

Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](http://www.sciencedirect.com)

## Journal of Anthropological Archaeology

journal homepage: [www.elsevier.com/locate/jaa](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/jaa)

# Equality, inequality, and the problem of “Elites” in late Iron Age Eastern Languedoc (Mediterranean France), ca. 400–125 BC



Benjamin P. Luley

Departments of Classics and Anthropology, Gettysburg College, 300 North Washington Street, Gettysburg, PA 17325, United States

## ARTICLE INFO

## Article history:

Received 16 June 2015

Revision received 15 October 2015

## Keywords:

Social power  
Egalitarian societies  
Colonialism  
Iron Age Europe  
Mediterranean France

## ABSTRACT

This article investigates the ways discernible in the material record by which individuals obtained influence and power in late Iron Age (ca. 425–125 BC) Eastern Languedoc in Mediterranean France. Specifically, the article examines the extent to which the control over agricultural production, the control over the circulation of prestige goods, and a monopoly on the use of violence may have been used by individuals to influence and direct group activity. Although archaeologists have often portrayed Iron Age Mediterranean France, as well as Iron Age Europe more generally, as being dominated by a class of warrior aristocrats, an examination of the material evidence in regard to these three aspects of political power suggests that in fact, late Iron Age society in Eastern Languedoc was fairly egalitarian, with political power diffused and open to a large number of competing adults. A real socio-economic hierarchy based upon classes only emerged under the influence of the Roman colonial state in the first century BC. Far from offering any analytical precision, the overly broad term “elite” in this way actually obscures important changes in political strategies occurring under Roman colonialism.

© 2015 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

## 1. Introduction

*“I have often heard of Indian Kings, but never saw any. – How any term used by the Indians in their own tongue, for the chief man of a nation, could be rendered King, I know not. The chief of a nation is neither a supreme ruler, monarch, or potentate – He can neither make war or peace, leagues or treaties – He cannot impress soldiers, or dispose of magazines – He cannot adjourn, prorogue or dissolve a general assembly, nor can he refuse his assent to their conclusions, or in any manner controul [sic] them. . . The chief of a nation has to hunt for his living, as any other citizen.”* (Colonel James Smith, 1755, quoted in [Wallace, 2005](#): 53).

When European colonists in the modern age encountered other peoples throughout the world, it was not unusual for these explorers to assume that the foreign people they met had political institutions similar to those in Western society. As a result, they would often refer to non-European leaders by using Western terms, and assume that these leaders held power and influence in similar ways to Western rulers. Famous examples of this tendency include European explorers in North America referring to the Native American elders of prominent clans as “kings”, as illustrated by the quote above penned by a European in colonial America in 1755, or the British government in colonial Africa imagining that certain social positions had a real political authority, which they often

lacked, as with the famous Leopard Skin “chiefs” of the Nuer. Indeed, in some cases it was the European colonial state that in fact created local positions of power in places where such positions had previously been nonexistent. In a similar way, it is equally misleading to imagine that ancient societies thought of power and politics in the same terms that we understand them today in the modern capitalist West.

While archaeologists of Iron age Europe (ca. 750–50 BC) have often described Iron Age society as hierarchical and dominated by a class of aristocratic warriors who controlled economic production, the archaeological evidence in fact often points to a great variety of political forms which rarely conform to modern notions of power and which do not fit into preconceived political typologies (see for example the discussion in [Hill, 2006](#); [Thurston, 2010](#)). This article investigates the material evidence for the different ways by which individuals may have obtained influence and power within the context of late Iron Age (ca. 400–125 BC) Mediterranean France, specifically in the region of Eastern Languedoc (especially the modern French *départements* of the Gard and the Hérault). Far from attesting to a socio-economic hierarchy or a system of power rooted in economic domination, the archaeological evidence discussed here suggests that political power in late Iron Age Eastern Languedoc was relatively egalitarian, in the sense that there were no fixed socio-economic classes, and that access to power

or influence over group decisions was often likely open to a fairly large number of competing adults.

Furthermore, an analysis of the specific ways in which power or influence may have been obtained before the Roman conquest of 125–121 BC, as opposed to a descriptive approach using an overly broad term such as “elite”, suggests that the ensuing period of Roman colonialism was a significant rupture, rather than a continuity, in indigenous life. In this sense, rather than offering any kind of practical analysis, use of the overly general term “elite” does more to obscure the ways by which power and influence were accrued in society and how this changed over time. More broadly, this article suggests that at least in some cases, whether ethnographic or archaeological, it is more productive to view the emergence of socio-economic inequality not in terms of a gradual, internal evolution, but rather as the result of the imposition of fundamentally different relationships between economy, power, and control over the means of production.

## 2. From political typologies to political actors

One of the fundamental areas of research in archaeology has traditionally been the emergence of the state, with the concomitant emergence of socio-economic and political inequality (e.g. Flannery and Marcus, 2012; Johnson and Earle, 2000; Price and Feinman, 2010; Trigger, 2003). Generally speaking, this emergent inequality is conceived of in terms of “unequal access to goods, information, decision making, and power” (Price and Feinman, 2010: 2). However, whereas more traditionally archaeologists have focused on the identification and description in the archaeological record of specific forms of socio-political organization, such as band, tribe, chiefdom, and state, and their evolution over time (e.g. Carneiro, 1970; Earle, 1997; Flannery, 1972), more recently, a growing body of literature has instead increasingly focused on the strategies observable in the material record of different social actors in acquiring and maintaining power (among many other studies see for example Campbell, 2009; Glatz, 2009; Leone, 2005; Routledge, 2004; for a discussion of this development see Hansen and Stepputat, 2006; Smith, 2011). Thus, it is equally important to not just categorize societies by type according to how they were organized politically, but rather to understand politics as a process in which different social actors seek to gain influence or power through different means, some of which can be discernible in the material record.

In contrast, however, archaeologists of Iron Age Europe have often largely remained fixed on identifying specific political typologies and the presence of “elites” in the archaeological record (e.g. Arnold and Gibson, 1995; Brun, 1987, 1995; Brun and Ruby, 2008; Collis, 1995; Hedeager, 1992; Perrin and Decourt, 2002). One of the recurring themes in many of these studies is the suggestion that socio-political inequality emerged in late prehistoric Europe as these “elites” gradually assumed control over access to material resources, especially so-called “prestige goods” (e.g. Bintliff, 1984; Brun, 1987; Earle, 1997, 2002; Wells, 1984). Indeed, some studies have seemingly implied that a fundamental and universal characteristic of all Iron Age Celtic societies was that they were all “inegalitarian”, “strongly hierarchic”, and controlled by a “warrior aristocracy” (e.g. Cunliffe, 1997: 25, 107; Megaw, 1996: 178). Although these studies, often evolutionary in orientation, have revealed certain trends, there has also been a tendency to homogenize a great deal of socio-political diversity in European Iron Age societies (Hill, 2006: 172), as well as overlook more recent theoretical developments within archaeology, and especially anthropology more generally. Indeed, Tina Thurston (2010: 206) has recently suggested that, “A large number of Iron Age specialists, at least in terms of acknowledgment or citation, appear un-

ware of the origins of familiar ideas about elites, power, and hierarchy, or that they have been supplanted by much more interesting and complex ideas over the last 30 years.”

This has certainly been true for Iron Age Mediterranean France (ca. 750–125 BC), where the vast majority of scholarship in regard to power and socio-political organization has focused on the question of whether so-called “elites” existed in Iron Age indigenous societies. The various opinions on the matter range from interpreting these Iron Age societies as relatively “egalitarian” (*égalitaire*) or “communal” (*communautaire*), although nevertheless with political leaders (e.g. Py, 1990: 173–77, 2012: 281–83), to suggesting that these societies were dominated by a class of aristocratic warriors controlling the agricultural production of the countryside from rural estates outside of the main settlements (e.g. Arcelin, 1999; Arcelin and Gruat, 2003; Clavel, 1975; Jannoray, 1955: 265–66). In regard to this latter interpretation, which tends to be the more vocal of the two, there is in particular an emphasis on the use of the terms “dominating class” and “aristocrat” to describe the presumed “elites” of Iron Age Mediterranean France. Archaeologists, for example, have argued that Iron Age society was “very hierarchical” and that, “The base of power would have fundamentally been that of an oligarchic class” (Arcelin and Rapin, 2002: 32; see also Bernard, 2002: 71). However, the implication and meaning of these terms is not always discussed in any great detail (Py, 2012: 246).

Although the term “elite” is quite ubiquitous as well, it is rarely defined, and the term is used equally for both the Iron Age and the Roman period, which, as shall be argued, ultimately obscures important changes brought about by Roman colonialism. Here then, it is important to explicitly note that in this case “class” refers to a “a ranked group within a hierarchically stratified society whose membership is defined primarily in terms of wealth, occupation, or other economic criteria” (author’s emphasis, Schultz and Lavenda, 2014: 312). Societies with social classes are thus “stratified” in that “adults have differential rights of access to basic resources” (Fried, 1967: 52), with status differences therefore being directly based upon economic differences. “Aristocrat” here refers in a very strict sense (although not in the etymological sense of the term) to a social class of wealthy land-owners, set apart by a system of inherited titles and roles, who control, either directly or indirectly, a great deal of the means of agricultural production in a society (see for example Morgan, 1962: 133). As with the term “elite”, it is important to note that the term “aristocrat” has often been used by anthropologists in other, broader senses of the word. Evans-Pritchard (1969: 215), for example, used the term “aristocrat” to translate the Nuer concept of *diel* (someone with a greater level of prestige in Nuer society). Evans-Pritchard, emphatically noted, however, that his use of the term “aristocrat” did not in any way imply any kind of social rank or position of power, and indeed, that the Nuer were on the contrary fiercely egalitarian. As mentioned, in general part of the problem with the archaeology of Iron Age Mediterranean France in regard to the question of inequality and power is that there has not always been a critical discussion of the terms used for analysis. Lastly, we can think of “power”, at least in a comparative, etc, and heuristic sense as “the ability to influence others and/or gain influence over the control of valued action” (Cohen, 1970: 31). However, it is important to note, as we shall shortly see, that this definition, in which power involves a relationship between people, is very much rooted in Western conceptions of socio-political relations. Furthermore, while the notion of “power” often implies in some way the ability to coerce people to do things they normally would be averse to doing, in fact, what we shall see is that in many cases this ability is so limited that “influence” may in some cases be a more suitable term to employ than “power.”

Used in the way stated here then, the terms “class” and “aristocracy” necessarily involve a direct relation between power, in the sense of the definition given above, and the control of economic resources. Under the influence of Western capitalism, modern scholars have often assumed that power in all cases is based upon differential access to material resources, rather than viewing this as an important characteristic of power within capitalism, albeit not a characteristic that is unique to it (Anderson, 1972). However, although archaeologists have often emphasized economic domination as the principle means of creating and maintaining positions of power and social hierarchy in ancient societies, it is important to point out that for many non-industrial societies documented ethnographically, control over access to material goods is not always an important means of acquiring influence and power. Indeed, in many non-industrial societies, power or influence is not conceived of in terms of a social relationship of dominance, as is the case in the industrialized Western world, but rather as an independent force or substance that can in certain circumstances be manipulated by individuals (Anderson, 1972; Colson, 1977; Issacs, 1977). Thus, “In most North American societies, men and women sought to enhance themselves not by the accumulation first of material resources, but rather by gaining contact with spiritual forces” (Colson, 1977: 384). Power in this sense can in some cases even be conceived of as autonomy from outside forces, rather than control over others, with social coercion seen as an evil (Colson, 1977). Furthermore, any differential access to material goods is a tangible *result* of possessing spiritual power, rather than a necessary basis for obtaining power.

Among the Zuni of the American Southwest for example, the ability to influence the group was originally in the hands of priests, and their social importance was based upon access to spiritual power, rather than material wealth, with the Spanish conquerors imposing a more “secular” political office (Bunzel, 1938: 336–37). Likewise, among the Tiv of Central Nigeria, an agricultural society numbering some 800,000 people in 1952, the word “power” can often be translated by the word *tsav*, which is conceived of as a substance that sets its possessor apart from others (Bohannan, 1958; Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953). However, possessing *tsav* is considered dangerous, and “In a furiously egalitarian society like that of the Tiv, such power sets a man apart; it is distrusted, for Tiv believe firmly that no one can rise above his fellows except at their expense.” (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953: 84) Far from being an actual source of power, having material resources is therefore a *result* of possessing *tsav*, and “Relative influence and relative wealth thus can be, and are, phrased as ranking in degree of *tsav*, and *tsav* is believed always to operate at the expense of others” (Bohannan, 1958: 55).

There is thus an important difference in political strategies in regard to the extent to which the accumulation or control of material resources constitutes the ultimate means by which one can influence or control the decision making of others. Following from this, it is therefore quite possible to have a society, even one relatively large in population, in which control over material resources is ultimately unrelated, or very indirectly, to individuals acquiring social power or influence in various forms. Along similar lines, even in quite large societies it is possible for the distribution of power to be so disparate that there are no formal positions of authority, as has been noted in numerous agricultural-based African societies (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1940; Middleton and Tait, 1958). A well-known example comes from the Nuer of Southern Sudan, who numbered around 200,000 people in 1940 (Evans-Pritchard, 1969: 3; although Hutchinson, 1996: 26 suggests that these estimates may have been too low). Concerning these Nuer, Evans-Pritchard (1969: 181) famously said, “His turbulent spirit finds any restraint irksome and no man recognizes a superior. Wealth

makes no difference. A man with many cattle is envied, but not treated differently from a man with few cattle.” Although the term “egalitarianism” can vary greatly (see for example Fried, 1967: 33), here, “egalitarianism” prefers precisely to this: societies in which the ability to control or influence the group is not concentrated in a few individuals, but is rather spread throughout society, and in which there are few or no differences in material wealth between different individuals or groups within society. More specifically, in egalitarian societies then, there is usually no direct correlation between political power and influence and control over material resources.

Following from this, ideally one would first examine the indigenous conceptions of power among the societies of Iron Age Mediterranean France, and only then in turn analyze the different means for acquiring power or influence in society, the relation that these means may have had to economic exchanges, and how these means may have changed under the later colonial influences of the Roman state. Unfortunately, there are no ancient histories or ethnographic descriptions that would allow for any real analysis in regard to this former aspect. Furthermore, the very nature of archaeology makes it much easier to evaluate the importance of material resources for obtaining political power or influence, rather than immaterial resources, which could perhaps explain the traditional focus in archaeology on the former in any discussion of socio-political organization. As a matter of necessity, this article therefore first examines the possible ways that social actors may have obtained power or influence in Iron Age society, focusing on three traditional themes in regard to political power: control over agricultural resources, control over the circulation of prestige goods, and a monopoly on the use of “legitimate” violence (see for example Mann, 2012). In many traditional African societies with centralized rulers that have been documented ethnographically, for example, not only do these rulers have a larger household/house than commoners, but they are also the richest members of society, receiving tribute in grain as well as more prestigious goods such as cattle and metal objects, and also control the army and fighting (see for example Gluckman, 1940; Nadal, 1967; Schapera, 1940; Oberg, 1940). Archaeologically, one would expect to find in hierarchical societies a concentration of agricultural resources and prestige goods among a restricted group in society, visible in the material record in ways such as a rare or imported objects being found in only certain houses or in certain burials, as well as the presence of large, and often guarded, storage rooms for hoarding agricultural surpluses and other goods. By contrast, in more egalitarian societies we should expect to see economic resources accessible to all groups, and no concentration of agricultural or prestige goods among restricted sections of society.

Finally, it is important to remember that there can be a great deal of political variability within a single geographic region, even among culturally similar peoples. Indeed, one of the problems with traditional archaeological approaches to Iron Age Europe has arguably been the trend toward generalizing political systems and treating Iron Age Europe as a whole, rather than looking at the possibility of regional diversity. The ethnographic record in places such as Africa (e.g. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1940; Middleton and Tait, 1958) makes it clear that even in relatively small geographical regions, there can be a great diversity of political systems. One thinks, for example, of the great diversity noted by ethnographers in the South Sudan, with societies ranging from centralized polities with kings, such as the Shilluk who were ruled by the *ret* (king) (Westermann, 1970), to very large but decentralized societies lacking any fixed political leaders, such as the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard, 1969) or the Dinka (Lienhardt, 1958). For this reason, this article examines a specific part of Mediterranean France, namely that of Eastern Languedoc, and does not presume that the conclusions concerning power and political organization



made here for this area are necessarily applicable to other parts of Mediterranean France or Catalonia. Indeed, even in looking at the area of Eastern Languedoc, something that is necessary in order to have enough comparable archaeological data, it is possible that some political variability may be lost in the analysis.

### 3. A background to Iron Age Mediterranean France

The region referred to here as Mediterranean France includes the modern administrative *régions* of Languedoc-Roussillon and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (Fig. 1). Archaeologists refer to the period from approximately 750 to 125 BC as the Iron Age (for the specific chronological periods, see Py, 2012: 19). The Roman Republic conquered Mediterranean France in a series of campaigns between 125 and 121 BC and established the colony of Narbo Martius (modern Narbonne) in 118 BC. Today, there is a general agreement among archaeologists that throughout the entire period of the Iron Age, the area of Mediterranean France approximately to the west of the Hérault River, including what is now Western Languedoc and Roussillon, as well as Catalonia to the southwest, was occupied by Iberians, speaking a now-extinct non-Indo-European language. To the east of the Hérault River in the basin of the lower Rhône River, including both Eastern Languedoc and Western Provence, the region was occupied by Celtic peoples, speaking a language related to modern Celtic languages such as Gaelic, Breton, and Welsh (for general works on Iron Age Mediterranean France, see Dietler, 2010; Garcia, 2004; Py, 2012; for Catalonia, see Sanmartí and Santacana, 2005).<sup>1</sup> During the Iron Age, two important developments occurred among these Iberian and Celtic peoples. The first was the creation of long-term commercial relations with Etruscan and Greek merchants and colonists, especially after the founding of the Phocæan Greek colony of Massalia (modern Marseille) in 600 BC. These commercial relations revolved around the importation of wine and fineware ceramic drinking vessels into the region. The second development was the concentration of a large part of the indigenous population into densely settled, fortified towns often referred to by archaeologists by the Latin term *oppida* (sing. *oppidum*). These oppida were often located on commanding hills or at strategic points along rivers and were protected by strong defensive walls and towers built of stone and mud brick. By the end of the fifth century BC, the inside of these settlements consisted of long rows of small stone and mud brick houses separated by narrow streets.

Throughout the Iron Age, these oppida were important centers for the indigenous populations. At the same time, the expansion of salvage archaeology in the past decade has significantly expanded our understanding of the relationship between these fortified settlements and the surrounding countryside (e.g. Favory and Fiches, 1994; Garcia and Verdin, 2002; Garcia et al., 2007; Mauné, 1998; Sauvage, 1996). Numerous surveys have demonstrated that throughout the sixth and fifth centuries BC there were a large number of isolated farms and other buildings in the countryside, corresponding with a period in which the oppida were less densely settled and were generally more numerous. During the fourth through the third centuries BC, however, rural farms and establishments became exceedingly rare. At the same time, many of the oppida exhibited signs of a growing population and an increasing density of settlement within the ramparts of the oppida. During

the second century BC, and especially at the end of this century, there was apparently a new population growth, with oppida expanding in size (such as Nages in Eastern Languedoc or Entremont in Western Languedoc) as well as numerous farms appearing in the countryside as well.

The data used in this article come from published archaeological reports, as well as the author's own research, specifically in regard to the distribution of ceramics at the site of Lattara (today the modern town of Lattes). Although archaeological work in Eastern Languedoc has been extensive (see especially Py, 1990), very few oppida have been excavated extensively enough to thoroughly compare different areas within an oppidum. For example, although the Roman occupation at the oppidum of Ambrussum has been well documented, and although the Iron Age necropolis has been recently published, the Iron Age occupation of the oppidum itself at Ambrussum has to date been little explored. Likewise, although the Iron Age occupation at the site of Lattara has been systematically excavated since 1983, the necropolis corresponding with the Iron Age necropolis of the site has never been identified. As such, the article relies on data from numerous sites in Eastern Languedoc, but relies in particular on data from the site of Lattara, the most thoroughly excavated site for the Iron Age, especially in regard to comparing quantitative ceramic data within a single site. It should be noted that this reliance on certain types of quantitative data from a single site admittedly renders some of the conclusions in this article ultimately somewhat tentative for the moment, and underscores the need for further excavation of oppida that have already been explored.

### 4. Political institutions and social organization in Iron Age Mediterranean Gaul

Before discussing the different material strategies of social actors in obtaining influence, it is useful to briefly review the scant textual evidence for political organization in Iron Age Gaul. However, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, there is always a certain danger in assuming that political institutions under colonial influences or rule correspond to precolonial indigenous political systems. For example, there is abundant ethnographic evidence from modern colonialism in Africa that colonial states often significantly transformed existing political institutions among colonized people, going so far as to actually create political positions where none existed previously (Dorward, 1969; Lloyd, 1975; Mair, 1971; Rigby, 1971). Furthermore, it is also quite clear from the ethnographic record that explorers and colonizers often mistranslated or misunderstood indigenous political institutions. That being the case, there are essentially no surviving ancient texts written before the Roman conquest of the region that describe the political structure specifically of this region during the Iron Age in any kind of detail. Although Polybius, writing in the second half of the second century BC, described Hannibal's encounter with the Celtic peoples of the lower Rhône Basin during the Carthaginian general's invasion of Italy in 218 BC (2.17), he is mute on any kind of political organization or leadership positions for the people specifically of Mediterranean France. In other parts of his account, however, he does mention "nobles" (βασιλίσκοι) among the Celtic peoples of the Po Valley in Italy (3.44.5) and "leaders" or "chieftains" (ἡγεμόνες) among the Allobroges closer to the Alps (3.50.2–3). Beyond this, there is only one relevant source written before the last three quarters of the first century BC, when the Roman state began to have a significant impact on Celtic societies of Mediterranean Gaul, including the creation of a colonial administrative system.

This one work is a now lost history and ethnography written by a Greek philosopher and scholar named Poseidonios of Apameia,

<sup>1</sup> I refer to these peoples of Mediterranean Gaul as "Celts", rather than "Gauls" in following the distinction made by the ancient Greek writer Poseidonios, who likely sojourned among the Celtic peoples of Mediterranean Gaul sometime around 100 BC. As quoted in Diodorus Siculus (5.32.1), Poseidonios refers to the people along the Mediterranean coast as "Celts" (Κέλται), and the people to the north in temperate Gaul as "Galatians" (Γαλατῶται). Strabo (4.1.14) also states that originally the peoples of Mediterranean Gaul were referred to as "Celts" (Κέλται).



Fig. 1. Map of Iron Age Mediterranean France during the fourth-second centuries BC.

who likely voyaged in Mediterranean Gaul sometime around 100 BC, approximately one generation after the Roman conquest. Unfortunately, Poseidonios offers essentially no details about specific Celtic peoples, preferring instead to treat them as a whole, as was typical of ancient ethnographies. However, when referring in general to “most” (πλείους) Celtic political systems, he states that they elected one leader (ἡγεμόν) every year, as well as also annually electing one war leader (στρατηγός). He also mentions that the Celts had councils (συμβόρια) (these remarks of Poseidonios are now preserved in Strabo 4.4.3; for a reconstruction of Poseidonios’ ethnography in regard to the Celts see Tierney, 1960). Elsewhere, Poseidonios implies the presence of powerful or influential men in Celtic society, describing how at feasts, the most important man (κράτιστος) would sit in the middle of a circle, and that his importance was due to either his skill in warfare (πολεμική εὐχέρεια), his “descent” (γένος) (perhaps related to some kind of kinship ranking of lineages or clans), or his wealth (πλοῦτος) (in this case these references are now preserved in Athenaeus 4.36). Finally, Poseidonios also mentions the importance of three groups of people in Celtic society: Bards, who were poets and singers, vates, who were seers specialized in sacrifice and divination, and druids, a group of priestly figures who also acted as arbitrators and judges (Strabo 4.4.4).

Writing in the second half of the first century BC, the Roman author Livy echoes what Poseidonios records when he describes Hannibal’s march across Mediterranean Gaul, referring again to councils (*conclia*) and magistrates, as well as *principes* (Livy 31.20), a rather broad term that could perhaps refer to the elected leaders referred to by Poseidonios (see Vial, 2011: 24). Describing events near the Iberian settlement of Illiberis (modern Elne in Roussillon, and thus outside the area of this study), he also mentions *reguli* (petty kings or leaders) (Livy 21.24), a title which some

have suggested is simply the Latin word used to describe the elected war leaders of the Celts (Sereni, 1957: 77). Similarly, several texts dating to the first century BC and first century AD, when describing the Roman conquest of Western Provence and the people known as the Sallies in Greek and the Saluvii in Latin, refer to a certain King (*rex*) Toutomotulus of the Sallies (Appian 4.12.1; Livy, Summaries 61). As mentioned, however, it would likely be presumptuous to assume that this position corresponded necessarily with the Roman concept of *rex*. Finally, it should be noted that during the second and first centuries BC, the indigenous oppidum of Baeterrae (Béziers, in the Hérault valley just to the west of Eastern Languedoc) minted a series of coins with a legend in Greek characters containing a Celtic proper name, presumably that of a leader or magistrate, followed by the Greek title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (“king”) (Py, 2012: 277).

There is no mention in any ancient text dating to before the Roman conquest of 125–121 BC of any kind of political structure grouping together the different oppida. After the Roman conquest, and particularly in the last three quarters of the first century BC, there are numerous references, both from ancient texts as well as from inscriptions, of a people named the Volcae Arecomici, who inhabited Eastern Languedoc (Vial, 2011). The extent to which this reflects an indigenous ethnic concept or political organization from before the conquest, or whether this was largely a creation of the Roman colonial administration, is still very much debated by archaeologists (see for example Py, 1974, 2012: 276–77; Vial, 2011). For example, there is epigraphic evidence for the existence of a single magistrate (*Praetor Volcarum*) for the Volcae Arecomici as a whole for the period 50–25 BC (Christol and Goudineau, 1987: 93–96; Christol et al., 2005). It is possible that this magisterial position was similar to the indigenous position of *Vergobretus* described by Julius Caesar for Temperate Gaul (Lewuillon, 2002).



However, many scholars suggest that the position, at least in terms of a position with authority over all of the Volcae Arecomici, was a creation of the Roman colonial administration, and indeed, may have been filled by Italian colonists rather than native Celts (Christol et al., 2005).

In general, most archaeologists are in agreement that before the Roman conquest the individual oppida were likely grouped together into some kind of a loose confederacy, within which each oppidum was relatively autonomous (Py, 1990: 177–181). Particularly telling is the numismatic evidence. When certain oppida in Eastern Languedoc began to mint their own coins at the end of the second century BC, they always used the name of the oppidum on the legend, rather than referring to any kind of a larger political entity. Nemausus (modern Nîmes), for example, was the first indigenous oppidum in Eastern Languedoc to mint its own coins, beginning around 125 BC, with small bronze coins bearing the legend NAMAΣAT and silver drachmae with the legend NEMAY (Monteil, 1999: 492). During the first century BC, small silver coins with the legend AMBR were also struck at Ambrussum (Fiches and Richard, 1985). Furthermore, the use of the legend VOLC or VOLC AREC (for Volcae Arecomici) only appeared on coins from the mint at Nemausus around 75/60 BC (Py, 1974: 253), precisely around the time when there was a certain reorganization of the province after the revolt of 74 BC.

How exactly society was organized within an oppidum is unfortunately unclear. Based upon later literary sources, we know that many post-Roman Celtic societies were organized along kinship lines into lineages of three to four generations, and in turn into larger clans. This was the case, for example, in Ireland, where patrilineal kinship was the norm (Charles-Edwards, 1972: 15–17), among the Scots, where patrilineal descent also predominated (MacKie,

1996: 667–68), and among the Picts, who were at least partially matrilineal (Boyle, 1977). There is some evidence from ancient texts to suggest that some Celtic peoples in Gaul during the Iron Age may have been matrilineal as well (Ehrenburg, 1990: 158), although there is no reason to think that this was uniform for all of the Celts. Among the Celtic societies of the early medieval period, polygyny was generally permissible as well.

The domestic spaces within the oppida were all apparently quite austere, with no monumentality or ostentation in terms of size or decoration, and there is no real hierarchy between the dwellings. However, it is difficult to determine among the rooms grouped together what exactly constituted a “house.” Archaeologists have identified “houses” to the extent that individual rooms were sometimes grouped together into larger units connected by internal doorways. It is unclear the extent to which these “houses” actually represent the dwellings of individual nuclear families, and indeed whether nuclear families were the main social unit in society, as opposed to larger extended families or lineages. Among the different domestic structures, the only major difference among the domestic rooms, especially evident at the port town of Lattara (modern Lattes), is whether the rooms were strung out into long, extended blocks, or whether they were oriented around a central courtyard, with these latter dwellings referred to as “courtyard houses” (*maisons à cour*) (Fig. 2). Whether these groups of rooms represent the individual house of a single family, or rather the dwellings of multiple nuclear families is still unresolved. Although research on the courtyard houses is still in the process of being completed at Lattara, to date, there is little to suggest that those dwelling in the courtyard houses were necessarily more important than others (Dietler et al., 2008), and as we shall see later, the evidence suggests that they were apparently not necessarily

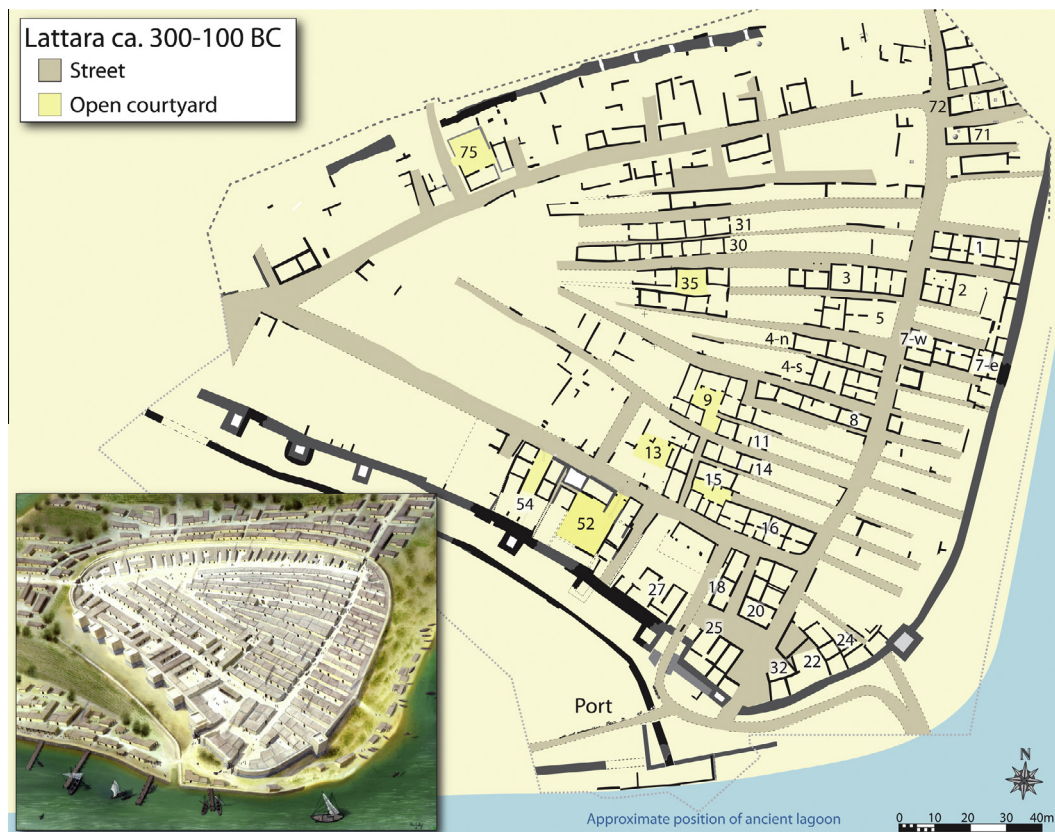


Fig. 2. Map of Lattara (modern Lattes) for the period ca. 300–100 BC, showing the typical arrangement of an oppidum, with rooms grouped into long rows, or in the case of Lattara, also grouped around a central courtyard.

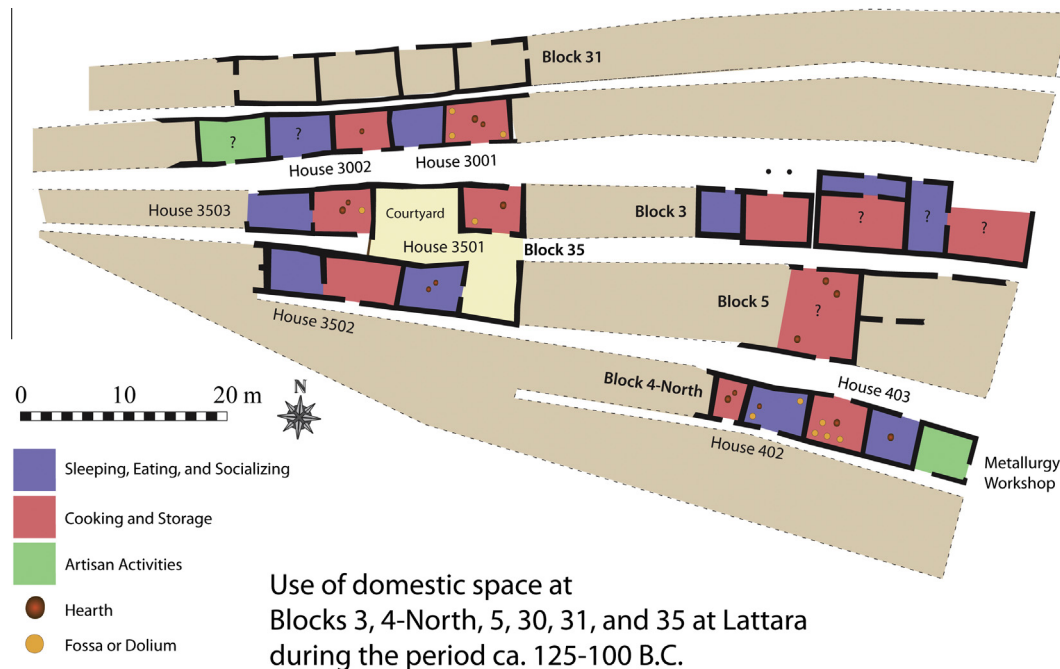


Fig. 3. Use of domestic space for one area of Lattara for the period ca. 125–100 BC.

wealthier. If society was organized into lineages and clans (as was likely the case), then the groupings of individual rooms into long extended blocks, or around a central courtyard, may very well correspond to lineages, perhaps even more important in social organization than the nuclear family. This is certainly plausible given that the groupings of rooms into rows or around a central courtyard all had multiple kitchens and hearths, suggesting the presence of multiple nuclear families grouped together (perhaps by kinship), rather than a single, large nuclear family (Fig. 3).

In summary then, there is thus textual evidence for certain fixed political positions in Iron Age Mediterranean Gaul, although power does not seem to have been particularly centralized, but instead seems to have been diffused in different people and roles, something Crumley (1995: 30) has coined “heterarchy.” Indeed, civil authority seems to be split off from military authority, with neither of these positions being hereditary, but rather elected. Likewise, it appears to be another group of leaders, the Druids, who acted as arbitrators and judges, who in turn also shared religious power with the Vates. This is seemingly especially true for Eastern Languedoc, where there is no mention of “kings” (βασιλεις) or “petty kings” (*reguli*), as is the case among the Iberian peoples of Western Languedoc. Whether Poseidonios’ description is accurate, and whether this can be applied to Eastern Languedoc, however, is ultimately uncertain. Archaeologists often look to differences in houses when evaluating the presence or absence of centralized leaders in a society, and as mentioned, for Iron Age Eastern Languedoc there are essentially no differences in houses between groups of families. Instead, groups of families were apparently living in the same sized houses and in the same material conditions. How individuals could obtain the ability to influence or control group decisions in this diffused system, and how this differed from the system under Roman colonialism is the next subject.

## 5. Control of agricultural production and the importance of feasting

Throughout the Mediterranean world since the Neolithic, cereal grains, including wheat, barley, and millet, have always been a

staple of the Mediterranean diet (Garnsey, 1999: 17–19). This certainly appears true for Mediterranean Gaul, at least since the earliest intensification of agricultural production by the late Bronze Age (the period known as the Late Bronze Age IIIb from 900 to 750 BC). By the sixth century BC, when populations began to concentrate in the oppida, the people of Mediterranean Gaul were likely reliant on growing cereal grains, and supplementing this with meat and other products from flocks of goats and sheep, and to a lesser extent cattle and pigs, along with other vegetables and fruits, both wild and domestic. In addition to being the basic necessity of life, archaeologists have also speculated that cereal grains may have been an important commodity in Mediterranean Gaul for exchange with foreign merchants trading wine and ceramic vessels from the Greek colony at Massalia or from farther abroad in the Italian peninsula. This may have been especially true for the region of Eastern Languedoc, which lacks any deposits of valuable metals such as tin, silver, and gold, unlike in Western Languedoc, especially in the Montagne Noire region. Ancient sources record that the land directly controlled by the Greek colony of Massalia was small and poor for farming but was good for olive growing and viticulture (Strabo 4.1.5), certainly implying that these Greek colonists may have relied on indigenous societies in Mediterranean France for obtaining cereal grains.

In a situation in which the production of cereal grains was so important, and one in which cereal grains could likely be exchanged for other imported goods, the control over agricultural production and its distribution could in principle be an important source of power. This has certainly been one of the key arguments for archaeologists of Mediterranean France, and of Iron Age European archaeologists more generally, who have argued in favor of the existence of a class of “warrior aristocrats” who dominated the rest of society. It has been argued, for example, that, “aristocracy is the control of the entire economy,” (one of the few examples where the term “aristocracy” is used in a precise manner) and that in Iron Age Mediterranean Gaul, there was a “relationship of production based upon dependence, in the framework of a society of classes” (Clavel, 1975: 57, 61–62). More recently, it has been similarly argued that there was a “direct link between the dominant classes and the control of land and of agricultural production

and food, from which they drew at least part of their economic power, along with the control over trade and the networks of distribution" (Girard, 2013: 46). While artisans and the common population lived concentrated in the fortified oppida, the "dominant class", so the theory goes, lived in rural estates in the countryside, where they could better control agricultural production (see for example Arcelin, 1999; Arcelin and Gruat, 2003).

Such a scenario is presumably, although this issue is not always specifically explored, different from what Wolf (1982: 79–88) has referred to as a "tributary mode of production" (see also Sahlins, 1972: 101–48), in which a dominant group, such as a chieftain and his supporters, simply extracts agricultural surplus from the majority of the population, with commoners, nevertheless, directly controlling their own agricultural production. This tributary mode of production was typical, for example, among African kings and chiefs, who were the richest members of society not because they themselves directly controlled agricultural production, but rather because they received large amounts of tribute (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1940). Instead, the theory of a land-owning aristocratic class in Iron Age Mediterranean France seemingly implies that these aristocrats would have held direct control over the means of agricultural production, perhaps relying on a class of serfs, slaves, or dependents who worked these estates, with the agricultural goods they produced going to feed in part the large populations of the oppida. What is lacking in explanation, however, is how exactly a small minority of wealthy landowners could wield control over the majority of the population when these supposed "commoners" were concentrated in extremely well-fortified strongholds, often located on commanding hilltops and/or located along the strategic trading points of rivers, a scenario that is the reverse of feudal society during the Middle Ages. In the case of late Republican Rome through the period of the Roman Empire, in which there was in fact such a class of landed aristocrats, whose agricultural production did in part go toward feeding urban populations, the power of these aristocrats was in a large part insured through their privileged place in the Roman state, and they were thus able to rely on the support of the Roman army to suppress any peasant or urban unrest.

Moreover, the theory that an aristocratic class controlled the agricultural production of the countryside from rural estates is confounded by the inconvenient fact that there is a complete lack of any archaeological evidence for their existence. Dietler (2010: 88–89), for example, in regard to the theory about an aristocratic class living in rural estates has recently written, "It is unsupported by any convincing evidence: none of these supposed aristocratic residences, for example, has yet been identified" (see also similar remarks in Py, 2003: 315; 2011a: 53; Vial, 2011: 23). For his part, Py (2012: 348) has argued that the theory of aristocrats dwelling in large estates in the countryside, while certainly not lacking in either "originality or improbabilities, has hardly convinced proto-historic scholars of southern France." Furthermore, it should be noted that the lack of aristocratic estates is *not* due to a lack of archaeological research investigating the Iron Age occupation of the countryside. As mentioned, for the fourth and third centuries BC, there is an overall absence of rural farms or buildings in the countryside, something that would only change with the appearance of farms in the course of the second century BC. These late second-century BC farms, moreover, appear to be more an outgrowth of the expanding population of the oppida, rather than representing any kind of villas or aristocratic estates.

Instead, the production and storage of cereal grains and other agricultural produce appears to have been directed from the oppida. Given the absence of farms from the fourth through the third century BC, it is likely that the primary occupation of a large population of the oppida, despite living in rather dense settlements, was subsistence agriculture. A socio-economic arrangement such

as this may have perhaps been similar to the ethnographically-documented case of the Yoruba in Nigeria, where most of the population, despite living in very large cities, raised their own food outside the walls of the city (see for example Bascom, 1955). It is unfortunately still unclear how exactly agricultural lands were split up among families within the oppida during the Iron Age. In particular, it is unclear who had ownership of the land and whether it was based upon notions of private property, or whether land was rather owned communally, or by larger kin groups such as clans, as is often the case throughout the world among societies practicing horticulture or agriculture that is intensified only to a very limited degree. Excavations outside the walls of the oppida have uncovered evidence for systems of drainage ditches and other boundaries delimiting fields, especially for the second and first centuries BC, a period in which there was a general growth of the population, an expansion into the countryside, and likely increase in agricultural intensification. This is especially evident based upon archaeological work around the Iron Age occupation of Nemausus (modern Nîmes), such as at the ZAC des Halles (Monteil, 1999: 465–66, 475), or Magaille Est (Breuil, 2010: 134), where an extensive system of boundaries only fully emerges in the second half of the second century BC. Archaeological work suggests a similar trend at Lattara, where extensive systems of ditches, for boundaries or as irrigation and drainage channels, appears especially in the second century BC (Daveau and Bel, 2008). As the population expanded into the countryside during this period, it may have been increasingly necessary to mark off land, although this does not necessarily indicate ownership by individuals or nuclear families, but still could correspond to ownership of land by larger lineages or clans.

Furthermore, the degree of agricultural intensification during the late Iron Age was in fact likely rather limited, with metal ploughs rare before the second century BC, and the most important agricultural innovations conducive to intensification only appearing in the first century BC under Roman rule (Py, 2012: 261). Furthermore, the populations of the oppida do not appear to have taken advantage of the richest and most productive soils. At Ambrussum during the occupation of the oppidum from the end of the fourth century BC to the first century BC, for example, unlike in modern times, agriculture was focused on farming the limestone plateau directly to the west of the oppidum, rather than down in the more productive river valley of the Vidourle (Fiches, 1996: 51). While the heavier soils of the plains are far more productive for agriculture, the lighter soils of the limestone plateaus can be better worked by hand or with simpler, wooden ploughs (Daveau and Bel, 2008: 40). In general, it was only during the course of the second century BC that there was a widespread occupation and intensified exploitation of the more fertile plains, likely related to the more widespread use of iron ploughs. Even at Lattara, where agricultural intensification was higher than at other sites, agricultural tools in metal only appear in any significant numbers during the second century BC (Py, 2009: 230). The degree of intensification is significant in that many ethnographic studies have pointed out that when individual domestic units, rather than centralized rulers such as chiefs, organize economic production, they are characteristically underproductive and not oriented toward producing a large surplus (Sahlins, 1972: 68–70, 82). In the case of Iron Age Eastern Languedoc this would seemingly imply the absence of any kind of ruler controlling agricultural surpluses.

Furthermore, although it is impossible at present to determine exactly how agricultural production was organized, the storage of cereal grains and then processing them into flour appears to have taken place in Eastern Languedoc at a very small-scale domestic level among individual households or kin groups, rather than communally or through some centralized authority. Unfortunately, there are few oppida excavated extensively enough in



Eastern Languedoc to allow a comprehensive vision of how grain was stored across the settlement, with the exception of two sites in particular: Lattara, and to a lesser extent, the oppidum of the Castels at Nages-et-Solorgues in the Vaunage Valley. At Lattara, archaeologists have sufficiently excavated enough of the site to have a comprehensive image of the distribution of storage rooms for grain and other agricultural produce from the fourth century BC to the middle of the first century BC. Storage rooms can generally be identified by the presence of a number of pits dug into the dirt floor of the room for holding large ceramic storage jars known as *dolia*. Overall, the number of *dolia* at Lattara increased over time, reaching a peak in the second century BC (Py, 2009: 214).

Based upon an analysis of the distribution of these storage rooms throughout the settlement (Figs. 3 and 4), a number of observations can be made. Firstly, it is quite apparent that there was no centralization in the production or distribution of agricultural production. In ancient palace economies or “states” throughout the ancient world, it is true that archaeologists often find large storage rooms within fortified areas of the site, from which produce could be distributed to the populace (e.g. the Inca Empire, late Bronze Age Minoan and Mycenae, etc.). In the case of Lattara, however, storage rooms often also had hearths for cooking, suggesting that these rooms were multifunctional spaces for both cooking and storage. These cooking/storage rooms were evenly spread across the site. In fact, there is a general ratio of one cooking/storage room

for one other room (archaeologists have generally suggested that these latter rooms were for sleeping and socializing) (Fig. 3). There are some rooms that were unconnected to any other rooms, opening instead directly onto the street, and that were apparently devoted entirely to storing agricultural produce in rows of *dolia* (Fig. 4). However, these independent storage rooms were spread out along the major streets of the city, suggesting that they were oriented toward some kind of commerce, and were certainly not being hoarded away by a ruler, in which case one would expect to find these storage rooms better protected, rather than opening onto the main streets. They are thus in no way associated with any kind of centralized, “chiefly” residence, where a powerful individual would have privately hoarded them away and selectively distributed them. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it is quite apparent that even in the second century BC, when there was apparently a certain intensification of agricultural production, there was still no centralization or control exerted by a class of individuals over the production and distribution of cereal grain, with the continued absence of any centralized storage area and the dispersal of small storage rooms throughout the town. Instead, it appears that small individual social units in the settlement (perhaps some kind of a lineage or extended family) still retained control over their own agricultural resources, but that they were all simply producing more. There is thus no evidence that certain areas of the site were producing or hoarding more grain and other



Fig. 4. Distribution of storage rooms at Lattara for the fourth–first centuries BC.

agricultural produce than other areas of the site. In a similar way, grinding mills for distributing flour are also found evenly spread out across the site, suggesting again that each social unit such as an extended family converted grain into flour, rather than relying on some kind of a centralized production of flour (Py, 1992).

Although less extensively excavated, the oppidum at Nages reveals a similar trend, with small storage rooms scattered across the site, rather than being associated with a communal storage area or an “elite” residence (Fig. 5). There is certainly no evidence for a centralized control of agriculture produce, and dolia and stone grinding mills are distributed evenly across the site, especially during the first century BC when agricultural production was the most intensive, suggesting again that even when surpluses were being produced, agricultural production was in the hands of individual families or kin groups (Py, 1978: 318).

In other periods of history in France it is quite clear that the control over food was an important strategy for creating and maintaining socio-economic inequalities and class hierarchies. During the Middle Ages for example, in some parts of France noble families held a monopoly over grinding flour and baking bread, with the local grist mill and bread ovens located within the walls of the castle. This was not the case, however, for Eastern Languedoc during the Iron Age. This is not to imply that food had no role in terms of individuals influencing group decisions, but rather that this role was likely indirect, and that many different individuals could manipulate politics indirectly through agricultural surpluses, rather than a situation in which one socio-economic class dominated another. Ethnographically, in many agricultural societies in which there is no form of generalized money and a commoditization of most goods and services (see Dalton, 1965), as was the case for Iron Age Mediterranean Gaul, there is often a distinction made between *subsistence goods*, including agricultural produce, and *prestige goods*, such as cattle, pigs, metal objects, and imported

goods (Barth, 1967; Bohannon, 1955, 1959; Piot, 1991). In such an economic system, subsistence goods and prestige goods occupy two distinct “spheres of exchange”, and conversion from one sphere of exchange to another is not at all straightforward as it is in a monetized economy. Subsistence goods such as cereal grains are furthermore in and of themselves not an inherent sign of wealth, nor can they necessarily be easily converted into the prestige goods that do confer a measure of importance on their owner.

One means of obtaining influence through an agricultural surplus, however modest, in a system in which agricultural produce has no prestige or exchange value is through feasting (Dietler, 1990, 2001; Dietler and Herbich, 2001). Among the decentralized and egalitarian Bantu Kavirondo of the early twentieth century in western Kenya, for example, social relationships were maintained by giving gifts and participating in common feasts (Wagner, 1940: 206–08). Communal feasts, often given by elders, in which beer or beef were distributed, were held to maintain feelings of unity within clans or age-groups, as well as between two different clans. For the beer feasts, which were organized by the elders, all people of the neighborhood contributed baskets of grain. Despite being an egalitarian society, a certain relative hierarchy could exist at the feasts based upon who contributed grain and how much. A surplus in grain could thus allow someone to obtain a certain degree of influence by being able to offer hospitality to guests and neighbors in the form of beer (Wagner, 1940: 231). Nevertheless, there were no fixed political roles, and wealth could not translate into any kind of direct political office. Instead, the unofficial leaders of the clans drew their influence from a combination of their relative importance in the family (with first-borns considered to have more importance), their relative wealth, skills as an orator, skills as a warrior, their mastery of certain rituals related to the ancestor cult, and above all their age, with the eldest in the clan generally being the most important (Wagner, 1940: 231–35).



Fig. 5. Distribution of storage rooms from Nages (ca. 250 BC–AD 10).



Thus, one possible way for those with agricultural surpluses in Iron Age Eastern Languedoc to obtain greater influence was likely through feasting. Poseidonios certainly attests to the importance of feasting in Celtic societies, describing the feasts that he apparently witnessed during his sojourn in Gaul (as quoted in Athenaeus 4.36; Diodorus Siculus 5.26.1–3). During the Bronze Age and early Iron Age, it is quite probable that grain surpluses were converted into political influence through feasts in which beer was distributed. However, after the arrival of foreign merchants importing wine at the very end of the seventh century BC, beer consumption likely waned with the increased availability of imported wine. Now, cereal grains were likely exchanged for wine and fineware ceramic vessels, both of which played a central role throughout the rest of the Iron Age as prestige goods and constituted the new main element in feasting in the late Iron Age. With an agricultural surplus, one could thus exchange these surpluses with Phocaean Greek or Italic merchants in return for wine and ceramic feasting vessels. However, as with access to agricultural produce, access to these imported goods appears to have been relatively egalitarian, suggesting that whatever influence there was that could be gained through feasting was largely dispersed, rather than being concentrated in a class of individuals.

## 6. The flow of imported prestige goods and the question of social status

Overall, there are very few goods surviving in the material record of Iron Age Eastern Languedoc that would have likely functioned as prestige goods, apart from the ubiquitous imported wine amphorae and fineware ceramic vessels (Fig. 6). Other potential prestige goods in Eastern Languedoc during the Iron Age may have

been most notably cattle, based upon early medieval Irish literature and ethnographic comparisons with African societies, pigs (at least in the case of Lattara), and metal objects such as torques, armbands, and weapons. In regard to this latter category, it is important to note that Iron Age Mediterranean France has not produced the spectacular finds of gold and bronze jewelry found in other areas of the Celtic-speaking world. Although it is more difficult to evaluate the overall distribution of these other potential prestige goods, the distribution of imported wine amphorae and fineware ceramics suggests that there was, as was the case with agricultural produce, a relative equal access to these goods. Between the fifth and early second centuries BC, most of the wine imported into Eastern Languedoc came from the Greek colony of Massalia, after which Italic wine, especially from central Italy, replaced Massaliote wine in importance. By the fourth century BC, almost all of the imported fineware ceramic vessels were a kind of ceramic known as “black gloss”, being characterized by a glossy, semi-vitrified black or dark gray surface, which was produced at a number of centralized pottery workshops in the Western Mediterranean. By the end of the third century BC, most black gloss ceramics in Eastern Languedoc came specifically from the region of Campania in central Italy, and are referred to as Campanian A. The most common vessel form was the drinking bowl, followed by larger bowls and plates.

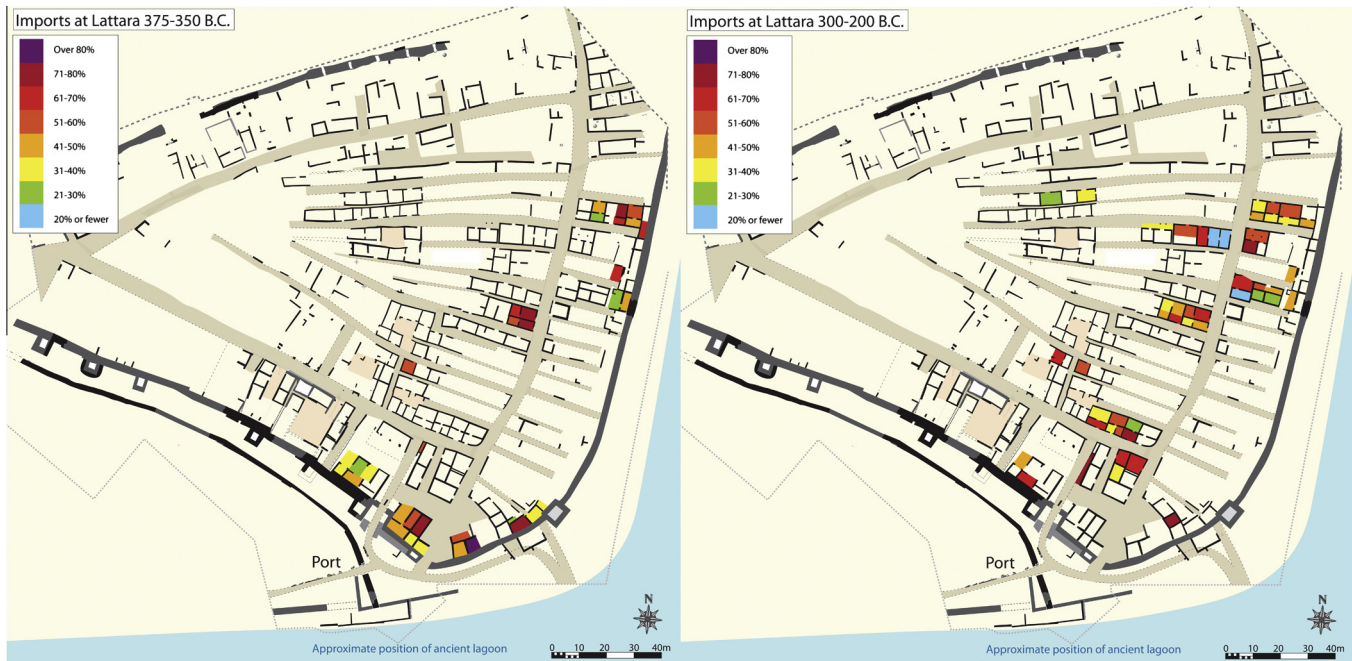
In the case of Lattara, there is no area of the site where imported goods seem to be concentrated; on the contrary, there appears to be a fairly even distribution from one block of houses to another (Figs. 7 and 8). Although some rooms tended to have more imported goods than others, which is in part likely a result of the room’s overall function, from one block to another there are only minor differences. There are some blocks of houses at Lattara that appear to have either more amphorae or more black gloss fineware, or even in a few rare cases, both (Fig. 9). It is possible that the blocks with slightly more imported goods could correspond to perhaps larger or more economically productive lineages or kin-groups, which may in turn have possessed a greater amount of influence in society. In general, however, these differences do not in any way suggest that there were “rich” or “poor” areas of the site, nor do they suggest that there was the existence of socio-economic classes at Lattara. On the contrary, every area of the site excavated had access to these imported goods, and there were no groups in society that had exclusive access to these prestige goods. Overall, there was an increase in imports, especially in black gloss fineware by the second century BC, which presumably was related to the increase in agricultural intensification mentioned above, suggesting perhaps greater competition among social groups. Again, however, all of the individual blocks of houses at Lattara appear to have enjoyed an increased access to these goods over time, without any one group obtaining any kind of a monopoly on access to these goods. Some low-level of redistribution, such as perhaps lineage or clan elders redistributing wine and other prestige goods to fellow kin is certainly possible, but there is no archaeological evidence for any kind of a centralized redistribution center or palace where prestige goods could be hoarded away and then selectively redistributed by a centralized ruler, comparable, for example, to the provincial warehouses of the Inca state.

Interpreting the funerary evidence is somewhat complicated, in that very few necropoleis have been discovered associated with the Iron Age II occupation of oppida in Eastern Languedoc. In all, however, there is no evidence to suggest that there was any clear socio-economic hierarchy present in the tombs of Eastern Languedoc for the fourth through the first centuries BC, although some possible new distinctions emerged after the Roman conquest in the early first century BC (Chardenon et al., 2008: 331, 336). For the period Iron Age II, essentially all of the indigenous burials were

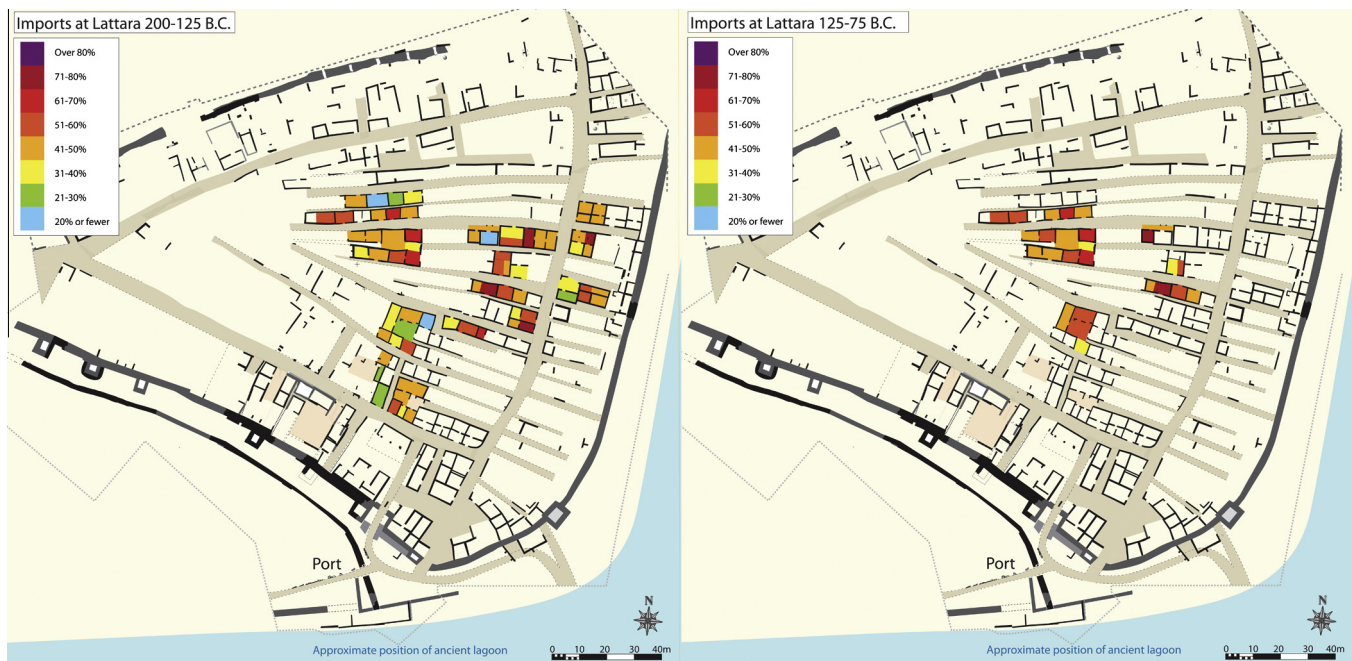


**Fig. 6.** Example of a Campanian A bowl found in a occupation layer at Lattara (top), and two examples of Massaliote wine amphorae, also from Lattara (bottom) (Photos courtesy of Lattes excavations).





**Fig. 7.** The distribution of imported wine amphorae and black gloss sherds (Attic, Italo-Greco, Petites Estampilles, Roses, and Campanian) at Lattara out of the total number of ceramic fragments for the periods 375–350 BC and 300–200 BC.



**Fig. 8.** The distribution of imported wine amphorae and black gloss sherds (Attic, Italo-Greco, Petites Estampilles, Roses, and Campanian) at Lattara out of the total number of ceramic fragments for the periods 200–125 BC and 125–75 BC.

cremation, with the ashes placed in a pit with a number of grave goods.

The most complete necropolis for Eastern Languedoc for the Iron Age II is that discovered just below the oppidum of Ambrussum, which was in use from approximately 275 to 200 BC (Dedet, 2012). All of the tombs from the necropolis consisted of simple pits in the ground, some covered by a very shallow mound of earth, within which the ashes of the deceased were directly placed. The tombs were quite austere, and very few grave goods were associated with the burials. Based upon an analysis of the

remains, it appears that children under five years of age were underrepresented, likely corresponding with the common practice of burying deceased infants and young children within the houses rather than in the necropolis; otherwise both sexes appear to have been equally represented (Dedet, 2012: 188). Two general categories of grave goods can be discerned: one category comprising spindle whorls and simple jewelry, which the excavators associated with women, and the other category comprising weapons (lance, sword, sheath and belt, and shield, of which swords were the most common), which excavators associated with men

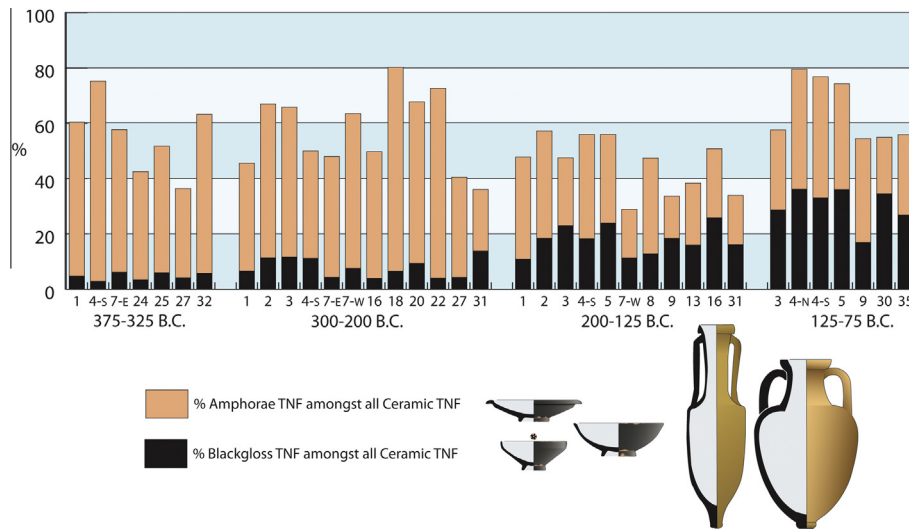


Fig. 9. Percentage of black gloss fineware and wine amphorae sherds among all ceramic fragments by residential block at Lattara.

(Dedet, 2012: 189). Of these weapons, there were no apparent differences in quality of the weapons, although the preservation of the weapons makes this difficult to say definitively. The category of “jewelry” consists of bronze or molded colored glass bracelets, bronze earrings, and necklaces of colored glass beads. All of these types of jewelry have been found in settlements from Eastern Languedoc as well. Both the “feminine” and the “masculine” tombs also sometimes (in 7 out of 21 cases) contained a fibula for attaching clothes. Interestingly, a distinction appears to have been made between these two types of tombs based upon the material used for the fibulae, with only bronze fibulae found in the “feminine” tombs and iron fibulae found exclusively in the “masculine” tombs. This dichotomy again seemingly suggests an emphasis on defining adults based upon gender roles, rather than socio-economic classes. Of the 21 tombs excavated from the necropolis, only 5 (25% of all tombs) lacked any kind of jewelry or fibulae, instead containing only ceramic vessels, and no tomb had any kind of concentration of jewelry or weapons.

Excluding the burials of children, 35% of the tombs contained weapons, suggesting that approximately two-thirds of men from the oppidum were buried with their weapons (Dedet, 2012: 201). Unlike for the second and first centuries BC in Eastern Languedoc, there were no intact ceramic vessels buried with the deceased, although fragmented bowls over the tombs suggested that libations were made for the deceased. Based upon the conclusions of the excavators, there is no clear social hierarchy present in the necropolis, although there were distinctions made between men and women (if the assumptions made by the excavators are correct) and between different age groups. The excavators thus conclude that, “the presence of weapons does not likely reveal a dominant status, a ‘class’ displaying the instruments of its power. Without a doubt it simply marks in the tombs instead the presence of men capable of defending, while they were alive, the village and the village community, its territory, its harvests, and its herds when the circumstances necessitated it” (Dedet, 2012: 257).

Other necropoleis from Eastern Languedoc for this same period reflect these trends, with an emphasis on a distinction between men and women and young and old, rather than socio-economic differences (Dedet, 2012: 201; Py, 2012: 347). Rather than representing an “aristocratic warrior elite,” the ubiquity of weapons in this way may reflect some kind of an age-set system which cut across kinship lines. For example, all young men may have been grouped together into one social category, with common rituals

emphasizing warfare, as has been noted ethnographically among many African pastoral peoples such as the Maasai. Interestingly, early medieval literature from Ireland suggests that Celtic Ireland apparently had a similar kind of warrior age-set, known in Old Irish as the *fianna*, comprising young men who had not yet inherited property, and as such devoted their time to raiding (Champion, 1996: 90).

For the second and first centuries BC, there was an increase in the number of objects found in the tombs, with a higher incidence of tombs situated alone in the countryside rather than in a necropolis. In particular, there is an increase in the number of tombs in the first century BC (Fig. 10). A high concentration of tombs has been found in particular around the oppidum of Nemausus (modern Nîmes) and in the immediate vicinity (Bel et al., 2008a). As was the case with the third-century necropolis at Ambrussum, archaeologists have concluded that there is no clear social hierarchy or a division of burials into distinct socio-economic classes (Chardenon et al., 2008: 331, 337). The most common grave good for the second and first century BC in Eastern Languedoc consisted of ceramic vessels, most notably Campanian black gloss plates and bowls. Other grave goods included: Italic amphorae (at most one or two per tomb); locally-made non-wheel thrown vessels, especially pots; communal, wheel-thrown pitchers and urns in beige ware; lamps; metal fibulae (almost all of which were iron); iron knives; a small number of coins; a small number of bronze vessels and other objects associated with feasting; and weapons. The only

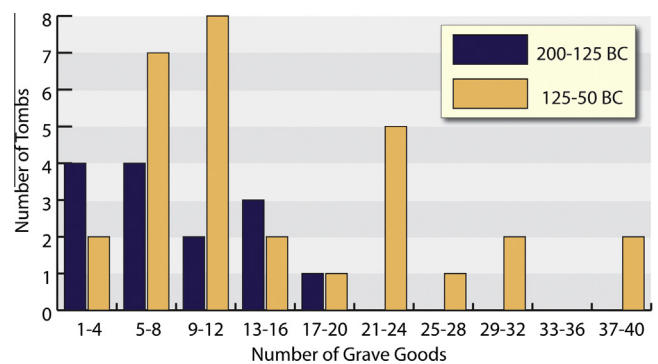


Fig. 10. Histogram showing the number of tombs by number of grave goods for the periods 200–125 BC, and 125–50 BC. (Data drawn from Bel et al. (2008a).)

object that appears specifically made for the tombs and which does not appear in domestic contexts was a type of urn in locally-made beige ware (CL-REC 11a) in a similar form to a *stamnos* (Bats, 2002: 290), which in the Greco world served as a container for mixing wine and water. In addition, offerings of meat were often left in the tombs as well. These grave goods, most notably the amphorae and the Campanian vessels, were generally related to feasting, likely reflecting the importance of feasting in indigenous society, and perhaps also the practice of funerary feasting for the deceased.

Interestingly, jewelry of the type mentioned above, as well as fibulae, became much rarer by the 2nd century BC. Of the 64 tombs from the period 200 to 50 from Eastern Languedoc compiled in the corpus by Chardenon et al. (2008: 302–304), only eight (13%) contained fibulae (either one or two almost always in iron) and only five (8%) contained bracelets, beads, or necklaces. However, jewelry is much more commonly found on settlements for this period, suggesting a change in burial practices, perhaps related to what objects were burnt with the deceased, rather than a change in social statuses (Chardenon et al., 2008: 309). Also, it is important to note that, as before, the jewelry was never in gold, and in no way comparable to the elaborate gold and bronze jewelry found, for example in Hallstatt Europe for the period 750–450 BC, one of the few indisputable examples from the European Iron Age where social distinctions and hierarchy were clearly manifested through differential access to luxury goods. Overall, 55% (17 out of 31) of the tombs from and around Nemausus for the period 200–50 BC, and 45% (15 out of 33) of the tombs from Eastern Languedoc for the same time period outside of Nemausus, contained some combination of a sword, lance, and shield, of which only the shield boss (*umbo*) survives (Chardenon et al., 2008: 302–304). The prevalence of weapons burials, in approximately half the tombs, again likely reflects an age-set of warriors rather than a socio-economic class. Certainly, of the population represented by the tombs, it appears that almost all adult males had access to weapons. Thus, given the proportion of tombs with weapons to the tombs without weapons, the distinction seems to reflect a division between men and women, rather than a division between social classes or the importance of individuals (Py, 1980: 221; 2012: 347). Of the 24 tombs from 200 to 50 BC in Eastern Languedoc for which the number of grave goods could be ascertained (and which were not incomplete) and which contained weapons and/or a shield, 20 (83%) contained a sword, which was arguably more difficult and costly to make than a lance or even a shield (Fig. 11).

Furthermore, there appear to be no clear correspondence between the number of grave goods and the presence or absence of weapons in the tomb (Chardenon et al., 2008: 332, 334–336; Py, 1990: 173), suggesting that those with the highest status in society were not necessarily warriors, and were certainly not members of an “aristocratic warrior elite” (Fig. 11). Overall, although some tombs contained a relatively greater number of objects than others, there is no clear social pyramid, in which there would be a small number of very rich tombs and a large number of very poor tombs (Chardenon et al., 2008: 331, 337). In particular, it is only after the Roman conquest of 125–121 BC that there is a growing difference in the number of grave goods. This development may perhaps reflect a growing competition in the context of the possible social upheaval associated with the Roman conquest, and for that matter, the increased number of graves with weapons may even perhaps reflect those who died during the conquest of 125–121 BC and the violence that followed it, especially the general revolt of the Volcae Arecomici (who inhabited Eastern Languedoc) in 75–74 BC. However, even for the period after 125 BC, still over three-fourths (77% or 23 out of 30 total tombs) contained between 5 and 28 grave goods (Fig. 10). In addition, the number of grave goods mainly varied based upon the number of ceramic vessels in the tomb (Fig. 11), and as we have seen, even

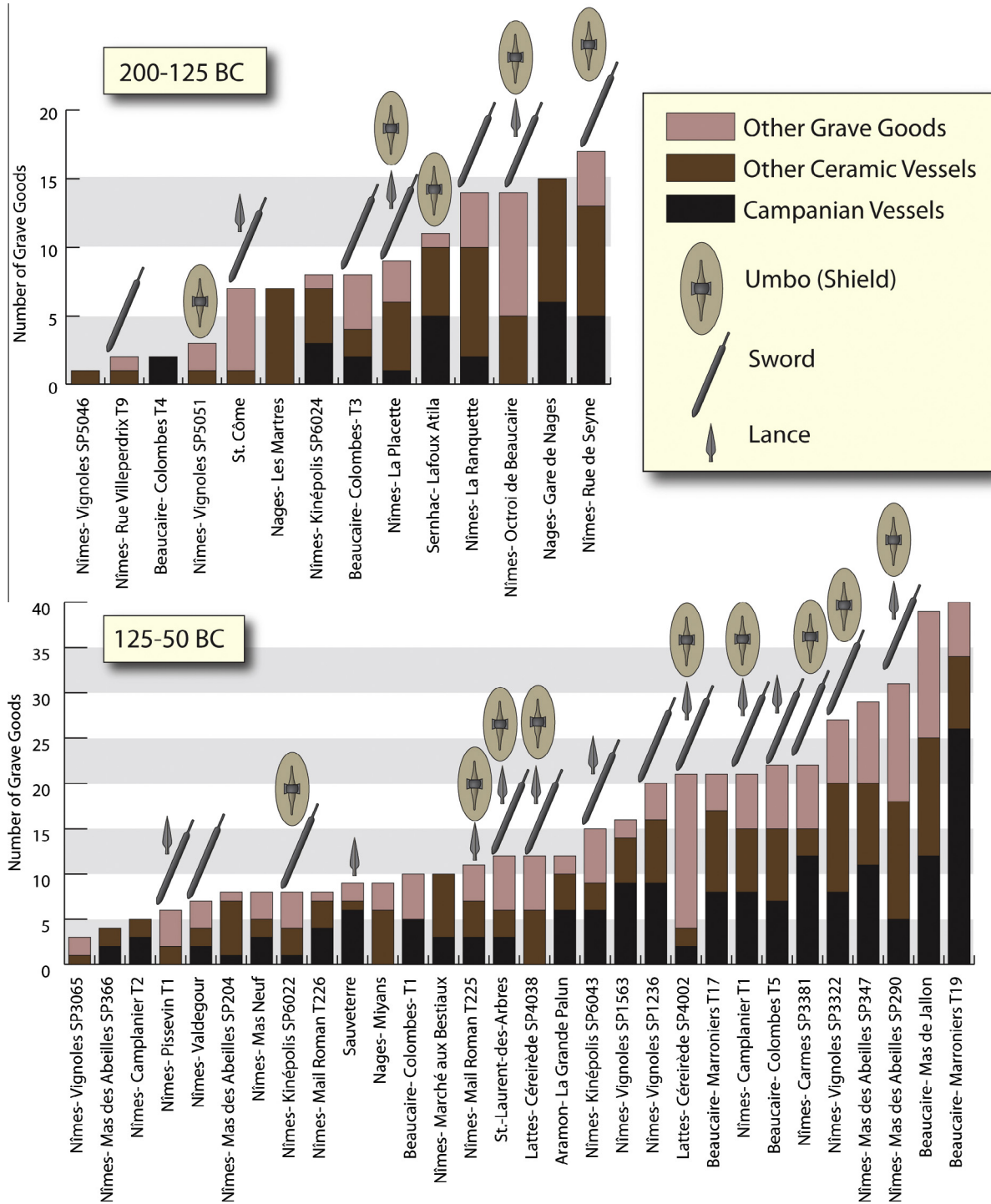
imported ceramic vessels were evenly distributed and accessible to all apparent groups at a site like Lattara.

Tomb 290 from the site of the Mas des Abeilles and Tomb SP6022 from the site of the Forum Kinépolis, both near Nîmes illustrate this well. Both tombs were cremation burials in a pit, and there is some evidence that all the grave goods from Tomb 290, including the urn containing the ashes, were placed in a large wooden chest within the pit. Tomb 290 from the Mas des Abeilles dates to ca. 100–75 and was one of the “richest” burials in terms of the number of grave goods, containing 31 total objects. Of these objects, there was a sword, lance, and the remains of a shield, which some have seen as evidence for an “elite” status (or even “caste”) of the person buried (Chardenon et al., 2008: 314–316). However, the grave goods themselves are not any more exotic or luxurious than the tombs with fewer objects; there are simply more of them. Specifically, within Tomb 290 from the Mas des Abeilles, archaeologists found five Campanian black gloss vessels (three plates, one bowl, and one drinking bowl), four beige ware ceramic pitchers, two Celtic style urns, one non-wheel thrown plate, four non-wheel thrown cooking pots, an Italic amphora (of which only the handle was found), an iron key and lock (possibly from the wooden box within which the objects had been placed), two iron fibulae, and a number of unidentifiable small bits of iron (Bel et al., 2008b: 62–77).

By contrast, the contemporary tomb SP6022 from the site of the Forum Kinépolis at Nîmes, which dates to somewhere between 125 and 75 BC, contained only 8 grave goods: one Campanian A black gloss bowl, one beige ware pitcher, one non-wheel thrown cooking pot, the fragmented remains of an Italic amphora, a sword, the remains of a shield, a knife, and one small piece sheet of mother-of-pearl that likely decorated some perishable object (Bel et al., 2008c: 133–141). Is it realistic to expect that the individual buried in Tomb 290 from the Mas des Abeilles was somehow necessarily more powerful in society than the individual from tomb SP6022 from the Forum Kinépolis simply because the former was buried with four more Campanian black gloss vessels, three more non-wheel thrown cooking pots, and three more beige ware pitchers, as well as two iron fibulae and an iron lance? Certainly, there is no reason to seriously think that the latter individual buried in the tomb SP6022 from the Forum Kinépolis did not possess in life, or could not have possessed, the extremely quotidian object of an iron fibula for attaching clothes, or an iron lance, nor that he (assuming that it was indeed a male) necessarily possessed fewer ceramics, whether they be imported or locally-made, simply because there were fewer in the tomb. All of these objects are also found regularly in domestic contexts, and none of the objects are ostentatious; on the contrary, they are all quite quotidian, especially given their ubiquitous nature at a site like Lattara.

As we have seen, at a site like Lattara all social units within the settlement had access to objects such as imported Campanian ware vessels and wine amphorae. Furthermore, as a point of comparison, within a single occupation level of soil (US35029) from a small courtyard (Sector 2 of Block 35) of a modest “house” (House 3501), where a great deal of daily debris would have presumably accumulated for a period from roughly 125 to 100 BC, archaeologists found, out of a total of 1059 total ceramic sherds, sherds representing a minimum of 23 Campanian A drinking bowls, 3 Campanian A cups, 37 Campanian A bowls for eating, and 15 Campanian A plates. In a single 25 year occupation level from a group of rooms there are thus far more Campanian vessels than in any tomb in the region. Clearly, if social differences were being expressed between the individuals of the two tombs, there is no reason to believe that those differences were because one of the individuals enjoyed an exclusive, or even restricted, access to prestige goods such as imported ceramics associated with feasting.





**Fig. 11.** Graph showing the number of grave goods by tomb for the periods 200–125 BC, and 125–50 BC, as well as the weapons contained in each tomb. (Data drawn from Bel et al. (2008a) and Py (1990), and only tombs where the number and types of grave goods can be determined have been used.)

The isolated tomb found at the Mas de Jallon, just to the west of the oppidum at Ugernum (modern Beaucaire) dating to the very beginning of the first century BC in this sense is also particularly informative (Garmy et al., 1981). The tomb, consisting of a simple pit, contained 38 total grave goods, making it the second richest grave in terms of the number of offerings in all of Eastern Languedoc for the late Iron Age. The “richest” burial, Tomb 19 from the Necropolis of the Marronniers (also at Ugernum) was a double tomb in which two individuals were buried. However, despite the relatively large number of grave goods at Mas de Jallon, none of the objects are particularly luxurious. The tomb contained the

following grave goods: two Italic amphorae, one locally-made imitation of a type of vase produced in Temperate Gaul, nine Campanian plates, one Campanian cup, one Campanian bowl, one Campanian drinking bowl, five beige ware pitchers, three beige ware urns, and two non-wheel thrown cooking pots (one of which served as an urn for the ashes of the deceased), the fragments of four iron fibulae, three iron bracelets, one iron torque, one bronze ring, a blade in iron, two iron knives, an iron nail, and an iron handle, probably from some kind of a wooden bucket (Fig. 12).

What makes the tomb at the Mas de Jallon distinctive is not that the tomb contained luxurious objects to which only a restricted

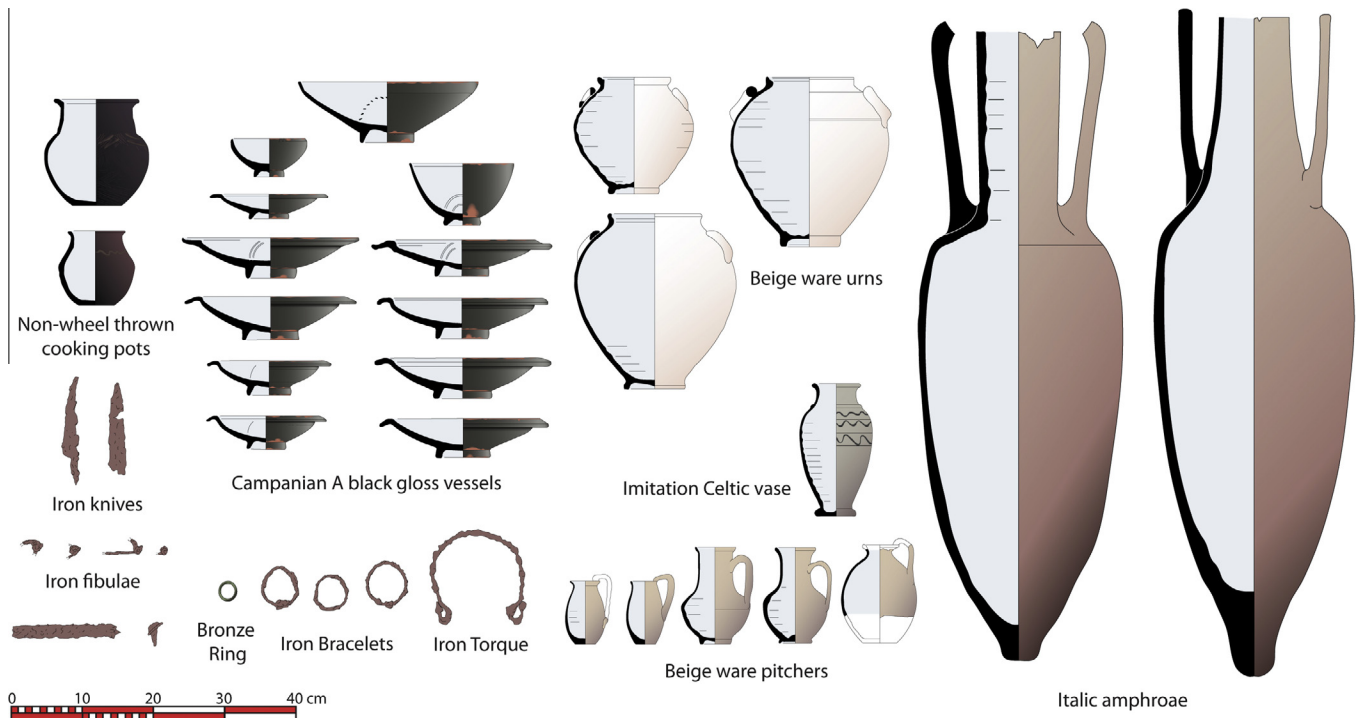


Fig. 12. Grave goods from the tomb at the Mas de Jallon (modern Beaucaire).

proportion of the population had access. Instead, what makes the tomb unique is that in this specific case, as opposed to presumably many other burials, the mourners elected to leave a comparatively large number of objects behind in the burial. Furthermore, if we can assume (and this is admittedly not necessarily a given) that graves with weapons were in fact those of men and that the adult tombs lacking in weapons were those of women, then it follows that the deceased individual from the Mas de Jallon was a woman, or at the very least, was not a member of a warrior age-set, but rather that her (or perhaps his) importance in society was linked to some other strategy for obtaining influence and power. Along the same lines, Tomb 19 from the Necropolis of the Marronniers, the richest tomb in terms of the number of grave goods, also lacked weapons, suggesting again perhaps that at least one of the two individuals buried in the tomb was a woman. Tombs with a greater number of objects may thus perhaps, at least in some cases, reflect a person of some kind of importance, but cannot represent a distinct socio-economic class, based upon the definition given above. The isolated tombs in particular may represent leaders such as clan elders or other important people. By definition, however, the tombs cannot represent a dominant socio-economic class of aristocrats, in that, as we have seen, all social groups at a site like Lattara had access in life to the objects like amphorae and Campanian drinking vessels buried with only certain people in death.

Finally, whatever differentiation among the tombs from Iron Age II necropoleis in Mediterranean Gaul that there may be is simply in no way even remotely similar to the wealth found in the aristocratic tombs from other areas of the Mediterranean from the fourth through the first centuries BC, such as the Macedonian royal tombs from Vergina, the Greek tombs in Magna Graecia (Southern Italy) containing luxurious red-figure Apulian volute craters, or tombs from central Italy of the Etruscan upper class. This incongruity begs the question as to what possible utility, let alone analytical precision, the use of the same term “aristocratic” or “elite” could have to describe two phenomena within the Mediterranean world for the same time period that are so very different.

## 7. Warfare and headhunting as a strategy of social prestige

Based upon the evidence discussed here, there is no evidence to support the idea that late Iron Age society in Eastern Languedoc was dominated by a class of aristocratic warriors who controlled agricultural production and the distribution of imported goods. Although success in battle may have been an important strategy for gaining political power, as was the case for example, in many African societies, the distribution of weapons suggest that all men in a certain age-set category could at least in theory obtain influence in this way. This social arrangement contrasts, for example, with later medieval European society, in which a landed aristocracy held a monopoly over access to weapons and armor, and therefore, over success in battle as well. In addition to these warrior graves, the other major body of evidence indicating the possible role of violence and success in battle in obtaining influence relates to the practice of headhunting, which was widespread throughout late Iron Age Mediterranean France and Catalonia (Roure and Pernet, 2011). Certainly one of the most shocking aspects of these societies, both to modern archaeologists and ancient Greco-Roman observers, was the practice of displaying severed heads of enemies killed in battle.

As preserved in the writings of Diodorus Siculus (5.29.4–5), Poseidonios, who apparently witnessed this practice himself, wrote, “Removing the heads of the fallen enemies, they [the Gauls] attach [them] to the necks of their horses. Handing over these bloody spoils to their attendants they carry them off as booty while striking up a paean and singing a song of victory, and these first fruits they nail to their houses just as those in certain kinds of hunting do having subdued wild animals. But the heads of the most illustrious enemies, having embalmed them in cedar oil, they carefully keep in a chest, and they show them to strangers, boasting that for the head a certain ancestor, or father, or he himself did not take a large sum of wealth presented.” Ethnographers have noted that success in collecting trophy heads in raids on enemy villages is often an important means of gaining influence in societies

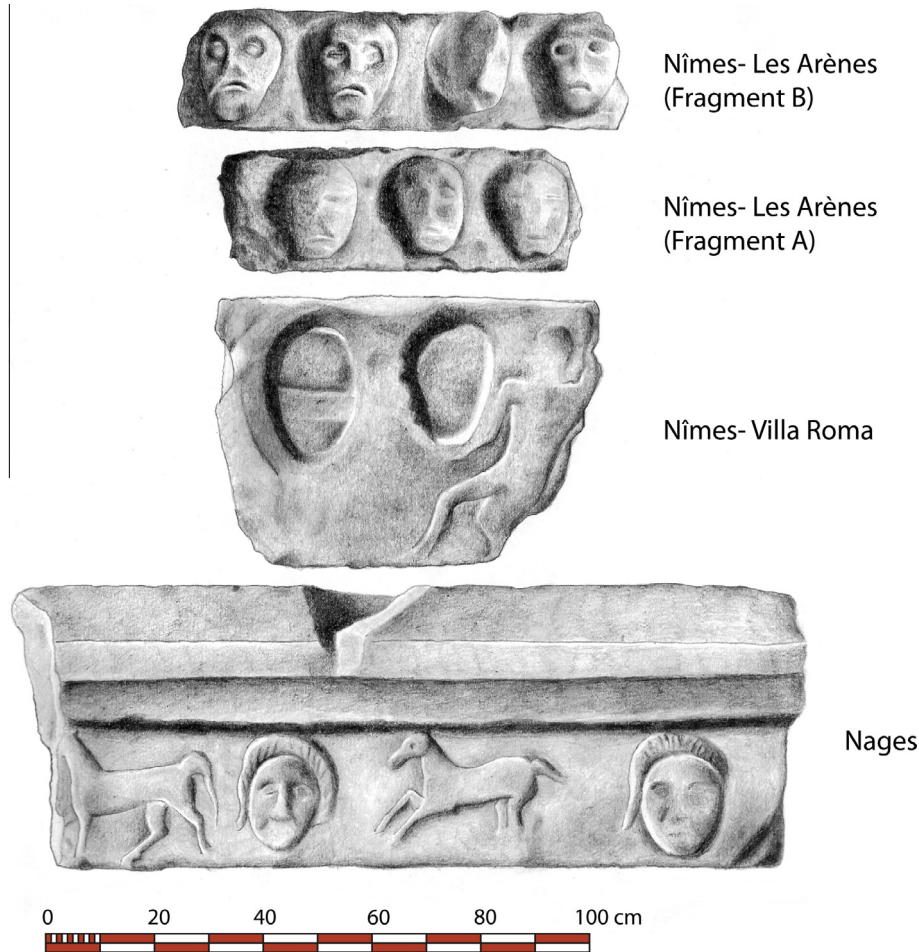


Fig. 13. Stone lintels relating to headhunting activities found at Nemausus (modern Nîmes) and Nages.

where headhunting is common. Among the Asmat peoples of Lowland Papua New Guinea, for example, successful headhunting raids bring prestige and social importance, and “It is impossible to be a man of social standing without having captured a few heads. A bunch of skulls at the door post is a measure of status” (Zegwaard, 1959: 448). Successful headhunters among the Asmat thus enjoyed many privileges and social benefits from their success in headhunting.

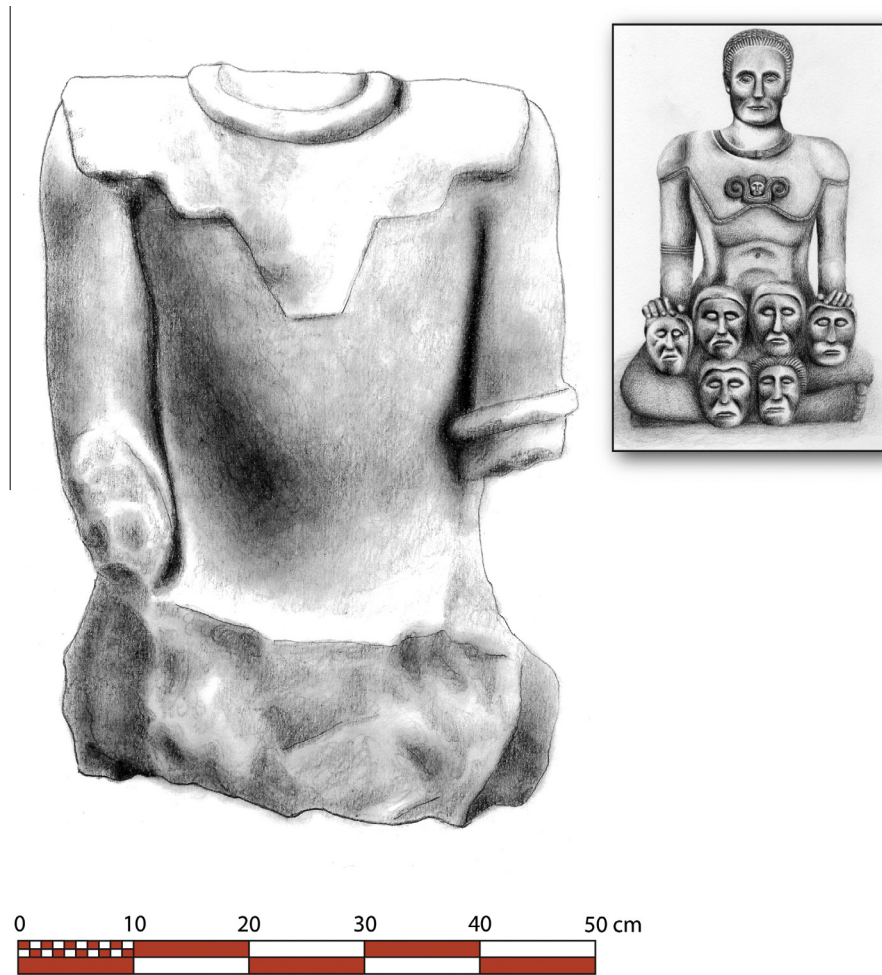
Although overall there is less evidence for headhunting in Eastern Languedoc than in Western Provence or the Iberian-speaking regions of Western Languedoc and Catalonia, the best archaeological evidence for headhunting in Eastern Languedoc comes from the site of Le Cailar, an indigenous settlement apparently quite similar to Lattara that was inhabited from the sixth century BC to the time of the Roman occupation. There, directly against the ramparts on the inside of the settlement, possibly near the gates to the oppidum, archaeologists found a large open space. Associated with this open space, archaeologists found the remains of human skulls, representing at least 50 different individuals, along with a large number of weapons, including swords, javelins, and lances, along with scabbards and belts from swords and shields (Roure, 2011, 2015).<sup>2</sup> The area was in use throughout the third cen-

tury BC, and perhaps from as early as the late fourth century BC, until the space was abandoned at the beginning of the second century BC. Based upon the archaeological evidence, it appears that over the course of several generations the inhabitants of the oppidum were displaying trophy heads taken in battle, probably on wooden posts, along with captured weapons.

In addition to the evidence from Le Cailar, archaeologists have also found stone sculptures at several sites in Eastern Languedoc related to this practice of headhunting, most notably a number of stone lintels with carved relief images of severed trophy heads (Fig. 13). Two of these lintels come from the Iron Age oppidum of Nemausus (modern Nîmes), and probably date to the end of the second century BC (Py, 2011a: 174–76). A third lintel, depicting in stone relief two trophy heads, along with running horses, comes from the oppidum of Nages, and probably dates to the middle of the second century BC (Py, 2011a: 181). In addition, a stone lintel, probably dating to the second century BC, was found at Nemausus with two ovular cavities, likely for holding trophy heads. This lintel was found along with the fragmented bust of a seated warrior reused as part of a foundation wall built around 40 BC that was part of the latest phase of occupation of a monumental stone portico (Py, 2011b: 87). Both the lintel and the statue were likely originally associated with an earlier phase of this stone portico. Several similar porticoes have been discovered, especially from Western Provence, and were generally associated with the display of trophy heads (Roure and Pernet, 2011). The fragmented statue depicts a man sitting cross-legged, with a torque around his neck and an

<sup>2</sup> The number of individuals displayed, however, was likely far more, given that archaeologists have not excavated the entire extent of the space, and given that a large part of the earth from the third century BC was disturbed or removed when large pits were dug into the site during the Middle Ages (Roure, 2015: 8).





**Fig. 14.** Statue of seated warrior found at Nemausus. Inset: reconstruction of a warrior statue from Entremont (Western Provence, *département* Bouches-du-Rhône).

armband around his left arm (Py, 2011a: 113–16, 2011b) (Fig. 14). Although it is not entirely clear in the case of the statue from Nîmes, in other more complete examples, the individual is clearly a warrior of some sort, often depicted with a sword, and in the case of several statues from Entremont, is depicted holding trophy heads (Fig. 14) (Py, 2011a). Based upon similarities with similar statues found at Glanum, the statue likely dates to the end of the third century BC or beginning of the second century BC (Py, 2011b: 87). A similar statue was also found from the less well-known oppidum of Castelvielh (Saint-Anastasie) to the north of Nîmes (Py, 2011a: 111–12). The portico was situated, probably not coincidentally, next to a large spring which was apparently venerated from as early as at least the Iron Age through the Roman period. Located in a sacred area of the oppidum the portico was thus likely some kind of a public monument, similar perhaps in some ways to the open space at Le Cailar but clearly more monumental in nature, celebrating the martial achievements of the oppidum's warriors, and perhaps serving as a site for the rituals of a warrior age-set.

Statues and the evidence for headhunting are often used as clear evidence for the existence of a “warrior aristocracy” dominating indigenous society (e.g. Arcelin and Rapin, 2002). Leaving aside the possible exception of the second-century statues from Entremont in Western Provence, there is arguably little in fact that automatically suggests such an interpretation, and indeed, as discussed

here, overall there is no evidence from Eastern Languedoc for a “warrior aristocracy” during the late Iron Age. Given this, these statues of seated warriors may in fact rather represent important divinities, ancestors, or heroes, whether factual or legendary, and may have thus been revered and celebrated by all of the community, or perhaps more specifically by an age-set of warriors, or perhaps some other kind of a warrior sodality. Furthermore, the statues were used in different contexts over the course of some two centuries in apparently communal spaces, rather than for example, aristocratic palaces, which certainly may suggest the reverence over many generations of mythical ancestors or heroes rather than a class of living noblemen. Finally, it is worth pointing out that head-hunting in places like Southeast Asia and Oceania, or scalp-taking in the case of the native peoples of the Southwestern United States, does not seem to be associated in any example with societies dominated by ruling socio-economic classes (Flannery and Marcus, 2012: 121, 155). Instead, headhunting and related practices seemingly appear only in societies where a large number of individuals compete for social prestige, which certainly seems to be the case of late Iron Age Eastern Languedoc. Headhunting was thus likely an important means of obtaining certain social prestige or influence, but it does not seem to have been the restricted domain of a warrior aristocracy or a dominant socio-economic class of rulers, but was again rather open to a large number of competing adults.

## 8. Political influence and power in late Iron Age Eastern Languedoc: ethnographic comparisons

In summary then, there is no evidence in late Iron Age Eastern Languedoc for an aristocratic class of individuals who ruled society. In fact, agricultural production appears to have been at the domestic level, with no evidence for centralized storage or redistribution. Likewise, no group of individuals seemingly wielded control over access to imported or prestigious goods. Indeed, one of the most striking characteristics of the material culture of Iron Age Mediterranean France, especially in regard to Eastern Languedoc, is the overall absence of anything ostentatious or luxurious in the archaeological record: the houses are all small, undifferentiated, and unimpressive in terms of construction or decoration, locally made ceramics are undecorated and low-fired, and metal objects consisted of small objects such as fibulae and pins, often in iron. Success in battle and feasting were likely two important strategies for gaining influence and the ability to influence group decisions. However, society was apparently rather competitive, with no group or individual monopolizing these strategies. Although Poseidonios cannot be used uncritically, neither can it be ignored, especially when compared with archaeological data, and all of this seems to correspond with Poseidonios' depiction of power in Iron Age Celtic society as dispersed and based upon personal achievements rather than being inherited. How exactly individuals acquired social status beyond these two strategies, and the exact role of material goods in all of this can arguably be further elucidated with certain ethnographic comparisons. While ethnographic examples must admittedly be used with caution, employing non-Western and pre-industrial societies as a basis of comparison with European Iron Age societies is certainly more enlightening than using concepts of power rooted in the experiences of modern, Western capitalism, in which one automatically employs the notion of a dominating class of rulers controlling the economy. In particular, it should be emphasized that ethnographic comparisons cannot prove how society may have been in the past, but rather that ethnographies can help us to imagine possibilities for interpreting the past that are not rooted, however unconsciously, in our own Western experiences. Thus, the conclusions here cannot be considered definitive, but rather suggestive of how late Iron Age society in Eastern Languedoc *may* have functioned.<sup>3</sup>

In this regard, the situation in late Iron Age Eastern Languedoc is perhaps somewhat similar to that of the Tiv of Central Nigeria, already mentioned earlier (Bohannan, 1958; Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953). Among the Tiv, there were both elders in society, who held a great deal of influence, as well as younger “men of prestige”, who also enjoyed a greater influence in society than others (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953: 33). In both cases, however, there were no fixed political roles with specific functions. Furthermore, related to Tiv notions of *tsav* (power), and how it could be obtained (mainly through witchcraft), prominent or influential people were both feared and considered potentially dangerous, a threat to the egalitarian ethos of the Tiv. The importance of elders was rooted in their control of rituals, whereas men of prestige could begin the ascent to social influence through wealth. Men of prestige were often individuals with a relative wealth in grain and cattle, who could gain prestige by throwing feasts in which meat and beer were distributed and in doing so acquire supporters (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953: 34–35), similar to the situation among the Bantu Kavirondo described earlier. In the case of these younger “men of prestige,” one thinks of the “important men” (κράτιστοι)

sitting together at feasts mentioned by Poseidonios, who held a degree of importance in society because of their success in battle, their lineage, or their wealth. However, the only way to acquire real influence in Tiv society was by acquiring the “mystical powers characteristic of the elders” (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953: 35). Elders who functioned as leaders were believed to possess *tsav*, as well as the ability to practice witchcraft and counteract it, and it was in this function that the elders could hold a certain influence over social actions. Similarly, relative wealth in late Iron Age Eastern Languedoc likely would have allowed individuals to increase their relative importance and social prestige. However, the testimony of Poseidonios concerning the importance of the Vates (the seers) and the Druids (priests and judges) suggests that at the same time, perhaps in a similar way to the Tiv, mastery of certain spiritual forces, which unfortunately leaves little trace archaeologically, may have been an important strategy, if not the most important one, for obtaining power. Likewise, the “councils” referred to by Poseidonios may have (at least traditionally) been occupied largely by clan elders, in a way similar to the gerontocracy of the Tiv.

In seeming contrast to the Tiv however, Poseidonios suggests that formal political positions, in this case an annually elected civil magistrate and an annually elected war leader, did in fact exist, at least by the second century BC. In this sense, the example of late Iron Age may be even more similar to the example of the historic period Pueblo peoples in the American Southwest, as documented ethnographically. Here, in at least a superficially similar way to the oppida of Mediterranean France, the native peoples, generally divided by anthropologists into the Western and Eastern Pueblo peoples, lived in very dense settlements of stone and mud brick consisting of small rooms joined together and occupied by lineages (Dozier, 1970). Although all these Pueblo peoples shared a common environment, had many cultural similarities, and lived in the same kinds of dense settlements, the socio-political organization was quite different between the Western (Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, and Laguna) and Eastern (Eastern Keresan and Tanoan) groups, something which underscores the importance of understanding regional political diversity in Iron Age Mediterranean France, and Europe more generally. In both the examples of the Western and Eastern Pueblos, however, there was no class structure (Dozier, 1970: 129). Among the Hopi and other Western peoples, the socio-political organization was much more decentralized, with clans and lineages playing the main role in most of social life, including government. Clans were ranked by importance, with the village or town chief, who had only a very limited authority, coming from a specific clan.

In contrast, the Eastern Pueblos had a greater centralization of political authority, with the Tanoans, for example, having a dual chieftainship (one from each moiety), with war captains aiding the chiefs (Dozier, 1970: 169). Dozier (1970: 154) argues that among the Keresans was contained “the germ of a feudal society,” with the importance of their medicine men, war priests, and warrior associations, and one thinks to a certain extent of society in late Iron Age Eastern Languedoc, with the likely importance of the Vates, Druids, and warriors, who perhaps formed some kind of a warrior age-set or association. Among all these Pueblo peoples, power was achieved by manipulating rituals and spiritual forces, rather than by accumulating material wealth. In addition, one could achieve influence through success in warfare, and both groups took and displayed enemy scalps, similar again perhaps to headhunting in Eastern Languedoc, with its seemingly communal but socially competitive emphasis in headhunting at sites like le Cailar and Nemausus. In summary then, again the ethnographic evidence suggests that it is quite plausible that in Iron Age Eastern Languedoc control over economic resources was only indirectly related to power, and that holding power or influence over others was open to a fairly large number of individuals in society.

<sup>3</sup> The emphasis in particular on traditional societies in Africa is rooted in the observation that African societies (and particularly Bantu ones) are much more similar to traditional European societies, and vice versa, than to other societies throughout the world (see Bohannan and Curtin, 1988: 10–11).

## 9. Conclusion: colonialism as a social rupture

Overall, late Iron Age society in Eastern Languedoc appears to have been quite egalitarian, in the sense that there were no major socio-economic distinctions or classes dividing individuals in society.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, access to political influence and authority in society was likely quite fluid and open to a large number of competing adults (possibly among both men and women), and could be obtained through various strategies including feasting, success in battle (at least among men), as well as perhaps oratory skills (as is typical in many societies lacking socio-economic classes), and the manipulation of spiritual forces. In contrast, under the influences of Roman colonialism, a class-based social structure emerged in Mediterranean France by the end of the first century BC, signaling new conceptions of power and a different relationship between power, society, and economy, in which official political power was largely restricted to the wealthy upper class. In Roman society throughout the late Republic and later Empire, social rank was based upon a complex system of economic wealth, ancestor reckoning, and socio-political divisions between Roman citizens, Latin citizens, and the indigenous peoples of the province (Garnsey and Saller, 1987). By the second century BC in the Roman Republic, with the continued development of a commodity-based market economy, economic differences rooted in land ownership and differential agricultural production became the crucial means of differentiating between social classes, something that reform-minded Roman politicians such as the Gracchi brothers fought against. During the late Roman Republic, for example, in order to be a member of either the senatorial or the equestrian class, the two highest social orders, one had to own at least 400,000 sesterces. Later, Caesar Augustus elevated the wealth requirement of senators to one million sesterces (Garnsey and Saller, 1987: 113).

After the Roman conquest of 125–121 BC, especially by the end of the first century BC, this fundamentally different relationship between economy, power, and society was imposed on native Celtic society in Mediterranean France. One of the most important developments was the redistribution and cadastration of land to Roman settlers and loyal native Celts (Mauné, 2000), and the emergence of wealthy villa in the countryside producing sizable agricultural surpluses of grain, olive oil, and wine (Buffat, 2011), creating a fundamental inequality in land ownership. In addition, the emergence of a monetized economy by the end of the first century BC meant that agricultural surpluses could be more easily converted into social power (Luley, 2008). Finally, there was a creation of formal political institutions tied directly to the Roman colonial state for governing indigenous oppida. Whereas in the late Iron Age, control over economic resources was likely not directly tied to politics, in Roman times, the evidence from wealthy villa suggest that owning large agricultural surpluses could be a major source of power, as was the case throughout the late Roman Republic. Indeed, through generalized monetary exchange, agricultural surpluses could be directly sold for new commodities used to create social consumer distinctions, or alternatively, the money could be used to directly buy political offices in the Roman state. In the late Iron Age, all social groups had access to imported objects of political significance, such as wine and fineware drinking ceramics. By contrast, in the first century AD, only the upper class of the province had the economic resources available to purchase prestige goods such as the marble statues, painted frescoes, and elaborate

floor mosaics that decorated the large and luxurious houses that were clearly set apart in size and decoration from commoner houses. Likewise, this new socio-economic class ate on silver dining sets and enjoyed exotic foods and spices unavailable to commoners (Luley, 2014a,b). By the first century AD, a new socio-economic class of true aristocrats had emerged, where none had existed in Eastern Languedoc previously, who enjoyed a privileged position in the Roman colonial state and held exclusive access to many prestige goods.

If one were to simply point to any kind of material differences apparent between individuals in both the Iron Age and Roman period as evidence for “elites”, one could easily make the mistake of assuming that Iron Age and Roman societies were structured politically in similar ways. This certainly highlights the danger in employing the same broad analytical term (such as “elite”) when looking at fundamentally different social arrangements and strategies of power. However, by focusing not on the presence or absence of “elites” or on political typologies such as “chiefdoms” or “states,” but rather on the ways in which social actors may have obtained power or influence, one notes not a continuity between the two periods, but rather a notable rift brought about by Roman colonialism. Far from simply reaffirming existing social inequality, the colonial state becomes in this sense an important stimulus for the creation of socio-economic inequality and the emergence of socio-economic classes. Numerous ethnographies in places like Africa have documented the ways in which modern Western colonialism and the related introduction of a monetized economy have significantly altered existing indigenous economies, political institutions and organization, as well as the strategies of social actors in obtaining social power (Bohannon, 1955; Hutchinson, 1996; Turner, 1971), with the effects of these developments still poignantly evident throughout the world today. While the mode of production in Roman society of the first century BC was admittedly different from the modern capitalist system, the impact of colonialism on local peoples was as equally profound as in the modern world, underscoring the importance of understanding the transformative effects of colonialism in both the ancient world, and throughout the world in the twenty-first century.

## Acknowledgments

The ceramic data from Lattara used in this article were originally compiled during the author’s dissertation research, which was supported by a grant from the Georges Lurcy Charitable and Educational Trust for study in France. The author is extremely grateful as always to the former directors of the excavations at Lattara, Thierry Janin and Michel Py, as well as the current directors, Pierre Garmy and Eric Gailledrat, for graciously allowing access to the data. I count it as a great privilege to be part of the excavation research team at Lattes. Lastly, I would like thank the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful and insightful suggestions and critiques.

## References

- Anderson, B., 1972. The idea of power in Java. In: Holt, C., Anderson, B., Siegel, J. (Eds.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, pp. 1–69.
- Arcelin, P., 1999. L’habitat dans l’image sociale des Gaulois du Midi: La question des résidences aristocratiques. In: Braemer, F., Cleuziou, S., Coudart, A. (Eds.), *Habitat et société, XIXe Rencontres Internationales d’Archéologie et d’Histoire d’Antibes*. Editions APDCA, Antibes, pp. 481–498.
- Arcelin, P., Gruat, P., 2003. La France du Sud-Est (Languedoc-Roussillon, Midi-Pyrénées, Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur). *Gallia* 60, 1–268.
- Arcelin, P., Rapin, A., 2002. Images de l’aristocratie du second âge du Fer en Gaule méditerranéenne : à propos de la statuare d’Entremont. In: Perrin, F., Decourt, J.-C. (Eds.), *Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray [et] l’UMR 5594 du CNRS, Université de Bourgogne*.

<sup>4</sup> They would not, however, be considered egalitarian in Fried’s (1967: 33) sense of the term, which emphasizes the absence of political roles rather than emphasizing few economic differences. For Fried, egalitarian societies were those “in which there are as many positions of prestige in any age-sex grade as there are persons capable of fulfilling it.” At least by the second century BC, this was apparently not the case in Eastern Languedoc, as the tomb at the Mas de Jallon likely illustrates.



- Bibracte, Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray, Glux-en-Glenne, pp. 29–66.
- Arnold, B., Gibson, D.B. (Eds.), 1995. *Celtic Chieftdom, Celtic State: The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Barth, F., 1967. Economic spheres in Dafur. In: Firth, R. (Ed.), *Themes in Economic Anthropology*. Routledge, New York, pp. 149–174.
- Bascom, W., 1955. Urbanization among the Yoruba. *Am. J. Sociol.* 60, 446–454.
- Bats, M., 2002. Du cratère symptomatique au stamnos funéraire : tombes à armes du Midi de la Gaule (Ive-ler siècles av. J.-C.). In: Müller, C., Prost, F. (Eds.), *Identités et cultures dans le monde méditerranéen antique*. Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris, pp. 277–302.
- Bel, V., Barberan, S., Chardenon, N., Forest, V., Rodet-Belarbi, I., Vidal, L. (Eds.), 2008a. Tombes et espaces funéraires de la fin de l'Âge du Fer et du début de l'époque romaine à Nîmes. *Monographies d'archéologie méditerranéenne*, vol. 24. Éditions UMR 5140 du CNRS, Lattes.
- Bel, V., Barberan, S., Chardenon, N., Conterio, M., Forest, V., Gafà-Piskorz, R., Manniez, Y., Rodet, I., 2008b. Les Tombes du Mas Des Abeilles II.3. In: Bel, V., Barberan, S., Chardenon, N., Forest, V., Rodet-Belarbi, I., Vidal, L. (Eds.), *Tombes et espaces funéraires de la fin de l'Âge du Fer et du début de l'époque romaine à Nîmes*. *Monographies d'archéologie méditerranéenne*, vol. 24. Éditions UMR 5140 du CNRS, Lattes, pp. 51–118.
- Bel, V., Barberan, S., Chardenon, N., Forest, V., Rodet-Belarbi, I., 2008c. L'ensemble funéraire du Forum Kinépolis. In: Bel, V., Barberan, S., Chardenon, N., Forest, V., Rodet-Belarbi, I., Vidal, L. (Eds.), *Tombes et espaces funéraires de la fin de l'Âge du Fer et du début de l'époque romaine à Nîmes*. *Monographies d'archéologie méditerranéenne*, vol. 24. Éditions UMR 5140 du CNRS, Lattes, pp. 125–152.
- Bernard, L., 2002. Éléments d'analyse du phénomène aristocratique dans le midi de la France. In: Perrin, F., Decourt, J.-C. (Eds.), *L'aristocratie celte à la fin de l'âge du Fer (IIe s. av. J.-C. – Ier s. après J.-C.)*, Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray [et] l'UMR 5594 du CNRS, Université de Bourgogne. Bibracte, Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray, Glux-en-Glenne, pp. 67–72.
- Bintliff, J.L., 1984. Iron Age Europe, in the context of social evolution from the Bronze Age through to historic times. In: Bintliff, J. (Ed.), *European Social Evolution: Archaeological Perspectives*. University of Bradford Press, Bradford, pp. 157–226.
- Bohannan, L., 1958. Political aspects of Tiv social organization. In: Middleton, J., Tait, D. (Eds.), *Tribes without Rulers: Studies in African Segmentary Systems*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, pp. 33–66.
- Bohannan, P., 1955. Some principles of exchange and investment among the Tiv. *Am. Anthropol.* 57, 60–70.
- Bohannan, P., 1959. The impact of money on an African subsistence economy. *J. Econ. Hist.* 19, 491–503.
- Bohannan, L., Bohannan, P., 1953. *The Tiv of Central Nigeria*. Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Western Africa, Part VIII. International African Institute, London.
- Bohannan, P., Curtin, P.D., 1988. *Africa and Africans*. Waveland Press, Long Grove, IL.
- Boyle, A., 1977. Matrilineal succession in Pictish monarchy. *Scot. Hist. Rev.* 56, 1–10.
- Breuil, J.-Y., 2010. Nîmes: de la ville gauloise à la Nemausus romaine. In: Ouzoulias, P., Tranoy, L. (Eds.), *Comment les Gaulois devinrent romains*. La Découverte, Paris, pp. 125–141.
- Brun, P., 1987. Princes et princesses de la Celtique, le premier Âge du Fer (850–450 av. J.-C.). Éditions Errance, Paris.
- Brun, P., 1995. From chieftdom to state organization in Celtic Europe. In: Arnold, B., Gibson, D.B. (Eds.), *Celtic Chieftdom, Celtic State: The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 13–25.
- Brun, P., Ruby, P., 2008. *L'âge du Fer en France, premières villes, premier États celtiques*. La Découverte, Paris.
- Bunzel, R., 1938. The economic organization of primitive people. In: Boas, F. (Ed.), *General Anthropology*. Heath, New York, DC, pp. 327–408.
- Buffat, L., 2011. *L'économie domaniale en Gaule Narbonnaise*. *Monographies d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne*, vol. 29. Edition de l'Association pour le Développement de l'Archéologie en Languedoc-Roussillon, Lattes.
- Campbell, R.B., 2009. Toward a networks and boundaries approach to early complex polities: the late Shang case. *Curr. Anthropol.* 50, 821–848.
- Carneiro, R., 1970. A theory of the origin of the state. *Science* 169, 733–739.
- Champion, T., 1996. Power, politics, and status. In: Green, M.J. (Ed.), *The Celtic World*. Routledge, London, pp. 85–94.
- Chardenon, N., Bel, V., Barberan, S., 2008. La tombe et le mobilier funéraire comme marqueurs culturels et sociaux. In: Bel, V., Barberan, S., Chardenon, N., Forest, V., Rodet-Belarbi, I., Vidal, L. (Eds.), *Tombes et espaces funéraires de la fin de l'Âge du Fer et du début de l'époque romaine à Nîmes*. *Monographies d'archéologie méditerranéenne*, vol. 24. Éditions UMR 5140 du CNRS, Lattes, pp. 301–346.
- Charles-Edwards, T.M., 1972. Kinship, status and the origins of the hide. *Past Present* 56, 3–33.
- Christol, M., Goudineau, C., 1987. Nîmes et les Volques Arécomiques au Ier siècle avant J.-C. *Gallia* 45, 87–103.
- Christol, M., Fiches, J.-L., Gasco, Y., Michelozzi, A., 2005. Une nouvelle dédicace de T (itus) Carisius, praetor Volcarum, près d'Ugemum (Beaucaire, Gard). *Rev. Arch. de Narb.* 38–39, 409–423.
- Clavel, M., 1975. Pour une problématique des conditions économiques de l'implantation romaine dans le Midi gaulois. *Cah. Lig. de Préh. et d'Arch.* 24, 35–74.
- Cohen, R., 1970. The political system. In: Naroll, R., Cohen, R. (Eds.), *A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology*. Natural History Press, Garden City, pp. 861–881.
- Collis, J., 1995. States without centres? The middle La Tène period in temperate Europe. In: Arnold, B., Gibson, D.B. (Eds.), *Celtic Chieftdom, Celtic State: The evolution of complex social systems in prehistoric Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 75–80.
- Colson, F., 1977. Power at large: meditation on "The Symposium of Power". In: Fogelson, R.D., Adams, R.N. (Eds.), *The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World*. Academic Press, New York, pp. 375–386.
- Crumley, C., 1995. Building an historical ecology of Gaulish polities. In: Arnold, B., Gibson, D.B. (Eds.), *Celtic Chieftdom, Celtic State: The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 26–33.
- Cunliffe, B., 1997. *The Ancient Celts*. Penguin Books, New York.
- Dalton, G., 1965. Primitive money. *Am. Anthropol.* 67, 44–65.
- Daveau, I., Bel, V., 2008. L'occupation du territoire autour de Lattara : quelques aspects mis en lumière par les fouilles récentes. *Gallia* 65, 23–44.
- Dedet, B., 2012. *Une nécropole du second Âge du Fer à Ambrussum, Hérault*. Éditions Errance, Paris.
- Dietler, M., 1990. Driven by drink: the role of drinking in the political economy and the case of Early Iron Age France. *J. Anthropol. Archaeol.* 9, 352–406.
- Dietler, M., 2001. Theorizing the feast: rituals of consumption, commensal politics, and power in African contexts. In: Dietler, M., Hayden, B. (Eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, pp. 65–114.
- Dietler, M., 2010. *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Dietler, M., Herbich, I., 2001. Feasts and labor mobilization: dissecting a fundamental economic practice. In: Dietler, M., Hayden, B. (Eds.), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, pp. 240–264.
- Dietler, M., Kohn, A., Moya i Garra, A., Rivalan, A., 2008. Les maisons à cour des Ille-Ille s. av. n. è. à Lattes: émergence d'une différenciation dans l'habitat indigène. *Gallia* 65, 111–122.
- Dorward, D.C., 1969. The development of the British Colonial Administration among the Tiv, 1900–1949. *Afr. Aff.* 68, 316–333.
- Dozier, E.P., 1970. *The Pueblo Indians of North America*. Waveland Press Inc., Prospect Heights.
- Earle, T.K., 1997. *How Chiefs Come to Power*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Earle, T.K., 2002. *Bronze Age Economics: The Beginnings of Political Economies*. Westview Press, Boulder.
- Ehrenburg, M., 1990. *Women in Prehistory*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E., 1969. *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Favory, F., Fiches, J.-L. (Eds.), 1994. *Les campagnes de la France méditerranéenne dans l'Antiquité et le haut Moyen Âge : études microrégionales*. Documents d'archéologie française, vol. 42. Édition de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris.
- Fiches, J.-L., 1996. *Ambrussum, une étape de la voie Domitienne en Lunellois*. Les Presses du Languedoc, Montpellier.
- Fiches, J.-L., Richard, J.C., 1985. L'Émission monétaire d'Ambrussum (Villetelle, Hérault) au Ier s. av. n. è. *Rev. Arch. de Narb.* 18, 381–387.
- Flannery, K.V., 1972. The cultural evolution of civilizations. *Annu. Rev. Ecol. Evol. Syst.* 3, 399–426.
- Flannery, K., Marcus, J., 2012. *The Creation of Inequality: How Our Prehistoric Ancestors Set the Stage for Monarchy, Slavery, and Empire*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Fortes, M., Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (Eds.), 1940. *African Political Systems*. Oxford University Press, London.
- Fried, M.H., 1967. *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology*. Random House, New York.
- Garcia, D., 2004. *La Celtique méditerranéenne: Habitats et sociétés en Languedoc et en Provence VIIIe-IIIe siècles av. J.-C.* Editions Errance, Paris.
- Garcia, D., Verdin, F. (Eds.), 2002. *Territoires celtiques : espaces ethniques et territoires dans agglomérations protohistoriques d'Europe occidentale*. Éditions Errance, Paris.
- Garcia, D., Gruat, P., Verdin, F., 2007. Les habitats et leurs territoires dans le sud de la France aux IVE-IIIe s. In: Mennessier-Jouannet, Chr., Adam, A.-M., Milcent, P.-Y. (Eds.), *La Gaule dans son contexte européen aux IVE et IIIe s. av. n. è. Actes du XXVIIe colloque international de l'AFÉAF (Clermont-Ferrand, 29 mai-1er juin 2003)*. *Monographies d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne*, Lattes, pp. 227–236.
- Garmy, P., Michelozzi, A., Py, M., 1981. Une nouvelle sépulture protohistorique à Beaucaire (Gard): la tombe du mas de Jallon. *Rev. Arch. de Narb.* 14, 71–87.
- Garnsey, P., 1999. *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Garnsey, P., Saller, R., 1987. *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society, and Culture*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Girard, B., 2013. Les aristocrates guerriers en Gaule méditerranéenne au Second âge du Fer. *L'Arch.* 128, 44–49.
- Glatz, C., 2009. Empire as network: spheres of material interaction in late Bronze Age Anatolia. *J. Anthropol. Archaeol.* 28, 127–141.
- Gluckman, M., 1940. The kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa. In: Fortes, M., Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (Eds.), *African Political Systems*. Oxford University Press, London, pp. 25–55.
- Hansen, T.B., Stepputat, F., 2006. Sovereignty revisited. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 35, 295–315.

- Hedeager, L., 1992. *Iron-Age Societies: From Tribe to State in Northern Europe, 500 BC to AD 700*. Blackwell, Cambridge.
- Hill, J.D., 2006. Are we any closer to understanding how later Iron Age societies worked (or did not work)? In: Haselgrove, C. (Ed.), *Les mutations de la fin de l'âge du Fer, Bibracte*. Centre Archéologique Européen (Collection Bibracte 12/4), Glux-en-Glenne, pp. 169–179.
- Hutchinson, S.E., 1996. *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War, and the State*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Issacs, H.L., 1977. Orenda and the concept of power among the Tonawanda Seneca. In: Fogelson, R.D., Adams, R.N. (Eds.), *The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World*. Academic Press, New York, pp. 167–184.
- Jannoray, J., 1955. *Ensérune: Contribution à l'étude des civilisations préromaines de la Gaule méridionale*. Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises à Athènes et de Rome, Paris.
- Johnson, A.W., Earle, T.K., 2000. *The Evolution of Human Societies: From Foraging Group to Agrarian State*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Leone, M.P., 2005. *The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital: Excavations in Annapolis*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Lewuillon, S., 2002. Le syndrome du Vergobret : à propos de quelques magistratures gauloises. In: Perrin, F., Decourt, J.-C. (Eds.), *L'aristocratie celte à la fin de l'âge du Fer (Ile s. av. J.-C. – 1er s. après J.-C.)*. Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray [et] l'UMR 5594 du CNRS, Université de Bourgogne. Bibracte. Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray, Glux-en-Glenne, pp. 243–258.
- Lienhardt, G., 1958. The Western Dinka. In: Middleton, J., Tait, D. (Eds.), *Tribes without Rulers: Studies in African Segmentary Systems*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, pp. 97–135.
- Lloyd, P.C., 1975. The rise of new indigenous elites. In: Duigon, P., Gann, L.H. (Eds.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870–1960, The Economics of Colonialism*, vol. 4. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 546–564.
- Luley, B.P., 2008. Coinage at Lattara. Using archaeological context to understand ancient coins. *Archaeol. Dialogues* 15, 173–194.
- Luley, B.P., 2014a. Cooking, class, and colonial transformations in Roman Mediterranean France. *Am. J. Archaeol.* 118, 33–60.
- Luley, B.P., 2014b. Colonialism, Dining, and changing strategies of power: the example of Iron Age and Roman Mediterranean France at Lattara (ca 150 BC – AD 50). *J. Archaeol. Method Theory* 21, 750–780.
- Mackie, E.W., 1996. The early Celts in Scotland. In: Green, M.J. (Ed.), *The Celtic World*. Routledge, London, pp. 654–670.
- Mair, L., 1971. New elites in East and West Africa. In: Turner, V. (Ed.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870–1960, Profile of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule*, vol. 3. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 167–192.
- Mann, M., 2012. *The sources of social power. A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*, vol. 1. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Mauné, S. (Ed.), 1998. *Recherches récentes sur les établissements ruraux protohistoriques en Gaule méridionale (IXe–IIIe s. av. J.-C.)*. Actes de la table-ronde de Lattes (mai 1997). Éditions Monique Mergoïl, Montagnac.
- Mauné, S., 2000. La question des premières installations rurales italiennes en Gaule transalpine (fin du IIe s.-milieu du Ier s. avant J.-C.). *Gallia* 57, 231–260.
- Megaw, J.V.S., 1996. Ancient Celts and modern ethnicity. *Antiquity* 70, 175–181.
- Middleton, J., Tait, D. (Eds.), 1958. *Tribes without Rulers: Studies in African Segmentary Systems*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Monteil, M., 1999. Nîmes antique et sa proche campagne: étude de topographie urbaine et périurbaine, fin VIe s. av. J.C./VIe ap. J.C. *Monographies d'archéologie Méditerranéenne*, vol. 3. Association pour la Recherche Archéologique en Languedoc-Oriental, Lattes.
- Morgan, L.H., 1962. *League of the Iroquois*. The Citadel Press, Secaucus.
- Nadal, S.F., 1967. Nupe state and community. In: Cohen, R., Middleton, J. (Eds.), *Comparative Political Systems: Studies in the Politics of Pre-Industrial Societies. The Natural History Press, Garden City*, pp. 293–338.
- Oberg, K., 1940. The Kingdom of Ankole in Uganda. In: Fortes, M., Evans-Pritchard, E. (Eds.), *African Political Systems*. Oxford University Press, London, pp. 121–164.
- Perrin, F., Decourt, J.-C. (Eds.), 2002. *L'aristocratie celte à la fin de l'âge du Fer (Ile s. av. J.-C. – 1er s. après J.-C.)*. Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray [et] l'UMR 5594 du CNRS, Université de Bourgogne. Bibracte. Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray, Glux-en-Glenne.
- Piot, C., 1991. Of persons and things: some reflections on African spheres of exchange. *Man* 26, 405–424.
- Price, T.D., Feinman, G.M. (Eds.), 2010. *Pathways to Power: New Perspectives on the Emergence of Social Inequality*. Springer, New York.
- Py, M., 1974. Le problème des Volques Arécomiques à la lumière des résultats actuels de la recherche archéologique. *Miscelanea arqueologica* 2, 209–253.
- Py, M., 1978. L'Oppidum des Castels à Nages (Gard) (Fouilles 1958–1974). XXXVe supplément à "Gallia". Editions du centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.
- Py, M., 1980. Une sépulture du IIe s. av. J.-C. à Nage (Gard). *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 13, 211–222.
- Py, M., 1990. Culture, Économie, et Société protohistorique dans la région nîmoise. École Française de Rome, Rome.
- Py, M., 1992. Meules d'époque protohistorique et romaine provenant de Lattes. In: Py, M. (Ed.), *Recherches sur l'économie vivrière des Lattares (Lattara 5)*. Édition de l'Association pour la Recherche Archéologique en Languedoc Oriental, Lattes, pp. 183–232.
- Py, M., 2003. Les Celtes du Midi. In: Bats, M. (Ed.), *Peuples et territoires en Gaule méditerranéenne, Hommage à Guy Barraud*. Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise, Suppl. 35. Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier 3, Montpellier, pp. 303–321.
- Py, M., 2009. Lattara (Lattes, Hérault): Comptoir gaulois méditerranéen entre Etrusques, Grecs et Romains. Éditions Errance, Paris.
- Py, M., 2011a. La sculpture gauloise méridionale. Éditions Errance, Paris.
- Py, M., 2011b. Nîmes. In: Roure, R., Pernet, L. (Eds.), *Des rites et des Hommes: Les pratiques symboliques des Celtes, des Ibères et des Grecs en Provence, en Languedoc et en Catalogne*. Éditions Errance, Paris, pp. 84–89.
- Py, M., 2012. Les Gaulois du Midi : De la fin de l'âge du Bronze à la Conquête romaine. Éditions Errance, Paris.
- Rigby, P., 1971. Politics and modern leadership roles in Ugogo. In: Turner, V. (Ed.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870–1960, Profile of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule*, vol. 3. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 395–438.
- Routledge, B.E., 2004. *Moab in the Iron Age: Hegemony, Polity, Archaeology*. University of Penn Press, Philadelphia.
- Roure, R., 2011. Le Cailar, Gard, France. In: Roure, R., Pernet, L. (Eds.), *Des rites et des Hommes: Les pratiques symboliques des Celtes, des Ibères et des Grecs en Provence, en Languedoc et en Catalogne*. Éditions Errance, Paris, pp. 146–151.
- Roure, R., 2015. Le Cailar, un dépôt exceptionnel d'armes et de têtes coupées. *Dos. d'Arch.* 367, 6–11.
- Roure, R., Pernet, L. (Eds.), 2011. *Des rites et des Hommes: Les pratiques symboliques des Celtes, des Ibères et des Grecs en Provence, en Languedoc et en Catalogne*. Éditions Errance, Paris.
- Sahlins, M., 1972. *Stone Age Economics*. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.
- Sanmartí, J., Santacana, J., 2005. *Els Ibers del Nord*. Rafael Dalmau, Barcelona.
- Sauvage, L., 1996. Existe-t-il une ferme indigène dans le Midi de la France. *Rev. Arch. de Pic.* 11, 287–292.
- Schapera, I., 1940. The political organization of the Ngwato of Bechuanaland protectorate. In: Fortes, M., Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (Eds.), *African Political Systems*. Oxford University Press, London, pp. 56–82.
- Schultz, E.A., Lavenda, R.H., 2014. *Cultural Anthropology: A Perspective on the Human Condition*, ninth ed. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Sereni, E., 1957. Différenciation et évolution vers l'Etat des communautés ligures. In: *Etat et classes dans l'Antiquité esclavagiste, Structure - Evolution. Recherches internationales à la lumière du marxisme n 2*. Édition de la Nouvelle Critique, Paris, pp. 53–100.
- Smith, A.T., 2011. Archaeologies of sovereignty. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 40, 415–432.
- Thurston, T.L., 2010. Bitter arrows and generous gifts: what was a 'King' in the European Iron Age? In: Price, T.D., Feinman, G.M. (Eds.), *Pathways to Power: New Perspectives on the Emergence of Social Inequality*. Springer, New York, pp. 193–254.
- Tierney, J., 1960. The Celtic ethnography of Posidonius. *Proc. R. Irish Acad.* 60, 189–275.
- Trigger, B.G., 2003. *Understanding Early Civilizations: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Turner, V. (Ed.), 1971. *Colonialism in Africa, 1870–1960. Profile of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule*, vol. 3. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Vial, J., 2011. *Les Volques Arécomiques et le Languedoc Oriental Protohistorique: Etude d'une entité ethno-politique préromaine (IXe–Ier s. av. J.-C.)*. Monographies d'archéologie méditerranéenne, vol. 30. UMR 5140 du CNRS, Lattes.
- Wagner, G., 1940. The political organization of the Bantu of Kavirondo. In: Fortes, M., Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (Eds.), *African Political Systems*. Oxford University Press, London, pp. 165–196.
- Wallace, P.A., 2005. *Indians in Pennsylvania*. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.
- Wells, P.S., 1984. *Farms, Villages, and Cities: Commerce and Urban Origins in Late Prehistoric Europe*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- Westermann, D., 1970. *The Shilluk People: Their Language and Folklore*. Negro Universities Press, Westport.
- Wolf, E., 1982. *Europe and the People without History*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Zegwaard, G.A., 1959. Headhunting practices of the Asmat of Netherlands New Guinea. *Am. Anthropol.* 61, 1020–1041.