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8. At the Frontiers of Massalian Territory: Greek and Indigenous Rhythms from the Seventh to Second Century BC

LOUP BERNARD, SOPHIE BOUFFIER AND DELPHINE ISOARDI

The cove of *Vieux Port*, where the Phocaeans settled in the late seventh century BC, is inserted into a coastal plain of 180Km², watered by the Huveaune, descending from the plain of Aubagne to the East, and its tributary the Jarret, and by the course of the Aygalades descending from the North of the basin. The peculiarity of this relatively fertile alluvial plain lies in that it is fairly closed and protected from within, because it is surrounded by hilly mountains, that of Nerthe in the North, of l'Etoile and the Garlaban in the Northeast, of Carpiagne, of St. Cyr and of Marseilleveyre in the South. Its only easy opening towards the hinterland lies in the East at the Penne sur-Huveaune, towards the plain of Aubagne, the natural receptacle of the Huveaune (Fig. 1), and point of outlet towards the Inland communities. This territory represents the natural area of Marseille, which can be operated according to the economic guidelines of the Greek city.

The birth of Marseille had the opportunity but also the misfortune to have a legend of foundation that has guided or permanently blinded historiography (few Greek colonial foundations are in this case) by focusing on this key moment that could have been represented by the arrival of the Phocaeans in the cove of *Vieux Port*. To sum up, chaos reigned before Protis and the arrival of the Greeks would be the starting point of a political, social, economic and cultural structuring of the plain of the Huveaune. Without denying the contribution of the founding texts of Marseille, the passages of Aristotle (in Athenaeus *Deipnosophists*, XIII 576) or of Justin (XLIII. 3–4) who have already been the subject of many analyses and interpretations (see *supra* Bouffier & Garcia), we chose to give up this angle of attack to focus on the results of

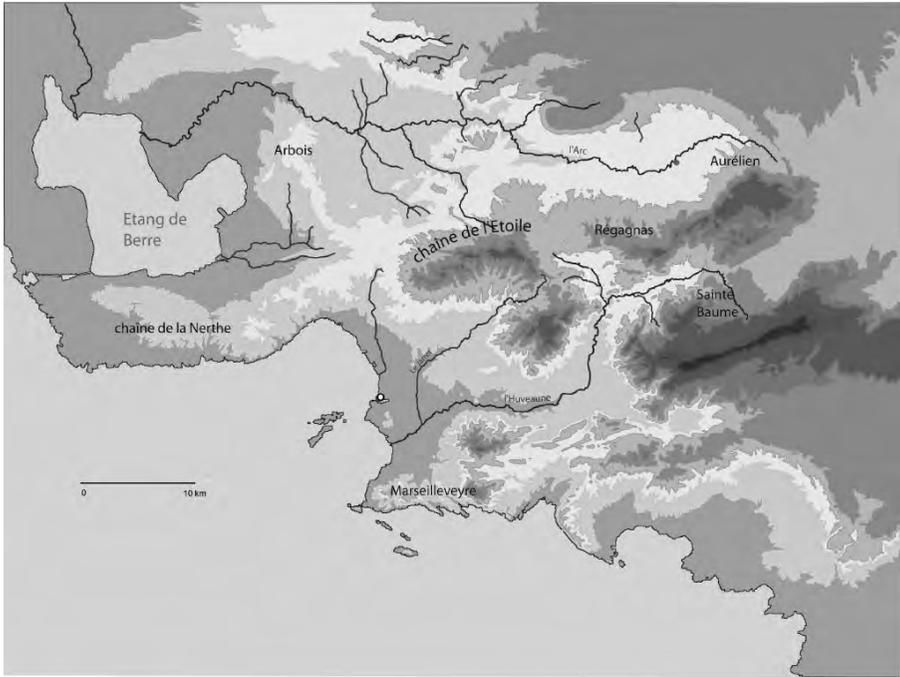


Figure 1. Marseille basin (H. Tréziny).

archaeological research for more than ten years on the Marseille basin and to propose an updated reading of the terroir of the Phocaean city since its foundation until the first century BC. To do this, the recent excavations of *Roc de la Croix* and of *Marseilleveyre*, of *La Tourette*, the surveys of the massifs of Marseilleveyre and Carpiagne, and the study of their furniture were incorporated into a broader, historical, and archaeo-demographic framework associated with a territorial and geographic analysis.

Methodological and Epistemological Questions: How to Apprehend the Knowledge of the Marseille Territory

Although the Marseille area was one of the longest addressed thanks to inventories and surveys of the nineteenth century (Villeneuve-Bargemon 1829; Gilles 1876 Saurel 1877–1878;), sites of local excavations discovered at the same time (Clastrier 1910; Vasseur 1914; Bout de Charlemont 1913; Gérin-Ricard 1934), it stayed away from major debates and scientific programs that spurred research on the Greek territories in the twentieth century (see the synthesis of the Taranto Symposium 2000: *Problemi* 2001)

and the historiography of the Phocaean city suffers in comparison with that of other colonial cities, particularly in southern Italy and in the Black Sea, while Marseille has played an important role in the history of Greek expansion in the Mediterranean as well as in the construction of the French or Provençal identity.

The first synthesis was erected in 1985 at the symposium “Le territoire de Marseille” (*Etudes Massaliètes* 1, 1986) before the effort focused on the excavation of Celtic sites and of the Greek city itself that produce new inventories after the year 2000. The publication of the volume of the *Carte Archéologique de la Gaule*, devoted to Marseille and its surroundings in 2005 (Rothé & Tréziny 2005) provides researchers with a reasoned catalogue of the sites listed on this date, but especially the interpretations of P. Boissinot on the ancient vineyard (Boissinot 2001; 2005; 2010) have enabled progress concretely on the issues of *chôra*. The recent survey campaigns as well as the samplings conducted on sites that may be known but never investigated, resulted in a first synthesis on the expansion of the Phocaean from the cove of *Vieux Port* and their relationships with the surrounding populations in 2010 (Bernard, Collin Bouffier & Tréziny 2010). We plan to update it in light of the work that we have carried out in the basin of Huveaune in recent years.

To reflect on the identification of Marseille soils and of the native soils over time, and how they can meet or mingle, different approaches have been tried, but the scarcity of archaeological markers limits our analysis attempts. The state of the documentation of the Marseille basin, including its modern acceptance, is indeed very incomplete due to the dense urbanisation and has seen rare preventive operations. Thus, the *chôra* appears only through a few windows opened by recent excavations on the work of expressways, tram or subway. Older research on the hilltop site had focused on topics related to the presence of indigenous people and their settlement patterns: we have particularly sought, possibly inventoried, grouped fortified dwellings. Only certain sectors have been the subject of further research, generally related to the activity of a researcher as was the case around the Baou-Roux and the work of P. Boissinot (Boissinot 1993) or it is the prominence of a site which stimulated research into its surroundings, as is the case for *Saint-Marcel* (Gantès 2014). We should also mention here the old knowledge of the so-called cultural caves of the massif of Marseilleveyre and the work of P. Vasseur (Vasseur 1914) and P. Agostini (Agostini 1965, 1967). These areas are generally over-represented compared to other areas, some of which had never been the subject of systematic research hitherto. The archaeological documentation considered here essentially comprises the sites listed in the

Carte Archéologique de Marseille, published in 2005; we added the results of surveys and excavations conducted since 2000 (2000–2008: Collin Bouffier 2009; Bernard, Collin Bouffier et al. 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011; D’Ovidio 2014; Bouffier, Bernard & Isoardi 2015). Le *Projet Collectif de Recherches*, funded by the Archaeological Service of Provence-Alpes—Côte d’Azur has tried to target the margins of the current city: lower slopes and nearby hills, best preserved but inaccessible. The prospection could not be systematic since legibility is variable and generally poor in the scrubland. This research raises questions relating to erosion and is currently being studied. They were then focused on the hills, located a little further back, even though we were aware that the investigation of the plain itself would have informed us better about the modes of territorial occupation and exploitation of the Phocaeans. We have tried to grasp the concept of spatial rhythm of the occupation of Marseille basin, through the maps offered here and which represent a first cumulative state of maps generated at the end of the last century and over the last decade. These should indeed be understood as a stock-taking of the state of research and the reading proposals on the territories of the Masaliots and of the Celtic-Ligurians. These materials highlight the strengths (at least those we identify as such)—and the questions that remain unanswered.

Birth of a Greek Chôra

The emergence of a Greek city, in the Aegean world and in the Mediterranean regions gradually occupied by the Greeks, is accompanied by the acquisition of a geographic space, designed to accommodate both human and civic community, but also to ensure its supplies, as modelled by the political theorists in the fifth and fourth century BC (Plato, *Laws*, 745b Aristotle, *Politics*, 1326b, VII.5; 1330a, VII. 7–8). The demarcation of this area resulted in many border wars between the eighth and the sixth century BC (thus between Argos and the different cities of the Argolid that it eventually absorbed or between Corinth and Megara: De Polignac, 1995, 64–78) forcing the defeated cities to look for other ways to ensure the survival of their population, including through recourse to emigration overseas. Although the phenomenon of Greek expansion is more complex than a simple transfer of individuals seeking to solve problems of *stenochoria*—narrowness of land—of the original community, the foundation of an *apoikia* (contingent situated away from the house) involves installing in a geographical area that historiography, following the model of the metropolitan city, distinguished into two areas, separated in a second stage by fortifications:

the urban space, which becomes the centre of main political bodies and territory, the *chôra*. The latter can be defined or confined by markers, whether religious, extra-urban sanctuaries for printing the presence of the Greek community in the landscape (as the sanctuary of the *Tavole Palatine* in Metaponto or the Olympieion in Syracuse) or to mark the border of this *chôra* (as the Heraion of Sele in Poseidonia); military, forts or *phrouria* evoked by the texts but seldom identified for colonial areas (e.g., Sicily, see Collin Bouffier 2011, 79). The definition of the territory also distinguished between near territory and area of influence. The first is the survival soil, generally understood as a work area, accessible on foot or using transport animals within a time that allows round-trip between the place of residence and the field. It is generally dedicated to food polyculture as highlighted by recent work (Brunet 2001): cereals, fruit trees (including olive trees and vines), and legumes. Under the colonial foundations, this zoning calls for placing at the heart of the debate the relationships between Greeks and local populations, relationships whose peaceful or conflictual character may structure the geopolitical evolution of a region.

In the case of Marseille, historiography, based on the texts of Strabo or Justin, considered non-operative this definition of territorial space and emphasised the maritime expansion of the Massaliots (Bats 2001). Indeed, both authors of the Roman epoch highlight the maritime and commercial vocation of the Phocaeans. According to Justin (43.3), “The Phocaeans, forced by the aridity of their territory to engage in activities rather on sea than on land, lived off fishing and trade and even piracy which at that time was held glorious” and their descendants, “The Massaliots occupy an area planted with olive trees and covered with vines but poor in cereals because of its aridity, to the extent they relied more on sea than on land. They preferred to benefit from their gifts for navigation-related trades” (Strabo, *Geography*, IV, 1.5). The city would even have given birth to more or less mythical explorers such as Pytheas and its predecessor Euthymenes. The ancient texts have thus shaped a canvass of territorial organisation, marked by milestones: the founding of a city by the Greeks on a space allocated by a native king Nanos, a limited *chôra*, planted with vines and olive at least in the first century BC, rich and often troubled relationships with the surrounding Celts in the second half of the sixth century BC, first with the war against the successor of King Nanos and in the fourth century BC, the conflict with King Catumandus, only known events of these conflicts which would have punctuated the history of the Greek city going by the statements of ancient historians. But these relations especially emphasise the value ascribed by the Massaliots, yet considered first as seamen, to the possession of the fostering and wealth-producing land.

The Major Times of the Massaliot Space

*Before the Founding of Marseille
(Late Bronze Age, from 725 to 600)*

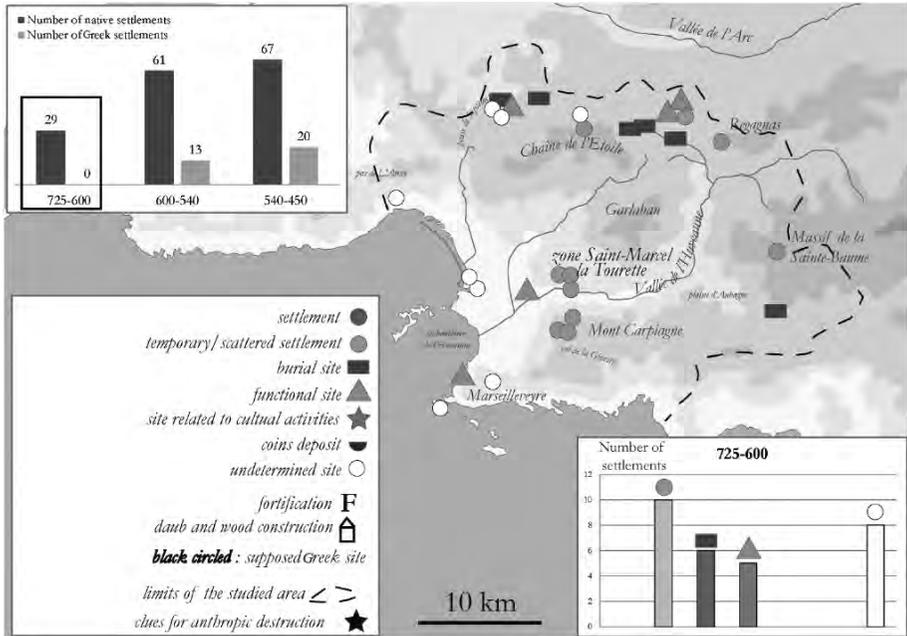


Figure 2. Greek and Native settlements in Marseille basin during 725–600 BC (D. Isoardi).

The date of the end of the seventh century BC, if widely attested by archaeology (including through the datings in the ancient levels of the first port, ceramics facies which are related or not shown) permeates the minds of the researchers who tend to see therein a *terminus ante quem*, where local populations would then switch from a status of “primitive” societies characteristic of a Final Bronze Age or a *facies suspendien* which remain poorly defined for the Marseille region from those of “chiefdoms” which remain to be defined more precisely (Garcia 2014, 51).

This first phase raises many problems of readability to archaeologists, who lack characterisations for dwellings not searched or searched too far away in time, the dating of sites is loose and the state of the research limited. In fact, this pivotal phase between the end of the Bronze Age and the full Iron Age was ignored by research in recent decades. If the Mailhacian

facies is now well known for the Languedoc, and the fields of urns or the Hallstatt C are the subject of much Northern work, the Marseille Provence in particular and the Provençal research in general still hesitate to recognise this period. The habitat, which does not use stone building techniques, also leaves few traces in the landscape and can be spotted by search only; ceramics can be easily confused with other forms of dating which can vary from late prehistory to the Middle Ages; finally, metal furniture has been approached recently only (Beylier 2012). The corollary of this fact is that even with a wide range time (125 years instead of half-centuries usually considered) we argue here about twenty small representative sites. The best studied site is that of the Baou-Roux which was Boissinot's Phd subject (Boissinot 1993): it is characterised for that period by an unfortified construction of perishable materials, but it is probably more representative of Provençal than coastal villages.

The question of a settlement or of a native habitat just before the arrival of the Greeks on the future site of Massalia remains open. Apart from the discovery of a fossilised shore of the period during preventive operations, very few pieces are known: a wristband from the end of the seventh century to the first quarter of the sixth century BC from the excavations carried out on the *Place Villeneuve-Bargemon* (Arcelin 1999, 20; Bernard, Collin Bouffier & Tréziny 2010); a few vases prior to 600 BC on the *Place Villeneuve-Bargemon* (Rothé & Tréziny 2005, 375). The digging of the tunnel of the Major has allowed archaeologists to uncover post holes, but which have not been studied and therefore are not datable. A grave, dated by radiocarbon between the beginning of the eighth century and the third quarter of the seventh century BC (Rothé & Tréziny 2005, 432) was discovered in the same area, but the possibility of a Greek protocolonial tomb cannot be excluded. In all cases, Marseille does not seem to have been an important site before the arrival of the Phocaeans.

On the study area that interests us in this section (Fig. 2), the sites are very rare. The surveys and samples of recent years have revealed a set of small habitats, not very distant from each other around the future site of *Saint-Marcel* and of *La Tourette* (Gantès 2014). Traces of human impact or culture(?) are also recognised, particularly at the source of *Saint-Jean-du-Désert* where a moated network of the late Bronze Age or the early Iron Age was observed (Rothé & Tréziny 2005, 719–720) and interpreted as a trace of deforestation. Some habitats situated in the reliefs bordering Marseille (*L'Étoile*, Regagnas, *Sainte-Baume*) were researched but the

earliest levels are difficult to read. Tombs are also reported, but these are old excavations.

The important sites in the area are just as difficult to grasp: *Saint-Blaise* seems to have exerted an influence during this phase of the first direct contacts between Greeks and local populations. It is interesting to note here that this meeting phase is hardly reflected in Southern furnishings: where are diplomatic gifts offered in the context of hospitality and friendship links established by the Phocaeans? These various “leaders” do not seem to differ fundamentally in terms of equipment and social level from those of the Alps or the rest of Europe (Beylier 2012 for weapons; Bernard & Roure 2010) as shown e.g. by furniture mounds, from the Luberon to the *Sainte-Victoire* or the *Sainte-Baume*. Note that they are set back from the coast and deliver more Etruscan than Greek furniture (*oinochoai*, pearly basins: cf. Bouloumié 1990a, 1990b, 1990c; Bouloumié & Lagrand 1977).

The littoral area does not seem attractive to natives before the foundation of Marseille. In the present state of research, the sites are rather on the hill tops and located inland (like the Baou Roux in the North for example), the need for grouping or fortification is not blatant, which obviously does not contribute to the recognition of the sites by archaeologists. On the location of Marseille, occupancy seems sporadic at best and sites such as those of the *Roc de la Croix* or Caronte (Gateau, Trément & Verdin 1996, 226) enable us to get an idea of the habitat at these periods.

The fact that we have a limited overview of the forms of habitat should not encourage us to see in this period a primitive golden age, in which egalitarian Segobriges would have led a peaceful life. The tombs reflect a hierarchy and a strong social stratification: some of them contain weapons (Beylier 2012) and are integrated into the world of Celtic Hallstatt C, although largely in the periphery of the phenomenon. In the Hallstattian world as in Provence, the following period is better known to archaeologists.

The foundation of Marseille by Phocaeans is attested archaeologically by many elements. Without wishing to list an inventory specifically, the development of sites can be observed in connection with this new settlement in the coastal plain (thirteen sites in total). Are we dealing with small habitats or already agricultural structures? The question remains open. We must also mention here the occupancy of some caves of the massif of Marseilleveyre: The shelters of the *Font de Voire* and the Cave of *L'Ours* might have been occupied, but these are old excavations and the furniture is poorly characterised in spite of the work of A. Marsolat in 2005 (Bouffier, Bernard & Isoardi 2015).

The Foundation of Greek Marseille and the Installation of the Phocaeans (600–540/530): What Impact on the Natives?

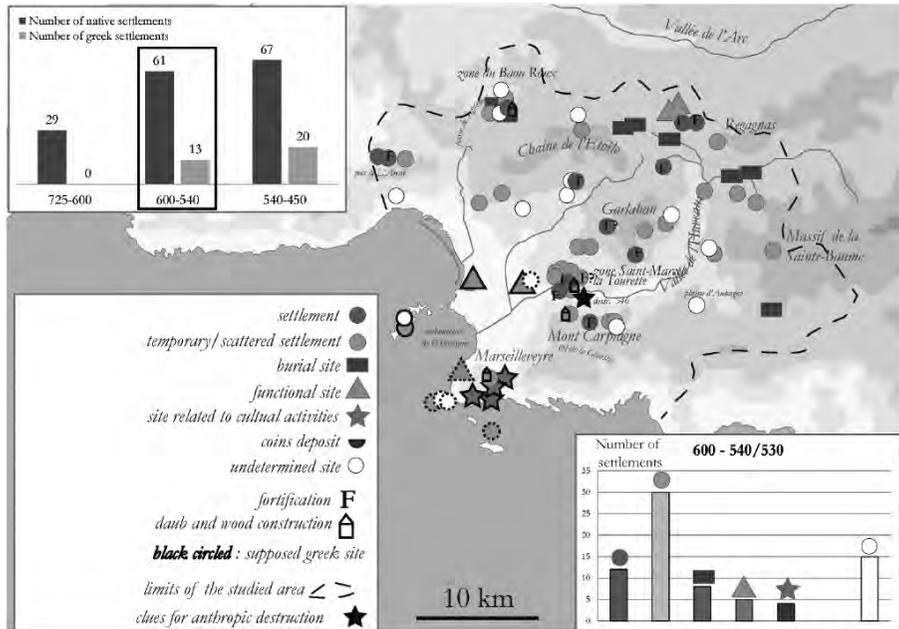


Figure 3. Greek and Native settlements in Marseille basin during 600–540 BC (D. Isoardi).

Regarding intramural Marseille, two elements are noteworthy: the construction techniques that have been observed in the islet of the *Cathédrale* during a rescue show a first phase dating back to around 600–580 on a field void of any anterior implantation. The habitat is implanted as a loose frame in two small buildings on structural columns, with a rectangular plane (6.70 × 5 m, oriented North-South and East-West) identified. This is a domestic site that has produced hearths as ashy lenses, metallurgical activities as well as wells (lastly, Bouiron et al. 2001). We note, in Marseille, the joint use of construction techniques of perishable materials with solid buildings at that time, without the possibility to propose a differentiation between the function and the occupants of these buildings—we could consider Celtic-Ligurians in buildings on posts, or else barns in connection with Greek solid habitats, even a temporary habitat stage pending a permanent structure.

The other notable element is the rapid clogging of the port that has allowed the preservation of the very first levels. This phenomenon has been the subject of precise and innovative work under the direction of Chr. Morhange

(Morhange et al. 1998) and clearly indicates the human impact on the environment. Indeed, the clearing and the erection of a city of several dozen hectares and turning its *chôra* into vineyards (also attested by excavations at the *Alcazar*, but especially for the following period) led to strong erosion of the slopes. This model will be tested in the future in the watershed of Huveaune to check whether this impact is visible in the plain of Marseille or whether it only concerns the “city centre”. This work can be realised by combining the results of diagnoses made by the Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives and the geographic data and by linking them to known habitats.

On the Segobrige side, habitats become more numerous, and especially they seem to be grouped. Nevertheless, a population increase cannot be inferred because you have to bear in mind that the development of stone architecture tied to the land facilitates a reading in surveys as well as in excavations of these sites by archaeologists and it should not be seen as a systematic link between the proliferation of known sites and the expansion of settlements.

How to interpret the occurrence of grouped settlement sites, surrounded by small satellite sites, particularly legible on the “lock of the Huveaune” (D’Ovidio 2014)? The *Saint-Marcel* site thus seems to crystallise several “indigenous farms”. The reasons for these groupings/travels/installations of Celtic populations at the fringes of the city have not been proven yet. Are we dealing with day labourers approaching the city, wine merchants serving as relays to the hinterland, or farmers seeking an outlet for their surplus? In all cases, the choice of implanting sites on the heights raises a number of questions that should not make us forget, however, that the current extension of Marseille certainly masks lowland sites.

These Celtic-Ligurian habitats are built using mixed techniques, the stone appeared, but as *Saint Marcel* as well as *Marseilleveyre*, houses on structural columns are attested (D’Ovidio & Rothé 2005, 699–716). On the site of Tamaris for example, the first brick and mortar houses follow the double apse plan known for the prior brick and mortar period over a short contemporary phase (Duval 1998). Nevertheless, the oldest levels, especially for older excavations, are difficult to date precisely in the sixth century BC.

In the present state of research, at least four settlements can be assumed around the Phocaean city (Fig. 3): the *château des Ayyalades* and *Collet-Redon* in the North, sectors poorly identified by older work; the zone of the *Baou-Roux* in the North-West and the sector of *La Cloche* to the West; in the East, the

Tourette—Saint-Marcel, the massif of Saint-Cyr—Carpiagne and in the South, the massif of Marseilleveyre. Some of them disappeared in the next period.

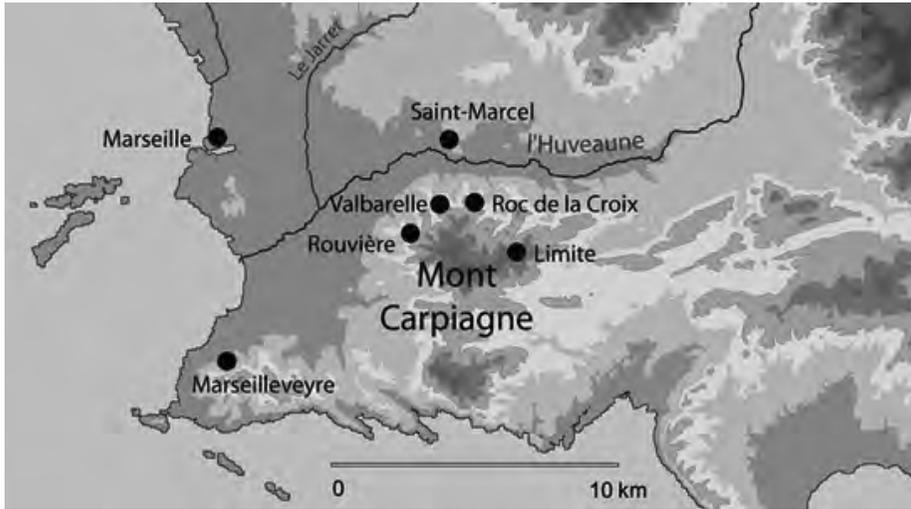


Figure 4. Settlements of the south-eastern zone of the Marseille basin (H. Tréziny).

At the entrance of Huveaune, in the coastal plain, the site on the ridge lines (*Roc de la Croix*, *Valbarelle*) seem all to overlook the river (Fig. 4 and D’Ovidio 2014; Gantès 2014): should this be seen as a desire for political or territorial claim? The monitoring of herds or the need to seek a natural protection could also explain this choice of perching. On the left bank of the Huveaune and upstream of *Saint-Marcel* in the massif of *Saint-Cyr*, the traces identified by the prospections at the *Mt Rouvière*, at the *Valbarelle*, at the pass of the *Limite* reveal an occupancy still difficult to interpret.

Only the *Roc de la Croix* (Collin Bouffier 2008; Bernard & Garcia 2012; Bernard, Collin Bouffier & Tréziny 2010) and the site of *Marseilleveyre* have been subject to excavations and traces of occupancy attested therein indicate the presence of small habitats, limited in size, nonfortified with constructions of perishable materials, mixed furniture of native ceramic and imported pottery, presence of pebbles that one could interpret as sling bullets, but that may have served for hunting as well as for waging war.

The *Roc de la Croix* site was occupied for half a century at the beginning of the sixth century, and if it has not delivered any structures, the furniture consists of Etruscan and Punic amphorae, of decorated CNT (urns). Imports

are mainly Etruscan; counts highlight 75% of CNT out of the total number of fragments, the remainder being composed of imports. The absence of Massaliot productions dates the site in the early sixth century BC. Agricultural activities can be guessed by the presence of grindstone fragments and large containers. The other sites mentioned are hardly datable but could be linked to this period. Eventually, a Gallic synoecism towards Saint Marcel can be considered in a sector that will remain strategic throughout the independence period of Marseille.

The site of *Marseillevévre* has been the subject of work in recent years (Bouffier, Bernard & Isoardi 2015). Long interpreted as a relatively large oppidum, it has today been re-evaluated and its extension has been reduced. Indeed, what had been interpreted as a bulwark seems rather to correspond to a modern path, resting on a dry stone terrace. Similarly, while the repeated pickups for more than a century on the whole field seemed to refer to a site on a scale of several hectares, and offered a dating window ranging from the Archaic period to the Hellenistic period, the different samplings, conducted at key locations that may have received a sedentary habitat or have captured erosion sediments, have, for now, not confirmed a long-term occupancy, unless these levels are eroded today. In the current situation, the items unearthed allow us to offer an occupancy dated from the sixth century BC mainly by the shards of Etruscan amphora (datable between the late seventh and the early sixth centuries). In terms of unturned ceramic, we note that the identified forms are already present in the Late Bronze Age. We were able to excavate a portion of a house characterised by trenches for palisaded walls and posts with wedging stones to support the roofing. The soil is hardly finished, mud was used extensively, for the walls optionally, bulkheads and possibly the roofing. As the final plan is not yet available, we shall confine ourselves here to clarify that it is an oval plane oriented according to the prevailing wind and implanted on a small plateau of about 1.5 hectares, overlooking the plain of the Huveaune. The presence of two crushed vases (one of them made of cob) and the distribution of ceramic remains have led us to consider the existence of a storage area and differentiated spaces near this oval structure. Thus in one of the search areas, large clusters and alignments of shards, as well as different axes materialised by post holes define placeholders. Finally, in some shards but especially in the reserved areas, at the last scraping, mud plates appeared: are we dealing with large containers collapsed there? With bases for amphoras

and dishes? Here we have various external structures that housed domestic activities (CNT or mud dishes, whorl, grinder), and containers for storage, mainly in amphora. The state of conservation of artifacts, crushed, interspersed and burned (without our being able to certify whether it is arson) may demonstrate a destruction layer. These amphorae illustrate the varied panel of trade with the Mediterranean traders in the Archaic period, and probably via Marseille (Fig. 5): Etruscan amphora, probably the Punic and Greek Oriental (Samos-Miletus, Chios and perhaps Clazomenae) sphere, a mortar probably of Phocaean origin and not local, a handle made of *bucchero nero*. In the end, the house being excavated appears to have been built in a period of up to three generations after the foundation of Massalia and instead almost contemporary with the foundation of the city or even slightly earlier, in the Southern limit of its supposed territory and one has to wonder whether it should not be part of a dispersed settlement that our limited investigations could not highlight. Indeed, given the amount of pickups made for more than a century on the plateau, and the number of grindstone fragments, we can venture the hypothesis that many of these houses were located there, in a socio-economic model where the need to regroup, agglomerate or fortify the perimeter was not that pressing. The issue of sedendarity also arises: to what extent are these dwellings sustainable? The absence of animal remains and of analyses currently does not allow us to argue. Testifying to a very likely indigenous occupation, this property stands out by its characteristics (sparsely populated and built with perishable materials), the combination of grouping and fortification then in full swing on contemporary sites such as *St. Blaise* or *Tamaris*, nearby. In fact, rather datable to the early sixth century, the site of *Marseilleveyre* does not differ that much from the overall evolution of habitats in unconsolidated perishable materials. Contemporary of the implementation period of the Phocaean colony around 600 BC and abandoned during the sixth century BC, it can be traced to a transition time, generally speaking, for the protohistorical world. Finally, we may question its purpose: installed at the border of the plain and of the massif, was it facing the plain and its operation? Or was it incorporated in a pastoral form of economy on the hills, because when considering the geographical and hydrological conditions of this coastal massif, the assumption of cereal or even tree farming proves difficult, if not impossible on small plots.

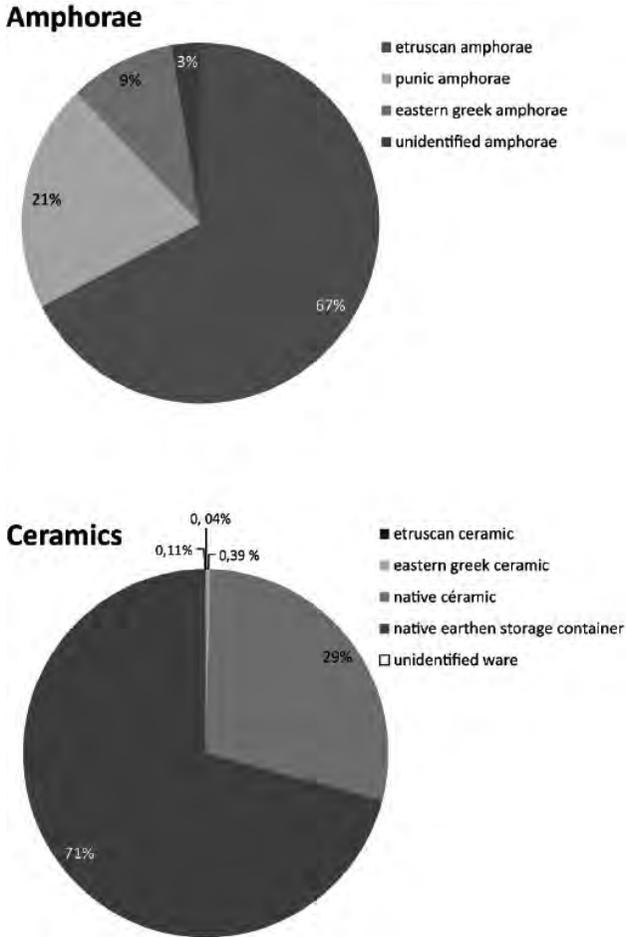


Figure 5. *Marseilleveyre* ceramics (D. Isoardi).

The *Marseilleveyre* site integrates indeed into a massif which saw some occupancy from the Neolithic, and especially from the sixth century BC. (Bouffier, Bernard & Isoardi 2015), especially in certain caves identified and probed from the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The areas around the excavated site confirmed the attendance of the entire area, including the traffic lanes leading to the *Pas de la Selle* and the *Puits du Lierre*, that is to say towards the inside of the massif. In the current state of the literature, we cannot know whether the sites have experienced recovery phases. The ceramics of the caves of the *Cirque du Puits du Lierre* are not characterised with sufficient precision to enable fine dating. If the caves are contemporary

with the site of *Marseilleveyre*, this situation can give the impression that Greeks and Celts shared this massif, whereas occupancy seems to have been rather Greek, while the native habitats appear to have been native (Vidal et al. 2000). This would seem to confirm the legendary harmony with local settlers during the early days of implantation. Again work of archaeological geography should enable us to clarify the density of human occupancy and its impact on the massif (breeding or agriculture? deforestation? fires?).

In this first phase of the existence of Marseille, the importance of import furniture, including Etruscan, on sites and the absence of ceramic production in Marseille (particularly amphorae, attested only from the second half of the sixth century BC) seem to attribute to the Phocaean city the role of relay in the emporic wine trade, a wine that its vineyards do not seem to have produced before the next phase.

540/530 to 450—Massalio Economic Expansion / Marseille at the Head of Its Own Economic Territory... What Impact?

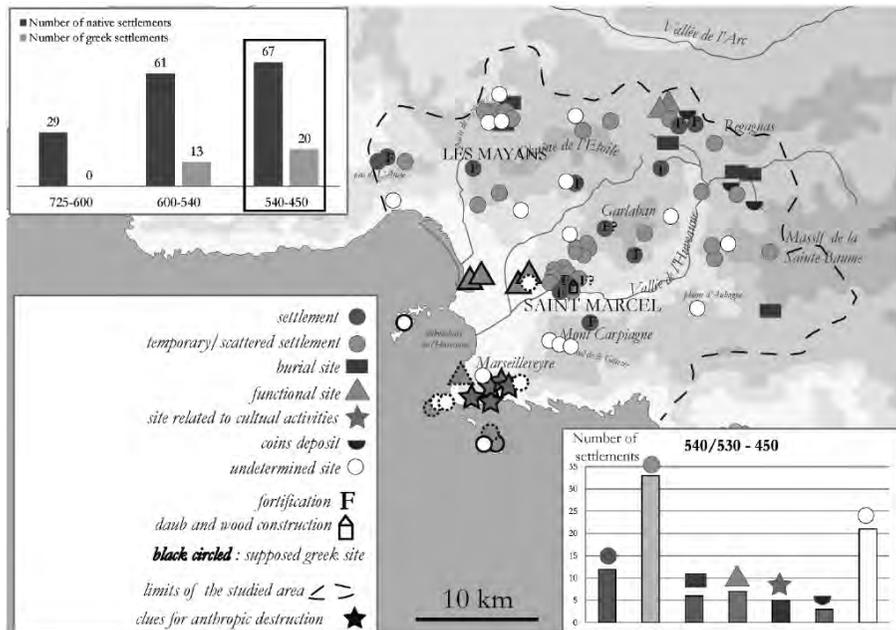


Figure 6. Greek and Native settlements in Marseille basin 540–450 BC (D. Isoardi).

The main change is economic since Marseille produces its own wine, an export object and it sets up its own economic territory (Bertucchi 1992).

The number of amphorae on the sites is decreasing, and one finds almost only Massaliot amphorae, testifying to the economic monopoly of Marseille in the South. This phenomenon has often been explained by the taking of Phocaea by the Persians in 546, the foundation of Aléria and the defeat of the Phocaeans before an Etruscan-Carthaginian coalition which pre-empted acts of piracy by the Greeks to get rid of these maritime rivals. We have already remarked that, despite the silence of the ancient tradition, following the defeat of Alalia, some of these Phocaeans had to take refuge in Marseille (Gras 1995), as the city took on a new socio-economic turn, visible in its urban and perhaps political expansion. It became the only Greek power in the Western Mediterranean and reorganised the maritime traffic around its port, probably reconsidering and expanding its trade to the hinterland.

This is also the period for which the Mediterranean imports should be related with the development of the Celtic princely phenomenon, but the latter does not seem to concern Provence, probably too close to the places of production and distribution of such *exotica* and *keimalia* (Rolley 2013; Brun & Ruby 2008, 72–76; Isoardi & Sacchetti, to be published).

However, on the indigenous side, we did not notice any great change in the immediate hinterland of Marseille compared to the previous phase: the number of known habitats is stable, the stone building related to land with a rectangular plan becomes the norm. However, the proliferation of ramparts, like the Mayans, for example, may seem to indicate a greater concern for protection or ostentation from the Southern Gauls. This site is probably the most representative of these transformations in lifestyle that reflect a downturn or a combination of natives (depending on how one interprets this evolution) on the border of Marseille (some ten kilometers, two hours' walk) in fortified stone habitats. Following ancient discoveries, H. Tréziny could carry out excavations in the 1990s. The towers are rectangular, the imposing walls (triple cladding) and access to the site is via an overlapping cart door. A trapezoidal enclosure has been noticed in the North, in the highest part of the site but its condition has failed to specify the function thereof. In the furniture, whose exhaustive study remains to be done, nothing indicates a differentiation of the population or specific sectors. The site seems occupied by the Celts, although the percentages of unturned ceramic and monochrome gray ceramic are lower than those of *Saint Marcel* for example. But it was abandoned very quickly, attesting to a period of existence of only half a century (525–475), probably under Massaliot pressure; the Greeks could hardly accept the presence of an independent fortified site

at such short distance from the city, as some of us have suggested (Bernard, Collin Bouffier & Tréziny 2010).

Should we see in the abandonment of the site the first signs of tension, even conflict between Greeks and natives, as they encourage the literary sources? The good relationships initiated with King Nanos would soon deteriorate from its succession and the texts attest to the existence of episodic conflicts that were only completed with the taking of Marseille by Caesar in 49 BC. Thus, as recalled by Justin (43.4–5): “On the death of Nannus, King of Segobriges, who had given the Phocaeans a place to build their city, his son Comanus who took his place, a wren asserted to him that one day Massilia would cause the ruin of neighbouring peoples and that it had to be crushed at its very birth, lest later then oppressed it. He adds this fable: “One day a pregnant dog begged a shepherd where it could deliver her puppies. Having obtained it, it still asked permission to raise its young there. At the end, once its young had grown up, leaning on its home garrison, it arrogated to itself the ownership of the place. Similarly these Massilians, who now seemed to be tenants, would become masters of the country one day. Excited by this advice, the king set a trap to the Massilians. On the day of the festival of Floralia [Anthesteria], he sent him to the city, as hosts, a large number of brave and intrepid men and actually had a larger number still transported on carts where they remained hidden under reeds and foliage. He himself is hiding with an army in the nearby hills, so that when the doors would be opened at night by the emissaries, as I said, he can participate in time in the ambush and conquer the city buried in sleep and in wine. But a woman, a relative of the king, betrayed the conspiracy. She had a young Greek lover. Touched by the beauty of the young man, she told him in a hug, the secret of the ambush, nudging him to evade the danger. The latter immediately reported the matter to the magistrates, and the trap thus discovered, all Ligurians were arrested and those hiding under the reeds were removed. All of them had their throats slit and the king’s trap was opposed another trap: he perished himself with seven thousands of his tribe. Since then, the Massilians closed their doors on the festival days, stood guard on the ramparts, inspected foreigners, remained vigilant and keep the city in peace time, as if they were at war. Thus the good institutions were preserved, less from necessity than the use of doing one’s duty. Then there were great wars with the Ligurians and the Gauls. These wars, where they won many victories, elevated the glory of the city and reflected the courage of the Greeks among their illustrious neighbours.” A text that is supported by the testimony of Strabo (4, 1, 5): “Later, however, their courage enabled them to consolidate their power by

seizing a part of the land around them, and the same vigour allowed them to found cities, or rather fortresses, those of Iberia to protect the Iberians (to whom they transmitted their ancestral cult of Artemis of Ephesus, and how to perform a sacrifice the Greek way), Rhoe Agathé [or, according to a correction, Rhodanousia Agatheia] to protect against the barbarians who live around the Rhône, Tauroention, Olbia, Nikaia and Antipolis against Salyens and the Ligurians inhabiting the Alps.”

One may also venture the hypothesis of a brutal destruction at the *Roc de la Croix* could testify to a Greek-type arrow tip or a spear tip (made of iron) discovered at the surface during surveys, and a set of calibrated rollers (throwing pebbles?) and traces of fire on the mud fragments could testify; but the state of the documentation on the site, the argument remains tenuous. The destruction of *Saint Marcel* around 540 in the sector III for phase I has generated more elements: a spear tip of Hellenic type with two fins and a lateral barb; Hellenic arrow type fragment with three fins. Following this episode, the thickening and the extension of the curtain wall have been implemented. It was probably at that time that can be attributed the small deposit of metal objects found outside the rampart, in a bank backed against the curtain wall, at the very foot of the perimeter wall. This deposit (bronze weapons and ornaments with a small batch of weapons and iron tools) is interpreted as a foundryman hideout, buried around the second half of the sixth century BC and which contains among others a pin dating from the Bronze Age.

Finally, the fire of the habitat of *Marseilleveyre*, as seen as the time of the excavation, can be dated to this period. Is it an accidental fire or a military episode? There is nothing to argue at the moment about the archaeological documentation. This may be evidence of the massif itself which will give us the solution. From the middle of the sixth century BC, the settlement of *Marseilleveyre* seems abandoned and the caves of the *Cirque du Puits du Lierre* have their own existence.

If one seeks to identify the actors involved in this traffic from the facies of the furniture found in caves, we must recognise that their profile is very different on the site itself and in the mountains. Among the small dozen of known caves, some located close to the settlement of the sixth century BC (in the *Cirque du Puits du Lierre*) were subject to a cult between the sixth and the third/second centuries BC, with peak activity between 525 and 450. And as Anne-Lise Marsolat had studied it (2005), non-turned pottery is very little represented, unlike the Greek furniture, essentially consisting of clear paste of Massaliot manufacture, banquet vases (olpai, oinochoai, cups and craterisks), hydriae and lamps, sometimes miniaturised, but also some

terracotta figurines (bearded male head and female head headdress with a crown in the cave of *l'Argile*) suggesting the religious function of these meeting places. These caves that surround one of the few industry sources, the fountain of the *Puits du Lierre*, are kind of dead end because they are not located on passageways, but basically at the bottom of a circus leading nowhere. However, other shelters situated nearby, in the valley of the *Font de Voyre*, had to be frequented when traveling between the outside and inside of the massif, as suggested by the uncovered furniture, predominantly consisting of unturned kitchen ceramic (edge of *lopas* or *caccabe*), cups or bowls, and urns: furniture that does not seem to have a votive destination and that also certify an occupancy from the second half of the sixth century and during the fifth century BC. The large attendance of this sector of the massif between the second half of the sixth and the end of the second century BC is supported by the furniture formerly found in the massif of Marseilleveyre, but not located with accuracy.

The rise of all cultural caves of the massif, at a time when the establishment of the site of *Marseilleveyre* disappears, can be read in two ways. Either the Celto-Ligurians could extend, by offerings from the Greek city, a cult initiated by their ancestors from the late Bronze Age or the early Iron Age. These objects also testify to trade relations which were woven between each other, but in the state of publications and given the age of the excavation, it is difficult or impossible to propose Celtic cults in these caves. The Celtic sites in relation to caves are poorly studied in our Mediterranean regions in the Metal Ages. To mention only one, the Aven Plerimond (Var), the former presents quite specific furniture facies, very remote from the deposits of Marseilleveyre representing Greek rather than Celtic rites (Boyer et al. 2006). The only exception, but without any certainty, the existence of a bronze sword fragment of the first Iron Age, with a possible origin from Marseilleveyre could prove the existence of a cult or the presence of a burial (Rothé & Tréziny 2005, 691). Massaliots in these caves may have developed an extra-urban worship and the aim will be to understand its meaning. Since the now classic work of Pierre Vidal-Naquet on the *ephebeia* (1991) and François de Polignac (1995, ch. 2–3), emphasis was laid on the importance of borders in the appropriation of the procurement area, the *chóra*, and the symbolic representations of the territory. In the archaic and classical periods, the spatial advance of the *polis* and the agrarian exploitation of the territory have been marked by the establishment of sanctuaries for marking the border and the extremity of the *eschatia*, ultimate areas of the civic space. The community usually leaves fallow these border fringes, due to the risk of border conflicts. In the areas of Greek expansion, especially in Sicily and Magna Graecia, the

Greeks settled sanctuaries that can ensure the link with local communities or on the contrary officialise the possession of space by the new city. This is the case, for example, of the Heraion of Sele, of the Heraion of the Cap Colonna or of the sanctuaries of Demeter in Sicily. The defense of the territory and its boundaries is then a priority for civic and military policy of the city and is generally entrusted to young people undergoing training, *ephebes* or age classes that are no longer fit to serve outside. Whether the Spartan *krypteia* or the Attic *ephebeia*, emblematic of education of future citizen, but that are found in other Greek cities, the training of the future *Hoplite* requires a stay in the wild areas of the *chôra* where, by a process of symmetrical inversion, the young leads a life contrary to that characterising his civil existence, that is, rough and austere living conditions marked by isolation and disorder. The gods attested in these initiation rites, besides Apollo or Artemis, include Dionysus. In Marseille, the cultural destination of the caves of Marseilleveyre could therefore be linked with the initiation rites of young Massaliot citizens. They are difficult to access, either because they are hidden from view, or because they are open in the cliffs, and require strong physical training and endurance characteristic of the athletic and military training schemes. This sanctification of the caves could also be linked with the gradual exploitation of the plain and the cultivation of the vine—which would strengthen the hypothesis of L.-Fr. Gantès on the consecration of at least some of them to Dionysus. Wine-growing is now better documented, as shown in the overview of Philippe Boissinot on the plots of Marseille (Boissinot *infra*). From the second half of the sixth century BC, the Massaliots took possession of the entire plain of the Huveaune that they dedicate to wine-growing, as evidenced by the vineyard plantations in Saint Jean du Désert, Station Louis Armand. The boundaries of the territory were then driven back to the hills bordering the plain. Monumental shrines in the Massaliot territory have not been found for the time being either on the plain of the Huveaune or at its limits. The cult caves of *Le Draïou*, of *l'Argile* and *Puits du Lierre* may have allowed the political centre to embrace the whole country by delegating to young citizens the control of areas considered wild or dangerous, all the more so since their greatest period of occupancy corresponds precisely to the time of appropriation of the plain and of establishment of the wine-growing operation, between 540 and 450. This period seems to correspond to a stabilisation of the *chôra* towards the Valley of the Huveaune (no vineyard is attested close to the Estaque for now), and the beginning of more conflictual relationships between Greeks and Celts.

Hellenistic Pulses

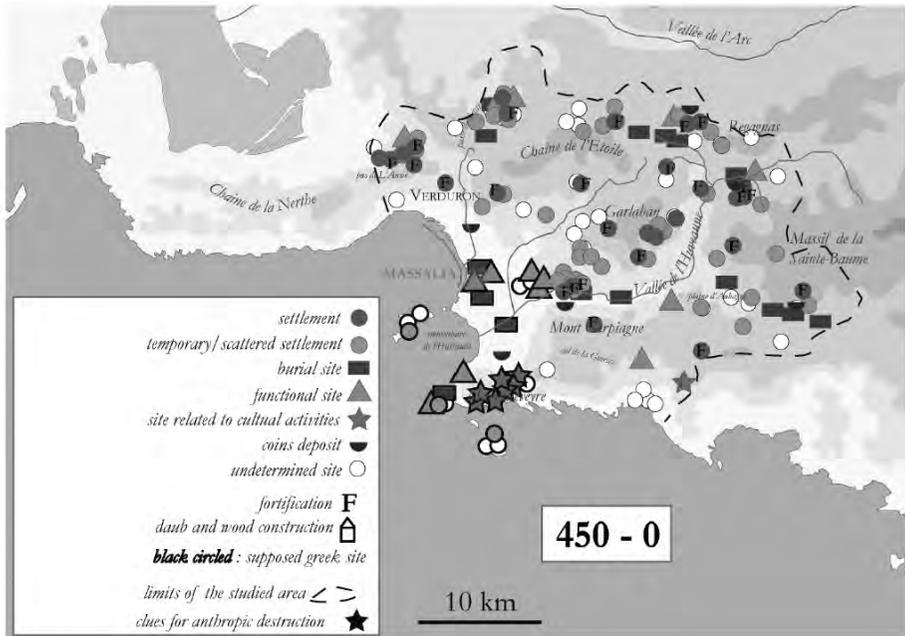


Figure 7. Greek and Native settlements in Marseille basin during 450–0 BC (D. Isoardi).

The development of the Massalioi agriculture seems to continue throughout the Marseille basin. Despite tenuous knowledge, the extension of land registries in the valley of the Huveaune is proven, at least within a $\frac{3}{4}$ km radius from the fortification. Besides the well-known example of *Saint-Jean-du-Désert*, agrarian traces were also highlighted in the district of *la Fourragère* (Rothé & Tréziny 2005, No. 299), at the metro station *Louis Armand* (Bernard et al. 2006), to the East of ancient Marseille, in the enclosure of the *Parc Chanot*, in the South (Rothé & Tréziny 2005, No. 222), and around the station *Saint-Charles*, to the North (Rothé & Tréziny 2005, No. 145). These agrarian traces (Fig. 8), sometimes with artifacts suggestive of agricultural establishments, seem at present the most reliable marker for the development of the Massalioi *chôra*.

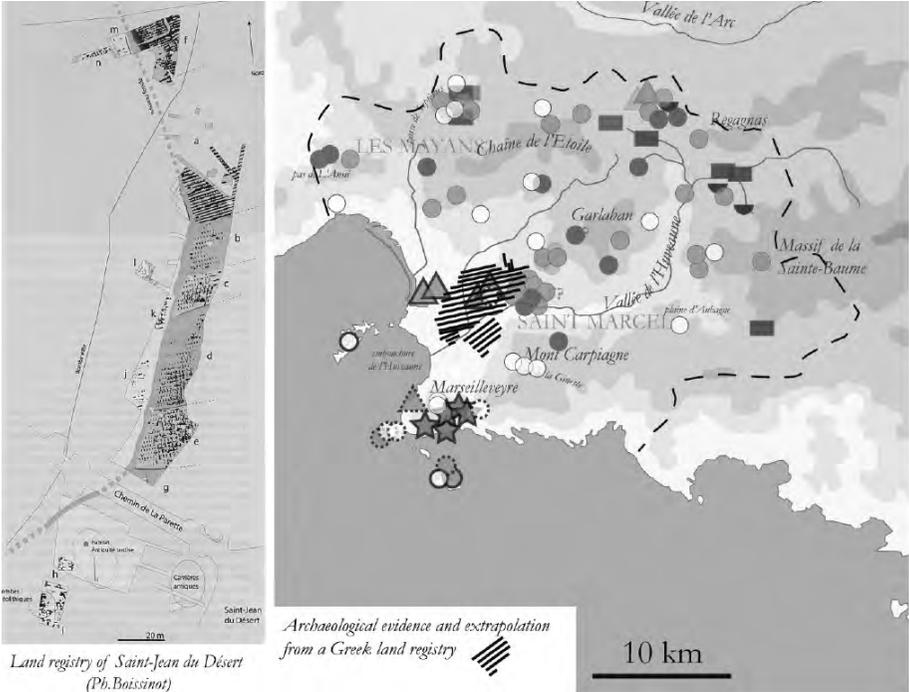


Figure 8. Archaeological evidence and extrapolation from a Greek land registry (D. Isoardi, P. Boissinot).

Some of the habitats known for earlier periods disappear between the third century and the end of the second century like the *Baou of Saint-Marcel*, which seems no longer occupied between about 330 and 180, and finally disappears around 110/100 (Rothé & Tréziny 2005, No. 277), or the *Tourette* in the *Petit-Saint-Marcel*, which no longer offers any testimony after the second century BC, after a low occupancy at the third century (Rothé & Tréziny 2005, No. 274–275). The disappearance of these sites was generally linked to the Roman victory over the Salyans in 123/122 BC, which put an end to fighting between Greeks and natives. This destruction would confirm the indications given by Justin and Strabo. The Massaliots have therefore established over the Salyan and Ligurian populations a domination that they resented and from which they might have sought to break free.

However, other institutions appear, at least in the Southeast and in the North of the city. In the Southeast of Marseille, near the aforementioned sites, bordering the swampy areas of the Huveaune, a site of the second century is attested at the Valentine. Its agricultural function seems established by the presence of grindstone fragments. In the Northeast sector of the

Marseille basin, surveys have suggested a poorly known presence in *Château-Gombert* and in Allauch, in the same places that delivered some fragments of Ionio-Massaliot and Massaliot amphorae. Some samples of Greco-Italic amphorae attest to the continuity of occupancy.

But the best known site for this period is today that of the Verduron. This pre-Roman settlement, located in the North of *Marseille*, overlooking the Greek city from which it is remote only by 9 km as the crow flies. The view encompasses the entire harbor, the harbor entrance, the islands and the communication routes. The location of the site, facing the sea, confers on it a probable strategic role. Since its discovery, the oppidum overlooking the Phocaean city raises the question of the relationships between Greeks and natives while fueling the debate on the territory of the oppida and the operating modes of the territory of Greek *Marseille*. Early work in the early twentieth century was complemented by an extensive excavation between 1999 and 2006, which has been directed by Loup Bernard.

The Verduron is a site on a steep slope and with a low extension (less than 1,500m²), which has a regular plan organised around an “axial wall”. The enclosure wall—are we dealing here with a rampart?—is not imposing (1m wide). The internal architecture, earthbound stones, is typical of pre-Roman habitats of the period: the rock on which the settlement is located has been systematically hacked and the cuttings were used to build drains to the outside. Only four cells are installed on top of the oppidum and the rest of the habitat slopes down to the sea: a central islet, a lane on both sides side of the latter, the other cells being backed to the rampart. The map of this property is very regular and enables us to work on emulation relationships between Greek and Celtic societies. The very type of implantation refers to a normality of pre-Roman habitat, if it exists. The regularity of the site (in terms of islets, lanes, walls widths) allowed to propose a comparison with a Celtic-Ligurian module spotted on the first phase of the Oppidum of the Entremont (Badié & Bernard 2008). Recent excavations have clearly shown the violent destruction of the site around 200 BC (levels of ceramics batches in place, weapons, trampled vases, spears in some *dolia*). The latter probably resulted from an organised army with artillery; some tenuous signs suggest looting. This destruction, which is most likely the result of *Marseille*, excludes good relationships with the Phocaean city and the role of *phourion* that could be previously proposed for the site. The ceramics unearthed are commonplace for the pre-Roman habitats of the region. Most of the furniture (85%) consists of local unturned ceramics, mainly urns of various sizes, as well as bowls, cups and a crater made of unturned ceramic. The turned crockery consists mainly of clear Massaliot ceramics (especially cups, a few jugs and mortars) and black varnished Italic ceramics of the third century. Massaliot

Amphorae (type 9) are rare and the presence in stratigraphy of an isolated Ibero-Punic amphora Maña D is one of the director fossils regarding chronology. Storage is attested by the presence of *dolia* and mud as well as by the presence of earthen containers. The site is however not an attic: the volumes stored correspond to the consumption of a small number of people, not to reserves intended for trade or storage for sowing purposes.

The metal furniture is exclusively of Celtic type. Several possible ritual installations have been uncovered. The comprehensive studies of residual household in Celtic habitats tend to show the frequency of exposure of the dead (Brunaux et al. 1997). In addition to the famous heads cut, many other human bones can be found on the other Celtic sites of the period. We are therefore clearly dealing with a Celtic-Ligurian settlement just outside Greek Marseille and guarding the accesses to the city by sea as well as by land. The relationships of the inhabitants with their Greek neighbours seem limited: the site activities are difficult to perceive. Agriculturally, the lack of stables or stockyards excludes any livestock. The low value of land but above all the lack of speculative storage space such as silos or battery of *dolia* excludes an attic function that would have fed Marseille (Strabo IV, 1.4). No craft production could be detected. Finally, despite the proximity of the Phocaeen city, imports are low and trade exchanges seem underdeveloped. The Verduron can be linked with similar sized sites unearthed in the Massif de la Nerthe as *Teste-Nègre* or the oppidum of *La Cloche*, located about ten kilometers away. Many other Provence sites destroyed at this same time, even in the Alps (*St-Martin-de-Brômes* for example), even if a synchronous destruction is not yet proven. It is tempting to reconcile these elements of Celtic pressure on Marseille as described by Strabo (4, 6, 3) and that the Romans would have eradicated: “Sextius, who after his victory over the Salyens, founded near Massalia a city to which he gave his name and that of the warm waters it has [...], establishes there a Roman garrison and fended off the Barbarians from the coastal area leading from Massalia to Italy, what the Massaliotes had not fully succeeded in doing. However, he obtained only from the Barbarians that they receded twelve stadia from the sea near the ports and eight stadia in rocky areas; and the abandoned territories were handed to the Massaliotes.” It is likely that the inhabitants of the sites of the Nerthe created an outpost during a period for which Marseille did not have sufficient troops to venture outside the walls; the Massaliotes, aided by their Roman allies would then have destroyed the site (Bernard 2003; Bernard to be published). In the process, the sites of *Teste-Nègre* or the first village of Entremont would also have been destroyed.

The site of the Verduron is representative of the Celtic-Ligurian “boom” preceding the conquest of the Narbonne region. The number of high fortified sites listed for the departments of the *Bouches-du-Rhône* and Vaucluse (Bernard 2003) increases from 40 sites for the period 400–250 BC to 86 for the phase between 250 and 125 BC. This important increase in the number of habitats corresponds to periods in which the relationships between Greeks and Celto-Ligurians become confrontational. For now it is still impossible to refine the time ranges to understand the details of these conflicts and to differentiate quarrels which could have existed between Celts or between Celts and Marseillais and the precise role of the latter, if not in rare cases, such as the Hellenistic ramparts of *Saint-Blaise*.

From the second century BC, Marseille calling upon Roman armies changed significantly the regional map. Marseille, which had until then relatively limited territories, received large areas from Rome in the lower valley of the Rhône and the Mediterranean coast (Bernard 2003). The relationships with the indigenous populations remain ambiguous and are not confined to conflicts and to destruction sites, but they rely mostly on economic or cultural exchange that we do not intend to detail here (Collin Bouffier 2009; Tréziny 2010b; 2010c). There are influences, probably reciprocal, in the areas of hydraulic and agricultural techniques, in the adoption of the currency by some indigenous towns (such as Glanon) and the Greek alphabet to write the Gaul language.

Conclusion

If we can no longer speak of “Marseille, a city without territory”, as suggested by the ancient texts emphasising the maritime vocation of Marseille, the latest research seems to reinforce the vision transmitted by these ancient texts on the relationships between the Phocaeans and the local populations. Starting from friendly relationships and matrimonial ties noticeable in the topographical and architectural traces of the various settlements, the relations appear to have gradually degraded, with the exclusively Greek occupancy of the plain of Marseille and the implantation of perennial crops disrupting previous operations which have remained poorly characterised so far. The evolution of relationships between each other then varies according to the interests they may have in the exchange. Thus, the evolution of storage facilities outside the plain of the Huveaune (Garcia, *infra*) and the discovery of vineyards in this same plain show that two types of production were related, as shown by D. Garcia and D. Isoardi (Garcia & Isoardi, 2010). With the increased Phocaeen demand for cereals from the sixth century BC, the indigenous communities in the

hinterland, mostly from Provence and Languedoc, would have been induced to produce more: this is highlighted by the increase in size of silos with a view to marketing, or the gradual adoption of storage structures from the Greek world, such as *pitthos*, attics in airy atmosphere, to the detriment of simple proto silos used for centuries. This marketing of cereals, as evidenced for example by the farm granary of Coudounèu-Provence (fifth century BC) (Verdin 1997; 2000) would have increased the Greek pressure on the plain of Marseille where the Phocaeans produced wine, the currency for trading their imports, at the expense of local populations. This movement would have resulted in a political and economic domination of the Provençal habitats whose brutal demographic decline during the fifth and fourth centuries as underlined by D. Isoardi, to the benefit of the Greek population of Marseille (Isoardi 2008). These ongoing discussions will have to be confronted with the expected results of further research on the massif of Marseilleveyre, and integrated in a new environmental project, centred on the issues of the human impact on the Huveaune Valley, which will combine archaeological and soil data.

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