

Celtic Regionalities: personal ornaments from Southern Gaul

Michel Feugère

▶ To cite this version:

Michel Feugère. Celtic Regionalities: personal ornaments from Southern Gaul. G. Tiefengraber, B. Kavur, A. Gaspari. Keltske Studije II. Studies in Celtic Archaeology. Papers in Honour of Mitja Gustin, Monique Mergoil, pp.185-195, 2009, Protohistoire européenne, 11. halshs-00437668

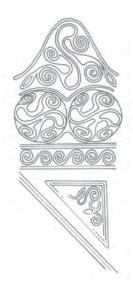
HAL Id: halshs-00437668 https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00437668

Submitted on 1 Dec 2009

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Keltske študije ii studies in celtic archaeology



Michel Feugère*

Celtic Regionalities : personal ornaments from Southern Gaul

Summary: The existence of personal jewelry of the Celtic type in the South of France is a already well known fact, but short time ago it was realised, that some of this ornaments also indicate a regional production. The fact, that this accessories of the Celtic dress (fibulae, belts) have already been produced in Southern Gaul from the beginning of the middle of the 5th century BC onwards seems to indicate a presence of Celtic groups in this region already at this time. It is possible to find more examples for this development of ornaments (armrings and belts especially) in the 3rd and 2nd century BC, which confirms, that the population has been present already in the second part of the second Iron Age. The production of original Celtic jewelry – concerning to main types and style – shows, that the clients and the artists of this ornaments have always been in the knowledge of being Celts, which lived in this region in narrow contact with populations of different origin. In the way of producing and wearing of this ornaments connected with their specific way of life and a special dresscode, the ethnic and cultural identity compared to their non-Celtic neighbours was emphasized.

Keywords: Southern Gaul, Celtic ornaments, local production, 5th century BC, presence of Celtic groups

E-mail: Michel.Feugere@wanadoo.fr

Since the development of cultural anthropology, dress accessories have been used as significant indicators of ethnicity. Like clothes, hairstyle and grooming practices, they belong to the construction / perception of an individual's identity. When there is no reason to hide this identity, they are used by men and women to display their intimate perception of themselves. Within a community, personal ornaments are produced and worn for the same purpose. They therefore express, but also serve to construct, the self-representation of the group as a society.

It is therefore legitimate for archaeologists to use such objects as indicators of social status and ethnicity. Of course, in the past, exaggeration has led to the over-interpretation of some finds, often those isolated from their context, where there was one at all¹. A magnificent Celtic bronze bracelet from the Tarn in Southern Gaul² remains a possible indicator of Celtic culture in this area, but it can also be seen as just an import from another country, either quite close or more distant. Under such circumstances, its ability to allow us to appreciate the Celtic nature of the local population remains extremely limited.

More everyday forms are clearly of greater significance. Some years ago I tried to analyse the ways in which archaeologists can interpret bronze personal ornaments, using their morphology but also their frequency of occurrence and the existence of type variations³. Dress accessories of foreign origin can be imports, if they are well known in one area and only occasionally occur in another. But even in such simple cases, they can be interpreted in different ways: either as traded goods, or as an indication of the presence of an individual carrying with him the signs of his ethnicity. The latter interpretation is more likely to be accepted when the find is a non-precious object, such as a simple bronze ring. Exogamy is a possible interpretation of such finds when they remain isolated (such as an Alpine-type bowed ring from Lattes).

When 'foreign' objects are more numerous in an area, they can reflect a relationship of domination, where all artefacts are simply brought from one region to another because there is no reason, or context, to produce them locally. This is normally achieved by the presence of some members of the "motherland" in a colony organizing the economy: a colony is used to produce or collect some goods, and there is no particular reason to develop them.

But if we are allowed to make use of the modern concept of « durable development », such a system is far from stable. Soon, economic domination will have cultural consequences; a local society will appear in the colony, if only within the settlers, with a culture which is not entirely similar to that of the "motherland". This evolution will, unavoidably, lead to the production of new artefacts, locally produced in imitation of the orginals, but with a local taste which will allow future archaeologists to recognize them.

This scheme, which I developed in 1990 on the basis

of the data then available for personal ornaments from Southern Gaul, can now be applied to a much more substantial corpus of finds. Excavations have continued to take place and new data is continuously flowing in, giving us more examples to illustrate the following scheme for the interpretation of artefacts (Fig. 1):

- 1) punctual relation : a few objects are exported from a region to another, apart from any long-term process;
- 2) economic domination: an active and powerful region exports its productions to a less active or powerful area;
- 3) cultural domination/colonisation: an active and powerful region exports a group of its members (as well as some goods), into a less active or powerful area. This causes the local production of artefacts whose typology, although of foreign type, soon acquire local features;
- 4) favoured links (older population flows): in two equally active and powerful areas, old links can lead to a continuous exchange of goods between the two regions.

Let us now have a look at some dress accessories of Celtic type in Southern Gaul (Fig. 2), and the way they fit (or do not fit) into this scheme:

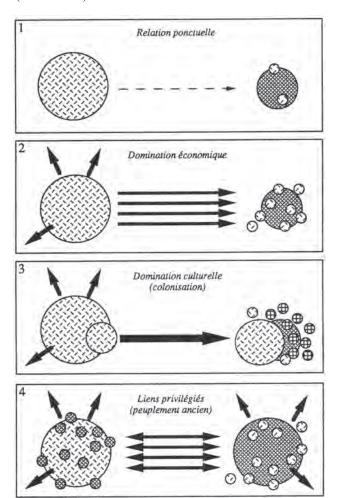


Fig. 1: Interpretation of artefacts according to their frequence, the existence of variants as well as the social context. Large circles reprensent social groups, small dots the artefacts issued and eventually traded by each of them (after Feugère 1993, fig. 8).

¹ Garcia 2006.

² Jacobsthal 1944, Nr. 432–433.

³ Feugère 1993.

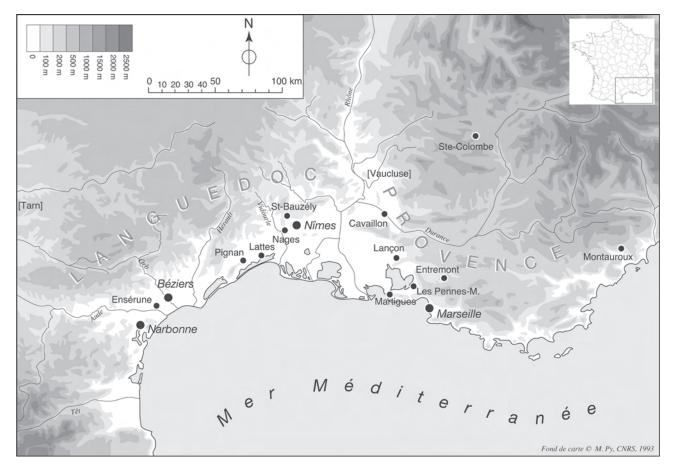


Fig. 2: Geomorphology of the studied area, with localisation of the main cultural areas and sites mentioned in the text.

1. Brooches

Brooches were used in archaic Greece, but tend to disappear in the Classical period. Yet they were preserved in the Celtic way of dressing, both for men and women. In Southern Gaul there is a long tradition of brooches, starting in the late 7th century BC with a few Greek imports, but mostly with types influenced by Iberian models. In the 6th century BC nearly all types in use between the Alps and the Pyrenees were of Iberian origin (Fig. 3, 1–2).

A change occured in the 5th century with the appearance of some Ha D3 fibulae, for the most part of Mansfeld type F4⁴. Within this type, W. Dehn and T. Stöllner made a useful distinction between several variants, some early as the Magny-Lambert variant (with a very long spring) and the Villeneuve variant (short spring).

To the same tradition, but of a later date, belongs the Bussy variant with a « basket-handle » bow of wire cross-section, influenced by the Marzabotto form and datable to the mid/second half of the 5th century BC (Fig. 3, 3)⁵. A significant collection of early forms (fragmented but mostly F4) was found in Béziers in 5th century BC levels⁶, as well as in Martigues in contexts reaching the early 4th century⁷.

The settlements in the Languedoc and Provence also produced some « duck-head » brooches ("Entenkopffibeln")⁸,

dated to the first half of the 5th century. The type is known

north and south of the Alps in equal proportions (Fig. 3,

4)9. During the same period, local types of Iberian origin,

such as the « Golfe du Lion » brooches, continued to be

in use on the same sites 10, showing the coexistence of cul-

tures and perhaps of communities. Most of the available

data comes from Languedoc and Roussillon — that is,

west of the Rhône — but recent excavations near Mar-

seille, for example at Martigues, gave similar results with

many "Westhallstattkreis" brooches occurring throughout

the 5th and into the first quarter of the 4th century BC11. Fur-

thermore, an interesting phenomenon appears during this

period in eastern Provence: the emergence of double-foot

fibulae, a form which has, more accurately, an ornament

Such fibulae were first studied in South Gaul by A.-H.

replicating the foot shape above the spring.

Amann in 1977, but shortly afterwards W. Dehn was right to underline the existence of this feature in separate regions of the Celtic West¹². In fact, 5th century brooches with

⁴ Mansfeld 1973; Feugère et al. 1994.

⁵ Dehn – Stöllner 1996.

⁶ Ugolini – Olive 1987/88, fig. 12; Ugolini – Olive 2006, 127–131.

⁷ Rétif 2000, fig. 10.

⁸ Pignan: Tendille 1983, 59 fig. 39 Nr. 6; Sainte-Colombe: Courtois 1968, fig. 84, 2.

⁹ Feugère – Guillot 1986, map fig. 38.

 $^{^{\}rm 10}$ Tendille 1983, 59 fig. 39 Nr. 4; Rétif 2000, fig. 10 and 11.

¹¹ Rétif 2000, 173.

¹² Amann 1977; Dehn 1981.

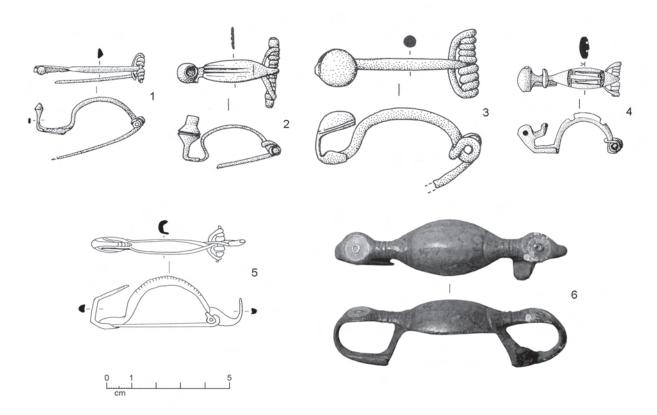


Fig. 3 : Brooches used in the Vth c. BC : 1 Murviel-les-M (34), c. 550–475 (Richard – Feugère – Soyris 1980). 2 Nissan, Ensérune (34), tbe 56 [1945] (ibid.). 3 Nissan, Ensérune (34), tbe 12 [1945] (Feugère *et al.* 1994). 4 Pignan, Les Gardies (34) (Tendille 1983). 5 Claviers, Grotte de la Lioure (83) (Amann 1977). 6 Montauroux (83) (unpublished). (Scale 2 : 3).

"double foot", thus paying their tribute to the Celtic taste for symmetry, are not only known in Provence but also (and in greater numbers) in the Mosel-Rhein-Neckar area, as well as in Iberia. From the Rhineland the type (actually including several forms of foot/head) seems to have diffused to South Germany, the Alps and Central Europe. A single artefact recovered in the Champagne does not convincingly suggest any export flow towards the West. Things are different towards the south since, as we mentioned, there are clear exports from this group in Baden-Württemberg.

After some hesitation, another brooch of this type, known in Switzerland, was correctly attributed to the Rhine group¹³, then the map shows a gap until the coast of Provence. But other similar brooches are known in Illyria and as far south as in Central Italy (Nemi). Dehn suggested that the Provence objects, as well as the Italian one, belonged to a « mediterranean » variant of the Celtic original type. In fact, Celtic material culture appears to have developed regional styles in every area where the population was active enough to answer its own needs, notably in terms of dress accessories. I therefore interpreted the Provence group as a good illustration of this process, although a clear link between Provence and the Rhineland was then missing¹⁴.

We now have a new discovery to enlighten the connections between these two groups: it is a bronze brooch dis-

covered south of Montauroux (Var) (Fig. 3, 6). This amazing artefact has an oval swelled bow, attached to which are two symmetrical ornaments; both have flat discs which, when the brooch was discovered, still showed traces of red and white stripes, with red enamel at the centre.

Symmetrical brooches exist in Provence from the early 5th century BC, as shown by the deposit of the Grotte de la Lioure¹⁵, and this new example shows close links with the earliest "Maskenfibeln" and "Tierfibeln" of the Mosel-Rhein area¹⁶. It can thus be considered as an early example of the Provence group, directly inspired by the Mosel-Rhine cast symmetrical brooches. This implies a date in the mid 5th century BC at the latest, which makes the Montauroux fibula one of the earliest examples of enamelling known on a Celtic object. Up until now this technique was believed to have developed only from the 4th century BC onwards¹⁷.

With this group we therefore have evidence for the Southern Gaulish production of Celtic brooches starting in the mid 5th century BC, perhaps even in the second quarter of the century, and directly inspired from forms of the same period from the Middle Rhineland. From this time onwards, we can assign several types of brooches, many of them with coral inlays, to Southern Gaulish workshops.

¹³ Dehn 1966; 1981, map fig. 5.

¹⁴ Feugère 1993, 47 and fig. 11.

¹⁵ Amann 1977, 227.

¹⁶ Binding 1993, for ex. pl. 12-14.

¹⁷ Challet 1992, 35 ff.

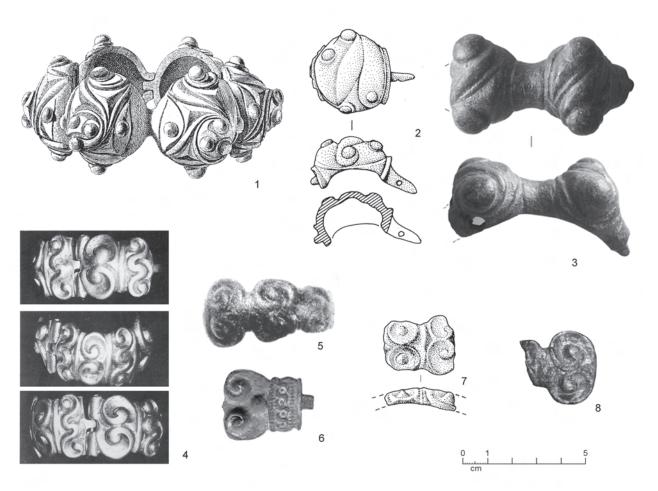


Fig. 4: Bracelets of Teste-Nègre type and their possible models: 1 'Hohlbuckelring' from Klettham (D) (Lindenschmit 1870). 2 Vaison-la-Romaine (84) (Feugère 1996). 3 Bélarga (34) (unpublished). 4 Saint-Bauzély or surroundings (30) (Tendille 1979). 5 Les Pennes-M., Teste-Nègre (13) (Chabot 2004). 6 unprovenanced (unpublished). 7 surroundings of the Sainte-Victoire (13) (Feugère 2002). 8 Les Pennes-M., La Cloche (13) (Chabot 2004). (1–3, 5–8 bronze; 4 silver; Scale 2: 3).

2. Bracelets

Arm- as well as ankle-rings are known in great quantities in the Early Iron Age in South Gaul, thanks to the « dépôts launaciens » (late 7th-6th century BC) of which they usually form the greatest part. But later forms are not as well studied, and we lack datable examples to illustrate the types in use in Southern Gaul in the 5th and 4th centuries. Some stratified finds suggest that, in the early 5th century, light « armilles », made of thin bands or thin wires, were still appreciated just as much as they were in other areas of Gaul; these arm-rings were worn in groups, joined by a clasp 18. Although Lt A and B bracelets still need to be studied in detail in the south of France, an interesting phenomenon occurs at Lt C: it more or less reproduces what we have previously observed for Lt A brooches.

For many years a magnificent bronze bracelet, found in the Tarn area (north-east of Toulouse), was the only example from Southern France of a form well known north of the Alps, such as the Gelting, Klettham (Fig. 4, 1) or Aholming bracelets in Bavaria¹⁹. Then the clasp of a similar piece occured at Vaison-la-Romaine, in the Rhône valley midway between Lyon and Marseille (Fig. 4, 2)²⁰. We now know of a second fragment of similar type from Belarga (34) (Fig. 4, 3) in the Herault valley, which is an area of low hills between the Rhône and the Pyrenees.

These two fragments confirm that such bracelets occasionally reached Southern Gaul, having being traded either through the Rhône valley (the usual route) or through the mountains of the Massif Central. Such imports may therefore have influenced a form of bracelet that is original to the area: again, this group was developed in Provence, although the only mould fragments known so far were uncovered on the site of Lattes (34). This site is, in fact, outside the distribution map of this bracelet type, but within the territory of the Arecomici, who may have played their rôle in the production of this form. The only known silver example comes from Saint-Bauzély (30), in the neigh-

¹⁸ Tendille 1979, 62 Nr. 4–11; Tendille 1983, fig. 39 Nr. 11–12.

¹⁹ Lindenschmit 1870; Krämer 1985, pl. 41B; pl. 87.

²⁰ Feugère 1996.

bourhood of Nîmes (Fig. 4, 4)²¹. It is now preserved in the Musée d'Archéologie Nationale at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

Although we still lack a proper study of the form and its variants, we know that all the bracelets of the « type Teste-Nègre » were flat, and decorated on the outer part with rings, curves and s-motives in the Celtic taste. Such bracelets were equipped with a clasp just like those of the « Hohlbuckelringe » from which they derive.

Teste-Nègre type bracelets dated by their context are rare, but we know from the sites where they occur that they were in use in the mid to second Iron Age. Their chronology is confirmed both by their relationship to the « Hohlbuckelringe » from north of the Alps²², and by some images of such bracelets on some female (or hero) statues from Entremont²³. This production is therefore well dated to Lt C, from the mid 3rd century BC onwards.

3. Belts

A third category of dress accessories can be used here to illustrate our point: belts were, of course, in use in many cultures, and in Southern Gaul several different traditions coexist. The most striking one, illustrated by several finds from the western Languedoc as well as two sculptures from the Arecomici territory, is the Iberian type with hooks. The type appears in the 7th century BC²⁴ and is a frequent find in 6th BC contexts in the areas betwen the Pyrenees and the river Hérault. It is therefore no surprise to find Celtic belts continuing to be deposited in graves in the same area, whereas finds from the rest of Southern Gaul remain scarce²⁵.

While the most important collection of early Celtic belts from South Gaul is still the one from Ensérune²⁶, a dozen such objects form part of a votive deposit from Cavaillon, previously unpublished (Fig. 5, 3–5). Three of them belong to Leconte type IA and can be considered as 5th century imports from northern areas, such as Champagne, where they are known in quantity. Southern Gaul therefore received, as early as the second quarter or the mid-5th century BC, direct imports of belts from the North.

Yet the situation with belts seems to be somehow similar to the one we have observed with brooches. At the very same time, as shown by a stratified find from Béziers (34)²⁷ and another one from Coudounéu at Lançon (13)²⁸, belt clasps seem to be produced in Southern Gaul in a style which, while clearly referring to the Northern imports, possesses a distinctive appearance of its own (Fig. 5, 1–2). If Celtic belts were produced on the Gaulish Mediterra-

nean coast as early as the mid-5th century BC, it implies that Celtic populations were already settled there.

The 4th and 3rd centuries BC are not so well documented in the South: archaeologists suggest that poverty was a consequence of heavy exploitation of the locals by the Mediterranean colonists and merchants. But in the early 2nd century BC a new type of belt appears, worn by women, and made of cast double elements articulated with simple circular rings. These chains are fastened at the front by a special clasp, often decorated with groups of beads, with the two ends hanging down over the legs. This complicated ornament is known in several areas of the Celtic world, where it always takes on a distinctive regional style. The chain belts of Bavaria and Central Europe are the most impressive, with the cast elements decorated with red enamel.

Compared with such jewels, the Southern Gaulish chain belts – which I called the Nages type, from the site where they first appeared in any number - can be described as simple, if not severe belts (fig. 6). Their cast elements are plain and do not show any type of decoration. The interesting point is that they were probably produced by the Arecomici, and only seem to have spread around their territory (distribution map, fig. 7). A cast element still in its clay mould and with casting sprue was discovered in the harbour of Lattes²⁹, and isolated pieces are not rare in the settlements of the area. Yet they do not penetrate much west into the territory of Béziers, and are unknown in Narbonne as well as further west. A few cast elements are known in Vaucluse to the east, but they seem to belong to a thinner variant which may, just like the Nages type, represent a local interpretation of the form. The Nages type chain belt can therefore be considered not only as a Celtic dress accessory, but also as one specifically belonging to the Arecomici.

The date of their production is not easy to define, as many cast rings have been found, after breakage, loss and possible re-use, in contexts of the 2nd century BC and even the first half of the 1st century BC, if not later. But we are fortunate to have a typical ring, unfinished, from a workshop area in Lattes, found in a layer of the second half of the 3rd century BC³⁰. In another sector of the town, another element, apparently the suspension element for three pendants, comes from a layer dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century BC³¹. The production of the belts therefore probably covers most of Lt C, certainly starting in Lt C1.

4. Conclusions

Applying our data to the grid presented in the first page of this contribution, we find that our three categories of artefacts – although of different dates – all fit within our third case. The early emergence of local types directly inspired from the contemporary objects of the same function in northern areas (East Gaul, Rhineland) not only means

²¹ Tendille 1979, 79.

²² Lt C1: Krämer 1961; Krämer 1985, 22 ff.

²³ Salviat 1987, 196 Nr. 16; 233 Nr. 46.

²⁴ Acebuchal type: Nickels et al. 1989, 193 fig. 165 Nr. 121y.

²⁵ Feugère *et al.* 1994, maps fig. 2 and 3.

²⁶ Feugère et al. 1994; Leconte 1993; Leconte 1995.

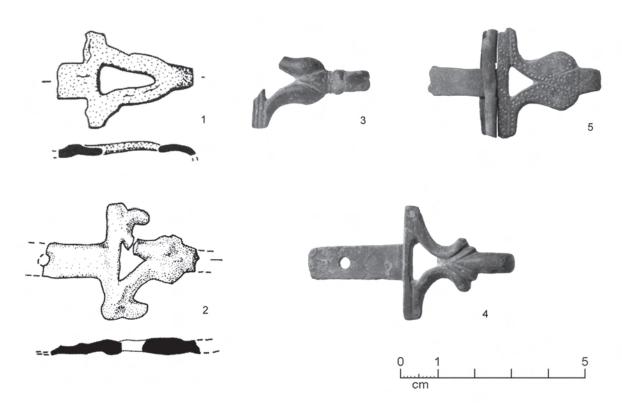
²⁷ Ugolini – Olive 2006, 130 (c. 450).

²⁸ Verdin 1996-97, fig. 19, 12 (c. 475-400).

²⁹ Tendille – Manniez 1990, fig. 3, 3; Nr. 16.

³⁰ Tendille – Manniez 1990, Nr. 16.

³¹ Py 1994, fig. 5 Nr. 149.



 $Fig.~5:V^{th}~c.~BC~belt~hooks~of~celtic~type~from~South~Gaul:\\1, 2~B\'{e}ziers~(34)~(after~Ugolini-Olive~2006).~3-5~Cavaillon~(84)~(unpubl.)~(1~bronze;~Scale~1:1).$

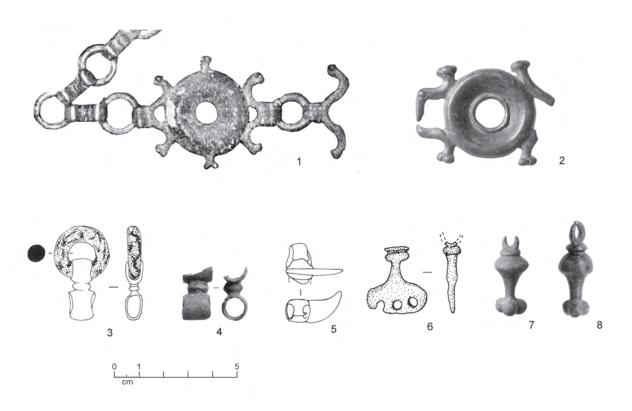


Fig. 6 : Belt-chains of Nages type : 1 Nages (Déchelette 1914). 2 Saint-Pargoire (34) (unpubl.). 3 Nages, Les Castels (30) (Tendille 1980). 4 Saint-Côme, *Mauressip* (30) (Tendille 1980). 5 Villeneuve-les-M. (unpubl.). 6 Lattes (34) (Py 1994). 7 « Vaucluse » (unpubl.). 8 Aspiran, Dourbie (34) (fouilles S. Mauné). (1–8 bronze, 3 with iron ring; Scale 2 : 3).

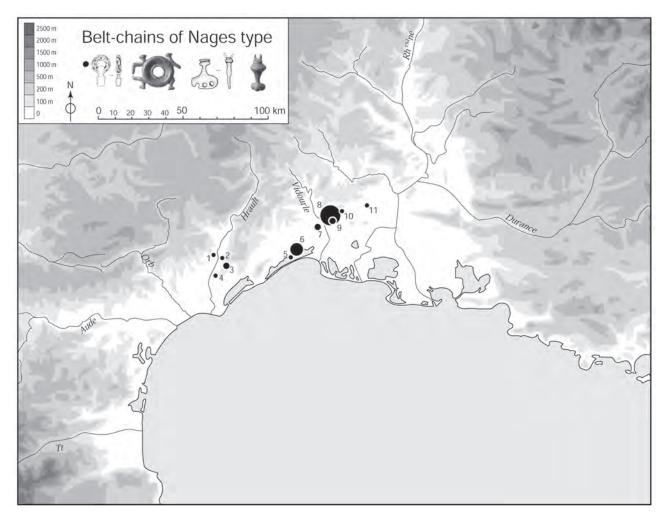


Fig. 7: Distribution of belt-chains type Nages (see Lists 1A-E): 1 Aspiran. 2 Bélarga. 3 Saint-Pargoire. 4 Aumes. 5 Villeneuve-les-Maguelonne. 6 Lattes. 7 Villetelle, Ambrussum. 8 Nages. 9 Saint-Dionisy. 10 Nîmes. 11 Saint-Bonnet-du-Gard.

that artefacts from these regions were present in Southern Gaul. Their influence on local types, following the style of the originals but with minor differences, implies that at least part of the population was Celtic, and had to produce dress accessories to supply a Celtic population which could not be fulfilled by imports.

This conclusion, already arrived at from the analysis of the data available in the 90s³², can now be supported by new discoveries, not only more numerous but also better illustrating the scheme. From the mid-5th century, Celts were present on the Southern Gaulish coast and began to produce dress accessories. The same process was still operating two centuries later, as shown by the Teste-Nègre type bracelets and Nages type belts, but no doubt further artefacts, especially in the informative category of personal ornaments, were also produced here based on Celtic models.

The question of a Celtic flow to Southern Gaul has long been discussed, first only on the basis of texts³³. In the early

second half of the 20th century, archaeology was first used to confirm the idea of violent and massive invasions on Southern sites in the 3rd century BC³⁴. The revival of Iron Age archaeology in the 70s led to a critical reading of such views, underlining the regional specificity of Southern Gaulish cultures, especially their continuity³⁵. The presence of Celtic objects in the material culture (brooches, weapons...) was at that time considered to be the result of specialized trade rather than than indicating a Celtic presence in the area. This position was intended to « reflect the whole of of the historic, linguistic, archaeological and ethnographical data, but also to explain the specific culture of the Southern Gauls, so foreign to the called "laténienne" after the site of La Tène in Switzerland, to the Gauls on the continent – and to our schoolbooks »³⁶.

British readers will appreciate the "continent", which makes the South of France look like an island. The idea that the region received several tides of people arriving

³² Feugère 1993; Feugère *et al.* 1994, 245.

³³ Jullian 1907, 281 ff.; Déchelette 1913, 577; Hubert 1932, 92.

³⁴ Hatt 1959, 27.

³⁵ Py 1990, 146.

³⁶ Py 1993, 43.

from the North, starting in the Late Bronze Age if not earlier, is probably correct; but it does not imply that some of those flows were not more impressive, and of greater influence on the local cultures, than others. Celts arriving with a sophisticated background, including a new language, religion, mythology, art etc. may have had a strong impact on the transformation of local identity. And the local production of dress accessories from the 5th century BC in Southern Gaul is a clear translation of this process.

Of course, this does not mean that the whole population immediately considered itself as Celtic. There must have been a coexistence of different groups, but soon Celtic taste (no doubt indicating the progress of other aspects of the Celtic identity) became sufficiently dominant to give rise to the need for local production of personal ornaments. At this stage the import of foreign brooches, arm-rings and belts from the north was no longer answering demand: not only was the number of artefacts required too large, but the local variants in style and typology were gradually preferred to the imported models.

It is now time to accept what the detailed study of artefacts teaches about the nature and identity of the population in Southern Gaul, as in any other region. Even in prehistory, regional identity is not likely to remain unchanged when all the world around is transforming. Among the numerous influences, including waves of incomers, to which an area is submitted in the course of time, some can lead to a fundamental transformation of the regional identity itself. This is the process that we can observe in South Gaul, in those areas where, and in the periods when, Celtic dress accessories were locally produced.

Liste 1 : Chaînes-ceintures de type Nages

1A: doubles maillons coulés

- 1 : Aumes, *Lico-Castel* (34), L. 23,5 mm (MPM, inv. 995.42.6).
- 2 : Bélarga, Les Condamines (34) (MPM, inv. 988.4.1).
- 3 : Lattes, *Port-Ariane* (34), us 20002, 300/-100 (Feugère 2007, 550 fig.1 Nr. 108).
- 4–7: Lattes, *St-Sauveur* (34), en cours de fabr., c. 250/-200 (Tendille Manniez 1990, 101 fig. 3.3 Nr. 16). us 31170, -200/-175 (Py 2004, 50 fig. 64 Nr. 1). us 31173, vers -175 (Py 2004, 50 fig. 64 Nr. 5). us 9003, -175/-125 (Py 1994, 396 fig. 21 Nr. 1076).
- 8 : Nages (30), déc. ancienne (Déchelette 1914, 999 fig. 419).
- 9–17: Nages, *Les Castels* (30), -200/-30 (Tendille 1980, fig. 7 Nr. 54–62).
- 18–19 : Nîmes, *Mont-Cavalier* (30) (Tendille 1980, fig. 7 Nr. 64, 66).
- 20 : St-Bonnet-du-Gard, *Le Marduel* (30) (Tendille 1980, fig. 7 Nr. 68).
- 21–24 : St-Côme-et-Maruéjols, *Mauressip* (30) (Tendille 1980, fig. 7 Nr. 63, 65, 69, 70).
- 25 : St-Pargoire, Virins-2 (34) (MPM, inv. 2005.4.1).
- 26 : Villeneuve-les-M., *La Madeleine* (34) (MPM, inv. 2007.61.1).

1B : double maillon coulé à ergot

1 : St-Côme-et-Maruéjols, *Mauressip* (30) (Tendille 1980, fig. 7 Nr. 67).

1C: agrafes

- 1 : Nages, Les Castels (30), déc. ancienne (Déchelette 1914, 99 fig. 419).
- 2 : St-Pargoire, Virins (34), surf. (MPM, inv. 2008.4.1).
- 3 : Villetelle, *Le Sablas* (34) (étude en cours Y. Manniez, Nr. 933).

1D : répartiteur de pendants

1 : Lattes, *St-Sauveur* (34), us 2117, -225/-200 (Py 1994, 377 fig. 5 Nr. 149).

IE: pendants

- 1 : Aspiran, *Dourbie* (34) (2008, fouilles S. Mauné, MR 2373).
- 2 : Lattes, *St-Sauveur* (34), -200/-175 (Tendille Manniez 1990, 102 fig. 3.4 Nr. 23).
- 3: « Vaucluse » (MPM, inv. 2007.11.1).
- 4–5 : Villetelle, *Le Sablas* (34) (étude en cours Y. Manniez, Nr. 931, 932).

Bibliography

Amann 1977: A.H. Amann, Les fibules à double pied découvertes en Provence, Rev. Arch. Narb. X, 1977, 223–233.

Binding 1993: U. Binding, Studien zu den figürlichen Fibeln der Frühlatènezeit, Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie 16 (Bonn 1993).

Courtois 1968 : J.-C. Courtois, Découvertes archéologiques de l'Age du Bronze et de l'Age du Fer dans les Hautes-Alpes, 1955–1967, Bull. Soc. Et. Hautes-Alpes 1968, 19–144.

Déchelette 1913 : J. Déchelette, Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine, II, 2, Premier Age du Fer ou époque de Hallstatt (Paris 1913).

Dehn 1966: W. Dehn, Die Doppelvogelkopffibel aus dem Val-de-Travers, in: Helvetia Antiqua. Festschrift Emil Vogt (Zürich 1966) 137–146.

Dehn 1981: W. Dehn, Remarques sur l'histoire des fibules de La Tène ancienne à double tête d'oiseau, Revue Archéol. Est et Centre-Est 32, 1981, 93–97.

Dehn – Stöllner 1996: W. Dehn – T. Stöllner, Fußpaukenfibel und Drahtfibel (Marzabottofibel). Ein Beitrag zum kulturhistorischen Verständnis des 5. Jh. in Mitteleuropa, in: T. Stöllner (dir.), Europa celtica. Untersuchungen zur Hallstatt- und Latènekultur, Veröff. des vorgesch. Sem. Marburgs 10 (Espelkamp 1996) 1–54.

Feugère 1993: M. Feugère, Des parures et des hommes. Economie et société en Gaule méridionale à travers l'exemple des parures celtiques, in : A. Daubigney (dir.), Fonctionnement social de l'Age du Fer. Actes de la tableronde de Lons-le-Saunier (Lons 1993) 43–55.

Feugère *et al.* **1994** : M. Feugère – B. Dedet – S. Leconte – G. Rancoule, Les parures en Gaule méridionale du Ve au IIe s. av. J.-C. Composantes indigènes, ibériques et celtiques, in : L'Age du Fer en Europe sud-occidentale. Actes du XVIe colloque de l'AFEAF, Agen 1992, Aquitania 12, 1994, 237–281.

Feugère 1996: M. Feugère, Un bracelet celtique de La Tène moyenne à Vaison-la-Romaine (Vaucluse), Doc. Arch. Mérid. 19-20, 1996/97, 199–200.

Feugère – Guillot 1986: M. Feugère – A. Guillot, Fouilles de Bragny, 1, les petits objets dans le contexte du Hallstatt final, Rev. Arch. Est et C.-Est 37, 1986, 159–221.

Garcia 2004 : D. Garcia, La Celtique méditerranéenne. Habitats et sociétés en Languedoc et en Provence du VIII^e au II^e siècle avant J.-C. (Paris 2004).

Garcia 2006: D. Garcia, Les Celtes de Gaule méditerranéenne. Définition et caractérisation, in : M. Szábo (dir.), Celtes et Gaulois. L'Archéologie face à l'Histoire. Les Civilisés et les Barbares, du Ve au IIe s. av. J.-C. Actes de la table-ronde de Budapest, 17-18 juin 2005, coll. Bibracte 12/3 (Glux-en-Glenne 2006) 63–76.

Hatt 1959: J.-J. Hatt, Histoire de la Gaule romaine (120 av. J.-C. – 451 ap. J.-C.). Colonisation ou colonialisme? (Paris 1959).

Hubert 1932 : H. Hubert, Les Celtes depuis l'époque de La Tène et l'expansion de la civilisation celtique (Paris 1932).

Jacobsthal 1944: P. Jacobsthal, Early Celtic Art (Oxford 1944; reed. 1969).

Jullian 1907: C. Jullian, Histoire de la Gaule I (Paris 1907).

Krämer 1961: W. Krämer, Keltische Hohlbuckelringe vom Isthmus von Korinth, Germania 39, 1961, 32–42.

Krämer 1985: W. Krämer, Die Grabfunde von Manching und die latènezeitlichen Flachgräber in Südbayern, Die Ausgrabungen in Manching 9 (Stuttgart 1985).

Leconte 1993 : S. Leconte, Les agrafes de ceinture ajourées de La Tène ancienne en Gaule, Ant. Nat. 25, 1993, 51–80.

Leconte 1995 : S. Leconte, Les agrafes de ceinture ajourées à Ensérune, étude et comparaisons interrégionales, Et. Celtiques XXXI, 1995, 7–47.

Lindenschmit 1870: L. Lindenschmit, Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit II (Mainz 1870).

Mansfeld 1973: G. Mansfeld, Die Fibeln der Heuneburg 1950–1970, Heuneburgstudien 2 = Römisch-Germanische Forschungen 33 (Berlin 1973).

Nickels *et al.* 1989 : A. Nickels *et al.*, Agde : la nécropole du Premier Age du Fer, Rev. Arch. Narb., Suppl. 19 (Paris 1989).

Py 1990: M. Py, Culture, économie et société protohistoriques dans la région nimoise, coll. EFR 131 (Paris, Rome 1990).

Py 1994: M. Py, Catalogue des petits objets, in : D. Garcia (dir.), Exploration de la ville portuaire de Lattes. Les îlots 2 4-sud 5 7-est 7-ouest 8 9 et 16 du quartier Saint-Sauveur, Lattara 7, 1994, 373–422.

Richard – Feugère – Soyris 1980: J.-C. Richard – M. Feugère – P. Soyris, Les fibules de Murviel-les-Montpelli-

er, Arch. en Lang. 3, 1980, 123-134.

Rétif 2000: M. Rétif, Le mobilier métallique de l'habitat protohistorique de L'Ile de Martigues, B.-du-Rh. (Ve - IIe s. av. J.-C.), Doc. Arch. Mérid. 23, 2000, 279–282.

Salviat 1987: F. Salviat, La sculpture d'Entremont, in : Archéologie d'Entremont au Musée Granet (Aix-en-Provence 1987) 165–239.

Tendille 1979 : C. Tendille, Mobiliers métalliques protohistoriques de la région nimoise : les bracelets, Doc. Arch. Mérid. 2, 1979, 61–79.

Tendille 1983: C. Tendille, Le mobilier métallique, in : C. Raynaud – J.-C. Roux, L'oppidum des Gardies à Pignan, Hérault (VI^e-V^e s. av. J.-C.), Doc. Arch. Mérid. 6, 1983, Annexe 1, 52–60.

Tendille – Manniez 1990: C. Tendille – Y. Manniez, Les petits objets de l'îlot 1, in : M. Py (dir.), Fouilles dans la ville antique de Lattes. Les îlots 1, 3 et 4-nord du quartier Saint-Sauveur, Lattara 3, 1990, 99–108.

Ugolini – Olive 1987/88 : D. Ugolini – C. Olive, Un four de potier du V^e s. av. J.-C. à Béziers, Place de la Madeleine, Gallia 45, 1987–88, 13–28.

Ugolini – Olive 2006 : D. Ugolini – Ch. Olive, Béziers I (600–300 av. J.-C.). La naissance de la ville, Cahiers du Musée du Biterrois 1 (Béziers 2006).

Verdin 1996/97: F. Verdin, coll. F. Brien-Poitevin, L. Chabal, Ph. Marinval, M. Provansal, Coudounèu (Lançonde-Provence, Bouches-du-Rhône): une ferme-grenier et son terroir au V^e s. av. J.-C., Doc. Arch. Mérid. 19–20, 1996–97, 165–198.