

Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean

The interactions of the Celtic-speaking communities of Southern Gaul with the Mediterranean world have intrigued commentators since antiquity. By combining sociolinguistics and archaeology, this book brings to life the multilingualism and multiple identities of the region from the foundation of the Greek colony of Massalia in 600 BC to the final phases of Roman Imperial power. It builds on the interest generated through the application of modern bilingualism theory to ancient evidence by modelling language contact and community dynamics and adopting an interdisciplinary approach. This produces insights into the entanglements and evolving configurations of a dynamic zone of cultural contact. The study exposes key foci of contact-induced change and new interpretations of cultural phenomena highlight complex origins and influences from the entire Mediterranean *koine*. Southern Gaul reveals itself to be fertile ground for considering the major themes of multilingualism, ethnolinguistic vitality, multiple identities, colonialism and Mediterraneanization.

ALEX MULLEN is a postdoctoral research fellow at All Souls College, Oxford, having previously been Lumley Research Fellow at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Affiliated Lecturer in the Faculty of Classics. Her main research interests lie in the application of contemporary bi- and multilingualism theory to the ancient world and the integration of linguistics and archaeology. She has co-edited (with Patrick James) *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 2012).

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Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean

Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in the Iron Age and Roman Periods

ALEX MULLEN



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Preface and acknowledgements

Multilingualism is all around us. It always has been and always will be. The application of the theory and findings of multilingualism studies to the ancient world and the integration of sociolinguistics with historical linguistics, archaeology and history mark a new approach to interrogating multiple identities and understanding cultural contacts. In my detailed methodological chapters (Part I) and extensive case study (Part II) I present the tools, demonstrate their utility and encourage future developments in this nascent field.

Recent publications have inspired this book: the ground-breaking studies of bilingualism and regional diversification by the master of Latin studies, Jim Adams, the rich *Corrupting sea* by Horden and Purcell and the interdisciplinary work of Wallace-Hadrill in *Rome's cultural revolution*. Another key publication, Dietler 2010, appeared after the text was essentially finished. This is an excellent guide to the relatively diffuse and complex scholarly output on Southern Gaul which has not been overly endowed with Anglophone literature. The early stages of this project would have been much smoother with this at hand. Whilst the chronological and geographical spread of Dietler's work overlaps to an extent with this one, the studies are highly complementary in that Dietler interrogates in particular the 'cross-cultural consumption of different forms of material culture, urban landscapes, economic practices, and forms of violence' (2010 9) which are not a primary focus here. I am grateful to Cambridge University Press and Denise Demetriou for allowing me to read the introduction and chapter 1 of her book on constructions of identities in the archaic and classical Mediterranean ahead of its publication. I was able to do little more than add a handful of references to this stimulating study in my footnotes. I was cheered by the similar directions of her arguments concerning the multicultural Mediterranean and her complementary discussion of *emporion*. There will never be an end to the reading, nor to the epigraphic and archaeological publications which are 'expected shortly', but at some point this manuscript had to be completed.

My greatest debt of gratitude is owed to James Clackson and Paul Russell who have been sources of inspiration and support for many years. I

also deeply appreciate the expert guidance which Jim Adams has provided. My dear friend and colleague, Patrick James, has given me tireless advice and encouragement. I am also pleased to thank the following who have supported my work in various ways: David Abulafia, Mary Beard, Margaret Dolman, Ralph Häussler, Geoff Horrocks, Pierre-Yves Lambert, Irad Malkin, Torsten Meissner, John Patterson, Oliver Simkin, Andrew Wilson, Greg Woolf.

A trip to Lyon in Easter 2007 was essential to the development of my work, thanks to the generosity and thoughtfulness of Professor Jean-Claude Decourt, who allowed me access to his unpublished database of Greek inscriptions from France, which formed the basis for *Appendix 2*. Trips to the Midi in autumn 2007 and Easter 2008 proved vital: long-studied inscriptions were a joy to behold, but discovering unpublished material was even more special. The exceptional kindness (especially at the Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, the Service régional d'archéologie, Aix-en-Provence (henceforth *SRA*), and the Musée archéologique de Nîmes) thoroughly outweighed the occasional difficulties I experienced in accessing material, and I thank Sandrine Agusta-Boularot, Sophie André, Pascal Arnaud, Maxence Bailly, Michel Bats, Viviane Billard, Bruno Bizot, Alain Caplanis, Dominique Darde, Eric Delaval, Xavier Delestre, Cyril Dumas, Claude Galdeano, Maude Grillet, Sabrina Lamotte-Deribes, Corine Landuré, David Lavergne, Véronique Legrand, Jacqueline Maurras, Rémo Mugnaioni, Virginie Olier, Bruno Portet, Marie-Lise Ribière, Elsa Sagetat, Franck Suméra, Françoise Trial, Stefan Tzortzis. I would like to express my gratitude to the following for allowing me to reproduce their photographs: Michel Bats, Jacqueline Maurras, Rémo Mugnaioni, Christine Mullen; and to the following for facilitating access to the inscriptions and for confirming that the images could be included in this book: Odile Cavalier, Dominique Darde, Véronique Legrand, Marie-Lise Ribière, Françoise Trial. I hope that those fortunate enough to work daily on the archaeology of Southern Gaul will regard with a certain degree of patience my efforts to interpret some of the fascinating material.

None of these trips, and others to present papers and attend conferences, would have been possible without generous grants from Jesus College and Magdalene College, Cambridge, the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge, and the Arts and Humanities Research Council. I am grateful to the latter for funding my M.Phil. and Ph.D. This book is an expanded and revised version of my doctoral thesis (2005–2008). I am indebted to Magdalene College, Cambridge, for appointing me to an invaluable research fellowship (2008–2011), which provided the perfect environment to further my research.

The final stages of publication were completed at All Souls College, Oxford, where I now hold a research fellowship. I am extremely grateful to the editors of Cambridge Classical Studies and to the wonderful team at Cambridge University Press, especially Michael Sharp, Elizabeth Hanlon, Jodie Hodgson and Anna Hodson.

Finally, I would like to thank family (including ‘ma famille en France’) and friends. Particular thanks should be extended to Mike Dolman, and Christine Mullen who with unwavering enthusiasm dragged me, from a young age, around every conceivable ‘vieille pierre’ of Provence. I dedicate this book to them and to my late grandfather.

Notes on the text

In this book, the transcriptions of Greek inscriptions will follow the practice of *IGF*: the letters will be lower-case and accented, with capital letters used when the meaning is unclear. I depart from *IGF* in that Gaulish names within Greek inscriptions will remain unaccented. Gaulish inscriptions will be transcribed in upper-case (as they appear in the inscriptions), unlike the practice of *RIG* which uses lower-case. When the linguistic affiliation of the inscriptions is unclear, upper-case will be used. The Leiden system is employed for the editorial *sigla* (see Dow 1969, McLean 2002 27–39, Woodhead 1981 6–11). I have not attempted to re-edit the inscriptions except in the case of the *dedebratoudekanten* dossier (§7.2) and where stated. Much of the bibliography cited in *IGF*, including Decourt’s personal notes on the early modern transcriptions, was accessed at Lyon, but, due to restrictions of space, references have only been made in the text to particularly salient information or bibliography not included in *IGF*. No up-to-date, published *corpus* of the inscriptions of Phokaia was available during research for this book, so I have made reference to the electronic *corpus* assembled for the *PHI* database (which I have labelled ‘*Phokaia*’; see the list of abbreviations for further details).

Dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations below occur in the text. Abbreviations of classical works follow *LSJ*. When references are made to *corpora* of texts, page numbers will be distinguished from the numbers of the texts by the insertion of ‘page(s)’. Where journals are abbreviated in the bibliography, the practice of *Année philologique* has been adopted.

<i>AE</i>	<i>Année épigraphique</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>CAG</i>	Provost, M. et al. 1988– <i>Carte archéologique de la Gaule</i> (Paris)
<i>CIG</i>	Boeckh, A. (ed.) 1828–77 <i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i> (Berlin)
<i>CIL</i>	Mommsen, T. (ed.) 1862– <i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> (Berlin)
<i>CPL</i>	Cavenaile, R. 1958 <i>Corpus papyrorum latinarum</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>CPNRB</i>	Mullen, A. and Russell, P. 2007– <i>Celtic personal names of Roman Britain</i> www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/personalnames/
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
<i>DAG</i>	Whatmough, J. 1970 [1949–51] <i>The dialects of ancient Gaul: prolegomena and records of the dialects</i> (Cambridge, MA) (new edition)
<i>DGE</i>	Gangutia, E. 1980 <i>Diccionario griego-español</i> (Madrid)
<i>EM</i>	Morel, J.-P. 1986– <i>Études massaliètes</i> (Aix-en-Provence)
<i>GL</i>	Keil, H. (ed.) 1855–80 <i>Grammatici latini</i> I–VII (Leipzig)
<i>GPN</i>	Evans, D. E. 1967 <i>Gaulish personal names: a study of some Continental Celtic formations</i> (Oxford)
Holder	Holder, A. 1896–1913 <i>Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz</i> (Leipzig)
<i>IAG</i>	Rolland, H. 1944 ‘Inscriptions antiques de Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence): révision et complément du <i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> ’ <i>Gallia</i> 2, 167–223

- IAN Germer-Durand, E., Germer-Durand, F. and Allmer, A. 1893 *Inscriptions antiques de Nîmes* (Toulouse)
- ICS Masson, O. 1961 *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques: recueil critique et commenté* (Paris)
- IEW Pokorny, J. 1959 *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern)
- IG 1873– *Inscriptiones graecae* (Berlin)
- IGF Decourt, J.-C. 2004 *Inscriptions grecques de la France* (Lyon)
- IGG *Inscriptions grecques de la Gaule* (paper database at Lyon)
- IGUR Moretti, L. (ed.) 1968–79 *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae* (Rome)
- ILGN Espérandieu, E. 1929 *Inscriptions latines de Gaule Narbonnaise* (Paris)
- ILN Gascoü, J. 1995 *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise: III Aix-en-Provence* (Paris)
- KGPN Schmidt, K. H. 1957 *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen* (Tübingen)
- LEIA Vendryes, J. 1959– *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Dublin)
- LGPN Fraser, P. M. *et al.* 1987– *A lexicon of Greek personal names* (Oxford)
- Lindos II Blinkenberg, C. 1941 *Lindos: fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914: II Inscriptions* (Copenhagen/Berlin)
- LIV Rix, H. (ed.) 2001 *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen* (Wiesbaden) (second edition)
- MDR [s.d.] *Catalogue du Musée des docks romains de Marseille* (Marseille)
- MG Giffault, M. 1983 *Un sanctuaire d'Aristée aux Iles d'Hyères (Var)* (unpublished PhD thesis (troisième cycle), University of Aix-en-Provence)
- MHM 1988 *Catalogue du Musée d'histoire de Marseille* (Marseille)
- MLH II Untermann, J. 1980 *Monumenta linguarum hispanicarum: II Die Inschriften in iberischer Schrift aus Südfrankreich* (Wiesbaden)
- MLH IV Untermann, J. 1997 *Monumenta linguarum hispanicarum: IV Die tartessischen, keltiberischen und lusitanischen Inschriften* (Wiesbaden)
- NPC Delamarre, X. 2007 *Noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique* (Paris)

OG	<i>Onomastica Glanlicorum</i> (Appendix 3)
PECS	Stillwell, R., MacDonald, W. L. and McAlister, M. H. 1976 <i>The Princeton encyclopaedia of classical sites</i> (Princeton, NJ)
PHI	The Packard Humanities Institute database, Cornell University, Ohio State University
Phokaia	McCabe, D. F. 1989 <i>Phokaia inscriptions: texts and list</i> . The Princeton project on the inscriptions of Anatolia, the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. Packard Humanities Institute CD #6, 1991
RAN	<i>Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise</i>
RDG	Jufer, N. and Luginbühl, T. 2001 <i>Répertoire des dieux gaulois</i> (Paris)
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RIB I	Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. 1965 <i>The Roman inscriptions of Britain: I Inscriptions on stone</i> (Oxford)
RIB II	Frere, S. S., Hassall, M. W. C., Roxan, M. and Tomlin, R. S. O. 1990–5 <i>The Roman inscriptions of Britain: II Instrumentum domesticum</i> , fascicules 1–8 (Gloucester)
RICG	Marrou, H. I. (ed.) 1975– <i>Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne</i> (Paris)
RIG	Colbert de Beaulieu, J.-B., Duval, P.-M., Fischer, B., Lejeune, M., Lambert, P.-Y. and Pinault, G. 1985– <i>Recueil des inscriptions gauloises</i> I, II.1, II.2, III (Paris)
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i>
SIG ³	1915–1924 <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> (Leipzig)
ST	Rix, H. 2002 <i>Sabellische Texte</i> (Heidelberg)
Tab. Sulis	Tomlin, R. S. O. 1988 ‘The curse tablets’ in B. Cunliffe (ed.) <i>The temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath: II The finds from the sacred spring</i> (Oxford) 59–269
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>