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6 *Greeks, Etruscans, and thirsty barbarians: Early Iron Age interaction in the Rhône Basin of France*

MICHAEL DIETLER

Although an explicitly formulated, testable centre–periphery model has evident heuristic value in many contexts, the uncritical application of such concepts can actually hinder the recognition of important socio-economic processes in the archaeological record. Precisely because the model is useful in explaining the development of secondary 'centres' in peripheral areas, there is a risk that attention may be focused on apparent centres (and their immediate peripheries), and that areas which do not fit neatly into a presumed dendritic network of dependent relations may be ignored. Significant developments in areas which did not respond to external trade contacts by forming recognizable cores of political centralization (by no means a universal response to such contacts: Gray & Birmingham 1970) may thus be overlooked or misunderstood, even though they may form an important component of the larger system under consideration.

I would argue that an implicit, rather nebulous form of a centre–periphery concept has long dominated the perception of relations between the Mediterranean world and the 'barbarians' of western and central Europe in the Early Iron Age (Fig. 6.1). Such an orientation is obvious both in the enduring focus of research in southern France on the process of 'hellenization' and in the numerous studies of Mediterranean trade and the rise of the central Hallstatt chiefdom sites (*Fürstensitze*) of eastern France and south-west Germany. I would further argue that an excessive emphasis in much of this research on the direct influence of the 'primary centre' of the Mediterranean colonial civilizations upon secondary centres in the indigenous 'periphery', and a corresponding neglect of the structural relations linking the indigenous socio-economic systems, has hampered the conceptualization of the complexities of trade relations and associated socio-cultural processes in the area. Specifically, I believe that, in contrast to the common assumption of direct Mediterranean trade penetrating Hallstatt Europe,[1] there is a plausible case to be made for the potentially crucial rôle of the Early Iron Age inhabitants of the lower Rhône Basin in articulating and perhaps even initiating long-distance trade contacts.

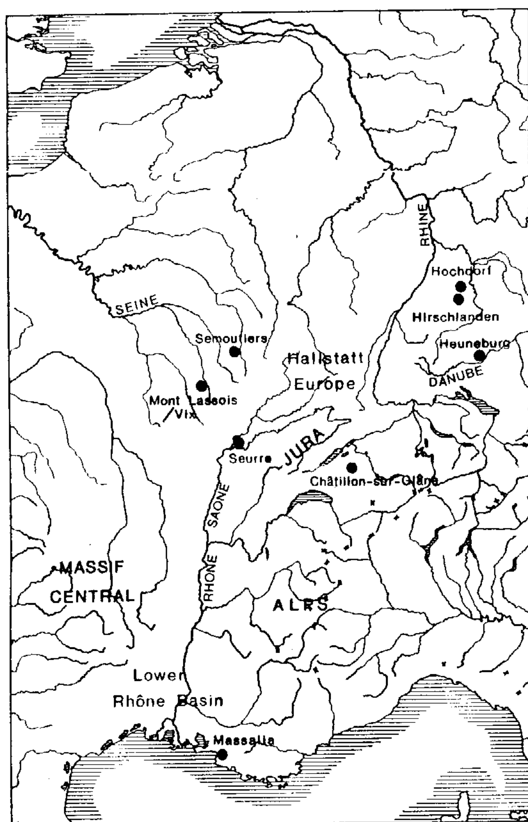

Figure 6.1 Sites and regions referred to in the text.

This chapter offers a caveat against overly rigid expectations of the socio-economic structures and processes subsumed under the centre–periphery dichotomy. As such, it does not attempt to formulate or analytically examine a precise model, but rather to address in a speculative way the question of the mechanism of long-distance trade in the Early Iron Age Rhône Basin.[2] The question is not a trivial one, because, as comparative analysis of African responses to early international trade suggests, the primary determinants of the various forms such responses may take are not the goods received from outside or even the structure of the external trading partner, but rather the internal articulation of the areas involved and the institutional and technological organization of the zones linking the indigenous sector to the external market (Austen 1978, p. 16).

A glance at the most recent of a voluminous literature on the subject (e.g. Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978, Wells 1980, 1984, Kimmig 1983, Spindler 1983, Brun 1987) would seem to indicate that there is little doubt about the existence of trade between the Mediterranean civilizations and Hallstatt Europe, or that such trade was of sufficient magnitude to foster dependent relations of a centre–periphery nature. Indeed, the situation has even been characterized as a 'trade explosion' (Collis 1984). However, it must be admitted that this interpretation rests more on the quality of the Mediterranean imports found in Hallstatt contexts than on their quantity. In comparison with the number of imported items found in the same region from a later, more securely recognizable trade network (Tchernia 1983, Fitzpatrick 1985), or even those found in southern France from the same Early Iron Age time period (Benoit 1965, Py 1971, Jully 1982), the quantity appears remarkably limited.

In addition to the Attic pottery and Massaliot amphorae found on a handful of Hallstatt settlements, however, a small number of extraordinary Greek and Etruscan bronze vessels (along with jewelry, carved ivory, silk cloth, and other items) have been recovered from a series of tumulus burials (the so called *Fürstengräber*) already richly elaborated with indigenous 'prestige' elements. It is largely the unusual character of objects such as the 1.64 m high bronze *krater* from the Vix tumulus in Burgundy (Joffroy 1954) or the 500-litre bronze cauldron with cast-bronze lions from a tumulus near Hochdorf in Baden-Württemberg (Biel 1982) – objects of a class which in the Greek world were largely confined to special rôles as religious dedications or political gifts – which has prompted the interpretation of their use as alliance-fostering offerings between Greeks and barbarians (Fischer 1973). The exotic luxury items in the tumuli are thus seen as the highly visible symbols of a trade which is archaeologically considerably less visible.

The route by which these items reached Hallstatt Europe from the Mediterranean is now subject to less disagreement than formerly (see Hatt 1958). Although the passage of some types of objects (especially small bronzes) over the Alpine passes is recognized (Pauli 1971, Boucher 1976), the major Mediterranean imports are generally thought to have arrived in Hallstatt contexts by passage up the Rhône valley from the Phocaean colony of Massalia (modern Marseilles) (e.g. Villard 1960, p. 132, Clavel-Lévêque 1977, p. 21, Wells 1980, Spindler 1983; still *contra*: Joffroy 1980). A few very recent discoveries in the middle Rhône area (e.g. at Lyon: Bellon *et al*. 1986), for long a problematic void in the distribution maps documenting this trade route, certainly enhance the plausibility of this hypothesis. However, the simple identification of the route by which these objects were transported is not sufficient to justify the assumption of a direct relationship between Massalia and Hallstatt Europe, as will be discussed later.

That this presumed trade had important social and economic consequences in Hallstatt Europe has for long been surmised, and has, in a sense, even served implicitly to verify the existence of the trade. The seductive implications of the presence of impressive Mediterranean imports in a

context which is widely regarded as one of dramatically increasing social stratification have been frequently discussed (e.g. Zürn 1970, Kimmig & Gersbach 1971, Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978, Wells 1980). The fact that most of the key settlements linked to the wealthy burials were newly founded at strategic positions along possible trade routes (Härke 1979, p. 136) is equally suggestive. However, the marked social differentiation suggested by the late Hallstatt burial data represents only an intensification of a process which began centuries earlier (Champion 1982). Furthermore, even the most rigorously formulated model yet proposed for the mechanism by which trade links with the Mediterranean stimulated political developments among Hallstatt 'chiefdoms' (Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978) ultimately lacks the evidence to verify the dependent quality of such ties. The model convincingly demonstrates how redistribution of prestige items may have been used by Hallstatt chiefs to consolidate and expand political power, but the burial data used to test the model seem to show that the principal objects used in this redistribution network were indigenously produced rather than imported from the Mediterranean. Objects of the latter type are, in fact, hardly redistributed at all, but are largely confined to, and concentrated in, a small number of graves representing the highest level of the proposed political structure (Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978, pp. 84, 100) (with the exception of coral, which is found mostly as inclusions in indigenous metalwork: Champion 1976). Moreover, many of these objects show evidence of curation before their eventual burial, which further argues against the idea of a healthy flow of such imports sustaining Hallstatt redistributive institutions (Bintliff 1981, p. 167). If the articulation of the regional political structure of southwestern Germany had become so dependent upon redistribution of Mediterranean prestige goods that a shift in the supply due to turmoil in the Mediterranean could provoke a political crisis (Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978, p. 108), then one might reasonably expect to see more evidence of their redistribution. Of course, imported items passed down to lower levels in the hierarchy may have been of a more perishable nature (such as cloth) or may have been consumed as part of the institutions of redistributive hospitality rather than buried (hence the wine amphorae and wine-service pottery found on settlements). If, on the other hand, the objects recovered are a representative sample of the Mediterranean goods actually imported, then these were most probably rare 'luxury goods' (in the sense of Appadurai 1986, p. 38) which would have been more important for their diacritical symbolic function in defining élite consumption than as tokens in networks of redistribution (Dietler 1988). In any case, it seems prudent for the moment to allow at least a little scepticism about the magnitude of Mediterranean influence in Hallstatt Europe.

The idea that Massaliot Greeks were responsible for initiating and conducting trade with Hallstatt chiefdoms enjoys wide acceptance in the archaeological literature (e.g. Villard 1960, Benoit 1965, Wells 1980, Spindler 1983) although the evidence for this assumption is less than clear. While Massalia's interest in exploiting the resources of southern France (Benoit 1965, pp. 191–213), and probably the Spanish metal trade (Benoit 1965, p. 31), seems credible and well attested, the suggestion that the colony was founded near the mouth of the Rhône river with the intention of exploiting this route to the interior of Gaul (Benoit 1958, p. 16, Boardman 1980, p. 162) is more problematic. The location may be fortuitous, as it was also the best natural harbour along the South French coast and the site was apparently not occupied by natives (Villard 1960, p. 76). Alternatively, it may simply have been access to the Rhône delta and the peoples surrounding it that made the location attractive. Significantly, although evidence is widespread for almost immediate contact with virtually the entire South French littoral zone (Benoit 1965, Py 1971), it was at least two generations after the founding of Massalia (in about 600 BC) before there was any major penetration of Mediterranean imports further north than the lower Rhône Basin. Also, the pattern of colonial stations founded later by Massalia (see Benoit 1965, pp. 99–134, Clavel-Lévêque 1977, pp. 79–84) appears to resemble much more closely a dendritic network geared towards the exploitation of an extended coastal hinterland, such as that established in 'medieval' East Africa (Austen 1978, p. 13), than one directed towards an inland trade route.

Although other interpretations are possible,[3] the pattern of Etruscan trade in southern France, which predates and overlaps with that of Massalia, seems to show an even greater lack of interest in penetrating the Rhône corridor (Py 1982, p. 108). Etruscan amphorae, *bucchero nero* pottery, and, to a lesser extent, boss-rimmed bronze bowls are widely represented along the South French littoral zone and in the lower Rhône Basin, but fail to penetrate much beyond this area (Lagrand 1979, Morel 1981, Bouloumié & Lagrand 1977). A vastly smaller number of Etruscan bronze vessels, mostly of post-6th century BC date, found in contexts ranging further north have a distinct distribution and are thought to be connected with a later, separate sphere of trade relations (Morel 1981, pp. 495–500).

The difficulties facing Mediterranean traders attempting to undertake direct trade with west-central Europe have been somewhat overlooked in the archaeological literature (e.g. Spindler 1983, pp. 316–21). Although products from this area could have been shipped down the Saône and Rhône rivers to Massalia without great difficulty, the journey northward would almost certainly have had to have been overland, and for distances well in excess of 500 km. The Rhône is a swift river plagued by the ferocious north wind, the Mistral. The formidable problems of up-river navigation were obvious to Greek and Roman authors who, until the 1st century BC, treated the Rhône more as a defensive barrier than a trade route (Saint-Denis 1981). As in Roman times, haulage would have been the only feasible means of up-river transport, and there is good reason to doubt that, given the originally swampy nature of the valley floor, the necessary riverside tracks would have been established in this early period (Piggott 1977, p. 144). Indeed, overland travellers would probably have been forced to avoid the valley itself in favour of the higher ground to the east (Chapotat 1981).

Greeks and Etruscans lacked the superiority in weaponry which enabled Arab traders to push caravan routes safely into the interior of Africa (Gray & Birmingham 1970, p. 13). Overland travel for them would have been possible only by making arrangements for safe passage, and probably for food supplies, with all the indigenous peoples through whose territory they passed. This would have been no simple feat, as there is little evidence to suggest the existence of any large-scale indigenous centralized political authority in southeastern France at this time which could have guaranteed safe passage over long distances, and the attacks on traders by Alpine natives and frequent hostility of Massalia's neighbours, which are a common theme in later classical references (e.g. Justin XLIII, 4–5, Avienus V, 701, see also Barruol 1975, pp. 102–5, Villard 1960, p. 33), are unlikely to have been uniquely a feature of later periods. Examples of similar situations in Africa demonstrate that such trade expeditions could be very costly, as a caravan might be forced to yield up to 20–25% of its goods in tribute in a few days' journey (Roberts 1970, p. 70, note 6).

The incentives for Mediterranean traders to be willing to face such costs and difficulties would have had to have been considerable, yet it is not entirely clear what these might have been. The most likely alternatives would be either some rare material unobtainable elsewhere because of a restricted natural distribution, or some goods which, although available elsewhere, were restricted by the limited distribution of societies with an adequate capacity for production, or accumulation, for export.

Of the first type, tin from Cornwall and Brittany is the most frequently suggested material (e.g. Villard 1960, pp. 142–61, Kimmig 1974). However, there are a number of reasons for thinking that it did not, in fact, provide an incentive for trade in the Early Iron Age. Firstly, the earliest and largest part of the Mediterranean imports in Hallstatt contexts appears to the east of the Rhône–Saône corridor, rather than towards the western tin sources. Furthermore, the evidence from England for the Late Hallstatt period suggests a minimal exploitation of Cornish metal ores, incompatible with a major export trade (Northover 1984, p. 131). There is little evidence to suggest much contact between Mont Lassois (the settlement most often linked to the supposed tin trade, see Joffroy 1960, pp. 144–6, Villard 1960, p. 141) and England or Brittany, and excavations at Mont Lassois have failed to produce any sign of tin ingots (Piggott 1977).

Moreover, it is difficult to imagine how the Greeks or Etruscans would have come to see the Rhône valley as a route to tin supplies in the first place. In Britain at least, alloying of copper with tin was carried out at or near primary production centres (Northover 1982, p. 50), and in north-west Europe as a whole the large-scale transport of tin in ingot form for the manufacture of bronze at sites removed from copper deposits does not appear to have occurred before Roman times[4] (Northover 1984, p. 132). There is certainly little reason to believe that ingot tin was ever imported into the Provençal hinterland of Massalia in the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age, as the area does not then appear even to have had an independent bronze industry, but to have relied primarily on the importation of finished bronze objects from a variety of sources (Lagrand 1976, p. 457, Arcelin 1976, p. 668).

Although gold (Joffroy 1954), iron (Pittioni 1966), and various animal, agricultural, and forest products (Wells 1980, pp. 67–70) have also been suggested, with the exception of tin there are few such materials which are not available in areas more readily accessible to Massalia than west-central Europe (see Ramin 1963, Benoit 1965, pp. 191–213). The much greater quantities of Mediterranean imports found in South French contexts, as well as the rapid development of specialist indigenous ceramic industries (Lagrand 1963, Arcelin-Pradelle 1984, Py 1971), would also seem to indicate that the indigenous societies of the area were organizationally competent to produce a variety of products for trade at an early date. Slaves, however, remain perhaps the best candidate for a possible item of export from west-central Europe (Finley 1959), as the type of centralized, ranked political structure posited as characteristic of Hallstatt chiefdoms (Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978) would have been particularly well adapted to the predatory exploitation of this type of trade. Unfortunately, archaeological evidence for slavery, insofar as this is possible, is not available until several centuries later (e.g. Daubigney & Guillaumet 1985), and the only textual evidence (e.g. Diodorus Siculus V, 26, 2–3, Strabo IV, 5, 2) also dates from this much later period when the significantly greater Roman demand for slaves must be taken into account.[5]

The objections raised against the likelihood of direct Mediterranean trade in west-central Europe do not, however, apply to the trade relations of the indigenous inhabitants of the lower Rhône basin. This area was always poor in metal resources and, as mentioned earlier, relied predominantly on the importation of finished bronze objects from a variety of other areas in both the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. A network of exchange links over long distances to secure metal goods was thus of long standing in the area, although it was probably on the periphery of the main currents of metal exchange which traversed western and central Europe.

With the beginnings of Etruscan trading interests in southern France in the 7th century BC, and especially after the founding of the Greek settlement of Massalia at the beginning of the 6th century BC, there must have occurred a stimulation of the indigenous economy which involved both the surplus production of a variety of products for trade (Benoit 1965 191–213, Py 1971, pp. 129–48) and the fairly rapid development of specialized ceramic industries using adopted Mediterranean techniques but serving indigenous demand (Arcelin-Pradelle 1984, Lagrand 1963, Py 1971). By the second quarter of the 6th century BC at the latest, wheel-made grey monochrome pottery (*céramique grise*, also known as *céramique phocéenne*) was being produced well in the interior of the lower Rhône Basin (Arcelin-Pradelle 1984), and this was soon complemented by indigenous production of a wheel-made ware with painted decoration (known as *pseudo-ionienne*: see Lagrand 1963), clearly indicating that the mechanisms were already in place

at an early date for the fairly large-scale production and distribution of specialist native products.

It is curious that only rarely has the idea of an important rôle for indigenous peoples in the diffusion of Greek products to the deep interior been taken seriously (Morel 1975, p. 880, 1983a, p. 567) because, as Massaliot trade expanded in the lower Rhône area, some of these peoples would have found themselves in an excellent position to exploit both old and new trading contacts. This could have been either by using established trade relationships to act as middlemen in pushing Greek trading interests (e.g. for slaves) further up the Rhône valley, or by simply using Mediterranean imports obtained in exchange for local products to improve their own position in the traditional exchange networks for metal (and perhaps other goods). In the latter case, one need not take any account of Mediterranean interests in explaining the distribution of Mediterranean imports in Hallstatt Europe. For example, while Pittioni's (1966) suggestion that the wealth of Mont Lassois may be related to the exploitation for trade of Lorraine iron ore is not very convincing if the ultimate destination is assumed to be Massalia, it is considerably more plausible if one accepts that the iron may have been sought by the inhabitants of the lower Rhône area, who lacked both metal resources and Massalia's access to sea-borne trade. In this case, as well, the apparent breakdown of the Rhône corridor trade to Hallstatt Europe in the early 5th century BC need not be related to disruptive movements in the latter area (Villard 1960, p. 139), nor to political conflict among the Mediterranean powers (Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978, p. 108). Rather, it may simply have been the result of the indigenous economy of southeastern France being drawn more completely towards Massalia for its exchange needs, and consequently abandoning some traditional northern channels (which is not to deny that this may have had serious consequences for Hallstatt Europe).

It is noteworthy that sherds of both *céramique grise* and *pseudo-ionienne* pottery have been found at several settlements north of the Rhône valley in association with Mediterranean imports, and that some of the fragments of the former found at Châtillon-sur-Glâne in Switzerland and at Bragny-sur-Saône in Burgundy have been identified as belonging to production groups originating in indigenous territory in the lower Rhône Basin (Schwab 1982, Feugère & Guillot 1986). The recurrent association of this pottery (which is most unlikely to have been transported north by Greek merchants) with Mediterranean imports in Hallstatt Europe, although suggestive, does not prove that the two arrived by the same means. Meagre as this evidence is, however, it is no weaker than the evidence often advanced to suggest a direct Mediterranean presence in the north (e.g. Wells 1977, p. 192). For example, Rolley (1982) has convincingly refuted the necessity to believe that the Vix *krater* was reassembled in Burgundy by Greek craftsmen.[6] Likewise, the curious spacing of the bastions of the unusual Greek-type mud-brick wall at the Heuneburg settlement in Baden-Württemberg (Kimmig 1968, pp. 51, 55–6) belies an understanding of their function by the builders and therefore argues against direct Greek involvement in the project. Finally, we know too little about native traditions of sculpture in wood or other perishable materials to assume that the stone statue from a tumulus near Hirschlanden in Baden-Württemberg must be modelled on the Greek *kouros* or other Mediterranean prototype.[7]

The Early Iron Age archaeological evidence in the lower Rhône Basin offers little indication of a tendency towards increasing political centralization or marked ranking of a type that might be interpreted as the development of 'secondary centres'. But this contrast with Hallstatt Europe should in no way inhibit the conceptualization of a significant degree of economic stimulation or a major rôle in regional trade. The African ethnohistorical literature offers many examples of peoples who developed dynamic trading complexes under the catalyst of external contact with little or no tendency towards increasing political centralization, of which the Kamba (Lamphear 1970, Cummings 1976) and Nyamwezi (Roberts 1970) are notable examples.

The differing nature and pattern of Mediterranean imports found in Hallstatt Europe and the lower Rhône area may, in this sense, be seen to reflect the different mechanisms articulating the regional economies of the two areas. The ostentatious concentration of spectacular luxury items in a few Hallstatt tombs clustered around settlements with presumed central economic and political functions corresponds well with the type of economy in which external trade is controlled and manipulated by a political élite (Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978). Trade with such societies might require the furnishing of both minor exotic items (useful as diacritical symbolic markers) destined to be internally redistributed, and the prestation of particularly impressive prestige items appropriate to the status of the chiefs sought as trading partners. In the lower Rhône area, the imports are at the same time less spectacular and vastly more numerous, and they are spread over a wider variety of settlements and a few relatively unostentatious tombs. This pattern would seem to correspond to a more generalized participation in trade and a political structure without restricted access to trade opportunities. Given an atmosphere of more egalitarian competition functioning in the absence of centralized political control of trade, the very ostentatious imports necessary to form trade linkages in the Hallstatt area would be unnecessary and inappropriate to the south.

In this context, the fact that the vast majority of Mediterranean imports (both Greek and Etruscan) in the lower Rhône Basin are wine amphorae (Etruscan and Massaliot) and wine-service ceramics (Etruscan *kantharoi*, Attic cups, Ionian cups, etc.) may have a significance quite different from the often discussed 'hellenization' of the population. Morel (1981, p. 484) has suggested, on the basis of comparison with contemporary imports at Carthage and Tharros, that, at least for the Etruscan trade, this pattern probably reflects consumer demand rather than what was offered by the supplier. I would further agree with Morel (1983b, pp. 131–3) that the reasons for this prodigious barbarian thirst lay not in passive emulation of

Greek customs, and suggest that it had rather to do with the function of these items in the local political economy. Given the fact that labour is rarely a marketable commodity in traditional societies (Bohannan & Dalton 1962), drinking ceremonies and feasts can be an important means of mobilizing labour in societies lacking coercive political authority (Dietler 1988). To cite but two examples from eastern Africa, the pre-colonial iron production supplying several thousand square kilometres of Luo and Samia territory (politically acephalous societies) functioned entirely on the basis of beer feasts used by wealthy men to generate ore-gathering projects (Dietler 1986), and the vast network of Kamba trade supplying the coastal trading ports of the Kenyan coast owed much of its development to the innovative use of the traditional *mwethya* institution (a work-party feast) to organize communal action for trade expeditions (Cummings 1976, pp. 92–3). It is possible that Mediterranean wine, as a prestigious augmentation to traditional feasting institutions, may have served a similar rôle in the development of the indigenous economy of the lower Rhône Basin (see Dietler 1988).

In conclusion, it will be apparent that the preceding discussion relies largely on suggestive arguments about the relative plausibility of alternative explanations rather than on a rigorous analysis of formal models. This is in keeping with the modest intentions of this chapter, which were not to suggest that the data currently available refute the hypothesis of direct Mediterranean trade in Hallstatt Europe, but merely to indicate, in the spirit of 'devil's advocate', that an equally plausible hypothesis can be advanced to accommodate these data which does not invoke Mediterranean interests or presence in west-central Europe. Doubtless, other reasonable hypotheses are possible as well. A detailed study of the archaeological data bearing on the structural relations of *all* the regional socio-economic systems in question and the mechanisms articulating them is the only viable means of sorting out the probable from the plausible among these hypotheses, and arriving at some understanding of the complex nature of the influence of Mediterranean civilizations in the area. The simple dichotomization of intricate patterns of interaction into relations of dominant 'centres' and dependent 'peripheries' will be of little heuristic value if it obscures other important socio-economic relations and processes. In this case, as in others, the usefulness and relevance of the centre–periphery concept will depend upon the subtlety of its application and, most critically, on the attention paid to the structural articulation of the 'peripheries'.

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Notes

1 For convenience, the term 'Hallstatt Europe' is used somewhat idiosyncratically here to designate an area of west-central Europe encompassing parts of eastern France, southern Germany, and Switzerland occupied during the Early Iron Age by societies sharing certain similarities in material culture which have led them to be traditionally lumped under the designation 'West Hallstatt Culture'. Despite internal differences, the material culture of these societies as a whole is distinctively different from those societies of the lower Rhône valley and the South French littoral in general.
2 The subject will be given more systematic treatment in the PhD thesis being prepared by the author for the University of California, Berkeley.
3 For example, Bouloumié (1981) hypothesizes that Etruscan wine may have been transported further north in perishable containers rather than in the ceramic amphorae found in southern France.
4 A small tin ingot has been recovered from a tumulus of Hallstatt C date at Semoutiers (Haute-Marne) in northeastern France (Bouillerot 1913, cited in Freidin 1982, p. 20). However, this remains a very rare find (see Colls *et al.* 1975, p. 83) and it is not clear that this was intended for use in bronze metallurgy; pottery was sometimes decorated with tin inlays, although this technique was not common in this area.
5 Moreover, according to Daubigney's (1983) interpretation of the texts, they actually argue against a significant development of external trade in slaves before late in the La Tène period.
6 The well-known engraved symbols on the *krater* were probably an assembly code linking the work of different sections of a workshop. The code is far too complex to be a viable key for reassembly by Greek merchants. Furthermore, the small cast-bronze figures, which are the main object of the code, are the least likely elements to be disassembled for transport (Rolley 1982).
7 In fact, the Heuneburg wall exemplifies a pattern noted by Morel (1983b, p. 127) for many fortifications on inland Italian sites. These are of general Greek appearance, but with mistakes or odd variations in their layout which demonstrate that they are of native rather than Greek construction.
8 Compare, for example, the very similar treatment rendered in the roughly contemporary fragment of a wooden statue recently found in the Saône river at Seurre (Bonnamour 1985, p. 28, Fig. 1). My thanks to Louis Bonnamour for showing me this object before it was published.

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