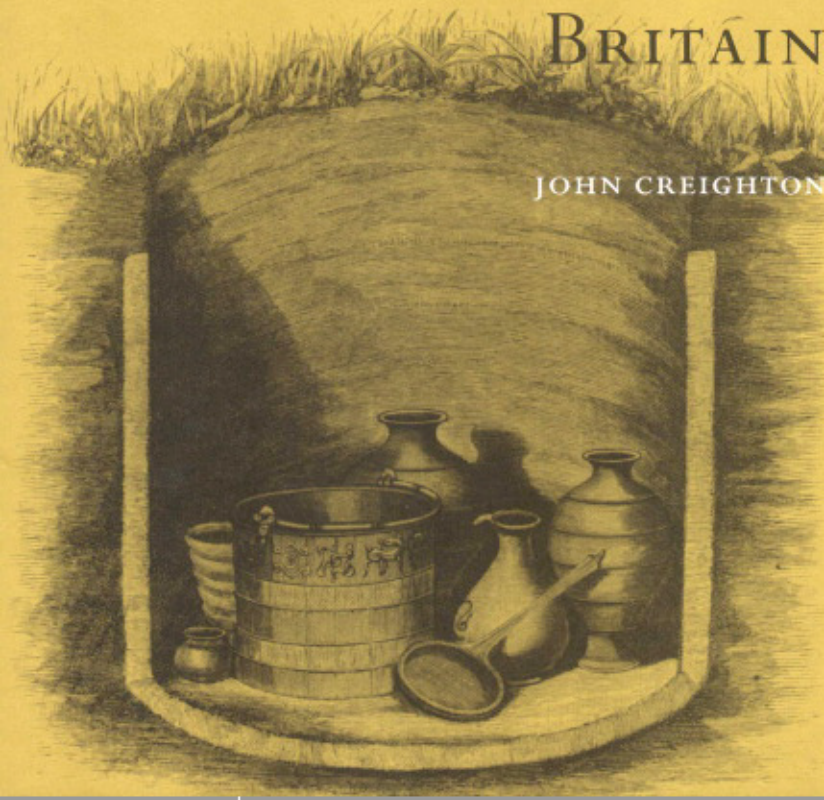
NEW STUDIES IN
ARCHAEOLOGY

COINS AND POWER IN LATE IRON AGE BRITAIN



JOHN CREIGHTON

CAMBRIDGE

more information - www.cambridge.org/9780521772075

This page intentionally left blank

Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain

Cunobelin, Shakespeare's Cymbeline, ruled much of south-east Britain in the years before Claudius' legions arrived, creating the Roman province of Britannia. But what do we know of him and his rule, and that of competing dynasties in, south-east Britian? Dealing with Britain in this period when a series of dynasties emerged to take control of much of southern Britain, John Creighton draws on historical, archaeological and numismatic evidence to examine the background to these first individuals in British history, and explores the way in which rulers bolstered their power through the use of imagery on coins, myths, language and material culture. After the visits of Caesar in 55 and 54 BC, the shadow of Rome played a fundamental role in this process. The result is a vivid picture of how people in Late Iron Age Britain reacted to the changing world around them.

JOHN CREIGHTON is a Lecturer in Archaeology at the University of Reading

NEW STUDIES IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeology has made enormous advances recently, both in the volume of discoveries and in its character as an intellectual discipline: new techniques have helped to further the range and rigour of inquiry, and encouraged inter-disciplinary communication.

The aim of this series is to make available to a wider audience the results of these developments. The coverage is worldwide and extends from the earliest hunting and gathering societies to historical archaeology.

For a list of titles in the series please see the end of the book.

JOHN CREIGHTON

Coins and Power in Late Iron Age Britain

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521772075

First published in print format 2000

ISBN-13 978-0-511-04965-1 eBook (EBL)
ISBN-10 0-511-04965-X eBook (EBL)

ISBN-13 978-0-521-77207-5 hardback
ISBN-10 0-521-77207-9 hardback

To the memory of my mother, Molly Creighton

CONTENTS

TABLES

PREFACE

Many years ago I saw a production of Shakespeare's play *Cymbeline* set in Britain shortly before Britain was invaded by the Claudian Legions. The British court was filled with Roman officials, British princes travelled to and from Rome, and even the British soothsayer at the end had a vision of the Roman god Jupiter in his sleep instead of an ethereal Celtic deity. All of this jarred with the image of Late Iron Age Britain I had grown up with, where Caesar's conquest of 55/54 BC was but a sham. The Britons might have been beaten, but unlike the Gauls they soon stopped paying their tribute to Rome and a further century had to pass until the Emperor Claudius invaded and Britain finally fell under Roman dominion. Now I am not so sure. I think Shakespeare was right, I think the British court was probably riddled with Romans and I think Cunobelin probably did worship Roman gods. In this book I set out to explain why.

I began to write this book with a number of clear aims and values. First, I wanted to write a positive work of synthesis, not something which simply attacked and deconstructed the work of previous generations. Second, I believed that in this period where prehistory met history, the work had to be thoroughly interdisciplinary, combining the best of archaeological, historical and numismatic research. Finally, my interest in the past has derived from wondering what it was actually like to live then, to experience a very different world around oneself. That being the case, this book moves away from the discussion of 'economy and society'; it avoids detailed discussions of pot typologies or settlement forms; instead it tries to look at the past from the point of view of the impact upon the individual. How was imagery seen and interpreted, how did people use language and speak to each other in a multi-lingual world? How did people use myths and stories to explain and legitimate the changes that were taking place in the world around them? In a recent book on the transformation of Gaul from the Late Iron Age into the Early Roman period, Greg Wolf described the Roman Empire as 'a world of cities and of friends'. As readers of this book will discover, I certainly believe that Late Iron Age Britain cannot be understood without appreciating the networks of friendship within Britain and beyond at that time.

Much within the book comprises solid argument presenting a very different view of this period to that commonly given; but in certain areas I have also used informed and sometimes relatively free speculation to imagine things for which we have very limited evidence. I hope I have flagged these clearly enough so that the reader will be able to clearly distinguish between the two. I hope readers will also appreciate the

simple pleasure of playing around with ideas. Nonetheless I hope that this book will highlight discussion of what it was like to live in the past rather than simply retreating into description of past material culture and its distribution. The past is nothing, if it is not peopled.

Acknowledgements

This book was written over a couple of years during 1996 and 1997. During that time many people assisted, some knowingly, others unknowingly. My friends and colleagues in the Departments of Archaeology and Classics at the University of Reading provided a great deal of support. I would particularly like to thank Richard Bradley, Janet DeLaine, Ray Lawrence and Maria Wyke. Writing this would have been much more difficult if it had not been for time spent at the library of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission, which was made possible by the kind offices of Prof. von Schnurbein and the generosity of the Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. I would like to thank Angelika and David Wigg for helping make my time in Frankfurt so enjoyable. In Britain Jonathan Williams at the British Museum and Philip de Jersey at the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford provided invaluable information.

David Wigg, Jeremy Evans, Colin Haselgrove and Richard Bradley kindly read and commented upon earlier drafts; their extremely diverse perspectives and interests were revealed by their very different responses, which both improved the work and kept me amused. Of course, the many faults which remain are entirely my own. The editorial and production team at CUP also provided invaluable support and my thanks are extended to them.

Figure 2.8 was drawn by Steve Allen, and Figure 7.6 is reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London. All the other drawings are by the author.

Finally I would like to thank my family and friends who have had to put up with me throughout the stresses and strains of writing.

The following abbreviations are used to refer to the standard catalogues and works for various coin series. Further details on the referencing of Iron Age coins are provided in the Appendix.

British Iron Age coinage

VA Van Arsdell (1989a)
BM Hobbs (1996)
ICC Index of Celtic coin: maintained at the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford.

Continental Iron Age coinage

Sch. Scheers (1977). These are all gold coins unless otherwise specified.
BN This is the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Most are illustrated in de la Tour (1892).
Nash Nash (1978)

Roman coinage

RRC Roman Republican coinage (Crawford 1974)
RIC Roman Imperial coinage (Sutherland 1984)
RPC Roman Provincial coinage (Burnett *et al.* 1992)

Mauretanian coinage

Maz Mazard (1955 and 1957)

NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS USED

The following translations have been used and are duly acknowledged. Standard abbreviations have been followed; one of the most often used is *BG* for Caesar's *De bello gallico* (Caesar, *The Conquest of Gaul*, as below).

Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, translated by Herbert Weir Smyth (Loeb Classical Library 1922)
Augustine, *Confessions*, translated by F. J. Sheed (Hacket Publishing Company, Indianapolis 1993)
Caesar (and Hirtius), *The Conquest of Gaul*, translated by S. A. Handford, revised by Jane Gardner (Penguin Classics 1982)
Caesar, *The Civil War*, translated by Jane Gardner (Penguin Classics 1967)
Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, translated by Earnest Cary (Loeb Classical Library 1917)
Diodorus Siculus, translated by C. H. Oldfather (Loeb Classical Library 1935)
Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, translated by Edward Saymore Forster (Loeb Classical Library 1929)
Frontinus, *Stratagems*, translated by Charles E. Bennett (Loeb Classical Library 1925)
Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, translated by Lewis Thorpe (Penguin Classics 1966)
Horace, *Odes*, translated by C. E. Bennett (Loeb Classical Library 1914)
Livy, *History of Rome*, translated by B. O. Foster (Loeb Classical Library 1919)
Nennius, *British History*, translated by J. Morris (Phillimore 1980)
Quintillian, *Intitutio Oratoria*, translated by H. E. Butler (Loeb Classical Library 1921)
Strabo, *Geography*, translated by Horace Leonard Jones (Loeb Classical Library 1923)
Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, translated by J. C. Rolfe (Loeb Classical Library 1914)
Tacitus, *The Agricola* and *The Germania*, translated by H. Mattingly, revised by S. A. Handford (Penguin Classics 1970)
Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, translated by Michael Grant (Penguin Classics 1971)
Virgil, *Eclogues*, translated by H. Rushton Fairclough (Loeb Classical Library 1920)

Introduction

The first century BC was a time of great upheaval in the Roman world; individuals freed themselves from the bonds of the Republic and fought openly for power. Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar: all in their own way had the blood of the Republic on their hands. Finally, after generations of sporadic civil war, a new consensus began to emerge among the poor and the senatorial class alike; a consensus which could support the rule of one individual, so long as the pill was not made too hard to swallow. Thus Caesar's heir rose to become Augustus, the first Roman emperor, and the Principate began. Oligarchy gave way to autocracy.

At the same time a transformation was taking place in Britain. Over the first century BC and the early first century AD individuals rose to prominence here, too. Certain groups buried their dead using new rituals which left lasting monuments to their memory; some were interred with an opulence hitherto unseen in Britain. Meanwhile the living adopted new architectural values, giving up traditional circular norms and residing in rectangular structures instead. Alongside this, new political centres emerged, generally referred to as *oppida*. Finally, the anonymity of prehistory gave way to the arrival of the individual, made present not only by cremated bones in the ground, but also by names on coins and references in the annals of Rome. History begins.

The Roman revolution was well documented by classical contemporaries, but the literary sources for events in Britain are scarce in the extreme. However, even from these a transformation can be seen to match the changes in the archaeology. In the 50s BC, when Caesar visited Britain, he painted a picture of a country divided up under a large number of chieftains. Four 'kings' were named for Kent alone, and only under pressure from the Roman legions did the British tribes unite together under one war leader: Cassivallaunus. Yet within one hundred years the political landscape of Britain changed significantly. A series of dynasties developed and became archaeologically visible in south-east Britain. One was based in the south of England around Hampshire and southern Berkshire, whilst another was focused north of the Thames in Hertfordshire and Essex. By AD 40 one of these men, Cunobelin, predominated and was hailed in Roman annals as 'King of the Britons' (Suetonius, *Caligula* 44.2).

This book traces the rise to dominance of these dynasties of south-east Britain. The inscribed coinage of the Britons has often been used to reconstruct 'histories' for later Iron Age Britain. Accounts have been constructed which tell of the rise and fall of kings and territories, as A killed B to be succeeded by C, based upon the distribution of coin types and a few historical references (e.g. Richmond 1995).

Whilst I will do this in part, the principle aim is not an attempted reconstruction of a political-historical narrative in the sense of names, dates and territories. The main thrust of the work is an examination of the perceptions of individuals in the Iron Age, and the nature of their authority and power. How was a consensus achieved which supported the rise of these new dynasts of south-east Britain? To what extent was this the culmination of longer-term processes in Britain, and to what degree was the might of Rome a causal factor in this change?

This book uses a wide variety of evidence from several disciplines, but the primary focus is on the nature and interpretation of imagery, and how it was used by individuals to shape people's thoughts and deeds. Although various media are examined, it is coinage which provides the central material for this discussion. Whilst many of the coins discussed are illustrated, a basic knowledge of the development of coinage in Britain is essential, so I have included a short introduction or 'survival guide' as an appendix to help make clear a subject which can at times appear to be extraordinarily obscure.

The first chapter examines the situation in Britain in the years prior to Rome's interest in the island. It looks at Britain in the second and early first century BC, as hillforts began to disappear in some regions, gold reappears in the archaeological record in the form of torcs and coins, and imports from the Mediterranean world reach Britain's shores. The nature of these changes and an alternative way of looking at them are discussed.

Chapter 2 shifts the emphasis towards the use of visual media, particularly coinage, to represent individual authority. The imagery used during this period on the gold was extremely conservative, repeating images from the past with minimal adaptation or alteration. Everyone would have been familiar with this visual language. It was open and accessible, and as we shall see it had a very clear and precise meaning. This imagery is discussed in detail in order to set the scene for the revolution which was to follow.

The first two chapters bring Britain up to the time of the Gallic wars and Caesar's invasion of south-east Britain. The third chapter assesses the historical evidence, and sees significant changes taking place in the immediate period following the invasion, as demonstrated clearly in the numismatic record. These are interpreted as relating to the post-conquest settlement of Caesar in the region, and the establishment of a series of client kingdoms (more properly termed 'friendly kings'). Two dynasties thereon came to prominence in the south-east of Britain, and the rise of these families is very briefly outlined.

From the mid to late first century BC there were radical changes in the use of the imagery on coin. Writing appeared which few people would have been able to read, and a plethora of new extraordinary images appeared which few people would have been able to interpret. Imagery became exclusive and excluding and was one of the tools in the struggle for power that took place, leading to the rise of these dynasties in south-east Britain. Chapters 4 and 5 investigate this new imagery; chapter 6 deals with the language of power; and chapter 7 draws together these themes with other archaeological evidence including *oppida*, burial and the construction of temples.

The conclusions reached suggest that many of the changes in Britain were the direct consequence of a series of individuals redefining the nature of their power in the light of the development of the Principate. This influence is not the gradual indirect influence of Roman traders or commerce from northern Gaul, but is the consequence of Roman imperialism and direct contact between the elite in Britain and the elite of the Principate.

I

The Middle to Late Iron Age transition

In the Middle Iron Age (*c.* 300–100 BC), many areas of central-southern Britain were dominated by hillforts. This was a pattern which had characterised the landscape for hundreds of years. But around the late second century or early first century, something happened. Many of these sites went out of occupation. The gates of Danebury, Britain's best studied hillfort, were put to the torch, and occupation at the site was scaled down. At around the same time selected sites on the south coast began to receive imports from Gaul and the Mediterranean. Another new arrival was the appearance of gold, absent here since its last appearance in the Late Bronze Age. It came first in the form of imported coin, then as locally manufactured derivatives. Finally new forms of settlements emerged, which we have taken to collectively calling *oppida*, though as we shall see in this book the nature of many of them was very diverse. These are the main changes which along with developments in burial rites have been taken to characterise the transition from the Middle to the Late Iron Age.

The story I wish to tell is of the changes which took place in Britain from the re-establishment of visible links with the continent in the late second century until the annexation of the south-east of Britain by the Roman Emperor Claudius in AD 43. The story is one of the rise to power of a series of dynasties in south-east Britain. Did these emerge gradually from the Middle Iron Age (MIA), or did they represent something fundamentally new? The hillforts of southern Britain were conventionally seen as central places and residences of a warrior elite, in which case the emergence in the Late Iron Age (LIA) of powerful dynasties could be seen as a gradual development arising out of the MIA. Yet recently this picture has been questioned and the world of hillforts is now seen as a far more egalitarian and less hierarchical place, which makes the power shift involved in the rise to dominance of a couple of dynasties over a period of one hundred years or so a far more remarkable event. It is therefore necessary to start with the MIA to paint a picture of a society which was about to change significantly, and that is the aim of this chapter. It will focus on the mid-second to mid-first century BC in central-southern Britain, where our evidence for renewed continental contact begins.

The processes of change in Iron Age Britain: Cunliffe's model

The author who has done the most to frame our narratives of this period is Barry Cunliffe. His *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (Cunliffe 1974) became the standard textbook, and with several revised editions still remains the clearest introduction to later prehistoric Britain. He has also excavated many of the sites which are crucial to

any discussion of central-southern England. However, over the last few years a critique has developed which has questioned some of the aspects of Cunliffe's reconstruction of Iron Age Britain. Yet so far no coherent alternative framework has been composed pulling together the evidence into a convincing narrative of comparable scope. So the best place to start would be to recap the way the Iron Age has generally been perceived, before moving on to question certain aspects of this reconstruction and suggest a few alternative ways of looking at things.

The most prominent landmarks of the southern British downlands in the early part of the first millennium BC were a series of extensive hilltop enclosures (e.g. Bindon Hill). Few have been excavated, but generally they have been conceived as serving large-scale communal activities such as stock control and perhaps occasionally storage; only meagre traces of occupation have been found at them. Complementing these was a series of much smaller, tightly defended sites, or 'residential fortlets', where dense evidence for occupation has been found (e.g. Lidbury and Highdown Camp). These sites existed within a landscape which was increasingly divided up by major linear earthworks. However, both these kinds of site fell into disuse in the sixth century BC as a new type of site emerged: the hillfort.

Throughout the sixth and fifth centuries a large number of hillforts were created and abandoned across the landscape, in what appears to have been a period of instability, until in the fourth century things seemed to settle down with the further enhancement of some of these sites to become 'developed hillforts'. Whilst the detailed chronology of many of these is far from precise, it appears that they had a relatively even spacing, and so perhaps each controlled its own relatively small domain. They were characterised by having a capacity to store agricultural produce beyond the immediate needs of their resident community; providing a focus for lambing and calving activities; having elaborate defensive features well beyond the actual requirements for defence; and also being centres for manufacturing and trade. Cunliffe saw these changes in terms of the coming together of the functions of the earlier hilltop-enclosures and fortlets under the control of a single competitive elite. Possibly this was a consequence of an elite taking over the ownership of land and livestock. He viewed abandonment of the earlier sites and the creation of new settlements on virgin locations as a symbolic act in establishing the new order (Cunliffe 1984:30). The period of upheaval in the sixth and fifth centuries when some hillforts were constructed and rapidly deserted, could represent an unstable phase as this new social order established itself.

One of the most prominent features of the Early and Middle Iron Age was the creation of a large number of storage pits. From the sixth century onwards many were found at Danebury, and within them various kinds of votive offerings:

> The implication seems to be that a development in the belief-system was taking place, quite possibly associated with intensified production, which might in turn be linked to the enhanced value of corn as a commodity for social control. Thus the model which would seem to contain the evidence is one which sees land holding/corn production as the medium for the

> manipulation of power, in contrast to the farmstead wherein lay individual power.
> (Cunliffe 1995a:98-9)

From the fourth century the grain storage pits at Danebury were supplemented by a large number of four- and six-post structures, significantly enhancing the site's storage capacity. This seems to suggest a further intensification in the productive systems, the rise in storage capacity being matched by an increase in the deposition of discarded material. But why?

> The simplest approach would be to regard it as the logical development of the model which sees the manipulation of agrarian surplus as the means by which the power of the elite was maintained. If agrarian products were concentrated in the fort, through the mechanisms of tribute and clientage obligation it would have been necessary to recycle the surplus in a manner which generated new products for redistribution down the social hierarchy.
> (Cunliffe 1995a:99)

This form of social organisation appears to have had a remarkable degree of success in reproducing itself over several hundred years. Occasionally certain hillforts were created and abandoned, but by and large this way for society to organise itself continued relatively unchanged. However, within this hypothetical reconstruction of society lay several factors which potentially jeopardised that stability: population increase and decline in soil fertility. As intensification took place so the potential holding capacity of the land was approached. The chalk downs of southern Britain had only a relatively thin soil and such intensive use could not be sustained for very long without significant alterations in agrarian management. The archaeological evidence suggests a rise in the importance of sheep, possibly in an attempt to improve the soil with new manuring practices; however, even the teeth of the sheep suggest that the quality of the pasture was deteriorating. Danebury had seen steady growth and intensification, but there comes a point when limits are reached and resources get harder to obtain from the locality, thereby creating potential stress. Perhaps these concerns and shortages were one factor behind the increase in propitiatory rites carried out within the hillfort in the later period. Perhaps also the stress revealed itself in increased raiding as competition for limited resources increased. The end of the classic hillfort phase at Danebury saw the destruction of the entranceway by fire and pits filled with slingstones.

Hillforts, in this reconstruction, can be considered as central places where an elite controlled and redistributed resources. This kind of picture was thought to fit in well with the classical conception of 'celtic society' which was based around clientship:

> An aristocrat would formalise a relationship with a peasant farming family, usually by investing with them a number of his own cattle. They would maintain the herd on their own land and pay a tithe, usually in the form of produce. This simple economic system had embedded social relationships within it: on the one hand the aristocrat had a vested interest in the safety of

> his client, while the client could be called upon to serve his patron when the need arose. Thus an aristocrat with a large number of cattle to invest was able to acquire a considerable surplus of consumables, which he could dispense at feasts, in this way gaining status, while at the same time he could call upon an army of followers, whenever he wished to lead an expedition or to stake a claim. The greater his following the greater his status – and the more chance he had of acquiring further loot in the raid . . . it meant that warfare, at least on a raiding level, remained endemic.
> (Cunliffe 1988:89)

These, therefore, were the internal stresses which the hillfort-dominated landscape of central-southern Britain faced in the late second century BC, according to conventional wisdom. Yet around 100 BC a series of rapid and substantial changes took place. While many of the non-hillfort settlements continued in occupation (e.g. Gussage All Saints), many of the hillforts did not, or else they underwent significant change (Cunliffe 1995a:100). From hillforts collectively serving many of the functions of the community, there appears to be a trend towards centres with discrete roles. Specialist centres developed which articulated exchange relations with Gaul, most obviously at Hengistbury Head. Extremely well defended 'farmsteads' appeared such as Suddern Farm, continuing the tradition of excessive defensive display from the hillforts. Specialist production sites emerged (Droitwich, Glastonbury), and finally over the next century a series of disparate sites which have been labelled *oppida* appeared, which were classically conceived as trading sites and perhaps elite residences. This is our Late Iron Age landscape.

Internal stresses may have been a factor in weakening the existing system, but external agency has also been invoked to try and explain these changes. In Cunliffe's view this included the arrival of Mediterranean goods. In the late second century BC, Hengistbury Head began to receive larger quantities of imported material than had been seen hitherto in Britain for generations. This was seen as a consequence of the Roman transformation of southern Gaul into a full Roman province, and the consequent increase in Roman trading activity, procuring raw materials in the form of metals and slaves in exchange for wine, amongst other items. This was a form of core–periphery model which dominated discussion of the Late Iron Age in the 1980s and early 1990s.

> It may be that access to a new range of prestige goods provided the elite with a mode of display which replaced raiding as a means of establishing and maintaining prowess. The symbols of that system – the hillforts – could then be abandoned and the function of redistribution could be transferred to more convenient locations on route nodes where major land routes crossed rivers. The enclosed *oppida* which developed in these valley sites are thus explained.
> (Cunliffe 1991:544)

From here on the development of south-east Britain has been related to ever-growing closer contact with the Roman world. The indirect contact along the south

coast was disrupted by the Caesarean conquest of Gaul in the 50s BC and Caesar's visits to Britain. Thereafter routes focusing upon the Thames estuary developed and significantly increased in importance in the very late first century BC.

This is a very brief outline of the principal changes, combined with some of the ideas which have attempted to explain the transformations taking place in southern Britain in the Middle to Late Iron Age. Nonetheless, over the last decade a critique has developed within Iron Age studies that has challenged many of these notions. Indeed whilst I have used Cunliffe's narrative as an example, his writings over the last decade have themselves continually been modified and his latest work in the 'Danebury environs project', and in the Anglo-French research initiative looking at links between Armorica, the Channel Islands and southern Britain, has opened the way for a series of significant reinterpretations to be made, which we shall come to presently. But this exercise has provided us with an introductory framework which we can now seek to sustain or modify as our evidence takes us.

Aspects of the critique of the existing model

This kind of framework has been the subject of critical review, and below a few aspects of this which have a bearing on the Middle to Late Iron Age will be addressed.

One practice which has been criticised is the use of generalised models relating to the social structure and organisation of 'the celts'. What had happened was that the literary evidence from an extremely diverse range of sources was collated to construct an image of a 'celtic society' with a shared language, temperament and social structure. This form of society was viewed as dominating much of temperate Europe until its conquest by Rome; only in Wales, Scotland and Ireland did celtic society survive and struggle through into the Medieval period. This construct was used by many to colour the archaeological evidence from Iron Age Britain and the continent. This practice went back a long way, but the archaeological diversity of 'celtic societies' led some to wonder whether it was justifiable (cf. Collis 1985; Hill 1993). Also the literary sources used ranged over a thousand years and a thousand miles, from northern Italy in the fourth century BC to early Medieval Ireland. Whilst the use of such literary evidence and analogy should not totally disappear, the critique insisted that the archaeological evidence must take primacy, and any use of analogy be treated far more critically and carefully. The trend now is to explicitly explore cultural diversity across Europe in order to counteract the weight of generations of archaeological literature creating a mythical image of a unified 'celtic culture' (e.g. Cumberpatch and Hill (eds.) 1994).

When the first ten years of excavation at Danebury were published (Cunliffe 1984b), the site was interpreted as being a central place from which a social elite ruled; the scale of the defences supported the notion of raiding and endemic warfare which filled the classical depictions of 'celtic society'. However, removed from a reliance upon the literary sources, the prompt publication of this data led to a series of alternative reconstructions of the evidence. For example Stopford (1987) thought

that Danebury could be interpreted as being a seasonal communal gathering point where specific activities took place which bound together disparate individual households. Hill (1996), on the other hand, questioned the very notion that there was any evidence for an 'elite' resident in the hillfort; examining some of the non-hillfort sites in the vicinity, he questioned whether there was any significant difference between hillfort and non-hillfort sites in anything other than sheer size. Generally it seemed that opinion was moving towards viewing the Middle Iron Age as having a far less ranked society than was once believed. Cunliffe tacitly considered these possibilities in one of the later Danebury volumes where he conceded that a broader-based leadership might exist, but nonetheless he chose to retain the idea of a residential elite (Cunliffe 1995a:89-101).

So do we have evidence for 'an elite' in Middle Iron Age hillforts? The problem is that archaeologically the evidence for a hierarchy of buildings within Danebury is absent. Around the edge of the hillfort were a series of roundhouses, perhaps forming small individual compounds. Cunliffe (1995a:89) calculated that there was space for about 22 in all. Nonetheless none was marked out by architectural features or material culture as being particularly different from the others. Admittedly only 57 per cent of the interior area had been excavated and so a 'chieftain's house' might have lain undetected. But equally Danebury is the largest-scale hillfort excavation to have taken place, and if clear evidence for ranking is not present here then we must consider the possibility that the representation of hillforts as residences of 'the elite' is by no means clear cut.

Another issue which has been questioned is the interpretation of the defences of hillforts as indicative of a 'warrior society'. Whilst the role of display and status has never been in much doubt surrounding these earthworks, a view that this role was perhaps far more significant has been suggested by Collis (1996). For example, at Bury Wood Camp, the size of the ditches clearly decreased as one got away from the entrance. The same feature recurs on some other smaller defensive sites in Wessex, such as Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979) or Oswelbury (Collis 1970; 1996:88). Other aspects of certain defences also seem peculiar. At some of the smaller sites in Wessex such as Mitchelldever Wood, Oswelbury (Phase 1) and Hurstbourne Tarrant, the ditch appears to be on the inside of the bank instead of the outside, which is hardly a defensive measure. Since the evidence for banks is generally poor on ploughed-out sites this may have been the case at many others as well (Collis 1996:88). A possible parallel for this kind of enclosure comes from the royal sites in Ireland: Navan, Tara and Dun Ailinne (Raftery 1996).

A further idea which has been challenged is the notion that a small number of imports from Gaul and the classical world could lead to such profound changes in the settlement system and social structure. Haselgrove had been one of the key authors to promote the core–periphery model of Iron Age Britain (Haselgrove 1984b), and yet he has subsequently drawn back from this aspect of the model. Working in northern France, he attempted to quantify the number of Dressel 1 amphorae arriving in the territory of the Remi and Suessiones in north-east Gaul. He concluded

that there really were very few arriving there each year, and these must surely have exceeded the numbers going to more distant Britain in the early first century BC (Haselgrove 1996b:173).

Each of these revisionist ideas has its merits, but they have yet to be worked into a comprehensive, coherent narrative which describes and attempts to explain the process of change in MIA–LIA Britain. It is certain aspects of the later period I want to try to deal with here. So what consequences does this critique have for the MIA–LIA transition? The perception of a less hierarchical MIA has significant implications for the Later Period. This study deals with Britain from the late second century BC to the Claudian annexation of AD 43. By the end of this period a large paramount kingdom had developed within the south-east, dominated by Cunobelin. Traditional accounts have explained this as being the consequence of military expansion and conquest, fitting neatly into the old idea of a celtic warrior society. Prestige goods from the Roman world enhanced Cunobelin and his predecessors' ability to attract followers and maintain their dominant positions until they died. When hillforts were viewed as the home of local tribal chiefs and defensive centres in a society dominated by conflict, the transition from Middle to Late Iron Age appeared unremarkable. New contacts with the Mediterranean world simply enhanced the ability of some to rise to dominance over others, leading to the development of larger territorial units. The problem now is that with the removal of the warrior society, and the defensive nature of hillforts, and the hierarchy resident within them, the Middle to Late Iron Age transformation becomes an even stranger, more bewildering phenomenon. Where then did these Late Iron Age dynasties that culminated in the rule of Cunobelin come from? How did they emerge from their Middle Iron Age past?

One of the key elements in this story, which is frequently left out, is gold. Gold had been known in the Bronze Age, but the sum of all the gold found in the Early and Middle British Iron Age (outside Scotland) is one gold ring from East Yorkshire, and that has been lost (Jope 1995). This is decidedly unimpressive. But from the mid to late second century onwards gold re-emerges in the archaeological record of southern Britain in the form of coin and torcs. Both the gold *per se* and this new form of material culture, coin, were alien to Britain. As such they would have been invested with the kind of values and mystery commonly associated with goods from a distant land (Helms 1988). Finds of gold coins have been found in far more locations than Dressel 1a amphorae, and yet the potential of this medium as being a significant causal factor in the changes seen in the last two centuries BC has not been significantly addressed. It would not be too unreasonable to assume that these new forms of material culture in some ways featured in the articulation of power relationships, through either their display or exchange. In which case it is worth exploring the potential impact of their arrival a little more closely than has been done hitherto. In the rest of this chapter, I will examine what is known of the structure of authority and kingship in later Iron Age northern Europe, and how the re-emergence of gold in Britain can be tied in with other significant changes taking place in the archaeological record.

Individual authority and the *comitatus*

The core–periphery framework, within which northern European studies of the Late Iron Age have been studied over the last two decades, presented a picture of the evolution of 'celtic society' on the periphery of the expanding Roman world. Put in its simplest terms, communities were more developed and politically evolved the closer they were to the Roman world. Nash (1981) saw nascent state-formation taking place amongst the tribes of central Gaul; here kingship gave way to new institutions which restricted the power of any one individual. Amongst the Aedui we hear of the *Vergobretos*, an annually elected magistrate with the authority of a king, though limited in his powers by legal restraints preventing him from leaving the territory (thereby gaining military prowess), and by restricting access of other members of his family to the title until his death (thereby preventing the rise of dynastic rulers). Alongside this were the creation of *oppida*, coinage and a higher level of material culture which included more imports from the Mediterranean world. All of these features were seen as giving these 'tribes' the characteristics of developing states. Meanwhile, just as the growing Roman presence in southern Gaul had had an effect on the Aedui and others, so these groups had an effect on the communities to the north, perhaps starting out by raiding them to procure resources, including slaves, for the insatiable Roman market, but then developing into more formal patron-client relationships. Examples of this include the Bellovaci in north-east Gaul who were said to be under the protection of the central Gallic Aedui (Caesar, *BG* 2.3). This core–periphery model was extended to Britain, with the Belgae raiding the south coast, then trading and settling there (Haselgrove 1984b).

This model was adapted to include a discussion of Britain after Caesar's conquest of Gaul. The south-east was seen as the core territory, gaining imports from the Roman world, whilst procuring resources from less-developed communities around them. On the eve of the Claudian annexation, Cunobelin's 'kingdom' based on Camulodunum could have laid claim to being significantly more developed than any other polity in Britain at the time. It, too, had client communities such as the Dobunni (Dio 20.2). Perhaps, given time, the model might have suggested that it also would have developed into a more oligarchical structure. The broadest discussion and application of this thesis has been Cunliffe (1988).

Various problems exist with this model, the most important being the extremely unilinear sense of political evolution it places upon the evidence. At first sight it appears to fit very well with the data, though on closer inspection perhaps this is illusory. Much of it was developed from Caesar's description of Gaul, but Caesar was only dealing with a narrow chronological time-slice in his commentaries, so a long-term, dynamic picture of change cannot be reconstructed from this material. However, there are three regions where 'celtic' groups have been recorded in the classical record over a much longer time-span, and the political trajectory their development took is instructive (Dobesch 1980:182-236; Roymans 1990:37-8). Amongst the 'celts' in the eastern Alps, northern Italy and the Galatians, earlier kings were replaced to make room for the rule of a broader aristocracy, just as we see with the developments amongst the Aedui. Nonetheless in each instance kingship

Table 1.1. *The Roman perception of the social structure of tribes in north-east Gaul and parts of Germany (the location of these different communities is given in Fig. 2.2)*

Communities to which the term 'king' (*rex*) is applied:		
Eburones	Dual kingship (Ambiorix and Catuvolcus). Ambiorix complained that the people had as much power over him as he had over them. Catuvolcus killed himself with poison from a yew tree in 53 BC after a failed rebellion. This has been interpreted as a ritual suicide (Roymans 1990:34).	Caesar *BG* 5.24-7 and *BG* 6.31
Suessiones	Kingship. First headed by Diviciacus, who also held domains in Britain; then by Galba: 'to whom as a just and able man, the supreme direction of the war was being entrusted by common consent. He possessed 12 strongholds, and undertook to furnish 50,000 troops.'	Caesar *BG* 2.4
Atrebates	Commius was made 'king of the Atrebates' by Caesar, though whether this was a new appointment or recognition of an existing situation is unclear.	Caesar *BG* 4.21
Frisia	Dual kingship (Verritus and Malorix). They visited Rome in Nero's reign.	Tacitus *Annales* 13.54
Batavi	Whilst the position at the time of Caesar is not clear, the Batavi at some point had a monarchy: Iulius Civilis claimed to be of royal descent in the mid-first century AD.	Tacitus *Hist.* 4.13
Remi	In 57 BC 'The Remi . . . sent Iccius and Andecombogius, the leading men of their tribe' to pass information on to Caesar and negotiate with him. Caesar says that the Remi and Suessiones enjoyed the same laws, obeyed the same king and magistrate. A commander Vertiscus is named as the chief magistrate of the tribe a few years later.	Caesar *BG* 2.3; 8.12
Communities where kings are not mentioned but other types of leader (e.g. *principes*) are:		
Bellovaci	Diviciacus the Aeduian blamed the disaffection of the Bellovaci on the leading men of the community, and said they had fled to Britain. The Bellovaci had lived under the protection of the Aedui, in return for which they provided troops. No mention is made of a king.	Caesar *BG* 2.14
Nervi	Boduognatus is named as 'commander-in-chief'. Individuals are described as leaders and chiefs. No mention is made of a king.	Caesar *BG* 2.23; 5.41
Treveri	In Caesar's narrative there were two rivals amongst the leaders of the Treveri, who were described as fighting for supremacy: Indutiomarus and Cingetorix. Later Tacitus represents them as having had a monarchy, saying that Iulius Classicus in the mid-first century AD claimed to be of royal descent.	Caesar *BG* 5.3-4; Tacitus *Hist.* 4.55
Tenctheri and Usipetes	These crossed the Rhine into Gaul and subsequently came to blows with Caesar. In all the discussion a king or leader is not mentioned.	Caesar *BG* 4.1-4; 4.16-8
Ubii	The Ubian chief and council are mentioned, but no king.	Caesar *BG* 4.11
No explicit statements:		
Morini, Menapii, Ambiani, Veliocasses, Aduatuci, Viromandui		

returned. This Dobesch related to times of stress, such as periods of migration or threats of conquest where in each situation the case for a strong war-leader provided a basis for the re-establishment of a monarchy. However, upon a return to longer-term stability, pressure from the aristocracy reduced and occasionally abolished the position of king. Looking back at the evidence from central Gaul we can see just such strains on these 'proto states' in the years leading up to the Gallic Wars (Roymans 1990). At the start in the run up to the migration of the Helvetii, Orgetorix tried to establish himself as their king. Then later, in response to the Roman threat, Vercingetorix and Indutiomarus both tried to re-establish the monarchy in other areas where it had previously been abolished; at the same time Arminius was carving out a power-base amongst the Germans. We have to consider that monarchy/individual power was by no means a fixed, permanent institution, and that political evolution is very historically contingent, and so assumptions about linear evolution should be avoided.

With the above in mind we should now turn our attention to the description of the political situations which our sources provide for us in the closest part of the continent to Britain: north-east Gaul and Germany. This is summarised in Table 1.1. In general the evidence paints a patchwork picture of the situation; no two neighbouring communities were necessarily organised in the same way. Kings (*regnes*) are mentioned in some communities but not others, and where they did exist they appear to have had varying levels of authority. Frequently Caesar just mentions the existence of a broader aristocracy (*principes*) without being any more specific. To a certain extent we must constantly keep in mind the idea that varying degrees and roles of personal authority may not have translated particularly easily from their Gaulish/Germanic context into these simple Latin terms. Nonetheless, the texts represent Caesar's and other authors' perception of the situation. The variability revealed even in this relatively restricted area is enormous, and this should caution us against trying to apply too uniform or clear a picture to south-east Britain at a comparable date; varying political structures could easily have existed in different counties in Britain, and the situation before Caesar could have been extremely fluid.

In addition to Caesar's nomenclature for the elites of these different communities, we also find evidence for a hierarchy between them. For example the Eburones and Condrusi were clients of the Treveri, though to complicate matters the Eburones also paid tribute to the Aduatuci (*BG* 4.6 and 5.27). The hierarchy of communities also suggests that there was certainly the potential for hierarchies of kingship, as occurred in early Medieval Ireland.

Within the context of kingship/authority, what role did wealth play? Wealth, social status and warfare were common motifs in the classical depictions of the Gauls. A great deal of competition for rank took place amongst the elite, with individuals expending huge amounts on providing their clients with feasts and gifts. Those who could attract the largest number of clients were deemed the most influential and powerful. But it is suggested that these clients were only retained as long as success in warfare and hospitality continued (cf. Athenaeus 4.36–40; Caesar, *BG* 4.15).

> Wealth – precious metal ornaments such as torcs and rings, weaponry, cattle – and its use within the clientage system was fundamental to the social order and as such was in the control and gift of the elite (e.g. Polybius 2.17; Diodorus Siculus 5.27). The preoccupation in the eyes of the Classical world of this society with warfare was intimately bound up with the social structure, success in warfare offering a mechanism for acquiring booty such as valuables and slaves, ransoms and productive land, and thus the capacity to attract further clients (Strabo, *Geography* 4.4.2).
> (Haselgrove 1984a:84)

Early gold coinage has been perceived as fitting within this framework as a specialised form of wealth, used for articulating client relationships (cf. Allen 1976; Nash 1981). Haselgrove and Nash also consider that into the first century BC, the versatility of coin may have led to it supplanting other mechanisms in the discharge of social obligations such as mercenary payments, bridewealth, tribute, fines and rents.

One specific way in which members of the elite exerted their will, whether they were called *principes* or kings, was through the creation and retention of a *comitatus*. Tacitus refers to individual leaders in Germany who surrounded themselves with a loyal body of horsemen.

> Both prestige and power depend upon being continually attended by a large train of picked young warriors, which is a distinction in peace and a protection in war. And it is not only in a chief's own nation that the superior number and quality of his retainers brings him glory and renown. Neighbouring states honour them also, courting them with embassies and complimenting them with presents. Very often the mere reputation of such men will virtually decide the issue of a war.
> (Tacitus, *Germania* 13; published *c.* AD 98)

Similar motifs recur in Caesar's commentaries from various parts of Gaul. Dumnorix the Aeduan was said to have 'maintained at his own expense a considerable force of cavalry, which he kept in attendance upon him' (*BG* 1.18). So too did one of the Ebuorian leaders, Ambiorix; upon being taken by surprise by the Roman forces he 'escaped alive, though he lost all the military equipment that he had with him, his carriages and his horses' (*BG* 6.30). Commius the Atrebatian also has a group of horsemen with him whenever he is mentioned (*BG* 8.23). We get slightly more detail from Caesar's representation of Crassus' campaigns in Aquitania:

> the king of the tribe, Adiatuanus, attempted a sortie . . . with six hundred followers who were bound to him with a vow of loyalty. The Sotiates call such persons *soldurii*. The friend to whom they attach themselves undertakes to share with them all the good things in life, on the understanding that, if he meets with a violent end, they shall either share his fate or make away with themselves; and within living memory of man none has yet been known to refuse to die when the friend to whom he had sworn allegiance was killed.
> (Caesar, *BG* 3.22)

Table 1.2. *Proportion of principal animal bones from Danebury*

Danebury	Early cp3–5 470–310 BC	Middle cp6 310–270 BC	Late cp7 270–100/50 BC	Latest cp8–9 100/50 BC–AD 50
Sheep	62.5%	56.7%	63.1%	54.4%
Cattle	22.8%	24.9%	21.0%	31.7%
Pig	11.4%	13.9%	12.5%	6.7%
Horse	**3.3%**	**4.5%**	**3.4%**	**7.3%**
No. of frag.	n=4191	n=3133	n=33,730	n=1317

Data: Grant (1991:448, Table 9.7). Calculated on the basis of fragment counts from all phased contexts. The data include the bones from the 1979–88 seasons, but not those from 1969–78, as the report for these did not distinguish the cp7 material from cp8–9 (Grant 1984b:499, Table 61).

This perception may owe much to earlier ethnographies, the sources are patchy and there is liable to have been a significant degree of variation amongst the different Gallic communities; however, at a minimum we can conclude that powerful individuals frequently had a large permanent male retinue around them. These leaders might be the kings of communities as Adiatuanus was, or they might be potential usurpers such as Dumnorix the Aeduian, wishing to wrestle power from his brother and the existing oligarchy.

It is at this point that we should turn away from the continental testimony with all its inherent problems, and turn to the specific archaeological evidence from Britain in the years shortly before Caesar's visits. Do we have any evidence for the existence of *comitates* or individuals marking themselves out from their peers?

To start with let us return to the area around Danebury where Cunliffe's excavations have provided the richest database. It was at the end of ceramic phase 7 (cp7) that slingstones were hoarded and the entranceway to Danebury was burnt down, and it was in the final layers of that phase that the majority of the horse fittings were found. The date for this destruction is difficult to pin down precisely. The final enhancement of the sites defences took place around 100 BC and the subsequent destruction was not long thereafter (Cunliffe 1995a:100). Then things changed. The evidence for occupation is much reduced: the ceramics which are present (cp8) are now dominated by wares from the Poole Harbour area, demonstrating new contact with the coast, and there are fewer pits with propitiatory deposits, suggesting a significant change in whatever social requirements there had been to make them in the first place. However perhaps most relevant to the discussion here are some changes in the faunal assemblage. Whereas hitherto horse had made up only a tiny proportion of the larger mammals from the site, now the proportion approximately doubles (Table 1.2).

At about the same time as the decline or transformation of Danebury (cp7), Bury Hill, a nearby hillfort, was reoccupied. It was redefined with a massive new ditch with a rampart on both inner and outer lips. Occupation was intense but short lived, and the rise in proportion of horse bones at Danebury pales into insignificance in

comparison to its dominance at 48% at this site, complemented by a large collection of iron and bronze horse gear (Cunliffe 1995b).

> If . . . Bury Hill II . . . was set up as a rival focus to Danebury, we might be witnessing the final stage in a power struggle between a long established polity and a newly emerging faction. The emphasis on horse and vehicle trappings may be a reflection of the development of a more warlike situation. It may be no accident that the bulk of the horse gear from Danebury was found in the last stratified phase of cp7 broadly contemporary with the Bury Hill II occupation.
> (Cunliffe 1995a:100)

Bury Hill awaits full publication, but in the light of the earlier discussion the idea that it might represent the location of a leader and his *comitatus* is very tempting. Unlike Danebury it was located right next to a plentiful water supply which horses would have required. Activity at Bury Hill was short lived, ceasing as cp7 gave way to cp8, when activity at Danebury was scaled down. But at the same time yet another site in the area was brought back into occupation and massively re-defended:

> . . . at this time that the long-established settlement at Suddern Farm was enclosed within a new system of very substantial ditches. Hints that the site may have been of high status are provided by the discovery there of fragments of wine amphorae, a pottery vessel imported from N-W France, and a large quantity of wheel-made pottery from the Poole Harbour production centre. A simple explanation would be to see the massive ditches as a symbol of high social prestige.
> (Cunliffe 1995a:101)

This small area of central-southern England appears to show marked changes towards the end of cp7, with horses and horse gear becoming increasingly prominent, and new types of sites emerging such as Suddern Farm, which unambiguously represent what must be considered 'elite residences' or 'high-status sites' (making a change from the earlier ambiguities of the evidence from hillforts).

Broadening the scene out to other sites in central-southern England we see a fairly similar picture. The other area which has seen relatively intensive fieldwork is in the vicinity of Maiden Castle. No two areas are identical, but related phenomena can be detected here as well. From the MIA to the LIA there is again a rise in the proportion of horse bone in relation to pig, cattle and sheep; it rose from 1.6% in phase 6, the densest period of occupation, to 11.8% in phase 7, the LIA (data based on fragment counts: Armour-Chelu 1991:143). The rise is impressive, though the faunal assemblage for the latest layers was small in comparison to the main occupation of the site so the figures may be distorted. However, other changes went alongside the rise of horse bone. The nature of the occupation of the site also changed, and Sharples described it as being dramatically different:

> There is no indication [in the LIA] of continuous occupation across the interior and the layout of the streets and communal storage areas had been

> abandoned. The occupation was patchy and probably largely concentrated in the area of the original Early Iron Age fort.
>
> Activity also extended outside the interior of the fort. The area within the earthworks of the eastern entrance was an industrial area, with extensive metalworking. Further out, there was the cemetery of the settlement. In the Middle Iron Age, both of these activities were dispersed within the settlement and appeared to be integrated with other aspects of the domestic life of the occupants. Their isolation is another sign of the increasing segregation of role and function in Late Iron Age society.
> (Sharples 1991:263)

Sharples also perceived a rise in the degree of enclosure and the establishment of field systems in the vicinity of Maiden Castle. All of this he associated with the reappearance of individuals of status and wealth, as identified by material culture ranging from high-quality ceramics and personal adornment to new burial rites and the advent of coin.

At Hod Hill, another hillfort, we also see changes in its latest Iron Age stages with the construction of a palisade dividing off the 'chieftain's hut' from his peers, though the dating here is not secure (Richmond 1968). At Gussage All Saints, again in its final phase, one of the roundhouses was enclosed by a deep ditch marking it off (Wainwright 1979), and again a rise in the proportion of horse was identified from the MIA to LIA phases from 5.3% to 8.2% (based on minimum number of individuals; Harcourt 1979:157). At both sites, hitherto occupied for a long time, individuals were being marked out as different.

From the architectural differentiation and the selective distribution of imports it is clear that social stratification was increasing at this time, or to be more precise, it was becoming archaeologically manifest, and the increase in equestrian material culture and horse bones happens at the same time. The social control of central-southern Britain appeared to be changing. Perhaps we might be moving away from our 'egalitarian' hillforts and towards a landscape managed, ruled and terrorised by new leaders with their faithful followings.

An unreliable idea of the scale of the men/horses under arms comes from Caesar during his visit to Britain in 54 BC. After a defeat against the Romans on the banks of the Thames, 'Cassivellaunus had now given up all hope of fighting a pitched battle. Disbanding the greater part of his troops, he retained only some 4000 charioteers . . .' (Caesar, *BG* 5.19). Of course the testimony is biased and the numbers might be exaggerated, but when one considers that at Gussage All Saints there were, at a minimum, the remains of 50 sets of chariot fittings present, then large *comitates* do not seem so unfeasible.

If there was a trend which involved a move towards the control and management of large number of horses, then discussion should not continue without mention of some of the earliest *oppida*. Many of these are situated in valley bottom locations. This has previously been discussed in terms of providing better locations to control trade and communications, as these sites were viewed as commercial centres to go

alongside the new medium of coinage and all the new imported goods arriving. However, an alternative factor can be seen in their foundation: many of them enclose or include large areas down by water meadows. Oram's Arbour (Winchester, Hants), situated beneath the earlier hillfort of St Catherine's Hill, enclosed a large area on the valley side down to the river Itchen, which at this date existed as a series of water channels along the valley bottom providing excellent grazing. Dyke Hills (Oxon.), on the northern edge of the area dominated by hillforts, occupied a spur in the bottom of the Thames Valley. With a *comitatus* as a power-base, and a herd of horses to manage, water meadows and water itself were very valuable resources; so valley bottom sites were more appropriate than hilltops. This is the case for some of the later *oppida* as well. At Verulamium the Devils and New Dykes enclose the northern part of the valley bottom; curiously the ditch is on the inside rather than the outside, again suggesting defence was not the primary purpose, and opening up the possibility that it was an area for keeping prestige stock (Fig. 7.9). The development of Silchester is also instructive; the settlement was established rapidly on a virgin site, probably with a fairly significant population size. The pollen evidence shows a significant shift upon its foundation – not from woodland to arable to keep the population fed, but from woodland to extensive pasture. The outer earthworks at the site may again relate to protected pasture (Fig. 7.10).

Precisely how these individuals broke free from the MIA social constraints on the concentration of power is unclear, though I would imagine the arrival of so much gold probably had more to do with it than the arrival of only a few Mediterranean imports. Gold provided a lot of potential for the display of authority using torcs, and for the articulation of social relationships and obligations through the exchange of coin. But there is the additional question of where the gold came from, and the mechanisms for its arrival. Caesar provides us with two possible suggestions. First he refers to Diviciacus, king of the Suessiones in NE Gaul in the previous generation; it was said that he had also held domains in Britain (*BG* 2.4). This would provide for the movement of wealth, as payments were made to clients. However, his second reference is to the migration of the Belgae to Britain, and this is more problematic.

The migration of the Belgae has caused much anxiety in archaeological narratives of the Iron Age, stemming largely from a mistaken association between this 'migration' and the Aylesford–Swarling burial rites which appeared across south-east England, though mainly in the area north of the Thames. This link was effectively dismissed by Birchall (1965), who pointed out that virtually all the burials were post-Caesarean, and therefore they could not be taken to represent Caesar's immigrants. This is what Caesar said:

> The interior of Britain is inhabited by people who claim, on the strength of an oral tradition, to be aboriginal; the coast, by Belgic immigrants who came to plunder and make war – nearly all of them retaining the names of the tribes from which they originated – and later settled down to till the soil.
> (Caesar, *BG* 5.12)

The statement about tribal names creates resonances when one thinks of the later

Roman *civitas* names in central-southern England, including the 'Atrebates' centred upon Silchester, and the 'Belgae' centred upon Winchester (Cunliffe 1982). However, demonstrating any form of migration from one populated area to another is extremely difficult. Finding convincing archaeological correlates for even some of the best historically attested migrations is hard, such as the 'celtic' migration into the Po Valley in the fifth century BC, or the movement around southern Europe of the Cimbri or Teutones in the later second/first century BC. Nonetheless, the idea of groups coming from the continent to raid and plunder, and finally settling, does give a rather neat context for the sudden instability which appears in the late second/early first century in Britain.

Archaeologically this was the time when contact was re-established between both sides of the Channel. The site which has received the most attention has been Hengistbury Head (Cunliffe 1987). The chalk headland jutting out into the opening of the Solent made for a wonderfully protected harbour on its northern side, while the promontory itself was easily secured by the construction of a double dyke. However Hengistbury was not alone; other locations such as Poole harbour and part of the Sussex coast near Arundel also show concentrations of imports. These contacts were broadly spread across northern Gaul from Armorica eastwards (Cunliffe and de Jersey 1997).

Not only did imports arrive, but in some areas more deep-rooted changes also appear. At Westhampnett (near Chichester, W. Sussex) we have perhaps the earliest cremation cemetery of the southern Iron Age. For a period of about 40 years, from *c.* 90–50 BC, burial took place at this small site using a rite strongly influenced by contemporary traditions in Normandy or adjacent regions of France (Fitzpatrick 1997:208). The ceramics were also strongly influenced by Normandy styles, though they were made in local fabrics. This is also about the time coinage was no longer just imported but also manufactured here.

Changes took place beyond the coast. For much of the final stages of early La Tène and middle La Tène periods the design of British brooch types had begun to diverge in style from those of the continent. This remained true for much of Britain throughout the second century BC, except for one area, that of Dorset, Hampshire and Somerset. Here a few appeared which displayed continental innovations; these were Hawkes and Hull's types 3A–B dating to the later stages of middle La Tène, i.e. the mid-second century BC (Hull and Hawkes 1987; Haselgrove 1997a:54). Whatever was happening on the coast was also being reflected in dress/display inland.

So let us summarise the situation. The south was dominated by hillforts with little obvious internal evidence for architectural or other features to make any one individual stand out. In the late second century BC and early first century BC we see changes taking place at a number of sites: enclosures mark out individuals; there are more horse trappings found and at some sites horse makes up a larger proportion of the faunal assemblage. Whereas hitherto rather plain 'saucepan pots' had dominated ceramic assemblages (cp7), now decorated wares and pots from the Dorset coast appear (cp8), alongside which continental imports begin to be found on the coast and at a restricted number of sites inland. This is also the time that gold begins to

arrive in the area (of which more later). Added to this, ceramics are now being made on the coast in local fabrics imitating Gallic forms, and placed in burials, imitating Gallic rites. Given all of this I find the idea that much of this disruption to the existing settlement pattern was caused by the emergence or intrusion of 'warrior groups' or *comitates* very appealing.

Hitherto there has been a strong temptation to try to apply the 'warrior band' and 'feasting' image of celtic society to the age of hillforts. However the lack of strong archaeological indicators of such an elite has led to the Middle Iron Age being seen as a far less autocratic place. Nonetheless, it may be that this image would instead be far better applied to the twilight years of the forts, as new power-bases using the horse, gold and Mediterranean imports wrestled control from wherever it had hitherto lain. The idea that change was a consequence of simply a few traders and Mediterranean imports is a little too placid for me; I imagine the Middle to Late Iron Age transition as a far more violent time, at least for a short while as new forms of authority were established.

To conclude, there are two possible analogies which may help us understand the inception and nature of these new warrior bands. First, with the expansion of the Roman world it is a commonplace to believe that the demand for slaves from Gaul and northern Europe increased. In some more modern colonial circumstances the demand was not met directly by imperialist entreupeneurs, but rather indirectly through new political structures which developed amongst the native population to procure these goods. For example in West Africa, whilst slavery had existed in some form previously, the demand increased radically with the arrival of the Portuguese:

> Very rapidly . . . the scale of European buying increased beyond previous bounds. New African political powers emerged to manage foreign relations, maximise profits from slave trading, and minimise the risk of European invasion or direct slave recruitment. Inter-European competition for slaves to man the mines and plantations of the Americas enabled the stronger and more astute front-line kingdoms to prosper at the expense of the West African middle belt which became a depressed raiding ground.
> (Birmingham 1979:29)

Perhaps Britain in the late MIA and early LIA was such a raiding ground, and the horsemen groups represent the developing structures to articulate this trade, with the arrival of gold being its reward. The warrior groups are also reminiscent of bands of men described in Medieval Irish literature, which specifically talks of men living apart from the rest of society, loyal to their leader. These were the *fiana*, and they provide the second analogy.

Irish literature has two bodies of tradition related to 'the hero'. In both traditions heroes were perceived as warriors/magicians, moving frequently between the sacred and profane worlds, but in other respects the two bodies of tradition markedly diverge. One set, exemplified by the tales of Cu Chulainn, represents the hero as faithful to his king and the community. This is the classic hero which also has some reality in history. However the second body of tradition refers to the *fiana*, or band of

warriors who existed outside tribal tradition. They were a body of men who hunted and fought during the summer season, then lived off the country like billeted troops during the winter months. They were not subject to the king, but to their own leaders. When joining the *fiana* an individual had to go through a whole series of initiation ceremonies; a consequence of joining this band was the severance of ties and obligations with one's family. No longer was one obliged to avenge wrongs done to one's own clan, nor could his clan claim compensation for his death. They existed outside the communal institutions which bound everyone else together. So what is the historicity of these groups, or are they merely mythological inventions? That is difficult to tell.

> The Irish annalists admit as a matter of course the historicity of the Fenian Cycle. For the historian Keating (17th century) the *fiana* are a professional army charged with the defence of the country against foreign invasion. This conception prevails in the most recent stories, but it does not correspond to conditions reflected by the earlier texts, in which the *fiana* appear constantly at war with each other or with the royal power, and assume no nationalistic function.
> (Sjoestedt 1994:86)

It is all too easy to imagine that the dynasts of Late Iron Age Britain developed out of earlier pre-existing elites, or a gradual stratification of earlier social systems. But descriptions of leaders of people such as the *fiana* are reminiscent of our Aeduan attempting to usurp authority, of the sacred oaths binding *soldurii* to their leader, of the multiplicity of 'kings' in Kent. If external pressure required the development of 'force' to protect MIA Britons against incursions, then either society had to change radically or latitude had to be given for these warrior elites to extend their authority.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed how the MIA/LIA transition is seen. Hillforts are being seen more as communal monuments that as the focal point of warlike elites in the MIA. However the more this happens, the greater the scale of the transition from this to the highly ranked dynasties of Britain on the eve of the arrival of Claudius' legions becomes. I have tried to suggest that the archaeological evidence demonstrates a significant degree of change in the later second century, early first century BC. The nature of the occupation at many sites changes and new sites come into existence, many of which appear to be dominated by horse-trappings and, indeed, horse remains. Alongside this came the arrival of gold, and also possibly migration on some scale from the continent. One possible reconstruction is to see these as a series of 'warrior bands', perhaps defensive in response to migration, perhaps aggressively engaged in the procurement of slaves; I doubt if the archaeological evidence could distinguish between the two. The next chapter will focus much more upon the nature of individual authority, and how leaders may have expressed their position and status using new media such as gold coin and torcs.

2

Coin and the representation of individual authority

If the relatively unranked Middle Iron Age gave way to individuals asserting dominance through the use of groups of loyal horsemen, then these new individuals would need to develop ways of validating and legitimising their new power and authority. Often this involves delving back into an imagined past: the Augustan revolution was legitimated as being a restoration of the Republic, though of course it was no such thing. This chapter investigates the ritual basis of authority, and introduces the discussion of the imagery on coin – one of the new media used to articulate authority.

The horse and the ritual basis of authority

Power and authority are rarely simply based upon might or the distribution of prestige goods. Frequently they are dressed up in ritualistic practices which help to validate authority. As Octavian took over the Roman state, he was very careful to use ritual and religion to consolidate his regime, even to the extent of taking on a new name, 'Augustus', with its religious overtones. We saw with the Sotiates of Aquitania that members of a *comitatus* could be bound by a sacred oath to their master. Rule and ritual are intertwined, but can we reconstruct any of it in MIA/LIA Britain? In order to investigate the ritual basis of kingship we will start with some analogies, separated in time and space from Britain. Then we will return to the archaeological evidence, which strongly suggests that the analogous situations may not be far off the mark, though the precise situation we will never be able to know for sure.

If any one thing symbolised the power of potential rulers and the leaders of *comitates*, it was the horse. Not only did the horseman represent power, but also the horse itself may have been ritually significant in its own right. Connections between horses and the ruling class are represented in the Irish vernacular literature, wherein the man/horse relationship was fundamental to the concept of kingship. Old and Middle Irish sagas have preserved a series of images of what the conferment of kingship meant in a form of society comparable with, though inevitably different to, Iron Age Britain. Simms (1987) has brought together the literary evidence dealing with the nature of kingship, including many of the difficult bardic sources. In this study, one idea which constantly recurs is the concept of kingship as not just the power invested in an individual, but a union of the forces of man and the natural world, frequently described in terms of a marriage between the potential king and the earth. This is often described as 'sacral kingship':

> The fundamental theory is that right order in society can only flourish under the rule of the right king. The peaceful succession of property from father to son, the due fulfilment of contracts, security from outside attack, fertility in man and beast, increase in crops, clement weather, absence of disease, are all secured if the land herself, or the local goddess of sovereignty, is 'married' to a true king.
> (Simms 1987:21)

For us the most important dimension to this concept is that it was the horse which was often used to embody 'nature' at these 'marriages'. Though practices inevitably changed with time, nearly all the investitures described included either explicit acts or vestiges of acts linking king and animal. For example in the 12th century *Life* of Colm Colmán, son of Luachán, a description is given of the consecration of the kings of Tara, which includes the use of a horsewhip on a man (Simms 1987:23). In the initiation of the kings of Connacht, we hear of the Ó Conchobhair king getting down on all fours in imitation of a horse, enabling an ecclesiastic to climb first onto his back before getting onto the king's horse itself (Simms 1987:23). But both of these examples pale into insignificance when compared to Giraldus Cambrensis' account of a ceremony performed in Tir Conaill:

> There is in the northern and farther part of Ulster, namely in Kenelcunill [Tir Conaill], a certain people which is accustomed to consecrate its king with a rite altogether outlandish and abominable. When the whole people of that land has been gathered together in one place, a white mare is brought forward into the middle of the assembly. He who is to be inaugurated, not as a chief, but as a beast, not as a king, but as an outlaw, embraces the animal before all, professing himself to be a beast also. The mare is then killed immediately, cut up in pieces and boiled in water. A bath is prepared for the man afterwards in the same water. He sits in the bath surrounded by all his people, and all, he and they, eat of the meat of the mare which is brought to them. He quaffs and drinks of the broth in which he is bathed, not in any cup, or using his hand, but just dipping his mouth into it round about him. When this unrighteous rite has been carried out, his kingship and dominion have been conferred.
> (Giraldus Cambrensis, quoted in Simms 1987:21-2)

The dating of many of these descriptions is problematic. This particular event, if real, may be derived from oral tradition dating to any time before to the twelfth century, when this text was written down. Such notions of a ritualistic union between an animal (representing the land) and the ruler are not uncommon in a variety of Indo-European contexts. But this specific theme recurs in several other locales, which suggests it has very firm roots within Indo-European 'culture'. A second ceremony, extraordinarily similar to the Tir Conaill, comes from Vedic sources. In the rich literature here a specific word is provided for the rite where horse and ruler are brought together, and this is the *Asvamedha* (Puhvel 1970; Oaks 1986). This rite specifically relates to conferring sovereignty over annexed states. Yet in this case the

genders of the participants are reversed from the Irish rite described above. Here a prize stallion is sacrificed after the king's chief wife has undergone simulated mating with it. The word *Asvamedha* is also used as a specific name for a prince in the Rig-Veda who undertakes this rite (*RV* 5.28.4). This uncanny similarity across centuries and thousands of miles is made even more bizarre by a direct link between the word describing this rite and an inscription on a Gallic Iron Age coin.

The word *Asvamedha* is made up of two parts: *Asva-*, which can be directly linked with the Indo-European **ekwo-*, or 'horse', and *-medha*, which relates to a cluster of words connected to ritual intoxication (Puhvel 1955). The word for the alcoholic drink 'mead' comes from this root, as does the name for the Irish goddess of sovereignty, 'Medb'. Of more interest to us is the inscription *IIPOMIIDVOS* (transliterated as *Epomeduos*). This is found with slight variations (sometimes the IIs are Es) on some of the silver coins of the Arverni in first century BC central Gaul (Nash 1978, fig. 441). In effect it is the direct Gaulish equivalent of the *Asvamedha* personal name, the IIPO being the signifier for 'horse' (hence the later goddess Epona), the -MIID- meaning ritual intoxication, and the -VOS ending signifying it as a personal name.

We have, therefore, a rite which manifests itself in two diverse literary sources, and which is placed within our own time-frame by an inscription. I do not wish to suggest that such a practice took place in Late Iron Age Britain, that would be too much of a jump. For the moment, I wish to suggest that we should be prepared to accept the central role that the horse might have taken in any ritual validating structures of authority. From here we must return to the archaeological evidence, to see what it can offer to sustain or reject this idea.

The faunal remains of horses from pre-Caesarean contexts in Britain do suggest they were treated and perceived as being different from other animals. At Gussage All Saints, a high-status site with a large number of horse trappings, there are butchery marks on horse bones, but nothing like as many as on cattle and other animals (Harcourt 1979). There is also a virtual absence of neo-natal horse mortalities in the Iron Age sample, which suggests that horses were not bred, but were captured and broken in from the wild. The idea of wild horses would suit the concept of the man/horse marriage being a metaphor for the union between man and nature. The exceptional activity of eating horse-flesh would correlate with the kind of image portrayed by the Irish sources. But Gussage All Saints is only one site; what do other sites suggets?

At Danebury virtually all the horse skeletal material also belonged to adults: only remains from two individuals had unfused bones, and these belonged to the late occupation of the site. About two-thirds of the horses were male. So, both in demographic structure and in sex ratio, the horse bones were totally different to the cattle, sheep and pig assemblages from the site. The proportion of broken horse bones was also much smaller. Grant interpreted this as partly a result of the age structure (there being more fused bones which were less likely to break), and partly as a consequence of horse remains being placed in 'special deposits' with their flesh still attached:

> the lack of neonatal animals in all phases and of juvenile animals in all but the late phase, together with the predominance of males, suggests the possibility that these animals were not being bred at Danebury. The frequency with which their bones occur in apparently ritual contexts also suggests that horses may have held a position of higher status than cattle, sheep or pigs, and were only exceptionally a source of food, perhaps in times of need or even to celebrate particular occasions.
> (Grant 1991:476)

As at Gussage All Saints, the impression is given of wild horses being broken in, rather than of captive breeding populations. Nonetheless, reconstructing populations from ritually deposited material (which made up a fair proportion of the Danebury horse bones) is problematic, and this was acknowledged. A larger study of MIA 'special deposits' was undertaken by Hill (1995). All sorts of animal remains found their way into pit fills; however, Hill was able to divide the material into three broad groups based upon their structured deposition. He believed that he could use this to approach an understanding of MIA man's classificatory scheme of nature. On the one side there were domesticated stock (cattle, sheep and pig), and on the other were wild animals, but three species formed a separate category: dogs, horses and humans.

> . . . we can understand the position of horse and dog in terms of their proximity (metaphorical and real) to humanity (or at least one form of it), and also in terms of their relationship between domestic and wild. However, it may be wrong to assume that because horse and dog held similar classificatory positions that it was due to identical reasons and qualities . . . Horses were probably brought to Wessex settlements from outside, since they do not appear to have been bred on Wessex sites but probably in semi-wild herds outside the Chalk Downlands akin to New Forest or moorland ponies today. In contrast, dogs were raised on Iron Age settlements (neo-natal / young dog . . . are common). Both horses and dogs may have been considered to have personalities, even to be subjects in some sense, but like humans both horses and dogs require training, disciplining, to fulfil their roles or act as companions. Horses, particularly if raised in semi-wild herds, had to be broken and trained in order to be ridden or used to draw vehicles. It is this process of bringing in from the wild, taming, controlling, that made them a potent metaphor to express ideas about culture and nature within society.
> (Hill 1995:107-8)

Certainly in the Wessex Chalklands the archaeological evidence appears to support the idea of horses being wild animals, tamed from nature, but treated with a reverence which most closely correlated with human and dog remains, the only other social animals. Horse bones rarely showed butchery marks, suggesting that such flesh was only eaten on exceptional occasions. These facts help us imagine that horses had a special place in the MIA belief system in this area. They also help us understand the

otherwise exceptional burial, in the south-east, of a complete horse in the Middle–Late Iron Age inhumation cemetery at Mill Hill, Deal (Grave 53: Parfitt 1995), where the animal was laid out on exactly the same orientation as *humans*.

In many ways the evidence happily fits with the descriptions from the Irish vernacular literature, where horse and human are linked and horsemeat is only eaten on very specific occasions. However much of this evidence comes from propitiatory rites conducted in the Middle Iron Age. In the LIA final stages at Danebury (cp8) fewer propitiatory rites were conducted, though it should be noted that the proportion of horse bones then actually increased. It is almost as if this animal were already ritually important, but for some reason votive acts relating to it increased in significance. Could it be that we have our new leaders here, supported by their *comitates*, appropriating pre-existing rites to validate the cosmological basis of their new-found power? Such a strategy, as new structures of authority were established, would be entirely appropriate. It is from a fusion of propitiatory rites and leadership that the classical perception of 'sacral kingship' may have emerged.

One final piece of evidence which leads us on to the next section, is that an image of this man/horse duality was stamped on to pieces of precious metal and widely distributed in Britain in the late second/early first century, just when all these other changes were taking place. This, of course, was the development of coinage. Virtually everywhere throughout northern Europe coins appeared in a variety of styles, but almost all of them had in common a horse on one side and a face on the other. This is so consistent that it is as if this duality had some deep-rooted significance. I would suggest that the man/horse image on prestige lumps of metal was a deliberately conceived symbol, enshrining the concept of the right to rule, or more plainly the concept of sacral kingship. It is therefore to the arrival of coinage that we must now turn.

The origin of coin in northern Europe

The image on the majority of coins from north-west Europe derived from the gold staters of Philip II of Macedon (359–336 BC), depicting the head of Apollo on the obverse and a two-horse chariot on the reverse. This prototype may seem a peculiar progenitor for northern European coinage, but it is generally believed that the image became familiar when 'celtic' mercenaries were drafted in by the Greek world, around the time of Philip II and his successor Alexander the Great (336–323 BC). It is presumed they were paid in coin, though only a few of the originals have actually been found in central or northern Europe. Nonetheless, this was the image copied when people along the upper Danube, the upper Rhine and in northern Gaul, decided to mint their own coin.

The earliest Gallic issues were very similar to the archetype, but often the legend beneath the chariot was misconstrued, and the lettering rapidly became a meaningless pattern (Fig. 2.1). As time went on, a series of regional styles developed. In Armorica one of the horses in front of the chariot disappeared, whilst the remaining one developed a more human head. The charioteer remained in many cases, though the chariot itself was largely lost. Surrounding this image could be all manner of other objects: lyres, men with wings, boars. Meanwhile, on the other side, Apollo's head

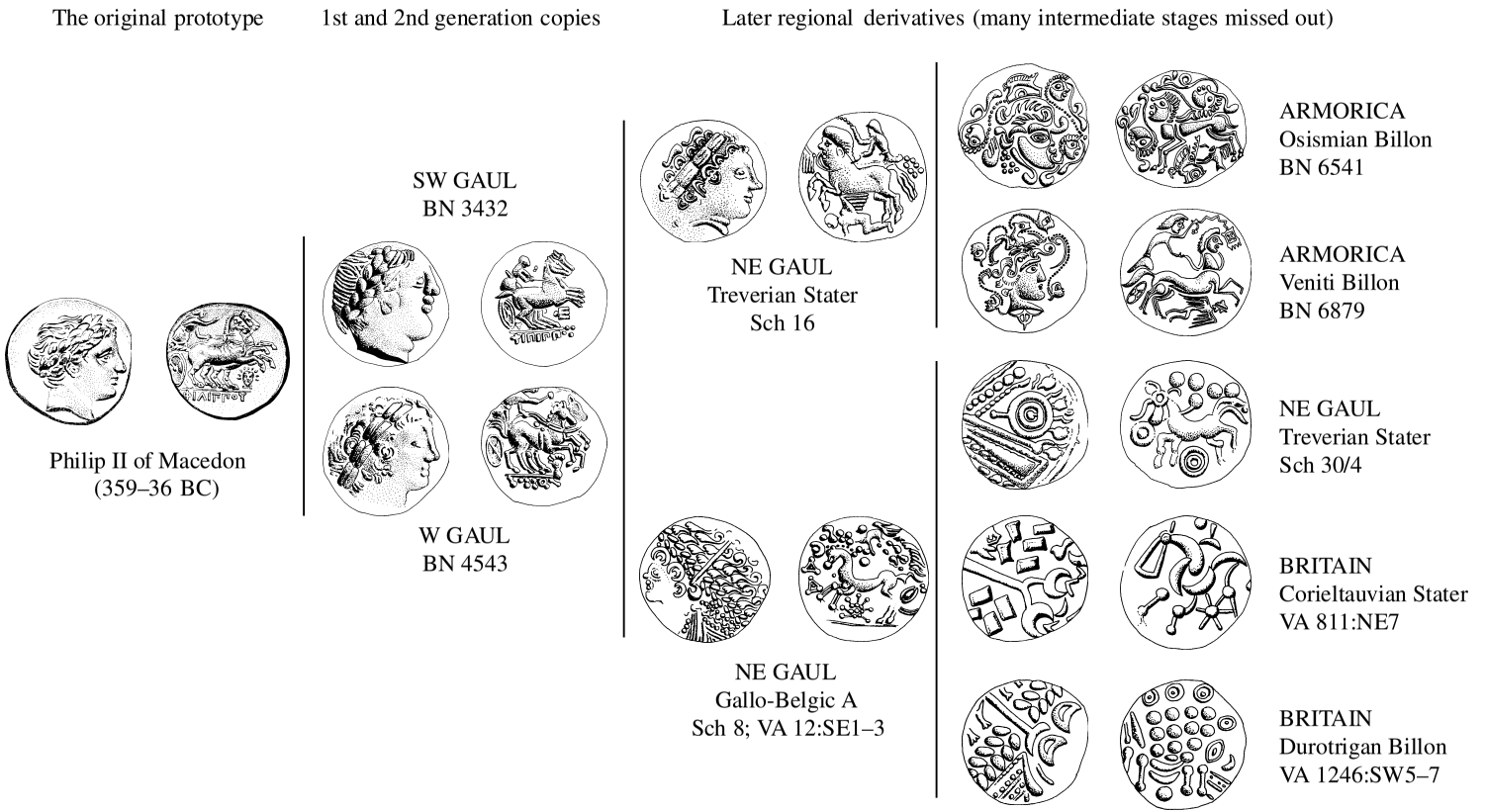


Fig. 2.1 The development of coinage in northern Europe from the Phillipus to its regional successors.

remained recognisable as a head, though frequently other 'spirit heads' would grow out of it.

In Gallia–Belgica there was also variability, but the main trend here was the abstraction of Apollo's features. In different series various aspects such as the flowing locks of hair, the wreath or the eye were exaggerated, until the link between the original image and the resulting pattern was virtually lost. The now solitary horse also started to become slightly disjointed, and other objects began to float in the spaces around it.

British coinage derived largely from the coinage of Gallia–Belgica, and here abstraction reached its limits. In Dorset everything became a series of abstract dots, while in Lincolnshire the abstractions mainly took the form of crescents. Yet even though abstraction took place and the man/horse image became difficult to recognise in places, a gradual lineal descent can always be traced. Only in one area did this abstracted man/horse image give way to another, and that was in East Anglia. Here the horse's mouth grew larger and its jaws became serrated; it is more commonly referred to nowadays as the Norfolk wolf (British J: VA610:EA5–6).

The dominance of this family of imagery on the gold coin of northern Europe for several centuries, in some regions, is stunning. Why should this newly imported alien form of material culture have taken hold so? Often when a new form of artefact arrives into a society from a different social context, it takes on a new role appropriate to its new social setting. Yet, however coin functioned in Gaul and Britain, the conservatism in the imagery does beg the question as to why it remained the same for so long. Sometimes objects, simply because of their alien provenance, can become invested with a symbolic value. But this cannot be the answer, or at least not the whole one. The image itself must have had some particular significance for it to have remained so constant, and that image must have been surrounded by all sorts of social taboos to protect it. As I have argued above, I believe that the imagery symbolised the union between the ruler and the land.

The arrival of gold in Britain

The first coins to appear in any significant numbers in Britain were Gallo-Belgic A (Sch.8:VA10–20:SE1–3) and Gallo-Belgic B (Sch.10:VA30-37:S1). Their distribution is shown in Fig. 2.2. They are mainly found in north Kent, Hertfordshire and Essex, yet in each case there are also coins found on the south coast from Selsey eastwards for a short stretch. Gallo-Belgic A were probably the earliest – around the mid-second century BC – but their production continued for a long time. Gallo-Belgic B probably appeared at much the same time, though production did not continue for quite so long. Eventually these were succeeded by Gallo-Belgic C (Sch.9:VA42-48:SE4), which appears to have been produced throughout the first half of the first century BC. Whilst all of these are called 'Gallo-Belgic' coins, it is quite possible that some of them were actually minted in Britain.

Meanwhile, another sort of coin also began to be produced in Britain in the mid-late second century BC: potin or cast tin-bronze coins. The main findspots for these were again in north Kent and north of the Thames, but here a note of caution

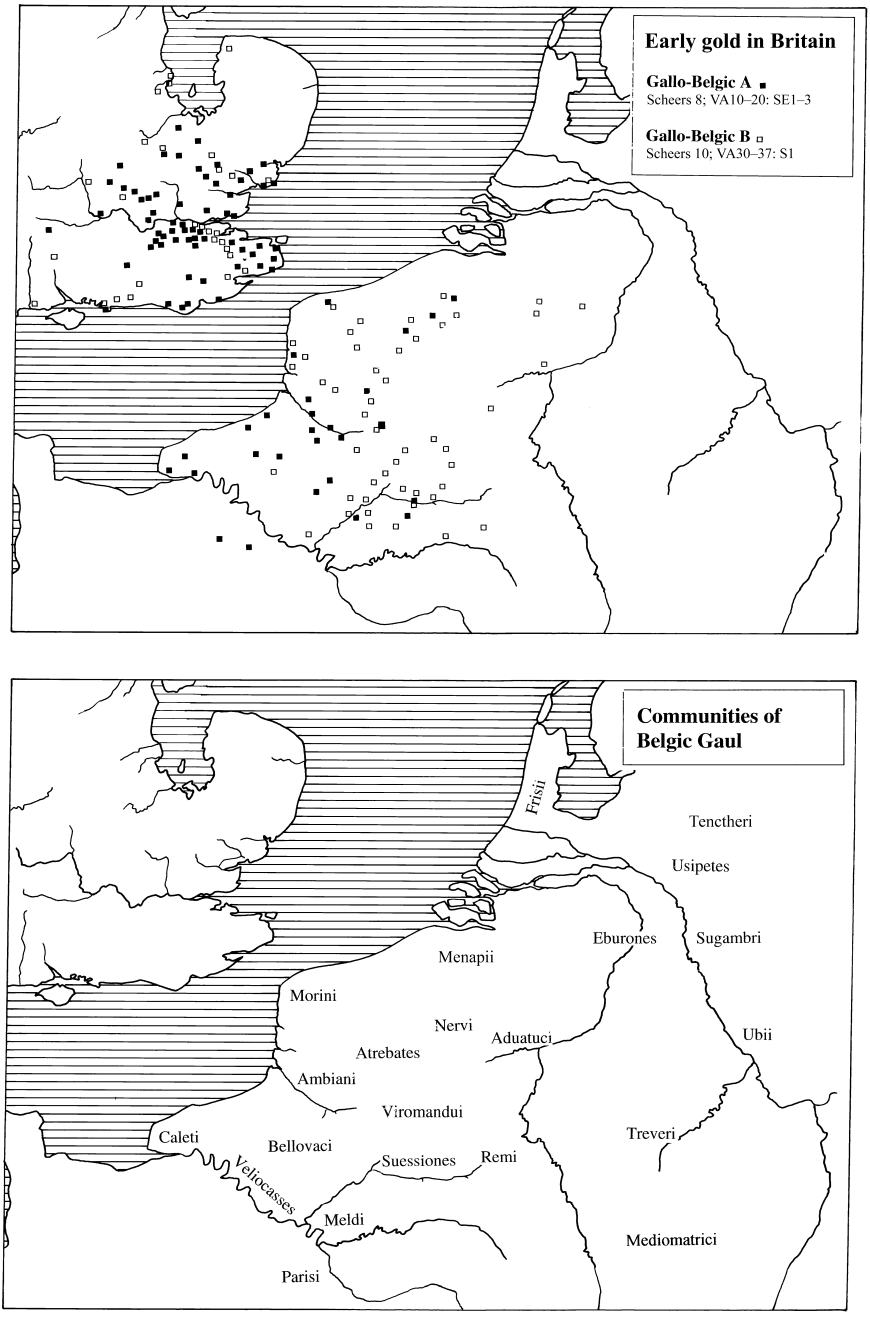


Fig. 2.2 Distribution map of Gallo-Belgic A, Gallo-Belgic C and the communities of NE Gaul

must be made. We should be wary of making too strong an association between distribution areas and circulation zones. Most of the gold found was not from settlement sites at all, but as individual or multiple finds in isolated locations. This suggests that much of the gold ended up in the ground through deliberate votive acts. If this is the case, the distribution may be showing the extent of communities which made propitiatory metalwork deposits, in contrast to the communities of the Wessex chalklands, where different propitiatory acts took place in disused grain storage pits. Such a suggestion could be reinforced by the large number of metalwork deposits found in the Thames, which include swords, shields and other artefacts which probably date to the later Iron Age (Fitzpatrick 1984). So the distribution of votive contexts should not always be directly equated with circulation areas. This caution is underlined by the fact that the best stratified early potin comes not from the core distribution area at all, but from Maiden Castle in Dorset, and also by the fact that British A2, B, C and D, some of the earliest British issues derived from Gallo-Belgic C, are found not in the lower Thames Valley but completely outside this area, along the southern coast in Hampshire and Dorset. I would suspect that Gallo-Belgic A–C had been present here, but the propitiatory traditions which led to the larger-scale deposition of metalwork elsewhere only gradually spread into this area.

So coinage arrived, but how did people react to this new medium? Here it is worth examining Gallo-Belgic B a little more closely. Their original description as 'Gallo-Belgic coins' by Allen is a slight misnomer. Whereas the quarter staters of Gallo-Belgic B are found in approximately equal numbers on either side of the channel, the staters are only securely provenanced in Britain (Fitzpatrick 1997:7). Nash (1987:110) and Haselgrove (1987:79) would both be quite happy to see them as being British issues (as maybe some of the Gallo-Belgic A), however the name has now stuck. If Gallo-Belgic B are the earliest British issues, then their imagery is particularly important. Gallo-Belgic B were minted using old obverse dies of Apollo from Gallo-Belgic A coins, together with freshly cut reverse dies of horses. Yet the Apollo dies had been deliberately defaced with a series of slashes. It is almost as if the image of the horse was acceptable, but the image representing a human was unacceptable. This is a very strong statement. After all, if new dies could be cut for the horse image, new Apollo dies could have been cut as well, had the will been there. Is this first indigenous gold coin a reaction to political developments elsewhere within Britain? Could it be a statement against the symbolic appropriation of the horse, which was taking place as suggested above? In the long run, resistance was useless; all of the subsequent British issues followed the head/horse model slavishly, with the exception of only a few sporadic uniface issues.

Alongside Gallo-Belgic A–C, other issues appeared in Britain. Gallo-Belgic D (Sch.13:VA65–69:SE4–5) had a far more coastal distribution than A–C. At an unknown date, but probably in the early first century BC, a series of coins arrived from Armorica (Cunliffe and de Jersey 1997) which had a similarly coastal distribution, with an emphasis on the south. It is curious that these two series had such a different depositional pattern from the rest, but then they also had a different form of imagery. The Armorican issues had unfamiliar, human-headed horses, whilst the

Gallo-Belgic D had an obscure pattern ultimately derived from other Gallo-Belgic coins, but very different to them. The lack of the classic head/horse image familiar to a British audience perhaps restricted the use of these coins.

Gold coin was not the only new symbolic medium in this power game. A second, which arrived in Britain alongside coin, was the gold torc. In Gaul we find these occasionally hoarded together from the later second century onwards, for example in the Tayac (Gironde), Le Câtillon (Jersey) and Beringen hoards (Limburg) (Boudet 1987; Fitzpatrick and Megaw 1987; Van Impe *et al.* 1997). In Britain there are not as many; however, a coin was built into the terminal head of one of the large Snettisham torcs (Sealey 1979). The two forms of gold were probably intimately related. In the Tayac hoard the torc weighed 0.762 kg, 100 times the mean weight of the local gold staters (Kellner 1970; Haselgrove 1984a:86). Perhaps coins were occasionally melted down to be made into torcs, or the other way around? Despite this metrological link, the two could also serve very different purposes. Torcs were retained and worn to display the status of the leader, whereas coin could be distributed to articulate social relations. Both forms of gold related to different expressions of power and status. The arrival of these new media must have had a strong social impact. My reading would view torcs as the insignia of kingship, or at least of the paramount lineage, whilst coinage represented portable and transferable symbols of that authority. If this is true, then the second century must have seen a remarkable transformation in the outward display and articulation of authority.

In Britain the largest number of torcs have been found in East Anglia, particularly at Snettisham (Norfolk) (Clarke 1954; Sealey 1979), at the north-west tip of land overlooking the tidal inlet of the Wash. Not too far from these were other finds at North Creake, Sedgeford and Bawsey. Other multiple finds come from Ipswich (Suffolk) and Ulceby (Lincolnshire), also both by the coast. These were all almost certainly deliberate votive deposits. Other torcs have been found at odd sites across the country, from Netherund in Scotland down to Hengistbury on the south coast, and possibly also Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 1997:97). The 'value' locked up in these torcs could be extremely large; the 1990 Snettisham finds alone would have produced in excess of 3000 staters' worth of gold (Stead 1990; Lane 1991; Northover 1992:268).

Other artefacts containing gold are rare, largely limited to gold thread in clothing, from a select number of high-status graves discussed further in chapter 7. This sudden arrival of gold clearly would have allowed power to be displayed and articulated in new ways.

The development of coinage in Britain

Although the production of gold coin in Britain probably began with some of the Gallo-Belgic A–C issues, the first clearly indigenous gold coin was British A, found in the south and east of Britain. These imitated Gallo-Belgic C, though the image of the horse had by this stage become even more disjointed. Later issues developed this form of abstraction, until eventually a series of regional coin traditions developed. The entire relational sequence can be envisaged as a family tree; one reconstruction

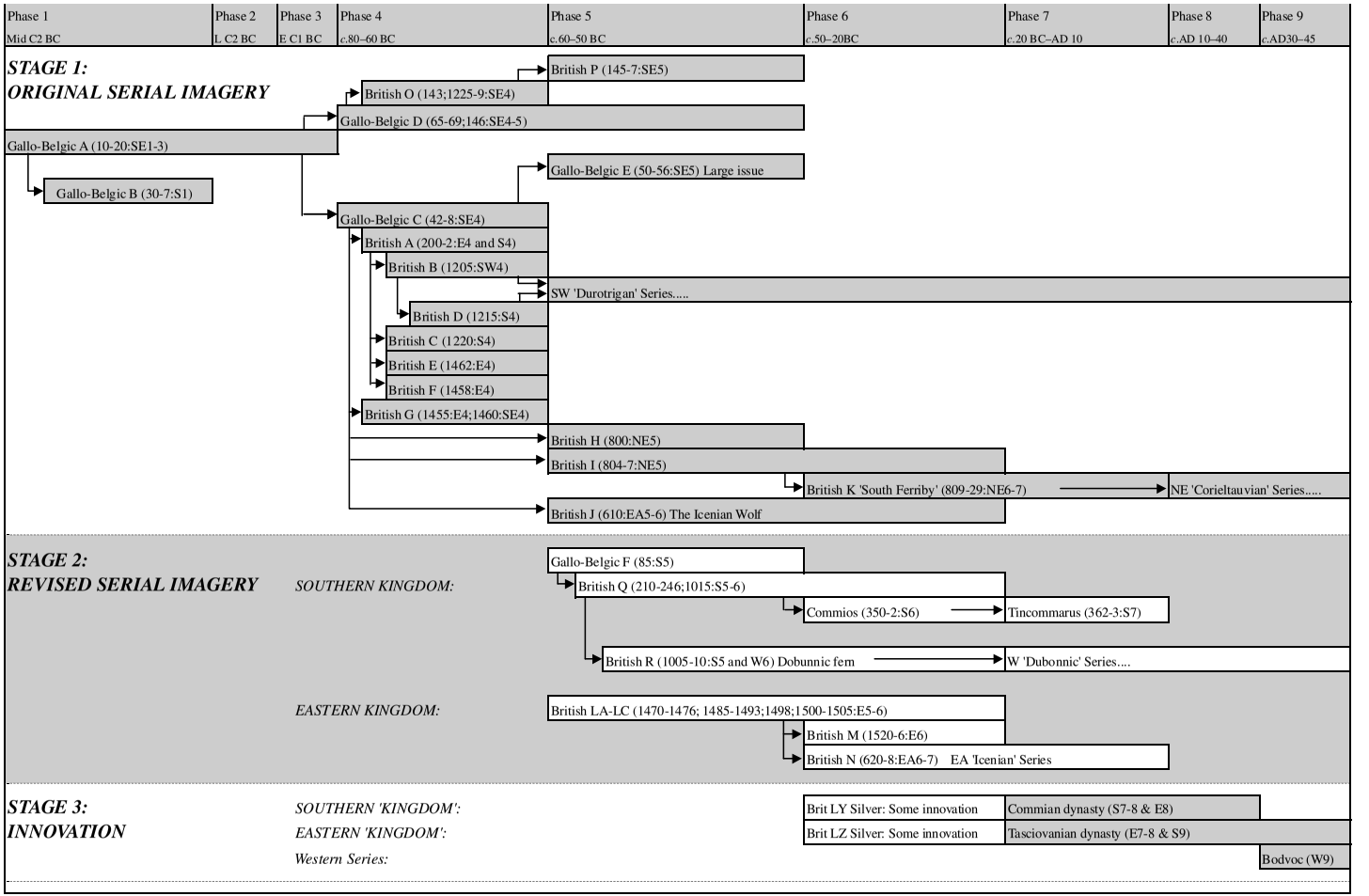


Fig. 2.3 The development of gold coin in Britain, from Gallo-Belgic A to its British regional derivatives

of progenitors and successors is represented in Fig. 2.3. This is but one version, here the sequence is based upon Allen's original description of Gallo-Belgic A–F and British A–R (Allen 1960), but the coins are placed into Haselgrove's revised chronological framework (Haselgrove 1987). As with all typologies and classifications, there are competing ways of arranging these series. Variants have been published by Haselgrove (1987:86) and Van Arsdell (1989a:34), but the alterations are generally in small aspects of detail; what is important to the argument here is the broad picture.

The crucial point here is that all of the early gold of Britain derived from one ancestor, in this case starting with Gallo-Belgic A (called Stage 1 in Fig. 2.3). This family of imagery lasted until the Roman annexation in some areas, such as in the SW (the Durotriges), and in the NE (the Corieltauvi). Each new issue closely followed its predecessor until related coinages covered much of lowland Britain. Aspects of this development in these two regions are shown in Fig. 2.4. In the case of the NE coin series, the coins continued to be made of gold, and the image went through a series of incremental changes. Apollo's head slowly became increasingly abstract until only the wreath survived, while the horse became disjointed until it was represented only by a series of crescents. In the later stages, when inscriptions appeared on the coin they still fitted in with the original conception of the imagery, remaining subservient to it. In the SW series, in the territory commonly ascribed to the Durotriges, the image again changed by subtle degrees until the head and horse were represented by an abstract collection of dots and lines. Just as the image changed, so did the alloy that made up the coin. Whilst the coins started with a high gold content, the alloy quickly deteriorated with the addition of more and more silver, until this too was debased with the addition of more and more base metal. Finally, the last coins in this series were made from cast bronze. Yet throughout this period, the change in the imagery and alloy proceeded gradually. Even though the final image of a few dots and a line is completely unintelligible, its lineal descent from Gallo-Belgic C can be traced. Given this, I wonder if those familiar with the local visual language were able to tell if it still represented a horse and a face?

The key thing to note here is the incremental change that took place from issue to issue. Each clearly refers back to the last, whilst also displaying a tiny but limited degree of innovation. The coinage represents one long, related series. I call this form of aesthetic 'serial imagery'. This particular family of serial imagery continued right up to AD 43 in the NE and SW coin series (Stage 1). However in the south-east this imagery gave way to a new series based on British L and Q, around the time of the Gallic wars (Stage 2). In the late first centry BC, this imagery also gave way, in its turn, to a totally new aesthetic dominated by innovation and classical and naturalistic imagery (Stage 3).

This early tremendous degree of conservatism has rarely been discussed *per se*. It is as if copying an original and then slightly modifying it, as one would in a game of Chinese whispers, requires no explanation. But it needs to be discussed. This degree of uniformity was totally alien to the innovation which occured in Stage 3. In order to understand this change, we need to try to comprehend the different aesthetic values in society, and how they altered. How did people look at coins and perceive them?

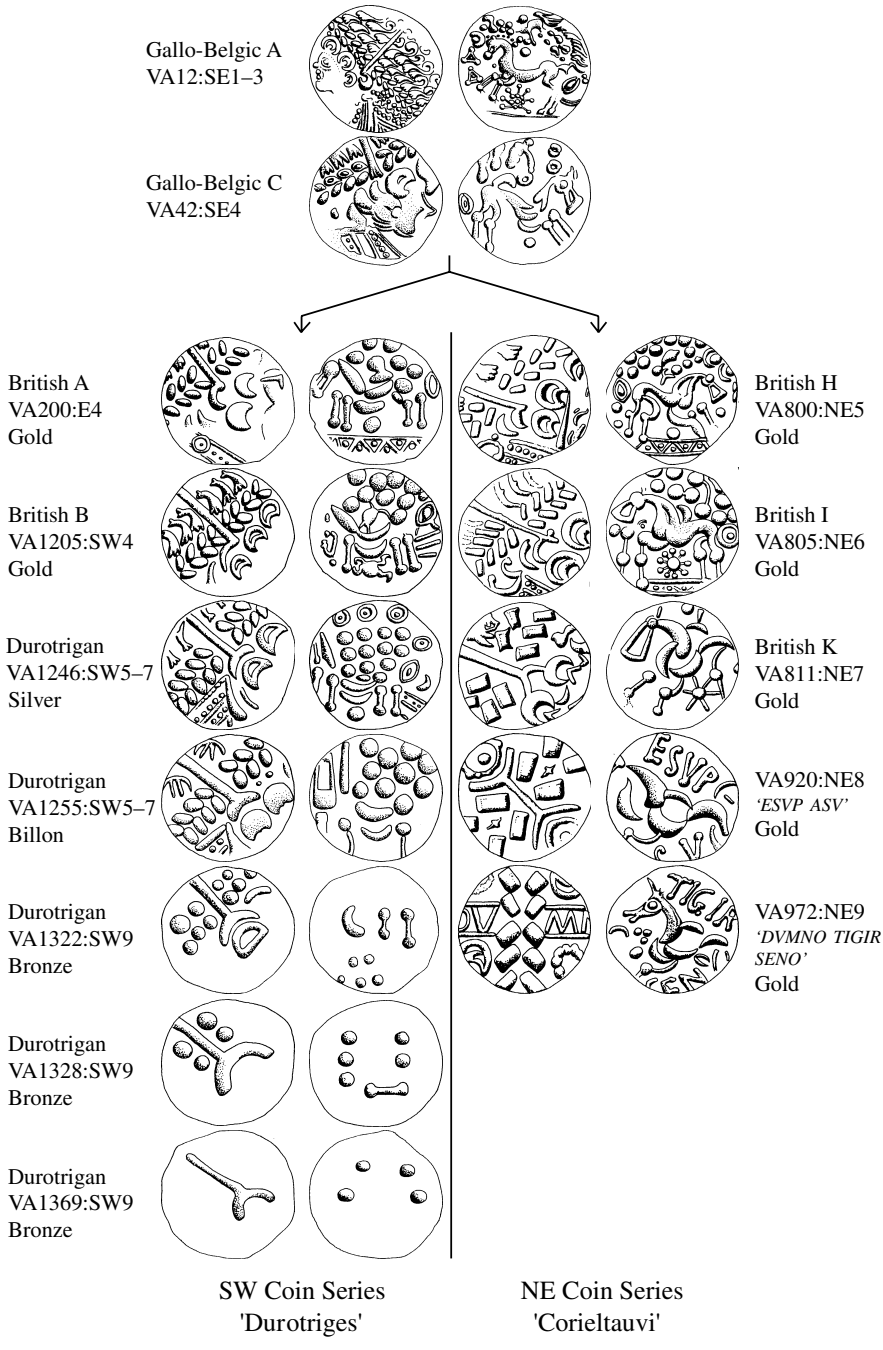


Fig. 2.4 The succession of coins leading to the SW 'Durotrigan' and NE 'Corieltauvian' coin series

Understanding serial imagery

Iron Age coins are sometimes described as being wonderful artistic objects. The skill of execution of a few of them is certainly inspirational, though by no means all. Because of the nature of the abstraction on some types, this appreciation is not perhaps untypical of modern aesthetics where 'art' is equated with novelty, whilst repetition, however well executed, is demeaned as 'craftwork' or more basely as 'industrial' (Eco 1990:83). Yet applying this modern aesthetic judgement to Iron Age coin is bound to be incorrect. We are viewing the material out of context. Originally it is unlikely that each coin would have been viewed on its own in isolation. The reality of the coinage of a particular time and place, when viewed *en masse*, is one of repetition, where innovation and novelty are far from obvious.

Our contemporary distinction between arts and crafts is not one that passes muster in many other cultures. Frequently anthropologists find it difficult to identify native words approximating to our notion of 'art'. Indeed, back in the ancient world and the Middle Ages, the distinction was suspended: 'The same term (*techne*, *ars*) was used to designate both the performance of a barber, or a shipbuilder, and the work of a painter or poet. The classical aesthetics was not so anxious for innovation at any cost, it frequently appreciated as ''beautiful'' the good tokens of an everlasting type.'(Eco 1990:84).

If we are going to look at how coins were perceived, and in what way the styles and images on them changed, it is important to develop an understanding of the aesthetics of a series. This is by no means the same as that of 'high art' or 'good craftsmanship'. The debate on the subject has largely taken place in Italy, with Eco's essay 'Interpreting serials' being by far the most accessible text. Let us look at two contemporary examples of serial stimuli to examine the relationship between audience and creator. The two case studies come from very different media. The first, from television, is the police detective series 'Columbo' (Eco 1990; Calabrese 1983). This series, as do all series, works on a number of fixed pivotal characters in a fixed situation, around which changing secondary actors weave. In this case there is only one fixed character, the lieutenant himself. His shabby clothes and mannerisms are instantly memorable, and the story always unfolds the same way: a murder is enacted telling us who the criminal is. Columbo guesses who this is within the first five minutes and then gathers the evidence in a series of set piece interviews where he charms and yet harasses the suspect and invariably forgets to ask one final question on each encounter. Finally the last piece of evidence falls into place and the villain, whom we and the lieutenant have known all along, is unmasked.

> With a series one believes one is enjoying the novelty of the story (which is always the same) while in fact one is enjoying it because of the recurrence of a narrative scheme that remains constant. The series in this sense responds to the infantile need of always hearing the same story, of being consoled by the 'return of the identical', superficially disguised.
> (Eco 1990:86)

The superficial viewer will be led along by the story, enjoying the tale as the

author/director intended; but the critical reader will also enjoy the seriality of the series, appreciating the various strategies employed to create variation within this framework of virtually identical story lines. With 'Columbo' the variation came from employing some of the best directors around to put their own gloss on individual episodes, including Martin Scorcesee, Jonnathan Deme and Steven Spielberg.

A popular cultural example to illustrate the mechanics of seriality may be too much to bear for purist academic discourse, so perhaps a second example from a 'High art' form might be warranted. Eco mentions musical variations in his essay:

> They, too, were 'serial products' that aimed very little at the naive addressee and that bet everything on an agreement with the critical one. The composer was fundamentally interested only in the applause of the critical listener, who was supposed to appreciate the fantasy displayed in his innovations on an old theme. In this sense seriality and repetition are not opposed to innovation. (Eco 1990:92)

It is time to return to coin. As has been suggested in the outline above, in the early development of Iron Age coin there was a lot of copying. Change did take place by degree, but it could be very slow. With our eyes we can look at this infinitesimal change, see it as a failure of innovation and apply judgements to the culture accordingly. Nonetheless, as Eco's work has pointed out, this probably has more to do with our own cultural expectations of art than the experience of the native viewer: 'We know very well that in certain examples of non-western art, where we always see the same thing, the natives recognise infinitesimal variations and they feel a shiver of innovation' (Eco 1990:93). We must wonder therefore at how Iron Age coin was perceived. What we see as slavish copying, with the occasional mistake leading to variation, viewers of the time may have seen as wonderfully subtle variations on a theme. In a world starved of the richness of constantly changing imagery that television has brought to us, such subtle variations would have been far more noticeable than we perhaps imagine.

Variation also took another form. Many of the earlier Iron Age coins usually only portrayed part of an image, rather than the whole. The coin dies used were significantly larger than the flans the coins were struck from. This meant that each coin was only a small partial window upon a larger image. In some cases the die could be twice the size of the final coin, meaning that only a series of coins together could begin to relate the entire image. As far as an individual coin was concerned, you would know that there were other elements to the image, but their precise form was unknown to you. They were 'off camera'; they could only be imagined. This must have been deliberate. There is little doubt from examining the quality of Middle and Late Iron Age metalworking that had they wanted to use dies the same size as the coin-flans, they were perfectly capable of doing so. The decision to show only a partial image must have been a conscious act, and one which persisted throughout most of the early serial imagery in Britain.

The entire aesthetic appears to be based on subtle nuances, drawing attention to minimal changes. Variation could take place, but within strictly defined limits. In

some ways perhaps this is analogous to oral histories and myths. Here, in order to assist memorisation, stories are often framed in verse, with the meter effectively policing the story, making alterations difficult without making them immediately apparent. Yet within these parameters, intonation can alter and entire stanzas can be added or left out, and it is in this way that certain storytellers can gain a reputation over others, despite the fact that they are often relating the same story. The image on a coin should not be seen as a slavish copy of a copy of a copy of a Macedonian original; rather it should be seen as a visual image which engaged its audience. It was an image its audience was totally familiar with, and any variance from it in even the smallest way would be very noticeable and obvious. Change was not impossible; indeed subtle changes may even have been desired, but any change was constrained within tight parameters.

The colour of money

The conservatism within the development of coinage did not just extend to the nature of the image, it also extended to the colour of the coinage. Here again we have to examine what the Iron Age perception of colour was in contrast to our own.

Until recently most Iron Age coins have been classified as either gold, silver or 'copper' ('copper' should hereafter be take to represent shorthand for a variety of copper alloys unless otherwise stated), despite metallurgical analyses which have demonstrated that a lot of 'gold' coins were in fact made up of complex ternary alloys of all three metals. Nonetheless the ordering and classification of coin has continued to be done using assumptions which equate gold content and weight directly with value. Over the last decade a series of programmes of metallurgical analysis have given us a far better overview of the changing metallurgy of British and Gallo-Belgic coin (Cowell 1992; Northover 1992). We can now see complex changes in these ternary alloys which demand a change in our understanding of Iron Age perceptions and value systems. Cowell and Northover's studies were so advanced by the mid-1980s that Van Arsdell was able to present in his catalogue a ternary diagram displaying the gradual reduction in gold content of Gallo-Belgic and British staters over time (Fig. 2.5; Van Arsdell 1989a:505–6). This illustration was a formalisation of the perception which had framed the reconstruction of Celtic coin chronologies for generations: the idea that the earlier coins would contain more gold, and the later ones less gold. But the picture is not quite as simple as it initially appeared; further analyses have shown that far from Van Arsdell's first attempt at a nice gradual curving debasement, something rather different is happening.

The concept of a gradual debasement is dominated by our own conceptions of alloys and metals. We understand that alloys are made up of various proportions of different elements. We ascribe a high value to pure gold, and believe that if it is alloyed with silver and a little bit of copper, this must mean a reduction in 'value'. But this assumption is not good enough. There are plenty of ethnographic case studies which should make us wary of placing our own value systems on different cultures. In this case the clearest example comes from pre-colonial Africa, where gold was far from uncommon, but its perceived value was much less than that of copper. Copper,

not gold, was used for the consecration of kings, for propriating the gods and acting as the supreme standard of value (Herbert 1984). This warning is not mere speculation; there has been evidence around for years that the perception of the value of metals in the Iron Age might not be quite as it appeared. Haselgrove conducted a detailed study of the depositional context of Iron Age coin in Britain. In this he found strong similarities between the deposition of early gold and early potin (cast tin-bronze coins). Both were found in hoards and away from settlements, in contrast to later silver and struck-bronze issues which were more commonly found on settlement sites (Haselgrove 1987). Our modern perceptions of value would like us to rank gold far higher than potin, and many have done precisely that, equating potin with low-value coinage or 'small-change' (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989a:7; Cunliffe 1991:545). But the archaeological similarity between the treatment of gold and potin should caution us strongly about the relative status of the metals around 100 BC.

The problems in transferring value judgements from today into the past go far further than this. By placing a stress on the proportion of different elements and equating that with value we may be missing the importance of some of the rather curious changes taking place in the alloys of Gallo-Belgic and British coin. The first thing to note is that the idea that there was a consistent chronological reduction in the gold content of staters is an oversimplification. In Fig. 2.5 the spread of the alloy composition of Gallo-Belgic A–E staters is shown. Whilst Gallo-Belgic A–C show a uniform trend depicting a marginal decrease in the gold content over time, Gallo-Belgic D and E have an extremely varied composition. Gallo-Belgic D has anything from *c.* 47–75 per cent gold, and Gallo-Belgic E is not much different. This singular variety in alloy composition continued with some of the early British issues. British A varied from *c.* 42–71 per cent gold. With such a variation in gold content, a simple equation of the percentage of gold with perceived value is unlikely.

As Van Arsdell realised (1989b), a key factor in the debasement of these issues was the maintenance of the colour of the alloy. As Fig. 2.5 shows, the specific location of these ternary alloys in the diagram is at the point where the yellowy-golden colour of the alloy is retained best, despite the reduction in elemental gold. If slightly too much silver was added the alloy would become white, and if slightly too much copper, a reddy-golden colour would result. Indeed for all the early serial imagery coinage in Britain (British A–J), the yellowy-golden colour was for some reason important. As we will see, it was only when that serial imagery was revised (Stage 2) that new alloy compositions came in and the colour of the coins began to change, and reddy alloys came to be used.

This immediately tells us something about colour perception in the Mid–Late Iron Age. Whilst most people are capable of seeing the full spectrum of visible light, not all societies conceptualise or appear to notice all the differences within that range. For example, both the Edo and the Kongo of Africa perceived and described the yellowy golden colour of brass as 'red'. This was not because they could not see a difference, but rather because in their conceptual and linguistic framework yellow was equivalent to red (Herbert 1984:295). However here in MIA/LIA Britain such care appears

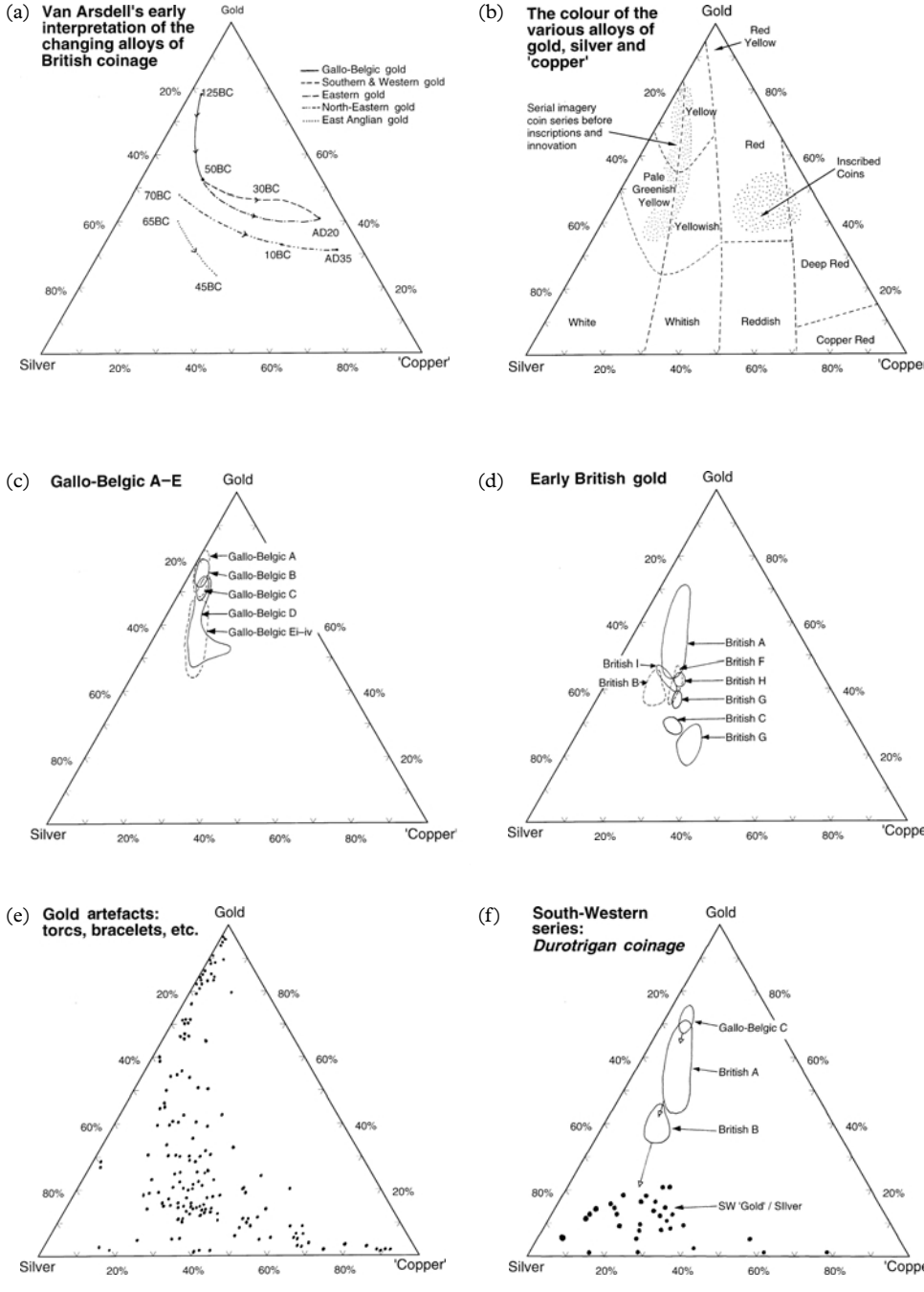


Fig. 2.5 Ternary diagrams: (a) Van Arsdell's view (based on Van Arsdell (1989:506) with the terminology changed to be consistent with this book); (b) the colour of alloys; (c) 'Gallo-Belgic' coins; (d) Early British gold; (e) Gold artefacts (torcs and bracelets, etc.); (f) The South-Western coin series. Data from Cowell (1992) and Northover (1992)

to have been taken over the colour of the early 'gold' coinage that this yellowy colour was itself a clearly defined conceptual and probably linguistic category.

It could be that MIA/LIA society 'valued' not so much the number of atoms of gold in a coin, but rather the colour of the artefact and its resistance to tarnishing. It looks as if this colour was maintained just as long as the serial imagery was maintained because of the prevailing cultural aesthetic, in which a high degree of conservatism existed. Coinage is not the only medium to demonstrate this. The primacy of this yellow-golden colour is also displayed by the analysis of gold-electrum torcs from Britain. These high-status signifiers similarly follow this colour pathway in their alloy composition. However if these two media were transferable, as the metrological links mentioned above suggest, then having similar metallurgical contents is to be expected. For some reason both the Stage 1 coin and the torcs held to this specific colour.

Two coin series maintained the original serial imagery right through to the Claudian annexation: the SE coin series ('Durotriges') and the NE coin series ('Corieltauvi'). Yet the alloy transformations in each area were quite different. Amongst the Durotriges the image changed by incremental stages, as already illustrated, while the alloy changed radically. The gold content of the coins varied significantly, and may have fallen over time, but it is noticeable that the colour was maintained as long as possible, and was the last thing to be sacrificed. If 'cost saving' had been the name of the game, then dilution with copper instead of a copper/silver alloy would have taken place, but this did not happen. Colour was important. The Durotriges do not appear to have been alone, as the debasement of the coinage of Normandy and Armorica seems to have followed similar lines (Burnett and Cowell 1988). Amongst the Corieltauvi, however, whilst the old serial imagery was maintained, the alloy composition of the gold shifted along the same lines as the other major coinages of Britain, which will be discussed later. Here, and only here, colour was sacrificed.

Ritual and production

The manufacturing process of coin is complicated, and the precision with which colour was manipulated suggests a tremendous degree of technical knowledge, let alone skilled craftsmanship. But how was this knowledge learnt and remembered?

> In non-literate societies, complex procedures are necessarily ritualised – a sequence of procedures that cannot be written down in a scientific manual must be committed to memory as a formulaic 'spell'. Turning to still-extant Eurasian folk traditions . . . metal-making and magic-making can easily go together as, for example, in the story of Wayland the Smith (also Volundr, Wieland) – lord of the elves and a cunning swordsmith – who is able to fly with wings he has made himself (although this motif is often referred back to the Daedelus myth, it is better connected to visual narratives in northern metal iconographies depicting shamanistic flight).
> (Budd and Taylor 1995:139)

Ritual and production have gone hand in hand in nearly all pre-industrial societies. However the study of ritual and technology has only recently begun to be discussed in Iron Age Britain. A paper by Hingley (1997) has started to do this for ironworking, by looking for curiosities and structured patterning in the archaeological debris from the smelting and smithing process. Influenced strongly by Herbert's work on ironworking in Africa (Herbert 1993), Hingley concluded that we require a new direction for the study of technology in the past, one which addresses the symbolic significance of the production of materials, including bronze, salt and pottery as well as iron – to which I would, of course, add coin.

A start can be made by looking at the potential symbolic meaning of colour in Iron Age Britain in relation to gold, silver and copper alloys. As the ternary diagrams above have shown, the alloy and colour of both torcs and staters were intimately related. As stated earlier, there is evidence that torcs and coins were metrologically as well as metallurgically related, with torcs being converted into coin and vice versa.

The arrival of these new media must have had a strong social impact: one being worn to signify authority, the other being distributed in social payments to reinforce that authority. If this is true, then the second century BC must have seen a remarkable transformation in the outward display and articulation of authority; and the sudden arrival of gold, with its manifestations in coinage, gold thread and torcs, clearly associated this yellow-gold colour with power.

Why should this yellow-gold colour have gained so much significance? Why should it have been chosen in preference to a red-gold or white-gold? Another ethnographic example can give us some indication of the symbolic attributes people associate with colour. One of the most vivid examples comes from Central Mexico, in the millennium running up to the Spanish conquest of 1521 (Hosler 1995). Amongst the Aztecs/Mexica in central Mexico and the Nahuatl-speaking people in surrounding territories, yellow-gold and white-silver were taken to be divine metals relating to the sun and the moon; indeed the metals were in various contexts described as divine excretions of the sun and the moon. The possession of artefacts displaying these divine colours granted status by supernatural affiliation.

From the world of the Aztecs, sources such as the *Cantares Mexicanos* (native poetry dealing with the conquest) and the *Psalmodia Christiana* (hymns used to try and christianise the pagans) help us to understand how these colours related to their 'sacred domain'. This was the 'dreamworld' of the shamanistic visions, described in terms of a shimmering garden full of intense colours:

> . . . one came into direct contact with the creative, life-giving forces of the universe and with the timeless world of deities and ancestors. The garden is a shimmering place filled with divine fire; the light of the sun reflects from the petals of flowers and the iridescent feathers of birds; human beings – the souls of the dead or the ritually transformed living – are themselves flowers, birds, and shimmering gems . . .
> (Burkhart 1992: 89)

This effect was the primary driving force behind the technical work of West Mexican smiths. Their aim was to visually recreate in the everyday world the shimmering colours and brilliance of the sacred domain. This could best be done by making things from gold or silver, but if this was not possible, then other alloys had to fit the purpose and fulfil this cultural need.

Hosler's work on the metallurgy of the Tarascan has demonstrated the high degree of skill with which these craftsmen were imbued. Copper was alloyed with gold, silver, tin and arsenic into a variety of materials suited to different technological purposes; and yet when it came to artefacts for status display, such as bells, ornamental shields, rings and tweezers, all were fashioned in alloys with far more arsenic or tin than technological demands required to optimise performance. But what these alloys did do was enhance the golden and silvery appearance of the otherwise red copper.

> The importance of metallic colours, especially of gold and silver, in myth, shamanistic performance, cosmological schema and political ideology has been demonstrated for the central Andes and Columbia . . . The West Mexican experiment is unique in that the artisans achieved these culturally required golden and silvery colours through the unusual technical expedient of using the high-arsenic and high-tin bronzes. Although the mechanical properties of these alloys were required by the design characteristics of the object, their colors were a matter of choice, accomplished by adding the alloying element in high concentrations.
> (Hosler 1995:102)

As well as colour, the importance of sound from bells was an imperative in design, and again special alloys were used depending upon the purposes and desired effects. All in all, apart from a very limited number of utilitarian artefacts, the vast majority of objects fashioned by the Tarascan craftsmen were created within a clearly defined symbolic framework, with colours and sounds related to the shimmering sacred garden of the dream-world.

In expressing and constructing ideologies and systems of belief, the wealth of gold and silver in certain areas of central and Andean America resulted in this cult of brilliance. In relatively impoverished Britain, with its scarce precious metal resources, the same will not be true, but there are similarities. The first is the desire for the golden-yellow colour with the consequent manipulation of alloys both of gold and of copper to achieve it. But what about copper-alloy artefacts? Brooches were at times manufactured from imported brass because of its golden appearance. When the brass supply ran out, more leaded bronzes came into use. These did not have the same yellowy appearance as brass, but were a duller, reddy brown more prone to tarnishing. The consequence was both the development of tinning, to cover up the new colour and create a silvery effect, and the increased use of enamel to produce new vibrant colours (Megaw and Megaw 1989:21). A second similarity is that many coins have what may be symbols for the sun and moon (Allen 1980:149), including crescents and a variety of sun, wheel or flower-like motifs. Astrological devices also occur on two other types of artefacts: anthropomorphic swords and spoons. Late

Iron Age anthropomorphic short swords have recently been discussed by Fitzpatrick (1996a). The long sword was the most common weapon found in Middle and Late Iron Age Europe, but a small proportion were short swords, a subset of which had anthropomorphic handles, and a subset of these had circular and crescent punch marks stamped into their hilts, often inlaid with gold, silver and various copper alloys (alas not analysed). This very specific weapon recurred over a large geographical area over perhaps 300 years (though most are second–first century BC). Fitzpatrick interpreted them as being symbols of the moon (full and partial) linked with Gallic observance of the calendar. He tenuously suggested they might relate to very specific rituals such as druidic sacrifice (whenever anyone mentions druids, they seem to do it very tenuously). These weapons with their special astral symbols are also curious, as the extremely rare short sword appears far more frequently on coin than the long sword (e.g. the coinage of Normandy and Limousin; Allen 1980:146).

This MIA/LIA thirst for colour and the astral signs is suggestive, but we must recall where the Central and Andean American thirst for these colours came from; they were a direct consequence of a metalworking tradition trying to recreate the colours and vibrancy of their trance world. So do we have any evidence at all for commensurate practices in Late La Tène Europe? The quotation from Budd and Taylor (1995) above should already have alerted us to the link in many societies between magic, ritual and metallurgy, and the fact that several European myths about metalworkers involve shamanistic elements.

As it happens, there is evidence which suggests that the trance experience was a practice informing the development of visual language in northern Europe and Britain. Discussion of altered states of consciousness (ASCs) in prehistory has advanced significantly over the last decade. This discussion has moved forward in two areas; first, the identification of botanical remains with pharmacological and psychotropic effects from sites, and second, discussion relating ASCs to prehistoric art. The former has been drawn attention to by Sherratt (1987, 1991; Goodman *et al.* 1995), whilst the latter became an active area of debate after the publication of some work on rock art by Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1988; 1993). I will first outline the evidence for trance imagery informing the visual language of the MIA/LIA, and then discuss the ways that ASCs may have been achieved.

First, we need to understand the nature and effect upon the individual of hallucinations and trances. Trance experiences recorded in pre-industrial societies tend to have a number of common themes. One is that of an association with an animal form; indeed, the individual entering a trance often feels he/she is becoming that animal. Many societies have strong symbiotic links with various animals, or else hold some species in the wild as being sacred. The spirit of these animals is held to be of supreme importance, so that when a person goes into a trance often they perceive themselves as becoming that animal. For the Bushmen of southern Africa a variety of animals held a special importance, depending upon the particular shaman and the ecological niche within which they and their respective animals lived. Some shamans considered the giraffe to be powerful, whereas others specialised in warthog medicine; but perhaps the most dominant and powerful animal was the eland. This animal was

represented at female puberty rites, boy to manhood initiations, and marriage ceremonies. It was the king of animals, to which all others were servants. With an animal so central to a community's belief system, it is no wonder that it features strongly in the mind of an individual in a trance:

> Bushman see an analogy between shamans entering trance and antelope – especially eland – dying from the effects of a poisoned arrow. Both the shaman and the antelope tremble violently, stagger about, lower their heads, bleed from the nose, sweat profusely and finally collapse unconscious. An antelope's hair stands on end, and Bushmen speak of hair growing on the back of a man in trance. Because of these parallels, Bushmen use 'death' as a metaphor for trance experience: shamans are said to 'die' in a trance. This metaphor is graphically expressed in the art by juxtaposing dying antelope with shamans in trance. In some instances the shaman is depicted as a dying antelope whose potency he possesses. The transformation is, however, not complete in all instances, and these half-shaman/half-animal figures are called therianthropes.
> (Dowson 1992:67)

These phenomena have been replicated under laboratory conditions, with observations such as 'I thought of a fox, and instantly I was transformed into that animal. I could distinctly feel myself a fox, could see my long ears and bushy tail . . .' (quotation in Dowson 1992:67). In a whole series of shamanic art forms, images of man/animal therianthropes are common.

A second recurring theme is a change in perception of how the world feels, variously described as flying or drowning, because of an imagined weightlessness and a change in aural perception. The ability to fly in trances is certainly a common motif. The shamans amongst the Lapps of northern Eurasia often used to imagine themselves flying on sledges drawn by their most significant animal, the reindeer – an image from which we derive our popular notion of Father Christmas flying through the sky.

A final theme in full trances is the concept of the out-of-body experience. Here subjects describe floating away from their actual body, but still being attached to it by a thin cord connected to the back of their head. Often there is a fear that if this cord is broken then return to their actual body will be impossible. Precisely where this concept comes from is difficult to tell, but it may result from a physical sensation experienced in the head at the height of the trance. Cross-culturally, this experience results in visual representations such as lines emanating out of human forms and therianthropes (cf. Dowson 1992:74).

There is a series of suggestive images on British and northern European coinage (Fig. 2.1) which might indicate that experiences derived from trances were being fed back into the temporal visual language. The gold coinage had to represent the man/horse image, since sacral kingship or something like it was an important prop to legitimate authority. But within the constraints of the serial imagery it is very noticeable how every area which derived images from the Philippus coinage did so in

diverse ways, but each way represented a motif common to trance imagery. In Armorica the head developed to include subsidiary faces emanating from the principal portrait and attached by cords connected to the back of their heads (Fig. 2.1, BN6541 and BN6879). These have been interpreted as representing the classical Medusa, with her snake-headed hair, but there is no concession to make these very human subsidiary heads look like snakes. Allen (1980:135) thought that the image might represent an heroic figure, surrounded by trophies of severed heads. An alternative reading would be that the image simply shows an individual (mythical or real) invested with the ability to leave his or her own body and enter the spirit world – to be, in effect, omnipotent. The coin illustrated is a Billon stater of the Veneti, but there are many others which are very similar. The serial tradition took hold in a big way in Armorica, and there is perhaps less general variation in their Iron Age coinage than almost anywhere else.

On the reverse side of the same coins, the serial tradition has similarly restrained the development of the Philippus charioteer, but nonetheless there have been significant changes. On both coins the horse has a decidedly human face. This therianthrope (human/horse) is relatively common on northern Gallic coinage. But added to this image are a variety of devices. Sometimes a bird hovers above, but on these coins one (BN6541) has developed spirit heads, just as the human head on the other side has done (which counts against the Medusa hypothesis), whilst the other (BN6879) depicts a flying man lying underneath the horse. In this region, whilst the Philippus clearly restrains developments in imagery, all the deviations from the original relate to phenomena which occur in altered states of consciousness. What about elsewhere?

In north-east Gaul and Britain a few coins also explored therianthropic, flying and drowning motifs; however, most took a rather different course. A naturalistic coin worth mentioning is a gold coin attributed to the Ambiani (Fig. 2.6: Sch.4 AV *classe* I). It is one of the earliest gold issues in north-east Gaul and might be of later third or early second century in date. Here the horse was certainly on the mind of the individual represented, as it is shown as climbing in one ear and coming out the other. One of these was found in the temple deposit from Waltham St Lawrence. Other different forms of man/horse combinations exist. Allen (1980:122) noted the intriguing practice in Britain of combining letters from inscriptions with part of the coin type, where the ears and legs of horses can be read as letters in individuals' names (Fig. 2.6: VA711:EA8). This combination of ruler and horse is reminiscent of elements of British and Irish mythology which gave March ab Manannán (King Mark from the Tristan romance) horse's ears (O'Rahilly 1946:290).

Finally, another image which might be relevant is the prevalence of flying horses in northern Europe. Pegasus occurred on the coinage of Emporion on the Mediterranean coast in Spain, but from a relatively early stage flying horses sporadically appeared on Iron Age coinage, and whilst some are similar to the coinage of Emporion, many are not. In Britain such images do occur; sometimes the horses have wings, other times they do not (Fig. 2.6; VA150:SE6 and VA165:SE7). Given the above discussion both the flying horse and the swimming horse (hippocamp)

Fig. 2.6 Various coins mentioned in the text

would be images consonant with a view of altered states of consciousness occurring somewhere in society.

Whilst the man/horse combination is the dominant therianthrope on northern European coinage, there are others. One is the Birdman found on a silver coin from northern Gaul (Sch.56), another is a male head sprouting horns and wearing a head-dress, from a silver coin found at Petersfield (probably therefore attributable to the Southern series). This one is particularly reminiscent of scenes from the Gundestrup cauldron, with individuals sitting on the ground, antlers sprouting from their heads (O'Connell and Bird 1994:93).

In Britain and Gallia-Belgica the development of the Phillipus image took a different course. Whilst horses with wings did emerge sporadically, the main development here was the abstraction of the horse image into a series of dots and curves with stars and crescents appearing in the background. In an earlier article I suggested that this, too, might be related to the kinds of experiences associated with altered states of consciousness (Creighton 1995). In the early stages of trances the brain often perceives a series of images collectively called entoptics or phosphenes; these are a collection of shapes and patterns which are seen cross-culturally. They are derived from the physical structure of the eye and the neurological structure of the brain. The subject sees starbursts, filigree patterns, and dots in front of his/her eyes. These images have been recorded under controlled conditions by Dronfield (1993 and 1995; Fig. 2.7). As the subject goes deeper into a trance, the brain starts to perceive these images as actual objects, depending upon his/her cultural experience. A bee-keeper would almost certainly perceive a series of dots floating around him as a swarm; other minds, too, are prone to see what they expect to see, and with experience a certain degree of control is possible over the development of a trance. Shapes such as crescents start to come together to produce almost recognisable iconic images, with occasional phosphenes and entoptics floating around in the background. In its most advanced state, the trance becomes an experience of almost purely naturalistic iconic images, though often combined with a blinding shaft of white light, commonly described as a tunnel or whirlpool, framed with a lattice type covering.

Many of these kinds of images potentially arise on British coin. Here, as we have seen in the NE series, horses became disjointed, breaking up into a series of dots and crescents. Surrounding virtually all the images of horses is a plethora of dots, crescents, stars and the like, framed on an intense yellow-gold shimmering background. Illustrations throughout the first part of this book will show the range of motifs found. These are all forms of imagery which would normally be associated with the two early stages of going into an altered state of consciousness.

Figure 2.7 shows some of the range of motifs found on British coins, and how they fit into the developmental stages of a trance. Many of the coins display abstract images which include pellets or dots, stars and other radial objects, rings and pellets in rings, crescents and zigzags. Bearing in mind the nature and size of the objects, the detail of the entoptic forms is hardly going to be represented, but it is the notion of disjointed animals, with lots of ornaments floating around them, which I believe is

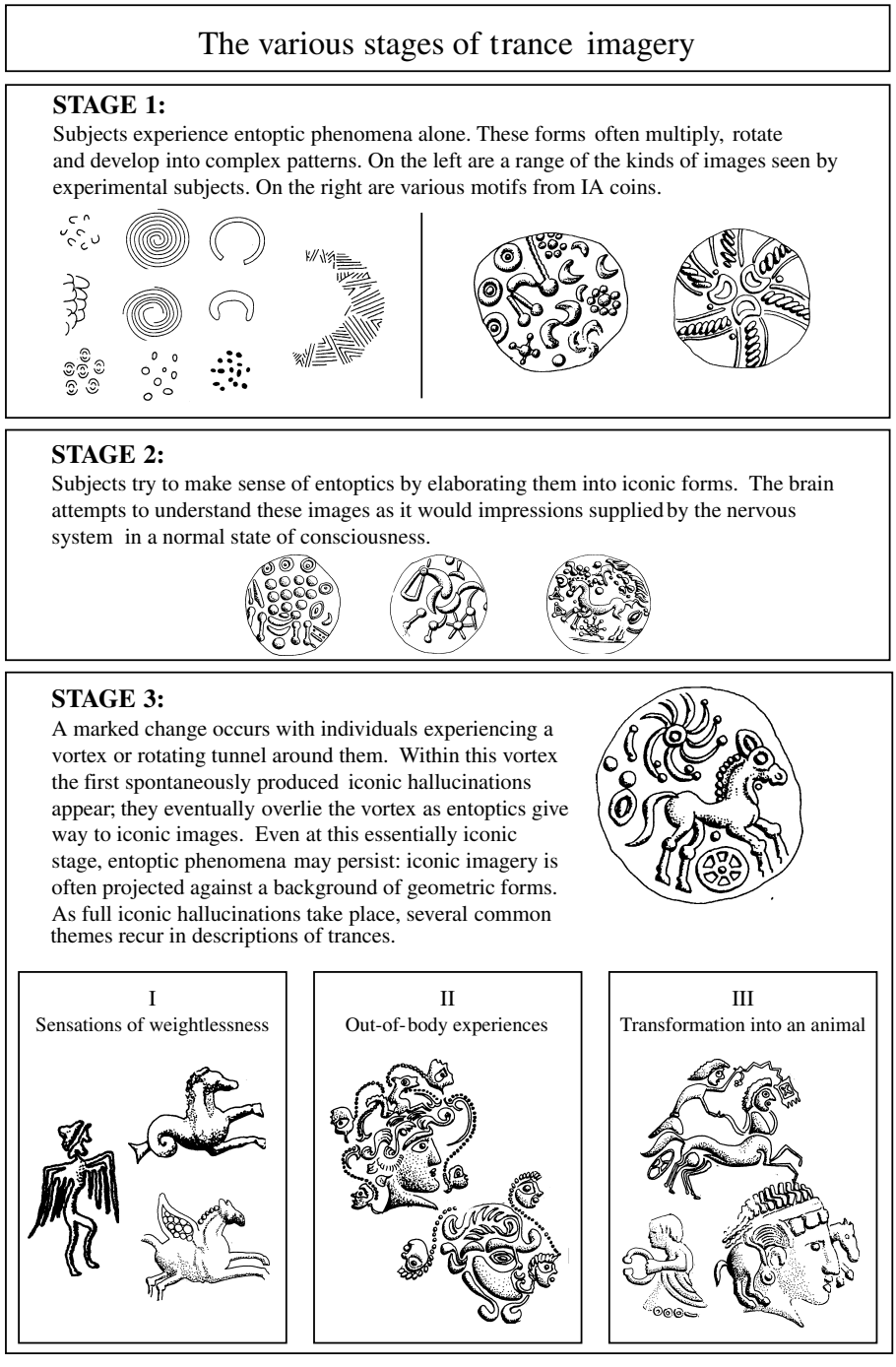


Fig. 2.7 The development and stages of trance imagery

suggestive. This form of imagery was only displaced in the south-east by the arrival of classical imagery in the late first century BC (see chapters 4 and 5).

The next stage in ASCs is where naturalistic iconic images begin to appear to the fore against a background of a strong, tunnel-like image. This is also explicitly represented in Britain. On all the early coinage minted in Britain the horses are fairly disjointed affairs; the first relatively naturalistic image of a horse appears on British L and its derivatives, a coinage issued sometime during or just after the Gallic Wars. Curiously, this naturalistic horse is immediately complemented on many coins by a strong tunnel or spiral-like radial image in the background (e.g. British Ma, VA1520:E6; Figs. 2.7 and 3.1). Again, serial development is strictly adhered to, but the nature of that development suggests that trance imagery is informing the visual language of coin, just as on coinage in many parts of continental Europe.

Away from coinage there are two more sets of supporting evidence. One is the development of late Insular British art, whilst the second relates to subsequent religious developments in Romanised Britain and Gaul. First Insular British 'art':

> While Celtic art on the European mainland faltered in the first century BC, that of Celtic Britain and Ireland entered a period of remarkable flowering – developing and rediscovering elements of earlier Celtic styles. Compass design, largely abandoned in the fourth century on the continent, was widely used in both Britain and Ireland. In England and Wales extensive use was made of basketry cross-hatching on bronze mirrors, scabbards and gold torcs. (Megaw and Megaw 1989:206)

Our chronologies for late Iron Age metalwork are imprecise, but most of the bronze mirrors and gold torcs are usually dated to the first century BC, possibly continuing into the first half of the first century AD, with some of the torcs perhaps being earlier than some of the mirrors. If this is correct, then this new form of motif arrives at a similar time to or shortly after the adoption of coinage and the resurgence of gold (Fig. 2.8). One of the motifs which Dronfield considered most diagnostic of trance imagery was the 'fortification' pattern. This was made from a series of chevrons, appearing on the inner curve of a crescent. Within the early stages of trances, phosphenes and entoptics tend to multiply, fragment and rotate to form complex, constantly changing patterns, similar in many respects to compass work and basketry cross-hatching. The engraving of such complex patterns on what we can presume to be polished metal would add a shimmering appearance to this image. The association with mirrors is particularly telling, as these are often associated with passages into other realms.

A second line of argument relating to the existence of shamanistic practices in MIA/LIA Europe comes from post-conquest Gaul. As Gallic culture changed and adopted the practice of making sculptural reliefs, we begin to find reliefs depicting various deities, which are collectively given the general name 'Romano-Celtic' gods. Many have inscriptions and dedications with them, and these principally include the deities, which are provided with both Celtic and Roman names (Lenus Mars, Sulis Minerva, etc.). However, two sets of sculpture stand out: those of the couple

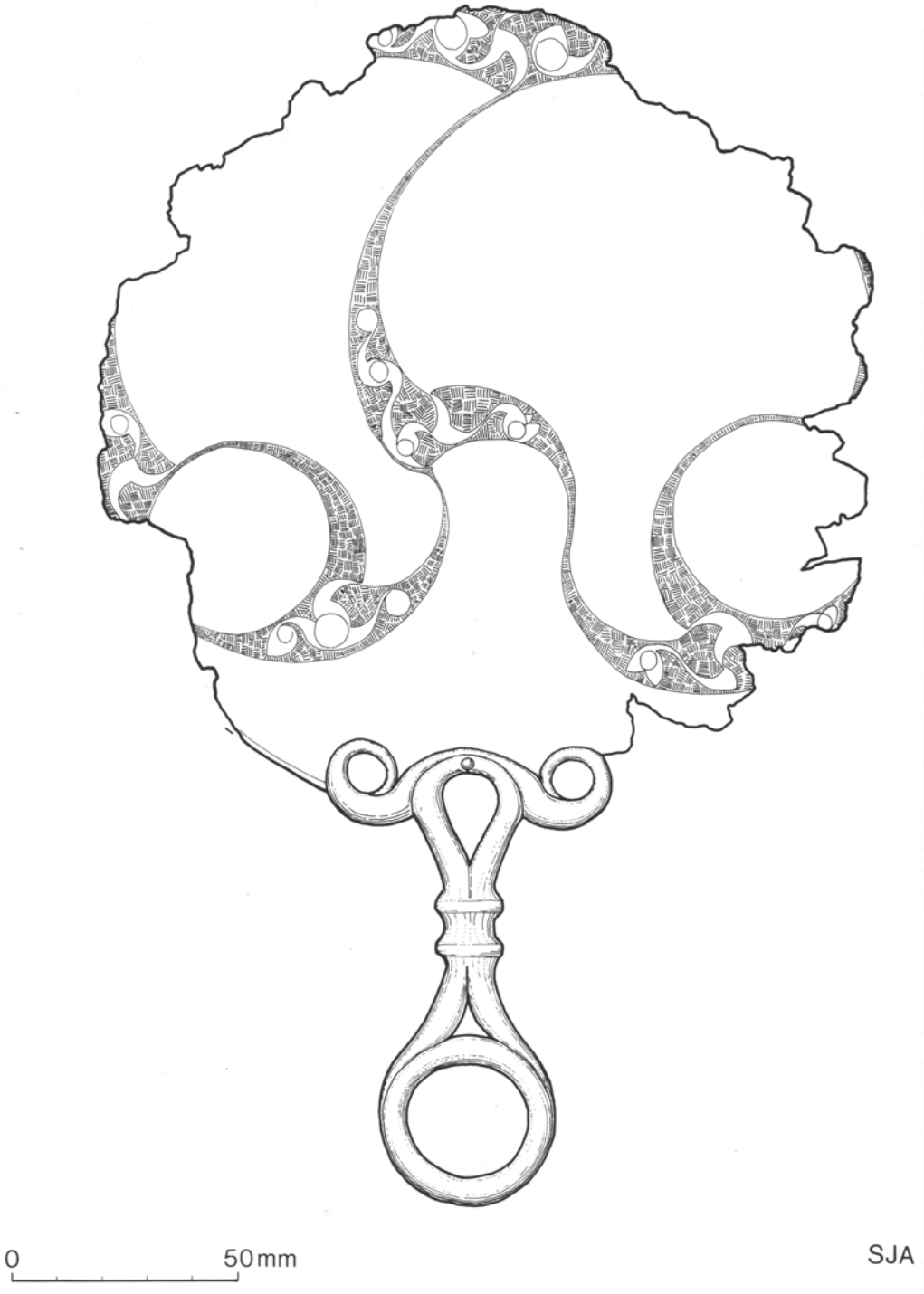


Fig. 2.8 Basketry compass-work on the Latchmere Heath Mirror (drawing by S. Allen)

Mercury and Rosmerta, because of their sheer number, and those of Cernunnus and Epona, which rarely have much in the way of epigraphy associated with them.

The number of sculptures including Mercury perhaps signifies his continued importance from pre-Roman times, when Caesar reported that Mercury was pre-eminent amongst the gods of the Gauls (*BG* 6.17). Mercury has various characteristics associated with him which are very reminiscent of shamanic practices. He is a traveller and flyer, and in classical mythology he is the link between the real world and the underworld.

Cernunnus is represented as a cross-legged male wearing a torc, with antlers growing out of his head. The image is not only found on Roman reliefs, but is also well known from the Gundestrup cauldron (Olmstead 1979) and the Peterborough coin (O'Connell and Bird 1994:93). The therianthropic character of this figure has occasionally led to discussions about shamanistic practices in relation to the image on the Gundestrup cauldron. The depiction of a therianthrope wearing a torc combines several of the images of power which have been discussed.

Epona is described as a horse goddess, and she is found across much of central and northern Gaul. In much of the sculpture she is represented as a woman riding a horse, though along the Rhineland she is often simply with horses, and in a few cases we just have the horses alone. As far as the notions of trance are concerned, the image from a shrine in Burgundy showing her sleeping at the foot of a mare is particularly redolent (Wood 1992:126). Most people are happy to believe that this was a horse god/goddess which had taken on anthropomorphic form after the conquest (Wood 1992). Certainly continental coins exist showing a horse framed by a temple, which suggests that the animal was regarded as either a divinity or at least sacred (Fig. 2.6: BN7050 from the Seine valley). Perhaps there are undertones of a woman/horse metamorphosis in this imagery, or perhaps we are dealing with indigenous representations of a figure which was once heavily symbolic of sovereignty, and is better seen in terms of the complex process of cultural interaction in post-conquest Gaul.

The idea that certain individuals experienced altered states of consciousness in MIA/LIA Britain *should* not be particularly contentious. The trance experience is pretty universal to nearly all societies, with the main difference being that cultures have varying attitudes to the experience, and in many it is confined to a particular proportion of the community. Often this results in the development of a specialist class dealing with this other-world, for example the shaman of Siberia. Shaman is a term which has been loosely used in the ethnographic literature to describe almost any class of individuals specialising in relations between the earth-bound and trance worlds. The case has been made for such practices in Neolithic and Bronze Age Britain, first by Bradley (1989), then tested and developed by Dronfield (1993; 1995) and now appears to be reasonably broadly accepted (cf. Bradley 1997). Since literary and archaeological evidence clearly demonstrate the classical world's knowledge of pharmacological and psycho-active substances, it is only in the intervening period of the Iron Age that the manifestation of the trance experience within society has not been discussed.

Furthermore, most discussions of ASCs on the basis of prehistoric 'art' in Britain

and some other areas have only gone so far as to demonstrate the presence of 'entoptic forms' as their evidence. The argument above goes significantly beyond that by demonstrating the presence of ALL the classic stages and metaphors used for trance imagery in the MIA/LIA artistic repertoire.

If ASCs informed visual language, that begs two questions: who was having trances, and how were they achieving that state? I shall deal first with 'how'. Narcotics are one obvious way of having a mind-altering experience, but they are by no means the only way. Any form of sensory deprivation can lead to hallucinations. In the Irish vernacular literature one of the highest forms of protest or statement an individual could make was to fast, and this can lead to ASCs. Light deprivation or dancing to a constant rhythmic beat can have the same effect. Some hallucinatory experiences can be achieved as a by-product of fungal infestation of food products. For example, ergot infection of rye crops has been used to help explain phenomena such as the Salem witchcraft trials (Matossian 1989; Camporesi 1989). For all of these causes our chance of finding archaeological proof is minimal. None of these activities need leave archaeological remains. Only in the most uncommon circumstances is evidence found. In both the Tollund and Grauballe Man bog bodies, traces of ergot were found (Helbaek 1950; 1958), but such cases of preservation are rare indeed. The most obvious possibility, however, is the deliberate selection and use of specific plants. The most available substances in Britain are Mandrake (*M. officinarum*) and Henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*). Henbane has been found occasionally in archaeological contexts from the Neolithic onwards (e.g. Barclay and Russell-White 1993:109). Whilst it occurs naturally in Britain, it was found in large quantities in the Late Iron Age and Roman levels at Farmoor, an area of the Thames gravels where it is uncommon today (Lambrick and Robinson 1979:114). The opium poppy (*papaver somniferum*) was also grown in Britain, and is best known in the south from the large numbers of seeds found in an early first millennium BC context at the waterfront of Wallingford (Oxon.) amongst spelt wheat (Mark Robinson, pers. com.). Likewise hemp (cannabis) was present in Britain, and was certainly known for its properties by the Bronze Age. Sherratt (1987) has argued that cord decoration on Bronze Age pottery is indicative of the cultural role of hemp. Later examples are more scarce, though outside of Britain traces of cannabis were found in one of the Hallstatt burials (Hochdorf: Sherratt 1991:52). It is only a matter of time before a proper programme of residue analysis begins to place on a solid rather than anecdotal footing the use of psycho-active plants in British prehistory. The problem then becomes fitting them into a social context.

I should make it clear that I am not arguing that the people who manufactured coin dies continually had trances. That would be unsustainable (though the link between metalworkers and shamans made above by Budd and Taylor should be kept in mind). The imagery on the coinage conforms to the serial tradition which means that innovation on any scale by any individual was extremely restricted. Yet nonetheless, over time we have seen that different areas did move away from the Phillipus prototype towards very distinctive regional traditions, which expressed in different ways the metaphors of the trance world. And this does require that the die-cutter be

aware of the visual experience of the trance world, either directly or indirectly. So who was engaging in mind-altering experiences? There need not have been many people in a social group undergoing ASCs for the visual language of the time to soak up its metaphors and ideas, but the experience would have to have been articulated. This tends to happen in any case when a specialist group undergoes trance experiences. Since they have access to 'the spirit world' (or however they conceive it), they need to convey this power to a broader audience to enhance and maintain their presumed status.

In a world where sacral leadership existed might the leader himself, or members of his family, have communicated with the other-world? Reconstruction without further evidence is difficult. What evidence we have from the MIA suggests a very structured and ordered world, one where roundhouses faced cosmologically significant directions (Oswald 1997), where the highly structured deposition of artefacts took place in ditches and old storage pits (Hill 1995), and where specific 'ritual' gear, such as spoons and anthropomorphic short-swords, existed with their astral signs (Fitzpatrick 1996a). These factors suggest that there could have been plenty of scope for full-time ritual specialists, to ensure communities stuck to pre-ordained procedures. If they existed, then a range of bronze 'crowns' have been found which might represent their regalia (Stead 1995; Fitzpatrick 1996b).

There were, of course, sets of specialists on hand in Late Iron Age Britain and Gaul, as mentioned by Caesar, Posidonius and other authors. These were the *druides*, *vates* and *bardoi*. *Bardoi* were basically tellers of stories; *vates* translates as something like 'seers' or 'prophets'; and *druides* were the officiants at sacrifices, judges, and all-round significant figures who trained for many years to perfect their craft and learning. *Druides* are well trodden ground, and I do not wish to repeat too much on them here. Suffice it to say that they existed in Britain and Gaul. Whilst recruited from elite families, they also appear to have been in some ways set apart from the rest of society. It is, however, a shame our classical sources never elaborated upon the *vates*, as 'seers' or 'prophets' would have been of particular interest to this discussion. Religious castes, of course, may not have been identical all over northern Europe, but druidism did appear to be a very real phenomenon which the early emperors took seriously, and took various steps to counter.

Vates, *druides* and *bardoi* are very reminiscent of the kind of learned classes which we have information about from Irish society, where a whole range of professional, sometimes hereditary, specialists existed and attached themselves to the retinues of kings. Here they were called *ollamhs*, and their activities could be as diverse as law, history, poetry, leechcraft or music (Simms 1987). But we should not be tempted to make hard and fast divisions between roles in society. If the processes of production were totally imbued with ritualistic overtones, then in Iron Age perception there may have been no conceptual difference between a ritual specialist and a metalworker.

In conclusion, if ironworking were as thoroughly intertwined with ritual and metaphors of life and death as Hingley (1997) argues, then it is unlikely that the production of so symbolic and powerful a medium as coin was not also thoroughly tied up with related symbolic meanings. I believe the horse/man image denotes the

right to rule through the alliance of a leader and nature, represented by the horse. Since in many ways this is a mystical union, the development of this imagery along lines associated with altered states of consciousness should not be seen as particularly surprising.

Conclusion

In chapter 1 I suggested that the Middle to Late Iron Age transition saw the development of a series of individuals carving out dominion using small bands of loyal horsemen. In this chapter I have suggested that this change was associated with the arrival of gold. The new powers in the land (either intrusive or setting themselves up above their peers) developed new strategies to assert their position using the display of gold torcs and the distribution of gold coin. However they also appropriated existing ritual practices to legitimate their authority. So, for example, at Danebury votive deposition in grain storage pits continued, but was modified: there were not so many as before, and more included the deposition of horse remains. This kind of pattern, with an emphasis on the horse, fits nicely with the picture derived from various analogous literary sources, which suggest a strong link between the rituals of kingship and the concept of sovereignty embodied in the horse.

I believe that the head/horse image on early northern European coin remained trenchantly on the coinage for so long because it symbolised a mystic union between the individual and sovereignty, representing 'sacral kingship'. I also believe a case can be made for seeing within this imagery metaphors relating to altered states of consciousness, perhaps suggesting that the powers of the trance world had also been invoked to legitimate this new structure of authority.

Into this world came Caesar.

3

The Southern and Eastern kingdoms

For almost a century a family of gold coinage derived from Gallo-Belgic A circulated in Britain. The conservatism within the imagery and colour during this time was extraordinary. However, around the mid-first century BC a significant change took place. In the south-east, to judge by hoard evidence, much of this earlier coin disappeared, to be replaced by two totally new families of imagery. These were derived from Gallo-Belgic F, a continental coin rarely found in Britain. The first series of issues are collectively called British Q (S5), and circulated in Hampshire and southern Berkshire. Within a generation these coins had legends added to them, and we see them hailing the names of the Commian dynasty (S6–7). The coinage of the west (W5–9; the 'Dobunni') also derived from British Q. Meanwhile, in the east, a second series began with British L (E5–6), from which derived the coinage of Addedomarus (SE7), the Tasciovanian dynasty (E7–8), as well as some of the gold of East Anglia (EA6–7).

Not only do we find two totally new families of imagery beginning, replacing the existing stock of gold coin, but there was also a noticeable shift in the colour of that gold coin. The dominance of yellow gave way to red. Alongside the gold, silver coins came to be issued more commonly. It was as if the yellow ternary alloy had been rent asunder into two completely new metals: red-gold and white silver. It might be imagined that a slight change in colour is not terribly important, but two things weigh against that. First, the strong visual impact of this change coincided with a shift in the nature of the serial imagery, which within a subtle nuanced aesthetic would have been clearly significant. Second, ethnographic sources caution us to be wary of underestimating the symbolic values associated with colour. In Natal in the early nineteenth century, when brass was still a relatively new arrival to the area, its yellow colour made it stand out from other copper alloys. At the same time as this new 'European' metal arrived, an epidemic struck the population. The colour of the new metal was blamed and over 500 pounds of the stuff was piled up and 'sacrificed' in the Umvolosi river. The colour had made the brass strange and dangerous (Herbert 1984:289). So too in Britain the change in colour would have been no subtle alteration, but a clear and obvious symbolic statement. In a nuanced world, the combined transformation of image and colour marks a major political event.

This is also the time when Britain emerges from prehistory into history. It is the time when Julius Caesar's political ambition brought him through Gaul to the shores of *Britannia* and into our midst. The changes in the coinage were radical. They cannot be understood without an appreciation of the political changes taking place at

the time. In this chapter I will start by looking at the historical sources: first Caesar's visit to Britain; then Commius the Atrebatian, a friend turned enemy of Caesar's. From this we will return to the coinage to look at changes in imagery and metallurgy, and examine the implications. Finally, we sketch out the subsequent rise of two powerful dynasties in south-east Britain.

Caesar's adventure in Britain

The story of Caesar's expeditions to Britain has been retold many times. The best critique of his British adventure to appear recently is Braund (1996), which places Caesar's narrative into its historical and literary context. That being so, a brief retelling of the story here should suffice.

Towards the end of 55 BC Caesar felt secure enough in Gaul to prepare for an expedition across to Britain. Volusenus was sent ahead to do a reconnaissance of the British coast while Caesar marched into the territory of the Morini, from which he was going to sail. News of the impending campaign travelled fast and envoys from a number of British tribes came over offering hostages and submission to Rome.

> Caesar gave them audience, made them generous promises, and urged them to abide by their resolve. He then sent them home, accompanied by Commius . . . who was greatly respected in Britain. He instructed Commius to visit as many tribes as possible, to urge them to entrust themselves to the protection of Rome, and to announce [Caesar's] impending arrival. (Caesar, *BG* 4.21)

Caesar's first crossing was fraught with problems because of the strangeness of the sea and tides. The landing itself was contested by Britons apparently familiar with fighting in the shallows, unlike the Romans, who had no experience of such warfare (*BG* 4.24). During his brief stay Caesar also had to contend with the fickleness of the Britons, submitting to him, then fighting again and submitting again before Caesar himself returned to the continent. The encounter is full of *topoi*: the strangeness of the sea, battle under strange circumstances in a strange place, the strange use of chariots, and the deceitfulness of Britons (just as Gauls); all were familiar themes in classical depictions of 'celts' and the 'otherworld' perception of the island of Britain (Braund 1996; Stewart 1995). This first encounter mentioned no individuals or tribes, and only referred to *principes* of the British – no kings were identified. However, all the action appears to have taken place in one small part of Kent.

The second invasion of 54 BC was a larger-scale affair. The landing this time was uncontested because the scale of the forces had frightened the British into retreating inland. Yet the strangeness of the sea came into play again with the destruction of 40 ships by gales and tides (*BG* 5.10). After a series of skirmishes we meet our first Briton:

> On arriving there [Caesar] found that larger British forces had now been assembled by Cassivellaunus, to whom the chief command and direction of the campaign had been entrusted by common consent. Cassivellaunus'

> territory is separated from the maritime tribes by a river called the Thames, and lies about 75 miles from the sea. Previously they had been continually at war with all the other tribes, but the arrival of our army frightened them into appointing him their supreme commander.
> (Caesar, *BG* 5.11)

The united front did not last long. Caesar followed up one victory by a march to cross the Thames into Cassivellaunus' territory (*BG* 5.17-8).

> During this march envoys arrived from the Trinovantes, about the strongest tribe in south-eastern Britain. Mandubracius, a young prince of this tribe, had gone to the continent to put himself under Caesar's protection, having fled for his life when his father the king of the Trinovantes was killed by Cassivellaunus. The envoys promised to surrender and obey Caesar's commands, and asked him to protect Mandubracius from Cassivellaunus and send him home to rule his people as king. Caesar demanded forty hostages and grain for his troops, and then allowed Mandubracius to go.
> (Caesar, *BG* 5.20)

Since the Romans had treated the Trinovantes justly, other tribes submitted (Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci and Cassi). Cassivellaunus' stronghold was besieged. As a diversion four Kentish kings were commanded to rise up and attack the Roman naval base, but these too were defeated. Cassivellaunus, using Commius as an intermediary, came to terms with Caesar. He granted him hostages, agreed a sum to be paid, and promised not to molest either Mandubracius or the Trinovantes ever again. After this resolution Caesar returned to Gaul, though this time on a calm sea, as if Ocean itself had now been tamed.

What can we learn from this? There are plenty of problems with the text. The lack of individuals other than *principes* on Caesar's first landing in Kent contrasts with the four kings (*reges*) upon his second. Cassivellaunus was described as the most warlike and powerful leader, but later the Trinovantes are described as the most powerful tribe. Further we hear of the surrender of five tribes who are never heard of again in later history (with the possible exception of the Cenimagni, if they relate to the Iceni). Confusion increases reading supplementary sources. Caesar gave no tribal affiliation to Cassivellaunus, and gave him no title. However *c.* AD 100 Plutarch called him 'king' (Plutarch, *Caesar* 23.3), and a little later Cassius Dio referred to him as 'the man reckoned to be pre-eminent among the dynasts of the island' (Dio 40.2.3). The impression given is one of south-east Britain being ruled by a series of individuals, who held the kind of autocratic power which some classical writers associated with kingship. At least two of these individuals were from dynasties attempting to monopolise power, one being Cassivellaunus, the other being the less successful dynasty of Mandubracius and his father. The picture which Caesar paints is not inconsistent with the image presented in the last chapter of individuals starting to carve out dominions for themselves through the establishment of *comitates*. Even the descriptions of British 'oppida' in the text are more consistent with valley bottom enclosures

than hillforts. Caesar described the kind of site which Cassivellaunus held as protected by trees and marshes, as well as ramparts and ditches. Within these defences livestock and men could be protected (*BG* 5.21).

By the time it came for Caesar's departure we know little of the final settlement, except that Cassivelaunus had come to terms, Mandubracius had been reinstated and tribes had generally offered hostages and agreed to pay what could variously be translated as tribute or an indemnity to Rome. Beyond this Britain gets no significant mention in the rest of Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, despite his command in Gaul lasting until the end of 50 BC. Plenty of business brought him to northern Gaul in the aftermath of the Gallic revolt, and various individuals fled to the island, but nothing more is heard of the internal politics of Britain. It is most unlikely that Caesar did not remain in diplomatic contact with the dynasts here. However, after the 'conquest' of the island Caesar's literary and political purpose had been achieved. He had visited and defeated peoples in this remote mysterious island, and so Britain as a sphere of action became a minor concern as far as communicating his actions to an audience in Rome was concerned. The silence can be seen to compare with the silence about Aquitania and Armorica throughout much of Caesar's commentaries, except for brief moments. That is not to say no action took place in these areas, just that none took place which fitted Caesar's literary purpose. We must always bear in mind the partiality of Caesar's account. Gaius Asinius Pollio, who wrote a lost history of the times of Caesar, considered the commentaries to be 'composed with little care and little untainted truth, since for the most part Caesar was too quick to believe others' accounts of their actions and gave a false account of his own actions, either on purpose or through forgetfulness' (Suetonius, *Jul.* 56; trans. Braund 1996).

We can only guess at the precise political arrangements made by Caesar at the end of his command in Gaul. But what we should remember is the huge degree by which he and his successors manipulated the power structures of the newly conquered territories and border communities. Kings could be 'given' to peoples, taken away from them, replaced, or kept on ice. Individuals could be raised to prominence, or simply removed from political life. Here are several examples. The first comes from Caesar's treatment of two brothers of the Allobroges (in the northern part of Gallia Narbonensis):

> These were Roucillus and Egus, the sons of Adbucillus, who had been chieftain of his tribe for many years. They were men of outstanding courage, of whose excellent and stalwart service Caesar had availed himself in all his campaigns in Gaul. For these reasons he had assigned to them the highest magistracies among their own people, and had exceptionally enrolled them in the Senate. He had given them lands in Gaul captured from the enemy and large monetary rewards and had turned them from poor men into men of substance.
> (Caesar, *The Civil War* 3.59)

Those whom Caesar liked could certainly be furnished with all they required. Alas these two, who had fought alongside Caesar during the civil war, fell into disgrace

and attempted to kill one of Caesar's commanders (Volusenus) before deserting to the Pompeian cause.

A second example of Rome's manipulation of the communities of Gaul and Germany comes from a slightly later date under Tiberius. The German Maroboduus had been deposed from his domains by a younger noble called Catualda. With nowhere else to go, he crossed into Roman territory and petitioned the emperor for mercy. Tiberius gave him refuge and pensioned him off:

> Maroboduus was kept at Ravenna, and whenever the Suebi became disorderly they were threatened with his restoration. But for eighteen years he never left Italy, growing old, his reputation dimmed by excessive fondness for life. Catualda's fate and refuge were similar. Overthrown shortly afterwards by the Hermunduri under Vibilius, he was admitted inside the empire and lodged at Forum Julii, a Roman settlement in Narbonese Gaul. The native followers of the two princes were not allowed to inhabit and disturb peaceful provinces: they were settled beyond the Danube between the rivers Morava and Vah and a king, Vannius from the Quadi, was provided for them. (Tacitus, *Annals* 2.63)

The story neatly shows Roman interference, at times reactive, at other times proactive in providing kings from one people to rule over another. The final example is Commius the Atrebatian, whom Caesar 'made king' of the Atrebates (*BG* 4.27), as well as giving him control over the Menapii (*BG* 6.6). This story is one worth pursuing in more detail as it has a direct relevance upon the history of Britain.

Commius the Atrebatian

Commius' story is one of a Gallic noble who *it seems* fled to Britain in the aftermath of Caesar's conquest of Gaul. His story has been told many times, but most of these renditions have built upon each other rather than relying upon the primary evidence, and a return to the original sources pays substantial dividends and has a significant implication for subsequent events in LIA Britain. For example, it is often said that Commius fled to Britain 'to join his own people' (Van Arsdell 1989a:111; Cunliffe 1991:110). This conveys the idea of the Gallic noble arriving in Britain to be embraced by friends and relations. This phrase, or variants of it, is used again and again, but it is always unreferenced and comes from neither Caesar, Hirtius nor Frontinus (our only ancient sources), and the coin evidence certainly does not tell us this. But it is a phrase and idea that has become entrenched in our narratives of the period, and it must go. A second much-repeated idea is that Commius 'escaped to Britain', which clearly suggests he was in bad odour with Rome (Allen 1980:26; Salway 1981:47). As shall be shown, this description, based on a reading of Frontinus, may be far from reality. It would be best to reconstruct events based upon the original source material than upon secondary narratives.

He was described as 'Commius the Atrebatian' (*BG* 4.27), whom Caesar had made king of the Gallic Atrebates after their conquest. In reality this may have meant little more than recognition of his existing position; on the other hand he could have

been an imposition after the defeat of the Belgic tribes in 57 BC. In 55 BC when various British tribes sent embassies over to Caesar, they were sent back with Commius, whose mission it was to travel from tribe to tribe and negotiate terms (*BG* 4.21). His mission was not particularly successful, being bound upon arrival and only released when Caesar landed in Britain later that year. Upon his return to the continent Caesar received hostages from only two of the tribes who had promised them (*BG* 4.38). On his second visit to Britain, Commius was again the principal intermediary between the natives and Caesar when Cassivellaunus finally came to terms (*BG* 5.22), which again involved hostages being taken away to the continent by Caesar as well as the fixing of tribute. In the following year Caesar relied upon him and his cavalry to watch over the Menapii as he himself marched on the Treveri (53 BC: *BG* 6.6). However, the Gallic revolt changed Commius' perceptions and loyalties markedly. He changed sides. As the Romans besieged Alesia, Commius decided to throw in his lot with the rebellion. A council of Gallic leaders was called to see what support the revolt could muster. A set number of men were demanded from each tribe, and Caesar pointedly says that it was Commius who persuaded the Bellovaci to send 2,000 men where they had intended to send none 'in consideration of their friendship with him'(52 BC: *BG* 7.75). This Caesar contrasts in the next paragraph with the betrayal of their friendship:

> In former years Commius had rendered Caesar loyal and useful service in Britain . . . and in return Caesar had ordered that his tribe should be immune from taxation and have its independence restored and had made Commius suzerain over the Morini. But the whole Gallic people were so united in their determination to liberate themselves and recover their former prestige that they allowed no favours or recollection of friendship to influence them, and all devoted their energies and resources to the prosecution of the war. (Caesar, *BG* 7.76)

Inevitably Commius was one of the commanders-in-chief as this force marched to relieve the siege of Alesia. They failed. The rebellion of Vercingetorix collapsed. It is at this point that Caesar's commentaries end and the narrative is taken up by Hirtius, and for reasons that will become clear shortly, the role of Commius in the narrative increases dramatically. After the defeat of the Gallic revolt Commius evidently escaped or was freed, but no reconciliation came and the Romans continued to be wary of him. While Caesar was away holding the assizes in northern Italy, Labienus, one of his generals, tried to have Commius assassinated:

> Labienus sent Volusenus with orders to stage a sham interview [with Commius] and have him put to death. Some centurions specially picked for the purpose went with him. At the interview Volusenus gave the pre-arranged signal by grasping Commius' hand, but the centurion who made the first sword thrust failed to dispatch him, only inflicting a severe head wound; either his nerve failed him because he was unused to such work, or Commius' friends were too quick for him. Both sides drew their weapons, but more with

> the object of getting away safely than of fighting; for the Romans thought that Commius was mortally wounded, and the Gauls, realising that they had been led into a trap, were afraid that more men might be concealed somewhere. After this experience Commius was said to have resolved never to come again into the presence of any Roman.
> (Hirtius, *BG* 8.23)

Commius' resistance to Roman rule continued. In 51 BC Commius rose in rebellion with the Bellovaci in their fight against the Roman-friendly Suessiones (*BG* 8.6). As Caesar drew this further rebellion to a resolution Commius left to get aid from the Germans (*BG* 8.7), returning with 500 horsemen (*BG* 8.10). After the defeat of the Bellovaci and the death of their leader Correus, many tribes consented to send envoys and hostages to Caesar. Yet Commius again escaped and fled back with the Germans (*BG* 8.21). His multiple evasions of the Roman forces become almost a *topoi* in the narrative.

The final reference to him in the commentaries on the Gallic Wars comes with a face to face encounter between Commius and Volusenus, the Roman who had attempted to kill him. At the time Commius was having some measure of success intercepting supply convoys to Roman camps. Volusenus was detailed to pursue him. In a confrontation Commius survived, though many of his loyal horsemen did not, but what is more important, Volusenus was carried back to camp with a near fatal wound:

> Either Commius was satisfied with his revenge, or else he had lost too many of his followers to be able to pursue the quarrel further; in any case, he sent to Antony and offered hostages as a guarantee that he would live where he was bidden and do as he was told. His only request was that as a concession to the fear which haunted him he should not be required to come into the presence of any Roman. Antony decided that his fears were justified and therefore granted his petition and accepted the hostages.
> (Hirtius, *BG* 8.48)

Shortly after this Hirtius drew his commentaries to an end. He skipped over the events of 50 BC and moved forward to dwell on the impending civil war. The story ends just as Caesar is about to cross the Rubicon. Commius is a major figure in Hirtius' account in comparison to his sporadic appearance in Caesar's; indeed, about half of all the references to him are in Hirtius' one book, in comparison to Caesar's seven. The concentration upon Commius is curious. He seemed to be a tremendous thorn in the side of Rome, and he was involved in virtually all the engagements described subsequent to the Gallic revolt; and yet Antony was happy to grant his petition and let him go.

Hirtius' narrative can only be understood by recalling that, unlike Caesar's volumes, Book VIII was written after the civil war, and after Caesar's assassination. Throughout the action we hear of Commius stirring up trouble, but it is only at the end that Hirtius explains why Commius distrusted the Romans so much – because

they had tried to assassinate him. The author of this act is stated as being Labienus, and it is explicitly stated that Caesar was away in northern Italy holding the assizes at the time, subtly distancing him from the decision. Even Romans found assassination a base act and rarely confessed to resorting to it. In the aftermath of Caesar's murder, such actions would have been especially poignant. Commius continued to fight the Romans until he had his revenge and severely wounded Labienus' would-be assassin – Volusenus. Antony shows great sympathy with Commius' viewpoint. The implicit suggestion is that Labienus had been in the wrong, though this is not directly stated. Similarly, in the closing section of the work we hear that Caesar put 'Labienus in charge of Cisalpine Gaul, to further the latter's candidature for the consulship . . . although frequent reports reached [Caesar] that [Caesar's] enemies were attempting to suborn Labienus' (Hirtius, *BG* 8.52). No direct statements questioning Labienus' judgement were made; but the Roman audience would have read this with the hindsight of recent history in mind. As Caesar crossed the Rubicon on 10 January 49 BC, Titus Labienus deserted him for the Pompeian side. He was one of Pompey's greatest assets, as he knew Caesar's strategies and tactics intimately, and he became one of Caesar's most implacable enemies. Caesar's account in his *Civil War* is not kind to him. He fought with Pompey in Greece and later continued the struggle in Africa and then Spain. He met his end at the battle of Munda in 45 BC, the final battle of the war.

Had it not been for Labienus' subsequent actions, it is unlikely that Commius would have received such prominence in Hirtius' conclusion to the Gallic war. The main structuring elements of his story are: Commius fighting; Commius fighting some more; Commius still fighting; the reason for Commius fighting being explained; Commius coming to terms after the wounding of his would-be assassin. But the important point for us is that Commius *did* come to terms. Antony *did* accept that he had just cause for his actions. Therefore the simplest reading of the evidence would be to believe that Commius would have been sent somewhere where there were not too many other Romans, and that he would have submitted hostages to Antony. Had Caesar revoked this decision we would have certainly heard about it. What Antony finally decided to do with him we do not know. Commius could not really go back to the Gallic Atrebates, who were now living peacefully in relation to Rome. If he was sent anywhere, the fringes of the Roman world, where he knew people, would have been as good as any location in fulfilling both Commius' wishes not to see a Roman and Rome's interest in having 'known quantities' living on their borders. With the commencement of coins inscribed *COMMIOS* in Hampshire, it rather looks as if he was sent to Britain.

This reading of the evidence, however, directly contradicts the view commonly suggested that Commius 'fled to Britain'. The source for this idea is an extract from Frontinus' work on military strategy:

> Commius, the Atrebatian, when defeated by the deified Julius, fled from Gaul to Britain, and happened to reach the Channel at a time when the wind was fair, but the tide was out. Although the vessels were stranded on the flats, he

> nevertheless ordered the sails to be spread. Caesar, who was following from a distance, seeing the sails swelling with the full breeze, and imagining Commius to be escaping from his hands and to be proceeding on a prosperous voyage, abandoned the pursuit.
> (Frontinus, *Stratagems* 2.13.11, written *c.* AD 84–96)

There is nothing to date the story to after Antony's clemency, nor to an earlier engagement. When Rhys (1904) was writing his history of 'celtic' Britain he placed the story as representing one of the close shaves between Caesar and Commius after the Gallic revolt and before Commius' surrender. After all, Commius had made a variety of escapes from Roman clutches across the Rhine to the Germans and elsewhere. It is only modern historical tradition that has turned this excerpt into the defining moment of Commius' move to Britain, giving it primacy over Hirtius' clear statement that Commius came to terms.

We should consider the reliability of each of the sources. Hirtius was on Caesar's staff in Gaul from *c.* 54 BC, and served with him in the east and in Spain during the Civil War. He was governor of Transalpine Gaul in 45 BC and capped his career in 43 BC as consul, before being killed at Mutina. Few would have been in a better position to complete Caesar's work. Frontinus, on the other hand, was writing about 140 years later. The work which this quotation comes from is a manual on military stratagems. This takes the form of a series of tales taken from a wide variety of campaigns, the aim of which is to give advice to any aspiring young general. As it happens, where we have secondary sources, quite a few of Frontinus' details are confused or else have been translated from one conflict to another. The part referring to Commius comes from a section dealing with 'how to fool the enemy'. Its moral is quite simple: if even the divine Julius could be fooled, then it is a strategy worth considering. The *truth* of the story is not the prime consideration, the author is not writing history. Frontinus had been governor in Britain until AD 78, and may have picked up the story there. If so it was the kind of foundation myth that could have been passed down the Commian dynasty – whatever its historical truth. In terms of weighing up the well-informed contemporary observer and a book of exemplary tales written over a century later, the balance of judgement should go in Hirtius' favour.

The rehabilitation of an enemy of Caesar is by no means without precedent. One must recall that Commius was a close friend and aide of Caesar, and had had much trust placed in him on his trips to Britain, kingship over the Gallic Atrebates and regency over the Morini. His switch of loyalty during the Gallic revolt, and fidelity to that cause after the assassination attempt, was in many ways a noble characteristic. Commius was certainly influential, and he would either have had to be executed (as was to happen to Vercingetorix), or detained at Caesar's pleasure in Italy somewhere, or rehabilitated. The last option is not as strange as it might appear. Vanquished rulers were not always clapped in chains; individuals who held great influence were far too useful always to do that to them. Herod the Great appeared in a vulnerable position because of his close friendship with Antony during the civil war with Octavian; and yet when Antony fell and Herod had to face Octavian, it was

precisely this fidelity to Antony which Herod played upon demonstrating how loyal a friend he could be. So impressed was Ocatavian that he let Herod retain his territories (Josephus, *BJ* 1.392). So what could be done with Commius? The one thing that could not be allowed was to leave him to stir up trouble in Gaul. He had however been used to act as viceroy over the Morini, and later he had effected the surrender of Cassivellaunus in Britain. Within such a context it would seem appropriate and entirely in keeping with Roman policy to imagine that Commius could have been given as a leader to the Britons. A whole series of tribes had submitted to Rome, and technically even though no garrison remained in Britain, south-east Britain was now Roman, and Caesar had the perfect right to impose a king, so long as this was ratified by the senate. Whilst it is unlikely that one would have been imposed on Mandubracius and the Trinovantes, other areas of southern Britain could easily have been placed under his supervision. Such an act would be in direct continuance of the way Caesar had used Commius before, amongst the Morini. Since a straightforward reading of Hirtius would suggest rehabilitation, then such a role for him, as a friendly king on the edges of the Roman world, fits reasonably happily with the way we know Rome interfered with the peoples on her frontiers. It is still conjecture, but conjecture which finds a particular resonance with the numismatic evidence from Britain and the continent, to which we now return.

Revised serial imagery in Britain

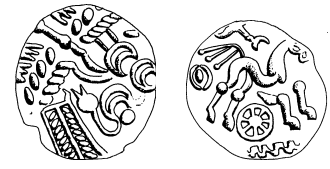
Around the time of Caesar, two new series of coins emerged to dominate the south and east of Britain; their starting points were British Q and British L respectively (Fig. 3.1). Nash (1987:130, 136) called these new regional series the coinage of the Southern and Eastern kingdoms; I will follow that terminology, but the word 'kingdom' must be read loosely. British Q and L do not appear to be subtle developments from earlier coins in Britain, but rather appear to derive from fresh continental prototypes, principally Gallo-Belgic F. This coin is exceedingly rare in Britain. Its most distinctive feature was the triple-tailed horse on it, and this motif was retained in the Southern series. The earliest of the Qa staters were known in Gaul, and a question-mark hangs over whether they were in fact British or Gaulish issues (Haselgrove 1987). As before, whilst change did take place, it was only by small degrees. The shape of the horse's nose became more circular rather than triangular, and some of the peripheral motifs made way for the arrival of inscriptions on the coins. It is at this point where we see that the coins 'belong' to an emergent dynasty. The first inscription is *COMMIOS*, whilst a successor coin is inscribed *TINCOMARVS*, with the addition on some issues of *COMMIOS F* (son of Commius). This Southern series had a profound impact on various peripheral zones of Britain. For example the Dobunni in the west took up the imagery of the triple-tailed horse on their gold coin (Fig. 3.2).

In the Eastern series the first issue shows its Gallo-Belgic F origins on the Apollo head side, but the reverse has given way to a far more naturalistic horse, usually displayed with a prominent mane. A potential origin for this more naturalistic image is discussed later. Again, after awhile inscribed names appeared on these issues also:

Gallo-Belgic F
VA85:S5

Developments in the east **Developments in the south**

British L
VA1470:E5

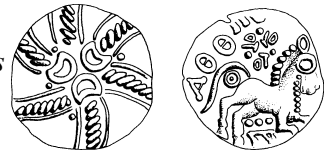


British Q
VA212:S6

British Ma
VA1520:E6

Commios
VA350:S6

Addedomaros
VA1620:SE7



Tincomarus
BM765:S7

Tasciovanus
VA1680:E7

Andoco
VA1860:E7

Fig. 3.1 The development of the gold coinage of the Southern and Eastern kingdoms

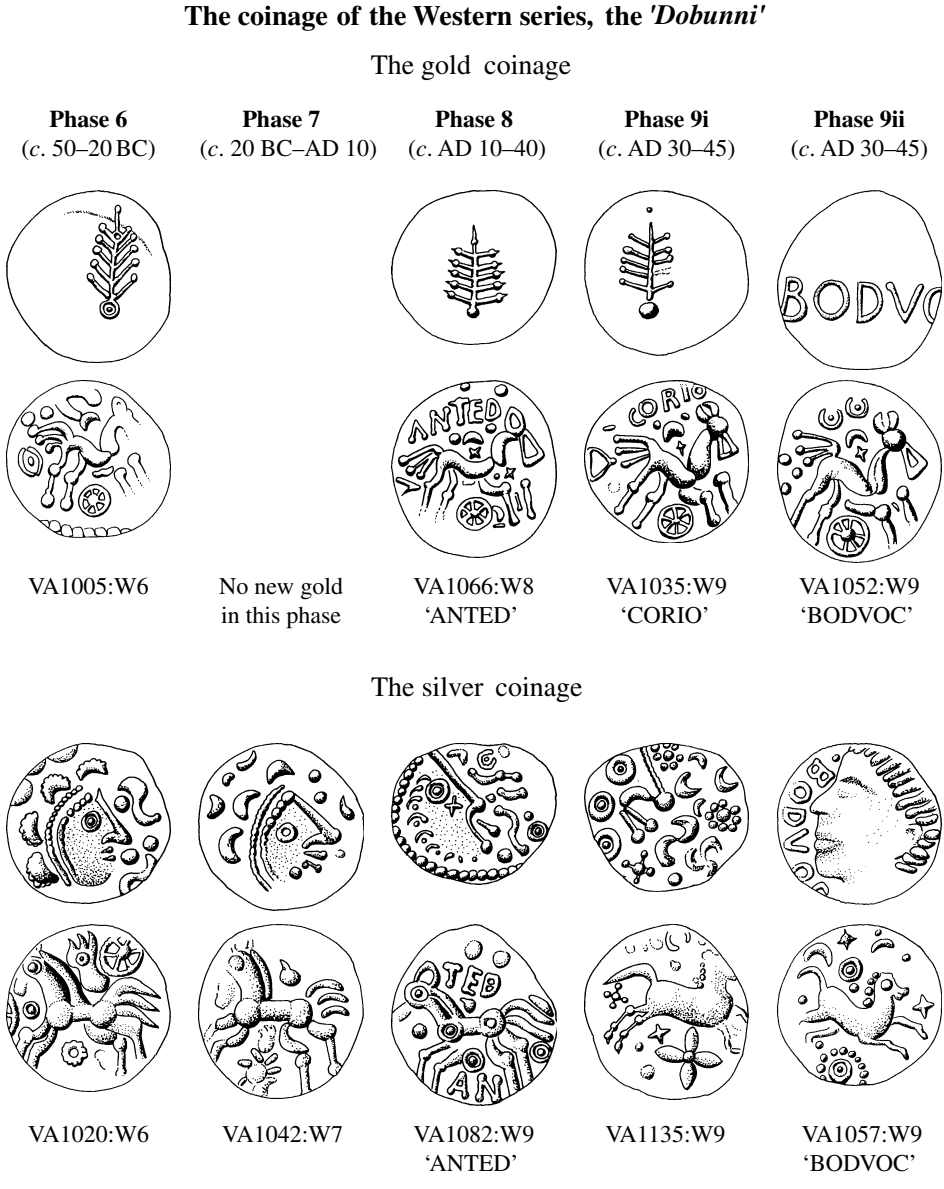


Fig. 3.2 The development of the coinage of the West (Dobunni)

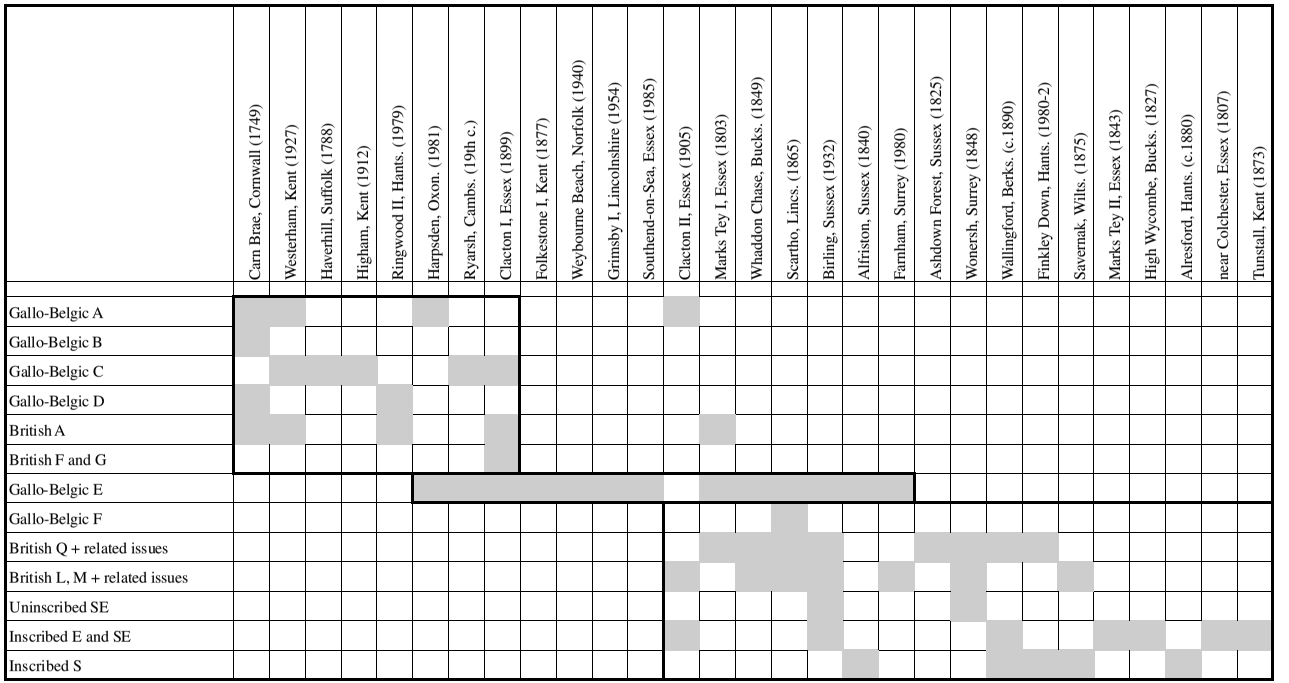


Fig. 3.3 Coin hoards containing coin from southern and eastern Britain

AθθEDOMARVS, *TASCIOVANVS*, and *ANDOCO*, amongst others. Tasciovanus was followed by further issuers who proclaimed him as father.

As far as an audience in Britain would be concerned these images were a significant departure from what went before. Not only were they in contrast to the previous imagery, but also hoards clearly show that the vast majority of the earlier gold coins in circulation were withdrawn at this point. Very few hoards contain any of the earlier Gallo-Belgic A–D or British A–K coinage alongside British Q and L. The only issue that overlaps in any significant way with what went before and what came after is Gallo-Belgic E (Fig. 3.3). It looks as if a systematic attempt was made to withdraw and recoin the gold in circulation. This suggests a significant shift in the internal political arrangements in Britain.

This phenomenon is also shown in the metallurgy of the coinage (Fig. 3.4). There was a sudden change in the colour of the gold staters from the yellow-gold of the uninscribed issues to the new red-gold inscribed coins of Commius and other kings in Britain, with British Q and L being the intermediate issues. Until this point most staters had retained their yellow colour by the addition of a 65% silver, 35% copper alloy – now the alloy composition ceased to be debased and it shifted significantly to the more copper-rich end of the spectrum. It was as if the first phase of the recoining simply involved the melting down and recoining of the existing stock, but then a new standard rapidly emerged in a new red-gold colour. In the case of the coinage of the Eastern series (e.g. British L, Addedomarus, Dubnovellaunus, Tasciovanus and Cunobelin) this showed a remarkable pattern:

> The majority of the [Eastern] issues analysed . . . vary very little in fineness, most lying between 39 and 41% gold. All the alloys are red golds but there is a spread of copper:silver ratios from 4:1 to 2:1. It is not possible to see any real systematic variation here . . . This horizontal distribution . . . must be the result of the mixing of refined gold with a variable copper-silver alloy. The obvious source of refined gold must be the Roman Empire . . .
> (Northover 1992:249)

It would have been difficult to have achieved such precision in the proportion of gold from mixing variable ternary alloys; only by mixing a set quantity of refined gold with baser metal could have resulted in such a consistent proportion of gold in the final alloy, but refined gold was simply not present in MIA/LIA Britain. There had been some in Gaul in the form of the Macedonian staters much earlier on, but it is unlikely that these could have been the source for the British coinage. As Northover concludes, the most likely source for this refined gold is Roman gold. The pattern amongst the southern coinage of Commius and his successors (Tincomarus, Eppillus and Verica) is comparable, though the gold content is a little bit more variable and slightly higher (Fig. 3.4).

The fact that refined gold appears to be in use and the debasement of the staters in south-east Britain seems to have ceased suggests that large precious metal reserves were coming into Britain from the continent. This must have occurred on a very large scale. The coinage of Cunobelin alone was estimated to comprise around 3,000 lb

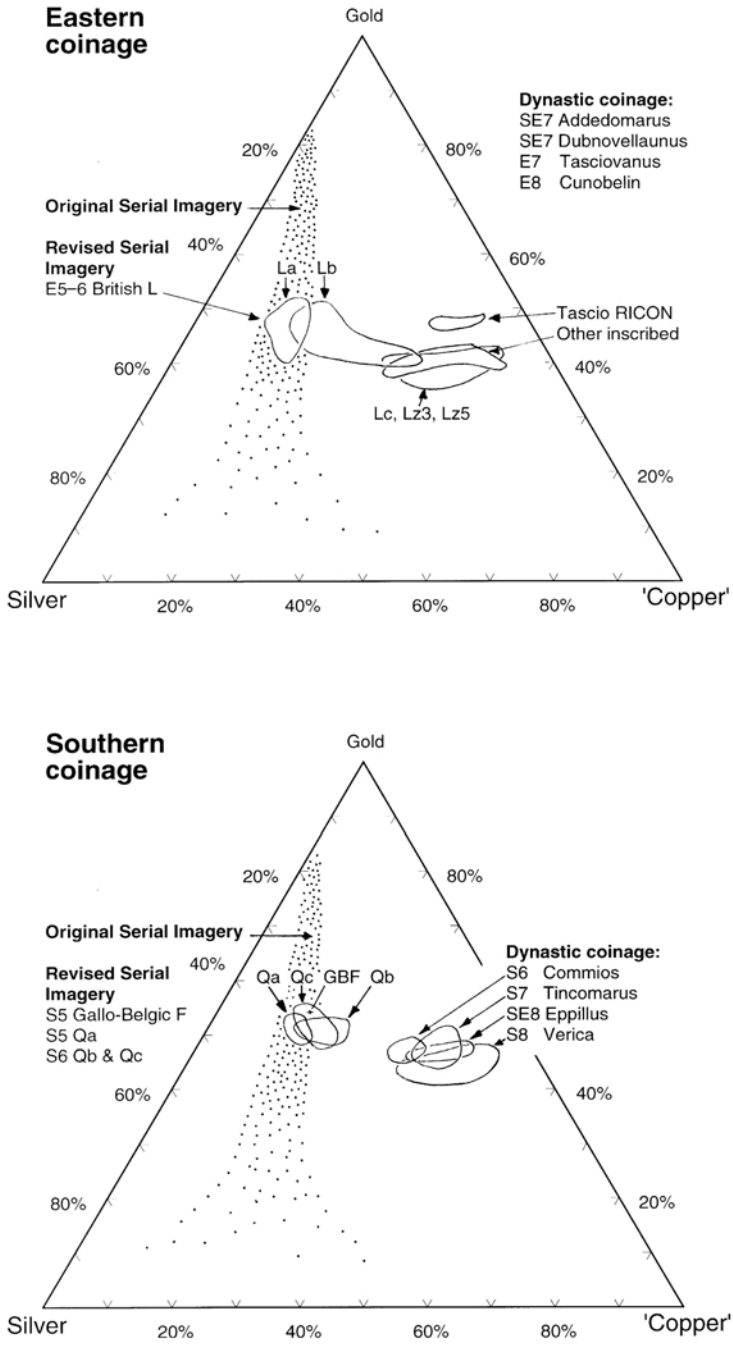


Fig. 3.4 The alloy content of the 'gold' coinage of the Southern and Eastern kingdoms

(4,400 kg) of refined gold (Allen 1975), whilst that of his contemporary in the south, Verica, could have been around 1,000 lb (6,600 kg) (Allen and Haselgrove 1979). Whilst these figures are only crude estimates for a couple of rulers, it suggests a significant quantity of gold had arrived into the country. The most likely mechanism for this were subsidies to friendly kings in Britain:

> Subsidies had always formed part of Roman foreign policy, even under the Republic [Caesar *BG* 1.43] and became regular under the Principate, as Tacitus makes clear with specific reference to Germany [*Germania* 42; cf. 15.2; *Histories* 4.76]. . . . subsidies could be applied for a variety of purposes. One was to shore up monarchs friendly or at least neutral towards Rome, by providing money either to help keep them on the throne or to meet the expenses of warding off external enemies, or both. . . .
> (Austin and Rankov 1995:147)

It would appear that following Caesar's visit, we have evidence for significant political change in south-eastern Britain, with a complete recoining taking place and the arrival of Roman gold bullion. The kind of settlement which Caesar is likely to have established in Britain would have been to make a small number of individuals rulers over a number of communities. Some of those rulers might have been from within those communities, but others might have been from without. In one of these cases we have the name *COMMIOS* appearing in Hampshire, and in the context of Hirtius' statements the temptation to make the link between the literary and numismatic individuals is overpowering. I would see Commius as being set up in the south, and another individual or couple of individuals (possibly Mandubracius) being set up in the east. The Roman gold would consolidate their positions. After the Gallic Wars Caesar certainly was not short of gold. So much had been looted from Gallic sanctuaries that the price of gold in Rome had fallen significantly (though another reading of the evidence suggests this could just have been because the Gallic gold was of a lower quality). If disaffected Gauls had fled to Britain during the war, then it was in Rome's interests to ensure that such elements were kept in check on their borders. In many ways such an arrangement in Britain is no different to Commius earlier being given suzerainty over the Morini.

This political arrangement and the accompanying developments in coin imagery must be seen within their continental context. Gallo-Belgic F, and British L and Q, fit within the developments in north-east Gaul. Here two main families of coinage can be identified. Whilst missing out some variants and subtle changes, Fig. 3.5 shows the development of the two series from just before the Gallic Wars to the final gold issues sometime after the conclusion of the war.

One family is that of the central and eastern part of Gallia Belgica (Fig. 3.6). The coinage for much of this area derived from an early gold Eye stater (Sch.30/1) which has been associated with the Remi. Coins derived from this series have been found elsewhere in territories related to the Treveri (Sch.30/4–6), the Bellovaci (Sch.25, Delestrée 1987) and the Eburones (Sch.31), though in the last two cases the distributions are not particularly clear. Since the Eburones were a client community of the

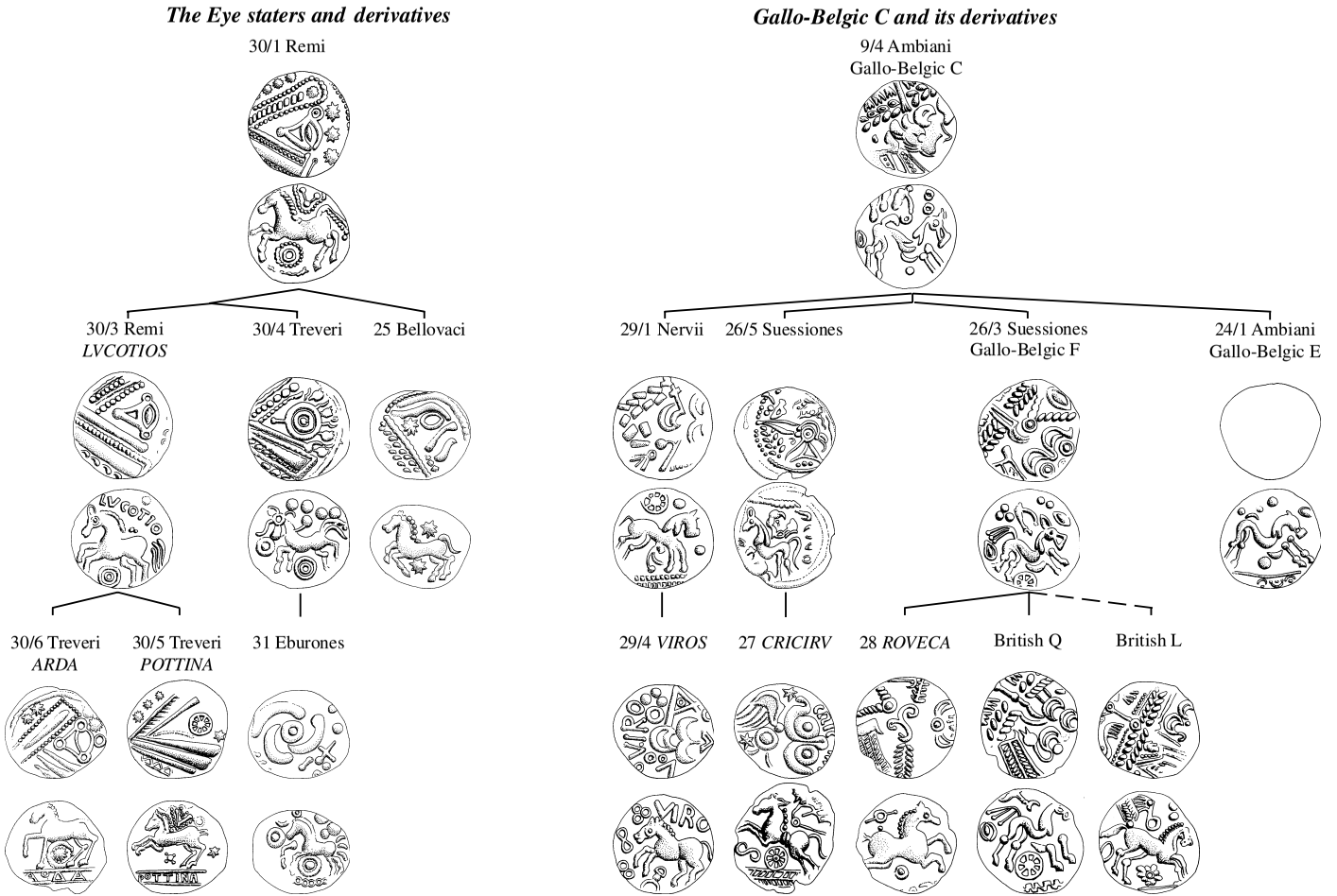


Fig. 3.5 An outline of the development of imagery on Gallo-Belgic gold. Data: Scheers (1977) and Haselgrove (1984), with slight modifications

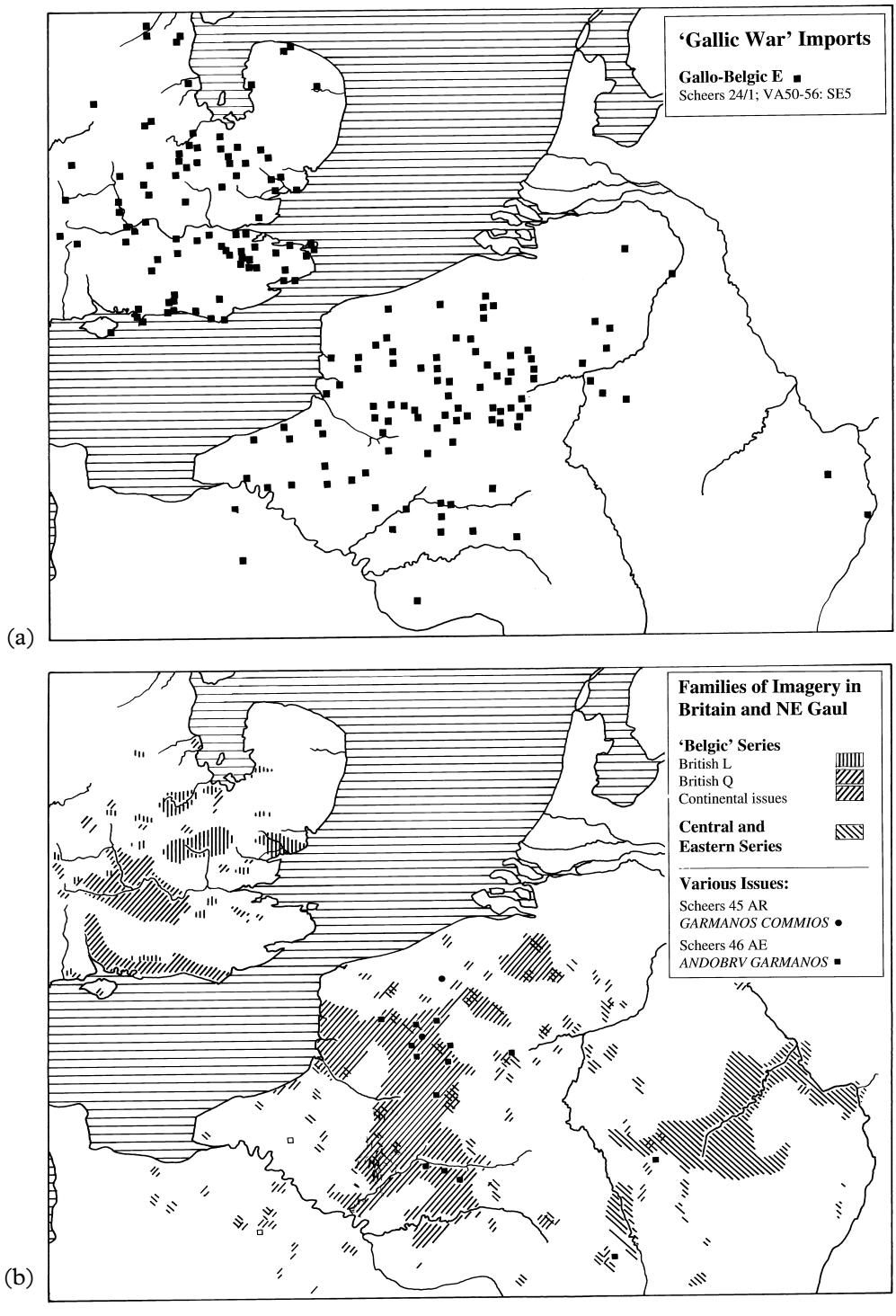


Fig. 3.6 (a) Distribution of Gallo-Belgic E: Data from Fitzpatrick (1992). (b) Distribution of the Belgic and central-eastern image sets: Data from Scheers (1977)

Treveri perhaps we have a context here for the flow of imagery from one to the other (*BG* 4.6). But the main family is that of the 'Belgae', comprising issues Scheers (1977) largely ascribed to the Ambiani and Suessiones, though many of them equally cover the territory of Commius' community, the Atrebates. Most of these were descended from Gallo-Belgic C (Sch.9/4), just as the earlier British issues were. Amongst the derivatives from this was Gallo-Belgic E (Sch.24/1). This uniface stater is very important in the Gallic chronology. On one side it had a solitary horse, but the obverse was blank. It was minted in vast numbers and large quantities have been found in Britain. Haselgrove (1984a) has suggested that the scale of minting was anything from ten to twenty times earlier production levels. Scheers' view, which is largely followed, is that it was produced to finance the war against Caesar. Its widespread distribution suggests that all the communities involved in the Gallic revolt issued a common type to symbolise their resolve. The horse was retained, but the face was discarded, leaving a blank side. Symbolically it would be as if the horse representing nature and the land was being retained, whereas the face which represented individual authority was suspended in the face of this unprecedented collective action. Scheers dated them specifically to a decision of the general assembly of the people of Belgium in 57 BC. At this meeting virtually all the peoples of Belgica agreed to come together to fight Caesar with the sole exception of the Remi (*BG* 2.4). Whilst the size of the issue, its distribution and its rapid decline in weight (as if resources ran short) make this link tempting, it is probable that the earliest class of Gallo-Belgic E are in fact somewhat earlier. Some are die linked with Gallo-Belgic C and have a marginally higher gold content. Haselgrove (1984a) would see the series starting around 70-60 BC, whilst admitting that the majority of them probably do relate to the Gallic wars.

As can be seen from the hoards in Britain, Gallo-Belgic E can be found both with the earlier gold coinage of Britain and with the later British L and Q series, confirming the later chronological position of British L and Q. But were L and Q likewise Gallic/British war issues, or do they relate to the post-conquest settlement? Because they appear to involve the removal of all earlier coin in circulation, even the removal of Gallo-Belgic E, and since they appear thereafter to involve the use of refined gold, I believe a post-war context is far more likely.

When the post-conquest settlement came to north-east Gaul, production in gold continued for a while (probably longer than current orthodoxy would allow for). The new British series can be seen as continental types clearly anchoring the south-east back into the image repertoire of Belgic Gaul. This need occasion no surprise if continental *principes* like Commius were given suzerainty over parts of Britain.

The position of Commius is perhaps also reflected in a short series of issues found in Gaul. Two issues appear there with the inscription *COMMIOS* on them, but paired with different names, *GARMANOS* (Sch.45 AR) and *CARSICIOS* (Sch.47 AR), together with a related type *ANDOBRV/GARMANOS* (Sch.46 AE). Few of these coins are known from site finds; those which are have been plotted on Fig. 3.6. As can be seen, they cluster in Atrebatic territory. Scheers believed in Commius' flight from Gaul (Scheers 1977:113) and so wanted to date them earlier, but this

created problems because the types were particularly Romanised in style (Fig. 7.3) and were therefore far more likely to be post-conquest issues. Allen (1980:97) also believed in Commius' flight, though he explained away the problem by suggesting that this was a second Commius and that it was better to see them as magisterial silver and bronze issued after the conquest. However if we accept Hirtius' statement that Commius came to terms then we have the intriguing possibility that these are indeed post-conquest issues struck in his name as he continued to rule in some capacity in both northern Gaul and Britain. This might help explain why some of the earliest stream of British Q are found on both sides of the channel; about four are now securely known from continental findspots. An alternative would be that the double name represents what it does on many British coins: one is the father's name and the other is the son's. The additional *F* for *filius* by no means appears on all British coins where two names occur (cf. Fig. 6.5). It could be that the mantle of rule in northern Gaul fell to Garmanos and Carsicios, and perhaps then to Garmanos' son Andobrv in due course. Of course this is pure speculation, but following Hirtius instead of Frontinus opens up all sorts of possibilities.

In conclusion, after Caesar's Gallic wars much of the earlier British coin stock was melted down and two new major series of gold coins were issued. New imagery and colour marked these out as a clear political statement. Commius was probably given suzerainty over part of southern Britain, whilst either he or more likely his relations continued in positions of authority on the continent. We have to see the manipulation of the Roman state not just in the post-war settlement of northern Gaul, but in that of south-east Britain as well. As Stevens (1951) pointed out long ago, Britain had *de facto* been conquered. It was now solidly part of the Roman orbit.

Chapter 4 will go on to emphasise the continuance of high-level political contact between Britain and Rome in the years following Caesar's departure. But first it is time to meet the two dynasties that dominated the next century in south-east Britain.

A tale of two dynasties: from Caesar to Claudius

It is from the coin evidence that the subsequent players on the Late Iron Age political scene emerge. Amongst the variety of names two dynastic groups emerge. North of the Thames we hear no more of Mandubracius or Cassivellaunus. Instead, when inscriptions appear we find Tasciovanus issuing coins. Two people claimed to be his sons, Epaticcus and Cunobelin, and in turn literary sources suggest that Amminus and Caratacus were sons of Cunobelin. Whilst this family began with coinage in Hertfordshire and Essex, by the AD 40s it had spread significantly south of the Thames. Meanwhile in the south was Commius. He had several 'sons' who issued coins over the south and sometimes Kent: Tincomarus, Eppillus and Verica. As well as these, there are a number of other individuals to fit into a history of south-east Britain: Addedomaros, Dubnovellaunus, Vosenos, Andoco, Rues and Dias.

These dynastic successions, together with typological studies of the coin types, have helped in the ordering and sequencing of Iron Age coin. The most detailed reconstruction, which sought to give specific historical dates for all the reigns and issues, was by Van Arsdell (1989a). However many reviews felt this went beyond the

limitations of the evidence (Burnett (1989), Kent (1990) and Haselgrove (1990a)). Haselgrove (1987) offered a much broader and less specific chronological framework. Instead of giving individual dates for reigns, he simply allocated coins to a series of broad phases. Haselgrove's chronological framework is shown in Figure 3.7. Figure 3.8 shows the principle location of the coinage of the two main dynasties, simply on the basis of density of findspots without making any assumptions about the 'tribal attributions' of any of the individuals concerned.

Numerous stories have been woven around these dynasties to chronicle their rise and fall. There are many problems in such myth-making, as the evidence offers a wide degree of latitude. For example, one story (Van Arsdell 1989a) suggests that Addedomaros started off as the ruler in Essex. He was then succeeded by Dubnovellaunus, who himself was supplanted by Tasciovanus. But Van Arsdell's story is not universally accepted; indeed, no single story is universally accepted, and there are a large number of variants around. Nash (1987:130) had Addedomarus regain control of Essex from Tasciovanus, only to be supplanted by Dubnovellaunus. Both of them agree, however, that this Dubnovellaunus north of the Thames was different to a similarly-named individual who issued coins in Kent. Rodwell (1976:249) agreed with this bit; on the other hand Fitzpatrick (1992:26) did not, thinking they were both the same person. As can be seen, much is questionable, and this directly reflects the inadequacy of the evidence. Haselgrove's solution, just putting them *all* into Phase 7 (*c.* 20 BC to AD 10), is about as far as I would care to go.

Whatever the cause, Tasciovanus' coins came to dominate a large area north of the Thames. Several coins appeared which linked their names to his: *SEGO*, *RUIIS*, *DIAS* and *CUNOBELIN*. Cunobelin claimed to be his son as we have seen. However these other coins have again led to the drawing up of a wide variety of pseudo-historical reconstructions. Van Arsdell saw them as representing a major hiatus after the end of Tasciovanus' reign, until Cunobelin established dominance, with Sego, Ruiis and Dias fighting for power. This period he called the interregnum:

> The departure of Tasciovanus from the scene sometime between 10 BC and the end of the millennium caused several changes in the coinage almost simultaneously. These chronicled a rapidly changing picture in south-eastern Britain as the Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian succession was disputed . . . A struggle for the succession was probable, with various nobles issuing coins to finance their bid and proclaim leadership. On some types the name Tasciovanus was coupled with other names: *SEGO*, *RUIIS* and *DIAS*. While these could have been mint designations, it is more likely they were the names of rulers.
> (Van Arsdell 1989a:21-2)

This reconstruction may be true, but there are also other alternatives. They could be mint names, though convincing locations for them have not been found. They could be the names of magistrates issuing coin in the name of Tasciovanus during his reign. Or in a hierarchical world of kingship and authority they could be the issues of vassals. A variety of explanations are possible. The weight of the issues does make it

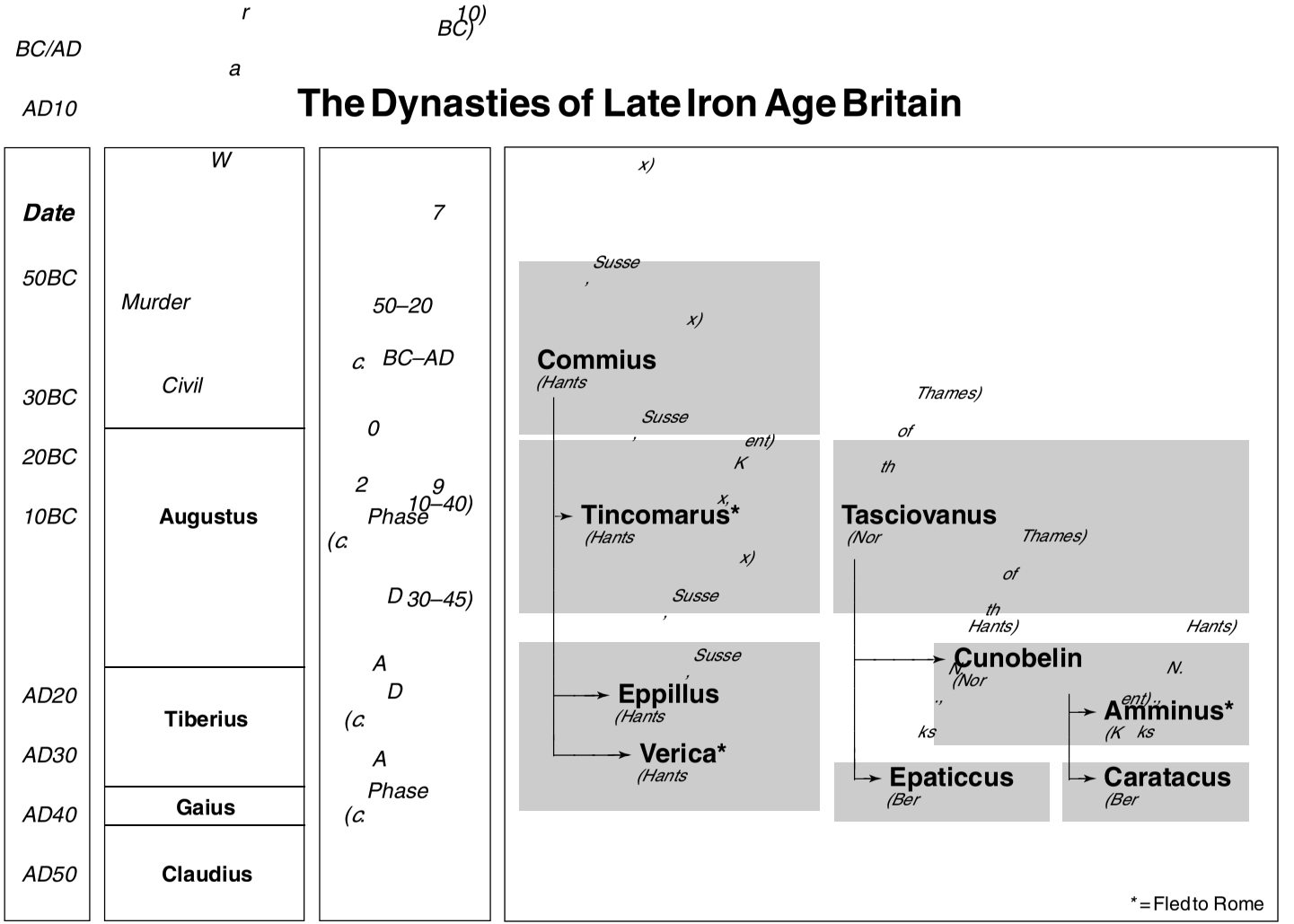


Fig. 3.7 The Dynasties of south-east Britain

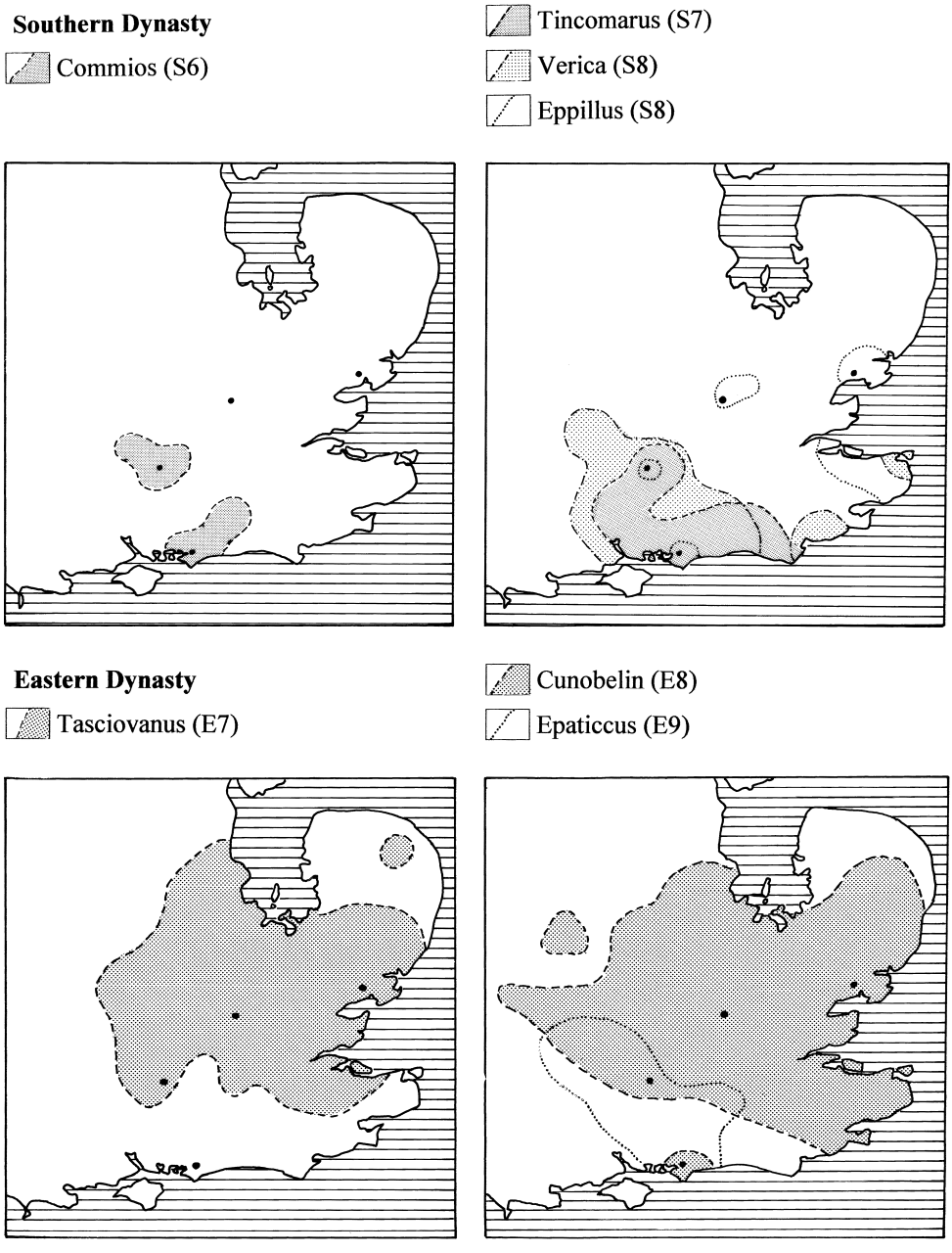


Fig. 3.8 The distribution of the coinage of the fathers and 'sons' of the principal dynasties of south-east Britain. Data: The zones come from Van Arsdell's (1987) distribution maps. The lines are derived from contouring findspots allocated to a 20-mile grid. The contour illustrated shows where more than 0.5 coins per 20-mile square have been found. The data came from Allen (1960) and Haselgrove (1978 and 1984)

tempting to place them between Tasciovanus' and Cunobelin's series, but we must remember that Van Arsdell's notion of a twenty-year interregnum from 10 BC to AD 10 may be correct, but might also be a product of our own imagination.

In the south, things were slightly more straightforward. After Commius there were three individuals who called themselves his son. Tincomarus was the earliest, demonstrated by his first issue being virtually identical to his father's. Verica was probably the last, deduced by the flight of a British king called Berikos to Claudius shortly before his invasion. So Eppillus is conventionally placed somewhere in the middle, perhaps overlapping with Verica and Tincomarus, as his coins have a more eastward distribution.

In Kent, Dubnovellaunus-in-Kent was succeeded by Vosenos, until these were themselves replaced by the coinage of Eppillus of the Commian dynasty. The 'victory' types on Eppillus' coinage have been used to argue for a military conquest of the area. This fits with the popular view of the celtic tribes as fighting each other all the time. Whatever, this imagined Southern dynastic victory in Kent was short lived as the Tasciovanian dynasty began to expand again:

> By AD 10, the troubled period had passed and Cunobeline held the Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian throne. The coinages with the inscriptions *ANDOCO*, *SEGO*, *DIAS* and *RUIIS* ended abruptly and the Attrebatic/Regnan coins [of Eppillus] disappeared from Kent. The Cantian coinage had come to an end with Vosenos, never to be reinstated and the coins of Cunobeline became the normal coinage of Kent from this time on. Cunobeline evidently drove the Atrebates/Regni from Cantian territory after consolidating his rule. The Atrebates/Regni, as the historical record shows, were subsequently placed on the defensive by the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni until the situation became serious enough to provide an excuse for Roman intervention in AD 43.
> (Van Arsdell 1989a:22-3)

So the endgame of Iron Age Britain began. Here is one version: Verica took over the south, again styling himself a son of Commius, though by now the biological truth of this claim is unlikely. Meanwhile Cunobelin's power grew in association with his 'family'. Epaticcus ('son of Tasciovanus') issued coins encroaching south of the Thames into Attrebatic/Regnian territory. In the AD 40s this led to Verica's flight to Rome. Meanwhile one of Cunobelin's sons, Amminus, issued coins in Kent, before somehow he fell out with his father and also fled to the continent. Shortly before AD 43 Cunobelin died. By coincidence the current Roman emperor, Claudius, required a military victory to consolidate his own political position, so Britain was invaded and direct rule imposed.

It is important to realise that all of the pseudo-historical reconstruction above is our own myth-making. Whilst the dynastic links and sequences may be about right, any comments about expansion, military conquest, contenders for the throne fighting it out, etc., are all conjecture spun around very limited evidence. Having reproduced the general outline here, I must confess I would not put my head on the block

for a single word of it, not least of all because it appears to conflict with Diodorus Siculus' notion that the kings and potentates of Britain 'for the most part live at peace amongst themselves' (*Siculus*, 5.21.4). It is the prime contention of this book that a lot more can be said about the internal political events of Britain during this period, but *this* kind of myth-making is not the way to do it. The coinage does have a lot more to tell us, but not in this fashion.

4

Classical imagery and ideology in Britain

From the mid-second century BC, coin became a familiar sight amongst the British elite and possibly a broader audience as well. People got used to how it looked and what it felt like. Whilst we can only guess at what they knew, they probably understood what the images stood for and what they symbolised. They understood the social function and role which coinage was meant to fulfil. The serial tradition meant that whilst the image might vary slightly from issue to issue, one knew roughly what to expect. Even the shift in the imagery beginning with British Q and L maintained the Apollo/Horse image. When inscriptions appeared on coins for the first time, they were slotted in around the serial images (Commius, Phase 6). However, when his 'son' arrived in Phase 7, all that changed.

Tincomarus' first issues were almost identical to those of Commius, and continued the serial imagery. But the images on his subsequent coinage marked a radical shift in the entire aesthetic and language of coin. For the first time we get clear, unambiguous classical imagery on coin (Stage 3: Fig. 2.3). This was no subtle alteration of coin types; the advent of these new motifs marked an abrupt alteration from the continuity of serial tradition which had hitherto existed. The effect was as radical as if one of the *Enigma Variations* had ventured into the realms of atonality, or Columbo had put on an Armani suit.

Each new image demanded attention. Each required a story to be told. What was this half-goat half-fish? What was this flying horse? Who was this man with curly horns, or the woman with wings? In a world starved of new imagery, each new coin type focused attention upon the individual who could interpret it and say what it was and what it meant. New myths were born in Britain.

Myths are very important to societies, informing the way they see themselves and how they relate to the world. In south-east Britain the repositories of history had, in all likelihood, been the *druides* and *bardoi*. Skilled in recitation from memory, they would have been the bedrock of perceived history, reaffirming and shaping what popular but untrained memory could recollect. The knowledge maintained by such a learned class can have a tremendously conservative effect, maintaining a *status quo* at the expense of those who wish to alter things to their own advantage. Still, at some point new and perhaps competing myths and stories arrived in Britain, but by what agency and to what end? In the south-east pictures of sphinxes, gorgons, Pegasus, and other mythological beasts appeared on the coins. Were these uncomprehending copies of classical images, or were they part of a more conscious action to import new stories to compete with the traditional legitimating narratives? This chapter and

chapter 5 will explore the invasion of classical imagery into Britain, emphasising its political context. As will be discovered, there is nothing at all random about the images imported.

Images on coins

The source of the new imagery in the south-east has often been put down to the copying of Roman coin. Prototypes from the *denarii* of the Republic and early Empire have been suggested for various issues. Allen (1958) thought many of them had been copied because they reflected certain aspects of 'celtic life', though since they were derived largely from classical imagery, he was concerned about ascribing false meanings to them. This kind of approach was also taken by Laing, who wondered why only certain Roman coins were copied: 'The most likely inference, then, is that the types were chosen because they had some significance for the Celts' (Laing 1991:19).

The discussion was broadened out a bit by Henig (1972), when he drew a series of parallels between Iron Age coins and images on Roman gemstones. This is important for our discussion of the dynasts' literacy, as intaglios were often impressed in wax to seal letters. Whether the British dynasts had these rings or whether they simply received letters with these marks on them, the implication is the same – they were trafficking in written words, underlining their literate status. Scheers extended this discussion even further (1982; 1992). She noticed that many of the images on British coin were not in fact represented on Roman issues. However, a number of potential parallels could be found in the coinages of the Hellenistic east from the late third century BC to the early first century AD. But again this begged the question – why were they copied?

> In all societies coin-types have an important function and their choice is always carefully made by the authorities. Where the Celts are concerned, the coin-types have frequently been considered as the fantasies of clumsy engravers, who copied Greek and Roman types without understanding their meaning, as could be expected of barbarians. This may be so in some cases. But it is my belief that the importance of coin-types was fully understood by the Celtic chief and that they acted accordingly . . . One of the most singular and striking features of these coinages is the presence of types which are exclusively related to the Greek world, such as leaves, grain-ears, and boar-heads. Certainly, most of these types bear some relation to actual objects or circumstances of the Celts, but is not this the reason why they were chosen? Because they conveyed a special meaning within the Celts' own cultural heritage?
> (Scheers 1992:41-3)

There are two main questions: what was copied and why? 'What' has been asked far more frequently than 'why'. It is as if the notion that barbarian 'celts' should copy civilised, classical images is natural or 'self evident'. Where an explanation is offered, it suggests that the images were copied because of resonances between classical

motifs and 'celtic life'. In this chapter I will first look at the question of 'what', to see if there is any patterning in the Roman prototypes used on British coin. Then I will go on to tackle the far more complex and interesting problem of 'why'.

Available images

The process of 'Romanisation' in Late Iron Age and Early Roman Britain was discussed extensively during the 1990s, partly in response to Millett (1990). In many descriptions change is depicted as being effected by the elite, who deliberately copied aspects of culture from the continent as a way of affiliating themselves with the new dominant power, Rome. A key aspect of this transformation is the appearance of the Aylesford burials, which closely followed the developing burial culture of north-east Gaul by cremating individuals with exotic imports from the Mediterranean world. In many respects 'Romanisation' has been taken as a synonym for 'Gallo-Belgicisation'. So, given this perception and model, backed up by the burial evidence, are the classical images which appear on British coins simply copies of the most common images in circulation in north-east Gaul?

The idea can be tested quite simply by gathering a corpus of the images available on coinage in northern Europe in the late first century BC and early first century AD. In this case I gathered data on coin finds from the Republic down to the end of Tiberius found in Germany (conveniently published and more accessible than the French material). The corpus comprised *c.* 6000 coins. Admittedly some of them may have been deposited at later periods, but to give an approximate idea of the most dominant images floating around it is a useful procedure. Since the deposition of precious metal and bronze coinage is liable to be markedly different, it is worth looking at silver and bronze coins separately.

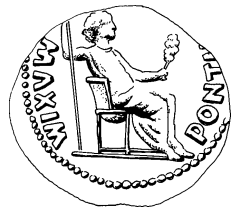
Dominant images on silver Mark Antony's *denarii* were the most common issues found. One side was dominated by a galley, whilst the other displayed the legionary standards. This massive issue failed to impress any of the British dynasts, as none imitated it. The second most common image to circulate was an issue of Augustus, showing a double portrait of his two adopted sons and hopeful successors: Gaius and Lucius Caesar. Sadly, fate intervened to cut their lives short, and the image itself was not perpetuated anywhere in Britain. The same goes for the picture of Victory in her four-horse chariot, and the head of Jupiter. Even the elephant failed to inspire the Britons, though elsewhere in north-east Gaul this type was copied with the name *HIRTIVS* inscribed on it (Sch.162 AE).

Only one of these images has been suggested as the prototype for a British coin, that being the seated female on the coin of Tiberius. This was said to be similar to a silver issue of Verica (VA532:S8) (cf. Van Arsdell 1989a:170). Yet the formal relationship between the two images is rather tenuous; whilst both show seated figures, the parallel is not much stronger than that. To conclude, it seems that the most common imagery from the precious metal issues of Rome was not of great interest or import to the British dynasts.

RRC 544/8–39

RRC 544/8–39

RIC Aug 207–8, 210



RIC Tib 25–30

RRC 364/1b–d


RRC 443/1

RRC 443/1

Fig. 4.1 The most common silver coin images north of the Alps

Table 4.1. *The five most common silver coin types north of the Alps (Republic to Tiberius) (Fig. 4.1)*

No.	*Reference*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
329	RRC544/8–39	Ship	Aquila between two standards
247	RIC Aug 207–8, 210	Laureate bust of Augustus	Gaius and Lucius Caesar
62	RIC Tib 25–30	Laureate head of Tiberius	Seated female holding sceptre
36	RRC364/1b–d	Head of Jupiter	Victory in quadriga
33	RRC443/1	Pontifical emblems	Elephant trampling a serpent

Table 4.2. *The five most common bronze coin types north of the Alps (Republic to Tiberius) (Fig. 4.2)*

No.	*Reference*	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
995	RIC Aug 230, 233	Laureate head of Augustus	The Altar at Lugdunum
c. 800	RIC Tib 80–81	Augustus with radiate crown	Altar enclosure
631	RIC Aug 154–161	Heads of Agrippa and Augustus	Crocodile and palm tree
288	RIC Aug 233, 244–245	Head of Tiberius	The Altar at Lugdunum
94	RIC Aug 431	Head of Augustus	Inscription around 'SC'

RIC Aug 230, 233 RIC Tib 80-81 RIC Aug 154-161 RIC Aug 154-161 RIC Aug 431

Fig. 4.2 The most common bronze coin images north of the Alps

Dominant images on Bronze Three particular images dominate the bronze coinage north of the Alps, apart from local native issues: the image of the Altar in Lugdunum; the image of a crocodile and a palm tree; and finally an inscription around the letters SC (*Senatus Consultum*). Although once again a 'fantastic creature' that might have been expected to excite the imagination appeared on one of the coins, none of them was copied. Only one British coin represents what might be an altar (Verica; VA552:S8), but it is totally unlike the images on these coins. This is particularly surprising because of the consistency with which the native mints in Gaul reproduced these images. The crocodile type was issued at Nemausus from *c.* 20 BC to AD 14, and the altar type was produced at Lugdunum from *c.* 10–7 BC and *c.* AD 9–14 (Van Heesch 1993).

It appears that none of the most common issues circulating north of the Alps provided the inspiration for the arrival of classical imagery on British coin. The conclusion from this is that, whatever the reasoning behind the copying of imagery from the Roman world, it was not haphazard or based on chance. It cannot be explained as Britons simply 'trying to be Roman' by copying whatever could be found in north-east Gaul. This is not good enough. The selection of the images to be copied must have been the product of an explicit thought process which made its selection for a reason, and it is that reason which we must strive to find.

What was copied?

It is perhaps best to take the opposite approach, starting with the British coinage and establishing what the supposed Roman prototypes were, then trying to work out when and where they could be found. The range of potential prototypes has been pointed out by a number of people (Allen 1958; Henig 1972; Scheers 1982; Van Arsdell 1989; Laing 1991). A list of most of the supposed prototypes is given in Table 4.3. Some are virtually identical to their alleged prototype (e.g. RRC361 and VA375:S7), but many only bear a passing semblance. Haselgrove observed that the borrowing was often too general for a specific model to be identified (Haselgrove 1987:92). This is certainly the experience of anyone sitting down and comparing 'Roman' and 'native' coinage. As Allen observed forty years ago, 'There are remarkably few British coins that are unchanged copies of Roman originals' (Allen 1958:43).

The first thing to observe is that the Roman originals come from a broad range of

dates from as early as 139 BC down to contemporary products of the mint of Rome. One question to ask would be if there was any patterning in the date of the coins imitated. At least this might help confirm or establish a chronology for these British coins by providing them with a *terminus post quem*. Haselgrove systematically plotted the supposed prototypes against his relative chronology of the coinage to see if it assisted in tying down the absolute chronology of the British coin series (Haselgrove 1987, Fig. 5.5). Some of the dating of the Roman coinage used in his illustration has now been superseded with the work of Sutherland (1984), who has revised the chronology of some of the early Imperial coins. Figure 4.3 is therefore a full updating of Haselgrove's work.

The broad range of dates for the prototypes proves little help in creating a tight chronology for the British coinage, except to show that none of them is inconsistent with Haselgrove's periodization of the material. Nonetheless, the impression given is that whatever our British dynasts were up to, they were not simply copying an assortment of the most recent issues. So if they were not copying the most common issues in Gaul or the most recent issues, then where were the coins coming from?

Where was it from?

Haselgrove saw the copying as related to the treaties established between Augustus and individual British rulers, following his reorganisation of the Gaulish provinces in 27 BC. Certainly the increasing use of Roman imagery and material culture probably had a lot to do with treaty relationships, but this still fails to explain why *these* alleged prototypes were chosen in preference to other, more common images.

The data can be looked at in another way. Instead of asking what was around in northern Europe to be copied, we can ask where the images which were imitated might be found? There are several possibilities. First, if our dynasts were simply copying images in circulation in northern Europe then we should find all of them present there, even if they were not the most common types. A second possibility is that the images come from the Mediterranean world. In an imperialist system, there is often a lot of direct contact between the centre and the periphery. One phenomenon that we shall address shortly is that of 'hostages' being taken by Caesar/Augustus and 'educated' in centres such as Massalia or Rome, before being returned to their home of origin. So, as a counterpoint, it would be worth seeing if our image repertoire is better paralleled in Italy than in temperate Europe.

What is required are two large collections of coin, one from northern Europe and another from Italy. The ideal sample would be a series of hoards around the reign of Gaius or Claudius. This would provide a good cross-section of the coin in circulation, or at least of the precious metal coinage in circulation. However, whilst there are a large number of sizable hoards from Italy, there are only a small number of early hoards from the Augustan and Tiberian period in northern Europe. So our ideals must be compromised, and the presence/absence of coin types in Italy will have to be compared against the presence/absence of coin types from site finds in northern Europe, and the results taken as indicative, rather than proof of any particular argument.

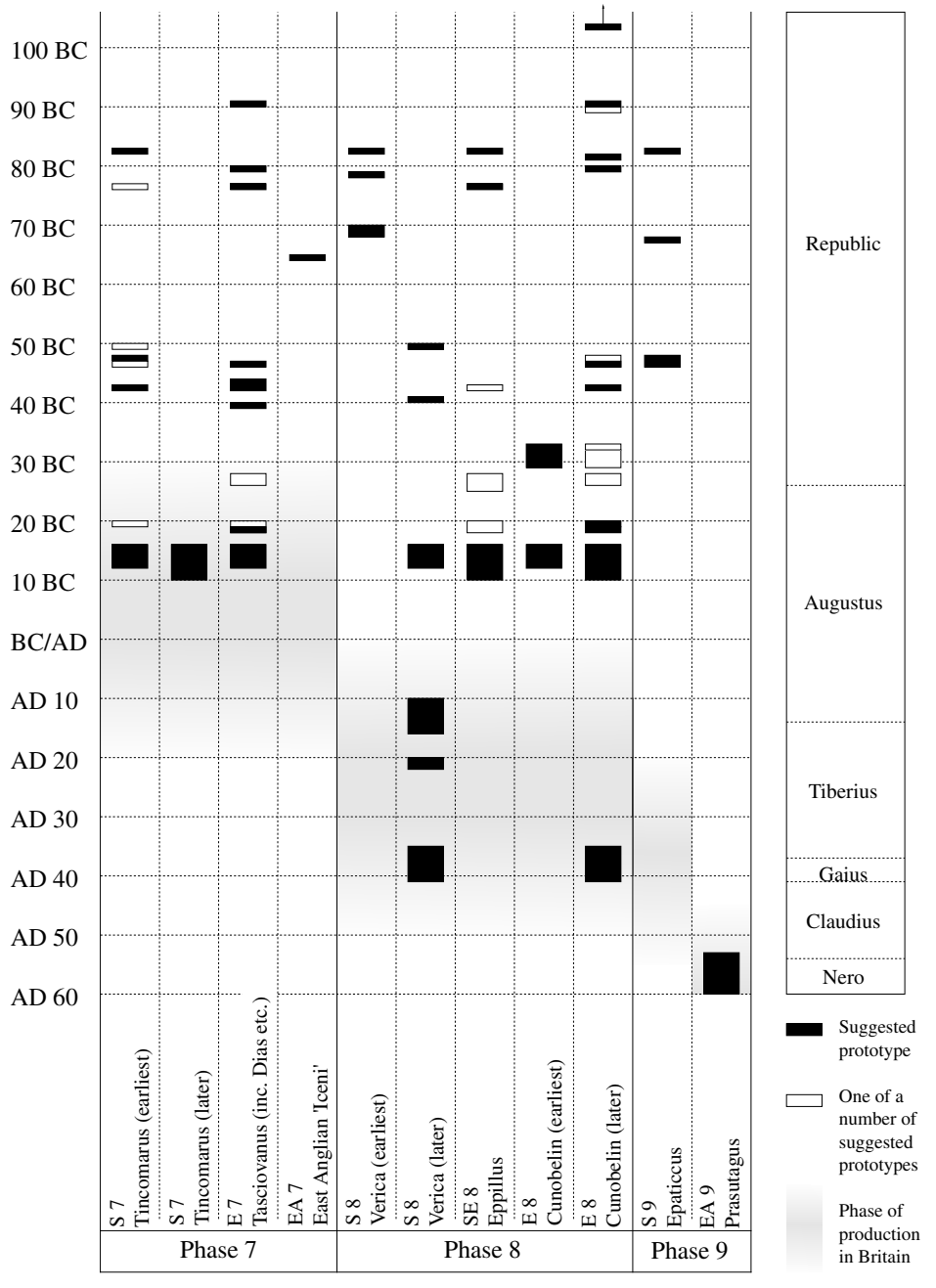


Fig. 4.3 The date of alleged Roman coin prototypes of British coins

The Italian data It is easy to get hold of precious metal hoard evidence for Italy. The most recent thorough analysis of early coinage from Italy has been undertaken by Dirk Backendorf. He has updated significantly Crawford's corpus of Republican coin hoards (Crawford 1969; Backendorf 1998). His database includes 61,160 *denarii* and *quinarii* from hoards of the Republic. This should give us a good idea of the relative prominence of various issues, though with a bias towards earlier issues as they will have occurred in more hoards.

The northern European data For northern Europe there are not enough hoards to create anything like a comparable dataset. Nonetheless, the *Fundmunzen* volumes of Luxembourg and Germany provide a solid database of site finds and those hoards that do exist. The data from France is not so easy to collate; however, since much of the money would have come into Gaul by way of the Augustan army on the German frontier, the German and Luxembourg sample should be adequate to give a feel for the patterning. Having no massive silver hoards, the simple expedient has been to collate all finds of Republican and early Imperial coin, irrespective of whether they come from a hoard or not. This has created a database of 7,114 coins, from the Republic to the end of Gaius' reign, of which only 1,470 are silver coins of the Republic. Technically, some of the coin could have arrived in the area after the end of Gaius' reign and been lost at a later date than we are interested in. However, at least this will overstate the range of images present in northern Europe, so that if we find a coin prototype is absent from this list, it is almost certainly a genuine absence.

The results The data are given in Table 4.3. Amongst the Republican issues, more types were common in Italy than they were in Germany. Amongst the Augustan issues comparisons with Italy cannot be made, but more than a dozen issues allegedly copied have not been found in Germany. Our sample sizes are small, but with all the *Fundmunzen* data and the Republican hoards added together, the data are unlikely to be significantly improved, and we must resign ourselves to this. However, we can conclude that many of the types which could have been used for imitation were more commonly found in the Mediterranean or Italy than in temperate Europe. We must then consider the possibility that this is precisely where some of them came from. Scheers' (1992) observation that motifs from Hellenistic coins also appear to have been copied adds further weight to this interpretation.

In the rest of this chapter I will suggest that the image selection on British coinage relates directly to the imagery of power as expressed in the heart of the new world order: Rome. The imagery reflects the ascension of Octavian to sole ruler of the Roman state, and his establishment of himself as Augustus. This visual language appeared to some extent on his coinage, but was far more obvious in the massive building programmes undertaken in Rome in the late first century BC. The media for transmission of this new visual language to Britain were individuals, born in Britain and Gaul, but brought up in Rome as *obsides* or 'hostages'.

Table 4.3. *The prevalence of the Roman 'prototypes' for British coin in Italy and Germany*

Reference	Denom.	Date	Image	IA Example	Italy	Ger	Italy %	Ger %
REPUBLICAN COINS: more common in Germany								
RRC384	Den.	79 BC	Griffin	VA1790:E7	280	8	0.458	0.544
RRC389	Den.	76 BC	Ram	VA1705:E7	82	3	0.134	0.204
RRC412	Den.	64 BC	Juno Sospita	VA790:EA7	302	8	0.494	0.544
RRC445/1a	Den.	49 BC	Medusa	VA378:S7	15	1	0.025	0.068
RRC453	Den.	47 BC	Facing Medusa head	VA370:S7	177	7	0.289	0.476
RRC489/5–6	Quin.	*c.* 43 BC	Lion	VA1890:E7	26	4	0.043	0.272
RRC494/20a	Aur.	42 BC	Crescent and stars	VA415:SE8	0	1	none	0.068
RRC532/1	Den.	39 BC	Hercules	VA1882:E7	2	2	0.003	0.136
REPUBLICAN COINS: more common in Italy								
RRC229/1	Den.	139 BC	Centaur	VA1918:E8	21	0	0.034	none
RRC341/1–3	Den.	90 BC	Pegasus	VA1786:E7	1749	13	2.860	0.884
RRC343/1–2	Den/Quin.	*c.* 89 BC	Victory	VA2045:E8	639	14	1.045	0.952
RRC361	Den.	82 BC	Horseman	VA375:S7	502	1	0.821	0.068
RRC377	Den.	81 BC	Female figure on animal	VA2061:E8	5	0	0.008	none
RRC385/2	Den.	78 BC	Boar	VA470:S8	62	0	0.101	none
RRC390/1	Den.	76 BC	Crescent and stars	VA415:SE8	61	1	0.100	0.068
RRC390/2	Den.	76 BC	Boy/Dolphin	VA371:S7	119	1	0.195	0.068
RRC409/1	Den.	67 BC	Eagle on thunderbolt	VA580:S9	149	3	0.244	0.204
RRC441/1	Den.	49 BC	Eagle	VA563:S8	16	0	0.026	none
RRC462/1–2	Den/Quin.	*c.* 47 BC	Victory	VA2071:E8	59	0	0.044	none
RRC463/3	Den.	46 BC	Boy on a dolphin	VA371:S7	146	3	0.239	0.204
RRC464/1	Den.	46 BC	Sphinx	VA1855:E7	108	1	0.177	0.068
RRC494/24	Den.	42 BC	Bull charging	VA370:S7	6	0	0.010	none
RRC494/38	Den.	42 BC	Hercules	VA2061:E8	18	0	0.029	none
RRC520/1	Den.	40 BC	Sceptre and cornucopia	VA531:S8	1	0	0.002	none
REPUBLICAN COINS: very rare anywhere								
RRC509/1–2	Aur/Den.	42 BC	Jupiter Ammon	VA2103:E8	0	0	none	none
RRC546/1	Den.	31 BC	Eagle/Jupiter Ammon	VA2107:E8	0	0	none	none
IMPERIAL COINS: types found in Germany								
RIC Aug 166–9	Aur/Den.	15–13 BC	Bull	VA1794:E7		16		
RIC Aug 172–3	Aur/Den.	15–13 BC	Man holding staff	VA2063:E8		2		
RIC Aug 174	Den.	12 BC	Capricorn	VA443:SE8		1		
RIC Aug 176–8	Aur/Den.	11–10 BC	Bull	VA1985:E8		1		
RIC Aug 186–9	Aur/Den.	11–10 BC	Bull	VA2083:E8		3		
RIC Aug 227	Quad.	*c.* 15–10 BC	Eagle	VA2087:E8		29		
RIC Aug 254–5	Den.	*c.* 32–29 BC	Victory on orb	BM1883:E8		4		
RIC Aug 257	Den.	*c.* 32–29 BC	Juno?	VA2059:E8		3		
RIC Tiberius 25–30	Aur/Den.	AD 36–37	Seated figure	VA532:S8		62		
RIC Tiberius 49	Sest.	AD 21–22	Altar	VA552:S8		3		
RIC Gaius 58	As.	AD 37–41	Neptune, trident and dolphin	VA2073:E8		453		
IMPERIAL COINS: types not found in Germany								
RIC Aug 194–5	Aur/Den.	11–10 BC	Man holding staff	VA2063:E8		0		
RIC Aug 297	Den.	19 BC	Pegasus	VA1818:E7		0		
RIC Aug 302	Aur.	19 BC	Medusa	VA378:S7		0		
RIC Aug 477	Cist.	25 BC	Capricorn	VA443:SE8		0		
RIC Aug 487/492	Cist.	*c.* 27–26 BC	Sphinx	VA1855:E7		0		
RIC Aug 488/493	Cist	*c.* 27–26 BC	Capricorn	VA443:SE8		0		
RIC Aug 511–3	Aur.	*c.* 19–18 BC	Sphinx	VA1855:E7		0		
RIC Aug 511–3	Aur.	*c.* 19–18 BC	Sphinx	VA1855:E7		0		
RIC Aug 514	Aur.	*c.* 19–18 BC	Victory sacrificing bull	VA2099:E8		0		
RIC Aug 522	Aur.	*c.* 19–18 BC	Capricorn	VA443:SE8		0		
RIC Aug 527	Cist.	27 BC +	Sphinx	VA1855:E7		0		
RIC Aug 541–2	Den.	27 BC +	Capricorn	VA443:SE8		0		
RIC Aug 547	Den.	27 BC +	Capricorn	VA443:SE8		0		

Hostages in Rome

Throughout Caesar's description of the Gallic wars there is constant reference made to hostage taking. This certainly had a strong security element to it, during the period of active campaigning, but it also had a lot to do with inculcating the native elites into Roman *mores*.

In Gaul Caesar had taken on nearly one thousand hostages, and there were requests (only partly acceded to) for some from Britain as well (*BG* 2.15; 5.4; 6.4) (Braund 1984:21). Precisely what happened to all of these hostages is unclear. Some may have been returned to their communities relatively rapidly when hostilities had died down, but some would have been moved to Rome or other focal points of the empire to receive an 'education'. During the Gallic wars many of Caesar's hostages were placed in the custody of the Aedui at Noviodunum, where he also stored many of his horses and much of his grain and public funds (*BG* 6.4; 7.55). Unfortunately, for this reason the town was sacked.

Caesar's practice was by no means exceptional. In the years leading up to Augustus' ascendancy, others continued the practice of gathering the elite of the new territories and periphery of the Empire together. Sertorius did this in Spain in the 80–70s BC. He drew together the sons of the main families at Osca, and there taught them Latin and Greek. Their families were more eager than apprehensive, imagining that Sertorius was grooming their sons for roles in authority when they came of age. In the same way Antony collected together at Alexandria the progeny of the royal families of the east. After Actium many of these were sent home by Augustus, but others were retained (Braund 1984:11–12). In the sense that their confinement by these Romans was not simply restrictive, but could also be empowering, the modern translation of the word *obsides* as 'hostages' has to be read with a degree of latitude.

One of the centres in the west for such 'schooling' of the Gauls was Massalia. The location would make sense after the failure of Noviodunum during the Gallic revolt:

> The Massiliotes themselves no longer occupy themselves so earnestly with [warfare]. Their present state of life makes this clear; for all the men of culture turn to the art of speaking and the study of philosophy; so that the city, although a short time ago it was given over as merely a training school for the barbarians and was schooling the Galatae to be fond enough of the Greeks to write even their contracts in Greek, at the present time has attracted also the most notable of the Romans, if eager for knowledge, to go to school there instead of making their foreign sojourn at Athens.
> (Strabo, *Geography* 4.1.5; completed *c.* AD 18)

The practice of Caesar, Sertorius and Antony was continued by Augustus: he demanded 700 children from Dalmatia (App. *Illyr.* 28). In addition to Augustus' *demands* that hostages be sent to Rome, some kings *chose* to send their sons to Rome to provide them with an education and direct social contact with families of influence in the new world order. This practice was not new; it had happened sporadically under the Republic, but from the time of Augustus it effectively became customary, particularly if the heir to any throne was going to seek recognition or favour:

> Except in a few instances [Augustus] restored the kingdoms of which he gained possession by the right of conquest to those from whom he had taken them or joined them with other foreign nations. He also united the kings with whom he was in alliance by mutual ties, and was very ready to propose or favour intermarriages or friendships among them. He never failed to treat them all with consideration as integral parts of the empire, regularly appointing a guardian for such as were too young to rule or whose minds were affected, until they grew up or recovered; and he brought up the children of many of them and educated them with his own.
> (Suetonius, *Augustus* 48, written *c.* AD 119)

> the notion that one held at Rome received an 'education' which imbued him in Roman *mores* became something of a commonplace. The Romanised ways of the ex-'hostage' Vonones are said to have been disliked and ridiculed by his Parthian subjects. Similarly, Tacitus says that the Parthians expected Tiridates to be a mild ruler because of his upbringing as a 'hostage' at Rome. Indeed, a Parthian embassy is said to have held that their kings sent their children to Rome as 'hostages' with the specific purpose that they should be improved by acculturation to Roman *mores*.
> (Braund 1984:15)

What evidence is there that any sons of Britons were hostages (or, more politely, 'being educated') in Rome? The direct literary testimony offers no such evidence, but then absence of evidence is by no means evidence of absence. King Herod had eight of his sons brought up in Rome at various times, but without Josephus' writings this would not have been known to us. Nonetheless we know that Commius and various British 'tribes' gave hostages to Caesar, and there is plenty of evidence for Britons in (or at least visiting) Rome, not least because they were seen there. Britons quite literally stood out from the crowd:

> The men of Britain are taller than the Celti, and not so yellow-haired, although their bodies are of looser build. The following is an indication of their size: I myself, in Rome, saw mere lads towering as much as half a foot above the tallest people in the city . . .
> (Strabo, *Geog.* 4.5.2; completed *c.* AD 18)

Strabo had therefore witnessed individuals in Rome who may have been *obsides*, rather than ambassadors or slaves; on the other hand, since he lived into his mid-eighties it is questionable as to precisely how old his concept of a mere lad was. His long lifespan, lasting until the AD 20s, also makes it difficult to pin down when he saw his Britons.

Another way of asking if there were any Britons in Rome is to wonder if there were any friendly kings in Britain between Caesar and the Claudian conquest. If so, then following common practice it is quite likely that some of the sons of the elite would have been sent to Rome. This raises the question of the status of Britain in relation to the Roman world during this time. Caesar had conquered south-east Britain, con-

cluded treaties with its leaders and set an indemnity or tribute to be paid. It was, *de facto*, part of the Roman world (Stevens 1951; Haselgrove 1984b). Subsidies to friendly kings were probably coming into the country in the form of refined gold. However unlike northern Gaul, when Augustus attempted to regularise affairs and turn the area into a series of provinces in 27 BC, Britain refused to come to terms contrary to expectations:

> [27 BC] He also set out to make an expedition into Britain, but on coming to the provinces of Gaul lingered there. For the Britons seemed likely to make terms with him, and the affairs of the Gauls were still unsettled, as the civil wars had begun immediately after their subjugation. He took a census of the inhabitants and regulated their life and government. From Gaul he proceeded into Spain, and established order there also.
>
> [26 BC] Augustus was planning an expedition into Britain, since the people there would not come to terms, but he was detained by the revolt of the Salassi . . .
> (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 53.22 and 25; written *c.* AD 200–229)

This suggests that hitherto there had been close relations, and whatever the problems were, it seems they were fairly rapidly resolved and relations grew close again: 'Some of the dynasts [of Britain], having arranged friendship with Caesar Augustus by embassies and paying court, have set up dedications on the Capitol and made all but one with the Romans the whole island' (Strabo, *Geog.* 4.5.3, completed *c.* AD 18; trans. Branund 1996:83).

Making a dedication in the Capitolium was by no means open to just anyone; it required senatorial approval and was a privilege regulated from 122 BC by the *Lex Rubria et Acilia* (Badian 1962:206). It strongly suggests individuals in a treaty relationship with Rome, and by implication the possibility that either they had been resident in Rome at some point or some of their relatives now were. However after the dedication of Augustus' forum in 2 BC, many of the ceremonies once reserved for the Capitolium were transferred there.

Relations were so close that the dispossessed victims of what is often described as the expansion and warfare of one community against another created a trickle of supplicants to the court of the Principate. At least two, Dumnobellaunus and Tin[comarus], had fled before the death of Augustus in AD 7 to be recorded in the *Res Gestae* (32), and more followed. Whilst Caligula was on rather aimless manoeuvres in Germany and northern Gaul, Suetonius says that: 'All that he accomplished was to receive the surrender of Adminius, son of Cunobelin king of the Britons, who had been banished by his father and had deserted to the Romans with a small force. (Suetonius, *Caligula 44.2; written c.* AD 119).

On the eve of Claudius' annexation another supplicant came as well. 'Aaulus Plautius, a senator of great renown, made campaign in Britain; for a certain Bericus, who had been driven out of the island as the result of an uprising, had persuaded Claudius to send a force thither . . .' (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 60.19; written *c.* AD 200–229).

The close political contact between Rome and Britain strongly suggests that sons of the British dynasts would have spent time as *obsides* in Rome, also perhaps in the Roman army. No one receiving an education in Rome could have remained unaffected upon their return to their home country. The impact it could have on an individual, and by consequence his home community, was tremendous; Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria is a case in point:

> Upon his accession, Antiochus' behaviour won him a reputation for lunacy. Having donned a toga he is said to have canvassed for votes in the market-place of Antioch: upon his inevitable election, he took his seat on a curule chair, whence he dispensed justice. We are told that Antiochus also planned to build a temple to the essentially Roman Jupiter Capitolinus, that he staged gladiatorial games on the Roman model and even paraded troops equipped with Roman armour. It is commonly and plausibly held that such behaviour was the result not so much of lunacy but of his upbringing at Rome.
> (Braund 1984:14–15)

The experience of Rome on the mind of a northern Gaul or Briton would be extraordinary in terms of the city's sheer size; its wealth and poverty; its architecture; its *mores*; and its many languages. All the hostages would have experienced a kind of wanderlust akin to that of Irishmen emigrating to California in the mid-nineteenth century: 'you don't know the want of education till you come to travel' (Coulter 1862:327). Caratacus, who held out against the Claudian forces in Britain for many years, was finally captured and taken to Rome where Dio represents him expressing a similar bewilderment: '[Events of AD 52:] Caratacus . . . wandered about the city after his liberation; and after beholding its splendour and its magnitude he exclaimed: "and can you, then, who have got such possessions and so many of them, covet our poor huts?"' (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 61.33.3c; written *c.* AD 200–229).

The contemporary scene in Rome

It is my belief that the entire corpus of 'Romanised' images on British coin can be explained and understood by imagining what it was like for a youth to be transported to the capital of the Roman world, and to be educated there in the dying days of the Republic and the early years of the Principate. I will show how the visual language of the coins in Britain relates explicitly to the visual language of power in Rome itself as Octavian carved out for himself a position amongst his peers, until none was his equal in authority. I would suggest that observing Rome and the changes within it had a profound effect upon the imagination and very being of the children of friendly kings who resided there.

Rome under Caesar In 51 BC Commius submitted to Mark Antony and gave him hostages. Commius ruled in Britain until Tincomarus claimed his inheritance, presumably upon his 'father's' death. Let us exercise our imaginations and

wonder at the experiences a youth may have gone through had he spent a childhood and youth as an *obses* in Rome. In order to keep in mind the effect upon the individual, let us suggest this youth was six years old in 51 BC. This is a fiction, but it is designed to impress on the reader the idea of the adaptability of youth.

The kind of 'career' we could imagine for Tincomarus might be comparable to that of his contemporary, Juba II. In September 46 BC Caesar celebrated his triumph over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus and Africa. Being the son of the defeated Juba I, this young boy was paraded with other captives, however, he went on to receive an education in Rome and with the army, until finally in 25 BC Augustus placed him on the Mauretanian throne (Dio 51.15.6). This kind of chronology fits in with someone like Tincomarus similarly travelling to Rome, being educated there, fighting in the Roman army and succeeding Commius sometime in the 20s BC. Haselgrove suggested the start of Tincomarus' coinage in Britain was *c.* 20 BC±10 years, and this would fit in well with such a model.

Having submitted to Antony or Caesar, our *obsides'* first eye-opening experience would have been travelling to Rome itself. The land route was usually taken, unless speed was of the essence when a ship could be taken from Massalia. First the Alpine passes had to be negotiated; curiously enough, later British dynastic coins have been found at a shrine on the Great St Bernard Pass. From here one descended down into the Po Valley. This was an area where Caesar was held in great esteem because of his support for full citizenship for everyone in the province. In the summer of 50 BC he had been received there with great honours; the streets were adorned with flowers and sacrifices were made (Hirtius, *BG* 8.51). On such a journey they would have stayed with clients of Caesar, Antony or other high up members of Caesar's staff; again having impressed upon them the social and personal power base of the general who had conquered Gaul and south-east Britain. Eventually they would arrive at Rome. From a world of farmsteads, villages and the occasional *oppidum*, the impact of a city of a million people can hardly have failed to impress. The masses of people, the scale of everything, the noise and the smell; few could imagine the huge cultural shock of experiencing such a vision, and then living in it. Here, too, they would have been housed with clients and friends of Caesar and Mark Antony. Their early years would have seen the huge upheavals and crises of the death-throws of the Roman Republic as Caesar crossed the Rubicon and the Pompeians fled Italy to the east. Some older Gauls fought with Caesar as the civil wars were played out in Greece, north Africa and southern Spain, but in Rome the uncertainty of civil strife must have been palpable, and the triumph of the Caesarean faction sweet. The victory was not that of the due constitutional process, but rather that of a charismatic individual to whom no honour was too great.

With this phase of the civil war concluded, the final years of Caesar's rule involved a great deal of theatre in Rome. The Triumph of September 46 BC was a feast for the eyes, and there is no doubt our hostages would have witnessed if not participated in it. First came the booty and costly treasures together with large paintings of battles, lists of conquered places and peoples, and maps. Later descriptions suggest fifty battles were celebrated, with the reported numbers slain coming to over a million.

Next were the prisoners: Vercingetorix, failed leader of the Gallic revolt Commius had been party to, who was killed immediately afterwards – a powerful lesson to any onlooker; Cleopatra's sister Arsinoë; and Juba I's son. Behind the prisoners came the lictors holding their *fasces*, and then Caesar himself dressed in imitation of Jupiter – Rome's supreme god. Upon arriving at the Capitol, white bulls were sacrificed. The four triumphs took four days and were complemented with gladiatorial games, theatrical events in all the languages spoken in the city, horse racing and demonstrations of British chariot fighting. Battles were fought involving foot-soldiers, horsemen and men on elephants. Finally over twenty-two thousand tables were laid out for feasting. Suetonius gives the most vivid description of this memorable event; our hypothetical Tincomarus would have been 10 years old.

The senate awarded Caesar honour upon honour. Titles no precedent entitled him to were awarded. His birthday became a public holiday, the month of his birth was named after him, he received the right to use a golden chair at meetings of the senate, to wear the gold wreath of Etruscan kings, and to wear the high red boots of the Alban kings. His acts of government were declared valid in advance. The senate all swore an oath that they would protect his life. As Meier stated in his biography: 'The senate was seized with a mania for honours. Caesar accepted nearly all of them and occasionally expressed his pleasure' (Meier 1995:474).

Caesar was the victor of Britain and Gaul; the likely patron of the *obsides*; the undisputed master of Rome; a veritable demi-god. To a child he would have been awesome, and his murder as twenty-three daggers pierced his flesh would have been profoundly shocking and incomprehensible. Our hypothetical Tincomarus would have been about twelve, only a few years younger than Octavianus – heir to Caesar's legacy. The Ides of March 44 BC would have been a day to remember.

Rome under the triumvirs The years that followed were traumatic as Octavian and Mark Antony fought for Caesar's inheritance. Initially at loggerheads, the establishment of the Second Triumvirate in 43 BC saw them join forces. Its consequence was the proscriptions: the liquidation of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus' rivals, and the seizure of their estates. This would have taught the *obsides* in Rome a very clear lesson in *realpolitik*. In the complex politics of these days, whilst their links of patronage would almost certainly have been with one of the triumvirs, no one could have been entirely unaffected by the incisive and brutal removal of disaffection. People whom Tincomarus would have known, personal contacts and families, would almost certainly have fallen victim.

Violence, especially when experienced whilst young, usually has a lasting effect upon the individual in adulthood. To be sure, all who lived in Rome during these years knew about the political effectiveness of violence at all levels of society. The proscriptions might have been terrible, but they were clearly focused and directed, affecting the elite of Roman society. Still violence had a place on the streets as well, in the organisation of the mob to pass legislation in the assemblies and influence opinion. Both Caesar and Pompey had been responsible for orchestrating much of this, making the city virtually unmanageable in the 40s BC. The management of

violence for personal gain would have been a key lesson learnt in such a context. No manuals such as Machiavelli's *The Prince* would have been needed by anyone who had had such a practical upbringing. During his teenage years our hypothetical Tincomarus would have seen Octavian, a boy of eighteen, carve out for himself title to an empire.

The key players, Octavian and Antony, clearly used visual media to assert their claims and status. This has been most clearly explored by Zanker (1988) in his 'The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus'. During this period the rivalry of factions led to an extraordinary mixture of artistic styles, as individuals competed for attention. Traditional Republican images mixed with Hellenistic and other eastern styles. Whilst in the senate individuals asserted the traditions and 'family values' of the old Roman aristocracy, in their homes most shed all that was Roman with their toga and took up Hellenistic values and affectations. Many 'became accustomed to living simultaneously in two different worlds, speaking two languages, and adopting a dual standard of ethics. The pleasures one enjoyed in private were then attacked in public speeches before the Roman people' (Zanker 1988:31). Until his ultimate victory at Actium, Octavian's visual imagery operated entirely within this confused background. So what were the key political images of the years of Octavian's ascendancy: 44–32 BC? To structure matters, I will break them down into six broad themes, which have an approximate chronological order.

Theme 1: Octavian's inheritance and ability The first use of imagery was in the evocation of Caesar's memory. Octavian's whole position lay in Caesar's name, a name which he took for himself. Caesar was deified rapidly and entered the official state cult in 42 BC. Imagery of Caesar was common enough, but imagery of his deification was symbolised by the *Sidus Iulium* – a star. In July 44 BC Octavian staged the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* – public games which Caesar had vowed to Venus. During the games a comet appeared in the sky which was said to be visible over all of Italy for seven days. This was represented as Caesar's apotheosis: his transformation into a divinity. Octavian then went around placing stars on Caesar's statues within the city. This motif appears on some of the coins of the period, and its interpretation was clearly and widely understood. Soon the star also started appearing on finger rings and seals as a symbol of hope (Zanker 1988:35).

The imagery of being the son of a god was valuable, but so too was the imagery of military glory, something not easy for a boy of 18 to achieve. Octavian needed to be able to stress and represent his abilities as a commander of an army in service to the state. Through a series of astute political moves, by January 43 BC he had the senate award him a gilded equestrian statue. This was to be placed in one of the most conspicuous locations in Rome, next to the speaker's platform in the forum. Equestrian statues had a long tradition. They had originally been a feature of the Hellenistic east, where kings and generals had been awarded them after military victory. The idea spread to Rome in the private sphere, and after many years of resistance the senate officially adopted the practice when it awarded one to Sulla. That Octavian had been granted one underlined how important he had become in the politics of the

city since Caesar's death, as one faction fought to outmanoeuvre another. An image of the equestrian statue immediately appeared on coins to publicise the award, long before it was actually built. It was far more than merely a pretty statue of a man on a horse – it was a potent political symbol, something not lost on Tincomarus, as we will observe later in this chapter.

Theme 2: Octavian's destiny During this time visual imagery was also clearly used on a second front. This was in the proclamation of ancestry and the association with divine powers. For a Hellenized Roman the creation of mythological genealogies was no mere game; it was an important way in which individuals shaped their image of themselves. If you were descended from a Greek hero or god there was no need to be ashamed of your roots, however pedestrian some intermediate generations may have been. This is a theme we will return to in chapter 5.

Sextus Pompey, son of Pompey the Great, occupied Sicily during this period. Octavian regarded him as little more than a pirate, though this pirate's naval empire managed to defeat Octavian until 36 BC. Pompey took on the role and imagery of a protégé of Neptune, and constantly used marine imagery in his iconography (Horace, *Epode* 9.7; Zanker 1988:44).

Meanwhile Antony at first took on the image of Anton, an otherwise unknown son of Hercules (whom some said he resembled – Plutarch, *Antony* 4); but as this image was not quite suited to Antony's temperament, he found a far more fitting role model in Dionysus. The desire for sensuality, for women, drink and theatricality, Antony was far more adept at. It also was more appropriate to his rule as triumvir of the east, and was a role which Cleopatra complemented perfectly, though one which won him few favours in the eyes of a traditional Roman audience.

Octavian proclaimed his adoptive father's divinity, but also associated himself with the divinity of Apollo, whose first temple in Rome had been built by the Julian family. The symbol of the *Regnum Apollinis* – the golden age of Apollo heralded by the Sybiline prophesies (Pliny, *NH* 37.1.10; Suetonius, *Augustus* 50; Dio 51.3.6) – was the sphinx. Octavian took this image for his signet ring and sealed documents with it. Rapidly copies on other gemstones throughout Italy were found as supporters adopted the image. Octavian also took up a second sign which symbolised his destiny and was associated with the prophesied dawning of the Age of Apollo – Capricorn. Once, when the young Octavius was in Apollonia, a distraught Theogonese fell on his knees before him after seeing the configuration of the heavens at his birth. 'From this moment he had such great faith in his own destiny that he made public his horoscope, and later minted a silver coin with the zodiac sign Capricorn under which he was born' (Suetonius, *Augustus* 94). Again this image was rapidly copied onto glass beads, which his followers would have worn as cheap substitutes for precious stones (Zanker 1988:48). Octavian himself did not use these images on coins until after his accession to sole power, but elsewhere they were visible in Rome.

Theme 3: Actium A battle of words and images took place between Octavian, Antony and their enemies, and eventually between Octavian and Antony

themselves. The final conflict came with the naval defeat of Antony at Actium in 31 BC. The event was decisive – though there were supporters to mop up in various parts of the Roman world afterwards. Within a couple of years the time had come to celebrate the ending of the wars in which so many Roman citizens had died – but that in itself was a problem. Victories against barbarians could be proclaimed loudly and clearly, but a victory against a man who was once held in very high esteem was not quite so palatable. Antony, for all his faults, had in his time been a great Roman general, before his decline and fall under the malign eastern influence of Cleopatra. So, in August 29 BC, Octavian celebrated his triple triumph over Illyricum, Egypt and at Actium. When he did so, the victory over Egypt was clearly represented with trophies decorating the new Curia and the Temple of the Divine Julius. However the imagery used to celebrate Actium had to be more subtle: it had to be clear and unambiguous, but representation of a defeated Antony and memory of the civil war had to be toned down.

> In this Octavian himself probably led the way, as in the decoration of the Temple of Caesar and the Curia. There was only a small repertoire of simple tokens: ships or parts of ships (*rostra*), marine creatures, dolphins, and the figure of Victoria on the globe . . . The advantage of such imagery was that it could be easily reproduced and could with no difficulty be employed in a variety of settings in conjunction with various other symbols.
> (Zanker 1988:82)

Standing on the very top of the curia was Victory herself, standing on a globe representing the victory over the known world, carrying in her right hand the victor's wreath. The whole of the forum was transformed:

> wherever one looked there were the symbols of victory. In the pediment of the recently completed temple of Saturn instead of an image of the ancient god of the sowing seasons there were tritons gaily blowing on trumpets. Triton was widely recognised as one of those marine creatures who had assisted in the marine victory at Actium, the temple's patron, Munatius Plancus, thus joined in the universal praise of Octavian.
> (Zanker 1988:81)

This imagery was not restricted to public monuments; as Octavian's building programme got underway in Rome it spread throughout the city. Meanwhile, through private initiative tritons, hippocamps and Victory herself began to appear in private houses as decorative motifs. This 'innocuous' imagery began to appear on even mundane artefacts such as roof tiles, where Victory could be seen in combination with Capricorn, dolphins or rostra. Again, these images spread to precious stones and glass paste for finger-rings as well (Zanker 1988:83-4). Their great merit was their simplicity, in contrast to the more complicated allusions on items such as late Republican coinage.

Theme 4: Healing through piety and sacrifice In 27 BC Octavian took on the title Augustus, a word with ritualistic undertones. It was also around this time

that a major new concept came into political imagery: the expiation of the acts of the civil war through piety and sacrifice. Many temples were restored, and during this period the notion of Apollo as guarantor of the new peace was stressed. Eighty silver statues of Octavian from around the city were removed to pay for new golden tripods as offerings in the temple of Apollo. The reliefs above the main door of the temple included a representation of the tripods, intertwined with vine leaves and flanked by Apollo's griffins. Together with these supporting images, the act of sacrifice itself was now represented in a new way. Images of the ritual animals for slaughter now gave way to images of the moment and consequence of slaughter itself: the kneeling bull about to be slaughtered, or else the severed heads and skulls of bulls.

> Since ritual and sacrifice played such a central role in everyday life, it is not surprising that this type of imagery gradually came to dominate the new pictorial vocabulary. There is hardly a single monument or building that does not include in its decorative scheme the skulls of sacrificial animals, offering bowls, priestly tokens, or garlands wound with fillets, even when the structure itself is purely secular.
> (Zanker 1988:115–16)

Such imagery appeared on everything from pottery to Pompeian wall paintings. The vine, intertwined with tripods and other artefacts, became a very common motif on early Augustan Arretine wear. This imagery was constantly reinforced by the acts of sacrifice taking place everywhere, but especially in front of the temples across Rome restored by Augustus.

Theme 5: The Golden Age The regime of Augustus managed to survive, his accommodation with the senatorial and equestrian classes managed making the Augustan peace palatable. The standards lost to Parthia had been recovered and new laws on morals passed in the senate. A comet was known to be due in 17 BC and this excuse was used to herald the dawning of a new age as if to seal the Augustan revolution: the *saeculum aureum*. A secular festival was announced for the end of May and start of June, the like of which, it was said, would not be seen again (Suetonius, *Claudius* 21). The emphasis of the festival was on health and fertility. Many details of the event still survive, in sources ranging from Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, especially composed for the event, to official records.

In terms of the sustained visual language of Rome, the next few years saw a fresh repertoire of images appearing on a diverse range of monuments. Their common theme was again 'blessings of abundance' and 'fertility in nature' (Zanker 1988:171). One key monument which portrayed this new style was the *Ara Pacis*. Amongst the images of animals and crops are floral motifs, and foremost amongst these are the vine. Unlike earlier images of nature the vines, whilst full of fine detail, have an ordered appearance, and strictly mirror-image patterns are common. The use of the vine subsequently became almost *de rigueur* on buildings of the early empire.

> For Augustan artists the vine was . . . a most welcome motif. It could be used

> virtually anywhere, on a frieze, ceiling coffer, or door frame, and could be fitted into even the most awkward places. Down to the pattern work on the sandals of the gods and cuirassed generals, it proclaims the fertility and prosperity of the new age. But the vine also transcended any other symbol as an inspiration for ever more imaginative elaboration.
> (Zanker 1988:181-2)

Theme 6: The new Forum of Augustus and the *Aeneid* The Julian family had claimed descent from Venus and Aeneas, a claim which Octavian had used to promote his cause in the years immediately after the assassination of Caesar. This link took a back seat as his relation to Apollo was raised to prominence, in antithesis to Antony's subservience to Dionysus. However, as Augustus' regime settled down and the succession loomed, the concept that the Julian family had been marked out throughout the history of the Republic became an ideal theme immortalised by Virgil in his *Aeneid*. Readings from it in the 20s BC during its composition led to strong acclaim for its author.

In terms of imagery, however, it was the new Forum of Augustus, dedicated in 2 BC, which provided the clearest statement of this link. The new forum was an extremely important building, providing the setting for some of the most important ceremonies of state.

> Here young men when they came of age would put on the toga and were inscribed in the military lists. In the Temple of Mars the Senate officially proclaimed war, peace, or triumphs. From here provincial governors departed on campaign, and here returning victorious generals laid down the insignia of victory. Here barbarian princes swore their friendship and allegiance to Rome. The Temple of Mars thus took over certain distinctions that had previously been reserved for the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter. In short, the new Forum of Augustus became the showplace of Rome's 'foreign policy,' for everything associated with *virtus* and military glory.
> (Zanker 1988:214)

Even if barbarians just visited the Forum of Augustus and made offerings in the Temple of Mars, they would be impressed. As the temple was approached one was flanked by statues of the great and the good of the Roman past: the *summi viri*. Here history was reconstructed with statues of great men held up as examples to the youth of the day. With the statue of Sulla standing next to Marius, memories of civil strife were cast aside. Even Caesar's eventual foe Pompey stood there. Closer to the temple stood two groups of statuary: on the left, Aeneas together with the Alban Kings and Julii, descended from him; on the right Romulus, founder of Rome, and more *summi viri*. In the Temple of Mars itself were probably the cult statues of Mars, the father of Romulus, founder of Rome; Venus, mother of Aeneas and thereby the Julian clan; and the Divine Julius himself. The cuirass of the cult statue of Mars was decorated with griffins and the heads of gorgons.

Table 4.4. *Key themes in Octavian/Augustus' political imagery (in approximate chronological order)*

THEME	IMAGE
1. Octavian's ability/inheritance	Equestrian statue/*Sidus Iulium* (the star of Caesar's apotheosis)
2. Destiny and attributes of Apollo	Capricorn/Sphinx
3. The imagery of Actium	Victory, hippocamps, dolphins, Neptune, tridents, Capricorn, rostra
4. The healing of the state through sacrifice	Apollo (cf. griffin), tripods, foliage, sacrificial bulls, bucrania
5. The Golden Age	Images of plenty, fertility, animals, nature ordered, vines
6. The mythological foundation of Rome	Aeneas carrying his father on his back with Ascanius behind

One image from this mythical past, repeated in many contexts, was that of Aeneas carrying his father Anchises and leading his son Ascanius to safety. It was found in Pompeii, and was so familiar that it even got parodied in a villa near Stabiae, where a version gives the characters dogs' heads, apes' bodies and large phalli (Zanker 1988:209).

Summary:
What has been outlined above is a very brief version of Zanker's analysis of the visual language of Rome during the late first century BC. This is the imagery that any visitor would have been subjected to. It existed not just within the public sphere, but also passed to the private domain of gemstones, wall-paintings, tiles – indeed, anything which could take a picture on it.

The imagery of the Augustan Age was part of a clear political statement. In Zanker's analysis, it was not dictated by an Augustan 'style' police; whilst Augustus may have led the way, private individuals were the ones who adopted the imagery on public buildings and in their own households. This should not be too surprising, as after a civil war many who had supported the losing side would have been eager to display their loyalty.

All those present in Rome at this time would have understood the political meaning of much of this imagery, even the innocent vine-leaf which had been co-opted into the service of the *Princeps*. They would have witnessed the clear and deliberate use of images in the establishment of a new dynasty and structure of power, from Octavian's establishment of his own position to Augustus' promotion of Gaius, Lucius, Drusus and Tiberius. What is more important, witnesses would have learnt a lesson in how to establish a monarchy.

Any child, youth or young adult brought up with such imagery could not help but be influenced by how it was used and to what effect. The imagery on British coin has previously been discussed in terms of 'celtic-friendly images' which Britons copied from Roman coins. It is now time to substantially change that reading and suggest

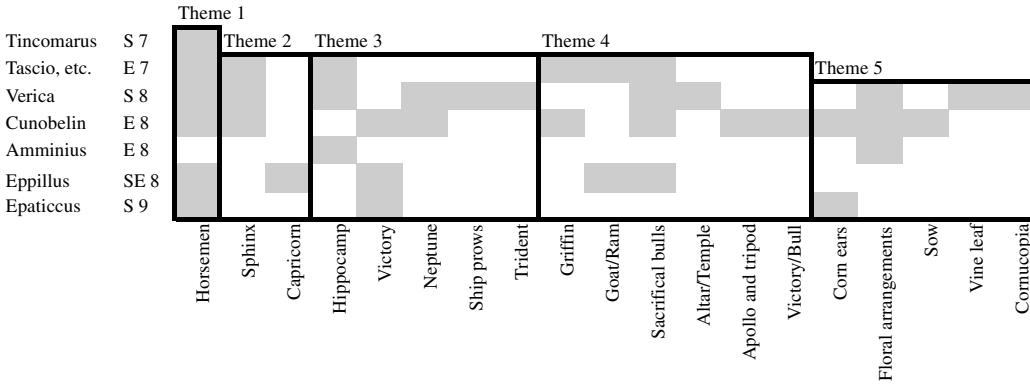


Fig. 4.4 The adoption of Octavian/Augustus' imagery by the British dynasts

that the imagery derives almost wholly from the inculcation of the specific purpose of the imagery of Rome. The images used in Britain are by no means casual random copies. They are the images of the very Roman state and new imperial ideology to which, as friendly kings, members of the ruling elite in south-east Britain were fully subscribed.

Roman imagery in Britain

The basic premise itself is relatively simple. The vast majority of the 'Romanised' imagery which occurs on the coinage of south-east Britain relates directly to the visual language of the development of the Principate. The earliest of the rulers have coin types only relating to the earliest of Octavian's imagery, whereas the later rulers have images spanning all of Octavian and Augustus' visual repertoire. This is schematised in Fig. 4.4. The imagery is, however, not contemporary with its use in Rome. There is a time delay. This is entirely consistent with the idea that an *obses* might spend a childhood in Rome and then be sent back to his mother country to rule. The imagery they would be inculcated with would be that from their years in Rome some time earlier. On the basis of this idea, it is worth attempting a complete re-reading of the visual language of the 'Romanised' British coins.

The beginnings of Romanised imagery in Britain: the coinage of Tincomarus

Theme 1: the equestrian type When Commius started minting coins in Britain, the designs on his coins hardly differed from those before him. Seriality still ruled the day. It was only upon his successor's accession, Tincomarus, that Romanised imagery began. What we presume to be his first gold staters were very much like his 'father's', with an abstract head on one side and a horse on the other (VA362, 363:S7). These were matched with smaller quarter staters with room for just the inscription on one side and the horse on the other (VA365:S7). So far, apart from the continued adoption of legends, there was no novelty and the serial tradition was maintained perfectly.

With Tincomarus' second issue of gold, a clearly Romanised image appeared (VA375–376:S7). It was based on a Republican *denarius* of P. Crepusius, minted in

RRC 540/1

RIC Aug 415

RIC Aug 262

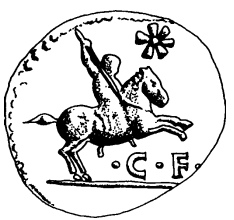
RRC 361: P. Crepusias

RRC 381/1a

INFLUENCE 1:
Sidus Iulium: the star representing Octavian's 'father' the deified Julius Caesar

INFLUENCE 2:
The use of CAESAR DIVI F to legitimate Octavian's inheritance

INFLUENCE 3:
Equestrian statue of Octavian, representing military success



VA 375:S7 Tincomarus

VA520:S8 Verica

VA1732:E7 Tasciovanus

VA575:S9 Epaticcus

VA430:SE8 Eppillus

Fig. 4.5 THEME 1: Octavian's ability and inheritance: the arrival of equestrian imagery in Britain

Rome in 82 BC (RRC361). However, it is an uncommon coin in Germany (only one is known). This coin type represented a classic Hellenistic image of an equestrian thrusting a spear downwards. It was an image which had been replicated in a wide variety of media since Alexander the Great's time (Böhm 1997:17); equestrian statues in Rome were very much part of this phenomenon.

The British version was so finely executed that it has often been suggested that it was carved by Roman die engravers for Tincomarus (Nash 1987:129). The craftsmanship is certainly excellent, but the coin is by no means a direct copy of the Republican prototype. There are three crucial differences: first, a star has been inserted above the horseman; second, the horseman, although wearing a tunic and helmet on the Republican original, is now unclad (Allen 1958:49), and finally, an inscription has been added, reading simply *COM.F.*, 'Son of Commius'. If we imagine that Tincomarus was thoroughly inculcated in the visual language of Rome, then we should use the semiotic rules of this language to deconstruct his radically new image. The coin breaks down into three elements: the star, the equestrian type and the use of a legitimation title. All of these elements had a clear meaning and resonance in Late Republican Rome.

Whilst the horseman (VA375–376:S7) is clearly derived from RRC361, its symbolic value is best understood in relation to Octavian celebrating his award of an equestrian statue. As previously discussed, one of the earliest images which Octavian used to try and enhance his prestige was the equestrian statue awarded to him by the senate in 43 BC and placed by the rostrum in the forum. His first representation of this on a coin (before it was built) showed him togate in traditional Roman dress, and had the inscription *S*(*enatus*) *C*(*onsultum*), showing the authority by which it had been granted. In this sense it mirrored earlier representations of official equestrian statues, such as that of Sulla. But as Octavian's relations with the senate became strained, later representations were inscribed as being by 'popular acclaim' (*Popul(i) Iussu*). Its final representation on Octavian's coinage, however, came around the time of Actium. Now the equestrian statue (presumably built at last) is represented as a prancing horse with a Hellenised, semi-clad Octavian riding it. The legend has also changed. Now the reference is clearly to his 'father', *CAESAR DIVI F* 'Son of the Divine Caesar'. In exactly the same way as Octavian used an inscription to mark his adoptive father, so too did Tincomarus by inscribing *COM.F.* on his issues (cf. Fig. 4.5).

The other difference between Tincomarus' coin and the prototype horseman (RRC361), apart from the legend, is the star above the horseman. On Octavian's coinage such a star had a clear symbolic meaning; it was the *Sidus Iulium* or comet representing the transformation of Julius Caesar from a mortal into a god. It had appeared on a variety of coins (RRC540/1, 36 BC; RIC Aug 415, 12 BC), though since Octavian had placed a star on all the statues of Julius Caesar in Rome, an image from a coin would not be needed to understand the allusion.

This first romanised coin type therefore fits in perfectly with the key elements of Octavian's earliest imagery, which started in the late 40s BC but continued later. It might even be tempting to suggest that Tincomarus was implying that his father

Commius had become a god, just as Caesar had, with the star on this coin representing not the divine Julius, but the ancestral spirit of Commius himself. This is what the star and legend would mean to a Roman audience familiar with the imagery of the time. Such an idea is not as fanciful as it might first appear. Whenever temples appeared on Roman coins the legend usually indicated which temple or altar was being represented. Another 'son of Commius', Verica, produced two coins: one with what is often described as an 'altar' on and another with a temple (VA552 and 553:S8). Both coins had *C.F.* on them, and within the representation of the temple can be seen a small figure, indicating that no ethereal celtic deity is being worshipped here, but a human iconic form. It looks as though Commius had become a god (this is explored further in chapter 7).

It seems that Tincomarus learned a trick or two when in Rome witnessing the rise of Octavian through exploitation of his link with Julius Caesar. He is using the same imagery as Octavian did during his quest for power. However, the horseman type also had a second meaning. Until this time, gold had been produced with a horse on one side and a face on the other. This, it has been argued, represented the concept of sovereignty. Now for the first time the horse, or nature itself, was being dominated by a man. If horses were viewed only as a means of transport then this would not be important, but given a society where representations of horses were rare, and where they were significant in the conception of power and authority, then the adoption of a horse being ridden and dominated becomes very significant.

The horseman image was taken up by the successors of Tincomarus, but the imagery was altered (Table 4.5). The reading and significance of the image would only have been clear to someone who had spent time in Rome. The meaning of the star itself would have been a complete mystery to most of the British audience of the coins. Only those who had seen the comet, been at the games in Rome where its alleged significance was pointed out, and who had seen stars placed on all the statues of Caesar, would have comprehended the allusion. The star remained above most of Tincomarus' horsemen as well as on the earliest coins of Verica, though he soon discarded it. Even Eppillus, another son of Commius, had a star on one of his earliest issues. Although this symbol was obscure, the other strategy employed by Tincomarus – the filial title – was used very consistently. It was used not only by members of the Commian dynasty, but also by Epaticcus, a son of Tasciovanus, when his coins began to appear in Hampshire/Berkshire. Throughout this period, the horseman type only appeared on gold coins.

In the eastern region and in Kent horsemen appeared on a variety of coin: gold, silver and bronze. Here the iconography changed somewhat. Looked at collectively, it is very variable. There are horsemen with spears, with short swords and chain mail, with round shields and other associations. However if one restricts oneself to looking at the gold, then again there is a consistency amongst the early coin. On the majority the horseman holds a carnyx: a long trumpet, often with a dragon's mouth. The iconography is consistent. Cunobelin has no horsemen on his gold coinage, so examples cannot be sought there.

When the horseman type arrived in Britain with Tincomarus it reflected a Roman

Table 4.5: Horseman imagery on gold

Reference	Dynast	Denomination	Presence of: 'F'	Star	Carnyx
SOUTHERN REGION (Hants/Berks.)					
VA375:S7	Tincomarus	AV Stater	F	Star	
VA376:S7	Tincomarus	AV Stater	F		
VA385:S7	Tincomarus	AV Stater	F	Star	
VA460:S8	Verica	AV Stater	F	Star	
VA461:S8	Verica	AV Stater	F	'Star'	
VA500:S8	Verica	AV Stater	F		
VA525:S8	Verica	AV Quarter Stater	F		
VA520:S8	Verica	AV Stater	F		
VA526:S8	Verica	AV Quarter Stater			
VA527:S8	Verica	AV Quarter Stater			
VA575:S9	Epaticcus	AV Stater	F		
EASTERN REGION (Herts/Essex)					
VA1730:E7	Tasciovanus	AV Stater			Carnyx
VA1732:E7	Tasciovanus	AV Stater			Carnyx
VA1734:E7	Tasciovanus	AV Stater			Carnyx
VA1736:E7	Tasciovanus	AV Stater			Carnyx
VA1780:E7	Tasciovanus	AV Stater			
VA1845:E7	Tasciovanus/Sego	AV Stater			Carnyx
SOUTH-EASTERN REGION (Kent)					
VA181:SE7	Dubnovellaunus	AE Unit			Carnyx
VA430:SE8	Eppillus	AV Stater	F	Star	
VA431:SE8	Eppillus	AV Stater	F		Carnyx

statement of individual power, modified by Tincomarus himself. This conception was rapidly developed for an internal audience, and any changes were determined partly by that audience. When a member of the Eastern dynasty, Epaticcus, came to issue coin in the Southern region, he used Southern iconography: the horseman associated with the filial statement. In this we see him both appealing to and responding to local demands on the iconography. Meanwhile in Kent, where both members of the Eastern and Southern dynasty held sway at different times, the imagery is mixed, even amongst individuals.

The Dolphin type The most common silver unit of Tincomarus had a six-pointed star on the obverse and a boy riding a dolphin on the reverse (VA371:S7; Fig. 4.12). This reverse has close Republican parallels, being a republican *denarius* of 76 BC (RRC390/2), or a later republican copy of this during 46 BC (RRC463/3). The boy is most often described as being Cupid, though Crawford differed and thought he was Palaemon. Whichever, the image does not fit with the normal imagery of Actium, which otherwise the marine theme might have alluded to. So why should this image of a boy on a dolphin have appealed to Tincomarus so much that he put it on his largest silver issues?

One possibility is to recall that whilst most of the staters in Belgic Gaul originated from the imagery taken from the staters of Philip II of Macedon, some were influenced by an image of Hera on a late fourth century BC didrachm from Tarentum. As it happens, on the other side of that coin is the image of the boy on the dolphin. These early Belgic staters (Sch.1) circulated in an area which included the territory of the Atrebates, which Commius derived from. The motif also appears on the Gundestrup bowl, which is thought by some to have originally come from the area of the Seine. Perhaps the image had gained some particular significance with the Commian dynasty. Curiously enough it is an image which repeats itself in the mosaics of Fishbourne palace some years later.

However, perhaps even this explanation is a little obtuse, and the reason is a lot simpler. Under the dolphin is *TINC* – the abbreviation of Tincomarus' name. On some of the examples in the British Museum (Hobbs 1996, Nos. 949-950) there are further traces of letters above the dolphin which might make up the rest of his name, but they are rather indistinct. If so, this is one of the few issues which bear his full name. Translated, Tincomarus means 'big-fish'. This particular coin appears to be little more than a pun on his name (though admittedly a dolphin is a mammal and not a fish, but perhaps we can forgive him this). Such puns were common on later Republican coins, where moniers made allusions to their ancestors or family names by such means. Tincomarus is doing exactly the same thing.

The date of Tincomarus' coinage The horseman and the dolphin types were by no means the only images which referred to the visual language of the classical world. There was also a series of coins that showed heads of Medusa (discussed in chapter 5), an eagle (discussed later in this chapter), and a series of types with bulls on them. Yet totally missing from these types are images associated with Actium and with sacrifice; imagery that became prominent in Rome from the 20s BC. The bulls on Tincomarus' coins are unlike the charging or kneeling bulls that were to appear on later British coinage.

The conclusion I would suggest is *not* that these coins must all date to before Actium; but rather that if Tincomarus was in Rome, he returned to Britain before the imagery of Actium and sacrifice became prominent. In 31 BC, when Octavian beat Antony, our conjectural age of Tincomarus would have been about 30 years old. His contemporary, Juba II, took the Maurtetanian throne in 25 BC. Perhaps Tincomarus took the Southern British throne around this time as well. All we know is that when Octavian visited Gaul in 29 BC, he thought Britain would come to terms and was surprised the following year when it would not. We could either conjecture that his reason to think Britain would respond was because his friendly king, Tincomarus, was already in place, or else that the succession of Commius' son could have been part of the restoration of relations between Britain and Rome. We will have cause to return to Juba II and links with the British dynasts towards the end of this chapter.

Meanwhile, to the east . . . Meanwhile, north of the Thames, the coinage of Addedomaros and Dubnovellaunus remained true to a largely serial tradition. How-

Table 4.6. *The sphinx on British coins (Fig. 4.6)*

Reference	Denom.	Dynast	Description (and image on the other side of the coin)
VA1824:E7	AE Unit	Tasciovanus ?	Standing sphinx l.? (unidentified animal)
VA1855:E7	AE Unit	SEGO	Sphinx l.? (pattern)
VA1977:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Crouching sphinx l. (inscription)
VA2109:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Crouching sphinx r. (Perseus and Medusa)
VA2057:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Crouching sphinx l. (winged head)
VA557:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Crouching sphinx r. (curled-up animal)

ever Dubnovellaunus' coinage in Kent did start to contain a few basic classical images, such as a lion and an eagle (VA166 and 180: SE7), but nothing that clearly relates to the specific iconography of the Augustan revolution currently under way.

Augustan imagery in Britain

Tincomarus may have been the first *obses* to arrive back in Britain inculcated with the imagery of Octavian, but later rulers were to use the visual language of the new Roman *princeps* even more clearly.

Theme 2: The sphinx One of the most potent symbols was that on the signet ring of Augustus himself: the sphinx. Octavian had used this image in Rome during the Triumvirate, and its significance grew as he continued to use it as his defining image on his signet ring. It was his distinctive seal. Tasciovanus was the first to use the image in Britain, followed by Sego, Cunobelin and Verica.

Many of the potential coin prototypes for this are exceedingly rare; most were silver cistophori issued in the east. But there were gemstone images of sphinxes in circulation which could have been used as models. Yet unlike the horseman of Crepusius copied by Tincomarus, none of the British sphinxes have particularly good parallels on coins. It is the image and the idea that is crucial, not the slavish copying of a Roman coin or gemstone.

Theme 3: The imagery of Actium The motifs that dominated monuments in Rome representing the victory at Actium included Victory herself, together with a range of marine creatures, mythical and real, as well as ship's prows. In Period 7 only Tasciovanus uses any of these motifs, but thereafter virtually all the rulers of Britain used the imagery of Actium on their coins. But do they represent the imagery of Actium, or is it just fortuitous that they all happen to appear on British coinage?

One of the most common images is that of Victory herself. Victory was a crucial image in the creation of the Principate. As part of his triumph Octavian dedicated the new Curia; on its top was a statue of the goddess striding over a globe, carrying a wreath of victory. Inside the building where the senate met, on a pillar, behind the consuls' chairs stood the original early Hellenistic statue of Victory which had been captured from Tarentum. She dominated all the meetings.

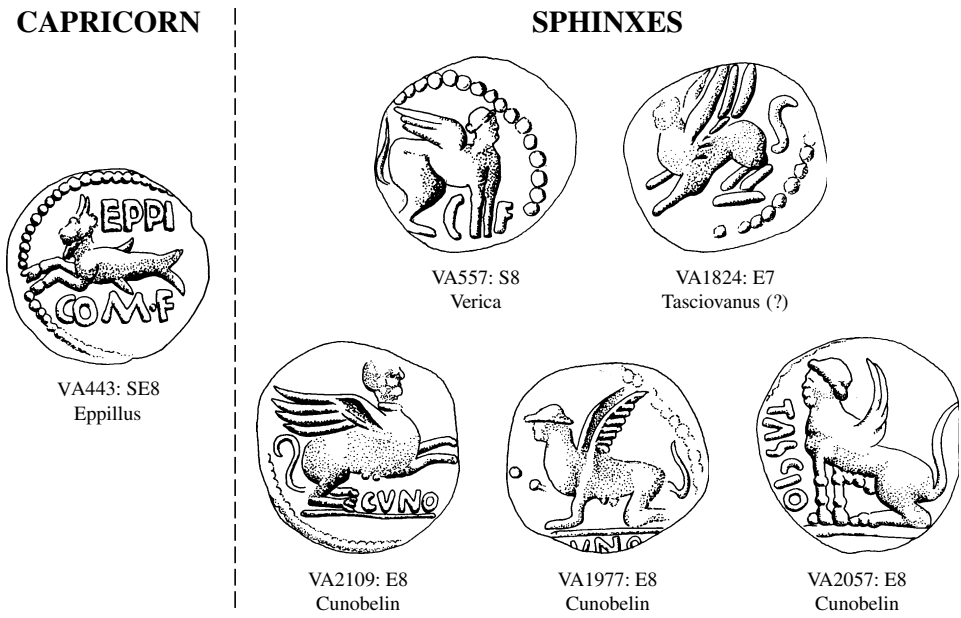


Fig. 4.6 THEME 2: Octavian's destiny and association with Apollo

Our concern is to wonder if the presence of these types in Britain reflects the establishment of an allegiance to the Principate itself or whether they represent 'victories in battle' in Britain by various of our dynasts. Three individuals used victory types in Britain: Eppillus, Epaticcus and Cunobelin.

Eppillus Eppillus styled himself a member of the Southern dynasty, but one series of his coins appeared outside the southern distribution area in Kent (Fig. 3.8). Van Arsdell's historical reconstruction has him assuming power in Atrebatic territory after Tincomarus was deposed, and similarly he has him 'invading' Kent during the 'interregnum' between Tasciovanus and Cunobelin's rule. He saw the Kentish types (to which all the victories belong) as being an 'emergency coinage struck to finance military operations' (Van Arsdell 1989a:142). In this light the victory types have occasionally been seen as representing the military glory of a victory of the Southern dynasty over the Eastern dynasty, whose coins had hitherto held sway. The victory did not last long, however; Van Arsdell has Eppillus killed by Cunobelin around AD 10, when the area was taken back under the Eastern dynasty's control. Three victory types were issued (Fig. 4.7), one for each of the tri-metallic systems in use in Kent: gold, silver and bronze. None of them was a direct copy from Roman coins – the posture, wings and attributes are different.

It would be a mistake to immediately conclude that the Victory symbol related to a specific battle. After Actium it had two effective meanings: first, it could be associated with a particular victory, displayed to the home audience to win renown to the victor; second, it stood for the ascension to power of Octavian/Augustus and became almost a personal symbol of authority and power. Eppillus' victories were not

Fig. 4.7 THEME 3: Victory at Actium (i) Victory

displayed to his home audience in Berkshire and Hampshire, so no equivalent types emerged there. I think it would be better to read the image as a statement of authority, rather than as a symbol of a specific military victory. The latter would be tempting in the creation of pseudo-history, but it should be resisted. There is a second reason to believe the image represents more the personal authority of Eppillus than military prowess: on two of the coins, Victory holds what is always described in catalogues as a wreath. This is simply because in so many of her Roman guises she does precisely this – holds the victor's wreath. However if the image is blown up, the detail of the ring-like image can be seen. On VA431:SE8 the circular object has a segmented form, but also two clear ends. It looks very much like a twisted torc. Similarly on VA452:SE8 the circular object has a smooth even shape until it comes to a gap where there are two knobs. Again, a classic form of torc. Victory on these coins has been consciously used in the same kind of way that Augustus used the image in Rome. Augustus had the right to wear Apollo's wreath in public; this, together with Actium, was one of the reasons the Victory image was so closely related to Augustus himself. Here the wreath has been transformed into what must have been the equivalent symbol of authority in Britain, the torc. However Eppillus came to issue coins in Kent he is displaying a symbol of his authority, not a historical testament to a military victory. But what it does show is a clear awareness of how this image was used in Rome.

Cunobelin Cunobelin, whose territory was the largest of any of the dynasts, issued six victory types. These were spread throughout his reign (on either Van Arsdell's or Haselgrove's chronology of the coinage). His first was Victory on an orb –

Table 4.7. *The Imagery of Actium (Figs. 4.7 and 4.8)*

Reference	Denom.	Dynast	Description (and image on the other side of the coin)
CAPRICORN			
VA443:SE8	AR Unit	Eppillus	Capricorn l. (head)
HIPPOCAMPS			
VA1707:E7	AE Unit	Tasciovanus	Hippocamp (head)
VA1709:E7	AE Unit	Tasciovanus	Hippocamp (head)
VA556:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Hippocamp (floral design)
VA195:E8	AE Unit	Amminus	Hippocamp (head)
VA194:E8	AR Unit	Amminus	Hippocamp (wreath)
VICTORY			
VA431:SE8	AV Stater	Eppillus	Victory facing with head l. holding 'wreath' (horseman)
VA442:SE8	AR Unit	Eppillus	Victory r. (head)
VA452:SE8	AE Unit	Eppillus	Victory facing with head l. with 'wreath' and standard (bull?)
VA1981:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Victory r. holding 'wreath' (horseman)
VA1973:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Victory l. holding branch (Pegasus)
VA1979:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Victory r. holding 'wreath' (Pegasus)
VA2045:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Seated Victory r. (head)
VA1971:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Seated Victory l. holding 'wreath' (inscription)
VA581:S9	AR Unit	Epaticcus	Seated Victory r. holding 'wreath' (boar)
BM1883:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Victory on orb (female head on rev.)
DOLPHINS (exc. those of Tincomarus)			
VA2065:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Inscription with cornucopia above and two dolphins below (Apollo and altar)
NEPTUNE			
VA2073:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Neptune as on RIC Gaius 58 (inscription in chain ring)
TRIDENTS			
VA486:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Trident (floral cross)
VA487:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Hand holding trident (pattern)
SHIP'S PROW			
ICC95.342 8:S8	AR Unit	Verica	Cornucopia and ship's prow (inc. possibly a trident?) (horseman)

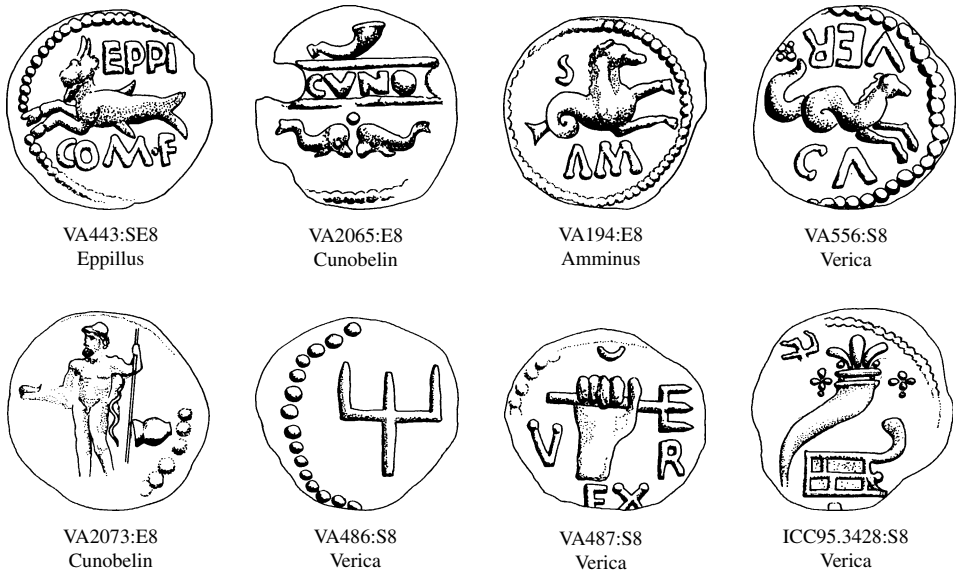


Fig. 4.8 THEME 3: Victory at Actium (ii) sea creatures, sea gods and ship prows

just as she appeared on the Curia in Rome. This image is also replicated on a Roman *denarius* (RIC Aug 254), minted shortly after his success at Actium. Other coins are more similar to Roman prototypes, but then by this stage the flow of material culture had increased significantly between Britain and the Roman world, so this is not surprising. Again, where the 'wreath' is visible, it looks more like a torc (VA1979:E8; VA1971:E8).

Epaticcus Epaticcus issued coins in the vicinity of Silchester, though he proclaimed himself a member of the Eastern dynasty. Perhaps he had gained this area as part of military conquest, though marriage and alliance are just as plausible. He used the Victory type once (VA581:S9), and here we have a seated Victory, said to be holding a wreath, though the examples are unclear. It is rather different from the Roman seated Victories; the chair is different, the hands are in a different place and there is an inscription relating to his 'father'. Otherwise his coinage follows closely the iconography of Cunobelin, with its ears of corn and other images.

One curious phenomenon worth mentioning at this point is that some of these victories have had a sex change. The feminine nature of Victory is rarely obvious, and in several cases the nakedness of the image suggests a male figure with wings. The principle classical male with wings is Cupid, but none of these images conforms to a small boy with wings, and so what we appear to have is a conscious transformation from a Roman image to a version presumably more appropriate to its British setting. It seems that our British dynasts, or perhaps their British audience, had difficulty relating to a female symbol for authority and military prowess, and changed it. This

should be considered alongside Fitzpatrick's suggestion that a large number of ritual depositional practices in Late Iron Age Britain may have been engendered, and largely male preserves (Fitzpatrick 1984).

Other images of Actium Along with the use of the Victory came all the associated imagery of Actium: sea creatures such as hippocamps, dolphins, Capricorn (again), and Neptune holding his trident (Fig. 4.8). Hippocamps are exceedingly rare on Roman coins, but had been seen as minor features on a few first-century BC issues in Armorica (e.g. BN6804). Capricorn is shown on a few Augustan coins, but none of these was found in the sample from northern Europe, so the image is not a likely one to be copied without any specific purpose. The Capricorn on Eppillus' coins does look very similar to the ones on Roman Augustan *denarii*, except all of these carry a cornucopia on their backs, whereas Eppillus' do not. So again we do not have slavish copying, but rather an understanding of what is important in the image – the association between the creature itself and the 'destiny' of Augustus, and by extension the Julio-Claudians. Dolphins and Neptune's trident also appear on various issues.

The image repertoire for Actium was complete with the exception of a Roman galley prow. The classic symbol of a naval victory, the ship's prow or rostra was something which it would be unlikely for a British audience to invent for themselves, or to have a local context for its use. It was an important symbol in Rome; after Octavian had beaten Sextus Pompey, the senate awarded him another impressive monument: a column decorated with the breaks of vanquished ships, with his statue set on top (Appian 5.130). The use of this image, present before Actium, multiplied thereafter; it can be found in association with dolphins, Capricorns, Victories and any of the other image set of Octavian/Augustus. No coins with ship's prows appear in Van Arsdell's catalogue, and it was curious that this should be missing from the set. However one has now been found (ICC95.3428:S8), showing a cornucopia above a ship's prow, completing the series.

Whether much of the British audience would have associated these images with the rise of the *princeps* is doubtful, unless storytelling and myth-making went hand in hand with the return of *obsides* from the great city. Yet these images enter the British artistic repertoire in the same way that they enter the standard image repertoire of the private sphere in Italy. I would suggest that this is because the *obsides* had experienced the same inculcation in their youth as members of the Italian aristocracy, and so their use of such imagery is in no way exceptional or unusual.

Theme 4: The imagery of sacrifice As Augustus' regime established itself, piety and ritual were used extensively to focus activity towards a form of reconciliation to the new order. The imagery here varied, but there were two key strands: the imagery of Apollo (laurel wreaths, tripods, griffins) and the imagery of sacrifice.

The griffin is a strange beast to find on British coins, as nearly all the references to this mythical animal placed it in the east. In Greek and Roman cosmology it was located in the Syrian desert, amongst the Ethiopians, or even as far away as India in

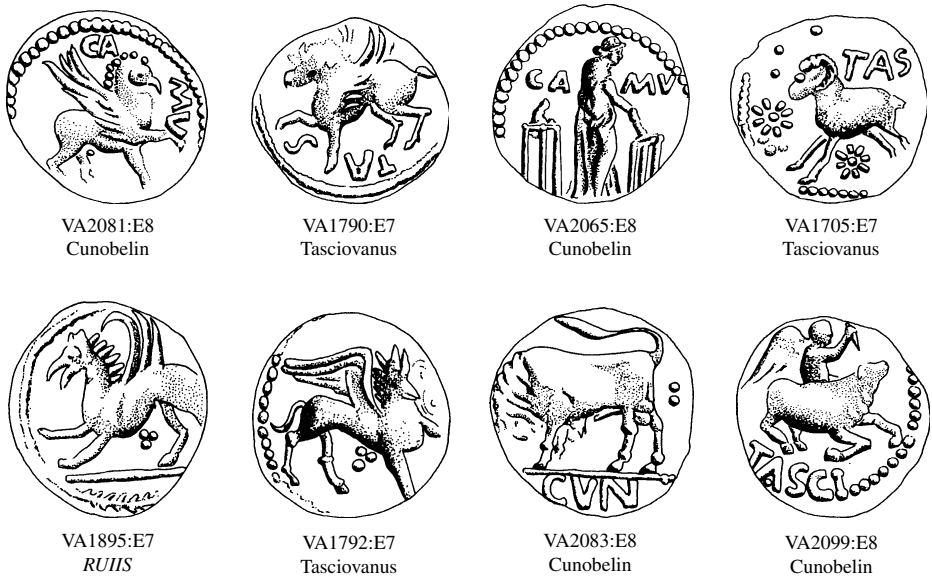


Fig. 4.9 THEME 4: The healing of the state through sacrifice: Apollo (griffins/tripods) and sacrifice (sacrificial animals, bulls, bucrania)

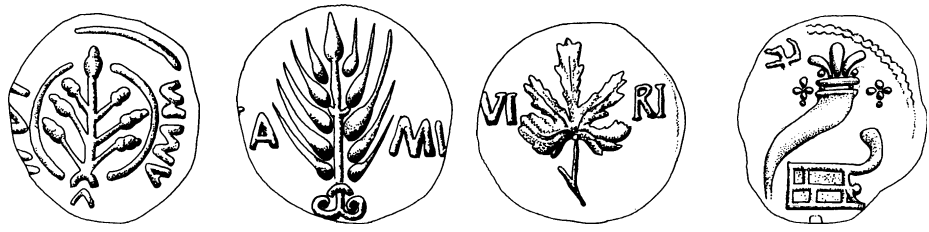
some versions. In such distant mountains these creatures with powerful wings, the beaks of eagles and the bodies of lions terrorised the natives who dared to disturbed them; and the reason why anyone would be so foolish as to disturb such a beast was the lure of the gold they were said to protect. By the Augustan age, the treasure which they were guarding had become appropriated by Apollo, and the beasts became intimately associated with him.

During his ascendancy, Octavian used the griffin and other imagery associated with Apollo extensively. He wore Apollo's laurel wreath, and associated himself quite firmly with the god by building a new temple to Apollo adjoining his own house. This construction was one of the major building projects of the 30s BC, along with his own mausoleum. Tripods from within the temple became a general symbol of piety and appeared on a lot of early Augustan Arretine. The Eastern dynasty in Britain particularly used this image. It not only appeared on coins; a bronze cast of one was found in the Lexden tumulus (Foster 1986:61). The link between the imagery on the coins and other archaeological evidence is explored further in chapter 7.

The idea of sacrifice was displayed more clearly in two ways: the appearance of bucrania in the background of many British issues, and the appearance of a particular form of bull on coins. There is an image which is frequently called the 'butting bull' on British coins. It is a bull with its head lowered and usually with one of its front legs is collapsed as if it were kneeling or about to charge. The image of the 'butting bull' originated from coins of Massalia, and was already a familiar image in southern Gaul. The first coins to be made in Britain (Kentish Potin) were images derived from this type. It was said that the troops of Caesar had carried images of a charging bull on their flags to symbolise the unstoppable power of Rome, in particular personifying

Table 4.8. *The imagery of Apollo and sacrifice (see Fig. 4.9)*

Reference	Denom.	Dynast	Description (and image on the other side of the coin)
ALTAR			
VA552:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Altar (bull's head)
TEMPLE			
VA553:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Temple (bull with lowered head)
APOLLO and TRIPOD			
VA2065:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Figure by tripod (inscription and dolphins)
FIGURES WITH LITUUS			
VA533:S8	AR Unit	Verica	Naked figure holding a lituus in right hand (head r.)
WREATHS			
c. 26 examples from: Tasciovanus, Andoco, Cunobelin and Amminius			
GRIFFINS			
VA186:SE7	AR Unit	VODENIOS	Griffin and horse dancing (horse)
VA1790:E7	AR Unit	Tasciovanus	Griffin (Pegasus)
VA1792:E7	AR Unit	Tasciovanus	Griffin (eagle)
VA1895:E7	AE Unit	RVIIS	Griffin (inscription)
VA2051:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Griffin (inscription in wreath)
VA2081:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Griffin (horse)
BULLS			
VA422:SE8	AR Minim	Eppillus	Bull's head facing (ram)
VA451:SE8	AE Unit	Eppillus	Bull with lowered head r. (eagle)
VA506:S8	AR Unit	Verica	Bull with lowered head r. (figure holding palm branch and bust)
VA512:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Bull with lowered head r. (eagle)
VA552:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Bull's head facing (altar)
VA553:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Bull with lowered head r. (temple)
VA1794:E7	AR Unit	Tasciovanus	Bull with lowered head l. (head)
VA1808:E7	AE Unit	Tasciovanus	Bull with lowered head l. (pattern)
VA1985:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Bull with lowered head r. (head)
VA2083:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Bull with lowered head l. (head)
VA2095:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Bull with lowered head r. (head)
VA2099:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Victory sacrificing a bull (Pegasus)
GOAT/RAM			
VA422:SE8	AR Minim	Eppillus	Ram (bull's head)
VA1705:E7	AE Unit	Tasciovanus	Ram (head)
VA1715:E7	AE Unit	Tasciovanus	Goat (head)



VA192:SE8 Amminus | VA2029:E8 Cunobelin | VA520:S8 Verica | ICC95.3428:S8 Verica

Fig. 4.10 THEME 5: The Golden Age, images of plenty, fertility, ordered nature, vines, cornucopia

Mars Ultor. This butting/kneeling bull image was taken up extensively by the Roman mint at Lugdunum from 15–10 BC. Lugdunum was the site of the Gallic Council, where loyalty was managed through the cult of Rome and Augustus. In 10 BC Augustus went to Lugdunum to consecrate the new altar to the cult, and thereafter the imagery on the coinage largely displayed the altar rather than the bull. But the bull was not simply confined to Massalia and Lugdunum; in the north the Treverii also issued coins with this image on inscribed *GERMANVS INDVTILLI* (RIC Aug 249). It was also copied on a number of other provincial issues. The meaning of the image is a bit ambiguous. It could be an image of Gaul itself, or it could be related to Mars Ultor and the power of Rome. Another possibility is that the bull with one leg broken and head lowered was also the iconographic pose of the sacrificial bull, just as the knife was about to go in. This scene is frequently displayed on sculpture throughout the Principate. It also appears on some metalwork; on a Late Augustan silver cup from Boscoreal we see the bull head down, with a man behind it swinging an axe about to sacrifice it, while in the background stands a temple (Zanker 1988:115). This emphasis on sacrifice, which the bull starts and the altar at Lugdunum continues, is part of a symbolic emphasis on the *Pax Romana* and the cohesion of the empire. In this sense, south-east Britain can be seen as being just as much a part of this phenomenon as Gaul.

Theme 5: The Golden Age The imagery of the *saeculum aureum* expressed the idea of fertility in nature, which was represented by scenes of abundance. The *Ara pacis* is the classic example of this with its ordered floral designs, pregnant sows and other pictures. In Britain the later dynasts all adopted symmetrical floral images. Cunobelin's gold was dominated by ears of corn, and Epaticcus followed this example. Amminius also had several strands of cereal or possibly poppies on his coinage but in a rather different formal design, a feature which was common in later Augustan art, differentiating its representation of nature from earlier ones. Verica opted for the vine leaf rather than ears of corn.

Theme 6: Augustus' new mythological foundation of Rome All of the classic Augustan imagery appears in Britain, except for one motif: Aeneas carrying his father away from Troy and leading his son Ascanius. The absence of this motif, set against the presence of all the others, is curious. Though it is a fairly complicated

Table 4.9. *The imagery of plenty (see Fig. 4.10)*

Reference	Denom.	Dynast	Description (and image on the other side of the coin)
SOW			
VA2091:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Sow (head)
VA2105:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Sow (Janus head)
PLANT DESIGNS			
VA192:E8	AR Unit	Amminius	Symmetrical plant in circle (Pegasus)
VA486:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Floral cross (trident)
VA556:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Floral pattern (hippocamp)
VA2047:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Floral pattern (horseman)
VA2049:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Flower (horseman)
VINE LEAF			
VA520:S8	AV Stater	Verica	Vine leaf (horseman)
VA525:S8	AV $\frac{1}{4}$ Stater	Verica	Vine leaf (horseman)
VA550:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Vine leaf (horse)
CORN EARS			
VA575:S9	AV Stater	Epaticcus	Corn ear (horseman)
13 types:E8	AV Various	Cunobelin	Corn ear (horse)
CORNUCOPIA			
VA531:S8	AR Unit	Verica	Two cornucopias (seated figure)
VA554:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Cornucopia (lion)
VA555:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Two cornucopias (eagle)
ICC95.3428:S8	AR Unit	Verica	Cornucopia and ship's prow (horseman)

motif to squeeze onto a coin flan, it is not an impossible one. We will return to the Aeneas myth at a later stage. However the consecration of Augustus' new forum and the temple of Mars Ultor in 2 BC may have led to a representation of Mars himself (VA2093:E8). This has sometimes been described as a celtic warrior, but its iconographic form is so similar to other representations of Mars as to make us wary of this (Fig. 4.11). Within Cunobelin's territory at a slighty later date a silver gilt votive plaque was found near a Romano-celtic temple. This was dedicated to *MARS ALATOR* and shows a figure standing between two columns under a roof representing a temple (Henig 1984:40). The pose is virtually identical to that on the coin, which means we really must reject the 'celtic warrior' interpretation.

In all we see virtually the entire repertoire of the Augustan imagery in Rome appearing on British coin. It should be stressed that not all of this imagery was replicated on Roman coin. Around the Roman world various friendly kings copied

VA2093:E8
Cunobelin

Fig. 4.11 THEME 6: Mars Ultor and the Forum Augustus

Table 4.10. *Images of Mars (see Fig. 4.11)*

Reference	Denom.	Dynast	Description (and image on the other side of the coin)
MARS			
VA2093:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Mars in helmet with spear and shield (horseman)

Julio-Claudian portraits (discussed in chapter 7), but in Britain we have an even broader use of imperial imagery.

Conclusion

The classical imagery on a large proportion of south-east British coin appears to follow in a programmatic way the development of the imagery of Augustan Rome. I would emphasis 'Rome', and not 'the Roman world'. I believe that the easiest way of interpreting this phenomenon is to link it to Britons being brought up in Rome and inculcated in the visual language of the city during their early years. A generation after the Caesarean conquest, these images were used in Britain just as they were in Rome, where members of the Roman aristocracy adopted them on their signet rings, roof tiles, wall paintings and everything else which could sustain an image.

However, this is only part of the story. Whilst the majority of images represent explicitly Augustan imagery, some of the classical motifs do not, and it is to these images we now turn. As we shall see, they also reinforce the notion of British *obsides*.

The Augustan kindergarten and beyond

The relationship between the friendly kings and the *Princeps* rarely relied upon just one visit by one member of the family to Rome. Where we have the details (largely for the more Hellenistic kingdoms of the east) a whole succession of family members sojourned in Rome across the generations, constantly renewing contact to try and secure succession. Two examples will suffice. Herod himself had visited Rome, and once conferred in Judea he sent many of his sons to be raised in the city. Herod sent three sons to Augustus in 23 BC who resided at court (Alexander, Aristobulus and a

third who died there). A little later in 13 BC Antipater, another son, though by a different wife, was also sent there, followed by another two, Archelaus and Philip, who were resident there by 5 BC when Antipater moved against them. As mentioned before, we only know this because Josephus chose to write a history of Judea, otherwise we would be none the wiser. A second example comes from Parthia, where Phraates IV sent four sons to Rome, who were themselves accompanied by two daughters-in-law and four grandsons. Two of the sons died in Rome, and it was Vonones who was sent back by Augustus to rule Parthia in due course; though later Tiberius sent the remaining son, Phraates, back as well.

If Tincomarus went to Rome, it is unlikely he was the only member of his family so to do; other brothers and relations would have gone with him or followed once he had returned home. From our point of view, it is this continual contact which brought back the imagery from the city to Britain. The sojourns in Rome did not just enable each ruling family to get to know the *Princeps* and the Roman aristocracy, they also helped future king to know future king (Braund 1984:17). Such friendships were fostered and encouraged by Augustus and the later emperors, leading to much intermarriage between the dynasts on the periphery of the Roman world. Juba II of Mauretania, whom we have already mentioned, was first married in *c.* 19 BC to Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, who had been brought up by Augustus after her parents' deaths. She died *c.* 5 BC. His second wife was Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus I, the last king of Cappadocia. His daughter, Drucilla, is mentioned as marrying Antonius Felix, a governor of Judea. Clearly Juba II was very well connected. These marriages and friendships forged the ruling elite of the Roman world and its periphery into a common bond.

Plenty of similar matches occur elsewhere. Our literary sources focus mainly upon the Hellenistic dynasties; however, it is unlikely that our British dynasts were not similarly encouraged to forge closer links, including marriage, with the families of other dynasties; from Britain, Gaul or even further afield. After all, Tincomarus would have been brought up in Rome, at exactly the same time as the future Juba II. Alas, our literary evidence will never tell us this. However, one way to examine if there were close links between our dynasts and other friendly kingdoms would be to see if there were any resonances between the imagery used in different areas. As it happens, many of the friendly kings adopted some of the Augustan motifs, though none displayed quite such a diverse range as the British dynasts did. In that sense British dynastic coinage is exceptional. Still, there are clear links between British coin and other areas.

The first link which we can make is between the Commian dynasty and the Treveri. To start with the new horseman type used by Tincomarus (discussed above) is shared with *ARDA* of the Treveri (VA375:S7 and Sch.30a/2 AR). The coins are not identical, but both derive from the same Roman prototype (RRC361). Nash (1987:129) thought these might have been imperial gifts to these rulers because the die engraving was so good. A different coin type is shared by Arda and another possible member of the Commian dynasty, though this time *ANDOBRV/*

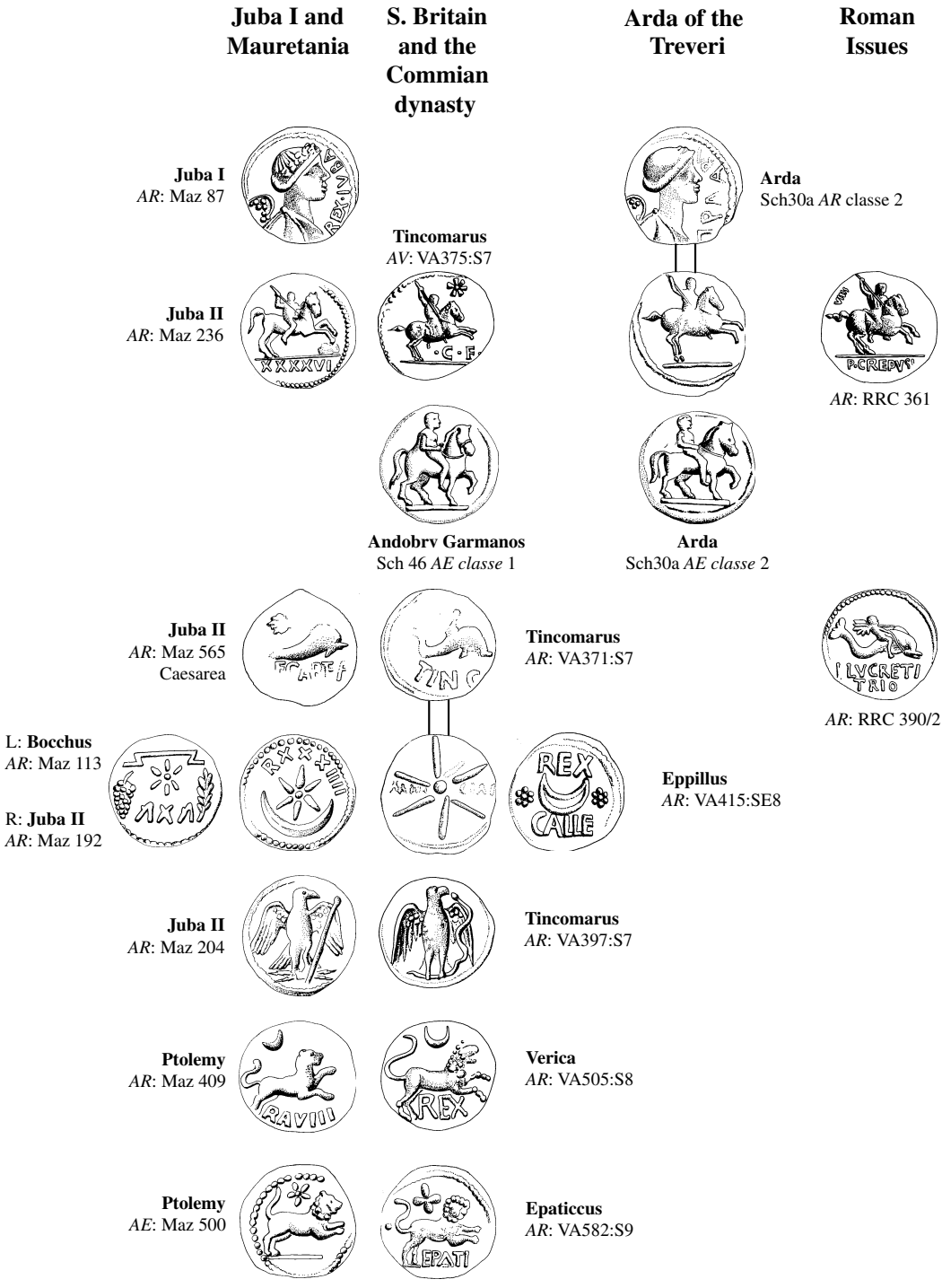


Fig. 4.12 Links between the coinage of Britain, Arda, North Africa and Rome

GARMANOS in northern Gaul (cf. Fig. 3.6). In this case both coins represent a slightly different type of horseman, and the designs look so similar they may yet prove to have been struck by the same dies (APΔA: Sch.30a AE *classe* II; *ANDOBRV/ GARMANOS*: Sch.46 AE *classe* I).

This sharing of two types with another dynasty in northern Europe could just be a coincidence. However, Arda did not just share types with the Commian dynasty. The other side of the horseman shared with Tincomarus shows a portrait. This is a direct copy of a coin of King Juba I of Numidia (RPC I 718; Maz 87). In fact it is more than a copy – it is hubbed. An original coin has been taken and struck with a heated piece of metal. The reverse impression it left was then re-carved to make a new die. We can tell this because the faint traces of the inscription *REX IVBA* can still be seen on the Treverian coin underneath Arda's own name (Loscheider 1994). This was a coin of Juba II's father. So similar is the Treverian coin to the original that one worn specimen was mistaken by Mazard for a new Juba I type (Mazard 1957: No. 87b; the weight of the coin is identical to the *ARDA* specimens and of a different modual to all the other silver of Juba I).

This is only one coin. Loscheider thought that the Juba I link could have come from Gaulish cavalry serving in north Africa during the civil war. They are explicitly attested to in our sources, so this image might just be a souvenir brought back to northern Europe and copied. It may just be coincidence that it is on the horseman type shared with Tincomarus. However the coincidences start to become strained: the horseman type very similar to RRC361 was *also* used by Juba II on a very rare silver coin (Maz 236). The same prancing horseman with a spear was used, though whereas Tincomarus' version was added to with a star and the inscription *C.F.*, Juba II's coin has an indistinct small animal which is placed under the animal's rearing front legs, about to be crushed, whilst under it is the inscription *XXXXVI*, which suggests the coin came from the forty-sixth year of his reign, i.e. *c.* AD 21 . Somehow I think it must be more than coincidental that three friendly kings, all starting their reigns around the 30s/20s BC, are using identical motifs. Coincidence is effectively ruled out when the coinage of Noricum is added to the list of kingdoms using the RRC361 type. Here a horseman-with-spear type appears in the mid-late first century BC, replacing all the earlier horseman types, and dominating the coinage down to its cessation upon the Roman occupation in 16/15 BC (Mackensen 1975:251; Göbl 1973).

This type, RRC361, links together a series of areas which were friendly kingdoms under Octavian/Augustus. Perhaps a series of dies was distributed to each new king. RRC361 was a peculiar Republican coin in that each die was numbered, so careful track could be taken of its products. Perhaps these dies were still available at the mint in Rome, and perhaps they were recut for each of the new friendly kings Octavian/ Augustus recognised, though a detailed analysis of the dies would be required to tell us this. Nonetheless, that four regions from southern Britain, the Hunsruck-Eifel, Noricum and Mauretania all used the same type is quite remarkable – but perhaps more understandable if we see this equestrian imagery in symbolic terms. Another reason why this type may have been chosen by Rome was that it is one of the few

denarius issues which displays Apollo on the other side. If the serial tradition was to be broken in Britain, amongst the Treveri and in Noricum, what better way to do it than with a very 'Roman' Apollo–Horseman type.

As it happens there are many more links between the coinage of Juba II, his successor Ptolemy and the Commian dynasty (Fig. 4.12). There are also some more general iconographic links with the Tasciovanian dynasty as well. The links with the Commian dynasty go beyond Tincomarus to include Verica as well as Eppillus who issued coins in Kent, and Epaticcus (son of Tasciovanus, but issuing coins in areas otherwise considered to be within the realm of the Commian dynasty, and following some aspects of their dynastic iconography). The clearest links are with the lion types. Lions are exceptionally rare on Roman coins, and yet they appear on almost a dozen types in Britain. They also appear on some Gallic coins as well, but most of the Gallic lions are fairly distorted affairs, unlike the more naturalistic British ones. It has been suggested that many of the Gallic types derive from the lion on the coinage of Massalia, with its high arched back. Since Massalia was the town where large numbers of Gauls received an education in the post-Gallic-war period, this is not particularly surprising. But where, then, do the British lions come from? Once seen alongside the lions of Ptolemy (AD 20–40) there is little doubt that this is the origin of the imagery. The lion was a royal animal in north Africa, and kings had often been portrayed wearing a lion skin head-dress in imitation of Heracles. Here we have coins showing lions prancing under a star/flower, used by Epaticcus, and also under a crescent moon used by Verica. The coin Verica imitated is dated to Ptolemy's eighth regnal year, which makes it *c.* AD 28 and fits happily with the period we place Verica in (Phase 8, *c.* AD 10–40).

As well as lions, there were quite a few eagles on Mauritanian coinage. Eagles were not particularly uncommon on Roman coin, but there is good cause to believe that many of the British types derive from a mixture of north African and Roman motifs. The vast majority of Roman examples show the eagle carrying Jupiter's thunderbolts in its talons, while the British ones show a snake instead. This cannot be a misunderstanding of the Roman image, as both the Roman thunderbolts and the British snakes are quite clear. The first eagle types in Britain came in Phase 7, one of which was an issue of Tincomarus (VA397:S7). The stance of the bird is identical to a coin of Juba II, though the thunderbolt and sceptre of Juba's coin have been transformed into a snake. On some other issues (Maz. 206) the eagle has a small wreath in its beak, and this could easily have been merged into the head of Tincomarus' snake. But why a snake? Did it have some peculiarly British significance?

The presence of the snake is reminiscent of the large issue by Caesar on the outbreak of the civil war, which showed an elephant trampling a snake (RRC443/1: 49–48 BC). The symbolism is obscure, though Crawford (1974:735) believed it might represent the victory of good over evil, with evil personified by the snake. This type is one of the more common types in temperate Europe, and was copied in the area of the Treveri with the name *HIRTIVS* inscribed on it (Sch.162), and again with the Tria nomina *C.IVLI.TELEDHI* (Delestrée 1996:111). Other Roman provincial mints also copied it. The eagle clasping the snake may have a similar iconographic

meaning, perhaps representing Caesar's victory in Gaul, or the civil war, or something in Britain itself.

Whilst the snake in the eagle's talons creates a link between the coinage of Mauretania and the Commian dynasty, the link is extended to the Treveri by virtue of two pieces of sculpture. This motif is exceedingly rare in Roman art, and as far as I am aware there are only two examples in the Principate, both from the territory of the Treveri, and both from sculptures adorning large burial tumuli: Wederath (Haffner 1989:409) and Siesbach (Wigg 1990:455), though these date to the second century AD.

Other motifs which occur throughout the Mauritanian issues are crescents and simple stars made up from a point with six radiating lines. These recur in various forms, an example is given in Fig. 4.12. One coin of Tincomarus on which this motif appears is the large silver issue previously mentioned, which has the star on one side and the boy on a dolphin on the other (VA371:S7). Curiously enough, dolphin types also occur in Mauretania as a city coinage issued in Iol (now renamed Caesarea). This civic coin comes in two variants (Maz 566–567); both are poorly struck, as are Tincomarus' issues. The British ones had a boy on the back of the creature, and it is possible that Juba's did as well. The coin from Vienna (photographed in RPC I 883) is described as a dolphin with a star above. The star is very indistinct, and the lettering of *CAESAREA* slightly distorted. It also looks as though it were a hubbed die taken from a Roman Republican coin of Lucreti Trio (RRC390/2). The top of the *S* of *CAESAREA* looks more like the top of the *C* from Lucreti. Similarly the top of the final *E* on Juba's coin looks as though it is a recarved *T*. The 'star' is in the same position as the wings of the boy on the back of the dolphin on Lucretius' coin.

The parallels between the Commian dynasty and that of Juba II (25 BC–AD 23) and Ptolemy (AD 20–40) suggest continued close contact between the two families over generations, and not just a single meeting between Juba II and Tincomarus as children in Rome. This would be in keeping with what we know of Augustus' desire to see links built between friendly kings on the periphery of the Roman world. The dynastic links are so extended that one must almost wonder if there were any ties of blood between the two kingdoms.

The principal links between Britain and north Africa are with the Commian dynasty; however, as noted above, Epaticcus (son of Tasciovanus) did have a lion type, copying one of Ptolemy. Traditionally the arrival of Epaticcus' coinage in northern Hampshire and Berkshire has been taken to represent the Eastern dynasty encroaching upon the Commian dynasty's territory. Its appearance has been described in the language of expansion and warfare. However, I think that dynastic marriages are a far more likely scenario. Augustus promoted relations between dynasts, so the appearance of Epaticcus using a mixture of Southern dynastic motifs (e.g. the filial legend on his horseman types) and Eastern motifs (the ear of corn on the reverse of the same coins: VA575:S9) would suggest dynastic union rather than conflict. Verica's flight to Rome around the time of Claudius is often cited as proof that the Eastern dynasty was being aggressive, but our source tells us no such

thing; the reason given for his flight was 'civil discord' rather than invasion (Dio 60.19.1).

The Tasciovanian dynasty had some links with north Africa, but of a very different sort and extent. Cunobelin had a series of coins showing Roman gods. Amongst these were bronze issues of Janus (VA2105:E8) and Jupiter Ammon (VA2107:E8). The Janus representation appears not to be copy of a Roman type; representations of the god were common in northern Europe. One bronze issue ascribed to the Treveri had a Janus face on it, though it is not particularly similar to the British one (Sch.154i–ii). One which is more similar, but again not identical, is from Mauretania, dating to the reign of Bocchus II (49–33 BC) (Maz.118, see also RPC I 873). The only other possible parallel is an issue of Cleopatra and Antony (RPC I 4093), which would again have a Mauretanian connection, with their daughter married to Juba II. Cunobelin's Jupiter Ammon types do have potentially Roman *denarius* prototypes, but these types are exceedingly rare, and in terms of formal similarity some of the Jupiter Ammon types of north Africa (one example of which is illustrated) are better. In conclusion, the links in imagery between the Eastern dynasty and Mauretania are not as strong as for the Southern dynasty, but there are possible connections.

A cursory glance at the coinage of other friendly kings shows that many also used some Augustan imagery, but they lack clear links with British coins, which makes the specifically close link with Mauretania all the more telling. I would suggest that friendships were formed in Rome whilst Tincomarus and Juba II were there as children, possibly even fighting together in the Roman army, and this endured down the generations. There may have been a number of visits to each other's territory. Friendly kings did not just spend time in Rome, they moved around keeping up their contacts. Of course we know nothing of our Briton's movements, but we do know something of a few others.

Herod certainly got around and was very active outside his own kingdom. As with many Hellenistic kings, euergetism was in his blood. He built gymnasia at Tripolis, Damascus, Ptolemais, a wall at Byblus, halls, porticoes, temples and marketplaces at Berytus and Tyre, theatres at Sidon and Damascus, an aqueduct at Laodiceia-on-Sea, and baths, fountains and colonnades at Ascalon. At Nicopolis, he helped in the construction of most of the public buildings. At Chios, he restored a portico that had been derelict since the Mithridatic Wars. In Syrian Antioch, he paved the main street, twenty stades in length, with polished marble and erected colonnades along its sides. At Rhodes, he re-built the temple of Apollo. On Cos, he endowed the annual gymnasiarchy to ensure its perpetuation. On Rhodes, he financed ship-building. In the case of Phaselis, Balabea and various small Cilician towns, he contributed to their annual tax-payments. On Chios, he paid the island's taxes and sums due to the imperial procurators. Perhaps most striking of all was his endowment of the Olympic games in perpetuity. Athens, Sparta and Pergamum also received beneficence, and this is just what we know about.

Of course Herod was a Hellenistic king, so perhaps western kings would be very different. As it happens, Juba II was also very active. We find him erecting statues in the gymnasium in Athens to his son, Ptolemy, and his second wife, Glaphyra. Athens

acted as a showcase for kings, and even un-hellenistic Thracian kings had statues erected there. Juba might have married into the families of eastern Mediterranean dynasties, but he also maintained contacts in the west. We know from the coinage of Carthago Nova in Spain that he was given the title of *duumvir quinquennalis* there for one year, to be followed by his son Ptolemy (RPC I 169 and 172). Our sources are not as good for Juba II as they are for Herod, and as for our British dynasts we know nothing, except that they did not just stay at home as we do have that reference to British dynasts coming and making dedications on the capitol in Rome (Strabo, *Geog.* 4.5.3). However there is one marginal possibility which should not be overlooked. A series of half a dozen coins has been found from western Mauretania (Volubilis, one of Juba II's capitals, and Banasa) which neither Mazard (1955; uncertain XXXI) nor Burnett (*et al.* 1992:212) has been able to place into the mainstream Mauretanian coinage. On one side is a bearded head of Herules-Melquart with a club behind his neck, whilst on the other is a helmeted head, possibly Minerva, with a sceptre (RPC I 870). The inscription on one side is *IIII VIR AV*, which suggests it is a coin being issued by a IIIIviri (one of four magistrates) of a town called *AV*..., which is probably one of a number of *colonia Augusta* or *municipium Augusta*. The name on the other side should, therefore, be one of the IIIIviri. The inscription is *VIRREC*. Could this be Verica, who represented his name in Britain variously as *VIR*, *VERIC*, *VIRI*, *VIRIC*, *VERICA*, and indeed *VER REX*? Of course this can only be speculation, but it happens to fit with the kind of world which friendly kings lived and moved in.

Conclusion

Hitherto the classical imagery on British coins has been discussed in terms of copying pictures which resonated with 'celtic life'. I believe that is a complete misreading of the situation. The imagery reflects a British aristocracy perfectly in touch with the visual language of the developing Principate and its network of friendly kingdoms. We have tended to interpret the spread and distribution of different dynastic coinages in Britain as a sign of military expansion and conquest; I believe that dynastic marriage and interaction is far more in keeping with what we know was taking place elsewhere in the Roman world. South-east Britain, in the gap between Caesar's invasion and the Claudian annexation, was as much a part of the Roman world as any of the other friendly kingdoms around it, and constantly in touch with the centre.

The use of these new images, however, was a radical departure from the steady uniform series of images which had gone before. The serial tradition was broken. Gone were the subtle changes and the types which everyone could understand and recognise. They were now replaced by a series of images which few people would be able to comprehend. This revolution in imagery was more radical on the silver and bronze coinage than the gold, but the face/horse image finally gave way here too, leading to Cunobelin's ear of wheat and Verica's vine leaf.

One wonders who in Britain would have understood this imagery? Probably very few people. But in many respects the situation is analogous to the Roman coinage of the late Republic. Here *denarii* were issued with extremely complicated allusions to

members of moneyers' families. So complicated were these allusions that is it doubtful that any but the inner circle of the Roman elite had the vaguest notion of their meaning (cf. Zanker 1988:14). This restricted knowledge and understanding was another way of dividing those 'in the know' from the others, increasing and formalising new hierarchical divisions in society. In a similar way the legends on the coin also divided people up into those who could and could not comprehend them (a subject explored further in chapter 6).

This imagery of exclusion was important for Tincomarus, Tasciovanus and their generation, helping the second post-Caesarean generation establish their authority. It broke the existing aesthetic, and with that must have had ramifications in the existing status quo between the traditional holders of knowledge and the new order. There are signs, however, that as time wore on, the Augustan imagery was adapted to its British context, and the images made more inclusive and accessible to the populace at large. It is this imagery of the final generation of British rulers, Cunobelin and Verica, that is discussed in chapter 7.

5

The location of Britain in the Roman world

Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated that there is a strong congruence between the political imagery of the Augustan revolution and the imagery on British coin. It corroborates the idea that the sons of British kings may have been brought up in Rome, as were other *obsides* recorded in the Roman annals. This chapter seeks to explore the impact this experience could have had on the impressionable mind of a child. Before their departure to the big city, they would have learnt something of how their peers viewed the world around them. Stories and repeated practices would have taught them something of Iron Age British cosmology. Yet on their arrival in Rome, whilst some of these beliefs could possibly have been accommodated, many others would appear totally alien in a classical context. I want to explore this inevitable conflict between cosmologies that would have raged in the minds of these children, taken away from their circular hearth and home, and transported to the rectilinear world of Rome. They would have had to assimilate and cope with the conflicts between belief systems as British and classical cosmologies collided.

The evidence for a clash of cultures in the minds of people who died two thousand years ago is of course going to be tenuous, but two areas can be explored. First, certain aspects of Graeco-Roman myth appear on British coin which were outside the repertoire of Augustan imagery, and this can be understood in terms of a particular British reading of classical myth. Second, we see the construction of new foundation myths whereby the dynasts of northern Europe built bridges between their own belief systems and those of Rome. The conclusion will assess the degree to which an education in a foreign clime can completely change an individual's outlook and indeed very being.

Britain, the land beyond Ocean

One set of imagery not discussed so far has been the group depicting Perseus, Pegasus and Medusa. Whilst representations of gorgons adorned Minerva's shield on sculpture in Rome, this trio was hardly a dominant myth in Rome in the late first century BC. Far more obvious would have been a series of images relating to the tales of Heracles, or Aeneas carrying his father away from Troy. Nonetheless, this trio took hold very early on, with flying horses complemented by gorgon's heads as early as the reign of Tincomarus. The gorgon imagery continued into the Roman period, most famously adorning the temple pediment at Bath; why this of all myths?

To answer this question, one needs to imagine how a Briton in Rome related three spheres of knowledge: first, the tales of classical mythology; second, the literary perception of Britain in Rome; and finally his or her own knowledge.

The best work tracing changes in the Graeco-Roman perception of the world is by Romm (1992). In general there is the known world at the centre, but as the mind tries to comprehend more distant realms, the lack of knowledge means these places are either left frighteningly empty, or else populated by the imagination. Whilst the Greeks and Romans made up myths about the distant lands around them, filling these voids with strange animals and creatures, we in our own generation have done the same, though this time the distant worlds are distant planets and the genre is called science fiction.

One of the earliest themes in Homeric literature was the idea that the river Ocean surrounded Europe, Africa and Asia; this sea extended right to the edge of the Celestial dome. At the edge of the ocean were dense fogs and sluggish waters, blurring the distinctions in this liminal space between solids, liquids and air. It was in this primordial, distant space that the rebellious anti-Olympians, the giants and the Titans, were imprisoned by Zeus, according to Hesiod's *Theogony*. The 'Pillars of Heracles' marked the symbolic gateway between the safe inner sea and Ocean. Their symbolism was expressed well by Pindar, who said that distant journeys had to end before they entered the forbidden realm of Ocean. 'The Pillars have here come to stand for the boundary of the human condition itself: To pass beyond them is the prerogative of god alone, or of mythic figures like Heracles who manage to bridge the human and divine' (Romm 1992:18).

This perception of the world was slowly transformed as the knowledge and extent of the 'known' world grew with the exploits of Alexander the Great and later the expansion of Rome itself. In later Hellenistic and Roman eyes Alexander was virtually divine simply because, like Heracles, he had passed into this liminal world on the edge of the known world. The excessive thanksgiving accorded to Julius Caesar, after he crossed over to Britain, follows this conception of the known/unknown (cf. Braund 1996).

As the Graeco-Roman world expanded from the Aegean to encompass the whole Mediterranean, and then expanded further north into temperate Europe, so the boundary of the unknown shifted. Once the Pillars of Heracles had been located in the Dardanelles, but as Greek colonisation opened up the west Mediterranean, the pillars were relocated in the Straits of Gibraltar. By the early second century AD we even have Tacitus locating them north of Germany (Tacitus, *Germania* 34). But in the first century BC and early first century AD, Britain was firmly located beyond the known, beyond *Oceanus*. Stewart (1995) explores this image in the literature of the day, and his conclusion is that it did appear to be thoroughly ingrained in popular consciousness in Rome. The following examples will convey the idea:

> we must leave here, some for thirsty Africa, others for Scythia and Oaxes'
> chalky flood, and the Britanni quite cut off from the whole world.
> (Vergil, *Eclogue* 1.66; published 37 BC)

> Do thou preserve our Caesar [Augustus], soon to set forth against Britons, farthest of the world!
> (Horace, *Odes* I.35.29–31; published 23 BC)

> [Ode to Drusus and Tiberius] To thee the Danube, the swirling Tigris, the Ocean teeming with monsters, that roars around the distant Britons; to thee the land of Gaul that recks not death, and stubborn Iberia.
> (Horace, *Odes* IV.14.47–8; published *c.* 13 BC)

> [Talking of Caesar's activities] Having penetrated everywhere by land and sea, he turned his gaze towards the Ocean and, as if this world of ours sufficed not for the Romans, set his thoughts on another. Caesar . . . would have advanced further if the ocean had not taken vengeance on his presumptuous fleet wrecking it. He, therefore, returned to Gaul and then, with a larger fleet and increased forces, made another attempt against the same ocean and the same Britons . . . content . . . he returned with greater spoil than before, the very ocean showing itself more calm and propitious, as though it confessed itself unequal to opposing him.
> (Florus, *Epit.* I.45.16–19; published mid-second centry AD)

> Distant Britain sends dogs that are swift and suitable for hunts in *our* world
> (Nemesianus, *Cyn.* 225f.; published later third century AD)

Britain is always described as if it were part of another world, cut off from Rome. What cuts it off is *Oceanus*, not *mare* or *pontus*. The descriptions of Britain always locate it firmly within a mythical perception of the world. So in Rome, in the late first century BC, there was perhaps a duality in conceptions of Britain. There was the unreliable testimony of Britons and northern Gauls present in Rome, and there were the literary convictions of the learned classes. It seems there was scope in Roman literature for the construction of an image of Britain to exist quite separately from, yet alongside, the 'reality' of the new foreign land.

> Early representations make constant reference to several attributes of Britain and the British, which set the island apart from other lands because they imply a fairly consistent image, in which distance and difference are emphasised. Britain is remote. The island is surrounded by the Ocean. The inhabitants are culturally transgressive or peculiar. It may be Caesar's invasions that stimulated the elaboration of this image, although too little is known about pre-Caesarian sources to make quantitative judgements . . . We can suggest what Britain meant as a cultural icon. The emphasis placed upon difference serves to establish a foil to Roman civilisation and culture. To assert the existence of somewhere that is not Roman is to reinforce the existence of Roman culture as a construct.
> (Stewart 1995:4–6)

This is the environment our *obsides* would have been exposed to. Their reactions could have ranged from utter bewilderment, to perception of a synchronicity be-

VA378:S7 Tincomarus | VA2109:E8 Cunobelin | VA2053:E8 Cunobelin | VA595:S9 Caratacus

Fig. 5.1 British coins with Perseus, Medusa and Pegasus

tween their cosmography and that of Rome, to the wholesale adoption of Roman beliefs. There are reasons to believe that the last two options were how things panned out.

Medusa, Perseus and Pegasus

One of the first mythical animals of the classical world to appear on British coin was Pegasus. The first representation was on a small bronze coin which Van Arsdell attributes to Addedomaros (though no inscription actually appears on the coin; VA1629:SE6). However, when is a flying horse Pegasus, and when is it just a flying horse? In a world of trance imagery (if there was such) flying horses would not be remotely out of place (Fig. 2.6). The flying horse was rapidly developed and appeared on many of the issues from nearly all the main dynastic series; many of the later ones were clearly modelled on classical representations of Pegasus. But what was the story that went behind them in a British context, where they could easily fit into the British dream-world or the mythic Graeco-Roman world?

The development of a horse with wings would have required no classical images to copy. Unlike griffins, lions, gorgons and other fantastic creatures, horses had long dominated the coinage, and adding wings was not particularly difficult. On Roman coinage, however, Pegasus is very rare. Augustus only used the image once (RIC Aug 297; 19 BC) and none of the later Julio-Claudians used the image for coinage.

That Pegasus appeared as an imported image on British coin need not mean that the Pegasus 'myth' was imported with it; with the appearance of images of Medusa and Perseus on British coins, this does become increasingly likely. What we need to do is discuss the myth, and the representations of these additional personae, before discussing the package as a whole and its 'appeal' to a British audience.

The classical link between these images is the story of Perseus. Perseus journeyed to find Medusa, a gorgon, the fearsome creature whose hair was formed of serpents and whose glance turned a man to stone. He found out where she was from the three weird sisters, or Graiae, who were deformed and blind, sharing one eye between them in some versions of the tale. He then journeyed to the gorgon's lair where he killed Medusa, and from the blood falling from Medusa's corpse Pegasus sprang to life. The scene of Perseus holding the severed head of Medusa is displayed on

Table 5.1. *The occurrence of 'Pegasus' on British coin (see Fig. 5.1)*

Reference	Denom.	Dynast	Description
VA1629:SE6	AE Unit	–	Pegasus on both sides
VA1711:E7	AE Unit	Tasciovanus	Pegasus l. (head)
VA1798:E7	AR Unit	Tasciovanus	Pegasus l. (inscription)
VA1786:E7	AV Quart.	Tasciovanus	Pegasus l. (inscription)
VA1818:E7	AE Unit	Tasciovanus	Pegasus l. (with head)
VA1790:E7	AR Unit	Tasciovanus	Pegasus l. (griffin)
VA1868:E7	AR Unit	ANDOC	Pegasus l. (head)
VA165:SE7	AR Unit	DVBNO	Pegasus r. (head)
VA1973:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Pegasus l. (Victory r.)
VA1979:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Pegasus r. (Victory r.)
VA2071:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Pegasus l. (seated figure)
VA2053:E8	AR Unit	Cunobelin	Pegasus r. (inscription)
VA2099:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Pegasus r. (Victory sacrificing)
VA192:E8	AR Unit	Amminius	Pegasus r. (symmetrical plant)
VA435:SE8	AV Quart.	Eppillus	Pegasus r. (inscription)
VA511:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Pegasus r. (inscription)
VA560:S8	AR Minim	Verica	Pegasus r. (pattern)
VA595:S9	AR Minim	Caratacus	Pegasus r. (inscription)

Table 5.2. *Types with Medusa and Perseus (see Fig. 5.1)*

Reference	Denom.	Dynast	Description
VA2109:E8	AE Unit	Cunobelin	Perseus with Medusa's head (sphinx)
VA384:S7	AR Minim	Tincomarus	Gorgon facing head (box and inscription)
VA378:S7	AV Quart.	Tincomarus	Gorgon facing head (inscription)

VA2109:E8, with Perseus carefully looking away to avoid seeing the gorgon's eyes. This particular image has no parallel from a Roman coin, though Henig though it might derive from a gem (Henig 1972:213).

Perseus did not appear on any Roman issues of the Republic or of the Julio-Claudians, but the gorgons were not quite so illusive. They appeared on a number of coins, often as a face decorating a shield (RRC476, 494/2). There is a series of three Roman coins which all copy each other, and which Tincomarus clearly imitated. The first of these was an irregular military issue, probably minted in Apollonia in 49 BC by the consuls L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus on the Pompeian side in the civil war (RRC445/1a). Behind the gorgon's head on this coin was a *triskeles*. This radial three-legged device was a symbol for Sicily. It had become a family symbol of the Marcelli after M. Claudius Marcellus had captured Syracuse during the Second Punic War. The device appeared on other family members' coins at various dates (RRC329/2 and 439). The gorgon/*triskeles* type itself was copied at several later dates, once by Augustus on a rare aureus (RIC Aug 302: 19 BC), and also on some of the provincial coinage of Sicily itself (RPC I 669–70).

Tincomarus' representation follows the image reasonably closely, though the *triskeles* is gone and just the head is copied. If images were being copied from the

Roman image repertoire without any particular thought or understanding, then it seems surprising that the *triskeles* should disappear. The rotary three-pronged image is not exactly a novelty in 'celtic art', and yet the Medusa face was taken, but not the device in the background. This would seem curious unless the iconographic meaning of the devise was understood, and a conscious selection of one part of the image but not the other was being made. Since a *triskeles* would not have been out of place in a generalised celtic design, I would suggest that its neglect demonstrates a clear understanding of the iconography. It was the gorgon they were after, but why? What could possibly be the connection between this myth and Britain in the mind of our dynasts?

Given the nature of the Roman literary 'invention' of Britain, our dynasts saw themselves as living in a remote region, beyond Ocean, and it was often in such liminal realms that creatures like the gorgons and others lived. The precise location of the gorgons was a bit of a movable feast in Graeco-Roman myth, largely because the extent of the Greaco-Roman world kept on changing, moving 'the unknown' further and further away. In the fifth century, one of our earliest descriptions comes from Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*. At this point in the story the fettered Prometheus is foretelling where the endlessly wandering Io, daughter of Inachus, will travel next:

> When you have crossed the stream that bounds the two continents, towards the flaming east, where walks the sun . . . [gap in text] . . . crossing the surging sea until thou reachest the Gorgonean plains of Cisthene, where dwell the daughters of Phorcys, ancient maids, in number three, of shape like swans, possessing one eye amongst them and a single tooth; upon them neither doth the sun with his beams look down, nor ever the nightly moon. And near them are their winged sisters three, the snake-haired gorgons, loathed of mankind, whom no one of mortal kind shall look upon and still draw breath. Such is the peril I bid thee guard against.
> (Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 790; born *c.* 525 BC; died 456 BC)

Hesiod (Th 274-83) names the sisters as Sthenno, Euryale and Medusa, and places them towards the edge of night, beyond Okeanos, near the Hesperides, which in the tales of Heracles is often situated in the far west. In the Kypria the Gorgons are pictured as living on a rocky island named Sarpedon in the stream of Ocean (fr. 32 PEG); Pherekydes also places them somewhere in Okeanos.

Medusa and her sisters were not the only gorgons. In the great battle between the giants and the gods at Phlegrai, the giants were helped by a gorgon and the gods by Heracles (Ion 989–96). The gorgon here was slain by Athena and its skin put on her breastplate, the *aegis* (Ganz 1993:448).

Another story was retold in the late first century BC by Diodorus Siculus. In his geography he mentioned the gorgons in conjunction with the Amazonians and the people of Atlantis. He described how the Amazonians lived in 'the western part of Lybia, on the bounds of the inhabited world' (3.53.1). They inhabited an island in the marsh of Tritonis called Hespera, and this marsh was close to the ocean which surrounded the earth (3.53.4). In the story he proceeded to tell how the Amazonians

crossed Ocean and invaded Atlantis, they then stayed to help the Atlantians fight the gorgons who bordered their territory. This set the gorgons back, though slowly they regained their strength: 'the Gorgons, grown strong again in later days, were subdued a second time by Perseus, the son of Zeus, when Medusa was queen over them; and in the end both they and the race of Amazons were entirely destroyed by Heracles, when he visited the regions to the west and set up his pillars in Libya . . .' (Diodorus Siculus 3.54; published mid to late first century BC).

An audience coming from Britain, confronted with this 'other world' picture of their island, could not help but link this image with such stories, where gorgons lived in islands beyond the Pillars of Heracles in *Oceanus*. The combination of the Roman literary view of Britain and the classical mythology made Britain an ideal abode of the Gorgons or similar liminal creatures. Since flying horses might have already existed in the minds of our *obsides*, appropriating Medusa and Perseus to Britain was a simple step.

Exactly how the British dynasts reacted to this apparent co-habitation of their island with monstrous creatures is difficult to guess. It is unlikely that they would have ever seen a gorgon in Britain, but that is not the same as saying that they would have concluded that there were none; all societies have their own monsters which populate the imagination. In Greek myth the fabulous creatures come from the edges of the known world, conveniently far enough away to make personal inspection difficult; but in other mind-sets there were different ways of perceiving where strange animals and 'other-world beings' lived. For example, Medieval Irish tradition saw Ireland as occupied by both man and the 'supernatural world' at the same time (Sjoesredt 1994). The 'Tuatha Dé Danann' lived in the lower half of Ireland, the territory under the earth, while the mortal 'sons of Míl' occupied the upper half, the surface of the earth. Sometimes the hidden world was described as super-real, with enhanced colours and rich in fruits, flowers, men and women, etc. Other times it was not so favourable, with fortresses guarded by monsters, such as the kingdom of the Shadow into which Cú Chulainn made a raid. At certain times and places these two worlds came together: locations such as tumuli, caves and deep waters, were common sites to see visions of people from the other world. But more importantly, there was a time when the invisible partition between the two worlds was withdrawn 'and the two worlds are in free communication, the two planes become one, as was the case in the mythic period. This happens on the night of Samain (from 31 October to 1 November), the eve of the Celtic New Year' (Sjorstedt 1994:52). On this night great feasting took place, and in the intoxication who knows what might have been imagined.

Given this working model of how our dynasts may have perceived the mystical world, the adoption of gorgons and other creatures in Britain would not have been at all difficult. Only by imagining such congruencies can one understand why obscure imagery such as gorgons and Perseus appeared in Britain, in preference to elephants, crocodiles and other weird but *real* animals which must have sounded equally fabulous to the dynasts', and had in all likelihood been seen by them in Rome.

In the immediate post-conquest period, as sculpture and mosaics arrived, so did

representations of gorgons. Along the south coast at villas such as Fishbourne, Brading and Bignor, floors included faces of gorgons, whilst in the far west sculpture appeared. At Caerleon a gorgon's head was found, probably from a temple pediment (Nash-Williams and Nash-Williams 1935: no. 91), whilst in Chester the image of another adorned a tombstone (Webster 1950:30–1). But perhaps the most famous gorgon was found at Bath. In 1790 the civic authorities of Bath decided to extend the Pump Room. Thomas Baldwin supervised the work, and as they dug down over seventy sculptured and inscribed blocks were recovered. Many of these formed part of the temple pediment, which Samuel Lysons illustrated in his *Reliquiae Romano Britannicae*. At the centre of this was a glowering gorgon's head:

> It is, without doubt, one of the most dramatic pieces of sculpture from the whole of Roman Britain. In the centre, held aloft by two very classical-looking winged Victories, is a circular shield bordered by oak wreaths, from the centre of which glowers a Gorgon's head. Although the Gorgon is normally a female in classical mythology, here in Bath . . . he is shown in the guise of a male with the wedge-shaped nose, the lentoid eyes, moustaches and beetling brow of a Celtic god. His fierce upstanding hair merges into wings and serpents as he stares, in no way incongruously, from his classical surroundings. The winged Victories perch precariously upon globes, while beyond them, in the corners of the pediment, are figures thought possibly to be tritons, but too little of them now survives to be sure. Below the shield, filling the spaces between its curved lower edge and the drapery of the Victories, are two helmets, one in the form of a dolphin's head, the other providing a perch for a rather startled owl, rooted to the ground by two hands clasping its wings. Both owl and dolphin are attributes closely linked to Minerva.
> (Cunliffe 1971:18)

This was the temple of Sulis Minerva. Minerva was the Greek Athena, and she had on her *aegis* (shield or breastplate) the head of a gorgon. In some myths this was the head of Medusa, in others it was a gorgon slain at the battle between the giants and the gods. Nonetheless, the gorgon is an attribute of Minerva and therefore in place on this temple pediment. Cunliffe saw the gorgon as a visual conflation of the classical gorgon and a manifestation of the celtic god or goddess Sulis. However, he remarked that the strongly classical background to the head was indicative of the degree of the Roman take-over.

That the gorgon was a creature living in the remote west beyond *Oceanus* is one reason for finding it at Bath; another is the more obvious fact that it was the emblem on Minerva's *aegis*. But the gorgon should not be viewed entirely as a frightening, negative image. In Euripides' play *Ion*, the gorgon's blood has certain life-giving properties; it was, after all, from the blood of Medusa that Pegasus was born. In this play Creusa and an old servant plot to kill Ion, thinking him her husband's illegitimate son, whereas he is in fact her own (this is the crux of the tragedy). Creusa has two phials of liquid taken from the body of the gorgon which was slain in the battle between the giants and the gods many years before. From the serpent-hair came the

venom she was to use as the poison, but in the other phial was the gorgon's blood, which was said to avert diseases and foster life itself (Euripides, *Ion*, 999–1015). So the gorgon could be associated with life and healing as well as with death, an ideal combination for a sanctuary where the deposition of curse tablets was mixed with small *ex-votos* representing parts of body and the search for health. Even Medusa's progeny, Pegasus, was associated with springs and water. The name was associated with the Greek word *pege*, 'a spring of water'; 'the origins of at least two springs in Greece were attributed to a stamp of the horse's hoof, namely Hippocrene (''the horse spring'') on Mount Helicon, and a spring of the same name at Troezen' (Grant and Hazel 1993:63–4). Add to this the representation on several sculptures at Bath of three figures with funny eyes, and you have the Graiae evoked, the sisters of the gorgons. Though again, the image sits equally well with the triple deities found in 'celtic' art across north-west Europe.

Much of this is, of course, speculation; but we have to wonder how a Briton's imagination would have dealt with the Roman literary image of the island. If Sulis Minerva represented the slayer of the gorgon, and the manipulation of its powers of life and death, then it is interesting to note that a temple dedicated to her was one of the first acts of Cogidubnus, a friendly king in Britain, shortly after the Claudian annexation. He would have been around at exactly the right time to experience this mixture of Roman fiction and British 'reality'.

Foundation myths

Nearly all societies have their own foundation myths. These serve to link society or ruling families to legitimating authorities. For example many of the early Anglo-Saxon kings traced their ancestry back to Woden, claiming their own form of sacral kingship. By the time these genealogies were compiled into the Anglo-Saxon chronicle Christianity was becoming all important, and even Woden himself was traced back to Noah and therefore eventually Adam. Times change, and so do foundation myths. The genealogy of a king is a flexible creation used for a variety of political purposes. At its simplest level it justifies the individual's claim to the throne, presenting it as a title deed; its structure could 'proclaim political alliances and overlordships; it could announce belief in the existence of a racial group; it can seek to express an harmonious political order' (Dumville 1977:77). In retrospect many such genealogies can be seen as fanciful, but in their time and place they served very specific purposes. A good example is the investiture of King Alexander III of Scotland in 1249: 'as he sat at the ancestral place of crowning, surrounded by his French speaking court, a Gaelic-speaking Scot knelt before him and read the king's genealogy back through the ninth-century Cinead mac Alpine, and the fifth-century Fergus mac Erca, to Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, the invented eponym of the *Scotti*' (Dumville 1977:73).

Gauls, Germans, Greeks and Romans all had their foundation myths, and these responded to changing political situations and fortunes. The Romans in particular had different stories to reconcile: was it Aeneas or Romulus who founded Rome? Here an accommodation had to be reached, a fudge between the two stories to link

all traditions and create a unified national myth. The key point is that foundation mythologies were legitimating devices; they were flexible, and they changed as the world changed.

In this section I will explore the need of communities conquered by Rome to find a place within Graeco-Roman mythology. Did the Gauls and Germans find common ground with classical myth? What is more important, do we have any evidence at all for how our British dynasts, brought up in Rome, reconciled their place in the universe to Rome's hegemony?

La Tène and Germanic foundation myths

Our knowledge of foundation myths prior to the arrival of classical influences in northern Europe is thin. However traces of myths of sacred descent from divine ancestors do survive. The most complete is Tacitus' rendition of the origin of the peoples who by the first century AD were being called the *Germani*:

> In the traditional songs which form their only record of the past the Germans celebrate an earth-born god called Tuisto. His son Mannus is supposed to be the fountain-head of their race and himself to have begotten three sons who give their names to three groups of tribes – the Ingaevones, nearest the sea; the Herminones, in the interior; and the Istaevones, who comprise all the rest. Some authorities, with the freedom of conjecture permitted by remote antiquity, assert that Tuisto had more numerous descendants and mention more tribal groups such as Marsi, Gambrivii, Suebi and Vandilii – names which they affirm to be both genuine and ancient.
> (Tacitus, *Germania*, 2; published *c.* AD 98)

The impression given here is not of an unchanging story. Instead we see a foundation myth which has been added to by new peoples seeking validation for their position in the grand scheme of things. Whether these peoples were immigrants, or subdivisions of existing groups, is irrelevant. Genealogies were fluid creations, designed to suit a purpose.

In Gaul the evidence is less certain. One known story describes the claimed descent of the third-century King Viridomarus from the Rhine (Propertius 4.10.41), but there is little else. However, many of the *pagus* and *civitas* names of Gaul were derived from personal names, and these names may have related to mythical ancestors (Roymans 1990:91).

Whilst our literary evidence may be patchy, the concept of sacred descent is fairly common. Within Irish sources there are plenty of stories with gods and heroes as founders of many a people and a royal line. We can envisage, therefore, a time where sacred descent claims helped legitimate various groups and lineages. Into this sphere came the influence of the classical world, and with it a revision of foundation myths. This phenomenon happened with Rome itself, as it adopted myths from the Greek world. Other towns around the Mediterranean did likewise. Such links were not idle stories; they could have a profound effect upon political developments. In 218 BC Saguntum was under threat from the expanding influence of Hannibal in southern

Spain. Technically Spain had been carved up into spheres of influence between Rome and Carthage, with Rome north of the Ebro and Carthage in the south. Saguntum was solidly to the south, but its population claimed to be of Greek descent from the island of Zacynthus (Livy 21.7). This complicated affairs and gave the Romans a sense of obligation. The result was the Second Punic War. Had Saguntum claimed to be an indigenous town, it is likely that another pretext for the conflict would have been needed. Origin myths mattered.

This tendency to link communities into a line of descent from Greek migrants (mythical or mortal) was not just confined to the Mediterranean littoral:

> Celtica was ruled in ancient times, so we are told, by a renowned man who had a daughter who was of unusual stature and far excelled in beauty all the other maidens. But she, because of her strength of body and marvellous comeliness, was so haughty that she kept refusing every man who wooed her in marriage, since she believed that no one of her wooers was worthy of her. Now in the course of his campaigns against Geryones, Heracles visited Celtica and founded the city of Alesia, and the maiden, on seeing Heracles, wondered at his prowess and his bodily superiority and accepted his embraces with all eagerness, her parents having given their consent. From this union she bore to Heracles a son named Galates, who surpassed all the youths of the tribe in quality of spirit and strength of body. And when he had attained to man's estate and had succeeded to the throne of his fathers, he subdued a large part of the neighbouring territory and accomplished great feats in war. Becoming renowned for his bravery, he called his subjects Galatae or Gauls after himself, and these in turn gave their name to all of Galatea or Gaul. (Diodorus Siculus 5.24.1; published mid to late first century BC)

The story seems absurd, though this is actually the second time Diodorus relates this tale (see also 4.19.2). It is all the more astonishing to recall that this story is being told only shortly after the Gallic revolt which met its doom at Alesia. Here, now, is a story which says that the elite of this community were in fact descendants of Heracles. Heracles certainly did seem to get around. This particular story had little further currency; but someone invented it, and repeated it enough to allow it to become, if not an 'urban myth', then certainly a 'provincial myth'. However Gaul was not alone; the Germans had a visitation from this great wanderer as well:

> The Germans, like many other people, are said to have been visited by Hercules, and they sing of him as the foremost of all the heroes when they are about to engage in battle . . . Ulysses also, in all those fabled wanderings of his, is supposed by some to have reached the northern sea and visited German lands, and to have founded and named Asciburgium, a town on the Rhine inhabited to this day. They even add that an altar consecrated by Ulysses and inscribed also with the name of his father Laertes was discovered long ago at this place, and that certain barrows with monuments upon them bearing Greek inscriptions still exist on the borders of Germany and Raetia. I

> do not intend to argue either for or against these assertions; each man must accept or reject them as he feels inclined.
> (Tacitus, *Germania*, 3; published *c.* AD 98)

These myths were certainly not ones imposed upon the Germans by the Romans. It is difficult to imagine any classically educated Roman would give them any credibility. And yet is it so strange? As the Graeco-Roman world expanded, so did the geographical terrain in which the exploits of Heracles and Ulysses could take place. With the extension of the classical world into temperate Europe we see in these references faint traces of the same kind of processes continuing in Gaul and Germany. Tacitus himself did his bit for the expansion of Graeco-Roman cosmography with his belief that the Pillars of Hercules had now moved even further out, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the North Sea (Tacitus, *Germania* 34).

Why invent such stories? A defeated elite, allying itself to a Graeco-Roman mythical figure, could be seen as one form of affiliation to the new regime. The creation of such myths in central Gaul in the early first century BC, and in northern Gaul and Germany in the later first century BC, is highly possible.

A foundation myth for Britain

Britain was brought more directly into the Roman orbit slightly later. *Obsides*, as I have argued, were brought up in Rome during the struggle between Octavian and Mark Antony. Within this struggle, one of the ideological battlegrounds was sacred descent. Antony associated himself first with Anton, son of Hercules, then with Dionysius; Octavian with the Divine Julius and also Apollo. But as Octavian finally established himself, literary circles formulated a new, coherent foundation myth which enshrined Octavian's position at the heart of it: the *Aeneid*. If any such myth were to be created for Britain, it would be created within the imaginations of the *obsides* in Rome, so we must understand what they were subjected to.

Rome, herself, had two foundation myths: one was the story of Romulus and Remus; the other suggested that the city was a Greek foundation, related to Aeneas' flight from the Trojan Wars. Not only were there two myths, but the foundation date required by each varied significantly as well. The fall of Troy was thought to have taken place in 1184 BC, whereas the traditional foundation date for Rome was 753 BC. The two traditions were welded together by saying that Aeneas' line founded Alba Longa, not Rome. Thereafter a series of kings (the Alban kings) filled in the 431-year gap between Troy and the official foundation date of Rome by Romulus and Remus.

Nearly every author who gives a version of the foundation myth tells it slightly differently, particularly the relationship of the Ascanius in Italy to Aeneas. To some he was the same as Iulus, son of Aeneas and Creusa, born before the flight from Troy; to others he was the son of Aeneas' union with Lavinia. Livy could not make up his mind between these options. Dionysius of Hallicarnassus had it that Ascanius was the same as Euryleon, and his son was Iulus (Fig. 5.2). No two versions were alike which tends to suggest the story had a rich oral tradition associated with it. But its

'Nennius'
Historia Brittonum 10–11 (compiled *c.* AD 800)

(first wife) ===1=== Aeneas ===2=== Lavinia
| |
Ascanius (37) Silvius (12)
| |
Britto Postumus (39)
|
The Alban Kings...

Note: a gloss relates that Cuanu said Silvius is the son of Ascanius

Geoffrey of Monmouth
History of the Kings of Britain I.3 (written *c.* AD 1136)

(first wife) ===1=== Aeneas ===2=== Lavinia
|
Ascanius
|
Silvius
|
Brutus

Dionysius of Halicarnassus
The Roman Antiquities I 53.4, 65.1, 70.1, 70.3 (published *c.*7 BC)

(first wife) ===1=== Aeneas ===2=== Lavinia
| |
Euryleon/Ascanius (38) Silvius (29)
| |
Iulus Aeneas (31)
|
Latinus (51)
|
Alba (39)...

Note: Silvius is said to be the posthumous son of Aeneas

Livy
The Early History of Rome I 1–3 (published *c.* 24 BC)

Creusa ===1=== Aeneas ===2=== Lavinia
| |
Iulus/Ascanius Ascanius
|
Silvius
|
Aeneas Silvius
|
Latinus Silvius...

Note: Livy says no one can be sure which Ascanius was in Italy

Virgil
The Aeneid I. 627–8; 6.760–75 (written *c.*29–19 BC)

Creusa ==1== Aeneas (3) ==2== Lavinia
| |
Ascanius Iulus (30) Silvius...

Note: The Alban kings then lasted 300 years before Rome

Ovid
Metamorphoses XIV 610–11 (completed AD 7)

Aeneas
|
Ascanius
|
Silvius
|
Latinus
|
Alba...

Note: Ovid does not specify that Silvius is the son of Ascanius

Cassius Dio
Roman History (written late second/early third century)
From Zonaras (early twelfth century) and Tzetzes (twelfth century)

(first wife) ===1=== Aeneas ===2=== Lavinia
| |
Ascanius Silvius
|
Aeneas
|
Latinus...

Note: Tzetzes says that some think Ascanius is the father of Silvius

Diodorus Siculus
The Library of History VII 5.8–10 (written mid to late first century BC)

(first wife) ===1=== Aeneas ===2=== Lavinia
| |
Ascanius Silvius (49)
|
Iulius Aeneas Silvius (>30)
|
Latinus (50)
|
Alba Silvius (38)...

Fig. 5.2 The different versions of the Aeneas/Ascanius genealogy

greatest telling, as judged by posterity, was Virgil's version, the *Aeneid*, which drew parallels between the destiny of Aeneas and that of Augustus himself. These are the stories our *obsides* would have been subjected to. The myths were later embodied in the architecture of the new forum, dominated by the temple of Mars (see p. 115).

So what of a foundation myth for Britain? It would be strange indeed if all other areas of the empire linked themselves with classical myth, but Britain alone did not. Diodorus Siculus, writing his history around the 60s–30s BC, could not find one. Though at this date Britain was still perceived as a remote faraway place (cf. Stewart 1995):

> In ancient times this island remained unvisited by foreign armies; for neither Dionysus, tradition tells us, nor Heracles, nor any other hero or leader made a campaign against it . . . And Britain, we are told, is inhabited by tribes which are autochthonous and preserve in their ways of living the ancient manner of life. They use chariots, for instance, in their wars, even as tradition tells us the old Greek heroes did in the Trojan War . . .
> (Diodorus Siculus 5.21.2 and 5.21.5; published mid to late first century BC)

But this was before Rome's contacts with Britain developed. If Diodorus were to return to Britain a generation later, could he have found a similar foundation myth, with Hercules or Ulysses here, too? Could a foundation myth develop which renounced whatever may have been current in the British mind-set, and replaced it with a new origin myth? With our 'British princes' being educated in Rome, an urge to relate their own lineages to the new Roman world order might have proved irresistable. The answer is 'probably', or even 'more than likely'. The question is, do we have any idea what it might have been?

The ideological and perceptual framework within which such a myth would be created is clear: in Augustan Rome in the late first century BC, Troy was a recurrent theme. On the *Ara Pacis* two little boys are shown wearing torcs round their necks; it is often argued that they represent Gaius and Lucius Caesar imitating 'little Trojans', but the ambiguousness of the image has often led people to interpret them as barbarian princes. The use of chariots suggests a second specific link between Britain and Troy, and the old name for Britain in classical circles, 'Albion', suggests an association with the Alban kings, descended from Aeneas and the Trojans.

It is almost as if Diodorus' words acted as a foil to someone, challenging them to create a myth to link Britain to the Graeco-Roman cosmology. At some point someone did sit and ponder the origins of the people of Britain. The result joined the noble race of Britons with that of the even more noble race of Rome; and so a story was born:

> Julius Caesar came to the sea-coast . . . From there he gazed across at the island of Britain and enquired of those standing about him what land it was and what folk inhabited it. When he had been told the name of the kingdom and of the inhabitants, he went on gazing out to sea. 'By Hercules!' he exclaimed. 'Those Britons come from the same race as we do, for we

> Romans, too, are descended from Trojan stock. After the destruction of Troy, Aeneas was our first ancestor, just as theirs was Brutus, that same Brutus whose father was Silvius, the son of Ascanius, himself son of Aeneas. All the same, unless I am mistaken, they have become very degenerate when compared with us . . .
> (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, iv.1)

The Brutus story goes something like this: Aeneas' grandson Silvius had a secret love affair issuing Brutus. His destiny, it was told, was to be the cause of the death of his mother and father, leading to many years of wandering in exile, though eventually he would rise to the highest honour. He fulfilled his destiny with the death of his mother in childbirth, and by killing his father in a hunting accident. At this point unforgiving relatives forced him out of Italy. Exiled in Greece our hero freed a band held captive since the Trojan wars. Then, following advice from a god granted to him in a dream, he set sail for a land where giants once roamed. After a number of adventures in Africa and Aquitania, he arrived in Britain, where successive generations ruled until Julius Caesar reunited Brutus' stock with its noble origins.

This is exactly the kind of unification of the mythological support for the Augustan regime and the decent of the British kings which we would expect. However, no ancient source preserves such a story for us, so how ancient is this Medieval tale? Is this of any antiquity and could it be a survival of an earlier native source?

The fullest version of the story is undoubtedly that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, completed *c.* 1136, but it was not Geoffrey who invented it (though he certainly embellished it). Continuing on from Brutus a long list of kings and events takes us down to the Roman conquest, and amongst this list are characters whose names were used as false eponyms for Medieval place-names. There was a Corineus, from whose name came Cornwall; Kamber for Cumbria; Humber – King of the Huns; and many more. These are certainly of no great antiquity, but the Brutus legend itself had a longer pedigree.

The story of Brutus is first elaborated three hundred years earlier, in a collection of material gathered together in Wales around AD 800 and ascribed, probably falsely, to 'Nennius'. Nennius provides us with two different versions of the Brutus myth, which suggests that the story had a strong oral tradition by that stage. Here is the first:

> The versions in the Annals of the Romans is that after the Trojan War Aeneas came to Italy with his son Ascanius, defeated Turnus and married Lavinia, daughter of Latinus . . . Aeneas founded Alba Longa, and then married a wife, who bore him a son named Silvius. Silvius married a wife, who became pregnant, and when Aeneas was told that his daughter-in-law was pregnant, he sent word to his son Ascanius, to send a wizard to examine the wife, to discover what she had in the womb, whether it was male or female. The wizard examined the wife and returned, but he was killed by Ascanius because of his prophecy, for he told him that the woman had a male in her womb, who would be the child of death, for he would kill his father and his mother, and be hateful to all men. So it happened; for his

> mother died in childbirth, and the boy was reared and named Britto. Much later, according to the wizard's prophecy, when he was playing with others, he killed his father with an arrow shot, not on purpose, but by accident. He was driven from Italy . . .
> ('Nennius', *Historia Brittonum* 10; written *c.* AD 800)

With the exception of the father's name, the details are very similar in both Geoffrey's and Nennius' versions. There are several phrases which repeat themselves word for word, for example Nennius describes Brutus as arriving when Eli the High Priest ruled Israel, and Geoffrey repeats this (Nennius, *HB* 11; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain* I.18). But unlike Geoffrey, Nennius stops his story of Brutus with his arrival in Britain and does not add in a long list of king's names.

Nennius gave a second version as well (*HB* 17). In this Brutus was the son of Hessitio, and his brothers and cousins included Francus, Romanus, Albanus, Gothus, Burgundus, Langobardus, Vandalus and other names which covered most of the groups circulating round early Medieval Europe. He said he found this story in the old books of 'our elders' (as opposed to 'in the annals of the Romans'), but again there was a classical link. Hessitio was the son of Rhea Silvia, daughter of Numa Pompilius, son of Ascanius, son of Aeneas.

Yet is the story any older than AD 800? A gloss on one of the manuscripts of the *Historia Brittonum* indicates that one source of the story might have been the works of Cuanu, which gives a variant of the genealogy that Nennius used, listing Silvius as the son of Ascanius – the version which Geoffrey was to adopt many years later. Cuanu was an Irish ecclesiastic (possibly the same as Cuanu of Kilcoona in Galway) who is cited as an annalist in various sources for events until about AD 640. The Brutus legend then goes back to at least the seventh century. It would be difficult to push it back further with any certainty.

It was a commonplace in early medieval Irish, Welsh and Saxon sources to create foundation genealogies for countries with eponymous individuals initiating various dynasties. However the same practice can be said of the Roman world, a mid-first-century BC example being Mark Antony's claimed descent from Anton, a hitherto unheard-of son of Hercules. So the kind of practices which led to the creation of such stories would be equally at home in early Medieval Ireland and LIA/early Roman Britain. Still, the ideological context for this specific story fits an Augustan context. In the early Medieval period most Welsh genealogies were allying present-day dynasts to Magnus Maximus (a British usurper/emperor in AD 388) rather than Trojan ancestors. But could the story be that early? The *Aeneid* was certainly a popular work in Britain in the Roman and post-Roman periods. Nennius himself has a quotation he ascribed to Virgil (Nennius, *HB* 20). So any related stories attached to Aeneas' wanderings would have a strong chance of survival.

Let us weigh up the two possibilities. The first is that it is an early Medieval invention. Copies of the *Aeneid* were certainly in circulation and it was probably the most obvious source of the story. Other versions have come down to us, but with the

exception of Ovid and Livy many of them were in Greek, which was not so widely understood. Ovid's account is sketchy and he does not indicate Lavinia's name, which was known to Nennius and Geoffrey, so his work is unlikely to have provided the framework. Livy and Virgil disagree about who Silvius' father was, but then so did Nennius and Cuanu. I would imagine that the variety of ideas surrounding Brutus' parentage suggest that the story had already developed a range of variants, and so had at least some antiquity by the time the *Historia Brittonum* was compiled. Many of the variants in the genealogies are given in Fig. 5.2.

There is other evidence to suggest that some textual material relating to LIA and early Roman Britain did survive into the early Medieval period. In a number of later British genealogies the names of early British dynasts appear. Cunobelin is the most common, though he was well referenced in a variety of Roman sources. Occasionally there were more, though often their names were transposed into the later fourth century:

> The compilers [of genealogies] only invented when they had to. Several texts show how they worked when they had no information. The British lists carrying the ancestry of their heroes back beyond the later fourth century follow two main patterns. One takes a list of known emperors, turns them to a father-to-son succession, and fills in a few names taken from lists whose context the genealogist did not know, to bridge the gap between the sons of Constantine or Magnus Maximus and the first attested names. Usually these scrappy bridging lists are meaningless, but one seems to have been a pedigree of the Belgic kings of the century before the Roman conquest of AD 43; since no popular memory of these kings survived, it is likely to have come from a manuscript source, probably a lost Roman history.
> (Morris 1995:4)

Such a survival would not be impossible, as lists of emperors and consuls were fairly common in the Empire. If the British elite were as interested in promoting their ancestry as the Roman elite were then the survival of king lists of genealogies would not be improbable. The 'Belgic kings' mentioned most commonly are Cunobelin and Caratacus. Both, of course, are mentioned in the surviving Roman classical sources. However, it appears that a version of Tasciovanus' name also appears in one, representing him as the father of Cunobelin and son of one of the fourth-century Roman emperors. It is just possible that the name of Cogidubnus survives as well, but there the sound changes are a little more difficult:

Text	*King*
map . decion .	
map . Cinif fcaplaut .	
map . Louhe*n* . (or Louhem)	
map . Guid gen .	Cogid(ubnus)?
map . Caratauc .	Caratacus
map . Cinbeli*n* .	Cunobelin

map . Teuhant .	Tasciovanus (derived from Cunobelinus Tasciovantis)
map . Constantis .	Constantine II (AD 317–40) or Constantius II (AD 323–61)
map . Constantini magni .	Constantine the Great (AD 306–37)
map . Constantini .	Constantius I (AD 293–306)
map . Galerii .	Galerius (AD 293–311)
map. Diocletiani...	Diocletian (AD 284–305)

the genealogy continues back to 'Octauianus augusti' and there ends
From Harleian MS. 3859 (fo. 194a, col. 3 to 194b, col. 1) (Phillimore 1888; reprinted in Morris 1995:11–55)

It is perfectly possible that a foundation myth from LIA Britain did survive through the Roman period to be transcribed at a later date in Ireland, especially if it was associated with the story of the *Aeneid* which was extensively copied throughout the Roman and sub-Roman period. However, on the basis of the existing evidence it is totally beyond proof to claim with any degree of certainty that Cuanu's Brutus legend was such a survival. I personally think it might have been. Nonetheless, it exemplifies precisely the genre of foundation myth which would have been created within the political context of Britain in the early first century AD.

There is one final piece of evidence from the LIA which suggests that myths allying Britian to Rome were probably created. Here we return to the Roman annals and evidence of definite and unambiguous antiquity. Aeneas founded Lavinium, a town in Latium. After him Ascanius founded Alba Longa. He was succeeded by Silvius, then Aeneas Silvius, then Latinus Silvius. 'By him several new settlements were made' (Livy 1.3). These stories must have provided foundation myths for many settlements in central Italy. Unfortunately, because of Rome's later dominance, few of the others have come down to us.

Let us imagine a Briton in Rome musing upon the origins of his dynasty, looking for a link. How might that link be articulated? Having a mythical ancestor added into the genealogy of the Alban kings is one way (whether 'Brutus' or someone else), but an identification with a place is also common. Just as many descendants of Aeneas founded towns, was there perhaps one in Italy associated with a British mythical ancestor ('Brutus', either in youth or after he was ejected by his relatives for killing his father)? Outside Rome, in the Augustan period, lay the ruins of Alba Longa – a tangible proof of the Aeneas myth. But Alba Longa was not the only ancient *oppidum* within reach of Rome. Not too far distant was another which, since the Samnite wars of the fourth century BC, had fallen from the pages of history. Dominating the site was a massive stone wall of great antiquity. During the Principate there is not a solitary reference to the town, though life continued and a Julio-Claudian Fasti was found there earlier in the century (Scaccia-Scarafoni 1923). The name of this *oppidum* was *Verulano* (Livy 9.43.23.2), identical to a form of the name given by Tacitus to the British Verulamium in his annals – *Verulano* (Tacitus, *Annales* 14.26.2). Livy refers to the place in another form a second time as *Verulanum* (Livy

9.42.11.3), though in modern works it is always transcribed as 'Verulae'. This was an *oppidum* of the Hernici.

> In the absence of any archaeological or epigraphic material the Hernici are now little more than a name to us. The only relics are some impressive remains of polygonal walls, dating from the pre-Roman period, which can still be seen at the chief Hernican centres: Anagnia, Verulae, Ferentium and Aletrium. But we do not know whether these places were fully developed urban settlements in the fifth century. More probably they were places of refuge.
> (Cornell 1995:300)

So who were the Hernici? After the Romans beat the Latin league at Lake Regillus it concluded a treaty with them (the Cassian treaty of 493 BC) which regulated their subsequent relations, forming a military alliance. By 486 BC Cassius concluded an identical treaty with the Hernici (Dion. Hal. 8.69.2), and these three together formed the early Latin colonies in the fifth and fourth centuries BC throughout central Italy, as the might of Rome expanded.

Verulamium (Herts.) was probably founded during the reign of Tasciovanus (Period 7, *c.* 20 BC to AD 10). He was the first person to use the name as a mintmark, and archaeological evidence suggests the earliest occupation was around 10–1 BC (Haselgrove and Millett 1997). So was this late Iron Age site in Hertfordshire named after a town in an origin myth?

It might be argued that the eponymous town names are a linguistic coincidence, and that Verulamium was in fact a Celtic word. However, those who have tried to find linguistic roots for the name in the Celtic languages have not had much success. Neither Jackson (1970:80) nor Rivet and Smith (1979:498) were able to come up with an origin for the word which they felt happy with. Jackson concluded that the name was 'unsolved'. If it were named after a Latin (or rather Hernican) *oppidum* that would explain why a Celtic solution could not be found.

The naming of a new Late Iron Age foundation with a Roman name is not exceptional; it has to be seen within the common practice of friendly kings. This was a time when many existing settlements were given new names, particularly by client kings wishing to show affiliation to the new regime. 'Each of the allied kings who enjoyed Augustus' friendship, founded a city called ''Caesarea'' in his own dominions' (Suetonius, *Aug* 60). Juba II in Mauretania renamed Iol 'Caesarea'. Herod, Archelaus I of Cappadocia, Polemo I in the Bosporus and Herod's son Philip the Tetrarch all did the same. Other names such as Juliopolis, Tiberias, Germanicopolis, Claudiopolis and Neronias were to follow (Braund 1984:108). Some of these were new towns, but many of them were old towns renamed. Apart from Juba II most of these were in the Hellenistic east, but what about temperate Europe? In Britain all we have is the Roman town of Chelmsford (Essex) being named *Caesaromagus*, though hitherto the site has not produced any substantial pre-Roman remains. When this name was given is totally open to speculation (as everything else).

In conclusion I wonder if Verulamium was not a new, conscious foundation of a

'town' by one of our returning *obsides*. Its name was part of the process of creating a new foundation myth for the Britons and for his own dynasty, associating it with that of the Romans and Latins. Viewing the foundation of Verulamium as an explicitly 'Roman' foundation ties in with the evidence which suggests that, around the time of Tasciovanus, individuals in Britain were very conscious of the Roman rituals involved in the establishment of towns; this will be discussed further in chapter 7.

Conclusion

This chapter has been full of speculation, though I hope warranted speculation. We have here two worlds colliding with very different traditions. Sometimes 'Romanisation' is portrayed as if it were simply an acceptance of new forms of material culture, such as new types of pottery, clothing and food. It is far more than that. It is a fundamental change in the way people think about and perceive their world. The lack of written sources from the northern provinces makes analysing changes in thought patterns very difficult, but that does not mean it should not be done, if we are to achieve a feeling for what it was like to exist in the past.

6

Legends and language

The first person to use text on coins in Britain was Commius (VA350 and 352:S6). These two coins followed the traditional serial design of an abstracted Apollo's head on one side and a horse on the other. However around the horse were placed the letters spelling out his name. The first gold issues of his successor, Tincomarus, were virtually identical (BM756:S7), but the subsequent issues marked a radical departure. As well as using classical imagery, they broadened the range of words used from a simple name to a claim of filial descent. In addition, the abbreviation of his name, *TINCO*, was now no longer subservient to an archaic image; instead, it was given pride of place within a tablet using carefully inscribed serifed letters (VA375:S7). Whilst inscriptions had begun simply enough with Commius' name, now legends rapidly grew in complexity.

Two features are immediately of note. First, written language on coin arrived in Britain fully developed. In certain parts of Gaul pseudo-legends had appeared on coins, as people imitated issues from the classical world. Eventually the phonetic value of various alphabets was learnt, until genuine legends came into existence. However in Britain that never happened. Commius brought with him fully developed literacy, and this was by and large in Latin. Second, we must then wonder how many people in Britain were able to read these inscriptions where proclamations of ancestry and titulature were made.

In this chapter a number of areas will be discussed. First, the arrival of Latin and writing has to be placed in its sociolinguistic context. Then the distribution of linguistic capital amongst the Britons needs to be examined, together with an analysis of how the arrival of this new language could be used and abused to reshape power relations. Much of this involves speculation and the construction of hypotheses about the nature of change. Finally, we will return to the solid evidence of coins. In the light of the preceeding discussion, the impact of writing upon the audience in Britain will be considered in detail.

The impact of Latin in a 'Celtic'-speaking world

Introduction

If our dynasts were brought up in Rome, a solid grounding in Latin is one of the few skills we can be sure they came away with, and quite possibly with Greek as well. But learning a language is only one element in the larger linguistic story. The fact that some members of the elite now had the ability to speak and write Latin is not a mechanism of wider societal change in itself. To understand change, which is the aim

of this book, the social context for the arrival of Latin within the LIA communities has to be addressed, not just its arrival *per se*. We need to imagine how the different communities in Britain responded to these new developments.

The field of sociolinguistics is now well developed. Recently a series of studies have been written which look at the development of language in history, not from the more normal philologist's concern with the minutiae of language, but from the sociolinguist's broader concern for the impact of language on the communities which use them. A particularly good example is Crowley (1996), who looked at the formalisation of a standard English in the eighteenth century as a language of the developing middle classes, and its impact in Ireland, particularly its conflict and interaction with Irish Gaelic. Such studies give a clear feeling for the way in which individuals and power groups use language to enhance and reaffirm their status, or indeed use it as a tool of subversion.

In Britain Latin became the medium of writing in the Roman period, yet unlike Gaul it was the native Celtic language which predominated in the sub-Roman period, not a vulgar Latin. So even at the most basic level we can conclude that in Roman Britain different communities used different languages for different types of discourse. It is the nature of this developing bilingualism which we are going to explore. The direct evidence is, of course, rather limited. Nonetheless from a series of fairly general propositions some advances can be made in understanding the importance this process had for the dynasts in the changing power relations before and after the conquest. First I will introduce some general principles and discuss how language might have been used in south-east Britain before the arrival of Latin. Then I will examine and imagine the impact of the arrival of Latin and possible consequences of the development of bilingualism.

Social and regional dialect variation

> A language has been jokingly referred to as 'a dialect with an army and a navy', but this is a joke with a serious undercurrent. Modern armies and navies are a feature of the 'nation state', and so too is the linguistic unification or 'standardisation' of large politically defined territories which makes talk of 'English' or 'German' meaningful.
> (Fairclough 1989:21)

The first important point is to get away from the concept of clearly defined languages. Languages are broken down into a series of dialects, and the argument of what is a dialect and what is a language frequently has more to do with political agendas of modern nation-states than linguistic criteria. Academic books give the impression of a monoglossic language, with variations in jargon perhaps, but otherwise a relatively uniform grammar and glossary. However the uniformity of the written language masks a huge variation in the spoken form by region, social group and context. Standard English by no means pervades everyday life in Britain today.

Before the widespread appearance of the printed word, dialect and social variations may have been more pronounced. This can be judged by going back to the

time when the printing press first revolutionised the production of the written word. Caxton, producing his first books in English, was confronted with problems of standardisation which hitherto had hardly been addressed. He called attention to this in his prologue to 'The Eneydos' (1490) – a translation, via the French, of the *Aeneid*. He recounted the tale of some London merchants travelling down the Thames who stopped off in North Foreland in Kent while waiting for some wind to arise so they could sail across the sea. One asked a local for some eggs and received an uncomprehending and bewildered response. The Kentish woman who had been approached could not understand a word they said and had assumed they must all be French.

Three hundred years later, when language came to be codified and the great dictionaries compiled, things were not much better. In the early nineteenth century Johnson found English to be a speech 'copious without order, and energetic without rules: wherever I turned my view there was perplexity to be disentangled, and confusion to be regulated' (Johnson 1806: II, 33; Crowley 1996:56).

In the face of such variation, the language of the court and later the language of London and the developing merchant/middle classes became the lingua franca of commerce and bourgeois communication. This standardised language of the middle classes helped bind England together, along with other countries of the United Kingdom. It unified what one may call 'the elite':

> the English language was used to represent, and help create, the nation's sense of identity. Its function was not merely to act as an agent of unification for the nation, but to evince national superiority by the very nature of language. English speakers were made to feel that they shared in something of genuine value each time they opened their mouths or raised their pens. For this was not merely an imagined community, but an imagined community of superiority. However [we should] . . . pause for thought. For not all British subjects were literate . . . we will . . . see how both language and history were heavily stratified; how forms of heteroglossia of various sorts were to be banished or silenced, proscribed or prescribed.
> (Crowley 1996:72-3)

Changes in political power-groups could lead to linguistic changes which reflected and reaffirmed this shift, as if spurning the language of the old legitimate power. In the United States, fresh from the War of Independence from the British, there was a concerted attempt to create a competing English, a 'federal English', something which would distinguish them from their former colonial masters. Thus Noah Webster could argue: 'Our political harmony is . . . concerned in a uniformity of language. As an independent nation, our honour requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as government' (Webster 1789:20).

So in any one geographical area at any one time language may have regional variations, and also frequently social differences related to power and status within the community. Bakhtin summarises well the multiplicity of divisions in the way language is used:

> [language is stratified] into social dialects, characteristic of group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and passing fashions, languages that serve the specific socio-political purpose of the day, even of the hour.
> (Bakhtin 1981:262-3)

In a simplified way we can try and visualise a language map with two of these dimensions on it: individual social status, and regional accent or dialect (Fig. 6.1). Most people can be found acting within various sectors of this map. Depending upon the social context voices change, so individuals rarely exist as static points within this framework but move around in it, giving themselves different linguistic personae for different audiences. The voice I use delivering a lecture to a learned society is more formal than the one that I use with my students. That voice in itself is still more formal than the accent I slip into in the pub in the evenings. Most of this is quite unconscious; it is due to a tacit understanding that certain forms of language are appropriate for different forms of discourse. In certain contexts I can also find myself moving not only up and down this linguistic map, but laterally as well as I unconsciously mimic the regional accents of those around me. Other studies have shown the deliberate manipulation of this class dimension of English, especially within formal settings such as telephone conversations, where the majority of people speak in a 'telephone voice' with an accent slightly more in common with Received Pronunciation than they would otherwise. This is apparently particularly the case with women who have been categorised as lower middle class (cf. Trudgill 1995:95).

That such a language map would work with Latin is quite clear. Latin had its own regional accents, otherwise known as vulgar Latin, and it was from these that the Romance languages developed; indeed, the word 'romance' comes from the vulgar Latin *romanice* – meaning 'in the local variety' (descended from Latin), and in contrast with *latine* (i.e., 'in Latin itself') (Edwards 1995:24). Not only were there dialects, there also were strong views taken as to what was acceptable and what was not in the language of the elite. Quintillian had a particularly prescriptive view:

> We must not accept as a rule language words and phrases that have become a vicious habit with a number of persons. To say nothing of the language of the uneducated, we are all of us well aware that whole theatres and the entire crowd of spectators will often commit barbarisms in the cries which they utter as one man. I will therefore define usage in speech as the agreed practice of educated men.
> (Quintillian, *De Institutone Orotatio* 1.6.44–5, written late first century AD)

> The real spread of a standard variety through a population and across domains of use is one aspect of standardisation; rhetorical claims made on behalf of the standard variety – that it is the language of the whole people, that everyone uses it, that everyone holds it in high esteem, and so forth – are another. What these claims amount to is the transmutation of standard

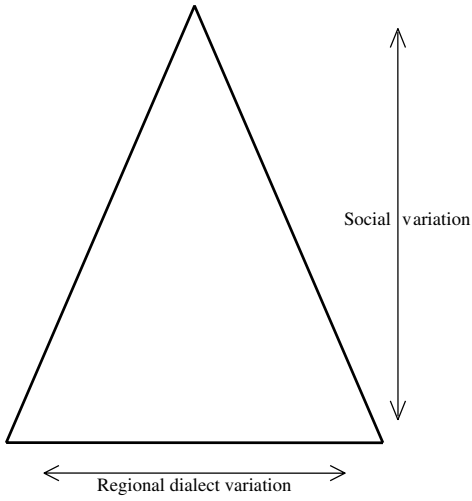


Fig. 6.1 Social and regional dialect variation (after Trudgill 1995)

> languages into mythical national languages. A political requirement for creating and sustaining a nation state is that its unifying institutions should have legitimacy among the mass of the people, and winning legitimacy often calls for such rhetoric.
> (Fairclough 1989:22)

Now we must turn from the general to the particular, and consider the Celtic languages of north-west Europe in the first centuries BC/AD.

Regional dialect variation in Britain and Gaul

First of all, what was the linguistic situation in Britain in the first century BC? Received opinion has it that across north-west Europe existed the Celtic family of languages (Celtic being used here entirely in its linguistic sense, with no other values attached to it). Our knowledge of these comes from inscriptions from Gaul of various dates such as the calendar of Coligny; a miscellany of personal and place-names from classical texts; and later evidence from the derived languages in the British Isles and Brittany. From these survivals three languages have been proposed for north-west Europe: Gallic in Gaul (known from inscriptions), *Brithonic in Britain (extrapolated back from Welsh, Cornish and Breton) and *Goidelic in Ireland (from Irish, Scots Gaelic and Manx). The asterisk used here is the linguistic convention for a reconstructed language or word which is not directly attested in any known literature. The principle difference between *Brithonic (P-Celtic) and *Goidelic (Q-Celtic) is in the preference for a *p-* sound in *Brithonic where a *qu-* sound would be heard in *Goidelic, later hardening into a *k-*. Such would be a common description of the situation, in this case from Renfrew (1987).

Can we can safely assume our dynasts spoke *Brithonic? Well, only up to a point. I

am sure that it is the case, but there are two problems. First, whilst there has been an enormous amount of study recently in the field of early Celtic linguistics, cited and discussed by Evans (1995), the subject is fraught with disagreements about the development, origins and even nomenclature of the languages and variants under discussion, and I am not foolhardy enough to enter into this field for which I have no training. Second, the reconstruction and description of languages over areas as large as modern nation-states is a useful conceptual tool in discussing the broad development of language, but misses out on the reality on the ground, which certainly would not have had such a clearly defined tripartite division into three distinct tongues.

Is it realistic to imagine an area as large as Gaul speaking one single language: Gallic? In the era of the nation-state and mass-produced and broadcast written and spoken word this might be possible to some degree, but is it likely around the first century BC? The evidence suggests not. First, there is the evidence of classical authors viewing Gaul. 'Gaul comprises three areas, inhabited respectively by the Belgae, the Aquetani, and a people who call themselves Celts, though we call them Gauls. All of these have different languages, customs, and laws' (Caesar, *BG* 1.1.1; written *c.* 52 BC).

Strabo (*Geography* 4.1.1) repeated these sentiments; however, the Roman concept of geography explicitly related language to peoples, so having divided Gaul into three parts the linguistic division was almost inevitable. So this testimony, whilst suggestive, is not the most secure foundation. Nonetheless it is supported by the written evidence for Gallic which survives as names in classical sources, epigraphic texts (inscriptions, coins, graffiti), and place-names. The most substantial survey of this evidence was completed by Whatmough in the 1940s in his *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul: Prolegomena and Records of the Dialects*, which was partly updated into the 1960s and published in full in 1970. Since then there have been a number of significant discoveries, such as the 'magical' texts of 1983 from Larzac (160 words long) and 1971 from Chamalieres (Lambert 1994). Nonetheless, the main conclusions of Whatmough's study are unlikely to have altered too much and a further grand survey has yet to be conducted. His conclusions point to significant language and dialect variation across Gaul. Since the work is not well known in archaeological circles, it may be worth paraphrasing his main conclusions (Whatmough 1970:3).

1 It is certain that a Celtic dialect of the *Brithonic group was spoken in pre-Roman and, for some centuries longer, in Roman Gaul.

2 It is probable that there was at least one enclave there in which a Celtic dialect of the *Goidelic group was spoken.

3 It is certain that Iberian was, or had been, spoken in Aquitania and in parts of Narbonensis.

4 It is certain that a Western Germanic dialect was spoken in Belgica, in regions adjoining the river Rhine (Germania inferior) and less extensively in Germania superior, where Celtic was spoken on both sides of the river but was less subjected to Germanic influence.

5 It is presumable that other dialectal differences within Celtic itself had arisen in the course of time in the several parts of Gaul.

6 It is possible that Ligurian was, or had been, spoken in Narbonensis.

7 It is probable that most of the inscriptions commonly called 'Gaulish' are, with few exceptions, in Celtic.

8 It is, however, certain that Greek and Latin influences are manifest in word order, and possibly also in a few instances in sound-substitutions and word-forms.

9 Lexicographical differences, so far as they can be traced, are, as would be expected, most clearly marked; less clearly marked are differences in the development of speech-sounds, and differences of accidence and syntax, if they existed, as is probable enough, escape us neigh entirely.

Whatmough's study was carried out on a province by province basis, hence that was the resolution of his analysis, and the evidence probably would not have sustained anything more detailed. Nonetheless the main point to come out of this study is that strong regional variation existed in the written Celtic languages of Gaul. Since the written language is likely to be that of the elite it is liable (as we have seen) to be far more standardised than that of the lower social classes, so one may imagine that if anything it understates the actual variation in *spoken* Gallic.

From here we must move on to consider the situation in Britain. Unfortunately the epigraphic evidence for the Celtic dialects in Britain does not exist. There are a few personal and place-names from coins and literary sources, but that is the limit of our knowledge. The notion of *Brithonic being spoken in Britain comes from the fact that Welsh, Cornish and Breton derive from a common source, and certainly the place-names of Britain do have characteristics which would ally themselves with a P-Celtic language like the *Brithonic or Gallic varieties. However the huge language variation in Gaul should make us wary of extrapolating a language north and south of the Severn estuary all the way across to south-east Britain. Whilst we can be reasonably secure from the place-name and personal name evidence that they spoke a form of P-Celtic, whether it had more in common with the *Brithonic one hundred or more miles to the west, or the Gallic spoken twenty miles across the Channel, is an unknown. It probably changed by degrees. There is one further piece of evidence to put into the puzzle: Tacitus gave a brief account of the peoples of Britain in the *Agricola*. He said the Caledonians had similarities with the Germans, and the Silures had curly hair like the Spaniards. But he then went on to be a little more specific about the people of the south-east. These, he said, were very similar to the people of Gallia Belgica: 'In both countries you find the same ritual and religious beliefs. There is no great difference in language . . .' (Tacitus, *Agricola* 11).

To conclude, the idea that there was a uniform language spoken in Britain is inherently unlikely. Where evidence exists in Gaul there is strong regional dialect/language variation, and there is no reason not to expect the same in Britain. With the absence of epigraphic evidence of *Goidelic and *Brithonic we should be very wary

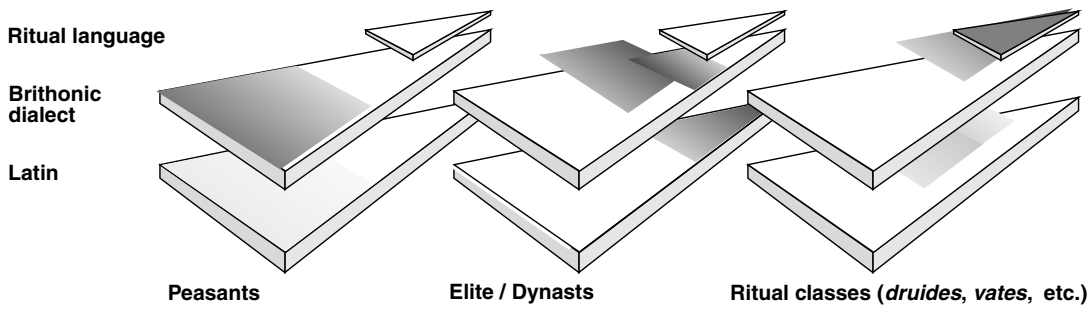


Fig. 6.2 Dialect and language variation: domains of competence from the Iron Age to Early Roman Period

of saying simplisticly that *Goidelic was spoken in Ireland, *Brithonic in Britain and Gallic in Gaul. Nothing is ever that simple, as hints of *Goidelic pockets in Gaul found by Whatmough testify. We can safely imagine there is likely to be some similarity between the variants of *Brithonic in south-east Britain and 'Gallic' in Belgica.

Social dialect variation in Britain (before the arrival of Latin)
Having suggested that there was *in all likelihood* strong regional differences in dialect, it is the social aspect of language which should be turned to next. What needs to be established is the different forms of linguistic capital the various communities in LIA Britain possessed, and how this changed upon the arrival of Latin and Rome. This section will be fairly hypothetical, but tries to follow what may be considered reasonable sociolinguistic assumptions.

To start with I will take the three main groups that Caesar divided the Gauls into: the *druides*, the *equites*, and the rest (druids, nobles, peasants). It is likely that Caesar's tripartite division masks a wide range of further divisions, but it will serve the purpose here so as not to complicate matters too much (Fig. 6.2).

The peasants The common people would have had the least linguistic capital, and their dialect would have had the strongest regional characteristics in terms of pronunciation and lexical differences. It is difficult to know how mutually incomprehensible dialects may have been, but the example cited from Caxton shows there can be considerable variation across even a short distance. So on a linguistic map we can visualise the domains of common people's capital as the very base of the diagram.

The nobles A reconstruction of the linguistic situation gets slightly more problematic when we get to the nobles. To what extent did they, too, speak in strong regional dialects? Was there any form of 'standard *Brithonic'? Since standardised

language is largely a function of the nation-state, carefully controlled education and use of mass media, I think it unlikely that we can talk of the dynasts in Britain as speaking in one pure, refined voice. Nonetheless, various institutions would have certainly ironed out a number of regional differences, resulting in more similarity amongst them than amongst the peasants.

First there is the educational format of the day which, if we are to believe analogies from Irish sources, might have included fosterage. A youth would be brought up in a friend's or client's household, thus establishing broader personal bonds amongst the dynastic groups. This would correlate with our knowledge from the historic sources, where we find a lot of intercommunication between different elite communities in Gaul (recall the extensive family ties of Diviacus' brother Dumnorix). Intermarriage also fosters contacts amongst the female members of the elite. The notion that speaking well was something considered important is suggested in the Irish tales of Cu Chulainn, where one of the fifteen 'excellencies' required of the hero was that he should be accomplished in 'fine language' (Sjoestedt 1994:68).

So on a linguistic map (Fig. 6.2), we can visualise the nobles' linguistic capital as being broadly in the middle of the diagram. They were able to speak in a variety of accents, to condescend to speak in a strong regional accent, and also, through their travel and education, able to speak in an accent with greater social status and less marked regional characteristics, but by no means a pure standardised *Brithonic.

The *druides* Whilst a standardised language for a large community is a feature of nation-states, a high level of standardisation can arise amongst a small group. There are several reasons for believing the *druides* (though not necessarily other learned groups, except perhaps the *bardoi* as well) would have spoken a readily distinguishable accent, which would have had both a high social value and broad geographical usage.

Druidic study could take a long time, Caesar suggested that some spent up to twenty years memorising Druidic lore (*BG* 6.5), and many travelled to Britain for the best education in the craft. The keeping together of any community for a long time creates amongst it distinctive traits, and I cannot help but imagine druidic education as being something like English public schools, where whatever the background of the new arrival, the individual who emerges has a clear bodily hexis, in the way he or she holds him- or herself, speaks, and interacts with other social groups. Any collection of disparate individuals from a wide geographical spread, educated together for a substantial period of time (even if only a few years) will be likely to be inculcated with certain speech patterns. This is all the more likely since much of Druidic learning may have been the memorisation and recitation of a great number of verses. As with Vedic literature, many of these verses, handed down orally for generations, are liable also to contain archaic patterns of speech. All of these elements would combine to produce a social class which, unlike any other, was marked by a tight linguistic identity. Even when writing did arrive, it did not affect these forms of learning and therefore linguistic identity:

> The Druids believe that their religion forbids them to commit their teaching

> to writing, although for most other purposes, such as public and private accounts, the Gauls use the Greek alphabet. But I imagine that this rule was originally established for other reasons – because they did not want their doctrine to become public property, and in order to prevent their pupils from relying on the written word and neglecting to train their memories.
> (Caesar, *BG* 6.14; written *c.* 52 BC)

The creation of an elite linguistic community of *druides* was perhaps similar to the training in theological college of Anglican clergy. So successful was its inculcation in producing stereotypical pastors that in the mid-eighteenth century Sheridan (1756:247) suggested that church-going was the best way for the general populace to learn proper English (Crowley 1996:69).

The recitation of verses, the duration of the education and the grouping together of people from disparate areas certainly would have created a distinctive and maybe slightly archaic language. But what about lexical differences? Many elite religious groups have a ritual language as well, which is so full of specialised vocabulary and ritualistic formulations that it represents almost a separate language. Such a ritual language is supposed to have existed in early medieval Ireland, known by the learned classes, and of course by 'the hero', who is supposed to excel at everything:

> The superiority of 'the hero' is not confined to the spheres of warfare and magic: it extends to what we should call intellectual culture. He is familiar with the secret, if not sacred, language called *berla na filed*, 'the jargon of the poets', a mixture of kennings, riddles like those of the Scandinavian Skalds, and traditional metaphors full of allusions to myth and ritual. When Cu Chulainn comes to woo Emer, he can converse freely with her in spite of the presence of her attendants by means of this esoteric language . . . Plainly it is a language of initiates, and the initiation is not restricted to men . . .
> (Sjoestedt 1994:69-70)

Rome was no different. At the initiation of the *saeculum aureum* in 17 BC, Augustus himself performed arcane rituals and uttered magic formulae (Zanker 1988:115).

Such remarks open up the question as to whether any learned groups other than the *druides* had a distinctive linguistic capital. The key is the 'learning' process behind whichever skill or craft is examined. A metalworker would also have rituals to learn, but to what extent that would have led to distinctive speech patterns is doubtful, unless the education was an isolated and lengthy one, and it is more likely to have been based on something like an apprenticeship which would not isolate the initiate from the rest of the community.

Were there any specifically female learned groups? Two recent texts from Gaul may be relevant here. The 1971 find from Chamalieres (near Clermont-Ferrand) was a lead plate found with other votive offerings. A group of men were invoking the Avernian god Maponos to do something on their behalf with the help of '*brixtia anderon*', variously translated as 'the magic of the subterraneans' or 'by the magic of women'. A few years later, in 1983, another ritual text was found at Larzac (not too

far away from La Graufesenque). This text relates an argument between two groups of women, both of which were *mnas brictas* or 'women endowed with magic'. With the aid of an intermediary *uidlua* or 'wise woman', they agreed to refrain from putting spells on each other, and some kind of non-aggression pact was entered into (Meid 1992). Whilst in this case the texts are in 'Gaulish' they both clearly refer to women practising magic, making us aware that the image of male-only *druides* which we have may not be correct, or if it was, then there were alternative roles which women could fulfil.

Conclusion In the Late Iron Age we can envisage the community being broadly divided into three groups: the regionally-accented common people; the nobles, aspiring to 'fine language' and partly gaining it from an education which moved them around in an informal way amongst geographically spread members of the nobility; and the *druides*, who spoke with a clearly defined linguistic pattern as a consequence of their rigorous education involving a large degree of recitation of oral literature. This was the *status quo* which had probably existed for generations, with language slowly evolving, but no radical shifts in linguistic power politics between the three estates. Into this melting pot came a new language, Latin.

Multi-lingualism

Living in a country where a forceful language such as English dominates creates a mind-set which accepts mono-lingualism as the norm, whereas this is solely a belief from a perspective of dominance. In many other countries and cities multi-lingualism is far more common, with people switching languages depending upon their audience and setting (Edwards 1995). Multilingualism may not always entail complete proficiency in more than one language; it could simply mean knowing enough to trade with a merchant from another linguistic group, an activity in which the vocabulary would be restricted. The three aspects of multilingualism discussed here are *lingua francas*, language switching and language as a prestige good.

Lingua francas In any widespread trading system where different communities speaking different languages and dialects have to interact with each other, there is the tendency for a lingua franca to emerge. The original lingua franca was the language of Provence, adopted by the disparate crowd who went on the Crusades; nowadays the general lingua franca in many spheres has become English. The choice is sometimes power related, but it is important to note that lingua francas can often be taken up without a direct power relation existing between the language's homeland and the territory of use. Even without the conquest of Gaul, it is probable that Latin would have spread as Greek had done before it.

In the case of Britain, whilst some people probably knew some Latin before the Caesarean conquest, the main contact period for anyone not otherwise visiting the continent would have been the early years of the first century AD, when the scale of trade with the Roman world rapidly increased. This contact would have led to increased lexical borrowings between Gallic and *Brithonic, and if the traders

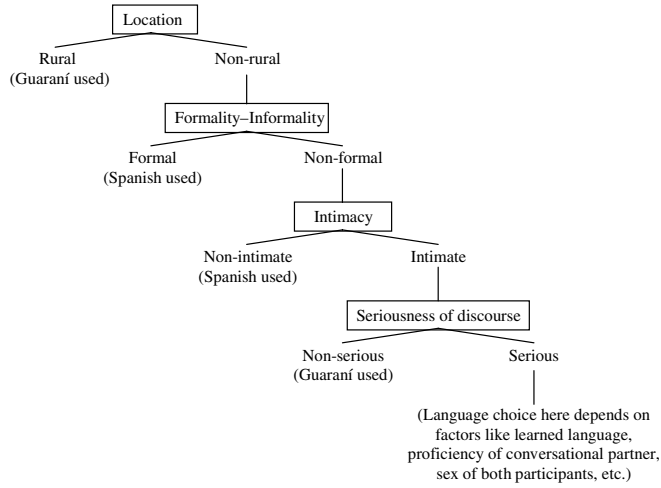


Fig. 6.3 Language choice in Paraguay (after Edwards 1994)

included others than northern Gauls it is likely that a form of pidgin Latin emerged amongst those who directly handled the commerce. Pidgin languages have only a restricted grammar but facilitate relatively simply communication. Whilst some such languages can last a long time, their creation and longevity are very historically contingent. If the communities or trading partners drift apart, then the language becomes redundant and dies; on the other hand, in cases of prolonged contact, one group may learn the other's language (Edwards 1995:42).

Language switching Once there is more than one language in circulation, choices have to be made as to which language to use in a given situation. For some the choice is simple. The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (AD 1519–56) carefully selected different languages for different audiences. He felt Spanish appropriate for talking to God, Italian for women, French for men and German for horses (I presume he imagined English was good for nothing). In the real world away from aphorisms, the situation is frequently far more complicated. One example where such choices have been mapped comes from Paraguay, where the colonial language Spanish has largely taken over in the towns, but not in the countryside (Fig. 6.3).

What would probably be seen with Latin in Britain is its gradual encroachment into new domains of discourse: first at the reception of embassies and merchants, then for discourse amongst the dynastic elite, then developing amongst traders, etc. Parallels suggest that once certain domains of use were given up, they were difficult to recapture (Edwards 1995:110). As Roman Britain developed, certain domains certainly continued to use *Brithonic, otherwise it would not have survived to develop into Welsh, Cornish and Breton. But whilst the domain division between the two may have settled down, there would also have been a considerable amount of interplay between the languages. As time went on loan words shifted from one

language to another and regional vulgar Latins developed along with Latin significantly affecting the development of *Brithonic.

Language as a prestige good The desire to take on the language of the Roman world after the *de facto* conquest of south-east Britain could be extremely powerful. Rome now represented prestige:

> linguistic change is brought about by the effect of the prestigious speech community's language in its contact with the languages of the non-dominant neighbouring speech groups. Rather than by means of direct imposition, the spatial linguists saw change as being effected by the operation of prestige on the one hand and active consent on the other. Thus the spread of any particular linguistic feature, as it passed from the dominant community through to its subordinates, would be brought about by consent rather than coercion and would eventually become universal. The diffusion of the English language in Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is a good example of this process.
> (Crowley 1996:42)

The perception of the 'native' can perhaps be most eloquently expressed by contemporary post-colonial writers (cf. Crowley 1996:49):

> The Negro of the Antilles will be proportionately whiter – that is, he will become closer to being a real human being – in direct ratio to his mastery of the French language . . . Every colonised people – in other words every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilising nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonised is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's standards.
> (Fanon 1986:18)

So far these are simply a few aspects of bilingualism which now need to be seen in their social context in Britain.

Social dialect variation in Britain (after the arrival of Latin)

The dynasts' response *Dynastic response I: Language loyalty and prestige languages* There may have been a smattering of Latin in Britain before Caesar. Among the Gauls of northern France there was enough known for Caesar to try and keep his communications with Quintus Cicero secret by transcribing the Latin orders using the Greek alphabet (*BG* 5.48). With trade, hostage taking and the education of sons of the elite, knowledge of Latin probably rose significantly in the late first century BC in Britain amongst the elite. Partial evidence for this comes from pens and inkwells found in various LIA contexts at Silchester, Skeleton Green and Camulodunum.

However would our dynasts not strive to retain their native language, their identity, their culture? Possibly, but not necessarily. It seems that cultural loyalty is often more widespread than language loyalty (Edwards 1995:112). The desire to retain 'national' or 'regional' languages is a motive which has more to do with nationalism and the emergence of the nation-state than anything else, and even then it might not hold. In early nineteenth-century Ireland O'Connell, 'the liberator', one of the century's most influential politicians, gave up on Irish as lacking utility in comparison to English (Crowley 1996:110). Language loyalty, it seems, is not too difficult a cloak to shed. Language should perhaps be seen as another form of prestige good, something very obvious to the audience of the day, but sadly almost imperceptible in the proto-historic record; '. . . language loyalty persists as long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it, but if some other language proves to have greater value, a shift to that other language begins. . .' (Dorian 1982:47).

Our dynast's perception of Latin would have been significantly changed by time spent in Rome or Massalia with other *obsides*. Whereas before various forms of higher status *Brithonic or Gallic had been the order of the day for discussion amongst the elite of the Celtic-speaking world, now Latin would have been the language of discourse. This would have opened up communication with *obsides* from further afield, which a regional *Brithonic accent (however high a status at home) would not have been able to penetrate. The education of a small group of elite in many ways would have reaffirmed a kind of 'group identity'. With this phenomenon, the development and use of a semi-standard *Brithonic or Gallic would have given way to the use of educated Latin.

What would be the consequence of this back in Britain? Hitherto the group with the most 'affected' language had probably been the druidic class. Now there was a competing 'affectation', one which might not be much good at communicating with the mass of the populace, but which had a symbolic attachment to the power and might of the Empire across the water and so had authority by association.

If Latin became the medium of discourse amongst the elite, and this was recognised by the populace, then this would enhance the status of the elite when they descended back into a regional *Brithonic dialect. This is the kind of strategy of condescension, remarked upon by Bourdieu, which actually enhances the prestige of the figure:

> a French language newspaper published in Bearn (a province of south-west France) wrote of the mayor of Pau who, in the course of a ceremony in honour of a Bearnais poet, had addressed the assembled company in Bearnais: 'The audience was greatly moved by this thoughtful gesture'. In order for an audience of people whose mother tongue is Bearnais to perceive as a 'thoughtful gesture' the fact that a Bearnais mayor should speak to them in Bearnais, they must tacitly recognise the unwritten law which prescribes French as the only acceptable language for formal speeches in formal situations.
> (Bourdieu 1991:68)

When the populace acknowledge that Latin has become the language of power, then a certain respect is accorded those with linguistic capital in this sphere. When someone with a high degree of linguistic capital then condescends to speak 'an inferior language' at a formal occasion (which all the audience happen to know), this act gains them credit. If someone with lesser linguistic capital should try to do the same thing, they would only be ridiculed for the inappropriateness of the act. So our dynasts could have developed strategies for gaining credit by speaking the new language of power, and then again for its selected negation. One can first stand out from the crowd, and then 'bond' with the crowd, reverting to the regional accent of the area.

Dynastic response II: Interpersonal relations amongst the elite So far the use of Latin has been examined more or less as if it were simply a rather different dialect, but one that was so different that it was incomprehensible to many without translation. However the switch to Latin has broader implications, owing to the structure and lexicon of the language itself. By using a new language, rather than simply *Brithonic, another avenue to change is opened up. It creates an opportunity to redefine relationships not only with those who did not know Latin, but also with those who now did. This requires explanation.

The structure and lexicon of a language inculcates the way that individuals act and think. Anyone used to reading or writing in a variety of languages will frequently say that certain ideas and concepts are difficult to translate from one to another. New languages therefore open up new possibilities – so what did Latin have to offer? In his 1977 inaugural lecture at the *Collège de France*, Roland Barthes discussed the power of language (Barthes 1982). Indeed, in true rhetorical style he described its limiting nature as the 'fascism' of language: 'The given language obliges me to choose between masculine and feminine, and forbids me to conceive a neuter category; it obliges me to engage the other by either "thou" or "you"; I have no right to leave my affective and social relationship unspecified' (Barthes 1982:460).

The point to be made here is that formal greetings and discourse in *Brithonic between individuals in LIA society will have settled down to a relatively fixed structure. Decorum will have demanded that particular individuals were addressed with a certain degree of formality and respect. Any individual trying to break free from such a constraint is a social embarrassment, the consensus of the population for such behaviour has been broken; his bid to change his social status in relation to others before his audience has failed. However with the arrival of a new language, those who use this new medium for discourse will have a certain degree of fluidity in their exchanges, as new rules for formality are established and settle down. It is an unrivalled opportunity for change.

Dynastic response III: Fame and memory A rather different aspect of language change could have played a strong role in linguistic choice: the desire for fame and memory. We are dealing with a time when the peers of our dynasts changed from speakers of the Celtic family of languages to Latin. If Cunobelin wanted his Gallic

and Roman peers to acknowledge his fame, then 'history' was required in Latin; a regional dialect of *Brithonic was no longer any good. As the language of the elite changed, people had to keep up with the changes in order to maintain their fame. Precisely the same concern was expressed in Britain in the eighteenth century, when the rapid pace of change in the English language made Swift, Sheridan and others worry that soon all the written histories would become incomprehensible: 'suffer not our Shakespeare, and our Milton, to become two or three centuries hence what Chaucer is at present' (Sheridan 1756:ix). Beyond literature, Swift was more forthright writing to his patron, the then Prime Minister: 'I must be plain as to tell your Lordship, that if you will not take some Care to settle our Language, and put it into a State of Continuance, I cannot promise that your Memory shall be preserved above an Hundred Years, further than by imperfect Tradition' (Swift 1957:17).

Cunobelin did succeed. His memory lasted down the generations, and he was even subjected to Shakespeare's fictionalisation of his court (Cymbeline) which is still just about comprehensible and keeps his memory alive. Commius also succeeded. Whilst there is the literary testimony of his own day (Caesar and Hirtius), a new story not otherwise recorded was found circulating about him in Frontinus (his escape to Britain); and since Frontinus was governor in Britain shortly before he wrote his stratagems, he presumably picked up that story there. As we saw in chapter 3, a 'story' is maybe all it was.

The response of the *druides* Amongst the *druides* the reaction may have been somewhat different. Latin could initially have been seen as irrelevant, and the old ways of teaching and learning continued. Certainly no druidic lore was committed to writing. However the *druides* no longer had a monopoly over 'affected speech'. Now the dynasts had Latin. The dynasts' bilingualism, which distanced them from the populace with Latin and bonded with them with *Brithonic, would have enhanced their prestige at the expense of a group whose sole linguistic capital was a refined, possibly slightly archaic, speech pattern. It is amongst the *druides* that the greatest resistance to a language shift might occur, as their training and lore was vested in traditional language:

> As George Steiner has pointed out, 'there is in every act of translation – and specially where it succeeds – a touch of treason. Hoarded dreams, patents of life are being taken across a frontier'. The old Italian proverb is blunter: 'traduttori, traditori'. This suggests that concealment is as much a feature of language as is communication and this, too, has been expressed in many ways and for a long time. Privacy, the construction of fictionalised myths, legends and stories, and outright dissimulation are at once important and threatened by translation and translators; one modern theme is 'appropriation' of native stories by outsiders, for in many cultures – particularly ones with powerful and rich oral traditions – stories belong to the group or, indeed, to some designated storyteller.
> (Edwards 1995:47)

Under threat retrenchment can take place, with an almost belligerent refusal to learn the new language and to boost the virtue of the old:

> The one who is taught the Gaelic acquires knowledge of wisdom and an understanding of truth and honour which will guide his steps along the path of righteousness, and will stay with him for the rest of his life. The Gaelic is a powerful, spiritual language; and Gaels who are indifferent to it are slighting their forefathers and kinsmen.
> (Quotation in Edwards 1995:113)

There is a potential conflict of interests here. In the south-east of Britain the dynasts probably won out, but in the west, at Anglesey, we see the final entrenchment taking place. There are no tribal leaders mentioned here as Suetonius Paulinus crosses to take the island (Tacitus, *Annals* 14.30). By contrast, in Tacitus' account no *druides* emerged to support Boudica during her revolt. The two groups by AD 60 were probably worlds apart.

The response of the gods At this point the language of the gods should be brought into the debate; or rather, admitting to the limitations of the evidence, the perceived language of the gods. Communication with the divine was a fundamental aspect of power, through ritual acts, incantation and/or prayer. But what is the language of the gods?

> If English was good enough for Jesus Christ its good enough for me
> (Anon., ascribed to various people)

The gods have always spoken the language of the powerful. In Britain, as Protestantism took hold, the translation of the Bible into English by Daniel, dedicated to King James in 1602, was a clear example of this. With the Bible in the native tongue, the interpretative and inculcating role of the Catholic clergy was simply bypassed (the political agenda) and a closer union between God and the populace could be achieved. In Ireland the early nineteenth-century translation of the Bible into Gaelic and its dissemination was again part of a struggle between the Protestant hegemony and the Catholic hierarchy (Crowley 1996:116).

To claim the authority of a god is the ultimate seal of approval, and claims that certain languages were the primordial language of the gods are not uncommon in cultural myths, as they are important in the self-validation of any community. Crowley (1986:108) saw this with Irish, which some suggested was the original language of Eden: 'from its affinity with almost every other language of the known world, we might conclude with Boullet, that it was the primeval language' (Vallancey 1782:5); or the Irish language is 'near as old as the deluge' (O'Conor 1753:xi).

Back in the ancient world, according to Socrates, the gods naturally spoke in the pure undefiled language of Homeric Greek, and certainly not the language of the inarticulate babblers or *barbaroi*. By analogy, in Iron Age Britain they probably spoke a Celtic language. But at some stage the gods of old put away Iron Age things and, following the fashion and power politics of the day, they too learnt the new language.

At Bath the curse tablets written to Sulis Minerva, nearly all inscribed in different hands, are not written in *Brithonic, they are written in Latin. At Uley, again, the lead messages to the gods were not written in *Brithonic, but in Latin. Yet there is not one piece of evidence from Britain which suggests that in aspects of ritual the *druides* had ever embraced the Latin tongue.

Again we are dealing with an issue which has left only a few archaeological traces, but the perception of such a change to the nature of power could be quite profound. If the *druides* had been the mediators between god and man, then this role had been usurped by those who spoke Latin by the time written evidence is found in Roman Britain; and for Bath, that is quite early on.

The populace's response The way the general population perceived the dynasts and *druides* may have changed. But the impact of the new language on common people would probably have been slight up until the Claudian annexation. In many respects, so long as the common people knew what was expected of them from their overlords, it did not matter what language they spoke. Gellner described the reaction of one individual in the Near East, whose overlord had changed:

> [the burgher heard that] the local Pasha had been overthrown and replaced by an altogether new one. If, at that point, his wife dared to ask the burgher what language the new Pasha spoke in the intimacy of his home life – was it Arabic, Turkish, Persian, French or English? – the hapless burgher would give her a sharp look, and wonder how he could cope with all the new difficulties when, at the same time, his wife had gone quite mad.
> (Gellner 1983:127)

What difference did it make, so long as taxes were paid and life went on? The peasants themselves would have continued to speak in their own regional dialects, perhaps accepting the occasional new loan word into their language. Certainly by the first century AD they all probably knew what *REX* meant.

However, after the conquest, the perception of *Brithonic by the majority of the populace may have changed. In a defeated Gaul, many areas had been devastated, and along with the physical devastation came the loss of prestige of the warrior aristocracy, who now would have sought other means of establishing their position. The old language, Gallic, could become associated with the old ways, and Latin with the new future. Latin would arrive faster in the areas around the elite residences and maybe *oppida* or towns:

> Languages in decline are often confined to rural areas, and associations are made between language and an unwanted past (and present). One observer of Nova Scotia Gaelic said that the language was one of 'toil, hardship and scarcity' while English was the medium of 'refinement and culture'; another observed that, from the earliest emigrations, the settlers 'carried with them the idea that education was coincident with a knowledge of English' . . . It is important to note that although external pressures bear heavily upon parents'

> decisions not to have their children learn a language, there is also a good deal of acquiescence in a shift which is – rightly or wrongly – thought to be a stepping stone to mobility and advancement.
> (Edwards 1995:107)

People's reaction to languages tends to be pragmatic. If there is a clear social advantage in using a new one to communicate efficiently, gain economic benefits or any other reason, then change is possible and can be quick. Latin loan words and grammar would come into the native language. In writing Latin would predominate; however, native loan words would be brought into use within a Latin grammatical structure. At a lower level, where education was not so formalised as to police the language (either Latin or *Brithonic), the blend of the two would be most evident. On low-status artefacts such as spindle-whorls from central Gaul, examples of this Gallo-Latin can be found with short suggestive statements such as 'dear girl, are you willing?', 'Silly girl, good to fuck', 'I should like to ride . . .' (Meid 1992:53–4). But only in such casual or informal locations does such a hybrid language survive. Public language tends to be more formal, more 'correct'. Still it would take time for the entire populace to learn much Latin. The one thing we can be sure of is that in the far west of Britain, a Vulgar Latin did not predominate in the end and *Brithonic, full of loan words and significantly altered, developed into Medieval Welsh.

Conclusion

Exactly what happened with the arrival of Latin in Britain can probably not be known, but the kind of hypothesised scenarios above are based upon fairly broad sociolinguistic principles and case studies. What is important is that in a world where we see several dynastic families rapidly rise to power, explanations are needed for how they legitimated that power. Prestige goods are one element, but whereas amphorae can run dry, language is a form of capital which once acquired is self-perpetuating. Still it needs to be used and displayed. The oral forms of discourse and display we can only surmise. However the physical form of display, the writing on the coins, we can analyse, and that is what we turn to next.

The nature of the message: the individual's use of legends

The complexity of the language of coins

However the elite learnt the art of writing, and however much Latin they learnt, the result was put into effect on the medium of coinage. Commius was the first to put his name on a coin, followed by many others in the south-east, and later elsewhere. These coins started off by proclaiming the name of an individual. Then they started to include other 'ideas' on the coin, such as titles, lineage claims, and place-names. Outside the south-east other combinations also arose, including multiple names. So from a single word on coins the complexity slowly increased up until the Claudian annexation, when most of the series ceased (Fig. 6.4).

The development of writing on coins also included the development of abbreviations. To start with Commius' name appeared in full, but thereafter abbreviations

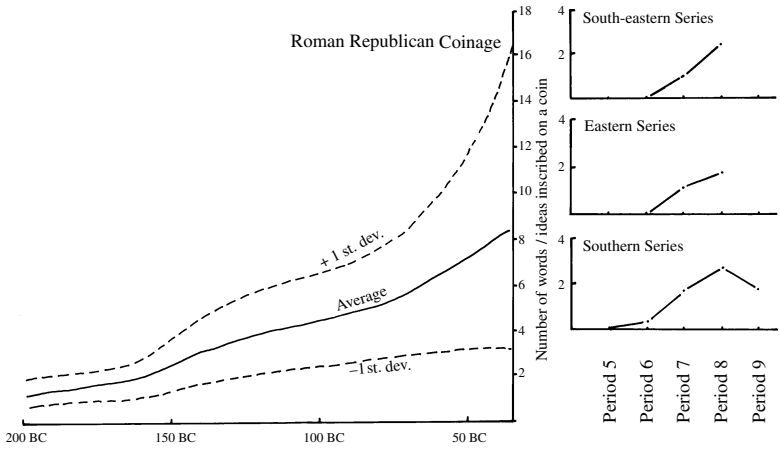


Fig. 6.4 The developing complexity of language on Roman and British coins

were commonly used for personal names, legitimation titles and place-names. So the audience who read these coins not only had to master the art of reading, but they also had to learn what to *expect* on coins, so that they could understand the abbreviations.

To us a few abbreviated words on a few coins may not seem complicated, but it would be worth tracing the rate at which this complexity arose, and comparing it to the development of inscriptions on other monetary systems such as that of Rome. This has been done for both the development of coinage in south-east Britain and the coinage of the Roman Republic. In each case individual types have been examined and the number of ideas/elements in the legend has been calculated. For example *TINCOM* is just one idea, whereas *VERI COMMI F* is three ideas. The results are shown in Fig. 6.4. The rise in the complexity of British legends in the south-east is rapid in comparison with that of the Roman Republic, though admittedly there were constitutional reasons which restrained individuals from promoting themselves for quite a while during the early and middle Republic – though these pressures eventually broke down.

The response to the language of coins

It is difficult to know exactly when the art of writing arrived in Britain, but since no *Brithonic texts have been found it seems likely that it probably arrived with the first merchants from the continent for their own private record keeping, and then amongst the British elite who may have travelled and received an education in Gaul or later Rome; or indeed Gallic elite arriving in Britain to learn druidic lore. Whatever, it is on coins that the first public texts appeared (a far as we know). What would the reaction to them have been?

One of the most important aspects about writing to be aware of is its novelty and power. It is a phenomenon taken so much for granted now that it is sometimes hard to grasp not just its power to transform the retention and passage of knowledge

(which we can probably imagine) but rather its power to divide society, reinforcing power structures and the position of elites. An indication of the sheer awe which writing created comes from the seventeenth-century writings of Bishop John Wilkins:

> How strange a thing this Art of writing did seem at its first Invention, we may guess by the late discovered Americans, who were amazed to see Men converse with Books, and could scarce make themselves believe that a Paper could speak . . . There is a pretty relation to this purpose, concerning an Indian Slave; who being sent by his master with a Basket of Figs and a Letter, did by the Way eat up a great Part of his Carriage, conveying the Remainder unto the Person to whom he was directed; who when he had read the Letter, and not finding the Quantity of Figs answerable to what was spoken of, he accuses the slave of eating them, telling him what the letter said against him. But the Indian (notwithstanding this Proof) did confidently abjure the Fact, cursing the Paper, as bearing a false and lying Witness.
>
> After this, being sent again with the like Carriage, and a Letter expressing the just Number of Figs, that were to be delivered, he did again, according to his former practice, devour a great Part of them by the Way; but before he meddled with any, (to prevent all following accusations) he first took the letter, and hid that under a great stone, assuring himself, that if it did not see him eat the Figs, it could never tell of him; but being now more strongly accused than before, he confessed the Fault, admiring the Divinity of the Paper, and for the future does promise his best Fidelity in every Employment. (John Wilkins (1641) 'Mercury or The Secret and Swift Messenger', in Eco 1990:1)

The art of writing could be seen as being profoundly disturbing, magical, awesome. This anecdote was by no means an isolated example, a similar story (though referring to melons) is related in mid-sixteenth-century sources from Latin America (fictionalised in Galeano 1987:76). Added to this, most people new to the art of reading tend to read aloud. In the Roman world silent reading was so rare that it deserved comment in its own right. In the late fourth century when Augustine saw St Ambrose in Milan he commented upon precisely this ability: 'When he read, his eyes travelled across the page and his heart sought into the sense, but voice and tongue were silent' (St Augustine, *Confessions* 6.iii).

To talk to an object (as it would appear) is one thing; to silently commune with one is even more curious. So what would have been the experience back in Britain? With the break in the serial tradition, the lettering on the coins would have been immediately obvious. An illiterate Briton would have noticed the writing but been unable to decipher it. A reader may even have been sought. This in its own way sets up a little piece of theatre. It creates an event at which the dynast's name is going to be invoked. The reader (whose status in this discourse is immediately raised) looks at coins and articulates aloud that which was written on it. The words incanted would be not any words but the name of an individual of authority, the benefactor of the gift perhaps.

As the leader's name was incanted in this mystic conversation between a man and a round lump of metal, the leader would be presenced in a way not possible before. Our Indian Slave above was in awe of the divinity of the paper, what more so the divinity of the name on the coin presencing the individual in communities he may never have visited.

By accepting this new individualised coin, by using it again, legitimation is being given to the right of the individual to ascribe coinage to himself. It would have been possible to discard or destroy the coins with names on saying it broke some taboo in society, but this was not done. Coinage had clearly been appropriated by the dynasties.

In some ways it is similar to the way that powerful individuals appeared on Roman coins. The process was piecemeal. First Roman coins simply had gods of state on them. Then slowly moneyers put on them gods related to their own family's divine ancestry. Then small monograms with the moneyers' initials appeared. These were fleshed out into full names. Coin types began to diversify as ancestors of the moneyers' family were portrayed and celebrated. Finally at the very end of the Republic the final taboo was broken and the portrait of a living mortal appeared on a coin, a symbol which smacked of monarchy. Caesar was dead within months. But the trend was clearly established, and even that most noble of Romans, Brutus, followed Caesar's lead.

In the Roman empire busts of the emperor were shipped around in order to make his image felt in communities throughout the provinces. The distribution of coinage had a similar function, emperors who only lasted a few days or weeks nonetheless managed to mint and distribute coin as one of their first priorities, giving it out as donatives to obtain the loyalty of their military supporters. In Britain the individualisation of coins must be seen in a similar way. Money is no longer the shared (if unequally distributed) capital of a community, it is now the money by right or by the grace of an individual who is presenced in every community across the territory, in every transaction, in every family money-box. The individual is also invoked in benefactions and transactions with the gods as votive offerings are made. Each time this new coin is accepted and used the right of the individual to do this is effectively consented to, until it no longer becomes anything worth remarking on, until it becomes part of established ideology.

There are various different kinds of language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. Whilst few would have possessed all four, many people would have learnt to recognise inscriptions on coins not as 'words', but as signs, representations of individuals. There are plenty of 'words' today which can be read as signs by the semi-literate. On a visit to Moscow I rapidly learnt what several combinations of Cyrillic letters stood for (toilets and gentlemen seemed to be high priorities), their significance was perfectly clear, though I had no idea how to *read* the words. Words on coins would have become easier to recognise as signs once they were shorter and abbreviated; to learn three or four letters is easier than an alphabet, and from Commius onwards abbreviation becomes more and more common. *TAS* for Tasciovanus, *CUN* for Cunobelin, *VER* for Verica. Abbreviation, therefore, may have

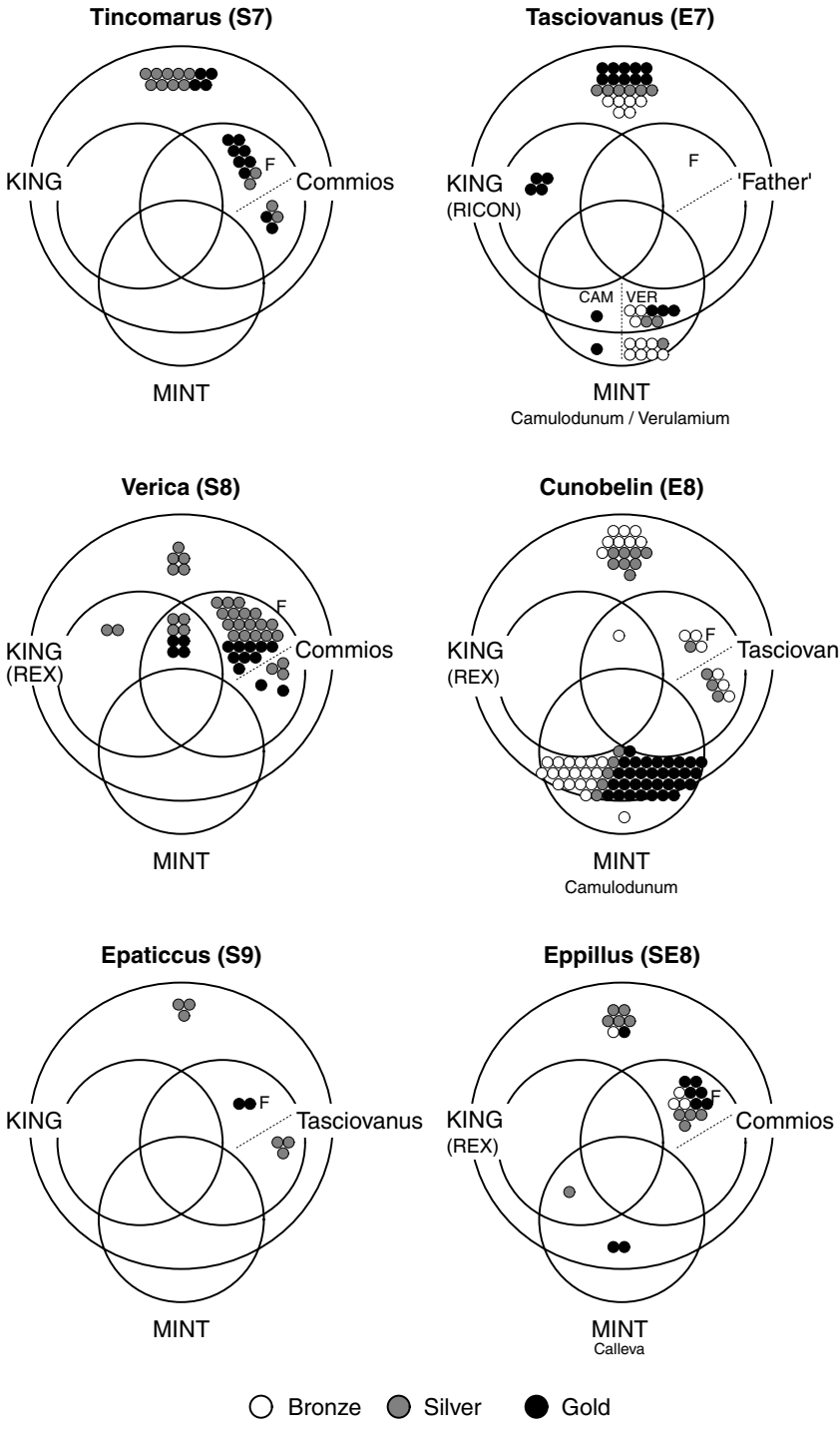


Fig. 6.5 A set analysis of the language on coins

made *reading* more difficult, but it probably made *communication* with a larger number of people more effective.

The arrival of literacy had the power to divide communities up into those who had yet another form of capital, literary capital, to deploy in various social fields of action. Abbreviations on coins were a way of spreading that capital, whilst at the same time affirming the legitimacy of the right of the individual to issue coin in his own name rather than that of the community.

Introduction to set analysis

As the language on coins became more complicated with multiple abbreviations or 'signs', so it led to increased choice: which titles were to be put on a coin? Was it more important to state one's supposed fatherhood, or to state the name of a town? Should the title Rex or Ricon be used?

Different rulers showed very different emphases in their choices. The best way of displaying these choices made is by using sets. Figure 6.5 shows the sets for the six main individuals in the south-east of Britain. Each dot represents an individual type or variant in Van Arsdell (1989a) and is located within the circles of the names and titles represented on the coin. Where there is a second name on the coin this is taken to represent the 'father figure', and these are divided up between issues which have *F*(*ilius*) written after them and those which do not.

Discussion of the use of REX

Let us first examine the titles *REX* and *RICON*. The terms simply mean 'king' but have often been interpreted as suggesting that these were the specific individuals who had 'client king' status with Rome. The individuals in the south-east who use the term are shown in Table 6.1.

The full and official title of a friendly king was *rex sociusque et amicus* (friend, ally and king). During the Republic this title had been conferred upon an individual after his request, by the senate (Braund 1984:24). A sponsor would present the applicant to the senate after which the applicant, sponsor, consuls and other magistrates would process to the Capitol where sacrifice would be made and the decree acknowledging recognition deposited. As the Principate developed it was imperial recognition that was required, not senatorial, and an important change was that instead of kings applying for recognition after they acceded to the throne, they came to seek recognition beforehand.

> The ceremony surrounding appellation also changed: under the Principate, we hear no more of the senatorial procession to the Capitol that accompanied the recognition of Herod in 40 BC. The emperor took over such ceremonies. Augustus struck treaties with *barbarorum principes* in the temple of Mars Ultor he had built. Gaius staged major ceremonies in the forum in which he conferred titles and lands upon several kings. Claudius staged a similar ceremony in the forum: typically, he followed ancient Roman practice in the process . . .
> (Braund 1984:26-7)

Table 6.1. *The use of monarchical titles in Britain*

Tasciovanus	Eastern dynasty	E7	*RICON*	Used on 8% of his types
Verica	Southern dynasty	S8	*REX*	Used on 19% of his types
Cunobelin	Eastern dynasty	E8	*REX*	Used on 1% of his types
Eppillus	Southern dynasty	SE8	*REX*	Used on 4% of his types

The first individual we have using the title is Tasciovanus, who issued coins around Phase 7 (*c.* 20 BC–AD 10). This is shortly after Augustus had come to Gaul to settle the area in to full Roman Provinces, and if the title *RICON* does indeed refer to client king status then a context in the regularisation of affairs after Britain 'failed to come to terms' is perfectly possible. But here it would be too easy to get in to the sphere of constructing pseudo-histories which the evidence might not contradict, but certainly cannot sustain.

The use of the title is actually very restrained. No individual uses it on all of their coins, far from it. Verica's use of it stands in contrast to the others, but even there it is on less than one fifth of the types. In the east its use on the coinage actually fell, with Cunobelin hardly using it at all, and Caratacus never. It seems that this particular title carried little political benefit to the audience at home, otherwise it would have been used more. These dynasts were already 'kings' in their own right, 'high kings' or 'paramount chiefs' maybe, but they did not necessarily need to proclaim an institution which had existed for generations, even if its nature was changing. Far more important were the filial and topographic affiliations on the coinage.

Discussion of the use of 'Filius'

The traditional interpretation of the letter *F* on coins is *Filius* or 'son of'. It has always been taken as a mark of dynastic succession. The individuals who use it were:

Southern dynasty
Declared as sons of Commius (S6):
- Tincomarus (S7)
- Verica (S8)
- Eppillus (SE8)

Eastern dynasty
Declared as sons of Tasciovanus (E7):
- Cunobelinus (E8)
- Epaticcus (S8)

Authors have frequently questioned whether '*F*' necessarily means that an individual was in fact a son of Commius or Tasciovanus. One of the main reasons for this is that Commius ceased producing coins in Phase 6 (*c.* 50–20 BC), and Verica and Eppillus only started producing them in Phase 8 (*c.* AD 10–40). Some have questioned if it is possible for Verica to still be the biological son of Commius. If Commius had indeed died *c.* 20 BC then Verica would be a minimum of *c.* 60 years old when he fled to Rome. Well, that is possible and should not be ruled out. After all, if Commius had lived until 20 BC, then he himself would have been in his 60s (assuming an age in the mid-twenties during Caesar's campaigns), and it is still perfectly possible for some men to procreate at that age. Nonetheless it is probably better if we just view the '*F*' as claiming affiliation to or descent from a certain dynasty. Augustus was not

Table 6.2. *Various legends on Cunobelin's coinage*

Reference	Inscription	Denomination
VA2089:E8	CVNOBELINI / TASCIOVANI F	AE Unit
VA2091:E8	CVNOBELINVS / TASCIOVANI F	AE Unit
VA2093:E8	CVNOB / TASCIIOVANTIS	AE Unit
VA2095:E8	CVNOBELINVS REX / TASC	AE Unit

Caesar's biological son, but that did not prevent him from making that assertion on many of his coins.

So why use the Roman abbreviation for *Filius*? What alternatives were there? On Gallic inscriptions the common practice in recording names is to identify a person in relation to his or her father. The official form of nomenclature would be a name with a patronym attached. There are two main types of patronymic formulae found from Gallic inscriptions. The first give the father's name in the genitive (e.g. Doiros Segomari: Doiros son of Segomaros). This form is unknown in southern Gaul, but common in Celtiberian areas, Cisalpine Gaul and in Lepontic. The second form is by means of a patronymic adjective such as the -kn- suffix (e.g. Ategnatos Drutiknos: Ategnatos son of Drutos) which again is unknown in southern Gaul, but occurs only in the North and in Cisalpine Gaul (Meid 1992:9). So might we not have expected *Verica Commiknos* rather than *Verica Commios F*?

There seems to have been a strong imperative to use the Latin form. Tasciovanus had used *RICON* for king, after all, so the use of a *Brithonic or Gaulish word or form of grammar would not be unthinkable. Nonetheless it did not happen. The use of the Roman *Filius* is the standard form of denoting parentage in Roman epigraphy. In terms of grammar, if the Latin is going to be correct, the individual's name should be in the nominative, and the father's in the genitive. Now most male names conform to the second declination, which would end with *-i* in the genitive. So the correct formulation would be something like Cunobelinus Tasciovani F. The vast majority of issues have abbreviated names on them so the endings are usually left off, however some are longer. As it happens the legend is correct on VA2091:E8, but it is slightly misconstrued on a variety of other coins. Cunobelin's die engravers would have done better to continue using abbreviations to cover up their Latin grammar.

But still, why use this Romanised form, even if imperfectly? Perhaps the reason is imitation. If one takes many of the inscriptions of the coins of the Julio-Claudians, and strips them of imperial titles, it is the name and the claim of decent which is more often than not the only thing left:

In Rome a typical Augustan inscription would be something like this:

> RICAug 64
> CAESAR.DIVI.F.AVGVST / CN.PISO.L.SVRDIN.C.PLOT.RVF
> Augustus, son of the divine Caesar / Three names (the moneyers)

This use of the filial title had been seen on some Republican issues, but Augustus made heavy use of it. Tiberius did likewise as the Julio-Claudian dynasty established

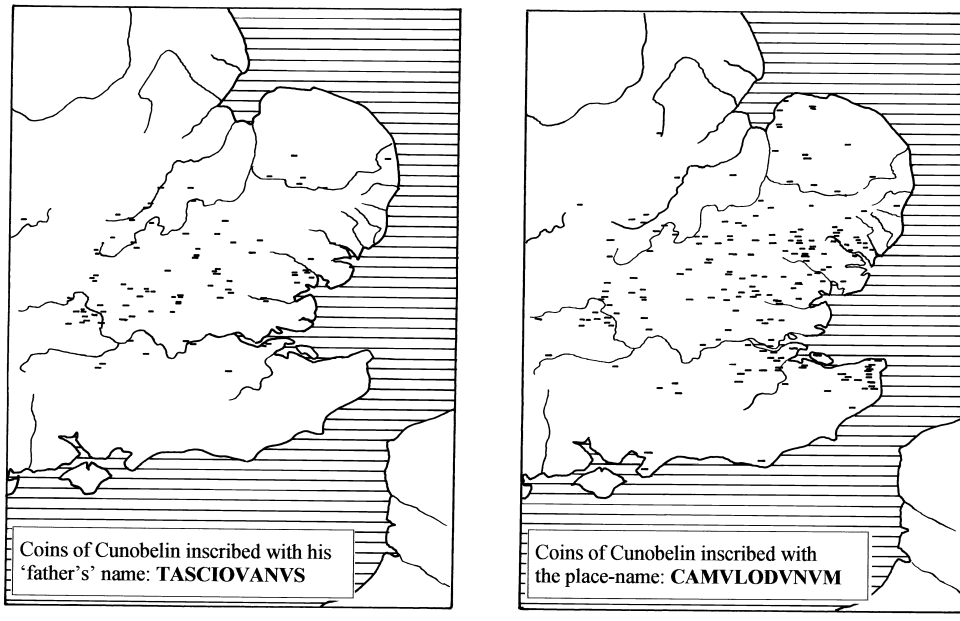


Fig. 6.6 The contrasting distribution of Cunobelin's coins which have his 'father's' name and Camulodunum on them

itself. However, thereafter Gaius and Claudius let it drop. The Principate had been established, the Julio-Claudian family had gained prominence, the filial title was no longer necessary and other Imperial titles took its place.

It may be that leadership in Britain did not operate by primogeniture. Indeed there are plenty of cases where this is not the case. In Scotland of the tenth century kings were elected from a body of individuals, all of whom could show they had had a king as their great-grandfather. Even this was complicated by a Pictish tradition of matrilineal decent and a tradition of selecting kings from alternate branches of the royal house. One thing which the system certainly was not was simple primogeniture. It is possible that the selection of kings in Britain had been similarly 'elective' from amongst a small class of individuals, but now a struggle was taking place to make it truly dynastic. Each time a coin was accepted with the filial legitimation on it, the dynastic principle was tacitly acquiesced to.

Discussion of the use of place-names or 'mintmarks'

One curious aspect about filial legitimation on coins is the fact that it never appears on coins with place-names on them. Mintmarks and hereditary legitimation titles are totally exclusive; and, apart from one of Eppillus, this is true for kingship titles as well. It may be that different forms of signification were required for different audiences. Cunobelin's coinage is the largest, and those of his which had the place-name Camulodunum on them largely circulated in precisely that area and in northern Kent (Fig. 6.6). There he needed no legitimation titles, no regal titles,

there, somehow, he was established. However to the west around Verulamium, a name which had graced Tasciovanus' coins, here Cunobelin was careful to stress his decent from Tasciovanus (real or asserted). Could it be that in the home town no additional titles were required; whereas elsewhere legitimation was needed?

Conclusion

When literacy arrived it was used on the coinage with a clear idea of different audiences, as different sets of titles were used in coins which could circulate in different areas. The use of texts was by no means naive, it was deliberately premeditated. The importance of the arrival of literacy and the arrival of Latin cannot be overestimated. Literacy was a fundamentally different way of storing knowledge and spreading knowledge; and the development of bilingualism created new ways of displaying and structuring power. The two threatened the *status quo*, and the old order which maintained its position through the memorised knowledge of ages would inevitably feel threatened.

7

Dynasties and identities

So far we have seen how our dynasts identified themselves with the Principate, using the visual language of the Augustan revolution in much the same way as other members of the Roman elite. We have also seen evidence for their contacts with other friendly kings, most notably Juba II and Ptolemy of Mauretania. Much of the visual language which they used probably left a large proportion of the British audience completely mystified. However, not all the imagery was impenetrable, and much of the coinage of the later dynasts was more 'open', communicating clearer messages to the populace about how they wished to be perceived. This chapter is concerned with the additional strategies developed by our dynasts to set themselves apart from their peers and to establish their authority. The evidence to be discussed is fairly broad and spans themes including 'self-image', burial, sacrifice and the foundation of *oppida*. In each case the imagery from their dynastic coinage will be linked to a variety of other forms of archaeological evidence. However, to start off the chapter we must again return to Rome to understand a little bit more of what Tincomarus or Tasciovanus may have witnessed there as children, had they been there – which I guess they had.

Experience in Rome

Living in the city would have been a feast for the senses. In their lodgings in the city, and presumably in villas outside, they would have sampled new forms of cuisine, and enjoyed the pleasures of relaxation in formal gardens liberally scattered with Greek statues. Still life in the city was probably not tranquil. The disturbances of the mob violence of the late Republic had been quelled, but now the disruption of the traffic constructing Augustus' new Rome would have filled the air with noise and dust. Many of these new buildings were temples.

During the late Republic many victorious generals constructed new temples to their patron deities. These were not just monuments to the gods, but also clear statements by individuals marking themselves out from their peers. Architecturally many of them were in the latest Hellenistic styles and decorated with Greek art looted from the east. Inevitably, within the precinct there would be a statue of the victorious general himself, sometimes placing the statue of the divinity into the shade (Zanker 1988:22). During this time many of the cults of the more ancient gods of Rome fell into neglect.

Association with divinities was brought into sharp focus in the final stages of the Republic. Pompey's theatre was constructed as a large adjunct to a temple to his patron goddess, Venus Victrix; something every spectator would have been well

aware of. Caesar himself also built a temple to his patron and ancestor Venus Genetrix. They both used temples to frame their self-image. On occasion Caesar would sit in front of his to receive senators (Suetonius, *Caesar* 78).

As Octavian consolidated his bid for power in the 30s BC, he initiated two massive building projects. The first was the sanctuary of Apollo. This was a large complex attached to Octavian's own house on the Palatine. Its position on the hill and its multiple levels gave it a stunning appearance overshadowing the Circus Maximus. Again the association of residence and temple was clearly and deliberately conceived and expressed. The second project was the construction of his Mausoleum. This monument, set in its own park, dominated the area between the River Tiber and the Via Flaminia. Its symbolic purpose has been much debated, but seeing it as a pledge of the enduring attachment by Octavian to Rome in antithesis of Antony's love of Alexandria is the most appealing explanation. In the central Mediterranean the only monuments which came close to it in scale were the tombs of the Numidian kings (Rakob 1979); something undoubtedly not lost on the young Juba.

However the largest scale building works awaited the end of the civil wars and Augustus' proclamation of a programme of religious building and restoration through the 20s BC.

> Augustus was commissioned by the senate to bring the old priesthoods up to their old complement. Cults, many of which existed now in name only, were newly constituted, with statues, rituals, priestly garb, and chants all revived or, if need be, recreated in archaic style. From now on all religious texts would be followed to the letter. A year later came the dedication of the temple of Apollo and, with it, the beginning of the great programme to rebuild the ruined temples. 'During my sixth consulate, by order of the Senate I restored 82 temples to the gods in Rome and did not omit a single one which was at that time in need of renewal' (*Res Gestae* 20).
> (Zanker 1988:103)

The impact of the building works in Rome would have been enormous, not only in terms of the scale of construction, but also in terms of the congestion caused as wagons filled up the streets bringing building material and rubble in and out. Once built, these temples provided platforms on which sacrifices could be seen enacted day in and day out. An individual resident in Rome could not fail to become totally familiar with the Roman concept and ritual of sacrifice.

Temples were by no means the only projects to receive attention. Agrippa expended huge resources on developing the infrastructure of the city: clearing rubbish, cleaning out the sewers, repairing roads. One project which would undoubtedly have commanded attention was his construction of a huge map of the world on the Campus Martius. This helped put into focus the Romans' sense of being at the centre of the world. Britain would have been right on the edge. The *obsides*, too, would have learnt their place in the world.

Much of this construction had carefully conceived political purposes. The new architecture was a central part of the formalisation and construction of the new

ideological framework of the Principate. The sense of wonder at the scale of the work and the optimism it generated was even mirrored in Virgil's description of Dido's construction of Carthage (Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.418ff; Zanker 1988:154).

Much of the above is familiar to us, but it would not have been to the first generation of British children in Rome. I have already attempted to show how I think the British mind-set might have reconciled their sense of place with classical mythology. What I aim to do in this chapter is to try and show various other forms of syncretism which took place in the Late Iron Age. We will see how classical practices in terms of portraiture, attitudes to ancestors and ritual practice invade life in Britain.

The portrait of a dynast

The influence of the Principate

British coinage had carried the semi-abstract image of Apollo for generations. However in the post-conquest period faces began to appear on the coinage, and from the later first century BC (Phase 7) some of these came to be what we can describe as relatively naturalistic. Tincomarus' and Tasciovanus' coinage both carried portraits with their names surrounding them. These portraits were very variable and set types were never established. Yet on quite a few of them extremely 'Romanised' images appear which have often been described as being the portraits of Augustus, Tiberius or other Julio-Claudians. The execution of these types is equally variable; some were remarkably fine, and others extremely crude (Table 7.1 and Fig. 7.1).

This imagery needs to be understood in its proper context. The image of the *princeps* himself was redolent with power, and was probably not unknown in Britain. As soon as a new emperor was raised to the purple his bust would be rapidly distributed across the provinces. South-east Britain would have been no exception. Unfortunately the busts of emperors were not normally simply thrown away, so as long as the Julio-Claudians reigned it is unlikely that any of their images would have ended up in the LIA archaeological record. The only exception would have been images of Gaius; after his *damnatio memoriae* busts of him would have been removed from display. From nearby Camulodunum just such a bust was found, though alas out of context in a railway cutting (Toynbee 1964:40). Nonetheless, a bust of Gaius is an extremely unlikely import after the Claudian annexation, so I think we can take it as suggesting Britain was within the distribution network of imperial images. In addition to busts of the *princeps*, Augustus ensured his image was extremely widely spread on his coinage, carrying portraits of himself and eventually his family. Not only did the central mints at Rome and Lugdunum reflect his features, so too did many of the provincial coinages which continued for a while in the west.

In Britain 'Julio-Claudian' portraits also appeared, with bare-faced men wearing diadems and laurel wreaths. However, unlike Roman Imperial and provincial coinage, around these images were not the names and titles of the first emperors, but rather the names of our British dynasts. The question is who were these portraits supposed to represent? Sometimes they look like specific Julio-Claudians, though most of the time there is only a broad semblance to the family as a whole. It would be all too easy to write these off as being yet more poor imitations of Roman coins, and

yes, they are 'bad copies', but to be fair their quality is no worse than some of the dies cut for other provincial issues:

> The portraits of Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius [on Roman provincial coinage] are very hard to differentiate from each other or from the portrait of Augustus. This arises partly from the fact that his successors modelled their portrait on that of the first emperor, and because many of the provincial portraits do not conform very closely to the models which were established on the coinage of Rome.
> (Burnett *et al.* 1992:42)

Even on the issues from Rome and Lugdunum Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius all looked remarkably similar to each other, which was surprising as Augustus and Tiberius were not even blood relations. Much of this early portraiture of Julio-Claudians was schematic, stressing similarity to establish the dynasty and the succession.

It is ambiguous whether such portraits on the British coins were meant to represent specific Roman emperors at all. I think it is far more likely that they were being used as images of power. Many clearly had the name of a British dynast inscribed around them. Indeed, Cunobelin has his name clearly written around images which were identified by Van Arsdell as looking like both Augustus and Tiberius. This may seem to be a curious phenomenon. However the phenomenon was not isolated to Britain. Fittschen (1974) notes that a similar thing happened in another friendly kingdom, pointing out the similarity between the portraits of Juba II and Augustus, and also between Juba's son Ptolemy and Augustus' fated heirs, Gaius and Lucius Caesar.

The best way of reading this is to reject the notion that these images were naturalistic portraits, and instead to consider them as images of people invested with power and authority. Again our British dynasts are conforming to practices observed elsewhere in the Roman world. Here, once more, we find them associating themselves with the imagery of the Principate.

The influence of the Hellenistic kingdoms

As our dynasts were in touch with Hellenistic kingdoms in addition to Rome, it would be worth considering whether they adopted the strategies used by these monarchs as well. The imagery of Alexander the Great was constantly made reference to by many of these, particularly his representation as Heracles (Roman Hercules) and Zeus Ammon (Roman Jupiter Ammon). We find both being used in Iron Age Britain (Table 7.2 and Fig. 7.2).

Amongst the more naturalistic portraits there are several types which stand out as being rather different. These are some of the latest British issues by Epaticcus and Caratacus. Neither of the two uses images similar to those of the Roman emperors'; however, they both share a common portrait which Mack and Van Arsdell describe as being a head wearing a lion-skin head-dress. The image is indistinct, and although the ears and muzzle can be made out, it is difficult to tell whether it is actually a lion

Table 7.1. *Male 'Romanised' portraits on British dynastic coinage (see Fig. 7.1)*

Reference	*Dynast*	*Metal*	*Description*	*Image on reverse side*	*Alleged similarity*
VA396:S7	Tincomarus	AR	Head left, laureate	(bull)	
VA397:S7	Tincomarus	AR	Head right, laureate [TINCOM]	(eagle and snake)	
VA1794:E7	Tasciovanus	AR	Head right [TASCIA]	(bull)	Augustus (VA)
VA1814–1820:E7	Tasciovanus	AE	Head right [TASCIO]	(various)	Augustus (VA)
VA1871:E7	Andoco	AE	Head right [ANDOCO]	(horseman)	Augustus (VA)
VA1873:E7	Andoco	AE	Head right [TAS ANDO]	(horse)	
VA441:SE8	Eppillus	AR	Head left, laureate [EPPIL]	(horseman)	
VA442:SE8	Eppillus	AR	Head left, wears diadem [CO VIR]	(Victory)	
VA443:SE8	Eppillus	AR	Head right, laureate [CO VIR]	(Capricorn)	Julio-Claudian (VA)
VA452:SE8	Eppillus	AR	Head left [EPPI]	(Victory)	
VA527:S8	Verica	AV	Bust right, laureate [VIRI]	(horseman)	Tiberius (Mack)
VA533:S8	Verica	AR	Bust right, laureate [VERICA]	(statue with *lituus*)	Tiberius (VA)
VA534:S8	Verica	AR	Bust right [VERICA]	(eagle)	Augustan (Mack)
VA551:S8	Verica	AR	Bust right, [VERICA]	(torc)	Tiberius (VA)
VA1983:E8	Cunobelin	AE	Helmeted bust left [CVNOBELI]	(boar)	
VA2045:E8	Cunobelin	AR	Head left [CAMVL]	(seated Victory)	
VA2055:E8	Cunobelin	AR	Head right [CVNOBELINI]	(horse)	
VA2083:E8	Cunobelin	AE	Head right [CVNO]	(boar)	Augustus (VA)
VA2087:E8	Cunobelin	AE	Head left [CAM]	(eagle)	
VA2089:E8	Cunobelin	AE	Head left [CVNOBELINI]	(centaur)	Tiberius (VA)
VA2091:E8	Cunobelin	AE	Head right, helmeted [CVNOBELINVS]	(sow)	
VA2095:E8	Cunobelin	AE	Bust right[CVNOBELINVS REX]	(bull)	Augustus (VA)
VA2097:E8	Cunobelin	AE	Head left [CVNOBELIN]	(seated figure)	

Fig. 7.1 Romanised portraiture on dynastic coins

or not. It is just possible it is another kind of animal. Whatever it is, this is not a direct copy of a Roman coin.

The imagery is that of Heracles, a hero/god whose cult was fairly widespread. One of his twelve tasks included confronting the Nemean Lion, which came off second best in the encounter and ended up being skinned and worn by our hero. Heracles' tasks took him beyond the edges of the known world, giving the hero that other-worldly status which transformed him into a deity. The imagery associated with him was taken up by Alexander the Great, that other great explorer whose adventures took him to the edges of the earth. Thereafter portraits of Hellenistic monarchs wearing lion-skins were not infrequent. The motif was well known and understood.

The cult of Heracles was particularly popular in North Africa, where it had long been identified with that of Melqart of Tyre. Juba II had an extensive range of Heraclean types. There are issues which have his portrait in a lion head-dress on one side and a temple on the other (Maz 145, 149 and 172), and also a related series which show the lion-skin hung up between a bow and arrow (Maz 176–188). The cult also found favour in southern Spain; there was an important temple near Gades, whose civic coinage was similarly dominated by the imagery of Heracles /Melqart.

In Britain both Epaticcus and Caratacus portray or represent themselves as Heracles (VA580:S8 and VA593:S9). Behind the hero's head is what appears to be a *simpulum* (ladle) for pouring out libations. This suggests the image is probably related to a cult of some sort. This is not improbable, the vast majority of these coins were found in two temple deposits at Waltham St Lawrence and Wanborough. They were not the only dynasts to use this image redolent of Hellenestic kingship. Cunobelin also had a couple of types showing Heracles with his club and lion-skin draped over his arm (VA2061:E8 and possibly VA2067:E8).

Other items of material culture associated with Heracles in pre-Claudian contexts are unknown. However a small statuette of him is known from a late Claudio-Neronian deposit, a rich grave from Colchester, often called the Child's grave from the west cemetery (Eckardt 1999). Within it, amongst other things, was a range of ceramics: a clay bust of a child which has been likened to the young Nero; a bronze *paterra*; and a group of rare central-Gaulish pipeclay figurines. Then there is also the large chalk hill-figure of Heracles in Dorset (the Cerne Abbas Giant) with his club in his right hand and his left outstretched which once had a lion-skin draped over it. The figure is, alas, undated.

It would appear that as well as using portraiture associated with the *princeps*, our dynasts had also learnt about Hellenistic images associated with kingship. Given the extensive links between Mauretania and Britain already established this should not surprise us. There are two more possible links between Heraclean imagery and our British dynasts, though both of these are more tentative. In chapter 4 a coin from Mauretania was mentioned which was issued by *VERREC*. If this was Verica, then we should note that this coin also had an image of Heracles on it. The second link is also merely suggestive: one of our rulers in Britain, Eppillus, has a cognate individual, Eppius, in the Roman world two generations before. However, a lack of evidence prevents any concrete suggestion that the two were related. Nonetheless, he too used the imagery of Heracles when he issued coins while he was fighting in the civil war against Caesar in North Africa (RRC461). Joining him on his side were contingents of Gallic cavalry and, of course, Juba I. Sadly he was defeated at the battle of Thapsus, though Caesar pardoned him along with others (*Bell. Afric*. 89).

Understanding the Hellenistic imagery associated with kingship is one thing, but one wonders if any of this was put into effect. Did Cunobelin ever wear a diadem with ram's horns attached to it? And did Epaticcus, Caratacus and others have lion-skin head-dresses to wear in selected ceremonies? All that would remain archaeologically of the latter would be the metapodia where the paws were retained on the skin. This might be like looking for a needle in a haystack, yet there is good reason to believe our dynasts did dress up in wild animal skins at times. Two rich burials from Welwyn Garden City and Baldock include bear-skins (Stead 1967:42; Stead and Rigby 1986:53), and as admitted above, the representations on the coins are so small and vague that bear-skins could indeed be what they portray.

The second form of explicitly Hellenistic portraiture was the depiction of a monarch with two horns; this again derived from Alexander the Great, who had been hailed as the son of Zeus Ammon. Alexander was depicted with a royal diadem and horns on the coinage of his successor Lysimachus (323–281 BC), and this image was repeated thereafter. Juba I of Numidia used it on some of his bronze coinage, though here the portrait was bearded, just as all the Numidian monarchs hitherto had been (Maz 90, 92). The type was continued during the interregnum in Mauretania (33–25 BC), though now it was inscribed with Octavian's name: IMP CAESAR / DIVI F (Maz 123). Here Octavian joined his own legitimating expression, saying he was the son of a god, with a classic image of Hellenistic kingship. The association would have been completely understood by its audience.

Zeus Ammon, with its associations with Hellenistic kingship, was a rare image on Republican coin, but it did appear in the final stages of the civil wars, as Octavian and Mark Antony fought for supreme power. Each side used a lot of imagery associated with Hellenism. The first was issued by Q. Cornuficius in 42 BC (RRC509/1–2), whilst the only other was one of the final issue struck for Mark Antony in 31 BC (RRC546/1); both are very rare.

Both British examples of Zeus Ammon were issued by Cunobelin. In contrast to Republican issues, they were amongst the most common types on his bronze coinage. They were slightly more like those of Juba I than the Republican issues, but there is not much in it; the crucial point is that Juba I, Mark Antony and Octavian's issues were all produced around the same time and with the same purpose in mind – to give ideological backing to their issuer. Cunobelin could have been using it in an equally knowledgeable way. Again, however, one wonders how many people in Britain would have understood the allusion. Perhaps the image was conceived by many as Cernunnus, the cross-legged horned god which appeared on post-conquest Gallic sculpture.

To conclude this section, our dynasts appear to have had a solid knowledge of how both the *princeps* and Hellenistic monarchs represented their image to their population; and they appear to have used that knowledge. But this was imagery and portraiture developed for an audience in Britain, most of whom would not have encountered their king in their daily lives. This is perhaps one reason why most of these images occur on the bronze and silver issues of each dynasty, as these coins had the widest circulation. Nonetheless the next question to address is how our dynasts represented themselves in person.

Victory and the Tasciovanian dynasty

All encounters between rulers and subjects are marked out by 'theatre' – the public performances which distinguish the leader's status from others through strict protocol. Many aspects of this theatre, such as the way people moved, prostrated themselves, and the language they spoke, leave little archaeological trace. However Rome was often kind enough to provide friendly kings with props to assist them in their performances, and some of these artefacts have found their way either into the archaeological record or onto depictions on coin.

Gifts were often given to kings when they were recognised by Rome. This was alleged to have happened from the earliest days of the Republic. Lar Porsenna, an Etruscan king who had attempted to force Rome to reinstate the Tarquins, is said to have been made a friend and ally of the city, and given the regalia of the kings of Rome: an ivory chair, a sceptre, a gold crown and a *toga picta* (triumphal robe). A bit later in 203 BC Scipio Africanus bestowed upon Massinissa of Numidia similar gifts: a gold crown, a gold patera, a *sella curulis* (a folding chair), an ivory sceptre, a *toga picta* and *tunica palmata* (Braund 1984:27). Many of these objects were once part of the regalia of the kings of Rome, but had continued into the Republic as items associated with the chief magistracies of the city.

The conferral of gifts continued into the Principate. Ptolemy of Mauretania was

Imagery associated with Hercules

Alexander the Great

BRITISH
VA580:S9
Epaticcus

BRITISH
VA593:S9
Caratacus
Maz 123

MAURITANIAN
RPC 1 870
'VIRREC'

BRITISH
VA2061:E8
Cunobelin

Representations of Zeus Ammon

Alexander the Great,
on the coins of
Lysimachus of Thrace

NUMIDIAN
Maz 90
Juba I

MAURITANIAN

Octavian

BRITISH
VA2107:E8
Cunobelin

Fig. 7.2 Portraits and images related to Heracles and Zeus Ammon

Table 7.2. *Portraits and images related to Heracles and Zeus Ammon (see Fig. 7.2)*

Reference	*Dynast*	*Metal*	*Description*	*Image on reverse side*
VA580:S8	Epaticcus	AR	Bust right, wearing a lion's skin [EPATI]	(eagle and snake)
VA593:S9	Caratacus	AR	Bust right, wearing a lion's skin [CARA]	(eagle and snake)
VA2061:E8	Cunobelin	AR	Figure of Heracles with club and lion-skin [CVNO]	(woman side-saddle on horse)
VA2067:E8	Cunobelin	AR	Figure of Heracles(?) holding club [CVNO]	(inscribed tablet)
VA2103: E8	Cunobelin	AE	Bust as Zeus Ammon [CVNOBELIN]	(horseman)
VA2107: E8	Cunobelin	AE	Bust as Zeus Ammon [CVNOB]	(lion)

given an ivory sceptre and *toga picta* by Tiberius in AD 24. Tacitus described this as a re-enactment of ancient practices (Tacitus *Annals* 4.26). However Tiberius' act is unlikely to have been an isolated circumstance. Both Juba II and Ptolemy issued coins which had a collection of objects by a curule chair, and it is often thought that these represent the gifts given by the Caesars to the kings (Maz 193-5; Maz 440-50). The chair, the staff and the robe were all potent symbols of authority. The chair in particular was reserved for magistrates, consuls, generals and the *princeps* himself.

In LIA Britain we find artefacts which could easily fit into this kind of category, especially from the two most wealthy burials known: the Lexden Tumulus (Camulodunum) and the Folly Lane Burial (Verulamium). In the Lexden Tumulus, which dates to sometime around 15–1 BC (Phase 7), there were the remains of what may have been a *sella curulis* (Foster 1986:61, 109). The ironwork was much corroded and the identification is not absolutely secure, but it is the most convincing interpretation of the remains. With it was found a small sandalled foot, which may have been on one of the legs of the stool paralleled in an example from a Claudian burial in Nijmegen (Jitta *et al.* 1973).

Another survival was some thin filaments of gold ribbon which had been wound round some form of textile (Foster 1986:92). The best parallel for this thread comes from the supposed grave of Philip of Macedon at Vergina (Andronikos 1977:66; Fitzpatrick 1989:406); here the gold was woven with purple into a series of floral and figural motifs. Alas, no evidence like that survives from Lexdon. Exactly what the textile came from is open to speculation; it could have been from soft furnishings on the folding chair or couch in the burial, or it could have been from a garment, possibly even a *toga picta*. Also from the grave was some silver in the form of what Foster (1986:88) described as stylised wheat or cereal stems, which could have been sewn onto a fabric backing. The description as wheat is tempting, as it is a constant leitmotif on a lot of the region's later coinage under Cunobelin. However since the stems curve, and the 'grains' are set opposed to each other rather than alternately, I think it is more likely that they are laurel branches: again, a clear sign of status. Many

other objects were found in the grave which could have been gifts; most commonly mentioned is the medallion of Augustus himself.

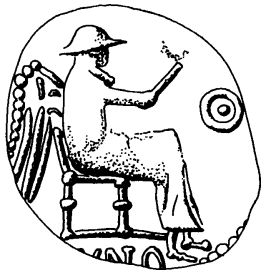
The Folly Lane burial in Verulamium dates to around the time of the Claudian annexation. The partial remains were poorly preserved, having suffered the intense heat of the funeral pyre (Niblett 1992). Amongst the items recovered were some fragments of ivory, including several lathe-turned knobs and discs, together with a bronze foot with an iron shank. These were thought to come from either a funerary couch or throne. Archaeologically Roman couches are better known, but then they are liable to be more common than thrones. The reconstruction illustration by Angela Thorne (Selkirk 1993:487) put the fragments together as a couch, though since ivory chairs were amongst the kinds of gift given to friendly kings, this also is a strong possibility.

The ivory knobs in the Folly Lane burial create a strong resonance with a series of images on some of Cunobelin's coins. There are three issues which depict a very specific kind of chair with knobs on its shafts. Two of these coins show what appears to be Victory sitting in the chair. They are related to a Roman type (RRC343/1), but are not direct copies. In both cases the individual appears to be wearing a broad-brimmed hat, but in one he/she is holding a short rod or sceptre, whilst in the other he/she is clasping a dot-in-ring motif which may represent a torc or *patera*. The image of the winged figure is clear and distinct. There is, however, a new coin which is clearly part of the same set of images. This one (ICC94.0995:E8) has a male seated on exactly the same 'chair with knobs on', and he has his left foot raised slightly in the air, just as 'Victory' does on one of the others (VA1971:E8). However instead of holding a sceptre or torc (two clear symbols of authority), he is holding a sword in one hand and an amphora in the other. On all of these images Cunobelin's name is clearly inscribed. Together these coins (Fig. 7.3) display the accoutrements of power, and the interchangeability of this figure and Cunobelin is directly paralleled in the way Augustus used Victory:

> Inside the curia . . . Octavian set up the original statue of Victory, an Early Hellenistic work which came from Tarrentum, and she was regarded as his personal patron goddess. Probably Octavian at first had it mounted on a globe, the symbol of his claim to sole power, but [after Actium] the goddess was given Egyptian booty (in the form of captured weapons) in her hand and was set atop a pillar at the most conspicuous spot in the council chamber, behind the seats of the consuls. From now on she would be present at every meeting of the Senate.
> (Zanker 1988:79-80)

These images suggest that Cunobelin represented himself using a strategy similar to Octavian, employing the image of a deity to stand in for his presence. If this is the case one may wonder if there were any statues of 'Victory' from LIA Britain. None is known, though a large metal wing from a statue was found in the Gorhambury enclosure at Verulamium, dating to a much later phase (Neal *et al.* 1990:129).

However, there are some classical sculptures from LIA and Claudian Britain



VA2045:E8
Cunobelin

VA1971:E8
Cunobelin

IOCC94.0995:E8
Cunobelin

Sch 46 *AE Classe* ii
Andobro Garmanos

Sch 45 *AR*
Commios Garmanos

Antimachus of Bactria
(*AR c.* 190 BC)

Sch28 *AE classe* iv
Roveca

Sch 27 *AE*
Criciru

Hermes in a cap
Aenus (Thrace)
(*AR*: *c.* 460 BC)

Fig. 7.3 Coins portraying 'Cunobelin's throne' and various styles of hat

Table 7.3. *Coins portraying 'Cunobelin's throne' (See Fig. 7.3)*

Reference	Dynast	Denomination	Description
VA2045: E8	Cunobelin	AR	Seated Victory with hat and staff, (?) torc in background
VA1971: E8	Cunobelin	AE	Seated Victory with hat and (?) torc
ICC94.0995: E8	Cunobelin	AE	Seated man with hat, amphora and sword

which may represent a couple of peculiarly British 'Victories'. As noted in chapter 4, some of the representations of Victory on coins appear to be male rather than female. It was suggested then that the nature of society in south-east Britain might have had a problem with a female figure representing authority and military prowess. Of course it would be impossible to obtain a classical sculpture of a male Victory; even commissioning one would probably send a Roman sculptor into apoplexy. The only winged males in the classical cannon were Cupid and Mercury. As it happens there are several cupids known from two LIA and extremely early Roman rich graves. The first is a small bronze figurine from the Lexden Tumulus (Foster 1986:53). A second, in ivory, comes from the fragmentary remains of a 'funerary couch' from the rich, early post-conquest 'child's burial' from Colchester (Eckardt 1999). Since a 'male Victory' would have been a nonsense to any Roman sculptor, perhaps these small carvings represented the next best thing: a very British kind of 'Victory'.

On the other hand perhaps what we have taking place here is a syncretism between British beliefs and Octavian's strategy of association with this goddess. It was said by Caesar that the Gauls worshipped Mercury above all the other gods (Caesar, *BG* 6.17). This was a very odd remark as it conflicted with the classical conceptions of order amongst the pantheon of gods, which gave Mercury a much lower status. It is possible that the symbolic attributes of Mercury and Victory are being conflated in some British and northern European imagery.

Mercury is normally represented in classical iconography with one of several devices to make him recognisable. Sometimes he has his staff (the *caduceus*), sometimes he carries a purse, and occasionally he has wings on his feet; otherwise he might wear a sun hat with a broad brim (*petasus*), which on occasion had wings on it. An example of this kind of hat comes from the coinage of Antimachus of Bactria (Fig. 7.3). As will be noticed, the figures on these coins also happen to be wearing broad-brimmed hats. This headgear occurs on a few post-conquest Gaulish issues as well, such as the coins of *GARMANOS COMMIOS* (Sch.45 AR) and *ANDOBRV GARMANOS* (Sch.46 AE *Classe* ii). One possibility, assuming our dynasts were knowledgeable about classical iconography, is that this is Mercury's cap – the broad-brimmed sun hat of the traveller. Perhaps the winged figures on these coins are meant to represent a kind of Mercury rather than Victory.

The other common form of headgear on north-east Gallic coins in the immediate post-conquest period is close-fitting caps with studs around the brim, e.g. *CRICIRV* (Sch.27 AE) and *ROVECA* (Sch.28 AR). Normally these are assumed to be military

helmets of a type referred to as Mannheim helmets. Quite a few of them have been discovered in the southern part of Gallia Belgica, mainly from rivers, though one came from a mid-first-century BC grave from Trier-Olewig. Several are known from further afield, including northern Italy, leading to the suggestion that they were a type of helmet used by the late Republican army (Roymans 1990:153). The brims of Mannheim helmets often have a zigzag or a dotted line motif; however, the representations on coins show a series of studs or dots. Curiously enough this close-fitting, brimless hat with studs around the outside is precisely the other form of hat closely associated with the depiction of Hermes/Mercury; an example of a classical depiction comes from the coinage of Aenus (Thrace) (Fig. 7.3).

Without literary testimony it is difficult to imagine the different ways individuals would have read these images, mixing symbols associated with military might (Mannheim helmets) and with godhead (Mercury and Victory). The ambiguities are too strong for us to come to any certain conclusions, except that again it appears that our dynasts used classical iconography in a knowledgeable way.

The contents of these two burials show the kinds of material attributes associated with the display of royal insignia in the gift of Rome, and the imagery on Cunobelin's coinage shows the use of some of these objects in action. Chain mail was also found in both burials. Chain mail is only known from four sites in Late Iron Age Britain: Lexden (Laver 1927:248; Foster 1986:82), Folly Lane (Niblett 1992:923), a rich grave at Baldock (Burleigh 1982) and the Temple at Hayling Island (King and Soffe 1991). These are the first occurrences of chain mail in Britain, with the sole exception of some from a MIA grave from Kirkham in Yorkshire. Chain mail was associated very early on with 'the celts', both by classical authors (Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5.24.16), and archaeologically from finds in Romania and Czechoslovakia from the third century BC. Its use spread, and in the second century wealthy Romans were said to have worn it on occasion (Polybius 6.23.15), lots of fragments were discovered during Schultern's excavations at Numantia. So mail need not designate either 'British' or 'Roman'; however, there are differences between the detailed manufacture of chain mail. The Folly Lane and Hayling Island finds are still unpublished, but Laver pointed out that the Lexden mail had chain with hinges, the best parallels for which came from Roman military sites. Fitzpatrick (1989:337) considered that the mail, associated as it was with some leather and types of buckle often found on Roman military equipment, could possibly be Roman *lorica hamata*; and as he pointed out, the only comparable piece known from beyond the Roman frontiers is the suit from the second-century BC Numidian 'Royal Tomb' of Es Soumâa in Algeria (Waurick 1979). In addition both Folly Lane and Lexden contained various horse trappings. Such finds should not surprise us; as I have indicated before, it was fairly normal practice for an *obses* growing up at court to spend some time with the Roman army.

The construction of Lexden, a large circular tumulus dominating the entranceway to Camulodunum in the last decade BC, has drawn inevitable parallels with Octavian's construction of his mausoleum; but Lexden is not the only LIA burial mound. There is also another LIA tumulus at Hurstbourn Tarrant in Hampshire

(Hawkes and Dunning 1930; Stead 1968). This was excavated in 1905 and contained a bucket burial, a few pots and a thistle brooch, dating it to sometime shortly before the Claudian annexation. Given my view of the British dynasts, and their manipulation of the same kinds of strategies for displaying their power and authority as Octavian/Augustus, linking the construction of these mounds to Octavian's mausoleum is very tempting. Other friendly kings were similarly impressed. Segal (1973) argues that Herod's second Herodium was consciously inspired by the mausoleum. However this interpretation is slightly tempered by the fact that some of the earliest Belgic burials, which have some similarity in terms of ritual and burial chambers, also had tumuli constructed over them, as at Clemency in Luxembourg (La Tène D2a; Metzler *et al.* 1991). Whatever, the congruence of practices developing in north-east Gaul/south-east Britain with Octavian's construction would have enhanced our dynasts self-perception as being significant members of the elite of the Roman world.

A few features are worth pointing out from other rich burials in Late Iron Age Britain (Birchall 1965; Stead 1967; Haselgrove 1982). One of the Stanway burials contained a set of medical instruments. Some of the Stanway burials are pre-AD 43, whilst others date to shortly thereafter, but because of the continuity in rite even the later burials presumably represent part of the Late Iron Age super elite. A doctor with a full set of Roman medical instruments is a curiosity, but we have to view this in the way that Late Iron Age Britons would have viewed Roman medicine. Britons would have had their own remedies and practices, and they undoubtedly would have believed in their efficacy. However 'foreign knowledge', especially from the Roman world, was probably given a high esteem, and doctors certainly moved around: Juba II actually named a plant after his physician, Euphorbus, who happened to be the brother of Augustus' doctor, Musa (Braund 1984:115). Whether the individual in the Stanway burial was another relative come to Britain, or whether this was a Briton who had learnt classical medicine in Italy or Mauretania, we shall never know.

Having talked about some of the burial monuments of the dynasts and their court or family, it would perhaps be appropriate to delve a bit deeper into how the dead were understood and dealt with.

Death, burial and worshipping the ancestors

In Rome many families had genealogies painted inside their houses which traced the family's decent back many generations, perhaps even to the mythical foundation of Rome and beyond to a god or goddess. Often even the most recent stages of these family trees were fictitious (Hopkins 1983). But so long as you had a god or goddess somewhere, any number of unremarkable or lacklustre middle generations could be forgiven. As we noted at the start of this chapter, in the late Republic Octavian and his rivals made much of building temples to their related deities, and they used these temples in the public presentation of their self-image. Octavian's coins also placed a great deal of emphasis upon his descent from Caesar, indeed, his very use of Caesar's name marked out unambiguously his claim for equal honour and status in the decaying Republic. In the Roman world ancestry, or rather the perception of ancestry, was extremely important.

Back in Britain amongst the Commian and Tasciovanian dynasty, the use of filial titles was fairly widely adopted. These statements were more important than the use of titles such as *REX*. Earlier we explored the possibility that fake genealogies were constructed linking our dynasts back to the foundation of Rome (though that evidence was far more tenuous). Ancestry was clearly important. So what other evidence do we have for the changing perception of 'the ancestors' in Late Iron Age Britain, and what can that tell us about the manipulation of power?

We will start by looking at how classical authors represented 'celtic' beliefs in 'life' beyond death. Caesar, writing in the mid-first century, and Diodorus Sicullus, writing later but drawing upon the early first century BC account of Posidonius, presented a fairly uniform belief in some form of rebirth of the soul:

> A lesson which [the druids] take particular pains to inculcate is that the soul does not perish, but after death passes from one body to another; they think that is the best incentive to bravery, because it teaches men to disregard the terrors of death.
> (Caesar, *BG* 6.14; written *c.* 52 BC)

> the belief of the pythagoreans prevails among them, that the souls of men are immortal and that after a prescribed number of years they commence upon a new life, the soul entering into a new body. Consequently we are told, at the funerals of their dead some cast letters upon the pyre which they have written to their deceased kinsmen, as if the dead would be able to read these letters
> (Diodorus Sicullus 5.28.6; published mid to late first century BC)

Whether an equestrian was always born back into an equestrian's body, we are not told. But in many senses, given a belief like this, stages of the death ritual may be as much a celebration of a new life as anything else. Would a specific memorial be required of an individual who has in fact been born again?

Slightly later sources suggest a different opinion, which may represent a change in beliefs under increasing classical influence. Lucan and Pomponius Mela, writing in the early to mid-first century AD, repeat the notion of immortality but also suggest that people went down into the underworld with the souls of their ancestors, or else up to gods in the sky. These sources relate to Gaul, and any extrapolation to Britain or even across the whole of Gaul is extremely hazardous. Nonetheless the sources are indicative of a shift from a circular notion of time, where the soul is continually reborn, to one where the individual existence continues along a linear pathway into the shades. In the context of the former, a celebration of 'the ancestors' as a collectivity is perhaps more likely than in the latter where individuality is retained in death. Does the archaeological evidence show any comparable changes to these classical perceptions?

In the MIA of southern Britain the normative burial rite, as far as we can tell, was excarnation with selected bones being deposited in various boundary ditches and pits. Cadavers seem to lose their individuality as selected portions were disposed of in a variety of ways. Perhaps a sample of the remains of 'the ancestors' was retained in

the MIA shrines which have been found at Danebury, Maiden Castle and Stanstead, though archaeologically no proof exists and these remain enigmatic buildings serving some specific but unknown purpose.

The earliest sign of change comes from the cemetery at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 1997). This burial ground (*c.* 90–50 BC) appeared to represent a community which included a broad range of sexes and ages. In the vicinity was a series of small farmsteads, though within a generation or two the Chichester entrenchments were constructed in this area. Here, too, was a series of 'shrines' which had some similarities to the Danebury and Stanstead examples, reinforcing the suggestion that they may have been related to funerary practices. The excavator examined the material to see if there were any underlying principles in the distribution of the graves. In terms of layout little significant differentiation could be found in the location of burials divided by age and sex, apart from 'elders' who were preferentially located along the circumference of an inner circle of graves around which all the others were located. There was little apparent patterning except for a few grave groupings whereby a rectangular focal grave was surrounded by an arc of subsidiary graves. These 'focal graves' contained the remains of individuals of varying age and sex; the only things which appeared to distinguish them from other burials were their size and the number of pots.

The appearance of groups of graves recurred on a larger scale in later Aylesford-type cemeteries. When Evans excavated the Aylesford cemetery itself he uncovered a circular group of burials and was assured by the quarrymen that the others which had already been lost had similarly appeared in clusters (Evans 1890:320) (Fig. 7.6). Arcs or clusters have also been found at other sites such as Kempston, Bedfordshire (Simco 1973:11) and King Harry Lane, Verulamium (Stead and Rigby 1989). These have often been described as 'family circles'. At King Harry Lane the groups each had a central rectangular burial, surrounded by numerous ancillary burials. About ten or eleven of these clusters were found, of which eight were marked off by a separate enclosure. Again the central burials were of varying age and sex.

Proving or disproving the notion of family or lineage groups is extremely difficult. With the fragmentary nature of the cremated remains looking for anatomical markers is impossible, and the heat of the pyre has removed any chance of DNA analysis. Nonetheless specific clusters did occur within these cemeteries, whereby the deceased were allocated to a group in the realm of the dead. Within that group little distinction can be seen in terms of age and sex, suggesting that individuals were being absorbed within a particular rather than a generic ancestral group.

We have, therefore, traces of groupings emerging from the burial record; but within these cemeteries few specific individuals appear to carry their lifetime identities with them into death. Yet these cemeteries were not the only burial rite at the time. Alongside the Aylesford-type cremations was a series of burials often found in isolation rather than in cemeteries. These were the Welwyn burials. Whereas the Aylesford-type burials normally had a few associated artefacts and the cremation in a pot, the Welwyn burials usually comprised a large pit or chamber which housed an un-urned cremation, at least one wine amphora, and more often than not a wide

range of other artefacts, many of which were imported from the Roman world. These variable types are best seen as the different ends of a spectrum of practice rather than as hard and fast divisions. We have already mentioned burials from Folly Lane, Lexden, Stanway and Welwyn. It would certainly appear from these sites that individuality was being continued beyond death into burial and whatever afterlife was conceived, which is more in keeping with the later impressions of Lucan and Pomponius Mela than the earlier observations of Caesar and Diodorus.

Reading and interpreting burial evidence is extremely difficult and full of dangers, but the burial evidence does seem to suggest that individual lineages may have begun to mark themselves out. Similarly, selected individuals were also further differentiated from their peers in death, as presumably they had been in life. The artefacts buried in the ground in these more extravagant graves reflect an individuality carried on into an afterlife, but is there any evidence to suggest that the individuality of the memory of the deceased was continued in rituals and practices within life?

We do not know for sure who was buried at Folly Lane, but the burial did not mark the end of activity on the site. The grave remained a focus of attention with the construction of a 'Romano-celtic temple' next to the burial. The conversion of this mortuary enclosure into a centre for acts of devotion is curious. Burial and temple site do not normally go together in Roman religious practice. Was it actually a Romano-celtic deity being worshipped here, which is how Romano-celtic temples are traditionally interpreted, or was this somewhere where the dead dynast was being venerated? Perhaps the distinction was blurred by the veneration of a mythical founder of the lineage who happened to be a god.

Meanwhile south of the Thames, in Hampshire and along the south coast, the Commian dynasty ruled. Here we find other forms of evidence which suggest a similar development. First there is the imagery on the coinage, which suggests the development of a cult of Commius; and second, there is the creation of a new focal site for ritual activity, Hayling Island, which in the aftermath of the Claudian annexation gets rebuilt in stone as a Romano-celtic temple.

The first classical-style coin we examined was the Horseman type of Tincomarus (chapter 4). The image comprised a horseman, a star and an inscription meaning 'Son of Commius'. In Roman iconographic terms the horseman was a symbol of military prowess. The inscription made a statement of descent in the same way as Octavian did when he issued coins with 'CAESAR.DIVI.F'. Finally, the star could have been read as either a symbol of the transformation of Julius Caesar into a god, or, since it was Commius' name on the bottom, the transformation of Commius into a god. This reading of the imagery of Tincomarus is suggestive, but by no means conclusive. However, on the coinage of Verica far less ambiguous imagery was used, and suggestion gave way to relatively open declaration.

Verica issued a series of coins which seem to strongly suggest the development of a cult dedicated to his supposed father Commius. A form of ancestor cult would almost certainly have existed in any case, but it is with Verica that it receives unambiguous expression on the coinage which a broader audience would be able to interpret. Four coins in particular are important (Table 7.4). All of them have an

image suggestive of an organised cult associated with a legend expressing Verica's filial relationship to Commius. First there is a figure holding a branch next to a 'head on a stick' (VA506). This coin used to be seen as evidence for druidic head cults in Britain, but a more preferable interpretation would be that it is a scene in classic Roman tradition with Verica (or a priest of the cult) displaying an ancestral bust. All the senatorial families of Rome would have had these. Ancestral busts were kept in a shrine in the house and taken out on important ceremonial occasions, particularly funerals. The shrine – a cupboard – is probably what is depicted on VA552, which shows a structure with two doors (previously this type has often been described as an altar). VA553 then shows a temple with a small figure visible between two columns. This is a very small coin, and on larger Roman depictions of temples the figure always represents the cult statue. Since CF is placed on either side of the temple, this is strongly suggestive that this is a temple dedicated to Commius. The cult statue itself may be depicted on VA533, where a naked figure holds a *lituus*. The nakedness of the figure strongly suggests that it represents a Hellenised heroic statue or a god, and it could also be recalled that the cult statue of the Divine Julius Caesar in his temple also held a *lituus* (cf. the representation on Octavian's coin RRC540; Fig. 4.4). On the other side all four coins have Verica's name inscribed, and two have REX along with it. Three associate the name with bulls, the most important sacrificial animal in Roman practice. The exception is a coin which replaces the bull with a laureate portrait, probably meant to represent Verica himself.

In its entirety this collection represents all the principal attributes one would expect in a cult of Commius. The imagery strongly suggests there was such a cult and that there was somewhere a temple associated with it. From the coinage we can suggest that the cult may have been initiated under Tincomarus, but it is only under Verica that we see it being used forcefully. The cult would appear to be heavily influenced by the way that Octavian/Augustus used the devotion to the deified Caesar. It may also have been in response to knowledge gained about the cults of Hellenistic kings. This cult now has to be seen in connection with the development of Hayling Island.

In the late first century BC a wooden structure was erected on Hayling Island (King and Soffe, in press; Fig. 7.5). The first phase was a trapezoidal enclosure containing a rectangular structure, with a central feature, possibly a post or a large pit. At some stage this was significantly redeveloped with the construction of a much more square enclosure and a roundhouse encircling the original central feature. For various reasons this site has been described as an Iron Age temple. First of all large numbers of coins, brooches and other artefacts were discarded there, many of which had been deliberately broken, suggesting votive deposition; second, at some point shortly after Claudius' reorganisation of south-east Britain, this wooden structure was replaced by a stone circular building within a square galleried temenos. This architectural form is similar to many 'Romano-celtic' temples in western Gaul. Could this be the centre of a Commian dynastic cult?

The deity at the post-conquest shrine has not been secured by any epigraphic means; however, because of the number of horse trappings and the chain mail

Fig. 7.4 The coinage of Verica: coins related to a possible cult of Commius

Table 7.4. *Verica and the cult of Commius (see Fig. 7.4)*

Reference	*Obverse*	*Reverse*
VA506	Figure with ancestral bust (COMMI F)	Sacrificial bull (VERICA REX)
VA533	Cult statue (COMI F)	Laureate bust (VERICA)
VA552	Shrine (CF)	Sacrificial bull's head (VERICA)
VA553	Temple with cult statue (CF)	Sacrificial bull (VER REX)

discovered there a martial deity was considered. In addition to which, a temple of similar design at Allonnes had an inscription to Mars Mullo. So the excavators considered that a celtic deity associated in the Roman period with Mars might have been worshipped here.

This is entirely possible, but I think the data can be read in another way (though admittedly the site has yet to be fully published). The coinage indicates that a cult of the Commian dynasty is a strong possibility, as is the existence of a temple related to it. Could this be Hayling island?

In the centre of the LIA structure was a pit measuring 2.7 × 1.8 m, which had been backfilled with brickearth, pottery, bones, brooch fragments, celtic coins and a piece of mirror. The excavators found no sign of the pit having held water, or of it being a favissa-type offering pit, so they wondered if it could have been the foundation of a cult statue which had been deliberately removed when the Roman temple replaced the Iron Age structure. Given the notion that pre-Roman 'celtic religion' may have been aniconic, it would be curious to find a cult statue of a 'celtic deity' when the LIA structure was constructed. Could it be that here was a cult statue not to a 'celtic deity' but to Commius, or else to the god from which the Commian dynasty claimed descent? Given the image on VA553, this idea is very tempting.

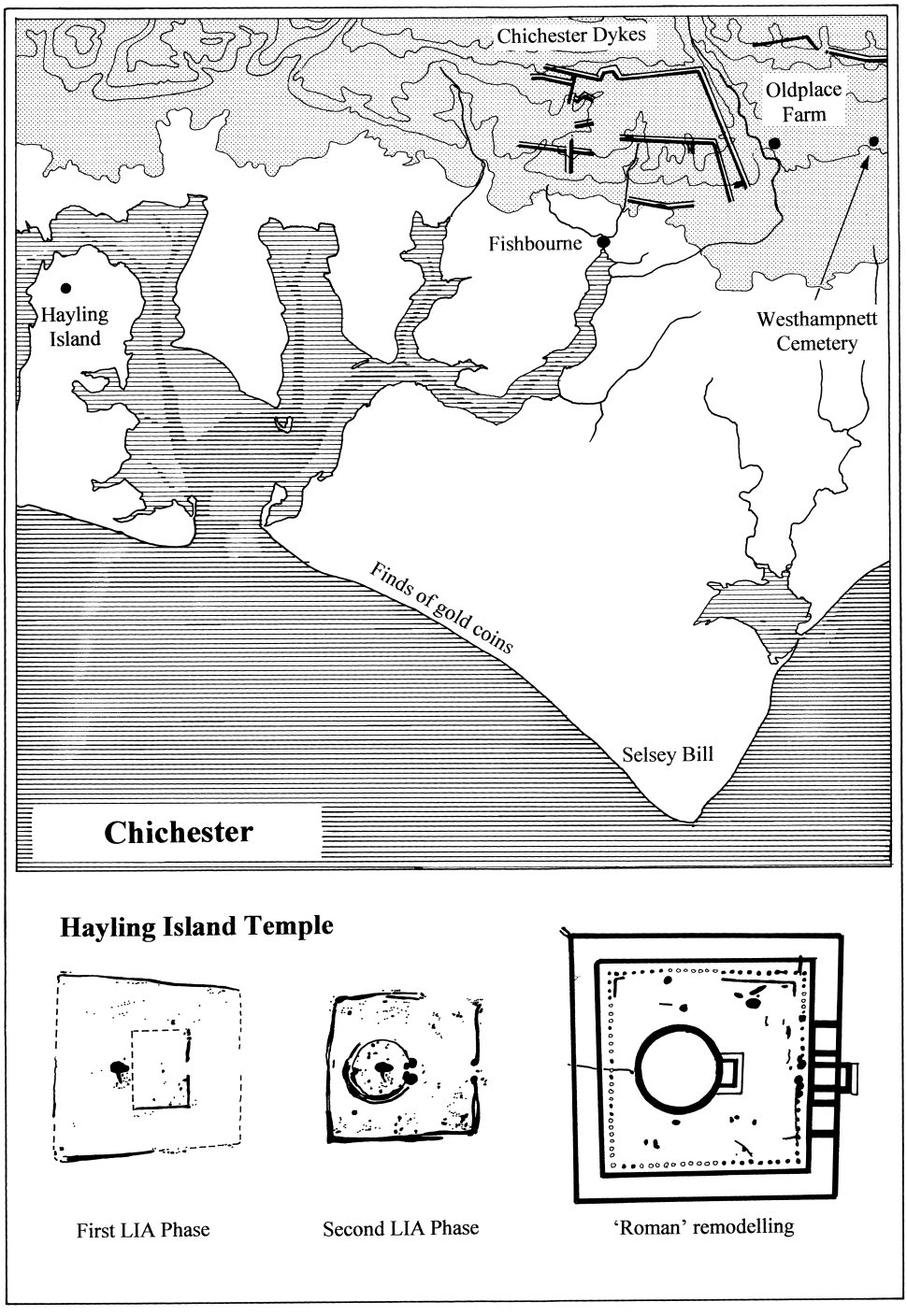


Fig. 7.5 The Chichester entrenchments and the development of Hayling Island

The date of the site is obviously crucial, so what is the evidence? The coins have already been published (Briggs *et al.* 1992). The analysis suggested two principal phases of deposition, with a significant absence of coin between them. The types missing in this gap are known from other deposits in the area, so they were certainly available in the vicinity to be deposited. The two groups of coin may relate to the two LIA phases:

> preliminary stratigraphic analysis of the Iron Age coins, based on an admittedly small sample, suggests a strong possibility that there were two chronologically distinct groups of offerings. The first group comprise Gaulish imports, local southern coins minted in the mid-later first century BC, and a few western issues. Its composition is compatible with deposition at any time between Caesar's conquest of Gaul and the early first century AD. At this stage, Roman coins seem only to have been present in a very small minority. The second group consists primarily of dynastic southern issues and Durotrigan coins together again with Gaulish imports, but Roman coinage now represents a larger proportion of the finds. The date at which the second group of coins was deposited cannot yet be established with any certainty, but is likely to centre on the mid-first century AD.
> (Briggs *et al.* 1992:40)

Whilst the early group included some continental coins which possibly dated to before the Gallic wars, no Gallo-Belgic A–C, or early British derivatives were present in the assemblage. The British component was almost entirely made up of the gold staters of British Q and their derivatives, alongside a series of new silver types. This strongly suggests a post-Caesarean date for the start of coin deposition, post-dating the large-scale recoining discussed in chapter 3 which probably took place immediately after Caesar's visit and the imposition of the Commian hegemony in the south.

The early batch of coins is likely to have been placed there during or immediately after Commius' rule in the area. If Commius was succeeded by Tincomarus around 30–25 BC this would be entirely consistent with the date of the early assemblage there. The coins came from a wide range of areas all over Gaul and also included issues from Western Britain ('Dobunni'). The high proportion of Nauheim brooches – much higher than on other British sites – also gives the assemblage a strong continental flavour. Are these offerings expressions of political contacts? 'Could Hayling Island temple have played some part in reinforcing the peculiar status of the client kings of the southern dynasty?' (Briggs *et al.* 1992:4).

It is very likely that the first phase of the site related in some way to Commius' or Tincomarus' articulation of power. However it was the second phase, after a gap (to judge by the dating of the coins) when the site was redeveloped, that the scale of deposition increased. This was in the late pre-Claudian period, so almost certainly in Verica's reign. It correlates with Verica's enhanced use of imagery associated with a Commian cult. The issues showing a cult statue (VA533:S8) and the draped figure next to an ancestral bust (VA506:S8) have all been found from the site. Activity at the site continued beyond Claudius' reorganisation of south-east Britain, with the site

being redeveloped again, though this time in stone. However votive deposition dropped off significantly in the late first century AD. This is not in keeping with the majority of Romano-celtic temple coin lists. It is plausible to imagine that the site from Verica onwards was explicitly used as a cult site related to the dynasty, and that this was continued by Cogidubnus – the client king in the area in the mid- to late first century AD. His death, and the creation of a proper province of Britannia, provide a simple context for understanding the decline in the importance of Hayling Island, if it had been associated with a dynastic or ruler cult of some kind.

I view the site as being the centre of a cult enhancing the status of the Commian dynasty, either indirectly through the worship of a lineage deity, or else directly through the veneration of a deified Commius, though this rather depends upon the start date for the site. It should be noted that skull and mandible fragments from at least two individuals came from the site, as did chain mail – only otherwise known from funerary contexts in Late Iron Age Britain. The bone assemblage was exclusively sheep and pig, which is unlike settlement contexts in the vicinity (King and Soffe 1991:111). However it is similar to the dominance of pig and sheep at the Westhampnett cemetery nearby (Fitzpatrick 1997:73). Could the site have been a mausoleum for the Commian dynasty? If so it represented a syncretism between developing British practices in the veneration of ancestors, and practices identified with Octavian – his construction of a mausoleum for himself and his family, and the temple constructed for the deified Caesar.

In this reconstruction Hayling Island represents the ultimate stage in an individualising trend in death. Here there are no all-purpose 'ancestors' but rather a clear specific focus upon one ruling dynasty. This phenomenon is not restricted to southern Hampshire, however. In the territory of the Treveri, where the coinage of Arda circulated and which had iconographic links with Tincomarus and continental members of the Commian dynasty, a similar collection of new temples and shrines emerged. For example at the Martberg and elsewhere a series of post-Caesarean shrines emerged which became classic Romano-celtic temples (Kreusse 1999). Traditionally these shrines have been associated with Romano-celtic deities, the fusion of native and Roman gods into such creations as Lenus-Mars and Sulis-Minerva, but this association is both sweeping and in the case of Britain not particularly consistent with the evidence. As Millett (1995) points out, most of the inscribed names of Romano-celtic gods and goddesses on altars come from either military sites in the north and west, or else from rather Classical temples, whilst very few are known from classic Romano-celtic double enclosures. In this case, perhaps it is better to view the large number of 'Romano-celtic' temples in Britain as being lineage cult centres, or even perhaps mausolea? After all, the collection of Romano-celtic temple at Silchester originally lay outside the LIA enclosure of the town as all burials should; and the similar cluster of Romano-celtic shrines in Trier, at the Atlbachtal, also lay outside the original limit of the town. This notion of an association between ancestral cults and such structures would fit with the Hayling Island evidence related to the Commian dynasty and the Folly Lane burial, which probably had some Tasciovanian dynastic associations.

In conclusion we appear to have individuals and lineages in Britain using comparable strategies to the Julio-Claudians in marking themselves out from their peers. Augustus' mausoleum, which was to house his dynasty, was a prominent landmark in Rome. His temples, as with those of Julius Caesar before him and emperors thereafter, were used to frame and legitimate political acts, and within the provinces the Imperial cult developed to focus loyalty. At the same time, in Britain ostentatious and highly visible burial monuments were constructed dominating the entrances to the new *oppida*. To enter Camulodunum you had to pass either the Lexden monument at the northern entrance or the Stanway burials to the south. At Verulamium, King Harry Lane was by the access route from the west, whereas Folly Lane overlooked everything (Fig. 7.9). Even at Chichester, in a comparable location to the Folly Lane monument, there is a large rectangular enclosure at Oldplace Farm overlooking the entrenchments from the other side of the water, looking out in the direction of Hayling Island (Illus 7.5)(Bedwin 1984:49), though this site is only known from a cropmark and has not been investigated. In each case the strategies used were directly comparable to those being enacted to legitimate the Principate in Rome, though whereas Augustus built upon the extant traditions of the Republic, our dynasts appear to have built upon traditions in Britain. Having dealt with the burial and houses of the dead, it is time to turn to the homes and rituals of the living.

Hearth, home and sacrifice

In the mid-first century BC, certain individuals used yet another strategy to mark themselves out from their peers by living in rectangular buildings rather than circular ones (Rodwell 1978). To Roman eyes moving into a rectangular building could be seen in simple rational terms, as imitating Roman architectural styles. However we miss out on the cosmological significance of such change at our peril. In this section I want to examine this shift from round to rectangular buildings and explore changes in sacrificial rites which were probably associated with the hearths once central to the roundhouse.

An instructive case-study where a shift from circular to rectangular forms took place comes from northern Cameroon (Lyons 1996). Here the native roundhouses were supplemented by rectangular public buildings first under the influence of Islam and later European colonialism. However in the 1960s this form spread into the realm of native architecture amongst certain elements of the community, notably the ruling Wandala ethnic group and the wealthier members of the competing Mura group. Lyons demonstrated that the organisation and symbolic layout of Mura and Wandala compounds went virtually unaltered through this change. So why did the change take place?

> Wandala informants stated that the Wandala began to build rectangular domestic structures so as to be 'modern', to accommodate furniture purchased in the market and to enable the use of corrugated metal roofing. The latter two reasons are not supported by observations made in 1986. (Lyons 1996:364)

In the 1960s the government of Cameroon set up policies to 'modernise' the image of the country. New public buildings such as schools were rectangular, as were the government's own administrative offices. In Dela, the town under investigation, the construction of a new public highway required the demolition and relocation of a series of Wandala compounds. Whereas previously this ethnic group had not been located near to the Mura community, now they were neighbours. The Wandala were politically superior to the Mura, and Lyons suggests 'that in this period of political transition, the Wandala adopted rectangular-shaped domestic buildings as a political strategy to further their own self-interests. The selection of rectilinear forms must be considered as a conscious strategy as this shape is explicitly associated with traditional Wandala authority' (Lyons 1996:365). Some of the Mura likewise began to build rectangular structures in order to counteract the Wandala's strategy of establishing a visual difference between them. The Mura community leaders (*blamas*) constructed rectangular houses along the visible highway so as to blur the differences between the favoured ruling Wandala and themselves. But who is the audience for this architecture? 'Copying building styles of the Wandala is, after all, not intended to fool the Wandala, for everyone in Dela knows the status of everyone else – a situation common to small communities. The blurring of styles along ethnic boundaries in Dela is targeted to impress visitors' (Lyons 1996:367). In Cameroon the adoption of rectangular norms was justified to an external audience as being a rational change to accommodate new furniture and building materials, whereas in fact it related more to a discourse about the perception of modernity between different groups within society.

In Britain, a visitor arriving at Danebury in the second century BC saying 'take me to your leader' would have had no visual clues as to which roundhouse to head for, given just a ground plan of the site. However as multi-focal '*oppida*' developed, with concentrations of the community in one small area of the landscape, as at Verulamium, Braughing and Camulodunum, then architectural differentiation began. There was a need to make the enclosure at Gorhambury in Verulamium different from its neighbours in exactly the same way that the ruling Wandala tried to distinguish themselves from the Mura. Locally everyone would have known their allotted place and their status in relation to everyone else, but in an increasingly mobile world where traders and visitors arrived regularly, clear markers of status were required. As the domains of our dynasts grew from the territory of a small hillfort to areas the size of several counties, so they ruled over more people who did not personally know or recognised them. Clear markers were required for strangers.

The new form of architecture not only stood out in foreigners' eyes, it also referred back to a series of earlier MIA cosmological referents. To start with many of them (though not all) continued to face east or south-east as many roundhouses had done. This is not just the case in south-east Britain, it was also the case in Gallia-Belgica (Oswald 1997; Haselgrove 1996:74). However beyond orientation there were other significant referents back to MIA cosmology which enhanced or sanctified the status of the building. The only structures of the British MIA which had hitherto been

rectangular were the four-poster granaries, and, more importantly, the supposed shrines within hillforts. Many of these shrines, and most of the later Romano-celtic temples which may have been distant architectural descendants, also followed the same orientating principles. A native stranger visiting a dynast in his rectangular house would find a building which not only looked vaguely foreign, but also by its orientation and geometric form had sacred connotations. It was a very suitable place for a dynast to live – again not unlike Octavian's house being linked to the temple of Apollo. Sacred and profane are never far from each other in the representation of power.

One thing was missing from this new form of architecture. What about sacrifice, and what about the hearth, the earlier focal point of the family or community? In many reconstruction drawings of 'celtic roundhouses' the hearth is provided with a wonderful spit or firedog (e.g. Cunliffe 1995c). Made from iron these required a huge investment of time and effort to make and many were elaborately decorated with bulls' or rams' heads on their terminal ends. However those known from south-east Britain come from LIA contexts; indeed, most come from the rich Welwyn-style burials of the dynastic elite. The earliest is perhaps one from Baldock (burial 1, Stead and Rigby 1986:59) which may date from the early to mid-first century BC depending upon the dating of the associated amphorae. Most of the others are slightly later. The best known are from Welwyn itself (Smith 1912; Saunders 1977). It is possible that it is only with the development of this new burial rite that these types of artefact began to be deposited in the archaeological record, and that they had existed all the way through the MIA in south-east Britain. But none is known from MIA contexts, so the *prima facia* way of interpreting the evidence is to see these as a new development in the LIA. If we can associate them with anything, it is not the 'traditional celtic roundhouse', but the new period of innovation in the first century BC and early first century AD. It is tempting to link the development of this form of hearth furniture with the changes in architectural design which saw the replacement of the traditional roundhouse, and with it the central hearth. But the appearance of these new, highly ornate pieces of furniture may have been associated with the arrival of new ritual practices associated with acts of sacrifice. For the evidence for this we have to turn away from firedogs and examine another new appearance in the material record: imported wine and metalwork.

From the re-establishment of contact with the continent at the very beginning of the LIA we have evidence for the arrival of wine from the Roman world. This was never on a scale to rival the vast quantities found at Tolosa or Chalon-sur-Saône. Haselgrove looked at the quantities found at Villeneuve Saint Germain, a 30–40 ha *oppidum* in the Aisne valley, and he considered there to have been only enough for around 100 amphorae a year, which is hardly enough for the kind of excessive feasting for a large community which is sometimes envisaged in Late Iron Age society (Haselgrove 1996b:173). Around the same time in both areas this wine was complemented by the arrival of a range of metalwork, which included jugs, 'strainers', ladles and pans. These have frequently gone under the collective label of 'wine drinking kits' (e.g. Werner 1978:8):

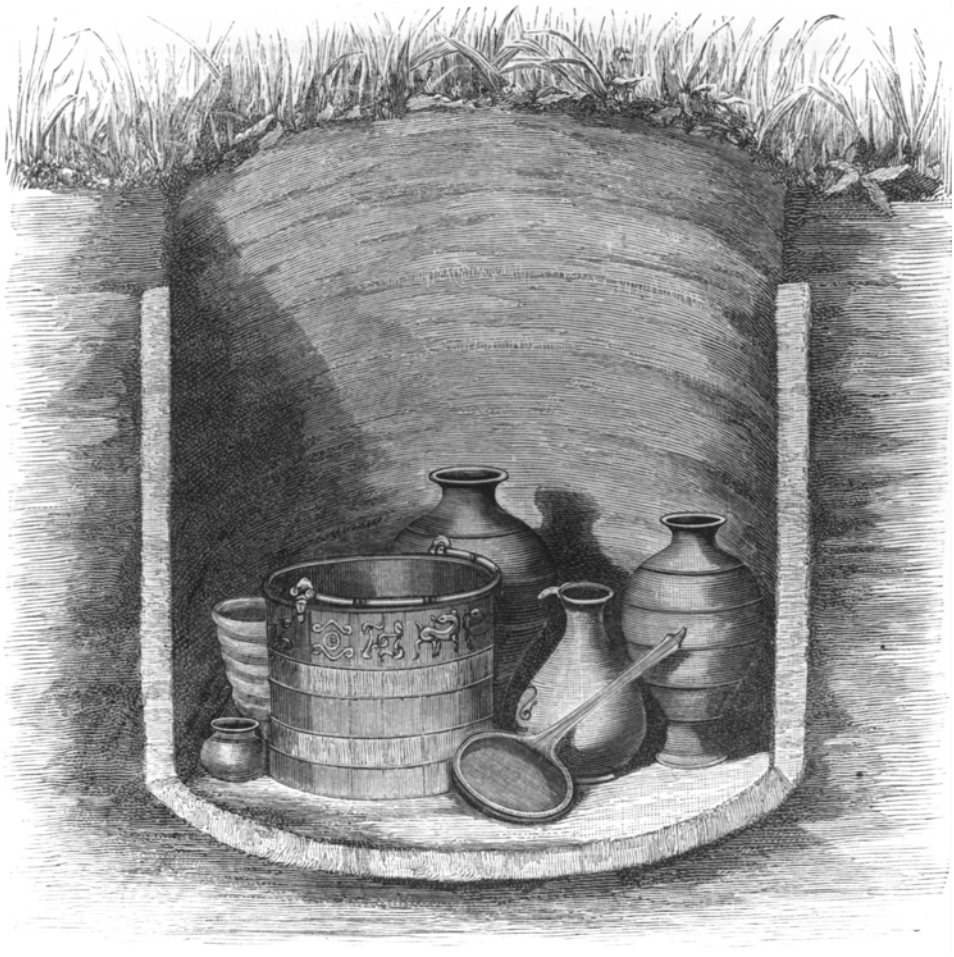


Fig. 7.6 The grave assemblage from a burial at Aylesford, including in the foreground an Aylesford pan (after Evans 1890, reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London)

> Perhaps more significant than the increasing level of wine, oil and sauce importation in the post-Caesarean period is the introduction of a whole series of accessories relating to the etiquette of eating and drinking. The demand for a range of ceramic and metal vessels, particularly jugs, cups and strainers, as well as fine tablewares and mortaria . . . suggests that alongside a fondness for wine amongst the British elite, a desire had developed to emulate Roman fashions in the preparation and consumption of food and drink.
> (Trow 1990:103)

Fitzpatrick makes a variation upon the theme by relating the objects to the washing of hands at the table and not to part of a wine service (Fitzpatrick 1997:208), but again the association with Romanised etiquette and eating habits is made.

The exotic imports in northern Europe comprise two types of jug: the Ornovasso

and the Kelheim jugs, differentiated by the decoration on their handles. Along with these came the Aylesford pans, which were long shallow pans with a handle ending in the shape of a swan's head, like frying pans. Finally there are the ladles, which are much rarer. Werner (1978) suggested a Campagnian origin for these, but it is now considered more likely that they came from the Po Valley in northern Italy. As far as their date is concerned the Aylesford pans were made throughout the first century BC, whilst the Kelheim jugs appear to date to the early to mid-first century BC, with the Ornovasso style succeeding them into the Augustan period (Feugere and Rolley 1991). The distribution of these artefacts in Belgic-Gaul is neatly summarised by Roymans, and one thing becomes clear; not only were these objects far more restricted in their distribution than wine amphorae, but they were also deposited in rather different kinds of context:

> The indigenous mechanisms for distributing wine do not seem to have operated to distribute bronze vessels imported from Italy. In contrast to amphorae, imported bronze utensils are seldom found in rural settlements or cemeteries. Their relative scarcity suggests that their use was much more restricted to the highest social stratum. This interpretation is in accordance with the idea that the individual vessels were not used separately, but were part of a drinking service imported as a set. It is also possible that the bronze vessels entered North Gaul through Roman diplomatic channels during and after the conquest; Caesar, for example, used rich gifts to strengthen the loyalty of Gallic leaders (Caesar, BG 4.49).
> (Roymans 1990:165)

Whereas the majority of Roman amphorae have been found in burials, the majority of jugs and pans have been found on major settlement sites (Villeneuve-St-Germain; La Cheppe, Camp d'Atitila; the Titelberg; the Dünsberg and the Heidetränk). However a significant number have also been recovered from the Rhine, partly destroyed. In Britain, by way of a contrast, most have been found in burials (Welwyn A and B, Aylesford Y) in the same sort of contexts as the firedogs. If these items had simply been paraphernalia associated with Romanised eating and drinking etiquette then this variety of depositional contexts (especially the ritual destruction and deposition in watery contexts) would be unlikely.

There is an alternative way of viewing these artefacts, and it has little to do with more civilised table manners, and far more to do with the Roman notion of sacrifice. Rather than a 'Roman wine drinking kit', these objects better represent a 'do it yourself Roman ritual kit'. In order to appreciate this one needs to know a little about the Roman practice of sacrifice.

There were various clear and specific stages in the process of sacrificing an animal according to Roman and Etruscan ritual. First a portable hearth or tripod was set up next to the sacrificial altar. Then the sacrificers (*popae*) and victims processed to the altar, whereupon an act took place transferring the ownership of the sacrificial victim to the deity to be honoured. This was done by pouring wine on the victim's brow, sprinkling its back with salted flour and passing the sacrificial knife over the animal's

spine, during which a prayer was spoken. Next the victim was killed and butchered, and its vital organs inspected to ensure the animal had been fit as a gift for the gods. After this the ritual banquet began. First the god was given his/her share, then the rest was distributed. The animal was beheaded, and the god's share cut out. This was then cooked on the hearth, basted in wine and salted flour. This cooked meat would then be disposed of by, for example, burying it in the ground – thereby giving it to the god. After this had been done, the officiant claimed the rest of the carcass (*profanare*) rendering it fit for human consumption. This was then distributed for the ritual feast. In Rome this feast could involve just a select elite eating the flesh, or the meat being sold off in butchers' shops, or the provision of a lavish banquet by a rich benefactor.

In this ritual there were a variety of artefacts which were essential to acts of sacrifice, libation and propitiation. Collections of these objects are familiar motifs in Roman art. Caesar displayed some of them on one of his silver *denarii* (RRC443/1: Fig. 4.1), and they became extremely common underneath depictions of the Imperial family conducting sacrifice.

An example of such a scene, showing a reasonably full collection of ritual objects, and stages of the process of sacrifice, can be seen on the Porta Argentariorum in Rome. This monument was erected under Septimius Severus around AD 204 and continually modified after Caracalla slowly murdered and damned the memories of various members of his family. This particular image is very late in date, though in general form it is very similar to countless others. However it does depict a number of details which are particularly pertinent here, especially the form of the *patera* being used (discussed below). Otherwise it shows the use of *patera*, tripods, the sacrifice of bulls and the ritual objects themselves (Fig. 7.7). The objects from left to right are: a *lituus*, an *urceus* for the wine, a decorated *patera*, an *albogalerus* (the pointed cap worn by the flamen, a college of priests associated with the Imperial cult), an *aspergillum*, a *simpulum* or ladle for libations, and finally a set of ritual knives for the sacrifice itself.

The wine went in the *urceus*, and from this it was poured into the *patera*. The *patera*/dish came in a variety of forms, which rather depended upon the nature of the sacrifice. They could be beautifully embossed metalwork bowls, as is displayed in Fig. 7.7. This would be fine for the sacrifice of the first fruits from the harvest. However when the sacrifice involved meat this would have to be cooked, and some *patera* had handles and took a form more akin to a frying pan. This appears to be what Caracalla is holding in on the relief from the Porta Argentariorum.

Not all sacrifices involved animals. Others could include the donation of cakes or fruits and grain to a deity, or even a simple libation on its own, where wine, milk, water, olive oil or honey might be poured over the hearth using a ladle (*simpulum*).

The jugs, ladles and Aylesford pans are all linked by the bird's head design on their handles. They clearly form a set. Their restricted distribution and their watery deposition on the continent clearly suggest they were in the possession of only a very restricted set and they had a special symbolic role. I would suggest that they are quite specifically implements to be used in the Roman rite of sacrifice; a rite which an *obses* in Rome would have seen enacted every day all around the city. Curiously this is an idea which Smith had eighty-five years ago when he excavated the graves at Welwyn

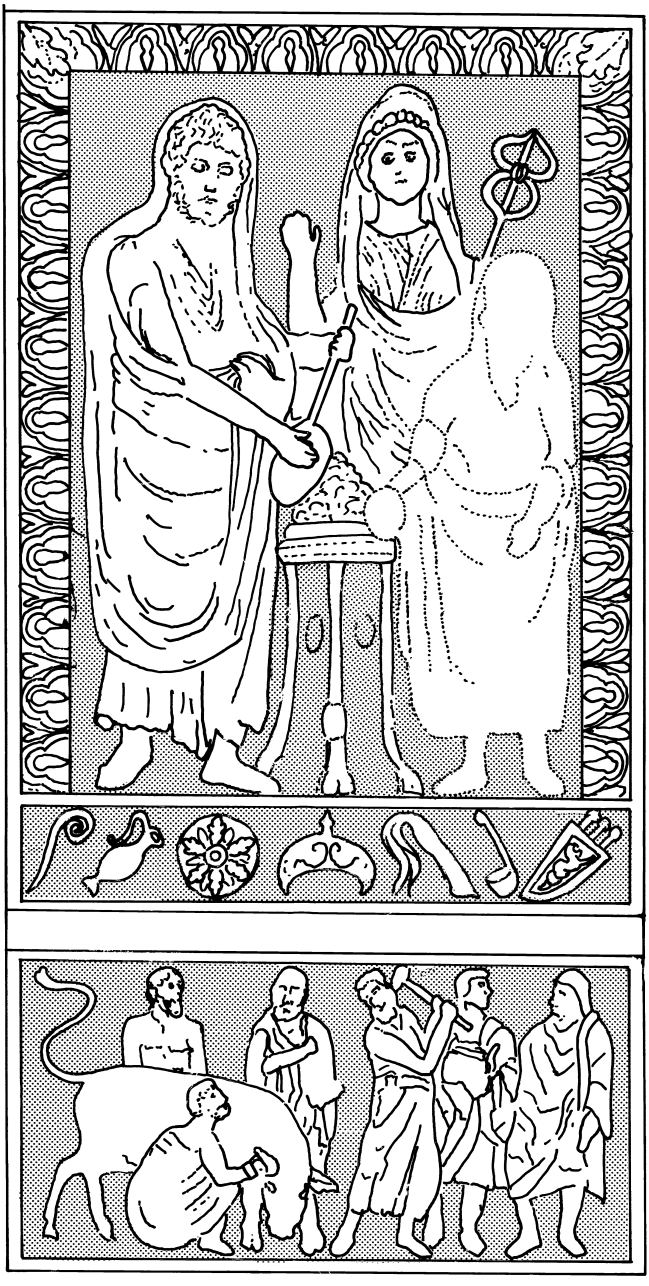


Fig. 7.7 The Porta Argentariorum (after Haynes and Hirst 1939): the internal face of the east pier

(Smith 1912:14), but since then it simply appears to have been forgotten. The evidence, however, goes much further than this. We have already seen some of these ritual objects represented on coins. For example, what might be a *simpulum*/ladle appeared behind the representations of Epaticcus and Caratacus in their guises as Heracles (Fig. 7.2), but there is more than this.

There are a series of British coins which appear to show Roman scenes which might be from Roman-style sacrificial acts. These are not imitations of Roman or other coins, and no gemstone parallels for them have been pointed out. The clearest is VA2065:E8 which shows two ritual tripods, one of which holds a flame. However there are three other types which show seated figures in potentially ritual contexts. Two show a dish with two handles. One has the dish on a stand, whilst the other shows it being emptied onto the ground, hence giving the sacrifice to the deity. In two of the illustrations the figure holds an object which has often been described as a hammer (hence the individuals have been interpreted as metalworkers). On the scale of these coins it is very difficult to be sure what is being represented. It could be a curved staff or *lituus*, though this is something associated with augury rather than sacrifice (which will be discussed later); another possibility is that it is an *aspergillum*, which is a short rod with a flowing end, as if made from hair or some similar material, which was used during lustration – the ritual purification of the participants in a sacrifice before it commences.

In all, the artefacts and the imagery strongly suggest that the paraphernalia of the Roman rites of sacrifice were being used in Britain by our dynasts. It is at this time that we start finding firedogs in LIA graves with supports on each end which look like stylised, garlanded ram's or bull's heads, just as they would be before sacrifice. The potential existed in Britain for rites to be conducted in a purely Roman manner; whether they were or not we can only speculate. Sacrifice was certainly not something which was new to Iron Age Britain, so it would not be surprising if there had been a gradual adaptation of native rites using certain aspects of Roman ritual. The success of Rome in the Gallic wars and Caesar's invasion of Britain clearly demonstrated the efficacy of their gods and rites, which would have encouraged their adoption.

In the Roman world it was the aristocracy who conducted many of the sacrifices, and who staffed many of the priesthoods. Sacred and profane authority joined at the highest level, with Augustus becoming *Pontifex Maximus*. Indeed Augustus' concentration upon re-establishing ancient priesthoods and forming new colleges to attend to the Imperial cult had a lot to do with creating new spheres of activity within which Rome's elite could compete for attention and honour, now that competition for primacy in the senate had clearly been won hands down by the *princeps*. In Britain we must wonder if there was any tension between our dynasts with their new rites, and the traditional bodies of priests (*druides*).

The ritual of town foundation

In chapter 4 I suggested that origin myths may have been created to bond the British dynasts with the Julian dynasty and the foundation of Rome. The Brutus legend may

AR: VA178:SE8
Dobnovellaunus

AE: VA1816:E7 var.
Tasciovanus

AE: VA2097:E8
Cunobelin

AR: VA2065:E8
Cunobelin

Fig. 7.8 Scenes of sacrifice on British coin

Table 7.5. *Ritual enactment on British coin (Fig. 7.8)*

Reference	Dynast	Description
VA178:SE7	Dubnovellaunus	Seated man holding staff/hammer, pellet in ring motif above
VA1816:E7	Tasciovanus	Seated figure with dish on a stand
VA2097:E8	Cunobelin	Seated figure holding staff and emptying dish
VA2065:E8	Cunobelin	Standing figure between two tripods, one has a flame in it

or may not be a survival of one of these myths, but it represents an example of the genre. In addition to which, the appropriation of the name of an ancient town in the vicinity of Rome (*Verulano*/*Verulanum*) may have been part of a similar trend. It is this settlement, Verulamium, and its ilk, which I wish to turn to now.

In the very late first century BC and early first century AD, a series of sites gained a certain degree of prominence in the landscape: greater proportions of imported vessels were found there, rectangular buildings were constructed at some of them, and large dyke systems restricted access to and movement in the vicinity of others. These are often called *oppida* in Britain, though few have any of the more urban characteristics of many of the continental *oppida*. Many of the sites, such as Braughing/Skeleton Green, appear to have risen and fallen in prominence fairly rapidly, as if their importance rested upon the lifespan and authority of certain individuals. Verulamium and Silchester are perhaps our best known sites.

The evidence for Verulamium, based on the important excavations of Wheeler, Frere, Neal, Stead and Niblett, has recently been reviewed by Haselgrove and Millett (1997) (Fig. 7.9). The site comprises a series of enclosures around what seems to have been a relatively open space. Occupation at Gorhambury (Neal *et al.* 1990) appears to have commenced around 10–1 BC, whilst the enclosure in Prae Wood was perhaps slightly later. The King Harry Lane burial ground similarly began around 10–1 BC. This is consistent with the coinage of Tasciovanus who provides us with the first record of the site's name (Period 7: *c.* 20 BC–AD 10).

Silchester has also seen extensive excavation, including the important evidence

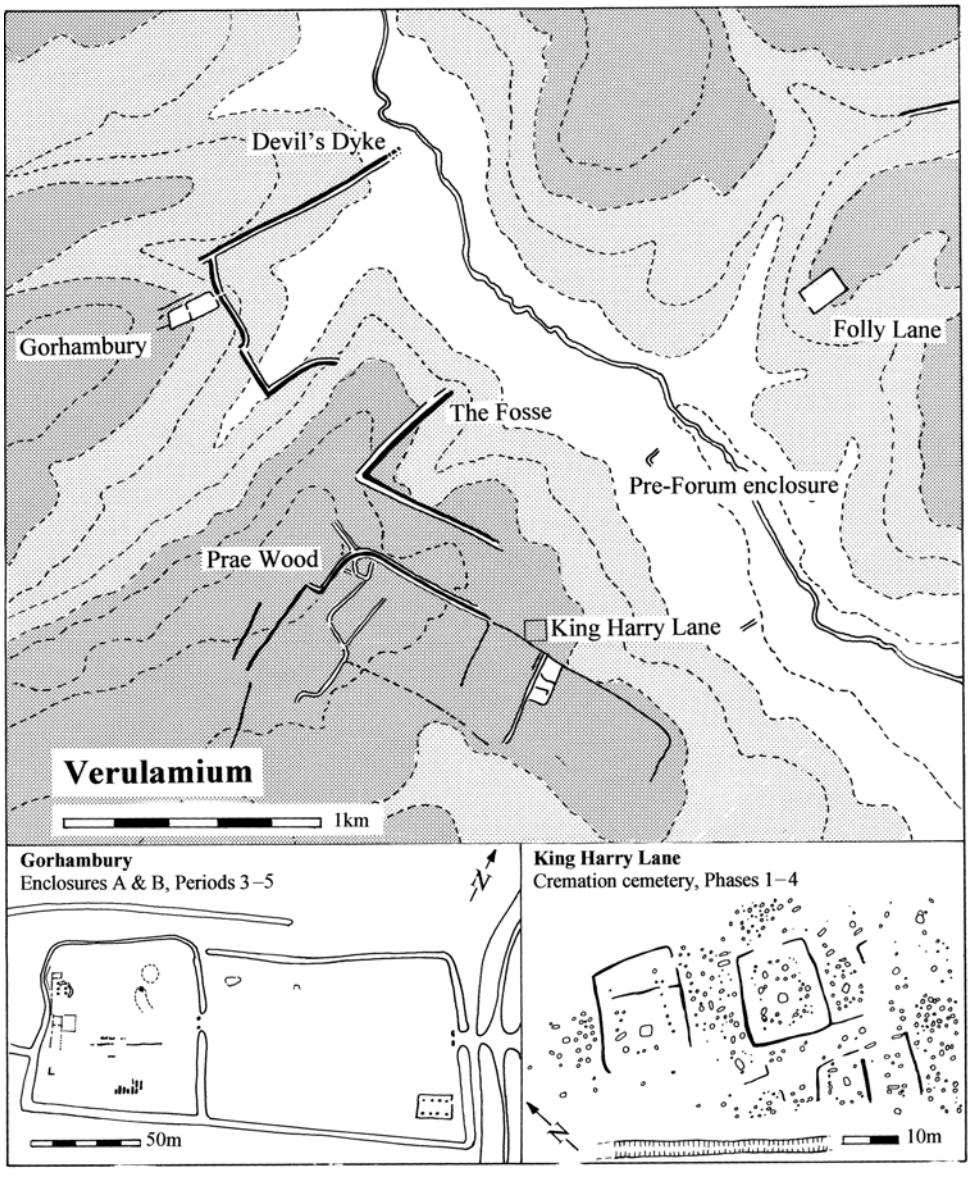


Fig. 7.9 Plan of Verulamium, with details of Gorhambury and King Harry Lane

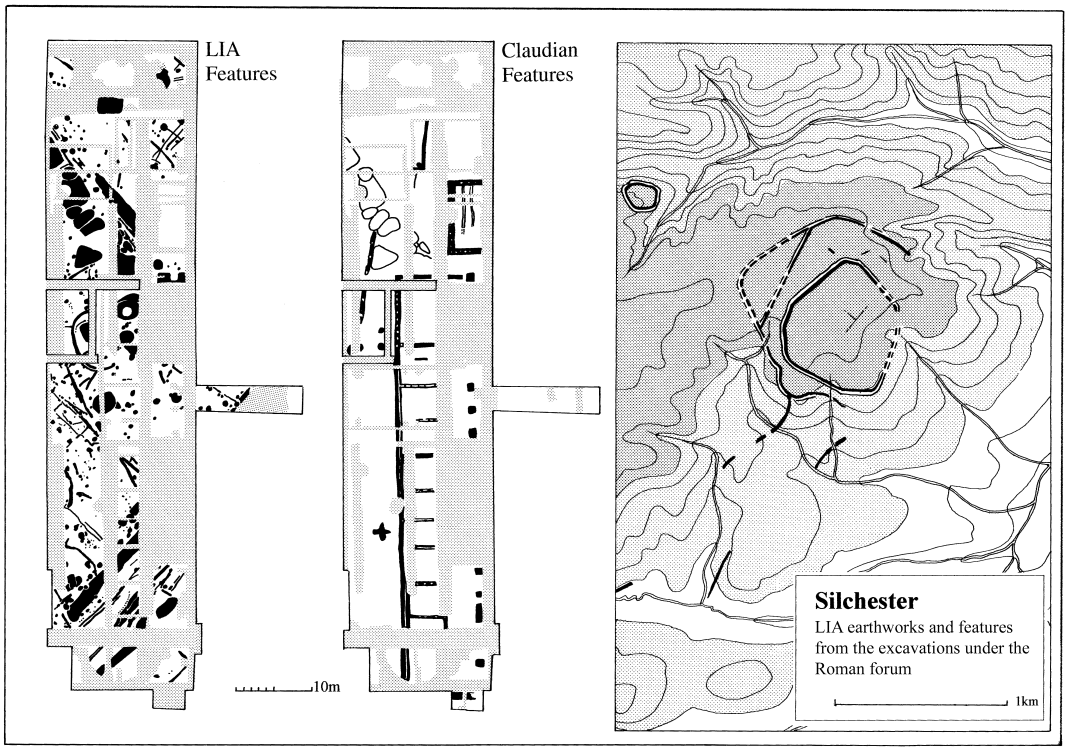


Fig. 7.10 Plan of Silchester, with details of the excavated remains beneath the later Roman forum

from under the forum revealed by Fulford (1993) (Fig. 7.10). The evidence here, however, suggested a site far more densely occupied than that of Verulamium, planted on a virgin site. The date of its establishment was probably some time around 20–1 BC, placing it in the time when Tincomarus' coinage dominated the area to the south. Right from its inception there were rectangular buildings on the site, with only a few potentially circular structures constructed in the area hitherto excavated. But most surprisingly of all, these houses were organised within a rectilinear street plan. Orthogonal planning had until recently been considered a preserve of Roman foundations, or at least of 'post-conquest' towns and refoundations. Yet Silchester is not the only site to have elements of an axial design; traces have been found at Abingdon and possibly Heybridge as well. Although various *oppida* in Gaul such as Villeneuve-St-Germain have shown a certain degree of pre-conquest axial planning, Silchester was the first time anything similar was identified in Britain.

At one level we could simply assert that these are just the new foundations of 'centres of royal power' by significant individuals under the influence of contemporary events in Gaul where, from the Augustan period, a large number of towns were refounded along orthogonal lines. However this kind of copy-cat explanation does not really take us far in understanding the psychology involved in laying out a settlement in accordance with totally different principles. One of the few things we can be sure of about Iron Age Britain is that its cosmological belief system was very highly developed. Were it not so, the extreme care with which roundhouses were orientated, amongst other phenomena, would not have been sustained; and yet, in the LIA the circle, which had largely dominated British prehistory, began to give way to rectangular buildings and axial layouts. Such a transformation requires the entire frame of reference of our dynasts to have been altered. It requires either an extreme modification of native beliefs and values, or else for a child to have been brought up and inculcated with a totally different set of attitudes and cosmological beliefs. In the case of an *obses*, resident from youth in Rome and with the Roman army, this second case is entirely possible. Could Silchester have been the consequence of Tincomarus or one of his successors returning from the continent, along with his retinue? There is good reason for thinking so.

Let us again exercise our imaginations. If a Briton was brought up in Rome and the Mediterranean how would he or she perceive geography and particularly urban space? All too frequently we look at a Roman town plan and simply see the orthogonal structure as exemplifying a neat tidy rational mind. However to do so would be folly. The layout of a Roman town was invested with numerous layers of meaning and linked to a whole series of ritual practices. The gateways had a range of gods and spirits associated with them, as did the ritual and defensive boundaries of the town. A whole series of structured practices took place when a town was founded, and many of these events were re-enacted in one manner or other throughout the town's life. Our *obsides* would have been witnesses to many of these ceremonies in Rome. As friendly kings established themselves back in their own kingdoms they often initiated acts of rededication of entire cities in devotion to their new patron: Juba II renamed Iol, one of his capitals, Caesarea. Indeed there was a veritable outbreak of Caeareas

as Herod and his son Philip did the same in Judea, along with Polemo I in the Bosphorous and Archelaus I in Cappadocia. All these refoundations required rituals of rededication. Indeed most kings founded towns; it was seen as an integral part of Hellenistic kingship (Braund 1984:108).

Knowledge of Roman practices could also have passed back to Britain with soldiers returning to this country after the Civil Wars. Gallic cavalry served on various sides in the final civil war which ended the Republic; along with them would probably have been at least some Britons. As these large armed forces were pensioned off, so a large number of colonies were founded around the western Mediterranean. Similarly in central Gaul during the Augustan period many towns were refounded along more 'Roman' lines. The colonies would certainly have been laid out in accordance with Roman ritual practice, and I would imagine the Gallic cities were as well.

So what was involved in the foundation of a new town in Roman cosmological terms? The ancient sources are by no means unambiguous, and in some cases they are contradictory; however, many of the notions and ideas involved have been assembled by Rykwert (1976). Without going into too much detail, I want to outline two particular processes involved. The first is the ritual ploughing of the boundary, and the second is the taking of the auspices. Without these two processes, a town is not a town.

One important act was ploughing round the boundary of the town. A bull and a cow were yoked together and a furrow cut marking out the ritual boundary of the city (the *sulcus*). The plough turned the earth so that the ridge lay on the inside of the town and the furrow on the outside. These represented the town's ditch and bank. This boundary was sacred and inviolate; to cross these 'walls' was totally and absolutely forbidden on pain of death. This is why, when the plough reached the points where the gateways were going to be, the plough was lifted and carried across. The entrances to the city, whilst protected by gods (Janus amongst others) were not taken to be sacrosanct, partly so that defiled objects such as corpses could be taken out of the city through these points. These beliefs were strongly held. In Roman foundation mythology Remus was killed because he jumped over the wall (plough furrow?) Romulus had constructed around his town. Unfortunately, a plough furrow offers little hope for tangible archaeological evidence. However representations of this act did occur on some Roman provincial coins when new colonies were established – though none appears on British issues.

This ploughing was perhaps the most memorable aspect of Roman town foundation. Yet of deeper significance was the taking of the auspices. This is the act for which there is evidence relating to Britain. The *augures* were the official diviners in Rome, dating back to the time of the kings. In the city itself they formed one of the four main colleges of priests. By the time of Caesar there were sixteen of them. As a college they upheld the augural doctrine which related to the observation of auspices in Roman public life. Taking the auspices involved 'reading natural signs and portents'. This was done to answer specific questions on particular occasions. One of the most important of these was when judging whether a proposed site was

auspicious for the founding of a new town. The auspices were taken by delineating a field of vision in the sky. This was conceptually marked out in the air not by the hand but by using the augur's curved staff or *lituus*. Within this square in the sky, omens were sought. These took the form of the flight of birds, or even on rare occurrences lightning bolts. On the basis of these signs, judgements were made.

Apart from deciding if a site was auspicious or not, the augur also fixed the town's axial orientation and gave it its name. We have a description from Livy of the procedure involved from his retelling of the inauguration of Numa as king of Rome: 'The augur, with his head veiled, took a seat on [Numa's] left, holding in his hand a crooked and knotless staff called lituus . . . He prayed to the gods and fixed the regions from east to west, saying that the southern parts were to the right, and the northern to the left' (Livy 1.18).

The augur would draw in the ground a sign of the town, perhaps a circle divided up into quadrants by two axial lines. This would become the principle axial point of the town.

All of this activity would take place within a *templum*, which was a defined area from which to take the auspices. It might be bounded, it might be demarked by a formulae of words, but it was a location vested with power. A Roman *Senatus Consultum* was not valid unless it had been passed inside a templum during daytime. Similarly a general's tent on campaign was named after the augurs (*auguraculum*) as it too was regarded as a *templum*; this invested his decisions with enhanced authority. Varro said that a *templum* ought to have a continuous fence and not more than one entrance (Varro *de L.L.* 7.13). Once this had been conducted sacrifice was offered, and more omens were searched for, this time by examination of the liver of the sacrificial animal (the *hauruspices*). After that a hole was dug (the *mundus*) into which offerings were placed. This feature was in some ways connected with the souls of the dead, and possibly located at or near the centre of the town (the crossing of the *cardo* and *decumanus*). With the offering made and the *mundus* sealed, a shrine was set up by it and a fire lit. At this point the town was named. Towns may have been given several names; a secret name, a priestly name and a public name. It is at this point that the town has truly been founded in the eyes of man and god. From here on the surveyors (*agrimensores*) may have come in, turning the conceptual orientation of the town established by the augur into a physical reality by dividing the town up into orthogonal units, but this additional step was not fundamental to the act of foundation. Many of the processes described above are contentious in detail, though very broadly accepted in outline. Rykwert (1976) gives reference to various debates surrounding the precise meaning of words such as *templum* and *mundus*.

Let us now return to Britain. Fundamental to the process of town formation is the augur, and his delineation of space and taking the auspices with his curved staff or *lituus*. The staff's precise form is open to question. They are best known from representation on Republican coins (e.g. Fig. 4.5 RRC540/1, being held by the cult statue of the divine Caesar). Sometimes they appear as rather short, curved wands, but literary testimony describes them more as staffs and gives the impression of

augurs drawing with them in the ground, suggesting slightly longer instruments. Being made of wood there is little chance of finding any in Britain, yet representations of them do come from LIA coins and pottery, although they have often not been recognised as such. Hobbs (1996) refers to many of the images on coins as snake-like animals or coils. The majority of these occurrences come from the three principal dynasts of Phase 7 (Table 7.6; Fig. 7.11). In each case in the south-east the image appears on a very traditionally conceived gold coin, with the typical horse image. In that sense the coins are exceptional, linking a clearly classical motif with an extremely conservative design.

Tincomarus only issued one quarter stater with a *lituus* on, almost as if the coin was used for a one-off event. Similarly Tasciovanus restricted the use of this image to one issue of his staters. Finally Dubnovellaunus also only used the device once, on a gold coin. The only replication we get is Andoco, who copied Tasciovanus' issue at some point; otherwise, these are all 'one-offs'. This makes the notion of associating them with a significant event very appealing. Tasciovanus' types also have a bucranium behind the horse, possibly signifying a sacrifice. Could these issues be related to the specific foundation rites associated with Silchester, Verulamium and Canterbury? The dating would fit the first two, but our knowledge of the dating of LIA Canterbury is less clear and there may have been earlier occupation on the site.

The only exception to the pattern discussed above is a representation of a *lituus* on a much later silver coin of Verica; however this image is of a very different type showing a naked statue holding one, and it has been argued earlier that it represents a cult statue of Commius.

The use of a *lituus* implies not just the copying of Roman orthogonal planning practices, but rather a broader acceptance of Roman conceptions of what a town ritually meant, and how the will of the gods could be ordained. This secret knowledge (for the reading of the auspices was a secret) would again empower those who held it, at the expense of those with other traditional forms of knowledge. *Druides* could have been none too happy with these events, unless they themselves had begun to adapt.

A further potential representation comes from a bowl found at Kelvedon in Essex (Rodwell 1988:107). Stamped onto this Terra Nigra imitation vessel is the impression of a warrior on a horse with a shield holding what looks like a shepherd's crook, but may be a long *lituus*. Only fragments of the bowl, found down a well, remain. Rodwell considered the original scene was probably a procession of horsemen approaching other figures, seated or standing, who carried attributes such as rods or standards. He likened the design to scenes from the Gundestrup cauldron, and he found a parallel for the shape of the vessel from a *patera* found in Nijmegen. Kelvedon itself is a curious site. In area J large numbers of LIA brooches were discovered which is in itself suggestive of votive deposition. The main structural feature in this area was a rectangular building, 21 m long, constructed within a two-phase enclosure. Haselgrove drew parallels between this and ritual enclosures in northern Gaul:

Fig. 7.11 The *lituus* on British coin

> At the time [Kelvedon was excavated], the site was interpreted as domestic, but with hindsight the unusual nature of the material suggests we might be dealing with some kind of ritual or mortuary complex. The rectangular structure bears a striking resemblance to contemporary Iron Age funerary enclosures in northern France such as Acy-Romance . . . while the location itself was re-used – albeit much later – as a Roman inhumation cemetery. Area E, to the north, has a circular timber building interpreted as a Roman temple and produced various possible votive finds, including a silver necklace and a Palaeolithic handaxe.
> (Haselgrove 1997a: 66)

If the use of a *lituus* was a practice known in LIA Britain, we must wonder if other aspects of town foundation were utilised, too. The bucrania suggest sacrifice and therefore perhaps also taking the hauruspices may have occurred. Perhaps the

Table 7.6. *The* lituus *on dynastic coins (Fig. 7.11)*

Date	Dynast	Denomination	Description
VA365:S7	Tincomarus	AV Quarter stater	Inscription/horse
VA1680-2:E7	Tasciovanus	AV Stater	Crossed wreath/horse
VA1860:E7	Andoco	AV Stater	Wreath/horse
VA176:SE7	Dubnovellaunos	AV Stater	Band/horse
VA533:S8	Verica	AR Unit	Statue with lituus in hand/bust

enclosure under the later Forum of an otherwise rather empty LIA Verulamium is a *templum*?

The notion that Verulamium had a Latin name, and that it may have been founded (if not actually laid out) according to 'Roman' principles, might have been one psychological factor in it becoming a *municipium*. Upon the Claudian annexation the Romans may have recognised this as a 'real' town as opposed to the other *oppida* they came across. However Silchester was another story. Here the Iron Age town did not simply continue into the Roman period unchanged; instead, a rather radical alteration took place. The entire axial orientation of the site was shifted round 45 degrees. The LIA axis had faced slightly on the eastern side of south-east (very close to the mid-winter sunrise). In the Claudian period this was changed and a new east–west axis established. This symbolically made a clear break between the past and the future. Whereas Verulamium continued, Calleva appears to have been re-founded, something which marks quite a strong political discontinuity. In the final stages of the LIA the coinage of Epaticcus had dominated the area. Identical issues to some of his had been issued by Caratacus, who may have been his successor in Berkshire/northern Hampshire; if that was so, a good case existed for a Claudian refoundation of the site, as Caratacus remained a foe of Rome's until his eventual capture and transportation to Rome. Though that, of course, is pure speculation.

The importation of Roman rituals into LIA Britain may seem particularly bizarre in the context of a country not yet provincialised and with already well-established cosmological conceptual systems. However this is to underestimate the power and might which was seen as existing within foreign, and particularly Roman, ritual. One of the clearest phenomena to come out of Helms' survey of perceptions of distant worlds by aboriginal groups was the value and prestige attached to foreign rituals, which were often perceived as more powerful than one's own (Helms 1988:69). She gave one example from the Amazon basin, where the Jivaro and Achara religious specialists (or shaman) sought magical items from the shamans of the Canelos. They believed in the greater efficacy of their magic because the Canelos themselves were in touch with the even greater magic and power of the Europeans on the coast. Many other examples can be given where a greater efficacy is perceived in the rituals and beliefs of distant peoples, especially successful, distant communities. In the context of the defeat of the entirety of Gaul and part of Germany, the efficacy of Roman ritual cannot have been in any doubt.

Conclusion

The evidence above has suggested a variety of ways in which Roman ways of living influenced the dynasts of Late Iron Age Britain. The images on coins were not simply pictures copied from Roman *denarii*; they were representations of genuine changes which took place in individuals' behaviour and attitudes. Where the evidence exists, from ivory knobs to folding stools, from armour to imported metalwork, in each case there is a congruence between the image on the coinage and the archaeological reality.

Beyond the rituals of sacrifice, death, and town foundation, our dynasts also enjoyed Roman ways of living in more obvious ways. Many of these have received attention before, so I have not dwelled on them here. Roman dinner services came over with the importation of Arretine and south Gaulish Terra Sigillata from the Mediterranean world, and Terra Nigra and Rubra from northern Gaul. Alongside these came a change in dietary preference. At some *oppida* wild fowl was now eaten, a meat which had probably been a taboo in the MIA. There was also a tendency towards eating more pig, something more common in Roman and continental dietary habits. Similarly there appears to have been a change in the way meat was butchered, again leading to more similarities between LIA and Early Roman deposits than LIA and MIA assemblages (Grant 1984a:112–13; Ashdown and Evans 1981:214–15; Maltby 1996). Beyond meat there was a broadening of the range of foodstuffs eaten including the consumption oysters, hitherto rarely found in southern Britain, but now found as far inland as Silchester right from its LIA inception (Fulford, pers. com.). This new cuisine was presumably matched by new forms of furniture, and new forms of dining etiquette. Such a radical change would be far easier to comprehend if the 'opinion makers' in society had been brought up in an environment where these foods and modes of behaviour were natural and normal. A youth brought up in Rome, as our *obsides* may have been, would have presumably balked at the idea of eating in any other way.

Life spent enjoying the pleasures of a well-appointed town house in Rome or a villa nearby would have been hard to give up, and the temptation to attempt to recreate some of those delights in whatever fashion would have been tremendous. This may have taken place even down to some of the tiniest details. This is the time when we see the arrival of the first tiny lap-dog in Britain. One is known from Skeleton Green (Ashdown and Evans 1981:213; Maltby 1996; Harcourt 1974), while another was buried in the top of the grave of its mistress (twenty-eight- to thirty-five-year-old female) at Mill Hill near Deal (grave 47, Parfitt 1995:148). If important men in the MIA had used large hunting dogs to help signify their status, perhaps now the women of these LIA dynasties were also using dogs to mark themselves out above their peers.

The kind of mechanism for change invoked before to account for the large-scale changes in LIA Britain were the close political links between British dynasts and their Gallic counterparts. 'Romanisation' was sometimes rephrased as 'Gallo-Belgicisation'. In addition to this, Roman entrepreneurs were seen as responsible for the imports arriving in Britain, with the scale of the trade perhaps increasing after the Augustan campaigns in Germany led to the establishment of better supply routes

from the Mediterranean to the north. A final veneer to explain the change were diplomatic gifts. These factors should certainly not be negated. However, the scale of the changes in the way the dynasts presented themselves was too great to have been picked up second-hand, or from one brief visit to Rome. 'Client kingship' has been suggested for some of the dynasts before, but the full implications of the institution have never been taken on board – the *obsides* in Rome, the friendships at court with the families of other friendly kings and perhaps future emperors, the travel, and most importantly of all, the effect all of this has on an individual's attitudes and mind.

8

Conclusion and epilogue: from Britain to Britannia

Conclusion

In the past many of the narratives of this period have attempted to reconstruct history in terms of the rise and fall of individual kingdoms. Kent was seen as a territory, independent at first under Dubnovellaunos, then taken over by the rulers north of the Thames. In the years after Tasciovanus' death (Van Arsdell's 'Interregnum'), the Southern dynasty wrestled control of Kent under Eppillus, only to be ejected again by Cunobelin and his son Amminus. Soon other territories of the Southern dynasty fell as Cunobelin's brother Epaticcus and son Caratacus moved into Berkshire and northern Hampshire. Details vary, but these are all written with a rhetoric of conquest, expansion and defeat. As Rankin (1996:215) represented it: 'Pre-Claudian Britain is a landscape of dynastic strife and constant warfare.'

I reject this way of attempting to reconstruct this period. Warfare may indeed have been prevalent in the later second and early first centuries BC, as equestrian groups appeared in the archaeological record and disrupted the MIA way of life (chapters 1 and 2). However after 54 BC I believe that changed. South-east Britain had been conquered by Caesar. It was up to Caesar and the senate to decide what to do next, whether to turn the territory into a province or whether to establish it as one or more friendly kingdoms. After this date we saw that all the pre-existing gold coinage in the region was recalled and re-issued in new series bearing a new family of imagery. Further issues were made using refined bullion, probably from the Roman world as the technology to do this in Britain hitherto had not existed. These issues formed the basis of the main dynastic series of Commius and Tasciovanus, the two families who dominated post-Caesarean Britain (chapter 3). But were they constantly at war, fighting over control of Kent and the upper Thames Valley? Diodorus Siculus thought not, saying that for the most part the kings and potentates of Britain lived at peace (*Siculus*, 5.21.4).

I believe that the imagery used by each dynasty reflects the institution of 'client kingship', with the dynasts replicating the imagery of Octavian/Augustus in Rome in the same way as members of the senatorial aristocracy did throughout Italy. I also believe that there is strong evidence to demonstrate a close and enduring link between Britain and the Juban dynasty, which was placed by Augustus on the Mauretanian throne (chapter 4). Given this, it is extremely unlikely that Augustus or Tiberius would have been amused at internecine warfare between their client kings.

They appear to have been far more interested in making sure the kings got to know one another and formed marital links. It is occasionally stated that the kings of temperate Europe would have been treated in a different way to the Hellenistic monarchs. This may have been true up to a point. Certainly a Hellenistic monarch probably had a greater resource base to build cities, and shower communities and friends with gifts; however, the 'poor cousins' from northern Europe were probably not treated in a totally dissimilar fashion, and I think the links with Juba II and Ptolemy demonstrate that these two groups were certainly not kept apart.

In Britain the enthronement of these individuals, brought up in surroundings outside the normal experience of a LIA British youth, would inevitably have led to them being different. The way they perceived the world would be different (chapter 5), the way they spoke would be different (chapter 6) and the way they presented themselves in life and death would be different (chapter 7). It is quite possible that there may have been a conflict here between the traditional existing structures of knowledge and belief and these new imports. It is difficult to imagine how the *druides* reacted to these changes; the choice was either to change with the times or else become marginalised. Since *druides* had been drawn from elite families part of the attraction in a druidic education rested in the authority and status it accorded the individual. Given the changes taking place in the century between Caesar's conquest of Britain and Claudius' annexation, I can imagine that recruitment to this vocation may have declined as alternative spheres of competition opened up. But here we can only speculate.

Throughout this book I have used the word 'Romanisation' extremely sparingly. This has been quite deliberate, but a book on the changes in the late Iron Age would seem a little curious without reference to the term. What I have tried to do in this volume is to talk not in terms of generalities, but in terms of specific processes: time spent in Rome, time spent in the army, time spent with other members of the Roman elite and other friendly kings. The mid to late first century BC was the very years when the Roman state re-defined itself. In this process these kings, our dynasts amongst them, were bonded to the political heart of the Roman state. Tincomarus, Tasciovanus and the rest were by no means passive receptors and imitators of 'Roman culture'; instead they are better viewed as active participants in the creation of the new Augustan order, along with other friendly kings and members of the 'Republican' aristocracy. As Woolf has recently written, 'Gauls were not ''assimilated'' to a pre-existing social order, but participated in the creation of a new one' (Woolf 1997:347). The same goes for Britain as well.

Another phrase I have avoided assiduously is 'the Claudian conquest'. This, too, has been deliberate. In 54 BC Julius Caesar conquered south-east Britian. Hitherto this has always been dismissed as not being a real conquest, in that the Britains did not continue to pay tribute for very long. As I hope I have demonstrated, the aftermath of Caesar's conquest was that Britian, through the institution of friendly kings, became an intrinsict part of the Roman world.

Epilogue

A lot happened in the last decade of indirect rule in Britain before Rome stepped in to take direct control. Cunobelin ruled in the 30s AD, and to judge by his family's coinage the dynasty had done very well for itself. His issues covered a core area north of the Thames in Essex and Hertfordshire, whilst more were found further afield in Icenian territory to the north and in Kent to the south. A son of his, Amminus, issued coins in Kent, and Epaticcus, his brother, issued coins in Berkshire and Hampshire. In the far west the Dobunni may have been subservient to them as well (Dio 60.20.2).

In AD 37 Tiberius died. Whilst he had not visited northern Europe for many years the memories of his presence, as of Augustus and the Divine Julius, would have lingered. Now, however, a new *princeps* came to the throne: Gaius. Gaius, whilst young, would have known many of the kings within the Roman world. Literary sources explicitly mention that he grew up with the sons of Cotys VIII of Thrace. We also know that the future Agrippa I of Judea was a companion of his at court (cf. Braund 1984:17). Other *obsides* too would have been known to him. Cunobelin, if he had been brought up in Rome, would have been there much earlier, but it is more than likely that one or more of his sons were resident in Rome, and to some extent known to Gaius. Nonetheless it would have been politic to send an embassy to Rome at the time of a new emperor, to re-establish personal contact with the centre of power. However, whom to send? The choice was a difficult one. It was a long journey and an absence for a long time was not necessarily in the king's interest; yet that all-important personal contact with the *princeps* counted for a lot:

> For a king to send a son or another close relative as his representative on a mission to Rome was potentially dangerous for him. Attalus was tempted to rise against his brother Eumenes II while in Rome: Nicomedes was led to oust his father Prusias II after a later embassy there. But it was also potentially dangerous for the king to visit Rome in person. In the king's absence his throne was vulnerable . . . The importance of this consideration is well illustrated by a recently discovered inscription in which Aspurgus, king of the Bosporus, thanks the people of Gorgippa for not rising up while he was away in Rome visiting Tiberius.
> (Braund 1984:56)

There are no obvious upheavals around this date in Britain, so if embassies were sent, then existing arrangements were confirmed. Cunobelin remained in power, Verica continued to issue coins in the south, and the only slight change was the appearance of issues of Epaticcus in the upper Thames and northern part of Hampshire around this time (if this had not already happened).

The accession of a new *princeps* was not the only occasion for personal contact. In AD 39 Gaius set forth to northern Europe to deal with a conspiracy against him by the legate of Upper Germany. Since much of the position of a friendly king relied on imperial favour, such an opportunity would almost certainly have led to either the king himself, or a very close relative, paying homage to the *princeps*. As it happens we

know that there was a visit to Gaius by one of Cunobelin's sons, but the circumstances were not at all clear. In AD 39/40 Adminius, son of Cunobelin, left Britain with a small force, and surrendered to Gaius (*in deditionem recepto*) on the Rhine at Mainz (Suetonius, *Caligula* 44.2). Suetonius says he had been exiled by his father. Gaius made great play of this supplicant in a letter to Rome, but in this he was following examples set by Augustus listing supplicants in his *Res Gestae* and Tiberius, who had done likewise. As with all dynasties, not least the Julio-Claudian dynasty itself, it seems there were internal conflicts within Cunobelin's family. Gaius made moves to lead an invasion of Britain, but they did not result in anything (Suetonius, *Caligula* 46.1).

By this date Cunobelin was probably reasonably old. In due course his succession would need to be considered. The way this succession would be handled rather depends on how close Cunobelin and Rome were. I have, hopefully, demonstrated that the symbolism of his power was clearly Julio-Claudian in its style, so I would imagine that Cunobelin's link with Rome was as strong as ever. Given this, his succession would not be entirely an internal matter for Britain. From the evidence which Braund drew together it seems that under the Principate, kings applied for recognition before they assumed the throne (Braund 1984:26). This *appellatio* or recognition would be enacted with a ceremony which would now take place, more often than not, in the temple of Mars Ultor in Rome.

At some point between AD 40 and AD 43 three things happened. First Cunobelin died (Dio 60.20.1). Secondly Gaius was assassinated and Claudius came to the throne with a need for a personal triumph to assert his authority in Rome. Finally a certain Berikos, who is probably the same as Verica, fled to Rome following 'civil discord' (Dio 60.19.1). Verica is said to have persuaded Claudius to send a force to Britain. For reasons outlined earlier, it is likely that the Commian and Tasciovanian dynasties were linked by intermarriage. Rome therefore had at least two potential replacements for Cunobelin's throne: Verica, who was probably fairly old by now, and the younger Adminius. In addition to this would be any other *obsides* who might be being educated in Rome at the time.

It seems that the Britons held off from appointing a successor to Cunobelin ahead of a decision from Rome. This would have conformed to developing practice at Rome, and the evidence supports it: there are no coins of a successor to be found across Hertfordshire and Essex. Of the contenders various issues have been ascribed to one of his sons, Caratacus, but these circulated in the area where Epaticcus' coinage had existed in Berkshire and northern Hampshire, and not over the larger domain of Cunobelin. Adminius, if he is the same as Amminus, similarly had only a small series of issues which only circulated in Kent. Togodumnus was another potential successor, but no coins bear his name, nor are there any uninscribed issues in search of a ruler. Whilst we do not know the year of Cunobelin's death, it would seem that there was a genuine interregnum, otherwise the absence of coin would be astonishing. This gap should not be seen as particularly unusual. We should also recall that the individual buried at the Folly Lane site lay in state for an unknown duration in his funerary chamber before the final rites were undertaken. If this was

Cunobelin, could this delay have been part of the process of waiting for the successor to be anointed before concluding the final burial rites of the previous dynast?

What it does suggest is that the early AD 40s probably saw lobbying between different contenders for Roman recognition. On the continent Verica and Adminius would have fought for their interests, as indeed would any *obsides* being educated there at the time. Meanwhile representations from parties in Britain would portray these individuals in a rather different light, as Suetonius points out: 'the island at this time was in a state of turmoil because certain refugees (*transfugas*) had not been returned to the island' (Suet., *Claud.* 17.1). The knock-on effects of Gaius' recent murder of Ptolemy, who, as we have seen, was probably well known to the British dynasts, would have made relations even more difficult. The degree of trust between Britons and Rome cannot have been too high.

In such a light Claudius' 'invasion' is simply the annexation of Cunobelin's territory after his death. The annexation was swift. It parallels Gaius' and Claudius' takeover of Mauretania after Ptolemy's murder late in Gaius' reign. The friendly king was replaced by a Roman governor. In Britain the only contest we hear of in the south-east is between Roman forces and those controlled by Togodumnus and Caratacus, who were presumably potential contenders for the throne. Togodumnus fell, and shortly thereafter, upon the arrival of Claudius, so did Camulodunum, 'the capital of Cunobelinus. After this [Claudius] won over a number of tribes, some by diplomacy, some by force, and was saluted as Imperator several times, contrary to precedent' (Suet., *Claud.* 21.1). After sixteen days in Britain he returned to Gaul and eventually to Rome, where he held his triumph. '[Claudius] gave a show in the Campus Martius representing the siege and capture of an *oppidum* in the manner of a real war, as well as of the surrender (*deditio*) of the kings of the Britons. He presided clad in a general's cloak . . .' (Suetonius, *Claud.* 21. 6).

Whatever happened, Britain still needed to be ruled while the governor was engaged in conquest, and a new high king of Britain was appointed to replace Cunobelin. His name was Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus (or Togidubnus?). Exactly how he was related to the Tasciovanian or Commian dynasty we will never know. We are told by Tacitus that he was given reign over several domains, so his territory was presumably more extensive than just the area around Chichester conventionally attributed to him. I would follow Haselgrove's contention (Haselgrove 1984b) that he ruled over all of south-east Britain formally held by Cunobelin and his relations, with the exception of the territorium of the new colony at Camulodunum. But this is to take us into Roman Britain proper, which is another story.

Let us conclude with trying to tie up two loose ends: what happened to Verica/Berikos and Adminius? Their fates could have been varied. It is possible they might have come back with their retinues to help fight in the invasion, but it is more likely that Rome held the younger Adminius at least in reserve as another potential friendly king for Britain, should one be required. Supplicants to Rome were usually pensioned off to cities elsewhere in Italy or in the provinces. Under Tiberius, Ravenna became an important centre for deposed and supplicant kings. Bato the Pannonian was retired there after walking in Tiberius' triumph. Similarly Arminius' pregnant

wife gave birth and their child was brought up in Ravenna. Finally Maroboduus came to join the band of exiles as well, though when his rival and successor, Catualda, also fled to Rome, he was retired to Forum Julii. Ravenna presumably was not big enough for the both of them. It was perhaps in one of these imperial navy ports that Verica and Adminius lived out their days. Caratacus himself was soon caught and sent to Rome.

To end, I wonder how an un-used exile like Verica or Adminius felt. If they had been *obsides* when young, did they feel more at home in Italy or in Britain? How did they perceive themselves, as British or as Romans, or indeed had these dynasts long since failed to make any real distinction? Perhaps somewhere in Ravenna lies a grave, a small piece of ground in the corner of a foreign field, that is forever Britain. Though, of course, that is just creating another myth.

APPENDIX

A brief introduction to Iron Age coinage in Britain

The most influential numismatist, whose work still dominates the field, was Derek Allen. Even a couple of decades after his death in 1975, the projects he initiated and contributed to were still being published (e.g. Hobbs 1996). His classic paper 'The origins of coinage in Britain: a reappraisal' (Allen 1960) put forward a simple and clear framework for describing and classifying the earliest gold coins in Britain. Within it he established a terminology which has stuck ever since. The six principal series of coins which he thought were imported into Britain from Gaul he termed Gallo-Belgic A–F. These he followed by a range of issues minted in Britain, which he termed British A–R. From these a series of regional coin series developed, which Allen gradually followed up and described in subsequent articles (e.g. Icenian coinage: Allen 1970). The names which Allen gave to the early gold coinage were simple and clear, even though subsequent work has suggested that some of the Gallo-Belgic issues were actually manufactured in Britain, and some of the British coin manufactured in Gaul.

Whilst Allen set up the interpretative framework, the principal catalogue which everyone used to identify coins was Mack (1953), which had replaced a set of old engravings in Evans (1864 and 1890). Mack was revised on a number of occasions; however, with the advent of metal detecting the discovery of new types of British coin increased enormously in the 1970s and 1980s. A new catalogue taking these into account was needed, and this was provided by Van Arsdell (1989a). This has now become the catalogue which virtually all coin dealers and most archaeologists use to identify their collections, though even this is now sorely in need of a second edition to take account of the pace of discoveries. The most up-to-date summary, including all the latest bibliographic references, is the recent publication of the British Museum's collection (Hobbs 1996).

The existence of a series of classic introductory papers and a principal catalogue should not be taken to suggest that there is even remotely an accepted standard in the way British coin is referred to. Some coins are described by their appearance in Van Arsdell (1989a), others by their inclusion in older catalogues or publications of museum collections, others still refer to coins by their description in some of Allen's more detailed discussion papers. As a fairly typical example, there is one coin found commonly in East Anglia which is impressed with a particular style of face on one side and horse on the other. Alas there are almost as many ways of referring to this coin as there have been studies of British coin. Here is a selection: Evans XV16 (Evans 1864, 1890); M412 (Mack 1975); LX12 (Allen 1960); Early Face–Horse IIIa

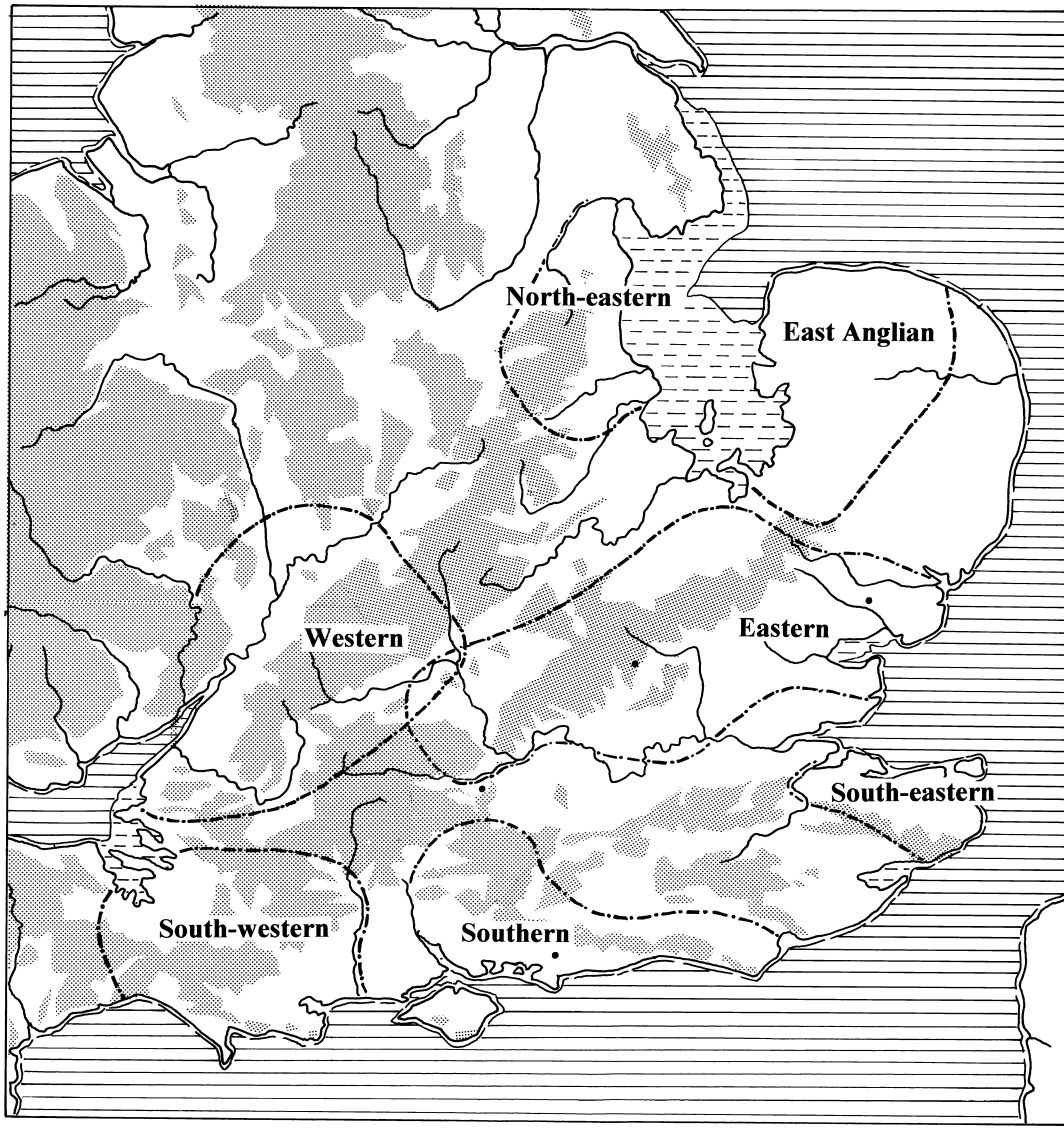


Fig. A.1 Map of the seven regional coin series in Iron Age Britain

(Allen 1970); EA 73.1 (Haselgrove 1987); VA665 – Icenian E, Celtic Head type (Van Arsdell 1989a); or even BM3536 (Hobbs 1996) – all refer to exactly the same thing. Clearly this is a bit confusing, so it is my task here to try and bring at least some clarity to this subject.

The last thing which is needed is another new reference system to describe Iron Age coin by. However what is needed is a simple system which can convey to the reader the basic information about a coin (or indeed any artefact). This would include the following: first, a reference number so that a picture of it can be looked up

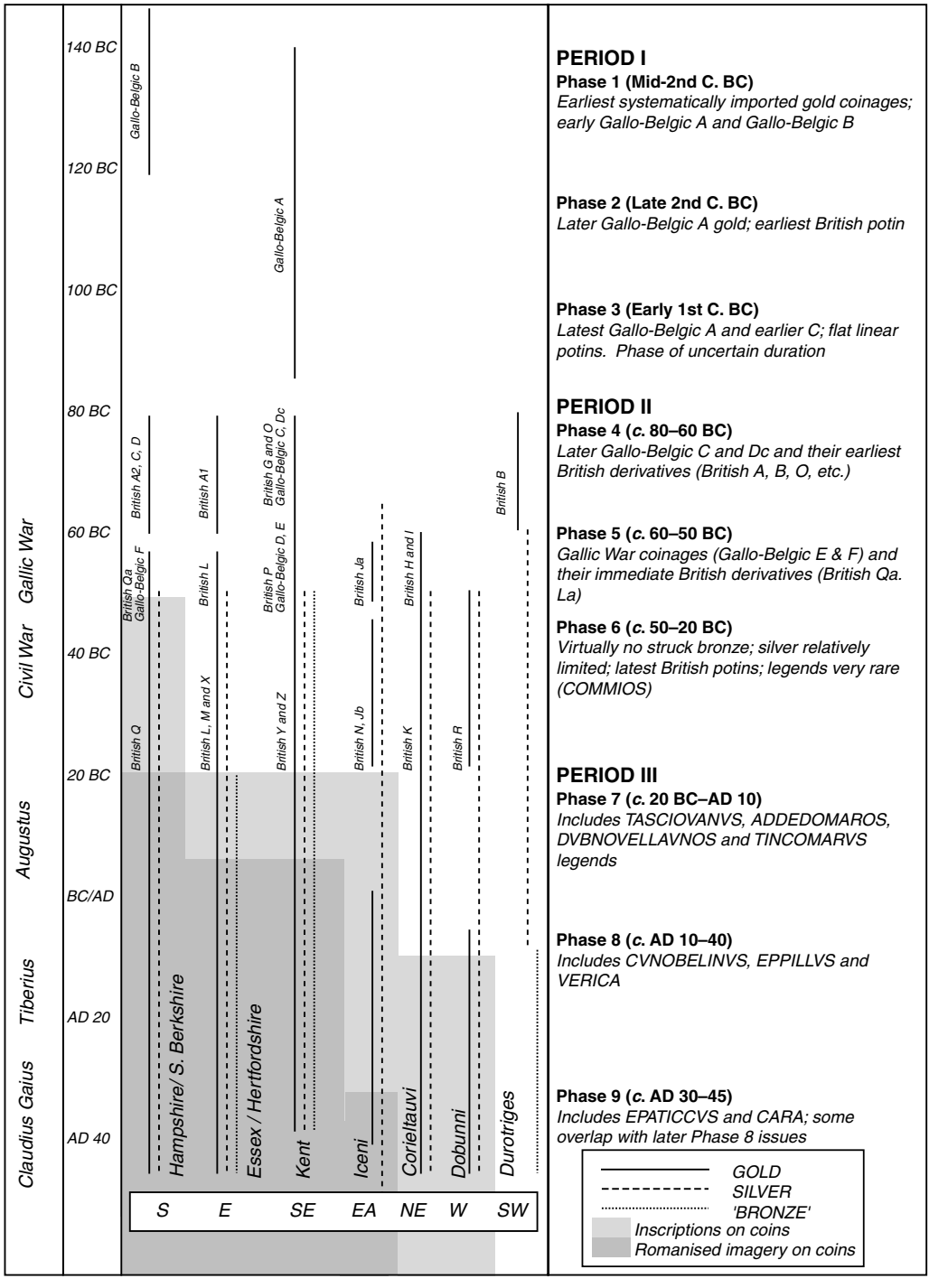


Fig. A.2 Chronological table of the development of Iron Age coin in Britain

in one of the principle catalogues of Iron Age coin; second, an indication of where such coins are found; and third, the approximate date of the issue. So that is the challenge.

Since Van Arsdell's catalogue is the most widely used, reference numbers in this book have been given to the examples published in his catalogue. However reference numbers are no good alone unless they can convey when a coin was issued and where it circulated. Van Arsdell created a detailed chronological framework which dated issues sometimes to within three-year periods; however, his catalogue came in for criticism in this respect (cf. Burnett 1989; Haselgrove 1990a; Kent 1990). This degree of chronological precision simply cannot be sustained by the evidence. We can order the coinage into a typological sequence and reasonably securely attribute coins to within a generation, but any precision greater than twenty or so years is liable to be more wishful thinking than reality. So the chronology used here is that established by Colin Haselgrove (1987). This is a broad chronological framework which does not try to date any coins closer than to within a generation. Each coin, depending upon where it had been found, was allocated to one of seven distribution areas (Fig. A.1), and allocated to one of nine chronological phases (Fig. A.2). So within this book if a coin is referred to as VA665:EA7, then the coin is number 665 in Van Arsdell's catalogue, it is mainly (but not exclusively) found in East Anglia, and it was issued sometime around Phase 7 (*c.* 20 BC – AD 10). It is hoped this system has a certain clarity giving an immediate impression of date and distribution to any coin mentioned.

That is the reference system out of the way. Now, on to a brief description of the development of coin in Britain, from its inception to the Roman conquest.

Whilst the occasional coin had probably arrived in Britain at an earlier date, the first major series of issues to appear in Britain came over around the mid-second century BC. These Allen (1960) called Gallo-Belgic A and B. Alongside these came small cast discs of a high tin-bronze commonly called 'potin'. Both were found around the Thames estuary, and from an early date potin was manufactured in Britain as well. Shortly into the first century BC (Phase 4) the striking of gold coinage in Britain itself began, largely imitating Gallo-Belgic predecessors, more of which arrived over the next few years (Gallo-Belgic C–E).

Why, though, did coinage come to Britain? There are the 'invasion', 'trade' and 'social obligation' models. My view of the social context is given in chapters 1 and 2.

In the 1950s Iron Age studies in Britain were dominated by the invasion hypothesis of later prehistory. In this context each successive change was associated with the arrival of new immigrants. This view was most clearly presented by Hawkes (1959). At the same time Derek Allen was the dominant figure in Iron Age coin studies, and he matched his view to the prevailing archaeological paradigm. He equated each of the main series of coin to arrive in Britain with waves of Belgic immigrants, bringing with them their own issues (Gallo-Belgic A–E). The idea appeared to be supported both by literary evidence and by archaeology. First, Caesar himself had reported that the maritime parts of Britain had been settled by various groups of the Belgae some time before the Gallic Wars (*BG* 5.12). He also stated that Diviciacus, an earlier king

of the Suessones, had controlled Britain (*BG* 2.4). Second, archaeologically a change in burial rite was noted in the Late Iron Age in south-eastern Britain, along with the arrival of wheel-made pottery from the continent and exotic goods from the distant Mediterranean. Here it seemed was clear evidence for immigrants in Britain.

Unfortunately the idea did not stand the test of time. It began to break down when Birchall (1965) reassessed the dating of the Aylesford burials. It appeared that this new burial rite was almost exclusively dated to after the Gallic wars. This meant it could no longer be neatly linked to Caesar's migration of the Belgae. In the light of this reassessment a mixed economy of ideas took hold for a while. Rodwell (1976) took Gallo-Belgic A and B to represent migrations, C was the coinage of Diviciacus, whilst Gallo-Belgic E now represented trade. But such mixed specific explanations were problematic. Archaeologically all of these gold coinages appear in very similar contexts (hoards, as well as single and multiple deposits found away from settlements). Therefore archaeologically we can detect no difference in the way they were handled, used and deposited. Given this, the quest for different specific and historical explanations for the arrival of these early coinages probably goes beyond the limits of the evidence. Van Arsdell (1989a) and Haselgrove (1987) decided upon more uniform explanations. Van Arsdell held to a strong functionalist argument, stating that 'Celtic coins were money' representing trade and mercenary payments, whilst Haselgrove played down the role of coins as tokens for trade. Instead he saw early gold coinage as relating to special purpose moneys linked to social transactions amongst the Gallic and British elite. These at least had the merit that different explanations were not being proffered for comparable depositional patterns. The key thing is to see Gallo-Belgic A–E as part of one long-term broad phenomenon, the specific cause of which can be debated over endlessly (Burnett 1995).

As the minting of gold in Britain progressed (British A–R), so distinctive regional patterns emerged, and this is the stage where coinage spread out to all of Haselgrove's regions. By around 20 BC all areas had distinctive gold coin series and many also experimented with issuing silver and very occasionally bronze coins as well (though the SW series developed in its own rather distinctive way). However in the late first century BC a number of changes came over the coinage. First legends were added onto the coins, giving us the names of such individuals as *COMMIOS* and *DVBNOVELLAVNVS*. Second, a new form of imagery appeared, far more classical in its design, replacing the traditional stylised face and horse which had appeared on most coins hitherto. As can be seen from Fig. A.2, legends and classical imagery did not arrive everywhere at the same time, but started in the south and east of Britain and slowly spread into the outlying areas. These are some of the changes in imagery which have formed the basis for discussion of a lot of this book.

This book is not designed to be a comprehensive overview of Iron Age coinage in Britain. More detailed outlines and summaries can be found in de Jersey (1996), which is well illustrated, and Haselgrove (1993), which is well referenced. The emphasis in this book is on the link between imagery, representation and power. Therefore there are many issues related to coinage which only get a brief mention. One is potin coinage, which was a form of cast tin-bronze coinage, which began to be

minted in Britain in the late second century BC or possibly slightly earlier (cf. Haselgrove 1997b). The best recent discussions of British potin have been Haselgrove (1988 and 1995). Second, the earliest silver issues in Britain get only a brief mention, and they perhaps deserve more. Finally, though it may seem odd when dealing with 'money', the role of coinage in 'trade' and 'the economy' is barely mentioned. However, as this book demonstrates, there is plenty else that coin can tell us.

REFERENCES

Allen, D. F. 1958, 'Celtic coins as an illustration of life in late pre-Roman Iron Age Britain', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 24: 43–63.

1960, 'The origins of coinage in Britain: a reappraisal', in Frere (ed.), pp. 97–308.

1970, 'The coins of the Iceni', *Britannia* 1: 1–33.

1975, 'Cunobelin's gold', *Britannia* 6: 1–19.

1976, 'Wealth, money and coinage in a Celtic Society', in V. Megaw (ed.), *To Illustrate the Monuments*, London: Thames and Hudson, pp. 200–8.

1980, *The Coins of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Allen, D. F. and Haselgrove, C. C. 1979, 'The gold coinage of Verica', *Britannia* 10: 1–18.

Andronikus, M. 1978, *The Royal Graves at Vergina*, Athens.

Armour-Chelu, M. 1991, 'The faunal remains', in Sharples, pp. 139–51.

Ashdown, R. and Evans, C. 1981, 'Mammalian bones', in C. Partridge, *Skeleton Green: A Late Iron Age and Romano-British site*. London: Britannia Monograph, pp. 205–35.

Austin, N. J. E. and Rankov, N. B. 1995, *Exploratio: Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople*, London: Routledge.

Backendorf, D. 1998, *Römische Münzschätze des zweiten und ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. vom italienischen Festland*. Berlin: Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike 13.

Badian, E. 1962, 'From the Gracchi to Sulla (1940–1959)', *Historia* 11: 197–245.

Bakhtin, M. 1981, *The Dialogic Imagination*, Austin: University of Texas Press.

Barclay, G. J. and Russell-White, C. J. 1993, 'Excavations in the ceremonial complex of the fourth to second millenium BC at Balfarg/Babirnie, Glenrothes, Fife', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 123: 43–210.

Barthes, R. 1982, 'Inaugural Lecture, Collège de France', in S. Sontag (ed.), *A Barthes Reader*, London: Cape, pp. 457–78.

Bedwin, O. 1984, 'Aspects of Iron Age settlement in Sussex', in Cunliffe and Miles (eds.), pp. 46–51.

Birchall, A. 1965, 'The Aylesford-Swarling culture: the problem of the Belgae reconsidered', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 31: 241–367.

Birmingham, D. 1979, 'Portugal and the African Iron Age', in Burnham and Johnson (eds.), pp. 25–34.

Blagg, T. and King, A. (eds.) 1984, *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain: Cultural Relationships in a Frontier Province*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 136.

Blagg, T. and Millett, M. (eds.) 1990, *The Early Roman Empire in the West*, Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Böhm, S. 1997, *Die Münzen der Römischen Republik und Ihre Bildquellen*, Mainz: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Philipp von Zarbern.

Boudet, R. 1987, 'A propos du dépôt d'or celtique de Tayac (Gironde)', in Bémont *et al.* (eds.), pp. 107–20.

Bémont, C., Deplace, C., Fischer, B., Gruel, K., Peyre, C. and Richard J.-C. (eds.) 1987, *Mélanges offerts au Docteur J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*, Paris: editions Le Lopard d'Or.

Bourdieu, P. 1991, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bradley, R. 1989, 'Deaths and entrances: a contextual analysis of megalithic art', *Current Anthropology* 30.1: 68–75.
1997, *Rock Art and the Prehistory of Atlantic Europe*, London: Routledge.
Braund, D. C. 1984, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of Client Kingship*, Beckenham: Croom Helm.
1996, *Ruling Roman Britain: Kings, Queens, Governors and Emperors from Julius Caesar to Agricola*, London: Routledge.
Briggs, D., Haselgrove, C. C. and King, C. 1992, 'Iron Age and Roman coins from Hayling Island temple', *British Numismatic Journal* 62: 1–62.
Budd, P. and Taylor, T. 1995, 'The faerie smith meets the bronze industry: magic versus science in the interpretation of prehistoric metal-making', *World Archaeology* 27.1: 133–43.
Burkhart, L. M. 1992, 'Flowery heaven: the aesthetic of paradise in Nahuatal devotional literature', *Res* 21: 89–109.
Burleigh, G. R. 1982, 'Excavations at Baldock 1980–81: an interim report', *Hertfordshire's Past* 12: 3–18.
Burnett, A. M. 1989, Review of Van Arsdell (1989), *British Numismatic Journal* 59: 235–7.
1995, '"Gallo-Belgic" coins in Britain', in Raftery (ed.), pp. 5–11.
Burnett, A. M. and Cowell, M. R. 1988, 'Celtic coinage in Britain II', *British Numismatic Journal* 58: 3–10.
Burnett, A. M., Amandry, M. and Ripolles, P. P. 1992, *Roman Provincial Coinage Volume I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, London: British Museum Press.
Burnham, B. and Johnson, H. (eds.) 1979, *Invasion and Response: The Case of Roman Britain*, Oxford: British Archaeological Report 73.
Calabrese, O. 1983, 'I replicanti', *Cinema and Cinema*: 35–6.
Camporesi, P. 1989, *Bread of Dreams*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Champion, T. C. and Collis, J. R. (eds.) 1996, *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, Sheffield: J. R. Collis Publications.
Clarke, R. R. 1954, 'The Early Iron Age treasure from Snettisham, Norfolk', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 20: 27–86.
Collis, J. R. 1970, 'Excavations at Owslebury, Hants: a second interim report', *Antiquaries Journal* 50: 246–61.
1985, 'Review of Danebury, an Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 51: 348–9.
1996, 'Hill-forts, enclosures and boundaries', in Champion and Collis (eds.), pp. 87–94.
Cornell, T. 1995, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 BC)*, London: Routledge.
Coulter, P. 1862, *The West of Ireland: Its Existing Condition, and Prospects*, Dublin: Hodges and Smith.
Cowell, M. R. 1992, 'An analytical survey of the British Celtic gold coinage', in Mays (ed.), pp. 207–33.
Crawford, M. H. 1969, *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*, London: Royal Numismatic Society, Special Publications no. 4.
1974, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Creighton, J. D. 1995, 'Visions of power: imagery and symbols in Late Iron Age Britain', *Britannia* 26: 285–301.
Creighton, J. D. and Wilson, R. J. A. (eds.) 1999, *Roman Germany: Studies in Cultural Interaction*, Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 32.
Crowley, T. 1996, *Language in History: Theories and Texts*, London: Routledge.
Cumberpatch, C. G. and Hills, J. D. (eds.) 1994, *Different Iron Ages*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 602.

Cunliffe, B. W. 1971, *Roman Bath Discovered*, London: Routledge Kegan Paul.
1974, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, London: Routledge Kegan Paul.
1981a, 'Money and society in pre-Roman Britain', in Cunliffe (ed.), pp. 29–39.
1982, 'Britain, the Veneti and beyond', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 1.1: 39–68.
1984a, 'Iron Age Wessex: continuity and change', in Cunliffe and Miles (eds.), pp. 12–45.
1984b, *Danebury: An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire, I: The Excavations, 1969–1978: The Site; II, The Excavations 1969–1978: The Finds*, London: CBA Research Report 52.
1987, *Hengistbury Head, Dorset, Volume 1: The Prehistoric and Roman Settlement, 3500 BC–AD 500*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 13.
1988, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction*, London: Batsford.
1991, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, 3rd edn, London: Routledge.
1995a, *Danebury and Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire, VI: A Hillfort Community in Perspective*, London: CBA Research Report 102.
1995b, 'The Celtic chariot: a footnote', in Raftery (ed.), pp. 31–9.
1995c, *Iron Age Britain*, London: English Heritage.
Cunliffe, B. W. (ed.) 1981b, *Coinage and Society in Britain and Gaul: Some Current Problems*, London: CBA Research Report 38.
Cunliffe, B. W. and de Jersey, P. 1997, *Armorica and Britain: Cross-Channel Relationships in the Late First Millenium BC*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 45.
Cunliffe, B. W. and Miles, D. (eds.) 1984, *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 2.
Cunliffe, B. W. and Poole, C. 1991, *Danebury: An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire, V: The Excavations, 1979–88: The Finds*, London: CBA Research Report 73.
Cunliffe, B. W. and Rowley, T. (eds.) 1976, *Oppida in Barbarian Europe*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series 11.
de Jersey, P. 1994, *Coinage in Iron Age Armorica*, Studies in Celtic Coinage No. 2, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 39.
1996, *Celtic Coinage in Britain*, Princes Risborough: Shire Archaeology 72.
de la Tour 1892, *Atlas de monnaies Gauloises*, Paris: Librairie Plon.
Delestrée, L.-P. 1996, *Monnayages et peuples Gaulois du nord-ouest*, Paris: Editions Errance.
Delestrée, L.-P. and Delplace, C. 1987, 'Le série trimétallique à l'astre', in Bémont *et al.* (eds.) pp. 253–73.
Dobesch, G. 1980, *Die Kelten in Österreich nach den ältesten Berichten der Antike*, Wien: Böhlau.
Dorian, N. 1982, 'Language loss and maintenance in language contact situations', in R. Lambert and B. Freed (eds.), *The Loss of Language Skills*, Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.
Dowson, T. A. 1992, *Rock Engravings of Southern Africa*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
Dronfield, J. 1993, 'Ways of seeing, ways of telling: Irish passage tomb art, style and the universality of vision', in M. Lorblanchet and P. G. Bahn (eds.) *Rock Art Studies: The Post-Stylistic Era or Where do we go from here?*, pp. 179–94, Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 35.
1995, 'Subjective vision and the source of Irish megalithic art', *Antiquity* 69: 539–49.
Dumville, D. N. 1977, 'Kingship, genealogies and regnal lists', in P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (eds.) *Early Medieval Kingship*, Leeds: School of History, University of Leeds, pp. 72–104.
Eckardt, H. 1999, 'The Colchester ''child's grave''', *Britannia* 30: 57–89.
Eco, U. 1990, *The Limits of Interpretation*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Edwards, J. 1995, *Multilingualism*, London: Penguin.
Evans, A. J. 1890, 'The Late Celtic urn-field at Aylesford, Kent', *Archaeologia* 52: 315–88.
Evans, D. E. 1995, 'The Early Celts: the evidence of language', in Green (ed.), pp. 8–20.

Evans, J. 1864, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, London.
1890, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons: Supplement*, London.
Fairclough, N. 1989, *Language and Power*, London: Longman.
Fanon, F. 1986, *Black Skin, White Masks*, London: Pluto.
Feugère, M. and Rolley, C. (eds.) 1991, *La vaisselle Tardo-Républicaine en bronze*, Dijon: Center de recherches sur les techniques gréco-romaines 13, Université de Bourgogne.
Fittschen, K. 1974, 'Die Bildnisse der Mauretanischen Könige und ihre stadtrömische Vorbilder', in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Madrider Mitteilungen* 15: 156–73.
Fitzpatrick, A. 1984, 'The deposition of Late La Tène Age metalwork in watery contexts in southern England', in Cunliffe and Miles (eds.), pp. 178–90.
1989, 'Cross-channel relations in the British Later Iron Age: with particular reference to the British archaeological evidence', Ph. D. dissertation, University of Durham.
1992, 'The roles of Celtic coinage in south east England', in Mays (ed.), pp. 1–32.
1996a, 'Night and day: the symbolism of astral signs on Later Iron Age anthropomorphic short swords', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 62: 373–98.
1996b, Review of Parfitt (1995), *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 62: 453–4.
1997, *Archaeological Excavations on the Route of the A27 Westhampnett Bypass, West Sussex, 1992. II: the Cemeteries*, Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology Report 12.
Fitzpatrick, A. and Megaw, J. V. S. 1987, 'Further finds from the Le Câtillon Hoard', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 53: 433–44.
Foster, J. 1986, *The Lexden Tumulus: A re-appraisal of an Iron Age Burial from Colchester, Essex*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 156.
Frere, S. S. (ed.) 1960, *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, London: Institute of Archaeology.
Fulford, M. G. 1993, 'Silchester: the early development of a civitas capital', in S. J. Greep (ed.) *Roman Towns: The Wheeler Inheritance*, London: CBA Research Report 93, pp. 16–33.
Galeano, E. 1987, *Genesis*, London: Methuen.
Garwood, P., Jennings, D., Skeates, R. and Toms, J. (eds.) 1991, *Sacred and Profane: Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 32.
Gellner, E. 1983, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell.
Göbl, R. 1973, *Typologie und Chronologie der keltischen Munzprägung in Noricum*, Wein: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Goodman, J., Lovejoy, P. E. and Sherratt, A. (eds.) 1995, *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology*, London: Routledge.
Grant, A. 1984a, 'Animal husbandry in Wessex and the Thames Valley', in Cunliffe and Miles (eds.), pp. 102–19.
1984b, 'Animal husbandry', in Cunliffe (1984b), pp. 496–548.
1991, 'Animal husbandry', in Cunliffe and Pool (eds.), pp. 447–87.
Grant, M. and Hazel, J. 1993, *Who's Who in Classical Mythology*, London: Dent.
Green, M. J. 1992, 'The iconography of celtic coins', in Mays (ed.), pp. 151–63.
Green, M. J. (ed.) 1995, *The Celtic World*, London: Routledge.
Grimes, W. F. (ed.) 1951, *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond*, London: H. W. Edwards.
Gwilt, A. and Haselgrove, C. C. (eds.) 1997, *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.
Haffner, A. 1989, 'Der grosse Grabgarten in der Südwestspitze des Gräberfeldes', in A. Haffner (ed.) *Gräber – Spiegel des Lebens, zum totenbrauchtum der Kelten und Römer am Beispiel des Treverer-Gräberfeldes Wederath-Belginum*, Mainz: Philipp von Zarben, pp. 401–12.

Handford, S. A. (trans.) 1970, *Tacitus: The Agricola and The Germania*, revised edn, London: Penguin.
1982, *Caesar: The Conquest of Gaul*, revised edn J. Gardner, (ed.) London: Penguin.
Harcourt, R. A. 1974, 'The dog in prehistoric and early historic Britain', *Journal of Archaeological Science*: 1: 151–76.
1979, 'The animal bones', in Wainwright, pp. 150–60.
Haselgrove, C. C. 1978, *Supplementary Gazetteer of Findspots of Celtic Coins in Britain*, London: Institute of Archaeology Occasional Paper 11a.
1982, 'Wealth, prestige and power: the dynamics of political centralization in south-east England', in C. Renfrew and S. Shennan, *Ranking, Resource and Exchange*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 79–88.
1984a, 'Warfare and its aftermath as reflected in the precious metal coinage of Belgic Gaul', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 3.1: 81–105.
1984b, 'Romanization before the conquest: Gaulish precedents and British consequences', in Blagg and King (eds.), pp. 5–63.
1984c, 'Celtic coins found in Britain 1977–82', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 20: 107–54.
1987, *Iron Age Coinage in SE Britain: The Archaeological Context*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 174.
1988, 'The archaeology of British potin coinage', *Archaeological Journal* 145: 99–122.
1990a, 'After Mack: Van Arsdell's insular Celtic coins', *Antiquity* 64: 416–18.
1990b, 'The Romanisation of Belgic Gaul: some archaeological perspectives', in Blagg and Millett (eds.), pp. 45–71.
1993, 'The development of British Iron-Age coinage', *Numismatic Chronicle* 153: 31–63.
1995, 'Potin coinage in Iron Age Britain, archaeology and chronology', *Gallia* 52: 117–27.
1996, 'Iron Age coinage: recent work', in Champion and Collis (eds.), pp. 67–85.
1997a, 'Iron Age brooch deposition and chronology', in Gwilt and Haselgrove (eds.) pp. 51–72.
1997b, Review of Hobbs (1996), *Britannia* 28: 501–3.
Haselgrove, C. C. and Millett, M. 1997, 'Verlamion reconsidered', in Gwilt and Haselgrove (eds.), pp. 282–96.
Hawkes, C. F. C. 1959, 'The ABC of the British Iron Age', *Antiquity* 33: 170–82.
Hawkes, C. F. C. and Dunning, G. C. 1930, 'The Belgae of Britain and Gaul', *Archaeological Journal* 87: 150–335.
Helbaek, H. 1950, 'Tollundmandens sidste måltid. Botanical study of the stomach of Tollund Man', in *Årboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*: 329–41.
1958, 'Grauballemandens sidste måltid . The last meal of Grauballe Man: an analysis of food remains in the stomach', *Kuml*: 83–116.
Helms, M. W. 1988, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographic Distance*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Henig, M. 1972, 'The origin of some ancient British coin types', *Britannia* 3: 209–23.
1984, *Religion in Roman Britian*, London: Batsford.
Herbert, E. W. 1984, *Red Gold of Africa: Copper in Precolonial History and Culture*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
1993, *Iron, Gender and Power: Rituals of Transformation in African Societies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Hill, J. D. 1993, 'Can we recognise a different European past?', *Journal of European Archaeology* 1: 57–75.
1994, 'How should we understand Iron Age hill-forts: a contextual study', in Cumberpatch and Hill (eds.), pp. 45–66.

1995, *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*, Oxford: British Archaeological Report 242.

1996, 'Hill-forts and the Iron Age of Wessex', in Champion and Collis (eds.), pp. 95–116.

Hingley, R. 1997, 'Iron working and regeneration: a study of the symbolic meaning of metalworking in Iron Age Britain', in Gwilt and Haselgrove (eds.), pp. 9–18.

Hobbs, R. 1996, *British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum*, London: British Museum Press.

Hopkins, K. 1983, *Death and Renewal*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Horn, H. G. and Rüger, C. B. 1979, *Die Numider*, Köln: Theinland-Verlag.

Hosler, D. 1995, 'Sound, color and meaning in the metallurgy of Ancient West Mexico', *World Archaeology* 27.1: 100–15.

Hull, M. R. and Hawkes, C. F. C. 1987, *Corpus of Ancient Brooches in Britain*, Oxford: British Archaeological Report 168.

Jackson, K. 1970, 'The Romano-British names in the Antonine Itinerary', *Britannia* 1: 68–82.

Jitta, A. N. Z., Peters, W. J. T. and Witteveen, A. M. 1973, *The Figural Bronzes: Description of the Collections in the Rijksmuseum at Nijmegen*, Nijmegen: Rijksmuseum.

Johnson, S. 1806, *The Works of Samuel Johnson*, II, London.

Jones, R. F. (ed.) 1991, *Roman Britain: Recent Trends*, Sheffield: J. R. Collis publications.

Jope, M. 1995, 'A gold finger-ring found at Arras, gone missing long since', in Raftery (ed.), pp. 111–18.

Kellner, H. J. 1970, 'Der Fund von Tayac, ein Zeugnis des Cimbernzuges?', *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 20: 13–47.

Kent, J. P. C. 1990, Review of Van Arsdell (1989), *Numismatic Chronicle* 150: 266–8.

King, A. C. 1990, 'The emergence of Romano-Celtic religion', in Blagg and Millett (eds.), pp. 220–41.

King, A. and Soffe, G. 1991, 'Hayling Island', in Jones (ed.), pp. 111–13.

King, A. and Soffe, G. 1999, 'L'Organisation interne et l'enfouissement des objets au temple de l'Age du Fer à Hayling Island (Hampshire)' in J. Collis (ed.) *Society and Settlement in Iron Age Europe, L'habitat et l'occupation du Sol en Europe. Actes du XVIIIe colloque de l'AFEAF, Winchester – Avril 1994*. Sheffield: J. R. Collis Publications, pp. 113–26.

Krausse, D. 1999, 'Romanization in the Middle Rhine and Moselle region: new evidence from recent excavations in Luxembourg, Rhineland-Pfalz and Saarland', in Creighton and Wilson (eds.), pp. 54–70.

Laing, L. 1991, 'Types and prototypes in Insular Celtic coinage', in *Celtic Coin Bulletin 1*, Nottingham: University of Nottingham, pp. 19–24.

Lambert, P.-Y. 1994, *La langue Gauloise: description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies*, Paris: Editions Errance.

Lambrick, G. and Robinson, M. 1979, *Iron Age and Roman Riverside Settlements at Farmoor, Oxfordshire*, London: CBA Research Report 32.

Lane, S. 1991, 'Celtic gold from Norfolk', *Minerva* 2.3: 28–9.

Laver, P. G. 1927, 'The excavation of a tumulus at Lexden, Colchester', *Archaeologia* 76: 241–54.

Lewis-Williams, J. D. and Dowson, T. A 1988, 'The signs of all times: entoptic phenomena in Upper Paleolithic art', *Current Anthropology* 29.2: 201–45.

1993, 'On vision and power in the neolithic: evidence from the decorated monuments', *Current Anthropology* 34.1: 55–65.

Loscheider, R 1994, 'Ein Beitrag Numidiens zur keltischen Numismatik des Trevererlandes', *Hemecht* 47.4: 579–90.

Lyons, D. 1996, 'The politics of house shape: round vs. rectilinear domestic structures in Dela compounds, northern Cameroon', *Antiquity* 70: 351–67.

Mack, R. P. 1953, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain*, London: Spink.

1975, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (3rd edn), London: Spink.

Mackensen, M. 1975, 'The state of research on the ''Norican'' silver coinage', *World Archaeology* 6.3: 249–75.
Mackreth, D. 1994, 'Late La Tène brooch', in R. Thorpe and J. Sharman, 'An Iron Age and Romano-British enclosure system at Normanton le Heath, Leicestershire', *Transactions of the Leicester Archaeological and Historical Society* 68: 49–50.
Maltby, M. 1996, 'The exploitation of animals in the Iron Age: the archaeozoological evidence', in Champion and Collis (eds.), pp. 17–27.
Matossian, M. K. 1989, *Poisons of the Past*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
Mattingly, H. and Sydenham, E. A. 1923, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, 1*: Augustus to Vitellius, London: Spink.
Mays, M. (ed.) 1992, *Celtic Coinage: Britain and Beyond*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 222.
Mazard, J. 1955, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris: Arts et Metiers Graphiques.
1957, 'Deuxième supplément au corpus nummorum numidiae mauretaniaeque', *Libyca: Archéologie and Epigraphie* 5: 51–8.
Megaw, R. and Megaw, V. 1989, *Celtic art: from its beginnings to the Book of Kells*, London: Thames and Hudson.
Meid, W. 1992, *Gaulish Inscriptions: Their Interpretation in the Light of Archaeological Evidence and Their Value as a Source of Linguistic and Sociological Information*, Budapest: Archaeolingua, Series Minor 1.
Meier, C. 1995, *Caesar*, trans. D. McLintock, London: Harper-Collins.
Metzler, J., Waringo, R., Bis, R. and Metzler-Zens, N. 1991, *Clemency et les tombes de l'aristocratie en Gaule Belgique*, Luxembourg: Dossiers d'Archéologie du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art 1.
Metzler, J; Millett, M., Roymans, N. and Slofstra, J. (eds.) 1995, *Integration in the Early Roman West: The Role of Culture and Ideology*, Luxembourg: Dossiers d'Archéologie du Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art IV.
Millett, M. 1990, *The Romanization of Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1995, 'Re-thinking Religion in Romanization', in Metzler *et al.* (eds.), pp. 93–100.
Morris, J. 1995, *Arthurian Period Sources v: Genealogies and Texts*, Chichester: Phillimore.
Nash, D. 1978, *Settlement and Coinage in Central Gaul, c. 200–50 BC*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series 39.
1981, 'Coinage and state development in Central Gaul', in Cunliffe (ed.), pp. 10–17.
1987, *Coinage in the Celtic World*, London: Seaby.
Nash-Williams, V. E. and Nash-Williams, A. H. 1935, *Catalogue of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones found at Caerlleon, Monmouthshire*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales.
Neal, D. S., Wardle, A. and Hunn, J. 1990, *Excavation of the Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Settlement at Gorhambury, St. Albans*, London: English Heritage.
Niblett, R. 1992, 'A Catuvellaunian chieftain's burial from St. Albans', *Antiquity* 66: 917–29.
Northover, J. P. 1992, 'Material issues in the Celtic coinage', in Mays (ed.), pp. 235–99.
O'Connell, M. G. and Bird, J. 1994, 'The Roman temple at Wanborough, excavation 1985–1986', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 82: 1–168.
O'Conor, C. 1753, *Dissertations on the Ancient History of Ireland*, Dublin: Hoey.
O'Rahilly, T. F. 1946, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
Oaks, L. S. 1986, 'The Goddess Epona: concepts of sovereignty in a changing landscape', in M. Henig and A. King (eds.) *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 8, pp. 77–83.
Olmsted, G. S. 1979, *The Gundestrup Cauldron*, Brussels: Collection Latomus 162.
Oswald, A. 1997, 'A doorway on the past: practical and mystic concerns in the orientation of

roundhouse doorways', in Gwilt and Haselgrove (eds.), pp. 87–95.
Parfitt, K. 1995, *Iron Age Burials from Mill Hill, Deal*, London: British Museum Press.
Phillimore, E. 1888, 'The Annales Cambriae and Old Welsh genealogies from Harleian MS. 2859', *Y Cymmrodor* 9: 141–83.
Piggott, S. 1968, *The Druids*, London: Thames and Hudson.
Puhvel, J. 1955, 'Vedic *ásvamedha–* and Gaulish *ɪɪpomɪɪdvos*', *Language* 31: 353–4.
1970, 'Aspects of equine functionality', in J. Puhvel (ed.) *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans*, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, pp. 159–72.
Raftery, B. 1996, 'Iron Age Studies in Ireland: some recent developments', in Champion and Collis (eds.), pp. 155–61.
Raftery, B. (ed.) 1995, *Sites and Sights of the Iron Age: Essays on Fieldwork and Museum Research presented to Ian Mathieson Stead*, Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 56.
Rakob, F. 1979, 'Numidische Königsarchitektur in Nordafrika', in Horn and Rüger (eds.), pp. 119–71.
Rankin, D. 1996, *Celts and the Classical World*, London: Routledge.
Renfrew, C. 1987, *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*, London: Cape.
Rhys, J. 1904, *Celtic Britain*, London: SPCK.
Richmond, I. A. 1968, *Hod Hill, II: Excavations carried out between 1951 and 1958 for the Trustees of the British Museum*, London: British Museum Press.
1995, *Roman Britain*, 3rd edn, revised by M. Todd, London: Penguin.
Rivet, A. L. F. and Smith, C. 1979, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, London: Batsford.
Rodwell, K. A. 1988, *The Prehistoric and Roman Settlement at Kelvedon*, London: CBA Research Report 63.
Rodwell, W. J. 1976, 'Coinage, oppida and the rise of Belgic power in south-east Britain', in Cunliffe and Rowley (eds.), pp. 181–367.
Rodwell, W. J. 1978, 'Buildings and settlements in south-east Britain in the late Iron Age', in B. Cunliffe and T. Rowley (eds.) *Lowland Iron Age Communities in Europe*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 48, pp. 25–41.
Romm, J. S. 1992, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Roymans, N. 1990, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul: An Anthropological Perspective*, Amsterdam: CINGULA 12.
Rykwert, J. 1976, *The Idea of the Town*, London: Faber and Faber.
Salway, P. 1981, *Roman Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Saunders, C. 1977, 'The iron firedog from Welwyn, Hertfordshire, reconsidered', *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 5: 13–21.
Scaccia-Scarafoni, C. 1923, 'Scoperta di una lastra di marmo contenente parte dei ''Fasti Verulani''', *Notizie degili Scavi di Antichita* 194–203.
Scheers, S. 1977, *Traité de numismatique Celtique II: La Gaule Belgique*, Paris: Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, Volume 195.
1982, 'Les imitations celtiques des monnaies romaines en Angleterre et leur signification historique', in *Actes du 9e Congrès International de Numismatique, Berne*, I, Louvain-la-Neuve, Luxembourg: Association internationale des numismates professionnels, pp. 619–23
1992, 'Celtic coin types in Britain and their Mediterranean origins', in Mays (ed.), pp. 33–46.
Schmidt, K. H. 1979, 'On the Celtic language of continental Europe', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 28: 189–205.
Sealey, M. R. 1979, 'The late history of Icenian electrum torcs', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 45: 165–78.
Segal, A. 1973, 'Herodium', *Israel Exploration Journal* 23: 27–9.

Selkirk, A. 1993, 'A royal burial at St Albans', *Current Archaeology* 132: 484–8.
Sharples, N. 1991, *Maiden Castle: Excavations and Field Survey 1985–6*, London: English Heritage.
Sheed, F. J. (trans.) 1993, *Augustine: Confessions*, Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.
Sheridan, T. 1756, *British Education: Or the Source of the Disorder of Great Britain*: London.
Sherratt, A. 1987, 'Cups that cheered', in W. H. Waldren and R. C. Kennard (eds.), *Bell Beakers of the West Mediterranean*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 331, pp. 81–114.
1991, 'Sacred and profane substances: the ritual use of narcotics in later Neolithic Europe', in Garwood *et al.* (eds.), pp. 50–64.
Simco, A. 1973, 'The Iron Age in the Bedford region', *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* 8: 5–22.
Simms, K. 1987, *From Kings to Warlords: The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, Suffolk: Boydell Press.
Sjoestedt, M.-L. 1994, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts* (trans. Myles Dillon); Blackrock, Ireland: Four Courts Press.
Smith, R. A. 1912, 'On Late Celtic antiquities discovered at Welwyn, Herts.', *Archaeologia*, second series 13: 1–30.
Stead, I. M. 1967, 'A La Tène III burial from Welwyn Garden City', *Archaeologia* 101: 1–62.
1968, 'Excavations in Blagden Copse, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Hampshire, 1961', *Proc. Hampshire Field Club* 23: 81–9.
1990, 'The Snettisham treasure: excavations in 1990', *Antiquity* 65: 447–64.
1995, 'The Metalwork', in Parfitt, pp. 58–111.
Stead, I. M. and Rigby, V. 1986, *Baldock: The Excavation of a Roman and Pre-Roman Settlement 1968–72*, London: Britannia Monograph 7.
1989, *Verulamium: The King Harry Lane site*, London: English Heritage Archaeological Report No. 12.
Stevens, C. E. 1951, 'Britain between the invasions (BC 54–43 AD): a study in ancient diplomacy', in Grimes (ed.), pp. 332–44.
Stewart, P. C. N. 1995, 'Inventing Britain: the Roman creation and adaptation of an image', *Britannia* 26: 1–10.
Stopford, J. 1987, 'Danebury: an alternative view', *Scottish Archaeological Review* 4: 70–5.
Sutherland, C. H. V. 1984, *The Roman Imperial Coinage, 1: Revised Edition 31 BC–AD 69*, London: Spink.
Swift, J. 1957, *A Proposal for Correcting the English Tongue, Polite conversation etc*, [1712] H. Davis (ed.), Oxford: Blackwell.
Thorpe, L. (trans.) 1966, *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, London: Penguin.
Toynbee, J. M. C. 1964, *Art in Britain under the Romans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Trow, S. 1990, 'By the northern shores of the ocean: some observations on acculturation process at the edge of the Roman world', in Blagg and Millett (eds.), pp. 103–18.
Trudgill, P. 1995, *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*, 3rd edn, London: Penguin.
Vallancey, C. 1782, *A Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic or Irish Language*, 2nd edn, Dublin.
Van Arsdell, R. D. 1989a, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*, London: Spink.
1989b, 'Take out the gold but keep the colour', *Spink Numismatic Circular*, 97.3: 82–3.
Van Heesch, J. 1993, 'Proposition d'une nouvelle datation des monnaies en bronze à l'autel de Lyon frappées sous Auguste', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique* 48.4: 535–8.
Van Impe, L., Creemers, G., Scheers, S. and Van Laere, R. 1997, 'De Keltische goudschat van Beringen (Lb.)', *Lunula, Archaeologia Protohistorica* 5: 21–3.

Wainwright, G. J. 1979, *Gussage All Saints: An Iron Age Settlement in Dorset*, London: H.M.S.O.

Waurick, G. 1979, 'Die Schutzwaffen im Numidischen Grab von Es Soumâa', in Horn and Rüger (eds.), pp. 305–32.

Webster, G. 1950, *A Short Guide to the Roman Inscriptions and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester*, Chester: Grosvenor Museum.

Webster, N. 1789, *Dissertations on the English Language*, Boston: Thomas.

Werner, J. 1978, 'Zur Bronzekanne von Kelheim, Rückblick und Ausblick', *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 43: 1–18.

Whatmough, J. 1970, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul: Prolegomena and Records of the Dialects*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Universtiy Press.

Wigg, A. 1990, 'Die Steindenkmalreste des Römerzeitlichen grabhügels bei Siesbach im Hunsrück', *Archäologisches Korrespondenblatt* 20: 453–61.

Wood, J 1992, 'Celtic goddesses: myths and mythology', in C. Larrington, *The Feminist Companion to Mythology*, London: Pandora, pp. 118–36.

Woolf, G. 1995, 'The formation of Roman provincial cultures', in Metzler *et al.* (eds.), pp. 9–18.

1997, 'Beyond Romans and natives', *World Archaeology* 28.3: 339–50.

Zanker, P. 1988, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Page numbers in bold refer to illustrations.
Note: coins have not been illustrated to scale.

GENERAL INDEX

Other books published in the series

Ian Hodder and Clive Orton: *Spatial analysis in archaeology*
Keith Muckelroy: *Maritime archaeology*
R. Gould: *Living archaeology*
Stephen Plog: *Stylistic variation in prehistoric ceramics*
Patrick Vinton Kirch: *Evolution of the Polynesian chiefdoms*
Dean Arnold: *Ceramic theory and cultural process*
Geoffrey W. Conrad and Arthur A. Demarest: *Religion and empire: the dynamics of Aztec and Inca expansionism*
Graeme Barker: *Prehistoric farming in Europe*
Daniel Miller: *Artefacts as categories*
Rosalind Hunter-Anderson: *Prehistoric adaptation in the American Southwest*
Robin Torrence: *Production and exchange of stone tools*
Bo Gräslund: *The birth of prehistoric chronology*
Ian Morris: *Burial and ancient society: the rise of the Greek City State*
Joseph Tainter: *The collapse of complex societies*
John Fox: *Maya postclassic state formation*
Alasdair Whittle: *Problems in Neolithic archaeology*
Peter Bogucki: *Forest farmers and stock herders*
Olivier de Montmollin: *The archaeology of political structure: settlement analysis in a classic Maya polity*
Robert Champan: *Emerging complexity: the later prehistory of South-East Spain, Iberia and the West Mediterranean*
Steven Mithen: *Thoughtful foragers: a study of prehistoric decision making*
Roger Cribb: *Nomads in archaeology*
James Whitley: *Style and society in Dark Age Greece: the changing face of a pre-literate society 1100–700 BC*
Philip Arnold: *Domestic ceramic production and spatial organization*
Julian Thomas: *Rethinking the Neolithic*
E. N. Chernykh: *Ancient metallurgy in the USSR: the early Metal Age,* translated by Sarah Wright
Lynne Sebastian: *The Chaco Anasazi: sociopolitical evolution in the prehistoric southwest*
Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri: *The Iron Age community of Osteria del'Osa: a study of socio-political development in central Tyrrhenian Italy*
Christine A. Hastorf: *Agriculture and the onset of political inequality before the Inka*
Richard E. Blanton, Stephen A. Kowalewski, Gary Feinman and Laura Finstein: *Ancient Mesoamerica: a comparison of change in three regions*, second edition
Richard Bradley and Mark Edmonds: *Interpreting the axe trade: production and exchange in Neolithic Britain*
Dean E. Arnold: *Ecology and ceramic production in an Andean community*

Anne E. Yentsch: *A Chesapeake family and their slaves: a study in historical archaeology*
Paul K. Wason: *The archaeology of rank*
Roland Fletcher: *The limits of settlement growth: a theoretical outline*
Christopher Tilley: *An ethnography of the Neolithic: early prehistoric societies in southern Scandinavia*
Jerry D. Moore: *Architecture and power in the ancient Andes: the archaeology of public buildings*
Kristian Kristiansen: *Europe before history*
Michael Shanks: *Art and the early Greek state: an interpretive archaeology*
Lisa Nevett: *House and society in the ancient Greek world*
Jacques Cauvin: *Birth of the gods and the origins of agriculture*