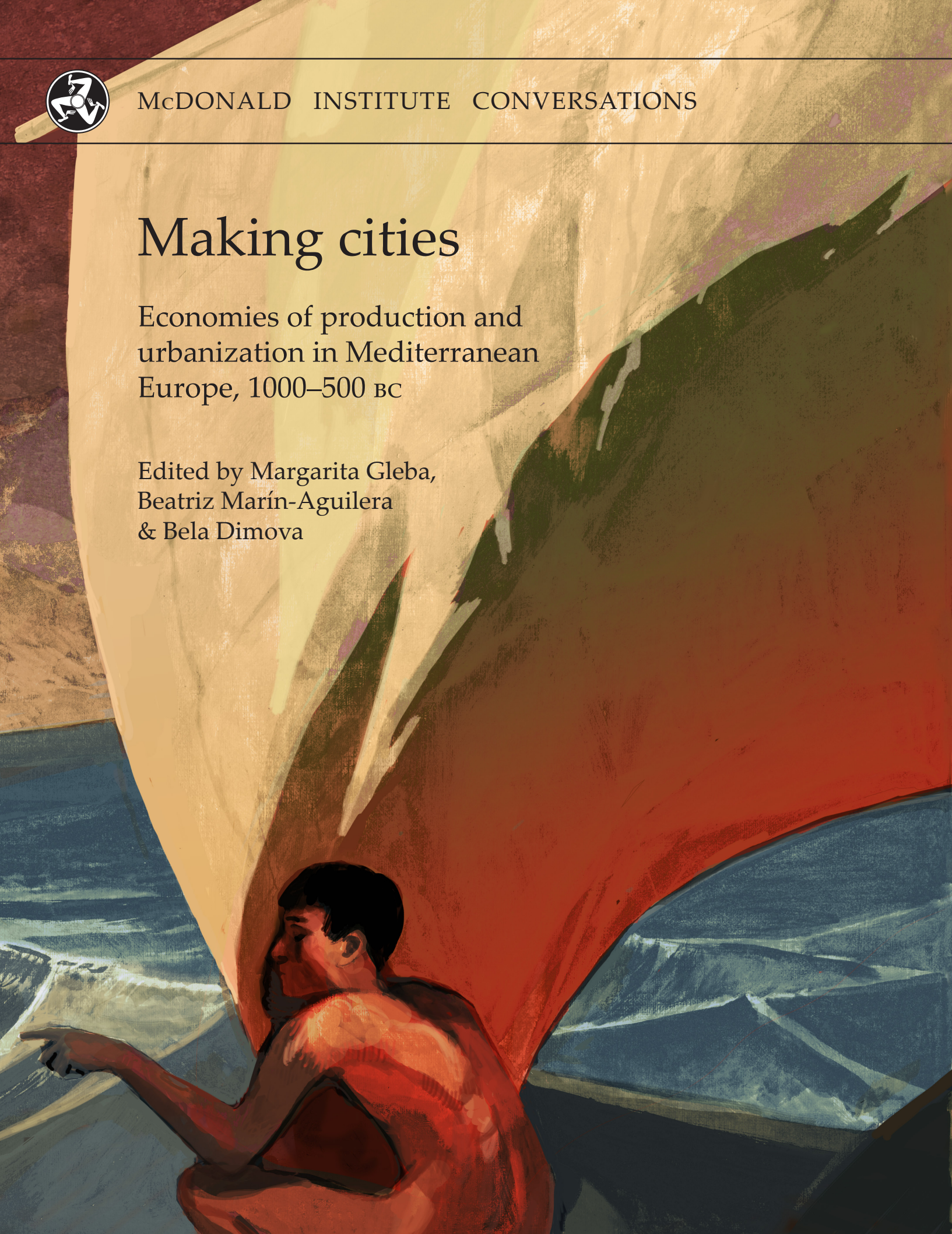

McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

Making cities

Economies of production and urbanization in Mediterranean Europe, 1000–500 BC

Edited by Margarita Gleba,
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Chapter 23

From household to cities: habitats and societies in southern France during the Early Iron Age

Éric Gailledrat

Like elsewhere, in the south of France, the beginning of the first millennium BC is synonymous with significant changes that can be directly observed through a tangible evolution in material culture, technology, modes of land occupation and funerary practices. These elements are a clear manifestation of more profound processes, both economic and social, the origin of which cannot be explained without taking into account a more global context that is simultaneously that of protohistoric western Europe and that of the Mediterranean area, a connected space in which people, artefacts, raw materials, technology and ideas circulated at various rhythms and in various directions.

The considerable advances in research on protohistory in the south of France since the 1980s have led not only to a substantial increase in and revision of the archaeological documentation, but also to the formulation of syntheses defining the methodological and conceptual framework within which most of the current work is carried out (Py 2012; Garcia 2014). Settlements and societies are now studied transversely, with a multidisciplinary approach, from a perspective broadly shaped by references to anthropological models. The latter were, and still are, largely borrowed from the works of the American School (in particular Sahlins 1963 and Johnson & Earle 1987), the main contribution of which is the idea of an increasing complexity of human societies. For the period in question, this growing complexity manifests itself as the transition from tribal forms of organization (acephalous local groups, then 'Big Men' or 'Great Men' societies) to pre-state forms (simple and then more complex 'chiefdoms'), or as the passage from more or less 'egalitarian' societies to 'stratified' ones. In France, the works of Maurice Godelier contributed without a doubt to the widespread use of these models and this vocabulary by protohistorians (Godelier 1999), and as a result, the notions of 'chiefdoms' and 'pre-state societies' are now rather systematically associated with the Early Iron Age, both in southern (Py 2012; Garcia 2014) and northern (Brun 1988; Brun & Ruby 2008) France.

The use of these theoretical models may result from the lack of a better alternative, and although convenient, these models warrant criticism, especially when considering the confusion that often occurs between the degrees of 'complexity' and of 'hierarchization' of a given society (Testart 2005, 12–23). Whether or not we accept Alain Testart's proposition to favour a classification featuring an opposition between minimal organizations (with ostentatious plutocratic societies) and semi-states (lineage societies and primitive democracies; Testart 2005, 130–1), the main problem may lie, above all, in the way in which the societies of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age in southern France are currently perceived through the lens of the archaeological data. This is a crucial point for our argument, as research is currently facing a certain primitivism that contributed to a less dynamic image of protohistoric societies in southern France. It is a more or less subconscious consequence of the effort made since the 1970s to bring to light, 'in the face of the monolithic character of classical proposals or the globalizing vision of a "celtic analysis"' (Garcia 2014, 80), the specificities of the '*Gaulois du Midi*' (Py 2012) and of the '*Celtique méditerranéenne*' (Garcia 2014).

From the Alps in the east to the Pyrenees in the west (Fig. 23.1), between the Late Bronze Age IIIB (900–750 BC) and the Early Iron Age (750/725–475 BC), the cultural phenomena observed are interdependent on the local level, but also point to more global historical processes, in particular on the scale of the Mediterranean. The changes in forms of social organization, technology and modes of production and the emergence of urban settlements thus form themes that are now regularly correlated with each other. For the

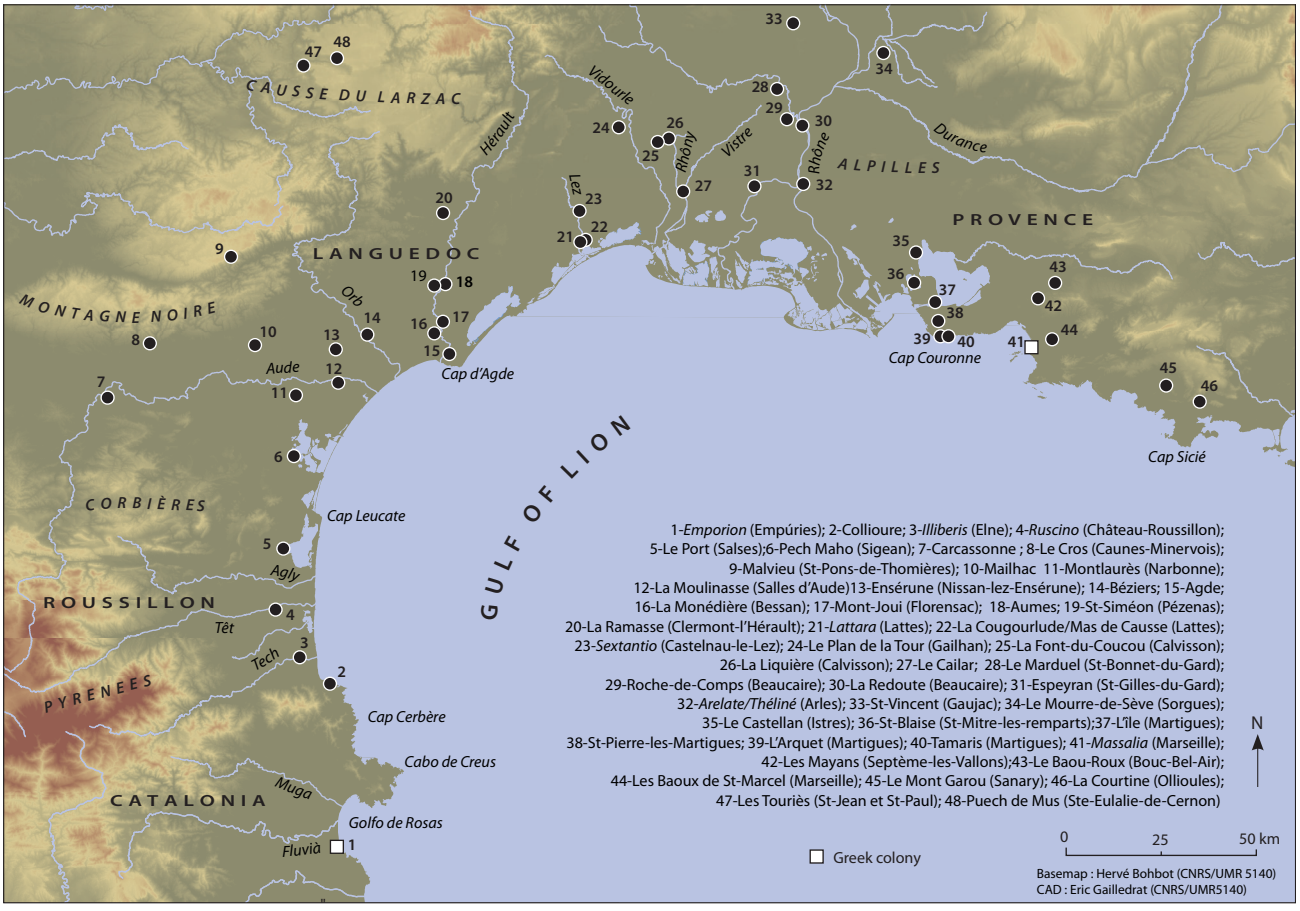

Figure 23.1. *Map of the south of France showing the locations of the main settlements of the Early Iron Age.*

south of France, on the basis of the existing syntheses (Py 2012; Garcia 2014), our goal here is to put these questions into perspective by investigating both the limits of the available documentation and the possibility of proposing a more dynamic reading of the period.

A question of time

In southern France, the beginning of the Early Iron Age *sensu stricto* falls in the third quarter of the eighth century BC. It was an especially pivotal period given that it coincided with a growing intensification of Mediterranean interactions. Beyond the colonial phenomenon of the settlement of Greeks from Phocaea on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc at the beginning of the sixth century BC, the impact of the contacts established at that time with the major Classical civilizations is undeniable. Indeed, from this moment on, the Greeks, as well as the Etruscans and the Phoenicians even earlier, operated networks, largely dictated by economic factors, that were decisive for the future of the populations of the northwest confines of the Mediterranean.

The changes observed during this period cannot therefore be interpreted without taking into account this specific context. The appearance of new forms of group settlements, a process commonly called 'proto-urbanization', thus constitutes a major development that had its beginnings in the Late Bronze Age but really blossomed at the end of the Early Iron Age (sixth-fifth centuries BC). This phenomenon illustrates a more general tendency in terms of economic and social evolution, but the image of an indigenous world 'naturally' tending towards a Classical urban society must be substantially nuanced.

The economic changes caused or accentuated by these Mediterranean mobilities and exchanges were clearly significant. The Mediterranean demands, mainly in terms of the need for agricultural resources and raw materials, were met in the indigenous world by an intensification of production that seems to have only been possible through a change in the pre-existing economic and social structures (Py 2012, 105–75; Garcia 2014, 57–66). Nevertheless, the scope and chronology of this change remains subject to debate,

especially depending on whether or not we accept the idea of a true break in the continuity of the indigenous societies and their economies at the transition from the seventh to the sixth century BC, implicitly associated with the foundation of Massalia (Marseille) at around 600 BC and the concomitant development of the Greco-Etruscan *emporia* on the coasts of Provence and the Gulf of Lion.

It would appear that this moment marked the beginning of a major phenomenon crucial to our subject matter: the appearance of fortified group settlements of variable size set up on hilltops, generally called *oppida*, a term that is deliberately neutral in order to keep a certain distance from the conventional notion of 'city'. It was also at this moment that an increase in agricultural production began, while the production of manufactured goods, although partly occurring in a domestic setting, underwent notable changes, as evidenced by the development of metallurgy and the adoption of the potter's wheel (cf. Sanmartí *et al*. in this volume).

The 'precolonial' period (eighth-seventh centuries BC) is described as being one of maritime explorations and sporadic contacts. Current research still struggles, however, to consider the 'indigenous' world as an integral part, in its own right, of a Mediterranean world that is not limited to the civilizations mentioned above. The developments provoked (or accelerated) at the transition from the seventh to the sixth century BC by the colonial phenomenon actually took place over a much longer period that subsumes earlier examples of contacts and long-distance connections involving both the Mediterranean and the continental world in the broad sense (Guilaine & Verger 2008; Gailledrat 2014; Nijboer in this volume).

Still, a step forward was indeed taken at the end of the seventh century BC. The objects imported from the Phoenician and Greco-Etruscan worlds, for the most part unearthed in certain rich graves in Provence and Languedoc, date precisely to this period. Moreover, the phenomenon known as '*launacien*' (deposits of copper or bronze manufactured goods, semi-products, and ingots, including objects from distant regions of the Hallstatt Culture), which covers the time from the middle of the seventh to the middle of the sixth century BC, reveals the scope of the trade in metals taking place at the time. The Languedoc region played a special role in the diffusion of these products toward the Meditterranean (Verger & Pernet 2013; Guilaine *et al*. 2017). The rapid development of the Greco-Etruscan *emporia* in the sixth century BC bears witness not only to the vitality of the economy of *Massalia* and of the major cities of Etruria, but also to the considerable participation of the indigenous world, which played a truly active role in driving and structuring these exchanges (Bats 1992; Gailledrat 2014).

A contrasted image

This dichotomy between Mediterranean and indigenous spheres, and between the colonial and precolonial periods, influences our perception of the societies of the Late Bronze Age IIIB and the beginning of the Early Iron Age. In this respect, the idea of societies that for a long time remained isolated, with development mostly shaped by internal factors of change, and limited by a low level of social hierarchization combined with incomplete sedentism, is still more or less explicitly accepted (Py 2012, 65–103; Garcia 2014, 39–53). This picture is only slightly nuanced by the recognition of a certain 'break' occurring at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, a break that is, in the end, due less to technological progress (ferrous metallurgy) than to a change in modes of settlement, the affirmation of various regional cultural entities, and the progressive emergence of hitherto unknown forms of power.

This widely proposed vision of the societies of the beginning of the Early Iron Age remains, on the whole, not very dynamic and even at times ambiguous. The restructuring of modes of settlement that occurred in the eighth and seventh centuries BC is thus presented in terms of a disintegration of village structures and a demographic decline (Garcia 2014, 60). From this point of view, it was only in the sixth century BC, with the rise of the civilization of the *oppida* (Garcia 2014, 67–120) and with the help of Mediterranean contributions responsible for the transformation of the indigenous societies (Py 2012, 105–78), that a significant step forward was taken in a process of evolution that was until then rather slow. At the same time, an apparent demographic growth (deduced from the multiplication of the number of settlements) is explained, in a manner that may be overly simplistic, by a rapid growth in agricultural production.[1] Furthermore, the concept of proto-urbanization is sometimes only accepted for the Late Iron Age (Py 2012, 179ff), when the signs of labour specialization appear more clearly in the internal structure of *oppida*, and when a new stage was reached in the process of population grouping.

That raises the question of the interpretive framework still in use for these periods: the dichotomy between a 'before' and an 'after' 600 BC is such that the entire sequence from the Late Bronze Age IIIB to the beginning of the Early Iron Age is sometimes relegated to the same cloudy haze, characterized by the 'the permanence of primitive social structures based on complementarity, within the framework of a low-hierarchical society, small family units and a

community organization at the village level' (Py 2012, 102). A corollary of these conjectures, which give us the idea of a relative self-sufficiency of these communities, is the idea of a low degree of labour specialization that constitutes another fundamental aspect of the aforementioned works, which place the 'domestic mode of production' (Sahlins 1972) at the centre of the economy of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (or even later).

Today, these models must be nuanced on account of the inherent limitations of the archaeological documentation and the weakness of certain underlying theoretical assumptions (Gailledrat 2015). In particular, the reconstruction of a semi-sedentary lifestyle, associated with a slash-and-burn agricultural system that led to a double crisis – ecological and economic – and was progressively replaced at the end of the seventh century BC by a fallow and light animal-drawn system (Garcia 2014, 47–53), although attractive, is now widely called into question, in particular by paleoenvironmental studies.

With regard to crafts, the available data urge extreme caution (Anwar 2014), and it is clear that the lack of information is still often used as a pretext for an interpretation that minimizes the importance of manufacturing. The prevailing idea emphasizes the family structure as an essential component of a 'community' system in which labour specialization would be still at a low level, reflecting the existing hierarchy in these societies.

Finally, the social interpretation of the funerary data also suffers from a persistent ambiguity: if on the whole, it is accepted that certain rich graves of the beginning of the Early Iron Age show signs of increased social hierarchization (expressed by the quantity and/or the quality of the grave goods), it is still very tempting to qualify the society of the Late Bronze Age as an 'egalitarian society', on the basis of a global vision of the cemeteries of the period, which indeed do not reveal many perceptible differences between the deceased, with the exception of those differences related to gender. Moreover, these same authors (Py 2012; Garcia 2014) tend to minimize the scope of the power exercised in the seventh century BC in Languedoc and Provence while agreeing on the recognition of the emergence of simple chiefdoms, outlined in the anthropological models mentioned above. These would involve only 'small chiefs', rightly considered as vastly different from the 'princes' of the continental Hallstatt realm (Py 2012, 175).

The cemeteries of the beginning of the Early Iron Age clearly point, however, to an increased social hierarchization and to the desire of certain individuals to display important differences in status beyond death. This phenomenon is not limited to the seventh century BC: in the following century, the cemeteries still reveal the existence of a privileged class, which had revised its funeral ideology, now including complete sets of armour, weapons and objects related to wine consumption (Beylier 2012; Verger & Pernet 2013; Gailledrat forthcoming).

It is true that at present, this obvious evolution in social structure is not reflected in the settlements: from Roussillon to Provence, the few known floorplans of houses do not exhibit any real differences within the same site, in terms of either size – which remains modest – or the materials used, but must we necessarily imagine that social differences were really reflected in domestic architecture? This is far from certain, and what we are faced with is, above all, a problem of documentation, with data from settlements remaining hardly more abundant in the sixth century than in the eighth–seventh centuries BC. To say that the settlements offer a different image than the cemeteries is therefore less a foregone conclusion than an *a priori* assumption that has been present in the works carried out in the south of France for several decades.

From one Mediterranean to another

While the idea of an indigenous world that was 'passive' in the face of outside influences should be rejected, it would be reasonable to propose the idea of a 'Mediterraneization' of southern Gaul, in the sense of a process of dynamic integration affecting various aspects of society (Morris 2005) and beginning before the colonial era. While limitations of this concept may be put forward, if only due to the still modest evidence of 'precolonial' contacts and the highly unequal nature of the phenomena of borrowing and acculturation that occurred throughout the Iron Age, it is difficult to deny the insertion of the regions in question into a 'centre-periphery' system based around the Mediterranean world.

In this respect, the 'world economy' model developed by Patrice Brun (1987) on the basis of the work of Fernand Braudel proposes considering the south of France as belonging to a first circle consisting of the immediate periphery of the driving nuclei formed by the Greek and Etruscan cities. At the same time, in the sixth century BC, beyond the arc of the northern Alps (and thus in a second circle), a powerful and relatively ephemeral phenomenon developed – that of 'princely residences' (cf. Fernandez-Götz & Grömer in this volume). The result of an unprecedented reinforcement of the forms of power, vast territorial units were formed around proto-urban fortified sites (also called *oppida*). These constituted centres of power, some very large, that were able to accommodate thousands of people

and were the hubs of significant economic activity, partly due to the presence of numerous craftsmen (Brun & Ruby 2008; Sievers & Schönfelder 2012; Brun & Chaume 2013).

Despite the difference in scale between these *oppida* and those of southern France, the counterpoint provided by these Hallstatt sites with respect to the process of proto-urbanization that was taking place in southern Gaul in the Early Iron Age is interesting, given the simultaneity of the two phenomena (sixth century BC) and the particular context of economic networks that were oriented towards the Mediterranean. However, just like the south of France, where the *oppida* grew in number in the sixth-fifth centuries BC, the goal is not to establish a direct link between the emergence of 'proto-urban' – or not completely urban (Brun & Chaume 2013, 319) – sites and the more or less intense contacts established with the Mediterranean world. Such an aim would imply the false idea of a simple reproduction of an exogenous model, in this case, that of the Greek or Etruscan city. Regardless of occasional borrowing of urban planning features, fortifications and construction techniques,[2] there are few direct influences of the Graeco-Etruscan world upon Celtic habitats. However, it can be highlighted that comparable *stimuli*, related to the close or distant exchanges with the Mediterranean (luxury goods, wine, etc.), impacted social relations within the indigenous societies. Fundamentally, the integration of Greek drinking sets into pre-existing feasting practices contributed to accentuating phenomena of social competition, with differences between northern and southern Gaul (Dietler 2010, 193–222). In southern France, these phenomena are closely linked to the development of a warrior ideology that emerged during the seventh century BC and was partially translated in the following century by the appearance of fortifications and urban forms that attest to a new process of territorialization (Gailledrat forthcoming).

In a broader perspective, contacts with the Mediterranean world provoked or accentuated the evolution of native societies, in particular through their integration in new economical networks that implied an evolution of modes of production. The global increase in production and specialization is undeniable, despite the sparse availability of archaeological data. The development of agriculture was determined by the double neccessity of responding to Mediterranean demands and feeding individuals dedicated to other activities. Among these individuals, craftspeople played a decisive role, integrating new Mediterranean technologies such as the potter's wheel and rapidly developing iron metallurgy, which has gradually contributed to the improvement of agricultural tools.

The evanescent settlement

In the Late Bronze Age IIIB, numerous open-air settlements of variable size, as well as several (more temporary) cave dwellings are known in Provence and Roussillon. While the dominant impression is that of a dispersed settlement, the existence of several hilltop settlements in this period, the surface area of which could reach several hectares and which must have had a rather significant population (Le Baou-Roux, Le Marduel, *Sextantio*, Cayla de Mailhac, etc.), should also be noted. Unfortunately, in every case, the internal structure of the site, its density and even the morphology of the buildings, are for the most part not well known. As mentioned above, a certain break is observed at the transition between the eighth and seventh centuries BC. These hilltop settlements were deserted for others in the plain that are unfortunately even more poorly characterized than those of the preceding period.[3] With respect to the Late Bronze Age, the scarcity of settlements is real, but the previously mentioned idea of a demographic loss is contradicted by the significant number of cemeteries known for the period.

Over the entire geographic area studied, there are very few floorplans of houses (always incomplete) and even fewer sites have been preserved – or excavated – over a significant surface area. The Traversant site in Mailhac (Aude) is for the moment an exception: a large settlement (approximately 6–7 ha) was set up at the foot of the Le Cayla hill, which corresponds to one of the major sites occupied in the Late Bronze Age IIIB and then deserted at the end of the eighth century BC (Fig. 23.2). Despite the poor state of preservation, which manifests itself in the almost total absence of floors and the incompleteness of the floorplans, it can be noted that this settlement is characterized by a loose layout, with buildings set apart from each other but showing signs of grouping together. The excavation unearthed an ensemble consisting of bi-apsidal wattle-and-daub buildings and, probably, a small rectangular structure on posts, reminiscent of the elevated granaries widely known in the Iron Age. The surface area of the few buildings for which the floorplan can be reconstructed varies between 30 and 50 sq. m, but it is impossible to say whether these were only homes in the strict sense of the word. Empty spaces separate these groups of structures that can – hypothetically – correspond to groupings of a social (family, lineage, etc.) or functional (houses, storerooms, stables, workshops) nature. The space is also occupied by various pits (granaries, pits for extraction of materials) or by certain 'community' structures, for example a sector comprising several large earth ovens set up for the occasional cooking of food for a significant number of people.

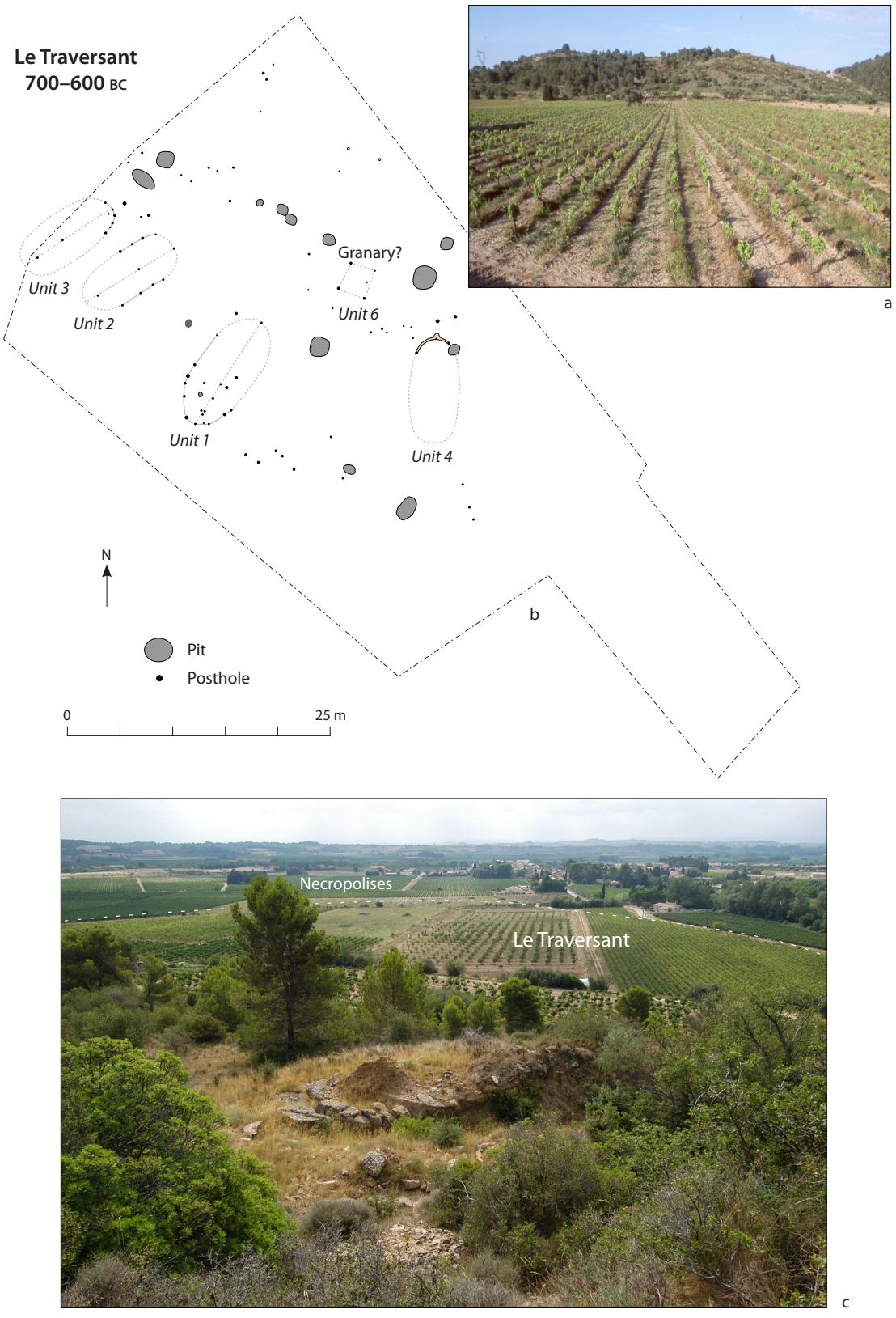

Figure 23.2. *Mailhac (Aude): a) View of the Le Cayla oppidum from the Le Traversant plain; b) Le Traversant: map of the ruins from the seventh century* BC*; c) the Mailhac plain viewed from the Le Cayla* oppidum.

The interpretation of such a site is understandably problematic. There would be no point in claiming a difference in status between one house to another due to the observed differences in size. There would also be no point, however, in only seeing the site as a 'village' in which a mere community of farmers resided: the associated necropolis (Grand Bassin I), located several hundred metres away, reveals a stratified society, led by an elite that displayed its status in the tomb through the richness and the sometimes exceptional ostentatiousness of the grave goods.

Despite its loose structure, Le Traversant does correspond to a group settlement, both spread out and relatively dense, that formed the main hub of a community established on a well-defined territory, and for which the Le Cayla hill formed, since the Late Bronze Age IIIB, a true geographic point of reference. Other settlements existed around this 'centre': St-Jean-de-Caps and Cambéraud, dated to the end of the seventh century BC, are located 1.5 km to the north of Le Cayla. Although they are difficult to characterize due to the extremely limited area excavated, these two sites seem to have been of a much smaller size than Le Traversant. A structure related to the production of ceramics was unearthed at one of the sites (St-Jean-de-Caps), but the proposed hypothesis of seeing it as a specialized facility of an artisanal nature is obviously weak.

However, this complementary relationship between the 'main' settlement and 'secondary' settlements spread out over the nearby territory must be emphasized. In some ways, it prefigures the overall layout that existed in the sixth–fifth centuries BC, when the *oppidum* formed a main population hub surrounded by farms, hamlets and specialized sites, the activities of which required them to be located outside the walls, as is the case for ceramic workshops, which required direct access to water and clay deposits. In Mailhac, this layout existed from the Late Bronze Age IIIB, with various sites in the plain located in the immediate periphery of Le Cayla, already occupied at the time. In another form, related to a simple shift from the hill to the plain,[4] this same layout persisted through the 'break' of the seventh century BC and then, of course, upon the return of the settlement to the hill of Le Cayla *c*. 575–550 BC (Gailledrat *et al*. 2007).

Is Mailhac a model reproducible elsewhere, revealing the reality of settlement in Languedoc at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, or is it merely one example among many types? Given the current state of research, the answer is further complicated by the fact that various scenarios must have existed, sometimes with substantial local or regional variations. At the very least, Mailhac provides a counter-example to the current idea of a true fragmentation and an instability of the settlement (Gailledrat forthcoming).[5] The continuity of occupation of the same land from the Late Bronze Age IIIB here is remarkable, but surely not exceptional on the level of the south of France. This is clearly an invitation to consider the process that led to the emergence of the *oppida* in the sixth-fifth centuries BC from another angle, in the sense that the origins of the phenomenon of proto-urbanization may already be found in the Late Bronze Age IIIB, when sedentary life was already largely the norm, and that the 'break' of the seventh century BC should be considered to be more of a 'transition'.

The emergence of the fortified group settlement

The situation evolved progressively at the transition from the seventh to the sixth century BC. Hilltop sites, some already occupied in the Late Bronze Age, were host to more or less large habitations, unfortunately still very poorly characterized in terms of both the architecture and the overall shape of the settlement. Nevertheless, several observations can be made, demonstrating both the diversity of cases and a certain cohesion with regard to the past.

Carsac stands out due to its extraordinary size (approximately 20 ha), a sign of a particular status possibly related to its strategic position at the edge of Languedoc, on the Aude-Garonne axis that links the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Although no traces of construction were preserved, the density of the pits points more to a dense, permanent settlement than to a shelter or temporary market place, a hypothesis proposed for certain hilltop sites of the Late Bronze Age.

At Ruscino, the area occupied is relatively large (at least 8 ha) and the settlement on the plateau is characterized by a loose layout, with buildings on load-bearing posts spaced apart from each other and surrounded by storage structures and empty spaces, a morphology that rather directly recalls that described above for the plain site of Le Traversant in Mailhac. Several apsidal buildings were identified. One of them, particularly well preserved, is a house of approximately 45 sq. m, with the interior split between living spaces (kitchen, space for rest) and storage (Fig. 23.3a).

In the hinterland of Languedoc, the site of Malvieu (2 ha) is a unique and potentially older[6] example of a hilltop group settlement. Rectangular houses with one or two rooms and a surface area of 25–30 sq. m were built against a rampart (Fig. 23.4a). The use of stone for the construction points less to a borrowed technology than to the broad availability of the material on site. In the foothills of the plain of Languedoc, comparable features can be found at the Le Cros site, where wattle-and-daub houses were built against a wall equipped with towers and bastions. The only

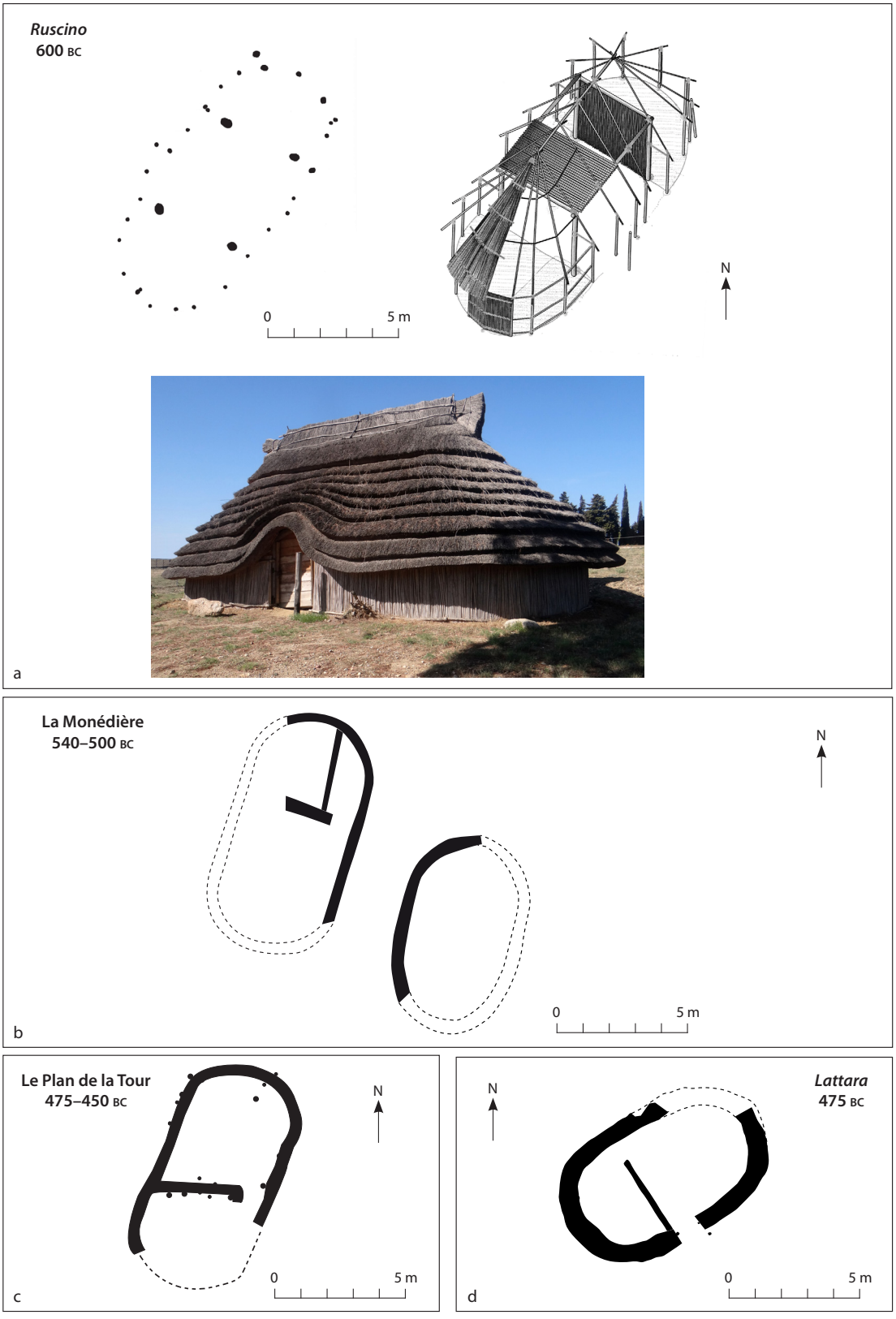

Figure 23.3. *Examples of apsidal floorplans of wattle-and-daub (a) or cob houses / houses made of adobe on stone foundations (b-d) from the sixth-fifth centuries* BC.

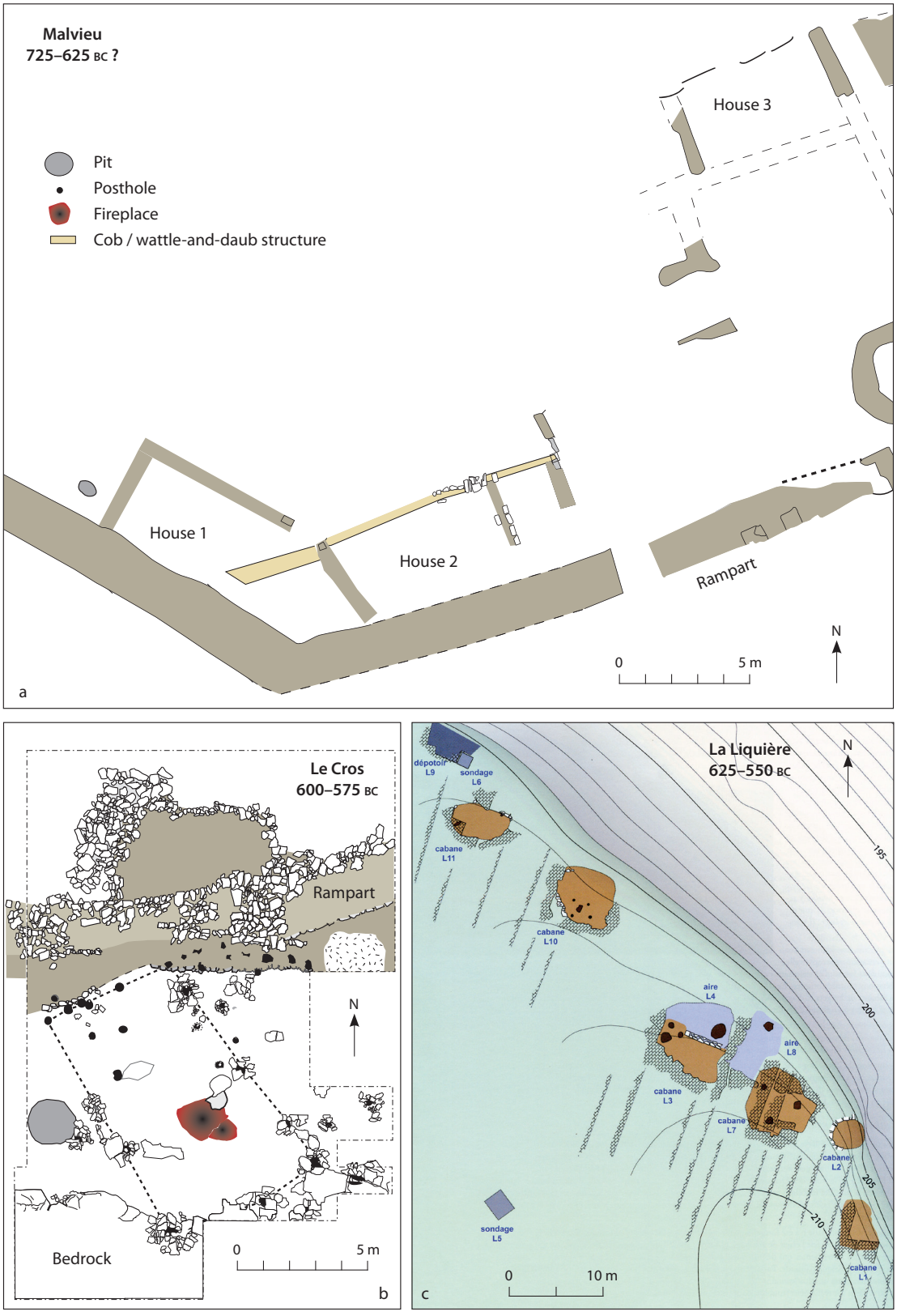

Figure 23.4. *Examples of rectangular floorplans of houses with one or more rooms from the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries* BC*: a) mixed techniques with stone foundations and cob / wattle-and-daub walls; b-c) cob.*

recognized house has a single room with an estimated surface area of over 40 sq. m (Fig. 23.4b).

The case of La Liquière is somewhat different, less because of the size of the site (estimated at 2 ha) than the morphology of the structures, the best preserved of which were found not on the plateau, but on the edge thereof, in a partially eroded area. These buildings are partly cut into the rock, both to compensate for the unevenness of the terrain and to form a foundation for the wattle-and-daub walls (Fig. 23.4c). The floorplans are difficult to reconstruct, but various forms (rectangular and oval) seem to coexist. The reconstructed surface areas, however, are relatively small, approximately 15 to 25 sq. m. Still, they resemble what we know from more recent periods and correspond, like earlier, to the traditional model of a one-room home that houses a nuclear family. Most of these structures obviously correspond to domestic units; in any case, it is impossible to identify any specialized buildings dedicated to crafts or storage. Some of the smallest buildings, however, must be considered as annexes to the houses.

The *oppida* of the sixth–fifth centuries BC

Between the beginning of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth century BC, numerous fortified hilltop settlements appeared, some on hills already occupied in the Late Bronze Age IIIB, others in locations devoid of any earlier occupation. The logic for the establishment of these settlements lies first and foremost in their advantageous geographical position, related to the existence of lands of varied potential and linked to terrestrial or fluvial transportation routes. The density of occupation, like the size of the various sites, points to the existence of hierarchical networks and the prominence of certain settlements on a regional level. The degree of interdependence of the sites, however, remains all the more difficult to ascertain in detail due to the image that emerges of a rather high political fragmentation and, probably, phenomena of restructuration of these networks as a result of exacerbated competition for access to the opportunities provided by Mediterranean trade (Gailledrat 2015).

The *oppidum* is a key element of the system of settlement and appears to have housed most of the population. Around these proto-urban hubs, which probably formed both reference points for the entire community and the seats of local power, there is a certain number of small secondary settlements of a complementary nature – workshops, farms or hamlets.

Other factors, of a more symbolic type, may have influenced the choice of location: in Provence and Languedoc, hills (or more rarely the areas around springs) that hosted open-air sanctuaries dating to the beginning of the Iron Age were dismantled, with a few exceptions (Les Touriès), during the sixth–fifth centuries BC upon the creation or relocation of a settlement on the site. Of these sanctuaries, interpreted as being related to hero cults or nature worship (Garcia 2014, 121–43), only stelae, pillars and more rarely anthropomorphic sculptures remain (often fragmented and always reused in more recent structures). More generally, the notion of 'place of memory' should be applied to these sites, which in certain cases occupy the site of a significant group settlement in the Late Bronze Age IIIB.

Another noteworthy fact is the systematic presence of fortifications (ditches and ramparts) linked to these settlements (Fig. 23.5). This phenomenon, however, is not entirely new, as defensive works have been attested sporadically since the Late Bronze Age. Nevertheless, defensive walls became a key element of the process of urbanization, not only because they directly shaped the morphology of the settlement, but also because they contributed to affirming the control of a community over its territory: in addition to the practical aspect related to defending people and their possessions, there is a particularly strong ideological aspect. The fact that, for a large number of *oppida*, the ramparts erected in the sixth–fifth centuries BC reused stelae from a pre-existing sanctuary appears to point to a phenomenon of symbolic reappropriation of the location.

In this process, the role played by indigenous elites is subject to debate. While the central role of the group corresponding to the village community (Py 2012) is underscored, it nevertheless appears that the grouping together of populations that this phenomenon implies, as well as the need to mobilize a workforce indispensable to carrying out such works, can also (or above all?) be explained by the existence of powers exerted on the local (*oppidum*) or supra-local (network of sites) level. In the same vein, the structuring of space involved in the urban planning programs implemented presupposes not only real planning on the part of an authority (whatever it may be), but also management of a space in which 'public' and 'private' tended to be progressively differentiated.

Still, this phenomenon does not develop in the same way everywhere, nor at the same time. From the coast to the hinterland, from the sixth to the fifth century BC, the layouts implemented point to the progressive adoption of new models, in terms of both the structuring of space and construction techniques. The concept of contiguous buildings, directly related to the formation of blocks separated by streets, led to notable changes in the form of settlements and in the techniques used: rectangular floorplans logically tended to become the norm, while adobe on a stone foundation replaced wattle-and-daub on load-bearing posts, even though this

a

b

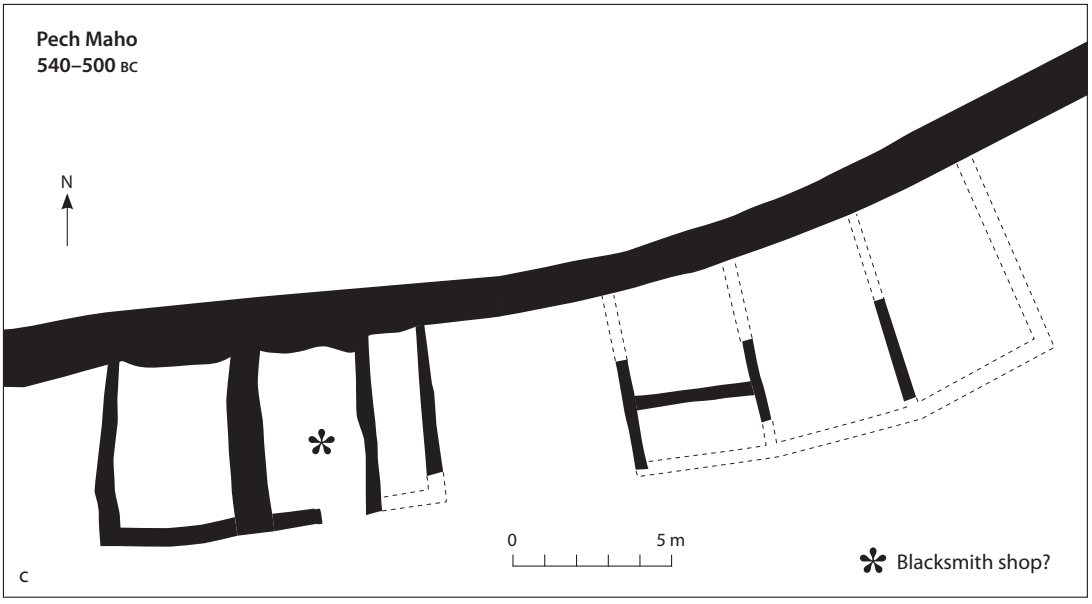

Figure 23.5. *Pech Maho (Sigean, Aude): a) aerial view of the* oppidum*, which had dual ramparts preceded by a ditch in the sixth century* BC*; b) detailed view of the rampart from the Archaic period; c) one- or two-room buildings built against the inner rampart, made of adobe on stone foundations.*

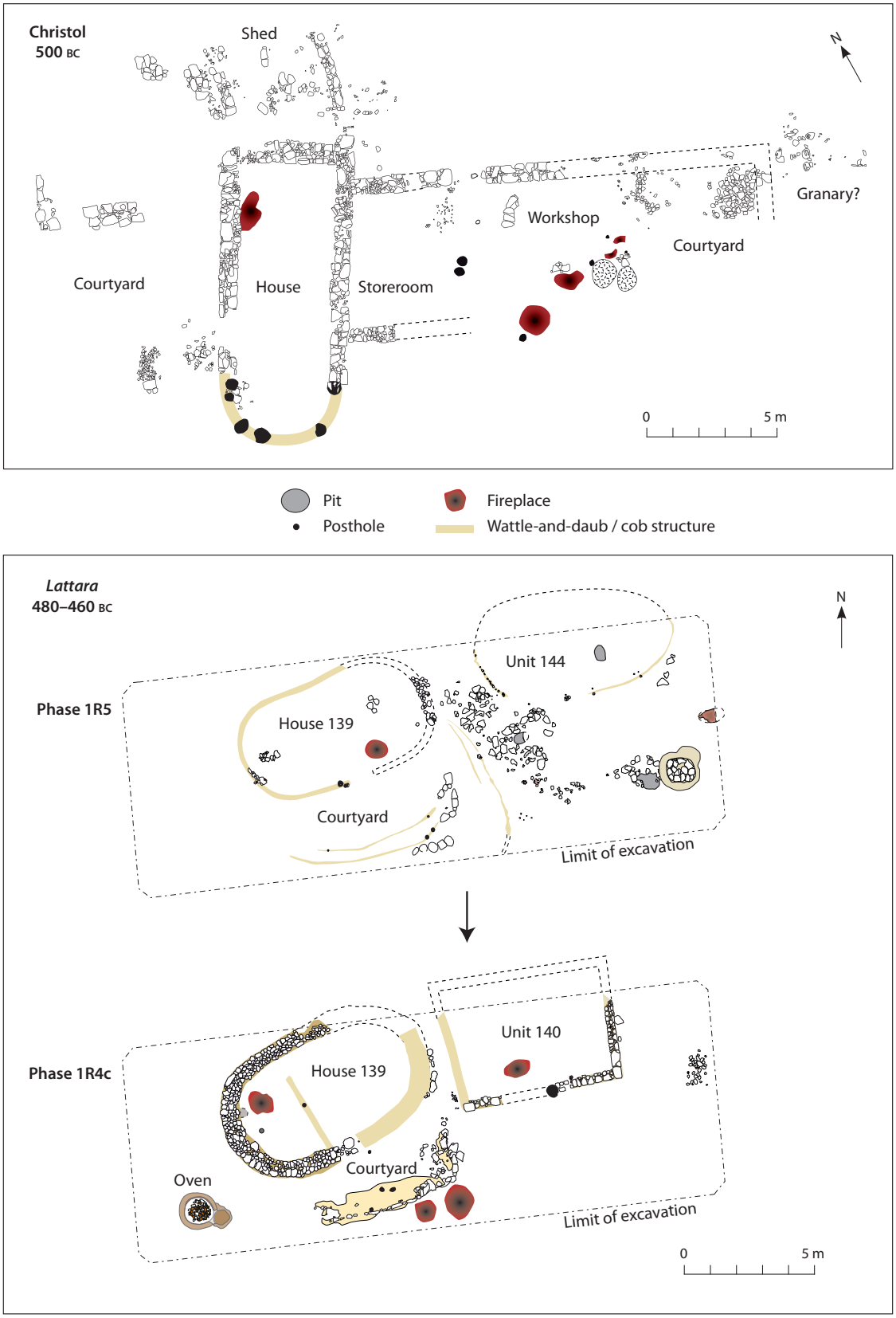

Figure 23.6. *Examples of functional combinations of apsidal and rectangular floorplans in the fifth century* BC.

technique remained in use elsewhere. Apsidal floorplans associated with a loose layout still persisted until the middle of the fifth century BC, both on the *oppida* (Rocher de Roquebrune, Gailhan, *Lattara*) (Fig. 23.3c–d) and in rural settlements (Christol, La Condamine) (Fig. 23.6a).

The true adoption of Mediterranean models in indigenous urban planning often remains difficult to evaluate. In the earliest urban-planning experiments which occurred on the coast, and in particular in western Provence near Marseille (Tamaris, L'Arquet, St-Pierre-les-Martigues), it would not be out of the question for Greek skills to have been directly put to use by the locals (Fig. 23.7). The particular nature of these sites, oriented towards the Mediterranean, suggests

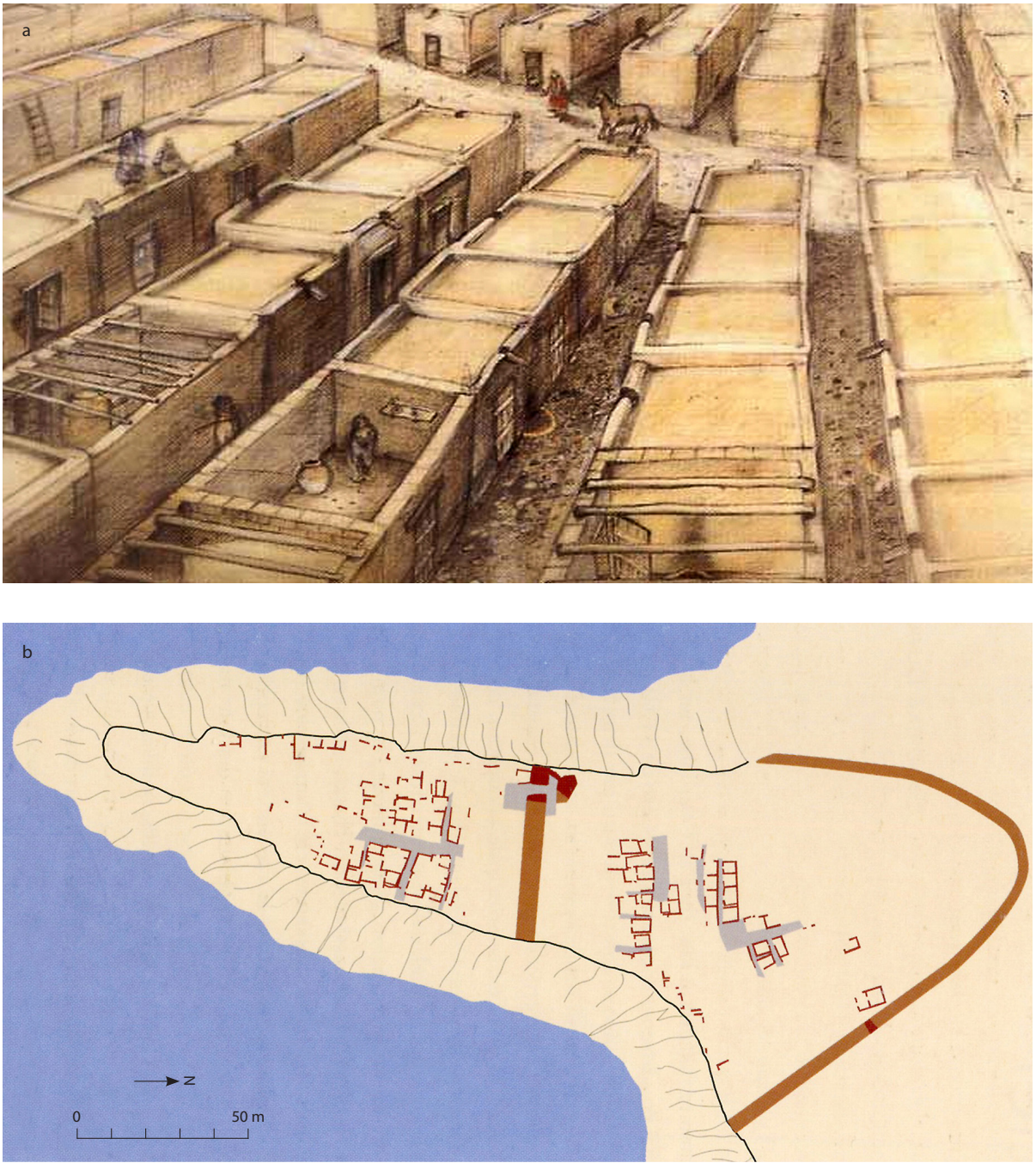

Figure 23.7. *Early examples of urban planning combining blocks of houses with a system of streets and alleys (sixth century BC): a) St-Pierre-les-Martigues (© D. Delpalillo); b) Tamaris.*

such a collaboration, just like in western Languedoc at the *emporion* of Pech Maho, where the suddenness of the appearance of a regular urban frame and of new, perfectly mastered techniques of construction, in the middle of the sixth century BC, is incompatible with the idea of a gradual adoption of exogenous models (Gailledrat 2014, 119).

The house in the context of the group settlement

The diversity of scenarios demonstrates the dominant role of indigenous initiative and local solutions. Moreover, it would be incorrect to restrict the notion of 'deliberate urban planning' to concentrated settlements made up of contiguous houses by comparing it to 'spontaneous urban planning', which would necessarily characterize habitats with a loose layout. In the lower quarter of the *oppidum* of Montlaurès in the middle of the sixth century BC or at Le Cayla in Mailhac at the beginning of the following century (Fig. 23.8), the settlement consisted of non-contiguous wattle-and-daub structures partly set into the rock. Just like at La Liquière in the sixth century BC, or at the Rocher de Roquebrune in the fifth century BC, where apsidal and rectangular buildings widely spaced apart from each other coexisted, the arrangement of buildings in the *oppida* appears to have been largely dictated by the location's topography. However, there is no reason to exclude the idea of an organization and a thought-out division of space: as often is the case, there are many gaps in the information and, *de facto*, our impression of the sites of the end of the Early Iron Age remains incomplete.

Independently of the floorplan of the houses, certain sites reveal the existence of regulatory lines that suggests a planned division of the available space. In *Lattara* (Lattes) towards 475 BC (Fig. 23.6b), a functional unit consisting of an apsidal house associated with rectangular annexes is built within an apparently predefined space that would be occupied a generation later by a rectangular block built during a new urban planning program. In Montlaurès, the guiding lines of successive building programs dating from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century BC can be reconstructed based on the locations of the various rectangular, yet non-contiguous adobe buildings (Fig. 23.9). The same is true in La Moulinasse, or in La Monédière, where a plan implemented in the middle of the sixth century BC shaped the outline of the fortifications and of the settlement, with various phases of occupation that show the succession of rectangular and apsidal floor plans and the permanence of a more or less loose layout.

On the other hand, Tamaris forms a unique case, in which the settlement, dating to the sixth–fifth centuries BC, consists of two distinct parts, separated from each other by a wall. To the north, the settlement is characterized by single-room houses, rectangular or apsidal, contiguous or simply abutting against each other. To the south, however, there are houses with multiple rooms, apparently organized around courtyards, that undeniably resemble exogenous architectural models. This division may point to social segregation or even to the presence of a Greek component in the population (Fig. 23.7b) (Gailledrat 2014, 334–5).

The house of the end of the Early Iron Age was part of a tradition well established since the Late Bronze Age. Independently of the technical changes connected to the appearance of adobe, it essentially corresponds to a single-room structure. This structure housed a nuclear family and contained various spaces, sometimes indistinct, dedicated to rest, cooking, daily storage and certain food- or manufacturing-related processing activities. The end of the Early Iron Age saw the beginnings of a tendency to build houses with two or more rooms. The surface area, however, hardly changed, and most often we see a division between living and storage space.

The question of the functionality of the various structures unearthed in the group settlements of this period often remains complicated because of the age of the research or the limited scope of the excavations. In other words, without calling into question the model of a single-room home, the 'houses'[7] identified as such may actually conceal different realities, whether in the case of *oppida* with a loose layout (Le Cayla in Mailhac, Le Marduel) or, *a fortiori*, sites for which an urban planning program manifests itself in blocks composed of contiguous 'cells' (St-Pierre-les-Martigues, Pech Maho). In the latter scenario, the surface area observed remains limited: with an average of approximately 20 sq. m, it is much lower than that observed for the older houses at Le Traversant (seventh century BC), *Ruscino*, and Le Cros (beginning of the sixth century BC), which is between about 30 and 50 sq. m. It is also lower than a good number of contemporary detached structures (La Moulinasse, La Monédière, Montlaurès), for which the surface area is more often between 30 and 40 sq. m or even greater.

The example of *Lattara* has shown us that the space occupied by a 'domestic unit' was not limited to the home strictly speaking (here, approximately 23 sq. m), but included annexes (storerooms, stables) and 'privatized' exterior spaces used for cooking or other more or less temporary activities. When the blocks consist only of single-room 'houses', the question of a possible specialization or complementary relationship between these various architectural units arises.

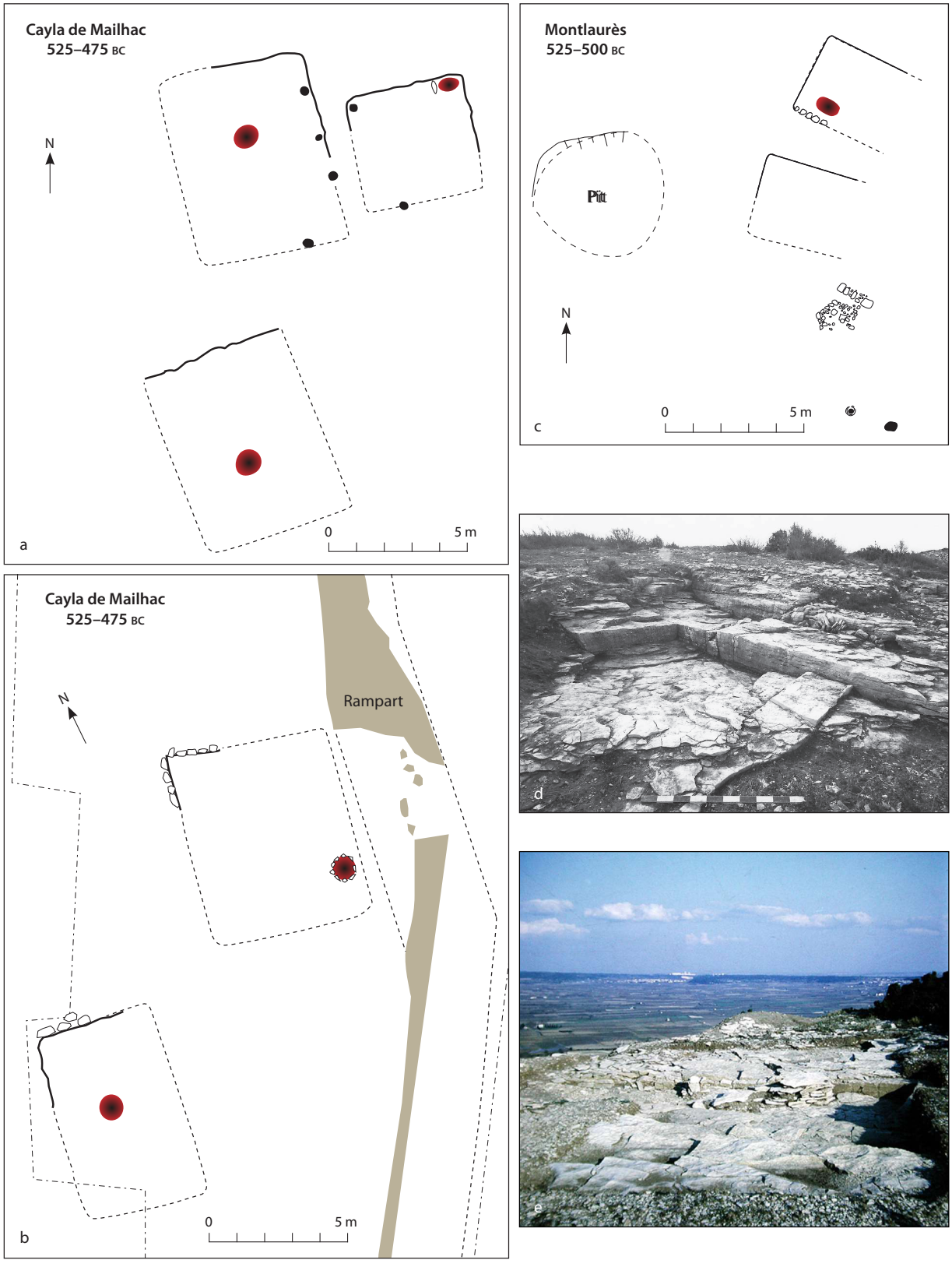

Figure 23.8. *a–c) Examples of rectangular floorplans of wattle-and-daub houses from the sixth-fifth centuries* BC*; d–e) houses partly cutting into the rock in the* oppidum *of La Liquière (beginning of the sixth century* BC*).*

Figure 23.9. *Montlaurès (Narbonne, Aude). Lower quarter of the* oppidum *at the beginning of the fifth century* BC.

Indeed, in these 'cells' of 15 to 20 sq. m, it is hard to see sufficient space for all of the activities, both domestic and manufacturing, to have taken place, *a fortiori* given that the exterior spaces – limited to the streets – were thus particularly small (Fig. 23.7a).

Craftspeople, crafts and workshops

Considering the fact that the emergence of *oppida* reflects complex social developments, which are not limited to the mere regrouping of populations, but coincide with the affirmation of new forms of power at a local or regional level, this phenomenon of proto-urbanization raises another question – that of the place of artisanal activities in these settlements. Indeed, the emergence of the concept of 'city' implies a certain number of fundamental notions, which go beyond a 'conventional' definition encompassing demographic concentration, the concentrated nature of the habitat, and the presence of monuments and public spaces, whether civic or religious. The importance of the economic activity generated by and taking place in these settlements (with an allocation of surplus by a central authority) is also frequently emphasized, as is that of a real social stratification and 'group' conscience, based more on residency than on kinship alone (Brun & Chaume 2013, 325–6).

For the south of France, the studies carried out on the topic of crafts, reviewed in a recent synthesis (Anwar 2014), regularly underline the difficulties related to the available documentation, *a fortiori* for the Early Iron Age (Garcia 2014, 158). Faced with the rarity of spaces identified as having been dedicated to a specialized manufacturing activity, the variety and the distribution of the evidence of goods (finished objects, manufacturing waste, tools) points to the reality and the scope of such production within the *oppida* themselves.

The limits imposed by the definition of the family unit as the central element in the 'modes of production' (other than of food) of the societies of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age are at the heart of the problem. The emphasis on a 'domestic mode of production' as opposed to an 'artisanal' one – isolated or grouped in the words of André Leroi-Gourhan (1971, 41–2) – too often leads to an opposition in principle, even though the two are far from mutually exclusive (Anwar 2014, 14).

Indeed, in the context of societies that were still mainly rural, as they continued to be until the Middle Ages and even up to modern times, a more or less significant share of production did indeed take place in a domestic framework. For the period in question, this would involve weaving, wickerwork, bone carving, leatherwork and even minor metallurgical operations (repair of items), the latter requiring only a minimal amount of technical mastery. Of course, this does not preclude the fact that certain individuals, more skilled than others, may have devoted more time to these activities than other members of the community, which also brings up the question of a possible (or probable) division of labour between men and women.

The case of textile production is emblematic of these issues and of the problems caused by the available data. While there is no doubt that this activity was an essential part of the life of Early Iron Age communities, there are still few direct testimonies: only a few bone tools and, above all, spindle whorls, usually made of terracotta, can evoke the operations of spinning animal or plant fibres with spindle and distaff. The same is true for weaving, which is attested only by terracotta weights, which testify to the use of the vertical warp-weighted loom. Knowing that many objects were made of wood and have not been preserved, the importance of these activities is probably underestimated. Regarding the spindle whorls, the regularity of their dimensions and weights tends to suggest that the equipment used for spinning operations could correspond to a production of a very uniform type of thread (Anwar 2014, 339),

These objects are regularly present in early Iron Age habitats. Often found in a secondary deposition, their distribution does not show any particular concentrations, and no specialized area has, at the moment, been identified. On the contrary, it appears that spinning and weaving have been fully integrated into domestic space, suggesting that, as in many traditional societies, they were mainly female activities. Like basketry, spinning and weaving assume some know-how, but it seems that they remain low-skilled works. They do, however, require considerable time, so that such productions were obviously intended primarily for the direct needs of the household. However, this does not exclude that they may have been disseminated more widely, and mainly at community level.

The case of pottery is more complex. On the one hand, the ancestral techniques related to the production of vases created without a potter's wheel obviously require a specific set of skills, but this is compatible with the idea of an activity not exercised full time. On the basis of anthropological models (in particular African), it has been frequently proposed that this activity was mainly the domain of women and would thus be firmly within the domestic realm. Independently of the varying complexity of the shapes and decoration (in the Late Bronze Age IIIB and at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, highly elaborate products coexisted with more basic ones), which points to differing

skills within the same group, the existence of numerous typological variations within the regional facies indicates a fragmentation of a production essentially aimed at meeting local needs. On the other hand, the firing of pottery is a more complicated operation that presumes the participation of individuals having a particular set of skills related to the mastery of pit firing. With regard to the anthropological models mentioned above, it is possible that these firing operations were carried out collectively, each 'potter' thus entrusting their products to a 'specialist'.

The appearance of the potter's wheel, a technology that was imported from the Mediterranean world and began spreading in the middle of the sixth century BC, led to a certain number of changes (cf. Sanmartí *et al*. in this volume). Indeed, the specific skills required by these new techniques – throwing and (maybe) firing in a vented-floor kiln – imply a longer learning period and a higher degree of specialization. The figure of the artisan potter thus emerges, while part of the ceramic production (traditional non-thrown vessels) must have still been carried out in a domestic context. Indeed, where wheel-thrown ceramics had the most success, the relatively simple nature of the non-thrown traditional items (shapes and decoration) from then on is undeniable, which goes along with the idea of a production limited to the domestic realm or not widely distributed, except on the scale of the community.

However, one can wonder whether this complementary relationship between occasional (proto-artisanal stage) and full-time (isolated artisanal stage)[8] specialists forms a truly new phenomenon. Indeed, it appears to be more probable that the craftspeople of the end of the Early Iron Age who produced the cream-ware or grey-monochrome ceramics widespread in the south of France were the successors to specialized potters, whose existence can be detected in the seventh century BC or even earlier.

The question of metallurgy is obviously central when dealing with craftsmanship since it forms a field requiring great technical mastery, which often goes hand in hand, for both the bronzesmith and blacksmith, with a special social status (see Ruiz-Gálvez in this volume). It cannot be denied that a portion of these activities may have taken place in the domestic context *sensu stricto*. However, besides the limits mentioned above with regard to the characterization of buildings that showed explicit signs of metalworking (bronze waste, defective items, slag, moulds, shaping tools) as simple 'houses', both bronze and iron metallurgy require technical expertise incompatible with the idea of an occasional activity, which implies the existence of specialists working full-time in their field, or in other words, craftspeople.

In the absence of highly precise archaeological observations, metallurgical activities are even harder to characterize since they do not require particularly large spaces or equipment. Given that a good number of the remains uncovered (generally unconvincing) are not in their original location, whether inside or outside of homes, the examples that are supposed to demonstrate a high intertwining of domestic and metallurgical activities remain not very explicit or at the very least ambiguous. To oversimplify, is a building in which metallurgical activities potentially took place a 'house' in which metal was worked, or is it a 'workshop' in the corner of which a bronzesmith or ironsmith lived? Once again, answers could be provided by the acquisition of new data and a more nuanced reading of the functions attached to the various buildings and adjacent spaces.

The *chaîne opératoire* leading from acquisition of the ore to finished objects is itself difficult to reconstruct. Although we have some traces of copper mining in Languedoc (around Cabrières, Hérault), at present, there is no evidence of iron mining and reduction of iron ore for this period.[9] Traces of forges are more numerous, but only very rarely they allow the identification of spaces even in the slightest bit specialized. There is the case, however, in Christol (Caracassonne), a 'rural site' (end of the sixth–beginning of the fifth century BC) where an annex adjoining the house hosted such activities. This is also probably the case at the Pech Maho trading post, where a significant number of metallurgical remains pointing to intense forge activity were found from this period. The proximity of the iron deposits of the Montagne Noire must have played a role, but it is above all the economic purpose of the site that explains such a concentration. Regardless, both cases provide us with a picture of specialized spaces adjoining the home, whether the space is enclosed or open-air.

Bronze working continued to play an important role in the Early Iron Age, as evidenced not only by the finished items, but also by the abundance of intermediate products (ingots of copper and of bronze), objects in the process of being manufactured, moulds and scrap. It is rare, however, to find a space resembling a 'bronzesmith's workshop', as may be the case with an open space located between two buildings in La Liquière in the sixth century BC.

While jewellery constitutes a portion of the bronze-working activities, the working of precious metals (gold and silver) is another field entirely, unfortunately very poorly documented except for the few finished objects that have survived, but to which indirect evidence may point. This includes, in particular, several examples of miniature crucibles and

even small scales that may have been used to weigh such materials (Le Cayla in Mailhac, Pech Maho, Verreries-de-Moussan).

In the end, the forms of labour organization, the social status of the craftsman, and the true place of crafts in the economy of the settlements of the Early Iron Age thus remain for the most part poorly known (Garcia 2014, 158–9). It is therefore difficult to say to what extent this period is, in this respect, synonymous with a true evolution correlated with the greater transformation in society. Although limited, the specialization of manufacturing activities is nonetheless real and multifaceted, in the sense that in a context marked by an increase in the level of technical difficulty and intensity of the work, activities not requiring a high degree of specialization persisted; in other words, a level of organization that corresponds well to complex chiefdoms or even societies of the archaic state type (Brun *et al*. 2005–2006).

Conclusion

Unfortunately, the correlation between urban development and the emergence of specialized crafts, although probable, is not very visible in the *oppida* before the Late Iron Age. This correlation is even less discernible given that the 'secondary settlements', not having the structural characteristics of fortified hilltop sites, also played a role in non-food-related production, and it would be wrong here to seek traces of any kind of opposition between 'cities' and 'countryside'. Nevertheless, it is accepted that these same activities can be found very regularly in the *oppida*, with the inevitable disparities from one site to another, which possibly reflect both the size of the community in question and its economic (or even political) power.

The notion of a complementary relationship between *oppida* and the secondary settlements located in the associated territory, or even among *oppida*, can also be put forward, given that each of these centres did not necessarily host an identical array of activities. To take the example of metallurgy, it is perfectly conceivable that each settlement accommodated one or more people skilled in the crafts involving the use of fire, but there is no reason to think that these same skills or specialties were present everywhere. In particular, this could be true for craftspeople capable of creating exceptionally complex objects, as is the case of certain arms, bronze vessels and select ornaments.

At this stage, we are inevitably faced with the question of the way in which aristocracies, whose role in the genesis of these proto-urban centres was mentioned above, may have attracted specialized artisans. This question also arises when considering the hypothesis of itinerant craftsmen, often mentioned for the Late Bronze Age (Py 2012, 88–9), but which can also be proposed as an explanation for the rapid diffusion of ferrous metallurgy, the mastery of which may have formed, at first, a stake of power between communities or rulers (Gailledrat 2014, 35; 2015, 114–15). The elites at the head of the various communities obviously effected a demand for specific products, whether luxury goods or complete sets of armour, inaccessible to most of the population, products that not necessarily all craftsmen were capable of producing. Whether itinerant artisans working upon request or permanently settled where there was a need, these craftspeople were part and parcel of the ongoing process of social hierarchization.

Although a variety of evidence points to this conclusion, at present, it is still impossible to say to what extent the *oppida* of the Early Iron Age formed political and economic hubs that played a driving role, and to what extent certain 'chiefs' were able to surround themselves with a 'clientele' of craftspeople in their service. Regardless, the progressive development of an agricultural system generating significant surpluses allowed the emergence of proto-urban centres, in which a growing proportion of the population was exempted from the activities of producing food. The *oppida* thus provided a favourable framework for strengthening the specialization of labour, while the domestic mode of production continued throughout the entire Iron Age period, in parallel to the artisanal one, depending on various criteria, such as the level of technology required, the place dedicated to manufacturing and the scale of diffusion of products (Anwar 2014, 418–28).

Were these settlements early cities? It would appear to be so when using a 'functional' definition borrowed from geography, based on notions of density (100 inhabitants per ha), durability (territories and associated cemeteries), the diversity of activities, centrality (hierarchical position at the head of a local network), and connections with the other settlements of an equivalent or greater rank (Brun & Chaume 2013, 326). In this sense, despite chronological discrepancies and a level of development that is impossible to compare to that of other chronological and cultural entities (the region of the Hallstatt 'princely residences', the Tartessian area, the Italian peninsula), in the Early Iron Age, the south of France experienced a process of transformation quite similar to that of other regions in the western Mediterranean.

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Notes

1 Indeed, it is highly improbable that the appearance of iron tools had a significant effect before a later date in the Early Iron Age or even before the Late Iron Age (see also Sanmartí *et al*. in this volume). The multiplication of the number of group settlements in the sixth century BC is probably partly the result of the grouping together of previously dispersed populations (the phenomenon of *synoecism*) or of movements from the hinterland motivated by the economic potential offered by the colonial trade in full development at the time.

2 For the south of France, the development of an architecture using mud-bricks (adobe) on stone foundations is considered to be directly borrowed from the Greek or Etruscan realm. The diffusion of this technique is clearly related to the Mediterranean influence, which could be felt far from the coasts, as evidenced by the exceptional example of the fortifications of the Heuneburg (sixth century BC) in southern Germany (see Fernandez-Götz & Grömer in this volume).

3 This is due to both the fragile nature of the architecture of the period, characterized by structures made of cob or wattle-and-daub on load-bearing posts, and the concealing of these sites by the significant silting characteristic of hill bottoms and alluvial plains.

4 At present, there is no satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon of displacement of the settlement to the plain, observed in multiple locations.

5 This notion of instability of the settlement is quite relative when considering a simple displacement within a microregion or within the same territory. Besides Mailhac, and for unknown reasons, multiple *oppida* were thus rapidly abandoned for nearby hills not more than several kilometres or even several hundred metres away.

6 The dating of the levels to the beginning of the Early Iron Age is subject to debate. The upper limits proposed (eighth–seventh century BC) may have to be reassessed. A dating to the end of the seventh century BC seems more probable.

7 The use of the term 'cabins' to designate structures of wattle-and-daub on load-bearing posts (Py 2012) should be rejected since it is a pejorative term that does not correspond to the reality of a permanent home.

8 According to the classification by Leroi-Gourhan (1971, 412).

9 The oldest iron ore reduction workshop discovered in southern France, in Combaillaux (Hérault), is dated of the Late Iron Age (fourth-third centuries BC) (unpublished).

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Making cities

Large and complex settlements appeared across the north Mediterranean during the period 1000–500 BC, from the Aegean basin to Iberia, as well as north of the Alps. The region also became considerably more interconnected. Urban life and networks fostered new consumption practices, requiring different economic and social structures to sustain them. This book considers the emergence of cities in Mediterranean Europe, with a focus on the economy. What was distinctive about urban lifeways across the Mediterranean? How did different economic activities interact, and how did they transform power hierarchies? How was urbanism sustained by economic structures, social relations and mobility? The authors bring to the debate recently excavated sites and regions that may be unfamiliar to wider (especially Anglophone) scholarship, alongside fresh reappraisals of well-known cities. The variety of urban life, economy and local dynamics prompts us to reconsider ancient urbanism through a comparative perspective.

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