

XIV.—*On a Late-Celtic Urn-Field at Aylesford, Kent, and on the Gaulish, Illyro-Italic, and Classical Connexions of the Forms of Pottery and Bronze-work there discovered.* By ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

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PART I.—THE CEMETERY AND ITS CONTENTS.

I. (a) THE GRAVE-PITS AND FAMILY-CIRCLES.

In November, 1886, being at Aylesford in company with my father Dr. John Evans and with Dr. Sebastian Evans, we paid a visit to the sand and gravel pit belonging to Messrs. Silas Wagon and Son, our immediate object being to search for palæolithic implements which had been discovered at this spot. Our attention was then called to another and highly interesting discovery that had just been made whilst removing the surface earth, which here to a depth of about three feet covers the old river deposits. This consisted of a bronze pail or *situla* (fig. 11), and a small fragment of another, an *ænochoë* (fig. 14), a long-handled pan or *patella* (fig. 16), and two *fibulæ* (figs. 17, 18), also of bronze, together with calcined bones and fragments of earthenware vases. On examination the *situla* proved to be a characteristic example of that peculiar style of art which had taken root in Britain during the century or so that preceded the Roman Conquest, and to which Mr. Franks has given the name of "Late-Celtic." The *ænochoë*, or bronze vase, the pan and *fibulæ* were also of great interest as representing imported specimens of late Greek or Italian fabrics. The earthenware vases themselves exhibited an elegance of form and a style of manufacture such as had not yet been associated with British remains in this country, and which, as I hope to show, point not less distinctly to Gaulish and in a somewhat remoter degree to North Italian connexions.

These objects were discovered in what had been a round burial pit (fig. 1) about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, the sides and bottom of which had been coated with a kind of chalky compound. The bronze *situla* contained burnt bones and the *fibulæ*, the bronze vase and pan lying outside it, while around were the remains of several earthenware urns, some of which had been used as cineraries.

It further appeared that the British Museum, for which the pail and associated objects referred to above were at once acquired by my father's agency, was already in possession of the contents of another grave from the same site that had been recently purchased from a Mr. Hales. The principal of these was a bronze-plated wooden vessel (fig. 9) of a remarkable class, fitted with two perpendicular handles of bronze, once ornamented with studs of some other material. This object, which may best be described as a tankard, was found, according to the account given, within a circle of five or six earthenware vases,

about 200 yards north-west of Aylesford church, at a depth of eighteen inches beneath the surface. Among the associated vases were remains of a fine



Fig. 1. Grave-pit, showing position of *situla*, &c.^a (Diagrammatic sketch, from account given.)

pedestalled urn (fig. 7), originally, no doubt, containing ashes, which must be reckoned as the finest ceramic relic discovered on this site.

Nor were these discoveries by any means isolated. On inquiry, I learnt that for a considerable series of years, *pari passu* with the gradual excavation of the pit and the consequent removal of the surface soil, continued discoveries of ancient graves had been made containing for the most part earthenware vessels filled with calcined bones. Although, unfortunately, no detailed account of these discoveries had been kept, I learnt that Mr. H. Lewis of Camberwell, who had

^a For more exact representations of the bronzes, see separate plates and figures.

frequent occasion to visit Messrs. Wagon's pit in search for geological specimens and flint implements, had at different times procured a considerable series of pots from the ancient British cemetery above. Many of these had been broken into countless fragments, but their restoration became for their possessor a labour of love, and, thanks to Mr. Lewis's patient industry, very valuable materials relating to the Aylesford urn-field have been preserved to us in an intelligible form. Mr. Lewis's collection consisting, besides fragments, of some twenty-two more or less perfect vases of which he supplied me with the drawings, has also passed into the possession of the Nation.

Amongst the objects discovered in the graves, and sometimes in the cineraries themselves, were a great number of flint flakes and scrapers, which can in this case therefore be assigned to the Late-Celtic epoch. There was also discovered a compact mass of eight bracelets of Kimmeridge shale in the form of rings $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in exterior diameter, and presenting a round section $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. These are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Amongst the most important relics acquired by Mr. Lewis were the iron rings and parts of the iron hoop of a large wooden bucket which must have rivalled in size the great Marlborough bucket now in the Museum at Devizes, although in this case the iron hoop and rings do not seem to have been associated with bronze plating.

From the depth, five feet, at which according to Mr. Lewis's account the iron attachments of this bucket were found, the burial-pit in which it occurred must have been of abnormal proportions. The remaining fragments of the iron band or hoop show that the bucket itself was about forty inches in diameter, and, from the fact that several urns with burnt bones were found within the circuit originally formed by it, it is evident

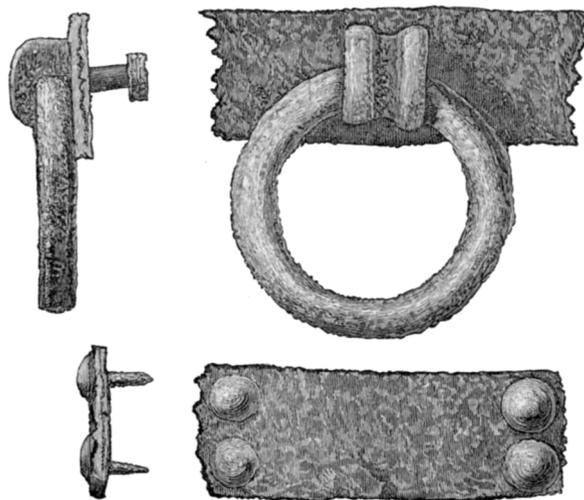


Fig. 2. ($\frac{1}{3}$ linear.)

Ring and part of iron band of a bucket found at Aylesford, Kent.

that it originally served as a receptacle of cinerary vessels. Amongst the urns that it had enclosed was a large pot with its top broken off, a small vase (Pl. IX. fig. 7) filled with calcined bones, and by the side of these another urn much crushed by flint stones, which seem to have been thrown into

the bucket. This grave of the iron-ringed bucket formed one of a group of smaller pits containing cinerary urns, and all lying within about ten feet of it. Some of the most elegant urns discovered on the Aylesford site, including Pl. VII. figs. 6 and 7, belonged to this group of interments.

Besides the relics collected by Mr. Lewis, isolated objects from this cemetery had passed into the hands of other private owners. A fine urn containing burnt bones (Pl. VIII. fig. 1) from this site was in the possession of Dr. I. B. Muirhead of Aylesford, by whose liberality it has been presented to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. This had been found in the same grave with the remains of a larger urn also containing calcined bones. Another beautiful vase of a pale brick colour, with delicate striations across its zones (Pl. IX. fig. 1), has been presented, together with a fine "cordoned" urn, to the same museum by Mr. Silas Wagon.

About the middle of the quarry had been discovered a large circular pit some 8 feet in diameter and from 12 to 15 feet deep, entirely filled with animals' bones mostly much decayed. These bones were thrown over a neighbouring field, and so thickly strewn were they that, according to my informant, nothing would grow for years on the area covered by them. Several small pits, about 2 feet in diameter at top, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ at their base, were also met with, the bottom of which

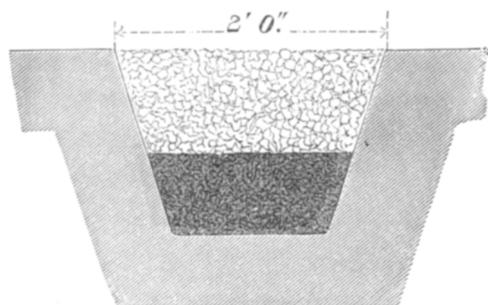


Fig. 3. Diagrammatic section of baking hole.
Aylesford, Kent.

contained charcoal and broken pottery such as that used for the urns, but no trace of calcined bones, from which circumstance Mr. Lewis, who has observed several, concluded that they had been used for baking the pottery in question. We have here therefore valuable evidence of local manufacture.

With regard to the general arrangement of the interments that had been already excavated at the time of my first visit, I was able, partly from the workmen and owners of the pit, partly from some notes supplied by Mr. Lewis, to elicit the following facts.

The graves were described as consisting of round pits from 2 to 3 feet deep and large enough to contain two or three urns, each of varying dimensions, some no bigger than a man's fist, but for the most part containing burnt bones. There were generally together two larger urns with a kind of foot and one smaller. The pits lay in groups forming more or less irregular circles such as that which lay about the grave containing the iron-ringed bucket, and so invariable was this arrangement that the workmen when they came across one grave were sure to

hit on several more in its vicinity. There was no mound or external indication of the interments, which thus belonged to the class to which continental archaeologists have given the name of "flat-graves" (*flachgräber*) as opposed to those under barrows.

The high archaeological interest attaching alike to the relics found and to the character of the interments, as well as the desire to test by personal observation the accuracy of the accounts I had received as to the arrangement of the sepulchral deposits, led me to undertake the excavation of a strip of hitherto undisturbed land lying along the north-west margin of the pit, and in immediate juxtaposition to the area where the graves containing the bronze vessels have been discovered.

The results of this excavation went fully to corroborate the accounts I had already received as to the disposition and grouping of the interments. Six workmen were employed in digging out the soil to the level of the gravelly pan below, and during the first days of the work with no results in the way of sepultures. At last, however, an urn (A) revealed itself, its base about 2 feet beneath the surface. Within were calcined bones, including the fragment of a skull, and a small ferruginous mass, while beside the pot was a flint scraper. The workmen were now confident that more would follow, and their assurance was borne out by the event. At the distance of about ten feet from the first interment another grave (B) was discovered containing a cinerary urn (No. 25, Pl. VII. fig. 4) and a small bowl (No. 37, Pl. IX. fig. 2), which also contained some burnt bones, probably of a child, and beside them an empty patera, or flat earthenware dish (No. 41). All three vessels were in close juxtaposition at the bottom of what had been when they were deposited a round hole somewhat over 2 feet deep.

At an interval again of about a yard was another grave-pit (C) of about the same depth, containing a single cinerary (No. 13) of a pale brick-red colour, showing delicate striations between its zones. About two yards beyond this was a pit of the same kind (D) containing a larger cinerary, with a fine pedestalled base $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, but otherwise in a fragmentary state, a smaller urn (No. 27) with a "cordon" round its shoulders, containing burnt bones, and a small empty bowl (No. 39).

Returning from this point there was brought to light, at about the same interval, another grave-pit (E) about 20 inches deep, containing a large bowl-shaped cinerary with chevron decorations (No. 17, Pl. IX. fig. 8), and another, smaller, of elegant form (No. 14, Pl. VII. fig. 1). At a yard and a half distance from this pit in the direction of the first excavated (A) was another similar grave

(F) containing two cineraries. The larger of these (No. 10) was of an elegant form with a pedestal and raised cordons round its body; its original height was

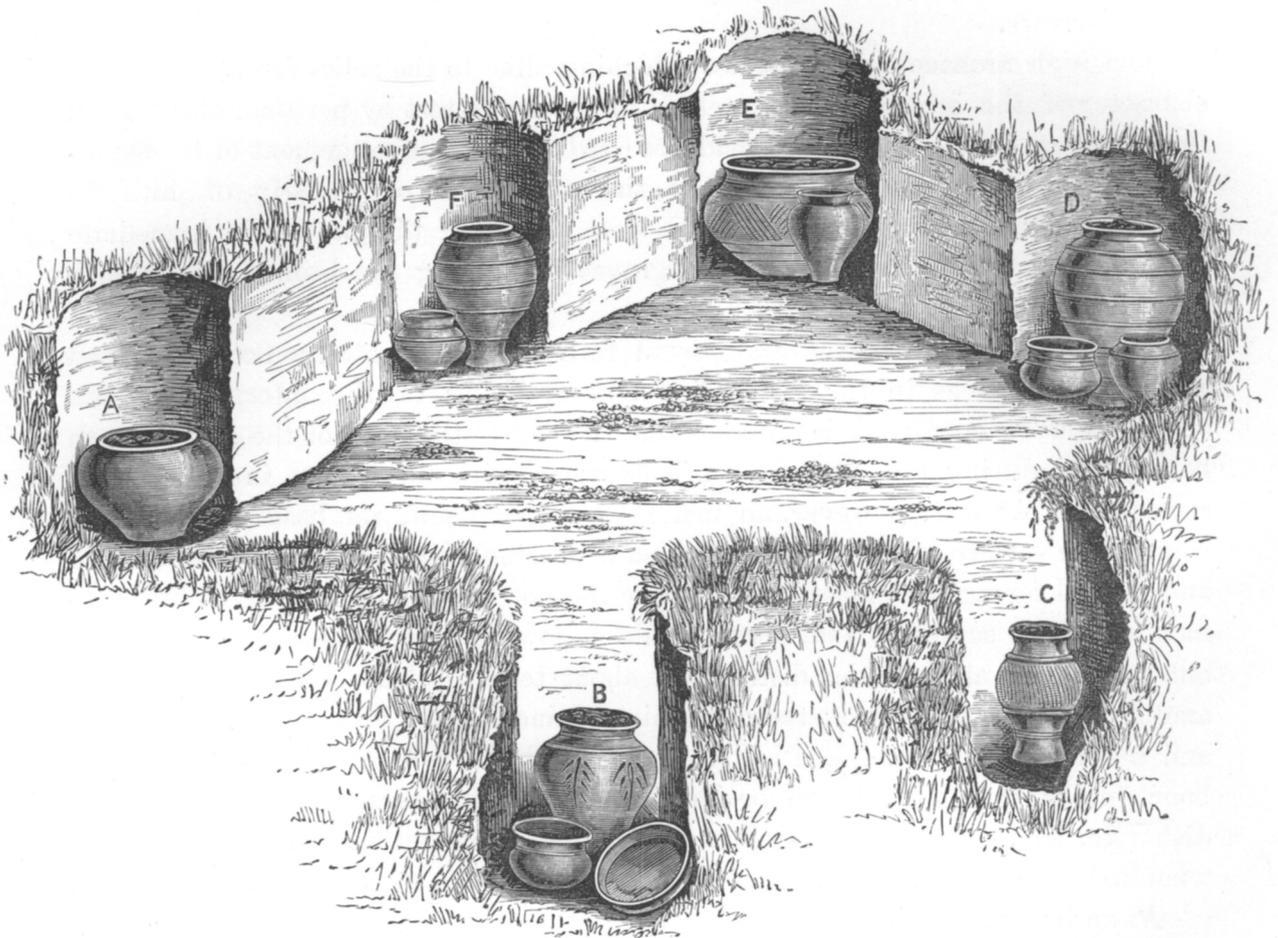


Fig. 4. Sketch-plan of grave-pits forming "family-circle." The urns as restored.

about 11 inches, but, as it lay only 17 inches below the surface, its top had been ploughed away. The other urn (No. 26, Pl. VIII. fig. 3) was small and no doubt contained the ashes of a child. Beside these was a flint flake.

The grave-pits, as can be seen from the annexed sketch plan, formed an irregular ellipse representing no doubt a group of interments belonging to the same family.

The excavation of a further zone beyond this point did not result in the discovery of any other interments, and this "family-circle" must therefore be regarded as lying on the extremity of the cemetery on this side.

I. (b) THE AYLESFORD CEMETERY IN ITS RELATION TO THE URN-FIELD SYSTEM OF THE CONTINENT.

Without at this stage going more nearly into the transmarine relationships of the most typical objects discovered in this cemetery, enough will have been said to show that the Late-Celtic cemetery of Aylesford fits on to a widespread group of "urn-fields" containing cremation interments, the first appearance and dissemination of which in central and northern Europe goes *pari passu* with the diffusion of the Early Iron Age culture, and the final triumph of iron over bronze. The ramifications of this class of interments has been worked out in many directions by Undset, though its Eastern extension still requires elucidation. Its characteristic feature, the deposition of cinerary urns, in company with smaller associated vessels in shallow pits in the flat surface of the ground, is reproduced in the Aylesford cemetery, though in this case there is a greater tendency to place several cinerary urns in the same grave, and the "accessory" vessels (*Nebengefässe*) are not quite so plentiful. Some, even of the smaller vases in the Aylesford graves seem to have contained incinerated remains, though typical examples of "accessory vessels" are not wanting, witness the small dish or patera found by me in the grave B, in company with two larger urns containing burnt bones, and the small bowls and vases in other graves.

The typical features of the vases here discovered differ, however, in many respects from the characteristic "urn-field" types of central and northern Europe, and though, as will be shown, pointing like the others to a strong Southern or South-Eastern influence, represent rather a later stream of culture, the intermediate course of which is to be found in the Gaulish tract between the Channel and the Alps.^a The "urn-field" types such as are known in North Germany only invaded Britain at a later date, in the days, namely, of the English Conquest. In the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with "flat-graves" containing cinerary urns, the characteristic protuberances of which remind us of the far earlier "boss urns" of Lusatia, we see the lineal representatives of that great group of urn-fields which at the beginning of the Iron Age in East-Central Europe, diffused itself from the plateaux of Moravia and Bohemia to the lower courses of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula. In the Late British cemetery of Aylesford on

^a It is hardly necessary to say that this later stream of culture also greatly influenced and modified the pre-existing urn-field system of the North of Europe, to which it arrived by more than one channel.

the other hand we have for the first time a native example of an "urn-field" belonging to the period that preceded the Roman invasion of Britain, the immediate antecedents of which are to be sought in the Belgic parts of Gaul, but which may be ultimately traced to an extensive Illyro-Italic province, and to a Southern branch of the urn-field group referred to above as characterising the Early Iron Age of East-Central Europe. It is in fact the later offspring of the same parent-stock as that which at an earlier date had permeated the North on one side and a large Italian tract on the other.

The dominant Gaulish races, longer it would seem than the Germanic tribes, had held out against this new sepulchral ritual, and in the burial deposits extending from the plains of Champagne and the Saar and Mosel valleys to Moravia in the East, which present us with the first authentic monuments of Late-Celtic art, the usage of inhumation of the body, generally under a mound, is universal. It is the same in North Italy. So too in Britain, the earliest class of Late-Celtic graves, (whether in all cases earlier in time or not), such as those of Arras in Yorkshire, consists of barrows containing skeletons. The usage of cremation had indeed been general among the British bronze-using people, but this usage seems here, as in the Continental region dominated by the first producers of Late-Celtic art, to have undergone a period of interruption. In the Aylesford cemetery we find it revived in a new form derived from a different quarter. This new form of cremation burial does not seem to have been hitherto distinguished by our anti-quaries, but the Aylesford type of urn-field in reality marks a distinct epoch in the history of British sepulture. As a matter of fact examples of the present class of cremation graves containing Late-Celtic relics have, as will be shown when we come to deal with the Aylesford types of pottery, been found in several parts of south-eastern Britain, and it is probable that careful researches will eventually bring to light a whole series of urn-fields of the same character as our Kentish cemetery.

I. (c) THE AYLESFORD CEMETERY IN ITS RELATION TO EARLIER BRITISH SEPULCHRAL USAGE.

The foregoing description will have given a sufficient idea of the general character of the Aylesford cemetery. The greater part of its original area seems to have been occupied with "family-circles" of small, shallow, cylindrical grave-pits, containing groups of cinerary urns and accessory vessels of a certain well-marked type, wheel-made, and essentially different from the rude traditional pottery that characterizes the Bronze and Neolithic Age in Britain. But on the outskirts of

the area occupied by graves of this class there occurred some relics and interments of an earlier character, and tending to show that, side by side with the later Celtic invaders from beyond the Channel, this site was still partially inhabited by representatives of the race that inhabited Britain before the arrival of the Gaulish intruders who introduced the new sepulchral forms. On the eastern side of the quarry were found fragmentary remains of rude British pottery of the usual kind, ornamented with finger-marks and nail-scratches, and of coarse, hand-made, or imperfectly-baked materials. Sufficient portions of one pot exist to show its form, which is that of an ordinary British drinking-vessel, such as are from time to time discovered in our round barrows. It was decorated in the "pie-crust" style round the collar. The remains of another larger pot, now in the Maidstone Museum, reveal the usual form of the British cinerary urns of the Bronze Period. Little was left to show the character of the interments with which these ruder vessels were associated. There was no trace of any surface barrow, and it is possible that they may represent the utensils of surviving members of the indigenous stock who had adopted the "flat-grave" system of the dominant race, but who still clung to their traditional style of pottery. The excavations of General Pitt-Rivers in the Romano-British villages on Cranborne Chase show that some very old traditions of the indigenous potters' handiwork went on even into Roman times.^a From the occasional juxtaposition of pottery belonging to both classes, as well as from the occurrence of some transitional forms, it seems likely that in the present case native handiwork went on, for a while at least, side by side with the more elegant fabrics of the Gaulish new-comers. It is quite possible that the new settlers appropriated and extended a pre-existing British cemetery.

I. (d) THE CIST-GRAVES.

The view that the cemetery was in part used by representatives of the earlier indigenous race is corroborated by another and, in some respects, a still more interesting phenomenon, which was observed on the opposite or western fringe of the cemetery, and which seems to indicate a parallel survival of an archaic form of interment. On this border, in close juxtaposition to some of the late Celtic urn-circles, were discovered three cists, each containing a skeleton in a contracted attitude. These cists formed a kind of alignment running from south east to north-west, the second cist being about ten yards from the first, and the third about the same distance from the second.

^a Notably the suspension handles. Cf. Gen. Pitt Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase, near Rushmore* (vol. i. pl. xxxii. figs. 8-10, pl. xxxix. figs. 1, 2, 3; vol. ii. pl. cvii. 6, pl. cx. 8, pl. cxi. 1-2).

These cists were of very similar character, and were in each case formed of slabs of a crumbly kind of travertine, in two instances a slab of sandstone being also introduced. The roof slab of No. 1 was interesting from the fact that it contained a hole large enough for the insertion of a man's hand. This was probably itself of natural origin, but, from its present even surface, it is possible that it was used for the same purposes as the holed slabs of a well-known class of dolmens, food being introduced through the aperture, as it still is through similar holes in the mortuary wooden cists of some Red Indian tribes.^a It may also have been intended to serve, as other sepulchral holes, for the free passage of the ghost. The slabs of this cist are now in the Maidstone museum.

Of the bones contained in these cists, which were in a very fragmentary condition, I was only able to obtain those from No. 2. Mr. Arthur Thomson, of the Anatomical Department of the Museum at Oxford, who kindly inspected them, informs me that in his opinion they are those of a woman from seventeen to twenty years of age, and 5 feet 1 inch in stature. The skull is markedly dolichocephalic, the index being 65, or perhaps less, denoting great length as compared with width. The skull seems to attain its greatest width a little above and behind the ear. The forehead is relatively high and narrow, the orbits somewhat square in form. From an examination of the bones of the leg,^b Mr. Thomson drew the conclusion that the individual had led an active life, and either made use of the feet in climbing or habitually rested in a squatting position. He observed a slight flattening of the *tibia*, indicative of excessive development of some of the muscles of the calf.

The third cist was discovered in the spring of 1889. It was 3 feet beneath the surface, and lay slightly to the north-west of the others. Its mean height was about 2 feet, its breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot, and its length 2 feet 4 inches. It consisted of five larger slabs and one smaller piece, all of the same rough travertine that was employed in the other cists, with the exception of one of the two end slabs, which

^a As for instance the Natchez Indians and those of the North-West Coast. See Jones, *Antiquities of Southern Indians*, 1873, p. 105; and H. C. Yarrow, *A further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians*. (First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1881.)

^b Facets are visible on the inferior margin of the *tibiæ* and corresponding portions of the *astragali*. (See "The influence of posture on the form of articular surfaces of the tibia and astragalus of the different races of man and the higher apes." By Arthur Thomson, M.A., M.B., Lecturer on Human Anatomy in the University of Oxford. *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, vol. xxiii., p. 616 *seqq.*, and vol. xxiv. p. 210 *seqq.*)

was of sandstone. The roof was formed of two pieces, and within was a skeleton much decayed, but which seems to have been in the same contracted posture, its head facing south-east. This cist has been carefully set up, under Mr. Wagon's superintendence, near his office at the entrance of the pit.

I. (e) ANCIENT BRITISH COINS FOUND IN THE CEMETERY.

On the west side of the cemetery near the first cist discovered a workman found two gold coins. The coins were surreptitiously sold in Gravesend. I succeeded, however, in tracing them, and found them to be early British coins of the un-inscribed class. The first (fig. 5) is a gold stater of a kind of which isolated examples have been found throughout the whole of south-eastern England, but which occurs more plentifully in Kent than elsewhere.^a The second (fig. 6) is a gold quarter stater^b of a type the recorded discoveries of which in Britain have hitherto been confined to Sussex and Surrey. What, however, is specially interesting in the present connexion is the fact that both of these coins seem to occur indiscriminately on either side of the Channel,^c and must therefore be in all probability referred to some Belgic prince, who, as Commios the Atrebatian seems to have done, at a somewhat later date, held sway over a part of south-eastern Britain as well as in Belgic Gaul.^d The discovery of these two Belgic pieces in the Aylesford cemetery is the more significant that during the whole of the excavations no Roman or other later coins have come to light.

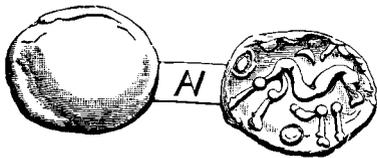


Fig. 5.

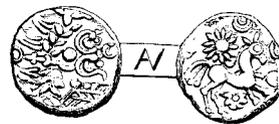


Fig. 6.

^a It is a variety of Evans (*Coins of the Ancient Britons*), pl. B. 8, see p. 63, *seqq.* The obverse is blank, the original laureate head of the Philippic prototype having been modified away through successive copying of coins worn on their convex side.

^b Cf. Evans, *op. cit.* pl. E. 2, pp. 89, 90.

^c Lelewel, pl. iii. 36, classes No. 1 as Atrebatian or Nervian, and states "on retrouve ces monnaies unifaces sur le territoire belge; on les a retirées des marais de Flins." A variety of No. 2 is given both by Lambert, pl. xi. fig. 12, and Lelewel, pl. iv. ii.

^d Cæsar simply says of Commios "cuius auctoritas in iis regionibus (sc. Britannia) magni habebatur." But the mention of sons of Commios on coins of the South-Eastern district suggests a high probability that it was the Commios of Cæsar who founded a dynasty in Britain. Cf. Evans, *op. cit.* p. 153. It further appears from a recently-discovered type that his son Verica also struck coins on both sides of the Channel. (Evans, *op. cit. Supplement* (1890), p. 508.)

PART II.—THE LATE-CELTIC POTTERY OF THE AYLESFORD URN-FIELD; ITS GAULISH EXTENSION AND OLD VENETIAN (ILLYRO-ITALIC), ETC. SOURCES.

II. (a) CHARACTERISTICS OF AYLESFORD CERAMIC TYPES.

The pottery of the Aylesford deposits is of the greatest interest, and establishes for the first time the existence of a wholly new style of Ancient British ceramic art. The handiwork of the British potters of pre-Roman times has been hitherto almost exclusively associated with the coarse-grained hand-made vessels that represent the direct tradition of the cups and urns of our Neolithic barrows. It is now generally recognised that the origin of this ruder class of vessels is to be sought in early basket-work, the forms and ornaments of which are reproduced with certain modifications and additions. It is to this older class that, as already observed, some of the pottery in the outlying graves of the Aylesford cemetery is to be referred; but, as can be seen by merely glancing at Plates VII. VIII. and IX., the great bulk of the vases discovered on this site belong to quite another category. In their form, fabric, and colour alike, they betray an altogether different pedigree, and the influence of more classical prototypes.

The clay of which these vessels are composed is of finer quality than that of the typical Ancient British pottery. They are mostly free from the grit and cretaceous particles that form so conspicuous a feature in the older class of earthenware from the same site; minute grains of quartz and apparently mica are, however, occasionally visible in the walls of the pots. They are better baked and occasionally present an uniform pale brick colour, resembling that of some Roman vases. This appearance is however rare, and the internal substance of the pottery is usually of a light brown colour. The difference in the surface is even more marked. This appears in almost all cases to have been originally coated with a black lustrous pigment, formed probably, like that on some contemporary Gaulish vases, of finely pounded charcoal, and when this has worn away the exterior surface is still of a dark brown colour.

There can be no doubt that the great majority of these vessels are wheel-turned. In some instances concentric circles appear on the bottom of the pot, and in one case the centre of the base shows a hemispherical concavity like the kick of a bottle.

The light and shapely construction of these Aylesford vases presents a singular contrast to the cumbrous hand-made ware that they have superseded. Their contours are often of real elegance, and the finer among them are provided with well-turned pedestals. Amongst their most characteristic features, to the significance of which we shall have occasion to return, may be specified the raised cordons or ribs, generally defined by two lateral grooves, by which they are accompanied, and which divide the body into zones. Sometimes these zones are themselves decorated with finely incised sloping lines, and at times other linear ornaments, such as zigzags and sprays, have been drawn with a blunt point. At times again the whole side of the vessel is covered with comb-markings that give it the appearance of basket-work or of the grain of wood, a form of ornament due perhaps to the influence of the earlier class of earthenware already referred to.

The following list comprises most of the best preserved specimens of the Late-Celtic class of pottery found in the Aylesford cemetery :

II. (b) SUMMARY DESCRIPTION OF THE AYLESFORD POTS.

1. *Pedestalled Vases.*

1. Cinerary Vase. 14 inches high ; diameter of upper rim $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of base $5\frac{3}{10}$ inches. It is of fine clay covered with brown coloured "varnish." It has three cordons round its body, and one round its pedestal. The upper and lower parts are surrounded with finely incised horizontal lines. The two central zones are ornamented with sloping strokes made by a broader pointed instrument. The surface of these lines is somewhat polished. (Pl. VII. fig. 7. Lewis Coll. No. 2. B. M.)
2. Cinerary Vase. $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches high ; diameter of upper rim 6 inches, of base $4\frac{2}{5}$ inches. It is of the same colour and paste as the preceding. It has four cordons round its shoulder, two pairs of two each round its body, and two round its pedestal. These cordons correspond to very slight depressions in its inner walls. Found with three others. (Pl. VII. fig. 5. Lewis Coll. No. 5. B. M.)
3. Cinerary Vase. $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high ; diameter of upper rim $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of base 5 inches. As preceding, but of somewhat blacker colour in places. It is surrounded by two cordons round its neck, and two round the centre of its body ; in both cases in juxtaposition. (Pl. VIII. fig. 5. Lewis Coll. No. 5. B. M.)
4. Cinerary Vase. $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches high ; diameter of upper rim 6 inches, of base $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It shows a good deal of its original black lustrous pigment. It has one cordon round the neck, three round the body, and one round the pedestal. (Lewis Coll. No. 13. B. M.)

5. The lower part of a very fine situla which must originally have stood about $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. Its base is 5 inches in diameter. It is coloured with a lustrous black "varnish," and is surrounded at intervals, varying from $\frac{2}{3}$ of an inch in the centre to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch about the foot, by very sharply formed cordons with a nearly angular ridge. It has at present eight, and may originally have had as many as eleven, cordons. The clay shows traces of micaceous particles. This cinerary was found in the same grave-pit as the two-handed tankard. (Fig. 7, restored. Hales. B. M.)
6. Cinerary Vase. Height 15 inches; diameter of upper rim $9\frac{1}{10}$ inches, of base $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is very elegantly shaped, of a uniform dark brown, and has a single cordon round its pedestal. (Pl. VII. fig. 6. Lewis Coll. No. 1. B. M.)
7. Cinerary Vase. Height $6\frac{2}{5}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{4}{5}$ inches, of base $4\frac{1}{5}$ inches. As preceding in paste and colour. It has a single cordon round the neck. (Lewis Coll. B. M.)
8. Cinerary Vase. Height $11\frac{3}{11}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of base $4\frac{3}{10}$ inches. This vase is of a remarkably elegant form, and a proportionately narrower mouth than any of the others. It presents a pale brick-red surface, and has a single cordon round the neck. (Pl. IX. fig. 4. Lewis Coll. No. 4. B. M.)
9. Cinerary Vase. Height $8\frac{9}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $5\frac{2}{5}$ inches, of pedestal $4\frac{2}{5}$ inches. Of a colour varying from light to blackish brown. It has one cordon round its neck, and four round its body, each between double impressed lines. (Lewis Coll. B. M.)
10. Cinerary Vase. Lower half only preserved. The base is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and the original height of the pot may have been about 11 inches. It is of a brown colour with traces of darker varnish. One cordon surrounds the centre of the body, and two its lower part; there were probably five originally. (Ashmolean Museum. Found in the "family-circle," grave F. with No. 26.)
11. Cinerary Vase. Height 9 inches; diameter of upper rim $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of base $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Of a brown colour, with a black patch on one side. It has no cordon. (Pl. VIII. fig. 1. Presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Dr. I. B. Muirhead.)

2. *Vases, perhaps derivatives of the "Situla" type, with elegantly formed bases.*

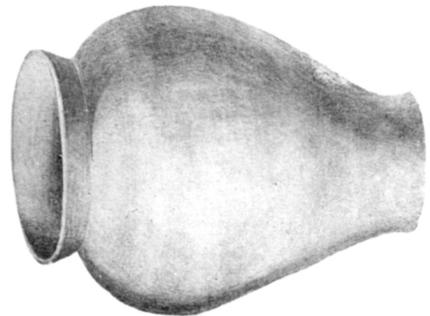
12. Cinerary Vase. Height $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of base $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches. It is of a pale brick-red colour, and of exceptionally fine paste. It has a low cordon round its shoulders, a narrow impressed band round the centre of its body, and another $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch lower down. The whole of the middle zones of the pot are occupied by fine incised diagonal lines very evenly drawn. (Pl. IX. fig. 1. Ashmolean Museum. Presented by Mr. Silas Wagon).
13. Cinerary Vase. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of base 3 inches. Of the same type as the last, and of a brick-red colour. It has a cordon between two impressed grooves round its shoulders, another round the central part of its body, and a third below. Its zones have been ornamented by fine diagonal combings. (Ashmolean Museum, from grave C. of "family-circle.")

14. Cinerary Vase. Height $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, of base $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Of a greyish brown colour. It has no cordons. (Ashmolean Museum. From the "family-circle," grave E., found with No. 17.) Pl. VII. fig. 1.
15. Cinerary Vase. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches, of base 3 inches. Finely made of a dark paste with a blackish "varnish." It has three cordons. (Presented by Mr. Silas Wagon to the Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VIII. fig. 4.

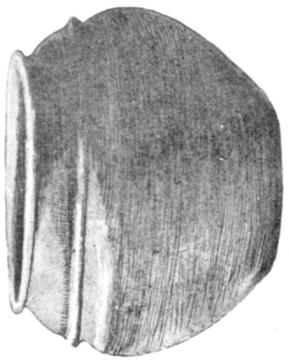
3. *Vases without pedestal and with somewhat globular bodies.*

16. Cinerary Pot. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, of base $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is of a dark brown colour. It has two cordons round its shoulders, below which is a zigzag impressed ornament made with a blunt-pointed instrument. (Lewis Coll. B. M.) Pl. IX. fig. 7. This urn was found within the iron band of a bucket.
17. Cinerary Pot. Height 7 inches; diameter of upper rim $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of base $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is of a light brown paste coated with a darker "varnish." It has a slight moulding round its neck, and its sides are decorated with horizontal rings enclosing a zone with lines forming a succession of zigzags. These rings and lines are formed by drawing a blunt point over the soft clay. (From the "family-circle," grave E. Found together with No. 14. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. X. fig. 8.
18. Cinerary Pot. Height 5 inches; diameter of upper rim $3\frac{7}{10}$ inches, of base $3\frac{3}{10}$ inches. It is of a light brown, partly covered with black "varnish," and the paste is of somewhat coarse quality. Round the shoulder is a cordon, and round the body an impressed band. The sides are ornamented with interlacing comb-markings resembling basket work. (Lewis Coll. No. 15. B. M.)
19. Cinerary Pot. Height 5 inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of base $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. As last, but of somewhat darker brown. It has a cordon round its shoulder, a flat band round the middle of its body, and is decorated with interlacing comb-markings resembling basket work, as the last but more finely drawn. (Lewis Coll. No. 16. B. M.) Pl. IX. fig. 6.
20. Cinerary Pot. Height $8\frac{3}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim 6 inches, of base $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Of a dark brown paste covered with black "varnish." It has two faint cordons round its neck and shoulders, an impressed line round the middle of its body, and is decorated with the same interlacing comb-markings as the two last. (Lewis Coll. No. 10. B. M.)
21. Cinerary Pot. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{7}{10}$ inches, of base $3\frac{9}{10}$ inches. Form, colour, and ornament as last (Lewis Coll. No. 19. B. M.)
22. Cinerary Pot. Fragmentary, but same type as last. (Lewis Coll. B. M.)
23. Cinerary Pot. Height $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{3}{10}$ inches, of base $3\frac{7}{10}$ inches. Of dark brown colour with two low cordons and impressed line round neck and shoulders. The body is ornamented with comb-markings, which give the surface somewhat the appearance of wood graining. (Lewis Coll. No. 17. B. M.) Pl. VIII. fig. 6.

24. Cinerary Pot. Height 10 inches; diameter of upper rim 7 inches, of base $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Of a pale red colour with a zigzag between two incised lines round rim. (Lewis Coll. No. 8. B.M.) Pl. IX. fig. 5.
25. Cinerary Pot. Height 6 inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches, of base $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Of a brown paste with black "varnish" unevenly applied. Round its neck and shoulders are two faint cordons, and the sides are ornamented with a rude spray ornament drawn on the soft clay with a blunt-pointed instrument. (It was found in pit B. of the "family-circle," with Nos. 36 and 40. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VII. fig. 4.
26. Small Cinerary Pot. Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of base $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Of a brown paste coated with a lustrous black "varnish." It has a cordon between two impressed grooves round its neck, and another round its shoulders. (Found in the "family-circle," grave F., with No. 10. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VIII. fig. 3.
27. Small Cinerary Pot. Height $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of base $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches. It is of a brown colour covered in parts with darker "varnish." Round its shoulders is a well-defined cordon. (From grave D. of "family-circle," with No. 37. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VII. fig. 3.
28. Cinerary Pot. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, of base $3\frac{7}{10}$ inches. Of a brown surface with traces of blacker "varnish." It has two low cordons round its neck and shoulders. (Hales. B. M.)
29. Cinerary Pot. Height $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $5\frac{1}{10}$ inches, of base $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Of a brown surface, blacker in parts. Of the same general form as the last, but with three cordons round its shoulders. (B. M.) Pl. VII. fig. 2.
30. Small Cinerary Pot. $3\frac{9}{10}$ inches high; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{2}{5}$ inches, of base 2 inches. It is of a somewhat rich brown colour, with a very sharp cordon round its shoulders. (Lewis Coll. No. 12. B. M.)
31. Small Pot. Height $4\frac{1}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{4}{5}$ inches, of base $2\frac{2}{5}$ inches. Of dark brown paste with black "varnish." It has a slight cordon round its shoulders. (Lewis Coll. No. 21. B. M.) It contained no bones.
32. Cinerary Pot. Height $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $7\frac{1}{5}$ inches, of base $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Of dark brown colour. The body of this vase forms a succession of eight ribs, which in the inner walls are represented by so many depressions. (Lewis Coll. No. 11. B. M.) Pl. VIII. fig. 7.
33. Cinerary Pot. Height $9\frac{3}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of base $3\frac{7}{10}$ inches. Dark brown colour. The neck and shoulders are surrounded by seven ribs or cordons, which, however, are not traceable in the interior walls. (Lewis Coll. No. 9. B. M.) Pl. VIII. fig. 2.
34. Small pot (smallest discovered). Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches, of base $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch. Of a brown paste, with a cordon between two broader ribs round its neck. (Lewis Coll. No. 23. B. M.) Pl. IX. fig. 3.



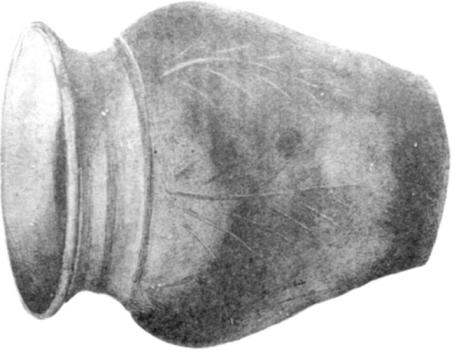
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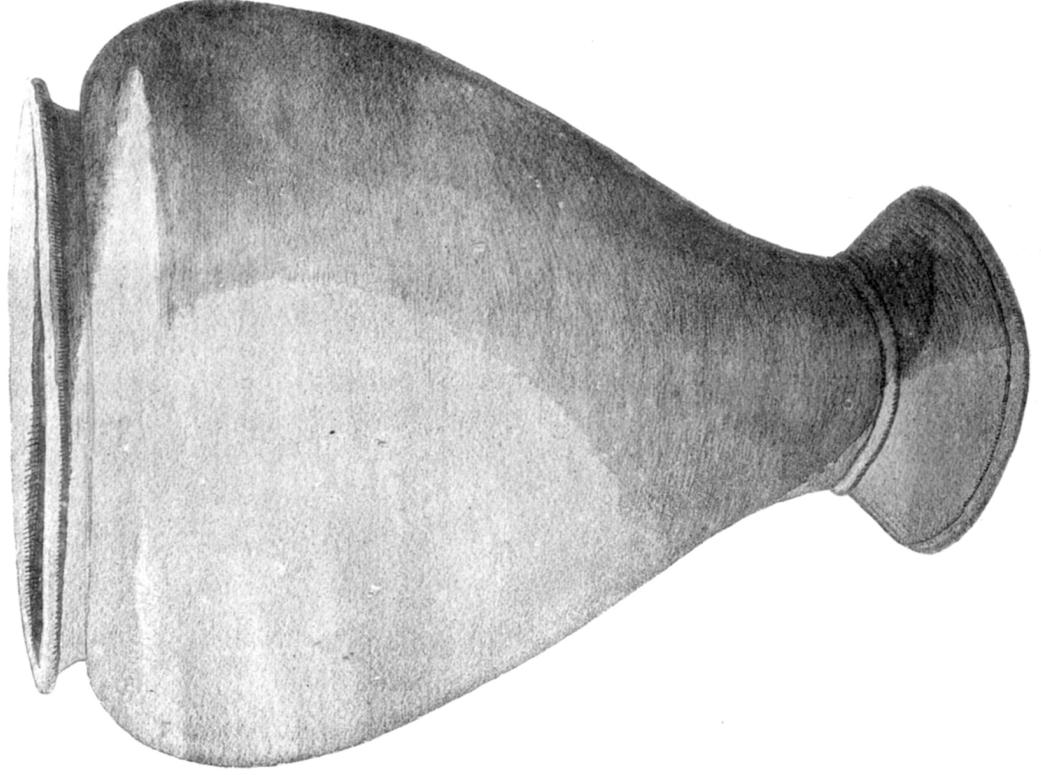
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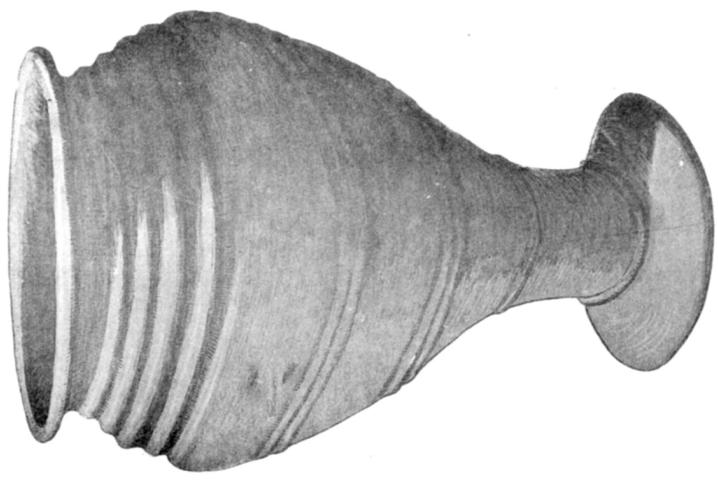
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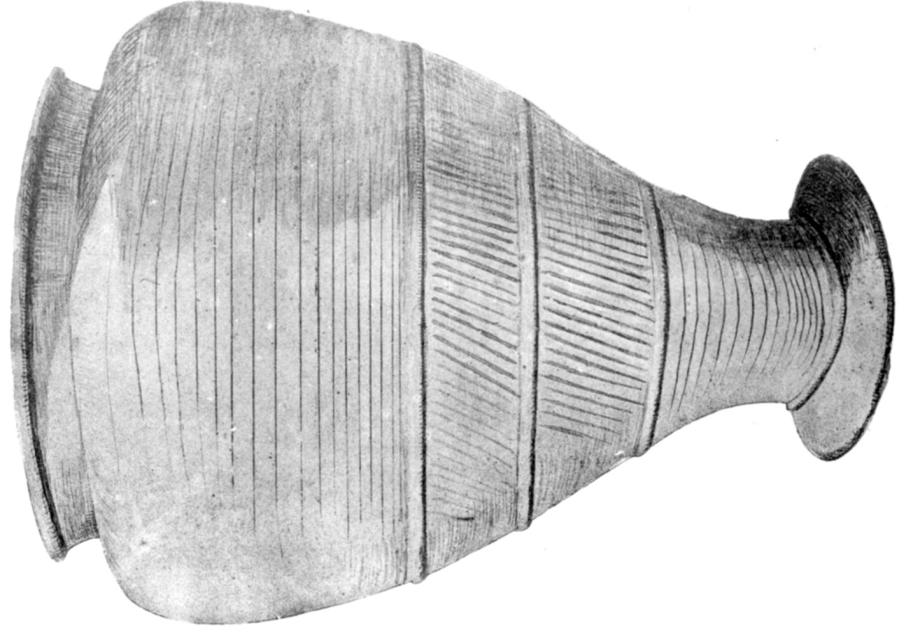
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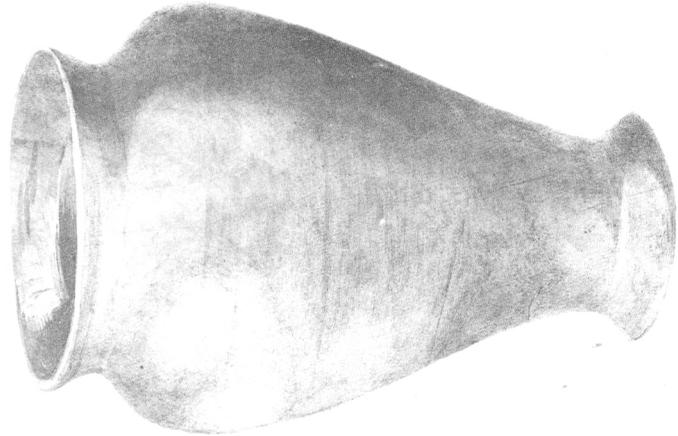


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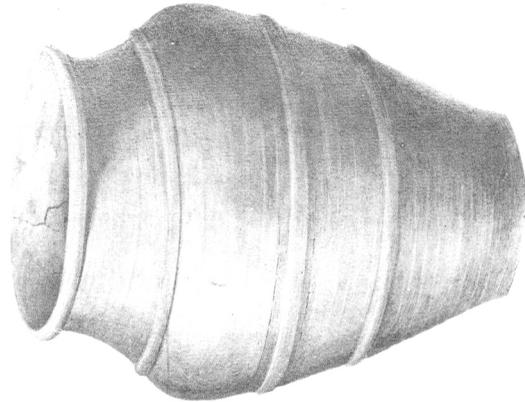


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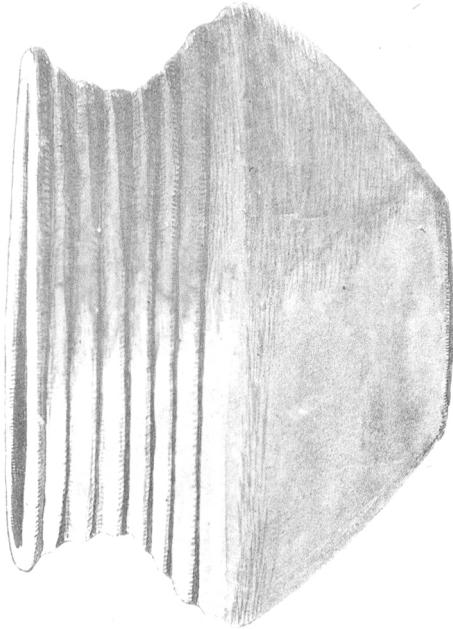
LATE CELTIC CINERARY URNS, AYLESFORD, KENT.
(*† linear*).



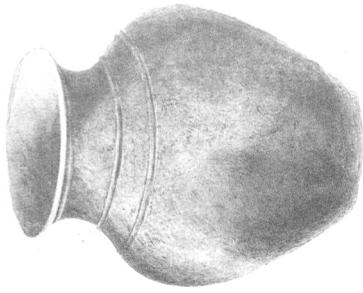
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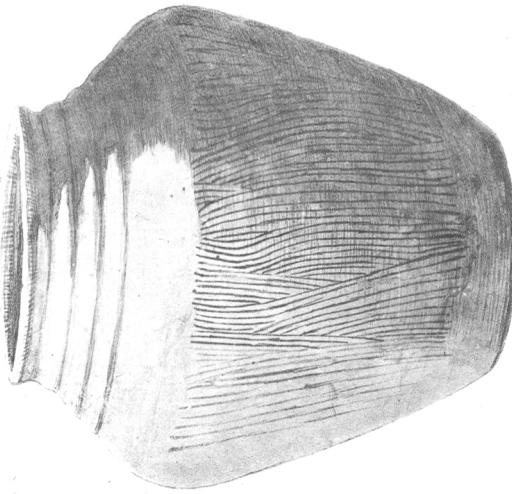
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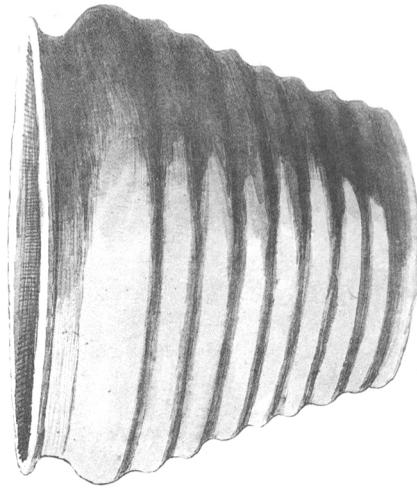
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($\frac{1}{2}$ linear).



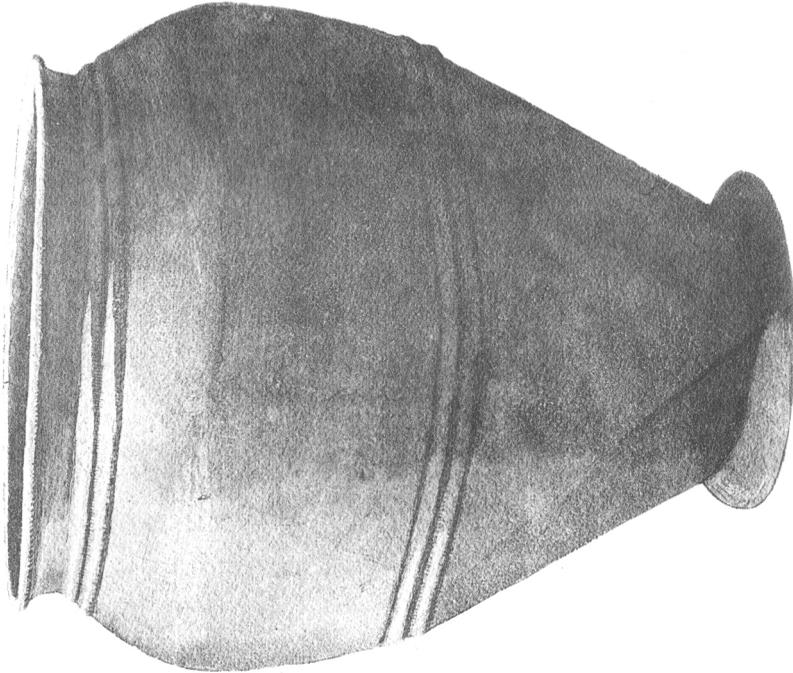
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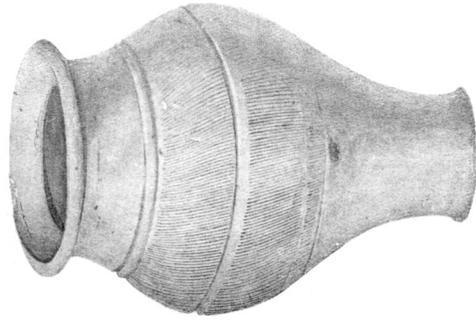


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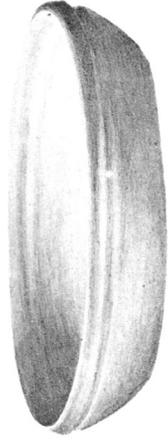


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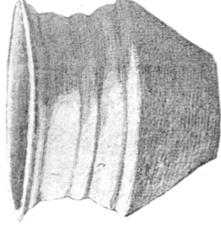
LATE CELTIC CINERARY URNS, AYLESFORD, KENT.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear).



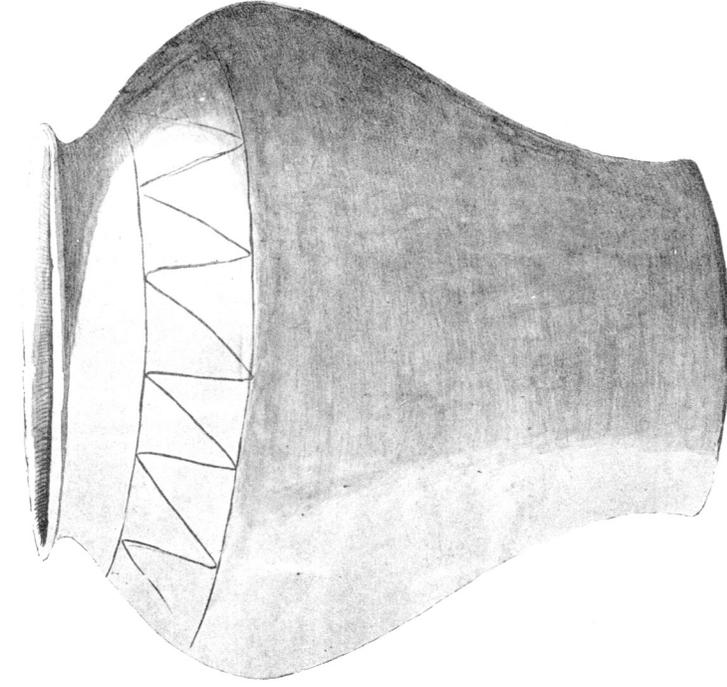
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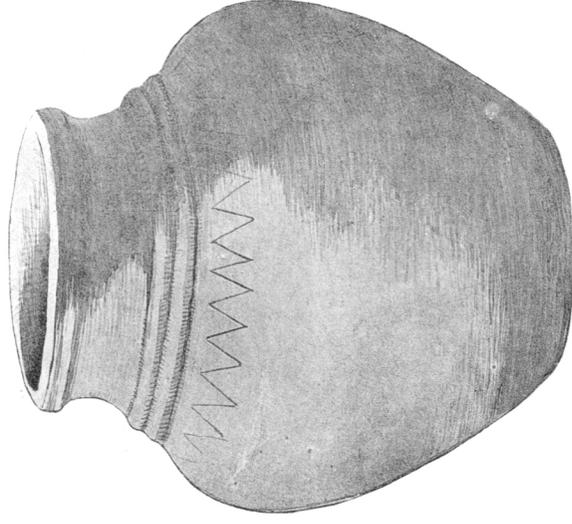
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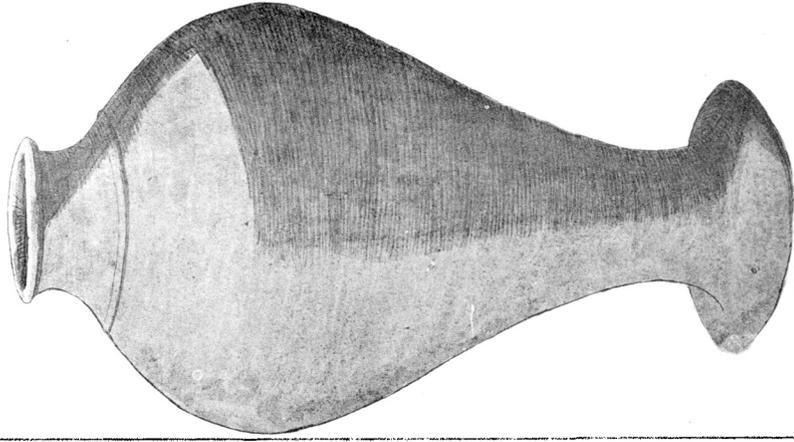
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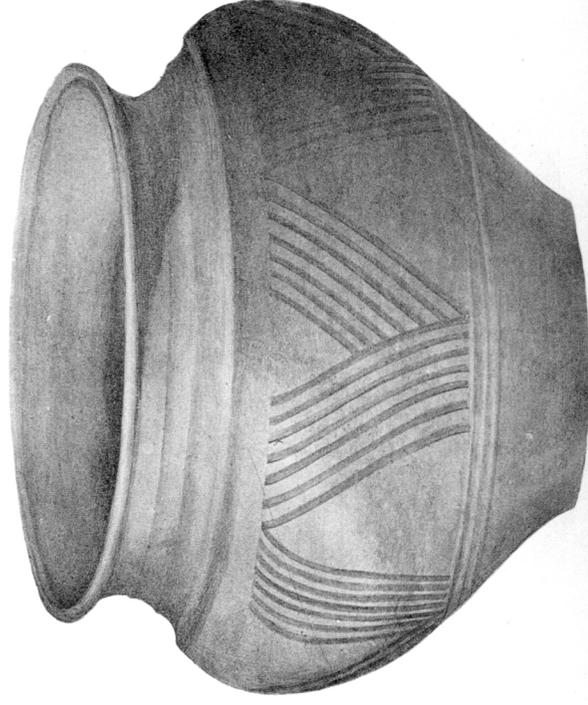
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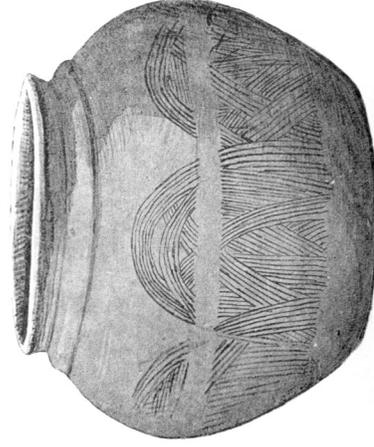
7 (LIST NO. 16) IN IRON-BANDED BUCKET.



4 (LIST NO. 8)



8 (LIST NO. 17)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE E.



6 (LIST NO. 19)

LATE CELTIC CINERARY URNS AND PATERA, AYLESFORD.
(§ *incaer*).

Bowls.

35. Cinerary Bowl. The diameter of the upper rim was $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and from the remains of the other part it seems to have stood about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. It is of a brown paste, with a darker coating. (From the "family-circle," grave A. Ashmolean Museum.)
36. Small Cinerary Bowl. Height $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of base $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Of a brown paste with traces of black "varnish." It has a slight cordon round its shoulders. (From the "family-circle," grave B. Ashmolean Museum.)
37. Small Bowl. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of base $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches. It is of a light brown paste approaching pale brick colour in the interior. Its surface, however, is of a deeper brown, and is coated in places with a black "varnish." It has two faint cordons round its high collar and one round its shoulders. (Found in "family-circle," grave D., with No. 27. Ashmolean Museum). It contained no bones.
38. Bowl. Diameter 7 inches.

Pateræ.

39. Patera. Diameter 6 inches; height $1\frac{2}{11}$ inches. Of a dark brown colour. It has a single cordon round its outer edge. (Lewis Coll. B.M.)
40. Patera. Diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Of light brown paste with darker surface showing black "varnish" in places. It has a cordon or moulding round the rim. (From "family-circle," grave B. Found with Nos. 25 and 36. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. IX. fig. 2.

II. (c) THE CORDONED *SITULA*-LIKE VASES AND THEIR BRONZE AND EARTHENWARE ORIGINALS OF THE ADRIATIC PROVINCE.

Of all the types exhibited to us by the present series the most striking and characteristic is that of the cinerary vases somewhat abruptly rounded, at times slightly angular, at their shoulders, and tapering off in an inverted conical outline to a pedestal below. Fig. 7, representing the urn No. 5 of my list with its upper part completed, will give an idea of the characteristic form referred to in its most perfect development. In most cases these vases, which for elegance of form may almost vie with the ceramic products of Italy or Greece, are divided into zones by the small raised ridges or cordons described above, the zones themselves being in turn decorated at times with finely incised linear striations. This type of vase, beautiful as it is in itself, is still more interesting from the comparisons to which it inevitably leads us. No one familiar with the ceramic forms of an important

group of North-Italian cemeteries belonging for the most part to the fourth or fifth centuries before our era, and of which the series of objects so admirably excavated and arranged by Professor Prosdocimi at Este^a forms the most

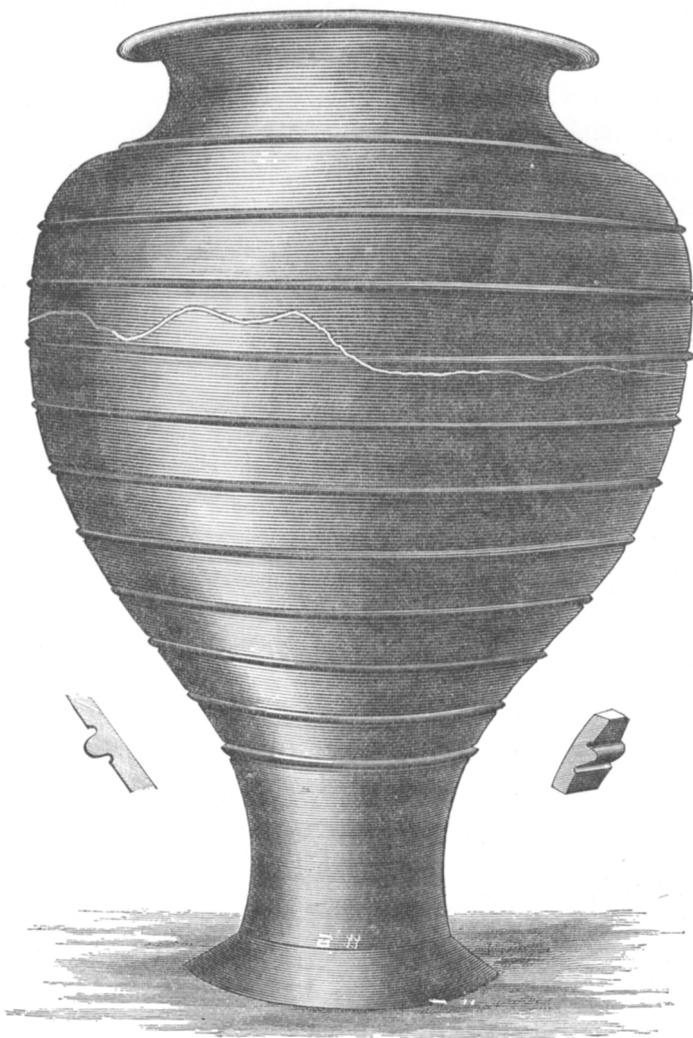


Fig. 7. Cinerary Vase No. 5, from cemetery at Aylesford, Kent.
(The upper part completed). $\frac{1}{3}$ linear.

splendid illustration, can fail to be struck with the manifold points of resemblance presented by the urns before us with the most characteristic of the vase-types there represented (cf. Pl. X.). The contour of the type referred to, with its shoulders sometimes angular, sometimes abruptly rounded off, its inverted conical body divided into vertical zones by raised cordons, and tapering off to a pedestal below, can only be described as identical with that of some of the finest of the Aylesford specimens. The only perceptible difference is that whereas the British urns are almost uniformly covered with a black or brown coating, the colouring matter of which may have been supplied by pounded charcoal, zones of the Euganean cineraries are coloured alternately with bands of graphite and red ochre. Some of the earlier of the Este vases are, however, of a plain dark brown

lucchero, and others again of later date are an uniform red or grey.

These North-Italian parallels have a still further value, inasmuch as they throw the clearest possible light on the actual genesis of this ceramic type. The

^a *Notizie degli Scavi, &c.* 1882, p. 5-37.

cordoned vases of Este are, in fact, nothing more than copies in clay of certain forms of bronze *situlae*, the originals of which are from time to time discovered on the same site. The commonest form of these, which is distributed through the whole of the geographical area where the vases are discovered, is zoned in the same way as the pots, the zones answering to an universal method of early metal industry, in accordance with which vessels were built up of bands of thin metal riveted together at the edges, each zone being often in turn defined by cordons or beads of metal. These cordons themselves in their more prominent form represent the wooden rings that surrounded and kept together the framework of wooden staves to which in early times the metal plates themselves were riveted.

To this class of bronze *situlae* belong several famous examples, such as that discovered at Este itself in the Villa Benvenuti,^a and the kindred specimens from the Certosa of Bologna,^b and the Carniolan cemetery at Waatsch^c (Pl. X. fig. 1), the zones of which were adorned with *repoussé* friezes representing, amongst other subjects, scenes of banqueting and sacrifice, pugilistic encounters, processions of warriors, and of women with pitchers on their heads, animals, fantastic and otherwise, executed by native artificers after Greek and Phœnician models.

These bronzes, both in general contour and in the zones that surround them, present a marked resemblance to the pots in question. They differ, indeed, from the vases, in not being provided with pedestals, but this element is supplied by another allied class of bronze *situlae*^d (Pl. X. fig. 2) characteristic of the same area, which indeed unites all the elements of the earthenware copies. The ornamental zones in this case are of a more decorative character and consist, for the most part, of rows of birds and animals in a highly conventional style, sometimes also with mæanders and other geometrical designs. The zones in this case seem to be confined to the upper part of the *situla*, and a plainer variety (Pl. X. fig. 3) exists, in which they are altogether absent on the body of the vase. A single bead or cordon, however, surrounds the lower part, just above the pedestal. The type, it will be observed, finds some very close parallels among the Aylesford vases (Pl. VII. fig. 6).

On the whole it may be said that the zoned vases of the Este group combine

^a Prosdociami, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1882, p. 26, Tav. vi. 1; Zannoni, *Gli scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, p. 157; Chierici, *Bullettino di Paletnologia*, Anno vi. p. 103.

^b Zannoni, *op. cit.* p. 101, *seqq.*; Tav. xxv. 7.

^c Deschmann und Hochstetter, *Prähistorische Ansiedlungen und Begräbnisstätten in Krain* (Abhandl. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien. 1879).

^d Cf. Prosdociami, *op. cit.* Tav. vi. p. 13, 15; Tav. vii. p. 7, 16.

some features of both of the above classes of associated bronze *situlae*, the regular succession of the zones and cordons answering best to the first class described, the pedestals to the second. Nor do these translations of bronze forms into clay by the Euganean and old Venetian potters by any means stand alone. In the Nazzaro collection at Este may be seen an earthenware version of the familiar cordoned bucket (*cista a cordoni*) placed on a kind of stand. A curious high pedestalled drinking-cup, with a beaded stem, which is characteristic of the same sepulchral group as the zoned *situlae*, is also explained by the presence of bronze originals, made of two pieces, and with a bead at the joint in the middle of the pedestal, which, like the cordons of the *situlae*, is faithfully reproduced in the clay copies. Another striking phenomenon of the same kind is to be seen in the ceramic reproduction of a Greek bronze *ænochoë* of a well-known type, with high-beaked spout.

In the case of the zoned and cordoned vases, we find again, both at Este and on other ancient sites round the head of the Adriatic, some curious transitional forms, in which the record of the bronze originals is still preserved by the decoration of the zones of the vase with small bronze studs. The well-known class of studded^a pottery, the *vasi borchiati* of Italian archæologists, to which the above variety of *situla*-shaped vases belongs, is of great importance as illustrating the influence of metal-work originals on earthenware forms. Although of occasional occurrence elsewhere, in the earliest Iron Age deposits of Italy and its borderlands, this method must from the fifth century B.C. onwards be regarded as a speciality of the Illyro-Italic province.^b Occasionally the studs are decorated with concentric circles (Pl. X. fig. 5), reproducing a form of embossed ornament, frequent on some of the *situlae*. In other instances they are arranged in geometric patterns, horizontal zones, mæanders and recurring spirals (Pl. IX. fig. 5), copied

^a Sometimes the studs are of lead or tin. I have seen this Oriental method of decorating pottery by the attachment of small pieces of tin still practised in the Bulgarian town of Rustchuk on the lower Danube. The pots in this case have a lustrous black surface.

^b "*Vasi borchiati*" have been found not only in the cemeteries of Este and at Bologna (Zannoni, *op. cit.* p. 395, Tav. cxxxv.), where they appear to be due to Venetian and Euganean influence; but in cemeteries of the Este type near Belluno (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1883, p. 40); in the Valley of Cadore (*op. cit.* p. 71), and Treviso (*op. cit.* p. 119); at Santa Lucia, near Gorizia (Much, *Die prähistorischen Funde von Santa Lucia, &c.* Mitth. d. k. k. Centr. Comm. &c. 1884); at Vermo, near Pisino, in Istria (*Bull. di Paleologia*, 1883, 204, 1885, *seqq.*); at Waatsch, in Carniola, &c. This form of ornament is already found, though more sparsely, in the earliest Iron Age interments of Italy; *e. g.* in the well-tombs of Corneto-Tarquiniæ and Vetulonia, and an elegant black bowl from Hallstatt (Von Sacken, Taf. xxvi. 3) was studded in the same way. At Falerii, *Cività Castellana*, it is well represented.

from precisely similar designs on bronze prototypes.^a This fact will also be found to have an important bearing on the source of some Late-Celtic pottery.

The zoned and cordoned vases of the Este type are peculiar to the same geographical area as the bronze *situlae* after which they were modelled. This includes, besides the old Venetian and Euganean regions of Northern Italy, a considerable Alpine tract to the north-east, and has a hitherto undefined range east of the Adriatic. In the Certosa tombs of Felsina they occur but rarely; they stand apart from the usual inventory of this North Etruscan cemetery, and must evidently there be regarded as intrusive products of a rival culture. North of the Po, however, the type seems everywhere at home. It is found in the cemeteries contemporary with those of Este in the districts of Verona, Treviso,^b and Belluno.^c On the opposite Istrian coast it reappears in the necropolis of the Pizzughi,^d and at Vermo, near Pisino,^e in the heart of the same peninsula. From the cemetery of Sta. Lucia, near Gorizia,^f it extends inland through the Alpine passes to that of Pillichsdorf in Lower Austria.^g It will be seen that the distribution of this remarkable class of zoned vases corresponds to a well-marked archæological province characterised by the parallel appearance of other special forms, by the prevalence of the same sepulchral customs, and in particular the recurrence of an alphabet,^h to which, from its geographical extension, the name "Adriatic" has been not inaptly given. Ethnographically, this group may be defined as North Illyrian, or Illyro-Italic,ⁱ and may ultimately prove to have a

^a See especially Dr. S. Gherardini, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1883, p. 119, and cf. Prosdocimi, *op. cit.* 1882, *Tav.* iv. fig. 1, *Tav.* v. fig. 13.

^b In the cemetery of Asolo, near Treviso, see *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1883, p. 119, 120.

^c At Caverzano, *op. cit.* p. 40.

^d Paolo Orsi, *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, 1885, p. 47, *seqq.*

^e *Op. cit.* 1883, p. 204, 1885, p. 1, *seqq.*

^f Much, *Die prähistorischen Funde von Santa Lucia, &c.* (Mitth. d. Central Comm. 1884, cxl.)

^g F. Heger, *Der Tumulus bei Pillichsdorf in Niederösterreich.* (Mitth. d. anthropologischen Ges. Wien, 1879, Taf. II. f. 1 and 4.)

^h C. Pauli, *Die Inschriften Nord Etruskischen Alphabets*, 1885, and Dr. A. Meyer, *Gurina*, p. 37, *seqq.*

ⁱ See especially Paolo Orsi, *Bull. di Paletnologia Italiana*, 1885, p. 114, *seqq.* Fligier, *Mitth. d. Anthropologischen Gesellsch. in Wien*, 1877, 211. It seems to me that distinct Thracico-Illyrian features may be traced in some of the figures and subjects of the bronze *situlae* belonging to this group. To take a single example, the *kausia* worn by some of the men curiously recalls the head of the Illyrian king Genthios as he appears on coins. Cf., too, the much earlier Thracian coinages &c. A connexion with Northern Greece and its borderlands seems best to explain the strong Hellenic elements in this Illyro-Italic art, which have been well characterized by Dr. Julius Naue in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* (1886, p. 1, *seqq.* Heft. lxxxii.)

wider extension than has been hitherto imagined in the north-west corner of the Balkan peninsula. The Veneti, as is well known, were themselves described by ancient writers as an Illyrian race.^a

The existence of this extensive Illyro-Italic province, embracing, in addition to the eastern tract of the North Italian plain, a large Alpine zone, and commanding the main avenues of commerce between the Adriatic ports and the Central European regions, must be regarded as a fact of primary importance when we consider the extraneous sources of the Later Celtic art. The Gallic invasions in Italy, from the end of the fifth century B.C. onwards, brought the new occupants of the old Ligurian and North Etruscan districts into close relations with their Venetian neighbours, sometimes as rivals, sometimes as allies.^b Bononia and Verona could not be indifferent to Patavium and Ateste. In some districts, no doubt, the older Illyro-Italic elements were submerged by these Celtic inundations, and evidences of a mixed culture, resulting from the fusion of the former occupants with the new settlers, are not wanting in the Po valley. In the great cemetery of Caverzano, for example, near Belluno, Gallic forms of weapons and fibulæ were found associated with zoned and cordoned vases, bronze *situlæ*, and other objects answering to those of the Third Period of Este. At Lozzo, again, in the valley of Cadore, at Asolo near Treviso, and elsewhere, we find the same juxtaposition of Late-Celtic and Venetian and Euganean forms. At Este itself, during the Fourth Period of Professor Prosdocimi, the interments take a very Gaulish character, the Celtic influence giving a predominant stamp to the local culture of this part of Italy in the two centuries that preceded the Roman conquest. An interesting commentary is thus supplied to the direct statement of Polybios,^c that the Veneti, though speaking another language, differed but little from the Celts in customs and ornaments. Side by side, however, with Gallic forms of weapons and ornaments, and with a class of ash-coloured pottery, which

^a Herodotus (I. 196,) calls the Veneti Illyrians. Strabo, (*Geogr.* xiii. I. 54) records the legend according to which they came from Thrace under Antenor's guidance. The Iapodes are reckoned by Appian (*De Rebus Illyricis*, c. 10, &c.) as an Illyrian tribe, and their Southern borders extended to the neighbourhood of Trieste (Tergestê). By Strabo's time (*Geogr.* vii. 5, 2, and iv. c. 10) they had become blended with Gallic elements (*op. cit.* c. 8), and to the same stock belonged the Breones and Genauni of the *Brenner* and the *Valle di Non*. (Strabo, iv. 6, 8). The Istrians are reckoned an Illyrian race by Appian.

^b Strabo (*Geogr.* v. 1, 9) says that already before the Hannibalic war, the Veneti and their neighbours the Gallic Cenomani were allied together on the Roman side against other Cisalpine Gaulish tribes.

^c Hist. Lib. ii. c. 17, 5. "Οὐδένετοι τοῖς μὲν ἔθεσι καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ βραχὺ διαφέροντες Κελτῶν, γλώττη δ' ἄλλοια χρώμενοι."



1. BRONZE SITULA. WAATSCH, CARNIOLA.



2. BRONZE SITULA. ESTE.



3. CLAY SITULA WITH RED AND BLACK ZONES AND BRONZE STUDS. ESTE.



4. CLAY SITULA WITH BRONZE STUDS. ESTE.

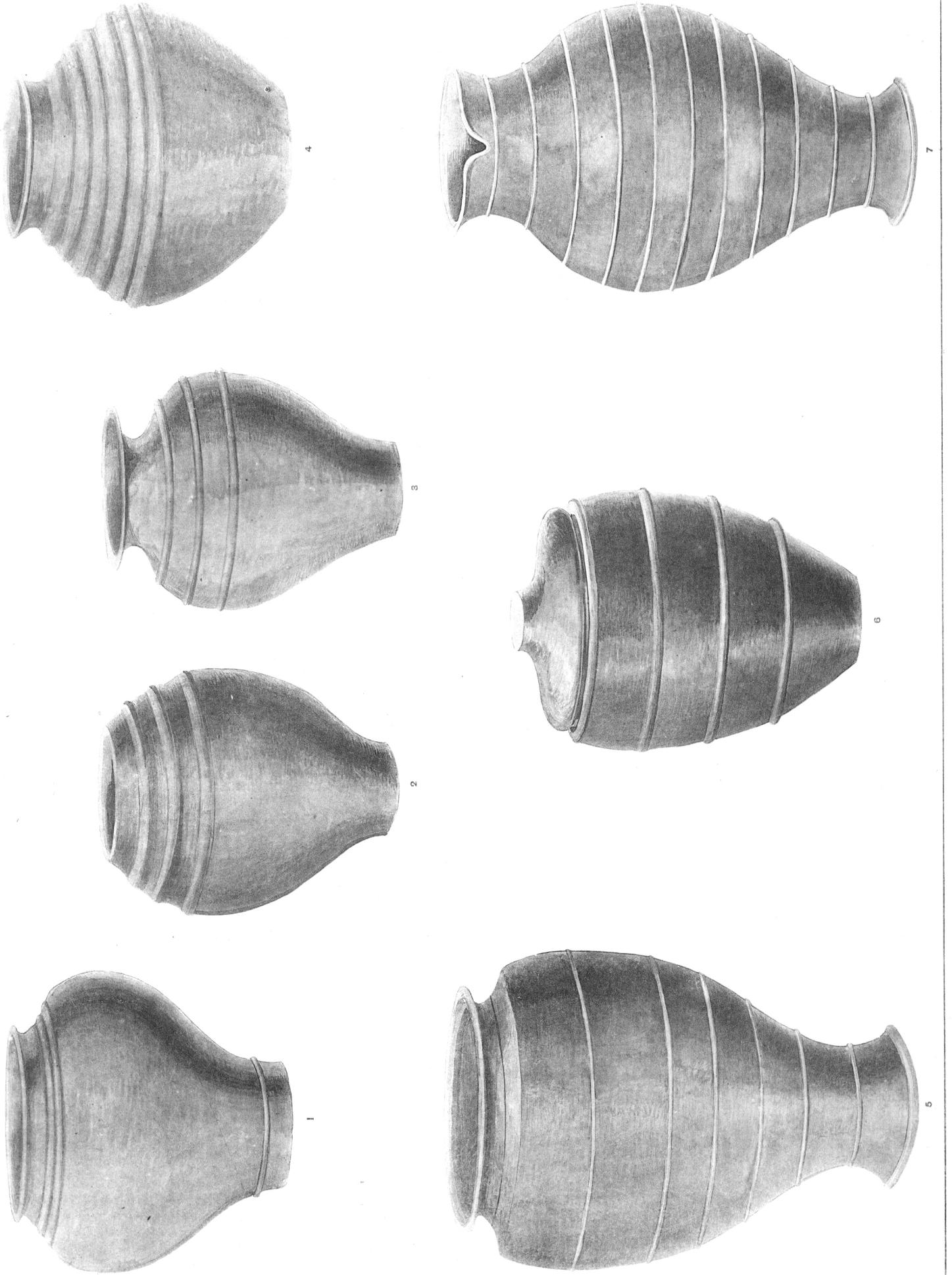


5. CLAY IMITATION OF BRONZE SITULA. ESTE.



6. CLAY SITULA WITH BRONZE STUDS. CERTOSA, BOLOGNA (VENETIAN TYPE).

DIAGRAMMATIC PLATE FOR COMPARISON SHOWING ILLYRO-ITALIC SITULAS AND TRANSITIONAL IMITATIONS IN CLAY WITH BRONZE STUDS.



DIAGRAMMATIC PLATE FOR COMPARISON SHOWING ILLYRO-ITALIC CORDONED VESSELS FROM ESTE.

the Gaulish invaders seem to have brought with them, we find the otherwise Gallicized population still adhering to the old tradition of zoned and cordoned vases. Thus, in one of the most important of the tombs belonging to this period,^a and in other respects the most thoroughly Gallic, there was found, together with a sword and *fibulæ* of the La Tène type, a cinerary vase, the paste and fabric of which was of the characteristic cis-Alpine Gaulish kind, but which in its zones, its red ochreous colouring, and its cordons, reproduced the familiar features of the situla-shaped urns of the earlier Atestine tombs.^b

In the Eastern Alps, and what are now the Austrian Crownlands of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, the pre-existing populations of the same Illyric stock were for the most part subjugated by other Celtic tribes. In some cases these invasions gave birth on this side to mixed races, such as the Scordisci of the Save and Drave valleys,^c and the Iapodes of the Adriatic coastlands, who represented a blend of Illyrian and Celtic stocks. In their case we are told that they used arms of Gallic form, but continued to tattoo themselves after the old Thracian and Illyrian manner.^d It is obvious that under such conditions the borrowing could not have been always on one side. Much of the earlier culture of this European tract was taken over by the new comers, and the mixture of Italo-Illyric relics with others of characteristically Late-Celtic stamp on ancient sites like that of Gurina in the Gailthal, shows that here, too, as on the Italian side, this old Adriatic civilization left its impress on the Celtic tribes.

II. (d) ANALOGIES TO AYLESFORD TYPES IN BELGIC GAUL.

In view of the striking parallels presented by the late British ceramic forms of Aylesford to those of which, beyond the Alps, the cemeteries of Este

^a The third tomb of the Villa Benvenuti. Cf. Gherardini, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1883, p. 396, *seqq.* Prosdocimi, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1882, Tav. viii. fig. 3, &c.

^b Gherardini, *loc. cit.* remarks of this urn, "Mentre il suo tipo è estraneo alle ceramiche arcaiche, come anche la qualità dell' argilla, si è voluto imitare la ornamentazione degli ossuari del III. periodo col circondarlo di due cordoni e di una linea incisa, onde è diviso in zone. Tra i due cordoni è visibilissima, oltre a ciò, l'ocre rossa." Its outline represents a modification of the earlier *situla* type.

^c Strabo, *Geogr.* vii. 5, 2, after classing the Scordisci as Gauls, adds: "καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τοῖς Ἰλλυρικῶς ἔθνεσι καὶ τοῖς Θρακίοις ἀναμιξέσθησαν."

^d Strabo, *Geogr.* vii. 5, 4.

afford us the most typical example, the question naturally arises, may not this intimate Celtic contact or intermixture with the representatives of the great Adriatic province have had a still more far-reaching influence on the arts of the Celtic peoples? And this question suggests the further inquiry: Is it possible to trace the same cordoned vases with which we have to deal across Belgic Gaul to the Alpine regions, which were in direct relations with the countries occupied by the Adriatic Veneti and their kinsmen?

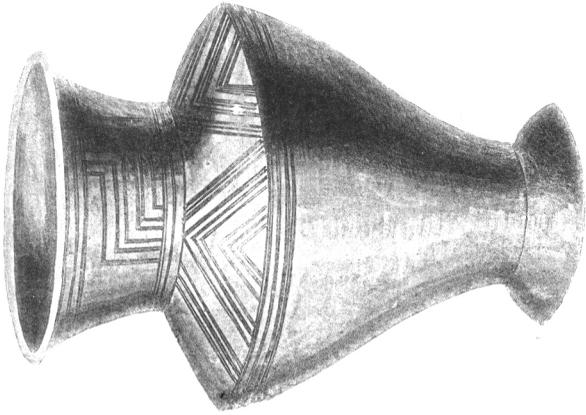
Although, so far as I am aware, no group of vases presenting such elegant contours as those from our Kentish cemetery have as yet been forthcoming from the opposite coasts of Gaul, yet an examination of the sepulchral statistics collected by French antiquaries is conclusive as showing that vases with the same typical features have occurred in a whole group of Belgic cemeteries of the same general class as that of Aylesford. In the cemetery of Moulineaux,^a near Rouen, containing cinerary urns, sometimes deposited in company with smaller accessory vessels in shallow pits, there occurred, amongst ruder urns, a very characteristic specimen of a cordoned vase (Pl. XII. fig. 6) coloured, like the British specimens, of a blackish brown and greatly resembling the Aylesford urn (Pl. VIII. fig. 4). In another cinerary (Pl. VI. fig. 5) from the same site, with four cordons set close together round the upper part of the body, the *situla*-shaped contour was further accentuated by its elegantly-formed base, showing an approach to a pedestal. This vase was also of finer clay and presented a polished black surface, due apparently to a kind of *vernis* of pounded charcoal. In the cemetery of Port-le-Grand,^b near St. Valéry-sur-Somme, were found some vases of somewhat similar form, with indented ornamentation on their sides. At Belozanne^c again, on the Lower Seine, in an interment, apparently of the same class as the above, was found, in company with an accessory bowl, a cinerary vase with two cordons, a striated band round the upper part of its body and a well-developed pedestal below (Pl. XII. fig. 7). The pear-shaped outline of this vase, with its small mouth, shows an approach to the Aylesford specimen (Pl. IX. fig. 4), while the slanting striations, though here in pairs with intervals between, recur on the lower zones of several of the Kentish urns.

The cemeteries to which these Belgic vases belong date from the last period

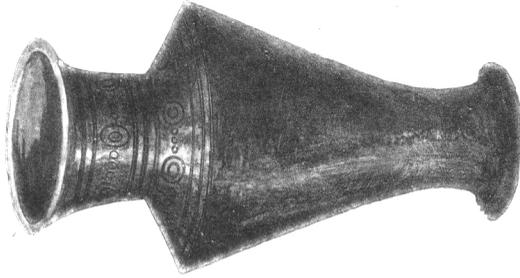
^a Cochet, *Sépultures Gauloises*, &c. p. 10. For a black vase with nine cordons see Charvet, *Poterie Gauloise*, p. 98, fig. 68.

^b *Op. cit.* p. 42, and cf. Hecquet d'Orval in *Mémoires de la Société d'Émulation d'Abbeville*, 1838-40, p. 285-95.

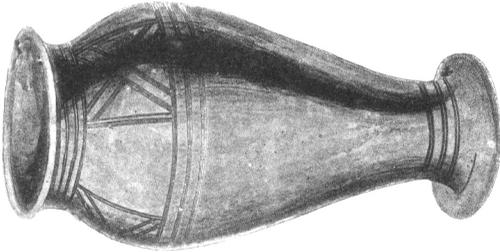
^c Cochet, *Revue Archéologique*, xxviii. (1874), p. 55.



1. FROM NEAR CHÂLONS-SUR-MARNE.



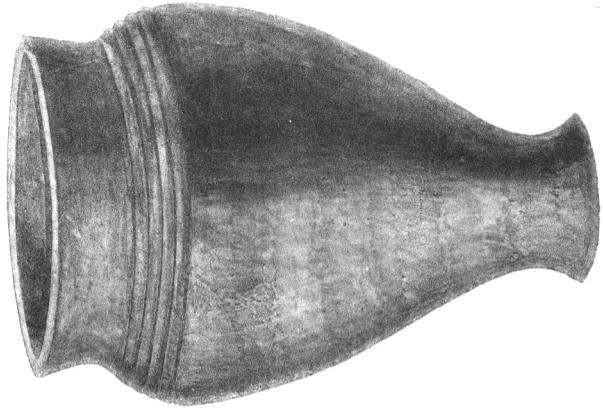
2. ST. ÉTIENNE-AU-TEMPLE, MARNE.



3. ST. ÉTIENNE-AU-TEMPLE, MARNE.



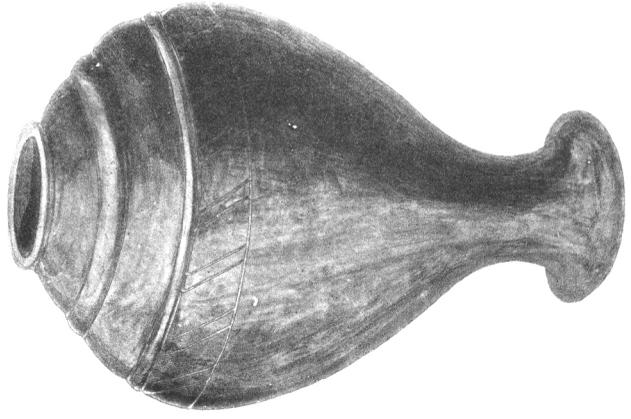
4. KLEIN WINTERNHEIM, NEAR MAINZ.



5. MOULINEAUX, NEAR ROUEN.



6. MOULINEAUX, NEAR ROUEN.



7. BELOZANNE, LOWER SEINE.

DIAGRAMMATIC PLATE FOR COMPARISON SHOWING LATE CELTIC TYPES OF URNS FROM FRANCE AND RHINELANDS.

of Gaulish independence that preceded the Roman conquest. The character of the interment is, in its essential features, the same as that of our Kentish cemetery. We have here, as at Aylesford, cremation deposits, consisting each of a cinerary vase, often associated with one or more accessory vessels, placed in small pits in the flat surface of the ground, and lying at a depth of about 60 centimetres below the surface. In one case, of which we have an authentic record, the deposits are described as lying about 2 metres apart,^a and it is possible, though the fact has not been noticed by French archaeologists, that the arrangement of the pits in "family-circles" may also prove to have been rife on the Gaulish side of the Channel. The enclosure of the cinerary urns in buckets, as in the case of the Aylesford grave represented in fig 1, and of which the great Marlborough bucket in all probability supplied another British example, also finds its parallel in a Gaulish cemetery, presenting ceramic forms of the same general class. Thus, in the cemetery of Hallais, between Neufchâtel and Aumale, a tureen-shaped cinerary vase, with four cordons round its upper circumference, was found, surrounded by the bronze bands of a large bucket in which it was originally enclosed. Near it, in this case, was an object described by the workmen as a "compass," no doubt the familiar iron shears of Late-Celtic interments, and an iron sword, in its iron sheath, with the obtuse point and the cross-bars to its sheath, characteristic of the latest La Tène period. In accordance with a then prevalent sepulchral custom the sword was bent and crumpled up.

II. (e) ANALOGIES TO AYLESFORD TYPES OF PEDESTALLED VASES IN EASTERN GAUL, AND IN THE RHENISH AND ALPINE DISTRICTS.

If we now turn to the more easterly parts of Gaul which present us with the earlier evidences of direct intercourse between the Gallic tribes and the Mediterranean world in the shape of the imported beaked oenochoês and other characteristic bronzes of Greek and Etruscan fabric we find ourselves confronted with certain ceramic forms which supply a most important link between the Aylesford type of vases and their North-Italian analogues. On the Middle and Upper Rhine not only do we find types of cordoned and *situla*-shaped vases which run parallel to the Belgic and British group with which we have been hitherto dealing,

^a In the cemetery of Hallais, between Neufchâtel and Aumale. See Cochet, *Sépultures Gauloises*, §c. p. 397, *seqq.*

but there occur at times in the ornament certain suggestive details which reproduce a characteristic feature of the Illyro-Italic class. Fig. 4 of Pl. XII. represents a vase in the Museum of Mainz in which the *situla*-like form of the Aylesford type, including the pedestal, is well defined. It is of the same smooth black coloured ware as the Kentish cineraries, and displays two double cordons round its body enclosing a broad zone ornamented with alternating crosslines and small circles arranged in zigzags. This geometrical form of ornamentation as well as the recurring disklets recalls at once the decorative stud-work of the peculiar class of vases, the *vasi borchiatì*, already described as characteristic of the Illyro-Italic group. There the clay *situla* still retains a lively reminiscence of its bronze original in the shape of little round studs of bronze arranged upon its sides in geometrical designs, such as the mæander, reproduced from those that decorate the zones of the bronze prototypes belonging to the same Adriatic province.

A valuable commentary on the above form and decoration is supplied by a parallel group of Late-Celtic vases from the cemeteries of Champagne. In a cemetery near Châlons-sur-Marne ^a was found a *situla*-shaped clay cinerary of the same dark brown material (Pl. XII. fig. 1) divided by incised lines, which here represent the raised cordon of the more familiar class, into two zones, the uppermost of which is adorned in the same linear fashion with what may best be described as fragments of mæanders, while below are chevron ornaments in the same style, which also in all probability represent detached pieces of the same motive. In another vase from the cemetery of St. Étienne du Temple ^b in the same Marne district (Pl. XII. fig. 2), the metallic character of the form is even more strongly accentuated, and in this case the two upper zones are ornamented with small disklets alternating with concentric circles which reproduce a most characteristic ornament not only of the bronze *situlæ* of the Illyro-Italic province already referred to, but of their clay imitations as found at Este and elsewhere in which this decorative motive is preserved by the attachment to their upper zones of bronze studs embossed with the same concentric circles.^c

^a *Revue Archéologique*, 1868 (T. xvii.) p. 92, *seqq.* Note de la Rédaction, &c. and pl. iii. For other vessels of the same form from the Aisne see Moreau, *Collection Caranda*, pl. xxxviii. xl. xli. while in pl. F. an arrangement of these vessels may be seen beside the skeleton of a Gaulish warrior and the remains of his chariot in a grave excavated at Sablonière in the same district.

^b *Loc. cit.* pl. iii. f. 3. For other remarkable pedestalled vases of the same class from Champagne see Charvet, *Poterie Gauloise*, p. 94, fig 63, p. 95, fig. 64.

^c The angular shoulders of this group of vessels from the Marne,—the “carinated vases” of French antiquaries,—seems to show that they were derived immediately from bronze originals.

Another highly suggestive parallel remains to be recorded. Together with some perfect examples of Gaulish vases like the above there were discovered in the Aisne district* some fragments of larger vessels which were further divided in the Este fashion into zones of greyish brown and bright ochreous red.

It will thus be seen that the correspondences between the *situla*-like vases of the more Eastern parts of ancient Gaul, and those of the Alpine and Italic region about the head of the Adriatic extend not only to the general contour but to the very minutiae of the ornament, and at times even of the colouring. The parallels are of such a kind as to fully warrant us in supposing that these Celtic ceramic forms are in fact the outgrowth of a group of bronze vessels, some of the most typical of which have been shown to be the characteristic product, during the immediately preceding period, of this extensive Illyro-Italic province. It is an interesting commentary on this connexion that among the earliest types of the Late-Celtic sword which occur as imported articles in the Hallstatt graves is one the sheath of which is decorated with figures in the Illyro-Italic style of Waatsch and Este.

II. (f) GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE PEDESTALLED URNS OF THE AYLESFORD CEMETERY, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE IMPORTATION AND IMITATION OF PAINTED VASES IN THE CELTIC REGIONS.

That the cordoned pedestalled vases as a class are ultimately to be referred to the endeavour to imitate in clay certain types of bronze *situlae* in vogue beyond the Alps may perhaps be regarded as sufficiently established by the comparisons already instituted. But the question remains, did the imitative ceramic forms thus called into being amongst the Gaulish tribes take their origin directly from imported bronze vessels of the type referred to? Or are they rather to be regarded as copies of the class of clay vessels for which these bronze forms had already served as prototypes among the Veneti and their kin, on the Adriatic coastlands?

That a certain number of Late-Celtic urns and notably the "carinated" vases of the Marne cemeteries (such as Plate XII. figs. 1 and 2), were directly fashioned after imported bronzes is highly probable. But so far as is at present known the range of the cordoned bronze vessels with which our most typical Aylesford forms have most in common does not seem to extend westwards. Yet the resemblance between

* F. Moreau, *Collection Caranda*, pl. xxxviii. figs. 6 and 7.

these fine Kentish vases, such as that shown in fig. 7, is even closer to the Italian prototypes than most of those hitherto brought to light in the intervening Gaulish districts, and seems to warrant the suspicion that the Belgic potters, if they had not imported bronzes of the type, must at least have had before them imported pots from the Cisalpine region. In this connexion the isolated discovery in the Aisne district referred to above of fragments of coloured pottery of a kind otherwise unknown in Late-Celtic deposits, but reproducing the familiar alternating zones of the Este group, is of the greatest significance. Even if they are to be regarded as imitations executed on Gaulish soil, they betray such an intimate acquaintance with the Illyro-Italic fabrics as could only have been obtained from the presence of imported vases of the Este type. That as a matter of fact painted vases were imported from beyond the Alps by the Gaulish tribes appears from a variety of finds. Greek painted *kylikes* and other vessels have been discovered in Celtic graves from the Upper Rhine to the Marne and Meuse in association with imported metalwork.^a That some of these found their way across the Alps from the Adriatic side is shown not only by the discovery of Apulian or Tarentine pottery from the Roseninsel on the Wurmsee in Bavaria,^b and in the neighbourhood of Zurich,^c but by a remarkable *kantharos* surrounded with a peculiar chequer-work frieze found in the barrow of Rodenbach, in the Rhenish Palatinate^d in association with specimens of goldwork belonging to the earliest Rhenish class of Late-Celtic jewellery.

With regard to the origin of this latter vase great difficulties have arisen. That it was of Italo-Greek fabric was evident, on the other hand it does not answer to any known Apulian, still less to Campanian types. Whilst examining however the alien forms of pottery found in the Este cemeteries I was astonished

^a To these must be added the curious painted *kylikes* of half-barbaric fabric, such as those found in Posen and Silesia, at Frelsdorf in Hanover, &c.

^b Sigmund von Schab, *Pfahlbauten im Wurmsee* (Beiträge zur Anthr. u. Urgeschichte Bayerns, I. seqq. & T. II.) Amongst the fragments discovered were part of a characteristic Tarentine or Apulian vase with an androgynous winged figure, &c., parts of a *kylix*, and another vessel of the same Magna-Græcian fabric. There was a part of a *kylix* (?) of Corinthian make, which also points to an Adriatic source. Intermediate traces of this line of commerce are to be seen in the series of finds of Magna-Græcian pottery at Risano, Lissa, Lesina, and again at Pizzugghi in Istria.

^c A small "Apulian" Lekythos, in the Museum of Zurich. A *kelebe* with red figures in a relaxed style was also found on the Uetliberg near this place (Keller, *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Alterthumskunde*, Juli, 1871, No. 3). Another "Apulian" Lekythos, from near Constance, is to be seen in the same museum.

^d Lindenschmit *op. cit.* B. III. H. 4, &c.

to find the remains of a whole series of *kanthari* answering in every respect to the Rodenbach example. A great probability therefore arises that this type of pottery belongs to some Greek or semi-Greek colony of the Adriatic coast, and the Rodenbach vase must have arrived north of the Alps from the same north-eastern region of Italy, from which were ex-hypothesi derived the prototypes of the Late-Celtic pedestalled vases.

Side by side with these imported forms there have been also discovered in some Late-Celtic graves of the Marne and Rhine districts some remarkable painted vases, which seem actually to have been made on Gaulish soil. Some of these vessels show a white ground ornamented with a kind of ochreous chequer and frame-work. A good example of a vase of this type from a Gaulish grave exists in the Museum of Châlons-sur-Marne, and another which might be its fellow in that of Mainz. At other times, as in the case of a fine vase of this class recently discovered in the Late-Celtic cemetery of Wies Oppenheim, near Worms,^a the upper part of the body of the vessel is coated with a broad band of ochreous brown, while below and above the colour of the vase is of a light maroon.^b Fragments of similar painted vases have been discovered on the site of the Boian station of Hradisht, near Prag.^c Both the tones of the colouring and the general outline of the forms in these instances are strongly suggestive of the fact that the Celtic potters must have had before their eyes certain late forms of Apulian *lekythi* from which to copy, and we have here another intimation that imported painted wares were during this period reaching the Gaulish tribes from the Adriatic side.

In view of these facts it must be regarded as quite within the bounds of possibility that some of the fine painted vessels of the Este type found their way into Belgic Gaul by an old commercial line across the Alps. Further discoveries, either in the intermediate Gaulish tract or in Britain itself, may eventually throw more light on the channel by which these Illyro-Italic models reached the Belgic tribe whose ceramic skill has been revealed to us in the Aylesford cemetery. Nor, on the other hand, considering the mobility and continual distant shifting of the Gaulish tribes, must actual migration from Cisalpine Gaul be excluded from the

^a In the Worms Museum.

^b A striking example of the imitation of the form of a Greek painted vase north of the Alps is to be seen in a fine jar of a dark terracotta colour from the important late Hallstatt find at Hundersingen, on the Upper Danube. It is unquestionably copied from a Greek fourth-century amphora, the handles only being omitted. It is in the Stuttgart Museum.

^c These are now in the Natural History Museum at Vienna. The pottery has been erroneously described as "Roman."

possible causes of the spread of such Italic forms to our western isle. Dangerous as it is to venture into such ethnographical speculations, the temptation is great to connect the western diffusion of these Adriatic types with the attachment of the Venetian name to the most advanced commercial and seafaring community of the Armoric coast. And if it be thought too hazardous to suggest a connection between the Celtic or at least Celticized Veneti of the Lower Loire and their Illyrian homonyms of the Po valley, we may yet recall the fact that the Gaulish neighbours of the Cisalpine Veneti, the Cenomani, had their more abiding seat in the West Gaulish land that has preserved the historic name of Maine, and that the Senones were at home at Sens as well as Sinigaglia. The wheels of tribal and national migration move as a rule along the ruts of pre-existing lines of commercial intercourse.

II. (g) COMPARISONS OF AYLESFORD *SITULA* VASES WITH NORTH EUROPEAN CERAMIC FORMS.

It is interesting to observe that in the cremation graves of Northern Germany and Scandinavia, in which the influence of the Late Celtic culture first makes itself apparent, there have been brought to light certain forms of pottery which point, like those of the West, to the influence of prototypes in bronze-work. The cordoned vases, indeed, such as we have traced them from the Alps to the Channel, do not seem to occur in this more northerly zone; but there do, nevertheless, occur certain elegantly shaped vessels, of the same paste and smooth black or dark brown surface, which are evidently modelled on metal-work originals. Such, for instance, are some of the pots associated with fibulæ of Tène type in the early "Brandpletter," "Brandgrubengräber," or cremation pits in the Isle of Bornholm,^a while in Seeland^b there was discovered in the same association an earthenware vessel in which the attachments of the handle of the bronze original had been imitated in clay. Amongst these occurs also a simpler form of *situla* vase without rudimentary remains of handles, which can be traced southwards both to the Celtic stations of Bohemia^c and the Rhine. This

^a Vedel, *Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager* (Kjøbenhavn, 1886). p. 105, figs. 224, 226, &c.

^b Undset, *Auftreten des Eisens*, p. 429, fig. 134. For another apparently metallic form see Von Sehested, *Fortidsminder og Oldsager fra Egnen om Broholm*, pl. xxxvi. f. 56, b. For other somewhat later illustrations see Engelhardt, *Influence Classique, &c.* (Mém. de la Soc. des Ant. du Nord, 1872-7, p. 252.)

^c W. Osborne, *Hradisht bei Stradonic* (*Mitth. d. anthr. Gesellsch. von Wien*, 1881, T. II. 1).

type is certainly derived from a somewhat pear-shaped form of bronze pail common in Italian deposits of the third and second centuries before our era, and of which a good specimen will be seen in the Etruscan Museum at Florence. I have recently obtained from an interesting barrow interment at Urmitz on the Rhine a specimen of this simple class found associated with two other cineraries, one decorated with indented ornaments of an earlier Celtic type. With these urns were deposited three *fibulae* of a form which may be considered as a variety of the "Nauheim" type, a large annular bead of blue glass, bronze horse ornaments, a stag's-horn charm, such as also occur in Rhenish deposits associated with Roman remains, and a flat iron lancehead exhibiting on both sides an inscription in punctuated letters.^a It is probable that this interment belonged to the transitional period when Roman influence was beginning among the Rhenish populations. The well-known "mæander urns," the range of which extends from Poland and Silesia to Hanover in the West, in all probability represent a later offshoot of the same ceramic family as these pear-shaped vases.

II. (*h*) COMPARISONS OF OTHER FORMS OF THE AYLESFORD POTTERY WITH GAULISH AND ITALIC CERAMIC TYPES.

The cordoned *situla*-shaped cineraries which must be regarded as the most characteristic of the ceramic types supplied by our Aylesford cemetery have been shown to belong to a large kindred group, representatives of which occur in the cemeteries of the Continental Belgæ, and the sources of which, as is shown by parallel types from the more eastern parts of the old Gallic area, are to be found in the bronze *situlae*, and their cordoned clay imitations of a large Alpine and Adriatic province.

It is not, however, by any means intended to confine the influence of foreign bronze work to one particular class of vessel. As already shown in the preceding section, other forms of bronze *situla*, not possessed of either cordons or pedestals, were certainly imitated as well, and the prototypes of some of these vessels, more-

^a These objects are now in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford. I propose to give a fuller account of this find elsewhere.

over, are of a much wider diffusion than the special forms described as peculiar to the Illyro-Italic province. It must also be borne in mind that bronze *situlae* of a simple early type, without cordons, have themselves been found as far afield as Brittany, England, and Ireland in the West.^a Greek and Etruscan models played their part as well as "Old Venetian." It is probable, moreover, that the curious pear-shaped type of pedestalled vase, figured on Pl. IX. fig. 4, which also finds its analogies in Gaul, owes its typical contour to an attempt to imitate the body of a curious form of bronze vase provided with a spout and lid, specimens of which (apparently representing Gaulish imitations of an Etruscan prototype) have been found in Late-Celtic deposits of the Marne, the Saar, and the Rhine.^b

The remaining forms of vessel found in the Aylesford graves, from their paste, colour, and general style of fabric, obviously belong to the same ceramic class as the pedestalled vases. Such are the pots (cf. Pl. VIII. fig. 2; IX. fig. 3) with bowl-shaped bellies, the neck or collar of which is in most cases surrounded by one or more of the same cordons that occur on the *situla*-shaped vases, here, perhaps, as in other cases, added simply as an ornamental feature by analogy from the pedestalled types. This form again has a wide Continental distribution, as is shown by its recurrence amongst the Late-Celtic remains of Switzerland and on the Rhine.^c Among the accessory vases there appears a form of *patera* which is also common to a large Gaulish and Rhenish tract. Some good examples may be seen in the Boulogne Museum, where there is also a specimen of a more elaborate type with a distinct cordon, traces of which also appear on the Aylesford examples round the middle of the sides and another below. Similar *pateræ* have also been found in the Gaulish tombs of the Marne district,^d and an example from Reims^e is provided with a well-turned handle. In the Late-Celtic cremation cemeteries of the Worms district they are also well represented together with several other

^a J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements, &c.* p. 412, 413.

^b e.g. From St. Jean-sur-Tourbe (Marne), *Rev. Arch.* 1883, p. 201, seqq. Pl. XXI. see p. 28, Note c.; from Waldalgesheim (*E. Aus'm Weerth Festprogramm zu Winkelmann's Geburtstag*, Bonn, 1870); and another in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg from a Rhenish site.

^c See for example the urn from Schärloch, figured in De Bonstetten, *Supplément au recueil des Antiquités Suisses*, pl. vii. 1.

^d In the Museum of Châlons-sur-Marne I have recently obtained for the Ashmolean Museum a specimen of a similar type from a Gaulish grave of the second century, B.C. found near Châlons.

^e Also in the Châlons Museum.

varieties of the Aylesford vases. These parallels extend, moreover, beyond the Alps. The usage of depositing a *patera* in the grave is, itself, no doubt, of Italian derivation, and, apart from this, a comparison with Plate IX. figs. 1-4, and 6, will show how much even the minor ceramic forms from the Kentish cemetery have in common with the smaller vessels from the Este tombs.

Besides the cordons we find on some of the Aylesford vessels another form of decoration executed in *graffito*, often consisting of a series of fine lines drawn diagonally across the zones, a type of ornament which occurs on Gaulish pottery belonging to the same group. The elegant vase, Plate IX. fig. 1, supplies an excellent example. In other cases we find a continuous zigzag (Plate IX. fig. 5), a reminiscence, perhaps, of the Gaulish type already described (Pl. XII. fig. 1). At times again the ornament covers the whole lower surface of the pot, presenting somewhat of the appearance of the grain of woodwork, and much recalling the engraved designs upon the stones of Gavr' Innis (Pl. VIII. fig. 6). In the remarkable little pot, Plate IX. fig. 6, we have an example of a class of ornament which resembles the traditional decorative motive of British Bronze-Age pottery, in so far as it is obviously derived from basket-work; in the present instance, however, it has a character of its own very different from that of the older indigenous class.*

That the earlier native style of pottery should itself occasionally have reacted on the imported wares is only what might be expected; and it would be a manifest exaggeration to trace all the members of the Aylesford class to trans-Alpine sources. There existed in the eastern parts of Gaul itself another very well-marked ceramic school, characteristic of a large "Hallstatt" group, and amongst which the painted vases from the barrow-graves of Baden, Würtemberg, and Bavaria stand out as the most brilliant representatives, and it is probable that the ceramic class must have made its influence widely felt. The ornaments, for instance, on some of the Gaulish vessels of the Champagne cemeteries seem to point in this direction; and a widely-spread tureen-shaped cinerary that characterizes many of the Gaulish deposits of Late-Celtic type, and which find analogues in Britain, may perhaps be regarded as an offshoot of the same "Hallstatt" family.

* A pot with very similar ornamentation has now been recently found in a grave belonging to the Gaulish cemetery of Lutetia (Paris). (See Eug. Toulouze. *Rev. Arch.* 1890, p. 374.)

II. (i) DIFFUSION OF THE AYLESFORD CLASS OF POTTERY OVER SOUTH-EASTERN BRITAIN.

It will be seen from the foregoing pages that the Aylesford cemetery supplies us with the means of recognising a whole class of Late-British pottery, as different from the ruder forms that had preceded it as are the associated bronzes with their highly elaborated decorative style from the simpler shapes of our insular bronze age. Of the Continental range of these forms, enough has perhaps been said for the purposes of the present paper. It remains to consider what extension this well-marked though strangely neglected ceramic class had in Britain itself, where it seems to have hitherto either escaped the notice of our antiquaries or to have been classed in museums under the general head of "Roman."

So far as my present researches go, this class of Late-Celtic pottery extends over the whole of south-eastern England. In Kent it seems to be specially abundant, and several specimens of vessels belonging to this group, the source of some of which has not been recorded, may be detected in the Maidstone Museum. From the hill above Aylesford itself, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the great dolmen known as Kits' Coty House, were obtained cinerary urns presenting the same characteristics as those from the cemetery in the valley below.^a In the same museum is to be seen a cordoned vase representing a modified form of the *situla*-shaped type, which, with some other cineraries of the same ceramic class, and a very fine plate or *patera* 14 inches in diameter, were found in what was no doubt an ancient British cemetery at Allington, a village which lies a mile above Aylesford on the opposite side of the Medway.^b Amongst other Kentish vessels, the antecedents of which are unfortunately not recorded, may be mentioned a ribbed cup and a small finely modelled bowl of blackish "*bucchero*" with somewhat straight sides, but presenting the peculiarity that its bottom is slightly convex, recalling thus a characteristic feature of a well-known class of

^a From the hill above Kits' Coty House were also obtained three British bronze coins, one uninscribed (Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pl. G. 13, p. 122), one of Eppillus (*op. cit.* pl. iv. 3, p. 197), and one probably of Amminius (*op. cit.* pl. xiii. 12, p. 354).

^b It is probably to the same cemetery that the curious British cist described in the *Arch. Ass. Journal* (iv, p. 65) must be referred. It presented the peculiarity of having its walls and the domical cover above of clay baked *in situ*. Within was a skeleton in a somewhat contracted posture.

medieval bowls. At Northfleet (in Bevan's pit) cinerary urns of the Aylesford type have also come to light.^a

A very important find exhibiting the same class of pottery, and revealing the existence of the same form of cremation interment as that of the Kentish cemetery has recently been made in the Eastern Counties. In the spring of 1888 I had occasion to inspect a small deposit brought to light a short time before near Elveden, in Essex, the principal object of which was a two-handled bronze-plated wooden vessel adorned with *repoussé* medallions,^b and presenting the closest parallel to the bronze tankard discovered in one of the Aylesford graves. With this were found three earthenware vessels of excellent make, and belonging unquestionably to the Aylesford class. One of those was of a reddish colour, and though more globular in form resembled the most delicately finished of the Aylesford vases in the double row of undulating *striae* that ornamented its body. Mr. Henry Prigg, into whose possession these interesting relics had passed, was at first, owing to their excellence of fabric, inclined to regard them as of Roman^c manufacture. The Late-Celtic character of the pottery is, however, made probable in this case, not only by its close agreement with the Kentish pots already described, but from its actual association with a fine specimen of Late-British metal-work: I have little doubt indeed, that these associated vessels formed part of a somewhat late interment of the Aylesford kind, and the discovery of calcined bones amongst the earth removed with the relics corroborates this view.^d

^a I am indebted to Mr. H. Lewis, of Camberwell, for this information. At the same spot was a funnel-shaped hole 6 feet deep excavated in the chalk and with burnt clay at the bottom, which Mr. Lewis believed to have been used as a kiln for baking the urns in question.

^b See p. 359, fig. 10.

^c Romanizing influences need not here be excluded in the case of the pottery. See p. 383.

^d Mr. Prigg writes, "From the fragments before me it is clear that your idea that these relics accompanied an interment is correct. The fragments in question consist of about a dozen pieces of roughly calcined human bones, among which are the portion of the base of a skull of a young individual, the head of a femur, and, I think, a portion of a scapula." Mr. Prigg considered that "the bones had the appearance of having been buried loose in the earth and not in an urn," but the absence of any green stain from the bronze vessel and the Aylesford analogies tell the other way. These bones were sent to Mr. Prigg, with the tankard and urns, by a Mr. Fenton. Two years later, some of the workmen who had dug up the remains, when examined by Mr. Prigg, denied having found bones, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the original account was the true one, and that the whole formed part of an interment of the same class as that of Aylesford, Hitchin, etc. Fragmentary calcined bones do not impress themselves on the observation or memory of untrained excavators. The objects were exhibited by Mr. Prigg, in February 1889, to the British Archæological Association, and a brief notice published in their Journal, vol. xlv. p. 81.

We have here then another typical Late-British urn-burial of the Aylesford class, the cinerary being accompanied by one or more accessory vessels, the purpose of which was in all probability to contain food or drink offerings for the departed.

In the Archæological Museum at Cambridge there are two vases belonging to the Aylesford class. One represents what is probably a late degeneration of the *situla* type with a short pedestal and a cordon round its neck. It is wheel-turned and of a dark grey paste coated with a thin brown slip of the usual character. The other vase, exhibiting a remarkably elongated and elegant version of the same *situla* type, with no less than ten very fine cordons round its body, and a more prominent moulding encircling its pedestal, belongs, so far as material is concerned, to a different category, although no doubt the product of the same race of Late-Celtic artificers who produced the Aylesford pots. It is formed of Kimmeridge shale, and has been turned on the lathe with great skill in two separate sections, which have afterwards been rabbeted together. This vase, which is 14 inches high, was found with another similar vessel in a sepulchral deposit at Old Warden, in Bedfordshire.^a

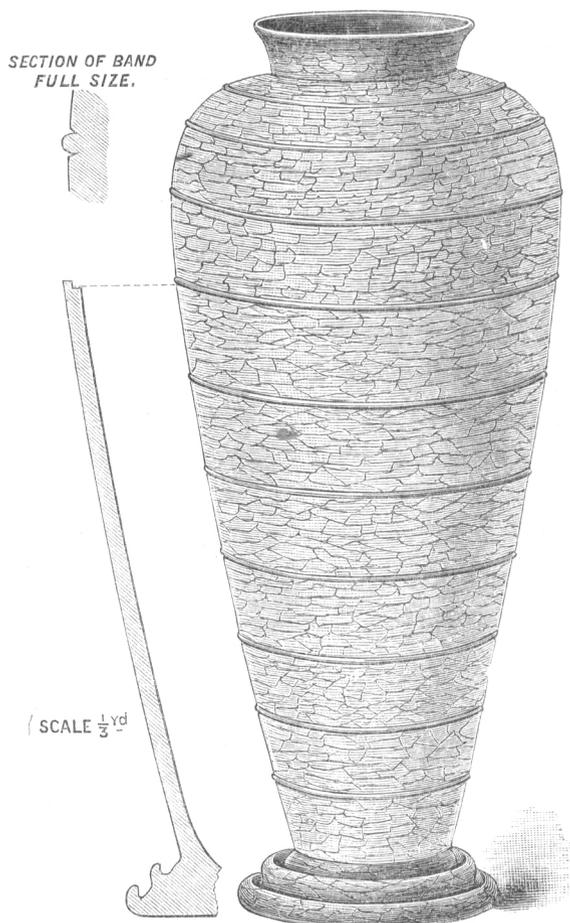


Fig. 8. Vase of Kimmeridge shale, from Old Warden, Bedfordshire. ($\frac{1}{3}$ linear.)

Nor are these the only examples of a class of vessels of the same Late-British type turned in Kimmeridge shale. In 1845 there was found in a withy-bed near

^a It is engraved by Prof. J. S. Henslow (*Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1846). Prof. Henslow was of opinion that the vases were Romano-British sepulchral vessels. He refers to No. 10 of the publications of the Society, where they were originally described as of oak. He describes the shale vase as made in four sections. Prof. Middleton, however, to whose kindness is due the sketch engraved in fig. 8, assures me that it is only divided into two parts.

Corfe Castle^a a deposit of Kimmeridge "coal money," in which was a vessel of the same material, described as being "like the bowl of a large glass or rummer, and with the bottom or stand broken off." In 1856 again two vessels resembling truncated *ciste a cordoni* or cordoned buckets, with three ribs round their sides, were found at Great Chesterford, in Essex.^b With these were found fragments of two elegant vases of dark pottery of the same elongated situla type as the shale urns from Old Warden, and undoubtedly belonging to the Aylesford class.^c A patera of Kimmeridge shale, perhaps belonging to the same period, was found at Colchester,^d and a round box and other objects of the same style and material, perhaps exported from Britain, are to be seen in the Museum of Boulogne.^e There can be no doubt that the fabric of these Kimmeridge "coal" vessels and ornaments, although it continued to flourish after the Roman Conquest, must in its origin be regarded as a British art of great antiquity. That the British artificers, to whom the Aylesford situlas and the other vessels of the ceramic class with which we are dealing, had attained great proficiency in turners' work in Kimmeridge shale is shown in the case of our Kentish cemetery by the deftly wrought bracelets of that material found in one of the earlier graves.^f In a Bronze-Age barrow at Broad Down, in Devonshire, was found a beautifully turned cup of Kimmeridge shale,^g in shape much resembling the gold cup found with a bronze celt in a grave at Rillaton, in Cornwall, and the amber example^h found in a barrow at Hove, near Brighton, associated with relics also belonging to the Later Bronze Period.ⁱ

Another interesting discovery of similar pottery and indicative of the existence

^a *Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xxv. (1868), p. 301.

^b The Hon. R. C. Neville (*Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xiv. (1857), pp. 85-87).

^c Two silver *fibulae*, the forms of which are not given, attached to each other by a wire chain (a characteristic "Tène" fashion), were also found near (*op. cit.* p. 85). Other vases of the same character raised on a foot or "stand" are described as having been found east of Chesterford. In the *Arch. Inst. Journal* (1860, p. 127) another vase of the Aylesford type is figured and described as coming from this site. It was "of dark coloured ware," with a slight cordon round its neck and body, and a more pronounced one round its pedestal. It is there classed as "Roman."

^d Henslow, *loc. cit.*

^e Neville, *op. cit.* p. 87.

^f See p. 5.

^g Rev. R. Kirwan, "Sepulchral Barrows at Broad Down, near Honiton, &c. (*Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xxv. [1868], p. 296, *seqq.*). It is certainly of bituminous shale, and probably, as Mr. Franks has suggested, from the Kimmeridge deposits.

^h *Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xiii. (1856), p. 183.

ⁱ *Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xxiv. (1867), p. 189.

of a Late-British cemetery of the same class as that of Aylesford has now been made at Hitchin, in Hertfordshire.^a One of the vases exhibits an elegant *situla*-like contour, and is provided with a pedestal; the others, both in their shapes, cordons, and, in one case the hatched *graffito* decoration of the zones, also recall the Kentish examples. One of the cineraries presents the peculiarity of having a tazza-shaped cover, which had been evidently made to fit into a groove running around the shoulders of the urn. When discovered, however, the cover lay not upon but beside the urn, some burnt bones being upon it, and it is probable that the urn had therefore been opened in search for metal objects at some previous period. The graves were of the Aylesford type, shallow pits in the chalk, and those discovered formed part of a group answering apparently to a "family-circle" such as those described in the case of the Kentish urn-field.

Mr. Franks has kindly called my attention to three vases belonging to the same class found in an ancient kiln at Albury, in Surrey, and now in the British Museum, one of which is imperfectly baked. They are to be regarded as derivatives of the *situla* type, and like them taper off to a pedestal below. They are decorated with vertical bands laid on in slips of the same paste as the pots. I have further been able to ascertain the discovery of Late-Celtic pottery of the same general type from Aston Clinton, in Buckinghamshire,^b from Abingdon, Berks,^c and from Whitechurch, in Dorset,^d as well as from Weymouth,^e and the Isle of Portland.^f

An example of the same kind of pottery was found on the Castle site at Northampton; and among the pots found recently in the British camp at Hunsbury, near the latter town, there occurred, side by side with ruder hand-made fabrics and others belonging to a later class, to which reference will be hereafter made, some specimens which must be regarded as the extreme offshoots of the same ceramic genus. The most remarkable of these is a bowl-shaped vessel divided into zones, decorated with triangles and lozenges, hatched with incised

^a Exhibited by Mr. W. Ransom, F.S.A. at the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 5th, 1889. Iron shears, so typical of the contemporary "Tène" deposits of the Continent, were discovered in one of the graves.

^b In the Aylesbury Museum.

^c In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

^d In the Dorchester Museum. I am indebted for a sketch of this urn to Mr. H. J. Moule, the Curator of the Dorset Museum. It is somewhat globular, of the usual dark brown colour, and with several cordons round its neck. Another cordoned cup in the same museum from Ridgeway, Dorset, seems to belong to the same class. It is however described as of a stone colour, unburnt.

^e In the British Museum.

^f In the British Museum.

lines, and covered with the characteristic blackish-brown slip.^a The incised double lines which in this case divide the zones seem to be a modification of earlier cordons. It is probable that the bulk of the objects found in this Ancient British *oppidum* belong to the latest pre-Roman period, and are slightly posterior in date to those of the Aylesford cemetery. While on the one hand no single object of unquestionably Roman fabric was brought to light, examples occurred of a new class of red ware, in form and material approaching the Romano-British, but exhibiting incised and impressed ornaments of a purely Celtic character, consisting of returning spirals, enclosing punched dots, arranged in circles and triangles.^b The returning spiral itself, as a motive of ceramic ornament, has a very wide Late-Celtic range, occurring as far afield as the Rhenish Palatinate, Franconia, and the station of Hradisht in Bohemia. As an ornament of Late-British pottery, representing a pre-Roman tradition, I had already recognised it in the case of an urn found with Late-Celtic horse-trappings, two coins of Claudius, and other relics at Kingsholm, near Gloucester.^c Fragments of pottery with incised and punched ornaments, identical with those of Hunsbury, found in the excavations of the British camp of Mount Caburn, in Sussex, have already been described by General Pitt-Rivers, and were justly claimed as Late-Celtic by Mr. Franks.^d In this case the pottery showed a black, smooth surface, and answered, apparently, in its general composition to the Aylesford type. The date of the Mount Caburn specimens may be regarded as approximately fixed by the Late-British tin coins found at the same locality, which represent degenerations of very late Gaulish bronze coins, copied from those of

^a In the Northampton Museum. This style of pottery finds its analogies in some excavated in the late British camp of Mount Caburn, in Sussex, by General Pitt Rivers, on some fragments of which similar incised lozenges occurred (cf. *Archaeologia*, xlvi. pl. xxv. p. 39).

^b Sir Henry Dryden, *Hunsbury or Danes' Camp and the discoveries there*, p. 4 (reprint from Proceedings of the Northampton Architectural Society,), speaks of some of the pottery as Roman, probably referring to this class of ware. From this view, however, I have ventured to differ. A specimen is figured on pl. v. 12, of the above paper.

^c Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 133, pl. xxvi. The relics found included besides three early Romano-British *fibulae* and the iron blade of a sword. They are now in the Ashmolean Museum, with the exception of the pot and sword-blade. In this important find, approximately dated by the two coins of Claudius as belonging to the middle of the first century after Christ, objects belonging to the intrusive Roman culture are blended indiscriminately with others that represent the survival of indigenous British arts in this still unconquered Western district. The decorative motive on the vase, which consists of returning spirals without any other adjunct, is as purely Celtic in character as that on some of the bronze ornaments.

^d *Archaeologia*, xlvi. pp. 440 and 446, pl. xxv. 32, 35, 36.

Massalia, and dating from the last half of the last century before our era. Their British tin-copies cannot, therefore, be well earlier than the beginning of the first century after Christ.

The comparatively late date of this class of pottery is further shown by the interesting fact, that during the succeeding period of Roman domination, the same characteristic motive of decoration, the returning spirals and dotted circles, continued to be employed by the Romano-British potters. It is seen on a whole series of Romano-British vessels belonging to the so-called "Castor ware," though in these later examples the spirals and dotted circles and triangles are, as a rule, layed on in white slip instead of being merely incised or stamped.

Attention may also be called in this place to a peculiar type of Late-Celtic vessel, which, in so far as it imitates metal-work, supplies a somewhat later parallel to the *situla* vases of the Aylesford class. The type referred to is a kind of bowl with a globular body and an upright collar on either side of which are suspended moveable ring-handles, made of clay, like the rest of the vessel. This type of bowl is simply a translation into clay of one of the most characteristic products of Late-Celtic metal-work, the bowls or cauldrons, namely, of bronze or iron with the same upright collars and moveable ring-handles, which are found in the "Tène" deposits from Scotland and Scandinavia to Switzerland and the Rhinelands. A clay vessel of this form was found at Chesterford,^a in which the rivets that stud the lower margin of the collar of the bronze prototype are carefully reproduced, and a part of a similar clay vessel may be seen in the Museum of Utrecht. These vessels, judging from their light colour, texture, and finish, come well within the period of direct Roman contact, but their form represents a purely Celtic tradition.

The influence of the Aylesford type of vessels is also distinctly perceptible in the Romano-British ceramic products, the cordons surviving merely as lines and bands. Very interesting parallels to this survival during the Early Roman Period may be seen in the Rhenish Museums, and notably that of Nijmegen, the old Celtic Noviomagus. It is probable however, that, as in the case of so many other branches of Late-Celtic industry, the true descendants of our Belgic vases will be found to be best represented on Irish soil. It may be sufficient here to cite a highly-ornamented cinerary vase of the most characteristic *situla* shape, and divided into zones by low cordons, which was found in company with another plainer vase of the same kind in a cairn in the townland of Killucken, Tyrone.^b

^a It is figured in the *British Arch. Association Journal*, iv. p. 375.

^b *British Arch. Association Journal*, i. pp. 243, 244.

PART III.—THE BRONZES.

III. (a) THE TWO-HANDLED TANKARD AND SOME RELATED FORMS OF LATE-CELTIC VESSELS.

In considering the bronze objects found in the Aylesford cemetery, it will be convenient to begin with the two-handled tankard found in the grave with the fine, pedestalled cinerary (fig. 7). Its construction can be gathered from the following detailed description, and the restoration given in fig. 9.

Its framework consists of staves of wood, parts of which are preserved. These staves were about $1\frac{1}{10}$ inch in breadth, and half an inch thick, as is shown by the length of the rivets of the handles, they were thinned off however round the rim. The vessel seems to have been about 8 inches in diameter at the top, and was coated by two or more thin bronze plates.^a The uppermost of these, which slightly overlapped that below it, was $1\frac{7}{10}$ inch broad. It turned over the rim and ran inside, covering the same width as outside. This upper band was fastened by a row of rivets fixed in the wood about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch below the rim. Beneath this upper band was another broader plate of metal the original breadth of which was over 5 inches. This plate was in two pieces, soldered together at the point of junction, the end of one plate overlapping the other about $\frac{2}{3}$ of an inch.

At the point of junction on either side was attached a vertical handle, and these handles being riveted on at the point where the plates overlapped gave the fabric greater solidity. Each of these handles possessed four terminal stud-sockets, and one in the centre, the former having rivet holes in their centre, the latter being partly ornamental. It is evident that their central disks, which are now empty, originally held ornamental bosses, the material of which may have been of gold or enamel, or possibly of amber. There were no remains of any other metal plates or bands.

This bronze-plated tankard belongs to a well-marked class of Celtic vessels

^a The plates themselves were in a fragmentary condition, but on three of the remaining pieces the points of attachments of the handles were clearly visible.

and it seems more probable that its origin is to be sought in native woodwork than in any models from the classical regions. A wooden vessel which belongs essen-

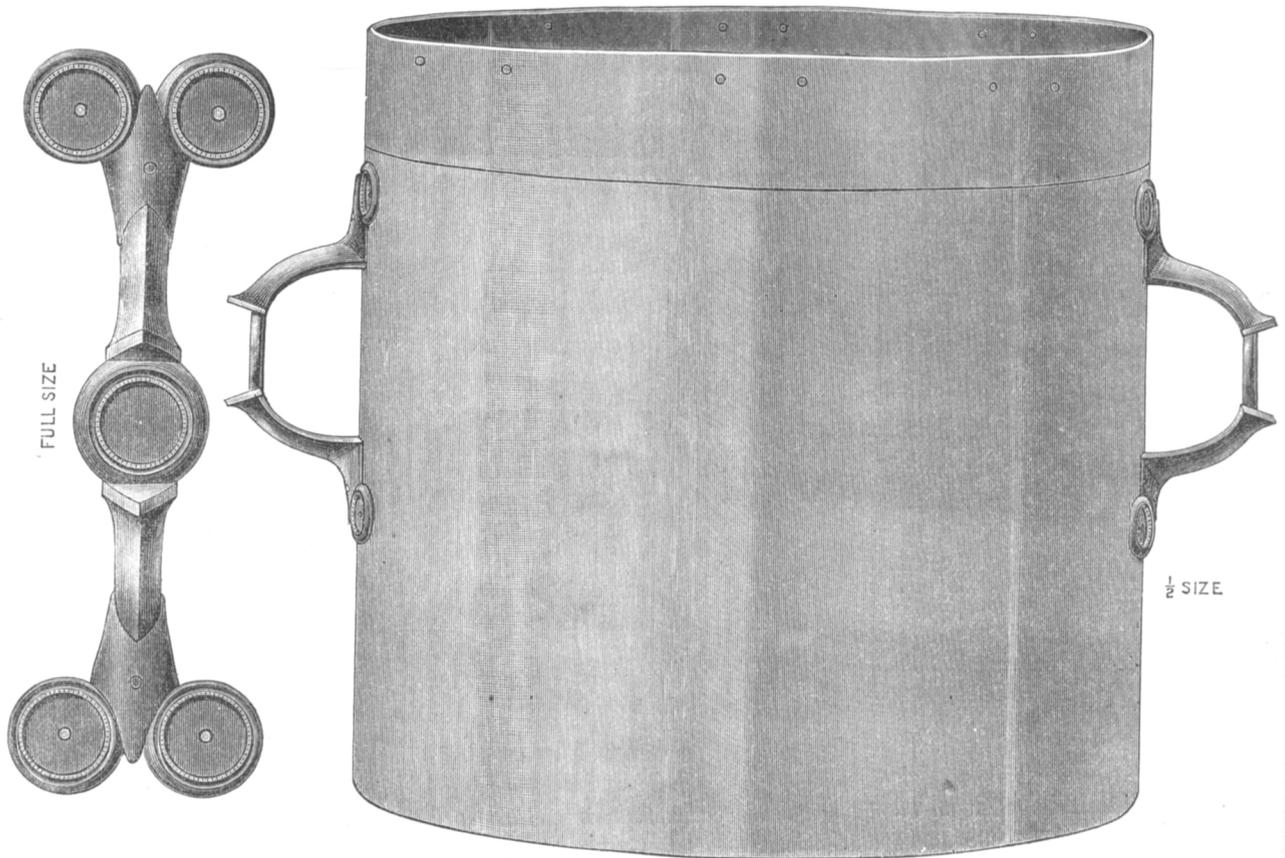


Fig. 9. The Aylesford Tankard (half-linear).

tially to the same type, though in this case it is provided with four short feet, was in fact found in a bog in the North of Ireland.^a It is carved out of solid oak, and has two vertical handles of one piece with the rest. It approaches a square shape having four larger faces, but has the angles taken off, thus giving it four smaller sides, so that it is actually octagonal. It seems originally to have been provided with a metal collar.

A still nearer parallel to the Aylesford tankard has been supplied by a remarkable example recently discovered at Elveden in Essex, in the cremation deposit already described as belonging to the same period as our Kentish urn-field,

^a From the Antrim collection in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

and containing cinerary vases of a similar type.^a This tankard is in the possession of Mr. Henry Prigg, thanks to whose courtesy I am enabled to give a representation of it in fig. 10. It shows the same method of construction as that from Aylesford, a framework of wooden staves covered by thin metal plates, and the handles are attached in the same vertical fashion on either side. The plates are in this case adorned with *repoussé* medallions containing exquisite triquetral designs in the most characteristic Late-Celtic style.

To Mr. Charles H. Read, F.S.A., of the British Museum, I am indebted for the information that a Late-Celtic tankard of the same character as the above, but with a single upright handle, exists in the collection of Mr. T. Layton, F.S.A., of Kew Bridge. It is in a singularly perfect condition, all the staves are preserved, and the bottom is still in its place. A remarkable feature was observed by Mr. Read in the construction of the wooden framework. The staves, namely, were clamped together by means of little diamond-shaped pieces of hard wood let into their sides. Two of the three bronze bands, each 2 inches in width, by which it was covered, seem to have no double overlap, and were fastened severally by two rivets. The middle band was sufficiently fixed by the attachment of the handle, which seems to have been soldered on, overlapping the two ends. The handle is simply two bronze loops or eyes joined by an intervening band. The height of the tankard is 6 inches, diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

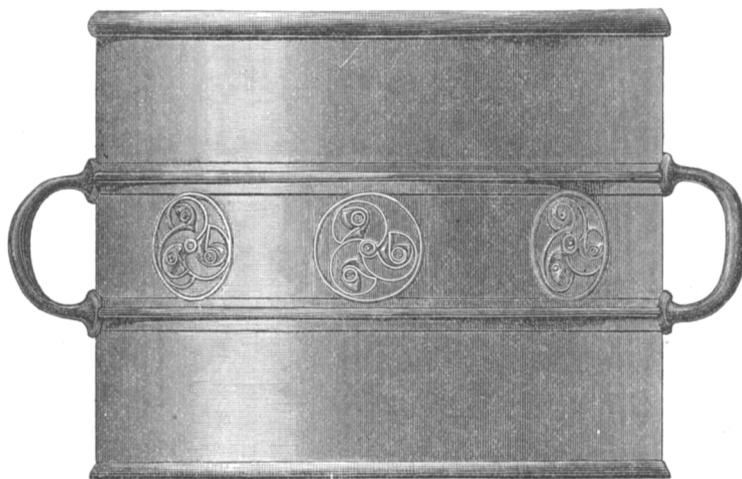
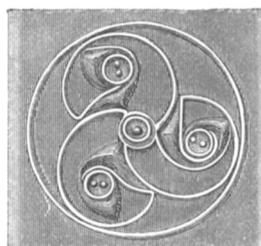


Fig. 10. Bronze Tankard from Elveden, Essex.

^a For a further account of this deposit and the associated pottery see p. 37. It was from the analogy of the Aylesford tankard that Mr. Prigg was enabled so successfully to restore the Elveden example.

An example of the same class, also with only a single handle, is seen in the beautiful bronze-plated tankard found near Tomen-y-mur in Merionethshire, and now in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool. The graceful curving in of the sides of this vessel and the elaborate openwork decoration of its handle represent an advance from the simpler wooden prototypes and their immediate successors, and incline us to refer this work to a distinctly later date than the Aylesford and Elveden examples. The arrangement of the four terminal coils of the handle, however, with their central studs, on the Merioneth tankard clearly represents an outgrowth of the terminal bosses on the Aylesford handles. A less ornamental handle of the same class, and evidently belonging to a similar vessel, was found with other objects in a bronze cauldron of a typical La Tène type in Carlingwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire.^a Mr. Prigg informs me that a tankard with plain bronze bands and an upright handle was found in one of the smaller barrows at Bartlow, an evidence that this Celtic form lived on into early Roman times in South-Eastern Britain.

III. (b) THE BRONZE-PLATED PAIL AND ITS RELATION TO CLASSICAL AND ORIENTAL PROTOTYPES.

Amongst all the objects discovered in the Aylesford Cemetery the bronze-plated pail or *situla* (fig. 11) must claim a first place, both for the interest of its associations and the excellence of its ornamental design. It consisted, like the tankard, of a framework of wooden staves, bound round by thin metal plates, which were riveted on to the woodwork. The staves themselves were $1\frac{2}{3}$ inch in width, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick at the bottom, and were bevelled off round the rim, the uppermost of the bronze bands being turned over this bevelled edge. There seem to have been three metal bands of about $2\frac{7}{10}$ inches in width, and as interspaces of woodwork were left between these, the total height of the bucket was about 10 inches. In diameter it was $10\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and it was provided with a single, hooped, movable handle of iron plated with bronze. The points of attachment of this handle on either side were strengthened, and at the same time ornamented, by the addition of two exterior plates of bronze, each of which exhibited a human head in relief surmounted by a kind of double crest with two lateral bosses. The uppermost of the bronze plates that encircle the bucket was adorned with *repoussé* work reliefs of fantastic animals and decorative scrolls which will require a more detailed description.

The form of this pail shows that the present example is in fact a late repre-

^a *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. vii., 1870, p. 8, fig. 2.

representative of a well-known class of archaic oriental vessels. It is the remote scion of the metal pails seen at times in the hands of the winged Assyrian Genii,^a of the



Fig. 11. The Aylesford Pail (half-linear).

imported Phœnician *ciste* of early Prænestine tombs and of their later indigenous imitations, such as we recognise them in the *situlæ* of Este and Bologna, of Sesto

^a Cf., for example, Layard, *Monuments, &c.*, series 1. pl. 51; Perrot et Chipiez, *Chaldée et Assyrie*, p. 754, and p. 396.

Calende, of Matray and Moritzing. It is a characteristic of this whole class of vessels that their sides are covered with thin plates of metal work divided into parallel zones, exhibiting a succession of pictorial reliefs in *repoussé* work similar to the upper band of the Aylesford pail, and in which, as in the present example, animal forms alternate with plants and foliage.

In a remote degree it shows a certain affinity to the well-known class of cordoned buckets, the *ciste a cordoni* of Italian archaeologists, in their origin an old Mediterranean product, which form such a characteristic feature in the Central European deposits of the Hallstatt Province, but which also occur in some of the early interments of the Late-Celtic class of Belgium and Champagne. The character of the handle of the Aylesford pail and their ornamental attachments is, however, quite foreign to the above class of cordoned *ciste*, and points, as will be shown, to a more classical parentage, while the metal zone that surrounds the mouth of the bucket with its *repoussé* animals and scrolls recalls the ornamental appendages of a vessel which was discovered in a tomb at Palestrina, associated with several objects of unquestionably Phœnician fabric. It was a wooden cylindrical vessel covered with bands of thin silver plate ornamented with reliefs of lions hunting stags, winged oriental monsters, and lotus pattern. Unlike the later *ciste* from the same site it had no cover, but was provided with a single, hooped moveable handle, and seems to have served as a pail rather than a casket. The attachments of the handle form a kind of bust surmounted by a face, perhaps intended to portray the Goddess Hathor, with a characteristic volute curl on either side. On some of the later Prænestine *ciste* the metal zones are divided, like those of the example before us, by interspaces of woodwork, occasionally covered in turn with leather bands.

The attachments of the handle of our Aylesford *situla* have at least this much in common with the last cited example, that they are fashioned into human heads, in this case, surmounted in each case with a kind of crested helmet (fig. 12). The two side-bosses of this helmet are of considerable interest, inasmuch as they must in all probability be regarded as an ornamental out-growth and survival of a form of attachment usual in the case of a class of early two-handled *situlæ*, both Greek and Etruscan, in which on either side of a kind of central crest are seen two open rings in which the ends of the two moveable handles are locked. In the present instance the bucket has only a single handle, which is attached directly to its inner rim behind the heads. The form of the crest, however, and its two lateral bosses, shows that this two-handled attachment

served as its prototype, the bosses representing in a rudimentary form the round apertures in which the knobbed ends of the handles revolved.

As a matter of fact, classical examples of the special type of handle and attachment out of which this Celtic example grew are not unfrequent. A very near parallel will be found for example in a bronze pail dating from about the third century B.C. and inscribed with a dedication to the *Manes* in Etruscan characters which is now in the Etruscan Museum at Florence. In this instance a head appears below with flowing tresses evidently intended for Minerva, and the curving loops in which the ends of the two handles here revolve are clearly suggestive of the two side crests of her triple-crested helmet. A later example of the same motive is seen in the attachment of a handle in the Museum Disneianum showing that the same tradition was preserved by Roman artificers.^a

The heads on our British example, though as we have seen representing an early tradition of handle-ornament, and in all probability, in this instance, descended from Minerva, are also removed in type from their classical originals. Their most marked characteristic, the tapering away of the whole lower part of the face, brings them into close relation with a series of heads that make their appearances as the terminal ornaments of Gaulish dagger-hilts,^b as well as on a Rhenish class of Late-Celtic *fibulæ*,^c the pear-shaped outline of which is at times even more marked. The heads on the *fibulæ* are in turn intimately connected



Fig. 12. Handle attachment of Aylesford Pail.
(Natural size.)

^a *Mus. Disneianum*, pt. II. pl. lxxviii. A two-handled bronze cauldron, the attachment of which is adorned with a head of Hercules, was found at Mosbæk Moss, near Giver, in the Aalborg Amt. Denmark (see *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1881, p. 108).

^b One of these is to be seen in the Museum of St. Germain.

^c Cf. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer, &c.* B. ii. H. iv. Taf. 2, figs. 3, 4, 5; B. iii. H. ix. T. 1, 5. For one from near Berlin see Undset, *Auftreten des Eisens*, pl. xxii. f. 11. In some cases the upper part

with the similarly taper heads of the horned sphinxes that decorate the plates of certain belt-hooks found in Celtic interments at Weisskirchen on the Saar,^a at Nierstein, and again on the gold rings and bracelets of the remarkable find at Rodenbach in the Rhenish Palatinate.

III. (c) THE FOLIATED ORNAMENTS ON THE AYLESFORD PAIL : AND THEIR GAULISH CONNEXIONS.

If we now examine the *repoussé* decorations of the upper band of our *situla* we are struck with the same kind of phenomenon ; on the one hand, the evidence of an archaic tradition of which the animal figures supply the surest demonstration, on the other hand the traces of later classical influences and the impress of a highly developed decorative style.

It will be convenient first to examine the more decorative elements of the Aylesford reliefs. Of these the quintuple scroll (Pl. XIII. fig. 9) on either side of the confronted animals is in fact a reduplication of a foliated design (Pl. XIII. fig. 11) that occurs on one of the bronze sheaths, found on the site of the Helvetian settlement at La Tène, and upon which, in harmony with the triangular space that confines it, it assumes a triquetral form. The quintuple arrangement seen on the *situla* band is simply an amplification of such a trefoil as appears on the sheath, which in its turn can I think be shown by a comparison with other La Tène sheaths to be the upper volutes of a Greek *anthémion*,^b as modified and absorbed into an old traditional Celtic ornamental system of interlocked spirals^c and triquetras.

of the head is covered with a kind of skull-cap answering to the hemispherical covering which forms the lower part of the helmet in the Aylesford head.

^a Lindenschmit, *op. cit.* B. ii. H. iv. Taf. 2, f. 1.

^b This is seen best perhaps in the design as it appears on pl. 1. fig. 4, of M. Gross, *La Tène, un Oppidum Helvète*. On another sheath again (pl. 1, fig. 6), the central leaf of the palmetto can be distinctly recognised, together with the side festoons (such as they are seen, for example, on the Greek bronze *situla* of the Waldalgesheim find) here converted into grotesque serpentine heads.

^c Akin to a very old Oriental type consisting of swelling S-shaped curves with taper connections,

This transposition of the Greek *anthémion* explains the existence of the remaining ornamental feature of the band of our pail, the circle, namely, of volute petals with a curving foliated scroll above and below (Pl. XIII. fig. 10), which represents in fact one of the star-like flowers, sometimes rendered as volutes, which on Greek bronze vases and other ornamental metal-work often appear encircled by the sprays of arabesque foliage, serving at times as offshoots for a palmetto. That the Celtic peoples were acquainted with Greek decorative designs of this class appears from more than one example, and notably the fine bronze *situla* of Greek work from the Late-Celtic interment of Waldalgesheim,^a and the closely parallel vessel found at Kelby in the Isle of Mœn. In a somewhat different form we may trace another development of the same motive on the bronze plates of a cauldron of the La Tène style found in the Moor of Rinkebye, Odensee, Denmark, upon which two swine are seen confronting one another on either side of a volute *repoussé* disk, which, except that it has only three triquetral petals, closely resembles the Aylesford device. Beneath the confronted animals are plants in a decorative style, one of which betrays its indebtedness to the Greek honeysuckle by the characteristic inverted conical spirals that hang from it. A near classical parallel to the foliated and floral designs both on the Odensee and the Aylesford vessels is to be seen on the ornamental band that surrounds the rim of a beautiful silver-plated pail from Herculaneum, where animals and birds alternate with arabesque sprays, the terminal scrolls of which enclose large round flowers, in some cases with volute petals, resembling the Celtic examples before us in a somewhat less conventionalized form.

an example of which occurs among the ornaments of a half disk of an Egyptian pilaster (Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, xvii.). It is found at Mykenæ along with other closely-allied ornamental designs, and is a characteristic feature of the bronze shields and disks found in Etruscan and South Italian tombs of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. On the hilts of swords belonging to the latest Hungarian Bronze Age (contemporary with the Early Hallstatt Period), this ornamental motive appears in the simplified shape of the interlocked scrolls, which form such a vital element in all Late-Celtic Art. So striking, indeed, is the parallel, that it can hardly be questioned that it originally reached the Celtic peoples from a common source. They were, however, also undoubtedly familiarized with later classical examples of a kindred design, such as may be seen on the imported bronze basins found at Armsheim in Rhenish Hesse, at Rodenbach in the Rhenish Palatinate, at Zerff, near Trier, and (in this case, perhaps, a Gallic imitation) at Piemont, near Bussy-le-Château, Marne. Precisely similar basins with the same ornament were found at Dodona.

^a *Der Grabfund von Waldalgesheim*, E. Aus'm Wcerth (*Festprogramm zu Winkelmanns Geburtstag*, Bonn, 1870), Taf. iii.; and cf. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, &c. B. iii. H. i. T. 1.

There has been recently discovered at Geisenheim, in the Rhineland, the remains of a bronze-plated pail of Late-Celtic (or Gallicized old German) workmanship, the metal bands of which exhibit *repoussé* scrolls characterized by the same interlocked spirals, which, though less bold and somewhat degenerate in execution, belong to the same class as those of Aylesford and La Tène. In this case, however, the origin from the foliated band of a classical *situla* is even more clearly apparent. This object, now in the Mainz Museum, was found in a grave in association with a *situla*-shaped clay cinerary of a somewhat late and degenerate form, a typical La Tène fibula, and other objects belonging to the latest Pre-Roman period.

This reduction of the sprays of the Greek *anthémion* to uniform scrolls, symmetrically arranged, points to a highly-developed stage of Late-Celtic art. In the earlier group of deposits belonging to this class, as contained in the skeleton tombs of the Upper Rhine, the Saar and Mosel districts, of the Meuse and Marne, this transformation is at best imperfectly accomplished. In the station of La Tène, on the other hand, belonging to the latest period of Helvetian independence, we find this decorative system fully evolved and asserting itself at every turn, and the relationship subsisting between the flowery scrolls on the Aylesford pail and those seen on the bronze sheaths discovered in this Swiss settlement is of so intimate a character that it is impossible not to refer both to the same general period, and even, in all probability, to the same centre of manufacture.

III. (*d*) THE ANIMAL RELIEFS ON THE AYLESFORD PAIL, THEIR ORIENTAL LINEAGE, AND THEIR PARALLELISM WITH THE COIN-TYPES OF THE REMI.

The recurring pairs of strange fabulous animals with curving horns and bifid tails, with their bodies confronted but their heads turned back to back (Pl. XIII. fig. 1), that decorate the spaces between the decorative scrolls on the uppermost zone of our pail cannot fail to recall a familiar scheme of archaic Greek and Oriental art. In this scheme animals, fabulous or otherwise, are seen either facing each other at close quarters, or, as in the present Celtic example, with their bodies confronted, but their heads turned away from each other. To understand the genesis of this familiar arrangement, we have only to go back a step further to another archaic scheme in which both bodies are united by a single head, which faces the spectator.

Mr. Murray has felicitously explained designs of this character as being due to a primitive attempt to represent perspective, the desire being to show both sides of the animal in a single view taken from in front. This ingenious explanation of the origin of these two-bodied monstrosities may, perhaps, be thought to receive an illustration from a wholly independent quarter. On one of the carved bones of the Reindeer Period, from a cave of the Dordogne,^a the heads in the one case, in the other the forequarters of swine, are displayed in pairs, the snouts terminating in a common end, which may be regarded as another primitive device for representing both sides of the same animal. The union of two bodies with a single head, in deference to a primitive idea of representing perspective, became itself easily rationalized into two separate but closely-confronted figures, each with a head of its own, and thus arose that numerous race of opposed dual monsters of such frequent occurrence in the early heraldic art of Western Asia, and afterwards of Greece^b and Italy. Moreover, when once the two bodies were set free from their unnatural union, it was easy for the opposed pairs to separate in their turn into single figures in the same attitude, and in this way a whole series of isolated animal representations took their rise in archaic art. In the class of zoned metal-work with which we are dealing, both the original monocephalic scheme, and its dual or isolated offspring, are of frequent occurrence, and from the bronzes they were taken over into the designs of the contemporary ceramic fabrics, the so-called Corinthian ware of the Greeks, and the black *bucchero* of the Etruscans. The opposed animals are seen on several of the thin bronze plates of archaic Greek workmanship seen at Olympia, some of them in all probability belonging to *ciste* or *situlae* of the same general class as those found in Italy. Monocephalic double-bodied monsters, such as those described, occur on more than one of the zoned *situlae* found in the cemetery of Este,^c and dating from the fifth, or even the fourth, century B.C. Single figures of animals, with their heads turned over their backs, a scheme, as we have already seen, characteristic of the class of opposed pairs from which they have become detached, are also frequent on these Euganean *situlae* of the Alto Veneto, and are found, moreover, on

^a Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ, pl. x. B. fig. 7.

^b It is very conspicuous in the so-called "Island Gems" found at Mykênæ, notably those from the recently discovered tombs.

^c Prof. Prosdocimi, *Necropoli Euganee di Este in Notizie degli Scavi*, 1882, Tav. vii. fig. 7A. Another example occurs on a *situla* in the Nazzaro Collection at Este. These *situlae* belong to the

vessels of the same class from the cemeteries of the great North-Etruscan centre, Felsina, the later, Celtic, Bononia.

There are, however, features about our Aylesford monsters, and notably the stiff manes and the double curved horns, which do not seem to belong to the same North Italian school. The comparisons that they call up lead us more directly to the East, and recall some of the compound Assyrian monsters of the Palace of Nineveh, on which the curved horns are, as in the present example, associated with a boar-like mane and a tail, the end of which so far presents a parallel to those of the animals before us that its end is divided. Late-Celtic art was singularly eclectic in its choice of prototypes, and without calling in question the generally filial relation in which the present *situla* stands to the earlier products of Italian workshops, we may, in the animals before us, and in the constantly-recurring horned monsters of the same class to be found on Late-Celtic coins and metal-work, be allowed to trace an influence from the Pontic side, where, as we know, from the contents of the Greco-Scythian tombs in the Crimea and South Russia, this peculiar class of horned oriental monsters was of constant repetition both on gems and metal-work down to at least the age of Alexander the Great. When we remember that in the days when Late-Celtic art took its final stamp Celtic colonies extended to the Danube mouth, to Thrace and Asia Minor, the likelihood of the operation of such an influence can hardly be denied. The important find of Greco-Scythian antiquities at Vettersfeld,^a in the Province of Brandenburg, belonging to the sixth century before our era, shows how, already at that early date, Pontic influences were making themselves felt

end of the Third or the beginning of the Fourth Period of the Este interments as classified by Signor Prosdocimi.

^a A. Furtwaengler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde (xxxvtes Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste. Berlin, 1883)*. Furtwaengler regards this find as a wholly isolated phenomenon connected with the migration of some Scythian tribe at the end of the sixth century B.C. in order to escape Darius. That this Persian invasion may have powerfully contributed to bring Scythian elements into contact with the central European peoples is probable, but it does not seem safe to conclude that the Vettersfeld deposit, which seems to have been of a sepulchral kind, was an isolated phenomenon. Further finds in East-Central Europe may throw a fresh light on this question, but it is by no means clear that other "mix-Hellenic" objects found in early Celtic finds did not arrive from the same source. In this connection I may also mention a gold bracelet in the Breslau museum, the palmetto ornaments of which are nearly allied to Greek decoration of this class on jewellery; and, above all, the gold bracelet from Rodenbach in the Rhenish Palatinate, where the rams' horns are executed in a peculiar ornamental style, strikingly suggestive of the stags' horns of Kul Oba. See p. 55, note.

very far afield in a westerly direction. A minute analysis of the motives and ornaments occurring on some of the early Late-Celtic relics of the Upper Rhine district and elsewhere has more and more convinced me that no explanation of the sources of these Celtic designs can be complete without taking constant account of this more Eastern line of influence, as well as of the more obvious channels leading from the Alps. To go more deeply, however, into this fertile topic would on the present occasion be out of place.^a

In Celtic metal-work a very close parallel to the Aylesford design is presented by the uppermost of three animal reliefs (Pl. XIII. 6) that adorn the summit of a bronze sheath found by Professor Desor on the site of the Helvetian *oppidum* at La Tène. The animal thus depicted with its head turned back according to the traditional type has, however, more convoluted horns than those of the example before us, and is certainly intended to represent a stag. The two lower animals with their double, foliated tails also supply a valuable parallel. They belong to the same archaic race of opposed dual monsters as the animals of our pail, and, in the scrolls which in this case hang down from their mouths, display another link of connexion with the early bronze reliefs of Greece and Italy. The same scroll, which in early examples sometimes takes the form of a branch chewed by the animal and partly hanging down from his mouth, is a constant feature in the mouth of the deer and other animals on the *situlae* of Este. In the case of carnivora we occasionally see in these early bronzes and their ceramic copies the half-swallowed limbs of their prey protruding from their jaws.

It is of the highest interest to note that this particularity, which affords another most suggestive clue to the source of the monstrous forms of Late-Celtic bronze-work, recurs in the case of some of the maned animals on the plates of the Marlborough bucket.

This feature is not entirely without its influence on some Gaulish coins,

^a Amongst the most obvious points of comparison between Late-Celtic forms and ornaments and those of the Pontic Art Province may be mentioned, besides the horned monsters referred to, the horned sphinxes, rare in Greek and Etruscan art, but almost universal in Græco-Scythian goldwork as well as on that found in the graves of the Rhenish and Celtic districts; the decorative character of many of the animal representations, *e. g.* in the antlers of stags and horns of rams, which show some striking coincidences; certain ornaments on the sheaths and hilts, which also suggest Assyrian and Persian parallels; the occurrence in the Pontic regions of non-Celtic *fibulae* of the retroflected Late-Celtic form; forms of horse ornaments and trappings; forms of weapons like the scimitar knives with their Dacian and West Asiatic range; finally the prevalence in both groups of the use of enamel, so comparatively rare in Greek and Etruscan works.

notably those of Armorica, where the androcephalous monster, who here supplants the Philippic horse, is seen occasionally with a spray of the same kind falling from his mouth.^a

The horns of the Aylesford monster with their S-shaped curves present a close resemblance to those seen on the horses of some Gaulish coins,^b such as that from the Amiens district, figured on Pl. XIII. figs. 4 and 5, the obverse of which, moreover, presents the further parallel of showing two confronted animals. But in many respects the most curious numismatic parallel to the design before us is presented by some later bronze and silver pieces attributed to the Remi, of which enlarged copies will be seen in Pl. XIII. figs. 2 and 3.

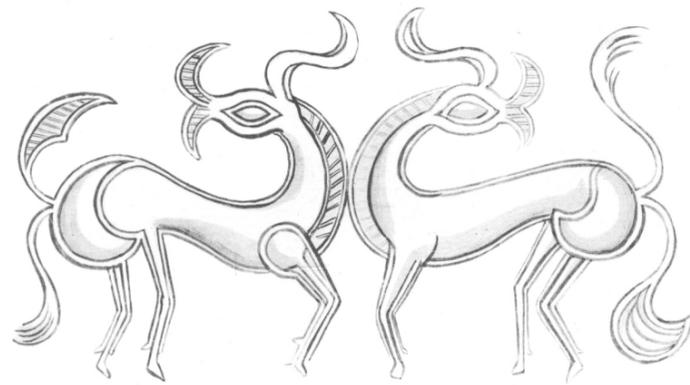
The characteristic double curve of the beak-like mouth, the proportionally large eyes and the cross-barred mane, as well as the attitude, are practically identical in the two designs; but the representation on our pail carries us back a step further, and affords ocular demonstration that the maned animal on the coin (as indeed might have been deduced from its pose alone) was originally one of the archaic pairs already referred to. In other words, we have good warrant for concluding that the design on the coin was in this case influenced by some pre-existing design on bronze-work, in all probability belonging to a *situla* resembling that before us. It seems to me that in the case of an un-inscribed British gold coin,^c on which, in place of the usual horse, a horned animal is seen with an open beak-like mouth of a somewhat similar character looking backwards in the same archaic attitude we may trace an influence of the same kind. So, too, the volute flower of the Aylesford plate which, as we have seen, is a Celtic modification of the flower of a Greek *anthémion* indigenous to toreutic work, is found transferred well-nigh line for line as an ornamental appendage to the field of some British gold staters, struck about 30 B.C. by the Icenian Prince Addedomaros.^d

^a See, for example, the coin engraved by Lelewel, pl. ii., p. 31. The spray may in some cases be derived from the protruding tongue which is also characteristic of lions and other animals on archaic bronze-work and its derivatives. The lion on the bronze bason from Castelletto Ticino shows this feature in a marked degree.

^b Lelewel, pl. ii., p. 22.

^c Evans, pl. B. 5. This type is principally found on the south coast, but ranges as far as Oxfordshire. The average weight of coins of this class is 95 grains.

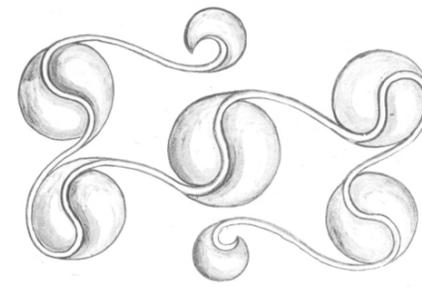
^d Evans, pl. xiv. 1.



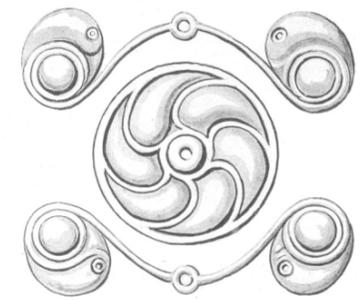
1 REPOUSÉ ANIMALS ON BRONZE PLATE OF AYLESFORD BUCKET.



4 OBV. OF COIN FOUND NEAR AMIENS (HUCHER, FIG. 51, P. 36.)



9 FOLIATED SCROLLS, BRONZE PLATE OF AYLESFORD BUCKET.



10 FOLIATED SCROLLS AND FLOWER, BRONZE PLATE OF AYLESFORD BUCKET.



2 COIN OF REMI (CF. HUCHER, FIG. 29, TER P. 23.)



6 UPPER PART OF BRONZE SHEATH FROM HELVETIAN STATION OF LA TÈNE.



5 REV. OF COIN FOUND NEAR AMIENS (HUCHER, FIG. 51, P. 36.)



12 REPOUSÉ HEAD FROM BRONZE PLATE OF MARLBOROUGH BUCKET.



11 FOLIATED SCROLLS ON UPPER PART OF BRONZE SHEATH, FROM HELVETIAN STATION OF LA TÈNE.



14 HEAD OF ANDROCEPHALOUS HORSE FROM ARMORICAN COIN, SARTHE, (HUCHER, PL. XIV. 2.)



3 COIN OF REMI (CF. HUCHER, FIG. 29, BIS P. 23.)



7 HIPPOCAMPS ON PLATE OF MARLBOROUGH BUCKET.



8 HIPPOCAMP AS CENOMAN COUNTERMARK ON GOLD COINS ATTRIBUTED TO ARVERNI.



13 REPOUSÉ HEAD FROM BRONZE PLATE OF MARLBOROUGH BUCKET.



15 HEAD OF ANDROCEPHALOUS HORSE FROM ARMORICAN COIN, BRITTANY, (HUCHER, PL. XIV. 1.)



16 HEAD OF ANDROCEPHALOUS HORSE FROM ARMORICAN COIN, SARTHE, (HUCHER, PL. I, 2.)

LATE CELTIC DESIGNS ON BRONZE WORK FROM AYLESFORD AND MARLBOROUGH BUCKETS AND LA TÈNE SHEATHS, WITH COMPARISONS FROM GAULISH COINS.

III. (e) THE INFLUENCE OF LATE-CELTIC METAL-WORK ON THE COINAGES OF THE GAULS AND BRITONS.

The influence of Celtic metal-work of other kinds on the coinage of the Gauls and Britons has hitherto hardly met with the attention that it seems to deserve.

It is in fact due to the formation amongst a branch of the Celtic people of an original school of metal decoration already previous to the approximate date of 300 B.C. that the Celtic coinages, which about that date seem to have arisen independently in Gaul on the one side and in the lands of the Macedonian border on the other, present such an extraordinary parallelism in the evolution of types. Whether the Gaulish artist copied in the West the gold staters of Philip, or in the East indifferently the silver tetradrachms of the same Macedonian monarch or those of Pæonian dynasts, the modifications alike of head and horseman went on upon the same conventional lines as dictated by the pre-existing ornamental traditions of the Celtic metal-workers. We find, to take only a single example out of many, that the triquetra, that old Mykênæan design so familiar on the gold and bronze objects of the earliest group of Late-Celtic interments, where they are found in association with Greek and Etruscan vases, dating some of them from the fourth and fifth centuries B.C.,^a makes its simultaneous appearance on the Celtic coins of Gaul and Illyricum. In the one case it is evolved from the mintmark *A*, which seems to characterize the Pellan issues of Philip's gold staters, in the other it alternates with the monogram of the Pæonian king Audôleôn.

III. (f) THE FIGURED REPRESENTATIONS ON THE MARLBOROUGH BUCKET IN THEIR RELATION TO ARMORIC COIN-TYPES.

Influences of this external kind were perpetually acting on the Celtic coinages, laying down the lines on which the developments of the Greek prototypes took

^a Cf. especially the find of Heerapfel near Saarbruck (Gerhard, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1856, *Denkmäler u. Forschungen*. Taf. lxxxv., and *Bonner Jahrbücher* xxiii. (1856) p. 130, Taf. iv. v. vi. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, &c. B. ii. H. i. Beilage i. zu Taf. 1 u. 2) and that of Waldalgesheim (Grabfund von Waldalgesheim, E. Auss'm Weerth, *Winkelmann's Programm*, Bonn, 1870, and Lindenschmit *op. cit.* B. iii. H. i. T. i.) in both of which the triquetra occurs as an ornamental motive. These finds belong, as is well known, to a considerable group of which the Saar and Mosel valleys supply the principal nucleus, but which extend to the Upper Rhine and the Meuse.

place, and at times introducing entirely new features. And that in some cases the source of this influence is actually to be found in *situlae* such as that under discussion seems to be strikingly illustrated by some of the designs on the great Marlborough bucket, which belongs to the same general category as that of Aylesford. The human heads found amongst the ornaments of the bronze plate of this bucket (Pl. XIII. figs. 12 and 13) are in fact absolutely identical, both in their details and their style, with the heads of the androcephalous horse that makes its appearance on the Armoric coinages (Pl. XIII. figs. 14 and 16). But the curious side-curls attached to some of the heads on the bucket as well as on the coins^a are an abiding feature in a whole class of *repoussé* metal vessels derived by direct descent from the early Phoenician bowls and *situlae* such as we find them in the tombs of Palestrina and elsewhere, and upon which griffins, sphinxes, and human-headed monsters are seen with similar side-locks. In this case, moreover, an intermediate link has been preserved to us in a bowl, seemingly an indigenous North-Italian product, and possibly even coming within the period of Gaulish settlement beyond the Alps, discovered at Castelletto Ticino in 1885, upon which a kind of winged female Centaur is seen with a similar arrangement of side-locks. On the zoned *situlae* of Este again winged monsters of a similar character are seen with a kind of crested *pileus* on their heads, a feature also copied on a group of Armorican coins. These bronze-work parallels sufficiently reveal to us the character of the influence under which the original Philippic horse of the earlier Gaulish coinages was in Armorica transformed into a human-headed monster with the curled locks, the head pieces and at times moreover the wings and collar^b of a strange androcephalous race.

In the case of the Marlborough figures the parallelism existing, not only in subject but in style, between them and the heads of the androcephalous horse and its driver on the Armoric coins is of such a kind that it is impossible not to

^a Cf. Lelewel, pl. ii. p. 31.

^b *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1885, Tav. I. i., and p. 27. See also Baron J. de Baye, *Société des Antiquaires de France* 1886 (*Séance du 29me Déc.*). The cup served as cover for a *cista a cordoni* containing incinerated remains. The *cista* was of the later class, having ten cordons, and, judging from the character of the Greek vases and other such remains associated with *ciste* of this type at Tolentino, Bologna, Ludwigsberg in Württemberg, and elsewhere, cannot well be earlier than the fifth century B.C., while it may well belong to the succeeding century. At Eygenbilsen, near Tongres, a cordoned bucket of this class (H. Schuermans, *Objets Étrusques trouvés en Belgique*, pl. ii.) served as a cinerary in a typical Late-Celtic deposit belonging to the early group of finds already referred to as characteristic of the Saar, Mosel, Meuse, and upper Rhine valleys.

regard them both as the work of the same Gaulish region. In this Wiltshire bucket therefore, we may, perhaps, venture to recognise an article of Armorican fabric imported into south-western Britain, and to see in it an additional witness to the trade connexion that seems to have existed between the western tract of Gaul and the opposite coasts of our own island, of which the finds of Gaulish coins of the Channel Islands or Armorican type in Devonshire and Hants have already supplied interesting evidence. It is possible that in the case of the Armorican tribes the field of comparison may be reduced to still narrower limits. The Gaulish coins that present on the whole the most striking parallels to the heads on the bucket belong to the Cenomani of Maine, but it is precisely on the coins of that region and of the bordering tribe of the Redones, whose name survives in Rennes, that a kind of hippocamp badge occurs, sometimes as a device on the helmet on the obverse (Pl. XIII. fig. 8), sometimes associated with the androcephalous monster of the reverse. A design of the same character, in this case two opposed sea-horses united in an ornamental form (Pl. XIII. fig. 7), is seen on a bronze zone of the Marlborough bucket. It is highly probable that this interesting product of Gaulish art found its way to Britain in one of the trading galleons of the Armorican Veneti. In the case of some of the Aylesford relics we have been already concerned with the influence of the other Veneti, of non-Celtic race, who inhabited the Adriatic coastlands.

With regard to the date, the parallels instituted between the Armorican coins and the heads on the bronze plates of the Marlborough bucket apply best to the better executed Armorican types of the gold and electrum coinages which seem to have been struck between the approximate dates of 150 and 50 B.C. On the other hand, the fact that on the bronze plates the heads appear as detached designs seems best to fall in with that stage of Armorican art represented by the earlier and finer of the billon coin-types which date from about the middle of the first century B.C., and upon which the heads of the androcephalous horse and his driver show a tendency to break away from their original corporeal bonds, and to fly about the field with flowing tails behind them. After this approximate date the designs become degenerate, and in the hoard of late billon coins of Armorican types found at Rosel, in Jersey, and which from its including a silver piece attributed to the British Prince Amminius may have been deposited in the years that immediately preceded the beginning of the Christian era,^a it is impossible to find adequate parallels for the heads upon the bucket.

^a From the fact that this hoard contained some Roman family coins, the latest of which was one of Antony and Octavius struck in B.C. 39, M. Anatole de Barthélemy was inclined to regard the

III. (g) EVIDENCES AS TO THE DATE OF THE AYLESFORD PAIL.

If bearing in mind the parallels supplied by the Marlborough bucket we turn to our Aylesford example, which obviously dates from the same general period, we find, as already observed, some striking coincidences between the style and form of the animals represented, and those which occur on certain coins attributed to continental Belgic tribes, and notably the Remi and Ambiani. It is a fair deduction that as in the case of the Marlborough bucket we have an article of Armoric export, so in the present example we may be allowed to recognise an article of Belgic fabric, probably from a centre of manufacture approximately indicated by the coin-types of the Reims or, perhaps, the Amiens district. The close resemblance borne by the reliefs on the Aylesford *situla* to those of the sword-sheaths found in the Helvetian station of La Tène fits in well with this hypothesis, if we may accept Dr. Keller's suggestion that the swords and sheaths found on the Swiss site were in all probability, like many similar examples found in other widely distant localities, import articles from a central fabric somewhere in the Belgic region of Gaul.

The parallels with the La Tène ornaments are of further value as supplying us with an additional chronological standpoint. From the associated late Gaulish coins in the Helvetian station, it is evident that the bulk of the Celtic objects there discovered must be referred to the last half of the first century B.C. The gold pieces found however show that a part at least of the other relics brought to light belong to a somewhat earlier period, and if we examine the form of the swords, the bronze sheaths of which present the closest resemblance to the *repoussé* scrolls of the Aylesford pail, it is evident that they do not belong to the latest class represented on the Helvetian site. The earliest Late-Celtic swords, such as those found in the Italian cemetery of Marzabotto, or in the skeleton graves of the Saar valley and Champagne, end in a sharp point. But the Gallic weapons being too badly tempered to be available for thrusting, a progressive

latter year as giving the approximate date of the deposit (*Étude sur les monnaies gauloises découvertes en Jersey en 1875*, p. 177, *seqq.* and *Revue Numismatique*, 1884.) The coin of Amminus, however, in all probability a successor of Eppillus in South-Eastern Britain (see *Evans*, *op. cit.* p. 208, *seqq.*), must be taken to bring the deposit down to a somewhat later date.

tendency manifests itself to discard the useless point, and in the latest La Tène examples, dating from about the Christian era, the sword-ends become almost square.^a The swords on the other hand, the sheaths of which represent the same stage of *repoussé* work decoration as the plates of our *situla*, belong to an intermediate type with a more leaf-shaped termination, and can hardly be brought down later than the first half of the first century before Christ.

III. (h) BRONZE *OENOCHOE* AND *PATELLA* OF ITALO-GREEK FABRIC FROM THE AYLESFORD CEMETERY.

The other two bronze vessels found with the Aylesford pail are of the highest interest as supplying the first recorded instance of the discovery of classical fabrics of pre-Roman date in a Late-Celtic interment of Britain. The association of Greek and more rarely Etruscan, bronzes with Late-Celtic deposits is a familiar feature in the early Continental group of interments belonging to this class, to which reference has been made already, the barrows namely from Moravia to the Saar and Upper-Rhine valley, and the flat, skeleton graves of the Marne. The most characteristic form of bronze vessel associated with interments of this group is the beaked *œnochoë*, a very ancient Oriental form inherited by Hellenic art, some examples of which, as that from Dürkheim^b and Heerapfel^c near Saarbruck, are of fine archaic Greek, perhaps Chalkidian, fabric dating back to the sixth century before our era. Greek commercial enterprise having once familiarized the Gallic populations with the use of this ancient form of vessel, these beaked vases seem to have remained in vogue among them to a somewhat later date than amongst the Greeks themselves. Bronze *hydrias* with or without

^a See especially Dr. O. Tischler's excellent observations on the Celtic swords in *Schriften d. phys.-ökon. Gesellsch. zu Königsberg*, 1882. *Sitzungsberichte*, p. 17, *seqq.*, and again in his *Archäologische Studien aus Frankreich (Schriften, &c., 1884)*.

^b Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer, &c.*, B. ii., H. ii., Taf. 1, 2, 3.

^c Gerhard, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, xxiii. (1856) Taf. 4, 5, 6. Lindenschmit (*op. cit.* B. ii., H. ii., Beilage zu Taf. 1, n. 2) refers to this place as "Grabhügel von Schwartzbach." For an early example of a beaked *œnochoe* of this class in a Celtic tumulus at Hradisht, in Moravia, see Wocel, *Pravek zeme Ceské*, p. 202.

their tripod stands,^a and shallow dishes with scroll-work ornaments,^b are also amongst the typical imported vessels of this group.

In the Waldalgesheim deposit we find an example of a distinctly later stage of Greek bronze-work; a form of *situla*, namely, exhibiting palmetto ornaments of a somewhat florid style to be approximately referred to the third or second century before our era. A very similar vessel, the decoration of which is even more elaborated, was discovered at Kelby, in the Danish isle of Moen. The form is found in Italian deposits of the second century B.C.,^c and both in form and in decorative style these vases show a decided approach to the ornate Campanian style, revealed to us by the bronzes of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

It is to this later period, the close of which is illustrated by the station of La Tène, that the imported bronze vase (fig. 14) in our Aylesford tomb must unquestionably be referred. Like the *situlae* of Kelby and Waldalgesheim it is no doubt the product of Italo-Greek industry, and, like the others, it represents a particular class of Italian vases which were finding their way by Celtic trade routes to Northern and North-Western Europe during the first two centuries before our era. A bronze *anochoé* (fig. 13) almost absolutely identical with that



Fig. 13. Bronze *Anochoé* found in Denmark.

^a The tripod found at Dürkheim near Speier (see Lindenschmit, *loc. cit.*) is the exact counterpart, almost to the minutest detail, of the tripod from Vulci, now in the British Museum. Some of the figures on the stand are in this case obviously Etruscan.

^b *E. g.* from Hradisht, Moravia (Wocel, *loc. cit.*) from Rodenbach, in the Rhenish Palatinate, from Armsheim, in Rhenish Hesse, and Zerff, near Trier (Genthe, *Ueber den etruskischen Tauschhandel nach dem Norden* p. 165). An identical vessel was discovered at Dodona.

^c A *situla* of this shape was found for instance in a tomb discovered in 1888 at Chianciano,

from Aylesford, even to the details of the ornament beneath the handle with its curious terminal cross, was, in fact, discovered in Denmark.^a

The thin folded-back collar that surrounds the rim of these examples is characteristic of this class of Italo-Greek

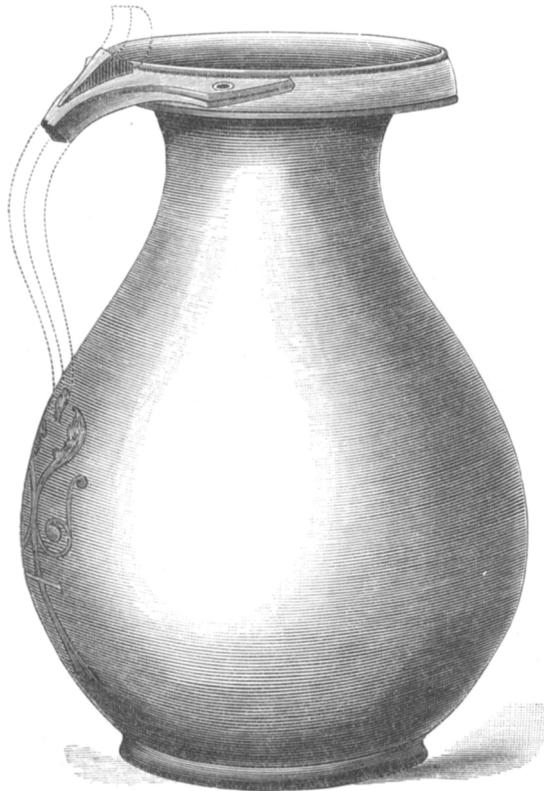


Fig. 14. Italo-Greek Bronze *Enochoë* from Aylesford, Kent. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)



vessel, and exhibits a marked contrast to the heavy Roman fabric. The

handle itself, as can be seen from the Danish specimen, was joined to the body of the vase by a very small attachment. Below this, however, is seen a well-defined convoluted leaf-shaped

outline within the limits of which the bronze of the Aylesford vessel shows a less patinated and more polished surface than elsewhere, implying that it had originally been covered by a thin embossed plate, doubtless either of bronze or silver. The outline of this plate, as well as of its side-scrolls and cruciform continuation below, is picked out with silvery lines, due, no doubt, to the metal by which it had been originally soldered.

In the leaf-shaped boss beneath the attachment of the handle and its orna-



Fig. 15. Handle Ornament of the Aylesford *Enochoë*. (Full size.)

near Chiusi, with alabaster urns of the family of *Narxni*, and belonging to the second century B.C. Now in the *Museo Etrusco*, Florence.

^a Worsaae, *Afbildninger fra det k. Museum for nordiske Oldsager in Kjöbenhavn*, p. 60, fig. 225.

mental continuations we recognise a decorative outgrowth of a form of handle already met with on Greek bronze vases of the fifth century B.C. in which the handle itself is attached to the body of the vessel by a leaf-shaped termination. A simple form of this is seen on a small vase found in a tomb at Corinth, and associated with late Transitional red figured vases dating from about the year 420 B.C.^a In a Greek vase-handle, from the pre-historic cemetery of Zirknitz^b in Carniola, the extreme chronological limits of which can hardly be brought down beyond the fifth century B.C., we already see the simple "convolvulus leaf" assuming a more elaborate form and terminating below in a central cusp and two returning curves. Here we have the starting-point of the present form.

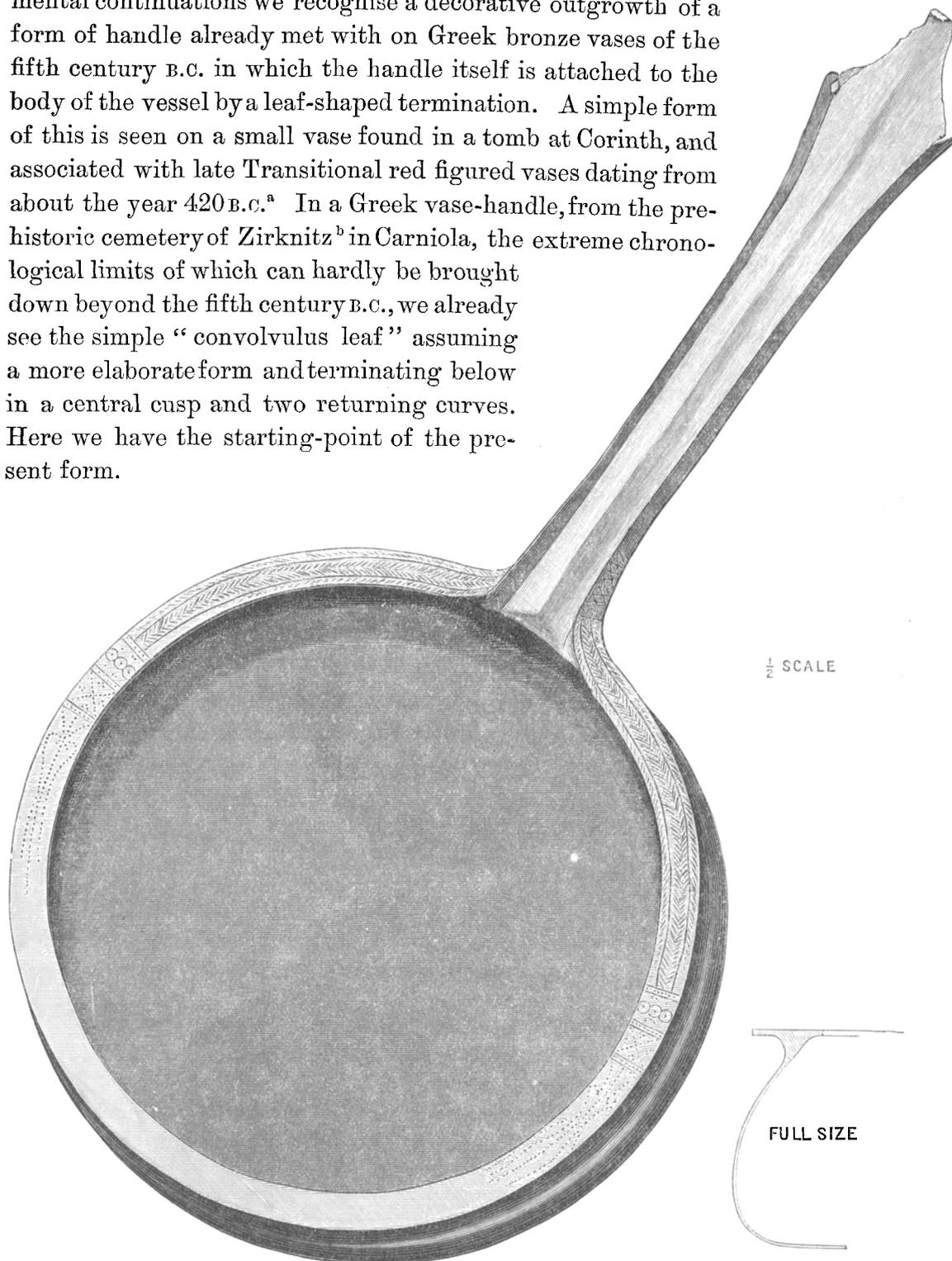


Fig 16. Bronze *Patella*, Aylesford.

^a Now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The type presented by the upper part of the attachment with its central projection and angular wings is common to a whole series of late Greek vase handles. A handle resembling that of the Aylesford and Danish vases was found in a Cisalpine Gaulish tomb at Mezzano in the Milanese,^a dating from the second century B.C. In this case it appears to have belonged to a small bronze vase^b found in the same grave, somewhat broader below than the types before us, but belonging to the same general class of fabric, and with the thin turned-over collar. The concentric circles on the bottom of the Aylesford *œnochoé* are a late characteristic which hardly appears on Italian bronze-work before 200 B.C.

The long-handled bronze *patella*^c (fig. 15), or frying-pan, belongs to the same general category as the imported vase with which it was associated in our Aylesford deposit. It is of a form and fabric that does not occur amongst Roman provincial remains in Britain or elsewhere, and, like the *œnochoé*, must be regarded as an article of pre-Roman import from beyond the Alps.

It is interesting to note, that in this case also we have to do with a form of imported vessel which during the first two or three centuries before our era seems to have been generally in vogue among the Celtic populations. In the Cisalpine Gaulish interments of Mezzano in the Milanese, already referred to as containing a handle similar to that of the Aylesford vase, and belonging, as was shown by the coins and inscribed objects brought to light, to the second century B.C.^d a bronze *patella* was discovered with part of a long, flat handle, channelled in the middle, and in every respect resembling our Aylesford example. The handle of a similar bronze *patella* also occurred in a grave belonging to another Cisalpine Gaulish cemetery of pre-Roman date excavated at Povegliano, near Verona.^e In a Gallic tomb at Carrù,^f again, in the Modenese, was discovered another example.

^a Pompeo Castelfranco, *Liguri Galli e Galli Romani* (Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana, 1886, Tav. xiii. 68, p. 245.)

^b Castelfranco, *op. cit.* Tav. xiii. 66, and see p. 245. A vase of an identical type was found in the Gaulish cemetery of Povegliano, near Verona (C. Cipolla, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1880, Tav. viii. 9).

^c The long-handled bronze vessels that occur with Roman remains in Britain are bowl-shaped and partake more of the nature of a saucepan than a frying-pan. They are also of heavier fabric.

Two imported Roman objects of this class with colanders to fit them were found in the Danish Early Iron Age interment of Møllebanke in Seeland (Engelhardt, *Influence Classique sur le Nord pendant l'Antiquité*, Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires du Nord, 1876, p. 233, f. 30).

^d Pompeo Castelfranco, *Liguri Galli e Galli Romani* (Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana, 1886, p. 245, Tav. xiii. f. 65.) Castelfranco gives the date as 300-200 B.C., but the presence of an uncial *us* and of certain "North Etruscan" inscriptions brings the cemetery down to the succeeding century.

^e Prof. G. Pellegrini *Di un Sepolcreto preromano scoperto a Povegliano*, Verona, 1878; and see *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1880, Tav. viii. f. 8, and p. 238. This cemetery contained "flat-graves," with skeletons.

^f Fabretti, *Scavi di Carrù*, Tav. vii.; Crespellani, *Scavi del Modenese*, 1879, Tav. ii., 6.

The coincidences in the forms of the imported Italo-Greek objects found in the Kentish cemetery and in the Gaulish cemeteries of Upper Lombardy are of great importance to our present inquiry, and illustrate, what has been already shown in the case of the pottery, the intimate relation subsisting between these sufficiently remote Celtic regions, in the period which immediately preceded the Roman Conquest. From the analogies thus supplied, it is probable, though we have not at present direct evidence of the fact, that the inventory of other Late-Celtic graves belonging to this period in Britain may have contained some of the other classical relics which form part of the typical contents of the contemporary or slightly earlier interments of Cisalpine Gaul. Among the principal of these must be classed the bronze mirrors; and, though I am not aware of any recorded discovery of a late Greek or Etruscan mirror in Britain, the imitations of such, which form a striking feature in later British art, certainly point to an early acquaintance with these articles of imported luxury. It is probable, moreover, that other specimens of bronze vessels, hitherto classed in our museums as "Roman" will eventually prove to belong to the same Italo-Greek or Late-Etruscan class as those from Aylesford. Mr. Franks informs me that some pre-Roman bronze pans apparently of Italian fabric analogous to the Aylesford *patella* were found some years since in Northamptonshire.^a

The imported bronze vessels found in the Aylesford grave were, as we have seen, in all probability made in Italy in the second century B.C. It is always possible, however, that between the date of their manufacture and that of their deposit on British soil a not inconsiderable interval of years may have elapsed, though, from their generally well-preserved condition, it is improbable that this deposit could have taken place later than the first half of the ensuing century.

III. (i) THE AYLESFORD *FIBULÆ*.

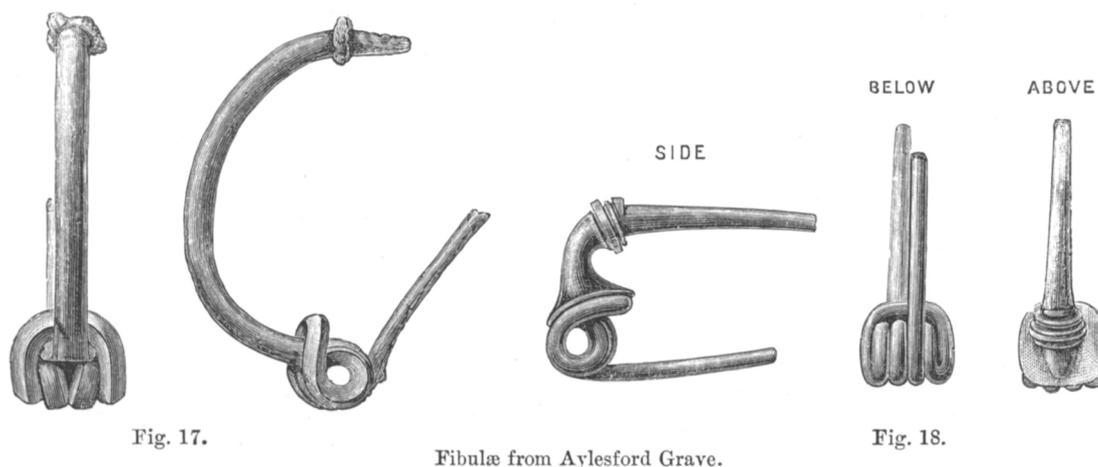
Of the two bronze *fibulae* found inside the bronze-plated pail at Aylesford, the first (fig. 17) is somewhat difficult to classify with precision. A simpler form of the same type occurs already in the earliest part of the cemetery at Este, and it may therefore be of Italian origin.

The other *fibula* (fig. 18) is of a type classified by Dr. O. Tischler^b as be-

^a They were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London by Mr. Mathew Bigge.

^b *Die Gewandnadeln oder Fibeln* (von Gurina) in *Gurina im Obergailthal (Kärnthen)*, Dr. A. Meyer, Dresden, 1885, and cf. Dr. Tischler's earlier work, *Archäologische Studien aus Frankreich* (Schriften der Physikalisch-Oekonomischen Gesellschaft zu Koenigsberg xxv. (1884) Sitzungsberichte, p. 18, *seqq.*)

longing to the late "La Tène" Period. Its comparatively late date indeed appears from the evidence of its own conformation, the raised rings round what



we may term its neck being the survival of those that in the intermediate types bind the retroflected end of the fibula to its bow.^a On the other hand the fact that the *fibula* is of the simple kind, made that is of one piece of metal, and that the spring does not require to be fixed to the head by a hook, conclusively proves that the present example belongs to the pre-Roman period. The "Roman Provincial" *fibulae*, which are the immediate outgrowth of this type, are in all cases made in two pieces, the pin and spring being separate from the bow, and are provided with a hook to catch the loop of the spiral.^b Although unfortunately imperfect at the lower part it may with great probability be completed, as in fig. 19. This *fibula*, though fitting on to the La Tène group, is itself probably of Italian fabric.

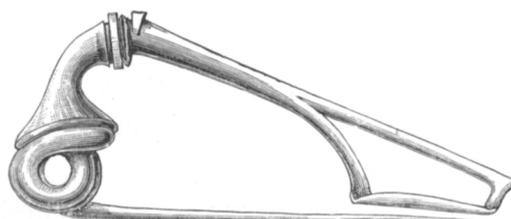


Fig. 19. Aylesford *Fibula* (fig. 18) restored.

^a Hildebrand, *Bidrag til Spännets Historia*, Antikvarisk Tidskrift for Sverige, iv. 1872-1880; and Montelius, *Spännan fran Bronsåldern, &c.*, pp. 185, 186, and cf. fig. 188.

^b Tischler, *Gurina, &c.*, p. 26.

Fibulae of this character were numerous represented on the site of Alesia, Alise St. Reine, amongst relics of the final struggle between Cæsar and Vercingetorix, in 52 B.C. They are also found on the site of the Æduan city of Bibracte, Mont Beuvray, the predecessor of Augustodunum. It is noteworthy however that in both the above instances this *fibula* is found with the later adaptation of the hook, from which we may infer that the present simple variety dates well back into the first half of the first century before our era. This approximate chronology is quite consistent with that already elicited from the other bronzes from the same grave.

PART IV.—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE DATE AND CHARACTER OF THE AYLESFORD CEMETERY.

From what has already been said it will be seen that the Aylesford interments belong to an extensive Late-British cemetery of a kind not hitherto described by English archaeologists. Arguments have already been adduced to show that the richest group of objects discovered, those namely in the grave containing the Late-Celtic pail, and including among them two imported bronze vessels, cannot be referred to a later date than the close of the first half of the first century B.C. It is probable, indeed, that the *œnochoë* and *patella* of Italian fabric there found were actually made in the preceding century. Of the two uninscribed British gold coins found in the cemetery the stater belongs to a type the full weight of which is about twelve grains heavier than that of the staters belonging to the earliest inscribed coinage of the sons of Commios, struck about 20 B.C. Assuming that the reduction of the weight of British coins was, roughly speaking,^b one grain in every four years, we may infer that the Aylesford specimen was struck about the year 68 B.C. On the whole the balance of probability weighs in favour of the middle of the first century B.C. as the chronological centre-point of the Aylesford cemetery. Some graves are probably of earlier date, some, no doubt, come down later.

The evidence derived from the discovery of parallel ceramic forms in France and the Rhinelands supplies an additional corroboration of this approximate chronology. It has been shown that analogous types of cinerary vessels are found in Gaulish cemeteries belonging to the latest pre-Roman period, which, on the

^a Tischler, *op. cit.*

^b Cf. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 31.

Continental side of the Channel, finds its close in the latter half of the first century B.C. A fresh standpoint for comparison has been lately gained from the excavation by Dr. Koehl and others, of an interesting group of urn-fields presenting the same typical features as that of Aylesford, and productive of a series of ceramic types belonging to the same general class, in the neighbourhood of Worms, the old Celtic Borbetomagus. These finds include both a fine type of *situla* vase, with elegant pedestal and cordons, and other forms representative of the best Late-Celtic ceramic style, as well as some more recent and degenerate offshoots of the same class. Although from the beginning of the Christian Era onwards Borbetomagus was converted into a great Roman centre on the Rhenish border, traces of Roman influence were entirely absent from these interments, none of which can therefore well be later than the close of the first century B.C. The relics exhumed were typically Late-Celtic, including the *fibulæ* with retro-flected ends and others of the Nauheim type, iron knives ending in rings or animals' heads, the usual iron shears, tweezers, and La Tène sword of these Continental deposits, and a very fine iron spear-head of the "jessamine leaf" shape $17\frac{5}{8}$ inches in length. With these were found some Gaulish coins, among them silver pieces and bronze imitations of Massaliote coins dating from the latter half of the first century B.C., but also a quarter stater of an East Gallic type representing on its obverse side a comparatively recognisable imitation of the Philippic head, and a winged horse on the reverse, which is hardly of later date than the end of the second century before our era. This latter coin may thus be taken to give the approximate date of the finer ceramic forms discovered in the Worms group of interments.

That some of the later graves of the Aylesford cemetery come down to a date appreciably nearer to that of the Claudian Conquest than 50 B.C. is by no means improbable. The somewhat degenerate character of the vessels found in the "family circle" last excavated, as well as its outlying position on the extreme borders of the cemetery, tends to show that this was the most recent group of interments brought to light on this site, and the pale brick-red, well-baked pottery of the cinerary in grave C seems to point to Romanizing influences, though the cordons and striations of the same vessel still betray its Celtic pedigree. The same brick-red appearance is presented by Nos. 7, 12, and 13 of my list. This class of vessels presents a close parallel to some transitional forms characteristic of the period of incipient Roman influence on certain Rhenish sites, and one of the Elveden pots apparently belongs to the same category.

It seems probable, however, that the Late-Celtic relics recently brought to light

in the British camp or *oppidum* of Hunsbury, near Northampton, reach down to a somewhat later date than those of the Aylesford Urn-Field.

The later class of British pottery with the incised spiral decoration represented by some good examples on the Hunsbury site is wholly absent at Aylesford. On the other hand, that of the Aylesford type appears at Hunsbury in a degenerate form. The character of the embossed ornaments on the Hunsbury sword-sheaths represents a slightly later phase of ornamental development than those upon the *situla* from our Kentish site, which, as has been shown, answer to the style represented by the earlier sword-sheaths of the Helvetian station of La Tène. The hatched lines with which on the Hunsbury example the embossed designs are eked out is a falling off from the simpler and bolder style, which, as in the case of the figures of our *situla*, relies for its effect on pure relief, and in this respect the Hunsbury sheath shows an approach to a later decorative style which lived on in the west and north of our island after the Roman subjugation of the south-east, and is well represented in early Irish art.^a At Hunsbury, moreover, side by side with the survival of some more primitive forms there occurred a *fibula* of a pre-Roman class, which seems somewhat later in date than even the late forms represented at Aylesford. The example referred to, with its elongated triangular-headed bow, is identical with that to which Dr. Tischler^b has given the name of the "Nauheim *fibula*," from its plentiful occurrence in the cemetery of Nauheim, near Frankfort, belonging, as is shown by the associated coins, to the last half century before the Christian era.

Both the Kentish cemetery and the Northamptonshire *oppidum* are alike in this particular, that in neither has any single object of purely Roman fabric come to light. This fact is the more remarkable when we recall the astonishing progress of Romanizing fashions among the Southern tribes of Britain during the two generations that preceded the actual conquest of that part of the island in Claudius's reign. What Velleius Paterculus^c says of the Pannonian Celts was no doubt equally true of the Britons of this period, and many of them must have

^a E. g. on the radiated crown from the Petrie collection described in *Archaeologia*, xlvii. p. 475. From the spiked form of this crown, analogous to that usual on coins of the Roman Emperors during the period that succeeded the reign of Caracalla, it is probable that this crown is posterior to c. 200 A.D.

^b *Archäologische Studien aus Frankreich* (Schriften der phys.-ökon. Gesellschaft zu Königsberg, 1884, p. 27), and cf. *Gurina*, &c. p. 24. This *fibula* has been found on the site of the station of Stradonic in Bohemia, at Bibracte, Lyons, Besançon, &c.

^c *Hist. Rom.* l. ii., c. 110.

not only acquired a knowledge of the language but have been familiar with the literature of Rome. At the courts of the Kentish prince Amminus, of the sons of Commios, of Tasciovanus or Cunobeline, Latin was already the official speech, and the types of the coinage are permeated with the artistic and religious creations of the classical world. We know indeed from Strabo^a that in his time the princes of Britain had paid court to and secured the friendship of Augustus, that their envoys had offered gifts in the Capitol, and had made the whole island (or at least its southern part) “well nigh a home-country for the Romans.” Under such conditions we should expect amongst the British remains of the period in question, extending from about 20 B.C. to 43 A.D. the year of Claudius’s invasion, direct evidences of this advancing Roman culture. We should expect, for example, to find the same forms of imported Roman wares, such as the Arretine vases and their provincial imitations (miscalled Samian), and the small glass bottles that occur in the graves of the latest pre-Roman period in Gaul.^b That remains of this class exist in the south-eastern parts of Britain cannot be doubted, though they seem to have been hitherto lumped together with those belonging to the period of actual Roman dominion. Meanwhile the entire absence of such relics in any important British settlement or cemetery is itself a strong argument for referring it to a period not only before the date of the Claudian conquest, but before the beginning of the Christian era.

It has already been shown that the characteristic pottery of the Aylesford interments represents in its most typical forms a ceramic class common to the contemporary cemeteries of Belgic Gaul, and which by the light of parallel types found in Champagne and on the middle and upper Rhine may be traced back to bronze originals indigenous in an extensive Italian and Adriatic region.

The sudden appearance on British soil of this elegant exotic race of vases, in their pedestals and cordoned zones revealing still their pedigree of noble metal, and standing out, both in paste and contour, in strong contrast to the rude traditional urns evolved from basket-work and daub by our native potters, is a highly significant phenomenon. It can hardly be interpreted in any other way than as an indication that at the beginning of the period to which the Aylesford

^a *Geogr.*, l. iv. c. 5, 3, “ἀναθήματα τε ἀνεθήκαν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ οἰκίαν σχεδὸν τι παρασκεύασαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον.”

^b Strabo (*lib.* iv. c. 5, 3) mentions the import of glass vessels into Britain during this period (before c. A.D. 24).

cemetery belongs, this Kentish site was occupied by an intrusive Gaulish tribe. The rapid diffusion of the same types of vessel throughout the south-eastern parts of England, as revealed by a series of kindred discoveries, seems to show that this invasion affected a considerable area.

The appearance of the "urn-field" type of cremation burial in the flat earth is, in its way, moreover, as significant as are the forms of the cineraries themselves. In the Late-Celtic inhumation graves like the "King's Barrow" at Arras, in Yorkshire, in which the skeleton of the departed warrior is laid with his chariot and his horses, we recognise the characteristic features of that earlier class of Gaulish interments, such as we find them on the plains of Champagne, the valleys of the Saar and Mosel, or, still further afield to the south and east, which, from the associated Greek and Etruscan relics, are known on the Continent to belong to the third, fourth, and fifth centuries before our era. In the occurrence of these skeleton interments in Britain belonging to the period that directly follows on our insular Bronze Age we may perhaps trace the influence of an earlier wave of Gaulish invasion belonging to the close of the Continental period above indicated, and to which the first introduction of Late-Celtic arts in this island may reasonably be ascribed. The cremation graves of Aylesford, on the other hand, stand in the same relation to the sepulchral practice in vogue among the Gauls of a later age, during the period namely that immediately preceded the Roman Conquest.

We have seen that during this period a new form of cremation burial in shallow pits in the flat surface of the earth had taken root throughout an extensive Gaulish region, where it is associated with the appearance of the same class of pottery as that of our Kentish cemetery. The same is true of the Rhenish districts, and in North Germany and Scandinavia the occurrence of an allied class of pottery, in company with other relics belonging to the La Tène Period of Continental culture in its strictest sense, is accompanied with the diffusion of similar burial rites. In this region an allied usage was prevalent, according to which the ashes were not placed in urns, but were deposited in the graves themselves, the "Brandgruben" or "cremation-pits" of Northern archaeologists, which however, like the urn-pits, are excavated in the flat surface of the ground.

The simultaneous entry into Britain of this new "urn-field" type of burial, side by side with the same ceramic forms that mark its extension on the Gaulish side of the Channel, affords a trustworthy clue to the source from which this new sepulchral usage made its way to our shores. The urns, themselves, are, as has been shown, the derivatives of North Italian, and, in a marked degree, Old

Venetian prototypes. The associated bronzes, like the *ænochoé*, or the long-handled *patella*, answer to an Italian usage adopted, as we have seen, by the Gaulish settlers in the Po valley. The Late-Celtic *situla* of the principal grave is itself a development of forms of bronze buckets that in the North Etruscan cemeteries of Bologna, or elsewhere, so frequently fulfilled the function of cineraries. The occurrence of identical or allied bronze forms in "La Tène" deposits of North Germany and Scandinavia points to a common centre of radiation, and, in all probability, in part, at least, to a common channel of transport by the passes of the Alps.

The inference which we seem entitled to draw from this diffusion of North Italian forms of bronze and ceramic relics in the Late-Celtic graves of the last two centuries before our era, *pari passu* with the spread of a new form of cremation interments in the flat earth, is that the new sepulchral practice of urn-burial which superseded the older skeleton interments of the Late-Celtic peoples, was in fact disseminated from the same source, and must be regarded as the outcome of the direct communion with various Italian and Illyric elements into which the Cisalpine Gauls had been brought by their occupation of Ligurian and North Etruscan territories on the one side and of the Eastern Alps and the lands about the head of the Adriatic, on the other. In Italy itself the progress of this sepulchral revolution may be actually watched. In the earliest Gaulish graves at Marzabotto, and elsewhere, we see the fifth-century Celtic practice of the inhumation of the body still adhered to. But the form of urn-burial at that time predominant amongst the neighbouring populations, such as the Old Venetians and their kinsmen, with which the invading Northern swarms came in contact, soon appears to have re-acted on the national ritual of the Gaulish settlers. In the later Cisalpine Gaulish interments from the third century onwards incineration becomes general.

The Aylesford type of cremation graves and the Aylesford type of vases represents then the first introduction on to British soil of forms of sepulchral usage and of ceramic art, which had already propagated themselves across a wide Gaulish tract—answering, in part at least, to the Continental extension of the Belgic group of tribes—from the lands beyond the Alps, in an appreciable degree apparently from the borders of a well-defined Adriatic province peopled by an Illyro-Italic race, the immediate neighbours of the Cisalpine Gauls, and the name of whose most powerful representative is still preserved in that of Venice. The channel through which this new influence reached our shores is undoubtedly

to be sought in Belgic Gaul, and the first stage of its course was probably the Upper Rhine valley.

This sudden break with the pre-existing sepulchral usages and the traditional indigenous forms of pottery points to the progress of a conquering race, and if we may suppose that the first appearance of these new forms dates back to the middle of the second century before our era, the beginning of the movement to which the introduction into Britain of this new culture was due will be found to synchronize in a remarkable way with the first appearance in the south-eastern parts of our island of a gold coinage consisting of Belgic types derived from the Philippus.

The fact that the British gold coins found at Aylesford itself were of types common to the Belgic parts of Gaul, as well as to south-eastern Britain, throws a suggestive light on the nationality of the occupants of this Kentish site during the period to which the cemetery belongs. The same intimate connexion with Belgic Gaul is borne out by the ornamental style of the *situla*, which, if we may judge from the animal forms that it exhibits, was, in all probability, manufactured in the Reims district. In the imported objects of Greek or Italian fabric, we see, for the first time on British soil, the evidences of a race acquainted with the products of classical art, and traditionally accustomed, like the Continental Gauls, to associate such objects with their interments. The conditions revealed to us by the Aylesford discoveries display that close communion with the Belgic parts of Gaul that is otherwise attested by Ancient British coins as well as by the direct statements of Cæsar, from whom we learn that in the middle of the first century before our era the authority or influence of Commios the Atrebatian extended over a great part of Britain. In a certain sense, this connexion may be taken to resemble that which subsisted between England and Normandy during the period that immediately succeeded the Norman Conquest; in both cases we find the same princely houses exercising sway on either side of the Channel, and in both cases the conqueror succeeded in introducing Continental arts and Continental usages to our insular soil. It must however be borne in mind that the Belgic conquerors to whom we have referred the introduction of the Ancient British coinage, the *situla*-vases, and the urn-field system of interment, in all probability were only following in the wake of earlier Gaulish invaders who, perhaps, as early as the middle of the third century B.C., had introduced, together with the more archaic sepulchral usage of inhumation beneath a barrow, the first beginnings of Late-Celtic art in Britain.