This unique collection of essays contains a synthesis of recent works by distinguished archaeologists and historians in their field, illuminating extensive research in the Southern Gaul and on the territory of the Greek city of Marseille.

Investigating the occupation of Massalia territory before the foundation of the Greek city to the Roman period, these findings provide an overview of the diverse issues behind the circulations between Greeks from Phocaea and Celtic populations. This reflection on a key region of the Euro-Mediterranean space rests on the analysis of archaeological findings, including: urban excavations, spatial studies, analysis of necropolis, submarine remains, paleo-environmental data, and reviewing the ancient literary documentation. These new and innovative findings in *Greek Marseille and Mediterranean Celtic Region* will be of particular interest to both students and scholars exploring the political, economic and cultural fields of relationships between the Greek migrants and the populations they started to meet at the end of the seventh century BC.

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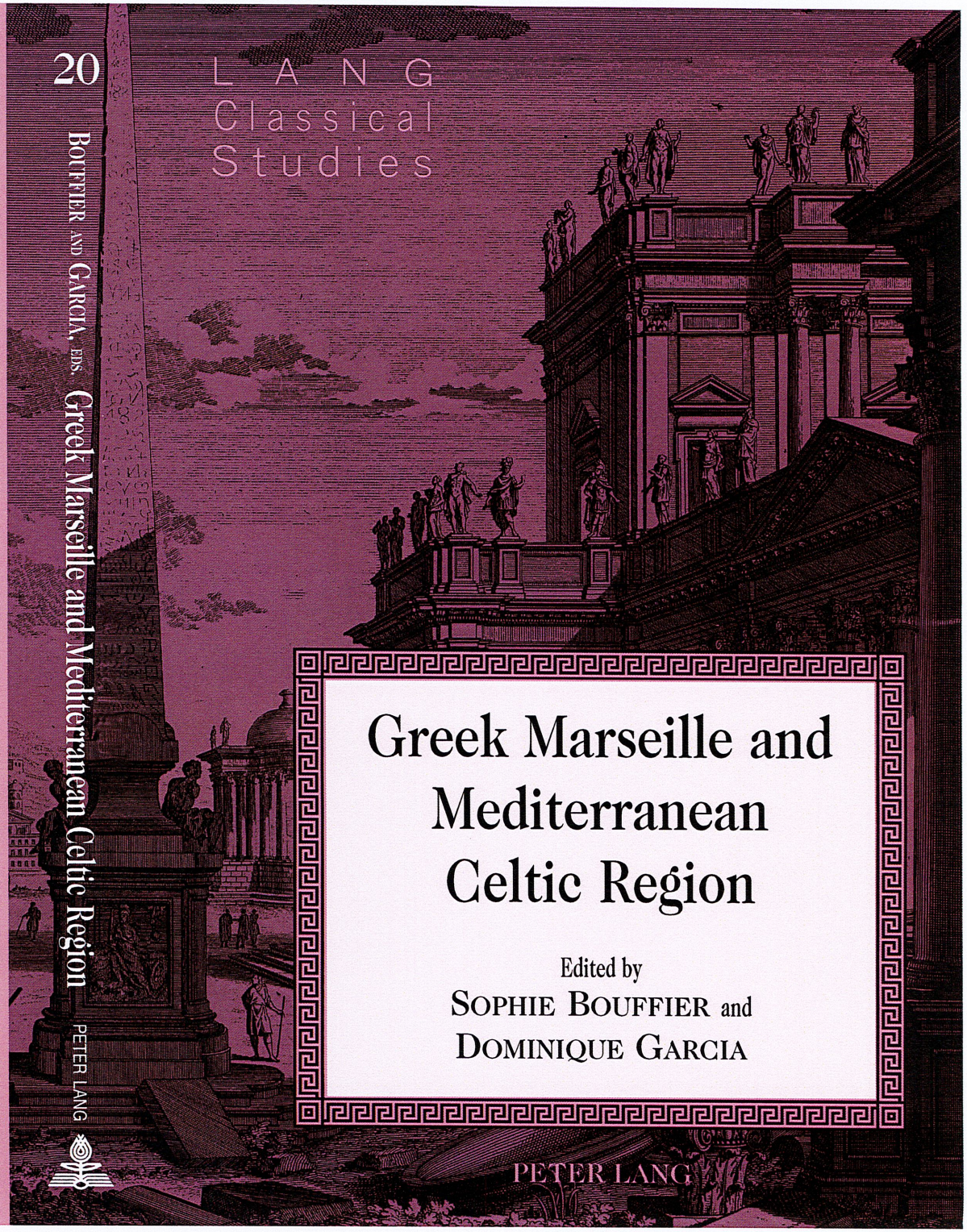
ISBN 978-1-4331-3204-9



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Greek Marseille and Mediterranean Celtic Region

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4. *The Exchanges on the Coastline of Southern Gaul in the First Iron Age: From the Hellenisation Concept to That of Mediterraneisation*

DOMINIQUE GARCIA AND JEAN-CHRISTOPHE SOURISSEAU

Introduction

The traditional approach to the history of Southern Gaul sets the date of foundation of Marseille, that is, 600 BC, as a turning point in any pondering process wherein a before and an after are bound to be connected. This position is the heir of a history of research which goes vastly beyond the framework of the South of Gaul and the 50 years which are given to analyse here. It finds its main origin in the conception of the so-called colonial phenomena, particularly those relative to the Greek world that the Modern have imposed since at least the nineteenth century. The first occurrence of that conception can be found in the very vocabulary, since to speak of colonies to designate the settlements of Greeks in the West and in the Black Sea between the eighth and the sixth centuries BC is not only an anachronism in itself (it is the transposition of a Latin word, *colonia*, which translates a very different Roman reality), it is also an important element in the construction of the justification of the contemporary colonial phenomena, especially in North Africa, which mainly rests on the idea of the contribution of the civilisation and of the profusion to non-civilised populations: whereas the ancient colonial phenomenon not only appears as a model, but also as a golden age. In the Archaic Greek model, there is no clear political connection between the metropolitan city and the colonial city: it is a fundamental distinction

since it enables us to reject the idea of a political and/or economic project in what is still called the Archaic Greek colonial phenomenon. And all the old debates on, for example, the distinction between agrarian colonies and settlement colonies are de facto today outdated since they rest on that at least partial confusion between Greek *apoikia* and Roman *colonia* (Etienne 2010, with earlier bibliography). From there, we may become aware of the difficulty of taking stock of the research relative to the economic exchanges in Southern Gaul, between Greeks and indigenes in the first Iron Age, when we measure the historiographical weight of that very widespread confusion in the historical and archaeological research of the twentieth century. Building upon that connoted approach, concepts such the Hellenisation of the South of Gaul have been grooved (Benoît 1965) with consequently the idea of a binary confrontation between Marseille Greeks and indigenes (the Southern Gauls being perceived as a relatively coherent whole) and whose cultural, economic or political evolution of the local groups was obligatorily associated with the confrontation of the Marseille Greek involved in that space (Garcia 2000).

Before the Foundation of Marseille, Exchanges and Contacts

On Symbolic Objects, but Especially Mediterranean Cultural Baggage

It is generally admitted that before 700 BC, the Southern societies of the beginning of the Iron Age had maintained very few relationships with the Mediterranean cultures. It is in itself, in the context of the Western Mediterranean region, an originality to single out since in Southern Italy or in Sicily as well as in Etruria, the proximity of the Greek colonial establishments has favoured since at least the middle of the eighth century, phenomena of economic and cultural contacts which generated deep transformation processes of the indigenous societies. The same observation could in fact be in Western Sicily, in Sardinia, in the area of the Straits of Gibraltar or along the coasts of the Iberian Levant where the Phoenician influence has deeply and durably marked the indigenous societies since at least the beginning of the eighth century. The explanation most often put forward by the researchers is the geographical isolation of the Gallic South, the remotest space from the major Western colonial focal points, whether Greek or Phoenician, while forgetting that as early as the ninth century BC the Nuragical communities of Sardinia maintained, at a date anterior to the first exogenous implantations in the Western Mediterranean region, exchange relationships with the

Villanovan community of the Tyrrhenian façade characterised by circulation of metallic objects and probably as well by individual mobilities (Gras 1985).

In the South, it is perhaps in this context of direct exchanges that the presence of fibulae supposedly discovered on various Languedoc (Janin 2006) or Provence sites and dated to the eighth century should be put in perspective. Their early discovery, which no recent finding could back up, nevertheless casts doubts on the credibility with which their place of discovery was stated but, taking into account the elements just mentioned, they should not be rejected *a priori* as was done for a long time, considering that the emergence of these contacts must have been associated with the Greek or Phoenician implantations in the South of the Western Mediterranean region. Recently, J. Guilaine and S. Verger (2008) have restated the terms of the debate while insisting on the variety of the available sources, in particular the 'orientalising' (rather than Iberian) iconography of the stelae of Sextantio (Hérault) and of Bioux (Vaucluse), or on the discovery of the deposit belt of the Motte in Agde. If these exogenous contributions and influences affecting the Southern communities before the seventh century BC come across as discontinuous and varied, the scrutiny of adornment elements of the feminine tomb 517 of the necropolis of San Montano of Pithecusses (dated from the last quarter of the eighth century) throws a new light: at the heart of one of the first Greek colonial experiments whose political, cultural and ethnical complexity is perceived today, the Gauls are not insignificant. Around the middle of the seventh century BC, the witnesses of these Mediterranean circulations are still quite limited in number but clearly attested as shown by the discovery of Mediterranean imports in very rare funerary contexts in Languedoc, as in Agde (Hérault) and in Mailhac (Aude) (Janin 2003). As for East of the river Rhône, these discoveries should be complemented by a proto-Corinthian cup in Antibes (Alpes-Maritimes) and a *skyphos* of ancient Corinthian time in Bollène (Vaucluse). These are lathed vases associated with the service of liquids and more precisely, in a Greek or Etruscan context, the service of wine. These objects have been interpreted as the tangible signs of prestige goods exchanged between indigenous elites and Mediterranean merchants, following the model of Homeric *praxis*, in which the personal relationship between partners recognising each other as of equivalent social (and therefore probably high) rank induces the exceptional character of the signs of the exchange, at least for the receiving part, and would hence account for their rarity. For some, their (secondary) funerary usage would constitute a new form of expression of the status of the associated defuncts, with the reinterpretation, in a Gallic native context, of the signs carrying a Greek or Etruscan

aristocratic ideology linked with collective consumptions of wine, without the product in question being attested.

The possible identification of a fifth exogenous object in the Agde necropolis excavated by André Nickels (Nickels et al. 1989) enables us to enrich the reflection. S. Verger (2010) recently claimed that the large iron knife of tomb 202 was an exogenous object with indeed no equivalent in regional typologies and for which he offered a very convincing comparison in the sanctuary of Betalemi in Gela in Southeastern Sicily. These large knives are generally associated with sacrificial butchery and hence to gestures which, put back in the context of this type of exchange, refer to Mediterranean sacrificial practices associated with hospitality rites, a necessary corollary of the Homeric *praxis*. But who are these partners with whom the regional communities or at least their elites have maintained exchange relationships probably involving traffic? The first hypothesis, assuming that these objects were Greek, with several origins suggested, came from A. Nickels, venturing vague Greek connections. M. Gras (2000), hypothesising an Etruscan origin for some of these vases, envisaged for his own part not so much an Etruscan connection properly speaking, but an exchange network the origin of which would be situated in the Tyrrhenian Sea, travelled at that time by Greeks and Etruscans and perhaps even other partners.

The publications of B. Bouloumié on the Archaic material of Saint-Blaise (1992) and, especially taking stock of the collections of the site, even if they do not allow for the moment clear characterisation of the stratigraphical horizon of the seventh century still authorise to identify a few rare objects to be situated around the middle, for some, or during the second half of the seventh century, for others. These are again vases associated with the service of drinks (drinking and pouring vases), but the quite diverse origins of the identified objects might back up the hypothesis of M. Gras of Tyrrhenian networks, since Greek vases of various (Eastern and Western) origins and Etruscan vases are combined. However, other clues tend to cloud this pattern, like the presence of local modelled vases of Phoenician typology in the necropolis of Mailhac, down to the detail of bearing the red varnish characteristic of the traditional Phoenician prototypes, whereas no imported piece, which might have served as a model, was found on location, at least for the time being (Gailledrat 2000). The discovery on the same site of a stone lion, although quite damaged but well characterised, whose comparison models refer to the Iberian Levant deeply studded with Phoenician cultural elements, has enabled Eric Gailledrat (Gailledrat & Bessac 2000) to formulate the hypothesis of the expression of a local orientalising phenomenon, which would also put in perspective the vases previously evoked among which an *askos* in the

form of a bird, a remote cousin of forms known in a Greek and Phoenician Mediterranean context since far more ancient times and which constitute one of the characteristic objects of the orientalising phenomenon. If the hypothesis seems to be founded, it makes the situation apparently more complex than we had envisaged at the start, since we would only have to admit contributions from the West and not anymore only from the Tyrrhenian space in the East, but it especially supplies the elements of a global coherence to break free from the initial issue. Indeed, if the idea of orientalising expression must be adopted, in spite of the limited character of the phenomenon, we must follow the analysis to the end and design a polymorphic phenomenon made of individual mobilities or of small groups carrying with them not only a few objects with a high symbolic value, but especially a Mediterranean cultural baggage of artistic, technical possibly even political type.

Gallic Products Which Are Not Only Compensations

In this area affected by the Mediterranean influences, the resources in copper, silver or gold are not negligible and the deposits of bronze objects (the majority of which date back to the second half of the seventh century and to the first half of the sixth century) have been designated several times as potential compensations, in particular by J. Guilaine and M. Gras. Bronze appears as a driving element between the Mediterranean world and Gaul, but not solely in the context of a strict economic analysis. The Gallic metallurgy of the first Iron Age finds an explicit illustration with the so-called Launacian deposits, by the name of the series of bronze objects discovered in the nineteenth century in Launac (Fabrègues, Hérault) containing generally several tens to several hundreds of objects and of ingots made of copper metal. In the Hérault hinterland (in Péret or Saint-Saturnin for example), the habitat—cupriferous field—object and ingot deposit relation is established with certainty. The deposits are substantially composed of ingots and of axe-ingots made from copper extracted on site and from bronze coins collected.

The deposit of Roquecourbe in Saint-Saturnin (the most important after that of the eponym Launacian site) was contained in a bronze situla, probably of Etruscan origin. These copper and bronze objects would then be transported towards the coast. Several deposits have been found along natural communication pathways and close to the coastline (Vias, Loupian, Launac). The submarine site of Rochelongue, situated 600m off the shore of Agde (probably a shipwreck), was discovered in 1964. It enabled collection of more than 800 kg of copper, lead and tin ingots and a batch of more than 177 bronze objects. The product of this metallurgical and, from a mass

perspective, far more accessorily recovery activity, had then to be exported towards the active commercial centres of Etruria and of Greece, essentially to be remelted to the benefit of the local craftsmanship. In this sense, the word 'Launacian' should be used rather for characterising an original economic phenomenon—the development of the native metallurgical production intended for exchange—than for designating regional cultural assemblages. The recent revelation by Stéphane Verger of Mediterranean circulation of bronze objects of diverse nature and origin (but in many ways comparable to the composition of these famous deposits) opens new perspectives and falls quite easily in line with the pattern we have just evoked. Obviously, we shall not dwell here on all the items of this complex file but simply to sum up the main elements of interest for our reflection today. The low valleys of the Aude and the Hérault are known for concentrating numerous deposits of bronze objects: elements of adornment, tools, weapons and ingots. If numerous objects are of regional origin, certain reveal continental influences or origins (Massif Central, Jura). Certain of these types of objects, of Gallic origin, have been recognised in the deposits of sanctuaries of Sicily and of Greece by S. Verger (2000). The interface role of central Languedoc, as a mining production area, but also an area of exchanges and of contacts, is emphasised. We might suggest that the Gallic objects discovered in the sanctuaries in Greece, in Sicily but also at the mouth of the l'Elne are the visible, ritualised part, the one dedicated to gods, of a larger diffusion activity.

A First "Mediterraneisation"

In total, the way we may perceive this history of the Southern communities before the foundation of Marseille has evolved quite a lot in 50 years. The traditional observation was that of irregular, isolated and exceptional contacts (almost accidents in a way), according to an idea founded on a few objects, admittedly symbolic but so rare in view of the volumes of the following period that they therefore have been relegated to the rank of pre-colonial relations.

It can be analysed today in quite a different manner. Although the material culture is only hardly marked by external contributions, the fact of the matter is that the Southern native communities knew about the existence of a vaster Mediterranean space than the horizon of the coast strip they occupy. This new perception of the space goes hand in hand with an at least partially Mediterranean community in which the natives of Southern Gaul take part. We can see in fact, before the foundation of Marseille, a phenomenon of first "Mediterraneisation" of Southern Gaul, an admittedly vague concept

(Morris 2003) since the hierarchisation of the phenomena and their relative chronology are themselves still vague, but which at least partially overlaps the concept of "connectivity" dearest to Horden and Purcell (2000).

Beyond concepts, to situate the main occurrence of such a phenomenon around the middle and during the second half of the seventh century seems quite satisfactory when we know moreover the interest of certain Western Greek poets, such as Stesichoros of Himera, for conceptualising the Western Mediterranean space.

Exchanges and Contacts, from the Foundation of Marseille to 400 BC

The Foundation of Marseille in the Context of Confronting Mediterranean and Regional Contexts

Although we have limited the extent (or at least the idea we had of its importance), the foundation of Marseille around 600 BC remains a primordial event: for the first time, a Greek community settles durably in Gaul and is going, de facto, to establish regular relationships with the local communities for several centuries. Nevertheless, the point is to know to what extent this event is not only the visible part of the associated phenomena of diverse nature and which historically may be even more structuring.

In the first place, it is the massive arrival of imported wine, in that particular instance essentially Etruscan wine, which towards the end of the seventh or the very beginning of the sixth century is the major sign of the rapid mutation affecting the Southern communities; whereas the foundation of Marseille can only be perceived in this context as an indirect consequence of the deep and rapid changes who modify the organisation of the traffics in the Western Mediterranean region.

What is the situation? As we said, around the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the sixth century (and the chronological debate has not been settled yet, but it does not matter), a regular and relatively important distribution of wine to communities who had apparently ignored its use so far emerged and developed rapidly in Southern Gaul. This is the implementation of new contacts based on the exchange of manufactured products (wine in particular) against basic necessities (cereals, metal, slaves, for example).

Several reading levels of the phenomenon can be envisaged. From a strictly Mediterranean viewpoint, these circulations of products cannot be dissociated from an unheard-of situation characterised by new emerging forms of exchanges. Up to 525, *Massalia* is admittedly a Greek city but its operating

mode is linked with the rhythms of the Archaic *emporia* in the northwestern Mediterranean region: that is, a physical but limited presence in space (of the Greek blocks) and a commerce largely constituted of Etruscan products. In this context, are the Massaliots essential partners in the *Emporia* alongside the other Greeks and the Etruscans, possibly the Western Phoenicians? Not obligatorily. They are first and foremost the prime movers of regional commerce, brokers rather than producers.

Around 540 BC, the beginning of the diffusion of the Massaliot wine growing productions, associated with the probable arrival of Phocaean immigrants in Marseille (Gras 1995), and the implementation of the Marseillais commercial network (Bats al. 1992; Morel 1983) triggered the boom of the business activity of the city. This is a major turning point with the economic and political control of the Massaliot territory.

Greek Demand, Indigenous Cereals and New Economic Frameworks

A probable modification of the economic activity of *Massalia* and its demographic boom have caused the development of the indigenous cereal growing whose production surplus was going to feed a structured exchange network: The Gallic corn was meant to remedy the lack and the shortage of cereals of the Massaliot *chôra* (Strabo, IV, 1, 5) but also take part in a wide Mediterranean traffic associating other cities. Redistribution centres situated close to the coastline, native places for commerce and transhipment counterbalance the production premises of the Provence and Languedoc hinterland. But beyond the establishment of these South-North economic exchanges, we realise that upheavals affect the very organisation of the native societies whose most relevant expression is this dense habitat network unfurling as of the end of the sixth century BC (Garcia 2004).

In so doing, far more than native town-planning criteria (difficult to establish and to recognise on the field, one ought to emphasise the revealing conditions of the changes in lifestyles and premises which have been necessary to that urbanisation and that increasing power of the urban functions. Four at least seem to have been united and supported the Gallic growth. In the first instance, the presence of federative elements (in particular religious) which have enabled us to draw and to crystallise the native populations on these sites. Then, the emergence of a political power, i.e., of a class of leaders capable of organising the use of the surplus by the non-productive population: this power also enables us to impose a certain stability favourable to the production and to the circulation of foodstuffs. Thirdly, the

possibility of an agricultural surplus capable of feeding the non-producers. Hence the necessity of the valorisation of a land and the exploitation of an *umland*. But the larger the agglomeration the less it may be content with its immediate hinterland, hence the necessity of a wider-scope tribute and of a larger-scale interregional commerce. Finally, the establishment and the control of its commercial activities: commerce is integral part of the city and, for the largest, it implied the presence of a class of merchants specialised in the collection and the redistribution of foodstuffs, with its body of specialists dedicated to storage, transport, book-keeping, and possibly the organisation of a market.

The Gallic agglomerations come across for the vast majority as production structures implanted within complementary lands wherein the culture of cereals and of legumes seems to prevail: it is quite a novelty. The organisation of the agrarian space in the context of a fallow system and light animal-drawn cultivation goes hand in hand with the boom of cities in the Southern Gaul. As we have just outlined, the cereals (in particular bearded barley) are not solely a term of the exchange; they are already a decisive marker (before the development of vineyards and olive trees) of the social, economic and cultural transformations experienced by the populations of the South of France from the middle of the Iron Age: the Mediterraneisation of an agrarian system, the reflect of a rapid transformation of the premises and lifestyles. The emergence of specialised cultures (vineyard in the *chôra* of Marseille, cereals on the native lands) constitutes a decisive threshold in the anthropisation of the natural geosystems. The speculative character of these productions marks for its own part an essential step in the evolution of the economic practices of both communities.

Finally, such an ethnical partition on a restricted geographical space, where the agrarian production departs from the self-sufficiency principle, implies a certain geopolitical stability, hence the adoption of commonly admitted rules.

A Massaliot market system, which lasted at least, with twists and turns, up to the second Punic War, and whose native integration (in two stages) was summed up perfectly by Justin (XLIII, 4): "4,1. Consequently, the Gauls learned from them how to live in a more civilised way, after softening and forsaking their Barbarian ways; they learned to cultivate fields and to surround cities with ramparts; 2 they also became accustomed to live governed by laws, not compelled by arms, to cut vineyards, to plant olive trees, and men like things reflected that blinding change to the extent that one could have thought that Gaul had been transported to Greece instead of the Greeks having emigrated to Gaul."

On Cereals...

The archaeology of the storage means, with recent archaecarpological syntheses (Bouby 2010) remains the best means of apprehending the evolution of cereal production. Indeed, statistically absent from the furniture exposed during the excavation of the Languedoc and Provence habitats prior to 500 BC, the *pithoi*—vases essentially reserved for the storage of cereals—represented, in the middle of the fifth century BC, from 25 to 35% of the furniture on the indigenous Southern sites. This progression of the frequency rates was accompanied by an increase of the volumes. The first granaries appeared at the same time. If the supra-family management of the granaries with a loose or a *pithoi* storage is not ensured, it is undeniable for the long-term cereal reserves formed by the silo fields of the Western Languedoc (Aumes, Montfau, Ensérune) and of the Roussillon (Ruscino, Elne for example) where the volume of certain specimens may reach 350 hl. This increased phenomenon of the cereal storage capacities of the Southern sites (especially in the Languedoc, apparently) was connected with the Mediterranean commerce, especially around Marseille. This is confirmed by the almost parallel evolution of the consumption of Greek wine, as attested by the presence of Massaliot wine amphorae, in the native world. All things considered, this phenomenon suggests (directly or indirectly) the significant modifications of the structures of indigenous societies: total sedentarisation, new agrarian practices, stock management and control, and early signs of work specialisation.

...and of Lead

For that period, in addition to the terms of the exchange, quite different from those recognised before the foundation of Marseille, certain documents provide information on the very modalities of commerce.

Such is the case in particular of the commercial inscriptions engraved on lead blades (regardless whether they are in Etruscan, in Pech-Maho in the Aude, and quoting for the first time the name of Marseille *(Mataliai)* in that language, or in Ionian, on the other side of the same document, but mentioning indigenous intermediaries as early as the second quarter of the fifth century (Lejeune et al. 1988) or even much more recently and in Iberian, in the region of Narbonne-Béziers or in Ibero-Greek in Elne. The lead inscribed in Greek discovered on the trading post of Sigean is a contract underwritten between merchants, one of them an Ionian (Heronoios) who is probably the writer and signatory of the document. It mentions the purchase (or the rental) of a boat *(akation)* or the purchase of its cargo and stipulates the presence of

witnesses whose names are of local origin—Iberians of Languedoc or of Catalonia: Basiguerros, Bleruas, Golo. biur, Segedon, Nauaruas and Nalbe(...)n. *The akation* (or its contents) was purchased in an *emporion*. But the hypothesis of Jean Pouilloux (Pouilloux 1988) should be reminded, for whom the redactor of the text is only a go-between (a *metabolos*), accountable for the money paid to its native principals, which led him to write out the minutes of the whole case.

In Lattes (Hérault) recent discoveries have enriched this case (Bats 2010). When replenishing the soil of an edifice built around 430 BC and when backfilling the same zone, two lead blades inscribed in Greek were discovered. On the first part, we are dealing with a claim for payment in staters with two Greek characters, perhaps brokers installed in Lattes, Kleosthenes and Kleanax. The second one seems to allude to another type of product to be purchased, such as cereals *(sitos)*. We should also evoke the discovery outside our study area, on the Greek site in *Emporion*, of a lead blade engraved in Archaic Ionian and dated from the second half of the sixth century BC. It relates the instructions of the merchant asking a "colleague" to move (again a *metabolos?*) on an indigenous commercial premise called Saiganthe (*Sagunto?*) where he will have to make contact with a third merchant bearing an indigenous name: Baspedas(?). To the latter, he will have to offer the towing of a boat and the transport of goods; he finishes by specifying the (negotiable) conditions of this traffic (Asencio & Sanmarti 1998). The bulk of these documents (to which we must today add the discoveries of Elne, Ruscino) was then about to prohibit considering the exchange activities in a too primitive light which, in the South of France, associated Etruscans, Greeks, Iberians of the Southeast and natives. They are the testimony that these exchanges (probably the largest) were governed by written contracts.

This implies (as written by Fr. Salviat as early as 1988) "a contract law, a jurisdictional system and a civic control" admitted by the different partners and not only by the Greeks. We should admit that natives had accepted, possibly adopted for their own transactions, a system of Mediterranean commercial law. When it comes to new economic practices, we shall easily recognise this loan but at the cost of a relatively structured vision of at least a portion of the exchange modes in a protohistorical environment.

Conclusions

We need to acknowledge the interest raised by the primordial syntheses of Jean Jannoray (1955) and Fernand Benoît (1965) throughout the second part of the twentieth century; they have supplied a structuring framework for

research on Southern Gaul and the Greek presence in the region. The development of the works of protohistorians since the 1970s, in particular those of P. Arcelin, B. Dedet and M. Py, has constituted a benchmark in terms of documentation and of analyses whereas in parallel the Marseille archaeology guided methods and issues in different ways (overview in Bats et al. 1992; Hermary et al. 1999). André Nickels (1988) or Jean-Paul Morel (1983) were among the rare scholars to try and combine these geographical as well as cultural or methodological approaches and to lay the foundations of new issues by privileging cultural interactions, breaking de facto the traditional moulds. Southern Gaul provides today a privileged study field which deserves putting the documentation in perspective by adopting a systemic analysis and rejecting Hellenising or "indigenist" approaches. As such, the reintegration of pre-Roman archaeology of Southern Gaul in a wide Mediterranean context constitutes a drastic change of paradigm. In this context, the cases of Saint-Blaise ("city of Marseille"), Lattes (indigenous site) or of Béziers ("forgotten Greek city") can be seen in a far more enriching light, as reflected in their Mediterranean diversity, composed not only of mobilities of products but also of men and of concepts (Py 2009; Tréziny 2010).

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