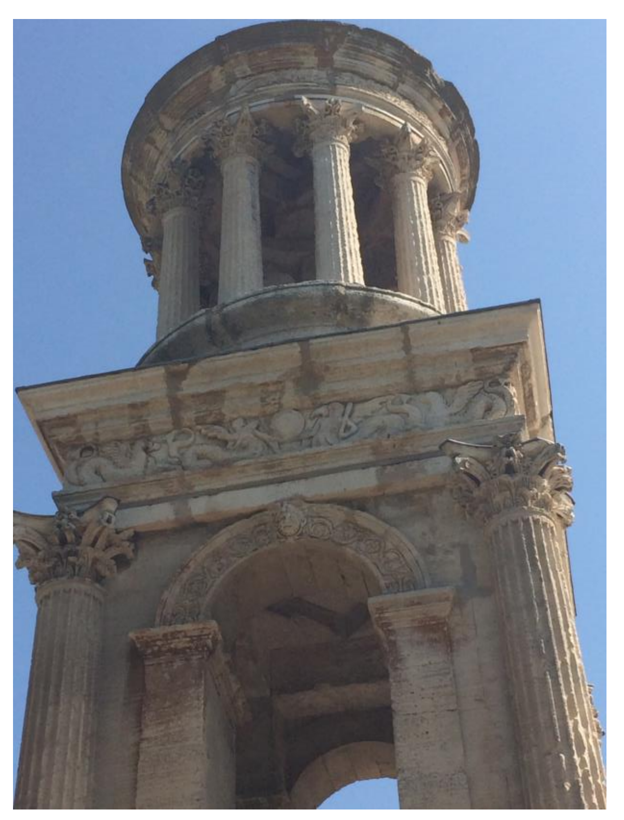

# KEEPING UP WITH THE JULII

Roman Impact on Social Stratification and Mobility in the Rhône Basin c.125-10BCE Vol.II: pp307-518

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# 5 For Richer, For Poorer – Economic Power

## 5.1 Defining Economic Power

Economic power, as defined in Mann's IEMP model, is characterised defined as control over resources through production, ownership, and/or redistribution. This control can take many forms depending upon how a society is organised in relation to the material resources it needs.[1] In many, if not most, societies, the possession of wealth is a fundamental characteristic of membership of the ruling elite, and, conversely, poverty is a near universal condition of the lowest echelons of hierarchical social orders. Such hierarchies may be subject to a variety of nuances, with wealth being a necessary rather than sufficient condition of elite status, rather than being pure plutocracies.[2] Taking a Gramscian lens we can view economic power as part of both dominion (in the capacity to control access to necessary resources) and hegemony (in the ideological value assigned to concepts of wealth and access to prestige goods).

Taking the overall characterisation of the Late Iron Age Gallic societies of the Rhône Basin we sketched in the first two chapters of this thesis, that they were agrarian, sedentary, and semi-urbanised, we can sketch out five main areas of inquiry into how economic

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[1] We may compare distinctions between hunter-gatherer, pastoralist, and arable agriculturalists in terms of their 'economic' organisation around varying food sources. Aristotle's *Politics* (1256a19-40), for example, provides such a schema for understanding differing ways of life in the ancient world (with a noticeably hierarchical bent, see Shaw, 1983: 8-28).

[2] Consider Van Buren and Richards' concept of 'Wealth' in the ordering of ancient societies as reflecting the means to maintain 'Order' and 'Legitimacy' (both quite analogous to Gramscian notions of 'dominion' and 'hegemony'). Van Buren and Richards, 2000: 4.

resources were organised among them. The first and foremost is land, the basic organisation of territorial space as a producer of crops, supporter of grazing livestock, and potentially a source of rent. The second is labour, the organisation by which others can be mobilised to complete work on one's behalf. The third area of inquiry is coinage, examining the arguments around the potential use of currency in such communities and its implications. The fourth area is trade, considering what archaeological and textual evidence of exchange of goods with other communities (especially with Rome and the wider Mediterranean world) says about the power Rhône Gallic elites could have wielded over import/export processes. By examining the available evidence relating to each area, we can attempt to reconstruct elements of how the ruling classes of groups such as the Arverni, Aedui, or Allobroges configured 'wealth' as an aspect of elite ideology in theory and practice. From this we can attempt to synthesise an analysis of to what extent the impact of Roman conquest would have permitted or facilitated a change in ruling classes in those communities in economic terms or weighed against such a process.

As is the case for all four chapters of this thesis examining vectors of power in Late Iron Age/Early Roman Gallic societies in the Rhône Basin, there are substantial lacunae in the knowledge available to us. This is particularly true of the topic of this chapter, since we are dealing with extremely limited, often highly problematic textual sources and archaeological material that invites a very broad array of possible interpretations rather than clear and definitive answers. As such, the need to distinguish between what we can ascertain,

what range of scenarios we can reasonably hypothesise, and what remains in the realm of the unknown beyond the bounds of supportable argument.

## 5.2 Land

As is the case with almost all economies, especially pre-industrial ones, the most fundamental aspects of the economy of Gaul in the second and first centuries BCE lay in the management of the land and the products therefrom. Examining what evidence there is of how productive 'land' as a material resource was in the regions and timeframe under consideration and by whom and in what ways that productivity was controlled is the first step in understanding the dynamics of economic power in Late Iron Age Rhône Gaul.

In terms of land as a productive resource, available archaeological and textual (of a notably lesser extent) evidence points to a relatively high degree of exploitation of space for agricultural purposes. The greater Rhône Basin, like most of Gaul, was a heavily cultivated landscape, largely cleared of trees and wilderness regions.[3] The Lower Rhône Valley especially was largely and consistently deforested by the Late Iron Age, speaking to the intensity of cultivation practiced there.[4] Pollen and soil analyses indicate that what appear to have been concerted efforts toward agricultural expansion across Gaul from the third century BCE onwards, which saw arable cultivation pushed into formerly marginal land on upland plateaus, while the formerly planted river valley floors turned over to

[3] Audouze and Büchsenschutz, 1992: 164.

[4] Sallares, 2007: 26. Based on an analysis of the low levels of tree pollen and arboreal insect remains in the vicinity of the river at Iron Age stratigraphy levels, see Andrieu-Ponel *et al*, 2000: 341-55.

pasturage and expanded with drainage of wetlands.[5] This move was aided by the development and increasingly widespread use of heavy iron ploughshares that allowed for the turning of denser soils.[6] All across Gaul, the Late Iron Age saw a consistent trend towards mobilisation and intensification of crops in what could be considered an agricultural boom. Field systems aimed at the growing of spelt and emmer wheat increased in size and complexity.[7] Furthermore, a survey of traces of non-local weeds in crop field contexts and waste deposits in the period *c.*100-60BCE in Comatan Gallic contexts (notably including the Upper Rhône and Saône regions) notes a definite increase from previous periods. [8] This would indicate that local communities had begun importing seeds from distant locales and transporting harvests to stockpiling sites to a greater degree than before.

Analyses of the material remains of Late Iron Age pastoralism offers similar indications of expansion and mobilisation, with some indications of intended use. A survey of available zooarchaeological data suggests that Gallic cattle gradually decreased in average size over the course of the La Tène period (*c.*400-50BCE), suggesting that their primary intended use as livestock was for dairy production rather than meat.[9] Sheep, conversely, appear to have been increasingly bred for size, which may indicate an interest in intensified wool production. Meanwhile, the plain of Crau, near

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[5] Haselgrove and Guichard, 2013: 317-18. For a more detailed consideration of these processes in the specific context of Arvernian exploitation of land in the Upper Allier Valley see Loughton, 2014: 5-6.
[6] Mann, 1986: 187-8.
[7] Bakels, 1996: 331-2.
[8] Ralston, 2019: 28.
[9] Audouze and Büchsenschutz, 1992: 158.

Arelate, shows archaeological evidence of what appears to have been large scale sheep-pens dating to the late first century BCE/first century CE.[10] A particular feature of Iron Age Gallic pastoralism, contrasting with earlier Bronze Age and Neolithic epochs and coming to a head in the last two centuries BCE, was the rise of pig husbandry as a major concern practiced in all areas and at almost all levels of society.[11] Analyses of domestic middens and other waste deposits from contexts dated to the second and first centuries BCE would seem indicate that cattle, pigs, sheep, horses, and even dogs were all consumed for their meat, though the frequency of this practice is uncertain.[12]

Another key aspect of the archaeological analysis of intensification and mobilisation of agriculture in the Late La Tène Rhône Basin is survey evidence of a major rise in the number of attested sites of rural occupation in the late second and early first centuries BCE. What is now eastern France, including the Saône and Doubs Valleys, appear to have seen a proliferation of small, enclosed farmsteads across the landscape, coupled with an unusual tendency towards rapid cycles of abandonment and foundation of new sites.[13] Mauné's survey of archaeologically attested settlement patterns in the Lower Rhône region, contrastingly, seems to show a

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[10] Woolf, 2001: 56.
[11] Audouze and Büchsenschutz, 1992: 158. Zooarchaeological surveys of the Late Iron Age/Early Roman Eastern Lower Rhône Valley, however, show a consistent emphasis on sheep and goats over pigs in all sites except centres of Roman colonisation such as Aquae Sextiae. By contrast, in line with Strabo's comments on the matter (*Geog.* 4.4.3), pigs appear to have been a primary form of livestock based on surveyed remains across Gallia Comata. King, 2001: 215-17.
[12] Moser, 2016: 177.
[13] Potential reasons for this tendency towards temporary occupation and relative frequent migration of premises are very much open to interpretation. Ralston, 2019: 27.

chronologically consistent but spatially uneven spread of occupation sites out from fortified centres in the immediate aftermath of Roman annexation post-*c.*120BCE, suggesting both an ongoing population boom and a renewed focus on agricultural exploitation of land.[14] In many ways this process appears to have represented a cyclical shift from a tendency to concentrate populations in nucleated upland settlements in the region during the Early Iron Age (*c.*600-400BCE) at the expense of outlying agricultural regions.[15] Although the regions adjoining the Rhône and its various tributaries are treated together here, it is important to remember that their approaches to agriculture were highly diverse and vary considerably from what may be considered the norm across Late Iron Age Gaul. The type of archaeological site traditionally labelled 'La Tène farmstead' is in fact comparatively rare in many areas of the greater Rhône Basin and Massif Central but are found in the vicinity of Nîmes (in the territory of the Volcae Arecomici) and in the Upper Saône Valley (in the lands of the Aedui and Sequani).[16]

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[14] Mauné contrasts the apparent sparsity of settlement and intensive cultivation in the Ambrussum/Lunellois region south-west of Nîmes with the comparative density of it on the Vaunage Plains north of the settlement as a prime example of this geographic unevenness of proliferation. The former situation does not necessarily indicate lack of use but could point to greater tendencies toward low impact approaches (such as pasturage) and a denser clustering of population in and around the Ambrussum oppidum site rather than spreading further afield. Mauné, 2000: 234-8.

[15] Arcelin, 2004: 224-5.

[16] The archetype of the Late La Tène Farmstead, characterised as a relatively large area agricultural complex bounded by a rectangular circuit of earthen ramparts, is mostly based on recent and ongoing excavations in northern France (e.g. Fichtl 2013, Malrain 2013, Touquet Laporte-Cassagne, 2018) though many have also been uncovered in southern Germany and Czechia. Mecking, 2019: 192. The proliferation of rural sites bounded by enclosures was a new phenomenon of the Late Iron Age, differentiating the period from earlier ones, and could potentially be taken as an indication of shifts toward private ownership of land, but without definitive proof. Haselgrove and Moore, 2007: 5-6.

The textual evidence for Gallic agriculture is, as previously suggested, of comparatively limited value next to the archaeological, especially as far as Gallia Comata is concerned. The ecological differences between Mediterranean and Temperate Europe make approaches to agriculture, especially of the arable variety, quite dissimilar undertakings, meaning that Latin and Greek observations and judgements upon the latter make for a poor basis of understanding.[17] Varro's dialogue attributed to Cn. Tremellius Scrofa notes, with surprise, that in addition to having no capacity to grow olives, the peoples of eastern Gaul and the Rhine Valley habitually used charcoal in place of salt as a fertilising agent (*Rust.* 1.7.8).[18] These differences also create methodological issues in attempting to quantify relative wealth and economic power between Roman and Gallic societies of the time, as yields and usages from similar areas and types of land could be very different. In any case, the consistent theme of Greek and Latin texts referring to farming practices in Late Iron Age and Post-Conquest Gaul, predominantly those of Caesar (*BG* 1.5, 1.10, 1.16), Varro (*Rust.* 1.7.8), Strabo (*Geog.* 4.1.12, 4.4.4), and Pliny the Elder (*NH.* 17.4, 18.12, 18.25, 18.72), is of societies heavily invested in agriculture and consequently well-rewarded with products, albeit often of different kinds than would be expected in Italian or Hellenic contexts. A good example of this trend can be seen in how Varro, in his discussion of the best uses of

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[17] Garnsey and Saller, 2014: 103. Perkins, 2000: 185.
[18] Cn. Tremellius Scrofa, identified with as the same individual mentioned by Columella (*Rust.* 1.1.12) and Pliny the Elder (*NH* 17.35), is thought to have held a military command, likely in the form of a pro-praetorian governorate, in the province of Gallia Transalpina at some point in the years *c*.72-68BCE. How close to the Rhine he and his troops may have penetrated in a campaign predating Caesar's is uncertain, but it is entirely possible that they have interacted with the Aedui (as allies), Sequani, or Helvetii. Brunt, 1972: 304-6.

slaves in agricultural affairs, argues that Gauls, far more than their counterparts from the Iberian Peninsula, are particularly well suited to employment as herders (*Rust.* 2.10.4), suggesting at least a perceived cultural affiliation with husbandry.

Between the archaeological and textual sources available to us, it can be reasonably concluded that, for the communities of the late second and first centuries BCE Rhône Basin, land was a highly productive resource. There was power to be had in the control of land in these contexts. However, how that power was distributed, whether it was hoarded by the ruling class or more broadly dispersed amongst the populace, is more difficult to investigate.

As noted in Chapter 3, certain sources indicate that Late Iron Age Gallic Communities understood and practiced territorial control on a political basis, with established boundaries delimiting which land belonged to which polity. These societies could conceive of land and space as resources whose use could be exclusive, and thus a source of power, rather than common to all. What remains far more ambiguous, however, is the extent to which land, in these contexts, was owned in terms of individual private property or on more collectivised bases. Within the confines of the political unit, territory could have been considered the collective property of all members of the community, divided between the patrimonies of particular clans or family units, or any other number of possible permutations of tenure systems.[19]

[19] Lewuillon has argued for a predominantly collectivised system of land tenure only gradually shifting toward a privatised one (to the benefit of the ruling classes) in the Late Iron Age. However, his cited evidence is very slim and relies

One of the only potential indicators of private land tenure within first century BCE Gallic society in Caesar's writings is in its contrast with the ethnography of the Germani. In listing their alien customs, the *Commentarii* explicitly assert that the latter have no system of fixed individual land tenure, instead having family and clan units receive annually redistributed allotments by the magistrates and chieftains (*BG* 6.22). In having introduced this section of the book with the proviso that the Germani differ greatly from their Gallic counterparts (*BG* 6.21), we might reasonably interpret the text to indicate that communities like the Aedui, Sequani, Arverni and others correspondingly did recognise individual private ownership of land. This is an argument from relative silence and carries with it all the baggage of Caesar's potential misrepresentations of fact.[20] However, it at least leaves the door open for an interpretation of Comatan Gallic approaches to land tenure as commensurable with Roman notions of landed property and real estate.

Due to the fact that available evidentiary bases are very slim, this a topic rife with hypotheses, interpretation, and, consequently, debate. Between evidence for the class stratification of Gallic society, comparisons with contemporaneous cultures, and the general tendencies of pre-industrial agrarian communities, control (if not strict private ownership) of land as a privilege of the ruling class is a common contention in such debates. Fichtl is keen to see the

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heavily on extrapolation from the idea of 'Celtic' mass migrations and resettlements as a factor of life in the Early Iron Age. Lewuillon, 1990: 339-40.

[20] For the deeply ideological bent of Caesar's contrasting Gallic and Germanic ethnographies see Riggsby, 2006:63-9; Schadee, 2008: 162; and Woolf, 2011a: 87-8, as well as further discussion of the text's utility as a source in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

'*equites*' of Caesar's ethnography as a landed aristocracy, drawing their resources from a combination of rents and stockpiled agricultural produce, drawing primarily on interpretation of larger and complex sites of rural occupation in Comatan contexts as manorial residences of the ruling elite.[21] Variants of this view are shared by others, notably Lewuillon in his argument for Late Iron Age Gallic society as a form of proto-feudalism, but without firmer proof this remains a matter of speculation.[22]

While our evidence for the relationship between land, wealth, and power in pre-conquest Gallia Comata is particularly sparse and equivocal, that for the Lower Rhône regions that came under Roman dominion earlier is correspondingly greater, especially in the textual realm. This primarily relates to evidence of Roman control of provincial land, in the forms of confiscation, redistribution, and direct colonisation.

Cicero's *Pro Fonteio* (13-14) describes confiscations of land as a standard retaliatory measure against local insurrections done both by Fonteius himself and earlier by Pompey, a practice which appears to have particularly affected the recalcitrant Allobroges under the former's governorate. Cicero's wording of "*ex eis agris…decedere sunt coacti*" ('having been compelled to retreat from/depart/abandon the fields') is potentially ambiguous as to whether it implies full ownership or merely usage, as the verb "*decedere"* could imply either physical withdrawal or the foregoing of

[21] Fichtl, 2019: 219.
[22] Lewuillon, 1975: 542-6. By contrast, Drinkwater, writing a few years later, reasonably argues that there is no reason to see potential social divisions between landholding and other sources of wealth (e.g., mercantilism) in Comatan Gallic societies pre- or post-conquest. Drinkwater, 1978: 846.

legal rights. The use of legal compulsion to relinquish land as a response to military insurrection heavily implies that right to territory was a resource whose loss would meaningfully damage the standing of local communities and their ability to resist Roman dominance. The precise fate, both legal and practical, of the land in question is not directly stated in the *Pro Fonteio* but maybe implied by other texts and comparisons with other incidents. Caesar, as noted in Chapter 3 of this thesis, mentions a confiscation of land in the Lower Rhône Valley some decades earlier (presumably *c.*77-75BCE) from indigenous to Massaliot control (*BC* 1.35), which could describe the incident mentioned above.[23] Christol, however, argues that the land transfers referenced by Cicero and Caesar were in fact two separate events, with that latter being a matter of taxation rights given over Massalia, while the former saw Pompey render confiscated lands from Gallic rebels as '*ager publicus*'.[24] For this to have been a viable strategy for provincial administration and economy there must have been citizens who could easily move into begin utilising the land, rather than leaving it to be reclaimed by locals. This approach can be compared with the handling of territories expropriated from 'Gallic' peoples in the Cisalpine regions of the Italian peninsula in the third and early second centuries BCE,

[23] For an examination of the possible role of the events as part of Pompey's campaigning in the Sertorian War see Leach, 2015: 45.

[24] Christol, 1999: 5-6. Such a distinction would also obviate the potential issues brought up by the assignment of Allobrogan land (far removed from the '*χώρα*' of Massalia in its comparatively northerly, inland location) to the control of the city-state. Dyson argues that the period c.100-70BCE in the province of Gallia Transalpina, the disruption left in the aftermath of the Cimbric Wars precipitated an endemic pattern of Massaliot and Roman colonial land-grabs against Gallic communities; a tempting assumption, but one currently impossible to trace given the near complete absence of helpful evidence textual or material. Dyson, 1985: 164.

in which vast swathes of land were confiscated from polities such as the Senones and Boii to be reserved for the use of Roman citizens and favoured *socii*.[25]

Investigating this possibility, that indigenous Gallic use of land in the Lower Rhône Valley was being curtailed by its use by Roman colonisers, is hampered by two main concerns. The first is that our sources give few, if any, clues as to precise locations, quantity, or variety of land under transfer, making it difficult to know where to look. The second is that archaeological surveys of the Lower Rhône Valley region have revealed virtually no clear signs of recognisably Italian artefacts or settlement remains outside of key sites (e.g. Aquae Sextiae) in the period *c.*120-50BCE.[26] Despite the limited material evidence for Italian settlement outside of the vicinity of Narbo Martius itself, Latin textual sources clearly indicate that by the early first century BCE Roman citizens were exploiting agricultural land in the province of Transalpina for their own benefit. Based on the description of its distance of roughly 700 Roman miles from Rome itself (Cic. *Quinct.* 79), the cattle farm of Quinctius and Naevius would appear to have lain in the territory of the Vocontii near the east bank of the Rhône.[27] This apparent discrepancy would suggest that Roman agricultural colonialism in the province as

[25] Roselaar, 2010: 31-2 and 52-4. The practical fate of the Cisalpine Gallic communities previously settled upon and utilising the territory confiscated in this manner was not necessarily extermination or total displacement, but reduction to the opportunistic use of marginal land within it while ceding all recognised legal rights to it to those of higher status.

[26] This survey highlighted both the absence of site/settlement types distinguishable from the La Tène norm across the area and the highly select, limited distribution of identifiably Italian pottery remains in datable contexts. Mauné, 2000: 236-41.

[27] The 'Sebagini' whom Cicero identifies as the indigenous neighbours may have been an otherwise unreferenced *pagos* of the Vocontii, Rivet, 1988: 60.

seemingly practiced differed too little from indigenous forms of farming to be easily traceable in the archaeological record.[28]

In a contrasting case of beneficence and redistribution, Caesar's comments (*BC* 3.59) on the gift of landed estates (as well as monetary donations) to Roucillos and Egos suggest that, by the latter half of the first century BCE, the Allobroges under Roman rule practiced (or at least understood) a system of private land tenure. The fact that the two brothers had previously been impoverished despite their father's pre-eminent status among his people, also speaks to both a potential alignment between land ownership and social power in Allobrogan society and a generational impoverishment and land-hunger affecting the elites of that group as a result of conflict with Roman authorities in the first century BCE.

The downfall of Massalia to Caesar's forces in 49BCE is thought to have seen previously alienated lands on the Lower Rhône reappropriated to the Volcae Arecomici, which would likely have seen their fortunes increase, ahead of their enfranchisement with the *ius Latii* a few years later.[29] Though they were not victims of confiscation as a result of immediate conquest, the foundation of *coloniae* along the Lower Rhône almost certainly resulted in the dispossession of many southern Gallic farming communities as their

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[28] De Ligt notes that, aside from the handful of largely Ciceronian references discussed above, the canon of Latin literature is surprisingly silent on the subject of Romans as absentee landlords of provincial estates. His conclusion that this indicates such estates were a limited source of income is harder to accept uncritically, but the point remains that colonialism of this type was seemingly not of great interest to the Roman ruling class of the Late Republic. De Ligt, 2012: 34.

[29] The idea of the transfer primarily rests on the evidence of Caes. *BC* 1.35 and a shift in local bronze coinage issues (produced to Massaliot drachma weight standards) from the use of Greek lettering (*NEMAY…/NAMAΣAT*… i.e., Namausos) to Latin (*VOLC./AREC.*) and the image of a togate female figure bearing a palm frond (thought to symbolise liberation), dated *c*.49BCE. Christol and Goudineau, 1987: 88.

lands were transferred to new owners.[30] It is possible, though left uncertain by lack of hard evidence, that some of those whose lands were confiscated for redistribution to veteran colonists may have been compensated by the Principate for their losses. Pseudo-Hyginus' fragmentary writings on agronomy speak of the practice of '*redditum veteri possesori*', which while theoretically based on the merciful return of annexed land by a victorious commander to defeated foes, is thought to have primarily taken the forms of either financial recompense or grants of otherwise surveyed land further from the centre of colonial foundations.[31] The exchange of surveyed, finite units of land in exchange for fixed sums of money would further support the inference that Lower Rhône communities had a recognisable system of land ownership in which private individuals could be compensated for their loss of property. Given that many of the *coloniae* founded in the late first century BCE were in the Lower Rhône Valley, most notably Arelate in the territory of the Volcae Arecomici and Arausio in that of the Cavares, faithful allies to Caesar and his heir in the preceding conflicts, it is not unreasonable to imagine that Augustus and his staff may have sought to compensate those who made way for new settlers, either with money or with gifts of land elsewhere. Something of this nature seems to have occurred at Arausio, whose epigraphically recorded cadastres note that some of the initially uncultivated land at the site, initially set aside for colonists, was returned ("*reddita*") to the

[30] Omrani, 2017: 205. For further analysis of the colonial transfer of land in the foundations of Arelate and Arausio see Heijmans and Sintès, 1994: 141; and Knight, 2001: 16. For a useful comparative example of the dispossession of local *incolae* to the benefit of colonists in the Augustan Era see Campbell on the foundation of Augusta Praetoria Salassorum. Campbell, 1996: 83.
[31] Campbell, 1996: 93.

Tricastini (a local *pagos* of the Cavares).[32] The notion of land being 'returned', rather than 'granted' or 'gifted', to Gallic *peregrini* or *Latii* would indicate an understanding that they were the original owners in a legal sense, not a merely metaphorical one. However, given the date of the policies described in the inscription (77CE), the development of such a legal system of land tenure among the Tricastini/Cavares could have been a more recent phenomenon in adaptation to provincial rule, rather than a longstanding tradition.

Overall, we can conclude that land was a major focus of economic activity in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman Rhône Basin and thus a potentially great source of power in economic terms. However, the information available to us is too limited to make firm conclusions about this power was distributed amongst the indigenous populace, especially in areas north of the Saône confluence or in the Massif Central. We can reasonably assume that communities in the regions annexed by Rome *c.*120BCE either already possessed or proceeded to synthesise systems of individual land ownership commensurable with those of their new overlords. However, exactly how much power this could provide for the ruling classes of groups like the Allobroges or Vocontii is difficult to ascertain given both the dearth of evidence and the apparent instability of land tenure (and rapacity of provincial administrations) suffered by the former especially in the early first century BCE. The topic of land cannot be ignored as a factor, but it does not provide answers to either the question of what level of control the ruling classes of Rhône Gallic

[32] Johnson, 2017: 42. *CIL* 12,1244.

communities had over the economic resources of their societies or how permeable this class divide might have been.

## 5.3 Labour

While land may be the ultimate expression of material resources as the basis of economy and power derived therefrom, the actual functioning of an economy is invariably predicated on human activity in the form of work. We can see an attempt to apply this labour/property dichotomy to the Ancient World in Finley's model, borrowing from Aristotelian frameworks to distinguish those whose wealth was sufficient to obviate the need to work from those, who despite their ownership of landed property or business interests, were compelled to actively labour in managing their holdings to sustain themselves and their households.[33] Our evidence for labour relations and organisation in the Late Iron Age Protohistoric context of the second-first centuries Rhône Basin is severely limited, but questions concerning them are crucial. In terms of economic power, it is vital to investigate how far members of the ruling classes of these communities were capable of mobilising and controlling the labour of their subject populations through coercion, reciprocity, and any other material or ideological means.

A fundamental problem of evidence immediately in examining the topic of labour organisation in Late Iron Age Rhône Basin contexts:

[33] Labelling the former group '*πλούτος*' and the latter '*πένης*'. Debate can be advanced as to what extent this division renders Marxist lenses of class inutile for Greek and Roman contexts (as argued by Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 354). In addition to the omnipresent complicating factor of slaves in Ancient economic schemata, the author also adds the underclass of '*πτόχοι*', whose genuine poverty and lack of opportunities for wage labour reduced them to status of beggars. Finley, 1973: 41.

slaves as part of Gallic society are explicitly referred to nowhere in extant Greek or Latin texts. This alone would not be a decisive argument that slavery did not exist among the Late Iron Age Gauls, since its presence may otherwise have been an assumed by Mediterranean audiences of ethnography.[34] Furthermore, however, the only material evidence that can be reliably linked to institutional chattel slavery in relation to the peoples of the Late Iron Age Rhône Basin is that which would appear to pertain to the exportation of captives to the Roman Republic. The idea of a slave trade between the Rhône regions of Gaul and Italy in the late second and early first centuries BCE, in which captives secured by Gallic efforts were exported to Roman buyers, and what this might entail for Gallic conceptions of labour and legal status are discussed below in section 5 of this chapter.

A difficulty faced in attempting to decode what Latin and Greek ethnography might indicate about slavery and labour organisation among the Gauls lies in the ideological implications of slavery that suffused the elite cultures producing those writings in ways far beyond the strictly legalistic. While nuanced by local variations and specificities, broadly, both institutions of Hellenic *douloi* and Roman *servi* can be characterised as chattel slavery; that is systems in which human beings were legally rendered as objects owned by others.[35] Beyond the mere legal specificities, this also entailed

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[34] Given slavery's foundational position in Hellenic and Italian societies of the time and tendencies in ancient ethnography to focus on differences from the assumed norm rather than describe foreign communities in comprehensive totality.

[35] For consideration of Greek slavery and its relationship to citizenship and legal personhood see Rhodes, 2013: 60-1. Roman slavery was also nuanced by the status distinctions between freedpeople (*liberti*) and freeborn (*ingenui*). Winterling, 2009: 17-19.

complex ideological implications for what was considered 'slavish' or befitting of the freeborn.[36] A significant side-effect of this cultural lens is that Roman elite tendencies to view all relationships involving service of one party to another through the lens of slavery might also disguise the fact that positions of direct service to social elites were a source of status rather than indicative of a loss of it. As discussed briefly in Chapter 4, this particularly relates to the perceived status of warrior retinues, who enjoyed high social status but were bound to serve their masters in return for their payment and provisions.[37] Caesar's use of the terms "*servi et clientes"* ("slaves and clients" *BG* 6.19) in his description of Gallic funerary rites might suggest distinct categorisations for each, but we have no indication of what exactly the distinction between them may have been. A potentially useful illustration of the issue of foreign forms of bond labour viewed through the prism of Greco-Roman ethnography can be seen in Tacitus' treatment of slaves in Germanic society (*Germ*. 25). These 'slaves' were defined by their captive and legally inferior status but, contrary to Mediterranean expectations, formed and lived in separate households from their masters and produced their own subsistence fare whilst turning over part of their crops as payment; a

[36] Cic. *Off*. 150 compares participation in wage labour as tantamount to slavery in the mindset of the Roman ruling class. For examinations of the idea of 'slavishness' in Roman society in the Late Republic and Early Empire see Lavan, 2011: 296-9; and Morley, 2006: 308-9. See also Finley on the place of Aristotle's theory of 'natural slavery' against broader Greco-Roman norms of 'slavishness' as an acquired characteristic. Finley, 1973: 81-2.
[37] Enright offers an analysis of the difficulties of parsing through Caesar's language to try and discern the status of Gallic **ambacti* as vassals and/or clients of members of the ruling classes rather than slaves, albeit one that favours his own rather idiosyncratic hypothesis regarding their social position. Enright, 1996:203-4.

condition perhaps more analogous to serfdom than chattel slavery.[38] This Roman account of the Germani of the late first century CE does not provide reliable evidence in itself concerning the society of early first century BCE Gaul. It does, however, raise the possibility that forms of bondage and/or bond labour existed in the societies of the Late Iron Age Rhône Basin which Greek and Roman commentators may have lacked the conceptual vocabulary to accurately describe.

When Caesar states that, to his observation, the common people amongst the Gauls are little better than slaves, this may indicate a number of different situations depending upon which particular connotations of slavery in Roman conceptions the author was attempting to invoke. One may be a situation wherein large numbers of the populace existed, in contrast to the increasingly unreal Roman ideal of the free and independent smallholder, in states of tenancy or even 'serfdom' to wealthier elites.[39] Another possibility may be drawn from Caesar's statement that certain members of Gallic society who found themselves in debt entered the service of patrons (*BG* 6.13), which could be interpreted as an attempt to describe a society which practiced a form of indentured servitude (and/or wherein labour might have functioned as a form of currency in which one could become indebted) to an audience familiar with debt-bondage as an institution.[40] That the legal and political rights of the

[38] For an examination of the role of tenancy and agricultural slavery (on a model not entirely dissimilar to serfdom) in the Roman world see Garnsey and Saller, 2014: 98-102.
[39] For analyses of Roman elite ideals of agriculturalism, and the stresses placed upon it by the contemporary economic situation see Finley, 1973: 44-54; D'Arms, 1986: 18-21: and Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 330-2 and 346.
[40] Lewuillon, not unreasonably, interprets Caesar's testimony to indicate debt bondage as a common occurrence in first century BCE Comatan Gallic society. Lewuillon, 1975: 538.

Gallic masses were limited and tied very closely to their factional relationships with members of the ruling class, as explored in political and military terms in Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis, would suggest that economic relations between masses and elite could have operated on similar bases of allegiance and reciprocity. Following this line of thinking, we could advance a hypothesis, currently unprovable, that the majority of labour niches that in Roman or Hellenistic societies would have been partially or totally occupied by slaves (e.g., mining, large scale farming work, construction etc.) were, amongst groups like the Arverni and Aedui, filled by lower class individuals who existed more in the vein of peasants than slaves.

Examining the material remains of occupation sites from the period may give some insight into how labour was organised in the communities they supported. Oppida, with their extensive fortifications and earthworks, argue strongly for a system in which large numbers of workers could be mobilised when needed for construction work.[41] Surveys of the Allier Valley, considered the heart of Arvernian territory, show that the closely aligned fortified sites of Corent, Gondole, and Gergovia were built in relatively rapid succession over the period *c.*100-70BCE.[42] Stratigraphical analysis of Bibracte also points a situation in which, rather than being a single project, the site was redeveloped repeatedly, with at least four distinct construction horizons over the period *c.*100-30BCE.[43] These rapid cycles of large scale construction works, averaging once every

[41] Moore, 2017: 283.
[42] Poux, 2014: 160-1.
[43] Moore, 2017: 295-6.

17.5 years, could be interpreted as a means of successive generations of leaders demonstrating their capacity to mobilise the labour of the community and leave a legacy of monumentation on the landscape.

A suggestion for how large-scale construction works may have been achieved was through the use of 'corvée' labour, a system in which lower status individuals owed the ruling class labour (often as defined by a period of time) as a form of taxation or tribute.[44] A corollary to this approach may have been feasts as a form of reciprocal payment for the labour and/or tribute owed by civilian workers to their lords, with work on the construction of oppida or sanctuaries repaid by the provision of food and drink in a ceremonial context.[45] Such a model of organisation would accord well with the picture of a society dominated by factional allegiances to individual elites and their followings, and, in its emphasis on reciprocal provision of resources between higher and lower status groups, could well be perceived as 'slavish' to a society which could only communicate such relationships through the prism of informal favours between friends.[46]

In addition to the monumentality of oppida constructions themselves pointing to aspects of labour organisation, it has been theorised that one of the primary purposes of oppida as sites was the concentration of manufacturing and artisanal labour into

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[44] Stone, 2013: 134-5.
[45] Arnold, 1999: 80.
[46] For the highly euphemistic language used to describe patron/client relations in Late Republican Roman contexts and its theorised motivations see Morley, 2006: 316.

dedicated communities.[47] The emerging trend of small ancillary buildings, distinct from houses or other architectural forms, can be seen as an indicator of the evolution of spaces purely designed for manufacturing work in the way of weaving, smithing, and pottery.[48] Such dedicated, concentrated spaces of manufacturing suggest a social division between those defined by their engagement with artisanal forms of labour and their counterparts who engaged primarily in agricultural or extractive forms of labour.[49] Whether or not this could be considered a class and/or rank division within Rhône Gallic societies is hard to parse but invites a good deal of speculation.[50] One specific aspect that invites further consideration is that the spatial relationships between these seemingly dedicated manufactory spaces and monumental fortifications/possible sites of elite residence could suggest a connection with the ruling classes. Loughton and others have suggested that, in Gondole and similar sites, the dense concentration of wine amphorae in the remains of workshop spaces could provide an indication that they were

[47] Audouze and Büchsenschutz, 1992: 25.
[48] Adam and Fichtl, 1996: 194. Audouze and Büchsenschutz, 1992: 134. In addition to spatial divisions within oppida fortifications themselves, more recent excavations have uncovered what appear to be similar craft-specialisation facilities in adjacent sites as part of the wider agglomeration/low density urbanism networks of which they were typically a part. The best example in current scholarship is the SDY ('Sources de Yonne') site near Bibracte. Moore, Braun, Creighton, Cripps, Haupt, Klenner, Nouvel, Ponroy, and Schönfelder, 2013: 504-6.
[49] For some of the issues posed to spatial analyses of the interiors of oppida sites caused by later agricultural use of the land see Wells, 1995: 90.
[50] For analyses of the significance of craft specialisation and diversification of labour in La Tène societies see Brun, 1995: 20; and Crumley, 1995: 27-8. For a broader consideration of the societal position of artisans in anthropological models for pre- and protohistoric societies see Kristiansen, 1991: 19. Crumley's hypothetical framework for Late Iron Age Gallic society suggests that artisans occupied a middle tier position in class hierarchy, below the ruling elite but favoured above the peasantry through patron-clients with the former. This suggestion remains speculative and rests on extrapolations from now outdated archaeology. Crumley, 1974: 69-70.

remunerated for their services by wealthy elites in the form of consumables.[51] In line with our previous hypothetical model governing the mobilisation of mass manual labour in construction work, a similar one could be advanced in which craftspeople were attached to the retinues of ruling class members, creating items in exchange for material support, quite possibly also including elements of ritualised feasting.

Under such a model of organisation, members of the elite could potentially have wielded enormous power over the economies of their communities through their patronal influence over such vital fixtures as smiths, potters, and textile makers. On the other side of the arrangement, this might also suggest that artisans were a relatively privileged group in Rhône Gallic society, enjoying systematic protection and support from the ruling elite, and enjoying higher status than the predominantly agrarian masses. This suggests a schema wherein economic power lay firmly in the hands of members of the elite class, who could utilise their wealth and influence to extract labour from the masses through mechanisms of reciprocal obligation, and in which a distinction existed between a class of craftspeople and that of tenant farmers or serfs, though how permeable that divide would have been is uncertain. The primary conflicts in such an economic system were likely lateral more than vertical, as class struggles were diverted through factionalism, while

[51] Given the open-ended nature of interpretation, however, multiple possible explanations for the archaeological phenomenon exist, ranging from an indication that artisans were either individually or communally wealthy enough to secure their own supply of imported wine, through a coincidental tendency toward amphora deposition through re-use of ceramics as raw materials, to a suggestion that intoxication may have been a ritualised part of artisanal processes. Creighton, 2000: 43.

rival members of the ruling elite competed for greater fortunes to secure their pre-eminence. Two key vulnerabilities in this schema also emerge. Firstly, competition between elites could result in virtual monopolies, such as that enjoyed by Dubnoreixs (explored further in this chapter), and prompt full-blown internecine conflict within polities (as Caesar emphasises in his descriptions of Gallic fractiousness). Secondly, if the foundation of elite power lay in their capacity to stockpile and redistribute food and drink, whether through the ritualised medium of the feast or in the more quotidian provisioning of resident artisans, it would be highly vulnerable to pressure on infrastructure or agricultural yields.

The framework described above remains very much a hypothetical one. Much like our analysis of land, we can conclude that power, in the raw sense of material productivity, existed in substantial qualities in the societies of the Late Iron Age Rhône Basin, but our available evidence is insufficient to specify how control over that power was distributed amongst those societies.

## 5.4 Coinage

The archaeological records of the Greater Rhône Basin region for the period *c.*125-10BCE reveal that objects recognisable as coins were a widespread and well-established feature of local societies. The precise they played is far less certain, however. The social construction of wealth, as a concept, is a fluid one. Having examined the roles played by the use of land and organisation of labour as constituents of a working economy and power within it, we should not rush to assume that the movement of small, inscribed metal discs provides any more of a fundamental indication. This section

will examine the various arguments surrounding the question of monetisation (i.e., the centrality of a systematic form of currency) to the economies of pre-conquest Rhône Gallic societies and thus how coins could indicate levels of concentration and distribution of power within them.

Whereas the Roman economy of the time was fully integrated into a monetised system, the situation in Gaul, especially beyond the province of Transalpina, is far less certain on this point. Available evidence, in archaeological, textual, and iconographic (based on the artistic design of recovered coins) point to a complex array of factors implicating varying approaches and developments in the use of coinage in the economic systems of Gallic societies across the Greater Rhône Basin over the period *c.*125-10BCE.

Before delving into the debate, however, it is wise to survey our evidence for the creation, forms, and distribution of Rhône Gallic coinage generally, and some of the issues that arise from it. As seen in the previous section of this chapter, many, if not most, oppida sites across the Greater Rhône region were marked by the presence of specialised artisanal spaces, which in addition to leatherworking, ceramics, and general smithing, also played host to coin mints.[52] Based on finds of striking moulds, it would appear that both the Aedui and Sequani operated multiple mints within their territories, producing a large volume of coins overall, rather than concentrating all production in a single centre.[53] Coins created at such oppidum mints came in a variety of forms utilising gold, silver, bronze, and

[52] Crumley, 1974: 64.
[53] Fichtl, 2004: 81.

other copper-based alloys as their primary constituent. While weight standards and issues varied across Gaul over the course of the Iron Age, from the late second century BCE onwards, the silver coinage of the Aedui and Sequani was uniformly struck on the standard of 1.8-2.35g, very close to that used for silver issues in Massalia and Rome itself at the time.[54]

Many scholars have interpreted the evidence available to them at their time of writing as indicative of a fully developed monetary system in use throughout the Upper Rhône Basin (including the territory of the Arverni) throughout the period *c.*125-10BCE. Some have tended to assume that the mere presence of coinage and evidence of horizontal diversification in the form of craft specialisations are sufficient to believe that such a system must have existed.[55] The underlying assumption being that, in a society with both differentiation of artisanal (especially on a specialised basis) from agricultural labour and the existence of coinage, the simplest explanation is that the latter's primary purpose was to facilitate exchange between the groups for the products of each on a structured and equitable basis. While not necessarily unreasonable, the problem with this assumption is that it ignores the possibilities of both other kinds of payment (e.g., food and/or wine as discussed in both the preceding and following sections of this chapter) and other potential uses of coins. A potentially stronger argument for the monetisation of pre-conquest Gallic economies is found in the presence of copper-alloy-based coinage in specific Rhône Valley

[54] Fichtl, 2004: 144-5.
[55] See Brun, 1995: 20 and Crumley, 1995: 27.

Gallic contexts in the late second and early first century. The utilisation of a range of denominations to cover varying quantities of relative economic value would suggest the use of coins as currency, as there would be little incentive to do so if their primary purpose was something else.[56] A further point that would seem to support the role of coinage as currency, or at the least, as a means of purchase, can be seen in finds of coins identified as Arvernian in sites thought to be trade posts along the Rhône river itself, far from Arvernian territory proper, with suggested links to the importation of wine and other Mediterranean goods.[57]

The primary contrasting theory holds that, rather than functioning as standardised currency, pre-conquest Comatan coinage was produced by artisans commissioned by individual members of the ruling class for use as prestige goods as part of a gift-based economy. Two main points underlie this contention.

Firstly, apparent differentiation of geographic distribution of silver and gold issues has prompted hypothesis that rather than being merely different value denominations of the same currency the two kinds had distinct uses. In this schema, silver Gallic issues were designed for use as rewards for subordinate members of the local community in exchange for services (e.g. warriors serving their commanders or artisans serving their patron) due to their tendency to cluster in relatively concrete political territories, while gold coins, with their wider, more irregular dispersal patterns, were intended for use as prestige objects for trade and diplomatic gift exchange with

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[56] Ralston, 2019: 25-6.
[57] Loughton, 2014: 422-3.

foreign elites.[58] If all forms of Comatan Gallic coinage, regardless of material, were part of the same currency system, the thinking goes, we would expect to see more overlap between recorded deposition locations. It is notable that recoveries of coin hoards do not align in any recognisable pattern with rural settlement sites (especially those Fichtl identifies as 'aristocratic residences') but seemingly more so with sites of military occupation (camps, garrisons etc.).[59]

The second underlying point of the coins-as-gift economy model, and particularly its ties to members of the ruling class as individual potentates, is observation of the seemingly unique restrictions placed on the minting rights of Gallic communities by Roman administrations from the Augustan Era onward.[60] In stark contrast with, for example, the continuity of local coinage arrays in Roman Greece and the eastern provinces, local issues from Gallia Comata almost uniformly ceased production in the wake of conquest and never resumed. The interpretation at play here is that, as coins may have been traditionally used to forge bonds between warlords and warriors and/or between allied warlords, it was a dangerous privilege that imperial authorities wished to strip from the defeated to ensure continued subjugation. This notion is further supported by the fact that the only central Gallic coinages to emerge in the numismatic record after the conquest (*c.*50-30BCE) are marked with the names of those noted by Caesar to have been loyal allies of the Roman occupiers (most notably Epađnactos of the Arverni), cementing both

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[58] Nash, 1987: 45.
[59] Fichtl, 2019: 228. Example of such sites of military occupation with associated coin deposits include Sermuz and Delpburg in Helvetian territory, see Kaenel, 2019: 85.
[60] Cassibry, 2016: 142-151.

the connection between individual members of the ruling class and the minting process and the imperial administration's desire to control access to the privilege.[61] Further to this argument is the idea that, if the coins in question were part of a fully integrated monetary economy system, then the sharp cessation of their production would indicate the onset of economic collapse; something far more deleterious to Roman Imperial designs than permitting local elites to supervise the creation and distribution of high value gift objects.

Weighing up the arguments presented, points against the idea of a monetised economy appear the more convincing. The model favoured by Nash and Cassibry, while persuasive in general strokes, requires update and nuance. That control of coin production lay in the hands of individual members of ruling classes rather than state authorities is a point well supported by the presence of identifiable names on extant issues. For example, in addition to Arvernian coins of Vercingetorixs (whose position of rule could qualify him as a state authority), Aeduan coins inscribed with the names of Dubnoreixs (BN5027-8; BN5038-40), who is portrayed by Caesar as never having held an official position of government, and others bearing the name of Litavicos (BN 5076/9), who is similarly described as a warlord rather than a **Vergobretos* or member of the senate.[62] What does not necessarily follow, however, is that the sole role of coinage was as a form of prestige token in an economy predicated on gift exchange, failing to take account of the emergence of bronze and other copper-based issues and the potential uses implied by their

[61] Bronze coins of Epađnactos BN 3895/3897; Silver coins of Epađnactos BN 3885/3903. Nash, 1987: 34-5.
[62] See Fig. 14-19.

archaeological distribution patterns. Furthermore, we should be wary of treating all groups outside the provincial boundary of Gallia Transalpina as fundamentally similar in their approach. The finds of Arvernian bronze issues in Rhône Valley contexts could indicate a rather different understanding and usage of coinage in general from that held by the Aedui or Sequani.[63]

The absence of a standardise currency system does not indicate an economy lacking an organised, structured system for assigning value to goods and/or services. In such a system, economic transactions, whether in forms of trade, tribute, or taxation, would, then, be predicated on kind rather than cash. Following this point, in his considerations of the monetisation debate, Howgego, perceptively, argues against seeing an elemental contrast between systems of economic value in the contact between Rome and Gaul. He notes that the replacement of non-currency Gallic coinage (used as a supplement to a well-developed economy of prestige goods for gifting and exchange) by standardised Roman denominations was a gradual process taking decades, in contrast with the situation in post-conquest Britain.[64] In such a system the value of items (and

[63] That the emergence of issues in bronze in deposits within Arvernian territory is closely aligned chronologically within the advent of imported Italian wine to the area suggests a strong correlation, if not connection between the two. Loughton, 2014: 311-12. This possible connection is explored further in the next section of this chapter. For records of bronze issues from the region see Allen, 1995: 77-8.
[64] Wherein imported Roman coinage made a rapid and sweeping influx, replacing local mints almost immediately after annexation, and wherein clashes of values systems may have been a key motivating factor in the revolt of *c*.60CE. Howgego, 2013: 27-39. The primary Imperial mint of the mid-to-late Augustan Era was established at Lugdunum c.15BCE, seemingly using a combination of Gallic gold and Iberian silver and copper to create its issues. Metcalf, 2012: 338-9. Ponting, 2009: 279.At least one Roman mint was established Comatan Gaul relatively quickly in the wake of conquest, with facilities at the Titleberg oppidum site (in the territory of the Treveri) producing issues of RPC 1501, a bronze standard denoting A. Hirtius as governor of Gaul *c*.45BCE. Rowan, 2019: 51.

services potentially) would not necessarily have been predicated on barter in the ad hoc sense, but could have been regulated by underlying, systematised means other than currency. Evidence for what these means may have been is very limited, however, archaeological finds from a heavily examined Late La Tène site slightly outside the Rhône Basin might offer an insight. The discovery of sets of standardised lead weights and scales amongst deposits of objects interpreted as trade goods at the oppidum of Manching would suggest that the inhabitants adhered to an agreed-upon system of standardised commodity measures and equivalent values.[65] Rather than predicating the exchange value of objects on their equivalence to coins, the people of Manching and other Late Iron Age communities across north-western Europe, could have created standards based on measures of grain, beer, or any other commonly produced and traded commodity.

Textual evidence from Caesar et al. is, as usual, of limited help in attempting to reconstruct the economic structures employed by pre-conquest Gallic communities in the Rhône region. However, certain titbits can potentially be deployed in favour of two key arguments. Firstly, that these communities possessed a concept of wealth observable to Greek and Roman commentators, and, secondly, that this wealth had a competitive aspect in relation to the organisation of

[65] Although in a transrhenine geographical context, Manching's combination of unusually high preservation rate of deposited artefacts and extensive archaeological documentation make it a strong candidate exemplar site for La Tène C-D material culture north and west of the Alps, while its g. Wendling, 2013: 480. For a broader overview of the site of Manching and its developmental significance for European Iron Age archaeology see Krämer, 2002 (1960): 63-78. For an examination of the roles the oppidum may have played in the region in the second and first centuries BCE see Cunliffe, 1997: 127-8.

local ruling classes. Fodder on both points can be drawn from Caesar's writings. In singling Orgetorixs and Dubnoreixs (as well as Casticos to a lesser extent) out for pre-eminence amongst the ruling classes of the Helvetii and Aedui respectively, the key qualification for their influence was their riches (*BG* 1.2). As with most of Caesar's assertions, this judgement was likely based more on gossip than on rigorous survey, but it would follow that among the Helvetii, Aedui, and their peers, the comparative riches of members of the ruling class were a matter of public discourse and that greater affluence was a source of potential greater status. On a similar note, we may again return to Appian's account of Bituitos' bardic embassy (*Emb.* 12) in which, alongside courage and noble ancestry, the third qualifier for the king's greatness was his extensive wealth. An account that would appear to bolster the idea of a non-monetised, gift economy usage of Comatan Gallic coinage is found in Athenaeus' vignette of the Arvernian leader Louernios distributing gold and silver ("*σπείρειν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον*" Ath. *Deip.* 4.153) across his territory in the hopes of securing public favour.[66] We cannot take these assertions as definitive statements of fact. However, the apparent capacity of outsiders to distinguish wealthy from non-wealthy individuals in the Rhône Basin communities would indicate perceived similarities in regimes of economic power.[67]

[66] Also offering a similar reward of a "bag of gold" to a visiting poet praising his greatness and generosity.

[67] In contrast with Tacitus' later treatment of the Germani, no extant Greek or Roman author treats the Gauls as a community or their leaders as being poor. The ruling classes of pre-conquest Gauls may never have approached the exorbitant riches enjoyed by contemporary Hellenistic kings or high-ranking Roman senators in the second and first centuries BCE but were nevertheless considered within the conceptual bracket of 'wealthy' by later commentators. For Tacitus' comments on the characteristic poverty of the Germani see *Germ*. 1-2, 5-6, 17, and 26.

From what can be gathered, then, coinage offers a somewhat clearer window into the economic forms of the technologies of social power wielded by the ruling class of the Arverni, Aedui, and other Gallic communities of the Rhône Basin outside the province of Narbonensis than land or labour. The production and distribution of coins appears to have been linked, possibly closely, with the power and fortunes of individual members of those ruling classes, with the suggestion that these processes were a key aspect of elites' advancement and maintenance of rank within their class. Given the lack of clear restrictions on who could participate in the processes of creation and redistribution of coinage this could suggest a relatively high degree of mobility and fluidity in elite standing, though it similarly unclear who could access control of the material (precious metals) and labour (artisans) resources to participate. In any case, the loss of opportunities to engage in this form of power politics with the imposition of restrictions on minting and the demands of a new currency system by Roman authorities following the Gallic Wars would likely have been highly disruptive to rank and class systems in the region.

The situation within the Lower Rhône regions in the period *c.*125-50BCE was rather different, as more direct engagement with the Roman monetary system was impossible to avoid.[68] Whereas further inland, coins appear to have been generally produced on highly localised bases from polity to polity, within Gallia Transalpina the process appears to have been more generalised. West of the Rhône, Tolosa appears to have been the primary centre of coin

[68] Hopkins, 1980: 108.

production, with its silver '*monnaie à la croix*', whose weight standard gradually dropped to match that of the Roman *denarius* over the first century BCE, becoming the standard usage for taxation and monetary payment across most of the new province.[69] Provincial taxation in the Late Republic is thought to have focussed on transfer of hard currency particularly, perhaps to alleviate repeated liquidity crises that plagued circulation in Rome itself in the early first century BCE.[70] This imposition of tax in cash would have radically altered the economic systems of local communities. Now forced to produce coins for the purpose of handing them over to provincial administrations, the minting process provided few, if any, opportunities for powerplays on the part of local elites. Similarly, trade on the basis of kind systems (as suggested from the Manching example above) would have been marginalised by the presence of currency-using colonising merchants.

The coinage produced by the Allobroges in the late second and early first centuries BCE, one of the more prolific and identifiably localised ranges within the extant canon, provides a useful case study in the apparent impact of Roman dominion. Issues were closely modelled in both weight and design on the contemporary Roman *quinarius*, indicating local familiarity with Roman monetary systems beyond the basic use of *sestertii* and *denarii*.[71] The choice of denomination to match, the presence of what appear to be named

[69] So named for their consistent usage of a cruciform image on the obverse of issues. Nash, 1987: 30-1.
[70] Harris, 2007: 522. For the Roman liquidity crises of the 80s and 60sBCE see Katsari, 2011: 53.
[71] Nash, 1987: 32. Rossignol, 2009: 96. Ralite and Gentric, 2016: 185. See also Deroc, 1983.

moneyers on the design, and the overall distribution pattern of these issues, suggest that that they were minted primarily to be used as payment for locally raised auxiliary troops. It may be assumed that the named moneyers appearing on the coinage were acting similarly to their counterparts further north and west who produced coins as prestige for their warrior retinues, as they may have done before *c.*125BCE, but were pushed to adapt their approach for the context of Roman provincial governance.

A major economic issue in the province of Gallia Transalpina, especially amongst the Allobroges and closely linked to the imposition of the Roman monetary system, in the early-to-mid first century BCE was endemic debt. The '*alienum'* which oppressed provincial communities is likely to have arisen from the rather predatory loan practices undertaken by certain Late Republican senators and other wealthy members of society.[72] This factor makes a clear distinction between the social elites of the province and their independent counterparts further north and west in their relationship to economic power and vis à vis Rome. What wealth the ruling classes of the Allobroges, Helvii, Cavares, Volcae Arecomici, or Vocontii held was relatively precarious at the time, and whereas in Gallia Comata local law could be enforced and power could be exercised for the benefit of the ruling classes, in the province, Roman administrators could adjudicate in favour of citizen merchants at the expense of *peregrini* regardless of standing.

[72] For a further exploration of this subject see Blösel, 2016: 79. A bleak picture of the economic standing of the Allobroges in this period, largely drawn from readings of Cicero and later Greek and Roman historians, is a consistent feature of scholarship on the region from Jullian (2015/1895: 54) to Drinkwater (1983: 7-8) and beyond.

## 5.5 Trade

A vital component of almost all economies, both ancient and modern, is trade; the mercantile exchange of material goods between locales on the varying bases of barter, cash, and/or credit. Looking into the available evidence to investigate the mechanisms and potential motivations of the movement of goods between the Gallic communities of the Rhône Basin and other parts of the world may give us a better understanding of how systems of value (and thus power) operated within them. While the previous section examined the potential roles of currency in regulating systems of value within Rhône Gallic societies, considering similar questions in relation to trade, especially with the Mediterranean world, can offer a complimentary perspective hopefully shedding some light on matters of wealth and its distribution among social classes.

By far the most heavily studied, and thus potentially most informative, form of trade between Rhône Gallic peoples and the wider world in our period is the importation of Italian wine to the region, which, from the later second century onwards occurred in vast quantities.[73] Surveys of the available evidence, based on finds of Dressel 1 amphorae in both deposition contexts and the record of shipwrecks in the north-western Mediterranean, suggest that in the

[73] The wine trade was notably confined to certain areas of Gaul; those served by the twin major trade routes from the Mediterranean in the form of the Rhône river system (as well as the Upper Loire and Seine valleys near adjoining it) and the Garonne-Atlantic Coast way. The absence of Dressel 1 amphorae in the lands north of Seine and east of the Rhine appear to confirm Caesar's descriptions of the Belgae and Germani's shared rejection of wine (*BG* 1.1, 4.2). Fitzpatrick, 1985: 311-12. For updates of Fitzpatrick's data, which reveal far greater deposits in the Massif Central and thus, by weight of numbers, suggest a much greater emphasis on trade via the Rhône-Saône route of trade over that further west in the first century BCE, see Loughton, 2003: 178 and 194.

period *c.*150-1BCE a total of between 55 and 65 million such containers of wine were exported from Italy to Gaul.[74] Finds of Dressel 1 amphorae in the Upper Rhône Basin are heavily concentrated around oppida and other nucleated settlements, with Bibracte, the Corent-Gergovia-Gondole complex, and Goincet emerging as major centres.[75] While finds of amphorae are recorded in sites close to rivers (likely representing proximity to trade routes as either emporia or waypoints), they are virtually absent in areas of rural settlement away from major complexes.[76] This would appear to suggest that a strong connection existed between the social elite who dominated these 'central' places and the processes of acquisition and redistribution of imported wine.

The scale of the transport that this trade in wine entailed was considerable. A survey of the maritime evidence holds that at least 44 ships laden with Dressel 1 amphorae bound for Gaul sank *en route* during the first century BCE, compared with 13 carrying 'Greco-Italian' amphorae dated to the second.[77] To put this increase in volume in greater context, at the time of their publication, these 57 together constituted a little over a third of the total number of wrecks ever discovered in the French Mediterranean, potentially indicating a unique magnitude of traffic between Italy and Gaul at the time,

[74] Poux, 2004: 201. 'Dressel 1' indicating a class of ceramic amphorae defined by their tall, narrow frames and paired handles projecting from the neck and shoulders of the vessel, produced in Italian (and later Roman provincial) contexts from *c.*150BCE onwards. Loughton, 2003: 180-1.
[75] Loughton, 2003: 196.
[76] Poux, 2004: 132-3. See also Creighton, Haselgrove, Lowther, and Moore, 2009. For a theorised connection between amphorae deposits in riverbed contexts and sacrificial activity see Loughton, 2003: 200.
[77] Morel, 2007: 509.

unmatched even in the Imperial period.[78] It must be imagined that this represented a small fraction of the total number of vessels making the journey. The ships themselves were neither small in size nor did wine amphorae constitute a small part of the total cargo. The wreck labelled the *Madrague des Giens*, found near Toulon, appears to have been filled to near its estimated maximum capacity with approximately 7,800 amphorae at the time of its sinking, whilst an even larger early first century BCE transport, carrying closer to 10,000, was discovered near Albenga off the Italian coast.[79] Ships in this range of tonnage have been estimated to cost between 300,000 and 600,000 *sestercii* each on average to construct, equip, and load to capacity, a sum so great that it would have been extremely difficult to accrue in the Late Republic without investment from members of the senatorial class.[80] Once the wine-filled amphorae reached Gallic shores, their transport inland appears to have been handled primarily by riverboat. Measurements of the remains of such a vessel found in the riverbed of the Var near Cavalière dated to the era suggest a maximum carrying capacity of 400 Dressel 1 amphorae at a time.[81] If this example can be taken as representative, then it would follow that a large fleet of boats would be required to redistribute the cargo of a ship such as the *Madrague des Giens* and carry it upriver to its intended destinations.

The point of note here is that the consumption of wine, primarily by groups living quite far inland from the Mediterranean, supported the

[78] Laubenheimer, 1990: 42.
[79] Laubenheimer, 1990: 43.
[80] Garnsey and Saller, 2014: 77.
[81] Laubenheimer, 1990: 44.

seemingly profitable investment of considerable resources from the Late Republican economy in terms of ships, crew, and networks of boat pilots and middlemen in Gaul itself for many decades. One estimate, though perhaps problematically predicated on relative extrapolation against modern wine prices, suggests that the value of the *Madrague des Giens*' cargo would equate to millions of euros in contemporary terms.[82] This was not a minor enterprise carried out to shave off what little profit margins could be obtained from impoverished barbarians, but a major factor of international commerce at the time.

Having established that the trade in wine between Italy and the Upper Rhône regions in the late second/early first centuries BCE involved serious investment of resources and would thus appear to indicate the potentiality of significant economic power on the part of the buyers, it is worth what uses the imported commodity was to in local contexts. As previously mentioned, depositions are heavily clustered around centres of power, with very few finds at rural sites.[83] This would indicate that rather than widely dispersed buyers, with the means (and therefore economic power) of purchase broadly distributed amongst the populace, the exchange was focussed on what appear to be bulk transfers concentrated on spaces associated with the power of the ruling class. Analyses of the archaeological records of amphorae deposition, finds of drinking vessels, and of

[82] Wilson, 2009: 227.
[83] Small-scale finds of Dressel 1 and Lamboglia 2 ceramic fragments at the sites of Monthelon-Chantal and Monthelon-Cevannes in the Arroux Valley near Bibracte provide a strong example of the limited dispersal of imported wine (and/or other imported Mediterranean consumables), or at least pottery, to outlying areas beyond oppida in the timeframe. Creighton, Haselgrove, Lowther, and Moore, 2009: 5.1.2-6.5.

potentially relevant textual sources have nevertheless produced a range of interpretations about the relationship between importation and consumption. A point generally agreed upon by recent commentators is that Comatan Gallic buyers were in no sense imitating Roman or Greek cultural practices regarding wine consumption. The styles of wines favoured and how they were served and drunk are quite different from those of contemporaneous Italian and Hellenic ruling class contexts.[84] What they were doing instead is a matter of ongoing debate.

Athenaeus preserves a fragment of Posidonius' description of such a feast (*Deip.* 4.152). It recounts the story of the Arvernian leader Louernios, who, having erected an enclosure 12 *stadia* square, laid on a banquet for his people in which wine was served in great vats, lasting many days before concluding. The story may be initially misleading, in that the projected timeframe for the figure in question (*c.*150-130BCE) predates the influx of imported wine into the region, and may result from a conflation of more than one Arvernian ruler, including Louernios' son Bituitos (c.130-120BCE).[85] However, even

[84] In the Late Republic, the discerning consumers of the Roman ruling class favoured very sweet white wines, served in a diluted form as either an accompaniment to meals or as the main fare of *convivium*, A modified form of the Greek social ritual of the *symposion*. Laubenheimer, 1990: 70. Tchernia 2016: 294. By contrast on the combined analysis of traces of the wine found in Dressel 1 amphorae (whether in the context of shipwrecks or buried at deposition sites in east-central Gaul), data provided by preserved stamps on the amphorae, and the fabric of the ceramics themselves indicate that the imported wine was predominantly red and produced and decanted in the Ager Cosanus region of Etruria (the vicinities of the settlements of Cosa, Albinia, and modern Feniglia). Loughton, 2009: 82.

[85] Poux, 2004: 131-2. A possible archaeological support for Louernios as a distributor of wine could be gleaned from the discovery of amphorae fragments reconstructed as the 'Greco-Italian' type (dated to the early to mid-second century BCE in manufacture) in 15 findspots in the vicinity of Puy-de-Dôme but is uncertain if these could indicate a sufficient volume of drink to match Athenaeus' descriptions of vast public feasting. Loughton, 2003: 194.

if we replace one protagonist with another, it points to the underlying euergetistic role of banqueting and its role as a means for elites to secure and maintain allegiances, as it makes clear that the motivation for organising the event (and accompanying displays of largesse) was, in the eyes of the Greek commentariat, demagoguery.[86] In the same passage, Athenaeus reproduces a surprisingly detailed account of the customs of a Gallic feast, thought to be drawn from Posidonius' eyewitness testimony. Crucially, it notes the ritualised seating arrangements implemented to maintain and display social hierarchies among attendees, grouping diners into circles with the most distinguished guest and host in the centre, surrounded by bodyguards and retainers, whilst servants attend in passing a single, shared cup around the circles of diners.

Poux's survey of La Tène feasting habits takes the Posidonian description of banqueting arrangements and attempts to map it onto the available archaeological evidence. He argues imported wine in central and eastern Gaul was consumed as an addition to a long-established culture of banqueting primarily based on the consumption of mead and beer.[87] Beverages were collated into large cauldrons or even vats to be shared out amongst revellers, who took turns (in order of social precedence) to sip from a small, shared cup passed around. His model is quadripartite and ties most closely into surveys of funerary assemblages by their content.[88] The uppermost elite (consisting of kings, chieftains, magistrates etc.) are

[86] Poux, 2004: 354-5.
[87] Poux, 2004: 247.
[88] Poux, 2004: 223-5.

identified by their burial in tombs accompanied by large numbers of amphorae, the accoutrements of collective dining (great cauldrons, firedogs, carving knives et al.), and the most lavish forms of personal dining-ware. The three descending orders of social hierarchy, visualised as the three concentric circles of followers described by Posidonius, were interred in correspondingly humbler graves accompanied by few or no wine containers and personal dining-ware (cups, plates, bowls etc.) of declining quality.[89] Poux's model indicates a highly stratified elite with distinct gradations of status, and a clear separation of the role of ruler from that of ruled. Furthermore, read in the light of the accompanying anecdote regarding Louernios' feast and its motivations, we might imagine that the activity of feasting, both in hosting and attendance, had a competitive significance, with the ability to attract and sway followers by those who could provide greater largesse. Dubnoreixs' ability to maintain a band of warriors, though written by Caesar in terms reminiscent of social parasites or hired bodyguards (*BG* 1.14), may well have been tied to his ability to give them regular feasts. In this way, the ability to marshal and control resources, wine significant among them, in other words, economic power, could tie closely with political and military power in Late Iron Age Gallic society.

While it is potentially persuasive, however, this schema of competitive feasting does run into certain issues that complicate its conclusions. Posidonius' fragments are elusive in their reliability at

[89] Athenaeus' description of a "common cup" (*Deip*. 4.36) shared amongst feast-goers might offer an explanation for smaller quantities of drinking vessels in certain deposits, though this would also rely on applying a Posidonian description to potentially foreign contexts. Arnold, 1999: 73.

the best of times and, as discussed in the preceding Chapter, primarily relate to experiences amongst groups (most probably the Saluvii) in the vicinity of Massalia, rather than areas like the Massif Central or Saône Valley, making their testimony a poor foundation for archaeological interpretation. Furthermore, recent work by Loughton has challenged two other supporting points of Poux's framework. Firstly, on further survey in the Auvergne and neighbouring regions, the inclusion of wine amphorae in tomb assemblages (already a small canon of evidence) from the late second and early first centuries BCE is extremely rare, especially when compared with deposition numbers in other contexts.[90] Secondly, even if we substitute Bituitos for his father as the protagonist of Athenaeus' story, the problem remains that, for the Arverni especially, the major rise in Italian wine importation on a statistical basis only occurred after his fall from power *c.*120BCE. The conclusion that this points to is that while Poux's model might convincingly suggest hierarchical, competitive models of banqueting culture in earlier La Tène A-B Gallic contexts, establishing a longer tradition that later generations could adapt, but does not align particularly closely with the available evidence for the Upper Rhône communities of the La Tène C-D periods.

Assumptions that the presence of wine amphorae directly and/or solely relates to the practice of feasting should also be questioned. Although Gallic drinkers did not initially adopt the equipment and mannerisms associated with Roman or Greek wine culture, that they

[90] These include middens in oppida and re-use of amphora parts in drainage configurations. Loughton, 2014: 438-40.

engaged in quotidian consumption of it should not be discounted. The distribution of amphora depositions in multiple positions scattered across oppida and settlement sites (Aulnat-Gandaillat, Bibracte, and Corent most notably) rather than clustered into mass deposits attached to specific assembly points would suggest that rather than being reserved for large scale public gatherings, consumption could have occurred in domestic spaces.[91] Between the strong spatial connections between workshops and amphorae deposition in oppida sites and Caesar's description of Dubnoreixs' provisioning of his retinue, the argument for imported wine as a potential form of payment for clients of members of the ruling class seems increasingly credible.[92]

The question that arises from this sustained, high-volume trade, and the ambiguities of local systems of value explored in previous sections of this chapter, is with what did Rhône Gallic buyers purchase imported wine from Roman sellers? There are a number of options to be considered, and to analyse what they might say about the dynamics of economic power and mobility in the communities of the region.

Coinage may have played a role in the import/export process by which wine reached groups like the Arverni, but it is unlikely to have been a central one. Loughton's emphasis on the discovery of Arvernian bronze issues on the banks of the Rhône in what appear to be market/trade post contexts would suggest that coins changed

[91] Loughton, 2003: 200-1.
[92] Loughton, 2009: 92.

hands as wine travelled upriver.[93] However, there is no proof that they were exchanged for the amphorae themselves, and may, for example, have been payment for pilotage rather than cargoes. Furthermore, such deposits of Comatan coinage within the province of Transalpina are very few and far between, while none appear to have ever reached Italy itself. This strongly suggests that cash payments in return for wine shipments was not the basis on which this trade took place.

One commodity on which the wine trade could have been based was slaves. While, as noted above, the evidence for the practice of chattel slavery or close equivalents amongst the peoples of Gallia Comata is highly equivocal, that captives were trafficked to Italy either from or through the region in the early first century BCE is more clearly evinced. Finds of chains and manacles of the type generally associated with the transportation of slaves in Ancient Mediterranean contexts in the riverbed near Cabillonum, a major river port and crossing in the Upper Rhône which also appears to have been a distribution point for Dressel 1 amphorae, give a potential material confirmation to the practice.[94] It is also possible that, in its high labour requirements, the Italian agricultural sphere could have created demand for thousands of slaves, which the polities of eastern and central Gaul may have been able to provide.[95] Independent testimony from Varro (*Rust.* 2.10.34) speaks of Gallic slaves as an expected part of life and rural economy in Late Republican society, while Cicero's *Pro Quinctio* mentions an

[93] Loughton, 2014: 422-3.
[94] Tchernia, 2016: 290-1.
[95] Tchernia and Brun, 1999: 152.

encounter with one Lucius Publicius at Volaterra in Etruria bringing "*pueros*" ('boys/youths' *Quinct.* 6.24) from Gaul for sale at Rome.[96] Many questions remain unanswered, though, in terms of the scale of trafficking from Gaul to Italy and what part it may have played in economies and economic relations of the two areas.

Certain scholars have drawn interpretations of the limited available evidence that see the exportation of captives and importation of Italian wine in late second/early first centuries BCE central and eastern Gaul as closely linked. Diodorus (5.26) makes an assertion that the proverbial Gallic lust for wine meant that such an exchange became the foundation of the wealth of many Italian merchants. So great was the barbarians' desperation for the drink, he argues, that on occasion even a single amphora could fetch a captive in return. This statement is highly exaggerated and is predicated far more on rhetorical stereotyping of the parties involved, in this case Gallic drunkenness and the opportunistic greed of Italian traders, than on fact-based observations.[97] However, the vignette does at least indicate the possibility that an exchange of enslaved captives for inanimate commodities in contexts like that of Gaul was a credible

[96] Given that Cicero only specifies "*ex Gallia*" ('out of Gaul') in the relevant sentence, the ethnicities and origins of the captives in question could theoretically be anything and may relate more closely to provincial territories of Transalpina rather than the lands beyond. However, the passage still lends weight to the involvement of Gallic territory and communities either directly or indirectly in the trafficking of enslaved persons to Republican Italy.

[97] Tchernia argues that this vignette may be reworking of traditional Greek tall tales originally stereotyping Thracian overvaluation of salt brought to them by Hellenic traders. Tchernia and Brun, 1999: 152. Poux is especially critical of the stereotype of the "*soif celtique*" and argues that the record of material evidence in terms of storage and drinking vessels weighs against excessive, disordered consumption of alcohol in Gallic society. Poux, 2004: 235. Loughton argues that, if there is a grain of truth to the anecdote, it represents the desperation of an individual alcohol addict rather than a normative scenario. Loughton, 2009: 101.

suggestion in the discourse of Mediterranean literati of the time. On this basis, Fentress argues for a schema in which this mass importation of Italian wine was matched precisely by, and closely entangled with, the exportation of Gallic slaves by the Aedui and Arverni.[98] Much of her argument is predicated on Poux's 2004 work examining the archaeological evidence of ritual feasting in Arvernian contexts (discussed above), particularly the idea that the treatment of certain amphorae, being symbolically beheaded by a sword-stroke severing the spout from the body (and presumably spilling red, liquid contents in a manner reminiscent of blood), acted as a stand-in for earlier practices of human sacrifice in the same contexts, arguing that the theorised candidates for sacrifice were instead exchanged for the wine taking their place.[99] Though this idea relies on a number of leaps of logic, it is not necessarily unreasonable to hypothesise that communities on the fringes of Gallia Transalpina may have given captives to Roman traders (for resale as slaves elsewhere) as a form of payment for imported goods like wine.

Fentress' argument becomes particularly contentious, however, in seeing this exchange of slaves for wine as one which suffused the entire economy of the Arverni, Aedui, and other central Gallic peoples to the point that they became "slaving societies". Her view compares them to Early Modern West African polities engaging in

[98] Fentress, 2018. Fentress, 2019: 151-2.
[99] Poux, 2004: 339. Tchernia, 2016: 294. Fentress, 2018. Fentress, 2019: 153-4. The idea of human sacrifice in Gallic societies being largely predicated on Caesar's testimony regarding druidic rituals at *BG* 6.16. Given that this topic is a particular minefield of contrasting and hotly debated interpretations of available textual, archaeological, and iconographic evidence it is far beyond the scope of this thesis to offer a full analysis regarding it.

the taking and transfer of captives from inland regions to participants in the Transatlantic Slave Trade.[100] The key point of analogy being that the peoples of the Saône and Upper Loire regions were conducting extensive slave raids upon lands north and west of their territories, with the proliferation of fortified oppida sites being driven by the need for holding pens for masses of the enslaved before their sale to Roman traders.[101] Their compensation for this activity was the generous supplies of wine uncovered at sites like Corent/Gondole and Bibracte, with which, Fentress argues local warlords could reward their warriors and cement their positions. This model accords well in some ways with evidence relating to coinage, military organisation, and artisanal labour (i.e., the notion of an oligarchical ruling class with power based on the patronage of retinues of clients), and expands Poux's idea of competitive, hierarchical feasting practices into a society predicated on ruthless competition between rival warlords whose violent activities fed directly into their economic and celebratory ones.

The problems with this theory fall into three main categories. Firstly, it relies heavily on drawing strong, complex arguments from relative silence. Secondly, it stretches an otherwise potentially useful historical analogy beyond the point of viable comparison. And, thirdly, it ignores many possibilities raised by its sources in order to reach its attempted conclusions.

[100] Fentress, 2018. Fentress, 2019: 151-2.
[101] The idea particularly being that the Arverni preyed upon the communities of what is now the Vendée, Brittany, Anjou, and western Normandy, while the Aedui and Sequani focussed their attentions on the Seine and Marne Valleys.

As to the first point, that of arguments drawn from silence, the evidence for endemic slave raiding within Gallia Comata in correlation with the rise in wine importation is almost non-existent. One possible aspect of archaeological evidence that could be marshalled to support Fentress' hypothesis is that it might explain an otherwise anomalous decline in rural settlement growth (against the general trend of steady increase) in northern and north-western areas of Gaul roughly aligning with the suggested raiding areas.[102] However, the interpretation of that phenomenon remains very much open-ended. Furthermore, there currently exists no hard evidence in any format indicating the use of *oppida* fortifications as places of mass incarceration even on a temporary basis. As mentioned in Chapter 4, textual sources like Caesar and Strabo may speak of raiding as an activity conducted by Gallic warriors and warlords, but what aimed to take is left unspecified.

On the second point of issues with Fentress' 'slaving societies' hypothesis, the analogy drawn with West African communities in the course of the sixteenth-nineteenth century Atlantic Slave Trade fails on a number of key points. As scholars such as Webster have established in their attempts to compare the Triangle Trade with the influx of slaves into Italy during the Republican and Early Imperial periods of Roman history, the two present quite distinct patterns of organisation and experiences. West African slave-taking provided a unique source of captive labour for Euro-American colonial communities, contrasting with the plurality of geographic origins and

[102] Based on declining proliferation of rural sites across the landscape and expanding usage of available arable and pastoral land on the model discussed in section 2 of this chapter. Haselgrove and Guichard, 2013: 317-18.

circumstances of enslavement present in the Ancient Mediterranean.[103] Furthermore, in contrast with the well-documented infrastructure required for moving hundreds of thousands (if not millions) of unwilling, captive individuals across an ocean in the Early Modern period (in terms of the physical and textual evidence of shipping), we have nothing comparable for the forced movement of even hundreds, let alone thousands, of such individuals in the context of second/first centuries BCE Gaul and Italy. We have uncovered shipwrecks filled with amphorae in the north-western Mediterranean from this period, but none yet filled with human remains and/or restraining equipment indicating cargoes of slaves, arguing against waterborne transportation. Overland transportation of enslaved captives from Gaul to Italy is more likely based on the very limited evidence but would have been subject to severe logistical limitations mitigating heavily against large numbers of captives.[104] It is therefore highly unlikely that the necessary combination of demand on the part of Roman buyers and available infrastructure of transport to sustain mass movements of people

[103] The advent of the large-scale Atlantic slave trade is often considered to have sparked by the genocidal exhaustion of enslaved indigenous populations in the eastern Americas and heralded the rapid decline of indentured servitude. Scott, 2002: 171-3. Slaves of a wide variety of ethnicities and origins were traded and kept in Roman Italy. Similarly, rather than relying on a steady influx based on trade with raiding societies, Roman practices of mass enslavement of prisoners-of-war resulted in intermittent spikes in the influx of slaves and a much more irregular pattern of supply on the market over time. Webster, 2010: 45-65.

[104] Managing the force migration of large numbers of people, with the intention of keeping them alive and capable of work upon arrival at their destination, would require readily available provisions and means of coercion to the order of substantial resource investment. The example of Cicero's reference to slaves on the move through Etruria *en route* to Rome (*Quinct*. 6.24) occurred at the fords of Volaterrae, some distance inland. For the logistical difficulties associated with overland trade and transport in Late Iron Age Gaul see Sitwell, 1981: 73; Chevallier, 1989: 167; Casson, 1994: 172; Bowman and Wilson, 2013: 23. Gleason, 2013: 27.

would have been present to warrant the transformation of Arvernian and other Rhône Gallic societies into ones intensively focussed on the exportation of slaves in exchange for wine in the late second-early first centuries BCE.

This then raises the third main problem with Fentress' theory: its neglect of other possibilities in relation to the available evidence. To return to its central analogy for a moment, in the case of the Early Modern Transatlantic Slave Trade, captives for resale were essentially the sole commodity European traders were interested in buying from West African communities. Although Fentress is right to observe that the absence of Gallic coinage or La Tène D1 metalwork in contemporaneous Italian contexts indicates that they were not used as payment for imported cargo, that does not leave slaves as the only viable option.[105] The Gauls had many resources at their disposal for which there could have been a market in Roman Italy. These included mineral resources (notably gold in the case of the Arverni especially), crops such as grain or possibly nuts, as well as livestock and animal products.[106] The Roman coinage economy depended heavily on influxes of gold and silver bullion to sustain minting practices and Rome's need for imported grain was legendary.[107] Another Varronian anecdote provides evidence for at

[105] Fentress, 2019: 152.
[106] For Arvernian gold extraction see Lallemand, 2007: 127. For finds of hazelnuts in north-west Mediterranean shipwreck contexts (most notably 'Maire D') which could potentially have originated in Gaul see Loughton, 2014: 74.
[107] Tracking archaeological evidence of cereal cultivation and transportation across the Ancient World is difficult due to very limited long-term traces such crops leave on soils, poor preservation rate of dedicated mills and granaries, and the apparent tendency toward storage in biodegradable sacks rather than more durable containers. Bowman and Wilson, 2013: 17-18. The Albegna shipwreck, possibly representing a ship returning to Italy from Gaul, appears to have contained a certain amount of grain. Loughton, 2014: 74 *c.f.* Parker, 1992: 50.

least one animal product exported to Italy from the Rhône Basin in the form of cured pork. The author speaks of the highly prized hams produced by the Cavares and 'Comaci' (presumably the Volcae Arecomici) consumed by the Roman elite as luxury item (*Rust.* 2.4.10-11).[108] Rather than assume that the sole explanation for the ability of central and eastern Gallic communities to pay for vast quantities of imported wine with something other than currency was large scale human trafficking, it is important to both consider all possibilities and, perhaps, retreat from insufficiently supportable conclusions.[109] A point raised by Fitzpatrick, criticising assumptions of the centre-periphery relations of an Iron Age world economy, is that if it was the case that Rome relied on exploitative trade with Gaul and the wider temperate European world, the expected net result would have been the mobilisation or even industrialisation of those societies to produce their exploiter's desired product(s), a scenario for which the evidence is sorely lacking.[110]

The situation regarding the consumption of imported wine, and trade more generally, was seemingly rather different in the provincialized Lower Rhône Valley from that which prevailed further north and west. The proximity of Massalia and the comparative ease of access to trade with the Etruscan city states had long made the

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Accounts of grain importation from Gaul to Italy in the Imperial period at least are provided by Pliny the Elder (*NH* 18.12).

[108] The same passage also contains a fragment of Cato the Elder's *De Agricultura*, praising the extraordinary pig-rearing of the Insubres and other Cisalpine Gallic peoples. The superior quality of Gallic cured pork is similarly noted by Athenaeus (*Deip.* 14.657).

[109] As noted earlier, smaller scale human trafficking in the form of slave exportation from the Rhône Basin to Italy is very likely to have occurred in the period *c.*125-10BCE but is unlikely to have underlain all economic organisation.

[110] Fitzpatrick, 1993: 235.

Rhône River itself had long been a favoured avenue of trade, in contrast with the mountainous lands to the east and west of it and the more remote areas to the north.[111] Trade in wine had been a consistent feature of life in Mediterranean Gaul throughout the Iron Age and precipitated syncretic engagement with Greek and Italian modes of consumption.[112] Archaeological evidence for participation in, or at least engagement with, *symposia* in the first century BCE by elites in the area can be found in the discovery of the requisite accoutrements as grave goods in high status burials, for example in the La Tène D1 tomb site at Verna (Isère) in Allobrogan territory which includes not only the expected *simpulum* and *oenochoe* but also an antique fourth century BCE Etruscan *krater*.[113] This suggests a significant contrast between the role of wine and its usage as part of elite culture and economic power in the Upper and Lower areas of the Rhône Basin. Most obviously, the usage of Mediterranean-derived forms of dining-ware as prestige objects, to the point of preserving and re-using antiques, indicates a different form of engagement with the material and artistic cultures of Italy and beyond as an indicator of elite identity, and a desire to import drinking vessels as objects themselves rather than mere amphorae to be recycled once emptied.[114] The Allobrogan example's apparent

[111] Verdin, 1998: 33.
[112] Poux, 2004: 175-85. Identifiably Massaliot amphorae, in contrast to Italian Dressel 1 examples, are nevertheless very rare in Mediterranean Gallic contexts outside of emporia sites such as Nice, Antibes, and Agde, suggesting a limited level of export from Massaliot vineyards and/or ceramics works to Gallic communities. Ebel, 1988: 575.
[113] Poux, 2004: 155.
[114] For a literary source concerning the value of dining-ware as prestige items in the Roman world, albeit a highly satirical one, see Petron. *Sat*. 50. The passage's joke concerning Trimalchio's gauche and seemingly misinformed vanity in his ownership of "*Corinthea*" appears to rely on parodying what would have been real luxury goods in first century CE Roman society and a habit of displaying them

esteem for an antique Etruscan vessel, rather than for a more recently imported Italian or Greek one, could be interpreted as an evocation of an earlier era (when the populace was independent and traded with others on equal standing) in defiance of their current oppression under Rome. More broadly, a shift towards symposium-style conviviality, even on a syncretic, adaptive basis rather than a purely imitative one, might indicate a model of consumption based on elite exclusiveness and sophistication rather than communal feasting and/or patronal provisioning. The apparent contrast is then seemingly one between a trade system predicated on acquiring bulk amounts of wine by members of the ruling class for controlled redistribution and another in which members of the ruling class acquired smaller amounts of wine in individual exchanges primarily for personal use. These acquisitions in Lower Rhône contexts may even have predicated on the use of standardised currency rather than form of commodity exchange and further speak to the economic integration of local ruling classes into the colonial Roman systems, and the resultant limits of their power in economic terms.

Following the Gallic and Roman Civil Wars of the mid-to-late first century BCE, the Italo-Gallic wine trade appears to have gone into steep, possibly terminal decline. The vineyards of Cosa and nearby Etruscan areas were abandoned or turned over to the other purposes, but rather than die off as a whole, Italian viticulture for mass consumption instead refocussed on sites in Campania, Picenum, and Venetia to produce vintages for the growing populace

for use in serving honoured guests. Such practices may indirectly reflect what is apparently going in the context of Verna.

of Rome and other cities across the peninsula.[115] The devastation wrought by the preceding conflicts likely played a significant role in the collapse of the trade, as the wealth of the Arverni, Aedui, and other Upper Rhône polities was plundered by Caesar and his successors, making it harder to stockpile the resources necessary.[116] That the kind of feasting and/or provisioning activities which provided the basis for the demand of imported wine do not appear to have resumed in the region during the relative peace of the Augustan Era is an enigmatic phenomenon, whose motivations remain a source of debate.[117]

A final point to be investigated on the subject of trade in relation to economic power among the ruling classes of the Late Iron Age Rhône is that of the relationship between trade and taxation. One of the few snippets of information that Caesar provides for us regarding wealth, its sources, and uses in relevant Gallic contexts relates to Dubnoreixs' power among the Aedui in *c.*58BCE. In addition to his capacity to maintain a retinue of cavalry out of his own pocket, one of the key elements of his economic power was his engagement in tax farming (outbidding all other candidates on a repeated basis, *BG* 1.18), specifically the collection of tolls and imposts on trade moving

[115] Garnsey and Saller, 2014: 85. Loughton, 2003: 182. Loughton argues for a long-term historical see-saw effect between Etruria and Campania as wine-producing region across the first century BCE, with the Social War (91-87BCE) and Third Servile War (73-71BCE) disrupting Campanian agriculture to the benefit of their competitors further north, while the Caesarian-Pompeian and Triumviral Civil Wars (49-32BCE) reversed the process. Loughton, 2009: 85.
[116] Woolf, 1998: 42. For an investigation of the demographic and ecological damage wrought by Caesar's campaigns in Belgica and the Rhine Valley see Roymans, 2018.
[117] Tchernia, 2016: 303. Loughton, 2014: Hopkins, 1980: 105.

through Aeduan territory.[118] Combining this with Caesarian and Strabonian testimony that the conflict between Aedui and Sequani in the early to mid-first century BCE was concerned with controlling tolls and imposts on cargo moving up and down the Saône (*BG* 6.12, *Geog*. 4.3.2), we can begin to make a case that the ruling classes of the Upper Rhône polities conceived of trade as a source of revenue and thus of power. It was a viable, and seemingly important, strategy for the acquisition of wealth on the part of not just Dubnoreixs the individual, but the entire ruling classes of at least two major polities in the region to exact some form of taxation on commodities moving through their lands. On this basis, even if the evidence to argue for the control of ruling class members over the wine trade through bulk purchase and redistribution is insufficient, it is important to consider that a certain level of control could also be exercised through taxation, in whatever form that may have taken.

While we have no way of knowing exactly how similar the systems of taxation on trade may have been for the Lower Rhône polities before their annexation by Rome, whatever control they may have had was lost with the imposition of Roman provincial government. Taxation fell to the *publicani,* whose reach and influence in Gallia Transalpina is strongly hinted at by Cicero (*Font*. 5.11) and

[118] Fichtl uses this information to construct a hypothesis that Dubnoreixs was a parvenu amongst the Aeduan ruling class, ascending from obscurity to power on the back of aggressive financial dealing, militarism, and pursuit of advantageous alliances. While intriguing, the notion rests on contrasting his activities as recorded by Caesar with the largely unsubstantiated theoretical norms of a Gallic aristocracy, mostly drawn from Lewuillon's ideas of Gallic proto-feudalism (Lewuillon, 1975: 546 and 569). There is no firm reason to assume that Dubnoreixs was anything other than a particularly ambitious, perhaps initially obscure, member of the Aeduan ruling class. Fichtl, 2014: 171-2. Lewuillon, 1975: 428-9 and 546; 2002: 243-4.

conducted for the interests of the Roman state treasury rather than any of the *peregrini* of the province regardless of status.[119] Similarly, in the wake of the Gallic and Civil Wars the capacity of local ruling classes to impose taxation for their own benefits on commodities moving through their lands was a privilege permanently lost. Following the Augustan provincial reforms *c.*15-10BCE, all four provinces of Gaul (along with Raetia and the Alpine territories) became subject to an extraordinary tax on all imports and exports moving across provincial boundaries, known as the '*quadragesima Galliarum*' ('Gallic fortieth'), calculated at roughly 2.5% of the value attributed to the goods and gathered under the supervision of the regional procurator (seemingly independently of individual provincial governors).[120] The imposition of such a measure would suggest that the Princeps and his administration saw it as viable source of revenue, implying a healthy level of inter-communal trade in the area by those who could afford to regularly pay tolls as their goods moved. Since we have no way of knowing the comparative levels of taxation exacted by previous regimes, a hypothetical case could be made that the 2.5% rate imposed by the Principate was low enough to act as a new opportunity for profitable mercantilism amongst members of lower status Rhône Gallic individuals previously under

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[119] Kehoe, 2013: 36-7. Barrandon and Hurlet, 2009: 52. D'Arms, 1986: 24-30. Hopkins, 1980: 122.

[120] Evidence for this form of taxation is primarily drawn from later epigraphy with strong examples including *CIL* 12, 00717 (Arelate); *CIL* 12, 02252 (Cularo); *AE* 2003, +01126 (Genava); and *AE* 1999, +01013 (Massalia) *cf*. Epigraphik Datenbank Clauss / Slaby (EDCS) online at https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi.php?s_sprache=en. See further Drinkwater, 1983: 100; Mennella 1992; Carlsen 1995: 48-9; France 2001,
with Nelis-Clément's review 2003.

the thumb of prior ruling classes. However, this remains an unfalsifiable possibility for the moment.

Trade was clearly a serious vector of economic activity and power in the Late Iron Age Rhône Basin with a particular floruit of high-volume trade between Italy and the Arverni, Aedui, Sequani, and immediate neighbours *c.*120-60BCE focused on wine. Based on the limited available evidence and comparisons with material relating to coinage and labour in similar contexts, that members of the local ruling classes were the prime movers in this matter (as opposed to any theoretical mercantile middle class or 'consumer' class). The ability to gather and control sufficient resources to be exchanged with Roman *negotiatores* and/or other middlemen for large quantities of a relatively valuable commodity produced in the heartlands of Roman control would appear to be the preserve of the elite. Two primary models account for this behaviour, neither of which are mutually exclusive, but nor do either currently offer incontrovertible proof. Whether we assume that imported wine was mainly used to host vast public feasts on a competitive basis or as a means of payment for clients' services as artisans, warriors, or retainers of other stripes, both point to similar models of an oligarchy with a high threshold of class but a relatively fluid, dynamic organisation of rank.

## 5.6 Conclusions

More profoundly than either the political or military aspects of social power, attempts to study the economic aspects of power relations in the Late Iron Age Rhône Basin are hampered by lacunae of evidence which limit our ability to reach decisive conclusions. We

can conclude that economic power, in the raw senses of material productivity and capacity for large scale organised labour, existed in the societies of the region, those of the Massif Central and Saône Valley especially, but how control over it was structured remained ambiguous. Constructing a working theoretical model for this aspect of ruling class dominion and hegemony requires a certain amount of supposition and a good deal of borrowing from other topics of research.

The neatest explanation for the various strands of evidence and lacunae which we face on this topic is that economic power was concentrated in the hands of a ruling class who engaged in extensive networks of patron-client relations, forming retinues of subordinates, on a competitive basis. Such a framework would have been one of asymmetric reciprocity, with material goods, initially concentrated in the hands of the ruling class, disseminated to subordinates in exchange for services. The construction of oppida fortifications, minting and distribution of coins, and importation and distribution of wine present the strongest arguments for this kind of arrangement. This kind of organisation is further suggested by comparison with evidence relating to factionalism as a source of political and military aspects of social power in the same contexts. Such a framework of organisation would ensure the maintenance of ruling class control through the hard power of provision or withholding of material goods and hegemony through the ideological stances of patronal generosity and reciprocity. Two caveats to be observed, however, are that this model of patronal gifts in return for services remains a theoretical construct with no absolute falsifiability

at present state of scholarship and that it relates solely to the societies around the northern and western rim of the Rhône Basin (Arverni, Aedui, Sequani etc.) rather than the region in its entirety.

Although the assumption that landed agriculture formed the basis of all economic activity and power derived therefrom in Late Iron Age and Early Roman Gallic societies is a fair one, we must confront the limitations of our knowledge regarding its organisation. Outside of the specific contexts of Roman intervention in colonial land confiscation and redistribution, we possess no clear evidence regarding the proprietary relationships between indigenous Rhône societies and territorial space at an individual level. Theories about a proto-feudal aristocracy amongst pre-conquest Comatan Gallic communities remain matters of speculation rather than analytical conclusion.

If the patronal model of organisation of economic power in Upper Rhône contexts for the period *c.*125-60BCE can hold true, it would describe a society marked by relatively high stratification of class (with a high threshold of access to sufficiently concentrated material resources to participate in competition for followers) but a comparatively high degree of intra-class mobility of rank due to the competitive nature of elite display and activity. Furthermore, the impact of Roman conquest would be particularly devastating to the economic power of local ruling classes, as it resulted in (or at least coincided) with the loss of its three most prominent expressions (oppida construction, coin minting, and the wine trade). That this would result in a rise of class mobility is by no means certain since we lack sufficient information about the fundamental bases of wealth

(especially in terms of land ownership and normative labour organisation). However, a reasonable assumption that could be made is that it resulted in a stratification of rank amongst the ruling classes of groups like the Arverni especially, since the loss of outlets for elite competition may have ossified the relative status positions of those who successfully navigated the Gallic and Civil Wars (e.g., Epađnactos as sole commissioner of coinage among the post-conquest Arverni).

From the little that can be discerned, it would appear that the maintenance of economic power in the context of the Lower Rhône Valley against the impacts of Roman colonisation in the wake of conquest was closely tied to the capacity of local elites to adapt and navigate the economic structures of their conquerors. Attempts to maintain access to land in the face of confiscation and redistribution to Massaliot and/or Italian users, coupled with the adaptation of local coinage systems, speak to this phenomenon of insecurity and negotiation. The most likely theoretical outcome of this instability and processes of adaptation was a stratification of rank amongst the local ruling classes, as those who could maintain the favour of Roman patrons could best maintain their holdings and privileges while opportunities for intra-elite competition (if such a thing existed on a similar basis to their Comatan neighbours) rapidly dried up.

# 6 Playing the Part - Cultural Power

## 6.1 Defining Cultural Power

Where previous chapters in this thesis have tended to follow the parameters of the IEMP model, this one, as its lack of corresponding

initial would suggest, varies the pattern somewhat. As discussed in Chapter 1, Mann's definition of "ideological power" gels poorly with the range of evidence available on social power in the context of Late Iron Age and Early Roman Gaul and the Gramscian bent of our discussion on class, colonialism, and revolution. We have considered the ideological aspect of power in the vein of hegemony as it relates to political, military, and economic matters, rather than a separate entity. Instead, this chapter groups its subject matter under the loose heading of cultural power.

Cultural power, for our purposes, relates to how social power intersects with aspects of cultural identity, especially visual culture and language. In Gramscian terms this tends to reflect the hegemonic power embodied in the ways that norms of artistic display and language usage reify the prestige and status of the ruling class against their subjects, rather than the hard power of dominion. This area is perhaps most vital to study in that it is affected by forces of colonialism in some of the most complex and nuanced ways. With the advent of a foreign ruling class, whose linguistic and artistic norms differed from those of the local one, what opportunities could this have presented for an ascendant sub-elite willing to adapt? Conversely how might an extant ruling class, reduced to sub-elite status by foreign conquest, utilise their privileged access to education and patronage resources to maintain their exclusivity in adapting to the new order more readily than their potential rivals?

Dealing with an extinct, patchily attested language (in the case of Gaulish) and art whose cultural background is poorly understood

(and often shorn of true context and provenance by the vagaries of preservation), we are very much in the realm of interpretation and hypothesis rather than concrete data.

## 6.2 – Iconographies of Class and Status

### 6.2.1 – Examining iconography as a means of projecting power and status

Image objects of the Ancient World cannot be assumed to be passive things, created only to be looked at. Instead, especially given their frequent use in ritual and votive contexts, it is important to remember that they are likely to have had multivalent meanings and that the purposes of their manufacture may not have been teleological.[121] Similarly, an important counter to the idea of provincial backwardness and crudeness of artistic technique lies in the identification of art in Roman culture as having a semantic rather than purely aesthetic basis.[122] Rather than relying primarily on iconography to convey meaning whilst treating style as a matter of pure technical achievement, the styles employed by artists across the Roman Empire had, in themselves, important semiotic value, and were deliberate choices rather than evidence of incompetence.[123] As such, the presence of non-veristic, more abstract approaches to sculpture in the context of first century BCE south-eastern Gaul (especially those that show continuity with pre-Roman artworks from the region) are better interpreted as the conscious deployment of a meaningful style than assumed to be

[121] Aldhouse-Green, 2004: 2.
[122] Hijmans, 2016: 87.
[123] Hijmans, 2016: 99. See also Holliday, 2002: 7.

mere products of inferior artisanship. Conversely, the emergence of overtly Greco-Roman style artworks in the region during the period in question gives them a specific contextual significance that cannot be reduced to mere aesthetics.

Considering the theoretical complexities their context presents, it is impossible to apply a rigid system of ethnic categorisation, labelling all pieces firmly and totally as either 'Roman' or 'Gallic'. Instead, groupings are to be made on a rough basis, predicated less on arbitrary ethnic designations than on concerns of continuity versus innovation. Pieces that demonstrate similarity in content, context, function, and, to a certain extent, style with examples of art created in the region prior to the Roman conquest of *c.*125-120BCE will fit better into the grouping of 'traditional', suggesting cultural continuity on the part of commissioners and audiences. Those that have no clear antecedent, or whose antecedents are drawn from Italian, Hellenic, or other Mediterranean contexts (herein termed 'Classicising'), are, conversely, suggestive of change and mobility. The concept of Provincialism is also helpful in this regard, in that it provides specific but flexible criteria for artworks demonstrating a level of cultural hybridity, which, were found, points to compromise and the adaptation of power structures rather than dismantlement or replacement.

However much it may be laden with outdated baggage of assumptions regarding the nature of Classicism, Kleiner's conclusion, that southern Gaul saw little if any clear adoption or imitation of Greek artistic styles despite prolonged contact with Massalia, Antipolis, and other colonies on the Mediterranean coast,

is nevertheless correct.[124] The absence of friezes and pedimental reliefs, as well as sharp distinctions of iconography, in the context of Gallic settlements emphasise the profound differences in artistic culture that existed between second and first century BCE Gallic and Greek communities in the region. Furthermore, this point argues, ironically, in favour of the complexity of colonial interactions in visual culture and the weakness of Classicising approaches, demonstrating that, despite access to styles of supposedly technical superiority, the Gauls of Transalpina continued to opt for other more supposedly 'primitive' idioms until a time of far more marked cultural upheaval. Trends towards adoption and imitation of 'Classical Art' in later first century BCE Gaul thus cannot be explained either by an intangible aspect of the art itself or by the mere presence of adherents of 'Classical' culture in the region.

In looking at the impact of contact with colonial/imperial cultures from the Mediterranean world, "Provincialism", as a term, can be used to classify as art that, on the one hand, attempts to imitate or reference the style and iconography of Roman/Greek art, but, on the other, does not reproduce either aspect wholesale, resulting in a form of hybridisation.[125]

A question that recurs throughout this section, in its emphasis on the roles of display and communication in projecting, securing, and maintaining status within social hierarchies is that of the audience. Who were displays and messages intended for? What strategies were employed to reach them specifically? Were displays and

[124] Kleiner, 1973: 382.
[125] Stewart, 2010: [7].

messages polyvalent, offering different meanings to different audience groups?

### 6.2.2 – Statuary and Sculpture in Late Iron Age Rhône Gaul

Sculpture, as a medium, makes for an effective lens into the world of power in society for several reasons. Its varying levels of investment of resources in materials (varying choices of stone, metal, or even organic substances) and artisanship can make for a gauge of the disposable wealth of its creators. Similarly, as a medium with a broad spectrum of contexts for display, ranging from private votive offerings to permanent, public monumentality, it can potentially speak volumes about cultural implications of personal identity and prevailing societal values. The use of sculpture, particularly in the form of statuary, busts, or other portraiture, to honour and commemorate individuals of prestige is one of the most direct ways that this artistic medium can shed light on the dynamics of social stratification. It demonstrates the identity of the powerful and prestigious to its audience, not merely at the moment of its creation but on a lasting basis and establishes a demarcation between those sufficiently lionised to merit, or powerful enough to create, such an artwork, and those who are not.

As noted in Chapter 1, stone sculpture as a medium, and particular in the style of statuary accompanied by identifying inscriptions, was rare to non-existent in temperate Gaul prior to and in the immediate wake of the Roman conquest. In the absence of deposits of stone varieties lending themselves to fine detailed carving (e.g. marble, limestone, etc.), artisans from the Upper Rhône Basin and beyond appear to have used wood as their primary medium for sculpture,

leaving rare survivals in the form of votive offerings preserved in anaerobic conditions.[126] In light of this dearth of evidence from the northern reaches of our area of geographical focus, this section will deal almost exclusively with the greater corpus of evidence from the Lower Rhône Valley and its environs.

The creation of figural sculptures of heroic individuals in stone was a well-established practice in the lower Rhône valley and its environs since at least the fifth century BCE, long before the coming of Rome.[127] Many of these Iron Age statues took the form of '*accroupis*', warriors seated in a cross-legged position. One of the most striking examples is the '*guerrier en tailleur'* from Glanum (fourth to second century BCE), made from local limestone, showing a warrior dressed in finery, complete with torque and arm-ring, its traces of polychrome attesting to its original vibrant colours.[128] Other examples of the same schematic, dating to the same period, have been recovered from Nîmes, Entremont, Roquepertuse, and several sites, especially *oppida*, from across Mediterranean Gaul.[129] While it is uncertain that these pieces functioned as portrait statuary per se, solely representing specific individuals, it would nevertheless appear that they functioned as representations of the ruling class of their society designed to project and cement their status.

The prestige of these ancient statues was not to last unchallenged into our period of study, however. Excavations at the *oppidum* of

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[126] Cassibry, 2015: 471-6.
[127] Armit, 2012: 132-4.
[128] Fig. 20, facsimile reconstruction at Site Archéologique de Glanum. Original deposited at Musée de Civilisation Celtique, Bibracte. For comments on the cultural significance of the costume depicted on such sculptures see Lantier, 1951: 277-9 and Verdin, 1998: 29-30.
[129] Bessac, 1991: 47-50. Janin and Py, 2008: 66-9. Häussler, 2010: 206-7.

Entremont revealed the remains of roughly 20 *accroupis*, several of them holding severed heads in attitudes of triumph and martial prowess.[130] All of these figures appear to have been deliberately smashed during the Roman sack of the settlement *c.*123BCE, with some of their resulting fragments taken for use as *spolia* material elsewhere.[131] Notwithstanding the case at Entremont, the deliberate destruction (by decapitation, shattering, burial, or dismantlement and reuse of materials) of similar statues appears to have been a phenomenon across southern Gaul between the third and first centuries BCE, frequently in contexts wherein no Roman intervention is likely to have occurred. This form of apparent iconoclasm could be explained by conflicts amongst local Gallic communities. As we have seen from Chapters 2, 3, and 4 of this thesis, conflict and instability were rife in Late Iron Age Gaul, and the Salluvii, with their centre of power at Entremont, were major participants in the later second century BCE. Häussler has suggested that the motivation for the violence might lie with rivalries between polities or even dynastic groups expressed in the annihilation of competing symbols of power and prestige.[132] This might, arguably, dilute interpretations of the iconoclasm seen at Entremont itself that frame it as an act of Roman imperialist aggression.

Nevertheless, the fact that the tradition of the production of '*accroupis*', and indeed most figural stone sculptures, appears to have died out in the wake of the conquest and provincialisation of

[130] Cassibry, 2017: 20.
[131] Cassibry, 2017: 21.
[132] Häussler, 2010: 210.

southern Gaul suggests at least an indirect relationship between the two phenomena. If the practice of creating statues of heroic local warriors and capturing, defacing, or destroying those of rivals reflects an ideology of power based on warfare between polities, it would follow that such an ideology would have little or no place in a context wherein the provincial government and its laws prevented the revival of conflicts between those groups now under the protection of Rome.[133] This would have necessitated a shift away from expressions of power predicated on local military rivalries and rendered the competitive creation and destruction of monuments to them obsolete. Following Häussler's interpretation, though, we might see a further layer of social change, in that, according to our various textual sources on the matter, the Roman conquest of *c.*125-120BCE did see major upheavals in the political framework of the Saluvii and other southern Gallic communities, with the removal of Toutomotulos and other members of the ruling class. If the collection of '*accroupis*' at Entremont was a function of the previously dominant regime's power display, then its destruction and non-replacement can be seen as evidence of a potentially revolutionary change.

Thus, the late second century BCE saw the violent collapse of an approach to prestige display dominant in the area since the Early Iron Age, seemingly indicating the social downfall or swift ideological adaptation of those who engaged in it. The apparent vacuum in local visual culture left by this development would only be filled by the rise

[133] For discussion of Roman imposition of *pax* onto conquered societies under *fides* see Barton, 2007: 246-8.

of a new approach predicated on celebrating a distant, foreign ruling dynasty in the artistic language of their homeland some decades later. Crucially, the advent of Roman domination over the Lower Rhône did not result in the replacement of one, indigenous form of sculptural prestige display with another, colonial one in the short term.

Instead, the introduction of sculptural production and display for social prestige in a recognisably Classicising mode in the region was the result of the foundation of late first century BCE *coloniae*.[134] In settlements like Arelate and Arausio, Roman colonists readily commissioned public images of the rulers of Rome itself. These images were almost certainly commissioned by locals with ties to the imperial family, since the Augustan regime appears to have scrupulously avoided overt self-promotion in favour of strategically delegating the task to their supporters, though this process was possibly aided by the use of official models or moulds for such images distributed from Rome itself.[135] Examples included a portrait bust in the veristic style of the Roman Republic discovered at Arelate is presumed to honour Gaius Julius Caesar as the founder of the *colonia,* while the monumental theatres of Arausio and Arelate were graced by colossal (3.5m) statues of the *princeps* Augustus, adorning the central niche of the stage wall.[136] The latter images of the supreme figure authority, surveying the stratified ranks of

[134] While there are many problematic assumptions and ideas on the value and definition of 'Classical Art' present in his writing, Kleiner's argument on this point remains sound. Kleiner, 1973: 389.
[135] Stewart, 2003: 84 and Pollini, 1987: 3.
[136] Musée Departemental d'Arles Antique FAN.92.00.215/2679 and Musée Departemental d'Arles Antique FAN.007.05.1939. On the theatre at Arelate see Ward-Perkins, 1970: 12-13 and Hijmans, 1994: 147.

spectators (itself a potent illustration of social hierarchy), would have served as potent reminders of both the prestige of the Roman state, and of those in the locality bound to the imperial family by ties of patronage and sponsored citizenship.[137]

In contrast with the rather enigmatic legacy of the '*accroupis'*, more information is available concerning the significance of figural sculpture as a medium for display in Roman contexts. Portrait statuary played a distinct role in Roman culture, or at the least amongst elite Roman male culture, aimed at making absent individuals (whether through physical distance or death) present, evoking memory in those familiar with them and introducing them to others.[138] As such, the use of portrait statues as a means of projecting status, particularly as tied to renown and social respectability, would have been well known to the Roman citizen colonists settling in south-eastern Gaul and would likely have been a practice that their Gallic counterparts swiftly emulated, if they were not already well-versed in it from contacts with the Italian peninsula. Closely tied to this is the idea that the initial adoption of portrait statuary as an art form in Rome from the second century BCE subverted its origins in the Hellenistic world, wherein statues were commissioned by public vote as rewards for magnates' euergetism,

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[137] Pollini, 1987: 2. For further discussion on the role of public seating arrangements as social conditioning in Roman contexts see Dench, 2018: 97-8.
[138] This attitude is commonly found in textual sources from the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods: Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.198-204 (rhapsodising on a figural representation of a deceased father), Hor. *Carm.* 4.8.13-14 (on the capacity of public marble statues to give new life to heroic individuals of the past), Suet. *Aug.* 31.5 (similarly arguing for the role of portrait statuary to honour exemplary heroes and encourage imitation thereof). Cicero, by contrast, ponders the practice of portrait statuary in Greek contexts but dismisses it as a form of vanity *Fam.* 5.12.7. Stewart, 2003: 79.

to have them function as privately commissioned props to *ambitio*, advertising their subjects as candidates for political office.[139] If this approach held true in to the late first century BCE, the increasingly nucleated settlements of the Lower Rhône, enfranchised with the *ius Latii*, would be fertile ground for a continuation of the practice in the context of local government. However, the emergence of overtly Classicising portrait styles, both representing the Princeps and/or members of the Imperial family and what would appear to be local dignitaries, in such settlements (with Vasio and Auennio being the most prolific) only appears to have occurred after the conclusion of our period of study in 10BCE.[140]

While statuary as public portraiture and/or monumentation dedicated to high status individuals was slow to proliferate across southern Gaul in the wake of conquest and colonisation, a closely related sculptural format from the region provides evidence of status display and projection in society: funerary monuments. Permanent grave markers, in their choices of form, materials, scale, and potential for epigraphy, are profound sources on the manner in which individuals (and/or those commemorating them) wished to project their identity into the future.[141] A survey of sculptures

[139] Stewart, 2003: 30.
[140] Most examples are dated, though with issues of problematic, often poorly recorded provenance, to the Late Augustan or Tiberian Eras. They include: Musée Lapidaire d'Avignon Inv.E42, Musée Lapidaire d'Avignon Inv.H 128[B], Musée Lapidaire d'Avignon Inv.G165, Musée Lapidaire d'Avignon Inv.G166, Musée Lapidaire d'Avignon Inv.G168, Musée Lapidaire d'Avignon Inv.G174[B], and Musée Lapidaire d'Avignon Inv.G175. For discussion on how the styles chosen for these portrait busts may have reflected the identity politics of their subjects see D'Ambra, 1998: 27-9.
[141] On the importance of the "privileged dead" to the ordering of social hierarchies see Baines and Yoffee, 2000: 14.

produced for this purpose in the Lower Rhône Valley *c.*125-10BCE reveals a fascinating mix of approaches.

The *Tarasque de Noves,* a highly rare and unusual piece in the record of Late Iron Age sculpture, is generally assumed to have functioned as a funerary monument (though it could also have been a cult object), its grisly display of disembodied human heads and human flesh consumed by a ferocious beast taken to reflect the impermanence of life as well as a warning to potential desecrators of a sanctified burial site.[142] The precise date of the sculpture is disputed from anywhere between *c.*50BCE to the third century BCE. It clearly represents an artistic tradition very different from that of the Greco-Roman world, and, with its complex, deeply incised relief detail and traces of vivid polychromy, was clearly a substantial investment of time, energy, and materials for its creators. If the later end of its proposed date range is accurate, making it a product of post-conquest Gallia Transalpina, it would demonstrate the presence of a powerful elite who felt little, if any, need to bend to Roman tastes in their artistic displays.

While the Tarasque is a rare standout in its distinction from Classicising norms, the practice of sculpting fierce beasts to act as apotropaic funerary monuments persisted in the Rhône Basin throughout the first century BCE. Fragments of a sculpted lion, imprecisely dated to the Late Iron Age, have been recovered from

[142] Fig. 23. Musée Lapidaire d'Avignon, Inv. N.51. One other sculpture of a similar design was discovered at Linsdorf, Alsace-Lorrain, in the late nineteenth century. It is, however, much smaller (at 55cm tall) and is thought, based on the presence of an ovoid space left open on its rear side, to have functioned as a holding receptacle for other objects rather than a freestanding art installation in its own right. Langloys, 1999: 294-7.

Vasio appear to be an example of this trend.[143] Further supporting the connection between zoomorphic sculpture and funerary ritual is another limestone lion, this time dated to the first century BCE, recovered from Arcoule in the vicinity of four *cippi*.[144] In addition to lions, the region also provides evidence that mythical beasts were used in configurations of funerary sculpture, especially around the turn of the millennium. The necropolis of Fourches Vielles near the *colonia* of Arausio has produced finds of griffons and sphinxes, executed in relief and three-dimensional form, acting as guardians of late first century BCE graves. One of a set of four limestone sphinxes, thought to be have placed at the projecting angles of a tomb, is accompanied by a carved human skull, upon which the creature's lost right-hand forelimb would likely have rested.[145] The similarities between this sculpture, of a ferocious mythological beast resting a limb on a severed human head, and that of the *Tarrasque de Noves* could point to continuities of funerary culture in the region between the pre-Roman Iron Age and the Augustan colonial period. This in turn would suggest that existence of an elite group whose demographic composition and cultural alignment remained relatively stable throughout the first century BCE.

On the other hand, overtly Classicising approaches to funerary monumentation rapidly proliferated across the settlements of the Rhône in the late first century BCE.

[143] Musée Lapidaire d'Avignon, Inv. 188a.
[144] Musée Departemental d'Arles Antique, FAN.92.00.1.
[145] Musée d'Arts et d'Histoire d'Orange.

The Cenotaph of the Julii at Glanum (*c.*40-20BCE) is perhaps the most striking example of this phenomenon, matching many of the mausolea of the Via Appia in its splendour.[146] The monument, whose inscription identifies it as a dedication to Gaius Julius and his ancestors by the former's three sons, Sextus, Marcus, and Lucius, would appear to indicate a level of prestige display not merely aimed at distinction from the wider populace but for pre-eminence amongst a local aristocracy.[147] The reasons for attributing such a purpose to the mausoleum derive from a combination of observations concerning its sculptural and epigraphic programme. Firstly, its inscription identifies it as a dedication to at least two preceding generations of the local Julii clan, which, in conjunction with the adornment of the tholos at the peak of the monument with a pair of *togati*, would suggest that the family's enfranchisement as Roman citizens included not only the three dedicants and their father, but also presumably their unnamed grandfather.[148] Emphasis on this relatively lengthy pedigree of citizenship, stretching back possibly as far as the early first century BCE, would likely have set the Julii apart from rival families enfranchised only under Triumviral or Augustan auspices.[149] The second factor relates to the bas-relief panels adorning the sides of the mausoleum, especially that facing east, a battle-scene alluding to Greco-Roman Amazonomachy scenes,

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[146] Fig. 24. For comparison the Triumviral and early Augustan eras saw the construction of such lavish mausolea along the Via Appia as the Tomb of Caecilia Metella *c.*30BCE. Zanker, 1988: 11-12.
[147] CIL XII.01012.
[148] On the significance of the use of the toga in representational contexts see Rothfus, 2010: 431-49.
[149] Glanum's presumed status as a community under the *ius latii* in the late first century BCE would likely have seen its ruling magistrates and their families enfranchised under the *ius adipiscendae civitatis per magistratum.* Gros, 1986: 73-6.

such as those found on the metopes of the Parthenon or the frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, but instead depicting a historical episode of conflict involving one of the deceased Julii, most likely Gaius Julius serving on the campaigns of Caesar in the eastern Mediterranean *c.*50-47BCE.[150] The combination of citizen pedigree, distinguished martial prowess, sophisticated references to high Greek art, and elaborated connections with Julius Caesar, deified primogenitor of the Imperial family, displayed on this monument would have established the premier position of the Julii dynasty among the social elite of Glanum to all observers.[151] The Glanum cenotaph likely existed in dialogue with similar funerary monuments introduced to the area by Roman colonists in the first century BCE; the now largely ruined mausoleum of Argenton (near Le Fugeret) and another at Saint-Julien-les-Martigues being the two main examples.[152] These tombs adapted a style popular in southern Italy to the context of Gallia Transalpina/Narbonensis. The Julii of Glanum were thus very much adapting a colonial medium of prestige display to communicate their status as members of the local ruling class, presumably with a colonial audience in mind (and the assumption that their indigenous audience would follow along).

A significant aspect shared by the Cenotaph of the Julii, the Lion of Arcoule, and the Fourches Vielles griffons and sphinxes, though, is that in their original contexts they lay outside the boundaries of their associated settlements. In contrast with the centralised, intramural place of honour enjoyed by the skull niches of earlier years, these

[150] Gros, 1986: 67.
[151] Clavel-Lévèque and Lévèque, 1982: 683.
[152] Roth-Congès, 1993: 392-3.

later first century BCE tomb monuments appear to have adhered to Roman practices of burial outside the *pomerium*.[153] The Cenotaph of the Julii, especially, placed close to the main roadway in and out of Glanum, might well speak of an increased desire to advertise the status of the departed, and their mourners, to travellers visiting the site, a category which might include Roman officials or soldiers on the move. Meanwhile, the Arcoule Lion sculpture's context in the vicinity of Italian-style funerary *cippi* underlines the fact that its commissioners shared their necropolis with individuals employing Roman idioms of burial and commemoration, pointing to a coexistence, or possible competition, of approaches to display within the same space. Even as older traditions of funerary iconography persisted in adaptive forms, a major change in the relationship between the living of south-eastern Gallic communities and their dead occurred over the first century BCE, the practice of memorialising the departed being done increasingly on Roman terms.

Similarly, evidence for the use of funerary sculpture as a means of status projection for auxiliary soldiers in the same timeframe can be found in the remains of a limestone statue of an auxiliary warrior discovered at Vachères, dated to the late first century BCE.[154] Due to its mid-nineteenth century discovery, certain aspects of its archaeological context are lost. However, later excavations at the site of Vachères itself appeared to reveal that while no oppidum or

[153] Extramural burial at Rome was officially mandated by the Laws of the Twelve Tables 462BCE. Laws of the Twelve Tables, *Tabula* X.1, Cic. *Leg.* II.23,58.
[154] Fig. 22. Musée Lapidaire Calvet d'Avignon, Inv. G 136[G]. On the identification of the statue as depicting a Gallic auxiliary soldier see Barruol, 1996: 9-11 and Haynes, 2013: 242-3.

large settlement existed in the vicinity, the statue appears to have been placed in the midst of a habitation complex near the edge of Vocontian territory.[155] The very similar '*guerrier de Mondragon'* suggests that Alpilles limestone statuary of local warriors serving (or having served) in Roman forces was an accepted part of visual culture that multiple communities in the vicinity participated in.[156] Haynes, thinking from the perspective of auxiliaries as a military community, reads these sculptures as reflecting the social mobility that service could provide, giving previously humble warriors access to the means of self-commemoration in an elite style.[157] However, given our discussion on the nature of Gallic auxiliary recruitment in the later first century BCE and the absence of a pre-existing tradition of funerary statuary in the area to imitate or adapt, there is no reason to assume that either commemorated warrior was of lowly origins. The statues' combination of localised martial iconography and nods to Classicising figural style may well, like the Cenotaph of the Julii, represent an adaptive continuation of older Gallic traditions of depicting military prowess in death, perhaps even stretching back the middle Iron Age *accroupis*. Their commissioners were likely of high status, with memories of, if not links of class and/or ancestry to, the ruling regimes of pre-conquest days.

It may be observed that in blending elements of traditional Greek and Roman art with idioms specific to the local context of south-eastern Gaul, such as the faux-Amazonomachy of the Cenotaph of

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[155] Barruol, 1996: 1-3.
[156] Fig. 21. Musée Lapidaire Calvet d'Avignon, Inv. G137. For this piece see Coissin, 1923: 214-20 and Nadalini, 2019: 205-6.
[157] Haynes, 2013: 252-3.

the Julii or the use of Mediterranean-style griffons and sphinxes as successors to lions or tarasques as funerary guardians at Fourches Vielles, these pieces meet many of the criteria for Stewart's definition of Provincialism. This blending, particularly when sharing space with even more overtly Classicising art-styles, would suggest a need for the art to communicate with both indigenous and Greco-Roman cultural registers. If this kind of funerary monumentation was to be successful in advertising the elite, prestigious status of those it commemorated, it seems to have had to satisfy both those used to the kind of displays long established in the region and those used art styles traditionally found elsewhere. By contrast those funerary monuments which adhere more solely to Greco-Roman traditions would appear to indicate interest primarily in appealing only to those accustomed to them. While assimilation to colonial Roman values likely played a role in this, for commissioners who were not colonists or other immigrants themselves, it should also be noted that this approach would have been useful as a mark of exclusivity. Those who commissioned such funerary monuments for their departed evidently rejected communication with those solely versed in the more traditionally local, Gallic medium of grave markers, and in doing so, set themselves apart from those who engaged in it.

## 6.3 – Speaking and Writing the Languages of Power: Gaulish, Greek, and Latin in the Rhône Basin

### 6.3.1 – Language Usage and Frameworks of Prestige and Power

During the second and first centuries BCE, the predominant vernacular language spoken in the greater Rhône Basin area was Gaulish, a language from the 'Celtic' branch of the Indo-European language family.[158] Italian *negotiatores* plying their trade in Gallia Transalpina and beyond in the first century BCE could not have relied exclusively on Latin or even Greek in their dealings, and so must have engaged with Gaulish to a certain degree.[159] Similarly, for all Cicero and Pompeius Trogus' eulogising of its pure and rarefied Hellenism, other Classical sources paint a likely more accurate picture of Massalia at this time as trilingual city, in which Gaulish and Latin were spoken alongside Greek.[160]

Imperialist assumptions, filtered through the problematic notion of 'Romanisation', have tended to obscure the significance of Gaulish as a language not merely filling the role of an indigenous vernacular, but a language of power and prestige amongst those who spoke it. Bats has argued that Gaulish onomastics, as revealed by Greek and Latin texts, epigraphy, and numismatic legends, can reveal much about the ideologies of power in Lower Rhône Late Iron Age societies through their etymological significance.[161] In a brief but wide-ranging survey of recorded personal names he notes that the

[158] See Chapter 1.3 and Appendix 1.
[159] Adams, 2003: 687-8.
[160] Mullen, 2013: 97-101.
[161] Bats, 2015: 62.

twin themes of martial prowess (especially in perceptions as a defender of the people) and fertility (in both a literal, genealogical sense and in a sense of live-giving prosperity) are evident to the point of ubiquity, and can be interpreted as a linguistic pillar for an ideology of Gallic chieftainship predicated on these qualities above all.[162] Beyond this, Caesar's testimony, however problematic, points to the importance of oral tradition as a source of social prestige (from the *druides* especially *BG* 6.13-14), the significance of 'bardic' culture and diplomacy as described by Athenaeus (*Deip*. 4.152) and Appian (*Emb*. 12), and, as discussed in Chapter 3.3.3, oratory in the Gaulish language was a matter of key political importance amongst the ruling classes of the Rhône Basin and beyond.[163]

Due to the circumstances of its limited extant record and eventual fate of language death, we have few, if any, ways to assess the usage of Gaulish at any given historical moment on a quantitative or qualitative basis. However, based on what scant data we have, broad, generalised estimates can be made. By the mid-first century CE, most reconstructions view the region as existing in a state of hierarchical diglossia (or perhaps triglossia with the inclusion of Greek) with the Gaulish vernacular existing in a low status position in contrast with the prestige afforded Latin.[164] The process by which this framework emerged was only in its infancy by the end of the

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[162] This approach includes etymological breakdowns of names from the Saluvian leader 'Toutomotulos' as either 'great hero/man of the people' or 'great male member'. Bats, 2015: 63-4.
[163] On the role of 'bards' and poets in Late Iron Age Gallic societies in their relationship to the power of members of the ruling classes, see Enright's theorisations. Enright, 1996: 176. On 'bardic diplomacy' see also Omrani, 2017: 34.
[164] Mullen, 2011b: 529. Adams and Swain, 2002: 9-10.

period under scrutiny here, and it behoves us to look for its roots. How and why did Gaulish lose status and prestige?

### 6.3.2 – Gaulish Epigraphy in the Late Iron Age

As introduced in Chapter 1.6.9, the second and first centuries BCE Rhône saw the use of the Greek alphabet to compose written texts in the Gaulish language, preserved as a small corpus of inscriptions in stone or on ceramics.[165] As our main source material for the use of Gaulish, it is worth investigating as a technology of social power for what it might indicate about the linguistic landscapes of power and prestige in the region.

The use of Greek letters might raise assumptions that Gallo-Greek epigraphy necessarily originated from Gallic contact with the traditional Greek epigraphic habit via Massalia and its community. Such assumptions are, however, challenged by the hard evidence on the ground. Identifiably Greek inscriptions in Gaul are strikingly rare, and even within the slim extant canon only a sliver can be securely dated to contexts before the Imperial period.[166] There are thus three reasons why it is unlikely that the Gauls of the Lower Rhône adopted the practice of incising public messages in stone using the Greek script from their Massaliot neighbours. Firstly, because it appears that the Massiliots themselves rarely engaged in it.[167] Comparing the extant corpus from Gallic contexts to regions of

[165] See Fig. 25.
[166] Approximately 25 of a total 169 inscriptions. Decourt, 2004: 306. Mullen, 2013: 158.
[167] Archaeological surveys of the site of Phokaia, metropolis of the Massaliots, have suggested that inscriptions were rarely created there either, suggesting a possible tendency towards anepigraphy relative to other Hellenic groups. However, this dearth of Phokaian inscriptions may also be the result of limited

similar Greek colonisation in the Italian peninsula, where epigraphy is far thicker on the ground even from the point of foundation onwards, Mullen suggests that for most of their history the colonists of Massalia found public displays of Greek text to be of limited use for identity communication and status display for a largely illiterate local audience and came to prefer other methods.[168] Secondly, the emergence of Gallo-Greek as a form of writing in the final years of the third century BCE coincided with an ongoing contraction of Massiliot power and influence (primarily gauged in terms of penetration and spread of identifiably Massiliot commercial goods and artefacts) across the region.[169] It would make little sense for the indigenous neighbours of a colonial society to initiate a seemingly deferential cultural practice only when that colony was losing prestige. Thirdly, the site of Glanum, at times touted as the pre-eminent example of south-eastern Gallic Hellenisation in the Late Iron Age, presents further problems for the notion of colonial Greek linguistic influence on the region. Its comparatively well documented and extensive corpus of epigraphic onomastics reveals an extremely limited range of overtly Hellenic names, while far more evidence of Latin ones rendered in Gallo-Greek.[170] The geographical range of attested Gallo-Greek is also pertinent. Although a key plank of arguments for the Massaliot origin theory of the writing system lies in the fact that its earliest attestation (from the late third century BCE) was unearthed on the Ile de Martigues, the overall distribution of

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excavation activity at the site over the last half-century. See Akurgal, 1978: 116-18 and Özyigit, 2006: 9-22.

[168] Mullen, 2013: 160-1.

[169] Mullen, 2013: 39.

[170] Mullen, 2013: 242-3.

texts centred on the Rhône itself, with few to none found directly north or east of Massalia itself counters the suggestion.[171]

The role of a much broader, but predominantly Italian, range of Mediterranean influences in the development of Gaulish epigraphy in the second and first centuries BCE is also supported by analysis of the so-called '*dedebratoudekanten*' formula commonly used within it.[172] Indeed, the closest equivalent for the formula's phrasing is found not in Greek or Latin, but in fact Oscan, likely pointing to well-developed contacts between the Lower Rhône and Italian traders from Campania and Samnium in the second century BCE.[173]

The emergence of Gallo-Greek epigraphy as a technology of social power in the Lower Rhône Valley points to a more nuanced approach than the mere aping of colonial Greek customs in an indigenous context. An interpretation that the current crop of available evidence would support is that rather than being Hellenised or Latinised, the rise of a distinctively southern Gallic form of the epigraphic habit was an attempt by the local elite to engage and communicate with the broader Mediterranean *koine* on more or less their own terms. Their dialect of Gaulish, while it would never challenge Greek as a *lingua franca*, could perhaps take on a similar role to that of Oscan or Etruscan in being a recognised medium for the written word appearing in the familiar formats of

[171] Bats, 2011: 212.
[172] The formula, relating to the use of the words '*DEDE*' (3rd person singular perfect indicative of **da/dedor* 'to give'), '*BRATOU*' (singular genitive of rubric **Bratos* 'favour/boon/blessing'), and '*DEKANTEN'* (singular accusative of object **Dekanta* 'tithe'), is found variously in at least 12 Gallo-Greek inscriptions recovered from sites across the Lower Rhône Valley. They include *RIG* G-27, *RIG* G-64, *RIG* G-148, *RIG* G-183, *RIG* G-202-4, *RIG* G-206, and *RIG* G-214.
[173] Szemerényi, 1974: 265-62

inscriptions, *instrumenta* et al. The multifaceted, rather than purely Latinate, Italian influence on Mediterranean Gaul resulting in the creation of scripts for indigenous languages over the late third to early first centuries can be paralleled by similar developments in the eastern Iberian Peninsula in the same timeframe, seemingly reflecting a wider phenomenon of western peoples wishing to be part of the emergent cultural *koine* on their own terms rather than as colonised subject populations.[174]

The initial development of Gallo-Greek as a writing system cannot be characterised as a simplistic aping of Greek literary norms, as the adaptation a script intended for one language to the quite different grammatical and phonotactic aspects of a very distantly related one is no mean feat and would require highly literate practitioners fluent in both.[175] In his theorising of an educated, literate elite class pushing the dissemination of Gallo-Greek as a textual and epigraphic medium across the Lower Rhône, Lejeune theorises that Glanum and Namausos may have functioned as centres of learning, perhaps even housing scholastic institutions.[176] It should not be assumed, however, that the script remained the province of a narrow elite class, but, as indicated by its use in object labelling of trade goods and in graffiti, was in open to and in use by a broader cross-section of society with varying levels of Gaulish-Greek

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[174] Mullen, 2011a: 230. Considered in the context of the second century BCE more broadly, these developments in Gaul could also be compared with trends in Italy, where, as emphasised by Wallace-Hadrill, Roman *socii* communities lacking citizenship or Latin rights were nevertheless utilising Roman-like technologies of social power, not as ways of assimilating to Rome, but asserting their local pride and prestige in spite of their hegemon. Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 447-8.
[175] Lejeune, 1985: 5.
[176] Lejeune, 1985: 5.

bilingualism.[177] Its potential usage in labelling ceramics might be profitably viewed in relation to the wine trade discussed in Chapter 5.5, with amphorae marked with information relating to their buyers and/or destinations, but our available data is insufficient to advance a clear hypothesis.

Although Gallo-Greek appears to have been widely used across the greater Rhône Basin as a means of record keeping and written communication, its use in public epigraphy relating to high status individuals (particularly in the forms of religious dedications and funerary monuments) remained a unique feature of the Lower Rhône Valley, centred on the territories of the Vocontii, Volcae Arecomici, and Cavares.[178] These practices set them apart from their neighbours in the Allobroges, Arverni, Segusiavi, and beyond, highlighting an important cultural divide even within one region of Gaul at the time.[179]

The decline and eventual disappearance of Gallo-Greek in the Rhône Basin during the late first century BCE cannot be linked to the Roman conquest itself, as the height of its use had occurred during and after the Lower Rhône's provincialisation. Instead, it must be tied to changing attitudes and strategies towards linguistic prestige in the context of the Augustan Era. Adams and Swain, in

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[177] Mullen, 2013: 98. Crumley's suggestion of an intermediary class of administrators between the ruling elite and masses as a feature of Late Iron Age Gallic society might come into play here, functioning as a kind of scribal group. However, this remains a speculative hypothesis awaiting further evidence. Crumley, 1974: 75-6.

[178] Mullen, 2013: 177-8.

[179] Following Cassibry's suggestions concerning sculpture, the general absence of easily carved stone, along with a general trend towards wooden architecture, in the Upper Rhône Basin may have mitigated against adoption of the medium of incised public inscriptions in the manner of their southern counterparts.

their work on bilingualism in the Greco-Roman world, argue for a model in which Gallo-Greek fell into obsolescence when faced with the greater prestige afforded Latin literacy in the new imperial regime.[180] This somewhat passive, osmosis-based framework is need of greater, more specific nuance, though the authors' comparison with the fate of Punic, whose native, syllabic writing system declined into extinction after the fall of Carthage but surviving as a written language in the Latin alphabet, likely has merit.[181]

The majority of extant Gallo-Latin epigraphy dates from the later first and second centuries CE and relates to either graffiti or cultic practices, especially in the form of curse tablets, a decidedly non-public textual medium.[182] The association with largely private religious activities, which predominantly implicate women as practitioners, supports a framework wherein, following the Augustan period, the Gaulish language remained a vernacular in Narbonensis but was increasingly relegated to use in domestic and lower prestige contexts while Latin (and to a lesser extent imperial Koiné Greek) became the language of public business and other high status activities.[183]

The evidence as it stands would suggest a situation wherein Gallo-Greek as a public textual medium lost prestige as Latin gained it and fell out of use by those fluent in it, but, as Gaulish continued to be spoken those who were bilingual and literate in Latin found ways to

[180] Adams and Swain, 2002: 11-12.
[181] Adams and Swain, 2002: 6.
[182] See Lambert, 2002: 245-303 (esp. RIG L-100 to L-102, and RIG L-106).
[183] Mullen, 2011b: 529.

adapt their new textual skillset to committing their mother tongue to writing. Adams' reading of the development of Gallo-Latin as used in the graffiti contexts of pottery from Le Graufesenque in the mid-first century CE (*RIG* L-29 to L-48), in that it was an adaptation of Latin literacy skills imparted to Gallic workers by Italian immigrant superiors and thus was completely independent of Gallo-Greek, supports this conclusion.[184]

### 6.3.3 – The Latin Epigraphic Habit and its limitations in the Rhône Basin

Extant Latin epigraphy in the Rhône Basin dated *c.*125-10BCE is vanishingly rare.[185] Furthermore, inscriptions detailing information about either local communities as a whole or individuals within them only begin to appear in the archaeological record shortly before the turn of the millennium, and only become a markedly numerous feature of the landscape in the later first century CE (see table below):

*Table 1: Survey of Latin Epigraphy Records from selected Rhône Basin Sites c.0-150CE*[186]

| **Site** | **Latin Inscriptions Dated *c.*0-50CE** | **Latin Inscriptions Dated *c.*50-100CE** | **Latin Inscriptions Dated *c.*100-150CE** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Augustodunum | 2 | 1 | 60 |
| Lugdunum | 9 | 7 | 13 |

[184] Adams, 2003: 698.
[185] Between them the Heidelberg Epigraphische Datenbank and Clauss Slaby Datenbank offer only five results that fit the criteria.
[186] Data gathered from Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss Slaby (EDCS) and Heidelberg Epigraphische Datenbank (HED).

| Vienna | 7 | 19 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nemausus | 15 | 11 | 14 |
| Vasio | 0 | 14 | 0 |

The Cenotaph of the Julii is marked with a Latin inscription identifying its commissioners and dedicands, implying the presence of both Latin literate authors and an intended audience (likely of visiting dignitaries and merchants as mentioned above).[187] As is the case with everything about the monument, the epigraph is unique in its context and did not herald the coming of imitators looking to engage in a new dialogue. The local tradition of Gallo-Greek epigraphy declined away into obscurity in the late first century BCE, but it was not immediately replaced by another medium. A similar case attends to a lone, roughly contemporaneous inscription from Nemausus in the form of a dedication to Augustus *c.*25BCE (perhaps in gratitude for the settlement's grant of Latin rights), which is not paralleled until over twenty years later.[188] Unfortunately, the preserved text does not include records of the dedicator(s) specifically, making it uncertain if it was commissioned by locals or visiting officials. Attempts to break into the emerging world of Latin public epigraphy were undertaken by at least a select few in the Triumviral/Early Augustan Lower Rhône but these were limited forays that did not claim the same social niche as previous approaches to inscription.

[187] *CIL* 12,01012.
[188] *CIL* 12,03148. Further Augustan dedications from Nemausus, dated by their scrupulous listing of titles, are from 5BCE (*CIL* 12,03155) and 3BCE (*CIL* 17-02,00238) respectively.

Neither colonial communities nor bilingual Gallic elites introduced a Latin epigraphic habit to the region that swiftly rendered the Gallo-Greek practices of their neighbours and ancestors obsolete. Instead, in an important nuance to MacMullen's traditional view of the Latin epigraphic habit, the initial impact of colonisation on the region appears to have been a general decline in epigraphy altogether as its relationship with social status and prestige became unclear.[189]

### 6.3.4 – Interlingual and Intercultural Engagement in Literature

Engagement with the Gaulish language, and its presumably rich oral culture, on the part of Greek and Latin writers in the first century BCE (and early first century CE), provides a perspective on linguistic and cultural imperialism in the early Roman Empire. Interpretation, translation, and multilingualism in textual descriptions of encounters with the Rhône Basin and their inhabitants elucidate some of the complex web of prestige and power dynamics that attends the subject.

Caesar's *Commentarii* make it clear that the Pro-Consul had no proficiency with the Gaulish language himself and relied explicitly on Gallic interpreters such as G. Valerius Procillus to communicate with locals (*BG* 1.19). Other than his somewhat cryptic and much debated statement on the people known to the Romans as '*Galli*' preferring the term '*Celtae*' in their own language (*BG* 1.1), the only non-onomastic Gaulish terms that appear in Caesar's writings are the positional titles of *"Vergobretus*" (*BG* 1.16) and "*ambactus*" (*BG*

[189] MacMullen, 1982: 238-9.

6.15) with their accompanying description.[190] As can be deduced from comparisons between their appearance in Caesarian prose and Gallic numismatic legends, even this word and the names of certain individuals who appear in both are noticeably adapted to fit Latin phonological and grammatical norms rather than reproduced precisely. "**Vercobretos/Vergobretos*" becomes "*Vergobretus*" and "*Dubnoreixs*" becomes "*Dumnorix*".[191] Neither Caesar as author, nor his readers, seem to have had much interest in knowledge of or familiarity with transalpine Gallic culture beyond the filtered rudiments required for the narrative. Despite this, the *Commentarii* are clear on the topic of Gallic literacy. In addition to the statement of Book 6's ethnography (*BG* 6.14), that the Gauls used a modified form of the Greek alphabet to keep written records (a claim amply supported by the extant corpus of Gallo-Greek inscriptions), the episode of the Helvetii's final massacre at Bibracte is marked by the Pro-Consul's statement that his statistics for the enemy population and casualties were drawn from inscribed census tablets written in Greek letters (*BG* 1.21).[192]

Similarly, the text neither states nor implies that the Gauls and other transalpine peoples were particularly ignorant or unaccustomed to dealing with languages other than their own. The Germanic warlord Ariovistus, despite his characterisation, is shown

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[190] Adams, 2003: 185. For interpretations of what Caesar's statement entails about Gallic ethnic identity and linguistic relations with the wider Ancient World see Collis, 2003: 98-103.

[191] See also Appendix 1.

[192] Caesar's statement at *BG* 6.14 concerning the Druids' aversion to writing, which has often been exaggerated as antipathy to the written word itself, more straightforwardly expresses a philosophical esteem of the unaided human oral memory over textual records and a desire to maintain the secrecy of their higher spiritual traditions. See also Mullen, 2013: 108.

to be at least functionally bilingual in his native presumable Proto-Germanic dialect and Gaulish and is furthermore alluded to be engaging in diplomatic correspondence with Roman senators, for which he must have been able to employ a literate Latin and/or Greek speaker (*BG* 1.44). He and Caesar cannot converse directly with one another, however, necessitating Procillus' role as intermediary. Though it makes sense for the barbarian Ariovistus to learn Gaulish as a second language in the context of his campaigning, the possibility of a Roman commander learning it is treated as so remote and needless as to be barely conceivable.[193] It is for barbarians to learn Latin and/or Greek, not vice versa. Comparison of Caesarian and Ciceronian testimony presents a muddied picture of Latin proficiency amongst the communities of provincial and Comatan Gaul in the early to mid-first centuries BCE. The figure of Diviđiacos provides the prime source of uncertainty. The *Commentarii* describe Caesar communicating with him only with aid of Procillus as translator (*BG* 1.19), implying a lack of requisite fluency with Latin. Conversely, Cicero (*Div.* 1.41) describes him as both a guest and eulogist ("*hospitem…laudatorermque*"), suggesting not merely capability but real skill in either Latin or possibly Greek.

Beyond Caesar's writings of eyewitness encounters with the Gauls and their language(s), the treatment of Gaulish and its speakers in the literary canon as they became part of the newly unified, much enlarged Greco-Roman world of the Imperial period. These

[193] For further irony, according to Fronto (221N), Caesar is said to spent part of his time on campaign in Gaul composing a work on Latin grammar ('*de Analogia'*), now only surviving in fragmentary form, which contributed to the ongoing trend toward linguistic scholasticism and purism amongst the ruling class of the Late Republic. Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 66-9.

approaches, emerging from the context of an elite class within an imperial world, with a correspondingly imperialistic worldview, shine crucial light on the reception of Gallic culture in Latin and Hellenic circles.

Probably the strongest demonstration of this attitude of colonial erasure in dealing with Gallic culture and history in Greek and Latin literary circles is found in Diodorus' excursus on the subject. The historian creates a mythological origin story for the Gauls that imposes a Heraklean narrative and elevates Alésia to the status of metropolis for all Gallic peoples with a fictitious Greek etymology affixed to its name (from '*ἀλή*' 'sustenance' being the sustaining metaphorical mother of Gaul).[194] The former aspect draws heavily from Herodotus' account of the origins of the Scythians (*Hist.* 4.8-10), merely exchanging one context of barbarian communities for another.[195] The new description of Alésia is particularly telling, as the settlement was one whose significance in Gallic history was fundamentally circumstantial; an otherwise minor oppidum raised to fame in the Mediterranean purely by its role in Caesar's accounts of conquest.[196] Diodorus' approach repeatedly emphasises the centrality of Greek culture to the wider world and can only perceive Gaul through the prisms imposed upon it by Roman and Greek observers, ignoring any possibility that its indigenous cultures and

[194] Woolf argues that, lacking the textual or epigraphic records favoured as historiographical evidence in the Hellenic world, the myths of Herakles were widely imposed and/or adopted as explanations of the past in Roman western Europe. Woolf, 2011b: 270. The allusive sexuality of the encounter between Herakles and the local princess Keltine could be interpreted as a metaphor for colonisation itself, see Webster, 1994: 6.
[195] Riggsby, 2006: 58.
[196] Woolf, 2011a: 21.

languages might have valid perspectives of their own to grapple with.

A contrast can be seen in the Pseudo-Plutarchan text 'On Rivers' ('*Περὶ Ποταμῶν*'), generally dated to the early first century CE or close to the turn of the Millennium. In its short chapter concerning the River Arar (Saône), it offers a unique aetiology of the settlement of Lugdunum which draws on what can only be interpreted as native Gallic traditions. Whereas Diodorus can only conceive of a toponymic origin based in his own language, the unknown author asserts (1.6) that the name of the site derives from a Gaulish word meaning 'raven', linked with the portentous tale of its establishment by local augurs. The story may be flavoured by echoes of Romulus and Remus, and the precise philology remains a matter of discourse among Celticists.[197] Nevertheless, it indicates that certain Greek scholars at the time were engaging with Gaulish speakers and their language in at least limited ways rather than permitting their total erasure within Mediterranean literature.

Other Latin and Greek writers from the time offer perspectives that, if not necessarily conciliatory, are at least a little less predicated on erasure, and might offer signs of engagement with Gallic oral traditions, however indirect and limited.

Livy's aetiology of Gallic migrations across Early Iron Age Europe in Book 5 of his history of Rome provides a good case study. On the one hand, the historian's account offers certain nuances that others

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[197] Pseudo-Plutarch's gloss is otherwise unattested, with Delamarre (2003) and Savignac (2014) offering '**brannos*' and '**boduos*' as the primary forms of corvid terminology recoverable in Gaulish. A good survey of the much-disputed etymology of Lugdunum can be found in Toorians, 2008: 160-6.

appear to lack and may contain certain nuggets of truth. It can be usefully compared with Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of the same events in ascribing more rational, sympathetic motivations for the Gallic migrations out of their homeland. Its chronology of Gallic arrival in northern Italy, placing it in the early sixth century BCE, would also better appear to reflect the archaeological and epigraphic evidence pointing to the longstanding presence of Celtic (specifically Lepontic) speakers in the Alpine foothills from a very early point and a gradual, multi-wave model of Gallic migration into the peninsula over a timeframe of centuries rather than a singular event.[198] Arguments have been advanced back and forth over whether Livy's portrayal of the Bituriges as an established polity functioning as hegemons of Gaul in the Hallstatt period is an accurate reflection of longstanding group identities and territorial alignments in the region or an anachronistic projection of Caesarian sketches of Gallic geopolitics onto the distant past.[199] The names 'Ambigatus', 'Bellovesus', and 'Segovesus' appear to be

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[198] Pope, 2021: 23.

[199] "*De transitu in Italiam Gallorum haec accepimus: Prisco Tarquinio Romae regnante, Celtarum quae pars Galliae tertia est penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit; ii regem Celtico dabant*" / "Concerning the migration of Gauls into Italy we are told as follows: While Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome, the Celts, who make up one of the three divisions of Gaul, were under the domination of the Bituriges, and this tribe supplied the Celtic nation with a king" Livy 5.34.1. Cunliffe argues that the archaeological evidence pertaining to large scale migrations from Gaul into the Italian peninsula *c*.500-400BCE suggest greater connections with the upper Seine and Loire Valley regions of east central and northern Gaul than with the more westerly territories of the Bituriges. Cunliffe, 2011: 205. The potential Caesarian influence on the passage is most clearly seen in his adherence to the idea of the '*Celtae*' as one of three divisions of the Gauls (as per *BG* 1.1). Oddly though, Livy's use of the form "*Celtico*" (a neuter adjective functioning as a collective noun) suggests that at least some passage was based on a now lost Greek source (as such a grammatical device is far more typical of that language). Ross, 1996: 111.

Latinisations of plausibly Gaulish onomastics.[200] On the other hand, there are reasons to doubt that Livy's testimony regarding events of Gallic history either contains much truth or shows any real engagement with contemporaneous Gallic culture. The tale of the Biturigan king and his two nephews easing population pressure on available resources by lot-assigned mass emigration closely parallels that of the Lydian ruler Atys and his son Tyrrhenus responding to land hunger and famine in their own country by sending a large expedition to settle abroad, as recounted by both Herodotus (1.94) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Rom. Ant.* 1.27).[201] The similarities of narrative and deployment of overtly Mediterranean elements, such as taking divinatory command of intended migration destination (by augury no less), suggest that the historian borrowed a pre-existing archetype of migration story from Greek and Latin tradition and imposed it onto a Gallic context rather than drawing on genuine testimony. The narrative he offers is further undercut by the combination of contradictory elements and seemingly confused geography. To the first point, temperate Gaul's agricultural fecundity and vast extent is emphasised, but is still somehow susceptible to overpopulation in the same manner as the Mediterranean realms on which other stories of mass emigration are based.[202] As to the second point, the historian interposes a

[200] Reconstructable as '**Ambigatos*' (Evans, 1967: 134-6) , '**Bellovesos*', and '**Segovesos*' (Evans, 1967: 256).
[201] These accounts, at times contested by other historians and ethnographers in Antiquity, offered aetiologies of the Etruscan (or Tyrrhenian) peoples of west central Italy.
[202] Ogilvie, 1965: 708-9. In addition to Herodotus' account of Tyrrhenus leading refugees from the drought-stricken land of Lydia, he later recounts versions of the story of population outstripping available resources during a prolonged dry spell on Thera, a small, rocky island in the Aegean, prompting a colonising expedition abroad (Hdt. 4.150-2). Livy, notably, says nothing of drought or unusual weather

reference to crossing the Julian Alps (at the eastern end of the range) amidst the wandering Gauls' encounter with the initial colonists of Massalia and arrival in north-western Italy.[203] Livy's tendency to avoid direct citations aside, there is nothing to be mined even from the finest of details of his writing to suggest that he may have consulted Gallic sources (such as they were) to reconstruct the events he described.[204] The historian's deployment of Latin stereotypes about the Gauls is less overt than in descriptions of similar events provided by either Cicero or Dionysius, but it nevertheless relies on them more than any connection to authentically Gallic perspectives.[205]

Strabo, in his exhaustive cataloguing of knowledge about the world, offers a helpful elaboration on the *Commentarii*'s opening

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patterns in his explanation and no real comparison can be made between the wide, temperate lands of Gaul and the mountainous, semi-arid climes Herodotus discusses in his accounts of population movements in terms of productivity. See Isayev, 2017: 122.

[203] Ross, 1996: 112-13. Ogilvie suspects a conflation of accounts referring to various crossings of the Alps by different routes into a single narrative event. Ogilvie, 1965: 712.

[204] Ogilvie notes that, though his Patavian origins might have put him in contact with Cisalpine Gallic communities (or at least their descendants), Latin historiography of Livy's period appears to have largely avoided oral tradition as a source of information. Ogilvie, 1965: 300-2. Verger theorises that Diviđiacos himself may have been a source for this narrative in Latin sources, having recounted it during his embassy to Rome *c*.61-60BCE (Verger, 2003: 333-69), but this relies on the potentially spurious and highly vague testimony of *Pan. Lat.* 8.3, whose late date of composition leaves open the possibility of it using Livy himself as a source.

[205] Both Cicero (*Rep*. 3.9.16) and Dionysius' (*Ant. Rom*. 12.11) emphasise traits of Gallic greed and rapacity (respectively for others' crops or the wine to which they are proverbially addicted) as motivating factors in their coming to Italy. By contrast, Williams posits that Livy, in line with Augustan trends of Pan-Italianism, helped give the originally Gallic communities of Northern Italy an acceptably Mediterranean migratory tradition (with appropriate divine sanction) to aid their conceptual integration with the variously Latin, Samnite, Etruscan, and other groups which constituted the bulk of Roman citizenry at the end of the first century BCE. Williams, 2001: 120-1. For the moralising and stylistic concerns that informed much of the structure of Book 5 of *Ab Urbe Condita* see Oakley, 2015: 236-7.

sketch of Gallic ethno-geography (*Geog.* 4.1.2), emphasising the distinction between the unrelated Iberian-like Aquitani beyond the Garonne and their more similar but distinguishable Gallic and Belgic counterparts, in which language is a key factor. The Greek scholar was evidently interested, capable, and sufficiently well-informed to acknowledge and denote variations within the spatial realm he identified as "*Κελτική*", known to the Roman provincial system as '*Gallia*', rather than either ignore them or dismiss them as undifferentiated babble. However, Strabo's interest does not appear to extend much beyond the simple formula of two dialects (those of Belgica and Celitca) being recognisably more similar to each other than a third one (Aquitanian) and does not offer any matter on what said languages may be like in spoken form or what bodies of material they might contain.[206]

Pompeius Trogus' status as a provincial Gallic individual entering the realm of Greek scholarship sadly only grants us a small glimpse of another perspective on the literary cultural interaction due to the loss of the original text of his writings.[207] A possibility remains that the original text contained a richer vein of historiography and ethnography on his homelands in south-eastern Gaul and its environs, but the text of Justin's *Epitomes* remains limited and weighted heavily towards the narrative of Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean. His treatment of Gaul within the text is very limited in

[206] Here we may compare with Strabo's description of the Turdetanian language of southern Iberia (*Geog.* 3.1.6), in which he describes the language's preservation of seemingly ancient historical records and documents, then threatened by the locals' shift towards the adoption of Latin as a vernacular.
[207] For Pompeius Trogus as a possible representative of a wider tradition of southern Gallic engagement with Greek and Latin historiography see Yarrow, 2006: 2.

contrast to a focus on events elsewhere and is predicated on a Massaliot, rather than an indigenous, viewpoint. The Gauls appear, at least in the epitomised text, as antagonists to be overcome by the superiority of colonial Greek civilisation rather than as protagonists in their own history. The warlord, Catumandos, is depicted, perhaps as a positive foil to the impiety widely attributed to Brennus (either in his role at the Sack of Rome *c.*390BCE or the Sack of Delphi *c.*279BCE), is shown acquiescing to the power of the Greco-Roman goddess Minerva (Just. *Epit.* 43.4).[208] The Gauls' receipt of imported Greek norms of agriculture (especially of vines and olives) sees the region transformed; "Greece translated onto Gaul" (Just. *Epit.* 43.5). The poor alignment between the textual representation and archaeological record of the region's past only serves to reinforce the former's rhetorical, rather than analytical, stance.[209] Even for a Gallic interlocutor, the most positive representation of his homeland that he can give in a Greco-Roman context is to participate in the vilification and erasure of its indigenous aspects. By the Augustan and Julio-Claudian Eras, Narbonese Gauls of good standing might have had access to the education in Latin and Greek language and literature which allowed them to enter the broader community of scholars.[210] Said community, however, valued only assimilation and had little or no interest in the reproduction of Gallic culture in writing.

[208] Presumably working as an *interpretatio Romana* of Athena as worshipped in Massalia itself. For broader discussions of the figure of 'Brennus' in Greek and Roman folklore regarding the Gauls and stereotypes regarding Gallic relationships with religion see Levene, 1993: 193-4; Williams, 2001: 166; and Rosenberger 2003: 373.
[209] See also Mullen, 2013: 177-8.
[210] For further investigations of the assimilationist values of '*Paideia*' and '*Humanitas*' in first century BCE/CE Greco-Roman cultural contexts see Hingley, 2005: 61-3 and Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 5-10.

It must also be remembered, though, that the Vocontii (of whom Trogus was a member), even among their southern Gallic neighbours, appear to have exhibited an unusual zeal for Greco-Roman high culture.

Even the fragmentary quotation that gives us the identification of the '*tau Gallicum*' as a phoneme to investigate, denotes the sound and similar Gaulish-isms as a source of ridicule when found in the speech of the individual identified as Cimber (Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.28).[211] Though the density of in-jokes (from both its origin and its deployment in Quintilian) make it difficult to unravel the full linguistic context at play, the implication is that even speaking Latin in a manner reminiscent of Gaulish was considered worthy of stigma in first century BCE/CE Roman contexts; from which we might gather that speaking the Gaulish language itself would be stigmatised even more.

The conclusion that all of this points to is that the Gaulish language (of whatever dialectal variation) had no cultural capital or even validity in a world wherein Latin and Greek (specifically of the Attic and Alexandrian Pseudo-Attic varieties) held a duopoly as languages of high culture.[212] Aspiring elites originating in Gaul during in this new world could potentially adapt many of the skills of

[211] Taken from a fragmentary quotation of the Pseudo-Virgilian *Catalepton* (2.4). 'Cimber' is thought to be T. Annius Cimber, an archaising grammarian of the first century BCE (Suet. *Aug*. 86.3). The cognomen, upon which Cicero puns (*Phil*. 11.14), might indicate connections with the Germanic Cimbri, though the extreme improbability of an individual of such origins becoming a Roman senator less than a century after the Cimbric Wars argues against this. Given the uncertainty of exactly what connects Cimber to the Gaulish language, we might assume a basis in the joke of his assumed status as a barbarian in the eyes of his satirisers. On '*Tau Gallicum*' see Eska, 1998: 115-16 and Mees, 2002: 25-6. On Cimber's identity and its satirisation in Cicero see Corbeill, 1996: 87.
[212] Adams, 2003: 13.

rhetoric, grammar, and memorisation prized in their ancestral cultural registers into the emergent one as technologies of social power.[213] What they could not do, on the other hand, was rely on the content of the oral culture that had traditionally marked the prestigious ruling classes of Gaul to support their status in Greco-Roman contexts, nor, seemingly, could they meaningfully import content from the former into the latter. The adoption of Latin and Greek as spoken and written languages by Rhône Gallic individuals and communities from the late first century BCE onwards was fundamentally an inegalitarian process of cultural assimilation, not one of equitable exchange.

## 6.4 – Coinage as Iconography and Epigraphy

As noted in our introductory chapter, coinage represents a unique combination of evidence types in its relationships with archaeology, iconography, and epigraphy, and as explored in Chapter 5.4, the role of coinage as manufactured by individual elites among the Arverni and other upper Rhône peoples made it a key technology of social power.[214]

In a contrast with the role of Roman coinage of the time, the role of Gallic coins as diplomatic and/or patronal gifts, rather than standardised, circulating currency, would have made them a potentially useful vehicle for communicating the power and prestige of their associated members of ruling classes.[215] Crucial to this

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[213] Indeed, Gallic zeal for practicing Latin oratory became a seemingly commonplace stereotype in the literature of first and second century CE Rome, as evinced by Tacitus (*Agr.* 21) and Juvenal (*Sat.* 15.111) among others, and perhaps embodied by the figure of Favorinus of Arelate (Aul. Gel. 14.1).
[214] Cassibry, 2016: 151. For further discussion of this point see Chapter 5.4.
[215] Crawford observes that, while Roman coinage of the Late Republic and Early Empire was frequently graced with complex, idiosyncratic designs commissioned

communicative function was the inclusion of inscribed legends bearing the names of identifiable members of the elite. Most of our examples from the mid-first century BCE do not use Gallo-Greek but a modified form of the Latin alphabet in their legends.[216] Why this medium was chosen remains a matter of much speculation and debate.[217] It does not appear to have coincided with adoption of Latin as a form of writing in any other way, and, in the case of the Aedui and Segusiavi at least, potentially overlapped with the use of Gallo-Greek *instrumentum.*[218] As discussed further below, it maintains a distinctly Gaulish phonology and borrows flourishes from Gallo-Greek in its orthography (notably the apparent *tau Gallicum* and Gaulish 'x' as described in Appendix 1). Thus, this strain of numismatic Gallo-Latin, remains distinct from both the later-emerging Gallo-Latin proper and Latin itself as a communicative medium. If we adhere to the theory that such coins were primarily used as tokens of affiliation in a gift economy, then it would follow that the names imprinted as legends on them would be recognisable to recipients. Clients of Dubnoreixs or Vercingetorixs would, presumably, have been able to read the name of their patron on the

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by individual moneyers, the combination of mass, irregular distribution of individual coins as part of a currency system and rapid turn-over of issues resulted in such iconography having a limited, irregular, and diluted reach as a means of communication and public display. Crawford, 1983: 59.

[216] Examples of Gallo-Greek utilised on coinage do exist (e.g., BN4891/*RIG* 4.140 appears to be an Aeduan coin of Dubnoreixs with a Gallo-Greek legend), but these are a minority. Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer, 1998: 11-35.

[217] Given the tendency of at least some Gallic coin issues of the first century BCE to adhere to Roman weight standards it may have been a matter of adaptation from Roman coinage more generally, through direct contact via *negotiatores* and/or indirect contact with provincial Gallic issues on Roman models (such as the Allobrogan *quinarii*). See Nash, 1987: 20-32.

[218] For Gallo-Greek inscriptions recovered from the territories of the Aedui and Segusiavi see *RIG* G-226 to G-271. Lejeune, 1985: 340-99.

issues they received and/or use them to communicate their allegiance to others.

In associating with the names of ruling class members, the iconographic designs on Gallic coins could have played a further role in communicating aspects of ideology in their distribution. As discussed in Chapter 4, the use of overtly Gallic military regalia (boar standards, *carnyces*, severed head trophies etc.) on the coin issues of Dubnoreixs is suggestive of a personal brand associated with martial power and/or possible resistance to Roman power, while Epađnactos' more Romanising approach to similar imagery indicates connections to Caesar's auxiliaries.[219] The Arvernian trend of depicting amphorae as devices on their coinage would seem to reinforce the significance of wine and feasting as an aspect of power and prestige, perhaps even functioning as advertisements for the named potentate's capacity to provide for those who affiliated with them.[220] The ruling classes' control of coin manufacture and distribution was not merely a matter of gold, silver, and other metal resources, but a technology of social power that allowed them to establish frames of meaning and value amongst their underlings.

The comparatively monetarised economy of the late second/early first century BCE Lower Rhône Valley meant that coins could not easily fill the same role as communicators of elite status and ideology as they did further north.[221] Although the iconographic designs of first century BCE Allobrogan coinage conform largely to

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[219] See Fig. 14 and 17.
[220] Poux, 2004: 130-1. For amphorae devices on issues of Vercingetorixs see Fig. 15-16. On the idea of feasting as a competitive activity between members of the Arvernian ruling class see Loughton, 2014: 464-5.
[221] Howgego, 2013: 27.

parallel Roman *quinarius* issues, rather than bearing their own devices, they appear to have maintained the practice of including the name of the local moneyer (presumably belonging to the ruling class).[222] The imposition of debt, rising to crisis levels by the 60sBCE, upon the Allobroges by the Roman state and affiliated merchants would likely have undercut any association with coinage as a vehicle of local prestige.[223] The connection with the payment of auxiliary troops could indicate a function of reinforcing ties between soldiers and commanders, with named coins functioning as a means of advertising the military resources at the disposal of local elites to recruiting Roman generals. Alternately, if we view these Allobrogan *quinarii* as primarily aimed at paying off accrued Roman debt, whether mercantile or tax-based, the intended audience was likely a Roman rather than Gallic one, and the purpose on including written names was to establish better relations and perhaps curry favour with creditors, trade clients, and/or potential patrons.

It was not only indigenous elites who minted coins in their own names in Gaul during the period in question. Around 45BCE, A. Hirtius, governor of Gallia Transalpina under the Caesarian dictatorship, produced local variations of the 49BCE metropolitan Roman issue of his master with his own name replacing that of the original moneyer for circulation in the province.[224] Though, based on density of recorded finds, these appear to have been created at the *oppidum* of Titelberg in Treveran territory, they spread into the

[222] Nash, 1987: 32. For examples from the coin hoard unearthed at Villette see Ralite and Gentric, 2016: 185.
[223] For further discussion on this see Chapter 5.4.
[224] Rowan, 2019: 51.

Upper Rhône basin from the north. A similar design and approach was later used in local coinage produced by the pro-consular governor in 30-29BCE.[225] Prior to Augustus' eventual foundation of the primary imperial mint of the western provinces there in 15BCE, Antony also used Lugdunum as a venue for coin production, minting *quinarii* on his design bearing his name during his stint in the region 43-41BCE.[226] While the primary intended users of these coins were likely Roman troops deployed in the area (and the *negotiatores* with whom they would spend their pay), the repeated usage of names as a seal of authority over the territory in which they were produced could suggest a dialogue between local indigenous and Roman imperial registers of power, communicating in ways in which each could recognise and comprehend the other.

In any case, the curtailing of indigenous Gallic minting rights in favour of standardised Imperial Roman currency saw the end of this technology of social power in the region.

## 6.5 – Looking the Part: Archaeology of Personal Appearance and Grooming as indicators of Social Status

While to rely on the proverb that clothes make the man would be facetious, it cannot be avoided that dress and other choices of personal affectation are one of the most universally recognisable and communicable strategies for status display. Clothing was intimately tied to concerns of status, rank, and prestige in the Ancient World.[227] Furthermore, it was also considered a primary, if

[225] Rowan, 2019: 52.
[226] RRC 489/5-6. Rowan, 2019: 82
[227] See Vout, 1996: 209, Olson, 2017: 7 and 52, and Brøns and Harlow, 2020: 230-6.

frequently complicated, indicator of ethnic identity and alignment.[228] Changing styles of dress and grooming would have been key strategies for maintaining and projecting status, and thus technologies of social power, in the rapidly evolving world of imperialised and colonised Gaul.

### 6.5.1 – The Available Evidence

Evidence for clothing and grooming among the peoples of the Rhône Basin in the late second and first centuries BCE is subject to three main limiting factors. Firstly, the poor archaeological survivability of textiles. Secondly, the limited engagement with and survival of self-representative Gallic iconography from the period. Thirdly, as will be discussed at greater length below, the attendant problems of the extant record of textual descriptions being produced by outsiders to the region.

The notion of a cultural shift in Gaul as a result of Roman Imperialism, even if we reject problematic terms such as 'Romanisation', as observable in the everyday appearance and conduct of the population (especially the social elite) relies on the idea of a pre-established norm to shift from. On closer inspection, however, the starting point from which this process began becomes harder to pin down. The notion of 'Gallia Comata', a Gaul beyond the pale of the provincialized Mediterranean region defined by its long-haired, *bracae*-wearing inhabitants' lack of adherence to Greco-Roman norms of grooming and attire becomes harder to find in concrete form when pressed for evidence. Furthermore, questions

[228] See Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 73-4.

arise as to what the styles of dress and hygiene actually employed by the peoples of Iron Age Gaul meant to them and what changing them entailed.

A fundamental problem faced with readers of Classical Greek ethnography aiming to use it as a source for 'barbarian' cultures, as noted most prominently by Hartog, is that the information it typically provides is not an objective account (if such a thing is possible) but an often decontextualised list of differences (and sometimes perceived similarities) between that society and the Hellenic 'norm'.[229] There are very few, if any, surviving self-representations of Gallic individuals from the Upper Rhône Basin in the surviving record of material culture, and similarly few produced by Greco-Roman artists of the time. Pieces such as the famous 'Ludovisi Gauls', despite their frequent use as illustrators of potential Gallic appearance, are of no use in this case, being reproductions of much earlier works produced in the very different context of Hellenistic Pergamon and its relations with the Galatians of Asia Minor. Although their attire, or lack thereof, is likely a result of stylisations of heroic nudity rather than actual encounters with naked Galatian warriors, the choice to emphasise their curly locks and moustaches represents an ethnographic signifier that sharply differentiated them as 'other' from the presumed Greek audience.[230]

Converse to the difficulties in investigating and establishing an indigenous, 'barbarian' standard of Gallic self-representation,

[229] For a study of this approach to 'otherness' in Greek thought, predicated on Herodotus' approaches to ethnography, see Hartog, 1988: 212-24.
[230] Cassibry, 2017: 30-1.

analysing the importation of and/or assimilation to 'Roman' cultural norms is a far more complex task than might be assumed. The toga, despite its being imbued with significance of ethno-national character as the dress of the Roman/Latin people, was not a garment of quotidian wear for Roman men in the first century BCE.[231] Indeed, far from being a coherent, well-defined package of custom and identity projection by the eve of the first foray of Gallic conquests in the 120sBCE, the role of the toga and its relationship with ethnic and cultural identity in Rome and the wider Italian peninsula was a matter of contention and flux well into the Augustan Era, where our period of study ends. Even if we reject the inconsistently written and otherwise poorly evidenced picture of a Hellenised '*Gallia Graeca'* found in Justin's Epitomes of Trogus (43.4), Pliny the Elder's portrait of Narbonensis as more like Italy than a province (*NH* 3.5), by virtue of its wealth and similarities of agriculture and social customs, still holds a certain amount of sway. The problem is that this image belongs very much to the world of the Flavian Empire and cannot be retrojected onto an earlier period. 'Italy' as Pliny the Elder considered it, did not exist in the second century BCE, its seeds only planted with the resolution of the Social War. The Lower Rhône regions of Gaul existed in cultural dialogue with the Italian peninsula, through trade and colonisation, in the second and first centuries BCE, but neither were Italian colonists thick enough on the ground or Gallic communities acceptably assimilated to 'Italian' customs for the distinctions between the two regions to be blurred in the eyes of Roman commentators.

[231] Vout, 1996: 212.

### 6.5.2 – 'Comatan' and 'Togatan' Gauls?

Can we then interpret a strong distinction between Gallic individuals and/or communities on the basis of their assimilation to colonial norms of dress and grooming, or adherence to indigenous traditions? What made a Gaul 'Comatan', or not, in the eyes of external commentators and how might this reflect the reality of Gallic experiences?

The semi-standardised description of traditional Gallic physical appearance communicated by Diodorus, Strabo et al. is likely to have Posidonian origin and thus, even if it can be assumed to have some factual basis, may well be unrepresentative of norms outside the context of very early first century south-eastern Gaul. As has already been observed in a previous chapter, the stereotypical description of a moustachioed warrior given by Diodorus (5.28.3) refers not to a universal indicator of Gallic ethnic identity, but one of aristocratic male status within Gaul. Meanwhile, Pliny the Elder's oft-cited description of first century CE Narbonensis as having become more like Italy than a province, notes its transformation away from an earlier designation as part of '*Gallia Bracata'* (*NH*. 3.5), Gaul as defined by its inhabitants' wearing of *bracae* (trousers) rather than the Italian toga, as adopted by their Cisalpine counterparts.[232]

Textual sources from the first century BCE make the Othering, and indeed contempt, with which Roman elite culture viewed Gallic clothing clear. Cicero's description of the predominantly Allobrogan (though possibly including Volcae Arecomici, Ruteni, and others)

[232] Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones, 2007: 22.

witnesses called against Fonteius (15.33) predicated on their dress as a vector of othering, and indeed menace, implies that their appearance in Rome itself was visibly alien to the assembled jurists.[233] Virgil's *Aeneid*, in its poetic exposition of a Roman 'national' identity which could be contrasted with that of others, not only characterises the Romans as "the race that wears the toga ('*gentemque togatam*' 1.282)" but offers an ekphrastic sketch of a Gallic Other in its description of the Shield of Aeneas (8.659-61). The stylistic differences that Virgil emphasises in his description of the Gallic figures, meant to represent the Senones of the *c.*390BCE Sack of Rome but presumably reflecting generalised stereotypes of Gauls, are heavily predicated on colour, with the repeated gold ("*aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis…tum lactea colla auro innectuntur*") of their hair, torques, and patterned cloaks.[234] Pliny the Elder, though in a more neutral tone, provides potential evidence for the connection between Gallic identity (as seen through Roman eyes) and richly ornamented woollen outerwear in attributing key methods of felting and dyeing fleeces, especially in check patterns ("*scutilis dividere*" *NH.* 8.73-4), to their invention.

Aside from Diodorus' passing comment on moustaches, only two surviving textual vignettes give us much of an indication of what role clothing and personal adornment played in status display in Late Iron Age Gallic society itself. Appian's account of the Arvernian

[233] Polo, 2019: 118.

[234] On interpretation of this passage, its use of colour terminology, and overtures to both the Sack of Delphi c.279BCE and Gigantomachy (pointing to moralising themes of divine order versus chaos) see Hardie, 1983: 318-20. For another Virgilian instance of similar, non-Roman clothing styles and golden ornamentation as devices of Othering, see his description of Phrygian costume at *Aen*. 11.768-78.

delegation of 123BCE, to which we keep returning, makes note of the rich clothing worn by both Bituitos' envoy and his guards (*Emb.* 12). Strabo offers a subtler, but arguably more telling, illustration of the situation. In his account of Gallic speaking practices at public assemblies (*Geog.* 4.4.3), he notes that it is standard procedure for a swordsman to stand in attendance and to punish any individual who attempts to interrupt or heckle the designated speaker (and ignores sword-point commands to be silent) by cutting up their **sagon* beyond easy repair. Treating clothing damage as severe penalty (and act of public humiliation) indicates a perceived attachment to the cloak as a marker of social status and its loss (in addition to the waste of material resources entailed) as a threat to prestige. Clothing, unsurprisingly, likely played a crucial role in Late Iron Age Gallic status display and social differentiation, with individuals of differing wealth and prestige distinguishable by the quality and colouration of their **sagon* cloaks.

Key themes emerge in that La Tène Gallic cultures adhered to visual languages of status display that aligned poorly with those favoured by Greek and Roman commentators, further precipitating their denigration. Gallic emphasis on personal adornment through gold jewellery and brightly coloured, elaborately patterned clothing as marks of wealth and personal prestige stood in contrast with their Mediterranean counterparts' promotion of ideals of masculine austerity and self-controlled subtlety.[235]

[235] Brøns and Harlow, 2020: 236 (from Livy 34.7.8).

Appropriation of Gallic dress and accessories by Roman military personnel (more prominently from the first century CE onwards but likely beginning in this period) would likely also have contributed to the dilution of their value as status symbols in Gallic society. Torcs, which became a standard feature of Roman military decoration in the Imperial period, were likely a particular casualty of this trend, as their martial associations would have counted against civilian Gauls wishing to establish their status in imperialised contexts.[236]

Even though the sight of *bracae* was, at least in certain contexts, offensive to Roman eyes (as Cicero's attacks on Allobrogan witnesses at Fonteius' trial illustrates), a toga-clad Gaul would not necessarily be a more pleasing one.[237] To adopt the costume of the Roman elite at their public business could, very easily, have been interpreted as presumption rather than deference or acculturation. Suetonius' account of the satirical songs sung at Caesar's 45BCE Triumph (*Iul.* 80.2) speak of Gauls taking off their *bracae* in favour of the *lattus clavus* (a reference to the purple border stripe characterising the *toga praetexta*).[238] While juxtaposed with images of the Gallic captives on display from Caesar's transalpine campaigns, this specific reference likely refers instead to the dictator's role in the passage of the Lex Roscia in 49BCE, enfranchising the Transpadane Gallic communities of northern Italy with citizenship. The incident (which can be compared with Seneca the Younger's satire of Claudius' efforts toward provincial

[236] Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones, 2007: 197. For a study of torques as Roman military regalia see Linderski, 2001: 3-15.
[237] Cic. *Font*. 15.33.
[238] Olson, 2017: 19.

enfranchisement) can be taken to suggest a common trend of exclusionary rather than assimilative attitudes towards Gaul on the part of the metropolitan Roman elite throughout the first centuries BCE and CE.[239]

Although trousers (of all varieties) continued to be rejected by Roman society of the time and could thus potentially be used to construct a (largely artificial) binary between 'Gallic' and 'Roman' approaches to clothing, the same cannot be said of a contrast between the **sagon* and the toga. Appropriated forms of the traditional Gallic woollen cloak had already filtered in to Roman society by the late second century BCE (likely from Gallia Cisalpina) as the *sagum* (as it became known in Latin) and its close cousins the *laena* and hooded *cucullus*.[240] All were noted for their practicality in protecting the wearer from wind and rain, and, perhaps as a result, the former was associated heavily with military activities.[241] Distinguishing Gauls and Romans (or even 'Comatan' from 'Classicising' Gauls) on the basis of cloak-wearing would be a misguided, likely fruitless endeavour.

A potentially strong differentiator, however, could be differing attitudes to colour and patterning in attire. Late Republican and

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[239] Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* (6.1-2) pokes fun at Claudius' birth at and associations with Lugdunum and comedically exaggerates his tendencies toward cultural assimilation policies by claiming that he "wanted to see the whole world in a toga" (3.3-4). For a more even-handed response to Claudius' policies regarding Gallic enfranchisement see Tacitus *Ann.* 11.23-6. For further discussion on the matter see Braund, 1980: 420-5.

[240] On the Cisalpine Gallic origins of the Roman *sagum* see Polyb. 2.28.7 and Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5.167. Distinctions between the *sagum* and *laena* in Roman dress are hard to pin down in practical terms but may have been largely contextual, with the former associated with military use and the latter with civilians.

[241] Olson, 2017: 8. Speidel, 2012: 9-11. Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones, 2007: 164.

Early Imperial Roman elite attitudes to personal decoration stress ideals of austere masculine simplicity and treat almost any and all forms of artificial colouration as grounds for suspicion of effeminacy and deviance.[242] Conversely, subversions to these ideals in the display of dyed clothing and jewellery could frequently function as signs of pretension to status and wealth, inviting challenge and potential conflict.[243] As noted above, Gallic traditions of investing in overtly lavish dress as a mark of prestige would gel poorly with integration into Roman norms.

It would make little sense for recently conquered provincial Gauls, however philo-Roman they may have been, to rapidly adopt the toga as either an expression of their own identity or as a strategy to appeal to Roman overlords. Especially since the wearing of the toga by *peregrini* was prohibited under Roman law, meaning that only the select, enfranchised few would have been able to do so without censure.[244] The shift towards 'togate', or at least more overtly 'Classicising', self-representation among the Rhône Gauls was a phenomenon of the tumultuous late first century BCE, occurring not in relation to a unified Roman colonising culture but to one in the convulsions of civil war and 'revolution'.[245]

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[242] Brøns and Harlow, 2020: 234.
[243] Olson, 2017: 7.
[244] Olson, 2017: 52. From Suet. *Claud.*15.2; Pliny *Epp*. 4.11.3.
[245] Application of the term 'revolution' to the socio-political changes in Roman society in the latter half of the first century BCE is, like most of its applications, debateable. Syme's coinage of the 'Roman Revolution' as a perspective rests heavily on his recharacterization of political upheavals during the first century BCE as ultimately factional rather than purely personal or ideological conflicts, Syme, 1939: 4-7. Wallace-Hadrill's approach emphasises the concurrent phenomenon of 'cultural revolution' driving changes in material culture across the western Mediterranean to create a shared koiné in place of previously disparate regionalisms. Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 5-24 and 447-8. Woolf, as previously noted,

The Cenotaph of the Julii at Glanum depicts a pair of adult male Gallic figures, from the region of the east bank of the Lower Rhône, proudly wearing togas and other accoutrements of traditional Roman aristocratic dress and grooming.[246] It is reasonably assumed that this was intended to visually code them as respectable Roman citizens, and thus may not reflect an established habit of toga wearing in the everyday life of the depicted individuals. Nevertheless, it indicates that the toga held value as a signifier of elite status worth engaging with and projecting in at least specific communicative contexts. In this case, one of the only overtly togate depictions of Gallic individuals from the time one record, it is important to consider the intended audience. As a monument gracing the entryway to a wealthy but otherwise modest provincial settlement, the Cenotaph's main onlookers would have been local inhabitants (upon whom the privilege of citizenship to Rome held by the Julii would have been impressed) and visiting traders and officials (communicating to them that the Julii were pre-eminent in the community and loyal, privileged potential clients). Lacking available evidence of polychromy on the statues themselves it is impossible to establish which variety of toga the two figures wore, though we might imagine that, if they laid claim to the *toga praetexta*, they were framing themselves as the peers of magistrates governing citizen *coloniae*, such as the nearby Arelate.[247] In such a case the presentation was likely intended primarily for an audience

argues for the applicability of the latter term to the developments in Gaul and elsewhere during the turn of the millennium. Woolf, 2001: 174.

[246] Roth-Congès, 1993: 392-3.

[247] Olson, 2017: 44. For evidence of the use of the *toga praetexta* in this context see Livy 34.7.2.

of provincial colonial elites looking for recognition of the Julii as of the same rank and class, but would likely have had little intention of direct communication with the people of Rome itself. The Gauls' depiction of themselves as Roman elites is highly contextual and would not necessarily indicate that they laid claim to a 'Roman' (rather than Gallic) personal identity or would have been accepted as Romans at Rome itself.

The *Guerrier de Vachères*, though not togate in the definitive sense, similarly reflects a drive towards Roman styles of self-presentation in his grooming, with relatively close-cropped hair and clean-shaven face. His short but wavy curls are perhaps reminiscent, though not overtly imitative of the style favoured in images of Augustus himself.[248] The only indications offered by his dress and equipment that this figure does not represent a Roman legionary but a Gallic auxiliary soldier lie in the shape of his shield (flat and hexagonal rather than the traditionally convex and rectangular *scutum*) and the length of the sword sheathed at this hip (too long to be a *gladius hispaniensis*).[249]

An aspect of both aforementioned visual representations that arguably marks them out as provincial Gauls, however 'civilised' they might be, rather than metropolitan Romans in the context of the Triumviral and Augustan Eras is their attitude to martial prowess and masculinity in iconography. Roman elite social attitudes to militarism as an aspect of identity had changed substantially over the course of

[248] Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones, 2007: 86.
[249] Fig. 22. Haynes, 2013: 242-3. For distinctions between La Tène style swords and the Roman *gladius Hispaniensis* in archaeological and iconographic terms see Bishop and Coulston, 2006: 54-6 and Brunaux and Lambot, 1987: 87.

the first century BCE, reframing the role of soldier as one of lower status in favour an elite masculinity predicated on learning, sophistication, and civilian moral excellence.[250] This was accompanied by a move in Augustan political iconography to reserve the image of the elite individual as military commander for the *Princeps* alone.[251] The *Guerrier de Vachères*' presentation as a soldier first and foremost as a mark of pride and status denotes his identity as a member of provincial society, whose prestige is aimed at impressing locals and perhaps members of the Roman Army passing through, but either was either unfamiliar with or simply made no claims to elite status in the context of the wider Augustan world. Though the depicted Julii of the Glanum Cenotaph appear in togate civilian dress, the heavy emphasis on military imagery on the panels beneath them, advertising the family's service in Caesar's campaigns, as a form of status display similarly indicates that, however overtly Classicising in style the monument may be, it did not closely align with the prevailing tide of Roman fashion at the time.

As with the gradual move towards the use of Latin as the language of public business, the trend towards the adoption of overtly 'Roman' styles of dress and grooming was still a novelty in the Rhône Basin (even amongst the Vocontii, Cavares, and Volcae Arecomici) by 10BCE. It occurred not as a process of passive osmosis or mere imitation, but of carefully chosen strategy of communication by select members of the social elite aimed at securing acceptance

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[250] Alston, 1998: 211.
[251] Zanker, 1988: 187.

among Roman patrons, and differentiation from both their immediate social inferiors and their potential peers and rivals amongst other polities, especially those in remoter areas.

## 6.5 – Conclusions

An important conclusion to draw and consider from the evidence reviewed is that expressions of indigenous Gallic culture, in art, language, or dress, were granted no value as technologies of power in relation to the imperial/colonial culture of Rome. Gallic artifacts might, at best, be trophies and curiosities, but were barely worth appropriating beyond those triumphal contexts.[252] A Gaul might be considered well-spoken, but only if they abandoned their own barbarous tongue for the acceptable media of Latin and Greek. And while certain aspects of Gallic dress might have great practical application (especially in military contexts), their standards of elite adornment were seemingly considered ridiculous rather than either dignified or luxurious. Any matter in which members of the ruling classes of the Rhône Gallic communities exercised ideological power amongst their own people on such bases after Roman annexation had to contend with the fact that any displays would be undercut by the contempt of their conquerors. Any rapprochement made in areas of cultural expression would be one that favoured the supremacy of the Greco-Roman sphere to the expense of the Gallic one. We may fairly assume that some amount of code-switching

[252] Appropriation of Gallic iconography in Roman Art both metropolitan and colonial is a topic too vast and complex to be meaningfully approached by this thesis. However, strong entry points to that discourse can be found in Clavel-Lévèque and Lévèque, 1982: 687-96; Ferris, 2000: 8-60 and 2003: 54-67; Hannestad, 1986: 22-3 and 55; and Cassibry, 2017: 27-31. Woolf argues for a role played by such displays in the cultural assimilationism of early Gallo-Roman elites. Woolf, 2001: 180.

was a matter of course in this context, with local elites addressing their local subordinates in Gaulish whilst wearing a brightly patterned **sagon* as a signifier of rank before possibly changing into more acceptably muted clothing and greeting agents of the imperial administration and/or visiting colonists in Latin. The point remains, however, that it was the ability to do the latter, rather than the former, that was to become the primary guarantor of power and position.

Does any of this suggest the downfall and replacement of ruling classes in the Rhône region at the time? On the one hand, the dramatic, iconoclastic demise of traditions of prestige display like the *accroupis*, and long gap between it and the emergence of approaches in similar media could suggest a major upheaval and gradual reconsolidation of social hierarchy in the Lower Rhône Valley at least in the wake of Roman conquest. On the other, a consistent theme amongst the few individuals identifiable in the available evidence, the Julii of Glanum, the family of Pompeius Trogus, and the unnamed *guerriers* of Vachères and Mondragon, is that they derived a good deal of their status from relationships of service and patronage with members of the Roman ruling class, entry to which would likely have been based on their usefulness as local elites. Similarly, access to the means of cultural expression and self-representation, in the forms of materials and labour for statuary, education in Latin and/or Greek, and high-quality clothing and grooming in upper class Roman styles, would have required significant resources to engage with. Unless we are to offer speculative, unsubstantiated claims that Late Republican warlords

like Domitius Ahenobarbus, Pompey, Caesar *et al.* deliberately poured money and effort into transforming obscure Gallic peasants into assimilated pseudo-Roman elites, the simpler explanation remains that members of pre-existing indigenous ruling classes made use of the opportunities afforded to them by adapting their cultural registers for better communication with their new masters. This, in turn, would make the capacity to engage with these matters a further marker of class distinction, stratifying the elite as those who could navigate the treacherous waters of cultural assimilation from those of the subalterns who could not so easily or effectively.

Aligning well with one of the emergent themes of this thesis, we see that, far from primitive or alienated ignorance, the Gauls of the Late Iron Age Rhône Basin were intimately familiar with the conceptual technologies of status display favoured by their Greek and Roman counterparts of the time prior to their annexation. Much as they were happy to import Italian wine for use in their own forms of banqueting, the Gauls acquired and adapted resources and technologies such as the Greek script, sculpted statuary, and varying styles of dress, for their own purposes rather than adopt the cultural practices of their originators wholesale. The shift towards more overt imitation of Roman, or perhaps more accurately, Augustan, norms of status display cannot be viewed as a matter of imperialist overawing and re-education, but of local elite communication and negotiation with those whom they viewed as rivals, peers, and potential patrons. Per Ando and Hingley's suggestions, the ruling classes of conquered Gaul could become part of the network of globalising elites engaged in the rule of the

Empire (against their social inferiors), but, in light of Dietler's theory of entanglement, the entry requirements for such a position were steep and culturally compromising.

# 7 – Conclusion(s)

## 7.1 Summary Overview – 'Keeping Up with' the Julii

As the combined weight of textual, iconographic, and material evidence we have examined demonstrates, the hegemonic ideology of ruling classes in late second and first century BCE Rhône Gallic communities drew on a conglomeration of technologies of social power. Power largely derived from the ability to command the loyalty of followers attached to members of the elite either in factional adherence or some manner of customary or legal bondage. It should be noted that this was not necessarily akin to slavery (or at least chattel slavery) in a meaningful sense, and while it is tempting to utilise the term 'vassalage', such vocabulary leans too close to invocations of feudalism.[253] In order to acquire, expand, and maintain such retinues of adherents, Rhône Gallic elites relied on building reputations of personal prestige, a task for which had a variety of tools in their arsenal. These included using illustrious ancestry as a source of renown, strategically redistributing material resources (predominantly in the form of ritualised feasting and gift exchange), successful leadership in military activities especially raiding (which both boosted reputations of martial prowess and could net greater wealth for further redistribution), and the use of monument building (in artistic and architectural forms) to enhance

[253] Contra Lewuillion, 1975: 428-9.

public visibility. The forces involved created a feedback loop in which those with larger followings could more effectively undertake actions to boost their status even further. This created a divide between those wielding sufficient social capital to join the ranks of the highest elite from those whose capital was insufficient. Conversely, however, the highly competitive atmosphere discouraged the stabilisation of ruling dynasties as long-term regimes and ensured that emergent power vacuums in the upper ranks would soon be filled by aspirants. It is important to note, however, that this system of intra-elite competition cut across, rather than remained within, political groupings. Prestige rankings could, seemingly, function at an ‘international’ scale and were not always directly reflected in the constitutional frameworks of individual polities. For example, Dubnoreixs appears to have been unparalleled in his prestige status among the Aedui and other east-central Gallic peoples in the period *c.*60-55BCE, but, according to Caesar at least, he held no official position or standing within the Aeduan government of the time.

The primary impacts on ideologies and experiences of the Rhône Gallic ruling classes that the advent of Roman dominion, first in the Lower Rhône and then further north, brought with it were matters of adaptation and negotiation rather than replacement. In brief, we may count them as fourfold. Firstly, the frequent removal of those occupying the highest rank of status and influence at the moment of conquest (e.g. Toutomotulos, Bituitos, Vercingetorixs etc.), created power vacuums to be filled by other aspiring candidates. Secondly, the imposition of Roman *fides* and *pax* closed off the viability of

certain avenues of competition and prestige-building. This was most notable in martial arenas of activity (with war and raiding warranting forceful suppression from Roman forces) but was also felt in subtler ways relating to cultural capital, as continued investments of indigenous styles of language, architecture, art, and personal display were met with scorn and hostility from imperial observers. The third impact, becoming more visible over time, was the emergence of new avenues of power and prestige acquisition, most notably in the patronage of influential Roman elites and the closely related new distinguishing factor of enfranchisement as Roman citizens. The fourth key aspect of change wrought by Roman imperialism was the advent of a new colonial population, with its own local hegemonic class, in the foundation of *coloniae* in the region in the later first century BCE. This provided a rival group against which Gallic elites in the area would have to compete for pre-eminence in status, or find accommodations with, in order to maintain their own prestige, and thus functioned as another impetus for the adaptation of technologies of social power to the new order. With the possible exception of the final phenomenon (that of direct colonisation of the region by Italian settlers), none of these primary impacts provide much opportunity for the kind of ‘interstitial emergence’ that Mann credits as the main engines for the modification or replacement of ruling classes. The rise of more heterogenous communities of subaltern and sub-elite groups deriving power from a multiplicity of potentially separate sources in provincial Gaul was a gradual process taking place over decades

and centuries after the conquest rather than in swift response to momentary impact.[254]

A pattern of replacement of elites potentially hostile to Rome with more accommodating ones can be argued for, but it appears to have occurred more at the level of specific individuals and/or factions rather than entire ruling classes and was primarily a feature of the Caesarian Gallic Wars and their immediate aftermath rather than all instances of Gallo-Roman conflict. Examples are primarily furnished from the *Commentarii* and supporting materials. They include the downfall of Vercingetorixs in favour of Epađnactos among the Arverni, the removal of Orgetorixs among the Helvetii, and, possibly, Caesar's interventions in the disputed *c.*52BCE elections for *Vergobretos* of the Aedui. In such cases, Caesar did not pluck lower-class individuals out of their station to act as puppet successors, but instead relied upon pre-existing candidates for leadership whom he could patronise in mutually beneficial arrangements. As seen in the case of Toutomotulos and Crato described in Diodorus, Rome did not need to forcefully engineer regime changes among the Gauls; they could simply grease the wheels of local conflict in their favour. Roman conquerors were under no obligation to interfere with and transform local Gallic political structures in the Rhône Basin. In the case of the Aedui particularly, preservation of established norms against threats of subversion had been a stated aim of Caesar's. However, although they were not dissolved and reconstituted in new forms, the political

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[254] For heterogeneity of local elites as a feature of provincial societies of Roman Gaul and elsewhere see Häussler and Webster, 2020: 3-10.

life of these communities was nevertheless profoundly altered by the imposition of new provincial and imperial superstructures atop their pre-existing frameworks. These shifted dynamics of power within the traditional networks of alliance and struggle for hegemony in Gaul, as outlined by Arbabe, to become localised hierarchies under the now permanent hegemony of Augustus and his successors.[255] The new order was one of seeking patronage and favour from a foreign overlord and his emissaries more than one of securing recognition from peers and support from underlings.

That the ruling classes of the region were able to maintain sufficient influence and power within their societies to survive conquest by an external colonising power and begin to adapt to life as a colonial sub-elite under their dominion should not necessarily surprise us. In addition to incorporating points made by Dietler, Spivak, et al. concerning the more complex webs of agency with regard to colonial interactions in the context of Roman Imperialism in Gaul, it is also deeply important to abandon imperialist assumptions regarding knowledge and familiarity. The Rhône Basin was not an alien land to the people of Rome, neither a *Terra Nullius* in wait for their manifest destiny of occupation and transformation nor a Brave New World inhabited by cultures yet undreamt of, radically different from their own.[256] There was little, if anything, that Roman domination brought to the region with which its people were not familiar either through pre-existing trade contacts (e.g., wine, coinage etc.) or independent development (e.g., literacy,

[255] Arbabe, 2017: 123-4.
[256] Versluys, 2015: 145.

constitutional government etc.). While the Late Iron Age communities impacted by Roman Imperialism in the second and first centuries BCE were not identical to the culture about to dominate them, nor could they necessarily be categorised within the Mediterranean *koine* of the broader Hellenistic world, the extant differences were relatively commensurable. Caesar's picture of a gulf between the assimilable Gauls and the indomitable, savage Germani is a highly exaggerated, propagandistically minded one, but it is not necessarily one to be dismissed.[257] The processes of cultural change that affected southern and eastern Gaul in the period in question were not passive, either in the sense of osmosis or reception of Roman pressure, but active and engaged.

The rise of a monarchical system of power in Rome, in the guises of the Caesarian Dictatorship, Second Triumvirate, and Augustan Principate, was a crucial factor in the rise of stratification amongst the provincial communities of Gaul. Whereas patronage from members of the Late Republican Senate had entailed certain advantages to Gallic clients, the often varying levels of influence held by individuals or particularly lineages at Rome (along with shifting political currents) meant that such relationships could often both limited and unreliable in their benefits.[258] The establishment of first Caesar and then his heir as more permanent, all-encompassing leaders in the Roman world meant that those among the Rhône Gallic aristocracies who had cultivated relationships with the

[257] Woolf, 2011: 87-8. Gruen, 2011: 153-5.
[258] For a more detailed case study of this phenomenon regarding the Allobroges as a community see Moore, 2021.

emerging Julio-Claudian dynasty now had reliable friends in the highest of places.

At no point in the period under scrutiny do we see solid evidence for an opening of social mobility between classes within the Gallic societies of the region. We do not see commoners rising to join the elite, nor is there necessarily much indication of substantial sections of the elite being reduced to powerlessness. In Gramscian terms, the hegemonic power that buttressed the class structure of Gallic society was strong enough to weather a loss of dominion on the part of the ruling class. Roman conquest did not precipitate Gallic revolution. Addressing the primary question posed by this thesis; the evidence does not exist to support a theory that the pre-existing social elite of the Rhône regions of Gaul (particularly the Upper Rhône and Saône basins) were largely destroyed or depleted as a result of the Gallic Wars and replaced by an ascendant class of humbler origins. By *c.*10BCE, the communities of the region were, by all available evidence, still dominated by groups whose power derived from popular followings, primarily predicated on wealth (drawn from a combination of agriculture, resource extraction, and commerce), ancestral fame, and personal reputation for martial and political efficacy.

What is far more in evidence is a long-term shift towards stratification of rank within the ruling class of these communities. The introduction of the distinction of Roman citizenship, whose heredity encouraged a new level of dynasticism, and Latin-derived constitutions, whose statutes regarding office-holding were potentially quite different from those which previously applied,

tended to create more static, less dynamic contours of local dominance than the relatively fluid ones of the Late La Tène world. This enforced stabilisation of routes to and patterns of power and prestige was further prompted by sharp changes in options available to junior members of the elite to increase their social profile. Martial power was perhaps the area of status dynamics in which the impact of Roman domination was felt most clearly and strongly. The expression of military prowess or success in anything other than a carefully delineated Roman (and more specifically Augustan) format was anathema under provincial rule. Although it would appear that, prior to the conquest, the roles of combat and command had functioned rather differently in Gallic elite identity from those they played in the Roman Republic, the conclusion of the Gallic Wars and rise of the Principate meant that they could no longer be part of elite identity in the provinces in the same fashion.

The main medium-term result of Roman domination on Gallic societies of the Lower Rhône in the first century BCE was thus an increase in social stratification, at the cost of mobility, primarily at an intra-elite level. The combination of closing off key arenas of competition (in terms of raiding, oppida construction, and to a certain extent feasting) and new emphasis on hereditable characteristics of rank and status (notably citizenship and inter-familial patronage), sharply curtailed intra-elite fluidity of status and rank in favour of establishing more permanent coteries of dynastic higher elites, such as this thesis' titular Julii in many communities. The trapezoidal model of social hierarchy reconstructed for Late Iron Age Gaul became increasingly pyramidal. As such, there was no meteoric

‘rise’ of the Gallic Julii but a process by which they became the entrenched sub-elite of the Rhône Basin, against whom all other aspirants to status and prestige would have to keep up.

## 7.2 Looking Ahead

This thesis is in no shape or form an end point to the research undertaken on this topic and those related to it, but a stepping-stone on the way to future endeavours. It behoves us to consider how work might proceed from the provisional conclusions that we have reached here. The hope remains that conclusions reached here regarding the political, military, economic, and cultural vectors of power exercised by the ruling classes of the Late Iron Age Rhône Basin should provide a foundation for further attempts to build a broader, more holistic, better reflective picture of the processes that created the world of Roman Gaul.

As noted in previous chapters, there is both much we cannot be certain of due to lacunae in available evidence, and there are areas this thesis has not attempted to address which would likely nuance the picture of the ruling classes of the Rhône Basin and their power relations greatly. The dynamics of gender, and how indigenous constructions of masculinity, femininity and/or non-binary identities may have intersected with issues of class and/or clashed with colonial ones, are an area in need of far greater consideration than we can provide here. Similarly, while Woolf, Arbabe, and others have pointed to religious institutions, most notably the Cult of Augustus established at Lugdunum, as core parts of the assimilative rapprochement between Gallic ruling classes and the Roman Principate, the more complex aspects of how such institutions would

be understood, both theologically and ecclesiologically (for lack of less Christocentric terms), by all parties involved are beyond the scope of our evidence to do more than hypothesise.[259]

In addition to looking sideways, as it were, to consider how the conclusions reached by this thesis might aid in studies of chronologically and geographically parallel material, it is worth pondering how it may affect research moving forward in time and outward in space.

While the methodologies of this thesis may not be taken wholesale for application to other contexts, such as Belgica, Armorica, or even further regions such as Britain or the complex interactions of Gallic, Germanic, and colonial societies emerging along the Rhine Frontier, they may well be utilised there *mutatis mutandis*. Although the experiences of the ruling classes of groups such as the Bituriges, the Veneti, or the Nervii, let alone groups that were only later or never formally brought under Rome's dominion, would have certainly differed from those of the Allobroges, Aedui, and Arverni, they very much existed in dialogue with one another, and with similar forces of social power, hierarchy, and intercultural relations. Profitable links and comparisons may be made between the experiences of Gallic ruling classes falling under Roman dominion and those of their British and Germanic counterparts in the century that followed.[260]

[259] Woolf 2001: 178 and Arbabe, 2017: 115-24. See also Purcell, 2005: 103.
[260] Arbabe, notably, suggests that descriptions of British society in the Late Iron Age and Roman Eras evince an institution of hegemonic leadership analogous or even related to his schema of Gallic coalitions and general councils which begs further investigation. Arbabe, 2017: 40.

A more direct continuation of research would be to consider that, since there was no real 'Rise' of the Gallic Julii, their apparent fall in the course of the imperial convulsions of the first century CE, most notably the quickly suppressed Revolt of Florus and Sacrovir 21CE (Tac. *Ann.* 3.40-7) and the violent years of *c.*69-70CE (Tac. *Hist.* 4.55-79), demands re-examination. Did these flashes of unrest and their consequences represent a delayed downfall of the old Gallic ruling classes under Roman rule and/or the revolutionary emergence of new ones?

Looking even further ahead, to Late Antiquity and perhaps beyond, we are forced to remember that the changes set in motion in the period we have investigated proved permanent. The long-term transformation of Gallic social structures and systems of social status and prestige into ones that aligned with the new Roman Imperial world rather than that of their La Tène forebears is perhaps best illustrated by emergence of the splinter 'Gallic' Empire of the mid-third century CE, during the so-called 'Crisis' period.[261] Its ruling class continued to use Latin as their language of officialdom rather than revive the use of Gaulish.[262] They took on Roman titles such as '*Imperator*' and '*senator*' rather than '**Vergobretos*' or '**rixs*' and

[261] The period *c.*260-275CE was marked by major instability of imperial administrative structures as a combination of foreign incursions and local revolts (often prompted by the central government's inability to contain the former), seeing large areas of the empire form breakaway states controlled by local rulers opposed to the imperial monarchy based in Italy and the Balkans. The 'Gallic' Empire was formed by the revolt of M. Cassius Latinius Postumus, commander of the Rhine garrisons, against Emperor Gallienus in 260CE, and ultimately secured control of the four provinces of Gaul, the two *Germaniae*, Raetia, and, intermittently, Britain and the Iberian Peninsula. These regions were eventually forcibly reintegrated into the reunifying Roman Empire under Aurelian *c.*275CE. Potter, 2006: 162-3.
[262] Mennen, 2011: 32.

maintained structures of provincial administration wholesale.[263] The technologies of social power that had dominated Late Iron Age Gaul prior to its conquest had atrophied to the point that they would never again be revived, with even the Gaulish language itself seemingly going into decline and eventual extinction in the fifth and sixth centuries CE.[264] The strategies employed by the elites of Gaul to secure their position in a world dominated by Rome saw their legacies endure even if Rome itself could not maintain its rule over them.

# Appendices:

## Appendix 1: On the Gaulish Language

A few brief notes are provided on the handling of language in relation to onomastics and related matters within the thesis for the benefit of the reader.

### Gaulish Onomastics and Naming Conventions

Due to phonotactic differences between Gaulish, Latin, and Greek, names based in the former language rendered in the written forms of the latter two tend to result in them either being somewhat mangled (through attempts to render sounds that do not normally exist in their registers) or modified for greater digestibility.[265] A

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[263] Multiple inscriptions from across Narbonensis, Aquitania, Lugdunensis, Belgica, and the adjoining provinces of Raetia and the *Germaniae* see the 'Gallic' Emperors being identified in Latin utilising traditional Roman imperial titular formulae. Postumus: *AE* 1958, 0058; *CIL* 13,08882-3; *AE* 1969/70, 00415; *CIL* 12,05509; *AE* 2004, 00983; *CIL* 13,09092; *AE* 2002, 01061; *CIL* 13,08972; *AE* 1999, 01074; *CIL* 13,09023; *CIL* 13,08955-7; *CIL* 13,08879. Victorinus: *CIL* 13,09040; *CIL* 13,12090; *AE* 1971, 00279; *CIL* 13,08975; *CIL* 13,08999; *CIL* 13,08960-1; *AE* 1892, 00056-7; *CIL* 13,09012. Tetricus: *AE* 1890, 00154; *AE* 1907,00139; *AE* 1960, 00175; *AE* 2008, 00888; *CIL* 13,08925; *CIL* 13,08927; *CIL* 13,09041; *CIL* 13,08962-4.

[264] Lambert, 1994: 10. See also Omrani, 2017: 95.

[265] Lambert, 1994: 29. The problem may frequently be compounded by later scribal errors or even imprecise renderings of Caesar's own dictated speech, Evans, 1967: 21-2.

strong example of this trend is the Gaulish '*Dubnoreixs*' (as listed on coin legends from the time), being rendered as the more digestibly Latinate '*Dumnorix*' in Caesar's accounts of the Gallic Wars.[266] In line with this thesis' perspective on Roman imperialism as experienced by the peoples of the Rhône Basin, proper names of Gallic individuals have been rendered as close to their original forms as possible, based on available evidence and viable reconstructions. For example, many Gallic names found in Latin texts are assigned to the masculine second declension, thus gaining the Latinised nominative ending '-*us*', most of which appear to have originally belonged to the Gaulish masculine o-stem form of nouns, thus taking the nominative ending '-*os*' (hence the Gaulish 'Indutiomaros' becomes Latin 'Indutiomarus').[267]

## The Tau Gallicum and other Phonemes

A Gaulish phoneme absent in Latin and Greek, whose presence is noted by a surviving Latin author is the so-called '*tau gallicum*' or 'Gaulish T' (Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.28).[268] While unverifiable in its truest form due to lack of available evidence, the phoneme is thought to be a */ts/ or */ds/ sound (IPA ʦ, voiceless alveolar affricate) and is sometimes indicated by the use of a barred 'D' (Đ/đ) in forms of written Gaulish.[269] Where such a grapheme or a close equivalent appears in Gaulish source texts, it is reproduced in this thesis. Two

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[266] *RIG* 4.142 (Colbert de Beaulieau and Fischer, 1999: 238-9).

[267] Lambert, 1994: 54-5.

[268] The expression *tau gallicum* in found in epigram attacking the affectations of one Titus Annius Cimber, a poem which Quintilian (as later Ausonius, *Technopaegnion* 14.5-6) ascribes to Virgil (*Catalepton* 2.4): see above p. 384 with n. 715.

[269] Certain forms of Gallo-Greek writing also appear to have used the letter theta (Θ/θ) to render the same phoneme. For discussion on the phonetic value of the '*tau gallicum'* and its implications for Gallic epigraphy and places in philology see Eska, 1998: 115-27 and Mees, 2002: 21-6.

names, ‘Diviđiacos’ and ‘Epađnactos’, are rendered in this way, the first since the disparity in Latin renderings (‘Divitiacus’ Caes. *BG* versus ‘Diviciacus’ Cic. *Div.*) suggests the presence of the problem phoneme, and the second because of the inclusion of a letter which would appear to be a barred ‘D’ in related numismatic inscriptions (e.g. DLT3900). Similarly, although it is rendered as a Latin ‘x’ (analogous to its contemporary English phonetic value) in many Roman texts, it is now generally thought that the Gaulish ‘x’ functions more precisely in the manner of Greek chi (‘χ’, IPA x velar fricative).[270] Since the Gaulish ‘x’ is frequently used as the final consonant of nouns (including proper nouns), this thesis attempts to split the difference between its orthographic usage in extant written Gaulish, Latin renderings, and comprehensibility to Anglophone readers by rendering it as a final consonant cluster ‘-xs’.

## Appendix 2: The Peoples of the Ancient Rhône

In this appendix, we will take a moment to briefly introduce the Gallic polities/people groups that inhabited the lands of the Rhône Basin in the period *c.*125-10BCE. The list is not exhaustive but should act as a rough primer for the reader’s comprehension.[271] Further information on their histories is covered in Chapter 2.

[270] Lejeune, 1988: 58. Lambert, 1994: 44. Colbert de Beaulieu and Fischer, 1998: 463-4.

[271] Three groups frequently included on maps of known Gallic polities pre-conquest (and post conquest *civitates*) in the Rhône Basin region not discussed here are the Mandubii, Ambarri, and Vellavii. The Mandubii occupy an ambiguous space as they are limited to one Caesarian reference and seem to vanish from records after the Gallic Wars, prompting suggestions that they were a sub-group of the Aedui rather than an independent people. The Ambarri and Vellavii are identified by Caesar (*BG* 1.11-14 and 7.75) and Strabo (*Geog*. 4.2.2) as having been subordinate allies or clients of the Aedui and Arverni respectively in the late second/early first centuries BCE, limiting their prominence.

## The Saluvii[272]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** Salyes, *Σάλλυες* (Greek), Sallyas

**Territory:** Western Provence, south of the Durance (Bouches du Rhône)

**Major Settlements:** Entremont (sacked *c.*123BCE), Glanon/Glanum

**Sources:** Livy (*Epit.* 61), Diodorus (34.23), Strabo (4.1.11, 4.3.3-4), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 3.5), Ptolemy (2.9)

A prominent polity in the mid-to-late second century BCE dominating the lands north of Massalia and seemingly wielding great influence over the Lower Rhône Basin in alliance with the Allobroges and Arverni. Conflict with their leader, Toutomotulos, and the Greek colonists on the coast precipitated Roman military operations in the area. After their defeat, and a possible revolt in *c.*90BCE, they appear to have fallen into relative obscurity, with the exception of the flourishing site of Glanum (possibly home to a **pagos* of the Saluvii).[273]

## The Cavares[274]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** Cavari, *Καύαροι* (Greek)

**Territory:** South-Eastern Rhône Valley (Vaucluse/Bouches du Rhône)

[272] Etymology uncertain, though de Bernardo-Stempel theorises 'ourselves' and/or 'the landowners/indigenes' from Indo-European **sl̥w-es.* de Berndardo-Stemple, 2008: 104.
[273] Verdin, 1998: 33. Thollard, 2009: 144.
[274] Etymology derived from Gaulish '*Cavaros*' ('hero/champion', Proto-Celtic '**kawaro*'), thus 'the Champions'. Delamarre, 2003: 112. Savignac, 2014: 92.

**Major Settlements:** Avennio (Avignon), Cabellio (Cavaillon), Vindalium (Mourre-de-Sève),

**Sources:** Varro (*Rust.* 2.4.10-11), Strabo (4.1.11-12), Pomponius Mela (2.75), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 3.5), Ptolemy (2.9)

Comparatively obscure prior to their conquest, the Cavares are better known from later sources due in large part to the relatively dense Roman colonisation of their territory in the later first century BCE at Arelate (Arles) and Arausio (Orange). Along with their neighbours, the Arecomici and Vocontii, they appear to have been early and eager recipients of Roman patronage.

## The Volcae Arecomici[275]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** Volcae Arecomisci, *Οὐόλκαι Ἀρηκομίσκοι* (Greek), Comaci

**Territory:** South-Western Rhône Valley, east of the Hérault (Gard)

**Major Settlements:** Namausos/Nemausus (Nîmes)

**Sources:** Caesar (*BC* 1.35), Varro (*Rust.* 2.4.10-11), Strabo (4.1.12, 4.3.4), Pomponius Mela (2.75), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 3.5), Ptolemy (2.9)

To be distinguished from their brethren the Volcae Tectosages living further west in Gaul, as well as their possible distant relatives settled

[275] Etymology is contested for both elements of the name. 'Volcae' is thought to derive from Gaulish '*volcos*' (usually translated as 'hawk', comparable with the Old Welsh '*gwalch*', but occasionally ventured as 'wolf' and thus metaphorically 'warrior'). Lambert suggested an alternative approach with the word acting as a distant cognate of the English 'folk', and indirectly helping to give rise to the Germanic **walhaz* ('foreigner', and thus 'Welsh' and 'Vlach'). Lambert, 1994, p34. The prefix '*are-*' means 'by/near/in front of'. Delamarre, 2003: 52. Savignac, 2014: 131. Bats offers a suggestion of 'those who live together at the front'. Bats, 2015: 65.

in central Europe and Galatia, the Arecomici were a well-established and prosperous people dominating the west bank of the Lower Rhône. Like their neighbours, they appear to have benefitted from aiding Caesar in the Gallic and Civil Wars, with early grants of Latin rights and other forms of patronage.

The Vocontii[276]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** *Οὐοκόντιοι* (Greek)

**Territory:** Eastern Rhône Valley, between the Durance and Isère (Vaucluse)

**Major Settlements:** Vasio (Vaison-la-Romain), Lucas Augusti (Luc-en-Diois)

**Sources:** Caesar (*BG* 1.10), Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* 43.11), Strabo (4.1.3, 4.3.4-5, 4.1.11-12), Livy (21.31.9), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 3.5), Pomponius Mela (2.75), Ptolemy (*Geog.* 2.9)

Another wealthy people of the Lower Rhône, notable for their relatively swift and enthusiastic acceptance of Roman patronage, shifting towards Italianate urbanism and Classicising art styles around the turn of the millennium. This pro-Mediterranean turn is best exemplified in the works of Vocontian historian Gn. Pompeius Trogus, whose works survive in Late Antique epitomes.

[276] Etymology thought to derive from either Gaulish '**vocontis*' ('twenty'), based on the better sourced '*tricontis*' ('thirty'), indicating roughly ('the twenty clans'), or, possibly, '**vo-contos*' ('two-hundred'). Delamarre, 2003: 326.

The Helvii[277]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** Helvi, Elui, *Ἐλουοὶ* (Greek)

**Territory:** Western Rhône Valley, south and east of the Cevennes (Ardèche)

**Major Settlements:** Jastres, Alba Helviorum (Alba-la-Romaine)

**Sources:** Caesar (*BG* 7.7-8, 7.64-5, 7.75, *BC* 1.35), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 3.5)

A minor polity nestled between the Rhône and the fringes of the Massif Central, the Helvii rarely, if ever, played a major role in the political history of the region. They appear to have initially resisted annexation by Rome in the early first century BCE but were violently subjugated in short order. Their position on the frontier of Gallia Transalpina prior to and during the Gallic Wars made them something of a buffer state between the province and the Arverni.

The Allobroges[278]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** Allobriges, Allobrigas, *Ἀλλόβριγες* (Greek)

**Territory:** Eastern Rhône Valley, north of the Isère, south-west of Lac Leman (Isère/Savoie, Geneva Canton)

[277] Etymology uncertain, but possibly related to the Gaulish prefix '*elu*-' ('many/plenty/rich/gainful'), thus translatable as 'the numerous ones' or 'the wealthy ones'. Delamarre, 2003: 162. Savignac, 2014: 251.
[278] Etymology relatively secure, drawn from the Gaulish '**allobrox* (sg.), **allobrogis* (pl.)' meaning 'foreigner' or, more literally, 'from another country', thought to reflect their relatively late settlement in the region in the third century BCE after migration from elsewhere. Lambert, 1994: 36. Delamarre, 2003: 39.

**Major Settlements:** Solonion (Salognon/Montmiral?), Genava (Geneva), Vianna/Vienna (Vienne)

**Sources:** Polybius (3.49), Cicero (*Font.* 12.26, 16.36, 21.47, *Cat.* 3.4-12, 3.15, 3.22, 4.4-6, *Sull.* 36-38), Sallust (*BC* 40-52) Caesar (*BG* 1.6, 1.10-14, 1.28, 1.44, 3.1, 3.6, 7.64-5, *BC* 3.59-60, 3.84), Livy (21.31.5, *Epit.* 61, *Epit.* 103), Strabo (4.1.11, 4.3.4), Pomponius Mela (2.75), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 3.5), Ptolemy (2.9), Cassius Dio (37.34, 37.47-8, 38.32, 39.5, 40.39, 43.30, 44.50)

One of the best documented groups in south-eastern Gaul, the Allobroges were a major power in the region consistently from the Late Iron Age to the Imperial period. Once members of a great coalition alongside the Salluvii and Arverni in the second century BCE. Noted for their military prowess, their warriors were frequently employed as auxiliaries by Roman commanders after their annexation, though they were they also frequently implicated in local revolts and faced harsh reprisal measures in the early-to-mid first century BCE. Relations with Rome improved dramatically in the wake of the Gallic Wars.

## The Segusiavi[279]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** *Σεγουσῶαντοι* (Greek)

**Territory:** Lower Saône/Upper Loire Valleys (Loire)

**Major Settlements:** Lugdunon/Lugdunum (Lyons), Forum Segusiavorum (Feurs)

[279] Etymology uncertain, or at least incomplete. The prefix '*sego-*/*segu-*', also found in both Gaulish ethnonyms (e.g. 'Segobriges') and personal names (e.g. 'Segomaros'), indicates 'victory', but the remaining components are currently undeciphered. Evans, 1967: 254-5.

**Sources:** Caesar (*BG* 7.75), Strabo (4.1.11, 4.3.2), Ptolemy (2.7)

Another polity overshadowed by its more powerful neighbours, but possibly enriched by the passage of trade thanks to their advantageous position, the Segusiavi marked the boundary between the northern reaches of the province of Transalpina/Narbonensis and Gallia Comata/*Tres Galliae* beyond. Their traditional power centre at Lugdunon was chosen as the hub of Gallic provincial administration under Augustus due to its strategic location at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône Rivers.

The Arverni[280]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** *Ἀρούερνοι* (Greek)

**Territory:** Eastern Massif Central (Auvergne, Puy-de-Dôme/Cantal)

**Major Settlements**: Aulnat-Gandaillon, Corent, Gergovia, Gondole, Nemossos (unclear), Augustonemetum (Clermont-Ferrand)

**Sources:** Caesar (BG 1.31, 1.45, 7.3-9, 7.34-8, 7.64-90, 8.46), Livy (27.39.6, *Epit.* 61, *Epit.* 107), Strabo (4.2.2-3, 4.4.1, 4.4.3), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 4.33, 34.18) Ptolemy (2.6), Cassius Dio (40.33-5)

One of the wealthiest and most influential peoples of Late Iron Age Gaul. Although their territory in the Massif Central could be argued to lie outside of the Rhône Basin proper, their well-documented use of the river as a corridor of trade and communication, and well-established, active relationships with other groups dwelling on the Rhône and/or its tributaries mean that they cannot be ignored in the

[280] Etymology debated. Lambert suggests '**Ar(e)-ver-noi*' ('those who live above'), appropriate to their mountainous heartlands. Lambert, 1994: 200. Alternately, it could relate to the Gaulish '**uerna*' ('alder tree'), thus 'those who live by the alders'. Savignac, 2014: 52.

discussion. Though humbled by defeats at Roman hands both before and during the conquest, their status amongst other Gallic polities did not diminish much as they entered the first millennium CE.

The Aedui[281]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** Haedui, *Ἄρδυες* (early Greek), *Αίδουοι* (later Greek)

**Territory:** Western Saône/Eastern Loire Valleys (Bourgogne/Côte D'Or)

**Major Settlements:** Bibracte (Mont Beauvray), Noviodunon/Noviodunum (Nevers), Augustodunum (Autun), Cabillonum (Chalons-sur-Saône)

**Sources:** Cicero (*Att.* 1.19.2, *Fam.* 7.10.4, *Div*. 1.61.90), Caesar (*BG* 1.5-48, 2.5-14, 5.6-7, 5.54, 6.4, 6.12, 7.5, 7.9-10, 7.17, 7.32-90, 8.2, 8.46, 8.54), Livy (*Epit*. 61, *Epit*. 104), Strabo (4.1.11, 4.3.2, 4.3.4), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 4.32, 17.4), Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.40-6, 11.25), Annaeus Florus (Ep.37), Ptolemy (2.7), Cassius Dio (38.32-4, 39.2, 40.36-8)

The Arverni's main rivals for pre-eminence in central Gaul in terms of wealth, power, and influence, becoming virtual hegemons of the area in the early first century BCE through their wide network of client polities. Notable amongst their peers in Gallia Comata for having become allies of Rome at an early stage and remained

[281] Etymologically derived from the Gaulish '*aidu'* (fire/light), thus 'the fiery/bright ones' or, more metaphorically, 'the ardent/zealous ones'. Delamarre, 2003, p35. Savignac, 2014, p163.

(mostly) faithful to them. While surrendering their sovereignty to Rome in the wake of Caesarian conquest, the Aedui remained rich and prominent among the inhabitants of the *Tres Galliae* for centuries afterward.

The Sequani[282]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** *Σηκουανοί* (Greek)

**Territory:** Eastern Saône Valley, west of the Jura (Franche Comté)

**Major Settlements:** Vesontio (Besançon)

**Sources:** Caesar (*BG* 1.1-3, 1.6-12, 1.19, 1.31-54, 4.10, 6.12, 7.66-7, 7.75, 7.90), Livy (*Epit.* 104), Strabo (4.3.2, 4.3.4), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 4.31), Ptolemy (2.8), Cassius Dio (38.32-4, 40.39)

Local rivals of the Aedui, occupying the eastern reaches of central Gaul. Aside from their struggles over control of the Saône and tribulations at the hands of former ally Ariovistus, little is said of them in Greek and Latin texts.

The Helvetii[283]:

**Alternative Name Forms:** Elvetii, *Ἑλουήτιοι* (Greek)

**Territory:** Upper Rhône Valley, Swiss Plateau (Vaud, Neuchâtel, Fribourg, Solothurn, Aargau, and Bern Cantons)

[282] Oddly, despite their position in the far east of Gaul, the name 'Sequani' is reminiscent of the ancient name applied to the River Seine; 'Sequana'. This may indicate an origin point adjoining that river from which they departed to settle new lands at an earlier point. Lambert, 1994: 32.

[283] Etymologically, the name is thought to derive from the compound of the prefix '*elu*-' ('many/plenty/abundance/profit) and '**etu*' (meadow/pasture/grassland), thus 'those rich in pastures', a somewhat ironic designation given their apparently migratory tendencies and the land hunger attributed to them by Caesar. Delamarre, 2003: 162, 168. Savignac, 2014: 278.

**Major Settlements:** Neuchâtel, Aventicum (Avenches)

**Sources:** Cicero (*Balb.* 14.32, *Att.* 1.19.2), Caesar (*BG* 1.1-31, 1.40, 4.10, 6.25), Livy (*Epit.* 103), Strabo (4.3.3, 4.3.4, 4.4.8, 4.4.11, 7.1.5, 7.2.2), Pliny the Elder (*NH* 4.31, 12.2), Tacitus (*Germ.* 28, *Hist.* 1.67), Ptolemy (2.8), Cassius Dio (38.31-2)

A fierce mountain people from the upper reaches of the Rhône, the Helvetii became known to the Romans for their apparent tendencies to launch far-reaching raids on the lands of others. Suggestions that they were a migratory, or at least well-travelled people, come from multiple sources, including a find of a *c.*300BCE Mantuan graffito of the term '*Eluveitie*' (an Etruscanised form of the ethnonym '**helvetios*'), and, sadly unsupported, assertions from Tacitus (*Germ.* 28.2) and Ptolemy (2.11.6) that the group originated in what is now south-western Germany before settling in the Alps. Though known for their enthusiastic and influential participation in military affairs in the late second and early first centuries BCE, Caesar's war against them had a heavy impact, compounded by the foundation of *coloniae* on their territory at Noviodunum Equestris (Nyons) and Augusta Raurica (Augst), meaning that they entered the first millennium CE much diminished.

## Appendix 3: Glossary of Non-English Terms

### Gaulish:[284]

- *Ambactos, *Ambact[o]i* – Term for a servant or bondsperson attached to a member of the ruling class in Gallic society.

[284] All terms marked with an asterisk (*) are reconstructed word forms, not appearing in the extant lexicon but thought to exist based on available linguistic evidence.

The precise level of social status denoted by it remains a matter of debate due to the vagueness of available sources. Etymological root (via Old French) of the English 'ambassador'.

- *Carnyx, *Carnyces* – Metal wind instrument used as a kind of war trumpet, noted for its stylised animal head design and apparently intimidating sound.
- *Pagos, *Pag[o]i* – Sub-grouping of Gallic polities, possibly predicated on territorial division and/or fictive kinships from a common ancestor. Etymological root of several English words via Latin and/or French including 'pagan' and 'peasant', due to its evolution into the Latin '*paganus*' ('rustic/yokel').
- *Rix[s], *Ri[ges]* – Position of leadership poorly understood in terms of practical implications and cultural significance. Linguistically cognate with the Latin '*rex, reges'* and Old Irish '*rí, ríg*' ('king').
- **Vergobretos, Vergobret[o]i* – Title of 'chief magistrate' of the Aedui, and likely other polities too, elected or appointed for a limited term of office. Possible etymological reconstruction as 'high/over-judge'.

<u>Latin:</u>

- *Aedile, Aediles* – Magisterial office of the Roman Senate on the second rung of the *Cursus Honorum*, primarily concerned with the funding and management of public festivals and urban building projects.
- *Ager Publicus* – Agricultural land legally rendered as the public property of the Roman citizen body. This was primarily

the result of land confiscations taken from enemies defeated in war, initially concentrated in the Italian peninsula before expanding out the provinces.

- *Ala, Alae* – Literally 'wing', but used in military terminology to refer to units of cavalry composed of 500 troopers in the Early and High Imperial periods.
- *Amicitia* – Most literally 'friendship', though in practicality serving as a euphemism for the unequal, generally transactional relationships of patron and client in Roman society, especially terms of political favours done in kind.
- *As, Asses* – Roman currency unit issued in the form of a relatively large coin originally cast in bronze, but later in copper. Theoretically equivalent in value to 0.1 *denarii* or 0.25 *quinarii*.
- *Auctoritias* – Most literally 'authority', generally used in political contexts to denote either power held with legal legitimation or influence exercised through one's respected position in society. Potentially conceivable as 'soft power', in contrast to the connotations of '*potestas*' as 'hard power', and perceived favourably in Latin political discourse.
- *Beneficium, Beneficia* – Most literally 'benefit' or 'favour'. Often used in reference to privileges or rewards obtained from a patron.
- *Cippus, Cippi* – Form of small wooden or stone pedestal, generally inscribed, used a place marker in ancient Mediterranean contexts. In Roman settings, frequently used either as boundary posts or funerary monuments.

- *Civis, Cives* – ‘citizen’ especially in a legal sense.
- *Civitas, Civitates* – Roughly translatable as ‘state’ or ‘polity’ in a general sense. Applied to Gallic polities by Caesar somewhat inconsistently but more robustly following the Augustan Reforms, under which the peoples of Gaul (as denoted by treaty statuses) were treated as legally distinct administrative units under provincial government.
- *Colonia, Coloniae* – Settlement founded under Roman auspices on territory annexed and/or confiscated from others, given to a community of Roman citizens (most commonly but not exclusively military veterans) under a new constitution. Theoretically treated as equal in legal status to the city of Rome itself. The etymological root of the English ‘colony’ (via Old French) but not necessarily synonymous in all regards.
- *Consul, Consules* – Magisterial office in the Roman Senate, occupying the fourth and final rung of the *Cursus Honorum* and considered the peak of a Roman politician’s career. Two *consules* held office concurrently for an annual term as heads of state of the Roman Republic.
- *Cursus Honorum* – Literally ‘Course of Honours’, a term used to describe the ascending ranks of magisterial office in the Roman Senate, those of *quaestor*, *aedile*, *praetor*, and *consul*, and their role in the careers of members of the ruling class.

- *Denarius, Denarii* – Roman currency unit issued in the form of medium sized silver coins. Equivalent in value to 10 *asses* (hence their name) or 2 *quinarii*.
- *Dux, Duces* – Literally ‘leader’ or, more practically, ‘general’. Broadly used to refer to the commander of any active military force. Utilised by Caesar to refer to commanders in Gallic military contexts. Etymological root of the English ‘duke’.
- *Fides* – Roughly translatable as ‘loyalty’, ‘trust’, or ‘faith’ (which derives from it via Old French), the term encompassed a number of related social and political conventions in Roman society regarding the relationships between conqueror and conquered as well as between patrons and clients.
- *Finis, Fines* – Most literally ‘limit’, ‘border’, or ‘boundary’, often in a spatial, territorial sense.
- *Forum, Fora* - The primary public space of a Roman settlement, used for marketplaces, legal proceedings, and public gatherings of all kinds. Roughly equivalent to the Greek *agora*.
- *Gens, Gentes* – A broad term covering a range of connotations from ‘nation’ to ‘line of descent’, but generally predicated on the notion of a group linked by shared familial ties. In a Roman context, it often referred to the sprawling clans who constituted much of the city’s demography and drew descent from legendary heroes of yore (e.g., the Gens Julia from Julus, son of Aeneas). In the plural (‘*gentes*’), often used as a collective reference to non-Roman groups.

- *Ius Latii* – Literally 'Right of the Latins', a legal term in Roman administration derived from archaic statutes regarding the status of the city's allied neighbours in Latium, functioning as an intermediary category between the full rights of citizens proper and the extremely limited rights of *peregrini*. Later applied to other provincial communities through constitutional grants as a matter of patronal beneficence.
- *Legatus, Legati* – In a general sense can be translated as 'envoy/representative'. Frequently utilised to refer to those functioning as diplomatic representatives. In a specific context it indicates a Roman military office charged with leadership of a single legion (*legio*) of an army on campaign under the supervision of a *praetor*/*propraetor* or *consul*/*proconsul*. Though invariably held by senators, this was not considered a position of the *Cursus Honorum* proper but generally given to those who had recently held posts as *aediles* or *praetors* depending on the rank of the commander-in-chief. Origin of the English 'legate'.
- *Nobilis, Nobiles* – A term more or less cognate with the English 'noble/s' in reference to an aristocracy of genealogical predication, but more specifically in the context of the Roman Late Republic referring to an inner oligarchy within the Senate comprised of those with recent ancestors and relatives of consular rank aiming to monopolise the highest offices amongst themselves. Examples include the

Caecilii Metelli family, who dominated the Senate and its senior magistracies in late second century BCE.

- *Novus Homo, Novi Homines* – Literally 'new man', a conventional term in Late Republican Roman politics for members of the Senate who were the first members of their family to qualify as such, thus contrasting with the *Nobiles.* Notable examples included Gaius Marius and Marcus Tullius Cicero.
- *Oppidum, Oppida* – Most literally translatable as 'town', a term used primarily by Caesar to refer to nucleated settlements in Gaul. Applied by modern archaeologists to nucleated, fortified sites uncovered in Late Iron Age/La Tène Culture contexts.
- *Ordo, Ordines* – Latin term indicating the ranked 'classes' into which citizens were sorted by census according to their wealth and standing. The *Ordo Senatus* (whose members qualified for senatorial magistracies) formed the highest rank, with the *Ordo Equester* below it and so on. Higher *ordines* enjoyed greater privileges and held greater weight with their block votes in the Centuriate Assembly.
- *Peregrinus, Peregrini* – Latin term of primarily legal usage referring to those who were neither slaves nor Roman citizens. Most generally applied to foreigners originating outside of the Italian heartlands.
- *Potestas* – Most literally 'power' or 'capability', generally used in political/military contexts to denote the unfettered power available to an individual in terms of wealth, troops, or

legal prerogatives. Can be contrasted with '*auctoritas*' as connoting 'hard power' rather than 'soft power'. The term often held negative connotations in the context of Roman political discourse (during the Republican period at least), in relation to accusations of tyranny.

- *Praefectus, Praefecti* – Term used variously to refer to officers (predominantly in military contexts) whose authority derived from delegation by superiors and often functioning as either second-in-command or as quartermasters over specific areas of campaign logistics. In Roman military contexts, generally inferior in status to *Legati* and held by those of non-senatorial background. Utilised by Caesar to refer to lieutenants or junior officers in Gallic military contexts. Origin of the English 'prefect'.
- *Praetor, Praetores* – Magisterial office of the Roman senate, occupying the third, penultimate rung of the *Cursus Honorum*. *Praetores* were assigned to various *provinciae* which gradually multiplied in number of the course of the Republic's history, ranging from supervision of various lawcourts to acting as secondary military commanders in the event of both *consules* being unavailable.
- *Primus Pilus/Primipilares* – Literally 'first spear', designation of the centurion of the first century of the first cohort of a Roman legion, holding seniority over others.
- *Princeps, Principes* – A term of various meanings and usages in Classical Latin primarily denoting personal pre-eminence amongst a certain group (sometimes translated as

‘chieftain’ or ‘leader’). Utilised by Augustus in avoidance of the terms ‘*dictator*’ or ‘*rex*’ to describe his semi-constitutional state of autocracy over the Roman state. Utilised by Caesar in certain contexts to describe those pre-eminent in class and/or rank among the Gauls.

- *Pro-consul* – Member of the Roman senate who had recently completed their annual term of office as consul and was vested with powers over a *provincia,* usually for purposes of military campaigning and/or territorial governance. Frequently used in this thesis in the sense of ‘Proconsular Governor’, i.e., a provincial governor holding consular rank and powers.
- *Pro-praetor* – Member of the Roman senate who had recently completed their annual term of office as praetor and was vested with powers over a *provincia*, most commonly for purposes of territorial governance, often in support of a senior official engaged in military campaigning nearby. Frequently used in this thesis in the sense of ‘Propraetorian Governor’, i.e., a provincial governor holding praetorian rank and powers.
- *Provincia, Provinciae* – Latin term broadly used to describe the ‘purview’ or ‘area of competence’ assigned to state officials (particularly of praetorian and consular rank), gradually evolving to connote territorial units outside of the Italian heartland to which such officials were assigned as governors (hence English ‘province’).

- *Quaestor, Quaestores* – Magisterial office of the Roman Senate, occupying the first and lowest rung of the *Cursus Honorum* and thus acting as entry requirement for membership of the Senate proper. Primarily charged with supervisory audits of the state treasury and assigned to accompany *consules* on military campaigns to both ensure financial probity and act as informal apprentices to senior politicians.
- *Quinarius, Quinarii* – Roman currency denomination issued in small silver coins and valued at half a *denarius* or 5 *asses* (hence its name).
- *Rex, Reges* – Literally ‘king’, but also conventionally used in a similar sense to the Greek ‘*tyrannos*’ in the sense of an unconstitutional, autocratic ruler (or at least one perceived as such).
- *Senatus, Senatus* – ‘Senate’, as referring to the council of serving and former magistrates granted an institutional role in Republican Roman politics, but often applied to potentially analogous bodies in other contexts. The term itself derives from the body’s role as a council of elders (from the Latin ‘*senex*’ – ‘old man’) and advisory body to public assemblies.
- *Servus, Servi* – ‘slave’, especially as legally distinct from all categories of freeborn or freed individuals.
- *Simpulum, Simpula* – A drinking vessel with a long, thin spout and/or ladle-like utensil used for wine service in Roman symposium contexts.

- *Socius, Socii* – ‘Ally, Allies’, used in both a broad sense of diplomatic and military partners to the Roman State, but in a more technical sense to the treaty-bound allied states of central and southern Italy which supported the Roman Republic as subject populations before their mass enfranchisement in the wake of the Social War 90BCE.
- *Turma, Turmae* – Roman military unit of cavalry usually consisting of 30 troopers.
- *Urbs, Urbes* – Latin ‘city’, used in both the sense of an urban space in the physical sense and in the more holistic, political sense roughly cognate with the Ancient Greek ‘*Polis*’ as outlined below.

Greek:

- *Agora, Agorai (Ἀγορά, Ἀγοραί)* – The primary public space of a *polis*, used for marketplaces, legal proceedings, and public gatherings of all kinds. Roughly equivalent to the Roman *forum.*
- *Bouleterion, Bouleteria (Βουλήτεριον, Βουλήτερια)* – A building reserved for meetings of a *Boulé* (legislative council). Roughly equivalent to a senate-house, and generally situated next to the local *agora.*
- *Chora, Chorai (Χώρα, Χώραι)* – A term referring to the agricultural land surrounding the urban space of a polis, claimed as its territory.
- *Doulos, Douloi (Δοῦλος, Δοῦλοι)* – A chattel slave, especially in Athenian conception.

- *Ethnos, Ethné (Ἔθνος, Ἔθνη)* – Generally translated as 'nation', 'people', or 'tribe'. Typically used in Greek as a catch-all for socio-political organisations, especially non-Hellenic ones, which did not revolve around affiliation to a *polis* or other form of city-state.
- *Isomomia (Ἰσονομία)* – Generally translated as 'rule of law' or more literally 'equality before the law', referring to constitutions wherein a common code of laws applied to all citizens in contrast with the extra-legal powers wielded by tyrants of varying stripes.
- *Koine (Κοινή)* – Deriving from the Ancient Greek adjective for 'common, shared, standard' (especially in relation to the supra-regional dialect of the Greek language that emerged in the Hellenistic period), used in contemporary scholarship to describe a shared practice or set of customs in the Ancient World extending across multiple communities.
- *Krater, Krateres (Κρατήρ, Κρατῆρες)* – Large ceramic mixing bowl traditionally used to dilute and serve wine in symposium contexts.
- *Nomos, Nomoi (Νόμος, Νόμοι*) – Most literally translated as 'law' or 'custom', but often having a sense of higher, unwritten codes of ethics and conduct expected of people.
- *Oenochoe, Oenochoai (Οἰνοχόη, Οἰνοχοαί)* – A kind of ceramic jug traditionally used for pouring wine in symposium contexts.
- *Oikoumené* (*Οἰκουμένη*) – A term referring to the totality of the inhabited world, though more connotatively used to

encompass the world of the Mediterranean and adjoining regions as known to Greek writers. Explored in Strabo's *Geography,* wherein its meaning as referring to the world of human civilisation is contrasted with the wider, physical extent of the world including its deserted (or at least non-cultivated) regions such as the oceans, Arctic, and Sahara Desert.

- *Parrhésia (Παρρησία)* – Most literally 'unlimited speech', a term used to describe the guaranteed right to speak before the *Ekklesia* by citizens of Democratic Athens without prejudice to their relative social status.
- *Polis, Poleis (Πολὶς, Πολεὶς*) – Proper term for the Ancient Greek city-state as a territorial and conceptual entity. Inhabited by Politai (*Πολίται*, singular Polités/*Πολίτης*) i.e., 'citizens'.
- *Politeion, Politeia (Πολιτεῖον, Πολιτεῖα*) – Generally translated as 'constitution' in the sense of the political organisation of a community and its underlying legal framework.
- *Stadion, Stadia (Στάδιον, Στάδια)* – Unit of measurement of distance equivalent to 600 Greek feet or approx. 157.7m.
- *Topos, Topoi (Τόπος, Τόποι)* – Most literally 'place', but connotatively denoting literary and/or rhetorical devices used as a common frame of reference in Greek (and later Latin) texts and speeches. Somewhat analogous to the modern English 'trope' in this sense.

## Appendix 4: Glossary of Locations

Gaul:[285]

- Alésia – Alise-Sainte-Reine?: Oppidum in the territory of the Aedui (associated with the pagus of the Mandubii). Site of a major siege and battle between Caesar's forces and Gallic rebels during the Revolt of Vercingetorixs *c.*52BCE.
- Arelate – Arles: Roman *Colonia* deducted from land originally held by Massalia. Founded by Caesar *c.*45BCE and granted to veterans of the Legio VI Ferrata.
- Arausio – Orange: Roman *Colonia* deducted from territory of the Cavares. Founded by Octavian 35BCE and granted to veterans of the Legio II Augusta.
- Aquae Sextiae – Aix-en-Provence: Roman military outpost of ambiguous legal status in the territory of the Saluvii founded by Sextius Calvinus following the successful siege of Entremont.
- Auennio – Avignon: Settlement in the territory of Cavares of uncertain origin (possible Greek colonial connections) but serving as a power centre of the nation. Granted *ius Latii* *c.*49-43BCE.
- Augustodunum – Autun: 'Civitas capital' of the Aedui, founded by Augustus *c.*15BCE to replace Bibracte as the nation's power centre.
- Aulnat-Gandaillat: Archaeologically recovered major settlement and seeming power centre of the Arverni in the second century BCE. More recent archaeological

[285] The inclusion of a question mark (?) in relation to modern names for listed sites indicates ambiguity regarding their identification.

interpretations have argued for its status as a site of low-density urban sprawl, linking the *oppida* of Corent, Gergovia, and Gondole as fortification points.

- Avaricum – Bourges: *Oppidum* and power centre of the Bituriges Cubi. Site of a major siege and sacking by Caesar's forces during the Revolt of Vercingetorixs *c.*52BCE.
- Aventicum – Avenches: 'Civitas capital' of the Helvetii, founded *c.*15BCE. Later granted *Colonia* status by Emperor Vespasian *c.*70-75CE.
- Bibracte – Mont Beuvray: *Oppidum* and power centre of the Aedui. At its peak in the early-to-mid-first century BCE, later falling into decline as focus shifted to Augustodunum.
- Cabillo/Cabillonum - Chalons-sur-Saône: Settlement in the territory of the Aedui, mostly associated with riverine trade and used as a garrison site by Caesar's forces *c.*52-51BCE.
- Carcaso – Carcassone: Settlement in the territory of the Volcae Tectosages.
- Corent: *Oppidum* fortification of the Arverni arising in the early first century BCE. Possibly one of the fortification nodes of the larger settlement at Aulnat-Gandaillat.
- Cularo - Grenoble: Settlement in the territory of the Allobroges.
- Entremont: *Oppidum* and power centre of the Saluvii. Besieged and sacked by Roman forces under Sextus Calvinus *c.*123BCE.
- Genava – Geneva: Settlement of the Allobroges, bordering on the territory of the Helvetii.

- Gergovia: *Oppidum* fortification of the Arverni in the early-to-mid-first century BCE. Possibly a fortification node of Aulnat-Gandaillat. As used by Caesar and other ancient writers, possibly a name for the entire settlement including Aulnat-Gandaillat and Gergovia's sister fortifications Corent and Gondole.
- Glanum: Settlement in the territory of the Saluvii, rising to prominence in the first century BCE after the fall of Entremont. Granted *ius Latii* by Augustus *c.*27BCE.
- Gondole: *Oppidum* fortification of the Arverni from the early-to-mid-first century BCE. Possibly one node of Aulnat-Gandaillat.
- Lugdunon/Lugdunum – Lyons: Former *oppidum* in the territory of the Segusiavi, later a Roman *Colonia* founded by Munatius Plancus 43BCE, apparently granted to refugees from Vienna. Became a centre of provincial administration for the *Tres Galliae* following the Augustan Reforms, briefly the site of the Imperial Court *c.*17-15BCE, and Imperial Mint from *c.*15BCE onwards.
- Magetobriga/Amagetobriga – Amage?: Settlement in the territory of the Sequani. Site of a battle between the Aedui and an alliance of Sequani and Germani (under Ariovistus) *c.*63-61BCE.
- Massalia/Massilia – Marseilles: Phocaean Greek colony founded *c.*600BCE. Trading partner and occasional military foe of many southern Gallic peoples. Besieged and captured

by Caesar's forces 49BCE, precipitating confiscation and redistribution of territory.

- Matisco – Mâcon: Settlement in the territory of the Aedui. A detachment of Roman forces was stationed there *c.*52BCE following the defeat of Vercingetorixs' Revolt to secure control of food supplies.
- Namausos/Nemausus – Nîmes: *Oppidum* and power centre of the Volcae Arecomici. Granted *ius Latii c.*45-28BCE.
- Narbo Martius – Narbonne: Roman *Colonia* founded *c.*118BCE on territory deducted from the Volcae Tectosages. A major centre of Roman colonial commerce during the first century BCE and a consistently large, wealthy, and influential urban site throughout the Imperial period.
- Noviodunum (1) – Nevers: Settlement in the territory of the Aedui. Utilised by Caesar as a supply depot and hostage holding centre during his later campaigns.
- Noviodunum (2) – Nyons: Roman *Colonia* founded by Caesar 45BCE on territory deducted from the Helvetii.
- Solonion – Salagnon/Montmiral?: *Oppidum* and possible power centre of the Allobroges. Site of a major siege and battle during the Allobrogan Revolt *c.*61BCE.
- Tolosa – Toulouse: *Oppidum* and possible power centre of the Volcae Tectosages. Major production centre of Gallic coinage in the second and early first centuries BCE.
- Vasio – Vaison-la-Romaine: *Oppidum* and power centre of the Vocontii.

- Vesontio – Besançon: *Oppidum* and power centre of the Sequani.
- Vianna/Vienna – Vienne: *Oppidum* and possible power centre of the Allobroges. Seemingly briefly re-founded as a Roman *colonia* by Caesar 47BCE (though dating is uncertain and imprecise), only for colonists to be expelled by locals and formally re-settled at Lugdunum five years later.
- Vindalium – Mourre-de-Sève?: Settlement in the territory of the Cavares. Site of a major battle between Roman forces and an alliance of Saluvii, Allobroges, and Arverni *c.*121BCE.

Italy:

- Aquileia – Roman *colonia* founded in the far north-east of Italy near the tip of the Adriatic Sea *c.*180BCE, rising to become one of the largest and wealthiest cities of the Roman Empire. Later sacked and razed by the forces of Attila the Hun 452CE, a blow from which it never recovered.
- Corfinium – Corfinio: City of the Paeligni people in east central Italy. Briefly renamed 'Italica' and used as an intended capital and headquarters of the rebel Italian allies in the Social War 90BCE. Site of one of the early battles of the Caesarian-Pompeian Civil War 49BCE.

Greece and the Aegean:

- Epidamnos/Dyrrhachium – Dürres: Greek/Illyrian city founded by Corinthian colonists on the Adriatic Coast *c.*627BCE. Site of a protracted siege and major battle of the Caesarian-Pompeian Civil War 48BCE.
- Phocaea - Foça: Ionian Greek city in western Asia Minor founded in the ninth century BCE. Metropolis of colonists

founding Massalia. Later conquered by first Lydian then Persian forces in the sixth century BCE.

## Appendix 5: Glossary/Index of Historical Individuals

- Adbucillos (aka Adbucillus): Member of the Allobrogan ruling class of the early first century BCE. Father of Roucillos and Egos.
- Annaeus Florus, Lucius: Roman scholar *c.*74-130CE. Author of *Epitome of Roman History*.
- Ambiorixs: King/Dyarch of the Eburones in the mid-first century BCE.
- Ammianus Marcellinus: Roman soldier and scholar of Levantine extraction *c.*330-391/400CE. Author of *Historia Res Gestae*.
- Appian (of Alexandria): Egyptian Greek scholar *c.*95-165CE. Author of *Civil Wars, Celtic Wars, Embassies* and other parts of a now fragmentary corpus of Roman History.
- Ariovistus: Germanic warlord, 'king', and '*Amicus Populi Romani' c.*59BCE. Ally of the Sequani turned tyrannical overlord. Possibly Suebian by ethnicity. Defeated by Caesar *c.*58BCE.
- Augustus, Gaius Julius Caesar (aka Octavian): Roman senator and first *Princeps* (Emperor) of the new Imperial regime *c.*63BCE-14CE. Great-nephew and adopted son of Gaius Julius Caesar.
- Bituitos (aka Bituitus): Member of the Arvernian ruling class and possible tyrant *c.*130-121BCE. Son of Louernios.

Defeated in battle *c.*121BCE and brought to Rome in captivity.

- Burebista: Leader, possibly monarch, of the enigmatic ‘Dacian’ or ‘Getae’ people of the Carpathian Mountains of Central Europe in the first century BCE (*k.*44/43BCE).
- Caburus, Gaius Valerius: Member of the Allobrogan (and/or Helvian) ruling class in the early first century BCE. Father of Donnotaurus and Procillus.
- Caesar, Gaius Julius: Roman senator and scholar *c.*100-44BCE. Consul 59BCE, Pro-Consular governor of Gallia Cisalpina, Transalpina, and Illyria *c.*58-50BCE, Leader of Caesarian Forces 49-45BCE, Dictator 46-44BCE. Assassinated 44BCE. Author of the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* and *Commentarii de Bellum Civile*.
- Casticos: Member of the Sequanian ruling class. Son of Catamantaloedes. Participant in the Conspiracy of Orgetorixs *c.*61-60BCE.
- Catilina, Lucius Sergius (aka Catiline): Roman senator *c.*108-62BCE. Praetor 68BCE. Leader of the failed Catilinarian Conspiracy *c.*63-62BCE.
- Catugnatos (aka Catugnatus): Leader of the Allobrogan Revolt *c.*61BCE.
- Celtillos (aka Celtillus): Member of the Arvernian ruling class in the early first century BCE. Father of Vercingetorixs and brother of Gobannitio.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius: Roman senator and scholar *c.*106-43BCE. Older brother of Quintus. Quaestor 75BCE, Aedile

69BCE, Praetor 66BCE, Consul 63BCE. Author of numerous writings including *Pro Quinctio, Pro Fonteio*, *De Provinciis Consularibus*, and *De Divinatione*. Assassinated along with his brother and other members of his family in the Proscriptions of the Second Triumvirate 43BCE.

- Cicero, Quintus Tullius: Roman senator *c.*102-43BCE. Younger brother of Marcus. Aedile 66BCE, Praetor 62BCE, and Legatus under Caesar 58-52BCE, under his brother 51BCE, and in Anti-Caesarian forces 50-47BCE. Assassinated along with his brother and other members of his family in the Proscriptions of the Second Triumvirate 43BCE.
- Convictolitavis: Member of the Aeduan ruling class. **Vergobretos* of the Aedui *c.*52BCE.
- Commios: Member of the ruling class of the Atrebates of Belgica. Allied to Caesar *c.*57-53BCE, being granted kingship of first his own people, then the neighbouring Morini *c.*54BCE, in exchange for his loyalty. After relations broke down, Commios became an ally of Vercingetorixs in the Revolt of 52BCE, and following defeat, is thought to have been driven into exile in Britain.
- Cotos: Member of the Aeduan ruling class. Failed candidate for **Vergobretos* of the Aedui *c.*52BCE and later a military commander among rebel forces under Vercingetorixs.
- Critognatos (aka Critognatus): Member of the ruling class of the Arverni *c.*52BCE. Identified by Caesar as present at the Siege of Alésia.

- Dio, Lucius Cassius: Roman senator and scholar of Bithynian Greek origin *c.*155-235CE. Consul 205CE. Author of *Roman History*.
- Diodorus (Siculus): Sicilian (Agyrium) Greek scholar *c.*90-30BCE. Author of *The Library of History*.
- Diviđiacos (aka Diviciacus/Divitiacos): Member of the Aeduan ruling class and **Vergobretos* at least once *c.*65-59BCE. Brother (presumably older) of Dubnoreixs.
- Divico: Member of the Helvetian ruling class. Supposedly military leader of the Tigurini *pagos* *c.*105BCE. Defeated (and possibly killed) by Caesar's forces *c.*58BCE.
- Domitius Ahenobarbus, Gnaeus: Roman senator of the late second century BCE (d.104BCE). Consul *c.*122BCE, Proconsular Governor of Gallia Transalpina *c.*121-118BCE, and Censor 115BCE.
- Donnotaurus, Gaius Valerius: Leader of the Helvii *c.*52BCE, presumably of Allobrogan origins. Son of Gaius Valerius Caburus and brother (presumably older) of Gaius Valerius Procillus. Killed in battle with Vercingetorixs' forces *c.*52BCE.
- Drappes: Senonian follower of Vercingetorixs and rebel leader *c.*51BCE.
- Dubnoreixs (aka Dumnorix): Member of the Aeduan ruling class *c.*61-54BCE. Brother (presumably younger) of Diviđiacos. Participant in the Conspiracy of Orgetorixs *c.*61-60BCE. Auxiliary cavalry commander under Caesar *c.*58-54BCE. Killed by Roman forces after desertion *c.*54BCE.

- Egos (aka Egus): Member of the Allobrogan ruling class and auxiliary cavalry commander under Caesar *c.*52-48BCE. Brother of Roucillos and son of Adbucillos. Killed in battle, following desertion to Pompey 48BCE.
- Epađnactos (aka Epasnactus): Member of the Arvernian ruling class, politically dominant amongst them *c.*51BCE onwards.
- Eporedorixs (aka Eporedorix): Member of the Aeduan ruling class and military commander *c.*52BCE. Supporter of Vercingetorixs and rival of Viridomaros. Possibly the same individual as Aeduan military commander *c.*65-61BCE but possibly a different individual of the same name.
- Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, Quintus: Roman senator of the late second century BCE. Quaestor *c.*134BCE, Praetor *c.*124BCE, Consul *c.*121BCE, and Censor 108BCE.
- Fabius Sanga, Quintus: Roman senator of the early-to-mid first century BCE. Relative of Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus in an unknown degree.
- Fonteius, Marcus: Roman senator of the early first century BCE. Praetor 75BCE, Propraetorian Governor of Gallia Transalpina *c.*74-72BCE.
- Fulvius Flaccus, Marcus: Roman senator of the late second century BCE (k.121BCE). Consul *c.*125BCE and Tribune of the Plebeians *c.*122BCE.
- Galba: ‘King’ of the Suessiones and Remi of Belgica *c.*57BCE.

- Gobannitio: Member of the Arvernian ruling class *c.*52BCE. Uncle of Vercingetorixs and brother of Celtillos.
- Indutiomaros (aka Indutiomarus): Member of the Allobrogan ruling class and military commander *c.*75-69BCE.
- Hirtius, Aulus: Roman senator and scholar *c.*90-43BCE. Legatus under Caesar 58-49BCE, Praetor 46BCE, Pro-Praetorian Governor of Gallia Transalpina 45BCE, Consul 43BCE. Killed at the Battle of Mutina 43BCE. Author of Book 8 of the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*.
- Labienus, Titus: Roman senator *c.*100-45BCE. Tribune of the Plebeians 63BCE, Praetor 60/59BCE, Legatus under Caesar 58-50BCE, Legatus/*Dux* of Anti-Caesarian forces 49-45BCE. Killed in battle by Caesar's forces 45BCE.
- Lentulus Sura, Publius Cornelius: Roman senator *c.*114-63BCE. Praetor *c.*75BCE and 63BCE, Consul 71BCE. Ally and supporter of Catilina in the Conspiracy of 63BCE.
- Lepidus, Marcus Aemilius: Roman senator *c.*89-13BCE. Praetor 49BCE, Propraetorian Governor of Hispania Citerior 48-47BCE, Consul 46BCE and 42BCE, Magister Equitum under Caesar's dictatorship 45-44BCE, Triumvir 43-36BCE.
- Liscos: **Vergobretos* of the Aedui *c.*58BCE.
- Litaviccos: Member of the Aeduan ruling class and military commander *c.*52BCE. Supporter of Vercingetorixs.
- Livy (aka Titus Livius): Roman scholar *c.*64/59BCE-12/17CE. Author of *Ab Urbe Condita*.
- Louernious (aka Luerios): Member of the Arvernian ruling class *c.*150-130BCE. Father of Bituitos.

- Marcus Antonius (aka Mark Antony): Roman senator *c.*83-30BCE. Legatus under Caesar in the Gallic and Civil Wars, Consul 44BCE, Triumvir 43-33BCE. Died by suicide following defeat by Octavian 31BCE.
- Marius, Gaius: Roman senator *c.*157-86BCE. Plebeian Tribune 119BCE, Consul 107BCE, 104-100BCE (an unprecedented and largely extraconstitutional run of terms), and 86BCE. Died of an illness during his seventh and final consulship.
- Munatius Plancus, Lucius: Roman senator *c.*87-15BCE, partisan of Caesar and Octavian in the Roman Civil Wars. Proconsular governor of Gaul 44-43BCE and founder of Lugdunum.
- Orgetorixs: Member of the Helvetian ruling class. Originator of the supposed conspiracy in alliance with Casticos and Dubnoreixs *c.*61-60BCE. Disappeared (presumed dead) after exposure *c.*60BCE.
- Papirius Carbo, Gnaeus: Roman senator of the late second century BCE. Consul 113BCE.
- Pompey (aka Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus): Roman senator *c.*106-48BCE. Military commander in Sertorian Wars 80-72BCE and Mithridatic Wars 66-63BCE. Consul 70, 55, and 52BCE. Commander-in-chief of Anti-Caesarian forces 49-48BCE. Assassinated after his defeat at the Battle of Pharsalus 48BCE.
- Pompeius Trogus, Gnaeus: Member of the Vocontian ruling class and scholar of the late first century BCE. Author of the

*Historia Philippica* now only preserved in Epitomes by the Late Antique scholar Justinus.

- Pomptinus, Gaius: Roman senator of the early-to-mid-first century BCE. Propraetorian Governor of Gallia Transalpina 61BCE. Considered responsible for the suppression of the Allobrogan Revolt.
- Procillus, Gaius Valerius: Member of the Allobrogan ruling class and Roman citizen. Son of Gaius Valerius Caburus and brother (presumably younger) of Gaius Valerius Donnotaurus. Served as interpreter and envoy of Caesar 58BCE.
- Roucillos (aka Roucillus): Member of the Allobrogan ruling class and auxiliary cavalry commander under Caesar *c.*52-48BCE. Brother of Egos and son of Adbucillos. Killed in battle, following desertion to Pompey, 48BCE.
- Sallust (aka Gaius Sallustius Crispus): Roman senator and scholar *c.*85-36BCE. Tribune of the Plebeians 52BCE and *Legatus* under Caesar 49-45BCE. Author of *Bellum Catilinae*, *Bellum Iugurthum*, and other, largely lost, works.
- Scrofa, Cn. Tremellius: Roman senator and scholar of the late second and first centuries BCE. Military commander (likely pro-praetorian) in Gallia Transalpina *c.*72-68BCE. Author of now lost works on agronomy and depicted as an authority on the subject as a character in the dialogue of Varro's *De Re Rustica*.
- Sextius Calvinus, Gaius: Roman senator of the late second century. Consul 124BCE and Proconsular Governor of Gallia

Transalpina *c.*123-122BCE. Responsible for the sacking of Entremont.

- Strabo (of Amasia): Pontic Greek scholar and junior member of the Roman Imperial Court *c.*64BCE-24CE. Author of the *Geography*.
- Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius: Roman equestrian and scholar *c.*64-122CE. Author of *De Vita Caesarum*.
- Tacitus, Publius Cornelius: Roman senator and scholar *c.*56-120CE. Consul 97CE. Author of *Agricola*, *Germania*, *Annales*, and *Historiae*.
- Trebonius, Gaius: Roman senator *c.*92-43BCE. Quaestor 60BCE, Legatus under Caesar 54-49BCE, Praetor 48BCE, Propraetorian Governor of Hispania Ulterior 47-46BCE, Consul 45BCE, Proconsular Governor of Asia Proconsularis 44-43BCE. Tried and executed for treason due to his part in the assassination of Caesar by a supporter of the latter 43BCE.
- Toutomotulos (aka Toutomotulus): Member of the Saluvian ruling class and possible tyrant *c.*125BCE. Driven into exile by Roman forces under Sextius Calvinus *c.*123BCE. Defeated 121BCE and brought to Rome in captivity.
- Valerius Flaccus, Gaius: Roman senator of the early first century BCE. Consul 93BCE, Governor of Gallia Transalpina *c.*85-80BCE.
- Valetiacos (aka Valetiacus): Member of the Aeduan ruling class and **Vergobretos* *c.*53BCE. Brother (presumably older) of Cotos.

- Vercassivellaunos (aka Vercassivellaunus): Member of the Arvernian ruling class and military commander *c.*52BCE. Cousin of Vercingetorixs. Captured by Caesar's forces during the Siege of Alésia.
- Vercingetorixs (aka Vercingetorix): Member of the Arvernian ruling class. Son of Celtillos. 'King' of the Arverni and commander-in-chief of independent Gallic allies *c.*52BCE. Executed on Caesar's orders at Rome 46BCE.
- Viridomaros (aka Vridomarus): Member of the Aeduan ruling class and military commander *c.*52BCE. Supporter of Vercingetorixs and rival of Eporedorixs.

Figures:

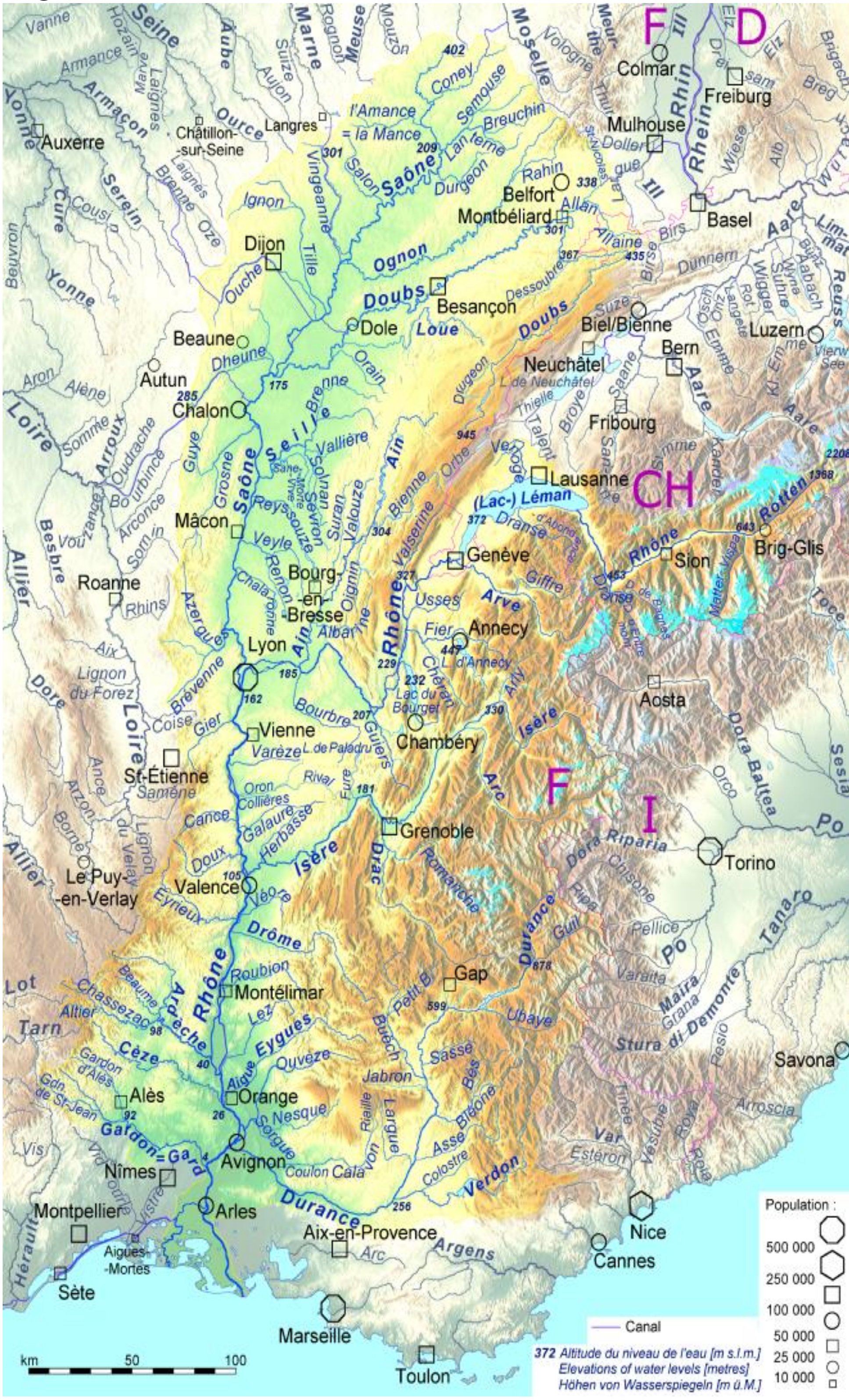



*Fig. 1 Geographic/Hydrological Map of the Rhône Basin, Present Day, credit Wikipedia Commons.*

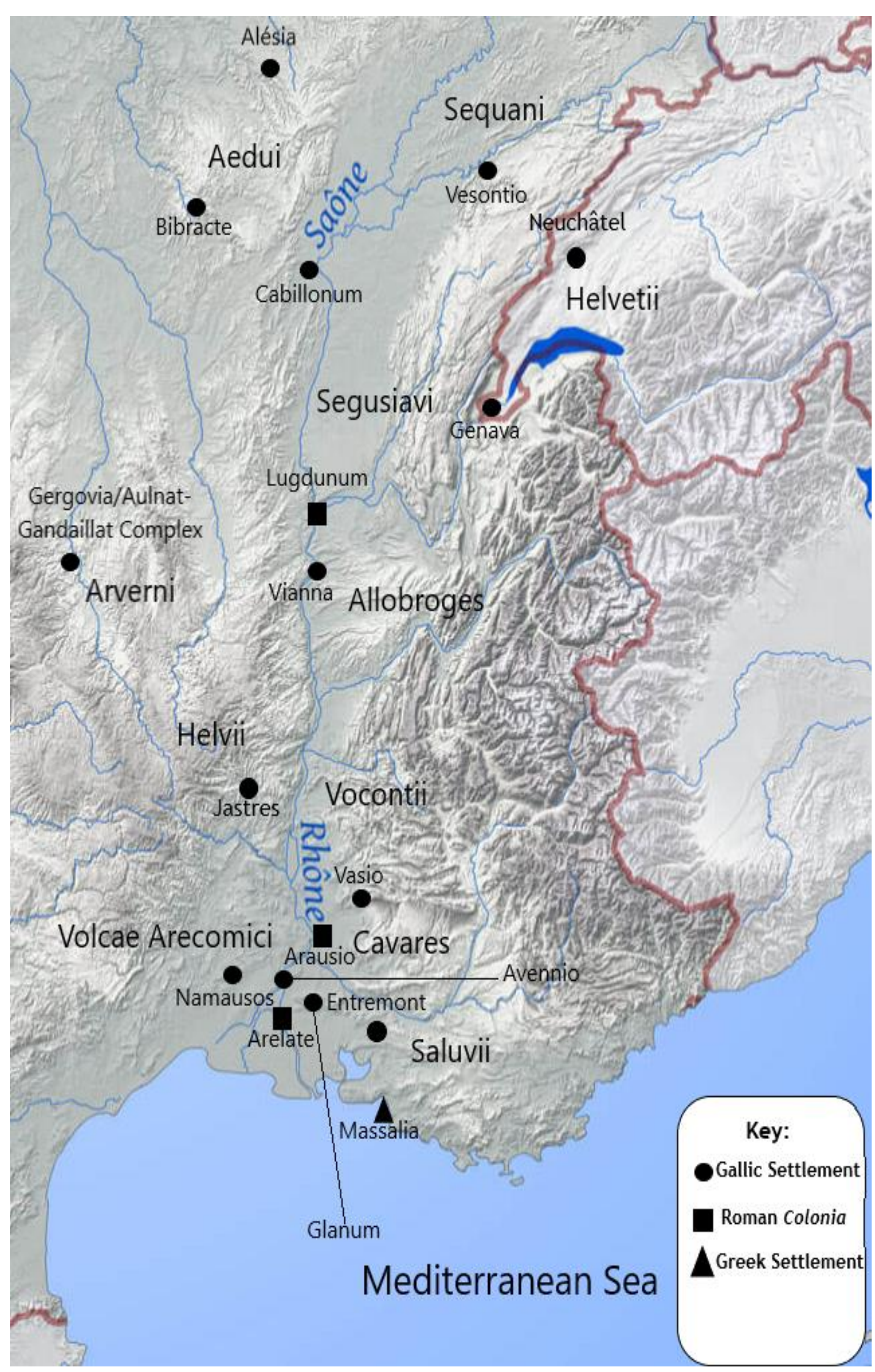
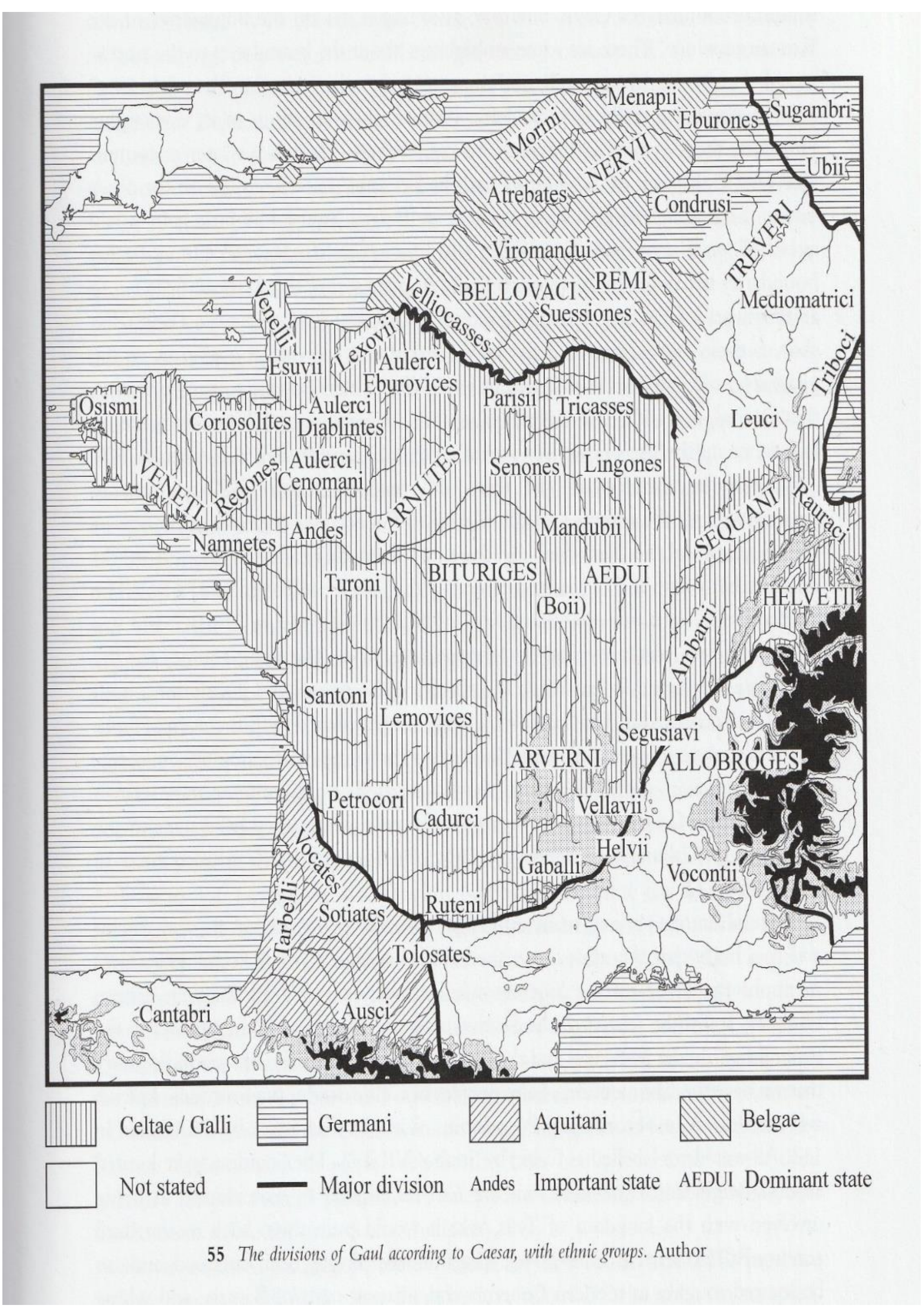


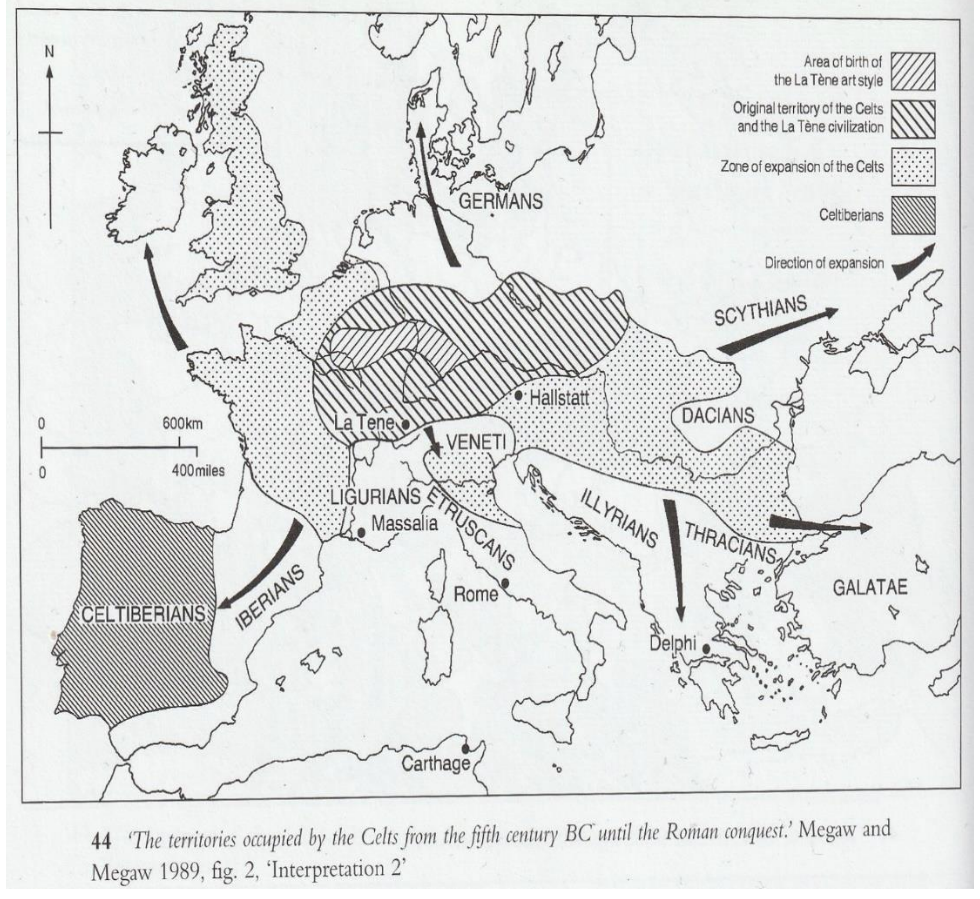

*Fig. 2: Map of the Greater Rhône Basin region in the first two centuries BCE (borders modern). Credit author.*

*Fig. 3: Divisions of 'Gaul' in Roman Late Republican/Caesarian conception (NB 'Narbonensis' more properly labelled 'Transalpina' in Pre-Augustan contexts). Credit Wikiwand.com.*




55 *The divisions of Gaul according to Caesar, with ethnic groups.* Author

*Fig. 4: Caesar's division of Gaul by ethnic grouping and area. Credit Collis, 2003 Fig. 55.*




**44** *'The territories occupied by the Celts from the fifth century BC until the Roman conquest.'* Megaw and Megaw 1989, fig. 2, 'Interpretation 2'

*Fig. 5: Theoretical spread of Celtic Languages and La Tène Material Culture in the Later First Millennium BCE, after Megaw and Megaw 1989: fig.2 'Interpretation 2'. Credit Collis, 2003: fig.44.*

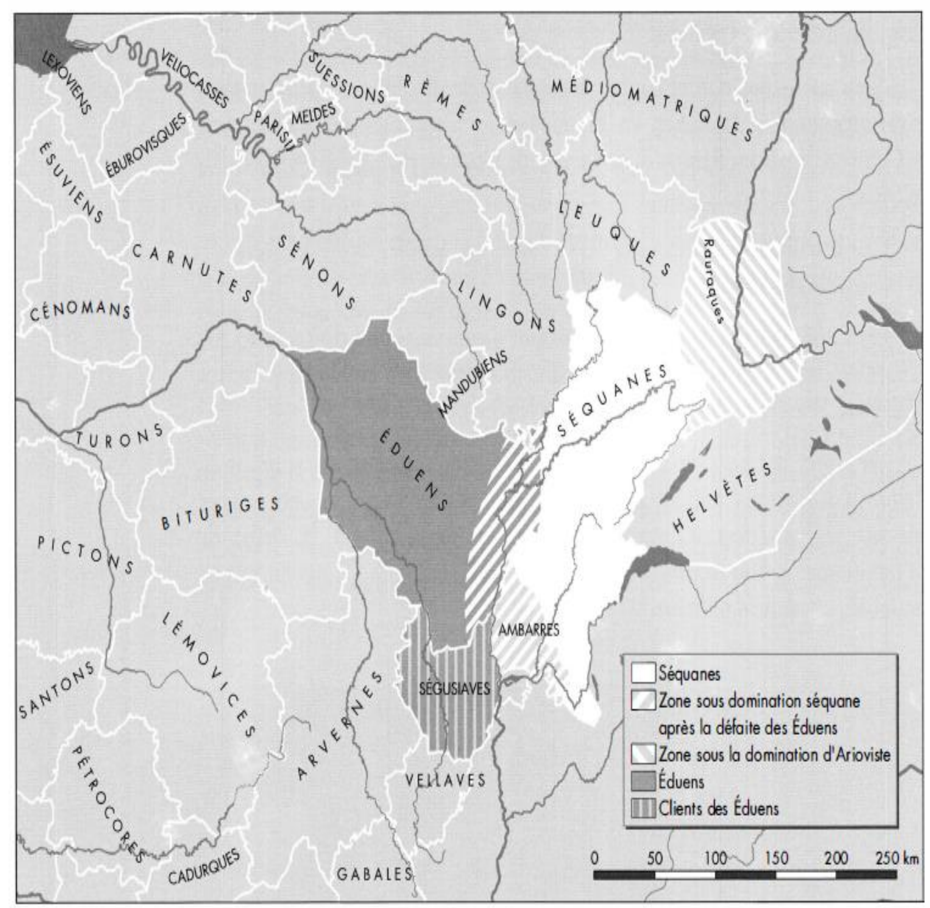
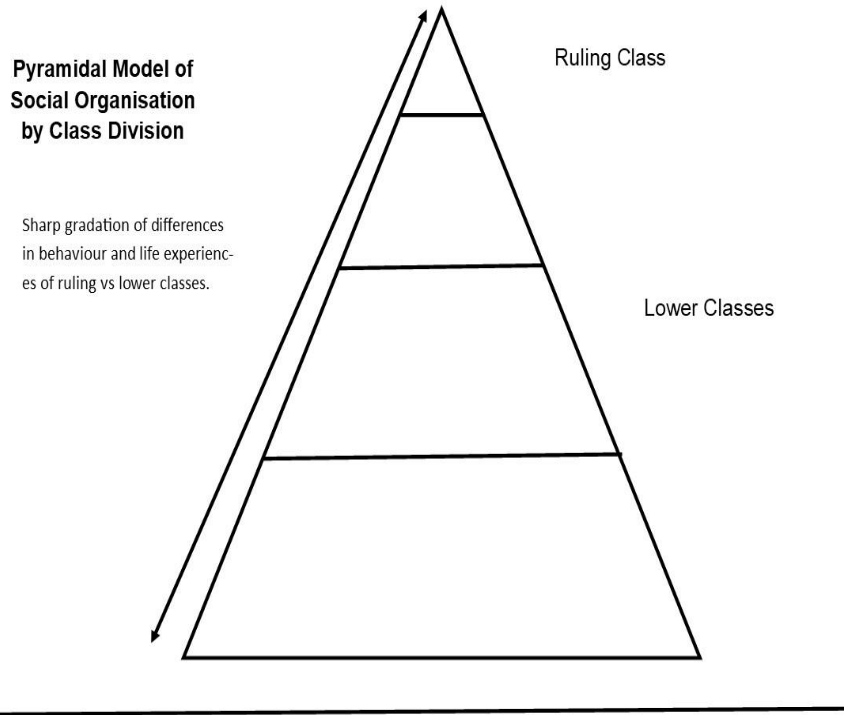



*Fig. 6: The Aedui, Sequani, and allied/client states of each in their early first century BCE conflict. Credit Fichtl, 2004: 132.*

*Fig. 7: Comatan Gallic and Belgic Communities of the Late Second/Early First Centuries. Credit Arbabe, 2017: Carte 4.*



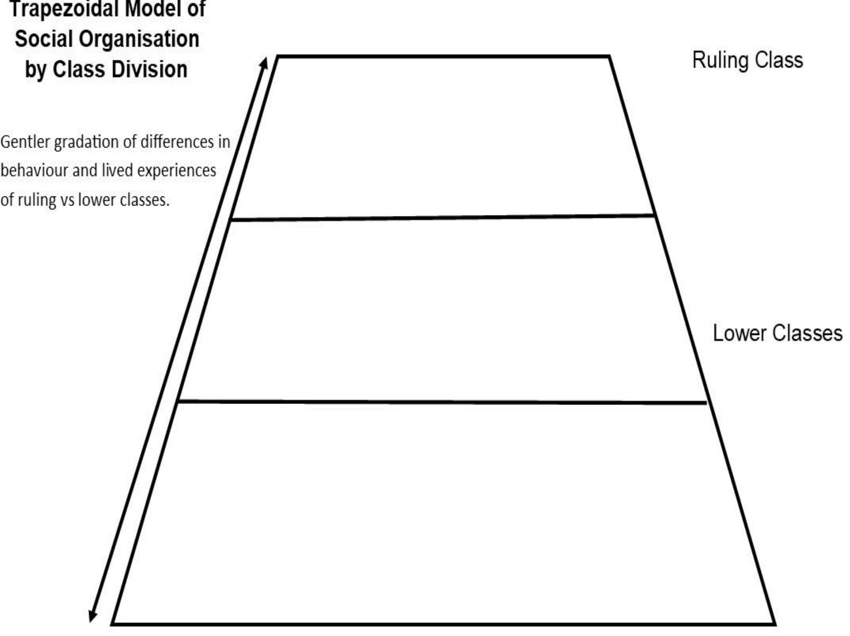




*Fig. 8: Diagrams of Pyramidal vs Trapezoidal models of social organisation by class division, after Fernández-Götz, 2014. Credit author.*

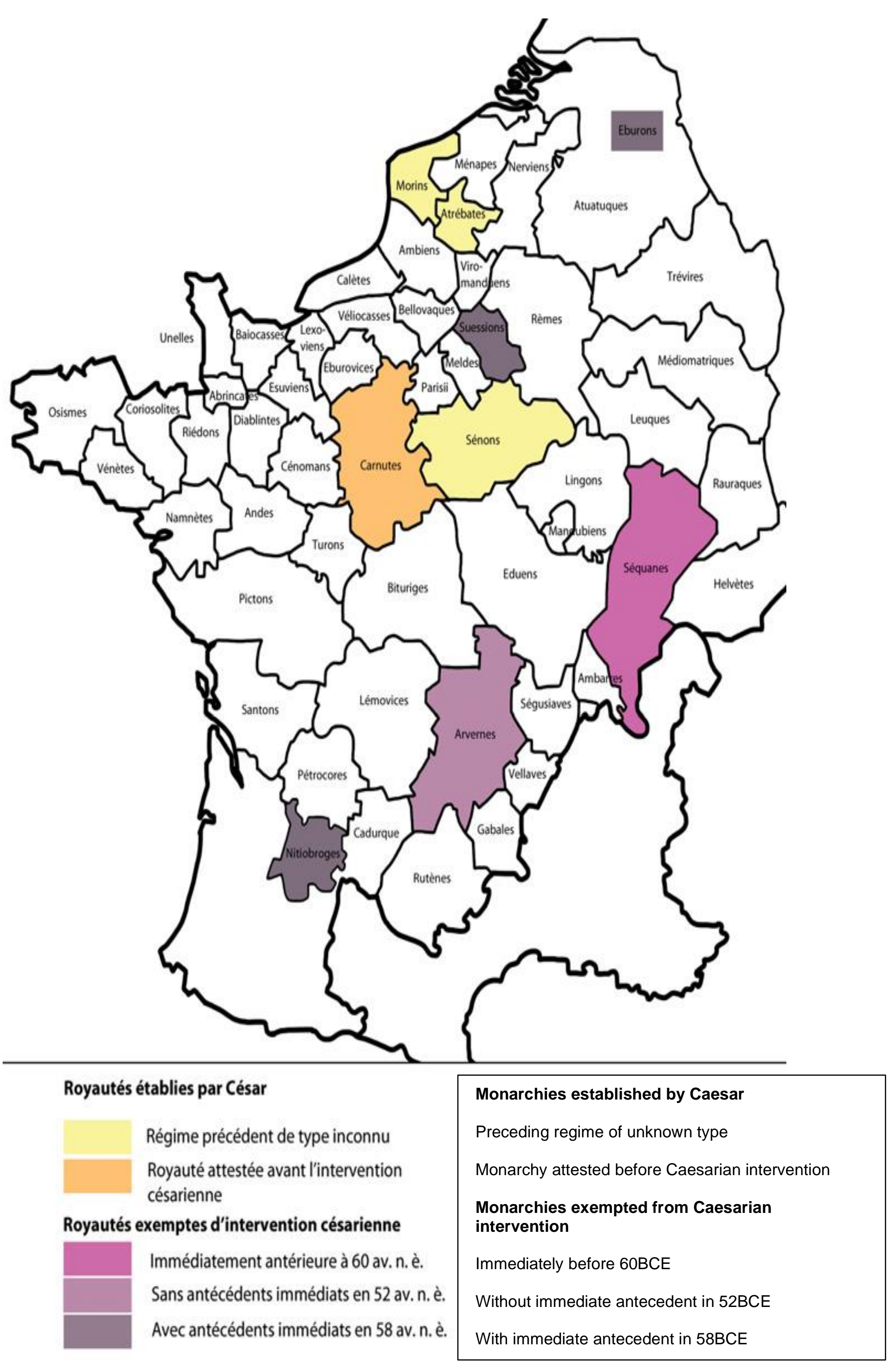



*Fig. 9: Attestations of Comatan Gallic monarchical regimes of the early to mid-first century BCE. Credit Arbabe, 2017: Carte 8.*

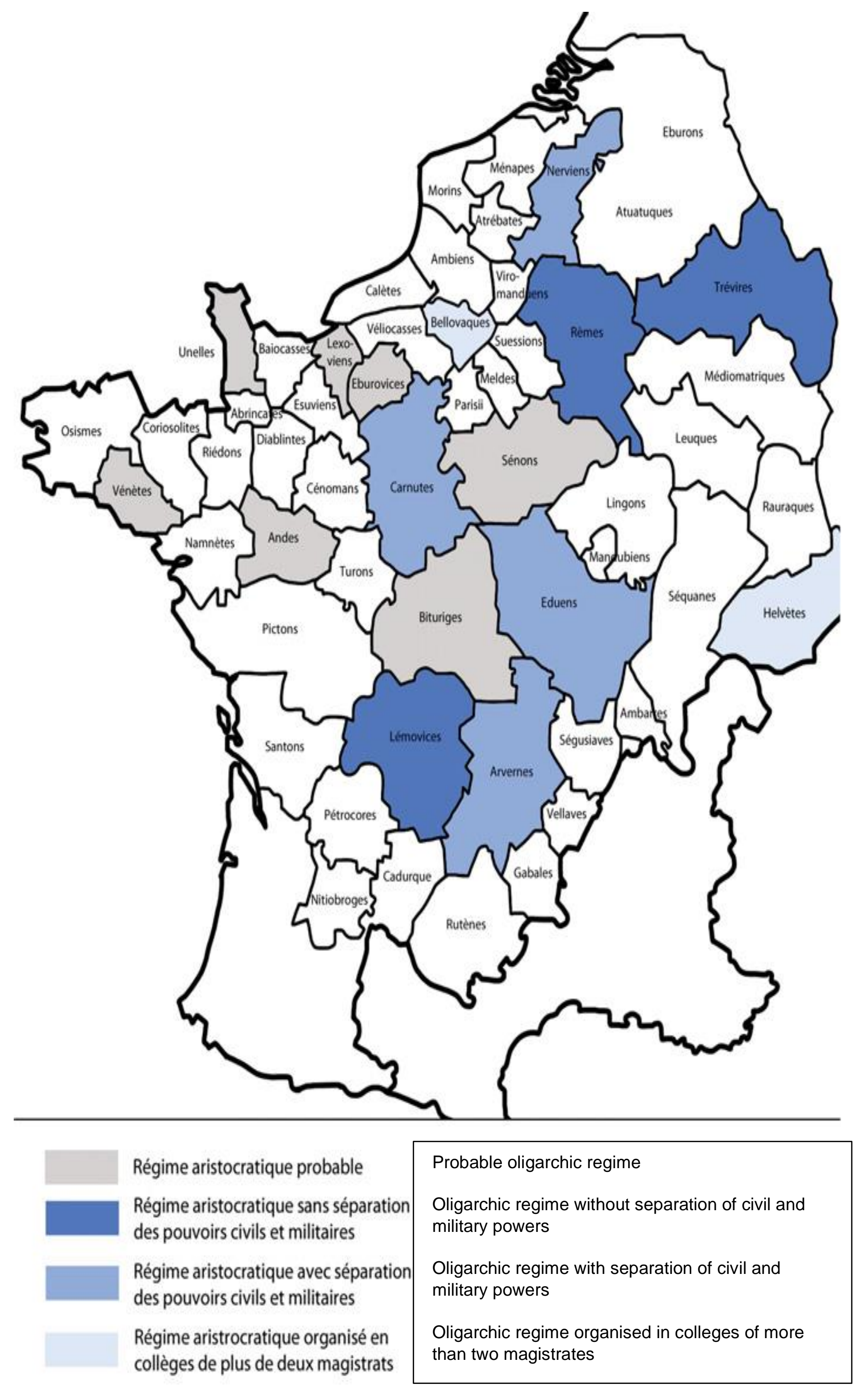



*Fig. 10: Attested/theorised Comatan Gallic oligarchic regimes of the late second/early first centuries BCE. Credit Arbabe, 2017: Carte 9.*

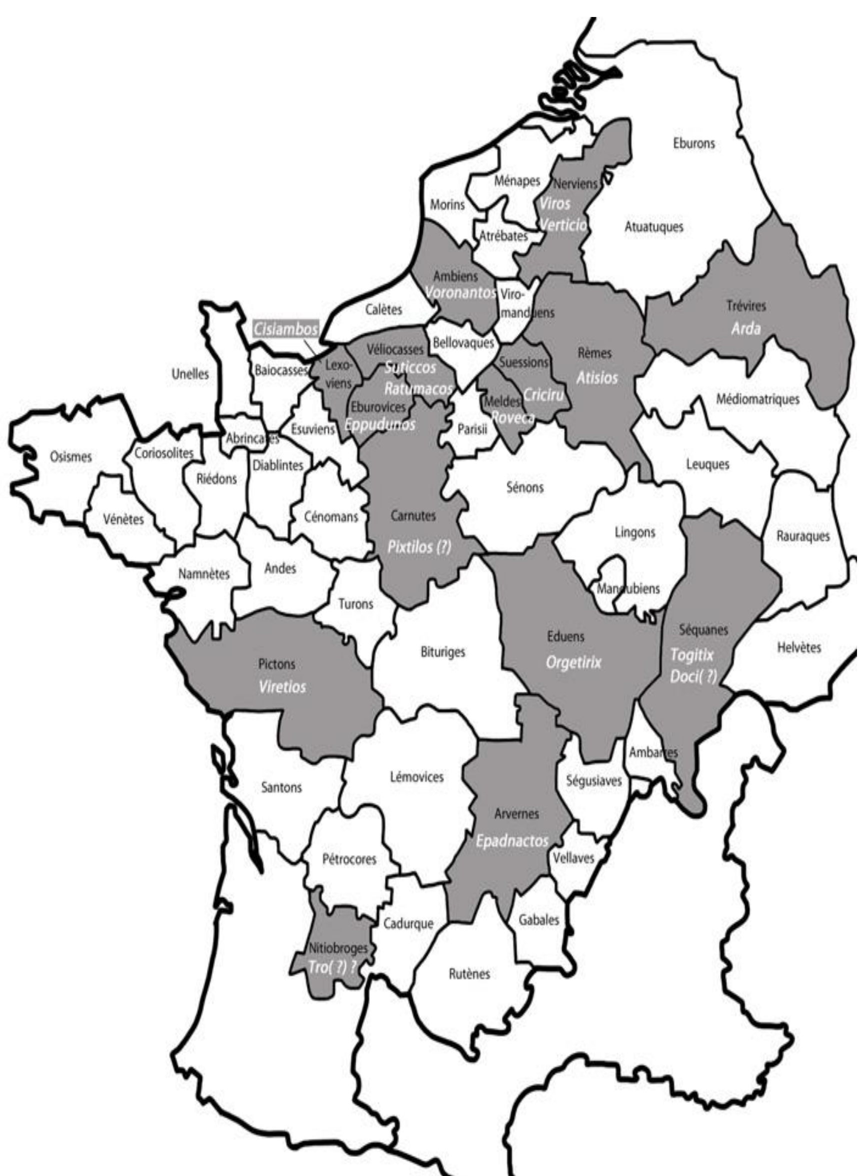



*Fig. 11: Attested Comatan Gallic rulers of the mid-to-late first century BCE. Credit Arbabe, 2017: Carte 11.*

*Fig. 12: Gallo-Roman Civitates of the Early to High Imperial Periods c.10BCE-250CE. Credit Provost, Carte Archéologique de Gaule 3.*

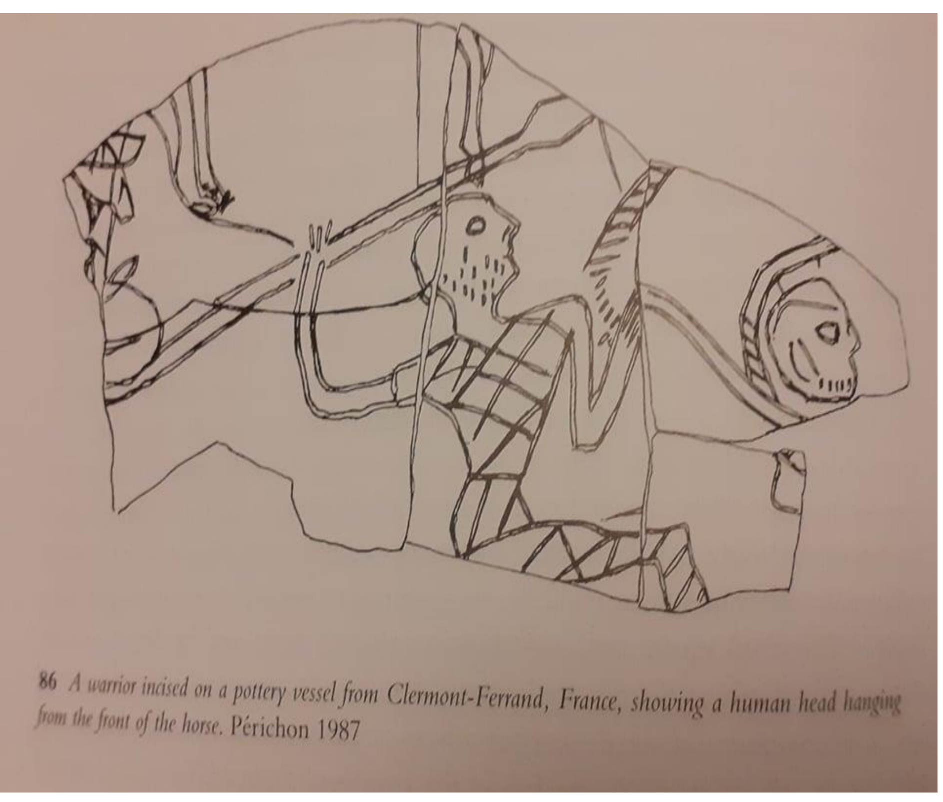



*Fig. 13: Pottery fragment recovered from Clermont-Ferrand (in the territory of the Arverni), appearing to show a warrior carrying a severed head on the reins of their horse. Credit Collis, 2003 Fig. 86.*

*Fig. 14: Coins of Dubnoreixs, Silver Quinarius Weight Standard, BN5027-8/DLT5026 (Top), BN5038-40 (Bottom). Credit WildWinds.com and CNG.com.*

*Fig. 15: Coins of Vercingetorixs, Gold Stater Weight Standard, BN774-5 (Top), DLT3778 (Bottom). Credit WildWinds.com*

*Fig. 16: Coins of Vercingetorixs. Top – Gold Sub-Stater Weight Standard (7.44g) DLT3777. Bottom – Bronze Unknown Denomination (7.46g) DLT3943/BN3936-47. Credit WildWinds.com.*

*Fig. 17: Coins of Epađnactos. Silver Quinarius Weight Standard. DLT3900 (Top) and BN3885 (Bottom). Credit WildWinds.com and CoinArchives.com.*

*Fig. 18: Coin of Epađnactos. Bronze Unknown Denomination, BN3895-7. Credit CBG Numismatics Paris.*

*Fig. 19: Coin of Litaviccos. Silver Quinarius Weight Standard. BN5076-9/DLT5072.*

*Fig. 20: ‘Accroupi’ Statue replica, Glanum. Site Archéologique Glanum (Centre des Monuments Nationaux). Credit author.*

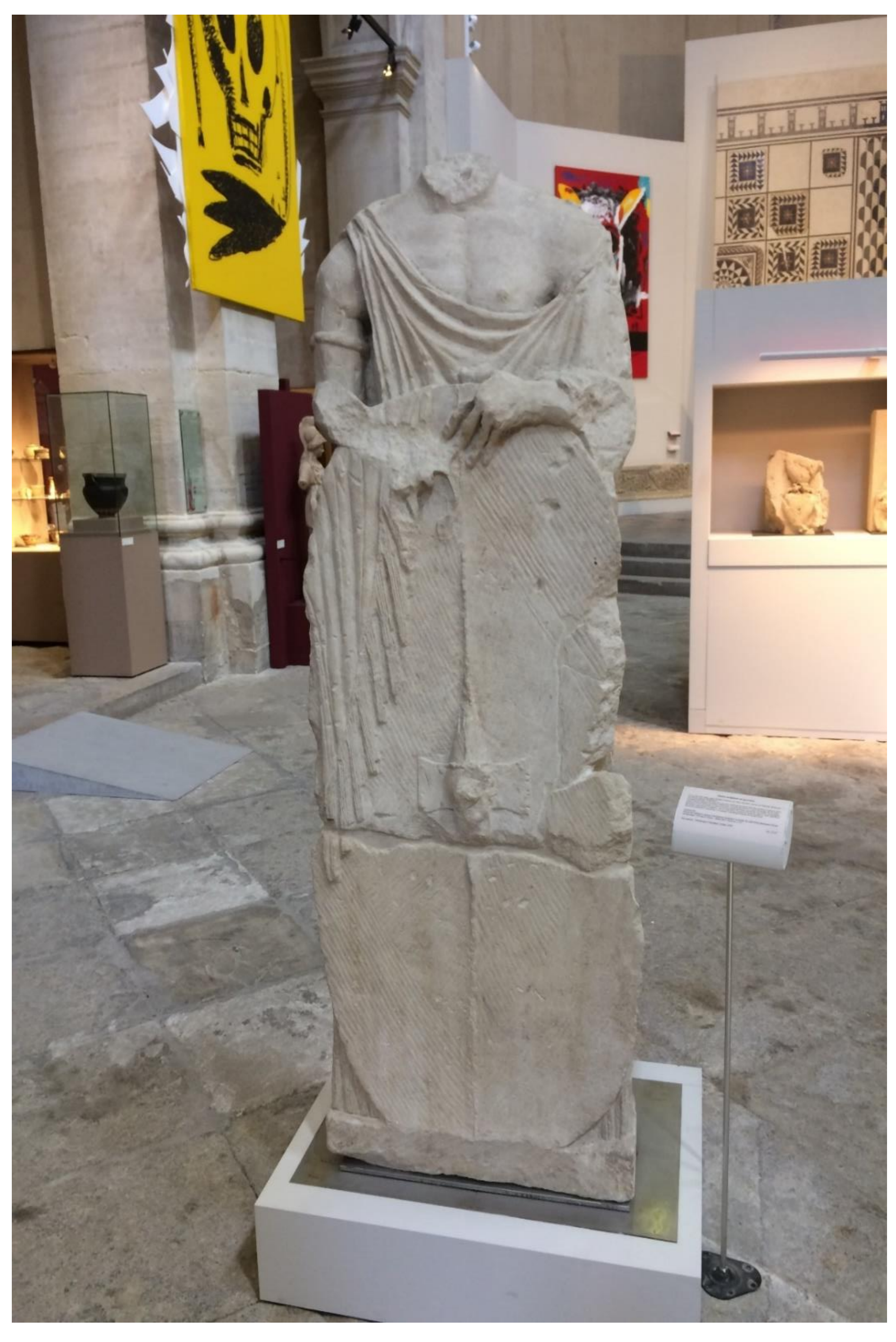


*Fig. 21: Guerrier de Mondragon Musée Lapidaire Calvet d’Avignon (Inv. G137). Credit author.*

*Fig. 22: Guerrier de Vachères, Musée Lapidaire Calvet d'Avignon (Inv. G136$^{C}$). Credit author.*

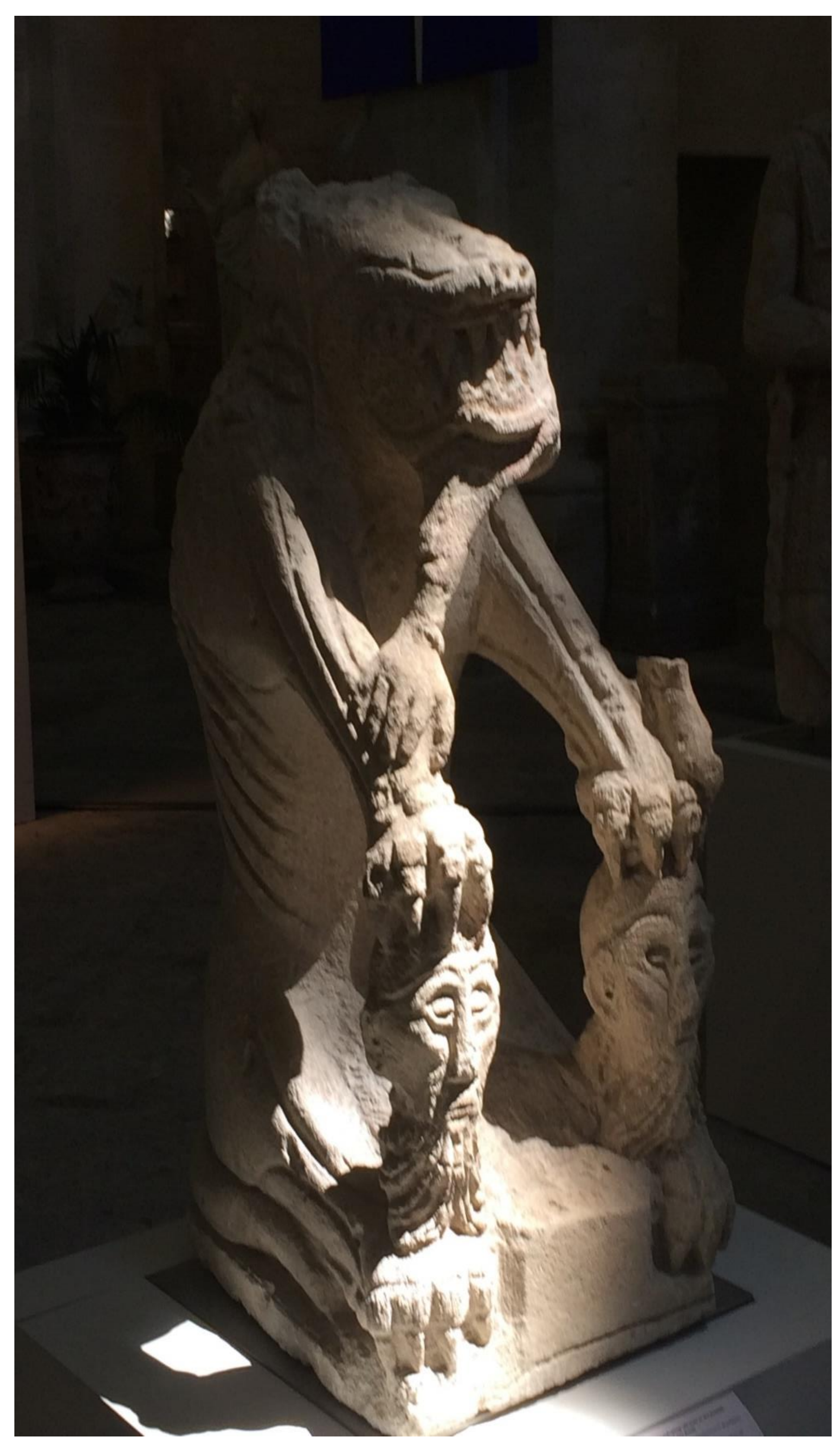


*Fig. 23: Tarrasque de Noves, Musée Lapidaire Calvet d’Avignon (Inv. N51). Credit author.*

*Fig. 24: Cenotaph of the Julii', Glanum. Credit author.*

*Fig. 25: Primary geographic range of finds of Gallo-Greek Inscriptions (late third to early first centuries BCE). Credit Mullen, 2013: Map 3, and Lejeune, 1994: Carte 2.*

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