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Sophie Bouffier and Dominique Garcia, *Greek Marseille and Mediterranean Celtic Region*. New York: Peter Lang, 2017. 304 pp. \$97.95 (cl). ISBN 1433132044.

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Greek Marseille and Mediterranean Celtic Region, edited by Sophie Bouffier and Dominique Garcia, represents a selected collection and synthesis of the last 25 years of archaeological and historical scholarship on southern Gaul. The focus is, for the most part, squarely on Greco-Roman encounters and interactions with indigenous Celts and Ligurians, although some chapters fall outside those parameters.

In the introduction, the editors describe the scope and aim of the volume, emphasizing that the authors have eschewed traditional Hellenocentric narratives. Instead, they “purposely moved the focus on the indigenous (Celtic and Ligurian) populations and offer innovative insight by scrutinizing the political, economic and cultural fields of the relationships between the Greek migrants and the populations they started to meet...” (p. 1). For the most part, this is correct, though this methodological shift is more explicit in some chapters than in others. Another benefit of this volume is that for the first time, this scholarship, of which parts have previously been published in French, is presented in English.

Chapters range geographically from a broad description of coastline evolution along the French Mediterranean (chapter one) to very specific focus on Marseille itself (in particular chapter nine). The organization of the chapters within this volume is not chronological, but begins with the paleoenvironment and ends with a theoretical chapter on the role of prehistoric Mediterranean Gaul within the greater scope of history.

The remainder of this review will tackle the strengths and weaknesses of individual chapters and conclude with comments on the utility of this volume as a whole. Due to space constraints, not every single chapter can be commented on. Following the reviewer’s own areas of specialization, this assessment will concentrate mainly on the material culture and historical chapters, as well as the book’s broader impact.

In the first chapter, Leveau explains how recent decades’ emphasis on interdisciplinary collaboration between geologists and archaeologists have greatly aided understanding of the paleoenvironment, and this chapter reviews the breakthroughs of such recent work (p. 7). Detailed maps accompany each section, with archaeological sites and modern regional names included. Based on the most recent scientific and interdisciplinary research, Leveau summarizes and updates archaeological and geological information for the entire coastline. While the English translation in this chapter is at times awkward, Leveau provides important background necessary to understanding site placement along the coast.

The second chapter turns to ethnicity. Bouffier and Garcia contribute a much-needed update on our knowledge of pre-Roman indigenous groups, which had been primarily shaped by Guy Barruol’s 1969 work (p. 39).^[1] A main benefit of their explicitly anthropological approach is that pre-Roman indigenous groups are analyzed under the assumption that they are not static, but constantly evolving

agents of historical and socio-political change. Instead of defining individual and distinct groups with rigid characteristics, Bouffier and Garcia suggest “layered” identities that share aspects of multiple different ethnicities. Such an interpretation is supported by the archaeological evidence, where, for example, “Ligurian” funeral sites do not differ significantly from “Celtic” ones (p. 48). Their contribution reminds us that we need to consider very carefully the history of the terms we use, especially when they can separate and marginalize groups. This chapter is a welcome update to recent studies on ethnogenesis.

The third chapter further complicates the narrative about indigenous inhabitants of this region. The authors trace the evolution of pre-contact sites and settlement patterns using archaeological evidence. They document a shift from smaller, acephalous settlements, which may, they argue, have had matrilineal aspects (though evidence for this is not presented), to more centralized settlements with an elite that adopted intensified agrarian practices and demonstrated larger-scale collective works such as fortifications. The use of Jared Diamond’s typology of societies seems misplaced, as more nuanced discussions of ethnicity exist in recent archaeological literature, and the translation includes word choices that are unfamiliar to Anglophone readers, such as “spawning” for new settlement foundations.[2] The authors conclude that in the first half of the sixth century BCE, the Greek community was more integrated with Celtic society. With increased demand on agricultural cultivation and accompanying competition, a kind of “Mediterraneanization” occurred, in which the Celts closest to the shore adopted new cultural, social, and economic frameworks shared with the Greek settlers.

Garcia and Sourisseau begin their chapter on trade and conceptual history of the southern coastline by problematizing the term “colony,” which, as many others have shown, is both anachronistic and misleading.[3] The main contribution of this chapter is that it reviews and summarizes how traditional interpretations of these communities have changed over the past 50 years. Giving agency back to the indigenous inhabitants, the authors place them into the same network of “Mediterraneanization” that Greeks and Etruscans were participating in. Greek settlers were brokers of the early trade exchanges, the authors argue, rather than producers or controllers. Changes accompanying trade relations eventually led to a reorganizing of indigenous economic networks around cereal production, work specialization, and sedentism. That trade was strictly regulated and controlled is documented in several lead contract tablets, from Pech-Maho, Lattes, and Emporion. The authors conclude that recent multi-disciplinary methodologies have led to the rejection of Hellenocentric approaches and an emphasis on indigenous agency. This chapter is one of the ones that explicitly fulfills the editors’ aims described in the introduction.

Chapters five and six reinterpret and re-examine the written sources on Marseille; Stephanus’ *Ethnica*, and Athenaeus, Aristotle, and Harpocration, respectively. Bouffier and Claire’s re-interpretation of sources on political and social structure of the ancient town argues for the establishment of a mixed regime after the second wave of migration, which later “froze around a closed oligarchy, reserved to the families... [of] the first two centuries of life in the city” (p. 131). Some minor editorial issues plague this chapter, such as that passages quoted from the ancient sources are sometimes printed in Greek, sometimes in English, and sometimes both. The main benefit of these chapters is a reconsideration of the geographical, ethnic, political, and social situation of Massalia with a reinterpretation of the available literary evidence.

Tréziny discusses the urban landscape of Marseille and its Ionian characteristics, including the cult of Artemis of Ephesus. His comprehensive assessment of archaeological evidence leads to the conclusion that Massaliotes gathered a diversity of Ionian cults that identified strongly with specific locations in Ionia. He argues that Massalia was at first an “Ionian” city, and the Phocaeen characteristics surface only after the second half of the sixth century. He disagrees with older scholarship, which designated Massliote territory as very limited, and concludes that the town was a true *apoikia*; one that integrated well in the context of other western Mediterranean poleis.

Bernard, Bouffier, and Isoardi tackle the topic of Greek-indigenous relationships (confusingly translated as “rhythms”) from another angle. The repeated and well-documented foundation legend, they write, has “blinded historiography” (p.151). Basing their argument on the last ten years of archaeological research, they propose an updated interpretation of the territory of the city. After a history of scholarship, followed by discussion of the Strabo and Justin’s foundation myths, the authors destabilize the myth of a turning point around 600 BCE, when native societies “became Greek” (i.e., civilized). A useful map of the number of Greek and native settlements from the last quarter of the eighth to the first half of the fifth century is included. Using a thorough survey of the most important and best studied native sites, the authors document how trade steadily increases over time as the native settlements shift and change character. The conclusion emphasizes that one can no longer speak of Marseille as a city without territory, as traditionally has been the case, but that the city must be considered as inextricably linked with its surroundings.

Hermay’s chapter on Greek cults is useful in light of the circumstance that no definitive locations of cult- or temple sites have been found in the ancient town. He therefore recruits written, numismatic, and material evidence, most prominently votive objects, including archaic Naskoi. This chapter is likely as close as one can get at this time to determining the major and minor cults of Greek Massalia. Hermay agrees with Tréziny in concluding that cults are based on Ionian models, including Athena from Phocaea, Milet’s Apollo Delphinios, and the Ephesian Artemis.

Vishnia compiles and analyzes sources on the Roman relationship with Marseille and the Gauls between the First and Second Punic wars. A main point in this chapter is that the Ebro Treaty was signed to benefit a third party: neither Rome nor Carthage, but rather Marseille’s Spanish colonies. The author makes the argument that Rome could not afford to alienate Marseille at this time because of Gallic mercenaries, and that the two cities were in a mutually beneficial, though constantly evolving, friendly relationship, which would have been strengthened through the renewal of treaties until Marseille chose the wrong side in 49 BCE.

Carre argues in chapter eleven that even though the narrative of early Marseille as a trading city and emporion, and a place of redistribution, persists, it also developed its own resources, evident in wine production. Massiliote buff ceramics found at many sites in southern Gaul are interpreted to signify a Greek trade monopoly, contradicting somewhat the narrative of previous chapters in this volume. The author then examines the sources and other evidence for the evolution of commerce in Marseille up until its conquest by the Romans.

Dedet updates our understanding of funerary practices in southern Gaul. With its analysis of a number of recently excavated necropoleis, this chapter aims to rectify previous neglect of this evidence. Useful maps and charts with the locations, demography, and finds from the different sites studied accompany the text. The author presents a thorough and scientific evaluation of the evidence, concluding that funeral customs become a privileged criterion for cultural identification: no Greek style burial was found in native *oppida*, and no indigenous style burial was found in Massalia or in Adge. Dedet proposes the following explanation for this phenomenon: in the case of a mixed marriage, the local wife would either be interred in the Greek style in the Greek necropolis, or sent back to her home to be buried in the way of her people. This interpretation provides an interesting counterpoint to the post-structural idea of mutable identity as laid out by Bouffier and Garcia in the second chapter. While other explanations for the localized rigidity of funeral customs ought to be considered, the author presents a comprehensive review and persuasive argument based on the relevant archaeological data.

Boissinot summarizes excavations of the vineyards at Saint-Jean Du Désert, which help scholars understand the importance of viticulture for the city. Multiple plans, photos, and diagrams illustrate this chapter. The author uses the oldest available land registries to reconstruct how the agrarian area would have been divided (which is translated as “fragmented”). Using historic data combined with archaeological results, the author reconstructs the likely axes of orientation of the ancient vineyards, as

well as their subdivisions. The combined elements suggest the existence of an agrarian planning system to the east of the city. Even though the suburbs of Marseille are difficult to study due to their dense settlement, Boissinot's analysis of land registries makes a strong case for the organization of agrarian spaces in antiquity.

In chapter fourteen, Pomey revisits the main findings of twenty years of study of the seven shipwrecks found at the Place Jules-Verne. He focuses in particular on two; the Jules-Verne 7 and 9, which are reasonably well preserved and shed important light on shipbuilding techniques in antiquity. Pomey provides helpful diagrams and photos to demonstrate the main difference in the construction of these two ships: sewn hull vs. mortise and tenon construction. The Greco-Massiliote wrecks of the Place Jules-Verne show, in the same historical context, two different systems of assembly. A description of the associated experimental archaeology follows, which included construction of the *Gyptis*, a full-size reconstruction used to test efficiency under sail. Recruiting other examples from the Mediterranean, the author demonstrates that we can now follow the architectural tradition of the same type of light boats from the beginning of the sixth to the end of the fourth century.

Bats wraps up the book with a more theoretical contribution, identifying the "Middle Ground," which he regards as "a virtual sphere that includes several actual and ever-evolving social spheres (economic, political, linguistic and cultural), and, that is, as such, never completed regarding the continuous construction of its constituents" (p. 281).

Bats examines these spheres of cultural connection between Greeks and Celts, discussing a variety of different means and places of contact. In some instances, the material record shows resistance to influence from the Greeks (apparent in the modeled urns, Celtic sculpture, and the practice of decapitation). In others, a certain hybridity is evident, particularly in pottery shapes and decoration. Syncretism is also evident in the realm of wine consumption and feasting, for which evidence in graves intensifies over time. While Bats takes a conservative approach in considering the possibility of mixed settlements, he allows for the possibility of small groups or families to settle in non-culturally specific groups. The best examples for this come from domestic architecture and abecedaria found in Lattes. The final chapter is the perfect conclusion for this volume. Bats resists simplifying narratives, considering carefully a variety of archaeological contexts and finds and the ways in which they do, or do not, change after arrival of the Greeks. He successfully shows that interactions were complex, multi-faceted, and not always driven by the new arrivals.

Overall, this volume will be useful for scholars of Greek-indigenous relationships in a variety of ancient historical and geographical contexts. Of great value is the presentation of this work, much of it published previously in French, in the English language. Given that this is a stated aim of the editors, it is unfortunate, as is already apparent with the missing article in the title, that translations of the chapters are so inconsistent. Otherwise, a more comprehensive bibliography of sources at the end, as well as overview maps relating to the entire volume, would have been helpful. Outside of these admittedly minor issues, any scholar of the ancient Mediterranean, of colonization, or of ethnicity will benefit from this book.

NOTES

[1] Guy Barruol, *Les peuples préromains du Sud-Est de la Gaule. Étude de géographie historique* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1969).

[2] Michael Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015); Sian Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[3] Robin Osborne, "Early Greek colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the west," *Archaic Greece*, Nick Fisher and Hans van Wees, eds. (London: Classical Press of Wales, 1998), pp. 251-69.

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