

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE CITIES OF SOUTHERN GAUL TO THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE MOST RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES¹

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(Plates I-IV)

There is scarcely a region of the Roman west which can claim, superficially, to be better known than southern Gaul. There can be no lover of antiquities who has not visited Arles or Nîmes, studied the arch of Orange or the Pont du Gard, devoted some interest to the monuments of Fréjus, the sculptures of Nîmes, or the mosaics of Vienne, not to mention the houses of Glanum or Vaison which have been recovered from the earth by the dedication of Henri Rolland and Canon Sautel. And yet many of these famous monuments have had to wait until very recent years before becoming the subject of detailed monographs: so, the trophy of the Alps,² the arch of Orange,³ or the mausoleum of Glanum.⁴ Others, without having received exhaustive publication, have only in recent decades been properly dated (the amphitheatres of Arles and Nîmes)⁵ or adequately described: I am thinking of the Maison Carrée.⁶

There are, furthermore, very few sites which, by virtue of a shift in the location of the settlement, or of changes undergone during the Middle Ages, have wholly or partially survived to the present day, or up to quite recent times, untouched by the developments and building which have been transforming the face of our cities, at least since the turn of the century. Glanum, or Vaison, or the quarter of Saint-Romain-en-Gal on the right bank of the Rhône opposite Vienne, have benefited from the total abandonment, or only partial reoccupation of their ancient sites; but so many other opportunities have been wasted—as at Aix, in the area outside the medieval ramparts; or in the old province of the Maritime Alps, at Cimiez, where tourism has led to a proliferation of villas on ground unoccupied to the nineteenth century, and at Antibes. The list could be prolonged.

In addition, on the site of many ancient towns, native sites, colonies, ancient Greek cities, or townships (in French *bourgades*) of the Roman period, there has been continuous building throughout the Middle Ages and modern times; sometimes very concentrated building, as at Arles, Marseille, Narbonne, Nîmes, or Vienne, or over a more restricted area, as at Fréjus, for example. Thus it is easy to see that real urban history, that is a history based on more than the study of upstanding monuments or the epigraphical evidence alone, is very difficult to write. Only very rarely have residential quarters been excavated, as at Glanum or Vaison.

It is perhaps serious enough that a number of these sites may not have been excavated with all the rigour which we would rightly expect today of ourselves and others; but what criticisms will our successors make, a few decades from now, of excavations being carried out today? What is particularly regrettable—and here archaeologists are not solely to blame—is the total lack of systematic and coherent surveys, carried out in a series of towns. Only a comparative study of urban settlement, and one which takes account of its evolution, will produce worth-while results—a study which does not have as its objective the pleasure of excavation for its own sake, or the mere setting out of detailed facts. To put the matter paradoxically: what is the point

¹ The aim of this article is to present a revised and enlarged version of my earlier account, now ten years old, in P.-A. Février, *Le développement urbain en Provence de l'époque romaine à la fin du XIV^e s.* (Paris, 1964), pp. 25-43. For older bibliography on the sites to be discussed below, see the fascicules of the *Carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine* i-xii (Paris, 1931-59). The article is based on the fourth M. V. Taylor Memorial Lecture, which I delivered to the Roman Society on June 6th, 1972.

I am very grateful to Mrs. Elaine Matthews for translating this article, and to Professor Sheppard Frere for help in its presentation.

² J. Formigé, *Le Trophée des Alpes (La Turbie)* (Paris, 1949).

³ R. Amy, P.-M. Duval, J. Formigé, J.-J. Hatt, A. Piganiol, Ch. Picard, and G. Ch. Picard, *L'arc d'Orange* (Paris, 1962).

⁴ H. Rolland (et J. Bruchet), *Le mausolée de Glanum* (Paris, 1969).

⁵ R. Etienne, 'La date de l'amphithéâtre de Nîmes', *Mélanges Piganiol*, vol. ii (Paris, 1966), 985-1010.

⁶ J. Ch. Balty, *Études sur la maison carrée de Nîmes* (Brussels, 1960).

of my being able to date the amphitheatre at Arles or a particular house at Vaison, if I cannot then relate this information to other evidence bearing upon the life of the province or the general history of the Mediterranean world under the empire? All too often, it is mere chance, random curiosity or the availability of a certain individual in a district or at a site which is the justification of an excavation. In these circumstances it is not surprising that a history of southern Gaul, that is of Narbonensis and the Alpine provinces which are inseparable from it, still remains to be written.⁷

Even if one confines oneself to a history of towns, and more particularly to a history of urban organization in its broad sense, and to an examination of the development of the most important centres in southern Gaul, one soon finds that the lacunae are numerous, with the result that it is difficult to restore a continuous pattern. Over the last ten years, however, a number of excavations have been carried out along different lines of enquiry. They make possible, if not a synthesis, at least a statement of the problem: and they also open the way for the posing of new questions, if only one is willing to take the trouble to reflect upon the progress of archaeological research in recent years.

This statement of progress is worth drawing up; and I shall do it by considering on the one hand the origin of the towns and the beginnings of an urban system, and on the other by trying to trace the changes which these centres underwent down to the third century.

By a paradox which is perhaps more apparent than real, it is our knowledge of the origins of the cities which has been most notably transformed. This is probably due to the fact that it was previously very slight, except on certain aspects of Greek colonization or of the cities founded in the Caesarian or Augustan periods. At a good many centres, the first stages were often conjectured simply from a name (*Theline* or *Arelate*, *Nikaea*, *Aegitna* or *Agathe*, *Lattara* or *Vintium*) recorded by Greek or Latin authors, attested before the conquest or in the late Itineraries, or occasionally even by inscriptions; and for sites such as these it was not always possible to state positively whether the name designated a centre of any importance or not.

The progress which has been made owes much to the interest which local researchers have devoted to this little understood subject: but without any doubt it is due, above all, to progress in excavation, and in techniques applied in the disciplines of proto- and pre-history.

However, from the start we must note one of the limits (temporary, we hope) to our knowledge. All too often, in a number of these studies (and this is particularly true of the analysis of native settlements) an overriding preoccupation with stone or metal implements and with pottery has hampered a study of the settlement itself, of the way of life within it, and of the changes which it underwent. So we may have at our disposal excellent studies of a particular type of pottery or category of objects, without there being any attempt to provide, in a form immediately useful to the historian or even to the archaeologist specializing, like myself, in more recent periods, the elements of human history as something separate from the history of techniques: for example, a study of man's pattern of settlement.

Nevertheless, one must acknowledge that a transformation is gradually taking place. One has only to read the annual reports on the *oppida* of Languedoc, or, to a lesser extent, those appearing in the *Informations* in *Gallia*—though even here a start has been made on adopting a more historical approach to the material from Provence. Systematic study of these, undertaken for the preparation of this article, showed me clearly that even the briefest notices—the nature of the information often requires them to be so—reveal a new outlook; in particular, the problems of settlement are referred to more and more. Moreover, a number of works or articles are beginning to

⁷There is no provincial study of Narbonensis. The work of J. Prioux, *La province romaine des Alpes Cottiennes* (Lyon, 1968) is inadequate. For the Alpes Maritimes, see N. Lamboglia, *Liguria Romana* (Alassio,

1939). For modern bibliography on Narbonensis, see J. König, *Die Meilensteine der Gallia Narbonensis* (Bern, 1970), pp. 9-27 and 291-8.

devote more attention to origins and the characteristics of settlement,⁸ and even works aimed more particularly at the analysis of categories of objects, such as the study of a type of pottery (I am thinking in particular of the recent work of M. Arcelin⁹), are widening their scope to include a view of the problems of man and his environment.

It is a more serious matter that the most extensive, and by the same token the most coherent, evidence available to us comes from sites which were abandoned at the moment when Romanization began. The evidence from sites which continued to be occupied under the empire, and after Rome's domination had ended, is very incomplete. So, on the one hand, the study of each individual site can never be complete, and on the other a view of our region as a whole (vital for a study of urban development over a lengthy period) is virtually unattainable.

Nevertheless, certain facets of this history of city development are beginning to be recognizable. But there is a whole area, virtually unexplored, which is only just emerging from the shadows; and without knowledge of it, a history of cities cannot be written. This concerns the first beginnings of nucleated settlement (*habitat groupé*) in the Mediterranean south. The historian of the classical and historical periods is led to raise questions both for himself and for his colleagues in the field of protohistory. Let us look at an example. The very variety (still not properly investigated) of the types of settlement in the Mediterranean south in the imperial period makes it necessary to find terms and definitions which will enable us to recognize and discuss intelligibly the various types of urban origins. These categories bear some resemblance to the terms employed by geographers to describe forms of grouping and dispersal known throughout present-day societies. But these terms cannot perhaps be adopted systematically; above all, it does not look, from a reading of the descriptions made by archaeologists, that this question of definitions has been thought out. Terms are often used interchangeably: words such as town, *bourg*, village, hamlet, settlements variously tight-knit or sprawling, or again, city (used in the strict sense of capital of a territory) or the term *vicus*, all these are usages fraught with difficulties, particularly in relation to a period when settlements were only just coming into being, and to a world where centres, varying in size and in economic, social and political importance, might either already exist or be merely approaching a certain stage of their development.

It is not a simple matter to discuss nucleated settlements, for several questions are involved. There is the question of the appearance of this type of settlement-organization in a particular area; of its diffusion and so of its importance in relation to other types of human occupation; and finally of the function of these groups. It seems clear to me that in the present state of research this last question must remain unanswered. This is not at all surprising, since the simple description of the archaeological remains is still only in its early stages.

Cave-dwelling we know persisted into the Bronze Age (as has been recently emphasized by Ch. Lagrand¹⁰) and beyond.¹¹ But in addition, open sites are becoming better known, and so more frequently noticed; these seem to be evidence of genuine settlement of a definite area. But, more particularly, some excavations have begun focussing attention on groups of huts or even enclosed and fortified areas of land which can be dated to the second millennium B.C. It is essential to distinguish between settlements with walls or foundations of stone, and what are simply the traces of

⁸ M. Escalon de Fonton, 'Du Paléolithique supérieur au Néolithique dans le midi méditerranéen', *Bull. de la soc. préhist. franç.* lxiii, 1966, pp. 167-175. Among recent surveys one may add M. Louis and O. and J. Taffanel, *Le premier âge du Fer i, Les habitats* (Bordighera, 1955-60); J. Guilaine, *La civilisation du vase campaniforme dans les Pyrénées françaises* (Carcassonne, 1963), pp. 93-6; id., *L'âge du Bronze en Languedoc occidental, Roussillon, Ariège* (Paris, 1972), pp. 89-92, 164-176, 332-4; J. L. Roudil, *L'âge du Bronze en Languedoc oriental* (Paris, 1972), pp. 83-5, 133-4, 201-2.

⁹ P. Arcelin, *La céramique indigène modelée de*

Saint-Blaise. Niveaux protohistoriques VII et VI (Paris, 1971), pp. 11-12 and 81.

¹⁰ Ch. Lagrand, *Recherches sur le Bronze final en Provence méridionale, Thèse de l'Université d'Aix* (1968, typescript).

¹¹ J. Guilaine and R. Aymé, 'Sondages à la grotte des chambres d'Alaric (Moux, Aude)', *Cahiers lig. de préhist. et d'arch.* ix, 1960, pp. 145-6; S. Gagnière et J. Granier, 'Les niveaux historiques de la grotte du Lierre à St. Geniès de Comolas (Gard)', *Provence hist.* xii, no. 48, 1962, pp. 173-188; xiii, no. 55, 1963, pp. 225-239; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xxii, 1964, p. 504, note 40; F. Benoit, *ibid.* p. 585.

settlement—hearths or scattered objects¹²—which no doubt represent a stage preliminary to permanent occupation less subject to the hazards of nature. Here too we must see that intermediate stages could exist. Near Orpieres in the Hautes-Alpes, since 1955, J. Cl. Courtois has been excavating a prehistoric village at Coustis, in the territory of the commune of Sainte-Colombe. There in an open site he has identified genuine stratification with several superimposed layers, and so a permanent occupation; but according to the reports so far published, no stone huts have yet been recognized. Nevertheless, we are dealing here with a site, admittedly in a mountainous area, which belongs to the Hallstatt period, and was destroyed at the end of the sixth century B.C.¹³ Yet there were certainly proper stone settlements in existence before this.

Thus, near Saint-Martin de Londres (Hérault), excavations have brought to light large oval-shaped dwellings, mutually tangential and perhaps simultaneously constructed. The objects recovered date this group to the Chalcolithic period,¹⁴ but traces of reoccupation in the Bronze Age have been noted. This site seems not to have had a boundary or fortification, but it is otherwise with the one which its excavators have called 'the prehistoric castle of Lébous' at Saint-Martin de Trévières (Hérault).¹⁵ Here a wall, towers, and some hut-emplacements have been found; the whole site was built at the very end of the Chalcolithic period and destroyed at an unknown point in the middle Bronze Age, perhaps between 1500 and 1100.

With these nucleated settlements we may compare certain remains uncovered during recent excavations near Teyran (Hérault) at Montbeyre,¹⁶ or on the plateau of Cailles at Mirabel in the Baronies (Drôme),¹⁷ on the plateau of Miouvin near Istres (Bouches-du-Rhône),¹⁸ and especially at the village of Collet Redon at la Couronne near Martigues (Bouches-du-Rhône), which the excavations of M. Escalon de Fonton are gradually making known to us.¹⁹

Thus as well as sites which are identifiable only by implements (which prove a presence but are far from proving a permanent or lasting settlement or dwellings 'in stone'), and as well as cemeteries whether scattered or concentrated, as early as the Neolithic period (at least in its final phase) there already appears a type or types of nucleated settlement which provide us with a clearer understanding of the origins out of which developed the type of hill-top settlement usually described by the convenient word *oppidum*. This further enables us to determine more clearly in what stage of settlement-development—and so probably at what point in the evolution of local society—the phenomenon of Greek colonization occurred. When the basic work, surveys and excavations, is done on more sites, the links between these two forms of human presence on the ground will become more apparent. In the meantime, the areas of uncertainty are countless, and only a few indications can be assembled.

In the framework of a provisional article, there can be no question of becoming very deeply involved in an analysis of the growth of the phenomenon of the city, in a period as long, and more particularly as complex, as the first millennium B.C. In the past scholars have too often over-simplified it, since they were unable to analyse the only evidence capable of providing fresh information, that is, the evidence of material culture.

¹² For example: Th. Poulain-Josien, 'Un gisement de tradition Bronze final-1er âge du Fer, les fonds de cabanes du Baou de la Salle (commune de Bize, Aude)', *Cahiers lig. de préhist. et d'arch.* vii, 1958, pp. 16-51; id., 'Traces d'habitat de la fin de l'âge du Bronze à "Roucaude" (Agel, Hérault)', *ibid.* ix, 1960, pp. 128-138.

¹³ 'Découvertes archéologiques de l'âge de Bronze et de l'âge du fer dans les Hautes-Alpes', *Bull. de la soc. d'ét. des Hautes-Alpes*, 1968, pp. 119-136; id., *Gallia* xxiv, 1966, pp. 217-230.

¹⁴ M. Escalon de Fonton, *Gallia-Préhistoire*, vi, 1963, pp. 247-9; ix, 1966, pp. 560-1; xi, 1968, pp. 472-5.

¹⁵ J. Arnal and H. Martin-Granel, *Bull. de la soc.*

préhist. franç. xviii, 1961, pp. 581-2; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xx, 1962, p. 626; J. Arnal, H. Martin-Granel and E. Sangmeister, *Germania* xii, 1963, pp. 229-243; id., *Antiquity* xxxviii, 1964, pp. 191-200, pl. xxviii.

¹⁶ M. Escalon de Fonton, *Gallia-Préhistoire* ii, 1959, pp. 188-192.

¹⁷ J. Combier, *Gallia-Préhistoire* ii, 1959, p. 201.

¹⁸ S. Gagnière, *Gallia-Préhistoire* iv, 1961, p. 368.

¹⁹ S. Gagnière, *Gallia-Préhistoire* iv, 1961, pp. 368-371; vi, 1963, pp. 349-359; ix, 1966, pp. 606-7; M. Escalon de Fonton, *Cahiers lig. de préhist. et d'arch.* xi, 1962, pp. 222-5; xii, 1963, pp. 228-9; xiv, 1965, pp. 141-2; xv, 1966, pp. 352-6; xvi, 1967, pp. 179-182; xvii, 1968, pp. 208-211; xviii, 1969, pp. 121-3.

This state of affairs mainly stems from the fact that attention has often been focussed on Greek colonization at the expense of other aspects: the bibliography itself betrays this bias in the approach to, and understanding of, the evidence. From the pioneering work of P. Jacobstahl and E. Neuffer²⁰ to the book by F. Benoit which appeared in 1965,²¹ not to mention the report made by M. J. Coupry at the meeting of the association Guillaume Budé in 1963,²² various attempts have been made at a synthesis, with some considerable success. The penetration of the western Mediterranean by the Phocaeans,²³ the new light thrown on the economic history of Marseille by the study of the extant pottery,²⁴ Hellenic influences in Gaul,²⁵ the very controversial question of the movements of trade and the routes taken by Greek imports,²⁶ and the study of the actual territory of Marseille in the lower Rhône valley: all these articles reveal active research which is the product of a number of discoveries, of which more will shortly be said. But in view of these approaches, all of which are to a greater or lesser extent works of synthesis, it is striking that it is possible to cite only one full-length work: this latter, which is certainly a remarkable achievement but limited by its primary purpose as the study of a single site, is the report of J. Jannoray on Ensérune.²⁸ This site is unusual because of the lengthy and painstaking excavations, which were continued after the untimely death of this scholar,²⁹ and also because of an abundance of material unearthed from the settlement and the cemeteries; and careful analysis of its remains allows important questions to be asked. But it remains a unique site, for no *oppidum* or settlement over the centuries which preceded the Roman conquest has been published with such a wealth of detail and with so carefully worked-out a statement of the problems.³⁰ Discoveries made sporadically have not yet been assembled and studied, and even sites where the work is relatively advanced still await preliminary reports or synthesis, however provisional; the scholar is frequently reduced to the few notices (valuable indeed as being all that we have) compiled in the *Informations* of the journal *Gallia*.

What makes the situation more serious is the fact that, without full reports, we are in no position to assess the value of statements made in scattered contexts, and the historian's position is not made any easier by the fact that different archaeologists often reach widely divergent interpretations of the evidence. In the last analysis, this is understandable in a pioneering area of research. But if there is a field where the degree of credibility of a hypothesis depends on an accurate report, it is certainly in archaeology; here experiments cannot, in the main, be done again, and, in the near or distant future, only the most exact descriptions will be taken into account. We have only to reflect on what we are using today of the material which was uncovered, analysed and published by scholars of the last century.

These critical introductory remarks do not mean that we should not gather together the pieces of evidence—even though some of them may have slipped through our fingers—make comparisons between them, and, above all, put forward hypotheses which may advance investigation. For it is hardly a fancy to say that only when one looks for it does one find something more than a mere collection of objects and records.

²⁰ *Gallia graeca*, Recherches sur l'hellénisation de la Provence', *Préhistoire* ii, fasc. i, 1933, pp. 1-64.

²¹ *Recherches sur l'hellénisation du midi de la Gaule* (Aix-en-Provence, 1965).

²² 'L'hellénisation de la Provence', in *Ass. G. Budé, VII^e congrès, Aix-en-Provence, 1-6 avril 1963* (Paris, 1964), pp. 386-407.

²³ J. P. Morel, 'Les Phocéens en Occident: certitudes et hypothèses', *Parola del Passato*, fasc. cviii-cx, 1966, pp. 378-420.

²⁴ Fr. Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille* (Paris, 1960); J. Coupry, in *Ass. G. Budé*, cit. pp. 387-390.

²⁵ *Actes du colloque sur les influences helléniques en Gaule, Dijon, 1957* (Dijon, 1958).

²⁶ e.g. J. Carcopino, *Promenades historiques aux pays de la Dame de Vix* (Paris, 1957).

²⁷ J. de Wewer, 'La χώρα massaliote d'après les fouilles récentes', *Antiquité classique* xxxv, 1966, pp. 71-117; J. Coupry, in *Ass. G. Budé*, pp. 401-4.

²⁸ J. Jannoray, *Ensérune, Contribution à l'étude des civilisations préromaines de la Gaule méridionale* (Paris, 1955).

²⁹ H. Gallet de Santerre, *Archaeology* xv, no. 3, 1962, pp. 163-170, see further below, p. 11, note 85.

³⁰ There is a serious lack of similar publications which should be corrected as soon as possible, for excavation reports scattered among the various journals can never take the place of a full study of the kind, for instance, that M. de Lumley has recently furnished on the cave-dwellings of the palaeolithic age: *Une cabane acheuléenne dans la grotte du Lazaret, Nice in Mémoires de la Société préhistorique française* vii (Paris, 1969).

The origins of the cities of Greek colonization appear more and more complex, as their history becomes better known to us. The dating of the foundation of Marseille around 600 does not seem to be now in doubt;³¹ the origin of the settlement at Olbia, near Hyères (Var), seems to be securely dated to the second half of the fourth century;³² investigations carried out on the rocky hill where the medieval town of Nice stood have brought to light Ionian potsherds from the end of the sixth century

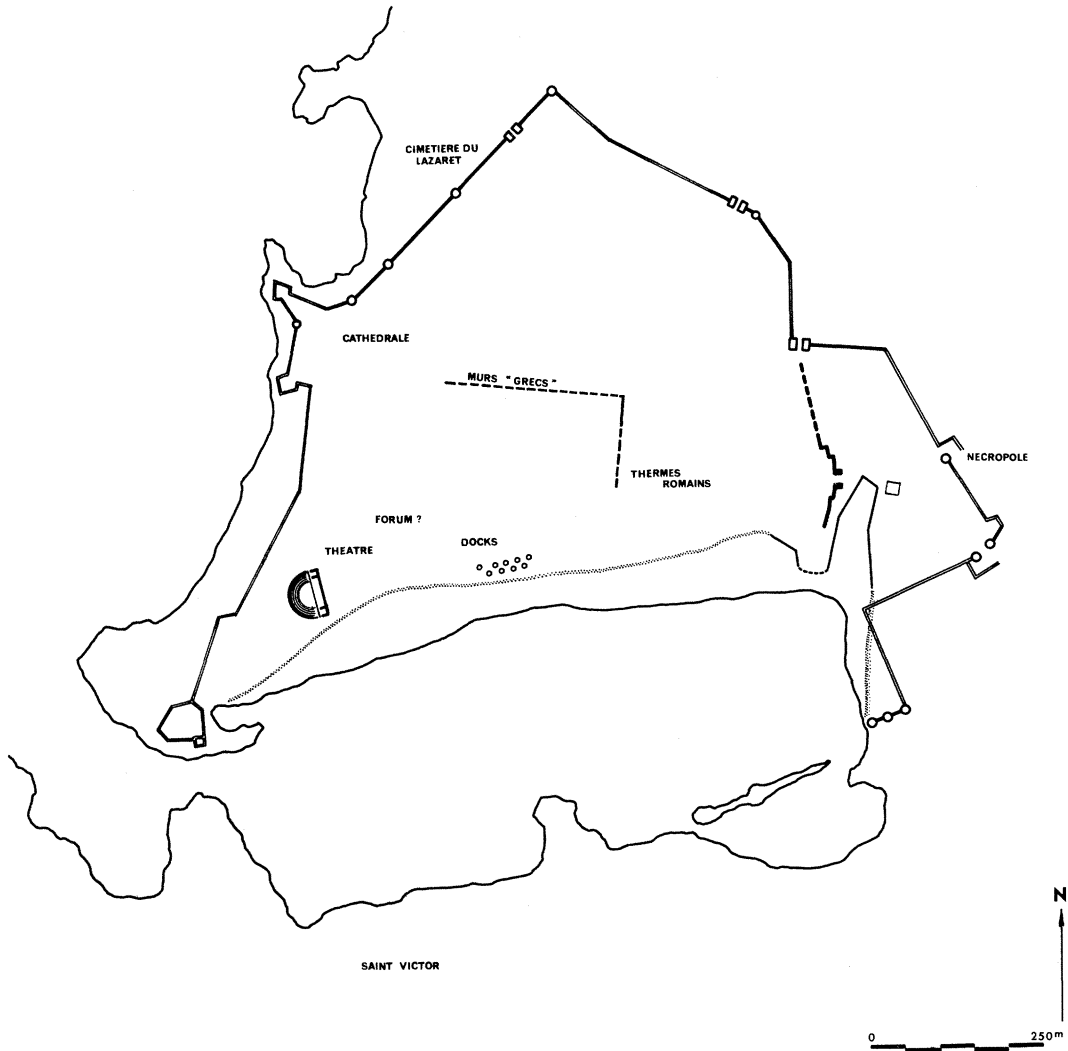


FIG. 1. MARSEILLE: PLAN SHOWING PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS

and fragments of Attic ware from the fifth.³³ But the image which has been conjured up of the origins of these places has been modified by a number of recent discoveries. At Nice, bones and native pottery found recently in a crack in a cliff prove occupation of the site in the late Bronze or early Iron Age.³⁴ At Antibes (Alpes-Maritimes), the

³¹ F. Villard, *La céramique*, pp. 76-81.

³² J. Coupry, *Ass. G. Budé* cit. (n. 20), p. 396; *Gallia* xii, 1964, p. 594; xxvii, 1969, p. 451; xxx, 1971, pp. 437-8.

³³ F. Benoit, *Recherches sur l'hellénisation du midi*

de la Gaule cit. (n. 21), p. 102; id., *Nice et Cimiez antiques* (Paris, 1968), pp. 11-12.

³⁴ Chr. Goudineau, *Gallia* xxix, 1971, p. 464; F. Benoit, *Recherches*, p. 102.

examination by Ch. Lagrand³⁵ of the material discovered by J. Clergues³⁶ shows that the rock on which the Greek emporium was built, and where the medieval town was also to be situated, was occupied from the end of the Bronze Age. Was there, then, a settlement here before the Greek emporium? Quite possibly, but we shall have to wait

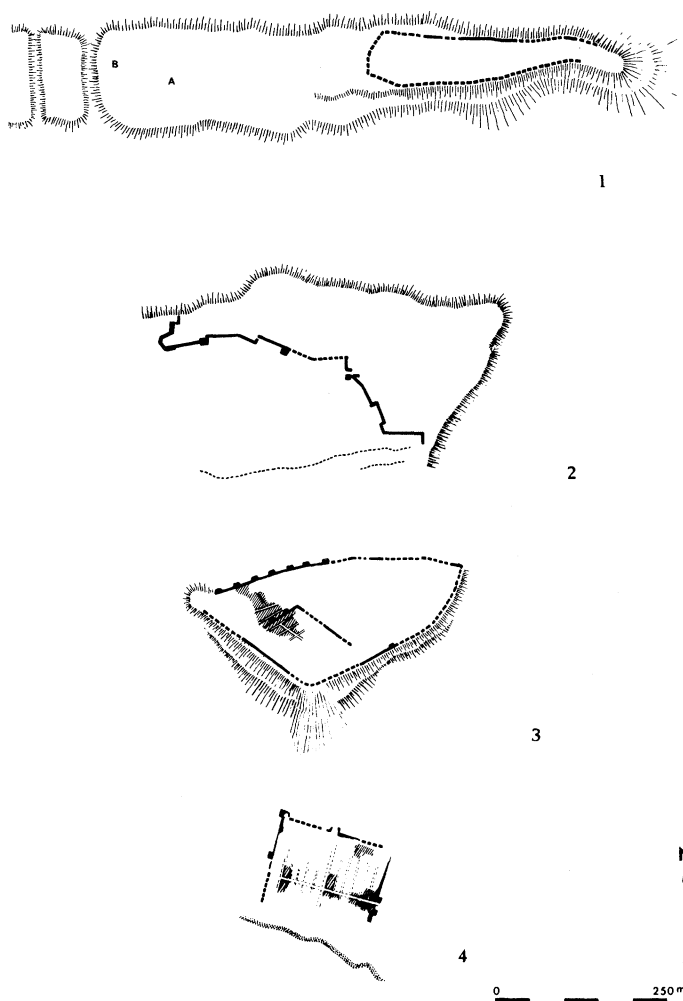


FIG. 2. SITES OF SOUTHERN GAUL

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|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. ENSÉRUNE | 3. ENTREMONT |
| 2. SAINT-BLAISE | 4. OLBIA |

(These sites are shown on the same scale as Marseille in Fig. 1)

for rigorous examination of the stratification and the isolation of levels where native pottery alone occurs, before we can be sure. Nonetheless, the question has been raised.

If a Greek emporium such as Olbia is a relatively small centre (in fact its regular network of streets was enclosed by square fortifications with sides of only some 175 m), and if the same is perhaps true of Agde,³⁷ a centre like Marseille would seem

³⁵ *Recherches*, p. 220.

³⁶ J. H. Clergues, *Petit résumé sur 3000 ans d'histoire d'Antibes* (Nice, 1962); id., *La recherche archéologique à Antibes* (Antibes, 1966); id., 'Fouilles de la chapelle du Saint-Esprit à Antibes, 1960-64', *Cahiers lig. de préhist. et d'arch.* xv, 1966, pp. 329-338; id., *Les remparts d'Antibes* (Antibes, 1971); F. Benoit,

Gallia xviii, 1960, p. 319; xx, 1962, pp. 708-9.

³⁷ R. Aris and J. Picheire, 'Essai sur le développement topographique d'Agde', *Annales du midi* lxxii, 1960, pp. 129-131; J. Sagnes, 'Agde Antique', *Fédération hist. du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, XLIII^e congrès, Béziers, 1970* (Montpellier, 1971), pp. 51-62.

to be of considerable importance, in the second if not in the third century B.C. It covered an area which, to judge from its walls, was perhaps as extensive as the medieval town; in fact, Marseille was the most densely populated centre in Provence during the thirteenth century. Scholars have been very undecided about the extent of the Greek town built on the hills on the north bank of the Lacydon.³⁸ But no one was so bold as to imagine that the walls near the Bourse, which had long been known and had sometimes been identified with the walls of Crinas, could be those of the town before the conquest of the Transalpine province. Certainly, the comparison which some scholars had been able to make between the facing of the walls at Saint-Blaise and the wall which is partly visible under the Place Jean-Guin, was creating difficulties around 1960. But F. Benoit had rejected the comparison, and in an article which appeared six years later he was to stress the differences in technique; he saw in the structure at Marseille signs of technical decline.³⁹ Moreover, I myself had not ventured to suggest that the Greek settlement extended almost as far as the cemetery of Tapis-vert, which had been excavated a few years earlier.⁴⁰

The recent excavations of the Bourse, carried out under the direction of M. Euzennat and Fr. Salviat,⁴¹ have enabled us to determine the general direction of the rampart built of large regularly cut stones, and the existence of towers and a gate which led along one arm of the harbour towards the cemetery mentioned in the previous paragraph. So we may envisage the town as occupying not only the hills Saint-Laurent and 'des Moulins', but the hill 'des Carmes' as well. This accords with the evidence of Posidonius of Apamea, preserved by Strabo: 'the harbour spread out beneath a hilly area curved round like a theatre, facing south. This hilly area was well fortified, as was the whole town, which was very extensive'.⁴² (Pl. I-II).

To the east, the expansion in the Middle Ages was only slight, to judge from the ramparts of the early fifteenth century; these, between the churches of the Augustins and Saint-Martin, follow almost exactly the course of the road which climbs to the Aix Gate.⁴³ Similarly, expansion to the south, which upset the water level of the Lacydon, was only slight, and gradual to judge from the Roman docks⁴⁴ and the medieval quays. Only in the north, between La Major and Les Carmes, will there have been appreciable growth in comparison with the ancient situation; but we must not forget (the lessons of recent years urge caution) that we are completely ignorant of the course of the northern wall in the Greek period, as indeed in any period before the thirteenth century.

However that may be, the Greek city was by no means as small as used to be thought, and it extended over an area scarcely more modest than that of the medieval town, itself the most important centre in Provence. The situation is similar to that at Arles, another of the principal medieval towns. Here, the town on the left bank of the Rhône remained within the limits of the ancient settlement (almost certainly not the Caesarian colony, but the expanded settlement which developed in the first century A.D.).⁴⁵

The Greek cities and emporia did not come into being on the edge of a desert or in a region which had a scattered population, but against a background, now increasingly better understood, of 'pre-urbanization'—and in my opinion even urbanization, in a number of cases which have still to be more closely defined—among the native population.

³⁸ M. Clerc, *Massalia* (Marseille, 1927-29); E. Duprat, *Les Bouches-du-Rhône, encyclopédie départementale* xiv, 1935, pp. 1-143; F. Benoit, *Carte arch. de la Gaule rom.*, fasc. v (Paris, 1936).

³⁹ F. Benoit, 'Topographie antique de Marseille: Le théâtre et le mur de Crivas', *Gallia* xxiv, 1966, pp. 12-20.

⁴⁰ F. Benoit, *Gallia* xii, 1954, pp. 426-9.

⁴¹ *Archeologia* no. 21, mars-avril, 1968, pp. 5-17; id., *Les découvertes archéologiques de la Bourse à Marseille* (Marseille, 1968); id., *Comptes rendus de l'ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 1968, p. 146; M.

Euzennat, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, pp. 423-430.

⁴² Strabo, iv, 1, 9; M. Euzennat, Fr. Salviat, P. Veyne, 'Les scholies bernoises de Lucain, César et Marseille antique', *Etudes classiques* iii, 1968-70, pp. 13-24.

⁴³ Plans in *Histoire du commerce de Marseille* vol. ii, by E. Baratier and R. Reynaud (Marseille, 1951); P.-A. Février, *Le développement* cit., fig. 23.

⁴⁴ F. Benoit, *Gallia* xviii, 1960, pp. 286-8; xxii, 1964, pp. 580-4; id., *Les docks romains du Lacydon* (1965).

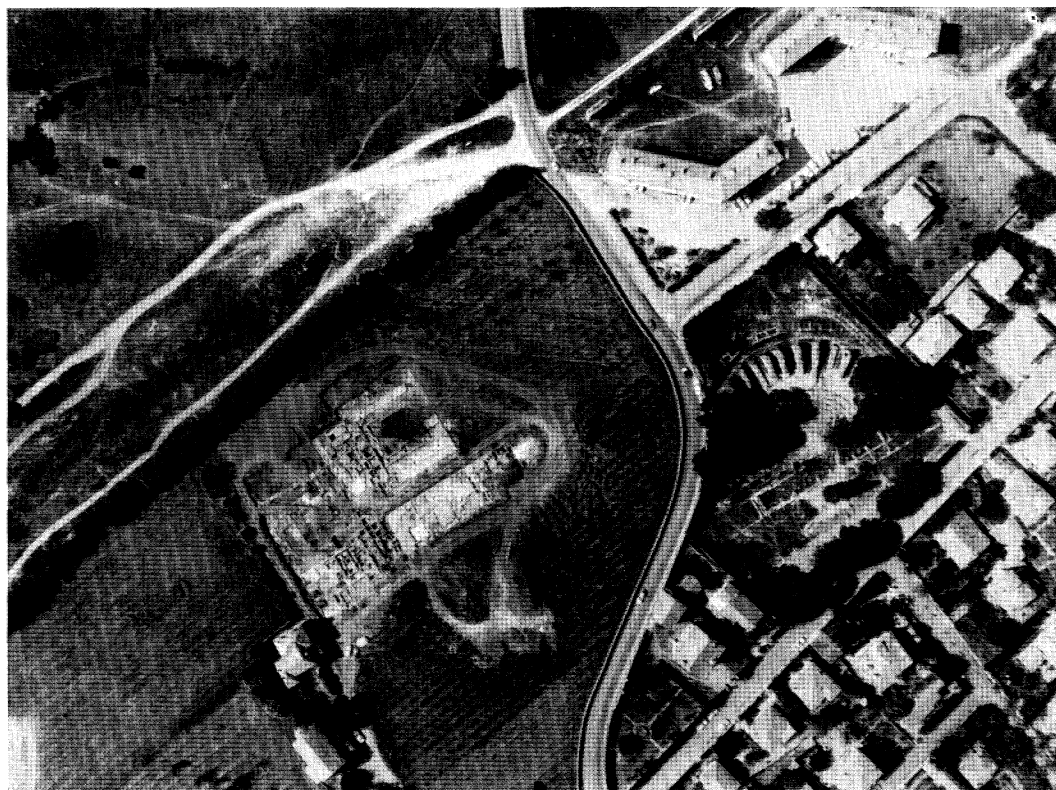
⁴⁵ See below, p. 13 f.



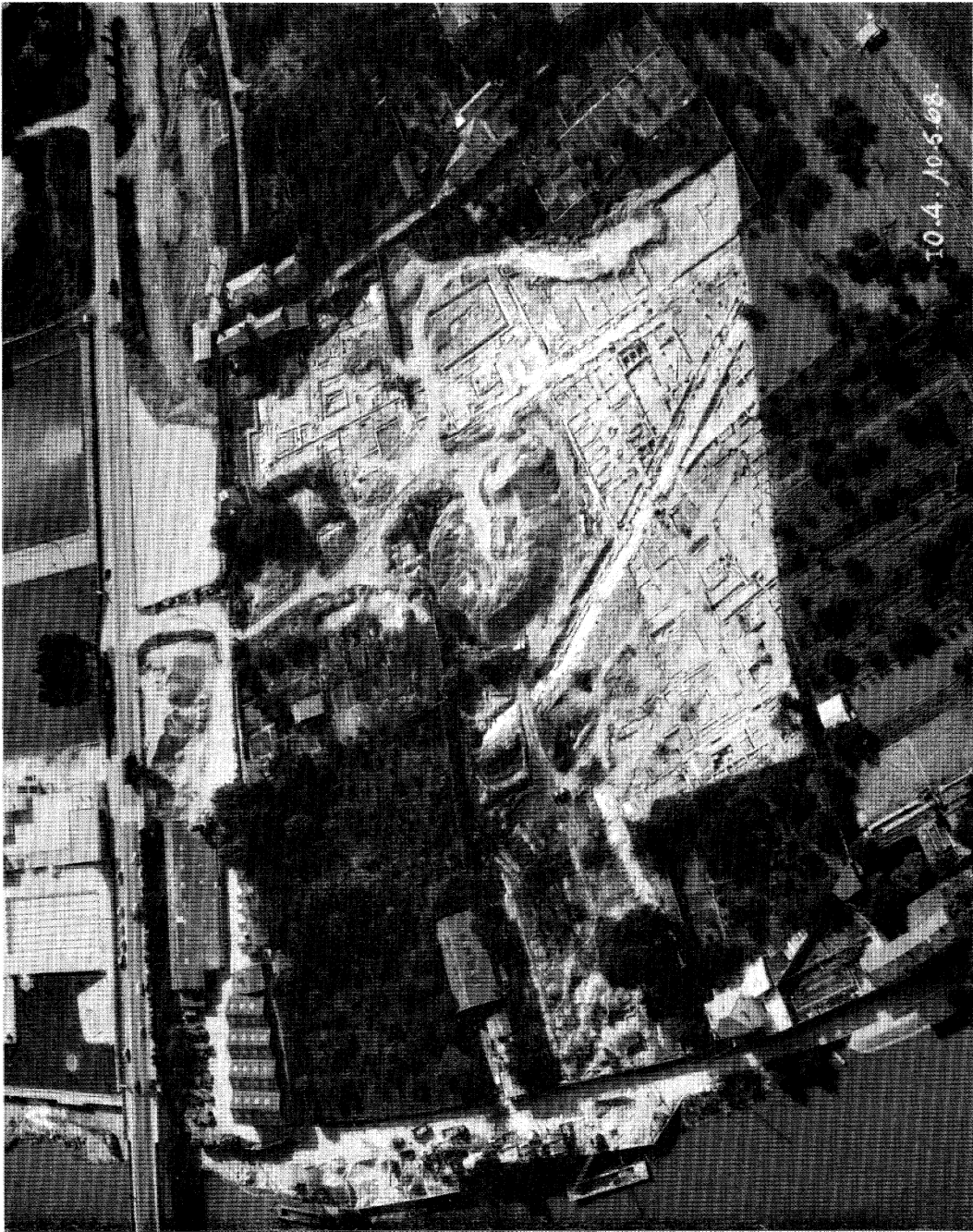
MARSEILLE: AERIAL VIEW OF THE BOURSE SITE (see p. 7 f.)
Photograph by l'Institut d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne. Copyright reserved



MARSEILLE: EXCAVATIONS AT THE BOURSE (see p. 7 f.)
Photograph by l'Institut d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne. Copyright reserved



1. ENTREMONT: STREET AND HOUSES (see p. 11). 2. FRÉJUS: AERIAL VIEW OF EXCAVATIONS (see p. 20 f.)
Photographs (1) by l'Institut d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, (2) by courtesy of Cdt. Rémondon of the air and naval base, Fréjus-Saint-Raphaël. Copyright reserved



VIENNE: AERIAL VIEW OF EXCAVATIONS, SAINT-ROMAIN-EN-GAL (see p. 26 f.)
Photograph by Studio Villeurbannair. Copyright reserved

We shall leave out of consideration the actual causes of this evolution and the connections between these foundations and the movements of peoples; similarly, the links between the native population and the Mediterranean world, which are documented by remains of material culture, will also be left out of account. We shall confine ourselves to picking out certain dates as landmarks in this evolution: the appearance of nucleated settlements on high ground, the appearance of architectural forms which indicate the evolution of the city (such as a rampart, the organic or regular network of roads and houses and the development of the house itself), the blossoming of an artistic expression closely linked to a society undergoing change.

In order to reach clear understanding in the first type of enquiry, the scholar must have to hand convergent items of evidence recovered from different points in one site, and so from one coherent excavation, and not the results of several trial trenches, which leave far too much room for multiplying hypotheses. It is only in this way that we shall be able to define a genuine, well-populated nucleated settlement.

The dates vary according to the region and the site, and to the type of settlement. But despite the relative vagueness of the evidence at our disposal, we can perceive a number of crucial points in this history.

Leaving aside, perhaps only temporarily, the traces of occupation of certain sites as early as the final phase of the Neolithic Period,⁴⁶ we see a number of *oppida* appearing as early as the eighth century or the early seventh. There is an example of this at Cayla de Mailhac⁴⁷ in Aude, or at La Roque de Viou (Saint-Dionisy, Gard).⁴⁸ The following might date from the seventh century: the *oppidum* of Call near Durban (eastern Pyrenees)⁴⁹ and Pech Maho at Sigeau (Gard);⁵⁰ in the region of Béziers, Cessero (Saint-Thibéry) and Béziers itself;⁵¹ in Gard, la Liquière de Calvisson.⁵² There is no shortage of sites of this period in the Rhône valley,⁵³ where imported Etruscan pottery provides the basis of a chronology.⁵⁴ One site which will yield a great deal of information, when it receives a publication as exhaustive as that of Ensérune, is le Pègue (Drôme).⁵⁵ The *oppidum* of Tamaris (Martigues, Bouches-du-Rhône) is a curious case, to which I shall return; here Ch. Lagrand has recognized a hut-emplacement in a perfect state of preservation, dated by Greek and Etruscan imports of the end of the seventh century; the site is reputed to have been abandoned after the first quarter of the sixth century, and later reoccupied on two occasions.⁵⁶ One thinks too of Mont-Garou⁵⁷ on the Var coast, near Toulon; in the past it was excavated in a highly capricious manner, but now recent excavations encourage hopes of valuable discoveries.

It is noteworthy that in this period some ancient settlements on the plain were not abandoned; in fact new settlements were added. At Lansargues (Hérault) at a place called Les Cabanes, on the mouth of a small coastal river, the Viredone, which flows into Lake Mauguio, a small natural mound which turns in rainy weather into a small island, and lies a mere one metre above present sea level was occupied continuously from the early Bronze Age; an increased density of occupation can be detected in the early Iron Age.⁵⁸ There is a comparable site at Portal Viehl (Hérault).⁵⁹ One thinks

⁴⁶ Examples: G. Barruol, 'Oppida préromains et romains en Haute-Provence', *Cahiers rhodaniens*, viii, 1961, pp. 64-6; Venejan dans le Gard: H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xxii, 1964, pp. 506-7; xxix, 1966, pp. 481-2; J. Charmasson, *Cahiers rhodaniens* ix, 1962, pp. 64-102. Lançon: F. Benoit, *Gallia* xxii, 1964, pp. 578-9.

⁴⁷ H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xxiv, 1966, pp. 454-5; G. Barruol, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, pp. 383-4.

⁴⁸ G. Barruol, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, pp. 408-9; xxix, 1971, pp. 399-400; *Ogam* xx, 1968, pp. 25-38.

⁴⁹ H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xxiv, 1966, p. 453; G. Barruol, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, pp. 282-383.

⁵⁰ H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xvii, 1959, pp. 452-4, xx, 1962, pp. 620-2; xxii, 1964, pp. 482-4; xxiv, 1966, pp. 460-2.

⁵¹ M. Clavel, *Béziers et son territoire dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1970), p. 91.

⁵² G. Barruol, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, p. 403; xxix, 1971, pp. 390-1.

⁵³ F. Benoit, *Recherches* cit. (n. 21), p. 56.

⁵⁴ Fr. Villard, 'Les canthares de bucchero et la chronologie du commerce grec d'importation', *Mélanges A. Grenier* iii (Bruxelles, 1962), pp. 1625-1635; J. Coupry, *Ass. G. Budé* cit. (n. 22), pp. 386-7.

⁵⁵ Ch. Lagrand, 'Les fouilles du Pègue, habitat protohistorique', *Bull. de la soc. préhist. franç.* ix, 1963, pp. 123-8; id., *Cahiers lig. de préhist. et d'arch.* xii, 1963, pp. 249-251; J. J. Hatt, *Bull. de la soc. préhist. franç.* lix, 1962, pp. 574-6; A. Bruhl, *Gallia* xvi, 1958, pp. 384-5 (plan, fig. 7); M. Leglay, *Gallia* xxii, 1964, pp. 526-531; xxvi, 1968, pp. 589-591.

⁵⁶ *Cahiers lig. de préhist. et d'arch.* xii, 1963, pp. 246-9; F. Benoit, *Gallia* xviii, 1969, pp. 290-1.

⁵⁷ F. Benoit, *Recherches* cit. (n. 32), p. 36, with references to the unprofitable articles of Layet. F. Benoit, *Gallia* viii, 1950, p. 128; xviii, 1960, pp. 308-310.

⁵⁸ G. Barruol, *Gallia* xxix, 1971, p. 381.

⁵⁹ M. Clavel, *Béziers* cit. (n. 51), pp. 45-6.

too of the site which has recently been revealed by excavations at Lattes, on the banks of the Lez, south of Montpellier (Hérault).⁶⁰ From the beginning of the sixth century B.C. this site appears to have enjoyed real importance, deriving from economic activity on this river, the marshes and the coast of Languedoc; and it retained some degree of importance after the conquest, like the *oppidum* Sextantio further inland. Both centres were replaced later by Maguelone, and later still in the Middle Ages by Montpellier.⁶¹ In Provence, at Cape Arquet, near Couronne (Bouches-du-Rhône),⁶² a settlement which was perhaps connected with the quarries used in the building of Marseille was occupied from the end of the seventh century to the first quarter of the sixth.

With the sixth century, the movement towards establishing settlements on high ground continued and gathered momentum; the region around Béziers, recently investigated by Madame M. Clavel, provides ample evidence of this.⁶³ Ensérune is not an isolated case. Nevertheless, it remains the only site we have to refer to for a clear case of genuine development.

The first settlements appear on the high ground overlooking the coastal plain during the course of the sixth century. If Jannoray is right, it may have been the local population, with its neolithic way of life, which chose this location. The descendants of these original inhabitants, brought into contact with Greek trade, so radically transformed their surroundings that, in the last quarter of the fifth century, they were building houses of stone according to a regular plan and protecting them with a defensive wall.

To these examples from Biterrois we can add from Aude, Montlaurès;⁶⁴ from Gard, Saint-Laurent de Carnos,⁶⁵ Vié-Ciutat at Mons-et-Monteils,⁶⁶ Mauressip,⁶⁷ and Saint-Vincent de Gaujac;⁶⁸ from Bouches-du-Rhône, Baou-Roux of Bel Air,⁶⁹ and above all, Saint-Blaise to which I shall come back in a moment.⁷⁰

These new settlements did not all serve the same purposes, and they certainly did not undergo the same changes (this is a theme to which we shall devote some attention). There are in fact quite a number of sites which appear to have been quickly and permanently abandoned, or to have been occupied only from time to time. Relying, as one must, on the excavations which have been reported, one is struck by the wide distribution of such sites. Sometimes the abandonment is very rapid indeed, as at Lombren at Venejan in Gard,⁷¹ where a camp is recorded of the first Iron Age which was not reoccupied until the fifth or sixth century. More curious is the case I have already mentioned of the *oppidum* of Tamaris, which was abandoned from the first quarter of the sixth century, probably at the same time as the site near Cape Arquet.⁷² The third and final occupation of Tamaris took place at the end of the fourth century, and was very short-lived.

⁶⁰ J. Arnal, *Archeologia*, no. 31, 1969, pp. 69-72; id., *Fédération hist. du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon*, XXXIXe congrès, Montpellier (Montpellier, 1967), pp. 69-73; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xxii, 1964, p. 401; xxiv, 1966, pp. 467-8; G. Barraul, *ibid.* xxvii, 1969, pp. 393-5; xxix, 1971, pp. 381-3; E. Demougeot, 'L'inscription de Lattes', *Rev. des ét. anc.* lxxviii, 1966, pp. 86-100.

⁶¹ H. Gallet de Santerre, 'Etat présent des recherches archéologiques en Languedoc méditerranéen et Roussillon', *Fédération hist. du Languedoc méd. et du Roussillon*, XXXIXe congrès p. 14. See also J. C. Michel Richard, 'Le problème des origines de Montpellier', *Rev. arch. de Narbonnaise* ii, 1960, pp. 49-63. For Sextantio: J. Arnal, R. Majinel and H. Prades, 'La stratigraphie de Sextantio', *Bull. de la soc. préhist. franç.* lxi, 1964, pp. 385-421.

⁶² Ch. Lagrand, 'Un habitat côtier de l'âge du Fer à l'Arquet à la Couronne', *Gallia* xvii, 1959, pp. 179-201; id., *Cahiers lig. de préhist. et d'arch.* vii, 1958, pp. 121-6; xi, 1962, pp. 258-260. F. Benoit, *Gallia* xviii, 1960, p. 290.

⁶³ M. Clavel, *Béziers* cit. (n. 51), pp. 180-200.

⁶⁴ Ph. Hélène, *Les origines de Narbonne* (Toulouse-Paris, 1937), pp. 161-172; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xx, 1960, p. 616; xxii, 1964, pp. 479-480; J. Giry, *Bull. arch. de Narbonne* xxv, 1961, pp. 159-173; xxvi, 1962, pp. 76-88.

⁶⁵ J. Charmasson, *Ogam* xix, 1967, pp. 145-168; G. Barraul, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, p. 409.

⁶⁶ G. Barraul, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, p. 405; xxix, 1971, p. 393.

⁶⁷ G. Barraul, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, p. 408; xxix, 1971, pp. 397-9; *Ecole antique de Nîmes* 3, 1969, pp. 39-91.

⁶⁸ H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xxii, 1964, p. 500; xxiv, 1966, pp. 475-6; G. Barraul, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, pp. 404-5; xxx, 1971, p. 392.

⁶⁹ F. Benoit, *Gallia* xxii, 1964, pp. 576-7; M. Euzennat, *Gallia* xxv, 1967, p. 402; xxvii, 1969, p. 423.

⁷⁰ See below, p. 12.

⁷¹ See above, note 46.

⁷² See above, note 62.

While a number of sites which had been occupied from very early times were abandoned at the end of the third century (sites such as Calla de Durban, Pech Maho at Sigean, le Moulin at Peyras-sur-Mer,⁷³ and Saint-Marcel near Marseille⁷⁴), other hill-top sites had to wait until the third century and in some cases even the second, before they were occupied. This was the case at Piégu de Rougiers in Var,⁷⁵ at Nages in Gard,⁷⁶ and Lagrasse on the hill of Villerbersan in Aude.⁷⁷ I shall return in a moment to still later instances of occupation subsequent to the Roman conquest.

It is not enough to mention the first appearance of a settlement; the crucial thing is to determine its main phases of expansion and decline, and, in particular, changes occurring in it which reflect economic or social development. For instance, the building of a rampart which provides the inhabitants not only with security but also with importance and unity, must have been an important landmark. Jannoray emphasized the building of a defensive wall as an important stage in the urbanization of Ensérune. Such a wall could be a very complex structure, as at Pech Maho.⁷⁸ The most recent excavations at Pègue⁷⁹ show the appearance of terraces and a gate which in its original form seems to date from the years 530-520; it underwent alterations towards the end of the sixth century.

Moreover, there were considerable differences among these hill-top settlements in size, appearance and the changes they underwent. When the subject has been advanced further, therefore, we shall have to ask questions both on the actual description to be given to these settlements (town, market-centre, village, and so on) and on the function (political, economic, religious) of such a place or its different quarters. For example: there is an enormous difference between a small village like Mont-Bastide (Commune of Eze, Alpes-Maritimes), excavated by Octobon,⁸⁰ which is perched on a bleak site, far from fertile soil, high above the coastal plain, and a settlement regularly laid out like Entremont above Aix-en-Provence,⁸¹ which seems to have been the capital of the confederation of the Salluvii. At Entremont, one finds a coherent urban organism of parallel roads intersecting one another at regular angles; at Mont-Bastide, on the other hand, the houses cling to the rock, as in so many small villages in the countryside behind Nice. The regularity of Entremont is not unique; it is repeated at Baou Rouge d'Auriol,⁸² or even at Baou Roux de Bouc Bel Air,⁸³ and on the other side of the Rhône at Nages.⁸⁴

The actual development of Ensérune, described above, shows how profound the change was, and the work recently carried out on the new second-century quarters emphasizes how much more deeply the Hellenized Mediterranean was making its influence felt,⁸⁵ as part of a very gradual process, on the daily life of the settlement and on its character (cf. Pl. III, 1).

⁷³ H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xxii, 1964, p. 480; xxiv, 1966, pp. 459-460; G. Barrauol, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, p. 387.

⁷⁴ H. de Gérin-Ricard, *Provincia* xiv, 1933-34, pp. 58-83; id., *Bull. arch. du com.*, 1934-35, p. 126; M. Euzennat, *Gallia* xxv, 1967, pp. 404-5; P. Agostini, Thèse de III^e cycle, Aix-en-Provence, typewritten, 1972.

⁷⁵ M. Euzennat, *Gallia* xxv, 1965, pp. 424-5.

⁷⁶ M. Aliger, 'Nages (Gard) des origines à la fin de l'ère antique', *Ogam*, no. 114, 1967 = *Celticum* xvi, pp. 1-64; id., *Fédération hist. du Languedoc méd. et du Roussillon, XXXIX^e congrès, Montpellier* pp. 85-94; M. and Fr. Py, 'La céramique campanienne...', *Cahiers ligures de préhistoire et d'arch.* xvi, 1967, pp. 144-161; id., 'Contribution à l'étude des remparts de Nages', *Rev. arch. de Narbonnaise* ii, 1969, pp. 97-121; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xxii, 1966, pp. 447-8; G. Barrauol, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, p. 406; xxix, 1971, pp. 393-4.

⁷⁷ H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xxv, 1966, p. 454.

⁷⁸ See above, p. 9, note 50, and H. Gallet de Santerre, *Fédération hist. du Languedoc méd. et du Roussillon, XXXIX^e congrès, Montpellier* p. 15.

⁷⁹ M. Leglay, *Gallia* xxix, 1971, pp. 431-3.

⁸⁰ Cdt Octobon, Camp du Mont-Bastide à Eze (Alpes-maritimes), *Provence historique* v, 1955, pp. 3-25; id., *Congrès hist. de France, XVI^e session, Monaco, 1959* (Paris, 1965), pp. 146-9.

⁸¹ F. Benoit, *Gallia* xii, 1954, pp. 286-294; xviii, 1960, pp. 291-4; xx, 1962, pp. 688-692; xxii, 1964, pp. 573-6; id., *Entremont* (Aix, 1957); id., 'Resultat historique des fouilles d'Entremont', *Gallia* xxvi, 1968, pp. 1-31; M. Euzennat, *Gallia* xxv, 1967, pp. 397-9.

⁸² M. Honoré, 'L'oppidum préromain du Baou-Rouge', *Cahiers lig. de préhist. et d'arch.* xvii, 1968, pp. 102-130; F. Benoit, *Gallia* xvii, 1960, p. 201; M. Euzennat, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, 422.

⁸³ F. Benoit, *Gallia* xxii, 1964, pp. 576-7; M. Euzennat, *Gallia* xxv, 1967, p. 402; xxvii, 1969, p. 423.

⁸⁴ See above, note 76.

⁸⁵ H. Gallet de Santerre, 'Fouilles dans le quartier ouest d'Ensérune', *Rev. arch. de Narbonnaise* i, 1968, pp. 39-73; Cl. Vatin, 'Maisons d'Ensérune', *Etudes classiques* iii, 1968-70, pp. 123-130 (with drawings by G. Hallier).

So far, we have been dealing mainly with sites which did not survive to the Roman occupation.⁸⁶ I can make the transition by analysing two sites in Bouches-du-Rhône which were excavated by the same person, Henri Rolland, and at the same time, so that the views formulated by him as he passed from one site to the other were bound to influence his historical concept of urban development. By reconsidering the interpretations which underly certain works of this scholar to whom Provence owes so much, I would like to extend his own research; there is no doubt that H. Rolland introduced refinements, and greater precision, step by step, into this type of study.⁸⁷

In the 1967 report on Saint-Blaise, Fr. Salviat, reporting a final stage of H. Rolland's excavations, speaks of the appearance of very ancient levels, 'roughly corresponding to the following sequence: layer VII, Etruscan and Rhodian period (seventh century); layer VI (600-550), first Massaliote period; layer V (550-500), second Massaliote period; layer IV, abandonment of the site with slight continued occupation by local people. There were signs of a layer VIII, earlier than layer VII.'⁸⁸ Moreover, a study of the rampart around the gate, which had been excavated much earlier, has shown that the very fine curtain-wall built of regularly cut blocks had been preceded by a defensive work with an outer facing of very rough uncut stone. According to the same report, 'study of the rubble core has led to the firm conclusion that the early wall . . . was in use during the second half of the sixth century.' The comments contributed in another connection by P. Arcelin, in his study on the native hand-made pottery of Saint-Blaise,⁸⁹ enable us to recreate a first stage of the settlement a little aloof, if not totally cut off, from the main currents of Mediterranean trade. It is only in layer VII that we find Bucchero vases, Etruscan amphoras and Corinthian or Italo-Corinthian pottery. So what was this site in its first stages? And what did it become in the last quarter of the seventh century? A township of some importance? Perhaps even a town? And, in particular, what were its links with Marseille in this phase and in the following phases? It is absolutely essential to separate the various stages of a site if one wishes to have a clear historical view of it when the evidence is so tenuous.

It is one thing to recognize a settlement, and another to determine its importance from a simple topographical point of view; it is another thing again to identify the political, economic or social function of the place. A reading of the bibliography of recent years shows clearly that local workers, basing themselves on knowledge (largely derived from books) of Greek colonization and a number of discoveries made at Marseille, have tended to see emporia everywhere, particularly in the area around Marseille. It was, moreover, quite common practice to compress, so to speak, the chronology, and to refer whatever territory Marseille might have controlled on the eve of the Roman conquest back to an earlier period. Now that excavations, in particular those of the earliest layers, are progressing, and refinements are appearing in the study of both the levels and the material, the process of thought and reasoning ought to be reversed. It is important to start from this evidence newly recovered from the ground, in order to determine first the style of life, the level of material culture, advances in technical achievements, and relations with the outside world. Then, and only then in my opinion, will it be possible to write a politico-economic history, a history, that is to say, with a real sense of evolution.

⁸⁶ On the more general problems, the recent articles of an archaeologist with an overall view and an excellent acquaintance with the terrain should be consulted: W. Dehn, 'Einige Bemerkungen zur Erforschung galischer oppida in Frankreich' in *Keltische oppida in Mitteleuropa und in Karpatenbecken* (Prah-Liblice, 1970) in *Archeologické Rozhledy* xxiii, 4, 1971, pp. 393-405. The same scholar gave a further contribution on towns at the Colloquium at Strasbourg (to appear).

For the region of Languedoc, see H. Gallet de Santerre in *Fédération hist. du Languedoc méd. et du Roussillon, XXXIXe congrès* pp. 15-17. For a general study of Haute Provence, G. Barraol, 'Oppida pré-

romains et romains de Haute-Provence', *Cahiers Rhodaniens* viii, 1961, pp. 1-35.

⁸⁷ H. Rolland, *Fouilles de Saint-Blaise* (Paris, 1951); id., *Fouilles de Saint-Blaise 1951-1956* (Paris, 1956); id., *Fouilles de Saint-Blaise* (Martigues 1963, 2^e éd. 1970); id., *Gallia* xvi, 1958, pp. 430-2; xxii, 1964, pp. 569-572; id., *Comptes rendus de l'ac. des Insc. et Belles-Lettres*, 1963, pp. 81-9; id., 'Chronologie de Saint-Blaise', *Provence historique* xiv, no. 55, 1964, pp. 7-15.

⁸⁸ M. Euzennat, *Gallia* xxv, 1967, pp. 410-417 and xxvii, 1969, pp. 433-5.

⁸⁹ See above, p. 3, note 9.

The historian of towns, seeing the appearance at Saint-Blaise in the Hellenistic period of a rampart of perfectly fitting ashlar, and behind certain sections of it a comparatively regular network of roads, naturally asks himself the following question: are we here dealing with a phenomenon of urbanization in the strict sense of the word? Or does it reflect an evolution of the settlement? And if so, of what sort? Is it a simple case of the influence of a technique and of a material culture, or must we envisage that craftsmen came from Marseille and that the Greek city exercised political power here? I do not think the answer is as obvious as people often think. In any case, the questions must be put, so that we may see the uncertainties and try to remove the doubts.

The same observation should be made in relation to another site, Glanum.⁹⁰ The original nucleus of this settlement seems to have lain at the mouth of a gorge in the Alpilles at the foot of two rocks. On the western rock, a native sanctuary with dry-stone terraces linked by steps had been known for a long time. At the floor of the valley the steps emerged opposite a spring which had monumental structures built up around it at a later date. Here too, Ch. Lagrand's analysis of material unearthed much earlier points to a date in the Bronze Age for the first human occupation. In what context did this sanctuary, which seems certainly native, develop? What significance should be attached to the monumental adornment given to the sanctuary of the waters (the surrounding wall and the adjacent buildings, a Doric portico and a meeting house), and to the decorative sculptures recently uncovered? Many things are still awaiting a precise dating; and it seems to me premature, in the absence of deep stratification and more advanced studies, to try to reconstruct the history of the monuments of this one quarter, and even more so to try to write the political history of the site. At best, one can ask the same questions as at Saint-Blaise: are we here dealing with a native centre whose environment was gradually Hellenized? From this transformation can we infer a political development? Was this due to the fact that Marseille took control, in some form or other, of the sanctuary and its annexes? Does the fact that Glanum had a coinage reflect another aspect of this development, or was this merely an accident of an economic history which still eludes us?

With Glanum, we come to the question of the towns which survived beyond the Roman conquest; and the questions are all the more pressing in that other settlements in the Rhône valley in the Roman period, Cavaillon or Avignon, also had a coinage, as did certain tribes, the Kainiketai, the Samnigetai, the Longostaletai, and later on Nîmes too.⁹²

Despite the difficulties involved in excavating sites which have been occupied without interruption to the present day, the discoveries made are sufficiently numerous to give us some indication of the prehistory of the towns of the region. This is important in itself, as a means of throwing light on these settlements; but, in addition, this earlier history of a number of towns goes some way towards explaining why urbanization under the Romans got off to a relatively slow start: almost a whole century went by, after all, before the main colonial foundations appeared.⁹³

The main result of these discoveries has been that we can now date, more or less exactly, human presence on these sites, though in most cases we cannot recognize the type of settlement, its importance and extent, or even its role; still less demonstrable in certain cases is continuity of occupation.

At Arles, where the place-name evidence allows us to believe that there was an

⁹⁰ H. Rolland, *Fouilles de Glanum (Saint-Rémy de Provence)* (Paris, 1946); id., *Fouilles de Glanum, 1947-1956* (Paris, 1958); id., *Comptes rendus de l'ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1967, pp. 111-19 and 1968, p. 105; M. Euzennat and Fr. Salviat, *Gallia* xxv, 1967, pp. 406-10; xxvii, 1969, pp. 435-446.

⁹¹ Ch. Lagrand, *Recherches*, cit., p. 314.

⁹² A. Blanchet, *Traité des monnaies gauloises* (Paris, 1905), pp. 239-240; M. Clerc, *Massalia* (Marseille,

1927), i, pp. 379-383; H. Rolland, *Congresso intern. di Numismatica* (Rome, 1961), pp. 111-19; G. Barrauol, *Les peuples préromains du sud-est de la Gaule* (Paris, 1969), pp. 199-203, 226; M. Clavel, *Béziers* pp. 180-200; J. C. M. Richard 'Notes de numismatique narbonnaise', i, *Rev. arch. de Narbonnaise* iii, 1970, pp. 193-9 and especially p. 198, note 1, Bibliographie.

⁹³ See below, p. 19.

ancient settlement,⁹⁴ potsherds dating from the sixth century⁹⁵ were discovered in trial-trenches below the Augustan cryptoporticus. To the south of this cryptoporticus, a stratigraphical investigation carried out at the time of the building of the chamber of commerce revealed, in a layer IV, a hut-emplacement and hearths dated by Massaliote and Ionian amphoras,⁹⁶ above these was found a fragment of Attic vase of the fifth century, and higher still was a deposit of amphoras from Marseille, covered over by a Roman layer; all this suggests very real continuity of occupation. In addition to these discoveries made near the centre of the Roman town on the plain, others were made in the upper town near la Major. Was this a scattered settlement, or one which extended across the area between la Major and the cryptoporticus? A native village, or an expanding settlement? What stage had it reached when the veterans of Legion VI arrived and the colony was founded by Ti. Claudius Nero?⁹⁷ There are so many questions which we cannot even begin to answer until further excavation has taken place.

The same questions arise when we consider another colonial site, Béziers,⁹⁸ a strong site built on the banks of the Orb. Here, excavations have produced pottery of Hallstatt type, black-figure sherds, fragments of Ionian ware and storage pits. But here, in contrast to Arles, the continuity of occupation is less clear.

What is true of the colonial foundations ought to be all the more true of other centres of the Roman period, cities with peregrine rights and *municipia*. This is exactly what has been revealed by recent excavations at Vienne and at Avignon.

Of Vienne Strabo could say that 'out of the simple village that it once was, even though it bore the title of capital of the Allobroges, the Romans had made it a town'.⁹⁹ The site of the Roman town on the left bank of the Rhône where it meets the Gère, is formed by an amphitheatre of hills, at the foot of which is a *cône de déjection*. Dwellings have been found over two areas. M. Chapotat has studied evidence dating from La Tène III which was found by chance on the hill of Sainte-Blandine.¹⁰⁰ Lower down, on the site of the old hospital, stratigraphical investigations carried out by M. Pelletier¹⁰¹ have produced at the lowest level the fragment of a vessel copying an imitation of Ionian pottery, which could date from the second half of the fifth century or the early fourth, as well as native pottery; and virgin soil has not yet been reached. The upper levels, containing both Campana ware and amphoras, are evidence of continued occupation up to the Augustan period, with their different types and forms of pottery. It remains to calculate the possible extent of the Allobrogan settlement. It is unlikely, if only because of the gradient, that there was a continuous settlement from Sainte-Blandine to the *cône de déjection*; we may suppose that an *oppidum* and a settlement near the river, perhaps even at a crossing-point on the river, could have existed at the same time. In this case too, the relative importance of the sites, their mutual relationship and their function will only become clear when work in connection with the reconstruction of the old quarters of the town gives a clearer idea of the changes which took place at this settlement than we have for the towns mentioned earlier.¹⁰²

From 1960 onwards, work undertaken on the rock des Doms produced several objects attributable to the Chalcolithic period; but this was only a beginning. From 1964, excavations carried out in the quarter of la Balance showed that the area had

⁹⁴ Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima* (ed. A. Berthelot, Paris, 1934), lines 689-691, p. 49. Ch. Rostaing, *Essai sur la toponymie de la Provence* (Paris, 1950), pp. 58-61; see L. A. Constans, *Arles antique* (Paris, 1921), pp. 47-9.

⁹⁵ F. Benoit, *Gallia* xii, 1954, p. 430.

⁹⁶ *ibid.* xvii, 1960, pp. 303-5.

⁹⁷ Sueton., *Tiberius* 4; L. A. Constans, *Arles antique* pp. 53-60.

⁹⁸ M. Clavel, *Béziers* cit. pp. 51, 61-5, 71-3.

⁹⁹ *Geogr.* iv, 1, 11. Strabo's terms, κώμη and πόλις, already show some attempt at closer definition.

¹⁰⁰ G. Chapotat, *Vienne gauloise, Le matériel de la Tène III trouvé sur la colline Sainte-Blandine* (Lyon, 1970).

¹⁰¹ M. Leglay, *Gallia* xxii, 1964, pp. 511-17 and xxiv, 1968, p. 585; M. Leglay, A. Pelletier, and A. Bosquet, *Actes du 89^e congrès nat. des soc. savantes, Lyon, 1964* (Paris, 1965), pp. 95-102; A. Pelletier, *Cahiers d'histoire* xi, 1966, pp. 9-16 and *Rev. arch.* 1966, fasc. i, pp. 113-150.

¹⁰² S. Gagnière, *Gallia, Préhistoire* iii, 1961, pp. 337-9; ix, 1966, pp. 585-6; xi, 1968, pp. 493-4; S. Gagnière, J. Cranier, and R. Perrot, 'Un oppidum de la basse vallée du Rhône: le Rocher des Doms à Avignon', *Cahiers ligures de préhistoire et d'archéologie* xi, 1962, pp. 48-77; S. Gagnière and J. Granier, *Avignon de la préhistoire à la Papauté* (Avignon, 1970), pp. 13-84; H. Rolland, *Gallia* xx, 1962, pp. 671-4.

been intensively occupied over a long period towards the end of the third millennium B.C.; a house built of irregular sandstone and limestone blocks was recognized, and an inhumation burial discovered which seems to date back to the first half of the third millennium. Above the Neolithic levels and Bronze Age deposits, the same excavations at la Balance recovered traces of a building of stone and rough brick from the Hallstatt period. The excavators noted a large-scale occupation, and the appearance of imported pottery, confirming Greek penetration from the seventh or sixth century, which is observable in all the *oppida* dotted along the course of the Rhône or its tributaries.

These excavations seemed to me to be a model of what should be achieved for each of the towns of the South, by systematic excavation extended to all quarters of the towns. And they have a further interest: the archaeologists noted not only that occupation continued during the phases of the la Tène period right up to the Roman conquest, but, further, that the settlement seems to have been enlarged and building was extended further towards the south.

At this point in the enquiry, we can see absolutely clearly the antiquity of human occupation at several sites which, with the conquest, acquired political and economic importance as *civitas* capitals. A further point must be made: we should no longer consider each site on its own, but see it in the context of neighbouring settlements.

This we can do in the area around Avignon.¹⁰³ Here, where the valleys of the Rhône and Durance meet, and where the Via Domitia was later to cross, lies a plain, in parts fertile and in parts marshy, with a number of hills rising from it which assume importance from their prominence or their position. Here we can reconstruct a series of settlements: Orgon, Cavaillon, Bonpas and Noves, Avignon, Mourre de Sève between Vedène and Sorgues, Durban at Beaumes-de-Venissa, Clairier near Malaucène, and Orange, to which it is appropriate to add the *oppida* on the right bank of the Rhône: Saint-Vincent de Cujac, Laudun, Roquemaure, le Mont-Andaon at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon and Mardeuil near Remoulins. In addition, there are the settlements on high ground further north in the Rhône valley which seem also to belong to the confederation of the Cavares. The origin and development of these places, their relations and mutual contacts must be studied if we wish to understand the origin of the towns and other centres of the Roman period, and of the settlements scattered over the plains.

As in earlier centuries, hill-top settlements were not the only type chosen by man. The best example is provided by the city of the Tectosages, Toulouse.¹⁰⁴ On the alluvial terrace on the right bank of the Garonne, where the river could be forded, there appeared in the Iron Age urban groupings different from those of the Bronze Age, on the site of what became Roman Toulouse and its suburbs. 'They give the impression of a denser and more close-packed population.' M. Labrousse makes this remark about the necropolis at Saint-Roch and the site at Cluzel about twelve kilometres to the south. The settlement which can be considered as the capital of the native tribe appears only in the second century.

M. Labrousse does not think that we should follow earlier scholars in looking for the capital of the Tectosages at Vieille Toulouse, six or seven kilometres above the Roman town. This spot was certainly occupied on a regular basis in the first century, but its inhabitants preserved 'a protohistoric and indigenous character', and the settlement was no more than a 'collection of huts' enjoying a certain level of prosperity. More important, without any doubt, was the site of modern Toulouse which we know about principally from its funerary pits.

So, the density and variety of the Roman cities, like their surroundings, did not derive from an act of colonization, or were not simply the result of socio-economic changes themselves created by political changes; they grew out of a past which is shown to be more and more complex as research advances.

¹⁰³ This example has been studied by G. Barrauol, *Les peuples préromains du sud-est de la Gaule. Etude de géographie historique* (Paris, 1969), pp. 241-4. See also J. Dupoux, 'Le passage de Bonpas et les sites

archéologiques qui l'entourent', *Cahiers lig. de préhist. et d'arch.* vii, 1958, pp. 89-91; confirmed by H. Rolland, *Gallia* xvii, 1960, p. 265.

¹⁰⁴ M. Labrousse, *Toulouse antique* (Paris, 1968).

If we examine the territorial capitals of the early empire, we have to agree that many of them, whether their initial status was that of colony, *municipium* or peregrine *civitas*, were of pre-Roman origin, whether in a settlement dating from a very early period (as at Avignon), or in one of more recent date (such as a site first native and then Greek like Antibes, or a purely Greek city or emporium, or a native site possessing trade links first with the Etruscans, then with the Greeks, and finally with Italy). This phenomenon is not unique to the coastal region but can be observed also in the Rhône valley. Undoubtedly, in some cases, traces of pre-Roman occupation on the Roman site are scarce (as at Narbonne and Nîmes) or even entirely lacking (as at Fréjus); but is this due to gaps in the evidence and the absence of investigations? Or does the argument *a silentio* really have some force? In view of the discoveries made in virtually all areas over the last twenty years, I would incline towards the first hypothesis.

In this reconstruction of the origin of the network of towns which existed under the empire, we must now look at the first century of the Roman conquest; then we shall come to the colonizing movement of the Caesarian and Augustan periods, over which we can pass more quickly, since it is relatively well known.

It is a striking feature of the early years of the Roman occupation of Transalpine Gaul that, at least on the literary evidence, there were only a few foundations. The only colony was that established at Narbonne in 118;¹⁰⁵ this foundation was accompanied by the building of a road, as the milestone discovered at Pont de Treilles (Aude)¹⁰⁶ proves. The number XX engraved on this milestone shows that the distance was measured from Narbo, and that the road was provided with milestones in 118 at the earliest (according to P.-M. Duval) or a little earlier than the foundation (the view of A. Degrassi).¹⁰⁷ The construction of this road must have brought in its wake new settlements and stations: the very name of *Forum Domitii* or *Domitii*, which is located at Montbazin (Hérault),¹⁰⁸ could have a connection with the name of the founder of the road, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (the actual name of the Via Domitia appears in the *Pro Fonteio*¹⁰⁹).

This same speech provides us with a number of place names, though unfortunately they are badly transmitted by the manuscript tradition, if not by Cicero himself.¹¹⁰ Beside the difficulty of the readings, there is the further problem that even in the least controversial case (*Elesioduluscantum* or *Elesiodolustantum* which seems certainly to conceal a place called *Elesiodunum*) we have scarcely any idea what sort of settlement it was. In this particular case, we assume that the primitive site was on high ground towards Montferrand, and that the inhabitants moved down to settle on the plain near the road.¹¹¹ But when, and how? As to Fonteius's other tax-collecting centres with native names, were they new foundations or centres which grew up spontaneously, or were they older settlements? Here too, we simply do not know.

The other town which came into being in the early years of the conquest is *Aquae Sextiae* (Aix-en-Provence).¹¹² Strabo states that a Roman garrison was installed there (φρουρά) and that there was a πόλις there. What sort of fort was it? What was the nature of the settlement whose existence must have been due, in part at least, to the warm springs which flow there? We are unable to make even the slightest conjecture: everything that is visible in the town belongs to the medieval town plan and walls; all

¹⁰⁵ 'Narbo Martius, colonia nostrorum civium' Cic., *Pro Fonteio* v, 13. On the town and its history, A. Grenier, *Carte arch. de la Gaule romaine, Aude* (Paris, 1959), pp. 2-5; Velleius Paterculus i, 15, 5; Eutropius iv, 23.

¹⁰⁶ J. Campardou, 'Un milliaire de Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus imperator découvert à Treilles (Aude)', *Gallia* vii, 1949, pp. 195-205; P.-N. Duval, 'A propos du milliaire...', *ibid.* pp. 207-231 and *Comptes rendus de l'ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 1951, pp. 161-5 = *A. Ep.* 1951, no. 38; P.-M. Duval, 'Le milliaire de Domitius et l'organisation de la Narbonnaise', *Rev. arch. de la Narbonnaise* i, 1968, pp. 3-6.

¹⁰⁷ A. Degrassi, 'Nuovi miliari arcaici', *Homages à A. Grenier* (Brussels, 1962), pp. 499-513 (coll.

Latomus, no. 68).

¹⁰⁸ *Carte arch. de la Gaule romaine*, fasc. x, *Hérault* (Paris, 1966), pp. 16-17, no. 41 and p. 55.

¹⁰⁹ Cicero, *Pro Fonteio* viii, 18: 'cum ad rem publicam pertineret viam Domitiam muniri'.

¹¹⁰ See the edition of A. Boulanger, coll. G. Budé (Paris, 1929); A. Grenier, *Carte arch., Aude*, pp. 5-6; M. Labrousse, *Toulouse antique* pp. 138-143; see also below, p. 18, note 133.

¹¹¹ M. Labrousse, *op. cit.* p. 140.

¹¹² Livy, *Epitome* lxi: 'C. Sextius proconsul, coloniā aquas Sextias condidit', Velleius Paterculus i, 15; Strabo i, 1, 5; M. Clerc, *Aquae Sextiae* (Aix, 1916), pp. 129-153.

that excavation has revealed is scanty traces of the town which was raised to colonial rank under the empire.

The relatively small number of urban foundations known is perhaps the fault of the sources themselves; it is also due to the situation, already described, of relatively advanced urbanization in southern Gaul. But this situation has well-known parallels in other provinces of the empire, such as Africa.¹¹³ In this study of the first century of the conquest, we are hampered by the vagueness of the chronology, even in the better-known sites. In his publication of the excavations of the western quarter of Ensérune, M. Gallet de Santerre¹¹⁴ has emphasized the difficulty involved in dating alterations which have been recognized in the settlement such as destruction and immediate rebuilding. One may hesitate to date them to the time of the conquest, or the invasion of the Cimbri, or even to a later period—for I refuse to be always looking in the excavations for traces of events historically attested; there were so many other mishaps which could threaten a precarious settlement. Recent excavations have made no new contribution to the debate.

As to the chronology of Glanum, that has still to be worked out. The excavations of the past few years have enabled us to recognize various alterations; in particular, in the area to the south of the meeting house, sometimes called the *bouleuterion*, a large public building with porticoes and colonnades has appeared under the Roman level, and the capitals which have been unearthed have been dated by M. Rolland to the middle of the second century B.C.¹¹⁵ However, we shall have to wait for accurate stratification and more searching analyses before we can be sure. Here we touch on a very important question: what impact did the coming of the Romans have on the conquered regions and on that left under the control of Marseille? What did their civilization look like during the second century B.C. and at the beginning of the first? Was there a complete break? There is good reason to doubt it when one considers the number and distribution of Gallo-Greek inscriptions from the lower Rhône valley which cannot easily be dated back to a very early period.¹¹⁶

The presence of Rome did, however, lead to one change in the history of settlements; the abandonment of the *oppida*.

But here too it is advisable not to be too rigid. The defeat suffered by the Salluvii undoubtedly led to the abandonment of Entremont,¹¹⁷ a site which we feel entitled to call a town because of its size (3½ hectares), its town-planning and the function we think it had. But the existence of the new town established near the springs by Sextius Calvinus was perhaps the real cause. On the other hand, the desertion of Saint-Blaise comes later; it occurred perhaps before the appearance in Transalpine Gaul of imported Arretine ware, but after the beginning of the first century.¹¹⁹ By contrast, at Ensérune, Jannoray has reported finds of Arretine and vases made by the potter Aco,¹¹⁹ and also a smaller quantity of Gallic sigillata pottery from la Graufesenque. As our knowledge of this pottery increases, we shall certainly have a more accurate view of the last period of the site's occupation, if some scholar will take in hand once more the study of the ware discovered long ago, and since Jannoray's publication. Another case has been reported very recently, at Lagaste (Aude), an *oppidum* which was inhabited as early as the first Iron Age, but which assumed importance at the end of the second century: at that period, the buildings extended over the entire hill, and numerous kilns have been found.¹²⁰

While some *oppida* (such as Ambrussum¹²¹ or Montfort at Majolas (Hérault)¹²²) were definitely abandoned before or during the Augustan period, others were not

¹¹³ L. Teutsch, *Das Städtewesen in Nordafrika in der Zeit von C. Gracchus bis zum Tode des Kaisers Augustus* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 5-51.

¹¹⁴ *Rev. arch. de Narbonnaise* i, 1968, pp. 55-6, following J. Jannoray, *Ensérune* pp. 72-3.

¹¹⁵ *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, pp. 434-446 and *Comptes rendus de l'ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 1968, p. 105.

¹¹⁶ P.-M. Duval, 'Inscriptions gallogrecques trouvées en France', *Actes du colloque sur les influences helléniques en Gaule* (Dijon, 1958), pp. 63-9.

¹¹⁷ See above, p. 11, note 81.

¹¹⁸ H. Rolland, *Fouilles de Saint-Blaise* pp. 136-7.

¹¹⁹ J. Jannoray, *Ensérune*, pp. 449-456, 465-6.

¹²⁰ S. Rancoule, 'Ateliers de potiers et céramique indigène au I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.', *Rev. arch. de Narbonnaise* iii, 1970, pp. 33-70.

¹²¹ G. Barraul, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, p. 401; xxix, 1971, pp. 389-390.

¹²² G. Barraul, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, p. 396; xxix, 1971, p. 384.

abandoned until later; examples of this are Montlaurès (Aude),¹²³ Murviels les Montpeliers (Hérault),¹²⁴ Mons-et-Montels,¹²⁵ Gaujac (Gard),¹²⁶ and Saint-Jacques de Cavaillon.¹²⁷ In some cases, the inhabitants left but the site itself was not deserted. Thus, at Chatelard de Lardiers (Alpes de Haute Provence),¹²⁸ a sanctuary was built on the high ground which had been abandoned in favour of the villas or hamlets on the plain; and the same thing happened at Saint-Bonnet de Chirac (Lozère)¹²⁹

A phenomenon on the scale of the abandonment of hill-top sites¹³⁰ could not have taken place everywhere at the same time. This is proved by the three best known examples and by the investigations already cited; and to be convinced one has only to think of the complexity, now better understood, of hill-top occupation and movement down to the plain during the Middle Ages, to imagine how many regional and local variations there were. A movement on this scale and of this importance alters modes of living and even traditional structures; that is, those features of life which are the most enduring, and generally survive accidents of political history and even economic crises, recessions and expansions.

The survival of the *oppida* may not be the only aspect of hill-top settlement to be considered. I will take an example recently brought to my notice by an archaeologist, L. Chabot. Having previously been of the opinion that the site he was excavating at Fognac had been abandoned around 123 B.C. and reoccupied some fifty years later,¹³¹ he now believes that this settlement had a duration of only about fifty years; the evidence revealed by study of the pottery all belongs to the first century B.C. (native pottery studied by P. Arcelin, late Campana ware, lamps, first-century Massaliote coinage, bronzes of the Segusiavi and of Nîmes).¹³² Moreover, traces of more recent human occupation of this relatively poor site are very scanty.

There is another problem posed by the history of the *oppida*, as closely linked as the previous question to the history of urban settlement (which cannot be written independently of a comprehensive view of patterns of settlement); this is the question of what happened to the social groups and individuals who inhabited these sites. Did dispersal take place when movement down to the plain occurred? Or did the inhabitants, like the medieval people of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the feudal structures and new tendencies towards association developed, continue the pattern of living in groups on the plain? The question has rarely been asked, since there is no evidence, but we should bear it in mind if we wish to understand how the Roman province was populated, with its territorial capitals, its subordinate centres, and hamlets or scattered farms which we conjecture, all of types differing according to the regions of the Mediterranean south.

The places where Fonteius began to levy a tax on wine have already been mentioned;¹³³ one might add the case of Forum Voconii (Les Blaies, Var)¹³⁴ which appears in the texts at the same time as Forum Julii (Fréjus), situated on the plain, on what was, or was to become, the course of the road from the Maritime Alps to the Rhône, which was marked out with milestones under Augustus. One thinks too of all the sites with names formed from pre-Indo-European roots or incorporating words of Celtic origin; sites which happen to be mentioned in documents relating to roads, such as the Vicarello goblets, or, later, the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Map.

¹²³ See above, p. 10, note 64.

¹²⁴ H. Gallet de Santerre, *Gallia* xx, 1962, pp. 625-6; xxiv, 1964, p. 494.

¹²⁵ G. Barruol, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, p. 405; xxix; 1971, p. 393.

¹²⁶ See above, p. 10, note 68.

¹²⁷ A. Dumoulin, 'Les puits et fosses de la colline Saint-Jacques à Cavaillon', *Gallia* xxiii, 1965, pp. 1-85; Fr. Salviat, *Gallia* xxv, 1967, p. 375. For Bonpas, add J. Dupoux, *Cahiers lig. de préhist. et d'arch.* vii, 1958, pp. 103-5.

¹²⁸ For G. Barruol's excavations, H. Rolland, *Gallia* xx, 1962, pp. 655-7; xxii, 1964, pp. 545-550; Fr. Salviat, *Gallia* xxv, 1967, pp. 387-393. For the settlement on the plain, *Gallia* xiv, 1956, p. 270; xvi, 1958, pp. 392-9; xviii, 1960, pp. 284-5.

¹²⁹ G. Barruol, *Gallia* xxvii, 1969, pp. 416-17.

¹³⁰ Emphasized for one region, Bittérois, by M. Clavel, *Béziers* cit. (n. 51), pp. 158-160. For the region of Berre, J. Gourvest, 'A propos de la civilisation des *oppida* en Provence occidentale', *Ogam* viii, 1956, pp. 51-62.

¹³¹ L. Chabot, *Revue d'études ligures*, xxxiv, 1968 = *Mélanges F. Benoit*, 151-215. For the location, *Carte arch.*, Fasc. v, *Bouches-du-Rhône* (Paris, 1936), no. 270.

¹³² My thanks are due to the excavator for kindly allowing me to anticipate in the above remarks his publication which is soon to appear.

¹³³ p. 16, note 110.

¹³⁴ Cicero, *Ad Familiares* x, 17, 1; R. Boyer and P.-A. Février, 'Stations routières romaines de Provence', *Rev. d'études ligures* xxv, 1959, pp. 168-178.

A recent epigraphical discovery has drawn attention to the small locality of Bram (Aude), situated half-way between Narbonne and Toulouse; this can now positively be identified as the site of Vicus Eburomagus.¹³⁵ The inscription, belonging to the second century A.D., mentions the presence there of three *magistri* of the *vicus* and the building of a theatre. The structural traces which have been recovered show an extensive settlement covering some 700 m from east to west. For our present purpose, it is more important to note the discovery of a ditch containing amphoras and pottery dating from around the middle of the first century B.C.; in another spot, Arretine ware has been discovered. Sostomagus (Castelnaudary, Aude)¹³⁶ also springs to mind, on the same road leading to Aquitania, a little to the east of the frontier of two *civitates* and of the place called *Fines*.

At the other end of the region in the upper Durance valley, a level site like that of Charges (Hautes-Alpes), was the site of Caturigomagus, attested on the Vicarello goblets and the Itineraries, and a *civitas* capital.¹³⁷ Ebrodunum, Embrun, known to Strabo,¹³⁸ also became a *civitas* capital, and later the metropolis of the Maritime Alps; this site is well protected by the cliff which rises high above the Durance, but access to it is easy from other directions. These two places owe their importance, if not their very existence, to the passage of the road to Mont Genève. Here one cannot speak of a 'Roman' settlement in the first century B.C., for the area was not conquered until the reign of Augustus; but was not a through route already in existence, and did not important villages spring up here too, from the first century B.C.?

This is not the place to dwell at length on the great surge of colonial foundations in the Caesarian and Augustan periods, which was the subject of a study by F. Vittinghoff several years ago.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that recent excavations have endeavoured to clarify certain points of the chronology, and that, in Narbonensis, there is real hope of progress in what is still largely unknown territory.

In his life of Tiberius, Suetonius says that the emperor's father, Ti. Nero, quaestor of Caesar, after the Alexandrian War was 'sent to Gaul to found colonies, including those of Narbonne and Arles'.¹⁴⁰ Beside the establishment of veterans of Legion X at Narbonne, which was already a colony (but a civilian one), and of veterans of Legion VI at Arles (still a centre of only minor importance), there were other foundations at this time, some of them beyond doubt involving the settlement of veterans. The fact that Arles and Narbonne alone bore the title of *Julia Paterna* should not lead us to reject the evidence of Suetonius, even if the use of this title makes it difficult to explain why other possible Caesarian colonies were not honoured in the same way. The search for other Caesarian foundations is complicated by the evidence of Cassius Dio, who states that in 35, and so less than twelve years later,¹⁴¹ Octavian despatched veteran soldiers to Gaul; and in the *Res Gestae*,¹⁴² Augustus claims credit for the creation of veteran colonies. To what period, then, should we date the arrival of the veterans of Legion VII at Béziers, of Legion II at Orange, and of Legion VIII at Fréjus?

In his recent work on Béziers,¹⁴³ M. Clavel points out the difficulty of choosing between 36 and 35. 36 was the year in which Octavian rewarded his former companions in arms; 35 the year in which he sent his longest-serving soldiers to Gaul. This latter date is the one favoured by A. Piganiol.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁵ M. Passelac, 'Le "Vicus Eburomagus", essai de topographie, documents archéologiques', *Rev. arch. de Narbonnaise* iii, 1970, pp. 71-101; M. Gayraud, 'L'inscription de Bram et les toponymes Eburomagus, Hebromagus, Cobiomagus en Gaule méridionale', *ibid.*, pp. 103-114.

¹³⁶ A. Grenier, *Carte arch., Aude*, no. 91, p. 175.

¹³⁷ *CIL*, xii, 78 (with addendum on p. 804), and 81; G. Barroul, *Les peuples préromains* pp. 340-4.

¹³⁸ *Geogr.*, iv, 1, 3.

¹³⁹ F. Vittinghoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus (Akad. der Wissensch. und Lit. zu Mainz, Abh. d. geistes- und*

sozialwiss. Kl. xiv, 1951), pp. 1220-1366. See also J. Kromayer, 'Die Militärkolonien Octavians und Caesars in Gallia Narbonensis', *Hermes* xxi, 1896, pp. 1-18.

¹⁴⁰ Sueton., *Tiberius* 4: 'ad deducendas in Galliam colonias, in quis Narbo et Arelate erant, missus est'.

¹⁴¹ Dio Cass. xlix, 34, 4, and also xlii, 14, 1-2.

¹⁴² *Res Gestae* 28, 1: 'colonias in...Gallia Narbonensi...militum deduxi'.

¹⁴³ Béziers cit. (n. 51), pp. 163-7.

¹⁴⁴ A. Piganiol, *Les documents cadastraux de la colonie romaine d'Orange* (Paris, 1962), pp. 31-2; *id.*, *L'arc d'Orange* pp. 143-153.

Nevertheless, it is tempting to wonder whether other hypotheses might not be possible. Two of the legions which were settled in Gaul, VII and VIII, also took part in *deductiones* by Caesar in Campania, at Casilinum and at Calatia,¹⁴⁵ presumably after the mutinies of 47. Might it not be at this same time, in order to break up certain elements, that Béziers and Fréjus were founded?

In fact, it is possible that many of the uncertainties will be removed when, with the aid of stratigraphical studies, we are in a position to give accurate dates to the earliest stages of these settlements. By this I mean the works which would have been carried out at the time of the actual foundation: the laying out of the main road-axes, the building of the wall, and the consequent levelling and restructuring of the natural landscape or of earlier settlement. But in order to achieve this result, beside emergency excavations carried out hurriedly to preserve the evidence when the modern towns are undergoing changes, we must have more coordinated excavations. We must define a rigorous policy which will at least for a time have as its aim the solution of certain problems of high priority. Only research conducted on these principles will produce results.

I shall, I trust, be pardoned if I dwell a little on a colony with which I am well acquainted: Forum Julii, Fréjus. The site was certainly inhabited very soon after the death of Caesar (the correspondence of Cicero proves it).¹⁴⁶ Was there a colony there, *octavanorum colonia quae pacensis appellatur et classica*,¹⁴⁷ from that date? Or, to judge from the evidence of Tacitus who speaks of the arrival in the harbour of part of the fleet captured at Actium,¹⁴⁸ did the colonization by veterans take place only a few years later? When did the town receive its walls and its main orthogonal axes which can be reconstructed, starting from the western and eastern gates, from traces recovered both some time ago and in recent excavations?

The only attempt so far made to investigate the colony's rampart, in the strict sense, turned out to be disappointing. In the eastern part of the settlement, at the level of the building called la Plate-Forme,¹⁴⁹ the curtain wall runs along the top of a very steep incline. To the west of the wall lay a huge building with central courtyard, which was probably built at a slightly later date; one of its wings was reserved for residential use (with peristyle, baths, reception rooms); the other sides of the courtyard consisted of rooms and open spaces. In order to eliminate the natural slope of the ground, the architects removed earth from the eastern part of the hill and built up the western side, which had the effect of destroying whatever stratigraphy might have existed behind the rampart; in any case, no level earlier than this building has yet been discovered. As for the actual date of the building of la Plate-Forme, this is rather uncertain, because the earth brought to build up the level of the ground has proved comparatively unproductive. Moreover, Chr. Goudineau does not consider that the fragments of Arretine found in this deposit can be dated earlier than the end of the first century B.C.

Another building, La Butte Saint-Antoine, dominates the harbour, to the west; only preliminary soundings have been carried out here.¹⁵⁰ Now that its site has for the most part been bought by the State, one can hope that excavations will establish the date of the earlier structures demolished when the terrace was built up, and of the new buildings, which were arranged around a central courtyard, as at la Plate-Forme. Meanwhile, we must make do with the information provided by the coinage of Lepidus (44-42 B.C.) and pottery imported from Arezzo. If one accepts the most recent dating,¹⁵¹ it is difficult to place the principal types recognized beneath this levelling of the ground (Goudineau's types 15-18) before 15-10 B.C. Nevertheless, I think we should take account of the fact that the dates of the levels of the Forum Romanum and of Bolsena have not yet been firmly supported by the coinage. Moreover,

¹⁴⁵ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Vita Caes.* 31 (= *Fragm. Griech. Historiker* ii, A, 90); see also *Dizionario eplgr. di antichità romane* iv (Rome, 1949), s.v. legio.

¹⁴⁶ *Ad Familiares* x, 15, 3; 17, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Pliny, *Hist. nat.* iii, v (iv), 35.

¹⁴⁸ Tacitus, *Annales* iv, 5.

¹⁴⁹ P.-A. Février, 'Fouilles à la Plate-Forme de

Forum Julii, en 1960-61', *Gallia* xx, 1962, pp. 177-203.

¹⁵⁰ P.-A. Février, 'Fouilles à la citadelle méridionale de Forum Julii en 1965', *Gallia* xiv, 1956, pp. 35-53.

¹⁵¹ Chr. Goudineau, *La céramique arétine lisse* (Paris, 1968) (= *Fouilles de l'école franç. de Rome à Bolsena*), pp. 277-309. See also the comments of E. Ettlinger, *Germania* xlix, 1971, pp. 265-271.

information provided by the military sites on the Rhine and adjacent rivers only proves in strict logic the existence, in a given place at a given time, of a certain class of pottery or a particular type. One cannot deduce from this the date of the appearance at Arezzo or elsewhere of similar types. We shall acknowledge even more that doubts can remain when, as is very often the case with Arretine ware, it is a question of comparing parallel types, very similar but not identical, which are differentiated by minute details. The

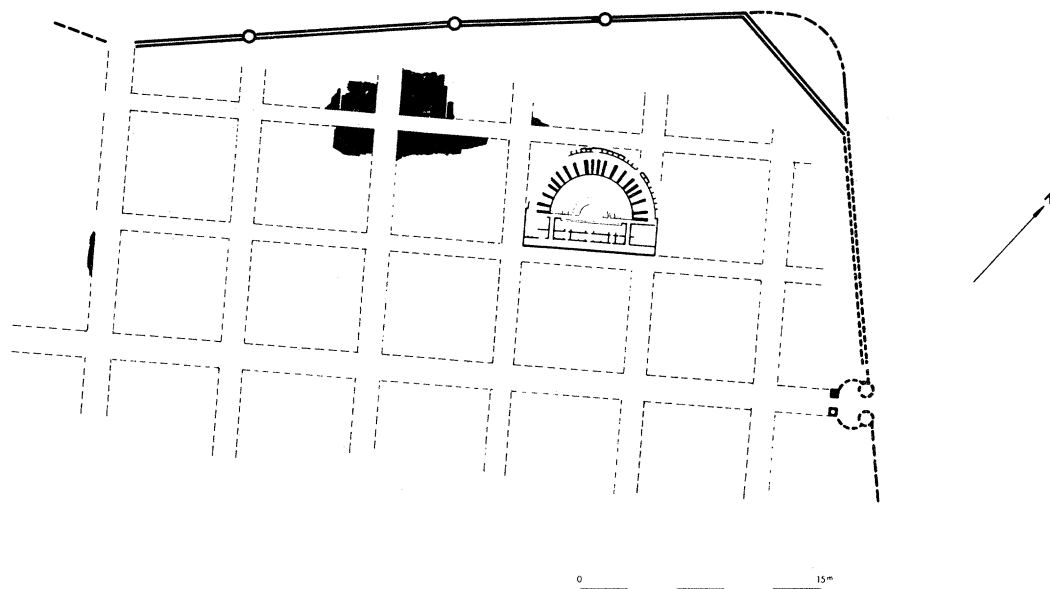


FIG. 3. FRÉJUS: RESTORED PLAN OF EASTERN QUARTER AFTER THE LATEST EXCAVATIONS

urgent need, in my opinion, is to try on each occasion and on each individual site, to work out a chronology, and to produce a systematic classification of pottery types. As the excavations of Bolsena have shown, it is by the convergence of such researches that the chronology of sites will become clear and that, at the same time, our knowledge will become more authoritative of a class of ware which is still one of the best studied of those from the Mediterranean basin in the Roman period.

In the final analysis, to express my view in the form of a paradox (and not at all to favour Fréjus, which is only one of many places where one might try to solve these problems): it is not the study of the pottery, related to discoveries made elsewhere, which will enable us to write the history of the site; rather, it is the dialectic of research which will lead to a clarification of both these unknowns: the development of pottery and the growth of towns.

But let us end this digression and return to the towns. The latest excavations at Fréjus¹⁵² have shown that the establishment of a colony and the arrival of veterans, numerous though they might be, did not always mean that there was occupation of the whole area within the walls of the colony.

Of the ancient town, we know the main east-west axis, determined by the gates, known as the Gate of Rome and the Gate of the Gauls; we also know the northern part of the *cardo maximus*.¹⁵³ In the grounds of the Clos du Chapitre, the campaigns of 1970-72 unearthed the intersection of a secondary *cardo* and *decumanus*, and one part of the four *insulae* thus determined. The course of a second *cardo* has also just been located, adjoining the western end of the theatre. The two most northerly *insulae* were

¹⁵² P.-A. Février, M. Janon and Cl. Waroquaux, 'Fouilles du clos du chapitre à Fréjus (Var)', *Comptes rendus de l'Ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1972, pp. 355-381.

¹⁵³ Plan and earlier bibliography in P.-A. Février, *Forum Julii*, (Cuneo, 1963) (*Itinéraires ligures*, no. 13).

adjacent to the rampart, from which they were separated by a strip of land of some sort, or a street; so here we are at the edge of the town. The original state of the quarter is easily recognized. A wide *cardo* (15 m) and a narrower *decumanus* (9 m) each with a simple gravel metalling, intersected one another. Along both sides of the *cardo*, to the south, lay houses; only the plan of the northern part of the eastern house is clear. Various rooms opened, to the east and to the south, on to a courtyard, presumably without a portico. The original house to the west has survived later

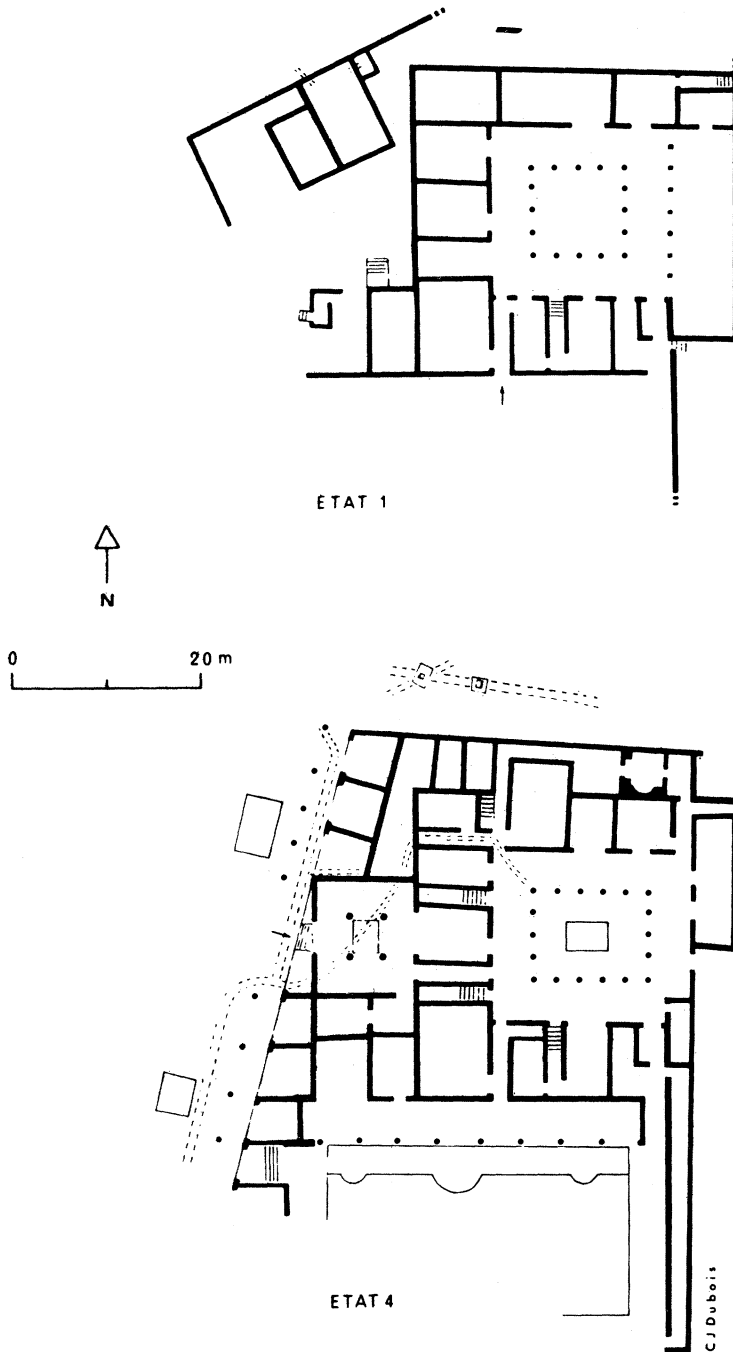


FIG. 4. VAISON, HOUSE OF THE DOLPHIN: 1. FIRST PHASE. 2. FINAL PHASE



FIG. 5. FRÉJUS: EXCAVATIONS IN THE NORTH-EASTERN QUARTER, SHOWING FINAL PHASE (ABOVE), AND FIRST PHASE (BELOW)

alterations less well, but the ancient walls, made of uncut blocks jointed with clay, have been recognized in several trenches (Fig. 5 with Pl. III, 2).

The date of this first stage of the settlement has been provided by sections cut in the streets and in the western *insula*. Large quantities of earth had been brought to create a relatively level area on which to build. Hollows of more than 1.50 m originally existed between sandstone outcrops; they were filled in with purplish-coloured earth mixed with fragments of sandstone or local dolerite. In this primary deposit was found Arretine pottery; the fragments which have been studied are no earlier than the last

decade of the first century B.C. Thus, the quarter could not have received its first inhabitants before about 5 B.C. at the earliest, if not a few years later.

Yet the formal establishment of the colony dates back at least thirty years earlier. As the network of new streets appears to be strictly at right angles or parallel to the main axes, the original plan can be pictured as very exact, precisely marked out inside the town wall, or its projected line. This outline plan seems to have been filled up only as the growth of the town demanded it; progress was accelerated by a relatively high birth-rate, or by the arrival of local natives, or by both these things at once. One can also suppose the arrival of fresh contingents of colonists, a hypothesis which A. Piganiol did not rule out in his study of the inscription of the Arch at Orange.¹⁵⁴ However that may be, it would have needed thirty years for the 40 hectares originally envisaged to be occupied. And even then it was probably not occupied completely, for the recent excavations have been concerned only with the north-east quarter of the city; to the north-west, on the sandstone outcrops next to the amphitheatre, it seems that not all the ground was built on.

On reflection, this conclusion is only what we should expect in a new town, and it is likely that excavations carried out in the other colonies will give us a dynamic view of their origin too.

Information on most of the other new towns in southern Gaul¹⁵⁵ is still too sparse. We are better informed now about certain monuments, such as the Arch at Orange or the mausoleum at Glanum,¹⁵⁶ but many others, including the cryptoporticus at Arles,¹⁵⁷ are awaiting detailed publication or even a brief fresh study. There is some new information to be noted, which throws light on certain aspects of urban history and indicates possible lines of advance, even in subjects which were thought to be well explored, or where all hope had been abandoned.

G. Barraol has resumed the study of Apt, which was a *civitas* capital.¹⁵⁸ In Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, Apt appears as an *oppidum latinum*—Apta Julia Vulgientium¹⁵⁹—and the inscriptions give it colonial status,¹⁶⁰ yet the town did not originate with a *deductio* of veterans. Was this a Caesarian or Augustan foundation whose inhabitants were civilian citizens joined by natives? Or was it rather a native town elevated to colonial rank at some point in the first century later than the source used by Pliny? The question remains unresolved, if only because of the type of magistrate there: they were *quattuorviri*.¹⁶¹ However that may be, beneath the course of the settlement's medieval streets, Barraol has recently reconstructed the regular street-grid of the city, using the cadastral surveys of 1779 and 1830.

We have a less clear idea of the topography of Vaison, a native town which retained its peregrine status.¹⁶² One part of this capital of the confederation of the Vocontii¹⁶³ is hidden beneath modern development on the right bank of the Ouvèze. Moreover, the street-plan which Sautel recovered in his excavations is very irregular, and so fails to provide the basis for a reconstruction founded on what is known. What is more, the soundings carried out by Goudineau and Liou¹⁶⁴ have shown that the development of the town was more complex than was thought, but above all was not beyond recovery¹⁶⁵ despite excessive restoration, which has turned Vaison into a tourist attraction at the cost of some considerable adulteration.

¹⁵⁴ A. Piganiol, *L'arc d'Orange* cit. (n. 3), p. 147.

¹⁵⁵ Owing to the geographical limits of this article, I cannot here consider the neighbouring site of *Albintimilium*; thanks to the excavations of N. Lamboglia, it is the one site where one can follow the development in the late republican and early imperial periods, and it cannot be neglected in any discussion of Southern Gaul.

¹⁵⁶ See above, notes 3 and 4. In addition, J. Bouchet, *Les antiques (l'arc et le mausolée de Glanum)* (Gap, 1969).

¹⁵⁷ Plan published by F. Benoit, *Arts et Livres de Provence* iv, 1957, pp. 41-7.

¹⁵⁸ G. Barraol, 'Essai sur la topographie d'Apta Julia', *Rev. arch. de Narbonnaise* i, 1968, pp. 101-158, followed by a study of the theatre, pp. 159-200. See also the same author, *Les peuples préromains* cit.

(n. 92), pp. 276-7.

¹⁵⁹ *Hist. nat.* iii, v (iv), 36.

¹⁶⁰ *CIL* xii, 1005, 1114, 1116, 1118, 1120.

¹⁶¹ *CIL* xii, 1119; cf. 1114, 1116, 1120.

¹⁶² Plan published by J. Sautel: *Carte arch. de la Gaule rom.*, fasc. vii, Vaucluse (Paris, 1939); with text, no. 88, pp. 50-99.

¹⁶³ Pliny, *Hist. nat.* iii, v (iv), 'Vocontiorum civitatis foederatae duo capita: Vasio et Lucus Augusti', Pomponius Mela, *Chor.* ii, 5, 75.

¹⁶⁴ B. Liou, 'La maison du Dauphin à Vaison-la-romaine', *Comptes rendus de l'ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 1971, pp. 286-301.

¹⁶⁵ See the attempt by R. Ginouvès, 'Remarques sur l'architecture domestique à Vaison', *Rev. arch.* xxxiv, 1949, pp. 58-65.

No trace has yet been found either of the *oppidum* of the Vocontii or of the settlement on the plain of this people who earned from Rome the title of *civitas foederata*¹⁶⁶ and the right to some degree of autonomy:¹⁶⁷ we may recall in passing that the non-Roman status of the tribe did not prevent and perhaps actually permitted the attainment of equestrian honours by certain of its most illustrious members under the Julio-Claudians.¹⁶⁸

Beneath the house of the Dolphin which had been excavated by Sautel and restored, extensive soundings have brought to light an earlier building with rooms grouped around a peristyle; this building was presumably part of a more extensive complex, in the form of a large irregular enclosure with several small utilitarian buildings adjoining it, as in the earliest houses of Fréjus. In this primary phase, there were no walls of small regularly cut stone ('petit appareil') and the uncut blocks were jointed with poor-quality brittle mortar. There is thus a good chance that this first phase dates back to the Augustan period and, according to the latest observations of the excavators, to the years 30-20 B.C. (cf. above, Fig. 4).

Hope of greater knowledge of the city has been increased by a parallel study which has been made, by other methods, on the mosaics.¹⁶⁹ J. Lassus began by analysing the pavements which had been discovered at a much earlier date; he was thus compelled to proceed by establishing a comparative series from other mosaics of the Roman world, in particular those of Rome. He was perfectly well aware of the dangers of this method, but it remains the only possible approach pending the resumption of excavation or while such methods remain impracticable. Lassus has pointed out similarities in technique between the craftsmen of Vaison and those of Rome, and has concluded that 'it is impossible, on this basis, to suggest a substantial time-interval between the mosaics of Vaison and those of the Palatine'. The possibility of archaism or provincial tastes at Vaison is certainly not ruled out, but the excavations of the house of the Dolphin and the conclusions of a specialist in mosaics both point in the same direction, to the importance of the Augustan period at Vaison.

As a change from looking exclusively at the early years of towns which appeared at the beginning of the empire, I shall take a final example from a more distant region, the Maritime Alps; and in doing so, I shall rely on a different type of evidence. In 1956, the discovery was recorded at Carnuntum of a funerary stele of a soldier of Legion XV Apollinaris, whose place of origin was [*G*]lanat(e).¹⁷⁰ This text dates from the Claudian period, and one can deduce from it that the town from which this soldier came received its rights of citizenship under Claudius himself. This is a valuable piece of evidence for the Romanization of these Alpine valleys, which are so little known that we cannot always be sure how early we should date the *civitas* capitals which appear from time to time in late texts, the Itineraries or episcopal lists. All trace of the ancient town has disappeared, concealed by the terraces or by the very heavy alluvial deposits of the Var; similarly, the ruins of Digne have vanished, and those of Riez, at the confluence of the Colostre and the Ouvestre, are only partly visible.¹⁷¹

These towns, which were created in various ways or underwent changes in their status or configuration under Augustus or a little later, did not cease to undergo further modifications. But though this process of change is now well established, and the idea of it accepted by the historians, it is nonetheless true that the highlights of this process—indeed their very existence—still escape us, as do the similarities and differences between different towns in this region which is so varied in its character.

¹⁶⁶ On the Vocontii, G. Barrauol, *Les peuples pré-romains* cit. pp. 282-294.

¹⁶⁷ Strabo iv, 6, 4.

¹⁶⁸ Sex. Afranius Burrus: H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut empire romain* i, (Paris, 1960), pp. 30-33, no. 13.

¹⁶⁹ J. Lassus, 'Remarques sur les mosaïques de Vaison-la-Romaine', *Gallia* xxviii, 1970, pp. 35-66 and xxix, 1971, pp. 45-72.

¹⁷⁰ A. Betz, *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* 1956, pp. 65-8;

N. Lamboglia, *Rev. d'ét. lig.* xxiv, 1958, pp. 350-3; H.-G. Pflaum, *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* 1961-62, p. 88. With the example of Glandève, one may compare the new document from Aime: M. Leglay, 'Quelques données nouvelles sur les routes des Alpes et leur trafic', *Actes du colloque international sur les cols des Alpes* (Bourg-en-Bresse, 1969), pp. 121-3.

¹⁷¹ H. Rolland, *Gallia* xiv, 1956, pp. 55-63; Fr. Salviat, *ibid.* xxv, 1967, pp. 391-5 and xxviii, 1970, pp. 448-451.

Leaving aside the monuments created by the munificence of individuals or groups (though there would be a subject for thought if many of them were dated) I would like more particularly to draw attention to the interiors of the towns, and the changes which took place in them.¹⁷²

Let us return to Vaison and to the quarter of Villasse, in the house of the Dolphin. The original dwelling underwent changes of detail during the first century. But a fundamental change took place at the end of that century. The plan of the rooms which were arranged around the central peristyle was modified, and to this peristyle was added an atrium—a curious archaism but one that is not without parallel in our sources as M. Heurgon has pointed out.¹⁷³ This atrium linked the house with a colonnaded street which now cut across the garden and its adjacent buildings; shops were opened along this new road. In this work, the masons used small regularly cut stone ('petit appareil'), quite different from the technique used a century earlier.

What is observed here at Vaison is confirmed by the excavations at Fréjus; here, too, it was at the end of the first century or the beginning of the second that the final form of the houses was determined—though certain modifications were made later. The appearance of the streets was altered, their width being reduced by the extension of the houses. A final detail for comparison: the walls of these new houses were made of small regularly cut stone ('petit appareil') jointed with mortar.

In the early years of the second half of the first century,¹⁷⁴ a trench was dug out, right in the middle of the *cardo*, to carry a main sewer, which collected the waste from the buildings on both sides of the cross-roads, at which point there was an inspection hole; the drain continued southwards. Once the trench had been filled in again, the level of the street was raised. It has been possible, moreover, to trace the various extra loads of gravel or rubble, and the ruts caused by erosion which had to be regularly filled in. It was not until a few years later, that the owners of the two houses that lay to the east and west of the southern section of the *cardo* rebuilt their houses partly at the expense of the streets.

The laying of a sewer at an advanced stage of development is an interesting point to note in a town where, in the earliest days, the water supply had depended on wells and complex systems of collecting rainwater.¹⁷⁵ We know from another part of the site that the aqueduct is of a later date than the city wall:¹⁷⁶ it either demolished or made use of the rampart wall, while in places the architects perched the channel on arches over the wall. Supplying the town with all the accompaniments of a more regular water supply, a drainage system, and the discharge of waste water, was a gradual achievement. It is thus very clear that technical advances were being made throughout the first century. Accordingly we must ask the same questions for towns such as Arles, Aix or Nîmes, which had one or more aqueducts, and we must resist the temptation to date the tapping of the springs and the building of the aqueducts to the early days of the *deductio* or to the time when the settlement was first established.

A third town of Narbonensis is going, in the coming years, to contribute important information on the urbanization of the region. The excavations carried out at Saint-Romain-en-Gal,¹⁷⁷ on the right bank of the Rhône, have brought to light a vast quarter of Gallo-Roman Vienne, which thus spread over both sides of the river. For the two hectares so far excavated, this is the summary of results: three main streets, paved, and a secondary street; a dozen houses, some with important mosaics surviving in them; some commercial buildings. The excavators have had to move fast to save the land and secure its purchase, but already a number of preliminary soundings

¹⁷²For Aix, P.-A. Février, *Le développement urbain* cit. (n. 1), pp. 38-9.

¹⁷³Commenting on the communication by B. Liou, *Comptes rendus de l'ac. des Insc. et Belles-Lettres* 1971, pp. 300-1.

¹⁷⁴In the earthen fill of the trench carrying the sewer, sherds of the form Ritterling 12 were found in abundance, but not one of Dragendorff 37.

¹⁷⁵See *Gallia* xx, 1962, p. 183. Since then, the connections have been traced between the four tanks

placed in the corners of the courtyard and the pipes which discharged into the well.

¹⁷⁶P.-A. Février, 'Les appareils des murs romains de Fréjus', *Rev. d'ét. ligures* xxii, 1956, pp. 153-184; though the article needs to be substantially rewritten after the excavations of the past few years.

¹⁷⁷M. Leglay and S. Tourenç, *Archeologia*, no. 26, 1969, pp. 18-29; id., *Saint-Romain-en-Gal* (Lyon, 1970); M. Leglay, *Gallia* xxvi, 1968, pp. 580-3; xxix, 1971, pp. 421-5.

have enabled us to determine various alterations to the plans of houses, in a quarter which was occupied from the first century (Pl. IV). But the absence of published stratigraphical evidence makes greater accuracy impossible.

Information of a different type is provided by a town at the other end of Narbonensis: Toulouse. In the Middle Ages, the city remained protected by a rampart, which described, on the right bank of the Garonne, the arc of a circle, about 3 km in length; this wall continued along the river for nearly 1 km. The area thus enclosed amounts to some 90 hectares. M. Labrousse has re-examined this structure of which the fragments, already known or from time to time dug up, have given rise to great controversy; people have even gone so far as to suggest that this vast defensive structure is a work of the Visigothic period. Labrousse has drawn attention to the homogeneity of the structure and to the technical quality of the small regularly-cut stonework ('petit appareil') with tile courses.¹⁷⁸ There is still uncertainty about the date, because archaeologists have not yet had the good fortune to find undisturbed strata along the course of the wall. My provisional hypothesis is that the main work dates from the second half of the second century or the beginning of the third. I have suggested that it could have been started at the time when the town received its colonial status, or in the years following this.¹⁷⁹

The example of Toulouse takes us further on in time, and focusses attention on the Severan period. At this time,¹⁸⁰ as it happens, and in the years following it, there are signs of a transformation in the history of urban development in southern Gaul, which is beginning to be noted in other parts of the country too.¹⁸¹

F. Benoit has unearthed on the site of Cemenelum (Cimiez, Nice) a quarter consisting of baths and several streets;¹⁸² a number of walls belonging to earlier buildings have been uncovered, but most of the buildings, in particular the various bathing establishments, date from the end of the second or from the third century, the period when, as P.-M. Duval has shown, the amphitheatre was enlarged.¹⁸³ As bad luck would have it, we have come across, not a residential quarter, but an area at the extreme north-west of the town, where public buildings were concentrated: the amphitheatre, baths, and the *schola* built by veterans settled in the town when Julius Honoratus was governor of the province.

The comparison between the northern baths of Cimiez (that is, the building previously called the temple of Apollo) and the baths of the 'Porte dorée' at Fréjus, brings us back to Narbonensis, but to a building already well known and discussed. Moreover, we have moved on from the discussion of residential quarters to that of public buildings. Admittedly, there would be some danger in writing a history of urban development based on public buildings alone; but when the study of residential quarters reveals this continuous process of change—no doubt with variations in pace according to place and region—and shows that the various public buildings conformed to the same pattern of development, then one must draw the conclusion that this is more than a matter of chance: civic generosity and luxurious buildings on the one hand, modifications to the plans of towns and houses on the other, all are expressions of the same evolutionary process. And behind this evolution, there is an economic and social history to be reconstructed.

Thus, Narbonensis and the Maritime Alps, and no doubt the Cottian Alps too, saw their urban landscape undergoing varying degrees of change. Very probably, the importance of the settlements changed, too; but on this last point, we shall continue to exercise caution. Before the excavations of the last three years, one hardly dared claim,

¹⁷⁸ M. Labrousse, *Toulouse antique* pp. 237-290.

¹⁷⁹ *Rev. d'études ligures*, xxxv, 1969.

¹⁸⁰ P.-A. Février, *Le développement urbain...*, pp. 40-3 (dealing essentially with the Alpes Maritimes and the nearby regions).

¹⁸¹ For example: R. Etienne, *Bordeaux antique* (Bordeaux, 1962), pp. 193-6; P.-M. Duval, *Paris antique* (Paris, 1961), p. 169.

¹⁸² F. Benoit, *Gallia* viii, 1950, p. 130; xiv, 1956, p. 234; xvi, 1958, pp. 440-6; xviii, 1960, pp. 322-4; xx, 1962, pp. 709-713; xxii, 1964, pp. 590-607; xxv,

1967, pp. 429-433; xxvii, 1969, pp. 456-7; *Comptes rendus de l'ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 1962, pp. 207-219; *Mélanges A. Piganiol* (Paris, 1966), pp. 369-382; *Bull. de la soc. nat. des ant. de France* 1966, pp. 191-7; *Nice et Cimiez antiques* (Paris, 1968), pp. 32-49; Chr. Goudineau, *Gallia*, xxix, 1971, pp. 462-4.

¹⁸³ P.-M. Duval, *Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Cemenelum (1943)* *Gallia*, iv, 1948, pp. 103-121.

even if one guessed it from the evidence of the public buildings, that Fréjus was still an important town in the fourth century, and that its harbour could owe its importance to something other than the arrival of the fleet from Actium. After the most recent excavations, one is encouraged to restore to the town a political role (as territorial capital) and an economic role (through its harbour). It is no longer possible to say that the departure of the fleet, if it took place, marked the beginning of a decline. Similarly, to take another type of settlement, in a native town in the Rhône valley, the capital of the Helvii, a recent inscription¹⁸⁴ has opportunely demonstrated the role of the corporations and focussed attention once more on the patron of the wine merchants of Lyon, Marcus Inthatus Vitalis, who was called to take his seat in the local senate of Alba.¹⁸⁵ Here is an indication of the economic ties and activities of the region. In this native town, which was undoubtedly inhabited even before the Augustan period, excavations are beginning to reveal buildings constructed on the same alignment and regular streets. Here, too, the work is only just beginning, but, if it is carried on energetically, it will bring to our knowledge a town which, only a few years ago, was quite obscure.

It is time to conclude this rapid survey of new evidence, the fruit of a decade of excavations. It must be a very provisional conclusion, since it seems to me beyond doubt that an acceleration in the growth of our knowledge is taking place—perhaps because there are now more of us. But there is also a change in the method of tackling the problems. The publication of recent excavations often demonstrates that the static view of the early empire, which was still held fifty years ago, has been superseded by concern to reveal a dynamic process, and by the requirement of greater insight into the complexity of the evidence. It remains no less true that a critical assessment of the methods available to archaeology has often still to be made.

To a history of the Roman towns is being added a protohistory, and even a prehistory, of nucleated settlement. On a history of the towns based on texts and monuments is being superimposed an archaeology which relies heavily both on stratigraphy, which one would like to see becoming more and more rigorous, and on analysis of the evidence of material culture which becomes richer year by year, but, by the same token, becomes more difficult to grasp in its entirety.

It is important that this history of the towns should be supplemented by a history of all settlements and their connections,¹⁸⁶ and, finally, of the whole of human occupation of the land, whether nucleated or scattered across a countryside which has the city as its political, social, economic, cultural and religious centre.

This article has done no more than summarize information contributed recently by colleagues and friends. It has given the author an opportunity to take stock, and to put in writing—after his lecture at the meeting of Tuesday, 6 June, 1972—what he has been thinking, more or less confusedly, over the last few years. He hopes that this will also prove useful to others.

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¹⁸⁴ M. Leglay, 'Autour des corporations d'Alba', *Bull. de la soc. nat. des Ant. de France* 1964, pp. 140-150; id., *Comptes rendus de l'ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* 1964, pp. 401-5. For the site, id., *Fédération hist. du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon*,

XLIV^e congrès Vivarais et Languedoc (Montpellier, 1972), pp. 55-60.

¹⁸⁵ *CIL* xiii, 1954.

¹⁸⁶ I gave a preliminary account in my contribution to the Colloquium on 'The City' held at Strasbourg in October, 1971.