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THE LATER IRON AGE IN CENTRAL-EASTERN FRANCE

The archaeology of the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes between the late Hallstatt and late La Tène periods

Thesis submitted towards the award of the degree of D. Phil, from the Faculty of Anthropology and Geography, University of Oxford

Somerville College

Michaelmas Term 1985 [or 1986]



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D.Phil. thesis by Madeleine Rose Hummler

Somerville College, Michaelmas term 1985

Abstract

This study reviews the evidence for the period spanning from Late Hallstatt to Late La Tène - the 6th to 1st C BC - in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, a region of 44 000 km² centred around Grenoble and Lyon. This evidence is presented in a gazetteer of 416 sites, comprising settlements, burials and isolated finds.

Since Rhône-Alpes was a contact zone between Massalia and the northern 'barbarian' cultures, the understanding of trade was a research priority. The Rhône corridor was re-assessed in terms of 17 classes of imported artefacts and the indigenous natural and human resources of Central-Eastern France. It is concluded that this well known late Hallstatt trade route continued to develop after its supposed decline in the 5th C BC. It became a rhodanian cultural zone whose form anticipated that of the Provincia Transalpina founded by the Romans in 121 BC. Whealthy fringe settlements show how the boundary of this rhodanian cultural zone gradually moved northwards.

Fortified settlements are mainly represented by the stone-built hillforts of the South and West. Generally, their interiors are not yet well documented, but certain characteristic structures - for example granaries and sanctuaries - were noticed. Amongst lowland settlements, a few began in the Middle La Tène as market centres. They then figured prominently in the Italian wine trade and were later still to become roman towns. Burial sites fall into 14 regional burial groups with varied funerary rites. In the rich and idiosyncratic alpine sector there is an opportunity to observe not only external contacts but also the movement of indigenous artefacts from valley to valley.

Among general recommendations for further research are the definition of regional pottery groups, the characterisation of the 3rd C BC and the scientific investigation of a middle-Rhône hillfort. A case is made for independent dating evidence and less reliance on historical models.



Frontispiece: On the Camp de Larina (38-01)

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Preface

Rhône-Alpes is an attractive region, both physically and archaeologically. As a modern administrative unit, it inevitably cuts across many different geographical and cultural zones. This has proved to be an asset, allowing a study of the contact between these zones to develop.

The original intention of the present work was to track down the settlements of the early La Tène period in a much larger area, stretching from Burgundy to Provence, and from Switzerland to the Massif Central. But it became increasingly obvious that the settlements of this period could not yet be studied as a class, and the pursuit was abandoned in favour of a review of the Rhône-Alpes from the 6th to the 1st century BC. This region, which includes part of the Alps, the Rhône corridor and the eastern edge of the Massif Central, is rich in archaeological evidence, even if the documentation is dispersed and of varying quality.

As a result, a gazeteer of sites, mostly culled from the literature, was compiled, and grew to embarrassing proportions. Its format might seem anachronistic in an age of increasing computerisation, yet it may prove useful to have in a region not well served by works of synthesis. References to sites in the text are given by their gazeteer number. Within the text, each type of evidence is treated as a study of its own, giving a series of essays, each with its own conclusion. Repetitions have become inevitable in such a system, but this might be mitigated by the advantage of having all the necessary documentation to hand, without the need to refer continually to other chapters.

The result is a presentation of the archaeology of a region which deserves better aquaintance. It was an enjoyable, if laborious exercise from which has emerged an account of the changes that occured in this crossroads of Europe, and of some of the processes involved.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank warmly the following persons and institutions, who made it possible for me to undertake and complete this research: my parents, the late Dr. F.W.Hummler and Mme M.Hummler, for their very generous financial, practical and moral support; the Zaharoff Fund, the University of Oxford and the Birmingham University Graduate Travel Fund for enabling me to spend two most enjoyable sessions in Rhône-Alpes; the archaeologists I had the privilege to meeet , such as M. Ch. Lagrand (Le Pègue and Marseille), M. A. Beeching and M. J. Vital (Soyons), M. M. Vaginay (Roanne), Melle O. and M. J. Taffanel (Mail-hac) and espescially Dr. A. Bocquet and Mme Vin at the Centre de Docu-mentation de la Préhistoire Alpine in Grenoble. Dr. Bocquet's hospi-tality and encouragement, the usa of the CDPA library collections and the permission to study the material from the Grotte des Sarrasins are recorded with much gratitude.

I want to thank friends and colleagues in Britain for giving me their time, advice and comments:Heinrich Härke, Nick Freidin, Richard Boudet, Colin Haselgrove, Dr. Daphne Nash, Dr. I.M. Stead, Dr. J. Alexander and Prof. B. Shefton.

This thesis would not have reached completion stages without the support and practical help of many friends in Birmingham, especially Martin Carver; also Liz Hooper for help and advice on drawing, and for typing, Rose Young, Jill Sanger, Phil Talbot, and particularly Louise Dilworth tor her skillful work, thoughtfulness and good humour.

Lastly my thanks go to my supervisor, Prof. Barry Cunliffe, for his persistent encouragement.

Chapter 1

The landscape

Introduction

The Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes

The landscape

- Topography
- Geology
- Soils
- Vegetation and fauna
- Climate
- Mineral resources

The exploitation of the landscape

- Agriculture and husbandry
- Natural routes

The regions of the Rhône-Alpes

Introduction

An area bound by artificial modern boundaries was chosen, through a process of trial and error, as the stage set for the present study. We wanted to examine a sizeable chunk of France for evidence dating from the 6th C BC to the end of the milennium, be it settlement, burial or stray finds. The circonscription of Rhône-Alpes was selected after a superficial survey of publications in a much larger area. Two elements in particular seemed to recommend it. Firstly, it is an area where there appeared to be room for research, in a zone sandwiched between the better served regions of the Jura and plains of the Saône, the Swiss Plateau, the Massif Central, Languedoc and Provence. Surely we could do better than what was offered in Volume 2 of La Préhistoire Française: the entry by M. Nicolas (1976: 699-707) is a very cursory treatment of the Rhône valley, quite apart from containing a number of factual errors. Therefore, by collecting a considerable amount of data dispersed in a great variety of publications (Appendix 1), we hoped to perform a useful service: to the English reader at least, the present study provides a not so short short-cut into the literature of an area not well covered, except for the Alps, by a major synthesis. Secondly, the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes brings us into contact with a series of different western European cultural spheres (fig. 1): to the North, the Saône and Rhône lead to the late Hallstatt and La Tène foci of Burgundy, Franche-Comté , the Jura and the Swiss Plateau. To the East, passes link Gallia Transalpina to Gallia Cisalpina. In the South, Marseille, founded in c. 600 BC, and the hellenised coast, flourish. Finally in the West, the upper Loire valley provides an opening across the Massif Central towards the Atlantic: this link will become particularly important in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. The circonscription of Rhône-Alpes lies in between these nuclei, at the junction between the hellenised South and the northern

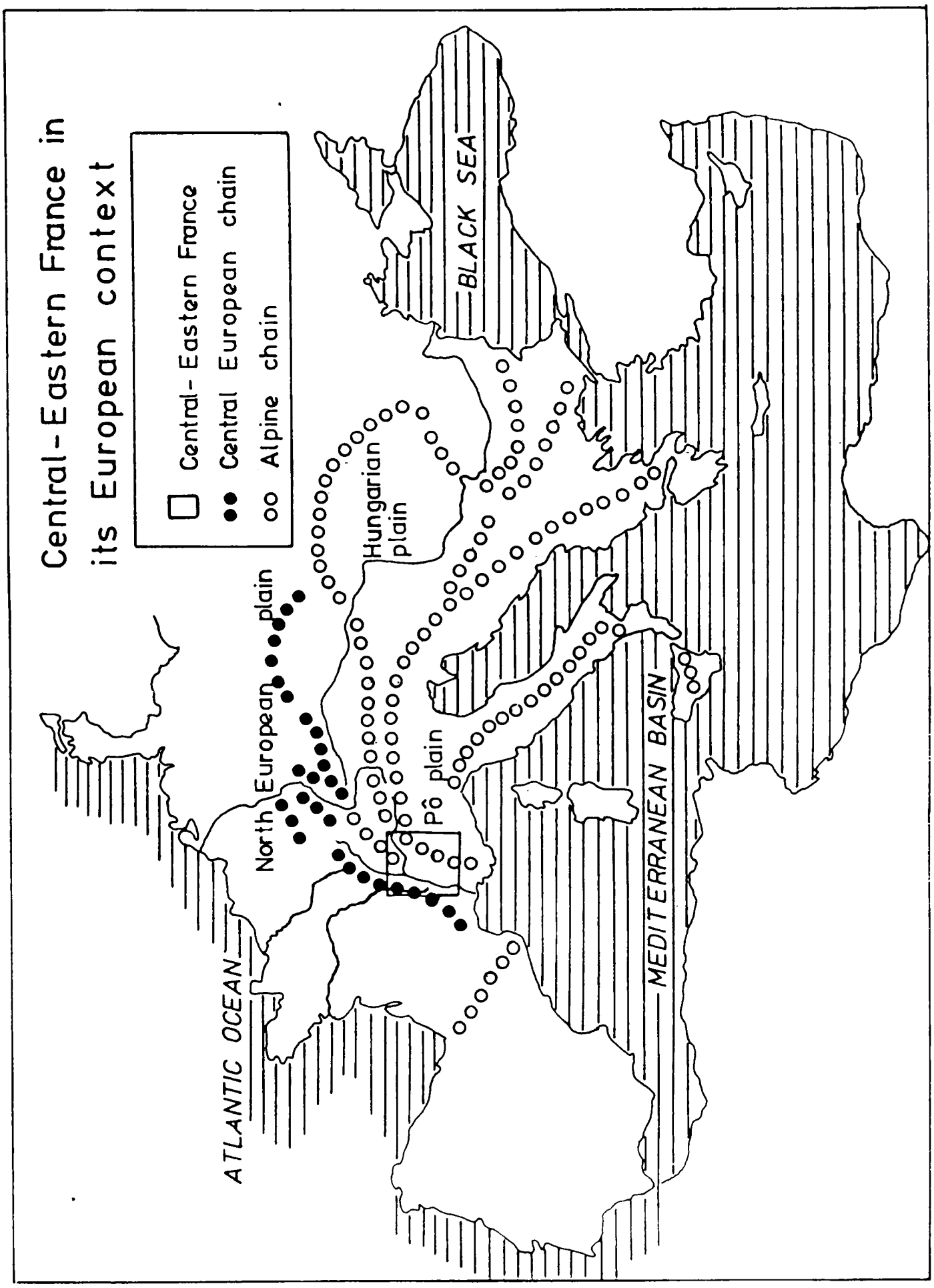

Central-Eastern France in its European context
Central-Eastern France
Central European chain
Alpine chain
BLACK SEA
Hungarian plain
North European plain
Pô plain
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN BASIN

Fig. 1

barbarian world. It was hoped that artefacts traded between these two partners and deposited en route would be sufficient to help date indigenous assemblages and therefore make the study of change throughout the last 6 centuries BC a possible venture. For this reason we shall devote a fairly large part of our study to trade, exchange, communications and resources (Chapter 5).

The cironscription of Rhône-Alpes is not a no-mans's land, neither in archaeological terms, nor in more general terms. It deserves better than the curses of motorists on their way South at legendary traffic jams on the old N7 or new A7 during the holiday season. It is a beautifiul, varied, strongly structured and busy landscape: driving along the old Route Napoléon in the Alps or taking the TGV at night past the flood-lit refineries to the South of Lyon, drinking a bottle of Hermitage on the banks of the Rhône or a pastis at a terrace on Nyons is the best introduction to a region we have come to love.

No geographical unity will be found in the area we propose to explore. Instead, we shall be looking at a sample of Europe, defined on arbitrary lines. The decision to do so can be contested, but since we are dealing with samples at every stage of our work (sample in recovery, sample in publication) there seemed to be little point in agonising over the edges of the sample. A practical reason further dictated the choice of our area: the reporting of archaeological discoveries by the "directeurs des antiquités préhistoriques et historiques" in Gallia-Préhistoire and Gallia is organised by "circon-scriptions". The definition of our area of study thus fits into the admistrative scheme operating in the management of the archaeology of France. One excursion outside the boundaries of the Rhône-Alpes has however been necessary: when we come to discuss the alpine burial traditions (chapter 9), the data from the départements of Hautes and Basses-Alpes have been incorporated into the study.

The circonscription of Rhône-Alpes

A circonscription is a region grouping several départements and acts as an administrative and cultural unit. That of Rhône-Alpes is a vast region, covering 44,624 km² or approximately one twelfth of the surface of France. It has two centres, both with Universities, at Lyon and Grenoble. It stretches roughly between Mâcon and Montélimar from North to South, and between Roanne and the Italian border from East to West (fig. 2). It contains 8 départements: Ain (départemental number: 01, préfecture at Bourg-en-Bresse), Ardèche (07; préfecture at Privas), Drôme (26; préfecture at Valence), Loire (42; préfecture at Roanne), Rhône (69; préfecture at Lyon), Savoie (73; préfecture at Chambéry) and Haute-Savoie (74; préfecture at Annecy). The gazetteer of archaeological sites (Appendix 1) is organised along the same lines: the sites are numbered in alphabetical order by département, shown by the prefix number. The neighbouring circonscriptions are those of Bourgogne around Dijon, Franche-Comté around Besançon, and Provence-Côte d'Azur around Aix-Marseille.

This arbitrary quadrant, located between the 44th and 47th degree of latitude and between the 4th and 7th degrees of longitude, intersects most of the primary features that constitute the European continent (fig. 1). It straddles both the temperate and mediterranean climatic zones and their associated vegetation. It sections the two arc-shaped European mountain systems: the Central European chain (Massif Central, Morvan, Vosges, Ardennes, Schwarzwald, southern German hills, Bohemia) and the younger Alpine chain (Alps, Jura, Austrian and Dinaric Alps, Carpathians and Transylvania, Balkan mountains). The rivers and plains within this quadrant bring us into contact with the Mediterranean, Atlantic and Northern European zones: the Rhône and Saône constitute the main North-South link and the many alpine

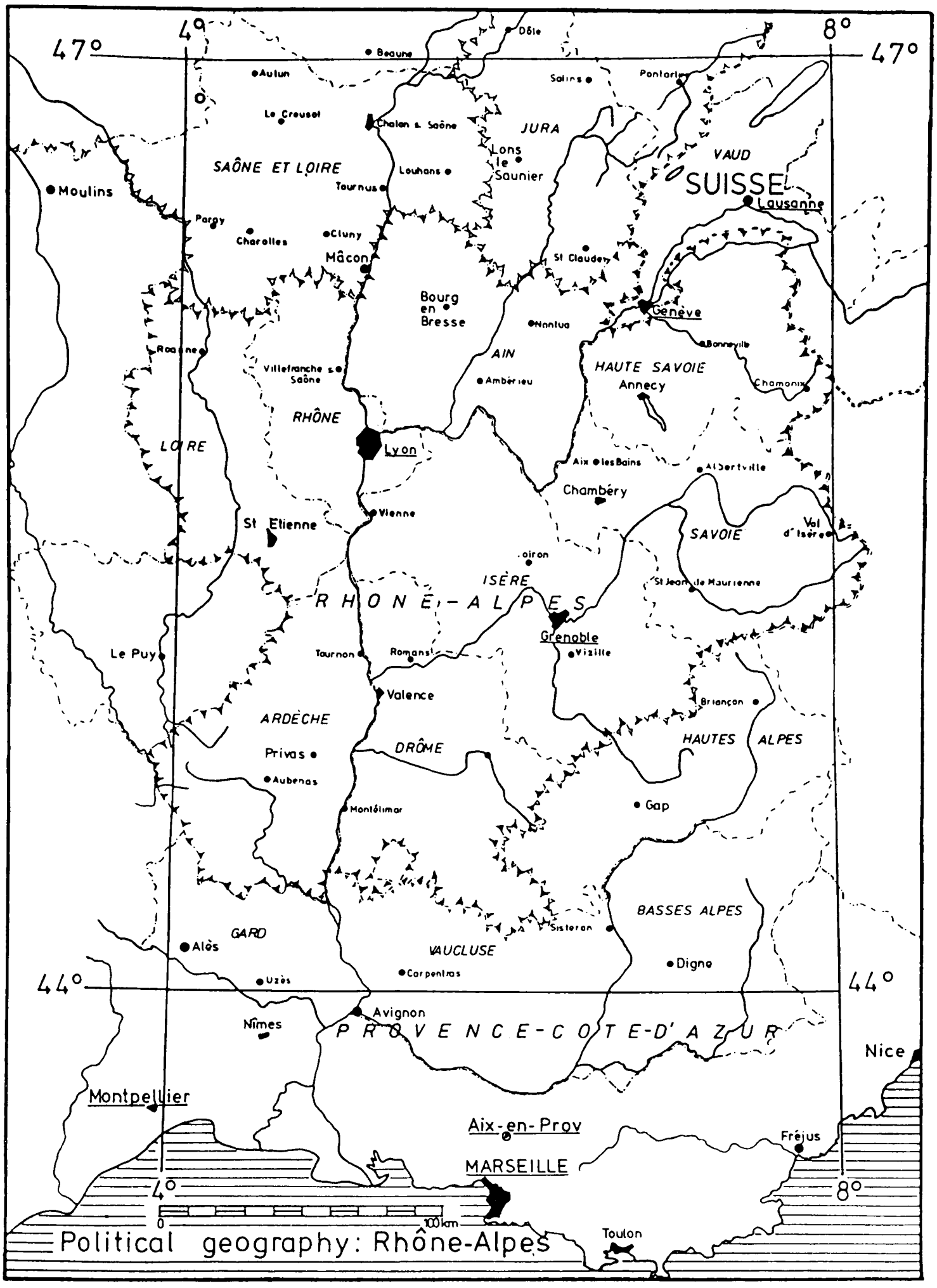

47°
4°
8°
47°
Beaune
Dôle
Autun
Salins
Pontarlier
Le Creusot
Chalon s. Saône
JURA
Lons le Saunier
SAÔNE ET LOIRE
Louhans
VAUD
SUISSE
Lausanne
Moulins
Tournus
Paray
Charolles
Cluny
Mâcon
St Claude
Bourg en Bresse
Genève
Nantua
Roanne
Villefranche s. Saône
AIN
Ambérieu
HAUTE SAVOIE
Annecy
Bonneville
Chamonix
RHÔNE
LOIRE
Lyon
Aix les Bains
Albertville
Chambéry
Vienne
St Etienne
SAVOIE
Val d'Isère
Voiron
ISÈRE
St Jean de Maurienne
RHONE-ALPES
Grenoble
Vizille
Le Puy
Tournon
Romans
Valence
Briançon
ARDÈCHE
Privas
DRÔME
HAUTES ALPES
Aubenas
Montélimar
Gap
BASSES ALPES
GARD
Alès
Sisteron
VAUCLUSE
Digne
Uzès
Carpentras
44°
44°
Avignon
Nîmes
PROVENCE-COTE-D'AZUR
Nice
Montpellier
Aix-en-Prov
Fréjus
MARSEILLE
4°
8°
0
100km
Toulon
Political geography: Rhône-Alpes

Fig. 2

valleys bring the Po plain in the East in relation to the Rhône basin in the West.

The landscape

This section attempts to set the stage for protohistoric activities in Central-Eastern France in general and the Rhône-Alpes in particular. In choosing to characterize landscapes empty of their archaeological actors, we hope to emphasize the potential present in the area; we shall refrain from crowding the presentation with too much archaeological data, as this will be done in Chapter 5 (parts 1 and 2). This 'objective' approach, advocated by Claudio Vita-Finzi (1978: 15) is that of Millotte (1963: 7-18) and Barruol (1969: 85-119) to whose masterful presentations of the Jura and Saône plains and South-East Gaul respectively, this chapter owes a great deal.

Among the components contributing towards the character of a landscape, the following aspects are considered: topography, geology, soils, climate, vegetation and fauna, natural resources. The illustrations (figures 3 to 6) are accompanied by a brief commentary.

Topography

The area under scrutiny contains three major lines of direction, running in an arc-shape from North-East to South-West: the Massif Central in the West, the Saône-Rhône corridor in the centre and the Jura-Alps in the East. This tripartite division can be recognised in the flow of the principal rivers and drainage basins (see fig. 3). The Massif Central and its appendices act as a watershed between West and East, with the Loire flowing towards the Atlantic. In the centre, the Saône and Rhône (total

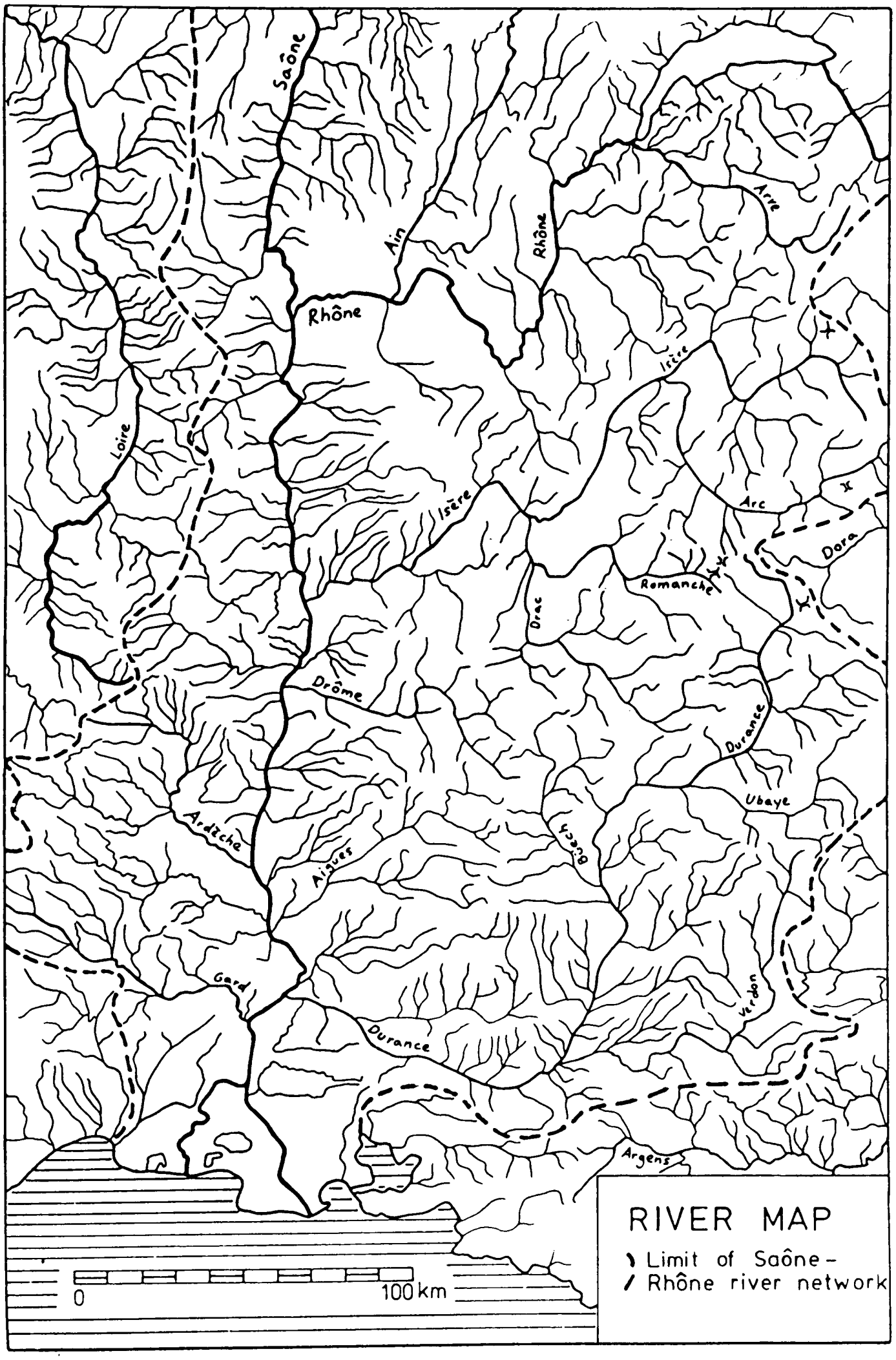

Saône
Ain
Rhône
Rhône
Arve
Isère
Loire
Isère
Arc
Dora
Romanche
Drac
Drôme
Durance
Ubaye
Ardèche
Aigues
Buech
Verdon
Gard
Durance
Argens
RIVER MAP
Limit of Saône-
Rhône river network
0
100 km

Fig. 3

length: 550 km) gather all the rivers from the eastern hills and mountains, the main ones being the Ain, Arve, Isère, Drôme, Aigues and Durance. In the South, where the corridor widens towards the West, the Ardèche and Gard join the system. Thus, this corridor is the only river route towards the Mediterranean: all the rivers within the boundary mapped on fig.3 first flow into the Saône-Rhône before reaching the sea. This very extensive network has the great advantage of a permanent water supply, with glacial, rain- and melt-water feeding the system at different times of the year. However, this makes the Rhône a very powerful, fast flowing and deep river, subject to frequent flooding. Estensive modern engineering works (e.g. barrage de Donzère-Mondragon) have now tamed its course.

The relief of Central-Eastern France is shown on fig. 4, with contours at 200, 500, 1000 and 1500 m. A large proportion of land is occupied by mountain chains, but these are not impassable barriers, nor all inhospitable wasteland. The Alps are cut at regular intervals by deep valleys, adopting first a SE-NW course before turning South-Westwards towards the Rhône (creating the 'sillon alpin'). Although the alpine chain culminates at 4807 m (Mont Blanc), it is worth drawing attention to the very large part of land lying below 1500 m above sea level. This altitude appears to be the upper limit for most sites: in the Hautes-Alpes, settlements such as Orpierre-Ste Colombe (1020 m) and cemeteries such as Guillestre, Jausier(s) and St-Paul-sur-Ubaye (1200-1600 m) are located in the neighbourhood of the 1500 m contour. But higher altitudes are known: Saint-Véran, the highest permanent village of France at 2000 m, possesses an Iron Age burial ground. Temporary bases for mining or summer pastures can also be expected to reach the 2000m limit or above.

At the opposite end of the scale, it is noticeable how little land lies below the 200 m contour. The level of the Rhône reaches 100m in the region of Valence, but the valley is constricted by the flanks of the

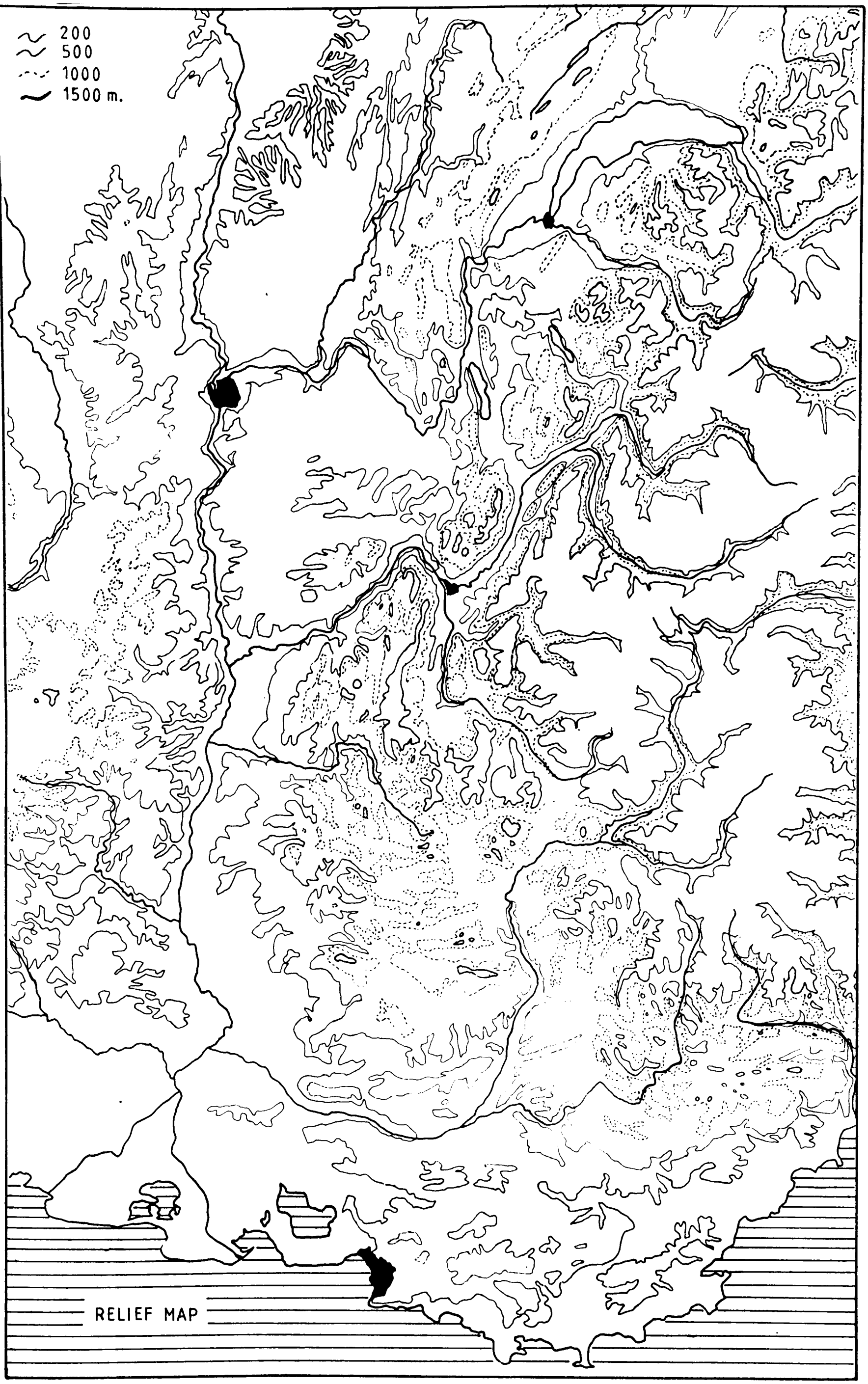


Fig. 4

Vivarais and foothills of the Drôme; it widens only in the lower Rhône basin and is subject to great changes in the water table.

In between these two extremes lies a range of plains (e.g. Bresse, Dauphiné, Forez), plateaux (e.g. Ardèche), foothills (e.g. Prealps) and mountain outcrops (e.g. Vivarais), each with a regional individuality, which the following sections will bring to light.

Geology

The geological formation of France can be divided into two time-spans: an era leading to the end of the Tertiary (responsible for the shpaping of the main landforms) and the Quaternary and Postglacial era, which created the valleys, gravel terraces, moraines, alluvium and coastlines of France. The formation of the relief is sketched here briefly (based on Prévot and Diville 1968).

In the Primary era, the Hercynian mountains appear, created by the upheaval of sedimentary, metamorphic and cristalline rocks (e.g. Massif Central) which in turn are eroded (forming the post-Hercynian base).

In the Secondary era this base is covered by marine sediments (clays, limestone, sands). It collapses in parts, creating basins and shafts (Alpine Geosynclinal).

In the Tertiary era great upheavals shake the Hercynian base and sediments of the Alpine Geosynclinal, forming the Alps. The calcareous crust of the Jura is folded, but the massif remains buried. At the same time, the Massif Central is fractured by volcanoes. The Tertiary era is also responsible for the collapse of material that created sedimentary plains like the Saône-Rhône corridor.

The Quaternary (this paragraph based on De Lumley et al. 1976: 3-16) saw the appearance of glaciers on the major mountain chains. These glaciers grew downwards, creating U-shaped valleys, like those of the Rhône, Isère Durance and Verdon, bringing with them moraines and clay deposits that can be recognised, for example, near the Saône-Rhône confluent. The fast retreat of the glaciers (completed around 10,000 BC) and the flow of the rivers contributed to the formation of sand and gravel plains and subsequent cutting into terraces. Areas not under glacial cover were affected by frost and wind erosion, responsible for fine clayey deposits like loess, thought to be favoured by early agriculturalists. The Mediterranean coast line achieved its present shape by the Atlantic period (5500 BC), after a rise in the water level, starting at the end of the Ice Ages (De Lumley 1976: 24-7).

Thus, at the beginning of the Holocene period, the shape of Central-Eastern France is more or less defined. But erosion and deposition, resulting in the formation of soils, continue to alter the landscape.

Soils

The soil cover is defined by Butzer(1972), as a zone of weathering with mineral and organic material over unweathered parent-material. It is a system defined by profile, humus content, structure, mineral content and micromorphology; it is sensitive to the behaviour of climate, vegetation, erosion and determines what can grow on it. It reflects therefore very effectively the characteristics of a region.

Fig. 5 is a very simplified version of the 1:1 million soil map of France, edited by Dupuis (1967), which lists 46 different types of soil. This great variety is due to the very complicated picture present in the Alps and Provence: very few soils are 'pure' (i.e. predominantly of one type). There exist endless combinations of two or three soil types, usually containing lithosols (poor soil created by erosion on steep slopes).

The major soil groups of Central-Eastern France are summarised here:

1) Lithosols, alpine and pseudo-alpine rankers develop through rock erosion in the Alps at high altitude and carry, if anything, a grass cover for summer grazing.
2) Red mediterranean soils contain iron oxyde in clay, develop on limestone and are used to grow mediterranean crops (vegetables, fruits, vines, olives, almonds), If mixed with poorer soil, a "guarrigue" (grassland with oak, juniper, lavender and thyme) will become established.
3) Rendzinas are thin, dry soils, but rich in humus, overlying limestone or chalk. In the Jura and Beaujolais cereals and vineyards grow on them, in Provence olive trees. At higher altitudes, over much of the Jura and Prealps, mixed forests or pastures cover them.
4) Red rendzinas are rich in iron oxydes and are often used for growing cereals, as in the Franche-Comté and parts of Provence.
5) Brown calcareous soils form good agricultural land on limestone, sand or clay, for example in the lower Rhône and Durance valleys. In the South-East this soil is often eroded with a cover of mixed forest, grassland or crops (wheat, vines).


SOIL MAP
0
100km
Lithosols and alpine rankers
Red mediterranean soils
Typical rendzinas
Red rendzinas
Brown calcareous soils
Brown euthropic soils
Brown acidic soils
Leached brown soils
Leached soils + podzolic soils
Podzols + podzolic soils
Alluvial soils / waterlogging
Peat

Fig. 5

6) Brown euthropic soils are heavy soils growing over clay or limestone, as in the Mâconnais and lower Dauphiné. In the South-East these soils are mixed and of poorer quality.
7) Brown acidic soils are light, clayey, occur on metamorphic and cristalline rock (e.g. Massif Central, South-Eastern Alps) and allow crops to grow but are best suited to forest and pasture.
8) Leached brown soils are light, well drained and rich, suitable for agriculture, pasture and deciduous forests. They cover large areas of Eastern France and Haute-Provence.
9) Leached and podzolic soils can still carry crops but will generally encourage the growth of forests. In flood plains they may carry meadows, as along the Saône and Rhône.
10) Podzols are acid soils under coniferous forests and heathland. If less acidic, deciduous forests and grassland can get established. They occur in the Massif Central and, in a mixed form, large parts of the Alps.
11) Alluvial soils grow in most wide river valleys. They are light and sandy suitable for fruit and vegetable crops, but at risk from flooods and changes in the water table.

These soils, which are those of today, range from sterile (no. 1) to fertile (nos. 2, 8), but modern exploitation on an intensive scale can alter the picture. In protohistory, particularly rich but heavy land, easily cultivated now, may not have been as favoured, with less rich but lighter varieties giving adequate results.

Vegetation and fauna

The sources consulted (De Lumley et al., Renault-Miskowski, De Beaulieu, Borel, Guillet, Vernet, Courtin et al., Jalut, Erroux, all in Guilaine 1976) deplore the scarcity of evidence for the study of the vegetation in the Subatlantic period, i.e. the climatic period in existence today and starting around 800-700 BC. Disagreements also arise over the date of introduction of new plants. But, a general picture still emerges; broadly speaking, two vegetation zones share the territory of the Rhône-Alpes: they are the mediterranean and temperate zones.

The mediterranean zone (De Lumley et al 1976: 3-16, and Renault-Miskowski 1976: 44-51): great forest clearances were carried out in the Subatlantic period but pine, ash, beech, hazel, oak, green-oak and sycamore survived. Shrubs and grasses developped on newly cleared land. Intensive sheep

breeding may have encouraged the growth of the 'guarrigue', covered in grass, herbs, juniper, lavender, box and yew trees. Chestnuts and walnuts existed in the wild state, but Jalut (1976: 180-5) and Vernet (1976: 95-103) suggest cultivation at an early stage. Vines and olives exist in pollen diagrams since the Atlantic period, but they are unlikely to have been cultivated until the introduction of greek techniques of vinification after the foundation of Marseille in c. 600 BC. Cereals were commonly grown. Limetrees and plumtrees were (re)introduced sometime during the Subatlantic.

The rest of France belongs to the temperate zone, characterized by the vegetation of the following regions:

The Massif Central (De Beaulieu 1976: 59-66) was dominated by fir-trees and grasses, the latter taking over as land clearing became more widespread. High terrain suited the growth of larches. Cultivated plants include walnuts and olives.

The Jura (Borel 1976: 67-73): beech and fir were the dominant middle altitude trees (500-1000 m), with oak further down and epicea on high land. The Hallstatt colonisation of the high limestone plateaux favoured the extension of grassland (Millotte 1963: 178). Cereals were the main cultivated plants. Walnuts and hornbeam make their appearance.

The Northern Alps (Borel 1976: 67-73) saw large forest clearings at the beginning of the Subatlantic period, followed by the extension of pasture land. The forests consist mainly of beech and fir. Pine and arolle receed, but larch, alder and epicea gain in terrain. Hornbeam and walnut appear in c. 800 BC.

The Southern Alps (De Lumley et al. 1976: 3-16): the fir and beech forests were partly cleared to allow more space for grazing. This diminution of the fir-forest seems to have encouraged the growth of larches and epicea. Cultivated plants include walnuts and olives.

The picture painted for the early Subatlantic period is essentially that of today, inspite of clearances and recent afforestation. But amongst cultivated plants, many intensively grown crops are recent introductions (e.g. maize and potatoes).

The wild fauna listed by Poulain (1976: 104-15) and Ducos (1976: 166-7) is rich and varied, with most postglacial species still present in the early Subatlantic. However, it seems that hunting lost much of its importance through time, with only deer, wild boar, hare, rabbit and fox contributing to the Iron Age menu. Among domesticated animals, sheep and goats are dominant in the South, whereas pigs have first place in the North, with a not negligeable proportion of cattle. Horses and donkeys were known as a wild species in prehistoric France and were domesticated in later prehistory. The tame donkey may have been a gallo-roman reintroduction (Ducos 1976: 167) but bones of donkeys have been found on pre-Roman

sites in Provence (see Chapter 5, part 2). In order to produce mules, thought responsible for transport in the Alps, were horses mated with wild donkeys?

Climate

Today's climate is known as subatlantic and started in the last milennium BC. It is colder and wetter than during the Atlantic optimum (around 2500 BC). But, although wet, the climate at the beginning of the Subatlantic period may have been slightly warmer than today's (De Lumley et al. 1976: 3-16).

In Central-Eastern France, the plateaux and plains have a semi-continental climate (warm summer, cold winter), favourable to forests on high ground, grassland and agriculture lower down, and vineyards on well exposed slopes.

In the South the climate is mediterranean, i.e. warm and dry, but with seasonal torrential rains that affect greatly the flow of rivers. This climate suits a vegetation that needs little water (oak and pine forest, steppe) or fears frost. The main mediterranean crops (wine, olives, cereals) have been complemented in recent times by fruit and vegetable cultures through great efforts of irrigation.

These generalisations are rough guidelines. Indeed, each region has its own microclimate, sometimes very different from the general climate. The Alps provide many examples of such contrasts: altitude, face of slope, exposure to sunlight or shadow, period of snow cover, etc.,all contribute to make up a complex mosaic.

Mineral resources

South-Eastern France is particularly well endowed in raw materials, although extraction, exploitation and access can be difficult. The sources

of mineral wealth available to the Iron Age communities of the Rhône-Alpes, as well as animal and vegetable products, which together provided not only the local susistance but also an export revenue, will be presented in detail in Chapter 5 (part 2): any discussion of trade of mediterranean artefacts in the Rhône corridor and Alps would be incomplete without the evocation of products sought in exchange. Suffice to mention here that the Alps in particular, the Jura and Massif Central show a wide array of mineral resources, including salt, (brine and rock salt), mineral water, precious stones such as garnate, native amber, jet, lignite, gold, silver and lead, copper and iron. A summary map (fig. 26) based mainly on the exposés of Millotte (1963: 211-12, 242), Barruol (1969: 93-100) and Hiernard (1982: 575) shows the location of major deposits of mineral resources. The archaeological documentation for their exploitation and extraction will, again, be discussed in Chapter 5 (part 2).

So far the presentation of the landscape has made little mention of the activities of populations who constantly used, exploited and modified their environment. It is time to fill this empty stage with some human actors, animals and plants.

The exploitation of the landscape

We shall present only a general summary of the economy of the Rhône-Alpes, as a more detailed presentation of the natural products available to, and grown by its Iron Age communities will be found in Chapter 5, part 2. Their position amongst traded materials is justified, since animals, meat, wool, skins, furs, cheese, honey, wood, wax, pitch, resin, grain, walnuts and chestnuts are all thought to have played a part in the exchange of commodities.

By the Iron Age, agriculture and husbandry have almost totally replaced the old hunter-gatherer economy: Mme Thérèse Poulain (1976: 104-15) estimates that 90-100% of animal bones found on Iron age sites in France are those of domesticated species. Hunting seems to have played a minor

(social?) role. The land is essentially controlled, with even forests a carefully managed resource. We may even suggest that in certain areas a larger part of the landscape was husbanded than today: Millotte (1963: 208-9) indicates that later Hallstatt communities had created 'celtic fields' on the high plateaux of the Jura; these fields have since reverted to grassland or forest. Grain crops were grown to suit different needs and conditions: for example, many different kinds of wheat (Erroux 1976: 186-91) are known in the Iron Age: triticum monococum, dicocum, aestivum (bread wheat), compactum (club wheat) and hordeum. Wheat may have been one of the products barbarian Europe exchanged with the mediterranean world. It is tempting to suggest that the granary destroyed at Le Pègue (26-31) contained stock ready to be transported to Marseille at the time it burnt down.

Animals constitute a source of exportable wealth known to classical authors. Varro (R.R. II, 4, 10) tells us for example, that gaulish pork and geese were delicacies in Italy. Assemblages with a high proportion of pork are documented in Burgundy and Franche-Comté. It is not too fanciful to propose that meat (ham) was an export product; perhaps the occurence of salt extraction sites in the same regions is more than a simple coincidence, since salt would be needed for pickling. In the South, sheep and goat dominate the bone collections; they are still the main stock today. Intensive sheep breeding, climatic erosion and relief modelled the landscape of Provence: it is so much geared to sheep breeding that no other form of husbandry could be successful there any longer (De Lumley et al. 1976: 16). Sheep breeding also contributed to the establishment of a way of life known even today in the Prealps and Alps: transhumance, nomadism or semi-nomadism. Finally, Millotte (1963: 178) has suggested that the pastures of the Jura were particularly suited to horse breeding. This traditional feature of today's Jura may have already existed in the Iron Age. The

barrows and wagon burials of the Jura may be a faint reminder of a wealthy, 'horsey' community.

The forests were a source of a raw material necessary for mining, building and manufacture. Timber and its by-products, resin and pitch, was needed to build Marseille's fleet and wooden barrels are thought to be a pre-roman alpine invention (sources quoted by Barruol 1969: 93 and 100). Finally, forests and meadows provided the nectar for honey and wax.

A source of revenue could be derived from the control of a network of natural routes. Once again, a résumé is offered here, since a whole section of this study (Chapter 5, part 1) is devoted to communications. There are many ways of travelling in the Rhône-Alpes,not only in a North-South direction, but also from East to West. Amongst the major routes feature the Rhône-Saône, navigable over most of their length and the land routes on the edges of the corridor: a narrow western passage and an easier eastern route following the foothills of the Drôme and Isère, from Cavaillon, via Valence, to Vienne. Just North of Vienne, at Givors, the the valley of the Gier gives a good opportunity to cross the Massif Central to reach the valley of the Loire in the region of Saint-Etienne.

Further North, the Saône itself may have been used as the main route to the North-East (Rhine) and North-West (Seine). An alternative land route along its banks could often be flooded. There was perhaps also a parallel route to the East, along the foothills of the Jura (the sites of Ambérieu in the Ain, 01-01, and Salins in the Jura produced mediterranean imports). The Jura itself offered a few possibilities of crossing eastwards through its 'cluses', but the main avenue to the East and North was through the Porte de Bourgogne.

The alpine cross-routes are extremely numerous, but often located at high altitude (Barruol 1969: 58, lists 22 passes, most of them above 2000 m). The main link between the Rhône and Po plains appears to have been the route following the valley of the Durance (navigable up to Embrun)

leading up to the Col du Mont Genèvre and opening towards the valley of the Dora Riparia. An alternative route is the itinerary possibly followed by Hannibal in 218 BC; Rhône valley, Isère, Col du Mont Cenis, Susa on the Dora Riparia. If alpine passes, such as the Col du Lautaret (Bocquet 1966) were used for trade, exchange or contact between cisalpine and transalpine Gaul, a number of other passes (e.g. the Col de la Croix Haute) seem to have been used and to have furthered contact from North to South within the landmass of the Alps: artefacts found in alpine cemeteries indicate that alpine valleys were in touch with each other via these openings in the mountain chains (see fig. 92 and conclusions to Chapter 9).

The communications' network of the Rhône-Alpes was exploited to its full, with local communities charging toll and fees for transport and providing escorts against real or fictitious brigands (the cousins of the escorters?). The routes themselves may have furthered the exploitation of mineral resources, often located near high mountain passes. Marseille, for example, needed silver and copper for its coinage. Toll was charged at strategic points on rivers, such as confluents, fords and bridges, or when it was necessary to transfer cargo from a river to a land route. Documented instances of sites situated on such key positions will be found in Chapter 5 (part 1) and Chapter 6. In the eastern plain of the Rhône in particular, defended or hilltop settlement sites are often chosen at the junction between a lateral valley and the basin of the Rhône.

Long distance trade can be shown to have followed major routes. But the indigenous population must in addition have used a number of minor passages, especially in the Alps, where a partially nomadic way of life is to be expected. The management of flocks of sheep involved transhumance (cf. map in Nash 1978: 111), i.e. seasonal long distance movement. But a more local migration pattern must have also existed: Barruol (1969: 92 note 1) suggests that already in pre-roman times the summer pastures were

the communal property of all the inhabitants of a valley. In parts of Switzerland today cattle is managed in this way: many communes possess an alp. A different form of coping with climate and altitude consists of establishing two settlements, a summer village and a winter village: again these still exist in Switzerland (Neuchâtel exhibition catalogue 1979). It is a challenge to archaeology to recognise traces of such a mode of life in the record: to the knowledge of the writer, no such interpretation has been put forward for alpine Iron Age settlements, which, in any case, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. But the occurence of similar or even identical artefacts in burials of different valleys, may show that there was plenty of movement amongst protohistoric communities in the Alps (see conclusion to Chapter 9).

The regions of the Rhône-Alpes

Fig. 6 is intended to help with the identification of geographical units and their names: it is based, in the main, on the map published by Barruol (1969: 110, fig. 2), with additions. The reader will be saved a laborious description which could not match a single journey through an enormously varied landscape ranging from the marshes of the Dombes to the peaks of the Mont Blanc. If we have achieved anything at all, then we hope to have given an incentive to travel to the Rhône-Alpes.

The regions of the Rhône-Alpes display a strong individuality on the one hand and are to open to more general currents and indeed the whole of western Europe on the other hand. Cultural and environmental characteristics change as we move from North to South and from East to West: the building materials of the West and South (the "oppida" of the Loire, Ardèche and Drôme have stone ramparts and dry-stone structures) contrast with those of the North and East (earth and timber ramparts in the Isère and Savoie,

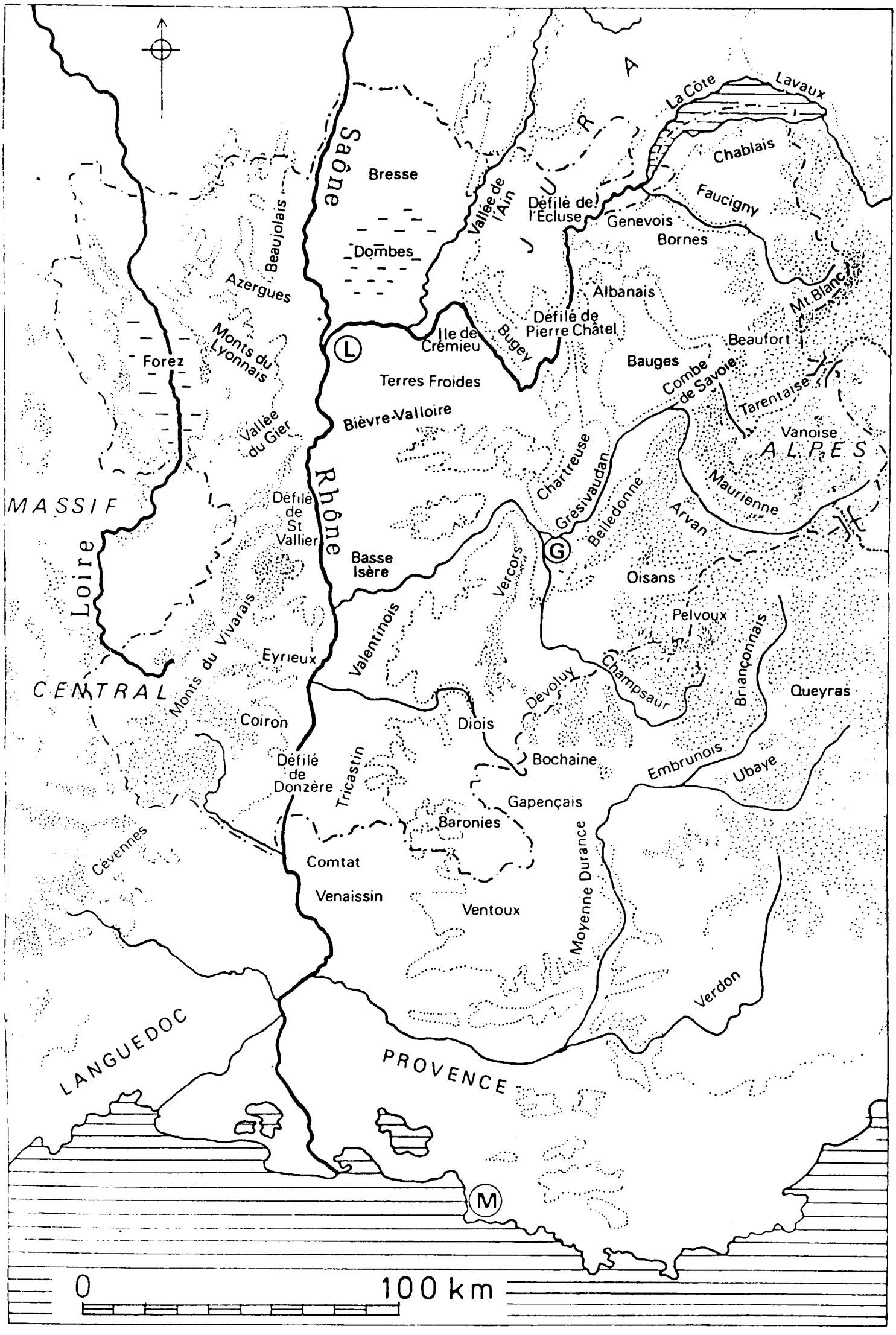


Fig. 6. The regions of the Rhône-Alpes.

negative features on the settlements of the Haute-Savoie, Ain, Rhône and at Roanne and Feurs), and, accordingly, affect our rate of archaeological recovery (see Chapter 4).

The regions mapped on fig. 6 have defined boundaries. Barruol (1969: 109-119) lists a range of landmarks that could act as regional boundaries, amongst which feature mountain chains (but they have passes), forests (but they are exploited), 'maquis' and 'garrigues' (but they are crossed by shepherds and their flocks), marshes and rivers (but often the same community occupies both sides). While accepting that regions have an autonomy, we must think of natural boundaries as landmarks rather than barriers.

Archaeological theory has made us look for physiographic units (Vita-Finzi 1978: 29) such as valleys, in which we can deploy a whole arsenal of survey and analytical techniques (Flannery 1978). These authors have shown us the wealth of information contained in these units, but have also stressed that they are not closed cells. It is to the detection and understanding of broader currents during the last 6 centuries BC in an area of 44,000 km^2 that the present research is devoted.

Chapter 2

The chronology

Introduction

The chronological classification of the Iron Age in Western Europe

Absolute dating: imports, historic events, radiocarbon and dendro-chronological dates

The span of time covered by the present research

Introduction

One of the first tasks of archaeology was to articulate an amorphous mass of material and information into a chronological order. Although this stage has now receded into archaeological historiography, chronological classification is still a heated debate and new schemes keep emerging. In a discipline that spends much energy on the comparisons between sites and artefact collections, the definition of periods, phases and horizons is of paramount importance. The establishment of a firm basis for dating is a delicate operation, seemingly in perpetual gestation. It is therefore not wholly superfluous to spend a little time on general aspects of chronology, before launching into our subject.

Many attempts at chronological organisation can be found in the archaeological literature of the past century, devoted both to relative and absolute dating. Relative chronology aims at building up a sequence of phases or periods. This seems simple enough, but arguments arise over how the sequences are built and what the phases are representative of. Many sequences are established by constructing a typology of particular artefacts or sets of artefacts, thought to evolve through time. Attempts at chronological classification can appear nebulous in their purpose, with little distinction being drawn between chronological articulation and cultural grouping. We cannot always be sure whether a "period" defines a slice of time expressed in years, or whether it describes a culture which makes use of a particular set of artefacts or builds a given type of monument.

If we are to equate new artefacts with a new culture or even new people, we run into problems too. It has become common to identify Celts with people who lived in the La Tène era, bringing with them a new way of life and art-form to pre-celtic, presumably non-celtic regions. Yet if a

filiation between Hallstatt and La Tène artefact types is accepted, how are we to tell what is 'celtic' about an object, if it looks as though it has quietly evolved from a non-celtic form? To answer this question with the term acculturation is only partly satisfactory: in most cases we do not know how much impact a new population would have had on daily life. It can be understated or overemphasised: R. Joffroy (1973: 474), for example, supposes that the 'old Hallstatt stock' of Burgundy would have been enslaved to it new celtic masters.

J. M de Navarro (1972) and R. de Marinis (1977) show us similar problems in Northern Italy, known, from historical sources, to have been invaded by Celts. De Navarro says that 'these celtic people had absorbed much of the etruscan civilisation and La Tène types are sparsely represented in their graves' (1972: 315), i.e. we would not necessarily recognise a North Italian Celt, if we came across a dead one. On the other hand, De Marinis observes that the North Italian Celts had metalwork of La Tène type, but that their pottery was not, i.e. a cemetery of the La Tène phase could be identified, but a settlement perhaps not.

Last but not least, circular arguments can arise, and have done so, when an interpretation of an event on an excavated site is based on an historic model and taken as firm dating evidence: the burning layers observed on the hillforts of the Rhône valley and Languedoc and attributed to celtic invasions are one such example (see below).

The study of relative chronology possesses many grey areas where fact and interpretation are entangled and where the distinction between chronological organisation and cultural grouping is blurred. Special colloquia such as that staged in Nice in 1976 (colloquium no. 29) to consider the passage from Hallstatt to La Tène can therefore only be welcomed.

The chronological classification of the Iron Age in Western Europe

Chronological systems for the European Iron Age do exist and have proved useful, in spite of their pitfalls, for over a century of research. It is not our intention to criticise them, or even worse, propose another system.

It should be possible to make use of the existing classification systems. They are legions, and it seemed useful to present them in a tabulated form: fig. 8 is an attempt at correlating the chronologies of France, Switzerland and Germany, and fig. 7 compares the chronology of the West with the rest of temperate Europe (omitting Britain). What emerges is a general agreement on the sequence of cultural phases and a great deal of uncertainty about the position of these phases in an absolute time scale. The main reason for this seems to be, contrarily to what is sometimes thought, the lack of reliable cross-dating between Iron Age Europe and the classical world (De Navarro 1972: 313; Hatt and Roualet 1977). Secondly, many fine divisions of the Iron Age into characteristic horizons are based on assemblages found in cemeteries: such phasing is therefore representative of a fairly small region and a particular trait of human behaviour which favours the deposition of certain objects (e.g. fibulae) at the expense of other artefacts.

Hildebrandt (1872) was the first to refine the latter part of the Three-Age system: the last of the three Ages, was divided into two periods, a First Iron Age named after the site of Hallstatt and a Second Iron Age named after the site of La Tène. These eponymous sites, although of paramount importance, do not cover the whole of the time span they are representative of. Further compartmentation of the La Tène period was the work of Tischler (1885), who devised a tripartite system (LT I, II, III) followed by most later scholars. It was based on the observation of swords and particularly fibulae, whose foot could be bent towards the arc (LT I),

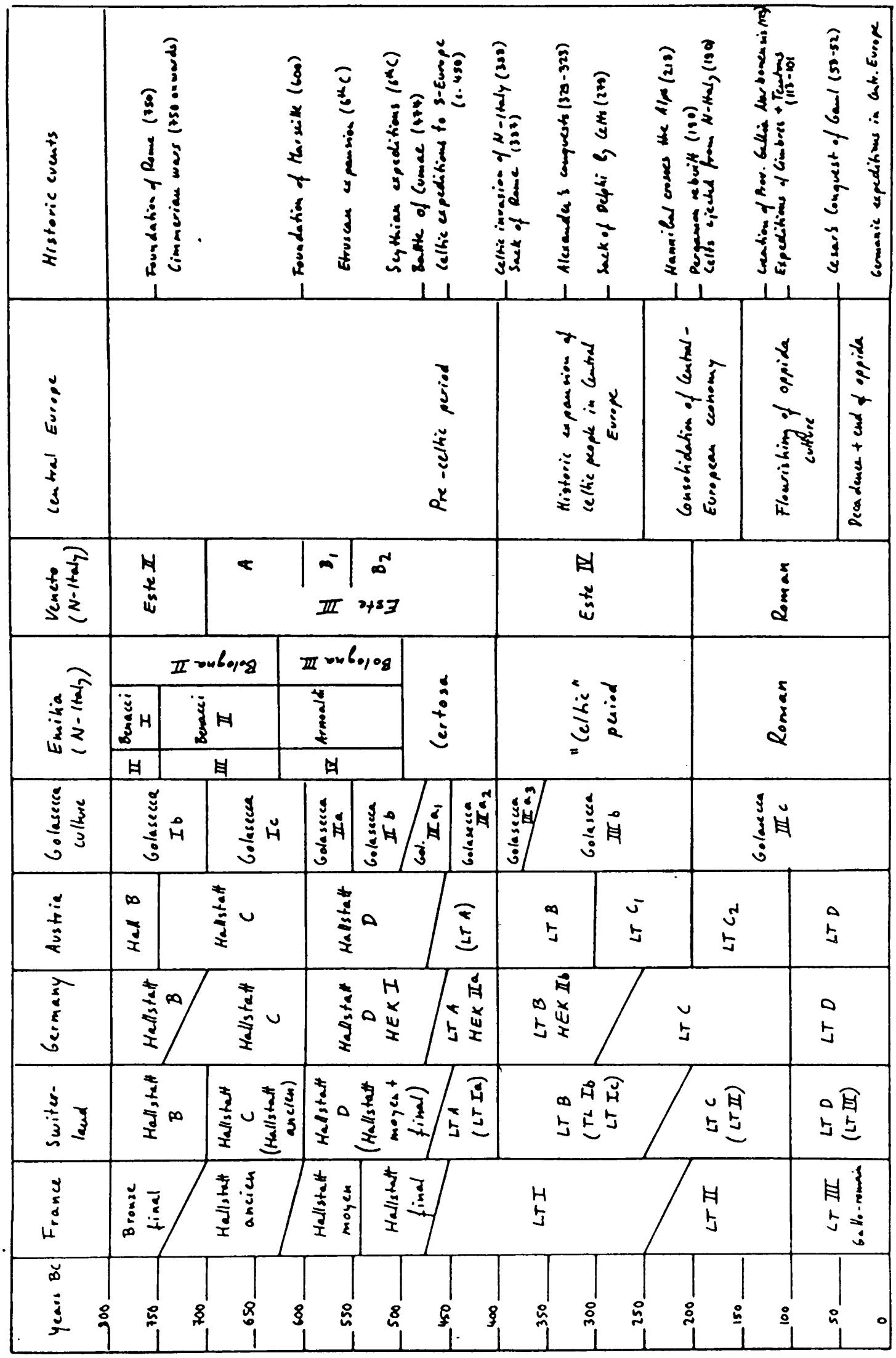


Fig. 7
Iron Age Europe: Chronological correlation table
(Based on Barfield 1971, Duval 1971, Filip 1956, Guilaine 1976, Kruta 1966, De Marinis 1977, Rallo, Serra and Carancini 1966)

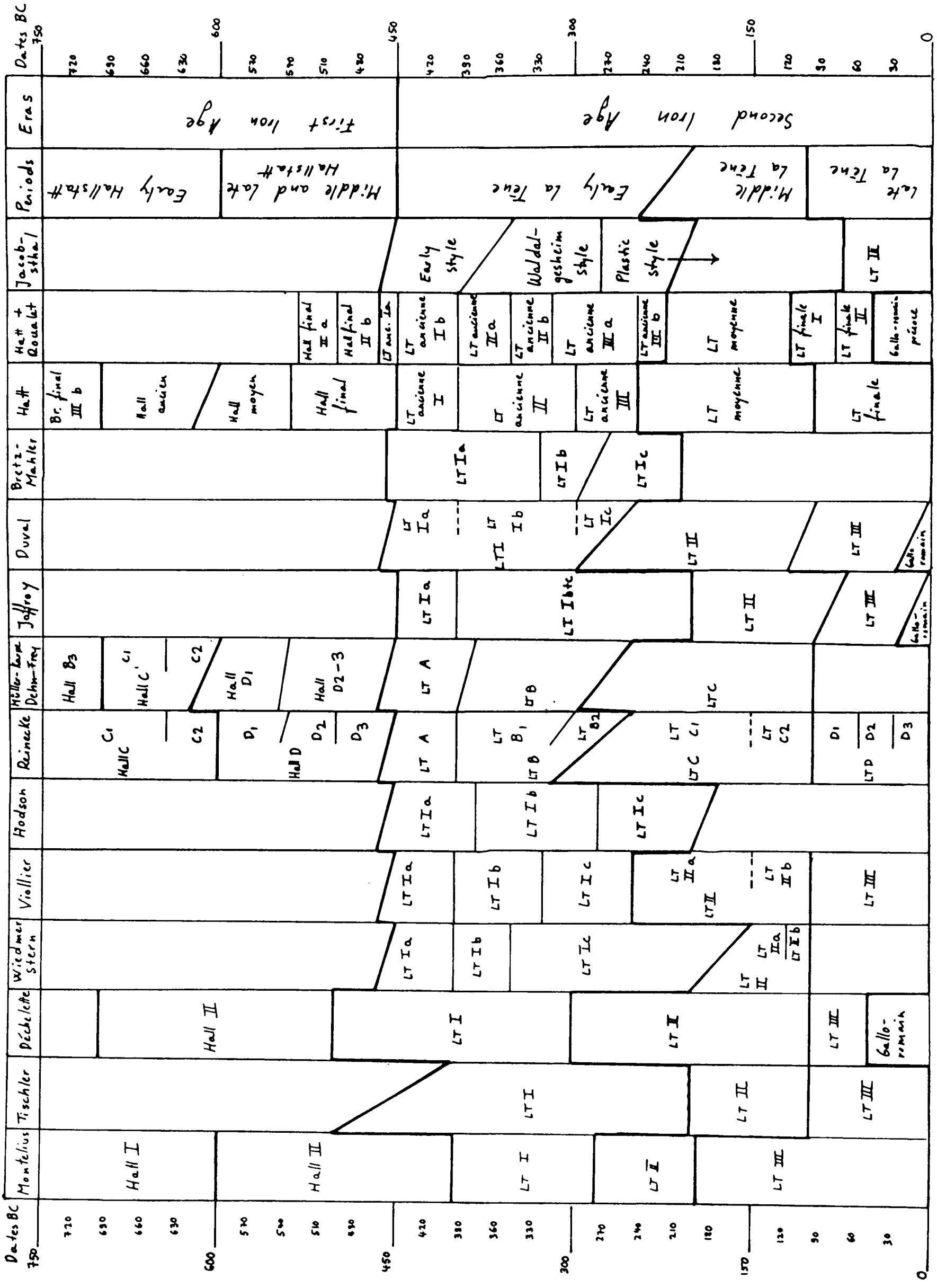


Fig. 8

Chronological systems in use in France, Switzerland, Germany

touching or clasped to the arc (LT II) or joined in one piece (LT III). Déchelette (1927) adapted and expanded this system (using 12 artefact species) at the beginning of this century and laid down foundations still valid today. Meanwhile, in Germany, Paul Reinecke's study of southern German artefacts led to the division of the Iron Age into the Hallstatt phases C and D (A and B being Late Bronze Age) and La Tène phases A, B, C and D. The novelty of this scheme resided in the creation of the La Tène A phase, inserted between late Hallstatt and early La Tène assemblages.

By 1925, the two most important classifications of the European Iron Age (Déchelette and Reinecke) were established. Further work concentrated mainly on adjusting the absolute dates attached to each phase and on constructing regional chronologies: Wiedmer-Stern, Viollier and Hodson refined the chronology of the Swiss Plateau, Bretz-Mahler, Hatt and Roualet carried out similar work in the Champagne, Ian Filip reconciled an essentially western chronology to the problems of Central Europe. This summary is based largely on an exposé given by Dehn (1976) to the 29th Colloquium of the UISPP Conference in Nice.

The debate over absolute dates, on the other hand, is alive and will remain so as new discoveries are made, radiocarbon dating techniques are refined and dendrochronological curves are extended. The dates proposed for assemblages containing artefacts manufactured in the classical world will be discussed below, as will be the definition of the three celtic art styles (Early style = La Tène A, LT Ia ; Waldalgesheim style = La Tène B_1, LT Ib; Plastic style = La Tène B_2 and C_1 or LT Ic and II) proposed by Jacobsthal (1944) through crosss-reference with classical art and artefacts. In spite of certain modification (e.g. Duval 1966), Jacobsthal's classification remains valid.

The choice seems to be between constructing a system that is loose enough for general use over a large area and the elaboration of a fine mesh

of phases limited in space but allowing a much greater precision within this space. Both approaches have been proposed, sometimes by the same scholar. Professor Hodson's scheme for the British Iron Age (1964) was a response to a need for synthesis: the cultural groupings were extremely useful in defining in indigenous culture, but the system is so broad that it may have a limited value as a dating tool. The seriation of the assemblages and horizontal stratigraphy of the cemetery of Münsingen-Rain (Hodson 1968), resulting in a phasing scheme using all but four of the letters of the alphabet for a period of c. 300 years, is a good illustration of the second 'refined' approach.

In order to deal with Iron Age developments in the various parts of Europe, most scholars have tried to strike a balance between these two approaches and have devised schemes broad enough to be useful, but precise enough to have some meaning in terms of dating. Perhaps the best approach is the one advocated by Hodson on numerous occasions (1963; 1964a; 1964b): to isolate cultural groups, build a fine chronology for each group and then compare and correlate groups with each other, to achieve an overall picture. Doubts are however permitted as to the success of the last stage; we might end up with an even more fragmented network of regional schemes (e.g. Hatt and Roualet 1976 and 1977; their scheme is shown in tabulated form by Nicolini 1983: 15).

Absolute dating: imports, historic events, radiocarbon and dendro-chronological dates.

As De Navarro (1972; 113) puts it,'the chronology of the La Tène period stands on weak legs'. Although mediterranean exports into the barbarian world of the last millennium BC are fairly varied and numerous, these assumedly well dated objects are a mixed blessing. Firstly, some objects, although

manufactued in the classical world, are not dated very precisely. Etruscan beaked bronze flagons ("Schnabelkannen") have a long life, even though typological analysis (Bouloumié 1973) has refined the dating of their manufacture. Secondly, deplorable excavation circumstances result in doubtful associations of objects within assemblages; the artefacts from the Tomba del Guerriero in Tarquinia (Etruria) are such an example. Thirdly, it is often difficult to estimate how much time passed between the dated manufacture of an object in the mediterranean world and its deposition in an Iron Age context: the burial at Reinheim (Keller 1966) contained objects deposited together but differing in manufacture date by over a century. Somme-Bionne has objects dating from the last half of the 5th C BC as well as objects of the late 4th C BC. A similar situation exists at Waldalgesheim, where manufacturing dates span from the early 5th C BC to the late 4th C BC. The latter examples are cited by Dehn and Frey (1962: 197-208).

Circumspection is necessary when cross-dating, using indirect dating evidence, is attempted. If, for example, a La Tène fibula of a particular type is associated to an object dated to, say, 450 BC, it does not necessarily mean that all La Tène brooches of this type in Europe are to be dated to around 450 BC. Hodson (1964: 124) states: 'even less valid would be absolute dates calculated for generalised types in one La Tène area and transferred to another'.

Finally, pitfalls exist when links are drawn between historic events and the deposition of an object or the observation of a disruptive element on an excavated sequence. Hoards can be explained in such terms: there may be strong grounds for arguing such cases, but other connexions belong more to the realsm of wishful thinking. For example, the destruction of the granary at Le Pègue (26-31) (layer D2) "corresponds, <u>without doubt</u>, to the first celtic invasions in the Rhône valley. The date of 480 BC that we <u>propose</u> for this destruction (....) provides a <u>precise chronologial point of reference</u> for the beginning

of the Second Iron Age in the South" (Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: 109, my translation and my italics). Of course it is necessary to make historical sense of pits, postholes and black layers, but such interpretations put much faith (perhaps too much faith) in the reflection of historic events in excavated sequences and assemblages. The independant dating of artefacts or charcoal in a layer cannot, at best, be more precise than within a bracket of at least ± 10 years (Py 1978: 334 and note 60). Lagrand's interpretation of the Le Pègue sequence, or Hatt's (1959) and Pelletier's (1966) interpretations of the stratigraphy of Soyons (07-35) and Vienne (38-79) respectively, may be valid but are only one model amongst many others. For example, Paul Buckland (1978) has shown, in a romano-british context, that a granary at Malton in Yorkshire, had been burnt down deliberately because the crops had become badly infested with grain pests. With the swing of archaeological thinking from historical explanations to environmental ones, more such reinterpretations could come forward.

Good absolute dates for Iron Age european objects are, as a result, few and far between. These have been discussed by many authors, including Dehn and Frey (1962) and De Navarro (1972: 312-327). A few examples from their work will be presented here: a selection of imported mediterranean goods, with absolute dates attached to them, is shown in fig. 9. It is designed to show how accurate or inaccurate the dating of wares imported into Iron Age contexts is: the span of time covered by the horizontal lines on the chart should be treated rather like the ± error margin in C14 dates and must not be taken as a minimum or maximum age.

For the Hallstatt C period (Hallstatt ancien), the only sure landmark appears to be the site of Kastenwald near Colmar(Haut-Rhin) in Alsace. Its Hallstatt C assemblage was associated to an etruscan pyxis with sphynx dated to the etruscan orientalizing period, or 7th C BC, and a rhodian ribbed bronze cup, found at Vetulonia (Etruria) and dated to the end of the

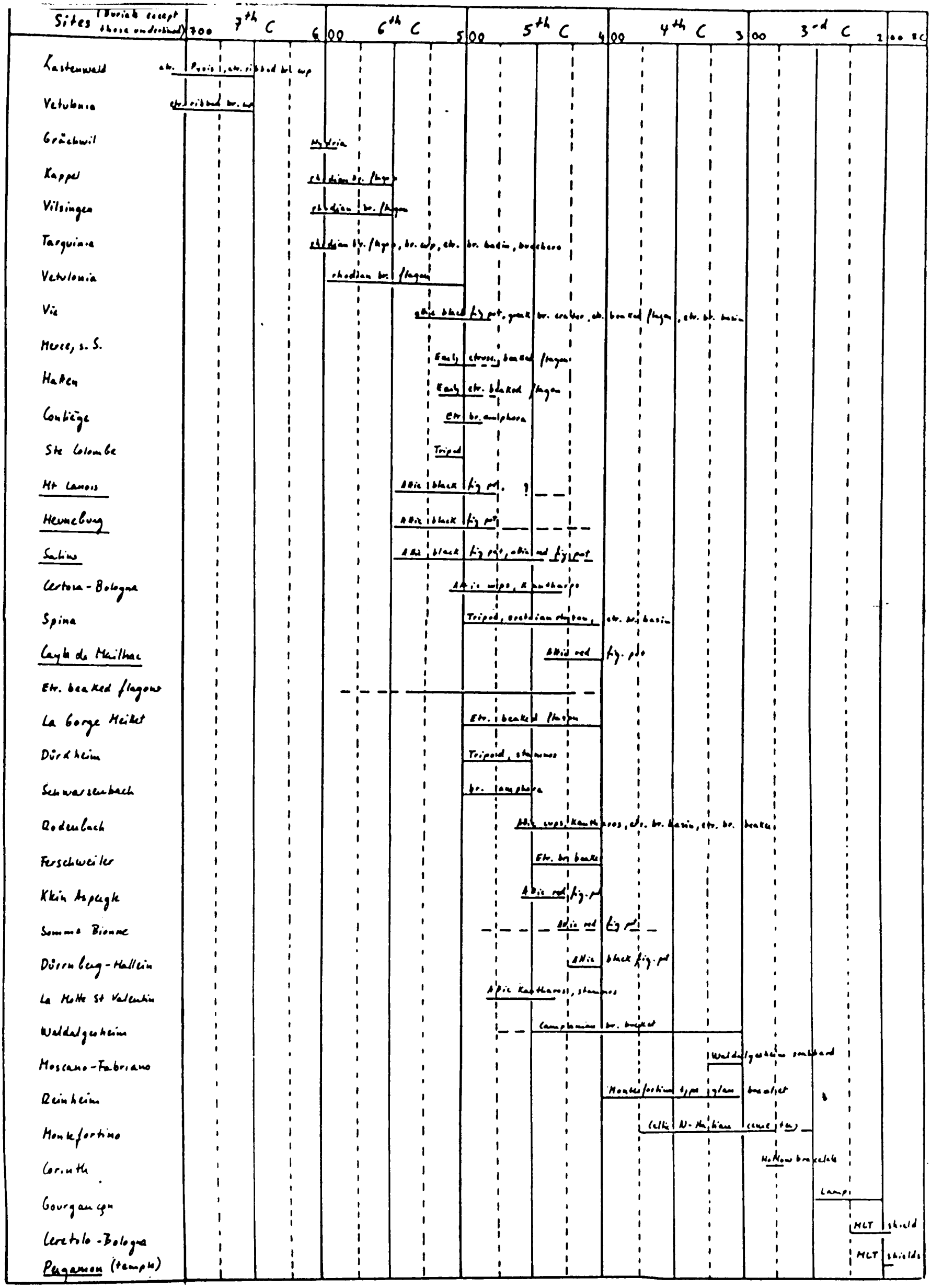


Fig. 9

Absolute dates derived from Mediterranean goodsimported into Iron Age Europe (Compiled from Dehn + Frey 1962, Hodson 1964, Bretz-Mahler 1966, Keller 1966, De Navarro 1972, Joffroy 1973, Hatt and Roualet 1977)

8th C BC or early 7th C BC. On this evidence, Dehn and Frey (1962) make the Hallstatt C period begin at the end of the 8th C BC and develop in the 7th C BC.

The Hallstatt D_1 period (Hallstatt moyen) has a few more dated imports. Good associations can be found at Kappel and Vilsingen, sites with rhodian bronze flasks parallelled at Tarquinia (Etruria), where they are associated to late 7th C BC material. However, Vetulonia possesses a similar bronze flask, this time dated to the 6th C BC. This evidence, together with other elements, lead Dehn and Frey to suggest the following dates for the Hallstatt D_1 phase: last quarter of the 7th C BC to mid 6th C BC.

The Hallstatt D_{2-3} phases (Hallstatt final) contain a greater number of imports, now including attic black and red figure pottery reaching hillforts or "Fürstensitze" such as the Heuneburg, Mt Lassois or Salins, as well as bronze objects found in the 'Fürstengräber' (Vix, Hatten, Ste-Colombe, etc.). This material allows the beginning of the Hallstatt D_{2-3} period to be pinned to the mid 6th C BC and its end to the early 5th C BC (475). However, late Hallstatt types can be associated with later artefacts: at Spina and Le Cayla de Mailhac late Hallstatt fibulae occur together with late 5th C BC imported mediterranean goods.

The La Tène A (LT Ia) period sees an influx of etruscan beaked bronze flagons: a typology, based minly on the handle attachments, has been proposed by Bouloumié (1973: 1-35), but these objects are still fairly difficult to date (they appear already in Hallstatt D_3 contexts). Attic pottery seems to be the best guide: Klein Aspergle produced a red figure kylix of c. 450 BC, Somme-Bionne has one of c. 430-20 BC and Dürrnberg-Hallein possesses a black figure kylix of 425-400 BC. These objects, and others, give us, according to Dehn and Frey, a bracket of 475/450 to c. 400 BC for the La Tène A period.

For the La Tène B_{1-2} (LT Ib-c) phases, few good dates are available. The best seem to be what De Navarro (1972) calls the 'Waldalgesheim-Moscano convergence'. The argument runs as follows: Waldalgesheim had La Tène B material together with a bronze campanian bucket of the late 4th C BC. The design on the bucket is copied on the Waldalgesheim gold torc. At Moscano-Fabrano in North Italy, a grave contained a scabbard decorated in fully developped Waldalgesheim style and greek pottery of the late 4th C BC. This, it is argued (by De Navarro, following Jacobsthal 1944), means that the Waldalgesheim style was in full bloom by 300 BC and may have started around 350 BC.

In the La Tène C (LT II)period, De Navarro uses the 'Ceretolo-Pergamon convergence'. At the Ceretolo cemetery in Bologna a La Tène II shield boss and fibulae were found together with an etruscan bronze flagon. This assemblage must predate 191 BC, the date for the withdrawal of the celtic Boii out of Emilia (Livy, 36, 40, 5-6). Similar La Tène II shield bosses are represented on the temple of Athena Nikophoros in Pergamon, restored by 181 BC: they could have been seen at the battle of Magnesia in 190 BC. Thus La Tène II types seem well established around 190 BC and may have started by 225 BC.

In the La Tène D (LT III) phase, we can rely on imported campanian wares and republican amphorae on settlement sites (see chapter 5, part 3, sections 16 and 17). The dating of Nauheim fibulae on the other hand, still appears to be fraught with problems. Two schools of thought oppose each other: those who think that Nauheim fibulae postdate the Conquest of Gaul in the 50s BC, and those who think that Nauheim brooches were produced earlier and have wire-bow La Tène III antecedants. This controversy explains the different dates proposed for the beginning of the La Tène D (III)period: 120 BC, 100 BC or even 70 BC.

Of course parts of France have entered the realms of history in 125-121 BC (conquest of the Provincia Transalpina) and the remainder of celtic Gaul in 58-52 BC (Caesar's Gallic wars). Historic evidence and the references to the barbarian world made by classical authors (particularly Strabo) cannot be overlooked. Although the information can occasionally be misleading, it provides a framework and will help sober up the anthropologically or environmentally minded archaeologist. P. M. Duval (1971) has collected and published all the shreds of information that bring the last millennium BC into the light of protohistory. Amongst them, the mention of the following events appear particularly relevant to pre-roman Gaul:

- Greek authors start mentioning Celts or Gauls from the 6th C BC.
- Marseille was founded around 600 BC and created other colonies on the coast of Provence.
- Celts from Central Europe appear in Gaul around 450 BC and make a series of expeditions to Italy (including the sack of Rome) in 400-390 BC.
- Hannibal crosses the Alps in 218 BC with the help of indigenous Celts.
- The Provincia Transalpina comes into existence in 125-121 BC. The conquest of the province brings the destruction of the celto-ligurian oppidum of Entremont in 123 BC.
- The passage of the Cimbri and Teutones is dated to 108-102 BC.
- A series of upheavals shake the Provincia Transalpina (e.g. revolt of the Allobroges in c. 75 BC).
- The Gallic Wars (58-52 BC) end the period of independance of celtic Gaul..

This information together with other events thought to be relevant to Iron Age Europe was collected from sources such as Powell (1958), Duval (1971), Ebel (1976), Deroc (1983) and added to fig. 7 (last column).

C14 dating may still lead us towards more precise dating of archaeological

assemblages. After the euphoria of the first appearance of this method, the discovery of the calibration curves and the introduction of statistical safety margins have had a dampening effect: if we want a 90% certainty margin, the span of time tends to be too long to be of much use in the last millennium BC (summary of C14 methods in Clark 1975, Renfrew 1976, chapters 3 and 4, and Burleigh 1980). It is an unfortunate state of affairs, as C14 tends to be relegated to a secondary role, that of confirming what archaeologists already thought. However, an increase in C14 dates can only be favourable and is likely to lead to improvements. Surely a firm, objective foundation, not based on cultural interpretation, is a bonus, particularly for settlement sites.

The C14 dates relevant to French protohistory, extracted from Guilaine (1976) and translated from BP to bc, are illustrated on fig. 10. The C14 dates obtained for the Bronze Age lake-side settlements of the northern Alps have been included, as it was thought interesting to relate the end of lake-side settlements to the beginning of the Subatlantic period, characterised by generally wetter weather and a rise in the water table (Bocquet 1976: plate 12), usually dated to c. 750 BC. The dating of the last lake-side settlements does indeed cluster around 750 BC, except for 3 dates.

The way forward must be dendrochronology, so successfully developed in Neolithic and Bronze Age lake-side settlement excavations. The Iron Age does not, on the whole, have such favourable site conditions, but dendrochronological curves (e.g. for sites such as La Tène (a date of 278 ± 6 years was calculated for the Pont Vouga and a date of 256 BC was given to a wooden shield: cf. Berger (1974: 81)) are beginning to multiply in 1st milennium BC temperate Europe.

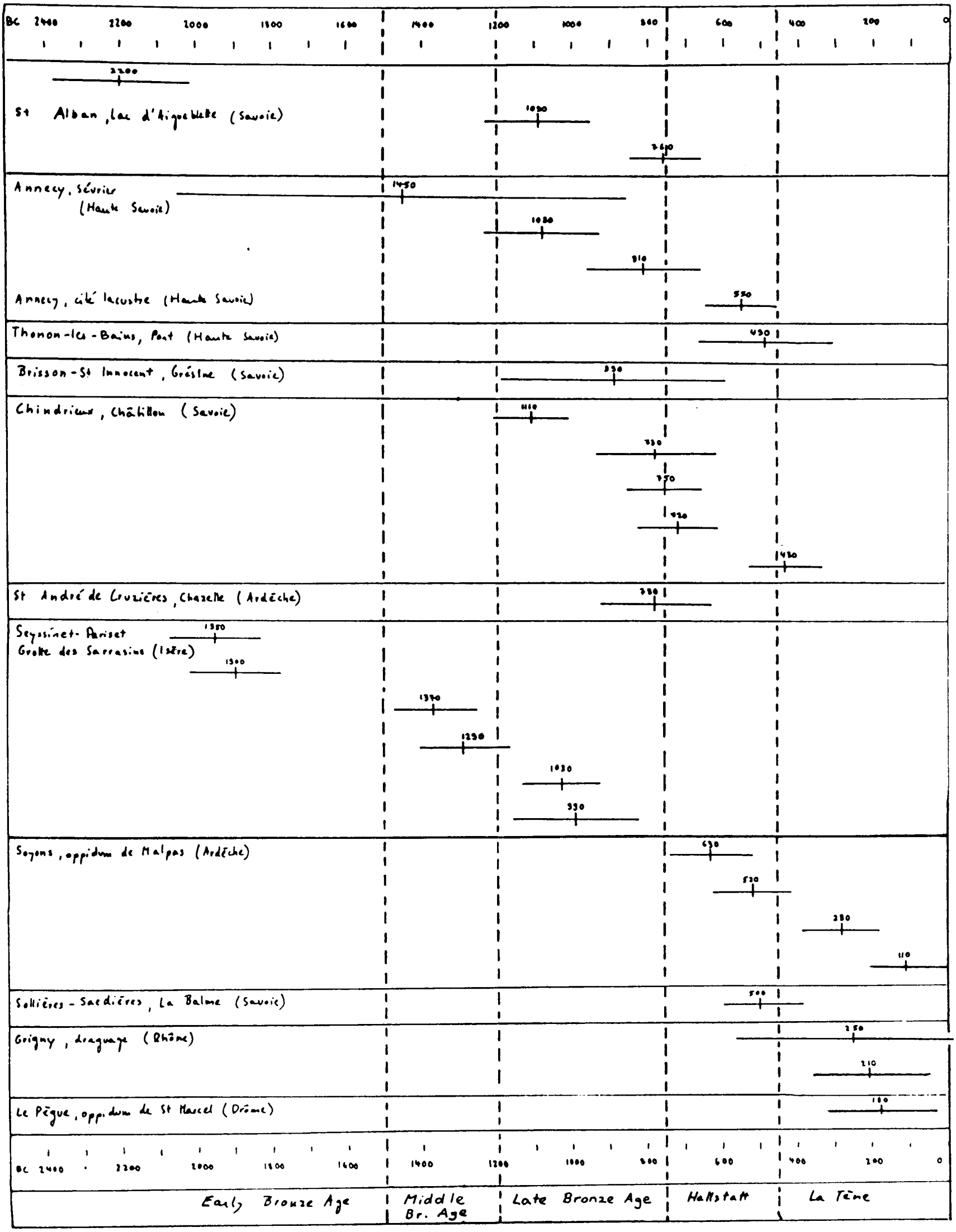


Fig. 10

Radiocarbon dates for the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes

(after Guilaine 1976: 894-5 and 898-9)

The span of time covered by the present research

The work submitted originally started as an enquiry into early and middle La Tène settlement sites, but has expanded into a synthesis of archaeological evidence including also burials, caves, isolated finds and hoards from the late Hallstatt period (or Hallstatt D, or Hallstatt final) to the late La Tène period (or La Tène D, or La Tène III) in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes (see preface). The reasons for such a change of direction are that La Tène sites could not be studied in isolation: indeed continuity from the late Hallstatt period into La Tène will be argued for a number of sites (Chapters 5 onwards). Moreover, the recognition of post-Hallstatt assemblages can only begin with an assessment of the late Hallstatt material vocabulary. At the other end of the scale, it was felt necessary to incorporate the late La Tène data, even though much of the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes comes under roman control in 121 BC, after the conquest of the Provincia Transalpina. The reason for extending the enquiry into the late La Tène period was that trends starting in the middle La Tène phase, amongst settlement sites, coins and imported materials needed to be followed up.

However, the study of the late Hallstatt and of the late La Tène cultures of western Europe are vast subjects involving complex societies ('aristocracies' and 'proto-states'): several doctoral theses (e.g. Collis 1975, Nash 1978, Büchsenschütz 1981, Ralston 1972) have been devoted to aspects of the later La Tène period alone. Therefore it is highly likely that some material or even major contributions have been overlooked.

In short, we propose to examine the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes from the late Hallstatt to the late La Tène period, or 6th C BC to the end of the milennium. Occasionally some excursions will have to be made into

the late Bronze Age: in the Alps there are indications that an Urnfield material vocabulary continued little changed until contact is made with middle La Tène forms (Bocquet 1969: 182 and Appendix 2).

We propose to use the following terminology: Late Hallstatt (Hallstatt final), Early La Tène (La Tène ancienne), Middle La Tène (La Tène moyenne) and Late La Tène (La Tène récente or finale). These magic words have the advantage of being easily equated with Déchelette's scheme, in whose homeland (Roanne) this research is located. This terminology should be adequate in dealing with material from settlement sites. Of course, if a more precise date is available (e.g. for a fibula), then the subdivisions of the German (La Tène A, B_1, B_2, C_1, C_2, D_1, D_2) and French (La Tène Ia, Ib, Ic, II, III) schools will be used. As a rule, references to both these schemes are given, but there may be omissions. One of the two references will appear in brackets: e.g. a La Tène B_1 (LT Ib) fibula. Figures 7 and 8 will help with the correlation with other schemes. If absolute dates such as radiocarbon dates, or estimated dates (for imported artefacts or for coins) are known, these will be indicated (e.g. a coin dated to the 1st quarter of the 1st C BC).

We end with a note on typography: the reader will have noticed that we sometimes refer to "Middle La Tène" and at other times to "middle La Tène". Although this may be thought illogical, there is a system. If the phrase is used as an adjective (e.g. "a middle La Tène fibula, the middle La Tène period), then the lower case is used. But if the term is used as a noun ("the Middle La Tène") then capital letters are used. The same rule applies to terms such as Greeks, Romans, Etruscans (but a greek amphora, an ionian cup, an etruscan statuette). Although it is more common to refer to Greek, Roman or Gallo-Roman with capital letters, it seemed more natural to refer to pseudo-ionian or phocean wares with lower case letters. To be consistent, it was decided to treat all adjectives in the lower case mode.

Chapter 3

A review of Iron Age archaeology in Central-Eastern France

Introduction

The organisation of archaeology in France

A survey of publications

The structure of French archaeology

The development of Iron Age studies: a partial review

The great syntheses

The study of artefacts

Regional surveys and excavation reports

The Jura, Franche-Comté and Saône plain

The French Alps

The Rhône valley and the South of the Rhône-Alpes

The Loire valley and the Forez

Concluding remarks

Introduction

The course archaeology has followed over the years is in many ways comparable to that of a river: fast and straight at first, slowing down with the weight of new material, it meanders or breaks up into a number of different channels. This chapter examines some of the sediments the years have deposited, but, in doing so, inevitably concentrates on some channels, at the expense of others. We hope, however, to reach two targets: firstly to retrace the steps of Iron Age archaeology in Central-Eastern France in general, and the Rhône-Alpes in particular, and secondly to sketch where current research efforts are leading.

The first task , that of reviewing past archaeological achievements, is a daunting prospect. Indeed, it would be preposterous to claim that 150 years of research can be summarised in a few pages. Yet a review of a literature not always easily accessible in British libraries seemed desirable. Models for broad spectrum reviews can be found in the excellent accounts by Millotte of the Jura and Saône plains (1963: chapter entitled "Historique des Recherches") or by Cunliffe of the British Isles (1974 and 1978: chapter entitled "The development of Iron Age studies"). These reviews achieve what will be attempted here: they extract masterlines from the web of publications and inscribe themselves at the top of the list by pointing out new avenues of research.

But, apart from charting the achievements of the academic world of archaeology and pointing out its desiderata, we must take into account the historic climate in which past research developed and remain aware of the impact legislation and government heritage management has had, and has, on the collection of data.

In Central-Eastern France,undoubtedly the best example of government guidance is the role the Second Empire (1852-1870) played in

the development of Iron Age archaeology: the result of Napoléon III's interest in the tangible remains of Caesar's Gallic Wars can be seen in the commissionning of excavations, amongst others, at Alésia and Bibracte, the publication in 1866 of Napoléon's 'Vie de Jules César', the erection above Alise-Ste-Reine of a statue of Vercingetorix (said to resemble the emperor) or the creation of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at St-Germain-en-Laye and of an Ancient Monuments' Inspectorate. National pride, spurred on by expanding colonialism and the rise of the Prussian Empire, found an outlet in the study of the heroic Gauls. Today, the phrase "nos ancêtres les Gaulois" raises more of a smile amongst the cosmopolitan French; but France's pride in its gaulish ancestors is by no means dead, as the popularity of the adventures of Asterix illustrates.

Archaeology takes place within historic climates, but trends can be difficult to detect. Yet, a departure from culture definitions based, in the main, on the study of artefacts, towards socio-economic models, helped by the comparatively recent realisation of the potential of environmental analysis, must reflect broader trends. For example in Italy, there is a fairly new emphasis on the study of pits, domestic refuse, humble everyday objects or manufacturing processes, opposed to the traditional art-historical or architectural schools of archaeology. To investigate these 'lavori senza gloria', as Carandini(1979) puts it, is, in Italy, a deliberate political choice. In more temperate climates further North, approaches seem less polarised. But the way in which a nation cares for its monuments, or responds to 'rescue' situations has far reaching implications. We shall therefore spend a little time on sketching the organisation of archaeology in France. It is however a constantly changing field, particularly in recent years, and information may, or has, become quickly outdated.

So far, we have indicated two factors influencing the development of archaeology: historic climate and heritage management. A third factor would consist of the preoccupations of archaeologists themselves: indeed, it seems that some problems (e.g. the passage from Hallstatt to La Tène), because of their complexity and "historic" significance, attract researchers or cause symposia to gather, more often than others: the Hallstatt-La Tène debate which occupied MM. Piroutet and Favret in the 1930s, was taken up, after the discovery of Vix and the excavation of Mont Lassois, by M. Joffroy in the 1960s (summary in Millotte 1963: 234-4; Joffroy 1973) to continue its life in the works of scholars such as Prof. Dehn (1966, 1976, 1979) or at colloquia such as the Colloquium no. 29 staged at the 1976 Nice UISPP conference ("le passage du Hallstatt à La Tène") or Duval and Kruta (1979).

The dwellings of the Iron Age have a similarly long academic history, displayed, for example, in the changing interpretation of pits or sunken-floored structures. The function of these holes, once interpreted as 'pit-dwellings' ('fosses d'habitat', 'fonds de cabanes' or 'huttes') has been questioned, as the image of the noble savage, living in primitive dwellings, became increasingly irreconciliable with the concept of a sophisticated, organised protohistoric society. Garnier (1966: 804) can be quoted as an example of this shift in emphasis: "I doubt that a population(....) lived buried in these holes" (my translation). Today, large scale successful rescue excavations, particularly in the North of France (e.g. the Vallée de l'Asine) have completely changed our conceptions of Iron Age houses by revealing a whole range of timber structures, including the magnificent 22 x 12 m bow-ended "hall" of Verberie (Oise) or the house of Chassemy (Aisne) [see Rowlett and Boureux 1969; Vallée de l'Aisne 1982; Büchsenschütz 1981 (ed.), most contributions to part 1, e.g. Villes 1981a on the interpretation of storage pits; also Villes 1981b a particularly useful study of Iron Age houses].

The present review is - appropriately enough in Gaul - essentially divided into three parts: first we shall sketch in broad strokes the organisation of archaeology in France and its pattern of publications; an account of the development of and major contributions to Iron Age archaeology at an international, national and regional level, will occupy our second and largest section; thirdly an outline or current problems and research targets will be attempted.

The organisation of archaeology in France

France can be regarded as a centralised nation, but this centralisation affects only partly the way in which archaeology is practiced. A glance at the pattern of publications will illustrate this point.

A survey of publications

A large number of local societies, often born in the early and mid 19th C, form the backbone of French archaeology. The result of their activity is reflected in the impressively long list of local journals, published in Gallia 23 (1965: 445-81). The fragmented and dispersed pattern of publications appears to worry many archaeologists and lead them to take a few initiatives: for example, the Revue Archéologique de l'Est (see below) carries a regularly updated regional bibliography, review and notes section and A. Duval (1976, 1977) started to publish a yearly bibliography of the La Tène period in France in the Cahiers Archéologiques de Picardie. Unfortunately, this extremely useful service seems to have been discontinued: the CAP, after 1977, no longer contains Duval's bibliography. A second initiative consists of a decision by some local societies or research groups to regroup their scattered publications into composite

volumes (e.g. Recherches Archéologiques en Tournugeois for the area of Tournus, Etudes Préhistoriques for the Ardèche, Cahiers A.R.A.L.O for eastern Languedoc). Efforts are also made to house all this mass of paper into accessible regional documentation centres, such as the Centre de Documentation de la Préhistoire Alpine (CDPA) in Grenoble.

Superimposed on this are regional publications covering the archaeology of large territories. They cover one or more circonscriptions and are generally of very high standard. A number of these are post-war creations [e.g. Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est (RAE), Revue Archéologique du Centre (RAC),Cahiers Rhodaniens,Cahiers Ligures] but more recent ventures have been launched onto the archaeological publication scene: particulary welcome are the very well produced Documents d'Archéologie Meridionale (DAM),appearing since 1978, which contain excavation reports and analyses of classes of material recently carried out in Provence.

At the upper échelon, a number of publications concern themselves with the whole of France. They can be slotted into three categories: period-oriented journals (such as Ogam and Etudes Celtiques for celtic matters), conference proceedings and the national journals Gallia and Gallia-Préhistoire (see below). Some period journals such as the organ of the Société Préhistorique Française (the BSPF) used to contain Iron Age material (e.g. the reports of the 'Commission des Enceintes' at the beginning of this century), but with increasing specialisation, are now restricted to prehistory in the French sense, i.e. from Palaeolithic to Bronze Age. The conference scene appears to have become very lively in recent years (particularly since 1977, date of the first yearly La Tène colloquium at Sens) and it is from these conference proceedings (e.g. "L'Age du Fer en France Septentrionale", Soc. Arch. Champ. 1981) that the best insight into modern French archaeology can be gained. Some symposia have regional themes

(e.g. Büchsenschütz 1981 or Collis, Duval and Périchon 1983) which however are of relevance to the entire French territory, if not Europe, while other gatherings are thematic (e.g. Duval and Kruta 1975 or the 1985 conference of French La Tène specialists which met on the subject of square enclosures or "Viereckschanzen"). At an international level, a series of conferences proved particularly useful to the observer of trends in Iron Age scholarship, such as the 1959 Congrès Préhistorique de France (CPF) held in Monaco (published in 1965), the 1966 conference of the UISPP staged in Prague, the 1970 colloquium of the AIESSEE at Bucharest on the sources of European civilisations,or the 1976 UISPP conference held in Nice, which gave rise to a series of paramount publications (Guilaine (ed.) 1976; excursion booklets such as Bocquet and Lagrand 1976, proceedings or colloquia such as Duval and Kruta 1979).

The periodicals Gallia (founded in 1943) and Gallia-Préhistoire (split from the former in 1958) are the two heavyweights (literally and figuratively speaking) of French archaeology, published by the government research agency, the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique). The way they are divided, Gallia-Préhistoire catering for the Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age and early Hallstatt period, and Gallia reporting on Iron Age, roman and post-roman matters (up to 800 AD) is a telling indication of how the Iron Age is approached in France, i.e. as an "historic" era. The splitting of the discipline into two at the beginning of the Iron Age has practical or bureaucratic reasons (see below); it is nevertheless an unfortunate situation, making the study of continuity between pre- and protohistory a little more cumbersome for the student. Apart from containing articles of national importance, Gallia and Gallia-Préhistoire also serve as recipients to the biennial reports of activity submitted by the "directeurs de circonscriptions", created by the 1942 law (see below). In addition to these reports, Gallia contained, between 1942 and 1959, a

series of summaries of discoveries and publications appearing in metropolitan France, written by M. Lantier (1942 to 1959): presumably this extremely useful service could no longer be performed by a single scholar after 1959. Finally, Gallia's publishing house, the CNRS, also produces a monograph series (Gallia-Supplément) concerned with major themes (e.g. the early La Tène period in the Champagne, Bretz-Mahler 1971) or excavation reports (e.g. the magnificent report on the Oppidum des Castels at Nages in the Gard, Py 1978a).

The structure of French archaeology

The mention of Gallia and Gallia-Préhistoire leads us to touch on the practical organisation of French archaeology. At the outset, it must be said that in the past few years (late 1970s and 1980s), the archaeological infrastructure is changing rapidly, on the whole to a better funded and healthier one. Consequently, some of the remarks below are probably already out of date. Useful accounts of the state of French archaeology in a period pre-dating 1978 can be found in a government report signed by M. Soustelle (1975), in an article signed by Robert Clarke entitled 'L'archéologie dans le désordre' published in the newspaper Le Matin de Paris (no. 347, Tuesday 11 April 1978, p. 21) giving statistical analyses carried out at the University of Paris, and for more recent years in articles published by Dossiers d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, no. 49, Jan.1981). The results of a "table-ronde" on the organisation of European archaeology were published in 1984: this source (Cleere 1984) could not be consulted in time.

The legislative basis for French archaeology is the 1942 law. This law (the Carcopino law), and subsequent amendments by André Malraux and later, places archaeology under the aegeis of the Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, which delegates its powers to the directors of the circonscriptions.

France is divided into 21 administrative units, grouping usually 5 départements (Rhône-Alpes has 8) and centred on a University town. These units, the circonscriptions, each have two directors, one for 'Antiquités préhistoriques' (from Palaeolithic to Bronze Age) and one for 'Antiquités historiques' (from Iron age to 800 AD). They have the power to give or refuse excavation permits, the responsibility of coordinating archaeological work of all kinds, the task of supervising excavation standards and the obligation of reporting every second year in Gallia or Gallia-Préhistoire all work carried out in their region. The funding of these posts was, up to recent times, inadequate: Soustelle's report (1975) stated that 44 out of 51 posts of directeurs de circonscriptions were held on an honorary basis, the tasks incumbant on a director having to be shared with other activities. But in the 1980s, the situation is much improved, with most,if not all, Directions Régionales des Antiquités Historiques (DRAH) having sufficient funds for the employment of the director and of a small core staff.

Soustelle's report of 1975 pointed out a lack of funds and an inadequate policy towards 'rescue' situations. Some of his recommendations, e.g. the appointment of a core staff in each circonscription, the discontinuation of funding by the CNRS on an ad hoc basis for a more structured spending plan and proposals for a law dealing more effectively with 'rescue' archaeology, seem to have been followed. The new organisation, while extremely complex, seems to be able to respond rather better to the needs and demands of the heritage of metropolitan France. A dendrogram published by De Kisch (1981: 18) shows how French archaeology was structured in 1980: the reader is referred to this dendrogram, thus sparing him the laborious description of the different organisations and their relationships here. Suffice to say that two major sources of government funds contribute to archaeology: research funds through the agency of the CNRS and 'rescue' funds through

the Bureau des Fouilles . The whole pyramid is presided over by the Conseil Supérieur de la Recherche Archéologique (CSRA), whose members give academic guidance and have considerable powers in supporting or vetoing particular projects.

Museums play an important role, either as the agents of archaeological practice, or as the centres of academic research. At a local level, some museums are created around a particularly rich site, such as, in the Rhône-Alpes, Le Pègue (26-30 and 31) and Soyons (07-35). Often these on-site museums act as archive, finds and excavations headquarters ('dépôts de fouilles') for long excavation campaigns. Regional museums and their catalogues generally achieve very high academic standards [e.g. Châlon-sur-Saône (Armand-Caillat 1950), Lons-le-Saunier (Millotte 1962), Grenoble (Bocquet 1969-70), Chambéry (Prieur 1981)]. Finally, the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye (MAN) fulfills the double role of being a shop-window of national status and a research centre. As the MAN is the repository of a large number of former private collections, it offers the opportunity to research material, in need of reappraisal, from the whole French territory: for example the Collection de Baye in the MAN has been the subject of a thesis by Mme Thénot(1975). The role of the national museum, confronted by the rise of the regional museums, is shifting to that of a coordinating body and information bank: CNRS and MAN work closely together, providing for research posts, devoted to the building of indexes, inventories,data banks and critical reappraisals. The information presented here can be gleaned from the St-Germain-en-Laye publication, Antiquités Nationales.

'Rescue' archaeology has recently been helped by the availability of more funds and by certain legislative measures (e.g. the creation of Plans d'Occupation des Sols, known as POS), but timing and resources for analysis are still worrying problems: the difficulty in raising enough

resources must, in part at least, be due to attitudes and tradition. Archaeology was the prerogative of the learned middle and upper classes, who relied on other sources of income: doctors, abbés, school-teachers and the aristocracy figure prominently in any French bibliography. This situation is to a certain extent exploited, and, in order to carry out a 'rescue' or salvage operation it is nearly always necessary to rely on a largely voluntary workforce. Funds will never be adequate, if archaeology is considered to be a 'hobby'. Fortunately French archaeology is moving towards professionalism at a fast, if slightly belated, rate. In the 1960s and 70s, French excavations could still be treated rather jokingly amongst, say, British archaeologists. In the 1980s this should no longer be the case. Even a future reversal of the trend would not suprise us.

The development of Iron Age studies: a partial review

This section received the subtitle "a partial review" because of the neccessity of cutting a way through the jungle of published material, with inevitable short-cuts or unwitting omissions. It seems that the best way or organising the review is to divide it into three components, following each other roughly in historic sequence. The later 19th century and beginning of the 20th century saw the appearance of great syntheses or national surveys. With the increase of information over the years, such vast frescoes could generally no longer be painted. A shift towards the study of particular artefacts, or classes of material and monuments, and a fragmentation of survey work into regions, as well as the publication of detailed excavation reports can be detected: these two elements will occupy the remainder of our presentation.

The great syntheses

The Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule, époque celtique, (DAG), published by a commission working for the (then) Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts in 1875 was finally completed by M. E. Cartailhac in 1923. The two volumes of text, listing sites in alphabetical order and the volume of plates - which in fact contains hardly any Iron Age material except for coins - are now more of antiquarian value than a source of information: however they can still prove themselves useful for checking reports of early discoveries and are mentioned here as a good illustration of the spirit of later 19th century archaeology: there was a real need to organise into comprehensive monographs the masses of information and material that had sprung up from the increased activity of collectors and antiquarians, particularly in the 1860s and 1870s (e.g. Chantre in the Alps; see also below). The reports of the 'Commission des Enceintes' between 1906 and 1922 (see below) can be taken as another example of this information gathering spirit, alive at the turn of the century.

The next step consisted of not only collecting data but of making sense of it. No review of the French Iron Age could omit to mention the work of Joseph Déchelette, whose volumes on the Iron Age in France (vol. 2, part 2: 1913; vol. 2, part3: 1914; new edition in 1927, renumbered vol. 4) still form a solid basis, in spite of modifications in chronology and interpretation. The volume devoted to the La Tène period (vol.2/3: 1914 or vol. 4: 1927) takes us on a guided tour of the range of objects that could be encountered on La Tène sites: weapons, objects of personal adornment and toilet, tools and instruments, metal and ceramic vessels. This, the core of Déchelette's work, is surrounded by essays with particular themes: origins and nature or the La Tène culture, settlements and oppida

in France and abroad, burials and cemeteries, art, industry and commerce. It is worth noticing that his chapter on early and middle La Tène settlements is only 5 pages long, whereas his review of late La Tène 'oppida' is 10 times longer. This situation has improved somewhat in the 1980s, but perhaps not enough. Déchelette's work is, as its title implies, a handbook, designed to present material first and foremost. But it is certainly no mindless catalogue: interpretations of sites such as La Tène and Châlon-sur-Saône (see also Déchelette 1913: La Collection Millon) as 'postes de péages' (toll-paying stations) have much to commend them, in the light of recent excavations at Cornaux-les-Sauges in Switzerland (Schwab, 1972).
Déchelette also mastered the difficult task of presenting an archaeology for archaeologists, and not a pseudo-history. If historical sources are used, it is always as separate, additional evidence and not as pseudo-explanations. Finally, the Manuel's clarity of language makes it a readable book, in spite of the enormity of the subject matter.

Déchelette was probably the last single person to complete a handbook for the whole of Iron Age France. A series of distinguished syntheses have appeared since Déchelette, but, faced with mounting data, authors have had to make deliberate choices. The problem of presenting an overview of the French Iron Age has seen a number of solutions: either it is incorporated into a global presentation of the world of the Celts (e.g. Filip 1962; Powell 1958; Piggott 1965 (Chapter 6); Hatt 1970; Millotte 1970; Megaw1970; Kruta 1978: Cunliffe 1979) or particularly salient aspects are picked out to indicate major developments: this is the approach followed by Hodson and Rowlett's chapter on the French Iron Age in Piggott et al. (eds.: 1973: 157-91), concentrating on themes such as trade with the mediterranean world, the hillforts of Languedoc, Provence, Jura and Burgundy, the princely burials, the culture of the Marne, the late La Tène oppida, or sanctuaries such as Entremont and Roquepertuse. Guilaine (1980)

too ends his book on the prehistory of France with a few selected themes, including the presentation of newly excavated settlement sites at Orpierre-Sainte-Colombe (Hautes-Alpes) and Verberie (Oise). A third solution is offered by publishing composite volumes, either conference proceedings (see above) or works such as Volume 2 of La Préhistoire Française (Guilaine (ed) 1976), where specialist contributors each present a synthesis of their region or discipline.

La Préhistoire Française was published in time for the UISPP world conference held in Nice in 1976; this conference seems to have benefitted French archaeology in more than one way: not only was it responsible for the publication of a major modern reference work, but also it caused many old excavations and museums to be 'tidied up' and presented in a series of booklets (e.g. Bocquet and Lagrand 1976) serving as guides to the conference's excursions. The individual contributions to La Préhistoire Française, since they are divided into regions, will be presented in our section devoted to regional surveys.

If the whole of the French Iron Age can no longer be mastered by a single polymath, particular classes of sites or monuments, on the other hand, have been collected, and analysed over large territories. Hillforts or 'oppida' (in the French sense) have received the attention of a number of specialists. Between 1906 and 1922 a special commission of the Société Préhistorique Française made an inventory, by département, of all defended settlement sites or enclosures ('enceintes') still visible in France. This work, published in BSPF, supplemented by a survey by De Mortillet (1906), has been reviewed and taken up by Büchsenschütz (1971). The problem inherant in this sort of survey is the difficulty in dating accurately such monuments: Büchsenschütz estimates that perhaps only half of the 3000 sites listed in the BSPF reports are 'ancient'. Such problems of date seem to be particularly accute in regions rich in defended settlement sites

which can range from the Neolithic to the Medieval period. Suveys by Barruol (1961) and Goudineau (1975) in Provence and Nicolardot (1974, 1975) in southern Burgundy emphasise the large number of undated hillforts: in many cases excavation will be the only way of ascribing a date to a class of monument that often turns out to possess a multiperiod occupation sequence. But, in spite of these drawbacks, the state of hillfort studies is a healthy one: several doctoral theses (e.g. Collis 1975 and 1984; Büchsenschütz 1981; Ralston 1972) and international conferences (e.g. Cunliffe and Rowley 1976) have seen the light of day in the past decade.

Burials and their contents have attracted inventory compilers from early days: classes of monuments such as barrows (e.g.in the Côte d'Or: Henry 1933), manifestations of a particular rite (e.g. wagon or cart burials: Joffroy 1958; Joffroy and Bretz-Mahler 1959), burials of a given region (e.g.the Alps: Chantre 1878 and 1880) or grave good associations as chronological indicators (e.g. at Les Jogasses: Hatt and Roualet 1976 and 1977) have all been the subject of special studies. But, to the knowledge of the writer, no corpus of La Tène grave and cemeteries contents, such as the fully illustrated corpus initiated in Switzerland by Tanner (1979 onwards) has been published in France since Déchelette's Appendix 5 to the Manuel (1912: 17-57). The task would be enormous, but with data banks in operation at the MAN at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, not impossible. An interesting new departure was made in 1972, when a conference (published by Duval and Kruta in 1975) met with the specific aim of examining the tangible relationships between settlements and cemeteries, or, as Duval puts if so well in his preface "situer les morts dans leur demeure de vie, les vivants dans leur demeure de mort" (Duval and Kruta 1975: ix). Yet, at the end of the conference Prof. Duval has to admit that "les relations se présentent si variables dans le temps et dans l'espace que les données ont le mérite de poser un problème éminemment déroutant" (Duval and Kruta 1975:ix)

("the relationships have so many variables in time and space that such data as we possess distinguish themselves by posing thoroughly confusing problems", my translation).

At the opposite end of the spectrum, a category of information that appears comparatively easy to collect, since it occurs in small and finite amounts, is formed by historical documents relating to the later centuries BC. A corpus accompanied by a critical review, listing all references by classical authors to Gaul from c. 600 BC, has been compiled by Prof. P. M. Duval (1971) in his first volume devoted to the sources illuminating the history of Gaul.

It is inevitable that the tendency of modern archaeological scholarship is towards an increased compartmentation of research into artefactual, environmental, chronological, site-oriented or geographical units. Although the task of synthesizing all these categories would drive a single author into lunacy, it would by a great stimulus to have a few such people around. The views of individual authors can only be welcomed, as in Britain, where two quite different syntheses of the British Iron Age appeared in the same year (Cunliffe 1974; Harding 1974).

The study of artefacts

Artefact-oriented research, such as typology, the examination of manufacturing processes, the observation of movement and trade of classes of objects and the analysis of stratified assemblages, is responsible for a large output of print, since, in many cases these studies lead to a firmer relative and absolute chronology and allow the detection of trends, developments, or breaks in a sequence. Indeed it is often from such observations that certain hotly debated discussions stem: the arguments in favour or against a transition period between Hallstatt and La Tène ,

or a hiatus between the two, or a sudden break, or a smooth filiation, are, in the main, based on the typology of grave goods (e.g. in North-Eastern France: Thénot 1976; at Les Jogasses: Hatt and Roualet 1976 and 1977: both these authors, as well as Millotte (1963: 234) summarise the debate involving MM. Favret, Piroutet, Déchelette and Joffroy in the definition of a 'jogassian' culture).

A long series of artefacts have received special attention, ranging from comprehensive pan-european surveys (e.g. glass artefacts: Haevernick 1960) to the definition of regional classes of common pottery (e.g. the combed pottery of Franche-Comté: Daugas and Pétrequin 1971). In very general terms, artefact studies can be divided into three categories: 1) artefacts of "exotic origin" such as mediterranean wares or bronzes; 2) grave goods or metalwork in general; and 3) local or regional products, especially pottery groups. Coins would form a category apart (see Chapter 5, part 3, sections 13 and 14). Of these classes, the former, i.e. imports of greek and etruscan origin, "semi-exotic" wares manufactured in the hinterland of Marseille and, at a later date, goods of mainly italic provenance, have, not surprisingly in the Rhône-Alpes, been the subject of most research. First and foremost in this category, the contributions to the study of trade of mediterranean goods made by M. F. Benoit (1958, 1959, 1964 and especially 1965) and M. F. Villard (1960) must be mentioned. But these two scholars are only two in an army of contributors attracted to the question of commerce with the mediterranean world: Blanc (1958), Lamboglia (1958), Goudineau (1983), Wells (1980), Combier and Huchard (1959:. on Marseille's trade in the Ardèche), Guillot (1976: on Marseille's trade along the Saône and Doubs), Gallet de Santerre (1977: on attic trade in Southern France), Bouloumié (1973, 1976, 1981: on etruscan Schnabel-kannen, cordonned cists, wine trade), Boucher (1970, 1973, 1976: on etruscan bronze figurines), Kleeman (1959: on greek 3-winged arrowheads) Arcelin-

Pradelle (1984: on grey monochrome wares), Lagrand (1963, 1973: on pseudo-ionian wares), Morel (1978; 1981), Morel and Perrin (1976), Picon and Périchon (1978) and Py (1978b)(all on campanian wares), Peacock (1971), Roman (1974) and Tchernia (1983 (all on republican wine amphorae) can be quoted, in no particular order. The reasons for such a concentrated output are multiple: in part, these objects are high status artefacts; in part, because they are 'exotic', they are fairly easy to spot; in part they can help date an indigenous assemblage. But, we are reminded by De Navarro (1972: 113) that 'exotic' objects are often only very tentatively dated in their homeland.

Our second category which regroups grave goods and metalwork in general is similarly the subject of a vast literature. Metal objects from wet sites such as La Tène (Vouga 1923; De Navarro 1972) or river dredgings in the Saône (e.g. Déchelette 1913 for Châlon; Armand-Caillat 1950 and 1957; Gallay and Huber 1972) and the Rhône (Chapotat 1973 and 1975) or classes of artefacts often associated with wet deposits (e.g. late La Tène iron firedogs on the continent: Piggott 1971) would from one subclass. Single species of metalwork such as fibulae have been the subject of detailed analysis. To quote two examples at each end of the Iron Age, all pre-6th C BC bronze fibulae found in France have been collected, classified and analysed in time and space (Duval, Eluère and Mohen 1974) and a similar exercise was carried out by Feugère (doctoral thesis 1981; the Roanne fibulae are presented by Feugère 1981b)on late La Tène fibulae.

Burials being, in the late Hallstatt and La Tène period, the repository of many objects of personal ornament in closed assemblages, it is not surprising to find much research devoted to them: it can take the form of catalogues of museum collections (e.g. Prieur 1981 for the burials of the Savoie; Thénot 1975 and 1976 for the collection de Baye), studies of single attributes (e.g. belt hooks in the Champagne: Thénot 1972, or torcs of the Champagne: Bretz-Mahler 1966), chronological analysis of cemetery

assemblages (e.g. Hodson 1968 for Münsingen-Rain; Babès 1974; Hatt and Roualet 1976 and 1977 for Les Jogasses), studies of the social organisation of cemeteries (e.g. Schaaf 1966; Martin 1973; summary in Hodson 1979) or major syntheses (e.g. Chantre 1878 and 1880 for Hallstatt burial rites, especially in the Alps; Bretz-Mahler 1971 for the Champagne). Although the study of grave goods seems as lively today as it was in the days of Montelius, Reinecke and Déchelette, the types of question now asked of them can not always be answered by the standards of recording of a century ago. We shall see in Chapter 9 that grave good associations in the Alps are generally poor: thus, inspite of enormously wealthy collections of metalwork kept in alpine museums (Gap, Grenoble, Chambéry, Annecy) many aspects of mortuary practice can be sketched only very tentatively. As a result, scholars have often had to content themselves with typological exegeses (Von Eles 1967-8; Courtois 1976; Salomon 1976).

Our third category includes the definition of local and regional culture groups, stemming, mainly from analyses of common pottery classes. The late La Tène and Augustean period seems particularly favoured by such studies: the painted wares of Roanne and the Forez (Périchon 1963; Vernat and Périchon 1970; Bessou 1976), the pottery of Besançon and Auvergne type (Ferdière 1972)and the late La Tène painted wares occuring in Provence (Arcelin 1981) can be quoted as examples. But earlier groups of indigenous pottery such as the combed wares of Franche-Comté, ranging from the Middle Bronze Age to the La Tène period (Daugas and Pétrequin 1971) or the Late Bronze Age to Early Hallstatt painted and incised pottery of Moras-en-Valloire (Nicolas 1971; Nicolas and Martin 1972) are beginning to be circumscribed.

In summary, the study of artefacts, although it belongs to a long and distinguished tradition of research, still offers many challenges. In particular, dating must be anchored to firmer foundations, even amongst

'exotic' artefacts (see Chapters 2 and 5, part 3). Secondly, the lead given by instances of research into regional pottery groups must be followed: there is still a long road to cover until the French territory can exhibit a mosaïc of 'style-zones', as in the British Iron Age (Cunliffe 1974, 1978).

Regional surveys and excavation reports

As we have seen (p. 52) the best way of tackling the archaeology of an enormous territory is to adopt a regional framework. France, in spite of centralisation, has strongly individual regions and many distinguished archaeologists have concentrated on their home territory. This approach was taken by Volume 2 of La Préhistoire Française (Guilaine 1976:653ff). We shall follow suit and present developments in Iron Age archaeology in 4 regions of the Rhône-Alpes and neighbourhood: Jura-Franche-Comté, Alpes, Rhône valley and Loire valley.

The Jura, Franche-Comté and Saône plain

Millotte (1963: 19-26) gives us a thorough and enjoyable account of previous work in this region. In this summary, it will therefore only be necessary to pick out major features and point out new developments since 1963.

The beginnings of archaeology can be equated with the creation of private collections in the 17th and 18th centuries, often later donated to new museums created in the 19th C (Lons-le-Saunier in 1817, Châlon-sur-Saône in 1866). An example of such a collection is the Collection Millon (Déchelette 1913), consisting of artefacts from the burial of La Motte-Saint-Valentin (Marne) and of material dredged from the port of Châlon on the Saône in 1869-70. The mid-19th C brought increasing organisation into

archaeology, such as the creation of local societies, regional museums and 'Commissions des Antiquités': the Besançon one dates from 1848. In the wake of this interest, the Alise-Alaise controversy over the site of the battle of Alésia raged, and Alise-Ste-Reine in Burgundy won the battle at the expense of Alaise in the Jura. Yet, even nowadays, the old rivalry gets occasionally revived (e.g. Wartelle 1976: "L'Alésia de César rendue au Jura Français"). However, little credence should be given to such sparks: Alise-Sainte-Reine is the site of Vercingetorix's last stand against Caesar's armies. But, as in Burgundy, the region of Alaise gained, on the whole, from the frantic excavation activity associated with the controversy, and a great number of barrow excavations can be dated to this period. With the end of the Second Empire in 1870, attention strayed from the region of Alaise to that of Salins, theatre of the work of M. Piroutet (a complete bibliography is given by Millotte 1963: 374-5). M. Piroutet excavated most of the Camp du Château at Salins and a number of barrows in the adjacent Forêt des Moidons: in doing so, he gathered an important private collection which is now housed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. His discoveries gave him the opportunity to air a theory which, in essence, states that both Hallstatt and La Tène communities lived simultaneously and side by side in the Franche-Comté. This theory was opposed by M. Favret, the excavator of Les Jogasses (Favret 1930, 1936).

With the creation in 1950 of the first regional archaeological journal - the Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est - the way is paved for modern research. First amongst regional contributions stands Prof. . Millotte's work. His thesis, published as a book in 1963, is a complete review and inventory of material and sites dated to the Bronze and Iron Ages (excluding late La Tène). Apart from presenting a mass of dispersed material, Millotte tries consistently to cicumscribe cultural groups within the Jura, Franche-Comté and plains of the Saône, using artefact associations as the

basis for such groupings. For example, bird-headed fibulae (Millotte 1963: 188, 228, 235) appear to characterise a group extablished from the very end of the Hallstatt period to the end of the early La Tène phase (LT Ib-c) in the region of Salins. Such individual manifestations are counterbalanced by evidence of contact or filiation with the Swiss plateau, Alsace, Burgundy and Württenberg. It is also to Millotte that we owe the publication of the catalogue of Iron Age material at Lons-le-Saunier (1962), and it is Millotte again, who presents the chapters devoted to the Jura and the East of France in La Préhistoire Française (1976: 724-33 and 837-46).

By 1976, new projects had been completed or were under way: the Camp du Château at Salins had been re-examined (Dayet 1967), with however disappointing results, rescue archaeology in Besançon and Tournus was revealing Hallstatt and late La Tène settlements, and regional ceramic groups were being analysed (see above). The systematic excavation of a barrow cemetery of the early Hallstatt period at Chavéria (Vuaillat 1977; summary in Guilaine 1980: 244-5) was undertaken between 1964 and 1969: 16 barrows with cremations and inhumations belonging to a "horse-riding horizon" (long swords, horse harness) were carefully recorded. Further North, timber buildings and villages of the Late Bronze Age and Hallstatt period were being recognised (e.g. Dampierre-sur-le-Doubs: summary in Guilaine 1980: 206-7; Doucier-Collondon: Scotto and Vuaillat 1981; Besançon-st-Paul: Pétrequin 1979). In 1976 , M. Guillot published the results of his prospections and excavations in the area of the confluent of the Doubs with the Saône: of major importance to the late Hallstatt period is the site of Bragny, a riverside establishment with timber houses, bronze and metal industry and the whole spectrum of mediterranean imports (attic pottery, amphorae of Massalia, grey monochrome ware, egyptian glass) (Guillot 1976: 109-33).

The Jura, Franche-Comté and Saône plains are producing new and exciting results, both in rural and urban contexts. The concept of landscape archaeology is being applied to programmes of survey and excavations (e.g. in the region of Saint-Claude (Jura): Pétrequin and Vuaillat 1971; in the region of Clairvaux-les-Lacs (Jura): Magny, Nierlé and Pétrequin 1978). A tradition of excavation of prehistoric sites in a rural environment (e.g. Ouroux-sur-Saône, a late Bronze Age wet site: Thévenot 1973; summary in Guilaine 1980: 216-17) is now being complemented by excavation in urban milieu, at Besançon, Tournus (Perrin 1975) and Mâcon (Barthélémy 1973).

The French Alps

The magnificent assemblages found in the alpine Bronze Age lake-side settlements earned them the apellation of 'Le Bel Age du Bronze'; they may sometimes have overshadowed the material remains of other cultures. However, when the cemetery at St-Jean-de-Belleville in the Savoie (73-49) came to light (Costa de Beauregard 1867), it was soon recognised that the Alps had an Iron Age culture worth studying. This was first done by Chantre (1878 and 1880), who published a synthesis of the burials of the Alps, compared them to those of other regions and argued that they did not belong to the 'lake-dwellers', but to the later 'Celts'. Since Chantre, many scholars have attached themselves to the study of burials and cemeteries, which received much attention from antiquarians and collectors in the latter part of the 19th century. The museums of Gap, Chambéry and Annecy, but also elsewhere in Europe (e.g. Toulouse, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Geneva, Damme in Belgium) contain large, often formerly private, collections of alpine Iron Age bronze metalwork. As the circumstances of discovery of these grave good assemblages were often substandard, with some notable exceptions (some graves at St-Jean-de-Belleville, some burials at Guillestre-Peyre Haute: Chantre 1880: 14-15), later scholars have had to

content themselves mainly with the typology of strongly individualised artefacts: "armilles multiples", "crotales" pendants,, "Jausier" fibula, "tablette" fibula, conical and violin buttons, amber beads, etc. A considerable literature, which will be presented in detail in Chapter 9, concerns alpine Iron Age burials: suffice to mention here the contributions of Courtois (1961 to 1975, mainly on Hautes-Alpes barrows and burials), Millotte (1959(1965)), Von Eles (1967-8), Salomon (1976) (syntheses), Bocquet (see below for Isère; also 1976 and 1978 for Savoie) and MM. Bellet, Prieur and Piccamiglio (1965, 1964, 1977, 1978, 1981 on burials of the Savoie).

From these publications emerges the picture of an autonomous culture province stretching from the Valais to Haute-Provence and spanning from the late Hallstatt to the middle La Tène period. This culture, unfortunately only characterised by graves (cist burials mainly) and their contents, is seen, in essence, as the result of a colonisation of high alpine valleys such as the Tarentaise, Maurienne, Oisans, Ubaye or Queyras, by late Hallstatt times. It seems to develop there in an unbroken line, at least until certain celtic elements appear, generally not before the middle La Tène period.

A place of choice in a review of alpine archaeology must be given to Dr. Aimé Bocquet, a prehistorian who fortunately extends his interest to the Iron Age. Aimé Bocquet plays an important part in the prehistory of the Alps, even if his area of study is mostly confined to the département of Isère (e.g. Bocquet 1966; doctoral thesis, publ. 1969, and Grenoble Museum catalogue 1969-70). He sets firm foundations with an inventory of all pre- and protohistoric finds of the Isère, which accumulated during the alpine industrial boom in the late 19th and early 20th centuries: H. Müller was one of the scholars who seized the opportunity then created for excavation (his reports take up 5 pages of small print in Bocquet's 1969 bibliography).

The contributions of Bocquet to Iron Age scholarship in the Alps include the definition of a local burial group around Grenoble (the group

of Rochefort), the identification of an alpine route documented by burials, at the end of the Hallstatt period and beginning of La Tène ("La Voie du Col du Lautaret": Bocquet 1966) and the suggestion that alpine Iron Age communities continue the traditions, in pottery styles for example (Bocquet 1969: 181), of earlier Urnfield communities. The latter suggestion has been taken up in the present study (see Chapter 7 and Appendix 2). It is indeed of great importance to be able to recognise post-Urnfield pottery assemblages, since they will ultimately lead to a better understanding of the settlement of the Alps.

So far, settlements have hardly been mentioned in the Alps. Compared to the quantities of burials in the same region, they are rare, but are beginning to emerge. Caves such as the Grotte des Sarrasins at Seyssinet-Pariset near Grenoble (38-63), open sites such as Sassenage (38-58) (these two sites were excavated by Bocquet in the 1960s), hillforts such as Varces-Rochefort (38-68), and above all, the high altitude settlement of Orpierre-Ste-Colombe (Hautes-Alpes) are starting to give us an insight into the living quarters of an alpine population, better known for its funerary practices. Sainte-Colombe at Orpierre was published as a monograph in 1975 (Courtois 1975; a summary can be found attached to Appendix 1): the plans show us terraces, stone and timber houses (Guilaine 1980: 251 calls them "chalets"), the finds indicate many contacts with the mediterranean world but also with the Jura and Burgundy, during the late Hallstatt period. Such a settlement illustrates well that the Alps, in spite of a certain conservatism, were no backwater during the Iron Age: the economic importance of the region, its wealth in natural resources and its role as a major communications and trade route are stressed by Barruol (1969), author of an authoritative historical geography of South-East Gaul. The title of this work ("Les peuples pré-romains du Sud-Est de la Gaule") is however slightly misleading: the book treats the pre-roman communities from a historical point of view,

using, in the main, documents handed down by classical authors. Although there are plenty of references to archaeological discoveries, archaeology tends to take second place.

The region of the Alps, which sees itself as autonomous in many respects, is served in Grenoble, amongst others, by a University, institutes and research centres such as the Institut Dolomieu, the Centre de Documentation de la Préhistoire Alpine (CDPA), a research institute devoted to wet-site archaeology(Centre National de Recherches Archéologiques Subaquatiques, founded in 1980 and based in Annecy) and a very active Medieval Unit, the Centre d'Archéologie Historique des Musées de Grenoble et de l'Isère (CAHMGI). The Alps have a lot more to offer than well presented collections of metalwork. Rescue archaeology is creating new opportunities in an industrialised region, air-photography is revealing new barrow cemeteries (e.g. in northern Isère: Combier 1977: 642; on the Durance: Rebillard and Courtois 1966). A priority for future research must be the better definition of post-Urnfield domestic assemblages.

The Rhône valley and the South of the Rhône-Alpes

As we approach, through the main avenue provided by the Rhône corridor, the hinterland of Marseille, a greek colony since c. 600 BC, it is not surprising to find the main thrust of research focused upon trade, exchange and the impact such a colonisation had on an indigenous population. The situation in the Rhône valley is truly protohistoric, since classical authors refer directly to the activities of pre-roman communities, tribes and confederations: these references have been collected and appraised by P. M. Duval(1971) and were used extensively by Barruol (1969) in his historical geography of South-East Gaul. The Rhône valley was also amongst the first regions of France to come under roman control, in 125-121 BC: the protohistorian thus has to acquaint himself with the work of historians (e.g. Ebel 1976).

But apart from questions of trade (already treated above, p. 55-6) which are well represented in the literature, the Rhône valley is not well catered for. To the knowledge of the writer there is no authoritative synthesis concerned with its archaeology. Granted, the work of Benoit (1965) is of major importance not only to the hellenised South but also to Languedoc and the Rhône valley; but it treats mainly the trade of mediterranean artefacts. Granted too, Barruol (1969) incorporates a lot of archaeology into his presentation of South-East Gaul. There are also excavation reports (e.g. Le Pègue: Lagrand and Thalmann 1973) that go behond the description of the site. But nothing like the monographs of Millotte (1963) on the Franche-Comté or Louis and Taffanel (1955-60) and Dedet and Py (1976) on the Languedoc has appeared. What is offered by M. Nicolas (1976: 699-707) in La Préhistoire Française is a meagre contribution compared to other presentations in the same volume; it also contains quite

a list of errors (sites in the wrong département, sites ascribed to the wrong period, sites ascribed to the wrong generic type, general lack of references). The realisation that the archaeology of the Rhône valley from Cavaillon to Lyon suffered from a lack of publications came as a surprise to us, considering that the Rhône-Saône corridor is so much heralded in the literature devoted to trade and contacts between the mediterranean and barbarian worlds (e.g. Wells 1980).

Thus a book still needs to be written. But archaeologists have not been idle in the region; only, their publications are scattered (e.g. in Cahiers Rhodaniens and Rhodania) and have not been drawn together by a 'great synthesizer'. A welcome new departure, making life a little easier for the student, is the creation in 1971 of Etudes Préhistoriques, a journal devoted to the archaeology of, mainly the Ardèche, Gard and Drôme.

Amongst the highlights of the Rhône valley, let us mention the excavations of four major settlement sites: Vienne, Soyons, Le Pègue and St-Marcel-d'Ardèche. The former two (38-79, 38-80 and 07-34, 07-35) were excavated in the 1950s and 1960s over limited areas, the efforts of the excavators (Pelletier 1966a and b; Chapotat 1970; Blanc and Vallette 1958; Hatt 1959 (1965)) being concentrated on establishing a stratigraphic and typological sequence. The latter two sites (26-30, 26-31 and 07-28) are much larger scale projects revealing the plans of defences, terraces, houses, granaries and sanctuaries. Both sites can count on University participation and both sites are currently in progress: Le Pègue-St-Marcel will be celebrating its 30th anniversary in 1985, St-Marcel-St-Etienne-de Dions has been excavated in the 1960s and since 1973. In addition, Le Pègue is the theatre of an approved archaeological training school and possesses a local museum and archive centre (as Soyons does, on a lesser

scale). The results from Le Pègue have been published as a monograph in 1973 (Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: sondage 8 only) and in two articles by Prof. Hatt (1976 and 1977).

Between them, these four sites (three of them are double sites) are a microcosm of developments in the Rhône valley from the 6th C BC to the end of the milennium. Because of their great potential, they will feature extensively in the present research (particularly Chapter 5, part 3 and Chapter 7). Changes in their fortunes can be ascribed to the fluctuations of trade along the Rhône axis, as suggested here, or to a series of historic events known to have touched the region during the last five centuries BC: celtic invasions during the 5th and 4th C BC, the conquest of Gallia Transalpina in 125-121 BC, the passage of the Cimbri and Teutones in 108-102 BC and the revolts of the Allobroges in the 70s BC are believed (by Pelletier 1966a and b at Vienne; by Hatt 1959 (1965)at Soyons; by Lagrand and Thalmann 1973 and by Hatt 1976-77 at Le Pègue) to be reflected in the stratigraphies of the Rhône valley 'oppida'. Thus, according to Prof. Hatt (1976: 1-56) the lowland and hilltop settlements of Le Pègue were occupied alternatively, in a series of "shuttle-occupations", depending on the imminence of the celtic threat or on repair works caused by celtic destructors. Still according to Hatt (1977: 41) the burnt granaries on the hillfort of Le Pègue (26-31) were the theatre of the following scene: "at the last minute, before the imminent invasion and in a general atmosphere of panic, the whole population collected all the available crockery and filled it with grain; then all together, men, women and children carried their provisions to the hill. It is in this way that the burnt layer of Le Pègue came to contain all the pottery of a whole generation of autochtones around 480 BC" (my translation). We find it difficult to have the same faith in the reflection of historic events in

black layers on settlement sites as Prof. Hatt has, and would suggest that a historic model is only one among other possible alternatives; in this we align ourselves with M. Michel Py, the excavator of Nages (Gard) who finds it similarly difficult to see any signs of celtic invasions at the oppicum des Castels (Py 1978a: 333-8) and sounds a trumpet of alarm against such historic explanations.

North of Vienne, we find Lyon, the capital of the Three Gauls and a roman Colonia since 43 BC, with an impressive monumental centre. The question of pre-roman Lugdunum and Condate, an 'oppidum' and settlement at the junction of the Rhône with the Saône, is a thorny one, remaining largely unanswered in spite of a century old tradition of excavation in the city of Lyon. The documentation concerning pre-43 BC Lyon has been collected and discussed recently (Desbat and Walker 1981). These two authors conclude that there is hardly any evidence to support the existence of a celtic establishment at Lugdunum: a discussion of their arguments can be found in Chapter 6.

In the same volume featuring the discussion on the origins of Lyon (Walker (ed.) 1981) can be found a most useful review of rural archaeology in the Lyonnais and Beaujolais (Walker 1981b: 279-325). This timely survey begins with a summary of pre-roman rural sites, particularly settlements, which counterbalance the burial evidence, already known for some time: surveys of barrow cemeteries in the Beaujolais and the marshy regions East of Lyon had been carried out already in the late 19th century (Savoye 1899; Chantre 1880: 43)

Last but not least, the protohistoric, gallo-roman and merovingian hillfort of Camp de Larina (see 38-01 and also 38-22) is the scene of a current major excavation campaign: but , at the moment efforts are concentrated on revealing the early medieval settlement. It is hoped that

a clearer picture of this major, but still elusive, hillfort, apparently (re-)occupied since the 4th-3rd C BC will emerge and that a publication of a nearby wagon burial under barrow (at Leyrieu-Verna, 38-23) will see the light of day. This "princely" assemblage, discovered in 1864 seems to have been rather forgotten (see Chapter 9, section 8).

It is fair to say that rhodanian protohistory has, so far, been mainly concerned with trade (e.g. Benoit 1965), communications (e.g. Chapotat 1981), historic questions (championed by Prof. Hatt, see above) or the study of historically documented tribes (e.g. Barruol 1969 or a study by Boisse 1968 on the Tricastini: see however our reservations on the latter at the beginning of the Drôme section of Appendix 1). Perhaps these important problems have sometimes overshadowed less glamourous questions. Priorities for the Rhône valley, as we see them, must include the better identification of local assemblages - particularly in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (see conclusions to Chapter 5) - quantitative analyses on the material from double sites such as Vienne, Soyons and Le Pègue - a good model for such work would be Basel (Furger 1979 and Furger and Berger 1980) - the complete publication of Soyons, and, if opportunities still present themselves, planned large scale urban excavations at Vienne.

The Loire valley and the Forez

Although the département of the Loire belongs to the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, it belongs, by tradition and by its geographical position to the Massif Central and Auvergne; thus it is often in the literature concerned with the Auvergne (homeland of the Arverni) that references to the upper Loire valley and marshy plain of the Forez can be found (e.g. the proceedings of a conference recently published by Collis, Duval and Périchon (1983).

A long tradition of Iron Age archaeology exists in what was Joseph Déchelette's homeland (Roanne). Particular attention was paid from early days to the many fortified sites or 'oppida' of the Loire valley, often defended by Muri Gallici (see Chapter 6). Chambles-Essalois (42-04) was known at least since the 17th century and a spate of hillfort excavations marked the latter part of the 19th century: examples are Chambles-Essalois in 1884-6, St-Marcel-de-Félines-Crêt Châtelard (42-30) in 1872-1887 and 1895, St-Maurice-sur-Loire-Joeuvre(s) (42-31) in 1876 and 1890. A second wave of investigations on these same hillforts started in the 1950s and 1960s and, on some sites, continues to the present day. It is in this context that the review of Dr. Molly Cotton (1957) of all the evidence then available on Muri Gallici took place. If the early interventions on hillforts were often little more than expeditions to collect material that fill the Musée Déchelette at Roanne and the Musée de la Diana at Montbrison, the more recent excavations are beginning to reveal the plans of the interior of these 'oppida': at Chambles-Essalois (42-04), for example, a succession of streets, houses, yards, workshops and drains are being revealed in plan and stratigraphy (Preynat 1983).

'Rescue' archaeology provided a new stimulus to the archaeology of the Forez and brought to light a different type of evidence: lowland settlements on sand and gravel terraces, charaterised by negative features such as pits and ditches. The 1960s saw a first wave of salvage work typified by a site such as the Institution Saint-Joseph at Roanne (42-18): it started as a small rescue operation in 1961 and continued until 1969, revealing mainly pits containing enormous amounts of late La Tène material but also a middle La Tène occupation defended by an earth and timber bank. The site was published by the Abbé Bessou in 1976. A second wave of rescue archaeology started in the mid 1970s and continues to the present day: the gravel quarry of Poncins-Goincet (42-16), urban sites at Roanne (42-09 to 42-11) are good illustrations of such new work. Particularly

interesting are the increasing indications of the beginnings of late La Tène settlements during the middle La Tène phase at Chambles, Roanne and now Feurs.

The Loire and Forez, today, are once again busy archaeological theatres, seved by archaeologists such as MM. Périchon, Preynat, Delporte, Vaginay, Poncet, Feugère, Vallette etc. The Musée Déchelette at Roanne has a rich collection of Iron Age material and also houses a documentation and archive centre ('dépôt des fouilles'). A new series of well produced publications, the Cahiers Archéologiques de la Loire was launched from there in 1980-1: particularly welcome in the first issue was a biblio-graphical review (based on Vaginay's thesis) of all the Iron Age evidence from the département of the Loire (Vaginay et al. 1980-1) which follows an earlier review by Delporte (1973). The Centre d'Etudes Foréziennes at Saint-Etienne also publishes an archaeological series which includes excavation reports (Bessou 1976) and conference proceedings (e.g. the Colloque de Balbigny, Roanne and Saint-Etienne, 1981). Thus, the archaeology of the département of the Loire appears to be in good shape, the challenges of rescue archaeology being met by a dedicated new team. But a worrying problem are the tremendous amounts of material thrown up by recent excavations: a visit to the dépôt des fouilles at Roanne (in our case kindly conducted by Michel Vaginay, to whom grateful thanks are due) reveals stacks and crates of pottery. To process all this will require many resources. The finds from Roanne, Feurs and the gravel sites of the Forez would be ideally suited to transfer onto computer files, perhaps using data base management systems such as those tested at Basel (Furger and Berger 1980) or Levroux (Büchsenschütz 1981: 37-44).

Concluding remarks

At the end of this review, let us attempt to extricate certain major trends from the mass of published material and pinpoint a few areas into which, in our view, new energy should be directed. Inevitably our remarks and recommendations will be partial, as they are based mainly on published works rather than first hand experience. Bearing in mind the lag between the execution of projects and their publication, it is likely that some recommended avenues of research are already in train. Pure ignorance may also be at fault.

In general, the "new archaeology" and its French variant, exposed by M. Gardin , has had a bad reception in France (except Schnapp 1980). But, on the other hand, new methods of handling data, improved excavation standards, 'rescue' archaeology in urban and rural milieux, environmental analyses, landscape archaeology and regional projects are all being developed at a fast pace. We have stressed that French archaeology in the 1980s has much to be proud of and we would predict that many new advances will be made in this country in the next few years. This progress is nevertheless rooted in a tradition, which, in our reading is three-pronged: firstly, there is a strong tradition of local and regional archaeology demonstrated by the work of scholars well acquainted with their own landscape; secondly, the approach of these archaeologists is generally an empirical one; and thirdly there is and equally strong tradition of 'historicity' in the interpretation of Iron Age data. We have no quarrel with, and indeed welcome, the first two approaches, but, on occasions (see p. 67) take exception to the third element. More 'prehistory' and less 'history' is the treatment we would prescribe for the advancement of Iron Age studies, particularly in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes.

If we have sketched some exciting new developments, the lead has often not come from the Rhône-Alpes. A, perhaps unfair, commentator could compare unfavourably the Rhône-Alpes to Languedoc, Provence, or Franche-Comté, where archaeology (as reported in the RAE, the Cahiers A.R.A.L.O or DAM) seems further ahead: compare for example the reports on Le Pègue (Lagrand and Thalmann 1973, Hatt 1976-7) to that of Nages (Py 1978a) and the superiority of the latter is apparent. Furthermore, Franche-Comté and Languedoc have had authoritative syntheses published in the 1960s, providing firm foundations upon which to build. As we have seen, such a book is still missing for the Rhône valley.

In more specific terms, the following lines of enquiry may prove fruitful in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes. The list is presented without much order, it is not exhaustive and probably biased.

1) Opportunities for carrying out large scale urban projects, on the lines of those carried out at Feurs and Roanne, should be seized, if they still arise and should be coupled with a site evaluation (Carver 1983). Vienne, where such a project is, to a certain degree, carried out (see Renaud 1981) springs to mind as a major priority. Similarly such a programme (mooted at an international urban conference in Tours in 1980) may still throw some light on the obscure origins of Lyon.
2) The first steps taken towards the definition of regional groups, using domestic, indigenous 'non-exotic' pottery assemblages, must be followed by more such ventures. Only in this way will the settlement pattern of the Rhône valley (where local pottery is fortunately often associated with 'exotic' material) and the Alps (where continuity from Urnfield styles is strongly suspected) become a reality.
3) Opportunities to obtain dating evidence, by means of C14 and dendro-chronological methods as well as the more traditional methods of

stratigraphic and material analysis, must be taken up, wherever possible. Relying on historic interpretations, even if correct, is not providing independant dating evidence. There are two major reasons for suggesting such a programme: firstly the dating of many classes of artefacts, even of mediterranean origin, still needs refining, particularly in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (see Chapter 5, part 3), and secondly the arguments surrounding celtic invasions in the Rhône valley are at risk of becoming circular arguments without the input of some new data.

4) A more specific priority would be the complete publication of the hillfort of Soyons-Malpas (07-35), which seems to have only been partially published. Fortunately, it possesses a series of C14 dates (see table in entry 07-35). It is highly likely that some hypotheses and suggested developments in the Rhône valley between the 6th and 1st centuries BC could be tested there, through the analysis of the excavated material and through further excavation.

These remarks and recommentations are perhaps based on an inadequate reading of the evidence. But the evidence, such as it is, forms the basis of the present study (Appendix 1). We shall spend a little time on examining how it is organised and distributed (Chapter 4), before launching into presentations and discussions of trade, settlements, caves and burials (Chapters 5-9).

Chapter 4

The quantity, nature and distribution of the evidence

Introdution and terminology

The quantity and nature of the data

Distribution patterns

Comments and conclusion

SYMBOLS USED IN CHAPTER 4

AND APPENDIX 1



Barrows, barrow cemeteries



Flat graves, cist burials, cemeteries etc.



Cremation, cremation cemetery



Isolated finds of metalwork, hoards or concentrations of metalwork



Stray finds of coins, coin hoard



Isolated finds of pottery



Hilltop settlements, no known artificial defences



Hillforts



Lowland settlements



Caves



Other sites

Fig. 11

Introduction and terminology

Having collected a sizeable amount of disparate data (Appendix 1), our first step will consist of assessing the quantity, composition and distribution of this evidence. It is what the following chapter attempts to do, and, in order to alleviate the often dreary listing of sites and assemblages, ample use has been made of distribution maps, tables and diagrams.

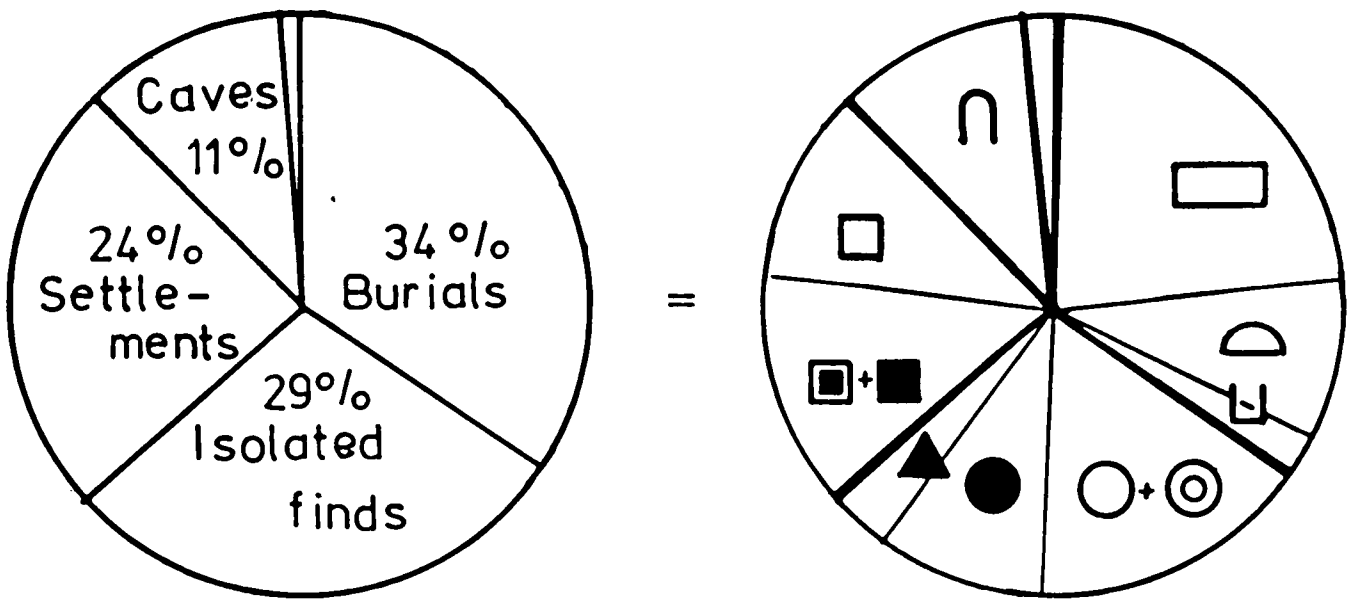
These figures form the backbone of the assessment. For this reason it seems worthwhile exposing how the collection of data has been organised. The evidence is derived from the gazetteer of sites (Appendix 1) for the Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, i.e. a group of 8 départements (Ain, Ardèche, Drôme, Isère, Loire, Rhône, Savoie, Haute-Savoie), centred around the University cities of Lyon and Grenoble. The time span considered is Late Hallstatt (or Hallstatt D/ Hallstatt final: 6th C BC) to Late La Tène (or La Tène D/La Tène III: 1st C BC). The sites have been grouped into four main categories with subdivisions: 1) burial sites, which includes barrows - mostly with inhumations but some with cremations -, inhumations in flat graves or cists, cremations not under barrows; 2) settlement sites, including hilltop sites with defences (hillforts) and without visible defences and lowland settlements, generally without known defences; 3) cave sites, fulfilling a variety of functions; 4) isolated finds such as coin hoards, stray finds of coins, stray finds of metalwork, concentrations of metalwork (e.g. at a ford) and isolated finds of pottery. Finally, a few sites do not fit into any of these categories, such as iron mines, a structure for smoking food, a bridge or quay, or a 'Viereckshanze'. Together, all these sites represent a total of 416.

As the data ranges from a fully-fledged hillfort to a single coin, it seemed indispensable to use a terminology for dating, fine enough to allow the observation of change in distribution patterns but coarse enough to make a great variety of site types appear side by side in a given period. Thus, it was decided to use a fairly vague chronological vocabulary based on cultural distinctions (Hallstatt, La Tène) with the addition of the prefixes 'early', 'middle' and 'late'. The reason for using such a system rather than the systems commonly in use in Iron Age archaeology (A to D or I to III and their subdivisions) or absolute dates is that these systems occasionally give some assemblages a misleading precision. To take an example: a burial may be dated by a fibula to La Tène Ib (B_1), but a probably contemporary settlement may only possess a much more coarsely defined collection of pottery. A coarser, more flexible tool seemed therefore appropriate. However, the deliberate vagueness in chronology was unsatisfactory in two instances: two apparently short transition periods, at the junction between Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène on the one hand and between Middle and Late La Tène on the other hand, emerged from the corpus of data. It seems that in these two periods, i.e. in the mid-5th C BC and at the end of the 2nd C BC, a number of assemblages share cultural attributes of the preceeding and superceeding periods. It was thought better policy to create separate transition periods, bringing the total to six phases. The phases are: 1) Late Hallstatt; 2) Late Hallstatt to Early La Tène; 3) Early La Tène; 4) Middle La Tène; 5) Middle to Late La Tène; 6) Late La Tène. These period numbers will be used throughout the presentation and appear circled on the diagrams.

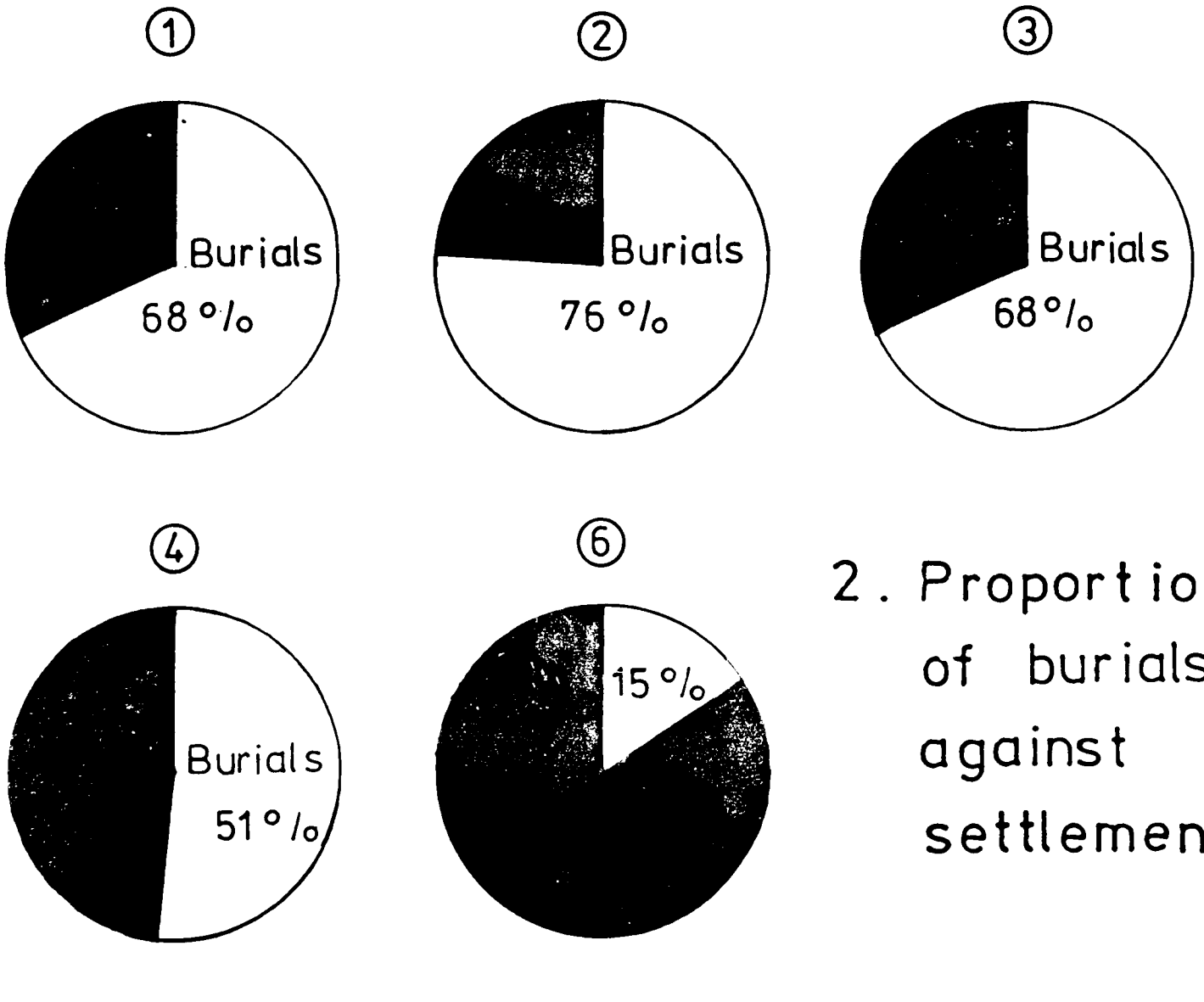
The quantity and nature of the data

While reading syntheses of the Iron Age of Rhône-Alpes, but particularly the Alps (e.g. Millotte 1959, Bocquet 1966, Von Eles 1967-8, Courtois 1968, Barruol 1969. Bocquet 1969, Courtois 1976, Bocquet and Lagrand 1976, Nicolas 1976, Prieur 1977, Bocquet 1978, Prieur and Piccamiglio 1978, Prieur 1981), it became increasingly obvious that burial sites dominated the literature. Some authors (e.g. Von Eles 1967-8: 178-188; Courtois 1976: 708; Prieur 1977: 8), seeking to redress the balance, use burial distributions as indicators of settlement patterns, or make frequent inroads into the documentary sources left by classical authors (Prieur 1981: 12, quoting Polybius, Livy, Pliny, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Caesar) to bring to life a population which, from the archaeological record, seems only too liable to die. Pointing out the apparent lack of information other than that derived from burials and artefacts, particularly in the early La Tène period, is certainly not original: pleas for a more balanced composition of the record for the later Iron Age are frequently made (Nash 1978: 98 and Soc. Arch. Champ. 1981, to quote recent examples).

These complaints can only be justified if the different types of data available are quantified and compared with each other. Our first task consists of assessing the contribution from each site species to the overall corpus. Fig. 12.1 shows that the burial evidence is indeed the largest group (34% of the corpus), followed by isolated finds of all kinds (29%), settlement sites (24%), caves (11%) and a few other sites (1%). A more detailed breakdown of site species composition is placed next to this first diagram. The large slices have been divided in the following way:



1. Corpus composition



2. Proportions of burials against settlements

Fig. 12

Table 1 : Classification by site species in the Rhône-Alpes

(numbers of sites are placed in brackets)

Inhumations, flat graves, cemeteries, etc.	(95)	23%)	34% burial evidence(143)
Barrow sites	(38)	9%)	
Cremations not under barrows	(10)	2%)	
Stray finds of coins and coin hoards	(70)	16%)	29% isolated finds (122)
Isolated finds of metalwork and hoards	(39)	10%)	
Isolated finds of pottery	(13)	3%)	
Hillforts and hilltop settlement sites	(56)	13%)	24% settlement evidence (102)
Lowland settlement sites	(46)	11%)	
Caves, various functions	(45)	11%)	
Other sites	(4)	1%)	

The considerable contribution made by isolated finds, particularly single coins and coin hoards may slightly distort the picture, since a stray find of a coin scores one unit just as a hillfort does.

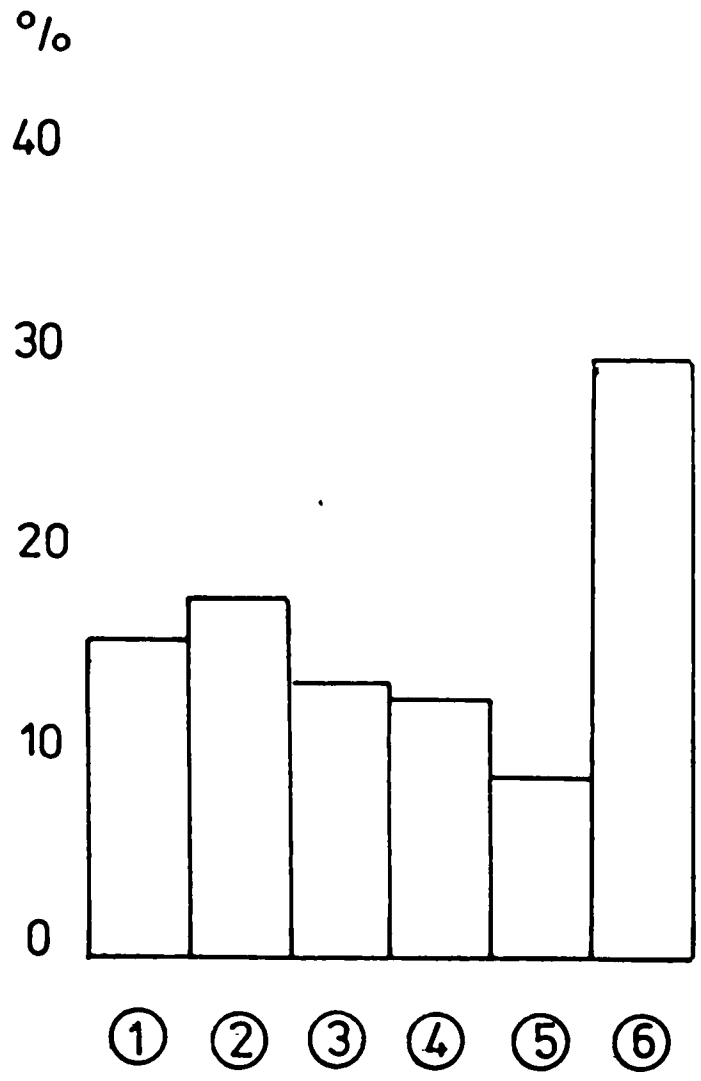
If the burial evidence and finds of objects without context do take the lion's share in the overall composition of our corpus, the situation is obviously not a static one throughout the 600 years of activity collated into a single diagram. One exapmle, the changing proportions of burials against settlement sites through time (fig. 12.2), is a clear illustration of the dynamic nature of our data. Whereas in the first three periods, burials outnumber settlements by 3:1 or even 4:1, in the middle La Tène period (period 4), the situation changes: the number of burials and settlements is equal. Period 5 has been left out of fig. 12.2, as the number of sites to take into account is too low. But by period 6 (Late La Tène), the initial configuration is completely changed: there is an overwhelming amount of settlement evidence, and very few burial sites are known to us. Clearly, when we come to write or read syntheses, we must bear this changing pattern

in mind: although this factor is accepted in the literature, and indeed forms the basis of studies of cultural change, it is rarely quantified.

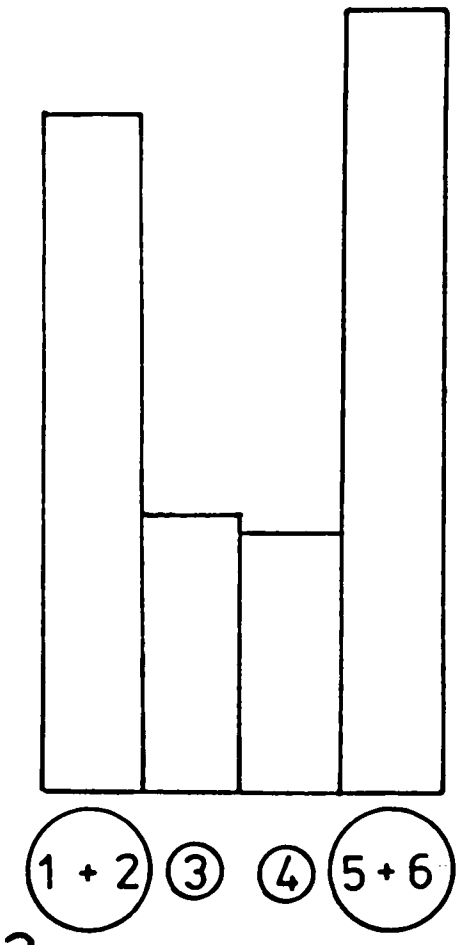
The example of settlements will be discussed in more detail below. But why is it that we know so much more about settlements in the late La Tène period than at any other time? The answer to this question is partly of a cultural nature (e.g. a movement to hillforts, the fact that many gallo-roman towns have late La Tène antecedants) but also partly of a practical nature. The rate of discovery and recovery of late La Tène settlement sites is greater: not only because hillforts are obvious sites and have therefore attracted researchers for a long time, but also because a large proportion of gallo-roman excavations encounter earlier (Late La Tène) levels. A perusal of the recent reports by the directors of the "circonscriptions" in Gallia shows such a trend. The coincidence of late La Tène and gallo-roman assemblages, particularly on lowland settlement sites, has historic implications (e.g. the settlement pattern of Rhône-Alpes may have been similar in the early 1st C BC to the pattern of the Augustean period; after all, the Provincia Transalpina was in existence since 121 BC). But an element of chance must also play a part, simply because the presence of gallo-roman material has caused an excavation to take place in the first instance.

We must now turn to the chronological composition of our corpus and examine firstly how the overall evidence fares in time (fig. 13) and secondly how individual site species behave through time (fig. 14 to 18). The original total of 416 sites has grown to 544, as multiperiod sites score more than once.

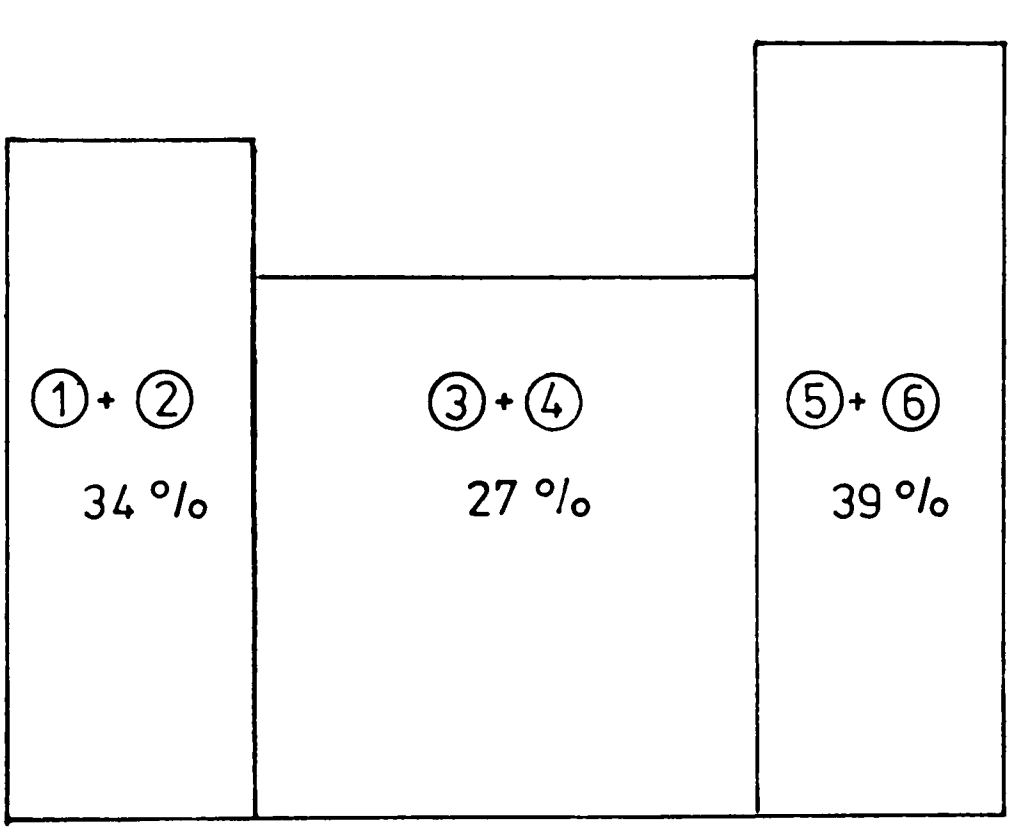
Fig. 13 shows, in three different ways , that we possess least information, of any kind, in the early and middle La Tène periods (3 and 4). The percentages shown on the histograms are based on the following figures:



1.



2.



3.

Site frequency through time

Fig. 13

Table 2 : Classification by period of sites in the Rhône-Alpes

Period 1:	87 sites	16%)	186 sites 34%
Period 2:	99 sites	18%)	
Period 3:	76 sites	14%)	145 sites 27%
Period 4:	69 sites	13%)	
Period 5:	50 sites	9%)	213 sites 39%
Period 6:	163 sites	30%)	

If we amalgamate period 1 with 2 and period 5 with 6 (the two transition periods), the poverty of the record in periods 3 and 4 emerges more clearly from the U-shaped form of the histogram (fig. 13.2). If, in addition, we consider the time span occupied by each of these periods, the central depression lasts longest. Admitting that periods 1 and 2 last c. 150 years, periods 3 and 4 c. 300 years and periods 5 and 6 less than 150 years, then the smallest amount of evidence has to be spread thinly over the longest span of time (fig. 13.3). The obvious conclusion to draw from this state of affairs is that the amount of material upon which we can construct our models varies greatly through time. Thus we often have to utter euphemisms such as "an enigmatic settlement pattern" [in the Rhône valley in Middle La Tène] (Collis 1975: 176) or "a hiatus in the import of goods" [during Middle La Tène into temperate Europe] (Collis 1976: 13). Whether the paucity of early and middle La Tène documents reflects a "real" situation, or whether it is due to our failure to recover or recognise existing material will be the subject of a later discussion.

As already seen, in the example of burials v. settlements, the contribution to a given period made by a site species varies through time. It is to these fluctuations in the archaeological record that we shall now turn our attention (fig. 14 and 15). The histograms are based on the number of site species in each defined period: these can be

found in the table below. The order of sites, given by the symbols (a legend can be found on fig. 11) corresponds roughly to the order of their appearance on the archaeological scene.

Table 3: Occurence of site species per period

Periods	1	2	3	4	5	6
Barrows	30	8	7	4	-	1
Flat Graves	10	46	27	17	-	7
Caves	13	15	8	7	6	15
Hilltop Sites	8	6	4	4	4	10
Hillforts	6	5	7	11	8	15
Lowland Sites	5	6	6	10	12	37
Metalwork	9	5	16	3	4	9
Cremations	1	-	2	5	1	3
Coins	-	-	-	3	7	31
Coin Hoards	-	-	-	2	6	28
Pottery	-	6	-	1	-	6
Others	1	-	-	1	2	-

Period 1 is, not suprisingly, dominated by barrow sites, generally containing inhumations but the rite of inhumation in flat graves or cists is already starting in the Alps. Caves make a not negligeable contribution to the data, as do hill settlements (hillforts with defences and hilltop sites where no defences have been traced).

In period 2 barrows are overtaken by flat grave sites: this "transition" period with Hallstatt and La Tène cultural elements sees the flourishing of an alpine burial tradition which will continue until the middle La Tène phase (period 4). The remainder of the corpus shows no

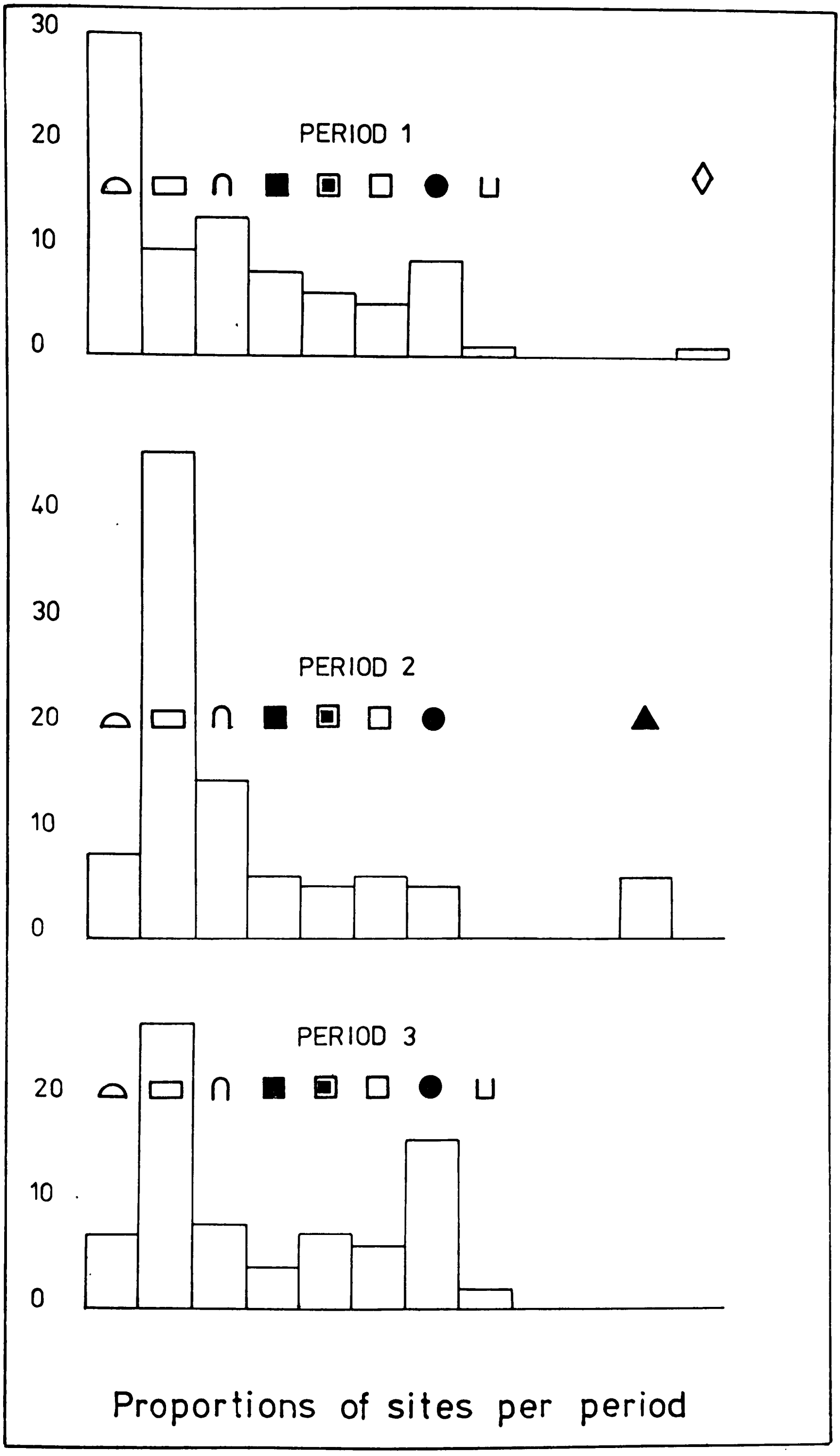

30
20
10
0
PERIOD 1
40
30
20
10
0
PERIOD 2
20
10
0
PERIOD 3
Proportions of sites per period

Fig. 14

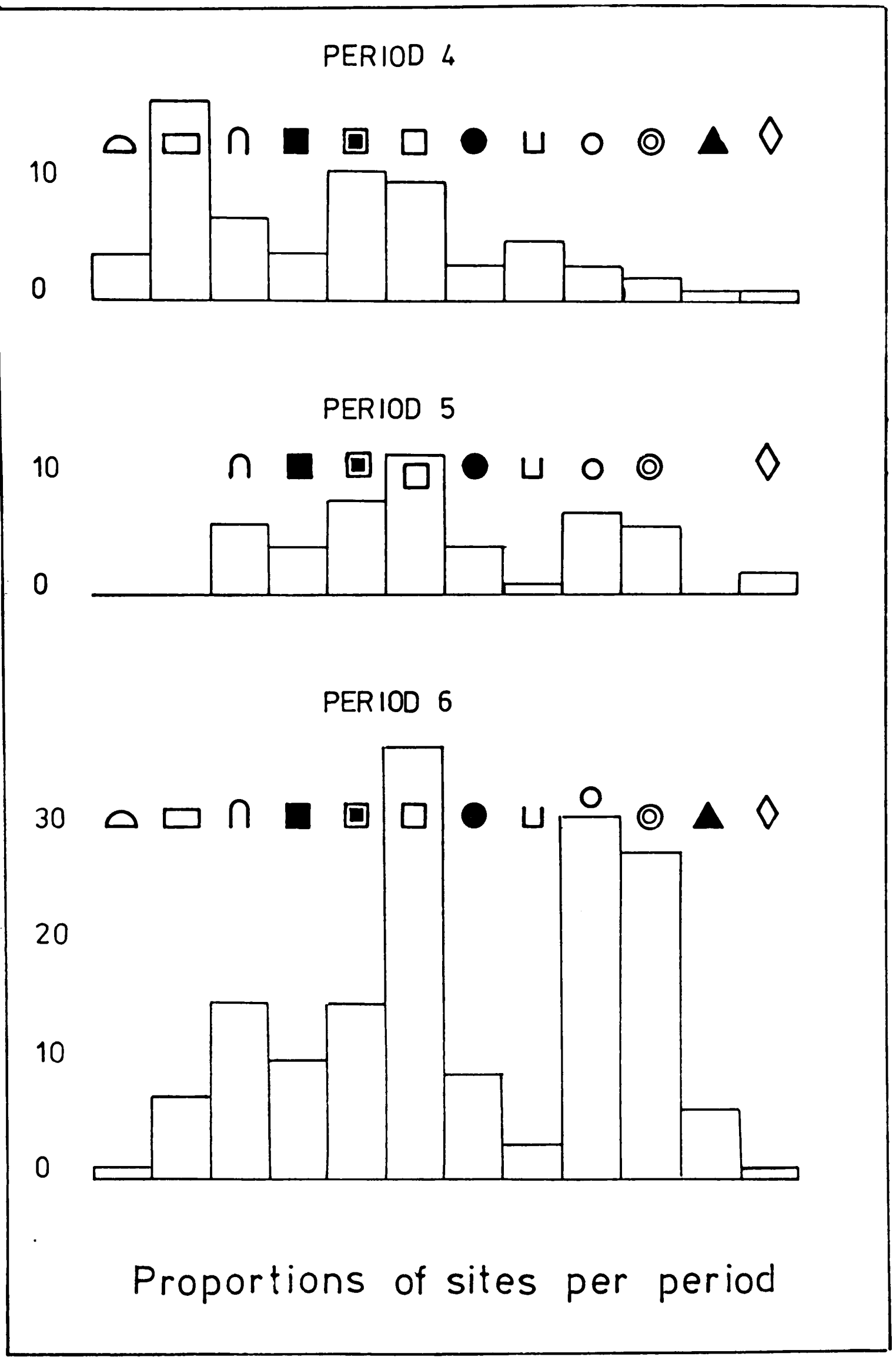

PERIOD 4
10
0
PERIOD 5
10
0
PERIOD 6
30
20
10
0
Proportions of sites per period

Fig. 15

great divergence from the preceeding period. New in the assemblage are a number of isolated finds of "semi-exotic" pottery, i.e. pseudo-ionian and "phocean" grey ware (see chapter 5, part 3).

Period 3 sees the continuing dominance of flat grave sites, with sparse information on other aspects of life, except for the deposition of metalwork, most often in rivers.

In period 4, the range of site species is enlarged, to accomodate the first coin finds. Burials continue to make a contribution, but the emphasis is shifting onto settlement sites (both hillforts and lowland settlements). This period appears to be the only time when cremation burials make any impact on the record.

Period 5 has been inserted between Middle and Late La Tène. It is a time when hilltop and lowland settlements are frequently occupied (e.g. in the Loire) and when coins and coin hoards (e.g. in southern Isère and northern Drôme) start emerging from the record.

Period 6 can be considered a culmination of a trend which started developing in period 4. The corpus is dominated by settlement sites, more frequently in lowland locations than on hilltops. The reasons for such a trend have been touched on above. The second largest component is made up of the numerous stray finds of coins and coin hoards, particularly silver coins of the Rhône valley, deposited or lost in the territories of the Allobroges and Cavares. Caves are quite often re-occupied or visited or used for a variety of functions (funerary?, ritual?). The burial evidence has shrunk to very little.

The picture painted in broad strokes for Rhône-Alpes has changed quite drastically in time: compare fig. 14 with fig. 15, and the difference is clear. From a burial-heavy set of data, we move to a settlement dominated corpus. The change-over must have taken place between periods 3 and 4, or 3rd and early 2nd C BC. Unfortunately, this is the period

where, as seen, we can rely on little information overall and where dating is extremely difficult (see for example section 16, on campanian wares and conclusions in part 3 or chapter 5). If asked to pick out a single century for a hypothetical future intensive research programme, our answer would invariably be the 3rd C BC, not only in the Rhône-Alpes, but almost anywhere in Europe: it is at this time that the earliest celtic coinage, the earliest imports of campanian wares and perhaps the embryos of what will later become major urban sites (Manching) or lowland establishments (Aulnat: Collis 1983) start appearing on the western European archaeological scene. Yet, at the same time, elements of the early La Tène culture (e.g. the flat grave cemeteries of Münsingen, Andelfingen, or Vevey in Switzerland) continue to exist, and, in Southern Gaul, the old late Hallstatt hillforts (e.g. Le Pègue, 26-31) show (almost) uninterrupted sequences up to the late La Tène period. Just slightly later, the earliest hillforts or "emporia" of the Loire (Chambles-Essalois, 42-04, and Roanne, 42-18 to 24, both starting around 180 BC) emerge from the record. Thus, in order to understand how these 2nd and 1st C BC deveolpments originated, we must make a concerted effort to date (e.g. with the help of dendrochronology, as carried out at La Tène: summary in Berger 1974: 81) and identify the 3rd C BC. But much work still remains to be done (see Chapter 5, part 3, Chapters 6 and 7). Only then will we be able to correct statements such as that of Collis (1983: 48, my translation): "Site 4 in Aulnat measures only 12 x 24 m, yet it has produced what is doubtless the richest and longest material sequence ever found on a western European La Tène site". If it is true, then this is a terrible indictment of Western European La Tène archaeology.

Fig. 16, fig. 17 and fig. 18 summarise the broad developments just outlined for the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, but this time each site species has been treated separately to clarify the picture. On fig. 16, notice the sharp decline of barrow sites after the late Hallstatt period,

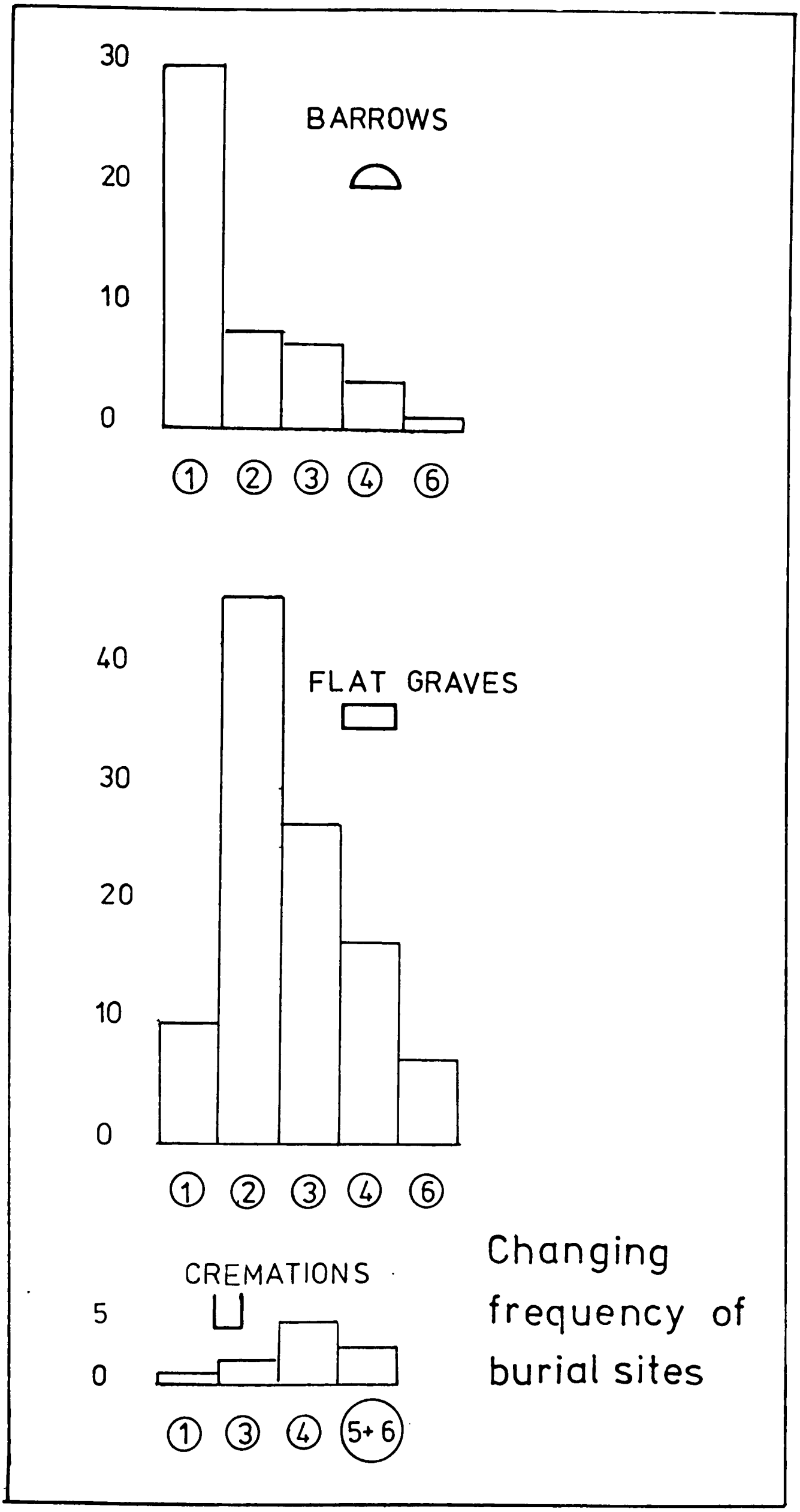

30
20
10
0
BARROWS
① ② ③ ④ ⑥
40
30
20
10
0
FLAT GRAVES
① ② ③ ④ ⑥
CREMATIONS
5
0
① ③ ④ 5+6
Changing frequency of burial sites

Fig. 16

but more interestingly its persistence and gradual fall in later phases. The flat grave sites, already present in Late Hallstatt, and after an enormous surge in the 5th C BC, decline in a similar way, albeit at a less dramatic rate. The rite of cremation is not very well documented in the Rhône-Alpes (except Isère and perhaps Rhône) but a slight increase, during the decline of the inhumations could be suggested. The configuration of Rhône-Alpes burials is mirrored elsewhere in Iron Age Europe: Berger (1974: 61-2, 65) insists on the continuity between La Tène B and C in cemeteries of the Swiss Plateau but emphasises the degeneration of burial rites during La Tène C and D in the same area.

Fig. 17, shows that our perception of settlement sites is diametrically opposed to that of burials; our corpus increases from period 4. Hilltop settlement sites and hillforts are fairly well documented in the late Hallstatt period (often continuing into period 2), but few sites are occupied in period 3. From period 4. they rise in number, to reach a peak in late la Tène, as elsewhere in western Europe. But the rise is not as dramatic as that of late La Tène lowland settlement sites, in most cases located under gallo-roman towns (e.g. Vienne), vici, aedificia or other establishments (30 out of the 37 period 6 lowland settlements continue into the Augustean period and later). We have seen that the continuity from Late La Tène to Gallo-Roman may in some cases be fortuitous, but in the face of such an overwhelming majority of sites with 1st C BC - 1st C AD sequences, we must conclude that the settlement pattern of the eastern Provincia Transalpina, in existence since 121 BC but with its organisation strengthened or perhaps established after the troubled times of the 70s BC (Ebel 1976; Deroc 1983), was essentially the same in the earlier 1st C BC as in the Agustean period. Thus, we must slightly rephrase Prof. Carol Crumley's view (1974: 70) that "despite trade relationships with the classical world before and after the Conquest, the sites in the Rhône corridor have a strongly indigenous character". Yes, if we consider the

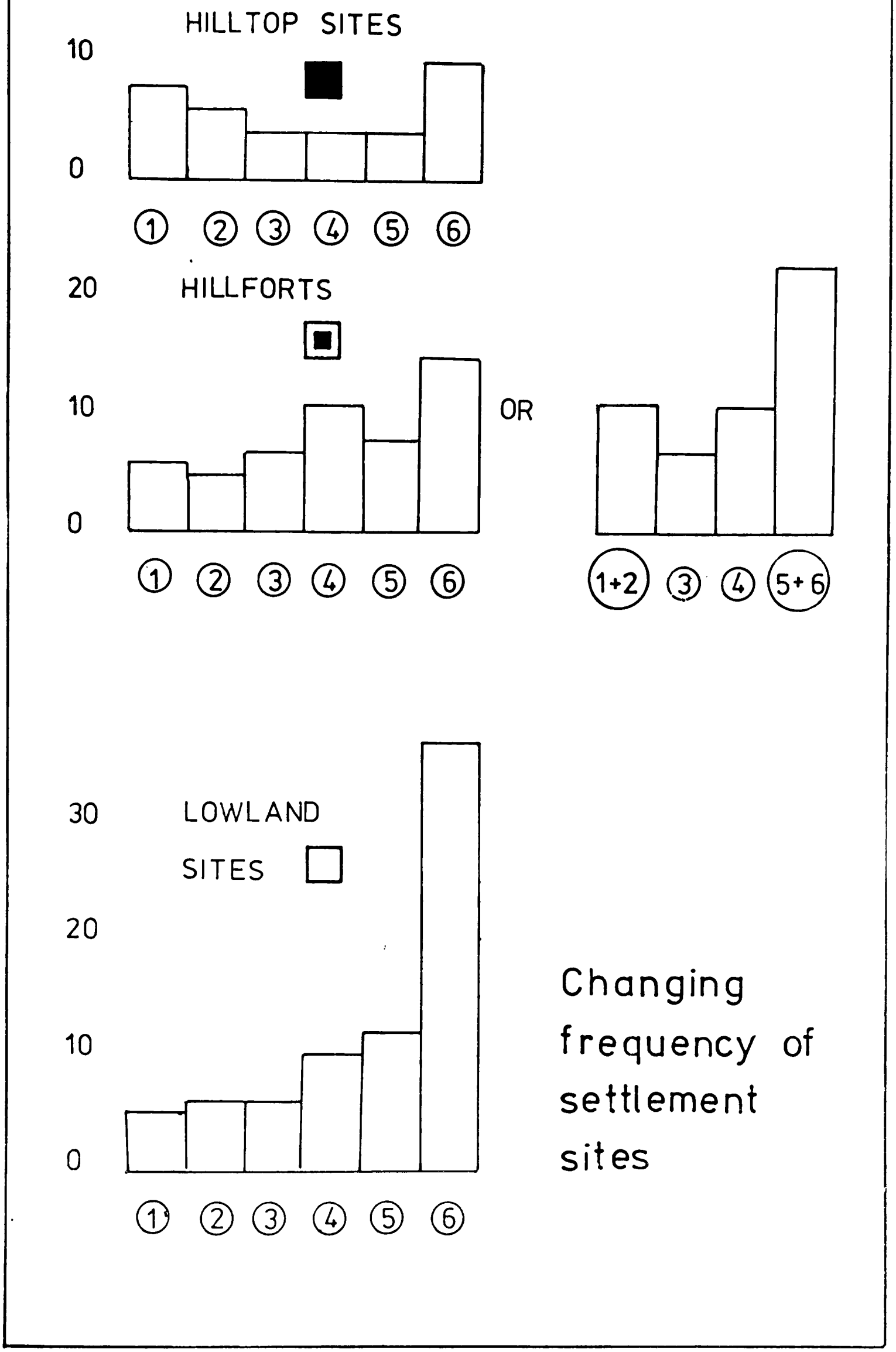

HILLTOP SITES
10
0
1 2 3 4 5 6
20
HILLFORTS
10
0
1 2 3 4 5 6
OR
1+2 3 4 5+6
30
LOWLAND
SITES
20
10
0
1 2 3 4 5 6
Changing frequency of settlement sites

Fig. 17

material assemblage. But if we consider the occupation sequences, we should consider that the creation of the Provincia Transalpina had an impact on lowland settlement patterns: 23 out of 37 period 6 lowland sites were not occupied in periods 4 and 5. This does however leave a notable number of sites, within the Provincia and outside it, such as Alba, Vienne, Feurs or Roanne, where continuity from at least the earlier 2nd C BC is attested. Perhaps a consensus can be reached, if we suggest that the 1st C BC pattern is an intensification of a situation already emerging in pre-conquest times: this view will be argued more cogently in the conclusions to part 3 of Chapter 5 (trade).

Fig. 18 summarises trends amongst isolated finds and caves. Notice that the latter are fairly frequently occupied in periods 1 and 2 and period 6: it may be because in these periods, the finds, such as pseudo-ionian, "phocean" or late La Tène painted pottery are more readily identifiable (this trend is also shown by isolated finds of pottery). The early La Tène peak of finds of metalwork is partly due to the deposition of artefacts in rivers, but partly also due to the identification of a considerable number of finds of italo-etruscan statuettes of Heracles, which Boucher (1976) attributes to the 4th-2nd C BC. The dramatic rise of coin losses and hoard depostions in period 6 is to be expected, at a time when coinage becomes more widespread (Nash 1976, 1978, 1981:phase 3 coinage). But perhaps the corpus is somewhat biased towards late coinage, as we have followed Deroc's dating of the silver coins of the Rhône valley (1983): Deroc ascribes a great number of hoards to the troubled times of 75 BC and favours a fairly low dating of the coins in general: for example the IAILKOVESI coins are estimated to start around 115 BC. Allen on the other hand, would see the start of these coins in the second or third quarter of the 2nd C BC.

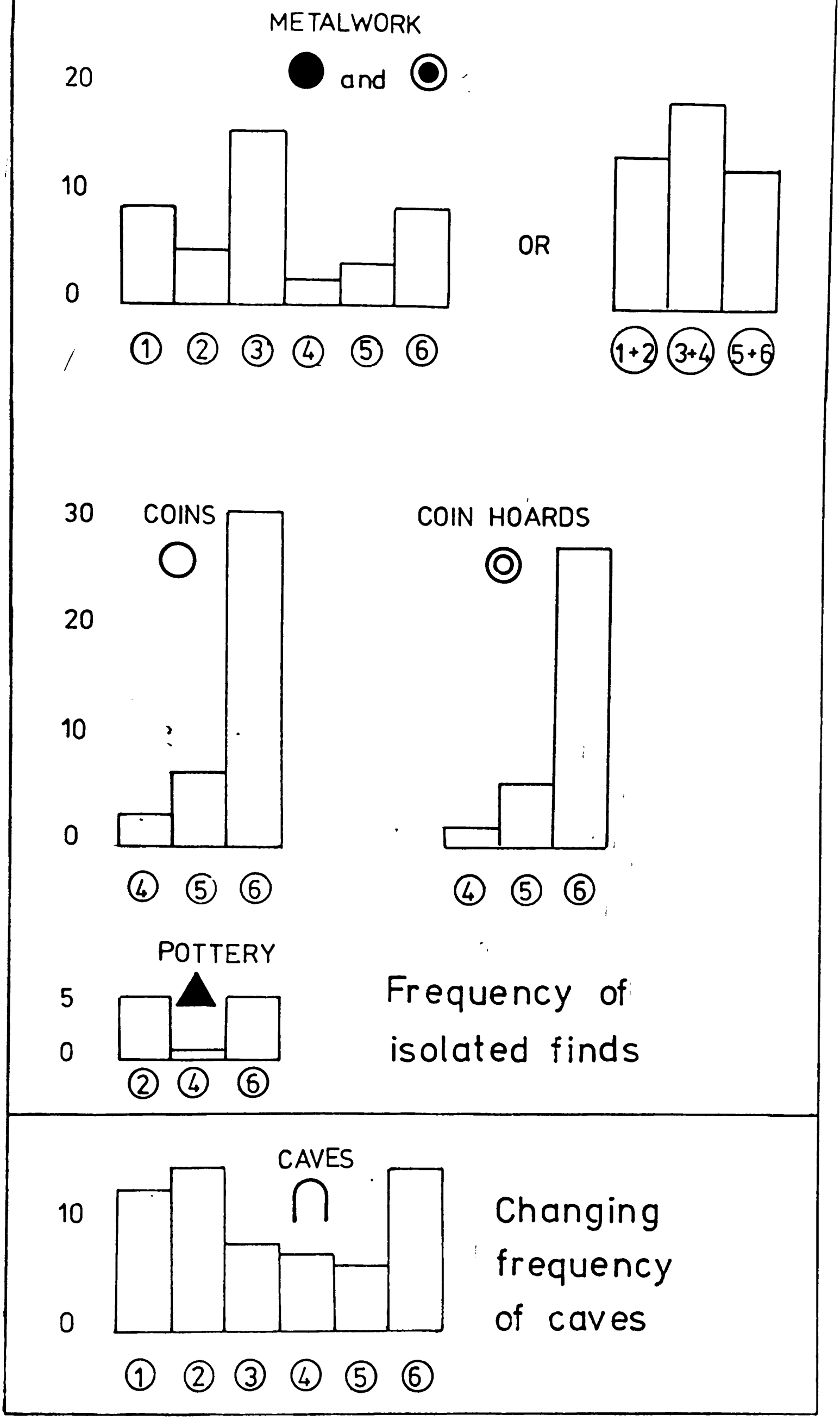

METALWORK
and
20
10
0
OR
1+2
3+4
5+6
30
COINS
20
10
0
COIN HOARDS
POTTERY
5
0
Frequency of isolated finds
CAVES
10
0
Changing frequency of caves

Fig. 18

It is hoped that our diagrams have demonstrated the changing nature of our data and illustrated major trends. But these figures have the disadvantage of ironing out regional differences or particularities. Our next task will consist of scrutinizing the distribution patterns present in later Iron Age Rhône-Alpes.

SYMBOLS USED IN FIGURES 20 TO 26

- Barrow sites
- Flat graves, cist burials
- Cremations
- Isolated finds of metalwork
- Stray finds of coins
- Coin hoards
- Isolated finds of pottery
- Hillforts and hilltop settlements
- Lowland settlements
- Caves
- Other sites

Fig. 19

The distribution of the evidence

A set of 6 maps (fig. 20 to 25) illustrates the changing distribution patterns noticeable in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes from the late Hallstatt period to the late La Tène phase. The numbering of the periods follows the scheme exposed in the introduction to this chapter. At first sight, it is a mass of symbols (legend on fig. 19) of uninspiring character, partly due to the fact that the distribution maps were kept fairly strictly within the limits of the circonscription: it would obviously be desirable to fill in the data from the surrounding areas for the sake of completeness. But his would involve mapping the evidence for the whole of Provence and eastern Languedoc. As we have seen, these regions are the scene of much new research and have been, or are, producing a spate of new excavation reports. To synthesise all this new data is a task so enormous it would become the subject of another thesis.

In spite of this drawback, our maps deserve closer scrutiny: a series of patterns does exist and can be made to emerge with the help of a guiding commentary.

In period 1 (fig. 20) barrow sites cluster in the northern and eastern parts of the Rhône-Alpes, in the Beaujolais, the Saône plain, along the Rhône and Ain, in the southern Jura and Haute-Savoie. A second group of barrows and re-used dolmens exists on the plateaux of the Ardèche and a third group is established in the Bochaine and on the Durance in the Hautes-Alpes. The earliest "flat graves", or more precisely cist burials start making their appearance in the eastern Alps, in the Tarentaise, Maurienne, around Grenoble and in the Hautes-Alpes. There seems to be some overlap between barrow zones and flat grave zones in the Haute-Savoie, but caution must be exercised as some of the "flat graves" may have been burials under unrecorded or destroyed barrows

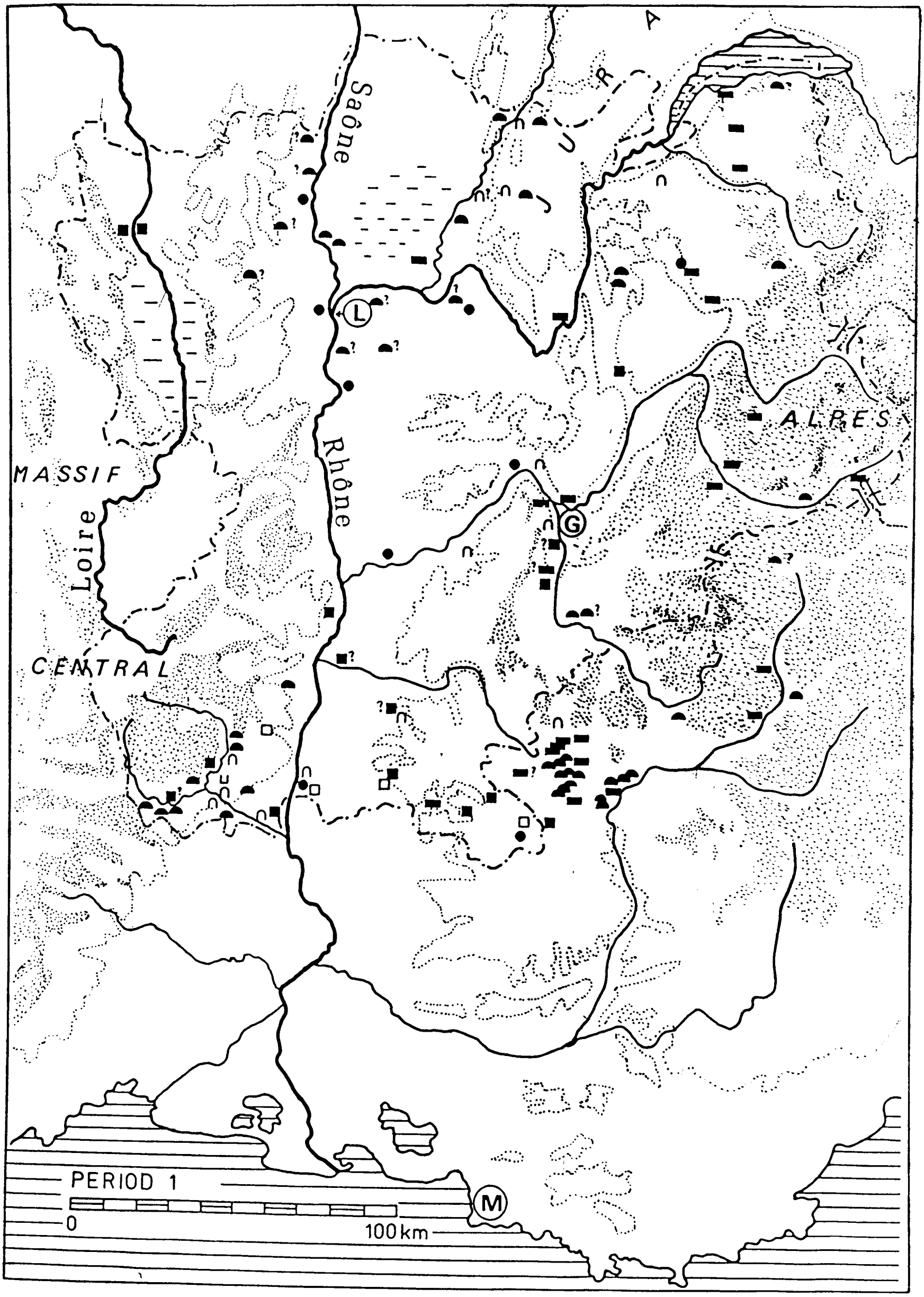


Fig. 20

Distribution Map. Period 1

or cairns (see Chapter 9). The hilltop and hillfort settlements, often established on an earlier Urnfield substratum, complemented by a few lowland sites, are almost exclusively located in the southern part of our study area, i.e. from Soyons southwards, in the valleys and plateaux of the Ardèche, along the middle Rhône, in the foothills of the Drôme and south-eastern Prealps.

Period 1 is thus divided into two, almost mutually exclusive sets of data: burials in the North and East, settlements in the South. Site locations tend to follow the major river axes, but lateral valleys, plateaux, foothills (roughly on the 500 m contour) and high alpine situations are also documented. Yet, some fairly large tracts of land remain blank in our search: most of the plain of Dauphiné, the Forez, the Vivarais. On the other hand, the nuclei of dense site concentrations in subsequent periods are already present in the region of Annecy, the Tarentaise (at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville), the Maurienne, the region of Grenoble (group of Rochefort), the Ardèche-Rhône confluent and South-East Drôme.

Period 2 may be a slightly artificial creation: it is equated with the mid 5th C BC or transition period Late Hallstatt-Early La Tène. The documentation for this period comes from two major sources: finds of pseudo-ionian and grey monochrome "phocean" pottery and alpine burials with artefacts of late Hallstatt and early La Tène cultural affinities. But both classes of evidence show some tendencies to linger on after the mid 5th C BC: the arguments surrounding the dating of pseudo-ionian and "phocean" wares will be discussed in Chapter 5 (sections 11 and 12) and those concerning the chronology of alpine burials will be exposed in Chapter 9. Suffice to say here that the creation of a "transition period" Late Hallstatt to Early La Tène may owe as much to the recognition of mixed cultural attributes as to chronology. The configuration shown on fig. 21 may thus equally apply to a situation prevalent in 475 BC, or

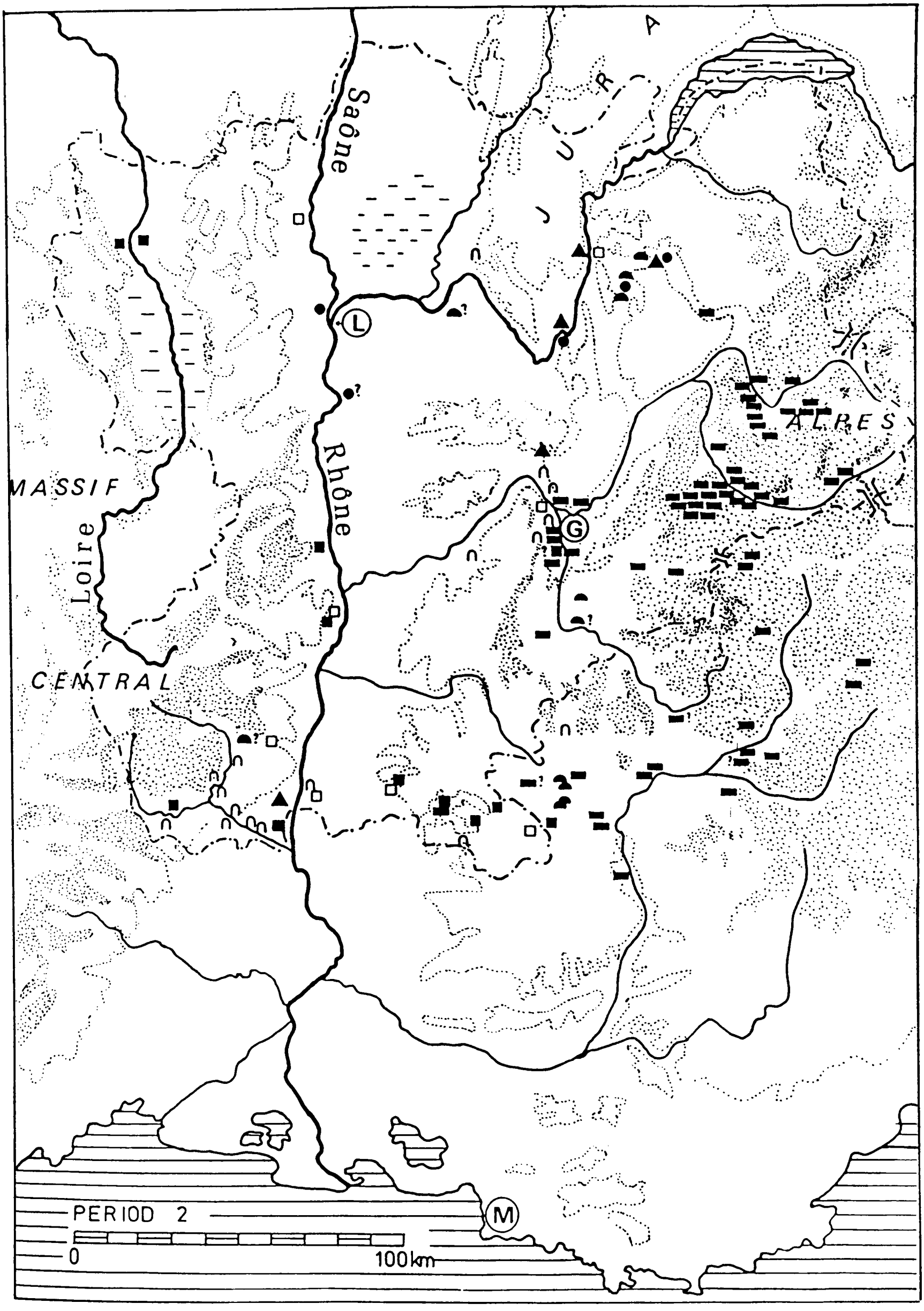


Fig. 21

Distribution Map, Period 2

or 450 BC or even 400 BC. What fig. 21 does achieve is to bring into sharp focus a number of zones of intensive activity in a distibution pattern already in existence in period 1: compare fig. 20 with fig. 21 and the picture is essentially the same, except that we have lost the northern burial (barrow) sites. The zones of intensive activity can be fairly easily defined: the southern Ardèche (a hillfort such as Saint-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28) and numerous cave sites with "semi-exotic" pottery), the South-eastern Drôme (hillforts and hilltop settlements such as Le Pègue (26-31), Vercoiran-Ste-Luce (26-46) or Orpierre-Ste-Colombe in the Hautes-Alpes), the region of Annecy (e.g. the rich barrows of Gruffy (74-23), the "valleys of the dead" (Tarentaise, Maurienne, Oisans, Bochaine, Durance) extremely rich in alpine cist burials, and the region of Grenoble (home of the burials of the group of Rochefort but also possessing a number of occupied caves and settlement sites such as Sassenage (38-58) and Varces-Rochefort (38-68)).

Period 3 (fig. 22) shows a combination of old and new patterns. New elements are the La Tène burials of Haute-Savoie (e.g. Chens, 74-10), but some old foci maintain themselves, such as the alpine burial groups, the region of Grenoble and South-East Drôme: there,the hillforts and hilltop settlements do not seem to experience any long lasting episode of discontinuity. But southern Ardèche appears no longer as a dense concentration: the apparent void is due to the decline of "phocean" and pseudo-ionian pottery,generally dated to period 1 and espescially 2. But a survival of these wares may be suggested, as elsewhere in the Rhône valley (see Chapter 5, part 3, sections 11 and 12). An important exception is the site of Saint-Marcel-St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28) with a continuous occupation similar to Le Pègue. This hillfort belongs to a string of settlement sites, sometimes on hilltops (e.g. 07-28 and Soyons, 07-35) but most often in the valley floor (Les Granges-Gontardes 26-14,

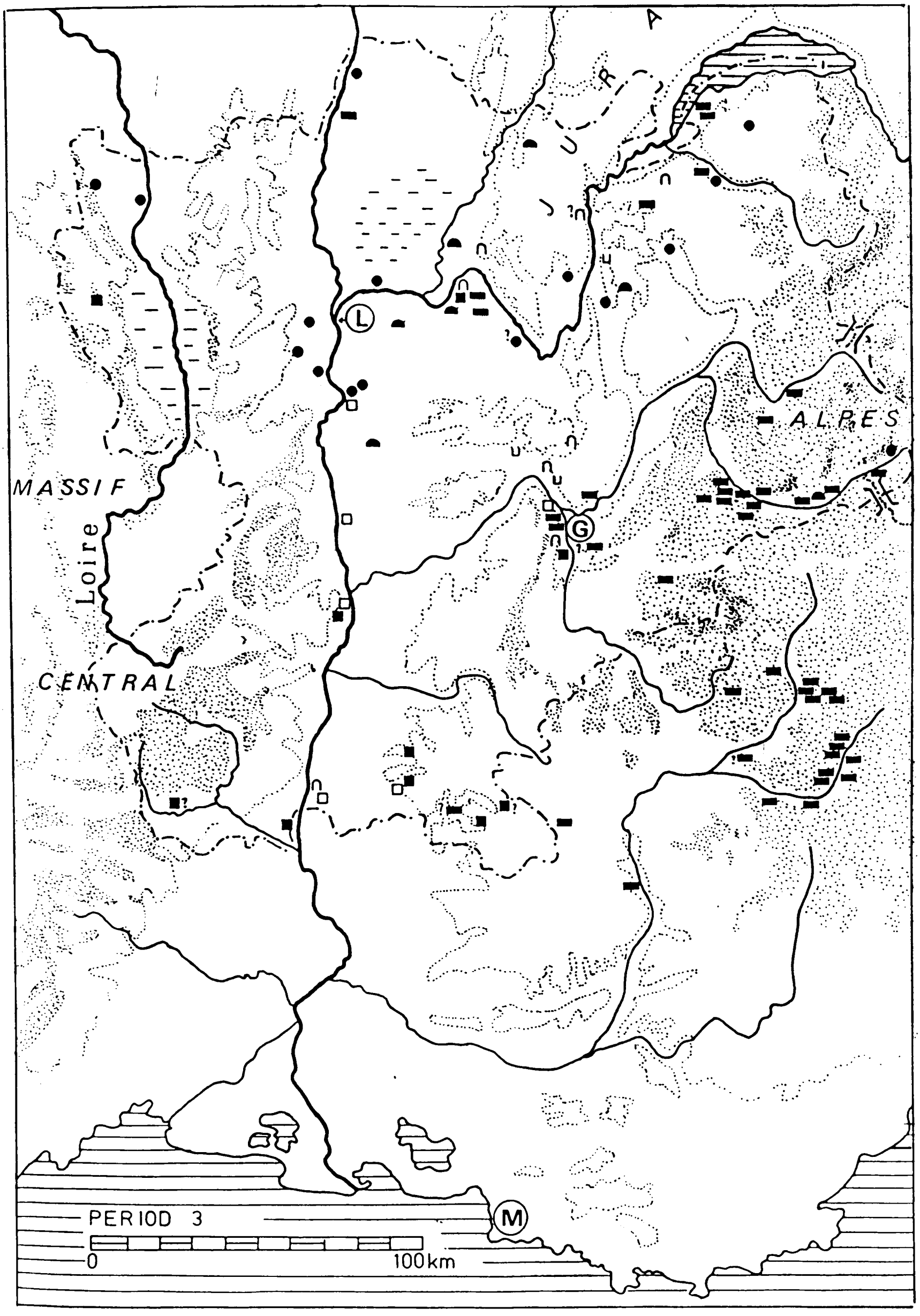


Fig. 22

Distribution Map, Period 3

Soyons-Brégoule, 07-34, Serves-Fontager, 26-44 and Vienne-Ancien Hôpital, 38-79), closely hugging the course of the river Rhône. Thus, the settlement pattern of period 2 (fig. 21) is now strung out (fig. 22) and extended northwards as far as Vienne and perhaps the Camp de Larina (38-01 and 22). These riverine "relais" or "comptoirs", often producing attic red figure pottery of the 4th C BC or late variants of pseudo-ionian and "phocean" ware tend to be located at bottleneck locations on the Rhône (straits of Donzère, cliffs of Soyons [Malpas meaning "bad passage"], straits of Saint-Vallier, bend of Rhône at Vienne, bend of Rhône around the Ile de Crémieu). It is suggested that the choice of their locations, and indeed their raison d'être, was dictated by the control and management of trade along the Rhône valley in the later 5th, 4th and 3rd C BC, <u>after</u> the supposed decline of long distance rhodanian trade networks (see fig. 44 and conclusions to Chapter 5). Towards the end of period 3, a number of features most characteristic of period 4 are becoming apparent: the area of the Camp de Larina (38-01 and 38-22) grows in importance, the first hillfort of the Loire (Débats-Rivierè-d'Orpra, 42-08) is established, the first cremations appear in the plain of Isère, the burial group of Jausier-Peyre-Haute is emerging in the south-eastern alpine valleys of Ubaye and Queyras. A slight survival or revival of barrow burial (or insertion of secondary graves into existing barrows) can also be detected in northern Dauphiné, to the East of Lyon: the grave goods of Pact-Mauphié (38-36), Genas (69-13) or Leyrieu-Verna (38-23) are described as having "marnian" elements.

Period 4 (fig. 23) exhibits an expanding pattern, which will culminate in the late La Tène period (fig. 25). Compared to the rather narrow strip of occupation concentrated on the major river valleys of period 3, the map for period 4 is starting to fill up. Most noticeable are the

real beginnings of occupation, in the Loire valley and Forez (Chambles, 42-04, Feurs, 42-09, Roanne, 42-18), an area previously only very meagerly documented. The birth of the Loire valley settlements, again in this phase more often of lowland type than of the oppidum variety, can be ascribed to the creation of a trade link between the Rhône and Loire valleys, via Vienne and the Gier. The Rhône valley itself is displaying the same linear, riverine distribution as in period 3, but it is more strongly attested and is becoming "top-heavy", i.e. showing site concentrations in the Ile de Crémieu in northern Isère, the Defilé de Pierre-Châtel and perhaps the region of the Salève near Geneva. The southern Drôme distribution pattern appears unchanged and in the southern Ardèche, after a possible but perhaps not total "hiatus" in period 3, settlements pick up again. The burial sites of the Alps continue to be used in the Tarentaise, Maurienne, Oisans and region of Grenoble. Period 4 is also the time of maximum density of burials in the Ubaye and Queyras: there, the so-called inhumation group of Jausier-Peyre Haute is documented by assemblages containing a mixture of alpine elements (multiple bracelets, conical and "violin" buttons, Jausier type fibulae) and middle La Tène celtic elements (girdle chains, fibulae). Meanwhile, cremation burials, often containing the panoply of a middle La Tène warrior (with bent sword), feature in lowland Dauphiné, north of the river Isère. It is possible that warriors were also buried in existing barrow cemeteries, or, more probably, interred in the vicinity of earlier barrows (e.g. Genas, 69-13, or Leyrieu, 38-23). Finally the deposition of some very early coin hoards (e.g. the hoard of St Uze, 26-39, with arvernian gold staters imitating issues of Philip II of Macedonia identical to the coins found in the hoard of Lapte, or the hoard of St-Gervais, 26-36, perhaps deposited in 125-121 BC) must have started in the middle La Tène period.

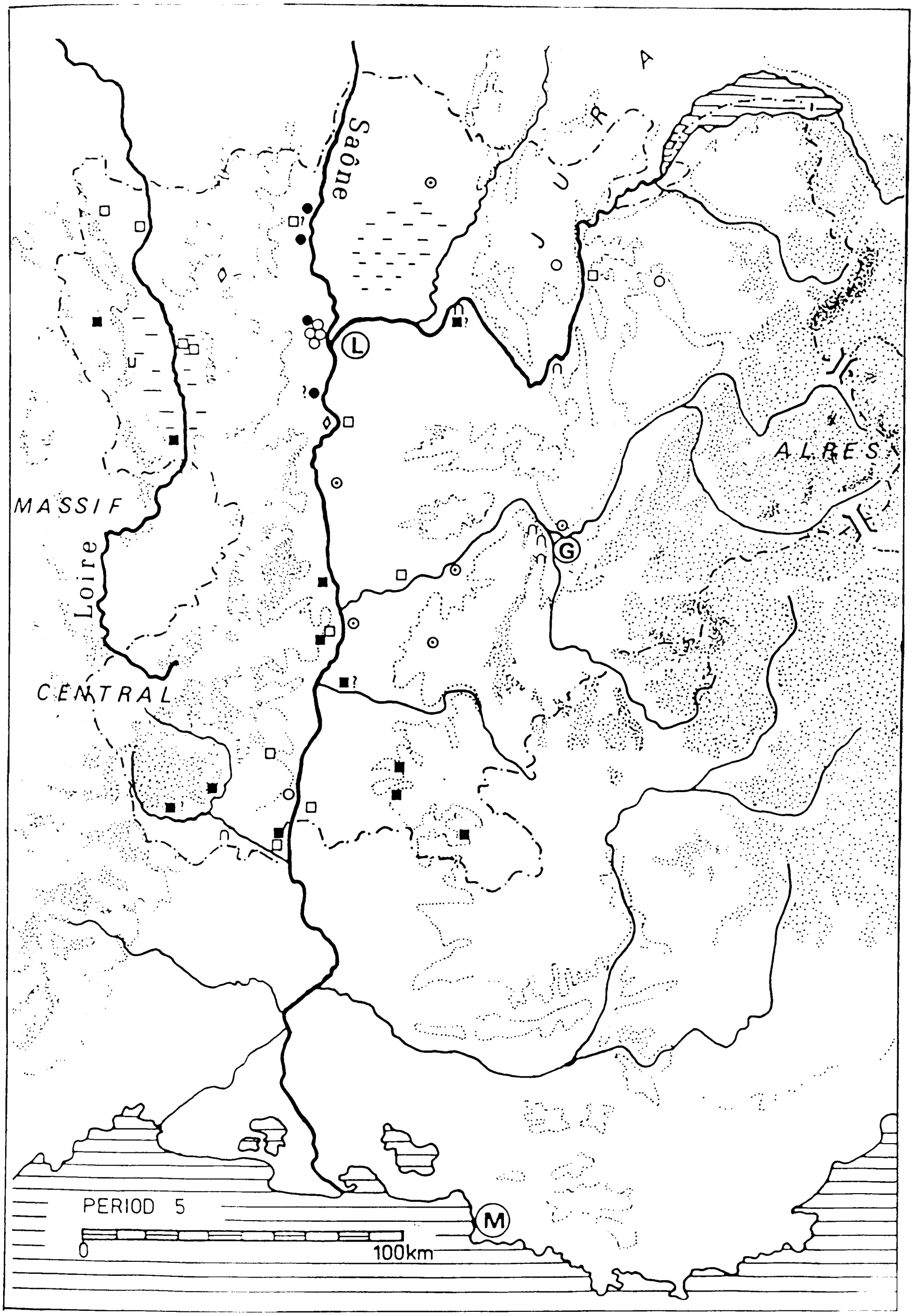


Fig. 24

Distribution Map, Period 5

Period 5 (fig. 24) describes the last decades of the 2nd C BC and the very beginning of the 1st C BC; it is a period which can be interpreted as a prelude to period 6, the full late La Tène era. Mainly two elements have been mapped in this separate transition period, coinciding with the beginning of the romanisation of the Rhône valley, i.e. the creation in 121 BC of the Provincia Transalpina, later to become the Provincia Gallia Narbonensis. First, a number of coin hoards and stray finds of coins, mostly silver obols of Massalia but also early silver coins of the Rhône valley (e.g. those bearing the legend IAILKOVESI, attributed to the Cavares) are documented, particularly in northern Drôme and sourthern Isère, i.e. on both sides of the river Isère, thought to have been the border between the confederations of the Cavares and Allobroges. Deroc (1983) is inclined to ascribe the deposition of these hoards to the threat posed by the Cimbri and Teutones in 108-102 BC. Secondly, the hilltop and lowland settlement sites of the Rhône and Loire valleys, as well as those of the southern Drôme and Ardèche, often already occupied in period 4, show evidence of activity at the close of the 2nd C BC.

The picture for period 6 (fig. 25) may be considered slightly schematic since it conflates into a single map elements of the 1st half of the 1st C BC as well as of the 2nd half, or post-Conquest period. But the main feature is evident: the distribution pattern has become "top-heavy", i.e. the map is very crowded in the northern part of the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, or on both sides of the border between the Provincia Transalpina and (up to 52 BC) Gallia Comata: this trend can be detected, in a lesser form, from period 4 onwards, when the major centres of the Rhône and Loire valleys, Vienne, Chambles and Roanne, began to make their presence felt in the archaeological record. But now a string of hillforts show evidence of continued occupation,

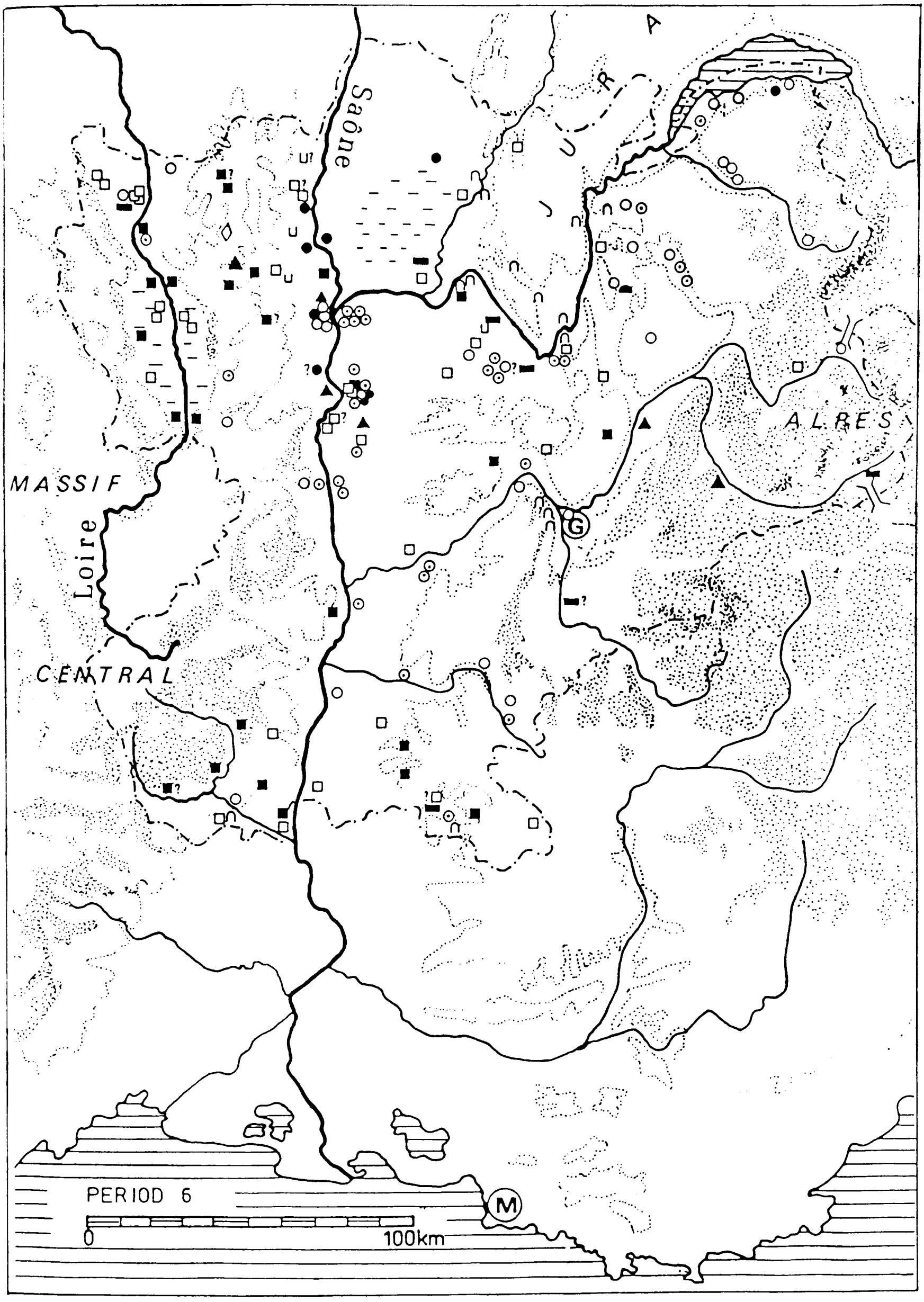


Fig. 25

Distribution Map, Period 6

re-occupation or first-time establishment. It seems that two periods of the late La Tène era are particularly marked by a hillfort horizon: the beginning of the 1st C BC (e.g. "urban" establishment at Chambles-Essalois, 42-04, building of Lussas-Jastres-Nord, 07-20) and the mid 1st C BC (e.g. occupation of Vienne-Ste Blandine, 38-80, St-Marcel-de-Félines, 42-30, beginning of Joeuvre, 42-31). On par with the hillfort documentation, we have at our disposal a large quantity of material recovered from lowland settlement sites, in very many cases stratified under gallo-roman (Augustean) material. It has already been proposed that the lowland occupation pattern of the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes in period 6 shows aspects of romanisation (see p.90-2). This settlement pattern is now spreading into regions with only very sparse documentation of earlier occupation, such as the Beaujolais or the plain of Bièvre-Valloire. Notice that Lyon shows a concentration of pre-Augustean coin finds: it is however likely that pre-Augustean Lugdunum was hardly in existence (see Desbat and Walker 1981, presented here in Chapter 6). The distribution of stray finds of coins and coin hoards has also shifted northwards. Compared with period 5, the majority of coin hoards are deposited north of the river Isère, particularly in a zone comprised between Vienne and Geneva. As will be seen in Chapter 5 (section 14), the depostion of hoards in allobrogian territory may reflect the changing fortunes of this confederation (Deroc 1983 holds the revolt of the Allobroges in c. 75 BC responsible for a great number of hoards), but it is also possible that certain coin deposits in marshy areas performed a votive function.

In very general terms the distribution patterns exhibited in fig. 20 to 25 can be summarised under the following headings:

Period 1: northern and eastern Hallstatt culture, southern sphere of influence of Massalia in the southern Drôme and Ardèche.

Period 2: alpine burial traditions, continuation of southern sphere of influence of Massalia.

Period 3: concentration on major river axis, embryonic extension northwards of sphere of influence of Massalia (to Vienne and Larina), La Tène culture in Haute-Savoie.

Period 4: beginnings of occupation in the Loire valley, expansion of Rhône valley settlement pattern, La Tène culture reaches Dauphiné and Alps.

Period 5: settlement pattern as in period 4, deposition of hoards in the territory of the Cavares.

Period 6: link Vienne-Roanne, hillfort occupation, lowland settlement pattern as in subsequent gallo-roman times, deposition of hoards in the territory of the Allobroges

The detection of a gradual shift of emphasis northwards along the Rhône valley as time went by will be argued more cogently in Chapter 5 (conclusions), since it is proposed that trade was the prime factor in such a shift: a model is presented on fig. 44. It is suggested that the rise of Vienne and of the Loire valley sites such as Chambles-Essalois and Roanne is part of this more general spacial trend and may have pre-dated the foundation of the Provincia Transalpina. It could be argued that the roman occupation of the Province was not only the cause but to a certain

extent the consequence of trade links between the mediterranean and barbarian worlds. Trade can be seen as creating zones of intense activity on the borders between these worlds. In the late Hallstatt to beginning of La Tène period, this zone is located in the southern Drôme and Ardèche. By middle La Tène times it has moved to Vienne-Chambles/Roanne. Such a model would fit quite well into the scheme presented by Frankenstein and Rowlands (1979) in relation to the development of a luxury goods economy in South-West Germany. Particularly interesting is the stage which could be described as the "fringe effect" with peripheral centres between two trading partners rising in importance and this rise resulting in an expansion outwards and the decline of the original centre.

Comments and conclusions

The time spent discussing the quantity, nature and distribution of the evidence has shown very clearly that testimonies for Iron Age activity in the Rhône-Alpes vary tremendously, not only in time but also in kind and in space. There are still many areas or periods dimly lit in the archaeological record.

Maps and statistics have pointed out fluctuations in this record. So far, we have tried to avoid interpreting these changes in terms of cultural history, such as the arrival of Hallstatt horsemen or La Tène celtic invasions, since our main concern, is not the interpretation of the record but the appraisal of its nature. In this context, it seems worthwhile pointing out a few factors of a practical nature affecting the recovery of data.

Firstly, in a very mixed and uneven terrain such as the Rhône-Alpes, containing everything from alluvial plain to glaciers, the constriction put upon the discovery of sites can be expected to be severe. Aerial photographic coverage, on the scale of Picardy, would be unsuitable and has not been attempted. It has however been carried out in certain areas such as the valley of the Durance (Rebillard and Courtois 1966) or the plain of northern Isère (Combier 1977: 642) with successful results. A second limitation to the record is, as Bocquet (1969: 127) points out, the frequent formation of rubble screes ('éboulis') over alpine valleys even in recent times, as well as extensive forest or modern reafforestation. Alluvium may also mask the landscape: the lowland site of Le Pègue-Chantier des Ecoles (26-30) was discovered fortuitously under post-Iron Age flood deposits. And, in a country where the continuity of towns is a strong element, it is also possible that La Tène settlements are buried under substantial modern and roman deposits; at Vienne, the earliest Iron Age levels were encountered 4 m under the temple of Cybèle

and excavations were discontinued at 4.80 m below ground surface. Since at Vienne the earliest occupation coincides with the nucleus of the historic town, the chances of uncovering early levels in a large urban excavation are rather remote. Finally, the Rhône-Alpes contain extensive marsh areas, where prospection is difficult: the Dombes in the Ain (East of the Saône and North Lyon), the plain of Forez (on the Loire) and the Terres Froides in the Isère. Thus, Iron Age discoveries are fairly slow to emerge and we have to rely on chance discoveries to readjust the balance of the record. While this slow process takes place, it is inevitable that the most striking monuments (oppida, barrows, caves) will steal the limelight.

Secondly the evidence that does exist is of uneven quality. Indeed a number of famous sites (e.g. Le Pègue) have started as a handful of pottery collected on their surface, and it is only thanks to the long term research effort put into such sites that whole settlements are beginning to be uncovered. More obscure sites must lurk in the form of pottery collections: at Serves-Fontager (26-44), for example, sherds of middle La Tène pottery were salvaged together with attic red figure ware, but no excavation on any scale has followed these chance finds. The museum at Tournon (07-36) on the middle Rhône has a collection of chance finds very similar to the assemblage found at the oppidum of Malpas at Soyons (07-35) a little further South. And at Leyrieu (38-23) a private collection of bronze and iron represents a probable wagon or chariot burial, discovered in 1864 and untouched until M. G. Chapotat rediscovered it in the 1960s (Bocquet 1969: 282). In addition, we have seen that a series of gallo-roman settlement sites produce evidence of previous domestic occupation. Hunting for finds without context, for pottery collections in museums and for other low quality data can be productive and has already borne some fruits. If assemblages can be recognised in

this way and are integrated into future research programmes, settlement studies in the Rhône-Alpes have still a lot to offer.

Thirdly, it is likely that assemblages from known sites have remained undiagnosed. This could take two forms: either the date of the material is simply unknown (a number of reports state that 'Hallstatt-looking pottery of probable La Tène date' has been found; e.g. Chauzon-Beaussement, 07-09, and Casteljau, 07-07) or continuity on a given site has not been proved. For example, there are grounds for believing that Urnfield characteristics remain little changed in the pottery from the stratified sequence of La Grotte des Sarrasins at Seyssinet-Pariset in the Isère (see Appendix 2) down to middle La Tène horizons. Seriation of material is a useful tool in such cases, at least if levelling and redeposition has not been too severe.

But continuity can be much more difficult to argue when the interpretation of settlement assemblages becomes entangled with reference to historic events. Three key sites, Le Pègue (26-30 and 31), Soyons (07-35) and Vienne (38-79) are in danger of becoming self-validating through the efforts of their excavators (particularly Hatt 1976 and 1977; Lagrand and Thalmann 1973; Blanc and Valette 1959; Hatt 1959; Pelletier 1966) to make historical sense of them. The details of such arguments are discussed elsewhere: suffice to say that burning layers in these sites are equated with events such as celtic invasions, the passage of Cimbri and Teutones, the rise of the Allobroges and are used as dating evidence for the assemblages. It is sometimes difficult to accept the amount of faith put into the historical record and its reflection on the ground - Prof. Hatt (1976) proposes a whole series of 'shuttle-occupation' episodes between the hillfort and lowland settlement of Le Pègue, depending on celtic threat - particularly when the material cannot be dated more precisely than within a bracket of $\pm$ 10-20 years (Py 1978: 334 and note 60). Of course, we should not belittle the disruptive elements

observed in hillfort sequences - they may have been the traces of celtic trouble - but that interpretation is only one among many possible alternatives.

A reappraisal of post-Hallstatt hillfort assemblages should be rewarding: in some cases, mediterranean imports (especially attic red figure pottery) can be used to demonstrate later activity (see Chapter 5) and date local material, which will ultimately, help to build regional material vocabularies. St-Marcel-d'Ardèche-St Etienne-de-Dions (07-28), Soyons (07-34 and 35), Le Pègue (26-30 and 31) the Camp de Larina at Annoisin-Châtelans (38-01 and 22) are key sites in such a programme (see Chapter 7).

These factors go some way towards indicating why the record is uneven, particularly for early and middle La Tène settlement sites. It still remains true that population upheavals must have taken place in the Rhône valley and Alps in the last five centuries BC. It is not our intention to doubt this fact, but to show that the occurence of signs of disruption in stratified sequences is not in itself an explanation of changing patterns, let alone firm dating evidence; the attribution of charcoal layers in the sides of small sondages to dated historic events can lead to circular arguments. Alternative ways of looking at the record (e.g. entomological analysis to test whether a burnt down granary was infested by a grain pest) must be envisaged.

To attempt writing an account of events or a cultural sequence for the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes from the disparate elements listed in Appendix 1, while taking into account the changing nature of the data and its limitations exposed in this chapter, requires a brave person, perhaps a bolder one than the writer is prepared to be. Since the Rhône-Alpes are located within artificial modern boundaries, it is inevitable that they cut across a number of older "Kulturkreise": such cultural spheres comprise the southern Drôme and Ardèche on the fringe of the hellenised

South, the Rhône valley and plain of Dauphiné, the Hallstatt barrow building community of the southern Jura and plain of the Saône, the Haute-Savoie with elements akin to those of the Swiss Plateau, a series of autonomous alpine groups known mainly by their burial assemblages and finally the Loire valley, in the mainstream of the late La Tène oppida culture. Each of these culture zones can be, and sometimes have been, studied as separate entities. The Alps, for example, have produced a cultural and chronological sequence which includes the following elements:

a) a late Bronze Age substratum

b) some Hallstatt elements, mostly from the Jura and Franche-Comté

c) an indigenous culture in the Alps, evolving as a combination of the two former elements: this culture exists from Late Hallstatt to Middle La Tène and is documented mainly by cist burials

d) a Hallstatt-type barrow-using community, surviving into Early La Tène, in the Hautes-Alpes and Haute-Savoie

e) 'celtic' La Tène elements from Middle La Tène onwards

f) alpine middle La Tène variants of celtic elements.

It should be stressed that two equally strong poles of attraction are at work in the Alps: firstly, autonomy and even isolation in mountain valleys are constantly counterbalanced by communications through passes, trade routes, transhumance. Secondly the alpine Iron Age has strong roots in a very prosperous and autonomous late Bronze Age Urnfield tradition (the so-called Bel Age du Bronze), which seems to survive to a greater or lesser degree as far as Middle La Tène.

From these indices the following story emerges in the literature devoted to alpine protohistory: an Urnfield lake-dwelling population might be driven onto higher ground, as a consequence of a climatic deterioration in perhaps the 8th C BC (Millotte 1959 (1965)). Hallstatt swordbearing and horse-riding barrow builders with contacts in the Jura, the Franche-Comté and Burgundy then make an appearance on the scene: Hallstatt

cultural elements are best documented in the valleys and foothills (e.g. Haute-Savoie) but they can be more elusive elsewhere. In the words of Bocquet (1969: 181), late Hallstatt Isère recieved 'influences, but not human groups'. It could be argued that these influences were stong enough in the Hautes-Alpes for a Bronze Age population to take up not only the barrow rite, but also horse burial and the giving of weapons to chieftains (Courtois 1968). Elsewhere in the Alps, an indigenous population, rich in metals and probably involved in trade, combines old and new elements. Some high areas (the Maurienne, the route of the Col du Lautaret (Bocquet 1966, 1969)) may have been colonised or at least have grown in importance. All these autonomous alpine communities seem to have continued to exist little changed until Middle La Tène, when new 'celtic' elements can be detected in the metalwork and pottery of the Alps.

These celtic elements touched the lowlands (e.g. Isère: Bocquet 1969: 191) and were also absorbed into an alpine culture: 'Celtic arrivals do not imply the elimination of the (Ligurian) autochtones' (Barruol 1969).

In the South and to a certain extent along the whole of the Rhône valley, we are dealing with another set of data. Particularly important are the settlement sequences on hilltops but also in the lowlands (e.g. 26-14, 26-30, 38-79) which do not seem to show the kind of post-Hallstatt discontinuity we have come to expect further north in the barbarian world.

Benoit's "hellenic substratum" (1965: 175) may have been in place until the creation of the Provincia Transalpina in 121 BC. Burial evidence, on the other hand, is poor (a few graves at Nyons, 26-26, human remains on the settlements of Le Pègue 26-30, 26-31), with the exception of the plateaux of the Ardèche, where in the late Hallstatt period, barrow building (Saint-Remèze, 07-32) and re-use of dolmens are documented. Quite the opposite applies to the North of the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes,

i.e. the plains of the Saône upper Rhône, the southern Jura and the Haute-Savoie: there, the cultural history has to be written mostly on the basis of burial evidence, which indicates an appartenance to the "classic" late Hallstatt and La Tène cultures of Central-Western Europe. And if we wish to examine the development of an "oppida" culture and associated lowland settlements from Middle La Tène onwards, we must move again in search of good data, in this case to the Loire.

The protohistory of the Rhône-Alpes has to be written from bits and pieces, like piecing together a stratified jigsaw puzzle with most of the elements missing: occasionally large chunks fit together. These large chunks have naturally attracted more comments in the literature than the dispersed fragments. Our task in this chapter, has been to organise all the diverse elements and state at least how much we do not know. What we do know forms the content of the remainder of this study: we shall look at trade (Chapter 5), settlements (Chapters 6 and 7), caves (Chapter 8) and burials (Chapter 9).

Chapter 5

Trade and Exchange in the Rhône-Alpes

Introduction

Part 1: Location and communications

The river and land routes
Mountain passes
The Sea
Conclusions to Part 1

Part 2: Resources in barbarian Europe and their relationship to trade

Introduction

Mineral resources in the Rhône-Alpes

- salt
- rock
- amber
- coral
- jet and lignite
- glass
- graphite
- tin
- gold
- silver and lead
- copper
- iron

Animal and vegetable resources in the Rhône-Alpes

- Human resources
- transport
- slaves
- mercenaries

Part 3: The traded materials

Introduction

1) Fibulae a navicella or a sanguisuga of the 7th and 6th centuries BC

2) Cannelated and barbo tine decorated wares found in late Halllstatt contexts

3) Greek 3-winged bronze arrowheads

4) Attic black figure wares and white lekythoi of the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC

5) Attic red figure and other attic imports of the 5th and 4th centuries BC

6 and 7) Etruscan and italo-etruscan bronzes of the 7th to 5th centuries BC and of the 4th to 2nd centuries BC

8) Etruscan amphorae and bucchero nero

9) The wine amphorae of the region of Massalia

10) Ionian wares

11) Pseudo-ionian wares

12) Grey monochrome wares ("phocean wares")

13) The coins of Massalia

14) Celtic coins

15) Iberic and celtiberian artefacts

16) Campanian wares

Conclusions

Introduction

Looking at a map of Europe, attention is drawn to South Germany, Switzerland and Central-Eastern France, a major watershed opening towards the North Sea via the Rhine, towards the Channel via the Seine, towards the Atlantic via the Loire, towards the Mediterranean via the Rhône-Saône corridor, towards the Adriatic via alpine passes and the Po, and finally towards the Black Sea via the Danube. Conjointly, the same area is sitting astride the two mountain ranges that form the relief of most of Europe: the old Hercynian massif (Massif Central, Morvan, Vosges, Ardennes, Schwarzwald, Bohemia) and the younger Alpine chains (Western Alps, Jura, Austrian and Dinaric Alps the Balkans). In such a key area, it is not surprising to find a large body of research focused upon communications, resources, trade and exchange, both in the pre- and protohistoric periods and in historic times (e.g. Pauli 1980 or Wells 1980).

Within this broad framework, it is proposed to scrutinize a limited area over a short period of time for evidence of an economy exploiting a privileged location: the Rhône-Alpes in the last centuries BC. Inside the circonscription, the documentation is based on the site gazeteer (Appendix 1), whereas for material outside the area, the chapter relies solely on major reference works (e.g. Benoit 1965, Barruol 1969 or Millotte 1963).

In order to bring forward the kind of assets Iron Age communities could exploit in the Rhône-Alpes, emphasis will first be put on location and communications (part 1). Then, attention is directed towards the resources available in the Rhône-Alpes (part 2). A presentation of the materials that were imported into the area, mainly from the mediterranean world, follows (part 3). The chapter ends with an assessment of how trade and exchange colour or influence settlement patterns in a small, yet crucial, part of Europe.

Part 1

Location and Communications

Since the physical geography of Central-Eastern France has already been presented in Chapter 1, it will be sufficient to point out factors directly connected with the scope of this chapter: topographical aspects (e.g. the Rhône-Saône axis, river routes, land routes, mountain passes), historic milestones (e.g. the foundation of

Marseille in 600 BC, Hannibal's crossing of the Alps in 218 BC, or the foundation of the Provincia Transalpina in 121 BC) and epigraphic and classical authors' references to geography and trade in barbarian Europe. Theories relating to the role of trade and exchange in general, and the role of Marseille in particular, abound in the archaeological literature. Here we shall however start with the practical aspects of communications in the Rhône-Saône, the Loire valleys, the Prealps and the Alps.

The river and land routes

The Rhône and Saône invariably occupy first place in any discussion of trade networks: Strabo (IV,1,2, 11 and 14) already found it worth pointing out that the rivers Saône and Rhône were navigable over most of their course and that communities fought over the right to exact toll at key passages along them. Such key passages may be ford sites, surviving in the celtic place name suffix-ritum (Barruol 1969:144). Examples of documented Iron Age ford sites on the Saône exist at Mantoche (Haute-Saône) (Millotte 1963:160,214-15, 313-14) in the vicinity of the wealthy barrow of Mantoche which produced massaliotic wine amphorae, at Châlon-sur-Saône (Saône-et-Loire) where 24.000 amphorae were dredged from the river and where a collection of metalwork very similar to that of the site of La Tène was found (Déchelette 1913; Strabo IV, 3 mentions that Cabillonum had a monolopy over toll on the Saône), and at Anse and Belleville (69-03, 69-04) where metalwork accumulated, including a late La Tène firedog (Gallay and Huber 1972). A ford site is suspected at Lyon-Rue Tramassac (69-26: Audin and Méjat 1957) and, on the Rhône, at Grigny a ford destroyed in recent dredging operations has produced a collection of weapons dating from the Bronze Age to the Early Middle Ages (Chapotat 1973). Other sites controlling river traffic include bridges, of which one is known at Vienne (38-83: Chapotat 1975). Confluent sites are also well placed for controlling the movement of goods; at Bragny, on the Saône-Doub confluent, a wealth of imported mediterranean artefect including an egyptian glass balsamarion are present; at the confluent of the Rhône and Ardèche there is a concentration of sites with much evidence for products of Marseille and its hinterland (Combier and Huchard 1959); the area of Avignon at the junction between Rhône and Durance was specialised in the

manufacture of pseudo-ioninan wares for regional distribution (Benoit 1964). Finally a number of sites are located where a river is no longer navigable and transfer of goods is necessary: Barruol (1969: 53) and Van Berchem (1970) quote Tarascon, Cavaillon, Sisteron, Briançon, Embrun, Susa and Grenoble as such sites in the Alps. The hillfort of Chambles-Essalois (42-04) occupied a similar position in the gorges of the Loire.

The navigation on the rivers themselves can be fraught with obstacles: Benoit (1964), quoting early medieval sources, points out that towing a boat up the Rhône as far as Lyon may take up to 30 days, and Lagrand (1963) affirms that pseudo-ionian pottery was transported northwards by land, the Rhône being too fast flowing for shipping. However, it is a possible that sailing could overcome some of these difficulties: Piggott (1965: 249-50) reminds us of Pliny's comments on gaulish sail-cloth production. Navigation was at least one way of communication over long distances: the enormous amounts of republican amphorae on river-side sites speak for themselves. How it was organised can perhaps be projected back in time from gallo-roman epigraphic evidence (Benoit 1964; Van Berchem 1970): professional bodies of mariners, the so-called 'Utriculares' and 'Nautes', may have taken charge of a stretch of river, thus creating a series of relays along the Rhône, placed preferably where land routes met the river.Such a relay is known to have existed, for example, at Soyons (07-35: Benoit 1965: 165) on the middle reaches of the Rhône.

Land and river routes must be seen as complementary, perhaps even interchangeable, depending on season, climate, ultimate destination of the goods and the type of material transported. The most famous choice of a land route is the itinerary followed by Hannibal in the late autumn of 218 BC and related by Polybius (Histories III, 50-56); the carthaginian army and its elephants came from the South-West, crossed the Rhône in the region of Pont Saint Esprit (Ardèche-Rhône confluent), thus avoiding the marshy lower Rhône flood plain, then followed the foothills along the eastern bank of the Rhône as far as its confluent with the Isère, North of Valence, engaged itself into the Isère valley as far as Grenoble, followed the Arc valley and climbed to the passes of the Col du Clapier and Petit Mont Cenis, to emerge into the valley of the Dora Riparia at Susa (Barruol 1969: 52 ff.; Prieur 1977, quoting Polybius passage in extenso).

If the rivers themselves are not always practicable, they nevertheless create a 'furrow' ("sillon rhodanien, sillon alpin"), whose edges seem to have been used extensively for transport on land: to avoid floods, an inland route along the eastern bank of the Rhône (following roughly the modern N 538) would keep close to the foothills, allowing at the same time a catchment of the East-West routes leading down from the alpine valleys and passes (Barruol 1969: 54; Chapotat 1981). The rise of Le Pègue as a trading and redistribution centre can be explained because of its location between plain and foothills at the junction between river and mountain routes. North of Lyon, flooding of the Saône, especially to the East, can be very severe: this may account for a distribution of imported mediterranean artefects away from the Saône plain, along the foothills of the Jura (Blanc 1958:119,fig 33). But Millotte (1963: 13, 215-6) and Guillot (1976:129, fig. 10) have also suggested the existence of a trade route on the Saône itself, or along its much narrower Western bank which leans against the slopes of the Beaujolais and the Côtes de Bourgogne. From Bragny, at the Saône-Doubs confluent, a Western land-route would be necessary to join the Seine valley at Vix and Mont Lassois, two world famous sites located exactly where the Seine becomes navigable.

If the eastern bank of the Rhône seems a preferable route for transport South of Lyon, nevertheless a narrow western passage, sometimes becoming strangled in a bottleneck, like the straits of Donzère on the middle Rhône (see 26-09 to 11 and 26-14) or the straits of Saint-Vallier (see 26-40 and 44), is a possible alternative. It is perhaps no coincidence that the oppidum of Soyons-Malpas (07-35) is located precisely at the entrance (or exit) of such a bottleneck. The advantage of a western itinerary lies in the added benefit of being able to join the Loire Valley and ultimately the Atlantic. A first branch leaves the Rhône at Pont-Saint-Esprit; the route then follows the Ardèche valley, but becomes more difficult as it crosses into the Massif Central via the Col du Pal and engages itself in the gorges of the Haute Loire: it is not impracticable, as imports of 'phocean' grey ware at Saint-Vidal, site de Cheylounet (Haute Loire) attest (Combier and Huchard 1959; Blanc 1958;119,fig.33). A second chance to join the Loire valley offers itself further North at Givors (Rhône, North of Vienne). In order to reach it, it would be possible to stay West of the Rhône, travelling

past St- Marcel(07-28), Soyons (07-34) and Tournon (07-36) (three sites in the Ardèche which have good evidence for imports). If travelling on the eastern bank of the Rhône, it is possible to cross the river at Vienne (38-72 to 83) or at Grigny (69-14) to join Givors and the very gentle sloping valleys of the Gier and Furens: this passage would thus avoid the gorges of the upper Loire and give access to Feurs (42-09 to 11) and Roanne (42-18 to 24) in the plain of Forez on the Loire (Barruol 1969: 54, note 5), via the "emporium" of Chambles-Essalois (42-04).

The likelihood of land and river trade routes has, so far, mainly relied on the documentation provided by goods travelling northwards from the Mediterranean. But what moved southwards? Leaving aside the movement of products and natural resources which do not leave many traces in the archaeological record but which are nevertheless suspected to form the bulk of the merchandise, the information gleaned is not very substantial. Some indices suggest relationships between the Bourgogne and Franche-Comté on the one hand, and Alps and Prealps on the other: a bird-head fibula of 5th C BC Franche-Comté (Millotte 1963: 228) is known from the settlement site of Orpierre-Ste Colombe in the Hautes-Alpes (Courtois 1975: fig. 32); cannelated fine wares found in Provence, the Ardèche, the Drôme and the Hautes-Alpes show close affinities with those of Vix-Mont Lassois; lignite or jet armlets from alpine cemetery assemblages appear to be a fashion that originated in the Jura and Franche-Comté (even if the raw material can be found locally in the Alps).

Mountain passes

The discussion of communications has so far concentrated on the North-South axis provided by river routes or alternative land routes. But the Alps themselves play a key role in East-West communications and are not an unsurmountable barrier. The Romans may have thought them a great obstacle: Barruol (1969: 56 ff. and 90) explains this roman terror of the Alps by invoking the attitude of the local alpine populations who stood to gain by terrifying roman travellers or merchants: their livelihood depended partly on carrying goods, serving as guides, exacting toll and providing escorts against brigands (Barruol 1969: 100-104).

Prior to the colonisation of the Provincia Transal-pina in 125-121 BC and the later conquest of the Col du Grand Saint Bernard, it appears that both sides of the alpine chain had much in common and local communication networks were well established: the numerous finds of 7th and 6th C BC north italian fibulae (the fibulae "a navicella" and "a sanguisuga" found in the French Alps, the Rhône-Saône valley and eastern Languedoc: Duval, Eluère and Mohen 1974:45 fig. 47) speak for a lively exchange pattern across the Alps. A find of an early La Tène (LT A) fibula of a type known in eastern France, in Liguria near Albenga (Leale-Anfossi 1959) seems to show that exchange took place from West to East as well as in the better documented East-West direction (e.g. etruscan bronze statuettes: Boucher 1976). This incidence points to the fact that artefacts (perhaps because fibulae travelled with their wearers) as well as the often quoted natural resources, filtered into the southern Alps and into cisalpine Gaul.

The grain of alpine topography is predominantly oriented East - West, and one looks naturally for contacts between France and Italy. But a North - South axis also exists within the landmass of the Alps - the so-called 'sillon alpin' linking the Savoie to Grenoble and Southwards to Sisteron, Riez and Fréjus (Bocquet 1969: 125; Barruol 1969: 71). Although not competing in the same class as the Rhône corridor, this North-South link may prove useful for local exchange and perhaps also transhumance. For a discussion of contacts within the Alps, see Chapter 9 (conclusion).

The importance of communications through the Alps has been stressed, particularly by Barruol (1969: 58) who lists 22 major alpine passes and a multitude of minor passages linking valley to valley. But this should not give the impression that moving across the Alps was a comfortable undertaking: 15 of the 22 passes are situated at an altitude exceeding 2000 m above sea level and one pass (Col du Lautaret, see below) towers at over 3000 m. Thus, Hannibal must have faced a winter crossing at the Col du Clapier (2482 m) and Col du Petit Mont Cenis (2182 m) with apprehension, but was rewarded by achieving an unexpected arrival at Susa. Of the easier alpine routes, the way leading up the Durance valley, over the Col du Mont Genèvre (1854 m) into the Dora Riparia valley is apparently the most popular: distribution patterns of silver coins of Massalia along the Durance (Barruol 1969: 64 note 7) support this hypothesis.

To the South of the Durance, in Provence-Côte d'Azur and on the Ligurian coast, East-West land passages do exist, but the proximity and relative comfort of a sea route, compared with a very inhospitable hinterland (Barruol 1969: 58) appears to be more attractive: the distribution of greek, etruscan and massaliotic artefects along the coast and in ship wrecks would endorse this suggestion (Benoit 1965: fig.3. p.33).

The exploitation of alpine cross routes in pre- and protohistoric times is often difficult to document archaeologically; it is mostly only possible to mention potential passages, pinpoint the origin and destination of artefects likely to have been transported along these routes, project back in time the extensive documentation for gallo-roman communications or interpret in terms of communications the numerous gallo-roman and earlier sanctuaries built on passes (e.g. the Col du Grand Saint Bernard, with its coin hoard). Several researchers (Benoit 1965: 211-13; Barruol 1969: 51, 87, 100; Duval 1970; Van Berchem 1970) have also suggested that strong similarities in communication systems existed between the protohistoric and early medieval periods: whereas the gallo-roman road network was built for road traffic and speed, the previous and succeeding periods relied more heavily on river, foot and pack transport. They suggest that a scrutiny of early medieval documents could shed much light on pre-roman trade and travel habits. To substantiate this hypothesis, Van Berchem (1970) offers the example of Basel and Augusta Raurica in northern Switzerland: pre-roman Basel exploits its location on the Rhine network, while roman Augusta Raurica is chosen for its easily bridgeable position on a road network. The river route does not however die, and grows in importance again by late roman and early medieval times: the focal point is transferred back to Basel.

If the study of communications through the Alps is more an exercise in probability than actual documentation for use of specific passes, some elements reinforce the arguments. Bocquet (1966) points to the use of the 'Voie du Col du Lautaret' (the highest pass) in late Hallstatt and early La Tène times, by plotting burial sites in the valley of the Oisans and analysing artefacts in them. This route is again known in the Early Middle Ages (Barruol 1969: 69 and notes 3 and 4). More generally, it is thought that the often very high location of alpine cemeteries, reaching above 1500 m. above sea level, in the

Maurienne, Tarentaise, Oisans and Ubaye, and the concentration of wealth found in them, is an indicator of transalpine relations (Von Eles 1967-8: 178-188). A further element is the close association of mineral extraction sites to passes. Cemetery concentrations and classical sources combine to indicate a possibility that the Alps were more densely populated in protohistoric times than today (Barruol 1969: 5).

Short of finding an absolutely firm proof of alpine contact such as the early La Tène gold torcs found at Erstfeld (UR) at the foot of the very daunting Gotthard pass linking eastern Switzerland to the Ticino (Wyss 1975) or the Grand Saint-Bernard coin hoard, plotting of artefacts and the creation of distribution patterns will remain the most rewarding way of tracing the use of alpine passages.

The sea

The remarks on alpine trade made above, apart from a brief mention of sea trade along the Ligurian coast, may have given the impression that contacts with Italy took place exclusively across the Alps, while Marseille and the Mediterranean carried the bulk of greek trade. If a duality does exist, it is certainly not as clearcut as that. While it is true that the 7th and 6th C BC north italian fibulae, etruscan figurines (Boucher 1970: fig. 13; 1976; maps I and II) coral (Champion 1976: 31) and 5th C BC 'Schnabelkannen' (Bouloumié 1973), all fairly easily carried by people, show transalpine distributions, other artefacts such as etruscan amphorae and bucchero nero pottery, better transported by boat, come to Marseille by sea and use the Rhône route to spread into barbarian Europe. The old rival interpretation of etruscan land trade and greek sea trade had already been challenged by Benoit (in 1958, 1959, and 1965: 54). Benoit goes as far as suggesting that the etrusco-phoenician alliance brought trade to Marseille rather than removed it: his distribution maps (fig.3 p.33, redrawn to separate different import types, here figs. 29 ff.) confirm his hypothesis: the distribution patterns exhibited by massaliotic amphorae, on the one hand, and etruscan imports, on the other, are closely comparable (although etruscan material does not reach as far North as its massaliotic counterpart).

The question of the decline of Marseille at the expense of a more easterly and direct transalpine trade route between Etruria and South-West Germany, Alsace, Burgundy and the Marne after the beginning of the 5th C BC is one that has made much ink flow. It will be treated more fully at the end of this chapter. Suffice to say here that the demise of Marseille is not corroborated by archaeological evidence (Euzennat 1980:138) and that a certain amount of material, particularly attic red figure ware of the later 5th C BC and 4th C BC and etruscan bronze statuettes and other metalwork of the 4th to 2nd C BC (Boucher 1976:23) exhibit distribution patterns based on the Rhône corridor (see figs.31 and 33). The fact that the Rhône valley remained open as a trade route, perhaps on a reduced scale (but even that is a debateable point), means that it was ready to accept a renewed influx of trade from the late 3rd C BC onwards, long before the foundation of the Provincia Transalpina. Silver coins of Massalia, Campanian A wares, and later, Dressel IA amphorae travel along a long established trade route (see figs.39 ff.), presumably with its infrastructure -e.g. tolls, fords, relays - still in position. The creation of the Provincia Transalpina can therefore be interpreted as the exploitation of an already existing and successful situation: this would explain the curious shape of the province with its northerly corridor.

Conclusions to Part I

Exchange and trade networks in Central-Eastern France show strong evidence of continuity and the different routes appear to be interdependent. Land, sea, mountain and river routes complement each other, perhaps also compete with each other in the dissemination of materials. The different types of goods may have travelled along different routes, but once a network has been established for the distribution of particular artefacts, other commodities, even of different provenance, will tend to use the network

Continuity is almost unavoidable in a strongly structured landscape: from the time of the trade of spondylus shells from Arene Candide in Liguria in the Early Neolithic (Benoit 1964) to the time of medieval travel accounts, the relief and rivers dictate their own laws of communications. Although trade can fluctuate, when a revival takes place, trade follows well defined and established routes.

The establishment of a colony at the outlet of a variety of different networks (since all lateral valleys end up joining the Rhône) is a profitable proposition: the location of Marseille could not be better chosen. The writer disagrees with Bintliff (1984: 169) who suggests that Marseille was not founded as an entrepôt but because the Greeks needed more land. If that were the case, then Marseille is a ridiculous choice, with hardly any hinterland. Ease and multiplicity of access on the one hand, and the pre-existence of trade routes on the other, must be responsibile for the foundation of Marseille by the Phoceans in circa 600 BC. As Benoit (1958:16), Barruol (1969: 54. note 2), Duval (1970) and Van Berchem (1970) suggest, trade capacity in the Rhône corridor has been the cause rather than the consequence of the establishment of the greek colony.

Part 2
Resources in barbarian Europe and their relationship to trade

Introduction

The foundation of Marseille implies not only that communications with barbarian Europe were established at an early date and developed fast with the dissemination of mediterranean goods, but also that resources of barbarian origin were being sought. Since few finished artefacts from protohistoric Europe end up in mediterranean assemblages, it must be deduced that raw materials formed the bulk of exchangeable commodities. This state of affairs was already recorded by classical authors, aware that tin was extremely rare and had to be imported from the 'Cassiterite Islands', i.e. Brittany and western Britain (Strabo III, 2, 9, Diodorus V, 22 and 38). Tin can be studied as a trade from the beginning of the Bronze Age onwards, since demand was very widespread in Europe on the one hand, and ores were localised on the other hand (western Atlantic and Erzgebirge). Thus, the 'tin route', known to Strabo (IV,1,14), has often been evoked in connexion with distribution patterns of imported artefacts (but see Benoit 1965: 29). But it is certainly not the only raw material barbarian Europe could dispose of: Strabo (IV, 5,2) for example, mentions that Britain exported metals, slaves, furs or hides and clever hunting dogs.

The archaeological record can be scanned for traces of trade and exchange in raw materials. This exercise will at the same time highlight the sources of revenue available to Iron Age european communities.

In certain well documented cases, exploitation hypotheses are corroborated by archaeological evidence, such as exist at the world famous salt producing centres of Hallstatt and Dürrnberg-Hallein in Austria, or, in the Morvan at the salt springs of Les Fontaines Salées at Saint Père-sous-Vezelay (Yonne) (Louis 1943). In other cases, exploitation has to be inferred from distribution patterns: for example, the distribution of alpine cemeteries with rich grave goods has been connected with the existence of mines in their vicinity and with the use of alpine passes (Barruol 1969: 99; Bocquet 1966 and 1969). A third type of evidence can be gleaned from written sources: Varro (R.R. II,4,10) tells us, for example, that gaulish ham and cheese were delicacies enjoyed in classical Rome.

Finds of cheese presses or the dominance of pig bones in settlement assemblages may perhaps be interpreted in such a light: the increase of pig bones in a large number of zones of France, including the Alps, during the La Tène period (Poulain 1976: 111) may indicate that pork was produced beyond the demands of a subsistence economy.

These examples, chosen to illustrate the types of goods traded over some distance, fall into three categories, which will be presented in more detail: mineral resources, animal and vegetable resources and finally human resources.

Mineral resources in the Rhône-Alpes

Of all the wealth present in the rivers, soils and rocks of the Alps, Prealps, Massif Central, Loire, Saône and Rhône plains, some materials have been exploited at least as early as the Iron Age, namely salt (and mineral waters), metals and stone or petrified matters (lignite, jet, amber). Other minerals were probably also exploited, but evidence can be very elusive: a table (see p.146 b) summarises the possible resources present in our study area whether they were export products or not.

Salt was a highly praised resource, particularly for preserving food, which could itself be exported: salt is occasionally referred to as the 'white gold' of Iron Age Europe. It certainly seems true that salt attracted wealth in mediterranean luxury goods in late Hallstatt and early La Tène times. In Central-Eastern France, the hillforts of Salins-Camp du Château and Montmorot near Lons-le-Saunier (both in the Jura, both near brine-salt production centres that are still in use and whose place-names record their function) have revealed quantities of attic and massaliotic imports in their assemblages. Elsewhere, at the site of Les Fontaines Salées near Saint-Père-sous-Vezelay (Yonne) the brine pits were not only used from the Urnfield period onwards, but were also the focus of a fertility cult (?), documented by the offering of an etruscan male statuette of c. 600 BC (Boucher 1970; for the site reports, see Louis 1943). This votive site shows that the knowledge of minerals in water was well advanced and not only confined to salt; the gallo-roman votive springs of Les Sources de la Seine (Martin 1963), Chamalières near Clermont-Ferrand (Puy de Dôme) or the sanctuaries of Haute-Provence (Barruol 1969) were known for their healing powers by roman times and are thought to continue an earlier tradition.

If salt occurs in water as brine - the case of the sites mentioned above as well as further sites on the Durance, Verdon and Var (Barruol 1969; 94) - it can also be mined as rock-salt in the alpine valleys of Maurienne and Tarentaise (Barruol 1969: 94) or collected in evaporating basins along the sea shore, in the Golfe du Lion. Benoit (1965: 54) suggests that the trading links between the Bouches-du-Rhône (e.g. Saint Blaise, Martigues) and the mediterranean world - particularly Etruria in the archaic period of hellenisation of southern France - were established, in part, because of the exploitation of salt.

Once extracted, how could salt be transported? As already noted, it seems that the principal function of salt was that of preserving food; its use as a seasoning agent might have been more of a side-effect. Thus, cured meat would need no durable container for transport (a linen bag is sufficient). Other food may have been kept in salt barrels: indeed barrels are thought to be an alpine Iron Age invention (Barruol 1969: 100) and it is not unlikely that they were used as pickling containers as well as wine containers. Finally, salt resulting from the processing of a brine solution may have been kept in briquetage containers: such briquetage vessels are known from the brine extracting sites of La Seille in the Lorraine (Bertaux 1976) and on the Channel coast at Etaples in the Pas de Calais (Mariette 1966), but, to the knowledge of the writer, no briquetage containers have been mentioned in site reports of the area of Rhône-Alpes.

The rocks and stone outcrops of the Rhône Alpes, particularly the crystalline formations of the Alps, are a great natural reservoir of mineral resources: practically every mineral known can be found there, albeit in varying quantities. While the metalliferous outcrops are an obvious source of wealth, it must not be forgotten that the stones themselves can be used for display in the form of pendants or jewellery. Precious stones like granate, found in iron bearing rock formations, may have been exported from the 4th C BC onwards (Theophrastes, De Lapidibus 3, 18, and 6, 34) from South-East France, particularly the Massif des Maures and Esterel, as well as the Alps and Dauphiné (Barruol 1969:95).

Amber seems to have been used extensively for displaying wealth in pre- and protohistoric Europe: the majority of amber beads and other trinkets found in the western Hallstatt province around

500-450 BC are associated with rich grave assemblages (for a list, cf. Wells 1980:43-4). Apart from its protective, even medicinal qualities, amber may have been an indicator of particularly high status of its wearer, because it was rare and had generally, to come from very distant lands (cf. studies of status in Early Bronze Age Slovakia by Shennan (S.) 1975 and 1982; of amber in Early Bronze Age Denmark by Shennan (S.J.) 1982). Indeed, it is thought that this mineral resin was exported from the Baltic coast from the Neolithic onwards (Malinowski 1971) on a very large scale. Sources of amber can also be found in Italy and it is thought that in the Early Iron Age, North Italy played an important role in the distribution of amber towards barbarian Europe (Wyss 1974: 119; Wells 1980: 43). If we turn to the distrubution of amber in the French Alps, it is possible that the very abundant amber bead harvest from the late Hallstatt and early La Tène cemeteries of the Tarentaise, Maurienne, Oisans and southern Alps (see Chapter 9) is connected with an exchange network between alpine valleys and the Golasecca culture area: it is in these same regions that earlier 'navicella fibulae' of the 7th and 6th C BC occur frequently. But on balance, it is more likely that alpine amber is local (see below). Alpine amber is displayed at sites such as Saint-Jean-de-Belleville (73-49: at least 5 necklaces) Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves (73-62), Saint-Jean-d'Arves (73-45), Mont-de-Lans (38-30), Ornon (38-35), La Tronche (38-67), in the cemeteries of the Hautes-Alpes (Courtois 1976: 716) as well as on the northern edge of Lake Geneva (at Saint-Sulpice and Vevey). A further indication of the high value of amber is that it has been found in hoards and votive deposits: this may perhaps be the case of amber and blue glass beads (?) found in the very rich late Bronze Age bronze hoard of Réallon in the Hautes-Alpes (Chantre 1872).

Spectrographic analysis could ascertain the provenance of alpine amber. The reason why it is most important to trace the area of origin of amber in funerary and votive alpine assemblages is that a body of evidence suggests that the Alps themselves are rich in native amber. They could therefore be the source of a potential export product. To substantiate such a hypothesis, the following elements are put forward: a lump of native amber, found at 3000 m above sea level at the foot of the Roc Noir (Savoie) is displayed at the Musée Savoisien in Chambéry (Prieur 1981:9). Further known

sources of local amber are listed by Barruol (1969:95) and Benoit (1965: 166 and note 24): it occurs in Liguria and in the region of Sisteron. Finally Theophrastes, Strabo and Pliny all note that amber is abundant in the Alps (references in Barruol 1969: 95).

If amber is plentiful in the South-East of France, coral, on the other hand is extremely rare in the same region in the late Hallstatt period and not very plentiful in early La Tène times (Champion 1976:33). Coral-inlaid fibulae exist at the late Hallstatt settlement site of Orpierre-Ste Colombe (Hautes-Alpes) and at Reignir-Le Nier (74-39) in the early La Tène period, but it is thought that these objects may have travelled southwards from the Jura and Franche-Comté, a region where mediterranean coral imports are plentiful (Champion 1976: distribution maps). It is interesting to note that the coral inlaid bird-head fibula of Orpierre is almost identical to a type manufactured, according to Milotte (1963:228) in the region of Salins. Salins is also a site on which cannelated and barbotine decorated late Hallstatt wares, perhaps manufactured in the area of Mont Lassois (Courtois 1975: 66-8) are found. The same wares occur at Orpierre-Ste Colombe. We therefore seem to have more than one connexion between the Jura and the Hautes-Alpes.

Although there is some evidence that coral sources were exploited on the southern French coast near Marseille (Benoit 1965: 195 ff.) or the Iles d'Hyères (Champion 1976: 29), it does not seem to have been intended for nearby alpine communities. The rarity of coral in South-East France may be interpreted as evidence for a more easterly coral trade, perhaps from North Italy to the Ticino and the Alps via the pass of San Bernardino (Champion 1976: 31). Or, the apotropaic function of coral was fulfilled by amber and there was no need for coral (as in Bohemia, cited by Champion 1976: 39). Yet in the Alps, amber occurs in the form of beads, not as an inlay on fibulae. Whatever the reasons for the paucity of finds of coral, it seems that coral was available only 'second-hand' in the South-East of France in Late Hallstatt by contact with the Jura and Franche Comté, and was not in the mainstream of the early La Tène fashion of coral decoration.

Jet and Lignite finds, mainly in the shape of wide bracelets or armlets are fairly common in late Hallstatt and early La Tène alpine cemetery assemblages, but the fashion seems to die out afterwards; perhaps black glass bracelets replaced them in the La Tène period (but see below). Jet or lignite bracelets show a series of distribution clusters, namely in the northern Alps (e.g. at Gruffy and Reignier (74-23 and 74-39), at Montdenis (74-34), at Fontaine (38-19), Rencurel (38-41), Saint-Etienne-de-Crossey (38-50), St-Paul-de-Varces (38-53), Varces-Rochefort-Est (38-69), Varces-Rochefort-Ouest (38-70), Vif-St-Loup (38-84). The area of the "groupe de Rochefort" in the Isère, around Grenoble, is thus particularly well represented: a local manufacture is strongly suspected (see below). Further afield dense concentrations of lignite or jet exist in the Jura, Franche-Comté and western Switzerland (Millotte 1963: 187, 211) while South-West Germany is a further known source and manufacturing area of fossil wood artefacts (Rochna 1962). The term jet or lignite, encountered in descriptions of grave goods in early excavation reports may cover a whole range of petrified vegetable matters, including shale and sapropelite, known to be native to Bohemia and exported as far as Münsingen-Rain on the Swiss plateau (Rochna 1961, 1962).

Since lignite and jet occur in the natural state quite frequently in the French Alps (e.g.in the subalpine massifs around Voreppe: Bocquet 1969: 128) it is possible that alpine communities did not have to import the raw material, even if the fashion originated in the Jura/Franche-Comté, and perhaps also the technology: Millotte (1963: 210) mentions that lignite bracelets are lathe turned, at a time when wheel turned pottery was hardly known. Whether South-East France could dispose of a surplus of jet and lignite for export is at present questionable, whereas the Jura lignite appears to have been exported to Burgundy: traces of Jurassic lignite exploitation in the Jura can be found at Longemaison (Millottee 1963: 211). It is tempting to see the appearance of black glass bracelets as a substitute for lignite or jet bracelets: 4 sites in the Isère (Saint-Etienne-de-Crossey, (38-50), Seyssinet-Châtelas, (38-61), Varces-Rochefort-Est (38-69) and Vif-Saint Loup, (38-40), mostly dated to the transition period late Hallstatt to early La Tène) producing black glass bracelets, also possess lignite objects in their assemblages. Whether glass manufacture was known locally, whether

finished artefacts were imported and whether black glass bracelets are later than their lignite counterparts is uncertain. Evidence for both import and local manufacture exists in various late Hallstatt and early La Tène European contexts: at Saint-Sulpice (VD, Switzerland), glass beads were imported from the Caucasus, and glass-mask earrings originated in Carthage (Keller 1965; Haevernick 1972); at Bragny on the Saône-Doubs confluent (Guillot 1976) egyptian glass balsamaria came into contact with a late Hallstatt settlement assemblage. On the other hand, local glass manufacture is thought to have been established in Central-Western Europe by late Hallstatt times (Wells 1980: 45, quoting literature by Haevernick), as well as in the Ticino and North Italy. In its early stages, it seems confined to beads and ornaments, vessels being a much later technical achievement (in many areas not until roman technology was available in barbarian Europe). If the early blue glass beads of Lake Geneva and the northern French Alps, e.g. Vevey (VD), Saint-Sulpice (VD), Chens-sur-Léman (74-10), Mont-de-Lans (38-30), Varces-Rochefort-Ouest (38-70) and Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves (73-62) were not made locally, the most plausible area of origin should be the Ticino (Wyss 1974: 119 and fig. 10 p.116).

Graphite, noted to be extremely rare in Central - Eastern France (Millotte 1963: 210) is almost certain to have been exported from Central Europe towards Switzerland and Central-Eastern France on finished late La Tène artefacts: a graphite-coated pot, found in the Grotte de Treffiez at Tenay (01-29), shows stylistic attributes similar to those exhibited by pottery from Manching in Bavaria (Excoffier & Périchon 1974).

The wealth in metals throughout Central and Western Europe is a much quoted and much debated source of exportable revenue for Iron Age (and earlier) communities. The exploitation and transport of metal is thought to be responsible, at least in parts, for the amounts of mediterranean luxury goods that reach barbarian Europe from the 7th C BC; however, it is often difficult to ascertain whether metal ores were really mined near sites where imports occur, (a notable exception being the concentration of wealth near iron ores in the area of the Moselle, Saar and Middle Rhine: Driehaus 1965) or whether metals in transit actually passed the sites supposed to have grown rich through their control over trade routes. Thus the existence of a tin route (tin being available in Portugal, Spain,

Brittany, western Britain, but also in the Erzgebirge) is seen as a cause for the wealth of the Vix-Mont Lassois-Ste Colombe complex (Joffroy 1962: 129 ff.) and the decline of the rich assemblages in the Jura around 500 BC is attributed to a change in direction of the tin route (Millotte 1963: 215). But the importance of tin routes may have been over-emphasised (see Wells 1980: 67, discussing tin trade hypotheses in previous literature) at the expense of trade in other commodities.

If tin is only available on the western Atlantic shores and Central Europe, most other metals are more widely available, albeit in sometimes minute quantities; they are gold, silver, lead, copper and iron.

Gold was highly praised in late Hallstatt contexts (e.g. the imported gold diadem from Vix, or the etruscan (?) gold pendants from Jegensdorf and Ins in Switzerland) and early La Tène gold jewellery achieved summits of art (for example the Rheinheim or Erstfeld torcs and bracelets). The celtic love of gold was also well known to classical authors: Polybius notes that the Celts fighting at the battle of Telamon in 225 BC went into battle wearing only a gold torc and gold armlet, Tacitus tells us that the Barbarians shunned any form of wealth except gold, and an enormous gold votive deposit near Toulouse (giving it its name of Tolosa Aurea) was known to the roman army, who plundered it during the conquest of the Provincia Transalpina: in 106 BC, 15,000 talents of gold were dredged from the lake bottom (Strabo IV,1,13).

It seems that gold was available to Iron Age communities of South-West Germany, Switzerland and Central-Eastern France in the form of river-gold, washed away from alpine sediments. In the Alps themselves, traces of exploitation have been recorded in the Ubaye, Oisans and the upper Durance valley (Barruol 1969: 96). The gold coinage of the Salassi in the Haute-Savoie (Allen 1980: 35) is thought to use alpine stream-gold as its raw material. But the quantities of gold available locally may not have been very great: perhaps this is one of the factors, apart from cultural and historical ones, that led to the adoption, by the communities of the Rhône Valley, of a silver coinage rather than a gold coinage (for an exposé of the "Western silver belt", see Allen 1980).

Silver and lead (often found together) seem to be materials little used in the Hallstatt culture province (a notable exception being the imported silver phial from Vix). In the early La Tène period, gold takes precedence in the wealthy assemblages of Southern Germany and the Swiss Plateau, but silver starts being used for jewellery in the alpine regions, where sources are near at hand: silver ores are known from the French Alps (the Massif des Maures, Ubaye, Oisans, Haute Durance, Haute Isère) and Switzerland (Valais) (Barruol 1969: 96-8; Wyss 1974: 117 and fig.9 p.115). Examples of fine silver jewellery in alpine contexts are the torc of Pallons-Freissinières (Hautes-Alpes) (Chantre 1880: 14 and pl. VI; Roumieu 1959 (1965): 999-1000), the valaisan bracelets (Wyss 1974 :117) and a number of spiral or simple early La Tène silver or lead fingerrings found in Swiss cemeteries and in the French Alps (e.g. at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville, 73-49). By middle and late La Tène times, the fashion for silver jewellery is established over much wider european areas, as shown by silver Nauheim fibulae, the Lauterach fibulae or the silver bracelets from the Swiss Plateau (Bern Museum).

From the 6th-5th century BC onwards but especially in the 2nd and 1st C BC, silver is in high demand for coinage, particularly for the silver coins of Massalia and for the silver coinage of the Rhône valley. It has been suggested (Benoit 1964-1965; 191 FF.) that Marseille was especially eager to gain access to the silver wealth of the South-Eastern Alps, Provence and Iberia: the position of the greek colony is indeed very well chosen between these two poles. Some early silver coins moved northwards along the Rhône corridor (e.g. the rare find of a 4th C BC silver tetradrachm of Athens at Soyons, 07-35) but later, large quantities of silver must have moved from the hinterland towards Marseille, to be struck there and then re-circulated as massaliotic coins along the valleys of the Rhône, Isère and Durance (Barruol 1969: 64 note 7).

As a broad generalisation, bronze was used extensively through most of the european Iron Age for personal ornament, vessels and chariot or wagon fittings, iron being at first mainly restricted to weapons. In the middle and late La Tène phases, iron fibulae and tools become more common, but there is still a large demand for bronze, especially when celtic bronze and potin coinage is taken into account. Therefore, copper resources can be expected to be fully

stretched throughout the last 6 centuries BC. Copper ores appear to be fairly common in the Rhône-Alpes, namely in the central French Alps (the Massif de Belledonne, Sept Saulx, the region of Allevard and Goncelin, the Oisans: Bocquet 1969: 128), in the Beaujolais (the valley of the Azergues: e.g. Chessy-les-Mines, 69-08) and the South-Eastern Alps (Wells 1980: 64). Further afield, copper mining is recorded in the Austrian Alps (Salzburg and Tyrol: Pittioni 1954), Central Europe (the Erzgebirge), the Saarland , Iberia and Etruria (Wells 1980). The etruscan master bronze-craftsman of the 5th C BC did not have to, but may have imported their copper, and Marseille may have wanted access to copper sources in the Alps and Iberia.

If copper was to a certain extent an export product, the bulk of bronze artefacts produced in barbarian Europe emphasises how necessary copper sources were for its local economy. The craftsmen of the Jura and Franche-Comté and the Alps achieved a high degree of technology and their skills are displayed in their mastery of sheet-bronze repoussé decorated artefacts (e.g. the belt plaques and 'brassards-tonnelets' of the Jura and Swiss Plateau: Millotte 1963: 209-19) or in the elaborate casting techniques of late Bronze Age and Hallstatt alpine metalwork (for example the 'parure' of Réallon in the Hautes Alpes: Courtois 1976: 708).

How the craftsmen operated, whether they were itinerant or attached to a chieftain or a permanent settlement, is a question still open to research (see Megaw 1979: particularly 53). Alpine bronze hoards could speak for the first hypothesis, while bronze-working débris in late Hallstatt hillforts and late La Tène opida (e.g. Le Pègue (26-31), La Roche-St-Secret-Béconne (26-34), Chambles-Essalois (42-04) would point towards the establishment of craftsmen in major redistribution centres.

Iron ore is not rare in temperate Europe: yet, not all iron ores were thought suitable for extraction, as has been demonstrated by Driehaus (1965) for the Moselle-Saar-Rhine area. In France, many "Ferrières" place-names refer to an exploitation in Antiquity (Barruol 1969: 98). The raw material could be extracted from the Jura, the northern French Alps (Massif de Crémieu, La Verpillière, Allevard region: Bocquet 1969: 128), South-East France (the Massif des Maures and Esterel, already mentioned in connexion

with the exploitation of precious stones) and further afield in the Württenberg (Schwabian Alb: Wells 1980: 38-9), the Saarland (Wells 1980: 112), Iberia, Etruria and North Italy. This by no means exhaustive list shows that resources appear to have been sufficient for the large quantities of artefacts manufactured in later Iron Age Europe, such as the hundreds of swords, scabbards, spearheads and shield-bosses recovered at the site of La Tène (Vouga 1923; De Navarro 1972). It is indeed for weapons that iron is consistently used, although personal ornament and tools make a growing demand on iron resources from the 3rd C BC onwards. If iron production and exploitation is predominantly destined to home-consumption, it is possible that Marseille had a need for this metal which could not be met locally and had to be imported from South-East France or Iberia. Villard (1960: 158) has however pointed out that iron is also plentiful in Mediterranean lands and saw little demand for export of iron towards Greece via Marseille. Yet, Ridgway (1966) believes that the prime reason for the greek colonisation in the south-western Mediterranean was not land-hunger but the prospection of metal sources, e.g. iron in North-West Etruria.

A further hint that iron was shipped over some distances can be gleaned from the consistent distribution of iron-smelting sites on or near major rivers: along the Rhône, Iron Age industrial débris or slag are recorded, for example, at Charantay (69-06), Lyon (69-21), perhaps Vienne (38-80) and Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14)), along the Saône at Melin-Bois de La Rochette and Lavigney (Millotte 1963: 211) and along the Loire at Roanne (42-18) and Saint-Marcel-de-Félines - Crêt-Châtelard (42-30).

Although iron is plentiful, it is not always certain whether the ores were exploited as early as the Iron Age. It seems important that mines should be located in areas where wood for smelting is abundant (Barruol 1969: 99). The alpine coniferous vegetation would therefore be a useful additional asset for mining. The conditions in which mining took place seem to have been rather uncomfortable: Barruol (1969: 99) notes that most iron mines in the French Alps are located above 2000 m above sea level (more or less the tree line) and often near alpine passes. An example of a more easily accessible mine exists in the limestone massif of the Salève near Geneva (74-15). Late Hallstatt and La Tène assemblages have been recovered from its neighbourhood (see 74-14).

Iron could be transported and traded in the form of ingots or as currency bars. A set of iron rods bound in bundles of specific size has been recovered from the Saône at Châlon (Saône-et-Loire), which leads Déchelette (1913) to suggest that these rods were a form of standardised currency; the rods can, of course, easily be shaped into artefacts.

The distribution of iron firedogs (Piggott 1971: 261), sometimes also interpreted as amphorae stands, in, perhaps votive, marsh and river deposits on the Continent (e.g. the firedog from Saint-Bernard (01-26) found in the Saône: Gallay and Huber 1972: 295-329) and funerary contexts in late Iron Age Britain (at Welwyn Garden City: Stead 1967) shows how widely finished artefacts of very similar aspect can be scattered over Europe.

The mineral resources of Central-Eastern France in particular and Western Europe in general have been shown to be varied and, in most cases, plentiful. Salt, stone, silver, lead, copper, iron, gold lignite and amber were all available over short or medium distances, and some resources were sufficient to allow a potential export market. Only coral and tin had to be imported, but perhaps other raw materials, although available locally, were not present in sufficient quantitites and had to be imported (see table on p.146b). If the list of disposable commodities already looks impressive, it will still increase when animal, vegetable and human resources are taken into consideration.

Animal and vegetable resources in the Rhône-Alpes.

We have already run into some difficulties in trying to ascertain archaeologically whether mineral resources of temperate Europe were exploited, exported or even imported. But at least the locations of ores can be known and the distances covered by trade can be deduced from distribution patterns of finished artefacts. For organic materials, the situation is worse: neither the source nor the ultimate destination can be traced. The discussion of trade, exchange, distribution and consumption of live animals, meat, wool, skins, cheese, honey, wax, wood, resin, pitch, wheat, wine, olive oil, walnuts and chestnuts will have to rely heavily on the sources handed down by classical authors, and the independent findings of archaeozoological, palaeobotanical, pallynological and entomological

analyses. No synthesis on the subject exists, but much useful information can be gathered from the second volume of La Préhistoire Française (Guilaine, ed., 1976). Most references to the perishable materials available in the barbarian lands North of Marseille are found in the works of Strabo (mostly book IV), complemented by information given by Polybius, Diodorus Siculus and Pliny: these sources and their reliability are presented and discussed by Duval (1971: 37 ff.).

Together, the classical authors indicate that Iron Age communities of Central-Eastern France were exploiting all possible natural resources within their reach and even produced a surplus, upon which the colony of Marseille was dependant. Polybius (IV: 38,1-5), mentions that greek merchants were keen to obtain grain, timber, fish, salt, hides, slaves, gold, amber, wax, resin, pitch and honey, while Strabo (IV: 6,9) mentions that these same goods, with the addition of cheese, were exchanged between alpine communities and Marseille. He precises that wheat was in short supply in Marseille (IV: 1,5), the only thriving crops in its vicinity being olive and wine. It is tempting to suggest that the granaries that burnt down in 5th C BC Le Pègue (26-31) contained goods ready to be sold to Marseille: the storage jars contained ample provisions of charred wheat (emmer, einkorn, spelt), rye and acorns.

Other export products frequently mentioned in literary sources are meat, particularly salted port or ham exported from Eastern France to Rome and Italy (Strabo: IV: 3,2 and IV: 4,3; and Varro R.R. ii,4 19). Independent archaeological evidence would support the hypothesis of a meat export: Poulain (1976: 111) notes the predominance of pork in bone assemblages from Burgundy, the Jura and Franche-Comté, but in South-East France sheep and goats, more suited to the landscape, have priority. Cheese also appears to have been exported. Pliny (II:240) reports the popularity of alpine cheese in Rome, to the extent of causing death through indigestion! Cheese presses have been found in late Bronze Age and later alpine assemblages (Vif-Saint Loup, 38-84, La Balme de Thuy, 74-07), in La Tène contexts at Le Pègue (26-31) and near the Camp de Larina (38-22). It is perhaps significant that some of the evidence for the economy at Le Pègue shifts from an agrarian type in Late Hallstatt to a more pastoral one in La Tène times. Pollen analysis carried out at the

cave site of La Grotte des Sarrasins at Seyssinet-Pariset (38-63: Borel 1976 and 1977) indicates a similar change from a crop-growing economy towards a pastoralist community around the beginning of the La Tène phase. In such a context, wool, skins, furs, textile and honey could also have been produced for home consumption and export.

The importance of wood has already been stressed in connexion with alpine and jurassic iron mining activities: it is thought that pine or fir were particularly suitable for fuel. Pollen records (Borel 1976) show that significant quantities were available in the environment. It also seems that hard wood was needed to build barrels (see above) and boats (Strabo: IV,6,2: Vitruvius: De Arch. 2,9). Marseille had to import this commodity, together with its by-products, i.e. tar, resin and pitch, needed for caulking the hulls. The botanical evidence for Central-Eastern France also indicates that walnuts make their appearance around 800 BC: it is possible that this food source was domesticated in the Massif Central (De Beaulieu 1976), the Jura and the northern French Alps (Borel 1976). Chestnuts may also have been introduced into the Vivarais, on the edge of the Massif Central, during the 'celtic' period (Lantier 1947: 208 ff.)

An extensive range of natural products is thus present in Central-Eastern France; the only resources that were not readily available are wine, olives and figs. Although wild grapes and olives appear in pollen diagrams and botanical analyses of the Massif Central and South-East France, it seems that wine was not cultivated until its introduction around Marseille (Diodorus V: 26 and Strabo: IV:1,5), and then monopolised so as to corner a flourishing massasliotic export market, well documented by the distribution of micaceous massaliotic amphorae finds along the Rhône-Saône corridor (see below). The archaeological evidence indicates that vinyards were not established beyond the Marseille hinterland (which includes the coast of Eastern Provence: cf. Echallier 1982) until the 1st C BC, and even then, Central Italian wine is imported in large quantities in republican wine amphorae (Dressel Ia and Ib). From the 6th C BC onwards, the choice of wine was not restricted to massaliotic wine: Greek, Etruscan, and Phoenician amphorae are indicative of the different 'appellations d'origine' available (see distribution maps in Benoit 1965: 33, fig.3).

How these bulky amphorae were transported has been discussed in Part 1 of this chapter. A small problem should be pointed out, when assuming that one form of transport was the use of pack-animals. The animals most suited to such a task should be mules responsible for so much transport in the Middle Ages. But you need donkeys to make mules. The problem is that it is not known whether donkeys were domesticated in pre-roman times: it is suggested that they are a Gallo-Roman re-introduction. However, finds of bones of donkeys in a late 1st C BC midden at Le Beaucet-La-Beaume (Vaucluse: cf. Poulain-Josien 1978: 147-51) and in the backfill if a 4th C BC kiln at Beaumes-de-Venise (cf. Poulain-Josien 1979:131-2) show that donkeys were used at least in the hinterland of Marseille. It is therefore not impossible that they were known in the Alps too. If not, then horses, which are much less reliable would have to be used.

Human resources

Transport over a little known and treacherous landscape seems to have been a source of revenue exploited up to the hilt by the communities living in the Rhône valley, the Alps, the Jura and the plains of the Saône. People could be used as 'sherpas' for transporting goods over difficult terrain, or could serve as guides to reach a multitude of minor and major passes. Further, they could have acted as escorts against more or less mythical brigands or endorsed the habit of brigands for lucrative purposes and to create the demand for escorts. A discussion of the sources illuminating these activities in South-East France can be found in Barruol (1969: 101-5). On the rivers, sources of revenue could be secured by middlemen, i.e. corporations of mariners, sailors and haulers, whose existence is however not certain until they become known to us through gallo-roman epigraphic sources (mentioned by Benoit 1964 and 1965:165; Van Berchem (1970). Barruol (1969: 104-5) thinks that pre-roman trade did pass through the hands of middlemen, a view to which the writer subscribes: it seems reasonable to accept that at places where cargo was transferred and toll exacted - for example where a river became or stopped being navigable - local manpower and expertise were tapped. A recent contribution by Bintliff (1984: 167 ff. and notes) tends however to play down the role of barbarian communities as middlemen in the movement of greek goods northwards.

Slaves form a second type of human resources, generally mentioned in discussions of the barbarian trade with the mediterranean world, whose economy depended on the labour of slaves. A certain number of historic and literary sources do indeed refer to a barbarian slave trade, but these sources have been interpreted in widely different manners. Wells (1980:67, fig 3.12 and 3.14) suggests that Marseille played, in the 6th C BC, a role as a slave market for slaves drawn from its hinterland and shipped to Greece. Goudineau (1983: 72 and note 7,p.193) on the other hand, suggests that the importance of a slave trade has been over-stressed and that the documentary evidence for a barbarian slave trade through Marseille is very poor; leaving aside Strabo who refers to British slaves, he can only summon three references to the subject, the best evidence being a graffito from Olbia stating "greetings, I shall send you a letter about the slaves". The other references (Athenaeus IV, 152c quoting Poseidonios, and Diodorus V, 263) indicate that slaves were exchanged by Italian merchants for wine produced in Italy and the area of Massalia. The Diodorus source mentions that the price of a slave was an amphora of wine. It can be interpreted, as Goudineau does, as an indication of the very high price of wine abroad, and, conversely the low price fetched by a slave: wine in Greece or in later republican Rome would cost a lot less (one could get 60 amphorae of wine for a slave at Herculaneum: Tchernia 1983: 99). But the deflated Gaulish slave price refers to a late 2nd and 1st C BC situation (see below) and may not bear any relationship to earlier circumstances. A reference quoted by Tchernia (1983: 102: Zonaras VIII, 19) indicates that before wine was used as an exchange commodity, the Romans paid for their slaves in gold or silver.

Some archaeological finds can be used to support the hypothesis that slaves were traded in La Tène times, since slaves were not used in the barbarian world itself (Piggott 1965: 227). A number of artefacts, i.e. the three "entraves" from Châlon-sur-Saône (Déchelette 1913), the pair of handcuffs from La Tène itself (Vouga 1923; illustrated in Wyss 1974: fig.25 no.3), the slave chains from the Southern Gironde (Richard Boudet, pers.comm.), the Belgic slave chains from South East England (Piggott 1965:227) and the two forged iron gang-chains from the hoard of Llyn Cerrig Bach (Savory 1976:34, 58 and fig.28 and pl.VI) have been interpreted as evidence for the existence of slaves or prisoners 'intended for sacrifice' in the case of Llyn Cerrig Bach (Savory 1976:34).

No doubt is cast upon the existence of a slave trade between celtic Europe and the mediterranean city-states. What is however open to question is the degree of intensity of such a trade, since slaves can be acquired either through warfare, plunder, procreation or through organised commercial transactions. Trade can either be emphasised (Wells 1980 for the early period, Tchernia 1983 for the late Iron Age) or played down (Goudineau 1983; also Bintliff 1984 who attempts, not always convincingly, to deflate the role of mediterranean polities as providers of luxury goods in exchange for natural and human resources). But this question of degree of trade will be treated more fully in our concluding remarks. Suffice to say here that the volume of slaves exported to the classical world, either through Marseille or through other channels, need not be constant. The number of traded slaves must have fluctuated, the situation in the 6th-5th C BC being different from that of the 2nd-1st C BC. By this time, Tchernia (1983:98) estimates that an export from Gaul in the order of some 15,000 slaves per year is not unlikely: the slave trade may have accounted for between one tenth and one third of the goods exchanged for italian wine. This figure, even if it turns out to be erroneous, indicates that by late republican times, the supply of wine and the demand for slaves had reached very large proportions indeed. It would be interesting to ponder whether it was the demand for wine that created a slave export, or whether wine, was foisted upon the late Iron Age population of Gaul as the only acceptable form of payment of goods, amongst which were slaves.

A third category of human resources, after middlemen and slaves is that represented by mercenaries in the service of kings such as the kings of Macedonia or mediterranean cities such as Massalia or Carthage. These mercenaries are seen by Nash (1981, upon whom these notes are largely based) to be vital in the process of introduction of coinage into celtic society. Mercenaries were paid in coins: Nash (1981: 15) mentions the high value of early coinage since a single gold stater was enough to pay a mercenary (for an unknown period) in Macedonia. Perhaps the argument could be turned around to show that celtic mercenaries were quite easy to come by. In any case, mercenaries were paid in coins, whether they had any usé for coins at home or whether they melted them down ('it is open to question what

they actually did with their pay at home': Nash 1981:15). It is therefore not surprising that the earliest coinage known in celtic Gaul from the late 3rd C BC is based on imitations of macedonian gold coins, i.e. Philippus staters. Perhaps at Soyons (07-35) there is a scrap of evidence for a very early silver coin brought back by a mercenary in the service of the city of Athens: it is a tetradrachm of Athens dated to the late 4th C BC, (Nash, pers. comm.), i.e. a century or two before the use of coinage emerged in Celtic Gaul. Alternative explanations for the presence of a silver tetradrachm of Athens are of course possible and include gift or payment for a slave.

In an even earlier period, i.e. the 6th C BC, particularly the years around 500 BC, greek 3-winged bronze arrowheads of a type known at Olympia (Benoit 1965:106, 109, 120) could be interpreted as weapons brought back home by mercenaries. The distribution of such artefacts (Kleemann 1954: Karte 1; Benoit 1965: 33, fig.3) shows a dense distribution in Provence, which can be ascribed to Marseille and the coastal cities' sphere of influence, and a more dispersed pattern in the rest of France and Belgium and even as far as Mount Batten in Plymouth Sound (Cunliffe, pers. comm.). But it seems that the finds spots of greek arrowheads (or more correctly javelin points) follow too faithfully major trade routes - the Languedoc, the Rhône-Saône corridor, the Loire at Nantes, the Seine - to be explained entirely by the mercenary model. It is therefore possible that Greek 3-winged arrowheads were also a traded artefact, and, if we follow Benoit (1965:168), their dissemination followed an 'ionian itinerary'.

Mercenaries and slaves may have played a complementary part in the economy of celtic Gaul, according to the model proposed by Daphne Nash (1978: 8; 1980: 45): as the power of Rome, which did not employ mercenaries, grew over Europe from the 3rd-2nd C BC, fewer powers could employ mercenary armies, but, conversely, a greater demand for slaves could be met by the barbarian world. If this is the case, then it would explain why from the 2nd C BC onwards italian wine amphorae and campanian fine wares dominate distribution maps of imports into celtic Gaul to the exclusion of almost any other type of import: wine was exchanged for slaves (Tchernia 1983:99). But a

model which could be phrased thus: Early-Middle La Tène = a mercenary for a Macedonian coin, Middle-Late La Tène = a slave for an italian wine amphora, is necessarily very simplified. It remains however true that important changes took place in the 2nd C BC, probably already before the foundation of the Provincia Transalpina in 125-121 BC. These changes will be discussed more fully at the end of this chapter, but can be summarised here. They involve the end of the production of wine amphorae from the region of Marseille by c. 200 BC (Goudineau 1983: 80), the arrival of campanian wares from the late 3rd C BC onwards, the increase in the number of exported slaves, the decline in the export of mercenaries and the evolution of a barbarian coinage no longer faithfully copying foreign currencies. Archaeologically, these changes can be captured: the rise in importance of the settlements of Vienne and of the upper Loire valley, near a new border which will, in time, become the northern limit of the Provincia Transalpina, can be traced, in the case of Vienne from the 4th C BC, and in the Loire from the early 2nd C BC.

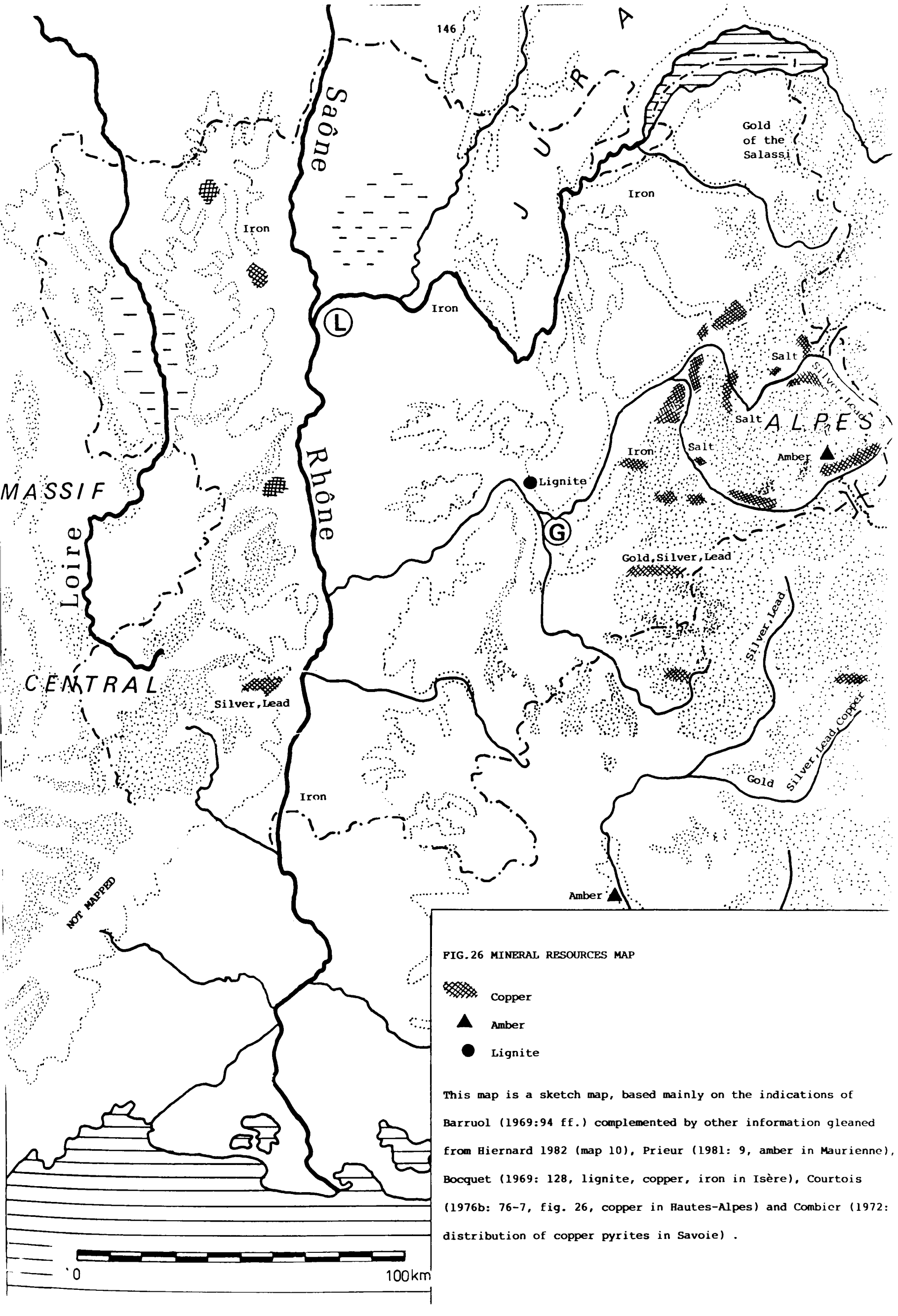

146
JURA
Saône
Rhône
Loire
MASSIF CENTRAL
ALPES
Iron
Iron
Iron
Iron
Iron
Salt
Salt
Salt
Silver, Lead
Amber
Amber
Lignite
Gold
of the
Salassi
Gold, Silver, Lead
Silver, Lead
Silver, Lead, Copper
Gold
Silver, Lead
Silver, Lead
Silver, Lead

Table 4: Resources available in Central-Eastern France

	export	home consumption	import
1) Mineral resources			
Salt	x	x	
Stone	x	x	
Silver/lead	x	x	
Copper	x?	x	
Iron	X?	X	
Amber	x?	x	?
Gold	x?	x	?
Lignite et al.	x?	x	?
Glass		x	x?
Tin			x
Graphite			x
Coral			x
2) Animal and vegetable resources			
Meat	x		
Cheese	x	x	
Wood	x	x	
Wheat	x	x	
Wool,skins,animals	x	x	
Resin,pitch,wax honey	x	x	
Walnut, chestnut	x	x	
Wine			x
Olive oil			x
Manufactured artefacts			x
3) Human resources			
Mercenaries	x		
Slaves	x		

Part III: The traded materials

Introduction

If the evocation of trade in mineral, vegetable and human resources from the barbarian world is often an exercise in probability rather than one based on fact, the finished artefacts that enter the barbarian world, mostly from a series of mediterranean origins, can be studied on their own merit: their provenance is generally known and their destination can be pinpointed. This section is intended to be a short commentary on the resulting distribution maps (fig. 27 to 43).

The distribution maps were constructed in the following way: inside the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, each find of an imported artefact is listed in Appendix 4. Further information concerning the context of the find and bibliographical references can be found in the site gazetteer (Appendix 1), as the numbering of imports follows the catalogue numbering system (a prefix for the département followed by the site number). Outside the circonscription, finds spots were simply copied from authoritative sources (e.g. Benoit 1965: 33, fig. 3). In order to give the reader an idea of the overall distribution of particular classes of artefacts, a control map, usually from the most comprehensive synthesis published on the subject, has been placed next to the detailed distribution map of the conscription of Rhône-Alpes.

When embarking on the study of imported artefacts, the writer did not expect it to be such a huge undertaking. But in the course of research, it soon became apparent that it was impossible to present a comprehensive view on all the artefacts manufactured in Greece, Etruria, North Italy, Campania, Marseille, Provence or Iberia. This would be a thesis of its own. Furthermore, it seems that much new work is at the moment being carried out: for example two theses on wine amphorae of the region of Marseille have been written (D. Fillières 1978 on neutron activation of massaliote amphorae and G. Bertucchi 1979 on the typology of amphorae of Marseille, both theses apparently unpublished) or a recent book by Charlette Arcelin-Pradelle (1984) on grey monochrome wares, has been published but could unfortunately not be consulted.

Thus, this section is certainly not intended to be the last word in an enormous field. However, it is hoped that the general pattern of trade in mediterranean artefacts will still emerge.

We shall proceed roughly chronologically and in order of provenance of the artefacts: first some objects found in late Hallstatt contexts (cannelated wares and fibulae "a navicella" or "a sanguisuga"), then greek imports (3-winged arrowheads, attic black and attic red figure wares), followed by artefacts of etruscan origin. A section on amphorae manufactured in the region of Marseille follows. Ionian wares have been slotted in next, as they are thought to be the antecedants of the so-called pseudo-ionian wares,

manufactured in Provence. Continuing the Provençal theme, we shall look at grey monochrome wares (the so-called "phocean" wares) and at the coinage of Massalia. This leads us neatly into the later centuries B.C., when artefacts of iberian origin, campanian origin and central-italian provenance (the Dresel 1 amphorae) are briefly touched on. Part 3 ends with a model illustrating the changes that took place in the Rhône valley through time, as a result of its trade networks.

1) Fibulae "a navicella" or "a sanguisuga" of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.

We are fortunate in having a recent comprehensive survey of all fibulae pre-dating the 6th century B.C. in France (Duval, Eluère and Mohen 1974) and need therefore add little to its findings. A whole series of different fibulae occur in France before the 6th century B.C. (see Duval et al. 1974: 44, fig. 25), but here only those "a navicella" or "a sanguisuga" - or, as Duval et al. call them " à arc renflé cintré" - will be considered. "Navicella" or boat-shaped fibulae have an open arc, whereas "sanguisuga" or leech-shaped fibulae have a closed bow. They are thought to originate in Italy, particularly Northern Italy, but local productions and imitations (e.g. Moirans or Alba) are not excluded. Early dates of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. are suggested for the fibulae of Moirans (38-28), and Lyon (69-29), a 7th century date is given to the example from St-Jean-de-Maurienne (73-51), and dates ranging from the late

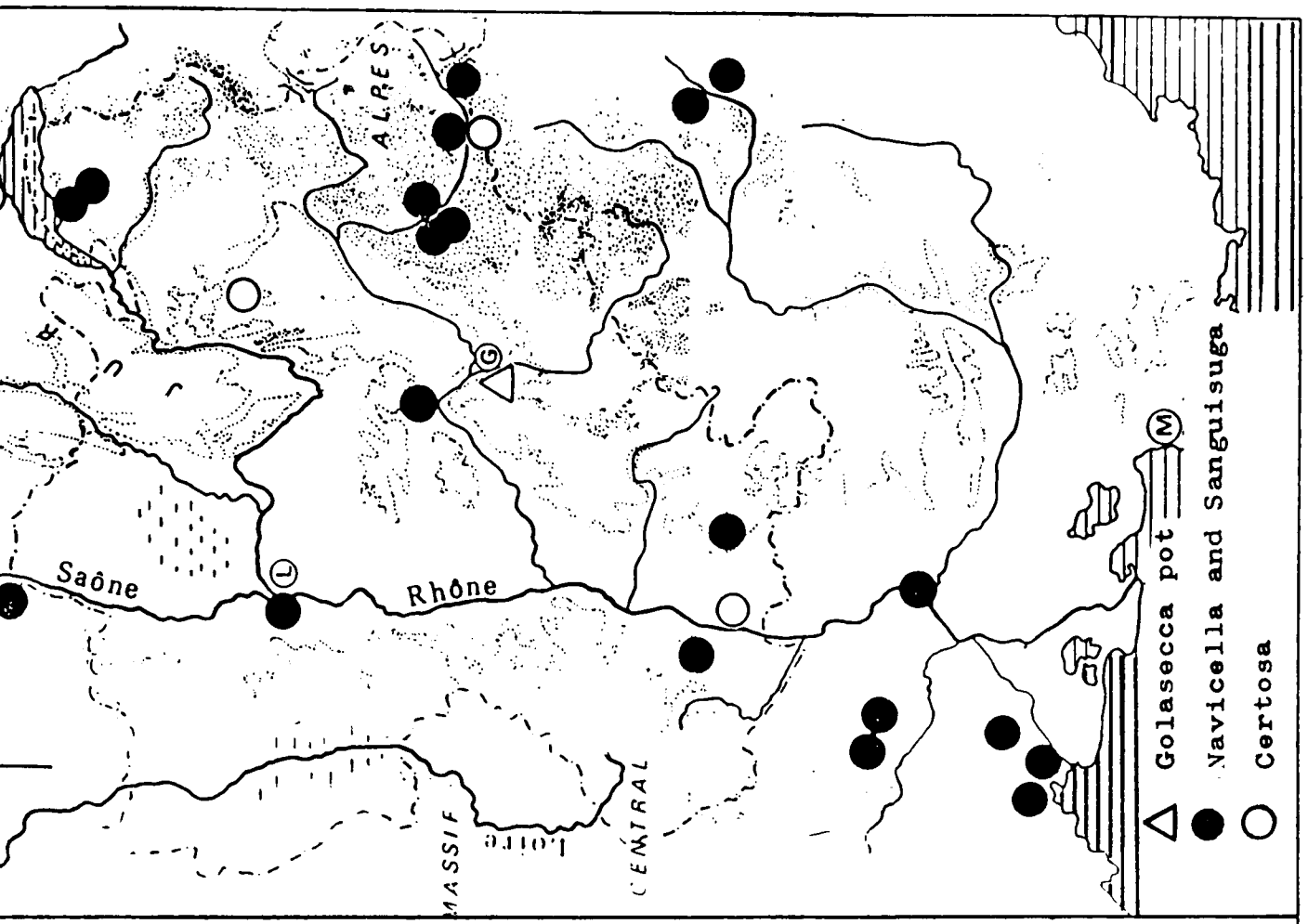


Fig. 27: Distribution of Navicella and Sanguisuga fibulae, 7th and 6th C BC, and of Certosa fibulae, 5th C BC

1) After Duval, Eluère and Mohen 1974: 45, fig. 27

2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions

Fig. 27

7th to the early 6th centuries B.C. are ascribed to the fibulae of Lyon (69-22), Habère-Lullin (74-24), Alba (07-01) and Jussy (74-26). The latter seems to be parallelled at Vetulonia in c. 600 B.C.

A few fibulae do not figure in Duval et al.'s survey, either because they are later than the 6th century B.C., or because they were discovered after 1974. They are navicella fibulae of the late 6th century B.C. (at Le Pègue (26-31) and Lanslevillard (73-31), a late 7th century B.C. navicella fibula from Le Bourget - La Chaussine (73-14) and a sanguisuga fibula from St-Sorlin-d'Arves (73-64). Outside the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, in the département of Basses-Alpes, there are also two navicella fibulae from St-Ours-Meyronnes and St-Paul-s.-Ubaye.

The North-Italian regions and the French Alps are further connected by two finds of undisputed Golasecca origin: one is a ribbed fibula with chainlets hanging from the bow found in a burial at Montdenis (73-34), and the other find consists of 3 sherds of cord and circle impressed pottery of Golasecca origin, found in level 3A of the settled cave of La Grotte des Sarrasins at Seyssinet-Pariset (38-63; A. Bocquet, pers. comm.).

A look at the distribution map of "navicella fibulae" (fig. 27) shows the strong links with North Italy in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. in the alpine valleys of the Ubaye, the Arc and Isère and perhaps also the Chablais near Lake Geneva. Perhaps this distribution pattern denotes exchange (as defined by Rowlands 1973) within alpine and prealpine

communities rather than trade, especially as fibulae travel on people and are generally found in burial contexts. But the wider distribution of "navicella" fibulae (after Duval et al. 1974: 45, fig. 27) seems to show a pattern related to trade, as the finds tend to concentrate on major communication networks: the lower Languedoc, the Garonne and Gironde, the Seine, the Rhône-Saône corridor, the Doubs and upper Rhine.

Although chronologically outside the scope of this thesis (the fibulae are mostly earlier than the late 6th century B.C.) it was thought worth showing this early transalpine exchange network, as it is a route also followed by other types of artefacts, for example etruscan bronzes (see below). Finally it is possible that the finds of Certosa fibulae of the 5th century B.C., a type of fibula which originated in Northern Italy but which has many local variants, for example a Ticinese variant (Primas 1974:89), are indicative of a pattern of exchange or of a fashion similar to the earlier one: indeed, the distribution of Certosa fibulae - although probably not very complete - is closely comparable to that of the "navicella" fibulae of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.

2) Cannelated and barbotine decorated wares found in late Hallstatt contexts.

This class of pottery is one of the few artefacts of non-mediterranean origin, whose provenance and distribution

within the barbarian world and down to the hellenised coast has been studied. It has been researched by Courtois (1975: 66ff.) who found quantities of this material at the settlement site of Orpierre-Sainte-Colombe and was spurred on to research its origin. However, some confusion has arisen, at least in the mind of the writer, as to whether there are two types of late Hallstatt fine wares present (cannelated wares and barbotine decorated wares) or whether they are one and the same ware. In any case, it seems that the most likely area of origin of these wares is the site of Vix-Mont Lassois on the upper Seine, one of the most famous late Hallstatt hillforts of Europe, where enormous amounts of both cannelated and barbotine decorated wares have been recovered (some 40,000 sherds are quoted by Benoit 1965: 171-2). From there, this material has been disseminated into the valleys of the Seine, Aube and Marne as well as into the Saône valley, the Jura (Salins) and as far as the Heuneburg. A second concentration seems to exist in the lower Rhône valley, south of the Drôme, but north of the Durance, in the Hautes-Alpes, and along the coast, as far as eastern Languedoc (see fig. 28.1 after Courtois 1975: fig 55). This distribution map seems to give an impression of duality, with an enormous gap in between, i.e. in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes. This question of dual distribution is one that has already been raised by Benoit (1965: 171-2) who talks of a "sterile zone" between vixian and rhodanian spheres of influence. But perhaps the duality of distribution is only apparent: our searches of the published literature have

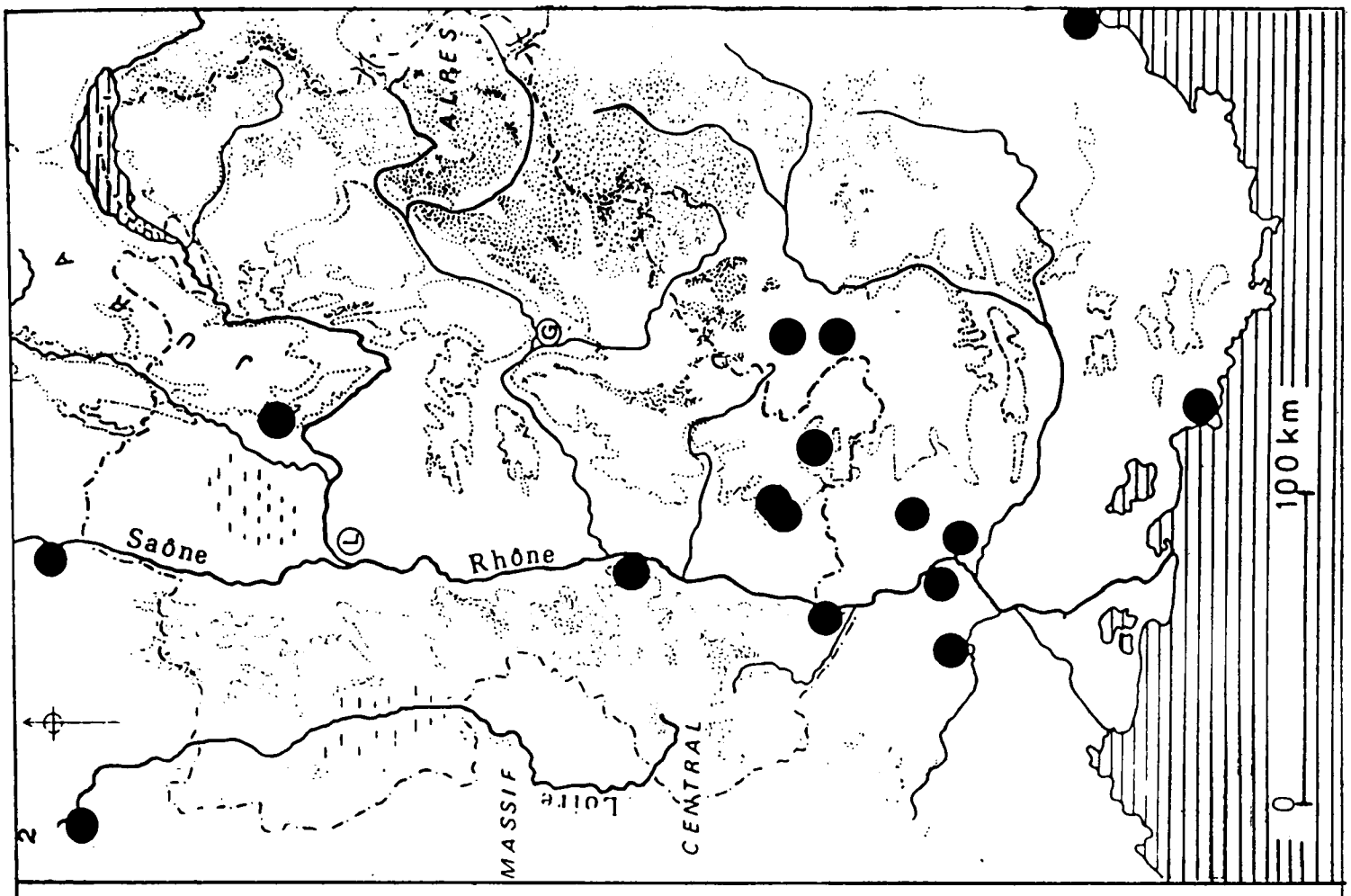


Fig. 28: Distribution of cannelated and barbotine decorated wares, Late Hallstatt

1) After Courtois 1975: 66-8 and 76-7, fig. 55

2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions

Fig. 28

revealed that cannelated wares do exist at St-Marcel - St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28), i.e. at the beginning of the Ardèche valley which could provide a link with the Loire, at Soyons (07-35) on the middle reaches of the Rhône, and possibly at Ambérieu-en-Bugey-Grotte du Gardon (01-01) where a sherd seems to answer the description of barbotine decorated wares. Thus, slowly, the map seems to be filling up (fig. 28.2) and a more thorough search may reveal more finds spots.

If the site of Mont Lassois is probably the area of origin of this type of late Hallstatt wares, it has also been suggested (by Dehn 1959 (1965): 511-16) that another family of fine cannelated wares existed in the Rhineland and Moselle in the early La Tène period. It seems reasonable to accept that a number of late Hallstatt and early La Tène cannelated fine wares, i.e. those known in the Rhineland-Moselle, the Heuneburg, the Mont Lassois, Bohemia and the Rhône valley have a similar inspiration, but do not all necessarily originate in the same place. The inspiration may come from the etruscan bucchero, the Golasecca and Este pottery "a stralucido", or the so-called "eolian-bucchero" of the coast of Asia Minor (all these possible antecedants are quoted by Dehn (1959) 1965, and Benoit 1965: 171-2). Since trade with those areas was lively in the 6th to early 5th centuries B.C., it is certainly not impossible that it inspired a high quality local pottery manufacture, which was then re-exported within the barbarian world (rather like pseudo-ionian or "phocean" wares, see below). Perhaps a good example of

contacts within late Hallstatt communities is provided by the link Salins - Orpierre: both sites have cannelated fine wares and at Orpierre there is also a bird-head bronze fibula, thought by Millotte (1963: 228) to have originated in the region of Salins. Salt trade springs to mind as the possible motive for such a link. But salt is available in the Alps, and was probably mined as rock-salt (although no evidence of Hallstatt salt mining in the French Alps is known to the writer). Perhaps a commodity which leaves no archaeological trace, e.g. pickled pork, was exchanged.

3) Greek 3-winged bronze arrowheads

Although arrowhead is the term used by Kleeman (1954) in his survey of this class of artefacts over Europe, Benoit (1965: 33, 106, 109, 120, 168, 172) refers to 3-winged javelin points and attributes the origin of these artefacts to Olympia. These objects are dated to the later 6th century B.C., particularly the years around 500 B.C. Quite a number of javelin points turn up on sites within the sphere of influence of Marseille, at Marseille itself, in eastern Provence and on the Côte d'Azur, e.g. at the oppidum of the Mont des Oiseaux, near Olbia, or at the oppidum of the Bois du Rouret near Antibes. The eastern Languedoc, i.e. the region between Béziers and Nîmes, appears, on Benoit's distribution map (1965: 33, fig. 3, redrawn here on fig. 29.1), not to have received any such artefacts: the abundant literature relating recent excavations in eastern Languedoc -

particularly by Michel Py - has however not been searched by the writer for further examples of Greek 3-winged arrowheads; new finds would cause no surprise in the region, since javelin points are known in the western Languedoc, at the hillfort of Pech Maho, near Sigean, and at the hillfort of Montlaurès near Narbonne.

As has been pointed out in our discussion of mercenaries (p. 144), it seems on balance, more likely that Greek 3-winged bronze javelins entered France on a commercial route, rather than as pieces of equipment brought back by mercenaries. Thus, the writer subscribes to Benoit's view (1965: 120, 168, 172) that these objects were traded. Benoit goes on to suggest that Greek arrowheads followed an "ionian itinerary", i.e. were diffused into France along a route also followed by ionian pottery and amphorae. He goes on to propose a bi-partite distribution of greek arrowheads, with a rhodanian group which would encompass the finds made in Provence and Languedoc, and a vixian group which would include the finds made in Burgundy, Franche-Comté and North-Eastern France, as well as those made along the lower Seine and the mouth of the Loire at Nantes. This dual distribution presupposes a "sterile zone" in between the two groups, a feature already observed in the distribution of late Hallstatt cannelated wares: as we have seen the existence of a sterile zone may only be apparent (p. 153-5). Again, greek 3-winged bronze javelin points are perhaps not so rare in the "sterile zone", i.e. the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes (fig. 29.2). A hoard of seven bronze arrowheads at Siccieu-St-

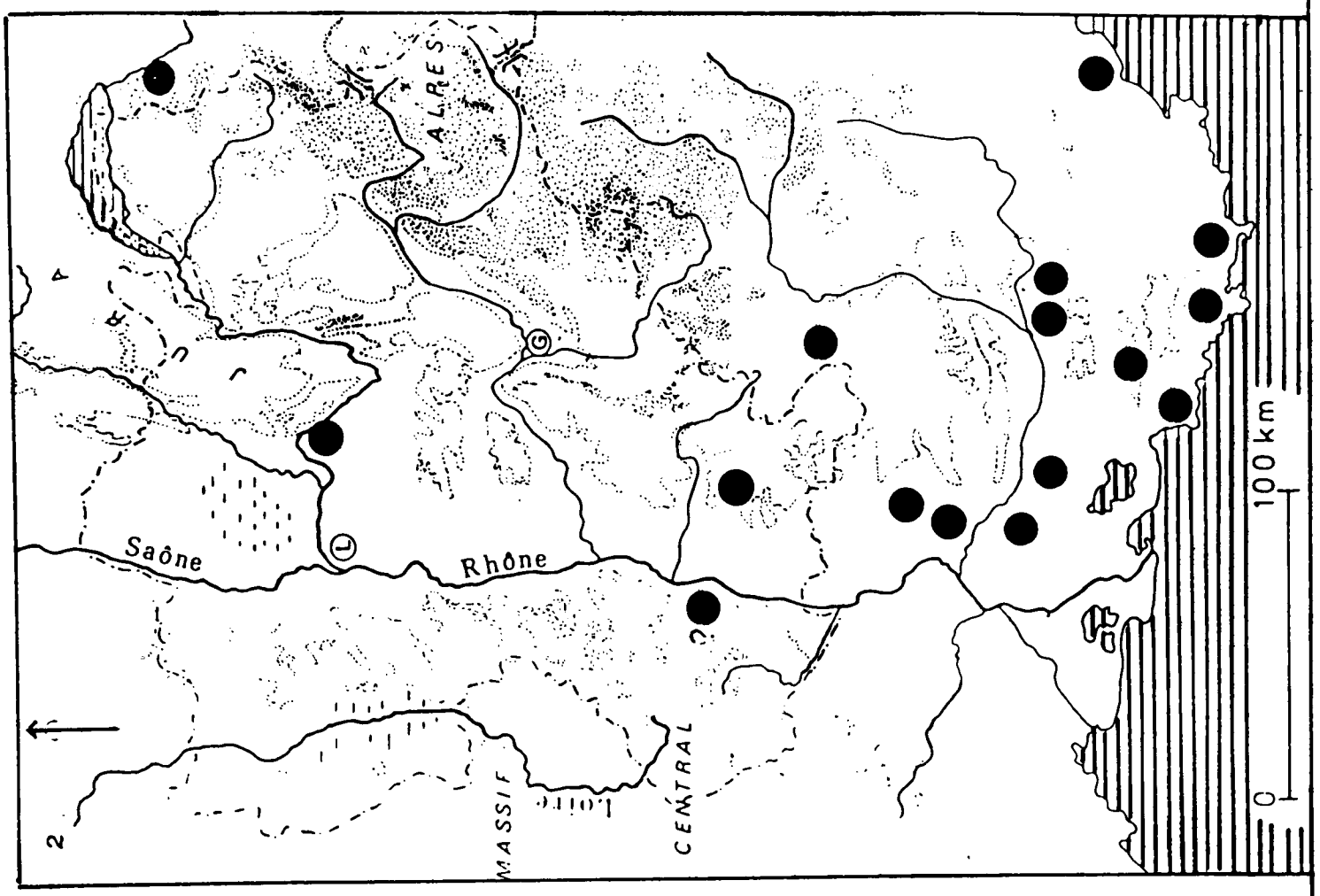


Fig. 29: Distribution of Greek three-winged bronze arrowheads

1) After Benoit 1965: 33, fig. 3
2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions

Fig. 29

Julien-et-Carisieu (38-64) in the Ile de Crémieu, i.e. where the Rhône cuts into the southern Jura, is located very near the protohistoric promontory fort of the Camp de Larina in the communes of Hières-sur-Amby (38-22) and Annoisin-Châtelans (38-01): although the construction of the rempart is attributed to the Late Bronze Age, no proof of occupation in the years around 500 B.C. has come forward; but the Camp de Larina will later attract mediterranean imports in the form of pseudo-ionian ware, possibly grey monochrome ware, and massaliotic amphorae, campanian wares and Dressel 1A amphorae.

An iron imitation of a greek bronze javelin point passed unnoticed by Benoit: it comes from the "oppidum des Aures" at La Roche-St-Secret-Béconne (26-34), a few kilometres north of Le Pègue (Guillot 1966 and 1968): this hillfort has a multiperiod occupation very similar to that of Le Pègue, but has unfortunately been less thoroughly researched.

Benoit (1958: 15ff. and 1965: 33, fig. 3) refers to a greek arrowhead at Orpierre in the Hautes-Alpes. The excavation report of the settlement of Orpierre - Ste Colombe (Courtois 1975) makes no mention of such a find: perhaps the discovery was made elsewhere in Orpierre. The find would certainly fit into the context of Orpierre, since the settlement of Ste-Colombe has produced a wealth of late 6th to early 5th century B.C. material, including etruscan bucchero nero pottery, ionian and grey monochrome "phocean" wares, as well as the bird-head bronze fibula originating in the Jura mentionned on p. 156 .

Finally, Benoit (1965: 33, fig. 3) shows a finds spot of a greek bronze arrowhead in the Ardèche, roughly opposite the confluent of the Drôme with the Rhône: this find has not been traced in the literature.

It seems that greek 3-winged javelin points, just as the contemporary late Hallstatt cannelated fine wares, are beginning to fill the gap between the so-called "rhodanian" and "vixian" groups proposed by Benoit. Javelins can travel "on foot" and can therefore easily end up at altitudes as high as Orpierre (960m above sea level) or La Roche-St-Secret-Béconne (800m above sea level).

4) Attic black figure wares and white lekythoi of the late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C.

A caveat must be first made at the beginning of this section: the finds of attic pottery of the numerous oppida in the hinterland of Marseille - e.g. St-Blaise - in Provence and in the Languedoc - e.g. Ensérune, the Pech Maho near Sigean, or the Cayla de Mailhac - have not been looked at in detail. The writer relies on Villard (1960: on the greek pottery of Marseille) and Benoit (1965), which perhaps may be slightly out of date. It is also unfortunate that these two authorities do not publish distribution maps of this class of artefact. Within the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, an effort has been made to go back to the original sources.

A look at the distribution map of attic imports of the late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. (fig. 30), shows

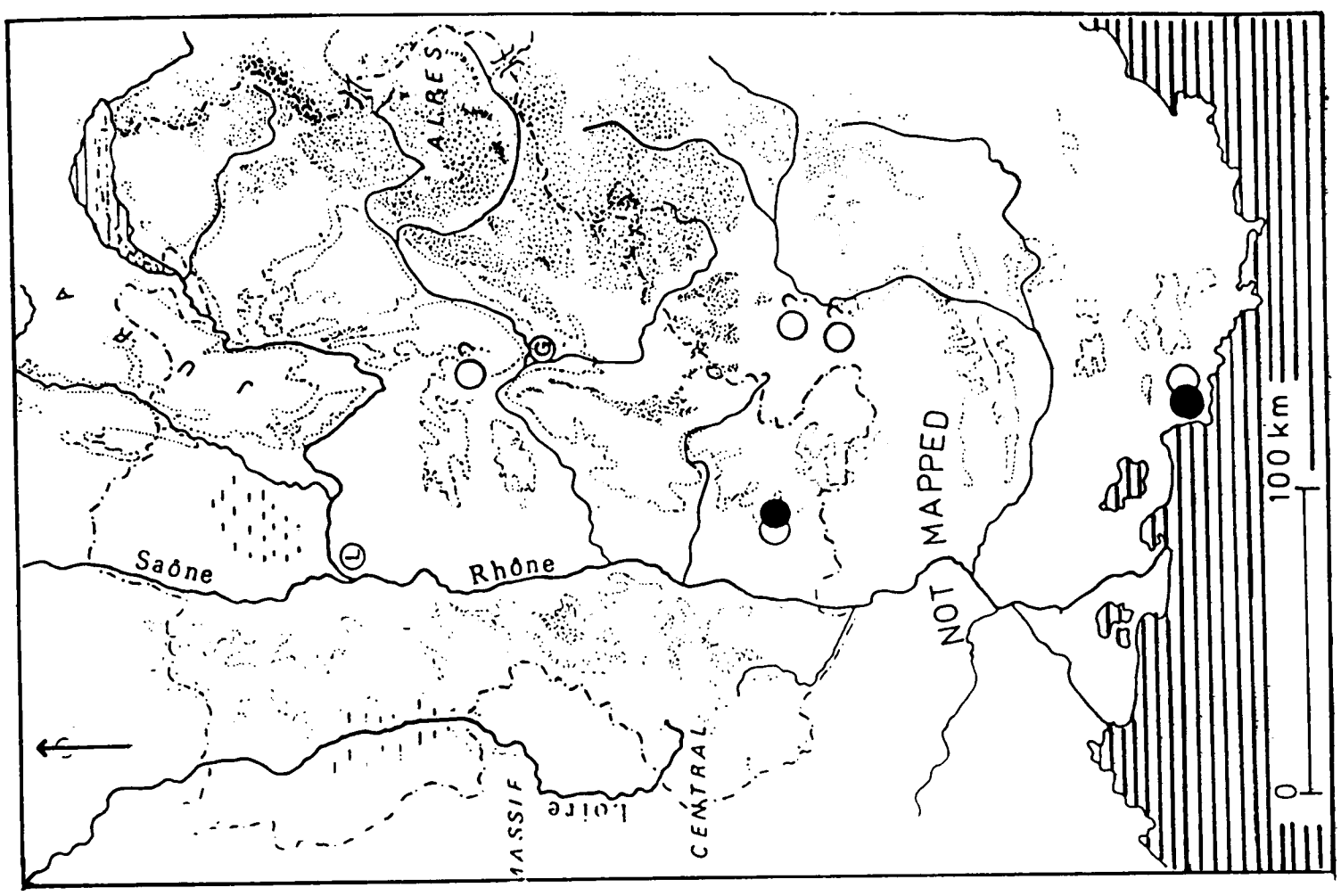


Fig. 30: Distribution of attic black figure ware and white lekythoi, late 6th and early 5th C BC, in the Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes

- ● Attic black figure
- ○ White lekythoi

Fig. 30

how rare this material is ouside the immediate sphere of influence of Marseille. Only Le Pègue, (26-31), a very wealthy oppidum in the later 6th century B.C., has produced an appreciable number of fragments of attic black figure wares, the majority being of Droop type dated to c. 530-520 B.C. (cf. Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: 20). It also seems to be the type of attic black figure pottery most often encountered at Marseille itself (Villard 1960).

The remainder of attic imports which may have an early date are white lekythoi. However, in the literature consulted, no date was suggested for the examples of Voiron (38-86) and La Bâtie-Monsaléon (Hautes-Alpes). A third attic white lekythos, this time dated to the 2nd half of the 6th century B.C., is reported (by Von Eles 1967-8: 38-9) to have come from the late Hallstatt settlement site of Orpierre-Ste Colombe (Hautes-Alpes): the excavation report by Courtois (1975) does however make no mention of such a find. Finally an attic white lekythos is reported from the oppidum of Le Pègue (26-31), the only hillfort with attic black figure pottery: this white lekythos is however dated to the mid-5th century B.C., and would therefore be better treated amongst the later attic imports into the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes (see below). The rise of trade between the greek colony of Massalia and the barbarian world in the 6th century B.C., so often hailed in the literature (e.g. Wells 1980) must be treated with some caution. It appears that only very high status sites, e.g. Le Pègue, Le Cayla de Mailhac, Pech Maho near Sigean, Montlaurès near Narbonne, Ensérune, the Mont

Lassois, Salins, the Heuneburg (all sites mentionned by Villard 1960: 119-20 and 129-31 and Benoit 1965: 120, 168 - note 40 - 183 and 194) have been able to attract fine attic table wares over a very long distance. The material was not available to lower status sites, and was not disseminated over short distances, for example along the Rhône corridor. Marseille cannot be said to have flooded the market, but seems to have supplied rich clients in far distant lands. This situation will change in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (see below).

5) Attic red figure and other attic imports of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

A knotty problem has preoccupied scholars over the last two decades and seems to stem from a suggestion made by Villard in 1960 (132-133): in short, he suggested that Marseille was at its peak in the 6th century B.C., channelling attic imports through its port, whereas it declined in the 5th century and 4th centuries B.C. at the expense of a transalpine trade route located further east which brought barbarian Europe into contact with Etruria via the Alps. To support this, he was able to claim: "There are, furthermore, no more greek objects dateable to the 4th century B.C. in these regions" (1960: 132, my translation). Villard's view is one that is still followed by some scholars in the '80's, for example Wells (1980): the Rhône-Saône corridor is open for trade in the late Hallstatt period, the

transalpine route is preferred in the early La Tène period. However, new research has shown that this rather simplistic dichotomy has to be refined. Matters are no longer as simple as that. Firstly, the recent excavations in the old harbour of Marseille have shown that there is no archaeological evidence for the supposed decline of Marseille after the 6th century B.C. Euzennat (1980: 138) speaks of "the remarkable stability of massaliote prosperity. It does not seem, contrary to what has sometimes been assumed, that the city suffered a perceptible recession in the 5th and 4th century."

Secondly a look at the distribution map (fig. 31) of 5th and 4th century B.C. attic imports in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, shows that the Rhône corridor is active as a trade route in those crucial centuries, after the peak of late Halstatt wealthy centres and before the new influx of italian trade in the 3rd to 1st centuries B.C. In fact there is a marked increase in imports, a situation that had also been noted by Benoit (1965: 120) in the Languedoc: both the Cayla de Mailhac and the Pech Maho near Sigean exhibit a much greater proportion of attic imports in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. compared with those of the 6th century B.C.

What seems to have happened is a realignment of trade. However this change is not necessarily geographical, as the old Rhône route continues to exist. Rather, the recipients of attic fine table wares have changed. Whereas only high status sites received early attic imports, now alongside established high-status hillforts (e.g. St - Marcel - St - Etienne de Dions (07-28), Soyons-Malpas (07-35), Le Pègue -

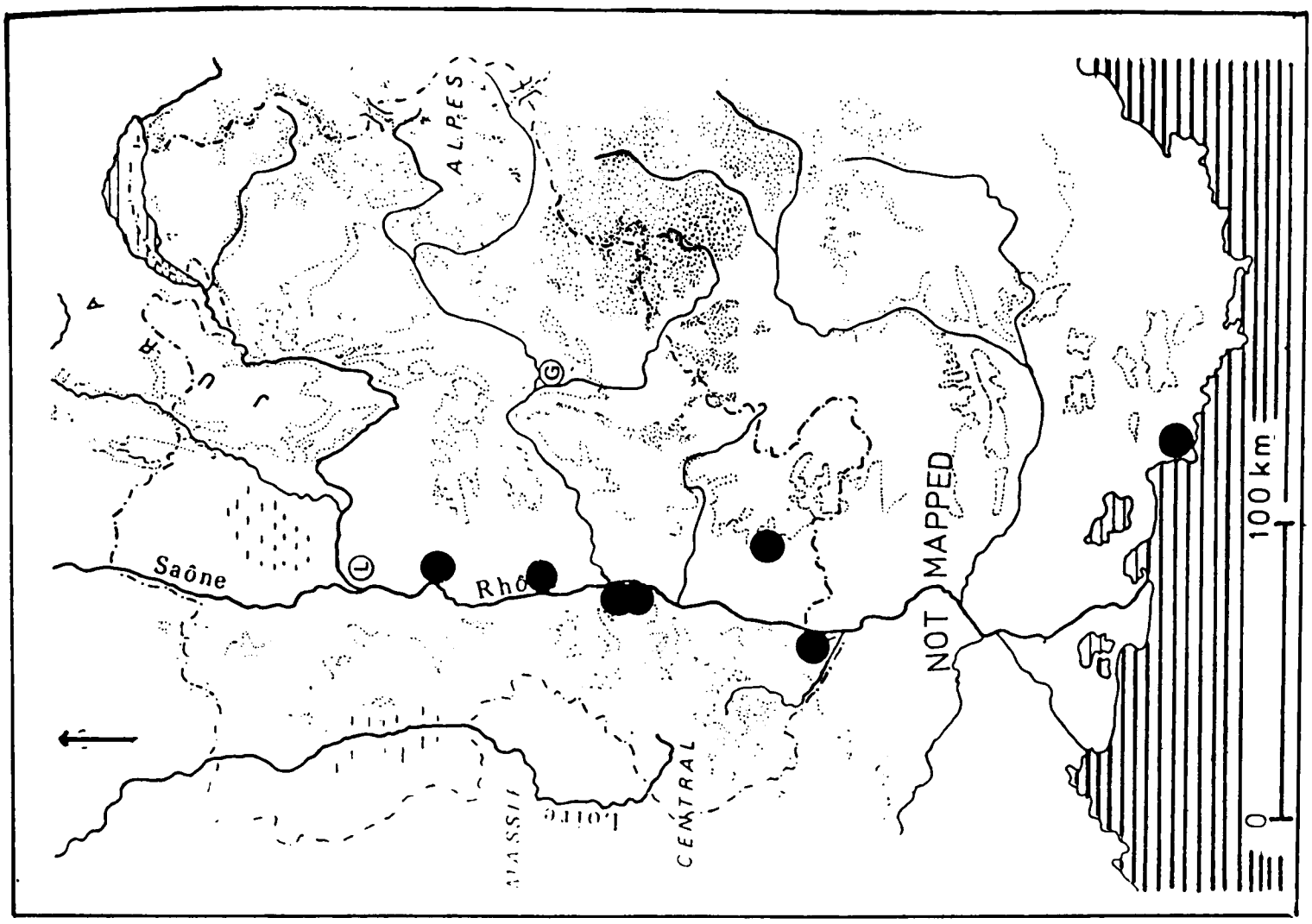


Fig. 31: Distribution of attic red figure ware, 5th and 4th C BC, in the Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes

Fig. 31

St Marcel (26-31), lowland, perhaps lower status "comptoirs" such as Soyons - La Brégoule (07-34), Serves-Château de Fontager (26-44) and Vienne-Ancien Hôpital (38-79) receive attic imports. Also, it is possible that Iron Age communities treasured their fine attic table ware for a long time, thus allowing quite late assemblages to incorporate attic fine wares. Such an example seems to exist at Serves-Fontager (26-44) where a sherd of 4th century B.C. attic pottery was found together with middle La Tène pottery. The treasuring of valuable objects is also a problem well known in the rich burials of the Marne and Rhineland (cf. Dehn and Frey 1962 discussing the dating of attic pottery at Somme-Bionne, La Motte-St-Valentin, Klein Aspergle or Rodenbach).

The hillfort of Le Pègue - St-Marcel (26-31) exhibits an enormous wealth of attic fine wares of the mid 5th century B.C., late 5th century B.C., early 4th century B.C. and especially of the second half of the 4th century B.C. a time when it is most abundant. The 4th century B.C. certainly seems to be the time of highest diffusion of attic wares in the Rhône corridor, as it is also the date given to the finds of Serves-Fontager (26-44) and Vienne-Ancien Hôpital (38-79). Unfortunately no date is given for the finds of attic red figure wares at Soyons (07-34 and 07-35) and St-Marcel - St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28).

Le Pègue - St-Marcel has also the advantage of having an (almost?) uninterrupted occupation throughout the La Tène period, which enables us to see a change from attic imports to early italic imports, in the form of a "pre-campanian"

palmette stamped dish and skyphoi fragments, as well as a campanian "pre-Gnathia" bowl, all dated to the later 4th century B.C. It is interesting to note that the contemporary lowland settlement of Le Pègue - Chantier des Ecoles (26-30) does not receive attic fine wares of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., a factor that rather weakens our earlier claim that lowland settlements also receive fine mediterranean wares: but the Chantier des Ecoles has not been excavated on a scale comparable to St-Marcel and may therefore not be an adequate sample.

It appears that in the Rhône corridor, we have a situation rather different from the norm: whereas attic red figure ware is found in rich early La Tène burial assemblages in the Marne, Moselle, Saar, Rhineland and Salzkammergut (e.g. La Motte-St-Valentin, Somme-Bionne, Klein Aspergle, Rodenbach, Dürrnberg-Hallein) and still filters to late Hallstatt "princely" centres such as Salins (Villard 1960: 131), in the Rhône valley it manages to end up on hillforts as well as on lowland settlement sites. The distribution map (fig. 31) shows very clearly how close to the Rhône itself all sites are located, on the one hand, and on the other hand that no attic wares of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. reach futher North than Vienne. It is suggested, therefore, that the Rhône corridor, as far as Vienne, has become part of the sphere of diffusion of Marseille, a city, which, as we have seen, seems to have suffered no decline in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (this suggestion was first put to the writer by Prof. Shefton, for whose comments I am most grateful).

The dichotomy presented at the beginning of this section (late Hallstatt = Rhône corridor, early La Tène = transalpine route) needs therefore to be slightly revised. It is not suggested that a transalpine route was not growing in importance, making etruscan beaked flagons and attic pottery available to the Moselle-Saar- Rhineland area, but the Rhône corridor did not die completely as a trade route in the mean time. It remained open, perhaps in direct contact with Marseille, and because it remained open, it enabled trade in italic commodities to pick up from the late 3rd century B.C. onwards. Vienne, which will become very important in the later centuries B.C. is therefore a crucial site, since it already attracted attic red figure pottery, as well as etruscan bronzes, amphorae of Massalia and pseudo-ionian ware (see below).

6&7) Etruscan and italo-etruscan bronzes of the 7th to 5th centuries B.C. and of the 4th to 2nd centuries B.C.

It is thanks to a study of these artefacts by Stephanie Boucher (1970, 1973 and especially 1976) that a great number of etruscan bronzes, mostly statuettes, that lay dormant in French provincial museums and which were often thought to be gallo-roman in date, have been put on the map of Iron Age Europe. According to Boucher (1976, on which most of this commentary is based) there are two quite different diffusions of etruscan artefacts into France, Switzerland and Belgium. The first influx of etruscan bronze statuettes in the 7th and

6th centuries B.C., but also in the 5th century B.C. seems to have arrived across the Alps into votive deposits often connected with a water or fertility cult (e.g. the region of Annecy in Haute-Savoie). This early transalpine network (fig. 32) is rather similar to that of early italian fibulae of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., already discussed on p. [151] and shown on fig. 27. This is perhaps not very surprising since statuettes can be carried by people, just like fibulae. On the other hand, greek bronzes of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. (see fig. 32 after Boucher 1976, maps I and II and after Benoit 1965: 33 fig. 3) are more tied to a riverine trade in the Languedoc, along the Garonne, the Loire, the Seine, the Rhine, the Danube, the lower Rhône valley and the Durance. Boucher is thus prompted to suggest a dual trade in the early period, i.e. an etruscan transalpine trade and a maritime greek trade with perhaps a certain amount of interaction between the two (Boucher 1976: 22). But we should perhaps exercise caution in the attribution of all bronze vessels to greek provenances: for example Bouloumié, in a recent article on the importance of etruscan wine in the "hellenisation" of southern France (1981: 75-81), has questionned the "rhodian" provenance of a number of bronze vessels found in Provence (the oenochoi of Pertuis, the basins of Pertuis, Tamaris, Le Cayla de Mailhac and other objects from La Liquière, St - Blaise and Lattes) which he ascribes with certainty to etruscan workshops. Furthermore, a number of greek imports could have been exported via Etruria, i.e. from the cities established on

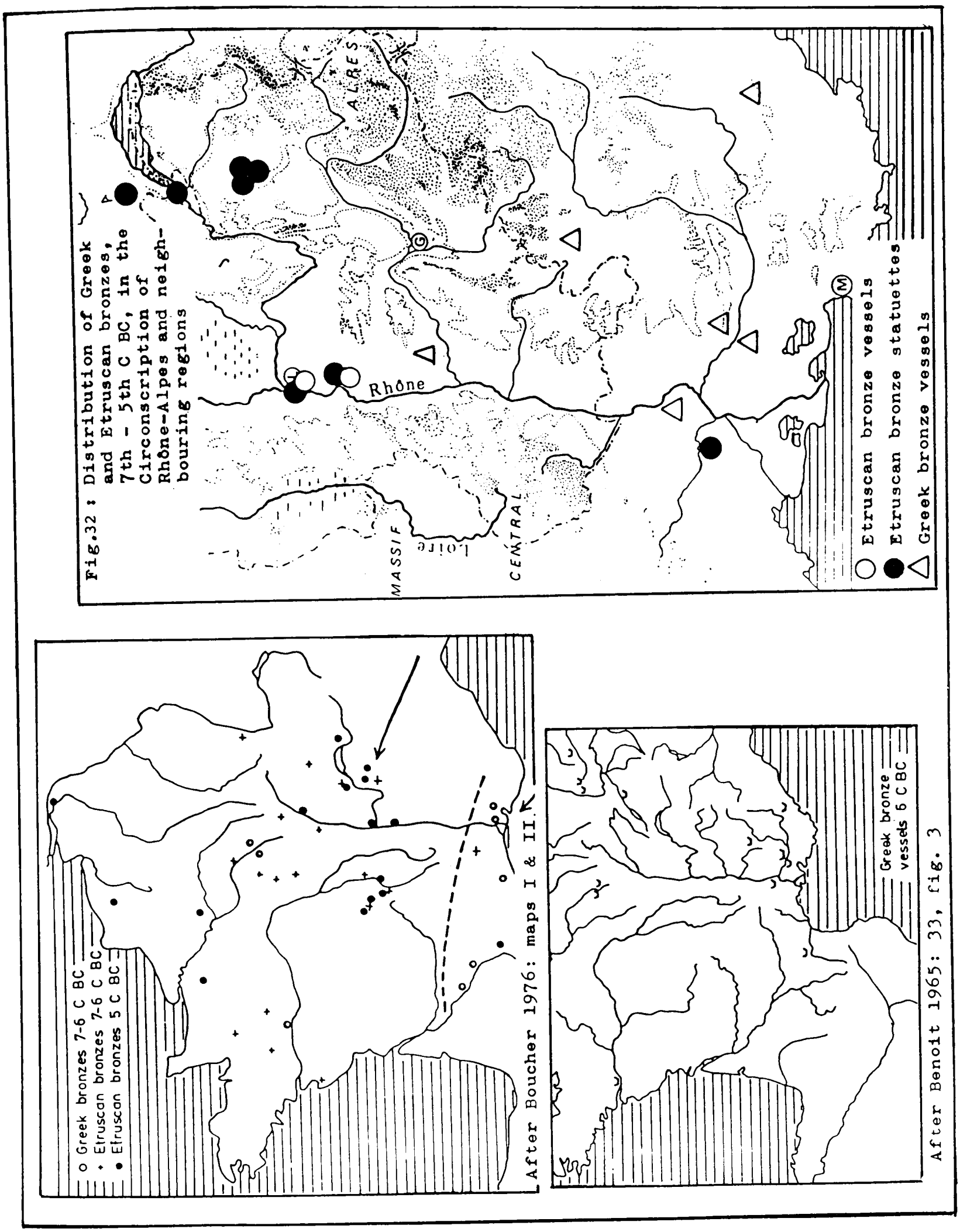


Fig.32 : Distribution of Greek and Etruscan bronzes, 7th - 5th C BC, in the Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions
ALPES
Rhône
MASSIF CENTRAL
Loire
Etruscan bronze vessels
Etruscan bronze statuettes
Greek bronze vessels
o Greek bronzes 7-6 C BC
• Etruscan bronzes 7-6 C BC
• Etruscan bronzes 5 C BC
After Boucher 1976: maps I & II
Greek bronze vessels 6 C BC
After Benoit 1965: 33, fig. 3

Fig. 32

the tyrrhenian coast. Bouloumié's conclusions are that etruscan wine in the form of amphorae and wine drinking vessels has "absolute priority" in the archaic period of southern France; only by the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. do greek and massaliote products make an impact on Provence and Languedoc.

Thus, the dual diffusion of etruscan statuettes and bronze vessels across the Alps and greek vessels through maritime transport proposed by Boucher (1976) and shown in fig. 32 would become obsolete, since many "greek" finds are now claimed as etruscan. However, different modes of transport and distribution may still be valid, depending on whether an artefact can easily be carried by people or would be better transported by boat.

Perhaps Boucher's greatest contribution is to have put firmly on the map of 4th to 2nd century B.C. Europe, etruscan and italo-etruscan objects, formerly thought to be gallo-roman (see fig. 33). However, a note of caution must be introduced: very many bronze statuettes are found in museums with no mention of their provenance and circumstances of discovery. Although Boucher does take this factor into consideration (1976: 26), she may be rather inclined to accept doubtful provenances. We shall come back to this problem below, in the discussion of the importance of Vienne.

Nevertheless, even if some provenances are erroneous, it seems that the pattern exibited by etruscan bronzes of the 4th - 2nd centuries B.C. (see fig. 33) is slightly different from that of archaic and 6th - 5th century B.C. bronzes: the

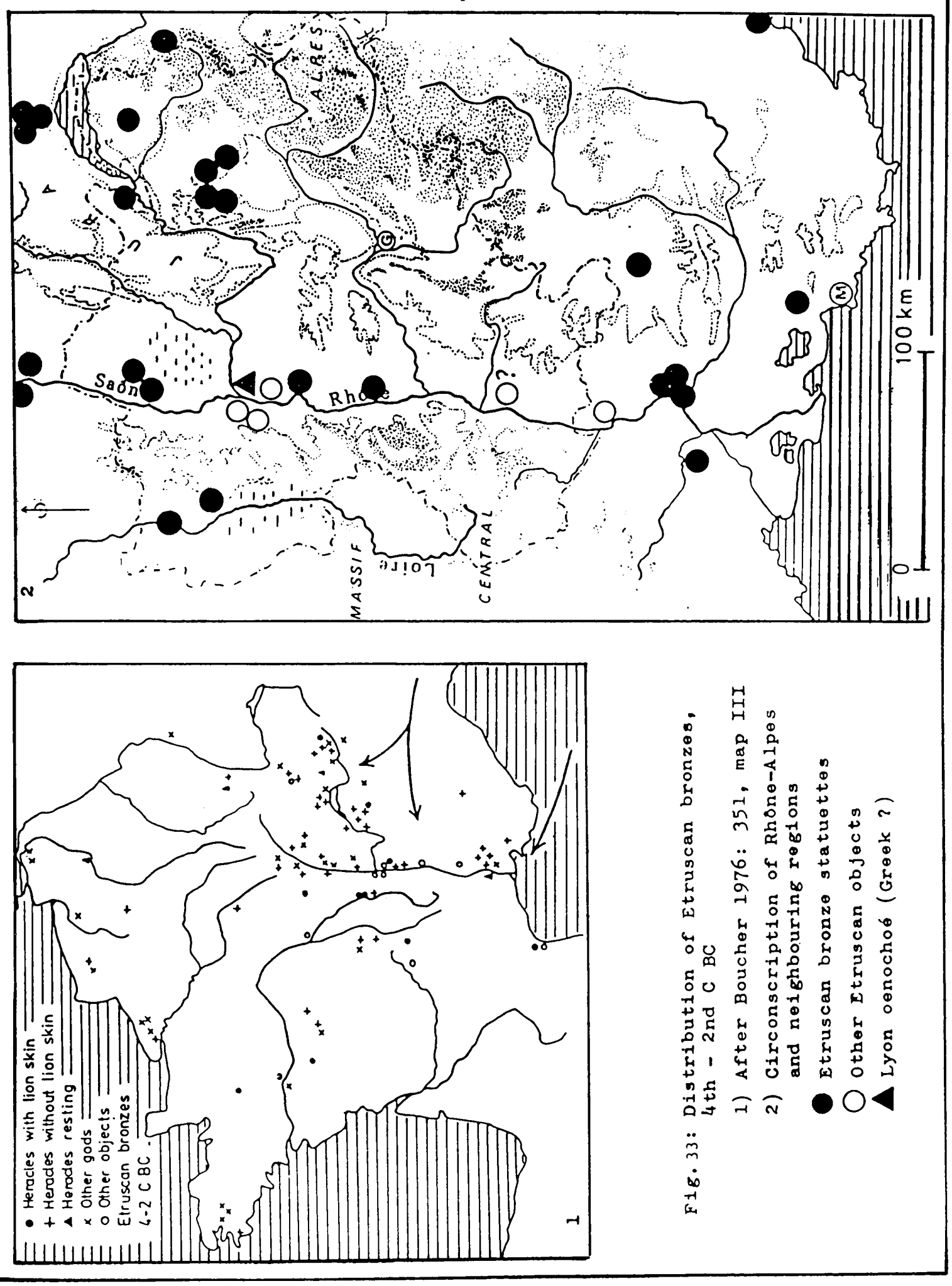


Fig. 33: Distribution of Etruscan bronzes, 4th - 2nd C BC

1) After Boucher 1976: 351, map III
2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions

● Etruscan bronze statuettes
○ Other Etruscan objects
▲ Lyon oenochoé (Greek ?)

Fig. 33

lower Rhône valley now receives previously unknown bronze statuettes. According to Boucher (1976: 23, also 34) "contrarily to what has been admitted before, the traces of exchange are now [i.e. in the 4th - 2nd centuries B.C.] multiplied between northern Italy and southern Gaul" (my translation). This increase in italo-etruscan contact also seems to be shown by the fact that not only etruscan bronze statuettes and vessels, as in the previous period, enter celtic Gaul, but also italo-etruscan mirrors (e.g. Orange, St-Romain-en-Viennois, Besançon) and belt buckles (e.g. Soucieu-en-Jarrest (69-40) and Tassin-la-Demi-Lune (69-42).

The situation in the 4th - 2nd centuries B.C. seems therefore to be an expansion of a previous state of affairs: certain regions, i.e. the Swiss plateau, the region of Annecy, the region of Vienne and the Auvergne continues to attract etruscan cult objects, but new areas, particularly the lower Rhône valley now come into contact with bronze statuettes, denoting a cult of Heracles.

The writer is slightly reluctant to ascribe the diffusion of etruscan bronzes to trade: rather, the dissemination of statuettes, particularly of Heracles, must be due to the spread of a cult located quite often in wet areas (Annecy, the Auvergne), and probably connected with rites of fertility.

Vienne poses an interesting problem: as we have seen (p. 166 and 168) its lowland settlement levels, located under the temple to Cybèle on the site of the Ancien Hôpital, attract imported mediterranean goods from the 4th century B.C.

onwards. The museum in Vienne also has quite an impressive collection of etruscan bronzes: there are etruscan statuettes of Heracles of the 4th to 2nd century B.C (one with lion skin, two without lion skin) from Vienne itself (Boucher 1974: 26 and 27), as well as a bronze statuette of Mars of the 6th - 5th centuries B.C., said to come from the region of Vienne (Boucher 1976:22). Finally, the Vienne Museum also possesses four handles of 5th century B.C. etruscan "Schnabelkannen" representing three different attachment types: anchor type, snake type, volute type (Bouloumié 1973: 8 and fig. 50). Of course all these artefacts, particularly the "Schnabelkannen" handles could be a "job-lot" bought recently by a collector (a view held by Bouloumié 1973: 15) and would therefore be unrepresentative of any trade pattern. But it seems just possible (and Bouloumié 1973: 15 retains this possibility) that Vienne did receive a consignment of etruscan bronzes; the reasons for, cautiously, putting forward such a hypothesis are as follows: the artefacts found are of different classes (statuettes, Schnabelkannen handles), they have some indication of provenance ("region of Vienne"), they are located near a major river. Finally Vienne did receive imports from the 4th century B.C. onwards, i.e. a "cargo" of etruscan goods would not be out of place.

Lyon has also a concentration of etruscan bronzes, from Lyon itself (Fort de Trion, Fort de Loyasse) or its neighbourhood (the belt-buckles from Tassin-la-Demi-Lune and Soucieu-en-Jarrest). The provenances of finds from Lyon are even more difficult to disentangle than those of Vienne (cf.

Desbat and Walker 1981 and here, Chapter 6) but again the concentration of different finds seems too great, and the provenances too varied, to be completely satisfactorily explained as recent collectors' losses.

Whether Vienne and Lyon were really the recipients of etruscan goods from the 6th or 5th century B.C. onwards is thus open to question. But in the 4th - 2nd centuries B.C., the locations of Vienne and Lyon would certainly fit very well into the general distribution of italo-etruscan bronzes (fig. 33) which now reach the whole of the Rhône-Saône corridor. Boucher (1976: 34 and map III on p. 351) sees the new influx of bronzes in the lower Rhône valley as the reflexion of a partial reorientation of trade networks in the 4th century B.C., which allowed for two routes, the old transalpine route and a renewed maritime route, to exist concurrently. The 4th century B.C. is too late for the dissemination of etruscan "Schnabelkannen", a factor which would explain the absence of such objects in southern Gaul (Bouloumié 1973: 14).

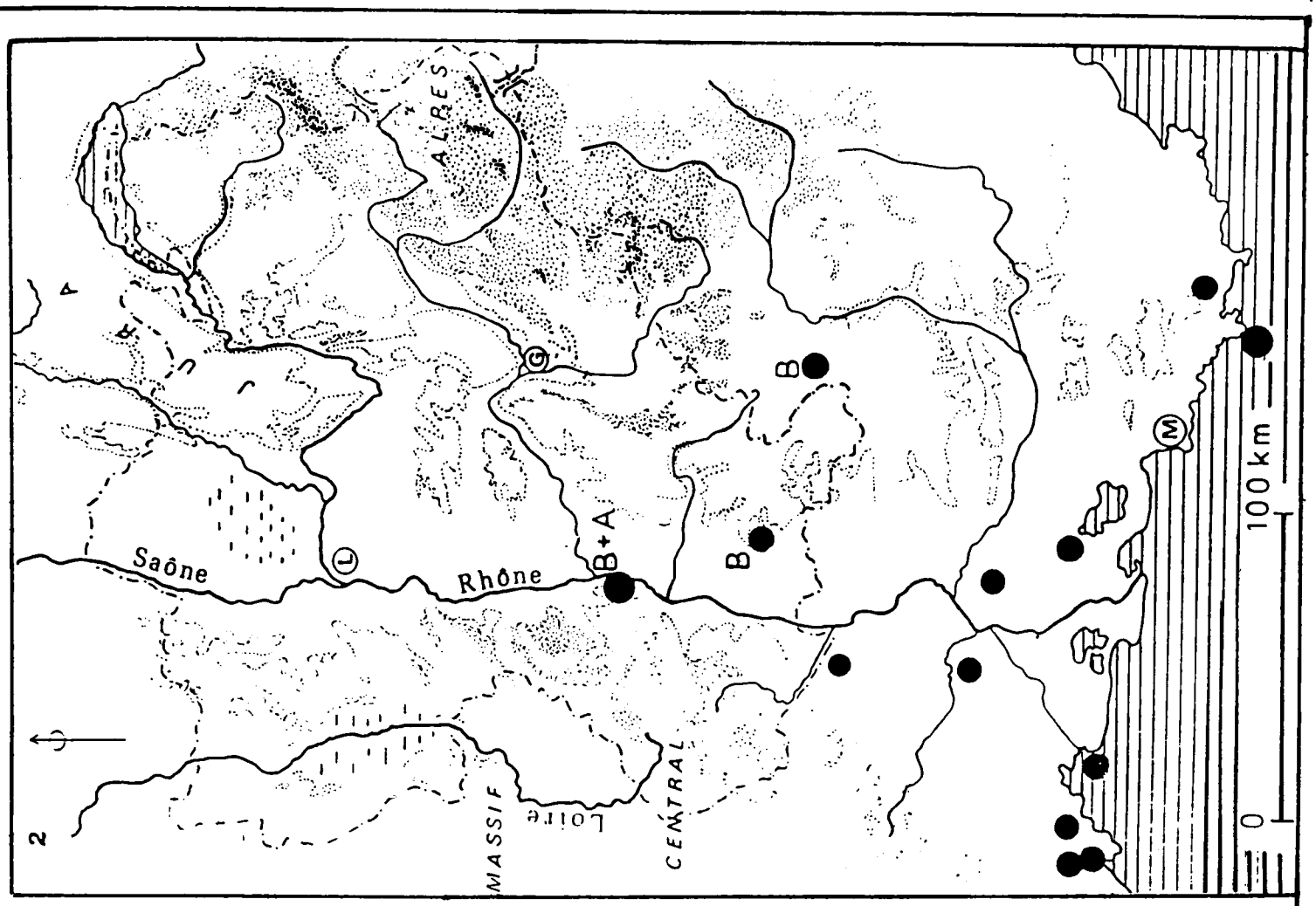
8) Etruscan amphorae and bucchero nero

If italo-etruscan cult figurines reach the lower Rhône valley quite late in the Iron Age, in the 4th-2nd centuries B.C. and perhaps influence the idiosyncratic celto-ligurian sculpture known, for example, at Entremont in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. (a suggestion made by Benoit 1965: 54 and taken up by Boucher 1976), etruscan wine transported in

amphorae and fine wares associated to it - the so-called bucchero nero found particularly in the form of kantharoi - are restricted to the archaic period of "hellenisation" of Marseille and its hinterland, i.e. the later 7th century B.C. and the first half of the 6th century B.C. (Villard 1960: 18, 34, 75) or down to c. 525 B.C. (Bouloumié 1981; 75-81). An impressive number of sites along the coast of Provence, the region of Marseille, the delta of the Rhône and the Languedoc, as well as the Catalonian coast have produced etruscan amphorae and bucchero nero: Bouloumié (1981: 75-81) cites some 90 dry land sites, some 20 underwater sites and 4 shipwreck sites for the period post-dating 575 B.C. and pre-dating c. 525 B.C.; Villard (1960: 17, 18, 34, 74, 75, 77, 116) and Benoit (1965: 51-56) quote such well known early sites as Antibes, Pertuis, St- Blaise, Tamaris, the Cap Couronne, the Mont Garou near Sanary, Mailhac, Bessan, Montlaurès, Ampurias and Barcelona and wrecks off the ports of Antibes, Nice, Agde, and in the Grau du Roi, to show how frequent etruscan imports are on the southern coast. It seems that in the "archaic" period, etruscan wine is preponderant and does not compete with wine transported in massaliotic amphorae, which appear to make an impact only by the second half of the 6th century B.C. (Bouloumié 1981). Etruscan amphorae and fine wares are often associated on the sites mentioned above to material thought to be of corinthian, rhodian, ionian or punico-phoenician origin. Transport of wine and bucchero nero was certainly done by sea, as exemplified by the ship-wreck sites and the

coastal distribution of etruscan material. At Marseille itself, it was a commonly available commodity, since it occupies second place - even though Villard's figures must now be out of date - after corinthian material in the frequency table published by Villard (1960: 34) for the archaic period of the hellenic colony. Only after the mid 6th century B.C. do attic products dominate the assemblages. Thus etruscan wine belongs to a phase of very early "hellenisation" in southern France: Bouloumié (1981: 8) sees the Etruscans as responsible for the introduction of the taste for wine in Provence and Languedoc, opening a market which, later, will be exploited by Marseille and its hinterland.

The early maritime diffusion of etruscan wine and fine wares extends into the barbarian world, but the main distribution is in Provence and the lower Rhône valley. Some finds reach a little beyond the Rhône corridor on sites with evidence of early occupation, in the 6th century B.C. Le Pègue (26-30; interestingly the lowland site and not the hillfort), Soyons - Malpas (07-35), St-Laurent-de-Carnols (Gard), and Orpierre - Ste-Colombe in the Hautes-Alpes. Or-pierre - Ste-Colombe (Courtois 1975), perched high up above a little lateral alpine valley, is a late Hallstatt settlement site with an assemblage very rich in mediterranean imports, considering its rather marginal position: leaving aside the 3-winged Greek javelin point and the later 6th century B.C. attic white lekythos, which are said to come from Orpierre but are not mentionned in Courtois' report,



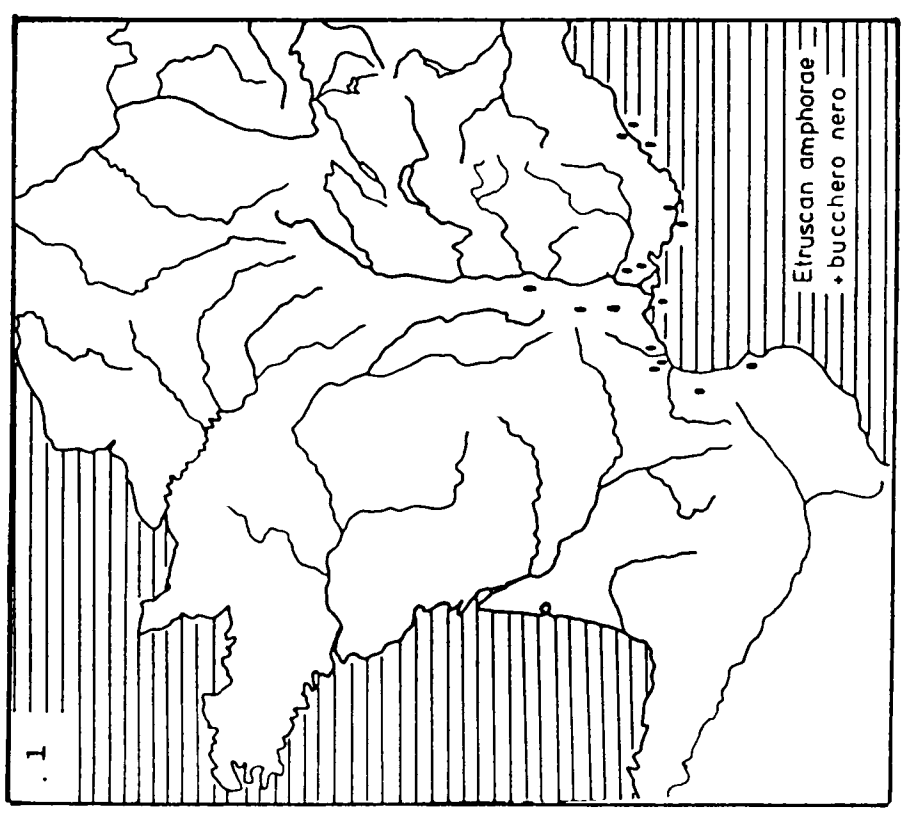


Fig. 34: Distribution of Etruscan amphorae and bucchero nero

1) After Benoit 1965: 33, fig. 3
2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions

A: Amphorae

B: Bucchero

Fig. 34

there are undisputed finds of an etruscan kantharos, an ionian cup and "phocean" grey ware, as well as a bird-head fibula and fine wares originating in the Jura and Burgundy. On the other hand, certain products of the regions of Marseille or its hinterland (massaliotic amphorae or pseudo-ionian ware) are conspicuous by their absence. Is the site too early to have attracted these wares?: it seems unlikely since the bird-head fibula must be dated very late in the Hallstatt period, if not in the early La Tène (a date proposed by Millotte 1963: 188 and 228). Was it too high to be reached by bulky amphorae?: it is a possibility, since only etruscan bucchero, and not amphorae, are found on the site. Or perhaps Orpierre was on a trade network reached by certain goods and not by others. But in this context, it may be worth recalling the comments made by Benoit (1965: 54): "the alpine route and the rhodanian route together with its lateral branches are never mutually exclusive, and one should not divide its users by attributing to the Etruscans the transalpine route and to the Greeks of Massalia the route of the ligurian littoral" (my translation). However, certain shifts in popularity through time may be detected. In the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., an etruscan maritime trade, first reaching the Bouches-du-Rhône (perhaps because salt was sought in exchange: Benoit 1965: 51 and 54) and perhaps allied to a carthaginian trade (Benoit 1965: 32, 37) is responsible for the dispersal of etruscan wine as far as Soyons in the Rhône valley, and also to Salins in the Jura. This trade seems to come to a halt in the second half of the

6th century B.C. and be replaced by trade in greek wine. According to Benoit (1965: 54) the battle of Aléria is responsible for the end of the etruscan maritime supremacy. At the same time, archaic etruscan statuettes travel across the Alps and continue to filter into France in the 5th century B.C. In the 5th century B.C. etruscan "Schnabelkannen" also reach La Tène Europe along an easterly transalpine route. But from the 4th century B.C. onwards, italo-etruscan cult figurines, belt buckles and mirrors are again present in the lower Rhône valley: they may have travelled either on a transalpine route, as the northern examples must have done, or been diffused from the coast.

With etruscan material we have again an illustration that trade can fluctuate, change route and destination. But the changes in trade patterns do not necessarily all have a political reason: the type of material and mode of transport can also dictate trade networks.

9) The wine amphorae of the region of Massalia

A recent article by Echallier (1982), discussing the provenance of micaceous amphorae of the years 600 to 200 B.C. is the reason why the title "region of Massalia" is given to this section. Indeed, in the older literature, micaceous amphorae are often referred to as "amphorae of Marseille" or "massaliotic amphorae". However, Benoit (1965: 120, 183, 203) had already suggested that amphorae, and therefore wine, were produced in the lower Languedoc and in the lower Rhône

valley, perhaps from the 5th century B.C. onwards. It is indeed open to question whether wine containers were ever made in Marseille itself: it is still a possibility considered by Echallier (1982: 144) but so far no kilns have come to light in Marseille (ibid: 141): a waster is however mentioned by Benoit. On the other hand, Echallier's petrological analysis of the inclusions found in the fabric of micaceous wine amphorae, suggest that they were manufactured mainly on, or near, the coast of eastern Provence, between Nice and Hyères. A further centre of production is likely to have existed in the lower Rhône valley, north of Marseille, in an area situated around the Rhône-Durance confluent. In all, three major groups and numerous subgroups of micaceous amphorae appear to exist, according to the presence or absence and proportion of metamorphic and carbonate rocks in their fabric. Group I is located predominantly in the Massif des Maures, Group II in the Massif de l'Esterel, Group IIIa in the region of Cavaillon, Carpentras and Valréas (i.e. not far from Le Pègue) and Group IIIb in the region of Nice (cf. Echallier 1982: map 1). Assuming that amphorae were made near the zones of wine production, then the implications of Echallier's study are that "there is an extension of the vineyards producing wine for Marseille and therefore an extension of the geographical zone placed directly under the economic and political control of Marseille" (1982: 144; my translation). Thus, the "chora" of Marseille, generally thought to be rather restricted with its back against celto-

ligurian territories, would be rather larger than previously thought. Echallier proposes to conduct further research in order to establish whether wine amphorae were also manufactured in the Languedoc, (as proposed by Benoit 1965), to ascertain whether amphorae could have been made in Marseille itself, and to explore whether production zones shifted in time.

Two theses (one by D. Fillières, 1978, on the neutron activation of micaceous amphorae and one by G. Bertucchi, 1979, an up-to-date study of all wine amphorae of the region of Marseille between 600 and 200 B.C.) have been written recently: they appear to be unpublished and have not been consulted. Consequently, many of the remarks made in this section might be out of date, since they are based of the study of Benoit (1965, particularly 182-6) complemented by a recent article by Goudineau (1983: 76-86).

The amphorae of the region of Marseille seem to have been used for the transport of wine and wine alone, which according to Athenaeus (IV 152c, quoted by Goudineau 1983: 77) was the only export product of the city of Marseille. Still according to Athenaeus (I, 48, 27c) "it is of good quality, it is scarce, it is thick, it has body". Thus, it cannot be considered as "plonk", a view sometimes taken by older scholars (e.g. Villard 1960: 120 "the rather mediocre wine produced by the territory of Marseille" my translation). But its rarity is a factor worth noticing: to Goudineau (1983) it means that wine of the region of Massalia was never exported on the scale of later italian wine in the republican

period. In fact, in the hellenistic period, i.e. the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. he claims that "in the interior of Gaul [north of Lyon] there is virtually nothing anywhere" (Goudineau 1983: 78) and notes that "on any site [including those of the lower Rhône valley and Provence] the number of amphorae of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. is much greater than that of the hellenistic amphorae" (Goudineau 1983: 79). But, if we look at the typology, chronology and hypotheses put forward by Benoit (1965), we may come to a slightly different conclusion highlighting changes in the celtic barbarian world rather than in the region of Marseille itself. We shall come back to this point, after having presented Benoit's views.

The technique of vinification on the French coast and the prototypes of wine amphorae in the region of Marseille are both greek introductions (Benoit 1965: 182, 202), of the mid 6th century B.C., earlier wine being imported from a variety of provenances, including Etruria. Wine amphorae are thus manufactured locally, perhaps in a number of different centres (see above) and in the Languedoc (Pech Maho, Peyrac, Ensérune: Benoit 1965: 120, 183, 203) as well as perhaps at Le Pègue, (Benoit 1965: 183). An examination of the fabrics, inclusions, general form (spherical or ovoid) and shape of the rim, prompts Benoit (1965: 182-5) to suggest two periods of wine production in the region of Marseille. In the first period (mid 6th century B.C. and 5th century B.C.), wine amphorae are found along the coast, in Provence, Languedoc but also quite far inland (e.g. St-Romain-en-Viennois near

Vaison-la-Romaine, Le Pègue (26- 31), St- Martin-Grotte des Cloches (07-29)and are exported to distant 'princely' late Hallstatt sites such as the Heuneburg, Mont Lassois, Salins, Mantoche. In the second period (5th to 3rd or even early 2nd century B.C.) the distribution is more heavily weighted towards a maritime (as indicated by numerous ship wreck sites) and coastal distribution, i.e. in eastern Provence (e.g. Olbia, Antibes, Ventimillia), in the lower Languedoc (the region of Sigean, Cayla de Mailhac, Ruscino, Ensérune, Montlaurès, Agde) in the Bouches-du-Rhône and immediate vicinity of Marseille (e.g. L'Arquet near Martigues, Roquepertuse, Arles). The commerce in wine is thus not abandonned from the 5th century onwards "since most massaliotic amphorae exported along a maritime route date to this period" (Benoit 1965: 203, my translation).

To this maritime and coastal "zone of continuity", the writer would like to add the Rhône corridor (fig. 35: Le Pègue (26-31) continues to have, or perhaps even manufacture massaliotic amphorae down to the 3rd/2nd century B.C. (Benoit 1965: 183 and Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: 53 and 87). Late micaceous amphorae of the region of Massalia have also been found elsewhere in the Rhône valley, at Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14; the massaliotic amphorae are dated by Boisse (1966) to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.), at Soyons (07-35; in 5th century levels according to Hatt (1958), but perhaps as late as the early 3rd century B.C. according to Brühl (1960: 376), perhaps at Tournon (07-36), at Vienne - Ancien Hôpital (38-79; in a 4th century context), perhaps in

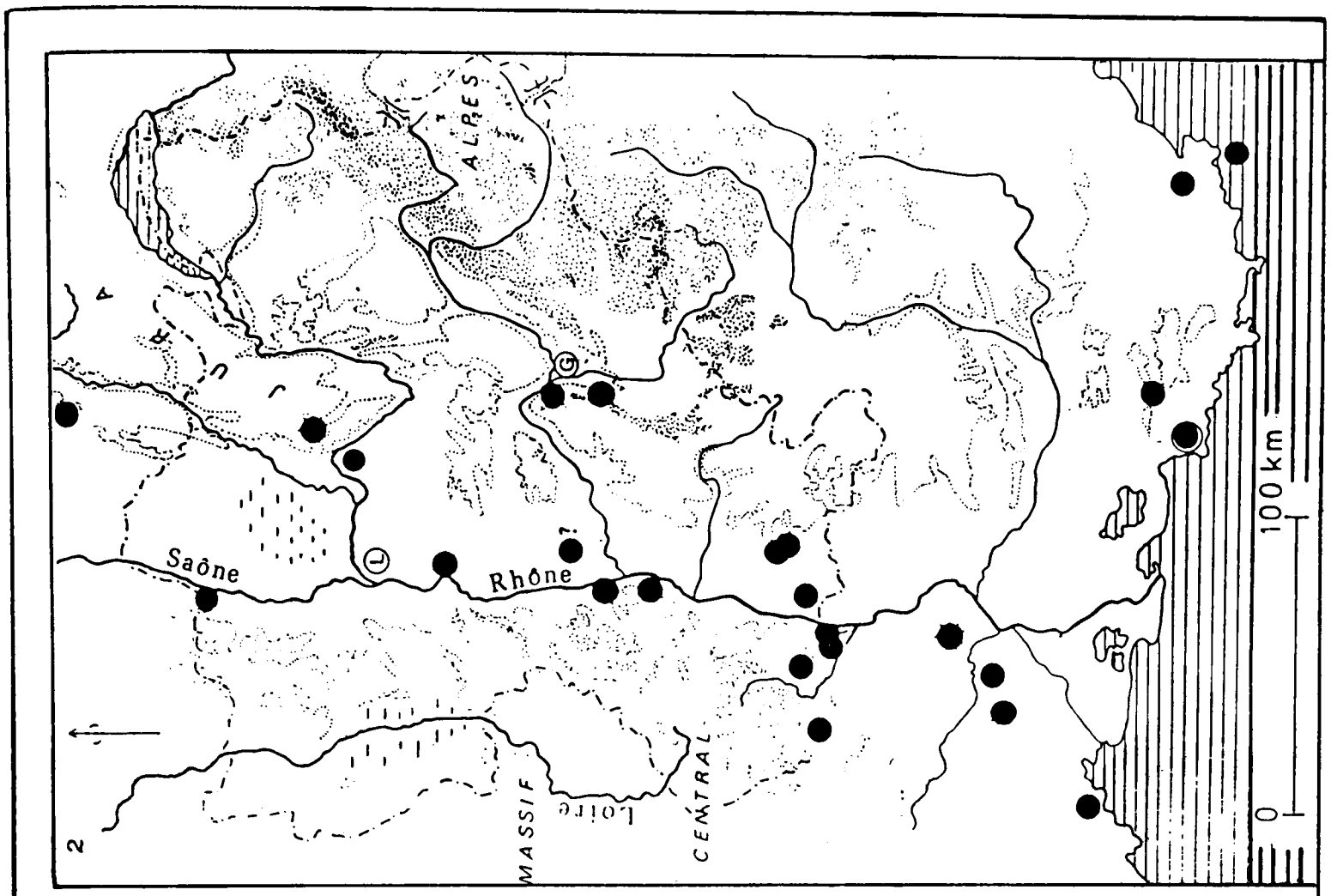


Fig. 35 : Distribution of micaceous amphorae of the region of Marseille

1) After Benoit 1965: 33, fig.3
2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions (for area N of Lyon: Guillot 1976: 129, fig.10)

Fig. 35

the early to middle La Tène midden from the Camp de Larina at Hières s.-Amby-Trou de la Chuire (38-22; Chauffin (1960: 39) mentions amphorae bases in the shape of spindles, non-micaceous) and at Ambérieu-en-Bugey - Grotte du Gardon (01-01; Benoit dates the amphora handle to the 4th-3rd century B.C. (1965: 186, note 66)). Thus, the majority of sites in the immediate vicinity of the Rhône (les Granges, Soyons, Tournon, Vienne, Larina, Ambérieu), have produced late massaliotic amphorae. The situation seems almost identical to that exposed in our discussion of attic red figure wares of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (see p. 164-8): wine from the region of Massalia no longer reaches princely seats in far distant lands, but reaches both hillforts and lowland settlements over shorter distances along the Rhône valley, as far as its exit from the Jura (Ambérieu and Larina).

The reason for this change in the recipients of mediterranean wine must be the changes in contacts between Marseille and its surrounding areas. It is very tempting to suggest an extension of the "chora" of Marseille, or at least an extension of the sphere of economic influence of Massalia after the 5th century B.C., as already suggested by Echallier's work on the provenance of amphorae on the coast of eastern Provence. Euzennat (1980: 138) has already been quoted for stating that Marseille suffered no decline in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Taking into account Benoit's suggestions that wine was produced in Languedoc and at Le Pègue perhaps after the mid 5th century B.C. (1965: 120,

183,184, 203) and his claim that the diffusion of wine amphorae from the mid 5th century onwards "shows the intensification of the commerce of massaliotic wine after this date" (1965: 184, my translation), and adding to this body of evidence the Rhône valley sites mentioned above, then a different picture emerges. It is true that Marseille and its region no longer export wine over long distances, to now obsolete princely seats. But the trade in wine to areas closer to Marseille, perhaps more directly in contact with the city via maritime and rhodanian networks, flourishes or even expands. The decline of Marseille is a myth: it lost its long distance trade links but more than compensated for it by intensifying contacts with its surroundings, which must include the Rhône valley as far as Vienne or even the Jura. However, proportions must be kept in mind, and the amount of massaliotic wine never reached the proportions of late republican exports into barbarian Europe.

The intensification of contacts between Marseille and its neighbourhood leads us to touch on the vexed question of the extent of the "chora" of Marseille. Strabo (IV, 1.5, quoted by Goudineau 1983: 82) tells us that "after having been founded to practice commerce, Marseille became a city living from its chora". Yet Goudineau cannot find any trace of colonisation in the hinterland of Marseille and stresses that "traces of a typically indigenous civilisation are found even in proximity to Marseille" (1983: 822). But we need not necessarily look for traces of colonisation. If close contacts existed between the Languedoc, the Rhône valley, the

coast of eastern Provence and Marseille, then the economic basis for Marseille could be viable: vineyards were cultivated in those areas, olive groves existed near Entremont (oil presses), at La Courtine d'Ollioulles and in the area of Fos (pollen evidence quoted by Goudineau 1983:84), salt was exploited in the Golfe du Lion near St-Blaise (Benoit 1965: 205-7) and grain was produced in large quantities and stored in the granaries of Le Pègue (Lagrand and Thalmann 1973).

Thus, if "chora" is interpreted in a loose sense, meaning areas of economic interdependance rather than territory, then Strabo could be taken as a further indication of the changes that took place in Marseille and its extended neighbourhood, perhaps after the mid 5th century B.C.: long distance trade in luxury goods did decline but it was replaced by plenty of local and medium distance contacts, including the establishment of vineyards and the production and flourishing of local imitation wares in the lower Rhône valley, such as pseudo-ionian or grey monochrome wares (see below).

10) Ionian wares

This section is intercalated between the sections dealing with the production of the region of Marseille and those of the lower Rhone valley, as it is thought to be ionian wares that influenced the production of local pseudo-ionian material. Thus its position here, rather than amongst

goods of greek origin (sections 3, 4, and 5). Secondly it is not always clear whether pottery referred to as 'ionian' is a real import from Ionia or a local imitation made in Marseille or elsewhere in the lower Rhône valley. Thirdly, Benoit (1965: particularly 146-53) seems to amalgamate a whole series of different wares under the general name of 'ionian' including local imitations. Fourthly, it is not clear, at least to the writer, whether 'ionian' imitation wares were made in Marseille by ionian potters, or by autochtones; yet these wares are different from the material that Benoit calls "subgéometrique rhodanien" (1965: 163-179) and which must be equated with what Lagrand calls pseudo-ionian ware at Le Pègue; both types figure on Benoit's distribution map (1965: fig. 3, p. 33). Finally, it is unfortunate that Benoit uses the same symbol on his distribution map for both 'ionian' and 'phocean' grey wares (redrawn, here fig. 36.1).

Consequently, many inaccuracies and discrepancies may have crept into this section. Perhaps many ionian finds should be treated as pseudo-ionian (see below). But before embarking on ionian pottery vessels, let us mention that ionian wine amphorae, from the region of Milet were exported to Marseille, the eastern provencal coast (Antibes, Nice), the Bouches-du-Rhône (St-Blaise, Mont Garou, Arles, Castelet de Fontvieille), the lower Languedoc (Ensérune, Besssan, Mailhac), the Gard and Catalonia (Ampurias) from the late 7th century or early 6th century B.C. (Benoit 1965: 179-82). This early ionian wine trade coincides on these sites with other wine amphorae imported from a variey of different

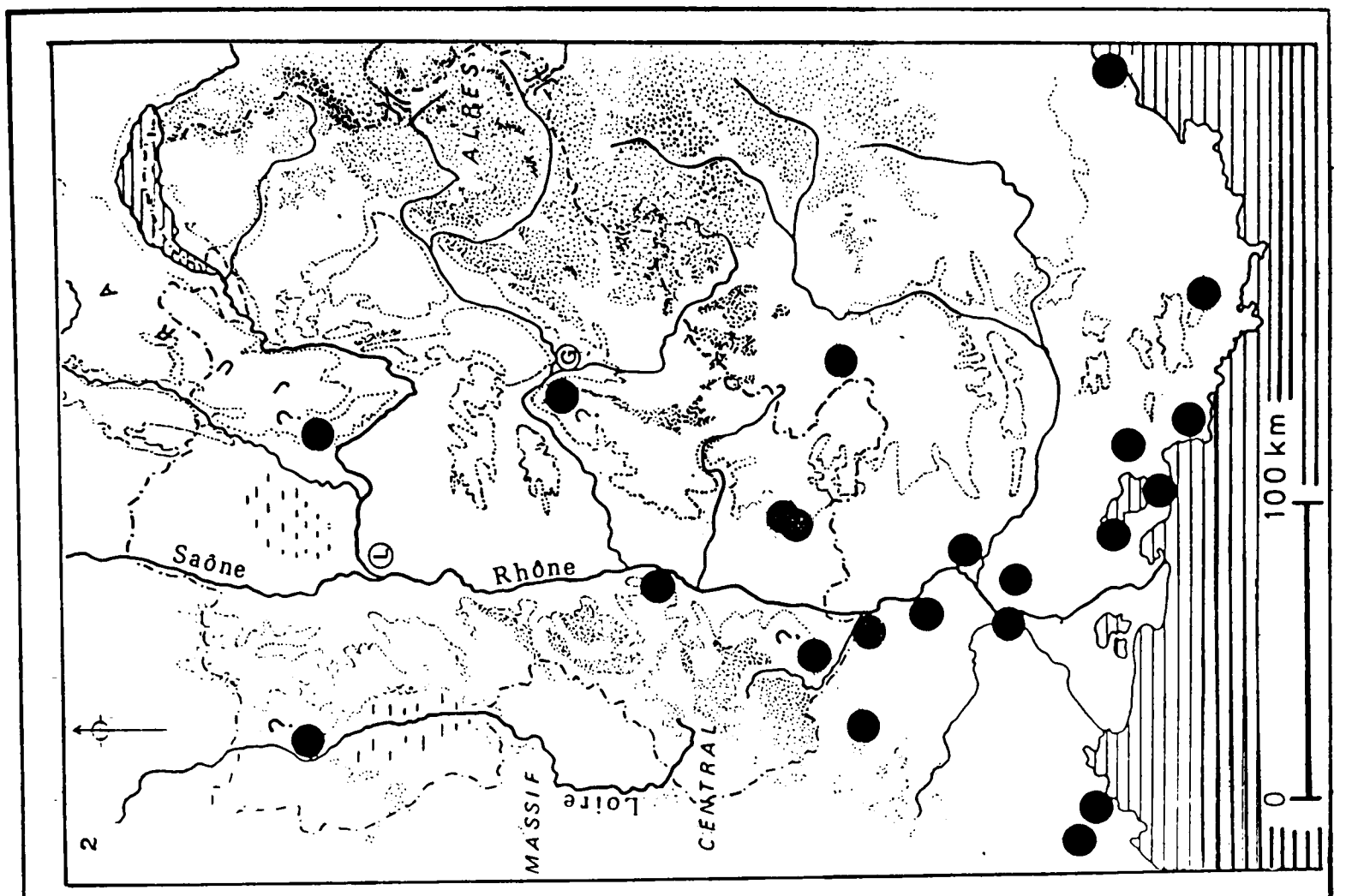


Fig. 36 : Distribution of ionian wares
1) After Benoit 1965: 33, fig.3
2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions

Fig. 36

sources: phoenician, corinthian, etruscan. It may be worth noting that no early ionian wine amphorae reach the middle Rhône valley or the Alps, whereas contemporary etruscan imports do (see section 8).

Ionian fine wares is a blanket term covering a number of different types and subtypes. Very briefly, (summary based on Benoit 1965: 146-53), there are two major groups, one with black varnish which is imported from the late 7th century B.C. and in the 6th century B.C. to Marseille and its immediate surroundings (St-Blaise, Tamaris, L'Arquet) and one group which feature linear painted designs. This second group is subdivided into three types: the first type has a slip and is imported along the coast (Marseille, Antibes, St-Blaise, Ensérune, Agde,Ruscino); the second type has no slip, but it is hard and is imported to Marseille and its neigbourhood (Castelet de Fontvieille, St-Blaise); the third type has no slip and the fabric is softer: it can be imported (e.g. at Marseille and Arles) from northern Ionia and Phocea or it can be imitated locally. If it is made locally, then various centres have produced such wares, including Marseille itself. To complicate matters further, certain locally made soft, burnished painted wares have what Benoit calls a "pseudo-slip", presumably because he had to find a term for describing a ware that, by definition, has no slip. The "ionian" wares imitated at Marseille itself seem to come in a variety of different fabrics and surface colours: some are restricted in distribution to the coast, the Marseille hinterland and to the Languedoc, but one sub-type is

distributed over long distances (yellow-pink which occurs at Mont Lassois and the Heuneburg).

It is certainly not easy, in a superficial survey based on a search of the bibliography alone, to sort out true ionian imports from imitations, let alone date them. However, it seems that in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes (fig. 36.2), true ionian imports are rare and restricted to sites with evidence of occupation in the 6th century B.C.: Soyons (07-35), Le Pègue (26-31) and Orpierre-St-Colombe in the Hautes-Alpes. The other sites figuring on the distribution map may in fact possess pseudo-ionian examples.

Ionian wares are therefore quite a rare import of the early period of contact between the South and the barbarian world, rather like the picture exhibited by etruscan amphorae or early attic imports (see sections 4 and 8). This contact may not be restricted to commerce via Marseille: ionian imports are not the sole prerogative of Massalia but are quite frequent on sites of the Bouches-du-Rhône and the delta of the Aude, where they share their position in assemblages with phoenician, punic, rhodian, corinthian, attic and etruscan material.

Perhaps as early as the 6th century B.C., but continuing into the 5th and perhaps 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. an enormous amount of pottery imitating ionian wares is produced in a number of centres in the Marseille hinterland and will be diffused quite far into the Rhône valley: it is the so-called pseudo-ionian ware, or rhodanian subgeometric, to which we shall now turn our attention.

11) Pseudo-ionian wares

The term 'pseudo-ionian' is given to a series of painted wares (also called "rhodanian subgeometric" by Benoit 1965: 163-79) identified on a number of sites concentrated in the lower Rhône valley. The inspiration for such a ware ultimately derives from ionian imports, or, as Benoit (1965: 175) calls it, an ionian "ambiance", which is also responsible for the imitation ionian wares manufactured at Marseille. But pseudo-ionian pottery is different from massaliotic imitations of ionian wares - its decor is much richer and more varied and the fabric is different - and owes as much to indigenous late Hallstatt ceramic traditions than to 'archaic' ionian forms and decoration techniques. Benoit (1965:170) tends to give more weight to ionian prototypes, whereas Lagrand and Thalmann (1973: 80) stress the late Hallstatt paternity: they talk of "interpenetration of techniques and reciprocal imitations" and explain the success of pseudo-ionian wares at Le Pègue because it is firmly rooted in an indigenous tradition. Such an inter-relationship between a mediterranean and a barbarian tradition is illustrated by the fact that at Le Pègue certain late Hallstatt vessels copy 'ionian' forms on the one hand and ionian techniques of decoration are reproduced on late Hallstatt wares on the other hand.

Pseudo-ionian pottery is neither a luxury fine ware nor a common ware: at Le Pègue it represents c. 15-20% of the total ceramic assemblage. It is found frequently on sites of

late Hallstatt to early La Tène date in the lower Rhône valley and is distributed over medium distances down to the coast and up to the exit of the Rhône from the Jura (see below). It appears to be a typical phenomenon on the fringes of Marseille's hinterland. Several production centres have been identified particularly in the area of the confluents of the rivers Durance and Gard with the Rhône: production centres at Nîmes and Roquemaure on the western bank of the Rhône, and le Mourre de Sève at Sorgues, Avignon and Le Pègue on the eastern bank seem to have catered for regional markets. It is thought that specialised 'hellenic' potters, established in these regional centres, catered for local tastes: whether these potters were greek, massaliote or indigenous is open to debate, but they certainly used both late Hallstatt and certain 'ionian' techniques of production and decoration, except the use of slip. The existence of specialist potters is not restricted to the makers of pseudo-ionian wares: at le Mourre de Sève near Sorgues a specialist manufacture of grey monochrome 'phocean' wares was established and produced some 95% of the fine ware assemblage. On this site, pseudo-ionian and phocean wares can be seen to influence each other (Benoit 1965; 177).

Pseudo-ionian wares are wheel-turned, except for the large urns and jars of Le Pègue, which are coil-built (Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: 57). The vessel is then burnished by hand, painted and fired in oxydising kilns: the fabric, which has fine quartz, calcite and mica inclusions is

quite hard, but rather porous and its colour varies from whitish-beige to light orange or greyish pink. The painted decor is mainly orange-brown, but various schools of potters may be responsible for slight differences in colours and decorative vocabulary: the colours are derived from ochre and manganese. The designs found on pseudo-ionian pots show a rich vocabulary of geometric combinations, including painted bands, vertical lines, festoons, zig-zags, trellis, rings, dots, chevrons and fish scales, infilled triangles and criss-cross patterns; the most 'baroque' decorative vocabulary can be found at Le Pègue (cf. Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: pl. XIII-XXVI and XXXVIII), which, according to Benoit (1965, 179) denotes a "provincial" manufacture. Figurative motifs are rare on pseudo-ionian wares, with the notable exception of the 'mounted horseman' holding a stick or perhaps a javelin (according to Benoit 1965: 179) from Le Pègue, the 'javelin thrower' from Roquemaure and the human figure holding a bent stick from Ruoms -Grotte Grena (cf. Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: 74, fig. 11). Lagrand (1965: 257-60, 1973: 73-6) and Benoit (1964: 30-61; 1965: 179) see in these figures a depiction of a local god, i.e. a 'warrior god' or a 'horseman god' with associated javelin or sceptre and solar symbol, analogous to the figure depicted on the stelae of Mouriès or on the rocks of Val Camonica. It is certainly possible that a cult involving anthropomorphic representations was present in the lower Rhône valley, since some two dozen stelae belonging to a late Hallstatt dismantled sanctuary were recently discovered at Le Pègue

(Lagrand 1981: 121-30); but, more prosaically, we could interpret the figures holding sticks or javelins on pseudo-ionian sherds as the representation of the use of contemporary imported Greek 3-winged arrowheads or javelin points (see p. 156 ff.) around 500 B.C.

The forms realised in pseudo-ionian fabric show a mixture of indigenous and mediterranean vessels. At Le Pègue (Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: 58ff.), the largest proportion (44%)is represented by urns and jars of various sizes, including tiny miniature urns. Next (29%) come jugs (oenochoes), followed by bowls (22%). Finally, 5% of the production copies a range of late Hallstatt vessels.

It is almost certain that pseudo-ionian wares were made at sites such as Nîmes, Roquemaure, Avignon, Sorgues and Le Pègue. But the kilns remain rather elusive. Lagrand and Thalmann (1973: 56) note that no pseudo-ionian kilns were found on the oppidum of Le Pègue itself and suppose that kilns existed in the valley below (near the lowland site of the Chantier des Ecoles, which has produced quantities of pseudo-ionian ware). Yet kilns are known at the hillfort of Le Pègue - St-Marcel in the 4th century B.C., when potters convert the granaries to their trade (Hatt 1977: description of granaries in Sondage 11 and summary of occupation phase 5). What were these kilns producing?: 'devolved' or 'intermediary' wares, half way between pseudo-ionian and gaulish types? (see below).

The dates ascribed to the circulation of pseudo-ionian wares show that this material was in existence for a long

time, even though its zenith must have occured around 500 B.C. According to Benoit (1965: 170 and 171) it started by the middle of the 6th century B.C. and continued to be produced "beyond 500 B.C.". At Le Pègue, production started in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.; when it ended is a question worth touching on. Very briefly, the problem is such: by the 3rd century B.C., Lagrand and Thalmann (1973: 88-91) are able to identify an early "gaulish" ware (type A) which, in their words "resembles pseudo-ionian wares in the nature of its fabric, its technique and style of decoration" (1973: 90, my translation). In order to have a filiation, specialist manufacture of pseudo-ionian "type" wares must have continued in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. At Le Pègue, there are indeed fragments of pottery of the 5th and early 4th century B.C. of pseudo-ionian type with attic influences: these wares are called "intermediary" by Lagrand and Thalmann (1973: 90 and 91). Further, we have already mentioned that kilns exist at Le Pègue in the 4th century B.C., which, we may remind ourselves, is the period of maximum import of attic red figure wares.

Why it is so important to date and identify late pseudo-ionian wares of the 5th and 4th centuries will soon become clear. We have already proposed, in the sections dealing wilth attic red figure pottery (section 5), later etruscan bronzès (section 6-7) and wine amphorae of the region of Massalia (section 9) that the Rhône valley at least as far as Vienne and perhaps as far as the area of the Camp de Larina did not suffer any decline in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.;

rather it flourished and was in close contact with Marseille and the coast, which had changed the orientation of its trade, abandonning some long distance trade networks but intensifying exchange with zones nearer to it. Apart from the dating evidence, support for this hypothesis is given by the fact that not only high status sites manage to attract Mediterranean artefacts, but also lower status sites.

Now, pseudo-ionian wares seem to behave in exactly the same way (fig. 37). In the lower Rhône valley, which includes the area of Le Pègue and the Ardèche, pseudo-ionian wares are established early, i.e. from the mid or late 6th century B.C. onwards. But at Le Pègue and to the north, circulation continues or even expands in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. At Vienne - Ancien Hôpital (38-79), a lowland settlement, late pseudo-ionian ware cannot antedate the 4th century B.C. At the midden of Hières-sur-Amby - Trou de la Chuire (38-22) deposited from the Camp de Larina, 'Le Pègue gaulish A wares' derived from pseudo-ionian wares are associated to material of the end of the early La Tène and middle La Tène period. At Ambérieu-en-Bugey - Grotte du Gardon (01-01), a cave site, pseudo-ionian ware seems to be associated to other imported material dated to the 4th century B.C. The sherd of pseudo-ionian ware from Lyon is of doubtful provenance. Finally, a key site for studying the continuity or even expansion of pseudo-ionian wares must by Soyons - Malpas (07-35), on the middle reaches of the Rhône, North of Le Pègue. It has attracted quantities of pseudo-ionian wares, considering the very small area of excavation,

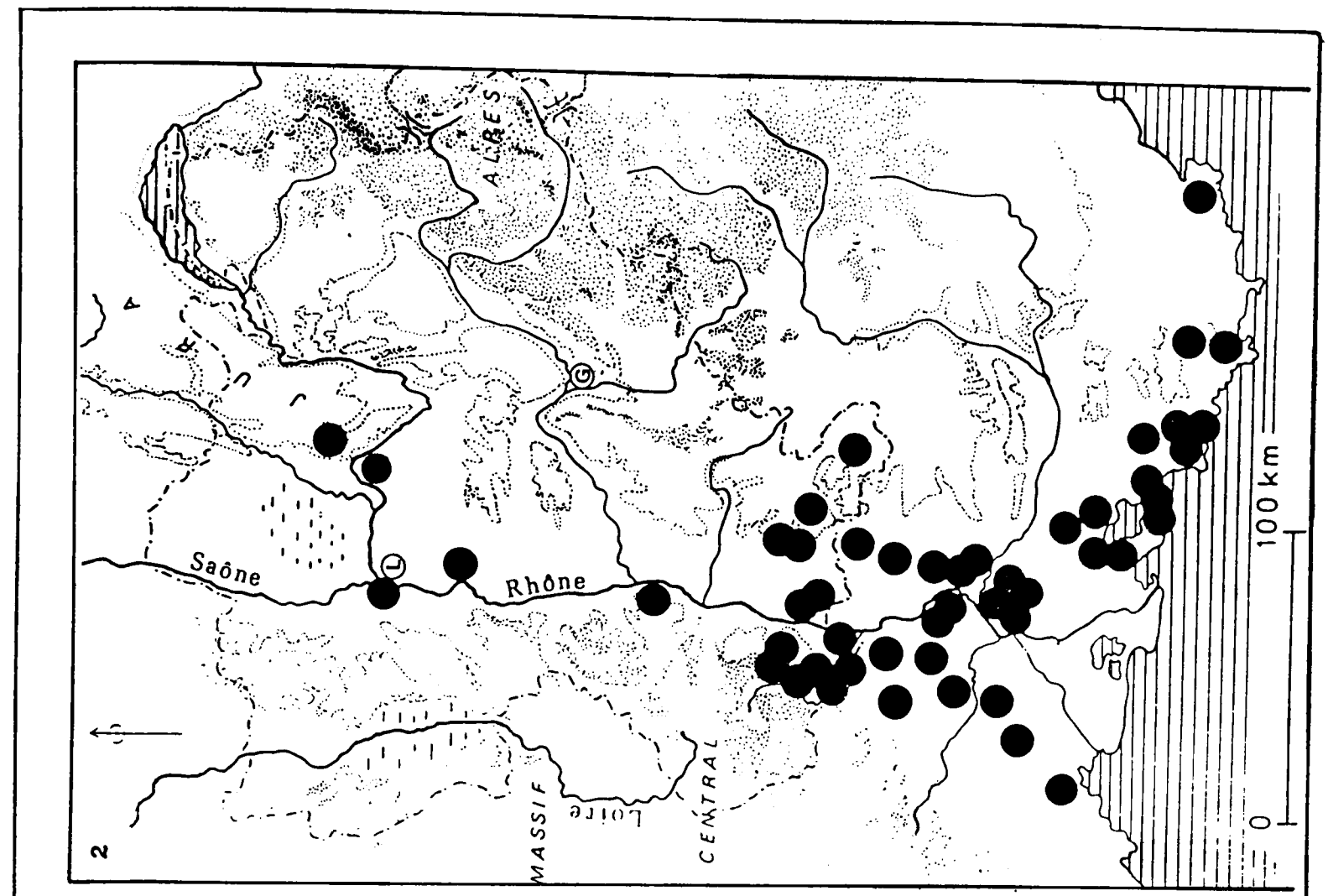


Fig. 37 : Distribution of pseudo-ionian wares
1) After Lagrand and Thalmann 1973:8
2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions

Fig. 37

associated with etruscan material, amphorae of the region of Marseille, 'phocean' grey ware, late Hallstatt cannelated wares, possibly attic pottery, a silver tetradrachm of Athens of the 4th century B.C., silver obols of Massalia and later italic imports. It seems to have been occupied almost continuously or repeatedly from the late Hallstatt period onwards. It certainly was settled in the 5th century B.C. and, after a destruction dated to c. 400 B.C., again in the 4th to early 3rd centuries B.C. The pseudo-ionian wares were present in the 5th century B.C. levels, but it is possible that the 4th century occupation, dated, amongst others, by the presence of an early La Tène (LT B ?) bronze fibula, continued to make use of pseudo-ionian pottery. Unfortunately, the stratigraphy, the size of the excavation and the reports that have reached us leave much to be desired: Soyons must, after Vienne, be one of the top research priorities to be recommended. A more detailed presentation of Soyons can be found in Chapter 7.

The tentative identification of late pseudo-ionian wares is therefore of great importance: perhaps pseudo-ionian ware has acquired too easily the label 'late Hallstatt to early La Tène". A study of the chronological evolution of this material may reveal more facets highlighting the occupation of the Rhône valley in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

If Benoit (1965: 171) was able to claim that pseudo-ionian ware was for "home consumption" and not for export, he was describing a situation prevalent in the later 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. But, with the evidence presented

above, a limited trade over medium distances from the lower Rhône 'homeland' further up the Rhône valley and perhaps also down to the coast and Languedoc, seems to have existed at a slightly later date. This situation is rather reminiscent of the "fringe effect" described by Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978: 73-112) in the late stages of a luxury goods economy: specialist traders emerge, working as middlemen between two partners and living usually at the periphery of city-states. The emergence of intermediate centres seems to result in an expansion outwards, the decline of the original centre and the collapse of the system of dominance.

Frankenstein and Rowland's model could very well be applied to the situation of the Rhône valley in the 6th to 4th centuries B.C. Le Pègue rises as an intermediary centre, on the fringes of the hinterland of Massalia, together with other intermediary centres in the area of Nîmes, Roquemaure, Sorgues and Avignon. It starts a mass production of pseudo-greek vessels which also appeal to local tastes and trades these goods over a limited area, which nevertheless results in a certain expansion outwards. Thus, sites in the Rhône valley which were not reached by the late Hallstatt luxury trade (except Soyons) receive at a later date products of greco-indigenous provenance. These vessels (pseudo-ionian and also phocean, see below) are neither a luxury good nor a common ware.

Le Pègue is ideally placed for fullfilling such an intermediary role: Lagrand and Thalmann (1973: 77-8) should express no surprise in finding that it is the site furthest

away from the coast that produces the greatest quantity and richest vocabulary in pseudo-ionian wares. To them, and to Benoit (1965: 175) it denotes a "profound hellenisation", much deeper than, for example, in Burgundy, where greek imports were rarely copied. An alternative model would stress the "profound exploitation" of a very privileged position at Le Pègue.

Pseudo-ionian wares, amphorae of the region of Massalia, etruscan bronzes and attic red figure pottery are all small pointers to the existence of a rhodanian community, alive after its supposed decline in the 5th century B.C. The examination of further material ("phocean" ware and the coin evidence) will strengthen this hypothesis. It is not a new idea; rather the writer has tried to document a theoretical model. The model is that the Provincia Transalpina existed in essence long before its official creation in the late 2nd century B.C. There was a rhodanian community whose borders were established before the era of its provincial administration. Benoit (1965: 175) has already put this suggestion forwards: "the limits of the ionio-massaliote ambiance correspond more or less to those of the province of Narbonnaise (. . .) whose romanisation (. . .) lies on a hellenic substratum" (my translation).

12) Grey monochrome wares ('phocean wares').

This class of pottery has been given many names: eolian ware, phocean ware, pseudo-phocean, grey bucchero or grey

monochrome wares. The latter name has been retained, as it is the title of a very recent study by the late Charlette Arcelin-Pradelle: her book "La Céramique Grise Monochrome en Provence was published in 1984, but could unfortunately not be consulted. [but see addendum on p.255] Consequently, the remarks made in this section may be in need of revision; they are based on Benoit (1965: particularly 153-7), Lagrand and Thalmann (1973: 51-2 for Le Pègue), Courtois (1975: 73 for Ste-Colombe) and Guillot (1976: 129-30 for the area north of Lyon). All these sources stress that much work is still required to refine the provenance and chronology of grey monochrome wares, on the coast of Asia Minor, in Greece, in Marseille and Provence as well as in the late Hallstatt cultural shpere.

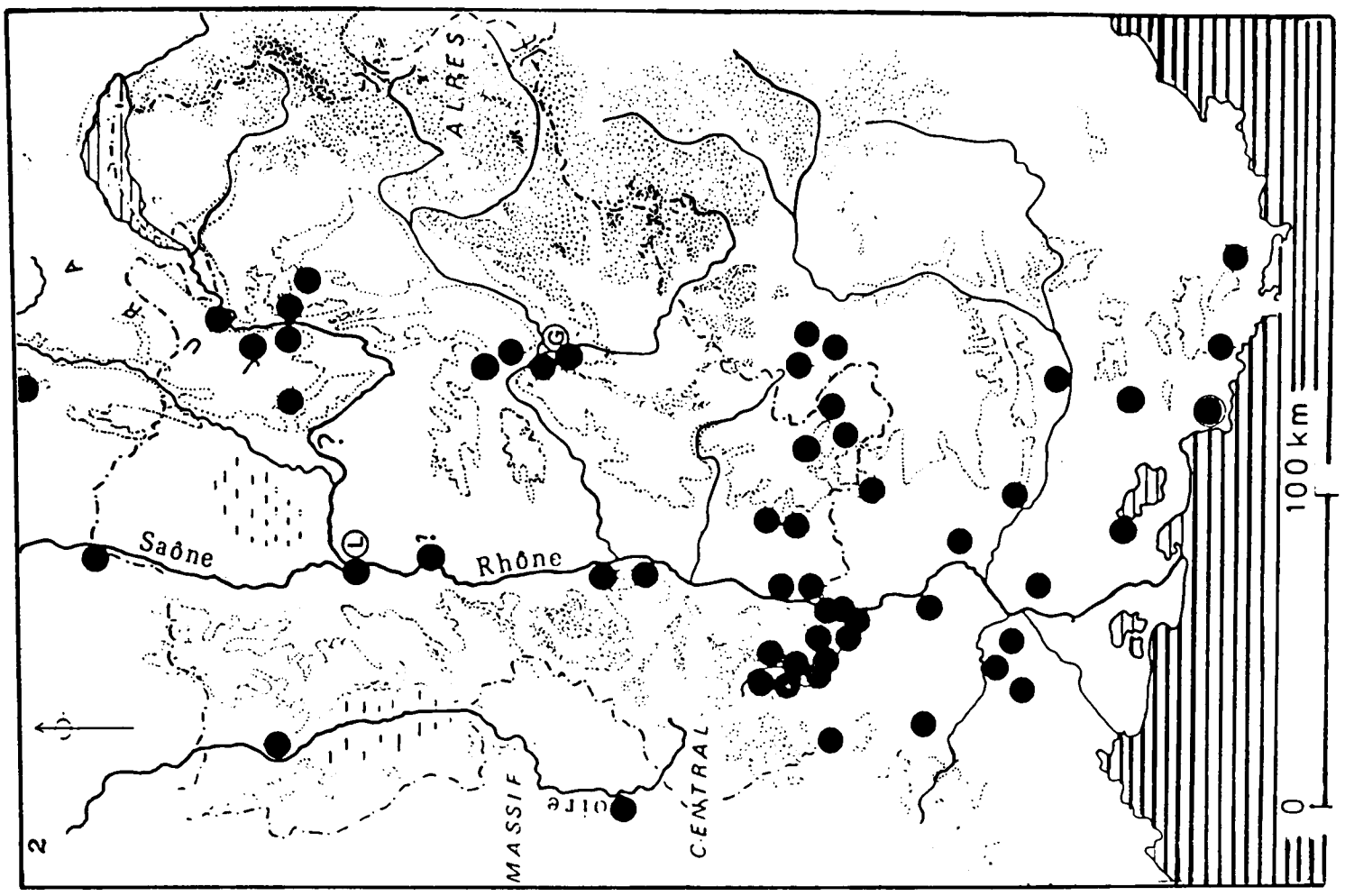
In essence, there are three classes of grey monchrome wares: real imports from the northern part of the coast of Asia Minor (particularly the site of Larissa), imitations made in Marseille and its hinterland, Provence and Languedoc, and imitations made in late Hallstatt contexts. It does not appear easy to distinguish imports from imitations, as fabric, inclusions, hardness, varnish and decor vary a great deal, even amongst imports (Benoit 1965: 156). It seems however that imports are confined to 6th century B.C. contexts at Marseille and along the coast, from Genova to Ampurias and its immediate vicinity - perhaps as far as the Mourre de Sève near Sorgues on the Durance-Rhône confluent, as far as Nîmes, on the Gard-Rhône limit and in the lower Languedoc. Some imported 'phocean' wares also seem to have reached as far as the Cayla de Mailhac and the Camp du

Château at Salins in the Jura. On many early 'hellenised' sites of Provence and Languedoc, these wares will be imitated: at Le Mourre de Sève near Sorgues, the Mont Garou and at Nîmes, imports are stratified in levels earlier than those producing imitations (Benoit 1965, 156). But imitations rapidly (i.e., by the mid 6th century B.C.) become far more common than imports, particularly at Marseille, the region of Avignon and Le Mourre de Sève near Sorgues, La Monedière at Bessan, the Cayla de Mailhac and Ensérune (Benoit 1965: 157). The productions of Provence and Languedoc may have continued for some time (Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: 52) and at Ruscino amphorae are manufactured in the 'phocean' technique in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (Benoit 1965: 154). Several 'schools' producing imitation grey wares have been identified: of particular importance to the Rhône-Alpes is the production centre established in the region of Avignon (Rocher des Doms) and Sorgues (Mourre de Sève). At the Mourre de Sève, grey wares represent 50% of the total ceramic assemblage and 95% of the fine wares; there also seems to be some 'cross-fertilisation' between grey-wares and painted pseudo-ionian wares, as both techniques can be applied to the same vessel. Finally identical forms of vessels have been recorded at Avignon, Sorgues and St-Remèze (07-32).

It is interesting to note that at Le Pègue, at the end of the 6th century B.C., grey monochrome wares are rare, as there was no need to import fine wares from a nearby regional

centre when locally made pseudo-ionian wares were so plentiful (Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: 52). Indeed, grey monochrome wares, fade in popularity as pseudo-ionian wares grow in importance. This is howeever only a local trend.

It is a little difficult to give a description of grey monochrome wares since this term applies to imports, imitations and imitation of imitations (see below). But, as a rough guide, grey monochrome wares are hard, fine, well fired in a reducing athmosphere, which produces the grey colour. The clay is purified and contains inclusions of mica (in Provence) or quartz (in late Hallstatt contexts). The fabric can be covered by a grey or brownish black varnish. The most distinctive aspect of grey monchrome ware manufactured 'abroad' i.e. outside the area of origin of grey monochrome wares in Asia Minor, where waves are fairly uncommon, is the decor which takes the form of a series of comb-impressed waves, leaning to one side or the other. The forms of vessels manufactured in this fabric and decorative technique are extremely varied: in southern France, Benoit (1965: 157 and 159-60) has recognised fifteen forms, which include a variety of cups and bowls, goblets, jugs, chalices, a lamp, and pots, which are said to be cooking pots. Thus, 'phocean' grey wares are not restricted to wine drinking only but are also suitable for culinary uses. This may explain the extreme popularity of grey monochrome wares: indeed, it is by far the most common 'exotic' ware found in late Hallstatt contexts, from the Massif Central to the Ain and Jura and in the Hautes-Alpes, at Orpierre - Ste-Colombe (Courtois 1975: 73) (see map, fig. 38) Benoit (1965: 158)



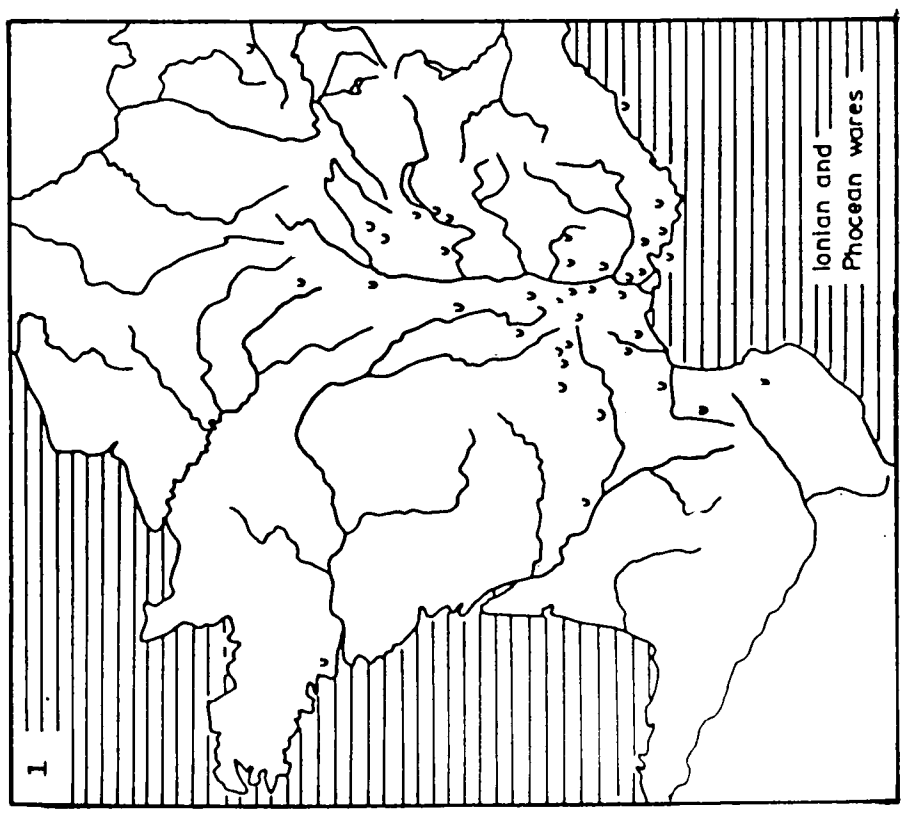


Fig. 38 : Distribution of grey monochrome wares (so-called 'phocean' or'eolian'wares)

1) After Benoit 1965: 33, fig. 3

2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions

Fig. 38

attributes the favour grey monochrome wares enjoyed amongst indigenous potters to the fact that both the prototypes of Asia Minor and the late Hallstatt indigenous wares had many forms in common (especially absence of handles, carinated forms, chalice-shaped urns, and bowls with omphalos bases). Thus we have an adaptation of 'exotic' techniques rather than imitations of imports.

It seems that much work is still reguired to refine the chronology of grey monochrome wares from the mid 6th century onwards. Since 'eolian' wares were diffused over very wide areas, i.e. the coast of Asia Minor, Ionia, Phocea, the Aegean Sea, Macedonia, Sicily, the southern French and Spanish coasts, the are at the origin of a series of local productions. Sicilian grey bucchero, the antecedant of campanian C wares, is said to be derived from 'eolian' imports, as are the local productions of Provence, Marseille and the Languedoc. Further, 'grey ampuriatine' iberic pottery is also thought to descend from grey monochrome wares (Benoit 1965: 154). Finally, a series of grey wares, perhaps imitations of imitations, have been recognised in late Hallstatt, but also La Tène I contexts in the Causses (e.g. at Carenton in the Aveyron), in the Ardèche (the St-Remèze vessels are thought by Gourvest 1959: 248 to have originated in the Languedoc-Roussillon) and in the upper Rhône valley, around the Défilé of Pierre-Châtel (see fig. 38). This little cluster, in the North-East of the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, had already been identified by Benoit (1965: 158) who describes it as a "remarkable production centre",

apparently characterised by numerous waves leaning towards the left. It seems that our searches have identified a further little cluster in the area of Grenoble and filled in the middle reaches of the Rhône valley (Benoit's famous "sterile zone").

It is particularly important to date and establish the context of grey monochrome wares outside their main area of diffusion: indeed, fig. 38 shows a rather clean break in distribution in the area of the southern Drôme and Ardèche. To the North, lie our clusters and a less dense scatter of finds in the valleys of the Saône, Rhône and Loire. It is in this northern region that the techniques and decor of grey monochrome wares are said to survive throughout the La Tène period, to end up in middle and late La Tène contexts, as well as in early gallo-roman assemblages (Benoit 1965: 158). Once again, the site of Soyons springs to mind as a site where this theory of survival could be tested.

Although the chronology of grey monochrome wares is uncertain (but perhaps this is a problem now solved by Charlette Arcelin-Pradelle), it is possible to suggest a development rather similar to that of pseudo-ionian wares. The production centres in Marseille's hinterland function from the mid 6th century B.C. onwards, but outlying areas may receive grey monochrome ware imitations, or produce imitations of imitations for a long time. The fact that grey monochrome wares are an adaptation of a technique rather than an import, and is applicable to a range of vessels, including cooking pots, can explain why areas reached by no other

'exotic' goods figure on our distribution map.

'Phocean' wares must have survived in one form or another, as they are thought to be responsible for the production of grey ampuriatine wares as well as amphorae of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. at Ruscino, and to have at least influenced middle and late La Tène wares in the upper Rhône valley. The detailed study of grey wares in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes could give us the answer to this problem of survival.

13) The coins of Massalia

This section is, at best, a very superficial treatment of a complex topic: the study of coinage is a very specialised discipline on the one hand, and the information that we have gathered is often insufficient on the other hand, to do justice to the problem of massaliotic coinage. However, as silver and bronze coins of Massalia are frequent on settlement sites of the Rhône-Alpes and numerous hoards are also reported from the circonscription, some comment seems necessary. It is based on Villard (1960: 96-106, 122, 124, 132-4), Benoit (1965: passim), Barruol (1969: 64 n. 7, 70 n. 5, 99), Nash (1978: 339-42), Gentric (1982 on the coinage of Bollene-Barry), Hiernard (1982: map 6 and accompanying catalogue) and on personal comments by Dr. Daphne Nash, to whom I am most grateful.

In very general terms, the sequence of massaliotic coinage, outlined by Villard, can be summarised thus:

Marseille starts minting coins by the 6th century B.C., at first in the form of anepigraphic silver obols, of a type known from the hoard of Auriol. These obols are replaced in the early to mid 5th century B.C. by a series of different silver obols inscribed with the letter M or MA. The first silver obols featuring the head of Apollo on the obverse and the wheel motif on the reverse seem to make an appearance in the second half of the 5th century B.C. The early 4th century B.C. sees the beginning of a very popular series of silver obols with Apollo's curly head and wheel motif with letters MA, which will continue to be minted until the mid 1st century B.C. However, it seems that 4th and 3rd century examples of these obols are fairly rare compared with the mass of obols of the 2nd century B.C. and 1st century B.C. (e.g. at Bollène-Barry: Gentric 1982: 61). At the beginning of the 4th century B.C. Marseille issues a heavy silver drachm (6 x obol) featuring the head of Artemis and on the reverse a lion with the legend MAΣΣA. This type of drachm circulates in Liguria and cisalpine Gaul, where it will be imitated in a series of local north-italian issues, in use from the 4th to the 2nd century B.C. Marseille also issues a second type of silver drachm (light drachm) or tetrobol in the late 4th to early 3rd century B.C. It features the head of Artemis, a lion on the reverse and the legend MAΣΣA LIHTΩN. Amongst the silver obols there is also a trend towards lighter coins in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., and, at the same time the arrival on the market of imitations of silver obols and bronze issues of Massalia or local imitations of

Marseille bronze coins. These later developments correspond to a change in use of coinage, i.e. Nash's 3rd phase (1976: 125; 1981: 15), where, for the first time, small coins could have been spent in retail.

From the sequence outlined above, it is obvious that we need to know, for each find of a coin, the exact weight, metal content and description of the obverse and reverse before attempting to date it, and consequently, observe spatial and temporal trends. As will be seen, this information was not recovered by the writer: the list of coins of Massalia found in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes is simply a record of statements found in site reports or syntheses (e.g. Nash 1978; Hiernard 1982). Thus the resulting distribution map compresses into one single map coins of widely different date: 4th century B.C. onwards at Le Pègue (26-31), 3rd century B.C. at Chauzon - Beaussement (07-09), 2nd century B.C. at St-Just - Ile du Carré (07-26) or St-Romans - Les Dragonnières (38-57) and later (e.g. Vienne-Ste-Blandine, (38-80), Feurs (42-09), Amplepuis (69-02) or Lyon - Hauts de St-Just and Rue des Farges (69-20 and 69-24).

But some general observations can still be made on the basis of fig. 39. There appears to be no 'archaic' (6th - early 5th century B.C.) nor 'classical' (5th century B.C.) coins of Massalia in the circonscription. Since early coins were not a feature of trade but were used as means to pay mercenaries, there is no need to see a contradiction between the lively trade and exchange patterns known in the Rhône-

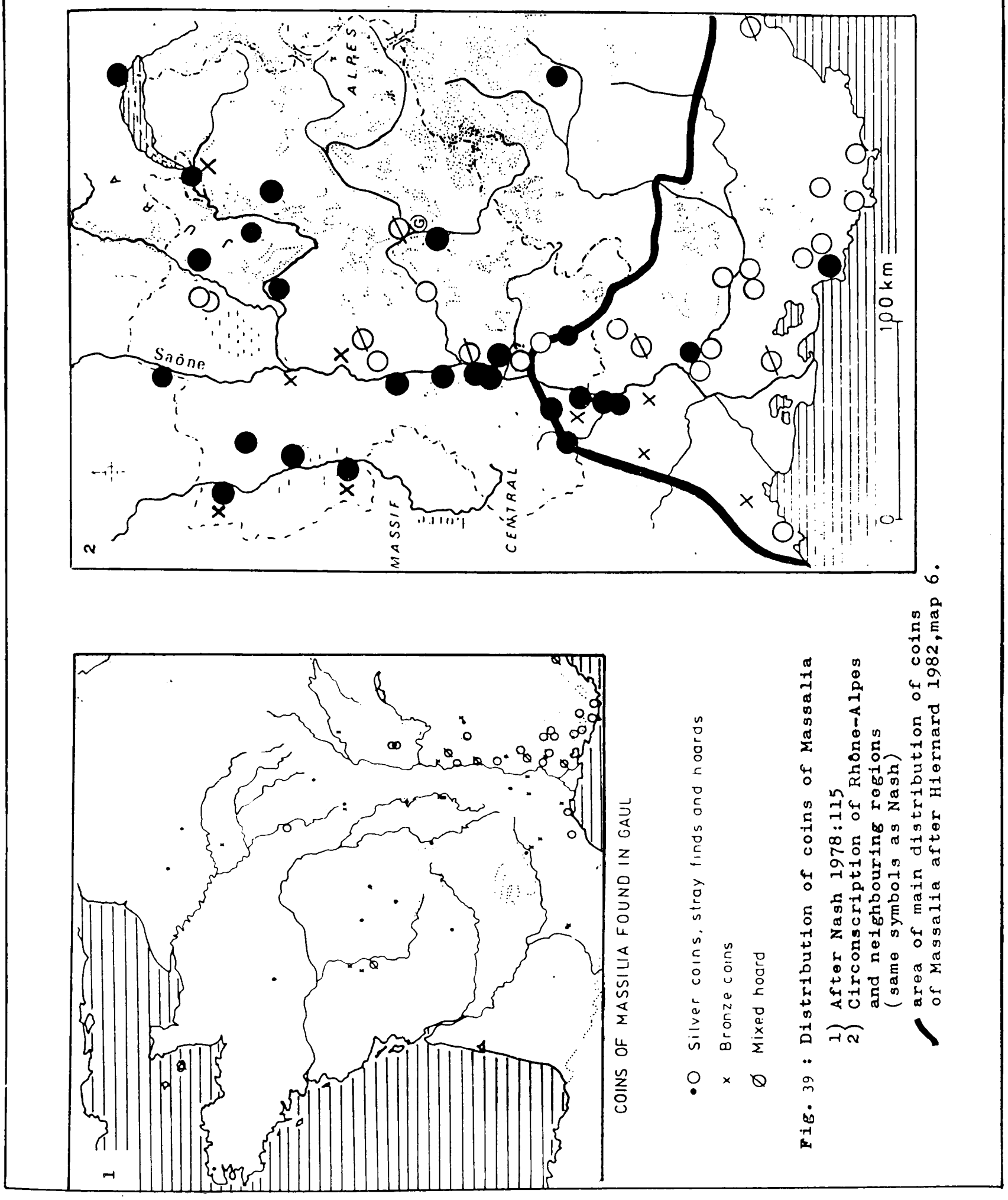


Fig. 39 : Distribution of coins of Massalia

1) **After Nash 1978:115**
2) **Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions (same symbols as Nash)**
area of main distribution of coi of Massalia after Hiernard 1982,

Fig. 39

Alpes and the apparent lack of very early coins. Mercenaries may have been responsible for bringing back early coins deposited in the votive hoard of the Col du Grand - St-Bernard (VS, Switzerland) which contains coins from the 6th century B.C. onwards from a very wide range of provenances: Greece (Tetrobol of Histiaia), Tarente, Carthage, Massalia, as well as coins from a series of south-eastern gaulish tribes (Benoit 1965: 76; Barruol 1969: 70, n. 5; Hiernard 1982: map 8 no. 43). A mercenary's pay has also already been suggested to explain the presence of a silver tetradrachm of Athens of the 4th century B.C. at Soyons - Malpas: it is a lot of money, representing four days' pay in Greece at the end of the 5th century B.C. (Nash, pers. comm.). Also of greek provenance, but a little later is a tetrobol of Histiaia of the 3rd century B.C. found in the hoard of Revel - Tourdans (38-42 bis) containing obols of Massalia and celtic coins of the Rhône valley, as well as allobrogian and arvernian issues.

Apart from the early greek coins mentioned above, the earliest coinage of Massalia in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes appears to be the series of silver obols starting in the 4th century B.C. at Le Pègue - St-Marcel (26-31). Le Pegue belongs to the zone of main distribution of massaliotic coins defined by Hiernard (1982: map 6, here redrawn on fig. 39.2). Indeed the whole of the lower Rhône valley is dominated by finds of coins of Massalia (Gentric 1981: 61) and at sites such as Bollène-Barry in the Vaucluse, 70% of all coins recovered on this 'oppidum' of the Tricastini of

the confederation of the Cavares, belong to Marseille. Gentric (1981: 61-2) makes the interesting point that by the late 2nd century B.C. and 1st century B.C., Marseille which used to have the monopoly over small bronze coinage starts losing its dominance and other small coins, i.e. potins and small bronzes of Nîmes and of the Volcae Arecomici, start being used in daily transactions.

But, to go back to Le Pègue, coins were lost on this major defended settlement site well before the period of use of coinage of Massalia for small transactions. Le Pègue had a large stock of grain in granaries, destroyed in the early 5th century B.C., but fortified granaries were re-established on the site by the 4th century B.C.: perhaps payment for grain was responsible for the presence of coins of Massalia on this site?

A look at fig. 39 reveals a second major point: all hoards featuring coins of Massalia are located on the left bank of the Rhône or to the east of the river (except for Lattes and La Montaigne de Céressou in the Hérault in the lower Languedoc: cf. Nash 1978: 339). It is of course very tempting to associate the depostion of such a large number of hoards in such a precisely defined geographical area with an historically documented event: the wars between Rome allied to Massalia against the Salluvii, the Vocontii, the Allobroges (Ebel 1976: 64ff.) in 125-121 B.C. Ebel concludes his chapter on the conquest of eastern Transalpina by noting that "there has been no indication of actual fighting west of the Rhône" (Ebel 1976: 74). Can the absence of hoards to the

west of the Rhône support such a hypothesis? But, in the absence of a precise dating of the hoards of the Rhône-Alpes, although due note is given to the hoard of Entremont of 123 B.C., the writer is reluctant to tread the dangerous waters of historical or text-aided archaeology.

That coinage of Massalia did circulate on the west bank of the Rhône and the Loire valley is demonstrated by fig 39.2: this new state of affairs is welcomed by Dr. Nash (pers. comm.), who in her earlier distribution map (here fig. 39.1) could not trace many finds of coins of Massalia to the west of the Rhône and could not see a reasonable explanation for this apparent lack of massaliotic coins. Sites in the southern Ardèche - St-Just - Ile du Carré (07-26), St-Marcel - St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28), Beaussement - Chauzon (07-09) and Alba (07-01) - belong to the area of main distribution of coins of Massalia defined by Hiernard (1982), but the sites of Soyons (Malpas and La Brégoule: 07-34 and 07-35), Tournon (07-36) and Andance - Châtelet (07-02) show that the middle reaches of the Rhône were part of the area of circulation of massaliotic coinage. The finds of bronze coins at Vienne - Ste-Blandine (38-80), Lyon - Hauts de St-Just and Rue du Farges (69-20 and 69-24) and Varennes-lès-Mâcon (Saône et Loire) are indicative of the late commercial use of coins of Massalia in the late 2nd century B.C. and early 1st century B.C., at a time when the trade route Rhône-Saône and Loire was extremely active in the dissemination of Dressel I amphorae and campanian wares (see below). The fact that bronze coins, but also small divisions of obols (a quarter

obol at Feurs) and potins (Varennes-lès-Mâcon) occur on these northern and western sites indicate the extension of the use of coinage in commercial transactions (Nash's phase three).

Finally, the upper Rhône valley and the Ain are also reached by coins of Massalia: apart from the hoards of Bourg-en-Bresse (01-06) already mapped by Nash (fig. 13.1), stray finds of silver obols are also recorded at Izernore (01-14) Songieu (01-28), Hières-sur-Amby - Trou de la Chuire (38-22), Alby-sur-Chéran (74-01) and Geneva. But, apart from Izernore and Geneva, which must be late in the sequence, the writer has few indications of date to ascertain whether the north-eastern distribution of massaliotic coins is a feature of 1st century B.C. developments, or whether it is earlier. It may be earlier in two cases of coins found in middle La Tène contexts: the grave of Vevey (VD, Switzerland) and the midden of Hières-sur-Amby, next to the 'oppidum' of the Camp de Larina.

The interpretation of the coin evidence from Marseille, the Rhône valley and the Alps is open to debate. To Villard (1960: 106) there are three clear phases: 1) a wealthy economy in Marseille at the end of the 6th century B.C.; 2) a 'crisis' or 'recession' in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.; 3) a renewed commercial power from the 3rd century B.C. As we have seen (section 5), part of Villard's support for this hypothesis was based on the presence/absence of attic fine wares in Marseille and its hinterland in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. His view of the decline of Marseille can no longer be sustained by the attic pottery evidence. Villard

(1960: 106 and 122) did grant that, on the coin evidence, Marseille had "an ephemeral economic revival at the beginning of the 4th century B.C.", attested by the issue of heavy silver drachms and its distribution to cisalpine Gaul. Yet, he tends to play down this factor: "it is the only authentic trace of a massaliotic commercial activity of any importance between the beginning of the 5th century B.C. and the middle of the 4th century B.C." (Villard 1960, 122, my translation). But to Benoit (1965: 166-7 and 219) and Barruol (1969: 64 n. 7 and 99), the dissemination of coins of Massalia to Liguria and cisalpine Gaul is proof of the continued commercial activity of Marseille, along terrestrial trade routes following the Durance up to the Col du Mont-Genèvre, after the 5th century B.C. The writer is inclined to follow the latter two authorities, especially as the raw material, copper and silver needed by Marseille's mints, is thought to have come, in part, from the Alps and the Cévennes and was complemented by imports of silver from Iberia. Barruol (1969: 99) makes the point that native silver mines in the Alps are quite often located on major transalpine itineraries.

In summary, the coinage of Massalia in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes seems to develop along the following lines: there are no 'archaic' or 'classical' coins of Marseille in the early phase, but some greek coins may have been brought back by mercenaries (Nash's phase 1). From the early 4th century onwards, coins of Massalia circulate in the Rhône-Alpes and into cisalpine Gaul. By the late 2nd

century B.C., the coinage of Massalia, particularly the debased values, can be put in relation with the commercial interests of Rome via Marseille: these coins reach the northern part of the Saône-Rhône corridor and the Loire valley (Nash's phase 3). Perhaps also in the late 2nd century B.C., upheavals in the political map of south-eastern France are responsible for the deposition of hoards on the eastern side of the Rhône.

It seems that it is in the middle phase of the coinage of Massalia, that there is room for discussion. Amongst celtic tribes, middle phase coinage seems to be used for administrative purposes such as payment of tributes, tax, rent, bride-price, blood-money, fines, exchanges (Nash 1981: 15) or administration and defence (Nash 1976: 122, defining phase 2 in Central Gaul). But the silver coinage of Massalia may not follow quite the same lines and assume more quickly a commercial role, at least in its secondary use, as money once received and ready to be spent. As a broad generalisation, the silver coinage of Massalia and the silver coinage of the western Celts is more appropriate to commercial purposes than the gold coinage of the eastern and northern Celts. A further hint that this may be the case lies in the fact that silver is more difficult to melt down than gold, and could therefore not so readily be turned into, say, a torc. Therefore, coins of Massalia, are more likely to be around in their original state, and are thus ready to be used as a means of exchange.

14) Celtic coins

In the course of investigation of the coinage of Massalia and in consultation of excavation reports, it was inevitable to come across mentions of celtic coins of a variety of tribes, i.e. mainly coins of the Rhône valley, coins of the Allobroges, Cavares, Volcae Arecomici, Vocontii, Sequani, Aedui, Segusiavi, Arverni, and coins of tribes further afield. These coins are listed and a tentative distribution map (fig. 40) is presented. However, the list is far from complete and only attributions to a particular tribe given in reports are mapped: these attributions may be contested, as may the suggested dates of deposition of hoards with reference to historically documented events or the proposed dates of first issue. It is beyond the scope of this section to delve too deeply into the problems of date, attribution and function of the coinage of the celtic tribes of the Rhône, Saône, Isère and Loire valleys. Indeed, it could be argued that to treat celtic coins amongst the traded materials of Gaul is out of place: there is general agreement between numismatists that celtic coins were not intended for trade, until the very last stages of their development; before the use of debased and low weight coins in commercial transactions in the later 1st century B.C., celtic coins were used to pay soldiers, tributes, taxes, fines, dowries, offerings (Allen 1980: 2-3). A good illustration of this state of affairs exists in the fact that there are very few divisions (i.e. "small change") in the silver coinage of the

Rhône valley (Deroc 1983). Consequently, the distribution of celtic coins, which did not on the whole circulate as "money" in retail trade outside the region of its emission, has been used to circumscribe the area of tribal territories (but see the arguements raging on the subject of distributions, e.g. Collis v. Rodwell in Cunliffe 1981).

In turn, we have produced a distribution map and a list, although aware of the pitfalls of such distributions and of the arguments over date and attributions to tribes (see below). The list and map (fig. 40) are offered as a possibly useful short-cut into the dispersed literature collected in the course of building our site-gazetteer (Appendix 1). Our main source for the silver coinage of the Rhône valley is Deroc 1983 (I am most grateful to Dr. Nash for pointing out this recent study) and,on celtic coinage in general,Allen (1980) and Nash (1976, 1978 and 1981).

Before embarking on a commentary of distribution, we must turn to the silver coinage of the Rhône valley east of the Rhône and briefly mention the differences in interpretation, in our reading, between Allen (1980: particularly chapter 5) and Deroc (1983). It seems that Allen favours an earlier dating, Deroc a later one. Allen suggests (1980: 53-4 and 87-90) that the early silver coins of the Rhône valley, which are inscribed, started in the mid 2nd century B.C. and that the romano-celtic coins with helmeted head and horseman on the reverse appeared very soon after the defeat of the Allobroges in 121 B.C. Deroc on the other hand favours a later chronology. His sequence of the

silver coins of the Rhône valley runs as follows:

1) Coins with horse bust and legends IAILKOVESI and KASIOS, attributed to the Cavares, start in 115-110 B.C. and 105-90 B.C. respectively.

2) Coins with bouquetin, attributed to the Cavares, coins with galloping horse and legends IAZUS and VOL, also attributed to the Cavares, and coins with sea-horse (hippocamp), attributed to the Allobrogess, start after 90 B.C.

3) The "pseudo-roman" silver coins of "horseman of the Rhône valley" type (Allen's helmeted heads, a subsidiary coinage showing a mixture of roman and celtic influences) is not thought to have been issued until after the reorganisation of the Provincia Transalpina and the presence of roman legions to quell the revolt of the Allobroges in c. 75 B.C.

These appear to be the main differences in date, not negligeable since they diverge by up to half a century. But both Allen and Deroc seem to be in agreement over the relative sequence of coins and over the attribution of the horseman coins to a strongly impregnated roman ambiance.

There are also difference in the attribution of coins to particular tribes or confederations of tribes (the Allobroges, the Cavares, the Vocontii). There seems to be agreement over the attribution of hippocamps to the Allogroges, of horse busts and galloping horses to the Cavares. But the Vocontii, an alpine tribe to the East of the two former confederations are left out: bouquetins,

alpine animals par excellence, have been suggested as the emblem of coins of the Vocontii. But Deroc rejects this interpretation(1983: chapter 6) in favour of the Cavares. Thus, the Vocontii would not have a coinage of their own until the arrival of the pseudo-roman horseman coins. These horseman coins are not particular to a single tribe or confederation, but are a general phenomenon of the Rhône valley and regions East: the weights of the coins are alligned on a roman standard (the quinarius), and the minting of such coins must have taken place with roman benediction in eastern Transalpina. Thus horseman coins cannot be said to be just "allobrogian" or "vocontian".

To return to the celtic coin distribution in the Rhône-Alpes: crude and imprecise as fig. 40 may be, conflating into one single map coins of different types and dates from the late 3rd or early 2nd centuries B.C. to the late 1st century B.C., it nevertheless still gives a general idea of the spread of coins of the main tribes and confederations present in the Rhône-Alpes, i.e. the Allobroges south of Lac Léman, east of the Rhône and north of the Isère, the Cavares south of the Isère and east of the Rhône, the Sequani north of the Rhône, the Aedui and Segusiavi west of the Rhône and in the Loire valley. In the North-East in Haute-Savoie, the Salassi use gold coins inscribed with italiot script. These coins are a further reminder of the close contacts that must have existed across the Alps between cisalpine and transalpine Gaul. Indeed the gold coins of the Salassi, the silver coins of the Pô valley and the early silver coins of

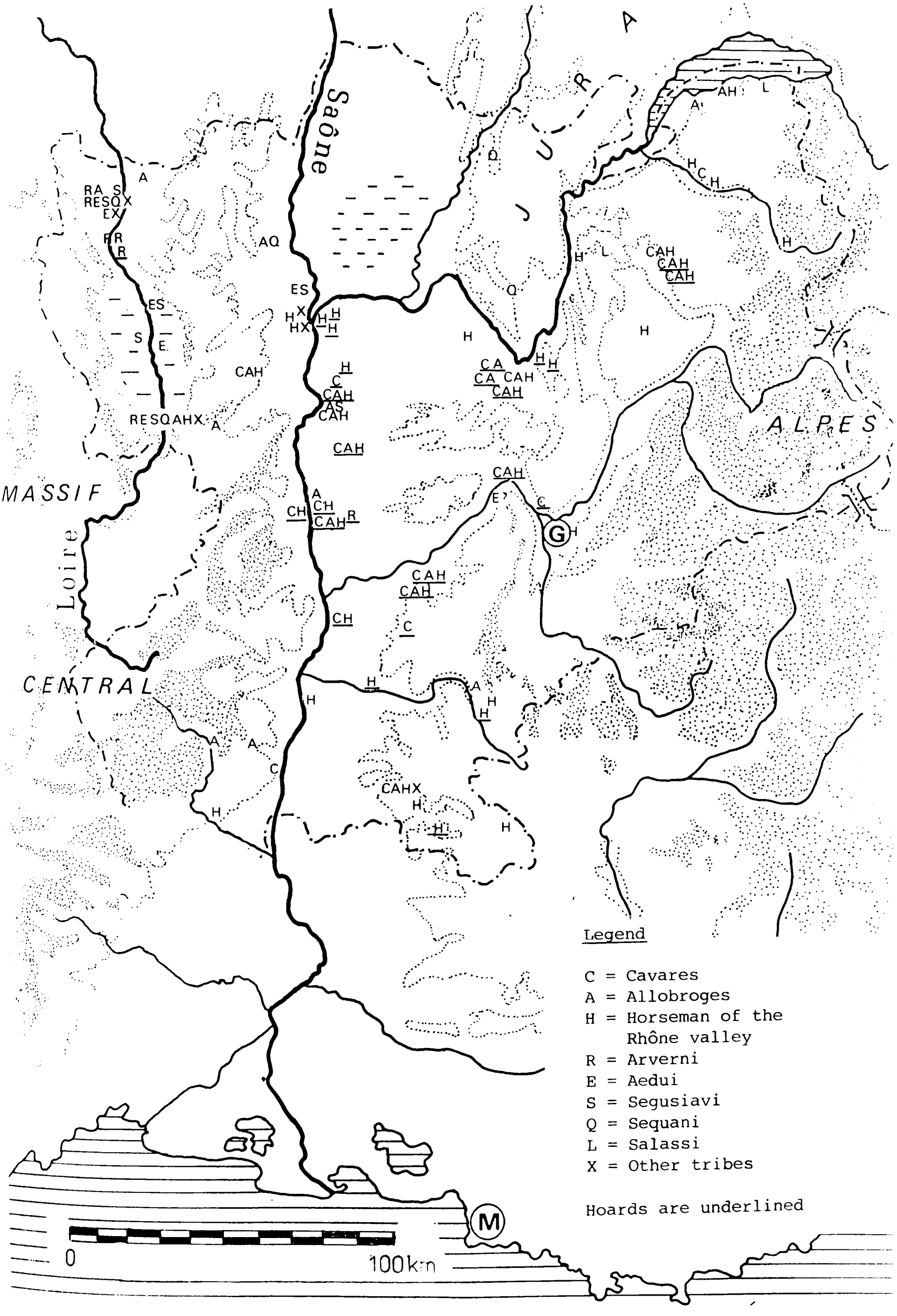


Fig. 40 Distribution of celtic coins

the Rhône valley (which later feature a roman script) all use an italiot script for their legends (Allen 1980: 35, 42-5, 87). Gold coins of the Arverni also feature in hoards deposited in the territories of the Allobroges and Cavares (St-Uze (26-39), Revel-Tourdan (38-42 bis)) as well as on settlement sites of the Loire valley (Roanne (42-18), Chambles-Essalois (42-04)) and as a hoard (Cordelle-Chevenay (42-07) with 900-1200 arvernian gold staters). It would be tempting to link the finds of arvernian coins in areas east of the Rhône with the alliance known to have existed against the Romans between the Arverni and Allobroges in 121 B.C. (Ebel 1976: 71-2). But this would be too simple: in fact only the St-Uze hoard (26-39) could have been deposited in the 2nd century B.C., the hoard of Revel-Tourdan (38-42 bis) containing silver coins of the Rhône valley of a probable later date (75 B.C. according to Deroc 1983: 57) and the hoard of Cordelle in the Loire valley (42-07) featuring tribal gold coins of the early and mid 1st century B.C. (Allen 1980: 68ff, Nash 1978: 145, Vaginay et al. 1981: 26 mention Vercingetorix).

Thus, the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes lies at the junction between a great many coin traditions: the western "silver belt", the western "gold belt", the " subsidiary"

[romano-celtic] silver and bronze tradition, to which should be added a great many silver coins of Massalia (see section 13) and, later, the emergence of potins coins of "charging bull" type derived from the bronze coinage of Massalia.

Definitions of all these traditions can be found in Allen (1980).

It is worthy of notice that, apart from the hoards of Cordelle-Chevenay (42-07), perhaps Andance (07-02), which may be votive) and Annonnay (07-02 bis), all the hoards are located to the East of the Rhône, a feature already observed in the distribution of hoards with coins of Marseille. The celtic hoard distribution is particularly dense in the area of the lower Isère, the area of Lyon and in the Savoie/Haute Savoie. The lower Isère is an especially interesting region: the river itself is thought to be the dividing line between the territories of the Allobroges and Cavares (Barruol 1969: 114). Hoards of coins of Marseille tend to be more densely distributed south of the river Isère (see fig. 39) whereas hoards of celtic silver coins of the Rhône valley are more frequent on the dividing line and to the North.

It is tempting, but extremely difficult to link the concentrations of hoards to the East of the Rhône with the tumultuous political history of the region. A whole series of events i.e. the defeats of the Allobroges, Cavares and Arverni by the Romans in 121 B.C. the passage and eventual defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones in 108-102 B.C., the revolt of the Salluvii in 90 B.C. the revolt of the Allobroges in 77-75 B.C. the revolt of the Vocontii in 61 B.C., the gallic wars in the 50's B.C. and the rebellion of alpine populations in the Augstean period can be held responsible for the deposition of hoards (see Ebel 1976:80). It is in the light

of these events that Deroc (1983: table on p. 60) interprets the burial and failure to retrieve the hoards of the Rhône valley: a great many hoards are thus attributed to the revolt of the Allobroges in c. 75 B.C. But the position of hoards in marshy areas - the case of the hoards located near Lyon - or near lakes - the case of a number of coin finds in the Haute-Savoie - may have a votive purpose and not necessarily be connected with political events. It would thus be rather dangerous to ascribe the deposition of all hoards and the subsequent failure to retrieve them to an episode in the history of the Provincia Transalpina, just as it is a dubious practice to identify and date charcoal layers observed in sections of settlements with reference to documented reports of destructions (for example layer E at the site of Vienne-Ancien Hopital (38-79), equated by Pelletier 1966 with the destruction of Vienne by the Cimbri and Teutones in 105 B.C.). Michel Py, in his consideration of the Volcae at the oppidum of Nages (1978: 333-4 and note 60) is vociferous against this practice.

15) Iberic and celtiberian artefacts

In this section a number of different objects, originating in the iberic peninsula are grouped together. They are of three kinds.

The first and earliest testimony of contacts between Iberia and the south-west of the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes is given by an iberic bronze belt buckle decorated with

an engraved animal found in a late Hallstatt barrow at St-Remèze (07-32). The buckle from barrow 1 seems to be parallelled at the site of the Cayla de Mailhac, where it is dated from the mid 6th to early 5th century B.C. It is certainly possible that St-Remèze had contacts with the south-west of Gaul and even Iberia, as the grey monochrome ware ('phocean') found in the barrows exhibits forms similar to those of the indigenous pottery of the Languedoc-Roussillon (Gourvest 1959: 248). However, it has already been noted that the site of Le Mourre de Sève near Sorgues, on the left bank of the Rhône, could have been the production centre furnishing the barrows of St-Remèze (see section 12).

The next two classes of artefacts have their origin, in the main, on the coast of Catalonia, particularly at the site of Emporion/Ampurias. They are coins minted at Ampurias and elsewhere in Spain (e.g. Ibiza, Tarraco, Osca and other celtiberian issues: see Hiernard 1982: map 7 and catalogue on p. 563-6) and pottery, for the most the so-called 'grey ampuriatine' wares exported in the late 3rd, 2nd and early 1st century B.C. (Benoit 1965: 154).

Grey ampuriatine wares, ultimately a derivation from monochrome grey wares ('phocean') and other pottery of the catalan cost seem fairly frequent in the lower Languedoc (in the départements of Aude and Hérault: cf. Nash 1978: 334), at Entremont and in the lower Rhône valley (in the Gard, at Montpezat and Nages, in the Vaucluse at Cavaillon - St-Jacques). It is to this zone of diffusion in the lower Rhône valley that our two examples from middle La Tène contexts (Le

Pègue - St- Marcel (26-31) and St-Just - Les Plantades (07-27) belong. More out of the ordinary are two fragments of a painted oenochoe similar to iberic finds of the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. at Ensérune (according to Guey 1958: 373 n. 61) found at Ambérieu-en-Bugey (01-01). It may however be questioned whether these two sherds are really celtiberian rather than pseudo-ionian. The clay trumpets from the Mont Ventoux in the Vaucluse (Jully 1961: 427-31), conserved in museum collections at Avignon, Carpentras, Arles and in the British Museum are mentioned here as a curiosity: they seem to resemble celtiberian examples dated to the 3rd-2nd century B.C. However these clay trumpets, probably votive trumpets connected with a sanctuary on a hill-top (cf. Fiches and Py 1978: 182), also exist in 1st or 4th-5th century A.D. contexts in the Marne and in early medieval contexts in the Aude (at St-Jean-de-Cas and Bize: inf. O. and J. Taffanel). Indeed, in the Languedoc clay trumpets or horns were still made as late as 1950 for the use of acolytes at mass. Finally, the southern spanish amphorae found at Chambles-Essalois (42-04) indicate that on a site where enormous amounts of Dressel 1A and 1B amphorae were discarded, perhaps because it acted as a regional redistribution centre, not only wine of campanian origin but also of spanish provenance was being traded in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. (see below and fig. 43).

Although Ampurias minted coins from the 5th century B.C. onwards (Villard 1960: 117), the diffusion of silver and bronze coins of Ampurias and other celtiberian coins into the

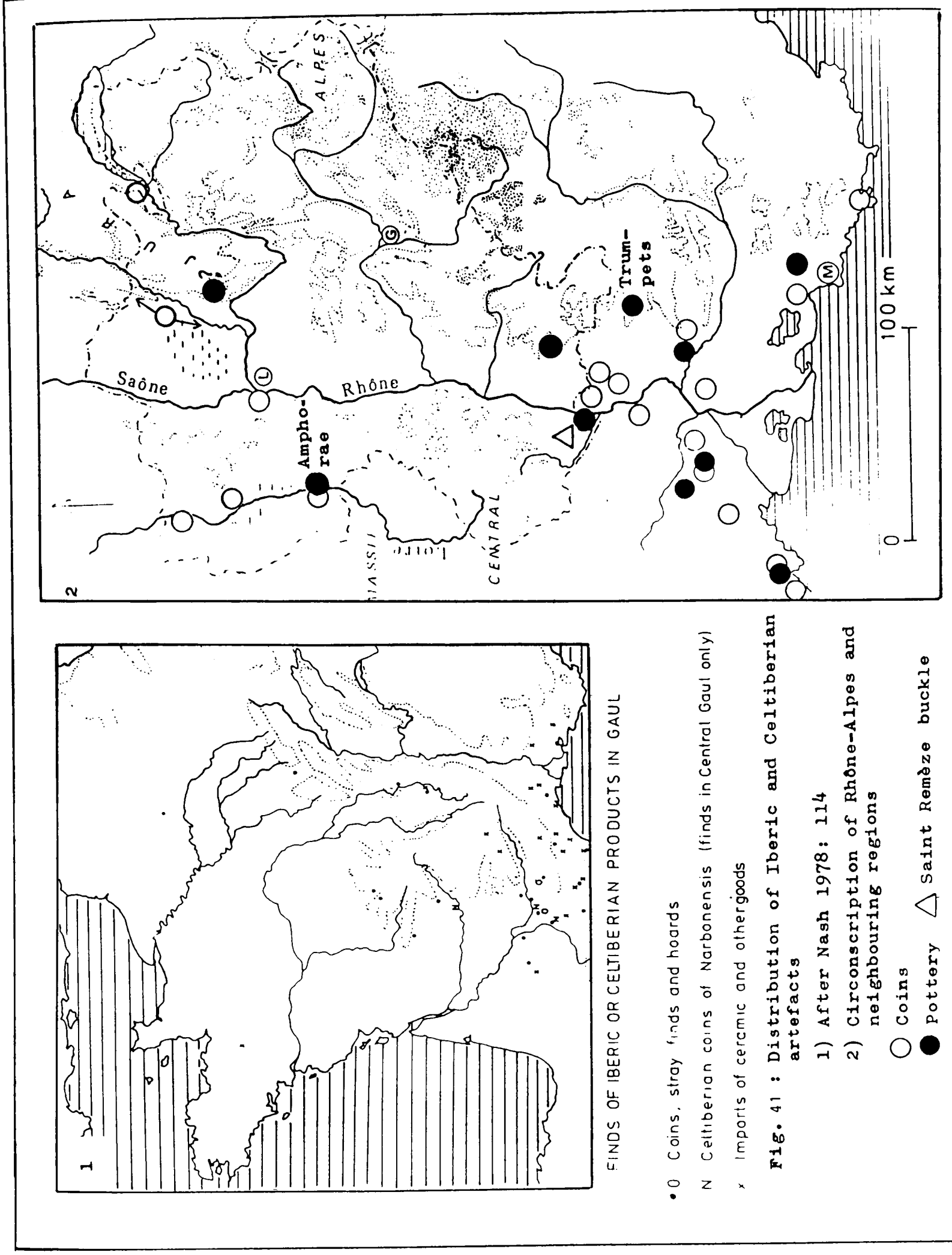


Fig. 41 : Distribution of Iberic and Celtiberian artefacts

1) After Nash 1978: 114

2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions

○ Coins

● Pottery △ Saint Remèze buckle

Fig. 41

Rhône and Loire valleys and the local imitations of ampuriatine issues in these same areas, seems to be a feature of the 2nd (late 2nd?) and 1st centuries B.C.: at Bollène-Barry in the Vaucluse, Gentric (1981: 60) notes that "the presence of the Romans in Spain and in the Narbonnaise, and its movement of troups, would have favoured the diffusion of celtiberian coins on either sides of the Pyrenees" (my translation). In this late phase, coins of Ampurias will be dispersed widely into celtic Gaul and reach sites such as Alésia (Le Dantec 1971).

In summary, apart from an isolated incident of a relationship between the iberic peninsula and the Ardèche around 500 B.C. (the St-Remèze belt buckle) the presence of Spanish goods and coinage makes itself felt in the circonscription of the Rhône-Alpes, i.e. in the Ardèche and Drôme and in the Loire valley as well as in some isolated instances at Lyon, in the Ain and at Geneva (see fig. 41) only in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. This is a period of brisk trade, especially in wine from central Italy and in fine campanian table wares (see below). The spanish artefacts may have 'ridden along' trade routes used for the diffusion of italic goods. In any case, the impact made by iberic or celtiberian objects seems to be rather muted in the Rhône and Loire valleys, compared with the mass of objects of hispanic origin circulating in south-western Gaul, in the Languedoc and along the Garonne (see distribution map by Hiernard 1982: map 7, and Nash 1978: 114, reproduced here on fig. 41.1).

16) Campanian wares

These fine table wares of mostly italian origin, but by no means all issued from workshops in Campania, have in common a uniform black varnish. N. Lamboglia has studied this material and published in 1952 his 'Classificazione Preliminare', i.e. the definition of three wares (A, B and C) and the numbering of their forms; this classification has formed the basis of all attributions of black varnish wares ever since. Recent work by Morel (1978 and 1981) has updated Lamboglia's work and produced a new form typology as well as refined the attribution of campanian wares to a series of workshops or provenance areas. In addition, the analysis of campanian wares discarded in large quantities in the stratified middens of the oppidum des Castels at Nages (Py 1978a and 1978b: 43-70) has helped to refine the chronology of campanian wares on a site occupied from c. 290 to c. 10 B.C.

Campanian wares originated in Italy in the 4th century B.C., but the bulk of the exported material appears to belong to the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. The publications by Morel (1978: particularly 149-163 and 1981: 46-52) contain useful summaries of the chronology and production areas of campanian wares, putting order in the jungle of fabrics, workshop attributions (Morel has identified c. 70 workshops and supposes the existance of hundreds (1978: 150)), classes, families, groups, types and subtypees (2467 subtypes defined in Morel's dendritic typology of 1981). The main sequence of

campanian wares can be outlined as follows:

- pre-campanian wares are attic productions of the 4th century B.C.

- "Gnathia" refers to apulian productions (at Tarentum) between c. 360 and 270 B.C.

- proto-campanian wares appear around 300 B.C. This term should be reserved for the productions of workshops in Capua but is often used to describe any 4th-3rd century black varnish ware.

- the campanian ware from the "atelier des petites estampilles" is issued from a workshop in Rome and dated to c. 300-250 B.C.

- there is an ill-defined period, following the end of the "petites estampilles" in the mid 3rd century B.C. and the beginning of campanian A wares at the end of the 3rd century B.C.

- campanian A wares, manufactured in workshops at Naples-Ischia, start near the end of the 3rd century B.C., perhaps around 220-200 B.C. There are three phases: early A (220-180 B.C.), middle A(180-100 B.C.), late A (100-50/40 B.C., but production may have been reduced since c. 80 B.C.; on the other hand, its use may have continued into the Augustean period, abroad). The palmette stamped varieties of Campanian A appear to have stopped by the mid 2nd century B.C. or third quarter of the 2nd century B.C., to be replaced by circle and dot stamps.

- campanian B ware appears from the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century B.C. There are two classes, "real B ware" originating in Etruria and the region of Cosa, and "B-oid ware", dated from c. 130 B.C., isssued from workshops in Campania and the region of Cales in Toscana.

- campanian C ware was made in Sicily (Syracuse) in the 2nd-1st century B.C. The exported wares appear in Provence around the beginning of the 1st century B.C.

- in addition to the main campanian wares, there are many centres of regional production (e.g. Spain, Ibiza, Catalonia, Languedoc, the lower Rhône valley), whose products should be differentiated from local imitations of campanian wares in late La Tène Gaul. Much work is still required in defining regional productions and local imitations.

Thus, when campanian ware sherds are found on La Tène sites in Europe, they are potentially the most useful dating tool for the 3rd, 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. But great care

must be taken (as at Nages: Py 1978a and b) in identifying exactly what type and quantity of campanian export reached the site: only when this is done will the controveersy surrounding the attribution of loosely termed campanian A ware to the 3rd century B.C. subside (see Morel 1978: 157; Py 1978b: 70).

Whether campanian A ware imports start in the later 3rd or early 2nd century B.C. to continue alongside campanian B wares in the 2nd and 1st century B.C. together with a small amount of campanian C wares (a few sherds at Le Pègue - St-Marcel,(26-31), Vienne - Ste-Blandine (38-80), Roanne - St-Joseph (42-18) and Gilbertès (42-21) and perhaps Hières-sur-Amby (38-22)) does not deter from the fact that italian fine table wares were present on middle La Tène sites well before the establishment of the Provincia Transalpina in 125-121 B.C., and also before the massive diffusion of republican wine amphorae in the Rhône-Saône and Loire valleys (see below). Thus, although it is true that the highest distribution of campanian wares correspond to the years of the roman conquest (Tchernia 1983: 79) and although it is often on the same sites that Dressel 1A and 1B amphorae and campanian wares are found, presumably distributed together along the same trade routes, the diffusion of fine italian table wares had earlier beginnings. It is for this reason that we have stressed so much in earlier sections, the likelihood that the Rhône valley remained open as a trade route in the 5th, 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. (see sections 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12). If the rhodanian communities

were in close contact with Marseille, then campanian wares had a ready-made trade network to take up (cf. Gallet de Santerre 1977: 33-57).

Some sites in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes do indeed appear to show a link, even if tenuous, between the 4th and 2nd centuries B.C. The sequence starts with Le Pègue. Le Pègue - St-Marcel (26-31) takes pride of place in the study of trade along the eastern foothills of the Rhône valley: it is the only site where there appears to be an uninterrupted flow of fine imported wares. One can observe, during the 4th century B.C., a change from attic red figure imports to pre- and proto-campanian fine wares: Lagrand and Thalmann report on a pre-campanian palmette decorated dish and skyphoi fragments of the 4th and 2nd half of the 4th century B.C. (1973: 20-21, entries 7, 8, 9) and a pre-Gnathia bowl dated to the 3rd quarter of the 4th century B.C (1973: 21, entry 10). Campanian A wares then feature strongly in middle and late La Tène contexts (levels C and B31, B21, B1). Two forms, form 27 and 33 are particularly well represented: form 27 appears to start earlier and peak earlier than form 33. Lagrand and Thalmann attribute a date of the 3rd century B.C. to the beginning of campanian A, form 27, of which certain fragments are palmette stamped (1973: 101). However, the bulk of campanian imports at Le Pègue - St-Marcel peaks around the middle of the 1st century B.C.

The adjacent settlement of Le Pègue - Chantier des Ecoles (26-30) has similarly early campanian wares, as the site was occupied in middle La Tène, but not late La Tène.

The lowland settlement of Vienne - Ancien Hôpital (38-79), at the foot of the 'oppidum' of Ste-Blandine, has a deep stratigraphy buried below the temple to Cybèle and perhaps stretching as far back as the 4th century B.C.: its lowest level (K) contained a sherd of 4th century B.C. attic red figure ware. It seems reasonable to accept Pelletier's (1966b) suggestion that early campanian palmette-stamped wares in the following level (I) could go as far back as the late 3rd century B.C. In any case level I is sandwiched between a 4th century and a 2nd century B.C. level (G).

The remaining early sites featuring campanian imports appear to belong to the 2nd century B.C., with the possible exception of Alba (07-01). They are the hillfort of Soyons (07-35) well known for its earlier imports, perhaps already the hillfort of Vienne - Ste-Blandine (38-80), the lowland settlement of St-Paul-lès-Romans (26-38), and, already by the early or mid-2nd century B.C., the lowland settlement of Roanne - Institution St-Joseph (42-18) (Morel 1978: 167). Roanne thus seems to be at the beginning of a impressive number of sites in the Loire valley that were able to attract campanian wares, especially in the first half of the 1st century B.C. (Morel 1978: 167; 1981: 570). The hillfort of Chambles-Essalois, (42-04), described as an "emporium" by Nash (1976: 109) and of great commercial importance since it is located at the upper limit of navagability on the Loire (Collis 1975: 178) was not re-ached by campanian wares until the first half of the 1st century B.C.; yet it was occupied from c. 180 B.C., i.e. before or at the same time as the beginning of Roanne. The situation of Chambles/Roanne

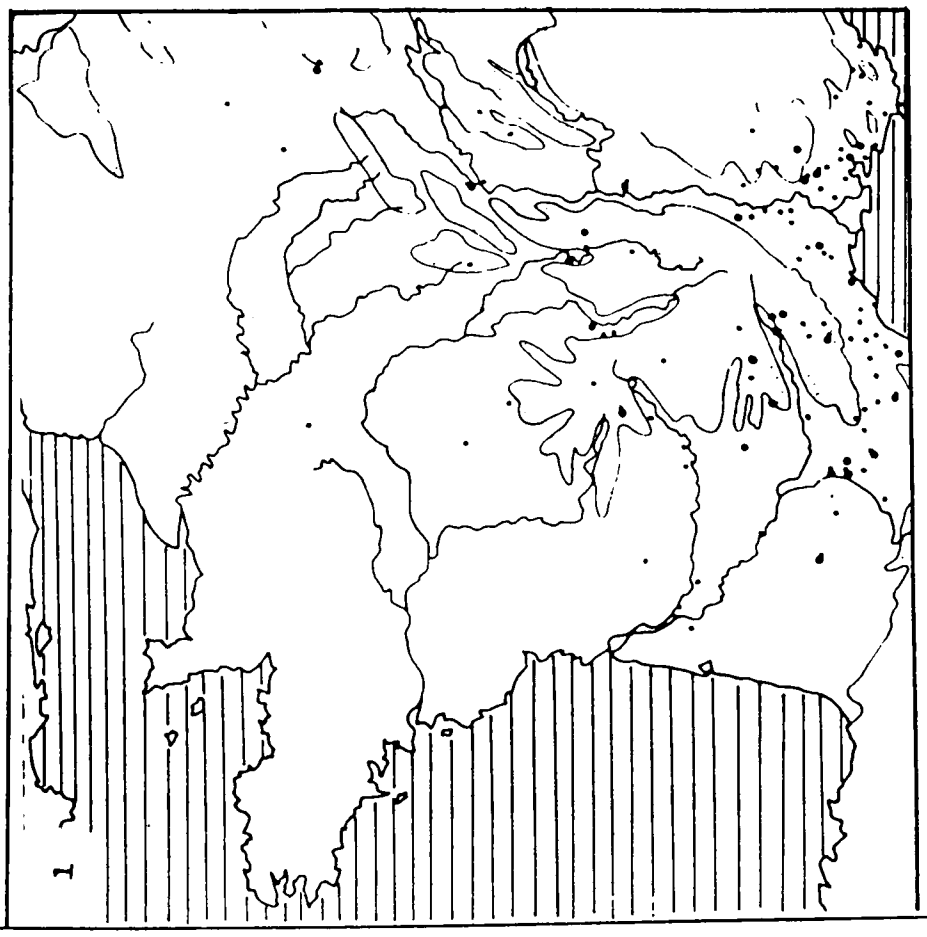
is rather reminiscent of Vienne - Cybèle/Ste-Blandine. In both cases it is the less flamboyand lowland 'comptoir' that initiated the sequence of imports , to be supplanted (but not eliminated) by the hillfort. Further, it is often the lowland site that will in time become a town, rather than the oppidum (e.g. Vienne, Mâcon, Châlon-s-Saône quoted by Collis 1975: 176; also, of course, Roanne). But Chambles is 70km. to the south of Roanne and it would be dangerous to make generalisations on two sites so far apart and so different in nature. Chambles was certainly a major redistribution centre in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., as attested by over 300 coins of a very wide ranging number of celtic tribes, as well as by enormous amounts of republican amphorae.

The first half of the first century B.C. sees the flourishing of the upper Loire valley between Chambles - Essalois and Roanne. This region is now in the main area of the italian wine trade: the trade route followed the Rhône valley as far as Vienne (hence the many imports on both its lowland and hilltop sites) or perhaps as far as Givors, then took a gently sloping lateral valley linking the Rhône to St-Etienne to join the Loire and Chambles - Essalois . From there many sites with imported campanian wares mark the route: Feurs (42-09 to 11), St-Marcel-de-Félines - Crêt Châtelard (42-30) and Roanne (42-18 to 23). The hillfort of St-Maurice-sur-Loire - Joeuvre (42-31) and settlements of St-Romain-le-Puy - Chezieu (42-32) and Poncins - Goincet (42-16) attracted further campanian imports after the Conquest.

If we have spent some time on the sequence of the Loire

valley, it is not to say that the remainder of the Rhône-Alpes were untouched by fine italian wares: certain early sites (Le Pègue, Vienne) continued to attract imports, and in later stages, particularly the second half of the 1st century B.C. outlying regions managed to get hold of campanian wares (e.g. Chessy-les-Mines (69-08), Tenay-Treffiez (01-29), Seyssel-Vens (74-46), Sassenage - Gr. des Chèvres (38-59)).

The distribution map (fig. 42) presented here conflates into one single image the sequence outlined above: it was felt that some comment was necessary as the development of trade in campanian wares in the Rhône-Alpes is not immediately apparent from the distribution map. Neither do the quantities of imported campanian wares figure on the map. In most cases, reports mention a handful of sherds, with the notable exception of Le Pègue - St- Marcel (350 sherds in sondage 8, compared to c. 1200 fine gaulish ware sherds), Vienne - Ste-Blandine (69 sherds , compared to 949 sherds of gaulish wares), Tournus on the Saône just north of the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes (60 sherds: cf. Morel and Perrin 1976: 135-48) and Roanne - Inst. St- Joseph (44 sherds). Not surprisingly, these sites are the sites with the longest sequence of imported materials. Therefore, it can be said that the trade of italian fine table wares follows well established trade routes and makes a real impact on sites with a long commercial tradition. However, the contribution of campanian wares to the total ceramic assemblages is not enormous: in our view, 69 sherds out of a total of 1054 sherds of pre-roman pottery at Vienne -



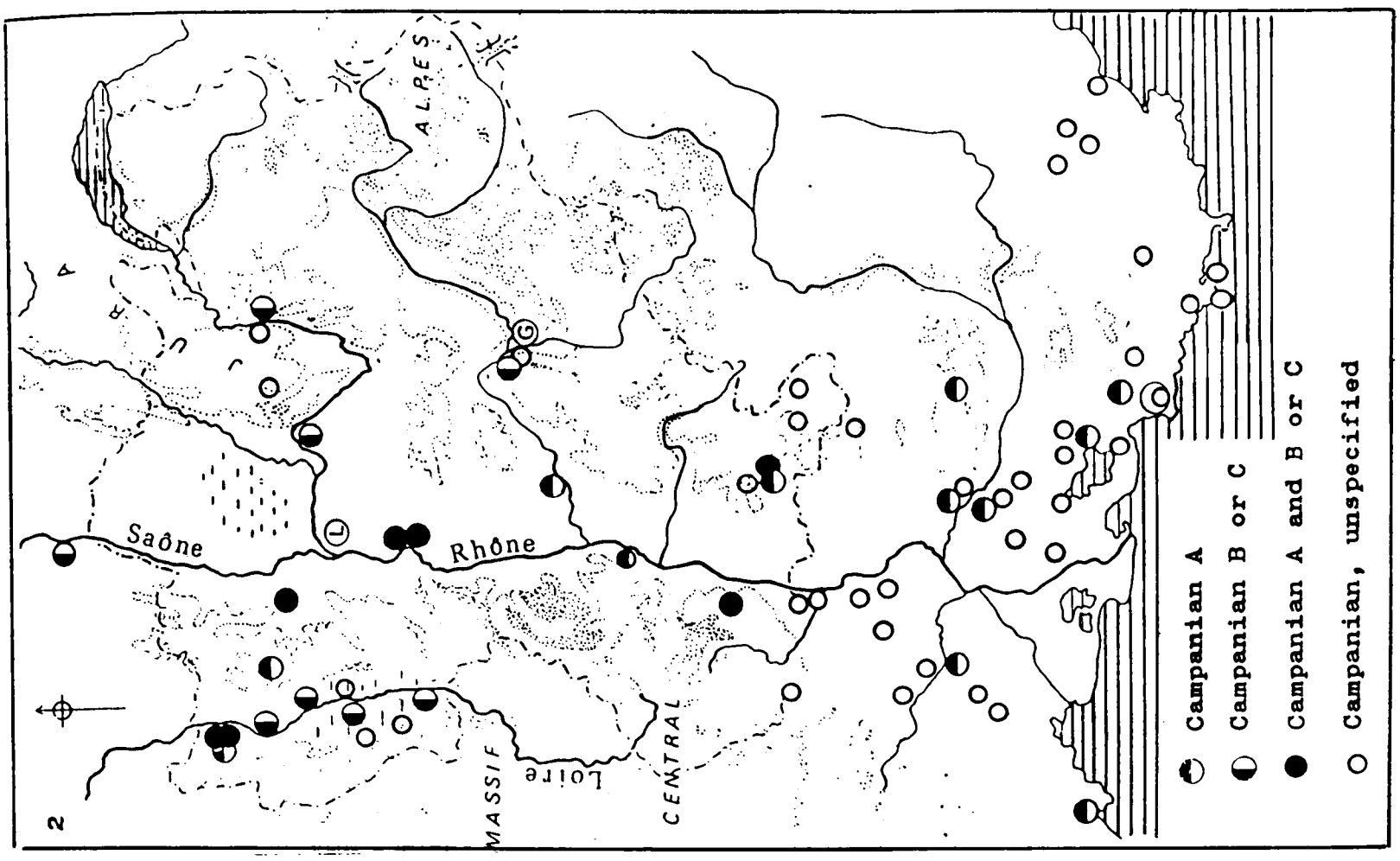


Fig. 42 : Distribution of campanian wares
1) **After Nash 1978:113**
2) **Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions**

Fig. 42

Ste-Blandine, does not amount to a "great proportion of imported campanian ceramic" (Chapotat 1966). These figures cannot complete on the same level as those for Nages (Py 1978a and 1978b), where a single layer in a midden can contain 300-400 sherds (e.g. layer 8 in midden J1).

To conclude: it is hoped that this section has shown the continued role of the Rhône valley as a trade axis. We have tried to demonstrate that the reason why a renewal took place was because the Rhône corridor never completely fell into disuse in the crucial 5th, 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.: it was still part of the sphere of influence of Marseille and thus provided a ready-made diffusion network for the Romans, before the conquest of the Provincia Transalpina. This network is extended to take advantage of the link between Rhône and Loire: the sites of Vienne and Roanne show this development. But it is admitted that the evidence for a 3rd century B.C. trade in the Rhône-Alpes (and elsewhere) is rather tenuous: Collis (1975: 176 and 1976: 13) talks of a "hiatus" in international trade in the middle La Tène period and of an "enigmatic" settlement pattern in the Rhône valley. We have tried to narrow the "hiatus" and make the settlement pattern less enigmatic. But, if a research topic was sought by a student, our answer would be: identify the 3rd century B.C. horizon in the Rhône-Alpes. Only research of a much more detailed nature than the one presented here could give support to or negate our hypothesis.

17) Republican wine amphorae

Our last class of artefacts imported into what has now become the Provincia Transalpina and into the barbarian world beyond is also the most voluminous: indeed enormous quantities of wine containers reached Gaul in the late 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.

Here, we are concerned with wine amphorae known as Dresssel 1A and 1B (after Dressel 1899: CIL XV pars 1 and Lamboglia 1955). These long spindle shaped vessels contained predominantly, if not exclusively, wine produced on the tyrrhennian coast of Italy, form falernian and caecuban vineyards (Pea-cock 1971: 164). But it is possible that some other regions also produced wine contained in Dressel 1 amphorae: Peacock (1971: 164) suggests South Italy (Calabria), Sabir et al.(1983) mention Spain. It is also just possible that the region of Narbonne made an attempt to imitate Dressel 1 amphorae: this attempt to bypass the Roman monopoly over wine trade has important implications (see below).

The beginnings of imports of republican wine amphorae into Gaul seem fairly securely dated to c. 130 B.C.: amphorae at Entremont must predate 123 B.C. and tituli picti of 119 B.C. are recorded at Ampurias and of 103 B.C. at Vieille Toulouse (Tchernia 1983: 87, with further dates). The end of Dressel 1 imports is also quite firmly situated in the Augustean period (c. 20-10 B.C.), when wine of spanish origin plays a dominant role.

Between the dates of 130 B.C. and 10 B.C., two types of amphorae - Dressel 1A, smaller than 1B, with a triangular collared rim and a stumpy base, and Dressel 1B, larger with near vertical collared rim, sharper shoulders and longer spike (Peacock 1971: 164) - are mass produced in factories of the campanian coast: an example of such a factory exists in the region of Cosa, where the famous villa of Settefinestre (Carandini 1979) is located. The diffusion of its Sestius - stamped amphorae (Roman 1974) can be studied all over the Riviera and French coast, the South-West, Provence, the Rhône and Loire valleys (sites such as Nîmes, Lyon, Vienne, Roanne) and to Besançon, Bâle, Alésia, Mont Beuvray and Poitiers. As a rule of thumb, Dressel 1A amphorae start earlier than Dressel 1B: an example of change in time can be studied in South Britain in the 1st century B.C.: Hengistbury Head on Christchurch harbour attracts mainly Dressel 1A amphorae, whereas the region of Camulodunum has Dressel 1B imports (Peacock 1971). But the old rule of thumb i.e. that Dressel 1A are pre-gallic Conquest and Dressel 1B post-Conquest (Collis 1975: 48) has to be revised a little: Dressel 1A amphorae start in c. 130 B.C. but continue to be produced until c. 30 B.C. (particularly the Sestius-stamped Dressel 1A: Roman 1974: 125-36). There is therefore a considerable overlap between Dressel 1A and 1B, which are thought to start being manufactured and exported between 70 and 50 B.C. (Peacock 1971: 165) to continue to the end of the Augustean period. Thus a map (fig. 43) which distinguishes between the two types does not necessarily show shifts in

time, even if, on the whole, sites with Dressel 1A imports are earlier than those with 1B.

Amphorae are bulky and heavy objects: a complete, but by no means the largest amphora (Dressel 1B) found at Roanne - Institution St-Joseph (42-18) weighed 22 kg. empty and had a contenance of 25 *l.*(Bessou 1976: 26). Each amphora therefore represents a weight in the region of 50 kg. (the weight of a figure-conscious modern woman): to transport large quantities of such amphorae, quantities estimated by Tchernia (1983: 91-2) to be in the order of 40 million amphorae exported to Gaul, representing an annual consumption of a 100,000 hl of wine, was no mean feat. Transport by ship and only minimal overland transport must have been the only practical way of shifting such enormous cargoes. The sea and river trade of republican amphorae is well documented: shipwreck sites litter the coast of Liguria and Provence (e.g. Grand-Conglué) and sites with large quantities of amphorae are located on the main river trade networks: first and foremost the Aude and Garonne, providing the shortest possible route for the transport of wine along the Atlantic coast (wreck of Belle-Ile, Morbihan) and to southern Britain, the Rhône-Saône corridor, the Loire valley and, particularly in late stages, the Rhine valley as far as the Netherlands and south-east Britain (see fig. 43).

Tchernia (1983: 88-90) has called our attention to the different quantities of amphorae found on gaulish sites, a feature not readily borne out by a general distribution map: while many sites (e.g. in Brittany) have produced small

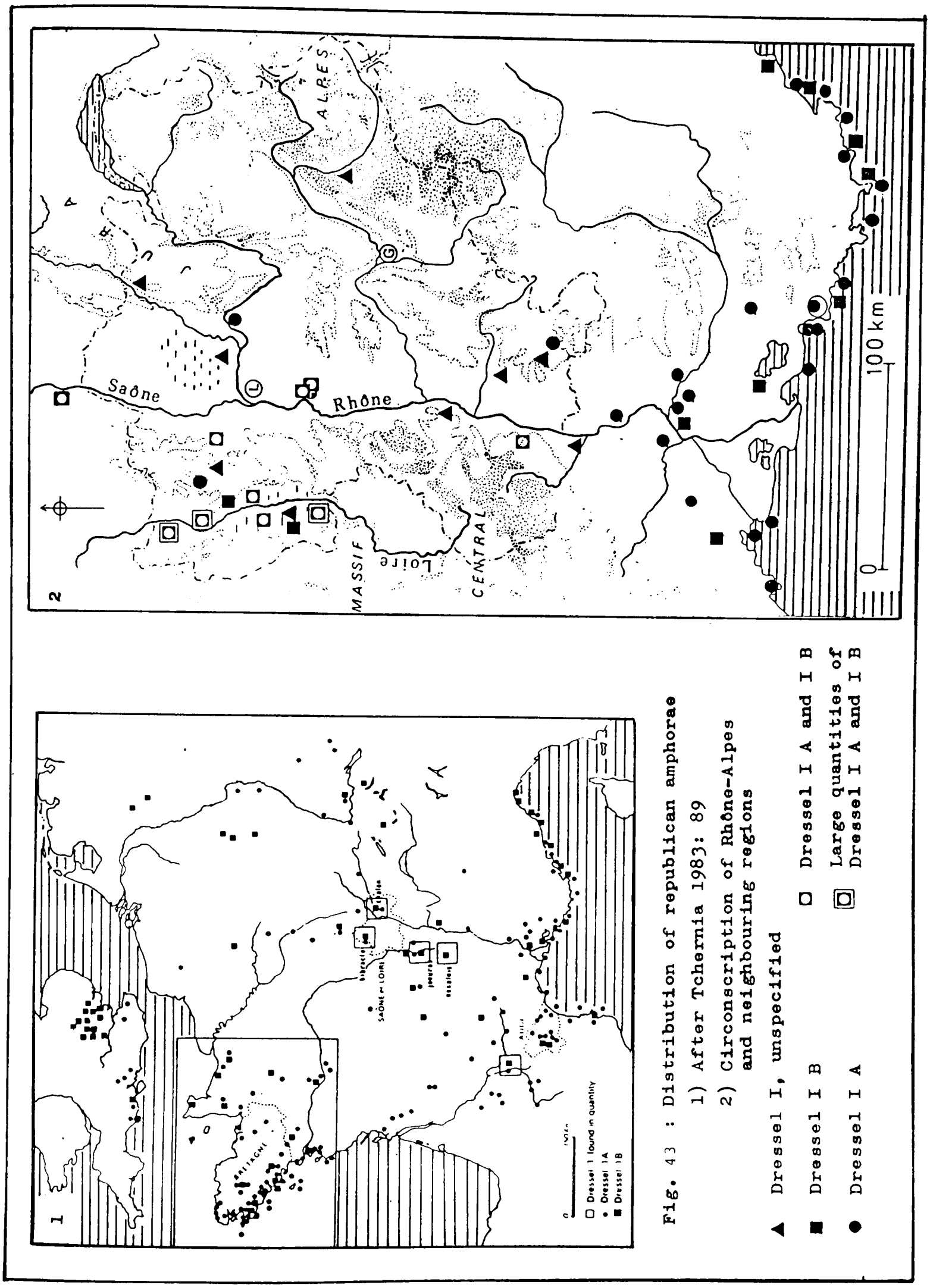


Fig. 43 : Distribution of republican amphorae
1) After Tchernia 1983: 89
2) Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and neighbouring regions

▲ Dressel I, unspecified
■ Dressel I B
● Dressel I A
□ Dressel I A and I B
▣ Large quantities of Dressel I A and I B

Fig. 43

numbers of amphorae, certain zones are littered with amphorae remains. The most famous example of a literal mountain of amphorae débris is the Monte Testaccio in Rome. In Gaul, enormous quantities of amphorae are concentrated in the Aude, the region of Toulouse, the port of Châlon-sur-Saone where 24,000 amphorae were dredged from the river, the site of Mont Beuvray and the 'oppida' and settlements of the upper Loire valley: at Chambles - Essalois (42-04) the whole of the interior of the hillfort is littered with sherds of amphorae and, since there was so much of this material around, it was used as a building material in a variety of uses (floors, drainage, paving: Leglay 1973: 520 and Lancel 1975: 542-3 mentioning no less than 6 superimposed floors). At Roanne - Institution St-Joseph (42-18) the rubbish pits were choked with amphorae fragments and Bessou (1976: 24) talks of "veritable amphorae cemeteries".

The enormous concentrations of amphorae fragments on these sites indicate that they functionned as regional redistribution centres (Tchernia 1983: 94). Indeed they are located at key-passages along rivers and where secondary routes meet the major network: Chambles is at the upper limit of navigability of the Loire, Toulouse has a similar position on the Garonne, Châlon-sur-Saône is recorded by Strabo (IV, 3, 2) to have a right of toll on the Saône. These sites may have acted as markets or dépôts, where the inhabitants of surrounding regions could approvision themselves in wine: it is posssible that amphorae were broken in situ and the wine transferred to barrels or skin-bags for

transport to lesser centres (documentation of such a practice is recorded by Strabo V, 1, 8 at Aquileia and by Caesar DBG VIII, 42.1 at Cahors). If wine is not just a commodity (see below), but is used by chiefs and lesser chiefs as gifts to achieve power (see the description of King Louernios' feast and his travels through the countryside tossing coins to crowds of people, related by Poseidonios) then the centres in which wine is held are by the same token centres of power. But it would be simplistic to equate large numbers of amphorae with oppida of the nobility in all cases. Roanne , which Nash (1976: 106) describes as a market town servicing the oppida, or Vienne, Tournus, Châlon (Collis 1975: 176) are r verside settlements of a quite different nature to Chambles - Essalois or Le Mont Beuvray. Yet all these different types of site have major deposits of amphorae. This situation may have a number of implications.

a) A chronological factor may be involved; It is rather a complex problem, but there seems to have been a movement back to fortified oppida in the mid 1st century B.C. and cons-equently of the distribution centres of wine. Notice that Chambles - Essalois and the Mont Beuvray, as well as Basel - Münsterhügel (Furger-Gunti 1979: 94) have predominantly Dressel 1B amphorae.

b) The situation in the first half of the first century B.C. may no longer bear much resemblance to the middle La Tène state of affairs reported by Poseidonios. Power is no longer in the personal hands of a king, but has assumed a more commercial and urban character. The late coin evidence would

support this hypothesis. Thus lowland towns attract wine on to their markets in exchange for slaves, for example (see below): the wine is therefore around; whether the town was itself a centre of power or under the administrative control of an 'oppidum' located elsewhere is a question difficult to answer. But surely the enormous amounts of wine present in towns and oppida must have resulted in a certain devaluation of the 'buying power' of wine. However, we come here into contradiction with some other evidence, which indicates the high price Celts put on wine, since they were prepared to exchange a slave for an amphora of wine (see below).

The interpretation of the trade in republican amphorae is complex and has wide reaching ramifications. What is certain however, is that from the second half of the 2nd century B.C. and certainly by 100 B.C., there is a 'prodigious increase', a 'quantitative leap' in the import of italian wine: its consumption has increased 10-fold in the Provincia Transalpina and neighbouring regions, compared to the earlier figures available for wine of the region of Marseille (Goudineau 1983: 80-81).

Why so much wine for the rhodanian and Loire valley communities and for the Gauls in general? It is indeed for a civilian, celtic consumption (Tchernia 1983: 93) and not for the Roman army that the wine is intended on the whole. Of course, the celtic love of wine, to the extent that the Celts drunk it neat rather than classically diluted, is well known. However, it is worth wondering whether wine was not foisted on to the gaulish market, because it was the only possible

exchange product. Thus, wine would have assumed the role of a currency: the Romans exploited the gift exchange system known previously amongst the Gauls and perhaps abused it. By having an almost total monopoly over the wine trade and by issuing an interdiction to the inhabitants of the Provincia to grow vineyards and olive groves (Cicero, De Republica III, g, 16) they were able to call the tune. Thus a slave for an amphora (recorded by Diodorus Siculus V. 26, 3) was a dear price for wine. Tchernia (1983: 99) suggests that Roman merchants found a price of 10 amphorae for a slave in central Gaul in the 1st century B.C. a high price to pay.

Slaves are thought to be one of the commodities bought in exchange for wine: Tchernia (1983: 99) argues that the slave trade represented between one tenth and one third of the goods exchanged for italian wine. What other goods were sought? Metals must be responsible for a strong proportion of marketable goods: indeed Tchernia (1983: 96) links the prolific amphorae finds in the Languedoc with the exploitation of mines in the Montagne Noire on the one hand, and the British tin route on the other hand. The French Alps and lateral valleys of the Saône-Rhône corridor are rich in a great range of mineral, animal and vegetable products (see Chapter V, part II and Barruol 1969: 83-108 for a synthesis and Hiernard 1982: map 10 showing mining areas to the west of the Rhône - Saône - Seine): gold, silver, lead, copper, iron, amber, lignite, pitch, resin, wax, honey, ham and cheese could all have been exchange products. But if wine was offered in exchange, the containers did not reach the high

alpine mining areas: difficulty of transport and perhaps the seasonality of mining operations might have precluded the diffusion of wine amphorae to the Alps; indeed the map (fig. 43) to the east of the Rhône valley foothills is singularly blank (except for one amphora at St-Jean de-Maurienne in Savoie (73-52)). If wine was available in the Alps, then the hypothetical barrels and skin-bag must have been brought to Rhône valley centres, such as Vienne. Thus, the situation in the French Alps is quite different from that of the Montagne Noire. On the other hand, where mines were close enough to the Rhône - Saône corridor (e.g. the copper mines in the valley of Azergues, a lateral valley of the Saône, to the north-west of Lyon, thought responsible (by Walker 1981: 290) for the arrival of Dressel 1 amphorae and campanian wares on the site of Chessy-les-Mines), italian wine amphorae were available, at least in close proximity.

The last question to be touched on in this section is the question of vineyards in Provence and Languedoc. It is indeed almost certain (Benoit 1965; Echallier 1982: 139-44) that vineyards were established in these regions shortly after the foundation of Massalia, perhaps in the 5th century B.C. The wine produced in Massalia's extended hinterland fills massaliotic micaceous amphorae up to c. 200 B.C. What happens afterwards? Why this sudden flood of italian imported wine? Why the interdiction to the natives to plant vineyards and olive trees, reported by Cicero (De Republica III, 9.16)? Why the taxes on wine, also reported by Cicero (Pro Fonteio XIX and XX)? The implications are

that the natives did indeed produce a vintage (otherwise it would not be worth an interdiction), but it was not put into amphorae and probably not traded very far: it was a local wine for home consumption.

If I am allowed a short parenthesis, I would compare the situation in the 2nd and 1st century B.C. Provincia, to my own home ground on the edges of Lake Geneva: this region produces a very good white wine (La Côte, Dézaley, Yvorne) but it is largely consumed locally. A plot of its distribution outside south-west Switzerland would not look very impressive. Further, if we celebrate an event, (marriage, christening, etc.), we drink imported wine (Bordeaux, Bourgogne, or Champagne). Although I would not want to stress the analogy too far, there may be a grain of truth in it.

There are a few indications that imported italian wine had a special status. As a traded commodity, it may have almost had the value of a currency. It occurs in large quantities in market centres or centres of power. It is redistributed from these centres. Chiefs may have used it in their special feasts. But local wine must have been part of the diet of the late Iron Age communities in the Provincia. Some scraps of evidence support this hypothesis. Firstly note that at Le Pègue - St-Marcel, there are very few remains of republican amphorae and at St- Marcel - St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28) there are none. Yet both sites have contempory fine campanian table ware . These two sites, formerly on the edges of Massalia's hinterland and now in the Provincia were well

acquainted with wine drinking from the 6th century B.C. onwards. It is hardly likely that wine was no longer consumed there. Only, the wine was local. These two old commercial centres have partly lost their power to attract large amounts of imports in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., at the expense of new commercial centres further north: Vienne and the Loire valley. It is not surprising to find that Vienne and the upper Loire are located on either side of the border of the new Provincia. The new centres can thus be said to fulfill rather the same role as the old centres in the lower Rhône valley: they exploit their location on the border, they are a reflection of the 'fringe effect'.

Secondly, a recent analysis by Sabir, Laubenheimer, Leblanc and Wideman (1983) suggests that in the region of Narbonne there were some attempts at making 'fake' republican amphorae. Their analysis (by neutron activation) was carried out on a number of kiln waste products and Dressel 1A and 1B amphorae fragments associated to them. Their conclusion is that the overwhelming majority of amphorae fragments were imported, demonstrating "the economic domination of Italy" (Sabir et al 1983: 112), but one sherd of a Dressel 1A amphora (out of a total of 19 analysed) is made locally. If there is a possibiliby of a local, limited amphorae manufacture, then a local wine production is even more likely. That wine was grwon in the Langudoc is not a wild hypothesis. But to put it in a 'fake' italian amphora is a new and interesting development. The reasons that spring to mind are an attempt to evade taxes or to bypass the monoply

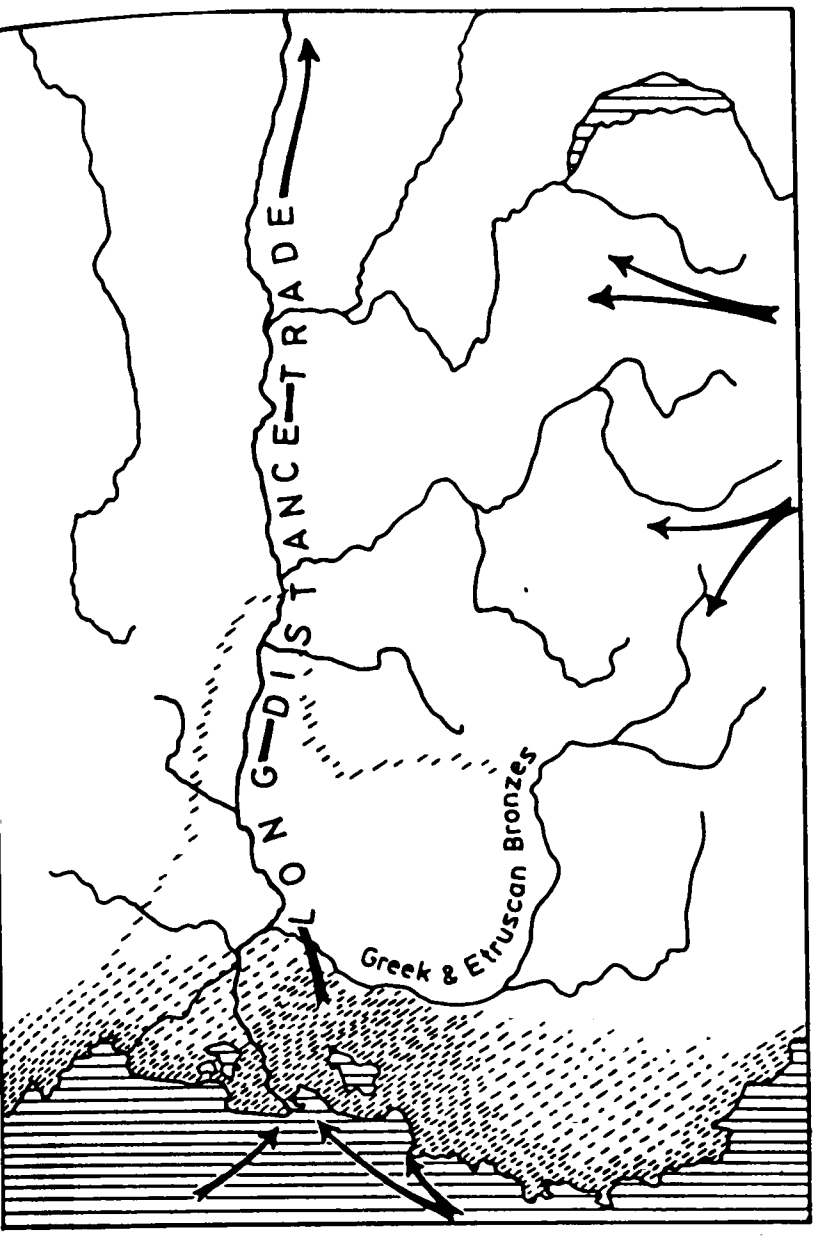
the Romans held over the distribution of wine inside and especially outside the Provincia Transalpina.

Conclusions

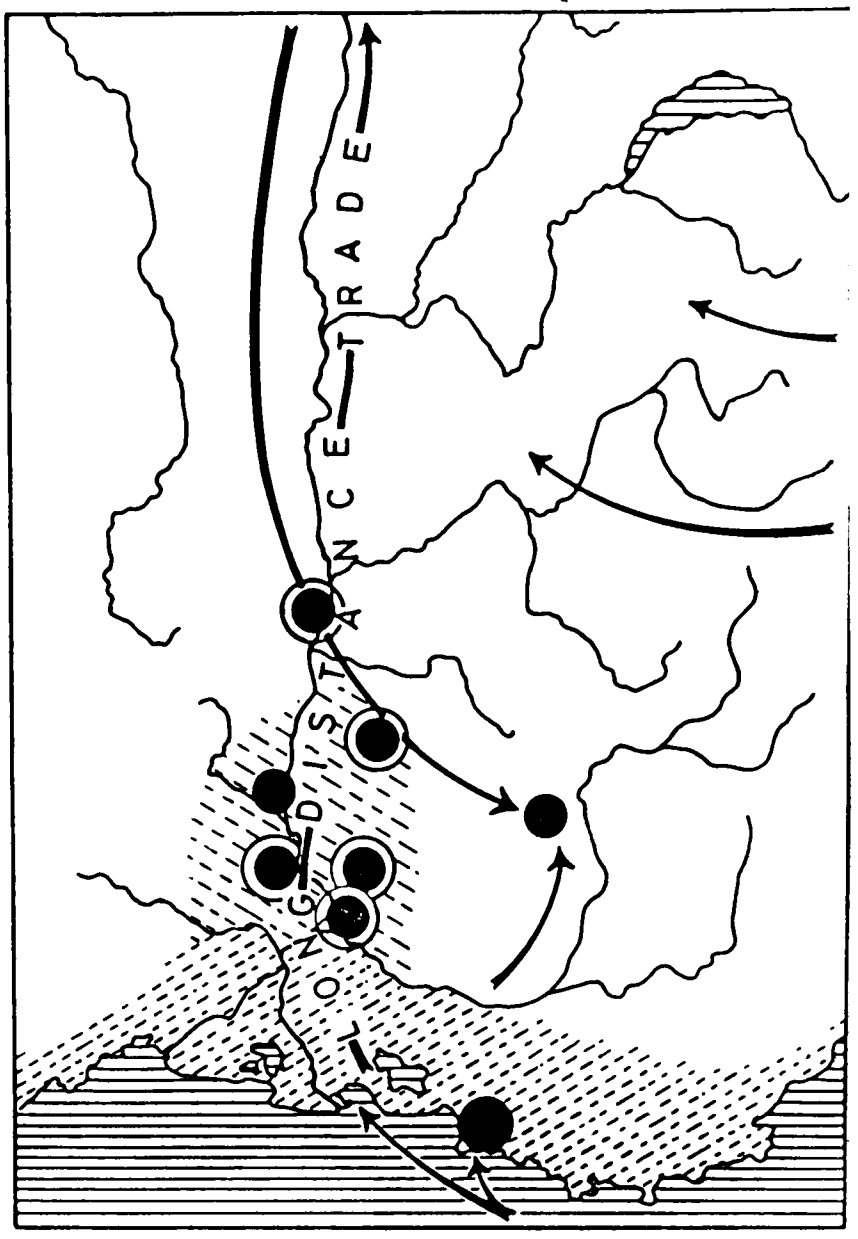
We have come to the end of a long exposé of the objects and commodities traded and exchanged in the French Alps, Prealps, Rhône and Loire valleys from the 6th century B.C. to the end of the millennium. The 17 classes of imported artefacts are by no means all the goods in transit or destined to Iron Age communities north of Marseille's sphere of influence. For example, the trade in late La Tène fine painted wares from celtic Gaul to Provence has not been touched on (see an important recent article by Arcelin 1981) let alone Late La Tène painted wares in general. But the material treated here is sufficient to indicate trends and changes within the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, even if more detailed studies could refine the chronology or add finds spots to distribution maps.

The study of trade is a vast subject with many ramifications from the description of sherds and their inclusions to the major questions of social and economic history.

As a concluding offering, it is intended to present how trade affected the settlement pattern of the Rhône-Alpes through time; It is only a working model and therefore many generalisations will have to be forgiven. It is best presented in a series of schematic maps (fig.44) and an accompanying extended legend.



1) Late 7th-mid 6th C BC



2) Late 6th-Early 5th C BC

0 100
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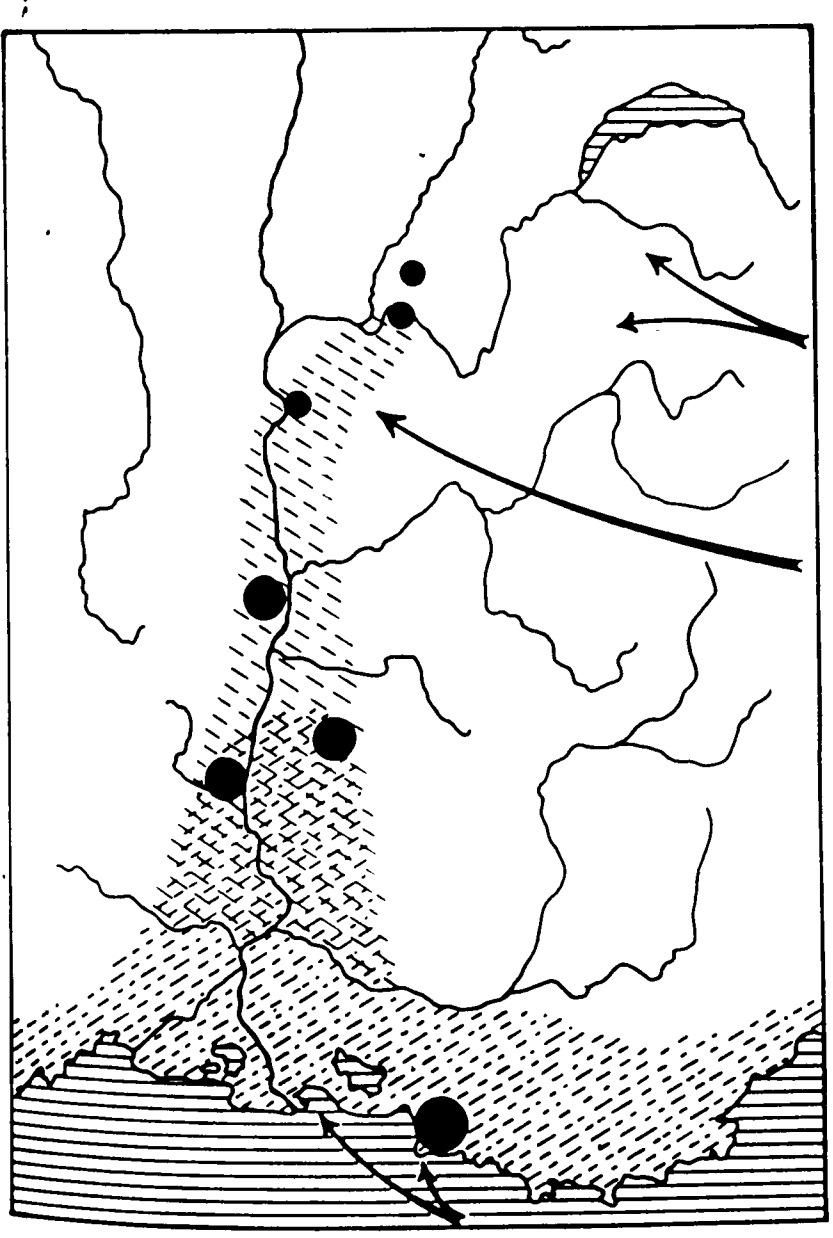
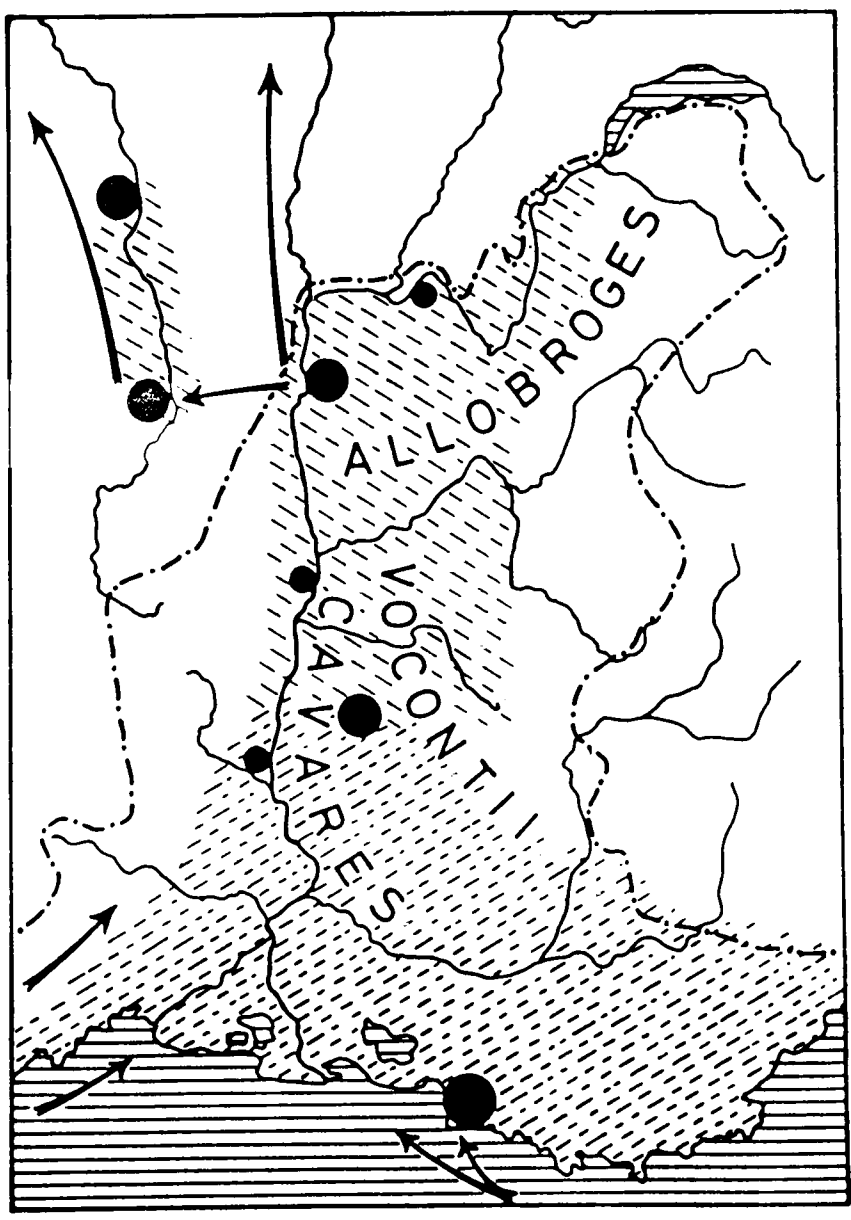


3) Mid 5th-mid 3rd C BC



4) Late 3rd and 2nd C BC

Fig. 44 A model for Rhône-Alpes

1) Late 7th to mid 6th century B.C.

Marseille is not yet dominant, but is one among many sites with 'archaic' imports. Sites with evidence of early imports are densely distributed in the Bouches-du-Rhone and along the coast. Imports come from a variety of sources, not all greek: the Etruscans are particularly active and their trade is supplemented by goods of rhodian, ionian, corinthian, punico-phoenician origin. The trade is a maritime one. The importance of etruscan wine and bronze vessels is well documented: etruscan amphorae and bucchero reach as far as Le Pègue, Soyons and Orpierre in the Hautes-Alpes. The Durance route shows a distribution of etruscan bronze vessels (e.g. Pertuis and Serres in the Hautes-Alpes). The first etruscan bronze statuettes follow a transalpine route and reach the region of Annecy. Contact with North Italian cultures takes place across the Alps as shown by the distribution of italic fibulae. Apart from this contact, some long distance trade of greek and etruscan bronzes, also possibly italic fibulae, exists along the main river trade networks of France.

2) Late 6th to Early 5th century B.C.

Marseille has become dominant and attracts many greek imports, particularly of attic origin. There is no more etruscan wine: wine of the region of Massalia replaces it. The zone of direct influence of Marseille includes eastern Languedoc, the Bouches-du-Rhone and the Var. This zone is probably bounded to the north by the Gard and the Durance. A fringe zone is created to the north of the Durance/Gard in the Drôme and Ardèche. Sites such as Avignon, Mourre de Sève, and Roquemaure act as regional centres. Le Pègue is furthest north and very active in the distribution of pseudo-ionian wares. Soyons is an important 'relais' outside the fringe zone. Intensive long distance trade emanates from Marseille and follows the Rhône-Saône corridor to reach the Jura and Burgundy. Trade in a reverse direction is very likely: cannelated wares of Burgundy reach Soyons, Le Pègue, and Orpierre. There are further links between the Jura and the Alps (e.g. Salins-Orpierre). The Hautes-Alpes (Orpierre) are in the main stream of imports. The transalpine trade of etruscan bronzes and italic fibulae continues.

3) 5th, 4th and early 3rd century B.C.

No decline is observed at Marseille, but a realignment of trade objectives is proposed. In the zone of direct influence of Marseille in eastern Provence and the Languedoc, vineyards are perhaps established. The 'fringe zone' to the north of the Gard/Durance is very active in the continued distribution of 'phocean' and pseudo-ionian wares as well as wine amphorae of Massalia. Le Pègue, St-Marcel - St-Etienne-de-Dions and Soyons play a renewed, if not continuous important economic role. There is no more long distance trade, but plenty of medium distance exchange along the Rhône

valley, as far as Vienne, le Camp de Larina, Ambérieu-en-Bugey. The maritime and coastal trade of Marseille flourishes, perhaps even increases. Etruscan bronze objects (mainly cult figurines but also mirrors and belt buckles) continue to use transapline routes but now also reach the lower Rhône valley. The 'fringe zone' has become a 'buffer zone', trading material northwards as well as southwards. Vineyards are also thought to have existed in the regions of Cavaillon - Carpentras and Valréas (near Le Pègue).

4) Late 3rd and 2nd century B.C.

Marseille channels the maritime trade of its Roman allies. The zone of direct influence of Marseille is documented by the widespread use of coins of Massalia, dominant in an area defined by Hiernard (1982). The old centres of the 'buffer zone', although they continue to exist, have mostly lost their power to attract vast quantities of imports at the expense of new centres on either side of the border of what will become the Provincia Transalpina: Vienne (from the 4th-3rd C B.C.), Chambles - Essalois (from the early 2nd C B.C.). The distribution of campanian wares shows a line linking Vienne with the Loire valley (Roanne). This will become a major trade route in the first century B.C., alongside the Rhône-Saône corridor for the dissemination of later campanian wares and Dressel 1 amphorae. There is a dense cluster of coin hoards in the territories of the confederation of the Cavares and Allobroges, on the eastern side of the Rhône. Some spanish material (coins, pottery, amphorae) reaches Le Pègue and St-Marcel - St-Etienne de Dions, the Loire and upper Rhône valleys. The area of diffusion of traded materials and its associated settlement pattern fits perfectly the limits of the Provincia Transalpina, created in 125-121 B.C. (except for its mountainous edges).

Once again, it must be stressed that these four phases are a model: many hypotheses can be shown erroneous. It is however hoped that the case for a continued and expanding sphere of influence of Marseille has been argued cogently in the sections dealing with each traded material. It is particularly phase 3 (the 5th - 3rd centuries B.C.) which is the most exciting. It shows that the Provincia Transalpina existed in embryonic form, as a rhodanian community in contact with Marseille, through its intermediary 'buffer zone' long before its official start in the late 2nd century

B.C. Archaeologists (Benoit 1965, quoted in section 11, and Gallet de Santerre 1977: 35-57) and historians (Ebel 1976, suggesting, in summary, that the reason why the Romans did not conquer the Provincia earlier was that Marseille had it well under control) have put this idea into words before. Here, a picture is presented.

Addendum: since writing this chapter, we have had a cursory glance at Ch. Arcelin-Pradelle's study of grey monochrome wares in Provence (1984). The author concludes that grey monochrome wares die out in Provence in the second half of the 5th century BC (1984:145). But a hypothetical survival outside Provence (see section 12), responsible for a continued tradition in late La Tène times, still needs to be tested.

Chapter 6

The settlements

- Introduction
- Later Iron Age settlements in the Rhône-Alpes
    - Types and range
        - Possible settlement sites
        - Sites stratified under later settlements
        - Major towns: Vienne
            - Roanne
            - Lyon
        - Lowland settlement sites
        - Hilltop settlement sites
        - Hillforts
            - The promontory forts of the Loire and *Muri Gallici*
            - Ardèche plateau forts
            - Drôme contour forts
        - Settlement structures: defences
            - gates
            - houses
            - pits, shafts, wells
            - granaries
            - artisanat
            - religious buildings
- Conclusions

Introduction

A glance at the recent French Iron Age literature shows a marked increase in settlement data and is, in part, a reflection of the 'rescue' boom of the past decade. A series of symposia [e.g. Paris 1972 (Duval and Kruta 1975), Châteauroux-Levroux 1978 (Büchsenschütz 1981), Châlon-sur-Marne 1979 (Mémoire de la Société Archéologique Champenoise 2: 1981)] or reports on the archaeological investigation of a whole landscape [e.g. Vallée de l'Aisne: Cinq années de fouilles protohistoriques, numéro spécial Revue Archéologique de Picardie: 1982] give a good insight into these new advances. But the coverage is far from even: the North of France, or 'non-mediterranean' France [the title of another symposium held at Clermont-Ferrand in 1980] has been particularly well served: the Aisne valley (Debord 1981; Coudart, Dubouloz, Le Bolloch 1981; Ilett, Demoule, Coudart, Constantin 1981; Vallée de l'Aisne cited above), the Oise valley (Audouze, Blanchet and Brunaux 1981), the Marne and Champagne (Villes 1981a and 1981b; Lenoble and Villes 1981; Chossenot 1981a and 1981b), Picardy (Agache 1981; Leman-Delerive and Piningre 1981), the region of Lille (Leman-Delerive 1981), South Burgundy (Nicolardot 1974, 1975) or focal points such as Levroux (Büchsenschütz and Ralston 1975, Büchsenschütz 1980, 1981; Bouyer and Büchsenschütz 1983) or Aulnat (Collis 1983; Périchon 1975, 1981) stand out as areas of intensive research. To the West and East, new discoveries seem slightly less dense; surveys (Gomez 1981; Pautreau 1981; Chevillot 1981; Deyber 1981), fieldwork [e.g. in the Jura: Magny, Nierlé et Pétrequin 1978] and 'rescue' operations [e.g. Tournus (Perrin 1975) or Besançon (Pétrequin 1979)] are however taking place. The Languedoc, a prime region for the study of contact between indigenous Iron Age communities and the hellenised coast, has seen an enormous amount of recent fieldwork, excavations and analysis, [e.g. Nages, Villevieille, Le Plan de la Tour, Ruscino, etc.;

cf. Dedet et Py 1976]. Provence and the southern coast, with Marseille as its focal point, is so rich in new material, that a yearly publication series (Documents d'Archéologie Méridionale) was launched in 1978 to respond to to this new flood of publication.

This leaves Central-Eastern France rather poor in comparison. Although some settlement sites [e.g. Le Pègue (Hatt 1976, 1977; Lagrand et Thalmann 1973) or Orpierre-Ste Colombe (Courtois 1975)] have been published in the past decade, there is no in-depth study of settlement archaeology in the area East of the Rhône, South of Burgundy and North of the hinterland of Marseille. To obtain an overview of the state of settlement archaeology in this region, one is left with gleaning information from syntheses or site reports in local and regional journals. This task has been undertaken for the circonscription de Rhône-Alpes and is embodied in Appendix 1.

The search of the published accounts of settlements in the Rhône-Alpes has brought to light just over one hundred sites (102). We have seen in Chapter 4 that these are unevenly distributed in time and space and we shall not return to a lengthy discussion of this coverage. Suffice to say here that one hundred sites for an area of 44,000 km^2 is a very low count even when admitting that a number of sites have been overlooked and assuming that a proportion have not been published. Two maps (fig. 45 and 46) are designed to show the general distribution of hillforts (i.e. hilltop sites where defenses have been traced) and hilltop settlements (without known defences, or naturally defended) on the one hand, and lowland settlement sites on the other hand.

On fig. 45 the observer will notice that hillforts dominate the South and West of the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes. This distribution pattern can be equated with the occurence of stone as a major building material, not only for defences but also for interior structures: a diagonal, approximate dividing line between stone using communities in the South

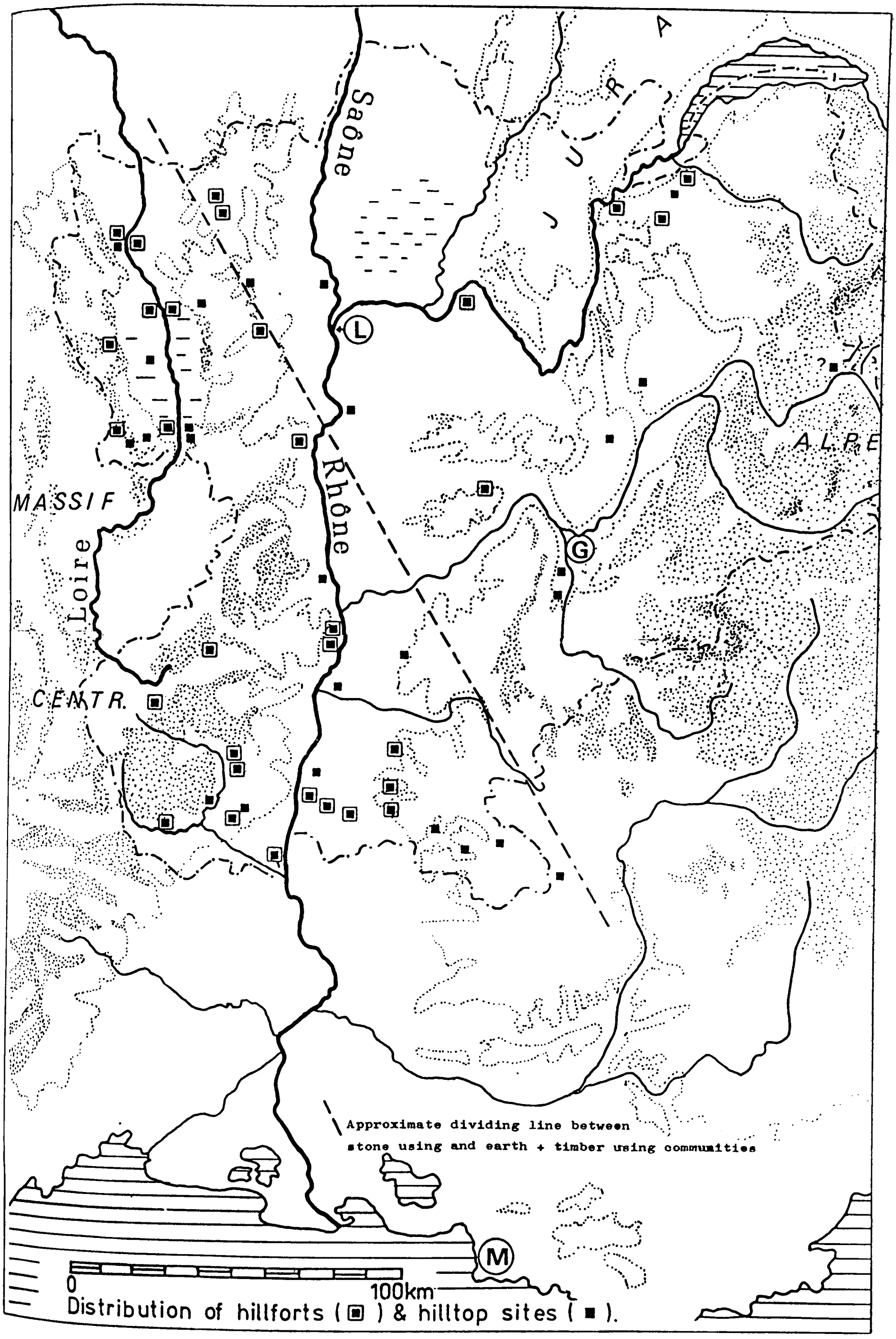

Saône
Rhône
Loire
MASSIF
CENTR.
ALPE
L
G
M
Approximate dividing line between
stone using and earth + timber using communities
0
100km
Distribution of hillforts (▣) & hilltop sites (■).

Fig. 45

and West and timber and earth using communities in the North and East has been added to fig. 45. On fig. 46, a similar exercise has been carried out: the horizontal line is an attempt to pinpoint the divide between lowland settlements known mainly from negative features (pits, ditches) in the North, and lowland sites with predominantly positive features (dry stone walls, flagstone floors) in the South. If the two maps are seen together, the area of Vienne emerges at the junction of both divides: even today (pl. 2b), Vienne, the former capital of the Allobroges and roman city, strikes the traveller as the first "provençal" city, with its red roofs of roman tiles. We have again, after the trade evidence (Chapter 5, part 3), an indication that the boundary of the Provincia Transalpina but also an earlier rhodanian "Kulturkreis" has deeply rooted foundations: Collis (1975: 176) had already noted this trait: "culturally [Vienne] lies at the junction between the La Tène cultures of central Europe and the hellenised groups of southern France". Further, describing the sequence of the site of the Ancien Hôpital (38-79) Collis remarks: "this is a typical sequence further south but is unknown to the north".

Fig. 45 and 46 are, in broad terms, rather similar, displaying at first sight no more than a general riverine distribution. But a closer scrutiny will reveal certain favoured locations, well known to the student of Iron Age settlements: position near or on a major river, possibility of access to different ecological zones, defensibility, proximity to a valuable mineral resource or exploitation of a border situation (e.g. as a market) are some of the ingredients listed by Collis (1976: 10; 1978: 134) and Nash (1976: . 99-107). The Rhône-Alpes settlements exhibit these traits or variations and combinations of such locational factors. The rivers Rhône and Loire are marked at intervals by a series of settlements (not all necessarily hillforts) established at bottlenecks, or at the passage from one ecological zone to the other, i.e. at points where control could be exercised, toll charged, or cargo transferred. On the Rhône (from North

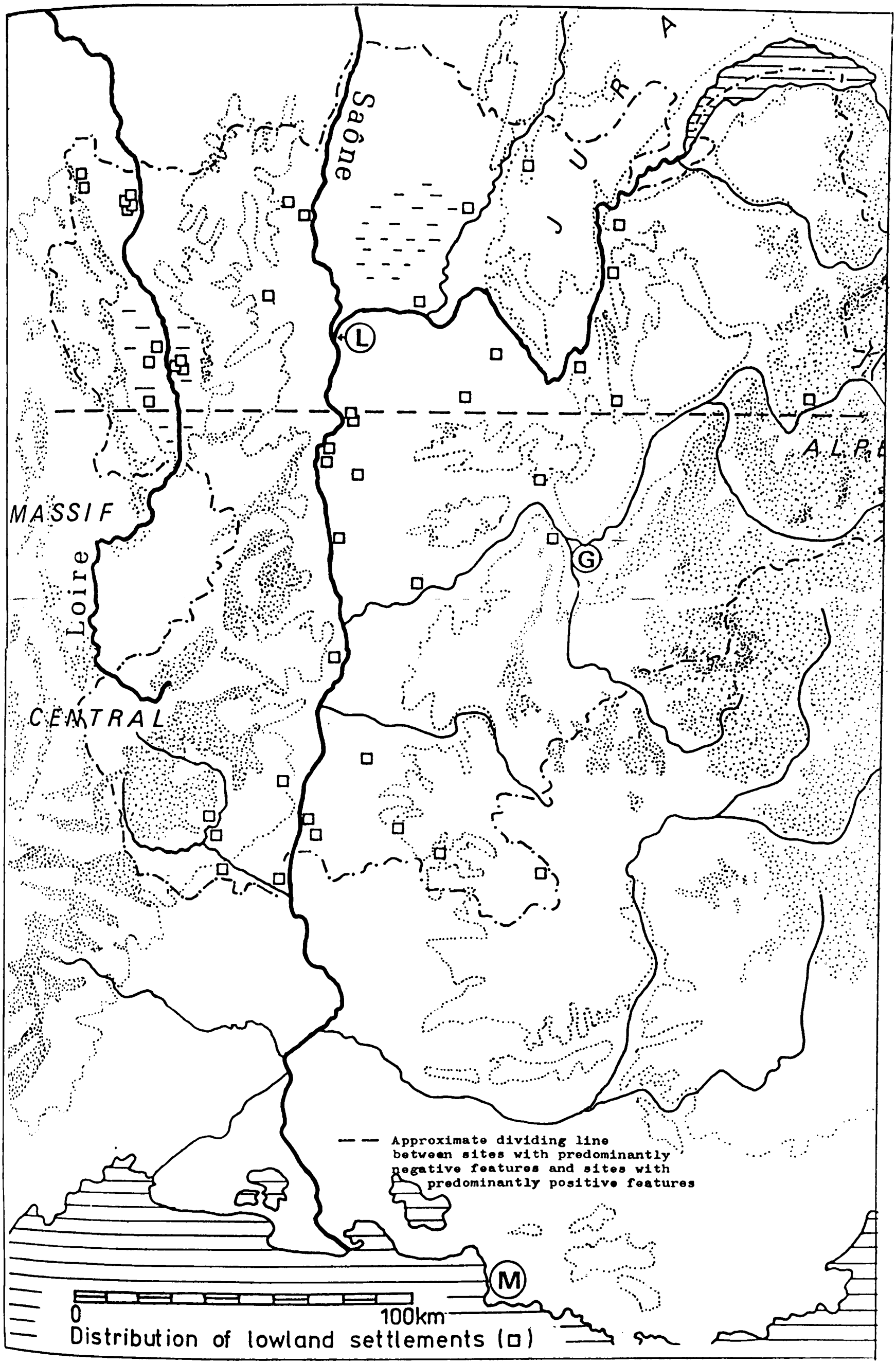
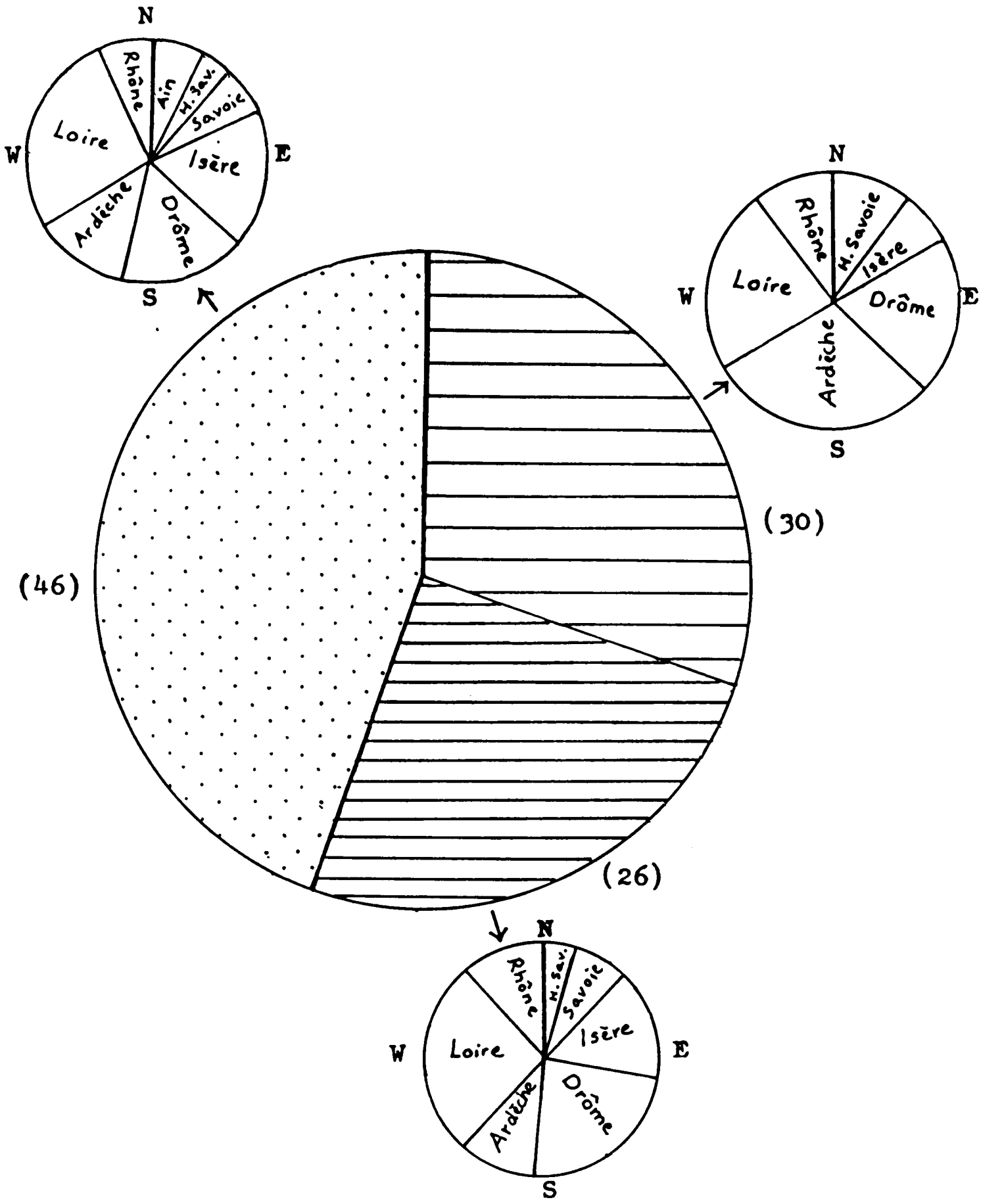

Saône
JURA
ALPES
MASSIF CENTRAL
Loire
L
G
M
— — Approximate dividing line between sites with predominantly negative features and sites with predominantly positive features
0
100km
Distribution of lowland settlements (□)

Fig. 46

to South) such sites are: Chevrier-Pas de l'Ecluse (74-11), perhaps Seyssel-Vens (74-46), Le Camp de Larina (38-01), Vienne (lowland and hilltop settlements, 38-79 and 80), Serves-Fontager (26-44), Tournon (07-36), Soyons (07-34 and 35), Donzère (26-09 to 11), St-Marcel-St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28) and St-Just-Les-Plantades (07-27). The course of the Loire is guarded by Chambles-Essalois (42-04), Feurs (42-09 to 11), St-Marcel-de-Félines-Crêt-Châtelard (42-30), St-Georges-de-Baroilles-Chazy (42-26), St-Maurice-s.-Loire-Joeuvre (42-31) and Roanne (42-18 to 42-24). A second very common locational pattern is set back from the main Rhône-Saône axis, at the junction between the foothills and the plain and where a lateral valley meets the Rhône basin: a number of settlements of the Drôme - again not all hillforts - seem to owe their existence to such a configuration: Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14), Le Pègue (26-30 and 31), La Roche-St-Secret-Béconne (26-34), Livron 26-21), or St-Paul-lès-Romans (26-38) to quote a few examples. The third factor - proximity to a mineral resource - may have played a part in the establishment of hillforts on the Mont Salève (74-34, 74-35, 74-41) and at the Camp de Larina (38-01), reported as being close to iron mines, or in the foundation of lowland settlements such as Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14), Charentay (69-06) (both with evidence of iron smelting) or Chessy-les-Mines (69-08) (close to copper mines). Finally, the exploitation of a border situation has been suggested (in Chapter 5, part 3, conclusions and fig. 44) as the raison d'être for the flourishing of Le Pègue (26-60 and 31) and St Marcel-St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28) in late Hallstatt to early La Tène times and Vienne (38-79 and 80) and Chambles-Essalois (42-04) in middle to late La Tène times: the border, in these cases is the northwards shifting sphere of influence of Massalia and, in its later stages, its roman allies.

The picture exhibited by our general distribution maps will be found summarised and quantified on fig. 47: the central pie diagram states the



Hillforts

Hilltop settlements

Lowland settlements

Fig. 47: Proportions of settlement sites

size of our sample and its make-up, while the small clockwise charts are designed to show how each département contributes to the composition of the three major classes of sites: notice that in all three cases, our information increases form North to South and from East to West. In our estimation, the following factors play a part in the bias towards southern and western regions:

1) building materials (see above) affect the rate of survival, discovery and recovery of settlement sites;
2) the North and East have a higher proportion of unhospitable land such as marshy areas (Les Dombes, Les Terres Froides), high altitude (generally above 1500 m above sea level). A corollary is that the terrain and vegetation of the Rhône-Alpes are on the whole, not very suitable to air photography, at least not on the scale of Picardy;
3) the research effort is uneven: often "sites attract sites", i.e. distributions appear to be denser near a major hillfort, whose investigation has lead, directly or indirectly, to the discovery of contemporary settlements or cemeteries in its vicinity (e.g. Vienne, Soyons, Le Pègue, or outside our area, Le Cayla de Mailhac). As a result, energy and expenditure will tend to be channelled towards already well investigated regions likely to to be of high yield rather than diverted to completely unknown territory;
4) as we move southwards the dating of domestic material assemblages tends to become slightly less tentative, thanks to the presence of imported artefacts or 'semi-exotic' wares. In areas less well deserved by these goods, the identification and dating of settlement assemblages of the post-Hallstatt era can still be problematic: suggestions gleaned in the literature range from a hypothetical survival of Hallstatt pottery manufacturing styles (Nash 1976: 11) to the continuity from Urnfield traditions (Bocquet 1969: 181-2).

In summary, one hundred settlement sites for a period spanning half a milennium is a small sample. The nature of the evidence is such that new sites will generally be slow to emerge. Furthermore, the data, such as it is, is of varying quality: only some 20 settlements have been noticed to possess good published plans (most are illustrated in figures 48-63) and of those a small handful [e.g. Le Pègue (26-30 and 31), Orpierre-Ste-Colombe (Hautes-Alpes), Chambles-Essalois (42-04)] are excavated on a large enough scale to display patterns of interior organisation or individual structures. In this chapter it will therefore only be possible to point out traits particular to a given site. Settlement patterns too can be treated only in the broadest terms (as above, p.259ff.), outside a few areas slightly better served by archaeological investigations: indeed 6 areas show some promise and will be treated in separate case studies (Chapter 7).

Later Iron Age settlements in the Rhône-Alpes

Types and range

102 sites in the circonscription de Rhône-Alpes have been defined as settlements, a broad class that ranges from a fully-fledged hill-fort to a collection of domestic rubbish. This leaves out all cave sites which are the subject of a separate presentation (Chapter 8).

A number of classification systems and a range of terms [e.g. hillfort, lowland fort, minor and major fort, hilltop settlement, open settlement, oppidum (in the English and French sense), promontory fort, contour fort, small enclosure, etc.] have been defined: examples of such definitions can be found in Cotton and Frere (1961: in the Corrèze) or Avery (1976) and Hogg (1979) (the latter two examples concerning the British Iron Age). Since so few settlements and no complete plans are known in the Rhône-Alpes, it was thought unwise to construct a complex classification system based on size, function and presence or absence of

defences, such as has been successfully devised in other areas [e.g. the West Hallstatt culture province (Härke 1979)]. Instead the emphasis will be on "what is known" rather than "what it is". To take an example: two lowland settlement sites (Le Pègue, 26-30, and Roanne 42-18) have been shown to possess fairly substantial defensive structures - perhaps more against floods than intruders - whereas another lowland site (Vienne, 38-79) has no such evidence; to treat the former two as defended sites and the latter as undefended would be pointless, simply because in the case of Vienne the size of the intervention could not allow the testing of the presence of defences. The creation of artificial categories would therefore only obscure the presentation.

Instead, the exposé will proceed in steps of increasing complexity. At the lowest level of information, a number of settlements can be inferred from the presence of domestic débris (pottery scatters). Next comes a series of sites, often discovered fortuitously, stratified under gallo-roman settlements. Three of these sites will become major roman, medieval and modern towns: Vienne, Roanne and Lyon. Since the illumination of their sometimes obscure origins requires a fairly sharp focus, a section of this chapter will be devoted to them alone. We shall then move onto lowland settlement sites proper, i.e. where structural evidence in the form of pits, ditches, palisades, floors, etc. is substantial, and complete the presentation by considering hilltop settlement sites (where defences have not been traced or reported) and hillforts (where the defensive circuit is known). Chapter 6 ends with a few notes on the individual structures (defences, gates, buildings, negative features etc.) that can be encountered on Rhône-Alpes settlement sites.

If this simple approach appears to be a step backwards, compared to more sophisticated analyses, it has the advantage of bringing forward sites with limited information. Since so few are known, everything must count.

Only in this way will it be possible to escape from generalisations based on the sole scrutiny of a handful of well known sites, inevitable in works of synthesis.

Possible settlement sites

The lowest tier of settlement data is formed by a group of sites attested by the presence of domestic refuse, i.e. collections of pottery, alone. A number of lowland sites [e.g. Chauzon-Blaches (07-10), Ruoms-Moulin de Grazel (07-24), Soyons-Brégoule (07-34) or Serves-Fontager (26-44)] and hilltop sites without traces of defences [e.g. Tournon (07-36), Lemps-Plaine d'Endurant (26-20), or Livron (26-21)] can be identified as settlements in this way: our gazetteer (Appendix 1) contains some 20 such sites. Although the information is of low yield, it does not necessarily mean that the sites these pottery scatters betray are of low status: after all, most now famous sites (Le Pègue, Soyons, Vienne, Chambles) have had similar humble beginnings as a handful of pottery collected on their surface. In particular, the sites of Tournon (07-36) and Serves (26-44), both located on a strait of the middle reaches of the Rhône, are suspected to be control points of some importance, able to attract or intercept goods of mediterranean origin (attic pottery, silver coins of Massalia, amphorae of the region of Marseille, grey monochrome ware). Only, no programmed investigation has followed these casual finds.

Scanning the literature and museum collections for such small pointers is a valid exercise that can yield results. A more thorough search would doubtless produce more and is to be recommended. If the study of settlement patterns, in a region where new discoveries are generally fairly slow to emerge, is to be taken further, then it will have to incorporate such low quality data.

Sites stratified under later settlements

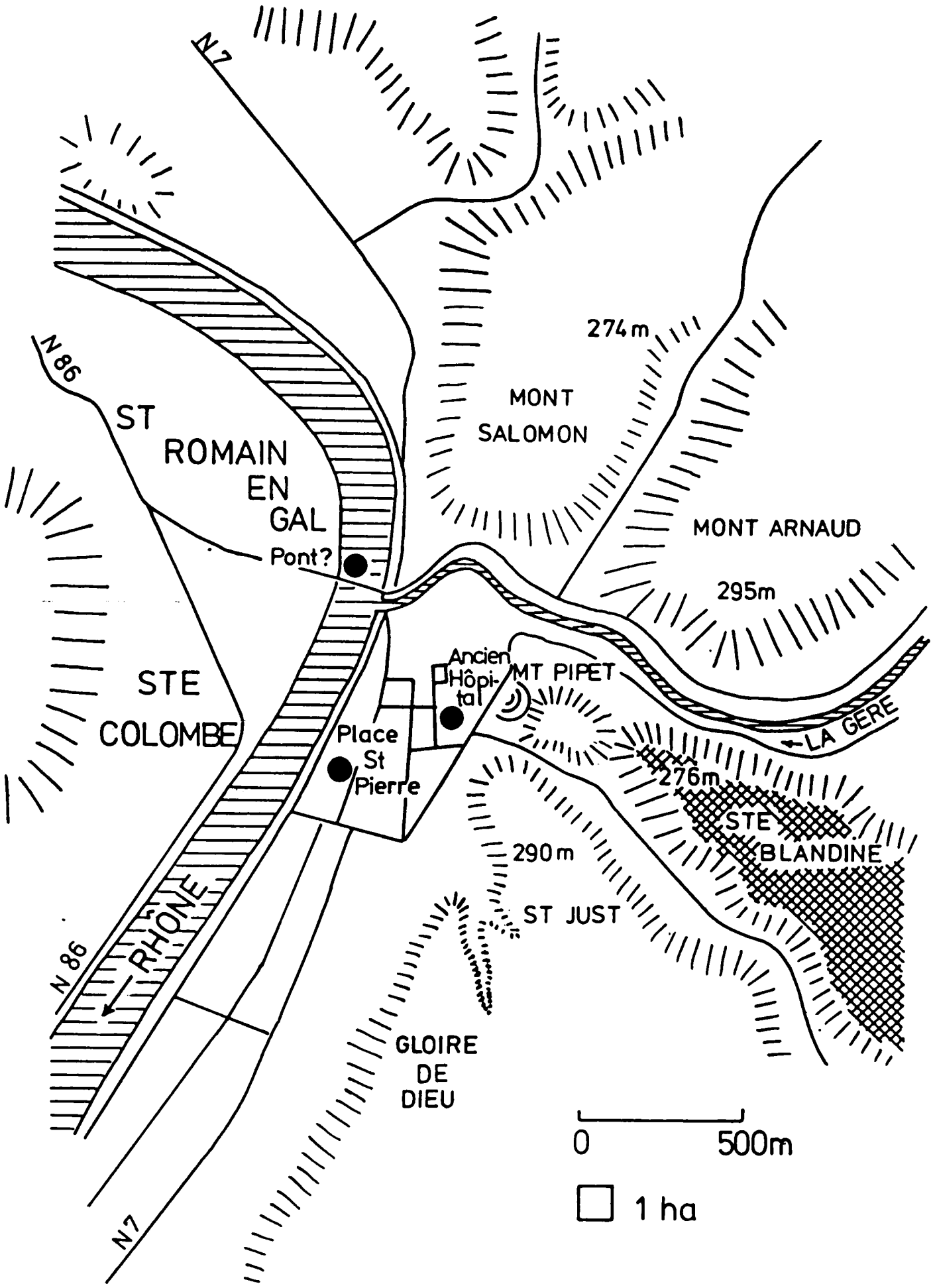
Next in our ascending hierarchy, with still little information on structure of function, we find a large group of settlement sites attested by occupation levels or material stratified under later gallo-roman establishments (towns, vici, villae, aedificia). The vast majority are rural sites in lowland locations [e.g. Bellignat (01-04), St Paul-lès Romans (20-38), Revel-Tourdan (38-42) or Clarafond (74-12)] but town sites outside Vienne, Roanne and Lyon also frequently have a pre-Augustean precursor: examples can be quoted at Izernore (01-14), Alba (07-01), Nyons (26-29), Feurs (69-11) or Aime (73-01). Riverine establishments [e.g. St Clair-du-Rhône (38-46) or St-Maurice-l'Exil (38-51)], hilltop settlements [e.g. Montélimar-Géry (26-24) or Affoux-Mandéron (69-01)] and a sanctuary [Andance-Châtelet (07-02)] further contribute to this class of sites. In most cases the period of initial establishment does not antedate the late La Tène period or end of Middle La Tène. We have seen in Chapter 4 (p. 81) that an element of chance plays a part in the discovery of such sites: a number of later Iron Age lowland settlement sites are found 'by accident', in gallo-roman excavation campaigns, and often in small sondages: as a result, most reports will confine themselves to a mention of earlier occupation levels or the listing of pre-Augustean pottery, Dressel IA or IB amphorae or campanian wares. Thus the correlation between later La Tène settlements and gallo-roman ones is ambiguous: either the coincidence is fortuitous, due to a bias in site recovery, or, and this must be the case in parts, there is a real concordance in settlement patterns from the late 2nd C BC onwards. Indeed, D. Van Berchem has argued (1970) that site locations shifted from a pre-roman riverine network to a roman road-bound matrix, reverting back to river-crossing sites in the post-roman period. It is possible that the organisation brought by the creation of the Provincia Transalpina (121 BC) had an affect of this kind on the countryside

of the Rhône-Alpes, especially influencing the establishment of rural sites in the lowlands. But the trend had been set in motion before the conquest of the Province. The origins of certain roman towns [e.g. Vienne, Feurs, Roanne) can be traced at least as far back as the middle La Tène period (see Chapter 4, p. 88 and 90, Chapter 5, part 3, conclusions, and below): it is suggested in this study that their foundation and success is due to trade and to the existence of a rhodanian cultural sphere much impregnated by Marseille in pre-conquest times.

Major towns

The three major historic towns of the Rhône-Alpes, Vienne, Lyon and Roanne, have varying claims to Iron Age origins. Vienne may have been occupied from as early as the 4th-3rd C BC and began as a riverine establishment before its hillfort was settled. Roanne, another riverside site, began to emerge in the early 2nd C BC. To the Roanne evidence we must now add that from Feurs, some 20 km South on the banks of the Loire, shown in the early 1980s to have been settled in a similar way from the middle La Tène period onwards. There is material at Lyon from at least the Early Iron Age, but the case for Lugdunum and Condate leaves much to be desired. All settlements became major gallo-roman towns, sometimes with monumental buildings, requiring gigantic earth-moving operations (the theatres at Lyon and Vienne).

Vienne (fig. 48) has to its credit a long sequence of stratified deposits and a rich material assemblage which includes imports; on the debit side, we know very little about the settlement itself, and hardly any structures have survived the gallo-roman implantation. Vienne uses a dramatic stage set, a group of five steep hills on the left-hand bank of the Rhône, as it kinks sharply in its course (see plate 2b). There are two sites of major importance to the pre-roman period: a lowland site



After Renaud 1981: 13

VIENNÈ (Isère)

Location of sites (● and ▨)

Fig. 48

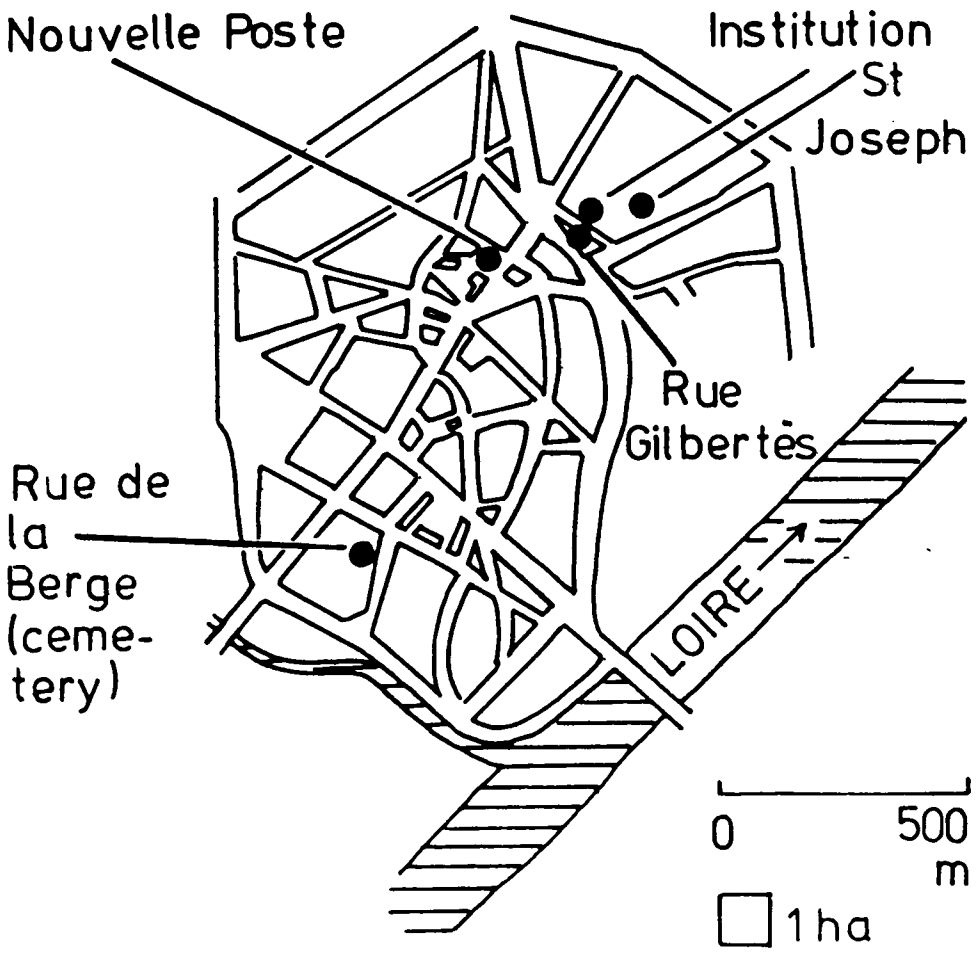
[Ancien Hôpital, (38-79)]on the hillwash created by the Gère, just before its confluent with the Rhône, and, above it, the 'oppidum' of Sainte-Blandine (38-80). The latter site occupies a high promontory (276 m above sea level) overlooking the modern town of Vienne: it must be the location of the site that warrants the term 'oppidum' rather than the presence of defences (Chapotat (1970) mentions the roman defensive circuit but nowhere could a reference to a previous rampart be found). At the Ancien Hôpital (Pelletier 1966 a and b) a sequence of six occupation levels, interleaved with levelling layers, created a 4.80 m deep stratigraphy: it starts with 4th C BC material, including attic, massaliotic and pseudo-ionian wares, and continues in an unbroken chain until Augustean times, to be followed by the temple to Cybèle. On Sainte-Blandine (Chapotat 1970), great quantities of material of late La Tène date have been gathered, including domestic and industrial débris, bronze metalwork, Dressel IA and IB amphorae, campanian pottery, coins and a very impressive set of iron tools. Little or nothing is known about the structures that stood on this hilltop. A metal workshop or metalworkers' quarter is suspected. The remainder of the Vienne evidence consists of a further lowland site [Place St-Pierre (38-82)], a bridge or quay site with a large collection of iron tools (38-83), two coin hoards (38-73 and 38-81) and a series of isolated finds of metalwork (38-74 to 78), including etruscan artefacts - of however slightly doubtful provenance (see Chapter 5, part 3, sections 6 and 7). Nevertheless, Vienne, at a crucial point along the Rhône trade route, just before it forks off towards the Loire valley at Givors, has its roots in trade: a lowland 'comptoir' beside the Rhône was first established, to continue later in conjunction with the hill-top site of Sainte Blandine, with its strong emphasis on bronze and iron metalworking. It is not the first time that a lowland market has been suggested as a precursor to an

'oppidum': Collis (1976: 5) and Haselgrove (1976)have discussed such a formation. Basel (Berger and Furger 1981) and Levroux (Büchsenschütz 1980) can be quoted as classical examples of such a site genesis.

Roanne has benefitted from a spate of rescue excavations in the 1960s and 1970s, revealing a riverside settlement, built on sand and gravel and perhaps defended by a timber palisade [Institution St-Joseph (42-18)]. The evidence for a middle and late La Tène occupation is concentrated on a slight hill on the left hand bank of the Loire, later to become an early gallo-roman pottery manufacturing centre (of 'bols de Roanne') and the nucleus of the early medieval town (see fig. 49). Two sites, the Institution St-Joseph (42-18: Bessou 1976) and the Rue Gilbertès (42-21) have produced good structural evidence as well as enormous amounts of finds ranging from the early or mid 2nd C BC onwards. Further settlement evidence comes from sites 42-20, 42-22 and 42-23, two inhumations of c. 40 BC are reported from the gallo-roman cemetery of St-Jean (42-19) and some isolated finds of coins and etruscan bronze statuettes (42-24) complete the picture. If the commercial activities of Roanne are well documented from the 2nd C BC (see Chapter 5, part 3, sections 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 on coins, campanian wares and republican amphorae), the structural remains of the settlement prove rather elusive. Two factors must be taken into consideration: the site is built on sand and it flourished in early gallo-roman times. As a result, often only deep, negative features (rubbish pits) survive truncation. The function of these pits will be discussed below, in the sections dealing with site structures. It is only in the deepest levels, of middle La Tène date, that better feature survival can be hoped for: a palisade or timber wall, possibly accompanied by a bank, posthole structures and piles (to consolidate a mobile subsoil) are reported from the Institution-St-Joseph (42-18) and at the Rue Gilbertès (42-20), hut platforms, floors, pebble surfaces and hearths survive at the base of the

ROANNE

Location of Late LT sites

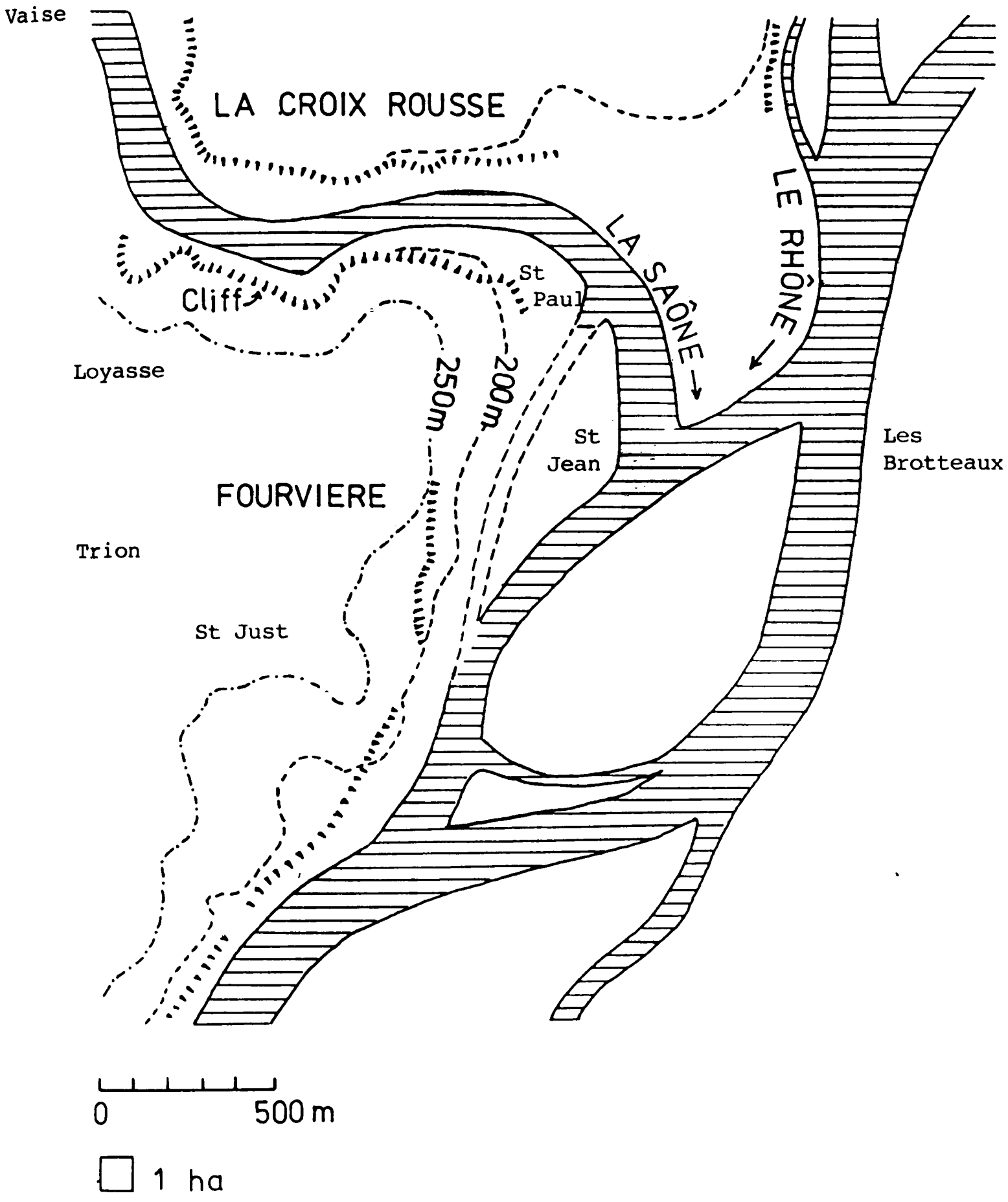


After: Aulas 1980-1: 61, pl. 1

Fig. 49

stratigraphy. The rise of Roanne as a lowland manufacturing and market centre (Nash 1976: 106-7) on the Rhône-Loire trade network is well documented: evidence of bronze, iron and glass working, imports of fine campanian wares and wine amphorae, coins of a very wide range of provenances are plentiful and appear to start in the earlier part of the 2nd C BC. This early date, which up to recent times was thought remarkable (e.g. Morel 1978: 167) seems to be corroborated by new results from 'rescue' excavations at Feurs (42-09 to 11). There, a similar riverside establishment, consisting of pits, ditches, pebble surfaces and postholes with associated middle and late La Tène material and mediterranean imports has been uncovered beneath the Forum Segusiavorum. Altogether, the data from Roanne, Feurs and the hillfort of Chambles-Essalois (42-04) indicate that the Loire trade route was active already during the 2nd C BC on the 'gaulish side' of the border with the Provincia Transalpina, but probably before the Province came into being.

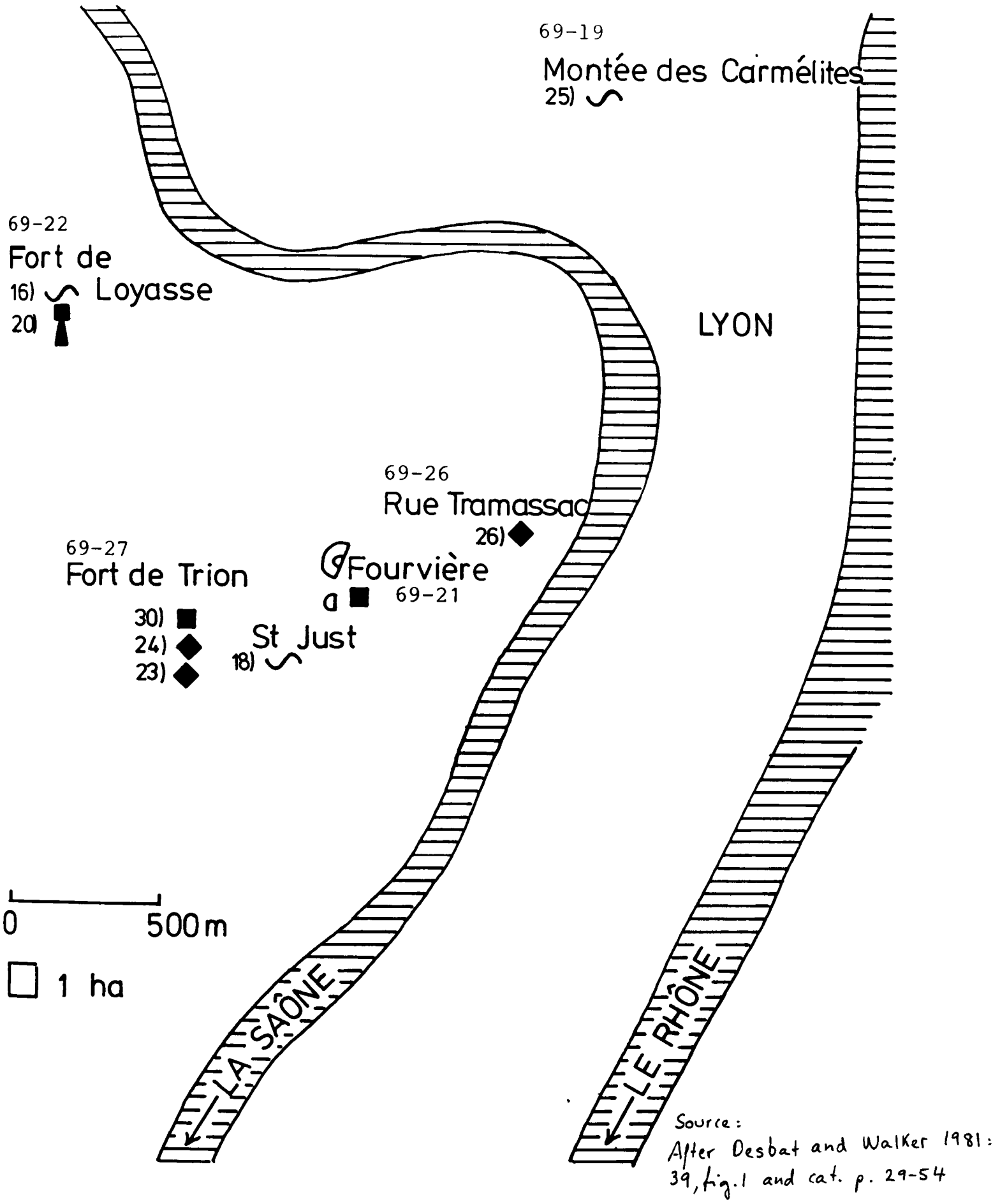
Lyon (see figs. 50-53) offers a puzzle to the archaeologist: a number of historical and literary sources, as well as place-name evidence suggests the presence of a pre-roman settlement at the confluent between the Saône and Rhône (Condate) and/or on the hill of Fourvière (Lugdunum). These sources are discussed in an important article by Desbat and Walker (1981) on the origins of Lyon: most of the following notes are based on their survey. Yet the archaeological indices gathered in Lyon are inconclusive. To quote Desbat and Walker (1981: 35, my translation): "It emerges from our discussion on the gaulish origins of Lyon that material proof is almost inexistant" (my italics). The trouble lies precisely in the 'almost'. If pre-roman finds from Lyon are listed and mapped (maps adapted from Desbat and Walker 1981: fig. 1 p. 39 and based on their inventory on pp. 44-54), it cannot be said that there is no evidence. But most is inconclusive: the largest number of finds (fig. 53) comes from dredging of the beds of the Rhône and Saône and cannot prove or disprove



After Guey 1958: 351, fig. 1

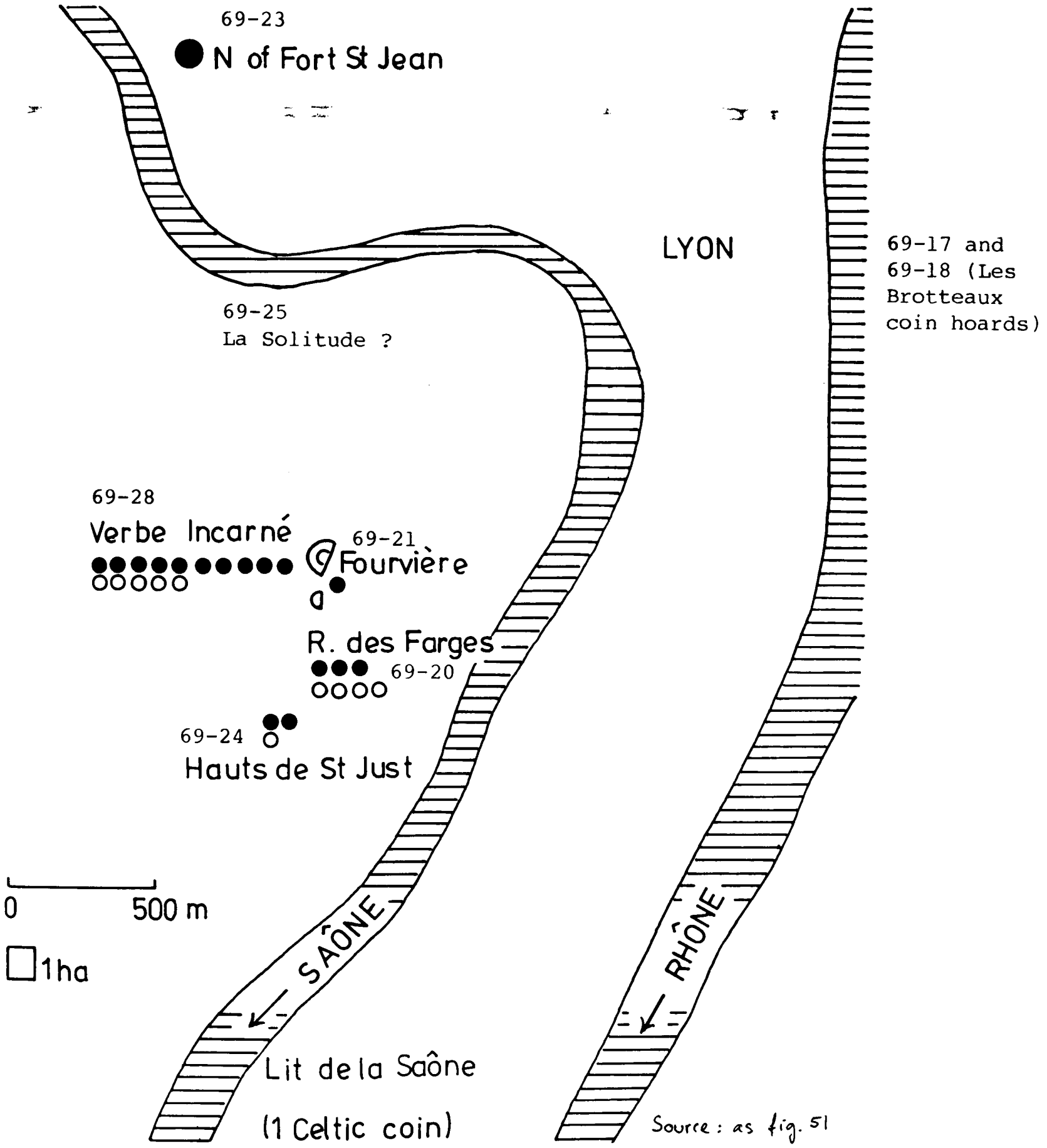
Topography of Lyon in Roman times

Fig. 50



Iron Age finds from Lyon (except rivers)

Fig.51



Celtic (●) and Republican(o) coins from Lyon

Fig. 52

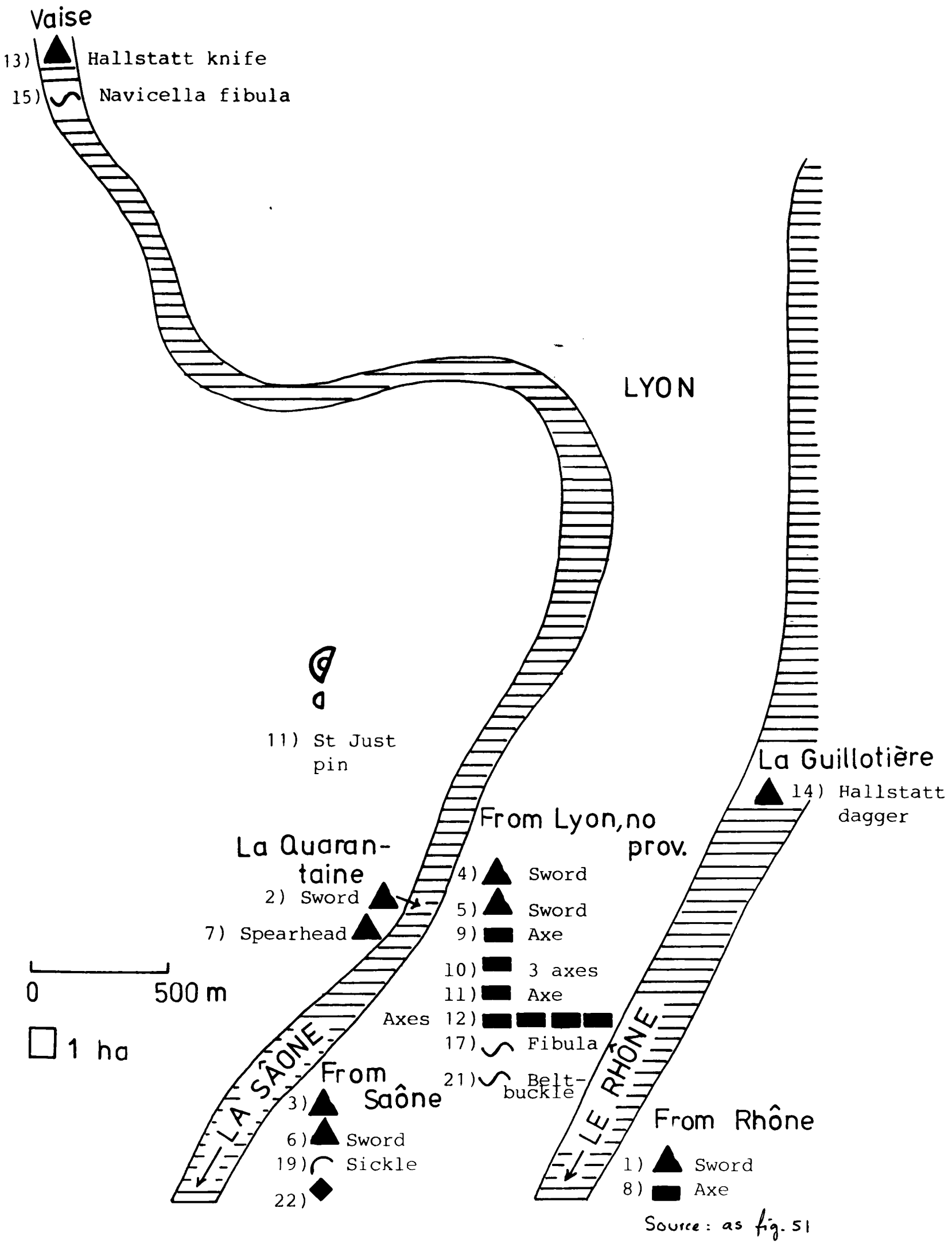


Fig. 53. Finds from the rivers of Lyon.

the existence of a settlement. Similarly, the coins (fig. 52) of pre-43 BC date - date of the foundation of the roman Colonia of Lyon - have all been found associated with later gallo-roman finds and could still have been in circulation in the 1st C AD (Desbat and Walker 1981: 32). Thus we are left with very few other pre-roman finds (fig. 51: the numbers against the symbols refer to Desbat and Walker's catalogue entries, p. 39 and 44-51), and it must be admitted that this is a rag-bag of curiosities: a navicella fibula, a bronze pin, a bronze bracelet, an etruscan statuette, some bronze situlae fragments, a bronze jug and no absolutely secrue instances of pre-roman pottery. No-one could claim to base Iron Age Lugdunum on this collection. But Desbat and Walker, while being right to point out the deficiencies of the data and being justly critical of the many wishful-thinking champions of pre-roman Lyon, err slightly on the negative side. They use negative evidence (absence of republican amphorae and campanian wares) which, although a strong argument, seems a dangerous line to take. Furthermore, they claim some finds as residual (p. 34) - in which case they must have come from somewhere in the first instance. Finally they base their distribution map on the topography of modern Lyon. In order to illuminate further the problem of the origins of Lyon,a topographical map(fig.50, based on Guey 1958: 351, with roman monuments and other roman features removed) of Lyon as it may have appeared in roman times has been drawn: a glance will reveal how much the river courses have changed. The find of a 2nd C BC(?) bronze jug in the Rue Tramassac (69-26), a street leading into the "Vieux Lyon", an old quarter preserved in the right hand bend of the Saône, below the 200 m contour of Fourvière, may be relevant to this early topography: the jug was lying on top of an old river-bed and ford, buried under several metres of road make-up. This find is quoted here to show that the deep deposits of lowland Lyon may still reserve surprises: the search for an 'oppidum' on Fourvière

has proved futile, and so have the searches for a pre-roman confluent site. But a devil's advocate could still argue that the preserved Renaissance quarters of St-Jean and St-Paul (which have not and are not likely to be re-developed) have not yet been proved sterile. They could be a contender for a small, riverine establishment: something, somewhere in Lyon must account for the finds.

Whatever the status of Lyon, there cannot have been a major oppidum there. By showing how fragmentary the evidence is, Desbat and Walker have exposed many misconceptions. It is to be hoped that their very useful 'mopping up' operation can be followed by a site evaluation programme and, following from it, an excavation strategy.

Lowland settlement sites

Apart from roman towns, deposits stratified under gallo-roman rural establishments and pottery scatters, the lowland settlement corpus of the Rhône-Alpes is completed by a dozen sites where structural remains, in the form of negative and positive features are well documented. In the North [e.g. Bellignat (01-04), Izernore (01-14), Pont d'Ain (01-22), Cleppe (42-06), Poncins (42-16), Charentay (69-06) or Chessy-les-Mines (69-08)] the evidence takes the form of pit scatters, shafts, wells, ditches, enclosures, hearths and possible timber structures with wattle and daub. In the South [e.g. St-Just-Les-Plantades (07-27), Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14), Le Pègue-Ecoles (26-30) or Sassenage (38-58)] these negative features are complemented by hut or house platforms, dry stone walls destined to carry a wattle and daub superstructure and, in the case of Le Pègue (26-30) a dry stone rampart and entrance, superceded by a palisade and earth bank. The distinction between these two types of site components has been drawn on fig. 46 and exposed on p.259. But, even though the sum of lowland settlement structures is growing, their function and internal arrangements

remain rather elusive, since excavations are often confined to revealing the disuse phase of settlements (pits and ditches backfilled with domestic rubbish). The original function of pits as, say, storage pits can elude analysis. Furthermore pit clusters may, in the past, have been interpreted as "fonds de cabanes". An article by Villes (1981) suggests that these 'pit-dwellings' are indeed intercutting storage pits, whose thin connecting walls have collapsed, giving them their 'fried egg' shape. This situation could apply to some of the northern sites, but in the South few pits, let alone storage pits, are mentioned: it seems that grain was kept in granaries on hillforts (see below). A few indices suggest that lowland riverine sites were quite frequently engaged in metallurgy: iron smelting and forging at Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14) and Charentay (69-06), bronze and iron working at Poncins-Goincet (42-16). The location of Chessy-les Mines (69-08) on the Azergues may be due to the exploitation of nearby copper mines (Walker 1981b:290-1: 1983:94-6). The occurence of burials on lowland sites will be discussed below.

Defences, apart from ditched enclosures are documented at Le Pègue-Ecoles (26-30) at the foot of the hillfort of St Marcel (26-31): the defence may have been more against floods of the river Auzon than against hostilities. The materials used - clay and timber for the lowland site, stone for the hillfort - would suggest that practical reasons governed the choice of material on the lowland site, wheras an element of show was present on the hillfort. Le Pègue-Ecoles, a 'rescue' site of the 1950s and 1960s, is, to our knowledge, the only site where substantial structural remains have survived in a deeply stratified sequence from Late Hallstatt to Middle La Tène (fig. 61). This site, even though no longer threatened, merits to be investigated further: not only can the site reveal a plan, it can also provide an opportunity for comparative analysis between inter-dependant hilltop and lowland sites. Another early site, Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14) appears to be too disturbed by gallo-roman buildings to reveal a comprehensible plan. The remaining lowland settlements of the Rhône-Alpes belong to the middle and late La Tène periods.

Hilltop settlement sites

Our penultimate class of settlements is formed by some 26 hilltop sites ('habitats de hauteur') which are either naturally defended, or where man-made defences have not been traced or reported. In many cases the occupation of these sites during the Iron Age is only attested by collections of pottery and artefacts picked up on their surface (see section on possible settlements, above). Building of defences was sometimes made unnecessary by the choice of site: cliffs, steep rocky outcrops jutting out of the plain [e.g. Vif-St Loup (38-84) or Varces-Rochefort (38-68)] or, in the case of Vercoiran-Ste-Luce (26-46) a dramatic stage set using naturally eroded pillars of limestone, must have given sufficient protection. We have also included in this broad catergory of hilltop settlements, sites where defences may have existed but not been proved: examples exist at Chauzon-Beaussement (07-09: dry stone walls, terraces, limestone blocks), Gras-Baravon? (07-12), Périgneux (42-15: walls and vitrified blocks), St-Victor-s.-Loire (42-33: dry stone walls, terraces, limestone blocks) or St-Alban-Leysse (73-39).

Little can be said as to the structures in their interior or the functions fulfilled: some may have only been occupied temporarily - perhaps as refugia or high altitude stations in a landscape where pastoralism and transhumance is expected [Vif-St-Loup (38-84) or La Muraz (74-35)?] - others show a degree of permanency in the form of dry-stone built huts [Gras-Baravon (07-12)] and terraces, revetment walls, hut platforms, clay floors and hearths [St-Alban-Leysse (73-39)]. Varces-Rochefort (38-68), a spectacular outcrop in the plain of the Drac, could have acted as a focal point, causing the establishment of two small cemeteries (38-69 and 70) at its base. Orpierre-Ste Colombe, a high altitude (946 m) settlement in the Hautes-Alpes forms a class apart: there, a permanent open settlement flourished in the 6th and early 5th C BC and was in the mainstream of the

luxury goods economy of the mediterranean world. A summary, based on Courtois (1975 and 1976) will be found on p. 507-8 of Appendix 1.

Hilltop settlements are, on the whole, a still ill-defined class of sites: some may be genuine open settlements, but many may on further investigations turn out to be hillforts. We shall now consider this last category.

Hillforts

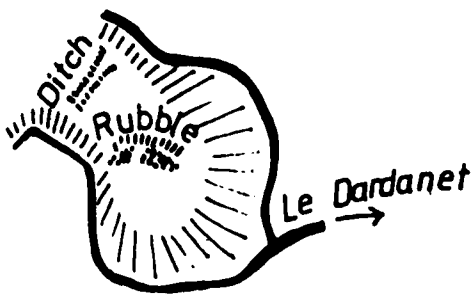
Hillforts, or defended hilltop settlement sites have occupied scholars for over a century. In the French literature these sites are often referred to as oppida (the term has a wider application than in British Iron Age archaeology). Since the reports by the 'Commission des Enceintes' of the Société Préhistorique Française, published in the early 20th century (listing 3000 hilltop enclosures of all dates, including many medieval motte and bailey sites), surveys on a regional or national basis have tried to ascertain their number, size, type or date (e.g. Barruol 1961, Büchsenschütz 1971 and 1981, Hogg 1969 and Nicolardot 1975). For France, estimates vary widely: Büchsenschütz (1971) gives a figure of 1500 hillforts of pre-roman date, occupied in the majority of cases during the Neolithic, Urnfield, Hallstatt and La Tène periods. In the Rhône-Alpes, a 'poor' hillfort region compared to Provence, Languedoc or Burgundy, our searches have revealed some 30 hillforts of later Iron Age date but more must exist, unexcavated or undated.

The sizes and types of hillforts have equally been the subject of surveys and classifications (e.g. Cotton and Frere 1961): the terms "éperon barré" (promontory fort), "rebord de plateau" (plateau fort or cliff-edge fort) or "enceinte de contour" (contour fort) are widely used in the literature. Obviously these different types are conditioned by geo-morphology, which produces regional families of similar hillforts. In

the Rhône-Alpes, such families exist in the Loire valley, the plateaux of the Ardèche and the foothills of the Drôme.

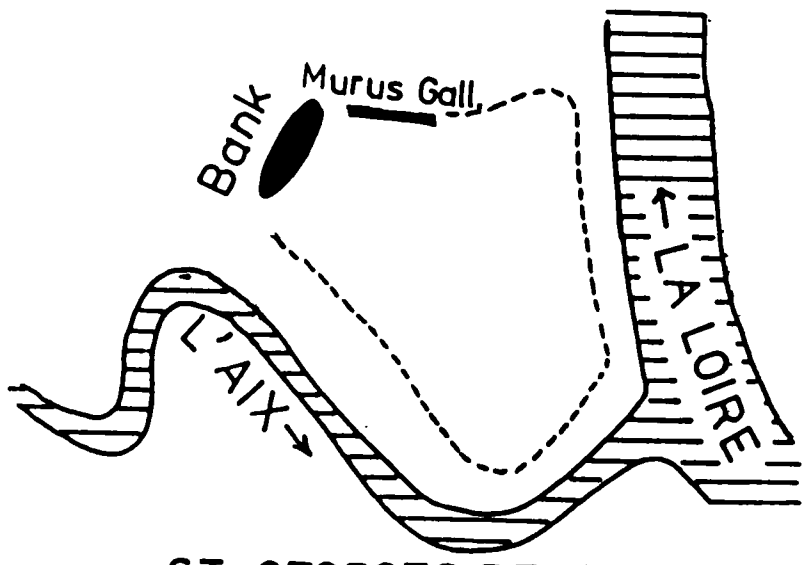
The promontory forts of the Loire (figs. 54-56)

Outcrops carved by the meandering river Loire, upstream from Roanne, provide ideal sitings for promontory forts in loops of the river [St-Maurice-s.-Loire-Joeuvre (42-31)], at confluents with lateral streams [St-Georges-de-Baroilles-Chazy (42-26), St-Marcel-de-Félines-Crêt-Châtelard (42-30) and Villerest-Lourdon (42-36)] or on a plateau towering 300 m above the Loire [Chambles-Essalois (42-04)]. In all but the last case the neck of the promontory is cut off by a massive bank, sometimes strengthened by a ditch or ravine. These enormous cross dykes (60 m wide and 10 m high at the Crêt Châtelard, 70 m wide and 15 m high at Joeuvre) of earth and rubble are met by short lengths or occasionally whole circuits of ramparts. These ramparts have proved, on excavation,to be of Murus Gallicus type, i.e. a stone faced wall with rubble infill and an internal timber lacing made of criss-cross longitudinal and transversal beams held in position by long (c. 20 cm) iron nails. Muri Gallici, including those of the Loire, have been thoroughly researched by Dr. Molly Cotton (1957: 159 ff): we need add little to her findings, only to mention that her listing of Chambles-Essalois as a Murus Gallicus site seems to be correct: Collis (1975: 179) discounts Essalois, but Preynat's description(1983: 106 ff.) meets the definition of the type. A feature of the Loire promontory forts appears to be that ramparts are not of uniform build along their circuits, or that circuits are incomplete: the use of the Murus Gallicus technique may have been reserved for the strenghening of weak points, i.e. near entrances or where the rampart met the cross-dyke or changed direction. The areas enclosed range from medium size [c. 8 ha at Chazy (42-26), c. 11 ha with annexes and 22 ha with extramural zone at Essalois (42-02), c. 25 ha



DEBATS-RIVIERE-D'ORPRA

LE CHÂTELARD DE LIJAY

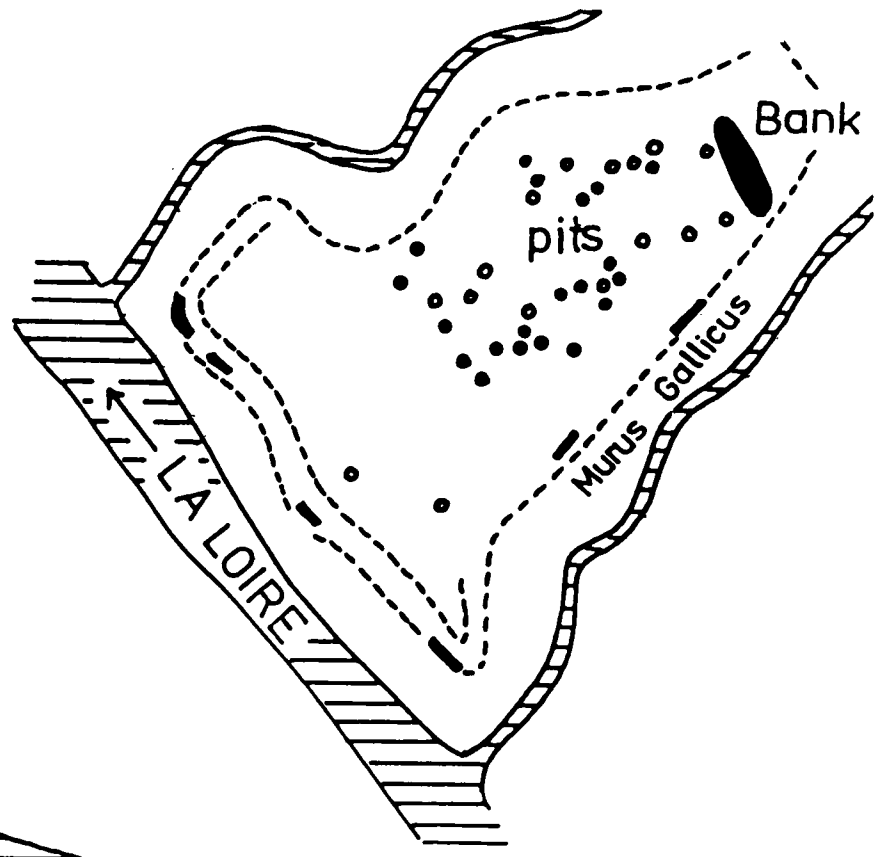


ST GEORGES DE BAROILLES

LE CAMP DE CHAZY

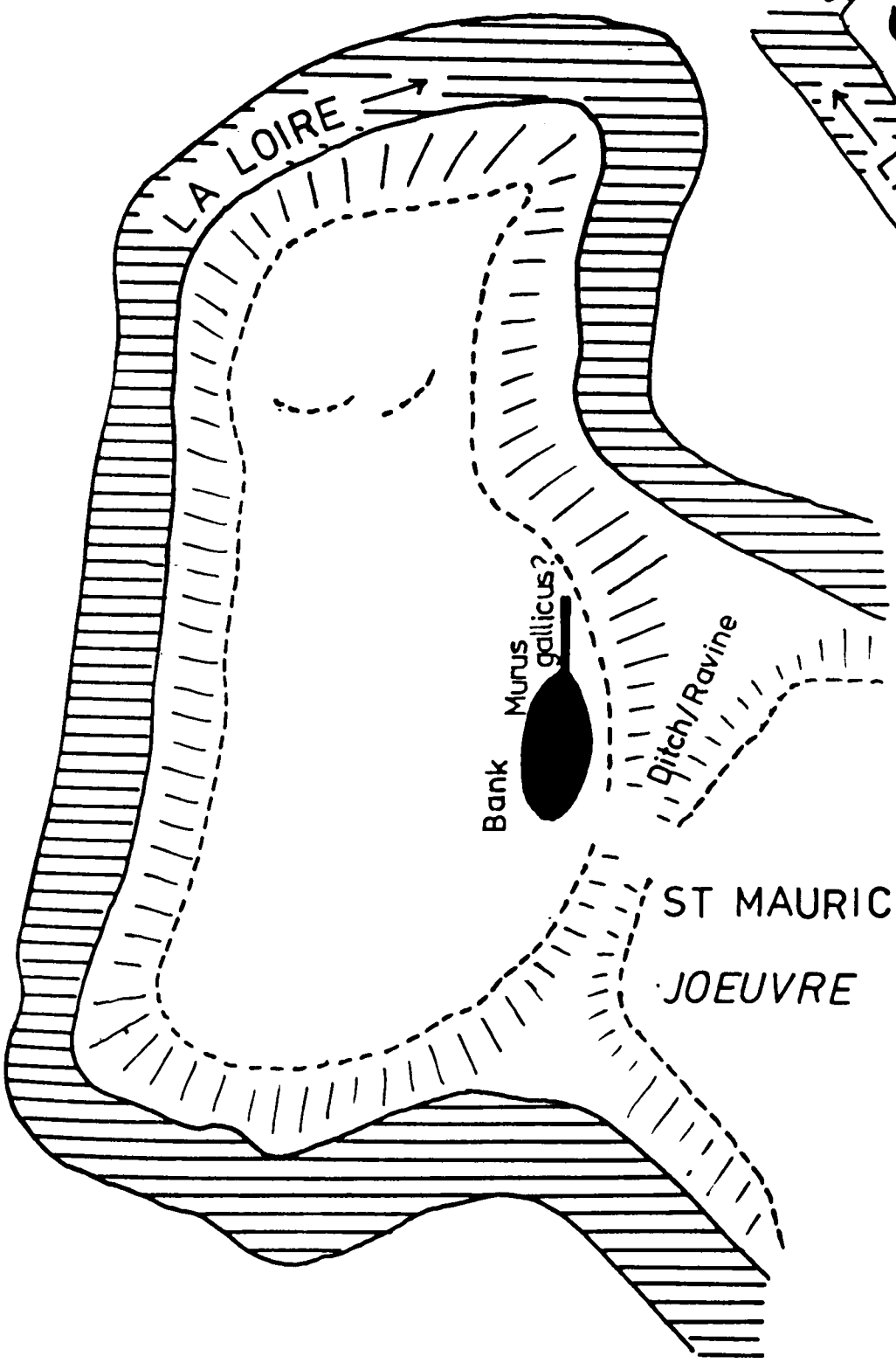
After Béfort 1974: pl. 1

All other sites: after Collis 1975: 180, fig. 67



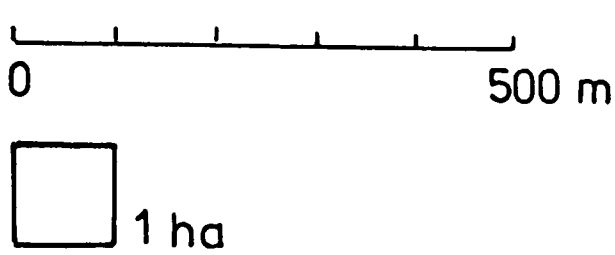
ST MARCEL DE FELINES

LE CRÊT CHÂTELARD



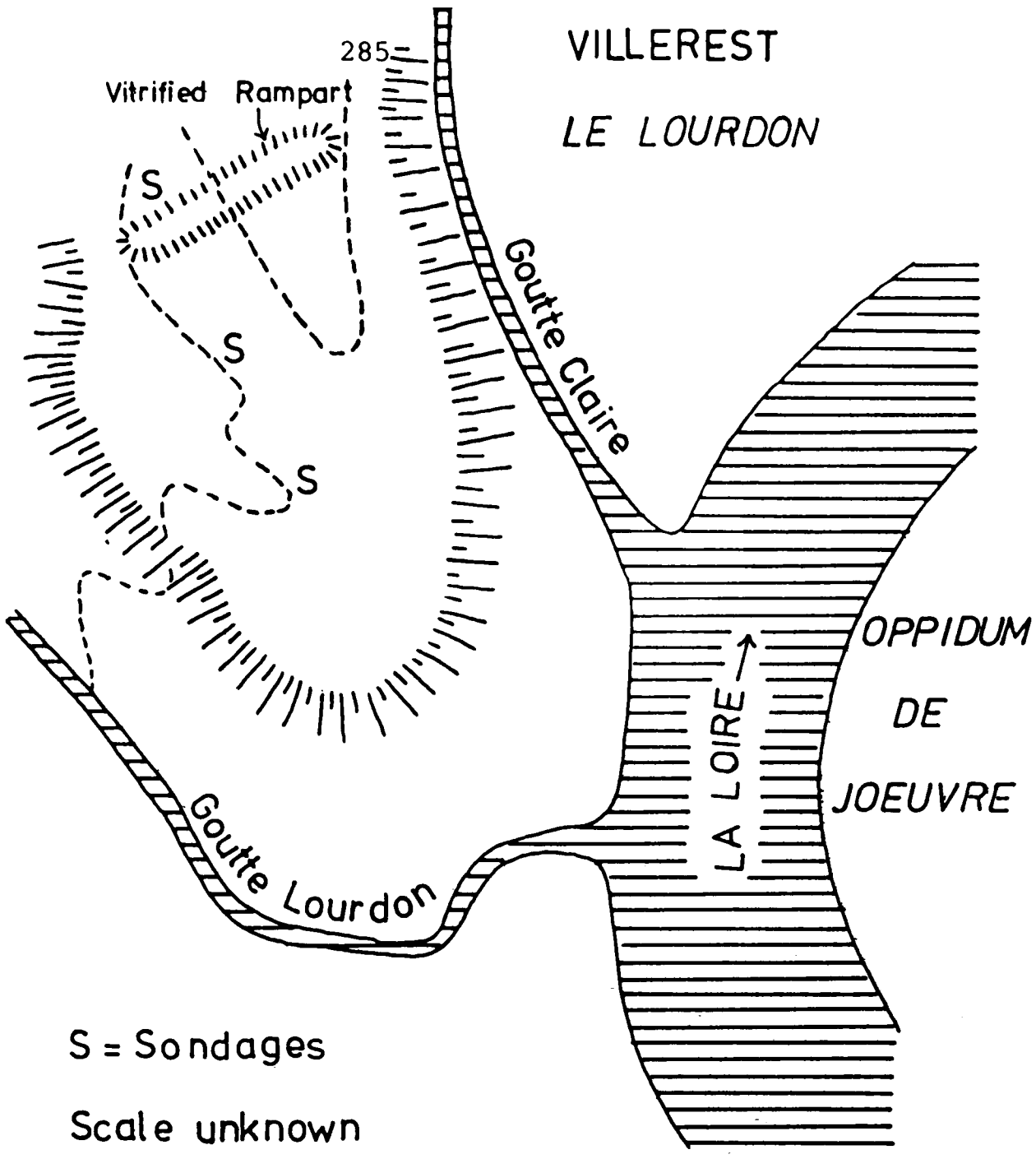
ST MAURICE SUR LOIRE

JOEUVRE

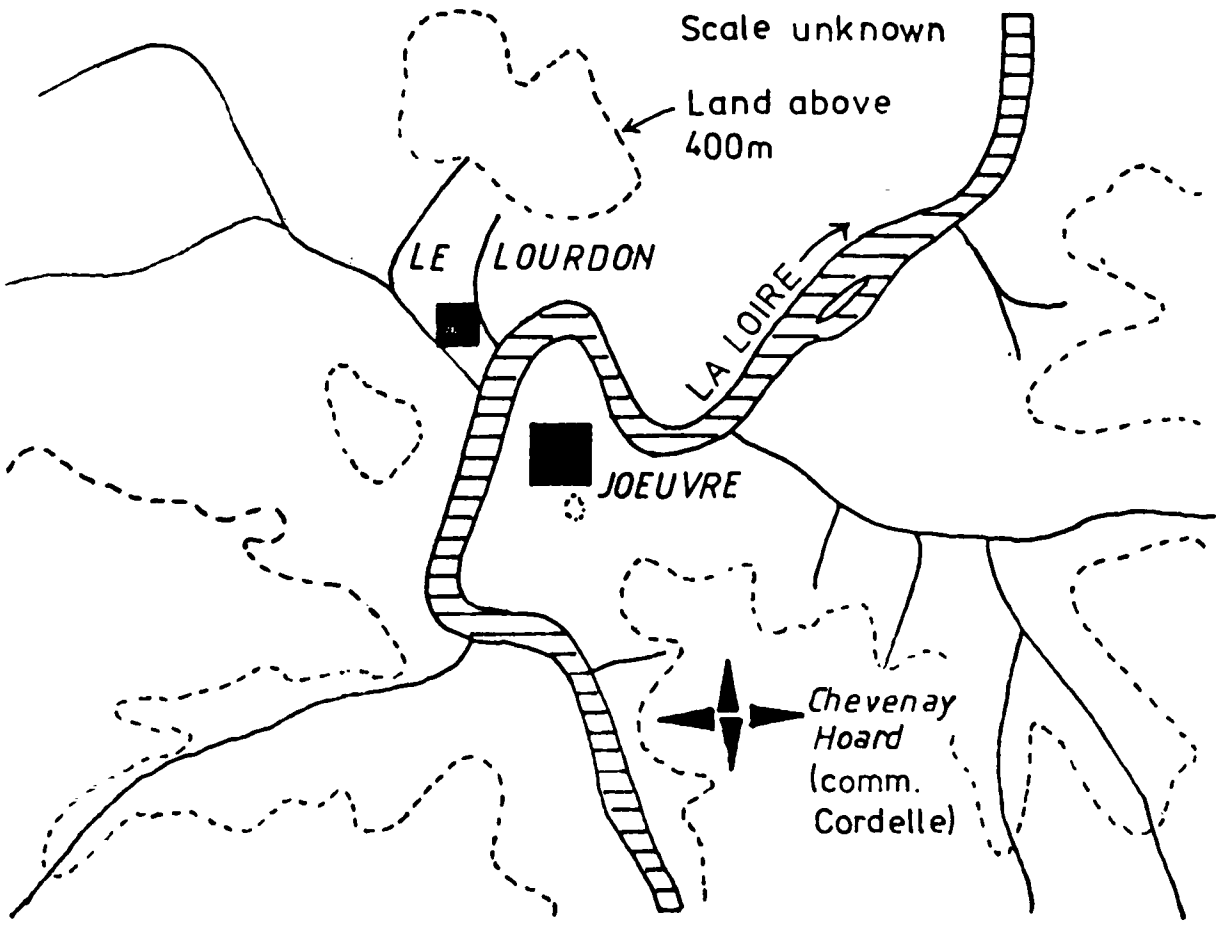


Promontory forts of the Loire

Fig. 54



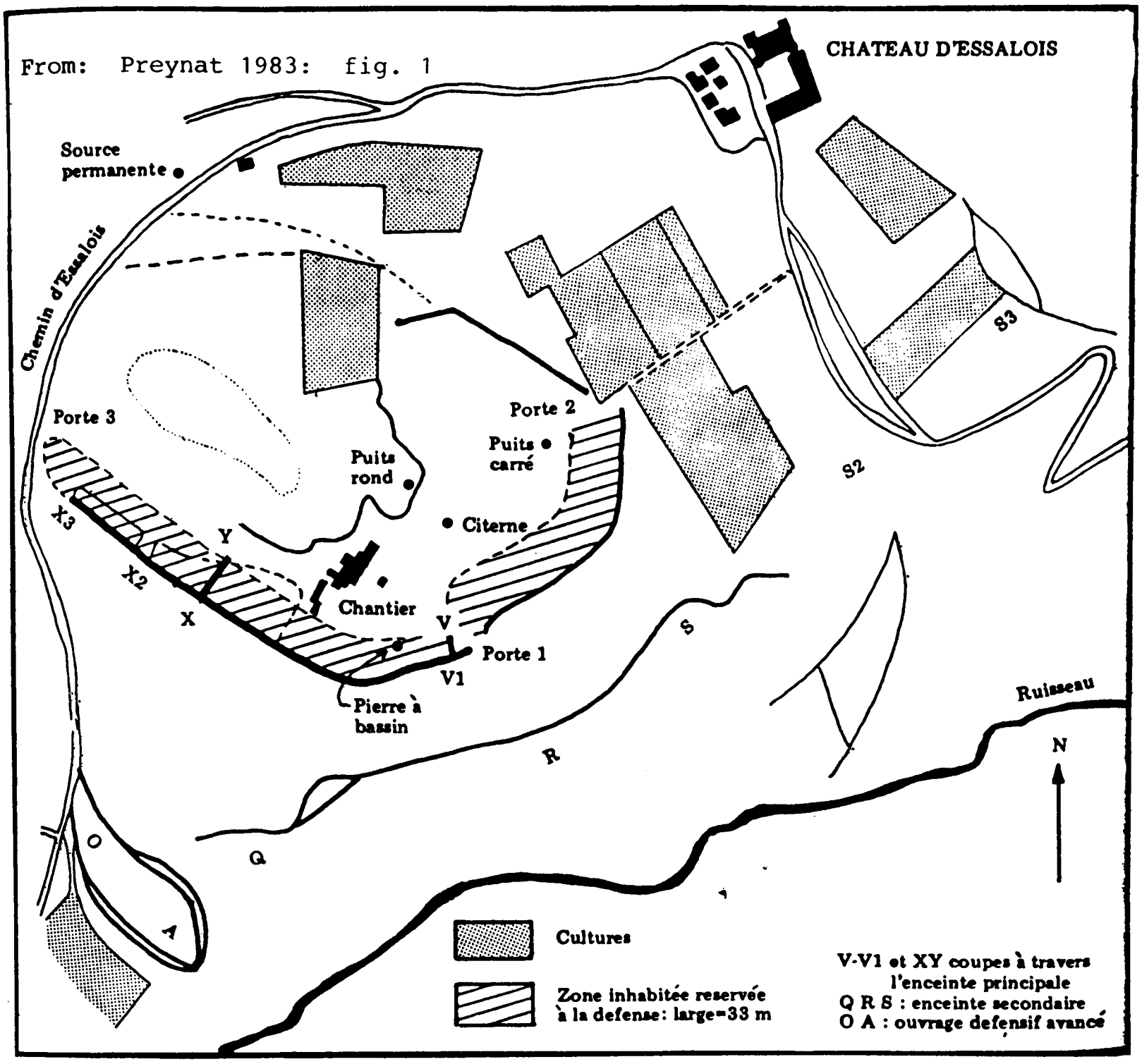
After Grosbellet and Périchon 1965: pl. 94 and 95

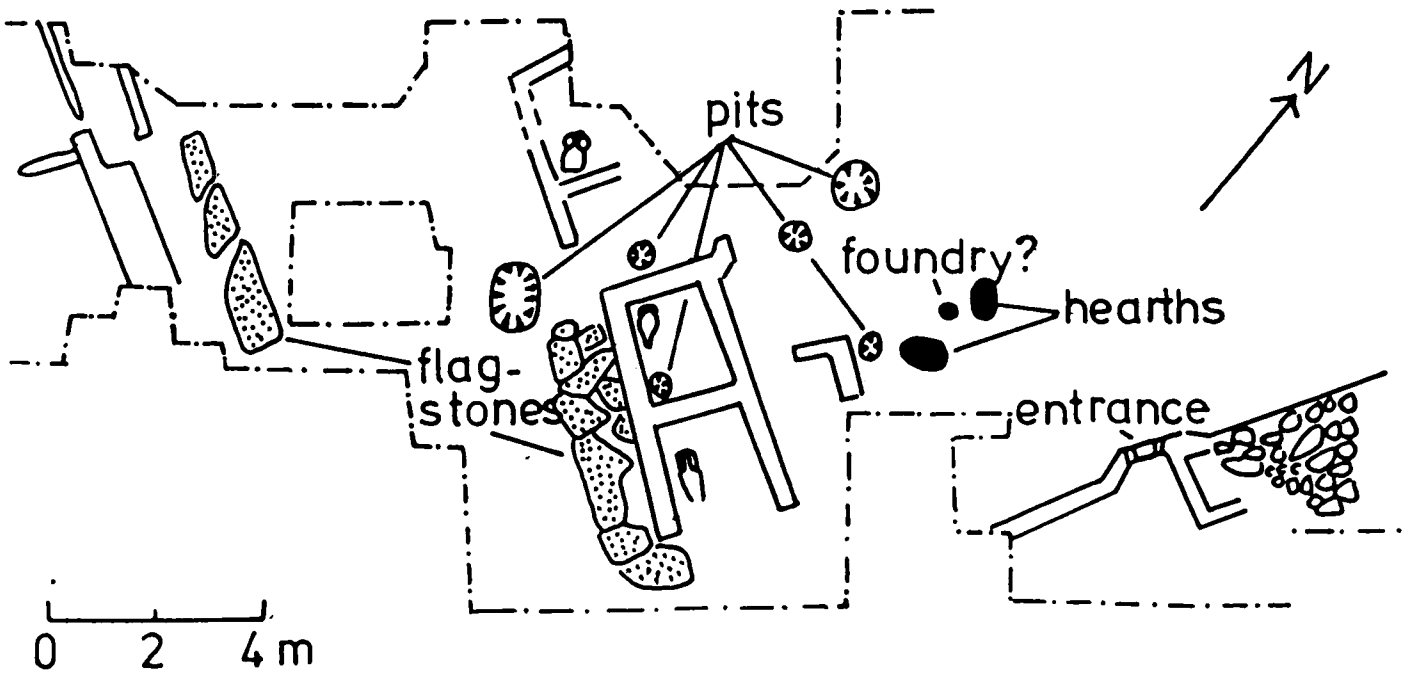


Oppida of the Loire valley : Joeuvre and its region

Fig. 55

From: Preynat 1983: fig. 1





After: Leglay 1971: 416, fig. 14

Fig. 56: Chambles-Essalois (42-04)

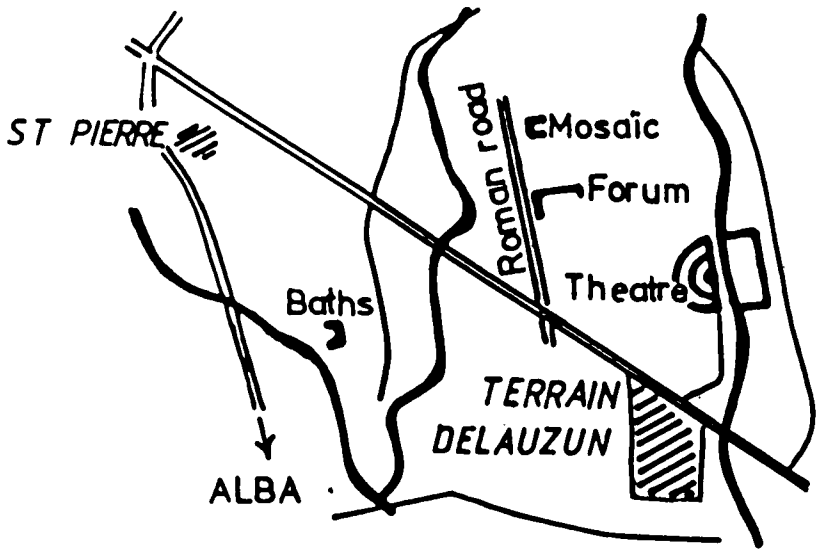
at the Crêt-Châtelard (42-30)] to enormous proportions [75 ha at Joeuvre (42-31)].

Evidence for the interior of the Loire valley oppida comes mainly from three sites: Essalois (42-04) first and foremost, the Crêt Châtelard (42-30) and Joeuvre (42-31). More detailed notes on individual structures will be found below and in Appendix 1. Suffice to mention here that Essalois exhibits elements of planning, that amphorae and dry stone are used as building material, that metalworkers workshops and débris left by other artisans are present at the Crêt-Châtelard and Essalois and that votive deposits or perhaps sanctuaries existed at Joeuvre and the Crêt-Châtelard. The granary and cremation burials of Joeuvre may be Augustean. Altogether these elements point towards a degree of nucleation, planning and proto-urbanism (Preynat 1983). The promontory forts of the Loire are dated to the late La Tène period in the main - end of late La Tène at Joeuvre - but one major hillfort, Chambles-Essalois, engaged in trade and redistribution of italian wine, had earlier beginnings (c.180 BC) as Roanne (see p.271-3) did.

In the interior of the Forez, to the West of the Loire, one tiny (1 ha) promontory fort, Débats-Rivière-d'Orpra-Lijay (42-08), goes further back in time, to the early La Tène period or La Tène Ib-c (LT B_1-B_2). Certain elements of the later Loire valley oppida already feature on this small site, i.e. a bronze and iron workshop and a granary.

Ardèche plateau forts (fig. 57)

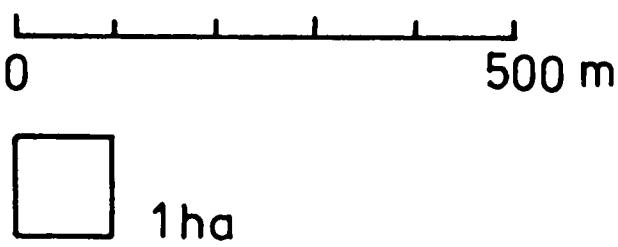
A family of hillforts, located in the southern Ardèche, uses in general cliff-edges, carved into the limestone by the river Ardèche. The remaining undefended sides of these forts are enclosed by a dry-stone wall, generally without an accompanying ditch. Lussas-La Grande Muraille, on the plateau of Jastres (07-20) is one of the northernmost examples

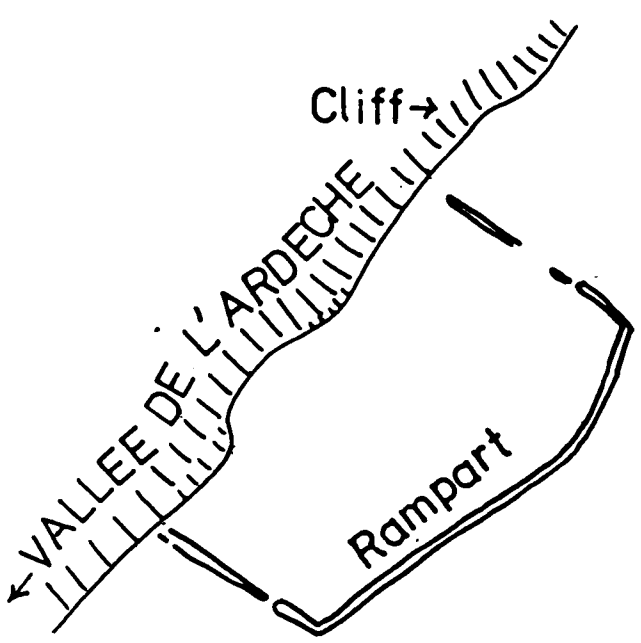


ALBA

ST PIERRE (Late Hallstatt)

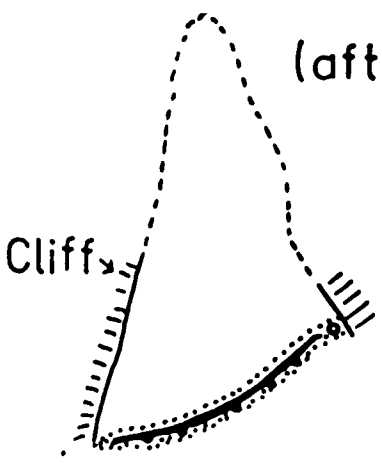
TERRAIN DELAUZUN (Late LT)





LAVILLEDIEU-JASTRES SUD

LE CAMP DE CESAR



LUSSAS-JASTRES NORD

LA GRANDE MURAILLE

Sources:

Alba: after Lauxerrois and Vichy 1975: 50, fig. 1 & 2

Lavilledieu-Jastres Sud: after Lancel 1975: 532 (air photo)

Lussas-Jastres Nord: after Hogg 1969: 268, fig. 8

Settlement sites of the Ardèche plateaux

Fig. 57

of a dry-stone rampart reinforced by a series of semi-circular bastions. This construction is thought to owe something to the architecture of the hillforts of the hellenised hinterland of Marseille (e.g. St-Blaise), but Hogg (1969: 268) points out that there is also a Chalcolithic tradition of dry-stone towers or bastions, known at Lébous, and present as far North as Meursault - Mont Milan (Côte d'Or) in southern Burgundy. Lussas-Jastres Nord (07-20) and Lavilledieu-Jastres Sud (07-19) futher distinguish themselves for being the northernmost example of a double hillfort, again known further south (Roque de Viou and Les Castels at Nages: Py 1978). Further examples of cliff-edge forts exist at Casteljau (07-07) on the Chassezac, Gras-Dent de Retz (07-13), and on the Rhône at St-Marcel-St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28) and Soyons (07-35). In size, these hillforts are fairly small: 7-10 ha at Jastres-Nord, Jastres-Sud and Soyons, and 1 ha at St-Etienne-de-Dions. In the interior of the Ardèche [e.g. St-Andéol-de-Fourchades (07-25), 1 ha] similarly small hillforts are established, but there the entire hill is surrounded by a single or bivallate [at Le Roux (07-22)] dry stone enclosure.

The activities taking place within these hillforts are not as well documented as those of the Loire valley. Nevertheless, mentions of dry stone huts, hearths, ovens and occasional wattle and daub structures are fairly frequent. A better record is available for the small, yet very rich hillfort of St-Marcel-St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28): paved and beaten clay house floors, hearths, wattle and daub huts, grain precessing and storage (in 'light clay' chaff tempered jars, as at Le Pègue) are reported from this site which attracted the whole panoply of mediterranean goods from the late 6th C BC onwards.

Drôme contour forts

The foothills of the Drôme, east of the Rhône plain offer a gentler, rounder landscape, with hills giving opportunities to use the break of slope for a line of continuous defences, built of dry-stone . As the interior is often on a slope [e.g. Le Pègue-St Marcel (26-31) or La Roche-St-Secret-Béconne (26-34)], a system of terraces has been devised inside the defended circuit, or, in order to enlarge the area suitable for occupation, a series of annexes have been added [e.g. at La Roche-St-Secret-Béconne, at Saou-Cissac (26-42) or at Roussas - Le Moulon (26-35)] (see fig. 58). But these sites, often occupied over a long period, in Urnfield, Hallstatt, La Tène, sometimes gallo-roman and especially early medieval times, may not have been settled all over their surface at any one time. Both Le Pègue and La Roche-St-Secret have medieval fortifications on the highest part of the hill, the Iron Age settlement being established on the slopes below. The size of the Drôme hillforts falls in a bracket of 10-15 ha, a medium range compared with the Loire (1-75 ha) or Ardèche (1-10 ha).

Apart from Le Pègue, whose structures will be touched on below, the interior organisation of the Drôme hillforts is rather ill-defined: the rocky terrain and thin soil cover are partly to blame for the poor survival of strata and structures. The latter, e.g. huts [at Grignan (26-31) or Saou-Cissac (26-42)], cairns, internal walls [at La Roche-St Secret (26-42) and Roussas (26-35)] are entirely built of dry stone. Iron working and perhaps iron extraction and smelting feature amongst the activities documented at La Roche-St-Secret and Roussas.

These three families of hillforts all occur within the stone-using boundary defined on fig. 45. To the North of this arbitrary line, there are too few sites to create any groups. The Camp de Larina at Annoisins-Châtelans

1 Dry-stone rampart

2 Entrance ?

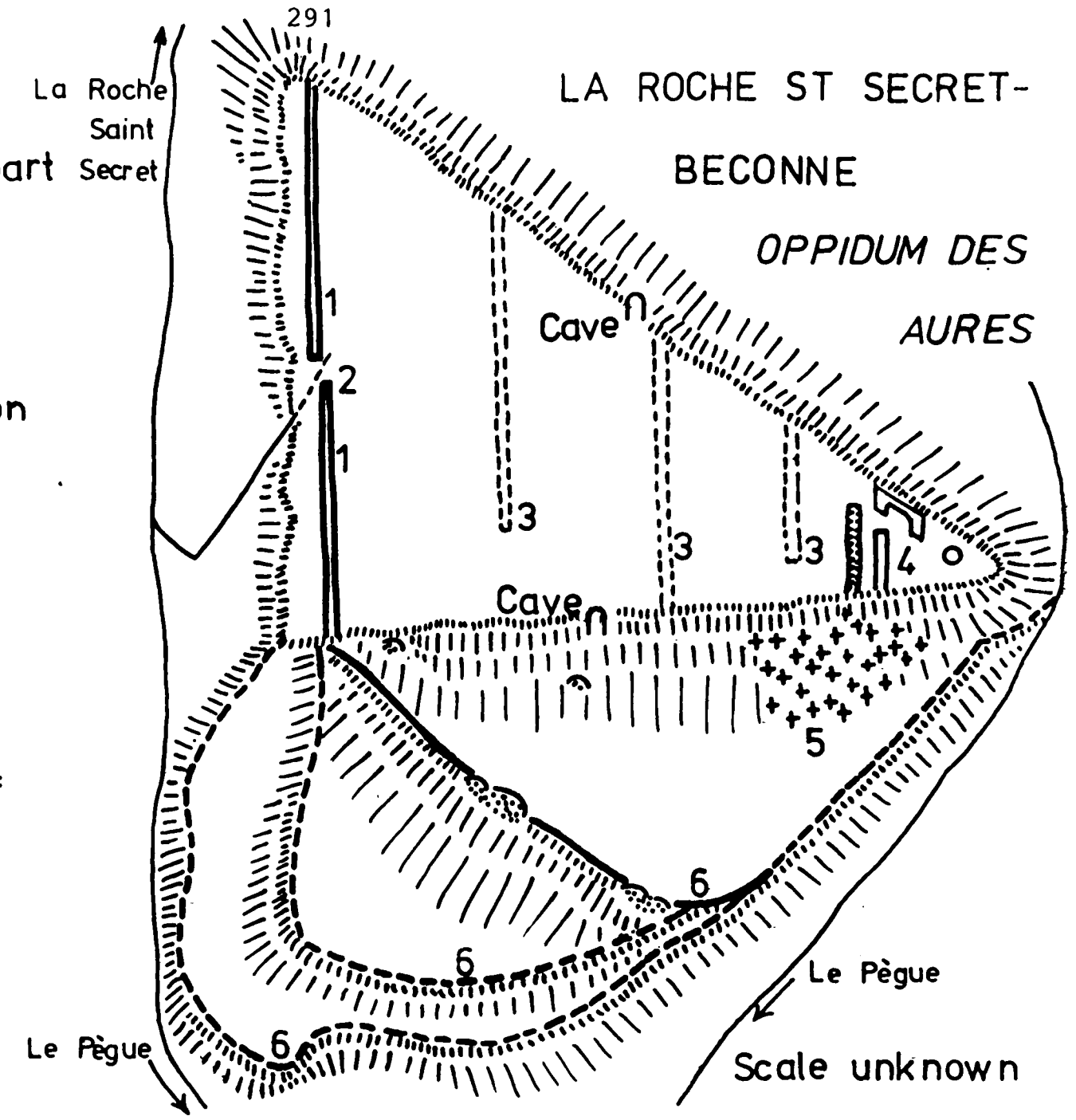
3 "Clappiers"

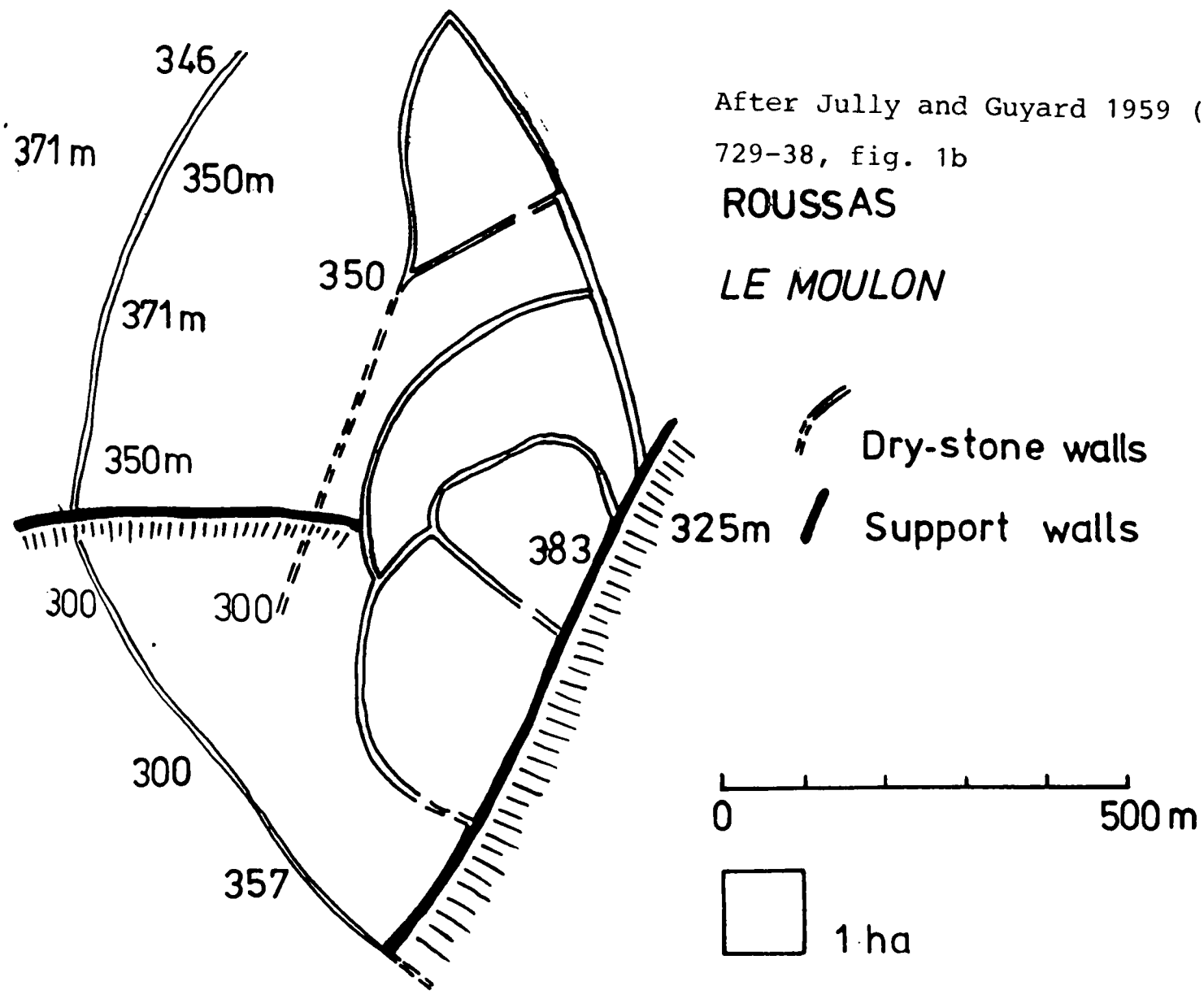
4 Med. fortification

5 DMV

6 Terrasse walls

After Guillot 1966: 89, Fig. 3 and 1968: fig. 13





Hilltop settlements of the Drôme foothills

After Jully and Guyard 1959 (1965): 729-38, fig. 1b

Fig. 58

(38-01), a 24 ha promontory fort (fig. 59) with dry stone rampart,terraces, annexed enclosures, rock-cut structures (huts?, quarries?) and associated caves (38-22) appears to be more in the southern tradition, as is its series of imported materials (amphorae of Massalia, derivations of pseudo-ionian ware, perhaps "phocean" ware, silver obol of Massalia). Elsewhere in the North hillforts defended by earth, rubble or timber ramparts, or combinations of these materials, make a timid appearance: an earthern dump rampart encloses the 4 ha hillfort of Plan-Camp de Cesar (38-38), banks are reported from Chevrier-Pas de l'Ecluse (74-11), St-Blaise-Mont Sion (74-34), Cours (69-10) and Mardore (69-31), and finally a triple defensive system of earth, stone and rubble with timber framing and timber lacing is said to have been examined on the Petit Salève at Monetier-Mornex (74-34).

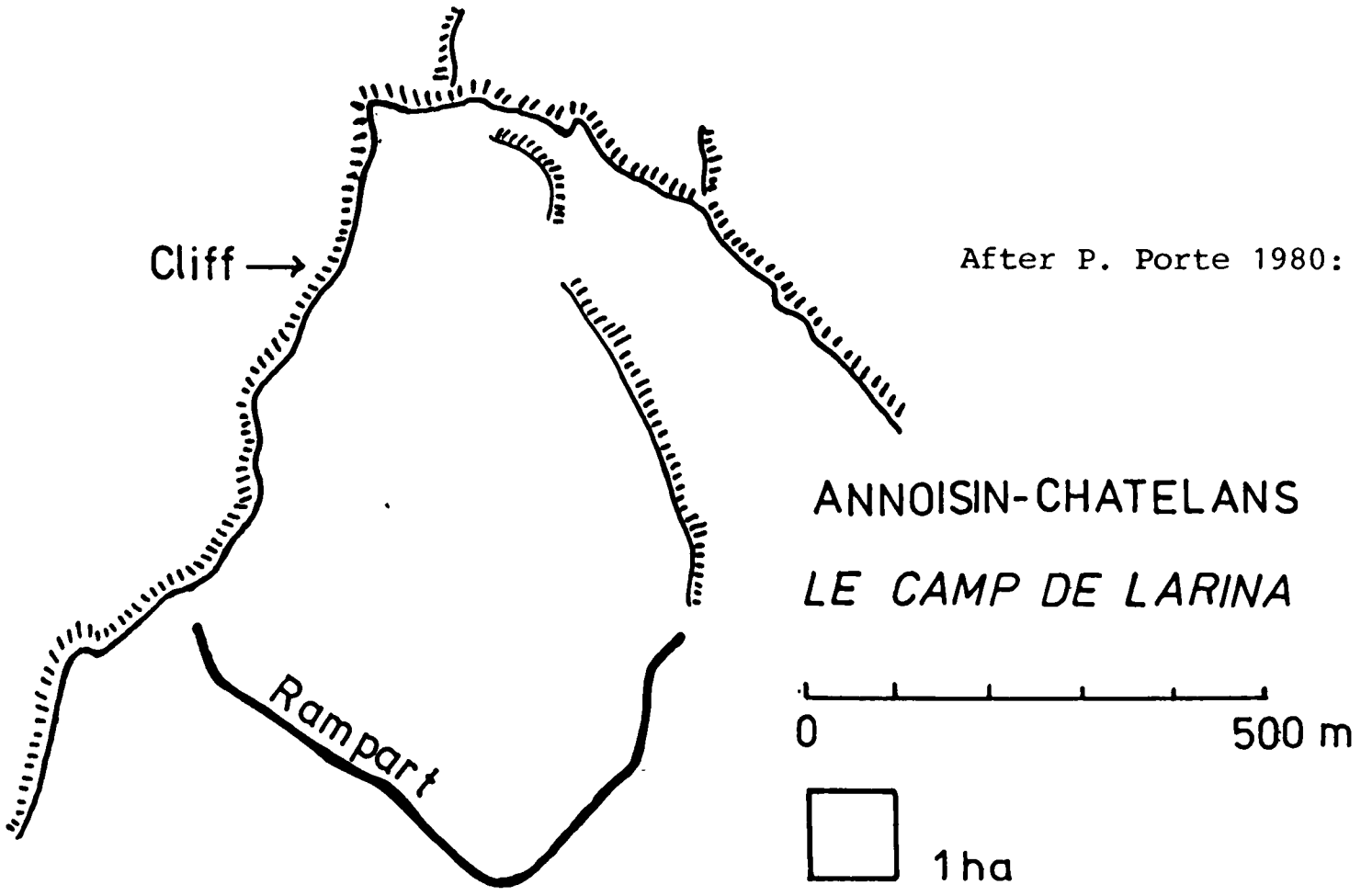
This panorama is designed to give an idea of the general type, size and layout of Rhône-Alpes hillforts. The exposé will end with a few notes on particular structures and features encountered during our review.

Settlement structures

The published accounts of Rhône-Alpes Iron Age settlements display a great dearth of useful plans. In fact, plans of excavations carried out on a large enough scale to even begin to detect patterns of internal organisation can be counted on the fingers of one hand: Le Pègue (26-30 and 31; figs. 60-63) and Chambles-Essalois (42-04; fig. 56 here; see also figures in Preynat 1983) seem to be the only sites where such an exercise could be attempted. However, descriptions or illustrations of individual structures appear a little more often in published reports. We shall pick out certain settlement components which seem worthy of emphasis. The survey is not exhaustive, nor very detailed, as the data can be found in Appendix 1. We shall proceed as an imaginary traveller would approach a site, starting with defences and ending up in sanctuaries.

Defences: their circuits and types have already been presented in the discussion of regional families of hillforts. A summary will suffice here. Southern examples are generally built of dry-stone, as an enclosure wall or as a dry-stone rampart with rubble infilling, occasionally accompanied by bastions or towers. A group of Muri Gallici exists on promontory forts of the upper Loire valley: the technique appears to be used selectively on short stretches of a circuit, perhaps to strengthen weak points. In stone-using areas ditches are thought unnecessary; wherever possible, use is made of natural defences such as ravines or cliffs,left either in their natural state, or deepened. The North and North-East of the Rhône-Alpes feature miscellaneous constructions, including earth and timber or dump ramparts, but the information is rather sparse. Bivallation or trivallation is extremely rare in the entire area under scrutiny. Two lowland sites possess a bank strengthened by a palisade perhaps designed for protection against floods: Roanne (42-18) and Le Pègue - Chantier des Ecoles (26-30). In the North (départements of Ain, Rhône, Loire) a number of lowland (rectangular) enclosure sites have been identified by the presence of ditches. To this category of boundaries we should add the rectangular enclosure of Le Terrail at Amplepuis (69-02) interpreted as a rtiual enclosure - a Viereckschanze: however Collis (1975:182) would rather see it as a domestic site.

Gates are often simple gaps in a dry-stone circuit [e.g. Lavilledieu - Jastres-Sud (07-19), Lussas - Jastres-Nord (07-20), Annoisin-Châtelans - Le Camp de Larina (38-01)] or a chicane formed by staggered defences [e.g. La Roche-St-Secret-Béconne (26-34)]. More complex structures, i.e. versions of inturned entrances have been observed at Chambles-Essalois (42-04) (fig. 56: porte 1) and at Le Pègue - St Marcel (26-31): there, a monumental gate, using stone slabs, cut from stelae which belonged to a former sanctuary (see below) was built in the 4th C BC. The excavator describes



After P. Porte 1980: 15

From: Chauffin 1960: pl. I

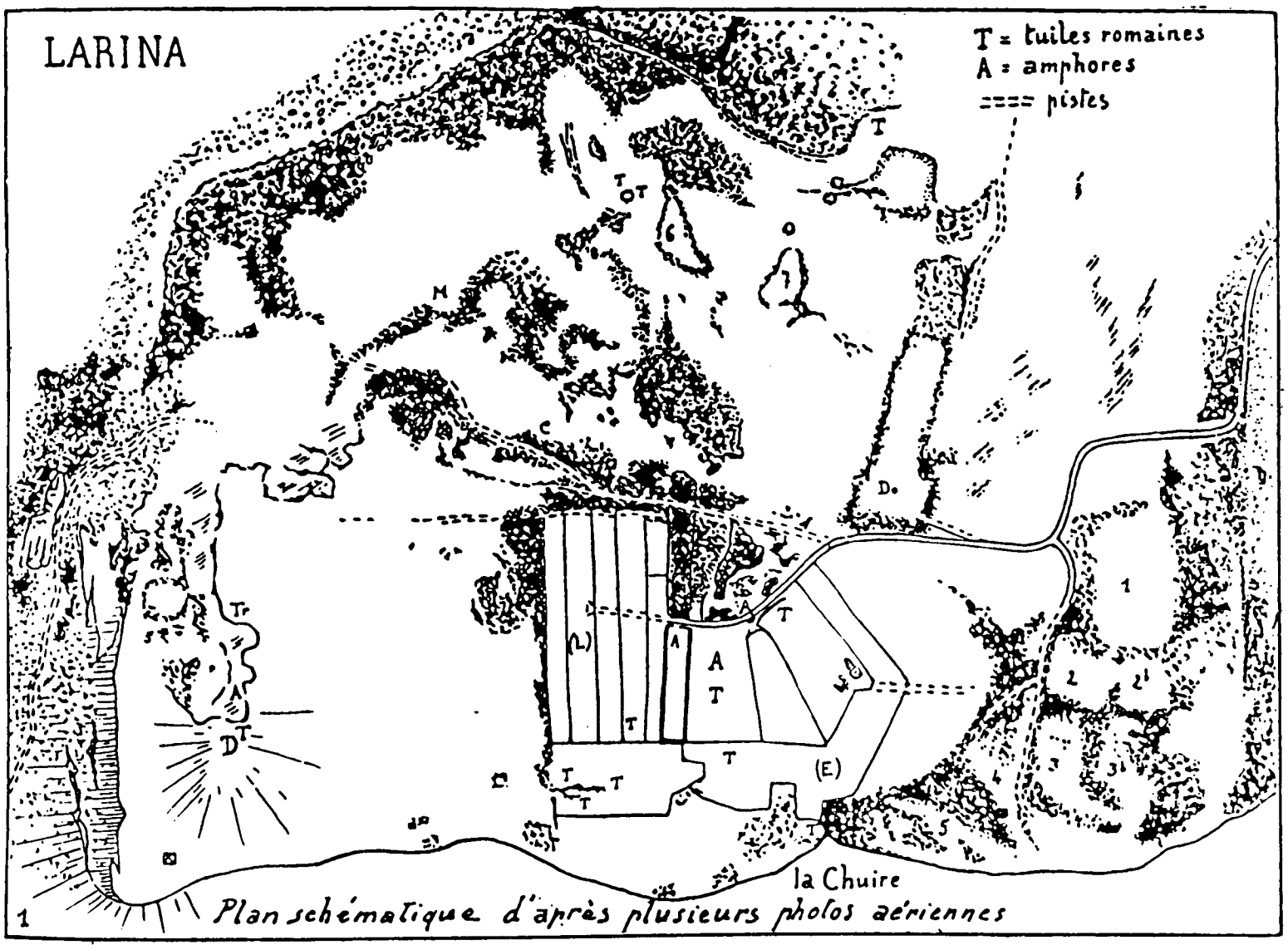
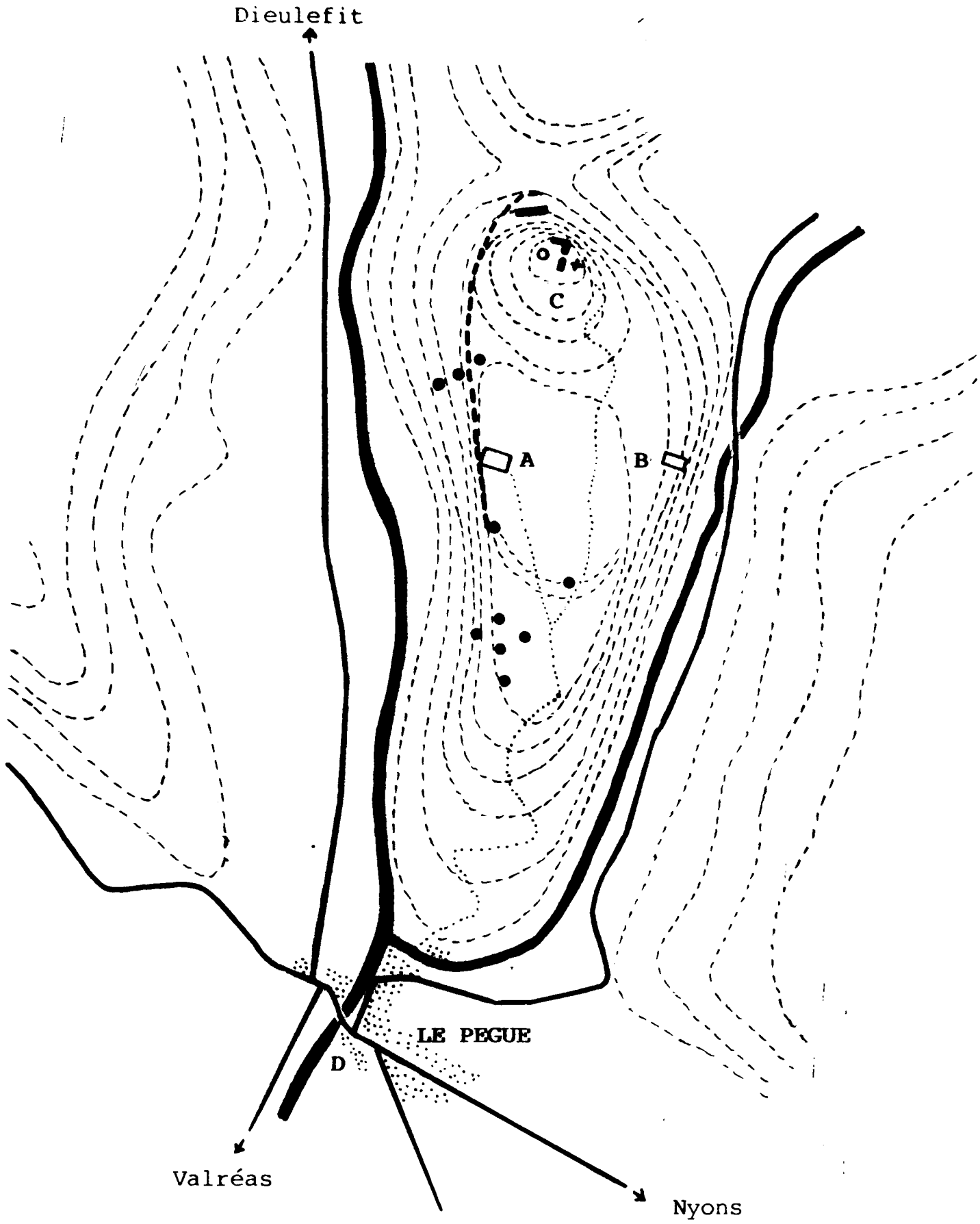


Fig. 59: Le Camp de Larina, Isère (38-01)



Scale unknown
Height of contours unknown

A Area excavations of Saint-Marcel (26-31)

B Eastern sondage

C Roman and medieval citadel

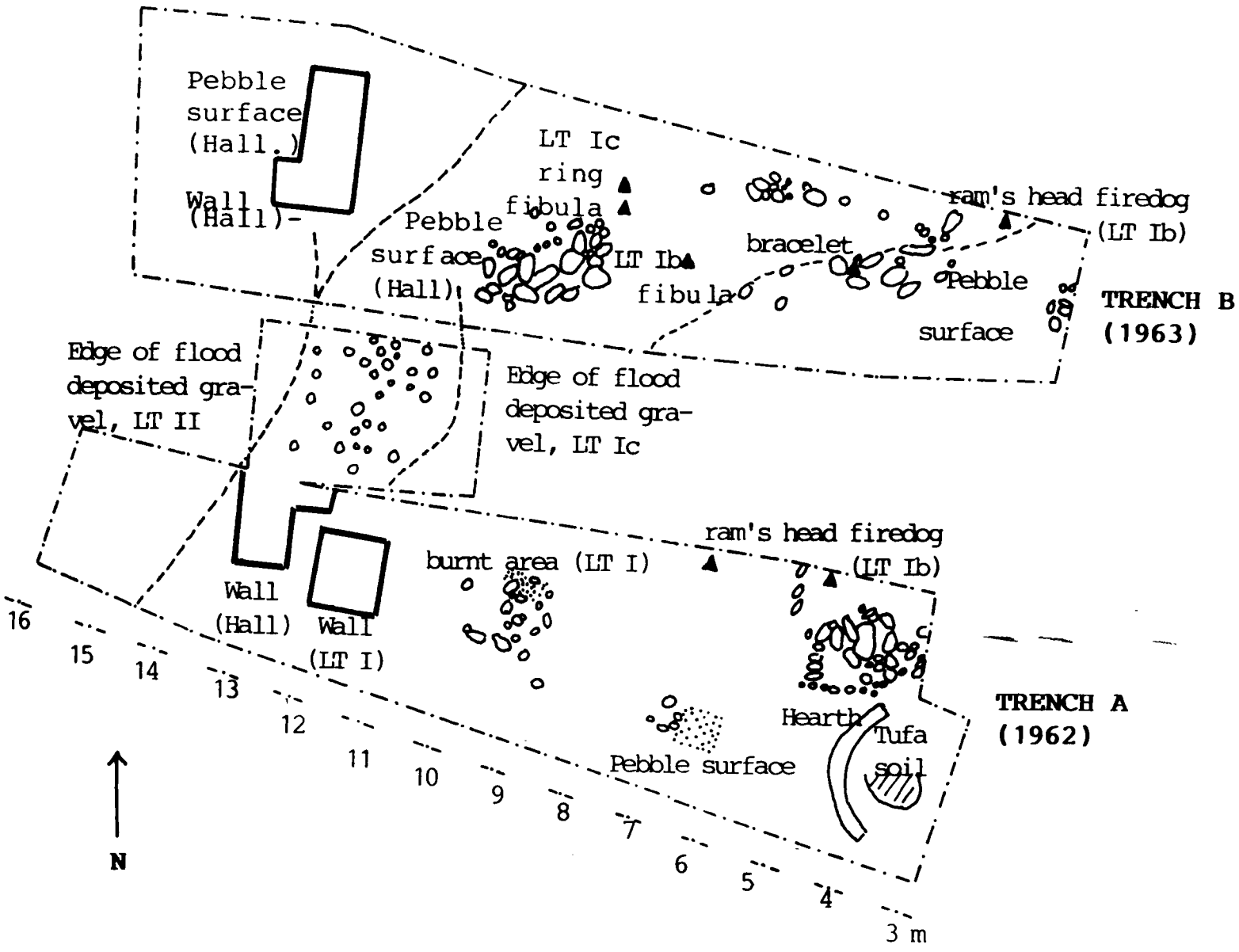
D Chantier des Ecoles lowland settlement (26-30)

• Sondages

/ Ancient track

(After Brühl 1958: 384, fig.7, redrawn to 2 x published size)

Fig. 60. Le Pègue and its environs.



Le Pègue-Chantier des Ecoles (26-30): plan and section of Trench A from Hatt 1976, figs. 4 and 5.

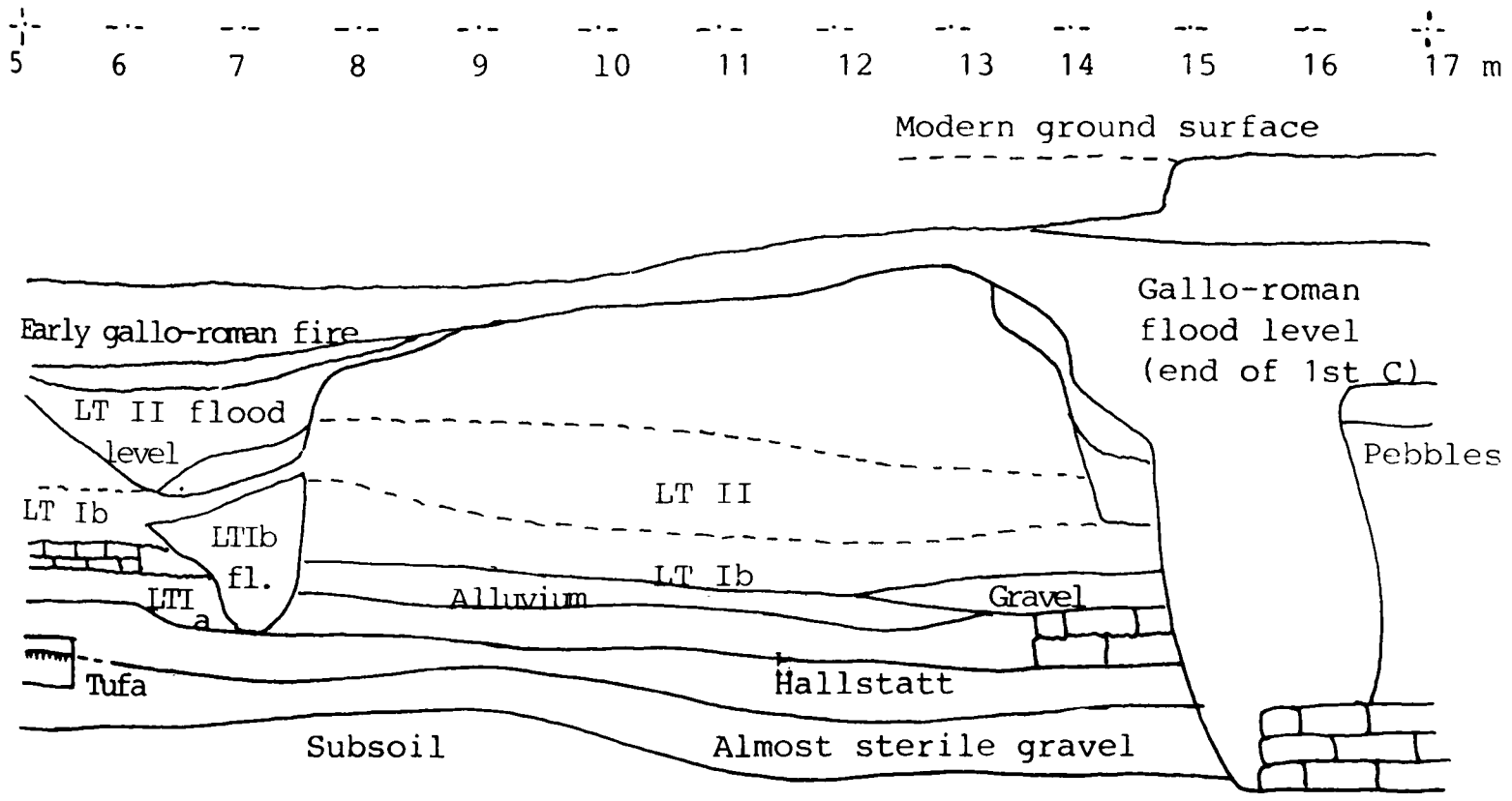


Fig. 61. Le Pègue: Chantier des Ecoles (26-30).

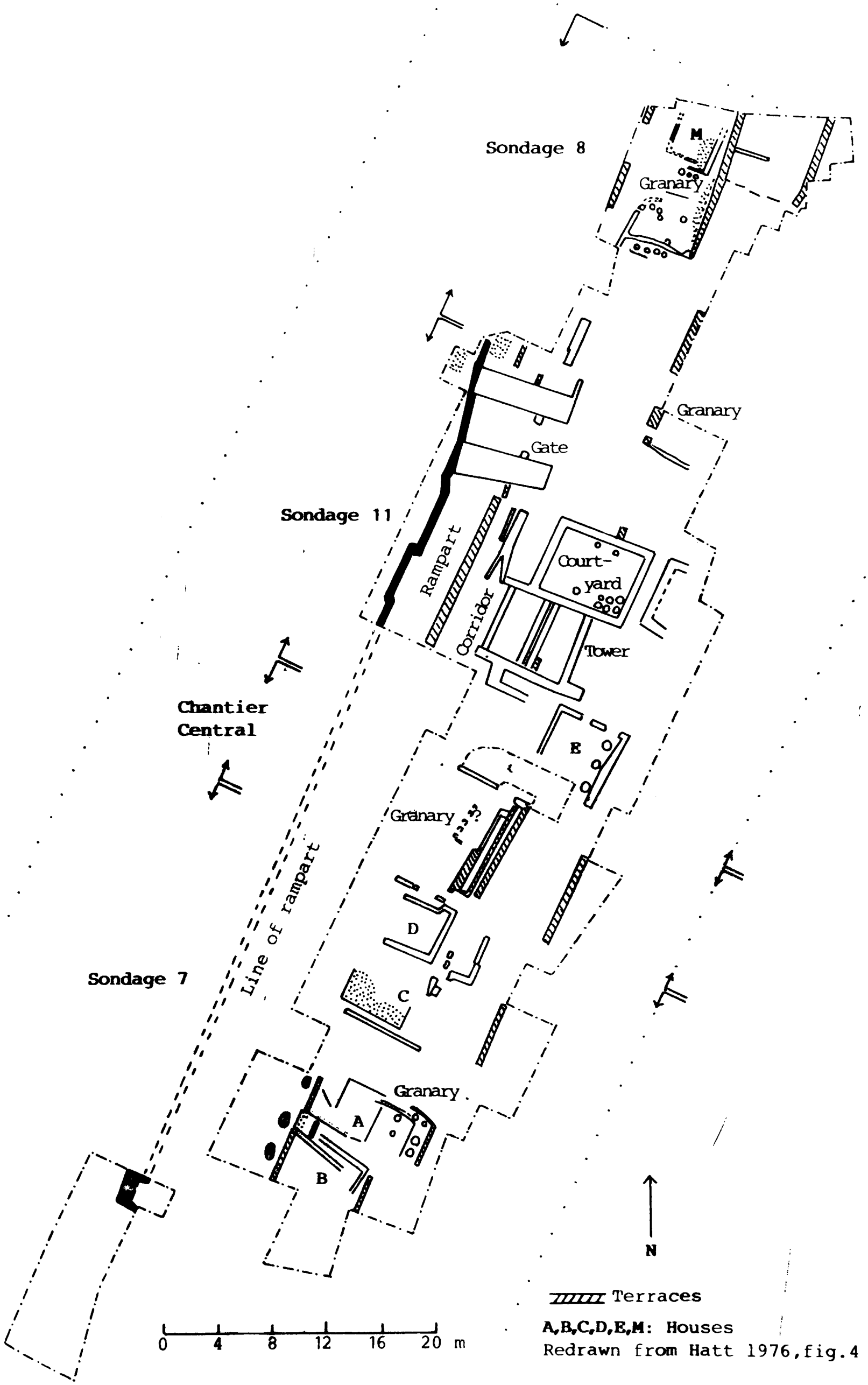


Fig. 62. Hallstatt structures at Le Pègue-Saint-Marcel (26-31).

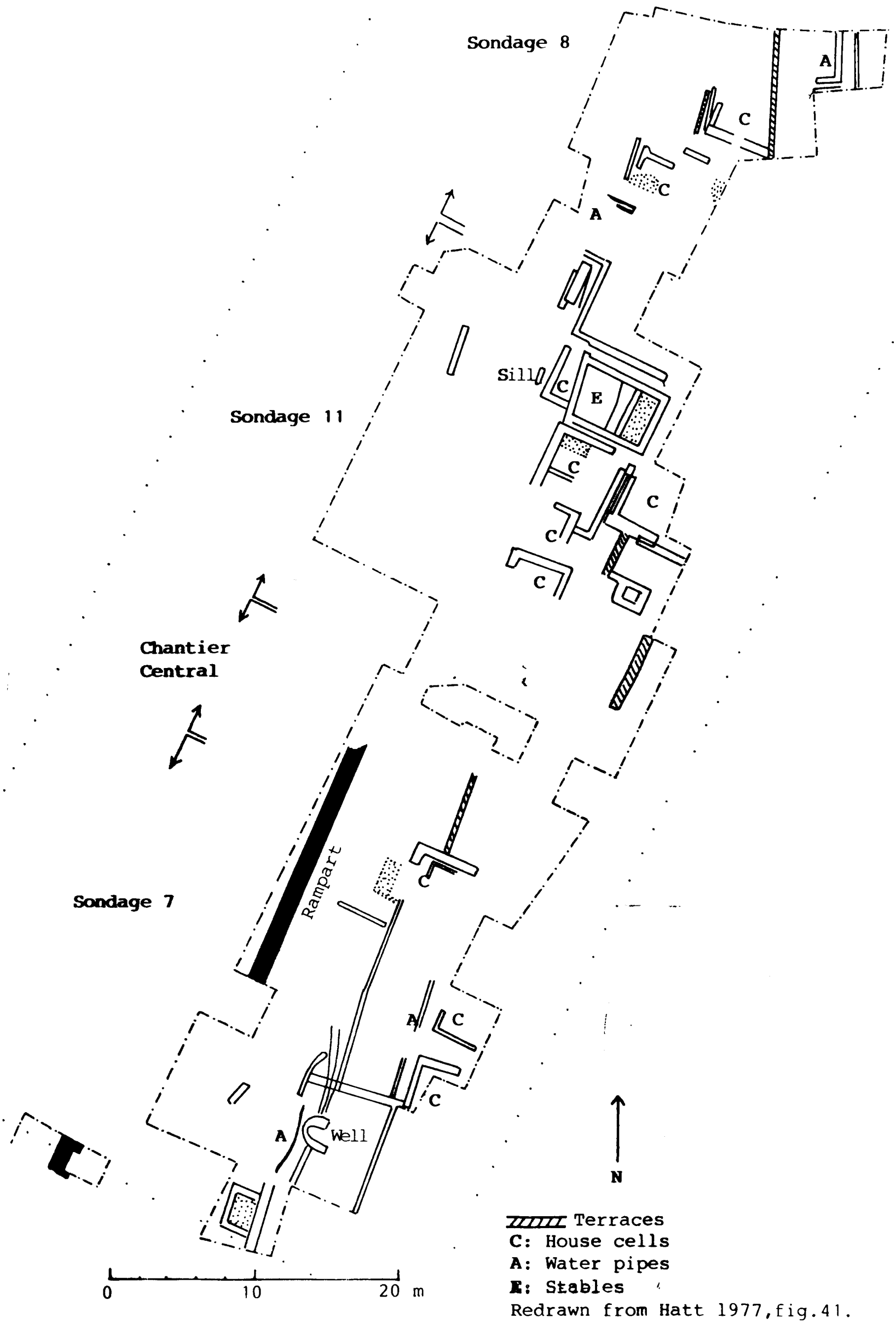


Fig. 63. La Tène structures at Le Pègue-Saint-Marcel (26-31).

this structure as a "Zangentor", and indeed it offers a series of obstacles: an intruder, having passed the gate, would have to turn sharply to the right along a narrow chicane or corridor, only to be faced with a massive tower blocking the way. This tower, one of the strongest structures found at Le Pègue, was converted to a granary in the La Tène phases of occupation of the hillfort.

Houses, often described rather perjoratively as "cabanes", "huttes" or "cases", are, amongst stone using communities generally small square or rectangular structures built of dry stone or wattle and daub resting on dry stone dwarf walls [e.g. Le Pègue - Ecoles (26-30)]. Estimates of size range around 15-25 m^2 [at Chambles-Essalois (42-04)] but some larger buildings [e.g. a 10 m long structure at Lijay (42-08) or a 48 m^2 building with internal timber partitions at Le Pègue - St Marcel (26-31), dated to the 4th-3rd C BC] have come to light. In the South, dry stone huts, such as the 66 examples in a small 1 ha hillfort at St-Andéol-de-Fourchades (07-25) are a common feature, but notoriously difficult to date (c.f. Desaulle 1962, an attempt to date the 'bories' of Haute-Provence). On planned hillforts, i.e. Chambles-Essalois (42-04) and Le Pègue-St Marcel (26-31) these single cell houses are linked to each other on a system of terraces (Le Pègue: figs. 63-3) or along streets with interconnecting courtyards kept clean by drains built of amphorae fragments (Chambles: fig. 56);at the latter site, amphorae débris was so plentiful that it was used extensively as a building material, to drain floor surfaces. In the mountainous areas of the Rhône-Alpes, building on inclined terrain found a solution still used by modern chalets: the house was terraced into the hillside and was given a back revetment wall and front support wall [e.g. at Sassenage (38-58) or St-Alban-Leysse (73-39)]. In the North, but also - more rarely - in the South [at Le Pègue - Ecoles (26-31)] and West [at Lijay (42-08), a burnt granary; at Chambles (42-04), the early

occupation] timber buildings have to be inferred from arrangements of postholes. But our scan of the literature has not revealed a complete house plan in the Rhône-Alpes, unlike the substantial corpus of timber structures now available in northern France (Villes 1981a). In many cases, the sum of evidence for dwellings, particularly on lowland sites is restricted to the occasional mention of "fonds de cabanes" [e.g. St-Just-les-Plantades (07-27)] or floor surfaces of pebbles or clay, or hearths. An urgent plea must be made to publish more plans; even those that have appeared lack in detail.

Pits, shafts and wells survive truncation better and are a common feature of lowland settlements of the North as well as hillforts of the West (Loire). In the South, they occur less frequently, presumably because it is easier to build in elevation than dig a hole through bedrock. Where the terrain is suitable - on the alluvium of Le Pègue-Ecoles (26-30) - pits have been recorded. But, even though pits are not rare, their original functions can be obscure: often these features are referred to as "dépotoirs" or "fosses a détritus" (rubbish pits, middens) which describes their ultimate use rather than their first destinations. Granted, some must have been dug to collect refuse, such as the "amphorae cemeteries" of Roanne (42-18) or the pits full of metalworkers débris of St Marcel-de-Felines(42-30). Others could have served as storage pits, especially outside the areas where purpose-built granaries occur (see below): unfortunately all the references to grain we have been able to collect come from granary sites of the South and West. Other pits again could have served as structures for processing food: pit 21 of the Institution St-Joseph at Roanne (42-18) contained only animal shoulder blades; perhaps these were ready to be smoked or pickled, or were a failed batch. Pits containing a unique and deliberate deposit such as single complete pottery vessels in pits 11 and 13 of Roanne-St-Joseph or the bronze cauldron, bronze and wood

figurines in wells and shafts of the Crêt-Châtelard (42-30) and Joeuvre (42-31) are best explained as votive offerings. Human remains too found their way into pits of lowland settlement sites [Le Pègue-Ecoles (26-30); see also below]. Many more suggestions, such as sand quarries or cess pits, could be put forward: but the recording and analytical techniques necessary to ascertain the primary use still appear to be in their infancy (but see Büchsenschütz 1981).

Granaries, grain and evidence of grain processing other than querns and rubbers have come to light on 5 sites of the South and West. A winnowing basket and other organic material was recovered from the hillfort of the Crêt-Châtelard (42-30). The other 4 sites [St-Marcel-St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28), Le Pègue (26-31), Lijay (42-08) and Joeuvre (42-31)] possess examples of purpose built granaries. All 4 granaries burnt down; admittedly the Joeuvre granary was not built until Augustean times and burnt in the 4th/5th C AD. Our objections to interpreting burnt granaries in terms of celtic invasions have been voiced often enough elsewhere (see p. 67-8). We have suggested, after Buckland (1979) that other reasons - infestation by grain pests being one model - could have been the cause of deliberate burning. A second factor worth emphasising is that granaries (and grain) only survive in archaeological depostis, if they burn down. A case in point are the "light clay" chaff-tempered grain storage jars of Le Pègue and St-Etienne-de-Dions, which survived only because they were baked in situ during the fires. The excavators of Le Pègue note that outside the areas affected by the fire these very large dolia are, on decomposition, reduced to a smudge of clay. It is therefore possible that similar containers existed on other settlements, but, if not burnt, could easily have been missed. The

buildings in which grain was stored range from a posthole and beam-slot structure containing charred wheat at Lijat (42-08), to dry stone buildings with benches of solid clay into which the light clay jars full of wheat, rye and acorns were inserted [at Le Pègue (26-31) in late Hallstatt phases] to the conversion of a tower into a granary [at Le Pègue in La Tène phases]. The granaries of Le Pègue, which in late Hallstatt times are located inside the best protected part of the defensive circuit and near the entrance, and which in La Tène times are re-housed in the hillfort's strongest room (the tower and its courtyard), were jealously guarded. The emphasis on security, but also on ease of access near the hillfort's main gate together with the observation that urns, including miniature urns (to measure grain?) tend to be of standard sizes at Le Pègue (Lagrand and Thalmann 1973: 68) suggest that the hillfort acted not only as a local redistribution centre but perhaps also as an entrepôt with grain ready to be sold to Marseille.

So far, no granaries have been noticed in reports of lowland settlement sites. On the present evidence it must be proposed that hillforts played a special role in protecting grain.

Artisanat

The settlements of the Rhône-Alpes contain scraps of information on the range of goods that were manufactured both on hillforts and lowland sites. The largest body of evidence concerns metalworking, but this is complemented by a few other activities: a bone and antler handle manufacture existed at Soyons (07-35), pottery kilns are recorded at Le Pègue (26-31, in early La Tène levels), pottery painting is proposed to explain the fragments of ochre found in pits of the Crêt-Châtelard (42-30), glass slag is present at Roanne-St-Joseph (42-18) and a collection of tools at Chambles-Essalois (42-24) is interpreted as evidence for textile, leather and wood working.

Iron working forms the largest group of data. Extraction of

surface iron ore is proposed at or near the hillforts of Roussas (26-33), Larina (38-01), the Salève (74-34, 74-35, 74-41) and on the lowland site of Charentay (69-06). Smelting then took place on those sites as well as at Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14). Forging and manufacture of tools, instruments or weapons is further documented at La Roche-St-Secret (26-34), probably Vienne-Ste Blaudine (38-80), Chambles-Essalois (42-04), Lijay (42-08), Poncins-Goincet (42-16), Roanne - St-Joseph (42-28) and the Crêt-Châtelard (42-30: the remains of a fibulae workshop). Notice that apart from some extraction sites and the two inland hillforts of Lijay and La Roche-St-Secret, the distribution of iron working sites is a riverine distribution, strung along the main axes of the Rhône, Saône and Loire. Hillforts, especially the late La Tène forts of the Loire and Vienne are more often the seat of metalworker's quarters than lowland sites. A few of the latter - Les Granges-Gontardes, Charentay, Poncins, Roanne - do however redress the balance.

Bronze working is slightly less well represented in the record, but bronze waste or copper slag are reported from Loire valley lowland settlements [Poncins (42-16) and Roanne (42-18)] and hillforts [Chambles-Essalois (42-04), Lijay (42-08)] as well at Vienne-Ste-Blandine (38-80). The lowland settlement of Chessy-les-Mines (69-08) in the valley of the Azergues may be connected to the exploitation of nearby copper mines.

In summary, the activities of artisans are fairly obscure during late Hallstatt and early La Tène times, but by Late La Tène our information increases quite sharply. By then hillforts tend to have (resident?) metalworkers but a few "comptoirs" (Les Granges-Gontardes) or market centres (Roanne) provide the same facilities.

Religious buildings and other indications of ritual behaviour on settlement sites are not very plentiful, but a few trends can be pieced together from a miscellany of diverse elements. First, some hillforts possessed sanctuaries, either because they served as central places and/or because a cult linked with hills and hilltops - a "culte de sommet" according to Fiches and Py (1978: 182 noting the common association of votive deposits with fortifications at Nages, Ambrussum, Nîmes, Roque de Viou) - was at the origin of the hillfort. The best data comes from Le Pègue-St Marcel (26-31): there, some 24 stelae, some with anthropomorphic design, came to light when in 1977, the monumental gate of the hillfort was dismantled (Lagrand 1981). As the construction of the gate is now thought to date to the early 4th C BC, the stelae must belong to a sanctuary that previously stood on the hill, perhaps in the 6th or 5th C BC. The sanctuary of Le Pègue shares some characteristics with the early examples of Glanum at St-Remy-de-Provence and St-Blaise in the Bouches-du-Rhône. Lagrand (1981: 129-31) sees "une certaine identité cultuelle" between these sites and suggests, on rather slight evidence, that a horseman-god was worshipped at these sanctuaries. Elsewhere in the Rhône-Alpes, the presence of hilltop or hillfort sanctuaries can be inferred from rather later evidence. Thus a gallo-roman altar to the goddess Soio at Soyons-Malpas (07-35) could betray an earlier indigenous cult place, as could the votive objects found in wells and shafts of St-Marcel-de-Félines-Crêt Châtelard (42-30: an oak statuette of a sitting god in shaft 4) and St-Maurice-s.-Loire-Joeuvre (42-31 : bronze figurines of a horse and a boar). Further, earlier levels encountered on gallo-roman temple sites [e.g. hearths and a possible hoard at Andance-Châtelet (07-02) may have been of a ritual nature. Finallly the (celtiberian?) clay trumpets of the Mont Ventoux in the Vaucluse, just to the South of the Rhône-Alpes (Jully 1961) may be a further pointer to this 'culte de sommet'.

Secondly, some objects found in settlement assemblages could be taken as evidence for domestic cults. Thus rams' head clay firedogs are said (at Nages: Py 1978) to represent domestic altars. A number of lowland settlements of the Rhône-Alpes have indeed produced rams' head firedogs: Le Pègue (26-30), Vienne (38-79) or Poncins-Goincet (42-16).

Thirdly and finally some burials, i.e. inhumations [a child under a house floor at Orpierre-Ste-Colombe, Hautes-Alpes, a woman in a grave on the settlement of Sassenage (38-58)],cremations [in a massaliote amphora at Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14), or in Dressel IB amphorae at Joeuvre (42-31)] and remains of human bodies [in pits at Le Pègue-Ecoles (26-30) and scattered near hearths at Le Pègue-St Marcel (26-31)] are being recognised. Courtois (1975: 24) notes that burials on settlements are a fairly common feature of the Languedoc. Elsewhere in celtic Europe human remains are being increasingly documented on settlement sites (see Chapter 9, sections 13, 14 and conclusions).

Conclusions

The data presented in this chapter achieves little more than point to what can be expected in a part of France straddling many cultural and geographical boundaries. There are differences between stone-using communities and areas where timber and earth defences are present, differences in the terrain which create regional families of hillforts, differences between the South open to greek influences and the barbarian North, and differences in date: the Loire valley promontory forts, with their Muri Gallici, streets, houses, and workshops are good examples of pan-european celtic culture in the Late La Tène, while the hillforts of the Drôme foothills reach their peak in the 6th-5th C BC on the fringes

of Marseille's hinterland. Further differences are due to the various functions settlements fulfilled, but here interpretations are often based on scant evidence. Some lowland riverine settlements were devoted to trade and service industries (Vienne, Roanne), some hillforts acted as redistribution centres (Le Pègue-St Marcel) or as the seat of metalworking activities (Vienne and some Loire valley sites in the late La Tène period.). Finally a large number of rural sites in the lowlands were first settled in the late 2nd and early 1st C BC, i.e. at the time when the Provincia Transalpina came into being, or just slightly before.

Settlement remains in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes are not very plentiful and often not well presented. Good plans, especially plans showing internal organisation or details of individual structures are rare. But there is just enough data to show how much more could be achieved. In particular, 6 zones can be identified around a major hillfort (see fig. 64), where detailed work on settlements and their surrounding landscape should prove rewarding: these areas will be the subject of our next chapter (7).

Chapter 7

The area studies

- Introduction
- Area no. 1: The Île de Crémieu
- Area no. 2: The Drac valley south of Grenoble
- Area no. 3: The region of Le Pègue
- Area no. 4: The confluent of the Ardèche with the Rhône
- Area no. 5: The region of Soyons
- Area no. 6: The region of Vienne
- Conclusions

Introduction

Chapter 6 ended with a slight note of despondency in the face of so much data of indifferent or low quality. Neither could we avoid the customary harangue calling for bigger and better excavations and publications. But it would be doing an injustice not to bring out more strongly the brighter areas, i.e. the areas where the evidence is of better quality,where stratigraphy exists, where features and layers are preserved well enough,where the assemblages are fairly well dated and where a high number of contemporary sites occur within a short distance of each other. By studying such areas, we hope to grasp better the processes of change that took place in the Rhône-Alpes in the last 500 years BC, to determine the relationship between sites of different functions and to explore how a number of communities exploited their local circumstances. In order to achieve this, analyses on the 'semi-micro' level (Clarke 1977: 11 ff.) should be carried out: however, we lack the quantitative data. Instead, the next best approach - a diachronic one - was taken. An attempt to compare the various communities with each other (Clarke's 'macro' level) is offered in conclusion.

By scanning the mass of disparate data in Appendix 1, it has been possible to isolate half a dozen areas, centred around a major multi-period hillfort, where other contemporary sites within a radius of c. 10 km complement the sequence projected by the 'oppidum'. The choice of these zones was decided by the evidence itself, rather than by any research desiderata. It turns out that all except one are in the Rhône valley. Our areas of special interest (first east of the Rhône, then west: see fig.64) are:

1) The Ile de Crémieu in northern Isère, to the south of the Rhône, upstream from Lyon. The study concentrates on the multiperiod promontory fort of the Camp de Larina (38-01). Particular attention

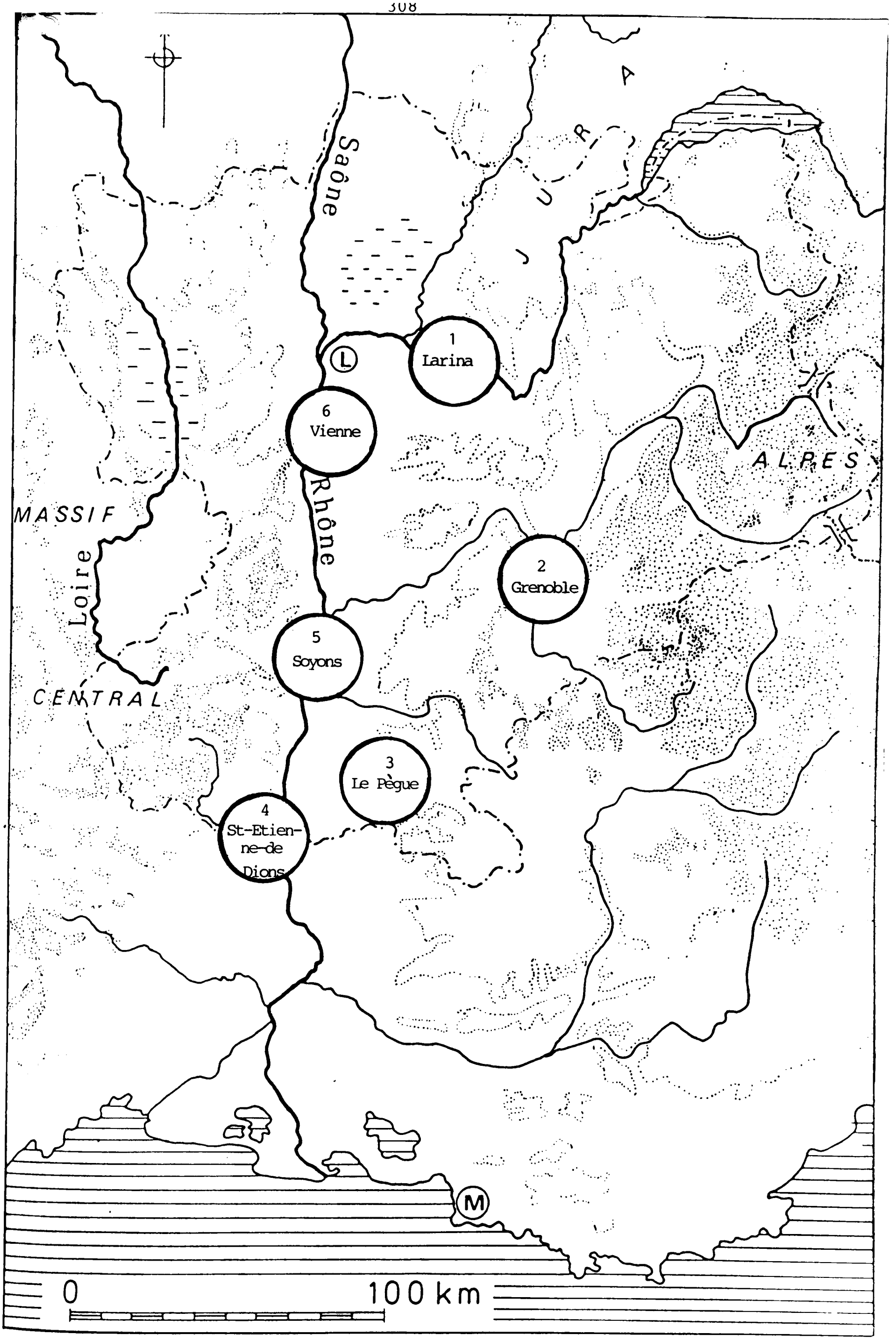


Fig. 64: Location of area studies

will be paid to an Urnfield subsrtatum within the material remains of this community and to trade links with the Mediterranean.

2) The region of Grenoble, at the confluent between the Drac and the Isère: our only alpine area centres around the 'oppidum' of Varces-Rochefort (38-68) and the settled cave of the Grotte des Sarrasins (38-63). Urnfield traditions in pottery styles, as well as the relationship between settlements and burials of the group of Rochefort, will be taken into account.

3) The region of Le Pègue, at the junction between the Rhône plain and Prealps. This famous multiperiod hillfort (26-31) and its associated lowland settlement (26-30) and futher settlements in their vicinity will be used to highlight problems of settlement shift and hierarchy.

4) The confluent of the Ardèche with the Rhône possesses a number of sites with mediterranean goods, both imported and of provençal origin, around the small multiperiod oppidum of St-Etienne-de-Dions at St-Marcel-d'Ardèche (07-28). The opportunity is taken to examine trade and exchange in an area on the fringe of the hellenised South.

5) The region of Soyons on the west bank of the middle Rhône: although this multiperiod hillfort has only one contemporary site in its neighbourhood, the material found at Soyons (pl. 1 and 2a) is so rich that it seemed worth exploring the possibilities of dating indigenous material associated to imported artefacts.

6) The region of Vienne,at the junction between the Rhône and Loire trade routes: the twin settlements of Ancien Hôpital (38-79) and Ste-Blandine (38-80) show that a riverside market preceded the 'oppidum', as at Levroux or Basel.

An important consideration in the choice of our areas was the presence of long sequences of occupation and datable imports or metalwork. If sites were to be compared to each other, the grounds for thinking them contemporary had to be fairly good. A second factor contributed to the

choice of areas: if the indigenous pottery found in association with imported material could be typified, then it should ultimately be possible to date other sites not reached by 'exotic'or'semi-exotic'goods.

In each case study an effort was made to be consistent. The sections generally start with a description of the landscape, a short presentation of what was found in it, and a chart showing which sites are contemporary with each other. A location map and selection of finds (figs. 65-78) accompany the text.

Area no 1: the Ile de Crémieu (Isère)(figs.65-67)

This region is a well defined peninsula, occupying a triangle to the South of the Rhône, as the river emerges from its alpine passage, changing its course sharply to the North before turning southwards again towards Lyon.The dominant feature of the Ile de Crémieu is the jurassic limestone Plateau de Larina,c. 400 m abve sea level, whose cliffs plunge to the marshbound Rhône plain, 200 m below (see frontispiece and pl. 3a).

This small area of northern Isère shows a concentration of Iron Age sites (fig.65) around the hillfort of the Camp de Larina (38-01). The hillfort (fig.59) possesses a long, if rather ill defined sequence of occupation, and its cliffs are riddled with caves that filled with refuse (38-22). The second, lower plateau, to the east and south of Larina, has produced a series of burial sites (38-12, 38-34,38-44) and a hoard of greek arrowheads (38-64). The marshy lowlands are the location of further burial sites (38-13, 38-23, 38-25). Thus, within 12 km of the Plateau de Larina we have at our disposal a large hillfort, 5 caves, 5 burial sites, a hoard of metalwork and some isolated finds. Yet, the documentation is limited: many discoveries date back to the 19th C and the Plateau de Larina is at present being quarried.

Disturbances by quarries and ploughing, or not wholly reliable accounts of past discoveries (e.g. Leyrieu (38-23) in 1864) are negative

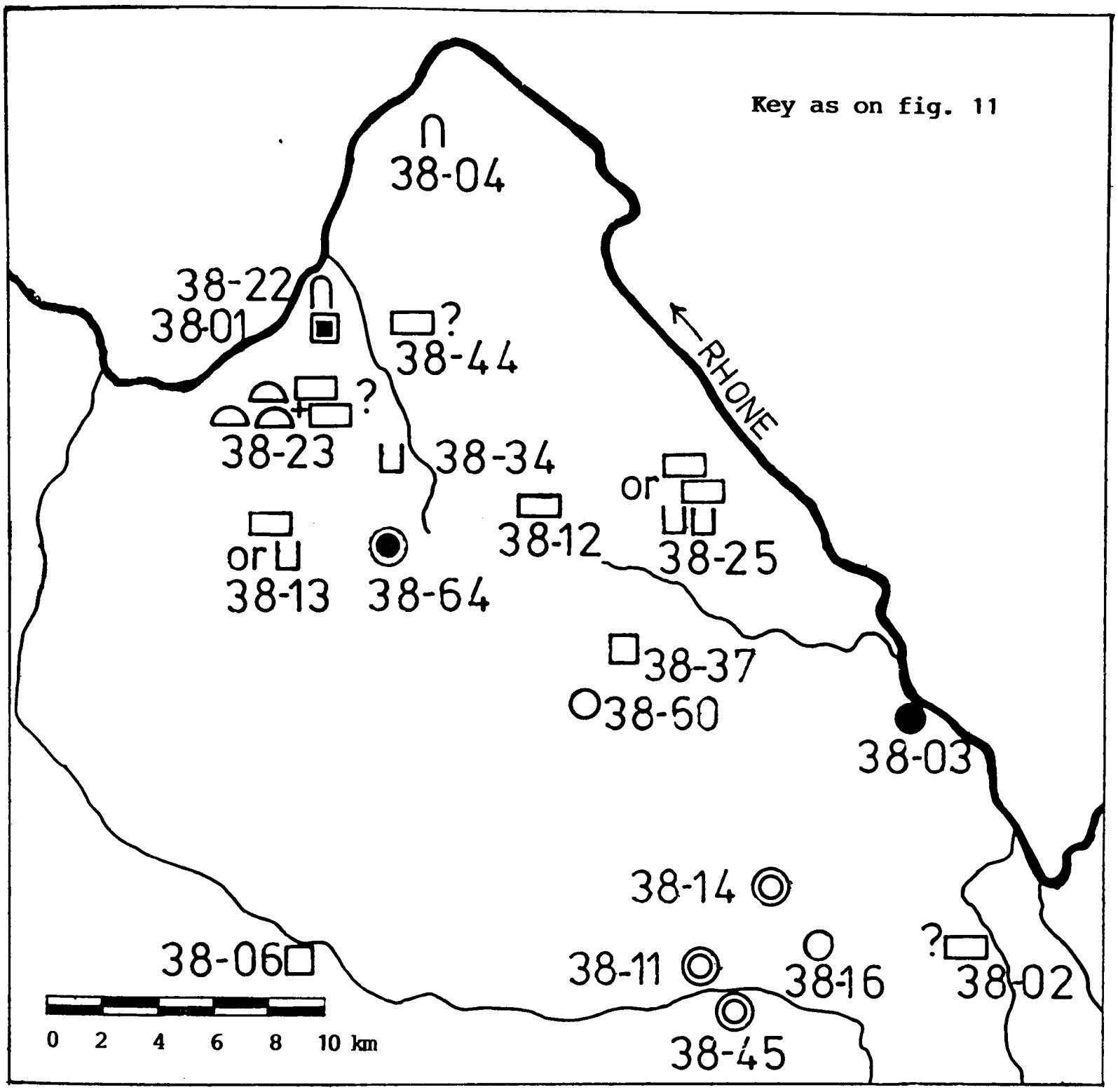
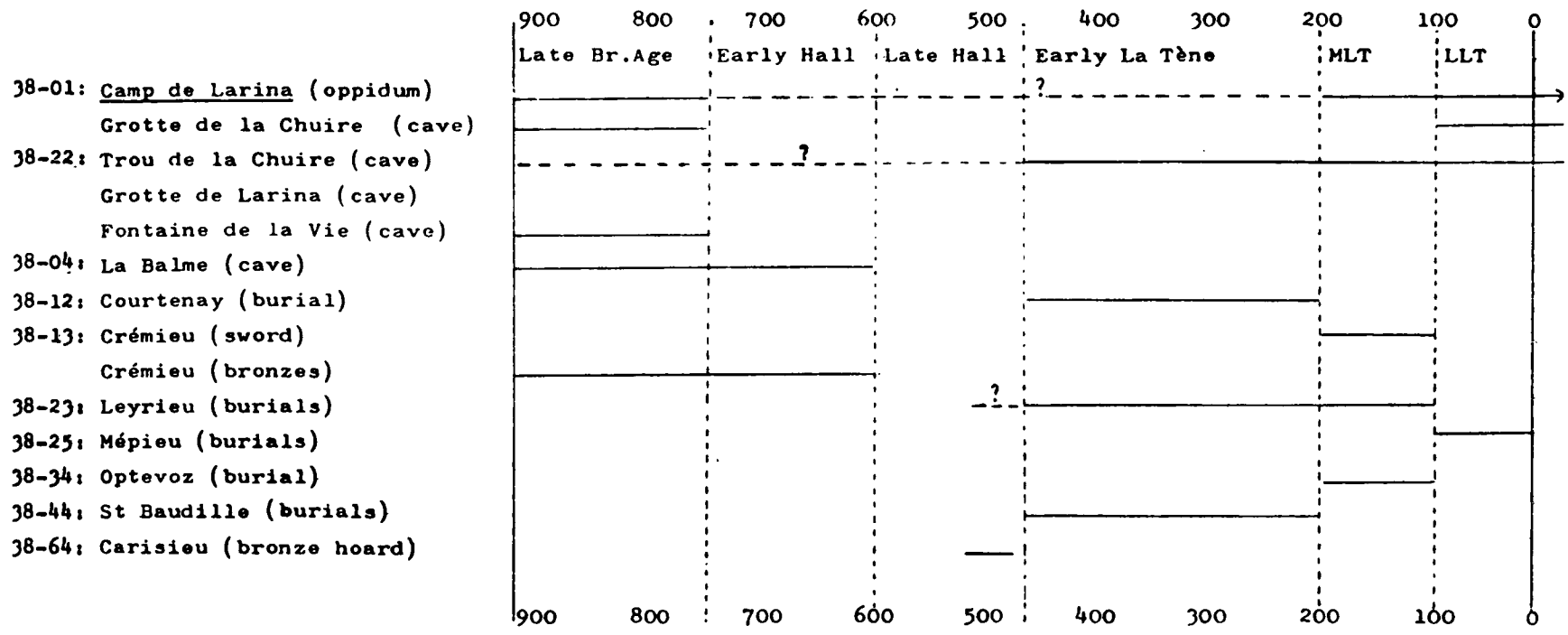


Fig. 65: Sites of the Ile de Crémieu.

aspects of the Ile de Crémieu. On the positive side, large scale excavations (mainly of the merovingian settlement) and salvage operations have been carried out at the Camp de Larina since the 1960s. The hillfort is to become, or has become, a national project which includes surveys, excavation, protection and presentation (Combier 1977:633-4). It is therefore not only the density of protohistoric material that suggested the Ile de Crémieu as a study area, but also the possibility to see new and better recorded data emerge in the future.

Occupation sequence: the 24 ha hillfort of Larina displays a long sequence of occupation up to medieval times, against which the episodes of nearby sites can be measured. It is presented in diagrammatic form.



This table demonstrates how few deposits are contemporary with the hillfort of Larina in any particular period. No other settlement has yet come to light and the dozen burials of the La Tène period are hardly representative of a population. Nevertheless, the story of the Ile de Crémieu can be read from these disparate elements.

A strong Urnfield presence exists in the Ile de Crémieu in the form of fine bronze metalwork and settlement occupation on the Camp de Larina and nearby caves. This Urnfield tradition may survive well into the Iron Age ["l'Isère conserve un patrimoine Champs d'Urnes prépondérant": Bocquet 1969: 180]. But new elements of an early Hallstatt horsemen-horizon - barrows in the region of Crémieu, a long sword, a knife - make an appearance. By the end of the Hallstatt period, around 500 BC, the first elements of long distance trade with the mediterranean world emerge, in the form of a hoard of greek three winged arrowheads at Carizieu(38-64). The diffusion of these javelin points, originating in Olympia has been discussed in Chapter 5(part 3, section 3). Perhaps also in the late Hallstatt period or beginning of La Tène a very wealthy individual was buried at Leyrieu (38-23) accompanied by weapons, armour, personal objects, bronze and pottery vessels and a wagon or cart. Unfortunately the accounts of this inhumation in a stone built grave under barrow, discovered by chance in 1864, are very confusing: our interpretation of this burial as a "Fürstengrab", or its nearest equivalent in the Rhône-Alpes, to which later warrior burials of the Middle La Tène period were added, is exposed in Chapter 9 (section 8). The early La Tène period is not well documented in the Ile de Crémieu, apart from two burials [Courtenay (38-12) and St-Baudille-de-la-Tour (38-44) containing pairs of identical bracelets. By the end of Early La Tène and beginning of Middle La Tène, the Camp de Larina enters again into an active phase, in contact with southern France. Its rubbish, deposited in the Trou de la Chuire (38-22) includes wine

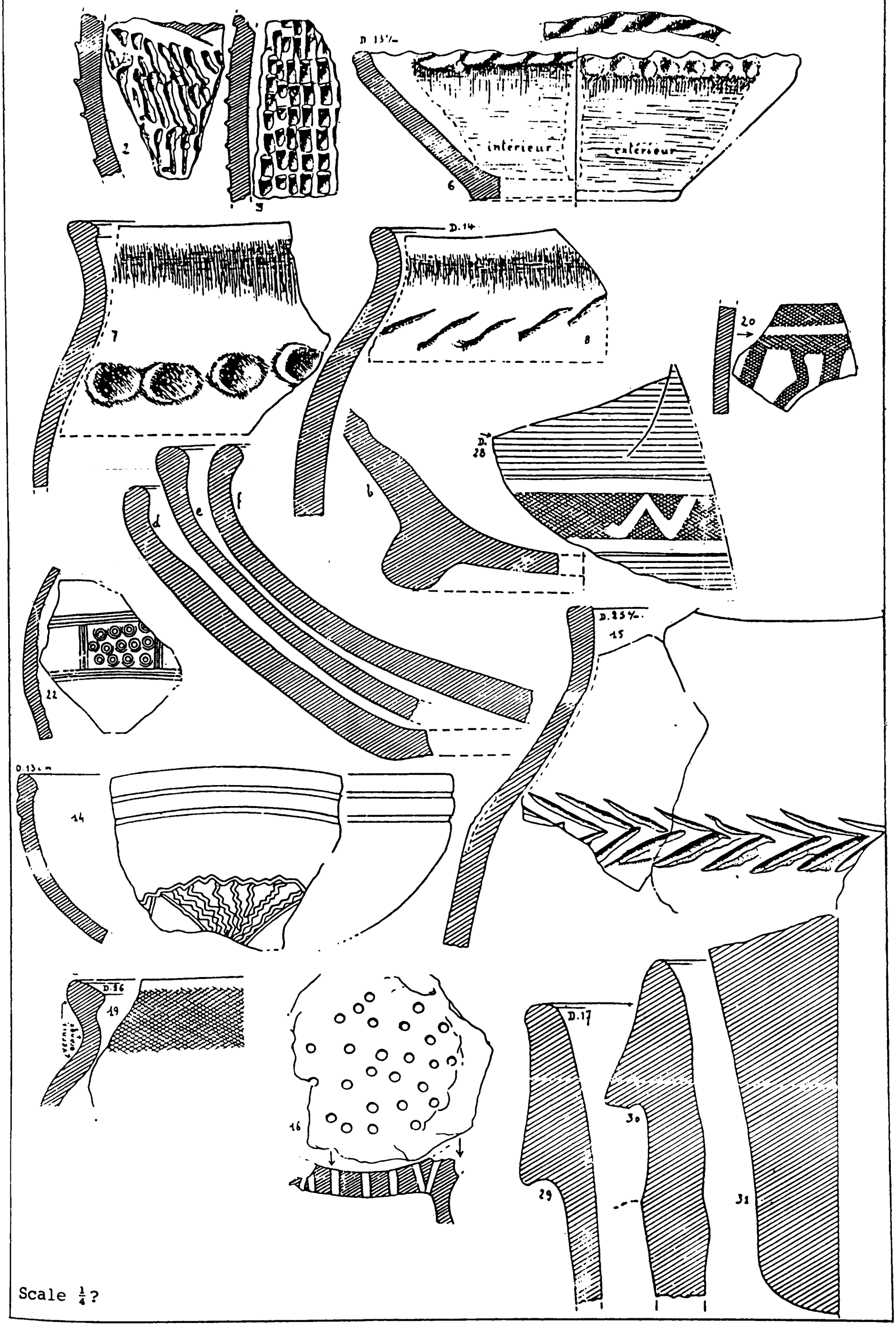


Fig. 66: Pottery from Hières-sur Amby (38-22)

(a selection from Chauffin 1960: pl. II-VI)

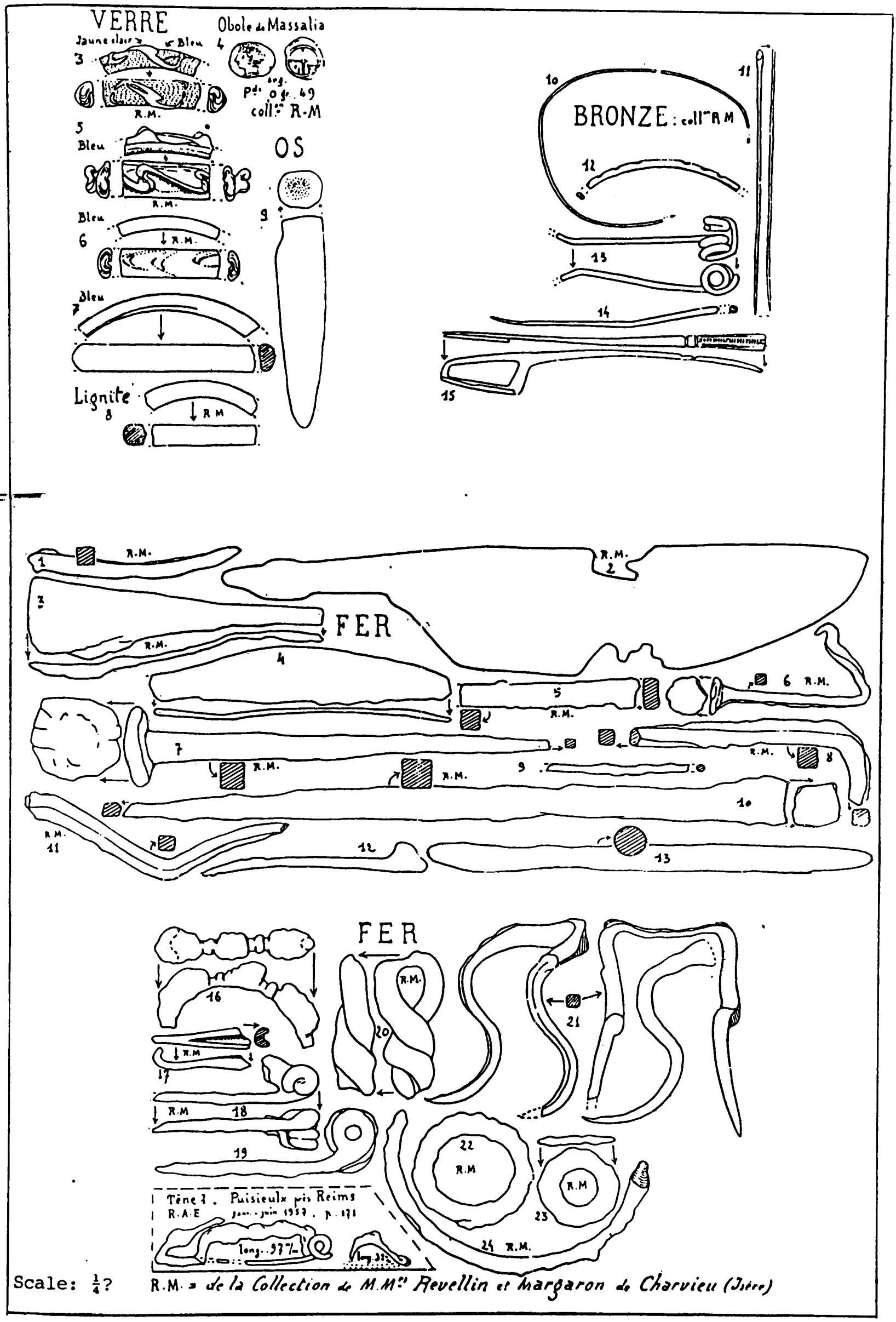


Fig. 67: Other artefacts from Hières-sur-Amby (38-22)

(from Chauffin 1960: pl. V-VI)

amphorae of the region of Massalia, late derivations of pseudo-ionian wares and perhaps also grey "phocean" ware, and, at a later date, campanian pottery. It has been suggested (in Chapter 5, part 3, section 11) that in the crucial 4th-2nd C BC period a rhodanian community in close contact with Marseille stretched as far North as Vienne and Larina. A reason for the arrival of southern imports at Larina in these centuries is put forward by Bocquet (1969: 178): iron ores are said to be easily accessible in the region of Crémieu and were extracted probably from Middle La Tène onwards. Meanwhile, the region is marked by a middle La Tène celtic warrior horizon, in the form of burials with bent swords (at Crémieu (38-13), Leyrieu (38-23), Optevoz (38-34). This celtic horizon will continue into the late La Tène period [warrior burial at Mépieu (38-25)] as does the hillfort of Larina, its prosperity documented by finds such as Nauheim fibulae, glass bracelets or republican amphorae (see fig. 66-7).

The weakness of the Ile de Crémieu is that hardly any structures of the protohistoric period have come to light. On the other hand, it is a region extremely rich in different cultural traits, displayed by the range of burial rituals that took place in the late Bronze Age and Iron Age: Urnfield cremation burials, cave burials, early Hallstatt barrows, a late Hallstatt inhumation burial in a stone lined grave under a barrow, flat graves of the Early La Tène, inhumations and cremation with bent or broken weapons in Middle and Late La Tène.

If and when new excavations bring evidence of structures and stratified material to light, it will be possible to discuss more accurately the role of Larina within the trade network of mediterranean luxury goods and their imitations.

Area no. 2: The Drac valley south of Grenoble (fig. 68-70)

The propesperity of Grenoble as an industrial, academic and tourist centre from the late 19th C, brought about a spate of excavations by Hippolyte

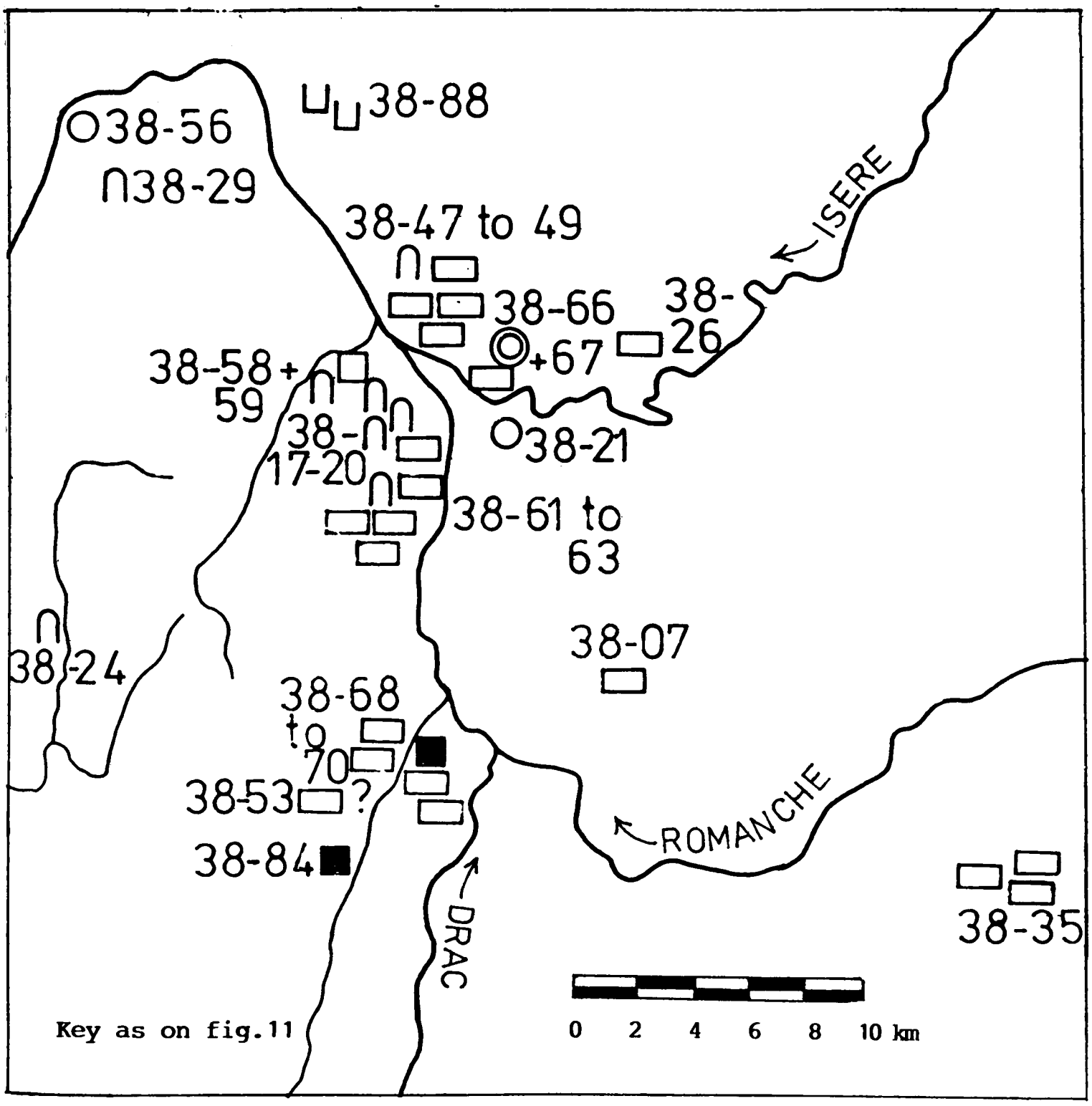


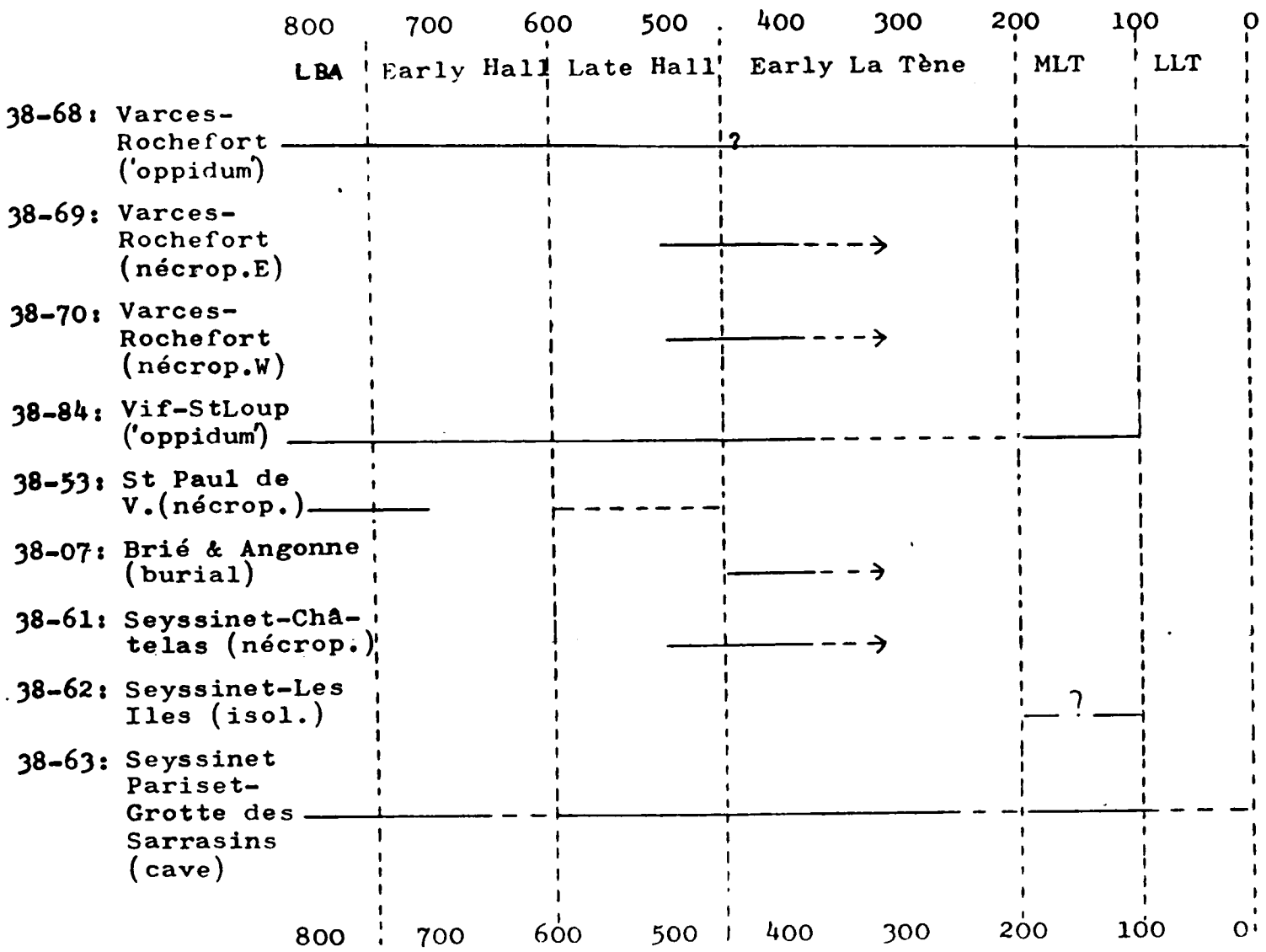
Fig. 68. Sites in the region of Grenoble.

Müller at the turn of this century. This tradition of fieldwork is again alive today, thanks mainly to the work of Dr. Aimé Bocquet and the Centre de Documentation de la Préhistoire Alpine. Good foundations for further research exist in the form of an inventory of the pre- and protohistory of the Isère (Bocquet 1969) and a catalogue of the Musée Dauphinois (Bocquet 1969-70). Thus the region of Grenoble has great potential for detailed scrutiny. But the terrain, if spectacular, does not help the survival of archaeological deposits: sheer cliff faces, rocky outcrops with hardly any soil cover, deep alluvial valleys, disturbed caves, and destrution by quarries and hydro-electric plants are common features of the archaeology of the area.

Further there are problems with the dating of Iron Age sites: beside the abundant late Bronze Age material, there are indications that post-Bronze Age activity , denoted by the presence of pottery in the Urnfield tradition ,took place on settlement or cave sites. But since few sites are stratified this is difficult to document. Therefore, when a deeply stratified cave site, the Grotte des Sarrasins at Seyssinet-Pariset (30-63), revealed occupation horizons from the Neolithic period to the later La Tène, the chance to test the survival of an alpine Bronze Age tradition was taken (see Appendix 2).

But the Grotte des Sarrasins is not an isolated example of a Bronze and Iron Age settlement (as it most certainly is) perched on the edge of the valley of the Drac. The Drac valley between its confluent with the Romanche and its confluent with the Isère at Grenoble contains (fig. 68), within a radius of 9 km, 2 hilltop settlements [Vif-St-Loup (38-84) and Varces-Rochefort (38-68), the latter with two associated cemeteries (38-69 - 70)]- evidence for the re-use of Bronze Age collective burials at St-Paul-de-Varces (38-53), an inhumation cemetery close to the Grotte des Sarrasins at Sessinet-Pariset-Châtelas (38-62) and

a few bracelets, probably from further burials (38-07, 38-62). The dating of these sites is given in the diagram below.



The three settlements, i.e. the two hilltop sites and the cave of the Sarrasins, appear to have been occupied throughout the late Bronze Age and Iron Ages. But dating is uncertain, as no stratigraphy survives, except at Les Sarrasins. Some finds do however point to a post-Bronze Age occupation: traditional Urnfield pottery develops 'devolved' forms (fig. 70) and continues until the appearance of middle La Tène wheel-turned wares, 'Marnian-type' vessels are reported from Varces-Rochefort (38-68), bracelets and other trinkets comparable to those of the graves of the group of Rochefort (see below) occur on settlements. It is possible that these settlements turned to a more pastoral economy after the climatic deterioriation of the early Iron Age, as indicated by the disappearance of cereal pollen at the Grotte des Sarrasins or

the presence of cheese presses at Vif-St-Loup (38-84).

If the mention of a Bronze Age survival has given the impression of a cultural backwater enclosed in a deep alpine valley, this was not intended. The valley of the Drac is, during a transition period spanning from Late Hallstatt to Early La Tène, a busy place. A group of burials accompanied by bronze bracelets of a particular design (fig. 69) becomes established around Varces-Rochefort. This, the group of Rochefort (Bocquet 1966b) is further characterised by lignite bracelets; the fashion and the technology may have originated in the Jura - Franche Comté, but the raw material was almost certainly extracted locally (see p. 132). The burials of the group of Rochefort are part of a broader alpine tradition of inhumations in stone built graves (see Chapter 9). Each group has its idiosyncrasies but strong links exist between groups (see fig.92). The alpine burial tradition, as a whole,a phenomenon that grew in the late Hallstatt period, is remarkable for its characteristic dress (multiple bracelets, amber beads,'crotales' pendants, etc.) remaining practically unchanged until the middle La Tène period, when certain new 'celtic elements (fibulae, girdle chains) appear in the Alps and in the Dauphiné(warrior burials). The wealth of bronze metalwork displayed in the burials of the Alps is seen (by Bocquet 1966b, 1969) as a manifestation of status of alpine communities that have grown rich on the exploitation of mineral resources and on transalpine trade. Such a trade may have followed the 'Voie du Col du Lautaret' (Bocquet 1966b), at whose point of departure the group of Rochefort and our area of study is located.. A handful of finds in this region give some support to this hypothesis: sherds of 'phocean' grey ware, of wine amphorae of Massalia and silver obols of Massalia have turned up at Vif(38-84), Varces (38-68), the Grotte des Sarrasins (38-63) and elsewhere in the area of Grenoble.

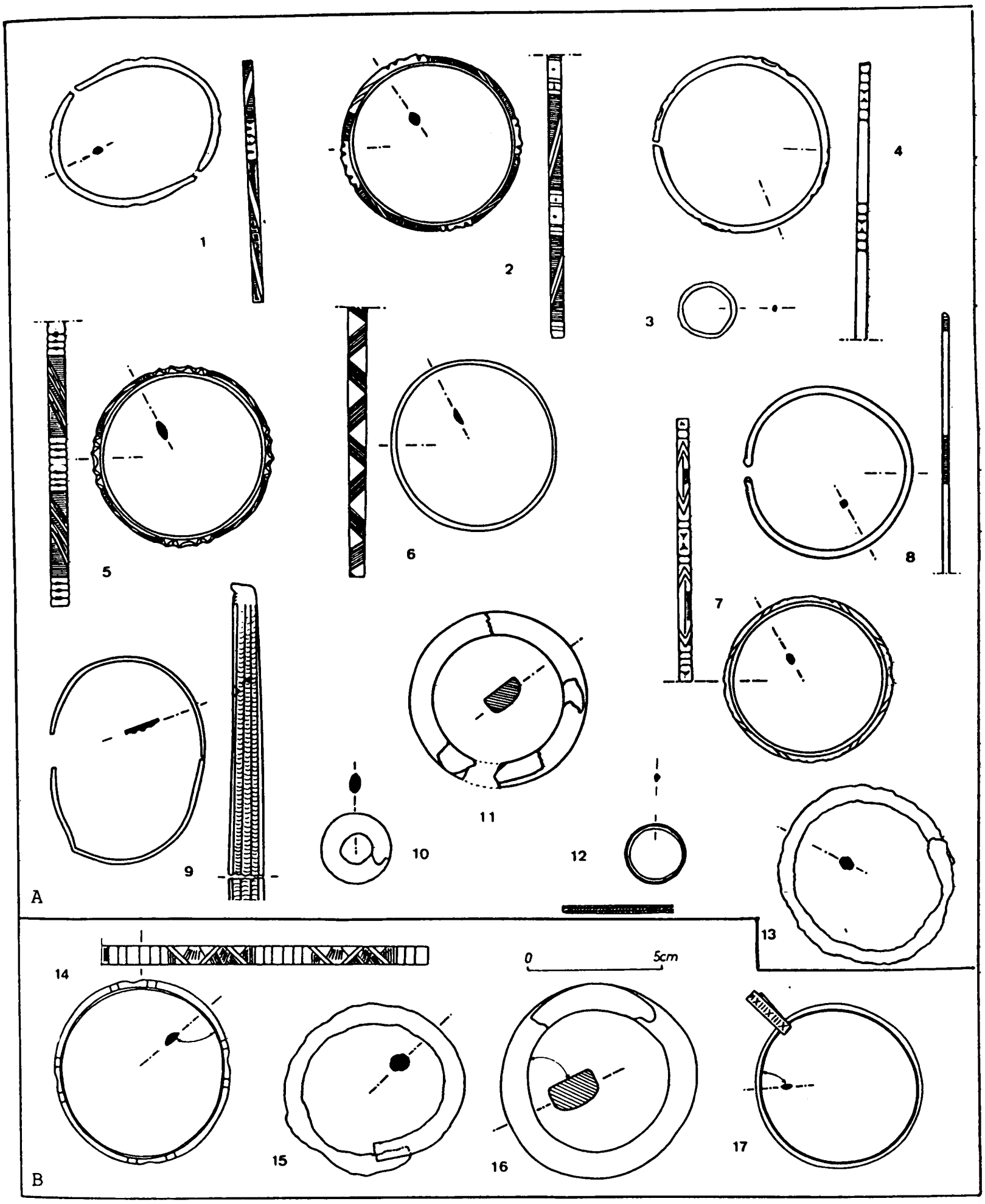
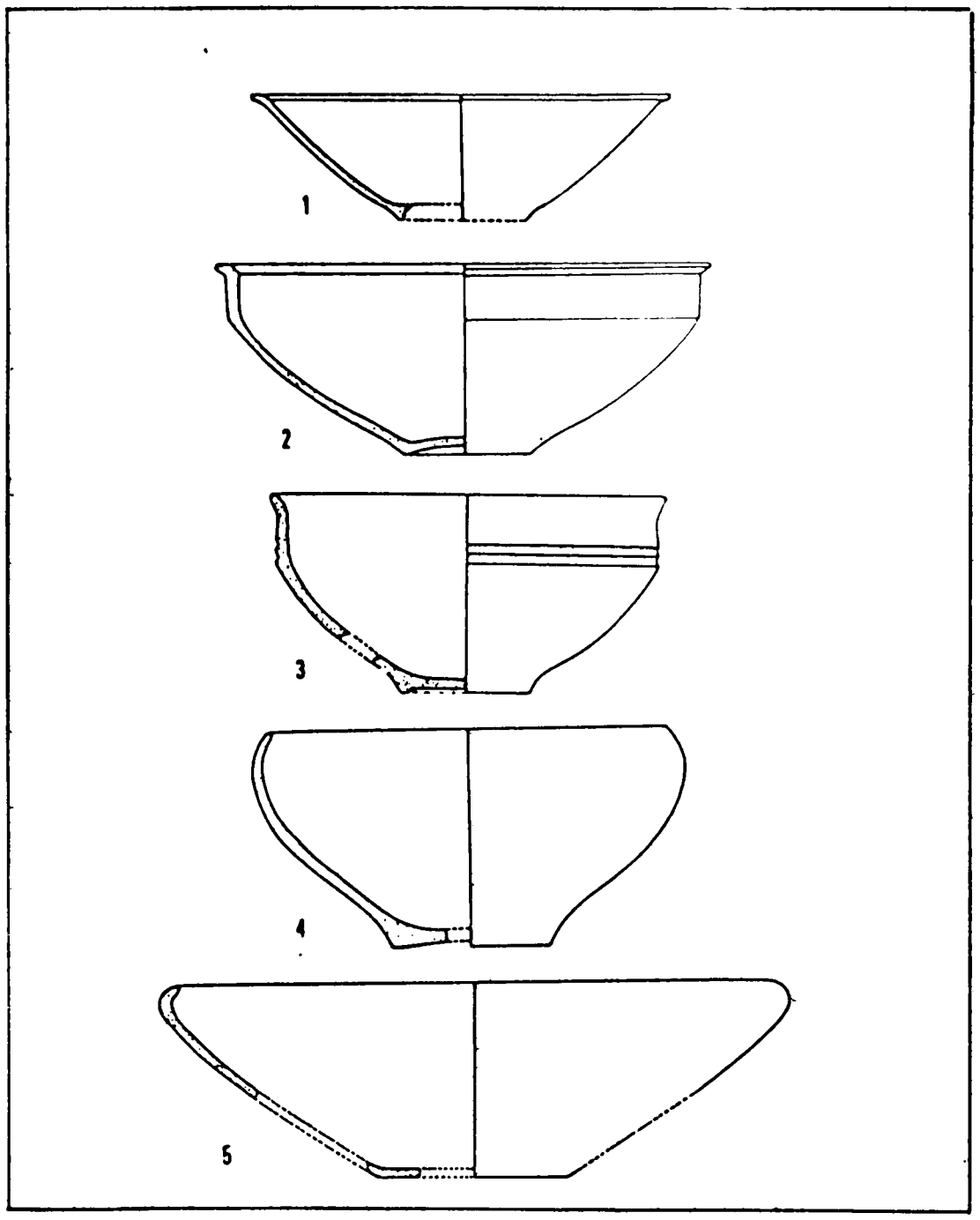


Fig. 69: Artefacts from the cemeteries of Varces-Rochefort (38-69, 38-70) (from Bocquet 1969: 359, fig. 105

A: Nécropole Est (38-69)

B: Nécropole Ouest (38-70)



1: Sassenage
2: Sérézin-du-Rhône
3: Seyssinet-Pariset, Grotte des Sarrasins
4: Rencurel
5: Fontaine

Fig. 70: Evolution of late Bronze Age and Iron Age Pottery in Isère

(from: Bocquet 1969: 181, fig. 21)

The hilltop settlement of Varces-Rochefort is one of the rare site where burials are associated to the settlement (38-69 and 70).But these two cemeteries, a dozen graves, are small. Although it could be argued that the sample is unrepresentative, Varces is typical of generally small alpine cemeteries, the exceptions being St-Jean-de-Belleville and Guilles-tre-Peyre Haute (see Chapter 9, sections 1 and 7). Perhaps these small clusters represent family groups. However, it may be suggested that only a fraction of the alpine population was given a formal burial, compared to the large cemeteries of the Ticino. There are some hints that other forms of disposal of the dead were carried out: in the region of Grenoble the re-use of a Bronze Age collective burial is documented at St-Paul-de-Varces (38-53) and at the Scialet des Vouillants at Fontaine (38-20) the bodies of the dead were thrown almost literally overboard from the top of the cliff of the Massif de la Chartreuse into a vertical rock shaft. Evidence from elsewhere in the Rhône-Alpes suggests that apart from formal burials, Iron Age communities made use of existing monuments such as dolmens, cairns and barrows, or disposed of their dead on settlements (see p. 305 and conclusions to Chapter 9).

Area no 3: The region of Le Pègue (fig.71)

Since the twin settlements of Le Pègue (26-30 and 31, hereafter no longer referred to by number) have been published recently in an accessible format (Lagrand and Thalmannn 1973; Hatt 1976 and 1977), since a fairly lengthy summary is available in Appendix 1, since a separate Appendix (3) summarises the finds made at Le Pègue, and since one aspect or another of Le Pègue is mentionned in almost every page of this study, we shall avoid duplication and forego the description of the stratigraphy, structures and assemblages from thes sites. Illustrations relevant to Le Pègue can be found on figs. 60 - 63 and 118 - 122. Illustrations of the finds were thought unnecessary since these are

lavishly published by Lagrand and Thalmann (1973). Instead, a few remarks on the relationship between the two sites and with other sites in their vicinity - the hillfort of La Roche-Saint-Secret-Béconne (26-34) and the sites of Nyons (26-26 to 26-29) (fig.71) - will be offered.

The hillfort of St-Marcel and the lowland settlement of the Chantier des Ecoles, if we except some indications of Urnfield settlement on the hill, appear to begin at the same time at the close of the 6th C BC. This, and the proximity of the two sites (c. 1 km), as well as the closely comparable material assemblages, are strong grounds for believing the two sites interdependant. But this interdependance can be interpreted in different ways. According to Prof. Hatt (1976:40-1), the two sites relay each other, the lowland settlement being abandonned in times of stress for the security of the hillfort, the inhabitants of the hillfort coming to the plain while repair works,after a series of destructive episodes,are being carried out on the oppidum. Thus the 'shuttle occupation' model would explain the paucity of early La Tène finds at St-Marcel (Hatt 1976:41 talks of squatters) and the comparatively well documented contemporary phase at the Chantier des Ecoles. The fact that the lowland site is abandonned before the hillfort, towards the end of Middle La Tène, can similarly be seen as a trend towards better defended positions in the 1st C BC.

But some factors come to nuance this model. A table in Appendix 3 (p.546). shows that,although the early La Tène phase is poorly represented in the stratigraphy of Saint-Marcel, a considerable number of finds date to this period; but, the extensive refurbishments of later phases redeposited these artefacts out of context.

Secondly, mounting evidence suggests that the hillfort of Saint-Marcel played a role as a cult place: stelae of a 6th - 5th C BC

sanctuary were re-used in the 4th C BC rebuilding of the monumental gate (Lagrand 1981) and a large building is reported as being a sanctuary in the La Tène period (Lasfargues 1982: 398).

Thirdly, a manufacture of pseudo-ionian fine wares is proposed at Le Pègue. No kilns have yet come to light at St-Marcel in the phases during which pseudo-ionian wares are abundant (Late Hallstatt, levels E and D). Lagrand and Thalmann (1973: 56) presume that kilns existed in the valley below, perhaps near the Chantier des Ecoles.

Fourthly, there is evidence to show that the lowland site of the Chantier des Ecoles was subject to periodic flooding from the river Auzon.

Fifth and last, the Chantier des Ecoles is said to be poorer in its material assemblage. But this does not preclude exotic finds, such as etruscan bucchero nero (interestingly not reported from the hillfort),to turn up on the lowland site.

Taken together these factors show a great many reasons for movement back and forth between the oppidum and the lowland site, celtic threat and refurbishments after destructions being only two amongst them. Thus, waterlogged conditions may have stopped settlement at the Chantier des Ecoles at certain times and perhaps definitively at the end of the middle La Tène period. The fact that a sanctuary stood on the hillfort, that grain was kept within its defences and that (hypothetical) potters were established near clay sources in the plain all contribute to suggest two interdependant and largely contemporary settlements, providing services to each other. But,in order to test this hypothesis , detailed quantitative analyses of stratified material from both sites should be available. To our knowledge, such a study does not exist, perhaps because St Marcel is still being excavated; the material from Sondage 8 only has been quantified (Lagrand and Thalmann 1983).

Within a short distance of Le Pègue (fig. 71) lie two further

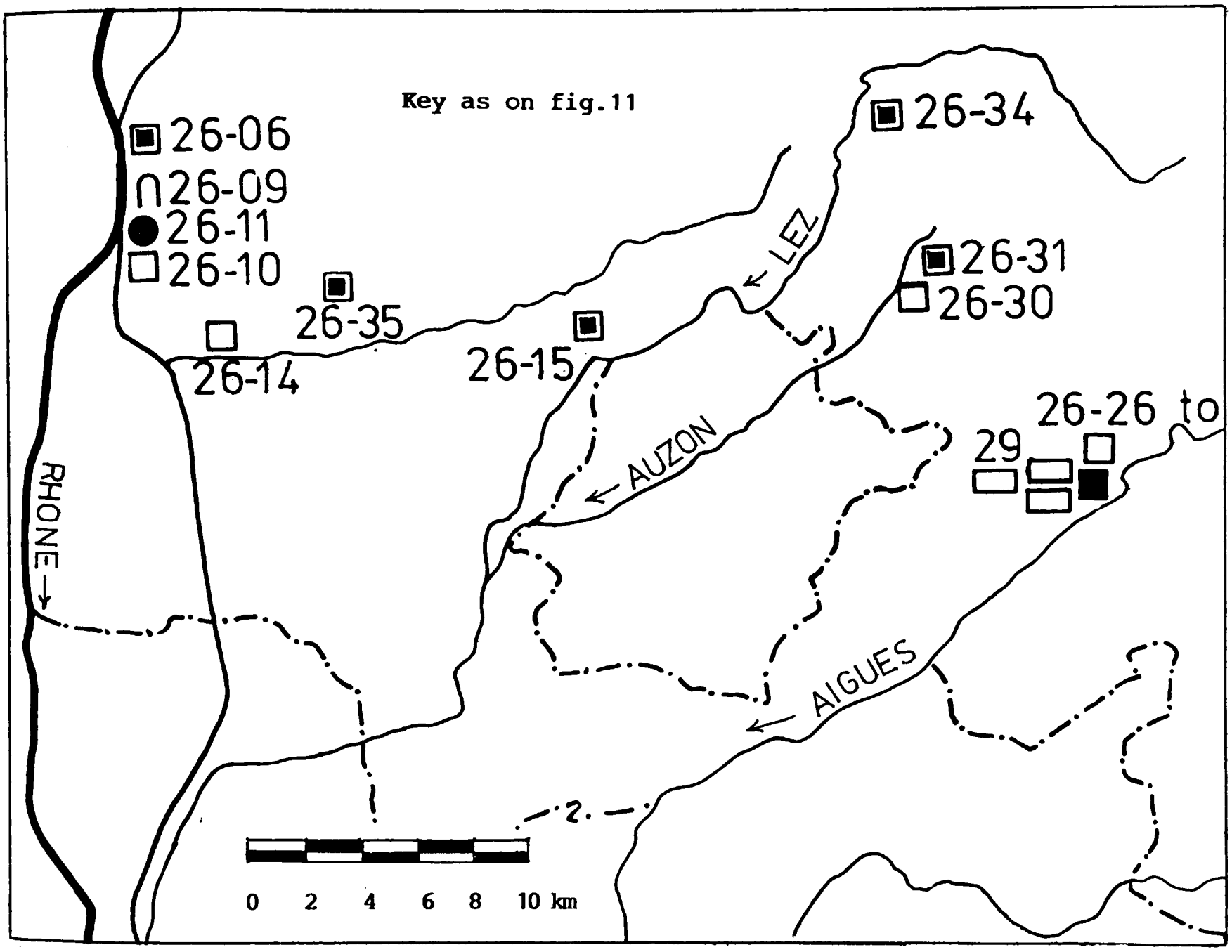


Fig. 71. Sites in the region of Le Pègue.

Iron Age settlements: La Roche-St-Secret-Béconne (26-34), 4-5 km north of Le Pègue, and the town of Nyons (26-26 to 29), 10 km to the South-East. The sequence of occupation, structures and material from the former site are not always easy to fathom from Guillot's reports (1966 and 1968). It appears that the hillfort (fig.58), located in a similar position as Le Pègue in the hills bordering the eastern edge of the Rhône plain, had a long history of settlement episodes, starting in the Urnfield period and ending in the Middle Ages. In the middle La Tène period the hillfort seems to have specialised in metalworking: iron slag, iron tools and weapons are reported from the site.

The town of Nyons, gallo-roman Noiomagus or 'new market', may have experienced a local settlement shift, but the grounds for such a suggestion are tenuous. The hilltop settlement of Le Devès (26-27) appears to have been occupied during the period of diffusion of pseudo-ionian pottery [from Le Pègue ?], while the site on the banks of the river Aigues, later to become a flourishing gallo-roman town, has not, to our knowledge, produced anything earlier than a Sestius stamped Dressel IA amphora of perhaps the mid 1st C BC. The only exception are the'alpine' inhumation burials discovered in 1839 (26-26).

It is possible that Nyons met better the requirements of a gallo-roman road traffic (Van Berchem 1970), at the expense of the old hill-forts (Le Pègue, La Roche-St-Secret) marking a trail along the eastern edge of the Rhône plain (Chapotat 1981). It is in this sense that a rather cryptic note by Lamboglia (1958: 31),i.e that 'the old oppida are deserted and new centres such as Nyons are established nearby' must be interpreted.

Area no 4: The confluent of the Ardèche with the Rhône

Polybius (Histories III,50-6) and Livy (Roman History XXI, 35-8) relate how Hannibal's army and elephants crossed the Alps in the winter

of 218 BC. While there is much argument as to the precise itinerary followed in the Alps, most commentators seem to agree that the punic army crossed the Rhône near Pont-Saint-Esprit before proceeding northwards on the east bank of the Rhône.

This event is used to illustrate the role the area of Pont-Saint-Esprit played in communications between East and West, North and South. Indeed, in this area the Rhône emerges from the narrow strait of the Défilé de Donzère, into the broad alluvial plain of the lower Rhône valley. To the South-West lie the spectacular gorges of the Ardèche. The Rhône itself must have been a quite formidable river: it has however completely changed shape since the building of the enormous dam and energy generating plants of Donzère-Mondragon.

It is at the confluent between the rivers Ardèche and Rhône, on the western, right hand bank of the latter, that a cluster of Iron Age sites will detain our attention (fig. 72): a small, multiperiod hillfort at St-Etienne-de-Dions, 2 lowland settlement sites on either side of the Ardèche, 2 cave sites (perhaps used for burial) and a scatter of isolated finds. An 'oppidum' may have also existed at Pont-St-Esprit (Girard 1972: 33). Thus, within 7 km of the cliff-bound plateau fort of St-Etienne-de-Dions at St-Marcel-d'Ardèche (07-28) there is a range of Iron Age sites, located on very different terrains: alluvium for the lowland settlements of St-Julien-de-Peyrolas (in the Gard) and St-Just-d'Ardèche - Les Plantades (07-27), and cave deposits, similar to the many caves of the gorges of the upper Ardèche, at St-Martin-d'Ardèche (07-29 and 30).

The 1 ha enclosure perched on the edge of the Rhône at St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28) is not a major oppidum; it nevertheless displays a rich assemblage of imported mediterranean goods and products of the hinterland of Marseille as well as La Tène B (LT Ib-c) bronze fibulae (figs. 73-4). The material recovered suggests that the hilltop settlement was occupied

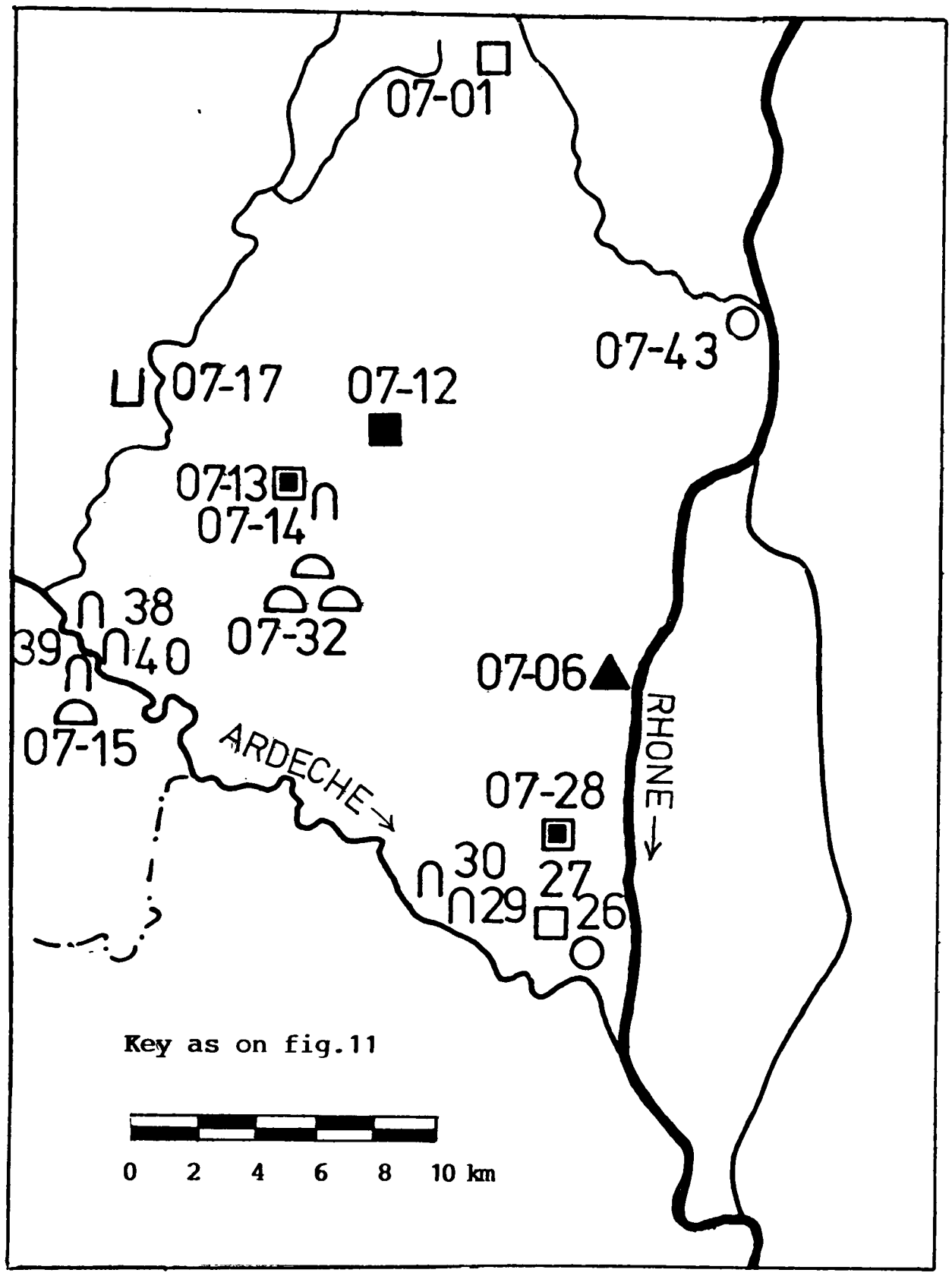


Fig. 72. Sites in the region of the Ardèche-Rhône confluent.

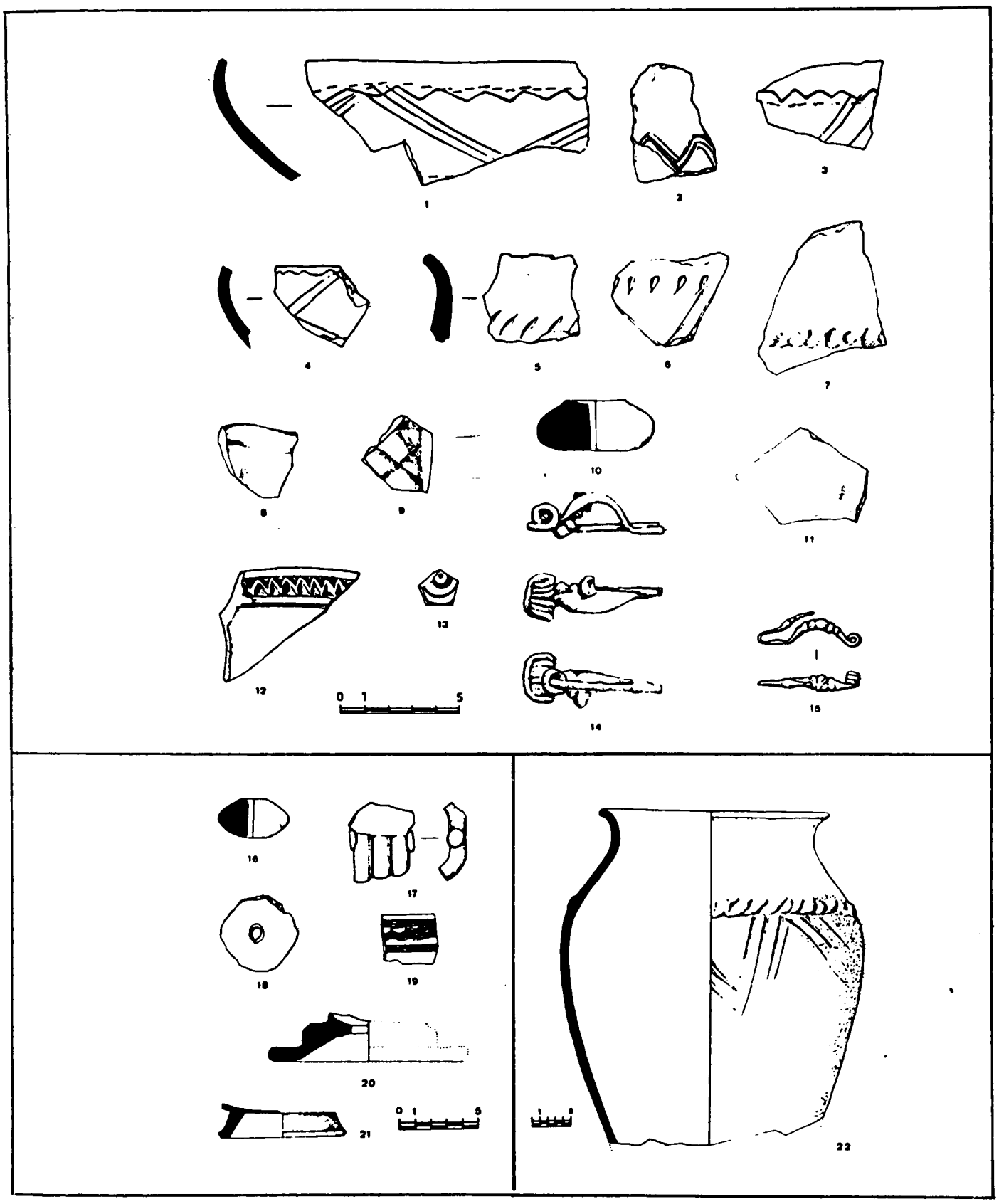


Fig. 73: Assemblage from Saint-Marcel-Saint-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28)

(from Courbin and Gilles 1976: 60, fig. 18)

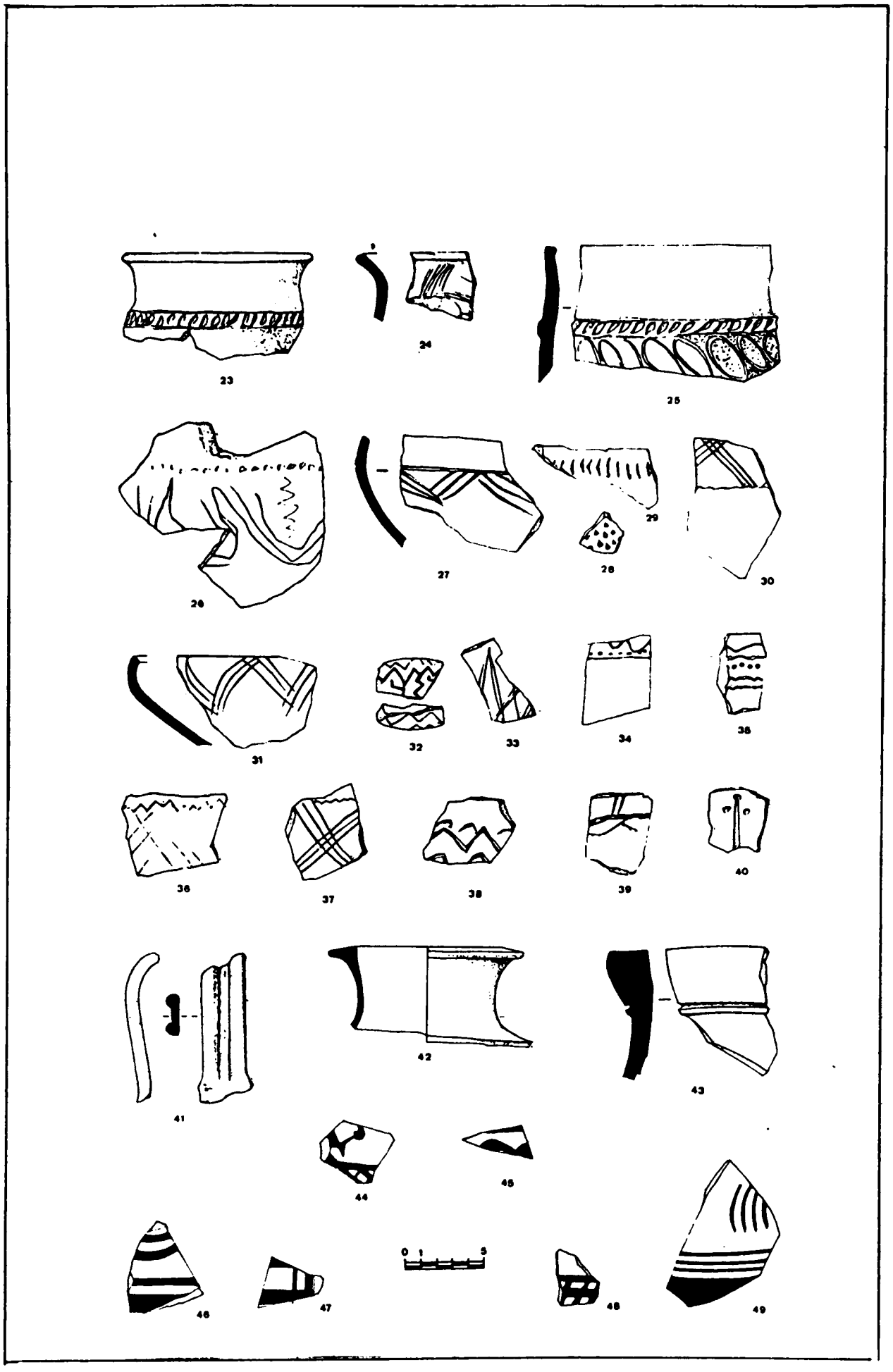
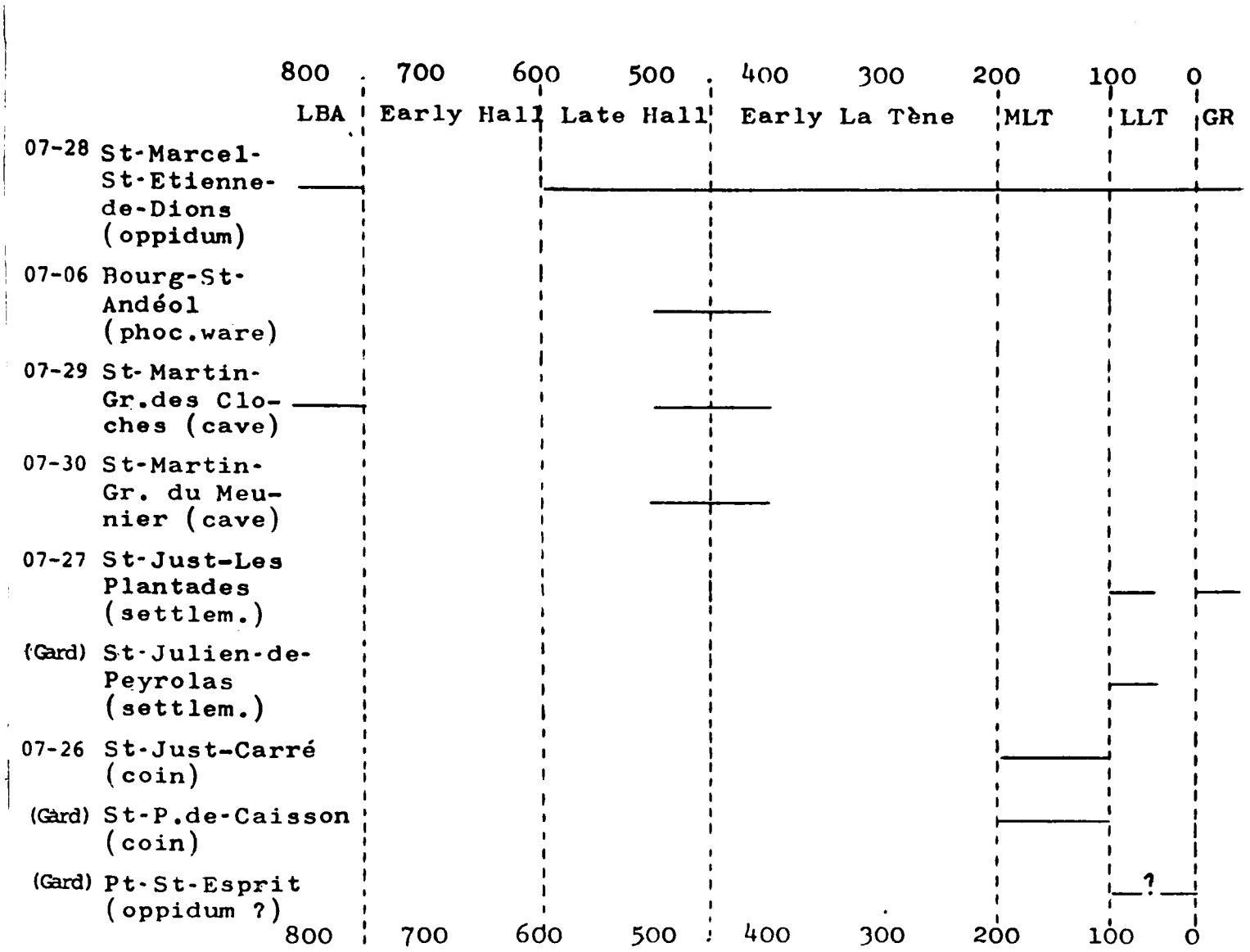


Fig. 74: Assemblage from Saint-Marcel-Saint-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28)

(from Courbin and Gilles 1976: 62, fig. 19)

almost continuously from the 6th C BC onwards up to the 10th C AD. Compared to this long hillfort sequence, the occupation span of nearby sites would result in the following chronological diagram:



This table is perhaps not totally representative of the real occupation spans of particular sites, as often only the more easily identifiable artefacts are mentioned in reports(amphorae of the region of Massalia, 'phocean' grey ware, silver obols of Massalia or late La Tène painted wares.) But traces of occupation of the early La Tène period, other than at St-Etienne-de-Dions itself, have so far not been revealed. Perhaps a detailed study of the characteristics of early La Tène pottery at St-Etienne-de-Dions (said to continue from a Hallstatt tradition: Courbin et Gilles 1976: 61) will lead to the identification of other contemporary sites.

The southern Ardèche lies within the area of diffusion of goods that would pass as exotic further North such as "phocean" grey wares, wine amphorae of the region of Marseille and pseudo-ionian painted wares. Combier and Huchard (1959) have used the distribution of these wares high into the valley and hills of the Ardèche to demonstrate the existence of a trade route between Rhône and Loire. But we should not regard these artefacts as "imports": rather, they represent the north-western fringe of a home market. On distribution maps of pseudo-ionian, phocean and massaliotic wares (figs. 35, 37 and 38), a clear concentration is evident in the southern Ardèche and southern Drôme, while a more diffuse pattern is discernible north of the Défilé de Donzère: this landmark seems to represent a border between trade to the North and home-diffusion to the South. If provençal wares are part of a home market, they do not automatically give a 'high status score' to the deposits they occur in. Even wine may no longer be a rare luxury by the 5th C BC in an area only some 120 km from Marseille.

Thus, leaving aside pseudo-ionian, phocean and massaliotic wares and the later silver obols of Massalia, widely circulating in the lower Rhône valley (see Chapter 5, part 3, section 13), the only true imports left are Hallstatt cannelated fine wares of vixian type, attic red figure pottery in the 5th or 4th C BC, campanian wares and republican amphorae in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. The occurence of these respective groups of artefacts in settlement sites may be used to indicate a change of emphasis between the early and late phases of the lower Ardèche. In the early period, it is only the oppidum of St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28) that receives exotic fine wares (cannelated, attic). Since this site has also produced bronze and glass ornaments as well as evidence for grain storage, it is suggested that it functioned as a trade control point and redistribution centre. In the late La Tène period, on the other hand,

possession of Italian wine and drinking vessels is shared between the oppidum of St-Etienne-de-Dions (07-28) and the then contemporary lowland (and by all accounts, lowly) settlements of St-Just-les-Plantades (07-27) and St-Julien-de-Peyrolas (Gard) (see figs. 75-6).

The late La Tène period also sees the appearance of fine painted pottery at St-Etienne-de-Dions and St-Julien-de-Peyrolas. These artefacts do not neceassarily represent a celtic presence, as recent work by Patrice Arcelin (1981) shows that some vessels were made in Provence (N-Vaucluse, S-Drôme) while others came from further afield (perhaps Switzerland, Forez, the region of Vienne). They occur in small proportions on provençal settlements, which, on the whole, have no fast-wheel-turned domestic crockery.

The lower Ardèche area exhibits a fairly dense distribution pattern of silver obols of Massalia (see fig. 39). Girard (1972) has used the concentration of these coins to show that two trade routes split at Pont-St-Esprit: one northwards along the Rhône, and one westwards along the Ardèche to join the Loire valley and Massif Central. It is certainly possible that the obols found at Argenton-sur-Creuse, Chateaumeillant or Saint-Marcel-d'Argenton (Nash 1978: 179, 184, 188) reached the Berry via the Loire. But coins of Massalia are so widely used in the lower Rhône valley (cf. Hiernard 1982, and Gentric 1981) that too much cannot be read into this distribution pattern.

The lower Ardèche region seems open in all directions: it is located on the periphery of Provence and Languedoc and receives plentiful supplies of goods manufactured in Provence and Marseille. But it is also in contact with the North, receiving late Hallstatt cannelated wares from Burgundy and using La Tène bronze metalwork and fine wares. It exploits its position on the fringe of the hellenised South and at the beginning of a western passage along the Ardèche. The wealth displayed at the very small hillfort of St-Etienne-de-Dions would certainly fit such a model.

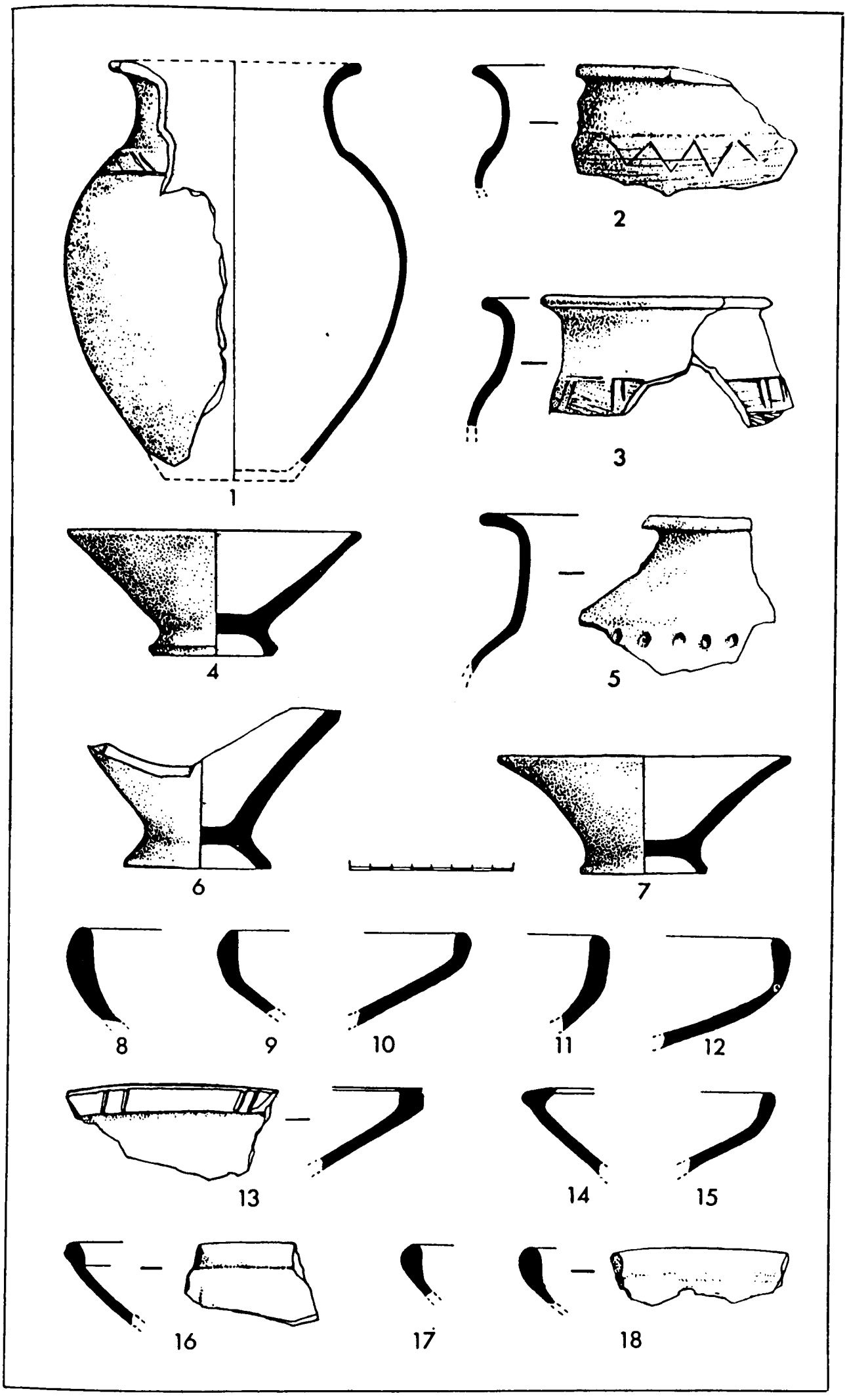


Fig. 75: Assemblage from Saint-Just-Les Plantades (07-27)

(from Gilles 1976: 45, fig. 6)

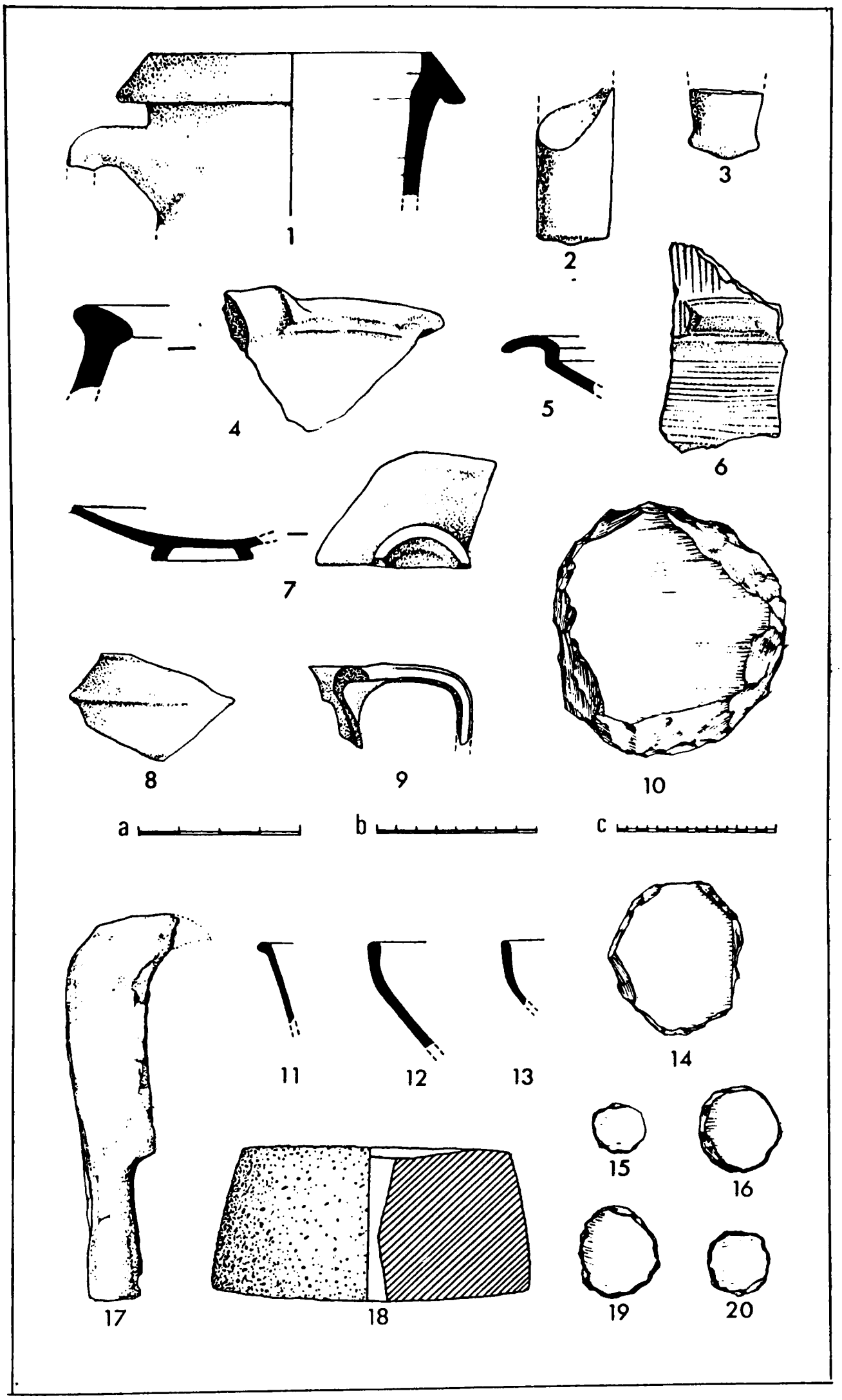


Fig. 76: Assemblage from Saint-Just-Les Plantades (07-27)

(from Gilles 1976: 46, fig. 7)

Area no. 5: The region of Soyons

The oppidum of Malpas in the commune of Soyons (07-35) is included in our area studies because it displays a long sequence of occupation, dated by radiocarbon dates and by a number of imported artefacts and because it is seen as playing an important role on the Rhône valley trade route. But very few sites are found in its vicinity (fig. 77): most important of all, evidence for occupation at the foot of the hillfort has come to light in summer 1983 at La Brégoule (07-34). The Iron Age levels at the top of a deep stratigraphy starting in the Early Neolithic were unfortunately badly disturbed by gallo-roman and modern earth-moving (Beeching, pers. comm.) and it is only on the basis of the finds (which include La Tène metalwork, attic or black varnish pottery and obols of Massalia) that an interpretation of a lowland settlement, contemporary with and dependant on the hillfort can be put forward (as at Le Pègue). Otherwise, the area is fairly empty: the enclosure on Crussol (07-31) is undated and the coin hoards of Valence (26-45) do not indicate settlement.

The apparent isolation of Soyons may in fact be the key to the interpretation of this middle-Rhône hillfort. It is sited on a steep rocky outcrop of the Vivarais whose cliffs plunge c. 150 m down to the Rhône valley. To the East spreads the alluvial plain of Valence, which seems (according to fieldwork carried out by Chapotat 1981: 83-91) not to have been much frequented in Antiquity: a route c. 20 km further East, leading from Marseille to Vienne along the foothills bordering the Rhône valley [roughly along the tracé of the D 538] seems to have been preferred. Finally, Soyons does not command a position at the entrance of a lateral valley of any importance (the valley of the Eyrieux is some 8 km further South). Thus, the only possible source of the wealth of imported material (see pl. 2a) found at Soyons must have been the Rhone

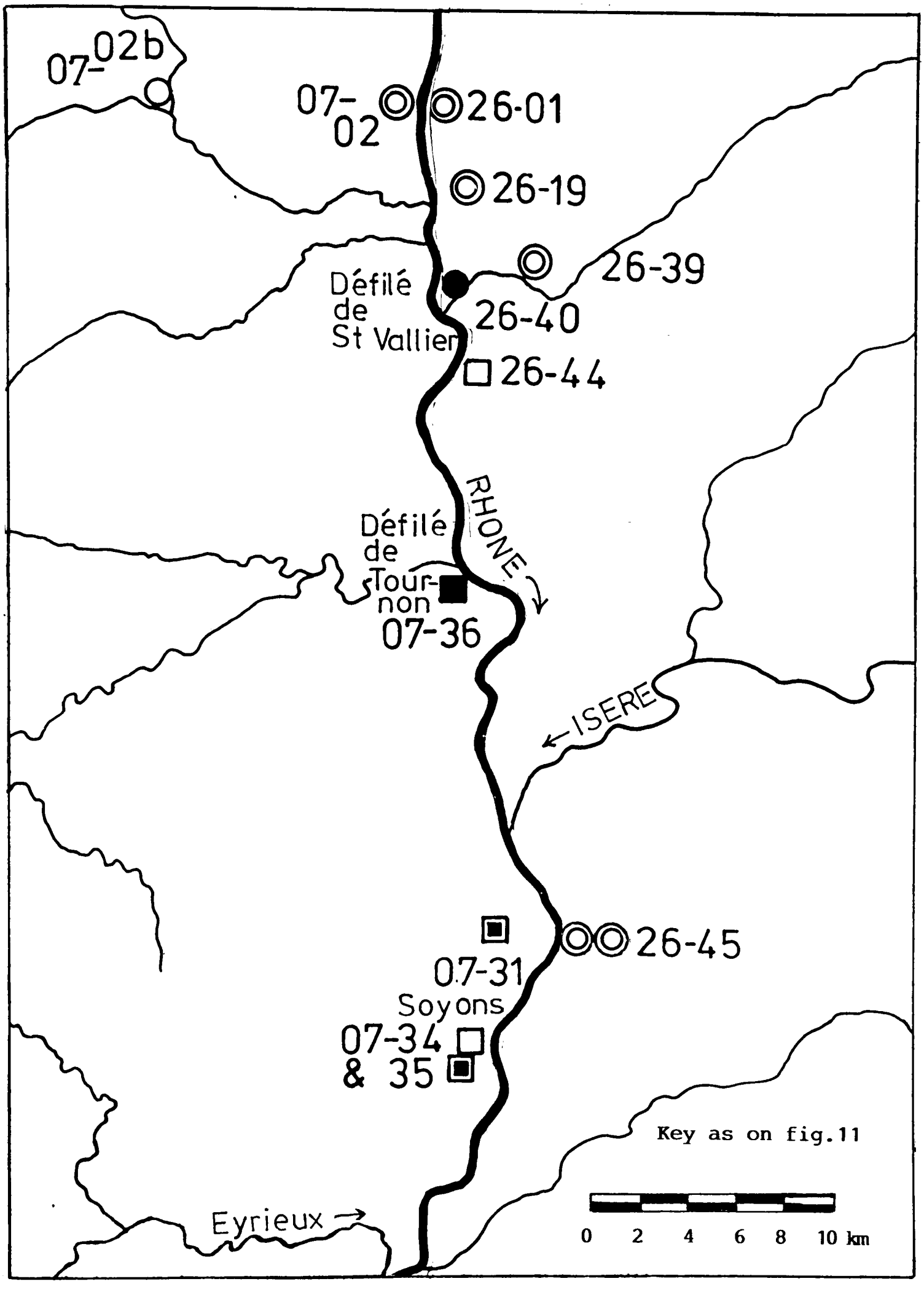


Fig.77. Sites in the region of Soyons.

itself. The plateau of Malpas is a good example of a hillfort directly controlling a stretch of river, i.e. a particularly bad passage. At a later date, a corporation of utriculares (mariners practicing transport on rafts) is known to have had its seat at Soyons (Benoit 1965: 165). This function may have been coupled with a religious one: an altar to the goddess Soio - thought to denote a pre-roman cult preserved in gallo-roman times - has been found on the summit of the plateau of Malpas.

Little can be said about the layout or structures within the oppidum since excavations in the 1950s were restricted to cleaning sections left after the removal of anti-aircraft batteries installed in the Second World War, and to tracing a short stretch of rampart enclosing the 10 ha plateau. It seems that, in parts at least, a stratigraphy 3 m deep, has survived. Surely, Soyons must be highly recommended for new, large scale and long-term excavations. It is sad that the promising start made at Soyons some 20 years ago, which included the creation of a small local museum, has not been followed up.

As the areas of excavation are so small, a certain scepticism towards the interpretations put forward by Hatt (1959 (1965)) and Blanc and Vallette (1958) is allowed. Nevertheless, a long series of occupation, with episodes of use, disuse, abandonment and destructions is present. The story of the site proposed by Prof. Hatt can be summarised as follows (see also table in entry 07-35 of Appendix 1):

- An undefended hiiltop settlement, of Urnfield date, is established on the plateau of Malpas in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. It is superceded, after a period of abandonment, by a late Hallstatt defended settlement, trading with Marseille, and destroyed around 500 BC. A post-Hallstatt market continues to flourish in the 5th C BC, before it is, in turn destroyed around 400 BC. Again, trade with Marseille seems to have been resumed and continued until the early 3rd C BC, at

which time the site is abandonned. It is re-settled by 120 BC, destroyed around 60 BC, partially re-settled, used as a gallo-roman sanctuary and re-occupied in the 4th-6th C AD.

This interpretation must obviously be tested over larger areas of the hillfort, before it appears in textbooks. Particularly, it must be made clearer how the threeviolent episodes of 500 BC, 400 BC, and 60 BC are dated. Apparently they are just charcoal layers seen in section. The C14 dates [630±110 bc for level 7, 520±105 bc for level 6, 280± 105 bc for level 4 and 110±105 bc for levle 2] allow plenty of room for manoeuvre. Prof. Hatt's dating scheme is obviously based on the sequence of historic events that took place in the Rhône valley, i.e. a first and second celtic wave and the uprising of the Allobroges in the 70s-60s BC. Soyons, Le Pègue and Vienne may have seen celtic invasions, but we doubt - together with M. Py (see p. 30-1 and 67-8) - that the finds and stratigraphy can be dated to such precise events. On these sites the trap of circular argument is wide open: sequences appear dated by artefacts, but the artefacts themselves are dated by an interpretation of events read in stratigraphy. And the argument is then continued ad absurdum: the assemblages of other sites in the Rhône valley are dated by comparison with Soyons or Le Pègue. Before long, a whole series of sites exhibit a pattern of dates, which would appear consistent with an invasion of celtic people, which then emerges as a fact in archaeological textbooks (e.g. Nicolas 1976: 703, or Guilaine 1980: 250).

The material recovered at Soyons includes the entire panoply of mediterranean luxury goods (see pl. 2a, and Chapter 5, part 3 and appendix 4), as well as goods of provençal origin and indigenous material. A good opportunity to study local wares associated with imported goods from the 6th to 1st C BC exists at Soyons: the seriation and quantification of the assemblages of Soyons would be one of our highest priorities. It

seems that only a selection of finds have been published, and, apart from the exhibited material (pl. 1 and pl. 2a), there are crates of finds in the little museum at Soyons (Beeching and Dal-Pra, pers. comm.). We have seen this material, as well as the new finds from La Brégoule (07-34) (with thanks to A. Becching, J. Vital and G. Dal Pra), but drawing proved impossible: instead some photographs are presented. This proposed project would be fairly ambitious, as, ideally, the 'mopping up'operation should be followed by controlled excavations on the hillfort and on the lowland site. The reasons for proposing such a project are:

1) if the chronological sequence of Soyons was put on a firmer footing, then the arguments pro or contra a series of celtic invasions could at least be based on independant evidence;
2) Soyons appears to have a number of artefacts of the early La Tène period (La Tène B fibulae) or 4th C BC (e.g. a silver tetradrachm of Athens). The site is therefore of crucial importance for the proposed survival of pseudo-ionian, massaliotic and perhaps 'phocean' wares in the post-Hallstatt period (see Chapter 5, part 3, sections 10, 11, 12 and conclusions);
3) Soyons is half way between Le Pègue and Vienne along the Rhône corridor. Although it started as early as Le Pègue, there are hints that it continued to play an important role as a trade control point in the post-Hallstatt era, i.e. it is also chronologically half-way between Le Pègue and Vienne. The hypothesis of a northwards expanding sphere of influence of Marseille and rhodanian Kulturkreis (see p.254 and below, conclusions) could be tested at Soyons;
4) the geographical position of Soyons, far enough North of the immediate sphere of influence of Marseille (see fig. 44) is ideal, since it would throw light not only on problems of trade, but also on an indigenous rhodanian community;

5) if the local pottery, which on a superficial evaluation, appears to retain Urnfield and Hallstatt characteristics well into the Iron Age, was typified and dated, it would be of great service to the settlement archaeology of the Rhône-Alpes, where dating is still tentative;
6) last but not least, there may be a chance to compare the status of the hilltop and lowland sites.

If all this were possible, then Soyons would join the league of major European twin sites, such as Le Pègue, Vienne, Levroux or Basel.

Area no. 6: The region of Vienne

The city of Vienne (fig. 48 and pl. 2b) uses a backdrop of 5 steep hills (290 m in altitude) on the eastern bank of the Rhône, at its confluent with the Gère and on a sharp bend along the course of the river Rhône. It thus uses to the maximum its position as a major crossroad: Gabriel Chapotat, who has studied the topography of Vienne over many years, calls it rightly "la croisée de Vienne" (1976: 1981). Not only does the town exploit its position on the Rhône-Saône axis, but it is also the point of arrival of three land routes: from Marseille (along the D538), from Grenoble and from Aoste. It lies at the beginning of a western passage leading towards the Loire valley and Forez via Givors (8 km to the North), along the gently sloping valleys of the Gier and Furan. This western breach of the Massif Central is the first opportunity to reach the Loire valley since the Ardèche-Rhône confluent, some 160 km further South. Vienne thus developed in the later centuries BC, acting as an important control post over the river-borne traffic of Italian wine. The many finds of

campanian wares and republican amphorae at Vienne and on the oppida of the Loire valley and Roanne bear witness to this traffic.

We have already presented in some detail the material remains of pre-roman Vienne (Chapter 6, p. 268-71). In summary, Vienne (38-72 to 38-83) possesses an unusually high concentration of metalwork, coin hoards, evidence for settlement on the hilltop of Ste-Blandine (38-80) and on the banks of the Rhône (38-79, 38-82) as well as a bridge or quay site (38-83). Even if some of the metalwork - the etruscan bronzes - is of doubtful provenance (see p. 173-4), two great collections of late La Tène iron tools (from 38-80 and 38-83) have a secure provenance. The lowland site of the Ancien Hôpital (38-79), with its finds of attic, pseudo-ionian, massaliotic and early campanian wares, is of particular importance for the study of the beginnings of trade - or rather, continued trade - along the Rhône corridor in the 4th-2nd C BC. A date of the 4th C BC is suggested for the earliest imports at Vienne. Even assuming that attic pottery was treasured for a long time and admitting that massaliotic and pseudo-ionian wares survived for a very long time, the earliest levels at the Ancien Hôpital [remembering that natural was not reached at 4.80 m below ground surface] must predate levels with early campanian A palmette stamped ware of the very beginning of the 2nd C BC. Vienne was therefore open to trade at least a century before it became part of the Provincia Transalpina.

The reason why Vienne should be an early market place is given by its geographical position. In this context, the ford at Grigny (69-14) c. 9 km north of Vienne, at the confluent of the Gier with the Rhône, is worhty of attention. There, objects dredged between 1964 and 1973 show the continued use of a crossing point from the late Bronze Age to the merovingian period. As at many ford sites, weapons are particularly in evidence: a fine collection of late Bronze Age and early Hallstatt swords is complemented by some La Tène swords, spearheads and other artefacts.

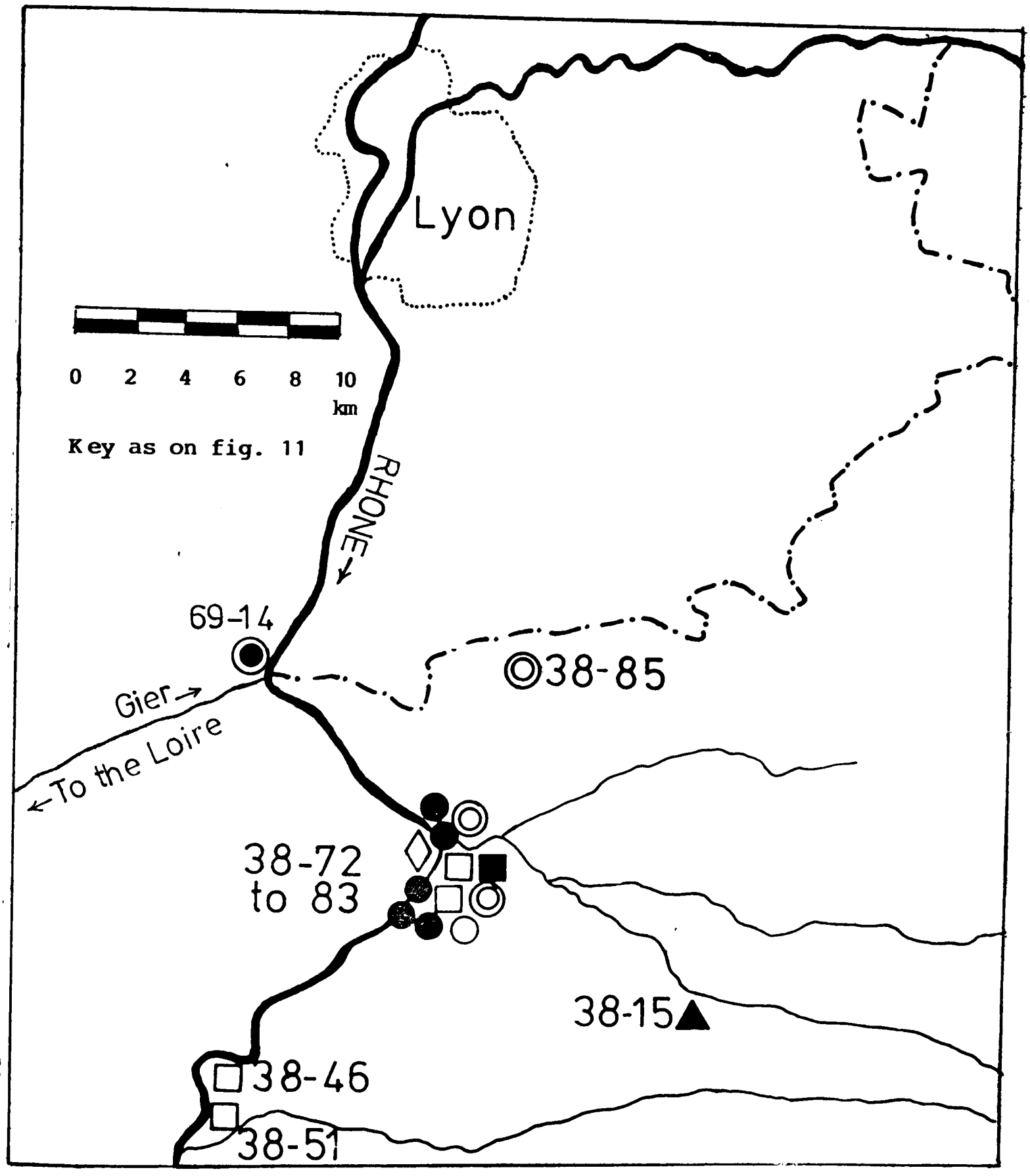


Fig. 78. Sites in the region of Vienne.

The ford at Grigny offers the same problems of interpretation as many later Iron Age river deposits of Central and Northern Europe such as La Tène. The predominance of weapons has been explained in a number of ways, including the gradual build-up of lost objects washed towards a ford, ritual offerings to a water divinity, offerings at a battle site, the existence of a toll gate or fort, or quite simply an accident (e.g. at Cornaux-les-Sauges). If sites are known from dredgings only, it is natural that large pieces of metalwork like swords, are recovered more frequently than other types of artefact. When such sites are excavated, as La Tène was, the range of artefacts increases dramatically: admittedly La Tène possesses large numbers of weapons, but also chariot parts, elements of harness, small tools, domestic equipment (cauldrons, vessels), ornament and jewellery, toilet objects, currency (coins and bars), weights, scales a pair of hand-cuffs, locks and keys, figurines, bone dice and organic material (a leather bag, rope, textile, a straw bag and timber) (Vouga 1923).

The region of Vienne (fig. 78), with its ford and bridge sites, its collections of weapons and tools, its oppidum, perhaps an iron and bronze manufacturing centre, and its lowland, trade-oriented settlement, shows the many different ways in which a privileged position on the Rhône could be exploited, and what its material remains are. But we know little about the houses, warehouses, ports, markets and other structures that stood on the banks and hills that border the Rhône. It was the fate of this successful establishment to be thoroughly landscaped in gallo-roman times. Perhaps Iron Age Vienne does survive, deep under roman, medieval and modern Vienne, since sightings were made over 4 m under the present ground surface. But whether these deposits are still accessible is doubtful since the Iron Age occupation coincides with the historic centre of the city.

Vienne shows a type of development known elsewhere in the celtic world, that of twin settlements. Examples of such joint sites exist

at Levroux (village des Arènes and Colline du Château: Büchsenschütz 1980, 1981) or at Basel on the Rhine bend (Basel-Gasfabrik and Basel-Münsterhugel: Berger and Furger 1981, Furger 1979 and Furger and Berger 1980). On those sites, as at Vienne, the lowland settlement has been shown to initiate the sequence, the oppidum appearing at a later stage, either running conjointly with the lowland establishment, or taking over as the major centre. The mid-1st C B C is generally the time of the change-over.

On this evidence, it can be concluded that a successful market leads to the need for a defended settlement. The lowland precursor may retain its function as a market, but the oppidum becomes the focus of an artisan industry, including the production of metalwork. The Mont-Beuvray in the Morvan, with its (very late) bronze-workers' and enamel workers' quarters is an often quoted example of such a trait.

Vienne, although fragmentary in its remains, has a good archaeological potential and may still reserve surprises; if an apportunity to undertake large scale excavations in the city-centre arises, then it could join the top league of late celtic settlements such as Levroux, Basel, Manching or Stradonitz.

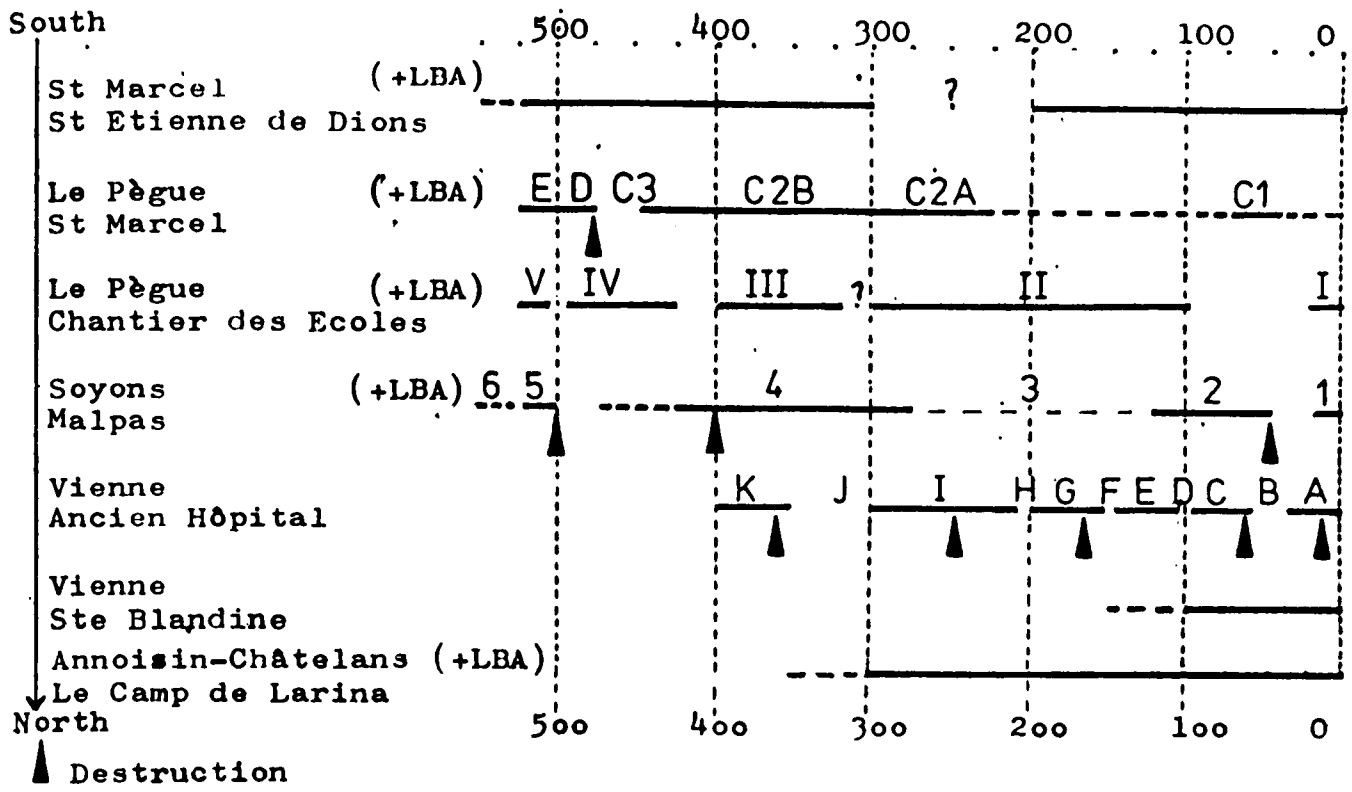
Conclusions

Six areas where evidence of activity from the late Hallstatt to the late La Tène period is fairly abundant have been scanned for signs of change or continuity. A major hillfort is generally the focal point of these areas [but Varces is ill-defined and Vienne-Ste Blandine is not in existence until the Late La Tène]. All except one of our areas - the region of Grenoble - are Rhône valley centres and consequently problems of

trade have, again featured largely in discussions. The five rhodanian areas cover the whole stretch of the middle Rhône, form its exit from the Jura (Larina) to the beginning of its lower alluvial plain (St-Etienne-de-Dions and Le Pègue). Some sites are well known to protohistorians, others perhaps less. Two recommendations, i.e. a research project at Soyons and an urban excavation programme at Vienne would enhance our perception of the archaeology of the Rhône-Alpes.

At the French Prehistoric Congress held in Monaco in 1959 (published in 1965), Prof. J. J. Hatt attempted a 'stratigraphic comparison' between three then newly excavated sites, all three crucial for the understanding of the passage from First to Second Iron Age: the Heuneburg, Soyons-Malpas and Le Pègue. By comparing the various phases of occupation or abandonment on these three hillforts, the author tried to circumscribe major events or processes, which were then interpreted in a predominantly historical framework. Perhaps it was too early to attempt interpretations of sites which, with the exception of Soyons-Malpas, were then at the onset of long, major excavation campaigns. Perhaps also too much was read into the stratigraphic sequences.

But the idea of charting the spans of occupation of sites with long sequences of deposits and datable imported artefacts seems worth pursuing. A diagram summarising the life-spans of our five rhodanian centres is presented here. It adheres strictly to the interpretations put forward in the excavators' reports and follows the original numbering of the phases.



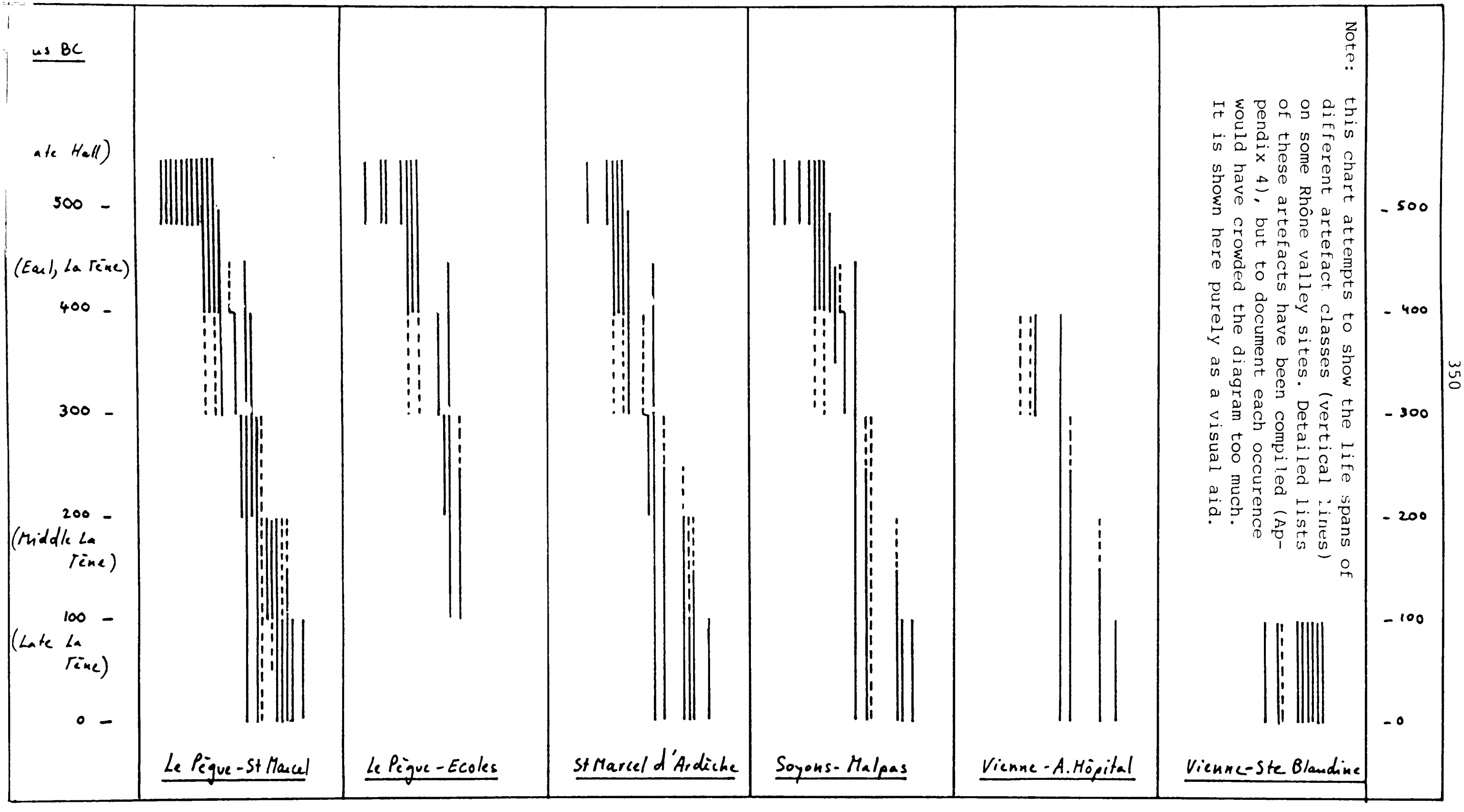
The five 'best' sequences of the Rhône valley must be interpreted with caution: two of them (Vienne and Soyons) are accounts of the sides of small sondages; a further two sites (St-Etienne-de-Dions and Larina) appear extensively damaged by later occupation. This leaves Le Pègue as the only extensively excavated site where an effort to understand structures and quantify the contents of particular horizons has been made. But the published reports have to be read very critically before their conclusions can be accepted (see Appendix 3). Yet even if certain doubts are permitted as to the interpretation of particular phases and their dating, and even though scepticism has been expressed towards the trust placed into the vertical stratigraphy of individual sites expressed in 'synthetic sections', the trend in clear: the further north the site lies, the later the inception of settlement, or at least the later the arrival on those sites of datable mediterranean or provençal artefacts. A corollay to this is that although the northern sites start later than their southern counterparts, their beginnings are relatively early in the general development of later La Tène proto-urban or urban settlements (Aulnat shows a similar early beginning: Collis 1983). Vienne may have emerged as early as the 4th C BC, perhaps also the Camp de Larina. Even if this dating proves to be too high, the two sites must pre-date the 2nd C BC.

The 3rd C BC is the century in which most dates are extremely tentative: it is the time in which the continuation of provençal and massaliote wares is postulated, the time of the earliest coinage and, towards 200 BC, the time of the beginning of imports of campanian fine wares. The 3rd C BC is of the utmost importance to our grasp of 'proto-urban' conditions that led to the creation of middle and late La Tène oppida and markets in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. It is hoped that further research, much more detailed than the present one, will identify a 3rd C BC facies in the Rhône-Alpes. Soyons, the 'pig in the middle', in geographical terms and, it is suspected, in chronological terms, may hold the key to such an identification.

The occupation pattern of our five Rhône valley centres is summarised on fig. 79, a model that essentially re-states the suggestions made in our conclusions to the trade chapter (fig. 44). The diagram is based mainly on the occurence of datable artefacts; detailed lists were compiled but were deemed unworthy of inclusion, since the information can be gathered from Appendix 1.

The settlement pattern of the Rhône valley shows, apart form evidence of continuity on the southern sites, a shift northwards during the crucial 4th, 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. When exactly this took place will probably fuel many more debates. The point at issue is the supposed desertion of the Rhône valley in post-Hallstatt times, exposed in many textbooks (e.g. Wells 1980). It is true that long distance trade favoured a more easterly transalpine route, but the Rhône valley did not die as a result. The decline was certainly not long enough, nor total, since the old centres continue to attract luxury goods, after their zenith around 500 BC. Some sort of infrastructure must have survived in the 'lean years' in order to enable the same hillforts to receive later imports. Can this be possible on sites supposed to be deserted for a century or 'squattered'?

Fig. 79: The occupation of some Rhône valley sites according to the datable objects found in them.



Note: this chart attempts to show the life spans of different artefact classes (vertical lines) on some Rhône valley sites. Detailed lists of these artefacts have been compiled (Appendix 4), but to document each occurence would have crowded the diagram too much. It is shown here purely as a visual aid.

If a celtic invasion did take place, there is no reason to believe that the new (or old) inhabitants of the hillforts huddled miserably in the ruins of once splendid late Hallstatt centres: Prof. Hatt (1977: 43) talks of 'inorganic', 'ramshackle' installations in the 5th C BC, and 'squatter occupation' in the 3rd C BC at Le Pègue. Yet attic pottery continues to reach the site and even increases. Instead, the impression given by Le Pègue, Saint-Etienne-de-Dions and Soyons is one of continued wealth with new elements superimposed upon a strong late Hallstatt tradtion. Further north new centres develop from the 4th or 3rd C BC onwards. Again trade is seen as the prime motor: in one case, Vienne, a lowland settlement, perhaps a market or "comptoir" is at the origin of the late La Tène allobrogian oppidum. The reason offered for the early beginnings of Vienne and its later success is its position at the beginning of a lateral breach of the Massif Central, linking the Rhône valley to the Loire valley.

The northward shifting pattern of focal points in the Rhône-Alpes corresponds to the limit of the Provincia Transalpina. We can only reiterate our suggestion (p. 254-5) that the boundaries of a rhodanian cultural sphere were emerging before the official stamp was put on it by Rome.

Chapter 8

The Caves

Introduction

The occupation of cave sites in the Rhône-Alpes

The function of cave sites in the later Iron Age

Conclusions

Introduction

One class of monuments contributes to the sum of information available to the student of the later Iron Age of the Rhône valley and Alps: a not negligible number of cave sites (45 in Appendix 1) has produced some indication of late Hallstatt and La Tène activity. Being obvious targets for archaeological exploration, they have attracted prehistorians from early days but unfortunately also clandestine excavators. The records left are of varying quality, often leaving unanswered the question of the function of caves. Furthermore, the Iron Age episode in a cave's life usually happens at the end of a long sequence of deposits from the Palaeolithic to the Bronze Ages. It rarely survives intact near the surface of a modern cave floor; prehistorians did not always pay much attention to these "late" levels, dismissing them as "disturbed superficial layers" and mentioning in their reports only the most remarkable finds.

The quality of the information is therefore rather low, making it difficult to assess the role played by caves in the Iron age. Were they inhabited permanently, or visited on occasion by a transhumant sherpherd, or used as caches, refugia, burial places or ritual foci? How do they fit in the chronology and settlement pattern of a region? We shall try to answer these question in the next few pages.

Distribution

Three distinct families of cave sites can be identified: a first group in the valley of the Ardèche, a second cluster in the cliffs of the Bugey on the Upper Rhône, and a third concentration in the valley of the Isère near Grenoble. Fig. 80 shows the spatial distribuion of these clusters as well as further caves in the Drôme, Savoie and Haute-Savoie.

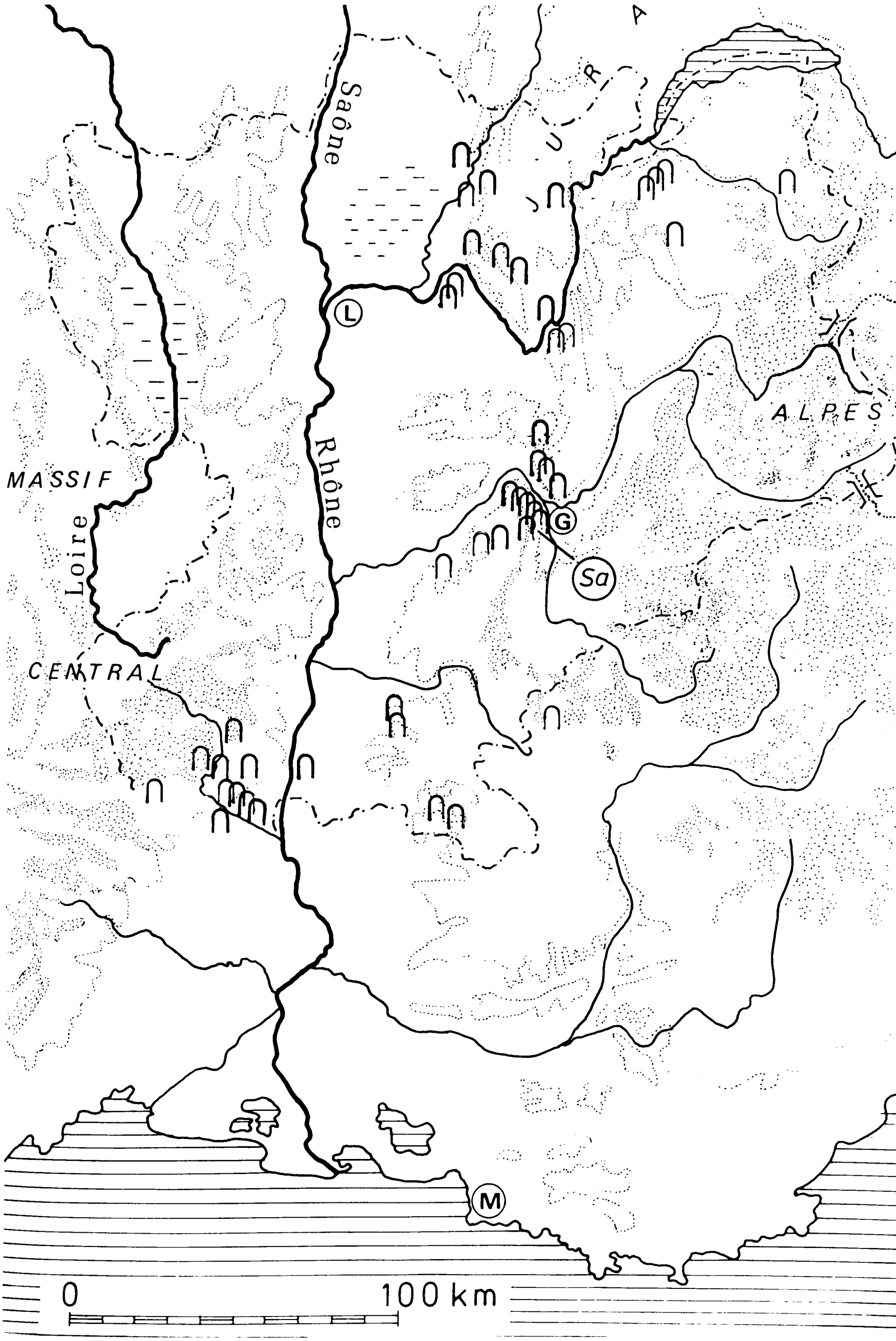


Fig. 80 Distribution of cave sites.

Obviously the distribution of caves depends upon the geological formations that allow the creation of natural cavities: our three major groups are carved into limestone cliffs on the edge of major river valleys, the Rhône, the Isère and the Ardèche.

'Caves' is the term used here for a variety of cavities: rock-faults, rock-shelters ('abris sous roche'), fissures ('avens'), galleries or porches. The shape determines to a great extent the use to which a cave is put. To cite some examples, a large glacial porch of regular proportions, such as the Grotte des Sarrasins at Seyssinet-Pariset (38-63), with a floor space of 200 m x 50 m and a source of fresh water is well suited to permanent settlement, whereas an almost inaccessible vertical 'chimney' such as the Scialet des Vouillants at Fontaine (38-20) has become ~~a recep~~tacle for the dead and their associated grave-goods; the Grotte de la Chuire at Hières sur Amby (38-22) served as a midden heap into which domestic rubbish thrown overboard from the hillfort of Larina (38-01) on the plateau above, accumulated.

Caves are not a class of monuments, like barrows or oppida, since they owe their distribution to geology rather than the action of man. Material evidence accumulated in caves simply because there was a receptacle provided, later to be excavated. Nevertheless, Iron Age occupation did take place in caves and, as it is a type of evidence often overlooked in presentations of the Iron Age, it seems worthwhile dwelling a little on the nature of such occupation.

The occupation of cave sites in the Rhône-Alpes

Iron Age activity is in most, if not all cases, amongst the last episodes in a long sequence of occupation of caves duing successive prehistoric eras, and therefore occurs in the uppermost levels of stratified deposits. Being so near the surface, these levels are often disturbed by

more recent intruders such as gallo-roman occupants or shepherds and their flocks in historic times.

Leaving aside earlier prehistoric periods, the late Bronze Age or Urnfield period must be mentioned as a time in which caves were intensely occupied. This horizon is particularly well documented in the Isère, where many caves were settled in the ultimate Bronze Age, around 750 BC. To quote A. Bocquet (1969: 180): "we must insist upon the great number of settlements with pottery of the final Bronze Age III in the numerous caves close to the great alpine valleys; apart from meteorological causes (....) the occupation of these shelters may also be linked to the imagined or real danger from Hallstatt horsemen" (my translation). This Urnfield presence, documented by pottery traditions, may have lingered on well into the Iron Age, perhaps as far as the middle La Tène period, in areas outside the mainstream of Iron Age innovations and in contexts most suited to pastoralism. Indeed it is often difficult to detect any noticeable change in the ceramic assemblage of post-Urnfield cave deposits until the arrival of new diagnostic artefacts, such as phocean grey ware, pseudo-ionian pottery or massaliotic wine amphorae (in the case of the Ardèche) or the appearance of wheel-turned middle La Tène pottery (in the case of the Isère). We are left with a choice of hypotheses: either the caves were abandonned by Hallstatt times and only sporadically re-occupied from Late Hallstatt to Middle or Late La Tène, or caves continued being used, continuing an Urnfield tradition ("des allures Champs d'Urnes" (Bocquet 1969: 181)).

For this reason, it was decided to examine in some detail the later ceramic assemblages from the Grotte des Sarrasins near Grenoble (38-63), a large cave, permanently settled from Neolithic times to Middle-Late La Tène: a detailed presentation of the late Bronze Age, Hallstatt and La Tène horizons and material assemblages will be found in Appendix 2.

The results from the Sarrasins pottery analysis are not completely unequivocal. Although Urnfield forms do come into contact with (middle) La Tène forms, it is very difficult to ascertain whether this fact denotes true continuity. The contemporaneity of Urnfield and middle La Tène forms could be explained by the redeposition of the former wares: 'residual' late Bronze Age pottery could thus have been mixed with later assemblages by, for example, levelling operations. On balance, however, it seems that utilitarian forms such as urns, jars and bowls, changed little with time, whereas fine carinated Urnfield vessels did not survive much beyond the Late Bronze Age.

In the excavators' reports published in Gallia, the post-Bronze Age finds most often reported upon, are the products of Marseille and its hinterland, generally dated to Late Hallstatt beginning of La Tène: "phocean" grey wares, pseudo-ionian painted pottery, and, less often, micaceous wine amphorae of the region of Massalia. Even later cave occupations can be deduced from the occasional mention of campanian wares in Late La Tène contexts.

These indications would suggest that there were periods in which caves were particularly sought, i.e. during the Urnfield, late Hallstatt and late La Tène periods. But caution must be exercised: these periods are the very periods in which archaeological data for any type of site are best represented (see Chapter 4), and this because their assemblages are better dated. A prehistorian, more concerned with the earlier deposits of his cave, will tend to report only the better dated or typified late finds.

The mention of products of Marseille's hinterland, especially "phocean" grey wares, leads us onto our next point, i.e. the repeated association of such products with cave sites. Indeed, c. one third of

all caves with Iron Age occupation have produced grey monochrome ware. In terms of distribution, all three major groups, i.e. the caves of the Bugey, those of the region of Grenoble and those of the Ardèche, feature 'semi-exotic' pottery finds. Pseudo-ionian wares are reported fairly frequently from the Ardèche, but only one instance is known in the Ain (01-01). Massoliotic wine amphorae, on the other hand, are rare in caves (2 sites) and true luxury goods, such as attic fine wares, are never reported from caves.

Why should "phocean" grey wares so often end up in caves? In part, it is possible that grey ware vessels were included in burials: we shall see below that some caves could have had a funerary function. Secondly caves are by definition near rivers, in our case three major rivers: the likelihood of attracting goods'in transit' is therefore enhanced. Thirdly, one large group of caves, that of the Ardèche, lies within the "home distribution area" of "phocean"and pseudo-ionian pottery (see Chapter 5, part 3, sections 11 and 12). In this instance, provençal wares cannot be considered as imports, but are simply part of a normal 6th-5th C BC pottery assemblage.

The connection between "phocean" pottery and cave sites had already been noted by Benoit (1965: 158), who identified one such cluster of caves in the area of the Bugey; Benoit came to the conclusion that an indigenous late Hallstatt production centre of imitation grey wares existed in the region of Annecy outside the main area of production of grey wares in Provence (e.g. Roquemaure, Mourre de Sève near Sorgues, Vaucluse).

The function of cave sites in the later Iron Age

For the sake of conveniance, let us consider the function of caves under three headings: burial places, settlements and casual establishments, e.g. picnic places, shelters during transhumance, refugia or midden heaps. Of course, any combination of these possibilities could have existed and caves need not have been put to the same use throughout time: it is likely that some late Bronze Age settlements were only sporadically used later, or changed to a burials place (e.g. St-Martin-d'Ardèche (07-29-30).

A number of sites must have been used as convenient burial places, as was already the case during the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. But in the Iron Age caves did not serve as cemeteries: one or a few individuals and their grave-goods are the norm. Few skeletons, human bones or cremations are reported: a Hallstatt cremation in an urn is known at Ambérieu (01-01), at Lagorce (07-17) cremated human bones were found together with three complete pseudo-ionian vessels at the foot of an "aven", at La Buisse-et-Voreppe-Trou au Loup (38-09) disturbed human bones were associated with La Tène personal ornaments (a bronze bracelet, bronze placque and iron fibula) and finally, at Fontaine-Scialet des Vouillants (38-20) the rock-fault was used as a funerary shaft containing articulated human skeletons, metalwork and pottery bowls. A further 8 sites, although without reported finds of human bone are most likely to have contained a burial with associated metalwork: single aretfacts [fibulae at Donzère-Baume des Anges (26-09) and Méaudre-Grotte Colomb (38-24), or a 'jogassian' bone plaque at Matafelon-Granges (01-16)] or collections of objects of personal ornament [a bronze bracelet and bronze fibula at Labalme-Grotte des Combets(01-15), bronze bracelets, rings, a necklace and lignite bracelet at Rencurel-La Balme Noire (38-41), glass and lignite bracelets at Saint-Etienne-de-Crossey (38-50)] are interpreted as grave-goods.

We have seen that since "phocean" fine grey wares, e.g. pedestal bowls, are often included as grave-goods in the 'orthodox' barrow burials of Saint-

Remèze (07-32), together with indigenous pottery and metalwork, it is possible that some caves with grey ware finds could have contained a burial [e.g. Saint-Martin-d'Ardèche-Grotte des Cloches (07-29), Vallon-Pont-d'Arc-Grotte de Pontiar (07-39), or Ambérieu-en-Bugey-Grotte des Balmeaux (01-01)].

Settlement in caves, particulary permanent settlement, is in most cases only indicated by the presence of domestic pottery and animal bone assemblages; the settlement hypothesis may be strengthened if Iron Age occupation horizons supercede late Bronze Age levels of a settled nature. Few sites have produced features of a settled life: hearths or flagstone floors [e.g. at Vallon-Pont-d'Arc-Grotte de Pontiar (07-39), Fontaine-Barnebigou(38-18) or Sassenage-Grotte des Chèvres, (38-59)] may not indicate more than casual or sporadic occupation. The Grotte des Sarrasins at Seyssinet-Pariset (38-63) appears, at the moment, the only cave to offer independant evidence for settlement, in the form of internal structures (dwarf-walls, floors, pits, postholes, stone-lined hearths, the exploitation of a fresh water source) and a pollen diagram denoting a degree of permanency (cereal production in the Late Bronze Age, retreat of the forest cover and extension of pasture land in the ensuing Iron Age phases).

The Grotte des Sarrasins' assemblage gives us a glimpse into the types of activity of alpine 'cave-dwellers'. Eating, cooking and storing food account for the enormous quantities of domestic pottery (especially urns jars and bowls) found on site. Food consumed included cereals (cereal pollen, weed pollen, querns, grinding stones), hazelnuts, walnuts and meat. The large quantities of animal bones left behind, have, on occasions, been used to manufacture small tools and handles. Antler was also put to the same use. Textile manufacture, i.e. spinning and weaving, has left traces in the form of spindle whorls and bone shuttles. The open woodland environment was ideally suited for keeping pigs, but, particularly

after the end of the Bronze Age, there seems to have been an increase in pasture-land, and therefore a greater reliance upon dairy products. Finally, our cheese-eating alpine cave-dwellers occasionally lost some metal trinkets or weapons: beads, a pin, a fibula, a button and a late Bronze Age bronze arrowhead.

Finally, a number of caves must have been visited casually, or put to a use different from that of settlement or burial. In a region of transhumance and pastoralism, sheep-pens and shelters for shepherds rank high in the list of possibilities. Further suggestions gleaned in excavation reports are refugia or ritual sites (?) [e.g. Loiseux (73-33) with a complete pot at a votive(?)spring]. A group of caves on the Mont Salève near Geneva(74-14 & 15) may have contained burials but iron mining is a further possibility (Bocquet 1978: 18).

Conclusions

Caves, shelters and rock-faults, by virtue of providing a ready-made roof, have attracted Iron Age occupants and have been put to a variety of uses, including burial, settlement and casual occupation. Some may have been settled permanently, but only at the Grotte des Sarrasins do we have good evidence to support this hypothesis. Certainly, the heyday of cave settlement, in the Ultimate Bronze Age, was over. The climatic deterioration, around 750 BC, which it is suggested brought the Urnfield settlers to caves in the first place, may have had repercussions in the Iron Age and led to an increase in pastoralism. In this context, caves would provide ideal shelters during transhumance.

There seem to be three periods - Urnfield, Late Hallstatt to Early La Tène and Middle to Late La Tène - in which evidence for cave occupation is most frequent. It could be argued that these were times of stress, and refuges were sought. On the contrary, it could be suggested that at times of

greatest prosperity, a fuller range of environments was exploited. We shall beware of hasty conclusions, since it is in these periods that evidence of any type is most plentiful: the apparent frequency of cave occupations may be no more than a statistical factor. A high proportion of fine "phocean" grey wares - or 'semi-luxury' goods - have turned up in caves: the explanations offered are partly distributional (caves are near rivers, attracting a wide range of goods, and the caves of the Ardèche are in the 'home distribution area' of grey wares) and partly functional (perhaps grey wares are associated with burial rites).

Caves were used for burial, but not as formal cemeteries. One or a few individuals (outcasts?) found their last resting place in caves or rock-faults. Finally, caves were also used as rubbish deposits, ritual meeting places, refugia or mines.

On the whole, the quality of our data is low: excavators of the 19th century are partly to blame. But in spite of this drawback, caves so often have some evidence of Iron Age use, that they cannot be completely overlooked; in the best cases (Grotte des Sarrasins, see Appendix 2) they allow a glimpse into a neglected aspect of Iron Age life.

Chapter 9

Burials and cemeteries in the Rhône Alpes and in the Southern Alps

The data

Regional groups

1) Group of Tarentaise

2) Group of Maurienne

3) Group of Oisans

4) Group of Rochefort

5) The late Hallstatt barrows of the Htes-Alpes

6) The group of Bochaine-Moyenne Durance and the flat graves of the Eastern Htes-Alpes

7) The group of Ubaye-Queyras or Jausier-Peyre Haute

8) The La Tène burials of lowland Dauphiné

9) The La Tène burials of Haute-Savoie

10) The late Hallstatt barrows and burials of Haute-Savoie

11) The late Hallstatt barrows of the Saône and Southern Jura

12) The burials of the Loire (and Beaujolais)

13) The barrows and re-used dolmens of the Ardèche

14) The burials of the Drôme

Conclusions

The data

The eight départements of the Rhône-Alpes, with their arbitrary modern political boundaries, cut across many regional groups. Not only are different landscapes and different types of sites represented, but also different patterns of survival are encountered - either cultural or purely physical. As a result, certain areas of the Rhône-Alpes, very rich in burials and cemeteries, have attracted much research, while others, much poorer in material remains of any burial rite, have had correspondingly little attention paid to them. In very general terms, the Rhône-Alpes evidence is divided into two groups: the Alps and the rest.

The alpine valleys of the Tarentaise on the Isère, and Maurienne on the Arc (both in Savoie), the groups of Rochefort and Oisans (both in Isère) and the southern alpine groups of Bochaine and Middle Durance (in Hautes-Alpes) and Ubaye and Queyras (shared between Hautes and Basses-Alpes) provide the overwhelming majority of burial sites known to us (to the exclusivity of almost any other type of site). In the sole départements of Savoie and Isère, Hautes-Alpes and Basses-Alpes - the latter two not in our study area, but just to the South-East - we can count some 200 burial sites. Hautes-Alpes and Basses-Alpes have been included in our survey of alpine cemeteries, since without the evidence from these two départements, the study of alpine burial practices would have been incomplete. The rest of Rhône-Alpes, i.e. the départements of Haute-Savoie, Ain, Rhône, Loire, Ardèche and Drôme look comparatively empty with some 60 documented instances of burial: they are a mixed group of burials, ranging over a long span of time and a variety of rites, including barrows, flat-grave cemeteries, re-used dolmens, burials in caves, inhumations and cremations.

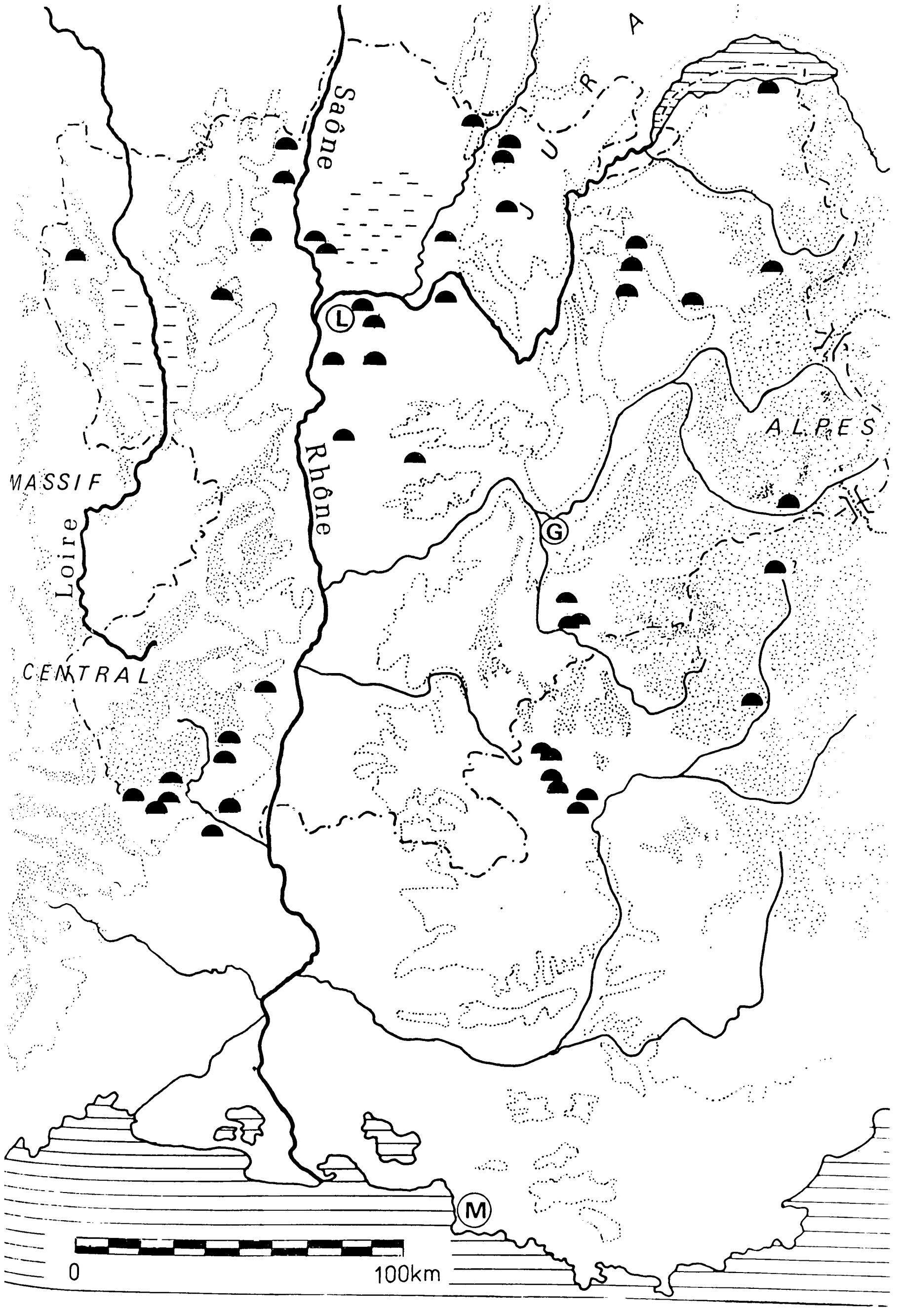


Fig 81 Distribution of barrow sites.

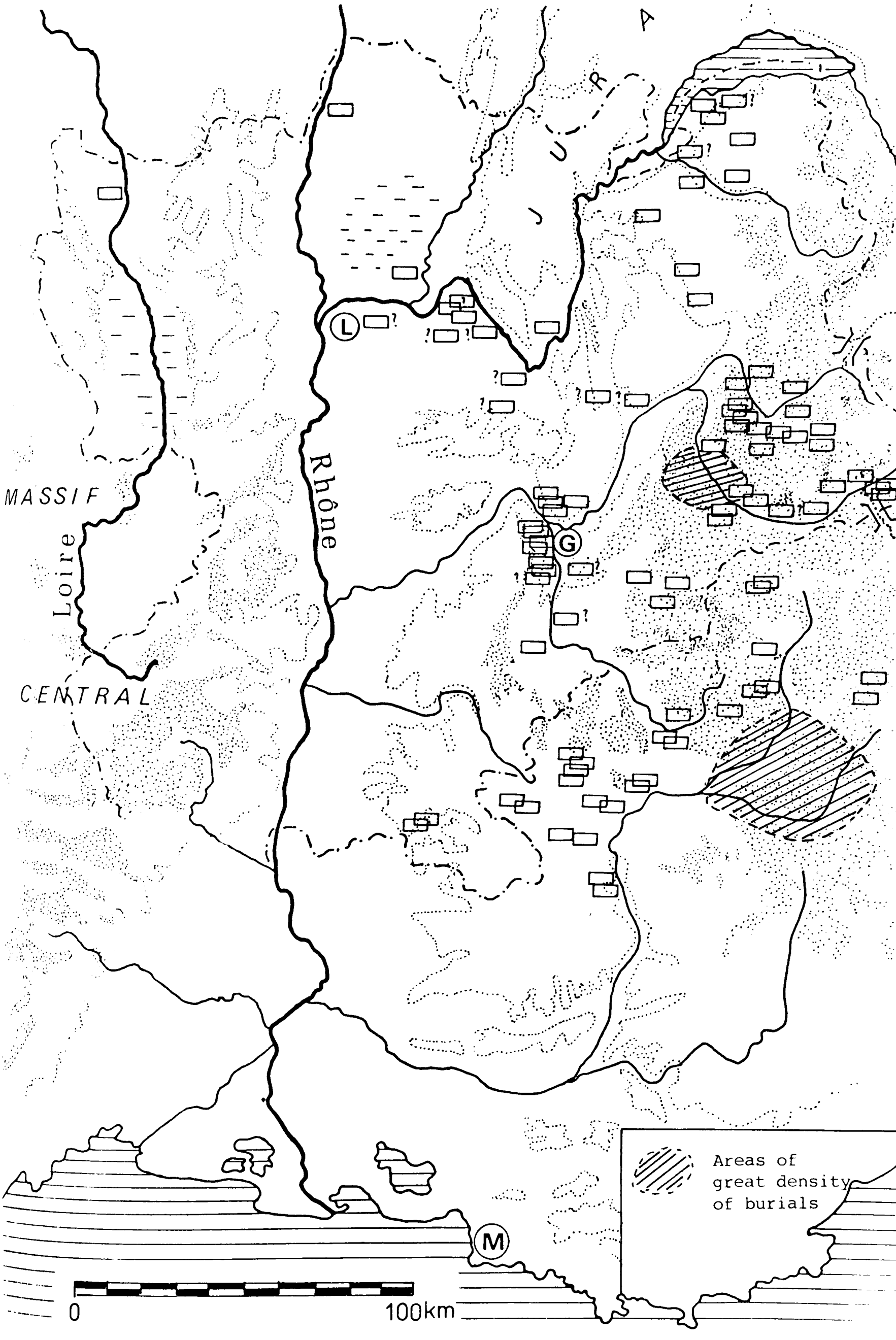
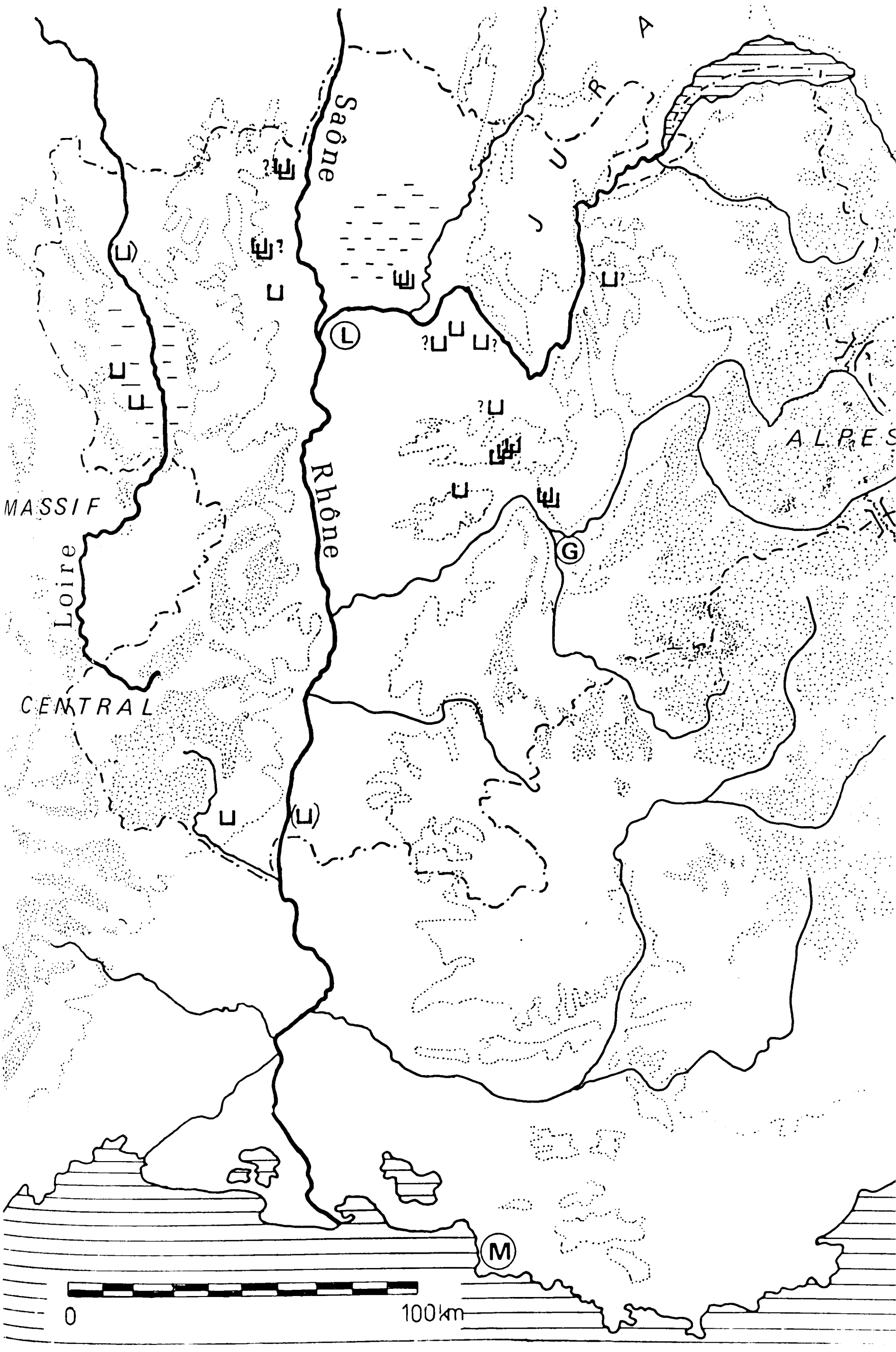


Fig. 82 Distribution of flat grave sites



bution of cremations not under barrows.

Not surprisingly, the alpine burials and cemeteries, in the greatest part discovered in the 19th Century, as, for example the famous cemetery of Saint-Jean-de-Belleville (73-49) published by the Marquis Costa de Beauregard in 1867, have attracted many scholars: a distinguished list of syntheses and analyses, headed by Chantre's monographs of 1878 and 1880, is available. To quote the more recent studies, used extensively in composing this chapter, the syntheses articles by Millotte (1959), the Chanoine Bellet (1963), Bocquet (1966, 1974, 1978), Courtois (1959, 1961, 1968, 1976a to 1976e), Salomon (1976), Lebascle (1976) and Prieur and Piccamiglio (1978) proved most useful. A more detailed study, particularly of grave goods, was undertaken by Patricia Von Eles, who examined the funerary assemblages of the French Alps for her thesis (Von Eles 1967-8). A complete inventory of pre- and protohistoric finds exists for the département of Isère (Bocquet 1969), as well as a complete catalogue of objects kept in the Musée Dauphinois at Grenoble (Bocquet 1969-70), and grave goods conserved in the Musée Savoisien at Chambéry (Prieur 1981; Prieur also published a short inventory of the départements of Savoie and Haute-Savoie in 1977). A summary review of the physical anthropology of pre- and protohistoric alpine skeletal material also exists (Bouville 1976).

Thus, the French Alps are well represented in the archaeological literature. Butthe situation is far from ideal: firstly, most sites were discovered casually in the 19th Century and the grave goods were dispersed in private and public collections. As a result, there are kilos of metalwork now resting in museum collections, separated from their original context: records of the skeletons, their sex, the position of grave goods, the orientation and structure of the graves, even the provenance within a commune are rarely available. A result of this state of affairs is that scholars have concentrated on the metalwork itself, and constructed regional, typological groupings

of grave goods, while neglecting, or dismissing as impossible, the study of the social implications or ritual aspects of cemeteries.

A second drawback is to be found in the literature itself: there is no single corpus of alpine burials and cemeteries, as exists for example for many Swiss cantons (published by Tanner from 1976 onwards). Admittedly, P. Von Eles' thesis went some way towards a statement of the available evidence for the départements of Haute-Savoie, Savoie, Isère (but only its eastern, alpine part), Hautes-Alpes and Basses-Alpes: particularly useful are the lists and drawings of hitherto unpublished grave goods in museums. But there are many flaws too: apart from a drawn type-series, only unpublished goods are illustrated; the type-series (using Roman numerals from I to CXCI !) is very cumbersome and often gives the impression that each new artefact is a new type; the study of associations of grave-sets is not taken very far; there seems to be a reluctance to give any firm dating to objects, unless they are either late Hallstatt or La Tène B_2-C (but this may be a drawback inherent to the material); and finally P. Von Eles refers (along with many other scholars) to sites by their place-names only, without indicating the commune in which the grave goods were found: this practice can result in hours of fruitless search on the map.

The other two recent articles that cover the whole of the French Alps are those of Salomon (1976) and Courtois (1976). They are short syntheses and can only emphasise regional differences by highlighting particular objects or sets of grave goods in the better known sites.

Surely, there is a case for making a fully illustrated corpus of alpine burial assemblages. It could be most rewarding, if only from the visual point of view: there is an enormous wealth of metalwork (especially bracelets and anklets, but also chains and fibulae) as well as amber, that could be presented in an attractive way. Furthermore,

regional differences, so much discussed by scholars, and ritual aspects, could be made clearer by illustration.

When this basic corpus is available, it will perhaps be possible to embark on more elaborate studies of chronology as well as social change, as have been carried out in Switzerland (Schaaf 1966, Hodson 1968, Martin 1973 and 1981), Germany (Lorenz 1978), or Eastern France (Babes 1974), to cite a few examples. A particularly useful survey of recent developments in European cemetery studies can be found in Hodson (1979).

Much as the writer would have wished to have to hand a corpus of alpine burials, none has been attempted here. But a series of synoptic tables, was compiled from the information culled in the sources listed above: no attempt has been made to go back to the original 19th Century reports, except for Costa de Beauregard (1867) and Chantre (1878 and 1880). These synoptic tables were designed to help the writer construct this chapter. Since the data is available for all the départements of the Rhône-Alpes in the gazetteer (Appendix 1), it was thought unnecessary to include these tables here. But the synoptic tables for the two départements which fall outside the Rhône-Alpes, i.e. Hautes-Alpes and Basses-Alpes, not inventoried in Appendix 1, have been incorporated into the thesis (Appendix 5). Individual references are not given: the tables were compiled from Chantre (1878 and 1880), Von Eles (1967-8), Courtois (1959 (1965) a and b; 1961a and b; 1968; 1976 a to e) and Salomon (1976).

Outside the Alps, the collection of data is much more haphazard and perhaps less complete, as no scholar has specifically studied burial sites of the Prealps, Rhône valley, Ardèche valley or Loire valley. Some useful information was extracted from Millotte (1963) on barrows of the Ain and Saône, Bocquet (1969) for lowland Isère, Vaginay et al. (1981) for the plain of Forez in the Loire, and Nicolas (1976; no more

than a list of sites in the Rhône valley, and unfortunately full of errors). Further evidence could be gleaned from Chantre (1880), Savoye (1899) and from excavation reports in Gallia.

Altogether, the study of burials in the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and départements of Hautes and Basses-Alpes is based upon a sample of c.260 sites. If we compile a 'league table' by départements, it will immediately become clear how the alpine burials dominate the scene, and how little is known in the Pre-alps, the Rhône and Loire valleys, and the South. At the same time, the main regional groups, defined as collections of particular artefacts, grave sets, or burial rites have been appended to facilitate cross-referencing between départements and regional groups.

The 'league table' would comprise:

Basses-Alpes:	c.42 sites	= group of Ubaye-Queyras) Jausier-) Peyre-
Hautes-Alpes:	c.58 sites	= group of Ubaye-Queyras) Haute = late Hall.barrows of Htes-Alpes = group of Bochaine-Durance
Isère:	37 sites (34 burials, 3 others)	= group of Oisans = group of Rochefort (= La Tène burials of Dauphiné)
Savoie:	56 sites (54 burials, 2 others)	= group of Maurienne = group of Tarentaise

These burials belong to an alpine burial tradition, except for La Tène Dauphiné.

Hte-Savoie:	24 sites (18 burials, 6 others)	= late Hall. barrows of Hte-Savoie = la Tène cemeteries of Geneva region
Ain:	12 sites (10 burials, 20 others)	= late Hall. barrows of Saône-Rhône-Ain = La Tène burials of Dauphiné

Rhône:	11 sites	= late Hall. barrows of Saône-Rhône = La Tène burials of Dauphiné = possible cremation cemeteries
Loire:	5 sites (4 burials, 1 other)	= middle and late La Tène cremations/inhumations
Ardèche:	12 sites (10 burials, 2 others)	= re-used dolmens and barrows of the Ardèche
Drôme:	6 sites (2 burials, 4 others)	= mixture of rites, incl. alpine burial burial in cave, on settlement etc.

Total = 263 sites for a period spanning from Hallstatt D to La Tène D. The total number of secure burial contexts numbers 243 (100 in Hautes and Basses-Alpes, 143 in the Rhône-Alpes). A further 20 sites are a mixture of isolated finds from possible burials, burials in caves, on settlements etc.: these are referred to as "others".

Distribution maps, defining the extent of each regional group and the appartenance of particular sites to a given group will be found on fig. 81 to 83 and fig. 90.

In the following pages, each regional group will be presented, so as to give an indication of the type of burial rites and assemblages to be encountered in the French Alps, Prealps and lowland valleys. Although the order in which the regional groups are presented may not be obvious, at the outset, there is some logic in the presentation of Chapter 9. First, the alpine groups (Tarentaise, Maurienne, Oisans, Rochefort, barrows of Hautes-Alpes, burials of Bochaine-Moyenne Durance, group of Jausier-Peyre Haute) are examined. Since the last group, Jausier-Peyre Haute, has a strong middle La Tène component, it seemed appropriate to proceed with the exposé of the largely middle La Tène burials of lowland Dauphiné. Still in the La Tène period, we then move northwards to consider the burials of Haute-Savoie. We then go back in time to consider a series of Hallstatt barrow groups: those of

Haute-Savoie, those of the Saône and southern Jura and those of the Ardèche. The exposé of burial groups ends with two areas where burial evidence does not feature very large: the Loire, with mainly middle to late La Tène elements, and the Drôme with a mixture of elements, including the disposal of bodies on settlement sites (at Le Pègue).

At the outset, it must be stressed that these regional groups were created, sometimes as early as 1880 (Chantre), by arranging families of artefacts similar to each other (e.g. particular types of bracelets) into groups exhibiting a localised and dense distribution. It does not necessarily mean that different types of ritual were practised in different valleys, even if it were the case. To take an example, the alpine groups of Tarentaise, Maurienne, Oisans and Rochefort are all inhumations in stone cists; all these burials belong to a single alpine tradition, but the artefacts found inside the cists show regional variations.

A series of figures, illustrating the types of grave goods present in some regional groups will be found in fig. 84 to 88 .

Regional Groups

1) Group of Tarentaise

This first group consists of inhumations in flat graves, sometimes in small cemeteries, located on high ground (c. 1100 m above sea level) in the upper valley of the Isère and its tributary, the Doron, in the département of Savoie, The graves are occasionally just cut into the ground, but, more commonly, are cists built of dry stone slabs (the so-called "lauzes"). Burials often occur singly or in groups of two, but a few cemeteries have also been located: such a cemetery existed at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville (Villarly, 73-50), with at least 7 burials. Finally, the largest and best known cemetery of the Tarentaise group is the site of Saint-Jean-de-Belleville, Notre Dame des Grâces (73-49),

comprising 24 excavated burials (including a set of 9 graves in a separate enclosure) distributed over an area of 7ha. This number of 24 is however not the total number of graves in the cemetery: Costa de Beauregard (1867) and Chantre (1878, 1880) talk of "hundreds" of other graves, disturbed before the excavation of the site in 1863. Interestingly, the Saint-Jean-de-Belleville graves seem to have had a stone cairn covering them: the distinction drawn between barrow sites and flat grave cemeteries may not be as sharp as the literature leads us to understand. Saint-Jean-de-Belleville also appears to have been the richest and longest lasting cemetery in the whole of the Tarentaise.

Taken as a whole, the burials of the Tarentaise group span from late Hallstatt (Hall D) to middle La Tène (LT C_1), although the majority of them belong to a transition period late Hallstatt to early La Tène. Late examples, of La Tène C date, exist at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville (73-49) and at Saint-Laurent-de-la-Côte (73-55). The 'transitional' burials could be interpreted as instances of a late Hallstatt cultural survival in the La Tène period, rather than be taken as dating evidence for a transition phase between Hallstatt and La Tène.

The little information available would indicate the following ritual: bodies were placed in extended position in a slab-built cist, or rarely in plain earth (as two examples from Feissons-sur-Isère (73-23) show). The cists were closed by a stone lid or (at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville 73-49) covered by a cairn. No uniform pattern of orientation can be detected: various orientations are present at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville (73-49); at Saint-Laurent-de-la-Côte (73-55) and at Saint-Oyen (73-61) the head of the deceased was to the North; at Feissons-sur-Isère (73-23) the bodies were orientated East-West, except for two, set apart from the rest and interred simply in the ground, with heads to the West.

This practice of setting apart groups of people may be a feature of the Tarentaise group (e.g. Feissons-sur-Isère (73-23) and the group of 9 individuals in their separate stone mortuary enclosures at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville (73-49). Otherwise, the impression given by the data is that cemeteries were very extended and perhaps loosely occupied: 7 ha at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville (even for "hundreds" of burials) and 'some burials' over a distance of 300 m at Feissons-sur-Isère may indicate that individual graves were set quite far apart from each other in a given area. It may therefore not be very surprising if the rest of the Tarentaise burial evidence relies mostly upon single chance discoveries: if only a limited area was investigated near the find-spot, the chances of finding other graves nearby may have been slight.

Saint-Jean-de-Belleville (73-49, hereafter no longer referred to by number) can shed a little more light upon the type of ritual practised in the Tarentaise. It has been suggested, for example, that bodies wore a shroud, since single fibulae were found on the top of the chest in 7 graves. Ritual behaviour can only be hinted at in a few instances: traces of a meal (pottery sherds at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville and a pot at Les Avanchers, 73-08) and burning (black sand at Saint-Laurent-de-la-Côte (73-55) and traces of burning on the bones of a skeleton at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville) are possibilities. Finally, although post-depositional disturbances must account for the majority of loose and disarticulated bones at St-Jean-de-Belleville, one grave (T6) appears to have been a charnel pit containing two or three bodies, whose skulls had been removed.

Apart from a few finds of pottery and of weapons at Cruet (73-21) (a sword and suspension rings, but not necessarily from a grave), Notre-Dame-du-Pré (73-37) (a spearhead) and Saint-Martin-de-Belleville (73-58) (an arrowhead), the 'grave goods' found in the burials of the Tarentaise consist exclusively of objects of personal ornament worn by the dead

The most common and characteristic artefacts are bronze bracelets, sometimes worn in huge quantities on the forearms (e.g. 60-65 bracelets on the left forearm of T2 at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville). Quite often, bracelets are the only objects of personal ornament, fibulae being much less common:graves, identified by the presence of bracelets only, exist at Saint-Oyen (73-61), Saint-Bon-Tarentaise (73-42), Pralognan (73-38) Feissons-sur-Isère (73-22), Champagny (73-18) and Les Allues (73-07). Contrarily to some other alpine groups, for example the groups of Oisans and Rochefort and the group of Jausier-Peyre Haute, no anklets were worn.

Bracelet typologies (cf. Von Eles 1967-8, Salomon 1976 or Courtois 1976a) form the basis of regional group differentiation. Suffice here to mention the different types encountered in the Tarentaise. Apart from "armilles multiples filiformes", i.e. thin bronze rings worn in sets on forearms, ribbed bracelets ("bracelets à côtes") are the most common type, followed by bracelets with nodules ("bracelets à nodosités") separated by groups of incisions, and hollow bracelets ("bracelets creux"). La Tène C meander-type bracelets, of a type known also in Switzerland (e.g. Vevey and Saint-Sulpice) have also been found, for example, at Saint-Laurent-de-la-Côte (73-55).

The fashion of wearing bracelets other than "armilles multiples" is illustrated at Saint-Oyen (73-61) (7 ribbed bracelets on each arm), Saint-Laurent-de-la-Côte (73-55) (4 bracelets in all) and at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville, where symetrical patterns predominate: T1, a man, wore a ribbed bracelet on each wrist, T7 had two ribbed bracelets on each wrist; T3, another man, wore two ribbed bracelets on each forearm as well as two ribbed armlets on each upper arm; a pair of armlets, accompanying sets of 40 and 60 "armilles filiformes" was worn by the man interred in T2. However, some disymetrical patterns also occur: T9 had two thin bronze bracelets on the left wrist only,

SÉPULTURES DE SAINT JEAN-DE BELLEVILLE

PLANCHE III.

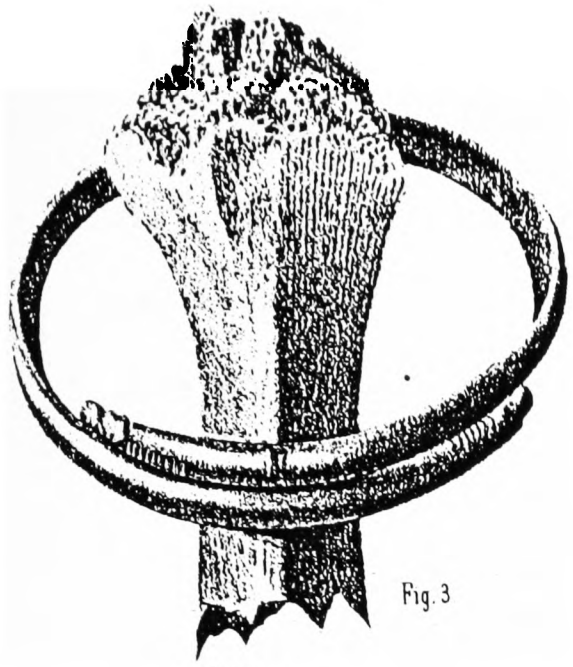


Fig. 3

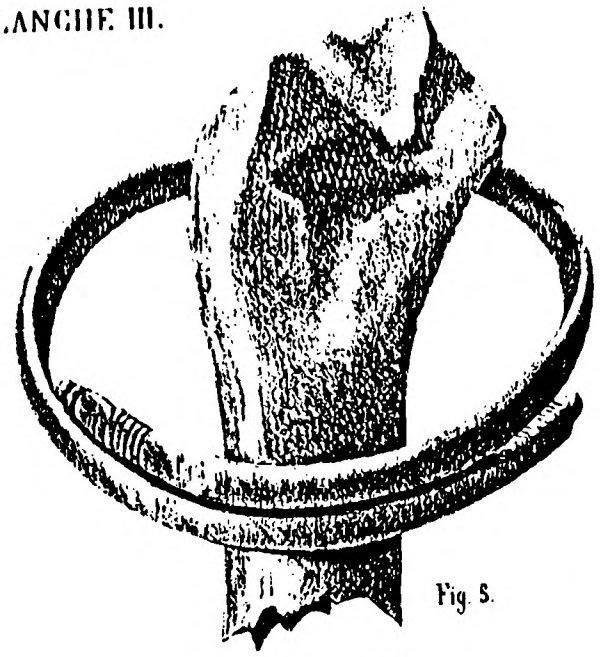


Fig. 5.

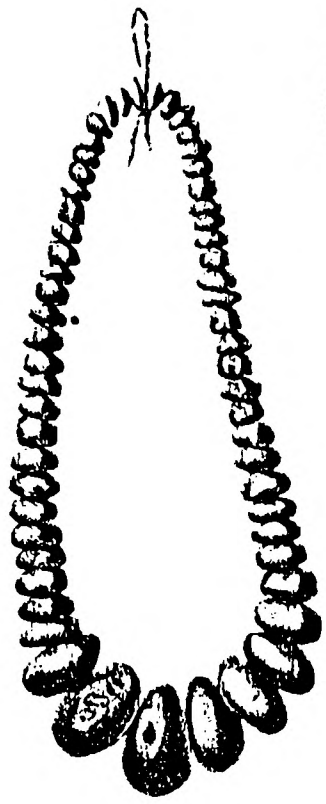


Fig 1.

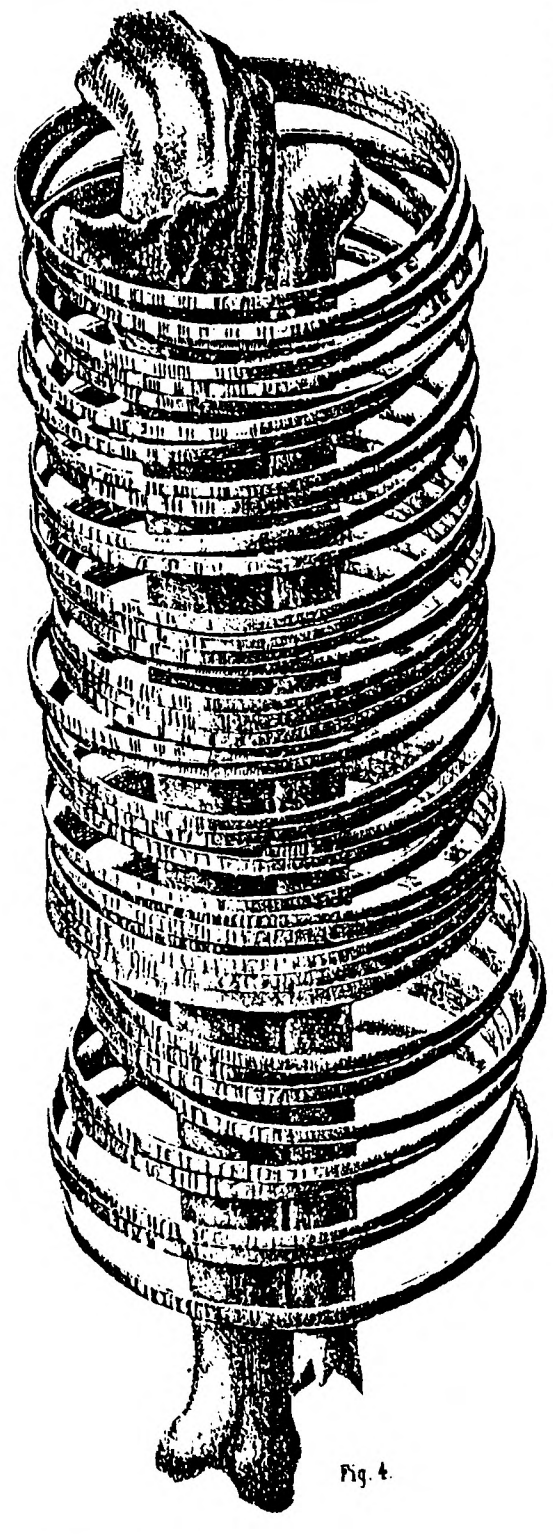


Fig. 4.

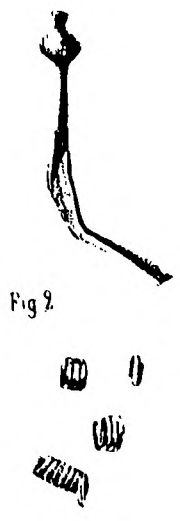


Fig 2.

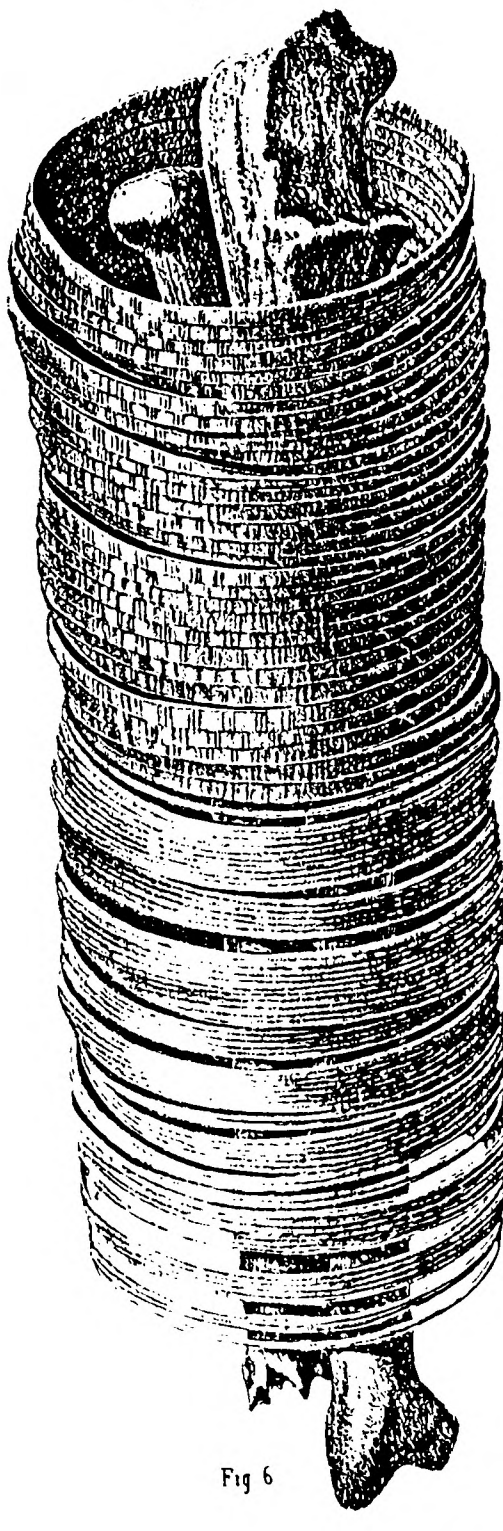


Fig 6

Lith. Perrin à Chambéry.

Poss & lith par Champod J

Fig. 84: Saint-Jean-de-Belleville (73-49), assemblage from grave T2 (from Costa de Beauregard 1867: pl. III)

and the female body discovered in 1864 (GT) wore three bracelets on her right wrist and only only on her left wrist.

Fibulae are the next most common class of artefact, ranging in style from late Hallstatt types to middle La Tène ones. To illustrate how much less commonly they occur compared to bracelets, it is worth mentioning that only 6 sites (Notre-Dame-du-Pré (73-37), Saint-Jean-de-Belleville, Saint-Jean-Villarly, (73-50), Saint-Laurent-de-la-Côte, (73-55), Saint-Martin-de-Belleville, (73-58) and Villette (73-70) produced fibulae, compared to 13 sites with bracelets.

A particular alpine type of fibula exists in the Maurienne (see below) and has turned up once in a Tarentaise assemblage: it is the so-called "fibule à tablette" found in T3 at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville.

The disposition of fibulae seems to indicate that a shroud was worn: at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville 5 bodies wore a single fibula in the area of the neck and 2 bodies wore a pair of fibulae, again on the neck.

Amber beads and necklaces feature in rich burials of the Tarentaise, They need not necessarily be made of imported material, since amber does exist in the natural state in the Alps (Prieur 1981: 9). An amber necklace is attested at Saint-Jean-Villarly (73-50) and at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville amber necklaces were found in the 1864 female grave (the necklace consisted of no fewer than 130 beads), the male burial T2 and in graves T7 and T9. Loose beads existed in T3.

Finger rings have been recovered on three sites, i.e. Villette, (73-70), Saint-Laurent-de-la-Côte (73-55) (one or two spiral finger rings of bronze dated to La Tène C_1) and Saint-Jean-de-Belleville (made of bronze, silver and lead).

Finally, a number of trinkets occur at Saint-Jean-de-Belleville only: bronze pendants (the so-called "crotales" well known in the Maurienne), and their suspension chainlets as well as belt hooks of

iron (in the 1864 female grave and in T1), bronze rivets or buttons and other unidentified fragments.

This panorama of artefacts cannot do much more than give a flavour of an alpine dress. It is most difficult to make any conjectures, yet alone analyses, on the status, wealth, age or sex related attributes of the Tarentaise. In summary, the fashion of wearing ribbed bracelets in symetrical sets or thin bracelets in a long series (perhaps sown onto the sleeve of a garment) appears the most characteristic aspect. It seems that both men and women followed this fashion, if Costa de Beauregard's sex identifications for St- Jean- de-Belleville are correct. Similarly, both sexes appear to have worn amber necklaces, finger rings (for a male burial see T3 at St- Jean-de-Belleville; a female example exists at St- Laurent-de-la-Côte, 73-55) and belt hooks or fittings (at St- Jean-de-Belleville, on a man in T1, on a woman in the 1864 grave).

As for wealth and status displayed by the personal attributes of the Tarentaise burials, pronouncements must be of an even more general nature. If the diversity of artefacts and materials is taken as an indicator, then the Tarentaise burials are on the whole fairly rich, compared to the groups of Oisans and Rochefort, but less wealthy than those of the groups of Maurienne or Jausier-Peyre Haute. Individual burials range from bodies with no grave goods at all (e.g. T5 at St- Jean-de-Belleville), through those with only bracelets, to those displaying a whole array of attributes: bracelets, fibulae, amber beads and other trinkets (e.g. the 1864 female burial, the male burials T2, T3, T7 and T9 at St- Jean-de-Belleville). The Tarentaise exhibits typically alpine traits (the fashion for multiple bracelets) but also certain attributes of celtic Europe (the La Tène fibulae): in this way, it would appear to be both closed upon itself and open to a certain amount of influence from the outside world.

If the wealth of individuals is taken as an index to economic and trade fluctuations, then it could be argued that the wealth of the Tarentaise is entirely 'home grown', in the sense that no imported artefacts occur in burial assemblages. But the question of provenance of amber must of course be answered, before such a statement can be verified. A different situation exists in the Maurienne, where the presence of italic material may indicate that the valley of the river Arc was a busier trade axe than the valley of the upper Isère.

2) Group of Maurienne

The valley of the Maurienne, along the river Arc and its tributary, the Arvan, in the département of Savoie, contains a rich body of burial evidence, apparented to the Tarentaise group, but displaying, in general terms, a richer facies. It may be that, since the valley of the Maurienne leads up to the Col du Mont Cenis, opportunities to acquire wealth through trade with North Italy were easier to come by. Further, a busy trade route would also be more open to influences from the barbarian world.

The burials consist of inhumations in stone slab built graves or in graves surrounded by large stones or pebbles (e.g. at Le Bourget-Rocher des Amoureux, 73-15). Occasionally, graves are covered by a stone cairn (e.g. at St- Jean-d'Arves, 73-43 to 48). A different type of grave marker exists at Lanslevillard - Sous l'Ecole (73-32): an upright stone stela marked the location of a late La Tène grave. Furthermore we have one documented instance of the re-use of a Hallstatt C barrow containing a partial cremation: a La Tène secondary inhumation burial in a cist was inserted into the core of the mound (at Le Bourget-La Chaussine, 73-14).

In general, graves contained a single body, but a double inhumation exists at St- Jean-d'Arves-Mas sur la Roche (73-45) and a triple

inhumation at Albiez-le-Vieux-Frégny (73-04). The data indicates that the burials were most frequently discovered singly or in small groups of two or three, as in the Tarentaise. A few small cemeteries are also documented: 6 graves at Lanslevillard-Chapelle Saint-Laurent (73-30), 11 graves at Lanslevillard-Mur des Sarrasins (73-31), at least 5 graves at Saint-Jean d'Arves-Mas sur la Roche (73-45) and a La Tène D cemetery at Lanslevillard-Sous l'Ecole (73-32). Small cemeteries were probably quite common, as at the time of their discovery, mostly in the 19th Century, 'several burials' were often mentioned: examples can be found at Albiez-le-Vieux (73-04 to 06), Albiez-le Jeune (73-02 and 03), Montdenis (73-34 and 35), Montrond (73-36), Saint-Jean-d'Arves (73-43 to 48), Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne (73-51), and Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves (73-62 to 64). The possibility of larger cemeteries must however be retained.

The bodies were interred in extended position and the few indications relative to orientation suggest that no particular orientation was preferred: N-S, S-N and W-E at St- Jean-d'Arves-Mas sur la Roche (73-45), SE-NW at Jarrier-Vers le Four (73-27), and E-W at Lanslevillard-Mur des Sarrasins (73-31). Finally let us mention two trepanations at Saint-Jean-d'Arves-Les Sallanches (73-47).

As in the valley of the Tarentaise, high ground was often chosen as a location for burial: extreme altitudes were chosen at Lanslevillard-St- Laurent (73-30) (1600 m above sea level), Lanslevillard-Mur des Sarrasins (73-31) (1550 m) and Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves-St- Pierre (73-63) (1500 m).

With the discovery, in 1980, of a late La Tène (La Tène D_2) cemetery at Lanslevillard-Sous l'Ecole (73-32), the valley of the Maurienne can boast the longest tradition of Iron Age burial in the Alps, i.e. from middle Hallstatt to late La Tène (Hall C to LT D). Few complete grave sets exist and even fewer assemblages were observed in situ. Nevertheless, a few sites have produced well dated groups,

starting with an inhumation of late Hallstatt date at Montdenis-Crêt du Saut (73-34), containing lignite bracelets, "valaisan" bracelets, a barrel-shaped armlet ("brassard-tonnelet"), a bronze chain ornament and a Golasecca fibula. A great number of burial assemblages can be assigned to a transition phase between Hallstatt and La Tène: the small cemetery of Saint-Jean-d'Arves-Mas sur la Roche (73-45), excavated in 1976 and where grave goods could be observed in situ, can be taken as a good example of this phase. There, in Tomb 3 for example, the body wore 20 multiple bracelets on each arm, 4 and 5 armlets respectively on each upper arm, a finer ring on the left hand, an iron fibula on each shoulder and an amber necklace around the neck.

For the early La Tène phase, a well documented burial was found in 1974, at Le Bourget-sur-Modane-Le Rocher des Amoureux (73-15): it contained a Marzabotto type fibula fragment, a decorated bronze torc and bracelet, dated to La Tène A or early La Tène B_1. The La Tène B_2 phase is attested for example at Albiez-le-Vieux - Frégny (73-04), where a triple inhumation burial revealed circa 80 bracelets, "crotales" pendants, two large disc-headed pins and a La Tène B_2 fibula. Middle La Tène burials exist at Albiez-le-Jeune-Le Buisson (73-02), Jarrier-vers le Four (73-27) and Saint-Sorlin d'Arves-St - Pierre (73-63), where a La Tène C bronze fibula, 5 "violin buttons" and two blue and yellow glass bracelets were discovered in 1978.

Finally, the cemetery of Lanslevillard-Sous l'Ecole (73-32), excavated in 1980, is the first indication of a late La Tène cemetery in the French Alps: it produced 5 Nauheim bronze fibulae and an iron Ornavasso type fibula, which would put it into the La Tène D_2 bracket.

Even if artefact types change during the 500 years covered by the burial assemblages described above, it seems that we are confronting a single continuous alpine burial tradition, with roots

in the alpine Urnfield culture and which is characterised by extended inhumations in stone cists.

If we turn to the range of artefacts displayed in the Maurienne, a series of objects of personal ornament similar to those of the Tarentaise, but richer in types and materials, exists. In short, bronze bracelets dominate the assemblages, as in the Tarentaise and elsewhere in the Alps, but a far greater variety of types is represented. Typical late Hallstatt bracelets, also known on the Swiss Plateau, the Jura and the Franche-Comté, such as jet (or lignite) armbands, barrel-shaped sheet bronze armbands ("brassards-tonnelet"), or hollow sheet bronze bracelets and open bronze bracelets of a type known in the Valais in the Swiss Alps (the so-called "bracelets valaisans") appear in early assemblages (e.g. at Montdenis-Crêt du Saut (73-34) or at Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, 73-51). Lanslevillard-Mur des Sarrasins (73-31) also produced a classical Hallstatt D belt-plaque made of sheet-bronze, engraved and decorated in the repoussé technique. Typically alpine are the thin multiple incised bracelets (the so-called "armilles multiples"), which are narrow rings worn in sets on the forearms: 80 exist at Albiez-le-Vieux - Frégny (73-04), 30 at Fontcouverte (73-24), 40 at Montdenis (73-35), 60 at Saint-Jean-d'Arves-Chambons (73-43) and 20 on each arm in T3 at Saint-Jean-d'Arves-Mas sur la Roche (73-45). Most characteristic of the Maurienne are 'cog-wheel' bracelets ("bracelets à engrenage") of bronze, which occur alongside ribbed bracelets already encountered in the Tarentaise: typological examination reveals that the Maurienne ribbed bracelets have ribs set much closer to each other than their Tarentaise counterparts.

In the La Tène period some new forms make their appearance alongside those of the late Hallstatt - early La Tène transition horizon, such as hollow bronze bracelets, open bracelets or decorated early La Tène bracelets (e.g. at Le Bourget-sur-Modane - Rocher des

Amoureux (73-15) or at Saint-Julien-de-Maurienne, 73-54). Silver is used for open bracelets of early La Tène date (e.g. Albiez-le-Jeune - Le Buisson, 73-02) and for a La Tène B_2- C_1 meander type bracelet at Saint-Jean-d'Arves - Les Sallanches (73-47). This meander type exists also in bronze at Jarrier - Vers le Four (73-27) and has good parallels on the Swiss Plateau (e.g. Vevey, VD). Finally two curiosities should be noted: an iron bracelet with bronze nodules at Saint-Martin-d'Arc (73-57) and a spiral bracelet, perhaps imported from the area of Ubaye-Queyras (see below) at Saint-Michel-de-Maurienne (73-60).

In summary, bracelets found in the Maurienne burial assemblages show that typically alpine examples coexist with types belonging to a wider distribution of late Hallstatt and La Tène artefacts: this observation will be made again, when looking at other species of personal ornament.

Early La Tène torcs of bronze [at Albiez-le-Vieux - La Saussaz (73-05), Le Bourget - Rocher des Amoureux (73-15), Fontcouverte (73-24), and Lanslevillard - Saint Laurent (73-30)] and silver (at Saint-Jean-d'Arves - Sallanches, 73-47) are new to the assemblages and illustrate how much more contact with celtic Europe the valley of the Maurienne entertained, when compared with the groups of Tarentaise, Oisans or Rochefort, where torcs are unknown.

Fibulae too show a wide range of cultural affinities. Fibulae of late Hallstatt type [e.g. at Saint-Sorlin d'Arves-Hameau du Pré (73-62)], early La Tène type [e.g. at Le Bourget-Rocher des Amoureux (73-15) and Roc Tourné (73-16), Saint-Michel de Maurienne (73-60) or Valloire (73-69)], middle La Tène type [e.g. Jarrier (73-27) or Saint-Sorlin d'Arves-St Pierre (73-63)] and late La Tène type (at Lanslevillard-Sous l'Ecole, 73-32) belong to a continental European tradition of fibulae. But examples from northern Italy and the Ticino, i.e. a Golasecca fibula with ribs and attached

chainlets found at Montdenis-Crêt du Saut (73-34), navicella fibulae [at Lanslevillard-Mur des Sarrasins (73-31), St- Sorlin-d'Arves-Hameau du Pré (73-62), St- Jean-de-Maurienne (73-51) and Le Bourget-La Chaussine (73-14)] and a Certosa fibula (from Le Bourget, 73-16) indicate transalpine contact. Typical of the valley of the Maurienne, but also encountered at St- Jean-de-Belleville in the Tarentaise and in the Hautes-Alpes are the fibulae "à tablette" [e.g. at St- Jean-d'Arves-Chambons (73-43) or at St- Jean-de-Maurienne (73-51)] belonging to a transition horizon between Hallstatt and La Tène.

As already lamented, few sites have produced grave goods in situ; it is therefore difficult to indicate how fibulae were worn. However, it could be suggested, on the evidence furnished by the iron fibulae found in T2, T3 and T5 at St- Jean-d'Arves-Mas sur la Roche (73-45), that the Maurienne people wore fibulae in a manner different to that of the people of the Tarentaise: there, a single fibula on the neck was common, whereas in the Maurienne fibulae are worn on one or both shoulders. Perhaps the difference indicates different types of funeral dress: a shroud in the Tarentaise, a cloak in the Maurienne?

Long pins with a large disc-head and usually bent in two, known at Albiez-le-Vieux (Frégny and La Saussaz, 73-04 and 05) and Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves (73-64) seem to be an artefact particular to the valley of the Maurienne. Although they belong to contexts dated to La Tène B (perhaps B_2), their roots are in the Bronze Age.

Amber appears fairly commonly in rich assemblages, in the form of single large beads, groups of beads (e.g. 7 beads at Saint-Jean-d'Arves-Sallanches, 73-47) or necklaces [e.g. at Albiez-le-Jeune, (73-02/03), Albiez-le-Vieux - La Saussaz, (73-05), Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves (73-62 to 64) or Saint-Jean-d'Arves, (73-43 to 48)]. The small cemetery of Saint-Jean-d'Arves - Mas sur la Roche (73-45) can be used to show how these beads were worn: in T1 as earrings

in T3 and T5 as necklaces worn around the neck, and in T2 as a saltire ("en sautoir") worn on the right shoulder. The fashion of wearing amber is shared by all alpine burial groups and can be taken, together with bronze bracelets, as a typically alpine way of dressing.

Glass was used in conjunction with amber to form a purple glass bead and amber bead necklace at Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves-Hameau du Pré (73-62) in a context dated late Hallstatt to early La Tène. Further examples of glass ornament, a glass bead necklace and glass bracelet at Albiez-le-Jeune Le Buisson (73-02) and two blue and yellow glass bracelets at Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves - St-Pierre (73-63), are found in later contexts, i.e. in La Tène C, when the fashion for glass bracelets becomes widespread in celtic western Europe (e.g. Münsingen-Rain or Vevey).

Finger rings of bronze or silver are attested at Albiez-le-Vieux - La Saussaz, (73-05) (with snake head motif), Jarrier - Vers le Four (73-27) and Saint-Jean-d'Arves - Mas sur la Roche (73-45). There, they were worn either singly on the left hand (T3), the right hand (T5) or severally (four on the left hand in T2). The fashion seems to have appeared in early La Tène times (La Tène B).

Saint-Jean-d'Arves - Mas sur la Roche (73-45), so often quoted since it is one of the few cemeteries with grave sets recovered in situ, appears to be the only site, so far, to have produced evidence for earrings, either of amber (in T1) or of lead (in T5).

A number of other objects of personal ornament worn in the Maurienne merit attention, amongst which the so-called "crotales" pendants [small bronze pendants resembling snake heads with open mouths, often found in bunches (e.g. 30 at Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves-Hameau du Pré, 73-62) and attached to small bronze chainlets or a bronze chain] are foremost: Albiez-le-Vieux (73-04 and 06), Saint-Jean-d'Arves-Chambons (73-43) and Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves

(73-64) have produced such "crotales". They are generally dated to a transition phase late Hallstatt to early La Tène, but this transition period may be a cultural rather than a chronological marker, as the "crotales" of Albiez-le-Vieux-Frégny were found together with a La Tène B_2 fibula.

Bronze chains worn as a necklace across the chest (at Jarrier-Vers le Four, 73-27), or as a belt, make their appearance in La Tène B_2 or C_1 contexts, as do those known further afield, in Switzerland (Vevey) or in the Ubaye-Queyras in the southern French Alps (see below).

Imported from the same southern French Alps are the 'violin' buttons of bronze found at Saint-Sorlin-d'Arves - St- Pierre (73-63): there, as in the Jausier-Peyre Haute group (see below), they are dated to the La Tène C phase.

To finish this résumé, mention must be made of occasional finds of pottery sherds at Jarrier - Vers le Four (73-27) and at Le Bourget - La Chaussine (73-14): but in the first instance the sherds may be residual in the tomb backfill, and in the second case the pottery may belong to a disturbed cremation urn.

With so many inadequately documented 19th Century discoveries, it is difficult to isolate particular male or female attires, or indicate how the wealth reflected by objects of personal ornament was distributed. It seems, however, that the richest graves were those of women, such as the burial of the trepanated woman of Saint-Jean-d'Arves-Sallanches (73-47) with silver torc, silver bracelet, amber beads, multiple bronze bracelets and other bracelets, or the woman of Saint-Sorlin-Hameau du Pré (73-62) buried with a dozen ribbed bronze bracelets, other bracelets, a glass and amber bead necklace, a chain with 30 pendants and a fibula. For well defined grave groups, we must turn to the small cemetery of

Saint-Jean-d'Arves - Mas sur la Roche (73-45); the evidence from graves T2, T3 and T5 indicates that well provided for individuals wore up to 20 multiple bracelets on each forearm, several armlets on each upper arm (up to 7), amber necklaces, iron fibulae on the shoulders, finger rings and ear rings of amber or lead.

The grave goods amply described above show that in the Maurienne, as in other alpine valleys, objects of personal adornment were the only attributes to have found their way into the graves: neither weapons, nor probably food are documented. This has led some writers (e.g. Prieur et Piccamiglio, 1978:56) to suppose that the alpine communities of the Iron Age were a peaceful lot, growing rich on transalpine trade and not engaging in warfare. Whether this is the case or whether a burial ritual dictated that only jewellery could be worn by the dead, or whether there is a bias towards female burial in reality or in the recovery of alpine assemblages, remains open to conjecture.

On the whole, the Maurienne burial assemblages are very wealthy, if the range of materials, the variety of artefacts, their combinations and the plurality of cultural traits are considered. The people of the Maurienne, while retaining characteristically alpine traits, have wide ranging contacts with northern Italy, the Ticino, the Valais, other alpine valleys (especially the Ubaye-Queyras), the late Hallstatt facies of the Jura and Franche-Comté and the continental La Tène culture of the Swiss Plateau. This should come as no surprise, as the valley of the Maurienne, on route towards the Col du Mont Cenis - supposedly crossed by Hannibal in 218 BC - is an important link between cisalpine and transalpine Gaul. But throughout a very long sequence, from the Hallstatt C barrow at Le Bourget-La Chaussine to the La Tène D_2 cemetery of Lanslevillard-Sous l'Ecole, the valley of the Maurienne exhibits an unparalleled continuity of inhumation rite.

3) Group of Oisans

This group and the next group to be discussed (the group of Rochefort) were defined by Chantre in 1880 and re-assessed by Dr. A. Bocquet in a series of articles, the most important being Bocquet 1966. The group of Oisans, in the département of Isère mostly, but to which a few burials in the Hautes-Alpes should be attached (La Grave-Ladoucette, La Grave-Les Hyères and perhaps the barrow of Monetier-les-Bains) follows a route going along the Drac valley, the valley of the river Bonne and then the valley of the upper Romanche, to lead up to the Col du Lautaret, which leads to the southern alpine valley of the Briançonnais. It is therefore an important link between the lower Drac and Isère valleys (where the group of Rochefort is established) and the southern alpine groups of Ubaye-Queyras and Bochaine - Moyenne Durance (see below). But it must be said that the Oisans group is small with only 10 sites to its name and that the route to the Col du Lautaret is not immediately evident from the distribution.

The Oisans group is, like all alpine burial groups, characterised by an extended inhumation rite in stone slab built graves or cists. Possibly, cairns were also built, as suggested by Chaper (quoted by Bocquet 1969: 289) describing a burial discovered in 1860 at Mont-de-Lans: ' a body under a heap of stones'. It seems that barrows, containing an inhumation or several are also known in the group of Oisans, if the 19th Century discoveries at La Motte-d'Aveillans (38-31), La Mure (38-33) and Le Monetier-les-Bains (Hautes-Alpes) are taken into account. Graves occur singly [Mont de Lans (38-30), La Motte-les-Bains, (38-32)], severally [Sousville (38-65), La Grave-Ladoucette] or, in two cases, in small cemeteries [Ornon-La Palud (38-35) and Venosc (38-71)]: unfortunately no record of the exact number of burials found at Venosc in 1839 and in 1856 and at Ornon in 1858 has survived.

This lack of documentation also means that no orientation pattern, if it ever existed, could be elucidated: only one mention of orientation, namely East-West at Venosc has cropped up in our searches.

The burials of the Oisans have been dated by Dr. A. Bocquet to a transition phase between late Hallstatt and early La Tène, which may linger on fairly late into the La Tène period, in the case of Venosc (38-71) and La Motte-les-Bains (38-32), as two finger rings have been given a late La Tène date.

The 'grave goods' displayed in the burials of the Oisans are exclusively objects of personal ornament, especially multiple bronze bracelets and anklets, worn in enormous quantities - up to 200 at Ornon (38-35) - on arms and legs. It is in fact the typology of these bracelets, more than any other attributes, that led to the identification of a distinct group in the Oisans. There are no ribbed nor cog-wheel bracelets as in the Tarentaise or Maurienne, but, instead, the characteristic types are thin incised ribbon or square-sectioned bronze bracelets ("armilles") worn in large sets: up to 50 on each arm and leg at Ornon (38-35), 60 to 80 in total at Mont-de-Lans (38-30), 14 on one arm at La Grave-Ladoucette. Other common types of bracelets are hollow bronze bracelets, either plain or beaded [at La Motte-d'Aveillans (38-31), Mont-de-Lans (38-30) and Ornon (38-35)] and open iron bracelets with overlapping ends (at Ornon, 38-35): the latter type seems to be shared with the group of Rochefort.

Apart from bracelets, very few artefacts were worn by the dead: amber beads, worn as pendants on chains at Ornon (38-35) or as necklaces at La Grave-Ladoucette, or combined with blue glass beads at Mont-de-Lans (38-30) seem to be the only fairly frequently encountered artefacts. A bronze pendant at La Motte-d'Aveillans (38-31), some

chainlets and two finger rings (a spiral type and a snake head type) at La Motte-les-Bains (38-32) complete the list of Oisans attributes.

The group of Oisans, in the heart of the Alps, is therefore rather conservative, in the sense that no obviously 'celtic' attributes, such as fibulae or torcs, nor transalpine artefacts appear in burial assemblages of the late Hallstatt or early La Tène period. It is characterised almost exclusively by the fashion for multiple bracelets, complemented by amber ornaments. It is argued by Bocquet (1966:11-12) that such objects of personal adornment must be the reflection in the archaeological assemblages of a certain prosperity, acquired, perhaps by the late Bronze Age, as a result of the use of alpine passages, such as the Col du Lautaret, linking the Dauphiné with Northern Italy. Bocquet sees the wealth of copper ore in the Oisans, coupled with the need for a direct transalpine trade route bypassing the Marseille-Rhône valley axis, as the catalyst for a brief flourishing of alpine communities in the Oisans in the 6th and early 5th Centuries BC. If this interpretation is valid, then it is interesting to note that this newly acquired wealth is not translated into imported goods or new fashions: perhaps the Oisans people dressed conservatively, at least at the time of their burial. The communities of the Oisans would have acted as a link between celtic barbarian Europe and the Mediterranean world without being affected by changes in these two worlds.

4) Group of Rochefort

This group takes its name from two cemeteries (38-69 and 70), discovered in 1884 and 1931 respectively, at the foot of the 'oppidum' of Rochefort in the commune of Varces-Allières-et-Risset in the département of Isère, not far from Gre-noble. Burials and cemeteries of the group of Rochefort are concentrated in the area of the confluent between the rivers Isère and Drac, with some burials further South

along the Drac valley, which leads, via the Col de la Croix Haute, towards the Bochaine (see below). Some 18 sites can be assigned to the Rochefort family, ranging from isolated finds denoting the presence of possible burials at [Brié-et-Angonne (38-07), Meylan (38-26), St- Egrève-La Monta (38-49), Seyssinet-Pariset (38-62), and Vif-St- Loup (38-84)], single burials [Fontaine (38-19), St-Michel-les-Portes (38-52), Sassenage (38-58), La Tronche (38-67)], burials in caves and rock-faults [La Buisse-Trou au Loup (38-09), Fontaine-Scialet des Vouillants (38-20), Rencurel (38-41), Saint-Etienne-de-Crossey (38-50)] to small cemeteries [7 graves at Seyssinet-Pariset - Le Châtelas (38-61), 6 graves at Varces-Rochefort Est (38-69), 4 graves at Varces-Rochefort Ouest (38-70) and several burials at St-Egrève-Hôpital St-Robert (38-48)]. Also included in this group is a re-used Bronze Age collective burial at Saint-Paul-de-Varces, dated to late Hallstatt times (38-53).

As elsewhere in the Alps, few indications concerning the burials and their structures, let along any ritual behaviour, exist. Inhumations in stone cists are documented at St-Egrève-Hôpital St-Robert (38-48) and at Varces-Rochefort Est (38-69). Flat graves with a rubble backfill - and possibly a cairn on top - were noted at Fontaine-l'Echelette (38-19), St-Michel-les-Portes (38-52), Sassenage-La Bonne Conduite (39-58) and at Seyssinet-Pariset - Le Châtelas (38-61). Caves were used as receptacles for inhumations, as is the rock-fissure of Fontaine-Scialet des Vouillants (38-20), where bodies of Urnfield date but also two Iron Age bodies were inserted (or thrown?) down a very deep shaft. Orientations do not follow any patterns: E-W, N-S and S-N are all documented. As observed elsewhere in the Alps, cemeteries seem very small and, possibly, are occupied by separate little groups of inhumations: at Varces-Rochefort Est (38-69) two distinct groups of three bodies were found some 150 m apart from each other. The twin cemeteries of Varces-Rochefort

are worthy of mention since they are a very rare instance of a settlement-related cemetery: but 10 burials can hardly represent a population living on the hillfort. This evidence together with the small size of alpine cemeteries in general, tends to confirm a suspicion that only very few people found their way into a grave, or at least in a burial that is archaeologically recognisable and datable.

Pottery sherds have been recorded in burials at Fontaine-Scialet des Vouillants (38-20), Fontaine-l'Echelette (38-19), Rencurel-La Balme Noire (38-41), and Seyssinet-Pariset-Châtelas (38-61): although all finds could be redeposited sherds in tomb backfills, it could be argued that a funerary meal took place nearby. The coincidence of pottery sherds and burials, in the Tarentaise, the Maurienne and in the Rochefort group seems a little too frequent to be simply explained as instances of redeposition.

The burials of the group of Rochefort are characterised by personal ornaments, as is the norm for the whole of the Alps, except for the presence of an iron spearhead in an uncertain burial assemblage at La Tronche (38-67). Most bodies wore only bracelets (and anklets) of bronze and iron in sets that appear, on the whole, smaller than in the rest of the Alps: to take an example, an individual buried at Varces-Rochefort Est (38-69) is reported to have worn 7 bracelets at once. It is however difficult to establish discrete grave sets, as the artefacts from 19th Century discoveries have been lost or dispersed in private and public collections: what can be salvaged has been stated by Bocquet in his catalogue to the collections of the Musée Dauphinois (Bocquet 1969-70) and in his thesis (Bocquet 1969).

Typical of the Rochefort group are bronze bracelets with groups of incisions interleaved with incised plaits, ribbon or square-sectioned bracelets made of thin bronze, incised or plain hollow bronze

bracelets, bronze bracelets with bosses ["bracelets à bossettes", e.g. at Varces-Rochefort Est (38-69) or at La Tronche (38-67)], iron bracelets with overlapping ends and armbands made of lignite or schist. The latter are common in many burial assemblages: no fewer than 12 such bracelets have been discovered on 8 different sites. Although typologically similar to those of the Franche-Comté, and, as a result of this similarity, dated to the late Hallstatt period, it is possible (as suggested by Bocquet 1969: 128) that these bracelets were produced locally from alpine lignite deposits.

A few graves have produced bracelets made of black or brown glass [at Seyssinet-Pariset - Les Iles (38-62), at St- Etienne de Crossey (38-50) and at Vif-St- Loup, (38-84)]: could it be an attempt at imitating lignite examples in La Tène times? And, if this were the case, were the lignite sources no longer exploited, or the technology lost?

As in the Oisans, few other artefacts were worn by the dead: a single iron early La Tène fibula is attested at La Buisse-Trou au Loup (38-20) and Varces-Rochefort - Ouest (38-70), and a number of miscellaneous trinkets, such as bronze and iron rings, pendants and a belt-hook are reported from Meylan (38-26), Rencurel (38-41) Saint-Paul-de-Varces (38-53) and Varces-Rochefort (38-69/70). It is worth noting that at Meylan, a "crotale" pendant was attached to a Rochefort type bracelet, whereas in the Maurienne the same "crotales" hang from little chains or a longer chain.

This panorama excludes the collection of objects from La Tronche (38-67), which is unfortunately of doubtful provenance, since it cannot be established whether all objects came from a single grave or not (Bocquet 1969-70: 160). It appears to be a rather 'up-market' assemblage, consisting of 8 bronze bracelets, an incised bronze anklet, 2 conical buttons of a type known in the Hautes-Alpes (see below), a large amber bead and a bronze fitting. The iron spearhead

from the same collection is more likely to come from a separate, later La Tène context.

The overall impression given by the Rochefort group is one of conservatism on the fringes of the Alps: indeed the Grenoble region is close to lowland Dauphiné; some cemeteries (e.g. Varces, 38-69/70) are lowland sites on the banks of the Drac, while others (e.g. Seyssinet-Pariset - Châtelas, 38-61) have an upland location. The artefacts found in the Rochefort burials remain typically alpine, with bronze bracelets hankering back to an Urnfield tradition. Particular to the Grenoble area are lignite bracelets perhaps manufactured locally (lignite was still extracted from Voreppe at the beginning of the 20th Century: Bocquet 1969:128), but similar in style to those of late Hallstatt Franche-Comté. Dating evidence is rather poor, with most sites being assigned to a transition period late Hallstatt to early La Tène, perhaps lingering on into Middle La Tène - date preferred for the glass bracelets and conical buttons. The grave assemblages are neither rich nor varied in content: for example, only one iron fibula has been recovered in the Rochefort group, at La Buisse-Trou au Loup (38-09). This apparent uniformity of personal attributes could be interpreted as the characteristic of a community, alpine in tradition, but less vigorous in its manifestation. This conjecture might be given some support by the fact that no single burial rite, i.e. cist burials as in the high alpine valleys, can be observed in the Grenoble region. Instead, we have a mixture of different forms of interment, only one of which is cist burial.

In spite of a certain poverty, the group of Rochefort provides a link between the high alpine burial traditions and the more classical late Hallstatt and La Tène graves of the lowlands, at the entrance to the Alps, in the narrow gap left between the massifs of the Chartreuse and the Vercors. The bracelets are at home in

the uplands, but a link with the lowlands is given by the spearhead of La Tronche (38-67), similar to those of the warrior graves of the Dauphiné (e.g. Rives and Voreppe, see below).

But, before entering the lowlands, let us once more climb into the Alps, i.e. the southern Alps, where an extremely rich alpine burial tradition flourished in Hallstatt and La Tène times. Although the evidence is found in the départements of Hautes-Alpes and Basses-Alpes, i.e. outside the circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, the data must be presented, for the sake of completeness. However, it was not as thoroughly examined by the writer as the former burial groups, and inaccuracies or discrepancies are inevitable. Three groups will be considered: the late Hallstatt barrows of the Hautes-Alpes, the inhumations of the Bochaine - Moyenne Durance - Eastern Hautes-Alpes and the inhumations of the Ubaye-Queyras (or the so-called group of Jausier-Peyre Haute).

5) The late Hallstatt barrows of the Hautes-Alpes

Towards the end of the Bronze Age (Bronze final III) barrows are built on the banks of the Büech (or Bochaine), to the West of Gap, and on the Middle Durance, to the South of Gap, in cemeteries containing at first cremations, then inhumations. These barrow cemeteries will flourish and increase by Hallstatt C and continue to be used by late Hallstatt (Hallstatt D) times or even on the eve of the early La Tène period. For the late Hallstatt to early La Tène transition period, the sites of Chabestan (a cemetery of circa 30 barrows stretching over the sites of Pont de Chabestan, Champcroze and Grange de Fonteille at Oze), Chabestan-Aspremont (5 barrows), Montrond, Serres (another cemetery of circa 30 barrows, with two well excavated barrows at Le Bosquet), all in the valley of the Büech, and the sites of Lardier and Ventavon (a cemetery of at least 20 barrows) on the Middle Durance, are of importance. To

this collection of barrows should be added a further barrow located at Guillestre in the Queyras, in the Eastern Hautes-Alpes: this region is better known for its La Tène inhumation graves (see below, group of Jausier-Peyre Haute). Ancelle in the Champsaur may also have contained burials of late Hallstatt date, but the assemblage is now believed lost (cf. Chantre 1880: 44 and Von Eles 1967-8:20).

The barrow cemeteries are established on the gravel terraces of the Büech and Durance, at altitudes varying between 600 and 800 metres above sea level. They can occupy vast tracts of land, e.g. 3 km at Serres, 4 km at Chabestan or 4 km at Ventavon (Les Mollards and St-Roch): the extent of the latter site was mapped thanks to an air-photographic survey (Rebillard and Courtois 1966). Although most of these sites have been known, robbed or partially excavated since at least the 19th Century, a number of more recent rescue excavations, in advance of quarrying, road- or electricity works, have been carried out by J.-C. Courtois: Chabestan between 1961 and 1972, Serres between 1959 and 1961 and in 1974.

The barrows are substantial structures, measuring between 9 and 19 m in diameter, and surviving to a height of up to 2,50 m (Ancelle). The periphery is delimited by a circle of large stone blocks, and the central burial area is similarly defined by an inner circle of stones. If several phases of use are encountered, this results in superimposed concentric or excentric areas (Chabestan Tumulus n° 3 in Courtois 1976b: fig. 30, p.83). The central area, containing a primary burial (a cremation in an urn at Chabestan Tumulus n° 4) or a principal inhumation (e.g. the 'chieftain's grave' at Chabestan Tumulus n° 5: Courtois 1976b: fig. 30, p. 83) is paved or made of beaten clay (Serres Tumulus du Bosquet n° 1: Courtois 1959 (1965). The barrow n° 1 at Serres-Le Bosquet gives us further information on the construction of the barrows: the central burial area contained a ritual hearth and

four inhumations, a further inhumation was located between inner and outer stone circles, and the whole mound was built up with red clay and capped with a mantle of pebbles. As many barrows were used over a very long period, it is not always easy to ascertain whether bodies were inserted into already existing mounds, whether they were all laid out at once, or at least before the final building of the mound. However, some planning must have been responsible for the layout of barrow 5 at Chabestan, where 15 individuals surround the 'chieftain's grave' inside the outer stone circle. Clear cases of secondary burials exist at Serres-Tumulus du Bosquet n° 1 (an inhumation with Urnfield urn and four secondary late Hallstatt inhumations), at Chabestan, Tumulus n° 3 (a primary inhumation with two urns and several secondary inhumations including an articulated horse burial) or Tumulus n° 9 (a primary cremation and three secondary inhumations). No thorough search of preferred orientation of bodies was carried out: perhaps a predilection for laying out bodies with head roughly to the East (at Serres, Tumulus du Bosquet n° 1 and at Chabestan, barrows 3 and 5) can be suggested.

To a certain extent, it is artificial to disassociate the material found in the late Hallstatt barrows of the Bochaine and Moyenne Durance from the material found in flat inhumation graves of the same area (see next group, below), since some artefact types exist in both groups; both groups are contemporary by late Hallstatt to early La Tène times and have a similar distribution. Perhaps the distinction between barrow-builders and people preferring inhumation in flat graves need not be drawn as sharply as this exposé suggests; at least it is not intended to propose two different peoples. After all, barrows could simply be seen as elaborate cairns. Since cairns are known over 'flat' graves (at Les Orres) and since some secondary inhumations in barrows could be interpreted as flat graves in a mound, the differences merge.

Furthermore, eroded barrows may have been in the past interpreted as flat graves.

However, it could be sustained that the late Hallstatt barrows of the Hautes-Alpes contain higher status burials than the contemporary flat graves. Or, a certain class of people,e.g. men or warriors, were interred in barrows rather than flat graves. It is difficult to verify the accuracy of these hypotheses, but a simple check of grave goods reveals that certain special-status artefacts occur in barrows only, such as bronze antennae daggers or bronze razors. Admittedly, an iron dagger was found at Manse in the commune of Forest-St Julien (Von Eles 1967-8:33) in 1879, but it is unknown whether it came from a barrow or not. Similarly unprovenanced is a horse-bit said to have come from Embrun (Von Eles 1967-8:25 and 87 (fig. 27)). Further, some attributes occur more frequently in barrows, but occasionally in rich flat graves, such as late Hallstatt iron fibulae (ratio of 4 to 1), iron bracelets (3 to 1) and belt buckles (2 to 1). Conversely, a number of artefacts are more common in flat graves and are rare in barrows, such as amber beads (1 to 3), pendants and other trinkets (1 to 3) and anklets (only recorded once in a barrow, at Guillestre). Finally, all types of graves have bronze bracelets: but the sets of thin bronze bracelets ("armilles multiples") are restricted to flat graves. The distinctive clusters of artefact species in barrows and flat graves, are presented in a table below (see p. 398).

From the clusters of attributes, it is reasonable to suggest that the burials in barrows are those of high status people. The evidence points towards male burials, and in two cases, warrior burials. On the other hand, flat graves tend to be characterised by bracelets and anklets only, with a few richer assemblages containing amber and glass beads, pendants and other trinkets, a fibula and a belt buckle (see also next section, below): at least some could be rich female burials.

Correlation table of artefacts in barrows and flat graves of the Hautes-Alpes

	buttons etc.	finger ring	pendants etc.	anklets	bronze bracel.	iron bracelets	belt buckles	amber beads	glass beads	late Hall iron fib.	pottery vessels	etrusc. metalwork	razor	dagger	arrowhead	horse bur.
BARROWS																
Chabestan 3 (secondary)																X
Chabestan 5 (primary)					X	X	X				X		X	X		
Chabestan 5 (secondary)										X					X	
Chabestan 9					X	X			X	X			X	X		
Chabestan 20							X	X	X		X					
Chabestan 22					X					X						
Chabestan 1					X											
Serres 1										X		X	X			
Serres 2					X											
Guillestre			X	X	X											
Ventavon						X										
Montrond					X											
Lardier					X											
Ancelle					X											
FLAT GRAVES																
Lazer 1					X			X								
Lazer 2		X			X	X		X								
Les Orres					X		X		X							
Le Saix - Les Eyssanières	X				X			X		X						
Orpierre			X	X	X											
Laragne				X	X											
Réallon				X	X											
Ribiers				X	X											
St - Jean de Crottes				X	X											
St - Jean - St - Nicolas				X	X											
Tallard				X	X											

All other flat graves have mentions of bracelets, mostly 'armilles multiples'.

A number of models could be put forward to explain the contemporary use of two different modes of burial, such as:

1) the 'ruling class' continues to bury in barrows as its ancestors have done, but ordinary people rest in flat graves
2) a new power imposes itself by building barrows or by taking over traditional barrow cemeteries
3) there is a complex etiquette in the Hautes-Alpes, which might involve the segregation of certain classes of people in separate cemeteries, e.g. warriors in barrows, rich females in flat graves
4) there are areas which could be described as 'valleys of the dead' - thus explaining the extremely dense concentration of barrow cemeteries, stretching for kilometres on the banks of the Büech and Durance - where communities continue to bury, either by inserting graves into existing barrows or by building new ones. The privilege to bury there is granted only to certain members of the community
5) a corollary to option 4 is that the cemeteries of the Hautes-Alpes are the final resting places of communities whose settlements are at some distance. This hypothesis cannot really be tested, since only two settlement sites (Ste-Colombe at Orpierre (Courtois 1975) and La Grotte d'Agnielles at La Faurie (Ulysse 1976)) are known in the area
6) conversely, it could be argued that the density of burials, both in barrows and in flat graves indicates a real intensification of occupation in the Hautes-Alpes, especially at high altitudes in the Eastern Hautes-Alpes. In this case the burials could be interpreted as part of a process of colonisation.

There are many examples of the successful testing of all these hypotheses (Hodson 1979), but most studies of death and ranking (Chapman and Randsborg 1981, Renfrew and Shenan 1982) stress how important it is to know all the variables of the data, which cannot

be the case for the Hautes-Alpes. If we read Hodder (1981:152:"the degree of organisation and role differenciation in death does not relate directly to patterns in life. Rather, there is a symbolic and ideological basis which must itself be understood"), then it would be naïve to try to put forward one or other of the models outlined above. Even to search for a 'best fit' of the Hautes-Alpes evidence with existing models is only to show how plausible one or the other could be. Model 3 (the segregation of different classes of people in separate cemeteries) has been tested by Jankavs (1981) on the island of Gotland in Sweden in the 3rd and 8th Centuries AD. His conclusions are that "different cemetery patterns reflect the same social structure" (Jankavs 1981:38-9), and not different populations. Model 4 (the idea of 'valleys of the dead', or at least areas designated for burial over centuries or even milennia) has been put forward for Bronze Age Wessex (Renfrew 1973:552-3, after Fleming). Bronze Age Wessex has also been used (by Bradley 1981) to show that barrows relate to land ownership. The idea of establishing control over an area by first building a barrow (Model 2) may be seen in the Hallstatt D_1 phase of the West Hallstatt culture province (Härke 1982:201 and note 10, suggesting that "Fürstengräber" preceeded "Fürstensitze") and again in the La Tène A Hunsrück-Eiffel culture (Härke 1982: 204). The eccentricity of barrow burials in the 'territory' - which is a possibility when considering high alpine cemeteries - has been discussed by Carver (forthcoming and pers.comm.) using examples from the Mälären valley in Sweden and from 10th AD Denmark: in these cases peripheral burials could be explained either as 'elephants' graveyards' (i.e. the furthest away or nearest to the gods) or as evidence of a "Landnahme" phase (expansion of territory). Finally, more traditional views, i.e. Models 1 and 6 - continuity or colonisation - are the explanations most often encountered in the French literature: see for example Courtois' statements

(1976a: 710: "an implantation of Hallstatt tribes"; 1976b: 111: "an expansion of the prehistoric population"; 1975: 75: "a celtic penetration into the southern Alps in the full 6th Century BC", à propos of Orpierre-Ste Colombe) (my translations).

Millotte (1959 (1965)) and Von Eles (1967-8), while taking into account new or intrusive elements (e.g. cultural traits such as inhumation ritual in barrows, horse burial, warriors, wealth in Hallstatt C and 'marnian' influences in Hallstatt D), stress the originality of the alpine facies developing during Hallstatt and continuing far into the La Tène period: only by La Tène C are the Hautes-Alpes part of a 'celtic' culture which stretches from Savoie to the Hautes-Alpes. Von Eles goes on to suggest that in the Hautes-Alpes 'ethnic foundations' are consolidated by Hallstatt D and then subjected to a 'gradual process of celtisation' (Von Eles 1967-8 185) emerging in La Tène C. The burials of this late Hallstatt to early La Tène original alpine facies are thought by Von Eles to be those of communities actually living at high altitudes, on an economy based on pastoralism, hunting, some agriculture, mineral extraction and exploitation of alpine passes.

The burial evidence from the Hautes-Alpes has not sufficiently been researched by the writer to give support to or refute any of the models outlined above. But certainly complex social patterns and perhaps ethnic or historic problems lie buried in the archaelogy of the Hautes-Alpes. Perhaps, with much determination and thoroughness, it is still possible to solve some of the problems posed by alpine burials. Meanwhile, as Hodson (1979:29, referring to early La Tène burials in Southern Germany and the Swiss Plateau) puts it : "it is difficult to believe that any standard form of organisation existed, whether we call it celtic or not in this area at this time". What can be shown in the Hautes-Alpes is that the much talked about continuity of tradition from Urnfield to La Tène times, usually put forward in discussions of the

alpine bronze metalwork is present on the barrow sites themselves, inspite of the hypothetic arrival of Hallstatt horsemen or wandering Celts.

6) The group of Bochaine-Moyenne Durance and the flat graves of the Eastern Hautes-Alpes

The areas previously described, i.e. the valley of the Büech (or Bochaine) and the middle reaches of the Durance are the distribution area of a considerable number of inhumation burials in stone-built flat graves, found either in situ or implied by the presence of enormous quantities of bronze bracelets and anklets in private and museum collections. This distribution area is identical to that of the late Hallstatt to early La Tène barrows (Salomon 1976: 8) discussed above. Indeed, it is most likely that flat graves and barrows coexisted for a time in the 6th and 5th Centuries BC, even if the flat graves continue to exist for a longer period: thus, it is a little simplistic to say that flat graves took over from barrows in the Hautes-Alpes (Von Eles 1967-8). But new to the alpine facies is an eastern distribution of inhumations in flat graves or cists, i.e. in the area of the Upper Durance and Eastern high Alps (e.g. at Saint Véran, the highest village of France, located at 2009 m above sea level), where previously only one barrow (Guillestre) had been reported. Thus, flat graves occur not only in the river valleys, but also at very high altitudes, generally between 1200 and 1600 m above sea level.

The flat grave inhumations of the Hautes-Alpes are characterised almost exclusively by bronze bracelets and anklets, worn in enormous quantities on arms and legs: up to 200 such bracelets have been recorded at Tallard in 1855. These bracelets are thin rings ("armilles multiples") of equal diameter, made of bronze wire incised with fine striations. But a number of other bronze bracelets complement the "armilles", such as square-sectionned thin bracelets (at Réallon), hollow incised bracelets

(at Ancelle, Ristolas, Les Orres, Lazer, Lardier, La Bâtie Monsaléon), late Hallstatt armbands (the so-called "brassards-tonnelets" of P ypin), and, in the Eastern sector, bracelets made of a slightly concave thin strip of bronze (at Châteauroux, St- Véran, Les Orres, Freissinières - Dormillouze) and beaded bracelets ("bracelets à bossettes" at Freissinières-Dormillouze). A few flat graves stand out for being much more richly furnished than those of the rest of the group. They are: Le Saix-Les Eyssanières (with 74 "armilles", a late Hallstatt iron fibula, a large amber bead, a conical button, a bronze plaque and a silver disc), Lazer-Château des Evêques de Gap (with "armilles", hollow incised bracelets, amber beads, iron bracelets, a tin or lead bracelet and a bronze spiral finger ring and, in the extreme East, the site of Les Orres (with a necklace of blue, yellow and white glass beads, a belt hook and hollow bronze bracelets). It is these graves that help date a collection of data of otherwise very poor quality. A date of extremely late Hallstatt or earliest La Tène (Hallstatt D or La Tène A) has been suggested for Lazer and Le Saix (Von Eles 1967-8 and Courtois 1976: 716). How early in the Iron Age the flat graves of the Hautes-Alpes started, and how late they continued to exist, seems largely a matter of guesswork: Salomon (1976: 9-10) suggests that the concave strip bracelets of the Eastern Hautes-Alpes originated in the late Bronze Age or early Iron Age, while the fragmented bronze bracelet, bronze chain and two bronze pendants from Orpierre (Von Eles 1967-8: 35 and 91 and Fig. 30, p. 90) are much more reminiscent of the group of Jausier-Peyre Haute, and thus tentatively dated to Middle La Tène (La Tène C), as is the assemblage from Les Orres.

The Bochaine, Moyenne Durance and Eastern Hautes-Alpes, with barrow and cist burial rites, flourish sometime towards the end of the Hallstatt period. It seems to be a highly individual area, but not exactly a backwater, since certain elements, even in the flat graves, can be connected with late Hallstatt Europe (e.g. the "brassards-tonnelets", the

late Hallstatt fibulae)or other alpine valleys (e.g. the iron bracelets, also known in the Oisans and Rochefort groups). But it has its own characteristic dress in the form of 'armours' of thin engraved bracelets and anklets. It can be seen as a prelude to the later group of Jausier-Peyre Haute which develops its own rich regional facies in the South East of the Alps during the La Tène period, especially Middle La Tène (La Tène C).

7) The group of Ubaye-Queryras or Jausier-Peyre Haute

The title of this section needs a little clarification: Ubaye-Queyras are geographical terms describing the location of the group along the valley of the Ubaye, a tributary of the Durance to the South-East of Embrun, and the Queyras on the East side of the Upper Durance along the valley of the Guil, while the terms Jausier-Peyre Haute refer to two eponymous cemeteries, one at Guillestre-Peyre Haute in the Hautes-Alpes, the other at Jausier(s) in the Basses-Alpes. Thus the group straddles the two départments of Hautes and Basses-Alpes.

This group, known since the beginning of the 19th Century thanks to the observations of Dr. Ollivier in the Ubaye and of Chantre in the Queyras (1878), consists of inhumation burials in stone cists, sometimes covered by a lid of flagstones (at Faucon-Bouzoulières) or by a cairn (at Lans or at Châtelard-La Monta). It has unfortunately suffered even more than the other alpine groups from the attentions of private collectors in the 19th Century and from subsequent dispersal in museums all over France: Gap, Barcelonnette, Lyon, Grenoble, Annecy, Beaune, St- Germain-en-Laye (MAN), Toulouse and Damme in Belgium all have metalwork from burial assemblages from the Ubaye or Queyras. Consequently, it is difficult to give precise indications concerning the size of cemeteries, orientation, sex of individuals or the position of attributes. What has survived indicates a dense distribution of burials, but perhaps not always in cemeteries. The impression given is that extensive areas were appropriate for burial, as well as discrete burial grounds. The find spots within

a commune, e.g. Jausier(s) (Les Argiles, La Frache, Le Gainier, Les Mats, Les Sanières), Lans (La Toure, Le Château and others), Saint-Paul-en-Ubaye (Chastellet, La Grande Sérenne, Maurin and others), Saint-Pons (La Vigne, Lauze, La Frache and others) or Guillestre (Champ Chevallier, Fontaine Sidi Brahim, Moreisse, Peyre Basse) generally refer to one or "several" burials.

It seems likely that extensive areas were deemed suitable for burial, with perhaps distinct small groups within these zones. Further observations seem to confirm this hypothesis: 7 to 8 burials are reported from a single cairn at Lans, two groups of inhumations some 400 m apart were recovered from Savines-Le Lac-Aygoires) and a small group of 4 inhumations was observed at Châtelard. It is tempting to suggest that this distribution pattern reflects a dispersed population, with perhaps each family disposing of their own burial ground, but, in the absence of precise information, this must remain conjecture. But some very large cemeteries also existed in the Ubaye and Queyras, judging by the reports of Jausiers, St- Paul-Grande Serenne and Guillestre-Peyre Haute by Chantre (1878: 9). By the later 19th Century, these sites had been destroyed. The cemetery of Guillestre-Peyre Haute is said to have occupied a knoll of c.3 ha and to have contained "several hundred" graves, at a depth of 3-5 m (!) from the ground surface (Chantre 1880: 14). Yet only 6 complete grave groups have been recorded and only one skeleton, that of a rich woman, was preserved well enough to be conserved in the Lyon Museum.

The Jausier-Peyre Haute group reaches it zenith towards the end of the early La Tène period (La Tène B_2) and Middle La Tène period (La Tène C), but it seems to have started by the beginning of La Tène or even late Hallstatt - a date which would agree with the Certosa fibula mentioned by Salomon (1976: 11) or the navicella fibula with lateral buttons from St - Paul-en-Ubaye (Von Eles 1967-8: 128 and Fig. 57 n° 4 on p. 129). Most authors treating the Jausier-Peyre Haute group stress how difficult it is to

give precise dates, since many types seem to evolve out of late Hallstatt specimen or remain unaltered since the late Bronze Age (e.g. conical buttons, bronze tubes and spirals quoted by Salomon 1976: 12; see also Courtois 1976: 720: "the group of Ubaye and Peyre Haute (...) emerges from a local late Hallstatt evolution" (my translation) and "the zenith of this original alpine culture corresponds to La Tène IC and La Tène II, but a probable survival until the roman conquest cannot be excluded" (my translation).

As we shall see, the burials of the Ubaye and Queyras are extremely rich and varied in their content; while retaining strong regional characteristics, they also possess material similar to that found in the European La Tène culture (e.g. fibulae, torcs, chains, weapons) and in northern Italy. Quite new to alpine grave assemblages are the finds of La Tène weapons, completely absent from the other valleys: the reason must be partly chronological, since weapons tend to become more common by late Early La Tène and Middle La Tène times in Celtic Europe in general; in other alpine valleys this phase is not as strongly represented as in the Ubaye-Queyras. Finds of weapons are reported from Guillestre-Champ Chevallier (a skeleton with a sword and a dagger at his side), at La Bréole (a short sword) and at Le Guénier (a sword). Further swords, shields and a helmet have been recovered from St-Ours-Meyronnes and from St-Paul-en-Ubaye - La Grande Sérenne.

As in the rest of the Alps, bronze bracelets and anklets make up the overwhelming majority of finds in the Ubaye-Queyras. Particularly well known are the multiple rings ("armilles multiples") which cover the arms and legs of the dead: some 220 were found in a single inhumation at Savines-le-Lac-Aygoires. What characterises these "armilles multiples" in the Jausier-Peyre Haute group is that they are of increasing diameter as they near the elbows or shoulders, rather than of identical diameter like their late Hallstatt predecessors. These "armilles multiples" are made of square-sectioned bronze wire, while a second type, also worn in

large sets, consists of wider incised bronze bracelets, also of increasing diameter (the so-called "armilles tronconiques"). A variation of this theme is represented by spiral bracelets, where, instead of a set of separate rings, the bronze bracelet revolves round itself up to 27 times (see Courtois 1976a: 720 and Fig. 5 n° 9 on p. 719): this type seems to have travelled up to the Savoie, to end up in graves at St- Michel-de-Maurienne (73-60) (Salomon 1976: 11) and St- Jean-de-Belleville (73-49) (Courtois 1976: 720) (see also below, section on cross-valley contacts). Two other common types of bracelets, i.e. incised hollow bronze bracelets sometimes still containing their wooden core (at St- Pons-La Frache, 1862 grave) and bronze bracelets with bosses ("bracelets à bossettes") are well documented in burials of the Ubaye-Queyras. Finally, a few rare types of bracelets occur at Jausiers-Les Sannières (an open bronze bracelet with spherical terminals: cf. Courtois 1976, Fig. 5 n° 4b on p.719) and at Guillestre-Peyre Haute and St- Paul-en-Ubaye (each with a so-called "valaisan" bracelet).

In contrast to many other alpine groups, fibulae are frequently encountered in graves of the Jausier-Peyre Haute group. They show early affinities with northern Italy or the Ticino (spectacle fibulae, Certosa fibulae, a Golasecca fibula with pendants, a navicella fibula with lateral buttons, all mentioned by Salomon 1976: 11, but not always traced; see however Von Eles 1967-8, Tav. I n°s 1 and 5 on p. 191 and Tav. IL, n°s 1-3 on p. 192: all without precise provenance except for n° 5 from St- Paul-en-Ubaye and n° 3 from St- Ours-Meyronnes, also illustrated by Chantre 1878, Fig. 2 on p.6). Later fibulae belong to the european La Tène tradition (e.g. La Tène B_2 bronze fibulae with coral-inlaid disc foot from St- Paul-La Grande Sérenne (Chantre 1878, Fig. 3 on p. 6) or Guillestre-Peyre Haute (Chantre 1878, pl. II) and Middle La Tène fibulae from the same Peyre Haute site (Chantre 1878, pl. II) or St- Pons-La Frache (Von Eles 1967-8: Tav. IV, n° 6 on p.194)). It seems therefore that the La Tène examples take

over from the cisalpine ones. It may be worth noting that La Tène fibulae also enter the scene on the other side of the border, in Liguria, near Albenga (Leale-Anfossi 1959 (1965)). The Jausier-Peyre Haute group also developed its own characteristic fibula, often called the Jausier type, a rather showy large fibula with a flat bow enhanced by a large disc, or wings, or a trefoil made of three discs. Examples of such fibulae, generally found in Middle La Tène contexts (La Tène C_1), are quite frequent: St-Pons, St-Paul-La Grande Sérenne, Lans-Le Château (Von Eles 1967-8: Fig. 47 on p. 114), Lans-La Toure (Von Eles 1967-8: Fig. 46,1 on p. 113), Larche, Jausier-Les Mats (Courtois 1976a: fig. 4 n° 10 on p. 719) and Guillestre-Peyre Haute (Chantre 1878: p. 9, Fig. 7 and pl. 11) have all produced variants of this type of fibula.

Rather out of the ordinary, since it is the only torc in the Jausier-Peyre Haute group, is a massive silver torc with spherical terminals discovered at Pallons in the commune of Freissinières in the Hautes-Alpes (Chantre 1878: Fig. 6 on p. 8), dated to the end of the Early La Tène period. Unfortunately, it was an isolated find. A burial found nearby, containing a bronze chain worn as a necklace, 8 bronze bracelets and amber beads, is also dated towards late Early La Tène or Middle La Tène (LT b_2-C_1).

Amber, frequent in many alpine burials, is also present in the Ubaye-Queyras: at La Bréole, a warrior discovered in 1853 seems to have worn an amber necklace, apart from 11 bracelets and his short sword. And at Guillestre-Peyre Haute amber is combined with blue glass and bronze beads to form a necklace for the worman buried in T1 (Chantre 1878, pl. I and II). According to the table of grave good associations in Von Eles (1967-8: 167-9), amber beads occur in early grave assemblages in the Alps (late Hallstatt and early La Tène), but seem to disappear from the scene later. It would be preferable not to use amber beads as a chronological indicator, since the use of amber is widespread and long lasting (La Bréole and Peyre Haute T1 could be dated to La Tène B_2 -C_1).

Bronze chains worn as necklaces or as belts belong to a Middle La Tène horizon. Von Eles (1967-8: 167) has identified a type formed with D-shaped rings which she attributes to La Tène C_1. These chains are quite frequent in the Jausier-Peyre Haute group and appear more commonly worn as necklaces [Guillestre-Peyre Haute, T2 and T3 (Courtois 1976: 721, Fig. 6C), Freissinières-Pallons (Courtois 1976, 721, Fig. 6B)] than as belts [e.g. Orcières-Buzansaye (Courtois 1976: 721, Fig. 6A)]. Further chains, without indication of how they were worn, were discovered at Châtelard-La Monta, Le Guénier, La Rochette and Saint-Ours.

Bronze finger rings exist in a variety of forms: with small spirals (St - Paul-La Grande Sérenne), coiled or bent (the latter two types at Jausier-Les Mats). They insert themselves into a La Tène vocabulary: see for example at Münsingen, Hodson's types 36 (LT B_1) and type 68 (LT C) (Hodson 1968, table 123).

A number of further bronze ornaments appear on the dress of people buried in the Ubaye and Queyras: they are conical bronze buttons (e.g. at St - Pons-La Frache, or a splendid example of 46 such buttons disposed from neck to feet and presumably closing a long coat in the female grave T1 at Guillestre-Peyre Haute: Chantre 1878, pl. I) and bronze violin shaped fittings or beads strung into necklaces (at Jausier-Les Mats and at Guillestre-Peyre Haute). Von Eles (1967-8: 167-9) dates these two types to Middle La Tène (LT C). "Crotales" pendants, already encountered in the Maurienne, make their appearance at Jausier-Les Mats and Guillestre-Peyre Haute, bronze belt hooks are reported from Lans-Le Château, Guillestre-Peyre Haute and St - Paul-La Grande Sérenne, and bronze plaques and fasteners (the latter attached to a small chain securing a Jausier fibula at Guillestre-Peyre Haute T1) continue the list of bronze ornaments. Reminiscent of Bronze Age antecedants are bronze tubes and spirals (at Guillestre-Peyre Haute and St - Paul-La Grande Sérenne) and a bronze pin with conical head from Guillestre-Peyre Haute. Finally a bronze needle

(Lans-La Tour) and pottery is recorded from a cairn at Faucon-Bouzoulières (Von Eles 1967-8: 26).

In order to visualise how these different ornaments were worn, it is well worth looking at the female grave T1 discovered at Guillestre-Peyre Haute and splendidly illustrated by Chantre (1878 pl.I). The young woman, of small stature, was buried wearning a long coat: the woollen material still adhered to the 46 conical buttons used to close it. Her head-dress was fastened by a large Jausier-type fibula attached to a small chain with pendants which secured it to a clasp on the side of her head. Around her neck was a necklace of 37 beads - 9 amber, 11 glass and 17 bronze -, on her chest were two bronze fibulae and on her stomach were two further fibulae (one of iron in the centre). She wore dissymetrical sets of bracelets, totalling 34: 6 and 3 armlets on right and left upper arm respectively, and 20 and 5 bracelets on right and left forearm. The assemblage is dated to La Tène C_1, with old elements of La Tène B_2 type (the coral-inlaid disc-foot fibulae).

The Jausier-Peyre Haute group shows a number of La Tène elements in the extreme East of the Alps, as late as the 3rd Century BC, perhaps around 200 BC, but also retains Bronze Age attributes and the Hallstatt fashion of wearing multiple bronze bracelets. Cisalpine artefacts, known in the early Iron Age, disappear from the scene later. Finally, warrior burials are a fairly common feature of the Jausier-Peyre Haute group.

If one was to make a case for acculturation of new elements - perhaps new people ?, bearing in mind that this is the period of movement of celtic communities into Italy and of a reflux out of Italy (the cisalpine Gauls were defeated by the Romans at Bologna in 192 BC) - then the Jausier-Peyre Haute group would be a good candidate. This hypothetical acculturation seems to have been swift - judging by the arrival of so many La Tène B_2 - C_1 elements and so few early "celtic" ones - and have gelled into a cohesive group, densely distributed in the South-Eastern Alps in dispersed cemeteries. A few assemblages

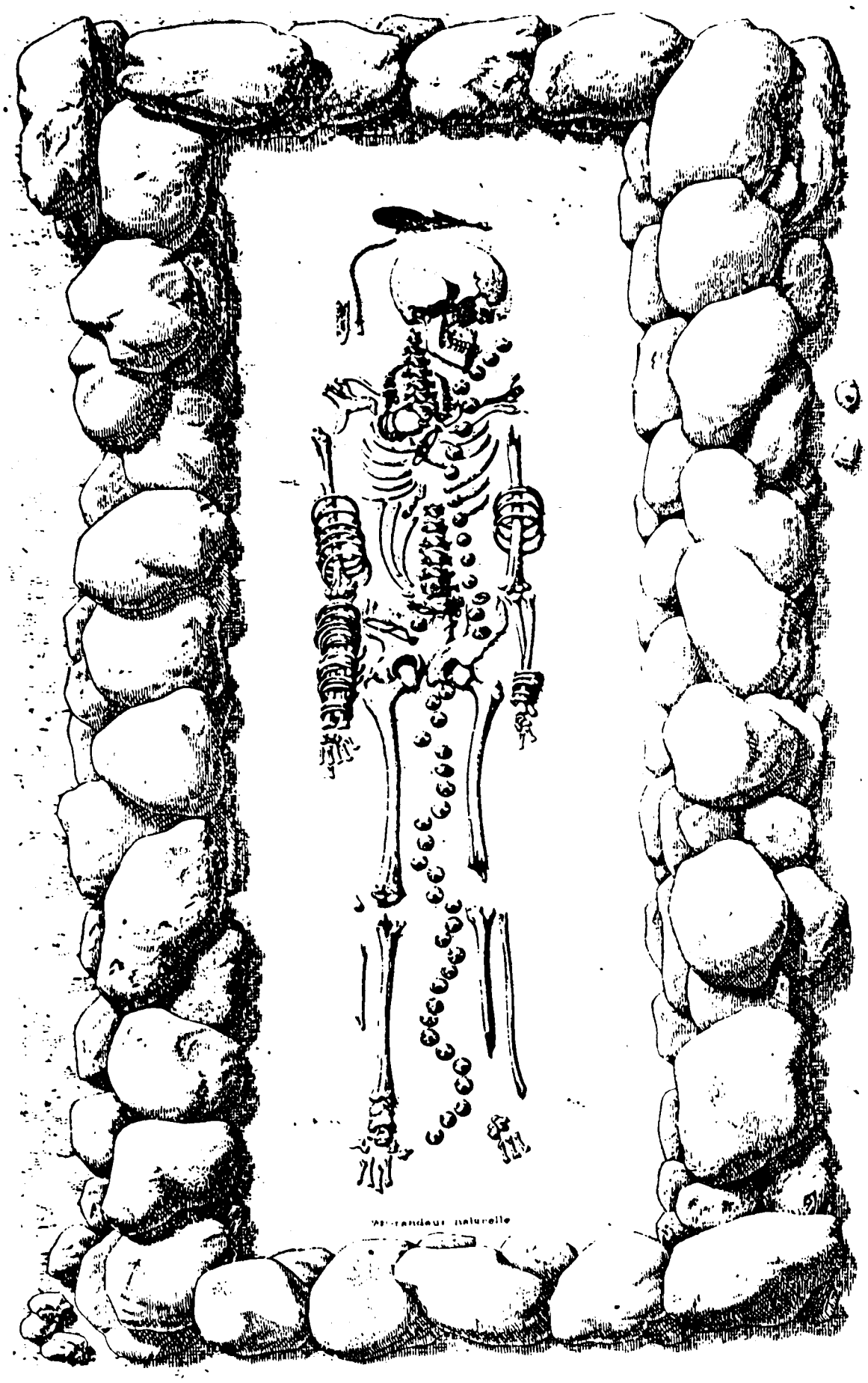


Fig. 85: Guillestre-Peyre-Haute (Hautes-Alpes), female burial

(from Chantre 1878: pl. I)

belonging to this cultural facies have also turned up outside the Ubaye-Queryas in the Bochaine, such as the burial at Orpierre and a small barrow in the barrow cemetery of Chabestan-Aspremont (Courtois 1976: 722): this is a late example of the re-occupation of barrow cemeteries, discussed above.

The Jausier-Peyre Haute group is the last of 7 regional groups belonging to an alpine tradition of burial in flat graves or cists. Because each group has characteristic metal artefacts, it is possible to trace the movement of particular artefacts from one group to the other, or from one valley to the other. It is a rare opportunity to examine cross-valley contacts within a similar 'culture'. This will be attempted below, but first we shall continue with the exposé of the burial evidence in the Rhône-Alpes, leaving the Alps to enter the lowlands.

8) The La Tène burials of lowland Dauphiné

It was decided to give this denomination to a heterogenous group of burials, located in lowland Isère and Rhône. It includes burials in the area of the Ile de Crémieu (Isère), the banks of the Rhône and Ain, and barrows in the plain of Bièvre-Valloire. Although the group is a hotch-potch of diverse elements, certain dominant traits emerge. Firstly, a definite concentration can be observed in the Ile de Crémieu, i.e. around the Camp de Larina (38-01), with burial sites at Courtenay (38-12), Crémieu (38-13), Leyrieu (38-23), Mépieu (38-25), Optevoz (38-34), and St-Baudille-de-la-Tour (38-44). Secondly, a large and distinctive group of La Tène warrior burials dominates the scene: 10 sites, i.e. Châbons (38-10), Crémieu (38-13), Leyrieu (38-23), Mépieu (38-25: the only late La Tène warrior), Optevoz (38-34), Rives (38-43), Voreppe (38-88), Genas (69-13), Miribel (01-18), and Cruet (73-21) have produced one or more swords.

The rites practised in lowland Dauphiné demonstrate how heterogenous the 'group' is. Warriors can be cremated (Optevoz (38-34), Rives 38-43),

Voreppe (38-88) in small cists containing the ashes, ornaments and bent swords, but there is also a warrior inhumation at Châbons-Les Rampaux (38-10). It is not always clear whether the bent weapons of Genas (69-13) Leyrieu (38-23) and Mépieu (38-25) accompanied cremations or inhumations. Inhumations in flat graves, sometimes stone-lined, are reported from Courtenay (38-12), St- Baudille-de-La-Tour (38-44) and perhaps Genas (69-13). Of the barrows mentioned, one, at Pact-Mauphié (38-36) contained secondary inhumations with pottery vessels in burials covered with flagstones, dated to Middle La Tène. The evidence from other barrows is less unequivocal: the barrows reported by Chantre (1880: 43) in the region East of Lyon, at Décines (69-12) Genas (69-13), St- Pierre-de-Chandieu (69-36) and Solaise (69-39) could be of (early?, late?) Hallstatt date, i.e. belonging to the cultural sphere of the plain of the Saône, Rhône, and valleys of the Ain. But, at Genas (69-13) and Leyrieu (38-23), the barrows have an ill-defined association with La Tène burials: either secondary inhumations were inserted into a barrow cemetery or the barrow themselves were built, rebuilt or added to in La Tène times. A further barrow is known at Saint-Pierre-de-Bressieux (38-54): it may, in fact be a motte. Lowland Isère and Rhône finally have produced a number of barrow sites, ring ditches and enclosures on air photographs (Combier 1977: 642). Taken as a whole, northern Dauphiné has a long tradition of barrow building, in the Late Bronze Age (region of Crémieu), Hallstatt period (e.g. the famous Hallstatt C barrow of La Côte-Saint-André with ritual bronze cart and situlae) which may linger on in the late Hallstatt and early to middle La Tène periods (Genas, 69-13, Leyrieu, 38-23, Pact, 38-36). Warrior burials become common in Middle La Tène and continue to exist in the late La Tène period (Mépieu, 38-25). Some late La Tène funerary assemblages (from cremations?) are also reported from Aoste (38-02) and perhaps the gallo-roman and earlier cemetery of Pérouges (01-20).

The paraphernalia accompanying a celtic warrior make up the longest list of attributes: long iron swords, sometimes still in their sheaths of bronze or iron, mostly bent before burial, but sometimes included in the burial full-length, total 24 examples: 7 at Leyrieu (38-23), 4 at Genas (69-13), 3 at Mépieu (38-25), 3 at Rives (38-43), 2 at Voreppe (38-88), and one each at Châbons (38-10), Crémieu (38-13), Optevoz (38-34), Miribel (01-18) and Cruet (73-21). From the descriptions given and occasional illustrations (e.g. Rives (38-43) and Voreppe (38-88) in Bocquet: 1969, 313, Fig. 85) they appear to be mainly middle La Tène types with features such as long parallel edges and scabbards with campanulate mouths (De Navarro 1972: types A2 and B1), rounded slightly thickened chape (at Voreppe: cf. De Navarro's type I δ) or V-shaped chapes with inpointed finials (at Mépieu, 38-25: De Navarro's type Aii). An example of an early La Tène type is the sword and scabbard of Miribel (01-18) (Stead, pers. comm.). Accompanying the swords, are the suspension chains of massive iron links (e.g. Rives (38-43) and Voreppe (38-88) in Bocquet 1969: n°s 3 and 7 in Fig. 85, p. 313) ,or bronze and iron suspension rings (e.g. Mépieu, 38-25).

Spears, or more precisely iron spearheads complement the swords on all sites, except three (Crémieu (38-13), Cruet (73-21) and Miribel (01-18) where swords only are reported). The three spearheads from Rives (38-43: Bocquet 1969: n°s 11 and 12 on Fig. 85, p. 313) show the range of types present: leaf-shaped, thin 'willow-leaf'-shaped and flame-shaped. Two spearheads, said to be made of bronze, are also mentioned at Leyrieu (38-25): the Leyrieu assemblage is a strange collection of middle La Tène weapons associated to seemingly earlier elements such as bronze and pottery vessels, a belt plaque, bronze bracelets, a bronze dagger and a chariot, cart or wagon burial. It could be suggested that the Leyrieu assemblage is something approaching a "Fürstengrab", and that it might be of late Hallstatt date in the first instance. Middle

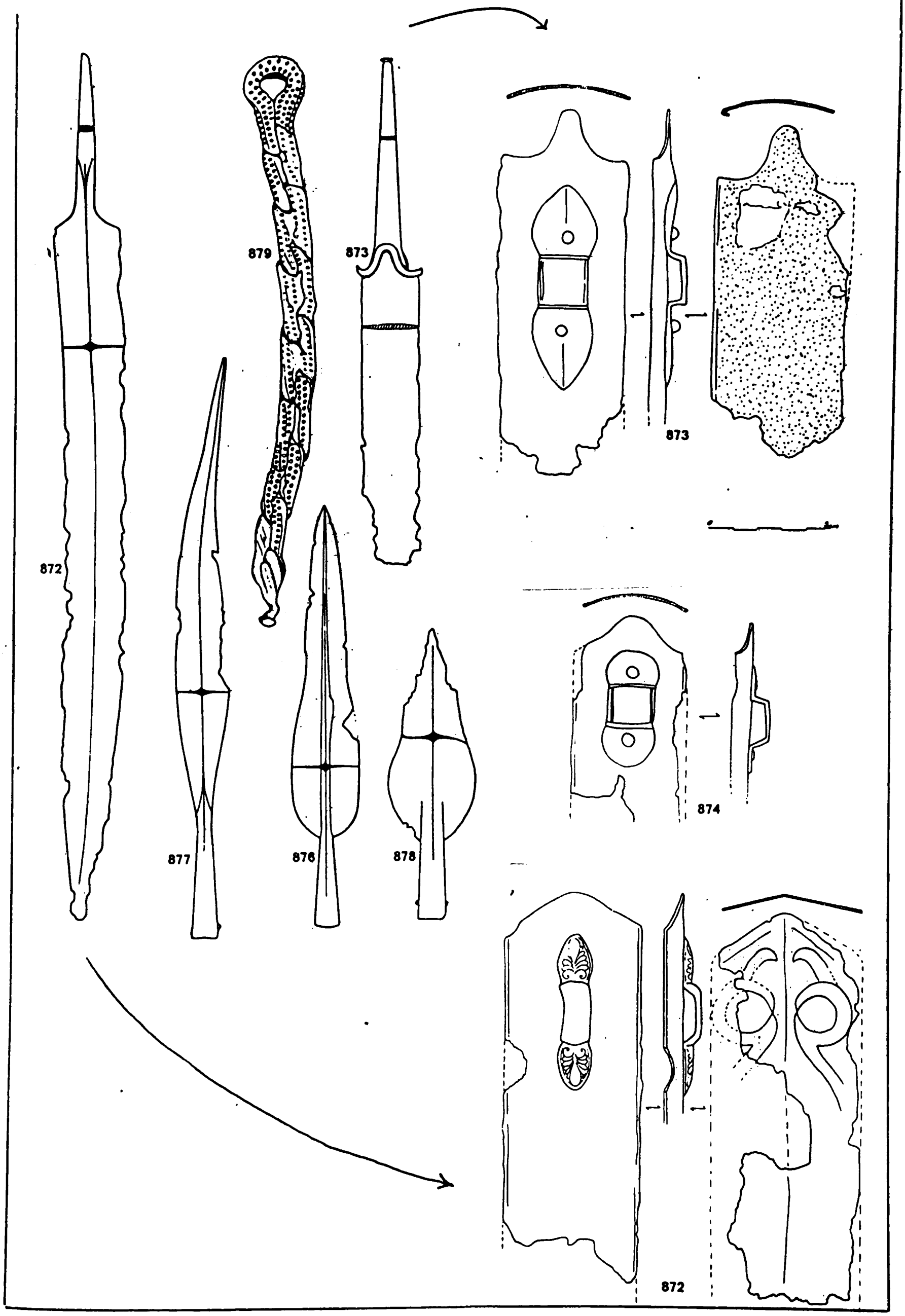


Fig. 86: The weapons found at Rives (38-43)

(from Bocquet 1969-70: pl. 53-4)

La Tène weapons would, in this case, belong to secondary warrior burials inserted into a hypothetical primary barrow. Or, the assemblage belongs, as Chantre (1899) and Déchelette (1927: 1052) suggest, to an early La Tène cart burial similar to those of the Marne and Champagne, with perhaps middle La Tène additions.

The classical middle La Tène 'trilogy' of sword, spear and shield, is completed by the shield, or at least the iron band-shaped umbo found at Mépieu (38-25); other finds of umbos are not reported from warrior graves, but it is always possible that shields were entirely made of perishable materials.

It is assumed that each warrior had one sword and one spear, but some confusion can arise at the site of Rives-Plan (38-43), discovered in 1882: there, 3 swords and 3 spearheads, as well as objects of personal ornament were found together in a cist, mixed with cremated human bone over an area of 2 m^2. Bocquet (1969: 311) states: "il s'agit d'une sépulture à incinération "(my italics). Unless the warrior disposed of spare sets of weapons, it seems more likely that three warriors were cremated, perhaps at once, and interred together in the same grave.

Apart from weapons, objects of personal ornament place lowland Dauphiné in the European La Tène cultural sphere. Iron and bronze fibulae of La Tène B_2 and C types are encountered at Quincieux (38-40), Rives, (38-43), Voreppe (38-88), and Genas (69-13), and late La Tène Nauheim and pseudo-Middle La Tène fibulae are reported from Mépieu (38-25) and Pérouges (01-20). Also of middle to late La Tène date are the finger rings from Aoste (38-02: a spiral type) and Rives (38-43: an engraved ring) and the simple bronze bracelets with overlapping open ends from Aoste (38-02) and Mépieu (38-25). The two sets of two identical bronze bracelets with fine 'wolf's teeth' engraving and open ends terminated by buffers (Bocquet 1969: n° 10 on Fig. 75, p. 293) discovered at Courtenay (38-12) and St- Baudille-de-La Tour (38-44) are probably of earlier date, i.e. they are to be placed sometime in the early La Tène period. Two bronze anklets found at Rives (38-43) and

iron belt hooks (one at Mépieu (38-25), one at Rives (38-43)) complete the list of objects of personal ornament worn in the Bas-Dauphiné.

The cremated bones were not necessarily placed in an urn, but pottery vessels occasionally accompany both cremations and inhumations: four 'black pots', amongst which one possessed a lid, were recovered at Genas (69-13), four other vessels turned up at Leyrieu (88-23), an urn is said to have contained a cremation at Quincieux (38-40) and some sherds of pottery accompanied the Voreppe (38-88) cremation burial. The barrow of Pact-Mauphié (38-36) also produced pottery vessels accompanying inhumations in stone cists: the drawings of four of these pots survive in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales (Bocquet 1969: Fig. 75 on p. 296) and are described as "marnian" in style. There were also two silver staters, now unfortunately lost.

In summary, the evidence for burial in lowland Dauphiné is a rag-bag of elements. A barrow building tradition may have lingered on after the Hallstatt period. Few sites can be definitely dated to a period anterior to middle La Tène. But then, lowland Dauphiné is marked by a 'warrior horizon' which has good parallels in celtic Europe, such as on the Swiss Plateau (where warrior inhumations are however better known than cremations). Apart from warrior burials the evidence remains poor. Only around the site of the Camp de Larina in the Ile de Crémieu (38-01, 38-22) is there a slightly better concentration of data.

9) The La Tène burials of Haute-Savoie

The département of Haute-Savoie possesses some 18 La Tène inhumation sites, either of undoubted provenance (12) or implied by the presence of isolated finds, such as bracelets. They concentrate in the Chablais on the southern edge of Lake Geneva (e.g. Chens (74-10) and Douvaine (74-19)), in the Genevois (e.g. Cruseilles (74-17), Reignier (74-39), Gaillard (74-22)) and between the lakes of Annecy and Le Bourget (Alby sur Chéran (74-01),

Rumilly (74-40) or La Biolle (73-12)). They are mostly situated in the lowlands and do not reach far into the valleys.

The inhumation burials often occur singly (Cruseilles (74-17), Gaillard (74-22), Reignier (74-39), perhaps Vérancy (74-54)) but two small cemeteries are also known: Chens-sur-Léman (74-10) with at least 5 graves and Douvaine (74-19).

The burial assemblages from the Haute-Savoie, particularly those of the Lake Geneva area, look towards the La Tène cultural sphere of the Swiss Plateau. It is there, particularly in the cemeteries of Saint-Sulpice and Vevey, in the canton of Vaud on the northern edge of Lake Geneva, that parallels can be found: Saint-Sulpice, with 87 burials spanning from La Tène A to La Tène C_1 and Vevey, with 31 graves spanning from La Tène B_1 to La Tène C_2 - being the largest cemeteries in transalpine Switzerland after Münsingen-Rain - are well placed for comparative purposes (see Gruaz 1914; Viollier 1915; Naef 1901; Naef 1902-3; Martin-Kilcher 1981; Hodson 1968; also Hummler, unpubl. 1978).

The majority of burials from Haute-Savoie can be assigned to the La Tène B phase, or 4th-3rd Century BC, but some assemblages have material of La Tène C date (Gaillard (74-22), Vérancy (74-54)) and a few sites may be of an earlier period (Reignier (74-39) and grave T4 at Chens (74-10)). Finally a number of isolated finds (e.g. the meander bracelets and Nauheim fibulae from Annecy (74-04)) may be of late La Tène (La Tène D) date.

As is the norm for La Tène burials, fibulae are the artefacts most commonly encountered in graves. The series from Chens (74-10) (Von Eles 1967-8: Tav. III, n°s 5, 6, 8, 11, 13 on p. 193) and Douvaine (74-19) (Von Eles 1967-8: Tav. III, n°s 12 and 14 on p. 193) as well as the fibula from the Salève (74-14) (Von Eles 1967-8: Tav. III, n° 3 on p. 193) shows a range of types going from La Tène A to La Tène B_2: roof-shaped with disc on foot (at Münsingen, this is Hodson's type 13, of La Tène A date), with high beaded arc (at Münsingen, Hodson's type 2o, also present at Vevey and

St- Sulpice, of La Tène B_1 date), high arc with short foot and small globe element and finial (La Tène A or B_1?), with internal cord and decorated flat arc (parallelled at Vevey, of La Tène B_1 date), swallow-type (at Münsingen, Hodson's type 46, of La Tène B_2 date) and with globe element and spatula finial (at Münsingen, Hodson's type 47, of La Tène B_2 date). Reignier (74-39) also produced two iron fibulae with coral discs (La Tène B_1?) and Gaillard (74-22) a bronze middle La Tène fibula (at Münsingen, Hodson's type 65 of La Tène C date). Finally, the Nauheim fibula from Annecy (74-04) can be assigned to La Tène D.

Bronze bracelets are the next most common attribute found in graves; there is also quite a number of isolated finds of bracelets, which, because they are thought to belong to unprovenanced burials, have been included in this discussion.

The bracelets show a mixture of alpine elements - such as an incised bronze bracelet of a type known in the Oisans from La Biolle (73-12) (and not Yenne: cf. Von Eles 1967-8, Tav. VI n° 6 on p. 196) or a ribbon-shaped bracelet from Bonneville (74-08) - and La Tène elements: at Chens-sur-Léman (74-10), there is a bronze bracelet with small buffers ("à petits tampons") and a decorated globe similar to an example from Vevey, grave 12, of La Tène B_1 date (illustrated in Von Eles 1967-8, Tav. XI n° on p. 201), and a bronze bracelet "à petits cabochons" (illustrated by Von Eles 1967-8, fig. 1 n° 3 on p. 52) identical to a bracelet from Saint Légier-Hauteville near Vevey and similar to an example from grave 8 in Vevey itself (see Martin-Kilcher: 1981, 117 and 118). This bracelet, of the same family as the 'wart-bracelets' of Münsingen (e.g. T 130), is dated, by Martin-Kilcher, to the La Tène C_1 phase; further, she suggests that the Vevey and Hauteville bracelets were manufactured locally; the Chens bracelet would fit well in a Lémanic distribution. Chens also produced a hollow bracelet with thin incised lines and 'point in socket' closing mechanism (illustrated in Von Eles 1967-8, Fig. 1 n° 2 on p. 52) identical to that of T61 at Münsingen, of La Tène B_1

date. At Douvaine (74-19), there are a massive plain bronze bracelet (at Münsingen, this is Hodson's type 37) and a hollow plain bronze bracelet, probably of La Tène B_2 date (illustrated in Von Eles 1967-8, Fig. 2, n°s 1 and 2 on p. 53) and at Cruseilles (74-17), the bronze bracelet with bosses and removable segment (illustrated in Lebascle 1976, Fig. 71, n° 6 on p. 180 and in Courtois 1976, Fig. 3 n° 5 on p. 715) is to be placed in a La Tène (B_2?) context.

Annecy (74-04) produced a meander type bracelet parallelled in T29 at Vevey and at Saint-Sulpice, datable to La Tène B or La Tène C_1 (Martin-Kilcher 1981: 116). A plain open ended bronze bracelet is probably also datable to La Tène C, since it was associated to a Middle La Tène fibula at Gaillard (74-22). Three further bracelets - an early La Tène decorated solid bracelet from Reignier (74-39) and bracelets from Alby-sur-Chéran (74-01) and Lugrin (74-28) complete the inventory for Haute-Savoie.

Finger rings exist at Chens (74-10) and the Salève (74-14) (Von Eles 1967-8, Tav. XII, n°s 8 and 9 on p. 202): the plain ring is generally thought to be earlier (at Münsingen, this is Hodson's types 5 and 9) than the spiral type which is common on the Swiss Plateau and western Switzerland in La Tène C times (Martin-Kilcher 1981: 117). Similarly datable to La Tène C (C_1?) is the bronze belt-chain from Vérancy (74-54) (illustrated by Von Eles 1967-8, Fig. 6 on p. 58): it is simpler than those of Vevey and Münsingen, lacks the 'rosette' hooks and segmented links, but ends in the characteristic triple chainlets destined to hold pendants. Also seen in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva were a bronze chainlet and a torc with buffers, said to come from Chens (74-10), but without grave provenance. The list of objects of personal ornament worn in the Haute-Savoie ends with a number of trinkets: bronze and jet rings worn on the chest of a woman at Reignier (74-39), a ring, a clasp and a pendant at Thonon (74-50). Prieur (1977: 45) also mentions coins together with other objects (mostly bracelets) on a number of sites in the Haute-Savoie; it is unknown to the writer whether these coins are separate finds or whether

they were associated to the bracelets. The practice of putting a coin in a grave is known in a La Tène C context at Vevey (T22).

The cemetery of Chens-sur-Léman (74-10) was the resting place of two warriors. The Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva exhibits a sword with tapering point and a scabbard chape of Early La Tène type. Von Eles (1967-8: Tav. XVII, n°s 4 and 13 on p. 207) illustrates a further sword and scabbard with high campanulate mouth and a bay-leaf shaped spearhead, which could be attributable to the middle La Tène period.

In summary, the burials and cemeteries of the Haute-Savoie lowlands show a great affinity with the La Tène culture of the Swiss Plateau, in particular with the cemeteries on the edges of Lake Geneva. Chens and Douvaine belong to this Lémanic cultural sphere. But the proximity of the Alps makes itself felt, albeit slightly, with finds of bracelets which would be at home in the alpine burial tradition. Finally, unlike the Isère which sees an arrival of La Tène elements, especially warriors, only by the Middle La Tène period, the Haute-Savoie enters into the La Tène culture right at the beginning of its life (La Tène A).

10) The late Hallstatt barrows and burials of Haute-Savoie

In this section, a number of diverse elements belonging to the late Hallstatt period (Hallstatt D_1-D_3 or even La Tène A), i.e. to the years 600 to 450 BC, will be presented. They are:italic artefacts of the area of Lake Geneva, inhumations of a late Hallstatt tradition in the valleys of Haute-Savoie, and barrows or barrow cemeteries with late Hallstatt to early La Tène material, distributed mainly in the vicinity of Annecy.

Firstly, the italian connexion is represented by an assemblage from Habère-Lullin (74-24) (Von Eles 1967-8: 28 and 55-56, Fig. 4) with 3 navicella fibulae with lateral buttons or horns, and a (Hallstatt D_1?) fibula with high incised arc. Both types have lateral coils. The horned fibulae are said (by Bocquet 1978: 18) to be parallelled in the Este culture; Primas (1970: 30, 32, 35, 36, 40-44) has traced this type of fibula at

Valtravaglia, Castelletto Ticino in the Golasecca culture area, Longone (Prov. Como) and Este (Prov. Padova): she ascribes the type to the phase Ameno II and Ticino A, equivalent to Hallstatt D_1-D_2. Duval et al. (1974: 29-30) date the Habère-Lullin fibulae to the late 7th or early 6th Century BC. Furthermore, a sanguisuga fibula, found on a site referred to as Jussy (74-26) (Von Eles 1967-8: 29 and 56-57, Fig. 5 n° 1: Jussy is not a commune, but there are three hamlets in Haute-Savoie with the name of Jussy), with lateral spring and finely incised chevron motif on the large hollow arc, is compared (by Bocquet 1978: 18) with Villanovan examples. In the Ticino, sanguisuga fibulae are common in the phases Ticino A, B and C, equivalent to Hallstatt D_2-D_3 and La Tène A (Primas 1970: 77 and 1974: 37, 39, 40) or Golasecca IIIA (De Marinis 1981). The exact equivalent of the fine chevron bands on the Jussy fibula could not be found in the catalogues of Ticinese (Primas 1970), or Lombard finds (De Marinis 1981), but Duval et al.(1974: 17) have found a parallel for the Jussy fibula at Vetulonia (Central Italy), dated to c. 600 BC. Sanguisuga fibulae are also known in Early La Tène contexts in the Valais in the Swiss Alps (Primas 1974b: 95 and Fig. 7 n° 2 on p. 96).

Lake Geneva is therefore in contact with Northern Italy by circa 600 BC. In a later period, it is worth mentioning two etruscan bronze statuettes of Heracles, dated to the 4th - 2nd Century BC, also from Habère-Lullin (74-25) now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva (Boucher 1976: 27). These bronze statuettes are fairly densely distributed in the wet areas of Haute-Savoie, (see Chapter 5, part 3, section 6-7).

The second element of the late Hallstatt culture of the Haute-Savoie consists of inhumations graves at Saint-Jeoire-en-Faucigny (74-44) in the valley of the Arve, Talloires-Perroix (74-48) and Saint-Ferréol - Le Lautaret (74-42) to the South-East of Annecy. To this group could be added the flat grave of Virignin - La Rachasse (01-31) and the bracelet of La Balme (73-11) on the Rhône in the Défilé de Pierre-Châtel and perhaps the cave burial of Labalme - Grotte des Combets (01-15). These burials

have all produced assemblages with strong affinities with the middle to late Hallstatt (Hallstatt D_1 - D_3) culture of the Franche-Comté, Jura and Swiss Plateau. St- Ferréol (74-42) and Talloires (74-48) each produced a bronze ornament made of concentric engraved rings and central fret-work plaque (illustrated by Courtois 1976, Fig. 3 n° 14 on p. 715 and by Lebascle 1976, Fig. 71 n°s 1 and 2 on p. 180). They are the so-called "parures ventrales" or "Zierscheiben" found in the Jura (e.g. at the Tumulus de La Châtelaine near Arbois: cf. Millotte 1962, pl. III n° 45 and pl. IV n° 54), the canton of Neuchâtel (Drack 1974, Fig. 4 on p. 21), at Ins-Anet (Drack 1960, pl. 2 n° 8) or in the Valais at Viège (Primas 1974a, Fig. 2 n° 2 on p. 36); they are a fossil - type of the Hallstatt D_1 phase. At St- Ferréol (74-42) the disc-ornament - a pectoral ? - was associated to two pairs of bronze bracelets (illustrated in Lebascle 1976, Fig. 71 n°s 5 and 7 on p. 180) of 'cogwheel' type known in the Maurienne and open type with enlarged extremities, also known in the Alps (Von Eles 1967-8: type LX on Tav. VII n° 2 on p. 197), while at Talloires-Perroix (74-48) the disc-ornament was accompanied by a bronze or iron dagger and a sickle (or bent spearhead?). Further contacts with the Jura - Franche Comté - Swiss Plateau cultural sphere are attested by two geometrically engraved bronze armbands ("brassards tonnelets") and a lignite bracelet, discovered in one of several inhumation burials at Saint-Jeoire-en-Faucigny (74-44) (illustrated in Lebascle 1976, Fig. 71 n°s 3 and 4 on p. 180 or by Courtois 1976, Fig. 3 n°s 11 and 12 on p. 715): parallels can be found in the Jura (e.g. at the Tumulus de la Châtelaine: Millotte 1962, pl. IV n°s 56 and 57) or Switzerland (Drack 1974: 20) in the Hallstatt D_1 phase. A crossbow fibula of Hallstatt D_3 type and a bronze bracelet with incised geometric decor reveal the presence of a burial in the cave of Les Combets at Labalme (01-15) and at Virignin (01-31), in the Défilé de Pierre-Châtel, an inhumation of a child was accompanied by a late Hallstatt bracelet with fine transversal incisions. A further bracelet was found at La Balme (73-11), just across the Rhône.

These inhumations appear to be in flat graves, unless they were under eroded or unrecorded barrows. They look northwards for their material vocabulary, but the rite of inhumation without barrow may be derived from the Alps.

The third element present in late Hallstatt Haute-Savoie is a group of barrows or barrow cemeteries recorded by Revon in 1878 and by Chantre in 1880. Chantre (1880: 24) lists barrows at Maxilly (74-31) near Lake Geneva, at Megève (74-32) and at Faverges-Villaret (74-21): the latter site produced bronze bracelets in the alpine tradition (apparented to the Tarentaise?). This list is completed by three important barrow cemeteries at Pringy (74-37), Quintal (74-38) and Gruffy (74-23), located near Lake Annecy. The finds of Quintal (74-38) are believed lost (Von Eles 1967-8: 37) but those of Pringy (74-37) i.e. late Hallstatt bronze and jet bracelets and fibulae of both late Hallstatt and early La Tène types (Courtois 1976: 718) survive. The barrow cemetery of Gruffy-Le Molard (74-23) has produced a famous assemblage often thought to have come from one 'princely' barrow. However, at least three different barrows have been excavated and "several more remain untouched" (Lebascle 1976: 177-9). The "Tumulus du Cerisier" chez Collombat, an enormous barrow of 28 metres in diameter, disturbed in 1867 and excavated between 1878 and 1903 when it was finally removed, was a complex structure with a stone ring at its base and containing secondary burials inserted into the main stone cairn. It produced bones of adults and children. The assemblage includes solid and hollow bronze bracelets, jet or lignite bracelets, two late Hallstatt kettle-drum fibulae of Hallstatt D_3 type, a Certosa fibula and an early La Tène bronze fibula designed to carry an inlay (of coral ?) on its bow: parallels for this type of fibula exist in La Tène A contexts at St- Sulpice (T63), Münsingen or the barrow of Pratteln (illustrations of the Gruffy fibulae can be found in Courtois 1976, Fig. 3 nos. 3, 8, 9, 13). A sheet-bronze belt plaque (illustrated by Lebascle 1976, fig. 70 no. 4 p. 718 and by Courtois 1976, fig. 3 no. 15 on p.

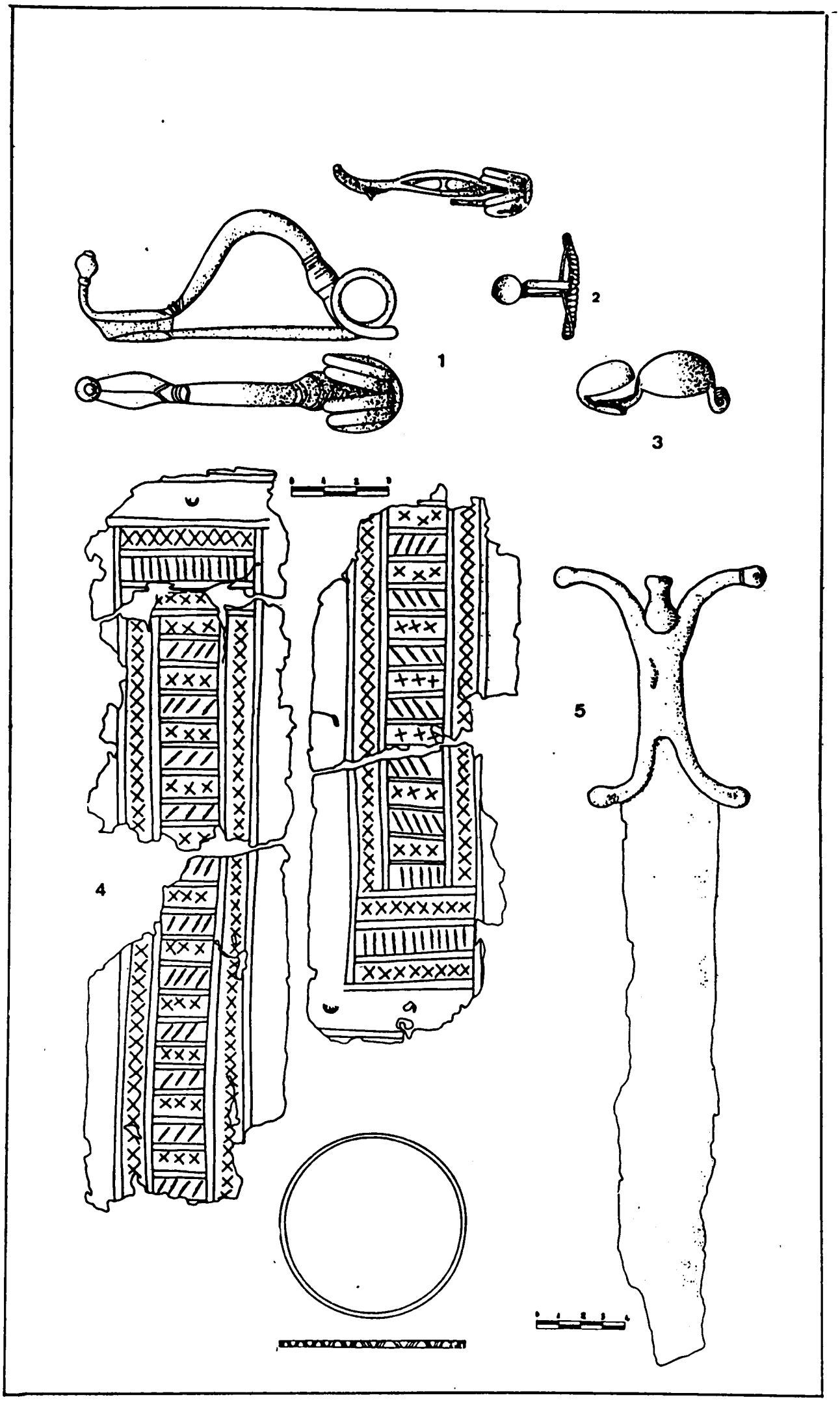


Fig. 87: Assemblage from the Tumulus du Cerisier, Gruffy (74-23)

(from Lebascle 1976: 178, fig. 70 and Courtois 1976: 715)

with embossed geometric design is a further reminder of the Haute-Savoie connections with the Jura (e.g. at the Tumulus d'Ivory: Millotte 1962, pl. VI), already encountered amongst the flat graves. The Gruffy belt plaque is not the only example found in the Haute-Savoie since another such belt plaque, from the cave of La Voûte au Bourdon on the Salève (74-14), exists in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva. The Gruffy barrow also contained the accoutrement of a 'chieftain' or 'warrior', i.e. an iron sword in its sheath, an iron short sword or dagger with anthropomorphic antennae hilt (illustrated by Lebascle 1976, Fig. 70 n° 5 on p. 178) - parallelled at Como-Ca' Morta (TVIII, 1926) or at Brembate Sotto (Bergamo) and dated to the eve of the La Tène period, or Hallstatt D_3 to La Tène A or Golasecca $IIIA_1$, i.e. circa 480 to 450 BC (De Marinis 1981: 245) - an iron spearhead and a socketed iron knife. Two further barrows were excavated in 1878 and 1926 at Le Mollard: one (Mas du Collonet) contained several individuals with jet bracelets and two bronze buckles; the other had a single inhumation with five concave open bronze bracelets or armbands decorated with incised geometric motifs (illustrated by Courtois 1976, Fig. 3 n°s 1, 2, 4, 6, and 7 on p. 715) of late Hallstatt date, jet bracelets and iron fragments.

Gruffy-Le Mollard is poised on the eve of the La Tène period, perhaps around 450 BC. It has many connections with the late Hallstatt culture of the Jura, Franche-Comté and Swiss Plateau (the crossbow and kettle-drum fibulae, the jet bracelets and belt plaque) but already incorporates early La Tène elements (the inlaid bow fibula). It also shows contacts with the Golasecca area of Ticino, in the form of a Certosa fibula. The anthropomorphic hilt dagger has a wide distribution in Europe. The 'princely' assemblage of Gruffy fits into a "Fürstengräber" horizon of the early 5th Century BC. It is therefore later than the only other 'princely' burial (if we except the assemblage from Leyrieu, 38-23) of the French Alps, that of Chabestan, dated to the 6th Century BC. Both sites have produced antennae daggers, albeit of different types, (the Chabestan

dagger is parallelled at Sesto Calende, the Gruffy one is comparable to that of Cà Morta). Along with many scholars (e.g. Härke 1979 and 1981, Hatt and Roualet 1977, Millotte 1963 and 1976, Champion 1982 note 8 on p. 72), it is worth emphasising that at Gruffy the break with the late Hallstatt tradition of princely burials does not occur at the end of the Hallstatt period, as is the case for Vix (Joffroy 1973: 467 and 1976: 823), but in the early La Tène period, perhaps as late as the end of La Tène A.

Taken as a whole, the Haute-Savoie is open towards the North, as its geography dictates. In the late Hallstatt period it belongs to a Central-Western European cultural sphere with extensive contacts with Northern Italy, but also incorporates some alpine elements such as the inhumation rite in flat graves.

11) The Late Hallstatt barrows of the Saône and Southern Jura

The barrows and barrow cemeteries of the plain of the Saône [e.g. Saint-Bernard (01-25), Riotier (01-24), Belleville-sur-Saône (69-05)], of the fringes of the Beaujolais [e.g. Ville-sur-Jarnioux (69-43), Lancié (69-15) and Saint-Romain-de-Popey (69-38)] and of the flanks of the Jura and valley of the Ain [e.g. Château-Gaillard (01-09), Corveissiat (01-10), Bellignat (01-05), Groissiat (01-11) and Outriaz (01-19)] are part of a tradition of inhumations under barrows which flourished in the Jura and Franche-Comté during the Hallstatt period. The subject has been thoroughly studied by Millotte (1963), upon whose work this summary is based.

Barrows can occur singly (e.g. Groissiat (01-11), Outriaz (01-19)) or in cemeteries, generally spanning from the late Bronze Age to the late Hallstatt period or even beginning of La Tène: such cemeteries exist at Corveissiat (01-10) where a 1976 air-photographic survey (reported by Combier 1980) revealed a group of barrows next to a late Hallstatt mound excavated in the 19th Century, or at Château-Gaillard (01-09) where 46

barrows were recorded, 18 of which were excavated in 1862. Further barrow cemeteries are located at Bellignat-Terraillets (01-05), where one barrow was destroyed in 1895, and at Saint-Bernard (01-25). It is unknown to the writer whether a group of barrows reported by Savoye (1899) in the Beaujolais were single barrows or elements of cemeteries.

In general the barrows are stone cairns ("murgers") or contain at least a stone base (e.g. at Bellignat (01-05), or Outriaz (01-19)): thus, they fit the description of Jurassien barrows given by Millotte (1963: 218-22 The size of barrows varies between 9 and 29 metres in diamater and at Château-Gaillard (01-09) the mounds survived to a height of up to 1,60 m. The rite practised is multiple inhumation by late Hallstatt times: at Château-Gaillard, in Tumulus n° 1, a secondary inhumation with long Hallstatt sword took over from eight late Bronze Age cremations in urns.

In the late Hallstatt period (Hallstatt Moyen-Final or Hallstatt D_1 to D_3) the grave goods encountered are belt plaques of sheet-bronze decorated in the repoussé technique (at Bellignat (01-05) and Corvessiat (01-10), said by Millotte (1963: 216) to be a female attribute, bronze bracelets decorated with fine transversal incisions, thin and worn in sets (7 at Bellignat (01-05), 8 at Corveissiat (01-10)), lignite bracelets (at Outriaz (01-19)), a bronze anklet (at Bellignat, Corveissiat and Outriaz, where four were worn on each leg) or hollow bronze rings (probably worn by women on the thigh as in the Jura (Millotte 1963: 217): at Corveissiat (01-10) there is a mention of an "anneau creux" and at Saint-Bernard (01-25) a reference to a late Hallstatt "anneau à extrémités enroulées" (Millotte 1963: catalogue n°s 140 p. 285 and 407 p. 337-8)). In the conspicuous absence of fibulae - well known in the Jura but not reported from barrows of the Saône and Ain - a fine chronology of the middle Hallstatt (Hallstatt D_1) and late Hallstatt (Hallstatt D_2 - D_3) assemblage is rather difficult to attempt: Millotte (1976: 728) states for example that the belt plaques exist both in Middle and Late Hallstatt.

However, it seems that such articles as multiple anklets or lignite bracelets (e.g. at Outriaz(01-19)) belong to the middle Hallstatt period (Hallstatt D1) whereas sets of thin bronze bracelets or hollow leg-rings (e.g. at Bellignat (01-05) and Corveissiat (01-10)) are at home in the late Hallstatt period (Hallstatt D_2 - D_3) (see Millotte 1963: 199

The survival of an inhumation rite in barrows in the early La Tène period is attested by an early La Tène bronze bracelet from barrow 8 at Château-Gaillard (01-09) (Millotte 1963: catalogue n° 111) and by the assemblage from the Groissiat barrow (01-11) - two hollow bronze bracelets with 'point in socket' closing mechanism which Millotte attributes to La Tène Ia (La Tène A) (Millotte 1963: catalogue n° 223, p. 299).

Conjointly with the continued use of barrows at the beginning of the La Tène period, a 'classical' La Tène flat grave makes its appearance in the valley of the Saône, at Pont-de-Veyle (01-23): its contents (Millotte 1963: catalogue n° 365, p. 329), i.e. two bronze bracelets "à cuvettes", a fibula fragment, a bronze anklet (mention of an "anneau de bronze") and four glass beads, place it in an early La Tène bracket (La Tène B_1). But this burial seems to be the only La Tène flat grave in the region, and we would reiterate Millotte's comments (1976: 730) that the remainder of the La Tène period, i.e. the period after La Tène Ib (La Tène B_1) is still largely unknown in the Franche-Comté.

It seems therefore that the plain of the Saône and its edges to the West - the Beaujolais - and to the East - the Jura - is part of a cultural sphere centered around the Jura and Franche-Comté and with many affinities with the Swiss Plateau: in the late Hallstatt period this cultural group is characterised by inhumations under barrows, often grouped in cemeteries, where continuity from early Hallstatt or even Late Bronze Age can sometimes be demonstrated. The barrow burial tradition appears to continue into the early La Tène period, when flat graves also make their appearance. As for the middle and late La Tène period, the area is still a blank. Millotte (1963: 238, 251) talks of a 'void' in the southern and savoyard

Jura in the La Tène period and suggests as a possible reason for this void an abandonment of the alluvial soils of the lowlands, presumably as a result of the much talked about deterioriation of the climate, whose onset is equated with the beginning of the Iron Age. It could perhaps also be argued that recent alluviation is masking areas where evidence of La Tène occupation or burials may still exist.

A further argument to explain the absence of La Tène burials may be of little value, but it is one that has often been put forward: the comparative absence of burials could be linked with the profusion of metalwork from river deposits. It is an argument e silentio and does not necessairly mean that ashes were scattered and grave goods thrown into the rivers; but it still remains that objects which could have been deposited in graves ended up instead in rivers. The Saône has indeed attracted much metalwork from the Middle Bronze Age onwards (Gallay and Huber 1972). The metalwork deposits continue well into the La Tène period and have produced middle and late La Tène artefacts such as the firedogs of St- Georges-de-Reneins (69-35) and Saint-Bernard (01-26), the bronze helmet of Belleville-sur-Saône (69-04) of Mannheim type or the bronze bracelet with spiral ends of Saint-Georges-de-Reneins (69-35): a discussion of all these objects will be found in Gallay and Huber (1972) together with a tentative explanation of the association of metal artefacts with rivers (an offering to a river god at a ford?).

12) The barrows and re-used dolmens of the Ardèche

Apart from the well known barrow cemetery of Saint-Remèze (07-32), which will be discussed separately, there are very few formal burials or burial grounds in the département of the Ardèche. But in an area rich in Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age dolmens, barrows or cairns, often grouped in cemeteries, opportunities were taken to insert secondary burials into the megalithic monuments during the Iron Age. Some 9 sites (Bannes (07-04), Berrias (07-05), Chomérac (07-11), Lebastide-de-Virac (07-15),

Labeaume (07-16), Lavilledieu (07-18), Lussas (07-21), St- Remèze (07-32), and Salelles (07-33)) have produced evidence of re-use during the Hallstatt period. This phenomenon is not an isolated instance of barrow 'violation', since similar examples of dolmen re-use are documented in the Hérault and Corrèze in South-West France (Arnal 1981).

The secondary burials in dolmens and cairns are inhumations in the case of Bannes (07-04), Berrias (07-05) and Chomérac (07-11), while at Labastide-de-Virac (07-15) re-use is only identified by the presence of pottery sherds. Since late Hallstatt cremation burials are known in the Ardèche, at Lagorce (07-17) and perhaps St- Remèze (07-32), it is probable that cremations were also inserted into dolmens or existing barrows.

In the well documented cases of secondary burial, the inhumations were inserted into the surface of the mound (at Bannes (07-04)), or its side (at Chomérac (07-11)), or into the dolmen itself (at Lussas (07-21), dolmen n° 2 and at Berrias (07-05), dolmen n° 1)). At the latter site, several inhumations of the Late Bronze Age and Hallstatt periods, including a double inhumation with grave goods, were delimited by dwarf walls and orientated NW-SE within the N-S dolmen chamber. At Lussas (07-21), dolmen n° 2, the dolmen chamber itself was used to house the inhumation of an adult with grave goods and of a young child.

It appears that dolmens and cairns were re-used, or at least visited, mostly in the Early Iron Age, judging by the finds of pottery made at Labastide-de-Virac (07-15) (black wheel turned pottery with stamped circle decor), Labeaume (07-16) (incised and flat based sherds) or Lavilledieu (07-18), and by finds of bronze bracelets at Bannes (07-04) and Lavilledieu (07-18). The inhumation at Lussas (07-21), dolmen n° 2, was accompanied by four Late Bronze Age and Hallstatt pottery vessels, a lignite armlet, an iron bracelet, an iron knife or dagger, four bronze rings, a bronze bead and fragments of four 'armilles filiformes' of bronze. A possible sherd of pseudo-ionian ware in layer Ia may indicate a later visit

in the late Hallstatt period. Two sites have indisputable late Hallstatt assemblages: Chomérac (07-11) with circa 20 incised 'armilles filiformes' and a bronze belt-plaque with iron hook said to be parallelled at Les Jogasses (Combier 1963) and Berrias (07-05), where a late Hallstatt kettle-drum fibula of bronze was recovered in dolmen n° 1 together with mixed grave goods of the late Bronze Age (a twisted bronze torc, a bronze razor, pottery sherds and probably animal bones) and Hallstatt period (an iron bracelet with bronze terminals, a spiral headed iron pin, an iron belt buckle and a ring).

The remainder of the funerary evidence from the Ardèche comes from two sites, i.e. a cremation at the foot of a rock-fault at Lagorce (07-17) and a barrow cemetery at St- Remèze (07-32). A number of La Tène fibulae and trinkets are also reported from the settlement site of Casteljau (07-07), but the reports consulted (Lhomme 1971, Combier 1977) do not state whether these finds were made in burials.

A cremation burial discovered in a rubble scree at the foot of a rock fissure (an "aven") at Lagorce (07-21) is securely dated to the late Hallstatt period by the presence of three complete pseudo-ionian pottery vessels (a handled jug, a biconical urn and a deep open bowl, illustrated by Nicolas 1976, 702, pl. IL n°s 1, 4 and 5) and sherds of three massaliote wine amphorae (idem n° 3). Its presence near a rock fissure or cave may indicate that stray finds of 'phocean', 'pseudo-ionian' or 'massaliote' ware sherds, often mentioned in reports of caves of the Ardèche, are symptomatic of further burials in caves (e.g. St- Martin-d'Ardèche (07-29 and 30)). The evidence for suggesting that the caves of the Ardèche fulfilled, at least in part, a funerary purpose has been reviewed in Chapter 8.

Last but not least, the commune of Saint-Remèze (07-32), on a limestone plateau overlooking the valleys of the Rhône and Ardèche, possesses a high concentration of funerary monuments: the Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule (1923: 580) mentions that 5 Chalcolithic dolmens in the Quartier

de Beauregard were re-used during the Iron Age and produced bronze bracelets 3 fibulae, 2 pins, 2 bronze rings and an iron knife blade; Chantre (1880: 43 and 44) records a multitude of barrows and cairns at Saint-Remèze, amongst which the low mounds of the Quartier de Berg produced bronze bracelets and rings as well as an iron sword. He reported similar burials from an area known as Liby (Chantre 1880: 44). More recently, the barrow cemetery of the Quartier de Beauregard has been mapped and the finds made up to 1956 have been inventorised (Brühl 1958; Gourvest 1959): the barrow cemetery consists of circa 20 cairns linked to each other by short runs of dry stone walls. Thirteen barrows have been investigated: there is some confusion as to the type of ritual carried out and the chronology of the site. Gourvest (1959: 246) believes that cremations were in use during the Iron Age and perhaps also inhumations, unless all inhumations belong to the Merovingian re-use of the cemetery. He also thinks that the Iron Age grave goods belong to an 'archaïsing late Hallstatt period' (1959: 243) which 'retains older traditions', i.e. Urnfield traditions (Gourvest 1959: 253). While it is certainly possible that Urnfield traits continued well into the Iron Age, just as they do in the Alps, it seems more likely that grave goods belonging to a long period of occupation, starting in the Urnfield period and continuing until late Hallstatt, have been mixed up. In this case, it remains to be proven whether the cremations belong only to an Urnfield horizon, or still exist by late Hallstatt. In any case, seven barrows (barrows 1, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13 or 2) contained assemblages of this Urnfield to late Hallstatt phase, the others being either undated or Merovingian. In the assemblage, it is worth noting the following traits: the indigenous pottery consists of late Bronze Age - type globular or bipartite urns with flat bases, a handled vessel, a jar with impressed shoulder and a spindle whorl. The bronze metalwork is similarly of late Bronze Age type, with geometrically incised open bracelets, a plain open bracelet, an incised 'armille', a poppy-head pin, spirals, rings and beads.

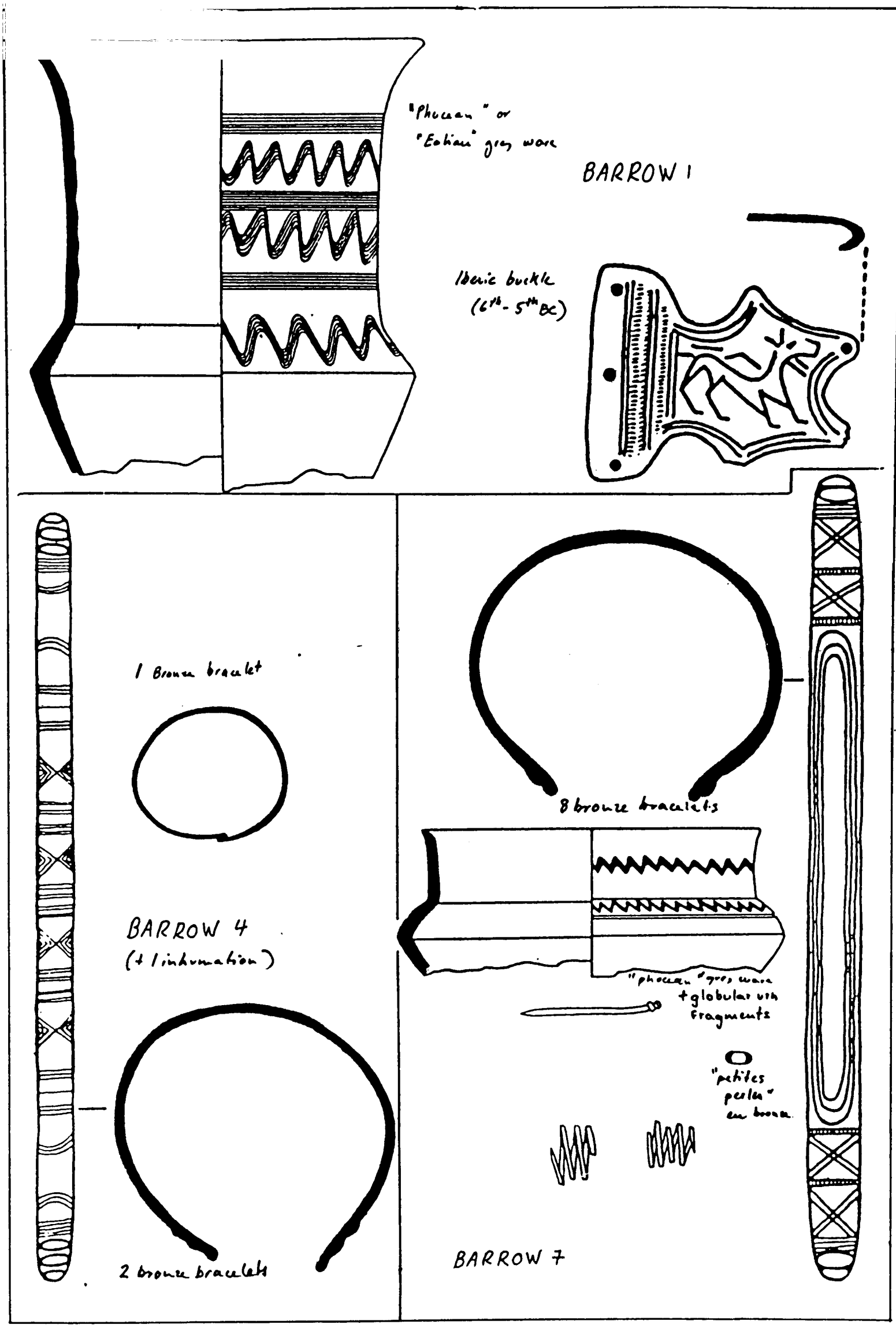


Fig. 88: Assemblage from the Saint-Remèze barrows (07-32)

(from Gourvest 1959)

But typical of the late Hallstatt period are the iberic bronze belt hook fastened by four iron rivets and engraved with a little animal (barrow 1) and the three 'phocean' grey ware vessels from barrows 1, 7 and 8. Both types of artefact have good parallels at the Cayla de Mailhac: there, an beric buckle, similar to the St- Remèze example, is dated from the mid-6th Century BC to the early 5th Century BC, as is the 'phocean' grey ware. Gourvest (1959: 248) notes that the 'phocean' or 'eolian' grey ware resembles forms produced locally in the Languedoc-Roussillon and concludes that the St- Remèze vessels are products of an atelier established on the hellenised coast catering especially for indigenous tastes. An alternative source of the Saint-Remèze 'phocean'ware may be the Mourre de Sève, at Sorgues near Avignon (Vaucluse).

The burial evidence from the Ardèche is not as bleak as has been first thought. Ready-made barrows and dolmens so common on the Ardèche plateaux were frequently re-used. Further convenient burial places were sought in caves, and barrow cemeteries were also purpose built, perhaps adding to already existing prehistoric cairn concentrations. But all this data is restricted to the Early Iron Age or Hallstatt period. Beyond the 5th Century BC, the map remains blank.

13) The burials of the Loire (and Beaujolais)

The situation in the département of the Loire is the exact opposite of the evidence presented in the former study area : whereas, only late Hallstatt (to early La Tène?) burials exist in the Ardèche, only middle to late La Tène burial assemblages have been recovered in the Loire. This situation is one more example of the fact, so often emphasised, that different areas produce different data of different periods. It is therefore very difficult to present a synthesis of burial rites in the later Iron Age of the Rhône-Alpes, since many disparate elements have to be pulled together.

The département of the Loire in the Hallstatt and early La Tène periods offers little information on any apsect of life, be it settlement or burial. Thanks to a study of Michel Vaginay et al. (1980-81), reviewing all the available data, at least this fact has been made clear.

By the middle La Tène and especially late La Tène period, distribution maps of the Loire become crowded, with many occupied 'oppida'. Burials too make their appearance on a handful of sites: Marcilly-le-Châtel (42-12) where a cremation with a bent sword in its sheath was recovered together with La Tène and imitation campani n vessels dated to the transition phase Middle to Late La Tène (c. 100 BC), Précieux (42-17) where cremations were contained in three middle La Tène pottery urns, and St- Just-en-Chevalet (42-29) where a barrow discovered in the 19th Century is said to have contained an inhumation of a warrior with a bent sword. The cemetery of St- Jean at Roanne (42-19), where both cremation and inhumation rites were carried out, is in the main dated to the Augustean period and later (up to the early 3rd Century AD) but two early inhumations -T1 with coins of Solima and Dumnorix and T2 with late La Tène pottery and amphorae sherds - could go back to the middle of the 1st Century BC.

Marcilly (42-12), Précieux (42-17), St- Just (42-29) and Roanne (42-19) are the sum total of the burial evidence in the Loire, at a time of dense occupation in oppida. Why there should be so few is a matter of conjecture. One could invoke the widespread degeneration of burial rites in the late La Tène period observed for example in Switzerland (Berger 1974: 69), or blame the state of recovery. Perhaps attention should be focused on the 'oppida' sites, to establish whether bodies were disposed of on the settlements themselves: no clear reference to human bones in pits of the Loire oppida has come to the attention of the writer, but at Joeuvre (42-31), cremations were contained in (Dressel 1B?) amphorae. The practice of disposal of bodies on settlement sites is known in the Drôme (see below, section 14), in Switzerland (Wyss 1974b: 188) and, of course, Britain (e.g. Danebury).

The evidence, such as it is, points towards the dual use of cremations in urns and inhumations, either in flat graves or under a barrow. Two warriors are known and, although one was interred (St- Just (42-29)) and the other cremated (Marcilly (42-12)), both had their swords bent before burial, a practice already encountered in the Isère and the Rhône (see regional group n° 8). The 'ritual' destruction of weapons seems to be a custom widespread in celtic Europe (see Wyss 1974b: 170 and Abb. 8 on p. 176).

When reviewing the burial evidence of the Loire, a small group of cremation cemeteries in the Beaujolais (69-07, 69-09, 69-44) should also be taken into consideration. Almost nothing is known of Châtillon d'Azergues, Corcelles-en-Beaujolais and Ville-sur-Jarnioux (Walker 1981b: 289, 292), but a late La Tène date would not be out of place.

The Loire was not a total blank in the late Hallstatt or early La Tène period, since sherds of pseudo-ionian and phocean wares turned up at the oppidum of St- Maurice-sur-Loire - Joeuvre (42-31) and a La Tène Ib -Ic (La Tène B) finger ring was recovered from the settlement of Débats-Rivière-d'Orpra - Lijay (42-08)). A chance find of some 30 bronze bracelets and a bronze mirror found near a souterrain at Ambierle - Bois Joli (42-01), dated to the early La Tène period, and a further chance find of a bronze plaque with triskele motif at Montverdun (42-13) complete the inventory of artefacts datable to a period prior to 200 BC. It is certainly very little and raises many questions, particularly on what foundations were the late La Tène oppida of the Loire built: to link the rise of the oppida to the trade of campanian wares and wine amphorae from the Mediterranean does not explain what the conditions were before the traded material arrived.

14) <u>The burials of the Drôme</u>

The département of the Drôme, so rich in settlement evidence, has only half a dozen burial sites to its credit. Nevertheless, the different rites

and assemblages show how the Drôme shares several different cultural spheres.

In the East, i.e. at the edges of the Alps, at Nyons (26-26) and in the Alps themselves, at Eygalayes (26-12), two burial assemblages follow an alpine burial tradition. The Eygalayes hollow incised bracelet made of sheet-bronze shows affinities with the bracelets of the Ubaye-Queyras and Eastern Hautes-Alpes. The inhumation burials in flat graves discovered in 1839 at Aigues near Nyons (26-26) must belong to a cemetery spanning a considerable period, since they are said to have contained an engraved sheet-bronze armlet ('brassard-tonnelet') usually associated with late Hallstatt assemblages in the Jura, Franche-Comté and Switzerland but also present in the Alps (Montdenis (73-34), Peipin in the Basses-Alpes), as well as a Jausier-type fibula with large disc, generally dated to the middle La Tène period. Further parallels with the alpine groups of Eastern Hautes-Alpes and Ubaye-Queyras are given by 12 open, square-sectionned bronze bracelets.

In the West, i.e. on the banks of the Rhône, a probable cave burial and a cremation on a settlement site are more reminiscent of the situation encountered across the Rhône in the Ardèche. The evidence for a possible burial in a cave is given by the find of a late Hallstatt crossbow fibula at Donzère-Quartier des Roches (26-11) and by an assemblage including phocean and pseudo-ionian sherds, a pin with conical head, a bronze Certosa fibula, amber and glass beads from La Baume des Anges at Donzère (26-09). The cremation from the settlement site of Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14) was contained in a micaceous wine amphora of the region of Marseille: here again, it seems that vessels manufactured in Marseille or its hinterland were re-used preferentially as funerary vessels, just as were the pseudo-ionian, phocean and massaliotic vessels of the Ardèche.

Finally, we are fortunate to have a glimpse of the disposal of bodies in the later Iron Age, a period, as has already so often been made clear,

relatively poor in burial evidence, particularly in the South. The data comes from the twin settlement sites of Le Pèque: on the hillfort of Saint-Marcel (26-31), in the middle La Tène period, or 3rd-2nd Century BC, articulated human remains were recovered near hearths. On the lowland settlement of the Chantier des Ecoles (26-30), human bones were discarded into the rubbish pits of phase 3, dated to La Tène Ib (LT B_1). The information from Le Pègue is however only a passing mention and it is therefore impossible to suggest whether the bodies were ritually dismembered, or partly burned, or buried after exposure. But since a religious building is thought to have existed at the hillfort of Le Pègue, in the form of stelae that once belonged to a late Hallstatt sanctuary and in the form of an early La Tène structure, it is not too fanciful to propose some ritual disposal of parts of bodies. The Le Pègue evidence may not be an isolated instance of disposal of bodies on settlement sites. At Orpierre-Ste Colombe, a child was buried under a floor level. Courtois (1975: 24 and note 8) notes that inhumations on settlements are not rare, particularly in Iron Age Languedoc. Cremations also occasionally turn up on settlement sites (e.g. Les Granges-Gontardes (26-14) and Joeuvre (42-31)). A more thorough search of the data may reveal more examples of a rite known elsewhere in celtic Europe.

Conclusions

Our long exposé of burial sites in the Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes ends at Le Pègue. It is perhaps an appropriate place to stop, since it is one of the very few sites where burials, albeit of a rather peculiar kind, are directly related to a settlement. To the reader, the review of the burial evidence in the Rhône-Alpes and départements of Hautes and Basses-Alpes may often have sounded like a simple list of grave goods and graves, with little insight given into the settlement pattern of the area under study. To a certain extent, this situation is true reflection of the state of knowledge, since the general distribution of flat graves and barrows

appears to be quite distinct from that of the settlements (see Figs. 81 to 83)

It is to these wider issues, i.e. the distribution and relative importance of regional groups, the span of time covered by graves and cemeteries, the range of rites and objects in burial assemblages, their provenance and cultural affinities and the amount of contact detectable between valleys, that we shall now turn. The social aspect of the dead, the accoutrment of men and women, their wealth or status and their ranking will be largely left out, since the data does not allow us to go beyond the most trivial generalisations.

To recapitulate, the Circonscription of Rhône-Alpes and départements of Hautes and Basses-Alpes to the South East can be studied in a series of 14 regional groups, which are formed by the amalgamation of specific artefacts in graves (e.g. Rochefort-type bracelets), or particular rites (e.g. inhumations under barrows in the Hautes-Alpes), or sites of a given period (e.g. La Tène burials of the Dauphiné). The data is of varying quality and quantity and is distributed unequally in time and space: the most obvious inbalance in distribution is the heavy bias towards alpine flat grave inhumations in an area almost void of any settlements. The bias in favour of alpine burials, compared to other regional burial groups, can be expressed in a diagram which illustrates the contribution of each regional group to the overall corpus of burials in the area under study (100% equals 260 sites) (see fig. 89)

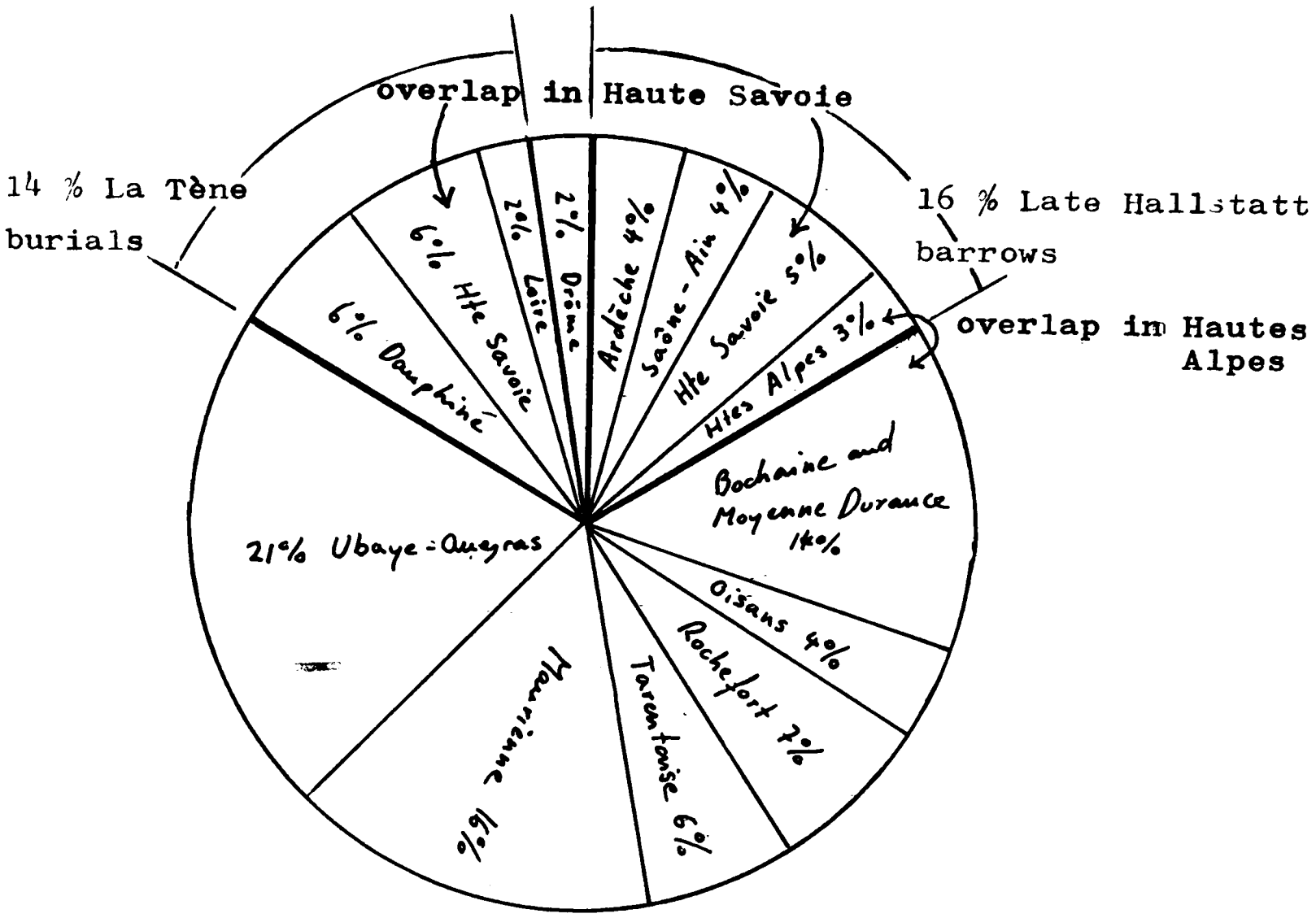


Fig. 89: The relative importance of regional burial groups.

This pie-chart helps to identify three major families of burial traditions, i.e. inhumations under barrows of the late Hallstatt period, La Tène flat grave cemeteries, and alpine cist burials. Two thirds of the corpus are taken by the latter family, the other two sharing about equally the last third. Although some simplification has been necessary it remains true that there is very little overlap between regional groups. By this, it is meant that very few areas are represented more than once on the pie-chart: only in the Hautes-Alpes are there two rites present - partly contemporary, partly taking over from each other - and only in the Haute-Savoie do La Tène flat grave cemeteries share the distribution area previously occupied by late Hallstatt inhumation barrows. The map on Fig. 90 illustrates how little spacial overlap there is between regional groups, how distinct and well defined each group is, and how empty of information the whole of the Rhône corridor is.

Having stated how unequally the burial evidence is distributed in quantity and in space, we must now show how the regional groups fare in time. Again, this is best done in diagrammatic form: the swelling of each lense indicates the period in which the maximum amount of data is present, but is not drawn to scale. There may be some inaccuracies concerning the periods pre-dating Hallstatt D, as they were not researched for this chapter (see fig. 91).

Three obvious conclusions can be drawn from the diagram (fig. 91): firstly that less and less information is available the further one advances in time. Secondly, it is possible to isolate two areas where a diachronic research into burial customs could prove fruitful: the Hautes-Alpes, where three burial groups relay each other over a considerable period, and the Haute-Savoie, where a more classic pattern of late Hallstatt barrows followed by La Tène flat grave cemeteries is present (the two areas are marked by an asterisk on the chart). Thirdly, only one period, the century around 500 BC, would be suitable for comparative studies between

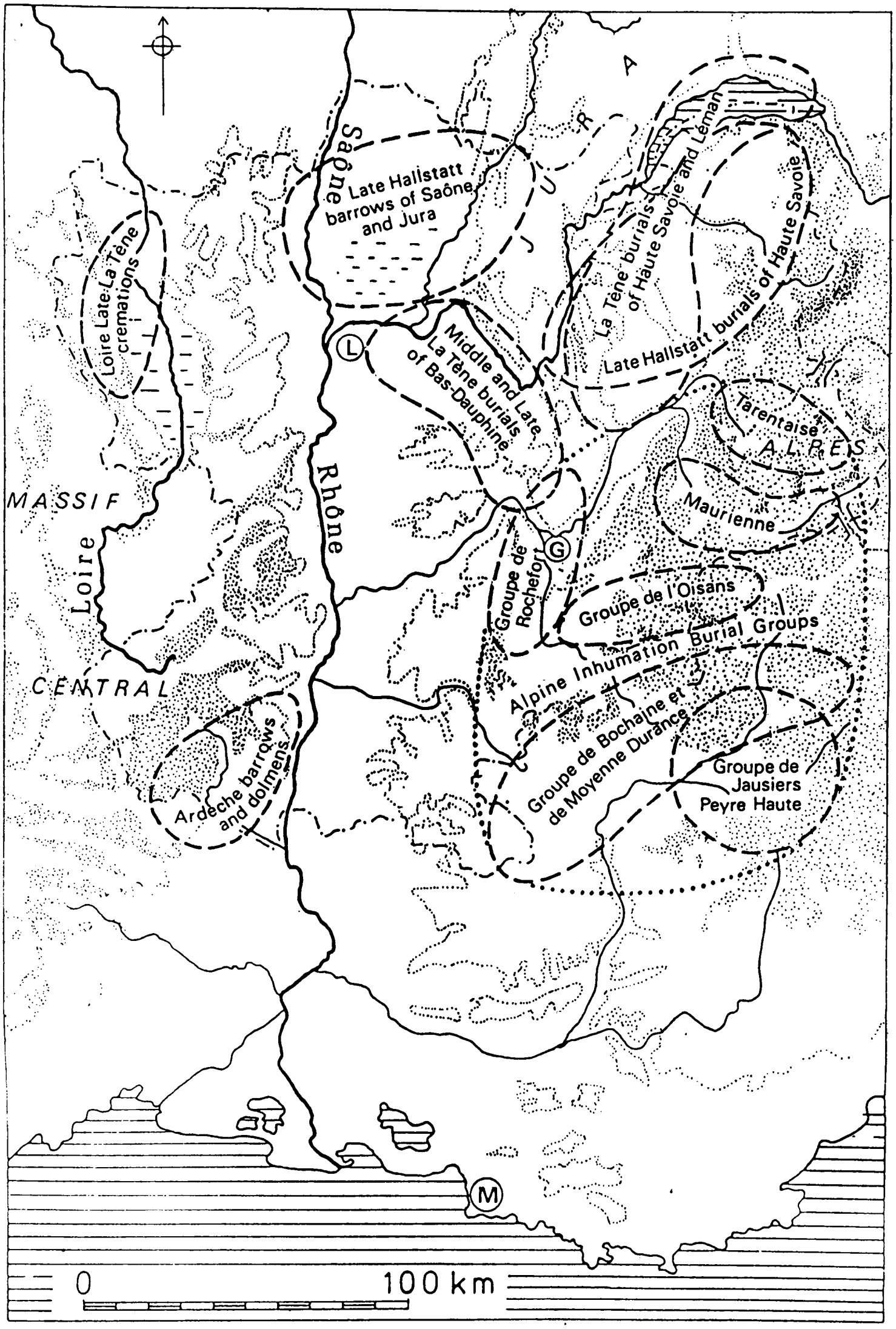
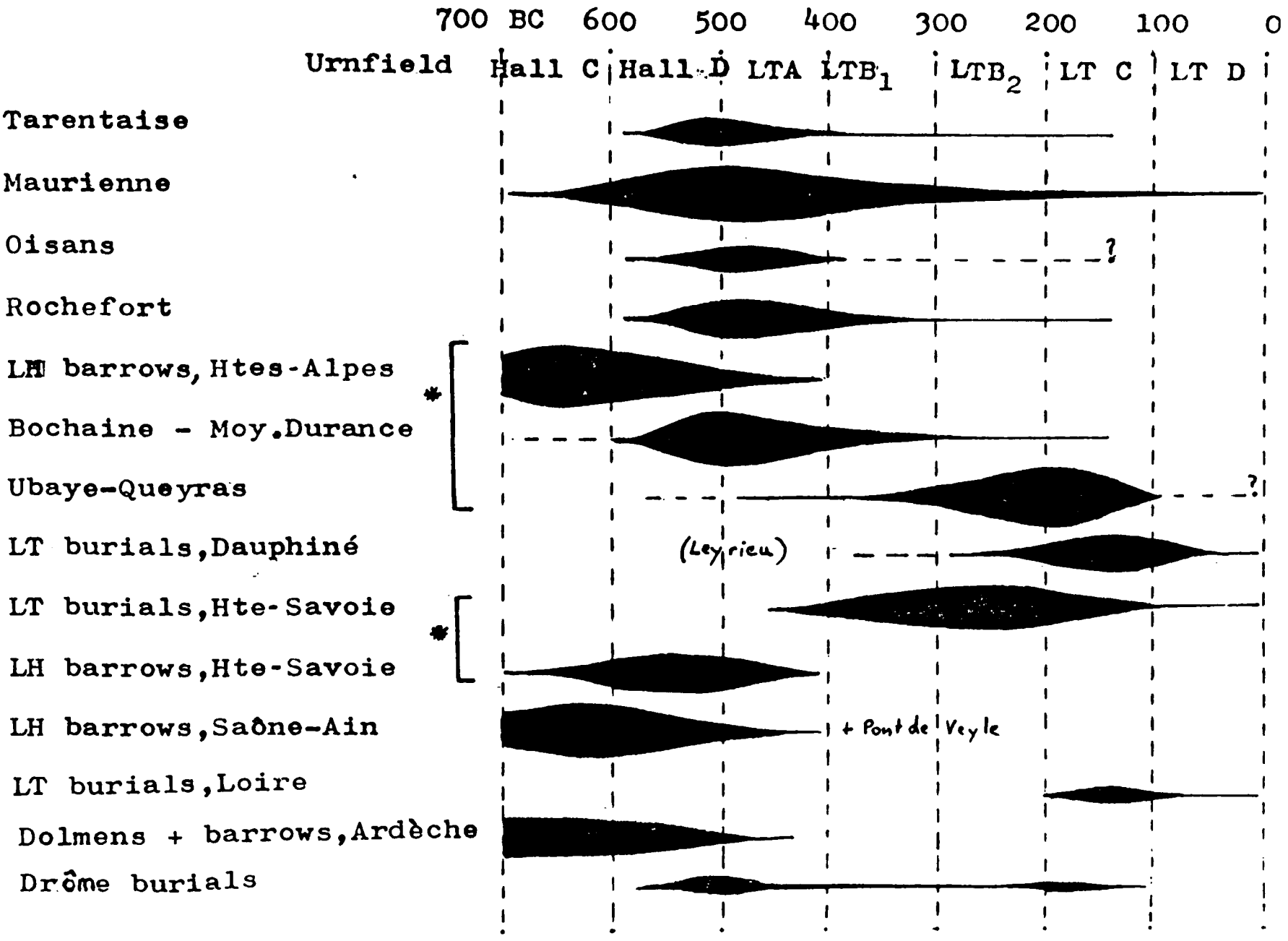


Fig. 90. Iron Age burials and cemeteries: definition of regional groups.

Fig. 91.

The span of time covered by regional burial groups



regional groups. Indeed, it is in this unique phase, at the turn between Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène, that most burial groups surge in importance. Why this should be so can be explained in a number of different ways:

1) the bias in favour of the late Hallstatt - early La Tène period reflects a real situation, i.e. there are more burials in this phase. If this were the case, then it would follow that undetectable rites of passage were carried out more frequently towards the later Iron Age (the so-called degenerescence of burial rites, observed for example in the late phases of the cemetery of Münsingen-Rain: Berger 1974: 69).

2) We must blame the state of recovery, in particular in the later 19th Century, which biases the sample in favour of the Alps, and not hazard any interpretations until more burials are discovered to redress

the balance. Against this argument, it should be said that the present sample is random enough in its catchment and that new discoveries may only increase the total and not alter the proportions or the interpretations put forward on the basis of the random sample.

3) The bias in favour of the late Hallstatt to early La Tène 'transition' period is only apparent. There are two reasons for this suggestion. Firstly, it is in this period that dating is strongest, helped as it is by imported material (north italian metalwork, late Hallstatt artefacts parallelled in the Jura and Switzerland, pottery manufactured in Marseille and its hinterland). In a conservative society, which certainly seems to be the type of society present in the Alps, artefacts once associated with objects dated to c. 500 BC may have automatically acquired the label 'Late Hallstatt to Early La Tène', but continued to be in use for centuries, perhaps until the middle La Tène phase. Secondly, the conservative alpine communities do not seem to make much use of fibulae (e.g. none in the groups of Oisans and Rochefort, few in the groups of Tarentaise (except St-Jean-de-Belleville) and Bochaine-Moyenne Durance), thus depriving us of the most useful dating tool available for the La Tène period.

4) Last, it should be emphasised that there are few burials in any period, even in the 5th century BC. We may be blinded by the masses of bronze artefacts and large numbers of graves, particularly in the Hautes-Alpes (e.g. at Guillestre-Peyre Haute) and be led to think that there are plenty of burials. But the sample cannot be thought of as representative of a population. Since a single large cemetery such as Münsingen-Rain, which numbers 220 graves, is the burial ground of a small community of circa 30 people living together at any one time (Univ. of Basel, unpubl. seminar paper), the implications are that we are missing a large part of the evidence. Unless the quantity of graves and sites has been grossly underestimated in our search, we must

conclude that only a proportion, perhaps a very small proportion, of the Iron Age population of the Rhône-Alpes was ever given an archaeologically recognisable form of burial. We cannot blame the state of recovery alone for the size of our sample. Other factors, e.g. of social nature or of practical nature, must have intervened. But, to embark on a discussion of the reasons that lead to such a situation is too perilous an exercise, since countless variables and unknown factors should be taken into account. Celtic Europe possesses an enormous variety of burial practices, expressions of status at death, cemetery configurations or population samples. There are many instances of cemeteries, where the evidence suggests that not everybody within a community received an archaeologically definable burial: examples of the segregation of rich males or senior females are given by Hodson (1979: 27-9).

To speculate on what happened to the people not buried with grave goods (or not found) is equally dangerous: but we must bear in mind factors such as absence from home (men serving as mercenaries or being killed in wars), social restrictions, rites undetectable in the archaeological record, exposure, burial in settlements, either formal or casual (see sections 13 and 14). The latter are being recognised increasingly in Iron Age Europe (e.g. Switzerland: Wyss 1974b: 188; or Britain: Whimster 1980).

But it is interesting to note that the people who did find a final resting place in a grave cluster in dense site-concentrations in the alpine valleys. The concentration of burials in the Alps may be the result of a situation similar to that investigated by Driehaus (1965) in the area of the middle Rhine, Moselle and Saarland, where a coincidence between 'Fürstengräber' of the Hunsrück-Eiffel culture and the location of high quality iron ores (heamatite and siderite) could be proved. Nothing as grand as a 'Fürstengrab' is claimed for the Alps, nor is the information concerning the mineral wealth of the Alps (gathered from Barruol 1969, Bocquet 1969, Combier 1972, Courtois 1976 and Prieur 1981) as detailed and as precisely located as the ores on Driehaus' maps. But, inspired by Driehaus,

it seemed worth checking whether the mineral wealth of the Alps, so often quoted as the reason for the wealth found in alpine burials, can be located on a map and whether the distribution of the ores bore a resemblance to that of the alpine burial groups.

Fig. 26 is the result of this rather crude exercise. The fact that the general distribution of the mineral wealth in the Alps (copper, gold, silver, lead, amber and lignite) correlates well with the distribution of alpine flat graves is perhaps no great result. More interestingly, it seems possible to pin-point discrete areas within our general distribution, where an extreme density of burials is coincident with the occurrence of more than one mineral resource. These areas are: 1) the region of the Vallée des Arves in the Maurienne where salt and copper deposits are present and a concentration of sites such as Montdenis, Montrond, St - Sorlin, St - Jean, Albiez, Jarrier, etc. occurs; 2) the Tarentaise, before the bend of the Isère, where a similar association of salt and copper may account for the wealth in burials of cemeteries such as St - Jean-de-Belleville; 3) the Oisans, rich in copper, gold, silver and lead, where a small family of burials is established; 4) the Ubaye-Queyras rich in all metal sources, where the Jausiers-Peyre Haute group flourished. The mineral resources map also helps to illustrate how certain materials found their way into alpine burial assemblages: it seems fairly certain that amber, so often found in alpine graves, is local, since it occurs as deposits in the Maurienne and the region of Sisteron; the high concentration of lignite bracelets in the group of Rochefort can similarly be traced to the lignite deposits in the region of Grenoble. Silver and lead sources are reflected in burials of the Alps in the form of earrings, pendants, finger rings and the torc of Freissinières-Pallons. Finally, it is possible that the pre-eminence of the Camp de Larina at Annoisin-Châtelans in middle and late La Tène times and the concentration of burials in its vicinity, is related to the exploitation of iron ores in the region of Crémieu (Bocquet 1969: 128).

The long distance contacts existing between the Rhône-Alpes and the Mediterranean (the phocean, pseudo-ionian and massaliotic wares in burials of the Ardèche), Northern Italy (the fibulae of the Maurienne, Hautes and Basses-Alpes, Haute-Savoie), the Jura, Franche-Comté and Swiss Plateau (the 'brassards-tonnelets', pectorals and lignite armbands in the barrows of the Haute-Savoie, the Saône and Ain) and Iberia (the iberic belt-buckle of St-Remèze in the Ardèche) have already been discussed in the presentation of each regional burial group. But a second body of evidence, showing contacts over a lesser distance within the Alps is also emerging: it indicates that the Alps are not only important for East-West relations, but also that movement is possible, and did occur, in a North-South direction, via the river valleys which espouse the terrain and generally flow southwards before turning westwards. The list of artefacts indigenous in a particular alpine burial group and turning up in a different one is fairly extensive and does not claim to be exhaustive.

A short table will summarise the cross-valley contacts, giving the type of artefact first, then the region where it is established followed by the areas outside its main distribution.

Artefact type	Region of origin	Outside occurrence
'tablette' fibula	Maurienne	Tarentaise
spiral bracelets	Ubaye-Queyras	Maurienne, Tarentaise (St-Michel, St-Jean)
Rochefort-type bracelets	Rochefort	Oisans, M. Durance (Mt-de-L., Châteauroux)
cog-wheel or ribbed bracelets	Maurienne	Moyenne Durance (Châteauroux)
concave strip bracelets	Eastern Htes-Alpes	Maurienne (Montdenis)
iron bracelets	Rochefort & Oisans	Hautes-Alpes (Lazer, Ventavon)
violin buttons	Ubaye-Queyras	Maurienne
conical buttons	Ubaye-Queyras	Rochefort
Jausiers-type fibula	Ubaye-Queyras	Drôme (Nyons)
Jausiers-type material	Ubaye-Queyras	Hautes-Alpes (Aspremont, Orpierre)

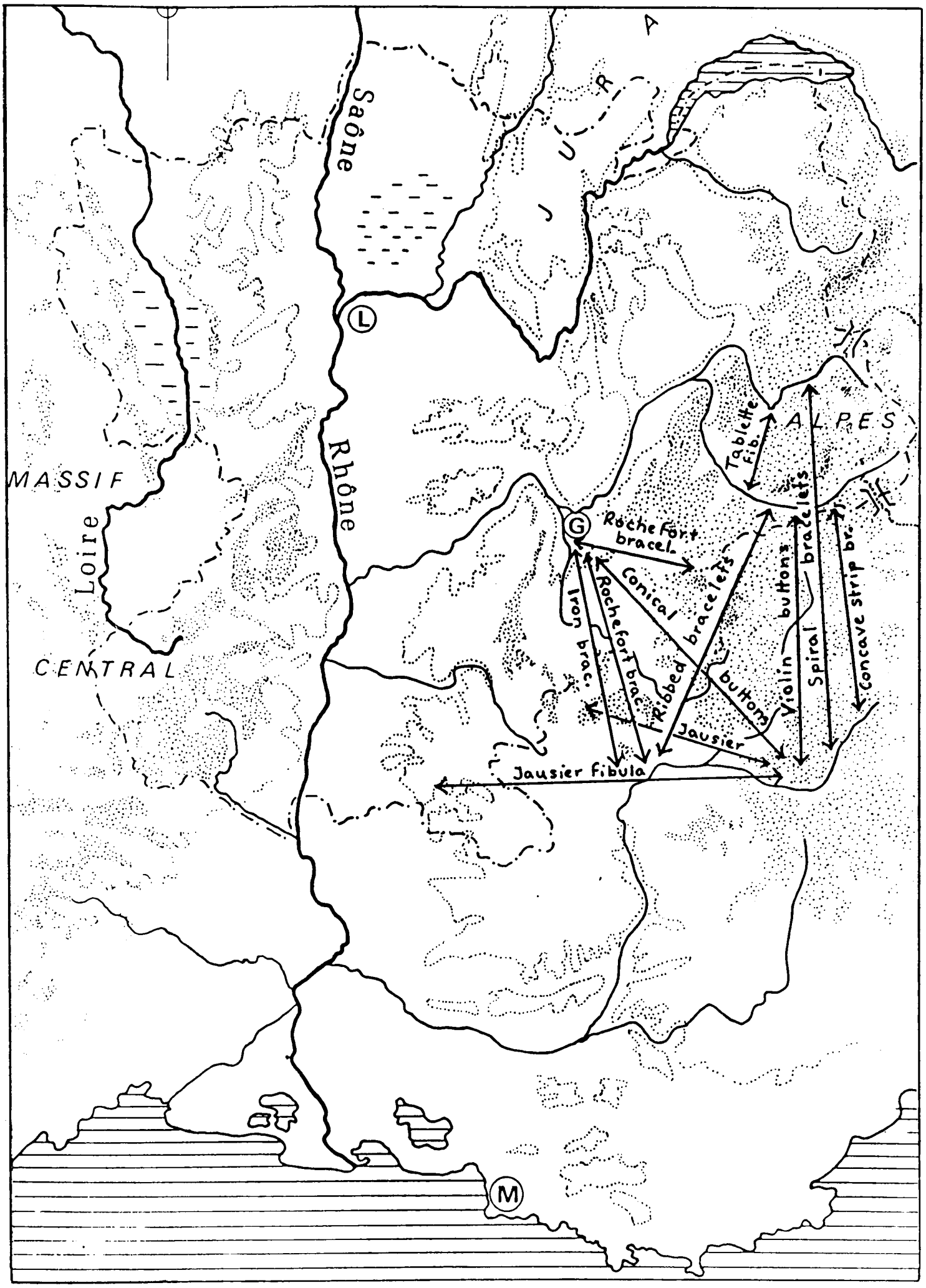


Fig. 92: Relationships between alpine burial groups

A map, fig. 92 , shows in very simplified form these relations between alpine valleys. It illustrates well the paradoxical situation present in the Alps, which consists of well defined burial groups often of a conservative nature with elements hankering back to the Urnfield period and located in valleys seemingly closed upon themselves on the one hand, and extensive contact between valleys as well as with the world outside on the other hand. The Alps are thus a barrier, but a barrier with many opening points.

The data gathered in the Rhône-Alpes and Hautes and Basses-Alpes seems to be divided in two groups, the settlement evidence on the one hand, the burial evidence on the other, with very few points of contact between them: the few areas where some tenuous relationships can be explored are located in our study areas (Chapter 7). Whether the general pattern exhibited by the burials is representative of a settlement pattern, is a question the writer approaches with some reluctance, in the absence of good settlement material in the areas of highest burial density: for example, in the Hautes-Alpes only two settlements (Orpierre-Ste Colombe and La Grotte d'Agnielles at La Faurie) of late Hallstatt date are known, although there are hints of more settlements in the area to the West of the Büech (Courtois 1976a: 710). There are two points of view traditionally exposed in the literature: either the burial pattern in the alpine valleys represents a real establishment at high altitudes, i.e. a 'colonisation' of the Alps from the late Bronze Age onwards - a view exposed for example by Von Eles or Courtois - or high altitudes or 'valleys of the dead' were especially chosen by communities who were settled elsewhere, perhaps lower down the valleys. No special analysis designed to resolve this problem has been carried out here; it seems however, that the balance of evidence weighs towards the establishment of settled communities in the Alps. In favour of this argument, the following points can be put forward. Burial densities seem to coincide where mineral extraction is most likely; the small groups of dispersed burials speak for a localised settlement pattern; distribution patterns of artefacts indicate an established network of exchange between

communities; burial areas tend to be occupied for long periods, sometimes from the late Bronze Age onwards (e.g. in the Hautes-Alpes) and possess assemblages with an unbroken tradition of metalwork; identical rites (e.g. cist burials in the Maurienne from Late Hallstatt to Late La Tène) were carried out over centuries.

Outside the Alps, burials are too few to allow any comment on the settlement pattern of the Rhône, Ardèche, Loire, Saône and Ain valleys and Dauphiné, but are useful to support the sequences projected by the settlements themselves. Thus the burials of the Loire coincide with a surge in importance of 'oppida' from the end of Middle La Tène, and are conspicuous by their absence in previous periods, just as the settlements are. Conversely, in the Ardèche there is a good body of evidence both for settlements and burials in the late Hallstatt period, perhaps continuing into Early La Tène, but later periods are much less well represented. The review of burials in the Rhône-Alpes and Southern Alps has given us some insights into aspects of Iron Age life, such as the contacts between alpine valleys exemplified by the movement of particular artefacts, but sadly, the data does not allow detailed analyses of the social status or ranking of the dead.

Chapter 10

Conclusions

Conclusions

"Your work, you? But.... you realise that without an office you cannot be serious?
"I believe I work as much as anyone else", said Athanagore. "Do you think a trowel is easy to use? And breaking pots all day long so that they fit into standard sized boxes, do you think it's a joke? And to supervise Lardier, and shout at Dupont, and write in my notebook and think where next to dig, does that count for nothing?"
"It's not serious, said Amadis Dudu. "Writing memoranda, sending reports thats work. But digging holes in the sand?....."

Boris Vian: L'automne a Pékin
Editions de Minuit, 1956; my translation.

In the course of the present research we have often felt like Athanagore breaking pots so that they should fit into the correct sized boxes, or having repeated cracks at the same old evidence in order to highlight different aspects of the archaeology of the Rhône-Alpes.

The basis of this study is, almost entirely, published evidence, or at least what could be gathered. The result is a sample of 416 sites spanning from the late Hallstatt period to the end of the La Tène era, in an area at the junction between the mediterranean city states and the northern barbarian world. The circonscription of Rhône-Alpes, an administrative unit of 44,000km^2 and an arbitrary slice representing one twelfth of the French territory, cuts accross many cultural boundaries. As a result, the data is of different character, date, quality and quantity, depending on where and when it is sampled. Thus, the story of the Alps has to be written mainly on the basis of observations of funerary behaviour, that of the Loire valley from a selection of oppida and lowland settlements, that of the Rhône valley from a trade oriented point of view. We have spent some time assessing the nature of our data (Chapter 4) as it was felt as important to state the size and composition of our sample as to discuss what is known. What is known is incorporated into the gazetteer (Appendix 1): no apologies are offered for its length, as we believe it to be of some use, at least to a British audience. It has been noted in Chapter 3 (p. 65 and 73)

that the Rhône-Alpes is not very well served in the archaeological literature: a bootk is still missing in an area of crucial importance to the study of contact between Marseille and the West Hallstatt culture and, at a later date, between celtic Europe and the hellenised South.

The substance of the present piece of work consists of a review of the evidence for trade, settlements, caves and burials in the Rhône-Alpes from the 6th-1st C BC (Chapters 5-9). Since each chapter was constructed as a self-contained essay, complete with its own conclusions [and therefore repetitions could not be avoided], it will not be necessary to reiterate these conclusions in detail here. A mention of salient points and a few recommendations should be suffi cient.

The major point that comes accross in considerations of the trade and settlement pattern of the Rhône valley is the existence of a rhodanian cultural sphere alive throughout the last 6 centuries BC and not only around 500 BC and in the 2nd-1st C BC. It is argued that contact with Marseille and indeed an expanding sphere of influence of Marseille <u>after</u> the 5th C BC made it possible for trade in italic commodities to pick up from the 2nd C BC onwards and for middle and late La Tène centres such as Vienne, Chambles-Essalois and Roanne to rise to at least proto-urban status. Only, the trade in the crucial later 5th, 4th and 3rd centuries BC was not long distance trade: rather, it is the result of a greater familiarity with products of Marseille and its hinterland gradually shifting northwards to reach Vienne and the Camp de Larina by the 4th or [more likely] 3rd C BC. These products are not destined to now obsolete 'princely' centres but reach hillforts as well as market centres or "comptoirs" along the Rhône. Two figures (fig. 44 and fig. 79) summarise the Rhône valley trend: the northward shifting <u>Kulturkreis</u> is accompanied in each phase by the rise of intermediary centres able to exploit a privileged situation on either side of the border between the rhodanian 'homeland' and

the barbarian world beyond. Le Pègue, St-Etienne-de-Dions and Soyons fulfill this role in the early periods, Vienne, Larina, Chambles-Essalois and Roanne take over in later phases, i.e. by the 3rd or at the very latest, beginning of the 2nd C BC. The border of this rhodanian community is in essence that of the Provincia Transalpina, conquered in 125-121 BC. Our findings thus corroborate earlier suggestions by Benoit (1965) and Ebel (1976): in summary, that the eastern part of the roman province corresponds to the extent of an earlier community (Benoit's 'hellenic substratum') in very close contact with Marseille. Economic factors and the preexistence of a cultural group would thus explain the north-eastern kink in the map of the Provincia Transalpina.

The settlements of the Rhône-Alpes, which were originally intended to be the sole subject of this research, have proved very difficult to track down. As a generalisation, the data exists but it is of low quality. Hardly any large scale excavations nor detailed plans exist in the Rhône-Alpes: amongst hillforts, for example, only two sites (Le Pègue and Chambles-Essalois) are excavated and published on a sufficient scale to permit the observation of internal arrangements. Many famous sites (e.g. Vienne and Soyons) are little more than collections of artefacts. An urgent plea must be made for excavators to publish better plans [even at Le Pègue: a photograph with arrows in lieu of a location map, (cf. Lagrand and Thalmann 1973, fig. 1) is a poor substitute] and, if possible, tackle larger samples. Secondly, the information, such as it is, is heavily biased towards the stone-using communities of the South and West (see fig. 45). In the North and East the settlements of the timber and earth-using communities or establishments known from clusters of pits and ditches are only beginning to be identified; Roanne and the lowland sites of the Forez appear to show the lead in this field, thanks to recent large scale 'rescue' operations.

At the beginning of our research we were struck by a phrase by Prof. P. M. Duval (Duval and Kruta 1975: ix): "situer les morts dans leur demeure de vie, les vivants dans leur demeure de mort" (to give back to the dead their living quarters, to the living their final resting place). In a sense, it was our aim. But the burial evidence from the Rhône-Alpes, rich as it is, is quite separate form that of the settlements, with little overlap in space between the two. The richest and most interesting burial material comes from the Alps: unfortunately the remains of funerary practices consits almost exclusively of collections of bronze metalwork. As a result analyses are heavily weighted towards typology, leaving largely unanswered questions of ritual, status, ranking, sex- or age-related attributes. Nevertheless some general observations can be made. In the Alps, an autonomous culture develops out of an Urnfield substratum during the late Hallstatt period: it is characterised by a funerary attire (multiple bracelets, amber beads 'crotales' pendants etc.) which owes very little to 'classic' late Hallstatt and early La Tène personal attributes (but they exist in sufficient numbers to permit dating). It remains almost unchanged until certain middle La Tène elements appear, to be swiftly incorporated into an alpine version of a middle La Tène dress. Acculturation appears to be the best model to explain this mixture of old and new elements (e.g. girdle chains, Jausier fibulae but also multiple bracelets and conical buttons in the south-eastern Alps). Each alpine group, almost each alpine vallley (see Chapter 9) has its own particularities expressed for example in the design of bronze bracelets. But the valleys were not closed upon themselves, as the occurence of North Italian artefacts demonstrates. Furthermore we have tried to show that there was plenty of movement between alpine valleys, perhaps in connection with transhumance, demonstrated by the occurence of artefacts specific to one valley in another (fig. 92).

These are the two salient features of the later Iron Age in the Rhône-Alpes: a rhodanian cultural entity much impregnated by Marseille and its hinterland, documented by settlement sites whose occupations and fates fluctuate with massaliote trade, and a largely autonomous alpine culture represented by a family of inhumation burials in stone built graves. In both cases, but particularly the latter, an understanding of the preceeding Urnfield material vocabulary appears to be of vital importance.

The definition of these two entities are not an earth-shattering result. In fact the identification of twin facets, conservative - but not backwards - in the Alps and innovative in the Rhône valley, has featured in the literture devoted to the Rhône-Alpes (e.g. Millotte 1959 (1965)) and indeed in broader frescoes of prehistoric Europe (e.g. Piggott 1965) for some time. But here we have tried to document this state of affairs more thoroughly than in any synthesis we have come accross.

Our review is essentially a statement of what can be extracted from a mass of dispersed publications of varying quality. How are we to further the understanding of processes of change that took place during the latter half of the last milennium BC in a major European crossroads zone, now that the statement has been made? And, as Amadis Dudu would ask, is it serious work? In our view, the serious - and interesting- work is just beginning. It is in this climate that a series of recommendations have been made (p. 72-4 and p. 349). In summary they are:

1) write a book about the Iron Age of the Rhône-Alpes
2) identify better the material vocabulary, other than grave goods, of indigenous communities (this would take the form of pottery analysis on stratified sites, leading to the definition of style zones)
3) any opportunity to obtain independant dating evidence should be seized, so that the dating of settlement sites does not have to rely so unilaterally on a historical framework and so that the hypothetical

survival and even expansion of massaliote and provençal wares can be tested.

4) a general plea for larger scale samples and more informative plans has already been made. This may prove difficult in an urban milieu, but, if still possible, could yet throw some light on the obscure origins of Lyon or on the nature of the settlement at Vienne.

5) a more accessible target would consist of the publication of Soyons followed by a site evaluation and research excavation programme. The hillfort and probable associated lowland settlement of Soyons are located exactly in the middle of the Rhône valley and it is suspected that developments suggested to have taken place in the Rhône corridor during the 5th, 4th and 3rd centuries BC could be tested there. The major question mark at Soyons is whether strata and structures survive well enough for such a programme [rocky outcrops are generally not amenable to deep stratigraphy or the elucidation of structures, except perhaps behind the ramparts].

6) if there was a single century worth a concerted research effort, it would be the 3rd C BC. It is in this century that our evidence is weakest, yet the 3rd C BC is of paramount importance to our understanding of middle and late La Tène oppida, market centres, coinage and trade in italian wine and fine table ware. Anything appartaining to a 3rd C BC horizon should be worthy of special consideration.

7) the material remains of an alpine burial tradition have been well studied. But the social aspects of these burials remain elusive. Perhaps it is too late to attempt an analysis of wealth, status or ranking, since the information gathered in the 19th C cannot, on the whole, provide the basis for such analyses. It is all the more important that future cemetery excavations in the Alps should give us this still lacking data.

We have tried to indicate in Chapter 3 that recent and current French archaeology, as reflected by its publications, has much to be proud of and is experiencing a tremendous 'boom'. It is suspected, and hoped, that our recommendations are becoming unnecessary. Only one thorn remains to be extracted: the 'historicity' of the Rhône-Alpes or more precisely the strained efforts of excavators to make history out of bits of dirt. It is a hobby-horse we have ridden on many occasions (p. 30-1, 67-8, 324-5, 339) and here we shall only indulge in a last short ride.

We do not know which is worse: the superficial posture still taken by some historians who can come out with platitudes such as "a great deal of archaeology produces very little history" (e.g. Ebel 1976, preface) or the strenuous efforts of certain archaeologists to retrace the exact path followed by Hannibal in the Alps or chasing Strabo's cities of Dourion or Aeria, or interpreting every fleck of charcoal observed in the sides of small sondages as proof of celtic invasions. It is our contention that archaeology can stand on its own feet, does not need to apologise for its existence by pandering to models historians are much better at formulating, and can produce its own exciting conclusions. A start to this long and difficult task is what has been attempted here.

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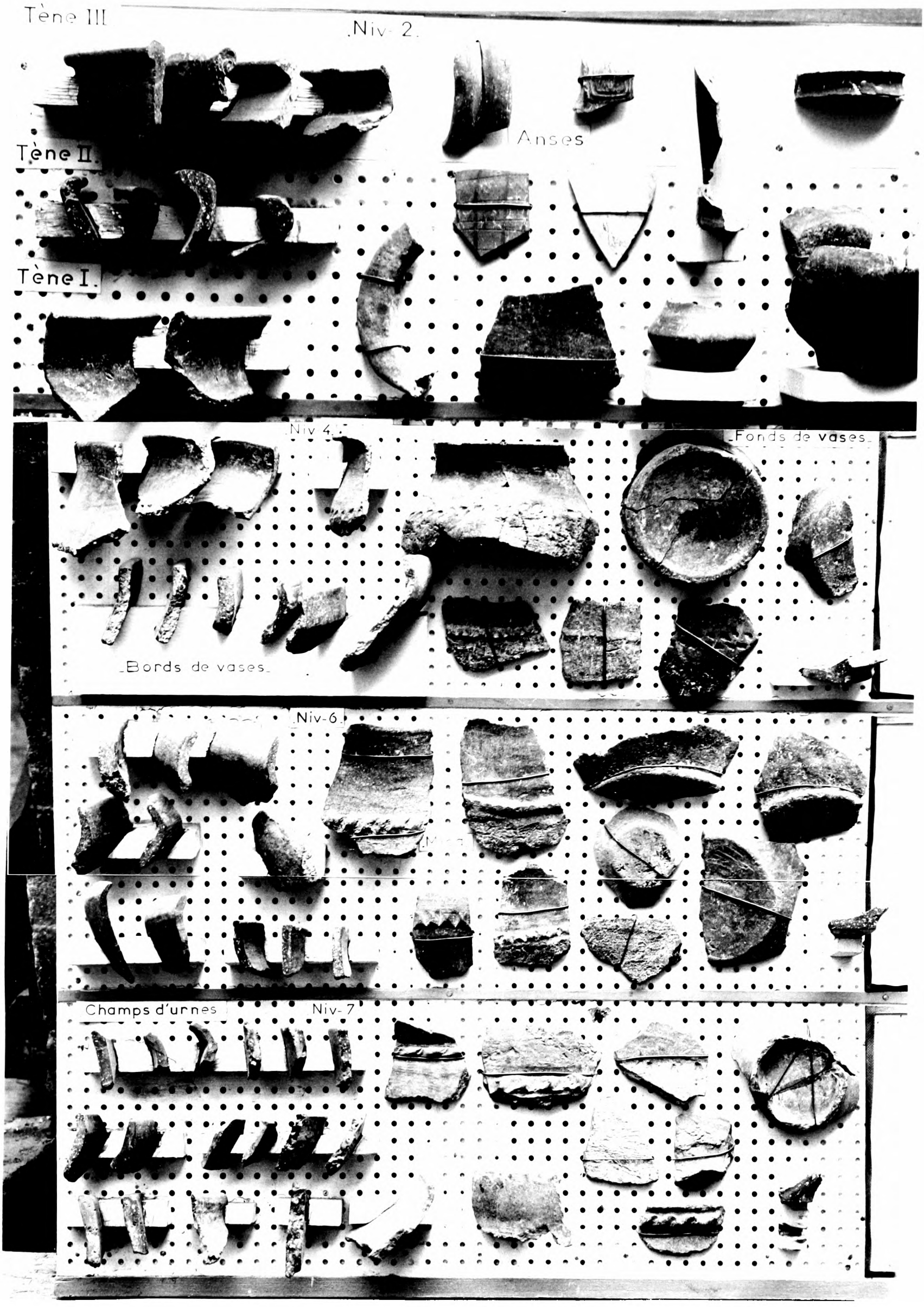
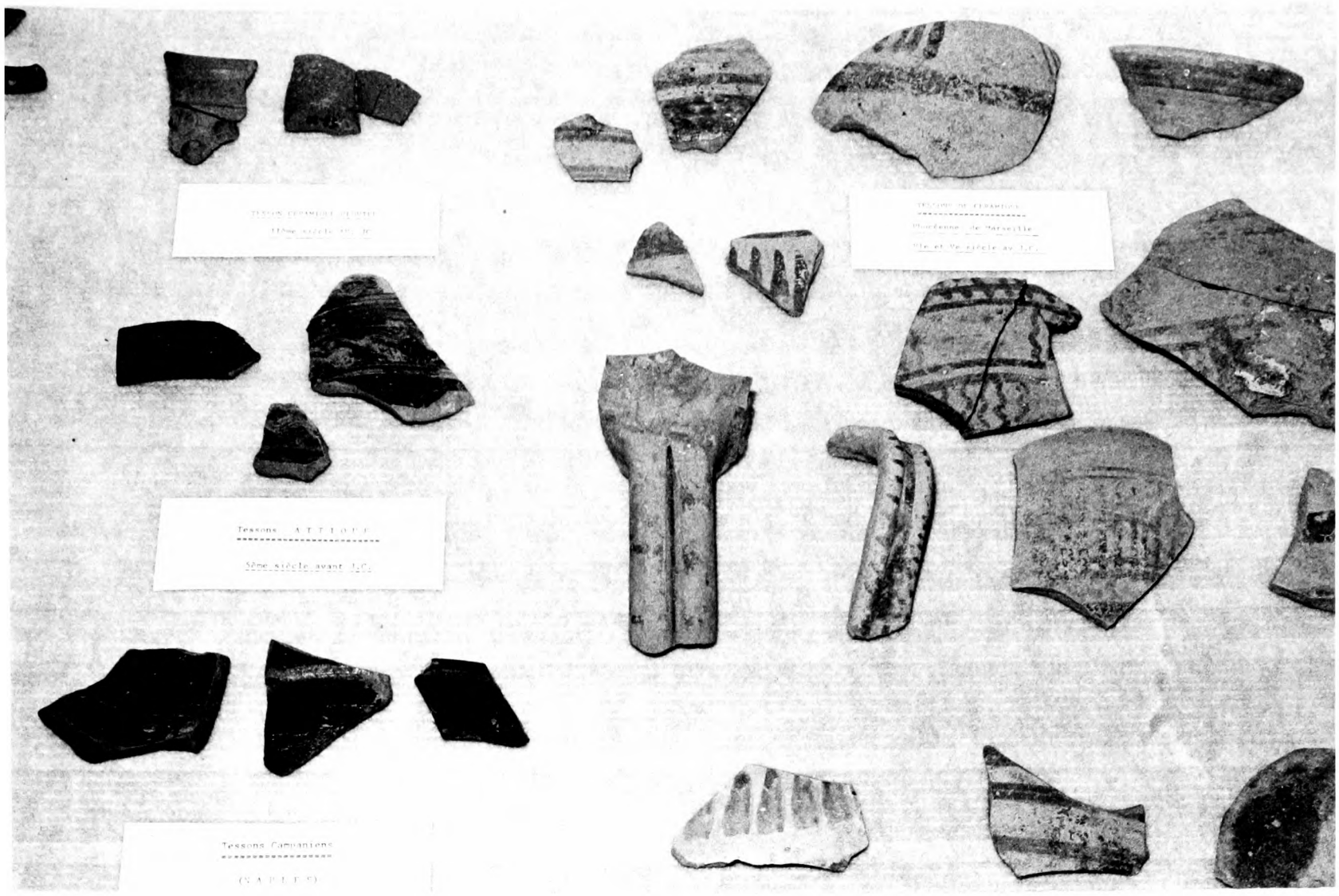
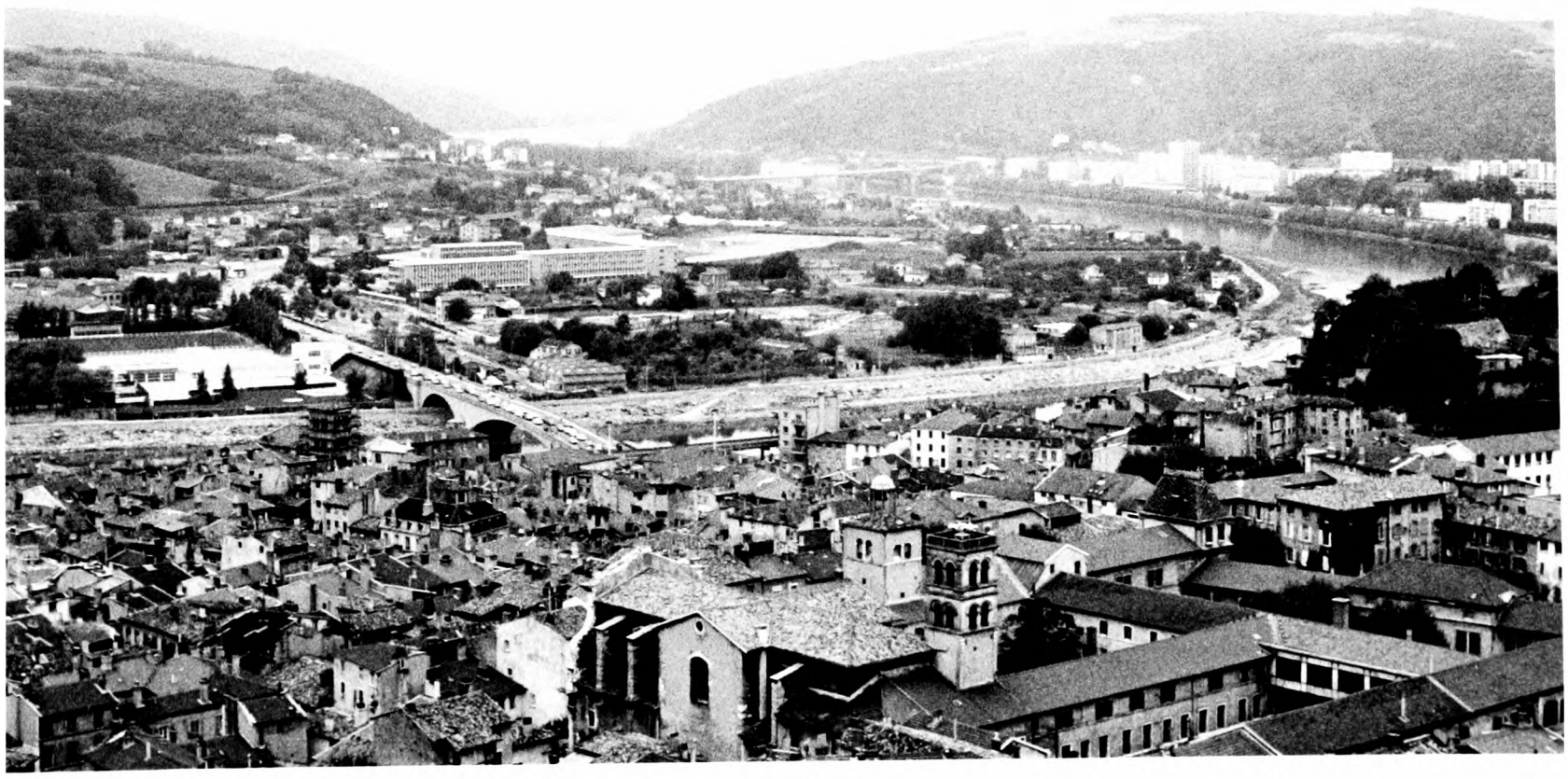
List of Abbrevations

AK	Archaeologisches Korrespondenzblatt
ASA, NF	Anzeiger der Schweizerischen Archaeologie, Neue Folge
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BEFAR	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Archéologie de Rome
Ber RGK	Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission
BSPF	Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française
Cahiers ARALO	Cahiers de l'Association pour la Recherche Archéologique en Languedoc Oriental.
CAHMGI	Centre d'Archéologie Historique des Musées de Grenoble et de l'Isère
CAL	Cahiers Archéologiques de la Loire
CAP	Cahiers Archéologiques de Picardie
CDPA	Centre de Documentation de la Préhistoire Alpine
CEF	Centre d'Etudes Foréziennes
CPF	Congrès Préhistorique de France
DAM	Documents d'Archéologie Méridionale
IGN	Institut Géographique National
Jb. RGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
Jb. SGUF	Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft fur Ur-und Frühgeschichte
MAN	Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
PZ	Praehistorische Zeitschrift
RAC	Revue Archéologique du Centre
RAE	Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est
UFAS IV	Ur-und Frühgeschichtliche Archaeologie der Schweiz, Band IV (Drack, ed). Basel 1974
UISPP	Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques
WA	World Archaeology



Pl. 1 The pottery of Soyons (07-35), Soyons Museum

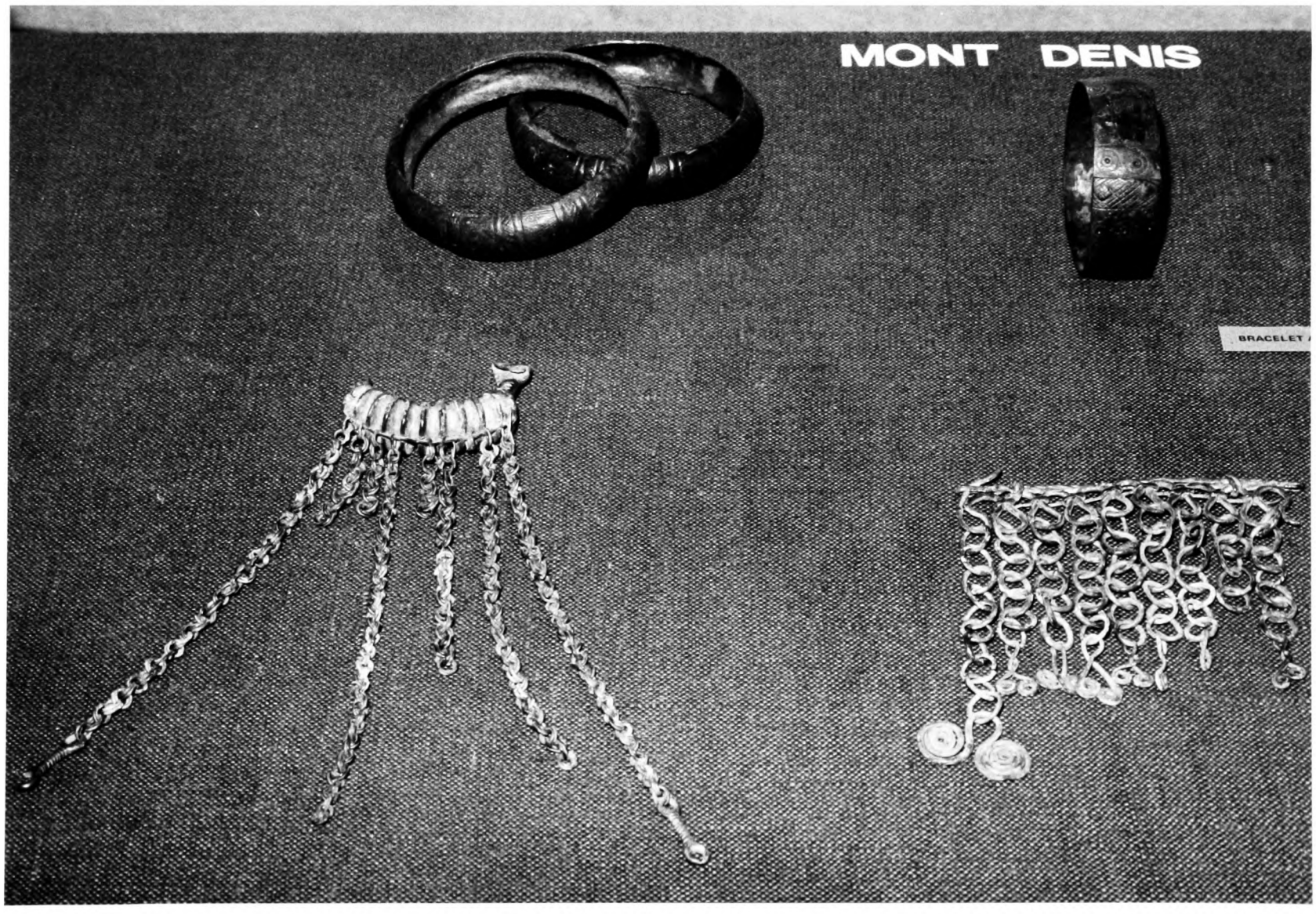




Pl. 2 a) Imported wares at Soyons (07-35), Soyons Museum

b) Vienne and the Rhône from Mont Pipet, looking North





Pl. 3 a) The Camp de Larina (38-01), from Hières-sur-Amby

b) Burial assemblage from Montdenis (73-34), Musée d'Annecy





Pl. 4 a) Multiple bracelets from Albiez-le-Vieux(73-04), Musée d'Annecy

b) Cruseilles (74-17) bracelet, Musée d'Annecy

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