HOME OF THE LIVING, LAND OF THE DEAD:
DWELLING WITH THE BRONZE AND IRON AGE TOMBS OF
SOUTHERN BURGUNDY

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology.

Chapel Hill
2012

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ABSTRACT

WILLIAM J. MEYER, JR.: Home of the Living, Land of the Dead:
Dwelling with the Bronze and Iron Age Tombs of Southern Burgundy
(under the direction of Carole L. Crumley)

This dissertation explores "landscape syncretism": the socio-ecological process by which people make sense of landscapes inherited from past generations, building and re-building relationships among place-specific structures just as they do among the human residents of the landscape. Incorporating ideas from phenomenological archaeology, historical ecology, and social studies of science and technology, a "syncretic perspective" focuses upon the continual negotiation of dynamic socio-ecological relationships among a wide variety of actors, including (but not limited to) humans. This research examines such negotiations through a case study of Hallstatt tumuli (i.e., burial mounds), dating to the 11th through 5th centuries BCE (i.e., the late Bronze to early Iron Ages), in the Arroux and Somme river valleys of southern Burgundy (east-central France).

Classic archaeological data about the tumuli of the project area, though inconsistent, suggest that their Hallstatt builders forged specific relationships among these newly constructed burial mounds, other physical features (both "inherited" and new), and the humans with whom they shared the Arroux and Somme valleys. As a result, the Hallstatt landscape was both deeply relational — including relations between "found" and new elements, relations of provisioning, spatial relations, sensual relations, and conceptual / semiotic relationships — and heterogeneous.

Unlike standard archaeological treatments that might focus exclusively on this relational and heterogeneous Hallstatt landscape, the case study presented here examines a broader time scale: looking not only at the protohistoric past, but also at recent centuries. This broadened temporal perspective relies upon an expanded range of methods and data, including place-names and folklore from the early Modern period onward, the historiography of tumulus-related archaeology starting in the 19th century, and ethnography with members of living communities who interact with tumuli today. These additional sources demonstrate that the heterogeneity originally built into the Hallstatt landscape only multiplied as subsequent peoples came to inhabit the Arroux and Somme valleys, creating new relational systems or "collectives" of people, biota, and place-specific elements (i.e., landscapes) that co-existed — and continue to co-exist — in the same space. Archaeologists needs to recognize this co-existence and, working with the public, think about how to create productive moments of translation among these different landscapes.

To Mom and Dad with love …

In Memoriam
SUE YOUNG MEYER
(June 1955 – November 2002)

In Gratitude
"PAPA" BILL MEYER
(May 1956 –   )

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It goes without saying that every author accumulates many debts of gratitude as (s)he works to complete her/his scholarship. Given its specific rigors and the length of time it typically requires, I think that dissertation research in anthropology might result in a significantly higher "debt load" than in other disciplines. This having been said, I apologize in advance to anyone who helped me along the way but does not find her/his name mentioned here. Please know how deeply I have appreciated your contribution.

This work would not have been possible without the support of my many friends and colleagues in Burgundy, who have become too numerous to name here individually. I am especially indebted to my neighbors who live "in Dardon's shadow" — the good people of Uxeau, Issy-l'Évêque, Sainte-Radegonde, Grury, Vendenesse-sur-Arroux, and Toulon-sur Arroux — many of whom have provided intellectual support, answering my questions and posing a great number of their own. Others have fed me on several occasions, both in their own homes and from their overflowing gardens. All have provided strong friendships that I look forward to continuing for years to come.

A few people, in particular, should be mentioned with regard to the support that they have given to me during my time in France. The first of these is M. Vincent Guichard, Director of Bibracte, who was my formal host for the term of an Advanced Studentship from the Franco-American Fulbright Commission and of a Georges Lurcy Dissertation Research Fellowship (May 2009 – January 2011). While I tried to require very little of my hosts at Bibracte, both Vincent and his assistant, Mme. Joëlle Cunnac — for whom

the moniker "Wonder Woman" is entirely appropriate — made every effort to anticipate my needs and to make me feel at home during my stay. I also owe thanks to the staff of the *Service Régional de l'Archéologie* (SRA) of Dijon, especially to Mme. Geneviève Louismet who provided me with a great deal of detailed site information early in the course of my research.

Under the umbrella of debts owed in Europe, I would be remiss if I did not recognize the support and advice given to me by my colleagues at Lattes (UMR 5140). I have excavated and lived "*la vie commune*" with this diverse group of scholars since the summer of 2002. Along the way, I have learned new techniques, deepened my understanding of the French archaeological establishment, and forged some very strong friendships. I could not have completed this research without the help of my "Shadow Committee," who are among the parties responsible for my turn to folklore and historiography in this dissertation. Even now, from several thousand miles away, I benefit from bonds forged in the Lattois mud. "Vive le CLAP!"

Of course, I also owe several debts of gratitude at home. One of these is to the unsung hero of the UNC Department of Anthropology, Ms. Suphronia Cheek. Ms. Suphronia takes care of us all, graduate student and faculty member alike. She shepherds us through the various steps of the graduate process and helps us out when trouble inevitably arises. She selflessly provides for us without asking anything in return. She is among the most kind, caring, giving, and dignified individuals I have met in my life. We cannot thank her often enough for all that she does on our behalf.

Among these debts of gratitude, I should also thank my colleagues on the French Project. To participate in the French Project is, in itself, to join a community: in this case,

dissertation is a "lonely" process. While accurate, this observation fails to account for the sacrifices our loved ones have to make so that we might complete our scholarship. I recognize that it has not always been easy for my father to give up time with me, but he has graciously accepted this as a necessary sacrifice so that I might achieve my goals. I hope that I have made him proud.

Finally, since the fall of 2003, there is someone else whom I have asked to make a number of sacrifices. Corey A. Reid has been a devoted friend and partner, even when he has not entirely understood what I was up to. He has quietly accepted the time apart, the changes in mood, and the financial limitations engendered by my commitment to this dissertation. For all of this and more he has my love and gratitude. While I cannot promise that the road ahead will be any less winding, I will do my best to make it less rocky from now on.

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INTRODUCTION

BEGINNING AT THE BEGINNING

June, 2002. I had been in France for about a week when I made my first trip into the field. Carole (my advisor) and I piled into the small, green "*quat'-quat'*" (i.e., 4x4) of Lucien D., a local amateur archaeologist and longtime friend of the French Project. We visited a number of places (Figure 1.1). Among them was an isolated cottage used by Resistance fighters (*Maquisards*) during the Second World War. Lucien also showed us the building site of a 14th-century tower. Perched on the rim of a deep stream valley, this place was once part of an extensive defense network. On the slopes just below the site itself, Carole and I found ceramic fragments washing out of the surface near a springhead. She identified these as Bronze Age pottery; the first that I had ever handled.

Knowing that I was most interested in the Iron Age, Lucien focused much of my first day's tour on sites that he knew or suspected to date to that period. All of these sites were presented to me as burial mounds ("*des tumulus*" in French, "tumuli" in English). Outside a small village adjacent to our own, he showed us a long, oval-shaped hill. Some years earlier, another amateur excavator had dug into this mound. He descended 1.5 meters below the surface before Lucien stopped him and advised him to get permission to dig from the landowners. The man backfilled the hole and, so far as we know, never returned to the site. It seems likely that he was denied permission to dig further[1]. Lucien
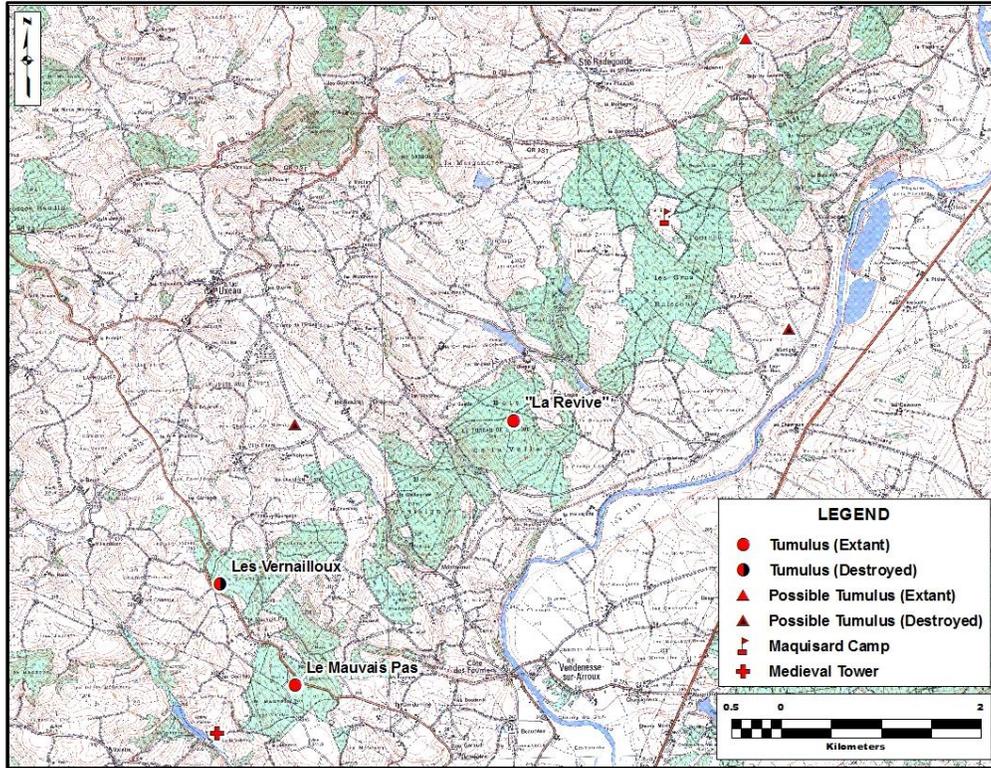
Figure 1.1. Section of French IGN 1:25,000-series topographic map zoomed to sites visited on first field trip, June 2002.

remembered that in the sondage, however, it was possible to see that the hill was constructed from a sand so fine and homogeneous that it appeared to have been screened. In the years since he first showed me this site, I have heard Lucien describe it variously as a burial mound, as a mining site, and as a number of other things, depending on the point that he is trying to make and the audience to whom he is speaking.

Also on the itinerary were the sites of two former mounds. Neither had been studied before their destruction, not by amateur archaeologists and certainly not by professionals. In the first case, Lucien showed us a field where he remembered the presence of a long, wide mound in previous years. He expressed anger at the farmer who had bulldozed the area in advance of plowing. Later in the day, we heard a similar story; this time, when we

Figure 1.2. Extant tumulus at *Le Mauvais Pas*, Vendenesse-sur-Arroux (Saône-et-Loire), view from the west.

stopped to talk with a farmer who was feeding his cattle beside the road. The man told us about having used a backhoe to remove a low mound that was in the adjacent field. (As this mound was in a pasture, it was never very clear why he decided to remove it.) Asked what he found underneath, he explained that at the heart of the mound were several large boulders. He assured us that he did not find any artifacts inside.

We visited three more sites on that first day, each of which hosted (or had until recently) at least one burial mound. At *Les Vernailloux*, we stomped through the underbrush in a relatively young forest looking for the backfilled remains of an early Iron Age tomb. This mound had been dug in the late 1970s by a pair of well-known local archaeologists — one an amateur and the other a university-trained avocational archaeologist. The two published their results in the journal of a local learned society

Figure 1.3. Tumulus of *La Revive*, Uxeau (Saône-et-Loire), view from the northeast.

(Jacquet and Maerten 1984). On that afternoon, we could not find the remains of the

tumulus and had to give up the search. Sadly, we now know that the site had been

destroyed in the process of planting the forest that now covers it.

Just up the road, at *Le Mauvais Pas*, Lucien led us through a forest to a low, circular

mound (Figure 1.2). To his knowledge, this mound had never been excavated. He showed

us another possible tumulus nearby, though in such poor condition that it was hard to tell

if it had been a burial mound at all. In the years since, I have found at least one more

tumulus on this site, eroded or cut down to a short, circular table, easily overlooked on

the forest floor and virtually impossible to record save with the most precise survey

equipment.

Figure 1.4. Aborted robber trench, tumulus of *La Revive*, Uxeau (Saône-et-Loire), view from the north.

By far the most breathtaking "discovery" of that first field trip was on the *Tureau de l'Abime* (the "Mound of the Abyss"): the so-called "tumulus of *La Revive*." Leaving the main roads, Lucien steered the *quat'-quat'* onto a forested track that passed an abandoned farm house. This was his homestead, where he had lived — with the members of his extended family — as a boy. He navigated the muddy road until he abruptly turned right and cut the engine. We got out of the truck and followed the path ahead on foot. To my

Figure 1.5. Deep central trench begun in the 19th century, tumulus of *La Revive,* Uxeau (Saône-et-Loire), view from the north (summit of mound).

left, I saw a mound peeking out between the trees (Figure 1.3). As I got closer, I realized

that this was a mound with stories to tell. Two large, white stones marked the end of a

shallow trench cut into the mound's northern face; apparently, these boulders had

blocked the passage of would-be excavators (Figure 1.4). Climbing to the summit of the

mound, my heart sank. Foiled at the edge of the mound, someone had opened its top,

cutting a deep pit to its very bottom and scooping out its core like a melon (Figures 1.5

and 1.6). Lucien and Carole explained to me that, according to local legend, this pit was

begun in the 19th century by excavators who did not have a chance to backfill, their work

having been interrupted by the arrival of *La Revive*, a mythical "fire serpent" popular in

local legend. Like the hole down which Alice followed the White Rabbit, this breach

provided the gateway through which I entered a complex world populated not only by

Figure 1.6. Western wall of deep central trench, tumulus of *La Revive*, Uxeau (Saône-et-Loire), view from the east (interior of trench).

people, plants, animals, and inanimate things, but also by a host of fantastical creatures and Otherworldly beings.

INTRODUCTION:
LANDSCAPE STORIES AND SYNCRETISM

I begin this text with an account of my first field visit because the sites I encountered that day have structured much of my work on the Burgundian landscape over the past nine years. During this time, I have had many more encounters with the burial mounds of southern Burgundy (Figure 1.7) and a much deeper engagement with the tumulus of *La Revive*, itself. I came to realize quite early that many of these mounds are the subjects of stories told by the human residents of this landscape. At the same time, however, it seems that the mounds may have stories of their own to tell. I present many of these stories, which come in a wide variety of forms, throughout this text.

The stories that I have coaxed out of the mounds have a bit to say about life in the distant past. Just as often, however, they shed light on the ways in which people have interacted with these features in the recent centuries and how they continue to interact with them today. While these mounds may have been built in the past, they — like the broader landscapes of which they are a part — have been reinterpreted and reused by subsequent populations up to the present day. The archaeologist who seeks to understand the processes that have whittled the landscapes of the past down to what they are today might be interested in such reinterpretations and reuse of the landscape and the sites contained therein.

I contend, however, that the real value of following such changes is that they can provide a sense of how humans have continuously dwelled within this landscape; of how different people have inhabited the same region over time. Much of the earth's surface has been occupied for millennia — indeed, for *several* millennia in most places. Southern Burgundy is no different, and with each new migration into this region and each new
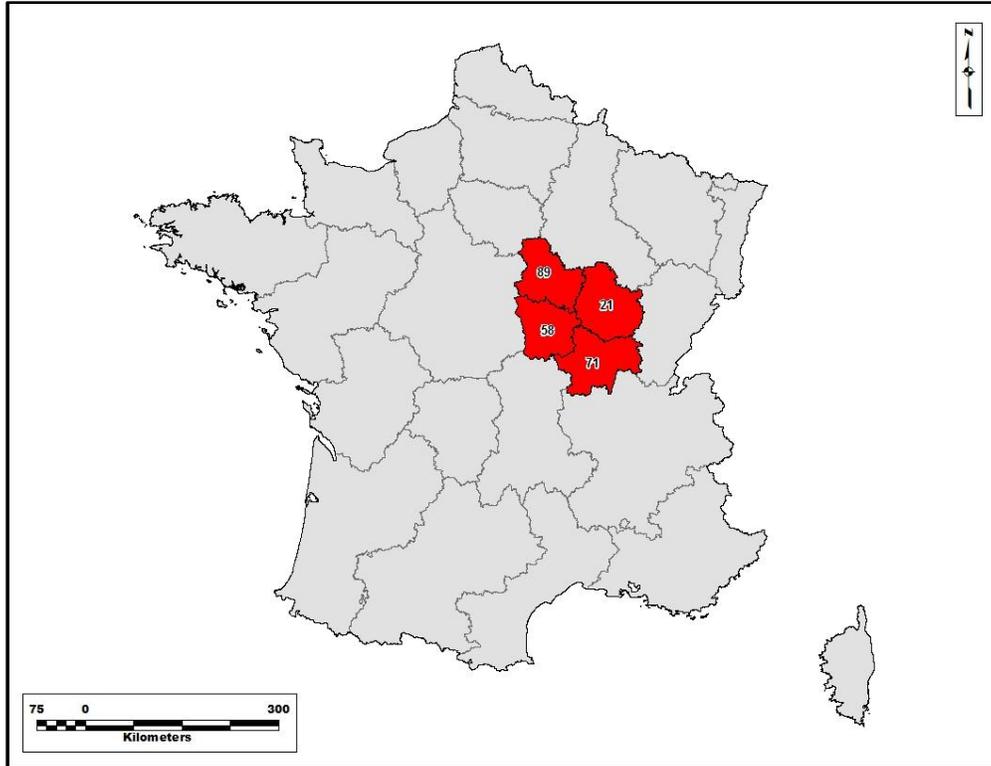
Figure 1.7. Map of the regions of France with Burgundy in red. The départements of modern Burgundy are the Côte-d'Or (21), the Nièvre (58), Saône-et-Loire (71), and the Yonne (89). "Southern Burgundy" generally refers to the Nièvre and Saône-et-Loire.

generation, people have shaped and reshaped the landscape to meet their needs and desires. But they have not done so by entirely razing the installations of previous occupations; nor have they completely removed their own tombs, monuments, houses, hedges, roads, and ditches (to name only a few landscape modifications) before passing into oblivion. Rather, "… features of the landscape [have] remain[ed] available for inspection long after the movement that gave rise to them … ceased" (Ingold 2000:198). At the same time, newly built features have accumulated on the landscape, as well as in the minds of its residents (Holtorf and Williams 2006). Thinking in these terms, it becomes difficult to ignore "the powerful fact that life must be lived amidst that which was made before" (Meinig 1979:44)[2].

Fundamental to living "amidst that which was made before" is a social and ecological phenomenon that I refer to as "landscape syncretism" (Meyer 2006): the process by which people make sense of the landscapes that they inherit from previous generations, building and re-building relationships among anthropogenic and "natural" elements just as they do among the various human residents of the landscape. I intend this dissertation as an exploration of landscape syncretism as it has operated in the landscapes of two river drainages in southern Burgundy: the Arroux and Somme valleys. Perhaps appropriate given the sites I visited on my first day in the field, I approach the study of landscape syncretism through the Bronze and Iron Age tumuli contained in these valleys, using these features as gateways by which to consider developments in the broader landscape.

Methods and Materials

While I am an archaeologist by training, over the course of several field seasons — including a 19-month intensive stay from May 2009 until January 2011 — I came to realize that the task of tracing the relationships built and rebuilt into the landscapes of the Arroux and Somme valleys was work better suited at times to an historian, at others to an ethnohistorian, at others to an ecologist, and at still others to an ethnographer. Through this work, I expanded my archaeological "toolkit" to include methods typically employed by the practitioners of these other disciplines. Indeed, I now firmly believe that any archaeologist or historical ecologist eager to study the cultural and ecological changes undergone by the landscape(s) of a given region over long spans of time will need to equip herself in a similar manner[3].

To be sure, this project involved a good deal of conventional archaeological work. I have spent a lot of time in Burgundy walking through forests and fields, hoping to find the remains of some as-yet unrecognized site. At the same time, I have also conducted a number of field visits trying to relocate burial mounds that were recorded decades ago in the regional site files (see Chapter 4) and are often little more than low hills — virtually unrecognizable — today. I have benefited significantly, therefore, from the knowledge that can only be gained with "a good pair of boots" (see Johnson 2007).

A good deal of the time required to complete this project was, however, also spent out of the field and away from the materials traditionally relied upon by the archaeologist. Much of this time was devoted to work more typical of historians and ethnohistorians, conducted in libraries and archives. In these places, I combed through fairy tales, folk myth, newspapers, diaries, reports, and letters to find suggestions of past encounters with tumuli. Much of the folklore of this part of France has already been published and so was available in local bookstores and libraries. Early excavation reports and analyses of folklore were similarly available, contained in the journals of local learned societies housed in central libraries and — in a few cases — posted as online resources. Rather less accessible than these printed materials, I also reviewed handwritten fieldnotes and reports of excavations (often conducted by amateur archaeologists) that now exist only as grey literature in the offices of the *Service Régional de l'Archéologie* (the "Regional Archaeological Service" or SRA), in Dijon, or are scattered throughout the archives, research centers, and private collections of the region.

In addition to this textual work, I undertook a great deal of ethnography in completion of this project. Both archaeologists and non-archaeologists seemed

uncomfortable with the semi-structured interview format that I had originally intended

for this work. Professional archaeologists seemed to view the interview as a moment for

remedial teaching, drawing me away from the subjects I was trying to probe and onto

firmer, more classically archaeological ground. For amateur archaeologists, this format

was a bit too formal and may have caused some concern about my relationship to the

professional and legal structures that protect archaeological resources. Landowners may

also have distrusted my relationship to the professional establishment; beyond that, with

the exception of widely known mounds like the tumulus *La Revive*, many people did not

understand what landscape features I was talking about (a situation I discuss further in

Chapters 7 and 8). Further, the more I learned, the more my questions changed.

Given all of these challenges, I selected material from only about five or six formal

interviews to include in this dissertation. I collected much more ethnographic material

through simple, everyday conversations over lunches and dinners, in festival kitchens, in

cafés, in cars, and/or in the ceramic studio where I work during my stays in France. In

other words, the majority of the ethnographic material presented here was gathered from

the informal and highly informative interactions that emerge during the course of simply

living and working in a community, doing "participant-observation."

As a final note on method, I should say that this research developed as it did

precisely because I was trained as an archaeologist and I continued to *practice*

archaeology during the entire course of my fieldwork. Each time I learned about a new

site, phenomenon, or perspective — whether I read about it or heard about it in a

conversation with a neighbor — I was compelled to go out into the landscape to see it for

myself. I often returned from the field with new questions, which I could then put to my

sources (whether historical or living). Thus, the "methodological promiscuity" with which I approached this project did not really carry me very far afield of traditional archaeology. Rather, it both broadened and deepened what I could say about reuses of the landscape, past and present.

Structure of the Dissertation

I intend this dissertation, which deals with both social and ecological phenomena in the landscape, to be accessible to a mixed audience including not only archaeologists, but also socio-cultural anthropologists and cultural ecologists. With this audience in mind, I provide a great deal of introduction to the theoretical perspective I am trying to elaborate (i.e., landscape syncretism) and to the archaeological time period(s) typically involved in discussions of tumuli. In Chapter 2, for example, I discuss landscape reuse. I suggest that although many archaeologists have recognized that reuse happens continually — indeed, we might think of it as *a constant* — mainstream archaeology has not considered the phenomenon with suitable anthropological rigor. All too often, our reflections on landscape reuse have gotten caught up in what I refer to as a "trap of taphonomy," drawing the focus of our attention toward perceived deformations of the archaeological record, rather than toward the continued and active role of the "archaeological" in social life. Our failure to concentrate on this role may be related to the paradigmatic power and interpretive limitations of the palimpsest metaphor routinely deployed by archaeological authors. Working through a notion of the landscape as a dynamic collective of humans and non-humans, I present landscape syncretism as a concept to characterize place-based interactions through time; one that captures the complexities of these exchanges better than earlier, more mainstream perspectives.

In Chapter 3, I present an introduction to the Bronze and Iron Ages, especially to the Hallstatt culture that built the tumuli of the Arroux and Somme valleys. I take a classical approach the study of tumuli, treating them as a quintessential landscape feature that has figured prominently in the construction of Hallstatt narratives by archaeologists. Discussing their initial appearance in the region, internal architecture, and proposed importance in the political landscapes of the deep past, I attempt to place Hallstatt tumuli into an historical narrative that traces social and landscape change throughout temperate Europe over the course of the first millennium BCE.

Following these introductory chapters, I present the information derived from my fieldwork in the Arroux and Somme valleys. I begin Chapter 4 with a description of my Arroux-Somme project area and its history. Following this, I summarize data concerning the 160 tumuli recorded in the project area across 79 sites. The bulk of the information contained in the records of the SRA concerns the locations of tumuli. Mapping these locations offers the tantalizing, broad-stroke impressions about what the Hallstatt funerary landscape of this region might have looked like. As I demonstrate, however, the SRA data present serious issue of quality to anyone who wishes to use them and must be approached with both caution and skepticism. In the absence of verification studies and systematic surveys of the entire Arroux-Somme project area, any model of Hallstatt land use produced from these data must be considered highly suspect.

If data about the use of tumuli in the Arroux and Somme valleys during the Hallstatt (i.e., early) Iron Age is somewhat sketchy, the record of people's interactions with them during later periods — when mound burial was no longer practiced — is virtually non-existent. We basically have no record of any such from the arrival of the Romans in

southern Burgundy (in the mid-first century BCE) until the 17th century CE. Mounds once again begin to appear in the textual record, piecemeal, only in the middle of the early Modern period. This was the moment when writers in Paris (often members of the French court) began to record of folk myths, to produce almanacs, and to publish fairy tales that circulated widely from the late 17th and early 18th centuries onward. In Chapter 5, I examine place-names and folklore that reference tumuli and other features (both natural and archaeological) that came to be classified with them. In Burgundy, as elsewhere, these monuments were featured in legends populated by animals of unusual size and/or quality, by hybrid creatures, by humans who engaged in peculiar relationships with animals and/or who transformed themselves into animals, by witches, and by human-like beings capable of performing magical acts. I argue that such characters could be considered "queer" (i.e., outside the norm) and that the sites associated with them thus "queer places," generally avoided in everyday life or approached with caution. Even the forests that contained these sites may have been thought of and approached as queer places, as suggested by both printed folklore and by stories that continue to circulate in the Arroux and Somme valleys today. Such place-based myths were not simply interesting stories; rather they prescribed and proscribed certain kinds of practice in these queer places, likely affecting the preservation of the archaeological sites contained therein.

Moving closer to the present in Chapter 6, I trace the development of a tumulus-related archaeology in Burgundy, which began with attempts to identify the sites described in Caesar's *Gallic War*. Pursuing another kind of narrative — this time an historical one — 19th-century antiquarians (with the support of the Emperor) introduced

a new means of interacting with the landscape: archaeological excavation. Excavation "transformed" tumuli into the houses of the Dead, even if the Dead thought to dwell in these houses — Caesar's soldiers and the Gauls against whom they fought — were not the residents that later archaeologists would recognize. This early archaeology was largely influenced by forces outside the Arroux and Somme valleys. In turn, it had important consequences for the development of protohistoric archaeology throughout France, setting up distinctions that would eventually generate separate amateur and professional communities of archaeological practice. Over the past century, growing divides among professional and amateur archaeologists have profoundly affected the nature of our knowledge about the protohistory of the Arroux and Somme valleys.

It is not only archaeologists — professional or otherwise — who interact with tumuli. In Chapter 7, I present the results of ethnographic fieldwork among non-archaeologists in the Arroux-Somme project area. I demonstrate that there are ways other than excavation to understand and interact with these sites. Further, many contemporary residents of the Arroux and Somme valleys remain ignorant of tumuli, believing the low mounds they encounter to be natural or to have resulted from recent agricultural practices. Those who recognize the archaeo-historic importance of these monuments may be forced to choose between preserving them and maximizing the productive potential of the land. The result is that here, as elsewhere, the archaeological resource is threatened by changes in rural land use. I explore the broader networks that bring these threats into the Arroux-Somme project area and note that overcoming such threats will no doubt require professional archaeology to reconsider its relationship to the public.

In Chapter 8, I once again reflect on landscape syncretism, this time assembling all of the information derived from the Arroux-Somme case study. The concepts of relationality, dwelling, temporality, and pluralism are essential to understanding the operation of syncretism within the landscape. As part of the activity of dwelling, the builders of tumuli forged specific relationships among the newly constructed burial mounds, other features of the landscape (both found and new), and the humans with whom they shared this region. I suggest that this landscape comprised relationships between found and new elements, relations of provisioning, spatial relations, sensual relations, and conceptual / semiotic relationships, to name just a few. We need to understand any landscape as a heterogeneous fabric of such relations, and this heterogeneity multiplies as subsequent peoples engage anew in the work of dwelling / relationship-building.

I reason that as new relationships are forged and take the place of previous relationships, some elements of the landscape are "lost" or "forgotten" and new elements are added. While the individual features may not be incorporated into new landscapes, their physicality may remain untouched. These sites exist *in potential* and, over time, some of them may once again be "rediscovered" or "remembered." I suggest that such moments of forgetting and remembrance have everything to do with the different ways that people go about the work of dwelling within landscapes, selecting elements and building relationships among them based on their own identities, needs, backgrounds, and understandings of the world. Heterogeneity (which I characterize as "pluralism") and change over time amounts, for all practical purposes, to the presence and evolution of different landscapes, as relational systems, in the same physical space. This co-existence

over time, together with the connections among different landscapes that might be generated as a result of it, make the concept of syncretism particularly apt. I conclude Chapter 8 by reflecting upon the moments of translation that bring these different landscapes into conversation and/or conflict. I propose that archaeologists interested in protecting mound sites and other archaeological features from damage think about how we might initiate and use such moments of translation.

Chapter 9 is a conclusion in which I briefly summarize the argument presented in Chapter 8. By way of closing, I indicate that one might derive a few additional points from this case study. One of these concerns the nature of the evidence that is considered both "truthful" and properly "archaeological." I suggest that we need to be wary of *a priori* judgments of truth that may disqualify otherwise useful landscape information from our analyses, and that archaeologists should be more "promiscuous" in our choices of method and material in order to develop richer understandings of dwelling in the past. Beyond this, I indicate that studies like this — which look at the perspectives of different stakeholders together with those of archaeologists — place scholars of landscape change in ideal positions to translate between local communities and external management structures whose policies may contribute to land-use conflicts. In closing, I observe that the position of translator may be an uncomfortable one for archaeologists, however, as it may require us to reconsider our commitments to the archaeological record as well as to descendant communities with very real concerns and needs in the present.

A final word is perhaps appropriate regarding the structure of each chapter in this dissertation. Preceding the major chapter content, summarized above, the reader will find a brief ethnographic vignette, archaeological description, legend, and/or historical

narrative. In every case, the introductory material is directly related to the main content of the chapter. My intention in providing these "introductory moments" is to draw readers' attention to the variety of ways in which people have narrated and continue to narrate these tumuli and the landscapes in which they participate. In many respects, the "modern" social scientist of the 21st century is not very different from her/his 17th-century peasant counterpart, and probably not much different even from the early Iron-Age builder of the tombs that she studies: we are all engaged in telling stories about the elements of the landscape with which we interact, stories that in turn guide our interactions.

NOTES

[1] I would later come to understand the tension contained within the story of this exchange between Lucien and the other excavator, one that seems to characterize the entire French archaeological establishment. On one side, there is a group of amateur archaeologists who, like Lucien, are interested in what might be called archaeological "best practice" and in establishing ties with the professional archaeological community. On the other side is a group of "*clandestins*" (i.e., "pothunters," "looters") who dig sites — generally in secret — without much regard for archaeological context, historic preservation, or sharing the results of their efforts with the broader community. Despite the efforts of the first group to conduct responsible investigations and to gain recognition for themselves and their sites, much of the professional establishment has come to lump all amateurs into the same category, generally assuming that they do more harm than good. I will take up this tension further in Chapters 6 and 7.

[2] This may even be true for pioneer populations, who (theoretically) colonize areas that have never been populated before. In this case, living "amidst that which was made before" might involve patterns and memories acquired in the "homeland" from which the pioneers set out. The history of European colonialism provides endless examples of efforts to export dwelling-related skills, sensibilities, and dispositions into new areas (following Ingold 2000:186), often with questionable results.

[3] Marc Bloch makes a similar point to historians in his *Apologie pour l'Histoire ou Métier d'Historien*, translated as *The Historian's Craft* (1953).

CHAPTER 2

PERSPECTIVES ON LANDSCAPE REUSE:
TAPHONOMY, PALIMPSESTS, AND SYNCRETISM

MONT DARDON: A CASE STUDY IN REUSE

Burgundy is a topographically diverse region. The high, flat plateau of the Côte-d'Or dives precipitously to meet gently rolling plains (Figure 2.1). These continue relatively unbroken to the banks of the Saône and the Loire. In western Burgundy, the Morvan Uplands rise above both plateau and plain[1]. A once-lofty northern extension of the Massif Central, the Morvan range is now a tight cluster of weathered hills. Among these hills[2] is the celebrated hillfort of Mont Beuvray, ancient *Bibracte* (see Chapter 3). So, too, is Mont Dardon.

Dardon is situated to the south of the higher peaks of the Morvan and, like the people who live in its shadow, stands somewhat apart from its Morvandiau cousins. Rising to an altitude of more than 500 m asl, this "remnant" dome of Precambrian granite towers 200-250 m above the Arroux and Somme valleys. Compared with Mont Beuvray, evidence for a sustained human presence on Mont Dardon appears quite early[3]. Flint flakes and tools suggest a regular use of the landscape surrounding Dardon as remote as the Paleolithic. Residents of these valleys — the Somme River valley to the north and the Arroux River valley to the south — may have climbed the hill hoping for panoramic views; perhaps they were following deer, rabbits, fowl, or wild boar; or perhaps they

Figure 2.1. While the transition from the plateau of the Côte-d'Or to the plains of southern Burgundy is often steep, the long calcareous escarpment seen here — which passes west and north of Saint-Romain (21), in the foreground — represents an extreme, dropping as much as 60 m in a single step.

were seeking a location closer to their gods. Whatever the reason, flaked-stone tools

indicate that people climbed up Mont Dardon at least as early as the Chassean Neolithic

period (4200 to 3800 BCE).

By the late Bronze Age (ca. 1200 BCE), the summit of Mont Dardon was an

important locus of human activity. Evidence for long-term residence on the hilltop in this

period remains ambiguous, but the construction of ramparts and the disposal of various

ceramic and food remains nonetheless indicate the importance of this place. Mont Dardon

retained this importance throughout the late Bronze and early Iron Ages (until ca. 450

BCE).

By the late Iron Age (ca. 450 BCE to the Roman Conquest at 52 BCE), as Mont Beuvray / Bibracte slowly became the principal seat of socio-political power in the Arroux valley and surrounding areas, the residents of Mont Dardon's landscape established a mountaintop temple. Once established, this place appears to have kept its ritual/spiritual importance through the Gallo-Roman period (52 BCE to 500 CE) and into the Middle Ages. Seventh- to 8th-century burials signal the presence of a cemetery in the highest area of the site. Many of these burials were disturbed by later building episodes that culminated in the mid-10th century with the construction of a Christian chapel on this previously pagan terrain.

Soon after the chapel was erected, some event led to the decline of Mont Dardon's spiritual importance and a transformation in the usage of the site. In the early 11th century, much of the chapel was destroyed. A remnant of the chapel continued to be used, however, perhaps as late as the 15th century[4].

Mont Dardon's importance has continued in recent centuries. For example, it is the geographic point at which three rural communes — Uxeau, Sainte-Radegonde, and Issy-l'Évêque — converge. In 1935, three concrete crosses were erected on top of the hill to honor each of these communes. Taking the place of earlier wooden crosses (maintained on the site since 1855), this ensemble recalls the three crosses of Calvary, a reminder of France's "cultural Catholicism." As if to provide further evidence of this Catholic culture, each year in late June (or early July), residents of the surrounding communes come to Mont Dardon to light a bonfire in honor of St. John the Baptist. This ritual seems to recall a far older observance of the Summer Solstice at the same point in the year.

Mont Dardon is also the site of more secular celebrations. At the end of May, hundreds of people come for the food, drink, and music offered by the *Fête du Dardon* (the "Festival of Dardon")[5]. A few weeks later, the residents of Uxeau commune welcome runners from across Europe who come to compete in the *Grimpette du Dardon* (the "Dardon Climb"), a grueling foot race to the summit.

Throughout the Modern period, until the Interwar period, wine was produced from grapes grown on Dardon's slopes. Today, managed forests cover those same slopes. Hunters pass through these woods with their dogs. Para-sailers dive off the mountaintop and glide into the valleys below. Visitors come on sunny days for picnics. Lovers come on starry nights for quiet meetings. Remarkably, the evidence for more than 3,000 years of activity is contained within a narrow space of about 10,800 m^2 and crushed into a shallow stratigraphic profile whose thickness rarely exceeds 2 m.

LANDSCAPE REUSE AND TAPHONOMY

I begin this chapter with a discussion of Mont Dardon for several reasons. While I
will often discuss single tumuli (i.e., sites) or groups of tumuli (i.e., a particular "class" of
site) during the course of this dissertation, I want readers to keep in mind that these are
only elements in a much broader landscape that include (among other things) fortified
hilltops (like Dardon), towns, cities, farmsteads, roads, canals, hedges, chapels and other
sanctuaries, river fords, upland passes, marshes, springs, forests, and pastures. Thus for
the people who live in sight of Mont Dardon, this hill is as important a feature of the
landscape as the tumuli of *Les Vernailloux*, *Le Mauvais Pas*, and *La Revive*; a feature
with which (as I will demonstrate in later chapters) most people are much more familiar.
The archaeological sequence recovered from the summit of Dardon suggests that it was
similarly important for the people who built these burial mounds some 2,500-3,000 years
ago. Mont Dardon's archaeological record provides a concentrated glimpse of the broader
social and ecological — of the "*socio-ecological*"[6] — processes that have operated
throughout the Arroux and Somme valleys over the past three millennia.

Further, its spatially compressed nature makes Mont Dardon a particularly
interesting study in the reuse of places. That we must live with the material culture of
past generations is an axiom, one so obvious that it generally goes unmentioned.
However, the on-the-ground realities of routine and taken-for-granted encounters
between the past and the present merit considerable anthropological attention that they
generally do not receive. We are often told how the phenomenon of reuse bedevils
archaeologists interested in certain periods of the past at particular sites. Indeed, to the
archaeologist who seeks to understand the earliest human uses of Mont Dardon with its

small habitable area and thin soils, the transformations engendered by later uses of the site can be particularly frustrating. But if we alter our perspective slightly — if we seek to understand long-term, continual change rather than the conceptually isolated dynamics of discreet periods (see Arnold 2008) — we quickly realize that the 21,600 m^3 of friable, reworked soil that cover Dardon's summit have significant potential to shed light on the complex socio-ecological conditions that influenced change in the past and the similarly complex socio-ecological consequences that may have resulted from this change, both on Dardon and elsewhere in the Arroux and Somme valleys.

One of my principal goals for this dissertation is to demonstrate the kinds of socio-ecological process archaeologists might detect if we were to fundamentally shift perspective, to orient ourselves toward the study of change in particular regions over the *longue durée*[7]. Ironically, to do so might shed better light on the archaeological record that we have inherited and from which we derive interpretations of life in the past. To realize a shift of this nature may require some changes in archaeological "business as usual," adding the skills of the historian, the ecologist, and the ethnographer to the archaeologist's toolkit. These skills will help us to better understand the processes that both set up and result from the reuse of sites and landscapes.

Here and in the subsequent chapters, I focus on the phenomenon of landscape reuse, a constant of human existence that mainstream archaeology has failed to consider with suitable rigor. I suggest this failure is related to the paradigmatic power and interpretive limitations of the palimpsest metaphor that is so ubiquitous in Anglophone archaeological literature (see below). I offer landscape syncretism as a more-suitable concept to

characterize human-land interactions through time, one that better captures the complexities involved in these exchanges.

An Early Consideration of Reuse

No less important a figure than American statesman Thomas Jefferson — generally admired for his role in the establishment of what would become the North American branch of archaeology (Wheeler 1954:6; Willey and Sabloff 1974:22) — recognized the degree to which elements of past landscapes are revisited and modified by successive generations. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1788), Jefferson describes Indian "barrows"[8] that pre-date European settlement on the Virginian landscape. Jefferson goes on to explain how, in order to resolve a debate surrounding the origins of these features, he excavated one. His detailed description indicates the Jefferson took great care in this excavation and his attention to the internal stratigraphy of the mound is admirable at such an early date. Even more admirable is his recognition that horizontal (i.e., *spatial*) relationships might be taken as proxies for *temporal* relationships, one of the core principles of modern stratigraphic excavation. This attention to stratigraphy was the key that allowed Jefferson to determine that the human remains contained within the barrow were not buried as part of a single event, but rather over the course of several visits to the site. Jefferson was likely not surprised by this implied reuse of the mound in the past, given that he noticed that events continued to transpire on and around these mounds even in his own time:

> But on whatever occasion [the barrows] may have been made, they are
> of considerable notoriety among the Indians: for a party passing, about
> thirty years ago, through the part of the country where this barrow is,
> went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or
> enquiry, and having staid about it some time… they returned to the

high road…. There is another barrow, much resembling this, in the low grounds of the South branch of Shenandoah, where it is crossed by the road leading from the Rockfish gap to Staunton. Both of these have, within these dozen years, been cleared of their trees and put under cultivation, are much reduced in their height, and spread in width, by the plough, and will probably disappear in time. (106)

Given his influence, Jefferson's excavations could have led archaeology to an explicit focus on the reuse of sites through time. Unfortunately, with very few exceptions, neither North American archaeology nor its European counterparts have focused on the phenomenon of long-term reuse of the landscape (and the material effects engendered thereby) with any degree of anthropological sophistication or sustained rigor.

The "Trap" of Taphonomy

It is perhaps unfair to say that the majority of the archaeological community has not treated landscape reuse with sustained rigor. Over the past 30 years, roughly corresponding to the increasing mechanization of the agricultural sector, archaeologists on both sides of the Atlantic have set out: (1) to describe the threat that changing patterns of rural land use pose to the archaeological resource, (2) to determine the degree to which materials "disturbed" by such changes might still be useful to the archaeologist, and (3) to suggest ways in which the threat of land-use change might be mitigated in order to ensure that archaeological sites maintain the greatest integrity possible (see, for example, Boismier 1997; Diez-Martín 2010; Dunnell and Simek 1995; Hinchliffe and Schadla-Hall 1980; McManamon 1984). In fact, the threat posed by changing patterns of rural land use has become such a concern in recent years that members of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA), with support from the Europae Archaeologiae Consilium (EAC), have established the joint Working Group on Farming, Forestry, and Rural Land

Management. Unofficially convened in 2004 and formalized as an EAA/EAC working party in 2009, this group has already produced an edited volume on rural land-use change and the threats that it poses to the archaeological resource (Trow, et al. 2010). The contributions to this volume, like the earlier work upon which they build, show no lack of rigor in characterizing the geographic extent and nature of damage to rural sites and in offering suggestions for how archaeologists might interpret and mitigate such damage.

As I suggest in my own contribution to the working group volume, however, a focus on the disturbance caused by rural land-use change often detracts from an understanding of the broader anthropological processes that initiate and shape such change.

> Simply recognizing the geographic scope of the problem is not enough; indeed, this kind of recognition can quickly become overwhelming as damage to archaeological sites under modernised agriculture starts to appear inevitable. If we truly wish to confront the challenges to preservation posed by agricultural change, then we must endeavour to understand why such change occurs. To develop this kind of understanding, it is necessary to turn our attention from the human-land interactions of the distant past, toward those of the more recent past and present. (Meyer 2010a:63)

In order to do so, we need to ask questions that are ethnographic and ecological, rather than strictly archaeological.

Sadly, few archaeologists obtain the training appropriate to develop such questions. Even in North America, where archaeology is generally taught in the same academic departments as ethnography and cultural ecology, the training of professional archaeologists "is normally an intensive study in how the archaeological record forms and how it may be recovered and understood through fieldwork, analysis, and interpretation" (Castañeda and Matthews 2008a:14). Any introduction to the study of long-term landscape reuse typically comes as training in *taphonomy*. The general

emphasis on taphonomic processes, while valuable in itself, distracts our attention from examinations of the broader anthropological phenomena that initiate and structure the reuse of artifacts, sites, and landscapes over long spans of time. In this sense, taphonomy and related studies form a kind of "trap" from which it is difficult to extract our interpretive selves. Thinking through the example provided by Jefferson, the consequence of falling into the trap of taphonomy is roughly that one comes to see the barrow as a single, discreet archaeological package that has been "disturbed" by the later uses of the mound, most evidently by plowing in Jefferson's day. Unfortunately, such a perspective completely overlooks the complex and dynamic web of social, spatial, and temporal relationships in which the mound is embedded.

Taphonomy

Originally developed in paleontology (Efremov 1940),

> taphonomy is the science of the laws of embedding or burial. More
> completely, it is the study of the transition, in all details, of organics
> from the biosphere into the lithosphere or geological record. (Lyman
> 1994:1)

Anna Behrensmeyer and Susan Kidwell later offered a broader definition of taphonomy, describing it as "*the study of processes of preservation and how they affect information in the fossil record*" (Behrensmeyer and Kidwell 1985:105, emphasis in original). With this definition, Behrensmeyer and Kidwell hoped to demonstrate that information might, in fact, be gained (rather than lost) through taphonomic processes; and that the study of such processes could reveal important information about the environment(s) of the past. At least in paleontology, a number of studies since the publication of Behrensmeyer and Kidwell's seminal paper have set out to examine this information gain (Martin 1999:xiii).

> Taphonomy is, however, important not only to paleontologists, but to archaeologists, especially zooarchaeologists and paleoethnobotanists, who study the organic remains making up part of the archaeological record…. Taphonomy is now seen as important because it is often taken to connote that the zooarchaeological and ethnobotanical records are biased if some non-human-related processes have affected the condition or frequencies of biological remains. (Lyman 1994:1)

Taphonomy might be thought of as the study of processes of preservation and transformation, and of how such processes affect information in the *archaeological* record. Taphonomic processes can be observed at restricted spatial scales (e.g., the household, the site), but also at broader spatial extents, like landscapes (for an example, see Wilkinson, et al. 2004, who discuss "landscape taphonomy"). Further, I would submit that in addition to its more-accepted role in the study of the deposition and transformation of organic materials — what we call "ecofacts" in archaeology — taphonomy is also appropriate to the study of inorganic materials.

Forming (and Transforming) the Archaeological Record

While he does not accept the characterization of his work as taphonomy, Michael B. Schiffer is among the archaeological theorists who have devoted the most time to thinking about the processes that shape the archaeological record (Holdaway and Wandsnider 2008a:4)[9]. Searching for the nomothetic laws that underlie both the evolution of the archaeological record and cultural change (Schiffer 1972, 1975), the "behavioral archaeology" developed by Schiffer and his colleagues traces the movement of objects over time between "systemic context" — "the condition of an element which is participating in a behavioral system" (Schiffer 1972:157) — and "archaeological context," a relatively inactive state in which objects are assumed to be generally outside of behavioral systems. This movement is driven by a set of processes, including both

cultural and non-cultural transforms, and correlates[10]. Schiffer realized at an early date that complex socio-cultural — or, in his own language, "behavioral" — forces structure the rearrangement and reuse of archaeological material as much as "natural" forces[11].

Five years after the publication of Schiffer's *Behavioral Archaeology* (1976), Lewis Binford offered a solid critique of the approach in the pages of the *Journal of Anthropological Research* (1981). In this critique, Binford disapproves of the inherent notion that the archaeological record is somehow "distorted" or "transformed." He writes:

> I am quite comfortable with the idea that there may be natural, or
> noncultural, processes which condition the character of the
> archaeological record so as to "distort" the organization as it was
> generated in the "systemic" context. I am somewhat at a loss, however,
> to understand why events which modified the formal properties of
> matter during the operation of a cultural system should be considered
> distorting. (Binford 1981:199)

Probing the notion of distortion a bit further, Binford observes that:

> Schiffer would view the event of a young boy cleaning out a hearth,
> taking the ash and other unwanted contents out of the house, and
> tossing it to one side as a C-transform distorting the juxtaposition of
> hearth and ashes which obtained during the period of active fire in the
> hearth. From the perspective of the occupants of the site, it was
> cleaning up. We may reasonably ask how cleaning up should distort the
> relationship between the archaeological record and the cultural system
> from which it derives; some might even argue that cleaning up was
> essential for the continued use of the location. Similarly, one might
> argue that adding fuel to the fire was essential to maintaining the fire,
> but alas, it was also "distorting" the prior relationship between the
> hearth and the adjacent pile of firewood. (200)

To my reading, these observations effectively highlight the arbitrary and ultimately disabling nature of the distinction made by Schiffer between systemic and archaeological context. This is a somewhat problematic reading, however, as Binford at least nominally supports Schiffer's distinction. Whatever his overall disposition toward the divide

between systemic and archaeological context, Binford draws attention to the dynamic,

"'flow through'" (200) nature of all cultural systems.

> Our inferences from the archaeological record to the past may be wrong
> or unjustified, not because the archaeological record is a distortion of
> the past, but because we do not accurately understand *the relationship
> between statics and dynamics*. The archaeological record can only be
> considered a distortion relative to some a priori set of expectations;
> certainly it is not a distortion of its own reality. It is a faithful remnant
> of the causal conditions operative in the past, and our task is to
> understand those causal conditions. Put another way, a pattern or
> arrangement among artifacts at an archaeological site can only be
> viewed as distorted if one is not interested in the cultural system as
> manifest, but rather in some property of a cultural system chosen a
> priori to receive special inferential attention. Cleaning up is distorting
> only if it destroys some patterned association in which one might have
> a research interest. (200, my emphasis)

No doubt due to the difficulty of recovering "living, acting people" and their

behavioral motivations from the archaeological record, behavioral archaeology — which

has often expressed the laudable goal of studying both people *and* things — has become

overwhelmingly the study of things (Webmoor 2007:566), often devoted to the

construction of artifactual or architectural "life histories." Unfortunately, with regard to

the phenomenon of landscape reuse that I seek to address here, these life histories may

not be as diachronic as Schiffer (see, for example, Schiffer 2011) and his colleagues

would like them to be. Such models often provide fine-grained descriptions — and

perhaps even *explanations*[12] — over years, decades, and centuries, but leave jarring and

misleading temporal holes where it appears that only n-transforms and inadvertent c-

transforms impact the archaeological record. This recourse to non-intentional transforms

leads behavioral models into a "trap of taphonomy" like the one that I have described

above. Further, these models continue in the confusion of statics and dynamics identified

by Binford (1981). Diachronic in one sense, they might be thought of as temporally

ordered "flipbooks" or "short films," at best, rather than "feature-length" films of human-

artifact interactions over the *longue durée*[13]. Credit should be given where it is due,

however, and we should recognize that behavioral archaeology has provided

> a much better understanding of the temporal properties of the
> archaeological record (the way various time-dependent processes are
> responsible for artifact deposition) and ultimately a much greater
> understanding of the kinds of questions that may be asked of this record
> and the kinds of explanations of the humans past it supports.
> (Holdaway and Wandsnider 2008a:4)

THE PALIMPSEST CONCEPT

Behavioral archaeology is not the only theoretical model to find itself in a trap of taphonomy. Indeed, its pitfall — the conception of the archaeological record as a series of discontinuous moments punctuated by periods of distortion — is symptomatic of a rarely considered, yet all-too-often deployed, structuring principle deeply embedded in "Anglo-American archaeology"[14]: the notion of the palimpsest.

> Most of the surface residues [on the landscape] are palimpsests of
> several phases of occupation. The continued exposure of landscapes to
> occupation will result in blurring of spatial patterns and in
> accumulation and mixing of chronologically unrelated remains.
> (Zvelebil, et al. 1992:196-197)

The importance of the palimpsest concept to Anglophone archaeology, like the interpretive challenges posed by palimpsest landscapes, cannot be overstated (Johnson 2007:58).

Strictly speaking, a palimpsest is a manuscript or inscription that has been written on more than once. The diagnostic feature of a palimpsest — what has made it an appropriate concept for archaeology — is earlier writing that has been incompletely erased, remaining somewhat legible. The word palimpsest was imported into English from Greek in the mid-17th century. It is a concept that developed significance in philology and Classical studies, where examinations of written artifacts are common.

It is difficult to trace the path that brought the palimpsest concept from philology into landscape studies, and especially into archaeology. No chain of citations leads backward from its contemporary usage to earlier forms. Rather, what can be reconstructed is a patchy history that traces the adoption and distribution of the palimpsest concept in Anglophone archaeology and its sister disciplines.

In *Ideas of Landscape* (2007), Matthew Johnson mentions the early use of the palimpsest metaphor in the work of the 19th-century jurist and medieval historian Frederic William Maitland. Not only was Maitland influential in establishing the field of English legal history, but also in fostering the growing discipline of archaeology. Presaging — and, in fact, providing a foundation for — O.G.S. Crawford's later adaptation of military ordnance surveys to archaeology and history (see below), Maitland famously observed that "two little fragments of the original one-inch Ordnance Survey map will be more eloquent than would be many paragraphs of written discourse" (Maitland 1897:39, cited in Johnson 2007:54). Elsewhere in the same volume, Maitland made almost casual use of the term "palimpsest":

> The 'vill' or 'town' of the later middle ages was, like the 'civil parish' of our own day, a tract of land with some house on it, and this tract was a unit in the national system of police and finance. But we are not entitled to make for ourselves any one typical picture of the English vill. We are learning from the ordnance map (that marvellous [sic] palimpsest, which under Dr Meitzen's guidance we are beginning to decipher) that in all probability we must keep at least two types before our minds. On the one hand, there is what we might call the true village or the nucleated village…. On the other hand, we may easily find a country in which there are few villages of this character. (Maitland 1897:15)

Maitland here continued an earlier thought. In an 1889 contribution to *The Archaeological Review*, Maitland had already discussed the medieval *vill*, exploring its juridical structure vis-à-vis its existence as a named geographical unit. In that piece, he described the map of England as "that most wonderful of all palimpsests" (Maitland 1911[1889]:87). Given that the notion of the palimpsest is both explicit and implicit throughout Maitland's writing, it is perhaps not surprising that this concept figures so prominently in English landscape history and archaeology, two pioneers of which —

O.G.S. Crawford and W.G. Hoskins — were devoted readers of Maitland (Bowden 2001; Johnson 2007).

Yet in tracing a history of the palimpsest concept in archaeology, we should not lose sight of the fact that many of Maitland's explicit uses of the term (like the two above), refer not to the English *landscape* as such, but rather to *maps* of that landscape. In truth, it is not particularly innovative to think of a map as a palimpsest given that many maps, especially national survey maps, are generated over time by different cartographers whose routine practice involves erasing the work of earlier map-makers in order to inscribe new features. Thus, though Maitland's use of the term may have been influential, it is not necessarily to Maitland that we should look for the conceptual move that first characterized *the landscape itself* as a palimpsest.

The notion that what we call "the archaeological record" is composed of material elements that have somehow escaped disaster might be traced to 17th-century English philosophy. In his *Advancement of Learning* (1900[1605]), Francis Bacon described antiquities as

> … history defaced, or remnants that have escaped the shipwreck of time…. Antiquities are the wrecks of history, wherein the memory of things is almost lost. (53)

It appears to have been Maitland's contemporary, the classical scholar A.M. Bell, who first expressed similar ideas using palimpsest language. An amateur archaeologist, natural historian, and anthropologist, Bell was a fellow of the Geological Society of London. In a November 1893 address to another learned society, this time the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Bell discussed a group of flaked stone tools from Kent. In the transcript of his address is the following:

I do believe that [these tools] lift the veil for a moment beyond the time when the tools of the river-valley type were in universal use; and that Mr. Harrison, their discoverer, has, to borrow a metaphor from the neighbouring shade of the Bodleian, deciphered from the hard palimpsest of earth another page in the most interesting of all epics, the story of human life. (Bell 1894:284)

While it is difficult to understand precisely how Bell envisioned his "hard palimpsest of earth," his usage of the concept seems to have anticipated contemporary archaeological uses.

Twenty years later, British geographer H.O. Beckit used the palimpsest concept in a manner strikingly congruent with our own. Discussing the national parks of the United States, Beckit asked:

What geographer, accustomed to the painful palimpsest of a long-settled country, does not envy his fellow-worker in the newer lands [like the United States]? But even and indeed particularly in them, the processes of settlement and change work swiftly. At any rate for purposes of study, the elimination as far as is practicable of any single disturbing element, like man in his normal activities, must simplify the problem; and when most of a country has been developed by those normal activities, reserved areas where the pre-human stage is still observable throw light on much that lies beyond their boundaries. (Beckit 1913:335-336)

One year later, in a long paper on the glacial geography of eastern Antarctica, geologist Griffith Taylor identified palimpsest landscapes created without direct human intervention:

The ice drainage of this area is extremely complex at first sight. But I think the following explanation is correct. I imagine that we have two types of glacial erosion, one superimposed on the other. The earlier cwm or cirque erosion is to some extent obliterated by the later outlet glacier erosion. The problem reminds one of an old Greek *palimpsest*. (Taylor 1914:382, emphasis in original)

Taylor delivered his paper before the Royal Geographic Society (incidentally, the

audience for Beckit's address the year before). In the discussion that followed, critics

charged that Taylor had used incomprehensible jargon in his nomenclature. He responded

that "there [were] only two excuses for introducing new names." One excuse involved the

lack of useful English words to describe a known phenomenon. The other excuse — "as

in the case of the word 'palimpsest' — [was] to define a new concept" (Freshfield, et al.

1914:571). The "new" concept defined by Taylor has continued to be deployed in the

landscape thinking of various disciplines, but without specific reference to Taylor,

Beckit, Bell or anyone else for that matter.

Use of the palimpsest concept was not restricted to the fellows of Britain's learned

societies. Around the same time, it also appeared in the work of American archaeologist

Roland B. Dixon:

> In comparison with the relative simplicity of the archeological record
> on the Pacific coast, that of the eastern portion of the continent is
> complex, and might indeed be best described as a palimpsest. This
> complexity leads inevitably to the conclusion that here there have been
> numerous and far-reaching ethnic movements, resulting in a
> stratification of cultures, such that later have dispossessed and overlain
> earlier. (Dixon 1913:559)

By the mid-1920s, the palimpsest concept had made further inroads into

archaeology. In a 1923 address before the Royal Geographic Society, O.G.S. Crawford

— who would later go on to found the journal *Antiquity* — advanced his project of using

aerial survey to investigate archaeological phenomena. In his remarks, Crawford

discussed "that palimpsest of British history," the Salisbury Plain (Crawford 1923:353).

He expanded upon this usage in his later writing:

The surface of England is like a palimpsest, a document that has been written on and erased over and over again; and it is the business of the field archaeologist to decipher it. The features concerned are of course the roads and field boundaries, the woods, the farms and other habitations, and all the other products of human labour; these are the letters and words inscribed on the land. But it is not easy to read them because, whereas the vellum document was seldom wiped clean more than once or twice, the land has been subjected to continual change throughout the ages. The existing pattern, which is that [sic] we see on the six-inch Ordnance Map, was formed very largely at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, when the medieval field-system was swept away by the enclosures. That system … was introduced by the Saxons … To revert to the analogy of the palimpsest — the writing was completely erased twice, by the Saxons and by the authors of the enclosures, and there were several alterations of letters, words and whole sentences within those periods. (Crawford 1953:51-52, cited in Johnson 2007:58-59)

In the same year as Crawford's earlier use of the term, Esther Boise van Deman wrote about the "structural palimpsest" (van Deman 1923:403) of roads and structures she encountered in her excavations east of the Roman Forum. The first American woman to specialize in Roman archaeology, van Deman's field methods became standard practice in Roman urban excavations. That these explicit uses of the palimpsest concept in archaeology should appear in the writing of figures as influential as Crawford and van Deman likely explains the success of the concept. From this point onward, it permeated Anglophone archaeology, finding its way into important foundational works, like those of amateur archaeologist Leslie Grinsell and landscape historian William Hoskins (Stoddart and Zubrow 1999:686).

The archaeological debates of the 1970s and 1980s witnessed the deployment of the palimpsest concept on both sides of the processual / postprocessual divide, as well as on both sides of the Atlantic (see, for example, Bailey 1981; Binford 1978; Foley 1981; Hodder and Millett 1980; Renfrew 1981; Rowntree and Conkey 1980). These uses,

together with a recognition of the landscape as a category of archaeological analysis in

the 1990s (e.g., Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Bender 1992; Rossignol and Wandsnider

1992), spawned an explosion of palimpsest-related conversation (for an overview of this

research since the late 1970s, see Holdaway and Wandsnider 2008a). Near the end of

2011, a Google™ Scholar search of the terms "palimpsest" and "landscape" returned just

over 12,000 references, more than 5,500 of which were archaeological; the majority of

these references had been published after 2004.

Stoddart and Zubrow note that

> a key debate in interpreting palimpsests is how much landscape, at any
> one moment, is a response to the inertia of prior investment, how much
> a consequence of intentionality and how much a process of re-
> interpretation and reworking of a dynamic landscape. (Stoddart and
> Zubrow 1999:686)

In identifying this debate, however, they also draw attention to a few weaknesses of the

palimpsest concept. In order to better demonstrate these weaknesses, I think it necessary

to first explore what the word "landscape" might mean.

WHAT IS A LANDSCAPE?

The Challenge of Defining "Landscape"

On the face of things, the meaning of landscape seems relatively straightforward. In fact, very few native English speakers pause to reflect before using the word. In everyday usage, landscape is a noun meaning "inland natural scenery, or its representation in painting"; a verb meaning "to lay out (a garden, etc.) as a landscape; to conceal or embellish (a building, road, etc.) by making it part of a continuous and harmonious landscape"; or — in the era of home computing — an adjective meaning "oblong" (*Oxford English Dictionary* [*OED*]: landscape). But further research in the *OED* belies the simplicity of the word, revealing at least eleven noun meanings in addition to that provided above, and one additional verb meaning. Clearly this is not a word that should be used without careful consideration and, as archaeologists Wendy Ashmore and Bernard Knapp (Knapp and Ashmore 1999:6) suggest, scholars in different disciplines deploy it in different ways.

Many of these uses build on that of geographer Carl Sauer, who first suggested landscape as "the unit concept" of Anglophone geography, deriving it from the *landschaft* discussed by the German geographers of his day (Sauer 1925). Sauer defined landscape as

> a land shape, in which the process of shaping is by no means thought of as simply physical. It may be defined, therefore, as an area made up of a distinct association of forms, *both physical and cultural*. (25-26, my emphasis)

For Sauer, geography as a discipline was

> based on the reality of the union of physical and cultural elements of the landscape. The content of the landscape is found therefore in the

physical qualities of area that are significant to man and in the forms of his use of the area, in facts of physical background and facts of human culture. (29)

Sauer's landscape was not simply a scene captured by an observer, as by a painter or photographer, but rather a kind of *gestalt* derived from the observation of several similar scenes. Interested in establishing landscape as a generalizable unit of analysis, Sauer insisted that — despite its organic quality and what we might later call its "historical contingency" — landscape is not singular:

Whatever opinion one may hold about natural law, or nomothetic, genetic, or causal relations, a definition of landscape as singular, unorganized, or unrelated has no scientific value. (27)

In *The Nature of Geography* (1939), Richard Hartshorne discussed the importance acquired by the landscape concept since the publication of Sauer's 1925 essay. For Hartshorne, the term involved an ambiguity that could not be reconciled, owing to its origin in the German *landschaft*. On the one hand, the German word might refer to a "restricted" or specific "piece of land" (150). On the other, however, landscape had a meaning that was entirely observer-dependent and/or aesthetic; referring to the "appearance of a land as we perceive it" (150). Hartshorne's path around this ambiguity was to shift the study of geography away from the study of landscape toward the study of region and space. Contrary to the course chosen by Hartshorne, other geographers of the mid-20th century opted to continue using landscape as a unit of analysis, using it as a way of approaching environmental perception. As described by Kenneth Olwig (1996:630), however, this approach had its own potential pitfalls.

Olwig's own project is to recover the "substantive meaning of landscape as a place of human habitation and environmental interaction" (1996:630). The instrument for this

recovery is an historical and contextual treatment of the term landscape from its various

early Germanic uses, through its entry into modern English at the end of the 16th century,

up to the present. Along the way, Olwig traces the shifts and ambiguities of the term. For

example, in earlier uses, landscape referred not only to a particular area or piece of

physical land, but also to the jurisprudence, politics, and social organization that

structured life on that portion of land. Further, Olwig suggests, the works of 15th- to 17th-

century landscape painters depicted much more than the scenery these artists observed.

Often these paintings drew attention to and/or reproduced the same subtle legal, political,

and social structures at work on the land itself (see also Schama 1996). Olwig

demonstrates that the "actual" and the "aesthetic" meanings of the term landscape do not

need to be at odds with one another or to create, as suggested by Hartshorne, an

ambiguity that cannot be reconciled. Rather, in its substantive meaning, landscape

> can also be conceived as a nexus of community, justice, nature, and
> environmental equity, a contested territory that is as pertinent today as
> it was when the term entered the modern English language at the end of
> the sixteenth century. (Olwig 1996:630-631)

Similar debate has surrounded the meaning and importance of the term landscape in

archaeology. Christopher Tilley notes that the situation and movement of landscape

between the extremes of nature and culture — essential among the qualities first

identified by Sauer — makes the concept "unstable" (Tilley 1994:37). Editors of volumes

on "landscape archaeology" struggle to find a definition of the term that satisfies all

contributors and adequately encompasses their studies. For example, in the introduction

to *Archaeologies of Landscape* (1999), Ashmore and Knapp present no fewer than three

distinct definitions of landscape. The only certain agreement among these definitions is

that landscape has a human / social component.

More recently, in the *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (2008b), Bruno David

and Julian Thomas try to reconcile the contemporary, individual understandings of the

term offered by more than 70 contributors. David and Thomas make an observation very

similar to Olwig's in geography:

> The tension between landscape as an entity to be viewed like a painting
> from afar, and either analyzed or aestheticized, and landscape as a
> context of dwelling or inhabitation is one that has haunted landscape
> studies, and that was bequeathed to archaeology once it began to be
> concerned with the concept, much later on. (2008a:27)

It was, therefore, a challenge to arrive a definition of "landscape archaeology" with

which to structure the handbook. David and Thomas settle on a series of broad

descriptions of post-1970s landscape archaeology that do not impede the epistemological

variation characteristic of this endeavor. For example:

> … a conceptual framework that enables us to address human pasts in
> all their contexts and that goes beyond a purely environmental
> archaeology. In this sense, and along with other developments, it
> enables us to go forward from our own disciplinary pasts. (38)

And immediately thereafter:

> … it concerns not only the physical environment *onto* which people
> live out their lives but also the meaningful location *in* which lives are
> lived. This includes the trees and the rocks and the stars, not as abstract
> objects but as meaningful things that are located ontologically and
> experientially in people's lives and social practices (praxis). *People* lie
> at the core of a landscape archaeology and, befitting the general
> purpose of all archaeologies (in contrast to ethnology, geology, botany,
> zoology, and the like), it is those past human dimensions that a
> landscape archaeology targets. (38, emphasis in original)

David and Thomas recognize three themes that recur throughout the contributions to

their handbook, likely marking three broad understandings of the term landscape. One of

these involves reflection "on *representations* of landscapes, such as in landscape art, or

the identification of colonial tropes in landscape archaeological literature, or the analysis

of textual preconceptions" (20, emphasis in original). A second theme presents

"landscapes as *physical environmental contexts* of human behavior (such as

investigations of tree cover or topography of site environments)" (20, emphasis in

original).

This second theme seems the most likely to include interpretations that see landscape

as a collection of relatively passive elements, whose spatial organization precipitates out

of human activity. It might also include Marquardt and Crumley's relatively simple and

eloquent definition of landscape as "the spatial manifestation of the relations between

humans and their environment" (Marquardt and Crumley 1987b:1), where the latter is not

seen as passive but the temporal scale of human-environment relations remains unclear

(or intentionally undefined except in discussions of specific phenomena)[15]. On the whole,

given that it presents the archaeological record — and, thus, the landscape — as a series

of discrete, superimposed and differentially disturbed layers, the palimpsest concept is

most appropriate to these understandings of landscape.

Inadequacies of the Palimpsest Concept

Looked at more closely, however, the palimpsest metaphor starts to break down even

if one understands landscape to mean "physical-environmental context." As the opening

pages of Umberto Eco's *Baudolino* (2002) demonstrate in minute comic detail, the act of

creating a palimpsest is predominantly one of erasure (i.e., of destruction) and re-

inscription. Anything that remains of the initial text does so by accident, not because it

was intentionally left behind and reincorporated into the new text. This would seem to

account for the "inertia of prior investment" noted by Stoddart and Zubrow in their

observation about palimpsest landscapes, but not the processes of "re-interpretation" and "reworking" (Stoddart and Zubrow 1999:686). In a much-quoted passage, geographers Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove comment that

> landscape seems less like a palimpsest whose "real" or "authentic" meanings can somehow be recovered with the correct techniques, theories or ideologies, than a flickering text displayed on the word-processor screen whose meaning can be created, extended, altered, elaborated and finally obliterated by the merest touch of a button. (1988:8)

This word-processor metaphor allows for much wider variation in landscape practice, expanding beyond simple erasure and re-inscription. Not only is the full range of such practices important to understanding people's actions on (or *in*) the landscape; it is fundamental to understanding *relations* between humans and their environment (following Marquardt and Crumley above).

Beyond this, the palimpsest concept breaks down because, like the behavioral archaeology I discuss above — including Heilen, Schiffer, and Reid's (2008) contribution to the *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* — it draws relatively arbitrary temporal, spatial, and/or socio-practical boundaries around complex phenomena that are in a state of constant flux. As a result, to paraphrase Binford's (1981) earlier critique of behavioral archaeology, the palimpsest concept is yet another example of archaeologists' confusion about the relationship between statics and dynamics. The distortion implied by the palimpsest metaphor is first and foremost the distortion of the archaeologist's *a priori* research interests, as when a late Iron Age burial is said to "intrude" upon a site's Paleolithic levels. While some may find the palimpsest concept useful to describe the overall "feel" and/or "challenge" of the archaeological record, this metaphor is not up to

the task of describing the dynamic (i.e., evolving[16]) social, ecological, and socio-ecological relationships that constitute landscapes over time.

These relationships lie at the heart of perspectives that view

> landscapes as *fields of human engagement*, as in Heidegger's notion of dwelling. These include both explorations on [sic] conceptual *ways of approaching*, and *experiences* of, landscapes as fields of engagement, as the "in" of "being-in-the-world". (David and Thomas 2008b:20, emphasis in original)

Such perspectives represent the third major theme in the *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*. More broadly, they underlie efforts to establish a "phenomenological archaeology" especially focused on monuments and landscapes, particularly within British landscape archaeology (see, for example, Gosden 1994, 1996; Thomas 1993; Tilley 1994, 1996, 2004a, 2004b, 2005). But phenomenological approaches in archaeology have been subject to a great deal of critique, facing questions of rigor (Fleming 1999, 2005) and generating concern about the degree to which archaeologists' embodied interactions with landscapes in the present can inform our understandings of life in the past (for a review of these critiques, see Brück 2005). In a recent article, John Barrett and Ilhong Ko (2009) observe that although many of these criticisms are valid, they have not been well-addressed by the main proponents of phenomenology in (British) archaeology. To do so would strengthen the scientific potential of this approach considerably, a potential that Barrett and Ko summarize in their closing paragraph:

> The human subject must enter the world to find its place and handle the material available to find the categories of semblance out of which an order might be perceived. But the architectures and technologies of life change over time, and with them the possibilities of being in that particular world must also change. These are the dynamic and historical conditions of material existence which we believe a phenomenological approach to landscape can begin to reveal. (290)

A "Dwelling Perspective"

A more helpful use of phenomenology — perhaps because it focuses on the experience of landscape without necessarily trying to understand the lifeways of the past — can be found in the work of cultural ecologist Tim Ingold (see, for example, Ingold 2000). Ingold sets out what he refers to as a "dwelling perspective," which — like Tilley's *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994) — draws heavily on Martin Heidegger's phenomenology, most especially on the essay "Building dwelling thinking" (1977). Ingold posits this dwelling perspective in opposition to what he calls the "building perspective" characteristic of much mainstream anthropology. The building perspective is the foundation for such distinctions as that made between the "real" environment that exists independent of the senses, and that which is "perceived" by the mind of the person (or people) moving through it.

> The starting point in all such accounts is an imagined *separation* between the perceiver and the world, such that the perceiver has to reconstruct the world, in the mind, prior to any meaningful engagement with it…. that worlds are made before they are lived in; or in other words, that acts of dwelling are preceded by acts of worldmaking. (Ingold 2000:178-179)

A dwelling perspective, by contrast, attempts to tear down the epistemological walls that separate a perceiving human-organism from the environment within which she lives.

> … The forms people build, whether in the imagination or on the ground, arise *within the current of their involved activity, in the specific relational contexts of their practical engagement with their surroundings*. Building, then, cannot be understood as a simple process of transcription, [sic] of a pre-existing design of the final product onto a raw material substrate. It is true that human beings — perhaps uniquely among animals — have the capacity to envision forms in advance of their implementation, but this envisioning is itself an activity carried on by real people in a real-world environment, rather than by a disembodied intellect moving in a subjective space in which are

represented the problems it seeks to solve…. In short, people do not import their ideas, plans or mental representations into the world, since that very world, to borrow a phrase from Merleau-Ponty (1962:24), is the homeland of their thoughts. Only because they already dwell therein can they think the thoughts they do. (Ingold 2000: 186, emphasis mine)

The meaning of a landscape is, thus, not given in advance; rather, it (1) emerges out of direct interactions between perceiving human actors and the elements of that landscape, and (2) changes over time. For Ingold, this dwelling perspective calls on us to think of landscape not as a *thing* per se, but as a *process*.

Hugh Raffles takes this landscape-as-process approach in his brilliant "natural history" of the Amazon, noting that "places are never still, and they are never finished. Instead, like people, they are always in process, always in 'the flow of becoming,' always on the move" (2002:47). With this nod to Walter Benjamin (1963), Raffles carries us well beyond the philosophical capacities of simple taphonomic models or the palimpsest concept. This is precisely the direction in which we must move if we wish to better understand the reuse of landscapes as a socio-ecological phenomenon.

"Swimming in an Ocean of Materials"

If Ingold's dwelling perspective removes the separation between the "real" world and the "perceiving" mind, it necessitates certain shifts in the long-held "ontological politics" of mainstream Western philosophy. I would suggest that, among the most important of these shifts, the adoption of a dwelling perspective demands serious recognition of the complex relationships that exist between humans and the non-human entities with which we share the world[17]. Social theorists have long explored such relationships (see, for example, Durkheim 1995[1912]; Marx 1978[1852][1852]; Mauss

1990[1922]), but a growing concern with them has characterized Western social science over the past 30 years. This interest in the nature of interactions between humans and non-humans may be related to a revival in thinking about agency, largely in response to the work of practice theorists Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Anthony Giddens (1979, 1984). But while these authors focus primarily on human agency, much recent scholarship explores the possibility that non-humans might also exercise agency.

Bruno Latour, for example, describes human society as a complex, interactive, and iterative "collective" (1999, 2004) of human and myriad non-human actors that are animate and inanimate, material and conceptual. According to Latour, human action is never undertaken in isolation. Rather, it is always "mediated" — structured, motivated, discouraged, assisted, and resisted — by the actions of non-humans. Such mediation often takes forms that humans might not intend or expect.

John Law, one of Latour's colleagues in developing what has come to be known as Actor-Network Theory (ANT), explains the intricate connections that exist between human and non-human actors in collectives, or networks, in terms of a "radical relationality":

> … ANT is a *semiotics*. That is, it is a method (or better, a sensibility) that has to do with and explores relations, relationality. In de Saussure's synchronic linguistics (which is where it started) terms achieved their significance in relation to contrasts with other terms: man, women; father, son, daughter, grandparent, and so on. ANT (and other post-structuralist semiotics of materiality such as that developed by Michel Foucault) extends this beyond language to all entities. All entities, it says, achieve their significance by being in relation to other entities. This means that in ANT entities, things, people, are not fixed. Nothing that enters into relations has fixed significance or attributes in and of itself. Instead, the attributes of any particular element in the system, any particular node in the network, are entirely defined in relation to other elements in the system, to other nodes in the network. And it is

the analyst's job, at least in part, to explore how those relations – and so the entities that they constitute – are brought into being.

The implication of this apparently simple move, a move to what we might call radical relationality, is that we arrive at a logic which dissolves fixed categories. Elements have no significance except in relation to their neighbours, or the structure of the system as a whole. . . . All that is solid does indeed melt into air. Humans and non-humans, technical and social, all the rest. If differences exist it is because they are generated in the relations that produce them. Not because they exist, as it were, in the order of things. (2000:4, emphasis in original)

In the ellipses that precede the passage above, Law indicates that this kind of semiotics might also be found in the work of feminist technoscience authors, most notably that of Donna Haraway (1991, 1994, 1997). Within this genre, Karen Barad has eloquently recast Law's "radical relationality" as "entanglement":

To be entangled is not simply to be intertwined with another, as in the joining of separate entities, but to lack an independent, self-contained existence. Existence is not an individual affair. Individuals do not preexist their interactions; rather, individuals emerge through and as part of their entangled *intra*-relating. Which is not to say that emergence happens once and for all, as an event or as a process that takes place according to some external measure of space and of time, but rather that time and space, like matter and meaning, come into existence, are iteratively reconfigured through each *intra*-action, thereby making it impossible to differentiate in any absolute sense between creation and renewal, beginning and returning, continuity and discontinuity, here and there, past and future. (2007:ix, my emphasis)

Whether one chooses to think of these relationships as "radically relational" or "entangled," it seems that an effective "science of the social" must be all at once a science of humans and of non-humans intra-acting (following Barad 2003, 2007; Latour 2005).

While some branches of Anglophone archaeology have followed sister disciplines in developing theories of agency (including the agency of non-human actors), the discipline

has been relatively slow to arrive at the "entangled perspective" described above (see

Meyer and Crumley 2011:119-120). Yet, in a largely historiographic study of the Picts,

Patricia Galloway outlines the promise that ANT, in particular, offers to archaeology:

> Portraying as actor networks the work carried out by archaeologists,
> historians, and historical archaeologists on the remains left behind by
> people in the past allows us to make more explicit both the production
> of knowledge about the past through constituitive archaeological
> practices and the contributions of different kinds of evidence to that
> knowledge. (2006:43)

Beyond this value — which may be of interest to a limited number of scholars engaged in

social studies of archaeology — Galloway contends that ANT offers archaeologists the

opportunity to discuss the social life of artifacts:

> At creation, objects are always already deeply embedded in the human
> patterns of practice that enable subsistence and reproduce the
> thoughtworld and the lives of their creators and users. ANT is
> particularly helpful in attempting to frame the problem of
> understanding the social life of things … because it actually accords
> them a social life. (44)

Turning from the social lives of individual, portable artifacts to considerations of

landscape and environment, materiality and material culture studies provide models for

exploring the complex ecological collectives/systems in which humans participate. On

this point, however, Ingold urges caution, noting that "the ever-growing literature in

anthropology and archaeology that deals explicitly with the subjects of materiality and

material culture seems to have hardly anything to say about materials" (Ingold 2007:1).

Ingold's critique of materiality studies involves what he perceives as their primary

existence as an "escape route into theory" (16), a route which has taken them far afield of

the properties or qualities of matter that enable or resist human life.

Now, so long as our focus is on the materiality of objects — that is, on what makes things "thingly" — it is quite impossible to follow the multiple trails of growth and transformation that converge, for instance, in the stuccoed façade of a building or the page of a manuscript. These trails are merely swept under the carpet of a generalized substrate upon which the forms of all things are said to be imposed or inscribed. In urging that we take a step back, from the materiality of objects to the properties of materials, I propose that we lift the carpet, to reveal beneath its surface a tangled web of meandrine complexity, in which — among a myriad other things — oaken wasp galls get caught up with old iron, acacia sap, goose feathers and calf-skins, and the residue from heated limestone mixes with emissions from pigs, cattle, hens and bees. For materials such as these do not present themselves as tokens of some common essence — materiality — that endows every worldly object with its inherent "thingliness"; rather, they partake in the very processes of the world's ongoing generation and regeneration, of which things such as manuscripts or house fronts are impermanent by-products. (2007:9)

As one might predict given his adherence to a dwelling perspective, Ingold decries work that "does not bring the flesh and blood of human bodies into corporeal contact with materials of other kinds, whether organic or inorganic", but rather "brings incorporeal minds into contact with a material world" (2007:3).

I can touch the rock, whether of a cave wall or of the ground underfoot, and can thereby gain a feel for what rock is like as a material. But I cannot touch the materiality of the rock. The surface of materiality, in short, is an illusion. We cannot touch it because it is not there. Like all other creatures, *human beings do not exist on the "other side" of materiality but swim in an ocean of materials*. Once we acknowledge our immersion, what this ocean reveals to us is not the bland homogeneity of different shades of matter but a flux in which materials of the most diverse kinds — through processes of admixture and distillation, of coagulation and dispersal, and of evaporation and precipitation — undergo continual generation and transformation. The forms of things, far from having been imposed from without upon an inert substrate, arise and are borne along — as indeed we are too — within this current of materials. As with the Earth itself, the surface of every solid is but a crust, the more or less ephemeral congelate of a generative movement. (2007:7, my emphasis)

Above all, Ingold sounds a call to "once more take materials seriously, since it is from them that everything is made" (2007:14). Ingold's critique of materiality and material culture studies in anthropology and archaeology is fair. The irony, however, is that — although he has taken pains to distinguish himself from them, specifically on the questions of agency and the nature of connections within networks or "meshworks" (Ingold 2010) — Ingold's emphasis on movement/process and his insistence that human beings "swim in an ocean of materials" (including their own bodies) brings him far closer to fundamental theories of materiality and material culture than he might like to admit[18]. Thus, I continue in the belief that these approaches and others like them[19] can be used to think about how humans dwell within their environments.

But What is a "Landscape"?

The question remains, however, of how to define "landscape." For the sake of this writing, I would like to define landscape not as the materio-spatial manifestation or precipitate of the relations between humans and their environment(s), but rather as *the dynamic "collective"* (sensu Latour 1999, 2004) *formed by humans; space- and/or place-sensitive biotic and abiotic non-human actors (that are both material and conceptual); and the continuously changing relationships and practices that bind them all together*.

From a practical standpoint, this definition does not require landscape archaeologists to look at different materials and/or places than those upon which we already focus. My definition still encompasses the usual elements of the "built" environment — including houses, towns, cities, farms, churches, monuments, standing stones, tumuli, ponds, hedges, fields, and canals, among myriad other things — along with the features of the "unbuilt" environment that attract, shape, and/or resist human use/occupation (e.g., caves,

swamps, springs, lakes, mountain passes). To these I would add, as others already have

(see, for example, Barker 1995; Binford 1980; Erickson 2010; McGovern, et al. 2007;

Scarborough 2003, 2009), various "natural" phenomena like animal migrations, resource

patchiness, forest succession, nutrient cycles, and rainfall regimes.

The shift required by my "landscape-as-collective" definition is more conceptual

than practical. It involves moving away from a perspective that sees the material elements

of landscape, especially those of the "built" environment, as simply resulting from non-

material, socially meaningful processes and practices. The material components of

landscape should, rather, be seen as part-and-parcel of such non-material processes:

sometimes encouraging or enabling them, sometimes resisting them, and always

mediating them. While many of these material elements do, in fact, result directly from

intentional human action — as, for example, when a monument is erected — many more

do not. Even these, once built, enter into a complex field of shifting relationships

(temporal, spatial, social, political, economic, spiritual, sensual, semiotic, etc.) and

multiple meanings that an architect might find difficult to control. The strength and

variety of these relationships / meanings cannot be predicted and the architect may even

see her original intentions completely countermanded by the "social life" taken on by her

creation (see, for example, Forest and Johnson 2004; Gordon 2001; Schofield and

Anderton 2000). As a handful of authors (e.g., Bender 1998, 2002; Holtorf 1998; Holtorf

and Williams 2006) have indicated, with a longer social life come more and more varied

relationships and meanings for the landscape element (see below). Further, while

phenomenological approaches to archaeology may tempt us to think of our encounters

with the "landscape of the past" (or its elements) as similar to those of individuals who

lived in the past, we should always remember that we are forging new relationships. These recent relationships call upon the presumed importance and meaning of the past, but are nonetheless shaped by the circumstances and priorities of the present. They are always, therefore, fundamentally different from the experiences and relationships of the past. The upshot of these observations is that landscape archaeologists need to maintain our focus on the material qualities of the sites and landscapes. At the same time, however, we need to pay greater attention to the manifold ecological and social relationships in which these sites and landscapes have participated through time and *continue* to participate.

LANDSCAPE SYNCRETISM:
AN ALTERNATIVE LANDSCAPE PERSPECTIVE

On Syncretism

It should be clear by now that the palimpsest concept — which relies on a simple metaphor of effacement, re-inscription, and inertia — is woefully underequipped to describe landscape, especially if we understand the latter to be a dynamic collective of human and non-human actors continuously intra-acting in space. Clearly, a more comprehensive device is needed to conceptualize the landscape in all of its social and ecological complexity and dynamism. I have proposed "landscape syncretism" to fill this need (Meyer 2006).

Syncretism may be defined as an "attempted union or reconciliation of diverse or opposite tenets or practices" (*OED*: syncretism). We most often speak of syncretism in studies of religion, where it is seen as a wedding of beliefs and/or practices, generally after a conversion event (Stewart 2011). Among the most often-cited examples: the Western Christian spiritual year more or less maps onto earlier European pagan observances, such that Christmas (25 December), The Feast of St. John the Baptist (23-24 June)[20], The Feast of the Assumption (15 August), and All Saints' Day (1 November) fall on or near pre-Christian feast days (Figure 2.2)[21].

Not only do the dates of these feasts coincide, earlier pagan celebratory practices have often continued up to (or been reinstated in) the present. For example, one might view the annual *Festival Interceltique* ("Inter-Celtic Festival") held in Lorient (Brittany) — which draws hundreds of thousands of Celtic music fans during the first weeks of August — as a contemporary survival of traditional Lughnasa celebrations. Feast-day
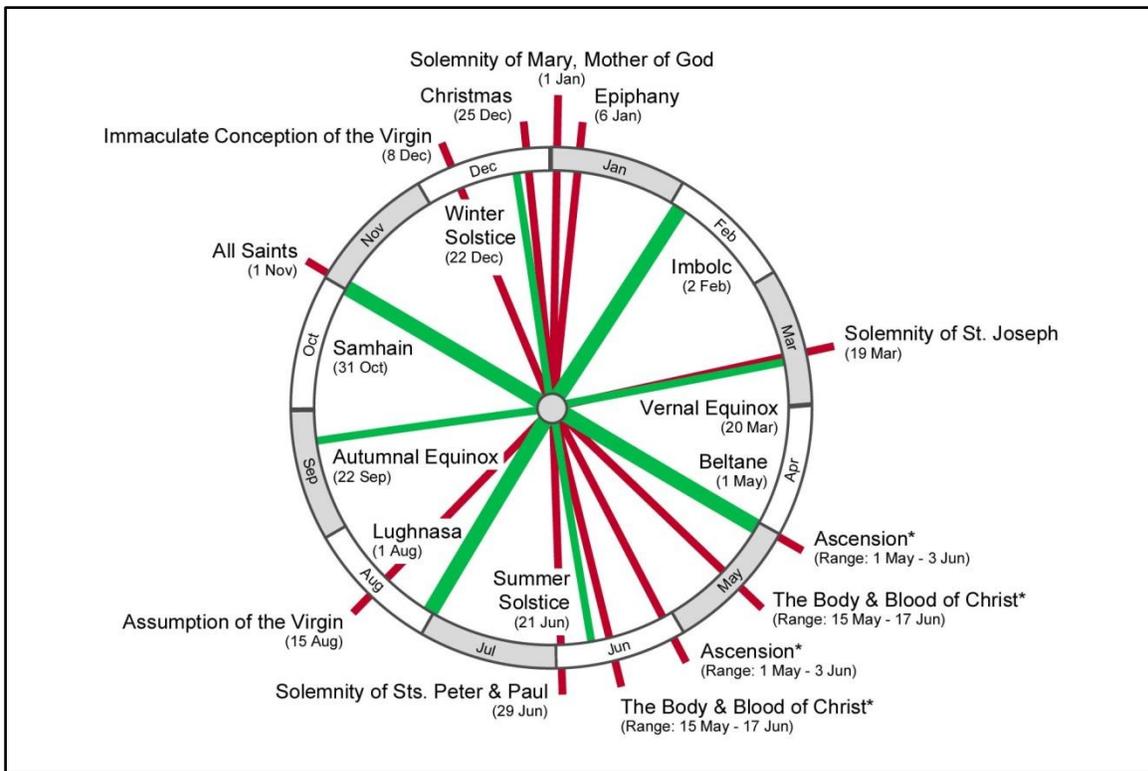
Figure 2.2. Syncretism in the "sacred wheel" of the northern European pagan and Roman Catholic years. Green lines indicate pagan feast days, labeled on the interior of the wheel. Red lines indicate Roman Catholic Holy Days of Obligation, labeled outside the wheel. (The Feasts of the Ascension and of the Body and Blood of Christ are calculated from the date of Easter, which is a "moveable feast": the first Sunday after the first full moon following the Vernal Equinox. The observances of the Ascension and of the Body and Blood of Christ are, therefore, also moveable. A range of possible dates exists for each, the beginnings and endings of which are noted here.)

bonfires remain common throughout France, as well, or did so until fairly recently. Until just a few years ago, "St. John's Fires" or "Celtic Fires" were lit on many of southern Burgundy's hilltops (Marquardt and Crumley 1987a). In non-drought years, the echo of earlier pagan "Midsummer Fires" on the summit of Mont Dardon remains an important part of social and political life. Given this apparent continuity of practice[22], it is unclear whether the Christian calendar was amended to ease the conversion of pagan populations in northern Europe or because pagan practices simply continued (despite conversion) and early Church leaders felt the need to defuse such heresy. Whatever the explanation, it

should be noted that — aside from anthropological and/or historical treatments (see, for example, Kent 2011; Rey and Richman 2010; Stewart and Shaw 1994) — religious uses of the term syncretism have often been derogatory (or patronizing at best). This is especially true of those uses offered by representatives of "orthodox" faiths to decry what they see as "heterodoxy" (following Bourdieu 1977).

The use of the term syncretism by developmental psychologists in the 20th century, while not quite as pejorative as that of religious authorities, nonetheless suggested a similar condescension. Early developmental psychology relied heavily on the equation of children with the members of non-industrial — generally cast as "*pre*-industrial" — societies. The minds of each group were thought to exist in a similarly "primitive" state[23]. Discussions of syncretism stemmed directly from this equation and were used to describe hybridities and/or mixed understandings about subjectivity and the nature of the world that were not assumed to characterize the fully mature or modern mind (see, for example, Piaget 1926; Werner 1948, 1957). Syncretism was assumed to be natural to children and the members of primitive society, but pathological if observed in a "modern" Western adult.

In marked contrast to these other uses, sociolinguists have given a great deal of positive analytical attention to phenomena identified as syncretic, particularly since the mid- to late-1980s. Largely building on the observations of Mikhail Bakhtin (e.g., 1981, 1984), the post-structuralist sociolinguistics of the last 30 years has moved away from earlier "either/or" understandings of language use in bi- or multilingual situations. Instead, discussions of such varied phenomena as code-switching, borrowing, and purity (both linguistic and ideological) have come to focus on the hybridity characteristic of

these situations, presenting a "'both/and' [understanding] that is 'not a mere wavering between two mutually exclusive possibilities' but a real *simultaneity* of contrasting elements in tension" (Woolard 1998:4, quoting from Bakhtin 1981:281, my emphasis). The deployment of syncretism as a concept in sociolinguistics has grown directly out of the focus on this simultaneity; on the co-occurrence of elements traditionally kept separate, including word choices, grammatical constructs, and forms of address (just to name a few) in speech acts. For example, in a study of simultaneities in communication on Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Miki Makihara (2004) demonstrates that linguistic syncretism can be a powerful communicative and political tool. Similarly, in a study of language use among Hasidic Jews in Brooklyn's Boro Park neighborhood, Ayala Fader (2007) shows how different "syncretic registers" (following Makihara 2004) are used to mark gender difference within the Hasidic community, as well as to set Hasidim apart from outsiders (i.e., other Jews and Gentiles).

The discourse on syncretism in (recent) sociolinguistic studies differs from other uses of the term in that it has come to view syncretism without inherent value judgment and, in fact, with curiosity. Further, and of equal importance, the syncretism described by sociolinguists differs substantially from that discussed by developmental psychologists in the degree to which it is a conscious phenomenon. While the linguistic hybridity / simultaneity observed on Rapa Nui or in Boro Park, for example, is no doubt driven *in part* by historical factors and speakers' unconscious *habitus*, the studies offered by Makihara and Fader (among others) suggest that the nature of this syncretism is also shaped, at any given time, by a speaker's conscious decisions. This is an awareness, an active negotiation, that we should keep in mind[24].

Landscape Syncretism

The question remains of how to take these disparate uses of the term "syncretism" and merge them into a concept useful to the study of landscape. In fact, much of the work of merging has already been done. The discourse on syncretism in religion and developmental psychology approached the hotly debated distinction between the "worldviews" / "cosmologies" of particular groups and the "universal" — read: pure, scientific, Western, Cartesian, etc. — reason underlying particular phenomena in our "lifeworld." Tim Ingold is among the many anthropologists who have questioned such distinctions. In the essay "Culture, nature, environment" (2000), Ingold draws heavily upon Gregory Bateson's "ecology of mind" (Bateson 1973, 1980) to demonstrate that the perceived difference between cosmologies and lifeworlds is contrived: for the Cree hunter, for example, what outsiders (i.e., anthropologists) see as a cosmology really is a lifeworld. Further, the lifeworld we modern Westerners take for granted is really our own cosmology. Ingold's upstart ontological politics puts these two cosmologies-lifeworlds on equal footing in terms of their truth value. Ingold goes on to suggest the divide between "nature"/ "the environment" and "culture" / "society" / "the individual" is similarly contrived. He demonstrates that if nature and culture are distinct, the elements that make up these two domains are nonetheless engaged in dynamic, iterative, co-constituitive, and historical relationships with one another[25]. It is, therefore, not possible to discuss the individual person per se, but only the individual human organism-in-its-environment[26]. Ironically, with this move, Ingold returns us to a vision of the world, and specifically of ecology, similar to that decried by early developmental psychologists as syncretic. If the complex dialectic negotiation that produces this organism-in-its-environment is at the heart of Ingold's dwelling perspective, so too is syncretism.

In a similar vein, the syncretism of 20th-century developmental psychology seems to have prefigured the entangled perspectives of ANT and similar theoretical approaches introduced above. What the psychologist Werner refers to as a "thing of action" and describes as confusing a primitive sense of subjectivity looks very like what philosopher Michel Serres (1982) calls a "quasi-object": a thing that operates and/or circulates within a collective of humans and non-humans, establishing relationships and generating meaning as it does so. Serres' notion of the quasi-object (and, less frequently, of the "quasi-subject") can be found throughout ANT and similarly entangled perspectives. For example, it is fundamental to the distinction that Latour makes between "mediators" and "intermediaries" (see Latour 1999), and, from there, to his argument about the false dichotomy between nature and culture, which looks very like Ingold's (see, for example, Latour 1993, 2004). Latour's title observation that "we have never been modern" (1993) seems an affirmation that syncretism, as constructed by the developmental psychologists, is not at all immature, primitive, or pathological. Rather, for Latour and his fellow travelers (as for Ingold) this kind of syncretism is a quintessential part of normal, everyday social existence.

Both of these translations of syncretism from its use in developmental psychology fit relatively well with the definition of landscape that I proposed earlier. This is not, however, what I had in mind when I first proposed syncretism as a landscape concept. Rather, I wanted to draw attention to more than the conscious and unconscious *negotiations* inherent in syncretism (and captured in these translations); I also wanted to highlight the *simultaneity* implied by syncretism, as discussed by sociolinguists and (some) scholars of religion.

Simultaneity in language refers to the presence of elements from different languages within the same utterance and/or linguistic system. Simultaneity in religion suggests a similar hybridity. Implicit in both cases is not only the place — be it physical or performative — in which these elements come together, but also the time when they do so. Put simply, to be simultaneous means to occur in the same place at the same time. Thus, in thinking about landscapes, we might view a burial mound from 900 BCE as *simultaneous* with the 20th century house built next to it, even though the two did not originate in the same era. As we observe the two in 2011, they are in the same place at the same time, even if the histories of their arrival and subsequent interactions in that place are markedly different.

Landscape syncretism is the process through which people make sense of simultaneities: we negotiate new relationships with landscape elements and non-material structures inherited from past generations, as well as with those left behind by "natural" (i.e., biophysical) forces, while — at the same time — we create new elements and structures. In contrast to the palimpsest concept, syncretism implies something more anthropologically meaningful than a cycle of *inscription, erasure,* and *re-inscription* in which elements of the past are only preserved by accident, as the result of inertia. While this cycle might be subsumed within landscape syncretism, so too are activities like *narration / storytelling, reinterpretation, rehabilitation, preservation, restoration, commemoration, forgetting, isolation, abandonment,* and "*reinvention*" (Hingley 1996). Through such negotiations, humans establish a rich series of dynamic socio-ecological relationships. These include relationships with the inherited elements of their landscape; relations among their own creations and those of past inhabitants; and, by extension, ties

of intimacy both with earlier human builders and with the non-human actors that operated within the landscape. In examining landscapes through the lens of anthropology, we should focus on relationships such as these.

Related Perspectives

The "syncretic perspective" I have outlined here is not entirely novel. In fact, a number of related approaches — both at the "edge" of and within archaeology — offer a focus on dynamic human-land interactions over the *longue durée*. Among these are historical ecology and archaeological studies of memory.

Historical Ecology: The "Domesticated Landscape"

In the seminal volume *Historical Ecology* (Crumley 1994b), Carole Crumley describes historical ecology as "a multiscalar temporal and spatial frame, with an explicit focus on the role of human cognition in the human-environment dialectic" (1994a:4). More recently, in (re)introducing historical ecology to a European archaeological audience, Crumley and I have elaborated upon her description. We discuss historical ecology as

> a cluster of concepts that offers a holistic, practical perspective to the
> study of environmental change. It may be applied to spatial and
> temporal frames at any resolution, but finds particularly rich data
> sources at what is loosely termed the 'landscape' scale—where human
> activity and biophysical systems interact and archaeological, historical,
> and ethnographic records are plentiful. The term assumes a definition
> of ecology that includes humans as a component of all ecosystems, and
> a definition of history that encompasses both the history of the Earth
> system as well as the social and physical past of our species (Balée
> 2006; Crumley 2007). Historical ecology is predicated upon the
> assumption that it is possible to construct an evidence-validated
> narrative of landscape transformation resulting from the continual
> interaction between (spatially and temporally) diverse human activities
> and changing environmental conditions…. [I]ts salient characteristics
> will be recognized as those which undergird most archaeological

practice. Chief among these are emphases on transdisciplinarity and on collaborative research. Historical ecology perforce draws on a broad spectrum of concepts, methods, theories, and evidence, taken from the biological and physical sciences, ecology, the social sciences, and the humanities. (Meyer and Crumley 2011:109-110)

As should be clear from these definitions, historical ecology offers a holistic orientation to the investigation of landscape changes that result as humans interact with the elements of their environment over time. As such, it is ideally situated to the study of landscape reuse.

Given my long-term participation in the French Project, which has provided a "laboratory" for the development of historical ecology over the past 30 years, it is perhaps not surprising that my syncretic perspective should so closely resemble the "conceptual toolbox" (Meyer and Crumley 2011) that is historical ecology. Indeed, many historical ecologists may see landscape syncretism as another way of describing "domesticated landscapes," a concept that has become increasingly common in the historical ecological literature over the past 15 years. While several similarities exist between the two perspectives, the domesticated landscape concept entails certain assumptions and commitments that I do not wish to fold into the concept of landscape syncretism. For the sake of clarity, these assumptions and commitments merit a bit of discussion.

The idea of domesticating landscapes was originally posited by D.E. Yen in his contribution to the 1989 volume *Foraging and Farming* (Harris and Hillman 1989). In a study comparing the human-environment relations characteristic of Australian hunter-gatherer groups with those of New Guinea agriculturalists, Yen attempted to demonstrate that early experiments in domestication likely did not modify single species. Rather, he

posits, early domestication involved the manipulation of whole biotic suites —

effectively, of whole landscapes or "environments":

> Thus, in many respects, the effect of hunter-gatherer domestication of environment may be likened to a form of group selection, in which the plant targets are aggregated as interbreeding units compared with the individual selection practised by the agriculturalist, which establishes closer control over the plants' breeding systems and can result in the varietal differentiation of species into physiological types… (Yen 1989:66)

Yen saw his "domestication of environment" as a necessary (and logical) first step in the

process of domesticating single species. Among the important contributions of this

chapter, Yen suggested that environments were originally domesticated by hunter-

gatherers rather than by horticulturalists, a view that flew in the face of dominant

ethnoarchaeological models and assumptions that, in the 1980s, still viewed foragers as

somehow at the mercy of the environments in which they lived.

In the years following the publication of *Foraging and Farming*, references to Yen's

"domestication of environment" proliferated. Relatively early on, historical ecological

authors reshaped Yen's idea slightly, generating the concept of domesticated landscapes.

For example, in a 1994 study of Mediterranean vegetation in the Sahara during the

Holocene, Erhard Schulz tells the following story:

> The combination of hunting and herding of small livestock, as well as metal production, resulted in a definite change in the soil and plant cover. It caused a clearing of the vegetation and the evolution of an anthropogenic or "domesticated" landscape in the sense of Yen (1989)… [O]ne could imagine that the present savanna system of the Sahel evolved from the contact of the Sudanian and Saharan plant formations under the steadily increasing influence of man. It is to be regarded as a continent-wide anthropogenous or cultural landscape system from the beginning of the middle Holocene on. (Schulz 1994:149)

Not long thereafter, in her contribution to Ashmore and Knapp's *Archaeologies of Landscape* (1999), Lisa Kealhofer discusses the changes in the perception of and interaction with the environment that characterized the European colonization of Virginia from 1600 to 1750. She recounts how the Virginian landscape was gradually domesticated "through warfare, trade, pastoralism, agriculture, industry, and settlement," increasingly blurring distinctions between the "conceived" and the "constructed" landscape (Kealhofer 1999:60). Still more recently, Clark Erickson — now among the principal engineers of historical ecology — opens his chapter in *Time and Complexity in Historical Ecology* (Balée and Erickson 2006) with the following:

> In this chapter, I explore a simple hypothesis: that Amazonian peoples
> of the past invested more energy in domesticating entire landscapes
> than in domesticating individual plant and animal species. Through
> landscape engineering and the use of simple technology such as fire,
> the past inhabitants domesticated the forest, savanna, soil, and water of
> the Bolivian Amazon, which had profound implications for availability
> of game animals, economically useful plants, overall biomass, and
> regional biodiversity. (Erickson 2006:235)

Though they change the wording slightly and elaborate further upon the mechanics, each of these examples (and many others in historical ecology) remain close to Yen's original concept of environmental domestication. While many of the concerns and motivations included in the concept of domesticated landscapes are valid, I submit that it is precisely this fidelity to Yen's original formulation that leaves the concept inadequate as a structuring principle, both to the discussion of landscape reuse that I hope to provide here and to broader historical ecological analyses. This inadequacy stems from two pieces of "intellectual baggage" that I suspect were unintentionally co-opted along with the concept. The first of these is a problem of agency. Yen's political move in demonstrating the agency hunter-gatherers exercise in modifying their environment

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remains laudable for the time and academic context. In the 20 years that have passed

since the publication of *Foraging and Farming*, however, anthropology's mainstream

discourse has tended to move beyond questions of whether or not hunter-gatherers exist

at the mercy of their environments. It is now generally accepted that humans, regardless

of subsistence strategy, impact the shape of the landscapes within which they live. Thus,

viewed through the lens of a 21st-century anthropology that has begun to consider the

agency of non-human actors, the notion of domesticating an entire landscape to serve

human needs and desires seems a bit overplayed. In short, the trope of domesticated

landscapes is too anthropocentric and, therefore, out of sync with contemporary

scholarship that increasingly considers the roles (both intended and unintended) of

various human and non-human actors in socio-ecological systems (see, for example,

Fuller, et al. 2010; Graham 2006; Whitridge 2004), and even suggests that humans may

have been similarly domesticated by the plants and animals with which we interact

(Moray 1994; O'Connor 1997; Pollan 2002; Rindos 1984).

A further shortcoming of the domesticated landscape concept is related to the

theoretical approach(es) in which it originated. The essays contained in *Foraging and*

Farming were largely written from the perspective of human evolutionary ecology and,

as such, were unapologetically materialist and largely oriented towards the study of

economic phenomena. Yen's contribution was no exception. As a result, many later

authors who discuss domesticated landscapes do so in a similar manner. In fact, one

might argue that an entire branch of historical ecology (represented most clearly in the

work of Balée and Erickson) focuses heavily on issues of production, economy, and

subsistence while largely ignoring the agency of social structures and ideology. Thus, the

domesticated landscape often comes to be synonymous with the "productive landscape."

Clearly production and economy are important (and were in the past), but ethnographic

studies of human ecology often demonstrate that social and ideological factors are

equally important in shaping socio-ecological systems (for a comprehensive example, see

Vitebsky 2005). This is an important point to remember in considering the Burgundian

case study that I present here.

My syncretic perspective is neither as anthropocentric nor as focused on productivity

as that which discusses domesticated landscapes. It derives from a branch of historical

ecology that developed in dialog with, though nonetheless separate from, the heavily

economic historical ecology of Balée and his collaborators (i.e., the principal advocates

of the domesticated landscape perspective). While still undeniably materialist, this

version of historical ecology (and others like it) also recognize(s) the importance of social

and ideological structures/actors in shaping local landscapes. This is the kind of historical

ecology developed and adhered to by the French Project in Burgundy (see, for example,

Crumley 2000; Crumley and Marquardt 1987; Meyer and Crumley 2011). Such

approaches have also been applied with great success to a wide geographic, temporal, and

disciplinary array of case studies (e.g., Cormier 2011; de Vries 2005; Forbes 2007;

Hassan 1994; Murray 2008, 2010; Schaan 2012; Schmidt 1994; Scholl 2008)[27].

Archaeological Studies of Memory

Within the discipline of archaeology itself, perspectives similar to landscape

syncretism have developed out of an explicit concern with cultural uses of memory.

Though it has occasionally fallen out of fashion as a topic of research (Klein 2000),

memory — and specifically "social" or "collective" memory — has a long history in the

social sciences. French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs is generally

credited with having put collective memory on the social science agenda during the first

quarter of the last century[28]. Halbwachs asserted:

> It must be demonstrated that, aside from in dreams, the past really does
> not reappear as such and that, by all indications, it is not preserved.
> Rather, we reconstruct it, drawing on the present. It is also necessary to
> show that collective "frames" (*cadres*) of memory are not immediately
> developed through the combination of individual remembrances, nor
> are they empty forms that receive abstract memories taken from
> elsewhere. On the contrary, at any given point in time, they are
> precisely the tools of collective memory used to reconstruct an image
> of the past that resonates with the dominant ideas of the society.
> (1925:x-xi)

The last two decades have witnessed a revival of memory studies in the social

sciences that most historiographers attribute to the work of historian Pierre Nora (e.g.,

1972, 1989) and sociologist Paul Connerton (1989). In his review of the topic, David

Berliner (2005) suggests that to understand the recent "memory boom" in anthropology,

one must also look to the contributions of Jack Goody (e.g., 1972) and Roger Bastide

(e.g., 1970). Whatever the source, it is true that memory occupies a central place in

contemporary Anglo- and Francophone anthropologies, as in our sister disciplines. It is

difficult to explain this popularity. Dominick LaCapra (1998) traces the interest in

memory to scholars' efforts to interpret the Holocaust and this explanation offers a

certain sense of justice given the circumstances of Halbwachs' death. Several authors

have considered memory in attempts to document and make sense of other cases of

institutionalized violence, including that done to "*los Desaparecidos*" ("the

Disappeared"), the victims of repressive Latin American political regimes (Cecconi 2011;

Roniger and Sznajder 1998; Zarankin and Funari 2008); that documented by "Truth and

Reconciliation Commissions" in a number of African countries (Coombes 2003; Shaw

2007); and that visited upon the residents of Balkan communities, both by outside powers

and by their neighbors (Ballinger 2002; Cushman 2004; Halilovich 2011). Beyond the

commemoration of ethnic, racial, and/or political violence, as Lee Klein (2000) and

David Berliner (2005) point out, memory studies have been driven forward by forces as

diverse as identity movements in the United States and a revival of ethnic/national

movements in Europe.

For at least one of these authors, David Berliner (2005), the popularity of memory

threatens its utility as a concept in anthropology. Berliner is uncomfortable with the

breadth of definitions now afforded to cultural/collective memory and observes that the

term often completely overlaps with earlier definitions of "culture" (202-203). He is

particularly dismayed by anthropologists' uncritical acceptance of memory as something

that hovers somewhere between treating history as lived and the past as persistent. He

claims:

> … for many anthropologists, readers of Halbwachs, Nora, Connerton
> and Bastide as well, memory is also understood roughly as the
> "persistence of something from the past into the present" (Halbwachs
> 1925, [Berliner's] translation) or, in other words, when "a particular
> past perseveres because it remains relevant for later cultural
> formations" (Olick and Robbins 1998:129). The label "memory" aims
> to grasp the past we carry, how we are shaped by it and how this past is
> transmitted. Therefore, every little trace of the "past in the present" is
> designated as memory. Here, there is neither perception nor
> remembering. Memory is not seen as a set of representations of events
> and experiences that are shared, but as the way lasting traces of the past
> persist within us, as the transmission and persistence of cultural
> elements through the generations. Memory is not these series of
> recalled mental images, but a synonym for cultural storage of the past:
> it is the reproduction of the past in the present, this accumulated past
> which acts on us and makes us act. As Pierre Nora put it, "Collective
> memory is what remains from the past in groups' life [sic], or what
> groups do with the past" (Nora 1972:398, [Berliner's] translation).
> (Berliner 2005:200-201)

Berliner laments such uses of memory, noting that they break away from earlier, more-critical approaches such as those of Halbwachs, Goody, and Bastide. These authors, he claims, drew attention to how that past is shaped and patched together in the present. "In a revealing way, memory, as it is used by anthropologists, is not this fragile and unreliable memory that embarrassed suspicious historians in the past. Today more than ever, memory is on the side of continuity, permanence and 'retention'" (Berliner 2005:204, referencing Crapanzano 2004).

While Berliner's critique may be a valid assessment of the situation in socio-cultural anthropology, he overreaches in criticizing memory studies *across* anthropological subdisciplines. When memory is explicitly discussed, North American anthropological archaeology — together with its European cousins (which are more-closely aligned with history) — has approached the topic rather differently. Though its publication admittedly post-dates Berliner's and highlights European research, the contributions to the edited volume *Sites of Memory* (Maříková-Kubková, et al. 2008) nonetheless demonstrate this difference in approach to memory. According to two of the volume's editors, Nathan Schlanger and Jana Maříková-Kubková (2008), the concept of *lieux de mémoire* (i.e., "sites of memory") offered by Pierre Nora in the 1980s (see, for example, Nora 1989) remains "something of a conceptual orchard with promising fruits yet to bear, for archaeology as for historical and anthropological studies" (Schlanger and Maříková-Kubková 2008:23). Schlanger and Maříková-Kubková remind us that there is nothing inherently memorial about any archaeological site, regardless of what might have taken place on that site in the past.

> Whatever the historiographic position chosen, the key point about the
> notion of *lieux de mémoire* is that it leads us archaeologists beyond the

past "as it happened" — or as it is deemed and reconstructed to have happened — towards a second degree past, a past as it has been perceived, represented, appropriated, used, and reutilized time and again in the successive presents that have unfolded since its coming into consciousness. (24)

These authors recognize a similar potential to that lamented by Berliner, but without the jeremiad overtones. To be certain, Schlanger and Maříková-Kubková recognize faults in how archaeology, history, and social anthropology have studied memory. For them, the current limitations of memory studies in European archaeology — as, I would argue, in North American archaeology — include (1) a tendency to overlook the potential of *lieux de mémoire* to be conceptual/abstract *instead of* or *as well as* material (a potential that figures prominently in Nora's vision), and (2) a general isolation to the Anglophone and Francophone academies (an isolation that their volume aims to remedy, though it may not be successful [see Meyer 2010b]). I find it instructive, however, that Schlanger and Maříková-Kubková do not indicate either an overuse of memory by contemporary archaeologists or a naive application of the term. Indeed, a third limitation might be that, while suitably critical, archaeological uses of memory remain relatively restricted even *within* the French, British, and North American academies.

The Past in the Present: Collective Memory and the Socio-Politics of Archaeology

Schlanger and Maříková-Kubková's work is a call to explore how abstract social memory becomes associated with particular material places. Archaeologists are among the parties involved in the establishment of this association; in many cases, the principal party. One research agenda to grow out of archaeology's concern with memory is the investigation of the "past in the present": how contemporary societies make sense of and use the material culture and space inherited from previous generations. Rather than

meanings and memories, this material culture and space are, themselves, precisely what "continue" from generation to generation[29]. How we make sense of these legacies is shaped not only by their material qualities, but also by historical convention and contemporary social and political forces, setting up a series of very complex relationships between the past and the present. Thus, studies of memory in archaeology have become quite sensitive to the history and the socio-political situation of the discipline itself.

To understand this, consider the following quote from Marx's *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, originally published in 1852:

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. (Marx 1978[1852]:595)

While Marx may have intended to discuss human practice more generally in this passage, his statement is particularly apt to the production of history, which is for all intents and purposes the "production" of the past. The production of the deep past is constrained by the more-recent past. It may be more precise, however, to say that such creations are constrained by structures in the present (Halbwachs 1950; Levi 2001:25-26) that have long developmental histories of their own linking them to Marx's "dead generations." The relationships that exist between the past and the present are dialectical (Bloch 1953:43-45; Hartog and Revel 2001:19; Hodder 1991:180-181; Koselleck 2002:49; LeGoff 1996:1-19). The artisan may leave her fingerprints on the ceramic pot of Benjamin's beautifully constructed metaphor (Benjamin 1968:92), but the forms that this pot might take are already constrained by social convention; the archaeologist and the historian work with pre-defined categories of contemporary archaeological and historical

discourse in mind. "Thus, interpretations of history are not just composed of the free choice between always available linguistic options but are instead subject to a sequential constraint of metaphorical language" (Koselleck 2002:43). Archaeological materials are always moved by, shaped by, and (re-)introduced into complex webs of geopolitical, linguistic, disciplinary, and historical — to name a few — relationships; relationships which serve as structuring meta-narratives for the stories that archaeologists tell (Pluciennik 1999), the pasts and the memory that archaeologists and historians create.

It can be claimed that archaeological meta-narratives, like the broader *habituses* that they instantiate, are "durably installed" (Bourdieu 1977:78) in the minds of archaeologists and historians. The installation and reinforcement of meta-narratives in the archaeo-historic imagination is an activity that each historian and archaeologist engages in every day, through our practice as producers of collective memory. Both purposefully and unintentionally we reproduce the meta-narratives installed by our mentors, colleagues, and disciplinary networks. But we change them somewhat as we develop our own narratives, we expand them and draw new connections between them based on our own geopolitical, linguistic, disciplinary, and/or historical positions. As storytellers (sensu Benjamin 1968), we are both manipulated by archaeological meta-narratives and manipulative of them. Following Andrew Pickering (1995), we "tune" these meta-narratives and are, at the same time, finely tuned *by* them.

Historians and archaeologists, whether professional or amateur, do more than create memory. We are actively involved in *re-membering* the past — that is to say: in re-assembling the material pieces of the past back into a coherent near-whole (the whole being forever lost [Bloch 1953:155]). The pieces that we seek to put back together are the

only remaining reality of the past. As Hodder reminds us, "archaeology is what it is today in each country partly because of what has been found" (Hodder 1991:188). Thus, our meta-narratives of the past are also structured by those bits of material culture, those artifacts and those landscape features first built in the distant past, that we uncover, interact with, and seek to explain (cf., Abu El-Haj 2001). This is the challenge of the past-present dialectic. It is also, incidentally, a critical point at which studies of the "past in the present" intersect with explorations of landscape syncretism.

Unfortunately, the past-present dialectic is troubling to many archaeologists. Despite the call from a number of quarters to recognize and examine the socio-political involvement of archaeology, relatively few archaeologists have come forward to answer this call. The work of those who have generally follows one (or more) of four approaches to the study of socio-politics and the production of collective memory.

Case Studies in History and Memory. This approach describes local uses of and approaches to the past, often to satisfy the goals of particular segments of society. Bettina Arnold's (1990, 2004, 2006) work on the relationship between archaeology and the state in Nazi Germany exemplifies this kind of analysis. Similarly, in a pair of case studies, Carole Crumley (1991) and Michael Dietler (1994, 1998b) have examined the use of Iron Age material culture in efforts to valorize French nationalism. A thought-provoking and controversial example of this type has been provided by Nadia Abu-el Haj, whose *Facts on the Ground* (2001) describes the uses of archaeology by the Israeli state.

Plural Archaeologies. This approach provides synchronic and multi-regional comparisons among different archaeologies, often written to describe the archaeologies of other places. Under this heading, we might also consider diachronic histories of

archaeology, generally within single countries but occasionally across regions. Such

histories often detail the development of schools of archaeological thought. Some

"classic" examples of this type have been provided by Bulkin, Klejn, and Lebedev

(1982); Milisauskas (1986); Soffer (1983); Sklenář (1983); and Trigger (1984). More

recent examples include Alice Kehoe's *The Land of Prehistory* (1998), as well as many

of the contributions to a section of the March 1999 issue of *Antiquity* entitled "Theory in

French Archaeology." While elements of the latter might be included in several of the

categories I propose here, the essays by Anick Coudart (1999), Françoise Audouze

(1999), and Laurent Olivier (1999b) demonstrate this approach particularly well. So, too,

does the Archives of European Archaeology (AREA) research network. Formed at the

end of the last century, AREA seeks to record histories of archaeology in Europe, with

particular emphasis on the promotion and preservation of disciplinary archives. AREA

has hosted a number of small conferences and sessions at larger meetings; designed an

exhibition that traveled throughout Europe in 2008, as well as a few "virtual exhibitions"

(which can be viewed on-line at *http://www.area-archives.org/vexh.html*); and generated

a series of publications, including the above-referenced volume edited by Maříková-

Kubková, et al. (2008).

    Political Economy of Archaeology. This approach seeks to understand the political

and social situation of particular archaeologies within broader regions. Among the topics

commonly discussed within this approach are linguistic inequality (e.g., Härke 1998;

Kristiansen 2001), archaeological "mainstreams" and "minorities" (Neustupný 1997-

1998), and similar questions related to "communication among archaeologists" (the

subject of a 2007 special issue of the *Journal of European Archaeology*, see Harding and

Venclová 2007). Other writers who use this approach ask critical questions about who does archaeological work and the socio-political relations that structure their work (see, for example, Gero, et al. 1983; Patterson 1999). Such questions have appeared and now flourish as Marxism and feminism have made inroads into Anglophone, Scandinavian, and German archaeology. As a result, authors have come to question how the very person-body of the researcher affects her access to the discipline and the kind of archaeological research that she might do (see, for example, Claassen 2000; Díaz-Andreu and Stig-Sørensen 1998; Dowson 2000, 2006; Gero 1985; Pope 2011; She 2000; Shepherd 2003).

Archaeological Encounters: Same Material Culture, Different Epistemologies. This approach describes regional contacts in which different archaeological traditions encounter the same artifacts/sites and produce differing interpretations of this material. Danuta Piotrowska's (1998) analysis of excavations at Biskupin, an Iron Age fortified settlement that has played a large role in pan-Slavic and Polish nationalist movements, is an excellent example of this approach. So too are the case studies of Dolní Věstonice / Unterwisternitz (Moravia, Czech Republic) and Vix / Mont Lassois (Côte-d'Or, northern Burgundy, France) offered by Silvia Tomášková (1995) and Laurent Olivier (2000), respectively. In a more-recent work, Tomášková (2005) has gone on to demonstrate that artifact typologies tend to be indicative of the time in which they are made and the national tradition (i.e., training) of the analyst. As a result, technologically similar artifacts may find themselves classified rather differently and, thus, ignored in broader regional and/or temporal comparisons.

Many of these studies would seem, at least superficially, to take us afield of both memory and landscape. I argue, however, that they are fundamental to understanding the structures, actors, and practices involved in the production of archaeological interpretations. These studies remind us that "the process of 'remembering together' involves an interplay or dynamic between people and things" (Jones 2003:84, following Radley 1997). They are, therefore, critical to any examination of how abstract social memory becomes attached to particular artifacts and associated with certain places in the landscape. Given that such attachments are how people make sense of the material culture inherited from past generations, studies of the "past in the present" should be seen as closely related — if not essential — to studies of landscape syncretism.

The Past in the Past: Time, Memory, and Reuse in Archaeological Contexts

Similarly essential are studies of the "past in the past," where the link to studies of landscape and memory is generally more straightforward. These approaches recognize that the past is not separate or qualitatively different from the present. Rather, it is better understood as a *succession* of "indistinct presents," each potentially characterized by memorial activities like those discussed above. As Cornelius Holtorf explains in his study of the "lives" of megaliths in Mecklenberg-Vorpommern (Germany), "Cultural memory is hence not about giving testimony *of* past events, accurately and truthful, but about making meaningful statements *about* the past in a given present" (1998:24, emphasis in original).

Attendant to this realization are a pair of theoretical developments in archaeology. The first is a concern with conceptions of time in non-Western and non-modern contexts, particularly by the members of early societies. This is the topic of a 1993 special issue of

the journal *World Archaeology* (Volume 25, Issue 2: Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society), edited by Richard Bradley. In the opening essay of this issue, Michael Rowlands discusses the unique role of "object traditions" in the generation and transmission of social/collective memory:

> Object traditions, rather than language or speech, serve as the only means of gaining access to … unconscious [memory] traces, and they do so by allowing direct re-engagement with past experience in ways that are prevented in language. The reason therefore why heirlooms, souvenirs and photographs have this particular capacity to evoke and to establish continuities with past experience is precisely because, as a material symbol rather than verbalized meaning, they provide a special form of access to both individual and group unconscious processes.
>
> Why this should be so is embedded in the function, status and role of objects as *aide* [sic] *memoire*. Objects are culturally constructed to connote and consolidate the possession of past events associated with their use or ownership. They are there to be talked about and invested with the memories and striking events associated with their use. The link between past, present and future is made through their materiality. *Objects of a durable kind assert their own memories*, their own forms of commentary and therefore come to possess their own personal trajectories (what Kopytoff (1986) has recently termed the personal biography of things). (Rowlands 1993, emphasis mine)

In the articles that follow, contributors discuss the alternative, and often plural, conceptions of time that appear to have operated in some past societies (Bailey 1993; Barrett 1993; Criado and Penedo 1993; Mizoguchi 1993); those that operate in contemporary, non-Western societies (Cooper 1993; Dietler and Herbich 1993); and those that structure archaeological narratives (Hodder 1993; Murray 1993). Particularly noteworthy among the contributions to this edition of *World Archaeology* is the original version of Tim Ingold's "The temporality of landscape," in which he draws attention to how time — through the embodied, material-focused performance of the tasks involved in dwelling — is intricately woven into the landscape. I have referenced a later version of

this essay (Ingold 2000:189-208) above and will continue to draw upon it in later chapters.

The concern with time demonstrated in the *World Archaeology* special edition generated at least two follow-up volumes: Chris Gosden's *Social Being and Time* (1994) and Julian Thomas's *Time, Culture and Identity* (1996). In his later comments on the subject, Richard Bradley admits that "it may not be possible for archaeologists to recover past conceptions of time save in the most exceptional circumstances" (2002:14). He goes on to note that Gosden, in his volume, works on the level of abstraction, losing considerable archaeological detail in the case studies that he (i.e., Gosden) offers. By contrast, Bradley observes, Thomas provides several fine-grained archaeological examples that do not cohere well with that author's philosophical introduction. Bradley argues that both Gosden and Thomas make the same critical omission:

> Both authors overlook a more immediate issue: the many different *practices* by means of which ancient peoples reacted to the surviving remains of antiquity. Such remains would have been particularly significant as oral traditions lapsed, and, unlike the more abstract topics tackled by both these writers, such practices left obvious traces for archaeologists to study. These empirical patterns have been largely ignored, and it is time to investigate them now. (Bradley 2002:14)

Here, Bradley directly indicates a need to study the "objects of a durable kind" suggested by Rowlands (1993:144). Indeed, a concern with how people in the past interacted with material inherited from earlier pasts represents the second major theoretical development in this branch of archaeological memory studies. While recent authors (in archaeology) have continued to think about past and/or "Other" conceptions of time (see, for example, Holdaway and Wandsnider 2008b; Lucas 2005), they have very rarely done so without considering such interactions.

It is perhaps fitting that a growing interest in past interactions with earlier material

culture became the topic of a second special edition of *World Archaeology* (1998,

Volume 30, Issue 1: The Past in the Past: The Reuse of Ancient Monuments). In this

issue, co-editors Howard Williams and Richard Bradley draw upon the contributions to a

1997 session of the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG - UK) meeting, held at York.

The mood of the collection is captured in the opening paragraphs of its first essay:

> There are a number of chalk-cut figures in southern Britain of disputed
> ages. The only one with radiometric dates from the prehistoric period is
> the White Horse at Uffington which may be late Bronze Age (Miles
> and Palmer). This is difficult for some to believe because the most
> convincing date for the Horse came from parallels with late Iron Age
> coins, a thousand years later than the earliest Optically Stimulated
> Luminescence (OSL) dates that were recently obtained. If the dates are
> accurate, then one can argue that an element of late prehistoric
> iconography had a long history. However, the fact that the White Horse
> is a chalk figure is significant in that they disappear if not cleaned
> regularly, maybe as often as every five years. Until 1865, the cleaning
> of the Horse was part of the spring festivities of the village of
> Uffington, itself a late Roman or Saxon foundation. Whatever the exact
> social circumstances of cleaning, it is clear that the Horse has been
> maintained regularly over a period of 3,000 years, if we accept the
> disputed OSL dates, and thus has had some historical power throughout
> that period, the first thousand of [sic] years of which fell within what
> we now call prehistory.
>
> It is one of the ironies of the discipline that while we, as archaeologists,
> see the world in historical terms, we are unlikely to ascribe a
> consciousness of history to the prehistoric peoples whom we study. A
> first step is to acknowledge that history mattered to many in prehistory.
> People structured their contemporary world not just with regard to the
> exigencies of the present, but also through a complex consciousness of
> the past. Neither history, as sets of past events and processes, nor a
> consciousness of history, which determines how people conceive of,
> and act out, a past in the present, is a simple thing. So that the step from
> an acknowledgment that history mattered to being able to delineate *how*
> it mattered is a huge one. (Gosden and Lock 1998:2-3)

Gosden and Lock go on to describe different conceptions of time/history that operated in

Britain during the protohistoric[30] and early Roman periods. They demonstrate how these

understandings of the past shaped human action in the "presents" of the late Bronze Age, the Iron Age, and the Roman period. The articles that follow present a number of archaeological case studies in which the landscape features of the past, both anthropogenic and "natural" (see Bradley 1998a, 2000), were reused and/or reinterpreted by later generations, often for social and/or political gain. Some of these case studies explore up to four or five thousand years of landscape reuse (e.g., Parcero, et al. 1998), and many consider this reuse in contemporary contexts (e.g., Dietler 1998b). The contributions to this 1998 special edition draw our attention to the very long life-histories of the landscape features that we study, reminding us that while "archaeologists have mainly focused on the birth and early childhood of megaliths [and other such monuments], as well as on how to dissect and preserve their corpses" (Holtorf 1998:24), the actual lives of these features continue long after the deaths of their builders.

Since 1998, a steady stream of publications has followed the lead set by the contributors to the *World Archaeology* issue. The authors of these publications have focused on the reuse, circulation, and reinterpretation of ancient materials and/or places in archaeological contexts (see, for example, Bradley 2002; Chapman 2000, 2008; Jones 2007; Lillios and Tsamis 2010; van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Williams 2003; Yoffee 2007). Despite the growing number of scholars who examine the "past in the past," the degree to which this movement can be considered to have entered into the mainstream of Anglophone — and, especially, North American — archaeology remains debatable.

It perhaps goes without saying that I see my syncretic perspective fitting best with these studies of the "past in the past." While I have referred to all three of the theoretical/practical approaches summarized above (i.e., historical ecology, the "past in

the present," and the "past in the past") as "related approaches," studies of landscape syncretism might, in many cases, most cleanly overlap with those of the "past in the past." Indeed, landscape syncretism can be thought of as the anthropological process being examined as archaeologists study past uses of ancient material culture and/or landscapes. I would caution, however, against the complete equation of the two perspectives. First, landscape syncretism should be seen as an ongoing process. It is, therefore, not simply a phenomenon that occurred in some distinct past and is now finished. It is more appropriate to understand landscape syncretism as a processual bridge that links studies of the "past in the past" with those of the "past in the present" and, presumably, future uses of archaeological materials and features (following Holtorf 1998).

A second caveat comes with the reconsideration of two articles from the 1998 *World Archaeology* volume. In their contributions, both Howard Williams (1998) and Sarah Semple (1998) discuss the importance of ancient burial mounds to medieval Anglo-Saxon life and cosmology. Both authors begin with a consideration of the Beowulf myth, particularly the death of Beowulf, which is said to have occurred in a battle with a mound-dwelling dragon. Williams's article goes on to describe in detail how prehistoric barrows were reused by Germanic groups during the Medieval period. He discusses the orientation of bodies, the items included with secondary burials, and the possible import of this practice to the establishment and maintenance of long-term claims to particular territories. Semple, by contrast, explores the associations that these earlier barrows came to have in the medieval Anglo-Saxon worldview. Such landscape features, Semple tells us, were generally considered to be the dwelling places of dragons, goblins, monsters,

and/or divinities. With the arrival of Christianity, the mounds and their denizens were demonized. Throughout the Medieval period, these barrows were typically avoided and seen as fit only for outcasts, exiles, and witches. The singular exception seems to have been important multi-group meetings that were held on top of them.

   Williams and Semple provide us with two very different kinds of story. Williams's story, especially in its claim of legitimation through burial, is clearly an intentional appeal to history by people who lived in the past. But is Semple's? I would argue that Semple's discussion of the role of prehistoric burial architecture in medieval Germanic society is a study of the "past in the past" only from the perspective of the modern observer who sees the mound as an earlier human construction. As Semple relates her story, there is nothing inherently temporal about it. Rather, she describes a reality quite other than that typically accepted by contemporary Western science. Here, the original meaning / function of the mounds is all but forgotten, replaced with a relatively synchronic reinterpretation that nonetheless shapes practice[31]. This is a topic that I will explore in detail in Chapter 5, where I demonstrate that worldviews like that described by Semple were not isolated to the British Isles, to Anglo-Saxon groups, or to the Medieval period. At this point, it is appropriate to observe that the two different worldviews and codes of practice described by Williams and Semple likely existed simultaneously. As I hope the reader will understand by the end of this dissertation, landscape syncretism provides the conceptual mechanism by which we might understand this simultaneity.

[1] A Celtic name possibly meaning "Sea of Mountains" (Bogros 1886:220) or , as some local residents tell me, "Black Mountain," the Morvan is a northern finger of the Massif Central, the central range of ancient, low mountains that covers about one-sixth of France (see Crumley and Green 1987:22-28). Characterized by a cold, wet climate and acidic soils, the Morvan is better suited to forestry and livestock grazing than to field agriculture. Historically, therefore, this land has remained both physically and culturally distinct from the farming regions around it (Levainville 1909). Many residents of the Morvan and adjacent areas continue to speak with a distinctive, strong accent. Elements of the two main Morvandiaux dialects still find their way into everyday speech, particularly that of the region's older residents (Guinot 1987).

[2] Although following a geologic standard these are "hills," many of these peaks rise abruptly from the surrounding valleys and stand out in the landscape. Thus for the people who live within or beside them, these hills *are* mountains — a fact suggested by the name element *Mont* ("Mount"). This perception has no doubt shaped human activity in the region, both atop these hills/mountains and among them. Unless otherwise noted, I will use the terms "hill" and "mountain" interchangeably throughout this text.

[3] The first evidence of long-term occupation of the hilltop at Mont Beuvray appears late in the 2nd century BCE.

[4] For a detailed discussion of the archaeological sequence at Mont Dardon, see Green, et al. (1987).

[5] Even this generally secular event is touched by France's Catholic history. The *Fête du Dardon* is held each year on Pentecost weekend, allowing festival attendees to take advantage of a work-free Monday. (Whit Monday, the day after Pentecost, is among the public holidays observed in this famously *laïque* ["secular"] country.)

[6] The expression "socio-ecological" has a relatively long history. Early uses of the term in the social sciences (e.g. Gettys 1940; Hollingshead 1940) signaled a kind of methodological hybridity in which both ecological and sociological (or anthropological) questions might be addressed. By the late 1960s, however, use of the term in the social sciences (e.g., Balicki 1967; Sorenson 1972) and in studies of social behavior among non-human animals (e.g., Crook 1970; Fox 1972) began to indicate more explicitly a situation in which social variables and ecological variables were inextricably linked. Recent uses of "socio-ecological," especially in human ecology (e.g., Azar, et al. 1996; Berkes, et al. 2000; Holmberg and Karlsson 1992; Holmberg, et al. 1996; Young, et al. 2006), generally fall somewhere between these two patterns, recognizing society and nature as distinct systems that are nonetheless linked. Here and throughout this dissertation, I wish to highlight the inextricable and irreducible connection between society and ecology.

[7] "*Longue durée*" is an expression used by the French *Annales* school of history to designate the study of "long-term" historical structures and structural change (as opposed to event-based history). This notion was introduced by Fernand Braudel in his multi-volume *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II* (1949).

[8] A word that has largely passed out of usage in contemporary English, casual readers may be familiar with the term "barrow" (i.e., a burial mound) from J.R.R. Tolkien's use of the word in his *Lord of the Rings* trilogy. In *Fellowship of the Ring* (1965), Frodo and his entourage get lost in a barrow field on their way to the inn at Bree. They are tricked by the spirits who live in the mounds. The hobbits are taken into the barrows — full of armor, weapons, and treasure — presumably to spend eternity. They are saved from their imprisonment by Tom Bombadil, an enigmatic nature spirit or god. As punishment for the wicked tricks of the Barrow-wights (i.e., the spirits), Tom lays their treasures out to be taken by anyone who passes. He gives a dagger from the barrows to each of the hobbits. These are the "swords" that Sam, Merry, and Pippin carry through their early adventures. Despite having been omitted from Peter Jackson's celebrated film adaptation of *Fellowship* (2001), this event bears discussion here because it encapsulates, in fiction, the mystique that has enveloped many such landscape features in the "real-life" European past. This topic is a primary focus of Chapter 5.

[9] It is common for archaeologists to reject the broad definition of taphonomy that I offer above. For example, Heilen, Schiffer, and Reid emphasize that taphonomy is not, in fact, synonymous with the study of formation processes (to which Schiffer has devoted his career). Rather, for these authors, taphonomy describes only "a small subset of formation processes having to do specifically with the transformation of organisms from the biosphere to the lithosphere" (Heilen, et al. 2008:601). In principle, I agree that taphonomy emerged as the science of natural and/or incidental modifications of the archaeological record and that Schiffer's work has the potential to contribute to understandings of intentional alterations of the same record that have social and/or cultural meaning. Certainly, Schiffer's "behavioral archaeology," insofar as it discusses the cultural processes involved in the deposition of archaeological materials, has distinguished itself from taphonomy. In discussions of what happens *after* deposition, however, I submit that behavioral archaeology has done little to recognize its potential (aside from noting the existence of cultural mechanisms that might transform the archaeological record once deposited) and has, therefore, done little to separate itself from more classic studies of taphonomy.

[10] C-transforms are "laws [that] relate variables pertaining to the behavioral and organizational properties of a sociocultural system to variables describing aspects of the archaeological outputs of that system" (Schiffer 1975:838). They are the complementary force of "n-transforms" (Schiffer and Rathje 1973): non-cultural transformations of the archaeological record that result from "the interaction between culturally deposited materials and variables of the environment in which those materials were deposited" (Schiffer 1975:838). The n-transforms of behavioral archaeology most closely approach taphonomy in its classic (i.e., paleontological and bioarchaeological) applications.

"Taken together, c-transforms and n-transforms provide means for modeling the processes by which an archaeological site acquired specific formal, quantitative, relational, and spatial attributes" (Schiffer 1975:838); that is to say, for modeling *formation* processes — an essentially taphonomic endeavor. They do not

> … in themselves provide a basis for inferring human behavior from material culture…. This latter function is carried out by another set of laws known as 'correlates.' Correlates embody relationships between behavioral and organizational variables of a sociocultural system and variables relating to the material culture and environment of that system…. Through the use of correlates, on materials determined by c-transforms and n-transforms to be within appropriate units of analysis, the mute evidence of the past is brought to life. (838)

[11] In this context, Schiffer should be applauded for recognizing that "pot hunting" and archaeology, itself, are both so-called "A–S processes" that move materials from archaeological context back into systemic context. In this, he presages Ingold's observation that "*the practice of archaeology itself is a form of dwelling*" (2000:189, emphasis in original). This is a theme that I will develop throughout this text, but especially in Chapters 6 and 8.

[12] A stated goal of behavioral archaeology is to deliver scientific (i.e., "nomothetic") explanations for human phenomena. While I think that archaeologists may be capable of determining the causes and correlates of such phenomena in *particular* cases, I do not think it possible to use cultural materials to generate any but the broadest explanatory covering laws. Even more than theoretical perspectives, the recognition of particularities among the world's cultures (both past and present) is perhaps the most important thing that North American archaeology should take away from its association with socio-cultural anthropology.

[13] Philip Arnold (2008) draws attention to this problem, playfully referring to it as "reel-time" archaeology.

[14] I use this expression merely as a shorthand. Despite the presence of a common language, very different archaeologies have developed on either side of the Atlantic. The notion of a single "Anglo-American archaeology," though often referenced (especially by non-native English speakers), is actually quite reductive and misleading (Tomášková 2006:164).

[15] The latter possibility is tied up Marquardt and Crumley's the notion of "effective scale," defined as "any scale at which pattern may be recognized and meaning inferred" (1987b:2). It should be noted that while their short definition of landscape has been frequently reproduced, the complexities of Marquardt and Crumley's idea of landscape as developed in *Regional Dynamics in Burgundy* (Crumley and Marquardt 1987) — including the concept of "effective scale" — have rarely been transferred with the

definition. As a result, this definition of landscape is far more simplistic, mechanistic, and open to critique in its subsequent uses than in its original formulation.

[16] I employ this word to suggest emergent change without reference to some ultimate goal.

[17] The importance of recognizing such relationships is also fundamental to phenomenological approaches in archaeology (see, for example, Tilley 1994, 2004a, 2008). Relationality is one of the least controversial tenets of phenomenological archaeology (Barrett and Ko 2009:280).

[18] Consider that Ingold uses the word "entanglements" in the title of a recent essay (2010). Though not available publicly until 2010, this essay was first presented at a University of Manchester conference in the autumn of 2008, the same year that Karen Barad's (2007) book employing the term became widely available. I do not want to suggest that Ingold co-opted this word without citing Barad, but — given the content of his essay — his use of "entanglement" appears to have been at least synchronistic (rather than coincidental).

[19] For example, similar perspectives can be found in studies of complex adaptive systems (CAS) (see Lansing 2003 for a review of CAS, especially in anthropology). Carole Crumley and I have mentioned elsewhere (Meyer and Crumley 2011:120) that ANT might be seen as a logical extension of CAS studies. No doubt because considerations of CAS have been around for longer, appeal to archaeologists from a wider theoretical spectrum, and — from the North American perspective — are "home grown," a number of archaeologists have applied CAS concepts to the study of the past (see, for example, Bentley and Maschner 2003; Gumerman and Gell-Mann 1994; Kohler and Gumerman 2000; Redman and Kinzig 2003).

[20] This is the only feast day mentioned here that is not also a Catholic "Holy Day of Obligation," one of the ten days upon which Roman Catholics are obligated to attend special services. However, the Solemnity of the Apostles Peter and Paul, which *is* a Holy Day of Obligation, follows just five days later, on 29 June.

[21] There is some controversy about what pre-Christian northern European groups celebrated which holidays. There is general agreement that Celtic-speaking groups observed Imbolc (2 February), Beltane (1 May), Lughnasa (1 August), and Samhain (31 October). These dates were likely "mid-points" in each celebration, the height of which might have fallen up to two weeks before or after, depending on the date of the full moon (for this reason, each of these feasts has a thicker line in Figure 2.2 than do the "solar" events). Despite the claims of contemporary pagans and neo-druids, French folklorist Jean Markale asserts that Celtic groups did not celebrate the equinoxes and solstices. Rather, he says, this was an older observance (Markale 2001:12-13). Given the complex astronomical layouts of several well-known northern European sites — most famously, Stonehenge (England) and Newgrange (Ireland) — it does seem likely that annual solar

events were celebrated during the Neolithic, and may have continued to be into more-recent periods. Thus some Celtic populations may have observed these holidays, as did many Germanic / Norse groups. However, celebrations of the Summer Solstice — as opposed to secular uses of the weeks around the longest day of the year — do seem to have arrived late, even in Germany and Scandinavia (Billington 2008).

[22] French folklorist Arnold van Gennep was particularly skeptical about any such claims of continuity. He saw the St. John's Fires of today as an invention of the 19th and 20th centuries. Indeed, the tradition of Celtic Fires was only "revived" in Burgundy in the 1920s (Mazenot 1926). Van Gennep makes it clear that modern fires have little to do with the ancient Celtic customs they appear to imitate/reference and that any attempt to demonstrate a kind of continuity between the two is a deplorable manipulation of earlier folk traditions (1934:111-112). Though rather less militant, his analyses of contemporary French burial customs indicate a similar skepticism about continuity with the past (van Gennep 1976).

[23] This primitive equation was also a dominant paradigm in Anglophone anthropology until serious critique in the second half of the last century led to its eventual abandonment (see Kuper 1988 and Fabian 2002).

[24] This kind of negotiation has been discussed in other considerations of syncretism, particularly in recent studies of religion. Consider, for example, the historical case of "secret Christianity" among southern Indian Nadar women in the late 19th century, as described by Kent (2011). For these outwardly Hindu women, the hidden practice of Christianity and the conscious combination of the two religions allowed for a kind of autonomy in a caste-oriented society becoming increasingly patriarchal and Brahmanic.

[25] Compare this against the definition of landscape that I offer above.

[26] This is not a huge interpretive jump, given that mainstream anthropology has come to accept the similar notion of the "individual-in-culture" offered by theories of practice and structuration (see Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979, 1984). In these cases, I argue that "the environment" has simply been replaced by the "social milieu"; the dynamic, co-constituitive relationship remains similar, however.

[27] Of these examples, Forbes' (2007) "archaeological ethnography" of the Greek island of Methana deserves special mention. Although Forbes does not specifically invoke historical ecology or refer to his own work as such, his methods and presentation nonetheless fit neatly with the other examples I have presented here. His study probes the dynamic and very intimate relationships that exist between the Methanite people and their landscape, which includes several inherited elements of which the local public are well aware. Forbes provides an effective illustration of the positive synergy that can result when the methods of the ethnographer are added to those of the archaeologist to study landscape. Needless to say, I have found this work a useful model in completing my own case study.

[28] A student of Henri Bergson, contemporary of Émile Durkheim, and collaborator with Marcel Mauss on the editorial board of the *Année Sociologique* (later the *Annales de Sociologie*), Halbwachs died of dysentery in the Buchenwald concentration camp in March 1945. Only a year before his death, he had been awarded a chair in Social Psychology at the *Collége de France*, one of his country's highest academic honors. Halbwachs' most-influential work, *La Mémoire Collective*, was published posthumously in 1950.

[29] Compare this against Ingold's distinction between "building" and "dwelling" perspectives, above.

[30] As I will discuss in Chapters 3 and 6, the meanings of "protohistory" and "protohistoric" vary depending on the author/speaker and her archaeological training. I generally use the term as a short-hand for the Bronze and Iron Ages. In east-central France, this spans the period from roughly 2000-1700 BCE to the arrival of Caesar and the Romans in the mid-50s BCE.

[31] Berliner's (2005) critique may occasionally hold for archaeology, as for socio-cultural anthropology. Semple has described an interaction with the landscape of the past that is only slightly memorial or mnemonic, if at all. As I will demonstrate later, something more closely linked to *forgetting* is behind this interaction.

CHAPTER 3

THE TALES THAT ARCHAEOLOGISTS-WITH-MATERIAL CULTURE TELL

RADIOCARBON DATING AND POLLEN ANALYSIS OF MATERIALS FROM THE TUMULUS OF LA REVIVE

Physical Setting

The tumulus of *La Revive* is located at the summit of a low hill (328 m asl), in the *commune* of Uxeau, *canton* of Gueugnon (see Figure 1.1). The hill on which the tumulus sits — the so-called *Tureau de l'Abime* (the "Mound of the Abyss"or "Mound of Ruin") — is one of a series of similar rises along the right bank of the Arroux River. Together, these hills form a drape between the river valley and the upland areas around the hillfort of Mont Dardon.

La Revive lies roughly 3.5 aerial km from the summit of Dardon. Now somewhat hidden by a dense oak-hornbeam forest (including trees that grow out of the mound itself), earlier pictures of the tumulus suggest that it must have stood out against the surrounding landscape when forest cover was lower (Horiot 1959: Figures 1, 2, and 3). Under a lower vegetative cover, the tumulus would have been visible from the hillfort and vice versa. Given that many of the tumuli in the area exhibit a similar visual relationship to Mont Dardon, it seems likely that this intervisibility was intentionally built into the landscape.

History of Research and Analyses

Lucien D., working with the amateur/avocational archaeologist[1] René Horiot, undertook a formal (though cursory) investigation of the mound in 1959. This work resulted in the production of a brief site report (Horiot 1959). During their investigation, these excavators cleaned a pre-existing trench (see Chapter 1) and deepened it slightly. They recovered three small pieces of pottery. Though these artifacts have been lost in the intervening years, the excavators' illustrations confirm their similarity to ceramics recovered from the summit of Mont Dardon during French Project excavations in the late 1970s (see Green, et al. 1987). The Dardon ceramics date to the late Bronze through early Iron Ages, roughly between 1200 and 450 BCE. The lost ceramic fragments from *La Revive* would seem to indicate a similar date. With the exception of a heat-altered piece of granite collected by French Project members in the summer of 1977, these sherds are the only artifacts known to have come from the tumulus.

In 1994, French Project members investigated the tumulus in greater detail as part of a larger landscape survey. With its open trench, the mound offered a rare opportunity to examine the feature's internal structure while, at the same time, limiting further damage. The team cleaned a section of the trench wall to expose the undisturbed sediment profile beneath. This cleaning revealed an internal stratigraphy that suggested several stages of construction, punctuated by the emplacement of rock layers and burning events (Figure 3.1). As at other tumulus sites in Burgundy (Baray 2000; Jacquet and Maerten 1984), the bottom of the mound appeared to rest on a pavement of rock that might cover a central burial chamber. A thick stratum of charcoal and oxidized sediment capped the lower third
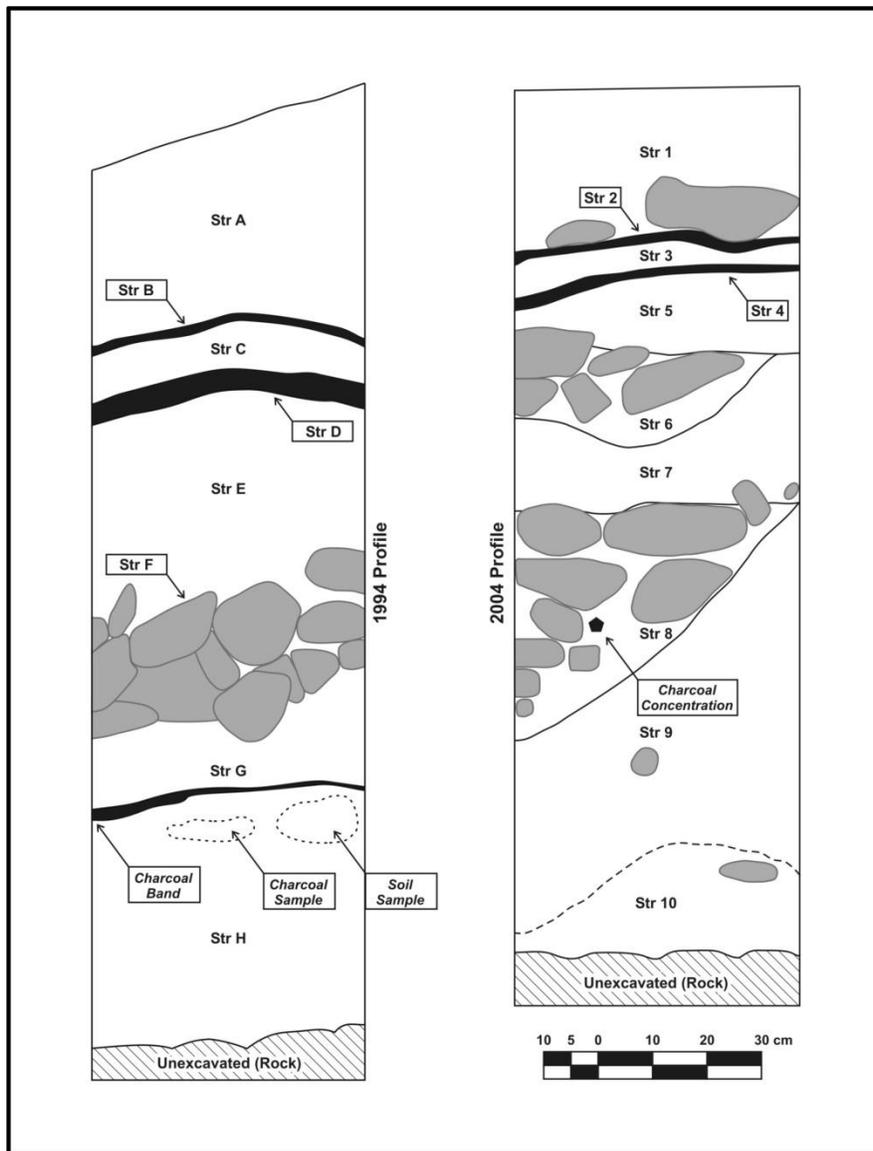
Figure 3.1. Internal stratigraphy of the tumulus of *La Revive*, Uxeau (71), France. Apparent differences in depth between the two profiles result from methodological differences. In 1994, French Project members cleaned and mapped the existing trench wall. These measurements, therefore, include an horizontal component. In 2004, the author cut a vertical profile into the wall of the trench.

of the column, suggesting a substantial fire. The 1994 team collected charcoal and soil

from this burned layer for radiocarbon testing and pollen analysis.
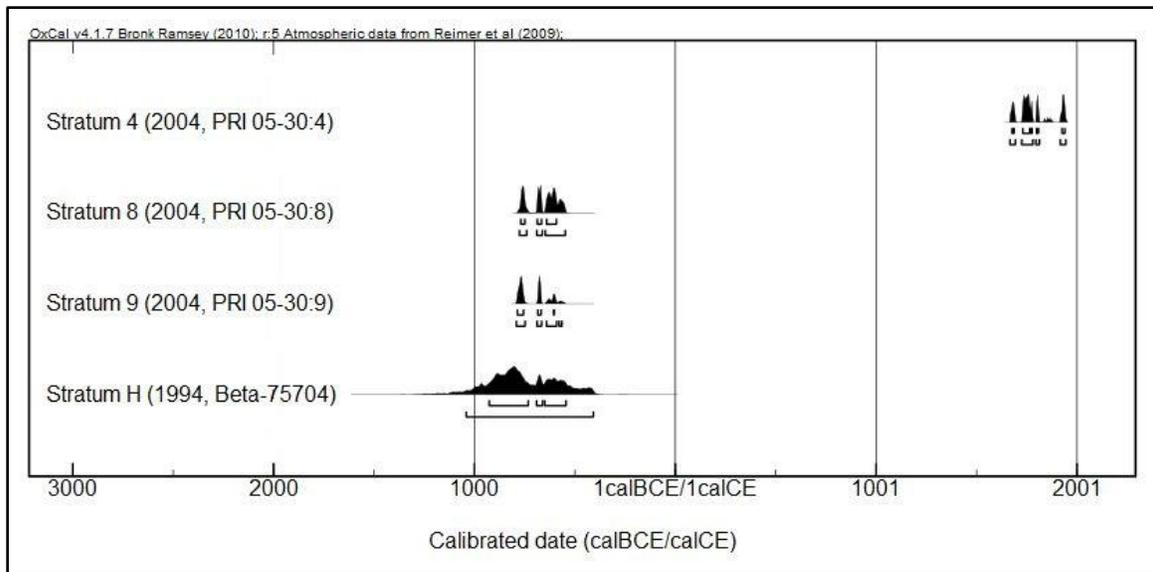
Figure 3.2. Radiocarbon dates of samples collected from the tumulus of *La Revive*, Uxeau (71), France.

Conventional radiocarbon testing of the charcoal yielded a ^{14}C date of 2630 ± 120 yr BP (Figure 3.2, Beta–75704). With a very broad two-sigma error, the radiocarbon date corresponded to a range of calendar dates from 1015 to 405 BCE, encompassing the end of the Bronze Age in eastern France, the entire early Iron Age, and the beginning of the late Iron Age. Given that significant cultural shifts are known to have occurred in this 600-year time frame, the 1994 radiocarbon date was both enlightening and frustrating.

The results of radiocarbon testing were particularly puzzling in light of the pollen analysis. The soil sample obtained from the tumulus was sent to a North American analyst, Dr. Linda Scott Cummings, for testing. Cummings described the pollen profile that she observed as "extreme" (Cummings and Albert 1995). While it contained individual *Quercus* (i.e., oak) and indeterminate pollen grains, nearly the entire sample (99%) was composed of a single pollen type that Cummings initially found difficult to

Figure 3.3. Counts of pollen identified in samples collected from the tumulus of *La Revive*, Uxeau (71), France. Note the concentration of mistletoe (*Viscum*) pollen in Stratum H (1994) and in Strata 8 and 9 (2004), and the lack of such pollen in samples collected from the surrounding forest floor and Stratum 4, which originally "capped" the mound (image adapted from Cummings and Puseman 2005: Figure 4).

identify (Figure 3.3). Eventually, she became confident that this was mistletoe (*Viscum* sp.) pollen (Cummings, personal communication 2005).

The identification of mistletoe, if indeed that is what the 1994 team had found, would be significant. In his *Naturalis Historia* (Book XVI, chapter XCV), written in the mid-first century CE, Pliny the Elder (1856) suggested the importance of this plant to Iron Age (specifically Celtic) ritual life. Pliny fueled the popular imagination with his description of its harvesting by white-robed druids using golden sickles. While some scholars have drawn attention to mistletoe-like motifs in the art of the period (see, for example, Frey 1996; Green 1996, 1997; Herrmann 1997), much of the archaeological community remains skeptical about Pliny's account. This skepticism derives, in part, from the prominent role that Pliny's description of druids played in the "Celtomania" (Reinach 1898) of the 18th and 19th centuries. Only the Lindow Moss site (western

England) offers an archaeological indication of anything close to Pliny's story, but here the gut contents of the "Lindow Man" included only four grains of mistletoe pollen (Scaife 1986; Turner 1995). This small concentration has left room for debate about its presence. Thus, archaeologists have yet to reliably and unequivocally demonstrate the importance of mistletoe to Iron Age ritual life.

Cummings counted more than 240 grains of mistletoe pollen in the small 1994 sample from *La Revive*. This represented a concentration some 60 times that found at Lindow. The overwhelming dominance of mistletoe pollen indicated that this sample did not represent natural pollen rain, but rather an artificial concentration of mistletoe in this specific location within the tumulus. Further, much of the 1994 mistletoe pollen was discolored, suggesting fire damage. Pollen does not survive exposure to open flame. It seemed likely, therefore, that mistletoe had been intentionally placed on the cooling remains of a fire as part of some practice associated with the construction and use of the tumulus. The 1994 evidence from the tumulus of *La Revive* seemed to indicate an intentional — perhaps ritual — use of mistletoe by early Gallic[2] populations nearly a millennium before the events that Pliny allegedly witnessed. Unfortunately, the sudden death of the archaeologist heading up this investigation (Tom Hargrove) delayed the publication of these results and interpretations.

Research Methods and Objectives

In August 2004, the author returned to the tumulus of *La Revive*. The method of investigation chosen was similar to that employed by Hargrove and the 1994 team: a 50-cm-wide column was cut into the western trench wall (near the area cleaned in 1994) to expose a plumb surface. As in 1994, the vertical cross-section exposed in this cut

facilitated the exploration of the relationships between strata inside the tumulus while containing disturbance to a relatively small area.

The primary goal of renewed (albeit limited) excavation at *La Revive* was the collection of new charcoal samples for dating and new soil samples to confirm the presence of mistletoe pollen deeper in the undisturbed portion of the mound, to rule out the small possibility that the pollen had arrived in the trench through some natural process. Additional objectives included: (1) to elucidate sedimentary relationships noted during the 1959 and 1994 investigations of the tumulus, and (2) to assess the impact of erosion on the open mound since 1994.

All samples collected were analyzed, once again, by L.S. Cummings. These analyses, including radiocarbon dating, took place in the laboratories of PaleoResearch, Inc. (Golden, Colorado). Unlike 1994 charcoal sample, radiocarbon dating of the 2004 samples was accomplished by accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS), which provides more-precise dates with only small amounts of organic material.

Results

The exposed stratigraphic column revealed 10 strata atop a rock pavement (Figure 3.1, right). Two layers, Strata 6 and 8, had basin-shaped profiles capped with stones. All of the internal layers were very compact and composed of fine sediments. Charcoal and soil samples were collected from Strata 8 and 9 (in the general vicinity of the 1994 samples), as was soil from the dark, humic Stratum 4 (thought to represent the original top of the mound).

Carbon extracted from the Stratum 4 soil sample yielded an AMS date of 155 ± 15 yr BP, which calibrated to a one-sigma calendar date range of 1670 to 1940 CE (Figure 3.2,

PRI–05–30–4)(Cummings and Puseman 2005). AMS dates of charcoal taken from Strata

8 and 9 were relatively close to one another. Stratum 8 yielded an AMS date of 2515 ± 15

yr BP, which calibrated to three date clusters within the range 770 to 590 BCE (Figure

3.2, PRI–05–30–8). Stratum 9 produced an AMS date of 2535 ± 15 yr BP, calibrated to

three date clusters within the range 790 to 600 BCE (Figure 3.2, PRI–05–30–9). It is

statistically impossible to isolate which clusters within these broader ranges are most

precise due to a plateau in the radiocarbon curve for this period. Nonetheless, these dates

are far more precise than the 1994 radiocarbon date (2630 ± 120 yr BP) and even fit

neatly within the original date's one-sigma calibrated range (890 to 600 BCE). Further,

the dates provided by the Strata 8 and 9 samples isolate the construction of these parts of

the tumulus to the very end of the Bronze Age (850-775 BCE) or, more likely, the early

Iron Age (ca. 850-775 to 500-450 BCE).

Pollen testing of the soil samples from both Strata 8 and 9 confirmed the presence of

mistletoe pollen within the undisturbed areas of the tumulus (Figure 3.3). Sample 8 was

dominated by oak and other arboreal pollens. Mistletoe pollen accounted for 15% of the

Stratum 8 sample. Sample 9 included oak and other arboreal pollens, as well as the

pollens of some low ground-covering plants (e.g., *Plantago* sp.). More than 50% of this

sample, however, was composed of the pollen identified as mistletoe.

Discussion

Once leaf litter and other debris were removed from the wall of the trench, the

underlying sediments — particularly those near the base of the sequence — were

relatively compact. The compact nature of these layers likely accounts for the minimal

impact of erosion on the site since 1994. Only the upper sediments show visible signs of erosion damage, in places quite severe, likely owing to bioturbation.

The basin-shaped profiles and stone "caps" of Strata 6 and 8 suggest these layers represent backfilled holes cut into the pre-existing mound. Such holes were perhaps dug to accommodate ancillary interments (a common practice throughout the 1st millennium BCE), or as part of some votive practice.

The AMS date of Stratum 4 indicates that this was the top of the mound when its 19th-century excavators dug into it. Thus, Strata 1 through 3 are likely backfill taken from the middle of the mound during the many phases of its excavation (both clandestine and more formal).

The AMS dates from Strata 8 and 9 are essentially the same date. Small variations among the dates, however, open up the possibility that the tumulus was constructed or reused at different moments during the early Iron Age, over a few years or even generations. As noted above, the reuse of pre-existing mounds was quite common during the principal period of tumulus construction, into the late Iron Age (i.e., after 450 BCE), and sometimes much later (see Déchelette 1927a:128).

The dominance of *Viscum* pollen in the 1994 (i.e., Stratum H) sample and the Stratum 9 sample from 2004, together with the recovery of a significant amount of *Viscum* pollen from Stratum 8, suggest one or more intentional placement event(s). If Samples H and 9 were collected from the same stratum, as seems likely, it is possible that Sample H represents an area that was more thoroughly burned, while Sample 9 represents an area farther out on the edges of the fire. The fire would have destroyed all of the ambient pollen in the location of Sample H (accounting for the extremity of the first

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pollen profile) and much of the ambient pollen in Sample 9. As the fire died down and the heat became less intense, mistletoe might have been laid on the tumulus (much as incense is placed on charcoal briquettes to smolder in contemporary temples and churches). Because the *Viscum* pollen observed in Sample H was discolored by heat and that in Sample 9 was not, it seems that the heat was most intense in the area of Sample H.

Stratum 8 appears to represent a different event than Stratum 9, but perhaps separated by only a short period of time. Once again, most of the organic content appears to have been burned away. Some of the pollen record did survive, however, and what remains gives the impression that the Stratum 8 sample comes from the very edge of an area where mistletoe was laid after a fire. Further, since mistletoe blooms from late-winter through early spring (Becker 2000; Ramm, et al. 2000) and the smoldered plant had to be in bloom in order to leave pollen behind, it is fairly certain that the fire event or events occurred during this blooming period. Given that these materials were recovered from within a funerary context, it is likely that the burning events that they evidence were related to funerary and/or votive practices (perhaps including memorial rituals).

Conclusions

These last interpretations depend, of course, on the reliability of the pollen identification. Clearly some plant was particularly important in the construction and use of the tumulus of *La Revive,* but has the correct plant been identified? Or has Pliny's account once again, though inadvertently, been afforded too much credit? Future work at the tumulus of *La Revive* will include the cutting of a third narrow sediment column and the collection of new samples in an attempt to resolve these questions. All future analyses will be conducted in French laboratories, by French palynologists more familiar with the

local flora. Only after such analyses have been conducted can it be said with certainty that mistletoe use was an integral component of the practices involved in building and/or using this tumulus, practices that one might label "ritual." Further, provided future analyses of materials derived from *La Revive* yield results similar to those reported here, a stronger case for the broader importance of mistletoe to Bronze and Iron Age ritual practice might be made if future excavations of tumuli were to incorporate palynology into their research methods.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND STORYTELLING

The Archaeologist as Storyteller

The influential French archaeologist Joseph Déchelette, in the third volume of his *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique et Celtique* (Déchelette 1927a), notes the potential that the study of tombs offers to students of the 1st millennium BCE. He writes:

> The historian interested in ancient economies might derive useful information from the study of tombs. Once an era of prosperity opens up for the people of a region — thanks to the exploitation of some product taken from the earth, the utilization of a new trade route, the conquest of a new tribe, or any other cause — the new-found wealth that benefits the living is simultaneously translated into luxury and/or abundance in the offerings afforded the dead. (Déchelette 1927a:117)

Déchelette goes on to discuss the tumuli that characterize the late Bronze and early Iron Ages throughout Europe. In some places the erection of such mounds began millennia before and continued for more than a millennium after this period of intensive building. Nevertheless, Déchelette observes that throughout eastern, central, and Mediterranean France, as in southern Germany, it remains appropriate to describe the early Iron Age as the "Tumulus Epoch" (118).

Speaking historiographically, this moniker is equally appropriate. To understand what I mean, consider that in Chapter 2 I allude to the archaeologist as a "storyteller." To claim the title of storyteller, after more than a century of Marxist analyses, is to stake out very specific territory in terms of claims to information and the process of constructing narratives. According to Walter Benjamin, "the storyteller is a [person] who has counsel for [her] readers…. After all, counsel is less an answer to a question than a proposal concerning the continuation of a story which is just unfolding" (Benjamin 1968:86). The storyteller formulates her counsel from experience, whether her own "or that reported by

others. And … in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to [the] tale" (87). Experience for Benjamin is "intelligence coming from afar" which stands in stark contrast to "information":

> The intelligence that came from afar — whether the spatial kind from foreign countries or the temporal kind of tradition — possessed an authority which gave it validity, even when it was not subject to verification. Information, however, lays claim to prompt verifiability. The prime requirement is that it appear "understandable in itself." Often it is no more exact than the intelligence of earlier centuries was. But while the latter was inclined to borrow from the miraculous, it is indispensable for information to sound plausible. Because of this it proves incompatible with the spirit of storytelling. If the art of storytelling has become rare, the dissemination of information has had a decisive share in this state of affairs.
>
> Every morning brings us the news of the globe, and yet we are poor in noteworthy stories. This is because no event any longer comes to us without already being shot through with explanation. In other words, by now almost nothing that happens benefits storytelling; almost everything benefits information. Actually, it is half of the art of storytelling to keep a story free from explanation as one reproduces it. (Benjamin 1968:89)

Benjamin's description of the relationship among story, information, and explanation perhaps problematizes my archaeologist-as-storyteller claim. From the standpoint of a practicing archaeologist, I think it fair to say that most of us consider ourselves sources of information, and much time and effort have been spent to describe the role of explanation in archaeology (see, for example, Watson, et al. 1971). Nonetheless, we have to recognize that the information provided by our discipline is different from that provided by the bench sciences and different still from that provided by the global news media. "Archaeological information" may not be the same as the information discussed by Benjamin.

In many senses, the reconstructions provided by archaeologists have far more in common with Benjamin's stories. Our information is intelligence from long ago and, generally, far away. Our presentations of this intelligence rely on our authority as researchers. Our results are not immediately verifiable and certainly not reproducible in the sense that a chemist's results are both verifiable and reproducible, and the archaeologist has to face the fact that she dismantles a site as she excavates it (simultaneously reconstructing it in fieldnotes, journals, and databases). While our authority does not derive from the miraculous, it does derive from a broad range of experiences not commonly available to the consumers of the information that we relate. We articulate these experiences into stories of life in the past, stories exemplified — both in style and content — by the brief site report that opens this chapter[3].

It is now appropriate to return to my earlier observation that, even historiographically, the early Iron Age really is/was the "Tumulus Epoch." It is no exaggeration to say that the greater part of our knowledge about the late Bronze and early Iron Ages in temperate Europe (a timespan that has come to be called the "Hallstatt period," see below) derives from the identification and examination of tumuli. If protohistoric archaeologists are storytellers constructing narratives of Hallstatt life, we have done so only with the great cooperation of the burial mounds left over from the period. These narratives are not, therefore, simply the tales that archaeologists tell. Nor are they, as many archaeologists might claim, the stories related by archaeologists as neutral translators. Rather, borrowing a convention from Bruno Latour (Latour 1999), it is important that we recognize the majority of Hallstatt narratives as the tales that *archaeologists-with-tumuli* tell[4]. As noted by several contributors to the volume *Atlantic*

Europe in the First Millennium BC (Moore and Armada 2011), this particular mediation (between scholars and the material dedicated to the Dead) has had marked effects on our ability to talk about living people and social dynamics in the past.

In the next sections, I model the tales told by "*archaeologists-with-material culture*" through a relatively basic archaeological introduction to the 1st millennium BCE, most especially to the early Iron Age[5]. Several scholars have already undertaken projects to write "grand narratives" of the Bronze and Iron Ages and I draw heavily upon the work of these authors here. The approach I take to the study of tumuli — these quintessential landscape features that have participated in the construction of Hallstatt narratives — is relatively standard. I discuss the appearance of burial mounds in the region, their internal architecture, and proposed importance in the "political landscape" (following Smith 2003) of the deep past.

Revisiting, Re-envisioning, and Revising Narratives of the 1st Millennium BCE

Recently, scholars of the 1st millennium BCE have begun to revisit, to re-envision, and to revise narratives of Bronze and Iron Age life. In writing the general overview of the 1st millennium BCE and the tumulus-specific overview contained here, I have found it impossible to separate stories about life in the distant past from the histories of 1st millennium research. In this sense, narratives of the Bronze and Iron Ages demonstrate not only the complex mediation between humans and the artifacts (ecofacts, landscape features, etc.) involved in their production, but also the partiality and situatedness of all archaeological knowledge and storytelling (following Haraway 1988; Harding 1986, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1996; Hekman 1997; Wylie 2003). The "renaissance" currently being observed and experienced by scholars of the 1st millennium should come as no surprise:

as new material is found and (just as important) as a new generation of archaeologists engage with this material, the tales told by archaeologists-with-artifacts should be expected to change.

In 2007, I attended a conference on the 1st millennium BCE held at Durham University (England). It was both exciting and sobering to see so many paradigms shifting and falling; the rewriting of so many of the narratives that those of us who study the late Bronze Age, the Iron Age(s), and the Roman period know so well. These shifts in paradigm and story seem, in large part, to accompany the retirement or semi-retirement of several powerful intellectuals from the field, many of whom were/are the authors of the "grand narratives" summarized below. While very strong and erudite, the contributions of such scholars have tended to drive the study of the European Iron Age along conservative avenues and/or along regionally endogamist routes. Sadly, the last academic generation saw very few catholic researchers standing — or even attempting to do so — in the very large, very demanding shoes of Joseph Déchelette or V. Gordon Childe; and even these few have now reached the ends of their careers.

These retirements have also had another impact: a shift away from German as the language of (and the German academy as the seat of) Iron Age studies. In its rise to dominance throughout European archaeology, English seems to have toppled German as the primary language of 1st millennium studies. This is a replacement that will no doubt have far-reaching consequences (following the discussion on the role of language and communication in archaeology, see Harding and Venclová 2007; Härke 1998; Kristiansen 2001; Neustupný 1997-1998). It is unclear what the "grand narratives" of the next generation will look like, but it seems certain that they will be written in English.

The massive edited volume that emerged out of the 1st millennium conference (Moore and Armada 2011) indicates several of the directions that these new narratives might take.

APPROACHING THE FIRST MILLENNIUM BCE

Focus on the Iron Age

In temperate and Mediterranean Europe, discussions of the 1st millennium BCE are primarily discussions of the Iron Age (Figure 3.4). As its name suggests, the Iron Age is that period during which iron technology appeared and spread throughout Europe. It is difficult to evaluate how important the adoption of iron technology was in itself, particularly for the centuries immediately following its appearance. In the introduction to their overview of the Iron Age, Patrice Brun and Pascal Ruby (2008) discuss the more-certain importance of two major themes in this period: the city and the State. The first European cities and states appeared in the eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze Age and had already fallen into decline long before the arrival of iron technology in Europe. The Iron Age, however, is the period in which urbanism and states became widespread throughout the interior of the European continent (cf., Brun 1995; Büchsenschütz 1995; Collis 1995). This florescence, particularly in the later Iron Age, marks a significant change from earlier periods in terms of how people organized themselves, both socio-politically and spatio-materially.

In most of temperate Europe — that portion of Europe that neither fronts the Mediterranean, nor the North and Baltic Seas — the Iron Age began sometime during the 8th century BCE, as iron became more common and augmented (rather than replaced) earlier bronze technologies. The end of the Iron Age is the subject of debate. For much of Europe, however, the Iron Age is considered to have ended at the moment of local Roman Conquest. In east-central France, for example, the end of the Iron Age is often placed at Caesar's subjugation of the Gallic tribes in the late 50s BCE. Brun and Ruby

Generalized chronology chart of the 1st millennium BCE across temperate and Mediterranean Europe.

YEAR	IRELAND	BRITAIN	IBERIA	NETHERLANDS	FRANCE & SWITZERLAND	GERMANY & AUSTRIA	CENTRAL EUROPE	EASTERN EUROPE	ADRIATIC & MID-BALKANS	AEGEAN	ITALY
50 BCE	Iron Age	Late Iron Age	Rom	Rom	Roman	LT D	LT D	Dacian	LT D	Roman	Imperial / Late Republican
100					LT III						
150		Middle Iron Age	Second Iron Age	Late Iron Age	LT II	LT C	LT C	LT C	LT C	Hellenistic	Middle Republican / Romano - Etruscan
200											
250					Second Iron Age						
300					LT I	LT B	LT B	LT B	LT B		Early Republican / Romano - Etruscan
350				Middle Iron Age						Classical	
400		Early Iron Age				LT A	Late Lausitz / Lusatian	Scythian / Thracian	Illyrian		Classic / ETRUSCAN
450											
500			First Iron Age		Ha D / Ha II (Late Ha)	Ha D			Ha D		Archaic
550											
600	Late Bronze Age	Early Iron Age		Early Iron Age	First Iron Age	Ha D	Late Lausitz / Lusatian	Late Lausitz / Lusatian		Archaic	Oriental
650					Ha C / Ha I (Early Ha)				Early Iron Age		Regal / Kingship
700		Earliest Iron Age				Ha C	Ha C		Ha C		
750											
800			Late Bronze Age		Ha B (Final Bronze)	Ha B (Late Bronze Age)	Middle Lausitz / Lusatian	Middle Lausitz / Lusatian	Early Iron Age		Villanovan
850		Late Bronze Age		Late Bronze Age						Greek Dark Ages	
900											
950					Ha B						
1000											Proto-Villanovan
1050					Late Bronze Age	Ha A (Late Bronze Age)	Early Lausitz / Lusatian	Early Lausitz / Lusatian			
1100						Ha A (Late Bronze Age)			Late Bronze Age		Late Bronze Age
1150									Late Bronze Age	Mycenaean	

Figure 3.4. Generalized chronology of the 1st millennium BCE across temperate and Mediterranean Europe. Double lines suggest the beginning of the Iron Age in each region.

(2008) suggest, however, that instead of referencing the end of the Gallic Wars, it is more appropriate to discuss the moment when

> Roman power really began to modify Gallic infrastructure through the founding of new cities conforming to a characteristic kind of urbanism, and through the emplacement of road systems to facilitate the rapid movement of troops and provisions. This "Imperial politic" began around 30 BCE under Augustus, not with the end of the Gallic Wars in 51 [BCE]. (14)

Ordinarily, displacing the date for the end of the Iron Age by a mere 20 years — less than a single generation — would hardly be meaningful (or visible) in archaeological terms. It is important to note, however, that southern Gaul came under Roman power in the late 120s BCE (see Benedict 1942), much earlier than areas further north. Brun and Ruby's suggestion would, therefore, displace the end of the Iron Age in this area by nearly a century. With the tight chronological control and clear temporal resolution available to archaeologists working in the south of France, 90 years is a span of time that is both visible and meaningful (see, for example, Py 1993a; Py, et al. 2001). While it may cause us to have to reevaluate both our chronologies and our narratives about Romanization, Brun and Ruby's move replaces an historical criterion for the end of the Iron Age (i.e., one that relies on often-conflicting written accounts of the period) with a set of material, archaeological criteria that can be observed throughout the whole of France at roughly the same time[6]. It is, therefore, preferable to think that the Iron Age in Gaul ended during the Augustan period, around 30 BCE[7]. Outside of France, of course, the problem remains that much of northern Europe was never subject to Roman control. In these areas, as I mention below, an Iron Age lifeway continued until much later[8].
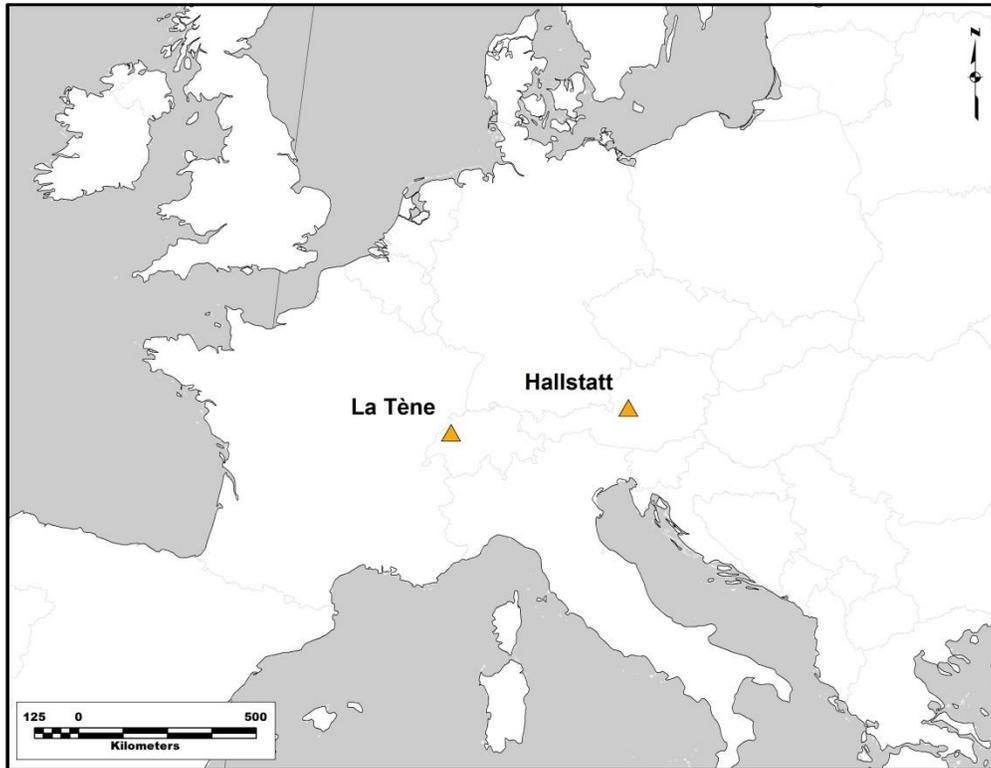
Figure 3.5. Locations of Hallstatt and La Tène sites on contemporary political map of Europe.

In temperate Europe researchers have subdivided the Iron Age into two major periods: *Hallstatt* (ca. 800/750 – ca. 450 BCE) and *La Tène* (ca. 450 BCE – Roman Conquest). Each of these names refers to a "type site" from which important material has been collected for the period in question: Hallstatt (Austria) and La Tène (Switzerland) (Figure 3.5). These periods represent broad, regional classifications based on similarities in material culture and mortuary practice. While many authors discuss a "Hallstatt culture" or "Hallstatt cultures" (see, for example, Lauermann 1994; Pare 1991), it is important to understand that the material similarities noted by archaeologists in the present do not necessarily equate to cultural homogeneity in the past: the individuals producing Hallstatt and La Tène artifacts belonged to a number of different societies and spoke several different languages. As Peter Wells (2001) indicates, studying Hallstatt or

La Tène populations demands that we study the people that history has come to identify

as "Celts," "Germans," and perhaps even "Scythians," as well as their neighbors,

predecessors, and successors. Even within a single one of these "ethnic" classifications

— ignoring for a moment the problems of reading ethnicity into the past (Curta 2001;

Ellis 1998; Moore 2011; Shennan 1994) — considerable variation might be observable.

Thus, for the Celts, Bettina Arnold and D. Blair Gibson (1995) observe:

> despite their common linguistic stock, the Celtic peoples came to
> exhibit tremendous diversity in subsistence adaptations not only across
> Europe, but even within regions such as the British Isles. (1)

One can assume that similar diversity existed in the non-subsistence aspects of Celtic life.

It would seem, therefore, that Hallstatt and La Tène — if they are valid socio-cultural

classifications at all — were "interaction spheres" (following Struever 1964, 1965):

systems of regional interaction that through shared material culture and/or practice united

otherwise disparate or distinct groups.

A Note on Terminology

Because I work in France — and particularly because I work between two regions in

France — I am keenly aware of a skepticism surrounding the classifications "Hallstatt"

and "La Tène." The tendency of scholars to deploy such terms in the quest for a "grand

narrative" of the European Iron Age is problematic. These grand narratives — which are

often associated with Anglo-American scholarship — generally incorporate local groups

into broad regional classifications loaded with cultural, social, political, and economic

assumptions. In so doing, they elide and/or gloss over large amounts of inter- and

intraregional difference. While I recognize this problem, I remain ambivalent to the terms

themselves. The people who excavate these materials label them Hallstatt or La Tène as

often as the people who try to place them into grand narratives. By employing these terms, excavators highlight similarities to other regions and, by extension, situate their sites in the broader geographic and temporal networks represented by Hallstatt and La Tène. Clearly this must mean something.

In place of Hallstatt and La Tène, many authors speak of the *early* and *later* Iron Ages. In France, where a number of areas do not appear to have participated directly in the Hallstatt interaction sphere (including those along the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts), still another way of dividing the Iron Age has developed. Here, one can speak of the "*first*" and "*second*" Iron Ages. How an archaeologist chooses to label the two halves of the Iron Age, at least in France, can be a significant marker of the region where she works, of her training, and of her academic politics[9]; topics to which I will return in Chapter 6. While the terms *first* and *second* appear to be more neutral terms than *Hallstatt* and *La Tène*, the fact that the latter link the archaeologists and sites of northern France with their contemporaries across the middle of Europe cannot be overlooked.

Given my aforementioned ambivalence, I tend to use all three designations — early Iron Age, first Iron Age, and Hallstatt — interchangeably. Unless otherwise noted, I will continue to do so in this text. This use derives from more than ambivalence, however. As I have already indicated, tumulus-building marks the Hallstatt period and figures prominently into discussions of the Hallstatt culture(s). Therefore, it makes sense to maintain this classification here.

Hallstatt Time

The period and culture known as Hallstatt are named for a small lake-side mining town located in Upper Austria, about 50 km southeast of Salzburg, along the northern

margin of the Alps. Situated above the town is a narrow valley, the Salzbergtal, which has produced rock salt throughout historic and prehistoric times. The association of the town with this salt-bearing geologic feature is no doubt the source of its name — Hallstatt literally translates to "Salt Town"[10].

Careful excavations in the mid- to late 1840s (see below) and again at the turn of the last century revealed that the main occupation of Hallstatt originated in the early 8th century BCE, at the dawn of the Iron Age. Even to its early excavators, however, the presence of a number of bronze items in the Hallstatt grave inventories suggested a continuation of trends and practices from the late Bronze Age. When other sites following the Hallstatt pattern were uncovered throughout Central Europe, this continuity became clear. Thus, when Reinecke (1911) established a chronological scheme for west-central Europe, he divided Hallstatt cultural assemblages into four phases: Hallstatt A and B are now recognized as part of the Bronze Age (Müller-Karpe 1959), Hallstatt C as the early Hallstatt Iron Age, and Hallstatt D as the late Hallstatt Iron Age[11]. As suggested above, placing calendar dates on these periods is made difficult by the differential adoption of new patterns and technologies in prehistory. It is possible to say, however, that Hallstatt A may have extended as far back as 1200 BCE in parts of southern Germany and eastern France; the Hallstatt B-C break in this region occurred somewhere between 850 and 775 BCE, roughly corresponding to the "Bronze-Iron" split in central France. In east-central Europe, this transition may have occurred somewhat earlier and seems likely to have been completed before 800 BCE (see, for example, Vulpe 1990: Table 62). Along the eastern margins of the Hallstatt zone, a conservatism in such things as burial practice and land use marked the continuation of patterns from the late Bronze

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Age long after the introduction of iron technology (see, for example, Chapman, et al. 2009; Vulpe 1967:20-36). Whatever the terminology or the timing, this is the beginning of the Hallstatt Iron Age. Throughout temperate Europe, this period seems to have ended in the mid-5th century BCE with the emergence of the La Tène way of life.

Hallstatt Space

It is difficult to say how much of the European continent participated in the Hallstatt interaction sphere during the late Bronze and early Iron Ages. A generally agreed-upon "Hallstatt zone" stretches from contemporary Burgundy, north to Belgium, eastward to western Slovakia, and into Hungary, with Croatia and Slovenia at its southern edge (Figure 3.6). It seems likely that this zone was far larger, however. Work in central France suggests an extension westward and to the south (Augier, et al. 2007; Milcent 2004; Ralston 2007); to the east, longstanding evidence suggests an extension into central and eastern Slovakia (see, for example, Pichlerová 1969) and into the Carpathian Mountains of Romania (see, for example, Pârvan 1967; Vulpe 1967, 1990). This geographic spread would have provided Hallstatt traders with access to any number of mountain passes, allowing them to control traffic from northern Europe to the Mediterranean, and vice versa. It also would have granted Hallstatt populations control over most of the major waterways in temperate and Central Europe, including the Rhône, the Saône, the Seine, the Rhine, the Danube, the Drava, the Sava, the Morava, and tributaries of the Elbe (e.g., the Vltava). As I discuss in greater detail below, narratives of Hallstatt life have tended to revolve around this kind of control.
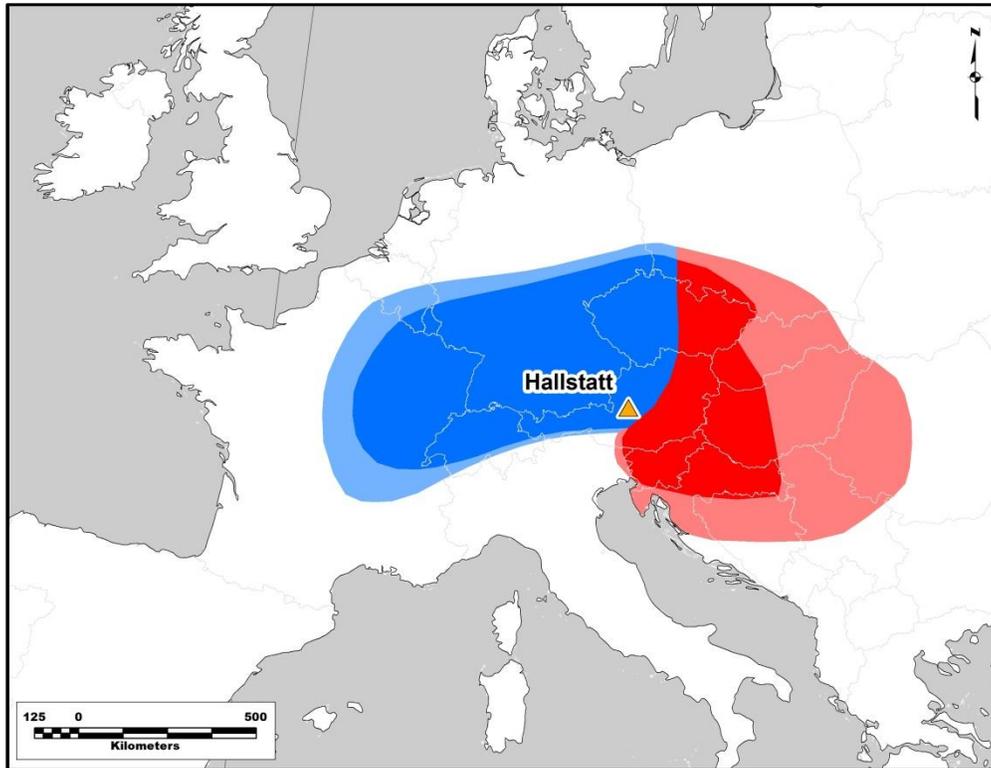
Figure 3.6. The simplest conceptions of variation in the "Hallstatt zone" show two provinces: an East (red) and a West (blue). Here, the darker shapes represent traditionally accepted boundaries of each province, while the lighter ones represent more-likely extensions. Hallstatt sites may be found outside even these extended boundaries, particularly in southeastern Europe.

Hallstatt and La Tène Stories

Hallstatt Life, History, and Historiography

In 1846, Johann Georg Ramsauer, the director of the Hallstatt salt mine, began systematic archaeological excavations at Hallstatt after the miners began to encounter artifacts and preserved human remains. Ramsauer and his workers were not, however, the first people confronted by the remains of the past in this landscape.

> Since the reactivation of the salt mines at Hallstatt in A.D. 1311, and perhaps before that as well, people working in the mines or digging in the ground of the Salzbergtal have come across [hu]man-made objects from the prehistoric salt mines and cemetery…. On April 1, 1734 miners found the body of a man in part of the Kilb-Werk that had suffered a cave-in. The body, partly encased in the salt, had been well

preserved by the salt, and the records of the time note that the individual's coat and shoes still survived. It was decided that the man probably had not been a Christian, and on April 3, 1734 the body was buried in the modern cemetery, in a part reserved for heathens and criminals. (Wells 1981:7)

The individuals that Ramsauer's team encountered more than a century later appear to have been the residents of an ancient cemetery rather than the unfortunate victims of past mining accidents. Over the course of seventeen years, Ramsauer and his workers excavated between 980 and 1,000 burials. Although some questions exist about his method, which included discarding the ceramics recovered (Wells 1981:9), it is generally agreed that Ramsauer's excavations were sophisticated for their time. He made detailed notes of each grave and augmented these notes with watercolor sketches of the body or bodies and the artifacts contained therewith (see Cunliffe 1997: Figures 21 and 22; Griesa and Weiss 1999: Figure 2).

Ramsauer excavated both cremations and inhumations, and uncovered a wide array of grave goods associated with each. Most of these graves could be ascribed to a period that began in the 7th century BCE and continued into the early 5th century BCE (Cunliffe 1997:28-31). Hoernes has pointed out that cremation burials — in which the ashes of a cremation were collected in an urn and buried — might be described as the preferred style at the beginning of the early Iron Age, and inhumations at the end, but in Ramsauer's 7th- to 5th-century BCE Hallstatt sample this was not necessarily the case: "it is only in the most recent tombs of women that inhumation starts to prevail over cremation. The tombs that contain long Hallstatt-period swords of bronze or iron are nearly all cremations" (Hoernes 1905:93, quoted in Déchelette 1927a:90).

The grave goods from Ramsauer's excavations, together with organic material (e.g., clothing, leather sacks, wooden tools, bone whistles, and coprolites) recovered from the mines, provided antiquarians and archaeologists with a detailed glimpse of funerary rituals and production / trade activities in Central Europe during the early Iron Age (Cunliffe 1997:28; Wells 1981:10-11). Since 1863, further excavations at Hallstatt — most notably those conducted by the Duchess of Mecklenburg in 1907 (see Greis 2006) — have extended this glimpse considerably (Cunliffe 1997:35; Wells 1981:13-18).

It should come as no surprise, then, that the oldest and most-comprehensive narratives of Hallstatt life are those that concern the site of Hallstatt itself. These stories tend to be quite materialist (focusing largely on Hallstatt political-economy) and, as such, have been shaped by the geographic and geologic contexts in which the site of Hallstatt is situated. The recovered material culture suggests that Hallstatt was an important center of resource extraction from the end of the Bronze Age through the early Iron Age. Capitalizing on the site's centralized location near a series of mountain passes (Brun 1995:15), the residents of Hallstatt traded salt — a perennial commodity, given its use in food preservation (see, for example, Kurlansky 2002; Weller 2002) — for goods from all corners of the European continent, including copper from nearby mines in the Tirol and Salzburg; graphite from deposits in the Alpine and Lower Austrian regions; amber from the Baltic; horses from the Hungarian Plain; *fibulae* (i.e., safety-pin brooches), helmets, armor pieces, glass, and ornaments from workshops in Slovenia; iron from Slovenian and German mines; decorative bronze work and ceramics, as well as agricultural products (e.g., wine) from the Mediterranean; ivory from Africa; tin from mines in eastern Germany, Bohemia, Iberia, central France, Brittany, and/or Cornwall; gold from river

deposits in Würtemburg; and bronze swords from the Atlantic seaboard (Collis 1984:73-76; Cunliffe 1997:47; Wells 1980:41, 1981:110-115). This extensive trade seems to have allowed for the development of a wealthy, entrepreneurial élite at Hallstatt. The emergence of this élite coincided with population growth at the site, and the concomitant growth of socio-political complexity, as suggested by "new, more differentiated burial patterns" (Wells 1981:93). Hallstatt retained its powerful trade status through the late 6th into the 5th centuries BCE, as sites to the north and west (e.g., Dürnnberg bei Hallein, another Austrian salt town) grew in importance. But the importance of the extraction center at Hallstatt waned by the late 5th century BCE. Closed by a rock fall at the end of the century, the mines were not reopened again until the Christian era (Collis 1984:118).

While complete from certain points of view, this materialist narrative of life at Hallstatt — which has changed very little over the past 25 years — is not very satisfying to the anthropologist interested in social dynamics at the site, including kinship, as well as relations of faction and gender (following Brumfiel 1992). At first glance, control over the extraction and circulation of salt seems a logical explanation for the development of a chiefly élite. On deeper inspection, however, even the description of social class at the site comes up lacking. Was social organization at Hallstatt as simple as "élites and others," or was it much more complex? What social and political relations actually structured salt extraction and trade? Why was the chiefdom model of political and economic control chosen over myriad other possibilities (following Yoffee 1993)? For that matter, *was* this in fact the model chosen, or is this the one that archaeologists have selected because it is familiar? Sadly, recent work at Hallstatt, while interesting in its

focus on perishable material recovered from the mines (e.g., Harris, et al. 2011), has done little to clarify or deepen our understandings of social life within the settlement.

Despite these shortcomings, this Hallstatt story — with its key features of extraction / production, primacy of geographic location, extensive networks of exchange, and élite control — has been applied to sites across the heart of Europe. As indicated above, this extension has been made based on the presence of material culture similar to that found at the site of Hallstatt itself. Such material culture includes a suite of artifacts in association with some very specific landscape features: occasionally (as at the site of Hallstatt) cemeteries, though more often tumuli and fortified hilltops ("hillforts"), like Mont Dardon. Diagnostic Hallstatt artifacts include highly decorated weapons of bronze and iron and their elaborate accouterments (e.g., sword sheaths), ceramics painted with geometric motifs, delicately hammered bronze *situlae* (water and/or wine buckets), drinking accessories, and jewelry in a number of forms. Also diagnostic of the Hallstatt culture is a body of equestrian equipment, most notably bits, harness pieces, and wagon parts, often recovered from graves (see, for example, Pare 1991). Finally, because of the exceptional preservation conditions at several sites, it has become clear that the textiles of the period often reproduced the characteristic geometric motifs found on Hallstatt pottery.

The range of recognized Hallstatt artifact types belies our limited understandings of the "whole" Hallstatt landscape (or landscapes), understandings that have evolved only slowly. Writing more than 30 years ago, Heinrich Härke (1979) bemoaned an incomplete knowledge of Hallstatt settlement types outside of fortified hilltop centers, particularly for the early Hallstatt period. In the intervening decades, efforts have been made to better explore early Iron Age settlements (see, for example, Davila Prado 2002; Reim 2004;

Weinkämper 2008), as well as sites at which resources were extracted and/or processed (see, for example, Dobiat, et al. 2000; Olivier and Kovacik 2006). The introduction of new techniques and technologies (e.g., remote sensing, geophysical survey) into the discipline has greatly aided this exploration, enhancing our ability to detect what was once largely invisible (see, for example, Schmitt and Seidel 1998). Many of these newer studies have taken a more-holistic landscape approach, investigating settlement / production and burial contexts simultaneously (see, for example, Chytráček and Šmejda 2005; Fries 2002; Potrebica and Dizdar 2002). One benefit of these later studies has been the identification of a number of smaller, unfortified settlements across the Hallstatt zone. With dates ranging throughout the Iron Age, such settlements have demonstrated a remarkable similarity — in terms of the activities that appear to have been conducted therin — to their larger, fortified contemporaries. It now seems likely that, starting as early as the Bronze Age, many of these open sites were important loci for the extraction and production of materiel, for the management of agricultural and/or pastoral resources, and for ritual practice, all of which were part-and-parcel to everyday life at these sites (see Wells 1994).

While the identification of small, unfortified settlements has shifted our thinking about Hallstatt life somewhat, fortified hilltop settlements nonetheless remain a critical feature of Hallstatt narratives. Hillforts began to appear on the eastern edges of the Alps during the earliest phases of the Iron Age (i.e., Hallstatt C) (Collis 1984:79). From there the phenomenon of hillfort settlement spread westward[12]. As suggested above, these settlements were production centers, staging areas for agro-pastoral activities, and ritual centers. By the Hallstatt D phase, many of the hillforts in Bohemia, southern Germany,

and eastern France had become massive public works. In the literature, these sites are often referred to as *Fürstensitze* ("princely seats"), *Adelssitze* ("aristocratic seats"), and *Herrensitze* ("chieftain seats") because they are also thought to have been the headquarters of a strong Hallstatt élite, most of whom — judging by the choice of language — are presumed to have been male.

By far, the lion's share of what we know about the early Iron Age comes from the study of tumuli. Many of the earliest Hallstatt hillforts were associated with burial mounds, an association that became the norm over the course of the early Iron Age. As the hillfort-tumulus association spread westward, hillforts were increasingly elaborated. So, too, were tumuli. Many of the best-known examples, like those of Vix (Côte-d'Or, northern Burgundy) and Hochdorf (Baden-Würtemburg, southern Germany), contain extended burials (i.e., inhumations, as opposed to cremations) and were furnished with rich funerary assemblages. Not surprisingly, such burials have come to be called *Fürstengräber* ("princely graves")[13]. These tumuli were often built in large cemetery complexes, perhaps the most famous of which is the Hochmichele group (Baden-Würtemburg, Germany).

To be certain, not all Hallstatt burials were richly appointed. For much of the Hallstatt period, the majority of the dead appear to have been cremated. Their ashes were collected in relatively plain urns that were then placed beneath or within burial mounds. In many tumuli, like that at Hirschlanden (Baden-Würtemburg, Germany), the dead were interred only "with personal ornaments such as brooches and bracelets, and the occasional spear" (Collis 1984:100). Such "common" graves were no doubt the rule

across the Hallstatt zone rather than the exception, as was diversity: a Hallstatt tumulus in Burgundy might be very different from one in Romania.

Such diversity has been noted by, and to some extent bedeviled, scholars of the Bronze and Iron Ages from a relatively early point. For example, Hubert observes:

> In the Hallstatt period… [f]rom Bohemia and Bavaria to the neighbourhood of Cologne we find the same tumuli, with some local differences in construction which are hard to reduce to a system. In these tumuli there are the same urns, shaped like tops, which are unlike the Hallstatt urns of the Middle Danube and are, on the whole, decorated in the south and plainer in the north (Fig. 32), their differences perhaps corresponding to tribal divisions, but to divisions inside one same group of people. (Hubert 2002[1934]:166)

In this passage, Hubert seems to describe two kinds of diversity. In the first, a series of relatively minor differences in artifact style that, on the local level, might be described as "variations on a theme." In the second, diversity is more marked and more likely to be observed as Hallstatt materials are compared across regions.

Recognition of interregional variation led to the introduction of Hallstatt "provinces" into the archaeological literature (Déchelette 1927a:77), with the assumption that such provinces may have been linked to ancient tribal differences (as suggested by Hubert). In the simplest formulation, a single West Hallstatt province roughly corresponds to the zone of the *Fürstensitze-Fürstengräber* associations, stretching into the northern Alps to encompass the Hallstatt type site and the other mountain communities of central Austria and Switzerland (see Figure 3.6). Opposite this West Hallstatt province is an East Hallstatt province that covers the remainder of the Hallstatt zone. As originally configured, however, the Hallstatt provincial situation was far more complicated than a simple east-west break (see Hoernes 1905, 1912, quoted in Déchelette 1927a:77). Conceptions of Hallstatt geography that go beyond east-west distinctions to posit

multiple provinces — usually a cohesive West Hallstatt province and a number of smaller eastern provinces — have persisted to the present and may be considered the norm (see, or example, Griesa and Weiss 1999: Fig. 2).

Hallstatt material culture manifests this diversity in several ways. Ceramics types and styles differ across the Hallstatt zone, as do the *fibulae* so commonly used as closures and items of personal adornment during the Iron Age. As indicated above, the nature of hillfort construction and mortuary ritual appear to have differed from region to region, as well. The latter differences highlight a diversity of scale: the East has very little to rival the often massive *Fürstensitze* and *Fürstengräber* of the West. While the East Hallstatt province(s) contain(s) rich burials with bronze body armor and decorated *situlae*, imported luxuries and extremes of wealth in grave contexts such as those found in the West are rare. This general lack of extremes in the East is particularly evident in the late Hallstatt period, when the landscapes and burials of the West seem to suggest a highly marked differentiation between élites and others (Cunliffe 1994:350; Wells 1980:47, 1981:115).

Several explanations have been advanced to explain this diversity, from the existence of a feudal-like society in the West Hallstatt province, to the differential access to Mediterranean trade afforded by different geographies, to a tighter control over trade in the East, to the occupation of the East Hallstatt province(s) by nomadic invaders from the Steppe (Collis 1984:82; Cunliffe 1994:350). These explanations posit both external and internal causes for the differences that existed among the West and East Hallstatt provinces, and all of these factors (as well as others) likely contributed to diversity. The point to be taken away from this discussion is one that I have suggested already: the life

of the Hallstatt-period "Burgundian" was undoubtedly different from that of the Hallstatt-period "Transylvanian," though similar enough for the two to be considered members of the same overarching "culture."

But explorations of Hallstatt geopolitics do not typically revolve around such questions of East-West diversity, similarity, and interaction. Rather, scholars have more often concentrated on the North-South interactions that linked Hallstatt groups in the interior with Mediterranean colonial powers active along the coast. Throughout the preceding discussion I have alluded to the importance of imported luxury items, particularly in the funerary practices of West Hallstatt groups. These items were imported from a number of places and some crossed great distances — from Africa and Asia — before arriving in the tumuli where they have been found. By far, however, the largest class of imported luxury items appears to have come from the northern shores of the Mediterranean, from Etruria (i.e., northern Italy) and from Greece (i.e., from the Greek peninsula itself, as well as from the colonies of *Magna Graecia* along the southern Italian coast, and from western enclaves like Massalia and Emporion). Among the Mediterranean imports in Hallstatt assemblages are highly decorated bronze *situla* covers from Italy; several ceramic forms from Greece (including Attic fine wares and thick amphorae) and Italy; Etruscan bronze figurines, pitchers, basins, and tripods; Etruscan gold items; Italian bronze helmets; bronze bowls from Greece; and coral used in the construction of beads and spheres (Posluschny 2008:65; Wells 1980:16-18, 1981:114). Perhaps the most discussed and striking of these imports is a massive (1.64 m in height, 208 kg) bronze *krater* for the mixing of wine discovered in the burial chamber of the so-called "Lady of Vix" (Côte-d'Or, northern Burgundy). This enormous vessel, which

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could hold as much as 1,150 l of liquid (Knüssel 2002), is thought to have been cast in a

workshop in *Magna Graecia*. A stylistically similar, though smaller, Greek *krater* was

part of the celebrated horde recovered at the East Hallstatt site of Trebenište (Macedonia)

(Collis 1984:82; Stibbe 2003). Other large and elaborate bronze vessels have been found

in the West Hallstatt tumuli of La Garenne, Hochdorf, Conliège, and Grächwil

(Posluschny 2008:67).

While such imports are truly impressive in both their craftsmanship and preservation,

a note of caution is appropriate here: the size and quality of these vessels and other

imports should not be taken as an indication of their frequency in Hallstatt contexts. By

comparison with items of local and/or regional production, these items are actually quite

rare. For example, the approximately 300 sherds of Greek ceramic recovered from the

excavation of Mont Lassois (the northern Burgundian hillfort associated with the Vix

tumulus) have been reconstructed into only 24 vases. The Greek sherd count is dwarfed

by the count of local sherds recovered from the site, which number in the millions (Arafat

and Morgan 1994:124, drawing on data from Joffroy 1960). While this relative

infrequency is the rule rather than the exception on Hallstatt sites, many authors choose

to overlook it and continue to discuss the importance of Mediterranean trade and the

Mediterranean influence[14].

For example, Peter Wells (Wells 1981:114-115) has suggested it is no accident that

many of these imports are vessels for the transport and/or consumption of liquids, and he

connects their presence and use to the importation and importance of Mediterranean

wine[15]. The regular depiction of drinking in *situla* art (Collis 1984: Fig. 17a-d) and the

apparent importance of drinking / feasting accessories in Hallstatt tombs suggests that

drinking and feasting — whether actual or symbolic — played a valuable role in the reproduction of societal norms, particularly in the West during the late Hallstatt (Dietler 1990, 1995, 1998a, 2005). Given the association of this drinking activity with Mediterranean imports, it is reasonable to hypothesize that contacts with the Mediterranean did affect the socio-political climate of the Hallstatt zone (see, for example, Wells 1980), though the extent of this impact is difficult to gauge.

Further Hallstatt-Mediterranean contact has been posited in the form of human movement between the interior and the coast. While some people no doubt circulated between these regions, unequivocal material evidence for such movement is rare. Among the most widely cited proofs that people (and not just objects) moved from Mediterranean centers into the Hallstatt hinterland is the so-called "Greek wall" at the Heuneburg (Baden-Würtemburg, Germany):

> For one brief period in the late sixth century [BCE] the defensive wall
> of the Heuneburg was built of mudbrick on a stone foundation in a style
> closely reminiscent of Greek defensive building. Such a project, deep
> in barbarian Europe, would imply the intervention of a Greek architect.
> (Cunliffe 1997: Figure 39)

Taking Cunliffe at his word, we might conclude that if the architect was not herself Greek, she was certainly familiar with Greek construction techniques: either through training in a Greek workshop or through direct (prolonged) exposure to the building techniques of Greece. While this may have been the case, this passage — like the entire case of the mud-brick wall itself — provides an effective illustration of the problems inherent in these grand narratives of Iron Age life. As Bettina Arnold (2010a) points out, and as I can personally attest after several years of excavation along the Mediterranean littoral plain, the presence of adobe on top of a stone foundation in a late-6th century BCE

context need not signal the intervention of a Greek (or Etruscan) architect at all. While not common north of the Alps, this building technique is nonetheless well documented in pre-colonial contexts[16], both in southern France and in Iberia (de Chazelles and Roux 2010; Moret 1991, 1996, 2002; Py 1993b, 2009). Thus, although several authors continue to do so (see, for example, Büchsenschütz 2007), there is no reason to believe that the architect of the mud-brick wall was, herself, anything other than a "barbarian."

Cunliffe's choice of words is further instructive. He does not discuss the "builder" of the wall, but rather its "architect," someone who might not have gotten her hands dirty in the process of building. While subtle, this distinction continues more than a century of thinking about the nature of exchanges, both political-diplomatic and interpersonal, between the representatives of Mediterranean civilizations and those of the interior polities. Almost invariably, the Greek or Etruscan is cast as the Leader or Master, and the indigenous "barbarian" is cast as the Follower or Slave[17]. Returning to the idea of migration and movement, this intellectual habit is clearly visible in discussions of the Iron Age slave trade (see, for example, Briggs 2003). It seems certain, given the active slave economies of the Classical world, that there was a movement of slaves between the interior and the Mediterranean coast. But almost invariably, such narratives see Gauls and Germans from the interior sent to serve Greek, Etruscan, and (later) Roman masters in their Mediterranean centers. A movement of bonded individuals in the *opposite* direction never appears in the literature on the Iron Age. Thus one possible explanation for existence of the mud-brick wall at the Heuneburg — that its builder may have been a Greek or Etruscan slave in thrall to a Hallstatt master/mistress — has never been seriously explored. The failure to consider this possibility is all the more bewildering

when one recognizes that native Greeks and Italians often found themselves as slaves to

Greek and Italian masters, especially during early (i.e., pre-Classical) periods (see

Wiedemann 1981). As Arafat and Morgan (1994) demonstrate, such unidirectional

visions of interregional trade — be it the trading of ideas or of commodities (human or

otherwise) — fail to account for the significant negotiations and complex agencies

involved in such exchanges.

We can draw all of these materials, landscape features, and debates together into a

general conception of Hallstatt life that looks rather similar to that which I described for

the type site, itself. On the local level, Hallstatt communities continued to employ land-

use strategies developed at least as early as the late Bronze Age (see, for example,

Chapman, et al. 2009; Wells 1993). They grew a mix of hardy cereal crops, carefully

selected to match local growing conditions; cleared pasture for horses, cows, sheep, and

pigs[18]; hunted deer and wild boar; collected wild plants; and extracted critical resources

from the earth, including tin, copper, iron, and salt. As the early Iron Age progressed, it

appears that these activities became more specialized by region. In some places, field

agriculture was intensified. In others, more pasture was cleared to accommodate larger

herds. In still others, the extraction of raw materials reached near-industrial levels (see,

for example, Olivier and Kovacik 2006 on salt production in the Seille valley, Lorraine,

northeastern France). These modifications of the local economy reflect the growing

importance of the trade networks into which Hallstatt communities became increasingly

connected and upon which they became increasingly dependent (Chapman, et al. 2009).

This trade, which spanned the entire continent and even incorporated materials

derived from beyond the frontiers of Europe, was made possible by a series of critical

trade routes that passed into and through temperate Europe. Strong chieftains may have

held control over these trade routes and enjoyed access to a wide range of raw and

processed materials, including non-utilitarian prestige goods (see Frankenstein and

Rowlands 1978). The chieftains, in turn, developed an interaction sphere based on trade

and manifested, to a degree, through shared mortuary and settlement patterns. The

development of this sphere seems to have begun in the eastern Alps at the end of the

Bronze Age and, over time, shifted to centers in west-central Europe. Here, already

powerful chieftains appear to have used trade ties with Mediterranean populations at the

mouth of the Rhône to increase their own wealth, power, and influence — perhaps even

developing a dependence on Mediterranean input to sustain their power. They

participated in monumental construction projects, building extensive hillforts and lavish

tombs. They held elaborate feasts, redistributing wealth to demonstrate their power. At

the same time, their poorer — or more egalitarian[19] — cousins were doing similar things

in eastern Central Europe. Here, however, attention was somewhat shifted from the

ostentatious, and trade ties with the Mediterranean appear to have been more

conservative. Many East Hallstatt communities had regular interactions with nomad

groups arriving from the Steppes, sometimes in the context of violent conflict but just as

often in contexts of trade and even kinship (Metzner-Nebelsick 2000). This Hallstatt way

of life, both in the West and in the East, came to an abrupt end in the middle of the 5th

century BCE, with the unexplained collapse of political centers in the West Hallstatt zone

and the emergence of an apparently less heterogenous socio-political configuration, that

of La Tène.

La Tène Life, History, and Historiography

Like the history of Hallstatt studies, La Tène stories begin with the efforts of an interested antiquarian in the mid-1800s. This setting for the initial La Tène discovery was not a mine, but rather an alpine lakeshore[20]. A prolonged drought in 1857 lowered the levels of western Switzerland's lakes. The level of Lake Neuchâtel was about 2 m below its normal level when, in November of that year, collector Hansli ("Little Hans") Kopp made soundings along its northeastern shore. Kopp was looking for ancient swords to be turned over to his patron, the antiquarian Colonel Frédéric Schwab. On 17 November, Schwab wrote a letter to the archaeologist Ferdinand Keller, already known for his excavation of waterlogged dwellings along the banks of Lake Zürich (see, for example, Keller 1854), to describe what Kopp had found:

> At the beginning of November I sent my Hansli to… examine lake-dwellings. He had hardly reached the Lake of Neuchâtel before he found a big lake-dwelling… at the outlet of the Thielle near Préfargier-Épagnier, a large part of which was dry, the other only covered by four feet of water. There, in an hour, he found about forty pieces all of iron … [These included] two complete swords, twelve sheath fragments, eight spear-heads, two shears, two knives, three axes, one big sickle, three javelins, three rings, one ring with two rings, two pieces of flat iron with rivet holes, one perforated stone…, one big handle of a pot and half a small arm-ring of dark blue glass. (quoted in de Navarro 1972:6)

News of Kopp's find hit the broader European archaeological community in the 1860s, when Keller published his *Lake Dwellings of Switzerland and Other Parts of Europe* (1866). Keller interpreted the La Tène structural remains as those of a Celtic village built on piles above the lake. From the first publication of Keller's book onward, the investigation of pile-built houses and villages dating to different pre- and protohistoric periods became a preoccupation of Swiss archaeology. These structures and

structural groups, called "*palafittes*," have become intricately linked to the Swiss national identity (Kaeser 2008). As a result, it is difficult to present contemporary reconstructions that differ from Keller's original interpretations, even though we now know that *palafittes* were likely built on the shore, not as artificial offshore islands.

From the 1860s until about 1917, excavations at the La Tène site and at several nearby locations produced an extremely rich collection including swords, spears, shields, knives, razors, axes, *fibulae*, beads, belt buckles, bronze vessels, iron ingots, wagon parts, equestrian equipment, wooden tools, and human remains (see de Navarro 1972). Because of the size and variety of this collection, and because of the nature of the architectural remains preserved in this waterlogged context, several interpretations of the La Tène site have been offered. Many have followed Keller's lead, suggesting that La Tène was a pile-built house or village. Others have interpreted the site as a fortified village (or *oppidum*). Still others have proposed that the wooden remains at the site are those of a "platform" from which to cast ritual deposits into the waters of the lake[21]. Many scholars believe this platform was actually a bridge that crossed over an ancient channel of the river Thielle, and this seems to be the most-favored interpretation at present. It is, for example, the interpretation around which scholars from the Schwab Museum (Bienne, Switzerland) and the Swiss National Museum (Zürich) have structured the exhibit *La Tène: Un pont de l'âge du Fer chez les Helvètes* ("La Tène: An Iron Age Bridge in the Helvetian Lands"), featured at the Bibracte Museum of Celtic Civilization during the 2009 season.

Looking through J.M. de Navarro's (1972) catalog of the finds from La Tène, it is immediately evident that a new artistic style characterizes the finds of this period. This style augments the geometric precision of earlier Hallstatt decorative forms — found

primarily on ceramics and textiles, but also occasionally on metalwork — with fluid

curves reminiscent of vegetal growth. The Classical archaeologist Paul Jacobsthal (1935,

1944) demonstrates that over time, the La Tène art style[22] became increasingly elaborate,

incorporating not only floral motifs, but also stylized human and animal forms, as well as

hybrids of all three. Peter Wells (2001) observes that while the curving lines and

zoomorphic elements of the La Tène style seem to suggest Orientalizing influences from

the Mediterranean and Near East, so too do they recall Scythian art from the Eurasian

steppes. It is likely that both sources influenced the development of this style.

By the time of Roman expansion into temperate Europe, the La Tène art style could

be found on material culture spanning the length and breadth of the European continent,

from the tip of Scotland to the middle of Turkey. This decoration adorned ceramics, but

— as demonstrated by the swords of the La Tène collection, itself — found its most

striking expression in metalwork. Decorated La Tène metalwork ran the gamut from cast

and hammered vessels, helmets, armor, shields, horse tack, and jewelry in plastic

materials like bronze, copper, silver, and gold (though use of the latter waned over time)

(see Collis 1995:79); to forged and etched pieces of iron and carbon steel. This

decoration was often enhanced with the addition of colored glass (i.e., enamel), a material

that Central European craftspersons had already been using since the Hallstatt period

(see, for example, Greis 2006). In northern Europe, the La Tène art style continued well

into the Medieval period, remaining the dominant decorative motif for Norse/Viking and

Anglo-Saxon material culture. Most non-archaeologists recognize this style, however, as

uniquely "Celtic" and associate it with the early illuminated manuscripts of the insular

"Celtic" Christian monks. Two of the best-known examples of this type of manuscript are

the *Book of Kells* (the "*Leabhar Cheanannais*" or "Book of Columba"), a collection of the Gospels and commentary produced in Ireland in the late 8th century CE, and the slightly older *Lindisfarne Gospels*, which were produced in Northumbria (northern England) in the 7th to 8th centuries CE.

This artistic style was not the only element of late Iron Age material culture to spread nearly everywhere throughout the European continent. At the beginning of the 20th century, Joseph Déchelette (1927b) convincingly demonstrated a strong similarity of artifacts across the European continent during the La Tène period. The pan-European distribution posited by Déchelette was not predicated simply upon similarities in decorative style, but also on similarities in artifact form and function. This pattern of similarity stood in stark contrast to Hallstatt assemblages, which tended to be regionally distinctive. However, it was (and continues to be) completely in line with expectations derived from Classical accounts, many more of which date to the late Iron Age than to the early Iron Age. In their accounts, Classical authors discuss Celtic invasions as far southeast as Turkey and the existence of a traveling mercenary class who moved throughout Europe.

This pattern of artifact similarity suggests the La Tène culture was more extensive spatially than its Hallstatt predecessor(s). It is also interesting for other reasons. Given the far-reaching trade networks already thought to exist in the earlier period, one might assume that La Tène artifacts were produced in centralized workshops and then distributed throughout Europe via a complex network of reciprocal exchanges. As Peter Wells (2001:69) points out, however, relatively minor but repeated stylistic variations suggest that La Tène artifacts were locally (rather than centrally) produced. In this sense,

classic La Tène artifacts may have less in common with diagnostic Hallstatt *artifacts*, traded over long distances, than with Hallstatt *landscape modifications*, which used ideas and patterns from the broader culture to guide production / building at the local level.

Before leaving behind the discussion of an apparent similarity of artifacts across the European continent, I should point out that this phenomenon has also become interesting from the standpoint of history and memory studies. Illustrating the link between politics and archaeology, La Tène artifactual similarity was used by the budding European Commission — and has continued to be used by the European Union — to imply that the La Tène occupants of the continent were "the first Europeans," in the sense that they participated in a single unified culture (Crumley 1991; Dietler 1994, 1998b). While relatively innocuous on the surface, this use of archaeology is potentially dangerous in that it might be taken to indicate who "belongs" in Europe and who does not (i.e., anyone not of Celtic, Germanic, or Scythian descent).

Back in the Iron Age, the growth and elaboration of the La Tène culture also changed landscapes and settlement patterns throughout Europe. Like their Hallstatt predecessors, early La Tène groups are thought to have lived in open (or only minimally enclosed) settlements, often situated around hillforts. This settlement pattern is often characterized as "undifferentiated" and the socio-political system associated with it as "decentralized" (see Collis 1995). Starting in the middle La Tène period, however, this settlement pattern and its associated socio-political structures started to be replaced as La Tène societies began to construct *oppida* (i.e., fortified towns)[23], often — though not exclusively[24] — on hilltops. As Woolf observes:

> The definition of the term "oppidum" is recognised to be problematic.
> But two features are common to most definitions, fortification and

urban functions. Oppida are thus differentiated, on the one hand, from hillforts without urban functions and, on the other, from open settlements and farms. In practice, two other criteria are applied, chronology and size. Oppida are held to begin in the middle La Tene, from La Tène C in central Europe (e.g. Bavaria, Bohemia, Moravia), from La Tène D in western Europe (e.g. Switzerland, France) and from the late pre-Roman Iron Age in southern Britain. In effect, this restricts the phenomenon to the last two centuries [BCE]. A minimum size of 20-25 ha is often asserted, but in practice this criterion is often relaxed, especially in the west of Europe. Usage varies fairly widely, the term sometimes being taken to refer to any La Tène hillfort, and it is often admitted that some of the features taken as signs of "urban" nature are also found on some open sites. The ideal type of an oppidum seems often to correspond to sites like Mont Beuvray in eastern France, Manching in southern Germany or Zavíst in Bohemia, characterized by tens or hundreds of hectares enclosed by complex ramparts, often timber-laced as in the *murus gallicus*, sites which when excavated produce evidence of wooden buildings, ironworking, a wide range of ceramics and perhaps some foreign imports. It was these sites that Reinecke, Dechelette and Dehn were thinking of when they first gave the term "oppidum" an archaeological usage, and they remain the quintessential oppida for most Iron Age archaeologists. (1993:224-225)[25]

While the definition — indeed, the whole category — of *oppidum* may be problematic as Woolf suggests, the development of the *oppida* nonetheless represented a significant investment in the closure of nucleated settlements that were previously open, often involving the broad-scale re-tasking of traditional earth-and-timber building methods to what appears to have been a martial/defensive purpose (cf., Woolf 1993). In many (though not all) cases, the development of the *oppida* also coincided with an increase in the population of the settlement. Given that production activities within the *oppida* tended to mirror those that continued to be practiced on open sites, the appearance of late La Tène *oppida* leaves several questions open to debate. These questions concern the nature of "inside-outside" distinctions on the La Tène landscape (following Wells 2001:87); the relations of *oppidum* construction; the quality of interpolity or intersocietal

cooperation, trade, conflict, and rivalry; and the degree to which the ramparts, with their often-elaborate gatehouses (see Ralston 2006), were for display rather than defense. Most of these are, of course, political questions and there is consensus that the *oppida* themselves served important political functions (Collis 1995).

Given the degree to which landscape features have mediated accounts of Hallstatt political life, it is perhaps not surprising that La Tène landscape modifications and settlement patterns, including the rise of the *oppidum*, have been linked to discussions of late Iron Age politics. In part owing to copious commentary by Classical authorities, the political life of La Tène peoples has been extensively discussed. It is now generally accepted that many (if not most) La Tène polities transformed the chiefdoms and incipient states of the Hallstatt period into fully fledged and recognizable states. If Julius Caesar is to be believed, some of the polities of Gaul had Senates and regularly elected officials, mirroring their "civilized" (from the Latin, "city-dwelling) southern neighbors (Crumley 1974). Thus it was perhaps only a small shock to the Gallic system when the Romans invaded during the first century BCE, escorting the formally recognized Iron Age of temperate Europe to its close. Both Peter Wells (2001:113) and Tom Moore (2011) nuance this observation, however, noting that there is little material evidence for the kinds of political organization that Caesar describes before the Romans began their incursion into southern Gaul in the mid-2nd century BCE. Wells suggests, therefore, that Roman colonialism — at least in the West — may have spawned social and political change far beyond the front lines of its physical advance. This point remains debatable, however, as scholars working in both Britain (e.g., Haselgrove 1995) and on the Continent (e.g., Collis 1995) observe that late Iron Age urbanism and state-formation are

not such drastic breaks from earlier patterns and likely resulted from the conjuncture of short- and long-term events and processes operating at several different spatial and social scales. Given this view, colonial encroachment from the South may have been a contributor to changes in La Tène life (particularly during the last two centuries BCE), but was probably not the primary force driving such change.

Thousands of pages have been dedicated to descriptions of La Tène life, society, and politics. No doubt, many more dissertations on the topic remain to be written. For the sake of this dissertation, however, it only remains to discuss one more feature of La Tène life: burial. The erection of new tumuli in temperate Europe was largely halted at the Hallstatt / La Tène transition. While La Tène burial patterns varied across the continent, in many areas the tumulus burial rite was replaced by a standard pattern of flat inhumation in extensive communal cemeteries (see Collis 1984:130). The burials in these cemeteries ranged from opulent "chamber burials," containing the (sometimes cremated) remains of the deceased along with swords, spears, knives, items of personal adornment, drinking and dining services, horse tack, two-wheeled chariots or chariot parts, and/or animal remains[26]; to simple burials in which the remains of the dead were cremated and placed into a single urn or buried directly in the ground with very few grave goods. Whereas earlier tumulus burials and cemeteries often incorporated circular enclosures at various scales, La Tène cemeteries often incorporated quadrangular enclosures, especially in eastern France (see, for example, Baray 2003; Delor and Rolley 1999). Given that the burials in La Tène cemeteries are generally flat, it is often these enclosures that archaeologists first identify, either through ground survey or remote (i.e., aerial and/or satellite) sensing.

As Pierre Nouvel (2011) demonstrates in northern Burgundy, La Tène cemeteries were often placed upon major thoroughfares: along roads and rivers, at upland passes, and at river fords. While human remains may have been interred within the confines of the *oppida* themselves, it seems that the élite may have been buried just outside the gates, along the roads that gave access to these towns. This was, for example, the case at Bibracte, where the necropolis of *La Croix du Rebout* was placed at the intersection of several roads that led into the northwestern gate of the *oppidum* (Buchsenschutz, et al. 1998); as well as at the *oppidum* of Titelberg (Luxembourg), where travelers passed élite burials in the cemeteries of Lamadelaine and Clémency before entering the town (Metzler, et al. 1991). The situation of the Hundsrucken cemetery within the later rampart at the Bavarian *oppidum* of Manching (Sievers 2003), suggests that this élite cemetery was originally built *extra muros* and only incorporated into the main body of the *oppidum* as the settlement grew.

Nouvel (2011) has also demonstrated a remarkable continuity in the placement of La Tène cemeteries near the locations of Hallstatt tumuli and tumulus complexes. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that many Hallstatt tumuli were widely reused for the emplacement of the La Tène dead. This ancillary burial phenomenon, which continues a Hallstatt practice, is well documented, especially for the early La Tène phases. For example, La Tène ancillary burials (assumed to be élite) were dug into the *Fürstengräber* of Grafenbühl and Römerhügel, both of which are part of the same burial complex as the better-known Hochdorf tumulus (Baden-Würtemburg, Germany). This was also the case at the nearby site of Kleinaspergle, where "the barrow mound contained a grave chamber with a burial accompanied by gold-mounted drinking horns, four bronze vessels

including an Etruscan *stamnos*, and two Attic cups, dating to the La Tène A period"

(Cunliffe 1997:64). Cunliffe views these early La Tène burials in late Hallstatt tumuli as

evidence of a continuation of power in this region across the Hallstatt-La Tène divide,

and this interpretation seems to have merit. Whatever such continuities tell us about

temporal power and authority, however, they signal that many of the original meanings of

the Hallstatt tumuli (at least those concerned with death) may have been preserved (i.e.,

remembered) in the La Tène period.

Further evidence for this remembrance of Hallstatt custom seems to come in another

form a few centuries later, within a generation of the arrival of Roman forces in the

Gallic interior. At least one burial in the cemetery of Clémency (Luxembourg) appears to

have blended La Tène and Hallstatt burial customs. Dating to about 70 BCE, the

cremated remains of a single individual were placed in a wooden grave chamber

reminiscent of those found at the cores of many Hallstatt tumuli. This chamber was

surrounded by a square-ditched enclosure. The wide array of grave goods placed buried

with the remains of the deceased include pig/boar bones, a brooch, several pots, a brazier

or gridiron, a bronze bowl, a Campanian (i.e., Italian) oil lamp, a large number of

intentionally broken Italic amphorae, and elaborate textiles. Once closed, it appears that

the central chamber may have been covered with a tumulus (which has since been

removed) (Metzler, et al. 1991). Peter Wells (2001:97-99) mentions that similar burials

were present at the nearby site of Goeblingen- (or Goeblange-) Nospelt, which was also

associated with the *oppidum* of Titelberg. According to Wells, the Goeblingen-Nospelt

burials likely date to the next generation, between 50 and 20 BCE. All of these burials

show a blending of Roman, La Tène, and earlier elements. Wells interprets this hybridity

as part of an effort to negotiate local identities in the context of cultural change:

> The presence of these assemblages expresses forcefully that the buried
> individuals, and by implication the communities of which they were
> part, viewed themselves principally in terms of their traditional
> backgrounds. They adopted what they chose from the Roman world
> (amphorae and the liquids they contained, bronze vessels, ceramic
> tableware, lamp) but contextualized that material in their own milieu
> (by including it in a grave, and by integrating it into local sets of
> feasting equipment)…. [T]he entire assemblage was integrated into the
> context of elite burial tradition in temperate Europe. These rich graves
> at Goeblingen-Nospelt show the recreation of burial practice from
> several centuries before in the structuring of identity in the context of
> newly-conquered Gaul. (Wells 2001:98)

The appeal to the past that Wells seems to suggest here, and the kind of reaction or

resistance that he goes on to posit, are reminiscent of the "revitalization movements"

identified in the mid-1950s by ethnographer Anthony F.C. Wallace.

According to Wallace, a revitalization movement is

> a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to
> construct a more satisfying culture. Revitalization is thus, from a
> cultural standpoint, a special kind of culture change phenomenon: the
> persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their
> culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or
> not); they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory; and they
> must innovate not merely discrete items, but a new cultural system,
> *specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases, new traits*.
> (Wallace 1956:265, my emphasis)

Wallace goes on to demonstrate that several different processes might be at work in any

single revitalization movement, including not only the introduction of new items and

practices into a society, but also the reintroduction or reinterpretation of traditional items

and practices that may have been lost or ignored for a long time. (The latter may

constitute the "new relationships" referenced in the passage above.) Wallace notes that

revitalization movements are "recurrent features" of human history (267) and provides a long list of such movements derived from the ethnographic accounts and histories of several continents, many of which are related to moments of colonial contact and/or tension.

The 1st-century BCE revitalization movement at Titelberg, as described by Wells, was a reaction to the encroachment — both physical and cultural — of the Roman Empire in northern Gaul. Wells writes:

> To communicate the identity of their elites in this context of contention and stress, communities reached back to earlier traditions of burial ritual for practices that asserted their identities as non-Romans, reconstituting the use of mounds, wooden chambers and large sets of feasting paraphernalia in the graves. These efforts at reasserting traditional local identities increased at the same time that the *oppida* were established, their great boundary walls constructed and bronze and silver, as well as gold, coinage was coming into use. All of these changes point to an ever-stronger identification of the individual and the community with a particular territory. (Wells 2001:99)

This is a very enticing argument. If Wells is correct, Hallstatt tumuli in some regions not only kept their original funerary meanings from the beginning to the very end of the subsequent La Tène period; they also acquired new meanings over time in response to the pressing social and cultural concerns of the people that lived among them. It seems that these tumuli remained very important elements of the Iron Age landscape for centuries after their construction.

ON TUMULI

Mound Burial in Europe

The importance of tumuli continues into the present, as archaeologists enroll them in the production of narratives about life in the past. The choice to enroll tumuli in this production has, in part, been determined by the visibility and the longevity of these features (cf., Fontijn 2007). It has also been shaped by what might be thought of as their geographic and temporal "availability." The phenomenon of tumulus building was widespread across the European continent. Thousands of tumuli can still be found in the European landscape, from Spain to Norway, and from Ireland to the Altai Mountains. Complementing this wide geographic distribution is a broad temporal dispersion. While many of the mounds that we observe today date to the late Bronze and early Iron Ages, it should be kept in mind that the earliest barrows generally date to the Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age periods. These early mounds housed large burial populations, often in landscape features reminiscent of domestic structures. In this way, the world of the Living found its reflection in the world of the Dead (see, for example, Bradley 1998b).

These early communal burial structures were already quite old by the period of extensive mound building in temperate Europe, which lasted from about 1200 BCE to approximately 400 BCE. In those northern regions where the Iron Age lasted much longer than in temperate Europe, burial mounds like those constructed by Hallstatt groups may be significantly younger. For example, the celebrated Norwegian ship burials under the mounds of Oseberg, Gokstad, and Tune date to the 9th and early 10th centuries CE (Bonde and Christensen 1993). The late dates for these tumuli and for others in northern

Europe seem to indicate that the Norse continued to practice an Iron Age way of life —

or, more to the point, an Iron Age way of *death* — well into the Christian era.

As I indicate above, the mound burial rite had long since gone out of fashion when

Caesar arrived in Gaul in the mid-50s BCE. With the possible exception of areas where

mound burial may have been readopted as part of some anti-Roman revitalization

movement, tumuli such as those of *Les Vernailloux*, *Le Mauvais Pas*, and *La Revive* had

not been constructed for more than four centuries. Yet had Caesar and his armies pushed

to the Baltic coast, he might have seen people constructing and venerating mounds for the

dead[27]. That many northern European societies should continue to build tumuli for at

least 1,400 years longer than the societies of temperate Europe not only suggests the

continuity of an Iron Age lifestyle beyond the reach of Rome, but also highlights

distinctions that must have existed among European groups long before the arrival of

Classical authors and colonial authorities.

Archaeologists-with-Tumuli

The historiographic importance of funerary evidence to narratives of the 1st

millennium BCE, especially in the construction of stories about life in the early Iron Age

(cf., J.P. Millotte's comments in MENC 1992:68-76), makes accurate Joseph Déchelette's

observation that the early Iron Age might be thought of as the "Tumulus Epoch." Given

the overrepresentation of funerary contexts in studies of the Hallstatt landscape, it might

seem odd to produce yet another study of Bronze and Iron Age tumuli in the Hallstatt

zone. (Indeed, this was precisely the reaction of one French archaeologist when I first

contacted him about my research.) Yet many things remain to be learned from the study

of these features. As I will discuss further in the next chapter, this is particularly true in

southern Burgundy. While Burgundy figures prominently in many treatments of the West

Hallstatt landscape, such discussions generally turn on data from northern Burgundy;

from the *départements* of the Côte-d'Or and the Yonne. Data from southern Burgundy

tend to be ignored, even where landscape patterns seem to replicate — as they do in

eastern Saône-et-Loire (Henry 1933b:8) — those of the Côte-d'Or. Thus one reason for

studying tumuli in southern Burgundy might be to bring these seldom considered

archaeological features into dialogue with those of the adjacent region and, by extension,

the broader cultural zone.

Ironically, we owe our better understanding of tumuli in the Côte-d'Or to the efforts

of another doctoral candidate who worked in Burgundy. In 1932, Françoise Henry

defended her dissertation, *Les Tumulus du Département de la Côte-d'Or*, before the

Faculté des Lettres of Paris. This work, formally published in the following year (Henry

1933b), is widely recognized in the French academy as a "classic." It is the source for

much of what is known about the tumuli of the region, and has served as a starting point

for many later studies (e.g., Triboulot 2002). Henry provided an inventory of the tombs,

discussing the excavation of each and the artifacts collected. Prior to her study, much of

this information had been contradictory and/or unpublished, often in the collections of

amateurs who had few outlets to share their materials or observations (Olivier 2004:35).

Henry's inventory allowed her to discuss mound groupings, to establish a coherent

tumulus chronology, and to explore similarities and differences among these tombs and

those in neighboring regions, as well as in the rest of Europe.

Henry's contribution is important for another reason: she recognized that the tumuli

of the Côte-d'Or "form a group that is now classic, but their exploration was begun

during a period when prehistoric archaeology was both tentative and experimental"
(Henry 1933b:8). Therefore, the data about these features had to be approached with a
critical eye. A project with useful archaeological outcomes, Henry's critical re-evaluation
of the Côte-d'Or materials was also a serious historiographic project, tracing events that
would prove fundamental to the development of French protohistoric archaeology and
prefiguring studies of the discipline's history that would emerge more than 50 years later.
In that the northern portions of my own study area (see Chapter 4) extend into the Côte-
d'Or, Henry's work indicates strong links connecting the all-but-forgotten tumuli of my
region with important developments elsewhere, both in the distant past (i.e., the Bronze
and Iron Ages) and more recently (i.e., in the 19th and 20th centuries).

There are a number of reasons for the success of Henry's dissertation. On its own
merits, the work was quite thorough, both historiographically and analytically. Henry
brought a vast body of dispersed knowledge together into a single, coherent text. Further,
she reported on her own limited excavations on the *Chaumes d'Auvenay* (the "Auvenay
Stubbles" or "Auvenay Thatch"[28] , Côte-d'Or), thereby completing a circle that
connected collectors and artifacts to the landscape while, at the same time, demonstrating
her own technical expertise as an archaeologist.

But there may have been broader, systemic reasons for the acclaim received by
Henry's dissertation. In 1902, the amateur archaeologist Jacques Gabriel Bulliot, first
excavator of Mont Beuvray / Bibracte, died. With his death, Burgundy lost one of its
most prolific archaeological authors (although a tradition of auto-didactic scholarship has
been continued by amateur archaeologists like Henri Parriat and René Horiot, whom I
mention at the beginning of this chapter). But Bulliot's professional hopes had been

realized in his nephew, Joseph Déchelette. Déchelette was a scholar of uncommon intellect and ability. He recognized features in the material excavated from Mont Beuvray that suggested cultural ties with other *oppida* across temperate Europe and, using his facility for language learning and his collegial manner, went on to investigate these similarities. The four chronologically organized volumes of his *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique, Celtique et Gallo-Romaine*, first published in 1927, continue to be referenced today. Unfortunately for the Burgundian archaeological community — indeed, for the nascent discipline of French protohistory in general (see Chapter 6) — World War I broke out at the height of Déchelette's archaeological career. On 4 October 1914, literally in the opening days of the war, Joseph Déchelette died on the battlefield of Vingré (Aisne, northern France). Déchelette's death effectively cast French protohistoric archaeology, and especially that of Burgundy, into a profound "recession" (Olivier 2004:35) out of which it would not climb for more than a generation.

Henry's study of the tumuli of the Côte-d'Or stood out, therefore, as a glimmer of intellectual promise in what was otherwise a professional vacuum. Henry was the granddaughter of the art historian Charles Clément (Sorensen 2011). She attended *lycée* ("preparatory high school / junior college") in Paris and graduated from the Sorbonne, where she had studied under the renowned medievalists Émile Mâle and Henri Focillon. She enrolled in graduate studies at the *École du Louvre*, under the archaeological tutelage of Salomon Reinach. While at the *École du Louvre*, she became the student and protégée of the archaeologist Henri Hubert. Hubert was an expert on Celtic archaeology (see, for example, Hubert 2002[1934]) and a collaborator with Durkheim and Mauss on *L'Année Sociologique*. When Durkheim died in 1917, Mauss and Hubert had suspended

production of the journal until the mid-1920s. In 1925, working with a number of regular and occasional collaborators — including Maurice Halbwachs, Lucien and Henri Lévy-Bruhl, and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown — they reinstated the journal under the title *L'Année Sociologique, Nouvelle Série*. Among the collaborators on this project was the young Françoise Henry. Given this academic pedigree, the French archaeological community no doubt expected her dissertation to be the first in a number of talented developments. In this expectation, her colleagues were not entirely wrong. But *Les Tumulus du Département de la Côte d'Or* (dedicated to Hubert, who had died in 1927) was only Henry's secondary thesis in pursuit of the *Doctorat d'État* (Sorensen 2011). Her primary dissertation, *La Sculpture Irlandaise pendant les Douze Premiers Siècles de l'Ère Chretienne*, focused on late Iron Age and medieval Irish sculpture and was published in the same year as her tumulus volume (Henry 1933a). It was this primary dissertation that set Henry's career path, and she devoted her life to the study of Irish art and architecture. Her work carried her through several posts at University College, Dublin, and won her the honor of being among the first four women inducted into the Royal Irish Academy in 1949 (Sorensen 2011). Her French contemporaries described her efforts as "brilliant" (see, for example, Grenier 1954:442), though no doubt with a hint of regret. When offered teaching posts in France, Henry refused. She permanently returned to her homeland only after having retired from teaching in Ireland. When she died in Auxerre (Yonne, northern Burgundy) in 1982, *Les Tumulus du Département de la Côte d'Or* remained her only work on the subject of French protohistory.

It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that the archaeology of the 1st millennium BCE, and especially of tumuli — which had been so important to the establishment of

French protohistoric archaeology in the 19th century (see Chapter 6) — remained relatively undeveloped in France for several decades after the death of Déchelette and the publication of Henry's dissertation (Olivier 2004). Active protohistoric (including tumulus) research finally began to be reestablished during the years after World War II, no doubt driven in part by the exceptional materials that René Joffroy found in the tumulus of Vix (Côte-d'Or) in the early 1950s (Joffroy 1954, 1960). However, as described by Laurent Olivier (2004:35), this reestablishment was slow and patchy, even in eastern France with its many tumuli and known hillforts. In Burgundy, for example, much of the work of establishing a mature discipline of protohistory has been done only in the last 40 years, within the living memory of the region's archaeological community and during the careers of archaeologists who continue to be active in research.

As tumulus archaeology has developed in France, it has come to reflect a number of themes common across the Hallstatt zone. The range of these themes is well-represented in a the transcript of a discussion among eminent French protohistorians that took place as part of the 31st annual *Journées Archéologiques Régionales* (Regional Archaeology Days), held at Sens (Yonne, northern Burgundy), on 20-21 April 1991 (MENC 1992). The themes discussed by these scholars related not only to individual tumuli, but also to the broader complexes / necropolises of which the mounds are often a part. These themes include the dating and evolution of tumuli and tumulus complexes, the geographic and environmental settings in which tumuli were built, the degree to which tumuli materialized social cohesion and difference, and the political import of the landscapes into which tumuli were built. Many of these themes impinge on one another and crossing all of them is a concern with how the tumuli were originally constructed.

<u>Dating</u>

The question of dating Hallstatt materials is a perennial problem. Due to fluctuations in the concentrations of carbon isotopes in the atmosphere over time, the radiocarbon curve — which charts the ratio of radioactive ^{14}C to stable ^{12}C contained in organic materials — exhibits a number of plateaus (Guilderson, et al. 2005). One such plateau extends from the mid-8th century BCE to the end of the 5th century BCE, essentially the entire period of the early Iron Age in temperate Europe. Radiocarbon dating of materials produced during this period tends to yield date "clusters" much less precise than the dates for other periods, even at probabilities above 95% and with modern measurement techniques (e.g., AMS) that are otherwise quite accurate. This reduced precision can be seen, for example, in the date clusters derived for the 2004 samples from Strata 8 and 9 in the tumulus of *La Revive* (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2). Once calibrated, the 95.4% probable date(s) for Stratum 8 stretched across three ranges: 776 – 740 BCE (21.2%), 690 – 663 BCE (19.4%), and 648 – 548 BCE (54.8%). Similarly, the most precise calibrated dates for Stratum 9 were spread across four ranges: 792 – 749 BCE (47.6%), 689 – 666 BCE (26.4%), 642 – 591 BCE (18.9%), and 579 – 565 BCE (2.5%).

Where wooden elements are available in tumuli, dendrochronology can provide useful "work-arounds" to such problems of dating. Far more common, however, are classic seriation studies of the artifacts excavated from burial collections. Mediterranean imports are often selected for such studies because in many areas (e.g., southern Burgundy), the most common locally produced forms appear to have changed very little over long spans of time (see, for example, Green, et al. 1987: Figure 9) and because, as I have indicated above, the seriations of Mediterranean artifacts in southern Europe provide such fine-grained temporal resolution. But this reliance on Mediterranean

imports introduces several complications into the dating process. Principal among these problems is the relative scarcity such imports and the fact that they may not appear with sufficient frequency (or at all) in the majority of Hallstatt tumuli to allow for reliable dating. Further, as I suggest above, the nature of the exchanges that brought Mediterranean material onto Hallstatt sites is unclear, as is the meaning that these objects held in Hallstatt societies. If these objects were transported directly (and *en masse*) into temperate Europe by brokers who represented Mediterranean political and/or economic interests *and* if they were used only briefly before being deposited in Hallstatt graves, then they might provide reliable dates for sites where they occur in significant quantities. Unfortunately, however, it is just as likely that Mediterranean goods made it into the Hallstatt interior through hand-to-hand exchanges that may have taken place over years or even generations. Similarly, as rare and exotic objects, Mediterranean items in the Hallstatt zone may have been curated for long periods of time before they were buried. Given these possibilities, the use of these goods as temporal markers of anything other than *terminus post quem* should be viewed with skepticism.

Laurent Olivier (1999a:111) provides a concrete example of the need for such skepticism when he notes that dendrochronological studies of material derived from the large Magdalenenberg tumulus (Baden-Würtemburg, Germany) date the beginning of the Hallstatt D phase in Central Europe to the last quarter of the 7th century BCE (Spindler 1971, 1972, 1973, 1976; Stöckli 1991). By contrast, Olivier observes, typological studies place the beginning of this phase in the mid-6th century and the assemblages of some sites (e.g., Hochdorf) even suggest a date close to 500 BCE. While the chronological dilemma described by Olivier is somewhat different than that which I have outlined above (i.e.,

here, Mediterranean imports provide a date that is younger than that suggested by absolute dating), the upshot of his story is the same: we cannot rely exclusively on Mediterranean artifacts in Hallstatt tumuli to establish our chronologies.

Using the richly appointed Hochdorf burial as a case study, Olivier (1999a) goes on to demonstrate how holistic observations of entire assemblages might be used to trace change over time. Olivier's method focuses on spatial relationships and associations among artifacts: relationships that are indicative of specific burial practices and that — viewed more broadly in terms of time and geography — change over time. While this approach seems promising, few scholars appear to have taken it up as a way to understand early Iron Age chronologies. Further, it must be noted that while Olivier's practice-based approach to the problem of dating may be ideal for sites like Hochdorf or Vix, sites with large quantities of grave goods, it does not offer immediate hope to decipher temporal relationships in "poorer" tumuli with small quantities of, or completely lacking, grave goods.

However, working with late Bronze and Iron Age burials throughout eastern and northeastern France, Luc Baray has developed a practice-oriented approach related to that of Olivier that may allow for the dating of poorer tumuli. Baray (2000) relies on the careful notation of choices made in the construction of the tumulus itself, rather than on the relationships among the artifacts and remains contained therein alone. These choices are reflected not only in the immediate treatment of the Dead, but also in the materials used to construct the tumulus, its overall form, and the practical steps taken in the process of building it. Consider, for example, the information contained in the following

description of Hallstatt tumuli offered by Henri Hubert in his landmark *The Rise of the Celts* (2002[1934]):

> These tumuli, which vary much in size, and are often enlarged by [ancillary] burials, are in the main composed of a stone [or log] erection, which unfortunately has always fallen in, formed of large rubble pieces arranged in vaulting, covered by a pile of smaller material and sometimes by a chape of beaten earth. The remains of the [person] for whom the tumulus was originally built were laid on a floor or in a pit. The monument was completed by circles of stones ["ringwalls"], which sometimes constituted the whole monument, unless the rest had been removed in later times. (253)

As Hubert observes, like the broader cultural assemblage of which they were a part, there is a great deal of variation among Hallstatt tumuli, both across space[29] and through time. Baray's (2000) work builds on more than a century of studies that have carefully mapped the internal structures of individual tumuli, allowing one to chart spatial and temporal variation. Drawing upon these studies, Baray demonstrates a series of patterned changes in tumulus construction over time, from the late Bronze Age to the end of the early Iron Age. He shows that such diachronic variation might be used to date the tumuli and tumulus complexes that we study, even in the (relative) absence of artifacts.

Geographic and Environmental Settings

At the time of the 31st annual *Journées Archéologiques Régionales* in 1991, French protohistorians were just beginning to investigate the spatial relationships established among newly constructed tumuli, other features of the built environment, and critical elements of the "natural"[30] environment. In the transcript of the meeting, Jacques-Pierre Millotte observes that such relationships had already been studied in Germany since the 1920s (Earle 1987:70). From Jean-Paul Delor's comments, which immediately follow those of Millotte, we learn that then recent analyses of tumulus location in the Auxerrois

(Yonne, northern Burgundy) indicated a preference for hillslopes and valley bottoms, areas with the most-productive agricultural soils. These observations by Delor set the stage for a prolonged discussion of the relationship between tumulus location and the location of arable land.

A close relationship between graves and farmland (or otherwise productive terrain) is certainly not without precedent in Europe. For example, Richard Bradley's analysis of dynamic landscape patterns from the Mesolithic through the Bronze Age in *The Significance of Monuments* (1998b) principally turns on relationships that link burial sites with habitation sites and arable land (specifically, beds of glacial loess) across temperate Europe. It is not entirely surprising, therefore, that Bertrand Triboulot's (2002) analysis of Hallstatt tumulus locations in northeastern France and western Germany (Saarland) finds an apparent preference for terraces and plateau summits where rich silty soils have been exposed[31]. In the mountainous Jura (east-central France), Triboulot finds a link to the locations of highly productive salt springs. Delor's comments and Triboulot's analysis, like that of Bradley, seem to demonstrate that for Hallstatt peoples, the distinction between the sacred and/or memorial elements of the landscape — if, indeed, tumuli were sacred and/or memorial — and the "everyday" productive elements of the landscape was not as hard-and-fast as many modern interpretations might lead us to believe.

The discussions at the *Journées Archéologiques Régionales* turned from considerations of arable land to examine the relationship of tumulus location to features of the built environment, including roads, hillforts, and habitation sites. This is a topic that had already been introduced into the literature by Henry (1933b:95), who observed

that tumuli in the Côte-d'Or often cluster along the alignments of ancient roads. This is a theme that remains current in tumulus studies. Consider, for example, that Pierre Nouvel's (2011) work, cited above, demonstrates both a continuity of La Tène cemetery locations with those of earlier Hallstatt necropolises and a preference for locations along the thoroughfares trafficked during the period. Taken together, these patterns suggest that Hallstatt tumuli, too, were often placed along the well-traveled paths of the Bronze and Iron Ages.

As I have indicated, a strong correlation has long been assumed between the locations of prominent Hallstatt hillforts (*Fürstensitze*) and tumuli, especially tumuli that were large and richly appointed (*Fürstengräber*). Recent analyses have explored such associations more formally, often considering the locations of lowland habitation sites as well[32]. In a GIS-based study of selected *Fürstensitze* landscapes across southern Germany and Bohemia, for example, Axel Posluschny (2008) shows that tumulus locations were likely selected to provide intervisibility with at least one (and often only one) contemporary habitation site. Although Posluschny does not fully escape from the paradigm that sees large hillforts as élite "princely sites," he demonstrates that the nature of spatial relationships among tumuli, habitation sites, and hillforts seems to have depended on the function of the hillfort. For example, at the large hillfort of Glauberg (Hesse, Germany), which he suggests may have served a unique calendric and/or ritual function, burial mounds are arrayed along the edges of the site's "hinterland." Posluschny implies that this use of tumuli as "boundary markers" differs somewhat from the other sites in his study.

<u>Social Cohesion and Difference</u>

If the Glauberg tumuli were originally arrayed in this fashion, it may demonstrate an attempt by the builders of these mounds to develop and reinforce a cohesive social identity for the residents of the Glauberg landscape. Indeed, the concern with social identity is a longstanding one, as important for the early Iron Age as for the subsequent La Tène period. In large part, this concern with social identities and their materialization in tumuli and tumulus complexes is likely related to a desire to make sense of the considerable variation — both inter- and intra-regional — that I have already mentioned at several points. At the Sens meeting, for example, those present considered whether different practices in the construction of tumuli and in the treatment of the Dead (e.g., inhumation vs. cremation) could be seen as markers of social difference and, if so, what kind (Earle 1987:73-74).

Of course, the role of tumuli in materializing differences within early Iron Age societies has received a great deal of attention, especially with regard to socio-economic status. No longer masking social difference as did the collective burials of earlier periods, the wealth of some tombs and differential burial patterns of the Hallstatt period would seem to indicate different "classes" of deceased individual. These classes probably varied with such factors as wealth (which is generally considered), but also with other social differences like age and gender. In the session "Burial Mound Ladies: Gender, Age, and Status in Mound-Building Prehistoric Societies," organized for the 16th annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists in The Hague (2010), Bettina Arnold and Hrvoje Potrebice brought together a number of researchers from across Europe and North America to investigate such differences. With regard to the early Iron Age of temperate Europe, Arnold's own paper stood out. Examining burial mounds from the Hochmichele

group (one of the cemeteries associated with the Heuneburg, Baden-Würtemburg, Germany), Arnold (2010b) noted differences between two mounds: one of which held burials that were exclusively male and the other burials that were exclusively female. Arnold demonstrated that the male funerary (and perhaps memorial) rite was different from the female funerary/memorial rite, perhaps most notably in its inclusion of small altars (which are absent in the female mound).

This presentation by Arnold continued a career devoted, in part, to questions of social cohesion and difference in the West Hallstatt zone. For example, in her PhD dissertation, *Material Culture of Social Structure* (1991), and again four years later in a book chapter by the same name (1995b), she examines these phenomena through the lenses of gender and presumed wealth. With regard to the former, she demonstrates an augmentation in the socio-political status of women throughout the Iron Age (see, also, Arnold 1995a). On the subject of wealth (no doubt allied to other social and cultural mechanisms), Arnold observes:

> The remarkable uniformity of the status object assemblages associated with late Hallstatt high-staus elites throughout the West Hallstatt area seems to suggest a *sodality* in Service's definition of the term. Membership in this group appears to have been both non-local and non-residential, two of Service's principal requirements for a sodality. Because of the scattered nature of sodalities, individuals need symbols to signal their membership in the group. Sodalities cross-cut and integrate different residential units and are an important means of integrating residential groups and arranging the configuration of the society (Service 1971:16). The late Hallstatt high-status elite sodality forms a stratum which cuts horizontally across kin groups and territorial boundaries, binding communities together in new ways. This in part explains the relative uniformity of high-status elite material culture in burial throughout the West Hallstatt Zone as compared to the much more heterogeneous material culture associated with non-elite burials through time and space. (Arnold 1995b:49, emphasis in original)

The results Arnold reported in The Hague, 15 years after the publication of this passage, suggest the existence of more than one such sodality, perhaps divided along gender lines and/or roles in Hallstatt society. This certainly complicates simple visions of social cohesion and difference that revolve around distinctions between élites and others at individual sites or across the entire Hallstatt zone.

Arnold is by no means the only scholar to focus on sex and gender in the 1st millennium BCE, but this research trajectory remains underexplored and largely undertheorized (Pope and Ralston 2011). Where women's status is discussed, it is often read as an indication of relationships with powerful men. Consider, for example, Hinton's (1986) examination of high-status burials at Münsingen-Rain, Switzerland (discussed in Pope and Ralston 2011:378). At this site, the majority of richly appointed burials — which, it should be noted, are flat tombs dating to the La Tène period — are those of women. Hinton's explanation for the inclusion of rich grave goods in female burials at Münsingen-Rain "consciously [abandons] any link between wealth and status" (Pope and Ralston 2011:378), as he suggests that these women were buried with their bridewealth. The implication of this interpretation is that a woman's wealth was a means by which the men closest to her, especially her husband, could demonstrate their own status and influence. Such interpretations are offensive not only in their continuation of an outdated notion that women mean little save as instruments of male power; they also ignore the likelihood that women held socio-political and/or other types of authority in the past.

This possibility is the subject of Knüssel's (2002) re-examination of the Vix remains. As Knüssel explains, the sex of the Vix individual — while now generally accepted to be female — has long been the subject of debate, as has the role that this rich woman played

in her society. Given the wealth of her burial, and continuing the feudal model of Hallstatt political life, this woman is generally referred to as the "Princess" or "Lady" of Vix. But, Knüssel explains, the Vix individual was buried without many of the items commonly interred with the women of her day. The lack of such overt signals of femininity has led some authors to describe this burial as that of a "man in women's clothes" or of a "transvestite priest" (the latter possibility is considered in Arnold 1991). Although Knüssel ultimately decides that the Vix individual was a woman, he demonstrates that the gender ambiguity with which archaeologists have viewed her remains is in part related to the sexual ambiguity of her skeletal remains. Not only do these remains exhibit a confusing blend of male and female traits, both in the skull and post-cranially, they also show the effects of congenital conditions that likely affected this person since her birth. For example, a marked side-to-side asymmetry of her entire body may have developed as the result of a breech birth and was likely visible in her outward appearance, as well as in her gait. These physical ambiguities and particulars may mean that, regardless of her sex, the Vix individual moved between male and female gender categories in her society, or that she occupied a different gender entirely. Knüssel suggests that this is not the burial of someone who obtained temporal power through chiefly competition, but rather through shamanism and/or ritual expertise. Beyond the features of her anatomy, Knüssel convincingly demonstrates that the contents of the Vix individual's grave support this Iron Age "ritualist" interpretation[33]. Knüssel's analysis not only has the potential to complicate understandings of sex and gender in the Hallstatt past, but also — through his introduction of ritual experts into the discourse on social

difference — to further complicate visions of Hallstatt society that focus on the interactions of chiefs and others.

So, too, does work undertaken by Bettina Arnold and Matthew Murray since 1999 as part of the "Landscape of Ancestors" project (Arnold 2002; Arnold and Murray 2002). In this project, Arnold and Murray (working with a number of German collaborators) seek to trace kin relationships within and across tumuli in the Hochmichele group using ancient DNA (aDNA). This project has the potential to demonstrate that strong networks of biological kin may have functioned to secure political and economic authority in the West Hallstatt province. Such "lineage-based chiefdoms" have been written about extensively in anthropological considerations of chiefdoms (see, for example, Earle 1987, 1997). Conversely, the Landscape of Ancestors project might demonstrate that biological kinship was not the principal driver of Hallstatt élite interactions, as materialized in burial placement. Such a finding would leave room for explorations of diverse phenomena including social / "fictive" kinship relations, like fosterage, that we know to have been both common and important by the end of the Iron Age (see, for example, Karl 2005; Parkes 2006); and, as Arnold (1995b) suggests in the above-referenced passage, sodalities.

All of this research tends to support an observation by Luc Baray at the 1991 meeting in Sens: "I do not think that one can demonstrate a strict correlation between the objects present in a tomb and social status" (MENC 1992:75). This is a sentiment that has now been echoed several times, including (most recently) by a number of contributors to Moore and Armada's (2011) edited volume on re-approaching the 1st millennium BCE in Atlantic Europe.

Questions of cohesion and difference, while social, are also political questions. When such identities and distinctions are materialized in the landscape, as through the construction of tumuli (in relation to other aspects of the built and natural / unbuilt / co-opted environments), they constitute a "political landscape" (sensu Smith 2003). As I have suggested at several points already, traditional interpretations of the Hallstatt political landscape have relied heavily on the notion that the construction and reuse of elaborate tumuli, like the fortification of the hilltops with which such mounds are generally associated, signal the growth and maintenance of an entrepreneurial class of chieftains from the late Bronze Age through the early Iron Age. This is the logic, for example, upon which Bertrand Triboulot (2002) bases his analysis of tumuli, which primarily sets out to identify a hierarchy of tumulus sites and which I have mentioned in reference to spatial relationships. Following Tainter (1977) among others (e.g., Olivier and Wirtz 1993; Reinhard 1997), Triboulot assumes that tumulus size can be taken as an indicator of the labor that a particular chieftain had at her/his command. What is unclear, however, is whether this is a measure of the labor committed to the dead chieftain, or of the power commanded by her/his successor(s) who, presumably, oversaw the construction of the tomb (following Tomášková 2010). What is also unclear from Triboulot's analysis is how we should think about subsequent ritual uses of tumuli (i.e., ancillary burial and/or votive practices) and/or recent agricultural uses, both of which have the potential to significantly impact the mound volume measured or estimated by the archaeologist. Further, we should not lose sight of the fact that, as suggested by the late La Tène "tumuli" of the Titelberg landscape (see above), secondary ritual use of these sites was, itself, likely political.

While such problematic conceptions continue to circulate at both academic conferences and in print, our understandings of how the landscape materialized power in the late Bronze and Iron Ages have become much more complex. Thirty years ago when Heinrich Härke wrote his *Settlement Types and Patterns in the West Hallstatt Province* (1979), Iron Age settlements outside of hillforts and *oppida* were not well-known at all. Today, thanks to a number of developments, we know a bit more about open settlements away from these "central places." Our understanding of the Iron Age landscape is evolving to contain not only hillforts and tumuli, but also farmsteads, production sites, fields, and ritual locations. The more we learn about these other site types, the more we are led to question just how central so-called Hallstatt *Fürstensitze*, the *Fürstengräber* associated with them, and La Tène *oppida* actually were.

NOTES

[1] Though I use them more or less synonymously here, in Chapter 6 I make a distinction between the terms "amateur" and "avocational." Given his profession as a bank agent, Horiot was likely a self-taught (and, therefore, amateur) archaeologist. Yet, like the high school teacher Henri Parriat — whose fieldwork and scholarship have now guided three generations of amateur, avocational, and professional archaeologists on two continents (see Chapter 6) — the autodidact Horiot published and/or presented the results of his archaeological inquiries (see, for example, Horiot 1963, 1965). The extent to which he engaged the professional archaeological community makes Horiot, like Parriat before him, a better candidate for the title of "avocational" archaeologist, though not in the strict sense upon which I will insist later.

[2] In France and the Low Countries (i.e., what was ancient Gaul), the terms "Gallic" and "Celtic" are more or less synonymous.

[3] It is important to keep in mind that this site report, though a scientific narrative, is nonetheless a story. As such, it is not so very different from the landscape tales told by French peasants for centuries (following Ingold 2000:189-190). Those inclined to science may argue that the "truth" value of the archaeological narrative sets it apart from the peasant tale. In response to this argument, I would draw the reader's attention to the fact that the peasant tale, like the archaeological narrative, structures behavior on the landscape. As I indicate in Chapter 5, this story is taken to be true by the people who adhere to it and circulate it (or at least by those who did so in the past). Further, the tendency of scientific paradigms to shift (Kuhn 1970) — including in archaeology (see, for example, Renfrew 1976) — should make us all a bit skeptical about the truth value of any narrative, no matter how scientific we assume it to be.

[4] I draw here on Latour's description of "mediation" in *Pandora's Hope* (1999:174-193). In considering what he refers to as "the first meaning of technical mediation: interference," Latour references a well-known American political debate. On one side are proponents of gun control who make the materialist claim that "Guns kill people." On the other are members of the National Rifle Association and allies who make the sociological claim that "Guns don't kill people; *people* kill people." Latour demonstrates that neither claim is entirely true or entirely false. The gun, by itself, cannot kill anyone. It must be acted upon by another agent. The weapon does, however, alter the behavior of the emotional human actor, enabling a particular series of actions and outcomes. Latour demonstrates that it is, therefore, the "citizen-gun" / "gun-citizen" (179) that does harm. Put another way, "*People-with-guns* kill people."

Following Latour, it stands to reason that it is not the archaeologist who narrates — or creates, depending on the reader's theoretical orientation and politics — the past; nor is it the material culture left over from that past. Rather "archaeologists-with-material culture" narrate/create the past in collectives. This is a relatively simple and concise solution to the questions of objectivity vs. subjectivity and positivism vs. constructionism that

bedeviled Anglophone archaeology during the "theory wars" of the late 1980s and 1990s. Readers curious about these debates are directed to Leone, et al.'s (1987) call for a "critical archaeology" and the response that it generated in the pages of *Current Anthropology*; the conversation surrounding "mitigated objectivism" and gender archaeology that played out in the pages of *American Antiquity* during the early to mid-1990s (Fotiadis 1994; Little 1994; Wylie 1992, 1994); and/or Knapp's (1996) discussion, in the *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, of how archaeology might benefit from a post-modern perspective.

[5] Given that the only substantial difference between the late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age seems to have been the presence of iron technology, this introduction will also brush against the earlier period.

[6] The degree to which Roman transformations of everyday life in southern Gaul can be detected in the material record is the subject of a recent dissertation at the University of Chicago (Luley 2011).

[7] The reader might have noted that Figure 3.4 does not show a Roman period for the Adriatic and mid-Balkan region. This should not be taken to indicate that there was not a Roman presence in these areas during the 1st millennium BCE. Beginning with the Illyrian Wars — a series of military campaigns from 229 to 168 BCE, undertaken to suppress piracy in the Adriatic— Rome established a foothold along the Adriatic coast (Wilkes 1992). This foothold became stronger over the next 100 years as Roman forces pressed further inland. In 35 BCE, Roman troops under Augustus attacked the interior region of Pannonia, a Danubian region that stretched from the territory of present-day western Hungary, to eastern Austria, northern Croatia, north-western Serbia, Slovenia, western Slovakia, and northern Bosnia and Herzegovina (i.e., across the Dinaric Alps, into the Balkans, to the Carpathians, and onto the Hungarian Plain). Despite this Roman presence throughout the final century and a half BCE, it was not until the suppression of the Great Illyrian Revolt (also called the Pannonian Revolt) in 9 CE that Roman authority was firmly established in the region. It seems unlikely that the criteria established by Brun and Ruby (2008) can have been put into place before the Romans had gained full control over the provinces of Illyricum and Pannonia, which were linked at this early point (cf., Dzino 2010).

[8] Treating perhaps the most-extreme example of this continuity, Robert Dodgshon (1995) demonstrates that until the failure of the Jacobite rebellion in 1745-1746, an essentially Iron Age / Celtic political-economic structure (centered upon the interactions of chiefs and clans) prevailed in the Scottish Highlands. Although the Roman occupation of Britain did include forays into Scotland, this area was more or less "written off" by the Romans in the 2nd century CE when they materialized the frontier with the construction of Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall. Soon after, the Romans drew back from Britain entirely. The topography of the Highlands shielded local inhabitants from many of the cultural changes that subsequent migrations — including those of the Saxons, Vikings, and Normans — brought to the British Isles.

[9] Consider that the terms "Hallstatt" and "La Tène," though critical to understandings of the Iron Age in France, occur only rarely in Brun and Ruby's (2008) treatment of the period. Outside of an introductory chapter in which they present a late Bronze and Iron Age chronology, the authors opt most frequently for a discussion of the "north-alpine Celtic zone": an area roughly coterminous with what others might call the West Hallstatt area/zone (see figure, page 77). I submit that this choice to employ yet another spatio-temporal classification is the direct consequence of these authors' desire to avoid the complexities and assumption inherent in the term "Hallstatt." Ironically, in multiplying the labels upon which one might draw, they create a new kind of complexity.

[10] This etymology is suggested by the proximity of the name Hallstatt — as well as the name of another important Austrian site dating to the same period, Dürrnberg bei Hallein — to the geologic name for the rock salt (NaCl) mineral: halite. The contributors to John Thomas Koch's *Celtic Culture* (2006:1555) encyclopedia indicate that all of these names contain a Celtic root rather than a Germanic one, as might be expected given the geographic locations of Hallstatt and Dürrnberg. This derivation is particularly evident in considering p-Celtic words for salt, for example *halen* (Welsh), *holenn* (Breton), and *holen* (Cornish).

[11] See Stig-Sørenson and Thomas (1989) for a detailed consideration of continuity and rupture from the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age in Western Europe.

[12] In his own overview of the Iron Age (specifically the "Celtic" Iron Age), Barry Cunliffe (1994:351) suggests that hillfort construction may have begun during the late Bronze Age in southern Britain and southern Germany.

[13] Typically ascribed to Kimmig (1969), Staša Babić (2002) indicates that the term "princely graves" was first used by Benac and Čović (1957) in their extensive catalogue of early Iron Age material from the Glasinac plateau (central Balkans).

[14] The primacy of place afforded to Mediterranean imports can be attributed, at least in part, to practical challenges related to the dating of Hallstatt components. As I suggest in the site report with which I open this chapter, Hallstatt archaeology is bedeviled by a radiocarbon "plateau" that obscures radiometric dating of the entire early Iron Age. The dating of Mediterranean ceramics, accomplished through decades of careful seriation, is exceptionally "tight" by contrast. Thus these imports, though rare, provide important — indeed, near indispensable — "handles" by which to apprehend the timing of the sites where they have been found.

[15] The important factor may have been the *idea* of wine importation. Dietler (1995:69–70, 2005) has endeavored to show that there is little evidence for the actual importation of Mediterranean wines; rather he suggests a system in which élites used the material culture of Mediterranean wine consumption to set themselves apart in the consumption of the same local products as non-élites, beer and mead.

[16] By "pre-colonial contexts" here I mean to suggest those that date before the period 600 to 575 BCE. The earlier of these dates is accepted as the year in which the Phocaean Greek colony at Massalia, present-day Marseilles, was founded. The Phocaean colony at Emporion (modern Empúries / Ampurias) was founded further west, on the Catalan coast, just 25 years later.

[17] This casting of roles, which I would characterize as gendered, continues at broader scales. For example, in a highly influential paper Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978) seek to augment the feudal model of West Hallstatt society with a prestige-goods model derived from socio-cultural anthropology. These authors insist that Hallstatt and the Mediterranean must be seen as part of a single system in which the Mediterranean functions as the "core" and Hallstatt polities as the "periphery." They write:

> This paper will argue… that the internal structure of local societies in the European Iron Age have always to be viewed in the context of their occupying a *dependent position in a regional system* dominated by the expansion and growth of the more complex and competitive city states and colonies in the central and western Mediterranean. (Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978:73, my emphasis)

For other examples of this kind of thinking as it pertains to earlier relations between temperate Europe and the Mediterranean, see Sherratt (1993a, 1993b, 1993c).

[18] Pigs may seem an odd addition to this list, given that we generally do not think of them as the denizens of open pasture. Wilkie, et al. (2007) have demonstrated through dental-wear studies that grass feeding, particularly on short-grassed open parkland, was likely an important feature of early pig husbandry. Equally important, no doubt, was the pannage of pigs in mast forests. As in later historical periods (see, for example, Pretty 1990), this practice would have proven particularly useful in the early to mid-autumn, as beech nuts and acorns fell. These nuts added valuable (and flavorful) fat in the weeks before the hogs were slaughtered. Indeed, some Roman and medieval sources calculated the value of a woodland by the number of pigs that it could support in a year (Keyser 2009).

[19] Drawing on a large body of funerary material from the Glasinac plateau and from Trebenište (both in the central Balkans), Staša Babić (2002) has demonstrated that this area along the southeastern margin of the East Hallstatt province(s) was another passage by which Greek imports entered the eastern Hallstatt world. While earlier analysts have detected evidence for chiefdom-like social stratification in the form of "princely graves," Babić argues quite convincingly that the insertion of Greek valuables into local economies need not necessarily have set up a situation of political dominance by an entrepreneurial élite. Her claim is supported by the length of Greek trade evident on the Glasinac plateau: Greek imports were present on Glasinac sites well before "princely graves" were first built and continued to arrive well after such graves were no longer constructed.

[20] Evidence of this watery beginning, "la tène" is an eastern Swiss patois word meaning "the shallows" (Keller 1866:239).

[21] The practice of depositing ritual offerings in lakes, ponds, rivers, springs, and bogs was common throughout Europe from the late Bronze Age onward, and especially in the late Iron Age and the Roman period (see, for example, Bradley 1990; Fischer 2011; Hingley 2006; Sanders 2009; Turner and Scaife 1995). These offerings included a variety of artifacts, as well as the bodies of animal and human sacrifices, like the Lindow Man discussed above (Stead, et al. 1986; Turner 1995). In some places, the deposition of such offerings continued throughout the Medieval period and a modern survival of this practice can be found in the custom of tossing coins or trinkets into "wishing wells" and fountains.

[22] This curvilinear style is often referred to as the *Waldalgesheim* style, after the site of an élite burial in the Rhineland-Palatinate, southwestern Germany. However, Jacobsthal (1944) uses *Waldalgesheim* only in reference to the second of four phases that he observes in the art of the La Tène period.

[23] *Oppida* is the plural of the Latin *oppidum*. Collis (1995:78) notes that most of these new towns were built on pristine ground, that is to say, not on the terrain of former hillforts. Archaeologists use this term to describe the towns of the late Iron Age following Caesar's own usage in *The Gallic War* (also known as *The Conquest of Gaul*) (Wells 2001:85). Anglophone archaeologists tend to employ the term only in discussions of the La Tène period, with certain implicit assumptions about the size and complexity of the site under discussion. By contrast, Francophone archaeologists use this term to mean late Iron Age towns, but also the hillforts of the preceding period. This ambiguity does not simply pose problems of translation, it encapsulates the broad range of meanings that makes the term *oppidum* problematic (Woolf 1993).

[24] For example, one of the largest and best-studied *oppida* of the La Tène Iron Age, Manching (Bavaria, Germany), was built on a floodplain and elements of the Danube tributary system were incorporated into its infrastructure (Sievers 2003).

[25] Woolf goes on to claim that given the diversity of scales, forms, functions, and chronologies that characterize these features, the analytical category of *oppidum* is not particularly useful. Rather than focusing on what he sees as relatively simplistic notions of (proto-)urbanism that only apply in a fraction of the known cases, Woolf suggests that we need to look at *oppida* as part of whole-settlement systems that incorporate broader expanses of space and time.

[26] Collis (1998:130) suggests a strongly gendered distribution of grave goods in these burials.

[27] This custom would probably have been easy for Caesar to understand as many Romans of his day continued earlier practices of tumulus burial (see Davies 2000; Gerding 2002; Toynbee 1971).

[28] The *Chaumes d'Auvenay* is a wide band of former vineyard that was converted to forest and grain fields after the French wine blight of the mid- to late 19th century (see Paul 1996). Like the Morvan on the other side of the Arroux valley, it is incredibly remote. Its high location (above the fault line on the edge of the plateau of the Côte-d'Or), together with the golden colors of its forests and wheat fields during the early autumn really are reminiscent of the traditional thatched roof suggested by its name.

[29] Some synchronic regional variation in tumulus construction can be explained by the differential availability of potential building materials across the various sub-regions of the Hallstatt zone. For example, in his 1929 treatise on legend and history in the Mâconnais (southeastern Burgundy), Gabriel Jeanton mentions that burial mounds on the plains along the Saône are typically made of earth, while those on the rocky plateau of the Côte-d'Or are built from stone (30-31).

[30] Recognizing that in radically relational landscapes very little is unaffected by past human activity, I am very skeptical about the term "natural." More appropriate might be the term "unbuilt," which suggests that although a feature of the landscape (e.g., a pond, river, cave, forest) may have been altered by human activity, the alteration was perhaps unintentional. Working through a similar tension, Tim Ingold suggests that such features (as well as portable items) are "co-opted" to human purposes/uses rather than "constructed" by human hands to suit them (Ingold 2000:175-176).

[31] Rather more surprising, however, is Triboulot's (2002:24) finding that in the majority of cases, hydrology does not appear to have been an important factor in determining the locations of tumuli. He notes that in most cases, tumuli are located rather far away from water courses and even springs, often more than 300 m away. Speaking from my own experience in southern Burgundy, Triboulot's finding with regard to hydrology does not ring true. The tumuli closest to Mont Dardon, for example, are all located quite near to past or current springheads and/or to stream channels, some of which are active and some relict.

[32] While somewhat obscure in earlier syntheses on the subject of early Iron Age hillforts (e.g., Härke 1982), it has generally been recognized that not all hillforts were the sites of prolonged habitation. Sue Hamilton and John Manley (2001) demonstrate, for example, that the hillforts of southeastern England likely served different functions over the period of their use, including as sheepfolds and agricultural enclosures, storage sites, and ritual centers. Certainly, the lack of evidence for permanent settlement atop Mont Dardon (as described at the beginning of Chapter 2) suggests we would do well to consider this hillfort as something other than a habitation site during the early Iron Age.

[33] Lena Fahre's (2010) contribution to the "Burial Mound Ladies" session provided an interesting analogue, albeit from elsewhere and at a much later moment. Fahre described the remains of the two women recovered from the Viking-period Oseberg ship burial (mentioned above), Norway. One of these women was older and likely post-menopausal; the skeletal anatomy of the other exhibited congenital conditions not unlike those of the Vix individual. Artifactual and ethnobotanical evidence found in association with these remains suggests that they were practitioners of shamanic *seiðr* magic (see Blain 2002), the practitioners of which were generally female. According to Fahre, these associations and the features of these women's physical anatomies suggest experiences of gender that were more complex and fluid than generally assumed.

CHAPTER 4

TUMULI OF THE ARROUX AND SOMME VALLEYS

SITES, MANAGERS, AND DATABASES

Each region of France has a *Service Régional de l'Archéologie* (SRA) and the officials who staff this office act as gatekeepers for excavation permits within the region. They oversee the granting, execution, and completion of these permits within the guidelines of national laws and international conventions. In many cases, they also oversee the funding. Additionally, the SRA serves as a clearing-house for archaeological information collected within the region, maintaining libraries and site databases. In June 2007, Carole and I visited the SRA office in Dijon with two goals in mind. The first was to present the SRA with the stratigraphic and chronological data that we had collected from the tumulus of *La Revive* in 1994 and 2004 (see Chapter 3). We hoped that these data would support an application for a permit to excavate the remainder of the tumulus.

Our second goal was to get SRA feedback on a project designed to examine the distribution of late Bronze and early Iron Age funerary sites on the landscape of southern Burgundy vis-à-vis known hillforts in the same area. The broad goal of this project would be to put the seldom-discussed Hallstatt landscape of the Arroux and Somme river valleys into dialogue with the better-known areas to the north and east, recognizing that common spatial relationships of the broader Hallstatt zone (e.g., the close association of tumuli and hillforts) do not necessarily characterize the landscape of southern Burgundy.

We were more or less unsuccessful in meeting our goals that day. While we were not completely discouraged from applying for a permit to excavate the tumulus of *La Revive*, SRA officials warned that our excavation would probably not be high on the list of permitting priorities. I came to realize that this tumulus and others like it — mounds that have been opened but not completely destroyed — present an uncomfortable ambiguity to cultural resource managers. On one hand, these are archaeological features whose integrity has been seriously compromised. Our discussion with SRA officials made it clear that, pollen data notwithstanding, they were skeptical that any new information would come from a tumulus so damaged. On the other hand, such features are still archaeological sites and, therefore, subject to state protections. Despite the degree to which the mound had already been disturbed, SRA officials needed to be convinced that new information could be gained from *La Revive* before they would grant a dig permit that might authorize its complete removal. This ambiguity effectively trapped all parties involved, leading to an impasse[1].

Our conversation about the broader landscape project was similarly problematic. The project itself, while deemed to have merit, was considered unrealizable by SRA officials. The major stumbling block to completing this kind of landscape research was the state of the SRA database, and particularly the state of the Hallstatt data for southern Burgundy. Spatial models produced with these data would be drastically out of synch, both with models from elsewhere in the Hallstatt zone and with the patterns that one might observe on the ground. The SRA staff made it clear that theirs was an "administrative" database rather than a "research" database, a distinction later repeated by other archaeologists who work in the area.

Looking at the data myself a year later, I finally understood what the SRA officials meant. Collected over several decades by people with various levels of formal archaeological training, the site locations and descriptions contained in the SRA database are largely unverified and incomplete. What is needed, SRA staffers and other archaeologists told me, is a "verification study" to confirm and complete the data for each site. This is precisely the kind of research into which French graduate students — including Françoise Henry (see Chapter 3) — are routinely directed, providing a valuable public service as they earn their academic credentials. There are a number of problems inherent in verification studies, however, not least of which is their failure to ask some very important anthropological questions. For example, when and how were these data collected? By whom? And for what purpose? These questions became very important as I completed my own research on the tumuli of the Arroux and Somme valleys.

Framing a Study

The introduction to Françoise Henry's dissertation on the tumuli of the Côte-d'Or

(see Chapter 3) suggests that her choice to focus on a single, contemporary *département*

of France was purely heuristic. She never intended the tumuli of the Côte-d'Or to assume

such a prominent role in discussions of the early Iron Age. She writes:

> The geographical limits of this kind of study are difficult to establish. I chose to frame this study in terms of a *département*, and my repertoire consists only of those *communes* in the Côte-d'Or. To create a complete dictionary that one might consult quickly, it is necessary to stay within a precise border; but when this entails an archaeological commentary, it develops quite differently. Groups emerge in every period that cross these arbitrary boundaries, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another; only the appearance of a truly different type of burial or object can serve as a diagnostic limiter. These two types of border have, in this particular case, a number of things in common. We shall see that profound differences exist between the tumuli of the Côte-d'Or and those of the Jura. It is, therefore, legitimate to place an eastern limit on our study at the Saône; to the West, the Morvan seems to have been an obstacle to the forward progress of the tumulus constructors — they followed its edge, but did not penetrate it. Our limit, thus, asserts itself again. But to the north and the south, it is more difficult to establish. We shall see that between the tombs of the Beaune plateau and those of the area around Mâcon, there are clear analogies; if they are separated by a vast empty space, it is only because of the rarity of digs, because the tombs are as numerous in the hills around Mâcon and Châlon as they are further north. . . . It is nothing other than regrettable happenstance, therefore, that forces us to stop our study on this side of the border with Saône-et-Loire. To the North, the tumulus zone eventually continues in all directions, entering Lorraine and Alsace by way of the Langres plateau, and the Nièvre along the northern edge of the Morvan. Here, it is only the presence of a large number of unknown objects in the Côte-d'Or that force us to establish a border; a frontier which will only draw itself little by little throughout the course of this work and which will remain rather floating and variable, depending on the period. (Henry 1933b:7-8)

Despite her own circumspection about the analytic frame she employed, the slow development of French protohistoric archaeology generally, coupled with the lack of similar studies in the following years, resulted in the elevation of Henry's subject (i.e., the tumuli of the Côte-d'Or) to paradigmatic status.

My early observations of tumuli in southern Burgundy, however, led me to question the degree to which they matched this northern Burgundian paradigm. These mounds seemed physically smaller than the better-known tumuli of the Côte-d'Or; more likely to occur singly, rather than in tumulus complexes (i.e., necropolises); and more likely to have been built far from contemporaneous hillforts. As I sought to frame my own study of the Hallstatt landscape, it was with these apparent exceptions in mind.

Further, my North American training — and especially my experience of contract/public archaeology in the United States — brought an additional consideration to framing. I would not choose a contemporary administrative unit to frame a study of landscape use in the distant past. Administrative boundaries change to suit the politics of each era. Even Henry herself recognized that groups cross such arbitrary boundaries during every historical period. By contrast, geological boundaries change only slowly and are more likely to have been meaningful to the past inhabitants of a landscape. For example, in some parts of North America it has become standard practice for regional archaeological projects to work within river valleys and it appears that river basins were recognized as meaningful spaces by at least some prehistoric populations (see, for example, Anderson 1994; Anderson and Hanson 1988; Anderson and Sassaman 1996). In framing my own study, I therefore opted to focus on a pair of river valleys: the drainage basins of the Arroux and Somme rivers, both of which flow into the Loire at Burgundy's
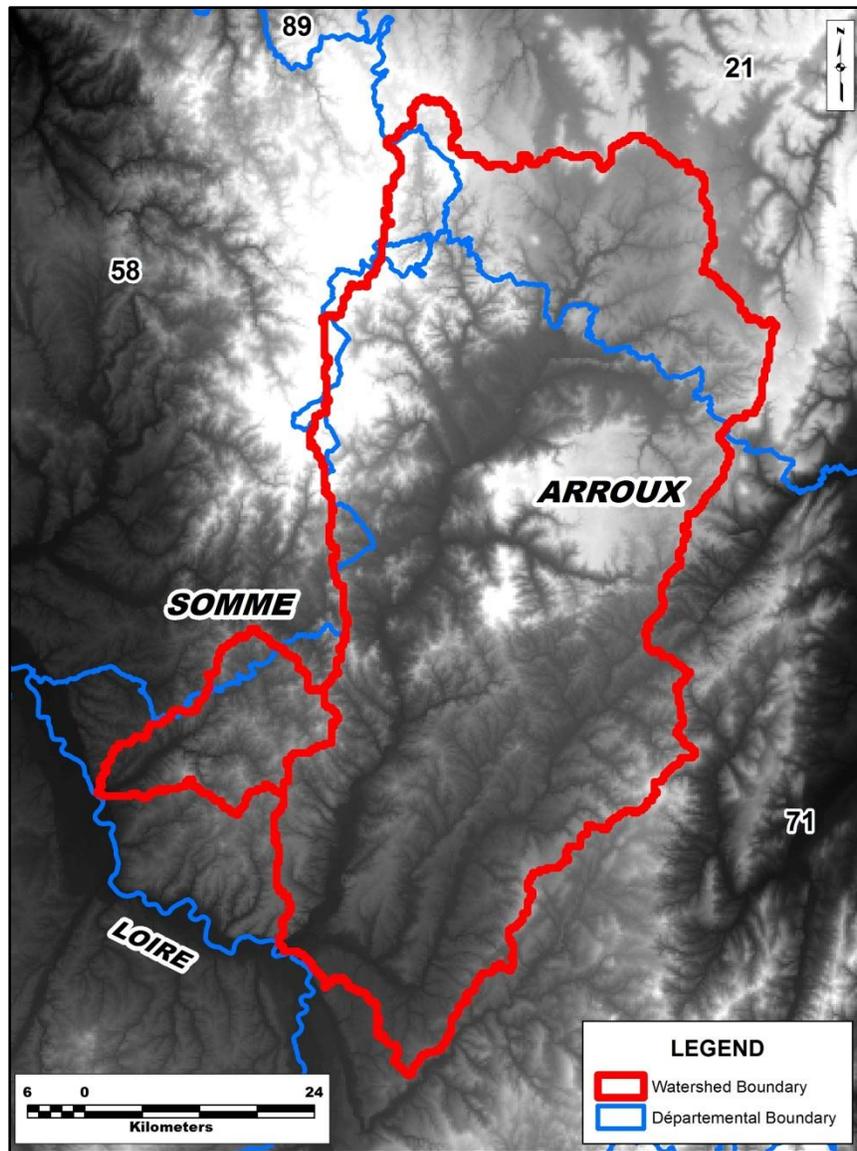
Figure 4.1. Limits of the Arroux and Somme watersheds, projected on 250-m digital elevation model (DEM) of eastern central France.

southern edge (Figure 4.1). As I soon realized, this framing not only offered the potential

to detect ancient patterns of land use; it also allowed for an examination of patterns that

have emerged out of contemporary analyses.

The Arroux and Somme Watersheds

The source of the Arroux River is officially located outside of the town of Arnay-le-Duc (21), near the border between the *départements* of the Côte d'Or and Saône-et-Loire (Figure 4.2). However, the upper reaches of the watershed actually stretch further onto the high plateau of the Côte-d'Or, as far north as the *commune* of Saulieu (21). Flowing southward, the Arroux drains the eastern edge of the Morvan Uplands, which form a steep western wall that contrasts with the gently rolling hills that divide the Arroux basin from that of the Saône, to the east. After more than 120 km, the Arroux and its affluents — most notably, the Bourbince River — flow into the Loire at Digoin (71). In all, and not accounting for relief, the Arroux watershed covers some 3,183 km^2.

The adjacent Somme River[2] watershed is much smaller, draining only about 241 km^2. This shallow river begins on the northern flanks of Mont Dardon, literally in the backyard of the French Project's headquarters. From there, it flows northward and westward, draining the southeastern Morvan and meandering lazily across the plain before entering the Loire near the town of Bourbon-Lancy (71). Taken together, the Arroux and Somme valleys nearly encompass the entire western end of Saône-et-Loire (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2).

In the mid-1860s, the English engraver and art critic Philip Gilbert Hamerton made a canoe trip down the Arroux, making drawings and engravings along the way. He published these illustrations along with his account of the trip in an 1871 memoir, *The Unknown River*. In the early chapters of his memoir, Hamerton writes:

> I was in the heart of the Morvan, a highland district in the east of
> France, almost unknown to tourists. The river to be explored was the
> Arroux, that passes by the antique Augustodunum, and flows to the
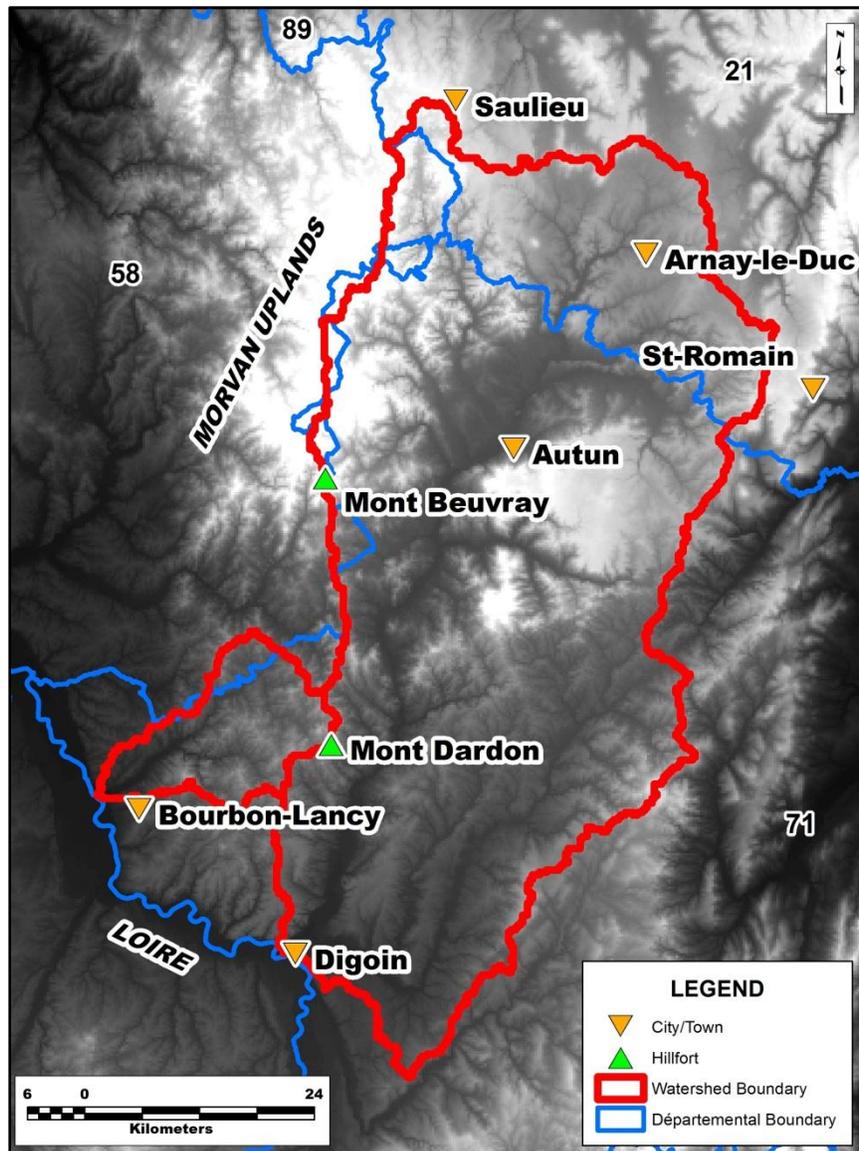
Figure 4.2. A few landmarks of the Arroux and Somme watersheds.

historic Loire. Nobody had explored it yet, and all the hazards of the enterprise rose before me as I leaned over the low parapet of the one-arched bridge at Voudenay. (1871:7)

As should be clear from his reference to "antique Augustodunum," Hamerton overstates the uniqueness of his project. He may have been the first Englishman to write about it, but he was certainly not the first person to explore the Arroux. Unfortunately,

Hamerton's immodesty makes it difficult to determine the degree to which he recognized this. Consider, for example, his concluding remarks on the journey:

> And so the voyage came to a successful end, and for the first time since first his waters flowed, the Unknown River has been navigated. Shall I conclude with a triumphant boast, and affirm that although Gaul and Roman have dwelt upon its shores, and reddened it in sanguinary conflict, its perfect exploration was reserved for the audacity of an Englishman? Let me rather, more modestly, rejoice in sharing that capacity for taking pleasure in the beauty of natural scenery which belongs to so many in our time. (Hamerton 1871:56-57)

In one sentence Hamerton would have his reader believe that he is the first to have navigated the Arroux, a river that does offer considerable challenges along its course. In the next breath, he seems to be self-conscious about the hubris of this claim (which he nonetheless makes).

As might be expected, my friend Lucien D. has a peculiarly ambivalent relationship with Hamerton's memoir, recently translated into French (Hamerton 2006). He admires the book because there is no denying that Hamerton's poetic descriptions and masterful engravings beautifully capture elements of the Arroux landscape; and because Lucien is endlessly amused by the idea that outsiders — be they 19th century English gentlemen or 21st century American academics — should come into his home landscape, learn its nuances, and be captivated by it. But Lucien's reading of *The Unknown River* is far from unproblematic. Given that he has devoted much of the past 80 years to learning about the very long history of human interactions with and along the Arroux, he is bothered by the implications of Hamerton's title and several of the author's remarks. In recent years many of Lucien's frequent public discourses on the history of the Arroux valley have begun with reference to Hamerton's account. He observes that while the river may have been

"unknown" to the British reading public of the mid-1800s, this was a matter of perspective and ignorance. The Arroux was well-known even before the Romans came.

Of course, from an archaeo-historic point of view, Lucien is absolutely right. Even Hamerton, in his more circumspect moments, seems to have had a notion of this. For example, he describes the ancient site of Mont Beuvray:

> Westwards rose the blue mass of the Beuvray, where recent investigations have fixed the site of a city older than Augustodunum, the Bibracte of the Gauls. But Bibracte is almost without a history. Caesar went there, and said that it was a great stronghold, and took provisions from it for his army, but left us scarcely a word of description. Bibracte can never have been more than a great fortified hill-village, or Gaulish *oppidum*, composed of very rude huts, huddled close together, and protected by solid walls built in the strong Gaulish way, with logs nailed together with huge nails, and earth and stone between them. Floating down the river in the evening I saw the last flames of sunset die behind the Beuvray, and the majesty of its purple crests was enhanced by its ancient strength. What is on the hill-crest now? On the site of the buried city is a forest of old gnarled beeches, and in the midst of the forest stands a little camp of huts, where an antiquary passes his summers, with a band of faithful men[3]. Even now, I thought, in the evening, he is standing on some brow of rock, and looking over the boundless plains. (Hamerton 1871:21)

Mont Beuvray is much larger than its southern Morvan cousin, Mont Dardon, though it has been occupied for far less time (as I note in Chapter 2). Despite its relatively short chronology, Mont Beuvray is perhaps the best-known archaeological feature of the Arroux and Somme valleys. From its position at the eastern edge of the Morvan, Mont Beuvray overlooks the entire Arroux Valley. As reported by Hamerton, Mont Beuvray is ancient Bibracte, supposed site of the fateful "Council of All Gaul," where in 52 BCE, the Arverni prince Vercingetorix was chosen to lead the united Gallic tribes in resistance against Julius Caesar. Bibracte, alone among the major *oppida* mentioned in Caesar's account of the Gallic Wars, was never invaded by the Romans. Today Mont Beuvray /

Bibracte hosts the largest archaeological research center in France, one of the largest in all of Europe.

At the foot of Mont Beuvray is the city of Autun (71), a small Gallic settlement that the Romans elaborated into a provincial capital (in ca. 15 BCE). This is the "antique Augustodunum" to which Hamerton dedicates several pages. Treating the city far more charitably than the hill that stands above it, he writes:

> After many windings, one curve of the beautiful river disclosed a noble city, rising far off on the slope of a lofty hill, blue in the haze of the bright afternoon, with massive walls and many towers. It is old Augustodunum, once the sister of Rome and her rival, since then strong in the middle ages with all the picturesque strength of turret and battlement, now narrowed till within the vast enclosure of the Roman fortifications the market-gardener grows his vegetables, and the farmer ploughs his fields. Still by the quiet river the Roman wall stands rugged, rich branches hanging over it, heavy and full, and striving to reach the flowing water. And the Roman gate still augustly receives the traveller as he crosses the bridge over the Arroux, its grey arches and pilasters borne high over the mighty portals with a little statue of the Virgin between them, record of the faith of the middle ages, and a gas-lamp to prove that the modern time has come.

> A great and wonderful Roman city, one of the noblest in the Roman world, stood here on the banks of the Arroux. In the circuit of her walls were more than two hundred towers. She had a great amphitheatre, and innumerable temples, and theatres, and baths. The soil to this day is full of fragments of precious marbles from the luxurious Roman dwellings. For a thousand years the earth has been yielding a harvest of antiquities, still inexhaustible; columns, and statues, and bronzes, and pavements of Roman mosaic. And when the glorious Roman city, SOROR ET AEMULA ROMAE, was utterly ravaged and destroyed, there arose upon her site a mediaeval city, smaller, yet not less beautiful, so that a king of France called it his "City of Beautiful Towers." But the mediaeval city has disappeared almost as completely as the Roman. The classic amphitheatre is razed to the ground; of the mediaeval cathedral (a great edifice of the purest Gothic) there remains *one* arch in a garden. The present cathedral is a church which stood under the shadow of the old one. A few fragments of the mediaeval city remain here and there, the house of Rolin, chancellor of Burgundy, now a carpenter's shop, a tower of the old Donjon, and here and there a few houses of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Still Autun is a

picturesque and quaint place, full of endless subjects for an etcher.
(Hamerton 1871:16-17, emphasis in original)

Other Roman installations exist throughout the Arroux and Somme valleys, including Bourbon-Lancy (71), a spa town founded at the mouth of the Somme River around the same time that Autun was expanded. Indeed, many of the towns along both the Arroux and the Somme were founded or elaborated during the Gallo-Roman period (see Berry 1987). Rural *villas* and other extramural sites dating to the same period are similarly spread throughout the two valleys (see, for example, Bon 1992). Over the past 30 years, landscape surveys have been particularly effective in identifying such sites in three relatively circumscribed areas. These areas are the French Project study area, centered primarily on the portions of the southern Arroux and Somme valleys that surround Mont Dardon; the "environs" of Mont Beuvray; and the area around Saint Romain (21), a *commune* along the northeastern rim of the Arroux valley whose *Maison du Patrimoine* has been particularly effective in enrolling the public in archaeological projects (see Chapter 7). Survey and targeted excavations in all of these areas have revealed landscapes rich in archaeological material dating to all periods, from the Paleolithic to the present.

Study Area Communes

The archaeological materials recovered from these activities have been entered into a set of databases maintained by the SRA. The SRA's database structure largely mirrors the French administrative structure, meaning that there is no Arroux or Somme database, per se. Rather, individual databases exist for each *département*. Within these individual databases, site information is stored by *commune* (i.e., municipality / township). This

means that there is no easy way to query archaeological data for a project framed by geologic rather than administrative units.

To overcome this challenge and to ensure that my study captures trends both within and along the edges of both watersheds, I identify "core" and "buffer" *communes* (Figure 4.3). A core *commune* is one that contains some portion, however small, of either the Arroux or the Somme watershed. In some cases, a core *commune* contains elements of both watersheds. Defined in this way, my Arroux-Somme project area contains 204 core *communes* (Table 4.1). These *communes* are spread across the western end of Saône-et-Loire (71), stretch into the Nièvre (58), and onto the Côte-d'Or (21). The outermost core *communes* host elements of adjacent watersheds.

Buffer *communes* — those municipalities immediately contiguous to the outermost core *communes* — fall, by definition, within the adjacent watersheds. The Arroux-Somme project area has 76 such buffer *communes*. The buffer formed by these *communes* surrounds the core in Saône-et-Loire, the Nièvre, and the Côte-d'Or. There are no buffer *communes* on the opposite side of the Loire, which means that a handful of *communes* (*n* = 6) are buffered only by this larger river. Five buffer *communes* do fall in the roughly triangular space framed by the two study watersheds and the Loire, along the southwestern edge of the study area. Taken together, the core and buffer *communes* define a planometric study area of roughly 5,745 km^2.
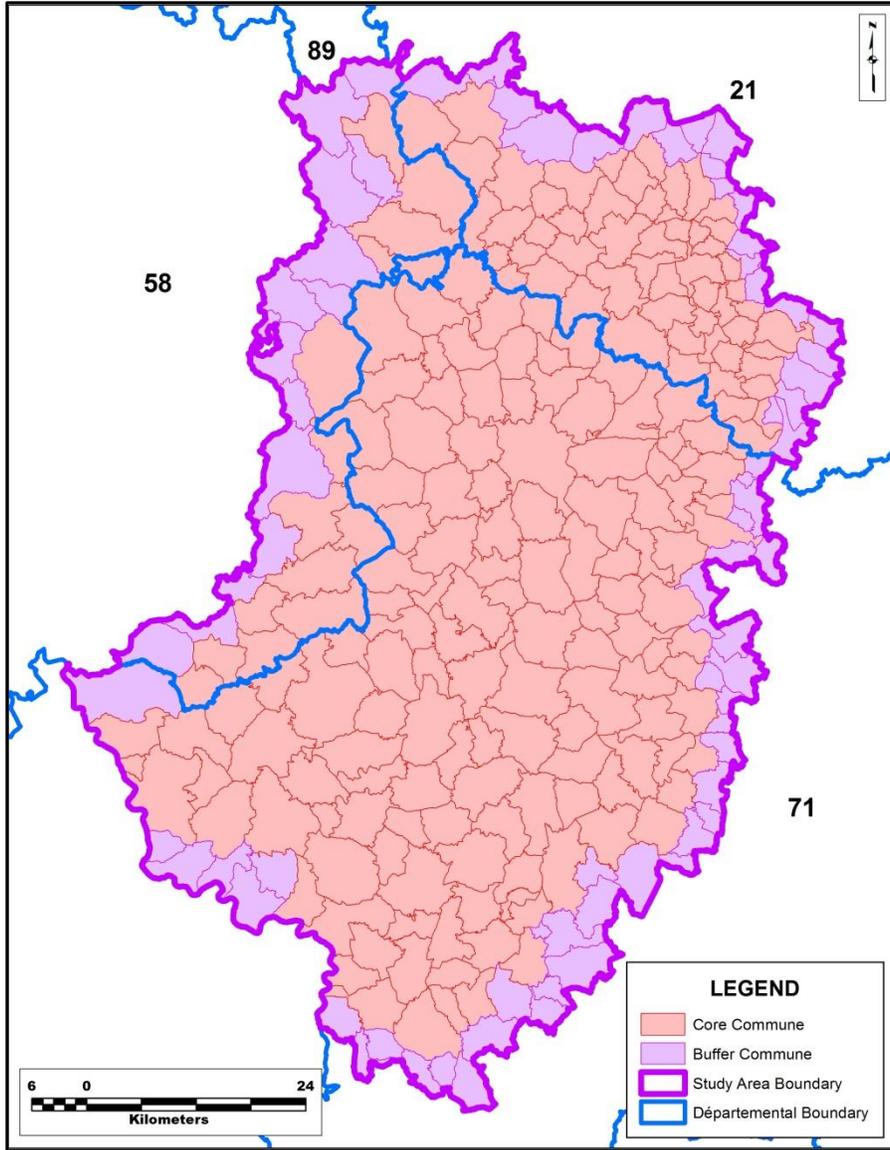
Figure 4.3. Core and buffer *communes* of the Arroux-Somme study area.

TABLE 4.1

Core and Buffer *Communes* of the Arroux-Somme Study Area

Commune	Recorded Sites	Number of Tumuli Recorded
Core *Communes*: Côte-d'Or (21)		
Allerey	Present	1
Antigny-la-Ville	—	—
Arconcey	—	—
Arnay-le-Duc	—	—
Aubigny-la-Ronce	Present	1
Bard-le-Regulier	—	—
Bessey-la-Cour	—	—
Beurey-Bauguay	Present	1
Blanot	—	—
Brazey-en-Morvan	—	—
Censerey	—	—
Champeau-en-Morvan	—	—
Champignolles	—	—
Châtellenot	Present	1
Chazilly	—	—
Clomot	—	—
Cormot-le-Grand	—	—
Culetre	—	—
Cussy-la-Colonne	Present	6
Cussy-le-Châtel	—	—
Diancey	—	—
Ecutigny	—	—
Essey	—	—
Fete (Le)	—	—
Foissy	—	—
Ivry-En-Montagne	Present	2
Jouey	Present	1
Jours-En-Vaux	—	—
Lacanche	—	—
Liernais	Present	3
Longecourt-les-Culetre	—	—
Magnien	Present	1
Maligny	—	—
Manlay	—	—
Marcheseuil	—	—

Commune	Recorded Sites	Number of Tumuli Recorded
Meilly-sur-Rouvres	—	—
Menessaire	—	—
Mimeure	—	—
Molinot	—	—
Montceau-et-Écharnant	Present	1
Musigny	—	—
Nolay	Present	3
Saint-Martin-de-la-Mer	—	—
Saint-Pierre-en-Vaux	—	—
Saint-Prix-les-Arnay	—	—
Santosse	Present	2
Saulieu	—	—
Saussey	—	—
Savilly	—	—
Sussey	—	—
Thomirey	—	—
Thury	Present	6
Veilly	—	—
Vianges	—	—
Vievy	—	—
Villiers-en-Morvan	—	—
Voudenay	—	—

Core *Communes*: Nièvre (58)

Commune	Recorded Sites	Number of Tumuli Recorded
Alligny-en-Morvan	—	—
Arleuf	—	—
Flety	—	—
Gien-sur-Cure	—	—
Glux-en-Glenne	—	—
Larochemillay	Present	1
Luzy	Present	12
Millay	—	—
Moux-en-Morvan	—	—
Poil	—	—
Saint-Brisson	—	—
Saint-Seine	—	—
Tazilly	—	—
Ternant	—	—

Commune	Recorded Sites	Number of Tumuli Recorded
Core *Communes*: Saône-et-Loire (71)		
Anost	—	—
Antully	—	—
Autun	Present	2
Auxy	—	—
Barnay	—	—
Baron	—	—
Bizots (Les)	—	—
Blanzy	—	—
Boulaye (La)	Present	1
Bourbon-Lancy	Present	3
Breuil (Le)	—	—
Brion	Present	1
Broye	—	—
Celle-en-Morvan (La)	—	—
Chalmoux	—	—
Champlecy	—	—
Chapelle-au-Mans (La)	—	—
Chapelle-sous-Uchon (La)	Present	16
Charbonnat	—	—
Charmoy	—	—
Charolles	—	—
Chassy	—	—
Chissey-en-Morvan	—	—
Ciry-le-Noble	Present	1
Clessy	—	—
Collonge-en-Charollais	Present	35
Collonge-la-Madeleine	—	—
Comelle (La)	—	—
Cordesse	—	—
Couches	—	—
Cressy-sur-Somme	—	—
Creusot (Le)	—	—
Curdin	—	—
Curgy	Present	1
Cussy-en-Morvan	—	—
Cuzy	—	—
Dettey	—	—
Digoin	—	—

Commune	Recorded Sites	Number of Tumuli Recorded
Dompierre-sous-Sanvignes	—	—
Dracy-lès-Couches	—	—
Dracy-Saint-Loup	—	—
Ecuisses	—	—
Epertully	—	—
Epinac	—	—
Étang-sur-Arroux	—	—
Genelard	—	—
Gourdon	—	—
Grande-Verrière (La)	Present	1
Grandvaux	—	—
Grury	—	—
Gueugnon	—	—
Hautefond	Present	3
Igornay	—	—
Issy-l'Évêque	—	—
Laizy	Present	1
Lesme	Present	1
Lucenay-l'Évêque	—	—
Lugny-lès-Charolles	—	—
Maltat	—	—
Marigny	—	—
Marizy	Present	1
Marly-sous-Issy	—	—
Marly-sur-Arroux	—	—
Marmagne	—	—
Martigny-le-Comte	Present	1
Mary	—	—
Mesvres	—	—
Mont	—	—
Montceau-les-Mines	—	—
Montcenis	—	—
Montchanin	—	—
Monthelon	—	—
Montmort	—	—
Mont-Saint-Vincent	Present	10
Morlet	—	—
Motte-Saint-Jean (La)	—	—
Neuvy-Grandchamp	—	—
Nochize	—	—

Commune	Recorded Sites	Number of Tumuli Recorded
Oudry	—	—
Palinges	—	—
Paray-le-Monial	—	—
Perrecy-les-Forges	—	—
Petite-Verrière (La)	—	—
Poisson	—	—
Pouilloux	—	—
Reclesne	—	—
Rigny-sur-Arroux	—	—
Rousset (Le)	—	—
Roussillon-en-Morvan	—	—
Saint-Aubin-en-Charollais	—	—
Saint-Berain-sous-Sanvignes	—	—
Saint-Bonnet-de-Vieille-Vigne	—	—
Saint-Didier-sur-Arroux	—	—
Saint-Emiland	—	—
Sainte-Radegonde	Present	1
Saint-Eugene	—	—
Saint-Eusèbe	—	—
Saint-Firmin	—	—
Saint-Forgeot	—	—
Saint-Gervais-sur-Couches	—	—
Saint-Laurent-d'Andenay	—	—
Saint-Léger-du-Bois	—	—
Saint-Léger-lès-Paray	—	—
Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray	Present	2
Saint-Martin-de-Commune	—	—
Saint-Micaud	—	—
Saint-Nizier-sur-Arroux	—	—
Saint-Pierre-de-Varennes	—	—
Saint-Prix	—	—
Saint-Romain-sous-Gourdon	—	—
Saint-Romain-sous-Versigny	—	—
Saint-Sernin-du-Bois	—	—
Saint-Symphorien-de-Marmagne	—	—
Saint-Vallier	—	—
Saint-Vincent-Bragny	—	—
Saint-Yan	—	—
Saisy	Present	4
Sanvignes-les-Mines	—	—

Commune	Recorded Sites	Number of Tumuli Recorded
Sommant	Present	1
Sully	Present	1
Tagniere (La)	—	—
Tavernay	Present	1
Thil-sur-Arroux	—	—
Tintry	—	—
Torcy	Present	1
Toulon-sur-Arroux	Present	2
Uchon	—	—
Uxeau	Present	2
Varenne-Saint-Germain	—	—
Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	Present	1
Vitry-en-Charollais	—	—
Vitry-sur-Loire	—	—
Volesvres	—	—

Buffer *Communes*: Côte-d'Or (21)

Commune	Recorded Sites	Number of Tumuli Recorded
Auxant	—	—
Baubigny	Present	1
Chailly-sur-Armançon	Present	1
Créancey	Present	2
Lusigny-sur-Ouche	—	—
Maconge	—	—
Marcilly-Ogny	—	—
Mavilly-Mandelot	Present	3
Meloisey	Present	3
Montlay-en-Auxois	—	—
Painblanc	Present	3
Pouilly-en-Auxois	—	—
Rochepot (La)	Present	1
Rouvres-sous-Meilly	—	—
Saint-Didier	—	—
Sainte-Sabine	—	—
Saint-Romain	Present	10
Thoisy-la-Berchère	—	—
Thoisy-le-Desert	—	—
Vauchignon	—	—
Vic-des-Pres	—	—
Villargoix	—	—

Commune	Recorded Sites	Number of Tumuli Recorded
Buffer *Communes*: Nièvre (58)		
Avrée	—	—
Château-Chinon (Campagne)	—	—
Chiddes	—	—
Corancy	—	—
Dun-les-Places	—	—
Fachin	—	—
Gouloux	—	—
Lavault-de-Fretoy	—	—
Montsauche-les-Settons	—	—
Nocle-Maulaix (La)	—	—
Planchez	—	—
Saint-Agnan	—	—
Savigny-Poil-Fol	—	—
Villapourçon	—	—
Buffer *Communes*: Saône-et-Loire (71)		
Ballore	—	—
Change	Present	1
Changy	—	—
Chevagny-sur-Guye	—	—
Creot	—	—
Cronat	—	—
Essertenne	—	—
Fontenay	—	—
Genouilly	—	—
Gilly-sur-Loire	—	—
Guerreaux (Les)	—	—
Guiche (La)	—	—
Hopital-le-Mercier (L')	—	—
Joncy	—	—
Marcilly-la-Gueurce	—	—
Marcilly-lès-Buxy	—	—
Montceaux-l'Étoile	—	—
Mornay	—	—
Oye	—	—
Perrigny-sur-Loire	—	—
Puley (Le)	—	—
Saint-Agnan	—	—

Commune	Recorded Sites	Number of Tumuli Recorded
Saint-Aubin-sur-Loire	—	—
Saint-Didier-en-Brionnais	—	—
Saint-Jean-de-Trézy	—	—
Saint-Julien-de-Civry	—	—
Saint-Julien-sur-Dheune	—	—
Saint-Léger-sur-Dheune	—	—
Saint-Marcelin-de-Cray	—	—
Saint-Martin-d'Auxy	—	—
Saint-Martin-la-Patrouille	—	—
Saint-Maurice-lès-Couches	—	—
Saint-Privé	—	—
Saint-Sernin-du-Plain	—	—
Varenne-l'Arconce	—	—
Vaudebarrier	—	—
Vendenesse-lès-Charolles	—	—
Versaugues	—	—
Villeneuve-en-Montagne	—	—
Viry	—	—

HALLSTATT TUMULI OF THE ARROUX AND SOMME VALLEYS

The Sample

Queries of the archaeological databases for Saône-et-Loire (71), the Nièvre (58), and the Côte-d'Or (21) reveal the presence of 161 recorded tumuli spread over 80 sites throughout the Arroux-Somme study area (Table 4.2). In principle, this suggests an average density of one site for every 72 km^2, or one tumulus for every 36 km^2. But, as Figures 4.4 and 4.5 show, the distribution of these sites across the landscape of the study area is not uniform and the number of tumuli per site is not constant. Tumuli are recorded in only 40 (20%) of the core *communes*, and in nine (11.8%) of the buffer *communes* (Figure 4.6). Even among this sample of 49 positive *communes*, the number of tumuli per *commune* varies markedly: most *communes* have only one or two recorded mounds while others host as many as 35 tumuli (Figure 4.7).

Tumulus Distribution

What might be made of this distribution if one were to assume for a moment, counter to the indications of SRA officials, that the data are appropriate for research? To begin to answer this question, it might be productive to move from simple gross-level observations of spatial patterning in tumulus distribution (in which discrete clusters are not entirely evident), to statistical measures of said patterning. As described by Conolly and Lake (2006:158-179), the archaeologist has a number of statistical measures at her disposal to assess the degree of clustering or randomness in a body of spatial data. Two of the most commonly applied measures are Moran's I and Ripley's K.

TABLE 4.2

Number of Tumuli Recorded per Site

Commune	Site Number	Place-name	Number of Tumuli
		Côte-d'Or (21)	
Allerey	21.009.0006	*Croix Sainte-Anne*	1
Aubigny-la-Ronce	21.032.0001	*(Chaumes d'Auvenay)*	1
Baubigny	21.050.0003	*(Chaumes d'Auvenay)*	1
Beurey-Bauguay	21.068.0001	—	1
Chailly-sur-Armançon	21.128.0002	*En Poirlot*	1
Châtellenot	21.153.0003	*En Norgères (sud)*	1
Créancey	21.210.0004	*Les Meurots Bleus*	1
	21.210.0009	*Beaume*	1
Cussy-la-Colonne	21.221.0003	*(Chaumes d'Auvenay)*	4
	21.221.0004	*(Chaumes d'Auvenay)*	1
	21.221.0015	*(Chaumes d'Auvenay)*	1
Ivry-en-Montagne	21.318.0001	*La Bergerie / Bois de la Pérouse*	1
	21.318.0002	*Bas de Loque*	1
Jouey	21.325.0001	*Bois des Batés*	1
Liernais	21.349.0023	*Vevres*	3
Magnien	21.363.0001	*Chasson*	1
Mavilly-Mandelot	21.397.0002	*Montagne du Single*	1
	21.397.0007	*Montagne du Single*	1
	21.397.0012	*Ferme de la Bache*	1
Meloisey	21.401.0002	—	3
Montceau-et-Écharnant	21.427.0003	—	1
Nolay	21.461.0009	—	3
Painblanc	21.476.0002	*En Créol*	1
	21.476.0004	*Bois de Feuilleron*	1
	21.476.0005	*Bourg*	1
Rochepot (la)	21.527.0016	*Champ Bralé*	1
Saint-Romain	21.569.0009	*Les Grandes Raies (sud-ouest)*	5
	21.569.0012	*Ferme d'Auvenay*	1
	21.569.0013	—	1
	21.569.0014	*La Buffole*	1
	21.569.0031	*Bois de Molèchard*	1
	21.569.0032	*(Ferme de) Breuilly/Brully*	1
Santosse	21.583.0002	*(Chaumes d'Auvenay)*	2
Thury	21.535.0001	*La Prée/Bois de Varisey*	2
	21.535.0002	*Châtillon*	1

Commune	Site Number	Place-name	Number of Tumuli
	21.535.0007	*La Prée*	1
	21.535.0008	*Bois de Varisey*	1
	21.535.0009	*Bois de Varisey*	1

Nièvre (58)

Commune	Site Number	Place-name	Number of Tumuli
Larochemillay	58.140.0003	*Bois Renard*	1
Luzy	58.149.0003	*Montagne de la Chaise, le Grand*	12

Saône-et-Loire (71)

Commune	Site Number	Place-name	Number of Tumuli
Autun	71.014.0029	*Les Cloix*	1
	71.014 5008	*Champ de la Justice*	1
Boulaye (la)	71.046.0003	*La Motte*	1
Bourbon-Lancy	71.047.0032	*Les Buttes*	2
	71.047.0076	*Champ Guerriau / Guériot*	1
Brion	71.062.0017	*Pâture des Meurots*	1
Change	71.085.0004	*Mont de Rème*	1
Chapelle-sous-Uchon (la)	71.096.0004	*La Petite Pature*	15
	71.096.0002	*Les Gaudiaux*	1
Ciry-le-Noble	71.132.0005	*Les Murgers*	1
Collonge-en-Charollais	71.139.0003	*Gros Bois*	3
	71.139.0004	*Bois de Chaleutre*	18
	71.139.0005	*Bois de Chaleutre*	14
Curgy	71.162.0031	*Bois de Savigny*	1
Grande-Verrière (la)	71.223.0001	*Le Grand Mort, Petit Mort*	1
Hautefond	71.232.0002	*Bois de Bornat*	1
	71.232.0003	*Bois de Bornat*	1
	71.232.0004	*Bois de Bornat*	1
Laizy	71.251.0016	*Champ du Tertre*	1
Lesme	71.255.0001	*La Motte des Vaux*	1
Marizy	71.279.0006	*Les Apports*	1
Martigny-le-Comte	71.285.0002	*Le Murger de la Raie*	1
Mont-Saint-Vincent	71.320.0001	*Bois Communaux du Portus*	1
	71.320.0003	*Bois Communaux du Portus*	1
	71.320.0007	*Gros Bois*	7
	71.320.0020	*Rompé Cochon*	1
Sainte-Radegonde	71.474.0001	*Les Brais*	1
Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray	71.440.0064	*La Roche au Loup*	1
	71.440.0088	*Les Theurées*	1
Saisy	71.493.0006	*Les Comes*	2
	71.493.0009	*Bois de la Revenue (sud)*	1

Commune	Site Number	Place-name	Number of Tumuli
	71.493.0011	*Bois l'Abesse*	1
Sommant	71.527.0008	*La Montagne*	1
Sully	71.530.0015	*Champ Fèvre*	1
Tavernay	71.535.0012	*La Montagne*	1
Torcy	71.540.0005	*La Grande Motte*	1
Toulon-sur-Arroux	71.542.0010	*Montfaucon*	2
Uxeau	71.552.0002	*Les Vernailloux*	1
	71.552.0003	*Bois de la Vella / Bois de la Guette (Tumulus of La Revive)*	1
Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	71.565.0003	*Le Mauvais Pas*	1

Moran's I (Moran 1950) is the statistic most often used to measure spatial autocorrelation.

> The term "spatial autocorrelation" refers to the degree of correlation between pairs of observed values and the distance between those observations in spatial distributions (Cliff and Ord 1981). Positive spatial autocorrelation describes a state where attribute values exhibit a tendency to be more similar the closer they are together (e.g., such as elevation, where the closer two sample points are together, the more likely they are to share a similar elevation). If there is no apparent relationship between spatial proximity and attribute value, then the distribution exhibits zero spatial autocorrelation. Negative spatial autocorrelation occurs when similar attribute values are located away from each other (Worboys 1995:157-158). (Conolly and Lake 2006:158)

Applied to the Arroux-Somme tumulus data (weighted by number of tumuli per site), Moran's I fails to demonstrate clustering when conceptualized using inverse distance (i.e., using a model of spatial relationships that assumes the further apart things are, the less influence they have upon one another). However, a distance band (or "sphere of
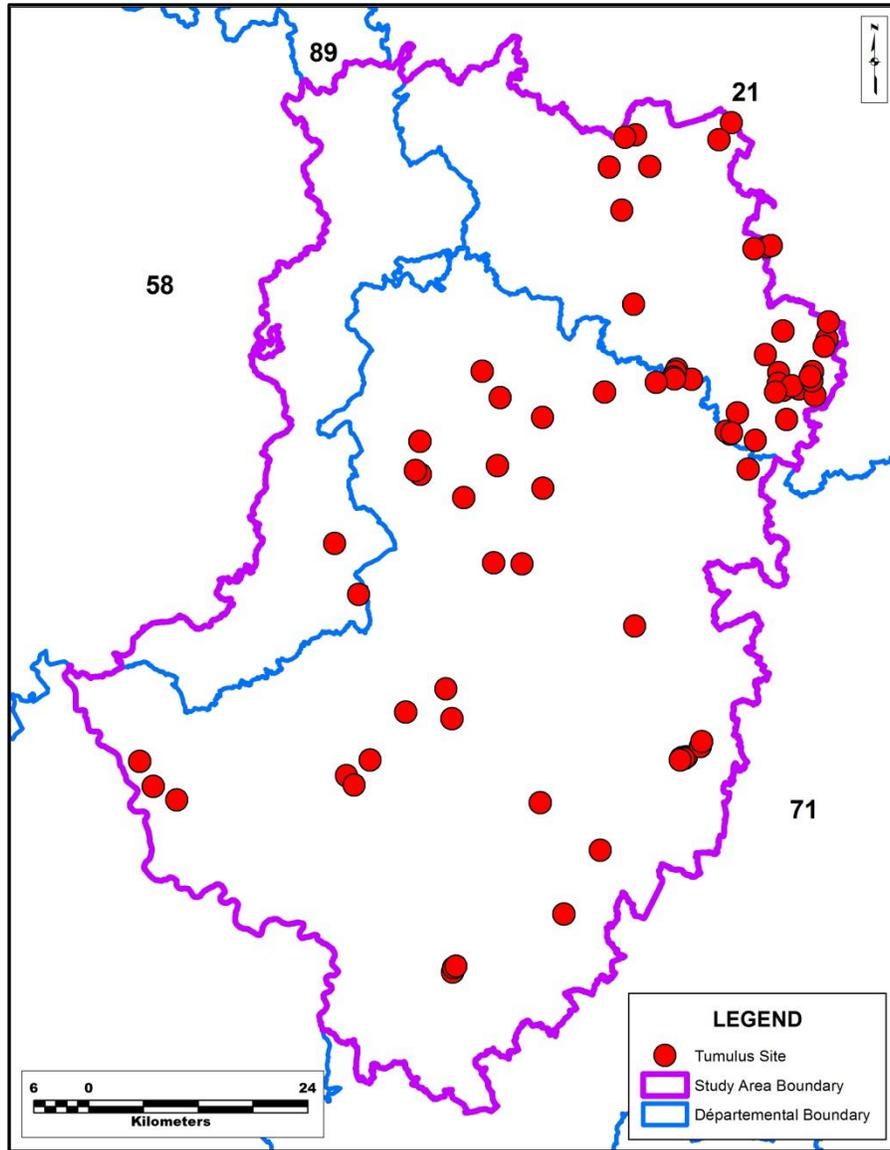
Figure 4.4. Distribution of tumulus sites in the Arroux-Somme study area.

influence") conceptualization (in which each point is evaluated based on the qualities of the points within its immediate neighborhood) indicates that the Arroux-Somme tumulus data do cluster significantly. Figure 4.8 shows the results of applying a generalized distance band conceptualization of Moran's I to the Arroux-Somme data. Given the z-score of 2.65, these results indicate a likelihood of less than 1% that the clustered pattern
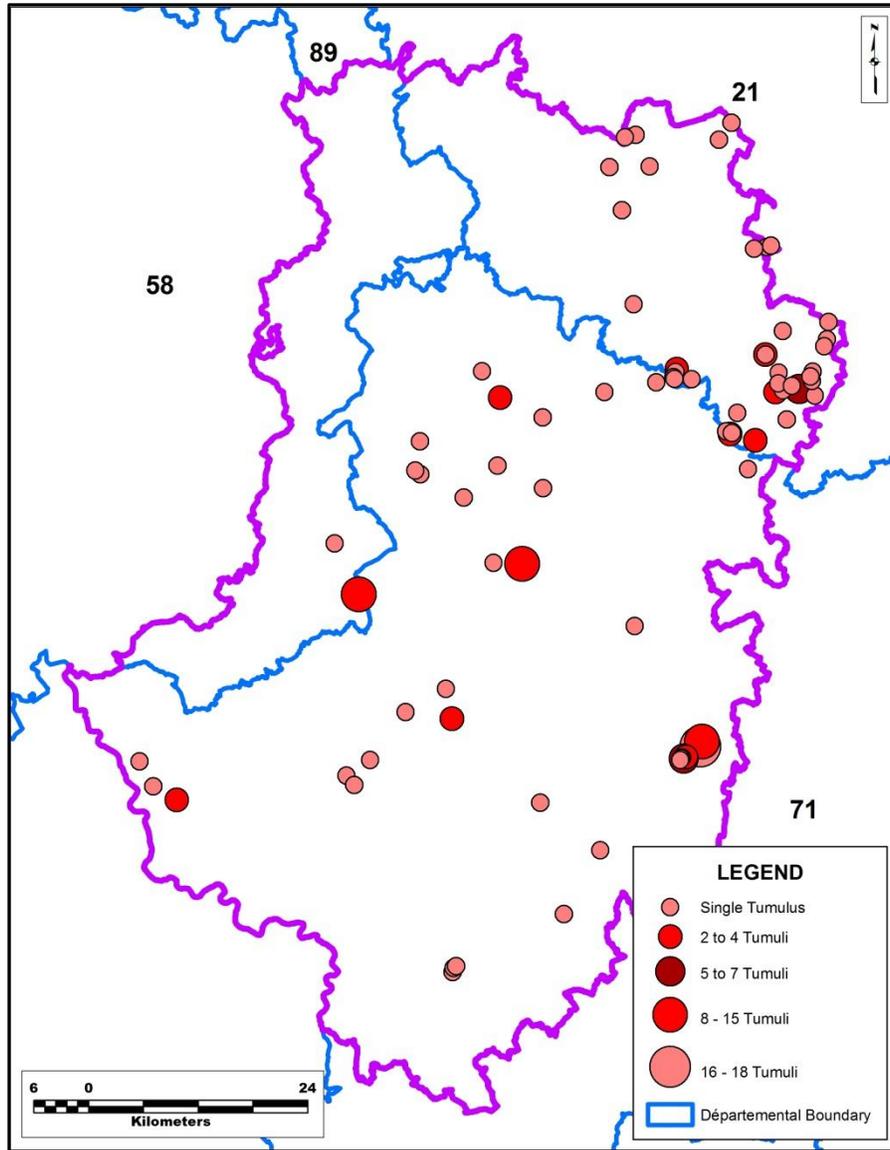
Figure 4.5. Number of recorded tumuli per site.

exhibited by the tumuli is the result of random chance. A similar likelihood holds for all

specific distance bands up to about 22 km, at which point the likelihood that the

clustering might result from random chance increases only slightly, to 5%.

Ripley's K-function (Ripley 1976, 1981) "was designed to identify the relative

aggregation and segregation of point data at different spatial scales and the shape of the
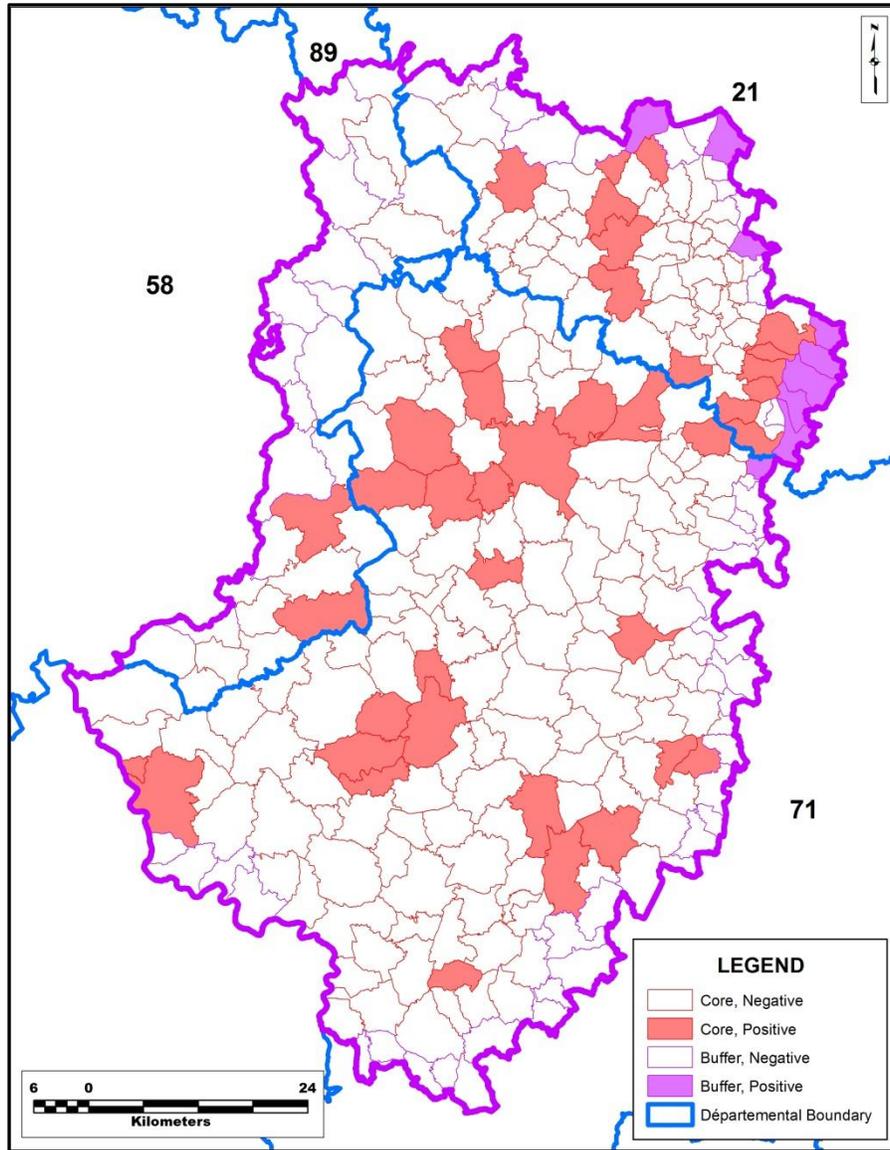
Figure 4.6. Distribution of *communes* with recorded tumulus sites.

study area has little effect on the assessment of patterning" (Conolly and Lake 2006:166).

The statistic compares the measured point densities with expected densities at set

distances (radius- or *r*-values) from a randomly selected point in the distribution.

Graphed, Ripley's K yields a measured K-curve that can be related to an expected K-

curve, which has a slope of 0 or, as in Figure 4.9, 1. Values above the expected K-curve
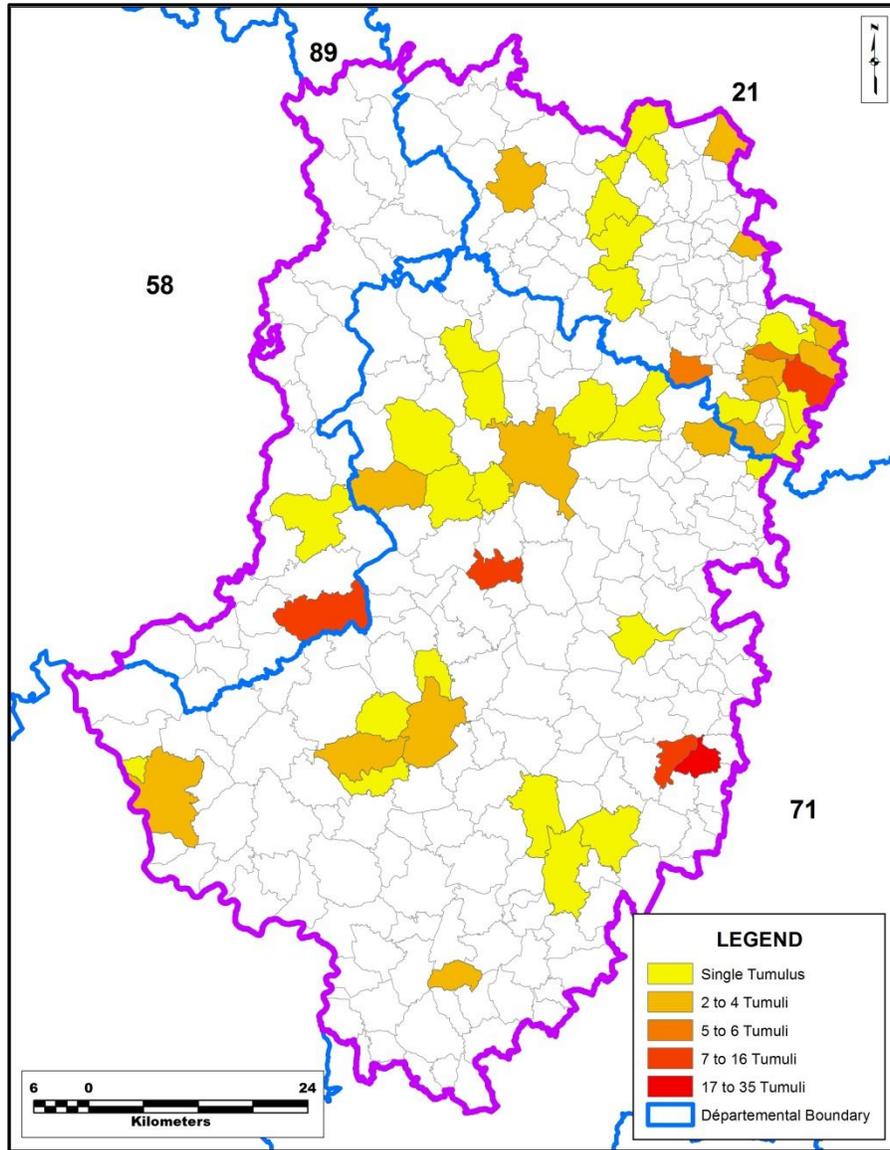
Figure 4.7. Number of recorded tumuli per *commune*.

suggest non-random clustering; those below the expected curve, non-random dispersal

(Pélissier and Goreaud 2001:101-102). Figure 4.9 shows the graphic result of Ripley's K

testing of the Arroux-Somme tumulus data. As did Moran's I, these results confirm

statistically significant clustering.
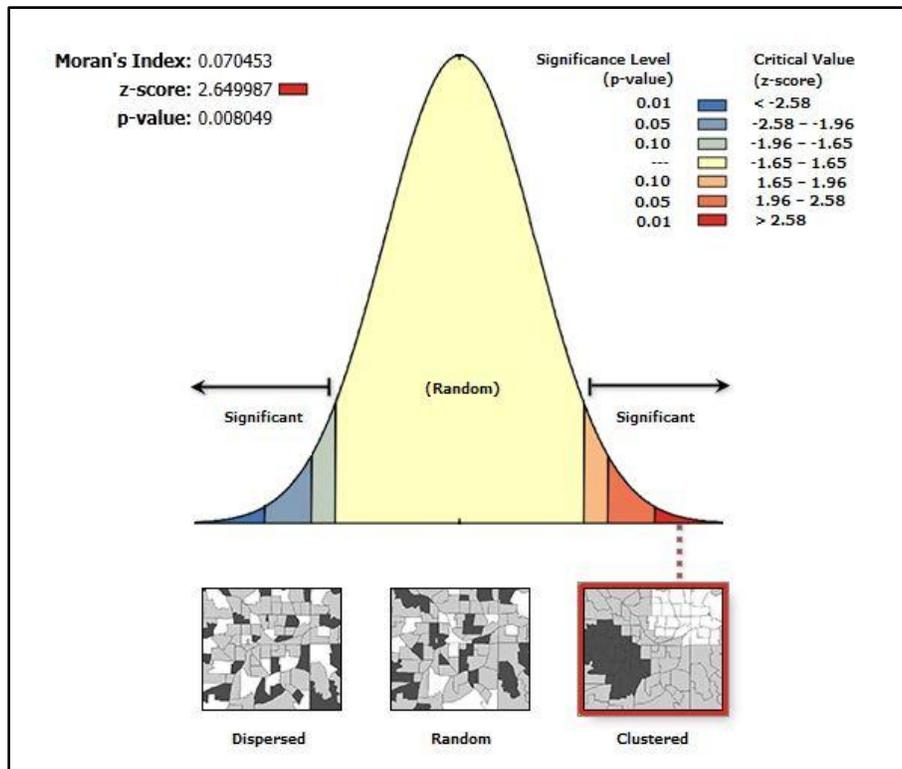
Figure 4.8. Results of Moran's I testing of tumulus distribution in the Arroux-Somme study area using a generalized distance band conceptualization.
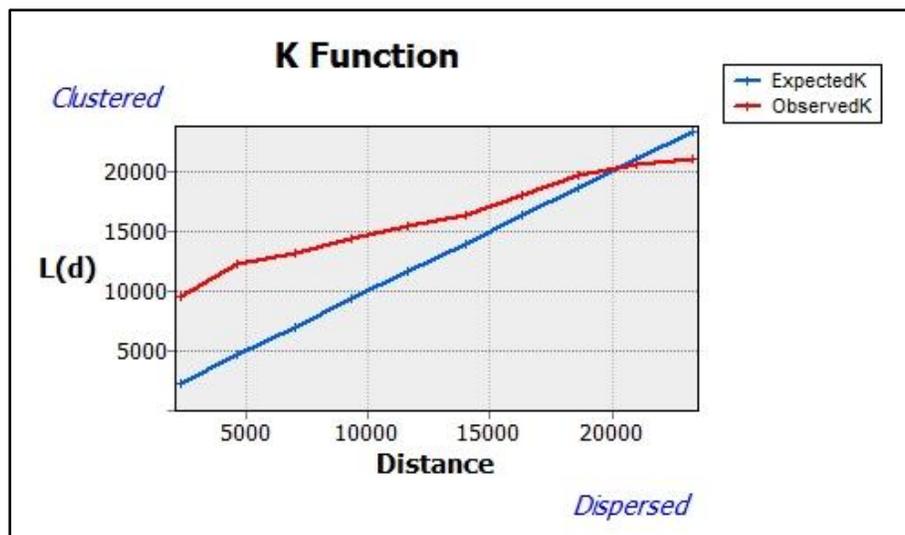
Figure 4.9. Results of Ripley's K testing of tumulus distribution in the Arroux-Somme study area. These results indicate clustering up to a distance of 20 km from a randomly selected point in the data.

Having determined that statistically significant clustering is present in the Arroux-Somme tumulus data, it remains to demonstrate where such clusters might be located. Conolly and Lake (2006:168-179) suggest a number of techniques by which to identify the locations of significant data clusters. One of these methods is density analysis, which works particularly well for "distributions where clustering is evident, but the definition of membership is very difficult to define because of the quantity of points, or because of the 'fuzzy' boundaries of concentrations" (173). In Figure 4.10, I present a density map of the Arroux-Somme tumulus data. Here, rather than relatively simple point data or aggregates of tumulus numbers per *commune*, I map kernel density estimates (KDEs) for the entire study area. A kernel is "the *neighbourhood* used in a *spatial operation* such as *filtering*" (294, emphasis in original). Kernel density estimation, which might better be described as kernel *intensity* estimation, is

> a non-parametric technique in which a two-dimensional probability density function (the "kernel") is placed across the observed data points to create a smooth approximation of its distribution from the centre of the point outwards. The two parameters that can be manipulated are the shape of the kernel placed over each data point … and the variance (or radius) of the kernel, referred to as the bandwith and denoted by h. The density value for each cell is then established by adding together values of the density distributions (each of which will be a fraction of 1, unless the data points represent populations) that overlie that grid cell. (175)

Archaeologists can use KDEs to provide an informal characterization of clustering in spatial data. This technique may offer certain advantages over other more formal clustering approaches (Baxter and Beardah 1997) and the results of KDEs may be easier to interpret than other density techniques (Silverman 1986, cited in Conolly and Lake 2006:175).
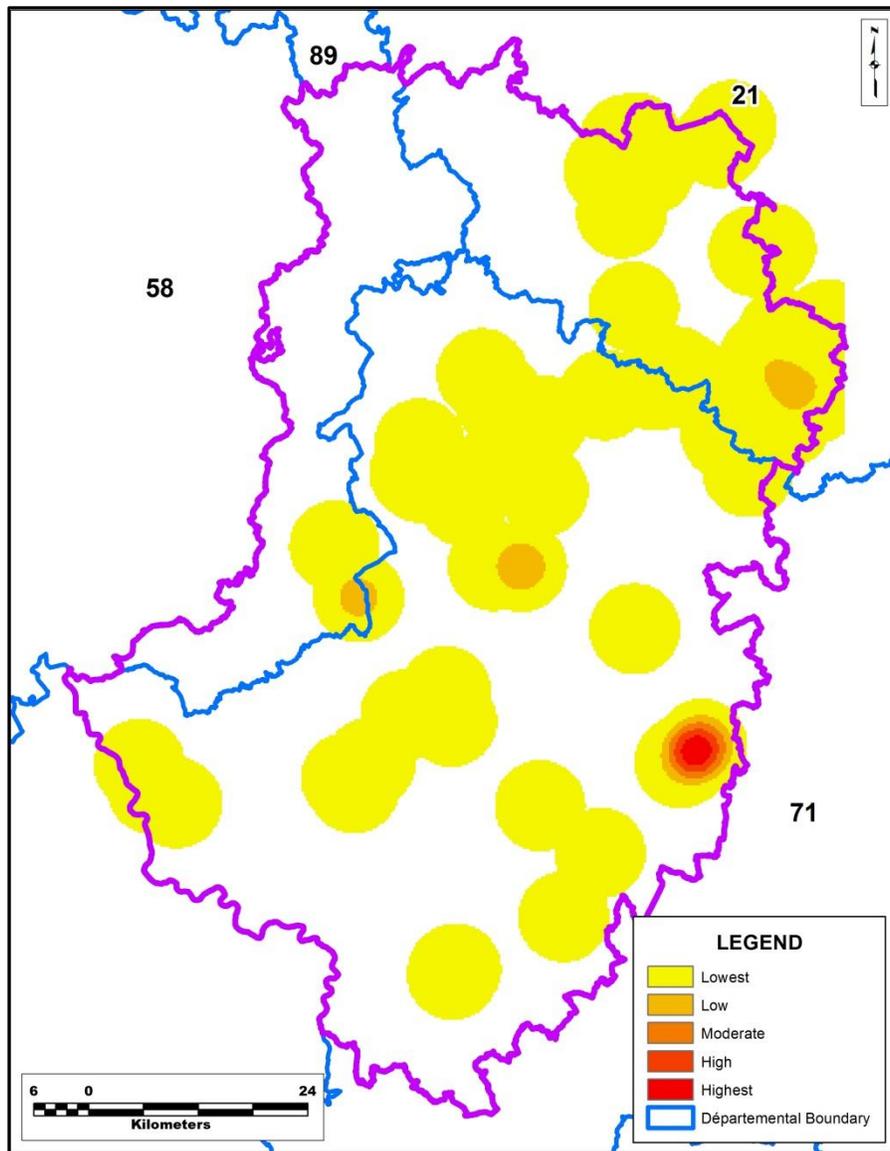
Figure 4.10. Kernel density estimates (KDEs) of tumulus location in the Arroux-Somme study area. KDE values of 0 have not been mapped.

In Figure 4.10, I map KDEs of the Arroux-Somme tumulus sites using a bandwith (*h*) of 5 km and treating the data points as populations (i.e., mapping density from the number of tumuli per site). Although somewhat masked by the fact that I have excluded density estimates of 0 from the image, Figure 4.10 should be understood as a continuous density surface lain across the entire study area. This figure begins to suggest the
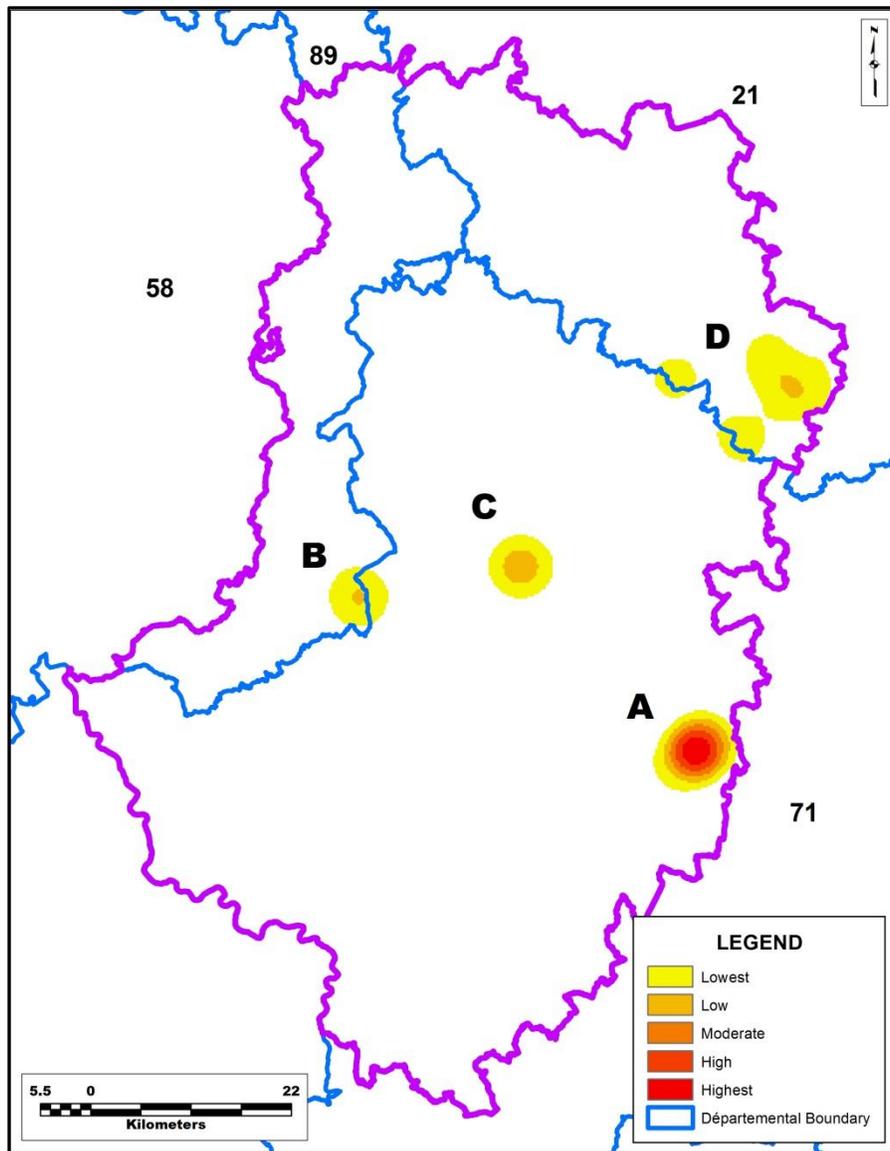
Figure 4.11. Reclassified Arroux-Somme KDE map with increased cluster resolution.

locations of the most-significant tumulus clusters on the landscape. Figure 4.11 is a

second KDE map, derived from the first. Here, to enhance the resolution of possible

clusters (following a suggestion by Baxter and Beardah 1997:351), I exclude the bottom

half of the "lowest" density estimates. Since my lowest-to-highest categorization is

relative, the limits of all five categories change slightly in response to a "narrower" range

of mapped density estimates. The resulting map highlights the locations of at least four significant tumulus clusters.

Sadly, these clusters need to be approached with skepticism. With the exception of Cluster D, all of these groupings have been defined based on the visual inspection of mounds identified as tumuli, sometimes from the air rather than the ground. Indeed, this is true for the overwhelming majority of the mounds in the Arroux-Somme study area, where excavated tumuli account for only the smallest fraction of the recorded mound sites. While the identification of mounds as tumuli may prove accurate upon subsurface testing, especially on sites where more than one mound has been identified, the accuracy of such identifications cannot be taken for granted. A recurrent theme in the study of southern Burgundy's tumuli is the degree to which these mounds look like landscape features that derive from other cultural activities and/or biophysical phenomena[4].

Consider, for example, the tumuli of Cluster B. At the heart of this cluster is a group of 12 mounds, identified by amateur archaeologists Jean-Claude Jacquet and Bernard Colin in the early 1990s. These mounds are located along the ridge of a low hill called the *Montagne de la Chaise* (heretofore *"La Chaise,"* Luzy [58]). At first glance, it seems obvious that Jacquet and Colin's mounds — some of which are as much as 5 to 6 m high (Jacquet 1992:33) — are tumuli. This identification seems all but verified by their location at the foot of Mont Dône, a contemporary analogue of Mont Dardon that sits along the north-south line bewteen Dardon and Beuvray[5]. However, given their size and distribution, it is curious that these sites were not identified some 15 years earlier when French Project teams conducted systematic surveys along a 3-km-wide transect between Monts Dardon and Dône (Crumley, et al. 1987).

The case for the tumuli of *La Chaise* is further obscured by the interpretations of

their discoverers, who present them as the burial sites of Helvetian and/or Roman

combatants killed in the 58 BCE "Battle of Bibracte" (also called the "Battle of

Montmort") (Jacquet 1992). Jacquet presented this interpretation in an issue of *Échos du*

Passé, the journal of the local historical society, *Les Amis du Dardon* ("The Friends

of/from Dardon"), and it was endorsed later in the same issue by the amateur historian

and linguist Norbert Guinot (1992). Widely respected for his erudition, Guinot had

already collaborated extensively with Jacquet to identify the sites and road systems that

may have been associated with Caesar's defeat of the Helvetii (see, for example, Jacquet

and Guinot 1991).

If Jacquet and Guinot's project had its romantic elements, recalling the scholarship

of another time, one could say that Jacquet and Colin's interpretation of the mounds at

La Chaise (Jacquet 1992) was almost too romantic; or, rather, too Romantic. As I discuss

at length in Chapter 6, tumulus-focused archaeology in France grew out of a 19th-century

movement, subsidized by Napoleon III, to identify and excavate the sites described by

Caesar in *The Gallic War*. Tumuli were among the principal foci of this project. Decades

of work went into the exploration of such sites before it became clear that the mounds

being excavated were likely much older. Indeed, as I present in Chapter 3, the mound-

burial rite had fallen out of favor in most areas of temperate Europe centuries before

Caesar's arrival. Thus for archaeologists (amateur or otherwise) familiar with more recent

studies of the Iron Age, the interpretation of the *La Chaise* "tumuli" offered by the late

Jacquet — undeniably a gifted student of the past — was simply too fanciful. Many have

dismissed his finds at this locale as evidence of some natural process, like tree fall. I

would add glacial phenomena to the list of possibilities (see Chapter 7), though I would

also say that the mounds of *La Chaise* merit a great deal of further research.

If questions surround the nature of the mounds in the area of Mont Dône (Cluster B),

there is little question that the mounds of Cluster D are in fact tumuli. Indeed, many of

these mounds lie on or just below the *Chaumes d'Auvenay*. They represent the

westernmost extension of a massive complex of necropolises, tumuli, and enclosures that

stretches in a wide band from Ivry-en-Montagne to Pommard and covers more than 208

km^2 (see, for example, Henry 1933b). These barrows, which fall in the Beaunois region,

are among the first identified and most thoroughly studied tumuli in France (see Chapter

6).

Given their proximity to the larger Cluster D group, it seems reasonable to include

the two smaller (and apparently isolated) lowest-density "bubbles" in this cluster. The

data for the westernmost of these subgroups probably derive from the work undertaken

by Jean-Paul Guillaumet and Didier Maranski in the *commune* of Thury during the late

1970s and early 1980s. Guillaumet and Maranski excavated a number of the tumuli in the

Thury necropolis (Guillaumet 1984; Guillaumet and Maranski 1982), setting their work

apart from much of the tumulus-related exploration carried out in the Arroux and Somme

valleys. These excavations are even more noteworthy in that they were conducted within

the framework of a "programmed excavation" (*fouille programmée*)[6]. In fact, unlike the

other clusters in the Arroux-Somme study area, most of the tumuli in Cluster D have been

studied (at least preliminarily) in the context of programmed investigations, either

directly as part of official excavation programs (as at Thury) or as part of public outreach

and/or regional survey conducted in the immediate environs of programmed excavations

(as Serge Grappin and the staff of the *Maison du Patrimoine* in Saint-Romain have done around the site of Verger, Côte-d'Or).

Such discussions about whether or not to include isolated groups into nearby clusters and about the degree of archaeological rigor applied to the study of a particular tumulus group highlight a fundamental problem with the SRA data. Nearly all of the tumuli in the SRA database have been recorded on an encounter basis rather than as the result of systematic regional survey. Except in very few places — namely, in the immediate environs of Mont Beuvray, of Mont Dardon, and of Saint-Romain, as well as on the *Chaumes d'Auvenay* — systematic pedestrian survey has never been conducted in the Arroux and Somme valleys. This being the case, we cannot say with certainty that the identified in Figure 4.11 represent centers of elevated funerary activity in the late Bronze and early Iron Ages. But neither are they entirely random. Rather, these clusters tell us as much (and perhaps more) about the patterned activities of collectors and archaeologists in the *present* as they do about landscape-based practice in the distant past.

Temporal Patterning of Tumulus Data

Similarly, any attempt to identify temporal patterning in the Arroux-Somme tumulus data quickly becomes as much a study in contemporary archaeology as in the evolution of past landscapes. Table 4.3 presents the temporal components recorded for each of the sites in the study area. Given that many of these sites have never been formally excavated, temporal assignments tend to reflect materials collected in surface surveys, artifacts observed in private collections, and/or the physical appearance of tumulus sites. As Table 4.3 and Figure 4.12 demonstrate, many of these temporal assignments are

TABLE 4.3

Recorded Temporal Components

Site Number	Neolithic (Uncertain)	Bronze	Bronze (Uncertain)	Terminal Bronze	Hallstatt	Hallstatt (Uncertain)	La Tène	La Tène (Uncertain)	Medieval (Uncertain)	Indeterminate
					Côte-d'Or (21)					
21.009.0006	—	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	Yes	—
21.032.0001	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
21.050.0003	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
21.068.0001	—	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.128.0002	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21.153.0003	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.210.0004	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—	—
21.210.0009	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.221.0003	—	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.221.0004	—	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.221.0015	—	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.318.0001	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.318.0002	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
21.325.0001	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
21.349.0023	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.363.0001	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	Yes	—
21.397.0002	—	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
21.397.0007	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.397.0012	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.401.0002	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21.427.0003	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
21.461.0009	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
21.476.0002	—	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.476.0004	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Yes
21.476.0005	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.527.0016	Yes	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
21.569.0009	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
21.569.0012	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
21.569.0013	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21.569.0014	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
21.569.0031	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
21.569.0032	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—

Site Number	Neolithic (Uncertain)	Bronze	Bronze (Uncertain)	Terminal Bronze	Hallstatt	Hallstatt (Uncertain)	La Tène	La Tène (Uncertain)	Medieval (Uncertain)	Indeterminate
21.583.0002	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
21.535.0001	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
21.535.0002	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
21.535.0007	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
21.535.0008	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—
21.535.0009	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—

Nièvre (58)

Site Number	Neolithic (Uncertain)	Bronze	Bronze (Uncertain)	Terminal Bronze	Hallstatt	Hallstatt (Uncertain)	La Tène	La Tène (Uncertain)	Medieval (Uncertain)	Indeterminate
58.140.0003	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
58.149.0003	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—

Saône-et-Loire (71)

Site Number	Neolithic (Uncertain)	Bronze	Bronze (Uncertain)	Terminal Bronze	Hallstatt	Hallstatt (Uncertain)	La Tène	La Tène (Uncertain)	Medieval (Uncertain)	Indeterminate
71.014.0029	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.014 5008	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.046.0003	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
71.047.0032	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
71.047.0076	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.062.0017	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.085.0004	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.096.0004	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.096.0002	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.132.0005	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.139.0003	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.139.0004	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.139.0005	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.162.0031	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	Yes	—
71.223.0001	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.232.0002	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.232.0003	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.232.0004	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.251.0016	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.255.0001	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.279.0006	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.285.0002	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.320.0001	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
71.320.0003	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.320.0007	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—

Site Number	Neolithic (Uncertain)	Bronze	Bronze (Uncertain)	Terminal Bronze	Hallstatt	Hallstatt (Uncertain)	La Tène	La Tène (Uncertain)	Medieval (Uncertain)	Indeterminate
71.320.0020	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.474.0001	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
71.440.0064	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.440.0088	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.493.0006	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
71.493.0009	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.493.0011	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.527.0008	Yes	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.530.0015	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.535.0012	Yes	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.540.0005	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.542.0010	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
71.552.0002	—	—	—	Yes	Yes	—	—	—	—	—
71.552.0003	—	—	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	Yes	—	—
71.565.0003	—	—	—	—	Yes	—	—	—	—	—

uncertain and a single site may be assigned to multiple components, regardless of whether or not there is evidence that the site was reused in the past.

In total, 184 distinct components have been assigned to the 80 sites of the Arroux-Somme study area. As suggested by Table 4.3, the overwhelming majority (85%) of these components are what might be called "uncertain components," without certain proof of their temporal assignment(s). In the most extreme case, site 21.76.0004 (Painblanc [21]), no effort to suggest a period has been made; the site form is simply checked "indeterminate." Only a relatively small fraction of the recorded components (15%) are
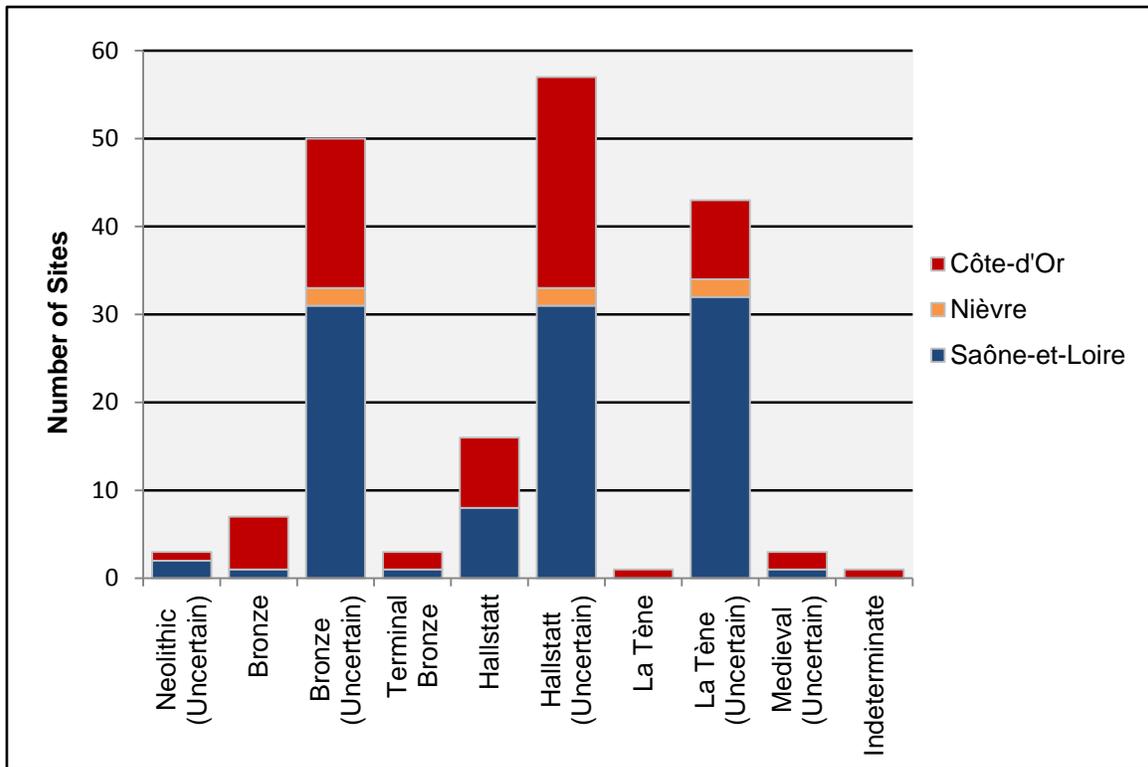
Figure 4.12. Number of sites per component by *département*.

"definite components," suggesting that these temporal assignments have been made on the basis of reliable material evidence.

Like the tumuli themselves, these uncertain and definite components are not uniformly distributed across the study area. Instead, as indicated in Figures 4.13 and 4.14, the tumuli of the Côte-d'Or appear more likely to have definite temporal assignments while those of the Nièvre and Saône-et-Loire are more likely to have uncertain temporal assignments. Of the 27 definite components assigned in the study area, nearly twice as many (*n* = 17 [63%]) fall in the Côte-d'Or as in the other two *départements* (*n* = 10 [37%]). The distribution of the 157 uncertain components exhibits precisely the opposite trend: nearly twice as many uncertain components (*n* = 103 [66%]) have been assigned in the Nièvre and Saône-et-Loire as in the Côte-d'Or (*n* = 54 [34%]).
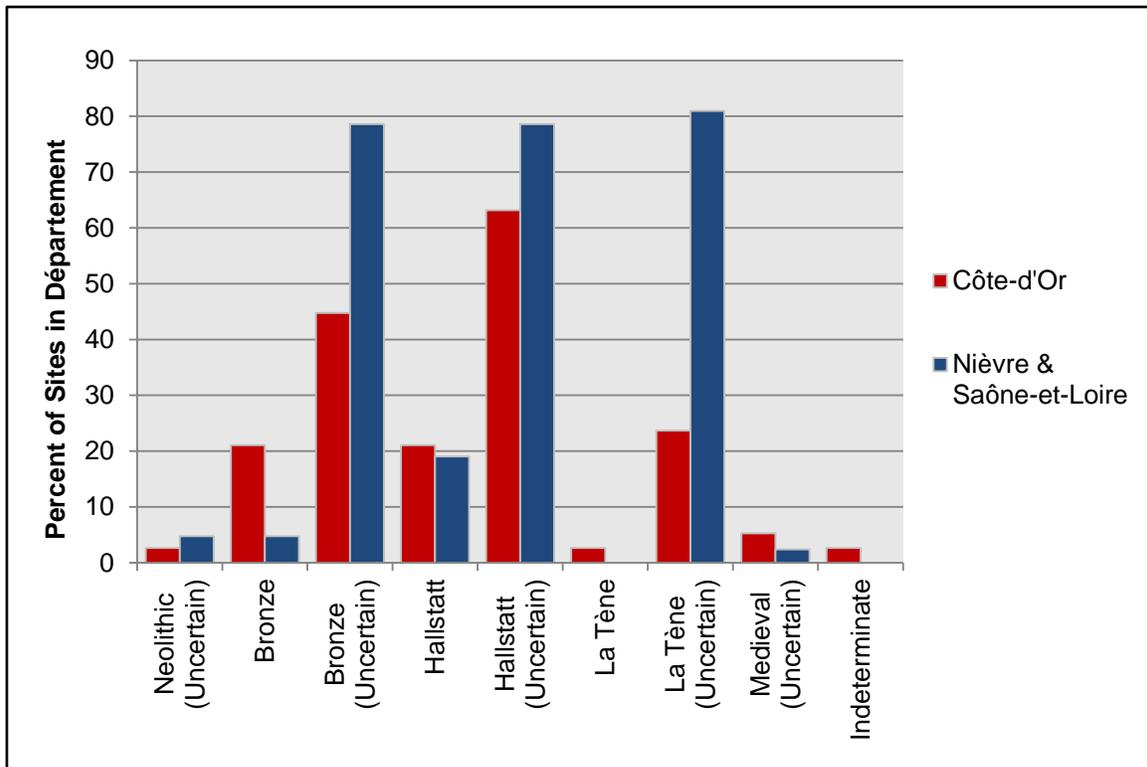
Figure 4.13. Percent of sites per *département* assigned to each component. (Data for the Nièvre and Saône-et-Loire have been aggregated.)

This distribution of definite vs. uncertain components should not be taken to indicate that the tombs in the Côte-d'Or contain more temporally diagnostic material than those of southern Burgundy, though this remains a possibility to be explored. Rather, as is the case for the overall spatial distribution of tumuli in the Arroux-Somme database, these trends map a history of professional research that has focused on the early Iron Age in the Cote-d'Or, to the near exclusion of Hallstatt studies in western Saône-et-Loire and the eastern Nièvre (see, for example, Chaume 2001; Devaux 2007; Nicolardot 2003; Olivier and Triboulot 1999). A review of the site forms for the Côte-d'Or reveals that the higher concentration of definite components in this département also derives from a continued confidence in the temporal assignments made by Françoise Henry (1933b) more than 75
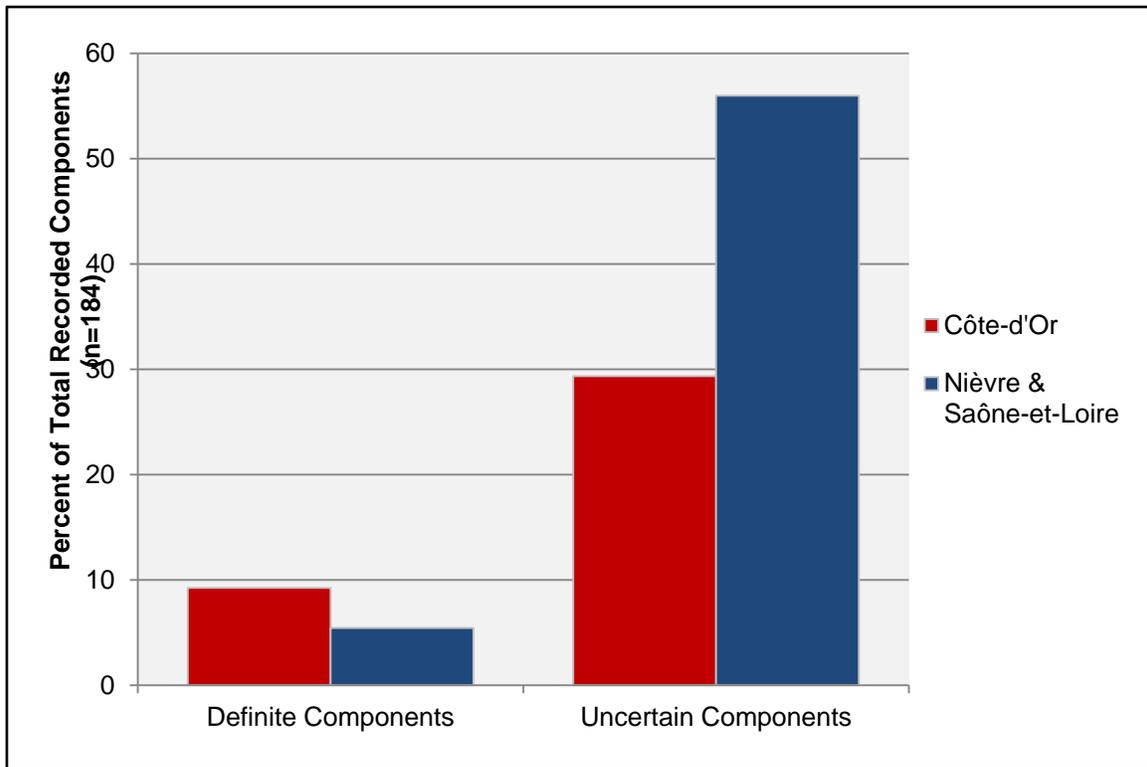
Figure 4.14. Distribution of definite and uncertain components, as percent of 184 assigned components, by *département*. (Data for the Nièvre and Saône-et-Loire have been aggregated.)

years ago. Henry's analysis has never been replicated on such a broad scale in southern Burgundy.

Issues of Data Quality

The spatial and temporal analyses of the Arroux-Somme tumulus data presented above foreground a fact that we all recognize but that few of us actually consider in detail: that archaeological databases, like the phenomena they seek to classify, are artifacts. This is to say that databases are tools that derive from the interaction — or, rather, the *intra*-action (sensu Barad 2007) — of human skill, technique, and intention with the raw material of the (archaeological) landscape. Like any artifact, databases are sensitive to and often diagnostic of the historical, political, cultural, and social milieux in which they were created (following Tomášková 2005).

Further, as most archaeologists can attest, artifacts often capture the "mistakes" and "omissions" of the people who craft them. The preform of a stone point, broken in a particular way, demonstrates a knapper's poor choice of striking platform. Step fractures along the midsection of a second point reveal that she held its preform at a bad angle in the process of flaking. Unlike the broken preform, however, this point remains functional. A large spall blown off the side of a ceramic vessel suggests that the potter did not knead his clay adequately before construction. The spall might be only a cosmetic flaw, however, and this pot may still hold water. A horizontal crack in the wall of a similar vessel, indicating that he did not blend his coils well, means that no water can be stored in it. Databases capture the poor choices and omissions of their creators in similar ways. Depending on the use(s) for which they are intended, they may remain serviceable despite their flaws.

For all the "positive" site information recorded in the Arroux-Somme database, it also records a number of errors and omissions. This is to be expected of a database that has evolved over decades with the input of several different people. By far, the biggest issue of data quality with the Arroux-Somme database is a general lack of site information. Site forms and database entries frequently contain little more than a *commune* name, a site number, a set of coordinates, and the name of the person(s) who submitted the record. Even when more extensive information is provided about past investigations, the current status of the site (i.e., intact or destroyed), its groundcover, land use, and potential threats to its integrity are generally not provided.

It is common to enter two sets of coordinates in the SRA database, demarcating the corners of a polygon drawn around a recorded site. Where this convention has been

followed, my tumulus distributions map the centroid (i.e., the center point) of the polygon. Often only one set of coordinates has been recorded and I map these values directly. Sometimes, however, the database entry and site forms completely lack geographic coordinates. This is the case for two sites in Saône-et-Loire, for example: 71.132.0005 (Ciry-le-Noble) and 71.251.0016 (Laizy). The analyst working without the benefit of detailed IGN maps recording place-names might choose, as I have, to map these sites to the town center of the *commune* (what the French would call the *bourg*). But both of these sites have recorded place-names, making it possible — at least in principle — to map them more precisely[7]. In Ciry-le-Noble, the place-name *Les Murgers* is located at the edge of the *bourg*, only about 300 m from the mapped generic location. By contrast, the place-name *Champ du Tertre* does not appear on any of the most-recent IGN 1:25,000 series maps of Laizy. This place may be anywhere within the 31.3 km^2 of the *commune*, potentially as much as 4.7 km away from the *bourg*. Given that a single tumulus with a diameter of 10 m covers only about 78.5 m^2, the omission of coordinates has the potential to introduce significant error into spatial measurements.

Error is similarly introduced when the recorded coordinates of a site do not correspond to site locations observed on the ground or conflict with other recorded data (e.g., the *commune* in which the site is located). This is the case, for example, with the record for the tumulus of *La Revive*. Here the centroid does not map onto the location where I have observed the tumulus (and measured its location with a handheld GPS unit); rather it falls some 415 m to the west (Figure 4.15). This relatively minor mismatch does not introduce a great deal of error into spatial calculations. We might attribute it to any number of factors, from an error in transcribing coordinates to problems measuring the
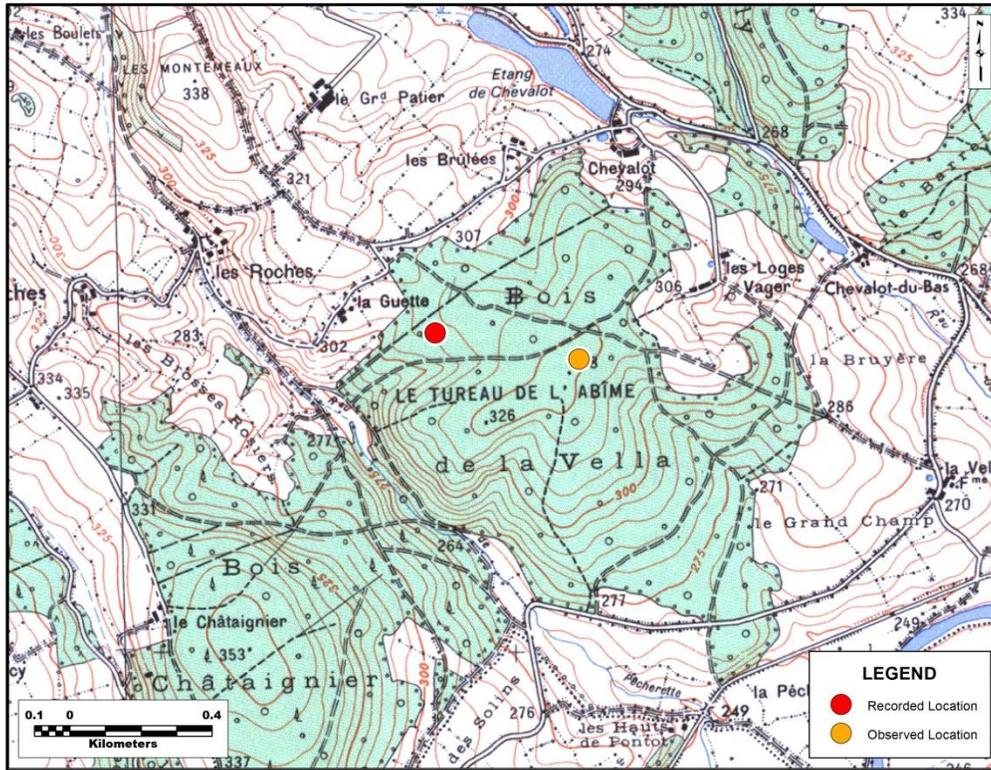
Figure 4.15. Mismatch between the recorded and observed positions of the tumulus of *La Revive* (71.552.0003), Uxeau (71).

location by hand (and eye) on an IGN 1:25,000 sheet (a process that is notoriously difficult, especially for sites located at the center of the sheet). It is equally likely that the site's reporter, in an effort to protect the site from further damage, intentionally displaced its location.

More troublesome are mismatches that place a site outside the *commune* in which it is recorded. Such misplacements seem less likely to be intentional and more likely to be the result of human error in measurement or in transcription (or both). This is the case, for example, with site 21.401.0002 which is recorded in the *commune* of Meloisey (in the northeastern corner of the study area). While the *commune* itself displays as positive in *commune*-level density maps (which are not based on individual site locations), no recorded location actually appears within its boundaries (Figure 4.16). Rather, the
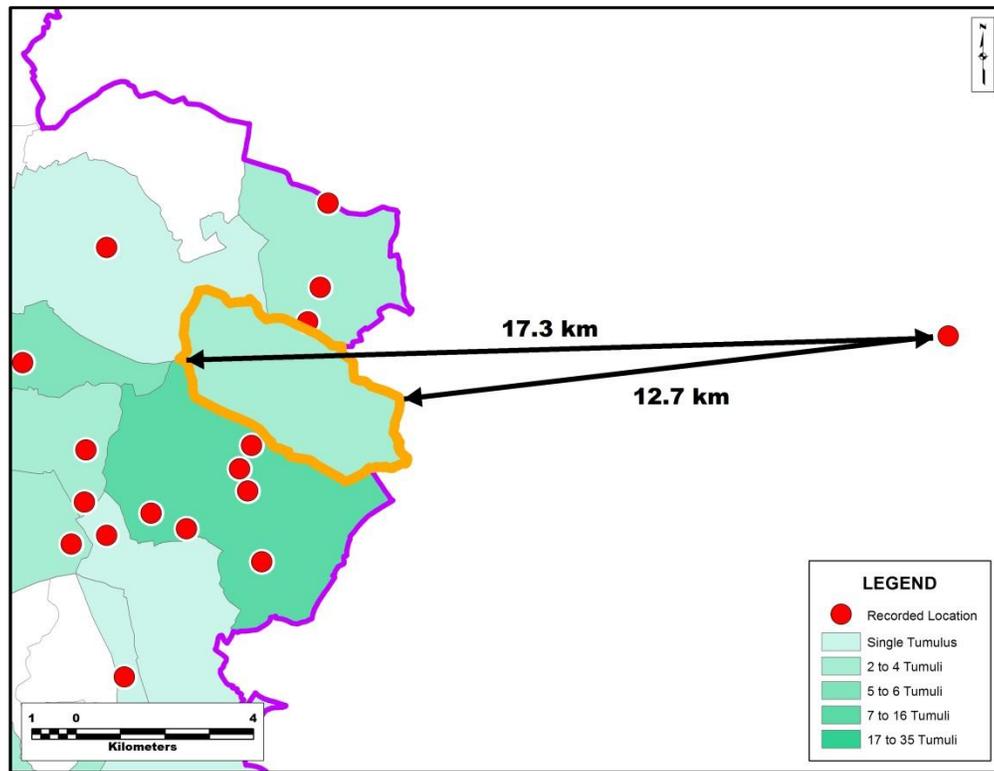
Figure 4.16. Spatial error in the coordinates of site 21.401.0002, Meloisey (21). (The limits of Meloisey *commune* are shown in gold.)

recorded location of 21.401.0002 maps some 12.7 km west of the nearest edge of the *commune*, well outside the study area. Given the size and shape of Meloisey *commune*, the recorded location of the site may be as much as 17.3 km from its actual location. Either of these distances presents a significant spatial error. A similar case is that of site 21.325.0001, which is supposed to lie in the *commune* of Jouey, in the north of the study area. The database coordinates place the site several *communes* away, however, just beyond the edge of the study area. The error in this case is between 8.4 and 14.8 km (Figure 4.17). Even more serious is the mismatch of site 21.349.0023, which is recorded in the nearby Côte-d'Or *commune* of Liernais, in the north-central portion of the study area. SRA coordinates place the site five *communes* away in Tavernay, which lies fully in Saône-et-Loire (Figure 4.18). The error in placement here ranges from 20.4 to 27.7 km.
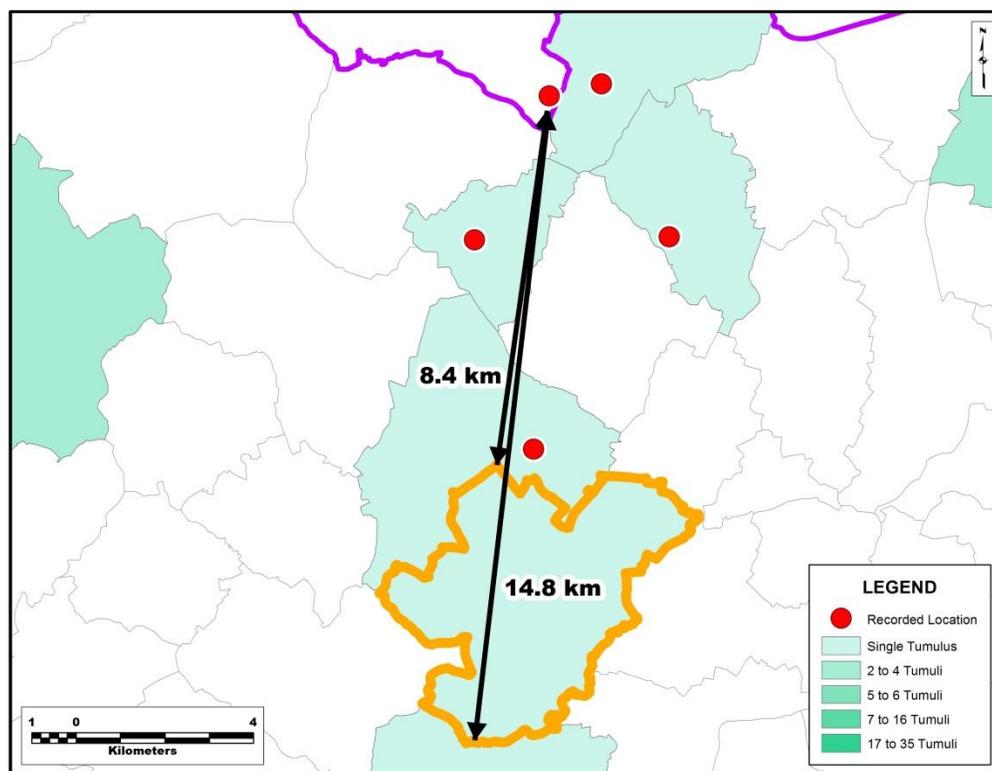
Figure 4.17. Spatial error in the coordinates of site 21.325.0001, Jouey (21). (The limits of Jouey *commune* are shown in gold.)

A final issue of data quality involves the "double recording" of site data. Currently, this error only affects one site (or site pair), located in Saône-et-Loire. Site 71.527.0008 is recorded at a place called *La Montagne* in the *commune* of Sommant. This place-name straddles the divide between two municipalities, however, and it appears that the site has also been recorded as 71.535.0012 in the adjacent *commune* of Tavernay. Except for their site numbers and the *communes* in which they are listed, all data for these two sites — including their coordinates — are precisely the same. Thus it would seem that there are actually only 79 tumulus sites in the Arroux-Somme database and a total of 160 tumuli. While the impact of this error is limited at present, the proximity of many sites to contemporary administrative boundaries and the fact that there is not currently a
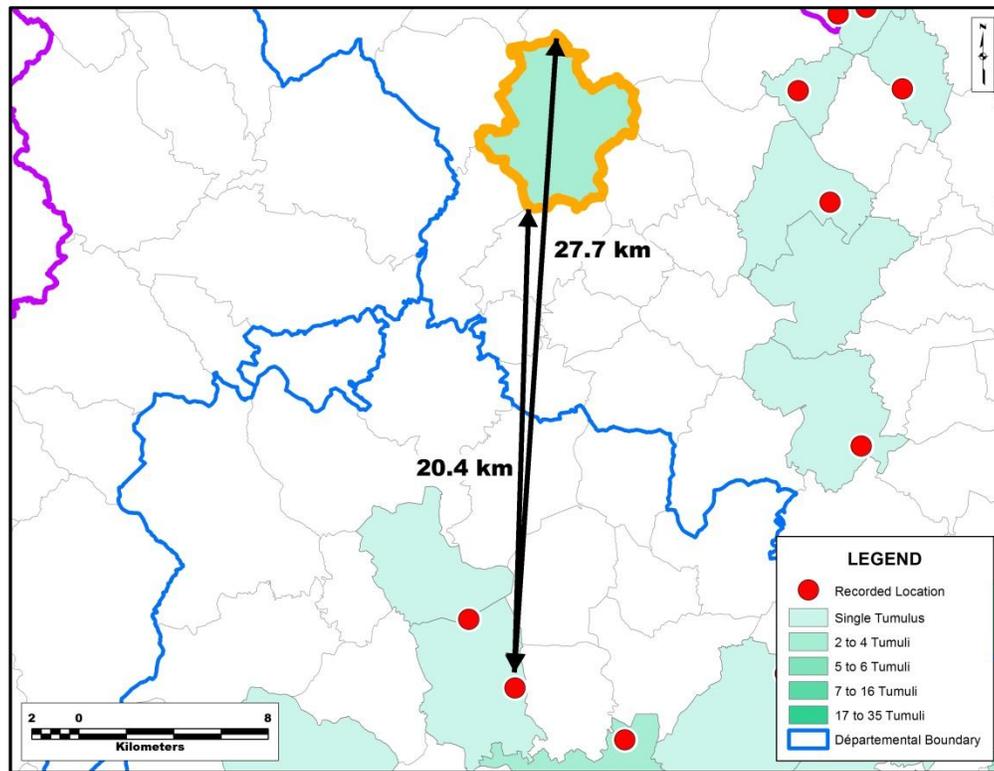
Figure 4.18. Spatial error in the coordinates of site 21.349.0023, Liernais (21).(The limits of Liernais *commune* are shown in gold.)

"secondary *commune*" field in the database suggests that administrators may accidentally reproduce this "double recording" error in the future.

Administrative vs. Research Databases

By way of closure, I would like to return to a few points from the preceding discussion. The first is the notion of the database as an artifact or tool. Tim Ingold (2000) convincingly demonstrates that tools develop out of a particular ways of being in the world; that is to say, out of particular ways of *dwelling*. To say that an archaeological database is a tool is, therefore, to suggest that it develops out of a particular way of dwelling in the world, presumably out of dwelling as an archaeologist (see Ingold 2000:189-190). Bruno Latour has made a career considering how scientists dwell in the

world. In the essay "Circulating Reference" (Latour 1999:24-79), Latour provides a relatively stripped-down model of how we might study this form of dwelling, in this case following soil scientists and botanists. More recently, a movement to do ethnography among archaeologists (see, for example, Carman 2004; Edgeworth 2003, 2006; Moser 2007) has brought the study of scientific dwelling into our own discipline. While they may be dismissed as postmodern conceits and, therefore, assumed to be "antiscience" (see Hegmon 2003), ethnographic (and related historiographic) approaches can shed significant light on the tools that archaeologists create and share, as well as on the knowledge that such tools help to produce. If we consider the archaeological database as a tool, we should not hesitate to ask of it those questions that we ask of any artifact: Who created this artifact? What is it and what does it do? When was it created? Where was it created and/or from where does its raw material come? Why was it created? and How was it created?

These questions actually bring us back to the "administrative" vs. "research" distinction that I have encountered in discussions of the SRA database. Regardless of their creators' intentions, tools may facilitate one set of activities, complicate a second set, resist a third, and remain wholly irrelevant to a fourth. It is unclear what purpose the creators of the SRA database originally intended. However, as a particular kind of tool — what Latour calls a "reference" (1999:24-79, 310) — the database was probably not generated as a simple repository of past knowledge. Rather, it seems likely that it was intended to help in the process of "pack[ing] the world into words" (Latour 1999:24); that is to say, of transforming placed material elements of the landscape into meaningful

conceptual surrogates that can freely circulate in various kinds of discourse, including official documents and academic texts.

No matter what purpose was originally intended for the SRA database, officials in Dijon are fairly circumspect about its potential and its limitations. Despite its shortcomings, the database seems to facilitate their task of managing Burgundy's archaeological resources, which largely involves the administration of the permitting process and protection of previously recognized sites. For this reason, SRA officials describe theirs as an "administrative database." To be certain, a verification study would clear up a number of the issues of data quality that I have described above. However, while this kind of study would allow SRA heritage managers to have more information about the sites *already in* the database at their disposal, it would not produce a "research database" (i.e., one that would facilitate the study of patterns in the distant past). Because of the more or less organic fashion in which this database came into existence, we have no way to be sure that "blank" spaces on the map (i.e., those without recorded sites) do not, in fact, contain tumulus sites. Only a systematic survey of the entire project area would clear up this question and yield a database appropriate for research.

For this reason, one needs to maintain a degree of skepticism about any project that attempts to examine patterns based on these or similar data. One such project is the BaseFer initiative, which aims to characterize French Iron Age data (Batardy, et al. 2008). BaseFer takes its data from published articles and syntheses, university studies, and the volumes of the *Carte Archéologique de la Gaule*. Given these sources, there is likely to be significant overlap with the SRA database, though Batardy and his colleagues indicate that the data contained in BaseFer are much less specific than those contained in

the regional site files (1). They describe the "nature and limitations" of their GIS as

follows:

> As of 1 January 2008, the database contains 11,377 "sites." For our purposes, a "site" is an archaeological location defined for some period of time, whether short or long, by a given function. This is not a database in which to search for precise information about complex sites: these data have been chosen to facilitate the comparison of simple sites or summarized with a synthetic (and simplified) vocabulary, for example "tumulus complex" and "*oppidum*." There is also no site hierarchy in these data: while certain descriptors signal that a site belongs to a necropolis or to an isolated burial, to a single habitation or to a settlement, there is no correlation or directly useful hierarchical information here. The intermediate files from which this database was built contain information that is more detailed and record the bibliographic references by which more such information might be located, but any detailed exploration of a precise subject would require a body of data that quickly exceeds the general mandate of this database. (3)

Having recognized these limitations, Batardy et al. go on to analyze spatial trends in their

data, judging the number of sites in their database adequate enough to "authorize a

statistical analysis" (4). But what these authors completely ignore, both in the above

passage and in their analysis of Iron Age trends across France, is that their data — which

are even more general than those of the SRA — have been preselected, even before they

began to collect them. The data mined by Batardy et al. have been biased by the spatial

interests of the authors that published them: in those places where no archaeologist has

looked, and especially where no archaeologist has *published*, Batardy et al. will have no

data, regardless of whether or not sites are actually present in the landscape. Put another

way, it is not surprising that BaseFer analyses should find high site counts in

départements where a great deal of time, energy, and capital have been put into studies of

the Iron Age. Thus, like the results of the analyses that I present at the beginning of this

chapter, the trends mapped by Batardy et al. are as likely to reflect the activities of

collectors and archaeologists in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries as they are to provide meaningful information about landscape-based practice in the distant past.

Coming back to the SRA data for the tumuli of the Arroux-Somme study area, a final question remains: what would it take to convert this administrative database into a proper research database? To my way of thinking, someone would have to conduct a systematic archaeological survey of the study area before this kind of conversion could be realized. But a survey of 5,475 km^2, whether on foot or by remote sensing, is a daunting and potentially expensive prospect. A pedestrian survey of that much space could take months or years depending on financial support, the size of field crews, and the length of field seasons. Similarly, while the newest remote-sensing technologies, like lidar (see, for example, Devereux, et al. 2005; Rowlands and Sarris 2007), offer the possibility of mapping the earth's surface (including under forest canopy) at sub-meter resolutions, they often become prohibitively expensive for larger study areas as the cost of initial surveys is augmented by the time and expertise required to interpret results, as well as by the need for pedestrian "ground-truthing" of identified locations.

I propose that a compromise might be to survey a portion of the study area. But how would one select which portion? To build a survey model entirely around the locations of known tumuli and hillforts would continue the spatial biases already inherent in the data and probably amplify them. I contend that a more comprehensive survey model can be produced if we collect and incorporate as much information as possible about the reuse of tumuli since their initial construction. Together with the locations of tumuli that we already know, data about re-use offer possibilities to identify new tumulus locations — both intact and razed — as well as to explain patterns of tumulus presence and absence

across the study area. Such information might include folklore about these and similar

sites, place-name data, histories of tumulus excavation, and ethnographic data about

contemporary encounters with mound sites. I explore these domains in the next three

chapters.

NOTES

[1] An extensive excavation of the tumulus of *La Revive* — what remains of it — has yet to be completed. Ironically, what is left of the tumulus remains intact only through the goodwill of the current landowner, one of Lucien D.'s many cousins. While French cultural resource law ties the hands of professional archaeologists and cultural resource managers alike, any private citizen can raze sites like *La Revive* when they obstruct easy movement across the landscape. Such destruction events have become increasingly common in recent decades as the nature of rural land use has changed (see Chapter 7).

[2] The Somme River of southern Burgundy should not be confused with the larger and better known Somme River in Picardy, along France's northern coast. The latter gives its name to a bay in the English Channel and to a French *département*. Picardy's Somme has become famous for its role in a number of critical military campaigns, most recently a series of decisive battles in World War I. Southern Burgundy's Somme, by contrast, appears to have been rather more peaceful. Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that this river valley lies just north of the Loire and, therefore, just within the frontier of German-occupied territory during World War II. Readers of novelist Irène Némirovsky's *Chaleur du Sang* (2007) may know of Issy-l'Évêque, the small town on the banks of the Somme described in the novel. In fact, Némirovsky and her family spent a period of the war hiding in this town.

[3] Hamerton no doubt refers to Jacques Gabriel Bulliot in this passage. Bulliot is the amateur archaeologist and member of the *Société Eduenne des Lettres, Sciences et Arts d'Autun* generally credited with the discovery and exploration of Bibracte. From 1867 onward, he undertook extensive excavations on the summit of Mont Beuvray, directed from a house that he built on the hilltop. For more on Bulliot, see Chapter 6.

[4] This is a finding to which I return several times during the course of this dissertation.

[5] Formal excavations of Mont Dône have been limited and very little archaeological material has been found to support the claim that it is a hillfort contemporaneous with Mont Dardon, although this is the position that its principal excavator has advanced (Coqblin 1961, 1970). However, a more recent review of the available evidence suggests that Mont Dône was not an Iron Age installation at all, but perhaps a fortified Neolithic site or one dating to the Medieval period (Guillaumet 1992:19).

[6] A "programmed excavation" is an archaeological investigation, usually subsurface, that fits into the national research plan developed by members of the French scientific community charged with direct oversight of country's archaeological heritage (including members of each region's SRA, the municipal archaeology services, and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique [CNRS]). The plan is ratified by the Conseil National de la Recherche Archéologique (CNRA), under the authority of the French Minister of Culture. In order for their investigation to qualify as a "programmed excavation," project directors must submit a dossier containing well-developed research

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questions and a detailed plan to address those questions over the term of an excavation permit. The dossier is reviewed by the officials of the SRA, who decide whether or not to award "programmed excavation" status and, thus, a permit. The standard term of a French excavation permit is currently three years. Project directors are expected to submit yearly updates to the SRA, as well as a synthetic report at the end of the permit term describing the overall achievements (both physical and intellectual) of the project. Projects that wish to extend fieldwork beyond the term of their permit are required to file for an extension or, often, for an additional three-year permit. The number of "programmed excavation" permits granted by any single region in a given year is quite limited. While the rules may have been less stringent in the past, only professional archaeologists are eligible to apply for an excavation permit at this point (among the points that distinguish them from their avocational and amateur peers). It should be noted that programmed excavation permitted by the SRA is the only legal avenue open to the professional archaeologist who wishes to conduct subsurface investigation. All other excavation is deemed *clandestin* (illegal) and subject to prosecution.

[7] Ironically, both of these place-names reference the presence of mounds. Place-naming is a topic to which I return in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

HOLLOW HILLS AND SERPENT TALES:
TUMULI IN A NARRATED LANDSCAPE

THE TUMULUS OF LA REVIVE

It happened a long time ago, maybe at the end of the 19th century, following the

"War of 1870" (i.e., the Franco-Prussian War). A group of men entered the forest of *La*

Guette. They intended to excavate the mound located atop the *Tureau de l'Abime*. After a

few hours' work, they had dug well into the heart of the mound. Along the way, they

discovered only a few broken pieces of ashy ceramic. They did not find the treasure they

expected to be there.

The forest was not quiet as they dug. Among its tricks, the forest of *La Guette*

collects sounds from the surrounding countryside and bends them into eerie echoes. It

buzzed and hissed with activity. All around them sounded the lowing of cows and the

crowing of chickens from several kilometers away. As they descended in their pit, the

sounds seemed to grow louder and closer. Then they heard something else: a large

creature flew from the summit of Dardon toward their position in the forest. They jumped

out of their newly dug trench, tools in hand, ready to defend themselves if necessary.

That is when they saw her. Though none had seen this monster before, they instantly

recognized her as *La Revive*, mythical protectrix of the earth and its treasures. They

abandoned their work and ran from the forest, believing the beast to be in pursuit. It took

them nearly a month to return to the *Tureau de l'Abime* to collect their tools. In

theintervening weeks, the story of their encounter had already spread, ensuring that their

trench would remain unfilled. It is there still today, cut deep into the heart of the mound

that local residents have come to call the "tumulus of *La Revive*."

NARRATING LANDSCAPES

On Folklore

Unfortunately, we know very little about what happened to Burgundy's tumuli after the period of their initial construction. As I discuss in Chapter 3, we do know that people continued to add new burials to many of these mounds for generations. However, a kind of "Dark Age" marks the life histories of Burgundy's tumuli from the later La Téne Iron Age until the early Modern period[1], when barrows and other similar phenomena began to turn up in recorded folk myth and fairy tales. What people thought about tumuli and how they interacted with them during the two millennia from their last involvement in burial rites to their first appearances in formalized literature — if indeed people thought about and interacted with them at all — remains a mystery.

The early Modern period in France, as elsewhere, witnessed a number of developments, largely related to the growing importance of humanism and empiricism that gave birth to the Enlightenment (Debus 1991; Goodman 1994; Vartanian 1999), the increasing consolidation of centralized political authority (Collins 1995; Kiser and Linton 2001), the expansion of print media and literacy (Ferguson 2003), and the ascendancy of nationalism (Bell 2001). Important among these developments, this was the period in which broad-scale mapping projects were introduced (Buisseret 1992; Conley 1996), as well as projects to collect and classify knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, often in service of the state (though sometimes against it) (see, for example, Darnton 1979; Lough 1989; Lynn 2006).

All of these developments — mechanisms in the process of "imagining" national and political communities (following Anderson 1991) that mapped cleanly onto one another

— laid the groundwork for a subsequent project of collection and classification: the collection of oral tradition and peasant beliefs, initial steps toward the discipline we now call folklore. Throughout Europe, the would-be architects of new, unified nations sought to break down the barriers that separated groups from one another with appeals to shared pasts. Peasants, backward as they were perceived to be, came to be thought of and valorized as the living representatives of this past[2]. "The life world of peasants became a key element in… European narratives of national history," down to the smallest detail (Linke 1995:4-5).

Owing to the widespread and long-lasting popularity of the folk tales collected by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and first published as *Kinder-und Haus-Märchen* (*Children's and Household Tales*) beginning in 1812, the modern imagination often attributes the development of folklore as a discipline to German scholars. This attribution is not entirely incorrect, as from the publication of Johann Gottfried von Herder's work in the mid-1770s (1773, 1778, 1779) onward, German intellectuals expressed a particularly keen interest in the collection of what would later come to be called "folklore": literally the lore of the *Volk*, the common people (the implication being one of ethnic community).

> … German romantics saw the oral traditions of the common or rural population as reproductions of historically authentic German customs and beliefs. It was Herder's conviction that folk poetry contained the essence of a nation's creative heritage. Herder's philosophy of history inspired other talented writers, poets, and dramatists of his period to begin an extensive search for the remains of German folk traditions. In their investigations the romantics sought to unlock the authentic experiences of the Germans, which were presumed to be encased not only in words, grammatical forms and poetic verses, but also in the narrative genres of folklore. The collection of traditional forms of verbal art was seen by the romantics as a means for Germans to uncover traces of their past. (Linke 1995:5)

Yet this new-found (and generally nationalist) interest in peasant life, stories, and customs was not limited to German intellectual circles. It may, in fact, be quite a bit older in France. For example, an influential figure in the court of Louis XIV and the early *Académie française* was Charles Perrault (1628 – 1703). Perrault wrote extensively, crafting essays and short stories that often responded to the work of contemporaneous authors, including Racine, Boileau, and Descartes. In Perrault's work, literary scholar Philip Lewis sees

> … an intellectual bent, a turn of mind, a conceptual pattern that manifests itself in a practice of compromise formation. Through this practice, Perrault domesticates — mutes, recuperates, reappropriates — the original, radical, rigorous concepts he encounters in other writers of his century. (Lewis 1996:1)

Lewis goes on to hypothesize that this same "practice of compromise formation" can be found throughout the work for which Perrault is much better known, *Histoires ou contes du temps passé* (*Stories and Tales of Times Gone By*), the original "Mother Goose Tales," first published between 1691 and 1697[3]. Within this collection are such classic stories as "Sleeping Beauty," "Bluebeard," "Puss in Boots," "Cinderella," and — pertinent to the discussion of the legendary landscape that I provide here — "Little Red Riding Hood." Although contemporary literary critics suspect much of Perrault's work to have been lifted from translations of earlier Italian fairy tales, especially from the *Piacevoli Notti* of Giovanni Francesco Straparola (ca. 1480 – ca. 1557) (see, for example, Bottigheimer 2002, 2005), Perrault himself claimed to have recorded folk tales already in common circulation at the time of his writing.

A similar ambiguity surrounds the work of Marie-Jeanne Lhéritier (1664 – 1734), Perrault's niece, as well as that of a number of other literate upper-class women who

seem to have been the principal drivers of the fairy tale genre in France (Raynard 2002).

This is especially true of Marie-Catherine le Jumel de Barneville, Baroness d'Aulnoy

(1650 – 1705), who is the supposed originator of the genre (her "*contes de fees*" were

literally stories about faeries). Like those of Perrault, Madame d'Aulnoy's tales had the

reputation of having come from the common people, though Bottigheimer (2002, 2005)

once again finds evidence of heavy borrowing from Straparola. It seems certain that these

authors derived a class of tales that Bottigheimer calls "restoration" or "rise" narratives

— for example, "Sleeping Beauty," "Cindarella," and "Puss in Boots" — from the work

of earlier writers. What remains unclear, however, is the degree to which the remaining

tales were borrowed, newly created, and/or adapted from popular oral tradition. If these

stories were adapted from oral tradition, we can never know precisely when the story first

originated as a spoken-word performance (Bottigheimer 2005:18). Thus it can only be

said with confidence that a tale like "Little Red Riding Hood" — perhaps the best

candidate among Perrault's collection to have come from peasant culture — dates to the

end of the 17th century. Whatever the truth of their provenance, the claim that these

stories were those of the common folk is at least worthy of mention at such an early

period.

 While the origins of French folklore as a discipline may be difficult to tease apart

from translation (whether overt or clandestine) and creative writing, by the turn of the

19th century it is clear that French intellectuals were engaged in projects with goals

parallel to those of the Brothers Grimm. In 1804, the *Académie celtique* (Celtic

Academy) was formed to study all things historic and archaeological, especially (as its

name suggests) the Gallic (i.e., pre-Roman) history of France. Between 1807 and 1812,

the year the Grimms first published their *Märchen*, the *Académie celtique* published six

volumes of *Mémoires* describing the activity of its members. Much of this activity

included the collection of folk tales, songs, sayings, beliefs, patois, and customs. These

folk expressions and practices were generally thought to be direct survivals of earlier

(usually Celtic) expressions and practices (Belmont 1975:32). In 1813, the *Académie*

celtique became the still-existing *Société des Antiquaires de France* (Society of French

Antiquaries)[4]. Until the mid-1820s, members of the *Société* continued their early focus on

the collection of folklore. By 1830, however, this activity had almost completely

disappeared from the reports of the *Société* (29), perhaps having fallen victim to the rise

of more solidly historical and archaeological explorations (a movement I discuss at length

in the next chapter).

Reviewing the contributions of writer Gaston Paris (1839 – 1903) to the

development (and decline) of French folklore studies, Harry Senn discusses the "the

undulating attitudes of devotion and inquisition that have marked" this field of inquiry

(1975:47). The use of the word "undulating" seems particularly apt here, as the field of

French folklore studies appears to have developed in a series of waves. I have already

addressed a first (possible) wave in the late 17th century. A more recognizable second

wave is that of the *Académie celtique* and the early *Société des Antiquaires de France*.

Gaston Paris, who may have been the first French scholar to actually use the term "folk-

lore" (Senn 1975:49), belongs to a third wave of folklore studies (and of dedicated

folklorists). This third wave arose in the late 1800s and continued well into the 20th

century, producing many of the most-recognized names in French folklore studies,

including Emmanuel Cosquin (1841 – 1919), Achille Millien (1838 – 1927), Pierre Saint-

Yves (né Émile Nourry, 1870 – 1935), Arnold van Gennep (1873 – 1957), and Paul

Sébillot (1843 – 1918).

More or less continuing earlier notions about the potential importance of folklore,

Gaston Paris believed that these folk stories, customs, and beliefs "preserved the

remnants of the narrative lore of the medieval period" (Senn 1975:49). This

understanding of folklore waned considerably, however, as the third wave of French

folklore studies progressed, and later folklorists try to decouple folklore from the search

for remnants of the past. This sentiment can be found throughout the writings of Arnold

van Gennep, for example, who in his *Manuel de Folklore Français Contemporain* (1976)

writes

> … it is wrong to view particular French customs — the interactions
> with and upkeep of the tomb, the deposition of coins or a rosary in the
> coffin, or the posing of a bowl on the tombstone — as the survivals of a
> pagan or prehistoric cult of the Dead. (651)

Van Gennep's interest in folk life, like that of many others in his generation, seems

to have been much more ethnographic (or, at least, ethnologic) than historic. He sought to

describe and understand a wide range of human behavior that was still nonetheless

French. While this is perhaps a fine distinction from the motivations of earlier folklorists,

it is nonetheless an important one. It is clearly such ethnologic / ethnographic

commitments that drove many members of the third wave to collect as much folklore as

possible, lest it disappear. Consider the lament of Clément-Janin at the beginning of his

Traditions Populaires de la Côte-d'Or:

> The times of our grandmothers' stories are no more: they disappear
> with those who told them so well and who gave them accent and
> color…. It is one of the most interesting and curious pages of history
> that erases itself right before our eyes. And we make so little effort to

bend down and collect it (*la ramasser*); to place it out of harm's way.
(1884:6)

Less than a decade later, we find the following observations in the work of another

scholar, Charles Bigarne:

Political changes, the rapid development of communication systems,
the enormous diffusion of newspapers and books have all modified [the
degree to which local cultures are preserved]. We have sought to
establish not only political equality, but also a uniformity of language,
habit, and dress. I do not criticize this, I only observe.

Travel throughout France and you will find that ethnic costumes
(*costumes nationaux*) are in the process disappearing, as are curious
legends, primitive songs, and the diverse types of provincial
architecture. The situation is more or less the same for patois: one must
go out onto the heaths of Brittany, the granite of the Morvan, or into the
moors of Gascony in order to find the customs of our ancestors or to
collect the "picturesque" expressions spurned by the French language.
Forty years ago, the shepherds of Bresse and the winegrowers of the
Côte-d'Or spoke in patois; within forty years, the young will have to
struggle to understand it. (1891:vi)

While in these passages both authors seem to appeal to history, the sense of their appeal

is quite different from that of the previous generation. Clément-Janin and Bigarne did not

seek to preserve folk knowledge because it might provide access to a shared French past

lying somewhere in the Middle Ages or even further back. Rather, these authors sought to

preserve their "grandmothers' stories" precisely because these tales captured a local

diversity that still existed but was, they judged, rapidly disappearing. Given the direction

that contemporary environmental anthropology and ecology have taken — recognizing

the importance of socio-cultural memory and diversity, together with local (or

"traditional") ecological knowledge and practice, to the maintenance of sustainable

and/or resilient socioecological systems (see, for example, Cocks 2006; Crumley 2000;

Gunn 1994; Inglis 1993) — these late-19th century folklorists seem strangely prescient.

Narrating the Landscape

I do not mention ecology at this juncture as a mere aside. Indeed, it is important to recognize that landscapes and the human actions appropriate to them are deeply embedded threads that run throughout much of the folklore collected during the above-referenced waves. On one hand, an important literary genre that I have not yet mentioned, the almanac, also developed over the course of this period. Throughout their evolution, French almanacs increasingly came to include both folklore and landscape-based knowledge. On the other hand, much of the material collected by the early folklorists tells us about the landscape, even the most fantastical of fairy tales and folk myths.

As suggested by the 1,000-page catalog of early *almanachs* compiled by the 19th century writer John Grand-Carteret (1896), the history of the French almanac is a subject that merits its own dissertation. Grand-Carteret demonstrates that in discussing the history of the almanac, we cannot simply think of serials of the modern *Farmer's Almanac* variety, intended to guide people in understanding the phases of the moon and the seasons of the year. Rather, French almanacs have historically included various kinds of single-edition and serial folios and books, covering a range of topics and intended for ever-broader distribution, often on the backs (or in the mule-packs) of wandering *colporteurs* (i.e., peddlers). The earliest French almanacs, which date to the turn of the 17th century, were largely concerned with astrology and prediction, though they quickly became entangled with the politics of the French Court[5]. Yet even as early as 1600 (or 1602), the Parisian editor Nicholas Bonfons published *Le Grand Calendrier et Compost des Bergers* (*The Shepherds' Big Calendar and Compilation*), supposedly written by "the Shepherd of the *Grande Montaigne* (Great Mountain)" (Grand-Carteret 1896:1). This compilation appears to have contained a great deal of reflection on good and evil, but also

more-practical information about anatomy, physiology, and medicines that a shepherd could use, presumably to treat herself and her flocks in the field. Among the *Calendrier*'s practical information, the Shepherd informed his readers of how they might avoid enchantments and sorcery, a concern that seems to have stayed with many rural French farmers well into the 20th century (see below).

Grand-Carteret's catalog demonstrates an expansion of the audience for almanacs by the mid-17th century. In his introduction, Grand-Carteret explains that this expansion can be attributed to a moment at which almanacs were "deemed appropriate for common people" (Grand-Carteret 1896:xxv). What started as a slow evolution away from a focus on the celestial began to take clearer shape as a genre equally concerned with the "here-and-now" (xxvi). This expansion of the almanac had additional consequences. One such consequence was the degree to which people in the provinces, and especially publishers, began to respond to the material printed in Paris. One can therefore trace a certain amount of political dialogue back and forth, beginning with the almanacs of the 17th century and reaching its full potential by the mid-18th century. Further, it seems likely that as colporteurs carried printed materials to the literate classes in the countryside, presumably not all of whom were of the nobility (cf., Sawyer 1990), local people picked up the commentaries and stories contained therein, adapted them, and began to circulate them among the unlettered. Thus one might imagine that the sayings and stories collected by later folklorists represents an admixture of stories and knowledge deeply rooted in local oral traditions with material gleaned from the almanacs published in Paris and elsewhere.

By the first half of the 18th century, French almanacs covered an astonishing range of topics: from astrology, to political debate and the state of the nation, popular theater,

Classical fables and new works of fiction, various kinds of song, and many others.

Grand-Carteret (1896:xxvi) lists 1750 as a watershed moment, at which point this

plurality of topics positively exploded and after which point there were clearly "royal"

almanacs, intended for all the people of France, and local almanacs. The almanac became

> A very particular type of literature that capture[d] the customs of the
> day; that shows to us a common people (*bas peuple*) who sang and
> danced, girls and boys who hustled and gyrated in the out of doors.
> (xxx)

Little by little, the customs and habits of the "*bas peuple*" of the countryside found their

ways back into the cities, as publishers incorporated them into their own alamancs. These

include the 1771 songbook, *Les Amours de Village, ou Le Devin Villageois* (*The Village

Darlings / Loves / Love Affairs, or The Village Soothsayer*), a satirical work attributed to

a certain Monsieur B***, "who lives in the forest and who says what he thinks" (Grand-

Carteret 1896:113); and *La Fête des Bonnes Gens, ou Les Moeurs Champêtres* (*The

Good People's Feast, or Country Customs*), a 1787 collection of folk songs and customs

republished after the Revolution in 1789 as *Almanach dédié aux Bons Citoyens* (*The

Good Citizens' Almanac*).

   To be certain, almanacs of the type that we generally expect — containing detailed

information about the land — also began to appear more frequently after 1750. Some of

these, like *La Calendrier des Jardiniers* (*The Garderners' Calendar*, 1750) and the

Almanach de Poche du Jardinier (*The Garderner's Pocket Almanac*, 1776), were

translations of earlier English editions (Grand-Carteret 1896). (The *Calendrier* was

written by a Fellow of the British Royal Society and professor of botany at Cambridge;

the *Almanach de Poche*, on the other hand, was written by a professional gardener in the

employ of the Bishop of Lincoln.) Gardening and the maintenance of orchards were

common subjects of these almanacs, and like the translations from English, they were written by both scholarly "experts" and common folk alike. At least one of the serial almanacs that began production in the mid-1700s, *Le Bon Jardinier* (*The Good Gardener*, first published in 1755), was still producing new issues in 1896 when Grand-Carteret produced his catalog (66).

Other common themes were agriculture more broadly, for example: the three-volume *Almanac d'Agriculture* (*The Almanac of Agriculture*, 1773 – 1775), and the *Almanach des Campagnes, ou l'Ami du Cultivateur* (*The Country Almanac, or The Cultivator's Friend*, 1794). Herding, subject of one of the first non-astrological almanacs, continued to be an important subject. Thus, for example, Grand-Carteret cataloged a number of volumes called the *Almanach du Berger* (*The Shepherd's Almanac*). One of these volumes, published in 1759, is actually a collection of rural songs and rounds (Grand-Carteret 1896:73); another, published in 1793, attempts to teach shepherds about astronomy while, at the same time, noting that stargazing is already a widespread phenomenon among the people of their profession (287). Among the remainder of the almanacs in Grand-Carteret's catalog are several others that present landscape knowledge. One such volume is the *Étrennes du Printems* (*The Gifts of Spring*), a 1782 herbal written by a physician in Nancy and intended "for the use of the poor and the country-folk" (179), especially by country herbalists and pharmacists. Such texts, complex hybrids of urban "scientific" knowledge with rural "folk" knowledge, became increasingly common throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. In the 21st century, gardeners' almanacs can still be found in prominent locations near the cash-registers of

lawn and garden centers in rural France. Clearly this genre, though much reduced in scope, continues to have a reading public.

In addition to the often "practical" landscape information contained in the almanacs, the folklore collected from the "common people," certainly by the turn of the 19th century, also included a great deal of landscape knowledge. Even many of the most "fantastical" tales provide glimpses of the rural landscape and indications of how to properly engage with it. It is here, as I discuss below, that Burgundy's Bronze and Iron Age tombs make appearances, turning up in place-name elements and in the background of stories populated by mythical beasts, faeries, and sorcerers.

That the landscape should feature so prominently in French folklore is not at all surprising. A strand of ethnographic reflection stretching back more than 40 years reveals the importance of storytelling to human dwelling with-in all kinds of landscape (see, for example, Basso 1996; Cruikshank 1981, 1990, 2005; Myers 1986; Nelson 1983; Ridington 1971, 1997; Ridington and Ridington 2006; Vitebsky 2005). It seems, therefore, that those of us who seek to understand dwelling and/or the landscape elements that result from (and shape) it would do well to pay attention to how people narrate their landscapes. This is a point of which archaeologists should take particular note (see, for example, Lane 2008; Murray 2006).

Tim Ingold is keenly interested in the role that storytelling plays in dwelling. He begins the essay "Culture, Nature, Environment" (Ingold 2000) with the following discussion of socio-ecological interactions:

> … I should like to begin with an observation drawn from my own field experience of mustering reindeer in Finnish Lapland. When pursuing reindeer, there often comes a critical point when a particular animal becomes immediately aware of your presence. It then does a strange

thing. Instead of running away it stands stock still, turns its head and stares you squarely in the face. Biologists have explained this behavior as an adaptation to predation by wolves. When the reindeer stops, the pursuing wolf stops too, both of them getting their breath back for the final, decisive phase of the episode when the deer turns to flight and the wolf rushes to overtake it. Since it is the deer that takes the initiative in breaking the stalemate, it has a slight head start, and indeed a healthy adult deer can outrun a wolf (Mech 1970:200-203). But the deer's tactic, that gives it such an advantage against wolves, renders it particularly vulnerable when encountering human hunters equipped with projectile weapons or even firearms. When the animal turns to face the hunter, it provides the latter with a perfect opportunity to take aim and shoot. For wolves, deer are easy to find, since they travel with the herd, but hard to kill; for humans, to the contrary, deer may be hard to find, but once you have established contact, they are rather easy to kill (Ingold 1980:53, 67).

Now the Cree people, native hunters of northeastern Canada, have a different explanation for why reindeer — or caribou as they are called in North America — are so easy to kill. They say that the animal offers itself up, quite intentionally and in a spirit of good-will or even love towards the hunter. The bodily substance of the caribou is not taken, it is *received*. And it is at the moment of encounter, when the animal stands its ground and looks the hunter in the eye, that the offering is made. As with many other hunting people around the world, the Cree draw a parallel between the pursuit of animals and the seduction of young women, and liken killing to sexual intercourse. In this light, killing appears not as a termination of life, but as an act that is critical to its regeneration. (Ingold 2000:14)

In this discussion, Ingold provides his reader with two very different explanations for the momentary pause of the reindeer/caribou during the course of its pursuit: the one told by biologists and the one told by Cree hunters. A fundamental point to understanding Ingold's "ecology of life" (building on Bateson 1973, 1980) is realizing that for Ingold, despite the different norms that may structure their production, both the biologists' account and that of his Cree interlocutors are landscape stories. So too, he tells us elsewhere, are the accounts written by archaeologists (Ingold 2000:189-190). As such,

these are all qualitatively similar narrative elements grounded in an overall "poetics of

dwelling" (Ingold 2000:26).

But how do such poetics work? Discussing his own work among northern hunter-

gatherer populations in reference to classic ethnographic accounts of the Australian

Pintupi (Myers 1986) and the Koyukon of Alaska (Nelson 1983), Ingold observes:

> Far from dressing up a plain reality with layers of metaphor, or
> representing it, map-like, in the imagination, song, stories and designs
> serve to conduct the attention of performers *into* the world, deeper and
> deeper, as one proceeds from outward appearances to an ever more
> intense poetic involvement. At its most intense, the boundaries between
> person and place, or between the self and the landscape, dissolve
> altogether. It is at this point that, as the people say, they become their
> ancestors, and discover the real meaning of things. (2000:56, emphasis
> in original)

The standard anthropological trope of separating the practical/technological environment

from the mytho-religious environment (or cosmology), Ingold tells us, is artificial and

fails to accurately capture understandings of the world shared by many hunting and

gathering groups.

> Only as represented in thought is the environment drawn into the
> human world of persons; thus the practical business of life is reduced to
> material interactions in an alien world of nature, in which humans
> figure as "mere organisms."
>
> Yet the people themselves insist that the real-world landscape in which
> they move about, set up camp and hunt and gather, is not alien at all but
> infused with human meaning — that this meaning has not been "pinned
> on" but is there to be "picked up" by those with eyes to see and ears to
> hear. They are, as their ethnographers have noted (with some surprise,
> else they would not have cared to remark on the fact), thoroughly "at
> home" in the world. (2000:57)

This sense of being "at home in the world" derives from an "attentive engagement" (57)

just as fundamental to a moment of storytelling as to a moment of hunting or collecting.

In formulating his poetics, Ingold draws on the work of Keith Basso who, for over

four decades, has studied the Western Apache of the American Southwest (see, for

example, Basso 1968, 1979, 1983, 1984, 1988, 1990, 1996). Basso brings together the

methods and results of a range of anthropological approaches, including folklore,

linguistic anthropology, ethnography, and cultural ecology. According to Ingold, Basso

seeks to describe "an ecology that is fully *cultural*," which is to say "one that [attends] as

much to the semiotic as to the material dimensions of people's relations with their

surroundings" (Ingold 2000:208, emphasis in original). For Basso, in order to understand

this kind of ecology, anthropologists must focus on "the layers of significance with which

humans blanket the environment" (1984:49). Although sympathetic to Basso's overall

intention, Ingold takes issue with his choice of metaphor:

> … the very idea that meaning *covers over* the world, layer upon layer,
> carries the implication that the way to uncover the most basic level of
> human beings' practical involvement with their environments is by
> stripping these layers away. In other words, such blanketing metaphors
> actually serve to create and perpetuate an intellectual space in which
> human ecology and human geography can flourish, untroubled by any
> concerns about what the world means to the people who live in it. We
> can surely learn from the Western Apache, who insist that the stories
> they tell, far from putting meanings upon the landscape, are intended to
> allow listeners to place themselves in *relation* to specific features of the
> landscape, in such a way that their meanings may be revealed or
> disclosed. Stories help to open up the world, not to cloak it. (Ingold
> 2000:208, emphasis in original)

In other words — and to rehabilitate Basso's prosaic metaphor — we should perhaps

view the stories that people tell as a kind of shuttle, carrying them back and forth through

the various features of the land to produce, over time, the tightly woven cultural

landscapes that we study. The stories themselves are not the blanket; rather, the blanket is

the complex pattern of intimate relationships among humans and non-humans that the stories assemble.

The fine points of this metaphor aside, Basso's work demonstrates that people's creation (or recognition) and maintenance of places in the landscape not only forges links between the land and its current inhabitants, but also connects those inhabitants with their ancestors in the past. In *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996), Basso demonstrates that in reflecting on the stories associated with particular places, the boundaries between the individual and the land begin to dissolve, as do frontiers between the past and the present. Deeply imbricated with meaning, the landscape shapes the way that people think and helps them to put their own lives into perspective.

> The people's sense of place, their sense of their tribal past, and their vibrant sense of themselves are inseparably intertwined. Their identity has persisted. Their ancestors saw to this, and in the country of the past, where the ancestors come alive in resonating place-worlds, they do still today. Their voices are strong and firm — and sometimes it is unclear who is quoting whom. (Basso 1996:35)

In order to understand how landscape stories accomplish so much, it is necessary to understand how the Western Apache name places and use place-names. Although the study of Native American place-names has a long history in American anthropology (see Basso 1996:43-44), it has generally fallen out of fashion. Revitalizing this field of study, however, Basso demonstrates that place-names are often handy references for the Western Apache, employing descriptive elements that allow a storyteller to evoke the setting of her tale, even for a listener who may not have visited the place before (e.g., "Water Flows Down On a Succession of Flat Rocks," "Line of White Rocks Extends Up and Out"). Reflecting upon the evocative precision of these descriptive place-names,

Basso's Apache interlocutors comment, "'That place looks just like its name,'" and "'That name makes me see that place like it really is'" (46).

But the significance of Western Apache place-names extends far beyond simple descriptive references and scene-setting. Basso's informants insist that he understand that each places name references a particular story or story cycle. While some of these stories are origin myths that might take hours to perform, many others are short stories that Basso terms "historical tales." These historical tales usually contain a moral or describe a social value, and the Apache call this kind of story an "arrow" (*'ágodzaahí*) for its quick and accurate "shooting" of social deviance (Basso 1996:50-51). "… *'Ágodzaahí* stories tell of persons who have acted unthinkingly and impulsively in open disregard for 'Apache custom' (*ndee bi 'at'ee'*) and who pay for their transgressions by being humiliated, ostracized, or killed" (51). Given their nature, the performance of *'ágodzaahí* stories delivers "metacommunicative messages" to listeners about right and wrong actions in the world (55). In the words of one of Basso's informants, "'They [the stories] go to work on your mind and make you think about your life'" (58).

'Ágodzaahí tales tend to be rather formulaic, generally beginning with "It happened at [*place-name*]." In this way, the place and the social value highlighted in the story become intimately entangled. Indeed, people who are either physically or emotionally separated from the landscape around Cibecue (the reserve upon which Basso focuses *Wisdom Sits in Places*) are thought to lose touch with morality — with "right living" (Basso 1996:38-39) — because of this separation. As one informant told Basso:

> Our children are losing the land. It doesn't go to work on them
> anymore. They don't know the stories about what happened at these
> places. That's why some get into trouble. (38)

For the Western Apache who grows up hearing these *'ágodzaahí* stories and visiting the sites they reference, the repetition of the full tale itself is eventually unnecessary. In fact, Basso records conversations in which the interlocutors communicate almost entirely with different "It happened at [*place-name*]" story introductions (see, for example, Basso 1996:79). To the uninitiated outsider who is unfamiliar with these place-names and historical tales, such conversations may be nearly unintelligible. But, Basso explains, for people familiar with these places and stories, such conversations are full of practical information. Place-names serve as more than physical descriptors of the places they reference: they act as semiotic "multitools." Without having to recite entire stories, communicating with place-names allows a speaker to describe politely (i.e., without making direct reference to the actions of a particular individual) a situation, transgression, or problem, as well as to outline possible solutions or ways to make restitution. The place-name, therefore, becomes a complex shorthand for stories that both *proscribe* and *prescribe* action.

I include this extended discussion of Basso's work here because it resonates with traditional understandings of the Burgundian landscape. As I discuss below, the rural French landscape is packed full of named places. In many cases, place-names simply describe a prominent physical feature of the location. In other cases, however, place-names reference far richer stories. These may vary from accounts of historical events to tales of fantastical / mythical creatures believed to have been active at the site. While rural Burgundians do not communicate with place-names in quite the same way as do the Western Apache, many of the stories referenced by place-names — like other landscape tales that may not have formal associations with particular places — nonetheless

proscribe and prescribe correct ways to think and, more important, to *act* with-in the landscape. It is important, therefore, that we view folk tales and legends as far more than simple narratives about how people may or may not have thought (or continue to think) about the landscape. Rather, we need to consider them with the same gravitas that we afford contemporary scientific accounts: as potential sources of "truth" that have guided (and may continue to guide) everyday practice with-in the landscapes that we study.

DESCRIPTIVE PLACE-NAMES

Naming Places

To be certain, the act of place-naming and the significance of landscape narration are not limited to the world's hunter-gatherers and smallholders. Toponymic / toponomic studies (i.e., studies of place-naming) have become crucial to considerations of past and present societies of various scales, as well as to the study of contemporary international relations, and have turned up in the work of historians, geographers, and political scientists from around the world (for a selection of studies in Eurasian toponymy, see Conedra, et al. 2007; Kadmon 2004; Light, et al. 2002; Mangalam 1986; Shahîd 2002). Yet for all its recognition and use in history and geography, toponymy is very rarely used by pre- and protohistoric archaeologists (though see Antoniewicz 1966). In a brief essay that shows a keen understanding of the importance of landscape reuse, Matthew Murray discusses this state of affairs:

> … This tendency to apply toponymy to specific historic contexts overlooks the important research potential of place-names to record the experience of the archaeological landscape by more recent populations who may memorialize in place-names important landscape characteristics that have since disappeared or have been permanently altered. These observations can be helpful in the identification of previously unknown cultural resources and in the understanding of the wider landscape context of known archaeological sites. (2006:157)

Drawing upon data from the "Indigenous Communities and the Formation of Rome's Danube Frontier in Southeastern Germany" project (a joint research project of the University of Mississippi and the University of Minnesota in the Laaber river valley), Murray goes on to demonstrate how certain place-name elements can help the archaeologist to identify sites occupied in the past. For example, focusing on the German

place-name element *–schanze* ("enclosure"), Murray shows how the careful study of maps successfully informed a landscape survey to find *Viereckschantzen* ("four-cornered enclosures"), a class of rectangular enclosures diagnostic of the La Tène Iron Age. This theme of using place-names to inform archaeological survey is one to which I will return briefly in Chapter 8.

 In rural France, as in rural Germany, the practice of assigning place-names continues to be important. Each settled place has a *lieu-dit* (literally, a "place say / told") that is formally recorded on maps of the region, including the IGN 1:25,000 series topographic sheets (see, for example, Figure 1.1). Unlike city dwellers who have mailing addresses composed of street names and house numbers, rural Burgundians are located simply by the name of the hamlet (*hameau*) in which they live; a fact that complicates everyday modern life, making mail-order and on-line shopping difficult and confounding non-local delivery personnel. While rural place-names in Burgundy may change from time to time — either intentionally or by errors of transcription — many *lieu-dits* seem to enjoy a remarkable continuity through time.

Burgundian place-names derive from a number of sources. As Basso (1996) learned among the Western Apache, many place-names describe prominent or noteworthy features in the landscape. Thus at *Les Pierres Blanches* ("the White Stones") in the *commune* of Issy-l'Évêque (71) one finds a number of large white boulders clustered on the ground surface. At *Noireterre* ("Black Earth/Ground"), in the same *commune*, an abundance of rich dark earth has presumably been brought to the location by regular flooding events, in part controlled by an earthen dam at the site. *Les Pierres Blanches* and *Noireterre* might be thought of, therefore, as descriptive place-names.

As shown in Table 4.2, nearly all of the sites listed in the SRA database for the

Arroux and Somme drainages are named for the *lieu-dit* at which they occur. Several

listings seem to suggest that particular descriptive place-names might signal the presence

of tumuli (or similar structures) at specific locations. In what follows, I examine these

apparent associations.

Tureau

Significant among these descriptive place-names is *tureau*. Linguist and place-name

expert Gérard Taverdet puts this name into context:

> **Turra* is a pre-Latin, possibly Gallic [i.e., Celtic], root that gives rise
> to a long list of microtoponyms, as it has remained in active use up to
> the present in the patois form *tureau*, "a high place". Among commune
> names, one might cite Thoires (21), Thorey-en-Plaine (21), Thorey-
> sous-Charny (21), Thorey-sur-Ouche (21), Thorey and Thorigny (89),
> Thurey (71), Thury (21, 89), Toury-Lurcy and Toury-sur-Jour (58),
> Tharot (89), and without a doubt Tharoiseau (89) which sits under a
> remarkable hill. This is also the probable root of Tart (the name of three
> villages in the Côte-d'Or that represent the same site), which may in
> turn suggests the more ancient **tarwo-*, "hill"? (1994:152-153)

As indicated by Taverdet, the word has a number of forms including also *theurot*,

toureau, and *thoreille*. Alfred Guillaume, in *L'Âme du Morvan* (1971) — much of which

is published in the patois of the lower (i.e., northern) Morvan — provides two additional

spellings of the word: *teurais* and *teûrais*. Many forms recall the modern French *tour*

("tower") and the patois *tartre* ("mound", see below), and likely have the same roots.

This place-name is quite common throughout the Arroux and Somme drainages (Figure

5.1 and Appendix A). In at least a few cases, these "high places" seem to correspond to

the locations of Bronze and/or Iron Age tumuli.
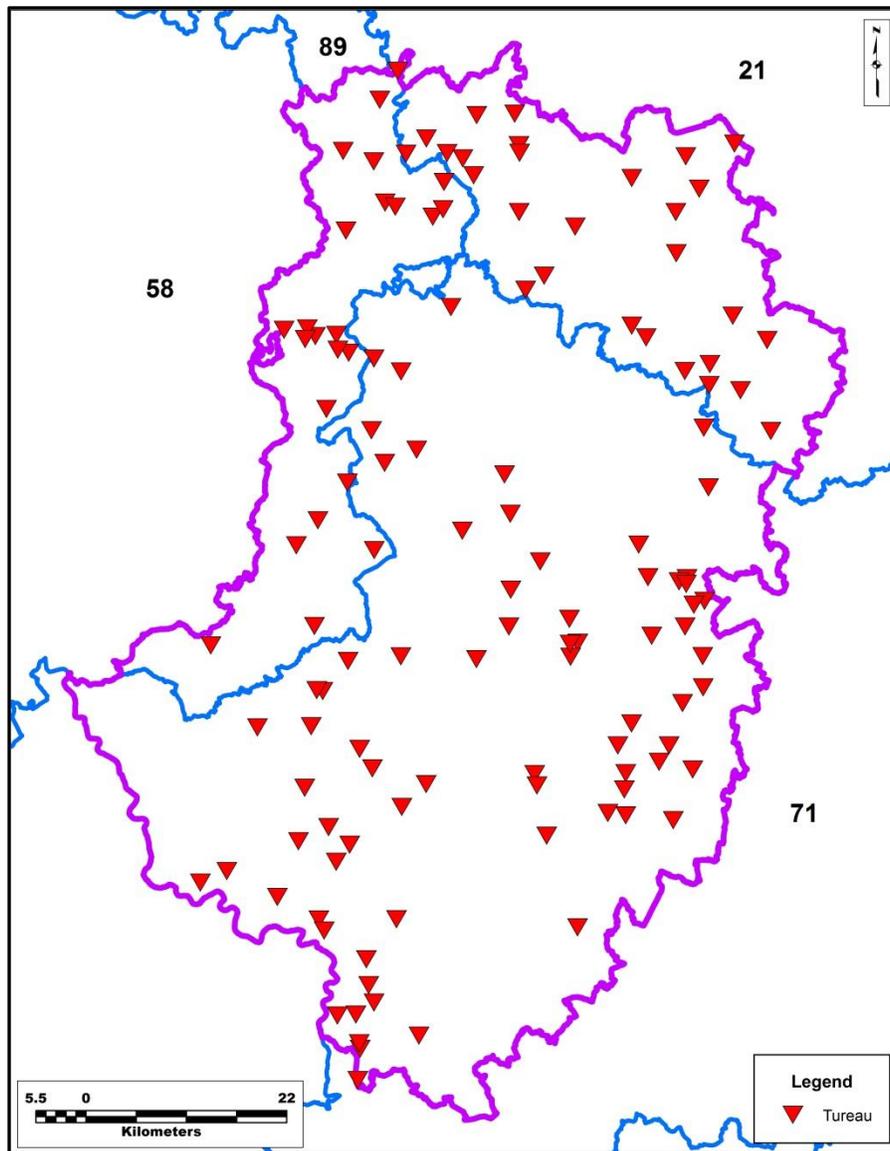
Figure 5.1. Distribution of the place-name element *tureau* in the Arroux-Somme project area.

Consider, for example, that Thury — the Arroux-valley *commune* in the southern Côte-d'Or mentioned in the last chapter — is one of the villages mentioned by Taverdet. Here, the place-name may not refer to one of the surrounding hills, but rather to elements of the necropolis excavated by Guillaumet and Maranski in the 1970s and 1980s. Five of the 79 registered tumulus sites in the Arroux-Somme study area, six of the 160 individual tumuli, occur in this one area[6].

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Other tumulus sites in the Arroux and Somme valleys have *tureau* associations. Just west of the town of Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray (71), a tumulus has been registered at a place called *Les Theurées*[7]. Given the proximity of this mound to another, close by at *La Roche au Loup* ("Wolf Rock" or "Wolf Outcrop"), it seems possible that a protohistoric necropolis might have existed here as well, tucked up against the foot of Mont Beuvray.

By now the reader knows that Uxeau (71) *commune* hosts yet another tumulus with *tureau* associations. In the SRA database, one site is registered as the tumulus of the *Bois* ("Forest") *de la Guette* or *Bois de la Vella*. But on the IGN 1:25,000 topographic quadrangle for the area, the location of this mound falls directly atop the *Tureau de l'Abime*. For Js.D. — who, like his older cousin Lucien, grew up at the farm of *La Guette* — the *Tureau de l'Abime* has always been the hill under the tumulus and the forest that surrounds it. The mound itself, however, he calls by the name his grandmother taught him: the tumulus of *La Revive*.

The apparent association of tumuli with places whose names are some variant of the word *tureau* also holds in nearby areas outside the Arroux and Somme drainages. Consider, for example, that elsewhere in Saône-et-Loire one finds at least one tumulus at *Le Teurrot* in the commune of Nanton. Several others have been registered at *Les Monts Theurot* in Virey-le-Grand. This pattern, coupled with the number of such place-names within the Arroux-Somme project area, would seem to suggest the presence of substantially more tumuli than have been previously identified here. But we must be cautious in this assumption. Given that *tureau* means simply "a high place," this *lieu-dit* might signal the location of a tumulus or tumuli, but it might just as often indicate the presence of a hill or bluff (of which these valleys have no small number). Thus, as with

the bulk of the descriptive place-names that I consider below, the many forms of *tureau* are ambiguous place-names that may or may not relate to the presence of protohistoric funerary architecture. Only systematic, on-the-ground survey might resolve this ambiguity.

Butte

As in English, a *butte* is a low rise, often with a flattened top. Like a *tureau*, a butte might be a relatively small mound or it might be a larger hill. Though far less often than *tureau* and its forms, *butte* appears among the place-names of the Arroux-Somme project area (Figure 5.2 and Appendix A). In at least one of these places, the features in question have been identified as tumuli. These are a pair of mounds registered at *Les Buttes*, just south of Bourbon-Lancy (71). Though it seems that these mounds may have been removed (either by earlier archaeological excavations or to make way for development), their memory still remains in the name of the road that passes through this *lieu-dit*: the *Rue des Buttes* ("Street of the Buttes").

Tertre / Tartre

Somewhat less ambiguous in terms of the form being discussed is the place-name *tertre* and its related (perhaps older) form, *tartre*. These words simply translate to "mound." Like *tureau* and *butte*, these two forms occur in the names of several places throughout the Arroux and Somme valleys (Figure 5.3 and Appendix A). Among these places is the *Champ du Tertre* (the "Field of the Mound") in the commune of Laizy (71), where the *tertre* has been registered as a possible tumulus.
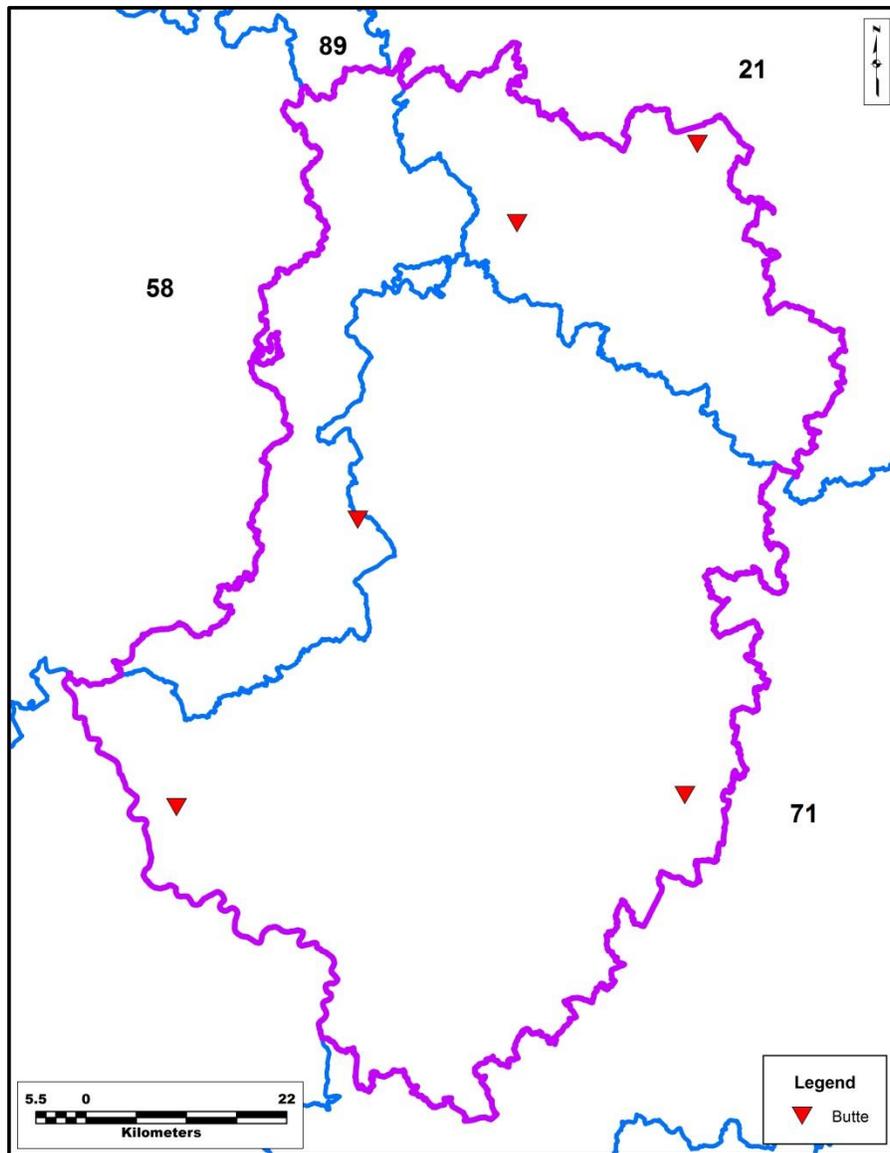
Figure 5.2. Distribution of the place-name element *butte* in the Arroux-Somme project area.

Murger and Murée

In her treatment of the tumuli of the Côte-d'Or, Françoise Henry (1933b:12) mentions the importance of the Burgundian term *murger* (also spelled *meurger* and *murgey*), used to describe a round pile of rocks, generally a tumulus. In *La Savoie,* folklorist Arnold van Gennep (1991) discusses the relationship of *murgers* to a set of legends and practices found throughout Savoie, the Dauphiné, and Franche-Comté (i.e.,
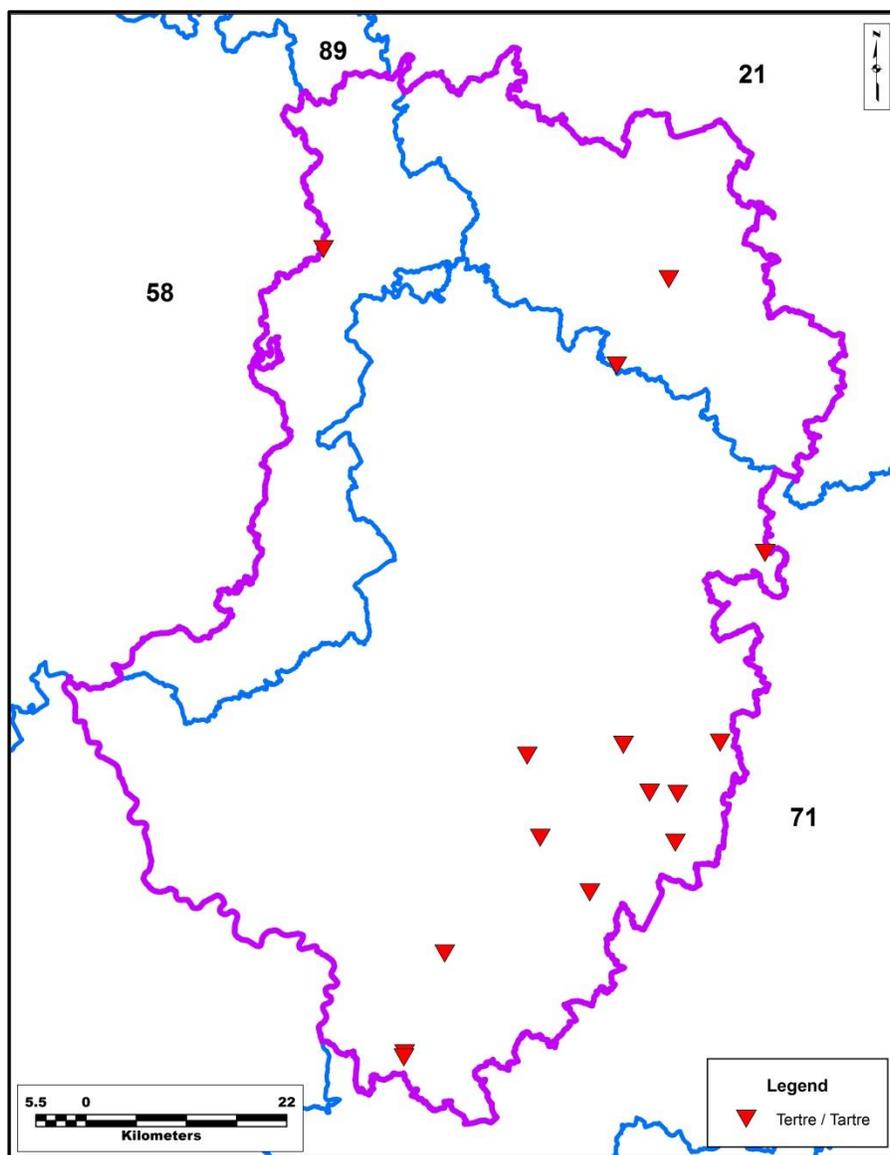
Figure 5.3. Distribution of the place-name element *tertre / tartre* in the Arroux-Somme project area.

easternmost France) (514-517). Similarly, Charles Beauquier mentions *murgers* in

association with mythical creatures in his *Faune et Flore Populaires de la Franche-*

Comté (1910:25). I will discuss these myths and legends further below. At this point,

however, it is appropriate to point out that van Gennep, with an open skepticism that

distinguishes this posthumously published work from his earlier material, insists that

most *murgers* result from the clearance of agricultural fields (1991:514) (see Chapter 7).

Van Gennep's skepticism is shared by many contemporary archaeologists who recognize

that *murgers* are often only "clearance cairns" (Duval, personal communication 2010).

Though not discussed by Henry, it seems that this recognition was already common when

she wrote her dissertation. For example, in describing the legends and history of the

Mâconnais (in the southeastern corner of Burgundy), Gabriel Jeanton observes that in

elevated areas away from the Saône — especially in the mountains or on the calcarious

plateau of the Côte-d'Or — piles of rock are often called *murgers*, but that

> . . . the *murger* is not always a funerary mound, though it often can be.
> At other times it is an ancient structure that has fallen apart — which
> archaeologists can easily recognize. Or it might simply be a pile of
> rocks placed among the rows of vines by growers eager to purge their
> vineyards of the stones that inhibit their work. (1929:31)

Whether or not this identification is correct, the Arroux-Somme sample contains

more than one example of *murgers* that have been identified as burial mounds. At *Les*

Murgers, in the commune of Ciry-le-Noble (71), a single mound has been registered as a

tumulus. *Le Murger de la Raie* ("The Mound of the Line") in Martigny-le-Comte (71)

has been registered as a tumulus, as well. These are only two of the many places in the

Arroux and Somme drainages that incorporate some form of the word *murger* into their

names (Figure 5.4 and Appendix A).

Related to the word *murger* is the word *murée*. Henry notes the common association

of these long, dry stone walls with the presence of *murgers* (1933b:12). Similarly,

discussing what he calls *murets* (the standard French form), *murots* (the Burgundian form

that he seems to prefer), or *meurats* (the "meridional" or southern French form), Jeanton

suggests that in the Mâconnais a *murée* might not only be a low earthen wall surrounding

a tumulus[8], it might also be the tumulus itself. The term *murée* is most appropriate to
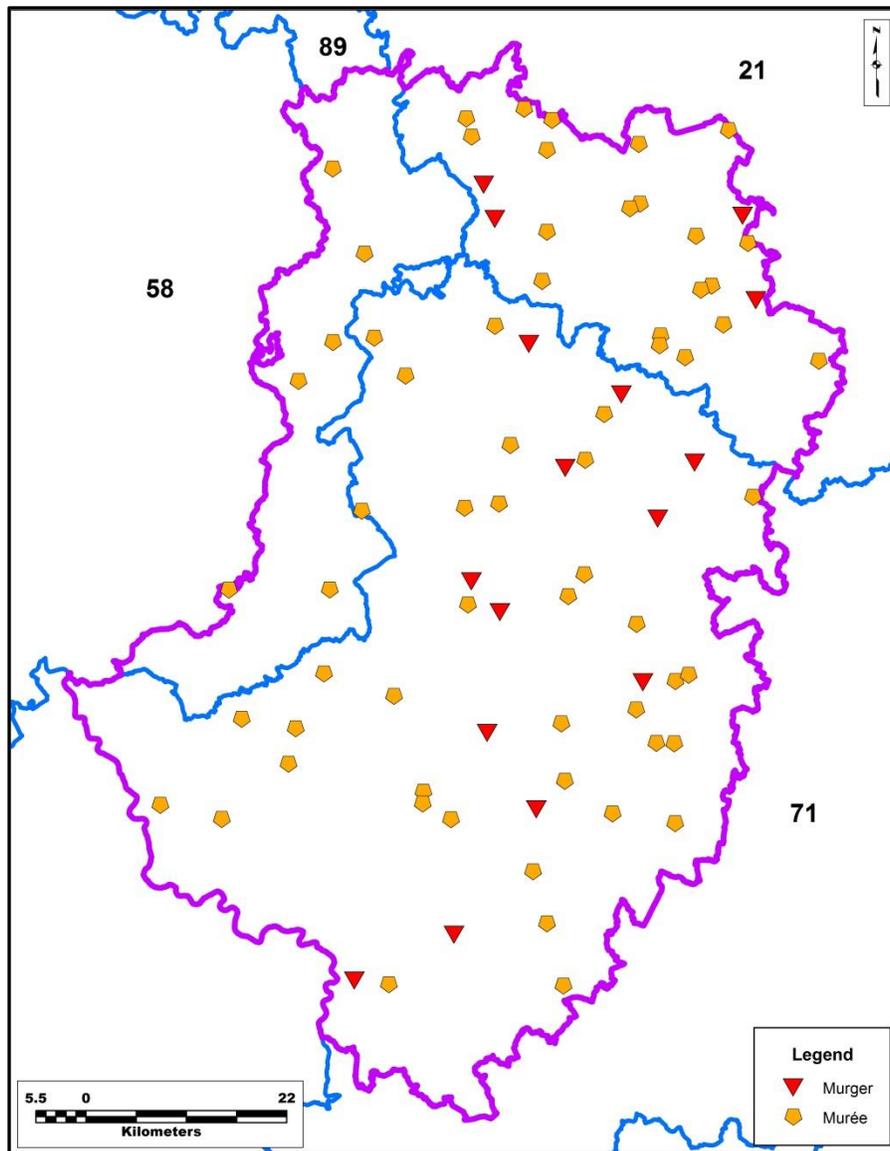
Figure 5.4. Distribution of the place-name elements *murger* and *murée* in the Arroux-Somme project area.

describe the earthen tumuli found in the fields and forests close to the Saône, rather than the stone piles of the uplands that he refers to as *murgers* (Jeanton 1929:30-31).

Like *murger* and the other descriptive place-names that I have discussed up to this point, *murée* and its related forms are common throughout the Arroux and Somme valleys (see Figure 5.4 and Appendix A). In the commune of Brion (71), the *Pâture des Meurots* ("Pasture of the Low Walls") contains a registered tumulus.

Motte

As I have already mentioned, and as illustrated by the questions surrounding the importance of *murgers* and *murées* to contemporary archaeologists, descriptive place-names are far from unambiguous. This ambiguity underscores an important fact about the tumuli of the Bronze and Iron Ages: that in their form they can resemble a number of other features. The features that a tumulus might resemble derive from both "natural" (i.e., geological) processes and from human construction (see Chapter 7), making it nearly impossible to verify their origins without excavation. In the absence of excavation, all *murgers* are effectively *both* tumuli and clearance cairns. This kind of confusing "dual existence" vexes any archaeologist who seeks a clean, simple narrative of how a particular *murger* came into being.

Nowhere is the confusion more evident than in the discussion of *mottes*. Strictly speaking, a *motte* is a low, broad hill constructed (or co-opted) for the emplacement of a wooden or stone defensive structure (Erlande-Brandenburg 2001). The *motte* and tower (or "bailey") formed a quintessential architectural dyad from the early Medieval period onward. Several examples of *motte*-and-bailey architecture are still extant in the Arroux and Somme drainages, either as functional buildings or as ruins (Figure 5.5), and historic records indicate the presence of many others in earlier periods. Unfortunately for the archaeologist interested in protohistoric funerary architecture, a *motte* without a tower looks remarkably like a large tumulus.

I was first alerted to this similarity in the winter of 2007. Near the end of a cold day filled with personal and site visits, Lucien D. took me to the house of an elderly couple in a *commune* adjacent to my own. These people are active members of *Les Amis du Dardon*. I had already heard stories about Monsieur and Madame C. from other French

Figure 5.5. The ruined tower of *Faulin* (Grury [71]), viewed here from the south, sits atop a *motte*, built at the summit of a natural rise.

Project members and from neighbors. They are famously good amateur historians. They are even better known for having filled their immense town house with two classes of material culture: antique armoires and books. The library of Monsieur and Madame C. numbers in the thousands of volumes. Nearly every room (and most hallways) on two floors are filled from floor to ceiling with books. So, too, is an attic and even a few outbuildings. While Monsieur and Madame C.'s library covers a number of topics, it is like the Promised Land for anyone interested in local history.

As I sat down, Monsieur C. place a book from their collection into my hands. The volume in question was a local publication that discussed the locations, history, and archaeology of a number of early medieval sites, including several *mottes*. Monsieur C. asked me about my interest in archaeology, and specifically about my interest in this kind

of site. I was obliged to confess that the structures in the book were a bit late for my current professional interests. My confession set off a round of goodhearted laughter and I was treated to some gentle teasing by Monsieur C. and Lucien. I was rescued by Madame C., who raised a calm hand and instructed the older men to quiet down because she wanted to ask a question: "How does one distinguish an Iron Age tumulus from a feudal *motte*?"

It was an apparently simple question, but one that left me immediately scrambling for an answer. My initial response was that one might use the size of the mound to determine its historic origin and/or function. But then I remembered the size of some Hallstatt mounds. For example, the *Hohmichele*, in Baden-Württemberg (southwestern Germany), has a diameter of 85 m and a preserved height of 13.5 m, making it one of the largest burial monuments in Europe. While the *Hohmichele* might be considered idiosyncratic or exceptional, my friend Ian Ralston has reported similarly large tumuli in Bourges (central France), tumuli so large, in fact, that modern houses have been constructed on top of them (Ralston, personal communication 2004). Clearly the criterion of size was not sufficient to answer Madame C.'s question. I was forced to revise my answer. "Without excavating," I said, "one cannot tell the difference between an Iron Age tumulus and a feudal *motte*." Then, as if this was all some kind of carefully scripted theater, Monsieur C. and Lucien took me to a place just down the road. There, in the early winter twilight, they showed me a striking example of one of these tumuli-and/or-*mottes*.

I have thought a lot about Madame C.'s question in the years since our conversation. On a number of occasions, I have broached the subject with other archaeologists. The

most common answer that I receive is that in order to consider something a *motte*, it is ideal to have an historical record of a site's use as such. While I agree that the presence of corroborating historical evidence would be ideal, this does not seem a realistic expectation for much of the Medieval period. The lack of documents describing life in this part of southern Burgundy prior to 1500 has bedeviled French Project historians for quite some time (McDaniel, personal communication 2009). The materials required for the kind of verification of a mound's use may have existed in the past, but five centuries of fire, flood, and forgetfulness have seriously reduced the likelihood of their preservation.

Further, even where such evidence still exists, it does not preclude the possibility that protohistoric tumuli of a certain size might have been used opportunistically as building sites for towers/baileys. The longer I work in the Arroux and Somme valleys, and the more I consider syncretic uses of the landscape, the more this possibility nags at my thoughts. So far, very few of the professional archaeologists with whom I have discussed this ambiguity have been convinced by the latter possibility. No feudal *motte* has been specifically shown to have been built from a tumulus. I concede this point, but it is difficult not to keep returning back to those Bourges tumuli with modern houses perched on top. Surely the lack of a precedent does not preclude the possibility.

Nor does the common observation that the plain — where we generally assume tumuli to have been built — is not necessarily where one would want to mount a defensive structure like a *motte*-and-bailey. As I note in Chapter 4, we do not have reliable enough landscape data to determine if the siting of tumuli in other parts of the West Hallstatt zone (as suggested by Triboulot 2002, for example) is the same as that for

the Arroux and Somme drainages. Leaving this aside for a moment, there is the fact that *motte*-and-bailey structures might also occur in lowland areas. One of the *mottes* that Lucien has shown me, for example, exists in a place just 3.5 km north of Toulon-sur-Arroux (71). It is tucked inside a meander loop of the Arroux and likely had a moat regularly flushed by river water. The allure of this site is easily understood, as a military installation along the banks of the river must have been at least as desirable as one in the uplands.

One way to test my hypothesis that the locations of some *mottes* might reveal tumuli would be to use *motte* location data recorded in the SRA databases for the Arroux and Somme valleys (in the same way that I use tumulus location data elsewhere). I do not have access to these data at present. The real question to explore once in possession of these data, however, would be the amount of "overlap" between and/or the relative proximity of recorded tumulus sites to recorded *motte* sites. But even a high incidence of overlap and a close proximity should not be taken to indicate that my theory of site reuse is necessarily correct. Rather, it illustrates that I am not the only archaeologist — amateur, avocational, or professional — to be confused by the similarity of these two landscape features. Indeed, it is quite common to find a mound site listed as both "tum?" (i.e., possible *tumulus*) and "motte?" (i.e., possible *motte*) in the SRA database. This suggests that visual inspection alone was not enough to allow the person who registered the site to distinguish between the two possibilities.

Given this confusion, it is almost impossible to assign definite temporal components to these landscape features and, thus, our understandings of landscape function(s) and change through time are seriously impeded. As I observe in Chapter 4, this is particularly
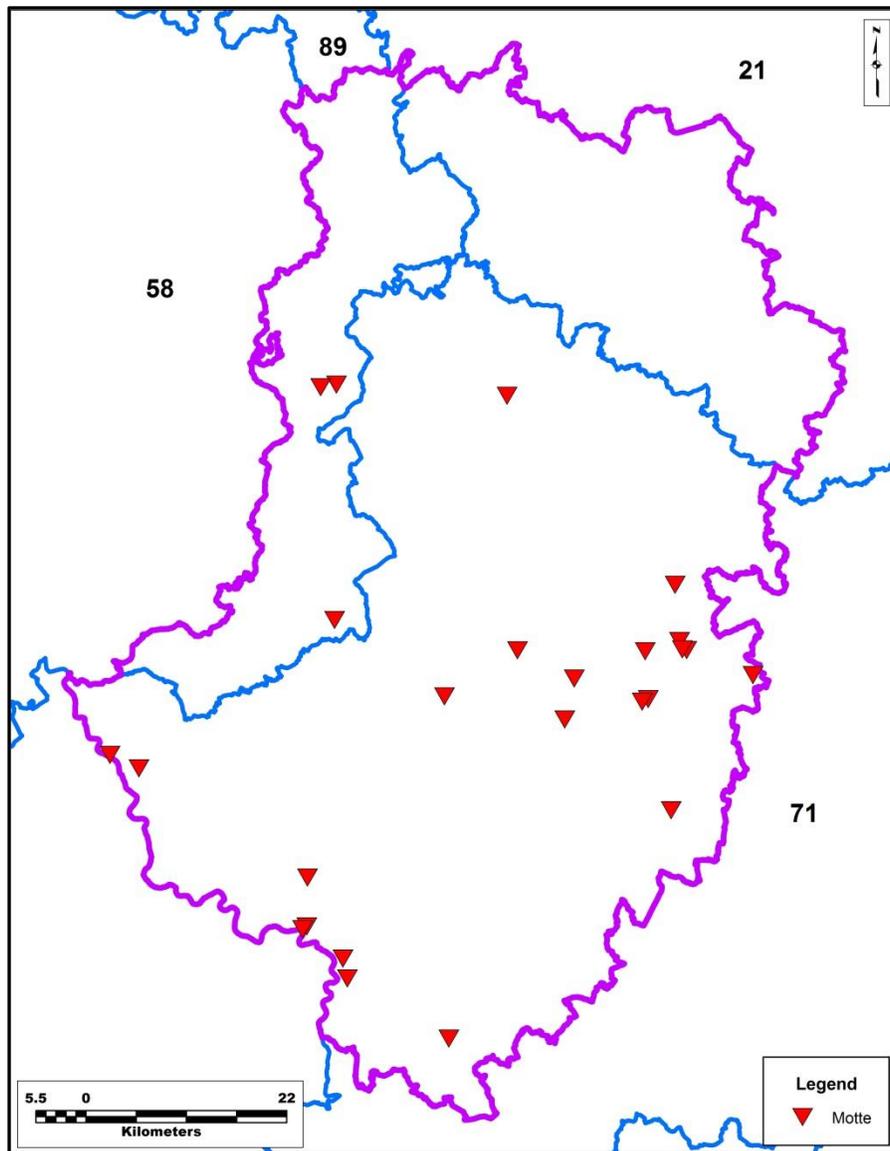
Figure 5.6. Distribution of the place-name element *motte* and IGN 1:25,000 map indications of *motte* locations in the Arroux-Somme project area.

true in the more-southerly parts of the Arroux valley and throughout the Somme drainage

(i.e., in Saône-et-Loire and in the Nièvre), where much less professional attention has

focused on the Bronze and early Iron Age landscape. The previously mentioned site of

Les Thurées (Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray, Saône-et-Loire), for example, is listed as both a

possible tumulus and possible *motte*. So, too, are some mound sites at places with *motte*

in their place-names, like *La Motte des Vaux* (the "Motte of the Valleys", Lesmes [71])

and *La Grande Motte* (the "Big/Tall Motte", Torcy [71]). Ironically, at other mound sites

with *motte*-related place-names, the registration of tumuli is unequivocal. This is the case,

for example, at *La Motte*, in the commune of La Boulaye (71). This suggests that Bronze

and Iron Age tumuli might exist at any of the *motte* locations peppered throughout the

Arroux and Somme drainages, as evidenced by place-names and map indications (Figure

5.6 and Appendix A).

Tombe, Tombeau, Tumulus

The words *tombe*, *tombeau* ("tomb"), and even *tumulus* do occasionally occur

among the place-names and map indications in the Arroux-Somme study area (Figure 5.7

and Appendix A). Unfortunately, the occurrence of these words is infrequent, at best.

Unlike other words that suggest a cemetery or mausoleum, however, these words seem

most likely to suggest a barrow.
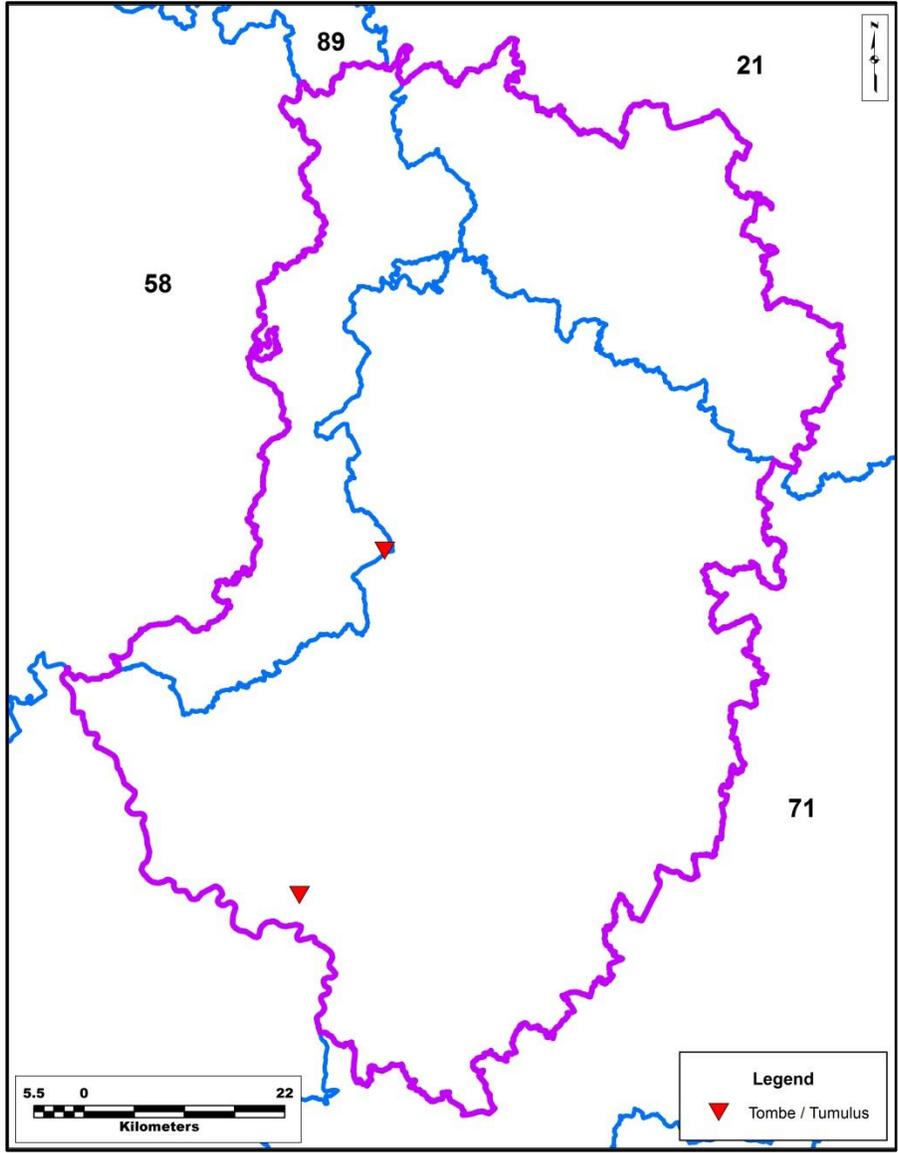
Figure 5.7. Distribution of the place-name elements *tombe* and *tumulus* and IGN 1:25,000 map indications of *tombe* and *tumulus* locations in the Arroux-Somme project area.

THE LANDSCAPE OF LEGEND

> "Then I need say no more," said Celeborn. "But do not despise the lore
> that has come down from distant years; for oft it may chance that old
> wives keep in memory word of things that once were needful for the
> wise to know." (Tolkien 1965:390)

"The Lore That Has Come Down from Distant Years"

With certain limitations, and despite considerable ambiguity, it does seem that some descriptive place-names indicate the locations of tumuli in the landscape of the Arroux and Somme valleys. But, as Basso's work reveals, descriptive place-naming is only one way in which people narrate the landscapes with-in which they live. As I suggest above, place-names are also selected and assigned based on the history — "real" and/or "imagined" — of a location. This sort of place-name serves a memorial function for the inhabitants of an area, reminding them of some important event from the past. Just as frequently, place-names are much less historical than they are legendary, relating to the presence of fantastical beasts or supernatural beings. In this way, many place-names signal the presence of a rich mythological tradition that incorporates the fluid, trans-temporal practice of storytelling with the material "reality" of the landscape.

For rural Burgundians, the monuments left behind by the pre- and proto-historic inhabitants of this landscape are directly implicated in this kind of storytelling. This is a fact that has not escaped archaeologists, especially the early practitioners of the discipline. Thus, for example, in an 1827 discussion of the tumulus of Cérilly (Côte-d'Or), antiquarian Dr. Bourrée — founder of the *Musée du Pays Châtillonais*, current home of the famous "Lady of Vix" and her burial collection — "could find nothing else to write about" aside from the legends associated with the site (Henry 1933b:12). Similarly, one of the first chapters in archaeologist Gabriel Jeanton's *Le Légende et*

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l'Histoire au Pays Mâconnais (1929) is a treatment of the complex relationships that exist between the earliest archaeological sites of the Mâconnais (on the southeastern corner of Burgundy) and local folk mythology. Jeanton dedicates several pages of this chapter to discussing the folklore associated with tumuli, much of which is shared with the burial mounds of the Arroux and Somme valleys, to the west.

Before discussing the specific stories and themes that enroll the Bronze and Iron Age sites of my study area, I think it necessary to address the category of "tumulus" as it exists and has existed for the non-archaeologist residents of the area. Historically, most of the inhabitants of this landscape have not recognized these mounds as a distinct class of landscape feature and, as I detail in Chapter 7, they certainly do not do so today. Further, when such features have been recognized as somehow related to the treatment of the dead, they have often been thought to be the resting places of near-fictive others dating to some abstract past (see below). That tumuli might be a distinct, coherent class of landscape feature containing actual human remains from a determinate past is an archaeo-historic understanding that has developed relatively recently, through a specific kind of engagement with the landscape. In Chapter 6, I discuss how archaeologists came to "dwell" in this way with the tumuli of the Arroux and Somme valleys (following Ingold 2000:189-190).

If local people have not always recognized tumuli as a distinct class of feature linked to a specific past, how have such sites been perceived? The answer is that, at least traditionally, the burial mounds of the Bronze and Iron Ages have been part of a group of features marked by a certain kind of visibility. One is tempted to describe most of these features as monumental, but this is not entirely appropriate as it is not always certain that

they were built to serve memorial functions and many were not actually "built" at all. This class of visible features includes not only earthen and stone mounds (of all the varieties discussed above), but also boulder piles, so-called "standing stones" (which I discuss further in Chapter 8), and single idiosyncratic (or erratic) boulders. The category might additionally include a few kinds of spatially "negative" feature, like caves and grottoes. Aside from visibility, what these features have in common is the kind of ambiguity that I have touched upon elsewhere: their unclear origins make them difficult to categorize and explain — are they natural or human-made? Given that many of these structures are quite large or incorporate large elements (e.g., boulders), it would seem that they could only have been built by large hands and/or supernatural forces. In the Burgundian folk imagination, therefore, such sites have come to be occupied by fantastic beasts; hybrid creatures; faeries, elves, and goblins; shapeshifters; devils; and sorcerers and witches; among others.

The association of mound sites and similar large landscape features is not isolated to Burgundy. Such features have attracted considerable folk attention throughout time and across Europe (see Gazin-Schwartz and Holtorf 1999). For example, throughout Europe there are folktales of local deities and/or faeries who live under hollow mounds or hills[9]. It is often possible to link such stories directly to particular places on the landscape and in many cases these loci are archaeological sites.

Perhaps the most celebrated example of this overlap between folk myth and archaeology is the site of Newgrange (County Meath, Ireland). Newgrange is a group of Neolithic burial mounds built on the edge of the River Boyne. The crown jewel of Newgrange is a massive "passage tomb" — a large, essentially hollow mound of stone

and turf with a corbelled ceiling vault — dating to approximately 3200 BCE. On the outside, this mound measures some 80 m wide by 13.5 m tall; inside, the central passage runs for nearly 19 m and the corbelled ceiling soars 6 m above the floor (Haughton 2008; Stout 2002). Later residents of this landscape — called the *Brú(gh) na Bóinne* (the "Palace on the Boyne") or, less poetically, the Bend of the Boyne — were most likely drawn by the sheer size of this mound and the intricate decoration of the stones that surround it. By far the most striking feature of this tomb, however, is the effect of its "roof box," a stone construction above the door that directs the early morning light of the Winter Solstice down the central passage. Together with its carefully executed decoration, the mound's precise construction, its celestial alignment, and the presence of human and animal remains in its interior chambers must have had an impact on the minds of later visitors to Newgrange. Thus from the Medieval period onward Newgrange has been celebrated as the dwelling and/or resting place of the Celtic hero-god Oengus: a god of love, light, youth, resurrection, and poetic inspiration, and the son of Boann, goddess of the River Boyne (MacCulloch 1918; Markale 2000:46-49). Similar stories exist for sites throughout the *Brú na Bóinne*, including the mounds (or mound complexes) at Knowth and Dowth (see Eogan 1986).

The entire landscape of the *Brú* is said to be the eternal dwelling place not only of Oengus, but also of the other *Tuatha dé Danann* ("People of the Goddess Danu"), a race of legendary heroes descended from the earth goddess Danu (or Dana). The *Tuatha* appear in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* ("The Book of the Taking or Ireland" or "The Book of Invasions / Conquests"), an 11th-century collection of stories detailing waves of emigration to and/or invasions of Ireland (MacAlister 1941). As the members of the fifth

wave of settlement, the *Tuatha* may represent the first Celtic tribes to migrate into
Ireland, perhaps explaining their association in the literature with the mastery of druidic
knowledge[10]. From an archaeologist's point of view, however, this identification is ironic
in that it forces us to recognize that the mounds of Newgrange, Knowth, and Dowth were
probably quite old already by the time that the heroes of the *Tuatha* arrived. In other
literature the *Tuatha* are cast as the ancestors of the faeries (see, for example, Bronser
1926; Nutt 1897), a claim of descent that is less easy to trace archaeologically. Whatever
the "truth" of their origin and occupation, the association of burial mounds — whether
from the Neolithic or from later periods — with both ancestors and faeries is widespread
throughout the westernmost "Celtic" lands (i.e., Ireland, Scotland, England, Wales, and
Brittany) (LaViolette and McIntosh 1997).

Mounds figure prominently in Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon folklore as well, often
offering the promise of buried treasure (Lindow 1982). In these stories, the would-be
treasure hunter may be forced to fight a variety of creatures — including ghosts (the
models for Tolkien's malicious "Barrow-Wights") and dragons — in order to obtain
her/his goal. Indeed, as Sarah Semple (1998) reminds us in the introduction of her article
the role of the burial mound in Anglo-Saxon society, the final verses of the 8th-century
epic *Beowulf* describe a fight between the hero and a dragon who keeps a mound-hoard.

> The strong champion stood up beside his shield,
> brave beneath helmet, he bore his mail-shirt
> to the rocky cliff's foot, confident in his strength,
> a single man; such is not the coward's way!
> Then did the survivor of a score of conflicts,
> the battle-clashes of encountering armies,
> excelling in manhood, see in the wall
> a stone archway, and out of the barrow broke
> a stream surging through it, a stream of fire
> with waves of deadly flame; the dragon's breath

meant he could not venture into the vault near the hoard
for any time at all without being burnt. (Alexander 2003:92)

After a long struggle, the dragon lays dead but Beowulf is mortally wounded. Once he

succumbs to his injury, the Geats return to the scene of the battle and cremate his

remains. At the close of the story, they erect a new tumulus over the ashes of their fallen

leader:

Then the Storm-Geat nation constructed for him
a stronghold on the headland, so high and broad
that seafarers might see it from afar.
The beacon to that battle-reckless man
they made in ten days. What remained from the fire
they cast a wall around, of workmanship
as fine as their wisest men could frame for it.
They placed in the tomb both the torques and the jewels,
all the magnificence that the men had earlier
taken from the hoard in hostile mood.
They left the earls' wealth in the earth's keeping,
the gold in the dirt. It dwells there yet,
of no more use to men than in ages before.

Then the warriors rode around the barrow,
twelve of them in all, athelings' sons.
They recited a dirge to declare their grief,
spoke of the man, mourned their king.
They praised his manhood and the prowess of his hands,
they raised his name; it is right a man
should be lavish in honouring his lord and friend,
should love him in his heart when the leading-forth
from the house of flesh befalls him at last.

This was the manner of the mourning of the men of the Geats,
sharers in the feast, at the fall of their lord:
they said that he was of all the world's kings
the gentlest of men, and the most gracious,
the kindest to his people, the keenest for fame. (Alexander 2003:113-
114)

The protohistoric tombs of southern Burgundy, like others of their kind — from the

Neolithic passage-tombs of Ireland to the Migration period barrows of Scandinavia, the

Low Countries, and Britain — appear from time to time in the folklore of the region. Often, legendary creatures and beings have become particularly associated with these burial mounds and other such features. In the sections that follow, I introduce a few of these mythical denizens, which include fantastical and magical entities: animals of unusual size or quality, hybrid creatures that blend human and animal traits, shapeshifters who are sometimes human and sometimes animal, beast-tamers who form coupled relationships with the dangerous animals of the forest (often to nefarious ends), ghosts, faeries, and other spirits. I hope to show that the belief in the existence of such creatures and their presence on or around tumuli has had a real-world (i.e., material) effect on people's interactions with these mounds.

Notes on the "Fantastical"

Up to this point, I have frequently used the terms "fantastical" and "mythical" to refer to creatures that we assume the average contemporary Westerner would consider "unreal." These include nearly all of the classes of extraordinary being that I suggest above, and I will continue to employ the words "fantastical" and "mythical" throughout this text for the sake of convenience. It is important, however, that the reader understand words like these — "fantastical," "mythical," "unreal," and even "legendary" — imply a certain relationships to "truth" that I do not intend here. Throughout the course of this work, and particularly in discussions of these early narratives, the reader would do well to maintain a skepticism about such words, which are unnecessarily *scientistic*[11]. The scientistic perspective, which relies heavily on empirical observation and is operationalized through the unconsidered use of such words, threatens to mask one important fact: a simple *belief* in the reality of extraordinary creatures and beings is likely

to alter people's perception of *and interactions with* the places these beings are thought to occupy. While the subjects of such beliefs may be fantastical and "unreal," the "real-world" material effects of the beliefs certainly are not. Thus the scientistic "truth" of the existence (or non-existence) of these beings is completely irrelevant.

Before moving on to discuss the myths and legends in which southern Burgundy's tumuli have become enmeshed, a further comment upon the divide between a strict reliance on science and most people's lived experience is appropriate. We 21st-century Westerners tend to assume that most European societies gave up their beliefs in extraordinary creatures and supernatural beings at a relatively early point, and that the kinds of magic and divination that contributed to the highest levels of European statecraft until the 15th century (see, for example, Veenstra 1998) were somehow stamped out during the Renaissance and subsequent Enlightenment. To this way of thinking, such beliefs and practices remained behind only as vague superstitions in the remotest areas and among the least-educated peasants. But a review of historical and ethnographic literature suggests that these assumptions are not entirely correct. Thus, for example, the witchcraft charge appears to have been reinvigorated in France and adjacent areas by the Reformation, and continued to be important throughout much of the 17th century (see, for example, Briggs 2007; Monter 1976). Further, while UNC history professor Jay Smith observes that "among the learned, belief in werewolves, or at least the open and official acceptance of their existence, had waned along with the incidence of witchcraft trials in the course of the seventeeth century" (2011:21), he also observes that in the French countryside this belief continued for much longer.

But if the "learned" were no longer convinced of the existence of werewolves,

neither were they above considerations of "monsters":

> Speculation about freakish or preposterous products of nature took place… not on the margins of scientific inquiry but at its very center. From the late seventeenth century through the 1730s, the French Academy of Sciences showed an almost obsessive interest in monsters, those creatures defined as "contrary to the order of nature." Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle was already complaining in 1712 about the "infinite" discussion devoted to the subject, but monsters' central place in the scientific discourse of the time is easy enough to understand…. Monsters … became entangled in one of the principal questions that underlay the various domains of Enlightenment thought. To what degree should the natural world be understood as operating autonomously from the mind and purposes of God? (Smith 2011:30-31)

Smith demonstrates this Enlightenment preoccupation with the nature of the "monstrous"

as he considers the curious 1760s case of the "beast of the Gévaudan" (see Appendix B).

While the belief in werewolves and other monsters may appear to have been in decline

(or transformation) among France's intellectual class by the dawn of the 18th century, it is

not at all surprising to find mention of the *loup-garou* (i.e., "the werewolf") in the 1765

travelogue of the English scholar Thomas Pennant (1948:39). Somewhat ironic, however,

is the fact that Pennant's discussion of the werewolf — who, following the political

tensions of his day, he describes as being "possessed by a Jesuit" (39) — comes almost as

a footnote to his long description of a stay at Montbard (Côte-d'Or) in the home of the

Comte de Buffon[12], the preeminent French natural scientist of his day.

Further, we should not assume that the majority of the French (or the European)

populace emerged from the Enlightenment as dyed-in-the-wool positivists and humanists.

Rather, especially in rural areas, old beliefs and practices continued well into the

Romantic period and beyond. It is perhaps for this reason that early folklorists were able

to amass such large collections of material. I would argue that beliefs in the "fantastical"

and practices undertaken with reference to such beliefs remained too common for far too

long to be dismissed as mere superstition and irrational survivals of pre-Enlightenment

worldviews. For instance, there is tantalizing evidence to suggest that a belief in

witchcraft continued well into the 20th century in many parts of Europe. This is no longer

the traditional terrain of the historian, but rather that of the ethnographer. Accordingly, a

number of contemporary ethnographers have brushed against this belief, confronting a

number of challenges in so doing:

> On one hand there is the problem of the attitude of the people
> themselves towards their own beliefs, and on the other there is the
> matter of their willingness to disclose their attitudes towards those
> beliefs to an [ethnographer]. (Mencej 2009:208)

Thus many students of the topic report seemingly contradictory statements from

informants in which a speaker will dismiss the notion of the witch as irrational and, at

almost the same time, affirm a belief in the existence of witches.

This is, for example, how a number of conversations unfolded for Jeanne Favret-

Saada during the course of her fieldwork in the Bocage region of western France,

undertaken during the late 1960s and 1970s (Favret-Saada 1977, 1980, 1989, 1990;

Favret-Saada and Contreras 1981). Alongside the continued fear of being bewitched, the

cognitive dissonance implicit in knowing that one should not believe in witches and

nonetheless doing so also accounts for the heavy silences that Favret-Saada initially

encountered on the subject of witchcraft (1990). The effects of such dissonance were not

limited to her rural French interlocutors, she also felt them herself (as a professional

ethnographer):

To return to my study on witchcraft in the Bocage: when I read the Anglo-Saxon literature to assist me in my fieldwork, I was struck by a curious obsession I noticed in all the introductions. The authors (and the great Evans-Pritchard was no exception) systematically denied the very existence of rural witchcraft in present day Europe. Yet not only was I up to my neck in witchcraft, but its existence was widely testified to in several other regions, at least by European folklorists. Why such an obvious, enormous and widespread empirical mistake? Most likely, it was an absurd attempt to renew the Great Divide between "them" and "us" ("we" too once believed in witches, but that was three hundred years ago, when "we" were "they"). It may also have served to protect the ethnographer (that acultural being whose brain contains only true propositions) from any contamination by the object of his study. (Favret-Saada 1990:191)

A similar dissonance has been reported by other ethnographers of Europe who examine beliefs and practices often dismissed as "supernatural" and/or "fantastical." It is particularly evident in the work of Ellen Badone, who has studied alternative healing practices in Brittany (1995, 2008), some of which incorporate landscape elements inherited from the past (1991). Both Favret-Saada and Badone are both quite forthcoming about the degree to which they became "caught up" in the phenomena they study, blurring — with no small degree of discomfort — the lines between participant and observer, between scientist and subject.

With this introduction, it will not surprise the reader to learn that beliefs in the "fantastical" and the "supernatural" continued in rural Burgundy well after the Enlightenment and might still be found today. Unlike the Bocage of the 1960s and 1970s, where they appear to have been (or to have become) more rare, Alfred Guillaume (1971:117) suggests that in the Morvan sorcerers and witches were so common that each village must have had at least one until fairly recently. Many of these magic-workers were not evil-doers or mischief-makers, rather they were called upon to undo the sorcery of others (cf., Favret-Saada 1989, 1990; Favret-Saada and Contreras 1981). The older

members of my host *commune* still remember stories of a certain Maître Ségaud, a resident of Uxeau widely sought out for his power as a "Master Sorcerer." Many of the stories associated with Ségaud talk about his ability to "unbewitch" (following Favret-Saada 1989) cursed farmlands, herds, and flocks. In one story, a local peasant asked Ségaud to unbewitch his farm, which had had a turn of bad luck. The sorcerer commanded the man to make an immense fire and then to walk across the hot coals. After a few additional maneuvers, Ségaud deemed whatever curse was upon the farm to have been lifted. To test this, he asked the farmer to bury a ham in the cultivated ground near the main gate to the property. If the ham remained the next morning, Ségaud instructed, the curse was too strong and there was nothing more he could do to help. If the ham was gone, on the other hand, then his work had been successful. As the clever reader might guess, the farmer found no ham when morning came. Maître Ségaud continued his practice well into his later years, only putting it aside after his power apparently failed him. He was called upon by the Marquis de Chargères (du Breuil) to investigate a curse that caused flour to ferment and hogs to die. When Ségaud proved unable to break the curse, the Marquis denounced him. Ségaud himself died not long after, in around 1920. He was the last official sorcerer of Uxeau and the surrounding *communes* (H.L., personal communication 2011).

While recognized sorcerers and witches may not have operated in the area for nearly a century, the degree to which rural Burgundians seek out and/or practice alternative healing modalities cannot be overlooked. Acupuncture and homeopathy are widely accessed "complementary" therapies covered by the national health plan, and many certified medical doctors either practice these modalities or work in concert with

practitioners. Somewhat less mainstream are various "energy healing" techniques like *reiki*, which was developed in the 1920s by a Japanese Buddhist, and *magnétisme*, which traces its roots to the theories of an Austrian Enlightenment physician (Badone 2008:194-195). Many of my neighbors in Burgundy visit *magnétiseurs* at offices in the larger towns of the Arroux and Somme valleys. Still others are practitioners themselves, doing healing work for friends, family, and occasional clients. Beyond these healing modalities, there are still a number of *guérisseurs* (i.e., "healers") who generally specialize in the treatment of specific maladies. For example, when a friend undergoing chemotherapy treatment for cancer developed a case of shingles during the course of my extended fieldwork, our neighbors suggested that he seek out a *guérisseur de zona* (a "shingles healer") in nearby Toulon-sur-Arroux (71). The healer's therapy included a few dietary and practical prescriptions to reduce the discomfort, a laying-on of hands, and a number of prayers/recitations. My friend's condition improved remarkably after just a single session with the *guérisseur*. Other friends and neighbors who patronize such folk-healers report similar results.

This commentary on sorcerers, witches, and folk-healers may appear to take us far afield of the topic at hand — the relationship between folklore and the Bronze and Iron Age funerary landscape of southern Burgundy — but I submit that in order to understand how tumuli have been re-used and/or reinterpreted, such considerations of the "fantastical" are absolutely essential. While some archaeologists may find cause to disagree, I would argue that the scientifically accepted "truth" of the mounds' provenience is only relevant to understanding a limited number of interactions with them: perhaps at the very earliest moment of their existence and certainly more recently, from

the mid-19th century onward (see Chapter 6). I suggest that the intervening centuries of interaction are absent from standard tumulus narratives, especially those of southern Burgundy. Further, if the foregoing tales tell us anything, it is that beliefs in the "fantastical" and "supernatural" did not suddenly disappear with the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Rather, they have continued alongside, if somewhat in the background of, the increasingly scientific and scientistic narratives of the last four centuries. Thus we should not assume that when the antiquarians of the 19th century began to recognize the historical importance of barrows the tales of fantastical creatures and supernatural beings that I consider below instantly became obsolete. Some people have always remembered these stories, and some may give them as much (if not more) credence as they give to standard archaeological narratives. In this way, the mounds might exist as different things for different people. And, given that belief shapes practice with-in the landscape, this range of beliefs has likely structured a range of residents' interactions with tumuli.

The Vouivre

The story of *La Revive* with which I open this chapter is an ethnographic fiction: it stitches together scraps of a story that I have heard told in many different ways over the past decade. What all of these tellings have in common, however, is that the hole cut into the tumulus atop the *Tureau de l'Abime* — the so-called tumulus of *La Revive* — remains open because this creature intervened in its original excavation. This story, in its many forms, was my introduction to one of the principal characters of Bugundian folklore: the *vouivre*[13]. The *vouivre* (or *wyvern* in English) figures prominently in myth cycles throughout central and eastern France and northern Italy. In France, this creature is designated by a number of different names, including *vouivre*, *vivre*, *voivres*, *vouaivres*,

wivre, *wivra*, *wuivre*, *ouïvra*, *ouïvre*, *guivre*, *givre*, and *visse* (which approaches Italian forms, see below).

I submit that another word, commonly found among the place-names of rural Burgundy, should also be added to this list. This is the place-name element *vèvres* (and a number of related forms). This claim is not uncontested, however. Taverdet (1994:179) and Guinot (1972) trace this place-name element to the Celtic root **wabero-* ("creek") and indicate that during the Middle Ages the word suggested a "damp forest" or "moor." The proximity of many of the *vèvres* forms to those of *vouivre*, coupled with Taverdet's tendency to overlook folklore concerning the supernatural (with the exception of Christian hagiography), suggest that in at least some cases the place-name *vèvres* referred to the presence of this mythical creature. This is, in fact, an old etymological and toponymic debate. Writing about the *vouivre* or *la fée bourgignonne* (the "Burgundian faerie") in the 1880s, Clément-Janin was forced to confront differences of opinion about the relationship between these two forms. On one hand, no less an authority than the Beaunois historian Charles Bigarne had already written that the place-name "*vesvres*" recalls the Celtic *vouivre* (1872). On the other hand, however, a certain Dr. Vallot — whose opinion Clément-Janin clearly valued — had already proposed that this word might indicate a low, submerged place. This interpretation was confirmed by the entry for the word in the influential *Glossaire du Patois du Morvan* (Pelletier de Chambure 1878): moorland; a sterile, often-humid pasture or similar forest. (The latter would seem to be the source of Taverdet's and Guinot's interpretations.) Although his inventory of Côte-d'Or sites associated with the *vouivre* (Clément-Janin 1884:11-17) includes at least one *vèvre* site, Clément-Janin chose to remain agnostic while noting that if Bigarne's

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interpretation were correct, it would implicate a large number of Burgundian sites (17).

Given how common this place-name element actually is in rural Burgundy — occurring

at more than 80 places in the Arroux-Somme study area alone (see Appendix A) — the

convergence of two or more meanings into a single word seems all the more likely (for a

similar example, see the discussion of *faye* and *fée* below). In light of this, it is perhaps

not coincidental that most of the encounters between the young male protagonist and the

title character of Burgundian author Marcel Aymé's novel, *La Vouivre* (1943), occur in a

field known as the *Vielle* ("Old") *Vaîvre*.

Continuing the theme from above of linking toponymy to the locations of known

protohistoric sites, it is interesting to note that *Vèvres* in the commune of Liernais (Côte-

d'Or), is recorded in the database of the SRA as having one (and possibly more) tumulus

/ tumuli. In the local oral and written traditions of the *vouivre*, the creature is often

associated with the abandoned sites of the past. Therefore, as with the descriptive place-

names discussed above, it is tempting to suggest that targeted survey at other sites with

place-names that refer to the *vouivre* (Figure 5.8 and Appendix A) — either using the

forms of *vouivre* or of *vèvres* —might result in the identification of additional tumuli.

But what exactly is this creature, linked by oral and written tradition to so many sites

throughout the Arroux and Somme valleys? In the first volume of his *Faune et Flore*

Populaires de la Franche-Comté (1910), Charles Beauquier dedicates 15 pages to a

discussion of the *vouivre*, more than he dedicates to any other "fantastical" creature.

Indeed, Beauquier's entry on the *vouivre* is notably longer than those provided for most

of the "real" animals in his bestiary. According to Beauquier, the name *vouivre* derives

from the Latin *vipera* (also the source of the modern French *vipère* and the modern
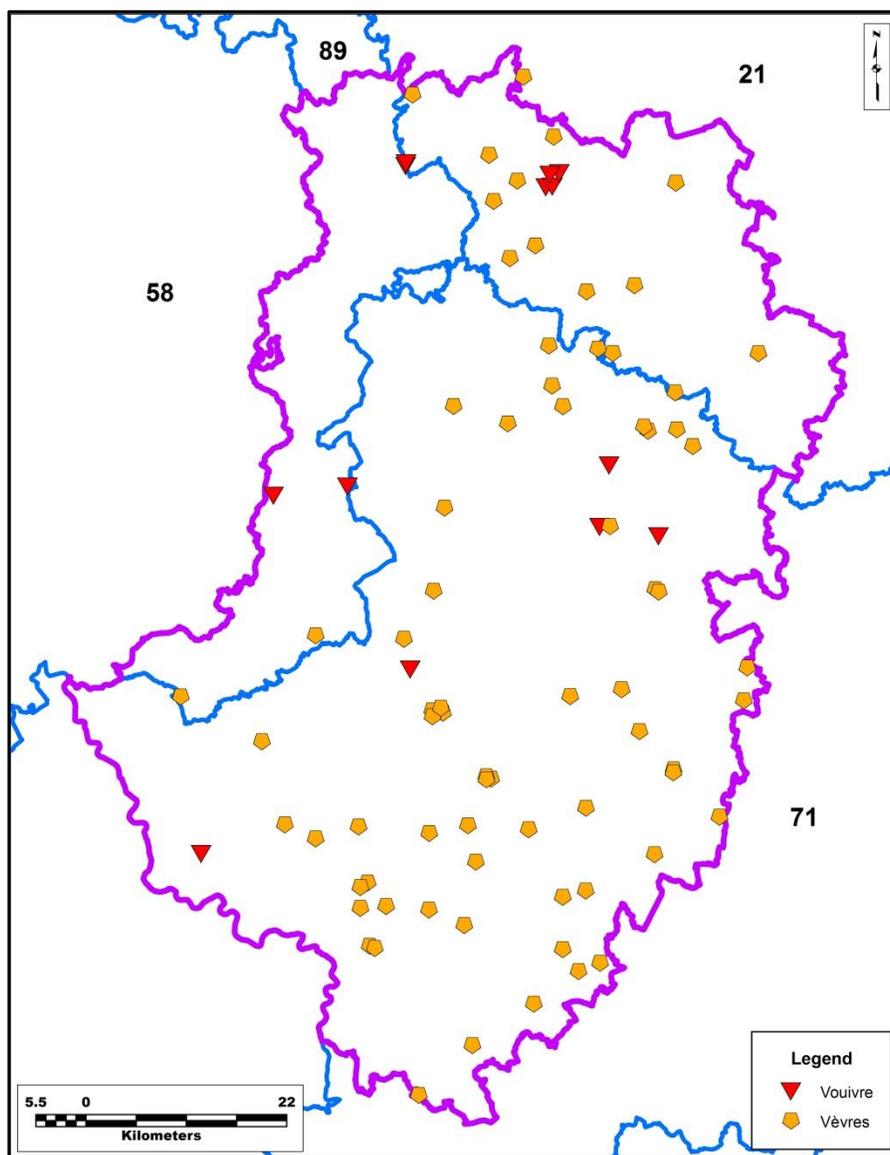
Figure 5.8. Distribution of the place-name elements *vouivre* and *vèvres* in the Arroux-Somme project area.

English *viper*)[14]. From *vipera* arose the Old French *guivre* and *givre*, the latter being the French name for the heraldic serpent or wyvern, often portrayed in the process of devouring a living being (Beauquier 1910:25).

This heraldic serpent — the *biscione* (in standard Italian) or *bissa* (in the Milanese dialect) — is the blazon of the Milanese ducal houses of Visconti and Sforza (related by marriage). The Visconti *bissa* is an azure serpent crowned in gold and holding a child

between its jaws (Beauquier 1910:25; Cantù 1999[1859]:108). Paolo Giovio explains

how the Visconti received this particular device in his *Vite dei Dodici Visconti*

(1853[1558]). The founder of the Visconti dynasty, Ottone Visconti (1207-1295) — who

would be appointed Archbishop of Milan in 1262 and later seize secular power from the

ruling Torriani family in 1277 (Cantù 1999[1859]) — fought in the Holy Land during the

First Crusade. Having already shown considerable valor on the battlefields of Nicea and

Oronte, Ottone was among the bravest Christian soldiers challenged to single combat by

the Saracen captain Voluce, whom Cesare Cantù describes as a "giant"

(1999[1859]:108). When this giant took the field, he carried a familiar standard: a serpent

bearing a human body between its jaws. Having beaten all of the Christian soldiers who

came against him, Voluce challenged the young Ottone Visconti. Visconti won the

combat and, according to tradition, adopted the defeated Saracen's insignia as his own.

Upon his return to Italy and his meteoric rise to power, the captured *bissa* came to signify

the royal line of Milan[15].

It is perhaps interesting to note that Visconti's heirs maintained strong diplomatic

and even familial ties throughout eastern France, perhaps only coincidentally the

"heartland" of *vouivre* mythology. Milanese-French ties were strong in Savoie (which did

not become officially French until the mid-19th century) and in the Champagne, location

of the famous Cistercian Abbey of Clairvaux to which Ottone Visconti retired in his

senescence (Giovio 1853[1558]:87-88). But Milanese diplomatic relations were perhaps

strongest with Burgundy, as evidenced by the extensive correspondence between the

Visconti and the Dukes of Burgundy (see, for example, Bueno de Mesquita 1941), later

continued by the Sforza (Sestan 1985).

The insignia that Ottone Visconti captured from the Saracen captain is said to have recalled the mythic birth of the Alexander the Great, from whom Voluce claimed descent. According to legend, Alexander's mother Olympias was impregnated by the god Zeus, disguised in the form of a dragon or snake (Giovio 1853[1558]:6-7). Thus, the human form held in the jaws of the *bissa* may not have been intended to symbolize the serpent's victim, but rather its offspring. The gendering of the *bissa* as feminine, along with the notion that it carries precious cargo, resonate with later French *vouivre* tales (see below).

The Milanese *bissa* is a kind of large snake lacking limbs or wings. This one of the *vouivre*'s many forms, and both Beauquier (1910:6) and van Gennep (1911:187) take pains to distinguish this form of the creature from another large — and ultimately more aggressive — mythical serpent: the basilisk. In a collection of folklore from the Bourbonnais (just across the Loire from Bourbon-Lancy and Digoin), Francis Pérot describes the *vouivre* as an "ordinary" (i.e., non-hybrid) serpent who guards a treasure (1908:202-204). In an earlier work, Pérot mentions that the *vouivre* is found everywhere in the Bourbonnais: "on the mountains, in the forests, under boulders and even in ancient feudal castles" (1890:7). He goes on to associate the *vouivre* with the Furies of Greek and Roman mythology; the serpent god of Guinean societies; Bel, the oracular dragon of Babylon; the Ethiopian serpent-god Arwée-Midré; and with the serpent who tempted Eve, tacitly comparing the treasures guarded by the *vouivre* to the Fruit of Knowledge.

Pérot would probably recognize the well-known "*vivre*" of Bourbonnais legend — as well as a transhistorical and cross-cultural archetype — in the simple (if abnormally large) form of the Milanese *bissa*. Similarly, residents of Saint-Romain and the surrounding towns of the Beaunois (in the northeastern corner of my study area), might

recognize this creature as the *tarbouille* or *tarboille*, which is often described as a large

serpent[16]. In a collection of Beaunois folklore, Charles Bigarne provides the following

entry:

> *TARBOUILLE* and *Tarboille*. *Vouivre*, fantastical serpent/snake. In the
> commune of Savigny, near the farm of *Borée*, there is a natural fissure
> in the bedrock called "the *tarboille*." A dragon used to live in this
> cavern, causing fear throughout the surrounding area. St. Marguerite
> lived in a nearby hermitage (upon which the abbey was constructed
> whose ruins we still admire today). She removed her belt and passed it
> around the neck of the monster, who, docile, allowed itself to be led
> around. (1891:220)

Bigarne goes on to associate the *tarbouille* with the *tarasque* of Languedoc.

Like the *tarbouille*, the *tarasque* (known throughout southern France and

northeastern Spain) was a frightful serpent tamed by a female saint. In this case, it was

Saint Martha who spread holy water on the beast to calm it (Gilmore 2003:162). Still

fearful of the beast, the local residents killed it once tamed. David Gilmore suggests that

the legend of the *tarasque* may have been part of Provençal and/or Languedocian oral

tradition as early as the 8th and 12th centuries CE, and the first written mentions of the

beast and the legend of Saint Martha appear in the 14th to 15th centuries (162-163).

According to Gilmore, the *tarasque* and other dragon-like creatures came to symbolize

"evil, sin, the devil, or paganism fighting against holiness" in Catholic imagery (162). In

this light, it is interesting to consider the differences between this Catholic legend and

another, more-celebrated one. The myth of Saint George also features a dragon. But,

instead of taming his dragon — as did Marguerite and Martha — George is celebrated for

killing the beast. Is this one more piece of evidence to indicate that medieval Christianity

saw women as less capable to overcome sin, evil, and the devil? Or does it suggest a

broader association with the feminine for all of these *vouivre*-like creatures, perhaps relating to the earlier pagan roots of such stories?

If the *tarasque* is thematically close to the *tarbouille* of the Beaunois, written descriptions and visual images of this beast are rather different. Gilmore describes French the *tarasque* as "a huge amphibious beast resembling a horse in overall shape, but with a lion's head and toothy mouth, six bear's paws, a carapace studded with great spikes, and a viper's tail" (Gilmore 2003:162), sometimes compared to an armadillo. While the creature's Spanish cousins may be somewhat less hybrid, they are nonetheless considered to blend the characteristics of a mule with those of a serpent (163). This hybridity is visible on the crest of Tarascon, the town in the French Pyrenees in which the *tarasque* legend may have originated. Here, a six-legged dragon-esque figure with a lion or dog's head devours (far less ambiguously than the *bissa*) a human figure.

Many of the forms of the *vouivre* are similarly hybrid, blending the features of different animals and/or humans together with those of the snake. Van Gennep, for example, is careful to distinguish the Lombard *guivre* (i.e., the *bissa*) from the large serpent described to him by the people of Brison, in Haute-Savoie. This beast, which "passes along the roads of the commune on certain nights" is said to have wings and a diamond at the end of its tail (van Gennep 1911:185). This description nearly matches that provided by Clément-Janin in his *Traditions Populaires de la Côte-d'Or* (1884), except that in the latter the jewel is placed on the creature's forehead as an eye (10). This precious stone — often an eye, but sometimes an adornment or crown (see, for example, Aymé 1943) — plays a significant role in the *vouivre* myth, as I discuss below.

As is probably clear already, descriptions of the "hybridized" *vouivre* vary widely, despite general agreement on its serpentine form, wings, and possession of a precious gem. Sometimes, as in one older Uxeau resident's account of what happened at the tumulus of *La Revive*, the beast breathes fire (cf., Sébillot 1904:242-243). Variations in the form and behavior of the *vouivre* are evident in a short pamphlet of stories collected by Robert Michelin, Corresponding Member of the Commission for Linguistics and Folklore of Burgundy. Michelin summarizes legends of the *vouivre* (or very similar animals) from 27 different *communes* in Saône-et-Loire. This pamphlet is available at the *Syndicat d'Initiatives* in Couches, the town's tourist and information office, which is not surprising given that the *Vivre* of Couches is the best known *vouivre* in the Arroux and Somme valleys.

At Couches, since 1888, the *Vivre* is celebrated with a large festival, held every 20 years. Even within the long and singular Couchois tradition, there is considerable variation in descriptions and depictions of the *Vivre*. The oldest known images of the beast are cut into the ends of a beam in the *Prieuré Saint-Georges* ("Priory of St. George"), which dates to the 7th to 9th centuries CE. These blocky Romanesque carvings bear little resemblance to the images of a winged dragon found all over town during the most-recent festival, held in 2008 (Figure 5.9).

The legend of the *Vivre* is a touchstone of Couchois culture, and the blazon of the beast can been seen in public spaces throughout Couches even between festivals. Further, "*vivre*" has become a common element in the names of streets, alleys, businesses, and neighborhoods. The festival of the *Vivre* is primarily a victory celebration, but the
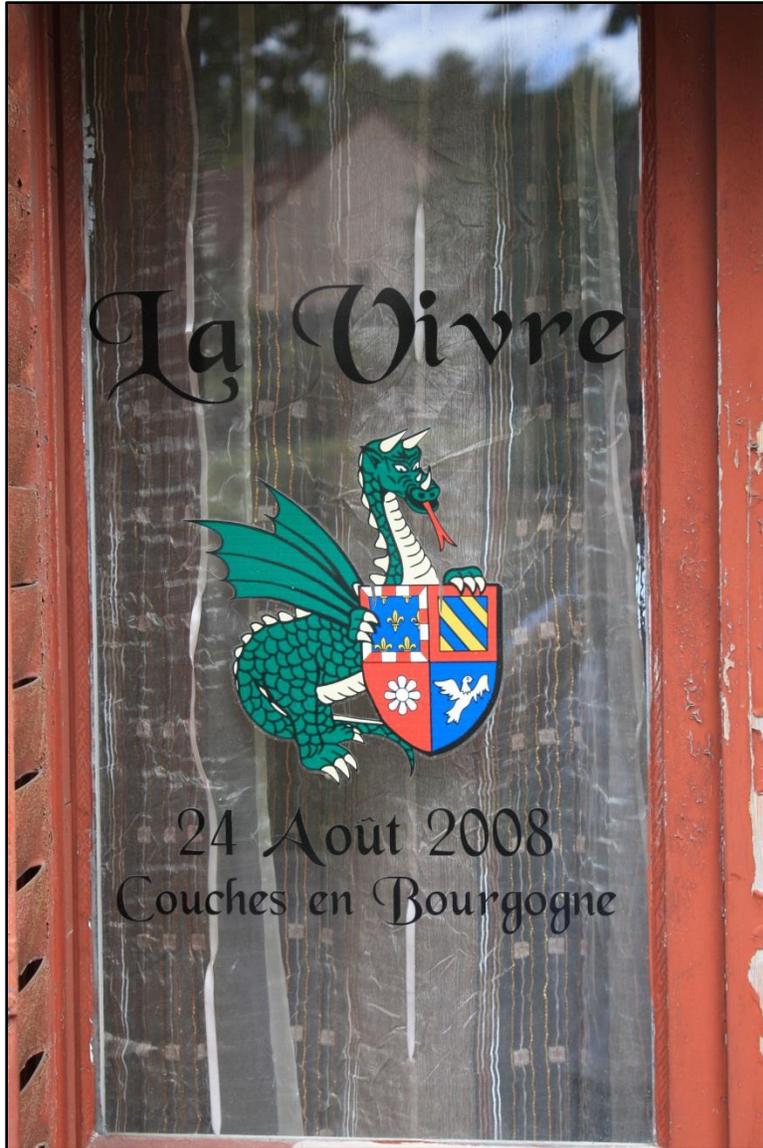
Figure 5.9. "Winged dragon" conception of the *Vivre* of Couches (71) found throughout the village before and after the 2008 *Fête de la Vivre*. The shield held by the *Vivre* includes elements of the flags of Burgundy and Saône-et-Loire.

town's defeat of the beast came at a high cost. Here is the story that circulated as part of

the 2008 festival:

> Around 1328, following a particularly harsh winter, a terrible monster appeared in the Couchois. It was enormous, with the body of a gigantic dragon and the head of a huge werewolf. Was it a beast of the Apocalypse? Was it the Devil incarnate? It was called the *Vivre*.

This massive winged beast sowed fear and terror throughout the region. Its cruelty was unparalleled; its ferocity unimaginable. The monster visited devastation on the farms and hamlets of the Couchois every day. It fed on any living being that fell in its path: flocks of sheep, cattle, school-children, scruffy winegrowers, valiant archers and other warriors of well-tempered spirit.

Of course, they tried hard to fight against this power of evil and many battles were organized. But all of these attempts failed miserably. The *Vivre* always diabolically foiled the maneuvers of men and cut her assailants to pieces.

Fear, despair, weariness, and discouragement eventually took hold of the poor Couchois people. The bravest trembled. Even the most confident began to doubt the possibility of triumph over the monster. A dreary desolation spread over this previously happy and prosperous land. The vineyards were abandoned, the fields remained uncultivated. The Couchois was dying.

It was then that the "Old Wisdom," wise among the wise, called all the elders of the community to an assembly near the old *château*. He sought advice on measures to counter the mortal danger posed by the *Vivre*. To put the monster at bay, to defeat it once and for all, the Council decided that only magic alone could succeed where the strength, intelligence, and courage of men had failed. It was therefore decided to seek out the assistance of Yoata the magician.

On the appointed day, they left for the final battle. A procession of warriors moved out with Yoata leading the charge. He played his marvelous flute. Then came the archers and men-at-arms, the magistrates, Old Wisdom, the community leaders, the winegrowers, and the rabble. Soon they arrived at *Les Breux*, where the winged beast had made its lair. All the while playing his flute, Yoata signaled the troops to stop. The monster was there. Sated, it slept.

Fear gripped the bowels of the even the most manly assailant. A cold sweat drenched their faces. An unspeakable anguish took hold of their chests. At this crucial moment, everyone cringed in anticipation of serious (even tragic) events. A heavy silence enveloped the countryside. Death lurked.

Detaching himself from the column, the wizard advanced alone. Soon he was within only a few steps of the *Vivre*. He drew tight, mysterious, cabalistic signs; on his flute, he played strange, melodic, and seductive songs, as enveloping as the songs of the Sirens.

Behold! Oh Miracle! The *Vivre* moved! Slowly, gently, and very quietly the beast followed her enchanter. After a slight hesitation, the group gradually recovered its confidence. They carefully followed Yoata and his charge. They returned to *La Creuse* [a deep valley outside the town of Couches].

The plan was to coax the *Vivre* into a giant oven, [covering more than four acres], that thousands of men had toiled feverishly to build for this purpose. The oven was now white hot. Majestic as a hierophant and supported by some mysterious power, Yoata continued to play his flute. He entered into the gaping mouth in the oven, but not without first having had a rope — sturdy and strong — attached to his waist. His fellows would pull him from the furnace as soon as the monster itself had entered.

But under the scorching heat, Yoata soon ceased to play. At that very moment, the *Vivre* awoke from her hypnosis. She bellowed forth a terrifying roar that shook the earth for several miles around.

Oh, horror! Frightened, bewildered, and terrified, the men hurriedly shut the mouth of the oven. They did not think to pull the cord and, thus, to save the wizard. And so he, like the *Vivre*, came to a terrible end and was burned alive. (Syndicat d'Initiatives du Couchois 2008)

Though not necessarily evident in the Couchois legend, two elements of the *vouivre* story are common throughout the Arroux and Somme drainages and, in fact, they closely mirror Pérot's (1890, 1908) above-referenced statements about the *vouivre* of the Bourbonnais. The first is that the *vouivre* is often associated with old or abandoned sites, including hilltops, caves, forests, and moors, as well as the ruins, towers, and castles of old. In this light, it is perhaps not surprising to find out that in addition to the myth of the tumulus of *La Revive*, residents of my host *commune* tell yet another *vouivre* story. In this version, the beast haunts the forests and moorland of *Busserole*, a farm about 2 km northeast of *La Guette* and its tumulus. Stories of *Busserole* also tell of an old castle or manor, near which the *vouivre* has been seen. French Project members investigated the *Bois de Busserole* archaeologically in the mid-1990s and uncovered the remains of a

Gallo-Roman settlement that was perhaps a villa (Hargrove and Crumley 1994). This experience offers tantalizing indications that the archaeologist who follows the trail of *vouivre* stories may be likely to locate more sites.

A second theme common in the *vouivre* stories is treasure. Like Beowulf's dragon in the Anglo-Saxon tales, the *vouivre* is assumed to guard some kind of treasure or to carry it with her. Thus in one of his many retellings of the story of the excavation of the tumulus of *La Revive* — recorded in advance of a 2001 guided visit to the site — Lucien D. explains, "Everyone knew this mound, but no one went near it. But God knows this was not for lack of desire! For everyone knew that at the heart of the mound was a fabulous treasure. But, unfortunately, it was very well guarded. *La Revive* kept watch."

The story of another well-known *vouivre*, the *Wivre* of Mont Beuvray, incorporates both of these themes:

> Mount Beuvray (Bibracte of the Aedui)… has an imposing rock known as the *Pierre de la Wivre* [the "Rock of the *Wivre*," Figure 5.10]. Under this rock, a serpent hid a treasure that it defended fiercely. But, once a year, it moved the rock and exposed its fortune to the sun. This occurred during the procession on Easter Sunday. It was said that if someone threw bread crumbs on the treasure, everything touched by the crumbs would belong to the happy individual. If someone were to succeed in stealing the treasure, he or she need only cross water — even the smallest stream — to escape the *Wivre.*
>
> Another version of the story held that the treasure was available during the midnight mass on Christmas Eve. A third version limited access to the very stroke of midnight, as the bells pealed, when the stone was said to turn.
>
> Legend has it that a woman, during one of these brief lapses, seized the treasure but forgot her child [under the stone]. On the advice of the parish priest, she brought milk and honey to the child each day. After a year, she brought the treasure back to the site and she found the child alive.

Figure 5.10. The *Pierre de la Wivre* at the *oppidum* of Bibracte / Mont Beuvray, viewed from the east.

> The *Wivre* of Mont Beuvray travelled at times. It went to Thouleurs and then to the rocks of Glenne. (Michelin 1988, following Albert Bartholomew)

The treasure of the *vouivre* is often said to be a huge gemstone that is her eye or that she wears on her forehead as a carbuncle. According to legend, the *vouivre* removes this precious stone only when she comes to bathe in a stream, river, lake, pond. She carefully puts this treasure on the ground before approaching the water, leaving it unprotected for any would-be thief. But such a theft may prove quite costly, as the person may be cursed and pursued by the *vouivre* to an early death. The wealth gained from stealing the beast's treasure is often, therefore, only ephemeral.

Depicted as a woman with her bare breasts and a long snake's tail perched atop the *Pierre de la Wivre*, a postcard sold at the Museum of Celtic Civilization (Bibracte)

highlights another common aspect of the *vouivre* tales: when storytellers mention the

gender of the beast, it is typically gendered female. In his famous novel, *La Vouivre*

(1943), Burgundian writer Marcel Aymé portrays the title character as an attractive, if

somewhat androgynous, young woman. Aymé's *vouivre* is the Queen of the Snakes, but

also some kind of divinity: a dryad (i.e., wood nymph), a naiad (i.e., water nymph), some

other kind of semi-mortal spirit of nature, or even a goddess (cf., Type 2002). According

to the narrator of Aymé's novel, the *vouivre* is

> … undoubtedly one of the most important memories of Celtic tradition
> left in France. She is a survivor; one of those spring goddesses adored
> by the Gauls whose numbers counted in the thousands. She transmits
> across time one of the most popular beliefs of ancient Gaul. (Aymé
> 1943:11)

The relationship that arises between the *vouivre* and Arsène Muselier, protagonist of

the novel, betrays the young man's instinctive aversion to snakes and reveals a fascination

that is equally strong. But, just like the relationship between the human world and the

divine that the novel aims to symbolize (Type 2002), the affair between the goddess and

the mortal is complex and, ultimately, doomed to fail. In this way, the contemporary story

of the *vouivre* offered by Aymé approaches that of another woman-snake and heraldic

beast: the *Mélusine* (or "Mother Lusine"), faerie and goddess of springs[17]. Mélusine fell

in love with the mortal Raimondin (Raymond of Poitou) and together they founded the

noble house of Lusignan (perhaps literally: the earliest Lusignan castle near Poitiers is

said to have been built by the faerie herself in the 10th century). After they had been

together for many years, Raimondin betrayed Mélusine's trust by revealing her hybrid

nature to the people of his court. In a rage, she turned herself into a dragon, gave her

husband a final gift of two magic rings, and flew away, returning to her home among the

faeries (see Markale 1983). Like the *vouivre*, Mélusine is said to haunt a number of ruins in Burgundy (see, for example, van Gennep 1934:169-172).

The flight of Mélusine and her installation elsewhere recall Lucien's explanation of what happened to the *vouivre* who once lived in the tumulus of *La Revive*:

> The years passed by. *La Revive* revealed herself less and less frequently and, despite the warnings of their elders, brave young men went off in search of treasure with shovels and picks on their shoulders[18]. Then came the scientists. But the tumulus yielded no treasures: neither golden coin, nor burial chamber.
>
> *La Revive* came to understand that modern people, "pressed" [for time], no longer believe: not in God and His saints, not in the Devil and his goblins, not in faeries and elves, and not in will-o'-the-wisps and phantoms. She loaded up her treasures and went elsewhere, installing herself in some other region where people still needed to dream, to hope, and to fear.

Werewolves and Wolf-Leaders

Legend suggests that a host of other creatures and beings share (or have until recently shared) the landscape with rural Burgundians who still seek "to dream, to hope, and to fear." These legendary characters frequent not only ancient tumuli, but also the forests in which such mounds are situated (see below). Among these creatures are a pair of figures that, like some forms of the hybrid *vouivre*, blur the boundaries that separate humans from animals. These are the *loup-garou* — or, in the Morvandiau dialect, the *loup-vérou* (Guillaume 1971:119) — the werewolf, and the *meneur* or *meneû* (Morvandiau) *des loups* (the "wolf-driver" or "wolf-leader"). Werewolves and wolf-leaders appear throughout the folklore of rural France, especially of isolated areas like the Morvan and the Massif Central, but also figure into the legal codes of certain places and periods.

Unlike the *vouivre*, I have never heard a living storyteller specifically refer to a werewolf or wolf-leader during the course of my fieldwork. I have, however, heard people talk about wolves on a number of occasions, and often with a kind of disgust or vehemence. To the contemporary reader, the notion that wolves should continue to be spoken of in rural France (especially in such negative tones) may seem a bit confusing. Many of us believe that the French wolf has been reduced to a fairy tale creature, an interesting zoo attraction, and/or a museum exhibit. But up until the mid-20th century, the frequency and intensity of human-wolf encounters reinforced the important position occupied by the wolf in the French popular imagination. Such encounters often had devastating consequences for one or both of the parties involved (see, for example, Moriceau 2007; Rollinat 1929).

Given this history of dramatic and traumatic interactions (which I expand upon in Appendix B), it is perhaps not surprising that so many place-names in the Arroux-Somme project area reference the wolf (*loup*) or she-wolf (*louve*) (Figure 5.11 and Appendix A). Nor is it surprising that wolves were cast as merciless villains *par excellence* in folk myths and fairy tales like Perrault's "Little Red Riding Hood." Far more than any other animal, the hunting patterns of these creatures were thought to resemble those of humans. As a result, the wolf of French legends and fairy tales is often hybridized and/or associated with nefarious human agents. Unlike the werewolves of other European traditions, the French werewolf is not afflicted with a kind of malady. Rather, he — and this monster is typically gendered male — is a sorcerer who opts to transform into a beast in order to do harm to his neighbors. This belief in the werewolf-sorcerer accounts for the
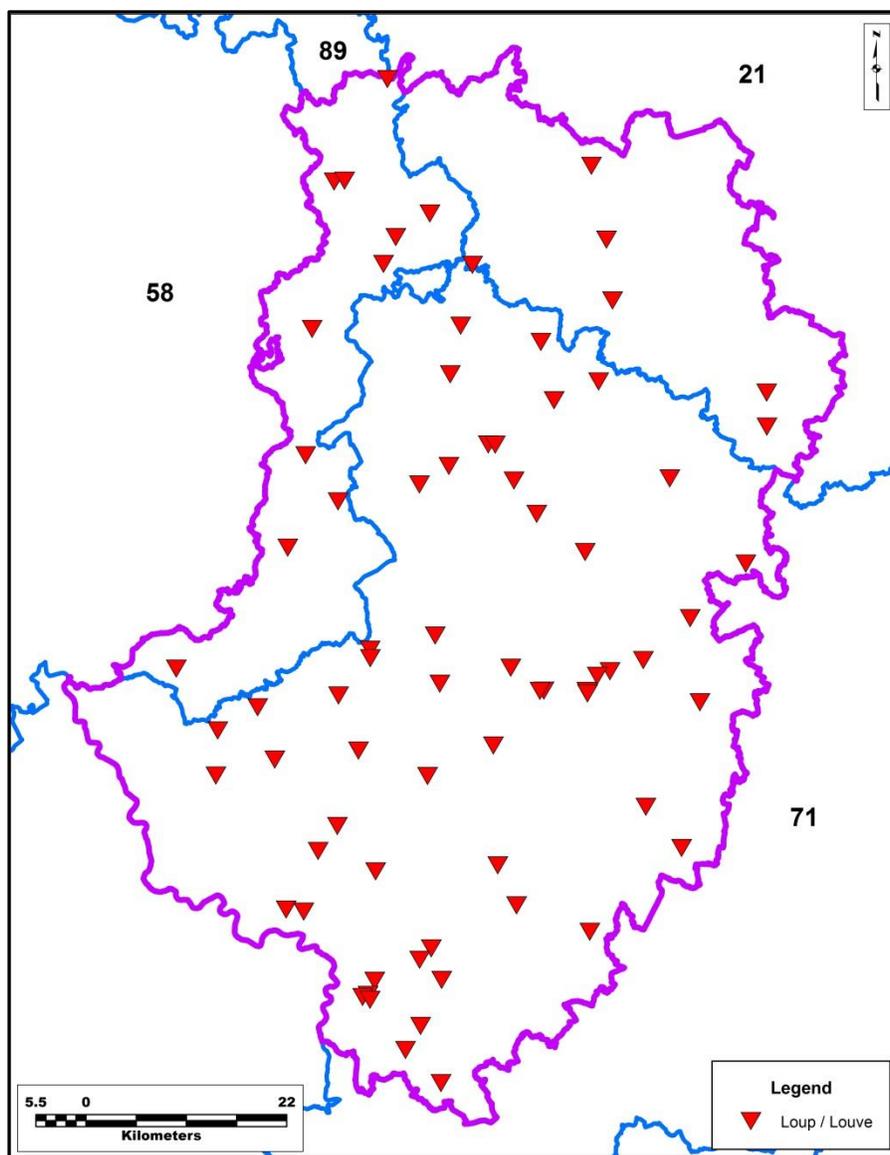
Figure 5.11. Distribution of the place-name element *loup / louve* in the Arroux-Somme project area.

degree to which lycanthropy became tied up in witchcraft charges throughout France in the late Medieval and early Modern periods (see Appendix B).

The existence of the werewolf as a sorcerer brings us back to the discussion of burial mounds. The legends of eastern and central France, and especially of the Morvan, speak of a special class of werewolf-sorcerer: the *meneur / meneû des loups*, the "wolf-driver" or "wolf-leader"[19]. According to Alfred Guillaume, author of *L'Âme du Morvan* (i.e., *The*

Soul of the Morvan), the wolf-leader is recruited by the Devil, who has a particular

fondness for the "*flûteux*" — "pipers" who play the *musette* (a reed instrument).

> The wolf-leader changes himself into a wolf by virtue of a devilish
> secret that also makes him impervious to bullets. In winter, at midnight,
> he calls all of the wolves of the area to assemble in the darkest depths
> of the forest. There he speaks their language to them and charms them
> with the music of his pipe. Then, after having communicated the
> Devil's instructions to them, he tells them which forest paths will best
> help them to escape the hunt under preparation. He tells them about his
> enemy's herds/flocks, and how to take them without being hurt.
> [Having set them about this business] he, himself, takes pains to erase
> their tracks in the snow in order to throw off dogs and hunters.
> (Guillaume 1971:119)

Some nights he remains a wolf to join the pack on in its bloody errands (Bardet, et al.

1998).

Francis Pérot, writing at the end of the 19th century, references a similar myth on the

other side of the Loire, in the Bourbonnais. According to Pérot, the large tumulus of

Saint-Loup[20], near the town of Varennes-sur-Allier, was reported to be the meeting place

of sorcerers, wolf-leaders, and pipers on Sabbat nights (1890:8). The idea that mounds

(whether tumuli or mottes) should be places of meeting and feasting is not unheard of:

Gabriel Jeanton (1929:30-31) suggests that, in the nearby Mâconnais region, shepherds

hold seasonal feasts atop the local mounds, notably in the month of May and at

Michaelmas (the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, at the end of September). Such

feasts likely marked important moments in the yearly cycle of sheep-herding, perhaps the

beginning and the end of summer pasturage. That wolf-leaders — themselves a kind of

shepherd — should meet atop mounds and, presumably, send their "charges" out to hunt

among the flocks of others seems an intentional perversion of the shepherds' celebratory

practice.

Faeries, Brownies, Imps, and Other Spirits

The *vouivre*, werewolves, and wolf-leaders are but a few of the creatures thought to frequent burial mounds, megaliths, and the areas around them. A whole host of spirits, embodied and disembodied, also haunt these places. Many of these spirits (including, occasionally, the *vouivre* herself) can be grouped under the heading of "*fées*" ("faeries"). French faeries are not all of the small, winged pixie variety. Nor are they always (or even often) friendly. Indeed, like the characters of older English-language fairy tales, French faeries are capricious and polyvalent. A faerie may decide to lead a traveler through the forest just as often as she decides to tempt him to his death in any number of dark traps. This capriciousness mirrors Nature itself, and it should not surprise the reader to learn that many aspects of the *fée* are elements of Nature.

Mounds of different sizes occur in a lot of French fairy tales. A common story opener involves an unwitting traveler who moves through the forest and then encounters a stranger near a palisaded hill or a hill with a cave or cleft in it. Such descriptions might describe either a hillfort or a tumulus. Judging by how common the various forms of *fée* (including the diminutive *fiolle* / *fayolle*) are on the Burgundian landscape (Figure 5.12 and Appendix A)[21], it would seem that many such encounters occurred in the past. While no registered tumulus site directly references the *fées*, at least one older site in the Arroux valley does: a standing stone, the *Pierre aux Fées,* in Saint-Micaud (71).

Many of the *fées* encountered in these stories appear to be women and so they are often referred to as "*dames*" ("ladies") of a particular color or aspect, depending on what they seem to be wearing. The most common of these is the "*dame blanche*" ("white lady"), but the folklore also speaks of "*dames vertes*" ("green ladies"). In his *Traditions populaires de la Côte-d'Or* (1884:49), Clément-Janin mentions the regular presence of a
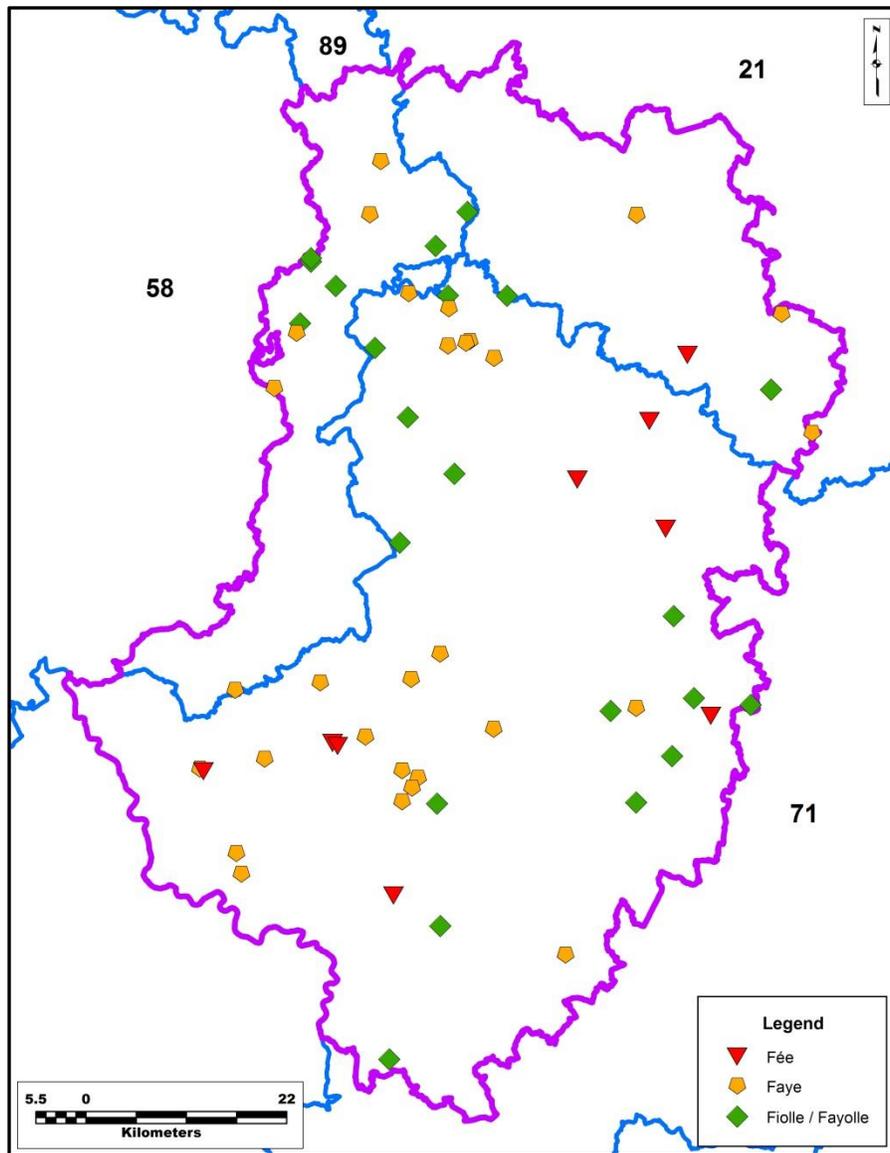
Figure 5.12. Distribution of the place-name elements *fée*, *faye,* and *fiolle / fayolle* in the Arroux-Somme project area.

dame blanche near four tumuli in the area of Sivry, Baume, and Panthier in the Beaunois (along the edge of my Arroux-Somme project area). While Clément-Janin does not give much more detail about the *Dame des Chaumes* (*d'Auvenay*), his report makes it difficult to tell whether this *dame* is a faerie or a phantom. This is, in fact, a common ambiguity. In *The Religion of the Celts* (MacCulloch 1911:143), J.A. MacCulloch suggests another
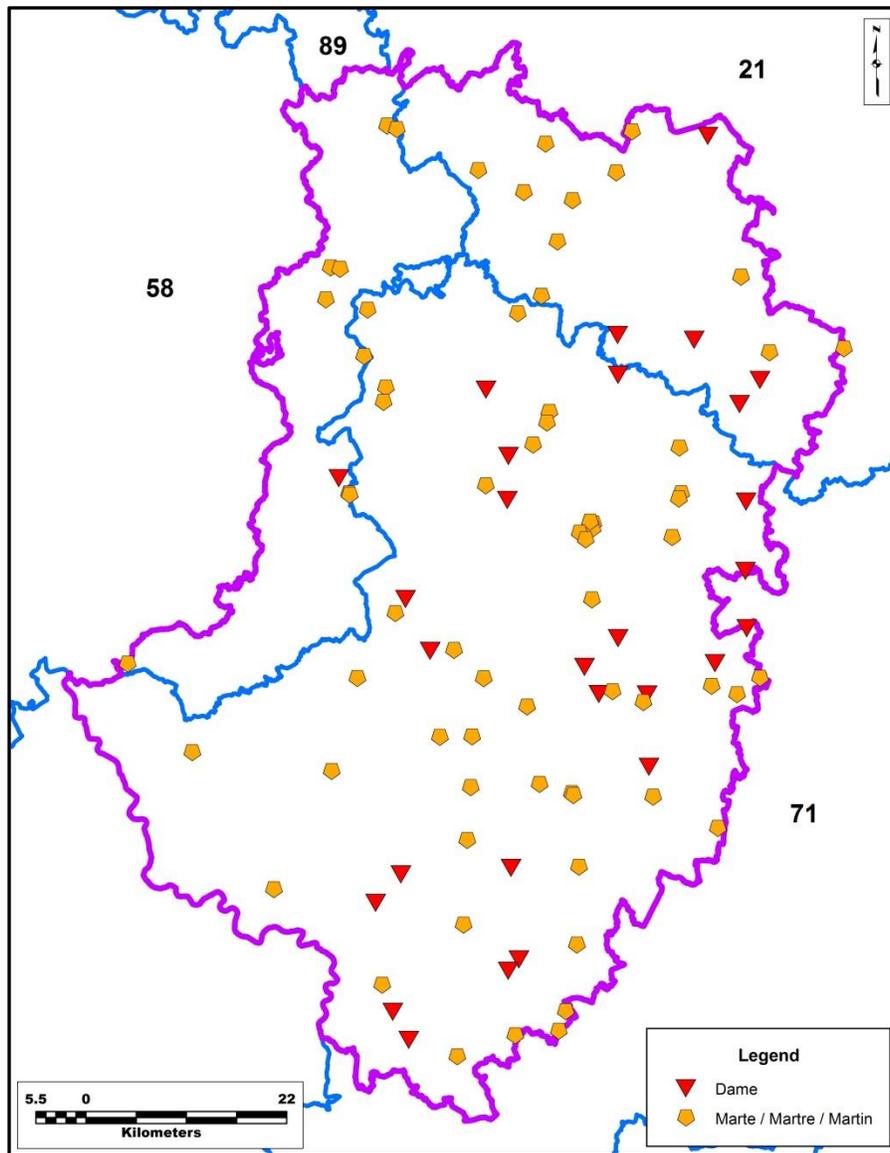
Figure 5.13. Distribution of the place-name elements *dame* and *marte / martre / martin* in the Arroux-Somme project area.

possibility: that the *dames blanche* (like the *vouivre*) is a remnant of ancient goddess traditions. Whether it refers to a faerie, a phantom, a goddess, or something more recent (e.g., Mary, the mother of Jesus or some historical lady), the place-name element "*dame*" is also common throughout the study area (Figure 5.13 and Appendix A).

Other classes of forest spirit include *lutins* ("brownies" or "imps"), who are given to mischief but can be appeased and rendered helpful (van Gennep 1934:145-146). *Lutin*

stories frequently mention *feux-follets* ("marsh lights"), and it seems that these spirits (or others like them) must have been associated with this geophysical phenomenon. *Lutin* is not a place-name element typically found in the project area.

A final class of spirits common in central France, especially Berry and the Bourbonnais, are a category of malevolent rock spirits / faeries called *martes, martres*, or *martines* (van Gennep 1934:167). Van Gennep reminds his readers that this name is not far from one name of the Devil, *le Martinet* (the "Hammer" or "Whip"). Sébillot (1904:315) mentions that the *martes* can also be found near water. He describes them as tall, dark-haired women with bare arms and chests. Their bare breasts hang to their knees and their thick black hair falls almost to the ground. Thinking about the *martes* vis-à-vis the naming of places poses an interesting challenge: place-names incorporating the element *Martin* are ubiquitous throughout Burgundy generally, and through the project area specifically (see Figure 5.13 and Appendix A). It is generally assumed that these place-names refer to St. Martin, the 4th-century Bishop of Tours, who evangelized the countryside and is sometimes called the "13th apostle" (Taverdet 1994:81). Curiously, St. Martin is often associated with caves in Burgundian folklore and his cult is largely a baptismal cult. It is tempting to think that the recurrence of stone and water themes in these stories might suggest that at least some of the sites associated with (and named for) St. Martin are rehabilitated pagan sites that were once associated with the *martes*.

Queer Characters, Queer Places

Any of the fantastical creatures that dwell in or around the tumuli of southern Burgundy might be individually gendered male or female. The folklore makes it relatively clear that the *vouivre*, for example, is a feminine being. While a number of

women were tried for the crime of lycanthropy, the werewolf and wolf-leader tend to be gendered male in the popular imagination. Similarly, the faeries and other spirits I have discussed generally occupy one or the other gender, depending on the story and the storyteller. I would like to suggest, however, that as a class these beings are best understood as *queer*.

In his critical work, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*, theorist David Halperin explains that "queer is… whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant. . . . 'Queer'… demarcates not a positivity but a positionality vis-à-vis the normative" (1995:62). Halperin adds that "… it describes a horizon of possibility whose precise extent and heterogeneous scope cannot in principle be defined in advance" (62). As is particularly clear in the *vouivre* and the werewolf / wolf-leader myth cycles, the denizens of the tumuli are placed at odds with the normal by their Otherworldliness, by their unusual size or characteristics, and by their hybridity.

Further, I would suggest that their queerness is not only isolated to the creatures themselves, but also to the sites that they occupy. These sites — and perhaps even the forests that surround them, as I discuss below — thus become "*queer places*." Queer places are set apart from the activities of everyday life. They are generally avoided, or approached with the utmost caution, lest the visitor offend their inhabitants. People's actions at queer places are often prescribed in advance by the folklore of the place. In this sense, the use and disuse of queer places may be thought of as subject to a complex set of ritualized practices. These places should not, however, be conflated in our understanding of landscape with "sacred places," whether religious / spiritual (e.g., Crumley 1999; Fernandez 2003; Jordan 2003; Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2004; Stopford 1994); secular,

dedicated to the shared experiences of nations (e.g., Charlesworth and Addis 2002; LaCapra 1998) and/or nation-states (e.g., Inglis 2008); or both religious / spiritual and secular (e.g., McNeal 1991). The latter belong to a class of landscape features / places that often play a much greater role in inhabitants' "everyday" experiences of landscape and that serve, largely, to unite individuals under broader corporate identities. By contrast, those who go to queer places are often a society's "edge dwellers," people distrusted by their neighbors (such as witches) or held in high regard (as are beneficial sorcerers). While these people may engage in corporate identity-affirming activities at these sites (see below), such activities are likely to occur less frequently than those undertaken in sacred places, and to fall outside what is sanctioned as "good" or "normal" social behavior. Thus, looked at archaeologically, a queer place might appear to be abandoned during long periods of the past (cf., Bradley 2000), offering only the occasional indication of later visits[22].

Both Pérot (1890:8) and Guillaume (1971) suggest that a corporate use of tumuli (and similar queer places) might have been the witches' sabbat. On this topic, Guillaume writes:

> The Morvandiau sabbat is/was not particularly special: it was the classic sabbat that has always taken place in wild and isolated places, *frequently near druidic monuments or under large, isolated trees …*
>
> At the stroke of midnight, the sorcerer [male] — completely nude and covered entirely in a diabolical salve containing wolf fat — places his left foot on the *crémaillère* [i.e., the pot-hook in a large, walk-in fireplace] and pronounces the cabalistic [sic] formula, "By the Devil, ascend!" He thus flies up and out of the chimney to go to the meeting place. The witches [female], similarly attired, fly through the air astride their broomsticks in order to arrive. A whistling, a strident and prolonged noise, is the sole indication of their passage: in times past, they imitated the cries of wild geese in flight.

Satan, in the form of a billy-goat with a human face, *sits on a large stone* to preside. Everyone pays homage to him upon their arrival by kissing him in a certain place, at the base of his back, that everyone figures out. He gives his instructions to the assembly, and then they eat, they drink, they sing, they spit on the crucifix, they blaspheme, and they party. Finally, *the session draws to a close with an ecstatic round-dance*, around the Master, which continues until just before dawn.

Woe be to the unwise person who stumbles into this place or who seeks to penetrate this mystery! Seized immediately by these "oddballs" (*énergumènes*), who are clever to boot, [this transgression] will most often cost him his life. At the very least, the Devil — in a good mood — will require nothing more of him than absolute secrecy, sworn under the most terrible vow, ratified by his signature signed in his own blood. In such cases, [the intruder] is obliged to drink the same spellbound wine as the "*saibbaitoûs*" and the poor drunken man, having lost his reason, blasphemes and commits sacrileges. He sells his soul to the Devil, thereby damning himself irrevocably. (119-120, my emphases)

The details of this sabbat are not very different from those provided by 16th and 17th-century witch hunters from elsewhere, like Boguet (famous for his prosecution of witches and werewolves in the Franche-Comté, see Appendix B). On the place of the sabbat, Boguet observes:

… it is useless to consider too much of the place where witches hold their Sabbats and assemblies. For witches have no trouble in finding the place since Satan guides and conveys them to it. Yet I shall say that, according to Antoine Gandillon's [an alleged witch tried by Boguet] statement, there must be water in that place; for when she was asked if she had been at *la Georgiere*, she answered that the Sabbat was not held there because there was no water. *And I think that the reason for this is that, in order to cause it to hail, witches usually beat water with their wands; and, when there is no water, they make a hole in the ground and piss in it, and beat their piss.* (1929[1590-1611]:54-55, my emphasis)

The perhaps distasteful nature of Boguet's description aside, each of these authors describes a number of the practices prescribed for the queer place that is the sabbat ground (which might sometimes be the site of a tumulus). Further, the round dance and

the digging of a hole to be filled with urine are practices that, exercised over a number of visits, might leave material traces that could be discerned by the archaeologist. This may be especially true if she does not limit her investigations to tumuli themselves but, rather, includes nearby areas as well. Indeed, more than an interesting proposition in the philosophy of landscape, I wish to suggest here that an understanding of queer places might be quite valuable to the archaeologist. If one were to know the ritual acts prescribed for a particular type of queer place, this knowledge might help to explain certain patterns that we observe in remote sensing and/or excavation. The bottom line is that, following the advice with which I open this chapter, we would be wise to seek more truth in the tales of "old wives."

Forests as Queer Places

There is an additional level upon which queer places are valuable to the archaeologists: rendering access to a place exceptional rather than quotidian, a queer status may play an important role in the preservation of the site(s) that it contains. My own tumulus research and that of others (see, for example, Triboulot 2002:20-21) has demonstrated that burial mounds, especially earthen mounds, are best preserved under forest cover. On one hand, this seems logical since forestry, plowing, and pasturage all expose tumuli to increased erosion (see Chapter 7). On the other hand, however, I would like to suggest that this preservation might also derive, in part, from the traditionally queer status of French forests themselves. Whether because they grew around the mounds, caves, rocks, and pools thought to be occupied by fantastical beings, or because of some *sui generis* property independent of the specific queer places contained within them, the forests of France — while they may have remained part of everyday life —

acquired a folklore of their own, filled with specific rules of engagement that mark forest as (at least potentially) queer.

When I mention this notion to French people, including to French archaeologists, they often come to understand what I mean in reflecting on *Brocéliande*, the Breton forest that features prominently in medieval myth cycles and faerie stories. In the French tradition, for example, *Brocéliande* figures into Arthurian myths and is strongly associated with the wizard Merlin (see Foulon-Ménard 1878). Given its prominence in the folklore of France, it is perhaps not surprising to discover that *Brocéliande* also contains a number of visible protohistoric features, including standing stones and burial mounds like those found in the Arroux and Somme valleys (see, for example, Briard 1989). Could it be that the presence of these features accounts for the volume of fantastical stories set in this forest?

But French legends and folk wisdom about the forest are not limited to *Brocéliande*. As Alexander Porteous observes,

> It has been said that the forest knows all and is able to teach all, and there is a French proverb to the effect that the forest, which always listens, has the secret of every mystery… (2002[1928]:12)

In fact, the idea of the forest as a source of knowledge — often secret knowledge — can be found throughout French folklore. Consider, for example, the tale of "*Papa Grand-Nez*" ("Father Big-Nose") collected by the Nivernais (i.e., from the Nièvre) folklorist Achille Millien and recounted in an 1887 volume of the *Revue des Traditions Populaires*.

According to the story, there were once two kings who were at war, their territories being separated by a wide river that only one of them had the means to cross. An officer loyal to the other king climbed a tall oak tree one day, hoping to spy on the movements of

the enemy. Instead, he saw a clearing with a number of small children sitting around a fire. An old man with a long nose came out of the forest and the children asked this newcomer for news of what was going on in the world. He spoke of the war between the kings, and suggested that were the king without boats to place the branch of a certain tree upon the water, it would make a bridge that would allow him to cross with his armies. But, Father Big-Nose cautioned, anyone who spoke of this knowledge would be turned to stone. The officer descended the tree and set the forest denizen's magic to work. His king's troops were victorious. Later, he climbed the tree and overheard Father Big-Nose tell his children that dust from another tree would blind the king's enemies. Anyone who spoke of this would be turned to stone. Once again, the young officer carried out the magic according to the plan offered by Father Big-Nose and his king's troops were victorious. Soon, the rival king — twice beaten — was forced to offer terms of peace. To reward the officer, the victorious king offered his daughter's hand in marriage. When the princess asked how he had defeated his enemies, the love-struck officer told her everything. He was immediately turned to stone. When the princess's father asked what happened, she related the story and was also turned to stone. Later, the officer's uncle (who had heard the princess repeat the story) climbed the oak and overheard Father Big-Nose tell his children the secret to free the young lovers: one need only go to a spring in the middle of the forest, break the ice that enclosed it, and take a bit of water to sprinkle on the two human-statues. As before, anyone who spoke of this would be turned to stone. The uncle found the spring after much searching. He took water and freed his nephew and the princess. But the king wanted to know how he had accomplished this magic. The uncle refused to speak of it but the king was adamant. The uncle ran to the forest and,

once again, climbed the oak. There Father Big-Nose told his children how to avoid being turned to stone: anyone who had a forest secret could find an orange tree at the edge of the woods. If he were to eat an orange from the tree and then carve a hole in its trunk, he could tell his secret to the tree. The secret would travel down the trunk and take root in the ground. After that he could speak freely of his knowledge. The uncle did this and was therefore free to tell his nephew, the princess, and the king how he had saved the day (Millien 1887).

The belief that there was knowledge to be gained from the forest directed people's actions vis-à-vis the woods. The avocational folklorist Paul Sébillot (1904:256) suggests that during the Middle Ages some holy people and seekers of knowledge retired into the woods and would not be seen in the outside world for years or even decades. Similarly, a recurring theme in Jan Veenstra's (1998) commentary on Laurens Pignon's *Contre les devineurs* (*Against the Diviners,* 1411) is the frequency with which French and Burgundian magicians — including those with noble sanction, those deemed to be charlatans, and those suspected of traffic with the Devil — went into the forest to gain knowledge and practice their crafts (no doubt away from prying eyes).

As the story of Father Big-Nose suggests, the forest has traditionally been thought to offer not only knowledge, but also danger. Although it may have been visited more often by inhabitants of the landscape than the queer places it contained, such visits were not necessarily conducted without the observance of certain rules. For example, Sébillot (1904:263) says that woodsmen were especially careful in the selection of trees, lest they cut down the preferred seat of a faerie. Such a transgression would no doubt result in supernatural punishment. Further, a myth cycle common throughout France — that of the

Chasse Sauvage or Wild Hunt — made it quite clear that not only were certain activities disallowed, but that one could only visit the forest at prescribed times. The Wild Hunt was conducted as much in the air above the forest as on the ground itself. It was a loud, cacophonous search for prey associated with cursed souls. Those who participated in this hunt were condemned to do so for some act of sacrilege, such as hunting at the hour of the Mass, on Sunday, or on an important feast day. Those who had committed an especially cruel act while hunting during their natural lives were also cursed to ride with the Wild Hunt for eternity. By way of introduction, Sébillot writes:

> In the beliefs of peasants and foresters, those who take part in [the Wild Hunt] atone for acts of sacrilege and, less often, cruelty. To satisfy their passion, they took their love of the hunt to the point of violation (i.e., violating the laws of the Church) and devastation (i.e., devastating game herds). Their punishment matches their sin and they must pursue without respite, until the end of time, a beast they will never bring down. (In this way, their torment is rather like that of Tantalus.) The same acts decided the punishment of the drivers of the Hunt, who tread the forest terrain rather than moving through the air. (1904:168)

Citing earlier authors, Sébillot tells that in the Upper (i.e., northern) Morvan there is a belief that the *Chasse Saint-Hubert et de Peuts* ("The Hunt of Saint Hubert and the Powers"[23]) passes every crossroads near the hour of midnight.

> This passage is accompanied by a great noise in the air and one can see a small baying hound followed by a very large one. A soldier, who feared nothing, wanted to witness [the passing of the Hunt.] He equipped himself with a hazel wand and arranged to take a small child with him [both of which were assumed to be required for protection from the Hunt.] Toward the hour of midnight, having arrived at the intersection marked by a cross, he traced a circle on the ground with his wand. In the middle of the circle, he placed the wand upright. After a short time, he heard a great noise and a small dog descended upon the wand. But the soldier and the child [were not protected by the circle as they should have been. They] either fell into the earth or disappeared as smoke, because no one ever saw them again. (1904:176)

Others were unlucky (or unwise) enough to meet up with the Hunt by accident. Sébillot relates how this happened to a man near Saint-Honoré-les-Bains, in the southern Morvan, who was then temporarily pressed into service (presumably as a game driver):

> [There was a] Morvan peasant who, against his will, was forced to
> assist the Hunt in the middle of the forest. He heard a voice cry out,
> "You were at pains [to help us]! Here is your part of the pleasure!"
> Thereupon, half of a woman's body fell into his cart. (1904:174-175)

Many Hunt stories from across France are similarly grizzly. It is, therefore, understandable that travelers and rural folks should seek to avoid being in the forest at times when the Hunt might pass, and that they should take pains to avoid the sacrilege and/or cruelty that might condemn them to the eternal Hunt.

French folk tradition also suggests that, among its dangers, the night-time forest is haunted by revenants. Some of these are the spirits of unbaptized children (Sébillot 1904:148-149). But there are other kinds of revenant. Bogros, in *À Travers le Morvan* (1886:146), writes about a murdered herder who calls his cattle on Morvandiaux nights. Bogros also tells the tale of a game keeper, killed by poachers, who makes his rounds of the forest. No one will hunt when this warden is thought to be nearby. I have herd a similar tale of forest revenants during my own time in France. When, a few years ago, some Dutch friends brought a new dog to their summer house (a few kilometers from the foot of Mont Dardon), the dog began to bark wildly at the forest. The dog's owners saw nothing in the treeline or even nearby. When they told an elderly friend and neighbor about the occurrence a few days later, he informed them that the spot upon which the dog had become fixated was precisely the place where, in 1947, his own brother had found a local poacher standing over the murdered body of a game keeper. This murder rocked the community and caused both brothers to flee for a long time: one went to colonial Africa

and, although the perpetrator of the murder has long since died, the other brother never returned to Dardon. The revenant of this murdered game keeper continues to haunt the minds of some local residents, if not the forests among which they live.

I include all of these stories here to underscore the degree to which the queerness of tumuli and other such sites, derived from their presumed denizens, may have passed through a kind of "contagion" (sensu Douglas 1999; Durkheim 1995[1912]) to the forests that surround them. Many of us who work with tumuli often assume that these features are better preserved under forest cover because dense, long-standing forests hide them from people and because the trees protect them from erosion. But recognizing their queer aspect, we should also entertain the possibility that at least some forests exist precisely because of the presence of tumuli. In such cases, it would be appropriate to see a kind of mutually sustaining relationship between the burial mound(s) and the forest in which each has at some point protected the other (cf., LaViolette and McIntosh 1997).

On Reuse, Memory, and Senses of History

The stories that I present here point to a kind of landscape reuse: a reconception of and reengagement with the southern Burgundian landscape that contains burial mounds (and other visible features) from earlier periods. With the possible exception of the revenant stories contained in the last section, however, this reuse was undertaken without a sense of history or memory. There is little evidence to suggest that rural Burgundians of the early Modern period saw tumuli as the material remains of past societies, as sources of information about history, or even necessarily as shared elements of their cultural memory. Rather, they saw them as the dwelling places and haunts of elusive, living (or undead) creatures and beings that continued to have influence in the world.

This is perhaps a fine distinction, but a nonetheless important one. It is a distinction that plays on a tension already present in the archaeological literature. As I discuss in Chapter 2, in their contributions to the June 1998 volume of *World Archaeology*, both Howard Williams and Sarah Semple treat interactions with and the reuse of prehistoric burial mounds by medieval Anglo-Saxon societies in Britain. Each contribution begins with a consideration of the Beowulf legend, particularly the death of Beowulf (which I have reproduced above), which occurs in a battle with a mound-dwelling dragon. Williams's article goes on to describe how barrows were reused by Anglo-Saxon groups, discussing the orientation of bodies, the items included with secondary burials, and the possible import of this practice to the establishment and maintenance of long-term claims to particular territories. While he is careful to note that artifacts and human remains encountered during the excavation of ancillary burials may have contributed to supernatural interpretations of the barrows, Williams considers the possibility that the reuse of these monuments was undertaken to establish "relationships with a supernatural past" (1998:96). Implicit in Williams's considerations is the notion that Anglo-Saxon reuse of ancient monuments was undertaken with a specific understanding of and orientation to what we today might call history and memory.

Semple's (1998) article, by contrast, explores the associations that prehistoric barrows came to have in the medieval Anglo-Saxon worldview. Such landscape features were generally considered to be the dwelling places of dragons, goblins, monsters, and/or divinities. With the arrival of Christianity, the mounds and their denizens were demonized. Throughout the Medieval period, these barrows were typically avoided and seen as fit only for outcasts, exiles, and witches — continuing the theme of queer places

that I develop above. The singular exception to this avoidance seems to have been important multi-group meetings that were held on top of important mounds. Unlike Williams's article, Semple's discussion of the role of prehistoric burial architecture in medieval Germanic society is a study of the "past in the past" only from the perspective of the modern observer who sees the mound as an earlier human construction (thereby generating a curious version of the emic-etic problem in an archaeological / historical context). There is nothing inherently diachronic about Semple's treatment and her title, "A fear of the past," though clever, is also misleading. Rather, she describes a largely synchronic "other" reality in which the original meaning / function of the mounds is all but forgotten, replaced with an understanding of the landscape that sees it populated with supernatural creatures and beings that exist in the present. It is this same kind of landscape understanding that I have explored above with regard to the tumuli of southern Burgundy.

But are all of the Burgundian legends that direct interactions with tumuli similarly ahistorical? The revenant stories that I present above do introduce some time depth into understandings of the landscape, but it is quite shallow: often within the living memory of the eldest community members. Are there stories that take us deeper into time?

One class of stories begins to approach an historic understanding of the landscape. We might think of these stories as "wandering peasant" tales. Itinerancy, especially seasonal itinerancy, was a common feature of French peasant life from the Medieval period onward, as peasants (generally young men) moved from place to place to seek temporary work in pastures, fields, and vineyards (see, for example, LeRoy Ladurie 1975, 2002). Modern *vendanges* ("harvests") — "festivals" that attract foreign tourists

and locals alike to work in vineyards throughout France every fall — should probably be seen as a survival of earlier peasant itinerancy. But unlike the history of peasant itinerancy, the *vendange* lacks a critical element of danger.

The wandering peasant was both a potential source of and victim of danger. For sedentary communities, the itinerant always posed the threat of bringing new and/or condemned ideas and practices into town. As attested by the records of the Holy Inquisition's efforts in and around the Languedocian village of Montaillou at the turn of the 14th century, wandering peasants were the random sparks that could carry heresy throughout the countryside, igniting conflagrations of heretical belief and practice wherever they found temporary employment. While the fires they caused could be stamped out, Inquisitors found it notoriously difficult to extinguish the individual floating sparks (LeRoy Ladurie 1975). Thus for those who did not move from place to place — and especially for members of the clergy — the itinerant stranger represented an unpredictable danger to established authority and the status quo.

But this danger was nothing, apparently, compared to the danger faced by the wandering peasant himself. The folklore of eastern France is full of stories of traveling *broutchoux* ("itinerant flax combers")[24], *magniens* or *mignins* ("wandering tinkerers," the latter spelling of which is Morvandiau)[25], and colporteurs who were robbed and killed along the road, especially as they returned home with full purses. An amateur historian in my host *commune* remembers stories from his childhood about colporteurs who were killed by poor local people. In one case, the peddler and his mule were buried under the dining/living area of a house in the *commune*, only to be found a generation or two later when new residents sought to level the floor of the house. In another story, a colporteur

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was robbed and killed by a peasant farmer in nearby Gueugnon. The victim's wife turned

up on the farmer's doorstep a few months later, having traced her husband's path from

the highlands of eastern France to this Arroux valley town. Startled, the man told the

distraught wife that the colporteur had passed by and left. Given that her husband and his

mule were buried on the property, the woman presumably lost the trail at that point and

returned to the Dauphiné.

In his posthumously published collection on the Savoie, Arnold van Gennep (1991)

indicates that such stories are common throughout the Savoie, Dauphiné, and Franche-

Comté — the areas from which many colporteurs seem to have come. It is common to

find tumulus-like stone mounds (some of which may have originally been protohistoric

tumuli) in upland areas, particularly near difficult mountain passes. Local legend holds

that these are the burial places of *broutchoux*, *magniens*, or colporteurs killed along their

route. It is traditional for each traveler to place a stone upon the mound as she passes,

recognizing the untimely passing of the dead man and/or keeping his potentially restless

spirit at bay (514-517). Similar beliefs and practices have also been described in

Burgundy. In his work on the folk customs of the Mâconnais, Gabriel Jeanton observes

that many mounds are thought to be the resting places of murdered itinerants:

> In the area around Mont Saint-Romain, it is said that three such tombs
> once existed…. Today we only see two, covered in small stones. These
> stones were thrown [upon the tombs] by the pious hands of a hundred
> generations that, faithfully, have continued this ritual up to our own
> days of irreverence and impiety. (1929:33)

Further, he tells us, this belief-practice is not limited to the Mâconnais: no less an

authority than Jacques Gabriel Bulliot (the early excavator of Mont Beuvray / Bibracte

and uncle of Joseph Déchelette) had already described a similar phenomenon along the Roman road that passed from Saint-Honoré-les-Bains (in the southern Morvan) to Autun.

Indeed, two of the sites mentioned by Bulliot in the 1877 text referenced by Jeanton are tumulus sites in the Arroux-Somme database: *Grand-Mort* ("Big Death") and *Petit-Mort* ("Little Death"). Bulliot documents the placing of additional stones on these mounds by passers-by in the mid-19th century, following the pattern later reported by both Jeanton and van Gennep. Excavations of a third Morvandiau mound, *L'Homme-Mort* ("The Dead Man"), some 20 years before revealed an Iron Age burial chamber containing bracelets and other funerary objects (Bulliot 1877:287). Bulliot suggests that one might find similar material in the "*mort*" sites that are spread throughout this region (Figure 5.14 and Appendix A). Many of the places named after *magniens* and their *hantes* ("haunts") might also prove important to archaeologists.

Here we see a group of legends, somewhat like the ghost stories about the herdsman and the game keeper, that offer a glimpse at a sense of history in tumulus interactions. This sense is a little more developed in related stories that Jeanton cites, in which some residents of the Mâconnais interpret tumuli as the burial places of "*Bougres*" ("Bulgarians"), *"Sarrasins"* ("Saracens"), and "*Polacres*" ("Poles"), groups who are understood either to have invaded France in the distant past or to have passed through as *gens de voyage* ("Travelers"). However, in all of these cases I would argue that the sense of history (and possibly memory) invoked is *abstract*, relating to indistinct "sometimes" and "someones" in the past and not to specific historic periods or people. A more-precise understanding of landscape history would not really develop in eastern France until the
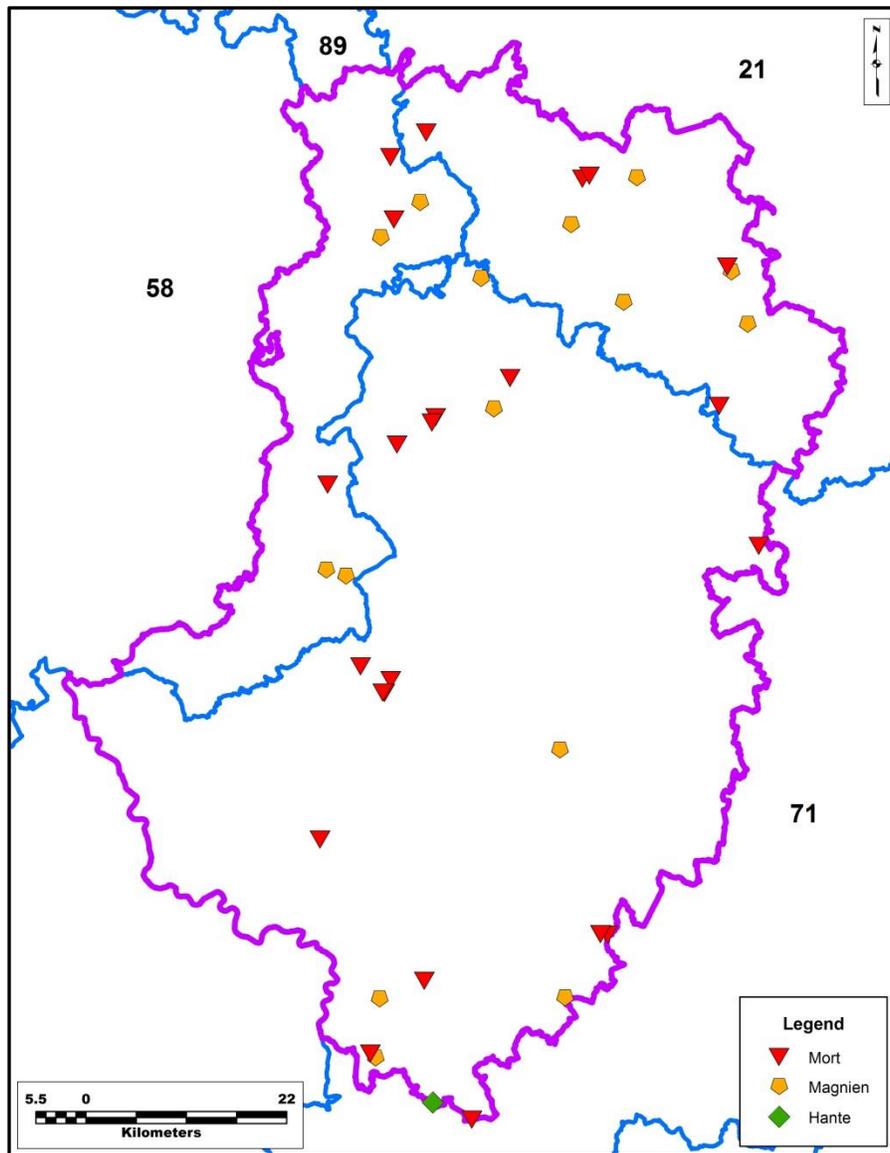
Figure 5.14. Distribution of the place-name elements *mort*, *magnien*, and *hante* in the Arroux-Somme project area.

mid-19th century and the elaboration of a new approach to dwelling with tumuli:

protohistoric archaeology (see Chapter 6).

NOTES

[1] As I indicate in Chapter 1, the early Modern period in France is generally thought of as having lasted from the end of the 15th century CE until the end of the 18th century. This period encompasses the French Renaissance and culminates in the French Revolution.

[2] While the notion of the peasant as unchanging representatives of the past is no longer as widespread as it was at the beginning of the 19th century, it is certainly not dead. For example, at the 2004 annual meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, a Hungarian archaeologist of my acquaintance surprised me (but not her colleagues) with her use of 20th-century Hungarian peasants as an ethnographic proxy for Iron Age lifeways.

[3] The title of the 1697 edition was a bit longer, offering the hope of morals to the stories included and naming, seemingly for the first time, *Ma Mère Oye* ("My Mother Goose")(Perrault 1697). This volume is sometimes listed as the work of Pierre Perrault Darmancourt, Perrault's youngest son, though judging from the style of the tales and given that some of them appeared earlier, there is now general agreement that *Histoires* is the work of the elder Perrault (Lewis 1996).

[4] The name of this organization changed somewhat over time, reflecting the broader national politics of each era. Thus from 1814 to 1848 it was the *Société royale des Antiquaires de France*, and from 1848 to 1871, the *Société impériale des Antiquaires de France*.

[5] In a brilliant dissertation, Jan Veenstra (1998) has demonstrated the long-standing connection of French politics to the practices of magic and the study of astrology. It is, therefore, small surprise that early almanacs should become so quickly tied up in politics.

[6] Keep in mind that one site (containing one tumulus) was excluded from this sample as a duplicate.

[7] This *lieu-dit* is interesting in that it does not appear on the most recent IGN topographic maps.

[8] Here Jeanton cites an 1880 excavation conducted near the banks of the Saône by Lacrost and the *Société des Amis et des Sciences de Tournus*. He does not, however, provide further information to locate the site or the report.

[9] In a 1908 issue of *The Celtic Review*, David MacRitchie proposes that such tales may reference an earlier time, when people lived in pit or turf-covered houses that may have been confused for actual hills. In some parts of Europe, for example in Iceland (see Milek 2012), people continued to occupy such structures well into the 20th century.

[10] Although we now recognize druids as a class of priests, judges, teachers, and healers within Celtic society (see, for example, Crumley 1974), early scholars (e.g., Bronser

1926:274) thought that the "Aryan" (what we would now refer to as "Indoeuropean") cultures found druidism already existing when they arrived in Ireland.

[11] Here I mean to say that such words derive from an *ethos* of *scientism* rather than one of *science*. Science suggests: (1) an orientation of curiosity — and perhaps even one of *a priori* agnosticism (following Latour 1999:275-276) — towards the phenomena of the world, and (2) a suite of practices and principles designed to explore said phenomena, thereby generating knowledge of them. Scientism, on the other hand, suggests "a belief in the omnipotence of scientific knowledge and techniques," as well as "the view that the methods of study appropriate to physical science can replace those used in other fields such as philosophy and, especially, human behavioral and the social sciences" (OED: *scientism*). While this distinction may be somewhat subtle in English, it is quite strong in French where there is a marked distinction between a "*scientist*" (one who believes in the superiority of science) and a "*scientifique*" (a practitioner of science).

[12] I use Buffon's formal title because it is how much of the world has come to know Georges-Louis Leclerc (1707-1788). In fact, Leclerc was not made Comte de Buffon until 1773, relatively late in his life and career. At the time of Pennant's visit, he was not yet officially known by this title. He was, however, already in the midst of publishing his landmark, 37-volume *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (1749-1789). Among other things, Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* laid the groundwork for the discipline we now call biogeography and for Darwinian evolutionism (see, for example, Nelson 1978).

[13] The name used by my French friends and neighbors to refer to this creature — the *revive* or *revivre* — looks suspiciously like a verb form related to "living again" and may seem somewhat idiosyncratic. I suspect, however, that this is an example of *Verlan*, a common kind of French speech play in which the order of the syllables in a spoken word is inverted, often accompanied by minor vowel and/or consonant shifts. "The term *Verlan* is a metathesis of *l'envers* 'backwards', i.e. *l'envers* → *versl'en* → v*erlan*" (Lefkowitz 1991:1). Some common examples of this kind of word play are *ripou* (from *pourri*, "rotten") and *Beur* (from *Arabe,* "Arab"). The latter — a term generally used by second- and third-generation immigrants to describe themselves, often with political overtones — shows how these inverted words, once created, come to function independently. (This word is now, sometimes, itself inverted into *Reub*.) While it remains unclear why the residents of this part of France may have originally inverted the word *vouivre*, it seems likely that this process produced the forms *revive* and *revivre*.

[14] Noting the questionable nature of the source, Arnold van Gennep (1991:460-461) briefly discusses the idea advanced by Ducis in the 1869 and 1870 editions of the *Revue Savoisienne*: that the word *vouivre* might derive not from a Latin root, but rather from a Celtic one. Ducis proposes the "Celtic" root *wi* ("egg") as the source of this word, citing the importance of the serpent's egg in Celtic superstition and religious belief (as reported by Suetonius, Pliny, and Tacitus). Van Gennep's skepticism notwithstanding, Ducis's proposal deserves examination.

Modern q-Celtic languages have the forms *ubh* (Irish) and *ugh* (Scots), while p-Celtic offers *ŵy* (Welsh) and *ui* or *vi* (Breton), which Ducis likely had in mind. All of these forms have the same Indo-European root — **owyo* (using the orthography preferred by Watkins in *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* [2000]) — as the Latin *ovum*. Michiel de Vaan (2008:438) makes a plausible case for a strong link between this Indo-European word and *awy* or *au̯is* (using Mann's 1984 orthography) — the Indo-European root for "bird", source of the Latin *aves* — proposing that **owyo* might have meant something like "which belongs to a bird." Regardless of their Indo-European roots, the Celtic forms do seem close to *vouivre*, particularly to the speaker/reader who opts for its (possibly older) *vivre* spelling.

To continue this game of tracing Indo-European roots, let us examine the generally accepted Latin root *vipera* a bit more closely. The traditional etymology seems to accept that *vipera* comes from two Indo-European roots : *gʷei-* (Watkins 2000) or *gu̯ī-* (Mann 1984), meaning "alive, living," and *perə*, meaning "to produce or procure." The former gave rise to a number of forms in Latin (e.g., *vivus*), Greek (e.g., *bio-*, *biota*), the Slavic languages (e.g., *žít* [Czech, "to live"]), and ultimately English (e.g., vivid, vivacious). The latter is the root of the Latin *partum* ("to give birth"). Thus, *vipera* would seem to have meant "that which produces live (offspring)," in other words, "viviparous." However, as de Vaan (2008) remarks, this interpretation is puzzling given the ecological knowledge of the Romans. It is clear from the writings of Pliny — and of the others mentioned by Ducis — that the Romans realized that snakes lay eggs, even if they may have observed young hatching within the snake herself. Further, viviparity would not serve to differentiate a snake from many other classes of animal — and most especially, from mammals — with which early Latin speakers were familiar. Thus, de Vaan proposes another etymology linked to the root **wip* or **wib* (related to our "vibrate"), that meant "to swing" or "agitate", and suggests that this "name for the viper may have referred to its behaviour (curling, hissing) or its form (patterns on the snake, form of the head) which leaves many possibilities for etymologies" (681). One is left to wonder about the degree to which **owyo* might be considered among the possible roots for *vipera*, yielding a meaning much closer to "ovoviviparous" and suggesting that Ducis may not have been entirely incorrect in his proposed etymology.

[15] For those who seek historical continuity, it is perhaps amusing to note that the 2010-2011 white "away" jersey of the Inter Milan professional football club (designed by Nike) features a blue, black, and silver *bissa* that twists up the player's left side and crests over his shoulder. In place of the human figure between its jaws, this contemporary *bissa* breathes fire.

[16] I have the archaeologist Serge Grappin to thank for directing my attention to this particular legend. I should note that French-speakers use the same word, *serpent,* to describe both "serpents" (which in English might refer to any number of long reptilian creatures) and "snakes." In discussing or reading about these monsters, I have often found it difficult to envision the type of animal to which a story or storyteller refers. In the case of my conversation with Grappin, he went on to discuss *couleuvres*, a large

family of snakes found throughout France. With the exception of the *Couleuvre de Montpellier* — which my colleagues and I frequently encounter at Lattes, in the south of France — these snakes are not venomous; and even this poisonous member of the family poses little danger to humans given that its fangs are set back in its throat. While not technically dangerous to humans, these snakes can be very intimidating: some members of the *couleuvre* family can get quite big, attaining a length of more than 2 meters and a sizeable girth (something that I have seen both in the south of France and in the Burgundian countryside). Further, as Grappin explained to me, *couleuvres* — while generally docile — can become quite territorial and aggressive towards predators, humans, and even other snakes. They will chase a perceived threat, hissing loudly, and even strike. Grappin suspects that many stories of the *tarbouille*, and of the entire *vouivre* myth cycle, reference these large snakes rather than the venomous, though more-timid and physically diminutive, viper.

[17] The heraldic *mélusine* is half woman and half serpent or half fish. The former was likely the model for more-recent depictions of the *vouivre*; the latter, of mermaids. Sometimes *mélusine* is pictured with two tails (especially with two fish tails). Coffee enthusiasts of the 21st century might recognize this two-tailed mermaid as the symbol of Starbucks Coffee Company.

[18] The irony of this description is that Lucien must count himself and his boyhood friends among these "brave young men," as digging in the tumulus of *La Revive* became a regular activity for them in their youth (M.D., personal communication 2011).

[19] *Le Meneur de loups* or *The Wolf-Leader* (1904) is the title of an 1857 fantastical novel by Alexandre Dumas. The novel tells the story of a village shoemaker who, seeking revenge against the local gamekeeper, becomes a werewolf and wolf-leader. As might be expected, his plan for revenge is not realized in exactly the way he envisions and he spends much of the later part of the novel living in exile in the forest.

[20] The name Saint-Loup, literally "Saint Wolf," is common throughout France. The Saint Wolf presumably referenced here was the bishop of Troyes for much of the 5th century.

[21] I include many forms related to "*faye*' in this list. To the Burgundian farmers who live in and around my host *commune*, the words "*fée*" and "*faye*" are phonologically indistinguishable. Thus while both Taverdet (2007:151) and Guinot (1972) suggest that *faye* is related to the Latin "*fagus*" and therefore references the beech tree (or a beech forest), I suspect that some of these place-names first referred to faeries (just as some *fée* place-names likely referenced beech trees originally). This interpretation is supported by authors like Pérot (1890) who uses the terms *fée* and *fayolle* interchangeably (6).

[22] Consider, for example, a rather enigmatic artifact recovered during the excavation of the now-destroyed tumulus at *Les Vernailloux*, Uxeau (71). Jacquet and Maerten (1984:20, Photo 7) report simply that a Liard, a coin dedicated to Marie des Dombes and struck in 1615, was found in the tumulus. We are left to wonder about the different paths

that may have brought this coin to *Les Vernailloux* and its mound. Did it fall out of the pocket or purse of a passing shepherd? Did a group of nobles or merchants have a meal atop the mound and leave behind the coin to commemorate the occasion? Or was it placed in the mound as some kind of offering? Sadly, we will never know the answers to these questions. The presence of the coin does indicate, however, that someone visited the mound on some errand, likely in the first quarter of the 17th century. We cannot simply assume, therefore, that tumuli went completely unrecognized as places in the landscapes of more-recent historic periods prior to their examination by archaeologists.

[23] Saint Hubert is the patron saint of hunters and his cult was long associated with the healing of rabies. The word *peut* comes from the verb *pouvoir*, to be able to. In *L'Âme du Morvan* (1971)*,* Alfred Guillaume lists *Peut* among the names by which one might refer to the Devil, since calling him by his real name risked causing him to appear on the spot (119).

[24] Though the words may originally be related, the traveling *broutchoux* of eastern France should not be confused with *lai Brouchos* of the French Pyrenees, who are thought to be evil spirits against whom protective action should be taken (Sébillot 1904:236).

[25] As shown in Figure 5.14 and in Appendix A, the different forms of "*magnien*" are common place-name elements in the Arroux and Somme valleys.

CHAPTER 6

TUMULUS ARCHAEOLOGY: A NEW WAY OF DWELLING

THE (FIRST) BATTLE OF ALESIA (52 BCE)

In Book VII of his *Gallic War* (*The Conquest of Gaul*) — subtitled "The Rebellion of

Vercingetorix" — Julius Caesar describes the decisive final battle of the war on the

Continent:

> 68. After the rout of his cavalry [in open battle along the Loire]
> Vercingetorix withdrew his troops from their position in front of the
> camps and marched straight for Alesia, a stronghold of the Mandubii,
> leaving orders for the heavy baggage to be packed up immediately and
> brought after him. Caesar, after removing the army's baggage with a
> guard of two legions to the nearest hill, followed the enemy as long as
> daylight lasted and killed some three thousand of their rearguard. The
> next day he encamped near Alesia. The Gauls were terrified by the
> defeat of their cavalry, the arm on which they placed the greatest
> reliance. Accordingly, after reconnoitering the position of the town,
> Caesar called on the soldiers to undertake the heavy task of investing it
> with siege works.

> 69. It was clearly impregnable except by blockade; for it stood at a high
> altitude on top of a hill washed by streams on the north and south, and
> closely surrounded by other hills as high as itself on every side except
> the west, where a plain extended for some three miles. The whole of the
> slope below the town ramparts on the east was occupied by a camp
> crowded with Gallic troops, who had fortified it with a trench and a six-
> foot wall. The siege works that the Romans were starting to make had a
> circumference of ten miles. Eight camps were placed in strategic
> positions, linked together by fortifications along which twenty-three
> redoubts were built. The redoubts were occupied in the daytime by
> pickets, to prevent a surprise attack at any point; at night strong
> garrisons bivouacked in them with sentries on duty.

70. During the construction of these works a hard-fought cavalry battle took place in the three-mile stretch of plain between the hills. Seeing his men in difficulties, Caesar reinforced them with the German cavalry and drew up the legions in front of their camps. Encouraged by their support the cavalry routed the enemy, whose flight was impeded by their own numbers. Hotly pursued by the Germans right up to the fortifications of Vercingetorix's camp, they got jammed in the narrow entrances and suffered heavy losses…. Before retiring the Germans killed many of the fugitives and captured a number of horses.

71. Vercingetorix now decided to send out all his cavalry in the night, before the Roman entrenchments were completed. He bade them go every man to his own country and impress for service all the men of military age…. [T]he cavalry was sent out in silence through a gap in the entrenchments shortly before midnight. Vercingetorix now ordered all the garrison, on pain of death, to surrender to him all the corn they had, and proceeded to dole it out a little at a time; the large quantity of livestock which had been brought in by the Mandubii was shared out individually at once. All the troops posted outside the town were taken inside. In this way Vercingetorix prepared to continue the struggle until the arrival of reinforcements….

73. … [T]he Gauls tried many times to attack the [Roman siege] works, making furious sorties from several of the town gates at once. Caesar decided, therefore, that he must strengthen them still further, to render them defensible by a smaller force….

74. When these defences were completed, Caesar constructed a similar line of fortifications facing outwards instead of inwards. This line described a circuit of fourteen miles, running along the flattest ground that could be found, and its purpose was to hold off attacks from outside, so that, even if Vercingetorix's cavalry assembled a very large force, the troops defending the siege works could not be surrounded. To avoid the danger of having to send out foraging parties when the relieving force was near, every man was ordered to provide himself with a month's supply of corn and fodder….

76. … When eight thousand horse and about two hundred and fifty thousand infantry had been assembled in the country of the Aedui, a start was made to the task of reviewing and counting them and choosing officers…. With them were associated representatives of the various tribes, to act as an advisory committee for the conduct of the campaign. They all started for Alesia full of enthusiasm and confidence. Every single man believed that the mere sight of such an enormous host of infantry and cavalry would be enough to make the enemy turn tail, especially as he would be attacked on two fronts — for

the besieged would sally out from the town from the town at the same time as the relieving force came into view.

77. In Alesia, however, they knew nothing of these preparations; the time by which they had expected relief was past and their corn was exhausted. So they summoned an assembly and considered what their fate was to be….

78. At the conclusion of the debate it was decided to send out of the town those whom age or infirmity incapacitated for fighting…. So the Mandubian population, who had received the other Gauls into their town, were compelled to leave it with their wives and children. They came up to the Roman fortification and with tears besought the soldiers to take them as slaves and relieve their hunger; but Caesar posted guards on the ramparts with orders to refuse them admission.

79. Meanwhile Commius and the other commanders arrived before Alesia with the whole of their relief force and encamped on a hill outside the Roman lines, not more than a mile away. Next day they brought out their cavalry and occupied all the plain — three miles long, it will be remembered. Their infantry was moved away a short distance and posted on the slopes of the hill. As the town commanded a view over the plain, the besieged saw the troops who had come to their relief, and all crowding together in excitement rejoiced and congratulated one another on their deliverance. Then they brought out their forces, posted them in front of the town, and filled the nearest trench with fascines and earth, ready for a sortie and all the perils it would entail.

80. Caesar placed the whole of his infantry along the two lines of entrenchments, so that in case of need every man could know his post and hold it. He then ordered out the cavalry to battle…. They had fought from midday till near sunset and the issue was still in doubt, when the German horse massed all their squadrons at one point, charged the Gauls, and hurled them back. When their cavalry broke and fled, the archers were surrounded and killed. The rest of our horsemen advanced from other points, pursued the fugitives right up to their camp, and gave them no chance of rallying. At this, the Gauls who had come out of the town went back in, bitterly disappointed and now almost despairing of success.

81. After an interval of only one day, however, during which they prepared a great quantity of fascines, ladders, and grappling-hooks, the relieving army moved silently out of camp at midnight and advanced towards the entrenchments in the plain. Suddenly raising a shout to inform the besieged of their approach, they began to throw fascines into the trenches, drove the Romans from the rampart with arrows and

stones discharged from slings or by hand, and employed every other method of assault.

Meanwhile, hearing the distant shouting, Vercingetorix sounded the trumpet and led his men out of the town. The Roman troops moved up to the posts previously allotted to them at the entrenchments and kept the Gauls at a distance with slingstones, bullets, large stones, and stakes which were placed at ready intervals along the rampart, while the artillery pelted them with missiles. It was too dark to see, and casualties were heavy on both sides. The generals Mark Antony and Gaius Trebonius, who had been detailed for the defence of this particular sector, reinforced the points where they knew the troops were hard pressed with men brought up from redoubts well behind the fighting line.

82. … [The Gauls'] losses were everywhere heavy and when dawn came they had failed to penetrate the defences at any point. Afraid, therefore, of having their right flank turned by an attack from the camps on the higher ground, they fell back upon their remaining troops. The besieged lost much time in bringing out the implements that Vercingetorix had prepared for the sortie and in filling up the first stretches of trench, and before they reached the main fortifications heard of the retreat of the relief force, so they returned into the town without effecting anything.

83. After this second costly repulse the Gauls held a council of war…. After sending out scouts to reconnoiter the ground, the enemy commanders selected from their whole force sixty thousand men belonging to the tribes with the highest reputation for courage, secretly decided on their objective and plan of action, and ordered them to begin an attack at noon under Vercassivellaunus the Arvernian, one of their four generals and a relative of Vercingetorix. Leaving camp in the early evening, he almost completed his march before daybreak, and ordered his troops to rest under cover of the hill after their night's work. When he saw that it was getting on for midday, he marched towards the Roman camp… while at the same time the Gallic cavalry moved up to the fortifications in the plain and the rest of the army made a demonstration in front of their own camp.

84. On seeing these troop movements from the citadel of Alesia, Vercingetorix sallied out with the fascines, poles, sappers' huts, grappling-hooks, and other implements which he had prepared for the purpose. There was fighting simultaneously all over the field and the Gauls tried every expedient, concentrating on the weakest point of the defences. Distributed as they were along lines of such length, the Romans found it difficult to meet simultaneous attacks in many

different places. They were unnerved, too, by the shouts they could hear behind them as they fought, which indicated that their lives were not in their own hands but depended on the bravery of others. It is nearly always invisible dangers that are most terrifying.

85. … The Gauls knew that unless they broke through the lines they were lost; the Romans, if they could hold their ground, looked forward to the end of all their hardships. The danger was greatest at the fortifications on the hill where … Vercassivellaunus had been sent. The unfavourable downward slope of the ground told heavily against the Romans. Some of the Gauls flung javelins, while others advanced to the attack with shields locked together above their heads, fresh troops continually relieving them when they were tired. All of them threw earth on to the fortifications, which enabled them to climb the rampart and covered the obstacles hidden in the ground.

86. At length, when Caesar saw that his men were weakening and running short of weapons, he sent Labienus to their relief with six cohorts, telling him to remain on the defensive if possible; but if he could not hold the camp by any other means, he must withdraw some cohorts from their positions and counter-attack….

The besieged Gauls despaired at last of penetrating the huge fortifications in the plain and attempted to storm one of the steep ascents. Carry there all the implements that had provided themselves with, they dislodged the defenders of the towers with a hail of missiles, filled the trenches with earth and fascines, and tore down the palisade and breastwork with their hooks.

87. Caesar first sent some cohorts to the rescue under young Brutus, then others under the general Gaius Fabius; finally, as the struggle grew fiercer, he led up a fresh detachment in person. These troops renewed the fight and succeeded in repulsing the attack.

Caesar now started for the sector to which he had sent Labienus, taking four cohorts from the nearest redoubt, and ordering a part of the cavalry to follow him; another detachment was to ride around the outer lines and attack the enemy in the rear. Labienus … sent to tell Caesar that he considered the time for decisive action was at hand. Caesar put on speed to get there in time for the fight.

88. The enemy knew that he was coming by the scarlet cloak which he always wore in action to mark his identity; and when they saw the cavalry squadrons and cohorts following him down the slopes, which were plainly visible from the heights on which they stood, they joined battle. Both sides raised a cheer, which was answered by the men on

the rampart and all along the entrenchments. The Romans dropped their spears and fought with their swords. Suddenly the Gauls saw the cavalry in their rear and fresh cohorts coming up in front. They broke and fled, but found their retreat cut off by the cavalry and were mown down. Sedullus, chieftain and commander of the Lemovices, was killed, Vercassivellaunus was taken prisoner in the rout, seventy-four standards were brought in to Caesar, and only a few men of all the large army got back unhurt to their camp. When the Gauls in the town saw their countrymen being slaughtered in flight, they gave up hope and recalled their troops from the entrenchments. The relieving forces immediately fled from their camps; and if the Romans had not been tired out after a long day's work … the enemy's army might have been annihilated. As it was, a large number were taken or killed by the cavalry, which was sent in pursuit and came up with their rear soon after midnight. The survivors dispersed to their homes.

89. The next day, Vercingetorix addressed an assembly. 'I did not undertake the war,' he said, 'for private ends, but in the cause of national liberty. And since I must now accept my fate, I place myself at your disposal. Make amends to the Romans by killing me or surrender me alive as you think best.' A deputation was sent to refer the matter to Caesar, who ordered the arms to be handed over and the tribal chiefs brought out to him. He seated himself at the fortification in front of his camp, and there the chiefs were brought; Vercingetorix was delivered up, and the arms laid down. Caesar set apart the Aeduan and Arvernian prisoners, in the hope that he could use them to regain the allegiance of their tribes; the rest he distributed as booty to the entire army, allotting one to every man. (Caesar 1951:189-200)

WHAT IS PROTOHISTORY?

The careful reader will no doubt have noticed that I use the terms *protohistory* and *protohistorian* at several points throughout this text. But what, precisely, do these terms mean? And why have I insisted upon them?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to understand the history of French archaeology. More to the point, the reader must understand that there is no singular, unified history of the discipline in France. On one hand, strong regional traditions of archaeology within France have established very different research trajectories that may be only provisionally correlated under the umbrella of national cultural heritage plans. Beyond these regional traditions, on the other hand, the archaeology of France has no fewer than three distinct subdisciplines, each of which has its own history, questions, and techniques. These subdisciplines are *préhistoire* ("prehistory"), *protohistoire* ("protohistory"), and *archéologie mediévale* ("medieval archaeology"). Roman archaeology represents a possible fourth subdiscipline, especially along the Mediterranean coast where Rome exercised influence for much longer[1], though for various reasons the early Roman period in France is often treated as *protohistoire* and the later Roman period as *archéologie mediévale.*

Many students of archaeology are familiar with the history of *préhistoire*, given how influential the earliest French finds were in establishing the broader discipline. Although the intellectual politics of the day may have required its "confirmation" by members of the British intellectual community, Boucher de Perthes' 1836-1846 discovery of flint tools (now recognized as part of the Acheulean industry) in association with the remains of extinct megafauna in the gravels of the Somme River[2] was the first to effectively

demonstrate a deep history of human occupation in Europe. This find injected

considerable momentum into the nascent discipline of archaeology and established a

strong tie between it and the field of geology, a tie that remains important to the French

subdiscipline of *préhistoire*. Many of the most-influential French archaeologists

originated within the paradigm of *préhistoire* (see Audouze 1999)*,* including the Abbé

Breuil (1877-1961), André Leroi-Gourhan (1911-1986), and François Bordes (1919-

1981). For example, Leroi-Gourhan's concept of the *chaîne-opératoire* ("operational /

production sequence") (see 1943, 1945, 1964a, 1964b) and Bordes' insistence on careful

replicative studies accompanied by rigorous statistics (see 1947, 1950) have been

particularly instrumental in shaping archaeologists' understandings of the relationship

between technological production and social interaction, as well as in furthering

traditions of "experimental archaeology" in some archaeological academies (cf., Johnson,

et al. 1978).

Yet, alongside — and in marked counterpoint to — the developments initiated by

Boucher de Perthes' find, two other archaeological subdisciplines were also taking shape.

Whereas French prehistoric archaeology was fundamentally connected to the science of

geology from its inception, medieval archaeology grew out of the field of history. The

drawing back of Roman troops and administrators during the 5th century CE returned

much of northern Gaul to local control and opened it up to settlement by migrating

groups from Scandinavia, Central Europe, and north Africa (by way of Iberia). Indeed, it

was these movements that instigated Rome's retreat, as it became increasingly difficult to

hold Gaul against the newcomers (Bury 1924). Medieval archaeology developed, in part,

to investigate the material record left behind by these migrations, tracing the changes

(cultural, social, and political) that these new contacts engendered. Another important history studied by French medieval archaeology has been the establishment of strong monastic traditions in France at a relatively early date (ca. 1000 CE), and their rapid fluorescence throughout Europe. These traditions, which came to wield considerable economic and political influence, were materialized in in the architecture of rich monastic centers, like Cluny and Citeaux, both of which can be found in Burgundy. Like the diocesan centers of which one more often thinks, especially in relation to large cathedrals like those of Autun or Chartres, these monastic centers controlled vast networks of churches and priories throughout France (and Europe more broadly). Their landscape impact needs to be recognized as equal to, if not greater than, that of any secular power (e.g., the French nobility). Historians and medieval archaeologists have traced the continuation of this power up to the French Revolution.

Between the "prehistory" of *préhistoire* and the Medieval period lies a vast, poorly defined epoch that the French (as well as the Spanish) refer to as *protohistoire* (the "protohistoric" period). Accordingly, the archaeology that studies this period is also called *protohistoire*. Fitting for a subdiscipline that sits between prehistory and medieval archaeology, *protohistoire* incorporates many of the geologic techniques and understandings of the former with the historical tradition of the latter (including efforts to "back cast" later descriptions of social life onto indigenous groups living in the unrecorded past).

The term *protohistoire* is quite enigmatic. In North America, archaeologists add the prefix "proto-" to proper names to denote groups known to early European ethnographers through the accounts of others, but not through direct contact. The assumption seems to

be that contact is such a transformative phenomenon that any indigenous group was likely very different before European goods — and, finally, European people — arrived in its communities. Thus, for example, an ethnohistoric novel like *Waterlily*, written by the Lakota anthropologist and folklorist Ella Cara Deloria in the 1940s (though only published in 1988), seeks to describe the lives of two generations of women. Deloria's story begins among the pre-contact "proto-Lakota" and ends just after the moment of regular contact, when European goods, settlers, and diseases became a near-daily feature of Lakota life. This is the lens through which I understood "protohistory" for a long time, assuming that the term referred to a period or periods — namely, the Bronze and Iron Ages — when literate societies were present in the Mediterranean Basin who wrote *about* the indigenous peoples of Gaul. Indeed, as I began to ask my colleagues about the meaning of the term "*protohistoire*," this understanding came quite close to that expressed by many archaeologists trained in the *Midi* (i.e., the South of France). Here, a strong literary and ethnographic tradition begins with the founding of *Massalia* (Marseille) by Phocaean Greeks in 600 BCE, and of *Emporion* (Empúries) on the Catalan coast about a quarter century later[3].

But scholars trained in the archaeological traditions of the "North" of France, and especially of Paris, tended to find this understanding of *protohistoire* too restrictive. For them, the developments of the Neolithic period — including ceramic technology, animal husbandry, plant domestication, "monumental" architecture, and increasing evidence for social differentiation and "complexity" — represent a significant break from previous Paleolithic social life, and should therefore fall under the aegis of *protohistoire*. From the standpoint of archaeological excavation and interpretation, the Neolithic does in fact

introduce a suite of new challenges starting at about 4500 BCE. Thus the argument of these northern archaeologists does have some merit.

Working in two different geographic areas, with archaeologists trained in both traditions, I can only say with certainty that the scope of *protohistoire* is a source of significant controversy. Luckily, the tumuli of the Arroux and Somme drainages date to the late Bronze and early Iron Ages, thereby falling cleanly and unequivocally within both definitions of protohistory. Further, a number of the tumuli contained in the northeastern corner of the Arroux-Somme project area were instrumental in the formulation of *protohistoire* as a discipline: directly participating in the development of a new way of dwelling that transformed them (or further complicated their already complex existence) forever.

DEFINING PROTOHISTORY:
SERENDIPITY AND STATECRAFT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DISCIPLINE

In the early pages of her dissertation on the tumuli of the Côte-d'Or, Françoise Henry (1933b:12) mentions that when Dr. Bourrée[4] wrote about the northern Burgundian tumulus of Cérilly in 1827, he "could find nothing … to write about" except stories and legends like those contained in the previous chapter. As I discuss at the end of Chapter 5, the tales about tumuli that continued to circulate widely well into the 1800s — and that often directed people's actions vis-à-vis burial mounds — were largely divorced of concerns with memory and history. Save in the most abstract fashion, and only in a restricted number of cases, tumuli were not thought of as sources of information about the past.

From the 1840s onward, however, a movement among France's élite intelligentsia, especially that of eastern France, led to the formalization and fluorescence of an entirely different way of thinking about and accessing the past. The elaboration of earlier antiquarian principles into the subdiscipline of protohistoric archaeology established a very different approach to dwelling with tumuli than had been seen previously. This change came about, in large part, through the patronage of one man: Charles Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (1808-1873), President of the Second French Republic from 1848 to 1852, and Emperor of the Second French Empire from 1852 to 1870. This was Napoléon III.

Napoléon III was the nephew and heir of the better-known Napoléon (I) Bonaparte. Like his uncle, Napoléon III is remembered for his aggressive foreign policy and his war record, though he did not have as successful a military career as his namesake and was ultimately deposed for his failures in this arena (see, for example, Baguley 2000; Corley

1961; Price 1997). But Napoléon III was also an idealist and an intellectual. He wrote extensively on military strategy, scientific issues, history, and social policy; and he undertook several projects to modernize both Paris itself (Harvey 2003) and France more broadly.

One topic, in particular, captured Louis-Napoléon's attention even before he entered public life: the person and campaigns of Julius Caesar. Following this passion, which often reached levels of obsession, Napoléon III established and endowed antiquarian projects throughout France with the goal of identifying the landscape described in Caesar's *Gallic War* (see, for example, Blanchegorge 2000, 2001). With an insistence upon corroboratory material evidence derived through careful fieldwork — rather than historical anecdote and linguistic conjecture alone — Napoléon established a new standard for the conduct of antiquarian projects, one that we recognize today as the basis of protohistoric archaeology. Further, Louis-Napoléon's endowment of long-term projects with specific research goals had the effect of generating not only a new way of dwelling with the landscape features of the past (namely excavation), but also a new class of individual: the professional archaeologist, whose everyday labor was directed toward the collection of information about the past.

To encourage these new pursuits and to foster this new class of intellectual, the Emperor expanded or established and endowed a number of *sociétiés savantes* ("learned societies"). In July 1858, Louis-Napoléon announced the establishment of the *Commission de la topographie des Gaules* ("Gaulish Topographic Commission"), under the direction of Félix Coignart de Saulcy (1807-1880), a senator, numismatist, and founder of Biblical archaeology. The mandate of de Saulcy's *Commission* was to

investigate the geography, history, and archaeology of France up to the Carolingian period (roughly the mid-8th century CE). In an 1862 declaration, Napoléon announced the creation of yet another archaeological institution: the *Musée des antiquités celtiques et gallo-romaines* ("Museum of Celtic and Gallo-Roman Antiquities"). The museum formally opened in a castle in Saint-Germain-en-Laye (a southern suburb of Paris) five years later, under the direction of Alexandre Bertrand (1820-1902)[5], already experienced with the archaeology of Greece and the Near East. The *Musée des antiquités celtique et gallo-romaine* would eventually become the *Musée des antiquités nationales* ("National Antiquities Museum") and, since 2005, the *Musée d'archéologie nationale* ("National Archaeology Museum")[6]. With the strong patronage of the Emperor and through the heavily endowed organs of the *Commission* and the *Musée*, de Saulcy and Bertrand set the agenda for the development of French protohistoric archaeology from about 1860 onward.

As I have indicated, the major project of this period involved the identification of the landscape described in Caesar's *Gallic War* and the reconstruction of the troop movements described by the politician-general. Napoléon III's fascination with Caesar is interesting: on the one hand, he identifies with the man. Indeed, in his own extensively researched and brilliantly illustrated *Histoire de Jules César* (Bonaparte 2001), published in two volumes between 1865 and 1866, Louis-Napoléon compares his own political and military style, as well as that of his uncle, to Caesar's. On the other hand, by increasingly highlighting the resistance of the Gauls to Caesar's authority, Napoléon III laid the groundwork for a uniquely Gallic pride. The dedication of the large statue of Vercingetorix that the Emperor commissioned for the hilltop at Alesia (see below), reads

"*La Gaule unie, / Formant une seule nation / Animée d'un même esprit, / Peut défier l'Univer*s" ("A unified Gaul, / Forming a single nation / Animated by the same spirit/breath, / Can defy the Universe"). This nationalist sentiment, reinforced by Napoléon III's history and archaeology, would come to full fruition in the 1900s with appeals to "*nos ancêtres les gaulois*" ("our ancestors the Gauls") (Crumley 1991; Dietler 1994, 1998b). This pride is explicitly French and, ironically, anti-imperial.

Given this position of ambivalence, it is perhaps not surprising that Louis-Napoléon's research in eastern France focused precisely on the siege and battle of Alesia, the final (and failed) outpouring of concerted Gallic resistance to the authority of Rome. The account of Alesia is a deeply moving portion of the *Gallic War*. It highlights Caesar's brilliance both as an author and as a politician: he captures as much sympathy and admiration for the defeated Gauls, as pride in his own victory. By focusing on this moment, it seems that Napoléon could comfortably identify with both sides of the Caesarean history that so interested him. Accordingly, he instructed de Saulcy, Bertrand, and others — including one Colonel Stoffel, who was the Emperor's principal consultant in military reconstructions and a dogged field researcher — to establish the location of this decisive battle. Here began what I would call the *Second* Battle of Alesia.

One further piece of background information is necessary to understand the way that this particular "battle" unfolded[7]. On 20 May 1842, Claude Rossignol (1805-1886), a Beaunois intellectual and *conservateur* of the Burgundian regional archives who would later become the first Director of the *Musée des antiquités* (see note above), arrived "in a singularly picturesque country, where modern roads cut across the paths of the Middle Ages, and railroads [intersect with] Roman roads" (Rossignol 1842:9). This country was

the *Chaumes d'Auvenay*, specifically the area around Ivry-en-Montagne. With the mayor

of Ivry and 15 workmen, Rossignol had come to investigate a number of mounds

previously identified there. Rossignol expected approximately 20 mounds. He soon

discovered, however, that there were too many tumuli to count on the *Chaumes* and in the

adjacent forest[8]. Some of these barrows were conical and rather large, measuring over a

meter tall and as much as 12 m across.

Rossignol's workmen cut into a number of the mounds, carving north-south and east-

west cruciform trenches into the larger mounds and completely excavating the smaller

ones. Rossignol was unable to determine much about these tumuli, in part due to what he

thought of as disarray within them. Given the mixing of soil, rock, human remains, ash,

and artifacts that he found, Rossignol concluded that nearly all of these mounds had been

opened at some point in the past. Of course, with the benefit of hindsight, one has cause

to wonder about how careful his workmen had been in their excavations. There is a

distinct possibility, however — especially given the number of tumuli that Rossignol

found to contain more than one burial (1842:11) — that he uncovered evidence of the

ancillary burial practice that we now know to have been common throughout the Iron

Age (see Chapter 3).

In his final analysis, and apparently ignoring the presence of two flaked-stone

daggers that he claims resemble other known "Gallic" exemplars (Rossignol 1842:12),

Rossignol concluded that there was no evidence to suggest that the mounds of Ivry

predated the Roman Conquest. In fact, he noted in his report that there was nothing to

suggest when the tumuli may have been erected even after the Conquest. He did,

however, offer a hypothesis about the origin of these mounds, following an idea

advanced by the antiquarians and philologists of his day: that perhaps they were the final

resting places of Caesar's men and the Helvetian soldiers who fought against them in 58

BCE, as described in Book I of the *Gallic War* (Caesar 1951:28-42). This interpretation,

which nearly all contemporary archaeologists would consider wildly incorrect[9],

nonetheless set the stage for the flurry of archaeological activity that surrounded the

search for Alesia nearly 20 years later.

This search became a struggle between two academic communities. On one side

were scholars in the Doubs (a *département* of the Franche-Comté located along the Swiss

border) who were convinced that the ancient site of Alesia was to be found near the

modern community of Alaise. The plateaus around Alaise were estimated to contain

perhaps as many as 20,000 tumuli (Castan 1859:2). With such a large number of tombs,

and following the reasoning of Rossignol's work on the *Chaumes d'Auvenay*, it seemed

logical that Alaise must have been the site of a large battle. Led by Auguste Castan

(1833-1892), the archaeologists of the Doubs began to systematically excavate the

mounds surrounding Alaise in order to prove their case. Along the way, they found what

they considered incontrovertible evidence, the most fantastic of which may have been the

base of an Iron Age ceramic vase that appeared to have been stamped "*ALESI*" (Castan

1859:25).

A year after Castan published this find, Félix de Saulcy took up Rossignol's work

near Ivry-en-Montagne, seeking to prove once and for all that the Helvetian defeat had

taken place on the *Chaumes d'Auvenay* (Henry 1933b:15). The results of de Saulcy's

excavations were published the next year by Alexandre Bertrand, who (according to

Henry) saw close affinities between the artifacts recovered on the *Chaumes* and those

discovered in Swiss *palafittes* (see Chapter 3). Given that Caesar's account begins with

the Helvetii burning their own homes and moving westward in search of better fortunes,

this link seemed too important for Bertrand and de Saulcy to ignore. Also impossible to

ignore was the discovery, during the same period, of a substantial number of similar

Bronze Age weapons near Alise-Sainte-Reine, a Côte-d'Or *commune* located

approximately 75 km north of Ivry. Situated at the base of an immense plateau (Mont

Auxois), it was here that Bertrand and de Saulcy focused their own search — heavily

financed by the Emperor — for Alesia.

Henry says of this research:

> There still was not enough precise evidence to establish a chronology.
> But the [importance of] the *Gallic War* was especially exaggerated in
> everyone's imaginations, obscuring any hope of perspective. Only the
> six years of the Gallic War existed, and very few ventured to think that
> the Gauls might have existed prior to that time. For those who did
> imagine this possibility, the period during which [the region's]
> megalithic monuments were constructed seemed strangely close to the
> [Roman] Conquest, leaving very little time for the metal ages.
> Alexandre Bertrand seems to have considered the Gauls of the first
> century BCE as a people more familiar with bronze and stone than with
> iron. In fact, he wrote [in discussing the tumuli of Auvenay]: "There is
> something absolutely certain in the work of Northern [i.e.,
> Scandinavian] archaeologists who classify everything into three distinct
> ages: stone, bronze, and iron. It is that there is no longer any doubt that
> the exclusive presence of stone and bronze (even in non-weapons)
> indicates a period during which interactions with Greece and Rome
> were rare: a period, therefore, prior to the Conquest. Mr. Worsea's [sic]
> remarks about iron objects that imitate [earlier] bronze objects and
> characterize a period of transition from a purely Celtic era to a Gallo-
> Roman period also seem to have merit. Yet, as the only iron bracelet
> found on the Auvenay is an exact reproduction of a bronze piece in the
> assemblage, in establishing the moment of tumulus construction
> somewhat closer to our own time, we cannot understand a construction
> that occurred much later than the beginning of our own era [i.e., of the
> Roman period]." (Henry 1933b:15-16, quoting de Saulcy 1862:362-
> 363)

These observations about dating the tumuli of the *Chaumes d'Auvenay*, if they indicate a mistakenly foreshortened sense of the pre-Roman period in central Burgundy, also demonstrate the degree to which Bertrand (and, by extension, de Saulcy) were connected into the burgeoning European archaeological community. Danish antiquarian / archaeologist Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (1788-1865) had first developed the "Three-age System" referenced by de Saulcy in the years before 1820, when he took up the directorship of the institution that would become the Danish National Museum. By the 1830s, the system was independent of recorded history, relying instead on artifact typology and geologic stratigraphy. The latter developments were greatly aided by the stratigraphic excavations of Thomsen's protégé, Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae (1821-1885), who became the second Director of the National Museum following Thomsen's death (for more on this history, see Murray 2007:131-134, 206-215). De Saulcy's comments suggest that he was quite familiar with developments in Copenhagen, and he may even have been in direct correspondence with Thomsen and/or Worsaae[10]. In closing his 1862 essay on the tumuli of the Auvenay, he states his hope that the kind of chronological clarity that the Scandinavians have achieved will soon be possible in France (de Saulcy 1862:374).

No doubt aided by their strong imperial backing, their connections into the international archaeological community, and the rich archaeological landscape of the southern Côte-d'Or, Bertrand and de Saulcy were successful in establishing Alise-Sainte-Reine as the ill-fated Mandubian capital. In 1865, the same year as the publication of the first volume of his *Histoire de Jules César*, Napoléon III dedicated the seven-foot tall statue of Vercingetorix that continues to overlook the plains of Alesia. To the

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disappointment — and the disbelief — of their competition in the Doubs, the Burgundian contingent had won the Second Battle of Alesia.

Yet this intellectual history is not without its share of irony. Archaeologists now recognize that neither the tombs of the Auvenay nor those of the Franche-Comté dated to the first century BCE, or even to the La Tène period. Indeed, they were already more than four centuries old and had long-since passed out of use by the time of Caesar's arrival (see Chapter 3). That an entire subdiscipline should have successfully grown out of such a critical misconception is a prime example of what Umberto Eco identifies as "serendipity":

> … even the most lunatic experiments can produce strange side effects, stimulating research that proves perhaps less amusing but scientifically more serious…. I wanted to show how a number of ideas that today we consider false actually changed the world (sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse) and how, in the best instances, false beliefs and discoveries totally without credibility could then lead to the discovery of something true (*or at least something we consider true today*). In the field of the sciences, this mechanism is known as serendipity. An excellent example of it is given us by Columbus, who — believing he could reach the Indies by sailing westward — actually discovered America, which he had not intended to discover. (Eco 1998:vii, my emphasis)

There are indications that by the end of the 1860s, Bertrand and de Saulcy had already begun to recognize the error of their thinking about the tumuli of central Burgundy, and after a bit more excavation by the *Commission* neither would further discuss their earlier dating (Henry 1933b:16). This is perhaps not surprising, given Bertrand's commitment to reproduce Scandinavian temporal clarity in French archaeology. But another development seems to have convinced them and their contemporaries that there had been an error: the Europe-wide publication of similar artifacts from the Austrian mining village of Hallstatt in the late 1860s (see Chapter 3). In

an 1867 volume of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, Anatole de Barthélemy (1821-1904) once again addresses the question of Alesia's location, working slowly and methodically through Classical history, toponymy, historical linguistics, and material culture. De Barthélemy verifies that the archaeological evidence, and especially the numismatic evidence, supports the location of Alesia at Alise-Sainte-Reine / Mont Auxois, as suggested by Bertrand and de Saulcy. By contrast, he suggests, the material recovered from the excavation of burial mounds near the rival site of Alaise more closely resembles that found at Hallstatt and recognized with increasing frequency on sites across the middle of Europe (de Barthélemy 1867:61-63). De Barthélemy gives credit for the latter identification to Bertrand's contemporary, coworker, and sometime rival, Louis Laurent Gabriel de Mortillet (1821-1898), who became curator of the *Musée's* Stone Age collection in 1868 and was a key figure in the development of French prehistoric archaeology. De Mortillet had published this idea in the first volume of *Le Moniteur de l'Archéologie*[11].

It seems likely that Bertrand was already convinced of the broader temporal scope evidenced by the tumuli of eastern France when, in 1872, he and de Mortillet began to receive urgent letters from Edouard Flouest (1829-1891). Flouest was a native of the Châtillonnais (in northern Burgundy) who was then *Procureur* at Nîmes, in eastern Languedoc. He was an archaeological enthusiast who occupied himself with the material and landscapes excavated by the previous generation of antiquarians, much of which remained unpublished (see Henry 1933b:17-18). Flouest urged the representatives of the *Musée* to come from Saint-Germain to investigate the tumuli of his native Côte-d'Or not as Gallic War sites, but as important protohistoric (Celtic) sites in their own right.

Bertrand acquiesced later that year, sending Abel Maître (Director of the *Musée*'s

Restoration Workshop) to look at Flouest's burial mounds. Thus began a series of

important exchanges and excavations that, Françoise Henry (1933b:18) suggests,

solidified the importance of Côte-d'Or tumuli in the French archaeological imagination

and significantly advanced the entire endeavor of French protohistoric archaeology.

AMATEUR, AVOCATIONAL, AND PROFESSIONAL ARCHAEOLOGISTS

It goes without saying that all of the people who were instrumental in developing the subdiscipline of French protohistory did so without the benefit of formal training programs in archaeology. Indeed, many were noble or bourgeois men whose careers in archaeology began after élite schooling in disciplines other than archaeology[12]. Bertrand, for example, matriculated from the prestigious *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris. Only after graduation did he go off to excavate in Babylon and, later, in Greece. Before taking up the directorship of the *Musée*, he was a rhetoric professor. De Saulcy, on the other hand, was from a noble family. His own archaeological career started when he went on a tour of the Near East as a young man and became a kind of gentleman-explorer. Castan trained as an historian at the *École nationale des chartes* in Paris. His 1855 dissertation, *Essais sur l'origine de la commune de Besançon* ("Essays on the Origin of the *Commune* of Besançon"), indicated the direction that his career would take.

Many others who became entangled in the "Second Battle of Alesia," as well as in the side projects spawned by Louis-Napoléon's efforts, were bourgeois men from the provinces who were initiated into archaeology through their participation in local *sociétiés savantes.* Among this number, we can count Jacques Gabriel Bulliot (1817-1902), the Autunois wine merchant and member of the *Société Eduenne des Lettres, Sciences et Arts d'Autun* who is now recognized as the "discoverer" of Bibracte at Mont Beuvray. In the early 1850s, Bulliot found the remains of a Roman encampment on the summit of Mont Beuvray, near an extant medieval chapel that was the original subject of his studies. He became convinced — against the general opinion of his fellows in the *Société Eduenne* — that this was the site of Bibracte. In 1856, he published this opinion

in his *Essai sur le Système Défensif des Romains dans le Pays Éduen* ("Essay on the Roman Defensive System in the Aeduan Lands")(Bulliot 1856). This publication won Mont Beuvray the attention of the Emperor, who sent a representative to investigate the claim. This officer gave the *Société Eduenne* leave to excavate further on Mont Beuvray. Unfortunately for Bulliot, however, the initial authorization to dig was granted to another member of the *Société*: Xavier Garenne, a lawyer and amateur archaeologist already developing an encyclopedic knowledge of the archaeological landscape of the middle Arroux valley[13]. Following these and other excavations on the hilltop, Bulliot was finally commissioned by the Emperor to undertake his own investigations in 1867. He built a summer home atop Mont Beuvray from which he directed excavations for the next 28 years (Figure 6.1). In 1895, Bulliot passed direction of the site over to his nephew, a young industrialist and archaeologist from Roanne named Joseph Déchelette (1862-1914).

It was not until Déchelette's time that formal training programs in archaeology became common, and even over the next generation advanced degrees in archaeology continued to be unheard of. Françoise Henry, for example, was not granted a doctorate in archaeology for her efforts; rather, she received her degree in "*belles-lettres*" (i.e., Classical studies). Thus it is not surprising that a long tradition of both amateur and avocational archaeology have continued in France up to the present day. It is important to note that, as the time depth evinced by the tumuli of the *Chaumes d'Auvenay* expanded and as the importance of Mont Beuvray on the national stage grew, much of the knowledge about tumuli (and other Bronze and Iron Age installations) in the Arroux and Somme valleys passed into the care of amateur and avocational archaeologists.

Figure 6.1. On-site reconstruction of the "*Hôtel des Gaules*," the house built by Jacques Gabriel Bulliot on the summit of Mont Beuvray in 1870.

While I used the terms "amateur" and "avocational" interchangeably earlier, here I would like to posit a difference between the two. As I use it, the classification "amateur archaeologist" encompasses a broad range of self-taught or minimally trained practitioners. From the standpoint of a professional archaeologist, this range might include everyone from the indelicate "looter" or "pot-hunter" who digs holes in sites and causes large amounts of damage simply to extract the artifacts contained therein, to very sophisticated and widely read "students of the art" who develop long-term relationships with the sites and materials they study. My friend Lucien, for example, belongs to this latter category which effectively continues the tradition of men like Bulliot, Garenne, and others.

The education of these autodidacts has been greatly influenced by the publications of the journals and memoirs of the *sociétiés savantes*, and many — coming from working class (rather than bourgeois) backgrounds — have worked to form their own learned societies and historical associations. Two of these are *La Physiophile*[14], first founded in 1888 and reconstituted in 1924, and *Les Amis du Dardon* ("The Friends of/from Dardon"), founded in the mid-1950s. Like the learned societies upon which they have modeled themselves, *La Physiophile* and *Les Amis du Dardon* provide a forum in which to discuss scientific and historical matters, including the archaeology of the Arroux and Somme Valleys. Both of these organizations publish regular journals. The articles in *La Physiophile* cover all of the natural and social sciences while those in *Échos du Passé* (journal of *Les Amis du Dardon*) tend to focus on the history and patrimony of western Saône-et-Loire. Much of this writing is quite sophisticated despite the fact that it is published by local experts, many of whom have little formal education beyond the 8th grade.

These journals also publish the work of more educated scholars who do not have formal employment in archaeology. I refer to these people as "avocational archaeologists." Like the category of amateurs, this group includes a range of people. At one end of the spectrum are intellectuals broadly trained in the sciences who decide to focus their own studies on archaeology. Perhaps the most famous example of this kind of avocational archaeologist is Henri Parriat (1910-1975). Born in Montceau-les-Mines, in the middle Arroux valley, Parriat was appointed professor at the *École Primaire Supérieure* in Montceau in 1932. Although his mandate was to teach natural science and chemistry, Parriat became one of the most influential non-professional archaeologists of

his day, training cycle upon cycle of *lycéens* (i.e., preparatory / high school students) in

the techniques of field and laboratory archaeology. A natural "*polyvalent*" (a French

word that describes someone with a wide array of talents), Parriat's own research led him

through botany, geology, speleology, zoology, and history (especially architectural,

social, and religious history). He brought these diverse research interests to bear on his

practice of archaeology. Parriat investigated sites of all historic (including pre- and

protohistoric) periods and published widely (see Notet 1996). Through a long and faithful

engagement with *La Physiophile* that lasted from 1947 until his death in 1975, Parriat

inspired and educated generations of amateur, avocational, and even professional

archaeologists interested in the region. When Carole Crumley and the other founders of

the French Project arrived in southern Burgundy near the end of his life, Parriat was

among the local archaeologists who welcomed them to Mont Dardon and the French

Project's sense of responsibility for Dardon is one inherited from him.

Some of Parriat's students went on to receive higher degrees in archaeology,

although many do not hold professional posts in the discipline. This is another class of

avocational archaeologist. My friend and colleague Michel Maerten is one example of

this kind of scholar. Maerten, working with the amateur archaeologist Jean-Claude

Jacquet, excavated the tumulus of *Les Vernailloux* (Uxeau [71]) and his name appears on

many of the site registry forms in the Arroux-Somme tumulus sample[15]. Although

Maerten holds a doctorate in medieval archaeology from the *Université de Bourgogne*

and is associated as a researcher with a national institute, he is a secondary school teacher

by profession. Nonetheless, his training and credentials make him (and others like him)

the only non-professional archaeologists who are eligible to obtain excavation permits under current French regulations.

The restrictiveness of French cultural heritage law is a point of contention that separates professional — and even some avocational — archaeologists from other practitioners of the discipline, especially in rural areas like the Arroux and Somme valleys. This tension appears to be a relatively new development. Déchelette, himself, had a record of working closely and publishing with amateur archaeologists, and this tradition continued until about 30 years ago. As Michel Py (former director of the excavation at Lattes) remembers it, the legislation and the overall mood of archaeology really began to change throughout France in the 1980s. Before that time, people like Parriat and even Lucien could apply for and be awarded excavation permits. This possibility meant that lines of communication remained open among amateur, avocational, and professional archaeologists. For example, Lucien continues to maintain a collegial correspondence with the professional archaeologist who was Curator of the region when he and Renée Horiot excavated at the tumulus of *La Revive* (see Chapter 3). However, in recent years and for various reasons[16], these lines of communication have broken down. When I talk about amateur archaeologists with French professionals I am often told that, while such people may mean well, it would be better if they prepared their collections for donation to public institutions and stopped investigating new sites altogether. With very few exceptions, there is little support for amateur archaeology in today's France (though see Chapter 7).

Of course, this is a change that has significant consequences, some of which I have observed first-hand during the course of my fieldwork. Perhaps chief among these

consequences, people seem to feel a sense of disconnection from their oldest patrimony.

Lucien was among the founders of *Les Amis du Dardon* and, in what he sees as its

heyday, the association had a number of active members who were interested in

archaeology. Part of every year's activities involved excavation and archaeological lab

work. Since the legislation changed, however, these activities are no longer open to most

members of *Les Amis*. Accordingly, much of the group's attention has shifted to more-

recent historic explorations: of church records from the early Modern period, of accounts

of the Revolution, of personal genealogies, and of World War diaries, to name a few.

However distressing it may be to my friend, this is an understandable shift towards topics

that association members are not prohibited from exploring on their own. Unfortunately,

this shift means that are very few new recruits to pick up the tradition of amateur

protohistory carried by people like Lucien (who is now in his 80s) and Parriat (long since

deceased). Further, when development threatens protohistoric sites — as it has in recent

years atop Mont Dardon (*Amis du Dardon* 2012; Notet 2011) — it is difficult to find

advocates for the preservation of the archaeological resource among those alienated from

their early patrimony.

Despairing of this situation, Lucien has sought in recent years to establish a new

museum for *Les Amis*[17]. He envisions a place where his own sizeable collection of

artifacts and documents pertaining to earlier periods can be put together with those of

others. Lucien feels his own mortality and recognizes the amount of information that

might be lost if this project is not realized quickly. The collection of Jacquet, for

example, appears to have been dispersed after his death in the mid-1990s (or at least

hidden away), thereby making a large amount of archaeological knowledge unavailable

for further investigation. However, a number of challenges have confronted Lucien in his efforts to establish such a museum; and, despite a few mollifying and as-yet-unrealized assurances from local politicians, he has been unable to get enough support from the government or from members of the professional archaeological community to make his project a reality.

This later point is perhaps the greatest tragedy inherent in the story of amateur, avocational, and professional archaeology in southern Burgundy. When the professional archaeology of the late 19th and early 20th centuries moved its focus to La Tène and later occupations, many amateur and avocational practitioners continued to focus on tumuli and other early protohistoric installations. The archaeological knowledge that circulates in the professional community is, therefore, rather different from that which circulates in the amateur community. As it is (quite literally) dying out, the community of amateur protohistorians threatens to take with it into obscurity a great deal of knowledge, especially about site locations. Further, the professional-amateur divide has alienated professional archaeologists from local enthusiasts, their natural and — as I argue in the next few chapters — *necessary* allies in efforts to keep archaeological features from being impacted by changes to rural land use. Although their numbers are dwindling, there are still quite a few amateur practitioners who, as Lucien says, seek to protect important archaeological sites from "*destructions inconscientes*." Professional heritage managers would do well to tap this resource.

NOTES

[1] *Gallia Transalpina* or *Gallia Narbonensis*, which encompassed much of what is now Languedoc and Provence, was founded as a Roman province in about 120 BCE. This followed the Roman victory over allied Arverni and Allobroges forces under King Bituitus in 123 BCE. Thus Rome held political authority over southern Gaul for approximately 70 years before the defeat of Vercingetorix at Alesia in 52 BCE.

[2] This was not the Somme River in Burgundy. Boucher de Perthes found his artifacts near Abbeville, along the larger and better known Somme River in Picardy, northern France.

[3] Incidentally, these same practitioners are the most likely to see Roman archaeology as its own subdiscipline, no doubt because Rome exercised its influence in this part of Gaul for much longer than in areas further north.

[4] Bourrée would go on to found the *Musée du Pays Châtillonnais*, where the Lady of Vix and her burial collection currently reside.

[5] Bertrand was technically the second Director of the *Musée*. From 1862 until 1866, the project of drawing together the museum collection and exhibits was directed by the Beaunois archivist Claude Rossignol (see below and Chapter 8). But Rossignol was frequently absent from Paris and Napoléon III grew increasingly displeased both with his progress in establishing the *Musée* and with the mounting costs of the project. As a result, the Emperor formally removed Rossignol from his position as Director in August of 1866, just eight months before the inauguration of the *Musée's* first galleries in May 1867 (Effros 2012:34-37). Rossignol retired to Bourbon-Lancy (71), where he died in 1886 (Callais 2001:325).

[6] It was here that the young Françoise Henry did her graduate work in the 1920s, under the tutelage and protection of Henri Hubert who had been Assistant Curator since 1898. A more or less direct line of intellectual descent links Henry — who even lived in an apartment in the museum for a time (Sorensen 2011) — to Bertrand, who was assisted after 1887 by another of Henry's professors, Salomon Reinach, and who remained Director of the museum until his death in 1902.

[7] The Second Battle of Alesia was intellectual rather than military, but had considerable stakes in terms of receiving the Emperor's patronage.

[8] These mounds were part of the *Chaumes d'Auvenay* complex later investigated by Françoise Henry. This complex accounts for the dense cluster of mounds (Group D) that appears in the northeastern corner of the Arroux-Somme project area, see Figure 4.11.

[9] Though see the work and interpretations of the amateur researchers Jacquet (1992) and Guinot (1992), as well as their collaborations (for example, Jacquet and Guinot 1991), presented in Chapter 4.

[10] It seems likely that de Saulcy and/or Bertrand were personally acquainted with Thomsen, who had visited Paris in 1855 and was part of a Danish delegation sent to France in 1861. During the 1861 visit, Hortense Lacroix Cornu — another friend and confidante of the Emperor who had her own influential connections in the European archaeological community — arranged for Thomsen to meet directly with Napoléon III to discuss the status of France's disparate collections of antiquities (Effros 2012).

[11] Sadly, de Barthélemy does not list the year of publication for this volume, though it cannot have been much earlier given the publication dates of the Hallstatt material (which Ramsauer, himself, never published following the end of excavations in 1863).

[12] On this account, it is interesting to note that Claude Rossignol, the ill-fated first Director of the *Musée*, was the son of a craftsman (Callais 2001:325). He had only minimal formal education, having built a career largely on what he taught himself.

[13] Garenne would demonstrate this knowledge in his own publication on Mont Beuvray / Bibracte (1867), which includes not only a description of Mont Dardon, but also of several tumuli in the Arroux valley.

[14] Officially the *Société d'études des Sciences Naturelles et Historiques de Montceau-les-Mines*, "*La Physiophile*" was a neologism intended to mean something akin to "The Friend of Nature."

[15] Maerten specializes in medieval archaeology, especially the investigation of *chateaux-forts* (i.e., fortresses and fortifications) and aerial photography. Given these specializations, he encounters a number of sites that may be medieval *mottes* or protohistoric tumuli (see Chapter 5). Following an historic triage, he records each site he encounters as either one or the other with the *Service Régional de l'Archéologie* (SRA).

[16] Many of these reasons turn on issues of space. On one hand, following the expansion of France's national highway system in the 1980s and 1990s, the depositories and storage facilities for archaeological materials are full to capacity. Many of the artifacts contained in these spaces have yet to be studied. Thus part of the rationale for restricting permissions for new excavations is to encourage studies of this material that has already been taken out of the ground. There is not a lot of support for having amateur scholars — aside from students enrolled in formal archaeology courses — conduct these analyses. On the other hand, a very real political-economic challenge in France at present is that more people are receiving advanced degrees in archaeology than there are posts for archaeologists. This situation encourages a great deal of competition among professional archaeologists and blurs the line between professional and avocational, which becomes a matter of training (somewhat) and (mostly) of chance. Amateur archaeologists, since they do not face the same pressures, are further excluded from the archaeological community.

[17] The association is currently affiliated with the *Musée du Patrimoine Gueugnonnais*, but this institution is largely dedicated to the preservation of recent patrimony.

CHAPTER 7

DWELLING WITH TUMULI TODAY

THREE TALES OF RECOGNITION AND MISRECOGNITION

Summer 2006: One day Lucien D. and I traveled far away from Mont Dardon to explore some of the Arroux-valley sites that he knew in his youth. We were largely unsuccessful in relocating these sites, however. Lucien became frustrated not only because he feels he no longer remembers things as well as he did in the past, but also because the landscape has changed so much over the past 40 years. He told me that the pace of this change continues to increase at an alarming rate.

On our trip home, I suggested that we stop to investigate the tumuli of *Montfaucon* (Toulon-sur-Arroux [71]), a pair of mounds initially recorded by Xavier Garenne in the 1860s and re-identified by Maerten through aerial survey in 1991. We stopped to talk with the landowner, whom we found standing by the side of the road. Lucien described the kind of feature we were looking for, even indicating the approximate location of the site in the farmer's pasture. The man looked at us skeptically and said that he knew of no such mounds on his property. His tone suggested that he was not open to the possibility of our exploring the presumed site, which lay in a field where he pastures cattle throughout the much of the year. Although I have explored the forest on the opposite side of the road extensively, I have yet to successfully negotiate access to the fields of *Montfaucon* in order to find out if the tumuli recorded by Garenne and Maerten still exist.

Winter 2007: Since 2002, it has become my habit to check for changes to the tumuli in the immediate vicinity of Mont Dardon. During a brief field visit in early December 2007, I saw that a wood-cutting project at *Le Mauvais Pas* seemed about to approach the remaining tumulus in that forest. Knowing that at least one other tumulus at this site had already been razed, I feared for the preservation of the remaining mound. That evening I mentioned my concern to Lucien. He immediately telephoned the landowner, a middle-aged farmer who grew up in the *commune* (i.e., Vendenesse-sur-Arroux [71], of which Lucien is the former mayor). The younger man was surprised by Lucien's call. The half of the conversation that I overheard suggested that this landowner belonged to the generation that remembered Henri Parriat, the French Project's excavations atop Mont Dardon, and Lucien's frequent public discourses on the importance of the protohistoric past. He did not know that there were sites in his forest, he explained, but if he were to come across one — even a low mound that seemed like nothing special — he would leave it alone. I could rest easy, for the time being, knowing that the landowner at *Le Mauvais Pas* shared Lucien's conviction that the sites of the past should be preserved.

Summer 2011: Seeking recorded sites on the remote *Chaumes d'Auvenay*, I got lost. Towards evening, I drove into the yard of the *Ferme de Bruilly*, an old communal farm where several tumuli have been recorded. A smiling man in his 40s, clearly unaccustomed to unannounced visitors, came out of the farmhouse. Once we finally established that I was where I intended to be, I explained that I was an archaeologist looking for ancient burial mounds. As I began to describe what such mounds might look like the farmer stopped me. He knew precisely what I was talking about. A certain Monsieur Grappin, Director of the *Maison du Patrimoine* (the "House of Patrimony /

Heritage") in nearby Saint-Romain, passed through the region several years ago as he made an inventory of the tumuli on the *Chaumes d'Auvenay*. Along the way, he spent a lot of time talking to local farmers and landowners about the ubiquitous mounds in their fields and forests. The *Maison* continues to do a lot of community outreach programming, especially with school-aged children (including this farmer's own teenaged daughter). The staff of the *Maison* work to familiarize the residents of this landscape with pre- and protohistoric sites, as well as with the folklore that surrounds such sites, and to instill an appreciation of the need for site preservation.

Before I left, the farmer and I looked at a map of the mound sites recorded on his property. There were two sites, each of which apparently contained a group of tumuli. He confirmed the presence of the first, describing it in careful detail. He explained to me that these mounds do not impede his use of the land, as this is an area that he decided to keep in pasture once he realized what the tumuli were. He did not know about the second site. Considering the terrain, he suspected that the location of this site may have been recorded in error. I was struck by his knowledge of tumuli — very different from that of many landowners in the southern portion of the Arroux-Somme project area — as well as by his efforts to preserve such sites. As I was leaving, he explained to me that if his young daughter were present she could have told me a number of the myths associated with the sites in the area. He invited me to come back another time, advising me that I should also pay a visit to Monsieur Grappin.

DÉSTRUCTIONS INCONSCIENTES

Given that the adjective *inconscient* has two meanings — both "unconscious" and "unconscionable" — Lucien's expression with which I concluded the last chapter, "*destructions inconscientes,*" might be understood in two different ways. On one hand, he invokes the destruction of sites that happens because people simply do not know any better. Given the eroded nature of many of these sites and their resemblance to particular natural or cultural features, this kind of destruction is understandable. On the other hand, and this is the sense that Lucien originally intended when he first decried site destructions, tumuli may be destroyed by people who do in fact understand what they are. In such cases, the choice to raze a mound is often influenced by a number of other factors, many of which relate to the need to derive a living from the land upon which the tumulus is located.

Unconscious Destructions

It is no exaggeration to say that the majority of the site destructions in the Arroux-Somme study area — whether of tumuli or of other archaeological features —appear to be unconscious. That is to say that they are generally undertaken in complete ignorance of the presence of protohistoric sites, as suggested by the first two anecdotes above. Further, there appear to be differences between the unconscious destructions of tumuli in the southern part of the Arroux-Somme study area and those in the North. This differential destruction largely relates to differences in how the tumuli of the two areas were built. Differences in construction affect the degree to which mounds are recognized (1) on the landscape and (2) as anthropogenic features.

In the South, on the plains leading to the Loire, most tumuli are earthen mounds. Mounds of this type must have begun to erode little by little from the moment of their initial construction. In recent centuries, the pace of this erosion has increased, particularly on deforested sites. A tumulus in an open field — particularly one that is regularly cultivated (see below) — may appear as little more than a low hill. This is the case, for example, at *Les Brais* in the *commune* of Sainte-Radegonde (71). Here, a tumulus identified by Xavier Garenne at the end of the 19th century sits in a field that is sometimes used for pasture, sometimes for hay production, and sometimes cultivated. As a result of this continual use, the tumulus itself is now quite low and generally goes unnoticed (Figure 7.1). Pedestrian survey around and atop the mound, however, quickly produces a number of artifacts, many of which appear to have eroded out of the tumulus itself. The majority of these artifacts are sherds of protohistoric ceramic that might be easily confused with ceramic fragments from later periods that are spread across this field. More notable, and much more friable, heavily weathered bronze beads erode out of the mound and quickly turn to powder at the slightest touch. Further, lithic reduction fragments and stone tools (Figure 7.2) suggest that the construction of a tumulus at this site in the late Bronze or early Iron Age was, itself, a reuse of an earlier place in the landscape.

Other tumuli identified by Xavier Garenne in the middle to lower Arroux valley have suffered a similar fate to the tumulus of *Les Brais* and have long since weathered away. For example, when Lucien and I tried to find the tumuli registered by Garenne at *Montfaucon* (Toulon-sur-Arroux [71]), our description of these features was met with confusion. "There is nothing like that here," the farmer replied. Assuming that this landowner was not simply being coy or trying to discourage our exploration of his land, it

Figure 7.1. Eroded tumulus at *Les Brais*, Sainte-Radegonde (71), view from the west. *Note:* Tumulus is low hill in middle of frame.

is entirely plausible that nothing remains of the *Montfaucon* tumuli, except perhaps a pair of dark circles, visible only for the few days or weeks immediately following a tilling event (if this land were to be plowed at all). In such cases, the farmers who interact with weathered tumulus sites may have no idea that they are sites at all. This lack of knowledge can have devastating effects on the remains of a tumulus if a farmer decides to undertake a project to improve the productive quality of a field, like the digging of ditches or the emplacement of subsurface drainage tiles (which happened less than 50 m west of the tumulus of *Les Brais* in recent years, narrowly missing the mound itself). In such cases, elements of the tumulus and its surrounding landscape, having survived more than a century of increasingly mechanized plowing, might be destroyed in a single day.

Figure 7.2. Base of a barbed and tanged arrowhead collected from the tumulus at *Les Brais*, Sainte-Radegonde (71). In Burgundy, this point type was produced from the late Neolithic to the early Bronze Age.

Even where a tumulus site retains its visibility, there is no assurance that it will be recognized as a burial mound. In fact, not all mounds found on the Burgundian landscape *are* burial mounds. Between the communes of Issy-l'Évêque (71) and Montmort (71), the road cuts across the slope of a long, steep hill. Upslope, two large tree-covered mounds are clearly visible from the road (Figure 7.3). Approaching these mounds, it is quickly evident that each has been extensively dug into. The presence of wide holes in these mounds would be unfortunate, except that — as at *La Revive* — the pits allow one to examine their interior "architecture." In fact, any similarity to the tumulus of *La Revive* quickly dissolves when one looks inside these features. Where *La Revive* is built up of a series of relatively homogeneous earthen layers and the rocks at the bottom of the mound

Figure 7.3. Open mound on a slope between the *communes* of Issy-l'Évêque (71) and Montmort (71), view from the south. The top of a second mound, higher upslope, is visible as the wooded area in the left of the frame.

appear to have been carried onto the site, the internal structure of these mounds consists

of a layer of poorly sorted fill and gravel laid over an outcrop (or very large boulder) of

the local bedrock (Figures 7.4 and 7.5). In their internal structure, these mounds therefore

resemble nothing so much as the accumulations of lodgment till that scrape off the

bottoms of glaciers as they slide over resistant features that stick up above the

surrounding ground surface, like bedrock outcrops or deeply embedded boulders

(Boulton and Deynoux 1981). Generally considered of little interest to the archaeologist,

there are a number of uses on the farm to which the undifferentiated fill contained in

mounds of lodgment till is ideally suited. Thus mound sites may be perceived as

convenient quarries for such material[1]. Unfortunately, since these accumulations of till

Figure 7.4. Somewhat obscured by organic material in this image, the fill of these mounds is a poorly sorted matrix of fine sediments with a high volume of stony inclusions. Many of these inclusions are angular cobbles of various sizes and compositions.

closely resemble tumuli — differing only, perhaps, in their likelihood to occur mid-slope — one cannot be certain before digging whether a mound is a glacial feature or a tumulus (or other similar archaeological feature) and it seems likely that many tumuli have been destroyed in pursuit of fill.

In the northern part of the study area, particularly on and just below the plateau of the Côte-d'Or, the factors that structure the unconscious destruction of tumuli are somewhat different. Here, tumuli are likely to be cairns of cobbles and small boulders, often of the tabular local limestone. Essentially rock piles, this construction method sets up another potentially troublesome ambiguity (Figure 7.6). Unlike its southern counterpart, the northern tumulus is not likely to be mistaken for a "natural" feature.

Figure 7.5. Large and/or fixed elements of the local bedrock at the center of these mounds indicate that they are likely depositional features.

Instead, residents of this landscape are likely to interpret such mounds as the production of more recent human activity. In some cases, as discussed in Chapter 5, mounds of rock may be thought of as the burial sites of ill-fated traders. However, much more common — and virtually indistinguishable from stone tumuli — are the so-called "clearance cairns" that have accumulated on the Burgundian landscape by the thousand as the result of routine agricultural practice.

In areas with stony soils like those of the Arroux-Somme study area (and particularly the upper reaches of the Arroux valley), stone-picking is an essential agricultural task. Each time the earth is turned for planting, either by plow or by spade / hoe, new stones move to the surface. Left in place, these stones present impediments to later activities on

Figure 7.6. Stone construction in a field at *Bras*, Baubigny (21), view from the east. While this may be a later feature, it bears some resemblance to stone-built protohistoric tumuli in the northern portion of the Arroux-Somme project area. The tumulus of *Champ Bral*é, in the *commune* of La Rochepot (21), sits atop the escarpment less than 1 km northwest of this site.

the cultivated surface and may result in broken plowshares or handtools. Further, after a

few cultivation events, the stones accumulate and the cultivator is potentially forced to

turn as much rock as soil. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that evidence for stone-

picking — although seldom sought directly — is actually rather abundant and quite early

in the archaeological record. Seeking to understand horticultural practice in northern and

western Britain during the second millennium BCE, Robert Johnston (2005) has

identified small garden plots adjacent to Bronze Age houses. These Bronze Age garden

plots stand out for their relative lack of stone in otherwise stony settings, and the rock

removed from them often forms low boundary walls at their margins. Elsewhere, in

southwestern Norway, the analysis of mounds of cleared rock (i.e., "clearance cairns")

suggests that some European groups may have picked stone from their fields as early as the Late Neolithic (Sageidet 2009), starting in the mid-third millennium BCE. Thus, as a number of Scandinavian studies undertaken since the mid-1990s have shown, clearance cairns can themselves provide a wealth of detailed information about agricultural practice over the *longue durée* (see, for example, Antonson 2009; Holm 1999; Lagerås and Bartholin 2003; Lagerås, et al. 1995).

In the Arroux-Somme study area, the construction of clearance cairns remains a common side effect of cereal and vine agriculture. It is conceivable that some of these cairns date back to the Gallo-Roman period and perhaps even the Iron Age, given that there is strong evidence for cereal cultivation in the region as early as the Hallstatt period (Tickner 2008). It is generally assumed, however, that the majority of the clearance cairns present on this landscape date to more recent historical periods.

Stone-built tumuli might easily be "confused" or conflated with these later features. The interesting potential of this kind of conflation, as with the practice of placing a stone atop the tomb of an ill-fated traveler, is that it might cause a burial mound to be enlarged as more and more stones are added. This effectively amounts to an inadvertent *preservation* of the ancient tumulus, though it may be challenging for the archaeologist to identify which rocks were original to the feature and which added later (for a discussion of analogues, see Quartermaine and Leech 2012). Of course, the stone pile may be seen as a ready source of raw material for other constructions (especially stone boundary walls) and so may be periodically "mined" or completely destroyed. Further, as the stone tumuli of the North — like the earthen tumuli of the South — represent physical impediments to easy movement across the landscape, they remain susceptible to removal

as landowners seek to make way for other uses of the landscape. This kind of intentional (i.e., "conscious") removal is more in line with what Lucien D. considers the "unconscionable destruction" of sites.

Unconscionable Destructions

To be entirely honest, Lucien tends to consider any destruction of a protohistoric site — conscious or otherwise — as unconscionable. To this end, he has spent a great deal of his own savings on land purchases throughout the Arroux valley, seeking to protect the sites contained on the parcels he buys. But it is not incorrect to say that Lucien, and others like him, consider some site destructions more unconscionable than others. Among the worst are those undertaken in full knowledge that an archaeological site is being destroyed. Thus, for example, Lucien still references the removal of a long mound from a cultivated field near *Montigny*, along the southeastern edge of Uxeau *commune*[2]. Judging by his description, this mound may have been a long barrow dating to the Neolithic or early Bronze Age. Although the feature was razed more than a decade ago and no easily observed evidence of its existence remains in the field today, Lucien continues to maintain cool relations with the farmer whom he holds responsible for having destroyed it.

While this case and others like it demonstrate the additional layers of socio-political complexity that may surround questions of historic preservation at the local level, it is important to recognize that Lucien's concern with the destruction of protohistoric sites and his responses to such destructions (including the steps that he takes to mitigate against them) are similar to those of professional archaeologists. Indeed, as I indicate in Chapter 2, a large segment of the professional archaeological community has become

concerned about the effects that changing patterns of rural land use and development have on the preservation of archaeological resources, both in Europe and further abroad (see, for example, Agnew and Bridgland 2006; Trow, et al. 2010). Archaeological sites, along with culturally significant "natural" features, are often negatively impacted as areas of urban and suburban settlement expand, as the demand for "modern" conveniences like cellular phones and wireless internet becomes more widespread, and as agricultural production is intensified. Where people concerned with historic preservation confront such changes, archaeological sites become the centerpieces of "contested landscapes" (following Bender and Winer 2001).

As I have discussed elsewhere (see Meyer 2010a), aside from a common ignorance of their presence, the biggest threat to the tumuli of the Arroux and Somme valleys comes from the intensification and increasing mechanization of agricultural production. Specifically, changes in forest management and harvesting practices threaten the integrity of tumuli in wooded areas. Similarly, changes largely related to the intensified production of Charolais beef cattle threaten sites in open settings, sites that may have already been subject to decades or even centuries of erosion.

Forestry

I have already observed at several points in this text that the best-preserved tumuli in the Arroux-Somme study area are those that remain in forests. Traditionally managed, mixed forests — which tend to be low-traffic, isolated areas — have been most conducive to archaeological preservation, both of tumuli and of other classes of site. Historically, the Arroux and Somme valleys have been characterized by these mixed hard- and softwood forests, the overall composition of which have varied with slope,

aspect, elevation, and drainage. Mixed forests continue to exist throughout the project

area, though they are no doubt smaller and less common than in previous centuries.

Traditionally, the management of such forests included the pollarding and coppicing of

many hardwood species; together with a rotating cycle of selective, staged removal of

larger trees at varied intervals depending on the species to be harvested. All of these

practices were exercised on a very fine scale (at the level of the forest plot or sub-plot),

using hand tools and/or small machines (e.g., chainsaws, trucks, farm tractors, belt-driven

saws, gas-powered wood-splitters). Many landowners in the Arroux and Somme valleys

continue to practice this kind of forestry, especially where the desired harvest is firewood

for domestic use or sale on the local market[3] (Figures 7.7 and 7.8). The product of this

kind of management is a generally open forest that, regardless of how long the plot has

been kept wooded, remains in a perpetual state of relative "youth." While patches within

the forest become open parkland at the end of a staged removal cycle, such places are

usually kept small and the growth of a similar forest cover is allowed to begin

immediately.

Traditional forest management has been mostly beneficial to the preservation of

tumuli, but it should be noted that trees grow near or on top of the mounds, so these sites

do sustain a degree of root damage. Such damage is visible, for example, in the profile of

the tumulus of *La Revive* (see Figure 1.6). It appears, however, that the continual

maintenance of a juvenile forest reduces the size and number of roots penetrating any

single site. The young forest also seems to reduce the chance of considerable disturbance

associated with "windthrows" of larger (often older) trees. Windthrow risk is further

reduced by the maintenance of relatively stable forest edges and the clearings opened as

Figure 7.7. Traditional forestry in the *Bois du Montfaucon*, Toulon-sur-Arroux (71). In the early and intermediate stages of a harvesting event, smaller trees are left in place for a year or more in order to "fill out."

part of the harvesting process are generally small enough to avoid the creation of new

windbreaks out of trees unaccustomed to high winds. By far, the most important

preservative features of traditional Burgundian forest management are its "low-tech" and

fine-scale nature. While trucks, tractors, and chainsaws are now involved in the process,

the spatial scale on which traditional harvesting operates means that these machines are

generally small and capable of moving around or over mound sites without significant

damage.

To be certain, firewood is not the only product of "traditional" forestry, and many

landowners augment their farm incomes with the sale of hard- and softwood logs

obtained during their cyclical harvests. Logging on a broader scale tends to introduce

Figure 7.8. Traditional forestry in the *Bois de Busserole*, Uxeau (71). In the later stages of a harvesting event, the cut plot becomes open parkland. New growth is immediately allowed to begin in this area, though a landowner may select desirable species among the volunteers.

other forestry practices that are less conducive to the preservation of archaeological

resources, especially above-ground features like tumuli. The process of clear-cutting

large tracts of forest and the establishment of plantations is not new: in the upland areas

along the rim of the Arroux drainage (i.e., the Morvan to the west and the Charolais to the

east), clear-cutting and plantation has been practiced since at least the 1880s (Giraud and

de Champeaux 1997). As with traditional smallholder forestry, given the technology

used, early logging and plantation likely posed few threats to site preservation. It must be

noted, however, that the clear-cutting of large tracts would have opened up new

windbreaks, thereby introducing windthrow threats that were not previously present.

Further, the plowing required in advance of plantation likely impacted both surface and

subsurface archaeological features to a certain degree.

While these early plantations often contained mixed species, a marked preference for faster-growing softwood species like the Douglas fir increased over time[4]. This preference has eventually culminated in the presence of large monocrop plantations throughout the study area, especially in the Morvan. In these plantations, all of the trees become "mature" (i.e., ideal for the market) at about the same time, roughly 40 to 70 years into their growth cycle. Thus, while in a mixed plantation it might be ideal to remove trees in stages, in monocrop plantations it is possible (and even ideal) to clear-cut at the end of each growth cycle. This multiplies the number of times that the windbreaks are opened up and that plowing must be conducted. As logging technology has become more and more mechanized, the toll of these activities on the ground under these forests has become higher and higher.

While potentially more productive in terms of certain kinds of forest product, this change from the traditional forest management system has devastating consequences for tumuli. With the use of larger machines both for cutting and transporting wood, above-ground features can no longer be easily circumvented or harmlessly moved over. Instead, many are intentionally destroyed for the emplacement of logging roads and others are impacted as heavy machinery moves near or over them. During the clear-cutting process vast areas are littered with the detritus of mechanized extraction. As this litter hinders subsequent planting efforts, the plot is bulldozed after clear-cutting. In this cleaning process, which results in the construction of large windrows of biomass and earth (Figures 7.9 and 7.10), the uppermost soil layers are removed and any surface features are often obliterated. While the bulldozer generally spells doom for any tumulus that survives the earlier steps of the deforestation process, the disturbance of subsurface

Figure 7.9. Clear-cut area along road outside Larochemillay (58). Note second clear-cut area in (upper-right) background of image.

archaeological materials continues as deep plows are passed over the plot in preparation for its new tree crop. In these ways, changes in forestry practice have probably stripped large sections of the Arroux and Somme valleys not only of tumuli, but also of many other archaeological resources.

For a long time, it seems that these threats to the archaeological resource were primarily felt in upland areas, like the Morvan, which were never ideally suited to field agriculture or the pasturage of large herds of cattle (Levainville 1909). The *communes* at the centers of the Arroux and Somme valleys seem to have been largely insulated from the most destructive logging activities. Indeed, for many residents of my host *commune*, the introduction of this highly mechanized and destructive forestry is a recent memory;

Figure 7.10. Clear-cut area along road outside Larochemillay (58). After a clear-cutting event, fallen biomass is bulldozed into long, tall windrows.

one that is still sensitive. The proprietor of a local café remembers that he first saw this

kind of forestry in Uxeau in about 2000 or 2001:

> The first time I saw [mechanized clear-cutting] in the neighborhood
> was on Mont Dardou [the small hill adjacent to Mont Dardon].… It was
> a Kurd who had … some money to invest. He came and bought the
> whole of Mont Dardou. I do not remember whom he bought it from,
> but he paid to clear all the wood from the hilltop. He got into some

> trouble with the *commune* because his log trucks blocked the road
> during the entire time that the cutting was going on and did some
> damage to the road. He replanted the entire plot, came back once to thin
> the planting and clear out the brush, and then sold the parcel to a
> Belgian who now owns the whole hill. (J.-L.G., personal
> communication 2010)

J.-L. indicates that the speculator — the "Kurd" that many other people in the *commune*

confused for an Eastern European — visited the site only a few times, perhaps only

twice. J.-L. suggests that, at most, only two years passed between the initial sale of the

hill to the land speculator and the Belgian owner's purchase of the property. Based on

information gathered from both of the parties involved, J.-L. estimates that, in just two

years of work at Mont Dardou, the speculator turned a profit of approximately €400,000.

Some portion of this profit came from the export of the logs taken from the hill (J.-L.

believes that these logs were shipped by rail to a lumber company in Belgium).

Indeed, the potential profit to be made by quickly clear-cutting a forest plot is

incentive enough for landowners to hire logging companies from outside the Arroux and

Somme valleys. Such companies may bring new expertise, equipment, and ready markets

for harvested products. Unfortunately, however, they may also bring different ideas about

proper and responsible forest management. J.-L. remembers another case in which an

outside logging company, this time from Italy, was hired to harvest a section of the forest

of *La Vella* (adjacent to the forest where the tumulus of *La Revive* is located). Although

they felled much of the plot they were hired to harvest, the loggers took only the large

trees and left the rest lying on the ground "*en vrac*" ("in disarray" or "helter-skelter").

The disappointed landowner invited J.-L. and others to cut what was left on the ground

for firewood. Once they saw the mess left behind by the loggers, however, all of the

people approached by the landowner declined the offer. Not only was the wood dirty and

spoilt for use in the home, harvesting the tangle was a potentially dangerous venture. Much of this wood still lies rotting on the ground.

J.-L. fears that stories like this will become more common as softwood plantations subsidized by the French government in the 1960s and 1970s begin to reach maturity. Further, although the clear-cutting of mixed forests has slowed somewhat in recent years following the adoption of a law that requires mixed replantation (Lucien D., personal communication 2006), a number of landowners continue to see logging — especially the cutting of hardwood logs that fetch a higher price — as a potential source of supplemental income. If J.-L.'s prediction is correct and if this trend in logging continues, archaeologists have additional cause for alarm. Given the destructive nature of modern mechanized forestry, we have to wonder how much longer the forests of the Arroux and Somme valleys will continue to be the most ideal environment for the protection of tumuli.

Farming

The removal of forests in this area has not only augmented farm incomes. Traditionally it has served another set of purposes: the establishment of open pasture for the grazing of herds and for the expansion of tillable agricultural land. The maintenance of tumuli in pasture seems to pose minimal threats to their long-term preservation, provided herds are kept relatively small and given enough pasture to roam and graze. In sharp contrast, as I have already suggested, tumuli in tilled agricultural fields tend to be at heightened risk of destruction, whether unconscious or intentional.

This threat to the preservation of burial mounds under field agriculture takes a number of forms. Just as tumuli may get in the way of mechanized forestry, well-intact

mounds may pose significant impediments to the tilling of fields. Farmers may choose to remove such impediments rather than plow over them (risking damage to self and/or machinery) or around them (requiring extra driving manoeuvers and reducing the amount of land under cultivation). This was, for example, apparently the rationale for the removal of the mound near *Montigny* about which Lucien still argues with his neighbors.

Eroded tumuli like those discussed above, particularly those that were plowed by earlier methods, tend to be lower and more smoothly sloped mounds and provide fewer impediments to mechanized tilling. In such cases, the threat of intentional removal is reduced, but new preservation challenges arise. Many of these challenges blur the lines between unconscious and intentional. Most notably, as with the tumulus of *Les Brais*, the "buffer effect" provided by the bulk of the tumulus is reduced, exposing the artifacts and structures within to greater risk of destruction. This is especially true for materials contained within ancillary burials, generally placed higher in Bronze and Iron Age tumuli than their primary interments. The potential damage in this case is not only mechanical, related to the passage of the plow or the action of roots; it is also chemical. Chemical and organic fertilizers applied to these tilled fields contain salts, acids, chlorides, nitrates, and sulphuric compounds, all of which seep into the soil and can have corrosive effects on archaeological materials, particularly on bronze and iron (Nord, et al. 2005). Small wonder, then, that the bronze beads that erode out of the tumulus of *Les Brais* turn to powder at the slightest touch.

Three decades of literature on both sides of the Atlantic (e.g., Boismier 1997; Diez-Martín 2010; Dunnell and Simek 1995; Hinchliffe and Schadla-Hall 1980; McManamon 1984) have made it quite clear that mechanized field agriculture impacts archaeological

site preservation. The tumuli of southern Burgundy demonstrate this impact as the machines involved in tillage become larger, the use of chemical fertilizers becomes more frequent, and the amount of land under mechanized agriculture increases. As new technologies and techniques become available and/or fashionable, farmers make land-use decisions that often prove detrimental to the preservation of tumuli. What worries many archaeologists, both professional and amateur alike, is that these decisions are not always undertaken in ignorance; that agricultural production is often consciously chosen over historic preservation. But are all of these changes and choices inevitable? And what structures them?

Rural Land Use Change in Southern Burgundy

The as-yet unpublished doctoral dissertation of my colleague, Elizabeth van Deventer (2001), is a remarkable exploration of the factors that have driven and constrained agricultural change in southern Burgundy. Through eleven months of ethnographic fieldwork undertaken during the late 1990s (during which time she lived and worked with Burgundian farm families in the area around Mont Dardon), van Deventer traced the development of an intensified production in Charolais beef cattle, the principal agricultural product of the Arroux valley. While beef herding may seem an isolated agricultural sector, van Deventer's work demonstrates that wide-ranging ecological impacts originate with the development and expansion of this economy. These impacts — which include both physical modifications of the landscape and conceptual alterations to what might be called the Burgundian "land ethic" (following Leopold 1949)[5] — are continually ongoing and reach far beyond these relatively marginalized

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rural *communes*. I argue that the impacts of this land-use change are directly implicated in threats to the archaeological resource (Meyer 2010a).

The story told by van Deventer does not begin at the time of her fieldwork in the late 1990s. It is a story that begins at least 50 years earlier, at the end of World War II. Devastated by war and occupation, the French government sought to rebuild a place for itself in the global economy. Recognizing that productive land was one of the few resources left to them, post-War leaders focused on making France a strong agricultural power. To accomplish this goal, they had to enroll France's immense *paysan* population: peasant farmers whose practice of non-intensive, small-holding, mixed agriculture and silviculture had remained relatively unchanged for centuries. As described by van Deventer, many peasant families willingly joined in the process of reconstruction, seeing an opportunity to improve their own positions in French society and, perhaps, even in the world.

In the decades following the War, France almost completely transformed the lives and economies of its peasant population, seeking to create *exploitants agricoles* (i.e., agri-businesspersons) from *paysans*. The development of these *exploitants agricoles* entailed, among other things, the establishment of agricultural *lycées* (preparatory high schools/junior colleges) that introduced students to "modern" farming techniques, presenting them as superior to the peasant land use of earlier generations. Where peasant farming relied on the small-scale production of several different plant and animal crops within a single holding, the modern farm model valorized an intensive production in one or a few crops, which varied by region. In southern Burgundy, the Charolais beef cow became the focus of this production (Figure 7.11). Intensified beef herding meant the

Figure 7.11. Young Charolais cattle.

felling of trees and the removal of hedges to expand pasture lands and to open new fields

for the growth of fodder and grain. This deforestation and subsequent cultivation were

accomplished using increasingly complex and larger machinery, another feature of the

modern farm model. Agricultural *lycées* imparted — and continue to impart — a

discipline (sensu Foucault 1975), shaping the physical ways and means by which the

landscape was/is altered, as well as the ethics of this alteration. Further, the completion of

a course of study at an accredited agricultural *lycée* was made a condition for entitlement

to farm subsidies, thereby ensuring that this new discipline would become ubiquitous.

Like the institution of any new discipline, the development of the "modern" French

farm and the establishment of agricultural *lycées* had a number of consequences beyond

the direct management of agricultural lands. My own interviews with farmers who lived

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through this period of reconstruction reveal a series of coincident changes that rippled outward from efforts to modernize the agricultural sector. Such changes, which were both large and small, affected individuals as well as the entire social fabric of rural communities. Consider, for example, the near-ubiquity of the *bleues*, the blue cover-all "uniform" worn by many Burgundian farmers. This alteration and formalization in the personal attire of farmers appears superficial, however, compared to the community-level changes engendered by modernization. According to M.D., a retired farmer and amateur historian who was instrumental in solidarity movements among farmers in the southern Arroux and Somme valleys during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the developments of the post-War period significantly altered the peasant society in which he grew up.

M.D. does not remember a monolithic society of *paysans* (as many authors tend to present the French peasantry), but rather a society that was carefully stratified. At the top of the social hierarchy were the holders of land grants (i.e., the farmers) and those who owned stores, inns, etc. in the village. Below these people was a tier of peasants who provided services to the farmers, including farriers, blacksmiths, and millers. At the bottom of the peasant social hierarchy was the largest class of people: those who worked for the farmers, tilling fields, harvesting crops, cutting wood, and tending herds. While his account may be somewhat nostalgic, M.D. tells of a system in which the different strata of society were quite dependent upon one another, a dependence reinforced by and celebrated with frequent evening visits, community work parties, village festivals, and weekly communion at Mass.

The focus of this society was the community, which was largely closed. M.D. remembers this closure was so marked that the patois spoken in Uxeau might not have

been entirely understood in La Chapelle-au-Mans, a *commune* fewer than 10 km away. Of course, different members of the community had different access to and commerce with the outside world, and a few people frequently attended weekly markets and/or seasonal fairs in the broader region. But M.D. suggests that most of the residents of his community rarely went beyond the boundaries of the *commune* or of the surrounding *communes*.

Given this community closure, the loci of transmission for information about the landscape were generally the home / farm and, for a brief period during one's childhood, the village school. Thus oral tradition was the primary means by which the history of each community was transmitted. But, M.D. cautions, one needs to be very careful not to conflate the stories that circulated in the peasant communities of his youth with the "history" of today. People did not know what happened before about five or six generations back, he says, but they assumed that life at that time was more or less the same as the life they were living. Despite his own interest in history, M.D. regards Lucien D.'s stories about the Celtic residents of this landscape with no small amount of skepticism. He suggests that one simply cannot know what happened that far back in the past, even relying on the old stories of the oral tradition.

It goes without saying that post-War efforts at reconstruction and modernization significantly transformed the society of M.D.'s childhood. Communities were opened up as farmers were encouraged to produce for regional, national, and international markets. (Indeed, M.D. observes, what happens on Uxeau's farms today is largely the result of developments in the United States, Brazil, and Argentina, as well as in Paris and Brussels.) While some farmers were successful in these broader market ventures, others

failed. Their herds were sent to auction and farms that had been in the hands of the same families for generations were broken up and/or sold. M.D. remarks that while this redistribution began soon after the War, it has become increasingly common since the 1970s. Often, as these "failed" farms are added to the holdings of successful *exploitants agricoles*, their fields and outbuildings continue to be used for agriculture, but their houses are rented out or sold to non-farmers. This new pattern of land use reflects changes in the social order of the community: once based on a hierarchy of interdependent peasants with varying responsibilities to one another and access to networks beyond the *commune*, the social fabric of the community has acquired new valences and complexities. These include distinctions between those who work in the town and those who work elsewhere; among those who work in agriculture, those who work in factories, and those whose work in service or white-collar jobs; and between those who were born in the *commune* or its environs and those who were born elsewhere (whether in France or abroad).

The shift in the locus of transmission of landscape knowledge was accompanied by a considerable shift in the content of said knowledge. This remains a somewhat touchy subject. Misunderstanding my initial questions on the topic, M.D.'s middle-aged daughter rushes to the defense of the *lycée* curriculum and, especially, to the right (and necessity) of rural teens to get this kind of worldly education. Her father points out that the knowledge transmitted in the *lycée* should not be seen to compete with the old farm knowledge but, rather, to complement it. The *lycée*, he says, provides a necessary understanding of both theory and practice.

> While the Grandfathers may have been able to show that a particular
> practice was effective, they could not always explain why this was so.

It is important to be able to do this. (M.D., personal communication 2010)

From the standpoint of history and archaeology, however, the knowledge transmitted by the *lycée* cannot be seen as entirely innocuous. The modern farm model presented by the *lycée* prioritizes the productive potential of the landscape, rather than its affective and/or historical importance. Thus little emphasis is placed on the significance of the landscape as an element of long-term cultural patrimony. Further, with the primary locus for the transmission of orthodox landscape knowledge in the nationally standardized classroom rather than in the home or the community school, the possibility that the locations of important places — including archaeological and historical sites — will be passed on is greatly reduced, as is the likelihood that such places will be preserved. While van Deventer (2001) and others (e.g., Crumley 2000) have documented the maintenance of traditional landscape knowledge and techniques in discrete "pockets of memory" (following Nazarea 1998), this memory is typically kept by individual families and applied only at the scale of the individual household or farm. This means that sites may be only partially recognized and protected, a phenomenon that stands to impact archaeologists' own recognition and interpretation of broader landscape patterns.

The project to rebuild a strong agricultural economy based on the efforts of carefully trained *exploitants agricoles* has been quite successful. France has developed the largest agricultural sector in the European Union, and is the world's second leading agricultural exporter after the United States (EIU 2008). But this success has not come without a significant price to the rural people whose transformation made it possible. In order to remain competitive and compliant with European Union standards, many farmers change the size and composition of their herds, purchase or rent more land and larger machinery,

and build free-stall barns that cost hundreds of thousands of euros. Only a fraction of these costs is taken up by subsidies; the remainder accrues as individual debt. Young farmers — even those who inherit family farms — take on more debt than their predecessors. As the support provided by subsidy structures under the Common Agricultural Policy is gradually reduced, these farmers' debt loads increase yet again. The response is often to further intensify production, to increase herd size, and to put more land under cultivation, all of which have the possibility of increasing short-term revenues, but invariably add long-term costs to the price of production. As described by van Deventer, many of today's *exploitants agricoles* struggle with the choices made by their *paysan* parents and grandparents: they ride a seemingly inescapable merry-go-round of decreasing subsidies, farm expansion, and increasing debt.

In these ways, France's post-war agricultural reconstruction set up challenges to the preservation of its archaeological resource. The clearance of mixed forest to create pasture and tillable crop land by which to support larger beef herds no doubt impacted southern Burgundy's tumuli, as the most stable context for their preservation was removed. It should be noted, however, that the focus on beef production may have actually delayed major site destruction in southern Burgundy. Impacts to sites in areas that were put into intensive field-crop production (e.g., cereals, vines) were probably greater at an earlier period, when forests were cleared and large tracts were put under immediate tillage. In some areas, like Languedoc — where intensified, monocrop viticulture began in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Lem 2007) — archaeological site damage was probably critical well before the advent of World War II (C. Jorda, personal communication 2009). It is only in recent decades that the archaeological

landscape of southern Burgundy has been threatened to the degree described above, as forests are cleared to expand pastures, larger herds are pastured on the landscape, more areas come under cultivation with heavier machinery, and more chemicals are applied to tilled fields. A further, indirect impact of intensified beef production threatens the preservation of Burgundy's archaeological resource: faced with declining subsidies and increasing debt, many landowners opt to sell logs to supplement their income (thereby entering into a tangential agricultural network that, like the livestock market, includes not only local and national actors, but also multinational corporations). This attempt to diversify farm incomes means further exposing archaeological sites to damage from the mechanized forestry described above.

Of course, while there are members of the community who remember what rural life was like before World War II, it is neither feasible nor advisable for the residents of the Arroux and Somme valleys to return entirely to the production practices of the past. While there is undoubtedly a need for the *exploitants agricoles* to adopt more sustainable and resilient practices — a need, incidentally, recognized in recent efforts by the *lycées* to produce *jardiniers de l'espace rural* (i.e., "gardeners of the countryside") (van Deventer 2001:207-211) — there is also still a need for people to make a living off the land. As they do so, they are often faced with difficult decisions. The destruction of tumuli in the Arroux-Somme project area is, therefore, often neither unconscious nor entirely unconscionable. On the contrary, it may involve what farmers, loggers, and landowners themselves recognize as hard choices between economic necessity and historic preservation.

Yet the prospects for the preservation of protohistoric tumuli in southern Burgundy do not always appear so bleak. During the course of my fieldwork, I have encountered more than one non-archaeologist who knows what these sites are and who feels that they merit preservation. In some cases, as revealed in my discussion with the farmer at the *Ferme de Bruilly* on the *Chaumes d'Auvenay*, landowners have adjusted their land-use practices to maximize the productive value of the landscape without compromising the preservation of its historic features. To be certain, this kind of adjustment does not emerge without a considerable amount of work on the part of the archaeological community.

Both archaeological research centers that operate in the Arroux-Somme project area — the *Centre Archéologique Européen* at Bibracte / Mont Beuvray and the *Maison du Patrimoine* at Saint-Romain — expend large amounts of time and resources on public outreach, especially to groups of school-aged children. The staff of Bibracte give off-site lectures and exhibitions, regularly update the exhibits at the Museum of Celtic Civilization, and provide tours of the site. Further, they have set aside a small area of the hilltop so that non-archaeologists might experience various steps in the archaeological process for themselves. Here, members of the general public can briefly try their hands at excavation, artifact cleaning, and the initial stages of artifact sorting and analysis. Beyond this, through an intensive four-week fieldschool, local teenagers learn to excavate in the remains of a Gallo-Roman house located in the *Parc aux Chevaux* (the "Horse Park"), immediately adjacent to the reconstruction of Jacques Gabriel Builliot's summer house

(see Figure 6.1). Many of the students return to this excavation year after year, becoming competent excavators before even graduating from high school.

While a fraction of the excavation is undertaken by trainees and volunteers from the general public, most of the work performed at Bibracte (and in its immediate environs) is conducted by a very large (and international) team of professional archaeologists. These experts work together with university students training for careers in archaeology and/or history. The demographics of this research team stand in sharp contrast to those of the archaeologists who survey and excavate in the area around Saint-Romain. Here, a small professional staff from the *Maison du Patrimoine* guides volunteers in all aspects of the archaeological process. Many of these volunteers are members of a very active local historical association, the *Association de Recherches et d'Études d'Histoire Rurale* (the AREHR, or "Association for the Research and Study of Rural History"). Serge Grappin (the Director of the *Maison* and founder of the AREHR) describes these members of the community as highly capable and engaged amateur archaeologists.

Grappin, himself, first trained for a career in the visual arts. He only obtained his Bachelor's degree in archaeology at the age of 25, relatively late in a French system where career decisions are generally made in a student's late teens and hard to change after the fact. From the mid-1980s onward, Grappin devoted his career to teaching archaeology. He serves on a number of French and European committees specifically dedicated to pedagogy and heritage, and has been the President of the French *Association pour le Patrimoine Culturel et sa Pédagogie* (the "Association for Cultural Patrimony/Heritage and its Pedagogy," an initiative of the Council of Europe) since 1997. Grappin admits that the make-up of his research teams stems, in part, from the very small

budget granted to the *Maison du Patrimoine* every year. He is quick to note, however, that this is not the primary reason that he continues to work with so many first-time and amateur archaeologists of all ages. Rather, he explains, his work with these people year in and year out reflects his own broader commitment to what might be called a "democratization" of archaeology.

As do many other archaeologists, Grappin describes an increasing professionalization of the discipline, particularly over the past 30 years (see Chapter 6). As a result of this professionalization, he says, professional archaeologists have largely alienated the public. This alienation has a number of consequences. For one, by setting themselves apart, the professional archaeological community has lost access to potentially important information about the landscape and the sites it contains. Grappin's work with the community, both during the excavation season and throughout the year, allows him to constantly collect data about changes and threats to the sites that he already knows, as well as about new sites. His close collaboration with the residents of his *commune* has provided him with a keen sense of the material-financial limitations confronted by local landowners, as well as of their concerns. Further, given that he is also interested in the links between folklore and archaeology, his ties to the community provide him with regular additions to his store of place-based stories, many of which (as I suggest in Chapter 5) contain useful archaeological information.

Another consequence of the alienation of the public from archaeology is the one bemoaned by Lucien D. as he looks at the changes undergone by the *Amis du Dardon* and as he tries in vain to generate support for his museum project (see Chapter 6): disallowed a prolonged and meaningful hands-on access to the archaeological process, many (if not

most) of the people interested in history and heritage gravitate to studies of the recent past. For many people, "patrimony" is now that material that has been passed down since the French Revolution. This seemingly subtle shift has broad impacts throughout the entire archaeological system. Serge Grappin and Vincent Guichard (Director of Bibracte) both decry the difficulties of obtaining public funding for archaeological projects, whether for new research or for site preservation efforts, especially in the current economic climate. It has become increasingly difficult, they observe, to convince the public that archaeology continues to be important and relevant[6].

In light of these observations, the public outreach work undertaken at Bibracte and Saint-Romain, and Grappin's collegial relationships with local amateurs in particular, should be seen as important efforts to "re-interest"[7] the general public in archaeology. Judging by the referrals that I received from farmers on the *Chaumes d'Auvenay*, their recollections of Grappin's survey of tumuli (which he describes as "young man's work" completed more than 20 years ago), and their adjustments to the presence of burial mounds in the landscape from which they must earn a living, it would appear that such efforts are — at least in part — successful. To answer the weighty question still left unanswered above, threats to the preservation of archaeological resources are not necessarily inevitable under new land-use regimes. Where archaeologists and landowners work together, each understanding the limitations and concerns of the other, it appears that tumuli and other sites might be saved from destruction.

[1] Quarrying is a common farm activity in southern Burgundy, just as it is for farmers in much of North America. Given that fill is expensive and in constant demand, farmers see little need to pay for it if sources of fill already exist on their land. With the development and refinement of mechanized digging equipment, a large quantity of fill can now be quarried in a very short time.

[2] This feature is listed as a "Possible Tumulus (Destroyed)" on Figure 1.1.

[3] While many houses now have electric or gas heaters, a strong reliance on wood heat continues throughout the Arroux and Somme valleys, particularly in rural communities. Many of the houses that I have visited during the course of my fieldwork have at least one fireplace. More common, however, are the *poêles* (i.e., woodstoves) of various sizes that serve as heaters — and often as cooking surfaces — during much of the year. Given this reliance on wood heat, the cost of wood is something that is often discussed and negotiated. Where a parcel contains some forest, the cutting of wood for the market is a fairly reliable way for the landowner to augment her household income.

[4] Douglas fir has remained the plantation species of choice up to the present day. Recent drought events in 2003 and 2004 have shaken this preference somewhat, however, proving this species to be unresilient in the face of contemporary climatic threats.

[5] Leopold developed his concept of a "land ethic" in *A Sand County Almanac* (1949). Fitting well with the notion of landscape-as-collective that I establish in Chapter 2, Leopold's land ethic refers to a sense of community that has been enlarged "to include soils, waters, plants, and animals, or collectively: the land" (204). He goes on to observe that "… a land ethic changes the role of *Homo sapiens* from conqueror of the land-community to plain member and citizen of it. It implies a respect for [our] fellow members, and also respect for the community as such" (204).

[6] For more on the broader debate about the relevance of archaeology globally, see Meyer and Crumley 2011:130; Redman 2005.

[7] Here I draw on the use of the verb "*interesser*" by actor-network theorist Michel Callon (1986). Callon's *interessement* strengthens relationships between actors, encouraging their enrollment in networks that are more robust.

CHAPTER 8

ANALYSIS

ROSSIGNOL'S HYPOTHESIS

In closing his report of excavations undertaken near Ivry-en-Montagne (21), on the

Chaumes d'Auvenay, Claude Rossignol wrote:

> Permit me, Sirs[1], to hazard an opinion. Your correspondent, Mr.
> Lavirotte, has produced a *Notice* that you saw fit to print in your
> *Mémoires*. Therein, he sought to prove that the village of
> Champignolles is, in fact, the site of the encounter between Caesar and
> the Helvetii.
>
> If this is so, then why not consider this plain, which is full of tumuli,
> among the principal fields of battle in that great struggle between the
> two cities / cultures, Rome and Helvetia? Were the *Chaumes
> d'Auvenay* not, therefore, on the flanks of the Helvetian army or in their
> rear guard? Do not forget that there were a great number of casualties
> [in this confrontation]; or that just two *lieues*[2] away is a mountain that
> has been called *Mortmont* ["Death Mountain"] from time immemorial
> and that Mr. Lavirotte has identified — although he did not find
> skeletal remains — as among the sites at which these formidable
> champions attacked one another. Keep in mind, as well, that the victor
> remained on the field of battle for three days in order to bury the dead.
> Caesar himself wrote: *Propter sepulturam occisorum, nostri triduum
> morati sunt* ["Three days of our stay to bury the dead"].
>
> There are other reasons to be developed, [but] I leave these to your
> sagacity, Sirs, and to that of your honorable correspondent, who can
> find among these few lines that I have penned a more favorable proof
> of his *Notice* concerning the village of Champignolles. (Rossignol
> 1842:13)

HALLSTATT TUMULI IN A SYNCRETIC LANDSCAPE

Landscape Syncretism

I began this text with geographer Donald W. Meinig's observation that "… life must be lived amidst that which was made before" (1979:44). Contemporary people reuse elements of the landscapes built, in large part, by the people of the past. In order to understand this reuse better, I have suggested that a "syncretic" perspective is appropriate: one that looks not only at individual "moments" of relative stasis, but also at the changes that both allow such moments to flow together. In this chapter, I draw upon the information I have presented heretofore about the tumuli of southern Burgundy in an attempt to model this kind of syncretic perspective and to think about how archaeologists might put this approach to use.

In Chapter 2, I identify "landscape syncretism" as the process through which people make sense of the fact that elements of the landscape "accumulate" (Meinig 1979:44); that structures leftover from the past — whether built by human hands and social action or created by "natural," biophysical processes — exist alongside those built / created in the present. Elements of the past and present may, therefore, be seen as simultaneous in the landscape. Each generation negotiates relationships among these landscape elements just as they do among the various human residents of the landscape and between humans and non-human artifacts. Syncretism implies not only building, tearing down, and rebuilding accompanied by incidental preservation; but also many other activities, including (but not limited to) narration / storytelling, reinterpretation, rehabilitation, intentional preservation, restoration, commemoration, contestation, forgetting, isolation, abandonment, and reinvention. Given all of these possibilities, syncretism can be

understood to involve the continual negotiation of a rich series of dynamic socio-ecological relationships among a wide variety of actors.

My notion of syncretism draws heavily on the phenomenological thinking of landscape archaeologists like Christopher Tilley and Julian Thomas, and especially of ecologist Tim Ingold. These authors develop a sense of the various temporalities embedded in any landscape and a "dwelling perspective" (following Ingold 2000). Critical to this perspective is the understanding that the meanings of a landscape and its constituent elements are neither given in advance, nor static; rather, they (1) emerge out of direct interactions between perceiving human actors and the elements of the landscape, and (2) change over time. Together with temporality, the dwelling perspective therefore encourages us consider landscape itself not as a thing, but as an iterative process. Of further importance to the phenomenological approaches articulated by these authors is a recognition of the complex relationality that exists within landscapes[3], whether at any particular moment or across time. These three concepts — temporality, dwelling, and relationality — are fundamental to understanding the operation of landscape syncretism. A fourth concept, pluralism, is also extremely important to developing the sense of the "syn-" (i.e., "togetherness") inherent in syncretism.

Landscape Syncretism in Southern Burgundy

Although much of this text appears to focus on burial mounds, it is very important to recognize that the Bronze and Iron Age tumuli of southern Burgundy might provide a gateway to understanding processes active throughout the broader landscape(s) of which they were and/or are a part. Put another way, a study of the changes experienced by the protohistoric tumuli of the Arroux and Somme valleys — not simply of the taphonomic

changes undergone by barrows, but also of the different ways in which they have been linked (or not linked) into broader socio-ecological systems — reveal much about the operation of landscape syncretism in this region over time. My goal here is, therefore, to move somewhat away from the discussions of the previous chapters which have (to varying degrees) treated tumuli as discrete and isolated features at particular historic moments. Rather, I wish to develop a discussion that addresses the shifting and often pluralistic nature of the broader Arroux-Somme landscapes, working with the information I have collected about tumuli in much that same way that an ethnographer might assemble the various insights gathered from particular individuals to characterize a larger society.

My study of burial mounds in the Arroux and Somme drainages suggests a number of things about the operation of landscapes (as socio-ecological systems) over time. First, the manifold relationships that exist in any given landscape do not simply precipitate out of human social interactions; rather they are actively built into and maintained in the landscape. Once set in place, these relationships put individual landscape elements "in tension" with one another. What happens at the level of the individual site (or class of sites) might reverberate throughout the landscape. Similarly, what happens in the broader landscape might have unforeseen consequences for any single site. Second, while the material elements of a landscape are passed on to subsequent generations of its inhabitants, the relationships constructed among these features are not necessarily transferred. Some relationships remain relatively unchanged; others "drift," become completely obsolete, pass out of use, or are significantly refashioned. The inheritance of landscapes, therefore, necessitates the same "work" of relationship-building as that

described above[4]. Third, given that different communities typically inhabit the same space or region, and that each community might go about building relationships among landscape elements in different ways, it is often the case that one space or region is host to a number of co-existing and often contradictory relational systems (which are, themselves, essentially landscapes). These disparate systems / landscapes may never come into contact or conflict with one another. Often, however, this pluralism of landscapes can be grounds for significant contestation as different stakeholder communities argue about the nature of the landscape elements they share. Conversely, moments of intersection / translation among relational systems might produce results that (at least some) stakeholders perceive as positive. Given this, under certain circumstances it may be appropriate to actively stimulate such moments of intersection / translation.

Relationality

As I explain in Chapter 2, "landscape" is a challenging term to define. One definition that is often cited within landscape archaeology and historical ecology views the landscape as "the spatial manifestation of the relations between humans and their environment" (Marquardt and Crumley 1987b:1). This definition highlights a concept central to my formulations of landscape-as-collective and of landscape syncretism, namely relationality. But the relationality inherent in Marquardt and Crumley's definition remains rather vague, and appears to exist only between humans and environments. As a "spatial manifestation," this definition seems to open up the unlikely possibility that a physical landscape precipitates only incidentally out of such relations[5]. Thus, while this definition provides a good starting point, I think it important to stipulate that humans *primarily* relate to their environment through the construction, both physical and

conceptual, of landscapes. This to say that landscapes do not precipitate out of human-environment interactions, they come into being precisely in order to mediate such interactions. Every landscape is, therefore, a spatial / material and a conceptual / semiotic participant in human relations with the environment, sometimes acted upon and at other times directing action (following Gieryn 2002; Tilley 1994, 2008:272). The relationality embedded in landscapes not only links humans to the environment; it also links the discrete elements of the landscape, as well as (potentially) the various communities of human actors who operate in the same space, to one another. In this section, I would like to explore this expanded sense of relationality, focusing principally on the relationships established among landscape elements, but keeping in mind the human relations inherent in all landscape interactions.

To reiterate a point from above, the tumuli of the Bronze and Iron Ages should be seen to provide a convenient entrée into the study of social practices and processes in the broader landscape(s) of the Arroux and Somme river drainages. These practices and processes operated well before the construction of Hallstatt burial mounds and have continued to do so long after the demise of the culture that erected them. Perhaps the most fundamental of these is the practice of building — whether intentionally or incidentally — a complex set of relationships into the landscape. Because such relationships place individual landscape elements into dialogue with others (and with people), the landscape of southern Burgundy can be thought of as a complex entangled network or meshwork in which individual elements exist in tension with others. Thus, as we saw in Chapter 7, movements on the broader landscape have significant potential to impact tumulus sites. Conversely, as demonstrated by the development of an entire

academic discipline out of the actions of a few early archaeologists (see Chapter 6), what happens at burial mounds sites has the potential to resonate throughout the whole landscape.

From the moment of their initial construction, the tumuli of the Arroux and Somme valleys were woven into a rich fabric of social relations with other features of the landscape. The distribution of recorded tumuli in the Arroux-Somme project area seems to suggest some spatial patterning in the locations of burial mounds that might provide a few clues about the relations that the Hallstatt people(s) of southern Burgundy built into their landscape. Unfortunately, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, not enough work has been done in the area to say with certainty that this distribution reflects a pattern that has endured since the Bronze and Iron Ages. It seems more likely that it reflects 2,500 years of differential preservation and 150 years of inconsistent / discontinuous archaeological inquiry, rather than evidence of spatially oriented practice in the distant past. Further, given the fact that most of our knowledge about the Hallstatt landscape of southern Burgundy — and, for that matter, of northern Burgundy (see, for example, Chaume 2001) — has been constructed using tumuli and hillforts alone, data about the nature of Burgundy's late Bronze and early Iron Age landscape should be considered fragmentary at best. A substantial amount of survey and excavation work remains to be done in order to identify the range and locations of features built into the Hallstatt landscape of this region. Only once this work has been performed will we be able to depict the landscape relationships constructed by the Hallstatt peoples of southern Burgundy with anything more than the broadest of strokes.

The landscapes of the broader Hallstatt Zone, briefly described in Chapter 3, provide suggestions of what such work might reveal in the landscape(s) of the Arroux and Somme valleys. The results of excavations and surveys conducted from the mid-1840s onward suggest that the Hallstatt landscape contained not only hillforts and tumuli, but also (at least) open settlements, often situated near river confluences; farmsteads; gardens, fields, and pastures; forests; ponds and lakes; fresh water springs; mineral extraction sites, including quarries, mines, and salt-springs; necropolises / tumulus complexes; enclosures (generally thought to have served ritual purposes); ditches, which served drainage, defensive, and ritual enclosing functions; and complex networks of roads and watercourses that both facilitated and directed movement through the landscape. In some places, including at the site of Hallstatt itself, the dead were buried in flat cemeteries. The Hallstatt landscape probably also included "natural" places (e.g., bogs, marshes, caves, and boulders) that may have been only infrequently visited but were no doubt recognized and imbued with meaning (following Bradley 2000).

Relationships with "Found"/ "Inherited" Elements of the Landscape

Given that the process of landscape syncretism did not begin in the late Bronze Age, "found" or "inherited" elements of the built environment left over by past peoples must also have been important in the Hallstatt landscape. Indeed, my study of tumuli in the Arroux and Somme valleys provides a few tantalizing glimpses of such links to a more remote past. Lithic artifacts collected from the tumulus of *Les Brais* (see Chapter 8) suggest that the architects of this mound built it on a site visited perhaps as early as the late Neolithic or early Bronze Age. Was the building site originally a hunting camp or resource processing center? Or was it already a funerary site when Hallstatt people

Figure 8.1. Neolithic standing stones at *Époigny* (Couches [71]). This site was reused for Hallstatt burials in the late Bronze Age.

started to practice their own burial rite there? Elsewhere in the Arroux valley, in the field

of *La Pièce aux Tourteaux* at *Époigny* (Couches [71]), Neolithic people erected a series

of menhirs (i.e., "standing stones") (Figure 8.1). At the foot of one of these stones, the

Hallstatt heritors of this landscape buried an urn containing the cremated remains of

several humans ($n = 3$) and animals, as well as a bronze arrowhead (Chevrier, et al.

2006). Chevrier et al. (313) indicate a similar reuse of a megalithic installation for Bronze

Age funerary rites at *Chigy* (Tazilly [58]), a Neolithic site tucked between two tributaries

of the Somme. Here, a cremation pit was dug near the base of a menhir. This pit

contained human hand and/or foot bones, skull fragments, and a portion of a bronze ring

(Arnoux 1991). Clearly, Hallstatt peoples actively incorporated earlier human

installations into their landscapes[6].

"Provisioning" Relationships

The reuse of megaliths for funerary rites as an alternative to (or alongside) the erection of tumuli introduces just one relationship that was built into the Hallstatt landscape: that between "found" or "inherited" features and those which were newly constructed (or constructed within the living memory of the society). A second kind of relationship further linked found "natural" elements of the landscape to new installations. This is the relationship that existed between the sources of raw material and the new features built from them. In my tumulus study, this relationship is immediately evident in the distinction between the earthen tumuli of the Loire Plain (to the South) and the stone tumuli of the uplands, especially of the Côte-d'Or (to the North). On one level, the difference in base material might be seen as simply expedient and incidental; determined by nothing more than the building material to which Hallstatt people had easiest access. But any expediency hypothesis quickly breaks down when one considers that, in addition to stones, the Côte-d'Or has soils that are often quite deep. At the same time, large quantities of stone are available on the Plain and historically stone-picking was as important here as in the uplands. It would seem, therefore, that factors other than simple expediency determined the choice of source material in the construction of Hallstatt tumuli. Further, given the properties of stone vis-à-vis those of earth, the choice of base material no doubt determined the overall construction of the mound to be created and, as I discuss in Chapter 8, the nature of subsequent interactions with and changes to the mound.

Briefly exploding the "black box" that is a Hallstatt tumulus into its constituent elements, it becomes evident that several raw material choices went into its construction (see, for example, Baray 2000; Chapter 3). Would the initial burial be placed in a stone

chamber or in a wooden chamber? What kinds of stone / wood were to be selected in terms of size, color, hardness, etc.? Would these qualities signal the origin of these materials to people observing and/or participating in the interment? Were these qualities thought to have some importance in terms of the success of the overall rite? Similar questions could be asked for decisions made in every step of the tumulus construction process. The stones used in internal "ring walls" may have been selected for their size, shape, and color. At the tumulus of *La Revive*, for example, it looks like blocky boulders of a white metamorphic rock measuring about 30 – 50 cm across were selected for this purpose. Given that stones of this nature occur occasionally in the hills around the *Tureau de l'Abime*, it is possible that the builders of this mound searched far and wide until they found enough stones to complete the mound's internal structures. On the other hand, it is also possible that they knew of a quarry where such stones were available in greater quantity. Once in place, builders had to select sediments to cover the burial chamber and ring wall. Again, this selection might have been random and expedient. But the relative homogeneity of the sediments within the tumulus of *La Revive*, their durability, and their distinctive yellow-brown colors (which oxidize to a strong orange when burned) suggest that they may have been carefully selected for the funeral rite. As with the rocks at the base of the feature, the builders had to find this material and transport it from a particular source, an act of displacement and of physical labor that must have had meaning. An observer familiar with the landscape may have been able to identify the source of these sediments simply based on their colors and textures. Years later, a passerby might have made the same identification of any capping sediments visible on the surface of the mound. It is important to consider that such relationships between raw material source

and built feature — potentially identifiable even millennia after the fact — were likely not accidental, but rather intentionally put into place.

The tumulus of *La Revive* provides another illustration of the importance of such provisioning relationships. As detailed in the opening to Chapter 3, the palynalysis of sediments from the core of the tumulus strongly suggests that at some point in the process of building and/or using this mound, a certain plant — perhaps mistletoe (*Viscum* sp.) — was intentionally set to smolder on its surface. Given that a single species appears to have been selected for this practice, it seems likely that there was a deeper significance to this plant; one that was probably also attached to the plant in its "natural" (i.e., unburned) state. Conversely, specific plants may have been chosen for use in death-related rituals precisely because of some quality or qualities observed in their natural growth process or in their responses to particular human actions. Mistletoe, for example, grows high in trees, forms distinct orb-like clusters, and puts down no discernible roots. It might, therefore, have carried associations with high places and/or implied relations of symbiosis and independence. When placed on hot coals, as the plant used at *La Revive* appears to have been, the oily mistletoe of southern Burgundy produces a thick, blue smoke that is quite fragrant. Any of these properties may have been important factors that contributed to its incorporation in the building / use of the tumulus of *La Revive*.

Reflecting on provisioning relationships reminds us that, rather than thinking of tumuli as singular "black boxed" entities, we need to recognize them as complex "assemblies" of materials that might otherwise exist in separate locations. These materials were carefully collected from the environs of the tumulus, each bringing with it a specific set of properties. It is quite appropriate, therefore, to consider any tumulus as a

kind of "nexus": as a single place at which disparate elements of the broader landscape came to be assembled.

<u>Spatial Relationships</u>

In addition to such relationships (i.e., of the "found" / "inherited" to the new) are spatial relationships. Studies of spatial relationships are probably the most common considerations of relationality in the mainstream archaeological literature, coupled with sourcing studies that trace the kinds of provisioning relationship described above. Spatial studies often look at the distribution of "dots on a map" (Tilley 1994:9), examining which features occur in proximity to one another, which above and which below, etc. Within the Hallstatt landscape, the quintessential spatial relationship appears to have been the one of proximity that existed between hillforts and tumuli. The hillfort may have provided the *axis mundi* around which tumuli and tumulus complexes, as well as of other classes of feature, were placed[7]. Yet, while this proximity is sometimes apparent in the Arroux-Somme data — as, for example, in the relationship of the tumuli of *La Revive*, *Le Mauvais Pas*, *Les Vernailloux*, *Les Brais*, and perhaps even of *Montfaucon* to the hillfort of Mont Dardon — it is not always so. It is not entirely certain which hillfort may have been associated with tumuli in the middle Arroux valley, for example. Indeed, it is possible that these tumuli were associated with a settlement (or settlements) on the Plain and not with a hillfort at all.

The Arroux-Somme data suggest other relationships of proximity. For example, it seems that Hallstatt tombs may have been constructed in a particular relationship to the roads and watercourses that linked settlements, agricultural fields, pastures, forests, and resource extraction sites. If we assume that many of the roads and watercourses used by

the later La Tène inhabitants of this landscape were those used by Hallstatt groups (an assumption that appears well-founded), then there seems to have been a relationship of proximity between the locations of tumuli and the pathways that directed people through the landscape. The effect of this relationship is that travelers would pass through the Land of the Dead as they moved from point to point in the landscape of the Living. Further, each of the tumulus sites referenced above (as well as a number of others) lies adjacent to a body of water, directly at the source of a seasonal or perennial spring, or at the edge of a hilltop near a drainage chute. At present this remains a tentative observation, but the importance of springs, streams, and standing water to ritual life throughout the protohistoric period (see Chapter 3) suggests that this relationship of proximity that should be investigated further[8]. Moving for a moment from considerations of a single archaeological period to a diachronic consideration of the landscapes of the Arroux and Somme valleys, the observation that tumuli are best preserved in areas that are currently forested identifies another kind of spatial relationship; one that may suggest relationships of causation, which are inherently temporal (Meyer and Crumley 2011:117) and which I will discuss further below.

Sensual Relationships

Tilley (1994:10) and other authors of phenomenological approaches explicitly call upon archaeologists to recognize that — because human life is not only social but also embodied — spatial relationships within the landscape structure a whole set of sensual experiences for (and relationships to) the bodies that move through it. Landscapes might produce particular smells (and even tastes) at certain locations, as well as tactile sensations like wet, damp, dry, cold, cool, warm, hot, etc. Features and places come into

view and earshot only incrementally as one moves through the landscape (often along approaches that are intentionally structured). Attracted by such sensual possibilities, a number of archaeologists have explored the phenomenon of "site intervisibility" and mapped "viewsheds" / "visualscapes" for archaeological sites and regions (see, for example, Briault 2007; Lake and Woodman 2003; Llobera 2003, 2007). As I mention in Chapter 3, among the many relationships identified in his study of hillforts and tumuli throughout southern Germany and Bohemia, Axel Posluschny (2008) notes that tumulus locations were likely selected to provide intervisibility with at least one (and often only one) contemporary habitation site and/or hillfort. Were similar patterns of intervisibility built into the Hallstatt landscape of southern Burgundy?

Unfortunately, we do not currently know enough about settlements on the Plain to provide a full answer to this question. One can say, however, that those tumuli which appear to be spatially related to specific hillforts demonstrate the *potential* for visual relationships to their respective hillforts. For example, the summit of Mont Dardon is currently visible from the tumulus of *Les Brais*, just peeking over the top of a hill adjacent to the mound site. While Dardon is not currently visible from the wooded sites of *La Revive, Les Vernailloux,* and *Le Mauvais Pas*, under lower forest cover it would be. Given that changes in forest cover and architecture might obscure or open up visual relationships, it is only possible to *suggest* intervisibility in the past.

Related to, but separate from, questions of (inter-)visibility, my work at the tumulus of *La Revive* suggests that the site of its construction may have been selected with acoustic concerns in mind. On my visits to the site since 2002, and especially during the collection of soil and carbon samples from the mound in the summer of 2004, I have

noticed that the *Tureau de l'Abime* acts like a kind of "echo-chamber," collecting sounds from the surrounding landscape and amplifying them. If a person sits quietly at the mound for a few minutes on a dry summer day, she can hear a constant rustle produced as armies of ants move through the leaf litter on the forest floor (several large anthills exist near the tumulus itself). Equally impressive and disorienting, one often hears the crowing of chickens and the lowing of cattle that are kilometers away but seem very close. This "echo chamber" effect is lost if one moves off the *Tureau* in any direction. As with intervisibility, the acoustic quality of the hilltop is likely to have changed with its forest cover and that of the surrounding valley. It is nonetheless important to recognize the potential for an acoustic design that brought together ephemeral elements of the surrounding landscape (i.e., sounds), assembling them at this site in much the same way as the mound draws together durable materials from the area.

Conceptual / Semiotic Relationships

If we can only trace the potential for sensual relationships among landscape elements in the past, the conceptual / semiotic relationships that Hallstatt people built into the landscape of the Arroux and Somme valleys are even more elusive. Here I mean to imply relationships in which the co-occurrence of particular elements suggests a deeper significance than simple proximity, as well as relationships in which one element of the landscape was intentionally built to recall or stand in for another, perhaps at a different scale. While such relationships may be exceptionally difficult to trace, it is certain that both types of connection were built into the Hallstatt landscape. For example, the relationship between the locations of tumuli and sources of fresh water that I suggest above is one that has conceptual potential, especially given the importance of water in

votive practice throughout the protohistoric period. It is tempting to understand a kind of harmony between the deposition of a human body (or bodies), with grave goods, near a springhead or pond, and the practice of "sacrificing" weapons, jewelry, and other valuables in similar water sources. Given that my observation about the proximity of tumuli to water sources remains largely untested[9], however, this conceptual interpretation remains equally tenuous for the moment.

Perhaps stronger are interpretations that focus on the form of the tumulus itself, especially of the southern, earthen tumulus. One way of thinking about these mounds would be to suggest that the original Hallstatt tumulus reproduced in miniature the large Neolithic and early Bronze Age barrows of Central Europe. These barrows, in turn, mirrored the houses of the Living (which many of them originally were) in the Land of the Dead (Bradley 1998b). Given that we know comparatively little about Hallstatt domestic life, it might even be tempting to suggest that the form of the tumulus, as it spread westward, came to be associated with contemporaneous round house structures. Sadly, while this conceptual relationship may have existed in some Hallstatt communities (particularly in northern France and the Low Countries), it seems unlikely to have done so in eastern France, where all evidence suggests that square/rectangular houses were the norm[10].

But if not the house, might the tumulus have shared a semiotic relationship with another feature of the Hallstatt landscape? I submit that we need not look very far beyond the already existing literature to find an answer. In its form, the Hallstatt tumulus actually resembles the kind of parabolic hill generally selected for the emplacement of hillforts. Pursuing this possibility a bit further, the internal ring-walls of the typical Hallstatt

tumulus and the bank-and-ditch enclosures that often surround individual tumuli (or groups thereof) might be seen to replicate on a single flat plane the concentric ramparts that build to the center of the Hallstatt hillfort[11]. The parallels multiply when we consider that the best outfitted Hallstatt tombs contain many of the same accouterments of feasting that we find in hillfort assemblages; a fact that has led to a longstanding interpretation that feasts for the Dead, or those in the Afterlife, mirrored feasts in the world of the Living. It would seem that lurking beneath 170 years of archaeological literature that has linked hillforts and tumuli simply based on their co-occurrence in time and space is a deeper conceptual relationship that may have united the two in the minds of their builders.

On the surface, it would seem that this tantalizing proposition upholds traditional interpretations of the Hallstatt landscape which suggest that powerful chiefs / princes directed activities in the landscape from seats of power located atop hillforts. When they died, these same chiefs were buried in opulent burial mounds situated near the hillforts from which they ruled. In this formulation, tumuli served as monuments to the power of dead chiefs, as materialized affirmations of their political authority and/or that of their successors. Such interpretations might remain plausible if: (1) all tumuli were single burials, (2) all tumuli were richly provisioned, and (3) there were relatively few tumuli around each hillfort, accounting only for the leaders of each generation. But we know that none of these conditions really applies (see Chapter 3). Many, if not *most*, Hallstatt tumuli contain the buried remains of more than one individual; many, if not *most*, tumulus burials are relatively austere, containing only a few vessels, weapons, and/or elements of personal adornment; and many of the best-studied hillforts are associated

with large cemeteries / tumulus complexes, some of which contain hundreds of mounds. While it appears that not everyone was buried in a tumulus, these differences nonetheless suggest that more than just Hallstatt princes were afforded mound burial. Placing these observations alongside the idea that the Land of the Dead mirrors that of the Living, and entertaining for a moment the notion that each mound was a micro-scale replica of the macro-scale hillfort, one might arrive at a relatively unconventional conclusion: in life, a broader segment of the population may have had access to the hillfort than traditional interpretations suggest. Viewed in this way, it seems unlikely that the mound-burial rite was intended to reinforce chiefly hierarchy, especially once the rich goods buried with the dead were covered by the overlying elements of the mound[12]. Rather, the focus of tumulus burial may have been the affirmation of a much more heterarchical sense of community; one that was fundamentally linked to participation in the life of the hillfort. This heterarchical interpretation takes us rather afield of chiefly models. It finds contemporary analogues, however, in the ways that the residents of Uxeau, Issy-l'Évêque, and Sainte-Radegonde identify with Mont Dardon today and participate in the seasonal activities that take place on it slopes and summit (see Chapter 2).

A Pluralistic Landscape

Before moving on to consider how this deeply relational Hallstatt landscape was taken up and modified by later inhabitants of the Arroux-Somme landscape, I think it necessary to make a point about how "singular" this landscape is likely to have been even during the period of its construction. In Chapter 3, I indicate that — based on regional differences in material culture — the Hallstatt culture appears to have been highly variable across the middle of Europe. This variability likely reflects the differential

adoption of new cultural elements by the various societies that opted into the Hallstatt interaction sphere, together with the differential retention of regionally specific elements that predated the arrival of Hallstatt material and ideas. Just as difference existed throughout the entire Hallstatt system, it is also likely to have existed at finer spatial scales, even within the Arroux and Somme valleys themselves.

Given that the Hallstatt period lasted for more than 700 years, internal architectural differences or differences in the contents of two otherwise similar tumuli might indicate a time lag between the two. The first tumuli appear to have arrived in eastern France with the adoption of Hallstatt culture in the 12th to 11th centuries BCE. It is logical to think that early Hallstatt tumuli in the Arroux and Somme valleys might incorporate elements retained from earlier mortuary practices; whereas tumuli from just a few generations later might look more like those built elsewhere in the interaction sphere. It is also certain that significant changes in land use — and, thus, in the relationships built among landscape elements — occurred during the seven centuries of the Hallstatt period. These changes might show up as material cultural difference. Consider, for example, the changes in relationality that must have accompanied the adoption of iron technology in the mid-9th to early 8th centuries BCE. By the time of this adoption, mining and ore processing sites already existed in the Hallstatt landscape for a long time, having been inherited from earlier periods and societies[13]. The introduction of iron technology meant that new mineral sources had to be located, however, sometimes in places (like peat bogs) that might have been considered unlikely at earlier moments. Once located, the processes involved in collecting iron and turning it into a useable product were rather different from those with which Bronze Age peoples were already familiar: larger amounts of iron ore

were required and a great deal more fuel was needed as copper, zinc, lead, and silver all have much lower melting points than iron. These requirements, structured by the nature of the iron mineral itself, likely meant the need for more and/or larger mines — mines located in new and sometimes harder to reach places — and altered producers' relationships to the forests that provided fuel. Thus a relatively taken-for-granted technological shift significantly altered the fabric of landscape relations during the Hallstatt period. Such alterations might show up as mere "inconsistencies" in any generalized model of the Hallstatt landscape[14].

Temporarily leaving change over time aside, it is important to understand that at any single moment in time there are also manifold ways of perceiving and interacting with the features of any given landscape. These different ways of perceiving and interacting derive from and are generative of the different relationships that individual people and/or groups have to their landscapes. Just as "Third-Wave" feminism has come to recognize that the *intersection* of biological, social, and cultural categories of identity like sex, gender, race, class, and ability determines an individual's experience of oppression and/or privilege (see, for example, Crenshaw 1989, 1991), we must recognize that the relationships individuals and groups construct with and in the landscape are often determined by intersections of categories like social status, occupation, sex, gender, age, ability, ethnicity, political faction, kin group, and religious/cult affiliation, just to name a few (cf., Tilley 1994:11, 2008:272)[15].

To explore intersectionality as it may have played out in the Hallstatt landscape, let us momentarily consider tumulus construction through the traditional (if outdated) "chief-and-others" conception of Hallstatt society. For the chief who built a mound over the

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remains of her predecessor, the tumulus might have stood both as a memorial to the power of the deceased chief and as a physical sign of the living chief's political legitimacy, familial devotion, religious orthodoxy, etc. Assuming that the mound was built using the labor of the "others" in this model, it seems certain that a fraction of these people — likely, supporters of the new chief, the old chief, or both — understood the mound in similar ways. But if we assume that the chief sought to affirm her political legitimacy, familial devotion, or religious orthodoxy, we must also assume that there was some *question* about these things. Logically, therefore, other members of the general population may have understood the tumulus in ways quite different from that intended by its architect / patron: perhaps as a reminder of oppression, of corvée labor, of political illegitimacy, or of failed bids for power. For these people, it might have been appropriate to avoid the newly constructed tumulus completely or to actively vandalize it. Thus, we must understand that even in the simplest political economic configuration a Hallstatt burial mound might have been at once both a legitimizing monument and a site of resistance, depending on the perspective of the individual or group whose relationship to the mound is being considered. With this in mind, consider how the possibilities for different understandings of and relationships with the landscape start to proliferate as we put aside simple "chief-and-others" models (as I suggest in Chapter 3) and adopt more heterarchical understandings of the semiotic relationships that linked tumuli to other features of the landscape (see above).

Finally, if differential relationships among people intersect to form different relationships between people and particular elements of the landscape (like tumuli), we should also recognize — for the sake of symmetry — that differential relationships

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among the features of the landscape itself also intersect. An underlying factor in most human conflict through time, not all land is created equal. There is no degree to which the biophysical (i.e., "natural") substrate out of which landscapes are formed is neutral in terms of its potential (whether productive or otherwise). Individual parcels of land, although otherwise similar in terms of size, slope, and aspect, might offer remarkably different potentials for agriculture, herding, and/or forestry based on such factors as altitude, drainage, distance to water, soil chemistry and depth, insolation, air-flow patterns, histories of particular kinds of disease, and current biota (including those of adjacent parcels). This is not to say that such differences determine how an individual parcel will be used by the people who inhabit it, but they do either facilitate or complicate particular practices / uses. Thus such differences in the land lead people to form different kinds of relationship within the landscape, as they attempt to work within biophysical constraints to produce desired outcomes. This is an understanding that has guided millennia of agricultural production around the world. In northern Burgundy, for example, the recognition that different parcels offer different potentials has been fundamental to centuries of fine wine production. This recognition is the core of the French notion of "*terroir,*" which encapsulates not only the intersection of biophysical properties in particular places, but also the histories of their use by humans; and which generations of French geographers and planners applied both at home (e.g., in establishing systems of specialized regional production during the 20th century[16]) and abroad (e.g., in administering their colonies in West Africa) (see, for example, Bassett, et al. 2007).

I include these reflections on slow change over time and intersectionality to remind the reader that even though landscape archaeologists and historical ecologists have developed a convenient habit of discussing *the* landscape of a particular period, this is only heuristic and a gross characterization of that landscape. Landscapes of all periods are marked by their plural nature: what elements constitute a landscape and how they relate to one another, as well as to the human inhabitants of the landscape, differ — sometimes quite markedly — from person to person, from group to group (following Bender 1998), and from place to place, even within a narrowly defined region. As we consider how subsequent groups have reused elements of the Hallstatt landscape, such pluralism will become particularly important. However, it should never be assumed that multiple understandings of and relationships with the Arroux-Somme landscape (or its individual features) — what I will refer to as different *landscapes*, in the plural — came into being simply as functions of cultural change or temporal distance from the Hallstatt period.

The Inheritance of Landscapes

When the Iron Age residents of southern Burgundy made the transition from the Hallstatt way of life to that of La Tène, they did not raze all Hallstatt installations from their landscape in order to make way for new developments. Rather — and speaking in strictly material terms — they bequeathed the features of their landscape to the culture that followed them. Hallstatt tumuli remained on the land, as did Hallstatt hillforts, farmsteads, enclosures, etc. Indeed, this physical continuity from period to period is what makes archaeology possible. There is a problem, however, with assuming that because subsequent inhabitants received these physical elements of the landscape from their

predecessors, they understood them in more or less the same way(s) as did those earlier people. This assumption is one held by a surprising number of landscape archaeologists and historical ecologists who, for example, uncritically apply notions of "landesque capital"[17] across time periods and cultural divides. It is a logical fallacy that arises out of a universalizing "God's eye" view of time and space which fails to account for cultural, social, and historical particulars. It is very important to understand that, while the material elements of a landscape may be passed on to subsequent generations of its inhabitants, the relationships constructed among these features are not necessarily transferred. Some relationships remain relatively unchanged; others "drift," become completely obsolete, pass out of use, or are significantly refashioned. The inheritance of landscapes, therefore, necessitates the same "work" of relationship-building (i.e., of dwelling) as that described above. In other words, if labor is banked in the form of landesque capital, people need to be informed of the savings passed on to them and taught how to continue saving, as well as how to liquidate their assets.

Given that the Hallstatt – La Tène transition in southern Burgundy seems to have been one in which local people opted into a new interaction sphere (rather than being replaced by migrations of new people from elsewhere), many of the relations built into the Hallstatt landscape probably did transfer directly to the La Tène groups of the late Iron Age. It is likely that the same farmsteads were occupied, fields harvested, pastures grazed, forests cut, mines dug, and roads and watercourses traveled. While a new form of enclosed settlement — the *oppidum* — appeared in the middle of the La Tène period, often in locations that were previously unoccupied (see Chapter 3), evidence from sites

like Mont Dardon suggest that earlier hillforts continued to be visited and used, if not perennially occupied.

But not all landscape relationships transferred directly from Hallstatt to La Tène. While it appears that the spatial relationships that linked Hallstatt tumuli to other elements of the landscape were maintained and even augmented in the La Tène period (as I will discuss momentarily), the conceptual relationships in which tumuli participated seem to have changed. As I explain in Chapter 3, the Hallstatt – La Tène transition marks the end of tumulus building in Temperate Europe. Although new tumuli were no longer built, burial mounds were still recognized as sites for the interment of the dead. Some La Tène heritors of the Hallstatt landscape continued to bury their dead in the tumuli of the previous period for generations. For other La Tène people, however, it was deemed more appropriate to bury the dead in a new way: lying flat or cremated in large communal cemeteries, enclosed at various scales with square/rectangular banks and ditches. But even this new funeral rite was often practiced in close proximity to the burial mounds of the Hallstatt period, and Hallstatt and La Tène cemeteries often appear side-by-side in the landscape (generally near the entrances to settlements). The reuse of tumuli in the La Tène period and the emplacement of new burial grounds in close proximity to them suggest that Hallstatt burial mounds were not only recognized as the rightful places of the Dead in the landscape, but also that their conceptual or semiotic function became even more involved in relationships of commemoration than in the previous period.

Given that the political identities encountered by Caesar when he invaded Gaul in the first century BCE probably crystalized during this period, it is tempting to suggest that tumuli provided longstanding material anchors for claims of belonging, allowing

members of these otherwise tenuous new polities to demonstrate their long-term

occupation of particular landscapes. That Hallstatt tumuli were increasingly linked to

long-term social memory and legitimation during the La Tène period is certainly

suggested by what appears to have been a brief and geographically circumscribed re-

emergence of mound burial near the *oppidum* of Titelberg (Luxembourg), just at the

moment when Roman products and people began pouring into northern Gaul. As I

indicate in Chapter 3 (following Peter Wells), the construction of new tumuli in this area

after 400 years of La Tène burial practices appears to signal a kind of "revitalization

movement" in which shared commemorative elements of the distant past — in this case,

the form of the tumulus and perhaps the mound burial rite itself — were invoked in order

to resist or mitigate forces of cultural and social change. If tumuli were actively deployed

at Titelberg and elsewhere in constructions of social memory, this would suggest that the

work of relationship-building that linked them to other elements of the landscape and

society was not only practical (i.e., the emplacement of new burials within or in close

proximity to them), but also narrative (i.e., stories were crafted and performed to explain

what they were and their importance to the identity of the society).

The importance of narration and/or storytelling to the construction of landscape

relationships is readily apparent if we consider the status of Hallstatt tumuli in the

landscapes of later periods, well removed from the Iron Age and the moments when these

mounds were initially constructed. In order to understand this, consider first that a long

hiatus currently makes it impossible to discuss how Gallo-Roman and medieval groups

related to the mounds — some large and distinct, others already low and diffuse —

bequeathed to them by previous inhabitants of the Arroux and Somme valleys. Land-use

histories suggest that the same road and water networks were used and augmented; that many of the same farmsteads were occupied; and that fields, pastures, and forests changed somewhat, but were generally maintained for use in the production of old crops, as well as some new ones. Many hilltop sites, like Mont Dardon, even suggest a kind of reuse, as votive / religious or defensive locations, or both (see Chapter 2). But neither land-use histories nor the archaeology conducted to date tell us very much about the place of Hallstatt burial mounds in the landscapes of the Gallo-Roman and Medieval periods.

We may have few suggestions of mounds during these periods precisely because protohistoric tumuli had no formal place in Gallo-Roman and medieval landscapes. I propose above that, in principle, material elements of the landscape are passed from generation to generation. In practice, however, it is up to the heritors of those elements to connect them into meaningful landscapes through practices of dwelling. There are frequently elements of the landscape, passed on only in principle, that are left out of the work of relationship building. For all intents and purposes, such elements are "forgotten." Although they may maintain *the potential* to do so, they do not take part in subsequent landscapes. It seems likely that while a few larger Hallstatt tumuli may have been co-opted and converted into medieval mottes in the Arroux and Somme valleys (as I suggest in Chapter 5), most of the mounds that contemporary archaeologists label Hallstatt tumuli did not exist as a discrete class of landscape element for Gallo-Roman and medieval groups. These features were effectively forgotten[18].

The first evidence that Hallstatt mounds were once again remembered in the landscape is a series of references in the place-names and folk myths that began to be recorded throughout France in the very late 17th and early 18th centuries (during the

French early Modern period). While a few place-names quite clearly reference low mounds (e.g., *murger, tertre / tartre*), many others — including *tureau, butte,* and *motte* — are ambiguous. Such names might refer to mounds with protohistoric origins; but they might just as easily refer to larger features of the landscape, some of which have geologic origins and others of which were built in later historical periods. A similar ambiguity characterizes reference to mounds in the recorded folklore of the early Modern period, as well as in the fairy tales that began to appear at the same time (which may have been invented by their authors rather than adapted from folk sources). It is difficult to tell whether the "hills" referenced in folk myths and fairy tales of the day were mounds the size of the average Hallstatt tumulus, earthworks large enough to hold defensive structures, or even larger hills, the size of Hallstatt hillforts. It is entirely possible that different authors and narrators had different conceptions of the hills that they referenced, such that any of these three possibilities might be implied by a single story. Further, the kinds of tales told about these hills — stories about faeries, spirits, devils, werewolves / wolf leaders, witches, ghosts, and (in eastern France and northern Italy) *vouivres* — were often told about other kinds of landscape feature, including megalithic structures, the ruins of ancient architecture, caves, boulders, and forest pools. Thus it would not be entirely accurate to say that tumuli came back into focus as a discrete class of landscape element in the early Modern period. Rather, where and when they were recognized as distinct from the "natural" environment, protohistoric burial mounds were likely to be re-membered into landscapes alongside the other kinds of structure / feature frequented by the fantastical beings of French legend.

I have discussed such landscape elements as a class in Chapter 5, designating them "queer places" set apart by their associations with extraordinary beings. As such, these places posed potential dangers (and sometimes opportunities) to the unwary visitor. I have gone so far as to suggest that the "queerness" of these sites was contagious, extending even to the forests that surrounded them. The folklore of France provides a number of examples of forests that might justifiably be considered queer at certain periods, the most famous of which is the forest of *Brocéliande* in Brittany. Closer to and within the Arroux-Somme study area, folk tales recorded in the Morvan during the 19th and early 20th centuries, and even stories that circulate among the inhabitants of these valleys today, suggest that conceptions of the forest as queer may have continued until relatively recently. Given the longevity of this perception, it is tempting to suggest a causal relationship between the queerness of forests and the differential preservation of mound sites on forested versus open terrain.

Although it may be an interesting proposition, the notion of a causal link between the locations of forests and those of preserved tumuli requires a great deal more study before we can say with certainty that ideas about the forest have protected mound sites for centuries. Is it more likely, for example, that causality has worked in the other direction: that forests exist where they do now (and have for the past 300-400 years) precisely because queer sites (like mounds) are or were located within them? And, although the overall extent of an individual forest plot may not have changed, how often were forest parcels harvested by traditional methods that might have left any mounds within them relatively exposed for decades at a time? In other words, how well do patterns that suggest some kind of relationship between forest location and preserved tumulus location

hold up at finer scales? The importance of the latter questions is suggested by pollen and phytolith results from the tumulus of *La Revive* (see Figure 3.3). With a high concentration of grass pollens and only moderate concentrations of arboreal pollen in the sample collected from Stratum 4 — interpreted as the 18th- to 19th-century surface of the mound (see Chapter 3) — it appears that the tumulus of *La Revive* was situated in relatively open parkland for a portion of its recent existence (Cummings and Puseman 2005). But, as I discuss in Chapter 7, traditional forest management practices might open up similar kinds of parkland for long periods in the midst of forests that are otherwise quite long-standing. Clearly, a great deal more focused attention, including more pollen and phytolith studies at the scale of individual sites (rather than of whole landscapes), will be required to elucidate the nature of relations between burial mounds (along with other kinds of queer place) and forests over time.

Regardless of whether or not the queerness of burial mounds, megaliths, ruins, caves, and pools extended to the forests around them, and of whether or not the inherent queerness of forests protected such places, printed folk and fairy tales from the 1690s onward (and, presumably, their antecedents and equivalents in the oral tradition) not only defined / described queer places, they also pre- and proscribed the actions that were appropriate in such places. For example, in certain places a visit to a queer place on a festival day might be considered appropriate; but to visit the same place at other times, especially after dark or on special days of the month, might open one up to charges of lycanthropy and/or witchcraft. Adventurers might go to a mound site or other queer place on a particular day of the year in order to see the treasure of the *vouivre* and make an attempt to seize it, recognizing that success could be followed by a swift death.

Woodsmen might take extra care in working near a place known to host faeries, lest they cut down the tree preferred by one of these capricious beings and thereby doom themselves. Passers by a stone tumulus might place an additional cobble on the pile to show respect for the murdered peddler buried beneath and to mollify his restless spirit. In these ways and others, the stories about extraordinary creatures that circulated in the early Modern period (and perhaps earlier) defined which places on the landscape were to be avoided completely and/or approached with extreme caution, and what actions one needed to take to avoid danger once such sites were encountered.

Regardless of the "truth" value of such stories from a contemporary scientific — or, more to the point, "*scientistic*" (see Chapter 5) — standpoint[19], they provided plausible and coherent explanations for how the world worked. People's actions in the world were informed by such explanations. Thus stories that we might consider "false" or "fanciful" nonetheless structured practice in the "real world," producing material effects. At tumulus sites, such effects range from the inadvertent preservation of mounds as a function of general avoidance; to the opening of some, perhaps including the tumulus of *La Revive*, by treasure seekers; to the slow accumulation of additional stones atop others as travelers passed by. These impacts to burial mounds and other queer places should be seen as no less real (and traceable) than those produced by early archaeologists (see Chapter 6) and paleoanthropologists (see, for example, van Reybrouck 2002), whose work established disciplinary methods and explanatory frameworks based on assumptions that we would now consider "mistaken" (for more on this phenomenon, see Eco 1998).

But where did such stories come from? How did protohistoric tumuli, once the hillforts of the Dead, reemerge from obscurity as the queer and potentially dangerous dwelling places of extraordinary creatures in the landscape of the Living? In Chapter 5, I suggest that the interior features of Irish passage tombs like Newgrange — and especially the presence of human and animal remains — might account for the role that such sites came to play in the folklore of later periods. It seems likely that the enrollment of Hallstatt tumuli in French stories about fantastical creatures can also be traced to the contents of these mounds. Excavations of mounds during the Medieval period, whether accidental or to lay the groundwork for defensive structures, may have revealed large quantities of grave goods or items of significant quality, in association with skeletonized and/or burned human remains. Although the medieval French were no doubt more accustomed to contact with human and animal remains than contemporary Westerners, the contents of the tombs they stumbled across were likely noteworthy for their difference from the norm. For example, as the members of a strongly Christian culture accustomed to inhumation of the dead, for example, unexpected encounters with burned human bone may have suggested some kind of disaster. Further, the artifacts buried with these remains were different from those in use at the time of the excavation and were probably recognized as such.

Given that religious syncretism, often dismissed as mere "superstition," appears to have played a strong role in the everyday lives even of the Burgundian upper classes (see Veenstra 1998), it is perhaps not surprising that such remains and strange objects should have been interpreted in terms of faeries, spirits, and monsters, themselves possible survivals of Iron Age and Gallo-Roman divinities assumed long-dead. Consider, for

example, the story of the woman whose child was lost for a year under the *Pierre de la Wivre* at Mont Beuvray (see Chapter 5). To the unsuspecting digger who came upon human remains in association with strange artifacts under a low hill, it might very well have appeared that others had been similarly trapped; unfortunately for these ill-fated captives, however, no mother had come to their rescue the next year. Such interpretations are more likely to have been made in a society whose sense of history was like that described by M.D. during the course of our interview about 20th-century peasant life (see Chapter 7): people did not know what happened before about five or six generations back, but assumed that life in the remote past was more or less the same as the life they were living. If the life in the past was essentially the same and the artifacts found with the dead person appeared strange, then it was plausible that such items had Otherworldly origins[20]. Insofar as these artifacts came from the Hallstatt world of the Bronze and Iron Ages, this characterization was appropriate.

This reflection on the role played by grave goods (i.e., "treasure") and human remains in tying Hallstatt tumuli into the legendary landscape of southern Burgundy is particularly interesting when one considers the importance of these same things — grave goods, remains, and tumuli — to the development of protohistoric archaeology. As I explain in Chapter 6, a new way of understanding mounds and of connecting them into the landscape was pioneered along the rim of the Arroux valley starting in the mid-19th century. Drawing on a very different explanatory framework with roots in antiquarianism and philology / ancient history that stretched back to the Renaissance and perhaps much earlier (see Momigliano 1950), intellectuals like Claude Rossignol looked at mounds and the foreign materials contained therein and saw these things as physical residues left over

from human activities in the past. Specifically, Rossignol and his correspondents thought the mounds he looked at on the *Chaumes d'Auvenay* could be traced to a specific series of events, documented by Julius Caesar in the first century BCE. Further work — including what we would today call "survey" (i.e., identifying and recording the locations of additional mound sites), excavation accompanied by relatively detailed documentation, and the comparative analysis of recovered artifacts — strengthened the interpretations proposed by Rossignol in 1842. This trifecta of practices lay at the heart of the new discipline forming in various places throughout France in the first half of the 19th century: protohistoric archaeology.

The development of protohistoric archaeology altered the interactions of a class of individuals, limited at first to a small élite, vis-à-vis the landscape. In the language that I have laid out above, the creation of this discipline resulted in the building of new kinds of relationships within the landscape. First, with specific reference to protohistoric tumuli, Rossignol and others recognized these mounds as a discrete class of landscape element, a status not enjoyed by these barrows for nearly 2,000 years. Once clearly in focus as a distinctive class of feature, early archaeologists had to explain how tumuli related to the other elements of the landscape around them. The relationships built by Rossignol and his colleagues were at once both spatial, based on the proximity of locations as suggested at the beginning of this chapter, and — more importantly — historical. The tumuli of Ivry were spatially quite close to the town of Champignolles and to the hill of *Mortmont*, both longstanding elements of the landscape in Rossignol's day, but to understand the meaning of this proximity meant that one had to first recognize all three sites may have been linked by a single set of events in the past. This fundamental change in thinking was

nothing short of revolutionary as it opened up the possibility that elements of the landscape, regardless of the relations that connected them in the present, may have been connected quite differently in the past depending on the events in which they were involved.

No matter how revolutionary this notion, its discovery was not unique to a group of relatively isolated tumuli in central Burgundy. Rather, it was being realized throughout Europe, no doubt aided by events ranging from the publication of Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830-1833) and *Elements of Geology* (1838) to, as I mention in Chapter 6, the 1836-1846 discovery of stone tools in association with the remains of extinct megafauna by Boucher de Perthes. Lyell's *Principles* all but proved James Hutton's earlier (1788) proposition that the geological processes at work in the distant past were precisely those at work in the present, a fundamental tenet of modern geology known as *uniformitarianism*. Uniformitarian thinking, proven accurate, meant that the Earth was significantly older than allowed for by previous understandings (based largely on Biblical exegesis). Lyell's *Elements* served as a field guide for early geologists who sought to reproduce his work in probing the newly expanded age of the Earth. At the same time, Boucher de Perthes' discovery provided compelling evidence that not only was the Earth older than previously thought, the time that humans had occupied the Earth was also considerably longer. The techniques described by Lyell were easily adapted to the study of human history within this new timeframe.

Of course, my characterization of the events involved in the development of this new approach to building and understanding relationships in the landscape is highly oversimplified. Even Rossignol's suggestions about the tumuli of Ivry might have

remained relatively provincialized for decades longer were it not for the influence of

Napoléon III, his scholarly and personal obsession with Julius Caesar, and his extensive

connections in burgeoning communities of archaeologists and historians both at home

and abroad[21]. In his search to reconstruct the landscape of the Gallic Wars, the Emperor

readily adopted Rossignol's hypothesis about the origin of burial mounds (see Chapter 6).

That the tumuli identified by the members of learned societies throughout eastern France

were built to bury the casualties of Caesar's campaigns became a central assumption of

the *Commission de la topographie des Gaules*, established by Imperial decree in 1858. In

two particular regions — around Alise-Sainte-Reine (Côte-d'Or) and Alaise (Doubs) —

scholars competed to demonstrate the strongest historical relationship between the burial

mounds of their area and a supposed location of the Mandubian *oppidum* of Alesia. In the

end, the advocates of Alise-Sainte-Reine won this competition, effectively proving that

theirs was the site of the *oppidum*. When, in 1865, Napoléon dedicated a massive statue

of the Gallic leader Vercingetorix upon the site of Mont Auxois (at Alise-Sainte-Reine),

he effectively established a new kind of landscape element: a monument not to some

victory in recent memory, but to an event — in fact, to a valiant defeat — in the distant

past. The location of this monument in the contemporary landscape had everything to do

with the established location of that defeat, identified through careful study, in the

landscape of the past.

Of course, Rossignol's hypothesis about the origins of tumuli did not survive closer

scrutiny and broader applications of the methods he helped to pioneer, particularly in

light of developments elsewhere in Europe. As I indicate in Chapters 3 and 6, the

excavation of more and more tumuli made it clear that these features were constructed

well before Caesar's arrival in Gaul. The archaeologists of the late 19th century — both professional and amateur — were forced to rethink the connections they perceived in the ancient landscape; and to reconnect the mounds to one another and to earlier features in different ways. It is somewhat puzzling, therefore, that the identifications of sites like Alesia / Mont Auxois (Alise-Sainte-Reine), which initially relied so heavily on Rossignol's hypothesis, withstood the realization that the tumuli were first installed in a more remote period. The key to understanding this puzzle might lie in my observations above concerning the inheritance of Hallstatt landscapes by La Tène groups: while new mounds were not built in the late Iron Age, new cemeteries were often situated in close proximity both to the tombs of the previous period and to the gates of newly constructed *oppida*. Thus, while the tumuli could not provide evidence for the locations of Caesar's battles, they could inadvertently signal the presence of La Tène population centers. Once these locations were known, they were related to one another using the detailed spatial information contained in Caesar's Gallic War account to arrive at their original identities; a process rather brilliantly demonstrated in Napoléon III's own *Histoire de Jules César* (2001[1865-1867]).

One Region, Many Landscapes

In the decades following Napoléon's dedication of the Vercingetorix statue and the publication of his *Histoire*, the principles and practice(s) of archaeology spread throughout France. In Burgundy, archaeology was initially the bailiwick of the learned bourgeois societies that Napoléon endowed, but soon became popular even with the working classes. In some places, like Montceau-les-Mines (71), "common folks" — led

by school-teachers and clergymen — established their own scientific and historical societies which remain active today (see Chapter 6).

But this explosion in the popularity of archaeology should not be seen as having been all-encompassing. It is important to note that while archaeological understandings of the landscape were widely distributed by the end of the 19th century, they never fully replaced other approaches to the work of dwelling. Thus, focusing once again on tumuli, we can say that three broad understandings of the landscape characterized southern Burgundy at the dawn of the 20th century. In the first of these, mound sites were not recognized or connected into the landscape at all. In the second, recognized mound sites were part of a class of features that also included megaliths, ruins, caves, large erratic boulders, forest pools, and perhaps even the forest itself. Such "queer places" were either avoided completely or approached with extreme caution. Beside these two, then, the archaeologist's notion that tumuli were a distinct class of feature, related historically not only to one another but also to other features of the landscape, constituted a third broad understanding.

These three understandings have continued to apply to the landscape of the Arroux and Somme valleys throughout the last century, albeit with considerable variation. As many mounds have eroded and come to blend more seamlessly into the surrounding terrain, the likelihood that they will be understood as "natural" features and not connected in any particular way into understandings of the landscape has increased. Where relationships are forged, as I discuss in Chapter 7, mounds may be seen as natural sources of gravel and fill, thereby collapsing features that archaeologists would identify as anthropogenic with features that are similar in external form but have geologic (i.e.,

"natural") origins. In other cases, recognized as having resulted from human activity, mounds may be interpreted as the products of recent agricultural practice and, therefore, not particularly important in the landscape save as dumps for farm debris or as sources of building stone. Further, perhaps because "modern people, 'pressed' [for time], no longer believe" (see Lucien D.'s retelling of the *vouivre* myth in Chapter 5), there has been a general move away from stories about fantastical creatures and concerns for the activities appropriate to "queer places." Finally, archaeological understandings have become much more complex and pluralistic as the number of different "kinds" of archaeologist has multiplied and as our understandings of Iron Age life have become more sophisticated.

It is, therefore, important to understand that manifold understandings of the landscape obtain within the Arroux and Somme valleys today, vis-à-vis the burial mounds that it contains (or *does not* contain). Indeed, this coexistence makes the notion of "syncretism," already implied by the simultaneity of many physical elements not created at the same time, all the more appropriate. As I have already implied at several points throughout this text, how we understand the landscape — our "epistemology" of landscape — guides how we act therein, manipulate cause and effect, etc. For example, the professional archaeologist understands a mound to be a certain kind of phenomenon and interacts with it accordingly. Her actions either prove the mound to be what she expected or do not do so, based on a series of shared practices and criteria. A farmer, on the other hand, may have a very different understanding and way of interacting with the same mound. Her activities at the mound might prove just as valid based on the assumptions under which she operates. For all practical purposes, these are not simply two different *understandings* of the same landscape; they are two different *landscapes* in

the same space. Given this, I think it appropriate to say that we need a more complex

optic that recognizes the manifold *landscapes* that are currently (and have been

historically) present in the bounded region of the Arroux-Somme project area.

While I do not wish to wade much further into the debate about the agency of things

than I already have thus far, if archaeologists are eager — like my friend Lucien D. (see

Chapters 6 and 7) — to avoid "*déstructions inconscientes*" of the sites we study, it

behooves us to recognize that the positions occupied (or not occupied) by tumuli in each

of these different landscapes have consequences for their capacity to "resist" destruction.

What tumuli *do* and *can do* is entirely structured by their relationships to other elements

of the landscape and, especially, to its human inhabitants. At the moment of their initial

construction and perhaps even in the subsequent cultural period, it appears that tumuli

had significant capacity to act in the landscape. Given their connections to other features

and to particular people (both living and dead), these burial mounds were symbolically

important. Beyond this symbolism, however, their connections made them politically

important. In addition to any spiritual consequences (as might be implied by ideology-

centered interpretations of Hallstatt burial practice), there were no doubt socio-political

costs to acts of open resistance involving them (like the vandalism and/or avoidance that I

suggest above). During the Hallstatt and La Tène periods, therefore, tumuli had a strong

capacity to resist changes that might threaten their integrity. The "forgetting" of tumuli

through the Gallo-Roman and Medieval periods completely stripped the mounds of this

capacity to resist change: as part of the "natural" environment, a mound might be

flattened or otherwise altered with no consequence to the human actors involved. As

particular mounds and other queer places slowly became incorporated into folk myths,

the capacity to resist change was once again restored to a fraction of the features that contemporary archaeologists might identify as tumuli. In this landscape, the consequence of interference with a mound might not be socio-political; rather, it might take the form of a threat from any of the creatures believed to live within or around the feature.

As modern inhabitants of the Arroux and Somme valleys have moved away from reiterating stories of what we might call the "fantastical" — including, and perhaps especially, as the archaeological landscape has become more widely supported — mounds and other queer places have been "demystified." The cost of this demystification is, once again, a reduction in the capacity of these places to resist change. For the farmer who does not recognize a mound as a discrete element of the landscape, who assumes it is a natural feature or one resulting from the agriculture of recent generations, or who recognizes the mound as an historic structure but feels compelled to destroy it out of economic necessity, there is very little consequence (except, perhaps, the disapproval of a neighbor) inherent in the destruction of the tumulus. Thus if we truly seek to preserve tumuli from further destruction, we need to recognize that the different landscapes present in the Arroux-Somme project area — the different systems of relating landscape elements to one another and to people — not only result from and structure different understandings and needs, they also place individual sites at different kinds and degrees of risk. One way to mitigate such risk might be to focus on the establishment of moments or points of "translation" among the different landscapes / relational systems present in the project area.

<u>Translation</u>

     Translation between landscapes as relational systems is common in the Arroux and Somme valleys. On one hand, the entire endeavor of landscape archaeology seeks to translate the evidence provided by contemporary landscape elements in order to arrive at an approximation of the landscapes of particular periods / cultures in the past. On the other hand, there are numerous moments in which the different landscapes I have described intrude upon and inform one another. Sometimes inhabitants intend such moments of translation; more often, however, they are unplanned and unpredictable.

     Consider, for example, my proposition above that the accidental discovery of skeletal remains and Hallstatt artifacts might account for the incorporation of tumuli into stories about dangerous and fantastical creatures. This was a moment when the material culture of the past, contained inside a landscape element, presented itself to the people of a later culture / period, demanding explanation. If my proposition is correct, this translational encounter altered the entire fabric of the landscape, as a new kind of place was recognized and had to be accommodated into the relationships that already existed. A similar translational moment is captured in the account of Rossignol, who (with a number of contemporaries) realized that the same material culture as that described above could have a very different significance and relate landscape elements in a very different way. It is interesting to note that Rossignol's use of place-names in the excerpt with which I open this chapter represents a translation not only of the Hallstatt landscape, but of the early Modern narrated landscape that I characterize in Chapter 5. Even the *La Revive* story that has provided several different points of entry into the phenomena described in this text is a complex example of translation: diggers seeking treasure are chased away by a fantastical beast in which most people no longer believe, but their tale is nonetheless

told more than century later by amateur archaeologists seeking to educate a professional archaeologist about events in the life of a particular Iron Age tomb. Indeed, this story brings nearly all of the landscapes I have described previously together in the tumulus of *La Revive*, which makes it an effective gateway to the topics I discuss.

So far, the moments of unintentional translation that I have presented have, for the most part, been positive. There are, of course, other possibilities. For example, Jacquet's (1992) attempt to connect the *La Chaise* mounds into the archaeological landscape using a Gallic War explanation very like Rossignol's represents another kind of translation (see Chapter 4). In effect, Jacquet sought to link different archaeological understandings / landscapes: that of the mid-19th century with that of today. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of contemporary professional archaeologists and even of Jacquet's amateur colleagues, this was not a particularly effective or right-headed translation. As a result, the dozen or so mounds identified by Jacquet and Colin have often been dismissed as the results of some "natural" process in the recent past — and, therefore, likely external to the archaeological landscape — rather than reconsidered for how they might actually fit into the current archaeological landscape of southern Burgundy. The sometimes vitriolic debates that local amateurs remember having surrounded Jacquet and Colin's discovery and interpretation serve to remind us that moments of translation between landscapes can be tense and produce contestation (following Bender and Winer 2001). Indeed, it is this tension that one feels when she attempts to navigate among the various positions of contemporary landowners, who need to derive a living from the landscape, and archaeologists of all kinds, who typically seek to preserve sites from physical destruction and shield the information they contain from loss. What becomes clear in these situations

is that while the landscapes of the farmer and of the archaeologist may involve distinct networks, the actions undertaken in one can have profound effects upon the other.

Ironically, the ability of archaeologists to protect as many tumuli (and other sites) from destruction as possible may depend on our capacities and willingness to generate intentional moments of translation. The Arroux-Somme case study demonstrates that damage to archaeological sites resulting from changes in rural land use is only the local material effect of a complex network of interactions, choices, and consequences that operate at various temporal and geographic scales. The destruction of tumuli in the Arroux-Somme project area is not simply the result of farmers operating with ignorance or malice in their hearts: it often arises out of economic necessity, shaped not only by local forces and actors, but also by external managers and policymakers in Paris and Brussels, as well as global markets. Beyond these contemporary forces, however, it is important to realize that the destruction of tumuli today is also shaped by a long ecological history in which these mounds have been inconsistently "forgotten" and "remembered"; disconnected and reconnected into various landscapes as relational systems over time. Each tumulus in the project area may have a different history of connection or disconnection into the landscapes of the past and present. These different historical trajectories have everything to do with a site's ability to resist change. In considering tumuli, whether in the Arroux and Somme valleys or elsewhere, professional archaeologists tend to focus on the importance of burial mounds in the distant past; in other words, on the archaeological landscape. While interesting and informative, this focus also risks a preoccupation with the "damage" done to sites in the centuries since their original construction and, especially, in recent decades as rural land use has

changed. Without resorting to the specific language of behavioral archaeology, we might still find ourselves writing about the "c- and n-transforms" that have distorted the tumuli that we wish to study, thereby implying that only their original constructions and uses were socially meaningful. By concentrating primarily on "damage," we fail to understand the broader cultural, social, political, and ecological structures and actors that contribute to or impede change throughout landscapes; the socio-ecological networks in which burial mounds have participated and continue to take part; and the broader implications of our own often uncompromising stances on site preservation.

The only certain way to begin to explore these related phenomena is to look outside the archaeological landscape: to examine the other landscapes that have existed and currently co-exist in the Arroux and Somme valleys, and to identify the points where such landscapes might intersect or "map onto" the archaeological landscape. Further, it is important to seriously consider the concerns and understandings of the past and present human inhabitants of these landscapes. Where do such concerns and understandings cross the "boundaries" that separate landscapes? What concerns and understandings are not shared across landscapes and why? What concerns and understandings might be aligned or correlated across landscapes, working within the constraints of the individual landscapes as relational systems? Conducting these explorations and answering these questions will require significant translational work.

To be certain, a number of the professional archaeologists who work in the Arroux and Somme valleys are already engaged in this work of translation. For example, the place-based folklore that Serge Grappin collects in the area around Saint-Romain (see Chapter 7) has the potential to highlight places where various landscapes of the past might

intersect with the archaeological landscape of today. Indeed, the place-names and legends that I present in Chapter 5 can be put together with corrected data about the known locations of tumuli (see Chapter 4) to build probability models which suggest where "forgotten" tumuli might still exist in the Arroux and Somme valleys (Figure 8.2). Such models can be used to design systematic archaeological surveys whose goal is to find and reconnect these sites into the archaeological landscape of the Arroux and Somme valleys (following Murray 2006).

But my interview with Grappin revealed a deeper involvement in the work of translation that goes far beyond the collection of folklore. In Chapters 6 and 7, I explain that many different kinds of archaeologist — professional, avocational, and amateur — operate within the Arroux-Somme project area. A few of the amateurs actually fit the image of the *clandestin* (illegal and careless "looter") thrust upon them by many members of the professional community. Others, however, are the possessors of significant archaeological knowledge derived from disciplined, self-guided study, or from formal training that did not lead to a professional post in archaeology. While many professional archaeologists may "sideline" this expertise, Grappin and his colleagues see it as a valuable (and largely untapped) resource. Each year, the staff of the *Maison du Patrimoine* actively draws upon and refines the expertise of amateur and avocational archaeologists, helping to shape the interests and abilities of these people while, at the same time, recognizing them to be important colleagues in the production of archaeological knowledge and the preservation of sites. Translational work like this acknowledges that people who have spent most of their lives in an area are likely to have insights about the land that either complement or, in many cases, outstrip those of the
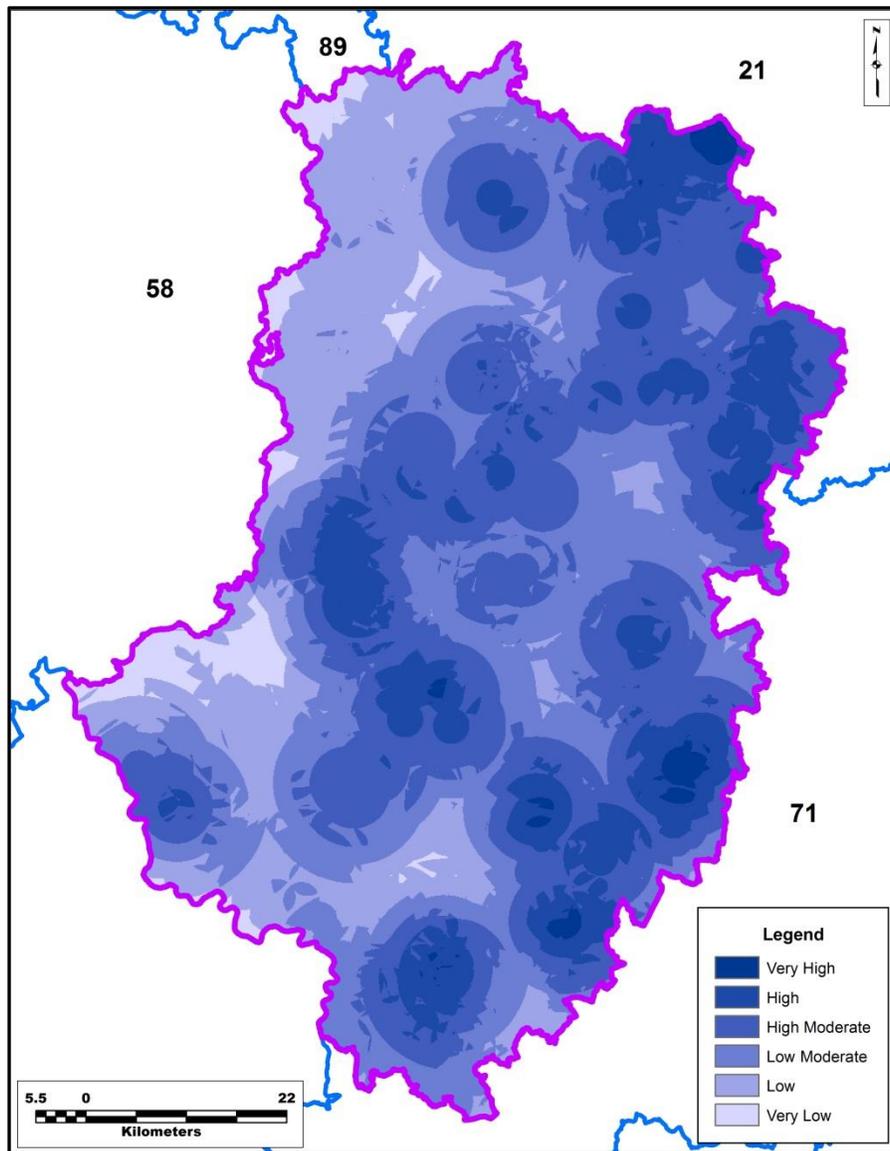
Figure 8.2. One possible model estimating the likelihood of tumulus presence based on distance from: (1) the corrected locations of recorded tumuli, (2) the locations of descriptive place-names that suggest tumuli, and (3) place-names that reference legendary creatures / beings associated with burial mounds and other "queer places." Of the tumuli recorded in the project area, nine (11%) are located in areas estimated to have a "very high" probability for the location of tumuli; 46 (58%) in areas of "high" probability; and 25 (31%) in areas of "high moderate" probability.

professional archaeologist who comes into the region from outside. Further, their status

as "natives" — in French, "*autochtones*" — becomes doubly important as amateur and

avocational archaeologists often serve as gatekeepers, introducing professional

archaeologists into their communities and acting as important political and pedagogical allies in efforts to work with the broader public.

Reconfiguring archaeology's relationship to this broader public is, itself, a work of translation and, as I have written elsewhere (Meyer 2010a:67), probably the single most important "course correction" that professional archaeologists can make to address the challenge of agricultural change. All too often we think of ourselves as working for the public (at best), or as somehow separated from it (cf., Castañeda and Matthews 2008b). In so doing, we close archaeology off to the very people that we should seek to interest. This sequestering of the discipline has real consequences, as natural allies in the public turn their attention and energy towards more inviting pursuits that allow them to gain hands-on experience (see Chapter 6). Yet the effort to preserve archaeological sites from destruction is a political project and the segregated expert can accomplish very little in political situations (see Latour 1999:228-247). Archaeologists alone cannot save sites. We need the help of the public, the members of which have direct control over whether sites are preserved or destroyed. Gaining this help will require us to carefully explain ourselves *as well as* to listen attentively to the very people whose assistance we seek. What else, if not this, is the work of translation?

> ... As we move forward, we need to develop community-based archaeology programmes that recognize the very real concerns and interests of non-archaeological stakeholders, enrol their assistance in projects, and attempt to capture their imaginations; this is to say, archaeology programmes that attempt to work with the public, rather than for or against it.
>
> We should specifically seek to engage young people in these projects, fostering from an early age a land ethic that recognizes the importance of the archaeological resource. In France, ironically, the very *lycées* implicated in the problem of agricultural change may yet provide assistance on this score. Beginning in the late-1990s, agricultural *lycées*

began their own new initiative, focused on the quality of food production, the quality of food demanded by consumers, and the protection of the environment. Instead of creating more *exploitants agricoles*, the schools have turned to the training of *jardiniers de l'espace rural* (i.e., gardeners of the countryside) (van Deventer 2001:207-211). Surely, working with the directors of these schools and with the broader public, we can find a place for the archaeological resource in the gardens tended by this new generation of *jardiniers*. (Meyer 2010a:67)

[1] The "Sirs" Rossignol addressed were the members of the *Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d'Or*, who later published this report in their *Mémoires*.

[2] A *lieue* is an old French measure of distance, thought to represent the distance a running man or horse could cover in an hour. It converts to between 4 and 5 km.

[3] This recognition offers the potential for fruitful dialogue with recent scholarship on "materiality" that grows largely out of social studies of science and technology, especially out of feminist science studies and Actor-Network Theory (ANT), and highlights the "radical relationality" (Law 2000) or "entanglement" (Barad 2007) that exists among human and non-human actors in various kinds of system.

[4] This relationship-building work is what might be described as "dwelling" in the sense intended by the practitioners of phenomenology in archaeology and cultural or historical ecology.

[5] As I note in Chapter 2, the treatment of landscape originally offered by Marquardt and Crumley 1987b is more sophisticated than this relatively simple definition would suggest. Unfortunately, subsequent uses of this definition have divorced it from its original context.

[6] The incorporation of megalithic sites from the Neolithic into Bronze Age funerary practice suggests that standing stones and tumuli may have been conceptually linked for the Hallstatt inhabitants of the Arroux-Somme landscape. Ironically, this linkage prefigures a similar lack of distinction between tumuli and other classes of large and visible (i.e., "monumental") architecture in the folk myth of the early Modern period (see Chapter 5 and below).

[7] However, given that so much research has focused on hillforts, the most visible features of the Hallstatt landscape, the notion that they provided the centerpieces of Hallstatt landscapes should be viewed with a degree of skepticism. Indeed, studies of open sites undertaken since the mid-1980s have provided evidence-based challenges to the idea that the hillfort was necessarily the focal point of Hallstatt social and economic life (see Chapter 3).

[8] Following this association with water (especially with water that emerges, snake-like, directly out of the ground), it is interesting to note that some early Modern people associated a number of tumuli with the *vouivre*, who in her human-serpent hybrid form may be seen as a survival of Celtic water goddesses (see Chapter 5).

[9] My observation also seems at odds with the results of Triboulot's (2002:24) analysis of tumuli in northeastern France (including northern Burgundy) and western Germany, which suggest that proximity to water was not a determining factor in the siting of Hallstatt burial mounds.

[10] The round house upon which this interpretation would depend, while quite common in the protohistory of the British Isles, was not widely used on the Continent.

[11] The presence of these ramparts, often embankments fronted by ditches, is directly tied to the ascription "hillfort." Mont Dardon has no fewer than three such walls.

[12] Recent research suggests that the goods in even the most opulent burials, like those found at Hochdorf and in the Hohmichele Group (see Chapter 3), were carefully and extensively wrapped as individual parcels even before they were put into the tomb (Murray 2012). If this practice was widespread throughout the Hallstatt world, it suggests that individual participants in the funeral rite might not have seen the quality of all goods deposited with the Dead; allowing them to judge only the quantity and relative size of funerary offerings. While more powerful individuals — those who presumably had larger social networks — may have departed for the Land of the Dead with more and larger gifts, the practice of wrapping may have had a democratizing function, masking the quality of the items involved in much the same way that envelopes often mask the amount of Church donations today.

[13] In the Arroux and Somme valleys, for instance, evidence for copper, zinc, lead, and silver mining predates the appearance of Hallstatt material culture (see, for example, Cauuet et al. 2006; Monna et al. 2004).

[14] Such models tend to see particular archaeological periods as more or less static "phases," between which momentous and fast-paced changes — to use the language of physics and chemistry, "phase shifts" — occurred (following Meyer and Crumley 2011:117-119, Figure 3).

[15] A sobering consequence of recognizing that intersectionality operates in landscape relations is the realization that a key tenet of some of the most enthusiastic applications of phenomenology in archaeology is not really tenable. The authors of these approaches suggest that, in the words of John Barrett and Ilhong Ko,

> By using his or her own body as the medium of engagement, the archaeologist can encounter a past Being-in-the-world, and, in doing so, grasp the meaning of the archaeological record. (2009:280)

But, as Barrett and Ko go on to explain, this tenet is the most controversial of the phenomenological program and, unfortunately, the most flawed. Given the profound changes that elements of the landscape and their relationships to one another have undergone over time, it is already highly unlikely that even the resident of a Burgundian Hallstatt community, magically transported from her own time period, would experience the landscape in the same way today as she had 2,500 years ago. Couple this time-induced inconsistency with the complex ways in which our own intersectional identities affect our relationships to landscapes, making them quite different from those of the Hallstatt woman, and the problem becomes even more apparent: while any of us might

encounter *a few* of the same challenges or features of a past Being-in-the-world, we simply cannot access it any more wholly than that.

[16] I discuss this regional specialization in Chapter 7.

[17] "Landesque capital" is a materialist concept that developed in tandem with notions of the "domesticated landscape" that I critique in Chapter 2. As outlined by Brookfield (1984:36, 2001:55), Blaikie and Brookfield (1987), and Kirch (1994), landesque capital describes "landscape manipulation designed for long-term gains in productivity" (Fisher and Feinman 2005:64). It refers to a kind of labor banking within features of the landscape that are passed between generations.

[18] In fact, it seems very likely that many tumuli remain forgotten today within the confines of the Arroux and Somme valleys. The potential of these mounds to be "remembered" — literally, "re-membered," that is to say "re-activated" or "put back into relationships" — in the landscape still exists. Tumuli may be rediscovered "by accident" or serendipity, as have many of the mounds in the Arroux-Somme sample, or they may be actively sought out through careful and systematic archaeological survey, a proposition that I discuss further below.

[19] It should not be forgotten that a number of stories about creatures that we would consider "fantastical" today found themselves integrated into otherwise scientific texts, like Charles Beauquier's (1910) catalogue of animals in the Franche-Comté.

[20] This explanation can be extended to encompass stories in what I have called the "wandering peasant" and related genres (see Chapter 5). Essential to these stories is a notion that the deceased came from somewhere else, either from one of the areas that routinely supplied peddlers (e.g., Savoie, the Dauphiné) or from one of the groups rumored to have invaded France in the distant but abstract past (e.g., Bulgarians, Poles). As with Otherworldly accounts, such stories capture the "strangeness" of the artifacts found with the remains in these tombs.

[21] For a deeper consideration of this last point, see Effros (2012).

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

TOUSSAINT: *THE FEAST OF ALL SAINTS*

October 2010: The sun was bright on the last Friday of October. A warm breeze gently blew on the slopes of Mont Dardon. With some business to take care of at the *mairie* (i.e., the mayor's office) in town, I decided to walk the two kilometers to Uxeau. As I came down the mountain, I met a number of people along the road. Old people, young people, and children I did not recognize prepared to make the trip up Dardon or returned back to the village from shorter circuits in the sunny countryside. As I drew near the outskirts of the *bourg*, I saw five to ten cars parked in front of the cemetery, a place that tends to receive relatively little traffic on a normal Friday afternoon. People stood outside the cemetery gates in small groups of four or five. They talked animatedly with neighbors and with returning friends who had long ago moved away from the *commune*. At the same time, others moved quietly and deliberately among the wide, flat lids of the crypts. They removed old flower arrangements, swept away accumulated dust and debris, and put new decorations on the burial monuments.

My neighbors explained to me that these people were engaged in the rituals of *la Toussaint* (i.e., "The Feast of All Saints"), a Holy Day of Observation in the Roman Catholic year (see Figure 2.1) and a French public holiday. I retained a vague notion of the Feast of All Saints, or "All Saints' Day," from my Catholic grammar school days. I

remembered it as a holiday to celebrate the Church's holiest members, its saints, who

have passed into Heaven and now intercede with God on behalf of the Living. My friends

told me that this impression was not entirely incorrect, but that for the average French

person, observant or otherwise, *Toussaint* has additional significance. It is a day upon

which to remember and honor all of one's loved ones who have died, regardless of

whether or not one believes that they intercede on his/her behalf in the Afterlife.

The observance of *Toussaint*, whether religious or secular, serves an important

community function beyond simple memory. The cleaning and decoration of a crypt

demonstrate to members of the community, especially to its municipal authorities, that

there is still someone among them who remembers the Dead contained therein and who

cares to have that person (or those people) remain "individual(s)." To understand what I

mean, it is first necessary to know how burial practice works in modern France. When

making "end of life" plans, rural French people visit their local *mairie* and request a place

in the village cemetery. There, for a fee, they purchase a *concession* (i.e., the rights) to a

burial plot to be used "in perpetuity." In practice, however, the term of these rights is

rarely so long. My neighbors explained to me that this period is often much closer to 50

years; and that it might be quite a bit shorter if a person's crypt is not visited, cleaned,

and decorated for a period of consecutive years. When a burial plot is determined to have

been abandoned — as, for example, when the Dead no longer have living relatives or

relatives living in the area — the lid of the crypt is opened. The remains are carefully

collected and deposited in the *fosse commune* (i.e., the "common grave" or ossuary) of

the municipality. The crypt is thereby emptied for new residents, who will buy their own

concessions. Through this practice, reflected upon by Michael Taussig in the title essay

of his collection *Walter Benjamin's Grave* (2006), the cemetery is able to accommodate

newly deceased members of the community without having to expand continually[1]. In

this context, the observance of *Toussaint* serves purposes beyond its intimate, memorial

function; it sends a signal to municipal authorities that a highly valuable place within the

finite space of the cemetery remains "occupied" and, therefore, not available to unrelated

new residents.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This dissertation began with the axiom that human life must always be lived among those features of the landscape inherited from the past. I have encouraged readers to follow me in an exploration of what I refer to as "landscape syncretism": the socio-ecological process by which people make sense of this inheritance, building and re-building relationships among anthropogenic and "natural" landscape elements just as they do among the various human residents of the landscape. As I have suggested at several points, syncretism is much more than the cycle of inscription, erasure, incidental preservation, and new inscription implied by longstanding concepts, like the notion of the "palimpsest," embedded deep inside mainstream archaeology. Rather, it entails myriad other activities and phenomena that amount to the continual — if not continuous — negotiation of dynamic socio-ecological relationships among a wide variety of actors, including (but certainly not limited to) humans.

To explore this syncretism in more concrete terms, I have provided a case study drawn from my own extended fieldwork in the Arroux and Somme river valleys of southern Burgundy, France. I have focused on a relatively common and widely discussed feature of the archaeological landscape, the Hallstatt tumulus, examining people's interactions with (and ignorance of) tumuli over the course of several centuries. However, unlike standard treatments that address the "lives" of burial mounds only in the centuries immediately following their constructions, I have looked at a broader time scale here, focusing as much (if not more) on recent centuries as on the protohistoric past.

In my analysis, I have paid special attention to the idea that, as part of the activity of dwelling, the builders of tumuli forged specific relationships among the newly

constructed burial mounds, other physical features (both found and new), and the humans

with whom they shared the Arroux and Somme river valleys. I have characterized the

Hallstatt landscape as deeply relational, including relations between found and new

elements, relations of provisioning, spatial relations, sensual relations, and conceptual /

semiotic relationships, among others. Further, I have insisted that we need to understand

any landscape as a heterogeneous fabric of such relations, characterized by localized

differences and particularities, even within a single cultural period.

   This heterogeneity only multiplied as subsequent peoples came to inhabit the Arroux

and Somme valleys and, each time, engaged anew in the work of dwelling / relationship-

building. Archaeology as an endeavor requires us to understand that new groups

generally inherited the materiality of tumuli (i.e., their physical mass). But this relatively

taken-for-granted inheritance of landscape elements does little to explain how and/or why

sites — even highly visible sites, like tumuli — become lost or forgotten over time and

are (sometimes) later rediscovered. I have proposed here that such moments of forgetting

and remembrance have everything to do with the different ways that people go about the

work of dwelling within landscapes, selecting elements and building relationships among

them based on their own identities, needs, backgrounds, and understandings of the world.

Heterogeneity (which I have characterized as "pluralism" in this text) and change over

time amount, for all practical purposes, to the presence and evolution of different

landscapes, as relational systems, in the same physical space. I concluded this analysis by

reflecting upon the moments of translation that bring these different landscapes into

conversation and/or conflict. I have proposed that archaeologists interested in protecting

mound sites and other archaeological features from damage resulting from rural land-use

change need to think about how we might structure such moments of translation to productive ends.

My work with tumuli in southern Burgundy illustrates a number of points that I think it important for archaeologists and historical ecologists to consider. First, and most basically, this case study provides a reminder that the archaeological record that is available to us — including, and perhaps especially, the locations of particular kinds of sites within the landscape — is highly selected. This selection is not only exercised by the contemporary processes of sampling and analysis, but also by centuries or millennia of earlier dwelling. This is by no means a novel observation; advocates of behavioral archaeology and other taphonomic approaches are not wrong in trying to understand these alterations to the elements of the archaeological record following their original construction / deposition.

But such explorations tend to overlook a much more important truth by implying that a site or object's first construction, use, and deposition were those that were the most socially meaningful, and that subsequent alterations to a site were simply "distortions" without their own social meanings. Even when such interpretations allow for the meaningful reuse of sites, they tend to offer "short films" and "flip-books" of life in the past: employing an optic that sees events that unfold in the same space over time — or, to a lesser degree, "in the same time over space" — as static moments, relatively isolated from one another. This is the perspective inherent in the "palimpsest" concept so often and unreflexively deployed in archaeological texts. However apt the characterization seems to be at any given time, to say that a landscape or particular site within it is a "palimpsest" in which the installations of the present obscure the remains of the past is as

facile as my observation above that the archaeological record is highly selected. If we are seriously committed to the notion of archaeology as anthropology, or even as history, then we need to consider subsequent reuses — and avoidances — of landscape elements as the patterned and socially meaningful effects of later people's continuous efforts to dwell in the same space; to work with the same land, whether under the same environmental conditions or under markedly different conditions; and to place the installations of the past into dialogue with their own constructions. This is what I have referred to here as a "syncretic perspective." It is an optic that sees each moment as a point of flow that draws heavily on the past and sets trajectories for the future, redirecting our efforts towards the production of "feature-length" and even "epic" films about the history of dwelling in the regions we study and inviting us to engage in the practice of a "properly longitudinal historical ecology" (following Schmidt 1994, 2012).

Of course, from the standpoint of methodology, traditional archaeological "business as usual" will only get us so far along the road to understanding the reuse of landscape features over time. To be certain, archaeology has the *potential* to yield a great deal of information about how people have reused sites, leaving behind the material effects of their practice. In fact, if we were to examine a handful of site reports we would likely find the raw materials necessary to derive this kind of information: in describing the integrity of the sites we study, archaeologists often explain how later reuses of these sites have altered them from their original configurations. I am suggesting, on one hand, that we need to turn our interpretive apparatuses towards understanding and reconstructing these later uses of a site in the same ways that we understand and reconstruct earlier occupations.

On the other hand, however, this reorientation will get us only so far. If archaeologists and historical ecologists desire to examine the reuse of sites and landscapes over time, then we need to recognize that our traditional pools of data and methods for obtaining information might be as inadequate to the task as our standard interpretive mechanisms. In this case study, I have engaged in a great deal of "methodological promiscuity," working all at once with techniques derived from landscape archaeology, folklore, ethnohistory, history, geography, cultural ecology, and ethnography. The kinds of data that I have drawn together here are similarly varied, including not only the locations and formal attributes of mound sites (relatively standard archaeological fare), but also stories about the legendary landscape, collected from a variety of print sources and living storytellers; place-names; historiographic information about the development of archaeology; and detailed ethnographic information about the uses and perceptions of the landscape through time, gathered through formal interviews, informal conversations, and a great deal of participant observation. I have written elsewhere that archaeologists "must adopt additional methods that allow us to better understand not only the past residents of a landscape, but also those people who have now inherited it" (Meyer 2010a:66). This to say that the key to truly understanding the reuse of landscapes and landscape elements over time lies not only in renovating the concepts by which we make sense of the material we excavate, but also in updating our archaeological "toolkits" to include some of the methods of our sister disciplines.

Of course, this overhaul of archaeological practice comes with a few consequences. Perhaps the most obvious is that it forces us to give up some authority in narrating the landscape. While my own interpretations of the landscape are no doubt shaped by my

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training as a professional archaeologist, I have tried to approach the materials that I have

presented here with a degree of "agnosticism" (sensu Latour 1999:276). Archaeologists

will continue to assume that most of these mounds are protohistoric installations.

However, it is equally interesting — and important, in terms of how they have been

connected into or excluded from landscapes — to examine what *others* have assumed

them to be. As I have indicated at several points in this text, we must be very careful to

avoid assigning *a priori* truth values to narrations of the landscape, especially given that

such stories have guided practice for hundreds of years, regardless of how they hold up to

the scientistic scrutiny of the 21st century. Further, the mounds of the Arroux and Somme

valleys might quickly disprove any archaeologists' assumptions: just as a farmer might

dig into a mound searching for useable gravel and find a Hallstatt burial instead, an

archaeologist might open what she believes to be a tumulus and find a bedrock outcrop at

its core. Or, she might excavate what she assumes to have been a medieval motte and

find, at its center, the remains of several individuals in association with Iron Age material

culture. These possibilities should suggest to the reader just how important it is that

nothing be taken for granted in this landscape — or, as I have suggested, in *these*

landscapes — and that it is important to collect as many different perspectives as possible

in trying to come to a more complete understanding of them (i.e., the landscapes).

The early Iron Age landscapes of the Arroux and Somme valleys reveal such

possibilities, in part, because they have been poorly studied by professional

archaeologists. In writing this text, I have had to resist the urge to discuss these valleys in

much the same way as the 19th-century English engraver Philip Gilbert Hamerton, who

dubbed the Arroux "the unknown river." We know for certain that the Arroux was

already well trafficked by Hamerton's day and was no doubt equally well known during the early Iron Age. Indeed, all of the data that I have collected here suggest that, in every period, the relative isolation which appears to characterize the Arroux and Somme valleys is in fact illusory. Rather, from the earliest periods there has been a more or less constant dialogue with broader structures — cultural, social, political, ideological, and economic — that operated both within and well beyond the boundaries of the two valleys. The late Bronze and early Iron Age inhabitants of these valleys somehow became linked into a cultural tradition that crossed the middle of the European continent. The area's Medieval residents crafted their own versions of stories that circulated throughout eastern France and northern Italy at the time. Even peasant communities, which my informants characterize as having been relatively closed at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, nonetheless relied on the regular access of certain members to resources and networks from outside the village. This connectivity to outside networks is no less strong today, as farmers raise their herds under the guidelines set by external management organizations in Paris and Brussels, and compete to sell their agricultural products on the global market.

It is here that the alterations to archaeological "business as usual" that I propose above have additional consequences. The information that I have collected in the Arroux and Somme valleys suggests that as landowners work to earn a living under the Common Agricultural Policy and other external management systems, they make decisions that are often detrimental to the preservation of the local archaeological and historical patrimony. Ironically, in addition to policies that guide production, France and the European Union also have legislation and guidelines specifically designed to protect archaeo-historic

resources. Illustrating the potential pitfalls of centralized management, managers removed from the project area by hundreds of kilometers do not see how the two sets of guidelines come into conflict with one another on the ground. Further, unlike the UK and Ireland, France does not have "Heritage agents" who work with farmers to set up archaeological management plans. As a result, only the best-known archaeological resources (e.g., Mont Beuvray, Cluny) have strong protections established in Dijon, Paris, and/or Brussels; the vast majority of sites have no formally recognized advocate with the authority to halt their destruction. Professional archaeologists already have a stake in preserving sites and/or in investigating them prior to their destruction. As we make our practice more ecological and ethnographic, we stand to gain far better understandings of the circumstances and structures that impact sites. Recognizing that our professional status grants us both scientific authority and voice, we are in ideal positions to communicate the consequences of land-use contradictions to the very authorities who have generated them. In other words, we might act as translators between local communities and external management organizations.

Of course, if we take up the responsibility of translating and advocacy, we have to be certain that we truly understand the concerns and constraints of the people and landscapes for whom we are translating / advocating. This point brings us back to a handful of tensions for which I cannot offer resolutions at the moment. What, for example, do the combined realizations that syncretism — and, therefore, change — is a characteristic of all landscapes, and that contemporary people's actions on the landscape are guided by valid concerns and real constraints, mean for the archaeologists' commitment to site preservation? By continuing to insist upon preservation, are we not trying to create a kind

of static landscape that has never really existed? How might we negotiate approaches that meet the concerns of all stakeholders, including archaeologists and non-archaeologists alike? To be certain, the kinds of translation that I discuss in the last chapter, which bring archaeologists into much deeper dialogue with the public, will be important to resolving these questions in the Arroux and Somme drainages. But we must also recognize the very real possibility that the removal sites may be the ironic result of nearly a century of teaching French students about their ancient "ancestors, the Gauls." Having established direct ties of descent between the Gauls and the modern French, archaeologists and historians may have inadvertently sent the message that the Gallic Dead should be treated in the same way as the modern French Dead. If the individual Celts who were buried in the tumuli have passed out of memory, the appropriate place for their remains may no longer be in the landscape at large, but rather in the *fosse commune* of history (whether literally, as in museums, or figuratively). Given the treatment that the Dead of recent generations receive after they have lain in the grave for a number of decades, perhaps it should not surprise us to learn that the claims of the ancient Dead to particular places on the landscape have expired. In this way, after all, the Land of the Dead will have given itself over to be rebuilt into the Home of the Living.

NOTES

[1] Indeed, the boundaries of village cemeteries are among the elements of the rural French landscape that are most resistant to change.

POTENTIAL TUMULUS-RELATED PLACE-NAMES IN PROJECT AREA

The place-names listed in Tables A.1 and A.2 are those which might suggest the

presence of mounds and/or tumuli, as discussed in Chapter 5. These place-names were

derived from the IGN 1:25,000 topographic series maps covering the Arroux and Somme

drainages. Geo-referenced scans of the individual IGN sheets were laced together in

ESRI ArcGIS 10 to produce a continuous 2-D topographic representation of the project

area. Place-names were then identified by "flying over" this basemap. For this

identification, intended to assist in the production of a systematic survey model, the

identification of specific place-names relied on a liberal interpretation of spellings and

sound / word mutations.

TABLE A.1

Descriptive Place-Names Suggesting Mounds / Tumuli in the Arroux-Somme Project Area

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
		Tureau	
Sur le Teureau	Hillside	21	Arconcey
Les Teureaux	Hillside	21	Champeau-en-Morvan
Tureaux de Montabon	Hillside	21	Champeau-en-Morvan
Le Teureau	Hillside	21	Champeau-en-Morvan
Le Teureau	Hillside	21	Champignolles
Les Gros Teurons	Hillside	21	Créancey
Les Grands Teurots	Field	21	Diancey
Brenot Terreau	Field	21	Essey
Teureaux	Field	21	Liernais
Menin-Thiroux	Village	21	Manlay
Toroillot	Field	21	Meilly-sur-Rouvres
Thoreille	Village	21	Mimeure
Bois des Teureaux	Forest	21	Molinot
Le Terreau de Beaune	Field	21	Molinot
Les Champs des Terreaux	Field	21	Montceau-et-Écharnant
Les Teureaux	Field	21	Saint-Martin-de-la-Mer
Teureau des Roches	Hill/Ridgetop	21	Saint-Martin-de-la-Mer
Terreau Brenot	Hamlet	21	Saulieu
Le Teureau Girardot	Hill/Ridgetop	21	Savilly
Source de l'Étang Thorey	Spring	21	Thoisy-la-Berchère
Forêt de Thorey	Forest	21	Thoisy-la-Berchère
Le Pré Tary	Field	21	Thoisy-le-Desert
Le Terreau	Field	21	Thomirey
Thury	Village	21	Thury
Les Vignes de Thorey	Hillside	21	Vauchignon
Thoreille	Village	21	Vievy
Le Theureau	Field	21	Vievy
Les Teurots	Hamlet	21	Villargoix
LesTureaux	Hillside	58	Alligny-en-Morvan
Bois des Teureaux	Forest	58	Alligny-en-Morvan
Tureau du Sceau	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Alligny-en-Morvan
Teureau Brunot	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Alligny-en-Morvan
Les Toureaux	Valley	58	Arleuf
Tureau des Grands Bois	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Arleuf
Ancien Étang du Touron	Pond/Basin	58	Arleuf

Place-Name	Landscape Element	Dépt.	Commune
(Ruisseau) Le Touron	Stream	58	Arleuf
(Ruisseau) Le Touron	Stream	58	Château-Chinon (Campagne)
Monteurot	Hamlet	58	Chiddes
Les Tourelles	Valley	58	Corancy
Tureau d'Enfer	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Corancy
(Ruisseau) Le Touron	Stream	58	Corancy
Le Thioret	Hillside	58	Dun-les-Places
Teureau de la Wivre	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Glux-en-Glenne
Le Tureau du Breuil	Hillside	58	Gouloux
Le Theuret	Hamlet	58	Larochemillay
Le Champ Thierry	Hamlet	58	Luzy
Les Teurets	Hillside	58	Montsauche-les-Settons
Le Theureau	Hamlet	58	Poil
Le Tureau	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Saint-Agnan
Le Tureau	Hillside	58	Saint-Agnan
Les Guettes au Tord	Valley	58	Saint-Brisson
Le Champ Theureau	Hamlet	58	Ternant
Les Teureaux	Hillside	71	Anost
Le Teureau	Field	71	Autun
Le Grand Theurot	Field	71	Bizots (Les)
Les Theurots	Hamlet	71	Bizots (Les)
Les Teurées	Field	71	Blanzy
Les Teurots	Field	71	Breuil (Le)
Le Teurot Montaubry	Hillside	71	Breuil (Le)
Les Toureaux	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Chapelle-au-Mans (La)
Le Theurot de Chalas	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Charmoy
Theurot	Hillside	71	Charmoy
Mont Toiron	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Chissey-en-Morvan
Les Teurées	Hamlet	71	Ciry-le-Noble
La Teurée	Hillside	71	Collonge-en-Charollais
Le Teurot	Hamlet	71	Curdin
Les Teureaux	Hillside	71	Cuzy
Les Teurés	Valley	71	Dettey
Le Teureau Jaune	Hamlet	71	Digoin
Les Teurots	Field	71	Ecuisses
Bois des Teureaux	Forest	71	Epinac
Le Teurot des Gaulois	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Essertenne
Le Teurot du Pont	Hillside	71	Essertenne
Bois des Thorey	Hillside	71	Étang-sur-Arroux
Les Toureaux	Hamlet	71	Gilly-sur-Loire

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Les Teurots ?	Field	71	Gourdon
Montury	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Gourdon
Le Tursot	Hamlet	71	Grande-Verrière (La)
Le Teureau	Hamlet	71	Grury
Les Theureaux	Hillside	71	Guerreaux (Les)
Le Teurot	Hamlet	71	Gueugnon
Le Teureau	Hamlet	71	Hopital-le-Mercier (L')
Les Teurots	Hillside	71	Issy-l'Évêque
Fermes du Mont Tharot	Hamlet	71	Issy-l'Évêque
Mont Tharot	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Issy-l'Évêque
Les Teureés	Field	71	Le Rousset
Les Teurots	Hillside	71	Marigny
Les Teurées	Hillside	71	Marizy
Les Terrets	Field	71	Marly-sur-Arroux
Les Teurots	Field	71	Marly-sur-Arroux
Les Teureaux	Hamlet	71	Martigny-le-Comte
Les Grandes Teurées	Hamlet	71	Mesvres
Le Teureau de Lombray	Field	71	Montceaux-l'Étoile
Teureaux des Genêts	Field	71	Montceaux-l'Étoile
Le Teurot	Hamlet	71	Montceaux-l'Étoile
Les Teureaux	Hillside	71	Montmort
Les Teurées	Hillside	71	Mont-Saint-Vincent
Le Teureau	Hamlet	71	Motte-Saint-Jean (La)
Le Grand Theurot	Hamlet	71	Neuvy-Grandchamp
Les Theurots	Hamlet	71	Perrigny-sur-Loire
Le Teureau Jaune	Hamlet	71	Poisson
Le Teureau Forêt	Forest	71	Rigny-sur-Arroux
Les Teuriats	Field	71	Roussillon-en-Morvan
Les Teurots	Valley	71	Saint-Firmin
Le Teurot d'Ardon	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Saint-Firmin
Bois des Teureaux	Forest	71	Saint-Gervais-sur-Couches
Teureau Jaune	Hamlet	71	Saint-Leger-les-Paray
Les Teurots	Field	71	Saint-Martin-d'Auxy
Le Theurot de Boula	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Saint-Micaud
Le Teurot d'Anxin	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Saint-Pierre-de-Varennes
Le Teurot des Couchets	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Saint-Pierre-de-Varennes
Tureau de Nolay	Hillside	71	Saint-Prix
Les Teursots	Field	71	Saint-Prix
Les Teureaux	Hillside	71	Saint-Romain-sous-Gourdon
La Teurée	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Saint-Romain-sous-Gourdon

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Le Theureau	Hamlet	71	Saint-Symphorien-de-Marmagne
Les Teureaux des Pierres	Hamlet	71	Saint-Yan
Le Teureau de la Chèvre	Hamlet	71	Saint-Yan
Le Teurot	Hamlet	71	Sanvignes-les-Mines
Le Teurot	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Tagniere (La)
Les Teurots	Field	71	Torcy
Les Theurets	Hamlet	71	Uchon
Les Teurots	Hamlet	71	Uxeau
Le Tureau de l'Abime	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Uxeau
Les Teureaux	Field	71	Varenne-Saint-Germain
Ancien Moulin des Teureaux	Ruins	71	Viry
Le Tord Boyau	Hamlet	71	Vitry-en-Charollais

Butte

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
La Butte	Field	21	Brazey-en-Morvan
Butte Saint-Pierre	Hill/Ridgetop	21	Pouilly-en-Auxois
La Butte de Meux	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Poil
Les Buttes	Hamlet	71	Bourbon-Lancy
Le But	Hamlet	71	Mary

Tertre / Tartre

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Source du Tertre Velet	Spring	21	Saint-Prix-les-Arnay
Le Tertre	Hill/Ridgetop	21	Vievy
Les Prés Tartres	Hillside	58	Planchez
La Torte	Field	71	Ballore
Tertre du Suchau	Field	71	Ciry-le-Noble
Le Haut du Tertre	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Gourdon
Les Tardeaux	Field	71	Le Puley
Les Champs Tortrats	Field	71	Le Rousset
Le Tartre	Hamlet	71	Marigny
Le Tartre	Hillside	71	Mary
Les Tartins	Hamlet	71	Poisson
Bois des Tartins	Forest	71	Poisson
La Corvée du Tartre	Field	71	Saint-Léger-sur-Dheune
Le Tartre	Hamlet	71	Sanvignes-les-Mines
La Tarte	Hamlet	71	Volesvres

Murger and Murée

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Les Meurgers	Field	21	Blanot
Au Murgerot	Field	21	Sainte-Sabine

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Le Murger	Hamlet	21	Saint-Martin-de-la-Mer
Le Gros Murger	Field	21	Vic-des-Pres
Le Meurger Blanc	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Autun
Le Murger	Village	71	Chapelle-sous-Uchon (La)
Les Murgers	Hamlet	71	Ciry-le-Noble
Les Murgers	Field	71	Collonge-la-Madeleine
Le Murger	Valley	71	Dompierre-sous-Sanvignes
Le Murger	Hillside	71	Reclesne
Bois du Meurger	Forest	71	Saint-Emiland
Le Murgier	Field	71	Saint-Eusèbe
Les Murgers	Hamlet	71	Saint-Léger-du-Bois
La Combe aux Murgers	Hillside	71	Uchon
Terre du Murgier	Field	71	Varenne-Saint-Germain
Les Murgiers	Field	71	Volesvres
Les Mérauts	Field	21	Allerey
Le Rocher Moureau	Field	21	Antigny-la-Ville
Mouille Moreau	Field	21	Arconcey
Buisson Moreau	Hillside	21	Chailly-sur-Armançon
Les Meurots Bleus	Field	21	Créancey
Les Murées	Field	21	Foissy
Source de Marot	Spring	21	Longecourt-les-Culetre
Bois de Morey	Forest	21	Maligny
Vaux Moreau	Hillside	21	Manlay
Les Murées d'Église	Field	21	Meloisey
Les Murées	Field	21	Painblanc
Les Mairots	Field	21	Saint-Pierre-en-Vaux
Hébert Mourots	Hamlet	21	Saulieu
Ferme de la Croix Moreau	Hamlet	21	Saulieu
La Pièce Moreau	Field	21	Thoisy-la-Berchère
Le Meuraillon	Field	21	Thoisy-la-Berchère
L'Ouche Moreau	Field	21	Thomirey
Les Murots	Field	21	Vianges
Moulin de Morey	Hamlet	21	Vievy
Les Champs Morot	Field	21	Villargoix
Les Moreaux	Field	58	Arleuf
Le Bois Moreau	Hamlet	58	Avrée
Les Meurots	Field	58	Château-Chinon (Campagne)
Fontaine Meurée	Spring	58	Gien-sur-Cure
Les Champs Moreau	Field	58	Millay
Le Grand Meurot	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Montsauche-les-Settons

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Meureillon	Hillside	71	Anost
Les Moreaux	Field	71	Autun
Les Meurots	Field	71	Auxy
Le Bois Moreau	Field	71	Blanzy
La Meurette	Hamlet	71	Bourbon-Lancy
Les Moreaux	Hamlet	71	Brion
Les Murailles	Hamlet	71	Chalmoux
Chez Moreau	Hamlet	71	Cressy-sur-Somme
Les Moreaux	Hamlet	71	Curgy
La Muraille	Hamlet	71	Grury
Les Morets	Hamlet	71	Issy-l'Évêque
Les Gouttes Moreau	Field	71	Issy-l'Évêque
Le Grand Mérot	Field	71	Laizy
Les Petits Marots	Field	71	Le Rousset
Morey	Hamlet	71	Lucenay-l'Évêque
Bois Moureau	Forest	71	Marigny
Pré Moreau	Hillside	71	Marigny
Les Champs Moreaux	Field	71	Marly-sur-Arroux
L'Ouche Moreau	Field	71	Marly-sur-Arroux
Vau Maurot	Valley	71	Marmagne
Le Champ Moreau	Hamlet	71	Montceau-les-Mines
Meurette	Stream	71	Montmort
Ruisseau Moret	Stream	71	Oudry
Les Mérots	Hamlet	71	Roussillon-en-Morvan
Le Marot	Hillside	71	Saint-Bonnet-de-Vieille-Vigne
Les Meurots	Field	71	Saint-Laurent-d'Andenay
Pré Moreau	Field	71	Saint-Laurent-s'Andenay
Montmoret	Village	71	Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray
Les Mourets	Hamlet	71	Saint-Romain-sous-Gourdon
Prés Mourés	Hillside	71	Saint-Sernin-du-Plain
Vers la Mouille Morée	Hillside	71	Saint-Symphorien-de-Marmagne
La Maison Morin	Hamlet	71	Saint-Vallier
Bois Moreau	Forest	71	Tagniere (La)
Le Bois Morey	Neighborhood	71	Torcy
Champ Murat	Field	71	Vendenesse-lès-Charolles
Le Champ Moreau	Field	71	Viry
Chez Moreau	Hamlet	71	Vitry-en-Charollais

Motte

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Ancien Étang de la Motte	Pond/Basin	58	Arleuf

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Ruisseau de la Motte	Stream	58	Arleuf
La Motte	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Luzy
Bois de la Motte	Forest	71	Blanzy
La Motte	Field	71	Boulaye (La)
La Motte	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Charmoy
Le Bois de la Motte	Hamlet	71	Digoin
Bois de la Motte	Forest	71	Ecuisses
La Motte Bouchot	Hamlet	71	Ecuisses
Motte-Ville	Hamlet	71	Ecuisses
La Motte des Vaux	Hamlet	71	Lesme
La Motte	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Marcilly-lès-Buxy
La Motte	Hamlet	71	Mary
La Motte-St-Jean	Village	71	Motte-Saint-Jean (La)
Le Bas de la Motte	Hamlet	71	Motte-Saint-Jean (La)
Bois de la Motte	Forest	71	Motte-Saint-Jean (La)
[Motte Féodale]	Motte[a]	71	Poisson
La Motte Loisy	Hamlet	71	Saint-Berain-sous-Sanvignes
La Motte	Hamlet	71	Saint-Eusèbe
Bois de la Motte	Forest	71	Saint-Eusèbe
Les Grandes Mottes	Field	71	Saint-Forgeot
La Motte	Hamlet	71	Saint-Pierre-de-Varennes
Les Mottes Terres	Field	71	Torcy
La Motte	Motte[a]	71	Varenne-Saint-Germain
La Motte Veillot	Hamlet	71	Vitry-sur-Loire

Tombe, Tombeau, and Tumulus

[Tumulus]	Tumulus[a]	58	Poil
Les Tomberets	Hamlet	71	Motte-Saint-Jean (La)

[a] This place-name is accompanied by a map indication which shows a tumulus or tumulus-like feature.

TABLE A.2

Legendary Place-Names Suggesting Mounds / Tumuli in the Arroux-Somme Project Area

Place-Name	Landscape Element	Dépt.	Commune
Vouivre			
Bois du Vivier	Forest	21	Champeau-en-Morvan
Étang du Vivier	Pond	21	Champeau-en-Morvan
Les Roches de Vouvres	Hamlet	21	Sussey
Vouvres	Village	21	Sussey
Usages de Vouvres	Forest	21	Sussey
Baté de Vouvres	Forest	21	Thoisy-la-Berchère
Teureau de la Wivre	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Glux-en-Glenne
La Vouavre	Hamlet	58	Villapourçon
Les Vavres	Hamlet	71	Antully
Norvavre	Hamlet	71	Auxy
Bois du Vivier	Forest	71	Chalmoux
Les Vâvres	Forest	71	Montmort
Les Vavres	Field	71	Saint-Emiland
Vèvres			
Bois de la Vêvre	Forest	21	Brazey-en-Morvan
Bois de Vêvre	Forest	21	Essey
La Vêvre	Field	21	Liernais
Vêvres	Hamlet	21	Liernais
Prés des Vaivres	Field	21	Magnien
Courtau de Vesvre	Field	21	Montceau-et-Écharnant
Les Vèvres	Field	21	Montlay-en-Auxois
Étang des Vêvres	Pond	21	Saint-Didier
Bois de la Vêvre	Forest	21	Saint-Martin-de-la-Mer
En la Vêvre	Field	21	Thoisy-la-Berchère
La Vêvre	Forest	21	Thury
La Vêvre	Hillside	21	Vianges
Veuvrailles	Hamlet	21	Vievy
Les Vaivres	Field	21	Voudenay
La Vesvre	Field	58	Luzy
Vesvre	Hamlet	58	Saint-Seine
Les Vaivres	Field	71	Antully
Champ de Vèvre	Hamlet	71	Ballore
Château Vevrotte	Hamlet	71	Barnay
Vèvre	Hamlet	71	Blanzy

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Les Vesvres	Field	71	Blanzy
La Vesvre	Hamlet	71	Breuil (Le)
Le Moulin de la Vesvre	Hamlet	71	Breuil (Le)
La Vevre	Hamlet	71	Celle-en-Morvan (La)
Pâture du Vêvre	Field	71	Charbonnat
La Vèvre	Field	71	Ciry-le-Noble
La Vesvre	Hamlet	71	Cordesse
La Vesvre	Hamlet	71	Dracy-Saint-Loup
La Vesvre	Hamlet	71	Epinac
La Vesvre	Hamlet	71	Grury
La Vesvre	Hamlet	71	Gueugnon
Bois de Veuvrailles	Forest	71	Igornay
Les Revèvres	Valley	71	Joncy
La Vesvre (Ancienne Ferme)	Hamlet	71	Laizy
Vêvre	Hamlet	71	Le Rousset
Le Bois de Vaivre	Hillside	71	Marcilly-la-Gueurce
Bois de Vèvre	Forest	71	Marcilly-lès-Buxy
La Vèvre	Hamlet	71	Martigny-le-Comte
La Vêvre	Hamlet	71	Mont-Saint-Vincent
Bois de la Vêvre	Forest	71	Mont-Saint-Vincent
Vesvre	Hamlet	71	Neuvy-Grandchamp
Bois de Vesvre	Forest	71	Neuvy-Grandchamp
Le Grand Vaivrelin	Field	71	Oudry
La Vèvre	Field	71	Oudry
Les Vèvres	Field	71	Palinges
La Vêvre	Hamlet	71	Perrecy-les-Forges
Les Baragues de la Vêvre	Hamlet	71	Perrecy-les-Forges
Ruisseau de la Vêvre	Stream	71	Perrecy-les-Forges
En Vaivre	Field	71	Pouilloux
Château de la Vesvre	Forest	71	Rigny-sur-Arroux
La Vesvre	Hamlet	71	Rigny-sur-Arroux
Les Vesvres	Field	71	Rigny-sur-Arroux
La Vèvre	Field	71	Saint-Aubin-en-Charollais
Les Vesvres	Field	71	Saint-Didier-en-Brionnais
La Vaivre	Field	71	Saint-Didier-sur-Arroux
Bois de la Vèvre	Forest	71	Saint-Eusèbe
La Vaivre	Hamlet	71	Saint-Julien-de-Civry
En Vèvre	Hamlet	71	Saint-Vincent-Bragny
La Vèvre	Field	71	Saint-Vincent-Bragny
La Vesvre de Saisy	Hamlet	71	Saisy

Place-Name	Landscape Element	Dépt.	Commune
Veuvrotte	Hamlet	71	Sully
Veuvrotte	Village	71	Sully
Les Vêvres	Field	71	Tavernay
Bois de Vêvre	Forest	71	Toulon-sur-Arroux
Bois de Vêvre	Forest	71	Toulon-sur-Arroux
Le Bois de Vêvre	Hamlet	71	Toulon-sur-Arroux
Les Vêvres	Hamlet	71	Toulon-sur-Arroux
La Grande Vaivre	Hamlet	71	Vendenesse-lès-Charolles
La Vaivre	Hamlet	71	Vendenesse-lès-Charolles
La Vèvre	Hamlet	71	Villeneuve-en-Montagne
Les Vèvres	Hamlet	71	Viry
Bois de la Vaivre	Forest	71	Vitry-en-Charollais
Pâquier de la Vaivre	Field	71	Vitry-en-Charollais

Loup / Louve

Place-Name	Landscape Element	Dépt.	Commune
La Fontaine au Loup	Valley	21	Blanot
La Gueule au Loup	Field	21	Jouey
Buisson au Loup	Forest	21	Magnien
Le Moulin le Chanteloup	Hamlet	21	Marcilly-Ogny
Bois de la Peau de Loup	Forest	21	Santosse
Sauloup	Hillside	21	Vauchignon
Mont Loup	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Alligny-en-Morvan
Mirloup	Hamlet	58	Chiddes
Le Crot au Loup	Valley	58	Corancy
Fontaine au Loup	Spring	58	Gien-sur-Cure
Le Fou du Loup	Hillside	58	Larochemillay
Le Moulin de Nataloup	Hamlet	58	Montsauche-les-Settons
Nataloup	Village	58	Montsauche-les-Settons
Les Sept-Loups	Hamlet	58	Moux-en-Morvan
Pisseloup	Hamlet	58	Nocle-Maulaix (La)
Bois du Loup	Forest	58	Saint-Agnan
Fontaine du Loup	Spring	58	Villapourçon
Garenne de Chanteloup	Forest	71	Autun
La Rue du Loup	Valley	71	Barnay
La Brosse à la Louve	Hamlet	71	Bizots (Les)
Louverne	Field	71	Bizots (Les)
Montauloup-d'en-haut	Hamlet	71	Blanzy
Montauloup-d'en-bas	Hamlet	71	Blanzy
La Combe aux Loups	Hamlet	71	Boulaye (La)
La Queue du Loup	Hillside	71	Breuil (Le)

Place-Name	Landscape Element	Dépt.	Commune
La Louvetière	Hillside	71	Broye
Chanteloup	Hamlet	71	Charbonnat
Combe au Loup	Hillside	71	Charbonnat
Hauteloup	Hamlet	71	Cressy-sur-Somme
Corneloup	Valley	71	Curdin
Bois du Loup	Forest	71	Cussy-en-Morvan
Bois Chanteloup	Forest	71	Dompierre-sous-Sanvignes
Dracy-St-Loup	Village	71	Dracy-Saint-Loup
Le Crot au Loup	Valley	71	Gourdon
Le Grand Loup	Field	71	Grande-Verrière (La)
Monteloup	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Grandvaux
Bousseloup	Hamlet	71	Grury
Bois Reloup	Hamlet	71	Guerreaux (Les)
Corneloup	Hamlet	71	Hautefond
Les Louvas	Field	71	Issy-l'Évêque
Combe au Loup	Valley	71	Le Rousset
St-Loup	Hamlet	71	Marly-sous-Issy
Pâture du Loup	Hillside	71	Marmagne
La Goutte Neuloups	Hamlet	71	Mont
Étang du Loup	Pond/Lake	71	Monthelon
Ruisseau de l'Étang du Loup	Stream	71	Monthelon
Champeloux	Hamlet	71	Montmort
L'Étang du Loup	Hillside	71	Mornay
Le Buisson au Loup	Forest	71	Motte-Saint-Jean (La)
Corneloup	Hamlet	71	Palinges
La Baisse au Loup	Field	71	Paray-le-Monial
Bois du Loup	Forest	71	Poisson
Corne-Loup	Hillside	71	Poisson
La Goutte au Loup	Hillside	71	Rigny-sur-Arroux
Bouteloup	Hillside	71	Rigny-sur-Arroux
Bois de la Combe aux Loups	Forest	71	Saint-Berain-sous-Sanvignes
Combe aux Loups	Field	71	Saint-Berain-sous-Sanvignes
La Louvetière	Hillside	71	Saint-Berain-sous-Sanvignes
La Peau de Loup	Field	71	Saint-Jean-de-Trezy
Tête au Loup	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Saint-Léger-du-Bois
Pâquier du Loup	Field	71	Saint-Leger-les-Paray
La Roche au Loup	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray
L'Auberge du Loup	Hillside	71	Saint-Martin-d'Auxy
Fontaine aux Loups	Spring	71	Sommant
Taupe Loup	Field	71	Tintry

Place-Name	Landscape Element	Dépt.	Commune
Le Brosse au Loup	Field	71	Torcy
Mont Loup	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Toulon-sur-Arroux
Le Moulan au Loup	Hamlet	71	Uxeau
Le Crot au Loup	Field	71	Varenne-l'Arconce
La Terre de Bouteloup	Field	71	Varenne-Saint-Germain
Bouteloup	Hamlet	71	Varenne-Saint-Germain
Bois de Bouteloup	Forest	71	Varenne-Saint-Germain
Le Buisson au Loup	Field	71	Vitry-en-Charollais

Fee

Place-Name	Landscape Element	Dépt.	Commune
La Fée	Field	21	Saint-Pierre-en-Vaux
Ruisseau de la Fée	Stream	71	Autun
La Petite Fée	Field	71	Issy-l'Évêque
La Grande Fée	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Issy-l'Évêque
Champ de Fées	Hamlet	71	Mont
Bois de la Fée	Forest	71	Saint-Emiland
Pierre aux Fées	Menhir	71	Saint-Micaud
Les Fées	Forest	71	Saint-Vincent-Bragny
La Fée	Hamlet	71	Sully

Faye

Place-Name	Landscape Element	Dépt.	Commune
Champs de la Faye	Field	21	Allerey
Belle Faye	Hill/Ridgetop	21	Rochepot (La)
La Faye	Hillside	21	Lusigny-sur-Ouche
Ruisseau de la Faye	Stream	58	Chateau-Chinon(Campagne)
Vernaye de la Faye	Forest	58	Chateau-Chinon(Campagne)
La Faye	Hamlet	58	Montsauche-les-Settons
Bois de la Faye	Forest	58	Saint-Brisson
Rondefaye	Hamlet	58	Ternant
Le Bois Lafaye	Field	71	Blanzy
Fayes	Hamlet	71	Bourbon-Lancy
La Fayette	Hamlet	71	Chalmoux
La Faye	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Cussy-en-Morvan
Faye	Village	71	Cussy-en-Morvan
La Grande Faye	Field	71	Dettey
La Faye	Hamlet	71	Grury
La Faye	Hillside	71	Issy-l'Évêque
La Petite Faye	Hamlet	71	Marly-sur-Arroux
Bois de la Faye	Forest	71	Marly-sur-Arroux
La Grande Faye	Hamlet	71	Marly-sur-Arroux

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Les Fays	Hillside	71	Montmort
La Faye	Hamlet	71	Saint-Agnan
La Faye	Hamlet	71	Sainte-Radegonde
La Faye	Hamlet	71	Sanvignes-les-Mines
Hauts de la Faye	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Sommant
La Faye	Hillside	71	Sommant
La Faye	Hillside	71	Sommant
Les Buissons de la Faye	Forest	71	Sommant
Terre de la Faye	Field	71	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux
La Faye	Hamlet	71	Viry

Fiolle / Fayolle

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
La Fiolle	Field	21	Santosse
La Fiolle	Field	21	Santosse
La Fiolle	Hillside	21	Savilly
Étang des Fiolles	Pond	58	Alligny-en-Morvan
La Fiolle	Hill/Ridgetop	58	Corancy
La Fiolle	Hillside	58	Moux-en-Morvan
Les Fiolles	Forest	58	Planchez
La Fiolle	Village	58	Planchez
Étang de la Fiolle	Pond	58	Planchez
La Fiolle	Hillside	71	Anost
La Fiolle	Hamlet	71	Blanzy
Bois de la Fiolle	Forest	71	Breuil (Le)
Haut de la Fiolle	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Chissey-en-Morvan
Champ de Fiole	Field	71	Comelle (La)
Les Fiolles	Hillside	71	Grande-Verrière (La)
La Fiolle	Field	71	Laizy
Fiolin	Field	71	Marcilly-lès-Buxy
Pré des Fioles	Field	71	Marly-sur-Arroux
Les Fiolles	Hillside	71	Mont-Saint-Vincent
Ruisseau des Fiolles	Stream	71	Saint-Laurent-d'Andenay
Les Fayolles	Hamlet	71	Saint-Leger-les-Paray
Les Féolles	Hillside	71	Saint-Romain-sous-Gourdon
Les Fioles	Hamlet	71	Versaugues

Dame

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Le Chemin des Dames	Road	21	Ivry-en-Montagne
Les Champs la Dame	Field	21	Lacanche
Bois Dame Jacques	Forest	21	Molinot

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Les Pierrières-Notre-Dame	Field	21	Pouilly-en-Auxois
Ouche à la Dame	Field	21	Vievy
Les Fouets Dame	Field	58	Glux-en-Glenne
Pâture à la Dame	Field	71	Autun
Champ de la Dame	Field	71	Bizots (Les)
Terre la Dame	Field	71	Blanzy
Bois des Dames	Forest	71	Brion
Le Bois des Dames	Field	71	Champlecy
Bois de la Dame	Forest	71	Charbonnat
Chêne à la Dame	Tree	71	Charolles
Bois à la Dame	Forest	71	Clessy
Champ de la Dame	Hillside	71	Genelard
La Mouille à la Dame	Hamlet	71	Gourdon
Bois à la Dame	Forest	71	Marcilly-lès-Buxy
La Dame Blanche	Field	71	Montcenis
Bois de la Dame	Forest	71	Poisson
Le Bois de la Dame	Forest	71	Rigny-sur-Arroux
Étang de la Dame	Pond	71	Saint-Eusèbe
Les Teppes aux Dames	Field	71	Saint-Jean-de-Trezy
Pièce aux Dames	Field	71	Saint-Léger-du-Bois
Fontaine des Dames	Spring	71	Saint-Sernin-du-Plain
Bois de la Dame	Forest	71	Saint-Yan
Bois de la Dame	Forest	71	Tavernay
Le Champ de la Dame	Field	71	Thil-sur-Arroux
Bois Notre Dame	Forest	71	Villeneuve-en-Montagne

Marte / Martre / Martin

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Chapelle Saint-Martin	Chapel	21	Beurey-Bauguay
Aux Hauteaux Martois	Field	21	Chailly-sur-Armançon
Bois Martin	Forest	21	Champeau-en-Morvan
Dant Martin	Field	21	Cussy-la-Colonne
Champ Martin	Field	21	Liernais
Combe Martin	Hillside	21	Manlay
Le Pas Saint-Martin	Hillside	21	Mavilly-Mandelot
Saint-Martin-de-la-Mer	Village	21	Saint-Martin-de-la-Mer
La Fontaine Martin	Spring	21	Sussey
Les Chenaux Martin	Field	21	Thoisy-la-Berchère
Combe Saint Martin	Field	21	Veilly
Pré Martenne	Field	21	Vianges
Les Vernays Martin	Forest	58	Arleuf

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Montmartin	Hamlet	58	Lavault-de-Fretoy
Bois de Saint-Martin	Forest	58	Nocle-Maulaix (La)
Ruisseau de Martelet	Stream	58	Planchez
Étang de Martelet	Pond	58	Planchez
Champs Martin	Field	58	Saint-Brisson
Mont Martin	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Anost
Le Martinet	Hamlet	71	Antully
Ruisseau du Martinet	Stream	71	Antully
Étang du Martinet	Pond/Lake	71	Antully
Bois de Saint-Martin	Forest	71	Autun
Saint Martin	Hamlet	71	Autun
Martenet	Hillside	71	Blanzy
Les Martins	Hamlet	71	Brion
Terre à Martin	Field	71	Ciry-le-Noble
Mont Saint Martin	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Dettey
Étang de Martenet	Pond/Lake	71	Dompierre-sous-Sanvignes
Champ de Saint-Martin	Field	71	Dracy-Saint-Loup
Montmartin	Hamlet	71	Gourdon
Champ Martin	Hillside	71	Guerreaux (Les)
Bois Saint Martin	Forest	71	Issy-l'Évêque
Les Hauts Saint-Martin	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Lucenay- l'Évêque
La Martine Moulin	Hamlet	71	Maltat
Les Martrats	Field	71	Marcilly-la-Gueurce
Montmartin	Hamlet	71	Marcilly-lès-Buxy
Le Martrat	Village	71	Marcilly-lès-Buxy
Le Bois Sain-Martin	Hillside	71	Marmagne
Bois Saint-Martin	Forest	71	Marmagne
Vaumartin	Hamlet	71	Marmagne
LaTaille Martin	Field	71	Martigny-le-Comte
Les Martreux	Field	71	Morlet
Bois Martin	Forest	71	Oudry
Pré Saint Martin	Hamlet	71	Perrecy-les-Forges
Pré Martin	Valley	71	Poisson
Chateau du Martret	Chateau	71	Pouilloux
Le Martret	Hamlet	71	Pouilloux
Les Chaumes Martin	Field	71	Roussillon-en-Morvan
La Fontaine St-Martin	Forest	71	Roussillon-en-Morvan
Le Marteau	Field	71	Saint-Aubin-en-Charollais
Le Martrat	Hamlet	71	Saint-Berain-sous-Sanvignes
Le Marterat	Field	71	Saint-Emiland

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
Combe Martin	Hillside	71	Saint-Eugene
Le Chêne Martin	Hamlet	71	Saint-Eusèbe
Ville-Martin	Hamlet	71	Saint-Julien-de-Civry
Chapelle Saint Martin	Chapel	71	Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray
Fontaine Saint Martin	Spring	71	Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray
Saint-Martin-d'Auxy	Village	71	Saint-Martin-d'Auxy
Pièce Saint-Martin	Field	71	Saint-Martin-de-Commune
Saint-Martin	Hamlet	71	Saint-Martin-de-Commune
St-Martin-la-Patrouille	Hamlet	71	Saint-Martin-la-Patrouille
Chapelle Saint Martin	Chapel	71	Thil-sur-Arroux
Forêt de Martenet	Forest	71	Toulon-sur-Arroux
Les Monts Martin	Hill/Ridgetop	71	Uxeau
Champ Martin	Field	71	Vaudebarrier
Champ Martin	Field	71	Viry
Chez Martin	Hamlet	71	Vitry-en-Charollais

Mort

Place-Name	Landscape Element	*Dépt.*	*Commune*
L'Homme Mort	Hillside	21	Aubigny-la-Ronce
Croix de l'Homme Mort	Crossroads	21	Champeau-en-Morvan
Croix de Champ Mort	Crossroads	21	Marcilly-Ogny
Meurt-de-Faim	Hillside	21	Marcilly-Ogny
Bois des Mortes	Field	21	Veilly
La Vieille Morte	Valley	58	Moux-en-Morvan
Les Brondes de la Morte	Hillside	58	Saint-Brisson
Les Morts	Hillside	58	Villapourçon
La Fontaine des Mortes	Field	71	Couches
La Main Morte	Hillside	71	Cuzy
Le Grand Mort	Forest	71	Grande-Verrière (La)
Le Petit Mort	Forest	71	Grande-Verrière (La)
Le Champ du Mort	Forest	71	Grande-Verrière (La)
Montmort	Village	71	Montmort
Moulin de Montmort	Hamlet	71	Montmort
Étang de Montmort	Pond	71	Montmort
Croix de l'Homme Mort	Cross	71	Mornay
Chemin de l'Homme Mort	Road	71	Mornay
Charrière de l'Homme Mort	Road	71	Neuvy-Grandchamp
L'Homme Mort	Hamlet	71	Oye
Les Eaux Mortes	Quartier	71	Paray-le-Monial
La Croix aux Morts	Forest	71	Reclesne
Les Eaux Mortes	Field	71	Versaugues

Place-Name	Landscape Element	Dépt.	Commune
Magnien			
Pré Magnien	Field	21	Arconcey
Pré Magnien	Field	21	Diancey
Source de Pré Magnien	Spring	21	Ecutigny
Magnien	Village	21	Magnien
Le Pré Magnien	Field	21	Veilly
Le Magny	Hamlet	58	Alligny-en-Morvan
Champ Magny Ferme	Hamlet	58	Millay
Chateau de Magny	Castle	58	Millay
Les Magnes	Hamlet	58	Moux-en-Morvan
Pointe de la Planche Magnien	Valley	71	Chissey-en-Morvan
Le Magny	Quartier	71	Montceau-les-Mines
L'Étang Magny	Hamlet	71	Saint-Yan
Pré Magnien	Field	71	Tavernay
Les Magnys	Hillside	71	Vendenesse-lès-Charolles
Les Prés de la Magny	Field	71	Versaugues
Hante			
Les Hantes	Hamlet	71	Saint-Didier-en-Brionnais

APPENDIX B

WOLVES AND WEREWOLVES IN FRANCE

Writing in 1929, French naturalist Raymond Rollinat observed:

> The wolf, who since the disappearance of the great carnivores known to our
> early cave-dwelling ancestors has become King of the Forest, is himself
> disappearing. Soon the wolf will be little more than a bad memory; one that
> will not be quickly erased from the minds of the people who live in those
> regions of France once ravaged by members of this loathesome and sometimes
> dangerous race. Long after the last representative of this species has
> disappeared, we will continue to speak of them in the winter, beside the hearth
> (whether on the farm or in the village house). [We will] tell tales that people
> will be tempted to think of as legendary because they will have happened at
> ever-more-remote points in the past. (Rollinat 1929:105)

Within the next decade, the wolf would indeed be gone from France, the last one having been

officially killed in the late 1930s. As Rollinat predicted, however, this "King of the Forest" is

still spoken of three-quarters of a century later, and both *loup* ("wolf") and *louve* ("she-wolf")

remain common placename elements (see Figure 5.11).

A fear and fascination with wolves continues in the French countryside to this day. During

one of my first visits to France, I was surprised when a lunchtime conversation turned to the

subject of wolves. Particularly surprising was the way that the return of the wolf was discussed

in the same tone as one might talk about the *Gens de voyage* ("Travelers" or "gypsies"). I was

informed that the wolf had crossed back into France from Spain, where many French people

believe it was never killed off, via the Pyrenees. While my friends' Spanish story may be true,

the migration of wolves across the Alps from northern Italy has received far more media

attention since the mid-1990s (see, for example, Aubry 1996; Lichfield 2004, 2010; Smith

1995)[1]. The re-entry of the wolf into France has prompted a response that is largely negative,

particularly in communities dependent on herding; communities like those of the Arroux and

Somme valleys. Given the response among farmers and ranchers to the reintroduction of wolves in the American West (see, for example, Fletcher 1990; Gibson 2011; Lancaster 1989; Wilkinson 2011), the reaction of French shepherds and cattle herders has parallels in my own country. I would argue, however, that the reaction of rural French people to the re-arrival of the wolf plays draws upon a very different set of historical interactions, and plays into a deep-seated fear that is much more longstanding.

In an extensively researched volume, rural historian Jean-Marc Moriceau (2007) has drawn together archival evidence for more than 3,000 French wolf attacks from the 15th to the 20th centuries. Recognizing that this number derives from the *preserved* fraction of the accounts that were originally *recorded* (and that neither the recording of any single attack, nor the preservation of the record is assured)[2], Moriceau estimates the actual number of attacks over this period may have been closer to 9,000 or 10,000. His analysis underscores the fact that, until relatively recently, wolves were a real and relatively constant threat to the peasant population of France. The people who lived in the Arroux and Somme valleys were not spared this threat. Thus, for example, in 1683 parish records from Neuvy-Grandchamp (an agricultural community located just 15 km away from my host *commune* of Uxeau) one finds the following entry:

> This 29 July 1683, Philippe Durand (age 46) was buried after having been killed by a wolf at the mill of Morillon. [Durand] died without having received any sacrament. [The burial was presided over] by me (the undersigned), assisted by Mr. Carré. Signed: Deshaires, parish priest of Neuvy. (Moriceau 2007:49)

As suggested by an interpretive panel at the ruined castle overlooking Saint-Romain (21), the threat posed by wolves to the rural population of France was likely exacerbated by plague events and the movement of wandering men-at-arms through an area. Such natural and human forces no doubt provided wolf packs with enough meat to support their expansion while simultaneously

reducing the human presence — and associated checks on the growth of aggressive wolf

populations — on the same landscape. Unfortunately for the French peasantry, both plague and

casual violence were regular features of medieval life.

Moriceau's data make it clear that another common feature of peasant life continued well

after the Medieval period: *la rage* (i.e., rabies). Many of the attacks he examines were those of

rabid wolves, nearly always resulting in fatalities. Parish records, newspaper articles, and

documents in departmental archives from the 18th and 19th centuries demonstrate the impact of

rabid wolf attacks in the Arroux-Somme study area: between February 1706 and January of

1831, Moriceau's corpus contains nine entries for these *communes* (2007: Tables 48 and 49).

These entries describe attacks by rabid wolves and she-wolves. The victims of these attacks

included men, women, and children of all ages. The earliest of the Arroux-Somme rabies entries,

dated 27 February 1706, indicates that a rabid wolf attacked as many as 88 people in the

commune of Saint-Julien-de-Civry (71) over an undisclosed period (Table 48). Of these victims,

eight died. It remains unclear, however, whether these fatalities resulted from wounds sustained

during the attack itself or from subsequent complications due to the acquisition of rabies. The

reality of the latter possibility is made clear by an entry dated 18 June 1718, in which 15

residents of Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray died of rabies (Table 48).

While I do not wish to suggest that there needs to be a "logical" or "scientific" explanation

for every element of folklore, the frequency with which rural people likely encountered and even

contracted rabies in the early Modern period may account for some parts of the werewolf (and

other) legends, as peasant communities sought to explain the neurological, physical, and

behavioral changes in the afflicted (see, for example, Gomez-Alonso 1995, 1998). Such an

explanation would be particularly effective in cases where the werewolf myth involves a sort of

contagion, as it tends to in contemporary North American and British popular culture. However, in traditional French culture, as I will discuss below, becoming a werewolf (a *loup-garou* / *loup-vérou*) is a bit more complex and may involve congress with the Devil or a demon.

But parish records do provide a few clues to link folk interpretations of rabies to this kind of lycanthropy, which is more a kind of witchcraft or possession than a simple contagion. A March 1700 entry from the parish log of Montagny-lès-Buxy (71), a *commune* just beyond the eastern edge of my study area, describes how a man (or male child) bitten by a rabid wolf was given "extreme unction": he was "tied to the bedframe by his feet and hands with very Christian intentions" (Moriceau 2007: Table 49). It is possible that rural French people did associate rabies, and particularly the bite of the rabid wolf, with the process of becoming a werewolf. The logical flaw in this explanation, however, is that they likely saw the effects of rabies on the domesticated animals with which they lived, often in quite close quarters. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the same effects would not be recognized as rabies in human victims in the majority of cases, even — or especially — by the most rural of peasants.

The data collected by Moriceau suggest no strong demographic trends in rabid wolf attacks, although it should be noted that the number of male victims over the age of 29 is high compared with female victims of the same age (2007: Table 44). This is presumably because men were involved in hunting down the infected attackers and, therefore, risked coming into closer contact with them. Where rabies was not a factor, however, the data collected by Moriceau indicate that the threat of wolf attack was unequally borne by women and, especially, by children (Table 43). For example, the mid-1740s must have been particularly difficult for families in the Couchois. Parish records indicate that in August of 1746 and again in October of 1748, children fell victim to a wolf (or wolves) that hunted in the *commune* of Saint-Maurice-lès-Couches (71). The first of

these victims was 7-year-old Louise Delacreuse. Between her death in 1746 and the death of 6-year-old Lazare Duvernois in 1748, a young girl — Françoise Quincy (age 7) — was "torn to pieces" by a wolf in May of 1747. Françoise Quincy's death occurred in the nearby *commune* of Saint-Léger-sur-Dheune (71), less than 10 km from Saint-Maurice-lès-Couches.

The particular vulnerability of women and children to wolf attacks may have been due to the fact that these individuals were smaller and less able to defend themselves than adult men. But women and children were also placed at elevated risk by their expected roles in household/farm economies (e.g., the herding of animals put out to summer pasture or the pannage of hogs, stone picking, the washing of clothes, water gathering, midwifing), which increased the likelihood that they would find themselves alone in the forest or fields, particularly at odd hours of the day or night. Recognizing these gendered risks sheds new light on the plot of "Little Red Riding Hood," first published by Perrault in the 1690s under the title of "*Le Petit Chaperon Rouge,*" in which a young girl is stalked by a wolf who ultimately devours and then masquerades as her elderly grandmother in order to fool the child (Perrault 1697). Many contemporary film interpretations, including director Catherine Hardwicke's recent *Red Riding Hood* (2011), have presented this clever hunter as a human turned werewolf. There is little indication, however, that Perrault intended the creature to be anything other than a common wolf, which the peasant tales of his day must have confirmed to have particular appetites and to be capable of clever feats. Indeed, the accuracy of the context in which "Little Red Riding Hood" is set suggests that while debate may surround the provenance of Perrault's other stories (see Chapter 5), this one may in fact have originated with the common, rural "folk."

The themes of gendered danger and — as we saw in the 1740s Couchois case — of clustered attacks within a region over a number of months or years are highlighted in a famous, real-life

mystery: that of the *Bête du Gévaudan* (the "Beast of the Gévaudan"). This creature — or, more likely, these *creatures* — hunted the remote Cévennes uplands of south-central France from 1764 to 1767. While casualty reports vary from source to source, there is evidence to support the claim that the "*Bête*" killed more than 100 people (most of whom were partially eaten after death) and wounded many more. Nearly all of these victims were women and children.

Despite the isolated mountain stage upon which this drama played out, it quickly captured national and international attention. The events that transpired in the Gévaudan in the mid-1760s have continued to be debated among biologists and historians, and to provide fodder for fictional accounts, including French director Christophe Gans's 2001 martial arts action/adventure film, *Le Pacte des Loups* (marketed in the US as *Brotherhood of the Wolf*). In a recent book on the topic, University of North Carolina history professor Jay Smith (2011) describes the complex suite of circumstances and actors that came together to bring such attention to the Gévaudan story, which — as Moriceau's work suggests — was probably not so very unique for its time. Among these forces were a disgraced and unpopular monarchy, mourning its recent defeat in the Seven Years' War and fearing for its survival in the face of growing revolutionary sentiment; a group of failed military officers hoping to rehabilitate their professional reputations in the wake of the War; natural scientists seeking to make sense of the world in terms of the rapidly unfolding Enlightenment; the relatively recent emergence of print journalism; and the creature itself. The latter, it was suggested at the time, might have been anything from an escaped African lion or hyena — the identification offered by no less an authority than the Comte du Buffon — to a werewolf, to a merciless human killer. It now seems fairly clear, however, that the *Bête* of the Gévaudan was a particularly elusive wolf or, given that a number of wolves were killed during the hunt for the beast, pack of wolves (Moriceau 2008; Smith 2011).

It is interesting to note that of the many images created from eyewitness accounts of the

Bête, those that depict the creature's sex show it as male (see Smith 2011). Indeed, the preferred

victimology of the beast, together with the evidence that it left behind, suggested a male gender.

Smith writes:

> The *Courrier*[3] revealed in graphic detail the attack at Mialanette. There, "the
> Monster that they could not destroy" had pounced on the young girl,
> decapitating her and "eating all of her upper body down to the clavicle, but
> leaving the rest untouched, including the clothes." (The clever Morénas surely
> knew that this last observation spoke in code about a werewolf, for it had long
> been thought that werewolves, "like men[,] know how to undress the girls they
> wish to ravage.") (2007:103)

At the end of this passage, Smith quotes from the famous werewolf case of Jean Grenier,

reported and considered at length in Pierre de Lancre's (de Lancre 2006[1612]:267-341) *Tableau*

de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons (or *On the Inconstancy of Witches*). The details of

the case, tried before the court of the *parlement* of Bordeaux in 1603, were as follow:

> The judge of the *châtellenie* and barony of Roche-Chalais was warned by the
> prosecutor's office that a wild animal had been seen in the village of Paulot in
> the parish of Esparon. It appeared to be a wolf and had attacked a young girl
> named Marguerite Poirier in broad daylight.
>
> In this same village a young boy, thirteen or fourteen years of age, the servant
> of Pierre Combaut, admitted that it was he [257] who, having been transformed
> into a wolf, had jumped on this Marguerite. He said that he would have eaten
> her had she not defended herself with a stick, just as he had eaten two or three
> other young boys or girls.
>
> … He testified on 29 May 1603. Only three people participated in the inquest,
> the second of whom was this Marguerite Poirier, aged thirteen. She said that
> she used to tend the livestock together with a young boy named Jean Grenier,
> about whom she frequently heard that he would change into a wolf whenever
> he wanted; that he had taken and killed dogs; and that he had eaten a bit of
> meat from one of them and drunk some of its blood. But he declared that it was
> not as good as the blood of young boys and girls; that only a short while ago he
> had taken a boy and had eaten two pieces of him and thrown the rest away to
> another wolf that was nearby, and that later he killed a girl, devouring all of her
> except her arms and shoulders. (de Lancre 2006[1612]:269-270)

Through the course of the trial, Grenier is unclear about his parentage: first he claims to be the son of a priest and then, later, the son of an upstart peasant from a nearby parish. In the testimony that immediately follows that of Marguerite Poirier, the court discovers that young Grenier is in possession of a red wolf pelt that has darkened the color of his own skin and that, he claims, gives him the power to transform himself into a wolf. He says he obtained the skin from a man named Pierre Labouraut,

> … "who, when in his house, wears an iron chain around his neck. And in this house there were people in chairs who were burned, others in beds who were in flames, and still others who were roasted and put on spits, and still others who were in a big pot." (de Lancre 2006[1612]:270)

Grenier later refers to Labouraut as the "Lord of the Forest[4]," a title that his inquisitors take to be a name for the Devil. Through his testimony, Grenier implicates both his father and a family friend in having made a similar pact with this dark figure in order to be able to exercise the wolf transformation.

> His father, Pierre Grainier [sic] being a prisoner, was heard and confronted by his son. The son's testimony was inconsistent in many respects, and we knew that the length of his prison term and the misery of his condition had left him somewhat dazed. Nevertheless, after we had him be quiet for a while, we put them together once again. The son accused him to his face of everything he had said against him to us.

> It now remains to be determined if this transformation or transmutation of man into beast is real. And if it is, we must decide what punishment must be given to the werewolves [264] and even to the man who confessed to having given himself to the service of the Lord of the Forest (who was none other than Satan) and to having committed as a wolf, under the skin that he gave him, countless infanticides and other horrors. And although we touched somewhat upon this question in a general fashion in the previous discourse, we have not yet spoken at all about lycanthropy, which cannot be treated without rehearsing the reasons why this transformation occurs. (de Lancre 2006[1612]:275)

De Lancre goes on to address two questions in the case of poor Jean Grenier: (1) did the boy actually transform himself into a wolf? and (2) given his young age, could he be held

accountable for the things that he did in his wolf form? Working through a complex logical

argument that draws heavily upon the works of St. Augustine, Avicenna, and other medieval

thinkers, as well as the histories of Herodotus, de Lancre reasons that there is evidence

(including eyewitness testimony) to suggest that the boy did in fact undergo a transformation.

Covering himself with the wolfskin and going about on all fours, Grenier committed the crimes

of which he was accused. But, given his young age, de Lancre determines that the boy could not

be held accountable for these acts.

> The fact that this boy was so obviously dazed was recorded not only by the
> doctors but also in the trial where he himself spoke. He is a country child,
> poorly instructed, or, more accurately, ignorant of the knowledge and fear of
> God. He knew even less about how to defend himself against Satan's wiles.
> Even the most intelligent are limited in the capacity of their minds to exercise
> judgment, which St. Augustine himself believes to be very difficult.
> (2006[1612]:311)

The First President of the court, a certain Lord Daffis, arrived at somewhat different verdict

regarding the boy's transformation — believing that it had occurred in the child's head rather

than in his physical form — but made a similar assessment of Grenier's competence. Young

Jean Grenier was sentenced not to death (the usual punishment for the crime of being a

werewolf), but to spend the rest of his life within the confines of the Franciscan monastery of

Bordeaux[5]. De Lancre, himself, visited Grenier in his monastery prison some seven years later,

in 1610. He found a young man with "wild-looking eyes" that seemed entirely distraught,

confused, and "did not dare look anyone straight in the eye" (2006[1612]:329). The man

anxiously confessed his former behavior to de Lancre, and even claimed that he still craved the

flesh of children, particularly of little girls (331). He had been visited by the Lord of the Forest

once again in the monastery and tempted to return to his former life; a temptation that he had

resisted (332). Sadly, the harried Grenier died in the monastery at the beginning of November 1610, just months after de Lancre's visit (341).

I treat the tragic case of Jean Grenier in such depth here because it reveals a number of the themes common in French werewolf legends and, as the case itself shows, in French legal history. Chief among these, as I have already indicated, is a particular taste for the flesh of women and children, a choice of prey that the werewolf would appear to share with the common wolf, given Moriceau's numbers. Indeed, discussing the information that he gathered during his brief passage through northern Burgundy more than 150 years later, Thomas Pennant notes that the "loup garou is one which kills children" (Pennant 1948:39).

Also important is the werewolf's peculiar ability to attack women and children without creating undue damage to their clothing:

> … throughout the trial the witnesses said that when [Grenier] would take the girls by their dresses or other garments that they were wearing in order to eat them, he would never rip their dresses. Thus they said that their dresses fell off without their knowing how, and dropped to the ground. Thus, with Satan's aid, they would find themselves without their petticoats of their dresses, which no animal or real wolf would have been able to remove from them without tearing. (de Lancre 2006[1612]:334)

In writing this passage, de Lancre no doubt had in mind the observations of his contemporary, Henry Boguet, a preeminent witch-hunter and jurist of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. By the publication of de Lancre's *Tableau*, Boguet had already tried a number of werewolf cases throughout eastern France and the Savoy (see, for example, Boguet 1929[1590-1611]:136-155). A common theme in Boguet's accounts, too, is the ability of a werewolf to kill and eat its victims without tearing their clothes. These observations contributed to a gendering of the beast. By the 16th century, a number of those who stood accused of lycanthropy were women (Oates 1989:326), and Boguet tried a number of women for the crime of lycanthropy during his career,

including the so-called "Werewolf of Burgundy," Clauda Gaillard[6] (see Boguet 1929[1590-1611]:136-138, 149-150). Despite the number of women accused, however, the werewolf — like the *Bête* of the Gévaudan — has tended to be gendered male in the popular imagination due to its selection of and approach to ravaging its victims.

A final important theme included in the story of Jean Grenier, as in the other famous witchcraft cases of the period, is the notion that Grenier somehow chose to transform and was given the power to do so through his allegiance with dark powers. While he may have been afflicted in some way, he was not an infected victim of lycanthropy. As I indicate above, the French werewolf generally is not thought to suffer from of an affliction. Rather he is thought to be a powerful sorcerer who can alter his appearance at will through the application of a special ointment and/or an animal skin (Boguet 1929[1590-1611]:69, 150) to do harm and to couple with common wolves. It is for this reason that witch-hunters like Boguet became so caught up in the hunt for *loups-garoux* and that French anti-witchcraft laws often included provisions against lycanthropy, the most-famous of which are probably those enacted in the Franche-Comté during the 1500 and 1600s. The enforcement of these laws, and the hunting of witches and lycanthropes that such laws supported, reached their zenith at the turn of the 17th century (Oates 1989).

[1] If such movements occur today, there is little reason to believe that they ever actually stopped or that France was ever truly free of wolves.

[2] Consider, for example, that wolf attacks in the Nièvre (58) and the Yonne (89) — the two *départements* of the Morvan — do not begin to appear in the information collected by Moriceau until after 1700. Once they do appear, however, they occur with enough frequency and/or victims to compare to reports in the other two *départements* of Burgundy. Moriceau reports 67 victims in the Nièvre between the 15th and 20th centuries; well outstripped by 91 victims in the Yonne (2007: Table 40). By contrast, Moriceau reports 81 victims in Saône-et-Loire during the same period, and only 44 in the Côte-d'Or. These numbers suggest that there were at least an equal number of (if not more) attacks in the more-isolated upland areas of the Morvan before 1700, and that their absence in Moriceau's corpus is probably an accident of reporting or preservation.

[3] Smith here references the *Courrier d'Avignon*, a newspaper that had been in circulation since 1733 and that existed — as the media of a papal enclave — largely outside the control of the restrictive French government. Throughout the 1760s, the *Courrier* became the first line of reportage on the progress (and failures) of the hunt for the *Bête*. Editor François Morénas was able to use the proximity of Avignon to the Gévaudan to create a sensation that increased the circulation of his paper, both in France and abroad (Smith 2011).

[4] I find the similarity between this title and the title chosen for the wolf by Rollinat in 1929, "King of the Forest," interesting. One wonders if Rollinat had, in fact, read accounts of the Grenier trial before writing his piece on the wolf.

[5] De Lancre (2006[1612]:333) points out the logical continuity in the decision to place the boy with the Franciscans. According to hagiography, one of the miracles of St. Francis was to tame the ferocious wolf that had devastated the town of Gubbio, not far from his home in Assisi. Clearly the court hoped that the Brothers of St. Francis could similarly tame the boy.

[6] In considering the title given to Claudia Gaillard, it is important to note that her trial occurred in Saint-Claude, in the Franche-Comté (just north of contemporary Burgundy). The name "Franche-Comté" means the "Free County," referring to the region's fluctuating status within the Greater Burgundy (that broke up with the death of the last Duke of Burgundy in 1477). Thus during the period in which Boguet was most active, the Franche-Comté was no longer part of Burgundy at all, although it continued to have significant cultural ties to its neighboring region. Therefore, the "Werewolf of Burgundy" is a misnomer.

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