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# The Iron Age in Mediterranean France: Colonial Encounters, Entanglements, and Transformations

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*During the last seven centuries of the first millennium BC, the indigenous societies of Mediterranean France underwent a series of gradual social and cultural transformations that are linked in complex ways to their encounter and increasing entanglement with the broader Mediterranean world. This article presents a synthesis of current knowledge of this issue and explores some of the main themes guiding research. New evidence concerning the alien colonial agents (Etruscan, Greek, Punic/Iberian, and Roman), and the contrasting nature of their presence and power in the region, is discussed, as is evidence concerning forms of indigenous engagement with colonial states and paths of social and cultural change. The consumption of alien goods (wine, ceramics) and the adoption of foreign techniques and practices (ceramic production methods, coinage, writing) are examined in terms of the locally situated logic of demand and the ramifications for entanglement and change. Transformations in settlements, ritual spaces, funerary practices, and the agrarian landscape are discussed.*

**KEY WORDS:** Mediterranean France; Iron Age; colonialism; trade; landscape and architecture; funerary ritual.

## INTRODUCTION

Poised at the conjuncture of European prehistory and Mediterranean history, the Iron Age in Mediterranean France has few peers in terms of the richness and importance of its potential contribution to the comparative

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archaeological understanding of precapitalist forms of colonial interaction. For over half a millennium before the Roman conquest of the region in the late second century BC, it was a theater of encounters between several different alien Mediterranean states and a variety of indigenous societies that became entangled in diverse forms of interaction with complex cultural and social ramifications. Following the imposition of Roman imperial control, indigenous societies experienced an equally long period under a very different set of evolving colonial relations that resulted in further major transformations.

Hence, this region offers the possibility for detailed comparative study of millennium-long developmental paths of interrelated colonial situations involving several alien agents (Etruscan, Greek, Phoenico-Punic, Iberian, Roman) engaged in varied modes of interaction (sporadic coastal trade, establishment of permanent trade stations and colonial settlements, conquest and imperial domination) with a variety of indigenous societies. Moreover, this potential is enhanced by the impressive quantity and quality of the archaeological data now available, by the extraordinary chronological control possible, and by the existence of ancient Greek and Roman texts that provide a contemporary view of native societies, albeit from the inherently partial (in both senses of the term) perspective of alien colonists.

The archaeological investigation and documentation of this period have been vigorous, extensive, and of a high standard, particularly over the last couple of decades. However, for the pre-Roman period in particular, scholars outside the region (especially Anglophone scholars) have shown little awareness of this dynamic body of research: even those focusing explicitly upon the process of colonial interaction in the western European Iron Age have tended to rely heavily upon a few severely out-of-date references for this pivotal region despite the wealth of recent studies that have significantly altered our understanding. This article is intended to remedy this curious neglect by providing a synthetic review of recent research in this domain organized according to themes that highlight major research frontiers and suggest the wider implications of this work.

Part of the reason that the Iron Age archaeology of this region is not more widely known is, no doubt, that the material culture and chronology do not fit easily within the classic Hallstatt and La Tène classificatory systems that are considered standard frameworks for the Early and Late Iron Age, respectively, over wide areas of western and central Europe (e.g., see Green, 1995; Moscati, 1991; Wells, 1990). Moreover, although fieldwork has been extremely active, much of this research has been published in regional journals and monograph series of limited circulation, and there have been few attempts at wide-scale synthesis. The first overview of the whole of indigenous Mediterranean France since the highly problematic

work of Benoit (1965) was Py's (1993a) popular text, *Les Gaulois du Midi*. The few other attempts at regional synthesis over the past 30 years have generally focused upon more limited geographical areas within Mediterranean France (e.g., Arcelin, 1976; Barruol, 1975, 1976; Bats, 1989; Dietler, 1990b; Garcia, 1993a; Lagrand, 1987; Py, 1990a).

Iron Age research in Mediterranean France has been evolving at an increasingly rapid pace over the last few decades, largely as a result of both several well-coordinated regional strategies of fieldwork mounted by teams of cooperating scholars around specific themes and recent attempts to reconceptualize interpretive frameworks and questions. For example, Eastern Languedoc has developed from a virtual terra incognita 30 years ago into a region with one of the best documented and most precisely dated records of settlement and burial in all of Europe (e.g., see Dedet, 1992b; Py, 1990a). Similarly, knowledge of the Greek colony of Massalia (modern Marseille) and its hinterland has undergone a major revolution in recent years as a result of both a series of large-scale excavations in the city and programmed campaigns of regional research stimulated by a series of thematic conferences (e.g., see Arcelin *et al.*, 1995; Bats, 1990a; Bats and Tréziny, 1986; Bats *et al.*, 1992). Given the present rapid pace of excavation and publication, this review cannot pretend to be comprehensive or definitive. Rather, it is an attempt to summarize selectively the current state of knowledge and direction along several important and very active research frontiers. Its temporal focus extends from the seventh through the first centuries BC, that is, from the initial phase of the colonial encounter through the early stages of Roman imperial control. The process of Roman colonial administration of the region during the more than half a millennium following military conquest, and of indigenous responses and transformations, is the subject of a vast specialized literature (e.g., see Dyson, 1985; Février, 1989; Goudineau, 1978; Leveau *et al.*, 1993; Rivet, 1988). Obviously, space limitations preclude more than a brief introduction to the early phases of Roman domination here.

## THE NATURAL AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Like most other definitions of regions of study, the concept of Mediterranean France is a pragmatic abstraction, but by no means an entirely arbitrary one. There are several good geographical and cultural reasons for delimiting this area, and the concept is one with some historical depth. In fact, I deal here with an area that corresponds roughly to the ancient Roman province of Gallia Narbonensis: that is, an arc-shaped zone consisting of the Mediterranean coast of France and its hinterland (Fig. 1). The in-

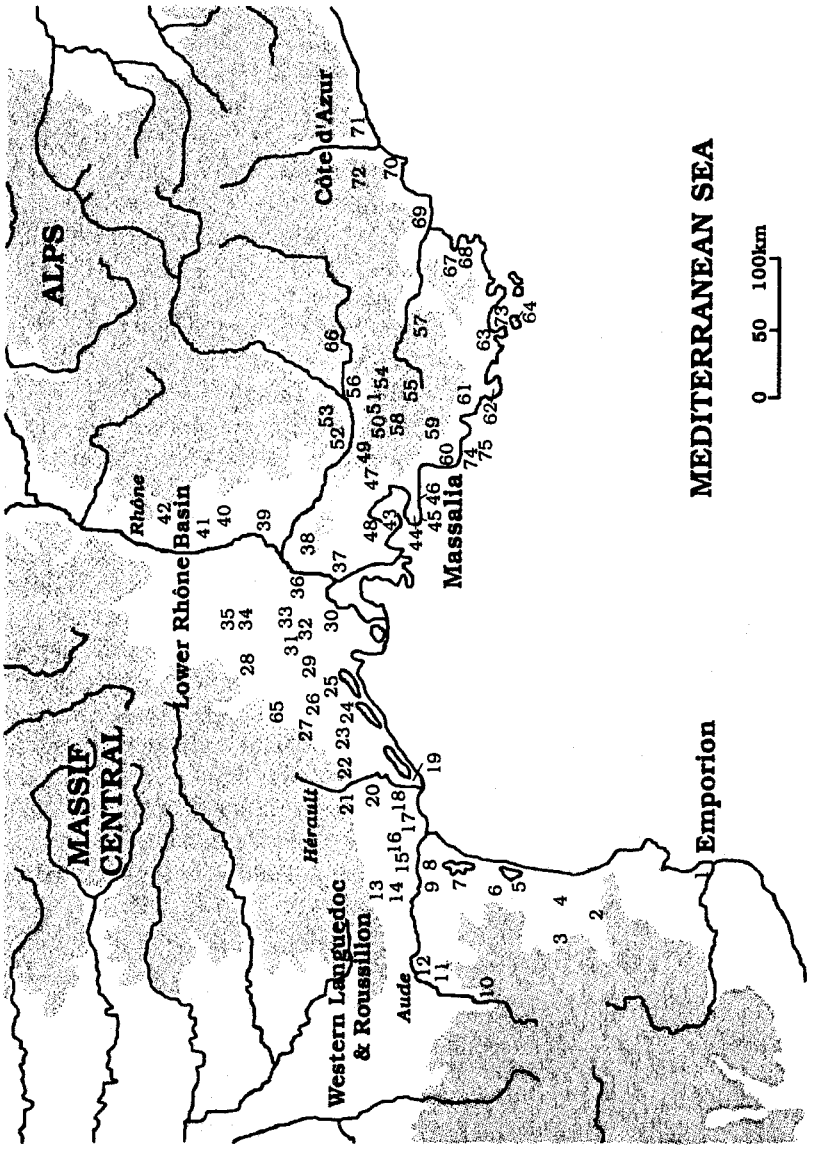
ALPS
MASSIF CENTRAL
Lower Rhône
Rhône Basin
Côte d'Azur
Western Languedoc & Roussillon
Hérault
Aude
Massalia
Emporion
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
0 50 100km

Figure 1: Mediterranean France: regions and sites selected for mention in text

1 - Ampurias/Emporion
2 - Pave
3 - Millas
4 - Ruscino
5 - Le Port, Salses
6 - Le Calla de Durban
7 - Pech-Maho
8 - Montlaurès
9 - Narbonne/Narbo Martius
10 - Las Peyros, Couffoulens
11 - Carsac
12 - La Cité, Carcassonne
13 - Bosquets, Cesseras
14 - Las Fados
15 - Mailhac
16 - Ensérune
17 - Béziers
18 - La Monédière, Bessan
19 - Agde/Agathe
20 - Saint-Julien-de-Pézenas
21 - La Ramasse
22 - Puech Crochu
23 - Les Gardies
24 - Lattes
25 - Mauguio
26 - Sextantio
27 - Cavevieille
28 - Plan-de-la-Tour, Gailhan
29 - Ambrussum
30 - Espeyran
31 - La Bergerie Hermet, Calvisson
32 - Nages
33 - Nimes
34 - Le Marduel
35 - Grotte Suspendue, Collias
36 - Beaucaire
37 - Arles
38 - Glanum
39 - Mourre de Sève
40 - Sainte-Cécile
41 - Orange
42 - Le Pègue
43 - L'Ile, Martigues
44 - Saint-Pierre-les-Martigues
45 - L'Arquet
46 - Tamaris
47 - Roquepertuse
48 - Saint-Blaise
49 - Pierredon
50 - Entremont
51 - Vauvenargues
52 - Pertuis
53 - Saint-Saturnin-les-Apt
54 - Pourrières
55 - Plan d'Aups
56 - Cadarache
57 - Cabasse
58 - La Sérignane, Peynier
59 - Les Baou de Saint-Marcel
60 - Marseille/Massalia
61 - Mont Garou
62 - Six-Fours-les-Plages/Tauroeis
63 - Olbia
64 - La Galère, Porquerolles
65 - Pompignan
66 - Gorges du Verdon
67 - Maravieille
68 - Montjean
69 - Fréjus
70 - Antibes/Antipolis
71 - Nice/Nikaia
72 - Le Baou des Noirs
73 - Lequin 1A
74 - Ecueil de Miet
75 - Plane 2

terior limits of this hinterland are somewhat irregular, being bounded by mountain chains (the Alps, the Cevennes, the Pyrenees) in some areas, but extending deeper into the interior where these mountain ranges are breached by major river valleys (the Rhône and the Aude). The coast itself stretches over about 500 km, and it differs significantly on either side of the Rhône river. The section in the middle, between the two branches of the Rhône after it splits near Arles, is a broad marshy delta called the Camargue. To the east of this delta, running all the way to the Italian border, the coast is rocky, jagged, and dotted with small inlets and bays. To the west, running nearly all the way to Spain, it is a broad expanse of sandy beaches and saline lagoons.

As the name implies, it is the Mediterranean Sea that gives unity to this diverse landscape and assures that the entire zone shares a common Mediterranean climatic and vegetational regime that differs dramatically from temperate France (the northern boundary of this zone corresponds roughly to the climatic limit for the growth of olive trees). In brief, the Mediterranean climate is characterized by hot arid summers and a mild winter season that is also relatively dry. Most of the year's rain falls during the spring and autumn. The "natural" vegetation is characterized by dense scrub and by woodland composed predominantly of green oak, deciduous oak, and Aleppo pine in variable proportions. This vegetation is adapted to both the arid climate and several millennia of extensive human interference. Paleobotanical evidence indicates that woodland was considerably more extensive during the Iron Age than it is today, especially in the lowland areas; but deforestation had been occurring since the Neolithic and this process accelerated during the Iron Age (Arcelin *et al.*, 1982; Chabal, 1989; Loublier, 1992).

Despite this relative climatic and vegetational uniformity, there are important local differences in the natural and cultural landscape of the region which, for current purposes, mandate the differentiation of at least three smaller sub-regions (Fig. 1), called here the Côte-d'Azur, the Lower Rhône Basin, and Western Languedoc/Roussillon (cf. Dietler, 1990b; Py, 1993a). The well-known traditional regional divisions of recent history (Provence, Languedoc, and Roussillon) are less useful for understanding the Iron Age cultural landscape.

The region was inhabited by indigenous speakers of three different languages: Celtic, Iberian, and Ligurian. All three are now extinct in Mediterranean France, although Celtic survives in other parts of Europe. Celtic is a member of the Indo-European family, whereas Iberian was not, and the status of Ligurian is ambiguous (Lambert, 1994; Whatmough, 1970). There is a general association of Iberian with the western part of Mediterranean France, Ligurian with the eastern part, and Celtic with the Lower Rhône Basin and interior Aude basin (Garcia, 1993a; Py, 1993a). But the distributional evidence is very complex (e.g., see Untermann, 1992), and the relationship among language, material culture, the many ("ethnos/gentes") group names employed by Greek and Roman authors (Barruol, 1973, 1975, 1980a; Bats, 1988a; Gayraud, 1981; Py, 1974, 1981; Untermann, 1969), and the phenomenon of ethnicity is extremely complicated, particularly when viewed in historical perspective against the dynamic interrelationship with colonialism (Dietler, 1997a; Py, 1974). Of the many issues related to cultural identity and ethnogenesis, the phenomenon known as "Iberization" in Western Languedoc/Roussillon has been a particularly active focus of recent research (cf. Gailledrat, 1993b; Garcia 1993b; Padró and Sanmartí, 1992; Panosa Domingo 1993; Py, 1993a; Solier, 1976–1978; Ugolini, 1993).

## CHRONOLOGY

As noted earlier, archaeologists of Mediterranean France do not employ the Hallstatt/La Tène chronological framework used in studies of the Iron Age in temperate Western and Central Europe. There are two obvious reasons for this. First, although objects of Hallstatt and La Tène styles were imported into the region, the material culture of Mediterranean France is quite distinctive and not easily incorporated into the stylistic-developmental phases upon which the northern system is based. Second, the major disjunctures that mark the transition between phases in the north are not necessarily correlated with significant events in the south (see Dietler, 1990b, pp. 59–107; Duval *et al.*, 1990 for a detailed discussion of chronological problems and of the correlation of Iron Age chronological phases between Mediterranean France and temperate Europe). Hence, archaeologists in Mediterranean France generally prefer to speak of a *Premier Age du Fer* (Early Iron Age) and a *Deuxième Age du Fer* (Late Iron Age), with various subdivisions having numerical and nominal qualifications.

The specific organization of those subdivisions, however, is a complex matter with significant regional variation (see Fig. 2). At present, there is no universally accepted chronological period system that is applied throughout the whole of Mediterranean France. The scheme of Louis *et al.* (1960), which once served this purpose, is now recognized to be primarily relevant to Western Languedoc/Roussillon; and the system proposed by Py (1993a) is still too recent to have gained wide acceptance in the literature. Moreover, the latter was intended as a heuristic device for orchestrating a broad synthetic discussion of roughly contemporaneous developments across Mediterranean France rather than as a precise chronological tool to be applied in uniform fashion in different local contexts. Considerable local variability exists in the histories of the societies of the different areas of Mediterranean France, and it is the enviable precision with which individual sites and stratigraphic units can be dated and the detailed documentation of regional sequences that make the application of a generalized framework problematic.

The standard dating method is based upon the fact that large numbers of imported objects (especially ceramics) were continuously consumed in the region, and these have often been quite precisely dated in their contexts of production. Because of the long stratified sequences at settlements and the rapid, historically dated stylistic changes in imported ceramics, it is often possible to date stratigraphic units within periods of about 25 years. Hence, it becomes feasible to evaluate genuine contemporaneity between episodes at different sites and understand the historical development of settlements in terms of the progression of generations. Radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology are only infrequently employed (e.g., Bérato *et al.*,

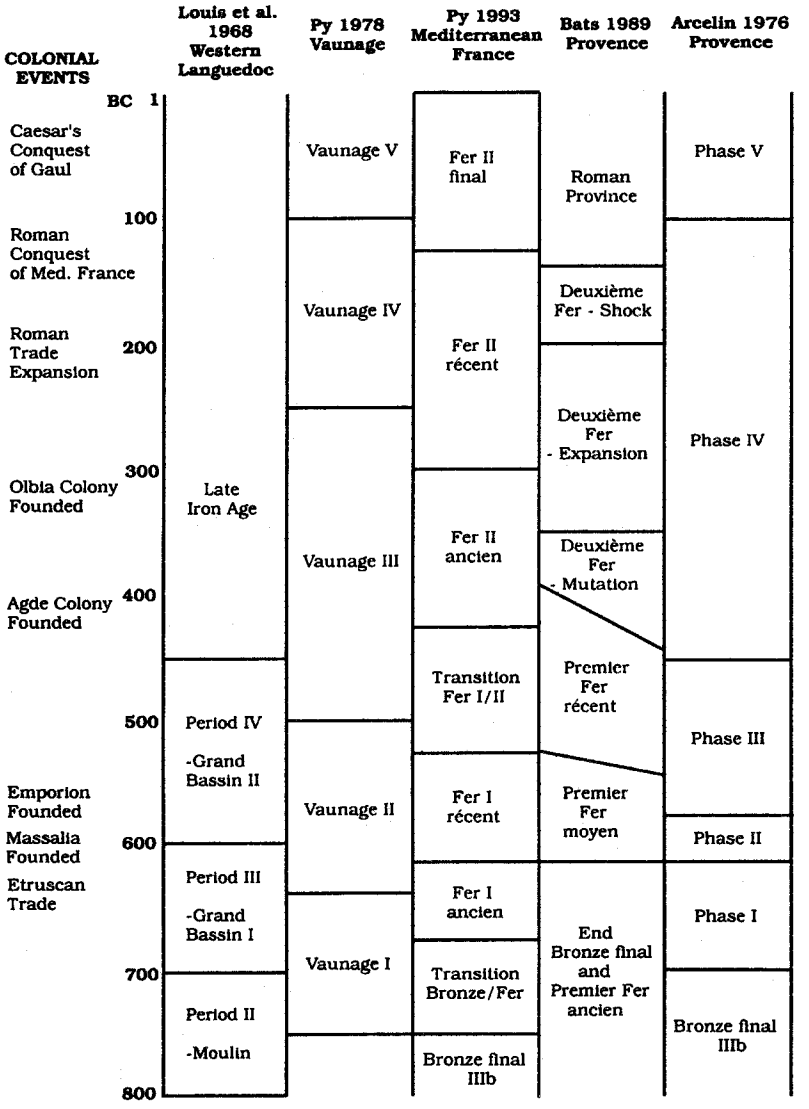


**Fig. 2.** Iron Age period systems for Mediterranean France.

1994; Py, 1990a, p. 21; Thommeret *et al.*, 1986), although, obviously, these methods assume greater importance in the precolonial period.

## THE BRONZE AGE/IRON AGE TRANSITION

Following the work of Lagrand (1968), it became increasingly evident that elements of the material culture characteristic of the end of the Bronze Age (Bronze final IIIb) persisted well into the period normally designated as the Early Iron Age. This is perhaps most marked in the Provence, where objects of Late Bronze Age tradition are found in a few contexts dating as late as the end of the seventh or early sixth century BC (Bats, 1989; Lagrand, 1987). However, a similar, if somewhat less prolonged, process of gradual transition is also evident in Eastern Languedoc, where the transitional phase is believed to extend down to the early seventh century BC (Garmy, 1979; Py, 1990a), and Western Languedoc, where it extends to the late eighth century BC (Janin, 1992). The appearance of certain well defined regional ceramic series has been identified as the most characteristic marker of the beginning of a full "Iron Age" period (Py's "*Fer I ancien*"). In Eastern Languedoc, the "Suspendian facies" (named after the site of the Grotte Suspendue at Collias) serves this role (Py, 1990a; Py *et al.*, 1984), while in Western Languedoc/Roussillon it is the "Grand Basin I" (or Mailhac II) facies that succeeds the transitional "Mailhac I" (Janin, 1992; Louis *et al.*, 1960). In the Provence, although there is clearly a development of Early Iron Age ceramic types, the transition is too gradual to define such a homogeneous set of ceramic markers.

The importance of this period for the present discussion is simply to emphasize that the colonial encounter cannot be viewed as a dramatic external catalyst of change in a static "traditional" indigenous world. Rather, indigenous societies were already experiencing locally variable processes of continuous historical transformation to which the colonial world became a contributing agent. But this contribution was complex and subtle, and it depended as much upon the dynamics of the regional cultural economy and the micropolitics of social relations as upon the macrostructures of the Mediterranean colonial political economy.

## THE COLONIAL AGENTS

### Etruscans

Merchants from the city-states of Etruria, in western Italy, are now usually credited with being the first colonial agents operating in Mediterranean France on a significant scale (Bouloumié, 1980, 1987; Gras, 1985a, b; Morel, 1981b; Py, 1985). This trade apparently began sometime around 630 BC and began to wane only with the increase in Massaliote wine pro-

duction and trading activity during the late sixth and fifth centuries BC. Not only were Etruscans the first colonial agents in this region, but the inhabitants of southern France were by far the biggest consumers of Etruscan exports during this period (Gras, 1985a). The evidence for Etruscan activity in the region consists overwhelmingly of Etruscan wine-transport amphoras, but also of much smaller quantities of Etruscan bucchero nero pottery and other ceramics. There is also a more limited number of small Etruscan bronze basins found in primarily, but not exclusively, funerary contexts (Bouloumié and Lagrand, 1977; Dedet, 1995, pp. 293–294). Among the potentially very earliest imports are also two iron roasting spits of possible Etruscan type discovered very recently in a mid-seventh century BC grave at Mailhac (Janin, 1996)

The nearly exclusive forms of bucchero nero found on indigenous sites are a two-handled drinking cup (*kantharos)* and a wine pitcher (*oinochoai*) (Bouloumié, 1979; Jovino, 1993; Lagrand 1979a; Py, 1979; Rasmussen, 1979). Scattered examples of Etrusco–Corinthian pottery (primarily drinking cups) have also been found with the other imports, as have a few examples of various early Greek painted ceramics (Ionian cups, Corinthian cups, "Rhodian" bowls, etc.) (Bouloumié, 1980, 1987, 1992; Py 1993a). The Greek examples dating to before the foundation of Massalia were previously interpreted as evidence of an exploratory phase of Greek "precolonization." However, given their consistent association with quantitatively dominant Etruscan material in French contexts and their presence in significant quantity in Etruria, these ceramics are now generally considered to have been brought to France as part of mixed cargos by Etruscan merchants (Morel, 1981b).

Among the various kinds of amphoras produced in Etruria, only a limited range was exported to Mediterranean France, and some of these may have been produced exclusively for export (Gras, 1985b). The typology and chronology of forms and fabrics of these amphoras were first worked out on the basis of finds from a series of stratified settlements in southern France. Although several alternative classifications have been proposed (e.g., Carduner, 1981; Marchand, 1982) the most widely accepted system (Fig. 4) is that developed by Py and Py (1974) and subsequently amended (Py, 1985). The precise center(s) of production of these amphoras is still not known, although the territories of Vulci and Caere and the region of Etruscan Campania are frequently proposed candidates (Albore-Livadie, 1978; Gras, 1985b; Spivey and Stoddart, 1990, p. 55).

Unlike the later Greek colonial situation, there is no compelling textual or archaeological evidence to suggest the presence of resident communities of Etruscan traders in southern France. Hypotheses about the existence of such trading posts in the midst of indigenous settlements have been advanced for a few sites, most notably Saint-Blaise in the Provence (Bouloumié, 1982c,

1987) and Lattes in Eastern Languedoc (Py, 1995), primarily on the basis of quantitative analysis of imported ceramics, but also of epigraphy in the case of Lattes (Colonna, 1980). However, at present the evidence is too partial and ambiguous for these cases to be considered anything more than suggestive. What is clear is that the trade in Etruscan goods was largely a coastal phenomenon: there are no indigenous sites with significant quantities of this material more than about 30 km inland. There is a particularly high concentration of Etruscan imports in the Lower Rhône Basin, but Etruscan amphoras constitute an important proportion of imported materials as far west as Roussillon. However, with the exception of the Greek colony of Emporion, Etruscan imports are conspicuously absent, or very poorly represented, at sites farther south in Spain (Morel, 1981b; Rouillard, 1991).

The recent discovery of large quantities of Etruscan amphoras at Marseille (Gantès, 1992b; Hesnard, 1994, 1995) has led to the realization that the first couple of generations of Massaliote colonists also relied predominantly on Etruscan wine. This has also provoked some speculation about whether Massaliote rather than Etruscan merchants might have been primarily responsible for the import and distribution of Etruscan wine in southern France before Massaliote wine production was fully developed. However, the imposition of a trade monopoly by Massalia during the sixth century BC would be a somewhat anachronistic interpretation. A more realistic scenario, based upon the evidence for the flow of foreigners through Greek and Etruscan ports (Baslez, 1984; Gras, 1985b), would envision a heterogeneous mixture of merchants plying the coastal waters in small ships with cargoes of mixed origins. The fairly abundant shipwreck evidence (see below) tends to support this idea.

## Massalia

Massalia (modern Marseille) was the first permanent colonial settlement in the region. It was also by far the largest and most important. The city was founded about 600 BC by Phocaean Greeks on the north shore of the "Lacydon," an inlet in the rocky coast that provided one of the best natural harbors in all of Mediterranean France. Caesar, during his siege of the city in 49 BC, described it as "washed by the sea on three sides" and defended by a rampart on the landward side (Civil War II, 1,1), a description that makes sense in the light of recent excavations and studies of changes in the shoreline since the first century BC (Arnaud-Fassetta, 1995; Morhange *et al.*, 1995; Tréziny, 1995).

Until recently, Marseille was often somewhat sardonically referred to as "the antique city without antiquities." This was a reflection of the fact

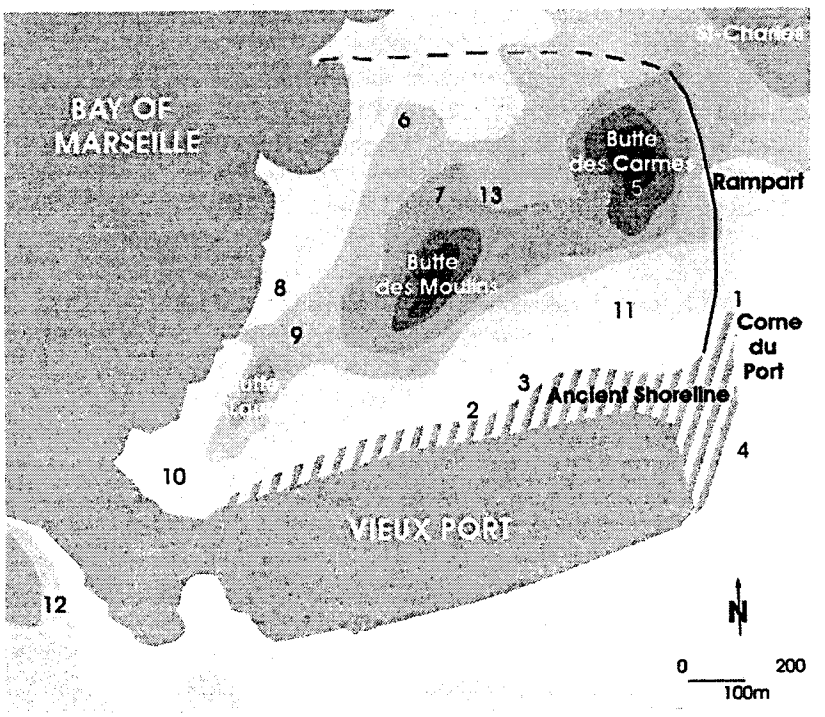


**Fig. 3.** Map of the area of Greek colonial settlement at Marseille showing major excavation sites. The hatched area indicates the edge of the port in the sixth century BC. (1) Centre Bourse. (2) Place Jules-Verne. (3) Musée César. (4) Place Général-de-Gaulle. (5) Butte des Carmes. (6) Rue Leca. (7) Pistoles/Vieille Charité. (8) Rue de la Cathédrale. (9) Place de la Lenche. (10) Fort Saint-Jean. (11) Rue Négrel. (12) Pharo. (13) Parc des Phocéens.

that, although the early city was well known from ancient textual references, no visible remains of monumental architecture had survived the subsequent millennia of continuous occupation, and archaeological documentation was limited (cf. Benoit, 1965; Clerc, 1927; Vasseur, 1914; Villard, 1960). However, the archaeological exploration and understanding of Massalia have undergone a dramatic revolution in the three decades since Villard and Benoit published their interpretations. This is the result of several grand-scale excavations along the edge of the ancient port and a very active program of smaller rescue excavations throughout the interior portion of the city and its northern perimeter (see Fig. 3).

The first of the large-scale excavations began in 1967 at the "Centre Bourse" site along the edge of the ancient "*Corne du Port*" (a now silted-up northward projection of the northeast corner of the current "Vieux Port").

The site contains a complex succession of remains extending in date from the late sixth century BC until the late Roman and Medieval periods (e.g., see Bertucchi *et al.*, 1995; Bonifay and Tréziny, 1995; Euzennat, 1980, 1992; Guery, 1992; Tréziny and Trousset, 1992). Much more recently, two huge excavations have been opened up along the edge of the ancient shoreline (about 60 m north of the current edge of the Vieux Port) at the Place Jules-Verne and the adjacent site of the future Musée César. They encompassed both the land and the water sides of the ancient shore and yielded a spectacular array of finds dating from the sixth century BC through the Roman and later periods. These included extremely well-preserved organic material, such as the remains of nine wooden ships extending back to the sixth century BC (Pomey and Hesnard, 1993), *in situ* wooden dock constructions, cordage, baskets, leather, etc. The excavation has revealed the changing character of the waterfront (including storehouses, boardwalks, piers, etc.) over a period of more than a millennium (Hesnard, 1993, 1994, 1995).

Archaeologists have also been busy exploiting somewhat smaller opportunities for excavation in advance of various construction projects around the city (e.g., see Bouiron, 1995; Conche, 1996; Gantès, 1990, 1992a; Gantès and Moliner, 1990; Moliner, 1996; Richarté *et al.*, 1995). What all this evidence is beginning to reveal is a bustling port city of, at its maximum extent, about 50 ha. Although this is vastly larger than any other colonial or indigenous settlement in Mediterranean France until the Roman period, it is relatively small by the standards of Greek colonies in southern Italy or Etruscan cities (Tréziny, 1986) or even many of the "oppida" of Late Iron Age temperate Europe (Audouze and Büchsenschütz, 1991; Collis, 1984; Wells, 1984). The city extended over three large hills contained on a quasi-peninsula overlooking a small harbor and defended on its landward (northern) side by a rampart. The rampart has been detected only in patches, but it clearly ran from the entrance to the city at the *Corne du Port* around the northern perimeter of the Butte des Carmes and off to the west to join the sea at an as yet unknown location(s). The rampart had several phases of construction, but it was already in place at the Centre Bourse by the late sixth century BC (Bonifay and Tréziny, 1995). This early rampart had a foundation of white limestone from the nearby quarry of Saint-Victor and a superstructure of mud-brick. The rampart was rearranged at least once before being replaced in the second century BC by a new construction in pink limestone from the quarry of La Couronne, about 30 km to the west along the coast (Tréziny and Trousset, 1992). Outside the rampart gate, to the east of the *Corne du Port*, was a swampy wetland zone, and various attempts were made to stabilize roads leading through

this area by laying down beds of pebbles, clay and hundreds of empty amphoras (Bouiron, 1995; Guéry, 1992).

Excavations at the Place Jules-Verne have revealed the presence of a substantial wharf construction of large stone blocks in this area already in the late sixth century BC. Over the centuries the shoreline continued to shift as a result of silting and changes in water level, and dock installations were repeatedly reconstructed. During the fourth century BC, this area was apparently used for shipbuilding; and for the last few centuries BC, the shore is littered with the remains of hoists (poles, ropes, etc.) for maneuvering ships into drydock. From the first century AD on, a series of more substantial wharfs of wood and stone construction and warehouses filled with large storage jars (*dolia*) was built (Hesnard, 1993, 1994, 1995).

Inside the walls of the city there is not yet enough evidence to reconstruct a coherent plan of streets, quarters, and public buildings. However, what is visible from the scattered patches of evidence indicates rapid expansion and continual transformation of the settlement (changes in the structure of domestic units, the organization and orientation of housing blocks and streets, and the function of particular sites). For example, the Rue Leca site, at the base of the Butte des Moulins, served as a dump for houses on top of the hill during the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC. Around the mid-fifth century BC it became a potters' area, with the installation of a very large circular kiln for amphoras and a basin, perhaps for clay preparation. At the end of the century it was replaced by a building with evidence of iron- and bronzeworking, and during the late third century this was replaced by an impressive public bath complex. This in turn was destroyed in the second century BC and replaced with a large domestic structure with an interior courtyard and a workshop for metallurgy (Conche, 1996).

On present evidence, which is admittedly still patchy, it appears that the first generation of colonists probably occupied only about 12 ha on the western end of the peninsula. However, by the middle of the sixth century BC the settlement had grown to perhaps about 30 ha and included the Butte des Moulins. By the late sixth century BC an area of perhaps 40 ha (now including the Butte des Carmes and extending to the *Corne du Port*) was enclosed by a rampart. From the late fourth through the second centuries BC, the settlement expanded again to reach a maximum size of about 50 ha (Gantès, 1992a; Tréziny, 1995).

Strabo (IV, 1,4; XII, 1,41) noted the presence of two large temples, dedicated to Artemis and Apollo, and a sanctuary to Athena; however, archaeological evidence of these and the other public structures that were normal for a major Greek city is still meager. More recent finds include the third-century BC bath complex at the Rue Leca mentioned earlier (Conche, 1996), a few traces of water control facilities (Moliner, 1990; Trousset, 1990), and

a probable small sanctuary of the fourth century BC and later, discovered at the northeast foot of the Butte des Moulins, at the Parc des Phocéens site (Gantès, 1992a; Gantès and Moliner, 1990). Although funerary evidence is still underrepresented, at least seven cemeteries have been identified, always on the exterior of the city. Unfortunately, some of this evidence was collected in older, uncontrolled excavations dating as early as the eighteenth century; but this information has been augmented by a number of recent excavations (e.g., Moliner, 1994). The cemeteries are all on what would have been marginal land (from an agrarian perspective), usually along presumed roads. The earliest graves known date to the early fifth century BC and are to the east of the city, at the rue Tapis-Vert. For the later fifth and fourth centuries BC, several contemporary cemeteries were in operation, including some funerary terrace structures at the Centre Bourse. A few of the cemeteries are located at considerable distances from the city. For example, Saint-Mauront (with fifth–fourth century BC graves) is 1.5 km northeast of the city, and two sites have been located on the south shore of the Lacydon, an area devoid of contemporary settlement. The quantity of cases is still insufficient to discern the general structures of funerary practice. However, it appears that both cremation and inhumation were practiced contemporaneously, with some cemeteries practicing one or the other and some cemeteries practicing both simultaneously (Bertucchi, 1992b).

As discussed later, the articulation of Massalia's trade with native societies depended for centuries primarily on two related products: wine and ceramics designed for its consumption. Over the centuries, Massalia used several types of amphoras to transport its wine (Bats, 1990a; Bertucchi, 1992a) (see Fig. 4). The most common type from the sixth through the second centuries BC underwent a gradual evolution in form (Bertucchi, 1992a; Py, 1978b; Wallon, 1979) but had a consistent heavily micaceous fabric. Production of this "typical" class of amphora did not begin until about 540 BC. It was preceded slightly by an amphora type with feldspathic temper (Benoit, 1965, p. 182) and later succeeded by another type with a different kind of nonmicaceous fabric (Bertucchi, 1982, 1983).

A controversial hypothesis that the micaceous amphoras were actually produced at several locations about 100 km east of Marseille along the littoral of the Côte-d'Azur (Echallier, 1982, 1983), with its radical implications for Massaliote control of a far-flung viticultural zone, has been effectively refuted by subsequent clay chemistry and petrographic studies (Picon, 1985; Reille, 1985; Ricq-de Bouard, 1985; see also Fillières, 1978) and the very recent identification of a kiln producing these amphoras at Marseille (Conche, 1996). It is now accepted that the amphoras were made from local Marseille clays with the artificial addition of mica temper imported from a source about 90 km east along the coast. Recent

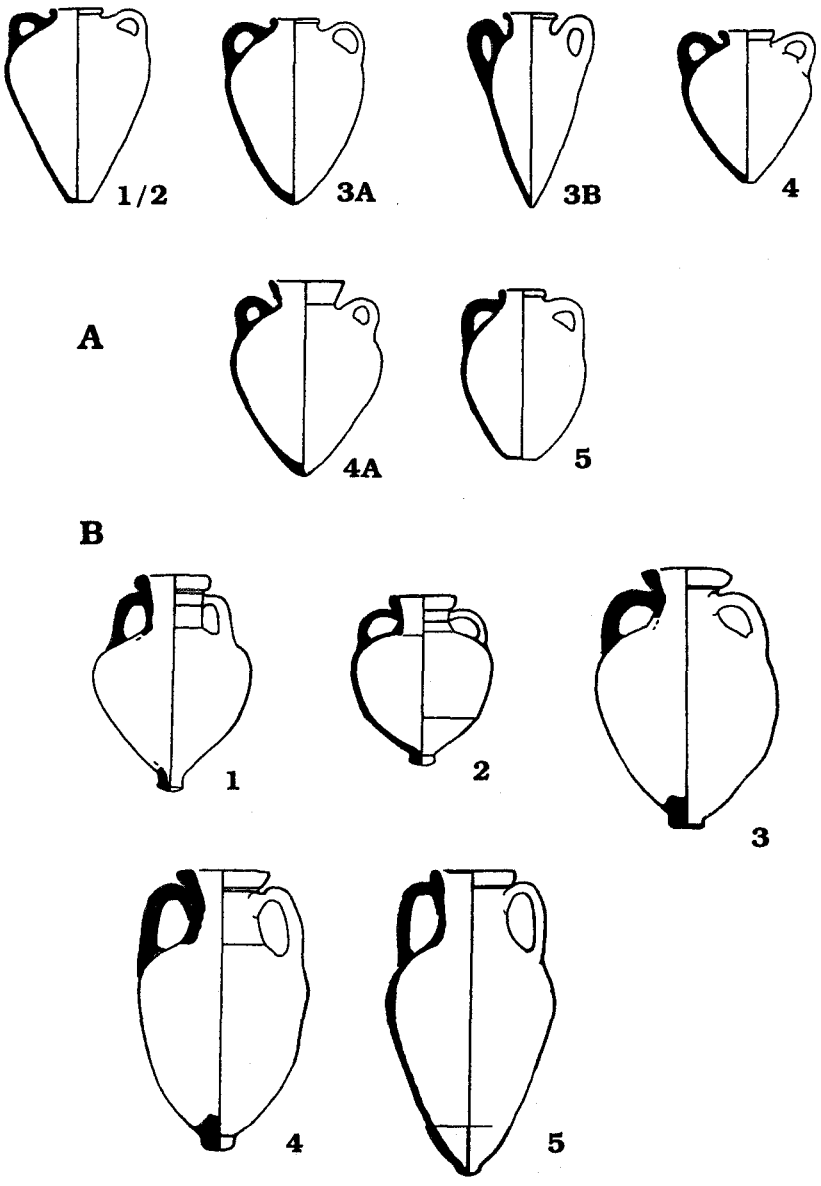


Fig. 4. Examples of Etruscan amphoras (A), showing typology of Py (1995), and Massaliote amphoras (B), showing typology of Bertucchi (1992).

petrographic analysis of kiln wasters of the early amphoras with a "feldspathic" fabric has demonstrated exactly the same pattern (Reille and Abbas, 1992). Excavations at the site of Saint-Jean du Désert have further revealed traces of a vineyard in close proximity to the city dating probably to the third–first centuries BC (Boissinot, 1995). The vast majority of the wine produced by Massalia was consumed in Mediterranean France, but small quantities of these amphoras have also been found at a few late Hallstatt and early La Tène sites in temperate France, Switzerland, and southern Germany, as well as in other areas of the Western Mediterranean (Bats, 1990a; Bertucchi, 1992a; Dietler, 1990b, pp. 194–229; Lüscher, 1996).

Massaliote production of its own ceramic fineware began within a generation after the founding of the colony. This initially involved two series of wares known as "*céramique claire*" (or "Pseudo-Ionian") and "Gray-Monochrome," that were simultaneously consumed at Massalia and its eventual subcolonies, traded to the native peoples of the region, and quickly imitated in indigenous workshops. A much larger repertoire of forms of these wares was employed at the Greek sites than at native settlements (where, initially, drinking cups, wine pitchers, and small bowls tended to be the only numerically significant Greek forms in demand). Massalia also produced a series imitating Attic ceramics from the last quarter of the fifth through the last quarter of the fourth centuries BC (Py, 1978c, 1993e). At least a major portion of the common cooking ware used at Massalia and its subcolonies (Bats, 1988c, 1993) was also presumably manufactured at Marseille. Finds of kiln wasters and/or kilns indicate that pottery production took place at several locations in the city at different times (Benoit, 1965; Bertucchi, 1982; Bertucchi *et al.*, 1995; Conche, 1996).

## Massaliote Chora and Colonies

The extent and nature of the *chora* of the colonial city (i.e., the extra-urban zone under its direct political control) have been the subject of considerable recent research and debate (Bats and Tréziny, 1986). Understanding this intermediate, limnal space, which lay (both physically and conceptually) between the walled city and the greater network of its interactions with indigenous peoples, is an important part of comprehending the colonial situation. This was the zone upon which the colonists depended for at least an important part of their subsistence and which served as a buffer against the occasional hostility of their neighbors. In the case of Massalia, for which wine served for many centuries as the primary commodity that articulated interaction with the natives, the city also became

dependent upon its chora for the vineyards that enabled it to sustain its relations with indigenous peoples.

Investigating the establishment and evolution of such a territory is a complex endeavor (see Bats, 1986; Garcia, 1995; Morel, 1986, 1995b; Plana Mallart, 1994; Tréziny 1986). There are various ways for a colony to exert control over a territory that originally belonged to native peoples, and these may involve very different kinds of boundaries or borders. Such possibilities include, for example, colonists forcibly ejecting indigenous peoples beyond a certain perimeter, conquering an area and ruling over native settlements left in place as clients, or inserting themselves into native political contests as an ally and using some native groups to expel or subdue others. The archaeological detection of the extent of a chora in the latter two cases will be considerably more difficult than in the former. There is also the problem in defining colonial "territories" of confusing different spaces (economic, cultural, political) of dependence, "influence" and mere contact that will necessarily extend well beyond the chora proper and will not necessarily overlap in a coherent fashion.

Despite the interpretive difficulties, the weight of current opinion (e.g., Arcelin, 1986, 1992b; Bats 1986) supports a reconstruction of the extent of the Massaliote chora that is far smaller than that proposed by earlier scholars (e.g., Clavel-Lévêque, 1977; Villard, 1960; Wever, 1966). Until at least the late third century BC, it appears to have been confined largely within a radius of less than 10 km from the city, in the area of the Huveaune valley that was ringed by hills dotted with native settlements such as Les Baou de Saint-Marcel, only 8 km east of the port (Gantès and Rayssiguier, 1980; Guichard and Rayssiguier, 1993; Rayssiguier, 1983). It was not until about 400 years after its foundation that Massalia was able to expand its territory beyond this zone to some of the surrounding, more fertile plains; and the fate of its territory during the last couple of centuries BC appears to have been intimately linked to the expanding power of Rome. Ironically, Roman activity in southern France may well have first enabled Massalia to acquire a larger chora and then taken it away. After its ill-fated support of the losing side in the Roman Civil War in 49 BC, it appears that Massalia's territory was again reduced to its former meager extent in the Huveaune valley (Bats 1989, pp. 204-205).

Population estimates are notoriously difficult, but Bats (1986, p. 23) and Py (1993a, p. 46) have offered tentative figures of about 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants for Marseille at the time of the Roman siege in 49 BC. Yield estimates for Greek agriculture are also highly problematic (Isager and Skydsgaard, 1992), but the small chora attributed to Massalia before the late third century BC is generally thought to be of insufficient size to meet the subsistence demands of a much smaller populations than this.

Moreover, Strabo (IV, 1,5) described the land of Massalia as being planted with vines and olive trees, but generally too poor for grain. Hence, the colony almost certainly would have depended upon indigenous peoples to maintain its grain supply.

However, Massalia also had the sea, which was not only a rich source of protein from fish but a convenient communication route that allowed expansion of the range of the native trading network in a dendritic fashion both east and west along the coast of Mediterranean France. It also enabled Massalia, eventually, to establish a series of secondary colonial settlements along this coast. Various Greek and Roman authors (e.g., Strabo IV, 1,5; IV, 1,9) mentioned these colonies by name, and in addition to the fact that many have preserved corrupted versions of their original Greek name, most have been positively identified by archaeological research. The earliest of these was Agathé (modern Agde), founded at the end of the fifth century BC at the mouth of the Hérault river (Nickels, 1981, 1982, 1995). During the late fourth century BC, Olbia was founded near modern Hyères (Bats, 1988c, 1989, pp. 216-220, 1995; Coupry, 1954). Although the dates are somewhat less clear, it was probably during the third century BC that Antipolis was founded at Antibes (Ducat, 1982) and Nikaia at Nice (Ducat, 1982). A colony called Tauroeis was also founded near the end of the third century BC, probably at the site of Le Brusc, near Six-Fours-les-Plages (Brien-Poitevin, 1990). Another small Massaliote outpost, a fishing village founded near the beginning of the first century BC, has also been identified recently at the site of La Galère on Porquerolles island, near Hyères (J.-P. Brun, 1991, 1992).

A Greek presence of a different kind (small diasporic communities of Greek traders resident at indigenous sites) has also been suggested to have existed during the sixth century BC near the site where the colony of Agde was later founded (Nickels, 1983, 1995), as well as at sites such as Arles, Espeyran, Lattes, La Monédière, and Pech-Maho (Bats, 1992, p. 272). However, in most cases the archaeological demonstration of this hypothesis is less than clear; and even the more generally accepted cases of early Agde and Arles (Arcelin, 1990, 1995; Nickels, 1983, 1995) present some interpretive enigmas.

The functions of the Massaliote colonies were probably somewhat mixed (Bats, 1992; Morel, 1992, 1995b). Strabo (IV, 1,5; IV, 1,9) emphasized their essentially defensive character, stating that they were established as strongholds to defend against the indigenous peoples and, especially, to keep the sea lanes clear. However, it is uncertain to what extent this is an accurate reflection of the goal of their foundation or whether it indicates a set of subsequent relations and functions that had developed by Strabo's time. In any case, the Provençal colonies were clearly not defending Mas-

saliote land holdings because it appears that it was only through Roman intervention that these settlements acquired narrow strips of land that were not under native control. The military character of some colonies would seem to be supported by the lack of significant resources of trading interest around a site such as Antibes (although see Ducat, 1982) and the impressive fortifications and highly uniform layout of a settlement such as Olbia (Bats, 1989, p. 220, 1995). However, it is less clear in a case such as Agde, which was at the mouth of a river leading to important metal resources and which, in contrast to the Provençal colonies, appears to have had a more developed chora (Garcia, 1995). Agde was also the only one of these subcolonies to develop its own ceramic industries for trade to the natives of the region. None of the subcolonies appears to have been a producer of wine, and all were quite small in comparison to Massalia. Agde and Olbia, which are the best explored and documented of these sites, covered areas of about 4.25 and 2.5 ha, respectively (Rouillard, 1991, p. 258). Agde is well situated in a detailed microregional study of its territory and its relationship to neighboring indigenous societies, showing that its chora could provide an adequate agrarian base for its small population (Garcia, 1993a, 1995).

## Emporion

Although Massalia and its colonies were the only Greek settlements in Mediterranean France, they were by no means isolated in the Western Mediterranean. In fact, Massalia was simply the first of a number of colonies and trading posts founded by Phocaea in the far west (on the eastern and southeastern coasts of Spain, the island of Corsica, and on the coast of southwestern Italy) as part of a late and final wave of Greek colonization (see Morel, 1975, 1983a, b, 1992, 1995b; Rouillard, 1991, 1995). Among these Phocaean establishments, the Spanish site of Emporion (modern Ampurias) looms large in interpretations of the colonial situation in Western Languedoc/Roussillon.

Emporion was founded within a few decades of Massalia just south of the Pyrenees on the Catalan coast (see Marcet and Sanmartí-Grego, 1989; Plana Mallart, 1994; Rouillard, 1991, pp. 244–281; Sanmartí-Grego, 1992). In marked contrast to Marseille, the size of the Greek settlement at Emporion was never more than about 5 ha, and the population probably did not exceed about 1500 people (Sanmartí-Grego, 1992, p. 29). Ancient texts emphasize that the Greeks were essentially surrounded by a large native settlement. Modern excavations have tended to confirm the small and dependent nature of the colony and to suggest an intimate process of co-

existence with indigenous peoples of a type quite different from that at Massalia (Sanmartí-Grego, 1992).

Emporion has frequently been credited with a dominant role in controlling the trade in various kinds of imports to indigenous societies in Western Languedoc/Roussillon. Indeed, it has even been implicated as a major factor in the process of "Iberization" mentioned earlier, including the introduction of the Iberian script to the region. Some scholars have even seen a division of Mediterranean France into two large colonial spheres controlled by Massalia and Emporion, respectively, with the border between the two lying around the Hérault valley (Sanmartí-Grego, 1992). Although it had its own coinage, produced its own ceramics (*céramique claire* and Gray-Monochrome) for local consumption and very limited export, and (according to Strabo III, 4, 9) was known for its linen production, unlike Massalia, Emporion never developed a wine production of export capacity (Rouillard, 1991, p. 261). Rather, it was primarily an importer of wine of various origins and a large consumer of Attic ceramics, both of which features are also reflected on indigenous sites of the area. The majority of amphoras was always of Ibero-Punic origin, although the mix of wines was quite heterogeneous, including those from Corinth, southern Italy, and Carthaginian Africa or Sicily (Sanmartí-Grego *et al.*, 1995). The central question, yet to be resolved, is whether the similar mix of amphoras on native settlements of Western Languedoc/Roussillon (including particularly the quantitative dominance of Ibero-Punic amphoras) was a result of Emporion acting as a central clearinghouse and controlling middleman or, more likely, a heterogeneous mix of Emporitan, Iberian, Punic, and other traders operating throughout the region.

## Phoenician, Punic, and Iberian Traders

Phoenician colonists established a number of small settlements along the coast of southern Spain beginning in the eighth century BC, and during the sixth and fifth centuries BC, the increasingly powerful former Phoenician colony of Carthage became active in southern Spain (Aubet, 1993; Gras *et al.*, 1995). One important result of the colonial encounter in this region was the genesis of an indigenous "Iberian culture," with its own alphabet adapted from the Phoenician script and certain distinctive forms of settlement, ceramics, and other aspects of material culture (Ruiz and Molinos, 1993).

The importance of all this activity for Mediterranean France is that near the end of the seventh century BC, a few objects from this Phoenico-Punic-Iberian domain began to appear in the region. Initially, these

consisted of a small number of finds (a few bronze belt hooks and some apparent local imitations of ceramics of Punic type) at a few scattered sites in Western Languedoc/Roussillon, such as the Cayla de Mailhac and the cemetery of Agde (Nickels *et al.*, 1989; Solier, 1976–1978; Taffanel *et al.*, 1992). But from the mid-sixth century BC on, the quantity of amphoras, in particular, became significant at many sites throughout Mediterranean France. East of the Hérault, Phoenico-Punic amphoras never constituted more than a tiny minority of the amphoric material. Although they are found on scattered settlements in the Provence and Eastern Languedoc (including Marseille and its colony, Olbia), the imports of this area were always heavily dominated by vessels of Etruscan and Massaliote origin (Dietler, 1990b; Py, 1990a, 1993a). However, in Western Languedoc/Roussillon (particularly west of the Orb river), Phoenico-Punic amphoras became the numerically dominant type (Ugolini and Pezin, 1993). The rubric "Phoenico-Punic" is used here rather generally to indicate a series of amphoras that actually have diverse origins (North Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, Spain) within the Phoenician and Carthaginian colonial world and that were produced from the eighth through the first centuries BC (Fig. 5) (Adroher Auroux, 1993a, b; Castanyer *et al.*, 1993; Cintas, 1950; Maña, 1951; Mata Parreño and Bonet Rosaldo, 1992; Ramón Torres, 1995; Ribera, 1982; Solier, 1968a; Vuillemot, 1965).

An important unresolved question about these amphoras is the extent to which their presence in Mediterranean France indicates that merchants from the Phoenico-Punic colonies in Spain travelled north and interacted with indigenous peoples of the region. As noted above, it has often been suggested that Greek traders from Emporion were the main agents articulating this trade between the two colonial domains. However, Iberians may have participated as well, and perhaps most likely of all is a complex mixture of all of these strands of colonial activity. In any event, unlike the Phocaean case, there is no textual or archaeological evidence indicating a Punic colony or trade station in the region; although Untermann (1980) has argued on linguistic grounds that Ruscino (the name in ancient Graeco-Roman texts for the site of Château-Roussillon) may be a Phoenician toponym. What is clear is that the trade that brought Phoenico-Punic amphoras to the shores of southern France also resulted in the transport of some Iberian painted pottery into the region and that it was implicated, in as yet poorly understood ways, in the process called "Iberization" that became particularly marked among indigenous societies of Western Languedoc/Roussillon during the fifth century BC.

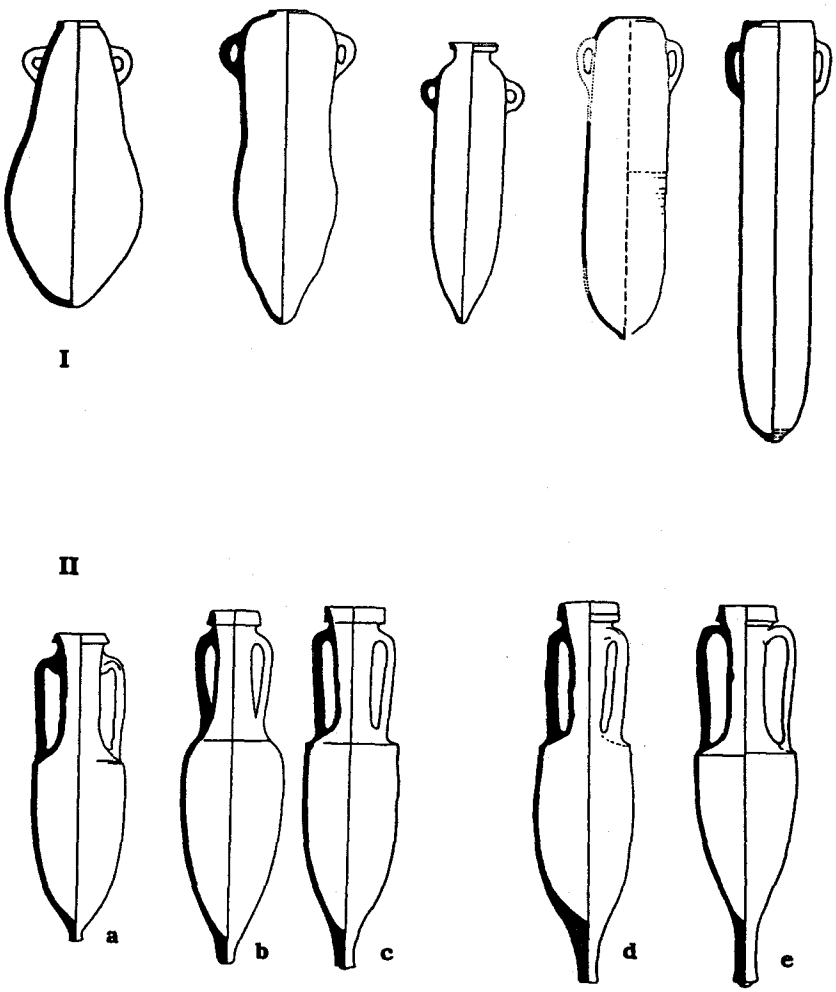


Fig. 5. Examples of Punic amphoras (from Maña, 1951) and Roman amphoras of Dressel 1a (a, b, c) and 1b (d, e) type (from Laubenheimer, 1990).

## Romans

Roman involvement in Mediterranean France differed radically in character from that of any of the other colonial agents discussed above. Rome was the first of the Mediterranean states to have ambitions, and the military and administrative capacity, to impose territorial control beyond a

small chora surrounding a port city. Its entry into the region was initially through a major influx of trade, but this was soon followed by progressive military conquest and the gradual imposition of a system of imperial administration that resulted in major transformations of indigenous culture and society. With the arrival of the Roman army, southern France changed from a heterogeneous collection of politically autonomous indigenous societies (albeit deeply entangled with the Mediterranean world through trade, intermarriage, mercenary activity, conflict, and treaties) to a subject province of the Roman Empire.

The eventual sociocultural effects of Roman domination were profound, but they were neither immediate nor uniform. The persistence of local coinages and of the Gallo-Greek and Iberian scripts many decades after the conquest hint at the slow and locally variable nature of the insinuation of Roman cultural hegemony. However, to name only the most obvious of the eventual transformations that stemmed from this colonial situation, the Roman occupation resulted in the gradual extinction of indigenous languages throughout the region and their replacement with Latin, as well as the dramatic restructuring of the landscape. The latter process included both the reorganization of rural landholdings and routes of communication and the creation of public monuments and other structures that continue to mark the rural landscape and orientate the urban environment of many cities throughout the region to this day (the innumerable remains of bridges, aqueducts, arenas, theaters, baths, etc.).

From the third century BC, Italian imports began to flow into the region on an increasingly massive scale (Goudineau, 1983). Black-gloss Campanian tableware (particularly the Campanian A series) was the first of such goods to arrive in quantity (Morel, 1981a, 1990; Py, 1993b). As elsewhere throughout the Western Mediterranean, they became particularly abundant during the second century BC. These ceramics were initially associated with the importation of wine in "Graeco-Italic" amphoras (Hesnard *et al.*, 1989; Tchernia, 1986; Will, 1982), but after about 130 BC, Italic wine amphoras of the Dressel 1 type became predominant (Fig. 5). The latter were imported on an unprecedented scale not only into southern France but also to the rest of Gaul (Hesnard, 1990; Roman, 1983; Tchernia, 1983, 1986). Using evidence from numerous shipwrecks and terrestrial consumption sites, Tchernia (1986, p. 86) has estimated that during the period corresponding roughly to the first century of Roman occupation of Gallia Narbonensis, 55 to 65 million of these amphoras (containing 20–25 liters of wine each) may have been imported into Gaul from Italy.

The military conquest and political domination of Mediterranean France rapidly followed the first economic incursion. According to textual evidence, Rome had a longstanding alliance of friendship with Massalia

dating back to the fourth century BC, and at least twice during the first half of the second century BC (in 181 and 154 BC), Rome responded to calls for aid from Massalia in conflicts with its indigenous neighbors. In 125/23 BC, another such appeal from Massalia for help in combatting the Saluvii resulted in Roman intervention on a large scale and the beginning of Roman control of the region. Although textual evidence is lacking, Roman control of Western Languedoc/Roussillon may even predate this event, as the area may have been taken over as part of Rome's seizure of Iberia after the Second Punic War.

In any case, the Roman colony of Narbo Martius (Narbonne) was established in Western Languedoc in 118 BC (Gayraud, 1981). Then began a gradual process of pacification of native resistance, construction of an administrative infrastructure, and implementation of cultural technologies of control geared toward the production of a "colonization of consciousness" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992) necessary to naturalize a hegemonic imperial order. This consolidation of Roman coercive and ideological control throughout Mediterranean France first required a series of further military campaigns over the next 60 years to quell various revolts and to subdue "pirates" along the coast. In 46 or 45 BC, Caesar established at Narbonne the first of a series of colonial settlements populated by veterans of the Roman legions. Others of this type were established at Béziers, Arles, Orange, and Fréjus before 27 BC; and these sites witnessed the gradual construction of monumental civic architecture in the Roman style (arenas, theaters, baths, arches, etc.) as well as the construction of networks of roads and aqueducts leading into these cities (Février, 1973, 1981, 1989; Goudineau, 1978; Rivet, 1988). Despite the early date of conquest, the effect of Roman occupation on the location and structure of indigenous settlements, while exhibiting considerable regional variation, appears not to have had a particularly dramatic impact until after the mid-first century BC.

One aspect of Roman occupation that has been the focus of much recent research is the colonial transformation of the agrarian landscape, a process that has been traced especially through the study of centuriation, or cadastration. Cadastration is the systematic demarcation and registration of land by means of careful surveying, usually for purposes of taxation and definition of property rights by the state. Although it was an important and ubiquitous colonial practice of the Romans (Clavel-Lévêque, 1983b), cadastration was by no means a Roman invention. Earlier Greek cadasters have also been identified; and indeed, the earliest cadaster system yet identified in Mediterranean France is that established around the Greek colony of Agde [about which there has been considerable recent debate concerning the dimensions of the units and the precise date of its establishment (cf. Clavel-Lévêque, 1982; Guy, 1995)]. While the Greeks generally preferred

long rectangular units for their rural demarcations, the Romans favored a more uniform system of square units called "centuriae," usually measuring 2400 × 2400 Roman ft, in a continuous grid around a city (Dilke, 1985; Favory, 1983).

The study of cadasters (using aerial photography, test excavations, ancient texts, and boundary markers) has been actively pursued in France since the 1950s, but results over the past couple of decades have been particularly informative for the Mediterranean region (cf. Chouquer, 1993; Chouquer and Favory, 1991, 1992; Clavel-Lévêque, 1983a; Leveau *et al.*, 1993; Perez, 1995). These analyses are rife with controversy, particularly about dating. However, at least three major phases in the imposition and transformation of Roman cadaster systems on the agrarian landscape are at least tentatively discernible. The earliest systems, excluding prior Greek cadasters, probably date between the late second century BC and about 60 BC and are known as Narbonne 1, Béziers B, Nîmes A and Valence A. The second phase probably dates to the period of the Caesarian colonial foundations in the third quarter of the first century BC, and a final phase, beginning after 27 BC and extending into the first couple of centuries AD, saw further reorientations of the networks at Narbonne, Béziers, and Nîmes.

## Shipwrecks and the Nature of Maritime Trade

A very active program of underwater archaeology over the last 40 years in the coastal waters of Mediterranean France has yielded a wealth of ancient shipwrecks that furnish important complementary information about the nature of maritime trade that is not available from terrestrial consumption sites. These wrecks provide crucial data about the size and cargo capacity of trading ships, the specific composition of cargoes, the origin of ships and the identity of traders, and the pattern of trading activity. In conjunction with the recent finds of ships at Marseille, they have also provided information about shipbuilding techniques and vessel performance characteristics. As the dates of the shipwrecks found extend from the sixth century BC through the Roman period, they also allow the reconstruction of the historical development of all these features over many centuries. Of course the nature and quality of the evidence are highly variable, ranging from scatters of broken amphoras to well-preserved ships with cargo still in place (cf. Bouscaras, 1964; Bouloumié, 1982a; Hesnard, 1992; Long *et al.*, 1992; Pomey and Long, 1992; Tchernia *et al.*, 1978).

Because of preservation factors (and perhaps also the relative danger to ships), the vast majority of all the shipwrecks has been found along the rocky Provençal coast rather than the sandy coast of Languedoc and Rous-

sillon. The evidence is also skewed chronologically, with at least 15 identifiable shipwrecks dating from the sixth through the third centuries BC and over 50 dating from the Roman period. Among all these, the bay of Marseille itself (which had a dangerous entry in antiquity) has yielded 27 shipwrecks, of which four date to the sixth through the fourth centuries BC, six date to the late third and early second centuries BC, and 17 date from the mid-second to the mid-first centuries BC (Hesnard 1992).

A few ships show a relatively homogeneous cargo. For example, the sixth century BC wreck of the Ecueil de Miet was loaded with about 100 Etruscan amphoras as well as bucchero nero kantharoi. This ship went down near the Marseilleveyre at the opening of the Marseille roadstead, and it has been interpreted as an Etruscan ship bound for Massalia (Hesnard, 1992; Pomey and Long, 1992). However, the majority of ships before the Roman period had much more mixed cargoes. For example, the late fifth century BC wreck of Plane 2 (near Marseille) had a cargo of about 50 mixed Italo-Greek, Massaliote, and especially Punic amphoras, an assortment of Attic fineware ceramics and at least 60 copper ingots (Hesnard, 1992; Long, 1990, pp. 58-60). The origin and identity of these mixed-cargo ships are more difficult to interpret, and it is sometimes hard to decide which items were cargo and which were shipboard equipment. It is important to emphasize that this pattern of heterogeneous cargoes on pre-Roman ships along the French coast is not unusual: it is mirrored by other finds in the Western Mediterranean, such as the wrecks at Giglio and Circeo along the Italian coast, Lavezzi off Corsica, and Gela, Filicudi, and Camarina off Sicily (Long *et al.*, 1992). The wreck of El Sec (off Majorca) had a series of Punic and Greek graffiti that indicate the heterogeneous identity of traders as well (Arribas, 1987; Hoz, 1987).

In general, these mixed cargoes suggest something important about the nature of trade in the pre-Roman period. It was most probably a very small-scale enterprise carried out by merchants of mixed origin, moving back and forth along the coasts of the Western Mediterranean. These merchants took on heterogeneous lots of cargo that were acquired either at successive ports along the way or at ports that were redistribution centers, where goods coming from various regions were reloaded for secondary export. They traded their goods and took on new materials at various ports and beachheads along their routes according to demand (see also Morel, 1982, pp. 487–488, 1983b, pp. 565–570).

The aggregate data from shipwrecks certainly indicate that the cargo capacity of ships of the sixth to third centuries BC was quite small: it rarely exceeded 100 amphoras and was more often around 50. The late sixth century BC wreck of Lequin 1A (near Hyères) represents the exceptional upper limit for this period; and even it had a capacity of only about 5

metric tons consisting of about 90 amphoras, 10 pithoi, and about 2500 pieces of tableware and lamps (Long *et al.*, 1992). This is a dramatic contrast with the huge increase in scale during the Roman period, when ships carried cargoes of up to 10,000 amphoras of wine weighing 400–500 metric tons (Pomey and Long, 1992; Pomey and Tchernia, 1978; Tchernia, 1986; Tchernia *et al.*, 1978).

## TRADE, CONSUMPTION AND ENTANGLEMENT

### Hellenization and World Systems

For many years, a concept known as "Hellenization" served as the primary explanatory framework for understanding the consequences of the pre-Roman colonial encounter in Mediterranean France. Initially, this rather nebulous term conflated both a description of the process of social and cultural change in the colonial situation and its explanation (e.g., Benoit, 1965; Jacobsthal and Neuffer, 1933). It was axiomatically assumed that, even in the absence of a coercive imperial domination of the Roman kind, imitation or absorption of Greek culture (or that of other Mediterranean "civilizations") by "barbarian" societies would have been a natural and inevitable result of contact. Hence, the focus of analysis was simply to chart the gradual, clumsy progress of this self-evident phenomenon that served as a kind of preparatory phase of eventual "Romanization." The roots of this flawed interpretive paradigm and the untenable assumption of the inherent superiority and attractiveness of Greek culture can be traced to an invented tradition of adulation of classical cultures that had a powerful influence on the structure of cultural capital (and academic prestige) in modern European societies (see Dietler, 1990b, 1995b; Marchand, 1996; Morris, 1994).

Despite a few attempts to refine and systematize the largely implicit concept of Hellenization (e.g., Py 1968a, b), analysis tended to remain focused on documentation and description. However, by the 1980s there was growing dissatisfaction with the concept by scholars working in southern France, and Morel's (1983a) critique proposed that the word be abandoned altogether. There has subsequently been an increasing effort to try to reconceptualize interpretive models. This has involved particularly an effort to understand cultural borrowing as an active, selective process by indigenous peoples and to explore the complex ramifications of colonial interaction as a contingent historical process (e.g., Bats, 1988a, 1992; Dietler, 1989, 1990a, b, 1992, 1995b, 1996, 1997b; Morel, 1983a, b, 1995a, b; Py, 1990a). World systems models, which have become popular among

some scholars working on the Iron Age of temperate Europe (e.g., P. Brun, 1987, 1992; Cunliffe, 1988; Frankenstein and Rowlands, 1978), have had little impact in Mediterranean France. This is both because such macroscale analyses have virtually ignored developments in the zone of direct encounter in southern France and because they are seen as structurally overdetermined and too crudely reductionist to provide insight into the complex nature of colonial relations and social and cultural transformations in this much better-documented region (Dietler, 1989, 1995b).

## Wine, Feasts, and the Cultural Economy of the Encounter

One promising focus of recent research on the initial phase of the colonial encounter has been identifying and attempting to understand the highly specific and socially situated nature of indigenous demand for alien goods and practices. A contextually sensitive study of the phenomenon of consumption has been proposed as an effective means of penetrating indigenous agency in the encounter and understanding the process of entanglement by which native societies were drawn into increasingly complex and asymmetrical relations with wider Mediterranean structures of power (Dietler, 1990b, 1995b, 1997b).

Given that a trade in wine was the primary good articulating indigenous and colonial societies for several centuries and was always an important component of colonial relations, theoretical exploration of the social dimensions of alcohol and feasting has provided new insights into the social and cultural logic of demand for this good and the ramifications of its adoption in different contexts (Dietler, 1990a, 1992, 1996). Appreciating the important role of feasts in articulating the regional cultural economy and the place of alcohol in feasting has enabled a better understanding of the desire for wine, the links between the wine trade and the adoption of alien ceramic production techniques for new series of tablewares, and the unanticipated cultural transformations that stemmed from such consumption (Dietler, 1990b, 1996, 1997b). The changing nature of the wine trade in the Late Iron Age, including tentative indigenous efforts at production, has also been pursued (Buxó i Capdevila, 1996; Garcia, 1992c; Tchernia, 1983, 1986). Locally specific resistance to and subsequent demand for other alien goods and practices (such as writing, coinage, elements of cuisine, architecture, agrarian practices) are also being explored (e.g., Amouretti, 1992; Bats, 1988a, c; Morel, 1995a, b; Py, 1990a). The nature and consequences of some of these other adoptions are explored in later sections.

## Indigenous Trade Goods and Services

The goods and services sought by colonial agents and received in return for wine and other items have been a subject of considerable discussion (cf. Barruol 1975, pp. 91–100; Benoit, 1965, pp. 191–213; Bouloumié, 1989). The demand for different products would, of course, have been highly specific in nature and volume according to the traders involved and the consumption markets they were serving. For example, it is highly unlikely that Etruscan city-states from the rich metalliferous zone of Tuscany would have been interested in importing iron, while Massaliotes may well have had such a demand. Moreover, Massalia had an interest in securing labor services and mercenary defensive services that ship-based Etruscan and Punic traders did not.

Western Languedoc and the Hérault valley were rich in metal ores (copper, silver, gold, lead, iron, and small deposits of tin), and these would have been an important attraction for various foreign traders from the first period of contact down through Roman times (Domergue, 1994; Guilbert and Landes, 1977; Rancoule and Solier, 1977). The Lower Rhône Basin was very poor in metal resources but would have been a rich potential source of grain and livestock products for Massalia. Moreover, products of the forests and garrigues (such as timber for ships, domestic construction, and fuel; pitch for ship construction and treatment of amphoras; cork; medicinal and culinary herbs) would have been available throughout the region, and salt and fish were available from the coastal lagoons. Recent finds of stones from olive-presses at a number of indigenous sites in the Lower Rhône basin (primarily in the Provence near Marseille) suggest that, by the second century BC, Massalia may have begun to rely on indigenous production of olive oil as well (Brun, 1993). During the second century BC, Massalia also began to import cooking ceramics from native workshops (Arcelin, 1993a). Labor was also an important potential commodity, especially for Massalia; and indigenous labor (both hired and slave) may have helped Massaliote wine and olive production, construction projects, and urban services. Labor as an export item in the form of slaves may also have been a feature of the economy, although it is probable that this demand was far lower before the advent of Roman trade in the region (Daubigney, 1983).

Massalia also had a compelling need to maintain security through both political alliances and mercenary services. In fact, written records document a checkered history of relations with the surrounding natives. Hostile attacks on the colony are mentioned within a generation after the founding of the city (Justin XLIII, 4), and these were followed by other threats serious enough to have been recorded in the early fourth century BC (the

siege by Catumandus) and at least three times during the second century BC. The latter were sufficiently dangerous to require appeals to Rome for military aid. Moreover, Strabo (IV, 1,5) specifically attributed the foundation of Massalia's subcolonies to a concern to establish defensive "bastions against the barbarians of the hinterland." It is clear that Massalia also had military allies among the native peoples. Caesar (CW I, 34) mentions the Massaliotes calling upon the local Albici people (from the hills around the Marseille basin) to help them defend the city against his troops in the first century BC, and Polybius (3,41) noted somewhat earlier that the Massaliotes used Celtic mercenaries for their own defence. Such protection could have been arranged either by using gifts and trade to establish political alliances with selected local tribes (and perhaps inserting themselves in native politics by helping certain groups in their struggles against others) or rewarding the services of groups of rogue warriors.

## COLONIAL-AND-HYBRID CERAMICS

During the first couple of centuries of the encounter, the indigenous peoples of the region appear to have displayed little interest in adopting goods or practices of the colonial societies aside from the avid consumption of wine and drinking ceramics. The single major exception to this indifference was the rapid adoption of certain ceramic production techniques (the potter's wheel and the closed draft kiln) that were used exclusively in the production of two new hybrid wares. In addition to employing alien vessel formation techniques, these wares show a complex mixture of alien and indigenous forms, decorative techniques, and decorative motifs. They exhibit significant regional variation but are generally classified under two broad rubrics: "*céramique claire*" and "Gray-Monochrome."

The rapid technological transfer associated with the production of these wares has different implications than importing Greek objects or copying Greek forms or decoration; it involved significant material costs, including both permanent workshop equipment (such as the wheel, closed kilns, clay purification tanks, and storage facilities) and new specialized knowledge, and completely new motor skills. It has been viewed as indicating a change in part of the indigenous ceramic production system from a "household industry" to a "workshop industry," a transformation that, at least in the Lower Rhône Basin, is linked to a rapid increase in the demand for tableware associated with an escalation of feasting as an arena of status competition triggered by the articulation of colonial relations through the wine trade (Dietler, 1990b, 1996). A rather different kind of colonial–hybrid ceramic, and a different process of alteration of the economics of ceramic

production, occurred during the second and first centuries BC, when indigenous workshops in the hinterland of Massalia began producing Greek forms of cooking vessels with hand-modeling techniques in order to supply the colonial city (Arcelin, 1993a).

## Céramique Claire

"*Céramique claire*"or "*céramiques à pâte claire*" is a collective designation for a classificatory "family" of ceramics found throughout Mediterranean France beginning in the sixth century BC. The different local wares of this family have in common the features of being wheelmade (with some exceptions), having very fine-grained fabrics, and being fired in an oxidizing atmosphere (hence the "light" color). They commonly range in color from yellowish beige to cream to pale red and are decorated with painted motifs in colors ranging from red to brown to black, although some examples are unpainted.

In the Lower Rhône basin and the Côte d'Azur, the variant that became popular is often called "Pseudo-Ionian." It was the tableware of Massalia and was also exported for consumption at indigenous settlements. By the mid-sixth century it was also being imitated at indigenous workshops. Although a wide array of forms was produced and consumed at Massalia, for at least the first century of contact, the only Massaliote forms imported by the natives or imitated in native workshops to a significant extent were various types of drinking cups, pitchers, and some small bowls. The term "Rhodanian Subgeometric" is often used to designate a late sixth- and fifth-century BC decorative variant of these ceramics in the Lower Rhône Basin that is more obviously of indigenous manufacture (Fig. 6). These are characterized by an exuberant elaboration of the painted decoration applied to both Graeco-Etruscan forms (especially oinochoai) and indigenous forms (e.g., large "urns" that are generally assumed to have been for storage but may have been intended for serving and brewing beer and/or cooling water).

The classification of these ceramics is still evolving, as are studies designed to identify more clearly centers of production (Goury, 1995; Lagrand, 1963; Lagrand and Thalmann, 1973; Py, 1971, 1979–1980). Although no kilns have been identified, probable production centers have been suggested for the area around the key site of Le Pègue in Western Provence (Lagrand and Thalmann, 1973), the region between the Cèze and Tave rivers in Eastern Languedoc (Goury, 1995), and the Hérault valley (Py 1990a, p. 551, 1993c). More recently, Bats (1993) has undertaken a synthetic classification of Pseudo-Ionian wares that is beginning to be

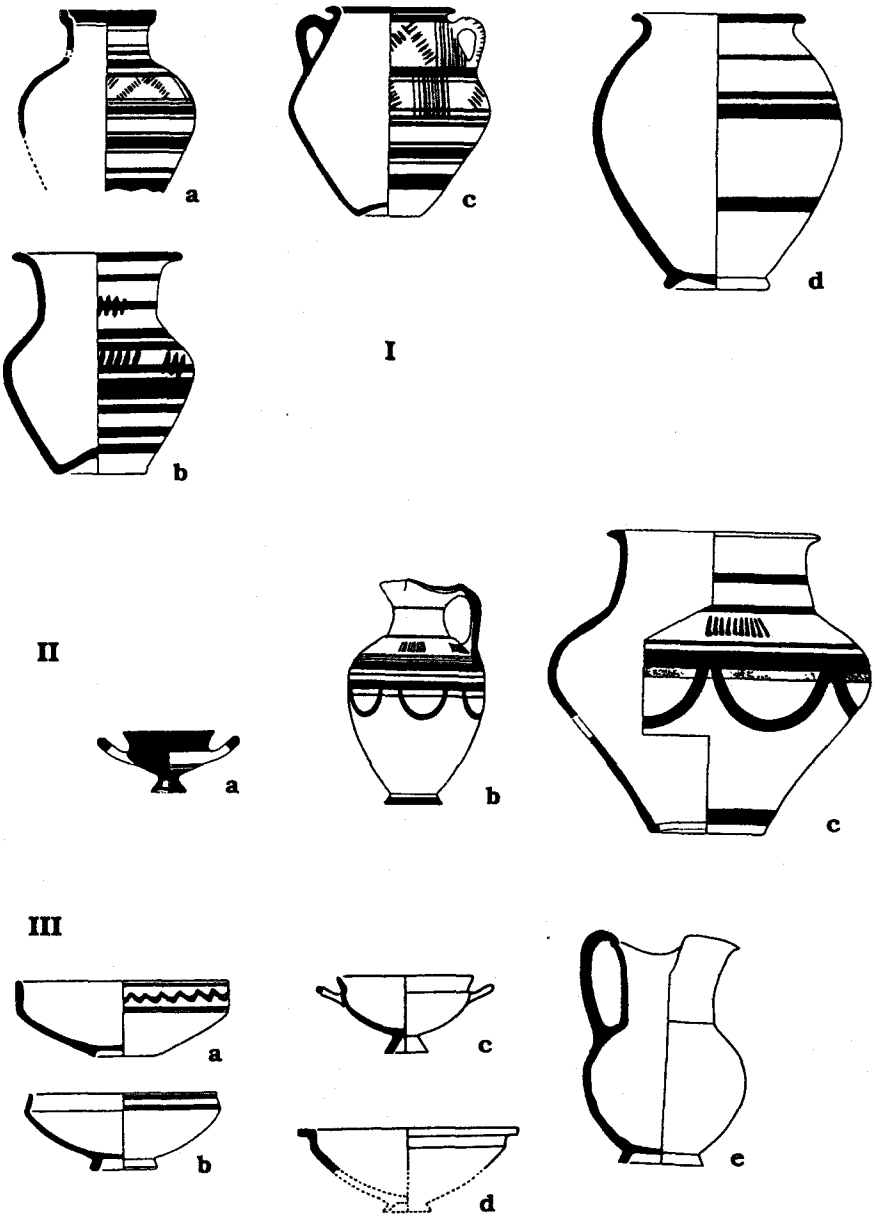


**Fig. 6.** (I) Examples of Ibéro-Languedocian ceramics. a and b, "jarres;" and c, d, "urnes" (from Gailledrat, 1993). (II) Examples of the Rhodanian Subgeometric variant of Pseudo-Ionian ceramics (from Lagrand and Thalmann, 1973). (III) Examples of important form classes of Gray-Monochrome ceramics. a and b, Form 3; d, "plat à marli" (from Arcelin-Pradelle, 1984).

widely followed but will undoubtedly require emendation to incorporate new information from excavations in Marseille (see also Bats, 1988c; Dietler, 1990b, pp. 229–261).

"Ibero-Languedocian" ceramics are a variant of this *céramique claire* classificatory "family" found only in Western Languedoc/Roussillon (Jully and Nordström, 1972; Solier, 1976–1978) (Fig. 6). Very recently, a detailed comparative study of these wares has allowed Gailledrat (1993a, b) to distinguish more precisely at least four major production clusters representing local workshop zones (in the lower Hérault, in the lower Aude and Orb valleys, and on the Roussillon plain) as well as several series of imports from Spain. These Ibero-Languedocian workshops in Roussillon and Languedoc began production in the late sixth century BC and were very active by the fifth century BC. Two very large forms are particularly characteristic of these ceramic series: "*jarres*" (vessels with a biconical or spherical body ending in an abrupt everted rim) and "*urnes*" (wide-bodied vessels with a tall neck and everted rim) (Gailledrat, 1993a). The function of these vessels is most often hypothesized to be storage, but brewing and consumption of beer (especially for the "urnes") and water-cooling are perhaps more likely uses. Physicochemical analysis of residues should be capable of eventually resolving this issue by detecting traces of beer (e.g., see Michel *et al.*, 1992).

## Gray-Monochrome Ceramics

Gray-Monochrome ceramics (*céramique grise monochrome*) were the other popular colonial–hybrid variety to develop in Mediterranean France (Arcelin-Pradelle, 1984; Dietler, 1990b, pp. 261–294; Nickels, 1978; Py, 1993d). This mostly sixth- and fifth-century BC pottery was wheel-made and fired in a reducing atmosphere to produce a surface color ranging from light gray to black (including also various shades of dark brown). As the name implies, the pots are monochrome, and decoration, when present, was executed by incision, usually in the form of horizontal bands of wavy lines made with a comb and/or straight grooves (Fig. 6).

These ceramics were initially known as "*céramique phocéenne*" (e.g., Benoit, 1965, pp. 153–163; Jacobsthal and Neuffer, 1933; Jannoray, 1955, pp. 59–60; Villard, 1960, pp. 51–52), under the assumption that they had been imported by Massalia from the Eastern Mediterranean. However, an extensive comparative study of details of technique and form from 87 sites in the Provence and Eastern Languedoc revealed that nearly all of these ceramics were local productions of Mediterranean France (Arcelin-Pradelle, 1984; Arcelin-Pradelle *et al.*, 1982). Moreover, analysis of

distribution patterns yielded probable loci or regions of manufacture for seven production "groups" originating in the Provence and two other groups produced in Eastern Languedoc (see also Py, 1990a, pp. 544–547). Working independently in Western Languedoc and Roussillon, Nickels (1978, 1980) was able to identify three separate areas of production in those regions on very similar bases, and Ugolini and Olive (1987–1988) have identified another at Béziers. Unlike the case of *céramique claire* (for which definitive archaeological traces of production sites have not yet been identified outside Marseille), the site of Béziers yielded a kiln in association with Gray-Monochrome ceramics (Ugolini and Olive, 1987–1988) and kiln wasters have been found at the settlement of Mourre de Sève in the Vaucluse (Arcelin-Pradelle, 1984, pp. 129, 146; Batut, 1986).

Stratigraphic evidence indicates that production at Massalia and distribution to indigenous sites began by the second quarter of the sixth century BC at the latest and production began almost immediately thereafter in indigenous territory in the Lower Rhône Basin (Arcelin-Pradelle 1984). Gray-Monochrome workshops were also operating in the lower Hérault valley by the second quarter of the sixth century BC (Houlès and Janin, 1992, p. 435). Although distribution was confined largely to Mediterranean France, a few examples from production groups in the Lower Rhône Basin have been found at Hallstatt sites in Burgundy, the Jura, and western Switzerland (Feugère and Guillot, 1986; Gaiffe, 1985; Schwab, 1982; Scotto, 1985), and pieces of Massaliote origin have been found in Catalonia (Arcelin-Pradelle, 1984, pp. 125–126; Arcelin-Pradelle *et al.*, 1982, p. 54).

In terms of forms, there are marked regional differences (Arcelin-Pradelle, 1984; Dietler, 1990b, pp. 261–294; Nickels, 1980; Py, 1993d). In the Lower Rhône Basin, once again, it is wine pitchers and drinking cups that constitute the only numerically significant Greek forms represented at indigenous sites. However, in contrast to the Pseudo-Ionian wares, it is interesting that, even for the earliest production groups manufactured at Massalia, the repertoire of forms included a high proportion of forms derived from the native repertoire and that, for the ware as a whole, indigenous forms account for over three quarters of all sherds of recognizable forms. Gray-Monochrome ceramics were clearly designed from the beginning with indigenous demand in mind (Arcelin-Pradelle, 1984, p. 145). In contrast to the Lower Rhône Basin, the predominant form in productions of Western Languedoc and Roussillon was a Greek-derived type of wide, low bowl with a flat protruding lip (*"plat à marli"*: Arcelin-Pradelle Form 4). Thousands of examples have been found in this western region as opposed to only a handful known from the Provence (Arcelin-Pradelle, 1984, p. 19; Nickels, 1978).

## INTRODUCTION OF MONEY

The invention of coinage was an innovation of the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the seventh century BC (Grierson, 1978). During the sixth century BC, the practice spread to the Greek colonies in southern Italy (Stazio, 1995), and Massalia began to mint the first coins in southern France during the last quarter of the sixth century BC. However, the adoption of coinage by indigenous societies of the region was a much later phenomenon.

The first Massaliote issues were small silver coins with a diverse range of raised relief motifs (mostly human and animal heads) on one face only (Furtwängler, 1978). During the fifth century BC, Massalia issued new types of silver coins with representational motifs on both faces and with weights aligned according to the system of Syracuse. Prominent among these were types with a crab or a wheel on the reverse side and, for the first time, the epigraphic signature of the city (Brenot, 1992). These were followed by additional new coin types in subsequent centuries, with weights eventually (from the late third century BC) conforming to the Roman system (Brenot, 1990). Emporion also began minting coins in the fifth century BC, and Rhode in the third century BC (Richard and Villaronga, 1973).

Isolated hoards of Massaliote and other alien coins are found on scattered indigenous sites of the Lower Rhône Basin from the fifth century BC on (Gentric, 1981; Richard, 1992). Indeed, the earliest Massaliote type is called "type d'Auriol" after a hoard containing 2130 coins found at a site 30 km east of Marseille (Furtwängler, 1978). However, Massaliote coins were confined to the Lower Rhône Basin until the end of the third century BC, and there is no quantitatively significant evidence of monetary circulation in Mediterranean France until the second century BC. Moreover, it is only on settlements dating to the first century BC, when the region had been under Roman administration for at least a generation, that coinage is found distributed widely enough and in quantities large enough to begin considering the possible development of a monetary economy in the indigenous domain. Before then (and in many cases for a long time after) coins would have been a specialized form of valuable with restricted spheres of exchange and circulation.

The range of coins in circulation in Mediterranean France during the last two centuries BC is extremely diverse, both on a regional scale and at individual sites (Gentric, 1981; Py, 1990a, pp. 600–607, 1993a, p. 255; Richard, 1990, 1992; Richard and Villaronga, 1973). In addition to those from Massalia (which were particularly dominant in the Provence), other foreign coins include those from Emporion, Rhodes, Rome, Iberia, and the Celtic-speaking peoples of temperate Europe. These were also complemented by

a burgeoning local production of regional issues, such as the well-known "monnaies à la croix" of the Volcae Tectosages. A number of these indigenous coin series had legends in Greek, Latin, or Iberian script giving the names of local peoples or individual leaders.

## THE ADOPTION OF WRITING

From among the several potential models available, only two scripts had a major impact in Mediterranean France during the period considered here: Greek and Iberian (Bats, 1988a; Lambert, 1994; Panosa Domingo, 1993; Untermann, 1969). The Latin alphabet did not become common until well after the Roman conquest. Moreover, although the Etruscan alphabet was adopted by speakers of Lepontic and other Celtic dialects in northern Italy (Lambert, 1994, pp. 71–79), it had almost no impact in Mediterranean France despite the early importance of Etruscan trade and proximity to Etruria.

The Greek alphabet found favor only in the lower Rhône Basin. As Celtic was the main language represented with this script, it is called "Gallo-Greek" (Lambert, 1992, 1994, pp. 81-89; Lejeune, 1985). The earliest certain evidence of Gallo-Greek dates to the end of the third century BC, and the latest examples in southern France date to the first century BC. The Iberian alphabet was first developed by indigenous peoples in southern Spain during the seventh century BC as an adapted version of the Phoenician script. The script slowly moved up the coast of eastern Spain as it was adapted to local languages by peoples of the Algarve, the Levant and the Catalan regions (including the Celtic-speaking "Celt-Iberians" of the Ebre and Tagus area). In Mediterranean France, its use was confined to Roussillon and Western Languedoc, and the earliest examples date to the mid-fourth century BC. In this region it was used to record both the Iberian and the Celtic languages [and a few rare instances of possible Ligurian (Untermann, 1969)]. The inhabitants of the predominantly Ligurian-speaking area of the Côte-d'Azur apparently chose not to adopt any writing system.

In terms of chronology and function, the Gallo-Greek and Iberian scripts, in their respective areas of Mediterranean France, show some remarkable similarities, as well as some interesting differences (Bats, 1988a). In the first place, both cases show a very long time lag of several centuries (about four for Gallo-Greek) between contact with literate societies and the adoption of the practice of writing, a feature made more striking by comparison with the chronology of other such adoptions in nearby areas. For example, less than a century was necessary in the cases of the original

development of the Iberian alphabet from Phoenician and the adoption of the Levantine-Iberian script by the Celt-Iberians in eastern Spain (Hoz, 1992), the adoption of the Lepontic-Etruscan script in Northern Italy (Lambert, 1994, pp. 71–79; Lejeune, 1988), or the development of the Etruscan script from the alphabet of the early Greek colonies in Italy (Bonfante and Bonfante, 1983; Lejeune, 1983).

In Western Languedoc-Roussillon, there was also a considerable (although somewhat shorter) time lag in the adoption of writing. Evidence of the Iberian script appears in the region (first at Ensérune) around the middle of the fourth century BC (Bats 1988a; Panosa Domingo 1993): that is, about a century and a half *earlier* than Gallo-Greek in the Lower Rhône Basin but well over 200 years *after* the foundation of the Greek colony of Emporion just to the south. The latter feature presents us with an ironic paradox: although Emporion is usually seen as the most significant colonial presence in Western Languedoc/Roussillon, it was the Iberian rather than the Greek alphabet that was adopted in indigenous contexts. The reasons for this are not clear but may have to do with the fact that the Iberian script, after its various transformations in Spain, was already better adapted to representing the phonetics of the native languages of the area. It may also reflect a much more heterogeneous set of trade currents between the coasts on either side of the Pyrenees in which Iberians played a major role. A related possibility is that, in the midst of the extreme diversity of linguistic groups and trade currents along the southern and eastern coasts of Spain and the southwestern coast of Mediterranean France, Iberian came to occupy the role of a trade language, much as Kiswahili did on the coast of East Africa.

The range of functions served by both Gallo-Greek and Iberian writing appears to have been extremely limited, as were the media to which they were applied (insofar as it can be assumed that we have not lost other types of documents written on perishable materials). The primary category in each case is graffiti (usually names) scratched on pottery after firing. These are generally interpreted as marks of ownership, and they are sometimes found on other objects as well (e.g., ceramic, marble and lead weights, silver vessels). Other important categories are legends on coins (generally the name of a group or its leader), inscriptions on stone, and inscriptions on pot sherds. Finally, for the Iberian case there exists a series of lead tablets with more complex messages apparently of a commercial nature. Excluding coins, Panosa Domingo (1993) lists 496 such documents in Iberian script in Mediterranean France. However, as he also points out, 80% of these are from the single site of Ensérune, which has more Iberian inscriptions than any site in Spain except Azaila. For Gallo-Greek, Lambert (1992, 1994) lists over 220 sherds with graffiti (70 from Saint-Blaise), over

70 inscriptions on stone, and about 10 examples on diverse material (lead, iron, silver, gold, bone).

As Bats (1988a) has pointed out, the first use of writing in both contexts was for purposes of asserting individual identity, that is, marking property with one's name. This practice was developed further in a more ostentatious fashion in the Gallo-Greek context by monumental inscriptions on stones, of both funerary and votive character. In contrast to the Gallo-Greek situation, the Iberians also apparently employed writing to serve as a tool in the economic sphere. This is seen in the various lead tablets, containing lists of names and numerical information or brief texts (still undecipherable), that are also found farther south in Spain (Hoz, 1979; Solier, 1979; Solier and Barbouteau, 1988). A series of over 60 Iberian graffiti on rock walls associated with engraved drawings in the high plateau of the Cerdagne in Roussillon also attests to the use of this script for probable ritual purposes (Campmajo, 1993).

Many questions remain to be answered, such as the degree of literacy among indigenous peoples and its association with status or role, and the details of the process of adoption and adaptation. Further detailed study of the contexts of finds will undoubtedly prove rewarding in this vein. Other recent finds, such as a pair of second-century BC sherds from Lattes that apparently served as practice tablets for learning the "ABCs" (Bats, 1988b), offer tantalizing indications of how the skeleton of information currently available may be fleshed out.

## SETTLEMENTS, ARCHITECTURE, AND URBANISM

Patterns of settlement in Mediterranean France changed gradually but significantly during the course of the pre-Roman Iron Age, and these changes have frequently been linked by scholars to the evolving colonial situation. However, this is not a straightforward relationship, such as a simple attempt to emulate the Greek polis. Rather, the transformation of indigenous settlements must be seen as an historical social process with a great deal of local variation, in which entanglement with the Mediterranean colonial world played variable and complicated roles. Changes in settlements were in part a response to changes in the regional political economy under conditions of colonial interaction, but they took place within the framework of local cultural structures and cosmologies and of local social and political relations. This was the case even with the further transformations that occurred during the period of Roman domination, when a more direct and pervasive colonial hand was operative.

The historical process of change in the region is frequently described in the aggregate as one of "urbanization," and a subtle tendency toward evolutionist teleology sometimes underlies discussions of this phenomenon. However, the nature of the towns that developed in Mediterranean France was quite different from both that of the Greek colonies in the region and the large urban settlements called "oppida" that developed in Continental Europe during the late phases of the Iron Age. In contrast to the latter, indigenous Mediterranean towns were small, compact, and densely occupied. They were usually less than 10 hectares in size and rarely exceeded 20 ha, whereas the Continental oppida ranged from 20 to over 1500 ha and had much more dispersed arrangements of domestic units (Audouze and Büchsenschütz, 1991; Büchsenschütz, 1984; Collis, 1984). Indigenous Mediterranean towns also differed from Greek colonial settlements in a number of important ways, including their situation in the landscape, the general absence of monumental public structures or spaces (at least until the second century BC), and the basic organization of domestic units.

The possibilities for understanding transformations in the built environment and the experience of daily life are unusually good in Mediterranean France because of the extraordinary quantity and quality of settlement data. Although, to be sure, there are important local differences in coverage, hundreds of settlements have been at least partially excavated throughout the region (and hundreds of others identified), and many of these offer long sequences of occupation with various precisely dated episodes of reconstruction. For example, sites such as Le Mont Garou (Amann, 1977; Arcelin *et al.*, 1982), Saint-Blaise (Arcelin *et al.*, 1983; Bouloumié, 1980, 1982b, 1984, 1992; Rolland, 1951, 1964), Saint-Pierre-lès-Martigues (Lagrand, 1979b, 1986), Le Marduel (Py and Raynaud, 1982; Py *et al.*, 1992, 1994), Nages (Py, 1978a), Lattes (Arnal *et al.*, 1974; Barruol *et al.*, 1988; Garcia, 1994; Py, 1989, 1990b, 1996b; Py and Garcia, 1993), Ensérune (Garcia, 1992a; Jannoray, 1955; Schwaller, 1994a; Schwaller *et al.*, 1995), Le Cayla de Mailhac (Louis *et al.*, 1955; Taffanel and Taffanel, 1938, 1957), and Ruscino (Barruol, 1980b; Claustres, 1951) offer stratigraphic sequences stretching over many centuries (in some cases, virtually the entire Iron Age) (see Fig. 7). Moreover, excavations at a number of sites have uncovered areas of sufficient size (with walls, living floors, and streets intact) to yield a good idea of the overall organization of the built environment. A few recent excavations have also yielded extraordinarily good possibilities for reconstructing the details of daily life, including the organization of space, the repertoire of household equipment, the range of cooking and storage features, and the performance of craft activities in and around domestic units.

In general, such data are much richer and more complete for Late Iron Age levels at sites. The site of l'Ile at Martigues, for example, offers a near-

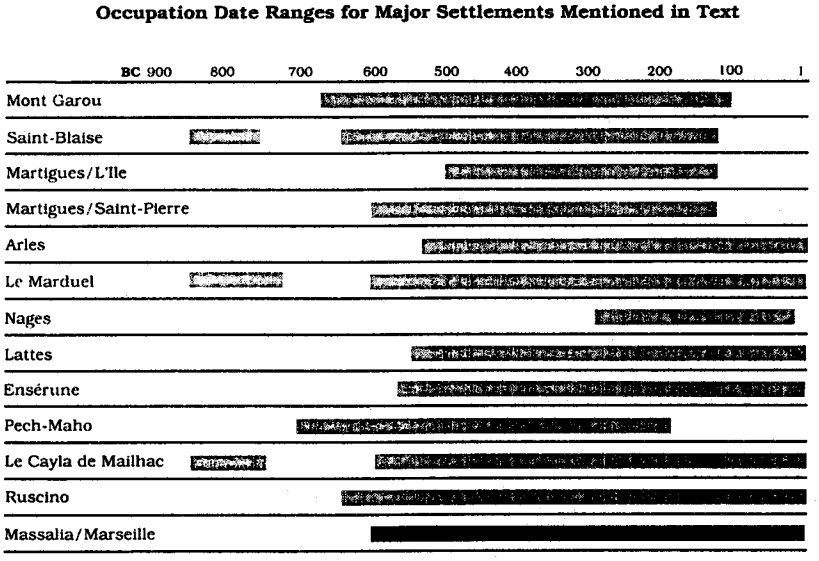


**Fig. 7.** Occupation date ranges for major settlements mentioned in the text.

Pompeii-like episode of abandonment, with complete inventories of ceramics left in place and hearths preserved in the streets (Chausserie-Laprée and Nin, 1987, 1990; Chausserie-Laprée *et al.*, 1984). Only slightly less dramatic possibilities for reconstruction of domestic space at small settlements are offered by sites such as Plan-de-la-Tour at Gailhan (Dedet, 1980b, 1987); and the extensive, long-term excavations at Lattes are gradually revealing a detailed picture of the evolution of urban life on a large scale (Garcia, 1994; Py, 1989, 1990b, 1992a, 1996b). Finally, recent programs of intensive regional survey and targeted excavation are beginning to yield a more detailed understanding of the relations between towns, villages, and farmsteads and their placement within changing cultural landscapes (e.g., see Borréani *et al.*, 1992; Chazelles, 1993; D'Anna *et al.*, 1992; Favory and Raynaud, 1995, 1996; Fiches, 1987; Garcia, 1993a; Leveau and Provansal, 1993; Olive and Ugolini, 1993; Pezin, 1993; Py, 1990a; Solier, 1992).

The very wealth of data available, and the consequent recognition of local variability, make meaningful summary generalizations difficult, especially in a brief review. However, with appropriate caveats about the highly schematic nature of what is presented here and the fact that this is still an evolving research frontier with variable quality of data from different regions, it is possible to recapitulate some of the trends that have been tentatively identified in the transformation of settlements during the Iron Age (cf. Arcelin 1992b; Arcelin and Tréziny, 1990; Bats, 1989; Bats and Py, 1990;

Chazelles, 1993; Dedet, 1995; Dedet and Py, 1985; Dietler, 1990b, pp. 361-419, 1995a; Février, 1973, 1981; Fiches, 1979, 1987; Garcia, 1993a; Michelozzi, 1982; Olive and Ugolini, 1993; Pezin, 1993; Py, 1982, 1990a, 1993a; Solier, 1992; Tréziny, 1992).

## Early Iron Age

Both a certain regional diversity and a local continuity of settlement types existed during the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. In the mountainous areas of Eastern Provence there was a persistence of scattered small settlements in rock-shelters and caves, as exemplified in the Gorges du Verdon (Lagrand, 1987). However, the coastal lowland areas of the Lower Rhône Basin and Western Languedoc had scattered hamlets and small villages, often, as around the Etang de Mauguio (Dedet *et al.*, 1985; Prades *et al.*, 1985), on the edges of coastal lagoons. The interior areas of these regions began to witness the establishment of hilltop settlements, along with the persistence of some cave and rock-shelter occupations. The domestic units at these small sites were generally one-room structures of wattle-and-daub on a post frame. They were arranged in noncontiguous formations according to organizational criteria which are difficult to discern.

During the Early Iron Age, several innovations began to occur at scattered sites along the coast that, over the course of several centuries, would gradually become more generalized (Dietler, 1990b). These changes involved several variables, including a shift in construction materials and techniques, an alteration of the form of houses, a transformation of settlement organization, and the construction of stone ramparts marking the boundary of a settlement. The change in construction techniques consisted of the replacement of post frames by stone foundations and, eventually, the replacement of wattle-and-daub by mud brick or other earthen walls. The change in the form of domestic structures was from irregular oval or rectangular single-room constructions to neatly rectangular units and, eventually (during the Late Iron Age), to some units with multiple rooms. The arrangement of these houses also changed from detached units with variable intervening spaces and orientations to a tight alignment in contiguous rows or clusters, in rectilinear fashion, separated by streets onto which the domestic units opened.

The latter phenomenon is sometimes described in vaguely evolutionist terms as a change to settlements having an "organized plan" from one in which the placement of structures was, by implication, fairly haphazard; but this is a misconception. As ethnographic research has demonstrated,

all settlements have a coherent structural organization that is integrally connected to the structuring of social relations and daily practice, although this may not be easily perceived by an outsider not familiar with the cultural codes, systems of metaphor, and conceptions of space–time that generated the placement of houses and other features (see Dietler and Herbich, 1993, 1998; Fernandez, 1977; Herbich and Dietler, 1993; Rapoport, 1969). This change simply represents the development of a rectilinear grid form of organization that is more easily identified by the archaeologist. However, it may well indicate an alteration of social relations precisely because the spatial configuration of residence units is so intimately implicated in the structuring of personal interaction and the inculcation of the dispositions that structure practice.

It is important to note that, although these various innovations ended up being associated together on many settlements throughout the region during the Late Iron Age, they were not necessarily first adopted together as part of a coherent package, and it is useful to examine the different elements separately before discussing their association (Dietler, 1990b).

Defensive ramparts were extremely rare at Late Bronze Age sites in Mediterranean France [but see Arcelin and Dedet (1985, p. 13, note 6) and Boissinot (1985) for exceptions]. This pattern continued at most sites through most of the Early Iron Age, but by the mid-fifth century BC ramparts had been constructed at about 15 scattered settlements in the region, a number that would increase dramatically into the hundreds during the Late Iron Age (Arcelin and Dedet, 1985; Py, 1990a). The earliest rampart, and the only one certainly dated before 600 BC, is that of Saint-Blaise, which was built in the last quarter of the seventh century. The early rampart of Le Baou des Noirs may possibly be of similar age, but the date is far less certain (Latour, 1985). Many of the other Early Iron Age sites with ramparts are also on or very near the coast (Montjean, Maravieille, Les Baou de Saint-Marcel, Tamaris, Saint-Pierre-lès-Martigues, Lattes, Les Gardies, Pech Maho), although others are somewhat farther toward the interior (Carsac, La Cité at Carcassonne, Le Cayla de Mailhac, Puech Crochu, Le Marduel). Most of these date to the mid-sixth century BC or later. With the exception of Carsac [which had a quite different construction technique (Guilaine *et al.*, 1986)], all of the sites with ramparts clearly dating to before the mid-sixth century BC were located in the Lower Rhône Basin near Marseille (Saint-Blaise, Les Baou de Saint-Marcel, and Tamaris).

The proximity to the coast of most of the Early Iron Age sites with ramparts and the dates of their construction have led to the suggestion of an influence from the Mediterranean states, particularly the city of Massalia, in their development. However, as several authors (e.g., Arcelin, 1992b; Arcelin and Dedet, 1985; Dietler, 1990b; Py, 1982, 1990a, 1993a)

have pointed out, insofar as this phenomenon can be related to contact with Mediterranean states, it would have been indirect: an indigenous response to social and economic changes stemming from contact rather than being a result of straightforward imitation of Greek fortifications. The early indigenous ramparts are quite varied in type (Arcelin and Dedet, 1985). Many consist of simple dry-stone walls with earth fill, sometimes of double or triple construction. When towers were included, there were generally few of them, and one sees an almost inverse pattern in the development of their form in the Provence and Languedoc. In the Provence (the area in closest proximity to the potential model of Massalia), the Greek pattern of regular rectangular towers was initially rejected in favor of a few bastions of ovoid or rounded shape (as at Saint-Blaise and Les Baou de Saint-Marcel). This tradition of rounded towers was a persistent feature of native fortifications in the Provence until rectangular towers became common during the fourth century BC. In Languedoc, however, rectangular towers were the preferred type from the beginning (as at Pech Maho, Cayla de Mailhac, Le Marduel, and Lattes), until the preference shifted to rounded towers in the third century BC. In both cases, regularly spaced series of towers along the walls did not become common until the mid-third century BC, and by the late second century BC walls with any towers became rare.

Changes in house form and materials also occurred first along the coast. As noted earlier, Late Bronze Age domestic structures seem to have been almost exclusively of wood-frame wattle-and-daub construction. This technique continued to characterize almost all Early Iron Age domestic architecture in the region, although stone construction was used for funerary structures (tumuli) and for terracing projects at settlements. The earliest deviations from this pattern occurred near the end of the seventh century BC and during the first half of the sixth century BC at a group of four sites in very close proximity to each other on the Provençal coast: Saint-Blaise, L'Arquet, Tamaris, and Saint-Pierre-lès-Martigues (Arcelin *et al.*, 1983; Bouloumié, 1984; Lagrand, 1959a, 1979b, 1981b, 1986). This new technique consisted of stone wall foundations with large vertical stones as facings. The upper elevations of walls have rarely survived, and in many cases their construction is uncertain, but they are assumed to have been either of dry stone technique, of stone with clay matrix, or of earthen construction. In the case of Saint-Blaise, the earliest houses of this type had an interior surface coating of clay, and during the second quarter of the sixth century, houses with stone foundations and mud-brick wall elevations are found. Two of these settlements with architectural innovations (Saint-Blaise and Tamaris) had a contemporary rampart, while the other two did not. Another site which shared the distinction of having an early rampart

(Les Baou de Saint-Marcel) had the traditional wattle-and-daub domestic architecture during this early period.

Until recently, the first evidence of mud-brick wall construction on indigenous sites was believed to be at Saint-Blaise around the mid-sixth century BC. However, an example discovered at the settlement of Le Cros at Caunes-Minervois may push this date back to the end of the seventh or early sixth century BC (Gasco, 1994). Only three other indigenous sites in the region had mud brick construction before the last quarter of the sixth century BC: Agde and La Monédière at Bessan in the lower Hérault valley (Nickels, 1976, 1989, 1995) and Pech Maho on the coast of Western Languedoc (Barruol, 1971; Solier, 1976). As Chazelles (1995, 1997) has noted, southern France was the last region in the Western Mediterranean to develop mud-brick architecture, and it remained largely a phenomenon of the littoral. Mud-brick construction on a stone foundation was a long established Near Eastern and Greek technique. It had been carried to the coasts of North Africa, Sicily, and southern Spain by the Phoenicians before the eighth century BC and was in use in Etruria by the seventh century BC. Moreover, Spain had an ancient indigenous tradition of such architecture both along the coasts and far inland (Chazelles, 1995, 1997).

Traces of mud-brick walls on a stone foundation dating to the beginning decades of the sixth century BC have been identified in the quartier Saint-Laurent at Marseille (Gantès and Moliner, 1990, p. 9), although wattle-and-daub architecture was also used contemporaneously at Massalia. The early use of mud-brick at Saint-Blaise, Agde, and La Monédière has been interpreted as linked to Greek models, and indeed, the early use of this technique at Agde and La Monédière was used by Nickels (1976, 1983) to propose a resident Greek presence at these sites before the subsequent founding of a genuine Greek colony at the end of the fifth century BC. However, in the case of Pech Maho, it has been suggested that traders from Iberia may have been a more likely catalyst (Chazelles, 1995), and this is presumably the case for Le Cros as well. By the late fifth century BC, the technique became more widespread at a number of settlements all along the littoral, from sites such as Le Port at Salses (Ugolini and Pezin, 1993), Le Calla de Durban (Solier, 1992) and Montlaurès in Western Languedoc/Roussillon to Espeyran (Barruol and Py, 1978), and Le Mont Garou (Arcelin *et al.*, 1982) farther east.

During the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC, several other settlements began to employ the stone-foundation construction technique. These are mostly spread along the coast or the near coastal hinterland (Lattes, Sextantio, Les Gardies, Arles, Les Baou de Saint-Marcel, Montjean, Antibes, Agde and La Monédière). A very few sites with such construction techniques also appeared farther to the interior of the Lower

Rhône Basin, such as Le Marduel, Plan-de-la-Tour, and Le Pègue. Construction techniques were not always uniform over an entire site: some settlements show evidence of contemporary structures of both post-support and stone foundation types (e.g., Plan-de-la-Tour, Les Gardies). Moreover, although rectangular house forms, stone-foundation support-wall construction, and rectilinear compact settlement plans tend to be associated at several sites, this is not a necessarily coterminous relationship. Finally, none of these elements is necessarily correlated with settlement size (see Dietler, 1990b, pp. 361–419).

Insofar as the often very incomplete evidence indicates, most of the structures with stone foundations appear to be rectangular (or at least rectilinear), though not of consistent dimensions. One interesting exception consists of several early sixth century BC structures at Saint-Blaise which have been suggested as apsidal houses, a form also duplicated during the second half of the century at the site of La Monédière, near Agde in the lower Hérault valley. In both cases this house form has been used to suggest a Greek presence at the site (Arcelin *et al.*, 1983; Nickels, 1976), although, in combination with other evidence, the discovery of a similar house form in the mid-fifth century BC levels at Plan-de-la-Tour at Gailhan, well inland from the coast, calls this interpretation into question and suggests that this may have been a traditional indigenous house form (Dedet, 1990). As far as can be determined, all native houses of the Early Iron Age appear to have been single room structures, although at a few sites structures sharing common walls are found. Clear multiple-room domestic units do not appear until the last half of the fifth century BC (see Dedet, 1987; Michelozzi, 1982; Py, 1990a).

A relatively narrow range of techniques was shared throughout the region in constructing the floors of houses. Leveling was a common first step, and this might include either carving out a flat surface or a hollow in the bedrock or arranging a flat bed or lens of rubble. Occupation could be either directly on this ground surface or on a prepared floor of tamped earth (sometimes covering a pavement of pebbles or sherds). Hearths, of two basic types, are usually the only recognizable feature on these floors (Py, 1990a). Both were often used at the same settlements or even within the same structure [as at Plan-de-la-Tour (Dedet, 1987, p. 190)].

## Late Iron Age

Although, as noted above, ramparts were relatively rare during the Early Iron Age, the last half of the fifth century BC witnessed the beginning of a proliferation of defended hilltop villages and towns of a type that

would become generalized throughout the region during the fourth and third centuries BC. Py (1990a, 1993a) has labeled this distinctly Mediterranean Late Iron Age settlement type the "oppidum-cité." Although exhibiting considerable regional and individual variation, these settlements generally ranged in size from about 1 to 10 ha (with a very few larger examples up to 20 ha or more), and they were protected by a stone rampart, either completely or on a part of the hill not already protected by natural topography. They usually had a dense occupation consisting of clusters of contiguous, rectangular, stone or stone and mud-brick houses in roughly rectilinear arrangements divided by narrow streets. Houses were also usually built directly against the internal face of the rampart. Some coastal lowland sites, such as Lattes (Barruol *et al.*, 1988; Garcia, 1994; Py, 1989, 1990b, 1996b) and l'Ile at Martigues (Chausserie-Laprée and Nin, 1987, 1990; Chausserie-Laprée *et al.*, 1984), also show all these characteristics except for the elevated location. However, in some areas ramparts are also found even on very small hilltop sites of less than 1 ha that appear to have been only seasonally occupied. At least 600 such sites have been identified in the Côte d'Azur region, although dating is uncertain (Bats, 1989).

In regions that have been intensively explored by programs of survey and excavation over the past couple of decades, it has become clear that the "oppidum-cités" are also relatively densely spread over the landscape. In the middle and lower Hérault valley, such sites are spaced about 10 km apart and occupied potential territories of about 20 $km^2$ (Garcia, 1993a, 1995; Garcia and Orliac, 1993). Most are presumed to have been the independent centers of small polities, although some may have become nodes of larger configurations linked through patron–client relations as the sociopolitical landscape of the region continued to change over the course of the Late Iron Age. The relationship of these settlements to the smaller lowland farmsteads being identified with increasing frequency in recent surveys (e.g., Favory and Raynaud, 1995) is a subject that still requires clarification.

Domestic units at these sites differed significantly from those of the colonial societies. The vast majority was one-room rectangular units of modest dimensions [generally about 10 to 25 $m^2$ until the second century BC (Py, 1990a, p. 123)] that opened directly onto the street, rather than onto an interior courtyard (as in the Graeco-Italic pattern). There is occasional evidence for two or more rooms being linked by internal doorways, especially at a few large sites (e.g., Lattes, Saint-Blaise, and Entremont). But these multiroom structures were usually an elaboration of the existing indigenous pattern. House styles of clear Graeco-Italic derivation are rare and late: second century BC Glanum and Lattes are perhaps the most notable examples in the Lower Rhône Basin (Py, 1996a; Roth Congès,

1992a–c), although a few earlier court-centered house structures are known from Pech Maho and other sites in Western Languedoc (Py, 1990a, p. 127). In general, the domestic units are grouped either in elongated single rows stretching along a narrow street or in double rows (separated by an axial wall, with rooms opening onto parallel streets). Sometimes they are also arranged in shorter rectangular blocks. Evidence for second stories has been identified at second-century BC Entremont (Arcelin, 1992a, 1993b). The presence of second floors or rooftop terraces has been suggested for some other sites (Arcelin, 1992b, p. 321), but Lattes, for example, did not follow this practice (Py, 1996a).

Excellent preservation at the site of l'Ile at Martigues illustrates the multifunction character of the interior space of houses. At this site, the cooking area (with either a flat hearth or a clay oven, cooking ceramics, and grindstone) was located near the door. Along the walls were storage jars of various kinds (amphoras, dolia, and unfired clay containers). There were also various niches in the walls and large bench structures for working and/or sleeping. At l'Ile, hearths were also located in the narrow street outside the door of each house (Chausserie-Laprée and Nin, 1987, 1990). At a number of sites in Eastern Languedoc, during the fourth and third centuries BC, in particular, clay hearths decorated with incised geometric patterns have been located in the center of houses, often associated with clay andirons in the form of animals (Groupe de Recherche Archéologique de Montpellier, 1968; Roux and Raux, 1996). These are generally interpreted to have some ritual function associated with domestic religious practice.

A number of settlements have been excavated over a sufficient area to give a good idea of changes and continuities in the urban structure of individual sites over a number of phases spanning, in some cases, several centuries. Among the best examples with recent excavations are Entremont (Arcelin, 1993b) and l'Ile at Martigues (Chausserie-Laprée and Nin, 1987, 1990; Chausserie-Laprée *et al.*, 1984), in the Provence, and Nages (Py, 1978a) and Lattes, in Eastern Languedoc, although space precludes more than a cursory description of the last of these here.

Lattes is somewhat unusual because of its large size (over 20 ha) and the fact of being a defended lowland site. However, while no site can be claimed as "typical," Lattes does serve to illustrate some of the characteristics found at many contemporary indigenous settlements. The site was initially explored by small rescue sondages (Arnal *et al.*, 1974), but large-scale excavations have been under way since 1983 (Barruol *et al.*, 1988; Garcia, 1994; Py, 1989, 1990b, 1996b; Py and Garcia, 1993). It was occupied intensively from the late sixth century BC through the second century AD and was known in Antiquity as "Lattara." Situated along the bank of an ancient lagoon linked to the sea, in the delta of two branches of the river

Lez, the site became an important port and began receiving large quantities of Mediterranean imports (especially Etruscan and Massaliote wine) during the late sixth century BC. The earliest rampart, in stone with square bastions, also dates to the late sixth century BC. The structure of the early settlement is still poorly known, but during the fourth–third centuries BC the site underwent major expansion to cover an area of about 20 ha; and another phase of expansion to about 25 ha occurred during the second–first centuries BC. During the initial Late Iron Age phase of expansion, the settlement organization developed a rectilinear structure which is well documented in the southeast corner of the site that has been most fully explored (Fig. 8). The settlement layout consisted of east–west oriented parallel rows of contiguous rectangular stone houses separated by narrow streets and alleyways that were bisected by a broader street oriented north–south and running parallel to the rampart. This street intersected another broad street (oriented east–west) in the southeast corner. Although aligned in regular rows, the individual houses exhibit a great deal of variation in size, number of rooms, orientation, placement of doors and evidence of function (Py 1996a). During the second–first century BC, the settlement maintained the same basic structure, but by the mid-second century BC houses with an interior courtyard had been added to the repertoire of domestic forms. The streets show evidence of continuous refurbishment with layers of gravel, pot sherds, and earth (Lebeaupin, 1996). In addition to a rich array of domestic debris, the houses have yielded over 236 hearths and ovens (Roux and Raux, 1996), many large storage jars, evidence of architectural elaboration, debris from craft production (bronze, iron, mortars, etc.), and other data enabling a remarkably detailed analysis of transformations in the practices of daily life.

In combination with more limited excavations at a large number of other sites and recent survey data, such settlements present intriguing possibilities (which can only be schematically hinted at here) for reconstructing contrasting local patterns of historical transformation of the cultural landscape within the more general structure of the colonial situation. For example, in the Provençal hinterland of Massalia, the fourth and third centuries BC were marked by the proliferation of new, small (<1-ha), fortified agricultural villages on hilltops and the disappearance of dispersed farmsteads on lowlands. During the late third and early second centuries BC, many of these villages were abandoned, often following violent destruction. Population was subsequently concentrated in much larger settlements (up to 6 ha) that show clear evidence of reconstruction and major expansion (e.g., Entremont, Pierredon, l'Ile). This was accompanied by a new emphasis on the elaboration of fortifications and monumental public spaces, by the erection of ostentatious statuary, by an increase in multiroom struc-

Fig. 8. Map of settlement organization at Lattes, showing the southeast corner of the site (from Py, 1997).

tures, and by the expansion of the repertoire of construction techniques. After the Roman conquest of the area in 123 BC (following the conflict between Massalia and the Saluvii), there was a fairly rapid abandonment of most of these hilltop sites (often after episodes of violent destruction), and small settlements appeared again on the lowlands (Arcelin and Tréziny, 1990). In Eastern Languedoc, on the other hand, the second century BC shows no traces of a similar phase of turbulence and destruction. Rather, there was a process of continuous development of its large fortified hilltop

sites that, for the most part, had been established in the previous period (Py, 1990a). Although the data are far less complete, in Roussillon, the fourth and third centuries BC witnessed an apparent clustering of population in a few large sites (e.g., the site of Illiberis expanded to 10 ha), with little evidence for occupation of the countryside by smaller farms or hamlets. However, beginning in the second century BC (and clearly associated with the Roman presence in the region), there was an explosion of isolated small sites over the countryside, while Illiberis decreased in size (Pezin, 1993). In the nearby region of Corbières, the third and second centuries BC appear to have been a period of sparse population with a decline in the occupation of hilltop villages, while in the lower Aude valley and along the coast there was a clustering of population in several previously established settlements (e.g., Ensérune, Mailhac, and Montlaurès). The period immediately following Roman occupation of the region saw an initial flourishing of these large native towns of the Aude, but they quickly declined after the mid-first century BC as the Roman colonies of Narbonne and Béziers expanded. In the Corbières, this same period witnessed a reoccupation of the plain by small dispersed settlements (Chazelles, 1993).

## RELIGION AND PUBLIC RITUAL SPACES

Archaeological evidence for reconstructing and interpreting religious practice and other forms of public ritual consists primarily of the physical remnants of funerary ritual (dealt with separately in the following section) and communal public spaces with traces of ritual activity. As noted earlier, at least until the second century BC, indigenous settlements of the region differed radically from Greek cities by the general absence of monumental demarcation of public communal spaces (e.g., Arcelin *et al.*, 1992; Bats and Py, 1990; Goudineau, 1980; Py, 1990a; Tréziny, 1992). Late Iron Age settlements that have been extensively excavated generally show a dense clustering of domestic structures and narrow streets within the defensive walls with little space allotted to communal gatherings even at crossroads. Hence, it has been assumed that spaces for public rituals must have been located outside the settlements.

Arcelin *et al.* (1992) have undertaken the most extensive recent comparative examination of data bearing on this issue and have defined several classes of public ritual spaces in Mediterranean France within a proposed developmental sequence. The first period, extending down to the third century BC, involved three types of ritual sites. The simplest and earliest of these are represented by the erection of stone stele of a type called "*cippe*," a tradition that extends back into the Late Bronze Age. Over 350 of these

have so far been identified (mostly in the Lower Rhône Basin). Those dating before the second century BC often have engraved or painted decoration but are without writing, while later examples sometimes have Gallo-Greek inscriptions. Most have been found in secondary context, incorporated as reused raw material in the walls of settlements (e.g., see Bessac and Chausserie-Laprée, 1992; Dedet, 1992a; Garcia, 1992b; Lagrand, 1981a; Py, 1992). However, the relatively few examples that have been found *in situ* suggest a probably nonfunerary ritual context (of ambiguous nature), and a few have been found in association with statuary. The second type of site consists of small shelters (or porticos) that appear to have been erected on the periphery of settlements, as at Mouriès and La Ramasse. These are identified by small stone lintels decorated with engraved figures and associated steles, and the earliest yet found dates to the fifth century BC. The third type involves life-sized stone sculptures or busts of "warrior-heroes" set on pillars or pedestals. These were originally suggested to be a fourth-century BC development (Arcelin *et al.*, 1992), but the recent excavation of a ritual complex dating to the mid-sixth century BC at Le Marduel, in Eastern Languedoc, with steles, pillars, and a probably bicephalic sculptural bust, pushes the date back by two centuries (Py *et al.*, 1994).

The second period of Arcelin *et al.* (1992), from the mid-third to the mid-second centuries BC, is marked by a trend toward architectural monumentality in the construction of the portico and statuary complex (as well as in the elaboration of defensive ramparts at a few important settlements). Wooden supports were replaced by dressed stone, and there was a general amplification of the spectacular dimensions of these ritual sites. The famous complex of Roquepertuse in the Provence, with its series of life-sized stone sculptures of cross-legged, seated "warriors" and stone pillars and lintels with niches carved to accommodate skulls, dates to this period (Coignard and Coignard, 1991). Recent research has demonstrated that the statues, pillars, and lintels were also decorated with elaborate polychrome painting depicting horses, birds, serpentiform creatures, and geometric designs (Barbet, 1991, 1992).

The third period of Arcelin *et al.* (1992), from the mid-second to the mid-first centuries BC, was characterized by an amplification of the trends seen at Roquepertuse. At Entremont, a prior village was expanded into a town around 150 BC. The main entrance road into the town was enlarged and (according to hypothetical reconstructions) was bordered by shelters housing numerous life-sized stone sculptures of heroized male warriors (seated and standing), many holding severed heads. There are also a few statues of women, and even two horse statues. Nearby, along the external face of the rampart of the earlier site (now inside the walls of the larger

settlement), was constructed a hypostyle hall with a second story. This structure dates probably to the last quarter of the second century BC, and it contained reused fragments from an earlier portico structure including a stone pillar and lintel with engraved representations of severed human heads and carved niches for skulls. Twenty-two human skulls were also found in the street near this structure, of which six had traces of having been affixed (Arcelin, 1993b; Salviat, 1993).

These features at Entremont represent one of the earliest attempts to integrate and monumentalize public ritual space within a settlement. However, other urban sites of this period have also yielded only slightly later evidence of stone statues of warriors, lintels with cephaliform niches, steles, and other traces of similar ritual structures. These include the recent discoveries at Nîmes (Guillet *et al.*, 1992) and the sacred spring of Glanum, which saw a town grow around it near the end of the second century BC (Rolland, 1946; Roth Congès, 1985, 1992a–c). In both of these latter cases there is also a syncretic incorporation of elements of Greek architectural ornamentation into what were clearly indigenous ritual contexts. Arcelin *et al.* (1992) interpret the developments outlined above as being closely linked to changes in the sociopolitical structure of indigenous societies, particularly in the Lower Rhône Basin. They view the process of increasing monumentalization of ritual spaces and the use of heroic statuary as part of the ideological strategy of a developing elite class to transform traditional communal ritual practices into a symbolic device intended to promote personal glorification and naturalize the increasingly asymmetrical structure of social relations.

The dramatic emphasis on severed heads and skulls in ritual sites of southern France has been perhaps the feature of local archaeology most widely known outside the region. Skulls with evidence of having been nailed up or otherwise suspended for display have been found at five sites, all but Pech Maho being in the Lower Rhône Basin. Additionally, eight sites have turned up architectural elements with cephaliform niches and six sites have sculptural representations of severed heads, all but two being in the Lower Rhône Basin (Arcelin *et al.*, 1992; Benoit, 1959, 1964). This evidence is tantalizing because Diodoros Siculus, Strabo, and Poseidonios (who actually visited the hinterland of Marseille at the beginning of the first century BC) described in lurid detail the local practice of taking, preserving and displaying the heads of vanquished enemies. The archaeological finds have generally been interpreted in the light of these documents as trophies of war, but the possibility of a parallel practice of ancestral veneration cannot be excluded. In any case, although there is scattered evidence for various kinds of special funerary treatment of skulls extending back to the Bronze Age, the archaeological evidence indicates that the practice of ritually dis-

playing heads or their simulacra was a rather late development of the third and second centuries BC and that this was also a fairly localized phenomenon confined largely to the Lower Rhône Basin (Arcelin *et al.*, 1992).

## FUNERARY PRACTICES

The good news about funerary evidence in Mediterranean France is that, in the aggregate, it is abundant. Thousands of burials are known, often grouped together in large cemeteries (sometimes extending over several hectares), and hundreds of these graves have been excavated. Unfortunately, the bad news is composed of a longer list of problems. In the first place, aside from a few (especially infant) burials of unusual character within settlements (Dedet and Schwaller, 1990; Dedet *et al.*, 1991; Fabre, 1994), graves are generally spatially isolated in cemeteries that are rarely in clear association with a particular settlement. Among the major exceptions to this rule are the graves associated with the settlement of Ensérune (Jannoray, 1955; Schwaller, 1994a) and the cemeteries of Le Moulin and Grand Bassin that are linked to the settlement of Le Cayla de Mailhac (Janin *et al.*, 1994; Louis *et al.*, 1958; Taffanel and Taffanel, 1962).

Given that many burial mounds attracted the attention of early antiquarians and amateur archaeologists (e.g., Cotte, 1924; Gérin-Ricard, 1909) and that many others have been disturbed by agricultural work, there are also some problems with the quality of data in many cases. Many graves have been only very briefly and inadequately published, and, given the techniques of excavation employed, it is not always certain that grave inventories are complete. However, much of this older material has been carefully reanalyzed in recent years (e.g., Dedet, 1992b; Gasco, 1984) and these data have been augmented by a number of recent excavations of high quality (e.g., Bérard, 1980; Dedet and Py, 1973; Gasco, 1980; Janin, 1996; Nickels *et al.*, 1981, 1989) that offer a basis for evaluating and interpreting the statements about grave structure and funerary rites offered in older reports.

One further problem is that funerary evidence varies considerably according to period and region. In general, the data are best for the Late Bronze Age and beginning of the Early Iron Age, a period for which many cemeteries have been identified and excavated. In the Lower Rhône Basin, funerary rites changed over the course of the sixth century BC to practices that did not leave archaeologically detectable traces, and few burials are known after the early fifth century BC (Dietler, 1990b). The number of cemeteries also declined in Western Languedoc/Roussillon, but less quickly and drastically than farther east (Rancoule, 1989; Schwaller, 1994b; Solier,

1989; Louis *et al.*, 1955). However, for the fourth and third centuries BC, although scattered burials are known, Ensérune is virtually the only site in Mediterranean France with a significant amount of funerary evidence. For the second and first centuries BC, small cemeteries are known from sites such as Beaucaire and Ambrussum (Dedet *et al.*, 1978; Fiches, 1989), but a recent review of the evidence counted fewer than 100 adequately published graves for these two centuries over the whole of Mediterranean France (Bats, 1990b). In the Côte d'Azur region, burial evidence is relatively sparse for all periods.

A further geographical bias in the data is caused by the fact that, west of the Rhône many cemeteries have been substantially or completely excavated and published, whereas on the Provençal side of the Rhône this is not the case, and only a handful of graves from among the hundreds identified have been published in any detail. For example, in Languedoc, over 90 tumuli have been excavated and at least minimally described at the cemetery of Cazevieille (Gasco, 1984, pp. 18–25) and over 400 graves have been excavated at the cemetery of Le Moulin (Janin *et al.*, 1994; Louis *et al.*, 1958, pp. 16–30); whereas in the Provence, only 3 have been excavated and reported of over 100 identified at Plan d'Aups (Lagrand, 1959b, 1987) and only 4 have been reported of about 30 identified at Cabasse (Bérard, 1980). The representativeness of Provençal burial patterns is thus open to some question, and a number of large Languedocian cemeteries are also represented by only a few published tumuli (Dedet, 1992b; Dietler, 1990b, pp. 295–360, 574–700; Gasco, 1984).

Despite these and other problems with the extant funerary data (see Dietler, 1990b, pp. 295–360), some tentative general observations are possible (Dedet, 1979, 1992b, 1994; Dietler, 1995a; Py, 1990a, 1993a). At the most basic level, in Western Languedoc/Roussillon, the cemeteries of both the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age generally followed a relatively homogeneous pattern of cremations interred in pits or cists. However, in the Lower Rhône Basin, inhumations were also common and the predominant Early Iron Age burial rite featured a small tumulus erected over the remains of the deceased. For the Late Iron Age, cremation burials in pits are the standard type found throughout the region.

## Lower Rhône Basin

The extensive use of a conspicuous tumulus monument marks a change in this region from a more varied pattern in the Late Bronze Age. Several tumulus burials dating to the Late Bronze Age are also known (Courtin, 1978, p. 34; Fédières and Gasco, 1979; Garmy, 1974, p. 9; Gros and Gros,

1972), and it was not the concept of burial under a tumulus that was new to the Early Iron Age of the area but, rather, its widespread use. Modes of burial other than under tumulus also continued during the Early Iron Age, such as reutilization of megalithic chamber tombs in Eastern Languedoc (Dedet 1982) and flat graves in pits or stone cists at a few sites in the Provence (Sainte-Cécile, Saint-Saturnin-les-Apt, Cadarache), but these are in the extreme minority.

Although isolated tumuli and other burials do exist, the majority tends to be found clustered in groups called "cemeteries" (*nécropoles*). However, there is some ambiguity in the use of this term: it is sometimes used to mean all the graves located within a given commune and sometimes, more specifically, to mean only those graves clustered in close physical proximity to each other. If Gasco's (1984, pp. 127–128) measure of a 100- to 150-m maximum distance between mounds is used, for example, the "cemetery" of Cazevieille actually becomes 14 distinct "cemeteries," plus 7 groupings of 2 tumuli, and 18 isolated cases. Similarly, the four groups of tumuli within the "cemetery" of La Sérignane, Peynier, would all be considered separate cemeteries. In whatever sense the term cemetery is applied, the important point is that large numbers of tumuli are concentrated in the territory of certain communes and that most of the large communal totals of graves contain smaller clusters. While sufficiently large samples of precise chronological data are lacking within the Provençal groups, Gasco's (1984, p. 128) analysis of Languedocian tumuli has revealed a degree of chronological spread among tumuli in several groups, indicating that they were built over a period of time rather than being strictly contemporary. Osteological evidence is far too meager to support any suggestion of family groupings, and the most one can say at present is that the location of prior graves, especially tumuli, strongly influenced the locational selection for later graves.

Several features argue against tumuli being considered as evidence for the massive immigration or invasion of a new people importing a distinctive burial rite, as had often been proposed in the past. First, the ceramics placed in the tumuli demonstrate a clear persistence of local stylistic traditions from the late Bronze Age (Dedet, 1979, 1992b; Gasco, 1984; Lagrand, 1987). Furthermore, tumulus burials are far from uniform in terms of either structure of the mound, burial rite, or inventories of grave goods, a fact which is difficult to reconcile with the idea of a wave of invaders sweeping down the Rhône Valley (see also Garmy, 1979). Finally, the patterns of tumulus burial represented in southern France are not only internally variable: they are not the same as those in other regions to the north, such as the Hallstatt or Alpine areas (Dietler 1995a).

Among the more obvious aspects of heterogeneity among the tumuli is variation in the treatment of the body. At least three practices are represented contemporaneously for treatment of the primary burial of a tumulus, often in the same small group of tumuli: cremation, direct inhumation, and inhumation after a preliminary defleshing. There is a certain regional variation in the pattern, with inhumation being slightly more prevalent as an exclusive rite within local groups in the Provence. A chronological priority of inhumation over cremation has also been claimed, with cremation appearing only in the sixth century BC but then continuing concurrently with inhumation (e.g., Arcelin, 1976, p. 672; Dedet, 1979, p. 40). Gasco's analysis of Languedocian tumuli failed to document this priority but showed a coexistence of the two modes of body treatment through the early sixth century (with, however, a clear numerical superiority of inhumation in the later seventh century) until cremation became the exclusive practice near the mid-sixth century BC (1984, pp. 123–124, Fig. 60; cf. Dedet, 1992b).

These different modes of body treatment did not simply coexist on a regional scale, but are evident within many individual cemeteries. Not all cemeteries shared this mixture of practices; some, such as those excavated in the area of Pourrières in the Var (Gérin-Ricard, 1931, pp. 56–57; Lagrand, 1987, pp. 49–51) show an exclusive preference for inhumation. However, the term inhumation also includes a range of variation in terms of body position (e.g., flexed or extended) and, especially, the distinction between direct inhumation and inhumation after defleshing. The latter practice was sometimes suggested by early excavators to account for the partial representation of skeletal material found in a tumulus, but given the standards of excavation, it is not always clear to what extent secondary disturbance factors may have escaped detection. However, more recent excavations, such as those at the Sadoulet tumuli at Pompignan in the Gard (Duday and Gasco, 1977; Gasco, 1980), have confirmed the existence of the practice.

The size and structure of the tumulus mounds also show a good deal of variation. In comparison to the Early Iron Age tumuli of the Alpine and Hallstatt areas (where mounds 50 to 100 m in diameter are known), those of the Lower Rhône Basin are all quite small. They range in diameter from about 2 to 24 m, with examples above 15 m being uncommon, particularly in Languedoc. There are both regional and local trends in size. For example, the average diameter of the 90 tumuli at Cazevieille (Languedoc) was only about 4.6 m, and only one tumulus was larger than 12 m, whereas at the cemetery of La Sérignane at Peynier (Provence) the average diameter was about 11.3 m, with 5 of 13 measured tumuli being 15 to 20 m. Gasco (1984, pp. 112–114, Fig. 56) noted a difference in size trend be-

tween the tumuli of the Hérault and Gard Départements, with about 68% of the Hérault tumuli measuring less than 6 m in diameter, while only about 3% of the Gardois tumuli fell in this range (as against about 90% between 7 and 13 m in diameter). The Provençal tumuli fall generally into the Gardois pattern, with, moreover, a greater proportion of tumuli in the 10- to 15-m range than in the Gard. The average diameter of all Provençal tumuli for which measurements are published is about 10.8 m (Dietler, 1990b, p. 310), although the real average is lower because many tumuli are recorded simply as being smaller than the largest tumulus in the local group (sometimes the only one for which measurements are given). However, despite this obvious representational bias, it is clear that the Provence has more (in both numerical and proportional terms) tumuli on the larger end of the scale than Languedoc, with at least eight tumuli (or 32% of those for which measurements are published) measuring between 15 and 20 m in diameter. Dedet's (1994) analysis of Languedocian tumuli found no significant trend toward increasing or decreasing size over time.

Internal mound structures, placement of funerary remains, and evidence of funerary ritual exhibit a wide range of variation without much evidence of regionally consistent patterns. Many tumuli consist of a simple mound of stone, or earth and stone, raised over a body or cremation placed on the ground surface, in a natural depression, or in a shallow pit. Occasionally the mound has a more defined shape, as in the case of the two-tiered stepped tumuli at La Sérignane, Peynier (Gérin-Ricard, 1931, pp. 52–53) and the Ferme Cataran, Pourrières (Gérin-Ricard, 1931, pp. 56–57). In the case of a cremation or defleshed inhumation, the remains were either clustered within a confined area, depression, or pit or scattered over the surface. Sometimes the body or collected bones and ashes were placed in a stone-lined cist within the tumulus. Most tumulus mounds had no obvious internal structure, but a few were bounded by an outer ring-wall of stone, and others had multiple concentric rings of stone. A few had a straight internal wall running through the mound, and others had a large vertical stone, or "stele," placed in the mound.

Primary burials were usually single individuals, especially in the case of direct inhumations, but multiple cremations and inhumations are also known. For example, at Cazevieille, 5 of the 35 tumuli with inhumations (or 6% of all tumuli) contained multiple inhumations (usually two adults but, in one case, with the bodies of five adults and one child). Osteological analysis is very incomplete, and extremely difficult in the case of cremations. Nevertheless, adults and children have both been documented as primary burials under tumulus (although adults constitute the vast majority). Both male and female adults have been claimed, but sexing by detailed osteological analysis is rare and statements about sex are often based simply

on an assessment of size or of the associated grave goods (e.g., Dedet, 1992b, pp. 193–198, 1994). Secondary burials are also known from some tumuli, and in certain cases of older excavations these may be responsible for some reportings of multiple primary burials and have confused inventories of grave goods.

Grave goods included even with primary burials are fairly meager in comparison to both those of the Hallstatt zone and the cremation cemeteries of Western Languedoc. Moreover, it is difficult to distinguish any regionally consistent pattern which might be taken to indicate the delineation of a more prestigious set of burials; while some graves include more objects than others, this is not necessarily correlated with size of the tumulus, the complexity of its structure, the mode of treatment of the body, or the exclusive furnishing of certain kinds of objects or materials. In contrast to the rather clear hierarchical structuring of grave goods and funerary elaboration over a wide area of the West Hallstatt region (see Dietler, 1995a, 1997c; Frankenstein and Rowlands, 1978; Olivier, 1988; Pare, 1991, 1992), those in the Lower Rhône Basin present a remarkably polythetic pattern.

The most consistent inclusion in graves of all types is pottery, which is found in about 85% of the tumuli (Dietler, 1990b, p. 314; Gasco, 1984, pp. 117–118). A striking feature of the pots included in graves is their quantitative poverty in contrast to the cremation cemeteries of Western Languedoc. Gasco (1984, p. 118) noted that 41% of the Eastern Languedocian tumuli with identifiable ceramics yielded only a single vessel and roughly 97% yielded four or fewer vessels. In the Provence the situation is similar, with 85% of graves before the mid-sixth century BC with quantified ceramic inventories having three vessels or less (Dietler, 1990b, p. 314). Only three graves in all of the Lower Rhône Basin diverge radically from this pattern, with lots of 12, 19, and 50 vessels, respectively (Dedet, 1992b; Evesque, 1965; Gasco, 1984; Lagrand, 1987).

In marked contrast to the Western Languedoc cremation cemeteries, pots were rarely used as ossuaries in the Rhône Basin. There were no special forms or class of funerary pottery produced exclusively for inclusion in graves. While there are slight proportional differences between types of ceramics found in domestic and funerary contexts, these are patterns of preferential rather than restricted use. In contrast to contemporary settlements of the region and to graves of the neighboring lower Hérault valley, where ceramics imported from the Mediterranean were beginning to appear in quantity, such items have been found in only two burials before the mid-sixth century BC in all of the Lower Rhône Basin (Tumulus de "Claps," Vauvenargues, and Tumulus des Trois Quartiers, Pertuis).

The second and only other numerically important class of grave goods consists of metal objects, almost exclusively bronze and iron. Ceramic spin-

dle-whorls and a variety of miscellaneous stone and bone pendants, points, axes, beads, etc., are also found sporadically included in scattered graves. Metal objects are significantly better represented in graves than on contemporary settlements, where they are rather sparse; about 60% of the Languedocian tumuli contain metal objects (Gasco, 1984, p. 117), and virtually all demonstrably seventh- or early sixth-century BC Provençal graves have them. The types of objects and quantities are similar on both sides of the Rhône. Although few objects were included in individual graves, the global range of items used as grave goods is quite large. They can be divided roughly into four broad groups: weapons and cutting implements, jewelry and dress ornaments, vessels, and armor.

Weapons and cutting implements include swords, spear points and butts, razors, knives, and arrowheads. Jewelry and dress ornaments include bracelets, pins, fibulas, buttons, rings and chains, buckles, pendants, and various plaques and fragments of sheet-bronze. The objects known as "toilette-kits," with tweezers and scalptorium, might also be included in this category, as with a variety of miscellaneous rare objects such as bronze tubes. Vessels include indigenously produced bronze bowls (or cups), imported Etruscan bronze basins, one bronze "Rhodian" oinochoai, and a few uncertain pieces. Armor is limited to one cuirass from the Tumulus de l'Agnel, Pertuis (Bouloumié, 1978).

Most graves include no more than one to four types of metal objects, and multiple examples of individual types of objects are usually restricted to bracelets, rings, pins, buttons, and arrowheads. By far the most commonly found objects in general are bronze bracelets, rings, and razors (the latter always found singly). Swords and daggers are uncommon inclusions, and they are widely distributed; only three are known from clear seventh and early sixth century BC burials in the Provence and 11 from Eastern Languedoc. Bronze vessels are also uncommon, with seven indigenous examples, nine Mediterranean imports, and a few vessels of uncertain origin or form (e.g., the partial situla or cauldron and undiagnostic fragment from the Tumulus 1 de l'Agnel, Pertuis).

Patterns of consistent association or exclusion among categories of grave goods are extremely elusive. For Languedoc, Gasco (1984) noted a patterned, but not invariable, separation of cutting objects and certain classes of jewelry such as bracelets and rings (cf. Dedet, 1992b, 1994), but this pattern is clearly not represented in the Provençal graves. When factors such as mode of treatment of the body, grave type, or tumulus size and structure are considered in addition, even less patterning is apparent.

This feature is particularly interesting when the pattern and role of Mediterranean imports in graves is considered. Mediterranean imports are very few in graves of the Lower Rhône Basin, and despite a large number

of them in graves in the neighboring lower Hérault valley, they are rare in Eastern Languedoc. For the period before 550 BC, a maximum of only 14 Mediterranean imports and 1 Gray-Monochrome pot have been found in graves in the Lower Rhône Basin, and 12 of these are small bronze vessels (11 Etruscan basins and 1 oinochoai). These bronze vessels are extremely rare on contemporary settlements, where ceramics (particularly amphoras, which are not found in burials) were the predominant form of import. The pattern is quite unlike that in the neighboring lower Hérault valley, where at least four Etruscan bronze basins have also been found in graves, but in association with much greater quantities of Etruscan amphoras and other imported pottery (Garcia and Orliac, 1985; Giry, 1965; Morel, 1981b, pp. 492–493).

In terms of association and context, there is nothing in particular which distinguishes graves with imports as a class (Dietler, 1990b). Imports are, for example, found in both flat-graves and tumuli, with both inhumations and cremations (even within a very limited area, as at Pertuis), and with both adults and children. When found in tumuli, they are not necessarily found in unusually large ones or even in the largest within a local area, although many are in tumuli of the larger size range for the local group. They are not differentially associated with swords, spears, or other weapons, with large amounts or different forms or styles of ceramics, or with any other type or class of artifact. The only observable difference of potential significance is a slight regional trend toward a greater range of types of metal objects included in some (but not all) graves with imports than in graves without them. In other words, there is no apparent use of an exclusive class of objects which could be taken to have an evident diacritical symbolic value [as, for example, with the wagon burials in the Hallstatt zone (Pare, 1992)], but Mediterranean imports may be part of a slightly broader range of metal goods included in certain graves. Given the nature of the metal industry in the Lower Rhône Basin, this may perhaps be taken as a general indication of disposal of slightly greater wealth in some graves but, more importantly, as an indication of a wider network of exchange relationships for those individuals or their social group. Only two graves with Mediterranean imports exhibit signs of unusually abundant material: the Tumulus "à la fosse" at Pourrières (Lagrand, 1987) and the Tumulus 1 de l'Agnel at Pertuis (Bouloumié, 1978).

After the middle of the sixth century BC, although a variety of grave forms continued to be used (burial in caves, reutilized megalithic chamber tombs, flat-graves, and especially, tumuli), the number of recognizable burials rapidly declined. There are both far fewer total burials and far fewer graves (if any) in almost all cemeteries after the mid-sixth century BC. In Eastern Languedoc and the Ardèche, aside from a few inhumations in

caves, cremation took over as the exclusive mode of treatment of the body. The few graves found at La Bergerie Hermet, Calvisson mark the first appearance of the Western Languedoc pattern of cremation pit-burials in the area but differ in that they do not form part of a recognizable large cemetery (Dedet and Py, 1973). A mixture of inhumation and cremation continued to be practiced in the Provence, but segregated by area (at least as far as the relatively meager evidence can be taken as representative).

Another point of contrast is a complete reversal of the distribution pattern of inclusion of Mediterranean imports and colonial-and-hybrid ceramics in graves, with only 1 case in the Provence, as opposed to 14 in Eastern Languedoc. Moreover, with the exception of four Etruscan bronze basins, all the other items are ceramics (Gray-Monochrome, Pseudo-Ionian, and Attic fineware; Massaliote, Etruscan, and Ionian amphoras). The quantities of these Mediterranean imports and colonial/hybrid ceramics objects were still typically meager, with no single grave having more than two types of these items and only the multiple burial in the cave at Site 2, Lagorce, having more than two of these objects in total. By way of comparison, this is considerably less, in terms of both the proportion of graves with such material and the quantity and the variety of these items included in individual graves, than at the neighboring lower Hérault valley cemetery of Saint-Julien-de-Pézenas. It is further different in that these vessels were not used as receptacles for cremation remains, as was frequently the case at Saint-Julien (Giry, 1965, Llinas and Robert, 1971) and other graves of the Hérault (e.g., Houlès and Janin, 1992).

The imported Mediterranean and colonial/hybrid ceramics are found in graves of all types—caves, reutilized megalithic chamber tombs, flat-graves, and tumuli—although predominantly in the latter. As in the previous period, there is little to distinguish graves with imports from those without. In fact, even the slight tendency toward a greater variety of metal goods in some of the former is no longer in evidence, and there are no graves as well furnished as the Tumulus de l'Agnel at Pertuis or the Tumulus "à la fosse" at Pourrières. Nor is there an apparent correlation between Mediterranean imports and the size or complexity of the funerary structure.

Aside from the differences noted above, there are few other dramatic changes in Early Iron Age graves after the mid-sixth century except their rapidly decreasing number. For those tumuli that were still erected, the general quantity and range of goods included in burials altered little between periods, except stylistically. Indigenous ceramics are common and, again, usually in small lots of three or fewer. Faunal remains are still relatively frequent finds, attesting to the inclusion of food or animal sacrifice as part of the funerary ritual. Fibulas are more common grave goods (rarely more than one to a grave) than earlier, and the number of bracelets in-

cluded in graves increased in a number of cases. Weapons (spears, daggers, and arrowheads) are slightly less common inclusions, but probably not significantly so given the very different sample sizes for the two phases.

Perhaps the most obvious feature of these data is that there is no indication in either phase of the Early Iron Age of anything which might be taken to indicate a "Hellenization" of funerary customs. As Morel (1983a) has pointed out, this is an important point in assessing the cultural colonization of a given population. In the first place, Mediterranean goods appear to have played a rather minimal role in native funerary practices in the Lower Rhône Basin. Indeed, in view of their relative abundance on contemporary settlements of the region and in graves in the neighboring lower Hérault valley, Mediterranean imports and colonial-and-hybrid ceramics are surprisingly rare in graves (this also contrasts with the last two centuries BC, when imported Mediterranean ceramics, essentially Campanian pottery, were common inclusions in graves throughout Mediterranean France, see below). Their almost complete absence in graves in the hinterland of Massalia during the period of major trade expansion in the later sixth century BC is particularly noteworthy. Moreover, when present, these objects appear to have been simply incorporated into typical indigenous graves, indicating an adaptation of the objects to native customs rather than a transformation of funerary practices. The absence of any consistently distinctive structure, mode of treatment of the body, or class of grave goods with burials incorporating Mediterranean goods argues strongly for this conclusion (Dietler, 1990b).

During the late sixth century BC, the one important shift in funerary ritual that occurred is signaled by a rapid decline in the number of identifiable burials. Exactly what funerary rites were replacing those of the earlier period is not clear. However, by the early fifth century BC virtually no one in the Lower Rhône Basin was covered with a conspicuous permanent marker and interred with personal possessions. This has been interpreted as suggesting a shift in the arenas of social competition accompanied by a movement in the funerary domain towards the symbolic denial of inequalities in economic and political power through, perhaps, a more stringent representation of equality in death (Dietler, 1995a). Funerary ritual is not an isolated domain, it is merely one of many arenas in which competition may be played out and one should expect shifts in the principal theaters of politico-symbolic competition as well as transformations of mortuary style (e.g., see Bradley, 1990). The funerary evidence for the earlier part of the Early Iron Age certainly indicates that funerals provided an important ritual venue for making public and durable statements about identity, status, and relative wealth within very local traditions of representation, but not in a manner that suggests an institutionalized hierarchy

of social relations, extreme differences, or a widely uniform iconography of representation. By the end of the Early Iron Age, this theater of politico-symbolic drama was effectively transformed, while another, that of feasting, was in the process of escalation (Dietler, 1995a).

## Western Languedoc/Roussillon

As noted earlier, funerary data are much more abundant in Western Languedoc/Roussillon, with hundreds of graves excavated within each of a number of individual cemeteries. Moreover, Early Iron Age funerary patterns are different for this region than east of the Hérault valley. In fact, the Lower Rhône Basin pattern of tumulus burials ends abruptly in the lower Hérault valley, with Héraultais cemeteries such as Saint-Julien at Pézenas and Le Peyrou at Agde typifying the Western Languedoc pattern of large cemeteries of cremation pit-burials, many of which, to be sure, were also covered by small mounds (Giry, 1965; Llinas and Robert, 1971; Marchand, 1994; Nickels, 1990; Nickels *et al.*, 1981, 1989).

This Early Iron Age situation is a continuation of Late Bronze Age patterns in this region, as exemplified particularly in the well-known cemetery of Le Moulin associated with the settlement of Le Cayla de Mailhac (Janin *et al.*, 1994; Louis *et al.*, 1958, pp. 16–30). Over 400 graves have been excavated at this cemetery dating to the Late Bronze Age and transitional Early Iron Age, of a potential total of perhaps a thousand. These graves indicate a notable homogeneity of funerary rite that includes a ceramic vase containing the cremated remains of the deceased placed in a pit with a meager assortment of accompanying grave goods and sealed with one or more large stone slabs. Most of these also appear to have been covered with a small mound of stones or earth (up to about 3 m diameter) or stones planted vertically in the ground, although subsequent destruction makes it difficult to determine exactly how frequent these practices were (Janin *et al.*, 1994). The earlier graves contain only two or three ceramic vessels and small assortments of metal objects (bronze pins, razors, etc.). This pattern is replicated at other contemporary cemeteries of the region, such as Recobre (Dedet, 1976; Giry, 1960), Las Fados (Taffanel and Taffanel, 1948–1949), and Millas I (Ponsich and Pous, 1951). The number of ceramic vessels tended to increase slightly during the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transitional phase [as at the cemeteries of Serralongue and Millas II (Bailles, 1979; Ponsich and Pous, 1951)], but the pattern is still one of fairly uniform and limited quantities of ceramics and metal objects. There is no evident distinction of a class of more richly endowed or elaborately structured burials (Py, 1993a).

For the seventh and sixth centuries BC, cemeteries belonging to the Grand-Bassin I and II phase of the Early Iron Age offer a wealth of complementary information. The most important of these include, among others, Grand-Bassin at Mailhac (Louis *et al.*, 1958, pp. 31–70), Recobre at Quarante (Dedet, 1976; Giry, 1960), Las Peyros at Couffoulens (Claustre and Rancoule, 1994; Passelac *et al.*, 1981; Solier *et al.*, 1976), Saint-Julien de Pézenas (Giry, 1965; Llinas and Robert, 1971; Nickels, 1990), and Le Peyrou at Agde, (Marchand, 1994; Nickels *et al.*, 1989) in Western Languedoc, and Pave (Claustres, 1950) in Roussillon. At these sites, there is everywhere a continuation of the basic rite of cremation ashes and charred bone placed in a ceramic vessel and deposited in a circular pit (sometimes in the form of a silo, with a cylindrical shaft leading to a larger chamber underneath). The pit was capped by a large stone or stones, and this was usually covered by a very small mound of stones or earth (of variable construction). Evidence of burning in the pit prior to burial and above the pit after burial is also frequent. Common accompanying grave goods include food remains and, especially, ceramics and metal objects.

In comparison to prior periods, there is a marked increase in the quantities of accompanying goods placed in some graves and the beginning of a more complex differential elaboration of funerary practices. For example, among the 171 Early Iron Age graves excavated at Le Peyrou at Agde, 90 were simple ossuary burials and 80 were more elaborate burials with other accompanying ceramic vessels. Among these grave goods, a range of up to 40 pots is found in individual graves (with 15 to 25 pots being common in larger graves) and up to 28 metal objects per grave (Marchand, 1994; Nickels *et al.*, 1989). Similarly, at Grand Bassin, the range of accompanying ceramics runs from as few as 3 to as many as 57 in a single grave (Janin, 1996; Louis *et al.*, 1958, pp. 31–70; Taffanel and Taffanel, 1962). Marchand (1994) has proposed that the distinction between simple ossuary graves and those with accompanying ceramics at Agde is also reflected in patterns of spatial association in the cemetery and in differences in the stone structures raised above them (although the size of these monuments is very small even in comparison to the small tumuli of Eastern Languedoc).

The metal goods placed in graves consisted of a wide variety of items, all of them fairly small. These include bronze and iron jewelry and personal items such as fibulae, bracelets, buckles, scalptoria, tweezers, pins, rings, pendants, spurs, and chains. Also found are bronze drinking and eating equipment, including cups, ladles, and a few imported Etruscan bronze basins. The ladles (*simpulum*) are a distinctive feature of this region which are not found in the Lower Rhône Basin. At the cemetery of Saint-Julien de Pézenas, for example, they are present in about 6% of the over 225 excavated graves (Giry, 1965; Llinas and Robert, 1971). Other metal items include knives, razors,

weapons, and armor (greaves). Although relatively few weapons were found at Pézenas, the cemetery of Las Peyros at Couffoulens exemplifies a larger tendency during the sixth century BC in which weapons also became a major component of the funerary repertoire in large numbers of graves. These were swords and spear points which were usually intentionally deformed before being interred (Passelac *et al.*, 1981; Solier *et al.*, 1976).

Ceramics (both spindle-whorls and pottery) are by far the most common objects of funerary furniture. Indigenous pottery forms include, especially, large urns with a flaring-rim and smaller drinking cups and bowls. In contrast to the Lower Rhône Basin, imported Mediterranean ceramics and colonial-and-hybrid ceramics were also relatively common grave inclusions in cemeteries of this region, and they appear to have had a different meaning in funerary ritual. At Agde and Mailhac, these include some of the earliest Greek imports found in Mediterranean France (seventh century BC Protocorinthian and South Italian Subgeometric drinking cups and an oinochoai). At the sixth century BC cemetery of Saint-Julien at Pézenas, a much wider range of imports was found. These included particularly large quantities of Gray-Monochrome ceramics, but also Etruscan bucchero nero, Attic and Pseudo-Ionian fineware (especially drinking cups and oinochoai) and Etruscan and Massaliote amphoras. The Gray-Monochrome pottery and amphoras were frequently employed as ossuaries. Large quantities of amphora and other sherds were also found scattered outside the grave-pits, but it is not always clear whether these are a product of feasts associated with funerary practices or disturbance of graves by modern plowing (Giry, 1965; Llinas and Robert, 1971). A few graves of the sixth century BC stand out as being exceptional. Perhaps the most distinctive of these is the grave of Corno-Lauzo near the Cayla de Mailhac (Taffanel and Taffanel, 1960). This was a spatially isolated tomb (about 2 km from the settlement) with a very rich array of grave goods including multiple iron weapons, bronze body armor (helmet, cuirass, greaves), bronze drinking gear (ladle and ribbed-bucket), a bronze fibula and belt hook, and Mediterranean imports (a Greek amphora, an Attic black-figure cup, an Ionian B2 cup).

For the fifth century BC, the quantity of funerary data is significantly reduced. It is confined largely to the last phases of a few cemeteries [e.g., Las Peyros at Couffoulens and Bosquets at Cesseras (Rancoule, 1983)] and the first phase of the cemetery at Ensérune (which was heavily disturbed by later activity). These graves show a continuation of the same basic practice of cremation in pits, but sometimes (e.g., at Las Peyros) with burning of the grave goods along with the body of the deceased and the simple placement of ashes in the funerary pit without an ossuary vase. In contrast to the tendency during the previous period, grave goods tend to be very

few. At Ensérune they are limited to a few sherds of pottery and, characteristically, an intentionally broken drinking-cup (usually Attic). Beyond the mid-fifth century BC, a number of individual graves are known (e.g., Solier, 1968b; Taffanel and Taffanel, 1960). However, aside from about 40 largely unpublished graves from Agde, only Ensérune, with its more than 500 excavated graves extending in date down to the end of the third century BC, provides a significant concentrated sample of funerary data. Cremation continued to be the exclusive method of corpse disposal, with the ashes again contained in an ossuary vase placed in a pit, either alone or with a few accompanying grave goods. The ossuary vase was generally an Ibero-Languedocian urn. During the early fourth century BC, the grave goods, when present, consisted of Iberian or La Tène style weapons and jewelry. From the mid-fourth century BC on, a set of accompanying tableware ceramics was added to the repertoire along with food offerings. Large stone stele appear to have become a common marker of these graves (Jannoray, 1955; Schwaller, 1994a; Schwaller *et al.*, 1995).

As Bats' (1990b) recent review of the evidence has shown, to the extent that it is imperfectly known, during the last two centuries BC funerary ritual appears to have followed a relatively similar range of practices throughout Mediterranean France. Burials are known from a number of scattered sites, some, as at Ambrussum and Beaucaire (Dedet *et al.*, 1974, 1978; Fiches, 1989), grouped in cemeteries clearly associated with settlements. However, no large cemeteries on the scale of the Early Iron Age examples have been identified, and only about 100 graves have been excavated and published by sufficiently modern standards to provide reliable information. Cremation was the standard method of corpse disposal, with very few exceptions. The cremation remains (contained in a cinerary urn) and accompanying goods were generally either buried directly in the earth or placed in a stone or wood-lined cist. At Ambrussum, it appears that the cremated remains were not placed in a cinerary urn, but simply scattered in a shallow pit (Fiches, 1989). If this is indicative of a more generalized practice, it may account for the difficulty in identifying burials of this period. In a few cases graves were marked by a small mound of earth or stones, or by a stele. Ceramics were the most frequent grave good accompanying the funerary urn, and imported Campanian ceramics (in a slightly more restricted range of forms than that found on contemporary settlements) were a very common component of the ceramic repertoire. Ceramic lamps were also found in about a third of the graves. Weapons (mostly swords) are relatively rare inclusions, and most come from graves in Eastern Languedoc (see Bats, 1990b).

## CONCLUSION

During the last seven centuries of the first millennium BC, the indigenous societies of Mediterranean France underwent a series of gradual social and cultural transformations that are linked in complex ways to their encounter and increasing entanglement with the broader Mediterranean world. This article has attempted to summarize briefly the current state of knowledge in this domain and introduce some of the main themes that are guiding research.

The origin and nature of the colonial agents operating in the region were extremely varied, and knowledge of these agents has improved dramatically in recent years through excavations of colonial settlements and shipwrecks. The Etruscan presence was seminal, but probably limited to a ship-based coastal trade in wine that began in the late seventh century BC and persisted for little more than a century. Phocaean Greeks were the first to establish a permanent colonial settlement in the region with the foundation of Massalia around 600 BC. This was quickly followed by the foundation of the much smaller Phocaean colony of Emporion on the Catalan coast. Neither Massalia nor Emporion was able to exert political control over a large territory, but both Massaliote and Emporitan merchants operated extended ship-based trading networks along the coast. Massaliotes may soon have established a small diaspora of resident trading communities at some indigenous settlements, and the city certainly began to establish a series of small forts/trading posts at various points along the coast from the late fifth century BC on. The nature of the Phoenico-Punic/Iberian role in Mediterranean France is still the least well-understood (and perhaps most underestimated) colonial phenomenon at present. Goods from this colonial domain clearly played an important part in trade and cultural borrowing among indigenous societies in Western Languedoc/Roussillon from at least the sixth century BC on (and possibly earlier), but the identity of the traders responsible for the arrival of these goods remains an open question. Roman influence in the region was felt first through a surge of trade items during the late third century BC. This was quickly followed by a progressive military conquest during the late second century BC and the subsequent erection of a colonial administrative apparatus that restructured the cultural landscape and implemented coercive and ideological strategies for achieving hegemony.

The ways in which indigenous societies of the region interacted with these colonial agents and the social and cultural ramifications of this interaction were complex and locally variable. Recent research on the topic has increasingly turned away from broadly generalizing explanatory frameworks that locate agency and historical dynamism exclusively among the Mediterranean colonial powers. Instead, there have been increasing calls

to reformulate interpretive models to see the engagement of native peoples in the colonial encounter as an active, creative process situated in local sociopolitical relations, cultural structures, and cosmologies and to devise strategies for identifying agency among indigenous societies of the region. This focus on indigenous agency should not, of course, be disengaged from consideration of the larger structures of colonial economic and political power and Mediterranean history. But one must attempt to understand the development of local histories at the conjuncture with larger "global" structures without seeing them as predetermined by the latter. They must be rendered understandable without seeming inevitable.

This review has focused upon several aspects of the colonial encounter that illustrate the increasing attention paid to the relationship between local agency and the broader political economy. Understanding the chronology, contexts, and ramifications of the extremely selective patterns of indigenous consumption of Mediterranean goods and practices has been a highly productive avenue of recent research. The initial avid and exclusive demand for wine in the Lower Rhône Basin, for example, has been more precisely documented and explained through the development of theoretical models exploring the social, economic, and political roles of alcohol and feasting in cross-cultural perspective. This importation of wine has been linked to the subsequent rapid adoption of certain ceramic techniques and seen as the hook that engendered the increasingly complex entanglement of indigenous and colonial societies. Study of the contrasting early rejection and much later adaptation of objects and techniques such as coinage and writing systems has been equally revealing in exploring the changing configuration of indigenous sociopolitical relations and the concomitant transformation of tastes, desires, and concepts of value. Other studies are exploring the complex long-term ramifications of consumption-driven colonial entanglement on the built environment, funerary and religious practice, and cultural identity.

Documentation of the archaeological record of Iron Age settlements, burials, ritual spaces, and agrarian landscapes has been progressing at a rapid rate in Mediterranean France during the past couple of decades. Coverage is still uneven in the different sectors of the region, but it is improving everywhere. This progress is due both to the high standard of the technical aspects of excavation, survey and analysis and to the increasing collaboration between ancient classical historians and "protohistorian" archaeologists in the development of comparative interpretive frameworks and appropriate coordinated research goals and strategies. The future holds high promise for a more profound and sophisticated understanding of this important theater of precapitalist colonial interaction.

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