

Exploiting Landscapes in *Gallia Narbonensis*:
Settlement Change within the Rhône Valley from 100 BCE to 100 CE

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Abstract

Changes in settlement location, style and density have long been seen as hallmarks of the Roman conquest of the Gaul. The relocation and abandonment of native settlements is often understood as voluntary, and resulting from a desire to engage economically and politically with Rome. Land appropriated by Rome during the conquest is thought to have been disbursed to citizens of Rome's new colonies in Gaul. What the impact of land distribution might have been on patterns of native settlement remains unknown. This paper examines micro-regional patterns of settlement abandonment and continuity in northern *Gallia Narbonensis* in the 1st century BCE and early 1st century CE in what is today the French département of the Drôme. Significant differences are observed in the rates of abandonment and long-term continuity. Settlements in centuriated regions appear more than seven times more likely to be abandoned or relocated than those on uncenturiated land, and this difference is analyzed as a function of exploitative colonial and imperial administration.

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	7
Chapter 2: Sources and methodology	17
2.1 Introduction to the Drôme	17
2.2 Sources	18
Chapter 3: The Drôme prior to 75 BCE	30
Chapter 4: Settlement change in the transitional period	42
Chapter 5: Conclusions	62
Appendix: Transition Period Sites	70
Bibliography	81

List of Illustrations:

Maps

Distribution of settlements circa 75 BCE 60

Distribution of settlements circa 15 CE 61

“For of the Gauls, those even who stand on the best ground have been compelled once and again, and sorely against their will, to furnish cavalry, money, and corn; and of the rest, some have been deprived of their land in ancient wars, some have been overwhelmed and subdued in war by this very man.” - Cicero, Pro Fonteio¹

“You do not know much, perhaps, of the condition of distant peoples; but you need only look at the part of Gaul on your own borders that has been made into a Roman province, with new laws and institutions imposed upon it, ground beneath the conqueror’s iron heel in perpetual servitude.” ~ The Arvernian Critognatus, from Caesar, Gallic War²

“When, accordingly, in the face of these facts, anybody declares that we ought not to make war, he simply says that we ought not to be rich, ought not to rule others, ought not to be free, ought not to be Romans.” ~ Dio, Roman History³

Chapter 1: Introduction

Roman historian Pompeius Trogus, who wrote in the early first century CE, was the grandson of a warrior from the Gallic tribe of the Voconti, from the modern-day French *département* of the Drôme, who had won citizenship and distinction fighting for Rome. Working backwards, it is not difficult to calculate that Trogus’ grandfather, “Trogus Pompeius, [who] received the right of citizenship from Gnaeus Pompey in the Sertorian war,”⁴ was probably born between the years 110 and 100 BCE, in a region defined by Iron Age *oppida* and post-and-beam farms, before even the earliest foundations of Roman-style urban centers were constructed on the Drôme’s plain of Valence or valley of Die. Working forward by a few decades, we can calculate that Trogus’ father, who, “served under Gaius Caesar, and had the charge of his correspondence, of receiving embassies and of his ring,”⁵ was likely born between 80 and 70 BCE, and that if he

¹ Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*, 12. Translated by N. H. Watts, Loeb (1931).

² Caesar, *Gallic Wars*, 7.77. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Caesar’s Gallic Wars come from the Penguin translation by S. A. Handford and Jane F. Gardner (*The Conquest of Gaul*, London, New York, Penguin Books, 1982).

³ Dio, *Roman History*, 38.40.8. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Cassius Dio come from the Loeb Classical Library, translated by Earnest Cary, and Herbert Baldwin Foster. *Dio’s Roman History, with an English Translation* (London; New York: W. Heinemann The Macmillan co., 1914).

⁴ Justinus, epitome of the *Phillippic History* of Pompeius Trogus, 43.5, citing autobiographical details purportedly included in Trogus’ original work. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Justinus are by J.S. Watson, from *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius, Literally Translated, with Notes and a General Index* (London, H.G. Bohn, 1876).

⁵ Justinian, *Phillippic History*, 43.5.

grew up in the territory of the Voconti in the Drôme, he, too, would likely have spent his days in a settlement dominated by an *oppidum*, in a region without any traces of Roman-style urban centers. Trogus himself, however, would have been born into a Drôme in transition, and if Trogus Pompeius lived into his 80s to witness his grandson's world, he would almost certainly not have recognized it as the same place in which he had been born. If Pompeius Trogus was born between 50 and 40 BCE, he would have spent his youth in a region convulsed by change, and by the time he likely died, in the first century CE, he might have seen his grandfather's world of *oppida* nearly entirely vanish. In its place was a Drôme administered by one of four cities, with a growing population engaged in the building of nearly 200 new villages, in which Latin had replaced Celtic for the transaction of official business, and where at least a portion of the population commemorated their dead with Latin or Greek inscriptions.

Extant archaeological material dating to the late second or early first century BCE from the Drôme indicates that in the late Iron Age the region was home to five large *oppida*, 10 hilltop settlements and 71 smaller villages and hamlets, some built of post-and-beam construction and others of stone and adobe. The engagement of the region with wider trade networks is demonstrated by the presence of Mediterranean wine *amphorae* and tablewares as well as intricately designed *fibulae* and weapons imported from central Gaul. No literary or documentary materials from the region have survived, although the legends on coins and funerary inscriptions are occasionally recovered. Material from *strata* dating to two centuries later illustrates the presence of four sizable cities, 22 large towns and nearly 200 smaller villages or hamlets. Data from the early first century CE indicates the presence of bath complexes and water management systems, and approximately one fifth of the settlement sites yield some evidence of elite lifestyle: hypocaust heating, mosaic floors, glass, fine tableware, large scale industrial installations and

metal tools. One-third of the settlements yield at least one inscription dating from around the first century CE, allowing us a brief glimpse of the names and relationships of a portion of the Drôme's inhabitants.

Life in the Drôme, then, was utterly transformed within the span of three generations. The socio-economic and cultural changes associated with the Roman presence in *Gallia Narbonensis*, incorporated as a Roman province around 121 BCE, appear in ancient sources beginning approximately a century later. The first century CE Roman author Pliny the Elder, for instance, in his *Natural History* claimed that, “*agrorum cultu, virorum morumque dignatione, amplitudine opum, nulli provinciarum postferenda breviterque Italia verius quam provincia.*”⁶

The question of *if* and *how* and *why* Gallic culture and society in *Narbonensis* was transformed by conquest has been examined by many scholars over a long period of time. Yet, as little as 30 years ago, in a piece calling for a more systematic approach to the study of settlement history in the province, Paul-Albert Février was able to claim that, “it is not surprising that a history of southern Gaul, that is of *Narbonensis* and the Alpine provinces which are inseparable from it, still remains to be written.”⁷ Such an historical framework is a necessary precursor to studies examining the economic and cultural transformations that occurred within the region.

Cultural, economic and political transformations similar to the one displayed in the material from the Drôme have been noted in the archaeological records of all the former provinces of the Roman empire. It has become clear that patterns of settlement, agriculture and economy, language, levels of literacy, and engagement in new forms of religious and civic

⁶ Pliny, *NH* III.4, states concerning *Narbonensis*: “With respect to the cultivation of their fields, the dignity of their men and their customs, (and) the abundance of their resources, it should be set behind none of the provinces and in short, it is Italy more truly than a province.” Passage cited in Hitchner (1999), p. 379.. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from cited Latin text are my own.

⁷ Paul-Albert Février, “The Origin and Growth of the Cities of Southern Gaul to the Third Century A.D.: An Assessment of the Most Recent Archaeological Discoveries.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 63 (1973): 2.

behavior, while varying immensely from region to region,⁸ changed dramatically after conquest by Rome. As David Mattingly so salutarily points out in his introduction to *Experiencing Empire*, a written history captures perhaps nothing so well as it does the author's own time and his or her own intellectual mood and understanding of history at that particular moment.⁹ Examinations of the processes by which Roman and provincial societies accommodated and adapted to one another are similarly deeply impacted by the interests of individual scholars and by the prevailing cultural *impetus* of their times'. Early work on the effects of Roman imperialism in the provinces depicted Rome's provincial subjects in ways strikingly similar to the narratives put forth by ancient authors, in which uncivilized barbarians are offered salvation, in the form of Roman cultural practices, by a conquering Rome.¹⁰ The social movements of the 1960s and 1970s produced scholars interested in showing that inhabitants of the provinces had *agency* in the cultural changes that occurred after conquest by Rome. Their work demonstrated that cultural change was not uniform throughout the empire, that parties to the exchange were to some extent *both* transformed by the encounter, and that the process of change was mediated not by Roman imperial administration but by choices and behavior of individuals on both sides. The social preoccupations of the 1960s and 1970s additionally prompted scholars in related disciplines - specifically anthropology and prehistoric archaeology - to develop new methods of survey and excavation capable of producing data pertinent to the study of broad social and economic change and of personal and cultural identity. The addition of new methodologies of research

⁸ Mattingly, D.J. . *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*. (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 2011): 40, for example. Woolf, Dietler, Wells, Millett, Hitchner, Favro, Haussler, DeSena, Dossey, Jospin, Leveau, Segard, Keay and Terrenato, among many others, treat aspects of cultural change and cultural differences within the empire.

⁹ Mattingly, *Experiencing Empire*, xvii.

¹⁰ Woolf, Greg, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. (Cambridge, U.K., Cambridge University Press, 1998): 54.

and analysis to the discipline of Classical archaeology in recent decades has had a profound impact on the type and quality of the data sets now available for study and on the nature of the questions being put to it. Particular attention has focused on the question of *identity* in the Roman empire, and scholarship has sought to highlight the experiences of groups within the empire - from provincial subjects, to women, children, and slaves - whose realities are seen as being underrepresented in ancient sources and subsequent study of those sources. Works aimed at understanding the process of cultural transformation in Gaul by Greg Woolf, Olivier Buchsenschutz and others have provided persuasive explanations for the profound social changes within the Gallic elite - changes which, for example, made it possible for the grandson of a Vocontian soldier to receive a Roman education of such high quality as to allow him to become a well-known historian writing in Latin less than a century later.

For all the strides that have been made in recent decades, scholarship on provincial life in the Roman empire remains in its early stages. As Mattingly asks in *Experiencing Empire* (2011), “leaving aside the provincial elites and the army, then, what of the rest of the subject people in the provinces? What do we really know about their lives in and experiences of the Roman Empire?”¹¹ The fact that this question remains is due in part to a lack of sufficient data with which to examine the lives of members of Roman society who inhabited the landscape in ways

¹¹ Mattingly, *Experiencing Empire*, 27.

difficult to discern archaeologically.¹² Pitts adds that the study of identity has, itself, impeded the examination of the lives of Mattingly's "subaltern,"¹³ noting that, "a worrying trend with much of the literature considered here on Roman identity is the extent to which important issues underpinning identity (not least the nature and articulation of the ancient economy) are becoming marginalized in the focus on expression and outward negotiation."¹⁴

This critique is of particular relevance to the study of the period of transition between the start of the 1st century BCE and the mid-first century CE in Gaul,¹⁵ during which previously independent Gallic societies appear to have undergone a deep cultural and economic transformation, resulting from the need to accommodate to a new imperial regime, imposed by

¹² Ward-Perkins, Bryan. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 139-142. Ward-Perkins presents good comparative evidence of the difficulty inherent in locating structures made of wood and other perishable materials in the archaeological record from late antique and early medieval Britain. "Yeavinger...the great royal estate centre of the sixth and seventh century Northumbrian kings, may well have been used for over a century by more than 100 people, including men and women from the very highest ranks of society. But its buildings were constructed entirely of perishable materials, which left no trace in the topsoil, and its pottery was not only very scarce, but also extremely friable and hence liable to fall into dust under the plough. Even a very thorough archaeological field survey could have walked right over Yeavinger without noticing any trace of settlement. The site was in fact discovered only because local conditions allowed the post-holes of its timber buildings to be visible from the air. Bearing the example of Yeavinger in mind, it is almost certain that, lurking in the large empty spaces of distribution maps ...were a lot of people who are, at present, archaeologically invisible. They were there, but we cannot find them. Because of these problems of evidence, we cannot take the apparent lack of post-Roman sites at face value, as unequivocal evidence for a cataclysmic collapse of population in post-Roman times. But, of course, the same evidence does not compel us to assume that the population levels remained constant. It is entirely possible that the difficulty we have finding post-Roman people is due to their being substantially fewer in number, as well as to their leaving fewer material traces. While maintaining a healthy skepticism over the impression of emptiness given by maps...we should also beware of filling the gaps with fictitious people. Some of the people we cannot see may well have never been there in the first place."

¹³ Mattingly, *Experiencing Empire*, 27.

¹⁴ Pitts, Martin. "The Emperor's New Clothes? The Utility of Identity in Roman Archaeology." *American Journal of Archaeology: the Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America*, 111 (2007), 309.

¹⁵ Study of Iron Age settlement patterns in Gaul is problematized by a bias in the archaeological record. Wooden structures difficult to locate, and until very recently these were not actively sought, as scholars interested in the pre-Roman landscape were primarily concerned with locating *oppida*, and therefore studied stone hilltop constructions at the expense of lowland sites. The vast majority of Iron Age sites located in the department of the Drôme, for example, are sherds found in and around the lowest levels of the excavations of the more durable 'Roman' buildings, the investigation of which appears to have been the primary aim of the original research. Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 108-115, points out that the "gap in the settlement record" is gradually being filled in by "a number of recent excavations (that) have uncovered traces of very early timber structures on the sites of Roman cities."

the Roman state by which the Gallic societies had recently been conquered.¹⁶ Much of the work that has been done on transformation in Gaul in years immediately following the Roman conquest focuses on cultural change among the Gallic elite. While it is clear that large scale economic and social changes occurred throughout Gallic society in the period between the start of the 1st century BCE and the mid-1st century CE, the proof of this change is most obvious when one observes its ‘end result,’ - that is, the transformation of material culture in the archaeological record in the 1st century CE. And while the *cultural* mechanics of this change among elite Gauls have been widely explored, the details of how it occurred *physically*, economically, and socially for the majority of the Gallic population remains unclear. Especially problematic are issues relating to the regional changes in settlement and economy that culminated in the explosion of ‘Roman-style’ cultural and economic behaviors starting in the 1st century CE.¹⁷ Philippe Leveau, describing the work of another scholar, suggests that detailed micro-regional studies of changes in settlement in the transitional period could help clarify the process of change. The author Leveau cites, he says, is:

attentif au sort des paysanneries antiques et désireux de développer grâce à l'archéologie les études sur un monde rural gallo-romain négligé par l'archéologie classique, celui-ci a élargi à l'époque romaine la

¹⁶ Michael Dietler states that Rome’s “entry into the region was initially through a major influx of trade, but this was soon followed by progressive military conquest and the gradual imposition of a system of imperial administration that resulted in major transformations of indigenous culture and society. With the arrival of the Roman army, southern France changed from a heterogeneous collection of politically autonomous indigenous societies (albeit deeply entangled with the Mediterranean world through trade, intermarriage, mercenary activity, conflict, and treaties) to a subject province of the Roman Empire.” From “The Iron Age in Mediterranean France: Colonial Encounters, Entanglements, and Transformations” (*Journal of World Prehistory* 11.3. 1997), 291-292.

¹⁷ After spending many hours seeking to put words to the questions above regarding what I see as a lack of basic information about the impact of Roman expansion on provincial subjects, I happened upon a comment by Mattingly (*Experiencing Empire*, 41), that I had missed in previous readings. His words, I think, do more justice to the question than would my own, and I have reproduced them here. “Writing this chapter has reminded me forcefully that the study of the Roman empire is a very large academic subject, with a huge bibliographical backlog. Yet it seems to me that there are still many basic issues about the nature of Roman imperialism and its impacts that remain poorly understood or, simply, little explored. Developments in archaeology, in comparative history, and in the field of postcolonial studies offer a range of avenues that ancient historians, classicists, and specialists in Roman material culture should give further consideration to in the years ahead.”

*problématique mise en oeuvre pour l'étude des oppida et a ouvert de nouvelles perspectives en particulier dans le sens des études micro régionales.*¹⁸

The present study represents an attempt to examine the period of transition in Gaul within the limits of the micro-region of the present-day French department of the Drôme, which is located within the former province of *Gallia Narbonensis*. The study was designed with three goals in mind. First, it aims to evaluate the Carte Archéologique de la Gaule as a source of archaeological data for use in regional study. The CAG is a pre-inventory of all extant archaeological material coming from survey, excavation, antiquarian collections and even, on occasion, word-of-mouth, dating from the period between space 1000 BCE - 1000 CE. It is published and organized by region. While the material within it derives from disparate sources, it is the most complete compilation of regional archaeological data available for the study of Gaul, and many of the studies mentioned within it, in addition to being relatively unknown and therefore less likely to be sought in a regional survey, are also either unpublished or impossible to access outside of France. One aim of the present study is to identify if and how the material contained within the CAG can be used as a source of the type of in-depth, broad data necessary to accurately examine regional post-conquest settlement change.

Second, this study aims to construct a plausible 'narrative framework,' using both archaeological evidence and ancient literary and epigraphic sources, by which one might start to examine the mechanics and nature of socio-cultural change in the Drôme in the transitional period. No framework currently exists which presents the evidence necessary to examine and evaluate change in the period and region in question. One can, for instance, read about Provençal trade and about the *oppidum Saint-Marcel* in Le Pegue, which was abandoned in the

¹⁸ Leveau, Philippe. "Agglomérations Secondaires Et Territoires En Gaule Narbonnaise." *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 26 (1993), 288, concerning the work of J.L. Fisches.

Augustan period, or about the Roman cities of Die and Valence, which were founded in the late first century BCE, but discussions of how the transition occurred *within* the Drôme are overwhelmingly limited to brief paragraphs mentioning patterns of change.¹⁹ And while a great deal of work has been done by scholars over the past three decades on provincial life in the Roman period *in general*, and on cultural and economic change in *particular*, all of which are applicable to the study of change in the Drôme, the majority present theoretical analyses of cultural synthesis or economic change in regions that are depicted as having already completed a transition into Roman rule.²⁰

The third aim of the present study is to identify and examine the modalities of changes which appear in the pattern of settlement in the Drôme beginning in the mid-1st century BCE. An examination of settlement change in the Drôme in the last century BCE reveals a pattern of settlement abandonment and continuity that suggests differential applications of imperial power within micro-regions of the Drôme. The study indicates that, within lowland landscapes that were designated for centuriation for the *coloniae* of Orange and Valence, a strikingly high proportion of Iron Age settlements appear to have been abandoned between 50-20 BCE. In lowland zones *not* designated for centuriation, the proportion of abandoned sites appears to be much lower. It is my belief that differences in the scale and nature of settlement abandonment and continuity in the Drôme is indicative not only of local variations within the *Drôme*, but of differential applications of imperial power there.

¹⁹ Dietler, Michael. *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010): 318. The author mentions that, “After the Roman conquest of the area in 123 BC (following the conflict between Massalia and the Saluvii), there was a fairly rapid abandonment of most of these hilltop sites (often after episodes of violent destruction), and small settlements appeared again on the lowlands (Arcelin and Treziny, 1990). In Eastern Languedoc, on the other hand, the second century BC shows no traces of a similar phase of turbulence and destruction.”

²⁰ Greg Woolf, Ralph Haussler, Philippe Leveau and many others have stressed the idea that provincial cultures were constructed by both conqueror and conquered, pointing to regional differences in cultural expression throughout the Roman empire. Dietler’s work stops shortly after the Roman conquest.

Chapter 2: Sources and Methodology

2.1 Introduction to the Drôme

The Drôme (Fig. 1) is a French *département* of approximately 6,530 km² within the region of Rhône-Alpes (Fig. 2). Although never an independent political entity until the last half of the 18th century, the *département*'s political boundaries are essentially delimited geographically.²¹ Approximately one-third of the province's surface area - the western third - stretches along the Rhône river valley between the *départements* of Isère to the north and Vaucluse to the south. The eastern two-thirds of the region's surface area is classified as 'pre-alpine,'²² although the term is somewhat misleading. The highest peaks in the three large *massifs* that make up the prealpine zone range between 1,500 m and 2,500 in altitude. The three *massifs*, Vercors, Baronnies and Die, are comprised of both mountains and plateaus, and are additionally traversed by several rivers, which connect the plains of the Rhône with the region's interior.²³ The river Drôme, from which the *département* derives its name, essentially bisects the region from east to west.²⁴

The region's location and history give it the character of a liminal zone, both culturally and geographically. In addition to the changes in climate and geology spanning the transition from alluvial plain to prealpine zone, portions of the Drôme also mark the northernmost edge of the Mediterranean climate and the southernmost edge of the more temperate continental zone.²⁵ While vines can be cultivated throughout the Rhône valley in the region, the southern edge of the Drôme, around Nyons and Buis-les-Baronnies, marks the present-day limit for olive

²¹ Jacques Planchon, Michèle Bois, Pascale Conjard-Réthoré, and Bernard Rémy. *Carte Archéologique De La Gaule: 26. Carte Archéologique De La Gaule. (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2010): 73.*

²² CAG, 77

²³ CAG, 80-81

²⁴ CAG, 72. Other *drômois* tributaries of the river Rhône include the Lez, Eygues, Ouveze, Oule, Gervanne, Isère, Herbasse, Jabron, Meouge and Garenne.

²⁵ CAG, 72

cultivation.²⁶ The Drôme has been a place of great cultural and political change: Prior to the mid-14th century, the region - then known as the *Dauphine* - changed hands numerous times in power struggles between assorted feudal warlords. It lay at the southern edge of the Burgundian kingdom in the 5th century, and at the northern edge of the province of *Gallia Narbonensis* prior to the Roman conquest of the rest of Gaul. Prior to the Roman conquest, historical sources suggest the region of the Drôme made up the *territorium* of three Gallic polities: the Voconti, the Allobroges and the Tricastini.

2.2 Sources

The primary source materials pertaining to the Drôme fall into three rough categories - archaeological, literary and epigraphic evidence. This study makes use of all three broad categories of information, but relies most heavily on archaeological finds documented in the *Carte Archéologique de la Gaule: Drome* (CAG), a digested listing of all archaeological sites and small finds in the region dating from the Iron Age through the early Middle Ages. The CAG is a series of volumes published periodically, *département by département*, by the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, in conjunction with the French Ministries of Culture and of Research, and edited by Michel Provost.²⁷ Written by three primary authors, with the help of over a dozen other scholars, it summarizes the history and archaeology of the region in nine short articles and subsequently presents over 3,200 archaeologically detected sites in the region. The pre-inventory is a synthesis of extant finds compiled by the authors from a wide variety of sources. Detailed chronological

²⁶ Leveau, Philippe. "L'oléiculture En Gaule Narbonnaise: Données Archeologiques Et Paléoenvironnementales. Présentation - Interprétation." *Revue Archéologique De Picardie* (2003): 299-308. Leveau posits that the limit of effective olive cultivation was further to the north in the Roman period.

²⁷ The volumes are presented in what the author characterizes as a 'pre-inventory' - listing sites and site details alphabetically, town-by-town. Over 100 volumes of the CAG have been published - the Drôme volume in 2010.

and spatial data from published excavations is listed side by side with brief descriptions of non-localized small finds, objects listed in letters written by 18th and 19th century antiquarians, and unexcavated sites located during as yet unpublished field survey campaigns.

While it is unquestionably helpful for scholars to have what amounts to a prepared index of all reported sites in a region, this potential use is not what makes the CAG an important resource for the present study. In fact, site reports published elsewhere, which were drawn upon in the creation of the volume, typically offer much clearer and more detailed sets of site data. What sets the CAG apart as a resource, then, is its inclusion of data that has either not yet been published or, if published, offers such a paucity of useful information as to make the sites impossible to analyze in isolation. Many of the finds in the CAG were located by accident or during surface survey; subsequent excavations, when undertaken, were often very tightly constrained by outside financial concerns. As a result, a large number of the sites listed in the CAG, even when published elsewhere, are not yet understood in detail, and questions of stratigraphy and even of extent remain unanswered. Because of their relative paucity of data, such sites are most revealing when studied in the context of all available *comparanda*, in much the same way data gathered in surface survey is most useful when employed to examine broader settlement patterns, and least useful in attempts to examine specific functions of a particular unexcavated site. By bringing these sites together with others in published form, the CAG presents a data set that, while lacking the randomized sampling methodology used in surface

survey, can be interrogated as a global data set to examine broad questions of settlement and economy.²⁸

Large-scale surveys are generally thought to be the most accurate and scientifically rigorous method by which to examine regional settlement patterns,²⁹ as they provide a picture of settlement distribution across a landscape. Surface survey can be problematic, however, for a number of reasons. In addition to the methodological problems discussed by Alcock and Cherry, Witcher, Sullivan, and Johnston, survey is time consuming and expensive. Excavation, at the very least including the opening of test pits to elucidate chronological questions, is even more costly and can only be carried out in a fraction of the sites uncovered in the surveys in question. While survey remains the best way to acquire an even distribution map of sites within a region, the methodological and logistical problems inherent in the technique, on the one hand, preclude regional study in areas that have not yet benefitted from the application of great quantities of grant money and, on the other hand, obscure the picture of distribution in regions or time periods in which a significant portion of the architecture does not survive on the surface. Small surveys have been undertaken in the Drôme, for instance, but only rarely have they uncovered

²⁸ Further, the large number of sites included in the Drôme volume increases the statistical validity of patterns found in the data set - which is inherently flawed (as is survey data generally) due to the process of forming the data set. For a discussion of survey methodology and much in-depth analysis of issues regarding survey in the Hellenistic world, particularly, *Side by Side Survey : Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World* (2004), edited by Susan Alcock and John Cherry, is an exceptional resource. The publications stemming from the Laconia Survey, conducted in the 1980s by William Cavanaugh, Joost, Crouwel and others, provide a helpful example of field survey in-action and furthermore demonstrate the method's particular usefulness in examining issues of settlement change. Robert Witcher's "Broken Pots and Meaningless Dots," is a good overview of the theoretical and methodological problems facing specifically Roman archaeology.

²⁹ In addition to the publications listed above, numerous works by archaeologists examining social history in prehistoric Central and North America discuss both the problems and the benefits of survey methodology at length, and their contributions are quite helpful. "Archaeological Survey Design, Units of Observation, and the Characterization of Regional Variability," by Alan Sullivan *et al* (*American Antiquity* 72.2, 2007), 322-33, deals particularly deftly with methodological problems. The study juxtaposes two surveys undertaken in the same area, each using a different unit size, and it demonstrates the difficulty inherent in comparing two surveys to one another. Kevin Johnston's "Protrusion, Bioturbation, and Settlement Detection During Surface Survey: the Lowland Maya Case," (*Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 9.1, 2002), 1-67, explores the issue of differential material survival, demonstrating that surface survey is an unreliable tool in regions characterized by material cultural remains that do not often leave surface traces.

remnants of the post-and-beam structures which were found during excavations along the line of the TGV. Taken together, these factors make a ‘survey’ of the archaeological data contained in the Drôme volume of the CAG especially attractive. An examination of the data contained therein offers the possibility of creating a regional distribution map that is less reliable than a surface survey *spatially*, but that is capable of providing greater precision and nuance in the study of chronology and of architectural and other material cultural features of sites. Furthermore, a survey of archaeological data from the Drôme could facilitate a more nuanced theorization of the transformations in settlement that occurred in the late 1st century BCE, the details of which remain rather unclear, especially in non-urban environments. As Jean Leclant, Secretary of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, notes in his introduction to the Drôme volume, the impact of Roman settlement in and centuriation of large portions of the arable land in the region has long been noted.³⁰ Numerous scholars - perhaps most notably Gérard Chouquer - have mentioned that the Roman presence in the Rhône river valley almost undoubtedly had a great impact on the local rural populations. Yet the nature of that impact is as yet rather unclear.

In sum, it is the aim of this study to conduct a survey of settlement in the Drôme between 100 BCE and 15 CE, using previously collected survey data, archaeological finds uncovered in rescue excavation, research-directed fieldwork and even, if applicable, chance finds noted in the CAG. Data from the Drôme volume is supplemented, where possible, with site reports, in order to gain greater chronological precision. Creating an accurate schema of the spatial distribution of settlements is problematic even when data is collected within the regularized framework of a field survey, as mentioned above. Creating such a schema when using data originating from a variety of sources - collected in the absence of a regularized sampling system across the entire survey

³⁰ CAG, 5.

area - is not methodologically unsound, but is nevertheless problematic. Rescue excavations and surveys undertaken in the more heavily inhabited non-alpine zones of the Drôme can be viewed as randomized samples, and although they do not follow a gridded pattern, the sum total of excavation in the lowland landscapes of the *département* provides a relatively even spread. This is not the case in the alpine zones of the Drôme, which are less heavily inhabited than the lowland areas and are, further, less extensively cultivated - factors which significantly decrease the extent of chance finds and the subsequent rescue excavations that are so often undertaken in the Rhône river valley. These factors demonstrate the caution that must be employed when observing spatial patterns in settlement distribution. As a result of the spatial limitations within the data set, this study focuses primarily on the ratios of different modes of occupation within micro-regions across the *département*, and does not attempt to analyze region-wide patterns of land use. For instance, less than ten non-urban sites occupied in the 1st century BCE have been excavated in the northern and central alpine zones of the *département*. While such results in a surface survey might be indicative of a real pattern of settlement - characterized in this case by a low population - the same distribution in the archaeological record as a whole, which is representative of chance finds and not systematic survey, indicates a lack of field research, not of population. To recall Terrenato's discussion of sampling methodology, the small size of the sample of material in much of the alpine landscape leaves any conclusions made about it extremely vulnerable, statistically, to any error or bias within the sample. While this study does not exclude data from those zones altogether, it focuses on patterns of settlement in locations more heavily excavated. Patterns within areas yielding larger samples are seen in this study as being statistically viable, as the large 'n' value decreases the potential disruptive force of the inevitable outliers and errors in this, and every, data set.

Concerns regarding the nature of the data in the CAG inform every aspect of this project's methodology. All sites contained within the CAG that appeared to have been occupied in 1st century BCE through the end of the 1st century CE were collected, categorized, and the diagnostic finds were listed. Prior to being categorized and mapped, the collected sites were then studied in greater detail, and sites that were judged too chronologically imprecise were subsequently excluded from the data set. The study's objective is primarily to examine the potential impact of Roman imperial expansion within the Drôme on the inhabitants of the region. Yet, as has repeatedly been noted by scholars,³¹ associating specific material remains with particular cultural or ethnic identities is inherently problematic, and especially so in a world, like 1st century BCE *Gallia Narbonensis*, that is characterized by drastic shifts in power structure and in material culture. My perspective on the subject of change in the transition period is, additionally, colored by my own biases as a scholar. I view the landscape of imperialism in the Roman world as one mediated not predominantly by *culture* or ethnic identity but by pragmatism, and I see changing power dynamics and shifting economic realities as being primary drivers of change. Thus, the present study is less focused on identifying the experiences of, specifically, the *Gauls* within the transition, and more focused on examining the effects of Roman imperial expansion on the local communities - irrespective of their ethnic makeup - that were in place before the creation of the Roman *colonia* of Orange and Valence in the mid-1st century BCE. This interest informs my categorization of the sites identified in the CAG. While I am interested in separating newly founded, Roman-style towns and trading posts from the forms of settlement common prior to Roman expansion, I am not interested in identifying whether or not a Gallic or a Roman-style

³¹ Mattingly, in *Empire*, and Woolf, in both *Becoming Roman* and his publication entitled, "Beyond Romans and Natives" (*World Archaeology* 28.3, 1997), 339-50, treat this issue as it pertains to the Roman world. Pitts, in *Emperor's New Clothes*, discusses theoretical issues relating to the study of identity in Roman archaeology and history.

building belonged to a Roman, a Gaul, a Greek and so-forth. This study is, rather, focused on identifying patterns of settlement continuity and community upheaval in the period. Farms and, in the case of *oppida*, whole communities that were organized and constructed in an indigenous style and occupied prior to the mid-1st century BCE are differentiated from both Roman-style farms and urban centers. In addition to being designed to answer specific questions, this methodology serves the pragmatic function of sidestepping several major questions of chronology difficult to resolve given the paucity of detail in many of the sites listed in the CAG.

Scholars apply different systems of chronology to the material cultural remains from central and southern Gaul in the 1st century BCE. These differences are sometimes reflective of the variety of disciplines and also of nationalities from which the scholarship emerges - French prehistorians sometimes call the period the *deuxieme age du fer*, sometimes the *La Tène final*, while Francophone classical archaeologists might make reference to ceramics dating to *protohistoire*, or, where a significant number of Italian imports coexist with local coarse ware, to the *précoce* period. While it has been the custom of Anglophone scholars to refer to much of the 1st millennium BCE in France (from approximately 750 BCE until around the turn of the century) as the Iron Age, and to divide that period into *Hallstatt* and *La Tène*, recent work indicates that even if those chronological systems can be used comfortably elsewhere, they cannot be in southern France.³² The disparate terminologies used do not present a great deal of difficulty, perhaps, in the examination of material dating to earlier centuries, but in the 1st century BCE indigenous Gallic material cultural remains are referenced using prehistoric terminology, while material that appears to be Italian in origin (Campanian ware), buildings constructed out of typically Italian

³² Michael Dietler presents an excellent discussion of his own chronological approach to Iron Age material at the site of Lattes, and also compares and discusses the other commonly utilized chronologies for the region in the 1st millennium BCE in *Colonial Encounters*, 271-277.

material (stone) or in locations deemed Roman (cities) are ascribed to chronologies originating in Classical archaeology - Republican, Augustan, or Roman, depending on author. These differences in terms may seem inconsequential, as they are easy to resolve chronologically. But they are problematic in the present study as they presuppose a cultural or ethnic identity that was not necessarily so clearly delimited in the period itself and is, as a result, not necessarily possible to discern in the material record. The earliest houses on the site of Valence, for example, are typically referred to as “Republican,” and the site itself is considered to be a Roman imperial foundation. Yet the majority of the buildings are constructed of wattle and daub upon post-and-beam frameworks that resemble nothing so much as the nearby farms, which are predominantly dated to the “protohistoric” period or the “late Iron Age.” Arguably, these terms unduly complicate and bias an analysis of the material. When examined using the applied chronologies, it appears that the foundation of Valence was accompanied by either a significant influx of settlers or a sweeping cultural change in the native population. Viewed without the differential chronologies and using only the approximate dates of occupation gleaned from diagnostic ceramics found in the sites in question, the picture becomes much more nuanced. While the foundation of the colony at Valence undoubtedly represented an *administrative* and organizational change in the Rhône valley, and while the presence of some Roman-style housing on the site dating to the period in question is suggestive of a change in the cultural makeup of the population (whether seen as being due to immigration or to changes within the native culture is left to the discretion of the scholar), the change appears to have involved a population which, in its early stages, closely resembled the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside. One of the challenges inherent in working with differentially collected and analyzed data is the difficulty that

accompanies the precise dating of material. The *Lattara* publications³³ and the recent work of Nuria Nin and Michel Pasqualini were used to assign more precise dates to the ceramics found within the sites in question.³⁴ The present study utilizes dates and architectural and assemblage styles to determine whether or not a site was inhabited in the early 1st century BCE and, if so, whether the site represents a continuity of local settlement patterns (true in all cases) or a new type of economic exploitation or community or civic organization (not found in any sites at the start of the first century BCE). These categorized sites are plotted on a map (Figs. 1 and 2). Next, all sites with evidence of occupation in the mid- and late-1st century BCE are examined, and changes in occupation noted. Given the nature of the subject of cultural identity in general and of the data set in particular, it is impossible to determine whether or not the construction of a new Roman-style settlement, for example, was accomplished by people identifying themselves as Gauls or as Romans. This question is not the particular focus of the present study, however. The study's aim, as stated above, is to examine the impact of imperial expansion on the local settlement pattern and on pre-existing communities, and not on what specific ethnic identifications were held by the members of those communities. Non-Roman types of occupation pre-dating the mid-1st century BCE are, however, in the interest of clarity and brevity, referenced as local or native settlements in the study, with the understanding that the meaning of 'native' or 'local' may vary over time and space.

In sum, the archaeological primary sources used in this study were identified using the CAG: Drôme volume. They are subsequently analyzed, categorized and mapped in order to yield

³³ Michel Py, Andres M. Adroher Auroux, and Claude Raynaud. *Lattara. Dictionnaire Des Céramiques Antiques (Viième S. Av. N. È. - Viième S. De N. È.) En Méditerranée Nord-Occidentale (Provence, Languedoc, Ampurdan) 6* (Lattes, France, Edition de l'Association pour la recherche archéologique en Languedoc oriental, 1993).

³⁴ Nuria Nin, Michel Pasqualini, and Marie-Thérèse Pesty. "Les Céramiques À Pâte Claire D'aix-En-Provence Et Du Bassin De L'arc. Rebut D'une Officine De Potiers Aux 38-42, Boulevard De La République" (*Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise*. 36, 2003), 283-304.

a map of changes in micro-regional settlement patterns during the period of political and cultural transition in the 1st century BCE. In order to add to the picture created by a survey of the archaeological data, two other categories of primary source material are employed. The corpus of inscriptions found in the region is particularly helpful. Few inscriptions have been identified dated to before the 1st century CE, but numerous early 1st century epitaphs and dedications shed light on changing power structures and on the changing cultural landscape of the Drôme. 10 inscriptions from the Drôme make reference to the Roman tribe Voltinia - the tribe into which, it appears, many newly enfranchised native Gallic citizens were ascribed in the early imperial period.³⁵ Nearly twice as many references to the Voltinia are made in the epigraphic record of the Drôme than all the other mentioned Roman tribes combined (10:6 ratio - the others tribes mentioned are *Galeria* (twice), *Papiria*, *Pollia*, *Quirina*, *Sabatina*, and *Tromentina*). Most of the inscriptions from the region can be found in the *Corpus Inscriptionem Latinarum* (CIL), but the CAG is at present the most accurate index of inscriptions from the Drôme, as it includes some finds which are located in supplementary editions of the CIL or have not yet been published there.

An epigraphic source found outside the Drôme was also used to add nuance to the picture of settlement change in the region. As mentioned above, portions of the land along the Rhône valley appear to have been centuriated, or surveyed for tax purposes and assigned to members of the colonies of Valence, to the north, and Orange, with lies to the south of the Drôme. Fragments of a map found in Orange, and dated to 77 CE, appear to depict the centuries belonging to the colony of Arausio (Orange), and a portion of the mapped land

³⁵ In his work entitled "Southern Gaul in the Triumviral Period: A Critical Stage of Romanization" (*American Journal of Philology* 109.4, 1988), 587, Charles Ebel notes that, "those who won Roman citizenship...in the Latin towns of Narbonensis were enrolled in the tribe Voltinia."

appears to be located in the south-western quarter of the *département*.³⁶ Traces of field systems around the city of St.-Paul-Trois-Châteaux have been surveyed and analyzed by numerous scholars.

Historical sources are also used in the analysis of the transitional period in the Drôme. Numerous ancient authors make mention of Gaul, of *Gallia Narbonensis* more specifically, of regions thought to be located in the present-day Drôme, and of various peoples and places thought to have been located there.³⁷ These sources are often frustratingly brief in their discussion of issues of interest in the present study. Historical narratives, particularly, those which

³⁶ See Chouquer, "Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique Des Centuriations De Narbonnaise" (*Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 26.1 1993), 87-98, Piganiol, "Sur Un Fragment Nouveau Du Cadastre d'Orange" (*Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1950), 60-69, and Assenat, "Le Cadastre Colonial d'Orange" (*Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise*, 27/28, 1995), 43-56, for an overview of these studies.

³⁷ It is necessary to read the ancient sources critically, but as Peter Wells points out in "Identity and Material Culture in the Later Prehistory of Central Europe" (*Journal of Archaeological Research* 6. 3, 1998), 239-98, "despite (the) cautions surrounding use of the Classical sources, the ancient writers can be useful sources of information if used with critical care. The point is that we cannot simply take their statements at face value; we need to deconstruct their texts using all of the resources available to us." Mattingly and Wells both discuss this matter at length. In *Experiencing Empire*, 211, David Mattingly takes issue with the dependence on historical sources by classical archaeologists *in general*, stressing that he believes historians and classical archaeologists are too free with their use of text. He and wells agree on the danger, especially, of taking colonial perceptions of foreign tribal boundaries and political structure too much at face value. "Another of the main conclusions of Whitehead's study is that the early phases of colonial contact offer a small window on precolonial autochthonous practices - if we keep in mind to look for the evidence rather than just accept the written records of the colonial power at face value. In any event, we must be extremely cautious about back-projecting the ethnic structures record in those sources onto the period before violent contact was established." Wells, 1998, discusses the problem of identifying native tribes using textual material. "Caesar, Tacitus, and other Roman writers around the time of Christ name a large number of groups who have been referred to in recent research as tribes or nations, such as Aedui, Boii, Helvetii, Sequani, Suebi, and so forth. Like the name "German," these names have traditionally been assumed to designate stable, long-existing peoples, and archaeologists often have tried to distinguish these groups named by the Roman writers by their archaeological characteristics (e.g., Peschel, 1978; Wegewitz, 1977). But recent research challenges the very existence of these groups as distinct entities in the way they were portrayed by the Roman commentators (Champion, 1995; Roymans, 1990; Wolfram, 1995). The names that come down to us are the Romans' designations for the groups, not their own. We do not know what they called themselves, nor do we have any direct evidence that they even regarded themselves as distinct groups. Ferguson and Whitehead (1992) argue that "tribes" are a characteristic form of political organization that develop on the peripheries of empires (see also Fried, 1967)- they come into existence only when relatively undifferentiated communities interact with more complex sociopolitical systems. If this model is correct, then most of the tribal groups named by the Roman writers came into being only as the result of interaction with the Roman world during the late second and first centuries B.C. and had no historical, traditional identities as tribes or nations. Hence trying to identify groups such as Cimbri, Helvetii, and Suebi on the basis of archaeological evidence, at times before those names appear in the Roman texts, is attempting to find discrete entities that did not exist.... Despite these cautions surrounding use of the Classical sources, the ancient writers can be useful sources of information if used with critical care. The point is that we cannot simply take their statements at face value; we need to deconstruct their texts using all of the resources available to us."

discuss Hannibal's march through the Alps (which is thought to have taken place along the confluence of the Rhône and the Isère, in the Drôme), discuss the region, but very few details regarding either its inhabitants or their cultural, political and economic systems are present in those descriptions. Specifically ethnographic works dealing with the Drôme are unknown, and few focused on either *Gallia Narbonensis* or Gaul as a whole survive - Caesar's commentaries on his Gallic Wars are the earliest extant in-depth ethnographic source. Mentions of Gaul, and in particular of *Gallia Narbonensis*, are also made in the forensic speeches of Cicero and in the moralizing histories of Sallust. These sources are works of rhetoric, and as such are perhaps particularly problematic sources of un-biased ethnography, but I use them, in conjunction with historical sources, inscriptions and the archaeological data to examine the possible readings of the transitional period.

Chapter 3: The Drôme prior to 75 BCE

In many ways, the late Iron Age settlement pattern in the Drôme closely resembles that described by scholars who, like Woolf, Collis, Cunliffe and Barraol, depict the late La Tène period in Gaul as one overwhelmingly dominated by settlements located on fortified hilltops - the much-vaunted *oppida*. However, in other very important respects, the data from the CAG presents a markedly different picture.

Late Iron Age settlement patterns in Gaul are frequently characterized as being organized by a profusion of *oppida*. Woolf's description is representative. He characterizes the settlements as "probably little more than clusters of houses and compounds gathered together behind huge earthworks," in which common people, "whose lot was hardly better than that of slaves,"³⁸ were ruled over by extremely powerful warrior elites. This picture, however, is not entirely representative of even Woolf's own view of settlement in Gaul.

In contrast to the above description, increased excavation of both hilltop and of non-hilltop sites all over France has recently demonstrated that more 'secondary *agglomérations*,' and lowland farms existed all over Gaul in the late Iron Age, the presence of which had been missed by archaeologists with an interest in *oppida*.³⁹ In addition, a great deal of regional variation has been noted between the types of *oppida* in northern and southern France.

The characterization of life in the *oppidum* described by Woolf at the start of *Becoming Roman* is based on a schema built in part upon erroneous readings of ancient texts, Caesar in

³⁸ Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 8

³⁹ Leveau, *Agglomérations*, 278.

particular, that refer frequently to *oppida*.⁴⁰ When large fortified sites such as Manching and Mont Beauvray were first discovered and excavated over the last century, some scholars began applying Caesar's terminology to them, and subsequently formed an understanding of Iron Age settlement throughout temperate Europe as being organized around such sites. The idea had such an impact on studies of Iron Age Europe that even now prehistorians like Peter Wells regularly call upon the existence of 'oppida cultures' not as theses to be proved with evidence but as the precursors to further argumentation.⁴¹ Sites not corresponding with the Manching typology - like, for example, rural lowland farmsteads - were marginalized, as scholars attempting to understand and model *oppida* culture left them out of studies of Iron Age social systems organized around hilltop sites.

The push to "taxonomise"⁴² Iron Age sociopolitical organization centered around type sites like Manching and Beauvray not only ignores realities that are unquestionably born out in

⁴⁰ In his "Iron Age Temperate Europe: Some Current Research Issues" (*Journal of World Prehistory* 4.4 1990), 452, Peter Wells notes that, "The only detailed first-hand description of Iron Age society before the time of Christ comes from Caesar, in his account of the people against whom he fought in Gaul between 58 and 50 B.C. Caesar's descriptions have been put to good critical use (e.g., Dehn, 1951; Tierney, 1960; Crumley, 1974; Nash, 1978; Fischer, 1981; Duval, 1983), but they cannot inform us about the Iron Age as a whole. Aside from questions of Caesar's biases and his Roman viewpoint, we need to bear in mind that the communities with which he came into contact had been profoundly influenced by a century of intensive inter action with the Roman world in the south of Gaul (Rivet, 1988). The very people from whom Caesar got his information are likely to have been among the most "Romanized" of all the Gauls. There is no apparent way in which Caesar's statements can be used to understand social patterns of Iron Age Europe beyond the limited temporal and spatial confines of his informants."

⁴¹ In "Identity and Material Culture in the Later Prehistory of Central Europe" (*Journal of Archaeological Research* 6.3 1998), 256, Peter Wells mentions, for example, that, "with the abandonment of the large settlements at the *oppida*, and of the complex, economically and politically integrated systems based at them, people moved into small communities and again relied on individually crafted goods, not mass-produced ones. In this new situation, we see a return to the practice of individual expression, evident both in burial practices and in the character of personal ornaments that were placed with the dead."

⁴² To a term employed by Greg Woolf in his recent work, "Catastrophe and Aftermath," in *Roman Colonies in the First Century of Their Foundation*, edited by Rebecca J. Sweetman, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 7.

the archaeological record,⁴³ but is, further, based on a misunderstanding of Caesar's terminology itself. Scholars point to a definition of the term *oppidum* put forth by German philologist Ernst Kornemann in which he stresses that the word signifies a fortification of some kind.⁴⁴ But Kornemann's argument is based not upon Caesar but on other writers discussing the pre-Republican period. Caesar, from whom the term's usage as a name for Gallic towns derives, does not use the word in the precise manner Kornemann does. In the *Gallic Wars*, *oppidum* does not imply, in and of itself, a site with defensive walls. Quoting Caesar (*BG VII-14*), who in his turn quotes Vercingetorix, "all *oppida* were to be burnt that were not safe from all danger by reasons of their artificial defenses or their natural position."⁴⁵ This statement carries within it the assumption that the word *oppidum* does not necessarily denote fortification - if unfortified *oppida* are to be burnt, then the word itself must not only denote sites with fortifications. This passage, in addition to numerous others, makes it clear that - regardless of the etymology identified by

⁴³ Woolf's "Rethinking the Oppida" (*Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12. 2, 1993): 223, adds to and is supplemented by the works of numerous scholars who also make this point. Woolf, on p. 223, states that the scholarship assigning a static meaning to the term oppida is, "unhelpful, at worst false ... The oppida do not constitute a useful analytical category as they are too diverse in scale, form, function and chronology to be susceptible to any but the most general interpretation." He goes on to add that, "[w]orse, most definitions imply a fundamental distinction between fortified and unfortified sites that is misleading: many 'oppida' have much more in common with some open settlements than they do with some other fortified sites."

⁴⁴ A discussion by Collis, in *Oppida: Earliest Towns North of the Alps* (Sheffield, England: Dept. of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield, 1984), 18, exemplifies this trend. He explains that, "The very term *oppidum*, if we follow Kornemann, implies a defense of some sort, and any definition we employ must include the defensive element. In many cases the massive defended sites of the Late La Tène enclose substantial permanent settlement, as at Manching, Mont Beauvray or Colchester, but others have yielded little evidence of occupation, as Stanwick or at the Staffenberg. On the other hand, there are sites like Bad Nauheim, Levrous...or Basel Gasfabrik, which are settlements closely comparable in size and character to those within defenses, but around these sites there is no evidence for formal defenses, and they can hardly be called *oppida*. Thus, though often found together, the settlements and the defenses are two distinct phenomena, and should not be confused."

⁴⁵ Collis, *Oppida*, 32.

Kornemann - in his own usage Caesar did not intend *oppidum* to be solely associated with settlements that had fortifications.⁴⁶

As numerous studies have now made clear, both the archaeological and textual evidence for the period suggests that even within regions sociopolitical organization in the Iron Age was heterogenous. *Oppida*, in the traditional meaning of the word, coexisted with large fortified lowland settlements, small fortified and unfortified hilltop settlements and everything in between.⁴⁷ This is thought to be especially true in southern France,⁴⁸ where nucleated hilltop settlements tend to be smaller and more densely spaced within the landscape. The Drôme is often implicitly seen as occupying not only a geographically but also a culturally liminal zone. Descriptions of ‘oppida’ culture tend to stop just north of the limits of the *département*, while discussions of Provençal settlement occasionally mention the *oppidum* of Le Pegue, in the far south of the Drôme, as the far northernmost limit of the Provençal zone.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Horace Wetherill Wright’s article, "The City of the Early Kings" (*Classical Weekly* 19.2, 1925), 13, outlines Kornemann’s 1905 work discussing the original meaning and usage of the term *oppida* as a descriptive term for the villages that eventually made up Rome. In summary, Wright says that, “Kornemann showed that the essential meaning of the Latin word *oppidum* was an area terminated by a wall and a moat which surrounded it, that is, a walled town which did not include the farmland outside, while on the other hand *pagus* signified a district containing several farms occupied by single not joined in a village with houses in proximity. The *oppidum*, then, constituted a fortress to which the inhabitants of the *pagus* could retreat in time of danger.” This usage is quite close to that of Caesar, who describes citizens retreating to the *oppida* to escape danger. However, as Caesar also uses the term to indicate towns without walls or fortifications, it must be assumed that for Caesar and his contemporaries, at any rate, the word did not indicate a town that *must* be fortified.

⁴⁷ Woolf, *Rethinking the Oppidum*, 223, and Peter Wells, in his work entitled, "Changing Models of Settlement, Economy and Ritual Activity: Recent Research in Late Prehistoric Central Europe" (*Journal of Archaeological Research* 2.2, 1994), 135-136. “Earlier research, since the middle of the 19th century, focused largely on the walled, hilltop settlements. Most studies of the Iron Age have assumed that these sites were the main political and economic centers that determined the course of development in Iron Age Europe. In recent years, increased attention devoted to more typical settlements has shown that many small, unfortified communities were engaged in the same kinds of manufacturing and commercial activities as the large and well-defended centers. It is now apparent that the process of centralization was not as important in the growing complexity of Iron Age cultural systems as had been believed.”

⁴⁸ In *Becoming Roman*, 107-108, Greg Woolf details typical Provençal oppida.

⁴⁹ For the northern oppida, see Collis *Oppida*, 23, and for the northern limits of the Provençal zone see Michael Dietler’s recent book, entitled *Consumption and Colonial Encounters in the Rhône Basin of France: A Study of Early Iron Age Political Economy* (Lattes: Association pour le Développement de l’Archéologie en Languedoc-Roussillon, 2005), p. 9.

The sociopolitical organization of the middle Rhône Valley and its alpine ‘hinterland’ in the late Iron Age - be it centered within *oppida* or elsewhere - remains relatively unclear. At least 15 *oppida* have been identified in the region, predominantly, but not entirely, located in the southwestern quadrant of the *département*. Yet their function as centers of political power is obfuscated by a lack of in-depth excavation. Only the *oppidum* at Le Pegue has been fully excavated,⁵⁰ while 4 others (Pierrelatte, Roussas, La Roche-St.-Secret-Béconne and Saou) have been partially excavated. Work at Le Pegue revealed that it had been inhabited since the Bronze Age and that it was destroyed on at least two occasions and that a water-management system had been built in the late La Tène period. A large quantity and variety of imported material further suggests that the site played a role of some sort in trade with the Mediterranean and that, further, a nearby ceramic manufacturer was producing pseudo-Ionian ceramic in local fabric. The site of the manufactory has not yet been located.

The small amount of excavation that has been done elsewhere has clarified the picture in the Drôme by removing several *oppida* from the Iron Age regional map altogether. Many of the fortified hilltop sites that had at one point been thought to be *centers* of power in the region in the late Iron Age have, on the basis of recent excavation, been proven not to have been inhabited in the Iron Age at all, although at least a half-dozen fortified hilltop sites with some amount of Iron Age ceramic material have been identified. None of these have been excavated with enough precision to determine more than the size of their enclosures - between 2 and 4 ha⁵¹ - and little can be gleaned regarding, for instance, the sites’ functions as centers of settlement.

⁵⁰ See Jean-Jacques Hatt’s publication of the excavations at Le Pegue, "*Les Fouilles Du Pègue (Drôme) de 1957 À 1975. Première Partie*" (*Gallia* 34.1, 1976), 31-56.

⁵¹ With the exception of La Roche-Saint-Secret-Béconne, which had walls enclosing an area of c. 30 ha, as described in the CAG.

What *is* clear, however, is that, whatever their function as centers (or not) of settlement, the fortified hilltop sites in the Drôme were *foci* for trade and, perhaps, the *distribution* of imported materials. Unexcavated hilltop sites yielding Iron Age material, and partially excavated sites yielding only very small amounts of Iron Age material both are classified for the purposes of the present study as ‘villages,’ under the assumption that large-scale habitation is likely to leave a larger quantity of material remains than smaller-scale habitation. Based on this rubric, only 5 hilltop sites - or 5% of the settlements - in the Iron Age Drôme were classified as ‘towns,’ while 11 were classified as ‘villages.’ Two sites located on hilltops but containing only very small amounts of Iron Age material were classified as hamlets, and 69 lowland sites were classified as ‘hamlets,’ (or 84%). Four out of the five (80%) the excavated *oppida* have yielded imported ceramic tableware and 3 (60%) amphoras. 30% (or 3) of the villages yielded imported tableware and amphoras. Between 10 and 23% of the hamlets yielded ceramic tableware or amphoras from the Iron Age.⁵² This examination of the distribution of imports within the Drôme suggests that the sites *did* play an important economic and potentially political role in the region.⁵³

If the *oppida* were *foci* for trade material, the fertile alluvial plains between the Rhône and the alpine foothills as well as those between the Drôme’s smaller rivers to the east appear to have been the focus for much of the actual *living* in the region. Two forms of non-hilltop settlement appear in the material record in the Drôme. The first are villages or hamlets clustered on the flat land around *oppida*. In the south-western quarter of the Drôme, these villages are so numerous that at times it is difficult to differentiate one settlement from another. In particular,

⁵² The determination of a more exact statistic was impossible, as many of these sites contain material from the post-conquest transitional period and few have been excavated in-depth.

⁵³ It may be salutary to point out that several major centers of power are located just outside the borders of the French *département* of the Drôme that may, or may not, have impacted patterns of settlement within it. The close-by presence of the *oppidum* at Soyons, across the Rhône from the Roman city of Valence, and the *oppidum* of Vienne to the north of the Drôme, may have had an impact on settlement in the northern plain of the *département*.

archaeological work in the hills and plain to the north of the river *Lez*, near Le Pegue, has so far demonstrated not only the existence of the large *oppidum* at Le Pegue, but also 23 smaller settlements all located within an area of approximately 10 square miles. Numerous small settlements have been located in the Rhône valley both close to hilltop sites, like Pierrelatte and Roussas, and in more isolated settings. Their architecture appears to have been primarily of the post-and-beam style, and fragments of daub have been located at several of them. Several of the isolated sites, including 6 hamlets in the present-day town of Chabeuil, closely resemble the ‘Gallic farm’ style of building, with expansive ditches and apparent palisades surrounding post-and-beam structures. 37 hamlets have been located in the lowlands of the Rhône river valley thus far. While the settlements do not appear to have been centers of trade, they were not impoverished, either. Between 85% and 95% of the lowland sites on the alluvial plains around Valence and Pierrelatte had been either partially or totally abandoned by the end of the Augustan period.

In sum, many of the details one would like to have about the *nature* of Iron Age society in the Drôme are unavailable at this point. In addition to the difficulties inherent in studying a culture and society for which no contemporary history exists, Iron Age material is infrequently located and excavated in the region, particularly in the alpine zone. Only one in-depth excavation of an Iron Age settlement in the Drôme (Bourbousson 1, Crest) has been done in recent years.⁵⁴

However, while we cannot know by precisely what institutions late Iron Age society in the Drôme was organized, enough material has been located and excavated to provide an

⁵⁴ CAG, 85. Bois actually tells us that, “*Une seule fouille d’ampleur d’un site d’habitat de l’âge du Fer...a été réalisée dans la vallée de la Drôme.*”

understanding of patterns of settlement and trade.⁵⁵ The archaeological material depicts a region profoundly rural in character, in which it appears that life took place on a micro-regional scale. Settlements throughout the Drôme appear to have been connected into a network of trade that circulated goods and money from both central Gaul and the Mediterranean. While small amounts of Etruscan material have been found at some sites,⁵⁶ ceramic material originating from the Greek colony of Massilia predominates from the 6th-3rd centuries BCE, at which point Italian material originating from Campania begins to appear.⁵⁷ Yet, micro-regional differences in settlement pattern and architecture show us a ‘region of regions,’ in which the northern Rhône valley, the eastern mountains and plateaus, and the plains and hills that lie south of the Drôme river appear home not only to three different climates but also to varying modes of life. Living amidst a profusion of small *oppida* and associated hamlets, an inhabitant of the southern Drôme may have experienced greater connectivity to centers of political and economic power than would, perhaps, inhabitants of a similar landscape to the north, which appears to have been much less densely populated and less connected to networks of trade. Archaeological material is so scant for the alpine zone in the Iron Age that its settlement pattern is at this point impossible to reconstruct, although the presence of several hilltop sites suggest a similar pattern, but perhaps less dense, to the one in the south west. The literary sources mentioned above tell us that the region was home to three Gallic tribes - a branch of the Cavares called the Tricastini in the south west, the Voconti in the alpine zone, and the Allobroges in the northern Rhône valley. Coins

⁵⁵ In his work entitled "*Les Celtes Et La Formation De L'empire Romain*" (*Annales de Bretagne, Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 59.2, 2004), 356, Olivier Buchsenschutz reports similar findings to the Drômois pattern of trade, which appears centered around *oppida*, in other regions of the Celtic world.

⁵⁶ CAG, p. 375. Etruscan-style *bucchero nero* and 7th century imported Italian fine ware was found at the site of *Logis de Berre* in the modern-day town of Les Granges Gontardes.

⁵⁷ CAG p. 473. The *oppidum Saint-Marcel* provides excellent chronological data, as it was continuously inhabited from the Neolithic through the Augustan period and has moreover been quite comprehensively excavated.

minted by the Cavares and Allobroges, found in the Drôme dating to the second and first centuries BCE, add force to the literary evidence, as do the numerous first century CE inscriptions referring to the Voconti, the Tricastini and the Allobroges, primarily found in the regions associated with them in the histories. Whether or not these groups were different from one another culturally or politically in the pre-contact period, it appears likely to me that by the end of the second century BCE the inhabitants of the Drôme had formed regional tribal affiliations, and where appropriate I refer to the native inhabitants of those regions as Tricastini, Allobroges and Voconti.

The names and locations of these tribes *prior* to the appearance of the aforementioned epitaphs and dedications come to us primarily from historians - Polybius, Livy, Dio and Appian. Their histories are not intended to describe the geography and ethnography of Gaul but to provide the details of the marches of Carthaginian generals Hannibal and, later, Hasdrubal, from Spain into Italy. The Drôme figures into these histories because Hannibal's famous march up the Rhône river valley and through the foothills of the Alps is thought to have taken place in the territory of the Voconti.⁵⁸ Roman interest in southern France appears to have been, in part, the result of these marches,⁵⁹ as Hannibal's successful arrival in Italy - not only with an army but with a number of African elephants - made it clear that the Alps were not the fast protection from invasion they had been thought previously.

There is no archaeological evidence in the Drôme relating to Hannibal's march - with the exception of one Carthaginian coin that theoretically could have originated from a member of

⁵⁸ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 21.31. All translations of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* come from the Loeb Classical Library, translated (with regard to the Livy volumes) by B. O. Foster, Frank Gardner Moore, Evan Taylor Sage, Alfred C. Schlesinger, and Russel Mortimer Geer. *Livy in Fourteen Volumes* [in Latin], (Cambridge, London, Harvard University Press, W. Heinemann, 1919), and with additional translation from the multi-author volume *Livy, with an English Translation* [in English] (London, New York, Heinemann, Putnam, 1919).

⁵⁹ Charles Ebel, *Transalpine Gaul: The Emergence of a Roman Province* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1976), 56-57.

Hannibal's army but in all probability did not.⁶⁰ Hints of changes in the political or economic climate to the south, however, appear in the form of changes in the imported material found at Drômeis *oppida*. Massaliot and Greek fine ware and amphoras, which had been the predominant Mediterranean imports in the region starting in the 6th century BCE, begin to be joined and then eclipsed by *amphorae* and fine ware of Italian origin in the 3rd century *strata* in many sites in the Drôme. While Dietler points out that, “patterns of settlement in Mediterranean France changed gradually but significantly during the course of the pre-Roman Iron Age, and these changes have frequently been linked [erroneously, in his opinion] by scholars to the evolving colonial situation,”⁶¹ the transformations in settlement common at Provençal sites like Entremont are not apparent in the material from the late Iron Age in the Drôme.

With the exception of gradual shifts in trade patterns, changes in the political or economic structure of southern Gaul in the second century BCE may not be readily apparent in the archaeological material from the Drôme, but the political changes described by the aforementioned historians figure deeply in the later history of the region. According to Polybius, it was on the pretext of defending Massilia that Rome's involvement in the region turned military,⁶² while Strabo cites Roman interest in securing the land-route from Italy to Spain as a motive. It seems likely that both concerns played a role.⁶³ Clashes between the Roman army and

⁶⁰ CAG p. 213 - the coin was found in a cave in the modern-day town of Chateauneuf d'Isère.

⁶¹ Dietler, *Colonial Encounters*, 308

⁶² Polybius, *Histories*, 33.7-11. All translations of Polybius' *Histories* are by W. R. Paton, *The Histories* [in Greek and English on opposite pages.] (London; New York: W. Heinemann ; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922).

⁶³ Strabo, *Geography*, 4.6.3: "These were the first of the Transalpine *Celti* that the Romans conquered, though they did so only after carrying on war with both them and the *Ligures* for a long time — because the latter had barred all the passes leading to Iberia that ran through the seaboard. And, in fact, they kept making raids both by land and sea, and were so powerful that the road was scarcely practicable even for great armies. And it was not until the eightieth year of the war that the Romans succeeded, though only with difficulty, in opening up the road for a breadth of only twelve stadia to those traveling on public business. After this, however, they defeated them all, and, having imposed a tribute upon them, administered the government themselves." All translations of Strabo's *Geography* are by Horace Leonard Jones and J. R. Sitlington Sterrett, *The Geography of Strabo* [in Greek and English on opposite pages.] (London; New York: W. Heinemann ; G.P. Putnam's sons, 1917).

southern Gallic tribes began in 154 BCE⁶⁴ and continued sporadically for the next three decades until, in 125 BCE, tensions arose between Massilia and a southern Gallic group, the Saluvii. Whether simply as a pretext for extending Roman *imperium* into Gaul or as a genuine reaction to a plea for help from Massilia,⁶⁵ Roman forces were deployed to Gaul in 124 BCE under consul M. Fulvius Flaccus, and by the time the fighting had ended, in 121 BCE,⁶⁶ the entire region stretching from the Mediterranean to the foothills of the Cevennes⁶⁷ had been, *formally*, at any rate, incorporated into the empire of Rome.

Included within the new province of *Gallia Narbonensis* was the territory of the modern-day Drôme. No mention of the region is made in reference to the war in contemporary histories (all of which are fragmentary). However, the *Fasti Capitolini*, an inscription found in the Roman forum detailing political events in the Republican period, mentions that Fulvius Flaccus was “awarded a triumph *de Liguribus, Voconteis Salluweisque*,”⁶⁸ which suggests the likelihood that the campaign was carried out at least partially in Vocontian territory. No archaeological evidence of any disruption in settlement dating to this period is apparent in the Drôme but, as previously mentioned, only five settlements dating to the late Iron Age have been located in the alpine zone, and as a result, the late Iron Age settlement pattern in the territory traditionally ascribed to the Voconti is impossible to reconstruct at present. Excavations in the *oppidum* at Entremont, historically linked to the Saluvii - over whom (in addition to the Ligures and the Voconti) Fulvius Flaccus celebrated his triumph - have revealed evidence of a long lasting siege of the city.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Ebel, *Transalpine Gaul*, 58.

⁶⁵ Contemporary histories cite the latter as the primary motive.

⁶⁶ Ebel, *Transalpine Gaul*, 66.

⁶⁷ Strabo, *Geography*, 4.3.

⁶⁸ Ebel, *Transalpine Gaul*, 67.

⁶⁹ Ebel, *Transalpine Gaul*, 68.

Descriptions of the end of the war, found in the *Periochae* of Livy,⁷⁰ in fragments from Appian's *Celtic History*⁷¹ and in the *Breviarium* of Eutropius,⁷² suggest the presence of a Roman army once again in northern *Narbonensis*, as the southern reaches of Allobrogan territory are thought to have been located in the northern Rhône valley of the Drôme. While the accuracy of numbers of casualties found in the histories is debatable, Livy in particular stresses heavy losses on both sides. There is, again, no archaeological evidence from this period in the Drôme that is suggestive of violent conflict.

⁷⁰ From the *Periochae* of Livy, 61. "Proconsul Gnaeus Domitius successfully fought against the Allobroges near the town of Vindalium. The reason for starting this war was that the Allobroges had offered refuge to king Toutomotulus of the Salluvians, and had supported him with all possible means when he devastated the land of the Aedui, an ally of the Roman people. Consul Quintus Fabius Maximus, grandson of Paulus, successfully fought against the Allobroges and Bituitus, the king of the Arvernians. From the army of Bituitus, 120,000 men were killed; after the king himself had gone to Rome to make peace with the Senate, he was kept in custody at Alba, because his return to Gaul seemed not to be in the interest of tranquillity. It was also decided to arrest his son Congonnetiacus and send him to Rome. The surrender of the Allobroges was accepted." All translations of the *Periochae* of Livy and were created by Jona Lendering and Andrew Smith.

⁷¹ Appian fragment from Porphyrogenitus, *Embassies* 10. "The chiefs of the Salyi, a nation vanquished by the Romans, took refuge with the Allobroges. When the Romans asked for their surrender and it was refused, they made war on the Allobroges, under the leadership of Gnaeus Domitius." Translations of Appian's fragments are by Horace Wright and Jona Lendering.

⁷² Eutropius, *Brev.*, 4.22-23. "In the six hundred and twenty-seventh year from the founding of the city, Caius Cassius Longinus and Sextus Domitius Calvinus, the consuls, made war upon the Trans alpine Gauls, and the city of the Arverni, at that time very distinguished, and their king, Bituitus; and slew a vast number of men near the river Rhône. A great booty, consisting of the golden collars of the Gauls, was brought to Rome. Bituitus surrendered himself to Domitius, and was conveyed by him to Rome; and both consuls triumphed with great glory. ...In the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato and Quintus Marcius Rex, in the six hundred and thirty-third year from the building of the city, a colony was led out to Narbonne in Gaul. Afterwards a triumph was obtained over Dalmatia by the consuls Lucius Metellus and Quintus Mucius Scaevola." All translations of Eutropius are from, "Breviarium." In *Eutropius, Abridgement of Roman History* (London, Henry G. Gohn, York Street, Covent Garden, 1853).

Chapter 4: Settlement change in the transitional period.

“Only part of us is sane: only part of us loves pleasure and the longer day of happiness, wants to live to our nineties and die in peace, in a house that we built, that shall shelter those who come after us. The other half is nearly mad. It prefers the disagreeable to the agreeable, loves pain and its darker night despair, and wants to die in a catastrophe that will set back life to its beginnings and leave nothing of our house save its blackened foundations.”

~Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*

Several years after the foundation of the province of *Narbonensis*, a Roman colony was implanted in southern Gaul near the foothills of the Pyrenees. This is the last clear indication we have of relations between Rome and the inhabitants of *Narbonensis* until Caesar’s *Gallic Wars*, 70 years later. The brief and often fragmentary mentions of Gaul and its inhabitants in histories from the early to mid-first century BCE paint an overwhelmingly negative picture of relations between Rome and its new *provincia*. Mentions of continued conflict in the province show up time and again in the *Periochae* of Livy. Battles in *Narbonensis* are noted by Livy in the years 107, 105, 104, 102 and 90, after which violent conflict appears to have decreased. A fragment of a forensic speech by Cicero on behalf of Marcus Fonteius, however, mentions a war with the Voconti.⁷³ The fragments of *Pro Fonteio* that remain extant focus on Cicero’s defense of Fonteius, who is thought to have been governor of Gaul in the late 70s BCE. They naturally depict the accusers, who appear to be native Gallic inhabitants of *Narbonensis*, in a negative light. Cicero emphasizes that the Gauls are not to be trusted, not only because they are *uncivilized*, but because they:

⁷³ Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*, 9. All translations of Cicero’s work come from the Loeb Classical Library’s edition translated by Nevile Watts, *The Speeches, with an English Translation. Pro T. Annio Milone--in L. Calpurnium Pisonem--Pro M. Aemilio Scauro--Pro M. Fonteio--Pro C. Rabirio Postumo--Pro M. Marcello--Pro Q. Ligario--Pro Rege Deiotara* [in English] (London, New York, W. Heinemann Ltd., G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1931).

have in the memory of the present generation carried on bitter and protracted wars with the Roman people; some have been lately subdued by our generals, lately conquered in war, lately made remarkable by the triumphs which we have celebrated over them, and the monuments which we have erected, and lately mulcted, by the senate, of their lands and cities: some, too, who have fought in battle against Marcus Fonteius himself, have by his toil and labor been reduced under the power and dominion of the Roman people.⁷⁴

Though this passage is evocative, it must be taken with caution. However, an additional episode involving inhabitants of *Narbonensis* - the Allobroges - and mentioned by both Cicero and Sallust, adds some weight to the idea that at least *some* of the inhabitants of *Narbonensis* were distressed about their first half-century under Roman rule. In their descriptions of the Catilinarian conspiracy of 63-2 BCE, Cicero and Sallust describe an attempt by a supporter of Catiline to convince envoys of the Allobroges to participate in a revolt against Rome. Sallust mentions that the Allobroges were positively disposed toward the plan, “if it would but free their country from debt.”⁷⁵ This image is strengthened by Plutarch, who in his *Life of Cicero* states that the Gauls in question were “ambassadors of the Allobroges, a nation which at that time was in a particularly evil plight and felt oppressed by the Roman sway” (*Cic.* 18).

In his work on the colonization of southern Gaul, Dietler mentions that, “despite the early date of conquest, the effect of Roman occupation on the location and structure of indigenous settlements, while exhibiting considerable regional variation, appears not to have had

⁷⁴ Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*, 12.

⁷⁵ Sallust, *Catiline*, 40. The passage in its entirety reads, “He accordingly commissioned one Publius Umbrenus to apply to certain deputies of the Allobroges, and to lead them, if he could, to a participation in the war; supposing that as they were nationally and individually involved in debt, and as the Gauls were naturally warlike, they might easily be drawn into such an enterprise. Umbrenus, as he had traded in Gaul, was known to most of the chief men there, and personally acquainted with them; and consequently, without loss of time, as soon as he noticed the deputies in the Forum, he asked them, after making a few inquiries about the state of their country, and affecting to commiserate its fallen condition, “ what termination they expected to such calamities?” When he found that they complained of the rapacity of the magistrates, inveighed against the senate for not affording them relief, and looked to death as the only remedy for their sufferings, “Yet I,” said he, “if you will but act as men, will show you a method by which you may escape these pressing difficulties.” When he had said this, the Allobroges, animated with the highest hopes, besought Umbrenus to take compassion on them; saying that there was nothing so disagreeable or difficult, which they would not most gladly perform, if it would but free their country from debt.” All translations of Sallust come from the Loeb Classical Library volume, translated by John Carew Rolfe. *Sallus* (Cambridge, Mass, Harvard Univ. Press, 1931).

a particularly dramatic impact until after the mid-first century BC.”⁷⁶ This appears to be true in the Drôme as well, with regard to patterns of settlement. Although dating abandoned settlements is problematic, few, if any, appear to have been abandoned or moved prior to Caesar’s conquest of *Gallia Comata* between 58 and 51 BCE. This period was not, however, one of stagnation - I would argue that, in fact, the first 50 years of Roman rule in the Drôme were crucial to the explosion of economic and social growth that appears in the first century CE. The period appears to have been characterized by two types of *colonial interaction* (to use the words of Dietler), which I have decided to label as negatively charged interactions, on the one hand, and as cooperative or collaborative interactions, on the other.

Evidence of violence or other ‘negatively charged interactions’ is notoriously difficult to locate in the archaeological record.⁷⁷ Site destructions can sometimes be attributed to warfare, and osteological remains demonstrating traumatic injury can sometimes be connected to episodes of violence. Yet destruction levels at sites and the identification of injuries to bones can also be attributed to one-off events - fires and accidents, for example - and many other signs of ‘negatively charged interaction’ simply do not appear in the record at all. No evidence of violence, destruction or mass settlement abandonment appears in the material record for the early 1st century BCE in the Drôme. But, I believe, comparative evidence from more modern

⁷⁶ Dietler, *Colonial Encounters*, 293

⁷⁷ Debra L. Martin, and David W. Frayer discuss archaeological evidence of warfare and unrest in *Troubled Times : Violence and Warfare in the Past* (Amsterdam, Gordon and Breach, 1997), 325.

‘colonial encounters’⁷⁸ as well as references to unrest in the extant historical sources suggest that it would be prudent to assume that violence and opposition was one characteristic of the relationship between the inhabitants of the Drôme and representatives of the Roman state.

The extant historical sources for the period - particularly the brief accounts of affairs in *Narbonensis* by Livy, Cicero and Sallust - highlight episodes of violence and civil unrest in *Narbonensis*. The accuracy of the two references to a war with the Voconti mentioned above is strengthened by descriptions of the Voconti in the later *Natural History* of Pliny, who mentions that by the mid-first century CE, at any rate, the tribe had the right of self-government based on a previous treaty alliance with Rome.⁷⁹ The fact that there was a *foedus* between Rome and the Voconti presupposes the idea that prior to this treaty there had been conflict. It is possible that the *foedus* in question was agreed upon at the end of the war referred to by Cicero: As Planchon points out, the tribe is not referenced again as being involved in any uprisings against Rome, and moreover appears to provide aid to Caesar at the start of the Gallic Wars.⁸⁰

Historical accounts of the period in question stress that debt was one of the primary grievances held by the inhabitants of *Narbonensis* against Roman rule. As mentioned above, Cicero, Sallust and Plutarch all depict the Gauls as, in the words of Cicero, “overwhelmed with

⁷⁸ In chapters one and two of *Experiencing Empire*, Mattingly provides a detailed account of these processes in the Roman west. Comparative studies are also useful. In “Peasants, Pastoralists and “Pax Romana:” a Different View” (*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 265, 1987),35-51, Thomas Parker studies Levantine frontier zones in the Roman and medieval period. The resulting work provides valuable insight in several relevant areas. Parker discusses the difficulties faced by archaeologists seeking both evidence of trauma and of non-settled peoples, as well as describing in detail his theorization of unrest between pastoralists and sedentary farmers along the frontier. In “The Depopulation of Hispanic America after the Conquest” (*Population and Development Review* 32.2, 2006), 199-232, Massimo Livi-Bacci details another instance of colonial expansion and its impact on the native local population. The example from the Americas is decidedly grimmer than that in Gaul.

⁷⁹ CAG, p. 114. Pliny (*Natural Histories*, 7.78) mentions a, “Iulius Viators...e Vocontiorum gente foederata,” trans. “Julius Viator...from the federated people of the Vocontii.” This translation my own. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Pliny are by H. Rackham, in the Loeb Classical Library’s edition of the *Natural History* [in Latin and English on opposite pages.] (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1938).

⁸⁰ CAG, 114.

debt.”⁸¹ No historical evidence exists that mentions the imposition of an indemnity upon the Gauls at the end of the war, but it is possible that such a penalty was imposed, particularly upon the tribal groups with whom the most intense fighting had occurred. The additional and expected payments of tax or tribute to the Roman government is further to be assumed.

The above references to unrest provide a picture of some potential negatively-charged aspects of colonial interaction which are difficult to find in the archaeological record. The early and mid 1st century BCE, however, appears to have been characterized by both negative and positive interaction, and the latter appears to have been an important and significant precursor to the explosion of economic and social change seen a century later. Signs of increased connectivity between native inhabitants of the Drôme and the Roman economic system - and in many cases presumably with Roman citizens themselves - appear in the archaeological record starting in the early 1st century BCE. New settlements are founded - gradually and on a small scale - that appear to be roadside stations of trade or early *mansi*. The site of *Condamines*, in Pontaix, provides an example. It was well-situated along the Drôme river, and the earliest, La Tène, *strata* of the occupation there, which developed into an elaborate *villa*-type settlement in the 1st century CE, is situated directly beneath the later foundations. Great quantities of 1st century BCE ceramics, of Roman and Gallic manufacture, were located around the site.

Similar collaborative interactions appear in the historical record for the period as well. Cicero’s *Pro Fonteio*, for instance, although presenting an overwhelmingly negative picture of life under Roman rule in Gaul, frequently mentions the presence of Roman traders in Narbonensis. Sallust’s account of the involvement of the Allobroges in the Catilinarian conspiracy similarly notes that the man sent to convince the Allobrogan envoys to join the plot, Publis Umbrenus,

⁸¹ Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*. 11.

“had traded in Gaul, was known to most of the chief men there, and personally acquainted with them.”⁸² We are also told that Trogus Pompeius, the grandfather of Pompeius Trogus, had fought on behalf of the Roman army and subsequently won Roman citizenship after the Sertorian Wars in the 70s BCE. While the complete accuracy of these accounts must remain uncertain, they add texture to the picture that can be seen in the archaeological record for this period in the Drôme. Furthermore, they add force to the notion that the early to mid 1st century BCE was a time in which Roman citizens and native inhabitants of Gaul were becoming more familiar with one another and were acting cooperatively to forge the beginnings a Gallic economy that, a century later, could function and grow within the more global Roman system.⁸³

Although Caesar’s *Gallic Wars* states that his army passed through the territory of the Voconti at the start of the war, nothing in the archaeological record of the Drôme suggests the war itself had any major impact on society there. What is apparent in the record is that interaction between Rome and the Rhône valley appears to have increased along the same trajectory as it did prior to the war’s beginning. Several new settlements appear to have been built between 60 and 50 BCE and imported Italian goods and coins seem to be increasingly present.

It is not until after the conclusion of the campaigns in central and northern Gaul that settlement patterns appear to change. The half-decade between the end of the Gallic campaign and the turn of century is one of enormous transformation in the urban and rural landscape of the Drôme. Two categories of change occur simultaneously. An increase in Roman-style settlement begins at this time, and these changes appear to be the result of the *collaborative* register of interaction, although the decision to found a large military camp and then colony in the

⁸² Sallust, *Catiline*, 40

⁸³ In *Les Celtes*, 343, Buchsenschutz characterizes this as, “l’alignement de l’économie celtique sur le monde méditerranéen.”

present day town of *Valence* - situated strategically across the Rhône from a large *oppidum* at Soyons and within marching distance of the Allobrogan ‘capital’ at Vienne - appears to have been solely a decision of the Roman state. The other cities and towns in the Drôme founded in this time period appear to have been home to Roman citizens and to native Gauls. Die and Luc-en-Diois both appear to have begun as centers of trade before becoming urbanized. It appears that at least 100 new settlements were founded in this period, and that, in addition, settlement density increased dramatically. Large swaths of countryside around two *coloniae* - Arausio (Orange), outside the Drôme, and Valentia (Valence) within it, were, additionally, surveyed and reorganized in a process known alternately as cadastration or centuriation. Significant portions of the Rhône river valley in the southwestern sector of the Drôme, and of the alluvial plain around Valence in the northwestern sector, were included in this reorganization (Fig. 4).

A second type of change pertains not to *new* settlements but to those already inhabited at the start of the period in question. Roughly 84 settlements have been located in the Drôme that appear to have been in use at the end of the Iron Age. These appear to have remained inhabited until the mid-first century BCE. Between the years 50 BCE and the start of the 1st century CE, 60-70% of these sites were abandoned. These sites can be classified, based on traditional scholarly understandings of their function, into hilltop sites, or *oppida*, on the one hand, and lowland sites, on the other. *Oppida*, as a category, are the primary settlement type discussed when scholars examine settlement abandonment at the start of the Roman period all over the empire. Dyson notes that, “in most parts of the Roman Empire, the Roman conquest is generally thought to have resulted in the abandonment of fortified native sites located on uplands and the growth of

a system of villas mainly based in lowland areas. ... Military logic suggests that Roman commanders would have wanted to remove the native populations from these small fortresses.”⁸⁴

All 15 sites classified as *oppida* in the present study, regardless of size or level of fortification, had been abandoned by the mid-1st century CE, although the two hilltop hamlets appear to have been sporadically used through the middle ages. Many theories for these abandonments have been put forth for what appears across Gaul to be a general pattern of the abandonment of hilltop sites. Dyson’s comment, quoted above, is indicative of the school of thought that attributes *oppida* abandonment to Roman military coercion. But Woolf and Leveau have both stressed that the survival of some large fortified hilltop sites, such as the *oppidum* at Ambrusson, in the region of Languedoc-Roussillon, ‘prohibits the establishment of a direct line between administrative reorganization in the Roman period and the decline of the oppida.’⁸⁵ Woolf and Chevalier both interpret the decline in hilltop settlement in the Roman period not to an *abandonment* of *oppida* but rather to a move of population from hilltop to flat land.⁸⁶ Chevalier explains that, “With the change of customs brought about by the influence of Rome on our territory ... they loaded their beasts with provisions, furniture and weapons and brought them down there, on the plain, and built themselves new homes, more comfortable and more

⁸⁴ Stephen L. Dyson and Robert J. Rowland discuss this in their work entitled, "Survey and Settlement Reconstruction in West-Central Sardinia" (*American Journal of Archaeology* 96.2, 1992): 204.

⁸⁵ Leveau, *Agglomérations*, 285. “Le site d'Ambrussum n'a pas été abandonné à l'époque romaine, ce qui contrevient au schéma traditionnel; il a même fait l'objet d'une réorganisation au début du Ier siècle avant J.-C. Cette constatation est importante car elle interdit d'établir un lien direct entre la réorganisation administrative de l'époque romaine et le déclin des *oppida*. A l'extérieur de l'enceinte, au bord du Vidourle, le développement du quartier du Sablas, — que confirme la reprise récente des fouilles —, est lié à la descente de l'habitat.” All translations from French, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

⁸⁶ Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 115-116. “The complexity and variability of these shifts excludes the possibility that hillforts were abandoned in response to an imperial ruling or policy. The co-existence of hillforts with the new towns of the early Gallo-Roman period strengthens this impression. It seems better to see these relocations in the context of the long oscillation of temperate European settlement between hill and plain, and of the civilizing aspirations of the elites who decided on them, organized them and paid the considerable costs of relocation.”

numerous.”⁸⁷ The perspectives put forth by Woolf and Chevalier are not entirely convincing when one attempts to apply them to the particular micro-region of the Drôme, because in no case of *oppidum* abandonment does settlement appear to have simply moved down into the plain. When the hilltop site at Le Pegue was abandoned sometime after the turn of the century, the end of settlement on the hilltop was accompanied by the apparent construction of only two new houses in the hamlets surrounding the *oppidum*.

While the abandonment of 100% of the *oppida* in the Drôme appears significant simply by virtue of its apparent decisiveness, the 15 *oppida* in question make up only 26% of the total abandonments that occurred in the Drôme around the turn of the 1st century. The abandonment of lower-elevation villages and hamlets, in contrast, makes up 74% of the abandonments. Woolf stresses that settlement change in general appears to be a voluntary or natural result of a changing economic climate, mentioning that the *oppidum* of Ambrusson ‘benefitted from its location on the *Via Domitia*,’ and hypothesizing that changes in the location of settlements in the transitional period were driven by a class of Gallo-Roman elites interested in incorporating their communities into a Roman economic and sociopolitical system. “The process illustrates the commitment of the Gallo-Roman elites of the formative period to change,” he says.⁸⁸ Ebel, too, cites Gallic elites as primary actors in the shifts in patterns of settlement in the transitional period, noting that “rank and file ... Gallic auxiliaries ... were probably the clients and retainers of the Gallic chiefs (who were now the leading men of (Roman colonies) who had led

⁸⁷ This was an impressionistic translation of Alexandre Chevalier’s French, from his work entitled, *Le Site D’aeria* (Valence. Impr. réunies, 1968) 16. “Si les derniers habitants de la ville celte avaient du fuir précipitamment ces lieux devant une invasion ennemie, devant la violence et la dévastation, on trouverait, en effet, et en grand nombre, des objets enfouis, cachés dans le sol ou oubliés dans la précipitation de la fuite. Mais rien de cela n’apparaît au Roc-des-Aures. Avec le changement des moeurs amené par l’emprise de Rome sur notre territoire et l’abandon du site rocheux une fois décidé, on chargea sur les bêtes de somme les provisions, le mobilier et les armes et on les emporta la-bas, dans la plaine, ou de nouveaux foyers se dressèrent plus confortables et plus nombreux.”

⁸⁸ Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 116.

them off to war in the first place. Now they would return to their earlier roles as domestic dependents,”⁸⁹ presumably in new locations near *coloniae*. This idea is certainly not a new one - Norman DeWitt expressed a similar opinion in 1941, saying that, “after the formation of a Roman province in southern Gaul ...Romanization proceeded apace. One effective instrument to this end...was the granting of citizenship to prominent Gauls.”⁹⁰

While less concerned with the overarching power of elite Gauls in the transformation of settlement in the early Roman period, Olivier Buchsenschutz, like the majority of scholars writing on this issue, ascribes the pattern of abandonment seen in the archaeological record to the Gauls themselves. Buchsenschutz examines processes of social change underway in the Celtic world prior to the arrival of Rome, and claims that, “de la Narbonnaise a la Bourgogne, les premiers indices de pénétration, quasiment simultanés, sont souvent sensibles avant la conquête.”⁹¹ The abandonment of hilltop and rural sites was caused, Buchsenschutz explains, for reasons of economic and cultural pragmatism:

Des *oppida* perches sont délaissés au profit d’un site voisin en plaine, comme l’éperon barre de La Grotte (Cher), abandonne au profit de Drevant ou, sur la rive du Cher, furent construits un theatre, des thermes, un *forum* en pierre. Ce semis regulier et hiérarchisé répond parfaitement aux modèles des géographes, a l’exploitation rationnelle d’un territoire. Il en est de même pour la campagne ...⁹²

The idea that inhabitants of *Narbonensis* willingly collaborated with Rome in forging an economic system that could integrate relatively seamlessly and operate within the now quasi-global Roman economy is logical. Furthermore, it is indisputable that native inhabitants of the Drôme, at any rate, appear to have readily engaged in Roman-style cultural practices,

⁸⁹ Ebel, *Triumviral Gaul*, 582.

⁹⁰ Norman J. DeWitt, "The Paradox of Gallo-Roman Relations" (*The Classical Journal* 37.7, 1942), 403.

⁹¹ Buchsenschutz, *Les Celtes*, 359.

⁹² Buchsenschutz, *Les Celtes*, 360.

participated in civic government and used objects that - even if no longer made in Italy - were in vogue throughout the empire. Gallic engagement in Roman-style cultural and economic behavior is seen in the archaeological record in the Drôme in communities newly founded and ones with Iron Age roots. Locally produced coarse and fine ware pottery appears in the early and later *strata* in newly founded cities, towns, and farms. Gallic names and tribal affiliations appear regularly in inscriptions all around the Drôme - particularly in towns and cities around Die. Votive altars, inscribed in Latin, are dedicated to deities with Gallic or Gallo-Roman names. Further, the Roman *strata* at sites continuously inhabited from the late Iron Age appear to contain the same type of material found in houses with newer foundations. Some of these sites appear to have been occupied continuously for several hundred years with no sign of major rebuilding, while others were moved, reoriented to face roads, or simply enlarged and decorated with *Roman* symbols of prosperity - piped in water, hypocaust heating, mosaic or *terrazzo* flooring and wall painting.

The fact of Gallic collaboration with, and acceptance of, Roman cultural and economic practices, however, does not preclude the use of force or coercion against Gauls by the Roman state or by Roman citizens. As Mattingly points out, “too often, perhaps, scholarship creates dichotomies in which there are in fact a range of possible actions, reactions, and perceptions between the extremes of the argument.”⁹³ Scholars of the transitional period in Gaul frequently appear to use the wealth of information indicative of collaboration with, and engagement in, the imperial system - that is, of collaborative colonial interaction - as proof that obviates the potential for negatively charged interaction *driven by Rome*. Buchsenschutz credits Roman imperial ideology, characterized by the ideal of *humanitas*, for even *Gallic* collaboration with Rome. It was the

⁹³ Mattingly, *Experiencing Empire*, 71.

humanitas of the Roman state and “...this extraordinary tolerance, which transformed the vanquished into partners and into citizens in a few generations: the imperial system absorbs all peoples who truly wish to renounce war and choose ‘civilization,’ in the Roman orbit.”⁹⁴ While acknowledging that the transitional period was violent and difficult, Woolf appears to define the negatively charged interactions between the Roman state and its new Gallic subjects as “outbreaks of violence.”⁹⁵ Woolf states that, “incorporation into the Roman empire was a traumatic process...not restricted to the years immediately following Caesar’s campaigns but recurring from the 20s BC on as Augustus, Agrippa and Drusus conducted the first censuses and put into place the administrative framework of the Gallic provinces.”⁹⁶ Yet he conflates the *trauma* with the idea that violent or negative interactions between Gauls and Rome were primarily caused by Gallic revolts - which are mentioned as having occurred around the dates cited in the passage. This conflation is made clearer when he states that, “these outbreaks of violence might be viewed as interruptions...but they also contributed to the building process, providing some Gauls with the chance to prove their loyalty to Rome, and Rome with the chance to demonstrate the benefits of collaboration and the new discipline of empire.”⁹⁷ A later discussion of *Roman* perceptions of imperial ideology again conflates the potential suffering, loss and trauma of the transitional period not with Roman aggression but with a proto-nationalistic urge on the part of the Gauls to rule themselves. This trope is frequently cited by ancient authors, and Woolf’s discussion of this cites a famous phrase of Tacitus, who, in describing the governorship of

⁹⁴ Buchsenschutz, *Les Celtes*, 358. “Nous renvoyons à Greg Woolf pour la définition de l’*humanitas* romaine et de cette extra-ordinaire tolerance qui transforme les vaincus en partenaires et en citoyens en quelques generations: le systeme imperial absorbe toutes les populations qui veulent bien renoncer à la guerre et choisir la ‘civilisation’ dans l’orbite romaine.”

⁹⁵ Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 32.

⁹⁶ Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 32

⁹⁷ Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 32

Agricola over the Britons, mentions that the Britons see the material benefits of Agricola's rule as "civilization, when it was but a part of their servitude."⁹⁸

All of these arguments are based upon an assumption that Roman imperial rule was generally *benevolent*, except when dealing with rebellious subjects. This idea is not consistent with the archaeological record for this period in the Drôme. On the contrary, settlement abandonment patterns in the Rhône river valley, in particular, and their juxtaposition with settlement abandonment elsewhere in the Drôme, depicts a 'colonizing' power capable of both cooperative and coercive or carelessly opportunistic styles of administration.

As stated above, of the roughly 85-87 settlements that appear to have been in use at the start of the transition period, 58-62 - or roughly 70% - had been abandoned by the end of the Augustan period. 15, or 26% of those sites, were classified as *oppida*, and their abandonment, while noteworthy, is most often explained as being the result of complex economic and social processes resulting from sociopolitical and cultural change. Settlement abandonment in rural areas, as stated by Buchsenschutz, is often attributed to the same processes. While it may be true that the majority of rural settlements *elsewhere* in Gaul were abandoned voluntarily in the transitional period of the late 1st century BCE, the explanation is neither convincing nor sufficient in the Drôme. Approximately 90% (or 38-42 settlements, specifically) of non-*oppidum* abandonments occurred within or, in a few cases, immediately outside of the centuriations of either Orange or Valence. Only 6-7 - or 11% - of the abandoned lowland sites are located outside the centuriations. These statistics alone suggest a pattern of settlement abandonment

⁹⁸ Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 54, paraphrases Tacitus' Agricola, 21. "*Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos, castigando segnēs: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga; paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.*"

related to the centuriations. Further differential study of settlement patterns either inside or outside the centuriated zones confirms this. 34-39 sites dated to the late Iron Age or Republican period were located by excavation or field survey of the centuriated zones around Orange and Valence. Between 85 and 95% - of these settlements appear to have been abandoned in the mid-to-late 1st century BCE. Ceramic materials uncovered at Bouvier, in the town of Clérieux, and near Pierrelatte, indicate a more precise date of abandonment of around 40 BCE. Only 7 - or 14% - of the settlements that date to transitional period located within the centuriated landscape appear to have been continuously inhabited into the imperial period. In five of those cases, it is unclear whether the foundation of the original site dates to the Iron Age or the Republican period. This pattern is not present outside of centuriated zones in the Drôme. 41 non-*oppidum* sites were located in zones that do not appear to have been affected by centuriation. Only approximately 5 of these sites, or 12%, were abandoned in the transitional period, while 63 settlements, or nearly 90%, appear to have been continuously inhabited for several centuries into the imperial period. Many of these continuously inhabited sites, moreover, appear in close proximity to one another in the hills and plains north of the river *Lez*, around Le Pegue. This region is not located in close proximity to any known major road or trade center, and so it does not appear that settlements were concentrated there for purely pragmatic reasons.

The abandonments in the southern portion of the Drôme that fall within the centuriation of Orange are sited in close proximity to the Rhône river, which was heavily used for transportation in the Roman period. The major Roman road from Lugdunum into Provence approximately follows the route of the Rhône and, thus, provides a further economic incentive to *remain* in the region. The abandoned sites are, additionally, located near sites that appear to have been centers of power or economic exchange in the Iron Age, such as the *oppida* at Pierrelatte,

Suze-la-Rousse, Reauville, Chateauneuf-du-Rhône and Grignan. They are also near centers of power that appear to have emerged in the late transitional period, such as the city of St. Paul Trois Chateau, the *mansio* at Logis de Berre and the Roman town at Montelimar. The nearly complete abandonment of the lowland sites within the centuriation can therefore not be attributed to unfavorable settlement location. Similarly, the abandoned sites located within the centuriation of Valence appear to have been in close proximity to the road mentioned above and were furthermore in close proximity to the Iron Age center of Soyons, across the Rhône from Valence, and to Valence itself, which appears to have been a small but active center of trade in the early Republican period, and a large *colonia* in the Augustan period.

It is significant that the zones of near-total abandonment within the centuriations of Valence and Orange are both situated in regions conducive to agriculture, trade and the construction of Roman town plans. The interpretation that has been widely employed by scholars to explain high rates of settlement abandonment or relocation in the transition period relies on location as the primary motivating factor in what is described as a *Gallic* decision to move. Buchsenschutz explains that the repositioning of sites represents a rational exploitation of the landscape in a changed - Roman - world,⁹⁹ in which a flat location, in close proximity to roads and potential markets, was privileged above, even, the potential disruption caused by relocation. While this explanation may hold for sites such as Bibracte-Autun, a uniformly positive narrative of colonial interactions and the voluntary transformation it represents is not an accurate representation of the *totality* of colonial experience in Gaul.

The pattern of settlement abandonment within the centuriated landscapes in the Rhône valley, both on account of the scale of abandonment and especially in light of their favorable

⁹⁹ Buchsenschutz, *Les Celtes*, 360.

locations - appears to have been involuntary, and was likely the result of coercion on the part of the Roman state or magistrates of the *colonia*. Epigraphic evidence, in the form of the fragmentary inscriptions of Cadaster B of Orange, further strengthens this impression. The inscriptions, which are detailed in Chapter 2, date to the reign of Vespasian in the late 70s CE, and consist of fragments detailing landholding arrangements in the centuriated territory of Orange. Of particular interest are a number of fragments which appear to pertain to land in the Drôme between the modern-day cities of Pierrelatte, St.-Paul-Trois-Chateaux and Montelimar, the countryside around which is located in the zone of abandonments within Cadaster B of Orange.

A great deal of analysis has been done on the fragments of the map (get rid of comma) themselves, and in-depth surveys and targeted excavation of countryside in the Drôme has been undertaken with the goal of locating traces of the *centuriae* in the landscape. The most recent surveys were primarily carried out by Gerard Chouquer, who published accounts of the project as well as a discussion linking mentions of individual *centuriae* to the traces of *kardi* and *decumani* located in the survey. The inscriptions referencing *centuriae* that Chouquer believes correspond with surveyed landscape in the Drôme are of interest not only for the further proof of centuriation they afford but also because they mention the local Gallic tribe, the Tricastini. The tribe has historically been linked to the Drôme's southern Rhône valley, and its administrative center is thought to have been St-Paul-Trois-Chateaux, which is referenced by Pliny as *Augusta Tricastinorum* and described as being administered as a Latin town.¹⁰⁰ A fragmentary inscription found in the city of Vaison-la-Romaine mentions a town by the name of *Flavia Tricastinorum*, which scholars Andre Piganiol and Henri Rolland believe also refers to St.-Paul-Trois Chateaux.

¹⁰⁰ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.36.

They suggest that the name change represents a change in the town's status from Latin town to Roman *colonia* in the Flavian period.¹⁰¹ This name change is significant when interpreting the inscriptions from Cadaster B Orange, as many fragments mention parcels of land as having been “returned to the Tricastini.”¹⁰² Piganiol - in a note attached to Rolland's article - contends that, “we must now consider the hypothesis that this return could have taken place at the time of the creation of the Flavian Colony. This would thus explain, in any case, why a short amount time after the posting of 77, the drafting of a new cadaster was necessary.”¹⁰³ Of additional use to the present study are the inscriptions themselves, which mention the assignation or purchase of land to individuals and polities, but reference a *return* of land only in reference to the Tricastini. One section reads:

dd XVIII ck II
extr CXIII
Tric(astinis) redditi culti XXXV
et inc(ulti) LIII

Piganiol, who published a commentary on these fragments in 1950, translates the top line of the inscription as locations on the map, where *dd* represents numbered *decumani* and *ck*, numbered *cardi*. “Extr,” is interpreted as referring to land excluded from the *ager tributarius*. The remaining two lines denote the land “redditi,” or *returned*, to the Tricastini.¹⁰⁴

The use of the prefix “re-” in the inscription suggests that prior to belonging to the *ager tributarius* of Arausio, the land had been considered the property of the Tricastini, to whom it was

¹⁰¹ Henri Rolland, in “*Une Inscription De Vaison.*” (*Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 105.2, 1961), 362.

¹⁰² André Piganiol, “*Sur Un Fragment Nouveau Du Cadastre D'orange.*” (*Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1950, 63).

¹⁰³ Rolland, *Vaison*, 363. “*Il nous faut maintenant envisager l'hypothèse que cette restitution a pu avoir lieu lors de la création de la Colonie Flaviennne. Ainsi s'expliquerait en tout cas que très peu de temps après l'affichage de 77, la rédaction d'un nouveau cadastre ait été nécessaire.*”

¹⁰⁴ Piganiol, *Fragment*, 65.

now being returned. The theory that ownership of land once held by the Tricastini was transferred, perhaps as a tribute or as tax, to the *colonia* of Arausio is, I believe, supported by the pattern of near-total abandonment of Iron Age settlements that has been observed within the boundaries of the centuriation of Orange in the Drôme. Chouquer interprets the cadasters as a “creator of new landscapes and a tool for their management...” and he further suggests that, “it therefore constituted a tool for the modulation of pressure by the State - essential in its relations with the provincials. ... The fate of the *oppida* and of the pre-Roman communities in the thorough zoning of the landscape coming from the cadastrations poses a major problem.”¹⁰⁵ It is my contention that the high level of abandonment within the cadaster is not simply the result of a voluntary response to high rates of taxation. It is unlikely that approximately 90% of the owners of farms within that land chose to make the same decision at the same time for the same reason. If taxation was the cause, however - and although I would suggest that is unlikely, it is certainly a possibility - the rate would then have constituted an unbearable burden on the owners of the land falling within the *agri tributarii* of the *colonia*.

¹⁰⁵ In a work authored by Gérard Chouquer et al, entitled, "Cadastrés, Occupation Du Sol Et Paysages Agraires Antiques" (*Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 37.5, 1982), 861-862, the author interprets the cadasters as both a, “creator of new landscapes and a tool for their management - they were also both a practical and symbolic framework of administration. In an organic manner, the cadaster offered an ideal framework for the fiscal levies and an overview of the status of lands and of people. ... On the map of the cadaster B of Orange, two categories of land are defined with regard to taxation - the lands ‘given’ to the Tricastini pay tribute, while those, which were assigned to the veterans were exempted. ... It therefore constituted a tool for the modulation of pressure by the State - essential in its relations with the provincials. This touches upon one of its central functions - the control of local populations. The fate of the *oppida* and of the pre-Roman communities in the very thorough zoning of the landscape coming from the cadastrations poses a major problem.”

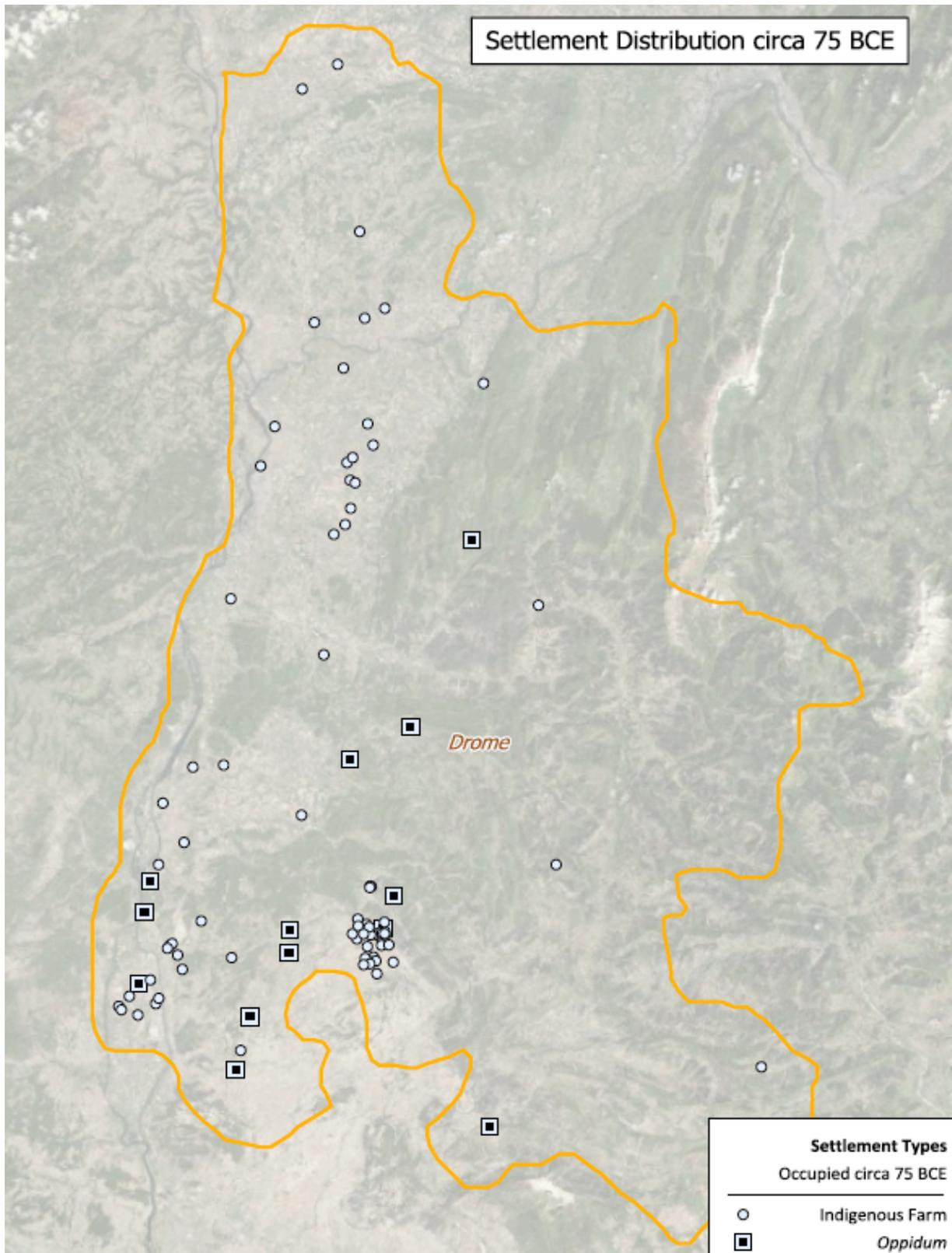


Figure 1: Settlement Distribution circa 75 BCE

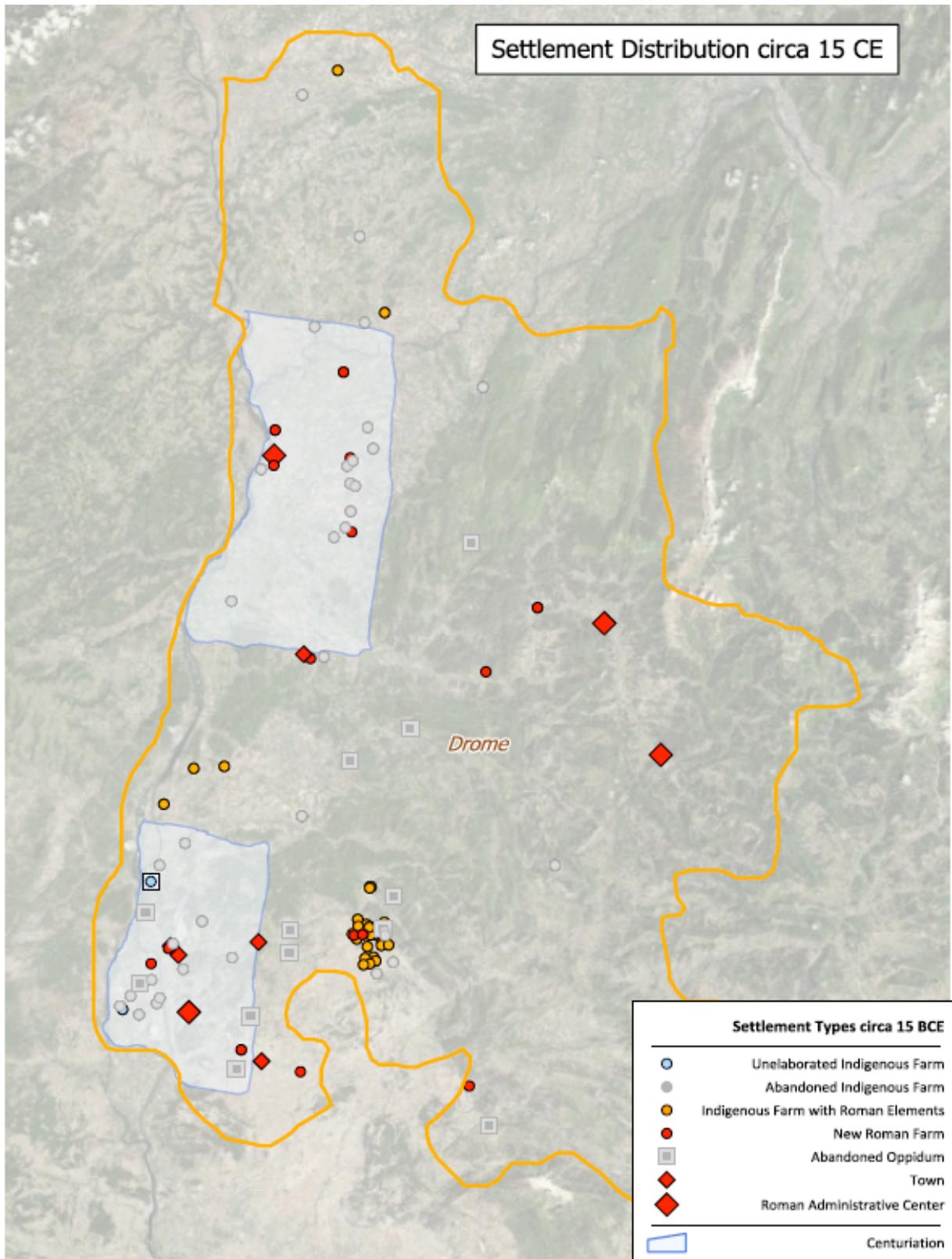


Figure 2: Settlement Distribution circa 15 CE

Chapter 5: Conclusions

The analysis of transition-period archaeological data from the Drôme, presented in this study, clarifies some of the processes by which settlement and economy in the region was transformed in the first century after the Roman conquest of *Gallia Narbonensis*. The picture, provided by this data and historiographic and epigraphic evidence, is consistent with that revealed in comparative studies examining colonial processes in the ancient and modern world, from the Laconia Survey to the works on the impact of European expansion on indigenous populations in the Americas mentioned above. These studies reveal what appears to be a nearly universal truth - that colonial encounters, which are by nature made possible by and expressive of a power differential, are dynamic exchanges which, even when generally peaceful, are characterized in part by a power-relationship which allows for, and perhaps fosters, the exploitation of subject populations. The pattern of settlement abandonment revealed in this study provides a particularly clear example of this process (see Figures 1 and 2).

The historical accounts mentioned in the chapters above hint at upheaval in the Drôme beginning around the date of conquest and enduring at least until the reign of Tiberius. Mentions of war between Roman armies and the Voconti and Allobroges indicate outright violence, but this manner of upheaval is only one type among many that appear possible. Caesar's description of a march through Vocontian territory on the way to central Gaul brings to mind accounts from other regions of local populations compelled to provide food and occasionally auxiliary troops to Roman legions. Caesar's mention of Vocontian and Allobrogan tribes and territory highlights the strategic importance of the Drôme in the conquest of Gaul. The *Via Domitia*, an alpine route connecting Italy to Gaul, is thought to connect with branches of the *Via Agrippa*, which roughly follows the route of the Rhône, at various locations in the Drôme

river valley and the plain of Valence.¹⁰⁶ The necessity to secure these major arteries bringing troops and trade into Gaul, and the volume of military and other traffic along them, should be viewed simultaneously as agents in the economic expansion of road-side centers such as Die and Valence, and as purveyors of chaos and upheaval. In addition to the disruption caused by the passage of armies through the region, changes in local power dynamics resulting from new economic ties between regions previously unconnected, the levying of local young men into *auxilia* and legions (as evidenced by inscriptions mentioning the *ala Vocontiorum*), and the imposition of tribute would have allowed some members of society to prosper, while squeezing into oblivion those native farms or settlements unable to meet the new demands.

These processes are, as mentioned above, sometimes seen as the logical corollaries of conquest - not evidence of exploitation of a local population by an imperial power, but rather a response on the part of both parties to the changing demands of administration and security. The differentially detrimental or positive effects of imperial policies on local communities can also be viewed as a simple exchange of one form of (assumed) domination by local elites with domination by local *and* colonial elites together. The attempt to understand transformations in local provincial cultures under Roman domination as natural, mechanical responses to changing sets of economic and social demands is, however, to again borrow Woolf's terminology, an attempt to *taxonomise* change, to ascribe to it natural causes in which no actor is viewed as having more agency than the other in the transaction. This view might be the fairest, but it is not consistent with the reality of the colonial encounter. Empires are not the fruits of mutual, mutually agreed-upon collaboration between two equal powers. They are not partnerships, nor

¹⁰⁶ CAG, 95.

alliances. Imperial systems are by nature the expression of power differentials,¹⁰⁷ and while each side of the colonial exchange exerts force upon the other, the member of the exchange with greater power can, and often does, enforce policies that disproportionately meet its economic and military needs at the expense of the local, ‘colonized,’ population.

This dynamic is highlighted in the transformation of settlement in the Drôme in the century-and-a-half following Roman conquest. An analysis of rates of abandonment and continuity reveals a stark difference between rates of settlement abandonment within and without centuriated landscapes. As many as 95% of the farms and settlements that were located within the centuriations of Orange and Valence, and occupied prior to the foundations of *colonia* there, appear to have been abandoned by the early 1st century CE. Many of the abandonments have been dated more precisely to between 40 and 20 BCE. What makes this pattern meaningful is not only its scale, but its dissonance from patterns of abandonment found elsewhere in the Rhône river valley and the *département* as a whole, where on average only 12-30% of settlements appear to have been abandoned during the transitional period. While it is not possible to confirm that the near-total abandonment of Iron Age sites within centuriated land was the result of a Roman imperial or local policy of forced land redistribution, the pattern certainly leaves that possibility open. The inscriptions from the centuriation map of Orange mentioned above allude to a return of parcels of land to the Tricastini, and the fact that no payment is recorded for the transfer of ownership suggests the transaction was not fiscal in nature. A policy of redistribution is not the only plausible explanation for the abandonments observed within centuriated lands,

¹⁰⁷ While Mattingly, in *Empire*, details this process persuasively, I have found the works of several other scholars more helpful in defining imperialism and imperial systems. William Harris’ *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome* (Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1979) and Erich Gruen’s *Imperialism in the Roman Republic* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970) give clear accounts of the process and its motivation on the Roman side, while Craige Champion’s *Roman Imperialism: Readings and Sources* (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004) offers an almost modernist and post-colonialist view.

however. As Chouquer notes, above, centuriation was not only a mode of redistribution but also of administration, particularly fiscal administration. Farms within the limits of the centuriations that were not allocated to veterans (whose holdings were, according to the map of 77 CE, exempt from tribute), were taxed by the *colonia*. If the abandonments are to be ascribed to economic forces - specifically to an inability or unwillingness to pay tribute to the *colonia* - the tax burden on tributary land must logically be assumed to have been unbearably high. The abandoned farms examined in this survey are located in the most fertile sections of the Rhône valley, in areas well-served by Roman roads. They are, in fact, in precisely the types of land scholars such as Buchsenschutz and Woolf, quoted above, have described as the most desirable landscapes for the relocation of *oppida*, and it appears unlikely that a desire to succeed in a transformed economic environment would have resulted in the dramatic levels of abandonment reflected in this study. It is my view that the notion that as many as 95% of farms and settlements within the centuriations were all voluntarily abandoned should be discarded as simply implausible. The two centuriated zones are far apart, cover hundreds of square acres, and were home to at least five hilltop sites and over 40 small farms. In no other region of the Drôme, within the Rhône valley and outside of it, does such widespread disruption of occupation and community dislocation appear to occur. While there are numerous ways in which the pattern of abandonments can be plausibly interpreted, the logical explanations for it all bring us back to the same basic conclusion - that some form of exploitation or unequal power dynamics caused a widespread dislocation of settlement and destruction of local communities within the most fertile landscapes of the Rhône river valley. Whether the causes of the abandonment were economic or political in nature is in many ways irrelevant to this discussion. In the latter case, community dislocation may have occurred more quickly and perhaps more violently, while in the former it may have taken some

number of years for farmers to decide to leave their homes. In either case, the change was so swift that, while a handful of native farms near Pierrelate appear to have continued into the first century CE, the local *communities* (i.e., groupings of more than one farm) in place in the region prior to the implantation of the *colonia* had, with no exceptions, ceased to exist by the year zero.

This pattern exemplifies one of the characteristic elements of the colonial encounter, which includes both positive collaboration between actors in the exchange, and negatively charged interactions disproportionately affecting the less-powerful party in the relationship. While the quality of these interactions was moderated by both parties, the economic and military needs of Rome and of Roman citizens were sometimes - perhaps even often - met at the cost of interests of the local Gallic population.

The other characteristic of the colonial exchange - collaboration and economic dynamism - is one that was explored by Greg Woolf in *Becoming Roman*, in which he examines the agency of Gallic elites in the transformation of local communities. But the economic efflorescence that appears to have occurred in the Drôme at the end of the transitional period required active participation in the new system by non-elites as well. It is my view that this participation did not happen *despite* inequalities in power relations, but partially as a result of them.

Positive, collaborative interactions with Romans and with Roman economic and sociopolitical institutions appear to have contributed, over a period of nearly two centuries, to a series of complex and regionally variable cultural and economic transformations that allowed the Drôme and its inhabitants to become integrated participants in Rome's 'global' economic and political empire. Continuity of settlement in uncenturiated regions of the Drôme, as mentioned above, appears alongside typical indices of collaborative cultural and economic interaction, in

keeping with patterns of cultural change noted in various regions around southern Gaul. Micro-regional variations in settlement, economy, and cult behavior illustrate especially the *complexity* of the colonial collaboration and highlight the extent to which cultural and economic practices in ‘Roman’ Gaul were the products of a new, ‘hybridized’ culture born from that collaboration. These patterns are not suggestive of widespread unrest or rejection of Roman imperial institutions on the part of the inhabitants of the Drôme, but rather of a pragmatic decision to work with, and within, the social and economic boundaries of the new political system imposed upon *Gallia Narbonensis*. That this participation appears to have occurred in an environment characterized in part by exploitative power dynamics does not indicate a lack of agency or a wholesale acceptance of an imposed regime. Instead, it highlights the fact that economic and cultural transformations in the ancient world, as in the modern, often occur for reasons and by mechanisms entirely unrelated to ideology and cultural identity. Pragmatic concerns can trump and shape - ideologies. As Mattingly mentions, “Roman imperialism involved both the iron fist and the velvet glove and provoked varying responses, including compliance, cooperation, resistance, and rebellion.”¹⁰⁸ Mattingly’s iron fist is so often associated with imperial regimes because coercion works - not simply by stifling rebellion, but by dis-incentivizing resistance or rebellion for all but the most ideologically driven members of a society undergoing an imperial transition. The imposition of new systems of imperial administration and the presence of exploitative relationships, furthermore, requires a response. And while rebellion and resistance are possible responses to colonial encounters, pragmatic accommodation to a regime change should not be viewed within the binary framework of ‘resistance’ or ‘acceptance,’ but, rather, as an expression of a value that, for many people in the modern world as well as the ancient, is

¹⁰⁸ Mattingly, *Experiencing Empire*, 71.

more salient than cultural identity or political freedom. Individual desires for security and economic prosperity, and the dogged pursuit of these things, need not be viewed through the moralizing lens of nationalism which holds the preservation of cultural identity as more ideologically valuable than the security of families or the prosperity of individuals.

Some view the transformation of Gallic culture beginning in the latter half of the 1st century BCE as the result of an imperial system characterized by an, “*extraordinaire tolérance qui transforme les vaincus en partenaires et en citoyens.*”¹⁰⁹ But I believe we ought to pay more heed to the complaints of the newly conquered Gauls, which appear again and again in historical sources from the early to mid-1st century BCE. Cicero and Sallust refer repeatedly to a major Gallic complaint - that they were suffering under an enormous burden of debt and, “complained of the rapacity of the magistrates, inveighed against the Senate for not affording them relief, and looked to death as the only remedy for their sufferings.”¹¹⁰ These complaints highlight the possibility that cultural transformation in Gaul under Roman rule was perhaps to a greater degree mediated by a pragmatic need to accommodate to one another, on the part of both actors in the exchange, than by cultural ideology. The repetition of this complaint in other works, such as Cicero’s *Pro Fonteio*, alongside the numerous other complaints attested by Livy, Dio, Tacitus, Appian and others, seems to indicate genuine concerns on the part of Gallic populations, and these concerns are voiced overwhelmingly as pleas for the relief of debt.

Rather than viewing the particular strengths or weaknesses of Rome’s imperial character as chief variables in the successful incorporation of the Drôme into the imperial system, then, I prefer to recall the phrase employed by Rebecca West with which I began this chapter. In

¹⁰⁹ Buchsenschutz, *Les Celtes*, 358, follows Woolf.

¹¹⁰ Sallust, *Catiline*, 40.

describing the “nearly mad” potential for violence that she sees as an inherent feature of human nature, West draws a contrast with another trait she also ascribes to humans in general, namely a desire to “live to our nineties and die in peace, in a house that we built, that shall shelter those who come after us.”¹¹¹ It is this urge, I believe, perhaps more than any of the peculiarities of Gallic or Roman culture or institutions, that cultivated the eventually peaceful accommodation, by the inhabitants of the Drôme, of a Roman imperial power that could be characterized by banal acts of inhumanity, by *humanitas*, and by the whole range of human behaviors in between.

¹¹¹ Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Gray Falcon*, from the prologue of Peter Maass’ *Love Thy Neighbor : A Story of War* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1996) (personal communication with Peter Maass).

Appendix: Transition Period Sites.

Arnayon: Chatelet

This sight is thought to have been an oppidum, but “the objects....have been dispersed.”

Beauregard-Baret: Matras

Two sites here appear to have ceramics dating to the ‘pre-or-protolithic’ periods, one (Matras) additionally has provided evidence of ditch-built structures. Neither contains either trade material or material datable to later than 100 BCE.

Begude-de-Mazenc: Chateauneuf-de-Mazence

A funerary plaque (limestone) was found here in the late 19th century. It reads, “Sparti, Cassili f (ili). Ritucai, uxor(is).” It is dated to c. 50 BCE. Rituca is thought to be Gallic in origin and, according to H. Desaye, specifically a Vocontian name.¹¹²

Begude-de-Mazenc Pieragnon

Material “particularly dating to the late La Tène period.”

Bourg-les-Valence: Chanelets

This small site appears to have been a settlement that was inhabited from the Bronze-Roman period, although there is not clear evidence of continuous habitation. However, this lack of clarity could be the result of the general lack of diagnostic ceramics found in the early *strata*.

Bouchet: Barbaras

Large (>2 ha) settlement that appears to have “implanted in the Augustan period” and reached its apogee a century and a half later.

Chabeuil: Brocard

Iron Age site that appears to have been abandoned c. 200 BC, underneath a phase dated between 50-25 BCE on the basis of Italian amphoras, gray savonnoise fine ware,¹¹³ and common ware in *pâte claire*. The site appears to have been built in the Gallic-farm style, with ditches and 31 post holes covering a surface of c. 600 m². This building appears *not* to have been oriented toward the centuriations of Valence.

Chabeuil: Chateau Saint Pierre

Thought to be an Iron Age occupation on the basis of architectural features including enclosures, ditches and roads/paths. The *decumanus* of A Valence appears to be in keeping with the layout of the preRoman building.

¹¹² In his work entitled, “*Quelques Observations Sur L'onomastique Des Voconces Septentrionaux*,” (*Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 33.1, 2000), 69-81, Henri Desaye, mentions this and other names.

¹¹³ *Lattara*, 459. While a great deal about these ceramics still remains to be learned, it appears that the material was fabricated and used around the middle Rhône valley and the eastern part of Languedoc.

Chabeuil: Fournier

Another so-called ‘protohistoric’ occupation, discerned only on the basis of a circular enclosure, so this may be problematic. This was *not mapped*.

Chabeuil: Gachets1

Second century villa site was inhabited apparently from the Augustan period, with “*précoce*” material (Campanian A and Italian sigillata). No common ware is mentioned.

Chabeuil: Gachets2

Settlement (small) with late Iron Age material. Appears to have been abandoned prior to the mid-1st century BCE.

Chabeuil: Teolier

This site appears to have been a small farm “with protohistoric occupation.”

Chabrillan: P’Hortal

This site has primarily been discussed for its late Roman and medieval *strata*, but an Iron Age layer is there as well, delimited by postholes and ‘*mobilier*,’ presumably ceramic.

Chabrillan: Saint-Martin2

Augustan period settlement with dolia, Italian amphorae, Campanian ware and local common ware.

Chabrillan: Saint-Martin1

Small building with a ditch and iron works.

Chantemerle-les-Grignan: Saint-Maurice

Below a Roman period site, a large number of ceramic fragments from the 2nd-1st centuries BCE, including Campanian A and local fine ware.

Chateauneuf-du-Rhone: Rialle1

Settlement along the bank of a river.

Chateauneuf-du-Rhone: Rialle2

Bigger settlement, slightly.

Chateauneuf-du-Rhone: St. Saturnin

Oppidum with occupation from the 2nd-1st century BCE, and then a phase of abandonment until the late antique period. The present-day remains of the *oppidum* include a wall and a tower, but these appear to have been built in the middle ages.

Chateauneuf-sur-Isere: Vaux

Occupation site that shows signs of continuous occupation, with La Tène final ceramics and sigillata from the first century underneath a building that conforms, apparently, to the centuriation of Valence (B).

Charmes-sur-l'Herbasse: Cabaret Neuf

Tiles and late Iron Age ceramics.

Clerieux: Bouvier

Settlement dated to the 1st c. BCE on the basis of Dressel 1A and 1B *amphorae*.¹¹⁴ Postholes and rectangular wooden buildings, roofed with tile, and an iron slag heap. In addition to the *amphorae*, Goudineau 1 Aretine ware was found, giving an abandonment date of c. 40 BCE. Local Gallic coarse ware predominates (60%).

Die

Evidence points to the city beginning as a small trade station,¹¹⁵ although ample evidence exists to suggest the presence of trade in the region prior to the mid-1st century BCE in the form of coins and a great deal of other metallic objects.

Donzere: St. Saturnin

Oppidum with 2nd-1st century BCE ceramics, including Italian *amphorae* and a fragment of Campanian ware.

La Garde Adhemar: Paoli

“Traces of an Iron Age settlement.”

La Garde Adhemar: Surel

Small occupation from the Iron Age, with a very large (>8000m²) 1st-end of 3rd century Roman *villa* directly on top of it.

Les Granges Gontardes: Logis1

Settlement described as ‘indigenous’ with metalworking kilns, dating from the 2nd-Augustan period. These houses are replaced by a large Augustan period baths, thought by the excavators to be a *statio*.

Les Granges Gontardes: Logis3

Iron Age settlement with ceramic, including Massaliot *amphorae*, late Campanian ware and indigenous common unturned ware.

Les Granges Gontardes: Logis4

Iron Age settlement, with ceramics including Massaliot *amphorae*, attic, local, Massaliot and Italian fine ware, pseudo-Ionian ware and coins. This site is replaced in the 1st century CE by a large Roman building.

¹¹⁴ Lattara, 55

¹¹⁵ CAG, 245

Grignan: Oppidum

Apparent *oppidum* at the site of the present-day chateau, mostly covered by the later occupation. Ceramic material dates from the 2nd-1st century BCE and also includes fragments of sigillata and DSP.

Grignan: Cordys

Augustan period material and later covering a surface of over 10 ha. The early material includes Campanian ware and Italian *amphorae*. Yet, the author dates this settlement to the “end of the 1st century” BCE. There is no mention of indigenous ceramics.

Grignan: Beauregard

This site is described as a possible *oppidum*, with ceramic material dating to the 2nd-1st century BCE, along with a wall. Most of this material is obscured by later building.

Laborel:

Settlement Saint-Martin appears to have been inhabited continuously from the Bronze Age through to the start of the Gallo-Roman period. Campanian A-C was found at the site, in addition to Phocaeen ware.

Lapeyrouse-Mornay: Fiard

Settlement la Firard/les Morelles appears to have been continuously occupied from the Iron Age, but this is not detailed in the CAG.

Le Pegue: St. Marcel

Oppidum St. Marcel is fortified and has been widely studied. More information about this very well-published site is available in the records of J.J. Hatt.

Le Pegue: Barrieres

Settlement with material from the La Tène period. Appears to have been abandoned.

Le Pegue: Chaux

1st century BCE-3rd century CE ceramic, with Italian sigillata.

Le Pegue: Combeau

This settlement has yielded ceramics from the Bronze Age, La Tène, Augustan, and Roman period, through the 3rd century. Imported materials include Campanian A and Italian sigillata.

Le Pegue: Pene

Ceramics from this settlement date from the 6th century BCE-2nd century CE. Late La Tène ware, Campanian ware and sigillata predominate.

Le Pegue: Prade

Settlement with material dating from the late Iron Age and lasting until the 4th century CE. Material includes *amphorae*, Campanian ware and Italian sigillata.

Le Pegue: Rieux1

Site yielding La Tène ceramic and sigillata.

Le Pegue: Rieux2

Similar site yielding La Tène ceramic and what appears to be a villa, with common ware and imported ceramics.

Le Pegue: Roche Rousse

Ceramics from this site include Campanian, pseudo-Ionian and Phocaeen ware, indigenous coarse ware and a fragmentary oil lamp.

Le Pegue: Village1/Bas Quartier

Site dated from the 2nd Iron Age through the 3rd century CE. Local La Tène brushed ware, Campanian ware and sigillata was found there, in addition to an anepigraphic altar depicting a god holding a mallet.

Le Pegue: Village2/Bas Quartier

Site similar to the one above, dated to the La Tène and Roman periods, with local coarse and fine ware, Campanian ware, *amphorae*, and sigillata.

Luc-en-Diois

The earliest traces of building at this site date to the mid-1st century BCE.

Merindol-les-Oliviers: Rte. 147

Habitation site, apparently 'Roman,' with Campanian A, sigillata, fine ware and african red slip ware, dating the occupation from the Augustan period to the 3rd century CE.

Mollans-sur-Ouveze: Oppidum at Chatelard

Oppidum with an enclosure of over 2.5 ha. Diagnostic ceramic material mentioned in the CAG includes Dressel 1 *amphorae* and Campanian A.

Montbrison: Chatelard

Settlement dating from the 1st century BCE-1st century CE. The predominant material mentioned is imported Italian sigillata.

Montbrison: Chauvet

Material at this site indicates occupation from the 2nd century BCE-7th century CE. Pseudo-Campanian A, southern Gallic sigillata and kaolinitic ware were among the fine wares.

Montbrison: Chaux

This is an old site in comparison to the others in Montbrison, with ceramic dating from the early La Tène and mid-and-late Iron Age. In addition to local wares, imported ceramics were also found, including sigillata.

Montbrison: Clots

Fragments of protohistoric ceramic, including unturned and other coarse ware and imported fine ware (Campanian a and Italian sigillata) and 1st-2nd century sigillata.

Montbrison: Danis

Settlement site with early Iron Age *amphorae* and Campanian A. Additional ceramic material includes 1st and 2nd century sigillata and numerous other ceramics that indicate the presence of a tiliary (perhaps?) in the Roman period.

Montbrison: Fontbonau1

Settlement here begins in the 1st century BCE, dated by the presence of Aretine ware. Occupation continues, apparently, until the early Middle Ages.

Montbrison: Fontbonau2

Local fine ware, including Roanne ware, dates this site to the early-to-mid-1st century BCE and later.

Montbrison: Gramenon

Material at this site includes La Tène ceramic and southern Gallic sigillata.

Montbrison: Osieres

Material from this site includes ceramic from the 1st century BCE and a sherd of Iron Age ceramic, and then later material dating from the 1st century CE.

Montbrison: Peageon1

Settlement site dating from the protohistoric and Roman periods, with material similar to that in nearby sites. Unturned ceramic and Italian sigillata, pompeian red ware and later sigillata and fine ware (kaolinitic) indicating occupation through to the late antique period.

Montbrison: Picardes2

Material from this site dates to the end of the 1st century BCE and later and includes Italian sigillata and later material.

Montbrison: Roussoullie1

The earliest ceramic material from this settlement is pompeian red glaze ware, but the majority of the material dates to the 1st-5th centuries CE.

Montbrison: Roussoullie2

Second nearby settlement with local and imported fine and coarse ware, including Roanne ware, southern Gallic sigillata and a great deal of later material (kaolinitic).

Montelier: Achille

This site consists of an Iron Age enclosure that does not correspond to the centuriations.

Montelier: Gampalon

This site is dated by architectural style (post and ditch) to the late Iron Age.

Montelimar: Ste-Croix

Roanne and Campanian fine wares and Roman architectural materials were located in the earliest *strata* underneath the church of Ste. Croix.

Montmeyran: Blagnat

Post-and-beam construction thought to date to the Augustan period, with both local and imported fine ware and local coarse ware.

Montmeyran: Bois Gros

Post-and-beam style construction “in a huge size,” dated to the late Iron Age.

Montmeyran: Limites

Post-and-beam style construction “in a huge size,” dated to the late Iron Age.

Montsegur-sur-Lauzon: Serre Curnier

Oppidum dated to the Bronze and late Iron Ages, the latter due to a number of fragments of Italian *amphorae* and Campanian ware.

Montvendre: Chataigniers

This is a late Iron Age settlement characterized by post holes and a large number of ceramics, including celtic urns, fine ware, common gray ware and others. This site is added to in the Augustan period and the ceramic material found is predominantly local (2/3). Later material indicates that this site was abandoned.

Mours-St-Eusebe: St. Marie

Small amounts of protohistoric ceramic and 1st-2nd century material found in the church of St. Eusebe.

Pierrelatte: Bezarde

Ditches, not in accordance with the centuriation, covering an area of over 4000m². Ceramic material yielded includes Campanian B, unturned local ceramics, Dressel 1b *amphorae* and daub. Could this and similar sites pertain to early colonists? This is unclear.

Pierrelatte: EspitaletNord

This material covers over 30ha and has yielded Neolithic through Roman material. The walls of a very large building (a villa) were implanted in the Augustan period, but not in line with the centuriation of Orange.

Pierrelatte: Freyssinet1

Ditches, not in accordance with the centuriation. Ceramic material yielded includes Campanian B, unturned local ceramics, Dressel 1b *amphorae* and daub.

Pierrelatte: Freyssinet2

Ditches, not in accordance with the centuriation, covering an area of over 4000m². Ceramic material yielded includes Campanian B, unturned local ceramics, Dressel 1b *amphorae* and daub.

Pierrelatte: Rocher

This site appears to have been an *oppidum*, but was destroyed.

Pierrelatte: Pignedoresse/Pignedores

This site, which dates from the 2nd-1st centuries BCE, yielded a large amount of indigenous ceramic, Campanian ware and the remains of a building.

Pierrelatte: Perrotines1

This site appears to have been founded at the start of the 1st century BCE and abandoned before the Augustan period. Campanian ware, unturned coarse ware and adobe ‘daube’ were found at the site.

Pierrelatte: Perrotines2

Settlement appears to have been founded at the end of the 2nd century BCE and endured until the start of the first century CE. All indigenous coarse ware ceramic.

Pierrelatte: Tomples

Ditches, not in accordance with the centuriation, covering an area of over 4000m². Ceramic material yielded includes Campanian B, unturned local ceramics, Dressel 1b *amphorae* and daub.

Plan-de-Baix: Oppidum Velan

This site has been identified as an *oppidum* reoccupied in the medieval period.

Pontaix: Condamines

A villa built in the Augustan period lies atop what appears to be a small Iron Age settlement, on the basis of painted ceramic.

Pont-de-Barret: Oppidum

Oppidum with ceramic dating to the 2nd-1st centuries BCE.

Roche-St-Secret: Aures¹¹⁶

Oppidum with an occupied area of around 30 ha. Imported Massaliot fine ware has been located there in recent excavations, and a Roman occupation has been identified starting in the 2nd century CE. Data at this point seems to indicate a period of abandonment between the Iron Age and the Roman period and this is reflected in the mapped data.

Roche-St-Secret: Leonards1

Three sites yielding nearly identical material: La Tène ceramic, Campanian ware and locally-produced (southern Gallic) sigillata. I have identified these sites as displaying signs of continuous habitation on the basis of the Campanian ware.

¹¹⁶ The most recent information on this site comes not from the CAG but from Stephan G. Schmid and the website for ‘le *Projet archéologique du Rocher des Aures*,’ or PARA.

Roche-St-Secret: Leonards2

Three sites yielding nearly identical material: La Tène ceramic, Campanian ware and locally-produced (southern Gallic) sigillata. I have identified these sites as displaying signs of continuous habitation on the basis of the Campanian ware.

Roche-St-Secret: Leonards3

Three sites yielding nearly identical material: La Tène ceramic, Campanian ware and locally-produced (southern Gallic) sigillata. I have identified these sites as displaying signs of continuous habitation on the basis of the Campanian ware.

Romans-sur-Isere: Preles

This small occupation site appears typically 'late Iron Age,' based upon both architectural features (ditch, post-holes, hearth) and the presence of Iron Age ceramic material.

Roussas: Oppidum at Moulon, late Iron Age village

Oppidum that appears to have been occupied from the Iron Age until the Roman period, with periodic or non-intensive habitation thereafter. The site covers approximately 25 ha, and is comprised of 5 enclosures. Italian amphoras are present. Excavation has indicated that the site was primarily in use in the early Iron Age and then again in the 2nd-3rd centuries, although Italian amphoras indicate a presence in the late Iron Age as well.

Rousset-les-Vignes: les Clos

Site that appears to have been occupied from the Neolithic all the way through the early Roman period, with ceramics that include local late Iron Age fine ware and sigillata.

Rousset-les-Vignes: Suzaud

Large site - characterized as having "abundant material," yielding late Iron Age ceramic, Campanian A, Italian sigillata, grindstones, dolia and other small finds.

Rousset-les-Vignes: les Baumettes

Site yielding late Iron Age fine ware (painted) and abundant ceramics suggesting the presence of a larger establishment (villa?) in the Roman period.

Saillans: le Pere Craquant:

Mausoleum dating to the 1st century BCE. Inscription reads, "A Pompeo, Sex f, Volt, Fontoni. Vocontei."

St. Pantaleon: Barral

Iron Age and Republican ceramics mixed. This site appears to have been abandoned after the Augustan period as no ceramic material dated to after 0 is mentioned.

St. Pantaleon: Basse Fosse

Iron Age and Roman materials mixed. This site appears to have been occupied through the middle ages.

St. Pantaleon: Brunettes

Iron Age and Roman materials mixed.

St. Pantaleon: Bois Vieux

Iron Age and Roman materials mixed. This site appears to have been occupied through the middle ages.

St. Pantaleon: Grands Marais

Iron Age and Roman materials mixed. This site appears to have been occupied through the middle ages.

St. Pantaleon: Icard

Iron Age and Roman materials mixed. This site appears to have been occupied through the Roman period.

St. Pantaleon: Garenne

Iron Age and Roman materials mixed. This site appears to have been occupied through the middle ages.

St. Pantaleon: Collanion

Iron Age and Roman materials mixed. This site appears to have been occupied through the Roman period.

St. Paul Trois Chateaux: City

The first signs of occupation here - post 5th century BCE - appear to date to the Republican period, at which point mosaics are found.

St. Sorlin-en-Valloire: la Barre

Iron Age local ceramic - including fine ware from Feurs and Roanne - coexists here with Italian ceramic from the mid-1st century BCE. The site appears to have been abandoned after this date - but a viticultural establishment was built nearby in the 1st century CE.

Saou: Oppidum Lens Lestang and Sissac

Two hilltop *oppida* (right next to each other) appear to have been inhabited from the Bronze Age through the late Iron Age. Some Roman ceramic has been found at the site of Sissac, but it is minimal.

Sauzet: Gentil

This settlement appears to indicate continuous occupation from the late Iron Age/Republican period through the Roman period. Roman and imported fine ware, indigenous coarse ware and Roman and local storage vessels and roof tiles were found together.

Savasse: Croze

Iron Age and Roman materials mixed. This site appears to have been occupied through the middle ages.

Suze-la-Rousse: St. Sebastian

Ceramic found underneath the floor of the chapel in the village indicate continuous habitation - protohistoric and Campanian ware mixed with one sherd of sigillata.

Suze-la-Rousse: Oppidum La Garenne

Oppidum with an inhabited area of c. 4 ha and with ceramic material dating to the late Iron Age. Imported materials are predominantly Italian. One fragment of sigillata was also found.

Suze-la-Rousse: Tuliere

Site with an apparent break in habitation between the Iron Age and the mid-to-late 1st century CE.

Tulette: Augustan settlement

Small settlement appears to date to the Augustan period, with continued occupation through the imperial period.

Valence: Colonia

The bulk of the earliest foundations here appear to date to the Augustan period, although a few residences may have been established earlier.

Valence: Lautagne military camp

Military camp near Valence appears to have been in use from the mid-1st century BCE-1st century CE.

Valence: Mauboule

Iron Age (indigenous) settlement near Valence appears to have been abandoned before the formal foundation of the city.

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