

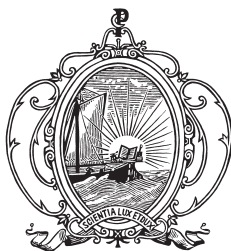
COLLOQUIA ANTIQUA

— 4 —

FROM THE PILLARS OF HERCULES TO THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE ARGONAUTS

Edited by

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GREEKS, CELTS AND LIGURIANS IN SOUTH-EAST GAUL: ETHNICITY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Sophie COLLIN BOUFFIER and Dominique GARCIA

Abstract

The study of pre-Roman Provençal peoples has not been subject to re-examination in the recent syntheses concerning south-east Gaul. By associating a critical historical approach with the philological and archaeological data, the authors seek to show that the Celts, Galatae and Ligurians of this region were the product of contingent historical, social, political and economic processes, in which Greek merchants and colonists, and among others Sicilian Greeks, played a determinant role.

Recent syntheses concerning the Celtic Mediterranean,¹ or south-east Gaul,² present lucid analyses of material culture, the dynamic nature of Mediterranean exchange networks, the rise of the urban phenomenon, and the impact of humans on the natural environment. On the other hand, since the pioneering work of Guy Barraol,³ the study of pre-Roman Provençal peoples has not been subject to re-examination. Modern anthropological perspectives allow us to clarify the development of these pre-literate populations.⁴ It is this approach that we wish to develop here, associating a critical historical approach with the philological and archaeological data. The Celts and Ligurians of south-east Gaul are analysed, not as immutable entities, nor as stable divisions of humanity, but as the product of historical contingencies: social, political and economic processes in which the Greek merchants and colonists played a determining role.

PEOPLE, CULTURES AND NATIONALISM

In 19th-century Europe, the development of ethnic nationalism involved a degenerate use of a large number of ethnonyms based on ancient or mediaeval

¹ Py 1993; Garcia 2004.

² Chausserie-Laprée 2000.

³ Barraol 1969.

⁴ Poutignat and Streiff-Fenart 1995; Amselle and M'Bokolo 1985.

written sources.⁵ A large proportion of 20th-century European historical discourse was guided by this limited approach to the history of peoples. Indeed, one concept of civilisation, which was common at the end of the 19th century, was directly applied by researchers such as Heinrich Schliemann, or Arthur J. Evans within Minoan or Mycenaean archaeology. However, following the publication of Edward B. Tylor's work,⁶ which formulated the equation that a people is constituted of one culture or one territory, the concept of culture was defined as the diffusion of objects associated with such a culture ('guiding fossils' constituting whole or part of the 'material culture'), a culture that corresponded to one 'people', and was representative of invasion, migration or conquest. This analysis could lead to the development of nationalist discourses, or even racist ones, such as those of Gustaf Kossinna: 'Cultural regions well defined by archaeological material always coincide with tribes, or a particular people.'⁷

For protohistory, it was the Frenchman Gabriel de Mortillet who, during an excursion as part of the 5th Congress of Anthropology and of Prehistoric Archaeology at Bologna in 1871, identified some 'Gauls' in Marzabotto (Emilia-Romagna) through a comparison of the weapons and ornaments from the necropolis (swords, iron lances and bronze fibulae) with the material found in the Champagne region.⁸ He thus 'invented' Celtic archaeology. Agreeing with him, the Swede Hans Hildebrand proposed a terminology for the European Iron Age in 1874.⁹ Two distinct chronological phases were identified, the Early and the Late, with which two geographically distinct archaeological cultures were associated: Hallstatt in Austria and La Tène in Switzerland. It is amusing to note that the development of the La Tène culture in the north of the Alpine arc is attributed to the influence of Greek Massalia (Marseilles). In France, Joseph Déchelette in his *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique, Celtique et Gallo-Romaine*,¹⁰ is more explicit about the definition of this culture, which seemed to him to come from Hallstatt. He went on to evaluate its expansion through the distribution of archaeological material, and associated this with the notion of a civilisation; in this instance, that of the Celts and the Gauls as developed by Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville in his book *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe*.¹¹ Déchelette considered that the Celtic homeland was located in the Upper Danube basin, whereas Camille Jullian¹² considered their

⁵ Cf. the recent work by the American mediaeval historian P.J. Geary (2002).

⁶ Tyler 1924.

⁷ Kossina 1911, *passim*.

⁸ Kruta 1999, 53.

⁹ Hildebrand 1874, 592.

¹⁰ Déchelette 1927.

¹¹ Arbois de Jubainville 1894.

¹² Jullian 1909, 101.

origin to be in northern Germany and the Danish peninsula and islands, and across to the coasts of the North Sea. Little by little, the Celts were defined as a pan-European people whose origins were situated in the northern Alpine arc. As a result of invasions and migrations, they moved out over a great part of Central and Western Europe, whilst ancient written sources¹³ only mention the expansion of certain groups towards the Italian Peninsula, the central Danube and the Balkans. Movements of Celtic populations towards the Atlantic, the British Isles, southern Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula, which are still evoked today, unfortunately, were assumptions unsupported by the written evidence and largely contradicted by archaeology, assumptions which emphasise the power of Celtic peoples; these would have destroyed primitive tribes, in particular the Ligurians. Within this extremely ideological discourse, south-eastern Gaul appeared as a liminal zone, both geographically and culturally, whose barbarian tribes were colonised by the Greeks from 600 BC, and then by the Celts from the 4th century BC.

CELTS AND GALATAE

The current etymological assessments of the term *Keltike* do not suggest a Celtic origin for the word. It is most likely that during the Early Iron Age, and even later, most of the Celtic populations of Central and Western Europe did not consider themselves as 'Celtic' and certainly did not feel that they belonged to such a broad group. Yet in 1987, Colin Renfrew¹⁴ drew attention to the importance of a passage by Strabo (4. 1. 14):

This, then, is what I have to say about the people who inhabit the dominion of Narbonitis, whom the men of former times named 'Celtae'; and it was from the Celtae, I think, that the Galatae as a whole were by the Greeks called 'Celti' on account of the fame of the Celtae, or it may also be that the Massiliotes, as well as other Greek neighbours, contributed to this result, on account of their proximity.

He then stressed that it is completely plausible that the first barbarians to have had contacts with the Greek population in the colony of Massalia belonged to a tribe whose ethnonym was *Keltoi* or its equivalent. The Greeks would have then extended the use of this term to all the barbarians in this area. This implies indeed that it was not the inhabitants who defined themselves as *Celts*, but this ethnonym was imposed from outside the group.

¹³ For example Livy *History* Book 5.

¹⁴ Renfrew 1987, 264.

Indeed, as a part of the interest in the semantic analysis and the origins of the word, Greek geographers and historians sought to explain the names of the people in Gaul, Iberia and Germany. The explanations were generally founded on an original myth, based on legendary characters, or on a linguistic interpretation of a particular term. In all of these cases, it was a question of incorporating the realities of other peoples' characteristics into the Greek perception of the world, to recover that which appeared to be beyond their view of the world.

Both the Celt and Galate ethnic groups were assimilated at least with one other from the 1st century BC onwards; a notable instance of this was Caesar's *Gallic Wars*: '...a people called in their own tongue Celtae, in Latin Galli...' (1. 1). According to our documentation, from the 5th century BC onwards, the Greek tradition proposed an explanation of these terms, and this interpretation continued to diversify until the Byzantine period.

There was first an etymological definition of the word Celt, and according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who has produced an inventory of all of the known etymologies of 'Celtos' (*Roman Antiquities* 14. 1. 3):

There are also some who say that when the first Greeks came to this region their ships, driven by a violent wind, came to land in the Gallic Gulf, and that the men upon reaching shore called the country Celsika (*Kelsikê*) because of their experience. Later generations, through changing one letter, called it 'Celtica'.

The noun would have its origins in a Greek pun based on the Greek verb *kellein*, which means to reach the shore: the aorist, which evoked the moment when Greeks arrived at the shore is *ekelsan*, from which the qualifying adjective was derived. This employed the radical of the word *-kels*, the desinence of the aorist, *-s-*, and the suffix *-ikos*, which was used for the formation of ethnic names.¹⁵ This explanation is related to maritime vocabulary, and has parallels in the etymology of the word Massalia, as proposed by Timaeus during the 4th century BC. Here a local fisherman, *halieus*, was asked by the Phocaeen pilot to moor the boat, *Massai* (*FGH* 3B, no. 566, F72, p. 622, *apud* Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Massalia).

In this version, which we have recently supported elsewhere,¹⁶ Celtic is thus perceived as a space that extended from the north-western Mediterranean littoral towards the interior of continental European. Thus, we can see how this view is diametrically opposed to that privileged by recent historiography, where the Celtic civilisation is presented as endemic to Central Europe, an

¹⁵ Chantraine 1956, 102–05.

¹⁶ Garcia 2004.

origin from which successive migrations occurred – a view which contradicts many archaeological hypotheses.

Other traditional Greek versions have much more ideological foundations. The most apparently neutral of these is that considered by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*FGH* 3B, no. 566, F72, p. 622, *apud* Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Massalia): ‘The whole country is called by the Greeks by the common name *Celtika* (*Celsike*) according to some, from a giant Celtus who ruled there.’ This is comparable with the myths known for the barbarian regions, where strange rulers, with non-Greek physical and behavioural characteristics, were often fought by Greek heroes. Thus in Heracles’ journey through Libya, Iberia, Sicily and Greece, he confronted giants, or monsters, such as Antaeus, Eryx, Lacinius and Croton.¹⁷ Faced with a reality that eluded them, the Greeks developed an alternative image of the other that was more or less belligerent and at the same time accessible in their conceptual discourse. This myth has allowed some to develop anthropological interpretations. Colette Jourdain-Annequin observed, from her readings of the works of Jean-Pierre Vernant, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Marcel Detienne, that the limits of *oikoumene* (inhabited land) are comparable with *eschatiai* (borders) of the civic territories, uncultivated fallow grounds and *agriai*, both wild and rural;¹⁸ this was a place where young Greeks had to pass initiation tests, which allowed them to reach adulthood and become a citizen.

In addition, it appears logical to associate Heracles, patron of Greek civilisation, with the Celtic, Galatian and Ligurian populations. Having left for the West in search of Geryon’s oxen, he met a number of natives, thus this journey was a precursor to the relationship that developed between the Greeks and the barbarian populations in what was an unknown part of the Mediterranean. The account of his exploits is quite detailed: Hesiod, in his *Theogony* (287–291 and 979–983), blissfully refers to the monsters that the hero faced. Apollodorus, whose account was studied by Jourdain-Annequin, describes Heracles’ journey in two lines: ‘... he came to Liguria, where Ialetion and Dercynus, sons of Poseidon, attempt to rob him of the kine, but he killed them and went on his way through Tyrrhenia’ (2. 110–111).

We find the matrimonial legend for the first time in the writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus Siculus.

The first laconically indicates: ‘Others, however, have a legend that to Heracles and Asteropê, the daughter of Atlas, were born two sons, Iberus and

¹⁷ See, in particular, Diodorus Siculus 4. 17. 25: ‘But the giants were present in Iberia and notably in Italy at the same time, where the historian situates the combat with the giants.’

¹⁸ Jourdain-Annequin 1989, 313 and n. 482.

Celtus, who gave their own names to the lands which they ruled' (*FGH* 3B, no. 566, F72, p. 622, *apud* Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Massalia). The second offers a more detailed account:

Now Celtica was ruled in ancient times, so we are told, by a renowned man who had a daughter who was of unusual stature and far excelled in beauty all the others maidens. But she, because of her strength of body and marvellous comeliness, was so haughty that she kept refusing every man who wooed her in marriage, since she believed that no one of her wooers was worthy of her. Now in the course of his campaign against Geryones, Heracles visited Celtica and founded there the city of Alesia, and the maiden, on seeing Heracles, wondered at his prowess and his bodily superiority and accepted his embraces with all eagerness, her parents having given their consent. From this union she bore to Heracles a son named Galates, who far surpassed all the youths of the tribe in quality of spirit and strength of body. And when he had attained to man's estate and had succeeded to the throne of his fathers, he subdued a large part of the neighbouring territory and accomplished great feats in war. Becoming renowned for his bravery, he called his subjects Galatae or Gauls after himself, and these in turn gave their name to all of Galatia and Gauls (5. 24).

Finally, there is a third variation from Parthenius, contemporary with Augustus:

It is said that Heracles, when he brought from Erytheia the Geryone heifers, passed through the land of the Celts, before arriving at Bretannos' This prince had a daughter called Celtine. Falling in love with Heracles, she hid his heifers, and she would not return them to him unless they slept together. The hero, keen to save his heifers, and also struck by the beauty of the girl, married her, and some time later their son, Celtos was born from whom the Celts took their name (*Erotika Pathemata* 30).¹⁹

Heracles' journey to the West is particularly evident in Diodorus' Library and has been the subject of many studies.²⁰ The anthropological interpretation underlines the civilising role of the hero who brings Greek culture to everywhere he visits. It opposes

a savage nature that is closed to man with an open nature for his greatest good, an untamed infested nature with a purified nature given to agriculture, an untamed nature is disorganised whilst tamed nature is organised according to the needs of life in society, in the City.²¹

Nevertheless, in Gaul, the hero does nothing but pass and engender; it is his son who civilises while pacifying, contrary to what happened in Sicily or Greece where he himself instituted Hellenic traditions and cults. This son was

¹⁹ Lightfoot 1999, 356–57.

²⁰ Cf. Jourdain-Annequin 1989, who has listed and studied the different propositions.

²¹ Jourdain-Annequin 1989, 313.

called Celtos, descended from Atlas, or Galatos, he was born from an unknown native. This was hardly important, as the Greek mythical geography organised itself around their discovery of the world. In the first instance, the Greeks established peaceful relationships with some peoples, these probably corresponded with phases of pre-colonial contact, and this served to legitimise the authorities already in place. They sometimes placed certain families at the head of the local society; these groups maintained political and religious power, and they held the monopoly over trade with the Greeks. We can thus consider the Diodorean version of the myth regarding the foundation of Massalia into focus, where the Phocaean, Protis, marries the king's daughter. In both cases, the indigenous peoples, who favourably accommodate the Greek representatives, seem like special barbarians: they stand out due to their size and their beauty, as well as by their behaviour, which is identical to that of the Homeric heroes (the practice of banqueting, marriage dowries, etc.). Approval from reigning families is apparent only in Gaul and Italy, where the Heracles-Hercules relationship was very close. As the historiographers of the Dorian hero have already indicated, this is not just a fortuitous characteristic. The myth was known only from the time of Caesar's conquest of the Gauls, and Diodorus (4. 19) emphasises the analogy that existed between the two heroes:

And for the entire period from the days of Heracles this city remained free and was never sacked until our own time; but at last Gaius Caesar who has been pronounced a god because of the magnitude of his deeds, took it by storm and made it and the other Celts subjects of the Romans.

He made Caesar a second Heracles; both were descendants of the gods, benefiting from an apotheosis.

One can also link these two last versions with a third, suggested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*FGH* 3B, no. 566, F72, p. 622, *apud* Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Massalia). This is based upon another chronicle common in the Greek tradition: 'Others state that there is a river Celtus rising in the Pyrenees, after which the neighbouring region at first, and in time the rest of the land as well, was called Celtica.'

This was attested to in Homer's river genealogies, which made reigning families the legitimate authorities in the region. Thus, one of Achilles' adversaries, Asteropeus, is 'son of Pelegon, that was begotten of wide-flowing Axius and Periboea, eldest of the daughters of Aecessamenus; for with her lap the deep eddying river' (*Iliad* 21. 141–143; Samias is Meander's daughter (Pausanias 7. 4. 1); Olynthos is Strymons' son (Conon *apud* Photius *Bibliotheca* 186), and Euthymos is Caecinos' son (Pausanias 2. 6. 4). Even in Greece, Argos, founder of the homonymous city, is the son of the River Inachos (Asclepiades *apud* Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2. 6). These genealogies demonstrate the local elites'

desire to defend their autochthonous origin, which is the foundation for their power, within these sedentary societies. The affirmation that the Celts originated from their own soil, in their own territory, via a river that gushed from the depths of Gaia, legitimised their presence in the region, before uniting them through marriage with Greeks who journeyed through this area.

The fourth version offered by the Greek texts is the most original, and was probably intended to be read in one specific context, that of the relationship between Gaul and Sicily. Starting from the 5th century BC, here, a genealogical myth connects both of these areas. According to the Byzantine *Etymologicum Magnum* collection, during the 4th or 3rd century BC Timaeus recounted how the Cyclops Polyphemus and the nymph Galatea had a son named Galatos, who gave his name to the country (*FGH* 3B, no. 566, F69, p. 621). Logically, one can suspect Timaeus' patriotism; this historian came from the land where the Cyclops and the nymph legend was located, below Etna, next to the approaches to the Tauromenion and Naxos rocks. But Appian, in his *Roman History* (10. 1–2), reconsiders this version regarding the Illyrians:

They say that the country received its name from Illyrius, the son of Polyphemus; for the Cyclops Polyphemus and his wife, Galatea, had three sons, Celtus, Illyrius, and Galas, all of whom migrated from Sicily and ruled over the peoples called after them Celts, Illyrians and Galatians.

The relationship between Sicilian Greeks and the Celts during the period of Dionysius the Elder was studied in the past: at the end of the 5th century, the tyrant of Syracuse had to resort to using Celtic mercenaries, and Timaeus' version considered the military bonds that were established at this time.²² Some saw this as an anti-Etruscan alliance between Sicilian Greeks and Celts, but at that time, the Etruscans no longer represented a danger to Dionysius the Elder, who faced the Italic and Carthaginian populations. In the case of Dionysius, he tends to find experienced warriors when the Greeks needed them. But this group of soldiers proved their skill in peninsular Italy do not seem to defend the same stakes and interests as the Syracusan tyrant.²³ Even if this myth does not appear until the 4th century onwards in our literary sources, it is probably necessary to see this myth as having an older source, one relating to connections between Celts and Sicilians, and an interest in other types of activity, in particular, trade.

The relative importance of trade between the South and Sicily during the Archaic period was undoubtedly underestimated at the expense of trade with Etruria or eastern Greece. Recent data tends to support strong Sicilian links.

²² Tagliamonte 1994, 136 with bibliography.

²³ Amat Seguin 1987.

‘Greek’ vases (cups and skyphoi) from 7th century BC from the Celtic Mediterranean (Mailhac and Montlaures in Aude, Agde in Hérault, Sanilhac in Gard, Saint-Blaise in Bouches-du-Rhône)²⁴ have been associated with Italian workshops from southern or central Italy by André Nickels,²⁵ or more recently with Etruscan workshops by Michel Gras.²⁶ However, a Sicilian origin is not ruled out: results of physicochemical analyses recently obtained from an Archaic cup from Saint-Blaise implies a north-eastern Sicilian origin (the area by the Straits of Messina).²⁷ This evidence, sometimes associated with objects that were inspired by the Phoenicians, could support the idea of Phoenician commercial activity from the 8th century BC.

Wine amphorae, known as ‘Ionio-Massiliot’, which are common on the southernmost Early Iron Age sites are now considered to be Greek, based on the results of petromineralogic analyses.²⁸ According to Jean-Christophe Sourisseau other amphorae recognised in the north-western Mediterranean, in particular Corinthian Type B, would usually have been produced in Sybaris.²⁹ In archaeological contexts, these wine containers are often accompanied by fine vessels, in particular cups referred to as ‘Ionian B2’, including a large proportion that were, according to Thierry Van Compernelle, probably manufactured in southern Italy and Sicily (also in the vicinity of the straits).³⁰

Conversely, from the 7th to 6th centuries BC, Mediterranean objects, normally made from bronze, have recently been identified in Sicily: in tomb 660 of Megara Hyblaea (conical button of type ‘Grand-Basin I’³¹), or in the sacred deposit of Sciacca (an assemblage of launacian objects: bracelets, heels...³²). They testify to an early phase (Bronze Age) of continuous commercial activity of relations direct between two lands.

LIGURIANS

Amongst the fragments of Hecataeus of Miletus (documents from the end of the 6th century BC) preserved in the *Ethnika* by Stephanus of Byzantium, the word ‘Ligurian’ appears for the first time for our region; in particular in frag-

²⁴ Map in Garcia 2004, 17; Gras 2000.

²⁵ Nickels 1989, 455.

²⁶ Gras 2000, 233.

²⁷ Frère and Sourisseau in preparation.

²⁸ Abbas 1999.

²⁹ Frère and Sourisseau in preparation.

³⁰ We thank T. Van Compernelle for this information.

³¹ Verger 2000, 402.

³² Guilaïne and Py 2000, 428; Verger 2000.

ments 61 ('Elisycs: Ethnos of the Ligurians. Hecataeus in *Europe*) and 62 ('Massalia: Polis of the Ligystic, downwards Celtike, colony of the Phocaeans. Hecataeus in *Europe*'). An early date (end of 6th century BC) is attested to by quite precise evidence that reflects ethnic (Elisycs forming a part of the Ligurian group) and territorial hierarchy (Massalia is included as a part of the Ligurian region, which is itself Celtic). This evidence has not always been taken into account. Current geopolitical notions too often influence modern authors. In fact, some have sought to juxtapose ethnic or territorial information drawn from ancient writings. However, the work of geographers and anthropologists proposes the concept of 'piled territories', and they reject a reading which privileges inter-, or supra-ethnic rivalries and the notion of a limited territory defined by a closed linear border.

In order to discover the origin of the word 'Ligyen/Ligure' we need to look to the Greeks: Even if ancient authors had already posed themselves the question, and proposed solutions that were more or less whimsical. One of the most interesting was that made by Stephanus of Byzantium, who argued that the term was derived from the name of a river, the Liguos. We have seen how river-based genealogy is an important element in the Greek tradition when talking about the Celts. Twentieth-century historians have also considered the transposition of the name from the Ligurians, who were known as 'Eastern' (this name was used to describe Asian populations). Nino Lamboglia considered that the term had an indigenous basis.³³ The formation of the word 'Liguria' would be based on the pre-Roman meaning of **liga*, which signified 'the marsh'. This area would have extended from the marshy zones stretching from the Golfe du Lion. He also noted the toponym *Livière*,³⁴ located close to Narbonne, and thus proposed an extension of the term to this area as well. Ligurians would thus be the people of the marsh, as Lattes (Latera) in the Languedoc, or Arles (Arelate) in Provence are both cities 'in front of' (*are*) 'the marsh' (*late*). However, if the Gallic term *late* (or *lati*) is recognised in the area that was defined as Ligurian – and was widely known in the Celtic world to indicate the word 'marsh'. The pre-Roman origin for the word *liga*, proposed by Lamboglia, remains poorly understood, even if we can recognise it in Liger (the Loire); this river's etymology remains enigmatic. Finally, historiography has often emphasised the fact that the Ligurians who fought on the side of Marius' troops at the time of the Battle of Aix-en-Provence in 102 BC against the Teutons and Ambrons, called themselves *Ambrones* (Plutarch *Marius* 19).

³³ Lamboglia 1957, 12.

³⁴ Named Liguria by Gregory of Tours (6th century AD).

Recently, Pascal Arnaud reconsidered a hypothesis initially proposed by Jullian:³⁵ that the Greek name for the Ligurians might not be an approximation of the Greek transliteration or a homophonic name that was actually used by an indigenous people, but the application of a Greek term. According to Arnaud, the Ligurians ('Ligyens' in the Greek transcription) meant 'the squealers' or 'the loudmouths', and they would have been saddled with a nickname whose undertone was not so different from the term 'barbarian'. More precisely, we feel that the term *lygies* means 'high-pitched', which is likely to be the sound of the harp, or the voice of the sirens who are associated with this word in Archaic Greek writings (Hesiod *Theogony* 275 and 518). It is thus this characteristic that would have been retained by the Greeks and that would be the origin of the ethnonym 'Ligyens' ('Ligures', according to the Latin authors). One can thus deduce that Liguria would have been the Celtic area visited by the Greeks, a littoral zone, where direct contact between the Greeks and these 'Men with the high-pitched voices' would have occurred. Thus, we are far from Amédée Thierry's proposition:³⁶ he saw the Ligurians as Iberian invaders who supplanted the Celts. On the other hand, Jullian, in his *Histoire de la Gaule*,³⁷ followed Roget de Belloguet³⁸ and affirmed the indigenous character of the Ligurian populations. Scholars who compared the material evidence with the literary sources were more embarrassed. In his *Manuel d'Archéologie*, Déchelette clearly noted: 'The results from all of these observations of Hallstatt tumuli in the Rhodenus area show that Ligurian funerary sites in this territory hardly differed from those belonging to the Celts.'³⁹ A similar example, chosen from other post-war research, that is to say Jean Jannoray's analysis today appears particularly pertinent:

If archaeologists hardly have any sorrow, amongst the architectural remains and the ceramic or metal objects which they possess for their study of pre-Roman civilisations between the Rhodenus and The Pyrenees since the Early Iron Age, to mark certain similarities with culture of the Iberian Peninsula or to distinguish the Hallstatt contributions, those of La Tène and those of the Greek world, they were impotent up to now with saying in what consists the Ligure share, except to call of this name all that reveal indigenous...⁴⁰

Albert Grenier⁴¹ had already noted the difficulty in distinguishing the two groups, the Ligurians having been compared to the Gallic groups, 'having almost the same language and the same origin'.

³⁵ Arnaud 2001; Jullian 1909, 112.

³⁶ Thierry 1926, 121.

³⁷ Jullian 1909.

³⁸ Roget 1861, *passim*.

³⁹ Déchelette 1927, 150.

⁴⁰ Jannoray 1955, 380.

⁴¹ Grenier 1940, 163.

SEGOBRIGES AND SALYENS

The Segobriges form another group that is characteristic of the Early Iron Age. Even if the ancient tradition is more recent, (Justin 43. 3 reporting Pompeius Trogus), they are known to us because it is in their territory that, according to the legend, the Phocaeans ‘founded Massalia amongst Ligurians and the wild people of Gaul’. The Celtic origin for the name ‘Segobriges’ is not in doubt; it refers not only to ‘victory’ (*sego-*), but also to ‘force’ (*brigo-*). A hierarchy is also present here: the Greek city was created (from the littoral towards the hinterland) in the Segobriges’ territory, amongst the Ligurians, in the Gauls’ homeland. We should note that the only site in Marseilles that testifies to a pre- 600 BC occupation is the Baou de Saint-Marcel, an *oppidum* located approximately 7 km from the Vieux-Port, at the outlet of the Huveaune valley. The hills of the Marseilles basin seem to have been occupied too during this period, as new research shows.⁴²

The *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax (3. 4), which dates from at least the 4th century BC (with a possible late 6th-century date), reports that:

3. Ligurians and Iberian. After the Iberians, there are the Ligurians and Iberians, mixed up to the Rhodenus. Navigation along the Ligurians zone, from Emporion to the Rhône, took two days and a night. 4. Ligurians. Beyond the Rhodenus followed the Ligurians until Antion. In this area, we find the Greek city of Massalia with its harbour.

The coastal area, from the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula to the north of the Tyrrhenian Sea, is divided here into three spaces. Settlement of this area between the Pyrenees and the Rhône has been the subject of much writing. This reflects the main results of archaeological research undertaken hereabouts over a 20-year period. From the 7th century BC there was a progressive ‘Iberianisation’ of Roussillon and the Languedoc, which stopped at about 400 BC with the foundation of the Greek colony of Agde/Agathe. This town, established at the mouth of the River Hérault became an area of contact between ‘the Iberian lands and the harsh Ligurians’ (Avienus *Ora maritima* 612). Here, we employ the term ‘Iberianisation’ as a synonym for a progressive development within the local populations, where cultural elements (including language) and economic characteristics (including crafts and agriculture) were shared following a period of exchange. In this instance, exchange was primarily commercial with the Phoenico-Punic sphere, in particular, the Iberian Levant. The fact that the colony of Agathe was situated on the border between

⁴² A survey programme, supervised by S. Collin Bouffier, has been active in the lower Huveaune valley for six years and has revealed several protohistoric sites.

these two spaces, as a pawn on the Massalian chessboard, justifies the Greeks' situating this place in Liguria, as did Stephanus of Byzantium, Euxodus Rhodiensis, or Philo Byblius.

CELTO-LIGURIANS

The *Periegesis* of Pseudo-Scymnos (199–219), the origins of which date back to the 4th century, gives us a good description of Liguria. It is defined as a coastal area, stretching from Emporion to the Tyrrhenian people. Previously, the same author listed the Celtic people after the Iberians and made the Celts the most important people in the West. One also sees here the concept of a layered territory: Liguria is a littoral area within the Celtic sphere. Later, Polybius (5. 167) placed the Ligurians in a zone from Massalia to Pisa, in what he calls the Apennin. This includes the pre-Alps and the first highland areas located to the north of Massalia. He also reported that the Massalians asked Rome for assistance against the Ligurians (2. 16. 1); thus the two tribes were given names of a Celtic origin: Oxybians and Deciates. One finds similar precision in Pliny (33. 7–8) when he gives us the list of Ligurian groups from the extreme West: 'Of the Ligurian beyond The Alps the most famous are the Sallui, Deciates and Oxubi' (3. 47). The Sallui – the population living in the area of Aix-en-Provence⁴³ – already appeared in Strabo's *Geography* (4. 6. 3) where we are told:

But through the early writers of the Greeks call the Sallyes 'Ligues', and the country which the Massiliotes hold 'Ligustica', later writers name them 'Celtoligues', and attach to their territory all the level country as Luerio and the Rhodanus.

Logically, Strabo 'brings up to date' older data. He tells us that the Salyens are now recognised as a specific people known as the 'Ligurians', and that the term 'Celto-Ligurian' was used by the Greeks during his lifetime.⁴⁴ The designation 'Celto-Ligurian' was often interpreted as a concept of mixed populations. Some modern authors have used this designation to support the assumption that during the Late Iron Age populations from 'Ligurian stock' were enriched by important human and cultural contributions from the said 'historical Celts'. However, as Michel Py has recently suggested again,⁴⁵ neither the archaeological nor written evidence concerning southern Gaul allows us to

⁴³ Pralon 1998.

⁴⁴ Arnaud 2001; Bats 2003.

⁴⁵ Py 2003.

support such an assumption. However, it seems possible (without defining it as an absolute rule) that the first element of the name was an adjective, and the second a substantive, which could only indicate the ethnic origin. The Celto-Ligurians would be thus the Ligurians of the Celts. One finds here an alternative for ‘above’ or ‘among’ within the description employed by the more ancient authors. Ligurians are the indigenous people with whom the Greeks had direct contact. They occupy an interface, a pacified zone that facilitates communications and thus trade towards the outlying areas.

For the Celtic Mediterranean, the later written sources, in particular Pliny (3. 31–37) and Strabo (Book 4), provide us with a list of important ‘peoples’ who tend to occupy limited territories around one *oppidum*. This really presents us with information regarding the management of space related to conquest, rather than a real division of these existing communities. Broader ethnic groups are also mentioned (‘Volques Tectosages’ in the western Languedoc, the ‘Volques Arécomiques’ in the eastern Languedoc, the Salyens in western Provence, the Cavares in the area around Avignon, and the Voconces around Vaison...). These represent ethnic confederations that emerged from existing economic networks, and co-federal religious centres, or military alliances...

CONCLUSIONS

Beyond this inevitably synthetic panorama regarding the ethnogenesis of pre-Roman populations in the Celtic Mediterranean, it is useful to insist on the problems or even the dangers for archaeologists or historians when combining certain ideas too hastily. Indeed, by adopting an anthropological reading of the ancient sources, we have evoked concepts of civilisation and archaeological culture; concepts that have deeply marked, or even stunted, the history of the study of the protohistoric societies during the 20th century.

According to us it is probably from the second half of 7th century BC, when the Greek explorer-merchants approached the coasts of the Golfe du Lion that the populations of the north-western Mediterranean were called Ligurians, and that this space was named as a Celtic area. Slowly but surely, this term took on a broader relevance, and was applied to a large proportion of Central and Western Europe. Even at the end of the 8th century BC, with the appearance of the first iron objects and then the development of the iron industry, one notes important socio-economic developments that did not have decisive consequences for ethnicity. Communities, which one can describe as tribes, exerted control over quite limited territories (a few thousand square kilometres); over one or more valleys (like the Elisycs in the Languedoc), a plateau

or a small catchment (for example the Segobriges). The increase in trade and the development of complex settlement patterns led to the establishment of cultural-economic spheres, which stimulated ethnic developments, particularly amongst the Iberians and Ligurians. Here, ethnicity seems to be a social and psychological phenomenon associated with a cultural construction. Newly controlled space was thus named 'Celtic', a territory that had been *approached* – this was akin to a geographical concept; and Liguria was a *frequented space*, a place of exchange and of confrontation. During the Late Iron Age, the internal evolution of indigenous groups and the geopolitical stakes for Greek and Roman societies manifested themselves amongst the Mediterranean Celts with the development of confederations such as that of the Salyens.

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