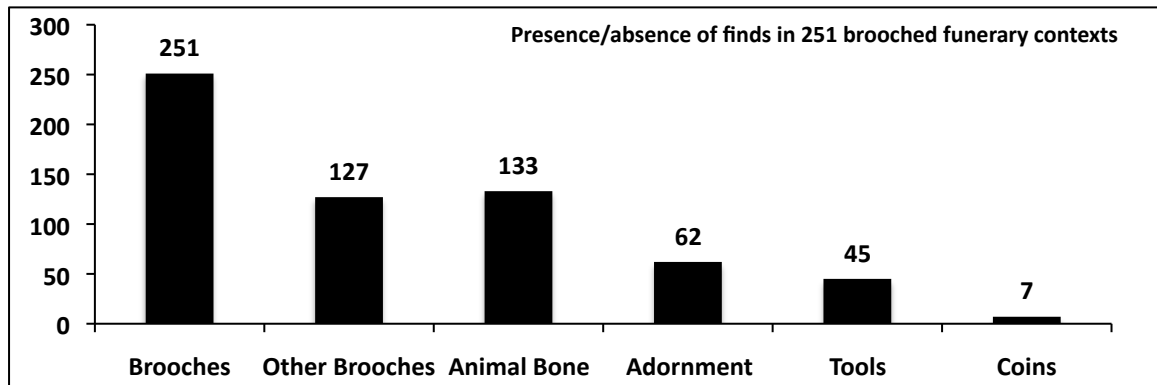


Figure 7.11: Objects recovered with brooches in burials across the study area

While post-burial robbing or other disturbances may shape what grave goods are recovered. Based on the evidence available, few items other than animal bones and ceramics, were recovered in burials with brooches (figures 7.10 and 7.11). For instance, while early coin deposits at sanctuaries might be associated with brooches, they are rarely found together in burials. Of the 457 burials recorded in the study area, only 11 contain coins, mostly Scheers 191 potins, all in the Ardennes. At Ménil-Annelles only one silver coin identified as a Scheers 151 was recovered from a pit cut into La Tène D1a ditch L. This find of a rare silver coin, as well as its recovery with a vessel form not generally found in the burials, marks it as a singular deposit (Stead *et al.* 2007: 29). This contrasts with the more common local potin types recovered in association with cremated remains, which are typically recovered in burials dated after the La Tène D1b, although misdating is certainly possible in these cases (table 7.4). The coins were mainly found with Simple Filiform types, although two (La Noue Mauroy St. 22 and La Croizette St.104) were found with undecorated Nauheims, pointing to La Tène D1a/D1b dates (Lambot *et al.* 1994: 38; Friboulet 1997: 17-18).

Table 7.4: Coins in Burials from the La Tène D1b

Burial	Date	Burial No	Coin Type
La Noue Mauroy 1992	La Tène D1b	1.13	LT 8577
		1.22	7 Scheers 191
	La Tène D1b/D2a	1.7	Ambiani Stater (Blank Reverse)
		1.24	LT 8029
		1.93	Scheers 191
La Croizette	La Tène D2a	1.104	8 Scheers 191
La Noue Mauroy 1992	La Tène D2a/D2b	1.95	Scheers 191
	La Tène D2b	1.10	Scheers 191
Ville-sur-Retourne	mid-First century CE	1.41	Roman Coin (Caesarian)
	No Date	1.45	Scheers 195
	Ditch ML/KY		Scheers 151

The finds recovered from burials demonstrate, that although funerary sites were *loci* of deposition, this was rather minimal in comparison to sanctuaries, rural sites or *oppida*. Other than rare items listed in the above figures, animal bones, ceramics and brooches are the most frequent recovered from burial. However, these objects possibly bear closer relation to funerary ritual and/or feasting than to the individual(s) interred. For example, brooches might be seen as fasteners for shrouds or burial sacks, rather than as items of dress, while un-burnt animal bones seem to directly correlate with burials containing butchery tools.

7.7 Conclusion: brooch deposition at funerary sites

There is a wealth of information to be gained from studying brooch finds at funerary sites. For example, their location in the burial can tell us about burial ritual, if they should be associated with the dead as an item of dress, a fastener for a burial sack, or as a votive deposit. Unfortunately, problems related to limited brooch recording and identification limit this type of analysis. Nevertheless, the placement of objects together in pits after cremation perhaps sets the tone for what is found at sanctuaries, rural sites and later *oppida*, where brooches are frequently found in contexts associated with burning. These finds possibly represent closure deposits in which structures or related settlements are treated similarly to dead individuals.

The close association between burials and funerary sites, for example around Acy-Romance and Jaux, “Camp du Roi, point to the close overlap between the world of the living and the world of the dead. This aspect of Late Iron Age culture is not as delineated as current interpretations present (see Auxiette *et al.* 2000: 274-281). The fact that many funerary enclosures post-date the earliest burials, for example at La Noue Mauroy 1992, seems to support the notion that dividing the world of the living from the world of the dead was not an immediate priority. The frequent recovery of human bones from non-funerary contexts at rural sites also supports this idea. For example, the recovery of brooches and human bones in non-funerary contexts associated with feasting, parallels the overlap between brooch deposition and feasting at burials; hinting at a certain continuity between burial practices and rituals carried out at other types of site. This, and other aspects of deposition, particularly the association between brooch deposits and fire, is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Eight Brooch Deposition at Rural Sites

Two hundred and sixty-eight Late Iron Age and Early Roman rural sites were surveyed from my study area, the bulk of these in Picardy. However, very few had brooches and, ultimately, very few brooches were recorded from rural contexts, accounting for only 12% of the total in the dataset (figure 8.1).

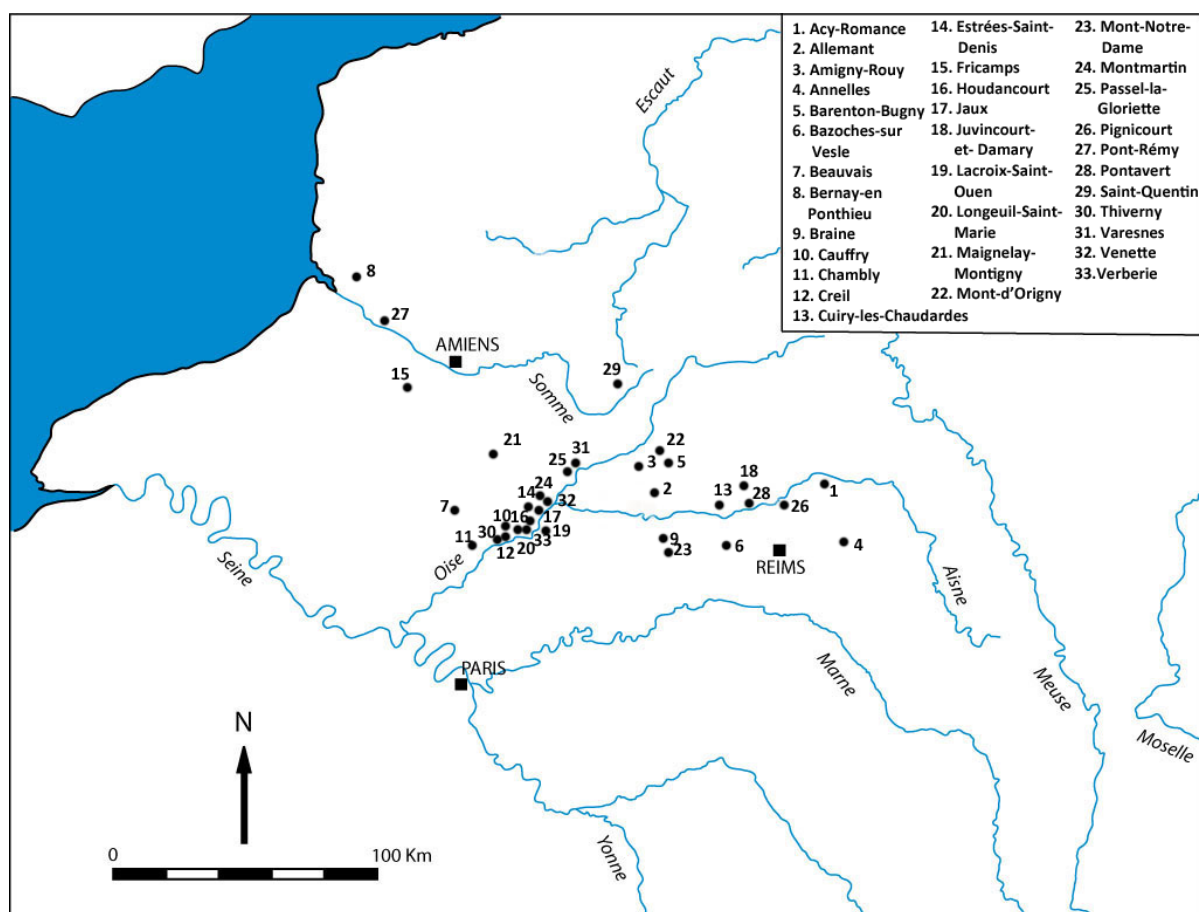


Figure 8.1: Map of rural sites with brooches mentioned in this chapter

The types of brooches recovered from rural sites were mostly of Reverted Bow and Simple and Decorative Filiform type (figure 8.2). The explanation for is not entirely chronological, as many rural sites are contemporary with the development of Decorative Filiform and Interrupted Bow types. Interestingly, deposition at rural sites parallels activity at cemeteries, as well as the post Early Late Iron Age slump at sanctuaries; indicating that perhaps, the former became *foci* of deposition. A wholesale switch to deposition at rural sites should not, however, be envisaged, given the problems involved in dating the earliest deposits at sanctuaries. Nevertheless, given that the majority of rural sites date between the La Tène C1/C2 and the Middle Late Iron Age, if

a refocusing can be postulated, it points to the non-restriction of depository practices to elite sanctuaries as per Roymans (1990: 84) or Brunaux (1988). Even so, despite obvious ritualistic qualities, the presence of brooches and other deposits at rural sites is most often associated with aristocratic ownership; with sites bereft of finds marked as impoverished holdings, although these might simply represent sites with other functions (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 190-191; 2007: 17).

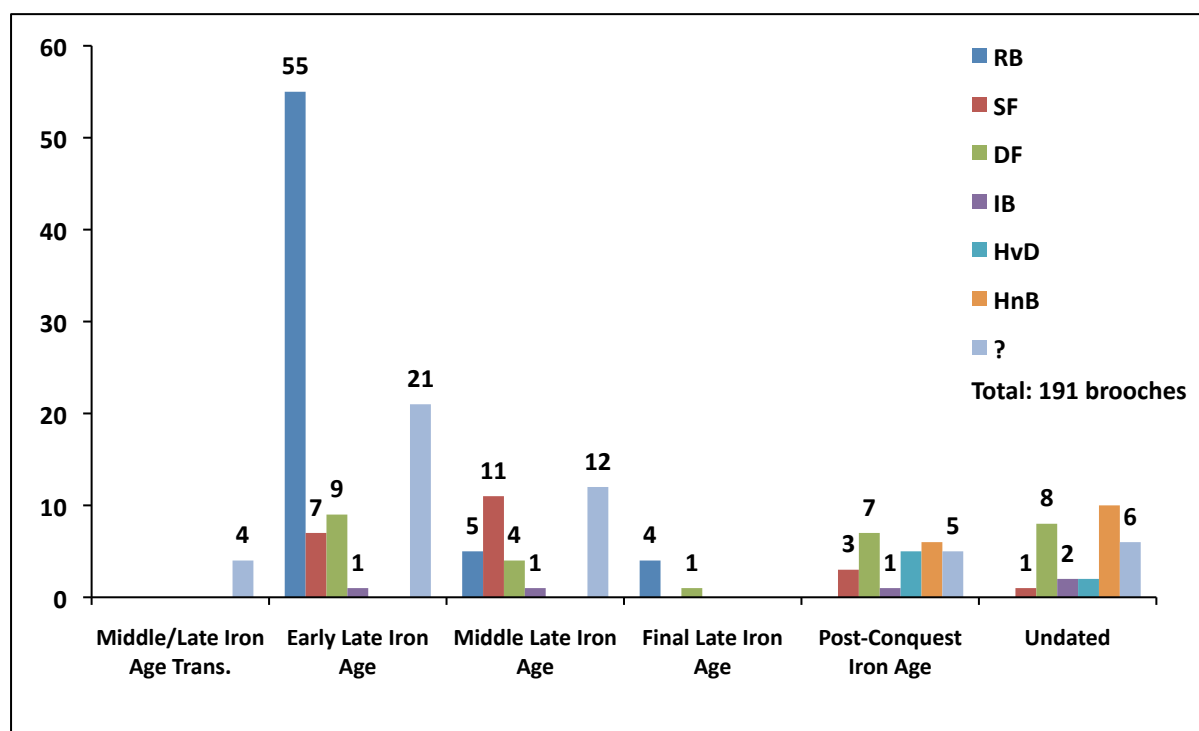


Figure 8.2: Brooches deposited over time at rural sites

8.1 Rural sites as proto-*oppida*?

‘High-status’ rural sites often exhibit internal plans comparable to *oppida* (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 190-191). Nevertheless, although distinct craft and domestic working areas at rural sites are similar to divisions at *oppida*, since the former pre-date the latter, the form of *oppida* is more likely influenced by rural settlement. Thusly, rather than seeing rural sites as smaller *oppida*, *oppida* should perhaps be interpreted as amalgamated rural settlement (Haselgrove 1996: 146). The plans of the La Tène D1a/D1b sites of Bazoches-sur-Vesles, “les Chantraines,” Braine, “la Grange des Moines,” or the Tène D2b/GR 1 habitat at Cuiry-les-Chaudardes, “le Champ Tortu,” demonstrate that rural sites had unmistakable forms, in place before and after the advance of

oppida (see figures 8.8, 8.9 and 8.14). Resultingly, they represent independent developments, probably with more influence upon *oppida* than vice versa.

8.2 Rural sites: questions of form, function and hierarchy

Generally, Late La Tène rural sites are defined as, enclosed agricultural settlements, which by the La Tène C2/D1a are identified as the norm in Picardy (Haselgrove 2007: 504-505); e.g. Juvincourt-et-Damary, “Le Ruisseau de Fayau” (Haselgrove and Lowther 1994), or Jaux, “Le Camp du Roi” (Malrain *et al.* 1996; Malrain and Fémolant 1996; Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 36).

Although in Picardy, Brunaux (2000: 276) identifies enclosures as markers of elite ownership absence of enclosures in some parts of the study area, means that this is not case everywhere. In the Ardennes for example, open settlements (e.g. Acy-Romance), appear normative. Nevertheless, as this large 15 ha site, combines features of domestic as well as sanctuary sites, it has been relatively easy for researchers to attribute it with high status (Lambot 1998a: 74; 1999: 400; Lambot and Méniel 1992). Nevertheless, the apparent division of agricultural from craft-working areas evident at both sites, largely mirrors what is seen at rural sites such as, Braine, “la Granges des Moines” or Jaux, “Camp du Roi”. Therefore, regardless of enclosure, similar organisational rules seem to govern the layout of these sites. While inter-site organisation is typically identified as a proto-urban characteristic of later *oppida*, its presence at earlier sites identifies its distinctly local origins.

It is likely that not all rural sites served agricultural or domestic purposes. For instance, in the Oise, Beaujard and Malrain (2004: 71) identify the nearly finds-less La Tène C2 enclosure at Jaux, “Val d’Adam” with stock rearing; raising the issue of how settlement diversity is sometimes masked, promoting interpretations that focus on status rather than function. Nevertheless, while finds are not recovered at all sites, this may be a function of erosion, or the size of the excavation; although typically only well excavated sites are given a hierarchical placement. Malrain *et al.* (2006: 190) initially identifies rural sites in the middle Oise hierarchically, ascribing status based on the size of the enclosure ditch and the presence of finds. However, In a later

paper Malrain *et al.* (2007) question this methodology, suggesting that function, not status, is identified through object inventories.

The notion that the absence or presence of finds can denote function rather than status is appealing, as it opens new possibilities in terms of identifying and interpreting rural sites. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that differential function might still be interpreted as a status based phenomenon. For example, Brunaux (2000: 276) theorizes that while aristocrats controlled many properties, they maintained perhaps only one personal residence, identifiable by the richness of finds. While Brunaux does not address the issue of variable function, and aside from questions of ownership, both Brunaux and Malrain's theories raise the idea that several sites could be part of a large inter-related settlement. Such connectivity has been suggested for metalworking sites in the Aisne, centred around the 'aristocratic' site of Bazoches-sur-Vesle (La Tène D1a) (Bauvais and Fluzin 2005: 115). Therefore, the closeness of such variable contemporaries as Jaux, "Val Adam" and Jaux, "Camp du Roi" would seem to confirm that more is at play here than simple hierarchy.

Outside France, particularly in North America and the United Kingdom, the possibility of a non-hierarchically structured Late Iron Age society, has been debated since the 1970's. Crumley's (1974; 1976; 1979: 144) dissatisfaction with anthropologically based models of Celtic-society first proposed a heterarchical social organisation in which power is counterpoised, rather than ranked. Unfortunately, Crumley's early suggestion of an alternative to chiefdom model was offered to a mainly processual audience and her ideas were not well received. In particular, it was believed that her dissatisfaction with a Central Place Modelling (CPT), then a central tenet of the triangular/hierarchical model, was misguided (Smith 1977). At that time, processual theories resulted in a one-to-one connection between the naturally hierarchical nature of human societies and ranked spatial organization (Cunliffe 1983; 1984; Renfrew 1984: 47). Nevertheless, although processualism and CPT have generally fallen out of use in Anglo-American academics (see Bryant 2007; Crumley 2005; Hill 1993; 1995; 2006; Wells 2006; Woolf 1993; 2006), they are still applied by French archaeologists, e.g. Brun (1995a; 1995b; 2002) and Fichtl (1994; 2000; 2004).

By highlighting the methodological errors stemming from blind adherence to hierarchical models, Hill (1993; 1995; 2003) encourages Iron Age archaeologists to consider other possible ways to interpret Iron Age societies; suggesting that there were likely a variety of Iron Age societies in contrast with orthodox models in which than one socio-cultural unit follows a single evolutionary trajectory towards hierarchical urbanism (see Cunliffe 1985: 1-5; Collis 1995: 32; De Vries 1960; Sjoberg 1960; Ucko *et al.* 1972). Nevertheless, interpretations of past social organisations are compounded by problems of determining what ‘hierarchy’ or ‘heterarchy’ actually mean. Hill (2006: 172-174) summarises general arguments, stating that our inability to understand these terms stems from a general failure to distinguish between, and properly define, various kinds of power, or the different ways in which societies can be organized. Interestingly, as the hierarchical conception of Celtic society stems from its definition as a tribal society (following Caesar), the definition dilemma is what originally floundered the chiefdom-state debate. (Kristiansen 1991: 17). In order to avoid a similar proliferation of terms and definitions, the hierarchy-heterarchy debate needs to pose more pragmatic questions about Iron Age society. For examples, how did households relate with the larger community; how did these relations manifest themselves via social practices? This is why the study of brooches, which are ubiquitous at various types of sites, possibly provides such a convenient entry point for the study of Iron Age society.

Nevertheless, these ideas have yet to impact upon standard status-based interpretations of Late Iron Age rural settlement in France. As a result, it seems understandable that finds-rich versus finds-poor sites might better be discussed in terms of function than status. The fully excavated La Tène D2b/GR 1 site at Ronchères, “Bois-du-Forge” (Aisne) is a key example. Although Ronchères is identified as ‘aristocratic’ it also has several unusual features. For instance, the near absence of storage vessels or storage pits is unusual in comparison to similar settlements, e.g. Jaux, “Camp du Roi” (Malrain *et al.* 2010: 64, 99). Rare finds of a bridle bit, as well as the large concentration of Dressel amphora, are rather ambiguously described as either ‘ritualistic’ or ‘domestic’ in nature (Malrain *et al.* 2010: 87, 99). The odd qualities at Ronchères are explained by its tentative identification as a craft-working, or trading site (*ibid*: 90). In particular the absence of storage pits, lack of *dolia*, as well as high amphora numbers, indicate that the site possibly supported itself through trade, with wine being a favoured item. This finds further support in its location at site with poor agricultural potential (*ibid*: 42). Seen in this way, the

appellation 'aristocratic' is an odd match for Ronchères, which is not an aristocratic residence as *per* Brunaux (2000: 276). Moreover, as all stages of metal working are evidenced at Ronchères it likely represents a more centralized version of earlier dispersed metal production in the Aisne; which saw the entire the *chaîne-opératoire* spread over the landscape (Brunaux 2000: 101; Bauvais and Fluzin 2005: 128). Given this difference, in all likelihood, the benefits of the trade would be concentrated there as well, leading to a finds distribution atypical of rural settlement.

Concluding this discussion of the form, function and status of rural sites, it seems evident that their variability (i.e. presence/absence of enclosure or material goods) is not easily explained as a function of status. Clearly, the term 'aristocratic' is more multi-dimensional than Brunaux or Malrain describe, reflective of both ownership, as well as, community-based networking. It is perhaps these connections, rather than hierarchical rank, that should be focused on when identifying a site. While such a study is beyond the range of this project, raising some interesting possibilities for post-doctoral study, a survey of brooch finds at rural sites reveals that these objects were central components of depository practices at these sites; analogous to observed findings at sanctuaries, funerary sites, as well as *oppida*. These practices are perhaps what bind together, what might otherwise be a dispersed and unconnected landscape. Deposition at these site then, becomes about more than just competitive display or peer-politics (as discussed by Derks 1995: 118; Roymans 2007: 85). Other than status, deposition instead possibly represents the glue that maintains the "atomised relations" between dispersed households; rituals cementing associations/transfers of power (e.g. marriage, death, inheritance, obligation, fosterage, vendettas and labour). What Hill (2011: 252) calls, messy and unstable associations not easily sustained by hierarchy. Connections possibly more easily managed by drawing on practices that focus on convention and shared understanding (Pitts 2007: 693). This explains why deposition, and by extension brooches, are a key feature at Late La Tène sites in the study area.

8.3 Identifying ritual at rural sites

Ritual at rural sites in the study area is sometimes identified via the presence of 'structured' deposits after Hills's (1995: 9) definition (e.g. Malrain *et al.* 2006: 186). These types of deposits are identifiable throughout the study area, many containing brooches or other finds, such as

human or animal bone. However, often researchers appear to have difficulties resolving the presence of mixed ritual and domestic deposits. For example, both ritualistic and domestic elements are recognized at Acy-Romance and Montmartin. At Acy-Romance, the D-shaped enclosure with large deposits of animal bone is identified as largely ritualistic; although, while the bone remains are broadly compared to sanctuary finds, no mention is made of the iron tools, including a scythe, also recovered (Lambot 1998b: 14-15; Méniel 1998: 246). At Montmartin, both domestic and ritual enclosures are identified, although both contain similar finds, including human bone, weaponry and brooches (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 49-52).

While the above represent remarkable, or unusual sites in the study area, structured deposits are also evidenced at typical sites, such as Juvincourt-et-Damary, “Le Ruisseau de Fayau” or Verberie, “La Plaine d’Herneuse II.” These and other sites, are discussed below, beginning with earliest deposition at La Tène C2/D1a settlements. By focusing on brooch deposits at rural sites, many of which were excavated from structured and stratified contexts, I aim to examine how archaeologists in the study area have explained such deposits to date. The goal is that the links between observations here, as well as at other sites, will illuminate the shared practices existing between these sites during the Late La Tène.

8.4 Middle to Late La Tène Transition brooch deposition at rural sites

Very few brooches are recovered from non-funerary contexts in this period. Interestingly, this is quite opposite to the phenomenon noted by Malrain *et al.* (2006: figure 125) in a study of the Middle Oise. However, this is possibly the result of them placing La Tène C1/C2 or La Tène C2/D1a sites, such as Longeuil-Sainte-Marie “Le Vivier des Grès” or Verberie, “La Plaine d’Herneuse II,” within the Middle La Tène, rather than recognizing a distinct transitional period; a practice masking the difference in archaeological evidence, particularly the increase in rural sites at this time. Haselgrove (2007) labels this the ‘Age of Enclosure’ and indeed a great many of the sites dated to the La Tène C1/C2 demonstrate enclosures as well as organized internal plans. The rural sites from this period also provide a contrast to the predominantly funereal character of the preceding period. Unfortunately, the brooch finds dated to this period are still relatively uncommon, mainly represented by odd example from poorly understood sites. However, as these were often recovered with other objects, these possibly represent the

earliest examples of Late Iron Age structured deposition at rural sites (table 8.1). More detail about any brooched rural sites not discussed in this chapter can be found in Appendix Three.

Table 8.1: Middle to Late La Tène brooches and related finds at rural sites

Site	Find Location	Brooch Type	Associated Finds
Longueil-Sainte-Marie, "La Vivier des Grès" (Oise)	Enclosure Ditch (St. 78)	Unidentified	Copper alloy and glass bracelets, glass beads, iron key, decorated wheel-turned ceramics, animal bones (cattle)
Cauffry, "La Petite Vallée" (Oise)	Pit inside Enclosure	Unidentified Iron	Lignite bracelet, ceramics, human bones, animal bone (pig and cattle)

The brooch, bracelets and other objects recovered from the enclosure at Longueil-Sainte-Marie certainly seem similar to deposits identified as structured at later rural sites such as Verberie (Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 28). However, without stratigraphy it is difficult to associate these finds with one another or identify how they were placed inside the ditch. Nevertheless, the faunal remains of young cattle, have linked the site with aristocratic feasting practices (*ibid.*: 94, 182). At Cauffry, a similar absence of stratigraphy is also evidenced, as the finds came from a highly disturbed area (Malrain and Fémolant 1996; Malrain and Pinard 2000). Nonetheless, the recovery of brooches and bracelets in conjunction with human and animal bone, herald later deposits and echoes contemporary finds at sanctuaries and funerary sites.

8.5 Earlier Late La Tène brooch deposition at rural sites

Several rural sites were established during the earlier La Tène D1a. Approximately 49 are recorded in my dataset, 30% with brooches. The brooch finds from this period demonstrate increasing intentionality, and many appear to come from highly structured deliberate deposits. For example, stratified structured deposits are found in both pits and ditches throughout the study area, often associated with burnt stone, human and animal bone and other items of adornment. The presence of stratigraphy is relevant, as it not only situates deposition within the history of the site, but possibly links it to opening and closure rituals. This is discussed below, with more typical rural sites discussed in advance of the special-case sites of Montmartin and Acy-Romance. Unfortunately, sites where brooches or contexts are unidentified have largely had to be omitted from wider discussion (table 8.2).

Table 8.2: Omitted Earlier Late la Tène brooches and related finds at rural sites

Site	Find Location	Brooch Type	Associated Finds
Pontavert, “Pont aux Marbres” (Aisne)	Pit Inside Enclosure	Unidentified Copper Alloy	Ceramics, loom-weights, amphora
Passel, “La Gloriette” (Oise)	Enclosure Ditch	Unidentified	Ceramics, including Amphora Whet Stone
Chambly ZAC, “Porte de l’Oise” (Oise)	Pit Inside Enclosure	Copper Alloy Type 2(?)	No Information
Fricamps, A29, “Les Epasses Le Haie du Moulin” (Somme)	Isolated Ditch	Unknown and not described, dated between 120-110 BCE	No Information
Bayonvillers, “A29-A6.4, Le Chemin d’Harbonniers” (Somme)	Pit inside Enclosure	Unidentified Iron Unidentified Copper Alloy	‘Ritually Broken “ S-profile Vessel (other half recovered in the enclosure ditch)

8.5.1 Juvincourt-et-Damary, “Le Ruisseau de Fayau”

Approximately 24 brooches were recovered at Juvincourt-et-Damary, “Le Ruisseau de Fayau,” located approximately eight kilometres northeast of the *oppidum* of Condé-sur-Suippe. Haselgrove’s trial excavations between 1991 and 1994 were focused on a small area of the site, and its full extent is unknown (Bayard 1989; Haselgrove 1991; 1992; Haselgrove and Lowther 1994). Efforts concentrated on certain structures, particularly the bell-shaped silo/pit St.80, from which the bulk of the finds were recovered (table 8.3).

Table 8.3: Brooches and related finds at Juvincourt

Find Location		Brooch Type	Associated Finds
Pit (St.80)	Principle Fill	Iron 1 Two Type 3	Bracelet, ring, necklace, animal bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), ceramics, ceramics re-cut for use as loom-weights, needle
	Middle Fill	Iron Type 1 or 3	Ceramics
	Brown-Black Fill	Iron Type 3 Unidentified Iron	Animal bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog), ceramics, iron clamps
	Top Fill	Iron 3 Iron 1 or 3	Bracelet, Animal Bone: pig, cattle, sheep, dog, ceramics, copper alloy wire, Potin (LT 7405)
	Surface	Unidentified Copper Alloy	Dressel 1a Amphora Potin (Scheers 191, two Scheers 203)
Spread		Iron 1 Four Iron 3 Six Iron 1 or 3 Iron 5a Three Unidentified Iron	Beads, bracelets, rings, animal bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog), ceramics, loom-weight, iron hook, quern fragment, bone awl, ten Potin (Scheers 186, three LT 7405, one Pierced LT 7405, four unidentified)

The fill of pit St.80 was divided into five principle layers, demonstrating its history and transition from grain-storage to a focus of deposition, with finds dating it between the La Tène C2 and the

La Tène D1a (Haselgrove and Lowther 1994: 365) (figure 8.3). After initial use and abandonment (174, 177), layers of burnt wood, ash and animal bone attest to several deposition events that finally blocked the silo's lower half (173, 176). Following this, the upper portion of the pit was re-cut, and a thick, compact layer of yellow-brown soil (76, 138, 172, 176) was intentionally deposited (Haselgrove 1992: 6). Following restructuring, the pit becomes the focus of intense deposition and several instances are evidenced by layers of sand (79, 78) or sandy-soil interspersed with lenses of burnt material (123). The bulk of the material recovered from the pit were excavated from these layers, including numerous brooches. The final closure deposit consists of dark brown sandy soil (74) and contained ceramics, animal bone, two iron brooches, as well as three coins. Several of the ceramics were degraded, showing that they were likely moved from an older deposit elsewhere (*ibid*).

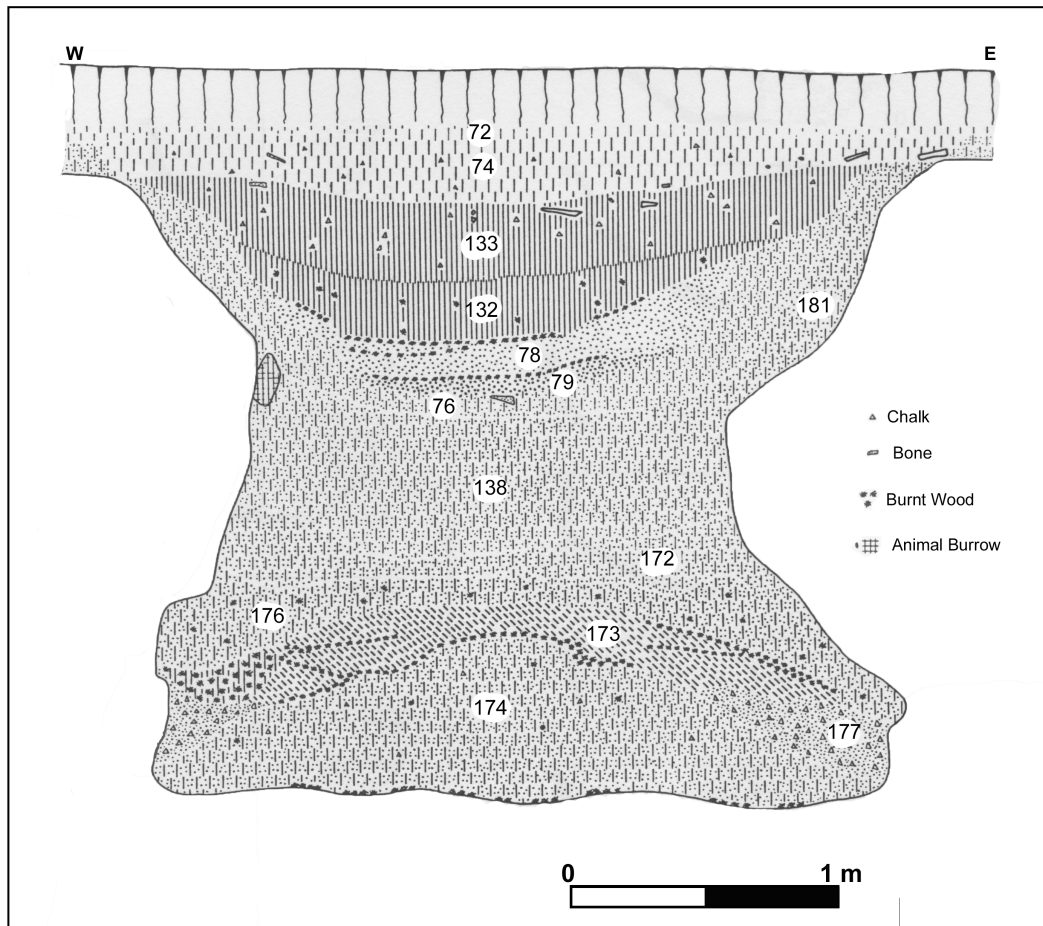


Figure 8.3: Juvincourt-et-Damary “Le Ruisseau de Fayau”: St.80 (with permission Haselgrove and Lowther 1992: figure 6)

Brooches at Juvincourt were not deposited as a result of casual or accidental loss. The restructuring of the pit, as well as their placement and relation to other finds demonstrates deliberate

intent. A total of nine brooches were recovered, mainly of iron, although one fragmentary copper alloy pin was noted at the surface. All are all Reverted Bow types, with the exception of one fragmentary iron catch-plate recovered from the middle dark-brown sandy fill. Related finds, consisting mainly of small portable items, include glass and lignite bracelets, a copper alloy necklace, rings, as well as knives, and coins. These are mixed with animal bone (sheep, cattle, pig and dog), as well as ceramics, including some re-cut to form disks and possibly used as loom-weights (Haselgrove 1991: 12). One of the coins was also pierced and possibly worn as a bead, pendant, or used to adorn clothing (*ibid*).

The majority of the ceramics recovered from this pit were modeled rather than turned with pressed or combed decoration on the shoulder. Many of the forms, such as large carinated jars with wide openings, are related to serving solid or liquid comestibles, providing a strong link between deposition and feasting (Haselgrove and Lowther 1994: 365). A surface fragment of a Dressel 1a amphora provides a further clue about what might have been available for consumption (Haselgrove 1991: 13). Analysis of the bone remains, shows that pig were marginally dominant (33.4%) and cattle were also present (32%), indicating that the people here had access to a wide variety of resources (Pion 1996b: 101). Finds from a wide multi-layered spread (St. 178), perhaps partly the result of plough damage to the pit, also included a further six Reverted Bow brooches, bracelets, rings as well as animal bones, provides further indication of the site's unique nature; with a function somewhere along the spectrum between rural and ritual site (Haselgrove and Lowther 1994: 366). However, as the bulk of finds come from the top of the pit, and surface spread, the site's ritualistic 'functions' mainly relates to the later history of the site's, possibly relating to abandonment or closure rituals.

8.5.2 Verberie, "La Plaine d'Herneuse II"

Intentional deposition dating to this period is also evidenced at Verberie, "La Plaine d'Herneuse II," on the southern bank of the Oise approximately five kilometres south of Longueil-Saint-Marie (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 85). Structures excavated in the interior of the 8019 m² enclosure identified it as rural, including dividing ditches and post-built structures enclosure (Malrain and Vegele 2000: 276). Three iron Reverted Bow brooches (two Type 1's and a Type 3) were recovered in the fill of the enclosure ditch. However, their exact location is unrecorded, render-

ing it difficult to say anything about how they fit into depositional processes at the site. Nevertheless, Malrain *et al.* (2006: 238) identifies this deposit as intentional, citing purposeful placement of human bone, and blocks of un-heated limestone, in association with a complete brooch. This sets an interesting precedent, allowing for further recognition of these types of deposits at other sites as structured and therefore, intentional.

The deliberate nature of deposition at Juvincourt, and its similarity to finds at Verberie hints that ritual activity may not have been completely divorced from settlement at this time. While the lack of securely identified and excavated sanctuaries in the Aisne indicates that this separation may never have taken place in all parts of the study area. The presence of sanctuaries in the Oise, as well the presence of mixed ritual and domestic activity at rural sites here, also demonstrate a similar absence of ritual-domestic segregation. An examination of the so-called 'aristocratic-residence' at Montmartin, provides further information about the nature of settlement in the Oise.

8.5.3 Montmartin

Montmartin, with its 'rural' and 'ritual' features, represents a unique type of rural site, although, as we have seen above, the presence of similar mixed finds elsewhere detracts somewhat from this notion of specialness. Moreover the fact that similar assemblages, including brooches and human bones, were recovered from both 'domestic' and 'ritual' areas complicates current conceptions of the site (table 8.4).

Table 8.4: Brooches and related finds at Montmartin

Find Location		Brooch Type	Associated Finds
'Domestic' Enclosure	House-Pit (St.50)	Seven Iron 1 Unidentified Iron	Beads, rings, necklace, human bone, animal bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), ceramics, shears, nails, clamps, knives, sword, iron strip, hearth-base
	Pit-Cistern (St.12)	Three Iron 1	Human bone, animal bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), ceramics, quern fragment
	Enclosure Ditch (St.8)	Iron 5b	Beads, rings, animal bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), ceramics, bucket fittings, knives, needle, copper alloy pin
	Enclosure Ditch (St.337)	Two Iron 1	Rings, animal bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), ceramics, bucket fittings, nails, knife, scabbard, iron chain, copper alloy wire
'Ritual' Enclosure (St.56)		Eight Iron 1 Iron 5a Four Copper Alloy 5a Three Unidentified Iron	Beads, bracelets, rings, Human bone, animal bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), ceramics, shears, bucket fittings, studs, rivets, clamps, sword, scabbard, lance-point, shield boss, needle, iron hook, crucible

Brooches were recovered from pits inside, as well as within, the ditch surrounding the rural enclosure (ditches 337-6-7-8-29). While finds from ritual Enclosure 56 are limited to the enclosure. The stratigraphy of these brooches finds is known allowing us to place deposition within the history of the site. Therefore, in order to determine the nature of deposition, the fills both of Montmartin's rural and ritualistic structures are compared here. This allows us to determine, not only if they demonstrate similar depositary practices, but also explore the types of customs brooches were possibly incorporated into.

Within the rural enclosure, the majority of finds, including weaponry and human bone, were recovered in the nine by five metre 'house-pit' (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 92). The stratigraphy of the pit demonstrates at least two phases of use. However, the nature of the fill is not described and Brunaux and Méniel (1997: 53) concentrate on the location of the possible hearth (St.50.1). Resultingly, finds are not seriated within the fill but simply listed typologically. Nevertheless, it appears that hearth structure contained the majority of the deposits, sealing lenses of burnt material and alluvial deposits below (see Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 51, figure 48). The pit had two possible uses, one relating to craft-working, and the second (as at Juvincourt) as a repository. Interestingly the deposit of brooches is associated with hearth is similar to what was recovered at Verberie, "La Plaine d'Herneuse II" indicating some sort of common, fire-related, depositary practice. This association is evidenced at several other sites during the Late La Tène, particularly in the Oise, at Houdancourt, "Le Pont de Brebis" and Maignelay-Montigny ZAC Est, "La Croix de Coivrel."

Further items recovered from St.50 include seven iron Reverted Bow brooches, an unidentified iron brooch, as well as rare copper alloy torque/necklace and a glass bead. Human skull fragments, animal bones, as well as spindle whorls, ceramics, shears, nails, joiners dogs, iron strips, a knife and two fragments of an iron sword were also found. The recovery of weaponry here is odd, given the pit's association with domestic activity. Moreover, the ceramics, consisting mainly of tall and low open wheel-made forms suitable for serving and conserving food, tentatively link the deposit with feasting activity (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 53-61, 81). This idea is further supported by the abundance of animal remains, including both pig sheep and cattle, slaughtered at both young and old ages; situating the site, in terms of numbers and types

of animals consumed, somewhere between rural sites and *oppida* (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 90, figure 81).

Brooches were also recovered from the top fill of pit/cistern St.12, the stratigraphy of which signifies rapid intentional repletion (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 70). The upper fill contained a great deal more burnt material compared to St.50 (*ibid*: 89); demonstrating that, even in the absence of burnt stone, or a hearth base, deposition can still be linked with fire. Finds include three iron Reverted Bow brooches, ceramics, part of a stationary quern, as well as animal bone and a human skull fragment. The ceramics, similar to those in St.50, as well as the animal bone, link this assemblage with feasting activity (*ibid*: 73-74, 81). Nevertheless despite these features, due to the discovery of a quern-stone, the finds are interpreted as domestic refuse (*ibid*: 89).

Three Reverted Bow brooches were also recovered from the rural enclosure ditch which demonstrates a slightly more complex history than the internal structures. Initially encircling three hectares the enclosure was expanded to 13 hectares. The enclosure ditches also demonstrate increasing sophistication: changing from a simple palisade, to include a wall of split-post or *pfostenschlitz* construction, similar to the *oppida* of Manching in Germany (*ibid*: 31-49). Notable finds, include three *buchrania* (i.e. ox skulls) from in the western angle of ditch St.337 (9-11 E), as well as three whole vessels. These intentional deposits were believed comparable to finds from Gournay, and were identified as apotropaic in function (*ibid* 49; *cf.* Brunaux *et al.* 1985c: 131).

The majority of the finds were recovered from the upper levels of enclosure fill, believed to correspond with its final abandonment phase (*ibid*: 33). The three brooches recovered here are all iron; two are Type 1's (St.337. 01/02), and one a Simple Filiform Type 5b (St.8. 02). Other finds include rings, iron nails, knives, scabbards, a copper alloy needle as well as animal bones and a human skull fragment. The recovered ceramics are identical to those from the interior structures, consisting of low and high forms more suited for serving and consuming food than for storage (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 36-45, 81). The majority of the animal bones were fragmentary, with cattle highly represented, followed by pig, sheep, dog, horse, as well as deer. Although the finds are identified as domestic waste, this interpretation is somewhat confused by the presence of structured *buchrania* deposits (*ibid*: 49, 89); which acknowledge that in its

final phase, the enclosure was more than just a refuse dump. Like pit/cistern St.12, the top fill also contained a great deal of burnt material, hinting that deposition followed some sort of conflagration, something also in evidence in relation to ritual Enclosure 56.

Finds from ritual Enclosure 56, although quite similar to those from the 'domestic' enclosure are interpreted very differently. Unfortunately, only the northern and eastern sides of the 50 square metre enclosure were excavated. As with the previously discussed enclosure, majority of finds were recovered from the top fill (C.01), an approximately 70 centimetre thick burnt layer. In addition to brooches objects include: lignite bracelets, loom-weights, iron tools, bucket fittings, wheel-made ceramics, Dressel 1a amphora, human and animal bone, as well as weaponry such as scabbards, shield-bosses and lance-points (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 109, 122). Unlike the rural enclosure, the exact locations for the majority of the finds are listed. This was likely meant to reinforce the identification of the enclosure as ritualistic through the reconstruction of finds association (*ibid*: 176, figure 159).

The majority of 'jewellery' items were recovered from the eastern branch of the ditch. Curiously, two iron Type 1 brooches recovered from the northern branch were omitted from the summary analysis of finds assemblages (*ibid*: 176). Tools, and other implements such as loom-weights, were also left out. In regard to tools, this can be corrected, but the find-spots of the loom-weights are unrecorded. The distribution of the recorded objects in Enclosure 56 are shown below (figure 8.4). Brooches and other items of adornment were concentrated in the northeastern and southwestern ends of the enclosure ditch, in the areas with the fewest bone remains. This matches broader associations, as only six of the 16 brooches recorded here were found with human bone. Examining brooches separately from other elements of adornment, reveals their differential distribution. For instance, only two Type 1 Reverted Bow brooches were recovered with other elements of adornment in section 47 (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 176). There is also a low level of association between brooches and weaponry, with only three brooches recovered with a sword or a scabbard in sections 27 and 50 (*ibid*: 151-154). The disassociation of brooches from adornment items and weaponry, as well as human and animal bone here, marks these deposits as slightly different from others at the site, as well as from other sites. Given this, it is unfortunate that finds associations cannot also be examined in more detail from the rural enclosure.

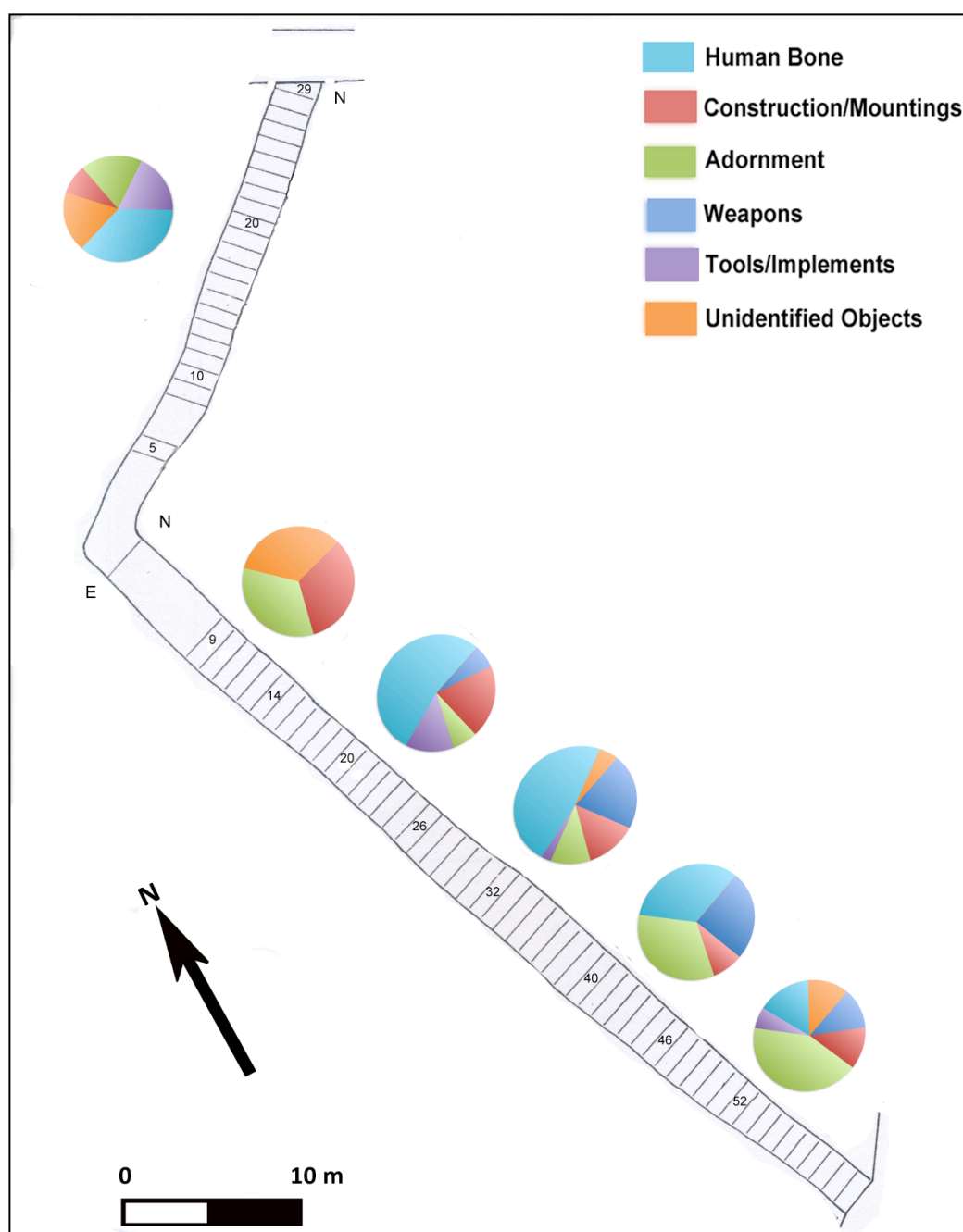


Figure 8.4: Distribution of objects in Enclosure 56 at Montmartin (after Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 176, figure 159)

As mentioned previously, Montmartin is thought to have been damaged or destroyed at some point by fire. Moreover, following this event the top fills in nearly all the structures, save unburnt ditch 337, seem to have been deposited relatively quickly (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 219). Unfortunately, rather than link the conflagration with similar burnt deposits at other sites, it is discussed in terms of siege warfare and compared to classical sites such as the agora and the acropolis (*ibid*: 219, 225). This demonstrates not only the influence of historical determinism behind the current understanding of this site, but also the overall interest in

presenting it as an important aristocratic settlement in league with later *oppida* (*ibid*: 225). Nevertheless, the amount of burnt material in Enclosure 56 does support the notion that the fire started here; making its selection for the deposition of the latest brooches (four Decorative Nauheims placed on top of the burnt layer) rather intriguing (*ibid*: 138, 219).

While broad comparison of the finds from both the enclosures is frustrated by differential recording, the similarity between the objects recovered is enough to challenge their interpretation. Moreover, the recovery of weaponry, human and animal bone as well as tools and brooches in closely densely packed fills along with burnt material situates these finds within acts demonstrative of general abandonment procedures. Therefore, the Montmartin brooches do more than provide a chronological framework; their use as closure deposits marking, not only the use-life of the site, but also its death.

8.5.4 Acy-Romance

Similarly to Montmartin, the La Tène C2-D1a site of Acy-Romance is identified as having a mixed rural and sanctuary area. The 15 hectare site has been discussed earlier in this chapter, so I will move on here to examining the nature of brooch deposition, particularly their distribution in Courtyards A and B, identified via the presence and absence of large numbers of silos as belonging to either agriculturalists or pastoralists (Lambot 1998a: 74; 1999: 400). Unlike Montmartin, no brooches were found associated with ritually associated D-shaped enclosure. In all likelihood, because of their survival in sunken features, the majority of brooches were recovered from pits, most in association with the agriculturalist and craft-working areas (figure 8.5, table 8.5). The largest deposit, five brooches, was recovered inside St.388, a wide, multi-lobbed pit.

The brooches recovered from St.388 are remarkable in being one of the first mixed deposits of Reverted Bow and Classic Nauheim brooches, albeit from a disturbed deposit, corresponding to Later Roman quarrying. Finds from this pit were mainly excavated from the light brown top fill (Lambot and Méniel 1993: 99). This is very much in keeping with Montmartin or Juvincourt, where the majority of deposition also occurred in later fills attributable to abandonment phases (Haselgrove and Lowther 1994: 365-366; Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 56). The disturbed nature

of this pit is underscored by the presence of 22 Iron Age and Roman coins (including one from the Neronian period), as well as dice, along with Late Iron Brooches. Given the mixed nature of these finds it is difficult to say much about Late Iron Age deposition specifically. Although the possible redeposition of brooches and potin with later Roman coins, indicates possible continuity of depositional practice.

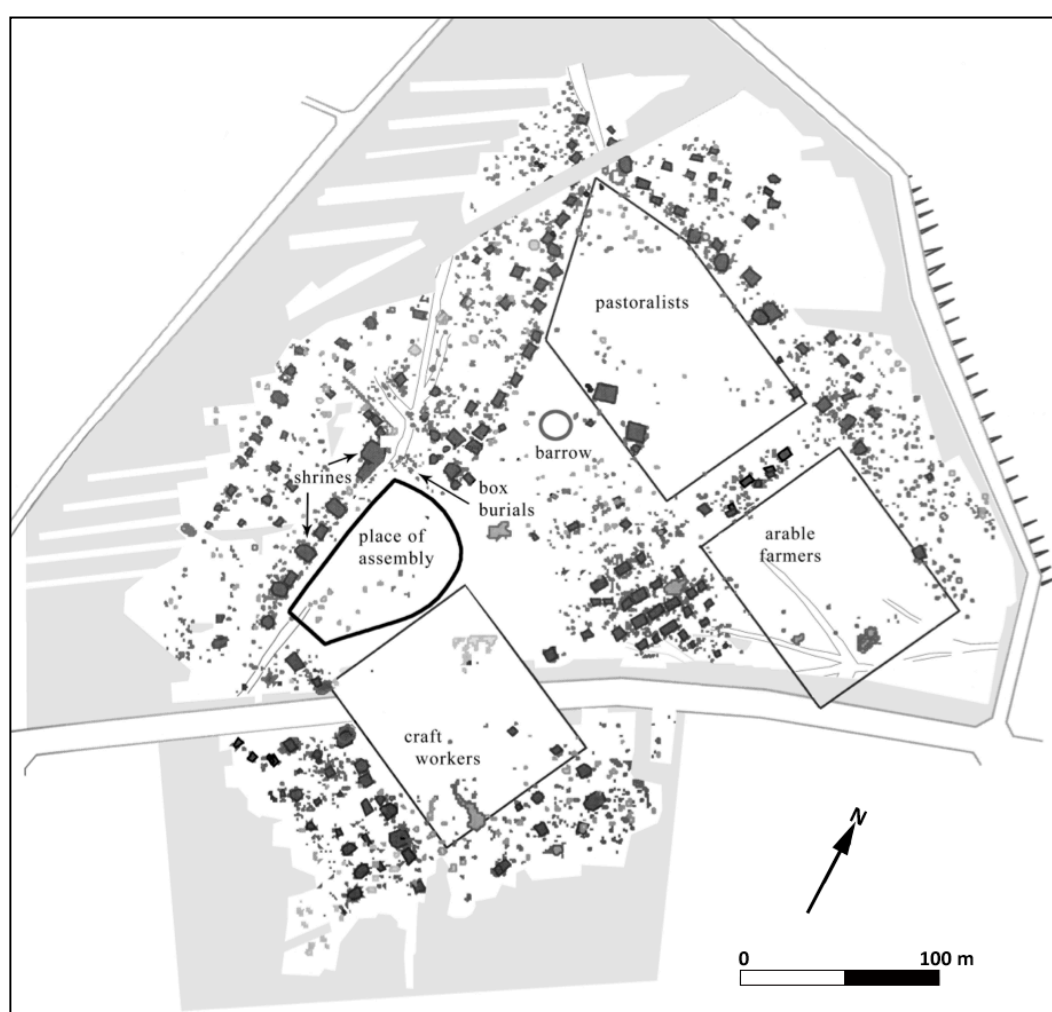


Figure 8.5: Plan of Acy-Romance (with permission Haselgrove 2007: figure 6)

The remaining, non-disturbed pits with brooches contain nearly identical finds, including, charcoal, jewellery, human and animal bone, as well as items associated with textile manufacture. Coins however, were only recorded from two other pits, St.300 and St. 406, both potin LT 7405's. St.300 appears to have been filled not long after its original construction, with finds, including brooches and burnt stone mainly recovered from the bottom fill (Lambot *et al.* 1994: 52). The La Tène C2/D1a Simple Filiform type recovered provides an early *terminus post quem*, while the La Tène D1a potin recovered on the surface hints at the rapid abandonment of this

structure. Contrastingly in St.406, it was the copper alloy *Knotenfibel* that was recovered from the surface, while unfortunately the location of the coin is unrecorded (*ibid*: 79, 130). Nevertheless, as *Arc Interrompu* brooches post date the La Tène D1b, while potin date to the D1a, a short period can also be postulated for the final repletion and abandonment of this pit.

Table 8.5: Brooches and related finds at Acy-Romance

Find Location			Brooch Type	Associated Finds
Craft-Working Area	Silo/ Pit	St.300	Iron A	Bracelet, animal bone (pig, sheep, cattle, dog, horse), coins (LT 7405), spindle-whorls, loom-weight, bone-pin, chalkstone
		St.340	Four Iron 1	Beads, bracelets, human bone, animal bone (pig, sheep, cattle, dog, horse), ceramics, nails, loom-weight, needle, worked bone, chalk stone
		St.356	Iron A Iron 1, 3 or 2	Bracelet, human bone, animal bone (pig, sheep, cattle, dog, horse), ceramics, nails, loom-weight, fossil belemnite (squid)
		St.388	Three Iron 1 Two Iron 5a	Bracelet, bead, ring, ceramics, rivets, nails, 22 coins (potin and Roman), spindle whorl, awl, 5 bone dice
		St.406	Copper Alloy 8	Human bone, animal bone (pig, sheep, cattle, dog, horse), ceramics, joiners-dogs, nails, potin (LT 7405), loom-weights,
		St.409	Iron 1	No Information
		St.550	Iron 2	Bracelet, human bone, animal bone (pig, sheep, cattle, dog, horse), ceramics, joiners dogs, loom-weight, hearth base
Agri-culturalists Area	Pit	St.120	Iron 7	No Information
		St.663	Two Unknown	Animal bone (pig, sheep, cattle, dog, horse), ceramics, loom-weight, copper alloy plaque
	Post-hole	St.203	Iron 2	Animal bone (pig, sheep, cattle, dog, horse), ceramics
Roads	Surface		Iron 1 Unidentified Iron Copper Alloy 21	Ceramics, barrel or wheel bands

The second largest deposit, four iron Type 1 Reverted Bow brooches, was recovered in pit St.340. Like St.300, the stratigraphy of this pit also demonstrates rapid filling (see Lambot and Méniel 1993: 60, figure 46). This is supported by the discovery of similar brooches in both the base and the top fills and by the absence of natural silting. The pit seems to have been a focus of deposition and contained a total of 3728 butchered animal bones (Lambot and Méniel 1993: 60, 163). Other finds include, intact ceramics, such as wheel-made bowls and jars. As at Longeuil-Sainte-Marie, La Vivier des Grès" (Oise), these are possibly linked to feasting activities, with the density of deposition hinting at the occurrence of a major event, or clearance from several, rather than gradual repletion from household waste (*ibid*: 60). As with many previously mentioned structured deposits, the pit also contained human bones, including two skull frag-

ments and long bones (*ibid*: 145-146). Lambot and Méniel (1998: 165) note that the high proportion of cattle in comparison with caprid remains are more in keeping with funerary deposits. However, this assessment is incorrect as further study of burials around Acy-Romance reveals that pigs predominate in Late Iron Age burial (Stead *et al.* 2007: 45). Therefore, as at Montmartin, the high proportion of cattle bones places Acy-Romance somewhere between rural sites and *oppida* in terms of animal consumption (Brunaux and Méniel: 90).

The majority of Acy-Romance's brooches also overlap with human bone finds, particularly skull fragments, although this is likely a factor relating diffuse nature of human remains at the site, where total of 75 human individual were found as dispersed remains. Lambot (1998a: 78) links this to the class-based restriction of burial rites, but the high frequency of human remains is perhaps better explained by the fact that none the cremation burials associated with Acy-Romance contain complete skeletons (Stead *et al.* 2007: 102). In this light deposition should be viewed in the context of burial/ancestral ritual. Indeed, it is unlikely that the 'slaves' postulated by Lambot would have been buried in association with rich animal remains, brooches and the like.

Lambot (1998a: 72, 82) speculates that these silos had a 20 year use-life, after which they were used as dumps. If this is the case then they must have been covered or completely cleared before their final repletion because there is little evidence of gradual silting, or re-cutting, as at Juvincourt. In fact, deposition here seems to have been a relatively swift affair. Moreover, given that brooches are often found in conjunction with human remains, animal bones and other finds, including intact pottery vessels, these deposits should be seen as structured and meaningful. Moreover, as with previously discussed settlements, deposits were frequently associated with the site's final abandonment phase.

8.5.5 Houdancourt, "Le Pont de Brebis"

Two enclosures were excavated here, with only two unidentified iron brooches recovered from the smallest. Nevertheless, the discovery of structured animal bone deposits in both enclosures raise the profile of what would normally be perceived of as a rather poor rural site (Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 16). While the fills of both enclosures were identified as the result of

natural sedimentation, the existence of intentional deposits in the basal fill of both enclosures, undermines the interpretation of the ditch fill as being wholly the result of natural sedimentation (*ibid*). Moreover, the contents are comparable to deposits at other sites, such as Montmartin or Verberie, especially in regard to the large amount of charred material, including burnt stone, recovered in the top fill.

The most remarkable animal bone deposits, recovered from the largest 5000 metre squared ditch, include the articulated skeleton of a young pig and the skulls of two older horses, all arrayed lengthwise along the ditch base; similarly to deposits at Longeuil-Sainte-Marie, “L’Ormeon” and “Vivier des Grès” (Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 16). The placement of these bones on the ditch base, likely as opening deposits, contrast with finds from the burnt top fill of the smaller enclosure where ceramics, animal bones, as well as two unidentified iron brooches, along with some flint and burnt stone were recovered.

Given the scarcity of finds, Houdancourt is only tentatively identified as a rural site; with the faunal remains tentatively linking the with feasting and possibly a ritual functions (Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 16). Nevertheless, similarities between deposits here and other sites, such as Montmartin or Verberie, “La Plaine d’Herneuse II,” particularly the close association between brooch deposits, and burnt stone, make Houdancourt more comparable to contemporary rural sites than with sanctuaries. Nonetheless, the presence of opening deposits, in addition to possibly structured closure deposits, marks ritual as an central feature in the life of this site.

8.5.6 Pont-Remy, “Le Fond de Baraquin”

This La Tène C2/D1a salt-production site was identified ahead of roadwork on the edge of the Saint-Riquier plateau and represents a rare example of rural brooch deposition in the Somme. Unfortunately however, given the effects of erosion, very little is known about the overall site plan here. Nevertheless, as two brooches were excavated in two separate ditches (St.16, St.12) in conjunction with other finds, Pont-Remy bears some discussion.

Ditch St.12 is located in a portion of the site identified as a production area, in association with several post-holed structures as well as a salt-making furnace (Prilaux *et al.* 1997: 228, 358).

Finds here were mainly recovered from the surface fill including, a blue glass bead, as well as a copper alloy Type 5c brooch (*ibid*: 153-154, 243). The heavy wear on the bead, in addition to the post La Tène D1a date of the Nauheim, date the fill after the La Tène C2; possibly pre-figuring later expansion of the salt production site (*ibid*: 243). The heavy wear on the bead suggests that it may have been deposited during the La Tène C2, then repositioned during later reconstruction at the site. The possible re-deposition of a La Tène C2 glass bead with a later La Tène D1a brooch hints at continuity of practice; perhaps a demonstration of respect for the previous owners or an expression of continued ownership.

Similar finds were also evidenced in ditch St. 16, consisting of a copper alloy Type 2 brooch, as well as another blue-glass bead. The presence of these brooches and beads are remarkable, particularly given the overall absence of other finds (*ibid*: 150). The absence of other objects linked to daily-life, indicates that this site might have only been used sporadically or seasonally for salt-production (Prilaux *et al.* 1997: 152). In this light deposition takes on special significance, particularly given its positioning between two phases of construction. The presence of earlier La Tène C1 burials at the site perhaps marked it as ‘special’, which is perhaps again reflected through the deposition of personal items in structures associated with salt-production. Given the ritualistic and symbolic aspects of iron production, as discussed in Chapter Five, it is not much of a stretch to assume that other types of specialized production were ascribed with similar importance.

8.5.7 Conclusion: Earlier Late La Tène brooch deposits at rural sites

In contrast to brooch finds from the Middle to Late La Tène transition, brooches dated to the earliest Late La Tène are solidly linked to structured deposition. For example, at Juvincourt-et Damary (St.80) and Acy-Romance (St.340), silos were recut, lined with stones and used as depository pits. At Verberie, “La Plaine d’Herneuse II,” deposits of brooches, as well as human and animal bone, within an area bordered by limestone blocks also point to structured intentionality.

Feasting is attested at most of the rural sites discussed above, identified by the presence of animal bones and vessels associated with food consumption. For example, at Acy-Romance

3728 butchered animal bones were found inside pit St.340, interpreted as a rapid fill by the lack of alluviation. Animal bones were also integrated into structured deposits, e.g. the cattle skull deposits in the domestic enclosure at Montmartin, and the human and animal bones in the enclosure at Verberie. These deposits intimately link feasting with depository activity, perhaps associating ritual meals with key events of site history (e.g. marriages, deaths, inheritance).

The fact that many deposits can be linked to the end of a site's history, perhaps as closure deposits, indicates that sites were possibly treated similarly in death to human individuals: with accompanying feasting and deposition. At Juvincourt, Acy-Romance and Montmartin, the transformation of silos and pits into a depository foci, and the recovery of many finds from their top layers, places votive activity towards the end of their histories. Fire is associated with most deposits from this period. At Montmartin, in house-pit St.50, deposits of a hearth-base, brooches, as well as human and animal bone seal a thick lens of burnt material. While most other structures at the site are also filled with burnt deposits, suggestive of a site wide fire. While allusions are made to warfare related conflagrations, the even nature of the fire, spreading evenly as it did to separate parts of the site, is suggestive of a purposeful blaze. Moreover, the blending of ditch deposits with deposition (e.g. the brooches, human and animal bone in the upper fill) associates the fire, and subsequent clean-up, with votive processes; a feature evocative of post-cremation collection and secondary burial at funerary sites. Interestingly, sites that saw re-use, such as Pont-Remy, showed a concentration of deposition in re-used areas, possibly associating votive practice with rituals of respect, or expressions of continued ownership. Similar curation activities were also attested to at the sanctuary of Estrées-Saint-Denis, possibly associating deposition with rituals of ownership or re-construction.

All the above point to a central role for deposition within Late Iron Age cultural practice in the study area. This centrality identifies brooches as key elements of material culture. Their association with rituals of re-personment at funerary sites (see Chapter Five, page 105), and integrated into practices linked to ownership, closure and transition at rural sites, identifies brooches as essential mechanisms in Late Iron Age rituals; possibly serving to connect the disparate households of Late Iron Age society.

8.6 Middle Late La Tène Brooch deposition at rural sites

Many brooches were recovered from rural sites across the study area from the La Tène D1a period onward. One observation is that brooch deposits, as well as the internal organisation of many rural sites, seems to become increasingly formalised at this time, continuing practices evidenced in the previous period. With this in mind, I will explore the nature of brooch deposition at middle Late La Tène rural settlement (table 8.6). Two sites stand out as particularly emblematic of La Tène D1a/D1b settlement in the Aisne: Braine, “La Grange des Moines” and Bazoches-sur-Vesle, “Les Chantraines.” The multi-phased evolution of their complex ditched structures is thought, not only to exemplify the increasing importance of enclosure and internal partition (Auxiette *et al.* 2000a: 197; 2000b: 199-202), but also to herald the development of *oppida* (Haselgrove 1996; 2007: 507).

Table 8.6: Brooches and related finds at La Tène D1a/D1b rural sites

Site	Location of Find	Brooch Type	Associated Finds
Braine, “La Grange des Moines” (Aisne)	Enclosure Ditch B	Four Iron 4 One Iron 5a Unknown 5a Iron Unknown Five Unknown	Rings, bracelets, human skulls, animal bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse, deer), ceramics, amphora, bucket fittings, rivets, nails, joiners dogs, keys, shield boss, helmet, awl, loom-weight, iron slag, copper alloy ingots, ladle, fork, grill, cauldron chain, daub, quern, whetstone, potin (Scheers 191)
	Enclosure C (St.220)	Iron 6	Bracelets, human skulls, animal bone (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), razors, nails, scabbard, planing tool, daub, quern, whetstone
	Unknown	Copper Alloy 5b/6	n/a
Bazoches-sur-Vesle “Les Chantraines” (Aisne)	Unknown	Unidentified	n/a
Jaux, “Le Camp Du Roi” (Oise)	Enclosure Ditch (St.1)	Iron 3	Animal bones (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), ceramics, spindle whorl, loom-weight, carbonized grain
	Enclosure Ditch (St.2)	Iron 3	Animal bones (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), ceramics, spindle whorl, loom-weight
Lacroix-Saint-Ouen, “Au Pre des Illes” (Oise)	Enclosure Ditch (St.2)	Two Iron 1 or 3 Unknown Iron	Animal bones (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), ceramics, iron slag, copper alloy droplets, crucible
Maignelay-Montigny ZAC Est, “La Croix de Coivrel” (Oise)	Enclosure Ditch (St.103)	Two Iron 1	Ceramics, shield boss, unidentified copper alloy fragment
Venette, “La Prairie” (Oise)	Upper Fill (Paleochannel)	Copper Alloy 8	Ceramics

Although brooches are recorded at four La Tène D1a/D1b rural sites in the Oise, numbers recovered at each were quite low, with no more than three being excavated at each site.

Brooch finds here were all from enclosure ditch fill, with the exception of Venette, where a single copper alloy Type 8 Arc *Interrompu* was recovered inside the surface fill of a paleo-channel along with ceramics and thought to indicate the presence of a site nearby (Guerlin and Prodeo 1996: 79-80). Interestingly, few of the Oise brooch finds were associated with human bone or adornment. Nevertheless, as discussed below, human bone and brooches are still recovered from rural sites in the Oise, their contexts often unknown due to limitations in the published and archived records.

8.6.1 Braine, “La Grange des Moines”

Braine is situated on an alluvial terrace approximately 400 metres from the Vesle. Late Iron Age occupation consists of three enclosures, labelled A, B and C (figure 8.6). While, little is known about Enclosure A, Enclosure B, whose 7700 m² space is divided into separate 5000 and 2700 m² sections, contained several areas of rich finds, particularly animal remains. For example, a human skull fragment, deer and cattle skulls, as well as other bones were excavated near the eastern entrance in association with a complete horse skeleton.

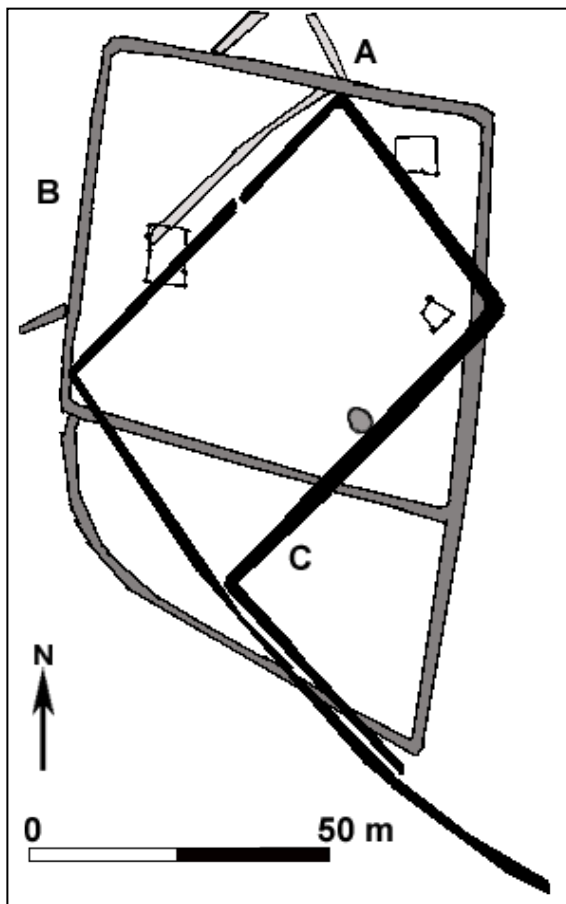


Figure 8.6: Plan of Braine, “La Grange des Moines” (after Auxiette *et al.* 1998: 18)

Intriguingly, while the entire settlement has been labelled as aristocratic, Enclosure B is thought to be a rural settlement while, later La Tène D1b/D2a, Enclosure C (3330 m²) is associated with a ritual function (Auxiette *et al.* 2000a: 103). The ritual assignation is made due to the stone-lined quadrangular pit (St.210) discovered near the north eastern angle. The pit, though lined with limestone blocks and covered by a five post structure, contained no finds. The absence of finds means that there is little to solidly link the structure with later Enclosure C, making it more than likely contemporary with B. Furthermore, while finds recovered from Enclosure B include, 12 brooches (only half of which are identified and drawn in the final report), Sheers 191 potin, animal and human bones, amphora, tools, coins as well weaponry fragments, finds from Enclosure C are simpler, consisting of a single Simple Filiform brooch, slag, glass droplets and pottery (Auxiette *et al.* 1997: 53-55). Given the distribution of finds there is very little that distinguishes Enclosure C as purely ritualistic, and finds from both enclosures are evocative of deposits at the La Tène C2/D1a site of Montmartin.

Overall however, the nature of the ditch fill of Enclosure B provides a somewhat murky picture of depository practices at the site, with several re-cuttings evident as well as very different stratigraphy in some areas confusing matters significantly (Auxiette *et al.* 1997: 20; 2000a: 98). Moreover, the excavators had difficulty explaining the presence of isolated human skulls in the upper fill of B. Which, in contrast to the enclosure's identification as a rural site, are identified as trophies (*ibid*). Such interpretational conundrums highlight the difficulties met by excavators in France, when confronted with evidence that is not easily interpreted as either ritualistic or domestic.

Outside the study area in Val-d'Oise, a similar site was also found at Fontenay-en-Parisis. Here the overall 'poverty' of the site with no silos, granaries or other objects pertaining to agriculture, was thought to contrast with the abundance of good quality ceramics, metal finds and animal remains (Daveau and Yvinec 2001: 69). This apparent contradiction resulted in the site's identification as a feasting centre, with ritualistic associations comparable to Gournay-sur-Aronde or Montmartin (*ibid*: 99). While this identification matches evidence at Braine, there is evidently more at work here than just ritualistic feasting; with display and deposition likely working to build and foster ties between households and express wider notions of communal and individual identity.

8.6.2 Bazoches-sur-Vesle, “Les Chantraines”

The La Tène D1a/D1b site of Bazoches-sur-Vesle, “Les Chantraines” is located nine kilometres south of Braine (Gransar and Pommepuy 2005: 219). The 1.75 ha elliptical enclosure contains approximately three internal sub-divisions, two identified as domestic (east and centre) and the third as agricultural (west) (figure 8.7) (*ibid*: 203-206). Like Braine, this highly organised site is also associated with aristocratic feasting; with finds such as, coins, human and animal bones, ‘monumental’ structures as well as the high proportion (34%) of turned ceramics and imitations of Campanian-ware used to identify the site as a high status settlement (Gransar and Pommepuy 2005: 216). Although the single brooch here was not properly identified or drawn, the site bears examination because of the existence of highly structured deposits.

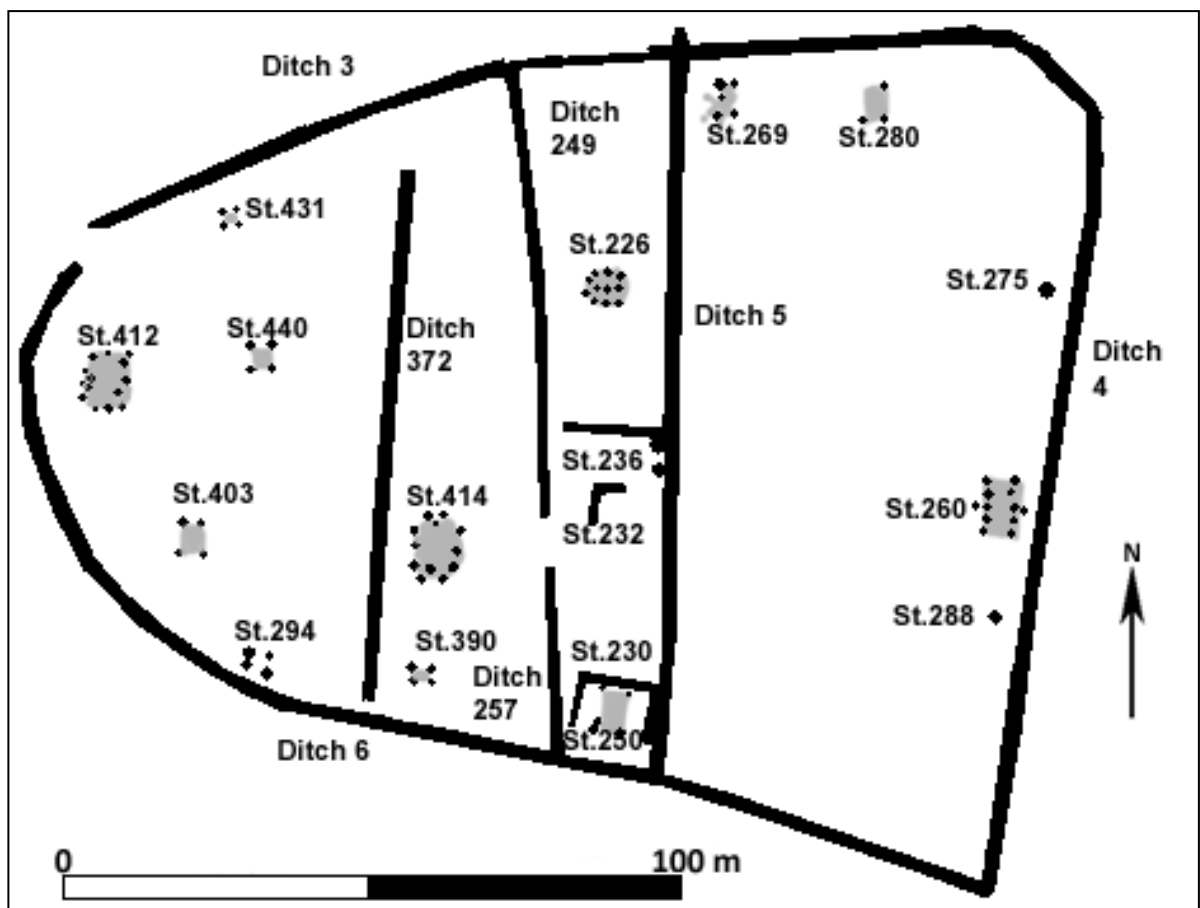


Figure 8.7: Plan of Bazoches-sur-Vesle, “Les Chantraines” (after Beauvais and Fluzin 2005: figure 1)

The single brooch recovered here, consists of a single uncontested, undrawn example, identified somewhat mysteriously as a Pseudo-Nauheim (Gransar and Pommepuy 2005: 214). Very few details about the location of the brooch, or other finds are recorded, despite the fact that the

objects are listed in detail: including nails, a copper alloy bracelet, cauldron chains, ceramics, animal bone, as well as evidence of wood and metal-working (*ibid*: 214). Potin coinage (Scheers 191) was also found inside northern ditch St.3.

As only 50% of the ditches were excavated the recovered objects represent only a small possible fraction of the site total (Bauvais and Fluzin 2005: 129). While craft-working remnants, such as slag, were found inside pit St.250, identifying it as a production site (*ibid*). Other deposits have raised certain problems for excavators, particularly in regards to identifying ritual versus domestic activity. For example, the dense deposit in western ditch St.372, associated with domestic structure St.414, are identified somewhat vaguely as ‘structured waste’ (*mobilier détritique structurée*) (*ibid*: 204). The largest deposit, approximately 293 metal objects, was discovered in quadrangular enclosure St.230 (Gransar and Pommepuy 2005: 203). However, of these finds, only the ploughs, knives and *barres à douilles* are listed, with no specific numbers given (*ibid*: 121). Given the type of selective publication seen at Montmartin, it would be wise to assume that these were not the only types of object recovered.

Nevertheless, the deposition of *barres à douilles* with plough-shares is comparable with excavated finds at sanctuaries such as Gournay-sur-Aronde or Beauvais, “Les Aulnes de Canada” (Rapin 1986: 116; Bataille 2008: 194). Similar objects were also recovered at Braine, Ronchères-Bois-de-la-Forge (La Tène D2b/GR 1). Like the former, Ronchères had a low concentration of storage vessels in relation to amphora (Malrain *et al.* 2010: 45). While both sites are identified as ‘aristocratic’ this does not really explain their function, and raises questions regarding the identification and differentiation of Late Iron Age deposition. Nevertheless, as only one brooch was recovered from Bazoches, a more in depth analysis of this site represents a divergence from the goals of my project. Nevertheless, although their exact contexts are unrecorded. The presence of human and animal bone, as well as a brooch and other finds at Bazoches are similar to deposits elsewhere; revealing the importance of votive practices and feasting at rural sites.

8.6.3 Jaux, “Le Camp Du Roi”

The multi-phased site of Jaux is located on the plateau overlooking the Oise Valley, approximately two kilometres west of Venette. During the La Tène D1a, a 7300 square metre

ditched enclosure was built here, then expanded in the La Tène D1b, when an attached enclosure of similar dimensions was constructed (figure 8.8) (Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 35). Although the site isn't specifically identified as aristocratic it is ascribed with elevated status (Malrain *et al.* 1996). Like Montmartin, due to the thick layer of burnt material in the ditch fill and post-holes, the site is thought to have been destroyed by a purposely set fire (Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 35). Following the conflagration the site was abandoned in the later La Tène D1b.

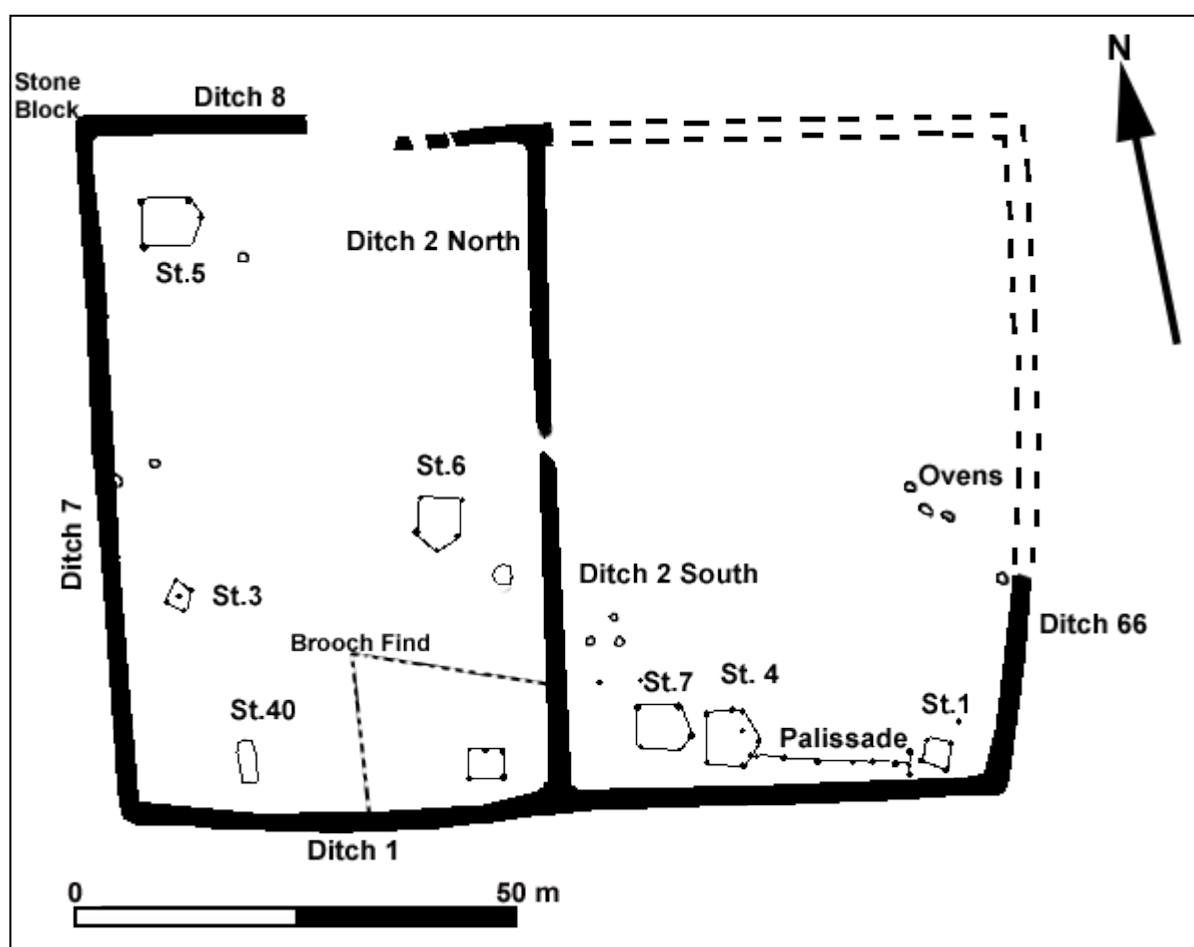


Figure 8.8: Plan of Jaux, "Camp du Roi" (after Malrain *et al.* 2000: figures 6 and 37)

Several activities, from agriculture and stock production, to textile and metal working, were identified here (Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 35). These finds, as well as the absence of human remains, distinguish the site from other seemingly higher status sites in the region (*ibid.*: 246). Nevertheless, regardless of the absence of human remains and large numbers of items associated with adornment, evidence of structured deposition was also identified here; exemplified by a large block of limestone recovered in a corner of the enclosure ditch, thought

comparable to similar stones found at Braine, “La Grange des Moines” and Verberie, “La Plaine d’Herneuse II” (Malrain *et al.* 2006: site inventory 35 238).

Four types of deposition are recognized at the site, roughly translatable as, intentional, placed, washed-in or lost, and dumped (Malrain *et al.* 1996: 287-288, figure 49). However, given that these deposits are often found together in the same stratigraphic fill, more is evidently at work. For example, while deposits in Ditch 1 are identified as a mixed example of all deposition types, the finds in southern Ditch 2, consisting of a fragmentary Reverted Bow brooch and animal bone, are identified as detritic (*ibid.*: 275, 282, 288). Nevertheless, southern Ditch 2 contained the largest proportion (44%) of cattle and horse bone (16%), compared to only 6% in Ditch 1 (*ibid.*: 284). The high proportion of cattle bones here, are indicative of more than household waste. For example, at other rural sites (e.g. Montmartin) similar proportions of animal bones have been identified as remnants of communal meals, or feasting (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 90).

The tentative identification of structured deposition at rural sites has resulted in increased problems in interpretation, as the need to distinguish ritualistic or structured finds from domestic waste results in confusion when the two are found together. Therefore, the rather stilted interpretation of Jaux’s deposits is demonstrates a certain unwillingness to recognize that ritual and domestic life must have been consistently intertwined at Late Iron Age settlement. Nevertheless, here as elsewhere, ditch deposition appears to have been a essential component of site clearance, often in connection with site abandonment. Examples of this have already been discussed, for instance at Montmartin and Damary, where fragmented ‘house-hold waste’ is just as likely to be found together with more complete items interpreted as ‘ritualistic deposits’. The question is, does this make the deposits any less important or meaningful? Bradley (1998; 2005: 21, 35) argues that selection for formal deposition imbues all objects with special, or votive, character.

Structuralist philosophies, that see a strict divide between ritual and domestic practice, are largely behind interpretations of these sites (see Andouze and Leroi-Gourhan 1986; Scare 1999: Coudart 1999; Brunaux 2004). While a more detailed analysis of the stratigraphy would be more instructive of the nature of deposition, the x an y and depth locations are rarely included

in grey-literature or site reports; even though their recording is standard archaeological practice in France. This is perhaps the result of a slight conflict of interest here, as often the same individuals are responsible for excavation, and authorship of grey-literature reports and wider publication; meaning that often the focus of work tends towards that individuals particular interests, whether it be pottery, metalwork or faunal remains. While this increases the quality of work in many respects, it also means that publication tends to follow specific lines of questioning. And while there are many examples of collaboratory effort, these are seldom reintegrated or published with the same details in mind. This means that exact find locations of all types of objects are rarely made available, which, sadly is the case for Jaux.

8.6.4 Lacroix-Saint-Ouen, “Au Pré des Îles”

The arrangement of three closely packed enclosures along the same orientation, is quite unique in the region (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 252, site inventory 30). Unfortunately however, because of erosion and poor excavation conditions, very little is actually known about Lacroix-Saint-Ouen. Located 12 kilometres east of Verberie, these quadrangular La Tène D1a/D1b enclosures were likely related to metal working, hypothesized based on the presence of iron slag and copper alloy droplets (*ibid*).

Three brooches were found here, all within the ditch fill of Enclosure 2 (St.2), along with animal bones as well as ceramics. The brooches were all iron Reverted Bow types (Type 1 or 3). Approximately three quarters of this 170 metres squared enclosure was excavated, and three stratigraphic layers noted: naturally sedimented base-fill, a dense anthropogenic black earth layer, and a further layer of alluvium. However, because of erosion and limited excavation, it is uncertain whether they were uniformly represented through the entirety of the ditch. Nevertheless, the finds were mainly recovered from the middle fill (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 252, site inventory 30). The positioning of the finds hints at a major deposition event, perhaps like Montmartin and Jaux in relation to a fire.

8.6.5 Maignelay-Montigny ZAC Est, “La Croix de Coivrel”

Located on the plateau, approximately 16 kilometres west of Gournay-sur-Aronde. Several Middle La Tène structures were found here in addition to a 4240 square metre La Tène D1a/D1b enclosure (figure 8.9). The site is broadly identified as a rural site via the presence of a small forge used for the repair and maintenance of tools (Gaudefroy 2002: 35-36). Unfortunately, the overall absence of finds makes phasing difficult (*ibid*: 26f, figure 40.1). The high proportion of unturned pottery point towards an earlier date. However, a La Tène D1a/D1b date is postulated based on the presence of high jar forms similar to those at Jaux (*ibid*: 36). It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that Maignelay-Montigny saw continuous occupation from the La Tène C2 onward. This is borne out by the close relationship between St.103 and St.102, the main ditches of Enclosures A and B, which are identified as having a common use period (*ibid*: 14).

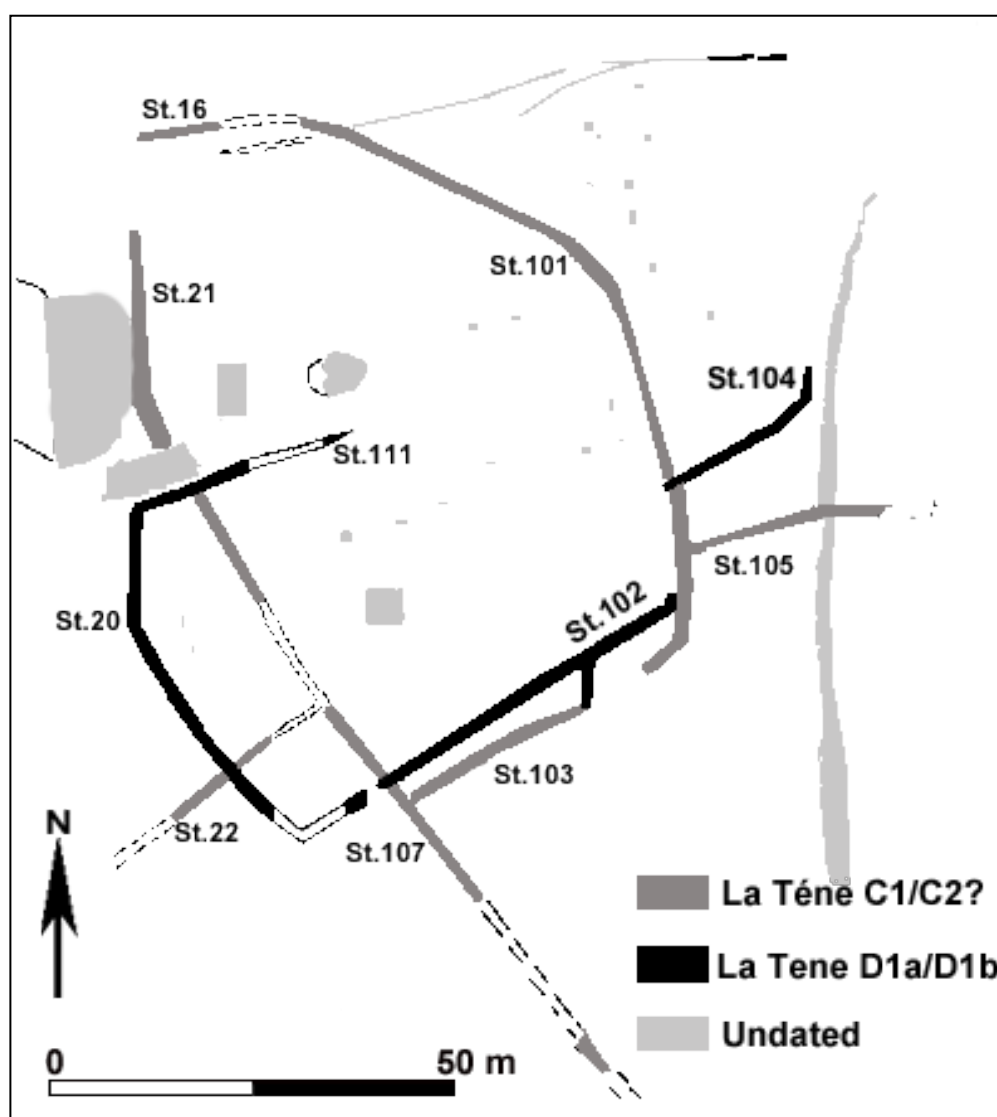


Figure 8.9: Plan of Maignelay-Montigny (after Gaudefroy 2002: figure 6)

Two brooches, identified as possible Type 1 Reverted Bow's were excavated from St.103 along with ceramics, a possible shield boss and a *barre à douille*. Aside from these, finds were relatively rare and consist mainly of ceramics. Elsewhere, other than an articulated horse skeleton, animal bone bones are rare because of soil acidity (Gaudefroy 2002: 22). Nevertheless, an intriguing structure similar to the stone-lined pit identified at Braine was also excavated here. This structure consists of an entire ceramic encircled by a group of burnt stones (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 286; *cf.* Gaudefroy *et al.* 2000). This structure, although unfortunately left unlabelled on the published site plan, draws similarities between this site and deposition practices at other contemporary sites, further underlying the importance of structured votive practices at rural settlement during the Late La Tène. Moreover, the links with fire also observed at other rural sites, again draw attention to the close links between fire and deposition. This demonstrates the close connection between practices at rural sites and those carried out in association with secondary cremation burial, including feasting.

8.6.6 Conclusion: Middle Late La Tène brooch deposits at rural sites

Rural sites dated to La Tène D1a/D1b again demonstrate that brooches are associated with complex votive practices. All the sites discussed above contained strong instances of intentional deposition, including purpose built stone-lined structures, e.g. the stone lined pits at Braine, Bazoches, possibly Jaux and Maignelay. These structures possibly presage practices at *oppida*, such as the ditch deposits at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, which are concentrated in an area defined by stones (see Chapter Nine, pages 237-238). The transfer of practices to larger, more densely occupied sites follows a decline in rural settlement in the Final Late Iron Age. This is discussed below.

8.7 Final Late Iron Age brooch deposition at rural sites

During the La Tène D1b/D2a brooch deposition at rural sites show a less remarkable character compared to previous periods; with the exception of Les Sablons which, with its association with the sanctuary of Estrées, demonstrates qualities more similar to Beauvais, "Les Aulnes de Canada" or Montmartin. The decrease in notable deposits also parallels an overall decrease in number of rural sites, perhaps in relation to the rise of *oppida* (Haselgrove 1996: 117; 2007:

507). Nevertheless, *oppida* similar to those in the Aisne, are not in evidence everywhere in the study area. In the Oise in particular, this is perhaps related to the development of larger rural sites such as Montmartin or Sablons (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 253). Given the limited nature of deposition during the Final Late Iron Age, only sites with identified brooch deposits are discussed. All sites with brooches dating to this period are listed in table 8.7 below, with further information also available in Appendix Three.

Table 8.7: Final Late Iron Age brooches and related finds at rural sites

Site	Location of Find	Brooch Type	Associated Finds
Mont-Notre-Dame, "Vaudigny" (Aisne)	Enclosure Ditch (St.1)	Copper Alloy 5b	Ceramics, iron knife, lignite bracelet (?)
	Enclosure Ditch (St.66)	Copper Alloy 5b	Ceramics
Saint-Quentin, "Bout du Vallée" (Aisne)	Pit Inside Enclosure (St.68)	Unidentified Iron	Ceramics, animal bone (pig, cattle, horse), bucket fittings, nails, studs, ploughshare
Chambly, "La Marnière" (Oise)	Northern Enclosure Ditch	Unidentified	Bracelets, human bone, animal bone, Dressel 1a and 1b amphora, iron knife, loom-weight, 2 potin (Scheers 191)
Chambly, "À la Viellarde" (Oise)	Burnt Deposit	Iron 4	Animal bone, <i>dolia</i> and cup fragments, loom-weight
Estrées-Saint-Denis, "Les Sablons" (Oise)	Enclosure Ditch (F 1352)	Three Iron 1	Ceramics, nail, tweezers, awls, needle, loom-weight, <i>barre à douille</i> , scabbard, shield boss, horse harness, quern fragment, joiners dog, potin (Scheers 185), unidentified coin
Creil, "Les Cerisiers" (Oise)	Enclosure Ditch (St.A)	Iron 3 Iron 5a	Ceramics, beads, bracelets, iron knife, spindle whorl, burnt stone

8.7.1 Mont-Notre-Dame, "Vaudigny"

As many sites in the Aisne are abandoned following the Late La Tène D1b until the immediate post-conquest or early Roman period, Mont-Notre-Dame represents a rare example of continuous La Tène D1b/D2a occupation (Haselgrove 1996: 2007: 508). Occupation consists of two enclosure ditches encircling several pit and post-holed structures. As finds were mainly recovered from the ditches, rather than the interior structures, the excavators hypothesise that main habitation lies within modern flood-zone (Thouvenot 1990; 1992; 1993).

In comparison to earlier rural settlements, finds are less remarkable, although it remains possible that more some were lost to flooding prior to excavation. Two brooches, both Simple Filiform types, were recovered from the enclosure (St.1, St.66), along with an iron knife, a lignite bracelet and wheel-turned ceramics. Several amphorae were also recovered, including two Dressel 1b necks, one with an H marked on a handle. This mark was found on an amphora in

one of the earliest structures at Pommiers, possibly extending occupation to the La Tène D2a (Thouvenot 1990: 12). Due to the low lying marsh edged position, constant flooding disturbed deposition considerably (Thouvenot 1992: 38). As a result, very little can be said with regard to depositional practices here. Nevertheless, the presence of amphora as well as pottery roughly contemporary with *oppida* such as, Condé-sur-Suippe and Pommiers, indicates that resources and activities were not wholly restricted to those larger enclosed sites.

8.7.2 Estrées-Saint-Denis, “Les Sablons”

The settlement of Les Sablons, located just 100 metres south of the sanctuary of Estrées, comprises of three enclosure ditches, whose internal organisation unfortunately unknown due to erosion (figure 8.10). The recovery of a ‘granary’ structure has resulted in the site’s identification with agricultural, as opposed to ritual, activity (Quérel 2002a: 309). However, the close association between this site and a sanctuary has prompted comparisons with Montmartin (Quérel 2002b: 282).

The finds were mainly recovered from the basal anthropogenic layer of northernmost ditch 1352, thought to pre-date its La Tène D2a abandonment (Quérel 2002b: 282). Objects include three iron Reverted Bow brooches, loom-weights, awls, needles, ceramics, nails, tweezers, a quern fragment, *barre à douilles*, a Scheers 185 potin, as well as horse-gear, a scabbard and a shield-boss. While deposition mainly consists of objects associated with ‘domestic activity’ the presence of coinage, weaponry and horse-gear, rarely found in association at rural sites, leads to the site’s identification as an aristocratic agglomeration (Quérel 2002c: 413).

Interestingly, the finds here are contemporary with the largest period of brooch deposition at the sanctuary; meaning that deposition here is possibly supplemental to sanctuary activities, rather than representative of a shift in activity. This finds support in the overall similarity in brooch finds between the two sites, particularly the Reverted Bow types (Woimant 2002b: 102). However, as the enclosure pre-dates the La Tène D1a/D1b reorganization of the sanctuary, it perhaps represents a temporary accommodation presaging its expansion (Quérel 2002b: 282). Therefore, its identification as an aristocratic agglomeration should be taken with one or more grains of salt.

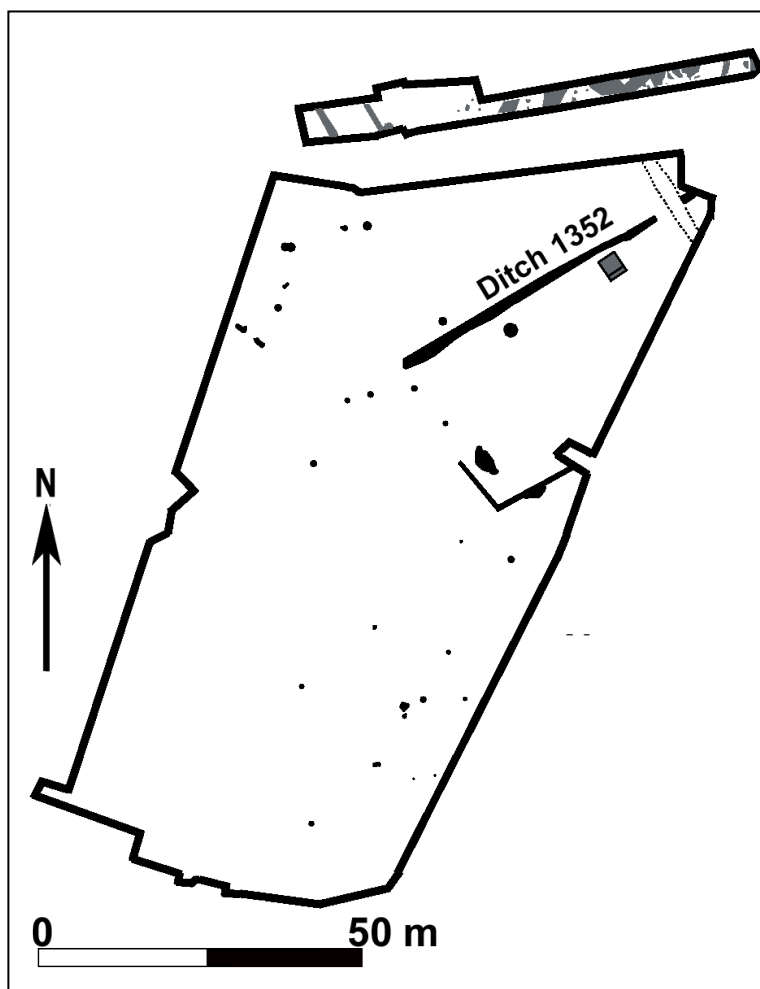


Figure 8.10: Plan of Entrées-Saint-Denis, “Les Sablons” (after Quérel 2000c: figure 1)

8.7.3 Creil, “Les Cerisiers”

Located on the edge of the Oise plateau, Creil was excavated ahead roadwork in 1982. (Fémolant 1984). The presence of a Classic Nauheim as well as Dressel 1 amphorae, initially dated the site to the La Tène D2a (*ibid*: 66). However, considering the earlier date now ascribed to Nauheim brooches, and Creil’s similarity to other La Tène D1b rural sites, like Jaux, it can comfortably be placed within the La Tène D1b/D2a transition (Fémolant and Malrain 1996: 42).

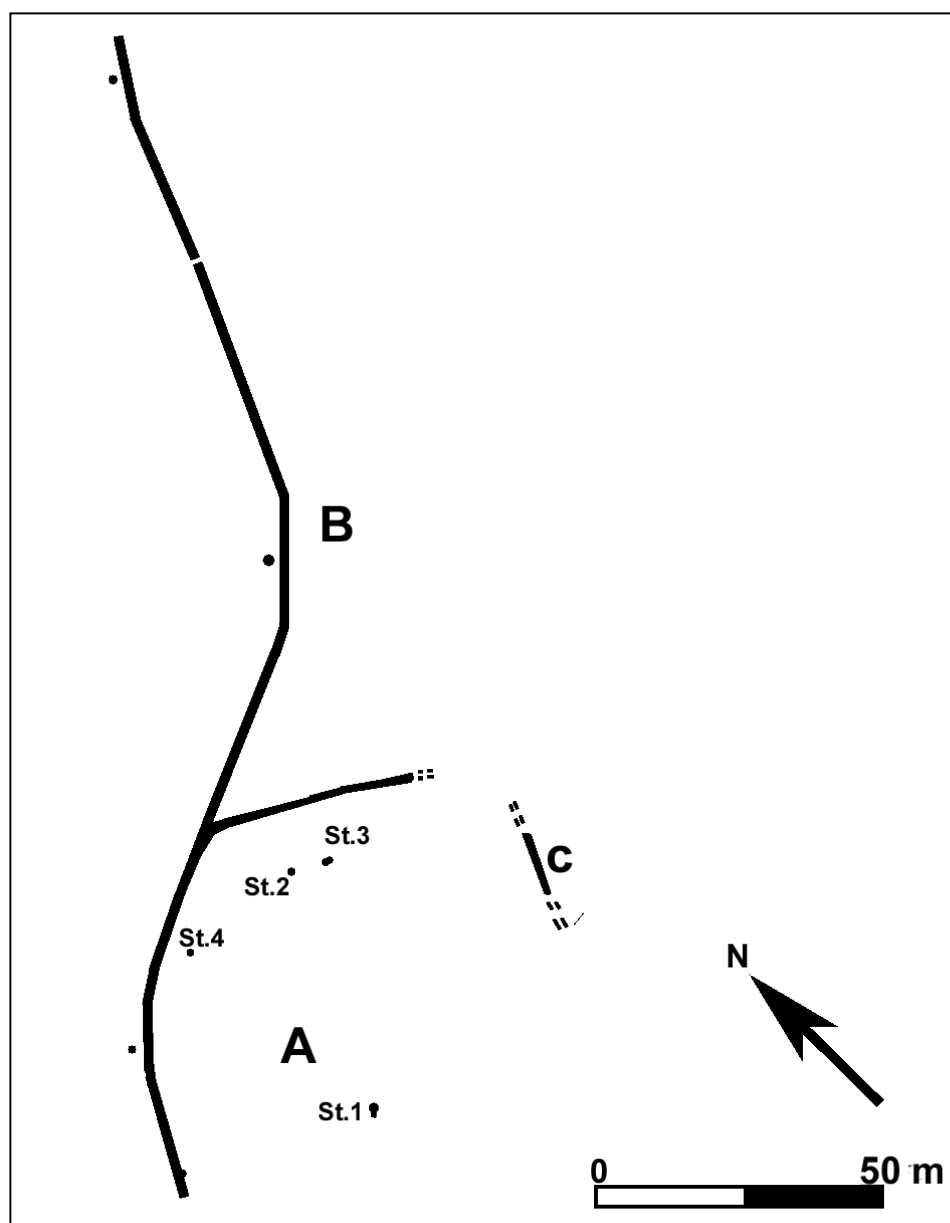


Figure 8.11: Plan of Creil, “Les Cerisières” (after Fémolant and Malrain 1996: figure 5)

The 5500 m² rural settlement consists of a system of ditches forming two distinct enclosures, labelled A and B (figure 8.11). Two iron brooches, a Type 3 and a Nauheim, as well as bracelets, an iron knife and spindle-whorls, were uncovered inside the fill of ditch A, sealed under a layer of burnt stone. Other objects recovered at the site include, crucibles, linking the site with metal production, as well as a Scheers 191 potin. The association of brooches with burnt stone is similar to other sites in the Oise, e.g. Verberie, Jaux, Maignelay-Montigny and Montmartin. Malrain *et al.* (2006: 286) identifies these as purposeful deposits associated with the practice of domestic rites. This, as well as the rapid deliberate filling of the ditches, possibly identifies these finds as closure deposits (Fémolant (1989: 44). In this case, comparable to deposits at

Montmartin, where ditches were filled as part of post-fire clearance procedures (Brunaux and Méniel 1997: 89).

The presence of fire raises an interesting point of comparison between Creil and Les Sablons, 27 km to the north. While deposition was key at the latter, evidenced by a dense anthropogenic fill containing brooches and other finds, the ditch was nevertheless abandoned and left to silt naturally. Contrastingly at Creil, deposition marks the terminal used of the site, with very little alluviation in evidence. This gels with differences previously noted regarding deposition at sanctuaries and rural sites, i.e. that sanctuaries demonstrate deposition over the entire history of the site, while rural sites typically have closure/opening deposits and not long lived depositories. Although this possibly changes in the run up to the development of *oppida*, given the presence of purpose-built structures possibly related to deposition at numerous Middle Late Iron Age rural sites (e.g. Braine, Bazoches, Jaux, Maignelay). The difference at Les Sablons is possibly related to its close association with the sanctuary at Estrées. Therefore, although ritualized practices are evident at rural sites and sanctuaries, these practices demonstrate a range of differences, indicative of a continuum of meaning rather than diametrically opposed ritual versus domestic behaviours.

8.7.4 Conclusion: Final Late La Tène brooch deposits at rural sites

Deposition at rural sites during the Final Late La Tène is much less remarkable than in preceding periods. This is possibly related to the rise of *oppida*, although these sites are absent in the Oise. In the Oise, large 'aristocratic' rural sites with mixed ritual and rural activity seem to be the norm. However, as similar trends are apparent in other areas, it cannot be stated that this is a wholly specialized regional phenomenon. In all likelihood, differential interpretation of finds at sanctuaries and rural sites is somewhat to blame for obfuscating details of structured deposition. For example, at Les Sablons only the presence of a granary identifies it as a rural site, in spite of the presence of similar finds at the nearby sanctuary of Estrées, the special title of 'aristocratic agglomeration' invoked as explanation. However, given the continuity of deposition at rural sites throughout the Late Iron Age, differential status does little to explain these finds. Nevertheless, the decline of rural settlement in the Final Iron Age, caused by

retraction of settlement, as well as Later Roman reconstruction that obscures prior occupation, makes it difficult to determine if these practices survive into the Post-Conquest period.

8.8 Post-Conquest Late Iron Age brooch deposition at rural sites

Post-conquest rural settlement is little understood in the study area, with known sites typically discussed in terms of early Romanisation and the adoption of the villa (e.g. Bayard and Collart 1996; Pion *et al.* 1996; Courbot 2000; Courbot-Dewert 2003). Haselgrove (1995; 1996; 2007: 56) has also considered the impact of Roman contact in the region, tending to see in the large rural settlements of the Early Roman period in terms of continuity with the preceding Iron Age; particularly referencing site plans with enclosures and internal sub-divisions. Nevertheless, due to lack of excavated sites, as well as disturbance by subsequent first century CE rebuilding, very little specifics are known about immediate post-conquest deposition at rural settlement. In the study area there are relatively few well excavated sites solidly dated to this post-conquest period, and very few of the sites with brooches have been excavated and written up to an extent that allows for contextual analysis (table 8.8).

As many of the brooches found at Post-Conquest sites could have deposited at any time between the D2b and GR/GR2, or later, it is extremely difficult to speak with precision with regards to specific votive practices. For example, although some of the brooches at Cuiry-les-Chaudardes, “Le Champ Tortu” are identified, their stratigraphic location is unknown (Demoule and Illet 1982). The same is true for the nine brooches recovered at Estrées (Querel 2002b: 409). Only finds at Pont-Rémy have enough information about associated context, showing similarities with deposits from preceding periods, recovered as they were from the base of the pit inside an enclosure, in a dark 62 centimetre thick layer of burnt material, along with pieces of burnt flint and stone (Prilaux *et al.* 1997: 128). The fill is tentatively identified as detritic, however, the presence of burnt material here, as well as the brooches, is thought rather remarkable as an early stage fill (*ibid*). A similarly thick fill with burnt wood and stone located on the surface of the pit was also identified as rapid and voluntary. Therefore, the brooches in this pit can possibly be identified as part of an opening-deposit. However, without more information I would hesitate to make a more definitive statement, especially as the brooches, both dating between the La Tène D1a to D2b, could just as well be residual from the first phase

of occupation (Prilaux *et al.* 1997: 110). This would be solved by the ceramics, but unfortunately these are not discussed in relation to context (*ibid*: 128).

Table 8.8: Post-Conquest Late Iron Age brooches and related finds at rural sites

Site	Location of Find	Brooch Type	Associated Finds
Cuiry-les-Chaudardes, “Le Champ Tortu” (Aisne)	Enclosure Ditch (St.56)	Iron 14b Two Unidentified Copper Alloy Hinged Brooches	n/a
Amigny-Rouy, “Au Trou Maître Ourdoux” (Aisne)	Unknown	Two Unidentified	n/a
Clastres-Saint-Simon, “La Clef des Champs” (Aisne)	Ditch (St.126)	Unidentified	Ceramics, nails, iron slag, unidentified coins
Estrées-Saint-Denis, “Les Sablons” (Oise)	Pit-Structure (Bâtiment 1980)	Iron 4	n/a
	Pit (F 1251)	Iron 4	nails, copper alloy wire
	Pit (F 1736)	Copper Alloy 14a	n/a
	Pit (F 1218, US 5535, Sud 2)	Copper Alloy 14a	n/a
	Pit (F 1534)	Copper Alloy 14a	n/a
	Pit-Structure (Batiment IV)	Copper Alloy 14a	n/a
	Pit (F 1228, US 5446)	Copper Alloy 14b	Ring, tweezers
	Ditch (Iso 8, fosse 1330)	Copper Alloy 18a	n/a
	Pit (F 1832, US 5461)	Copper Alloy 22	Copper alloy plaque and rivets
Pont-Rémy, “Le Fond de Baraquin” (Somme)	Pit (St.1004)	Copper Alloy 5b Copper Alloy 8	Ceramics, burnt flint and stone

Another issue with studying post-conquest sites is that they are often examined with the aim of identifying early characteristics of the Roman villa, ignoring similarities to earlier rural sites. For example, Pion (1990c: 96-97) interprets Cuiry-les-Chaudardes as an early expression of villa construction, despite the fact that its internal palisade is comparable with internal divisions at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, and the rural site Missy-sur-Aisne (*ibid*: 98). This sort of discussion is emblematic of rural settlement studies relating to this period, where sites fall through the cracks between the search for Roman villas and studies of the Iron Age farms or *fermes indigènes* (Haselgrove 2007: 514, *ff.* 4). Nonetheless, the form of the sites in general speaks to settlement continuity, while the presence of brooches in ditches and pits hints at the persistence of depositionary practices, particularly following the La Tène D2b rural settlement ‘slump’.

8.9 Final remarks

With rural sites, we develop the first consistent picture of deposition, with brooches in stratified contexts recovered from sites spanning the entire Late Iron Age. Moreover, the high association between brooches and other finds, such as animal and human bone, draws parallels with deposition at sanctuaries and funerary sites. However, in contrast with cemeteries, object associations at rural sites are higher; perhaps associated with multiple deposition events or with the number of individuals involved. Moreover, while excavations of enclosures only or eroded sites are the norm at sanctuaries, rural sites are most often investigated in their entirety, allowing for more in depth appreciation of site development and deposition history. For instance deposition in association with purpose built structures defined by stones, shows marked continuity at rural sites throughout the Late Iron Age.

Table 8.9: Brooch deposits associated with fire at rural sites

Site	Deposit Description
Montmartin (Oise) La Tène C2/D1a	Finds deposited with hearth base. Finds across the site, in the 'domestic' and 'ritual' enclosure were also deposited within and under thick burnt layers.
Juvincourt-et-Damary, "Le Ruisseau de Fayau" (Aisne) La Tène C2/D1a	Finds in repurposed pit St.80, which was recut and its bottom half lined with stones. Finds in the pit were also interspersed between lenses of burnt material.
Houdancourt, "Le Pont-de-Brebis" (Oise) La Tène C2/D1a	Finds were deposited in the burnt top fill of the small enclosed sites. The fill also contained flint and burnt stone
Lacroix-Saint-Ouen, "Au Pre des Iles" (Oise) La Tène D1a/D1b	Three stratigraphic layers were noted in the enclosure: alluvial basal fill and top fill and a dense anthropogenic black medial fill. This was linked to a major depositional event associated with fire.
Jaux, "Camp du Roi" (Oise) La Tène D1a/D1b	The enclosure ditch and associated structures were filled with a thick layer of burnt material. This burnt material also contains a structured deposit consisting of a limestone block, brooch as well as animal bones (pig, cattle, sheep, dog, horse), ceramics, spindle whorl, loom-weight, carbonized grain.
Maignelay-Montigny (Oise) La Tène D1a/D1b	A stone-lined pit was excavated here, containing an entire ceramic encircled by a group of burnt stone.
Creil, "Les Cerisiers" (Oise) La Tène D1b/D2a	Finds in Ditch A were recovered under a thick layer of burnt stone, identified as a closure deposit.
Pont-Rémy, "Le Fond de Baraquin" La Tène D2b/GR 1 (Somme)	Finds recovered in the black basal fill of a pit containing burnt stone.

There is also evidence that deposition can be linked with rituals punctuating the life of a site, i.e. as closure and opening deposits. The former evidenced at Juvincourt, where a silo was repurposed and used as a depository, as well as at Montmartin and Creil, "Les Cerisiers", via the presence of post-fire clearance and deposition. At Les Sablons and Pont-Rémy, brooches are primarily found in anthropogenic basal deposits. The connection between deposition and fire is

particularly strong at rural sites. With many brooch finds recovered from deposits containing burnt material, including burnt stone (Table 8.9). Interestingly, many of the deposits linked with burning were recovered in the Oise. While this can possibly be attributed to a strong regional preference, the similarities of these contexts to structured, although unburnt, deposits in other regions softens this somewhat.

Structured votive practice at rural sites precedes activity at *oppida*, anticipating the intense deposition at Villeuve-Saint-Germain and Condé-Sur-Suippe. While few *oppida* are as well excavated as rural sites, the brooches from these few sites outnumber rural site four to one. Brooch deposition at these sites is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Nine Brooch Deposition at *Oppida*

Oppida, or large enclosed sites, are a defined type-site across western Temperate Europe, identified after size criteria, the presence of fortifications, as well as urban elements, such as inter-site specialisation large-scale craft-production (Andouze and Buchsenschutz 1991; Collis 1984; Colin 1998; Fichtl 2000; Kaenel 2006). Major examples of these sites include, Manching in southern Germany and Titelberg in Luxembourg. However, Audouze and Buchsenschutz (1991:238, 240) have noted that *oppida* in Picardy are somewhat different from their cousins to the east, exhibiting variations in both size and form.

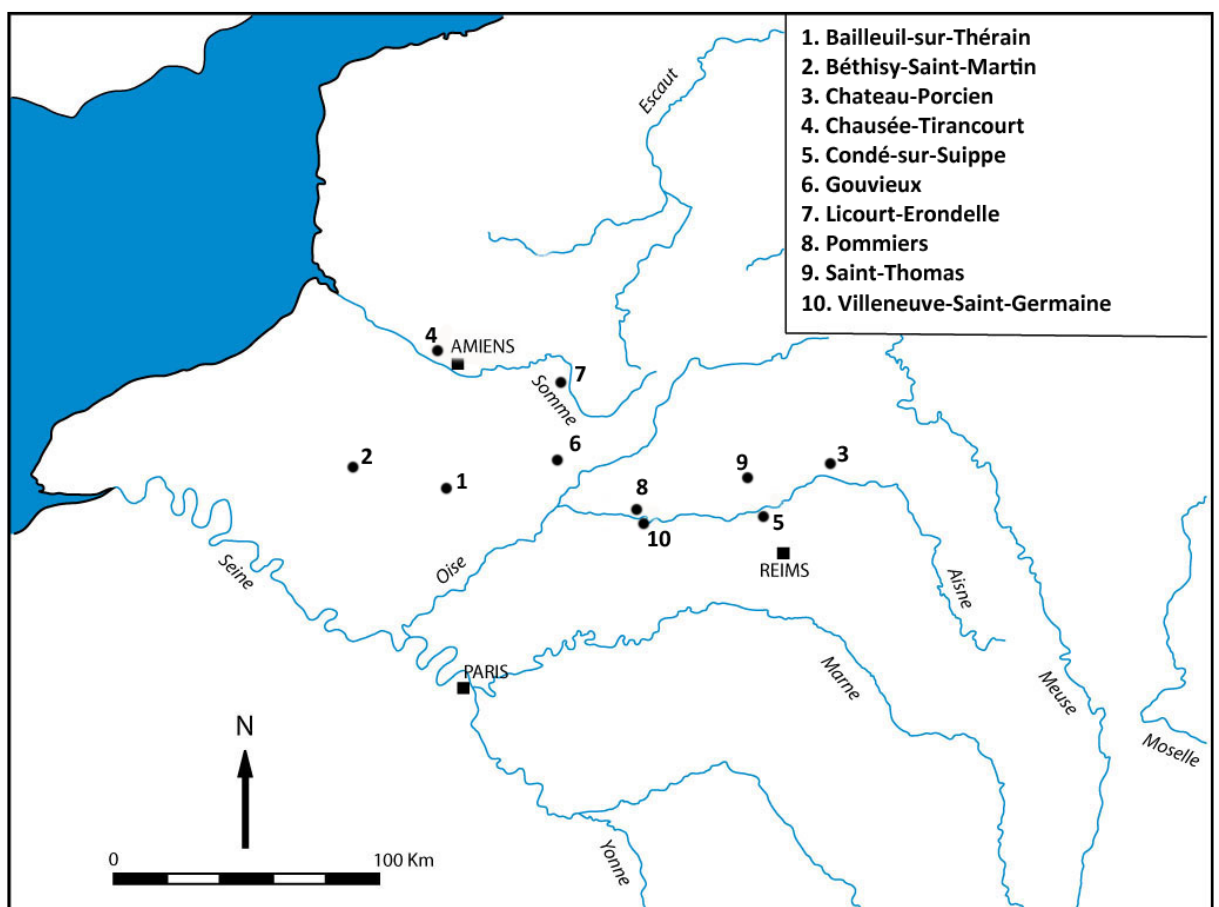


Figure 9.1: Map of *oppida* with brooches mentioned in this chapter

There are 29 *oppida* in the core of my study area as well as an additional 11 from the Ardennes and Seine-Maritime. This number includes smaller enclosures, typically identified as ‘fortified sites,’ such as Ambleny, “Vic-sur-Aisne” (Aisne), as well as other unexcavated sites, such as Coudun, “Ressons-sur-Matz” (Oise) (Buchsenschutz 1984: 45; Fichtl 1994: 194). In the study area 81% of the brooches recovered from *oppida* are from sites excavated because of develop-

ment-led archaeology, notably Condé-sur-Suippe or Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, with relatively few other brooches recovered from sites explored as the result of antiquarian work or surface survey (figure 9.1).

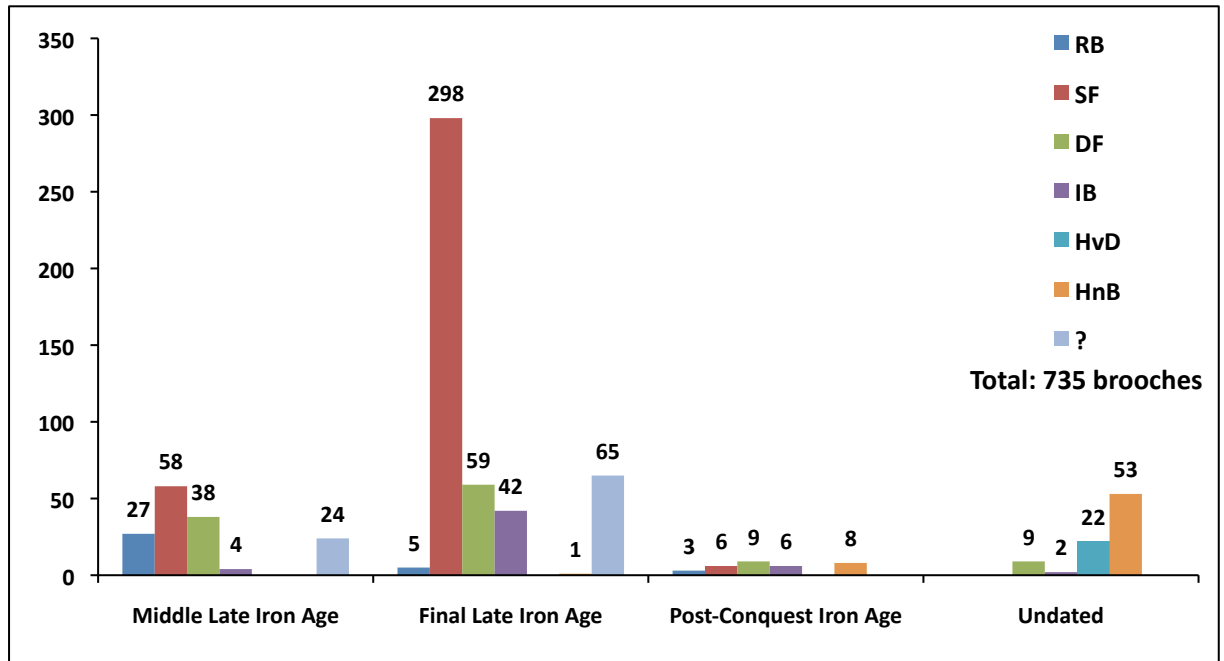


Figure 9.2: Brooches recovered over time at *oppida*

The above figure demonstrates the height of deposition at *oppida* during the Final Late Iron Age, paralleling the decline in deposition at rural sites. The sheer number of brooches recovered at these sites, which in most cases were only occupied for 20 to 30 years, indicates that that *oppida* were probably occupied or visited by larger numbers of people than rural settlements; with figures indicating they may have seen as many visitors as sanctuaries (Haselgrove 2007: 509-510). Moreover, in contrast to other sites, *oppida* show more variation in the brooch types recovered: Simple Filiform types prevailing followed by Decorative Filiform and Interrupted Bow's. While this is partially the result of the later date for *oppida*, arising co-currently with the development and increasing popularity of more decorative types. Increased human interaction, here as well as at later sanctuaries, quite probably increased the competitive elements involved in deposition and drove up interest in more ornate or demonstrative types. Interestingly, this contrasts with the conservatism evidenced at cemeteries, where simple undecorated brooches continue to predominate.

The decline in brooch deposition in burials starting from the Final La Tène, and the dearth of rural settlements dating to this period is startling when seen against the depository upswing at *oppida* and sanctuaries. Moreover, given the often disturbed or eroded finds at sanctuaries, stratified brooch finds at *oppida* offer a unique opportunity to study deposition relating to the Final Late Iron Age/Post-Conquest Iron Age transition. Nevertheless, before beginning a discussion of brooch deposition at these sites, it is first necessary to understand the nature of the research conducted on *oppida*. Especially as this work has influenced their interpretation.

9.1 Archaeological intervention at *oppida*

Despite being a key type-site within settlement models of the Late Iron Age (Audouze and Buchsenschutz 1991; Brun 1995; Pion 1996; Brun *et al.* 2005; Haselgrove 2007; Brun and Ruby 2008) very few *oppida* have been comprehensively excavated. In fact many of the *oppida* in the study area are only known from surveys conducted by Wheeler and Richardson (1957) (Figure 9.3).

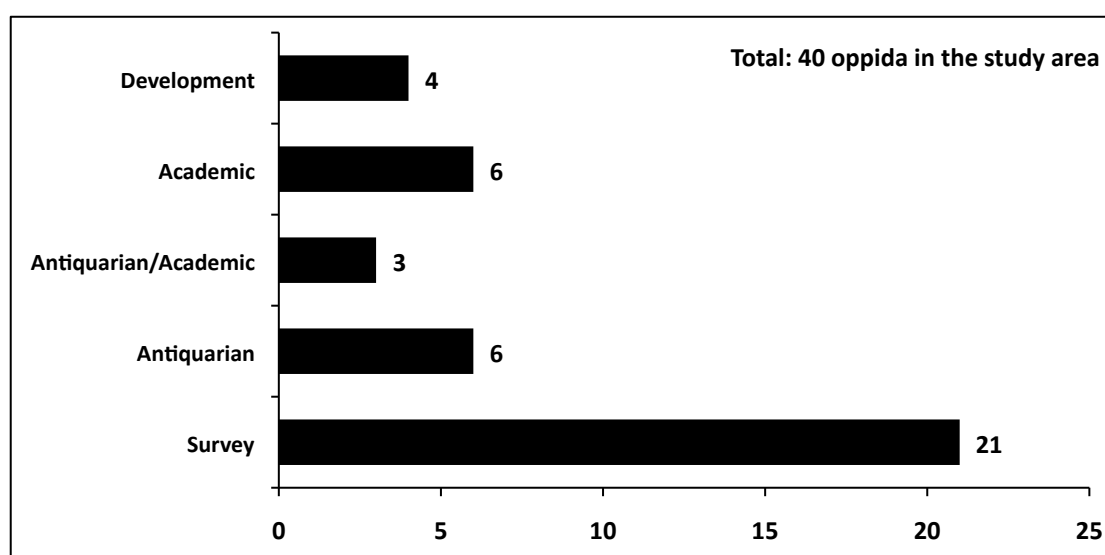


Figure 9.3: Types of archaeological intervention at *oppida*

Several antiquarian excavations, often limited to surface surveys or small test-pits through or near the ramparts, have also carried out at *oppida* in the study area, such as: Napoleon III's diggings at Mauchamp, "Camp de César" (Aisne) or at Vieux-Moulin, "Mont-Saint-Pierre-en-Chastre" (Oise) (Woimant 1995: 496-498; Pichon 2002: 267-268). While brooches are rarely recorded from these early excavations many, such as those from Pommiers (Aisne) or Liercourt-

Erondelle (Somme), many were lost during World War II and are known only from a brief publication (Vauvillé 1912); which illustrates only a small sample, although it does number how of each type were found.

While academic projects have sometimes followed antiquarian work, sadly these are often small in scale, as with Brun's single trench at Pommiers (Brun 1987; Brun and Robert 1988; Pichon 2002: 351-354), or Lobjois' two trenches at Saint-Thomas (Aisne), where some geophysical survey was also conducted (Lobjois 1966; Haselgrove *et al.* 1997). Other academic-led works include Brunaux's brief excavation at the *oppidum* neighbouring the sanctuary of Gournay-sur-Aronde as well as Brunaux and Marchand's work at Chaussée-Tirancourt (Somme). Both of them focused on the exterior ramparts (Brunaux *et al.* 1985c; Brunaux and Marchand 1986; 1988; 1989; 1993).

The largest excavations, as well as the highest brooch recovery figures, have come about through development-led archaeology, which have coincidentally provided the most extensive explorations of *oppida* interiors. Condé-sur-Suippe and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, both of which were excavated ahead of gravel quarrying, account for 81% of *oppida*-recovered brooches. These sites, along with Pommiers, which as discussed saw limited excavation in the 1980s, lie behind the dominant model for how *oppida* developed and functioned in northern France. Together, these *oppida* are sometimes referred to as the 'Aisne Valley Sequence,' because each was possibly built and occupied following the other (Collis 1995: 165; Roymans 1996: 136) (table 9.1).

Table 9.1: The Aisne valley sequence

Site	La Tène C2	La Tène D1a	La Tène D1b	La Tène D2a	La Tène D2b	GR 1	GR 2
Condé-sur-Suippe							
Villeneuve-Saint-Germain							
Pommiers							

Considering how little is known about *oppida* in the study area, as well as their relatively late and short-lived appearance, their centrality in Late Iron Age settlement models calls for reas-

sessment. While this thesis not the appropriate place for this re-evaluation, the *oppida*'s place in Late Iron Age settlement does bear some discussion.

9.2 *Oppida* and Late Iron Age settlement

The short-lived nature of these sites, compared with those from central Europe (e.g. Manching), raises questions about their centrality within the landscape. In northern France the current model represents *oppida* as the outcome of increasing social complexity and settlement hierarchisation (see Pion 1990a Buchsenschutz 2000; Kaenel 2006; Perrin 2006). Nevertheless, Haselgrove (2007: 511) points out the similarity of sites such as Villeneuve or Condé to rural settlements, indicating that they might represent agglomerations of separate farmsteads rather than centralized proto-urban sites. Indeed their separate domestic, and craft-working areas make them startlingly similar in plan to earlier rural sites in the Aisne such as, Bazoches-sur-Vesles, "les Chantraines" and Braine, "la Grange des Moines." Similarities are also seen in later sites such as Cuiry-les-Chaudardes, "le Champ Tortu."

As *oppida* mirror attributes of smaller rural sites, it seems unwise to use them as a basis for studying settlement patterns and social development. This has already been suggested by Woolf (1993: 232), who proposes viewing *oppida* as non-rural sites, rather than *vice versa*. Nevertheless, more *oppida* would have to be excavated in the study area to allow for further comparative site-plan analysis. Outside the Aisne, very few *oppida* have seen any comprehensive excavation. While there are notable exceptions, e.g. Béthisy-Saint-Martin, "Le Barillet" (Oise), these served to confirm dating, rather than internal arrangements (Unknown 1970: 2-3; Woimant 1995: 165-166).

9.3 *Oppida* and brooch deposition

The limited excavation of *oppida* in the study area makes it difficult to speak comprehensively about brooch deposition. Given this difficulty, many of the sites listed on the above map have had to be omitted from wider discussion, especially as many are only provisionally identified as *oppida*. Nevertheless, as this also tends to ignore brooch finds from *oppida* outside of the Aisne, it seems necessary to list finds, if only briefly (table 9.2).

Table 9.2: Excluded *oppida*

Site	Date	Find Location	Brooches	Associated/Other Finds
Béthisy-Saint-Martin (Oise)	La Tène D1a/D1b (?)	n/a	Iron Type 8	Ceramics, <i>dolia</i> , miniature vases, amphora, rod, iron, slag, nails, hemp fibres, carbonized wheat, coinage (two Scheers 191, one unidentified), glass fragment with gold filament.
Saint-Thomas (Aisne)	La Tène D2a/D2b	n/a	Fragmented Brooch	Ceramics, amphora, ash, burnt wood, iron slag, coinage (Sheers 194, Scheers 195 and Scheers 196), amphora, animal bone, lance-points
Pommiers (Aisne)	La Tène D2a/D2b	n/a	127 Brooches	Ceramics (including Gallo-Belgic and Sigillata), animal bone, human skull fragment, 4 rings, Dressel 1b amphora, statue of a 'female' with braided hair, coinage
Gouvieux, "Camp de César" (Oise)	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Surface	Two copper alloy Type 5a	Hallstatt ceramics, 2 nd century CE Roman brooches
Bauilleul-sur-Thérain (Oise)	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Under <i>tumulus/fanum</i> (?) structure	Two Type 1 Three Type 23	Ceramics, human bone, beads, bracelets, belt hook, nails, iron saw, rivets, key, lance-point, needle, hair-pins, ear-spoon, coinage (27 Late Iron Age coins), horse-gear, bucket bands, stone hatchet, Gundlingen sword, Roman finds (querns, stamped lamps and ceramics, bone pins, earrings, rings, bronze pots, coins, mirror and fresco fragments, oyster and mussel shells)
Liercourt-Erondelle (Somme)	La Tène D2b/GR 1	Surface	Type 1	Only coinage recorded (for information see Vauvillé 1912)
Chateau-Porcien (Ardennes)	La Tène D2b to GR1/ GR 2	Surface	85 Brooches	Ceramics, coinage (three struck bronzes, unidentified)

Only further excavation and publication will reveal if these sites can prove useful to future understandings of Late Iron Age *oppida*. Resultingly, discussion is reduced to three sites, Condé-sur-Suippe, Villeneuve-Saint-Germain and Chaussée-Tirancourt; excavation at the latter, as previously mentioned, focused only on the ramparts.

9.4 Middle Late La Tène brooch deposition at *oppida*

The first identified *oppida* begin to appear during the Middle Late Iron Age. However, outside of the Aisne valley, very little is known about these sites. Consequently, the main site discussed here is Condé-sur-Suippe.

9.4.1 Condé-sur-Suippe, "Variscourt"

Condé is located on the alluvial plain of the Aisne approximately 20 kilometres north of Reims at the confluence of the Aisne and Suippe rivers and within a meander of the former. With only two percent of its 170 hectares area excavated, Condé represents the first large-scale *oppida*

excavation in the study area. Approximately 150 brooches were recovered here: 13 from Lachaud's surface survey in the 1950's and 60's; 55 from Massy's, 1978 to 1983 excavation; and 82 from Pion's work (figure 9.4). However, of the 82 excavated by Pion, only 25 have recorded contexts (Pion *et al.* 1987; Pion 1990b; Pion *et al.* 1987; 1997). Very little is known about excavations other than Pion's.

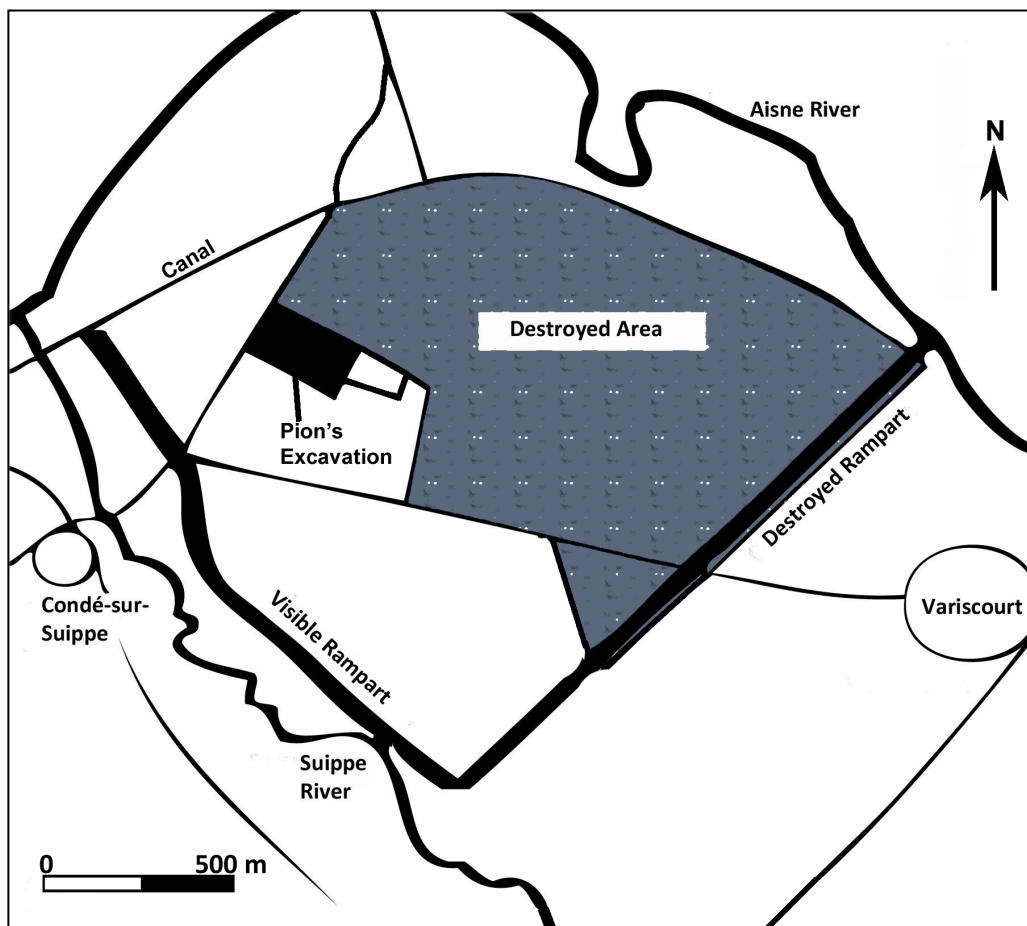


Figure 9.4: Plan of Condé-sur-Suippe, showing area excavated by Pion (after Pion *et al.* 1997: figure 1)

Pion excavated between 1987-1990, recovering approximately 471 structures including, 53 buildings, 61 palisades and 357 pits. Work mainly focussed on determining the function and date of these structures in order to identify it as a proto-urban centre (Pion *et al.* 1987; Pion 1990b). Several unique deposits were also noted, including a silo burial in St.395. Identified activities include copper alloy and iron working, coin manufacture as well as textile and glass production. At least two phases of occupation were noted, with house structures supposedly expanding onto streets during the latter (Pion *et al.* 1997: 281).

The area excavated by Pion is identified as an artisanal quarter, shaping the interpretation of the finds and reducing analysis to proportions of objects in identified sectors, with no information about how this works into the phasing of the site or specific context (for location of sectors see figure 9.5) (Pion et al 1997: 296-300). Sector based analysis at Condé means that even though contexted brooches appear to have mainly been recovered from pits, the exact temporal and spatial location of these is often unknown.

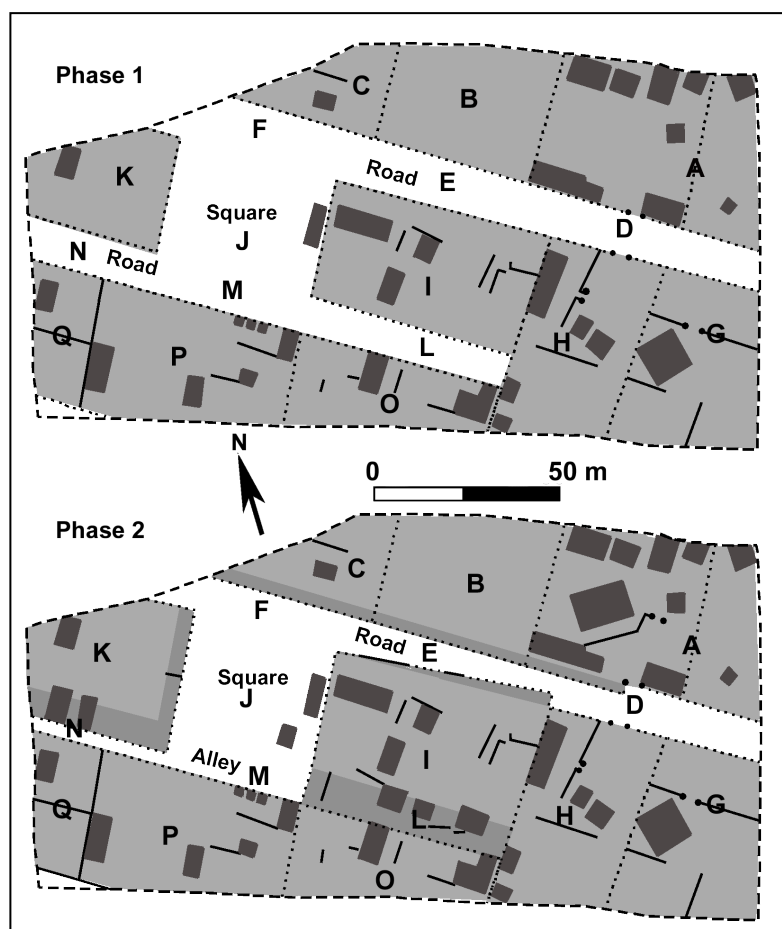


Figure 9.5: Spatial organization at Condé-sur-Suippe (After Pion *et al.* 1997: figure 3)

While this method of analysis provides an excellent means of summarizing what is evidently a complex site, it does not allow for discussion of specific contexts or stratigraphy; making it very difficult to reference the brooch finds which are recorded according to context in Pion's (1996a) thesis. Nevertheless, according to sector-based analysis brooch finds are revealed to have some notable distributions: recovered from sectors with dense concentrations of with objects relating to construction, i.e. nails, (O, B, C, K); from areas with the most (B, C) and least (K) 'domestic

waste', determined by fragmentation of bone remains and ceramic material; as well as in areas with evidence of metal-working (O, I).

Pion believed that brooches were distributed randomly, rendering them unsuitable for reconstructing spatial organisation (Pion 1996a: 289, 299). However, I believe that brooch distribution can be quite informative. For instance, the basic pieces of information provided by Pion's sector-based analysis allow us to reverse engineer further information about their spread throughout the site. Firstly, it seems that brooches are more likely to be recovered in areas with high frequencies of amphora, weaponry, slag and *barre à douille* (*ibid*: figure 6, figure 7). The largest concentration of jewellery (sector I), overlaps with the largest concentration of weaponry and slag (Pion 1996a: figure 7). Sector I, also overlaps with the densest finds relating to metal working and textile production, crafts that generally should not occupy the same areas (*ibid*: figure 8).

Table 9.3: Contexted brooches and related finds at Condé-sur-Suippe

Context	Context Type	Brooch	Associated Finds
St.204	Pit	Type 4 Type 5a	Ceramics, amphora, nails, potin (Scheers 191)
St.22	Pit	Type 3	Pendant, ring, belt hook, ceramics, nail, awl, <i>barre à douille</i>
St.238	Pit	Type 5a Type 5a Type 4, 5b or 6	Amphora, ceramics, nails, rivets, potin (Scheers 191), rouelle, yolk pin
St.305	Pit	Type 2 Type 4 Type 5a	Bead, bracelet, ring (antler?), earring amphora, Campanian ware, nails, <i>barre à douille</i>
St.348	Pit	Type 4 Type 5a	Bead, bracelet, animal bone (pig, sheep, cattle, horse), amphora, ceramics, nails, scabbard, coin-mould, cosmetic spoon (?)
St.385	n/a	Type 4 Type 5 Type 5a Type 4, 5b or 6	Bead, bracelet, ceramics, amphora, nails, lance-point, spindle whorl
St.482	Cut	Type 2 Type 4 Type 4 Type 5a Type 8	Bead, animal bone, ceramics
St.485	Pit	Type 3 Type 4	Animal bone, ceramics, lance-point, unidentified iron, copper alloy plaque

When brooches are included, rather than painting a picture of highly organized specialist production as Pion intended, the distribution at Condé instead points to the opposite. In fact, as the above distributions also overlap with amphora and coin finds, object concentrations may

well reflect other practices carried out at the site; emphasising that certain areas may have served not as centres of craft production, but as *foci* of deposition. This, in addition to the human remains at Condé, and at least one silo burial, draws parallels with depository practices at Acy-Romance and other rural sites. Therefore, it seems only logical to interpret finds at this *oppida* similarly.

The few brooches at Condé which have a recorded context have associated finds that closely resembling to the La Tène C1-D1a site of Acy-Romance, 40 kilometres to the east (table 9.3). For example, at Acy in St.340 objects from human and animal bone, to complete ceramics and jewellery, also showed evidence of intentional deposition (Lambot and Méniel 1993: 99). Similar, although differently structured, silo-deposits were also noted at Juvincourt-et Damary just 10 kilometres to the northwest (Haselgrove and Lowther 1992). It is unlikely that Condé-sur-Suippe's pits are silos as they are cut in the gravel terrace too close to the riverbed, meaning that they likely served as water rather than grain storage. Nevertheless, without additional information on the shape or depth of these pits, nothing more can be said about their function or use.

Despite the imitations of the contextual evidence at Condé-sur-Suippe, reintegrating brooches into Pion's sector based analysis produced results that rapidly contradict traditional interpretations of the site. The object concentrations in particular show strong likeness to deposits found at sites discussed in the preceding chapters. Accounting for the similarities that arise given the limited data, it is quite likely that the parallels run much deeper than basic object associations, and perhaps links with fire and structured votive depositories as those noted at rural sites can be postulated as well. With these ideas in mind, brooch finds at later *oppida* will be examined.

9.5 Final Late Iron Age brooch deposition at *oppida*

Only one *oppidum* in the Aisne dating to the La Tène D2a/D2b transition is discussed here; the site of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, where over 400 brooches were recovered.

9.5.1 Villeneuve-Saint-Germain

The *oppidum* of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain is located within a meander of the Aisne River just across from the Middle to Late La Tène burial ground at Bucy-le-Long, “La Heronnière.” This proximity perhaps reflects the site’s importance as a meeting place, prior to being occupied on a more permanent basis (Metzler *et al.* 2000: 180). Initially thought to post-date the Roman conquest, re-evaluation of the date for potin has pushed the date back to the La Tène D2a/D2b transition (Debord 1993: 105; Guichard *et al.* 1993; Haselgrove 1996; 2007b: 496). While archaeologists are fairly confident with this date, a surface find of an Aucissa Derivative brooch (Type 23), would seem to indicate a presence continuing into the early Roman period.

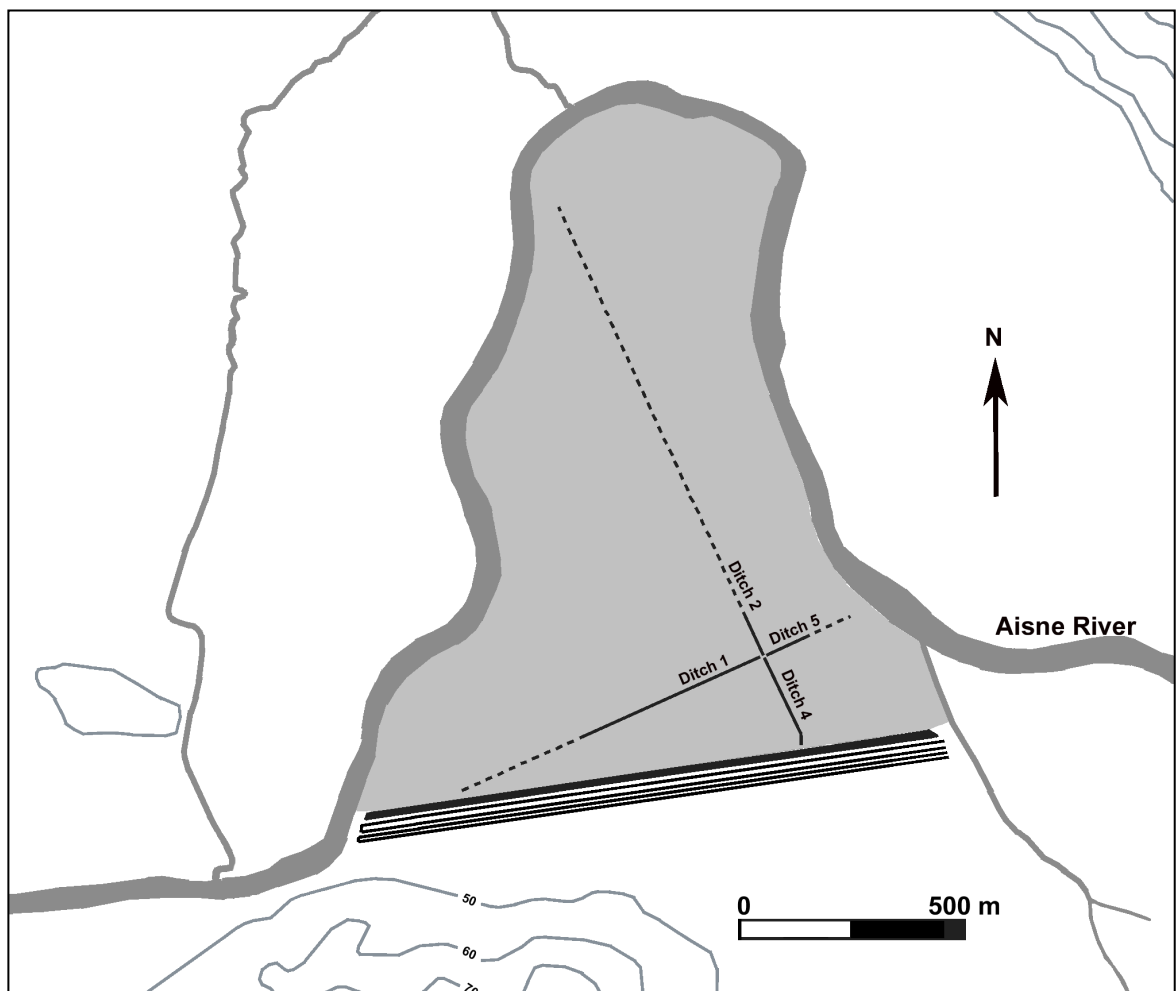


Figure 9.6: Plan of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (after Fichl 2005, figure 92)

Excavation focused on four main areas, the southern ramparts and external ditches, the central Cruciform Ditches, the Workshop Areas located to the south and northwest of Ditch 1 and finally the southeastern Domestic Quarter between Ditches 4 and 5 (figure 9.6 and 9.7). Debord

excavated all but the south and northeastern quarters, which were completed by URA 12. The site is mainly published in a series of articles and papers in the *Revue Archéologique de Picardie* (*RAP*) as well as other sources (see Constantin *et al.* 1982; Debord 1978; 1981; 1982; 1990; 1993; 1995; 1996; 1999; Debord *et al.* 1988; Auxiette 1996). These publications focus mainly on the chronology of the site and its proto-urban features, particularly the separate craft-working and domestic areas, identified via distributions of iron and copper alloy slag and the presence of house-structures (Debord 1993; 1995). However, a closer look at the distribution of brooches throughout the *oppidum*'s separate districts, as well as finds recovered in association, reveals, as at Condé, depositary patterns similar to rural sites. This is discussed below, with the aim of revealing the significance of depositary practices throughout the site's history.

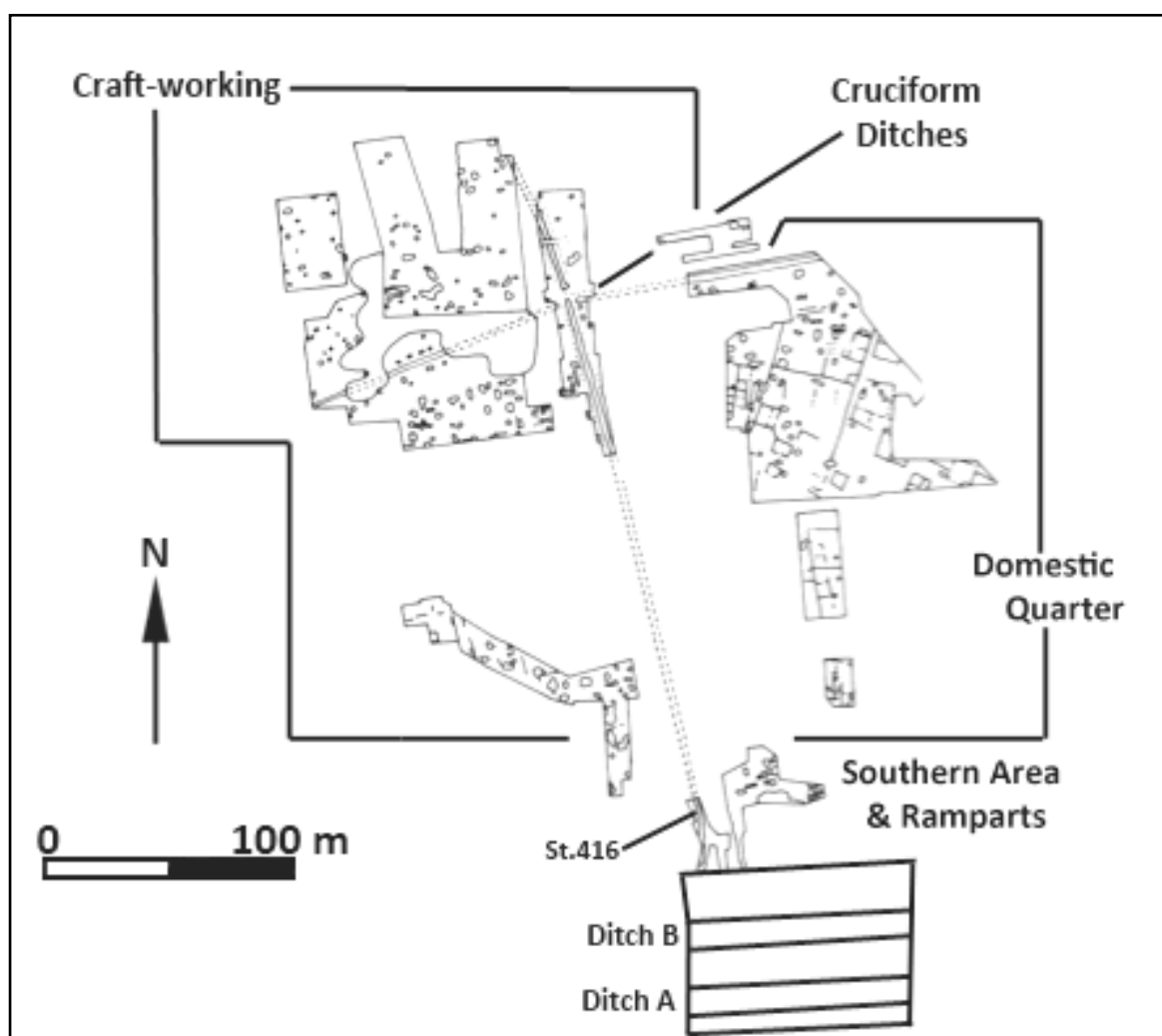


Figure 9.7: Excavated areas at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (with permission Haselgrove 1995: fig 9.3)

The 405 brooches recovered at Villeneuve are fully published in Debord's (1996) article in the *RAP*, recorded under type, following Feugère (1985), as well as by context. As at Condé-sur-

Suippe, the absence of a labelled site plan makes it difficult to situate the finds. Nonetheless, I have been able to locate the general area if not the precise spot, for nearly all the recorded finds (figure 9.8). Like Condé, Villeneuve exhibits a great variety of types, although significantly fewer Decorative Filiform varieties were recovered here (Pion 1996a: figure 138). However, Simple Filiform brooches represent the most numerous types (figure 9.8). These brooches are found in high numbers across the site, representing more than 50% of the total, followed by Decorative Filiform and Interrupted Bow brooches. Only five Reverted Bow types were recovered, mainly from the southern part of the site: from southernmost Cruciform Ditch 4, the southwestern domestic area, and from pit St.416 at the southern entrance.

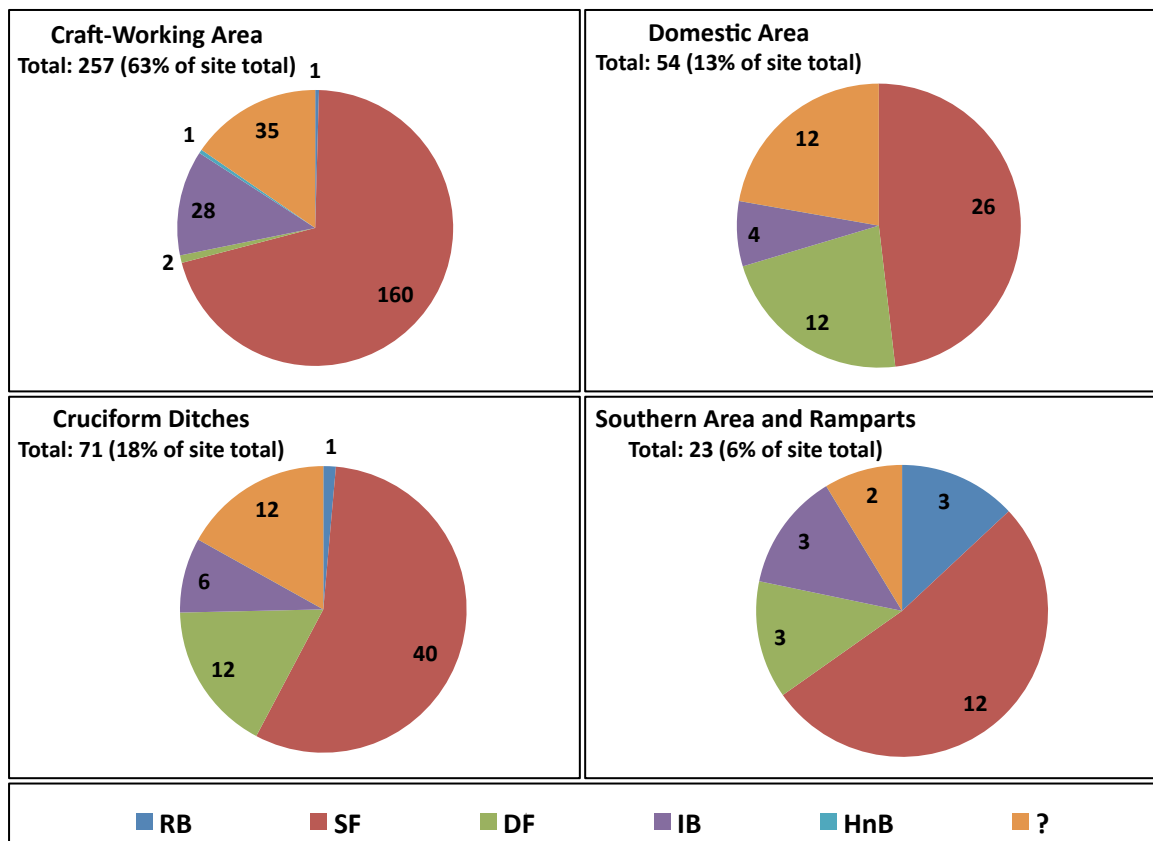


Figure 9.8: Distribution of brooches at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain

The confinement of Reverted Bow brooches to the south of the site is interesting, perhaps indicative that this area hosted some of the earliest structures. This is certainly the case for St.416, which was present, or part of an earlier site, before the construction of Cruciform Ditch 4, shown by the deviation in its southern end (figure 9.7) (Debord 1990: 140; 1995: 194). Finds here include ten brooches, a large copper alloy ring, iron key, glass beads, nails, animal bone, metalworking debris and local potin coinage (Scheers 196, Scheers 555-556), (Debord 1990:

140). The presence of a local silver coin (Scheers 50), under the levelled and paved area in the northern end of the pit, implies that it was partially covered only a short time after its initial construction (*ibid*).

Given the integration of brooches into deposition throughout the site's history, Villeneuve represents a near ideal example of ritualized practice. This will be borne out by analysis of the brooch finds, key contexts and related finds assemblages recovered across the site. Contextual analysis is restricted here, not only because of the lack of a labelled site plan, but because no central finds inventory was ever lodged with the archives. This has limited contextual analysis to comparisons based on simple distribution maps or to finds recovered from structures identified as workshops (Debord 1993; 1996; 1998). Geographical analysis of brooch finds at Villeneuve will begin with the southern area and ramparts, move up through the Cruciform Ditches and end with discussions of the workshop and domestic area. Following this, given the presence of so many varied types of brooch at one site, an over-view is provided of deposits with Interrupted Bow, Simple and Decorative Filiform brooches.

9.5.2.a Villeneuve-Saint-Germain: southern area and ramparts

As a Late Iron Age defensive site, archaeologists were curious to determine the full extent of Villeneuve's defences, particularly the construction and date of the *murus gallicus* or earth and timber rampart, as well as related ditches A and B (Debord 1995: 185). Unfortunately later levelling as well as a World War II ditch made it difficult to ascertain the full phasing and dimensions of these structures. Nevertheless, coinage, brooches and Dressel 1 amphora place both the building and the abandonment of the defences well within the La Tène D2 (*ibid*: 189).

The location of finds, mainly under the collapsed rampart, provides a rough *terminus ante quem* for these structures. Therefore, with the rampart we are perhaps viewing deposition at the end of Villeneuve's history. Recovered brooches include a very fragmentary iron Type 8 in Ditch B and an almost complete copper alloy Type 14a in Ditch A. Interestingly the latter, typically dated between the La Tène D2b and Gallo-Roman 2, was recovered under the fall of the rampart, where an earlier *Arc Interrompu* was recovered (Debord 1995: 198-199); placing the destruction of this feature well within the early La Tène D2b.

The latter brooches not only provide solid dating evidence, but their placement (i.e. a Gallic brooch under the collapsed rampart containing an earlier Type 8 brooch) has the appearance of a closure deposit. The presence of human bone and coinage hints at the importance of the area for deposition, perhaps explaining why ‘closure’ was needed. However, because of the site’s military associations, Debord (1982: 415; 1995: 200) interprets the human remains as a trophy, or as an expression of the blended political and religious power of the Villeneuve’s inhabitants. Nevertheless, the frequency of human remains in connection with brooches at all types of site is suggestive of something else. Seen in this light, the direct links often drawn at *oppida* between urbanisation, political/religious power and deposition, seem less clear (e.g. Fichtl *et al.* 2000; Metzler *et al.* 2006). Perhaps, as similar structured finds have been recognized at rural sites as far back as the Early La Tène (see Auxiette 2000), it is best to take a longer view and not interpret deposition solely through the little understood processes of Late Iron Age urbanisation (Woolf 1993; Haselgrove 1995; 2007).

From the last days of the site we move to its earliest occupation, evidenced by pit St.416. While the finds in this pit, and early date, were discussed above, it is interesting to note that the presence of this pit in an enclosure’s doorway is comparable to a first phase structure at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux *et al.* 1985:67-68). There, the entrance pit was also subsequently paved over by increasingly monumental constructions, including a palisade and wood-lined enclosure ditches. Like Gournay, Villeneuve’s Cruciform Ditches were also wood-lined, and possibly roofed. The presence of coins and brooches throughout the stratigraphy of these ditches reveals its continued use as a depository focus throughout Villeneuve’s history (Debord *et al.* 1988: 123).

9.5.2.b Villeneuve-Saint-Germain: Cruciform Ditches

The Cruciform Ditches at Villeneuve contained coins, brooches and small lead or copper alloy wheels known as *rouelles*, dating the structure to the La Tène D2a/D2b (figure 9.9). As with the ramparts, the ditches, and the finds within them, have also been associated with urbanisation, representative of “*volonté urbanistique*” or urbanizing will (Fichtl 1994: 179). Multiple reconstructions of the ditches have been proposed, either depicting a long thatched roofed structure

or a fenced ditch, flanked by paths and possibly capped by a raised gallery (Fitchl 2005: 92; Peyre 2000a: 170-171).

Debord (1990: 141) identifies this feature with the presence of a system of socio-economic or caste-based segregation. More recently Haselgrove (2007: 509) has suggested that the presence of so many *rouelles* and coins in the ditches identifies it as a ritual boundary. The ritual function of these ditches parallels similar finds at earlier sites. Internal dividing ditches with ritualistic associations were also identified at Braine and Bazoches, neither more than 25 kilometres from Villeneuve (Auxiette and Pommepuy 2000: Auxiette *et al.* 2000a: 103; Gransar and Pommepuy 2005: 216). In this light, the presence of dividing ditches at earlier rural settlements, as well as later *oppida*, indicates a general preference for divided settlement, not caste-based segregation.

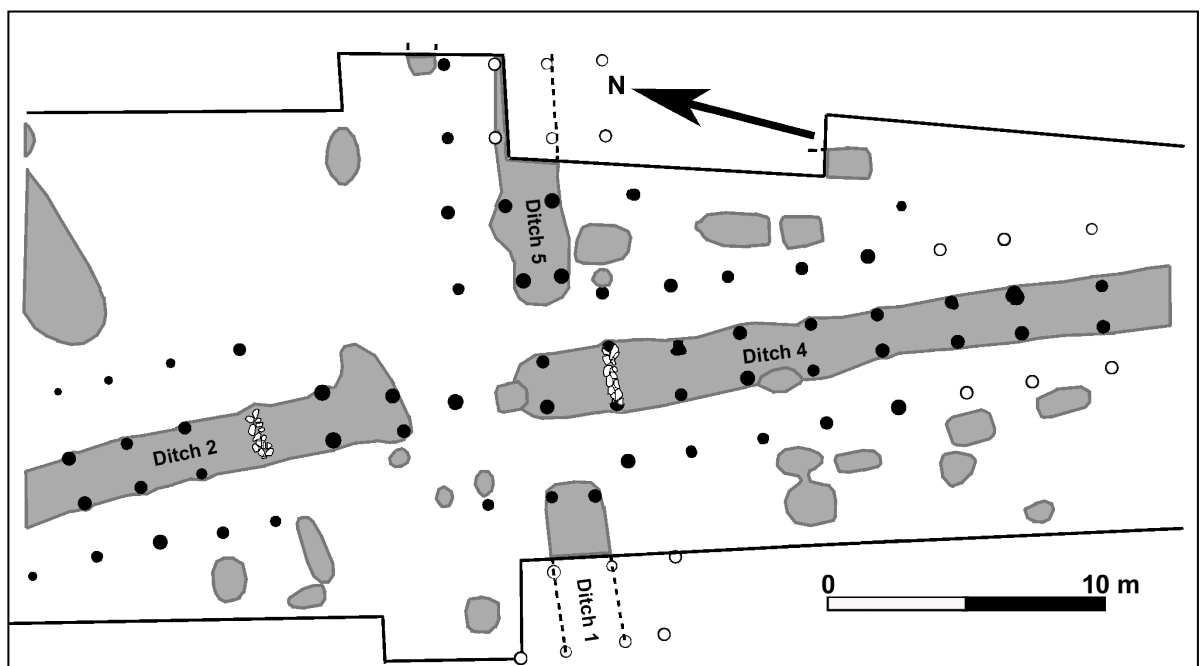


Figure 9.9: Plan of the Cruciform Ditches at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (after Fitchl 2005: 93)

Peyre (2000: 163-164) also associates the large concentration of finds in these ditches with ritual; describing the location as an *umbilicus* related to astronomical or electoral practices from the Classical world. Although Peyre's (*ibid.*: 165, 193) comparisons with the Classical Mediterranean (i.e. the *Saepta* in Rome) are somewhat unsuited, the ditches were certainly a central defining feature at Villeneuve. Nevertheless, in seeking to associate this site with those in Rome he neglects more relevant local comparisons, such as the previously mentioned Bazoches or

Braine, or even the wood-lined enclosure ditch at Gournay. Nevertheless, the *umbilicus* theory, as Haselgrove (2007: 509) also found, is supported by the numerous *rouelles* and coins recovered at the central junction of these ditches. Analysis of the ditches' stratigraphy, which unfortunately only includes *rouelles* and coins, also demonstrates that early coin types are most often recovered from the base fill and overlain by later types (Debord 1989: figure 6; Haselgrove 2005: 155; Pion 1996a: figure 168-169); showing that deposition here took place throughout the site's occupation.

Notably, the largest percentage of brooches was found in the southernmost end of Ditch 4, which, in association with early pit 416, links this part of the site with earliest deposition. This feature was also remarked upon by Wellington (2005: 218) in her study of coin deposition, which also highlights the long-term importance of deposition at Villeneuve. Nevertheless, given the importance of brooches in the earliest deposits the fact that so few were recovered from the central ditch junction is odd; perhaps indicative of rules that might have governed deposition here, selecting coins over brooches.

At Villeneuve, it is only feasible to reconstruct where brooches were recovered and their locational, if not stratigraphic, relation to other finds. Given hints of divergent depositary rites involving these items, the absence of stratigraphic information here is particularly unfortunate; as it would have been useful to note any changes in association between earlier and later deposits. Nevertheless, locational analysis of ditches 2 and 4, where the majority of finds were recovered, still demonstrates a distinct difference in brooch, *rouelle* and coin distributions (figures 9.10, 9.11 and 9.12). For example, although large finds of coinage and *rouelles* typically cluster around the central ditch junction (F2.C1 and F4.C1/C2b), brooches do not, tending instead to be found in relatively low numbers throughout the length of the ditches.

The deliberate selection of coins over brooches is perhaps an adaptation of practices that saw long development at earlier sites. For instance, at La Tène D1a/D1b sanctuaries, e.g. Fesques and Estrées, the earliest coin deposits are most often associated with earlier Reverted Bow or Free Bow types (Mantel 1997: 293; Woimant 2002a: 52), hinting perhaps at a need to legitimize coins as depositary objects. This seems an essential point as prior to the development of base metal coinage, rites were predominantly focused on items such as, weaponry, jewellery or

brooches (Haselgrove 2007: 501). Therefore, the desire to integrate coins, also personal and portable tokens, into depository practice seems reasonable; quite possibly related to the transition from a socially based system of reciprocal exchange to a monetary system, wherein coins would first be seen as physical stand-ins or tokens of obligation rather than as ‘money’ (de Jersey 1992: 45; Wellington 2006: 81). Unfortunately, as discussed, depository acts spanning the La Tène C and D are too difficult to discern at most sanctuaries because of later re-building and other factors.

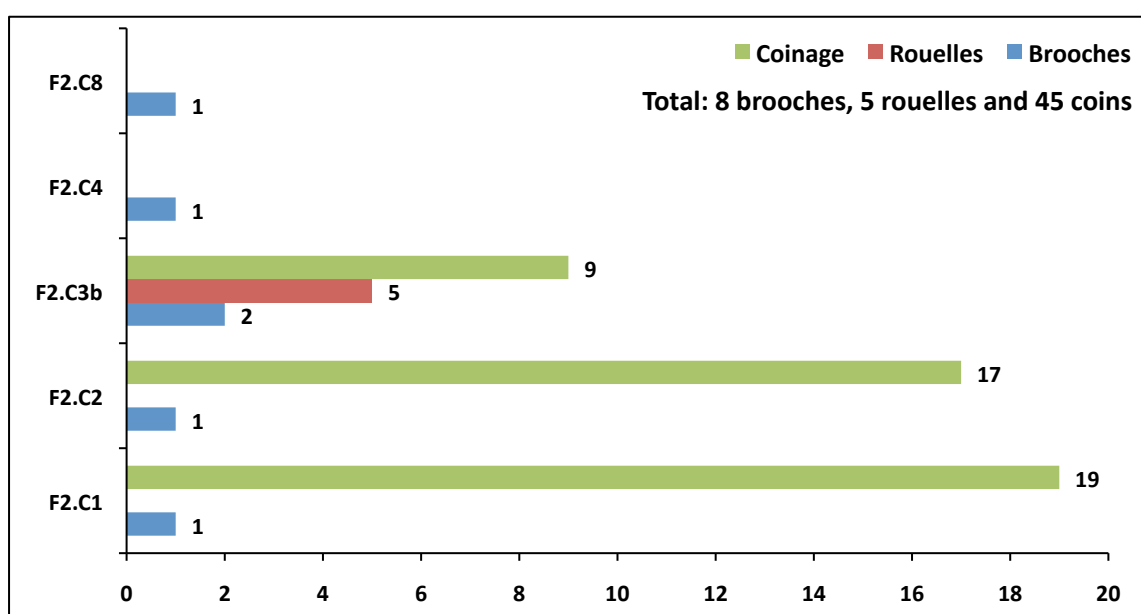


Figure 9.10: Distribution of brooches, *rouelles* and coinage in Cruciform Ditch 2

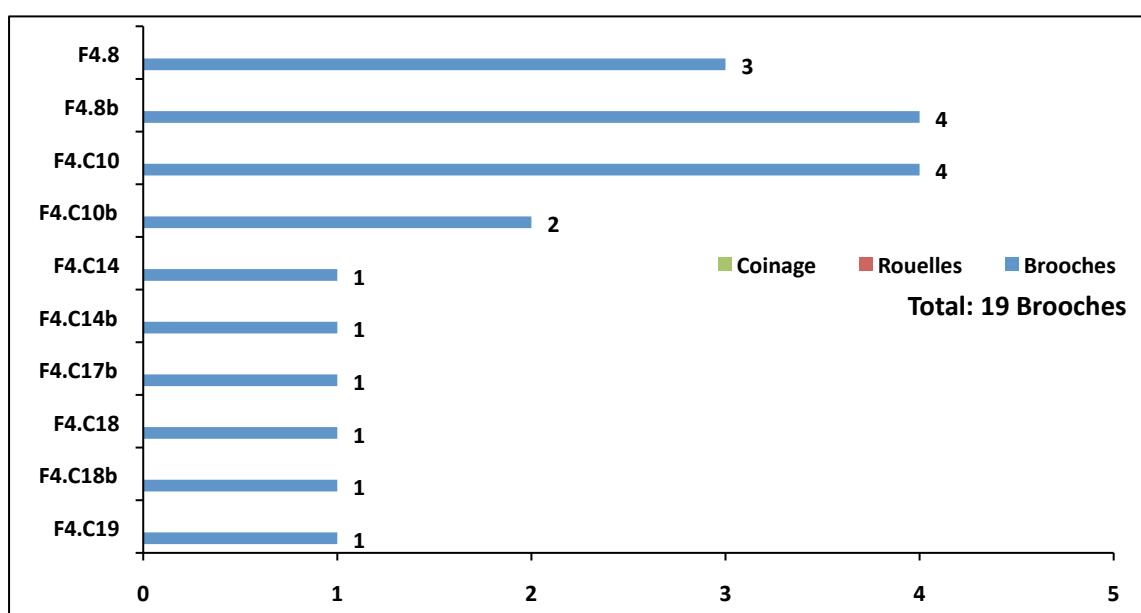


Figure 9.11: Distribution of brooches, *rouelles* coinage in Cruciform Ditch 4 (outside stone bounded area)

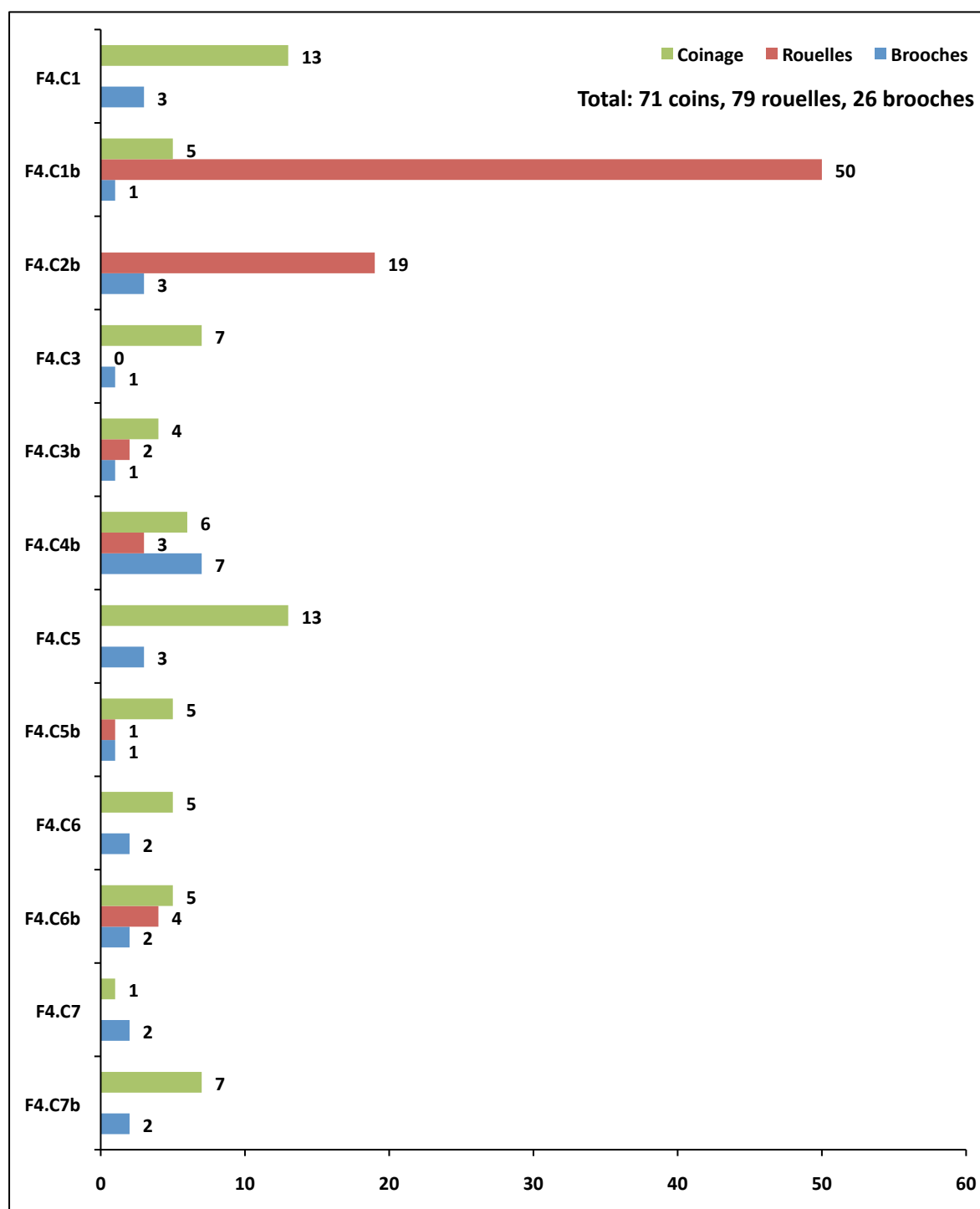


Figure 9.12: Distribution of brooches, *rouelles* coinage in Cruciform Ditch 4 (inside stone bounded area)

The divergence of brooch and coin deposits seems to reach full fruition at Villeneuve. The different patterns exhibited by brooches, rouelles and coins in the Cruciform Ditches, indicates that they were very likely integrated into different types of practice, possibly shaped by rules regarding the different rites or appropriateness of place; an idea further supported by the definition of the central ditch junction by lines of stone (figure 9.9). Even deposits near or next

to Cruciform Ditch 2 and 4 seem to have followed these rules. For example, of the eight pit structures with finds close to these ditches, all but two contained brooches (Debord 1993: figure 47-49; Pichon 2002: 521). Furthermore, while none contained coins, all but one (St.379) was also located outside the stone-lined areas (table 9.4).

Table 9.4: Finds from structures adjacent to the Cruciform Ditches

Structure	Location	Brooches	Associated Finds
St.379	NW Quadrant	Copper Alloy 5b Copper Alloy 8	Ring, nails, copper alloy slag
St. 317	NE Quadrant	Copper Alloy 8	Copper alloy slag
St.390	SW Quadrant	Two Iron 4	Bead, nails
St. 395	SW Quadrant	Iron 4 Two Iron Unidentified	Bead, needle, nails, clamps, copper alloy handle
St. 408	SW Quadrant (adjacent to St.395)	Iron 4	Bead, nails
St. 411	SW Quadrant (southern end of CD 4)	Two Iron 2 Two Iron 4	Bead, textile fragment

The absence of published stratigraphy means that this type of analysis cannot really tell us about the history of brooch deposition within the ditches and the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, the high degree of structure demonstrated here perhaps represents a more developed version of depository practices previously identified at rural settlement. For example at Braine as well as at Jaux “Camp du Roi” and Verberie, “La Plaine d’Herneuse II,” where brooches, as well as human and animal bone and other finds were also found in association with stone (Malrain *et al.* 2006: 238). These features demonstrate the importance of deposition at Villeneuve; features that are also found in the so-called Craft-working areas.

9.5.2.c Villeneuve-Saint-Germain: Craft-working areas

Several features interpreted as workshops, many of which contained brooches, were investigated during the excavations in the south and northwest quadrants (Debord 1993: 71-78). These small pit features (none longer than five metres, wider than four metres, or deeper than two metres) contained mainly secondary evidence of production such as, iron and copper alloy slag, crucibles, flan trays and pottery. Moreover, aside from an area of burnt rock and clay in the ‘kiln’ (St.019) and a series of coin deposits in the ‘mint’ (St.133 D), very few contained direct evidence of production (*ibid*: 74-78). Moreover, as at Condé and Montmartin, many other finds, such as brooches and loom-weights are over-looked.

Multiple brooches were recovered from the workshops, as well as other structures in the Craft-working areas. There is also tentative evidence of brooch manufacturing, and at least six examples of brooches in various stages of production were found across the site (Debord 1996: 120). For instance, in St.0375 a set of iron pliers was recovered in association with various wires, which although unidentified as such, possibly represent unfinished brooches (Debord 1993: 81, figure 15). These finds are unique in the study area and serve to underscore Guillaumet's (1984: plate 7) reconstruction of Filiform brooch manufacture (figure 9.13).

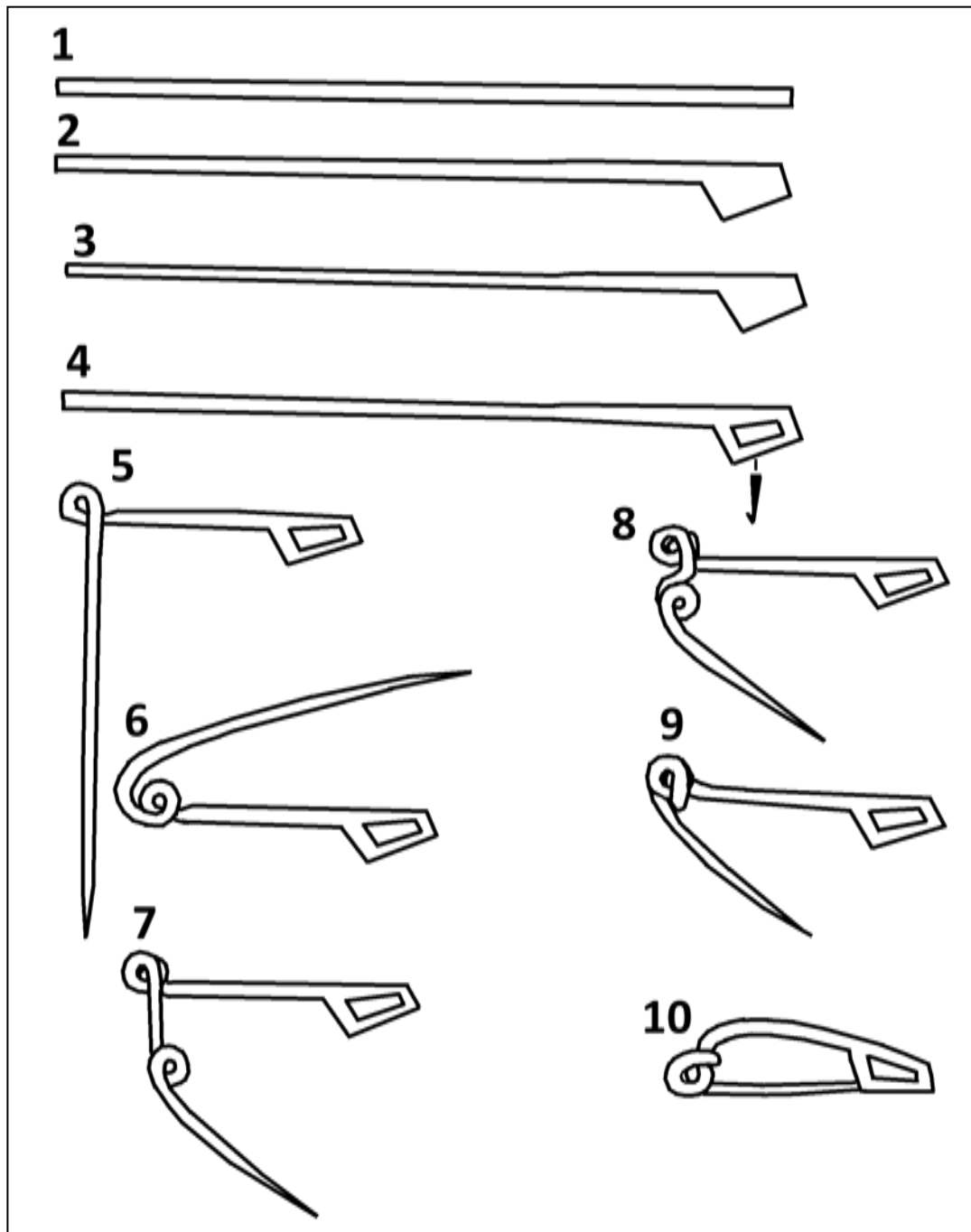


Figure 9.13: Production stages of a Filiform Brooch (after Guillaumet 1984: plate 7)

The largest deposit in the Craft-working Area, consisting of twelve brooches (five unidentifiable, six Simple Filiform Type 4's and a single Type 8 *Arc Interrompu*) was recovered from St.025. This rectilinear pit, located in the southernmost part of the artisan quarter, is only 75 metres from the rampart. Again this highlights the importance of the southern part of the site as a preferred place of deposition; although erosion may also play a part here. The pit (4.50 by 3.90 metres and 0.65 metres deep) seems to have been part of a larger structure, evidenced by presence of seven postholes. Burnt daub on the base of the pit attests to the structure's destruction by fire. However, as the majority of the finds were recovered from overlaying surface fill, their presence is unlikely to be the direct result of the post-conflagration structural collapse. Finds, including the brooches, awls, knives, loom-weights and other unidentified metal fragments were mainly found inside the northeastern corner, in association a re-deposited clay-hearth base. The presence of a hearth is reminiscent of 'house structure' St.50 at Montmartin, where finds were also found in stratigraphy overlaying a burnt layer (Brunaux and Méniel 1997). Debord (1993: 77) explains the location of these finds as the result of material being rescued from the structure during the fire, or salvaged during its aftermath, and subsequently re-dumped. However, as there is no logic in rescuing or recovering objects from a fire only to redeposit them in the same location, I believe the objects are better explained as closure or clearance deposits, placed on the surface of the burnt material prior to the final abandonment of the structure.

Two further deposits of nine brooches were also excavated in the southwestern area, in pits St. 292 and St. 394. These deposits mainly consisting of Simple and Decorative Filiform types as well as Interrupted Bow Brooches, were recovered in association with beads, rings, and nails. A *rouelle*, as well as a copper alloy statue-base, was also recovered from St.394 (Debord 1998: 75). Nine similar brooches, along with ceramics, nails, coins and slag, were discovered in St.135 in the northwestern quarter. While the stratigraphic details of these structures are unavailable, the presence of brooches in close association with a variety of finds indicates that deposition of a similar nature to St.025 was possibly practiced across the site (figure 9.8). Perhaps, these were one-off practices, in contrast to the prolonged long-term deposition carried out in the central ditches.

Approximately 41% of the brooched contexts in the Craft-working Area contained multiple-deposits, i.e. two or more brooches, and most of these were associated with multiplicities of

objects (figure 9.14). In contrast to the low association of brooches and coinage in the Cruciform Ditches, the almost equal proportion of contexts with jewellery/adornment and coins is notable; again hinting at the presence of different types of depository practice at the site. Interestingly, these distributions are similar to those noted in pits at Condé-sur-Suippe. Moreover, while this part of Villeneuve is associated with production, four-post features granaries are also identified, while, a line of postholes, construed as gallery façade, hint at more monumental structures (Debord 1993: 78). The varied nature of these features as well as the dispersed depository features in this part of the site add to Debord's picture of specialized organisation at Villeneuve.

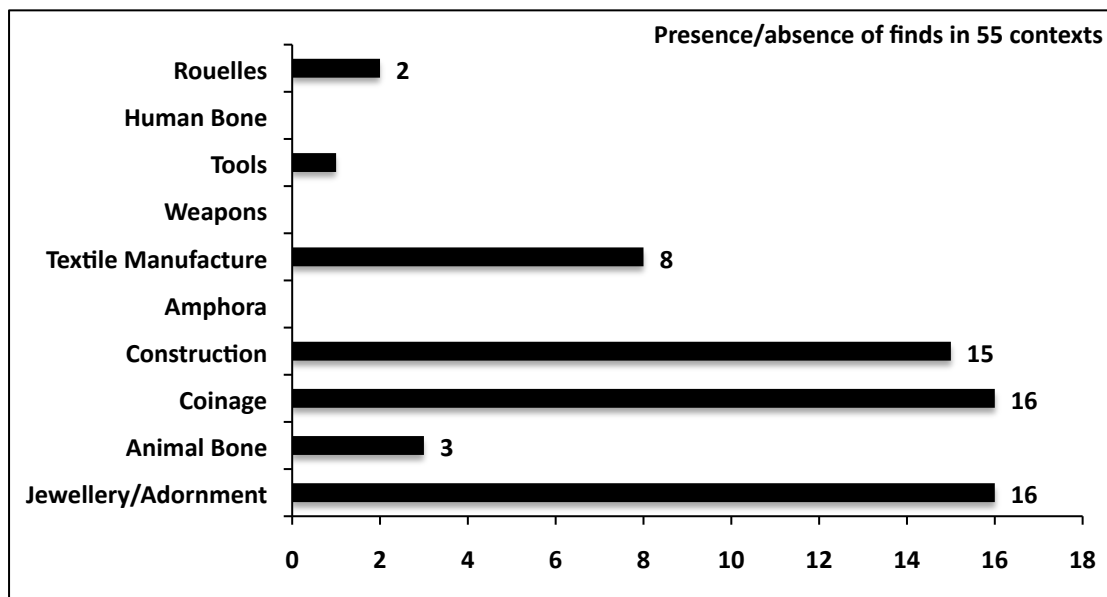


Figure 9.14: Object recovered with multiple brooch deposits, Craft-working areas

Since a full finds inventory is not available for either Villeneuve or Condé, it is necessary to remember that many objects are missing from this analysis. This is a particularly salient point for the Cruciform Ditches, where objects irrelevant to Debord's predominantly numismatic interest have likely gone unrecorded. Analysis of brooched contexts from the southeastern domestic area should help shed further light on depository practices at Villeneuve.

9.5.2.d Villeneuve-Saint-Germain: Domestic Quarter

The southeastern Domestic Quarter is identified as such via the presence of multiple posthole structures, arranged in within several smaller enclosures, delimited by north, south and western palisades (Debord 1990: 155) (figure 9.7). Unfortunately, few individual structures within the

area are labelled on any site plan, making it difficult to associate specific finds with particular enclosures or features. Fifty-four brooches, 13% of Villeneuve's brooches, were recovered from this quarter. The overall plan of the residential units in this area is believed to echo those at nearby Late La Tène rural sites, for example, Missy-sur-Aisne (Haselgrove 1986: 1996b). The density of occupation at Villeneuve, implies that it was occupied by more than one extended family group (Haselgrove 2007: 506); possibly accounting for the high numbers of brooches found at the site.

Although the southeast quarter was identified as a domestic area, the same material used to identify the industrial features, i.e. crucibles, slag, and copper alloy wasters were also found across the quadrant (Debord 1993: 78). While, Debord (Debord 1990: 105) acknowledges the presence of production waste, he rationalizes it as the product of non-specialized craft-working; identifying the possible presence of a neighbourhood hardware store, or *quincaillerie*. Wells (2006:144) suggests that these secondary products identify deposition rather than manufacture. In this light, finds of metal waste and other objects in close association within the Domestic and Craft-working areas, certainly indicates that depositional activities were widespread. Unfortunately, as only densities of iron slag are published, and not context, it is only possible to gauge that brooches are rarely recovered with bronze wasters (Debord 1993: 79, 89); leaving us to guess if the same is true for iron.

Nevertheless, while this sector stands out in terms of brooch numbers, the distribution of types is the same as in other areas, with Simple Filiform types forming the majority (see figure 9.8). Interestingly, whilst 54 brooches were recorded here, these were recovered from only 35 contexts, 37% of which contained two or more brooches. The largest deposits of four brooches, mainly Simple and Decorative Filiform types, were recovered from pits St.333 and St.352. Similarly to rural sites, these deposits also contained animal bone, amphora fragments; possibly indicating that depositional practices here were perhaps carried out in conjunction with feasting (Devos 1986: 225; Debord 1989b: 27; Auxiette 1996: 30).

This seems to match other large notable deposits in this quadrant and although very little additional information was available, either in the archives or in the published reports, regarding other types of finds, the low association between brooches and other types of jewellery and

adornment in contrast with their frequent recovery with amphora and animal bone is notable (figure 9.15); possibly indicative of large scale feasting and deposition. Nevertheless, without stratigraphy it is difficult to say more about the specifics of depositary practices here.

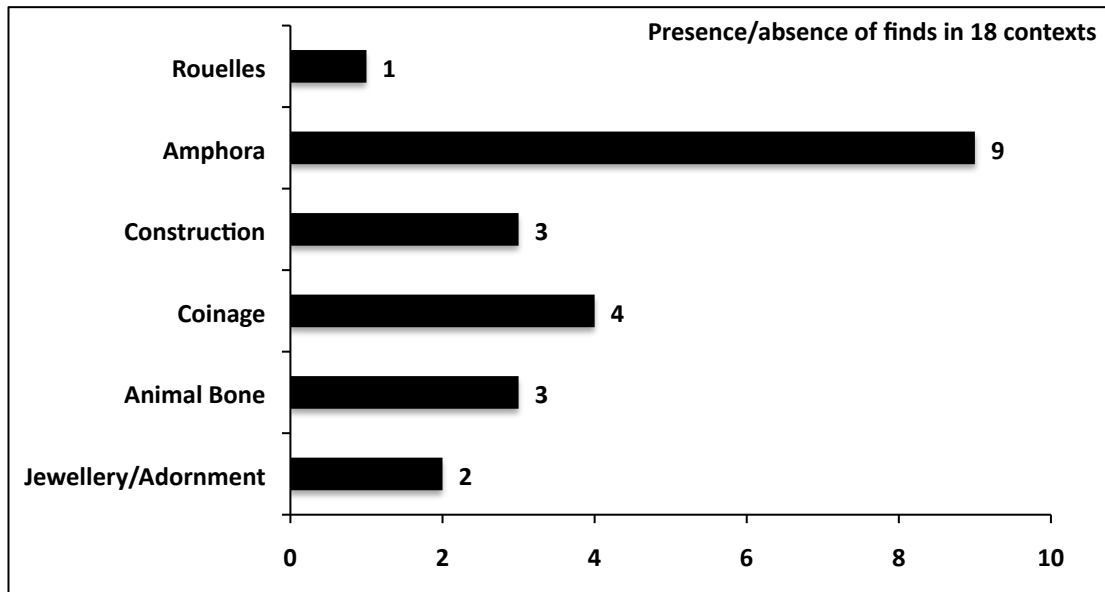


Figure 9.15: Object recovered with multiple brooch deposits, Domestic Area

9.5.2.e Villeneuve-Saint-Germain: site-wide analysis of brooch deposits

After Condé, the Villeneuve brooches represent one of the most diverse assemblages recovered from a Late Iron Age site in the study area. Given the even distribution of brooch types throughout the site's quadrants, it is useful therefore, to see if finds of Interrupted Bow versus Simple or Decorative Filiform types demonstrate variations in deposition between types, perhaps reflecting the history of practice at the site.

Approximately 59% of the Villeneuve brooches are Simple Filiform Types, followed by 13% Decorative Filiform and 10% Interrupted Bow, all of which are Type 8 or *Arc Interrompu* (see figure 9.16). Of 148 deposits of Simple Filiform Brooches at Villeneuve, approximately 57% were recovered with other brooches. Multiple finds of these brooches were recovered from the southern area near the ramparts (e.g. St.416) and in the southwestern Craft-working Area (e.g. St.0.25). The latter containing a Type 8 Decorative Filiform type, while the earlier deposit in St.416 contained Reverted Bow brooches. The fact that Simple Filiform types were found with both the earliest and the latest brooches identifies them as a common link between earlier and later deposition. This is likely explained, not only by their long period of use, but because many of

these brooches were also manufactured here. The idea finds further support in that, of Simple Filiform brooches just under half were single finds; possibly representing casual losses and/or failed attempts at production.

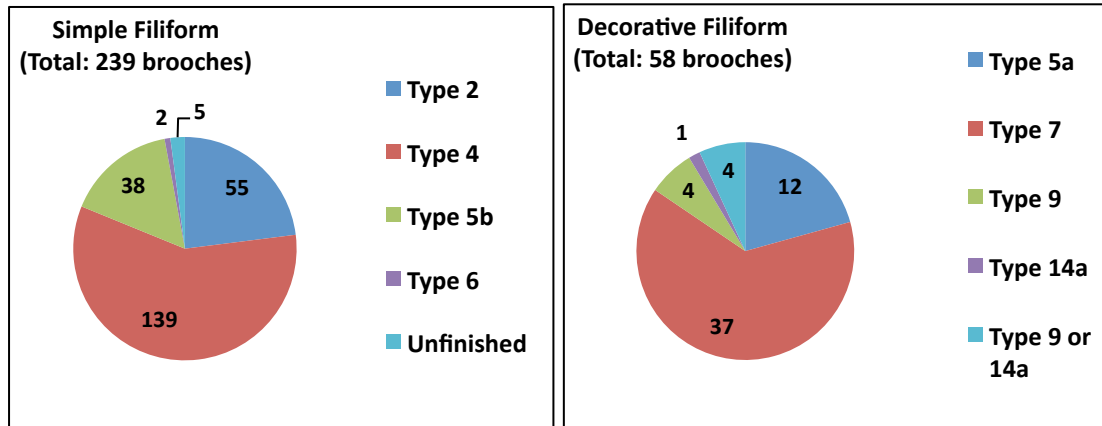
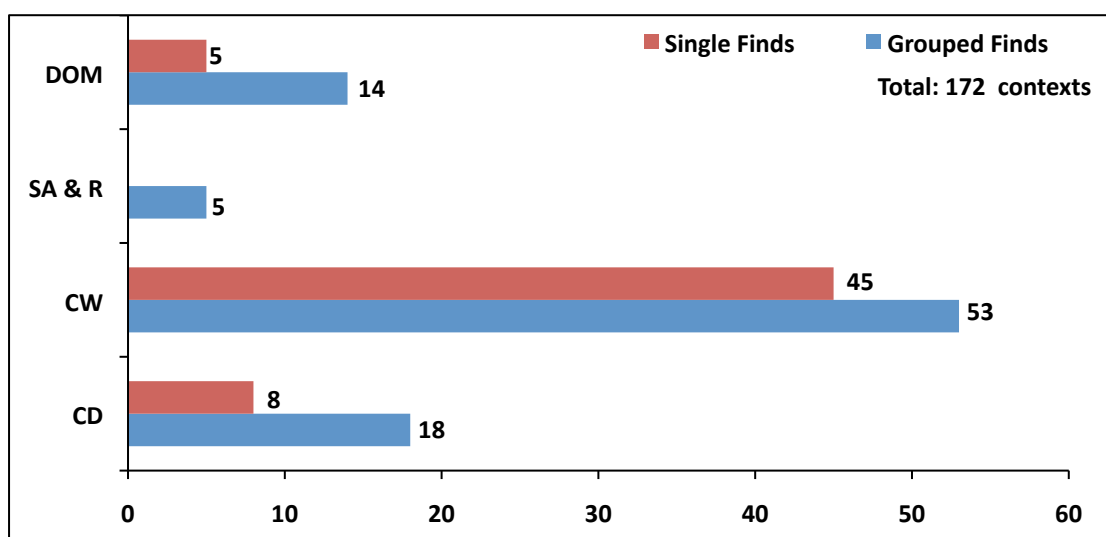


Figure 9.16: Simple and Decorative Filiform Types recovered at Villeneuve-Saint-Germain

The distributions shown below (figure 9.17) demonstrate that while Simple Filiform types are found relatively evenly across the site, contexts with these brooches are concentrated in the area associated with manufacture. Although there is no direct evidence of production here, and these areas might have instead been chosen as preferred sites of deposition, there is nothing to discount the notion linking deposition with areas associated with manufacture. Especially as many major deposits in the Craft-working Areas are strongly associated with closure/abandonment practices carried out well after the exploitation of the related structures.



* DOM= Domestic Area, SA & R = Southern Area and Ramparts, CW = Craft-working Areas, CD= Cruciform Ditches

Figure 9.17: Distribution of contexts with Simple Filiform Types

The distribution of contexts with Decorative Filiform types is similar to the preceding, although the concentration of contexts with these brooches shows an increase in single, as opposed to grouped finds (figure 9.18). However, taken individually, Type 7 À *Coquille* and 5a Classic Nauheim brooches are actually far more likely to be found in groups, mainly within in the Craft-working Area. Therefore, the figure below actually depicts a false trend, skewed by individual finds of later Type 9 and 14a brooches.

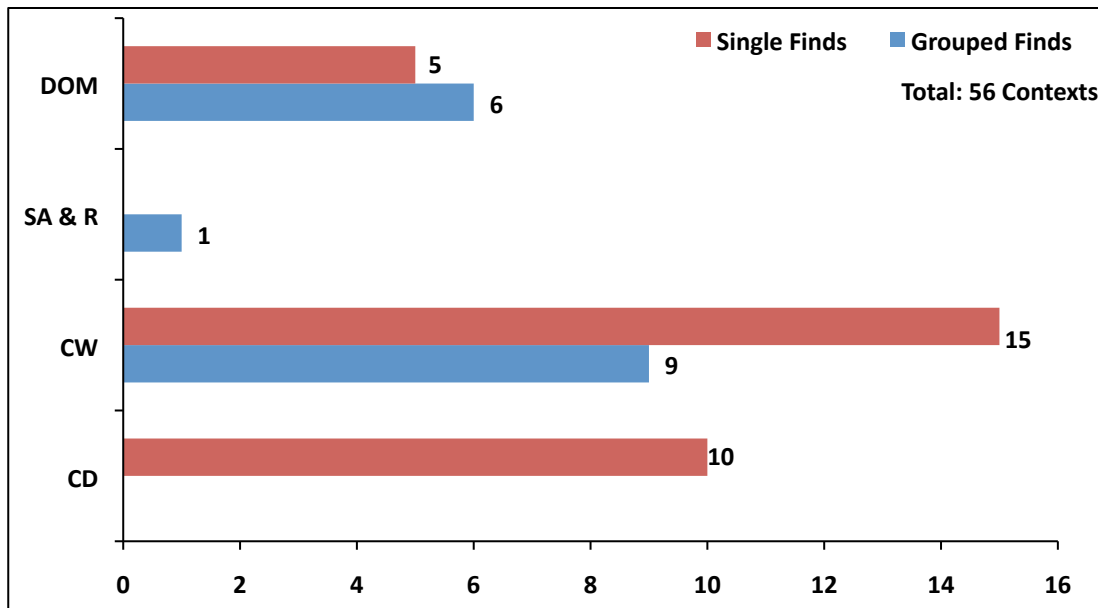


Figure 9.18: Distribution of contexts with Decorative Filiform Types

The recovery of Simple Filiform's from contexts associated with Craft-working was tentatively linked with production. However as there is no direct evidence for the production of Decorative Filiforms (i.e. unfinished examples or mould fragments), this raises questions about whether their distribution should also be linked with manufacturing. While, it is impossible to answer this question with the information available, nevertheless, the increase in individual finds for later La Tène D2a/D2b Type 9a and 14a Proto-Gallic and Gallic Types seems to indicate a change in depositional practice towards the end of the site's history.

Few Decorative Filiform brooches (13%) were recovered in contexts with other like types. Nearly half of the remainder were found in isolation, recovered as single finds. The largest deposits containing these types were found in the south and north western Craft-working Areas, in pits St.292 and St.135. These deposits contained three brooches, Decorative and Simple Filiform types as well as an Interrupted Bow Brooch. Only one Decorative Filiform was recovered with a

Reverted Bow brooch, in Cruciform Ditch 4. Although these were recovered in the same section of the ditch they are possibly unrelated, as the stratigraphy here is unknown. Interestingly however, as they are found within the area bounded by stones, this possibly associates them with the large group of *rouelle* and coin finds here.

Only the distribution of Interrupted Bow Types, totally comprised of Type 8 *Arc Interrompu* brooches shows a true, if slight, break from the above pattern; possibly heralding the pattern shown by later Type 9 and 14a Decorative Bow brooches (figure 9.19). There is no evidence that these brooches were ever integrated into deposits at Villeneuve. For example, other than an unstratified find in Cruciform Ditch 4, they are mainly found as single finds within the Craft-working Areas.

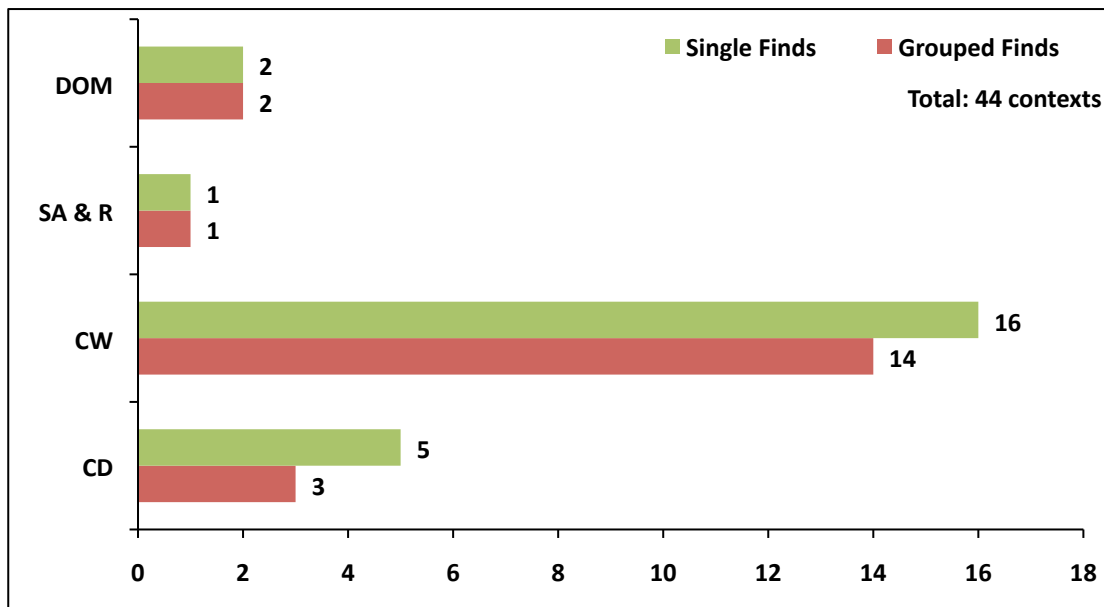


Figure 9.18: Distribution of contexts with Interrupted Bow Types (all Edgar Type 8's)

Given Villeneuve's short period of occupation and the wide date given to most of the finds it may be a bit of a fool's errand to search for phased deposition. Although the distributions above point to the presence of possibly two or three types of deposition: first demonstrated by deposition in southern pit St.416, followed by grouped deposition concentrated in the Craft-working and Domestic Areas, terminating in an increase in single finds, which may or may not be purposeful deposits. Unfortunately, given the lack of stratigraphic information in the ditches is difficult to say much definitively about the history of brooch deposition here. Although the recovery of the majority of coins and *rouelles* from the top ditch fill seems to argue against a general decline in

purposeful deposition (Debord 1989: figure 6; Pion 1996a: plate 168-169). Nevertheless, as brooches here have a very different distribution from coins and *rouelles*, it is possibly that they might have been recovered from the lower fill, representing earlier deposition. Regardless the closure deposits in St.025 and in the ramparts suggest that deposition continued in some form until the end of the site's history.

9.5.3 Villeneuve-Saint-Germain: conclusion

Other than the plan and an overview of the *oppidum* as a supposed craft production centre, little else is known about Villeneuve-Saint-Germain. However, the presence of deposition across almost the entirety of the site, as well as in the central ditches, shows that more can be gained by in depth contextual analysis of finds. Unfortunately, little more can be said without additional data, particularly stratigraphy, at this time. Nevertheless, the presence of numerous brooches in pits and ditches in conjunction with other finds in discrete contexts shows that depositary practices, similar to those at rural sites and sanctuaries, were practiced here. Finds distributions here also seem to match with those noted by Pion (1990) at Condé-sur-Suippe, with brooch finds overlapping with distributions of other finds, such as loom-weights or metal working.

A comparison of the finds across the site also shows that very different types of practice were carried out here. For example, the presence of a possible early opening deposit in pit St.416 in the south and closure deposits in St.025 within the Craft-working/Agricultural Area, as well as in the Ramparts, shows that deposition served to mark both the start and finish of the site's life. Unfortunately while individual and groups of coins found throughout the fill of the central ditches, particularly ditch 4, shows that this was a continued focus of deposition throughout the site's history, it is not clear how brooches fit into the chronology of deposition. Nevertheless, their even distribution throughout the entire length rather than clustered at the central junction, shows that deposition was likely shaped by certain rules, something already identified at sites, such as Braine, "La Grange de Moines" and Gournay-sur-Aronde.

Deposition at Villeneuve also demonstrates continuity with earlier finds at rural sites, showing links with fire and feasting. For instance, the large deposit of six brooches in pit St.025 in the craft-working area was found in association with a hearth overlaying a burnt layer, similar to

deposits within house structure St.50 at Montmartin. While in the domestic Area, brooch deposits are more often found with amphora and animal bones, linking deposition with feasting. Therefore despite limitations, we know a great deal more about deposition practices carried out at Villeneuve than we do about any other *oppida* in the study area.

9.6 Final Late Iron Age brooch deposition at *oppida*

Only one *oppidum*, Chaussée-Tirancourt (Somme) is tentatively dated to the La Tène D2a/D2b. Although, as discussed below, brooch deposition may or may not date to this period.

9.6.1 Chaussée-Tirancourt

Chaussée is located on an outcrop overlooking the Somme River, approximately 14 kilometres east of Amiens. Excavations carried out by Brunaux and Marchand in the 1980s focused on determining the date and development of the enclosures and gates (figure 9.19) (Brunaux and Marchand 1986; 1988; 1989; 1999; 1993). As a result, in contrast to Villeneuve and Condé, we know next to nothing about the site's interior.

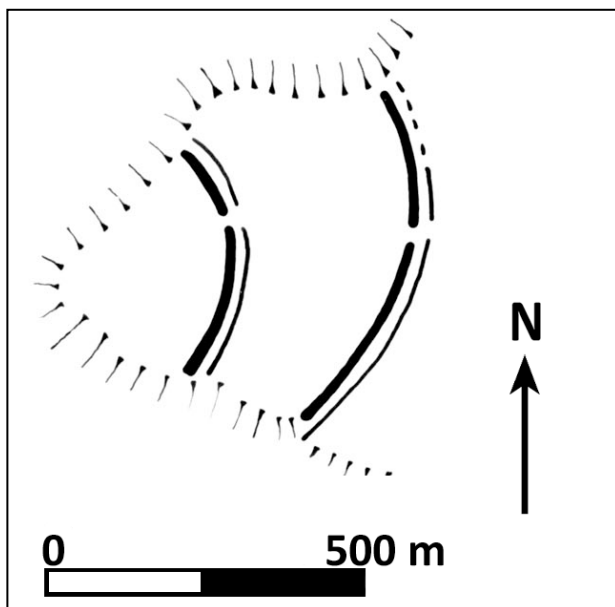


Figure 9.19: Plan of Chaussée-Tirancourt (with permission Haselgrove 2007: figure 8)

The lack of interior excavation perhaps explains why only seven brooches were recovered here, only four of which were in condition good enough for identification: a copper alloy Type 8, a Type 4, a Type 5a and a Hinged Type 21 Alésia Brooch of unknown material. The latter was an

uncontexted find, from the top stone layer overlaying the surface of the exterior doorway (Brunaux and Marchand 1989: 11). The remainder of the brooches, possibly deliberate deposits, were found in postholes, one from the interior doorway, and five from the exterior doorway.

Other than the location of the Alésia brooch over the external door, only the location of the Type 8, mistakenly identified as a Feugère Type 5b1, is recorded in the interior door. This brooch was found in the upper fill of posthole St.42 in association with several large stones and iron nails (Brunaux and Marchand 1989: 10). This, in relation to finds of a copper alloy Scheers 77 coin and a Beatican 20 amphora in the bottom fill of an associated postholes, date these deposits between 75 BCE and 20 BCE (*ibid*: 15). A find of a fragment of Mayet-III fine-ware, similar to those found at Roman limes-forts, such as Oberaden, provides a *terminus post quem* of 10 BC.

Despite difficulties in pinning down an exact date for the site, the interior and exterior doorway appear to have the same development and phasing, with postholes forming gates of Zagentor-type, i.e. pincer gate. The postholes associated with these gates are either from the first phase, dating to around the mid first century BCE, or to Roman Rebuilding. Given the relatively late date of the site speculation arose as to who built it, locals or Romans using local techniques (Brunaux and Marchand 1989: 15). For now this has been left as an open question, although evidence pointing to Roman construction is limited. Until more of the interior of the site is excavated, very few questions regarding this site will be answered. Until then it remains vulnerable to illicit excavations and metal-detectorists.

9.7 Post-Conquest Late Iron Age brooch deposition at *oppida*

Very few well-excavated *oppida* with contexted finds are in evidence for the Post-Conquest period and therefore, little is known in regards to deposition at this time. As a result, the sites relating to this period have been excluded. That is not to say that deposition did not occur at this time, for instance approximately 127 brooches were recovered at Pommiers, just a few kilometres west of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, along with human and animal bone and Dressel 1b amphora fragments (Brun and Roberts 1980). Unfortunately, given the limited information available about these brooches and the lack of context, very little more can be said about these

finds, other than, as with sanctuaries, many of these deposits also contain brooches dating to the later Gallo-Roman period.

9.8 Conclusion: brooch deposition at *oppida*

Not only do the plans of *oppida* such as Villeneuve and Condé demonstrate a great deal of continuity from earlier rural sites, but deposition has much in common too, particularly the close association between brooch finds and burnt stone or clay hearth-bases. Moreover, the frequent recovery of brooches from contexts with burnt material from both rural sites and *oppida* can be linked, in both cases, with ritual practices involving closure or opening deposits. Instead of being interpreted as examples of Mediterranean influenced proto-urbanism, *oppida* in the study area should be viewed as a distinctly local form of settlement. In contrast to large continuously occupied sites to the east, i.e. Manching, *oppida* here likely represent the short-term amalgamations, analogous to the contemporary decline in rural settlement. (Haselgrove 2007: 511). The fact that deposition at *oppida* shows a marked increase, with brooch finds multiplying by a factor of nearly 400%, regardless of the fact that *oppida* and rural sites are occupied for similar amounts of time, is notable. This phenomenon may highlight increased need for rites to link individuals from what were originally disparate settlements; perhaps adopting and intensifying communal rituals already in place at rural sites. As these observations are limited to a few well-excavated sites, further excavation at other *oppida* can only help to clarify the picture.

Chapter Ten Beyond the Beyond: Conclusions and Future Directions

The goal of this thesis was to go beyond typology and consider form, material, size and context in order to determine their meaning(s) and function(s) of brooches to the peoples of Late Iron Age northern France. Apart from collecting a dataset of these ubiquitous objects, my main objectives were, first, to create a typology and then ask broader questions about contexted brooch finds from sanctuaries, funerary and rural sites, as well as *oppida*. In and of themselves, typologies do not provide a means of exploring how brooches functioned, or were used by the Late Iron Age and Early Roman societies of northern France. Nor do they provide a means of exploring their symbolic values or meanings. As Adams and Adams (1991: 301) state, there is a distinct difference between typological meaning and individual meaning, i.e. the categories created might not have had any relevance to the people who made or used the objects in question, nor lead to the discovery of emic meanings. Nevertheless, as typologies still form the basis for most brooch studies, and provide a valuable means of organizing a complex dataset, it was important to acknowledge their necessity.

10.1 Typology: Future directions

The resolution of Late Iron Age brooches in northern France into a standardized typology represents a major step forward in understanding the development, adoption, use and deposition of these brooches. Nevertheless accurate dating remains problematic and the tautology between brooch chronology and typology has inevitably shaped analysis. In order to obtain finer grained detail about change and progression with regard to the development and regional adoption of complex brooch types, other means of identifying and corroborating dates are needed. In particular, research would benefit from more comprehensive regional ceramic typochronologies. Although the pottery typologies (e.g. Stead *et al.* 2007; Pion 1996a; 1996b) are essentially based on brooch dates, intra-regional comparison of pottery types and their relation to brooches should provide an independent means of dating contexts of deposition and noting regional variation, allowing for example for better knowledge about the development and use, of Reverted Bow types.

Research on Late Iron Age brooches would also benefit from a north European wide study of *À Coquille* and *Arc Interrompu* brooches, which have only received discrete analysis in disparate regions, e.g. Gaspar's (2007) study of the Titelberg brooches, Gebhard's (1991) Manching study, Feugère's (1985) study in southern France, and divergent studies of Roman sites in the Swiss alpine region (Ettlinger 1973; Demetz 1999; Riha 1979; 1994). This would enhance understanding of regional variations and development, complement Striewe's (1996) work on Nauheim brooches and bring a European-wide study of Late Iron Age brooches into closer focus. Such a project would benefit from better identification and dating for sites spanning the post-Conquest Iron Age/Gallo-Roman 1 transition.

Apart from better dating and the production of a northern European catalogue, brooches would benefit from more hands-on analysis. Analysis of metal content and repairs would help provide a greater understanding of production methods and further information about use-life. Perhaps physical analysis of brooches from a key well-published site, such as Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, would be beneficial in this regard. However, as many of the brooches excavated in the study area over the last 70 years are held at the *Conservare*, such research is likely to be frustrated by the work backlog and subsequent closure of this institution to outsiders. Thus, whilst analysis of brooches from excavated contexts would be preferable, work with smaller museum based collections, both in and outside France, is probably more easily accomplished.

Study and comparison of Late Iron Age and early Gallo-Roman brooches in England would also be of benefit, particularly as the revised dates for northern France have potential knock-on effects for brooch dates across the Channel. Problems resulting from the lack of context and variable recording aside, Portable Antiquities Scheme data provide a good starting point for comparisons with the continent. A regional case study, perhaps in Leicestershire where many finds are from excavated contexts, as at Hallaton (Score 2011), might be useful in this respect.

10.2 The Edgar Typology: discussion

The Edgar Typology, outlined in Chapter Four and Appendix One, is in keeping with the typological tradition. However, it is more than a stand-alone product. By cross-referencing the various typologies used and applied in the region, and explaining variations in their methodologies, the

Edgar Typology provides a solid basis for understanding how brooches have been classified and studied in the region to date. Moreover, its use of standardized descriptive language creates an internal consistency that will allow for fruitful study of brooch form in future. For example, what does the profile of the brooch (e.g. curved, rectilinear, or stretched) tell us about how brooches were used? In this thesis, brooches were sorted via the visual evaluation of archaeological illustrations. Therefore, ultimately, descriptions of profile shape were based on subjectively variable assessments. Direct examination and measurement will help to better define these categories, creating a more objective means of categorizing attributes. This is useful as attributes, like profile, not only traverse typological boundaries, but also reflect upon how brooches would have been used. For example, curved bows were possibly designed to hold and display quantities of fabric in a rucked manner, while flatter bows might have been intended to hold fabric flat. Consequently different ranges in brooch profile may tell us about variations in use between sizes or types. Providing a means of exploring variations in morphological attributes not only lays the foundation for the future brooch analysis, but also impacts enormously upon explorations of their wider meanings and uses.

With regard to measurable qualities available from illustrations, such as size, this type of analysis proved illuminating. The size distributions of brooches from various types of site have wider implications, namely the recovery of larger brooches predominantly from funerary contexts. The contextual element of this observation raises an interesting point regarding how typological analysis tends to divorce the objects they organize from the spatial and temporal situations from which they were given or derived their social meanings. This has been recognized as an issue with archaeology in general (Hodder 1992: 12). However, with typologies this is doubly so as context is seldom integrated into analysis. Therefore, although accurate and consistent description is central to any study of material objects, leaving out the contextual component reduces the work to culture-historical style observations that seek out diversity in material culture for diversities sake, “drawing a one-to-one relationship between identity and static material culture” (Pitts 2007: 693). Pitts (*ibid*) argues that elements of social practice should be explored by examining archaeological evidence, not by simply examining variations in material culture.

While I agree with Pitts with respect to the importance of examining all forms of evidence, when connected to context, variation in material culture can elucidate upon elements of social practice. Barrett (1991: 1) argues that archaeologists need to move beyond the material residue (or pattern of objects) to consider the cultural conditions that this code once addressed (Barrett 1991: 1). After all brooch manufacture, use and, ultimately, deposition are fundamentally constituent of social practice. However, as Pitts (*ibid*: 703) underlines, lack of an explicit connection between material culture and identity has been the major setback in studies of this nature. I believe that the problem of implied rather than defined or explicit meaning is easily offset by clearly outlining exactly what connection is being drawn between material culture and identity. For example clear, and consistently methodical appraisal of an examined object's constituent elements, for example form and size, as well as the inclusion of contextual components relating to their use and archaeological recovery would go a long way towards creating a more firm methodological framework for the study of material culture and identity.

Appreciation of aspects such as size and form can prove useful when examining how objects were used. In conjunction with context, this can shed light on elements of social practice. However, contextual analysis is often frustrated by the rather inconsistent approach to material culture in northern France and brooches at different types of site tend to be interpreted and published differently. For example, the focus on sanctuaries as warrior enclaves tends to push focus onto weaponry, rather than finds of brooches, coins and other finds, such as ploughshares. At funerary and rural sites, the presence of brooches has been used, rather variably, to ascribe rank. While at *oppida*, brooches are often ignored as their even distribution is not in keeping with identifying inter-site organisation, an identifying characteristic of proto-urbanism. Nevertheless, by considering context and the relation of brooches to other objects, I was able to move away from unfounded assumptions about brooches and examine their role in social reproduction. The evidence examined shows that brooches were seldom stand-alone finds, as one would expect of lost or casually discarded objects; rather, they seem to have been integrated into ritualized practices that were far more complex and varied than previously assumed.

10.3 Brooches, structured deposition and ritual practice

Brooches appear regularly in structured deposits from the start of the Late Iron Age, possibly linked to events punctuating the life of the site and the people living there. For example, closure deposits are in evidence at Juvincourt-et-Damary, Montmartin, Houdancourt and Villeneuve. Opening deposits are evidenced at other sites (table 10.1). Multi-phased sites also evidence curation deposits, possibly representing re-deposition of finds following reconstruction (e.g. at Acy-Romance, Gournay-sur-Aronde and Estrées-Saint-Denis) or symbolic of re-occupation following a break in occupation (e.g. at Pont-Rémy, “Le Fond de Baraquin”).

Table 10.1: Closure and opening deposits at Late Iron Age sites in the study area

Site	Site Type	Deposit Type	Deposit Description
Montmartin	Rural	Closure	Clearance and deposition in ditches and pit structures following a fire. In pit St.50, inside the ‘Domestic’ Enclosure, finds include 8 brooches, beads, rings, a necklace, human and animal bone, ceramics, shears, nails, clamps, knives, a sword, an iron strip and a heart base. Similar finds were also recovered from related structures (St.12, St.8, St.337). Similar finds were also recovered within the ‘Ritual’ Enclosure (St.56).
Houdancourt, “Le Pont de Brebis”	Rural	Closure	Clearance and deposition in the Small Enclosure ditch possibly following a fire. Finds here include ceramics, animal bones, two brooches, as well as flint and burnt stone.
		Opening	Structured animal bone deposits (articulated pigs and horses arrayed lengthwise) in the basal fill of the Large Enclosure ditch.
Creil, “Les Cerisiers”	Rural	Closure	Two brooches, bracelets, and iron knife and spindle whorls were recovered in Ditch A under a layer of burnt stone. The lack of alluvium in the ditch indicates its rapid repletion.
Juvincourt-et-Damary, “Le Ruisseau de Fayau”	Rural	Closure	Initially a silo, pit St.80 was transformed (recut and its bottom lined with stone) and used as a depository. Layers of deposition are in evidence, sealed by lenses of burnt material. Finds here include whole and degraded ceramics, animal bone, coins and brooches. However, the densest deposit of coins and ceramics was recovered from the top fill and the surrounding spread.
Villeneuve-Saint-Germain	Oppida	Closure	Closure deposits in the Ramparts: almost complete Type 14a in Ditch A covered by the fall of the Rampart containing an earlier <i>Arc Interrompu</i> .
		Opening	At the entrance to the oppida, pit St.416 represents one of the earliest features at the site (evidenced by the divergence of Cruciform Ditch 4). The pit contains 10 brooches, a copper alloy ring, glass beads, animal bone, metalworking debris and a local potin. The pit was filled in soon after its construction.
Fesques	Sanctuary	Opening	Foundation deposits in the central enclosure of a Free Bow Brooch (Early/Middle La Tène) with several Scheers 191 potin.
Dompierre-sur-Authie	Sanctuary	Opening	Coins and brooches and other finds are possibly moved from earlier structures and re-deposited on a clay layer prior to the construction of a later Roman Temple.
Champlieu-Ourrouy	Sanctuary	Opening	Several brooches and coins found in the foundations of Roman period buildings.
Pont-Rémy, “Le Fond de Baraquin”	Rural	Opening	Brooches, animal bones and ceramics found in the base of a pit with a burnt flint and stone. The pit contains no evidence of alluviation and was quickly sealed by a fill containing burnt wood and stone.

The presence of deposits of this nature at all site types across the study area suggests that depositionary rites were a key part of Late Iron Age social practice. Brooches seem to play a central role in deposition, as they are recovered in structured contexts across the study area. At sanctuaries brooches are found in nearly all major deposits. At rural sites they are recovered with assortments of other objects, frequently in association with animal and human bone as well as burnt stone. Brooch finds at *oppida* (e.g. Condé-sur-Suippe and Villeneuve-Saint-Germain) also show a certain overlap with rural sites. For instance, often recorded in pits with finds of animal and human bone, as well as other objects, such as hearth bases. Given that *oppida* develop in the study area towards the end of the Iron Age, deposition here represents the accumulation of previous practices at earlier sites, including sanctuaries and rural sites. Indeed, the rules structuring the deposition inside the Cruciform Ditches at Villeneuve, rouelles and coins concentrated within a stone-lined area and brooches without, possibly grew out of a tradition of increasing formalisation at rural sites. Formalisation evidenced by purpose built depositionary structures, for example at Braine, Bazoches, Jaux and Maignelay-Montigny.

10.4 What does it all mean? Questions and some possible answers

Looking at the evidence it seems highly probable that depositionary rituals played a central role in Late Iron Age society, marking important points in a settlement's, an individual's, or a household's history. Interestingly, although votive deposition of weaponry, coins and animal bone has been acknowledged for sometime (see Brunaux 1988; Haselgrove 2005; Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2006; Méniel 1989a; 1989b; 1992; 1998; 2000; 2008; Wellington 2006), brooches have generally been overlooked; an oversight possibly explained by a lack of typology, or by problems stemming from the differential analysis of finds from different sites. Nevertheless, the presence of brooches in major structured deposits across the study area point to their importance within these rituals. Their ubiquity might lead one to question exactly why they were so important. A question perhaps answerable by examining the earliest datable deposits of these finds at funerary sites.

Analysis of funerary brooch finds reveals their high occurrence in burials from the La Tène C2/D1a onward. However, away from the Ardennes, finds recording and publication become less consistent. Of the 457 brooched burials from 33 burial sites, only 11 sites have information

about brooches, associated finds, inter-burial context, or the gender/age of the dead individual. Given the limited data from burial sites it is difficult to assess the impacts of biological sex on material finds and develop estimations of gender(s), let alone escape heteronormative assumptions.

Nevertheless, analysis of brooch finds from funerary deposits, particularly from secondary cremations, generated new insights into burial ritual. For example, brooch position in the burial, either with or adjacent to the cremated remains, can often be correlated with their use as a fasteners for bone bags. As many funerary brooches are also quite large in size (often > 100 mm long), in contrast with more median sizes recovered at other sites, it is possible that many were specially made for funerary use. Alternatively, only the largest brooches, perhaps only cloak-pins, were selected for use in burials. In Britain, large brooches in burials are associated with the increased desire for visibility to express status (e.g. Carr 2006: 31). However in my study area, the link between large brooches, bone-bags and purported re-use of cloak-pins raises interesting possibilities brooches were not mere expressions of status, but meaningful material expressions of identity and therefore emblematic of personhood.

This use of brooches as emblems of personhood has implications for determining the meaning of deposits outside burials; where they might, when deposited, have been seen as symbolic-actors for the individual(s) involved in the action. While the development of deposition is somewhat obscured at sanctuaries and funerary sites due to poor recording, brooches are found in structured contexts at rural sites and *oppida*. This allows for the development of certain assumptions regarding ritual practice. For example, the close association between brooches, human and animal bone, burnt stone or other burnt materials, shows a strong correlation between deposition and rituals associated with fire. This is a curious link given the predominance of secondary cremation, showing perhaps the influence of burial ritual on the development of practices elsewhere. Indeed, the increased association between burial and rural sites in the Late Iron Age, as well as the length of pre and post-burial curation, probably helped encourage this crossover. As post-cremation burial represents but a small part of burial ritual, events surrounding the body would have likely served as an intense ritual focus for other rites.

Finds of brooches and animal bone at the above sites reveal a close link between deposition and feasting, activities possibly overlapping quite often, given the high frequency of human bone in depositional contexts at other sites. At funerary sites, the most numerous brooch finds are frequently recovered from burials with butchery tools and the remains of feasts shared with the dead (Stead *et al.* 2007: 116, 215). Brooches have also been recovered from rural settlements associated with ‘aristocratic’ feasting, e.g. Braine, “La Grange des Moines” or Bazoches-sur-Vesle, “Les Chantraines” (Auxiette *et al.* 2000a: 103; Gransar and Pommepuy 2005: 203-206). The large number of animal bone from *oppida* and sanctuaries also attest to feasting (Arcelin and Brunaux 2003; Auxiette 1996; Méniel 1992; 1998; 2008).

Many general works on Late Iron Age ritual feasting in Gaul exist (Aldhouse-Green 2001; Arnold 1999; Brunaux 1996; 2000; Green 1992; James 1993; Joy 2011; Poux 2004), often with reference to ‘Celtic’ religion and illustrated with extracts from classical sources. Archaeologists, particularly Anglo-American academics, tend to view the classical sources as rather biased. For example, Wells (2001: 106) sees classical sources as culturally specific constructions that require “critically developed theories and methods... in order to make them meaningful.” In particular, the representation of the Celt as ‘other’ should be considered when using either Greek or Roman sources. For example, Caesar’s depictions of the Gauls often highlight Celtic barbarianism, e.g. human sacrifice (*BG* 6.16-17), in order to emphasize the ordered civility of the Roman way (Barlow 1998: 139-170; Hall 1998: 11-44). Elsewhere, for example in Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* 23.24) or Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 4, 36-7, 40), headhunting and outlandish feasting feature prominently.

Despite the above issues, the archaeological record tends to corroborate some aspects of the texts namely the importance of feasting and deposition to Late Iron Age societies in the study area. Nevertheless, the range of finds at these sites (including brooches, coins, ploughshares and *barres à douilles*) describes a more complex picture, whilst complex structured deposits at other sites indicate the widespread and varied nature of ritual practices.

Looking at deposition at many different types of site gives a slightly different picture of votive behaviour than standard interpretations, which see practices developing out of large sanctuaries used by the population of a large area (Fichtl 2004: 32; Haselgrove 2007: 501). These

views emphasise performance rituals in front of large groups as instrumental in community development (Wells 2006: 143). While the connection between population and deposition is possible at sanctuaries, the same is true for *oppida*, where high numbers of occupants may be driving the high numbers of finds (Fichtl and Metzler 2000: 180). However, as deposition at sanctuaries tends to cluster at the earliest and latest ends of the Late Iron Age (earliest deposition tentatively dated at best), the developmental link between practices at sanctuaries and *oppida* is not immediately apparent (see Table 1.1). Structured deposition at rural sites fills the gap, with increasing formalisation of practices possibly presaging finds at *oppida*.

Seen this way, deposition at rural sites, influenced by burial ritual, should be seen as the starting point for the analysis of ritual. A view similar to the bottom-up approach recommended for the analysis of Late Iron Age settlement (Woolf 1993: 232). At *oppida*, the coming together of several house-holds and family groups likely required negotiation, the arbitration of which was possibly smoothed through depository rites and feasting. Seen in this way deposition becomes inextricably linked with settlement and everyday life, rather than isolated at sanctuaries. A concurrency again underlined by the overlap in ritual and domestic features at both rural sites and sanctuaries. For example, at Estrées-Saint-Denis, evidence from the first phase of occupation (e.g. sheep and pig bone, as well as loom-weights from small pits) is more in keeping with finds from rural sites (Ménier 1992: 25-36; Woimant 2002: 23).

The overlap between ritual and domestic is sometimes explained through ascriptions of aristocratic status. At sites in the Middle Oise, e.g. Jaux, Bazoches and Montmartin, deposition is seen as an outcome of political authority (Brunaux and Ménier 1997; Malrain 2006: 246). In this way deposition becomes a demonstration of might, and a competitive enterprise, whereby elites struggle for prestige (Derks 1995: 118; Roymans 2007: 85). This is not in keeping with the general homogeneity of deposits. The plain and undecorated nature of the brooch finds demonstrates a desire to fit in rather than a need for prominence, a quality out of step with competitive ideals. However, the prevalence for simple undecorated types in burials and at rural sites, in contrast to their increasing complexity at later sanctuaries and *oppida*, implies an increased need for more ornamental types in situations of increased social pressure. Therefore, the increase of ornamental types in these situations can tentatively be correlated with increasing competition.

Nevertheless, loosely defined terms such as 'ritual,' 'feasting,' or 'elite' are less than helpful when it comes to discussing behaviour as these refer almost identically to concepts encompassing a wide range of individuals, places, events and cultural practices. Such vocabulary is inherently structuralist, supposing a world of diametric opposites (i.e. ritual-domestic, aristocratic-slave), suppositions that find limited support in the material evidence. While the existence of elites, feasting or ritual practice are not in doubt here, the modern structuralist thinking behind this type of terminology is, as it tends to obfuscate the grey-area between opposing extremes (see, Bourdieu 1990; Tilley 1990: 3-81). Moreover, in disciplines such as anthropology, the term ritual is not monolithic, but interpreted as divergently encompassing elements such as, symbolism, belief, magic, formality and performance (Bradley 2005: 32; *cf.* Barnard and Spencer 1996; Ingold 1994).

A more detailed description of observable variations in the archaeological record would be beneficial towards improving our understanding of the entire range of depositionary practices enacted in the Late Iron Age. In this respect, it might be helpful to develop a more reflective terminology that accounts for variations and similarities, as well as 'conceptual' and 'physical' differences between assemblages (Bradley 2005: 201). Such terminology would highlight that although similar assemblages may be separated at different sites, or at different areas of a site, they have considerable conceptual overlap. By this means structured deposits, and the rituals through which they were produced, could more easily be placed along a continuum extending outward from the domestic sphere. However, as with ranking, determining a deposit's position along such a range raises associated problems of determining how the effects of archaeological bias (i.e. lack of excavation etc.), length of occupation and population influence the variety and number of finds present, deposited (and therefore excavated). Given the current data, such modelling is likely out of reach for the time being.

10.5 Late Iron Age brooches: material, production and community

Despite indications of increasing competitive display in the Final and Post-Conquest Iron Ages, brooch deposition prior to this mainly consisted of undecorated types. While conservatism at rural sites is more likely the result of their chronological placement between the earlier Late La Tène and the start of the final Late La Tène, when simpler types prevail. The continuing prefer-

ence for simpler brooch types in burials throughout the Late Iron Age shows either a contrasting desire to hearken back to what might be interpreted as more ‘traditional’ types, or a restricted interest in straightforward functionality, rather than display.

As Late Iron Age brooches were apparently predominantly made of iron, their role within society may be related to the dispersed mode of production of this material. In Aisne, this is attested by the dispersal of the *chaîne opératoire* across sites throughout the landscape. The transition to predominantly copper alloy types in the early Roman period perhaps stems from a change in iron production, marked first by the concentration of production first at *oppida*, then at rural sites such as Ronchères, “Le Bois de Forge”, established immediately after the conquest. Whilst the transformation of iron production has so far only been noted in the Aisne, the change in brooch material is evident across the study area. This indicates a region-wide transformation in both iron production and the symbolic value of this material.

During the Final Late Iron Age and Post-Conquest periods the increase of ornamental types in copper alloy, as well as a gradual reduction in size, also marks a break in how brooches were used. Nevertheless, the disturbed nature of many of these contexts makes it difficult to track the nature and swiftness of this transition. Nevertheless, the presence of more ornate types from La Tène D2 is more easily correlated with internal forces, such as increasing social stress arising from the agglomeration of different family groups at *oppida*, or increasing deposition at sanctuaries, than to the external actions of ‘Romanisation.’ In this respect, there is a lot to be gained from the study of brooches.

10.6 Final remarks

The study of Late Iron Age and early Roman northern French brooches and their contexts has proved enlightening. The creation of a common typology, analysis of the development and persistence of brooch types, and the contextual analysis of these finds shows that their ubiquity and functionally homogenous natures belie their deeper meanings and their significance to the Late Iron Age societies that used them. The integration of brooches into meaningful structured deposits at all types of site throughout the study area, reveals their centrality as emblems personhood and signifiers of identity.

Beyond contextual examination of deposition, analysis of brooch types shows that they evolved through several stages, generally from simple relatively undecorated wire-made forms to more ornamental types, with mould-made elements. This was not, however, a strictly linear process, and simple undecorated forms were produced and used into the post-Conquest Iron Age. Additionally, different types show distributions that are strongly influenced by chronological factors, at different sites. Brooches at funerary and rural sites are typically of Reverted Bow or Simple Filiform type. Interrupted Bow brooches, however, only appear rarely towards the end of the period, while brooches at later *oppida* and sanctuaries show greater diversity, with Simple and Decorative Filiform types found alongside ornamental varieties. It was argued that social factors influenced the increase in decorative forms; with demand going up at densely occupied *oppida*, such as Villeneuve or Condé, or newly redesigned sanctuaries like Estrées, Fesques or Dompierre. Unfortunately, while deposition at sanctuaries demonstrated considerable richness, Roman disturbance or construction, erosion or poor recording often marred contextual analysis of brooch deposition.

So, while brooch deposition demonstrates a variety of practices through which both societies and individuals expressed and reproduced themselves, detailed examination of all types of finds (i.e. ceramics, animal bones as well as other metalwork and adornment) and stratigraphic context is needed in order further to characterise the varying nature of Late Iron Age deposition and/or ritual practices in northern France. For instance, the changing associations between brooches and coinage throughout the Late Iron Age is notable and needs more analysis to appreciate how coins were integrated into varying types of depositional and ritual practice. Lowenthal's (1985) statement that, 'the past is a foreign country' is more than applicable here. However, the Iron Age worldview is not something easy for a modern, post-enlightenment western scholar to envisage or reconstruct (Bradley 2005: 20; Brück 1999: 314, 318). Nevertheless, the idea that material objects are both socially and contextually constituted provides a means of considering how material, practice, agency and action interact reflexively as part of a way of thinking or *mentalité* (Barrett 1988: 5-16; 2001: 140-164; Fontijn 2002: 23; Robb 2010: 494).

Appendix One

Edgar Typology

Edgar Type 1

La Tène II Reverted Bow Brooches

La Tène C1 to La Tène D1b/La Tène D2a

Universal Attributes:

- Construction: reverted bow

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Size: copper alloy types 50-75 mm; iron types 100 mm-168 mm
- Spring: four to twenty coils
- Decoration: variable decoration on reverted bow; item holding reverted bow in place: moulded ring; moulded bulb; moulded nodule

Relation to other Typologies:

Feugère (1985)	Gebhard (1991)	Vaginay and Guichard (1988)
Type 1 (end of the 3 rd c BCE)	Type 1 (La Tène C1/C2) Type 2 (La Tène C1/C2) Type 13 (La Tène C1) Type 14 (La Tène B2/C1) Type 15 (La Tène B2 to La Tène C2) Type 16 (La Tène C1/C2) Type 17 (La Tène C1/C2) Type 18 (La Tène C1/C2) Type 19 (La Tène C1 to La Tène D1a) Type 21b (La Tène C2 to La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 22 (La Tène C2/D1a) Type 23 (La Tène C1/C2)	Type 1a (La Tène C2) Type 1b (La Tène C2 to La Tène D2)
Lambot (1994)	Lambot and Friboulet (1996)	Metzler (1995)
Type 1 (La Tène C2) Type 2 (La Tène C2 to La Tène D1b) Type 3 (La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D1b)	Type 1 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 2 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 3 (La Tène D1a/D1b)	Type 1 (La Tène C1/C2)
Pion (1996a)	Brunaux and Méniel (1997)	Friboulet (1997)
Type 2E1 Type 2E2 Type 2E6 Type 2E8	Type 1 (La Tène C1) Type 2 (La Tène C2) Type 3 (La Tène C1 to La Tène C2/D1a) Type 4 (La Tène C1) Type 5 (La Tène C2) Type 6 (La Tène C2) Type 7 (La Tène C2/D1a) Type 8 (La Tène C2/D1a)	Type F1 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type F2 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type F3 (La Tène D1a/D1b)
Gaspar (2007)	Stead <i>et al.</i> (2007)	
Type 1 (La Tène C2 to D1)	Type Aa (La Tène C2) Type Ab (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type AC (La Tène D2b to 15 CE) Type B (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type C (La Tène D1a to La Tène D2a) Type D (La Tène C2 to D1b)	

Edgar Type 2**Filiform Brooches with External Chords and Four-Coiled Springs****La Tène D1a to La Tène D1b/La Tène D2a****Universal Attributes:**

- Spring: four-coiled
- Chord: external
- Section: filiform

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Size: copper alloy types 30-40; iron types 50 -60 mm
- Profile: stretched; curved; rectilinear
- Catch-Plate: triangular; trapezoidal; perforated; un-perforated

Relation to other Typologies:

Feugère (1985)	Gebhard (1991)	Metzler (1995)
Type 2 (circa 50 BCE)	Type 26a (La Tène D1a/D1b)	Type 7
Lambot (1994)	Debord (1996)	Pion (1996a)
Type 5 (La Tène 1a/D1b)	Type 2 (circa 50 BCE to GR 1)	Type 3E2a Type 3E2b Type 3E2d
Friboulet (1997)	Stead <i>et al.</i> (2007)	
F14 (La Tène D1b/D2a)	Type E (La Tène D1b)	

Edgar Type 3**Pseudo La Tène Type II Reverted Bow Brooches****La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D2****Universal Attributes:**

- Construction: reverted bow
- Decoration: hammered ring

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Size: 20-32 mm copper alloy types: 60-108 mm
- Decoration: variable types of hammered ring

Relation to other Typologies:

Almgren (1923)	Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)
Type 1	Type 3 (1 to 40 CE) Type 5 (20 BCE to 20 CE)	Type 1.B.3 (Late la Tène to GR 2 to Late First century CE)
Feugère (1985)	Vaginay and Guichard (1988)	Gebhard (1991)
Type 3a (100/80 BCE to 50 BCE) Type 3b (10/15 BCE to GR 1) Type 3c (Undated) Type 3d (Undated)	Type 1c (La Tène D2)	Type 4 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 20 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 21 (La Tène C2/D1a) Type 22 (La Tène D1a/D1b)
Riha (1994)	Debord (1996)	Pion (1996a)
Type 1.4 (25 BCE to 300/350 CE)	Type 3a (100/80 BCE to 50 BCE) Type 3b (10/15 BCE to GR 1) Type 3c (GR 1)	Type 2I4
Friboulet (1997)	Gaspar (2007)	
Type F1 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type F3 (La Tène D1a/D1b)	Type 2 (La Tène D To Mid First century CE)	

Edgar Type 4**Filiform Iron Brooches with Internal Chords and Four-Coiled Springs****La Tène D1a to GR 1****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: iron
- Spring: four-coiled
- Chord: internal

Variable Attributes:

- Size: 40-80 mm
- Hinged variant
- Profile: stretched; rounded; rectilinear
- Section: filiform; flat; square
- Catch-Plate: trapezoidal; triangular; perforated, unperforated

Relation to other Typologies:

Almgren (1923)	Guillaumet (1984)	Feugère (1985)
Type 15	Type 2 (70/40 BCE to First century CE)	Type 4 (80/60 BCE to 20/10 BCE)
Vaginay and Guichard (1988)	Gebhard (1991)	Lambot (1994)
Type 3c (La Tène D2) Type 4 (GR 1)	Type 24 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 26c (La Tène D1a/D1b)	Type 6 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 9 (La Tène D2a)
Riha (1994)	Metzler (1995)	Lambot and Friboulet (1996)
Type 1.6 (25 BCE to 350/400 CE) Type 1.11 to 1.12 (1 to 250/300 CE)	Type 7 (La Tène D2b/GR 1 to 2 nd century CE) Type 8 (La Tène D to GR 1)	Type 6a (La Tène D1b to La Tène D2a/D2b) Type 6b (La Tène D1b to La Tène D2a/D2b) Type 9a (La Tène D1b/D2a to La Tène D2b)
Debord (1996)	Pion (1996a)	Friboulet (1997)
Type 4 (entire First century BCE)	Type 3I4b Type 3I4e Type 3I4f Type NI4f	Type F8 (La Tène D1b) Type F11 (La Tène D1b to La Tène D2a/D2b) Type F12 (La Tène D1b/D2a) Type F15 (La Tène D2a/D2b)
Stead <i>et al.</i> (2007)	Gaspar (2007)	
Type Ha (La Tène D2a/D2b to Mid First century CE) Type Hb (La Tène D2a to 15 CE) Type R (15 BCE to 15 CE)	Type 4 (La Tène D to GR 1) Type 5 (La Tène D to GR 1)	

Edgar Type A**Filiform Brooches with External Chords Medium to Large Width Springs****(La Tène D1a/D1b to La Tène D2a)****Universal Attributes:**

- Chord: external

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Size: only one copper alloy type 45 mm; iron types 70-150 mm
- Spring: Six to eighteen coils

- Profile: curved; rectilinear
- Section: filiform; faceted
- Catch-Plate: trapezoidal; triangular
- Decoration: a notch at the head of the bow; an added on widened head-piece (almost like a proto or pseudo *À Coquille* type)

Relation to other Typologies:

Gebhard (1991)	Lambot (1994)	Lambot and Friboulet (1996)
Type 25a (La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D1b) Type 25c (La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D1b) Type 26a (La Tène D1a/D1b)	Type 4 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 5 (La Tène D1a/D1b)	Type 4 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 5a (La Tène D1b/D2a) Type 5b (La Tène D1b/D2a)
Pion (1996a)	Friboulet (1997)	
Type 3E8	Type F4 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type F5 (La Tène D1a/D1b)	

Edgar Type 5a**Nauheim Brooches****La Tène D1a/D1b to La Tène D2a****Universal Attributes:**

- Spring: four-coiled
- Chord: internal
- Bow Shape: hammered, triangular

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Size: copper alloy and iron types come in small and large variants. Copper alloy types: small 35-40 mm; large 50-90 mm Iron types: small 40-50 mm; large 60-105 mm
- Decoration: incised; stamped; mould-made; longitudinal; transverse

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)	Guillaumet (1984)
Type 1 (75 to 20 BCE)	Type 1.B.1 (circa 75 BCE)	Type 3 (70/40 BCE to First century CE)
Feugère (1985)	Vaginay and Guichard (1988)	Gebhard (1991)
Type 5a (80 BCE to 25/15 BCE)	Type 3a (La Tène D2)	Type 7 (La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D1b) Type 27a (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 27b (La Tène D1a/D1b)
Lambot (1994)	Riha (1994)	(Metzler 1995)
Type 7 (La Tène D1b)	Type 1.1 (1 to 250/300 CE) Type 1.11 to 1.12 (1 to 250/300 CE)	Type 3 (La Tène D1a/D1b to GR 1) Type 8 (La Tène D1a/D1b to GR 1)
Lambot and Friboulet (1996)	Debord (1996)	Pion (1996a)
Type 7 (La Tène D1a/D1b to La Tène D2a)	Type 5a (Late 2 nd century BC to GR 1)	NI4a NI4f NI4b NE2 NI4d NE4
Brunaux and Méniel (1997)	Friboulet (1997)	Stead et al. (2007)
Type 10a (La Tène C2/D1a) Type 10b (La Tène C2/D1a)	Type F7a (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type F7B (La Tène D1a/D1b to La Tène D2a) Type F9 (La Tène D1b)	Type Fa (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type Fb (Type D1a/D1b)
Gaspar (2007)		
Type 3 (La Tène D to GR 1) Type 5 (La Tène D to GR 1)		

Edgar Type 5b**Filiform Nauheim Derivative Brooches****La Tène D1a/D1b to La Tène D2b****Universal Attributes:**

- Spring: four-coiled
- Chord: internal

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Size: Copper alloy types: 30-75 mm Iron types: 40- 80 mm
- Section: filiform; triangular; faceted, semi-ovular
- Decoration: mould-made; beaded

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Guillaumet (1984)	Feugère (1985)
Type 1 (75 to 20 BCE)	Type 2 (70 /40 BCE to First century CE)	Type 5b (50 to 20 BCE)
Vaginay and Guichard (1988)	Gebhard (1991)	Lambot (1994)
Type 3b (La Tène D2)	Type 5 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 6c (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 26c (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 27a (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 27b (La Tène D1a/D1b)	Type 6 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 8 (La Tène D1b)
Riha (1994)	Metzler (1995)	Lambot and Friboulet (1996)
Type 1.5 to 1.6 (80 to 20 BCE)	Type 3 (Late La Tène to GR 1)	Type 6a (La Tène D1b to La Tène D2a/D1b) Type 6b (La Tène D1b to La Tène D2a/D1b) Type 8a (La Tène D1b to La Tène D2a/D1b) Type 8b (La Tène D1b to La Tène D2a/D1b)
Debord (1996)	Pion (1996a)	Brunaux and Méniel (1997)
Type 5b (50 to 20 BCE)	Type 314a	Type 9 (La Tène C2/D1a)
Friboulet (1997)	Stead et al. (2007)	Gaspar (2007)
Type F6 (La Tène D1a/D1b to La Tène D2a)	Type Ga (La Tène D1b/D2a) Type Gb (La Tène D1b/D2a)	Type 3 (La Tène D to GR 1)

Edgar Type 5c**Nauheim Derivative Brooches****La Tène D1a/La Tène D1b****Universal Attributes:**

- Spring: four-coiled
- Chord: internal
- Decoration: pieces of the bow removed

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Size: Copper alloy types: 30-75 mm Iron types: 40- 80 mm
- Section: filiform; flat, faceted
- Bow Shape: the bow is sometimes similar in shape to 5a types

- Decoration: shaved or cut bow

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Feugère (1985)	Vaginay and Guichard (1988)
Type 1 (75 to 20 BCE)	Type 5c (50 to 20 BCE)	
Gebhard (1991)	Riha (1994)	Metzler (1995)
Type 6c (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 8 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 9a (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 9b (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 28 (La Tène D1a/D1b) Type 29 (La Tène D1a/D1b)	Type 1.1 (1 to 250/300 CE)	Type 8 (Late La Tène to GR 1)
Pion (1996a)		
Type NI4K		
Type NPK		
Type 3PK		

Edgar Type 6**Filiform Copper Alloy Brooches with Internal Chords and Four-Coiled Springs****La Tène D1a/D1b to GR 1****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: copper alloy
- Spring: four-coiled
- Chord: internal

Variable Attributes:

- Size: 30-100 mm
- Section: filiform; faceted (similar to 5c), flat; thick; thin
- Catch-Plate: trapezoidal; triangular; unperforated; pierced
- Bow Shape: filiform; rectilinear; triangular

Relation to other Typologies:

Feugère (1985)	Debord (1996)	Pion (1996a)
Type 6a (20 BCE to 70 CE) Type 6b (50 BCE to 30 BCE) Type 6c (10 to 70 CE)	Type 6a (50 BCE to mid First century CE)	Type 3I4d Type 4I4b Type NI4d
Stead <i>et al.</i> (2007)		
Type Ha (La Tène D2a/D2b to mid First century CE)		
Type Hb (La Tène D2a to GR 2)		

Edgar Type 7**À Coquille Brooches****La Tène D1a to La Tène D2a/D2b****Universal Attributes:**

- Spring: covered
- Decoration: bow widens at the head to form an *À Coquille* or shell shaped spring cover

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy, iron; silver

- Size: Copper alloy types: 30-60 mm Iron types: 40-133 mm Silver type (Gaspar 2007: cat. no. 321): 50 mm
- Spring: four, five or six coils (most commonly 4); sometimes held by a hook; covered
- Chord: external, internal
- Profile: stretched, curved, rectilinear
- Section: flat, filiform, faceted, thin or thick
- Decoration: mould-made
- Other:
 - Spring Placement: above bow; below bow

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)	Guillaumet (1983)
Type 2 (40 to 20 BCE)	Type 1.B.2 (Late La Tène III)	Type 3 (70/40 BCE to First century CE)
Feugère (1985)	Vaginay and Guichard (1988)	Gebhard (1991)
Type 7 (40/30 to 10 BCE)	Type 2 (La Tène D2)	Type 10 (La Tène D1b) Type 27c (La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D1b) Type 32 (La Tène D1b/D2a)
Riha (1994)	Lambot and Friboulet (1996)	Metzler (1995)
Type 1.13 (1 to 100 BCE)	Type 9c (La Tène D2a/D2b) Type 10 (La Tène D2a/D2b)	Type 9 (La Tène D)
Debord (1996)	Pion (1996a)	Friboulet (1997)
Type 7 (40 BCE to GR 1/GR 2)	Type C14	Type F16 (La Tène D1a/D1b)
Demetz (1999)	Stead et al. (2007)	Gaspar (2007)
Schusselbibel (70 to 10 BCE)	Type L (La Tène D2a/D2b)	Type 6 (La Tène D2b)

Edgar Type 8**Arc Interrompu Brooches****La Tène D1a to La Tène D2****Universal Attributes:**

- Decoration: bow interrupted by a moulded bead

Variable Attributes:

- Material: iron; copper alloy
- Size: Copper alloy types come in large and small variants; small, 40-45 mm, large, 60-70 mm Iron types: 30-85 mm
- Spring: four to six coils
- Chord: internal, external; if external can be held by a hook
- Profile: curved, rectilinear
- Section: filiform, faceted, flat, composite, thick or thin
- Catch-Plate: long, triangular, short triangular, perforated or fenestrated
- Decoration: size and placement of moulded bead; sometimes small moulded wings can be found on each side of the bead
- Other:
 - Spring Placement: above bow; below bow

Relation to other Typologies:

Almgren (1923)	Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)
Type 65 Type 14	Type 8 (40 to 20 BCE) Type 17 (10 BCE to 70 CE) Type 18 (1 BCE to 25 CE)	Type 1.C.1.b
Feugère (1985)	Gebhard (1991)	Metzler (1995)
Type 8 (80/50 to 10 BCE)	Type 7b (La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D1b) Type 11 (La Tène D1a to La Tène D1b/D2a) Type 30 (La Tène D1b/D2a) Type 31 (La Tène D1b/D2a)	Type 4 (La Tène D2b to GR 1/GR 2) Type 5 (La Tène D2b to GR 1/GR 2) Type 6 (La Tène D2b)
Debord (1996)	Pion (1996a)	Friboulet (1997)
Type 2 (50 BCE)	Type AI4 Type AE6	Type F10 (La Tène D1b)
Demetz (1999)	Stead et al. (2007)	Gaspar (2007)
Almgren 65 (90 to 20 BCE) Knotenfibeln 1a-c (40 BCE to 1 CE) Knotenfibeln 1d-e (20 BCE to 10 CE)	Type K (La Tène D2)	Type 7 (La Tène D to mid First century CE) Type 8 (La Tène D to mid First century CE) Type 9 (La Tène D)

Edgar Type B**Broken-Bow Brooches****La Tène D1b/La Tène D2a****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: iron
- Chord: external
- Decoration: the bow is interrupted by a mould-made bead

Variable Attributes:

- Size: 40-60 mm
- Spring: four to six coils; covered; uncovered
- Section: filiform; cylindrical

Relation to other Typologies:

Almgren (1923)	Gebhard (1991)
Type 19 Type 20	Type 30 (La Tène D1b/D2a) Type 31 (La Tène D1b/D2a)
Riha (1994)	Friboulet (1997)
Type 2.6 (50 to 300 CE) Type 2.7 (25 BCE to 300 CE)	Type F13 (La Tène D1b/D2a)

Edgar Type 9**Proto-Gallic Brooches****La Tène D2a/D2b to GR 1****Universal Attributes:**

- Decoration: uninterrupted bow

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron

- Size: copper alloy types, 40-110 mm; iron types, 80-110 mm
- Spring: four, six to eight coils; hook
- Chord: internal, external; sometimes covered
- Section: faceted; flat
- Bow Shape: thin and tapering towards the foot; rectilinear; concave
- Catch-Plate: long triangular, perforated or fenestrated
- Decoration: stamped, incised, encrusted

Relation to other Typologies:

Feugère (1985)	Metzler (1995)	Lambot and Friboulet (1996)
Type 9a (60 to 10 BCE) Type 9b (10 BCE to 60/50 CE)	Type 14 (La Tène D to GR 1) Type 15 (GR 1)	Type 9b (La Tène D2a/D2b) Type 9c (La Tène D2a/D2b)
Debord (1996)	Pion (1996a)	Friboulet (1997)
Type 9a (60 to 10 BCE)	Type 4I4a Type 4E6g Type 4E6(g)	Type F17 (La Tène D2b to GR 1) Type F18 (La Tène D2b)
Stead <i>et al.</i> (2007)	Gaspar (2007)	
Type MA (La Tène D2b) Type N (15 BCE to 15 CE)	Type 10 (La Tène D to GR 1) Type 11 (GR 1)	

Edgar Type 10
À Collarette Brooches
La Tène D2 to GR 2

Universal Attributes:

- Profile: composite of arched and rectilinear (the end of the bow curve is dependant on the placement of the collar)
- Decoration: bows interrupted by a collar that is fixed to the bow at a right angle

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Size: copper alloy type, 40-100 mm; iron type, 30 mm
- Collar: size; decoration; location
- Springs: four; six or eight coils; held by a hook; covered; Hinged variant
- Chord: external; internal
- Section: filiform; faceted; flat; composite
- Catch-plate: long; perforated; pierced

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)	Feugère (1985)
Type 19 (20 BCE to 20 CE)	Type 1.C.1.d	Type 10 (57/52 BCE to GR 1)
Metzler (1995)	Pion (1996a)	Stead <i>et al.</i> (2007)
Type 10 (La Tène D to GR 1)	Type KI4 Type KE6g	Type Q (La Tène D2b)
Gaspar (2007)		
Type 13 (La Tène D to GR 2)		

Edgar Type 14a**Gallic Brooches****La Tène D2b to GR 2/Late First century CE****Universal Attributes:**

- Spring: protected by projecting platelets
- Chord: external chord that is held by a hook

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Size: copper alloy types, 40-110 mm; iron types, 40-80 mm
- Section: flat; cylindrical; faceted
- Profile: curved; arched; rectilinear
- Bow Shape: triangular; rectilinear

Relation to other Typologies:

Almgren (1923)	Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)
Type 241	Type 9 (20 BCE to 25 CE)	Type 1.C.2 (GR 1 to mid First century CE)
Guillaumet (1983)	Feugère (1985)	Riha (1994)
Type 4 (40/15 BCE to First century CE)	Type 14a (<i>terminus post quem</i> of 10 BCE)	Type 2.1 (1 to 50 CE) Type 2.2 (25 BCE to 250/300 CE)
Metzler (1995)	Lambot and Friboulet (1996)	Debord (1996)
Type 17 (GR 1 to mid First century CE)	Type 11 (La Tène D2b)	Type 14 (25 BCE to GR 1)
Pion (1996a)	Friboulet (1997)	Demetz (1999)
Type 4E6 Type 4E6(g)	Type F19 (La Tène D2b/GR 1)	Almgren 241, Augenfibel (20 BCE to 50 CE)
Stead et al. (2007)	Gaspar (2007)	
Type Mb (GR 1/GR 2) Type Mc (La Tène D2b to GR 2) Type N (GR 1/GR 2)	Type 12 (La Tène D to GR 2/mid First century CE)	

Edgar Type 14b**Langdon Down Brooches****GR 1 to GR 2/ Late First century CE****Universal Attributes:**

- Spring: covered
- Bow Shape: regular, rectilinear (sometimes slightly concave)

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy,
- Size: Large and small variants recognized. Copper alloy types, small 40-50 mm, large 60-110 mm Iron types, small 40-50 mm, 60-70 mm
- Profile: right angled curve; curved; rectilinear
- Catch-Plate: long and triangular; short and trapezoidal; perforated; quasi-fenestrated
- Decoration: longitudinal striations/grooves; incised lines; dots; mould-made decoration at right angle to spring; undecorated
- Other:
 - Bow Width: variable

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)	Guillaumet (1983)
Type 20 (20 BCE to 25 CE) Type 21 (10 BCE to 50 CE) Type 22 (1 to 50 CE) Type 23 (20 BCE to 30 CE)	Type 1.I.B.3 (20 BCE)	Type 7 (40/15 BCE to First century CE)
Feugère (1985)	Riha (1994)	Metzler (1995)
Type 14b (GR 2 to mid First century CE) Type 14c (mid to late First century CE)	Type 4.1 (10 BCE to 300 CE) Type 4.2 (25 BCE to 400 CE) Type 4.3 (10 BCE to 210 CE) Type 4.4 (25 BCE/1 CE to 300/350 CE)	Type 17 (GR 1 to mid First century CE)
Stead <i>et al.</i> (2007)	Gaspar (2007)	
Type Pa (GR 1 to GR 2)	Type 19 (GR 1 to mid First century CE) Type 20 (GR 2 to mid First century CE) Type 31 (GR 1/GR 2 to late First century CE)	

Edgar Type 15**À Disque Médian Brooches****La Tène D2 to GR 1/GR 2****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: copper alloy
- Chord: external, held by a hook
- Catch-Plate: long and trapezoidal; perforated
- Decoration: disk at the junction of the bow and foot

Variable Attributes:

- Size: small, 30-60 mm; large, 90-110 mm
- Spring: six to eight coils; covered by platelets
- Section: circular, flat, flat with moulded ridges
- Construction: one-piece; two-piece
- Other:
 - Disk Shape: small; semi-circular; circular; D-shaped; polygonal
 - Angle of the disk: parallel to the foot; angled in relation to the foot

Relation to other Typologies:

Almgren (1923)	Ettlinger (1973)	Feugère (1985)
Type 18	Type 25A (10 BCE to 30 CE)	Type 15 (GR 1, but possible earlier date of 60 BCE)
Metzler (1995)	Pion (1996a)	Demetz (1999)
Type 17 (GR 1 to mid First century CE)	Type DE6(gp)	Almgren 18 (40 BCE to 30 CE)
Stead <i>et al.</i> (2007)	Gaspar (2007)	
Type Pa (GR 1 to GR 2)	Type 14 (La Tène D to late First century CE)	

Edgar Type 16**Á Disque Médian-Queue de Paon Brooches****La Tène D2b/GR 1 to GR 2****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: copper alloy
- Spring: cover and a cone-shaped disk
- Section: semi-circular
- Bow Shape: thick, stocky
- Foot: fan-shaped
- Decoration: incised lines down the midline of the bow

Variable Attributes:

- Size: 30-60 mm
- Construction: one-piece; two-piece
- Other:
 - Disk Shape: circular; ovular; square; diamond/square-shaped
 - Disk Decoration: incised; mould-made; incised and mould-made
 - Disk Placement: at a right angle to foot; formed of same piece as the foot

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)	Guillaumet (1983)
Type 25 (10 BCE to 70 CE)	1.II.A (GR 1 to mid First century CE)	Type 8 (40/15 BCE to First century CE) Type 9 (mid First century CE to late First century CE)
Feugère (1985)	Riha (1994)	Metzler (1995)
Type 16 (GR 1)	Type 4.5.5 (40 to 100 CE)	Type 12 (GR 1 to GR 2)
Stead et al. (2007)	Gaspar (2007)	
Type Pb (GR 1 to GR 2)	Type 15 (GR 1 to GR 2)	

Edgar Type 18a**Queue de Paon Brooches****GR 1/GR 2 to Late First century CE****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: copper alloy
- Spring: covered
- Foot: wide *Queue de Paon* or fan-shaped foot
- Construction: one-piece, mould-made

Variable Attributes:

- Size: 30-60mm
- Profile: curved; rectilinear
- Foot: triangular; concave sides; composite
- Decoration: mould-made; incised; heavily stylized (zoomorphic?) figures

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)	Guillaumet (1983)
Type 27 (10 BCE to 50 CE)	Type 1.II.A (GR 1 to mid First century CE)	Type 9 (mid First century to late First century CE)

Feugère (1985)	Riha (1994)	Metzler (1995)
Type 18a (GR 2)	Type 4.8 (1 to 200/250 CE)	Type 12
Gaspar (2007)		
Type 17c-g (GR 1/GR 2 to mid First century CE)		

Edgar Type 18b**Zoomorphic Queue de Paon Brooches****GR 1/GR 2 to Late First century CE****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: copper alloy
- Spring: covered
- Profile: curved
- Bow shape: The bow is replaced by a zoomorphic figure
- Foot: wide *Queue de Paon* or fan-shaped foot
- Construction: one-piece construction, mould-made

Variable Attributes:

- Size: 25-35 mm
- Hinged variant
- Foot: zoomorphic; rectilinear; triangular
- Decoration: single zoomorphic figure (often a lion); two lion protomes

Relation to other Typologies:

Guillaumet (1983)	Feugère (1985)	Metzler (1995)
Type 12 (mid First century to late First century CE)	Type 18b (GR 1/GR 2)	Type 20
Gaspar (2007)		
Type 17a-b (GR 1/GR 2 to mid First century CE)		

Edgar Type 19**Rosette Brooches****GR 1/GR 2 to Late First century CE****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: copper alloy
- Spring cover
- Section: cylindrical
- Profile: arched
- Decoration: grooved decoration on the bow and foot, disk with a collar and dentils

Variable Attributes:

- Size: small, 30- 60; large 70-110 mm
- Construction: one piece; two-piece
- Decoration: projecting mould made-decoration under the bow; bow replaced by zoomorphic figure
- Catch-Plate: long; short; trapezoidal; rectangular; perforated; fenestrated
- Other:
 - Disk Size: small; large
 - Disk Shape: circular; diamond/square-shaped

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)	Guillaumet (1983)
Type 24 (10 BCE to 70 CE)	Type 1.II.A (GR 1 to mid First century CE)	Type 8 (40/15 BCE to First century CE) Type 9 (mid First century to late First century CE)
Feugère (1985)	Riha (1994)	Metzler (1995)
Type 19 (First century CE)	Type 4.5 (40 to 100 CE)	Type 13 (GR 1 to GR 2/mid First century CE)
Gaspar (2007)		
Type 18 (GR 1/GR 2 to late First century CE)		

Edgar Type 20**Distelfibel****GR 1 to Late First century CE****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: copper alloy
- Spring: covered
- Construction: one-piece
- Decoration: often held in place with a pin

Variable Attributes:

- Size: 50-100 mm
- Hinged Variant
- Decoration: stamped; incised

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Feugère (1985)	Metzler (1995)
Type 26 (1 to 75 CE)	Type 20 (1 to 50 CE)	Type 13
Gaspar (2007)		
Type 18 (GR 1/GR 2 to late First century CE)		

Edgar Type 21**Alèsia Brooches****La Tène D2b to GR 1****Universal Attributes:**

- Hinge: type D
- Profile: curved
- Section: flat
- Catch-Plate: Hammered quadrangular catch-plate
- Decoration: flat protrusion or bulge (often perforated) at the foot terminus

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Size: copper alloy types, 30-70 mm; iron types, 50-60 mm
- Bow Shape: triangular; non-rectilinear; composite
- Catch-Plate: pierced; un-pierced
- Decoration: incised; moulded; stamped; interrupting disks

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)	Feugère (1985)
Type 28 (25 BCE to 5 CE)	Type 2.A	Type 21 (50 BCE to GR 1)
Metzler (1995)	Riha (1994)	Pion (1996a)
Type 21	Type 5.1 (1 to 250/300 CE)	Type ALc
Demetz (1999)	Gaspar (2007)	
Alèsia Brooch (50 BCE to 10 CE)	Type 21 (Late First century BCE to GR 1) Type 23 (Late First century BCE to GR 1)	

Edgar Type 22**Aucissa Brooches****La Tène D2b/GR 1 to 2nd century CE****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: copper alloy
- Hinge: type E
- Profile: semi-circular curve
- Catch-Plate: triangular, unperforated
- Decoration: terminal button

Variable Attributes:

- Material: copper alloy
- Size: 35-80 mm;
- Section: filiform; flat; thin; thick
- Decoration: lateral protuberances; incised; moulded; stamped
- Other:
 - Perforated Bow: lateral bars terminating in glass or enamel beads; perforated at the head and strung through with a filament

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)	Guillaumet (1983)
Type 29 (25 BCE to 50 CE) Type 30 (25 BCE to 50 CE) Type 31 (15 to 90 CE)	Type 3.C.1 (GR 2)	Type 14 (15 BCE to GR 2)
Feugère (1985)	Vaginay and Guichard (1988)	Riha (1994)
Type 22b-e (30/20 BCE to GR 1)	Type 4 (GR 1)	Type 5.4 (25 BCE to 300/350 CE)
Metzler (1995)	Lambot and Friboulet (1996)	Friboulet (1997)
Type 23 Type 24	Type 12 (GR 1)	Type F20 (La Tène D2b/Gallo-Roman 1)
Gaspar (2007)		
Type 24 (GR 1 to 2 nd century CE)		
Type 25 (GR 1 to 2 nd century CE)		
Type 26 (GR 1 to 2 nd century CE)		
Type 27 (GR 1 to 2 nd century CE)		
Type 28 (GR 1 to 2 nd century CE)		

Edgar Type 23**Aucissa Derivatives****GR 1/GR 2 to Mid/Late 2nd c AD****Universal Attributes:**

- Material: copper alloy; iron
- Hinge: type E
- Construction: Bi or tri-partite bows
- Decoration: complex

Variable Attributes:

- Size: copper alloy types, 30-80 mm; iron types, 40-65 mm (2 ex, 1 fragmentary, Gaspar 2007: cat. no. 1704-1705, type 31)
- Profile: curved; rectilinear; stretched
- Section: flat; t-shaped; composite
- Bow Shape: triangular; rectilinear; bulb-shaped; disk-shaped; concave; composite
- Decoration: moulded; niello; encrusted; ridged; grooved; cut-out decoration; dotted; incised
- Other:
 - Perforated Bow: lateral bars terminating in glass or enamel beads
 - Terminal button: present; absent; present as a superficial groove

Relation to other Typologies:

Ettlinger (1973)	Lerat (1979)	Guillaumet (1983)
Type 31 (15 to 90 CE) Type 34 (10 to 50 CE)	Type 3.C.1 (GR 2) Type 3.C.2 (GR 1/GR 2 to 50 CE)	Type 18 (mid First century to late First century CE)
Feugère (1985)	Riha (1994)	Metzler (1995)
Type 23 (GR 2/mid First century AD)	Type 5.4 (25 BCE to 250/300 CE)	Type 25
Debord (1996)	Gaspar (2007)	
Type 23c2 (50 to 3 rd century CE)	Type 27 (mid First century to early 2 nd century CE) Type 28 Type 29 (GR 1/GR 2 to early 2 nd century CE) Type 30 (mid First century to early 2 nd century CE) Type 31 (GR 1 to late First century CE) Type 32 (mid First century to late First century CE) Type 33 (mid First century to late First century CE) Type 34 (GR 1/GR 2 to early 2 nd century CE) Type 35 (mid First century to early 2 nd century CE) Type 36 (mid First century to early 2 nd century CE)	

Appendix Two

Glossary of English-French-German Terms

English	French	German	Definition
Arched	Cambré/ Galbé	Hochgebogen	In reference to the shape of the bow in profile. In this case the bow forms nearly a semi-circular arched curve.
Axis Pins	Axe/ Goupille	Scharnierachse	This concerns hinged or charnière brooches, which, for the most part, contain iron axis pins that are held in place by hammering both ends. Some springed brooch types also have axis pins which help to hold the coils in place.
Bead	Perle	Perle	A decorative element consisting of small globules of metal arranged in a line.
Bent Bow (Tendu)	Tendu	Knick	When a bow is or is almost rectilinear in profile. Formed by an acute curve near the head of the bow.
Bilateral	Bilatéral	Beidseitig	In springed brooches, when an even number of coils sits on each side of the brooch head.
Body	Corps	Bügel	The principle part of the bow, between the head and the foot.
Bow	L'Arc	Bügel	The primary part of the brooch, running from the base of the head at the spring to the foot.
Bronze	Bronze	Bronze	Term reserved for a specific mixture of copper alloy and tin. Ratios of approximately of 95:5 or 85: 15.
Button/Terminal Button	Bouton	Fußknopf/ Knopf	A term describing the protuberance located at the end of the foot, either the result of a mould or added separately.
Catch-Plate	Porte-Ardillon	Nadelhalter	The mechanism holding holds the brooch pin closed.
D-Shaped/ Semi-Cylindrical	Demi-Cylindrique	Halbkugelförmige	When the bow is semi-circular or D-shaped in section.

Catch-plate	Porte-Ardillon	Nadelhalter	The end of the bow under the foot that receives the pin and holds the brooch closed.
Chord	Chord	Sehne	The part of the spring that holds the coils that sit at the opposite sides of the head, together.
Cinched or Concave Bow	Cintré	Mitte Eingeschnürt	When the middle of the bow has a cinched in or concave appearance.
Coil	Spire	Fäche	The constituent elements of a spring formed by each turn of the metal wire between the pin and the bow.
Collar	Collarette	Runde Zierscheibe/ Kragen	A term used to designate a circular piece, generally placed perpendicularly in relation to the bow.
Composite	Composite	Composite	Term used in reference to a bow that is not uniform in section from head to foot.
Covered Spring	Couvre Ressort/Ressor t Protégé	Spiralhülse	When the spring is encased in a protective cylinder.
Curved over the Spring	Coudé au Dessous de Ressort	Schützend über der Spirale	When the bow is curved to lie over the spring.
Curved Bow	Coudés	Gestreckt	When the bow rounded in profile.
Cylindrical	Cylindrique	Rundstab-förmigem	When the diameter of the bow, from the head to the foot, is larger than that of the springs.
External Chord	Corde External	Oberer Sehne	In springed brooches. When the chord runs along the outside of the spring.
Faceted/Complex	Polyédrique	Vielflächig	A term referring to a bow that is complex in section.
Fenestrated	Fenestré	Durchbrochener	When the catch-plate exhibits multiple perforations. From the Latin, <i>fenestra</i> meaning window.
Filiform	Filiforme	Drahtförmige	When the bow is wire-shaped in section.
Flat/ Straight	Plats/ Ribboné	Bandförmigem	Term used in when the bow is flat in section.

Foot	Pied	Fuß	The lower part of the brooch, lying between the catch-plate and the bow.
Gold Plated	Dorure	Vergoldung	This is rare on brooches and if any secondary metals are added after manufacture it is generally tin.
Grooved Decoration	Cannelure	Längsrille	Decorative element. Longitudinal decoration formed from a mould.
Head	Tête	Kopf	The part of the bow closest to the pin.
Hinge	Charnière	Scharnier	A system of attaching the bow to the pin using a transverse dowel or axis which is held inside a folded portion of the bow head. This allows the pin to swing freely.
Hooked Spring	Ressort à Griffe/ Crochet Fixe-Corde	Sehnenhaken/ Sehnenhalter	When the chord, usually external, is held in place with a hook.
Hooked and Plated Spring	Ressort à Plaquettes et Crochet Fixe-Corde	Sehnenhaken mit Stützplatten	A spring that is partially protected by a hook and projecting platelets.
Internal Chord	Chorde Interne	Untere Sehne	In springed brooches. When the chord runs along the inside of the spring.
Interrupted Bow	Arc Interrompu	Bügelknopf/ Querrippen	A bow whose line is broken up by a some form of moulded or additional element, such as a bead or disk. German term applies to the shape of the interruption: beaded or transverse bars.
Leontomorphic	Léontomorphe	Löwenfibel	Lion-form.
Medial Disk	Disque Médiane	Scheibe/ Frühe Distel	A disk, which interrupts the brooch at the midpoint of the bow.
Naked Spring	Ressort Nu	Nackt Spiralfeder	An uncovered or otherwise unprotected spring.
Partially Covered Spring	Corde Cache	Teilweise Decken Spiralfeder	A spring that is partially covered with a hook or projecting platelets.
Perforated Catch-Plate	Porte-Ardillion Ajouré	Gerahmter Nadelhalter	The term used to describe a catch-plate or bow that has one or many circular holes.

Pierced Catch-Plate	Porte-Ardillon Percé	Durchborhrter Nadelhalter	In reference to the one or more circular holes cut through the catch-plate.
Pin	Ardillon	Nadel	The piece of the brooch that articulates from the spring of the bow and is held, when the brooch is closed, by the catch-plate.
Plated Spring	Ressort à Plaquettes	Stützplatten	In reference to the pieces at the head of the bow forming, a type of proto spring-cover.
Profile	La Courbure	Tierförmige	The appearance of the bow when viewed from the side.
Profiled Section	Section Complex/ Profilée	Vieflächigförmige	Complex in section. This term usually used in reference to bows with marked longitudinal grooves.
Protome	Protome	Protome	Stylized Head.
Queue de Paon (fan-tail)	Queue de Paon	Pfauenschwanz/ Presblech-schauflage	A term used to describe a particular foot shape. In this case one that is trapezoidal and is decorated with complex grooves.
Rectangular Bow	L'Arc Rectangulaire	Rechteckig Bügel	Term used to describe a bow that is rectangular in shape.
Rectilinear	Rectiligne	Geradlinig	Term used to describe a bow that is rectilinear in section.
Reverted Bow	Retour de l'Arc	Zurückgelegter Fuß	A term used to describe a particular type of catch-plate, formed by bending the bow back on itself.
Reverted Bow Held by a Moulded Bead	Retour Attaché avec Moulure	Zürückgelegter Fuß mit Hohlkehle Manschette	In Middle/Late La Tène types, the reverted bow is typically held by a moulded bead.
Reverted Bow Held by a Hammered Ring or Hook	Retour Attaché avec Baque ou Griffe Martelé	Zurückgelegter Fuß mit Manschette	In Late La Tène types the reverted bow is typically held high onto the bow by a hammered ring or hook.
Section	Section Transversale	Sektion	A term describing the shape of bow if it were cut through vertically.
Silver Plating	Argenture	Versilberung	This is rare on brooches and if any secondary metals are added after manufacture it is generally tin.
Spring	Ressort	Spirale/	A system coils of which help hold

		Spiralfeder	the pin in tension when held inside the catch-plate. In springed brooches the pin and bow are formed of one piece and the coils are formed by bending the bow/pin into shape.
Stretched Bow	Tendu	Streckenförmig	When the bow is almost stretched in profile.
Thistle Brooch/ Rosette Brooch	Rosette	Distel	Round decorated plaque added on to some <i>Queue de Paon</i> Brooches. This German term is misleading as the Thistle Brooch means something very specific type in English. An additional word helps distinguish between <i>Frühe Distelfibeln</i> (Early types, Disk Médian) and <i>Flache Distelfibeln</i> (Flat types, Later decorated Distel/Rosette types).
Tinned Bronze	Étamage	Verzinnung	Tin Plated.
Unperforated Catch-Plate	Porte-Ardillon Plein	Geschlossener Nadelhalter	When the catch-plate is not pierced or perforated.
Winged	Aillettes	Flügel/ Schildflügelfibel	Term used in reference to lateral projections on the bow or to a bow-shape that gives the appearance that the bow has wings. The German term also refers to a shield shape.
Zoomorphic	Zoomorphe	Zoomorphem/ Tierförmig	Animal-form.

Appendix Three

Site Catalogue

Brooched sites are listed here, ordered alphabetically by region.

Aisne

Allemant, "La Vallée Guerbette"

Rural

La Tène D2b/GR 1

1 Brooch (cat. no. 1838) Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Several pits containing evidence of burning as well as various low ovens were recorded. Slag was recovered from within the ovens, linking them with metal processing/production. A Dressel 1 amphora as well as a Zoomorphic brooch were also recovered.

Pichon, B, (2002): 91; Derbois, M. (2002): 18.

Amigny-Rouy, "Au Trou Maître Ourdoux"

Rural

La Tène D2b/GR 1

2 Brooches (cat. no. 2259-2260)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Survey

Site discovered during a surface survey in 1987. Recovered finds (a thimble, two brooches, a bone bead, a bell, a copper alloy point, local grey and black ceramics and tile) point to the presence of a nearby site.

Pichon, B, (2002): 93.

Armentières-sur-Ourq, "Au Desus du Clocher"

Funerary

La Tène D1b/D2a

6 Brooches (cat. no. 2237-2242)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian

Moreau excavated two inhumation cemeteries here between 1881 and 1889. Finds were published in the *Album Caranda*. Iron Age burials, including one chariot burial, were recovered. Finds from the chariot burial allegedly include an iron bit, copper alloy collar band, four iron Nauheim brooches, copper alloy chariot fittings, a buckle, two copper alloy harness pieces and a goblet. This burial dates between the second century BCE and mid first century BCE. The other burials contained nine coins (two copper alloy Suesione Scheers 27, four copper alloy Scheers 154, one potin Scheers 191, one potin Scheers 198), two lance points, eight Nauheim brooches, gold plated copper alloy bucket fittings with fixing nails, a flat sectioned copper alloy torque with stamped decoration, a twisted Early La Tène copper alloy brooch, copper alloy rings, four copper alloy bracelets, a copper alloy pendant with four beads (amber, blue glass, and two in brown and white paste), two metal bracelets and carinated black glaze ceramics.

Pichon, B, (2002): 98-99.

Aulnois-sous-Laon, "Devant la Sucerie"
Funerary

La Tène D1a/D1b

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2243)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Three funerary structures were found covering an area of 300 m². A small palisaded quadrangular enclosure with an eroded burial was excavated as well as a further two burials in similar condition, five and 15 m from the enclosure. No

datable finds were recovered in association with the square enclosure. However, the other burials contained ceramics providing a tentative La Tène D1a/D1b date. Nevertheless, there remains the possibility remains the square enclosure predates the burials. Unfortunately, while the burial inside the square enclosure is very eroded, the presence of postholes do indicate that the structure was likely covered. Finds from the unenclosed burials include, a razor, knife, as well as a brooch fragment. A fragment of a pig jaw was also found as well as a few burnt bones. The metal finds are currently being analysed at the *Conservare*.

Favier, D. (1999): 15; Prilaux, G. (2000): 15-16; Pichon, B, (2002): 106.

Barenton-Bugny, "Pole d'Activité du Griffon"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D2b/GR 1
5 Brooches (cat. no. 1833-1837)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Two cemeteries dating between the La Tène C2/D1a and La Tène D2b/GR 1 were discovered here 10 km north of Laon. Five cremation burials were excavated in the first cemetery, two of which were extremely eroded. Recovered finds include, vases, pig bones, a knife, as well as fragments of silver and human bones in a cloth held by a brooch. The second cemetery contained three burials, two associated with a posthole built superstructure. One of the burials associated with the post-built structure contained 10 vases, a half pig skull and a knife. The third burial, unfortunately very eroded, contained a necklace of 19 glass beads, and two stone rings. A La Tène C2 rural site, evidenced by silos and granaries, was also noted here in 2006.

Audebert, A. (2006): 15-16; Audebert, A. (2007): 16.

Bazoches-sur-Vesle, "Les Chantraines"
Rural

La Tène D1a/D1b

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2415)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

Located in a meander of the Vesle River. Five hectares were excavated here between 1997 and 1998, revealing a large multi-phased settlement occupied from the Late Hallstatt/Early La Tène into the Medieval period. La Tène D1a/D1b occupation consists of a 1.5 ha elliptical enclosure with an east-west orientation. The enclosure is divided into three sections: to the east ditches four and five delimit a 8072 m² area with a probable domestic structure (St.260), as well as a monumental porticoed entrance (St.236). Between ditches five and 374 in the 5200 m² central area another possible domestic structure (St.226), as well as a small enclosure ditch and central pit feature (St.230/250) were also excavated. The western area, delimited by ditch 32 is the smallest at 4200m². Several possible granaries, another large structure of unknown function (St.412) as well as an entrance, consisting of an interruption between ditches six and three, were also found here. Finds, especially ceramics were abundant in St. 372. Amphora and metal were also recovered along with two local imitations of Campanian ware. The site has been identified as an aristocratic residence based on its large size, monumentality as well as the recovery of status objects relating to feasting such as cauldron chains and amphora. Pommepuy, C. and Gransar, F. (2005): 193-213.

Beauvois-en-Vermandois et Trefcon, "Au Pied De Boeuf"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2444)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

A small cremation cemetery containing four Middle La Tène burials was excavated here in association with an enclosure, which possibly pre-dates the burials. Pits and ditches found inside the eroded enclosure tentatively identify it as a rural site.

Lefevre, P. (1998): 17.

Beaurieux, "les Grèves"

Rural

La Tène C2/D1a, La Tène D2b/GR 1

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Discovered by Boureux during an aerial survey in 1977. Excavations conducted by Haselgrove (1983-1987) uncovered a multi-phased site. Earliest occupation, dating to the Early Iron Age, consists of a large curvilinear enclosure. After a several hundred year gap occupation is succeeded in the La Tène C2/D1a by a orthogonal ditched enclosure containing several post-built structures. Finds associated with this phase include, Dressel amphora, wheel made pottery and large storage *dolia*. After La Tène D1b abandonment, the site was re-occupied during the La Tène D2b/GR 1, at which time a five ha enclosure was established. The interior of this enclosure was subdivided into several sections arrayed around a central courtyard. Structures in the enclosure include, post-built buildings, pits and cellars. Plant remnants supposedly identify northern structures with domestic activity and features on the southern side

as barns of byres. Several buildings demonstrate rebuilding. The adoption of stone foundations is seen as evidence of increased Romanisation. The stone foundations, as well as the layout of the site, are thought to anticipate the Roman villa form. Several brooches were excavated from Roman structures.

However whether these date to the La Tène D1b/GR 1 phase or to later first century CE occupation is uncertain. Haselgrove, C. (1996a): 155-161; Pichon, B. (2002): 118.

Braine, "La Grange des Moines"

Rural

La Tène D1a/D1b

14 Brooches (cat. no. 970-982)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic/Gravel Extraction

La Tène D1a/D1b consists of three enclosures (A, B and C). Enclosures, A and B are diachronic, while C is possibly contemporary with B. Further Late La Tène ditches were excavated to the south and northwest of the site. Enclosure B measures 7700 m², consisting of ditches measures 1.5 to 2.5 m wide, with a mean depth of 0.6 m. The internal space within the enclosure delineated by an internal ditch into 5000 m² and 2700 m² areas. The later section is further subdivided. Entrances to Enclosure B were recovered on its eastern and western sides. Internal structures include, two post-built structures (St.325, St. 365). St.325 had large postholes and was likely a tall structure. Its close association with concentration of finds within the western enclosure ditch is thought to identify it as a domestic structure. Structure St.365 contained a deposit of horse bones in one of its interior angles. However, beyond this, its function/role is unknown. Deposits in Enclosure B's ditch include,

amphora, several skulls (human, deer and cattle), in addition to horse bones. An articulated horse skeleton was also in the north eastern angle. The ditch for Enclosure C was built after the ditch of Enclosure A was filled. It is quadrangular in form and covers 3330 m² and was likely palisaded. Two antennae project from the ends of the enclosure forming a 50 m long corridor that might also have been palisaded. No remains were found in the palisaded sections of ditch. A quadrangular pit was also found in association with enclosure C near to the north eastern angle. This pit has rounded angles and measures 2.2 m per side and survives to a depth of 1.10 m. The pit was lined with limestone blocks and was covered by a five-post structure. While Enclosure B is identified as rural settlement, while Enclosure C is thought to have possibly served a more ritualistic function. Recovered finds include, amphora, grinding tools, copper alloy decorative items, potin coins and weaponry fragments. Identified crafts identified include, metallurgy, ceramics manufacture, glass making, enamelling, woodworking and textile manufacture. Auxiette, G., Pommepuy, C (2000); Pichon, B, (2002): 135-136.

Brissay-Hamécourt, "Au Chaufour"

Funerary

La Tène D2/GR 1

3 Brooches (cat. no. 2245-2247)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian

Explored by Moreau in 1879 and only the finds are recorded in the *Album Caranda*. A Chariot burial was possibly excavated here containing finds such as, two bridal rings, six iron bits, five large as well as one small copper alloy bands. Additionally, a smooth torque was also recovered around the neck of the recovered body in

association with a beaded pendant, iron brooch, iron dagger, two lance points, a sword and a copper alloy belt buckle. Other listed finds include, Late Iron Age and Roman (Claudian and Hadrianic)coins, two earrings, two bracelets and two brooches. A Merovingian brooch was also recovered from the surface.

Pichon, B, (2002): 142.

Bucy-le-Long, "Au Fond du Petit Marais"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C1/C2 to La Tène D2a

23 Brooches (cat. no. 1810-1832)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

The site is located on a six km long plain bordered by a meander of the Aisne River. The site is interpreted as a possible hamlet with several farms grouped together, or as a small farm, displaced on several occasions. Twenty-nine La Tène C1/C2 burials, all inhumations, were also excavated. The burials were organized around a square enclosure containing a possible chariot burial. The chariot burial was unfortunately robbed in antiquity, but traces of iron wheels remained in the burial pit. A large child burial, was also excavated several metres from the chariot burial. The child burial consisted of a large four-post structure with a ditch surrounding a central pit. Finds from this burial include, a bucket ring, iron handle and a brooch. Few finds were recovered from other early La Tène C1/C2 inhumations. Nineteen extremely eroded La Tène C2 cremation burials were also excavated. These contained few finds. Fifteen cremation burials and five inhumation burials dating to the La Tène D1a were also found dating. Many of these aligned with the chariot burial, possibly indicative of continuous use of the site. Two structures with four and eight postholes were also found without

associated burials. A La Tène D2 rural site was also excavated, consisting of several posthole structures, enclosure ditches and pits. The late La Tène enclosure ditch contained several fragments of Dressel 1a amphora.

Pommepuy, C. et al. (1998): 85-98; Pichon, B, (2002): 149-150.

Celles-les-Condé, "À la Croix Poulet"

Rural

La Tène D2a

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2261)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: n/a

Chevallier discovered this site in 1953, during an aerial survey. Fagot and Chevallier identified a rural site here during excavations conducted between 1954 and 1957. This rural site, tentatively dated to the La Tène D2a, consists of 16 pits within a circular enclosure. While the majority of the pits contained only a few coarse black wares, one seems to have been used as a major repository. This pit contained a complete ovicaprid skeleton, burnt material, large paving stones, *barres à douilles*, an iron brooch, a loom-weight, two copper alloy rings, a belt buckle and a fragment of a blue glass bracelet. However, the stratigraphy of these finds is unknown.

Pichon, B, (2002): 157.

Celles-sous-Aisne, "À la Briqueterie"

Funerary

La Tène D2/GR 1

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2248)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian

Moreau excavated this site in 1891. Finds recorded in the *Album Caranda* include, a gold Julia Mamaea coin, a brooch, a suspension hook and two decorative

metal pieces. Sigillata fragments, as well as two terracotta statuettes, a female bust and a rooster, were also recovered.

Pichon, B, (2002): 158.

Chassemy, "Au Dessus de Prugny "

Funerary

La Tène C or La Tène D

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2249)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian

Initially discovered by local children in 1848, the site was excavated by Piette and Fleury in 1869, and by Moreau in 1888. De Leslay also reassessed the site in 1984. Several Cremation burials, all poorly recorded, were excavated here. The presence of Late La Tène ceramics date tentatively the site to the La Tène C or D. One brooch (Early La Tène type?) was also recovered.

Pichon, B, (2002): 166-167.

Chivy-les-Etouvelles, "Aménagement RN2"

Funerary

La Tène D1b

2 Brooches (cat. no. 2250-2251)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

This La Tène D1b funerary site is located three km south of Laon. A late first century ditch and Roman pit were also excavated. One well-appointed child burial was excavated. The child, possibly aged 6 to eight years, was found in association with 11 vases, a copper alloy bracelet, two fragments of an iron knife handle and five brooches (two copper and three iron). The copper alloy brooches were Late La Tène Reverted Bow types while the iron were Classic Nauheim's. The finds date the site between the La Tène D1b although, given the re-assessment of Nauheims, this can possibly be pushed back to the La Tène D1a. The burnt remains of a young pig and a bird

were found mixed with the human remains.

Gransar, F., Naze Y. (1996): 24-25.

Chivres-en-Laonnois, "Sud de La Croix"

Funerary

La Tène D1b

5 Brooches (cat. no. 2252-2256)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

The excavated cremation burial contained two copper alloy brooches, three corroded and burnt iron brooches, a knife fragment, a small copper alloy band and several ceramics. All finds were deposited directly on the substrata. The human remains were identified as a four to six year old child. Animal remains include, pigs, ovicaprids, and birds.

Pichon, B, (2002): 179.

Clastres-Saint-Simon, "La Clef des Champs "

Rural

La Tène D2b/GR 1

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2262)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Three hundred and ninety-four structures were uncovered here, dating to the Late La Tène and Roman periods. The densest occupation consists of a series of ditches. These contained ceramics, coins and brooches, placing activity between the Late La Tène and the fourth century CE. Derbois, M. (2002b): 28.

Condé-sur-Suippe/Variscourt, "Vieux-Reims"

Oppidum

La Tène D1b

150 Brooches (cat. no. 763-912)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

The *oppidum* of Condé-sur-Suippe, located at the confluence of the Aisne and Suippe rivers 20 km north of Reims, is dated between 120 and 80 BCE. Like Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, 60 km to the east, this site is also situated in a meander of the Aisne River. Only four hectares of this 170 ha site have been excavated. Recovered finds include, unturned and turned ceramics, Dressel 1a and 1b amphora (1b's are the majority), animal and human bones. Brooches, other elements of jewellery, harness gear and potin coinage were also recovered. Remnants of iron, copper alloy and gold working were also noted.

Pion, P. *et al.* (1997); Pichon, B, (2002): 199-202.

Crecy-sur-Serre, "La Croix Saint-Jacques"

Funerary

La Tène C2

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2257)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

Two La Tène C2 cremation burials were excavated. These consist of rectangular pits within a square enclosure. Each burial contained a dozen ceramics, as well as animal remains, identified as mainly pig. One burials contained a few glass beads and a loomweight. The other burial was excavated of two iron objects, including a large knife as well as a fragmentary brooch. A contemporary 11 m² quadrangular enclosure was also discovered, 180 m to the southwest. This eroded enclosure contained burnt bones, two vases and an unknown iron fragment. Naze, G. (2004): 26-28; Naze, G. (2005): 23-25.

Cuiry-les-Chaudardes, "Aux Fontinettes and Au Champ Tortu"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène D2b/GR 1

3 Brooches (cat. no. 1390-1392)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

Fifteen or so pits and post-built structures belonging to a rural/funerary site were excavated on the on the south slope of the Maye Valley. Finds include, a loomweight and three ceramic weights. These were dated to the La Tène D. A La Tène D2 burial was also excavated. The burial, inside a central pit within a U-shaped enclosure ditch with six postholes, contained nine vases, nine glass beads, animal bones (bird and pig) and an amphora. An Augustan enclosure, consisting of a ditch and 20 or so pits, was also excavated. These structures contained local ceramics, sigillata, Gallo-Belgic and White Allier wares. Demoule, J.-P., Illett, M. (1982): 277-280; Gransar, F. (2006): 24.

Juincourt-et-Damary, "Au Ruisseau de Fayau "

Rural

La Tène C2/D1a

24 Brooches (cat. no. 739-762)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

This eroded site was excavated under poor conditions between 1991 and 1994. Major finds include a pit excavated of brooches, beads, ceramics, bones, knives and necklaces as well as coinage. Further structures also include a possible square enclosure. Haselgrove, C., Lowther, P. (1994): 363-371.

Maizy, "Bois Gobert"

Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a

6 Brooches (cat. no. 1186-1191)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

Three La Tène C2/D1a funerary enclosures were excavated here on the border of the Champagne plateau. The largest enclosure (St. 12) was wood lined. Metal objects include, an iron grill, knife, amphora and six Reverted Bow brooches. Interestingly although the site is dated to the La Tène C2/D1a transition because of the brooches, the amphorae recovered here date to the La Tène D1b. Robert, B. *et al.* (2008): 27-59.

Mont d'Origny, "Au Jardin de Grand-père"
Rural

La Tène D1a to GR 1

5 Brooches (cat. no. 2263-2267)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Construction

This rural site consists of four silos and two pits containing animal bones and ceramics. Metal finds include, nails, five brooches and six Early first century CE Gallic Coins (including one Augustan coin). Thouvenot, S. (1993); Pichon, B. (2002): 336.

Mont-Notre-Dame, "À Vaudigny"
Rural

La Tène D1a to GR 1

2 Brooches (cat. no. 967-968)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

This site consists of a large ditched enclosure, several post-built structures and pits. As the site is located at the foot of a hill in a swampy area it is estimated that many of the ditches were for drainage. Finds include, ceramics, brooches, knives and querns. During the First century CE a mid-sized villa was built here over earlier structures. However, little is known about this phase because of

later third and fourth century CE occupation.

Pichon, B, (2002): 323-324.

Nizy-le-Comte, "Sisonne"

Sanctuary

GR 1

14 Brooches (cat. no. 1376-1389)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

This site consists of a Roman *fanum* and *vicus*. However, chance findings of six Late Iron Age coins and brooches hint at earlier occupation and the site has been tentatively identified as a Late Iron Age sanctuary.

Jöbic, G. (1987): 65-66; Fichtl, S. (1984).

Pignacourt, "Le Pont au Marbres"

Rural

La Tène D1a

2 Brooches (cat. no. 1809, 2413)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

An rural site, consisting of an enclosure ditch, pits and post built structures was excavated here. The pits contained ceramics, including Dressel 1a amphora. Other finds include, two copper alloy brooches and burnt daub.

Pichon, B, (2002): 355.

Pommiers, "Au Moulin à Vent"

Oppidum

La Tène D2b/GR 1

14 Brooches (cat. no. 913-923, 1507-1519, 2416)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian/Academic

The *oppidum* of Pommiers is situated on a chalk plateau 80 m above the right bank of the Aisne valley, approximately three km from Soissons. The 40 ha site possibly corresponds to *Noviodunum*, identified by

Caesar as the capital of the Suessiones.

During the early 20th century Vauvillé conducted four sondages in the fortification ditch. Finds recorded by Vauvillé include, ceramics, quern fragments, iron slag, Late Iron Age coinage and animal bone (pig, beef, horse, ovi-caprids and dog). Vauvillé also uncovering several pits within the enclosure's interior, which he interpreted as habitats. These pits contained numerous bones, as well as iron objects (e.g. nails). One hundred and twenty-seven brooches as well as four rings were also found at Pommiers, although their exact contexts are unknown. Surface finds by include a copper alloy statue of a female with braided hair. Vauvillé took a detailed inventory of coinage but unfortunately few details about the the brooches are available. Later sondages by Brun uncovered more animal bone, a fragment of human skull as well as a fragmentary Dressel 1a amphora under the limestone blocks from the fallen rampart. A Dressel 1b amphora, as well as Gallo-Belgic and sigillata, were also recovered on top of the fallen rampart. These finds tentatively date occupation to the La Tène D2b/GR 1 transition.

Vauvillé, O. (1912): 303-307; Brun, P. (1987); Pichon, B, (2002): 351-354.

Presles-et-Boves, "Ferme de Saint Audebert"

Funerary

La Tène C2 and D2b/GR 1

7 Brooches (cat. no. 2406-2412)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian

Moreau excavated this funerary site between 1889 and 1890. Few details other than the finds are available. These include an iron bilhook, knives, six brooches, tweezers, a copper alloy bucket band, a ceramic sieve, two small unturned

vases and a large black glaze plate. Two amphora were also found inside a cremation burial with burnt stone, ceramics, animal bone, five glass rings, a copper alloy bead, an iron brooch and two decorative copper alloy bands.

Pichon, B, (2002): 358.

Saint-Quentin, "Prés du Bout du Ville"

Rural

La Tène D1b/D2a

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2268)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadwork

La Tène D1b/D2a features consist of a multi-phased enclosure ditch, pits and post-built structures. Most finds were discovered in the pits: Dressel 1 amphora, a brooch fragment, three pieces of a welded ploughshare, as well as a hatchet and metal bands. Animal bones (ovicaprids, cattle, horse and pig) were also excavated.

Thouvenot, S. (1990); Pichon, B, (2002): 414.

Saint-Thomas, "Aux Camp de Romans, Vieux Laon"

Oppidum

La Tène D2a

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2258)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian/Academic

This 32 ha *oppidum* consists of a larger 26 ha enclosure and a smaller six ha enclosure. Following 18th and 19th century excavations by de Caylus and Devisme, the site was tentatively identified Bibrax. In 1890 Vauvillé excavated several 'habitats' in the centre of the enclosure. Finds include ash, burnt wood and iron slag. During the 20th century Lobjois excavated the entrance and identified the multiphased split-post ramparts as being

similar to those at Chaussée-Tirancourt (Somme). Haselgrove also surveyed here with a team from Durham. Recorded surface finds from the interior include, Late Iron Age and Roman coinage, iron lance points, a fragmented brooch, key, nails, slag, a three kg copper alloy ingot and fragments, Late La Tène ceramics, as well as pig, cattle and dog bones.

Fichtl, S. (1984); Haselgrove *et al.* (1997): 62-65; Pichon, B, (2002): 405.

Vermand, "Marteville"

Sanctuary

La Tène D1 to GR 1/GR 2

64 Brooches (cat. no. 1215-1278)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Survey

Finds recovered from surface survey in the vicinity of the enclosed site of Vermand suggest that occupation began in the Late Iron Age and extended to the fourth century CE. These finds are tentatively associated with earlier phases of use at the sanctuary of Marteville.

Piton, D., Dilly, G. (1978); Pichon, B, (2002): 477-484.

Villeneuve-Saint-Germain

Oppidum

La Tène D1b/D2a to La Tène D2b

405 Brooches (cat. no. 334-738)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

The *oppidum* of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain is located in a meander of the Aisne, 56 km northwest of Reims. Nearby rural sites include, Missy-sur-Aisne (La Tène C2/D1a) and Beaurieux, "les Grèves" (La Tène C2/D1a, La Tène D2b/GR 1). Excavated features include, a double external rampart, structures associated with manufacture and domestic living and a central cruciform ditch. The latter is

believed to have been wood lined and covered by a superstructure. The favourable placement of the site in a meander and its proximity to the burial ground of Bucy-le-Long, across the river identifies the area as important, perhaps as a meeting place, before the *oppidum's* construction.

Debord, J.-L. (1993): 71-109; Metzler et al. (2000): 180; Peyre, C. (2006): 155-206.

Ardennes

Acy-Romance, "La Warde"

Rural

La Tène C2-D1a

29 Brooches (cat. no. 965-966, 1337-1364)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Acy-Romance is located, on the northern edge of the Ardennes 15 km northeast of the Aisne Valley. Covering 15 ha Acy-Romance is unique in northern France, not just because it covers such a large surface area, but because it combines features from domestic, funerary, as well as sanctuary sites. While unenclosed, the site is defined by two natural outcroppings on its south and north east sides. Two courtyards, A and B, were identified in the north eastern area of the site. These contained several multi-phased structures, annexe buildings, silos, granaries and portions of palisades. The courtyards are currently associated with different types of economic activity. Pastoral pursuits more predominant in courtyard B. While in A, with its many silos, was more closely linked with arable activity. A possible craft-working area was also noted to the south of Courtyard A. A D-shaped enclosure associated with ritual activity was also excavated to the south of the courtyards. This enclosure is one of the earliest features at the site. Its identification with ritual stems from its

close association with burials as well as the finds from the enclosure ditch itself. Nineteen seated inhumations, or box-burials of seated individuals, were found arrayed on the western side of the enclosure. While, the enclosure ditch was excavated of large amounts of animal bone, thought distinct from animal remains from the domestic areas via the presence of higher proportions of cattle and pig. Several butchery pits were also found between the D-shaped enclosure and the domestic areas. Ceramics and brooches date the site between the La Tène C2 and D1a.

Lambot, B. (1996): 13-14; Lambot, B. (1997): 13-14; Lambot, B. (1998): 13-14; Lambot, B. (1999): 13-14; Lambot, B. (2000): 13; Lambot, B. (2001): 13-15; Lambot, B. (2002): 13-14.

Alincourt, "Gersay"

Funerary

GR 1/GR 2

1 Brooch (cat. no. 144)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Located on the bottom of the Retourne valley, approximately 300 m from the river. In addition to an Early La Tène and Later Roman settlement, one GR 1/GR 2 adult male inhumation was also excavated here. Finds, including two ceramics and an incomplete iron brooch, were recovered from the burial.

Stead, I. *et al.* (2007): 75.

Annelles, "La Garenne"

Unknown

La Tène D2b/GR 1

3 Brooches (cat. no. 2183-2185)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Finds, including a copper alloy sword and three brooches, were recovered during a surface survey. The finds date activity to the La Tène D2b/GR 1 transition.

Chertier, B. (1983): 375; Lambot, B. (1983): 36.

Avançon, "La Voie de Blanzly"

Rural

La Tène C2/D1a

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Academic

A large ditched enclosure was discovered here, only a corner of which was excavated. The excavated portion of the enclosure contained silos and pits, identifying it as a rural site. The overall organisation of the site is uncertain, but it has tentatively been dated to the La Tène C2/D1a via the finds which are similar to those at Acy-Romance. The remains of a possibly ritualistic deposit similar to Acy-Romance were also uncovered here, including horse skulls, rouelles, lance points, slag and unfinished brooches. Ceramics indicate that the site was used into the Late Imperial period. Lambot, B. (1998): 14-15.

Chateau-Porcien, "Nandin"

Oppidum

La Tène D2b/GR 1

85 Brooches (cat. no. 2098-2182)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Academic

A total of 85 Late Iron Age and Early Roman brooches were collected during surface surveys in and around this site. This site is mainly known through surface survey and very little is known about its layout and occupation.

Lambot, B. (1983): 36; Lambot, B., Casagrande, P. (1996): 13-38.

La Croizette

Funerary

La Tène C2 to La Tène D2a

29 Brooches (cat. no. 270-298)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

This enclosed funerary site, located on the south eastern flank of the Champagne Plateau, approximately 300 m east of Acy-Romance. The quadrangular enclosure surrounding the burials measures 79.70 m by 21.35 m. The two short sides of the enclosure are badly eroded and not much survives there. A 12 post structure was built in the centre of the enclosure, immediately next to three central pits, filled with stones. The central pit contained the cremated remains of an adult, and infant, as well as animal bones. Finds, including 29 brooches (two attached with an iron chain), ceramics, rings, beads, razors, shears, knives, nails, bucket fittings, spindle whorls, an iron chain and three copper alloy rings from a possible money case, were recovered from 21 burials.

Friboulet, M. (1997): 10-11; Lambot, B. (1999): 37.

Juniville, "Souss Blousseru"

Funerary

La Tène D2a/D2b

18 Brooches (cat. no 50-67)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

This funerary site is located on the plateau overlooking the Retourne valley. Test-pitting carried out in 1973 located three funerary enclosures, labelled A, B and C. The site has not been fully excavated but finds, including 31 ceramics, two bracelets, 11 beads, a possible razor, four iron dogs, seven nails, one metal

fragment, a ring, as well as 18 brooches, were recovered from from six burials. Stead, I. et al. (2007): 101.

Ménil-Annelles

Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D2/GR 1

49 Brooches (cat. no. 1-49)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Discovered in 1964, initial excavations were conducted by Le Breton. Subsequent test-pitting and geophysical survey in 1971 uncovered further burials, both inhumations and cremations. A total of 17 enclosures spanning the La Tène C2/D1a to D2b/GR 1 were found at this site (A, B, C, G, H, J, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, Y). Several post-holed structures were also uncovered. Finds from 35 burials include 176 ceramics, 49 brooches, four bracelets, three beads, 10 knives, eight razors, two shears, seven iron dogs, eight nails, nine metal fragments, nine rattles, tweezers, spindle whorls, axe heads, locks, rings, as well as a torque and animal bones.

Stead, I. et al. (2007): 66.

La Noue de Barue 1994

Funerary

La Tène C2 to La Tène D2

15 Brooches (cat. no. 255-269)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

This site is composed of two enclosures. To the north, enclosure E2 surrounds the remains of an Early La Tène rural site, of which only two silos remain. Eight cremation burials were excavated in the northern half of E2. Finds include 15 brooches, ceramics, bucket fittings, and an iron knife. Enclosure E1 is located six metres to the south of E2. This enclosure is heavily eroded and no burials were found in association.

Friboulet, M. (1997): 18-19.

La Noue Mauroy 1989

Funerary

La Tène D1b to La Tène D2b

8 Brooches (cat. no. 326-333)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

This enclosed funerary site, consisting of a 14 by 17 by 27 m trapezoidal ditched enclosure, is located 100 m to the west of Acy-Romance. Finds, including amphora fragments, an iron brooch, burnt bone and seed remains, were recovered in the ditch fill. Nine cremation burials were excavated inside the enclosure. Finds from the cremation burials include eight brooches, ceramics, beads, rings, bucket fittings, an iron axe and a hook. A small nine by five metre sub-divided enclosure with four square postholes was also excavated within the larger enclosure. Friboulet, M. (1997): 12-13.

La Noue Mauroy 1992

Funerary

La Tène D1a/D1b to GR 1/GR 2

110 Brooches (cat. no. 145-254)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

This funerary site, consisting of four La Tène D1a/D1b to GR 1/GR 2 enclosures, is located 300 m west of Acy-Romance. The northernmost enclosure (C-E) measures 25.5 by 35 metres and contains eight burials: an empty pit (possibly a robbed tomb); an inhumation and six cremations. The largest burial (St.1) is located at the centre of an eight-post quadrangular structure. A large area of burnt wood, possibly the remains of a cremation area, was also excavated in the northwestern angle of the enclosure. South of C-E, 13 m by 14.20 m Enclosure D contains two

cremation burials. To the east of D, Enclosure A surrounds seven cremation burials, and an infant burial. Burnt wood remains were also found in the southwestern angle of this enclosure, as well as on both sides of the southeast angle. A trapezoidal enclosure, labelled B, was also excavated to the south. This enclosure contained 32 cremation burials. Finds, including 110 brooches, ceramics, bracelets, rings, bucket fittings, a sword, a lance-point and loom-weights, were recovered from the cremations. Friboulet, M. (1997): 13-17; Lambot, B., Méniel, P. (2000): 104-20.

Nanteuil-sur-Aisne, "Népellier"
Sanctuary

La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D2/GR 1
43 Brooches (cat. no. 2194-2236)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic/Construction

This multi-phased sanctuary is located 1.5 km to the west of Acy-Romance.

Unfortunately, as the site is located on a sandy embankment, it is very eroded. Recovered finds include La Tène C2 weaponry, Late Iron Age coinage, human, animal bone and ceramics. Several surface-finds of unfinished brooches were also recorded, identifying it as a possible manufacturing site. Approximately four phases of occupation were noted, spanning the La Tène C2/D1a through to the Roman period. The earliest occupation consists of a 'ritualistic' Early La Tène silo-burial, containing two horses found in association two headless humans and pottery. The sanctuary itself begins in the La Tène C2/D1a as a 56 m long oval enclosure and then is superseded by a 44 m² temple. Unfortunately Roman reconstruction has destroyed much of the earlier site. The earliest contexted deposits, containing rouelles and potin coinage, date to the La Tène D1b/D2a. A

deep circular pit was also found. It was unfortunately robbed, but some rouelles and potin were found against the sides. A second undated phase, consisting of postholes and a layer of burning, was also recorded. The Iron Age site was completely re-planned during the later first century CE and replaced by a Roman-style podium temple. Several Late Iron Age rouelles and potin coins were recovered within the foundations of this structure. During the mid-second century CE a second, larger temple was also built here.

Lambot, B. (1996): 28-29; Lambot, B. (1997): 30; Orbons, J. (1997): 14; Lambot, B., Méniel, P. (2000): 76.

Rethel, "Les Auges"

Unknown

La Tène D2b/GR 1

8 Brooches (cat. no. 2186-2193)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Unfortunately this site has only been explored via surface survey. Brooches recovered include six Late Iron Age or Early Roman types, as well as two Merovingian examples.

Lambot, B. (1983): 36.

Roizy, "Asfeld"

Sanctuary

La Tène C or D

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Survey

This sanctuary is similar in plan to Nanteuil-sur-Aisne. Finds recovered at the site include folded swords, Iron Age and Roman coins as well as brooches. No human bones were found, but this is likely because of the lack of interest in this type of material when the site was investigated. As the material recovered

has yet to be studied the dating remains loosely set to the La Tène C and D. Fichtl, S. (1984).

Thugny-Trugny, "La Mayet"

Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D2b/GR 1

27 Brooches (cat. no. 299-325)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Fifteen cremation burials were found on the Champagne plateau approximately 1500 m from the Aisne River. Five of the burials were associated with post-built structures. One four-post structure without a burial was also excavated. The largest, a double enclosure with a palisade, measures 28.40 m by 27 m. A pit filled with burnt wood, perhaps the remains of a cremation area, was also excavated outside of the enclosures. Finds, including 27 brooches, date the site between the La Tène C2/D1a to the La Tène D2b/GR 1.

Lambot, B. (1999): 37; Lambot, B. (2000): 35; Lambot, B. (2002): 26-27.

Ville-sur-Retourne

Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a to La Tène D1b to GR 2 76

Brooches (cat. no. 68-143) Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Between 1972 and 1977, 4300 m² of this funerary site was excavated. Work revealed 29 enclosures (A-H, J-P, Q-Y, AA-DD). All, but enclosure G, contained a primary burial and several contain secondary burials (B, D, K-N, P, V). There are some variations in size between the enclosures. For example, although the earlier enclosures tend to be the largest, likely indicating competition for space, smaller Gallo-Roman cremations are mainly restricted to the enclosure ditches on the eastern end of the site. Finds from 51 burials were excavated of 307

ceramics, nine bracelets, 20 beads, four swords, two knives, two razors, one pair of shears, 17 iron dogs, 30 nails, 21 metal fragments, five rattles, rings, locks, a shield boss, chains, needles, bucket attachments, spindle whorls, an awl, one coin and 76 brooches.

Stead et al. (2007): 150.

Oise

Allonne, "ZAC de Thère"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C1/C2 and La Tène D1a

12 Brooches (cat. no. 1200-1211)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

The funerary site of Allonne is located at the meeting point of two distinct geographic regions: the northern Thérain Valley which extends onto the Picardy Plateau and the southern Pays de Bray opening via the Berneuil Valley. Eight burials were excavated of 16 cremations. Excavated finds include 51 vases, an iron brooch, tweezers, an iron sword and ceramics. La Tène D1a occupation, consisting of an eroded quadrangular ditched enclosure, post-built structures, pits and postholes, were also excavated. Paris *et al.* (1998): 271-329.

Bailleuil-sur-Thérain, "Le Mont César"

Oppidum

La Tène D2/GR 1

5 Brooches (cat. no. 1672-1676)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian/Academic

This fortified site is located on an outcropping overlooking the Thérain River 12 km south east of Beauvais. The site consists of an unexcavated 1054 by 422 m ovalar enclosure. Surface finds include a Hallstatt period Gunligen sword, Roman period querns, stamped lamps (*Caesa f.*),

stamped ceramics (*Drinus*, *Lucanus*, *Secco f.*, *Avit ma*, *Divix M.*), five brooches, animal bones, broken weapons (Late Iron Age lance-points, swords, and scabbards), torques, copper alloy horsegear, beads and 27 Late Iron Age coins.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 119-122; Malrain, F. *et al.* (2000).

Beauvais, "Les Aulnes de Canada"
Sanctuary

La Tène D1

5 Brooches (cat. no. 1397-1397)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

This La Tène D1 site was excavated ahead of gravel extraction. The non-plateau siting of the site does not match the location of other Picardy sanctuaries. As a result, Beauvais has been tentatively identified as a quadrangular enclosure, *viereckschanze*, or communal centre. Only one 82 m long side of the enclosure survived. Finds include ceramics, animal bones, five brooches, iron *barres à douilles*, tools, coins, bracelets, decorative plaques, nails and wood fragments. Some Dressel 1a amphora were also found. No Late La Tène structures were found inside the enclosure, although some Roman period activity was noted.

Woimant, G.-P. (1990): 27-93; Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 131-132.

Beauvais, "7, Rue de Villebola Mareuil"
Rural

La Tène D2b/GR 1 to GR 2

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2401)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Located in the city of Beauvais, this rural site consists of an enclosure dated between the first century BCE and second century CE. An earlier site was also

evidenced via pits and postholes; although this was largely disturbed by later settlement. Finds, including a Feugère 14a brooch, were recovered in the foundations of a later Roman stone built structure.

Goret, J.-F. (2004): 71.

Beauvais, "Rue de Leonard Davinci"
Funerary

La Tène D1/D2

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Construction

Located in the city of Beauvais, this site consists of a small cremation cemetery with 14 burials and a group of pits. The burials are divided into three distinct groups over 80 m. Although the site was extremely plough damaged, finds include cremated bone, ceramics, bracelets, brooches and pendants.

Goret, J.-L. (1998): 58.

Béthisy-Saint-Martin, "Le Barillet"
Oppidum

La Tène D1

1 Brooch (cat. no. 1197)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

This fortified site is located on the Grand-Monts Plateau overlooking the Automne Valley. Only a single 450 m long ditch remains of the enclosure. A test-pit recovered finds dating to the La Tène D1, including animal bone, ceramics, dolia, cups, miniature vases, amphora, an iron rod, an iron hook, an iron brooch, slag, nails and Late Iron Age coins (i.e. *potin* Scheers 191). Hemp fibers and wheat grains (*Triticum Aestivum* S.L.) and a mediterranean glass fragment with a gold filament, were also recovered.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 165-166.

Breuil-Le-Sec, "Les Bois"

Funerary

La Tène C1/C2

4 Brooches (cat. no. 1800-1804)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Duval excavated this site, 31 km east of Beauvais, in the 1970s. The site was extremely eroded, but four Late La Tène Reverted Bow brooches were recovered. Little else is known about the site. Digenne, M (1974).

Canly, "Les Trois Noyers"

Funerary

La Tène D1

3 Brooches (cat. no. 1865-1867)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Railworks

Three cremation burials were excavated at Canly, located approximately nine km north of Verberie. Finds, including ceramics, iron and copper alloy brooches, bucket attachments, a bracelet, glass beads, two rouelles and a copper alloy cylinder, were excavated from the cremation burials. Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 190; Pinard, E. and Gaudefroy, S. (1997): 89-105.

Cauffry, "La Petite Vallée"

Rural

La Tène C2/D1a

1 Brooch (cat. no. 1198)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Located approximately 23 km southeast of Bresles, the enclosed rural settlement of Cauffry was excavated by Decormeille in 1978. This site has a unique domestic area paved with limestone blocks. Two deep pits and a hearth were also excavated, the latter filled with burnt

stone and wood. Finds include ceramics, a copper alloy Reverted Bow brooch, a lignite bracelet, a quern and a human bone fragment. These tentatively date the site at the La Tène C2/D1a transition. Decormeille, A. *et al.* (1978); Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 195.

Chambly, "À la Viellarde"

Rural

La Tène D1/D2

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2402)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Discovered by Boucneau during the excavation of a canal in 1989. Finds, mainly recovered in a 80 mm thick burnt deposit, included fragments of dolia, cups, a fragmentary triangular loomweight, a filiform iron brooch and animal bones. The presence of these objects are thought to indicate the presence of a nearby Late La Tène rural settlement. Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 200.

Chambly, "La Marnière, Les Cournouilliers"

Rural

La Tène D1/D2

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Boucneau and Romenteau excavated this Late La Tène rural site, approximately 43 km south of Beauvais, in 1987, 1988 and 1990. The rural enclosure is comprised of two perpendicular ditches separated by an opening in the north and southwestern sides; the latter, defined by two lined and symmetrical internal ditches. Four silos and an assemblage of postholes were also excavated inside the enclosure. Finds in the northern ditch include loom-weights,

nails, knives, brooches, copper alloy bracelets, iron tools, two potin coins as well as animal and human bone. Sixty-eight kg (2721 sherds) of Dressel 1a and 1b amphora were also found, as well as turned and painted wares.

Fémolant, J.-M. (1992): 7-12; Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 199; Friboulet, M. (2005).

Chambly, "La Remise Ronde- ZAC des Porte de L'Oise/Projet Christiaen 2"
Rural

La Tène D2a

1 Brooch (cat. no. 1860)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Discovered ahead of construction of the site of the Porte de L'Oise ZAC, located approximately 43 km south of Beauvais. A total of four La Tène D2 quadrangular ditched enclosures, likely built in two phases, were excavated here. Finds include ceramics, animal bone, daub, and metal finds. A Dressel 1 amphora as well as a copper alloy Nauheim derivative were also uncovered.

Derbois-Delattre, M (1999): 49; Blondiau, L. (1999): 53; Derbois-Delattre, M. (2000): 65-66; Beaujard, S. (2002): 73; Friboulet, M. (2005): 74.

Champlieu-Ourroy, "Les Tournelles"
Sanctuary

La Tène D1 to GR 2

12 Brooches (cat. no. 1279-1290)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian

This site is largely known by its Roman theatre and baths structures. La Tène D1 vestiges were also excavated under the Roman baths, including silo with human bones and ceramics. The foundations of the mid-first century CE Roman structures

also contained Late Iron Age coins, weaponry and brooches.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 353-359.

Cires-Les-Mello, "La Remise de Villeneuve"
Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a

1 Brooch (cat. no. 1196)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

Located approximately 10 km east of Creil. This funerary site consists of a single pit containing human cremated remains, three or four ceramics and a fragmentary iron Simple Filiform brooch. The ceramics date to the C2/D1a transition.

Guerlin, O. (2002): 74.

Creil, "Les Cerisiers"

Rural

La Tène D2a

2 Brooches (cat. no. 1863-1864)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

Situated on the edge of the plateau overlooking the Oise valley in Creil. This rural site consists of a system of ditches forming two contemporary enclosures, labelled A and B. Two brooches, bracelets as well as beads, ceramics, a spindle whorl, iron nails and a knife were uncovered, under a layer of burnt stone, inside the fill of the Enclosure A. Metal working is indicated via the excavation of several crucibles from a pit inside Enclosure B.

Fémolant, J.-M. (1989): 43-66.

Creil, "La Forêt de la Haute Pommeraie, Le Houy"

Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a

15 Brooches (cat. no. 2370-1284)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Three La Tène C2/D1a cremations were excavated at Creil under a third or fourth century CE Roman villa. One burial contained two ceramics and 15 brooches. While the second contained a large iron brooch and ceramics. A third burial was also excavated, but only contained ceramics. Several Roman and Late Iron Age coins as well as a potin were also found within the villa foundations.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 232.

Estrées-Saint-Denis, "Au Moulin des Hayes"

Sanctuary

La Tène D1/D2 to GR 1

145 Brooches (cat. no. 1527-1671)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Located on a plateau 15 km from Compiègne. Woimant excavated estrées-Saint-Denis between 1983 and 1987, as well as in 1993. Querel also worked there in 1996. Woimant identified a total of nine occupation periods, spanning the second century CE through to the late Roman and Medieval periods. However, the eroded nature of the site, means that the majority of the phases have been identified via finds rather than stratigraphy and, therefore, the site is poorly understood. The first five phases span the La Tène C1/C2 through to the late first century CE. Phase One consists of a horseshoe shaped palisaded trench containing human and horse bones, ceramics and iron weaponry. Phase Two, dating to the La Tène D1, consists of small dispersed pits containing fragments of doilia and pig bones. A large ditch with a post-lined entrance was also cut in the southern end of the site. Finds here range in date between the La Tène D1 and D2. In Phase Three the sanctuary is

completely reorganized and two structures are built to the east and south. Four quadrangular pits were also cut in the centre of the enclosure. Associated postholes indicate that these could have been covered. The pits and postholes dated to this phase contained Late Iron Age coins (89 out of the 210 total found at the site), rings, miniature vases, silver bracelets and brooches. No enclosure was found dating to the Early Gallo-Roman period and the few scattered finds of Gallo-Belgic pottery and terracotta indicate rather limited activity. However, by the end of the first century CE the construction of a large 60 by 40 m quadrangular ditched enclosure with a stone gallery, seems to indicate that activity resumed here.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 245-249;

Woimant, G.-P. (2002a): 20-98.

Arcelin, P., Brunaux, J.-L. (2003): 56.

Estrées-Saint-Denis, "Les Sablons"

Rural

La Tène D1/D2 to GR 1/GR 2

32 Brooches (cat. no. 1637-1668)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Several hectares were evaluated immediately to the south of the sanctuary of Estrées-Saint-Denis, leading to the discovery of a possible rural site. The earliest enclosure here is composed of three ditches, 1 352 to the north, 1 313 to the south and 1 319 in the east. The internal organisation remains unknown due to erosion. However, one structure (st.1 987) was identified as a possible granary. Finds were mainly recovered from the enclosure ditches and consist of fragmentary La Tène D1a and Early Roman ceramics, animal bone, as well as copper alloy and iron brooches and slag.

Quérel C. *et al.* (2002): 371-375; Quérel, P. (2002a): 309-319; Quérel, P. (2002b): 279-308; Quérel, P. (2002c): 405-415.

Forêt d'Halatte

Sanctuary

GR 1/GR 2

24 Brooches (cat. no. 1291-1314)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: n/a

This Roman *fanum* site, dating between the first century CE and the fifth century, is located six km north of Senlis.

Numerous *ex voto*, in the form of heads were recovered here. Other finds include Roman coins, 24 brooches, horsegear and animal bones. Fourteen Late Iron Age coins were also recovered in association with Roman finds.

Durand, M. (1998): 80-81.

Gournay-sur-Aronde, "Le Parc, Le Village"

Sanctuary

La Tène C1/C2 to La Tène D1a/D1b

104 Brooches (cat. no. 1403-1506)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Several Iron Age phases were excavated here by Brunaux, between 1975 and 1984, in the course of excavating a Roman temple. An *oppidum* was also located here, although this is underplayed in most discussions. Early finds indicate a activity beginning in the fourth century BCE.

However, the first 45 by 38 m enclosure built dates to the mid third century BCE. A large deposit, consisting of approximately 2000 broken weapons and 3000 animal bones, brooches as well as ploughshares and other tools, was found inside the fill of this enclosure. These finds spanned the La Tène C1 through to the D1a. Ten pits were also excavated in the centre of the enclosure. These contained bracelets,

horsegear and animal bones. The site was further developed in the first century BCE when the central area enclosed by a square planed building. The central pits remained in use at this time. During the La Tène D2b/GR 1, a proto-type *fanum* was constructed, consisting of a three-sided daub built structure on stone foundations. Following this, the site seems to have been abandoned until the fourth century CE. At this time a *fanum* was built directly on top to the Early Roman site. The exact placement of the temple likely means that the site was still known, and possibly used, during its supposed abandonment.

Brunaux, J.-L. (1985): 94-117; Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 260-264.

Gouvieux, "Le Camp de César"

Oppidum

La Tène D2/GR 1

2 Brooches (cat. no. 2399-2400)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Academic

The *oppidum* at Gouvieux is located 34 km southwest of Verberie. Masson excavated here in 1911, followed by Durvin 1958.

Survey work was also conducted by Creil and Rigault between 1974 and 1979.

Finds were mainly recovered during the later survey. These include Hallstatt ceramics, as well as iron and copper alloy Nauheim brooches.

Durvin, P. (1959): 8-11.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 265.

Houdancourt, "Le Pont à Brebis"

Rural

La Tène C2/D1a

2 Brooches (cat. no. 928-929)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

Located approximately 19 km northeast of Creil. Excavations over 13 ha revealed two eroded La Tène C2/D1a enclosures. Finds include ceramics, animal bone, as well as two fragmentary brooches.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 280; Malrain, F. *et al.* (2006): site inventory 16 [CD-ROM].

Jaux, "Camp du Roi"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène D1a/D1b

6 Brooches (cat. no. 930-931, 1368-1371)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

A multi-phased rural site and associated burials was excavated here, approximately six km east of Compiègne. The earliest rectilinear enclosure, measuring 78 by 54 m, was enlarged during the La Tène D1b. At this time an adjoining enclosure of similar dimensions was built. Several granaries and domestic structures were excavated inside this enclosure. Two silos were also found, as well as a large rectangular pit, two ovens and a pit containing stone weights. Finds include ceramics, animal bones and daub. This site is associated with a small, eroded cremation cemetery containing five adult burials. These burials contained ceramics, in addition to brooches. Interestingly, in contrast with most Late La Tène funerary deposits, no animal bones were recovered from the burials.

Malrain, F. *et al.* (2006): site inventory 35-36 [CD-ROM].

Lacroix-Saint-Ouen, "Au Pré des Illes"

Rural

La Tène C2/D1a

3 Brooches (cat. no. 1372-1374)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Three eroded, small quadrangular enclosures (12 m per side) dating to the La

Tène C2/D1a were excavated here, approximately eight km northeast of Verberie. The enclosures have tentatively been identified as artisans quarters and compared to structures at the *oppidum* of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain. Structures, such as post-built granaries and silos, also link the site with agricultural activity.

Finds in the enclosure ditches include animal bone, an iron brooch, a weight-scale fragment, an iron knife, rings as well as slag.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 285; Gaudetroy, S. (2000b): 73-74; Malrain, F. *et al.* (2006): site inventory 30 [CD-ROM].

Longueil-Saint-Marie, "Le Vivier des Grès"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C1/C2

1 Brooch (cat. no. 1375)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

Located approximately six km north of Verberie. This multi-phased La Tène C1/C2 site consists of an enclosure and related funerary areas. The La Tène C1 enclosure encompassed 204 m², shrinking to 84 m² in the La Tène C2. Finds from the later enclosure include a brooch. A quadrangular four post funerary enclosure, dating to the La Tène C2, was also excavated 100 m to the north of the rural site.

Malrain, F., Marechal, D. (1996): 69-70.

Maignelay-Montigny, "ZAC est-La Croix de Coivrel"

Rural

La Tène D1a

2 Brooches (cat. no. 1861-1862)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

This La Tène C2/D1a site is located approximately 36 km northwest of

Verberie. Two enclosures, labelled A and B, were excavated here, as well as several areas of postholes. Infrequent finds consist mainly of ceramics, horsebones. However, two fragmentary iron brooches as well as a *barre à douille* were also recovered.

Pinard, E. (2000): 75; Gressier, N. (2001): 73, 74.

Montmartin, "La Fosse Muette"

Rural

La Tène C2/D1a

30 Brooches (cat. no. 935-964)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Railworks

Located three km from Gournay-sur-Aronde on the western side of the dry valley at Le Fond de Lagny. This site covers several ha, not all of which were excavated due to the rapid nature of the work carried out. The two enclosures excavated here are similar in size and form to those from contemporary farm sites. However, rich deposits of human bone, brooches and weaponry in pits as well as ditches have led to Montmartin's identification as an aristocratic site. This has led to comparisons with sanctuaries such as Gournay-sur-Aronde or Estrées-Saint-Denis. The largest enclosure system is identified as domestic, while smaller enclosure 56 is seen as a ritual site. The evolution of the larger enclosure system is quite complex. Initially St. 337 and St.8-29 met to enclose approximately 3 ha. In the second phase, the enclosure was widened and comprised of ditches 338-339-6-7-8-29. At this time, the eastern section of St.337 was abandoned and ditch St.8, was cut to elongate St.6 and St.7, which also cut into St.337. St.8 is V-shaped with fill thought characteristic of possible split-post or *pfostenshlitz* construction similar to examples from Germany. The unique disposition of ditches St.337 and St.8 are

explained by the presence of a palisade in St.8, while St.337 was left open during this phase (*ibid*: 47). Notable finds include three *buchrania* excavated in the western angle of St.337 (9-11 E), as well as three whole vases which are interpreted as apotropaic deposits and compared with finds from Gournay. The entrance to the enclosure is also compared to those found at *oppida*. Only the northern and eastern sides of 'ritual' Enclosure 56 have been recognized. These have been traced for 30 and 61 metres respectively and enclose approximately 50 m². The only other structures associated with this ditch are an assemblage of pits and post-holes (St.57-99). Two possible entrances were identified via interruptions in the ditch fill, both on the east, but neither is contemporary. The fill here largely consists of burnt daub, wood, as well as ashes mixed with *limon*.

Brunaux, J. -L., Méniel, P. (1997).

Mory-Montcrux, "Les Vignes d'en Haut"

Funerary

La Tène C1/C2 to La Tène D1b/D2a

6 Brooches (cat. no. 1854-1859)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: n/a

Four eroded cremations and two child inhumations were excavated here. Finds include six brooches, ceramics and a copper alloy ring.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 329.

Passel, "La Gloriette"

Rural

La Tène D2b/GR 1

1 Brooch (cat. no. 934)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

This rural site is located five km south of Noyon. Only 20 percent of the 2700 m²

enclosure was excavated. The enclosure contained few finds, including ceramics, Dressel 1b amphora, a loom-weight and an unidentified brooch.

Gaudefroy, S. (2000a): 80.

Rouvroy-les-Merles, "Mont Caitillon, à La Ferme de Merle, La Pointe"

Sanctuary

La Tène D2 to GR 1/GR 2

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2414)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Railworks

This possible sanctuary is located 23km north of Saint-Just-en-Chaussée. The site is believed to be one of the most important 'Romanised' sites in the Oise, possibly related to the Roman camp at Folleville, five km north. Only limited test-pitting was conducted here in 1947, uncovering an Aucissa brooch, a stamped ceramic (*vita*), a terracotta bird, as well as glass and bone pins. This site has been the subject to numerous clandestine excavations.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 392-393.

Pierrefonds, "Le Mont-Berny"

Sanctuary/Funerary

La Tène D2/GR 1/GR 2

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian

This Roman *fanum* and *vicus* site is located in the Compiègne forest along the old road between Senlis and Soissons. An area containing a large deposit of human bones was excavated outside of the walls of the *vicus*. These bones were mixed with animal remains and other metal finds, including brooches and bracelets. This deposit could represent an ossuary similar to Ribemont-sur-Ancre. Fifty-three burials were also discovered approx-

imately 50 m to the south. Contexts of the objects recovered from the burials are largely unknown but finds include 200 ceramics, toilet kits, brooches, jewellery, Iron Age and Roman coins. Unfortunately, the site is largely unrecorded. The unpublished finds are currently stored at the Antoine Vivinel museum.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 373, 400-411.

Saint-Just-en-Chaussée, "Le Rossignol, Rue de Plainval"

Sanctuary

La Tène D1/D2

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Construction

This sanctuary is located 19 km northwest of Estrées-Saint-Denis. Dated roughly to the La Tène D1 or D2, this site consists of a palisaded ditched enclosure similar to Gournay-sur-Aronde. Structured ritual deposits were identified here consisting of horsebones, cattle skulls, horsegear, ceramics and Dressel amphora. A deep pit in the centre of the enclosure also contained a rouelle, a shield boss and brooches.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 416-417; Kiefer, D. (2007): 92.

Saint-Maur, "Au Mont Plaisir, L'Écatelet"

Sanctuary

La Tène C2 to Tène D1

27 Brooches (cat. no. 1315-1336, 1398-1402)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: n/a

Early deposits were found in association with two Roman *fana*. Excavations revealed an enclosure ditch containing 2500 objects, including ceramics, weapons, 27 brooches, Late Iron Age coins, beads and bracelets. This deposit

dates to the C2/D1a. However, the presence of several C1 items, such as copper alloy rings, hints at earlier activity. The two *fana* date to the Augustan period. Finds from the *fana* include burnt bones, coins, the statue of a warrior and metal leaves similar to the the 'cult tree' recovered at Manching.

Brunaux, J.-L., Lambot, B. (1991): 178-181.; Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 426-429.

Thivergny, "Le Petit Thérain"

Rural

La Tène D1b/D2a

2 Brooches (cat. no. 2403-2404)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: n/a

This rural site is located four km west of Creil. A 50 m long test-trench revealed several square pits and silos. The structures were excavated of approximately 7000 sherds of La Tène painted pottery, as well as two unidentified brooches.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 461-462.

Varesnes, "Le Bois de Lombril"

Rural

La Tène D1b/D2a

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2417)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

Many pits and postholes were excavated at this site 30 km northeast of Compiègne. However, as few structures contained datable material they were difficult to phase. Late La Tène D1 and D2 activity consists of four rural enclosures, mainly dated from ceramics. A fragmentary brooch spring was also recovered in one of the enclosure ditches in association with burnt stone.

Desenne, S., Pinard, E. (2002): 80-82.

Varesnes, "La Mer Seclin"

Rural

La Tène D2b

1 Brooch (cat. no. 933)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

A series of La Tène D2b dividing ditches, as well as pits from a possible rural site, were excavated here. Finds include bones, burnt wood, ceramics and brooch fragment.

LeGuen, P. (1996): 79.

Vendeuil-Caply

Sanctuary

La Tène C1/C2 to GR 1

101 Brooches (cat. no. 2269-2368)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

This Roman sanctuary is located 25 km south of Saint Maur. Iron Age activity is hinted at by the presence of Late La Tène and Early Roman brooches, dating between the first century BCE and the first century CE. Unfortunately, none of these are from stratified contexts. Finds of possible human bone might also identify the area as a burial site.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 473-485; Duvette, L. (2005): 84-85.

Venette, "La Prairie"

Rural

La Tène D2b/GR 1

1 Brooch (cat. no. 932)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Construction

Finds from a paleochannel, including Late La Tène ceramics and a *Arc Interrompu* brooch, indicate the presence of a nearby rural site.

Guerlin, D., Prodeo, F. (1996): 80-81.

Verberie, "La Plaine d'Herneuse II"

Rural

La Tène C2/D1a

4 Brooches (cat. no. 924-927)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

This site consists of two diachronic enclosures, La Plaine d'Herneuse I and II. The latter encircles 4000 m² and contains a silo, eight post-built structures and a series of pits. Finds inside the second enclosure ditch consist of ceramics, daub, loom-weights, spindle whorls, querns, animal bone, stone and flint, slag and four brooches.

Malrain, F. *et al.* (2006): 85.

Verberie, "La Plaine de Saint Germain"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a

3 Brooches (cat. no. 1212-1214)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Gravel Extraction

This rural/funerary site consists of an enclosure ditch as well as pits. Finds include ceramics, tools and querns. Three Reverted Bow brooches were also recovered inside an associated adult cremation burial along a ceramic and a pair of iron shears

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 488; Fémolant, J.-L. (1997): 118, fig. 4; Malrain, F. *et al.* (2006): site inventory 22 [CD-ROM].

Vieux-Moulin, "Le Mont Saint Pierre en Chastres"

Oppidum

La Tène C2/D1 to GR 1

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian

La Tène D2 activity was initially noted via presence of Late Iron Age coins. Test-pitting in the 1970's uncovered an 15 m long ditch. Finds recovered within the

ditch include copper alloy rings, beads, iron shears, keys, carbonized barley, Late Iron age coins, weapons and brooches. A copper alloy statue of a warrior holding a torque was also excavated.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 496-498.

Villiers-Vicomte, "À La Rosière, Chemin d'Amiens"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène D1/D2 to GR 1

1 Brooch (cat. no. 1199)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

Twelve cremation burials were excavated on the A16 between Amiens and Beauvais. Due to erosion, only eight of the burials were in good condition. Finds include ceramics, a glass bead and an unidentified iron brooch.

Woimant, G.-P. (1995): 503-504.

Seine-Maritime

Bracquemont, "Cité des Limes"

Sanctuary

La Tène D1a/D1b?

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Academic

This 50 ha site is situated on an outcropping located the edge of a chalk plateau. Surface finds include an early La Tène helmet, as well as Late La Tène brooches. Human bones were also found, either from burials, or from an ossuary deposit similar to the one at Ribemont-sur-Ancre.

Fichtl, S. (1984): 156.

Eu, "Bois l'Abbé"

Sanctuary

La Tène D1a/D1b

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Academic

Aproximately 407 Late Iron Age coins and several brooches were collected here during surface survey. No excavations have been conducted here and the site has only been tentatively identified as a sanctuary.

Fichtl, S. (1984): 161.

Fesques

Sanctuary

La Tène C2/D1 to GR 2

74 Brooches (cat. no. 1112-1185)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

Located in the Commune of Fesques, seven km north of Neufchatel-en-Bray. The area was occupied in the between the La Tène C2 and Roman periods. The site is at the limit of the Roman Province of *Gallia Belgica* in the territory of the Catuslugi. The sanctuary is similar to those in Picardie, containing both a central pit and an enclosure ditch. Fesques is also unique in that a 10 ha curvilinear double enclosure encircles the central area, making it more similar in size to *oppida*. The sanctuary underwent six phases of occupation. Finds recovered here include ceramics, human and animal bones, brooches, beads, bracelets and belt attachments. The earliest finds date to the Early La Tène/Middle La Tène and consist of brooches, bracelets and weapons. However, these early finds are not associated with any structures. The first built structures date to the La Tène C2/D1a transition. These include a horseshoe shaped/semi-ovular ditch (St.250), which encloses 2000 m². Finds recovered within the top fill include animal bones (pig, beef and ovicaprids), as well as ovoid and cylindrical goblets. The lower ditch fill of also contained swords, lance-points and human bones. A small offering pit (St.318), believed similar to

the pits at Gournay, was also cut in the centre of the enclosure. Unfortunately later construction of the central area has destroyed much of earliest activity here. Mantel, E. (1997).

Saint-Pierre-de-Varengueville, "Le Catelier"
Oppidum

La Tène D

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Academic

Finds from this unexcavated 10 ha enclosure include turned ceramics, two La Tène D filiform brooches and flint. Fichtl, S. (1984): 174.

Somme Valley

Abbeville, "La Sole de Baillon"

Funerary

La Tène C1 to La Tène D1

52 Brooches (cat. no. 723-1774)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

Ninety cremation burials were excavated here inside a 900 m² area, 50 km west of Amiens. Finds include ceramics and metal objects, such as 52 brooches. A group of rectilinear ditches were also excavated, although these could not be related to the burials with any certainty. Baray, L. (1997a): 274-281.

Ablaincourt-Pressoir, "Le Chemin Blanc de Bovent"

Rural

La Tène D2a/D2b

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: n/a

Brooch Information: n/a

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

Located 48 km east of Amiens. The area is extremely disturbed by World War I activity. However, several pits were excavated, indicating the presence of a

possible rural site. The presence of Late La Tène ceramics, unidentified brooches and coins (including a rare Aedui stater), date the site to the La Tène D2a/D2b.

Lemaire, F. (1998): 96.

Bayonvillers, "A29-A6.4, Le Chemin d'Harbonniers"

Rural

La Tène C1/C2 to La Tène D2b

2 Brooches (cat. no. 1677-1678)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

A La Tène rural site was found here, 26km east of Amiens. La Tène C1/C2 occupation is evidenced by the presence a multi-phased enclosure and several ditches, only one angle of which was exposed. A large circular double ditched enclosure, dating to the La Tène C2, was also found. During the La Tène D1a this enclosure was gradually monumentalized, forming a 'crab pincer' shape. Evidence of metalworking was also found inside the enclosure. Numerous partially flint-lined surfaced depressions were also excavated in the interior of the enclosure. Other quadrangular pits, containing deposits similar to cremation burials but with no burnt bones, are linked to possible 'ritual/symbolic' functions. One of these pits contained two brooches and half of an S-profile vase. The vase appears to have been ritually broken, with the other half laced in the enclosure ditch. Another pit of similar form contained the head and bones of a horse. Beginning in the La Tène D2b, the site becomes smaller and more rectilinear. Finds at the site include ceramics similar to those from Montmartin, Gournay or even Ancy-Romance. Other finds include iron and copper alloy brooches, glass and lignite beads and bracelets.

Prodeo, F. (1998): 102-103.

Bernay-en-Ponthieu, "Le Fond de Bernay"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène D2b/GR 1

2 Brooches (cat. no. 1721-1722)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

This rural site, located on the slopes above the Maye River, consists of three diachronic enclosures. A silo filled with ceramics and grain was also excavated. A later Roman site, excavated of ceramics and metalworking slag, was also established here. Finds, including two copper alloy brooches, were found in association with a possible D2b/GR 1 cremation.

Quérel, P. (1996): 95.

Bouchon, "Le Rideau Miquet"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a

5 Brooches (cat. no. 1698-1702)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

A sub-ovular ditched enclosure was excavated here, two km north of 'Étoile. The enclosure ditch was cut into the chalk of the plateau and lined with wood planks, similarly to the ditch at Gournay. Ceramics date the site to the La Tène C2/D1a. Other finds include animal and human bone. Several post-built structures and pits, were also excavated inside the enclosure. Fifteen La Tène C2/D1a cremations within two enclosures were also excavated. Finds in these burials include cauldrons, chains, ceramics, tools, as well as five unidentified brooches.

Barray, L. (1997b): 113-126.

Chaussée-Tirancourt, "Pigguiny, Camp de César"

Oppidum

La Tène D2b/GR 1

7 Brooches (cat. no. 1520-1526)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

This 35 ha site is located on the northern plateau overlooking the Somme River, approximately 13 km southeast of 'Étoile. Two *murus gallicus* ramparts and a gate structures were excavated. The combination of *murus gallicus* nails and later Roman material is interpreted as Romans borrowing local techniques to construct a camp. However, other than the late date of the site, there is nothing to support the assertion that this site served as a Roman camp. Seven brooches were recovered here, only four of which were identified: an *Arc Interrompu* inside a posthole of the interior door, as well as a Type 5a and a Type 4 in postholes of the exterior door. A Hinged Alèsia brooch was also found under a fallen portion of rampart. The stratigraphy of these finds, point to a possible earlier date for the site. Unfortunately, absence of excavation in the interior of the enclosure means that there is little other identify the function, use and date of the site.

Brunaux, J.-L, Marchand, C. (1988).

Chilly, "Le Bois du Gare"

Sanctuary

La Tène D1b/D2a to GR 1/GR 2

18 Brooches (cat. no. 1791-1808)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

This sanctuary is located on the plateau, directly south of the village of Chilly. The site was possibly established as early as the La Tène D1b/D2a, evidenced by the eroded remains of a pit (St. 8) and a ditch (F1), from which several Late Iron Age coins and brooches were recovered. During the GR 1 a second ditch (F2) was dug, followed by another pit in the Later Roman period. Other structures dating to this last period include small palisaded ditches (St.4,5,6,7,16) and postholes

St.1,11,15,18,25). A total of 18 brooches, ranging from Reverted and Interrupted Bow types through to Decorative Filiform Brooches were found inside the fill of both enclosures ditches as well as inside pit St.8. A Type 22 brooch was also found inside a later Roman pit. Other finds include ceramics, a partial Dressel 1a amphora, as well as shield bosses, three glass rings, a *barre à douille* and animal bones.

Collart, J.-L. (1980).

Cizancourt-et-Licourt, "A29 Le Sole des Galets"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C1/C2

17 Brooches (cat. no. 1703-1719)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

A La Tène C1/C2 cemetery was found on the route of the A29 in 1998, approximately 20 km west of St. Quentin. This cemetery consists of 15 cremations and an inhumation. Finds include 70 ceramics, 17 unidentified brooches, amber and glass beads, razors, shears, animal and human bones. Some of the tombs are particularly rich. For example an adolescent Burial (St.3) contained a copper alloy cauldron, 16 vases, two knives, shears and animal bones inside a wooden box. Three of the 15 graves, those with large wood-lined pits and structured deposits, are classified as 'important.' Six out of the 15, with only large numbers of ceramics, are identified as being of 'medium importance.' The remaining three are identified as 'modest.' These burials contain only one or two ceramics.

Lefèvre, P. *et al.* (1998): 110-112; Lefèvre, P. (1999).

Dompiere-sur-Authie

Sanctuary

La Tène C2 to La Tène D2b/GR 1

231 Brooches (cat. no. 1867-2097)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Located on the plateau overlooking the Authie valley near the Lyon-Bolougne Road. The structure excavated here was identified as an open-air pit, due to the absence of postholes and the presence of fine water deposited clay. The pit has a rather irregular 15 by 24 m form, due to ploughing, as well as clandestine excavations. Finds include accumulated deposits of metal objects, particularly coins, brooches and weapons, human and animal bones as well as a few ceramics. These finds date between the La Tène C2 and the GR 1. The presence of pig bones, as well as swords and lance points, within a ditch found under the later Roman *fanum*, also hint at the presence of an possible Late Iron Age structure. The precise date of the Roman *fanum* is unclear, although it possibly dates to the later Gall-Roman period (GR 2). The entire site was destroyed by fire during the late second/early third century CE.

Piton, D. (1992); Piton, D., Dilly, G. (1985); Piton, D., Dilly, G. (1987); Piton, D., Dilly, G. (1988); Piton, D., Dilly, G. (1989); Piton, D., Dilly, G. (1990).

Fricamps, "A29 Les Epasses-Le Haie-du-Moulin"

Rural

La Tène C2/D1a

1 Brooch (cat. no. 2405)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

This rural site was discovered during the construction of the A29 roadway between Aumale and Amiens. The site consists of a double ditched enclosure, dated to the La Tène C2/D1a. Unfortunately, the interior of this enclosure was not well preserved.

Several ditches with the same orientation, were also excavated 450 m to the west.

One of these ditches contained an unidentified brooch, dated to 120/10 BCE. Buchez, N. (2002): 111-112.

Glisy, "ZAC de la Croix de Fer"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène D1 to La Tène D2/GR 1

6 Brooches (cat. no. 1840-1845)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Located on the plateau above the confluence of the Avre and Somme rivers. A total of 15 ha was explored between September and October of 2002. A Late La Tène ditched enclosure with pits and postholes was also excavated, as well as a La Tène D1 funerary area. Six unidentified brooches were recovered from five cremations. The cremated remains were deposited in wood-lined boxes, along with brooches and beads. Some unidentified iron fragments were also found within the burials.

Gaudefroy, S. (2007): 136.

Liercourt-Erondelle, "Hallencourt, Camp de Cesar"

Oppidum

La Tène D2b/GR 1

1 Brooch (cat. no. 983)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian

This 32 ha *oppidum* is located on the plateau overlooking the Somme River, approximately 11 km south east of Abbeville. The site has only received minimal work and is known mainly from Achache's aerial survey. An enclosure at the centre of the *oppidum* is tentatively interpreted as a sanctuary by the presence of coinage. Vauvillé's 20th century survey recorded Late Iron Age ceramics, brooches as well as coins. These finds date the site between the La Tène D2 and the Augustan

period. Unfortunately, the brooches from Liercourt were lost during the Second World War.

Fichtl, S. (1984): 166.

Marcelcave, "Le Chemin d'Ignacourt"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a

4 Brooches (cat. no. 1846-1849)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

This Late La Tène enclosed rural site and cemetery is located 20 km from Villers-lès-Roye, on the A29. A total of five burials were excavated here. Other finds include cremated bone, ceramics and brooches. The cremated remains were found in compact rectangular or square heaps showing that they were likely deposited inside wooden boxes. A hierarchy was identified based on the size of the burials, as well as the number ceramics and metal finds recovered. The finds in the richest tomb include two iron lances decorated with bulls head ptothomes, a bimetallic cauldron, a pair of shears, a set of clasps and a large iron knife. The finds are believed similar to the burials at Bouchon, "Le Rideau Miquet."

Buchez, N. (1996): 100-101.

Pont Rémy, "Le Fond de Baraquin"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C1/C2 to La Tène D1a to La Tène D2b/GR 1

15 Brooches (cat. no. 1775-1789)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

Three cemeteries were found here nine km southeast of Abbeville, in association with salt producing site. The site has six phases of occupation, beginning in the the La Tène C and ending in the Gallo-Roman period. The rural site consists of a trapezoidal enclosure, associated with salt

production, as well as a second enclosure, measuring 3510 m². Finds from the first enclosure consist of two brooches (Type 2 and 5c), beads and ceramics. Two brooches (Type 5b and 8) and ceramics were recovered within in the second La Tène D2b/GR 1 enclosure. La Tène C1/C2 and the La Tène C2/D1a burials were also found. Unfortunately, these were all very eroded but 11 brooches were also recovered here.

Baray, L. (1998).

Port, "Le Grand"

Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a

1 Brooch (cat. no. 1720)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Antiquarian

Several cremations were excavated at this site, located nine km north west of Amiens, between 1833 and 1834. Finds include ceramics, as well as one fragmentary Reverted Bow brooch. Unfortunately, the bulk of this material was lost.

Leman-Delrive, G. (1976): 97-115.

Poulainville-Amiens, "Pole Logistique"

Rural/Funerary

LaTène C1/C2 to GR 2

2 Brooches (cat. no. 1192-1193)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

This La Tène C1/C2 trapezoidal funerary enclosure is located 7 km north of Amiens. Finds include ceramics, a pair of shears, a razor and an iron Reverted Bow brooch. The burials are interpreted as elite based on their location, as well as the number of ceramics and metal finds. A La Tène rural site was also indentified consisting of numerous pits, ditches and postholes spread over 13 ha. The ceramics date this

site between the Middle La Tène and the GR 2. Nineteen cremation burials were also identified.

Buchez, N. (2003): 116-117; Gemehl, G. (2003): 114-116.

Ribemont-sur-Ancre, "Le Champ Crezette" Sanctuary

La Tène C2/D1a

128 Brooches (cat. no. 983-1111)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Academic

Since its discovery via aerial survey in the 1960s, Ribemont has been the subject of numerous excavations. These initially concentrated on the Roman temple complex found at the site, but excavators also noted a great deal of pre-Roman activity. This was picked up upon by Brunaux who began exploring the pre-Roman structures in 1990, with analysis of finds continuing until 2001. Brunaux identifies the site as a military trophy. The phasing of the site is problematic. Fercoq du Leslay, in particular, questions Brunaux's dates for the site, noting a great deal more La Tène D activity than the latter. As it stands the site is dated between the La Tène C1 to the La Tène D2/GR 1. Iron Age activity mainly spans the La Tène C and D. During the La Tène C1, a three-sided, 1850 m², ditched enclosure was built. No finds were associated with this enclosure and the fill was mainly alluvial. During the La Tène D the site was extended with the inclusion of a southern enclosure ditch. Several large bone deposits or ossuaries were constructed along with the *charnier*. Brunaux, J.-L. (1999): 177-284; Fercoq du Leslay, G. (1996): 189-208; Fercoq du Leslay, G. (2001).

Saint-Sauveur, "Le Champ à Trois Coins" Rural/Funerary

La Tène C1/C2 to La Tène D2b/GR 1

1 Brooch (cat. no. 1790)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

Nine cremation burials were found inside a 42 m² four-post enclosure, located 10 km north west of Amiens. The earliest burials date to the Tène C1/C2 transition. Tomb 2015 was identified as aristocratic based on finds, such as a copper alloy cauldron with an iron band, a metal jug, five ceramic vases, a razor, forceps, an iron ring and a brooch. This contrasts with the remaining burials, which were eroded and contained no finds.

Sylavie, S. (1994).

Totencourt, "Le Haut Bois, Le Bois de Cormont"

Funerary

La Tène C1/C2

2 Brooches (cat. no. 1194-1195)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

A several eroded quadrangular cremations were found at Totencourt, approximately 19 km northeast of Amiens. Finds include two iron Reverted Bow brooches. Aerial photography also discovered a quadrangular enclosure immediately to the north west, possibly an associated rural site or another funerary enclosure. Gaudefroy, S. (1997): 102.

Villers-Bocage, "ZAC de la Montignette"

Funerary

La Tène C1/C2

2 Brooches (cat. no. 1865-1866)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Villers-Bocage is located 12 km north of Amiens. Two La Tène C1/C2 'aristocratic' cremations were identified here within a quadrangular ditched enclosure. Burial Seven consists of a wood-lined quadrangular pit, with a deposit of six

vases, a copper alloy cauldron, two iron hooks and two unidentified brooches.

Burial Eight was not wood-lined and contained five vases and an iron hook.

Blondiau, L. (2007): 145-147.

Villers-les-Roye, "Les Long Champs"

Funerary

La Tène C2/D1a

33 Brooches (cat no. 1679-1697, 2385-2398)

Contexted: X

Reason Excavated: Construction

Ten quadrangular cremations were excavated of burnt human remains, ceramics and metal finds, 40 km southeast of Amiens. Forty-one La Tène C2/D1a ceramics and 14, as yet, unidentified brooches were recovered from these burials.

Buchez, N. *et al.* (1998): 191-210.

Vraignes-lès-Hornoy, "A29 Bois de Vraignes"

Rural/Funerary

La Tène C1/C2

Unknown Number (Uncatalogued)

Contexted: 0

Reason Excavated: Roadworks

Located approximately 34 km southwest of Amiens. Late La Tène occupation here is characterized by a group of three eroded cremation burials containing mainly human remains. However, ceramics recovered on the surface indicate that each burial was likely associated with three to four vases.

Some Iron objects, likely brooches were also recovered with the human remains.

Soupart, N. (2002): 128.

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