

Monumental Development in Glanum: Evidence for the Early Impact of Rome in *Gallia Narbonensis*

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Abstract:

This article challenges the prevailing opinion that the inhabitants of *Gallia Transalpina* were largely unaffected by Roman hegemony in the late second and early first centuries. The monumental development of the site of Glanum in the late second century shows clearly that the local elite were reacting to, and interacting with, their Roman conquerors. This relationship is not immediately obvious because the style of the architecture dating to the second century is described as Hellenistic rather than Roman. However, I argue that this incongruity should not affect the perception of change in the area. Given the current emphasis in the scholarly literature on the participation of local elites in the process of culture change, what matters is not whether the monuments are 'Hellenistic' or 'Roman', but rather the motivation and timing of their production.

Keywords: *Gallia Narbonensis* | Glanum | Romanization | Roman Republic | Hellenistic architecture | Middle Ground

Article:

Introduction

It has long been acknowledged that there are few 'Roman' buildings in the architectural landscape of *Gallia Narbonensis* (southern Gaul) in the Republican period (Ward Perkins 1970). The evidence from the site of Glanum substantiates this idea, with its 'Hellenistic' monuments dating to the second century BC. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the local inhabitants in Glanum were impervious to change after the Romans took control of the region, just because building activity in the second and first centuries BC is 'Hellenistic' in style rather than 'Roman'. Important progress has been made in the use and interpretation of such situations in Roman provincial studies. Along with the focus on the agency of the indigenous elite (Millett 1990; Woolf 1998; Downs 2000; Keay and Terrenato 2001) comes the growing realization that our labels 'Hellenistic' or 'Roman' are modern, and should not be assumed to coincide with

those of the past (Freeman 1993). Despite these more nuanced views of change, the assertion of a lack of cultural change in the Republican period in *Gallia Narbonensis* persists (Sear 1992: 213; MacMullen 2000; Woolf 2001: 174), with real cultural change argued for the first century BC (Ebel 1988: 572; Goodman 1997: 203; Woolf 1998: 238-41; 2001). This article analyzes arguments regarding the so-called Hellenistic architectural development in Glanum in order to highlight the tremendous change in the settlement which resulted from increased contact with the Romans in the second century BC. Indeed, as with other current work focusing on the Republican period in the western Mediterranean provinces (e.g. van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007), greater attention to the local context provides a much better understanding and appreciation for the changes resulting from Roman conquest.

Studies of Change

In the last two decades, there have been a number of important publications in Roman provincial studies which present new ways of interpreting the archaeological evidence (e.g. Millett 1990; Alcock 1993; Roymans 1996; Woolf 1998). In addition, the scholarship on the concept of 'Romanization' itself has become more sophisticated (e.g. Mattingly 1997; 2004; Laurence and Berry 1998; Keay and Terrenato 2001; Hingley 2005). It is now recognized that Roman material culture in the provinces should not be seen as a sign of assimilation or acculturation. Rather, the presence of this kind of material culture is directly related to its use in the negotiation of identity in a post-contact world.

Although these approaches to the material culture certainly represent an improvement over previous interpretations of culture change in the Roman provinces, in which the adoption of Roman material culture was seen as a natural, or inevitable, result of contact (e.g. Haverfield 1926), the significance of the new styles of material culture is often still ambiguous. A lack of evidence that this kind of material culture signified 'Roman' for the inhabitants of the provinces is a critical problem (Freeman 1993). Alongside this difficulty of identifying what constituted 'Roman' material culture is the realization that these categories may well have varied from one community to the next: 'Each region was different, and each would have produced its own form of hybrid Roman, derived from pre-existing conditions and for their own purposes' (Freeman 1993: 444; cf. Woolf 1995). In accordance with these concerns, I argue in this article that what is true for 'Roman' material culture, in terms of the ambiguity surrounding its meaning in the past, should also be true for 'Hellenistic' material culture, particularly when production took place after Roman conquest of the region.

Since the inception of the study of the Roman provinces, certain ways of doing things have been identified as 'Greek', 'Hellenistic' or 'Roman', but in reality there is much overlap between these styles. 'Hellenistic' is particularly complicated because the Romans themselves were creating 'Hellenistic' styles of material culture in the third and second centuries BC (Zanker 1974). It should be clarified that the term 'Hellenistic' can be used in two different ways. It can either be used in a chronological sense to refer to the period between the death of Alexander the Great (323 BC) and the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra by Octavian (31 BC), or it can be used to describe something as derivative or emulative of the Greek original. The verb *hellenizo* ('to make Greek') was originally coined in *Maccabees*, where it was used to describe the adoption of the Greek language and customs by the Jews (Ogden 2002: ix). When the term 'Hellenistic' is

used in reference to southern Gaul in the sixth to first centuries BC, it is most often used in this second sense, to describe how the local inhabitants had become ‘like Greeks’ as a result of contact with the Greek colony of Massalia.

What did it mean to be Hellenized? On sites such as Glanum, where the quality or preservation of the architectural remains has surpassed that of other classes of evidence, it is related to the construction of buildings which are characteristic of Greek cities. Thus, one can use the term *bouleuterion* for the remnants of a stone gathering-hall, because in Greek city-states this building was the meeting place for the assembly (*boule*) of Greek citizens. Another structure can be identified as the *prytaneum*, a building containing the offices of the chief magistrates of a Greek state, as well as serving as a venue for entertaining ambassadors and providing meals for honored guests. In addition, certain construction techniques, such as the use of large rectangular blocks (ashlar masonry), are seen as Greek, as well as the use of certain architectural features, such as rows of columns (porticoes) or courtyards with four-sided porticoes (peristyles). Finally, the use of the Greek alphabet would be an additional indication of ‘Greekness’. As Kleiner wrote (1973: 383), ‘Republican Glanum, for example, existed only in the political sphere. Its inhabitants continued to speak Greek and to use Massaliote currency.’

This same dependence upon architectural styles in order to pinpoint the cultural identity of the local inhabitants is true for the Roman period. Thus, Glanum ‘becomes Roman’ in the first century BC, with evidence of the development of a forum complex, the construction of temples and baths, and the use of Latin for inscriptions. Elsewhere in southern Gaul, the influence of Rome is seen in the construction of theaters and amphitheaters (Sear 1992: 213). Certainly some of these monuments are contemporaneous with similar monuments in Italy, and may well have been equated by the local population with a ‘Roman’ identity, but such a relationship should not be taken for granted.

Thus, the difficulty with the labels of ‘Greek’, ‘Hellenistic’ and ‘Roman’ is that most of the time we have only limited ways of determining how these ways of doing things were interpreted by the ancient participants. The solution is not to strip new styles of material culture of any ethnic affiliation, but rather to evaluate the meaning of the new (and continuing) styles at the local level. The fact that some of this material culture falls under the rubric of ‘Greek’ rather than ‘Roman’ should not be seen as a sign that Roman culture was rejected or ignored, and it should certainly not be used as evidence for a lack of change after the Roman conquest.

Glanum in its Regional Context

Glanum is located approximately 12 km east of the Rhône river, in a gorge just to the north of a mountain range known as Les Alpilles, in modern-day Provence (Figure 1). Though there is some indication of activity at the site in the seventh and sixth centuries BC, the archaeological evidence for the settlement at Glanum before the second century BC is sparse (Fontan and Roth Congès 1999: 38).¹ Some remains of houses dating to the Iron Age survive at the south end of

¹ Excavations at the site began in 1921, with the houses to the north uncovered by J. Formigé and P. de Brun. Next, from 1942 to 1970, Henri Rolland conducted a number of excavations in the monumental center of the city and the sanctuary to the south (Roth Congès 1992d: 39). It is important to note that for the excavations conducted before 1982, there is little stratigraphical information for finds such as pottery, and the excavator did not retain objects

the site. In addition to these rectangular stone huts, remnants of steps on the west side of this southern area lead to the cave where a sanctuary to an indigenous deity, Glan, was located. Evidence that the early inhabitants of Glanum were interacting with others in the region is demonstrated by the fragments of Etruscan and Greek pottery found on the site, dating to the early sixth century BC. Finally, some pottery and coins, dating to the last quarter of the sixth century, from the Phocaeen colony of Massalia (established in 600 BC), were found on the site, too (Arcelin 1991: 207-208)

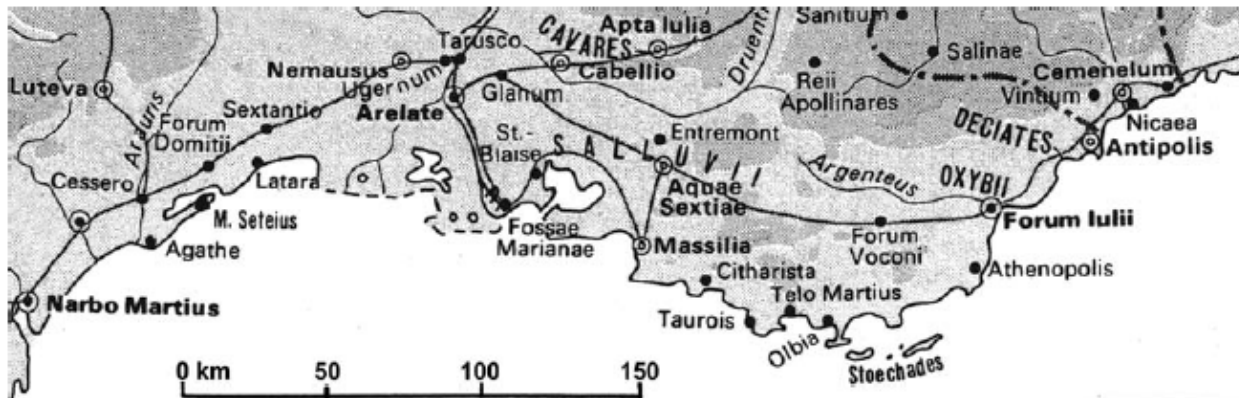


Figure 1. Map of sites discussed in text (adapted from Hammond 1981: fig. 23).

The written sources are also fairly lacunose for this early period in Glanum. The settlement is not mentioned by Strabo, and Ptolemy (2.9) identifies it only as one of the Salyen villages (Salviat 1990: 18). The Salyens were a branch of the Celto-Ligurians, who inhabited the region of modern-day Provence in the late Iron Age (Barruol 1969: 147). According to Posidonius, they were organized into a federation of ten, with a capital at Entremont (one of the hilltop sites, or *oppida*, which are typical in southern Gaul during this period) and, in times of strife, they banded together to form a communal military force (Salviat 1990: 12). This unity in the face of aggression will become significant when looking at the impetus behind the second century monumental development at the site of Glanum.

Despite the paucity of evidence for the pre-second century settlement, the fragments of Etruscan, Greek and Massaliote pottery which were found in pre-second century levels at Glanum indicate that the inhabitants were in contact with Etruscan traders in the region as well as the Phocaeen colonists. Located 70-80 km to the southeast, Massalia could be reached on foot in less than two days (Arcelin 1992: 307). In addition, a series of trading or military outposts (*epiteichismata*), which were established in southern France by settlers from Massalia, increase the probability of contact. Among these posts was Agde, founded in the late fifth century BC, followed by Olbia (Hyères) in the late fourth century (Dietler 1997: 287). Later, in the third century BC, Antipolis (Antibes), Tauroeis (Six-Fours), and Nikaia (Nice) were added to this group (Py 1993: 35-36; Dietler 1997: 287).

which were considered unimportant (including amphorae) (Arcelin 1991: 207). For these reasons, the study of small finds is fairly limited, and the monumental architecture at Glanum has received most of the attention. Excavations directed by Anne Roth Congès since 1982 have greatly improved our understanding of the various monuments, particularly with regard to the chronology.

Although the evidence is sparse at Glanum, investigations at other settlements in the region (the lower Rhône river valley) show changes in indigenous settlements coinciding with interaction with the agents from Massalia and its trading outposts from the sixth to the first century BC (Arcelin 1992; Dietler 1997). These changes include a new preference for fortified hilltop locations, the cultivation of grapes and olives, and the fabrication of wheel-made pottery (Arcelin 1992: 312). In developments similar to those seen in other regions of the western Mediterranean (e.g. Downs 2000), the acquisition of foreign objects through trade seemed to play a significant role in the creation and maintenance of unequal social relations in the indigenous settlements in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. In particular, the striking predominance in the lower Rhône Valley of imported, wheel-made pottery related to the storage and consumption of wine has been noted (Arcelin 1992: 312-13). Dietler (1995) has interpreted this pattern as evidence for the importance of feasting in the maintenance of social power.

Surprisingly, this trade between Massalia and the settlements of the lower Rhône river valley seems to fall off abruptly in the early fourth century BC (Arcelin 1992: 320), and by the third and second centuries BC, Massaliote pottery accounts for only five per cent of assemblages at local sites (Goudineau 1983: 78). Various theories have been advanced to explain this phenomenon, including the weakening of Massalia's economic strength, the increasing intensity of Roman commercial activities, as well as the involvement of the inhabitants of the region in the second Punic War (Arcelin 1992: 325).

As tensions mounted between Rome and Carthage in the years leading up to the second Punic war (218–201 BC), southern Gaul grew in importance as a thoroughfare between Italy and Spain, where the Carthaginians had established new strongholds. Livy (21.19-21) provides a vivid description of the Roman soldiers traversing southern Gaul, looking for allies against Hannibal. In this same passage, we learn that Massalia and Rome also formed an alliance to ensure the Romans a safe passage through the region. Moreover, there were almost certainly Roman traders in the region in the third century, given the marked increase in Italian imports, especially the Black Gloss table-ware known as Campanian ware (Goudineau 1983; Arcelin 1992: 306; Dietler 1997: 292). Produced in central and southern Italy, this type of pottery was traded widely in the Mediterranean from the late third century BC to the end of the first century BC (Woolf 2001: 178).

The Roman presence increased dramatically in 154 BC, when the attacks from indigenous tribes against Antipolis and Nikaia became so severe that Massalia appealed to the city of Rome for assistance. In order to maintain good relations with their ally, the Romans responded, coming in with an army and defeating the coastal tribes (Polybius 33.8-10). The respite was only temporary, however, and Massalia, under attack by the Salyens, again appealed to Rome in 125 BC. The Roman army, led by the consul M. Fulvius Flaccus, battled against the Salyens, as well as other tribes in the region (Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.34). Unable to achieve decisive victories, Flaccus was forced to withdraw, and another consul, C. Sextius Calvinus, invaded the following year, defeating the Salyens and destroying their capital at Entremont. Sextius then established a Roman garrison, known as *Aquae Sextiae* (Aix-en-Provence), near Entremont (Diodorus Siculus 34.23; Strabo 4.1.5; 4.6.3).

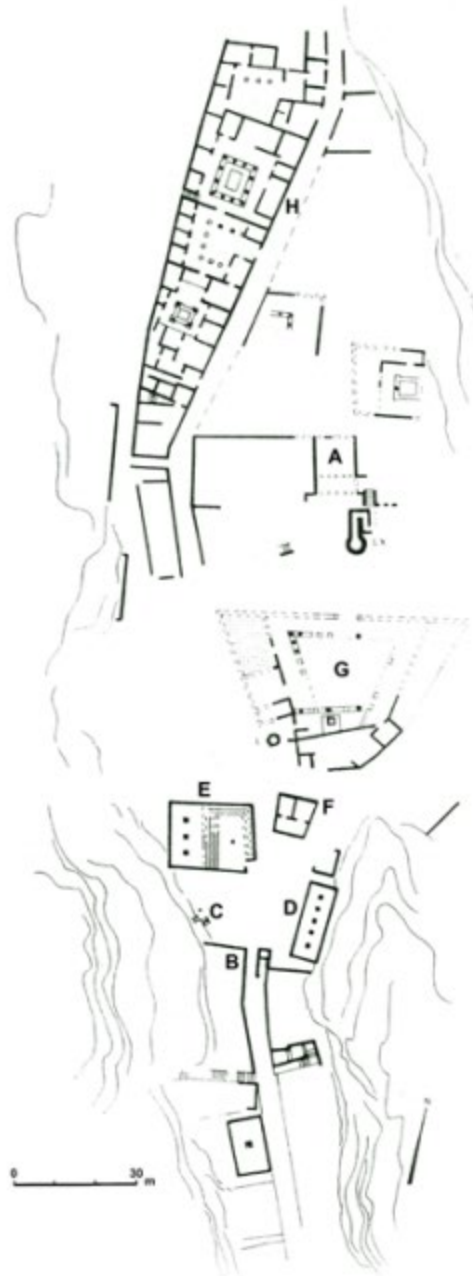


Figure 2. Plan of late second-century BC monumental development at Glanum. A: Tuscan Temple; B: Fortified wall; C: Twin Chapels; D: Portico; E: *Bouleuterion*; F: Treasury; G: *Prytaneum*; H: Peristyle houses. (Adapted from Roth Congès 1992d: 41, fig. 4.)

Despite the presence of this garrison, which would obviously indicate that there were Romans in the area, Rome apparently left control of this region east of the Rhône to Massalia (Strabo 4.1.5). To the west of the Rhône, on the contrary, the Romans established firmer control (and a greater physical presence) after 120 BC, building a road, the *via Domitia*, starting at Ugernum (Beaucaire), through Nîmes, down to the Pyrénées. Also, in 118 BC, a colony, *Narbo Martius*, was founded in the Languedoc region. Finally, the earliest evidence for Roman land survey, known as cadastration or centuriation, is dated between the late second century and the mid-first

century BC. This evidence for the survey and division of the land in order to facilitate land transfer and taxation is found west of the Rhone, in proximity to the modern cities of Narbonne, Nîmes, Béziers and Valence (Dietler 1997: 294).

Early Monumental Development

Meanwhile, in the midst of all this military activity in the second century BC, there was tremendous building activity going on at the small settlement of Glanum. Situated in the area north of the indigenous sanctuary, the new constructions include a temple, a rectangular building of uncertain function with a peristyle, and a portico built over a small well. The most intriguing construction, when considering the impetus behind the building activity at the site in the second century, is the temple (Figure 2: A). Though little remains of the initial structure, its ground plan is still decipherable, and enough architectural fragments were found to form a good idea of its appearance. Oriented to the south, towards the indigenous sanctuary, the temple was built in the Tuscan order (Roth Congès 1985: 204-06; 1992a: 356), a style of Roman temple architecture which is identified by the presence of column bases, as well as by the manner in which the different elements of the entablature (architrave, frieze, and cornice), the section of the temple elevation located above the columns, were carved (Jones 2000: 110). It was a small temple (15 × 10 m) with a square cult chamber (*cella*), erected on a platform or podium with six columns on the façade. The *cella* was accessed by two lateral staircases in front (Giacobbi-Lequément *et al.* 1989: 16).

For the purposes of dating this monument and identifying a possible source of inspiration, there is interesting comparative material in southern central Italy (modern-day Molise) for some of the architectural features of this temple in Glanum. According to Roth Congès (1985: 206), the profile of the cornice (the top part of the entablature) is very similar to that seen on a temple built at the end of the second century BC in a Samnite sanctuary in Vastogirardi. Another temple from the same area of Italy, this one at Pietrabbondante, also has features similar to those at Glanum, and was built in the second century BC. These similarities indicate possible emulation of Italic styles in the earliest stage of monumental development at Glanum (Gros 1992: 374; Roth Congès 1992a: 356). Similar connections have been made by Italian archaeologists (e.g. Torelli 1995) between architectural features found in fragmentary form at Glanum—certain styles of column capitals, cornice profiles, and sculpted friezes—and those produced in Italy in the second and first centuries BC (Gros 1990: 101). Thus, Torelli (1995: 179-80) argues for the strong role played by an early Roman ‘colonization’ in the spread of Hellenistic styles of monumental architecture in Gallia Narbonensis in the late second and early first centuries BC.

The remains of a second building, the possible source of evidence for local ritual activity, are very fragmentary. Located about 30 m south of the Tuscan temple, its plan featured rooms organized around a rectangular courtyard, where evidence for at least 13 columns has been found. Judging from the size of this courtyard, too large (about 10 × 13 m) to have belonged to a house, the structure probably had a public function (Roth Congès 1992a: 356; 1992c: 51).

At some point in the late second century BC, the building with the rectangular courtyard, the Tuscan temple, as well as other monuments which may have existed, suffered heavy damage. Architectural and sculptural fragments which were re-used in the foundations of constructions

dating to the late second century provide possible evidence for additional monuments belonging to this initial stage of development. These remains include fragments of monolithic pillars with holes cut out of them to hold human heads, and statues of crouching figures similar to sculpture at other native sites, Roquepertuse and Entremont. Although these fragments could have come from the rectangular building with the courtyard (Giacobbi-Lequement *et al.* 1989: 16), they could also be the sole remnants of another structure where indigenous ritual activities, possibly associated with a hero cult, took place (Roth Congès 1992a: 357).

Monumental Development in the Late Second Century BC

Following the destruction of the aforementioned buildings in (what is believed to be) the last quarter of the second century BC, there was new building activity on the site (Figure 2). It is this new monumental development, the 'Hellenistic' phase, which has spurred much debate regarding the identity and cultural affinity of the inhabitants of Glanum. In this phase, the Tuscan temple (Figure 2: A) was rebuilt from its foundations (Roth Congès 1992a: 357), and other structures were erected. One of these new constructions was a fortified wall of ashlar masonry (Figures 2: B, 3). The purpose of this wall, which seemed only to protect the indigenous sanctuary to the south, has been questioned (e.g. Hodge 1999: 153). New research on the fortifications at Glanum, however, has revealed more walls on the outer periphery of the site, which would indicate that this short section of wall, north of the sanctuary, was part of a larger network of defensive structures (Agusta-Boularot *et al.* 2004: 29). To the north of this sanctuary wall, two small twin chapels were built (Figure 2: C), which apparently housed sculptures in the form of seated warriors (Giacobbi-Lequement *et al.* 1989: 20). Directly across from these edifices was a portico (Figure 2: D; Figure 4). The portico was divided into two naves by a colonnade, and contained a basin to catch running water. Adjacent to the portico was an exedra, or recessed area, containing a bench.

Another monument constructed at this time has been identified as the '*bouleuterion*' of the city (Figure 2: E). The remains of the stone seating from this open-air assembly hall can still be seen today (Figure 5). The seating was arranged around a small, circular altar, and a large portico was built against its rear side, to the west. Although it feasibly could have served as the meeting place for the town council, there is no way to determine whether this body functioned in a manner similar to a Greek *boule*. The function of another building, which is adjacent to the alleged '*bouleuterion*', is also uncertain (Figure 2: F). Its proximity to the '*bouleuterion*' has prompted the suggestion that it may have been the treasury, or held the archives (Giacobbi-Lequement *et al.* 1989: 20).

An additional new monument was located on the site of the earlier structure with the rectangular courtyard, from which evidence of indigenous ritual activity may have come. The large, trapezoidal courtyard of this new building is surrounded on four sides by a portico (Figure 2: G). The capitals of this portico are quite striking: each capital is adorned with acanthus leaves and four heads or busts. The inspiration for these figures was drawn from a number of different sources: gods of the Greco-Roman pantheon (Dionysus); mythological figures (Cyclops); allegorical figures (Africa); Celtic heroes (wearing the torque); and unidentified females (Giacobbi-Lequement *et al.* 1989: 20).



Figure 3. Fortified wall at Glanum.



Figure 4. Portico at Glanum.



Figure 5. *Bouleuterion* at Glanum.

The effort and expense required to produce capitals of such quality suggest an important function for this building. Some of the other features in the building strengthen this impression. One of the rooms still contained remnants of its decoration: an *opus signinum* mosaic floor as well as portions of a terracotta frieze (which originally adorned the walls). A fragment of this frieze featured the highly unusual image of a horse with a tail in the shape of a bird (Giacobbi-Lequement *et al.* 1989: 22; Roth Congès 1992a: 357). Other finds from the building were equally mysterious: three skulls with holes bored through them were found on the floor of the building, as well as an amphora, a *krater* (or wine-mixing bowl), vessels for drinking and eating, and a stone tabletop. Finally, a stone basin dedicated to a local god, Belenos, was discovered. The ritual nature of some of these discoveries, the pottery forms associated with drinking (and entertaining), the elaborate nature of the decoration, and the location of the building, not far from the ‘*bouleuterion*’, have prompted the identification of this building as the *prytaneum* or main public and administrative center of the city (Giacobbi-Lequement *et al.* 1989: 20; Roth Congès 1997: 179). This identification was recently questioned by Pierre Gros (1995: 329), however, who argued that features such as the stone tabletop or the fragments of wall painting did not provide sufficient evidence of a religious function for the building.

Instead, Gros has suggested that the entire site should be re-interpreted as a sanctuary to Hercules, as well as a marketplace, connected with the practice of transhumance. According to him, Glanum could have been the ancient equivalent of a toll booth, where taxes would be collected before entrance to the pastures. Such an explanation would explain not only the unparalleled building program on the site in the second century BC, but would also provide a source of income for the development. As such locations in antiquity became *de facto* gathering places for the local population, one would also expect to find commercial establishments, such as

markets (Gros 1995: 327). Gros identified the so-called '*prytaneum*', with its rooms arranged around a courtyard, as a possible market (1995: 328-29).

In a very detailed rebuttal, Roth Congès (1997) disagreed with Gros' overall interpretation of the site, reaffirming her belief that the wealth of the site was due to its function as a healing sanctuary (1997: 184). Roth Congès also defended her choice to call the building with the trapezoidal courtyard a '*prytaneum*', given the evidence for both feasting and ritual activity (skulls with holes bored through them) in a structure too ornately decorated to be just another wealthy residence (1997: 179). She readily admits that the identifications of both the '*bouleuterion*' and the '*prytaneum*' are speculative, but questions why such labels are problematic, since, for example, there is textual evidence for a Gallic senate (Livy 25.40; 31.31: Roth Congès 1997: 179). I would argue that such labels are problematic because they are potentially misleading (see also Hodge 1999: 274), giving a false impression of the meaning of these monuments for the Salyens. This caveat is particularly appropriate given the discovery in 1967 of Latin letters and numbers engraved on some of the architectural elements of the so-called '*prytaneum*', presumably used to aid in its assembly (Roth Congès 1992d: 44).



Figure 6. *Peristyle* houses at Glanum.

To the north of these public buildings, to the east and west of a small street, are the remains of houses (Figures 2: H, 6). The building materials and stone-cutting technique indicate a late second-century BC date for the construction of these houses (van de Voort 1991: 2). In terms of style, Ward Perkins (1970: 2) describes them as:

neither atrium houses of Latium nor the mixed atrium-peristyle house of Campania but a version, and a surprisingly sophisticated version at that, of the colonnaded courtyard houses of the Hellenistic world, best known to us from the houses of Delos.

Without going into too much detail, it is pertinent to point out that, despite the presence of Italian colonists on Delos in the late second century, there is no evidence for 'Roman' houses. Commenting on this phenomenon, Winter (2006: 173) wrote:

In fact, the architecture of the Italian colony on Delos, whether residential or of some other type, seems to have been almost entirely 'Aegean Hellenistic'. This situation is not really surprising, since most of the contractors would have been natives of the Aegean...

This is not to imply that there were Romans living in Glanum, but rather to point out that the 'Hellenistic' style of houses cannot be used to argue against interaction with the Romans.

In addition to these houses, another possible connection with the Greek world is made with the use of the Greek script to write the local language (Lambert 1992: 291), with a number of Gallo-Greek inscriptions found on stone slabs or pottery fragments at Glanum. These inscriptions, mostly votive in nature, reveal personal names which were predominantly local: 43 whole or partial names have been identified, with only one possibly Greek name (Roth Congès 1992a: 354, n.11). The date at which these Gallo-Greek inscriptions were first produced is not known with certainty; the end of the third century BC has been suggested (Gros 1992: 372).

Another important instance of the use of Gallo-Greek is found on the silver coinage minted at this time (Roth Congès 1992b: 37). The *recto* of this silver coin shows the profile of a woman's face, with very curly hair. She is identified as an indigenous mother-god, whose cult at Glanum is confirmed by dedications (also in Gallo-Greek), discovered in the area south of the wall at Glanum. On the *verso* of this coin, a charging bull is depicted with a branch above his head, and the Greek letters πν. The iconography of the charging bull, used elsewhere to allude to sources of water, would seem to strengthen the reference to the mother-god, given the proximity of her sacred area to the indigenous sanctuary and its associated spring (Brenot 1989: 75). The name of the inhabitants is written under the charging bull: 'Glanikon' (ΓΛΑΝΙΚΩΝ). Comparative material from Massalia was used to date the issue of this coin to the end of the second century BC (Brenot 1989: 75), but its significance in terms of connections with the Greek colony is debated (Roth Congès 1992a: 353).

In the midst of all this seemingly Hellenistic material culture comes a reminder of the proximity of the Romans. An inscription on a limestone votive altar dedicated to local deities reveals an important exception to the local character of the onomastics: the name of the dedicant was Cornelia (ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑ). It is a typically Roman name, yet the style of the inscription indicates that the dedicant was most likely a local woman (Gros 1990: 103). The findspot for this small altar, in the rubble under structures associated with the later 'Twin' temples, allows it to be dated to the early first century BC (Rolland 1958: 54). Combined with the Latin letters and numbers engraved on some of the architectural elements of the so-called '*prytaneum*', it provides clear evidence of interaction with the Romans at a time when there was tremendous change at the settlement.

In addition to the Roman soldiers at Aquae Sextiae, the continuing (and possibly increasing) presence of Roman traders in the lower Rhône river valley is well documented by the increase in the number of Dressel 1 amphorae, used to transport Italian wine (Tchernia 1983: 85). Evidence for this increase in the importation of Italian wine cannot be confirmed at Glanum, where sherds of amphorae were typically not retained by the early archaeologists (Arcelin 1991: 207). However, an analysis of the Black Gloss Campanian ware found on the site corroborates the impression of an increase in the volume of imports from Italy at the end of the second century BC. Though Arcelin was working with fragments without a stratigraphical context, he was still able to draw interesting conclusions from the relative proportions of the different types and forms of Campanian pottery when compared to locally produced forms (Arcelin 1991).

He examined 9,000 sherds of pottery from Glanum, representing 2,225 vessels, dating from the late Bronze Age to the end of the first century BC. Fifty-nine per cent of these 9,000 fragments date to the second and first centuries BC, and local, hand-made pottery constituted the majority (approximately 60% of the fragments), followed by wheel-made pottery imported from the Mediterranean region (36%), and regional wheel-made pottery (4%) (Arcelin 1991: 208). For the Mediterranean imports, 445 fragments of Campanian ware were found, and the majority (81.5%) of these were classified as Campanian A, which includes a variety of forms dating from 220 BC to 40–30 BC (Arcelin 1991: 210). Two conclusions resulting from Arcelin's analysis of these sherds should be highlighted. First, in terms of both type and form, the proportions of Campanian ware found at Glanum coincide well with the proportions seen at other indigenous sites in the lower Rhône river valley (1991: 219). Secondly, despite the introduction of new forms of Campanian table ware (platters and plates), the continued use of certain types of indigenous hand-made cooking pots (in contrast to little evidence for such forms at Greek sites such as Olbia) indicates that the inhabitants at Glanum continued to eat the traditional soups and stews (Arcelin 1991: 229-33).

In addition to the archaeological evidence which indicates a greater Roman presence, we have Cicero's description of Gaul in a speech which he gave in defense of Marcus Fonteius early in the next century. Fonteius had been governor of Gallia Narbonensis from 74–72 BC, and was subsequently charged with extortion and excessive taxation of the local inhabitants. As Cicero defended his client, he said:

Gallia is stuffed with businessmen, full of Roman citizens. No Gaul conducts business without a Roman citizen. Not one small coin is used in commerce without the account books of the Roman citizens (*Pro Fonteio* 11).

Though almost certainly exaggerated, given the circumstances (and the fact that it was Cicero who was speaking), this account certainly corroborates the picture given by the archaeological evidence for the late second century BC.

All of the buildings which were erected towards the end of the second century in Glanum were destroyed very soon after. Henri Rolland blamed the invading Germanic tribes, against whom the Roman general Marius fought in 102 BC, for the destruction (Roth Congès 1992d: 44). Others argue that the devastation was related to the Roman suppression of another Salyen revolt in 90

BC. This revolt is mentioned by Livy (*Periocha* 73)² and it was probably C. Coelius Caldus who suppressed it, but few details are known about which Salyens were involved (Rivet 1988: 55).

Roman Involvement

The real issue for the purposes of this article is whether this late second century monumental center was in contact with the Romans. In order to make a convincing argument that increased interaction with the Romans was the impetus behind the building activity, however, the issue of who was responsible for the construction of these monuments must be addressed. The Hellenistic character of much of this material culture created at the end of the second century in Glanum has prompted some scholars, including the initial excavator, Henri Rolland, to attribute the monumental development to resident Greeks (Roth Congès 1992c: 50). In this scenario, Glanum had either been one of the trading posts established by the Massaliotes, or was settled by Greek colonists in the second century BC (Kleiner 1973: 381). Even in recent publications, scholars continue to assert that some of the new structures could only have been built by Greeks: ‘Even allowing that the local Celts may have been more sophisticated and receptive to innovation than we normally give them credit for, I at least find it difficult to look at these dwellings so characteristically Greek and then believe that Glanum was a completely Celtic town with no Greek element in its population’ (Hodge 1999: 157).



Figure 7. Wall at Saint Blaise.

Glanum *was* indeed very different from other sites in the region. The only site which contains some comparable features dating to the late second century BC is Saint Blaise, a native *oppidum*,

² The *Periochae* are summaries of Livy's books which were produced in the fourth century AD.

where a wall dated to c. 150 BC was built with ashlar blocks similar to those used in the fortification wall at Glanum (Hodge 1999: 144) (Figure 7). All the other *oppida* remain indistinguishable from one another in the second century BC, with their mudbrick architecture and paucity of public buildings (Giacobbi-Lequement *et al.* 1989: 18). Entremont, in particular, provides an interesting comparison, given the proximity of the *oppidum* to Glanum, as well as the supposed status of this place as the capital of the Salyen federation. In addition, the evidence from Entremont dates exclusively to the second century BC, corresponding almost exactly in time with the changes seen at Glanum (Arcelin 1992: 327). The architectural landscape at Entremont, however, is in complete contrast to that seen at Glanum: though there is some evidence for monumental constructions, they do not draw upon Graeco-Italic models (Arcelin 1992: 327; Dietler 1997: 320). In addition, the houses are strikingly different, with the typical house at Entremont consisting of up to four rooms, but with no evidence of the courtyards or porticoes as seen at Glanum (Arcelin 1992: 327).

Despite the contrast with indigenous sites, there are a variety of reasons to suspect that the inhabitants of Glanum were not foreigners, but rather indigenous. The onomastic evidence indicates a Celtic population, as do the deities who are named in the votive inscriptions. Furthermore, the piers which were carved out to hold skulls are more suggestive of local customs, as are the sculptural styles which have parallels at other indigenous sites, such as Roquepertuse and Entremont (Roth Congès 1992a; 1992c; 1992d). Finally, the analysis by Arcelin (1991) of the ceramic assemblages of the last few centuries BC reveals the retention of local eating habits, despite a significant percentage of imported wares.

Thus, all the evidence would suggest that the indigenous inhabitants of Glanum were probably interacting with both residents of Massalia and its colonies, as well as Romans. In the midst of these interactions, they funded the construction of monuments which do not fit neatly into any stylistic category, but certainly seem to have been created in response to the influx of Romans. Gros grapples with the issue of how to categorize these monuments in a series of articles about the difficulty of distinguishing forms of Hellenism resulting from contact with Massalia from those introduced by the Romans (Gros 1974; 1990; 1992). Of course, the lack of comparative materials from Massalia, because of the subsequent growth and occupation of that site, presents a serious impediment (Roth Congès 1992c: 54). Although he acknowledges the evidence for Roman involvement in the spread of ‘Hellenistic’ culture, Gros also argues that the quality of the workmanship would only have been possible in a region with a long history of contact with Massalia and her colonies. Thus, the combination of a long-standing connection to Massalia with the influx of ideas brought by the Romans created a ‘Hellenistic-Italic *koine*’ from which the style of the monuments was drawn (Gros 1974: 301; 1992: 370). While such an argument might get around the issue of the source of the inspiration, it does not shed light on the meaning and function of these monuments (Gros 1990: 104).

Roth Congès (1992c) argues that the impetus behind this anomalous indigenous building program was the changed function of Glanum, serving as the new center of Salyen leadership after the destruction of Entremont by the Romans in 125–24 BC.³ Thus, in addition to the sacred character of the site as an indigenous sanctuary, Glanum may have become a symbol of

³ A discrepancy with the literary sources should be noted here: according to Livy, the Salyen elite had fled to the territory of the Allobroges, not to another Salyen settlement (Barruol 1969: 168).

resistance to the Romans (Giacobbi-Lequemet *et al.* 1989: 18). In such circumstances, the embellishment of the settlement in the wake of Roman aggression against the indigenous settlements would not be surprising: 'It is, in the face of the threat of Roman annexation, an affirmation of a cultural and political identity based upon material and conceptual borrowings clearly from the Mediterranean world, without completely renouncing an ethnic identity displayed with ostentation' (Roth Congès 1992c: 51).

In light of the ample evidence for a dramatically increased Roman presence in the region, rather than envisioning the tremendous building activity as a revitalization of Salyen morale in the face of Roman aggression, another option is to consider it as evidence of differing reactions to the Romans by the Salyens. Although the previously cited literary evidence indicated that the otherwise independent Salyen settlements would join forces during times of war, the archaeological evidence suggests a different, and far more complex, picture. Certainly the evidence at Glanum strongly indicates a connection between the indigenous inhabitants and the Roman newcomers, and it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that it provides evidence of some sort of cooperation. This concept of a working relationship, or dynamic interaction, between two originally distinct groups was developed by Richard White in his work on the interaction between the Algonquian Indians and the Europeans involved in the fur trade in the Great Lakes region (White 1991). The interaction between these two groups from the 17th to the 19th century AD resulted in the creation of new cultural structures, which drew inspiration from both groups. Gosden (2004: 31) utilized White's model of the 'Middle Ground' in order to explain the changes experienced in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain. He also suggested using the Middle Ground theory to explain the spread of Roman material culture during the imperial period, providing both an impetus for change which was less reliant on notions of Roman superiority and an explanation for change which eschewed sharp dichotomies between Roman and 'native' (Gosden 2004: 105-106; cf. Malkin 2002; for the notion of troublesome dichotomies between Roman and 'native', see also Mattingly 2004: 10; Hingley 2005: 24). The application of this model to the situation at Glanum in the second century would allow for the possibility that some of the Salyens developed a working relationship with their Roman conquerors, and demonstrated this affiliation by their participation in the new building program.

Fortunately, the ambiguity as to model for the second century development decreases in the first century BC, as connections with the Romans become more obvious. This later development does not prove that the inhabitants in Glanum were not adverse to the Romans in the previous period, but does substantiate the idea of indigenous contact with, and response to, the Romans.

Glanum in the First Century BC

After the second destruction, perhaps in 90 BC, five houses were built on the site of the dismantled monumental buildings north of the sanctuary (Figure 8). Three of the five houses of this period were buried underneath the construction in the city associated with the Augustan building program in 30 BC. In addition, a graffito found on a plaster fragment from one of the houses gives the date 32 BC (Barbet 1990: 113). Thus, the date of construction for the houses must fall between c. 90 and 30 BC. The most relevant house for the purposes of this article is the so-called 'House of Sulla.'

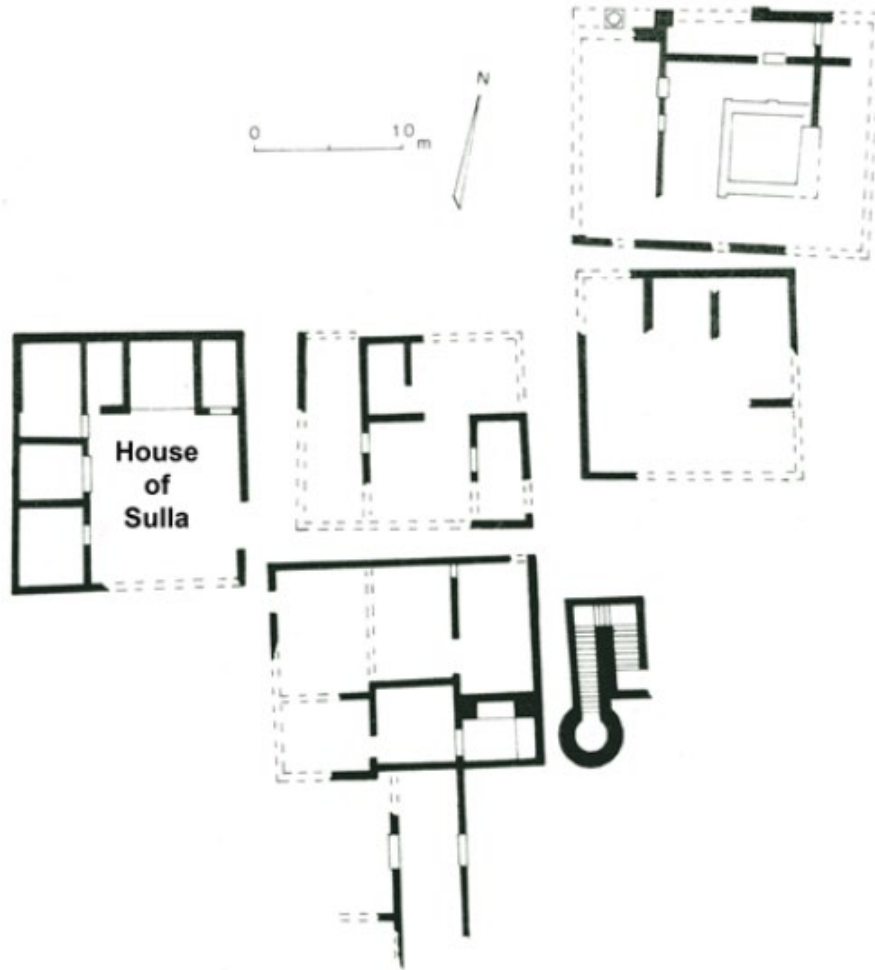


Figure 8. Plan of first-century residential development at Glanum. (Adapted from Roth Congès 1992d: 47, fig. 7.)

This house is a more or less square building, with a court in the southeast corner and with three rooms on the north and west sides. These rooms open onto the court, which does not show evidence of either an *impluvium* or a portico (Roth Congès 1985: 192). The center room on the north side is larger than the two which flank it and is identified as an ‘exedra’ by the archaeologists. It contains the remains of an *opus signinum* mosaic with an inscription that reads CO(RNELII) SULLAE (Barbet 1990: 113). This is an interesting piece of evidence, considering the use of the name Cornelia earlier in the century on the votive altar (Gros 1992: 273). It seems increasingly likely that some of the residents of Glanum were clients of the powerful Roman family of the Cornelii.

In addition to assuming the Roman family name or *gentilicium*, the family occupying the House of Sulla had the walls of at least one of their rooms painted in a style which is similar to that found in Italy at the time. An analysis of the wall decoration by Barbet (1990: 125) shows it to be strikingly similar to so-called second-style wall paintings in the villa at Boscoreale near Pompeii, and she dates the decoration to the mid-first century BC. A local standard of measure, however, had been used in the construction of this house and several other buildings in Glanum (Roth

Congès 1985: 193), indicating yet again that indigenous inhabitants were at least drawing on local construction practices in the building of these structures.

A contemporary monument, the Mausoleum of the Julii, provides further evidence of local families linked with powerful Romans (Figure 9). The so-called mausoleum is one of two monuments also known as *Les Antiques* and located northwest of the site of Glanum, near the ancient road which passed through the area on the way from Italy to Spain. The other monument is a municipal arch of later date, as it is one of a series of such monuments constructed in *Gallia Narbonensis* at the end of the reign of Augustus and early in the reign of Tiberius—i.e. in the 20s ad (Gros 1989: 40). The mausoleum is a three-story tower about 17 m high (Rolland 1969: 19). The lowest story, or socle, sits on a quadrangular base, and is decorated with panels of low relief sculpture on each of its four sides. The next story of the mausoleum, above the socle, is a *quadrifrons* ('four-sided' square) with engaged Corinthian columns. The north side of the architrave of this *quadrifrons*, which faces the road passing under the adjacent arch, bears the inscription SEX(tus) L(ucius) M(arcus) IVLIEI C(aii) F(ili) PARENTIBUS SVEIS, which shows that the monument had been constructed by someone associated with the Julii family. Above the architrave is a frieze depicting sea monsters and tritons. Finally, the structure is crowned by a ring of ten Corinthian columns supporting a conical roof (otherwise known as a *tholos*, or a *monopteros*). Inside the *tholos* are two male statues wearing a Roman-style *toga*.



Figure 9. Monument known as the 'Mausoleum of the Julii' at Glanum.

The relief sculpture on the socle has raised issues which are relevant to this article. It is a source of contention whether these reliefs are more appropriately seen as Greek or Roman. To describe

them briefly: on the north side, a battle scene is depicted; on the south side, a boar hunt; on the west side, an infantry battle; and on the east side we see a possible representation of the conferral of citizenship on one of the men of the family because of his bravery on the battlefield (Salviat 1990: 86; Gros 1989: 42). The best argument regarding the inspiration for these scenes was presented by Fred Kleiner, who proposed that the artists may not have been aware of an ethnic affiliation to the artwork; instead, they would have been working from available models which were adapted according to the inclinations of both the artist and the patron (Kleiner 1980: 110).

As to who might have been responsible for the creation of the relief sculpture on the socle of the mausoleum, Kleiner has postulated the existence of an itinerant workshop operating in the region of southern Gaul in the first century BC (Kleiner 1977), possibly staffed by local artisans who had been trained by Italian artists (Picard 1964: 20). While the type is rare in southern France, the tower tomb exists in many regions, with variations, around the Mediterranean (Rolland 1969: 71). However, the probable source of inspiration for the monument at Glanum, with its distinctive combination of a square socle and a crowning *tholos*, was ultimately Italy, where funerary monuments dating to the late Republican and early imperial periods show a similar combination of elements (Kleiner 1977: 675-77). This emulation of architectural styles found in Italy continues a practice which may have begun in Glanum in the second century BC, in which the elite of the city associated themselves with the material culture of the conquerors.

Further evidence of the desirability of this association is seen in the costume of the male statues in the *tholos*. These men are wearing the Roman *toga*, a garment associated with Roman citizenship, and are thus revealing the aspiration to look Roman, if nothing else (Kleiner 1977: 688). In addition to the *toga*, the inscription on the prominent north side, in Latin, links the family to the Romans. Perhaps the most telling evidence, though, is the name of the family—the Julii—indicating their ties to a prominent Roman family (Kleiner 1977: 664).

The grandiose statement made by such a tomb is better appreciated in light of the other type of burial found at the site. Thirteen burials have been excavated in the vicinity of Glanum, all dating to the late second century and early first century BC. These consisted of simple cremation burials, with a few burial goods (pottery, animal bones), and were only occasionally marked by a stele (Arcelin 1975). Thus, the statement of the Julii family regarding their position vis-à-vis both their neighbours and the Romans must have been very clear.

Conclusions

While the number of radical changes in the urban landscape of Glanum in the second and first centuries BC is surprising, the correspondence between these changes and the advent of the Romans is even more striking. In light of this coincidence, we need to call into question the assertion made by Ward Perkins (1970: 3):

But, such as it is, the evidence of Glanum is quite explicit in indicating that the direct architectural impact of Republican Rome upon the western provinces was slight.

Given our current understanding that in most cases the Romans were not directly responsible for the new urban landscape of the western provinces in the early imperial period, but rather that it

was local elites who funded the construction of such monuments, we must reconsider our thinking about the Republican period as well. As has been observed in comparable cases such as Volterra (in central Italy), there is good evidence at Glanum that a local elite group was responding to a new political situation by funding the construction of new buildings (cf. Terrenato 1998). We have little evidence to support the idea that those funding the construction of the so-called Hellenistic buildings were conscious of their non-Roman (according to modern labels) character. Indeed, the circumstances surrounding the adoption of so-called Hellenistic material culture in Glanum point instead to a mixed population of both locals and Romans as the intended audience. Even if it could be demonstrated that the label of ‘Hellenistic’ should more appropriately be used, the adoption of this type of material culture does not indicate apathy in the face of Roman hegemony. On the contrary, its appearance in Glanum in the wake of the Roman arrival surely indicates a reaction to their presence. Thus, despite the fact that the material culture is not ‘Roman’, one cannot possibly argue that Roman incursions to the area did not cause change, social or otherwise.

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