

The chronology and distribution of Iron Age mirrors in Britain and Ireland

Tsujita, Jun'ichiro

Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Kyushu University

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The chronology and distribution of Iron Age mirrors in Britain and Ireland

Jun'ichiro TSUJITA

1. Introduction

In the late Iron Age, bronze mirrors were used in Britain and Ireland. There are many problems with them, for example, the appearance in the Iron Age, the disappearance in the Roman Period and the background of distribution in Britain and Ireland. These Iron Age mirrors are mainly found at female graves, so they are considered to be related to the female elite and their identity (e.g. Hill 1997, 2001; Joy 2010; Harding 2016). The distribution of these bronze objects is an important consideration for the interaction of regional societies during the Late Iron Age to Roman Britain transition (e.g. Cunliffe 2009, 2013; Millett 1990; Creighton 2000; Hill 2007; Haselgrove and Moore (eds) 2007; Garrow and Gosden 2012). In this paper, I will consider the relative chronology and distribution of Iron Age mirrors in relation to understanding the interregional relationship during the period 1st century BC to 1st century AD.

2. Problems

A. The origin of Iron Age mirrors in Britain and Ireland

There are approximately sixty-five mirrors in Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands and France dating from the Iron Age to the Early Roman Period (Table.1). From the late 19th to middle 20th century, Iron Age mirrors were collected and after the

1970s, mirror finds increased through archaeological excavation and the use of metal detectors (e.g. Smith 1909; Fox 1949, 1958; Fox & Pollard 1973; Fitzpatrick 1996; Jope 2000; Sealy 2006; Joy 2010). Here I outline the previous studies with reference to Jody Joy's comprehensive work (2010).

In relation to the chronology of Iron Age mirrors, the forms of handle were classified by Fox (1949, 1958). He showed the typological change of handle types from 'bar-handle' to 'complex loop handle' (Fig.1), and he also showed bar-handle type and iron mirrors distrib-

uted in northern England and Yorkshire. Fox's classification of handle types is basically developed and subdivided by Joy (2010).

Fitzpatrick believed that the Yorkshire mirrors originated from the imported Greek mirrors of the Continent (Fitzpatrick 1996, 65). The origin of the south-eastern England mirrors is problematic in terms of dates and the influence of Roman mirrors or others (Fitzpatrick *ibid*; Joy 2010, 6).

B. Regional and temporal trends of mirrors: problems of chronology

Regarding the handle type classification by Fox (1949, 1958), bar handle type/iron mirrors from Yorkshire are considered to be the oldest type in Britain. The regional trends are divided into two: 1) western mirrors: large in size, handles of multi-loop type, some decorated with red enamel and/or with studs of copper cuprite, 'three-stroke basketry' and hatching, designs of fold-over symmetry and

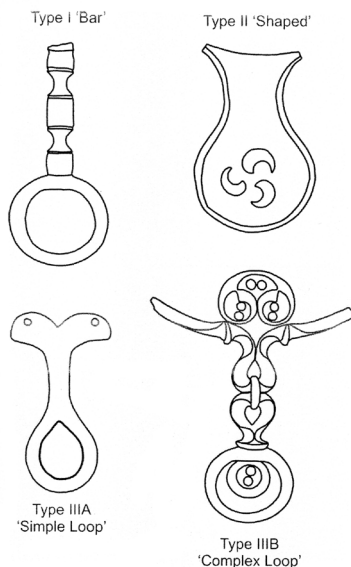


Fig.1 Handle types
(Fox, 1949, 1958; after Joy, 2010)

using compass, crescent-rings (Fox 1958; Fox & Pollard 1973; Fitzpatrick 1996; Joy 2010, 55), 2) south-eastern mirrors: small in size, round plates, decoration characterized by a filled/empty circle, or a circled tricone, within a keeled-roundel (Fox & Pollard 1973; Joy 2010, 55).

Sealy explains the origin and ‘diffusion’ of southeastern mirrors by the chronological data below: ‘Bearing in mind that datable decorated mirrors in the south-east are early and that those in the west are — for the most part — later, one is understandably drawn to place the origins of mirror art in the southeast and to postulate its diffusion west at a time when the vogue for mirror art was on the wane in the southeast’ and two mirrors from Cornwall are chronological ‘outliers’ in the western region (Sealy 2006, 16).

Jody Joy’s “Iron Age Mirrors” (2010) revealed the principle of the decorated design by so-called formal analysis and explained the difference in usage and depositional context in each region through his biographical approach.

After Joy’s analysis of the association of the archaeological finds at sites and AMS dating data, he summarizes the absolute date range of mirrors as below (Joy 2010, 56-57):

- 1) Iron mirrors in Eastern Yorkshire: 400-150BC
- 2) Decorated bronze mirrors in Cornwall: 125-80BC
- 3) Decorated bronze mirrors in southeast England: 75-15BC
- 4) Large decorated bronze mirrors outside of south-eastern ‘core’: AD1-100

So Joy concludes that ‘the pattern identified for the abandonment of mirrors in south-east England in the 1st -century AD and continued usage in ‘western’ areas past the Roman conquest is a real phenomenon’ (Joy 2010, 57).

I basically agree with these conclusions by Sealy (2006) and Joy (2010). I also believe that the form of the mirror handles is extremely important for understanding the relationship between the above ‘western’ and ‘south-eastern’ types or their transition from 1st century BC to 1st century AD.

In this paper, I will try to classify the form of the handle and explain the transition and distribution from the perspective of the ‘morphological’ and ‘temporal’ types (Thomas 1989) of these bronze mirrors. And after that I will consider the distribution of these mirrors and its transition as seen from the perspective of interregional interaction.

3. Classification and relative chronology of Iron Age mirrors

I examined 3 iron mirrors and 62 bronze mirrors (Table.1). The mirror data is based on Joy (2010) and on the various articles and reports listed in the bibliography. Four bronze mirrors have been added to the Joy’s corpus, so the name and number of mirrors [No.1 to 61] corresponds with this. Two mirrors are from the Netherlands [62, 63]. These are accessible in the web page “Celtic Mirrors.org” by Mr. Steven C. Markoff. There is a report of another mirror found at Ruxox, Maulden, Bedfordshire (64: Burleigh and Megaw 2011) and one more ‘Chesil mirror’ [65] was found at Langton Herring, Dorset in 2010 and is now exhibited at Dorset County Museum.

I classified the mirrors typologically, focusing on the form of the connection between the mirror plate and handle. After that I considered the relative chronology and development of mirrors as seen from the change of morphological types.

Firstly I divided mirrors into iron mirrors and bronze mirrors and classified the latter into five morphological types, A to E below.

Iron mirrors (Fig.2). Left and center are from Arras culture, Yorkshire. And right was found at Lambay Island, Dublin. They are of the bar handle type.

Bronze mirrors type A (Fig.3). These mirrors have Y-shaped connective handles. The shape of the loop of the handle is like a teardrop. Some mirrors have a ring with a tricorn design at the connective ‘Y’ part. These type A mirrors may be a prototype of bronze mirrors.

In addition we can sub-divide type A into Type A1 to Type A5. Type A1 is a balanced form and Type A2 has a large plate and is an unbalanced form. The edge of type A3's long handled 'Y' shape does not have a projection [A1 and A2 do have this]. Type A4 has a small and narrow handle without a central node. Type A5 has a small handle with a teardrop shaped ring and central node. Two mirrors from Cornwall are included in Type A2. Type A1 and A2 may be older than the others.

Bronze mirrors type B (Fig.4). These mirrors have a coiled connective handle. This form probably originated from Type A's Y-shaped connective handle as seen from the rudimentary 'Y'-shaped part of the connection with the plate and conjunctive 'teardrop'.

Bronze mirrors type C (Fig.5). These mirrors have conjunctive circular handles and small and thin parts of covering rim. This form of handle also probably originated from Type A's conjunctive teardrop shaped handle.

Bronze mirrors type D (Fig.6). These mirrors are the most complex design and the final type of Iron Age mirrors. Almost equal with 'western mirrors' in the previous studies. These mirrors have decorative and enamel embedded handles. This type probably originated from the integration of Type B and Type C as seen from the decorative plate [type C] and form of handle [type B].

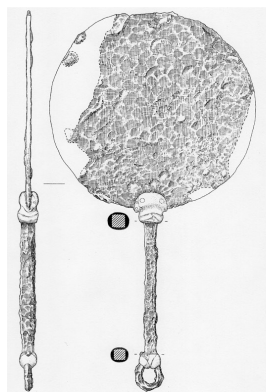
Bronze mirrors type E [bar handle type] (Fig.7). I can divide the bar handles of bronze mirrors into two types: simple bar handle type: type E1 and decorative bar handle type: type E2. These handles have a terminal ring at the bottom and are similar in form to the iron mirrors, but the size of the terminal ring is much larger than that of iron mirrors and is equal with bronze mirrors type B and C.

Table.1 Iron Age Mirrors of Britain, Ireland, France and Netherlands

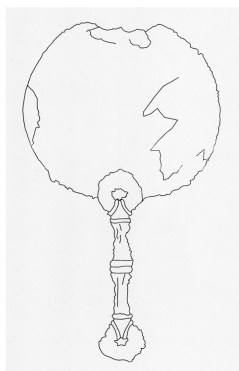
No.	Mirror	Regions	Length mm	Plate width mm	Handle length mm	Type	Phase	Context	Possession
2	Arras I	East Riding	—	—	—	Iron	0	Inhumation	British Museum
26	Garton Slack	East Yorkshire	264	156	148	Iron	0	Inhumation	Hull & East Riding Museum
32	Lambay Island	Dublin	235	128	107	Iron	0	Inhumation	National Museum of Ireland
40	Shillington (Pegston)	Bedfordshire	305	199	143	A1	1	Cremation?	Wardown Park Museum, Luton
42	Portland I	the Grove, Dorset	—	—	117	A1	1	Inhumation?	Coburg Museum
44	Rickling	Essex	—	—	—	A1	1	Unknown	Colchester Castle Museum
49	Stamford Hill II	Plymouth	—	—	102	A1	1	Inhumation	Destroyed
56	Gibbs	—	(233)	(146)	(101)	A1	1	Unknown	British Museum
58	Oxfordshire	—	272	184	108	A1	1	Unknown	Privately held
63	Dordrecht [small] mirror	The Netherlands	215	—	—	A1	1	Unknown	Privately held
65	Chesil	Langton Herring, Dorset	—	—	—	A1	1	Burial?	Dorset County Museum
22	Colchester II (Hyderabad Barracks)	Essex	—	(165)	—	(A1)	(1)	Unknown	British Museum
9	Billericay I	Essex	—	—	—	A2	1	Cremation?	Colchester Castle Museum
16	Bryher	Isles of Scilly	205	152	81	A2	1	Inhumation, cist	Isles of Scilly Museum
20	Chilham Castle	Kent	188	136	72	A2	1	Cremation	Canterbury Heritage Museum
47	St.Keverne	Trelan Bahow, Cornwall	220	154	78	A2	1	Inhumation, cist	British Museum
57	Mayer	—	224	166	77	A2	1	Unknown	World Museum, Liverpool
4	Aston	Hertfordshire	305	193	143	A3	1	Cremation	British Museum
14	Bridport	West Bay, Dorset	—	—	115	A3	1	Inhumation	Dorset County Museum
17	Bulbury Camp	Dorset	—	—	—	A3	1	Hoard	Dorset County Museum
10	Billericay II	Essex	(183)	(123)	(62)	A4	(1 to 2)	Cremation	Colchester Castle Museum
45	Rivenhall I	Essex	—	—	81	A4	(1 to 2)	Settlement	Chelmsford Museum
1	Akenham	Suffolk	—	—	—	A5	(1 to 2)	Metal detector, unknown	Privately held
51	Westerfield	Suffolk	—	—	—	A5	(1 to 2)	Metal detector, unknown	Privately held
15	Bromham	Bedfordshire	(263)	(207)	(69)	B	2	Metal detector, unknown	Higgins Art Gallery & Museum, Bedford
21	Colchester I (Lexden Grange)	Essex	—	—	151	B	2	Cremation	Colchester Castle Museum
23	Compiègne	France	—	—	135	B	2	Found at Oise River in 1814	—
25	Dorton	Buckinghamshire	302	210	127	B	2	Cremation	Buckinghamshire County Museum
28	Great Chesterford	Essex	299	206	137	B	2	Unknown	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge
33	Latchmere Green	Hampshire	(263)	(170)	(101)	B	2	Cremation	Andover Museum and Museum of the Iron Age
54	Disney	—	—	—	(84)	(B)	2	Unknown	British Museum
55	Essex/Sussex border	—	—	—	135	B	2	Unknown	Privately held

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No.	Mirror	Regions	Length mm	Plate width mm	Handle length mm	Type	Phase	Context	Possession
38	Old Warden I	Bedfordshire	283	197	126	B (/D)	2 to 3	Unknown	Higgins Art Gallery & Museum, Bedford
19	Chettle	Dorset	—	225	—	C	2	Cremation?	British Museum
34	Llechwedd-ddu	Conwy	298	208	127	C	2	Burial?	National Museum Wales
41	Portesham	Dorset	297	210	138	C	2	Inhumation	Dorset County Museum
64	Ruxox	Bedfordshire	—	—	—	C	2	Metal detector, unknown, cremation?	Privately held
36	Maiden Castle	Dorset	—	—	—	(C?)	2	Settlement	Dorset County Museum
60	Llanwnda	Pembrokeshire	—	—	144	(C?)	2	Unknown	National Museum of Scotland
6	Badingham	Suffolk	—	—	—	D	3	Metal detector, unknown	Privately held
12	Birdlip	Gloucester	387	269	139	D	3	Inhumation	Museum of Gloucester
24	Desborough	Northamptonshire	350	258	152	D	3	Unknown	British Museum
29	Holcombe	Devon	371	260	182	D	3	Pit in settlement	British Museum
37	Nijmegen	The Netherlands	(325)	295	—	D	3	Cremation (1926-7, grave No.29)	Museum het Valkhof te Nijmegen
39	Old Warden II	Bedfordshire	—	—	161	D	3	Unknown	Missing
62	Dordrecht [large] mirror	The Netherlands	265	—	—	D	3	Unknown	Santa Monica, California, USA
18	Carlingwark	Dumfries & Galloway	—	—	(98)	E1	2	Watery	National Museum of Scotland
30	Ingleton	Yorkshire	—	—	158	E1	2	Unknown	British Museum
48	Stamford Hill I	Plymouth	—	216	—	(E1)	2	Inhumation	Destroyed
50	Stamford Hill III	Plymouth	—	—	152	E1	2	Inhumation	Destroyed
59	Fison Way	Thetford, Suffolk	—	—	—	(E1)	2	Settlement	—
61	Merlesford?	Fifeshire	—	—	—	(E1)	2	Unknown	National Museum of Scotland
7	Balleybogey Bog	Ballemoney, Co.Antrim	—	—	121	E2	3	Watery	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
13	Breacon Beacons	Powys	273	(209)	110	E2	3	Cremation	National Museum Wales
27	Glastonbury	Somerset	—	143	—	A2 or B	1 to 2	Settlement	Glastonbury Lake Village Museum
43	Portland II	the Verne, Dorset	—	—	—	A or B or C	1 to 2	Burial?	Dorset County Museum
31	Jordan Hill	Weymouth	—	—	83	(B or C)	2	Unknown	British Museum
5	Bac Mhic Connain	North Uist, Outer Hebrides	—	—	78	B transformed?	2?	Settlement	National Museum of Scotland
35	Lochlee Crannog	Tarbolton, South Ayrshire	—	—	86	B transformed?	2?	Settlement	Missing
8	Balmaclellan	Dumfries & Galloway	321	209	167	(B or D)	2 to 3	Watery	National Museum of Scotland
3	Arras II	East Riding	—	—	—	Unknown	—	Inhumation	Missing
11	Billericay III	Essex	—	—	—	Unknown	—	Burial?	Missing
46	Rivenhall II	Essex	—	—	—	Unknown	—	Settlement	Missing
52	Wetwan Slack	East Riding of Yorkshire	—	—	—	Unknown	—	Inhumation, Chariot	Hull & East Riding Museum
53	Wetwang Village	East Riding of Yorkshire	—	—	—	Unknown	—	Inhumation	British Museum



2

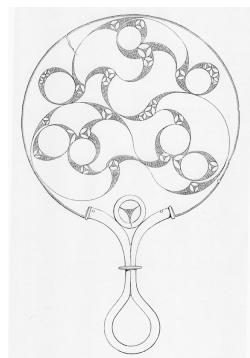


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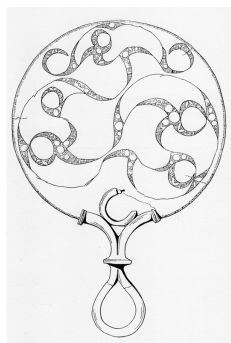


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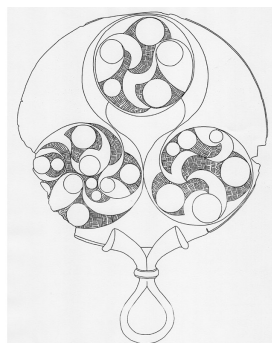
Fig.2 Iron mirrors



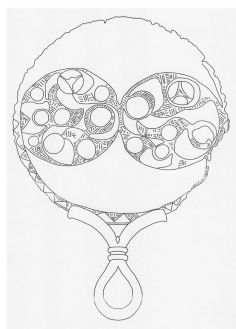
A1(40)



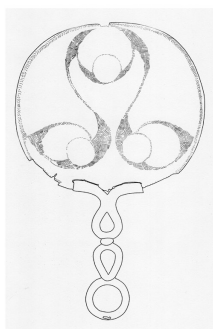
A1(58)



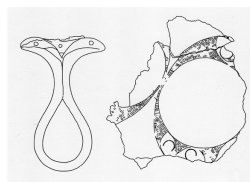
A2(57)



A2(47)



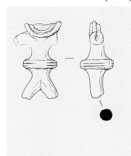
A3(4)



A4(45)

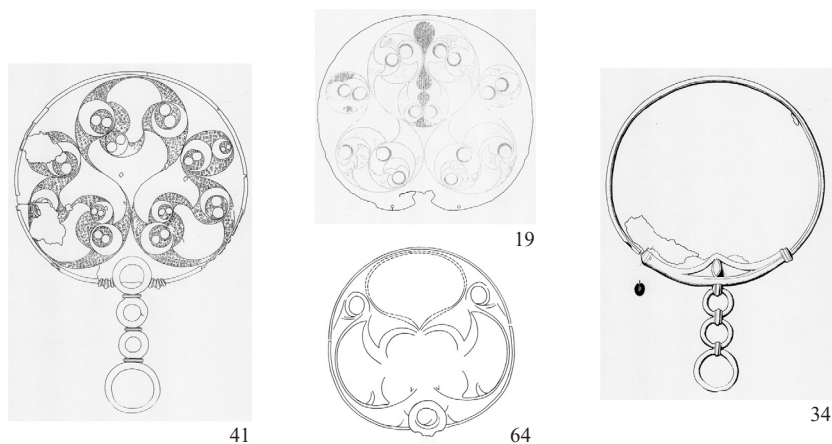
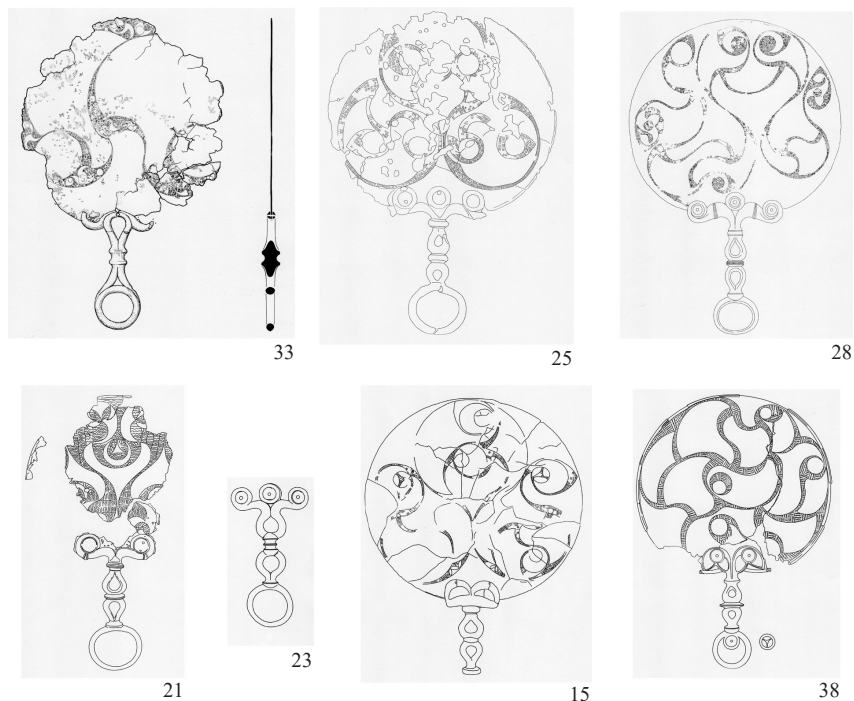


A5(1)



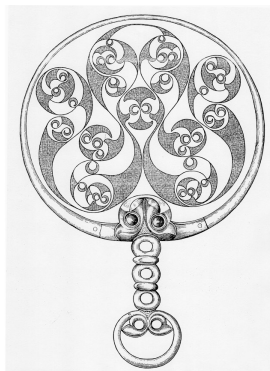
A5(51)

Fig.3 Type A mirrors

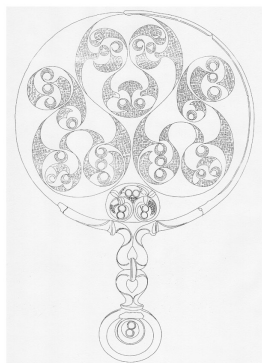




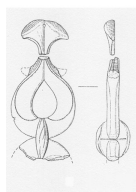
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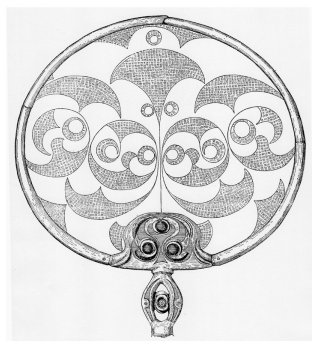
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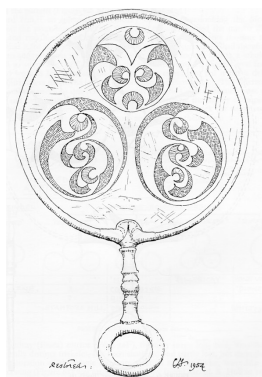


39



37

Fig.6 Type D mirrors



E1(48·50)



E1(30)



E1(18)



E2(7)



E2(13)

Fig.7 Type E mirrors

Next I consider the changes to these morphological types and build a relative chronology. As already mentioned, as seen from the rudimentary form of the handle, the type A: Y-shaped connective handle type is probably the oldest of these bronze mirrors. Type B and Type C are derived from type A. After that, Type D is generated from the integration of Type B and C. So Type A, B, C and D belong to same category or same series of types.

Meanwhile, the origin of Type E1, bar handle type is unclear. The size of the terminal ring at the bottom of the handle suggests the close relationship with Type B and C. Type E2 is also related to Type D.

So based on these typological changes, we can divide these bronze mirrors into three phases: phase 1 to 3 (Fig.8). However, as with previous studies, the origin of type A is problematic. The iron mirror type might influence Type A and Type E1, but it is unclear because of small amount of material available. So here I set phase 0 for the iron mirror type. This is the relative chronology of Iron Age mirrors.

Furthermore, these mirror designs are classified into six outlines (Fig.9: Joy 2010, 30). I would like to arrange them into four outlines below: a) Bi-Roundel (with Lyre-Loop) [1, 3], b) Tri-Roundel/ Lyre-Loop [2, 4], c) Lyre-Loop with Flanking Coils [5], d) Diffused [6]. Transition from simple a) b) to complex c) d) might be possible, and c) originated from integration of a) and b). In fact, outline a) is mainly used for type A in phase 1. Outline b) is used during phase 1 to phase 2. Outline c) and d) are used during phase 2 to 3 (Fig.10).

In general the size of mirrors enlarged through Type A to Type D (Table.1; Joy 2010).

This transition also corresponds to Joy's AMS Data and other artifact chronology (Joy 2010, 53-57). For example, the Bryher mirror (16: A2) is considered to be produced in the first part of 1st century BC as seen from other metalwork and AMS dating of human remains (Johns 2006). The Chilham Castle mirror (20: A3) is considered to be 70-50BC (Parfitt 1988). The Colchester I mirror (21: B) is considered to be c.25-1 BC (Sealy 2006). The Latchmere Green mirror (33: B) is considered to be late 1st century BC (Fulford and Creighton 1998). And the Holcombe mirror (29: D) is considered to be early 1st century AD (Fox and Pollard 1973).

So we can give absolute dates to the four phases. Phase 0 is 4th to 2nd century BC. Phase 1 is early 1st century BC. Phase 2 is around late 1st century BC, and phase 3 is early 1st century AD.

4. The distribution and transition of Iron Age mirrors

Here I examine the distribution and development of these mirrors. Fig.11 shows the distribution of Phase 0, iron mirror type. They are found in Yorkshire and on Lambay Island near Dublin. Yorkshire mirrors are found at Arras culture's chariot burial. The Lambay island mirror context is unclear (Rynne 1976), but the form is similar to the Yorkshire mirror, so it is possible that this mirror was imported from Britain before the 1st century BC and deposited at Lambay Island.

I will examine the distribution from phase 1 to 3 below. Although the date of the sites is concentrated on the late 1st century BC to 1st century AD, here I present the distribution map of each phase of bronze mirrors. Some of them were used for a long time as heirlooms after production, but it is improbable that the mirrors were inherited at the place of production. It is likely that the distribution of mirrors expanded quickly after their production in Iron Age Britain.

Phase 1 (Fig.12): the distribution of Type A. Type A1, A4 and A5 are concentrated

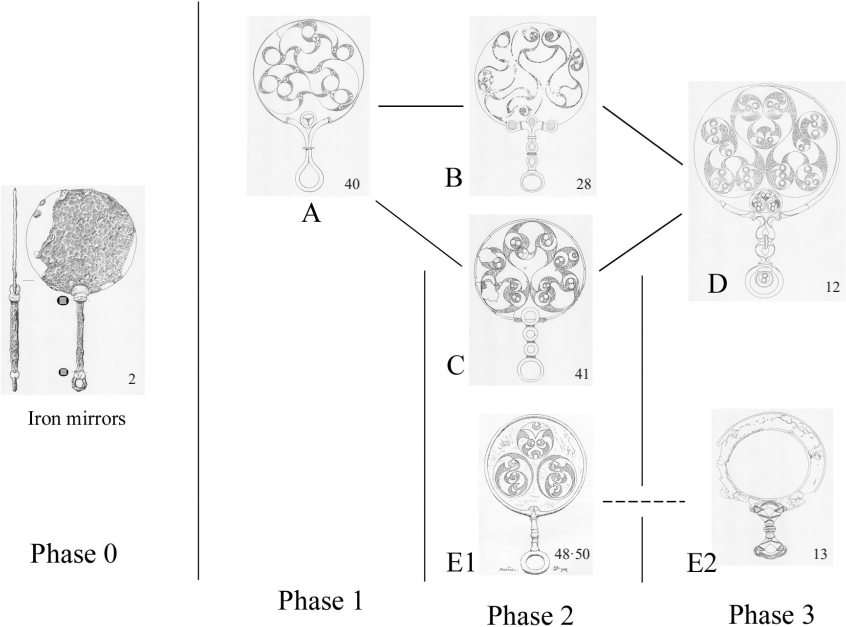


Fig.8 Relative chronology of Iron Age mirrors

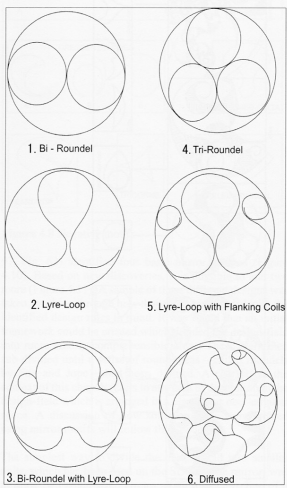


Fig.9 Outlines of design of Iron Age mirrors (Joy 2010)

		Phase 0	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Types	Iron		Type A	Type B	Type D
				Type C	
Outline	a: 1+3				
	b: 2+4				
	c: 5				
	d: 6				
Date		4-2C BC	Early 1st C BC	Late 1st C BC	Early 1st C AD

Fig.10 Transition of types and outlines of Iron Age mirrors

in southeastern England, so I think that type A1 was generated in this region around the early 1st century BC. Type A2 are found at Cornwall and Wales, so they may be a western type of Type A1. Type A3 are also found near southern Dorset.

Type A1 is also found at Dordrecht in the Netherlands. This mirror must have been imported from southeastern England and it shows that there was interaction between the two regions.

Phase 2 (Fig.13): the distribution of Type B, C and E1. Type B is found in southeastern England. Type C is found at southwestern England and Wales. Type B and C are derived from type A and localized as eastern and western types.

Type E1, bar handle type is found at northern England and Scotland.

Type B is also found at Compiegne in France [23]. This also indicates interaction between these regions.

Phase 3 (Fig.14): the distribution of Type D and E2. Type D is found in central England. And Type E2 is found in Wales and Northern Ireland.

Type D is also found at Dordrecht [62] and Nijmegen [37] in the Netherlands. It is very interesting and problematic, this also shows interaction between these regions.

In addition, type D or Phase 3 mirrors are not found in southeastern England, especially the Essex, Kent and Sussex regions. This means that the Iron Age mirrors disappeared much earlier in this region than in other regions.

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Fig.11 Distribution of Iron mirrors (Phase 0) modified from Joy (2010)

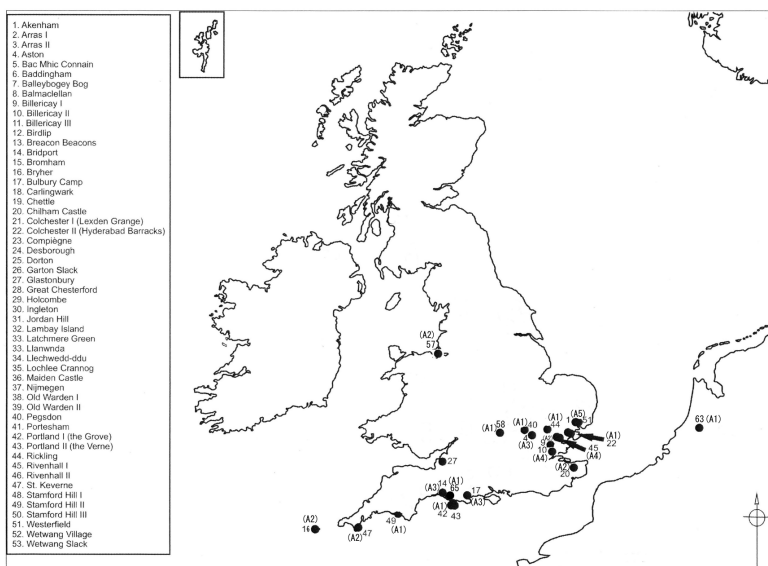


Fig.12 Distribution of Type A mirrors (Phase 1) modified from Joy (2010)

5. Discussion

As a result, we can recognize some trends in Iron Age mirrors from their appearance to disappearance (Fig.15). Firstly, loop handle or non-bar handle types are probably generated and concentrated in southeastern England from around the 1st century BC to early 1st century AD. This almost corresponds with ‘southeastern mirrors’ in previous studies. In these regions, most of the mirrors were buried as grave goods with cremations or inhumations (Table.1).

Bar-handle type and Western types [e.g. A2 and C] are found in Ireland, Wales, Scotland and Cornwall. So there were interactions and loose social alliances or networks during the Late Iron Age around the Irish Sea regions. We can understand this distribution as ‘trans-Irish Sea interaction’. This might be related to some ‘continuity’ of a substratum interaction through prehistory (e.g. Raftery 1984; Cooney and Grogan 1999; Waddell 2010). In these regions, large numbers of mirrors were deposited in watery contexts or in settlements (Table.1). The depositional context was different between these two ‘interactions’.

Secondly, some bronze mirrors are found in the Netherlands and France. These regions belong to so-called ‘Belgic Gaul’. So this means that there was interaction between these regions and southeastern England before the late 1st century AD. The Nijmegen mirror was excavated at a cremation grave with a glass vessel of 2nd century AD date near the Roman town (Dunning 1928). So this mirror was used for a long time as an heirloom by the local group.

Thirdly, bronze mirrors disappeared much earlier in the Essex, Kent and Sussex regions. It is a very interesting and problematic phenomenon. This almost corresponds to the conclusions of previous studies (e.g. Sealy 2006; Joy 2010).

Fig.16 shows the distribution of oppida in the Late Iron Age (Millet 1990). The shaded region shows the absence of the phase 3 mirrors [type D]. In these regions, there are many oppida more influenced by Roman culture than other

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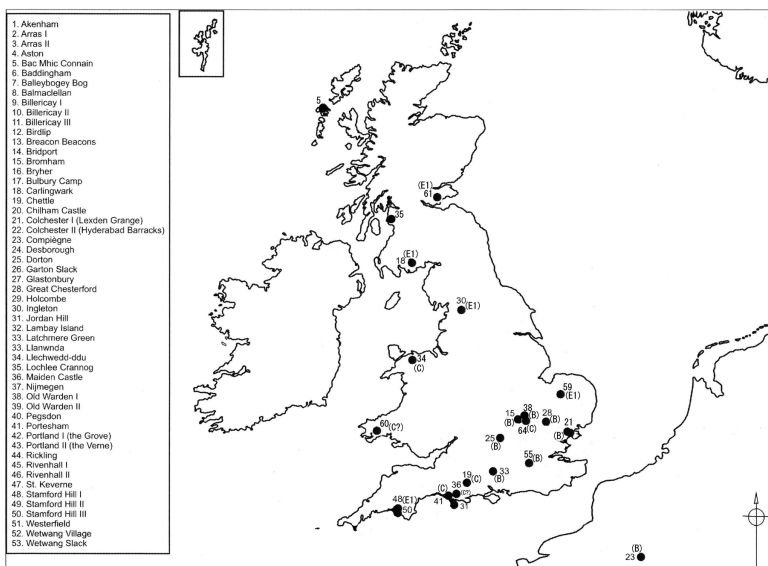


Fig.13 Distribution of Type B, C and E1 mirrors (Phase 2) modified from Joy (2010)

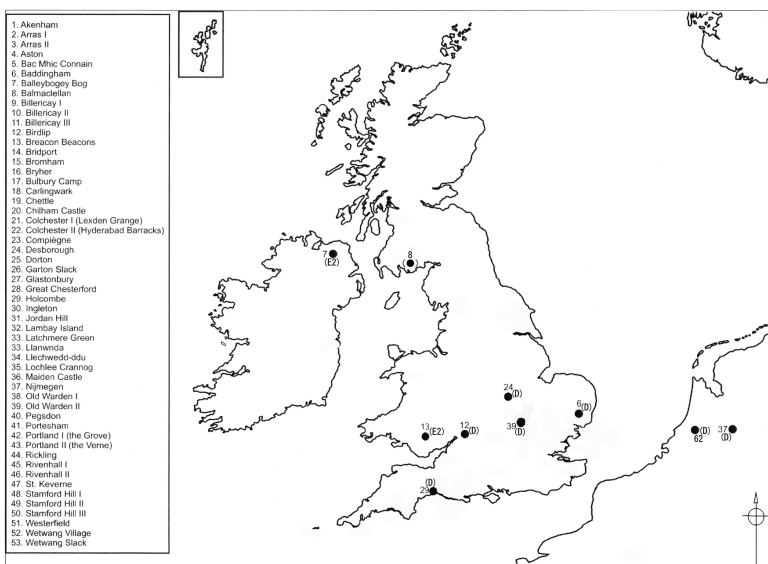


Fig.14 Distribution of Type D and E2 mirrors (Phase 3) modified from Joy (2010)

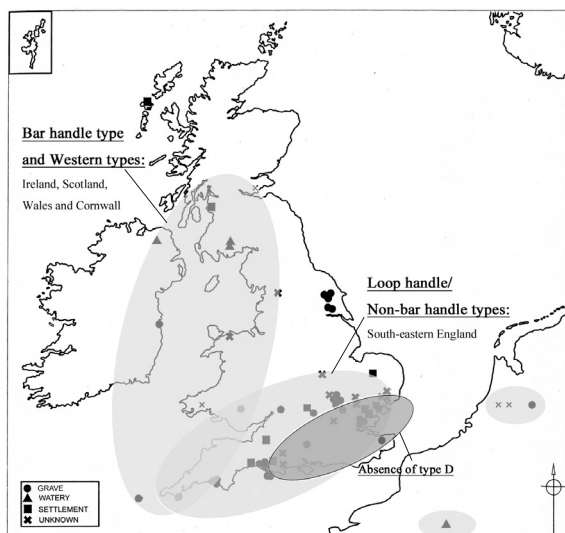


Fig.15 Interactions as seen from the distribution of Iron Age mirrors (modified from Joy 2010)

regions around the early 1st century AD, such as St Albans, Silchester, Chichester, Canterbury and Colchester.

Fig.17 shows the civitates in the Roman Period (Millett 1990). The absence of the phase 3 mirrors in these regions might be the result of Roman influence, in other words, the cessation of use and deposition of bronze mirrors in these regions was much earlier than in other regions. Rich cremation graves such as Welwyn Garden City have a lot of imported artifacts which originated from the Continent, but without traditional mirrors. Although this absence of mirrors in southeastern regions relates to whether these rich cremation graves are for females or not, the imported artifacts are not necessarily associated with these bronze mirrors like type D. I consider this phenomenon to have been caused by the different responses of the local people to the interaction between the southeastern England and Belgic Gaul regions, especially during the early 1st century AD (cf. Creighton 2000, 2006; Hill, 2007).



Fig.16 Distribution of Oppida and the absence of Type D (modified from Millett 1990)

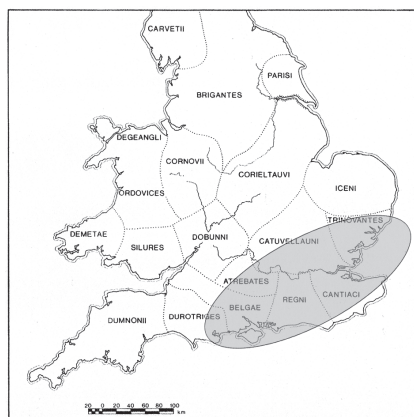


Fig.17 Distribution of the civitates of Roman Britain and the absence of Type D (modified from millett 1990)

6. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I examined the chronology and distribution of Iron Age mirrors in Britain and Ireland during the 4th century BC to 1st century AD, from the perspective of ‘typological’ classification and their relative chronology. As a result, we can recognize two large spheres of interaction in the ‘west’ and ‘east’, and interaction between the southeastern England and Belgic Gaul regions. This is just one aspect of Iron Age mirrors. Mortuary and depositional context would be very important as a consideration of the meaning of these mirrors in the society of Iron Age Britain and Ireland (e.g. Joy 2010; Harding 2016). Although it is believed that type A1 originated from southeastern England, the places of production of mirrors are unclear. Sites like Gassage-All-Saints (Wainwright and Spratling 1973; Wainwright 1979) and Weelsby Avenue have potential as production sites (Joy 2010). In addition, the small amount of material of iron mirrors might be related

to the conditions of preservation and the difficulty of discovery at the archaeological sites (Joy 2010). I anticipate future research results about these problems.

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Figures 16-17: originals are from Millett (1990), modified by the author.

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