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Early Iron Ages in Southern France: Urbanization and Colonial Exchanges in the 7th to 5th Centuries B.C.E

The term Iron Ages has been loosely used to describe differing periods in the development of societies around the Mediterranean, ranging from the 9th to 4th centuries B.C.E. respectively. It is common to characterize these changes in terms of hierarchical structuralization, cultural diffusion, urbanization, and shared cultural forms (Koiné), although these differing areas changed over time in context specific fashions. When discussing the various Mediterranean Iron Ages, colonial encounters and exchanges figure prominently. Current debates focus on the issue of evolutionist or diffusionist dynamics in the aspects that characterize the Iron Ages: did indigenous societies undergo changes bereft of outside stimulus; did growing networks of exchange between differing groups catalyze societal transformations, or did it involve a combination of the aforementioned processes? The modern Southern French regions of Languedoc-Rousillon and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur offer a unique archeological record of distinctly local Iron Ages, yet they are fundamentally intertwined with important outside contacts. The geographical location of both regions puts them at a nexus of foreign influence: Iberians and Phoenicians to the South and Southeast, and Etruscans and Greeks to the West. It is with this in mind that the South of France remains a critical case study in both colonial activity and strong affirmations of local and indigenous identities, namely in settlement evidence and material culture.

This paper will seek to approach the subject of the relation between the growth of exchange networks and urbanization in Southern France using three settlement case studies: Pech Maho (Languedoc), Lattes and Saint Blaise (Provence). These were chosen for their relative size, urban development (e.g. large defensive wall structures), diverse trade exchange related finds, as well as similar chronologies of development (early 7th to 5th centuries B.C.E.). The geographical and physical aspects of the sites will be discussed, with a focus on urban and material evidence. The chronologies of the sites will be examined, and I will begin by addressing critical issues of my approach, namely the mixed and limited nature of the evidence. This will all lead towards answering a series of quandaries: Why did these sites undergo large scale urbanization in the 6th century? What relation did this process have to Greek and Etruscan trade and colonial relations?

Were specific traded items one of the catalysts behind urbanization? I will then focus on the importation and or production of wine as an example of a "prestige" item whose role as a traded good helped push for urban development out of a need to capitalize and profit from exchange networks. This will then be tied into a theoretical structure of hierarchy development in the area in relation to the issue of urbanization from colonial stimulus as a separate indigenous process, or a compound of both.

Issues of Evidence and Research:

Before the discussion and analyses of the above mentioned sites and their relation to the central questions of this inquiry, it is a necessary step to address the issues involved in the research, of which there are many. One of the main archaeological dilemma's faced in general is either the lack of evidence, due to bureaucratic issues rather than the efforts of the archeologists, and mixed finds. In Southern France, modern cities such as Arles, Marseille and Montpellier sit on top of current archeological excavations, thus limiting the scope and the ability of excavators to unearth valuable evidence. In relation to this study, both Saint Blaise and Lattes fall into this category.

The issues of physical excavations further impact our understanding of a crucial aspect of growing exchange networks in the Iron Ages; namely the development of new structures of hierarchy in the area. Though excavations at Pech Maho and Lattes indicate differentiations in housing forms overtime and within certain periods, it is this tendency to view 'bigger and more complex' as necessarily indicative of social and economic status, or the 'peak of the system'. Southern France stands out as conspicuous in its lack of distinctive indicators of clear societal divisions during the early Iron Ages. This is not to say that these did not exist, in fact they most probably did, especially in relation to the volume of trade the area witnessed which would have elevated certain individuals economic standings considerably. Unlike the Hallstatt region and Etruria, the lack of tangible funerary evidence, one of the main indicators of hierarchy based on the richness and size of tombs, is rarely present in Southern France. This may indicate that Languedoc and Provence in the Iron Ages were host to more egalitarian societies, yet even inferring as much is fraught with risks and assumptions, especially in our modern definitions of what constitutes 'egalitarian' in comparison to ancient societies. It is necessary then to keep this in mind when approaching the region in terms of social stratification, or lack thereof.

When discussing exchange networks, it has always been the assumption that the dynamic was one directional, especially in a pre-postcolonial framework of colonial archaeology. Though this paper will focus on wine as one of the items traded in the many networks of exchange between Southern France and the wider Mediterranean world, we must keep in mind that the process went both ways. The indigenous inhabitants would have received consumer goods, such as wine, by exchanging items like grain, as was the case with Massalia whose surrounding soils were too poor for cereals (Dietler 2005: 179). This in turn addresses the gap in our knowledge of local viticulture. Gathering evidence of the active exploitation of wine relies on what can be analyzed chemically from locally produced amphora. The Eurasian grapevine (*Vitis vinifera*) is omnipresent around the Mediterranean, so genetically speaking it is hard to differentiate region from region at this historical juncture (McGovern et al. 2013: 1). At Lattes, evidence of seeds, skins and pips as early as 500 B.C.E. (McGovern et al. 2013: 2)indicate that viticulture may have begun locally, yet it is more speculation than fact due to the difficulty of pinpointing their source of origin, and the obvious reason that grapes were consumed as a food item. It is worth keeping in mind than that, in terms of wine as a traded item, it was both consumed from foreign sources, and most probably began to be produced locally within the time frame of the investigated settlements.

Figure 1: Iron Ages chronologies of settlements in Southern France

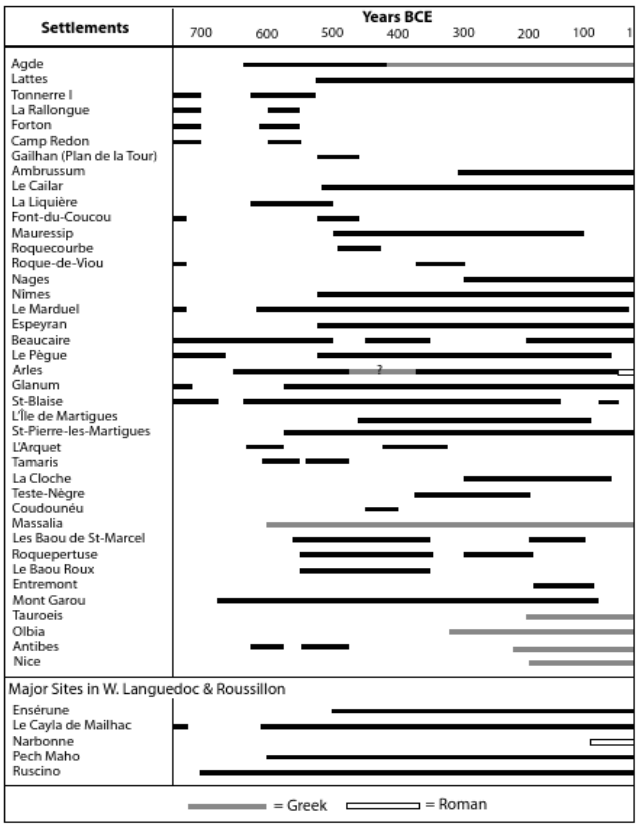
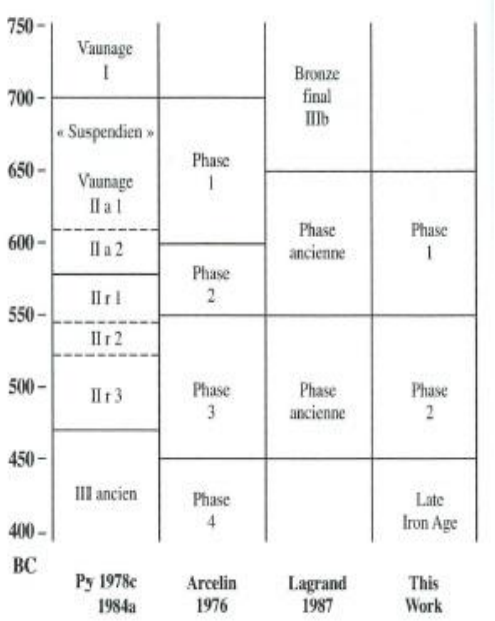


Figure 2: Dietlers Iron Ages chronological classification



There is no single set chronology for the region to be discussed, which can create potential missteps when discussing the three sites of Pech Maho, Saint Blaise and Lattes in the context of the paper. As Figure 1 indicates, the sites overlap, yet their origins differ, especially in the case of Lattes, whose Iron Age chronology begins in approximately 525 B.C.E, several decades after Pech Maho and Saint Blaise. However, since the scope of this paper ranges from the early 7th to 5th centuries, this shouldn't be an issue. Figure 2 offers a means of simplifying the chronological classifications of the sites. For the purpose of my argument, I intend to use Michael Dietlers terminology (under the column This Work), thus Phases 1 and 2 will figure prominently in the discussion of each site, and Figure 2 will be referred too to avoid any confusion.

Settlement Sites: Saint Blaise, Pech Maho, and Lattes (or Lattara)

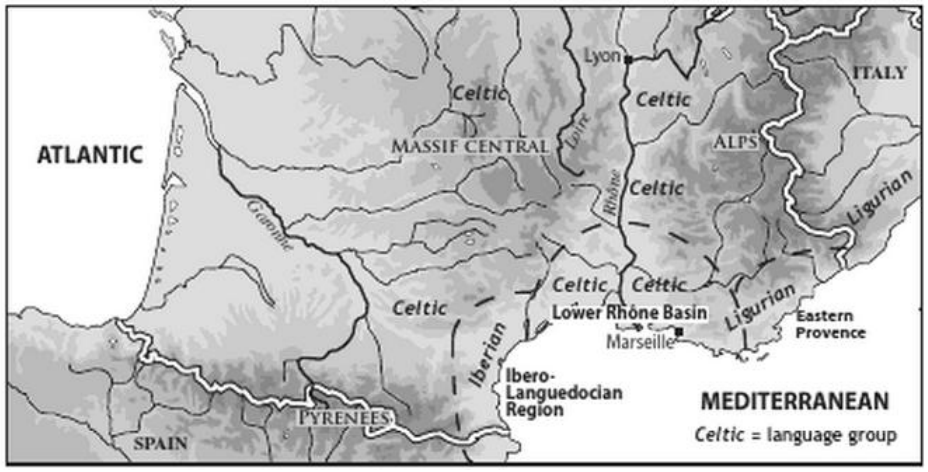
Figure 3: Physical map of the Gulf of Lion and sites

The Gulf of Lion is host to three Southern French sites to be examined: Pech Maho (West), Lattes (Middle), and Saint Blaise (East). The coastline of the area is generally characterized by a series of large saltwater marshes, known as *étang*, which are connected to the Gulf and vary in depth according to the tide. In Figure 3, it is possible to see that all three sites are located near said marshes, and were situated on the coast in Antiquity. As is usual for the Western Mediterranean, weather tends to be dry and hot during the summer, and colder and wetter in the winters. The proximity of the Rhone Corridor leads to the Gulf experiencing Northern winds, the Mistrales, which confluxes with the Bise winds from the Levant. This means that the coast is prone to storm conditions, a major issue for boat based trade and transportation, due to the relative lack of bays and coves in which to shelter. In fact, ancient Massalia is one of the few areas in the region with a functional harbour, and even then it is fraught with dangers mainly in the form of submerged rocks. Inland, the topography slowly rises, forming a rolling terrain dotted with woods, hillocks, and in the East, it varies much more in altitude, especially when nearing the Alps.

It is with this in mind that a comparison of all three sites, geographically speaking, is difficult. All three were located on the edges of an *étang,* yet Lattes can be considered a lowland settlement, meaning it is not located on elevated ground. Saint Blaise and Pech Maho, on the other hand, fit the mould of the typical oppidum: situated on elevated ground with defenses built to take advantage of its height over the surrounding area. Differing topography will result in settlements with different aspects of construction and orientation, especially when considering size, and the underlying purpose behind their establishment.

To briefly describe the cultural context of the area, it can be divided into zones of influence. In relation to linguascapes, we can discern three main divisions among indigenous groups: Celtic, Iberian and Ligurian (Dietler 2010: 78). Although we know these designations from classical authors, it in no way means that these groups identified as such and neither do they accurately encompass the probable regional differences inherent to the area, as well as cultural overlap (Dietler 2010: 79).

Figure 4: Distribution map of major Iron Ages archeological/ material/ linguistic culture regions



When placing the three sites of this study within the context of Figure 4, they differ in that Pech Maho is located within the Iberian zone, while the other two are in the Celto-Ligurian demarcated area. It is necessary to point out that materially speaking, the differences are minute, and were generally indicative of an overall culture influenced by interexchange and trade with both Massalia in the East and Emporion in the South. In terms of language, it is reasonable to assume pidgin languages emerged for the purpose of common trade thus transcending cultural boundaries (Dietler 2010: 82).

In reference to Figure 1, I will begin with a description of Saint Blaise, a Phase 1 site which chronologically predates the other two. Each will be described in terms of the physical site (i.e. geography and urban features), as well as finds in relation to the colonial exchange of wine.

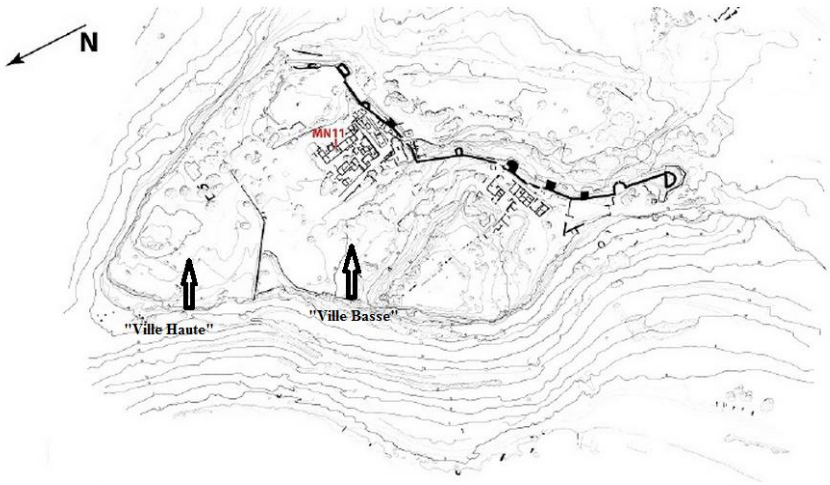
The Oppidum of Saint Blaise:

Saint Blaise stands out as a site both chronologically, dated as an early Phase 1 (Figure 2), and in its size, approximately 5.5 hectares contained within its ramparts (Kobierzyki 2012: 225). It occupies the tip of a plateau about 40 to 50 meters in elevation, situated between two saline coastal *étangs:* the *étang* de Lavalduc and the *étang* de Citis (Dietler 2005: 197).

Figure 5: Map of L'*étang* de Berre and the Golfe de Fos in relation to Saint Blaise

Because of its relative height in relation to the country around it, and the steep cliffs which surround the site on two sides, Saint Blaise is ideally placed for defense, with a commanding view of the area (Archimbaud 1994: 18). The countryside around it, namely the *étang* de Berre, and the plateau and hills to the West, offer diverse resources ranging from agriculture (in the plain of Saint-Julien) to natural (wood, fish, salt) sources (Kobierzyki 2012: 226).

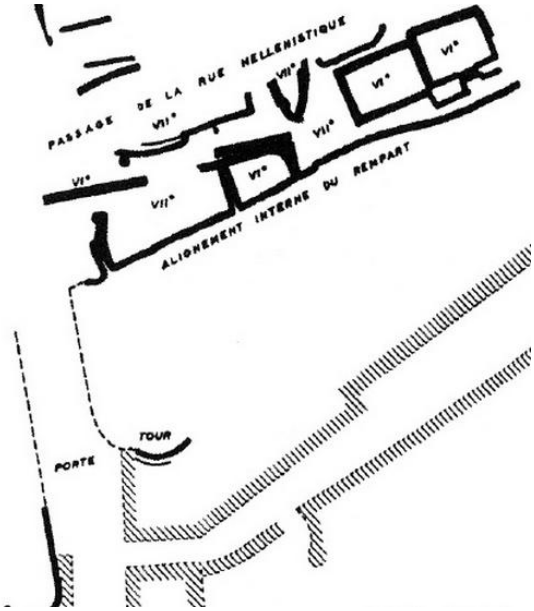
Figure 6: Site map of Saint Blaise



The site is composed of two sections of slightly different elevations, the "Ville Haute" and the "Ville Basse" (Dietler 2005: 197). The settlement would have been surrounded by walls, of which only 400 meters have been excavated. This was known as the archaic wall composed of rubble, a stone block base. It was all kept together with mixture of lime and earth (Kobierzyki 2012: 226). This wall was faced by a dry ditch, was up to 2 meters thick, and

faced by towers (of few of which were chambered), though it is impossible to say how tall the overall structure was (Archimbaud 1994:18).

Figure 7: Details of construction around the main gate



Aside from these impressive fortifications, the site is undoubtedly of an urban nature. There is evidence of urban planning, mainly due to a surface of pebbles uniformly spread on a layer of black soil throughout the entire settlement, creating a flat and level platform for construction (Dietler 2005: 197). This early date indicates that some form of thought went into leveling the limited space for buildings, which were built rectangular structures with wall bases of large parallel vertical stones, forming spaces filled with earth and stone, and in the interior were faced by a layer of clay (Dietler 2005: 197). Near the walls, later houses in the 5th century were built to incorporate the settlement wall as the back end of the domestic unit and were oriented northwards (Figure 7). In the first half of the 6th century, pavements of pebbles and flagstones appeared, and houses with walls of mud brick and clay were common, along with later clay floors, central hearths, and large clay storage jars built into the ground most probably for salt storage (Dietler 2005: 197).

Evidence points to salt production being a key local industry, especially when considering the proximity of shallow salt water marshes (Archimbaud 1994: 18). Metalworking is also evident from slag and vitrified clay found near the ramparts, along with ash from workshops. Even uncut coral was found, which could have been made into jewelry (Dietler 2005: 197). Locally produced products could have then been traded for foreign goods, especially wine, exemplified by the overwhelming number of Etruscan amphora mixed in with a few Corinthian and Attic types. In fact, one early excavation of 6th and 5th century levels yielded 3000 sherds of *bucchero nero* fine ware (mainly *kantharoi* and *oinochai* shapes), and almost 5000 combined sherds of Massaliot and Etruscan amphora (Dietler 2005: 198). However, the majority of finds remain locally produced ceramics. The fact that such large numbers of amphora, along with

foreign and local wares reproducing exclusively drinking related pottery, points to a strong association in the local demand and consumption of wine. This, along with evidence of early 6th century Greek apsidal style houses (Dietler 2005: 197), may indicate the presence of foreign merchants within a largely indigenous site, perhaps to facilitate the mutual exchange of goods such as salt for wine.

Pech Maho:

After Saint Blaise, Pech Maho is chronologically the second oldest of the three sites; its foundation date to between 575 and 550 B.C.E, thus somewhere between Phase 1 and 2 (Figure 2). It is spread across roughly 1.5 hectares *intra muros*, occupying a small limestone hill 29 meters above sea level with a general Northwest orientation (Gailledrat 2012: 6-10). Near the river Berre, Pech Maho in the early 6th century would have been on a saltwater lagoon with direct access to the open water, yet the area has been silted up over generations.

Figure 8: Pech Maho in the physical landscape of the 6th century

Looking at the greater regional context of the site, Pech Maho occupies a unique position in the landscape by residing in a bottleneck between land and sea. In the West, the landscape rises to the foothills of the Corbières Mountains, and to the East the lagoon of Bages-Sigean (Gailledrat 2012: 14). This geography funnels all movement into the area (Figure 8), meaning right through the area Pech Maho is situated in, which implies that it was perfectly located to dominate overland trade, and facilitate the diffusion of maritime trade inland.

The *phase ancienne* of Pech Maho (560 to 450 B.C.E, end of Phase 1 and mostly Phase 2 of Figure 2) is characterized by wattle and daub houses on support posts, which were surrounded by a curtain wall with a *soubaisement* of stone and hard packed earth, faced by a V shaped ditch (Gailledrat 2012: 22). However, it is in between 550 and 540 B.C.E. that an incredible urban expansion occurred in Pech Maho on a colossal scale. Elements of a highly organized system of urban planning immediately jumps out, when examining the division of lanes of houses by stone paved streets, and the first ever evidence of architectural techniques such as lime washing outer facades, and the use of mud brick and stone in conjunction (Gailledrat 2012: 24).

Figure 9: Site map of Pech Maho

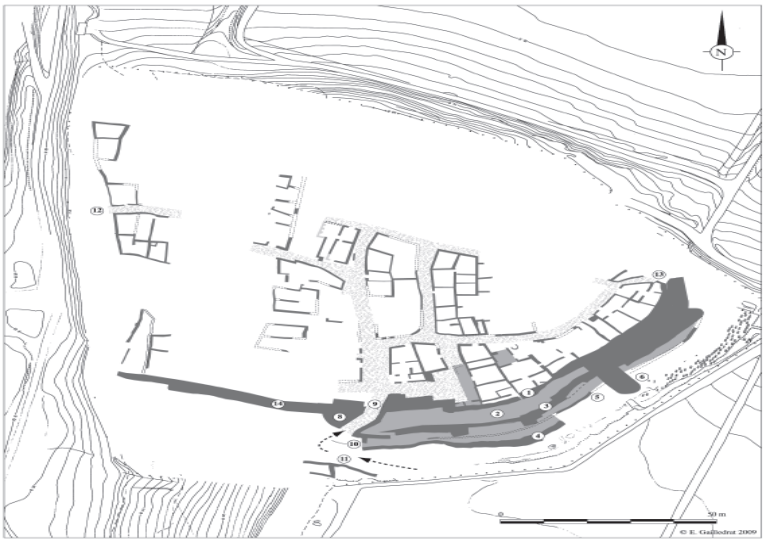


Fig. 5. Plan général du site de Pech Maho à Sigean. L'état figuré est celui du IIe s. av. n. ère. Les numéros renvoient aux descriptions réalisées dans le texte.

Although actual excavations of houses in Pech Maho are woefully under documented, comparisons have been made to other sites within the region of Provence and Languedoc, such as the settlement at Martigues in the Bouche du Rhone. It is reasonable to assume that Pech Maho (as shown in Figure 9) was organized by elongated blocks of attached houses, no larger than a chamber or two, linked by a shared open air courtyards and with central hearths (Gailledrat 2012: 24). Each would have housed a small number of people, say a nuclear family, and domestic functions would have taken place in the interior and exterior spaces. These techniques of organization and construction makes Pech Maho one of the oldest examples of this urban phenomenon, and its sudden appearance may point to foreign contacts, and a sophisticated system of labour.

Figure 10: Wall and Gateway of Pech Maho

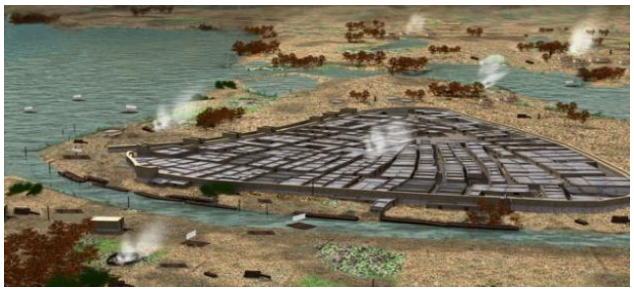
What is truly remarkable architecturally are the massive walls of the site. These were double curtain walls, preceded by a ditch 10 meters across and 3 meters deep (Gailledrat 2012: 26). These thick walls were made of ashlar blocks, dotted by tower bastions, and recent finds have shown inscribed foundation steles. This unique system of defense, as impressive and practical as it seems, points to the importance of Pech Maho. It can be seen as a rational precaution to protect valuables, and an ostentatious display of power in an indigenous context (Gailledrat 2012: 30).

It is thought that Pech Maho was an important site for local exchanged networks, especially when considering the habit of trade ships hugging the coast. The site may have been a relay in this network, a familiar stopping point, or an entry point in the Narbonnaise for foreign goods (Gailledrat 2012: 22). The indigenous character of the site is obvious when considering the majority finds of local non turned ceramics, yet Etruscan and Greek pottery are present and all associated with the consumption of wine. In fact, by the 5th century, the amount of imported material increases, especially Iberian material from Ampurias , Pseudo Ionian Grey Monochrome produced locally of from Massalia, and Attic and Phocean cups and vases, are all exclusively related to drinking (Gailledrat 2012: 30). Amphora are of mixed Iberian, Greek and Etruscan sources, yet it is the latter two kinds which only carried wine. This would make sense when considering that Massalia had begun to exploit its vineyards, which had been planted at its founding, and export wine to fulfill the large local demand for it (Gailledrat 2012: 31). It is interesting to view Pech Maho's large growth with the growth of local exchange networks, especially with Massalia and Ampurias. This seems to fit a coastal settlement trend, which benefited immensely from trade, and thus increased in size, importance and complexity.

Lattes (Lattara):

Lattes is the site with the latest chronology (Figure 1), is a Phase 2 site (Figure 2) and is perhaps the most widely known and documented in the area. The landscape in which Lattara was built was geared towards maritime activity. The city was located on a peninsula flanked on both sides by water from the marsh lagoons and the Lez River, thus well placed for trade and defense (Figure 11). As a coastal settlement, it was not constructed on any sort of promontory, yet still remained sheltered when considering it was surrounded by a natural moat.

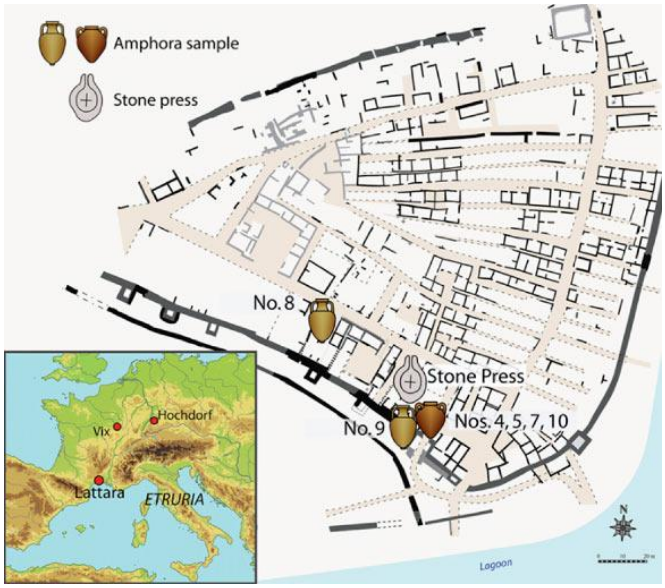
Figure 11: Modern interpretation of Lattes



The site of Lattara, once an urban settlement, covered approximately 3.3 hectares contained within defensive ramparts which were over 700 meters in length (Janine & Py n.d.). The town itself was roughly triangular in shape; with a rounded Southeast corner (Figure 11),

and multiple gates following the main thoroughfares of the settlement. The shape is both concentric and elongated, following the form of the original core fortifications.

Figure 12: Birds eye view of Lattes (with evidence of amphora and a wine press)



Large open spaces were located near the multiple town gates, which were used for penning cattle, storing carts, and bringing in supplies to repair the pebble based streets in the settlement(Janine & Py n.d.). Houses were arranged in a regular and elongated system of organization commonly used in other proto-historic settlements like Pech Maho, and were flexible to spatial expansion. Urban planning is evident from the elongated and concentric shape of the site, so as to maximize the limited amount of space available. Similar to Saint Blaise and Pech Maho, the housing units had walls with stones bases, yet the floors were made of packed stones and amphora fragments (Dietler 2005: 214). These were generally rectangular in shape, and like in Pech Maho, most compromised of only one or two chambers with a hearth (Figure 12).

Lounging the interior of the outer wall, to the West of the main gate, a small number of domestic units were excavated which differed significantly from the standard of construction in Lattes. In reference to Figure 12, the areas near the dock (bottom right corner) are indicated by amphora. It is thought that two houses, dated to the late 6th century, may have been an enclave of Etruscan traders. The remains indicate large multi-room houses, with stone foundations, and mud brick elevations coated in a mixture of straw, clay and plaster, which gave the walls a white colour (Dietler 2010: 197). Clues of a foreign presence rely on the fact that almost 99 percent of the amphora and 90 percent of the ceramics found were clearly Etruscan, and there are even pieces of *bucchero* engraved with Etruscan script: one spells the name of *ucial*, who may have been a native woman married to an Etruscan trader (Dietler 2010: 197). The amphora, many of them crushed, were tightly packed together in specific areas of these houses, and the paucity of domestic debris (animal bones) is indicative of some form of storage. When considering the material evidence in the rest of the settlement, ceramics tend to be of indigenous non turned

types, along with a mixed record of Massaliot and Etruscan pottery. This, when juxtaposed with the high numbers of Etruscan pottery in these houses, and that the cooking ware and graffiti found is almost nonexistent anywhere else, reasonably shows a strong Etruscan presence of an unknown extent (Dietler 2010: 198). Evidence of Etruscan materials in no way offers certainty of their presence, yet coupled with differing housing styles, aesthetics of construction, and evidence of Etruscan script, it is possible to see the makings of a small foreign community trading in commodities such as wine, especially when considering that Greek and Etruscan amphora almost exclusively contained said product.

Overview of the Urban Nature of Southern France:

In the late 7th and 6th century, it is possible to see a comprehensive and complex phenomenon of urbanization in Southern France, which occurred in parallel to the expansion of networks of exchange in the Mediterranean. As indicated by the three sites chosen for this discussion, their establishment over sizeable areas (over a hectare) contained within fortifications occurs in relative tandem in the span of a century, even though they occupy different points around the Gulf of Lion (Figure 3), and zones of cultural influence (Figure 4). Again, the general homogeneity in organization and construction is remarkable when keeping in mind local contexts, language barriers and topography. This goes back to one of the founding questions of this paper: Why did these sites undergo large scale urbanization during this time period?

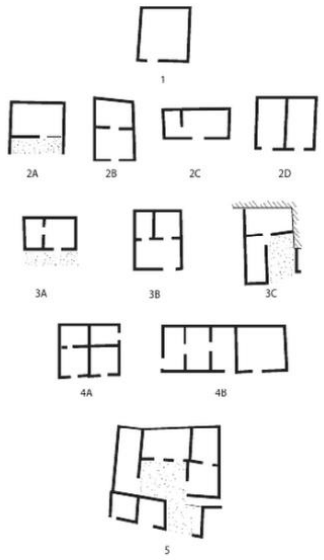
Settlement locations in Southern France are generally divided into two types of environments: the first, which were located on low lying river valleys, the head of river deltas or on the shore of lagoons, and the second on hilltops, the edge of plateaus or the slopes of mountains directly dominating the area around them. However, some sites conform to neither, usually because they are strategically located at crossroads, sanctuaries or resource hubs (Garcia 2005: 173). Pech Maho and Saint Blaise are characterized by a mixture of these elements, since they are both located on elevated land, yet remain next to bodies of water, while Lattes can be considered as category one, or low lying coastal site.

From the late 7th century B.C.E onwards, a range of innovations occurred at these sites, namely the construction of large stone ramparts that established settlement boundaries, a shift in housing construction and materials along with housing forms, and a change in settlement organization (Dietler 2010: 263). However, a caveat of these novel forms of urban planning is

that communities structured their settlements on context-specific plans based on social relations and daily life. As outsiders it is easy to view rectilinear plans as evidence of planning simply because it fits our own perceptions of what a city plan should look like. These innovations would also most probably have occurred over time, so not necessarily all together.

Ramparts, as a very noticeable element of the urban landscapes, have been identified as a late 7th century phenomenon in the areas surrounding Massalia such as Saint Blaise (Dietler 2010: 264). These walls were usually built of undressed stone, reinforced by packed earth, or later mud brick. They incorporated natural defenses and were the product of a communal effort, which was the case when older walls were regularly rebuilt as a form of trial and error (Dietler 2010: 265). These techniques also apply to houses, and in places such as Pech Maho it is possible to see the gradual replacement of wood, wattle and daub by stone foundations and clay fillers.

Figure 13: Typology in the development of houses in Lattes (lower number indicators parallel earlier styles)



Houses were generally rectangular, compromising of one or two rooms, with a hearth, and sometimes sharing communal courtyard spaces (Figure 13). Lattes, Saint Blaise and Pech Maho also show similarities in planning, yet it is important to note that the densely packed, rectilinear form with the linear strip neighborhoods of these settlements was a product of organic growth and indigenous experimentation. This was quite different from the orthogonal system employed by the Greeks (Dietler 2010: 295).

The establishment of these urban sites, and especially their extremely compact nature point to who actually lived there and why. Though social differentiation and a need for a central authority to coordinate such works is seen as the usual culprit behind such projects, the sheer lack of evidence of clear social distinction in relation to housing types further reinforces the idea of an acephalous society, perhaps coordinated by work party feasts (Dietler 2010: 292). In Lattes and Pech Maho, the very nature of the tightly packed houses may indicate a process of migration from the surrounding area, as workers would have been drawn in by the influx of trade and opportunities. Communities were fluid in nature, and it would be simple for individual members to live

alongside one another, especially if a general shared language and culture existed. It is with this in mind that I consider whether trade, especially in wine, brought these people together to form communities due to new sources capital, prestige items or consumption.

Trade, Exchange and Wine in Early Iron Ages Southern France:

Trade and exchange in this time period was a burgeoning process, and quite diverse when considering that various groups, such as the Iberians, Greeks, Phoenicians and Etruscans interacted with multiple local entities. Southern French sites, especially in Phases 1 and 2 (Figure 2), have yielded large amounts of foreign ceramics, usually in the context of wine storage and consumption. The trade based exchanges between indigenous groups and foreign traders in its first phase (626 to 600 B.C.E.) mainly involved a floater-trade system (Dietler 2010: 338). Merchant ships would hug the coast and stop at certain sites, which led to the establishment of commodity chains, especially to Etruria, and the understanding of a mutual set of demands, values and tastes between consumer and producer. Also, most importantly, there was a large increase in the demand for wine which merchants recognized, due to its exotic nature, long preservation, higher alcohol content, and ease to which it was adapted to local practices and perceived utility (Dietler 2010: 338). In its second phase (600 to 450 B.C.E.), a shift in wine related material occurred. Pseudo-Ionian, or Grey Monochrome, and cream-ware ceramics (Dietler 2010: 339) take precedence over Etruscan *bucchero* and amphora, which may have been produced in Massalia, or made locally (it is hard to distinguish between colonial and hybrid coarse and fine ware). Though Etruscan and Attic Greek amphora still remain present in significant amounts (e.g. 52 percent of foreign amphora in Saint Blaise by 500 B.C.E.), Massaliot wine production along with the local adoption of wheel pottery techniques show an expansion in the indigenous role of wine. Ship based trade still occurred, but with increases in demand, the growth of local settlements, and the attraction of foreign merchants to establish themselves in these emporia, the trade in wine became both more locally sourced and was traded to areas further in the interior (e.g. the Hallstatt region). In fact, as the Greek colony of Massalia grew, it became increasingly dependent on trade with native societies for its staple of grain, which was exchanged for wine as indicated by the production of large grain jars at native sites in tandem to the parallel increase in wine exports (Dietler 2010: 339). These deals would have been brokered by local and foreign merchants, who would have transported goods from various

different sources, thus negating the association of a product necessarily being traded by its culture of origin.

The growing role played by wine in Southern France is further encapsulated by specific pottery styles, shipwreck evidence in the Gulf of Lion, and recent chemical analysis of amphora and a grape press at Lattes. Those imported fine-ware ceramics found at sites such as Saint Blaise are all exclusively related to drinking, such as *kantharos* cups, *oinochoai* pitchers of which many are made of *bucchero nero* material (Dietler 2005: 50). These forms are later adapted and made locally as colonial hybrid ceramics, and Massaliot amphora, especially in Phase 2 (Figure 2), are found in large numbers in indigenous sites and may have been geared for export. They most probably contained wine, when considering that Massalia had become a major producer, the Greek Ionian amphora type it copied exclusively carried wine, and that, according to Atheneus, the locals had no taste for olive oil (Dietler 2005: 70). Shipwrecks in the Gulf have also been found to contain generally homogeneous cargos of amphora and fine drinking ware. The 6th century Ecueil de Miet wreck had around 100 Etruscan amphora as well as *bucchero nero kantharoi* presumably bound for Massalia; the shipment thus contained wine for consumption and the tools by which locals consumed wine (Dietler 2010: 135).

Figure 14: Wine press discovered at Lattes

In Lattes, a merchant quarter which may have housed a community of Etruscan traders, was found to contain several amphora, and a limestone pressing platform (Figure 12). 13 undisturbed amphora and the press were tested for chemical residue indicative of wine. Also, archaeobotanical finds indicate that an overwhelming predominance of grape seeds, fruit and skins were found within the same or nearby buildings and were even stored and ready to be pressed (McGovern et al. 2013: 2). It can be assumed that the production of wine occurred locally, when considering that grapes made up 80 percent of fruit found in the entire settlement, 15 to 25 percent of all cultivated plants, and chemical analysis for tartaric acid (a grape biomarker) was positive for the amphora and the pressing platform (McGovern 2013: 2-3).

However it is still unclear how these settlements gained, in our consideration, their urban characteristics, and this process's relation to wine consumption. The role of drinking is not to be underestimated, since it can be culturally defined as having important social, political, and economic aspects in communal life. It can be used to smooth out social tensions, as a 'prestige' item of limited distribution, and can stimulate production through processes such as the work party feast (Dietler 2005: 173). In the context of Southern France, wine was most probably adopted as an addition to a native repertoire of grain based drinks. It was very much integrated and used in a local fashion, when considering that it was drank neat, since *krater* mixing bowls do not figure prominently, if at all, and was adapted to native drinking patterns (Dietler 2005: 175). In a more heterarchical society, wine consumption could be used as a more nuanced means of acquiring prestige by monopolizing sources of acquisition, yet as a society became saturated by said product, it would threaten traditional power bases by engendering "free- floating power" (Dietler 2005: 177). Disadvantaged groups or individuals would then be able to harness the same power by hosting feasts and mobilizing labour, effectively creating identity struggles, as power-defining commodities such as wine would be used in increasing amounts to mitigate such conflict. Increased demand for wine would stimulate labour, thus expanding trade networks, increasing trade volume, and in the process attribute certain sites with more predictable sources of wine and drinking gear, especially as merchant trading routes became more established. This would have resulted in shifts of population towards these loci, which could explain the large size and sophistication of places such as Lattes, Pech Maho and Saint Blaise (Dietler 2005: 179). Increased regularity of frequentation by traders may have resulted in "exchange centers, 'port of trade', or 'emporium' " (Dietler 2005: 179) for the consumption of valued items such as wine.

Conclusion:

It is good to keep in mind that correlation does not mean causation. Urban development in Southern France was a result of natural processes, at a time of general growth and increased complexity in the Mediterranean. However, it is impossible to ignore the sheer enormity of the material evidence of wine. Consider that remains of consumption are found almost unanimously at differing sites around the Gulf of Lion, wine production in the later Roman era was to become a major local industry, as well the preexisting prevalence of alcohol as a social tool meant trade and its subsequent societal effects must have been intensive . It is reasonable to assume that wine,

as a highly demanded item, was one of perhaps a number of traded products, whose demand acted as a catalyst for synoecism. Wines prevalent role, and the importance attributed to it in its social usage link back strongly to the underlying questions of the argument at hand. Its prestige status, especially in the early years of its introduction to the area, and seeming popularity in meant that those political entities who were strategically located to exploit it benefited enormously, thus encouraging participation in this specific network of exchange. Wine can be seen as perhaps one of the main traded items which allowed for the greater integration of Southern France into the Mediterranean system of trade, and may have been an early example of the process of offshoring. Evidence of foreign communities within many of the coastal settlements, in tandem with a growth in local exploitation of viticulture may indicate that Greeks and Etruscans, aware of this lucrative market, relocated locally for reasons of transportation ease, and the ability to increase amounts of the product which would not be limited by size of a trading ships storage hold. They would have also prospered since they held a necessary skill set in ensuring the correct process of production and quality standards. As mentioned previously, economic prosperity, even if based of specialized sources such as wine, required manpower for the agricultural, transportational and preparational aspects, as well as the myriad of secondary processes created by the need to support such large concentrations of people. This would have resulted in new patterns of migration, and the creation of central hubs for the industry. The beginnings of large scale growth in urban communities in Southern France between the 7th and 5th centuries B.C.E. are a result of its integration in greater exchange systems of the Western Mediterranean, and the growth of the reach of said systems into continental Europe. Southern France was ideally placed to exploit a popular product such as wine, and produce it on a scale that would fulfill both its high demand locally, and the demand of areas such as the Hallstatt region up the Rhone river, and even further North. It is worth noting that the local expression of this urban growth is unique in that it melds both local and foreign influences in buildings forms and usage, further encapsulated by the fact that a foreign product such as wine could become so fundamentally intertwined with the local cultures.

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