MANUSCRIT ACCEPTAT

The functional and symbolic uses of space in western Mediterranean protohistory: the Pech Maho example (Sigean, western Languedoc, France)

Maria Carme Belarte ; Eric Gailledrat ; Jordi Principal

Revista	Oxford Journal of Archaeology. Volume 30, Issue 1, February 2011, Pages 57-83		
DOI	http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0092.2010.00359.x		
Disponible en línia	26/1/2011	**Data de publicació**	2/2011

Per citar aquest document:

Belarte, M. C., Gailledrat, E. and Principal, J. (2011), The functional and symbolic uses of space in Western Mediterranean protohistory: the Pech Maho example (Sigean, Western Languedoc, France). Oxford Journal of Archaeology, 30: 57–83. doi:10.1111/j.1468-0092.2010.00359.x

Summary

The aim of this paper is to put forward a reinterpretation of several complex domestic units at the Iberian oppidum of Pech Maho (Sigean, western Languedoc, France), dating from the sixth to the third centuries BC.

A complementary study of the features and artefacts included in each house leads to the characterization of spaces, the contextualization of activities and the construction of identities within the domestic areas, as well as their diachronic evolution.

The long life of the site meant that several of the houses were rebuilt and their concept and use rethought. In many cases, the apparent incoherency between the features and the artefacts can be interpreted as a reflection of these changes. In the final period of the settlement, a drastic change in the use of certain buildings hints at the complete dissolution of several domestic units, before their final destruction by a fire in the context of the Roman conquest.

Introduction

Reflections on the use of space in protohistoric times

The study of how people organized, built and used their space has often been employed to interpret past societies (Brück and Goodman 1999). Several researchers have suggested that domestic architecture is a particularly useful tool for understanding social organization (Joyce and Gillespie 2000; Cutting 2006) and social differences (Kent 1990; Aldenderfer and Stanish 1993). In the case of the protohistoric societies of the western Mediterranean region considered in this paper, the majority of the information comes from the settlements. Within the houses, the study of domestic space is particularly enlightening: it provides information not only about the daily activities of the occupants, but also about their technological knowledge, economy and social differences. The protohistoric house was the centre of the most private, or family, activities and the place in which several types of exchange were carried out. Finally, the house was the centre of social relationships, as well as a method of exhibiting social status (Belarte 2008) and a point of convergence for the private and public spheres.

One of the problems of analysing the use of domestic space in the past is that we can only know of certain specific periods (usually the final one) and we are often unable to reconstruct the complete life cycle or 'biography' of the houses and settlements (Dietler and Herbich 1993; Gerritsen 1999; Goodman 1999; Glowacki 2002). The changes in the use of space, as well as the reasons for those changes, may not be obvious and can lead to the evolution of the house and the household being misconstrued. If the changes that occurred during the life cycle of the house are not always easily detectable, the final dissolution of the building is even less clear in the archaeological record. The end of a house can be caused by intentional and internal factors (the need to increase the built-up area or reorganize the space), as well as incidental or external factors (accidental destruction or external attack). In the first case, the house is usually rebuilt, but in the second there may be a traumatic, functional change of use. It is particularly on these drastic changes in the use of spaces that we wish to focus our paper.

The study of funerary areas has also been used to analyse the social organization of past societies. They have provided interesting reflections on the people interred, although here

the symbolic meaning prevails over the functional one. Burial sites are important sources of knowledge about past societies from a biological point of view and the grave goods can also provide information about trade or technology. However, these artefacts do not necessarily correspond to a person's actual activities or social position in life and may reflect a display for appearance rather than his/her real situation. In our opinion, burial sites may give a distorted view of social status and are less reliable for the study of past societies.

In protohistoric times, as in the vast majority of societies in any period or region, funerary areas and living spaces were clearly differentiated. The transformation of a settlement into a funerary area or vice-versa is not common, unless the two different uses are separated in time. Archaeological research considers these two groups of places independently and even uses different theoretical and methodological approaches to study them.[2] However, there are some examples in which settlement spaces have been transformed into funerary or ritual areas under particular conditions, which we include in the above-mentioned category of traumatic changes. In this respect, the most interesting transformation in a western Mediterranean protohistoric settlement is documented in the *oppidum* of Pech Maho (Sigean, western Languedoc, France).

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to present and discuss, in the light of new evidence from recent excavations and the reinterpretation of data from earlier interventions at the site, the exceptional case of the use of space during the final period of occupation of the *oppidum*, highlighting the transformation of the domestic units into a ritual and funerary area. There was a radical shift in the use of these well characterized domestic spaces within the *oppidum* walls in the phase immediately following its violent destruction. This resulted in the loss of the area and its social and economic function to the living and the giving of it to the dead and their symbolic role in society. It thus acquired a new significance.

We will consider the evidence from the architectural analysis and the distribution and association of different spaces, as well as that from the study of the significance of the household goods.

Geographical context

The protohistoric site of Pech Maho is in the western Languedoc, in the north-western Mediterranean basin (Fig. 1). During the Iron Age, this region was culturally on the north-eastern periphery of the Iberian world, bordering the Celtic area. The site is located in the municipality of Sigean (Aude), on the right of the Berre, near the lakes of Bages and Sigean, and occupies a 2-ha, 29-m-high, triangular-shaped limestone hill. The hill has natural defences that favoured the establishment of a settlement of the *éperon barré* type (Fig. 2). The proximity of the lakes, which were formerly connected to the sea, also explains the choice of this place for such a settlement.

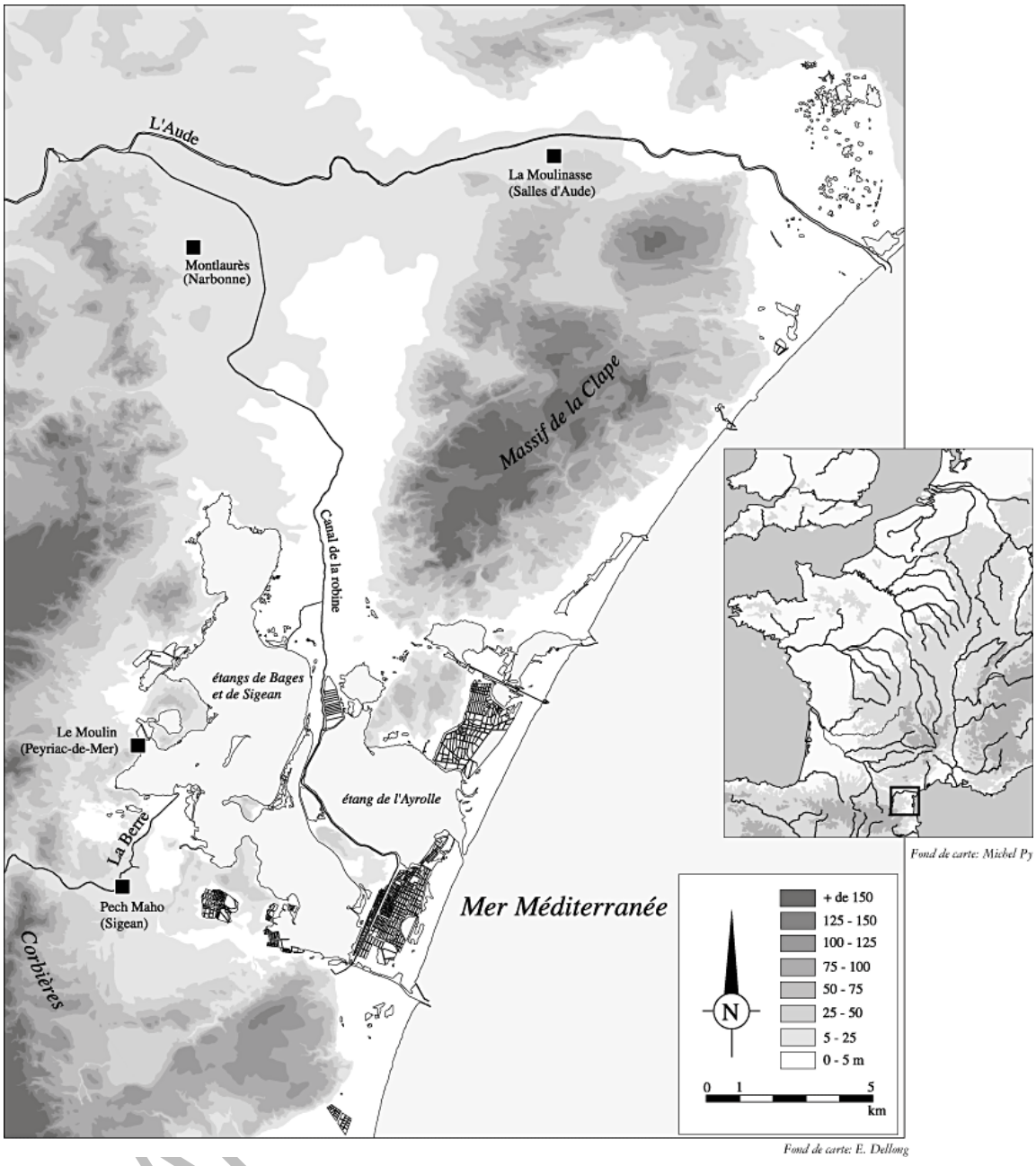

Figure 1.
Open in figure viewer
Location of the Pech Maho *oppidum* in western Languedoc (France) (map background: Eric Dellong, modified).

Figure 2.
Open in figure viewer
Aerial image of the Pech Maho *oppidum* (photo: Nicolas Chorrier).

The area of settlement is at the eastern end of the Corbières massif on the southern edge of the Narbonnaise plain, near a natural passage to the Roussillon. This route, which may have been the Heraclean Way, was subsequently occupied by the Roman *Via Domitia*. The ancient, protohistoric landscape around Pech Maho probably consisted of a series of islets, comprising a large area of water, connected to the sea. This environment was particularly favourable for the development of trade between the indigenous communities and Mediterranean seafarers.

Pech Maho belongs to a series of coastal settlements, whose foundation in the sixth century BC can be placed within the context of the colonial contacts between the Classical cultures and the indigenous societies, and should thus be considered as an *emporion*. As such, the site was particularly open to exogenous items, especially imported Mediterranean tableware, with a preference for Greek ware.

Research history

Following its discovery in 1913 by H. Rouzaud, the first archaeological excavations of the site were carried out in 1948 by a group of amateurs (*Amis du Vieux Sigean*). After several excavations led by Joseph Campardou (1935; 1938; 1957), Yves Solier took charge of the site and undertook an intensive research program from 1959 to 1979 (Solier 1960; 1961; 1962; 1963a; 1963b; 1965; 1968a; 1968b; 1976; 1978; 1979; 1985). In 1998, the French Ministry of Culture began a project to re-examine the data from the earlier excavations and prepare it for publication. The results of this project have been partially published (Gailledrat and Belarte 2002; Gailledrat and Marchand 2003; Gailledrat and Moret 2003;

Gailledrat and Rouillard 2003; Gailledrat and Solier 2004). A new programme of excavations directed by one of the authors (E.G.) has been carried out since 2004.

Chronology

Solier's excavations identified three major periods of occupation at the site, whose existence and chronology have been confirmed by recent research:

- Pech Maho I (575/550–475/450 BC)
- Pech Maho II (475/450–325/300 BC)
- Pech Maho III (325/300–225/200 BC)

The greatest amount of information comes from the last period, since the destruction of the settlement by the end of the third century BC favoured the preservation of the final level of occupation. The picture given by these early excavations appears unequivocal. The site was abandoned around 200 BC after systematic destruction resulting from violent combat, both indicated by clear archaeological evidence (burned houses, demolished walls, fragmented weapons, catapult projectiles, human remains, etc.). Moreover, a funeral pyre located on the ruins of the inner wall can be associated with this violent end. Other indicators from recent excavations (the 2004–2007 campaign) also shed light on the complexity of this period intermediate between the destruction itself and the definitive abandonment of Pech Maho. According to this latest research, the evidence now shows that immediately after its destruction (and as a consequence of it), funerary deposits and ritual practices (the sacrifice of horses) testify to Pech Maho being used as a commemorative site, having lost its status as a settlement at the very beginning of the second century BC.

The second iron age settlement

The settlement has an estimated surface area of 1.5 ha and is organized into several districts or blocks (*îlots*). These are separated by streets that follow a relatively regular, pre-established plan. The shape of several of the *îlots* is determined by the physical limits of the ground (the triangular shape of the hill) and, on the southern side, by the layout of the wall (Figs. 2 and 3). As a consequence, the outer *îlots* have a more irregular plan, while those in the centre remain quite regular. The site is organized around a main square oriented from north to south (Square 1). This is located immediately inside the main gate and provides access to the other parts of the site. Two main streets, one oriented from north to south (Street 7) and another from east to west (Street 4), led from this square. The latter led to *îlot* I, to which the buildings discussed in this paper belong.

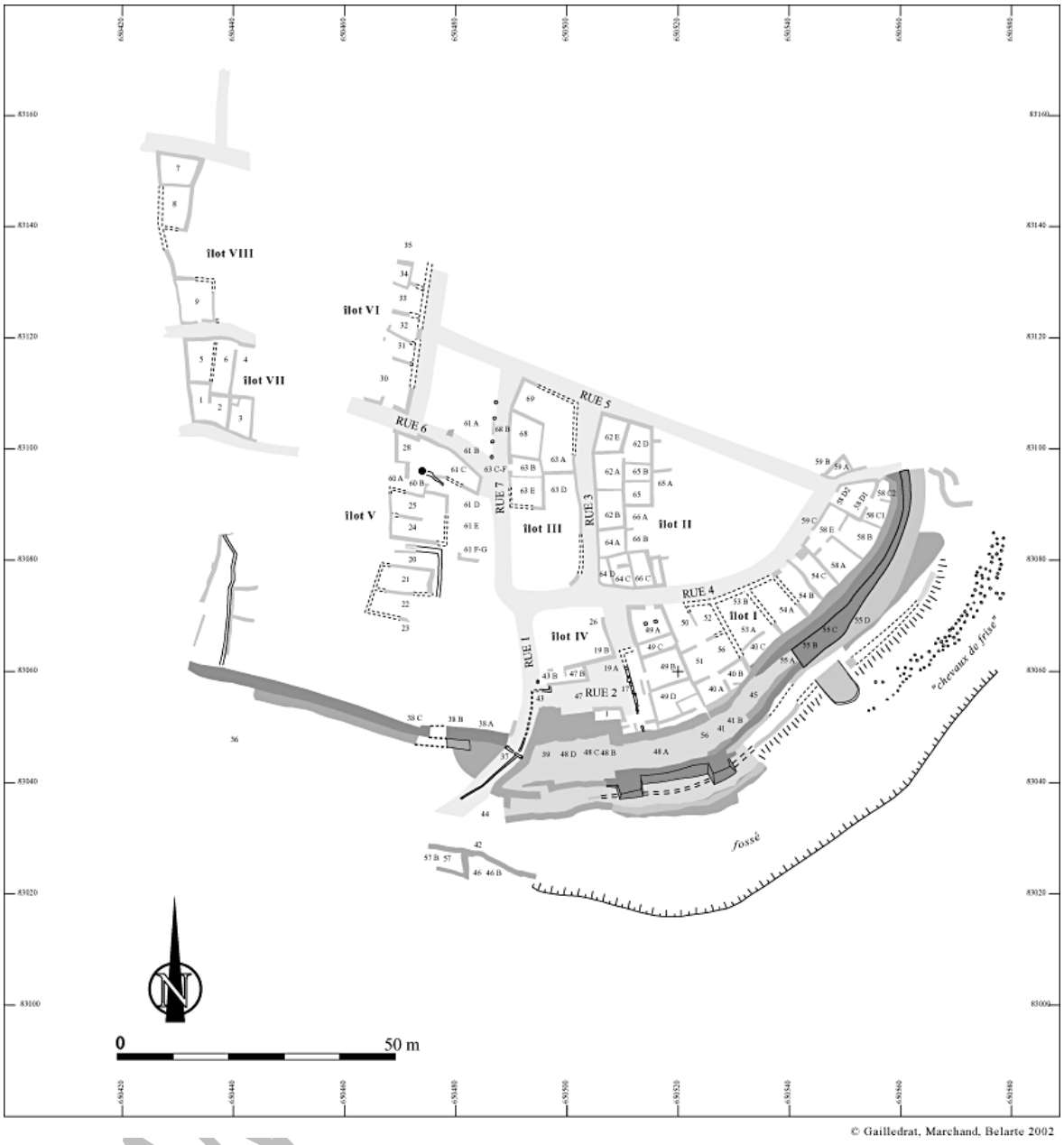

Figure 3.
Open in figure viewer
General plan of the Pech Maho *oppidum*.

The distribution of space: some of the domestic units in îlot I

Îlot I is an elongated block with an irregular ground plan oriented NE–SW and surrounded by street 4 (Fig. 4). It is made up of several houses or functional units. Among them, the three eastern houses have provided the greatest amount of information about the functionality of their spaces, which is why they have been chosen for analysis.

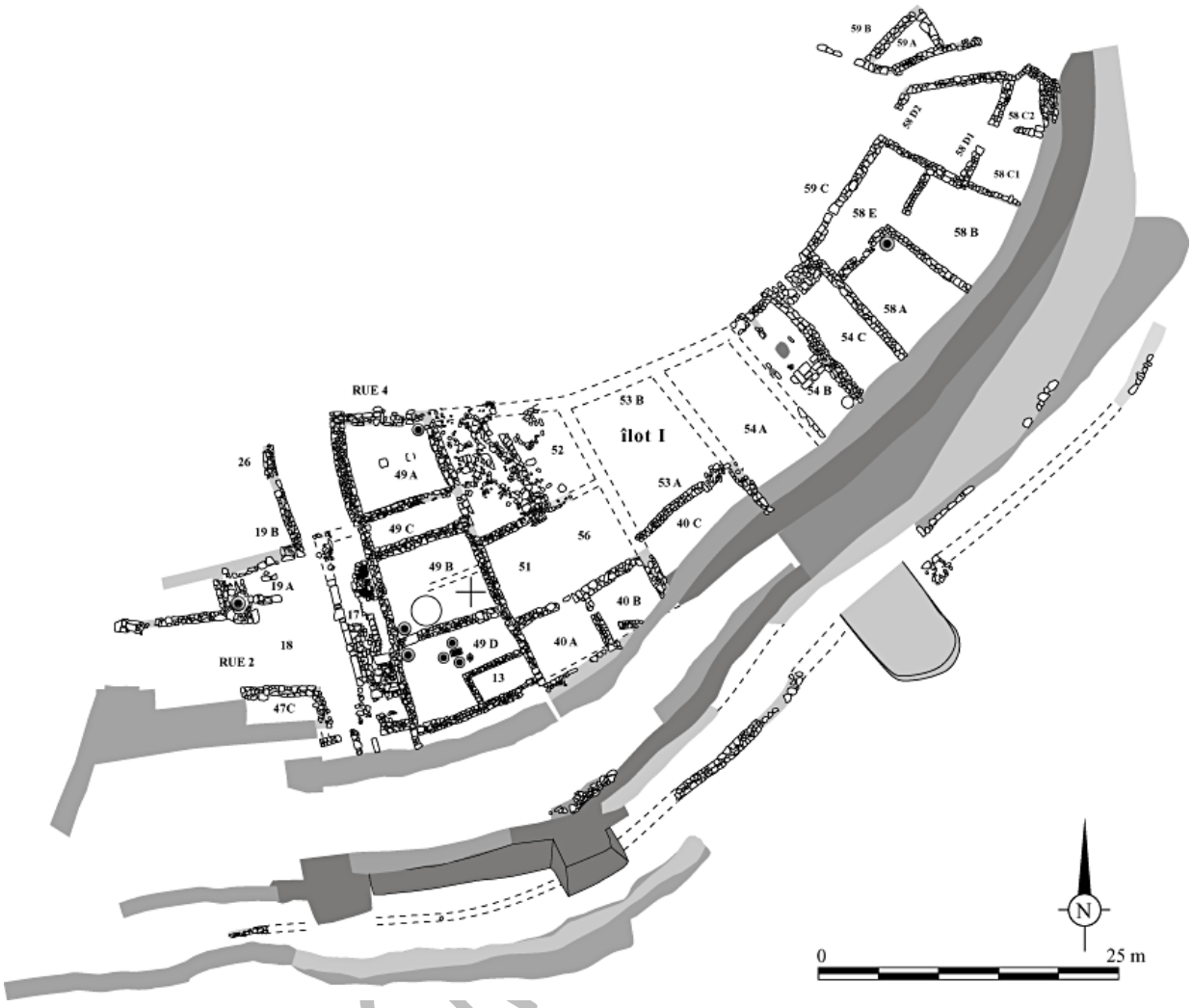

Figure 4.
Open in figure viewer
Detailed plan of îlot I at Pech Maho *oppidum*.

As far as the functional study of the spaces is concerned, we have taken into account the links between the domestic features (or fixed equipment), the objects/artefacts and the other archaeological remains. As the site had been destroyed by the end of this phase, we consider that these remains correspond to the last use of the domestic spaces analysed here. Nevertheless, our study is not free of the inherent issues found in this kind of analysis: the functional ambivalence of some of the domestic features, the possible reuse of several structures and artefacts and, finally, the movable nature of the objects. In addition, we must mention the difficulties caused by deficiencies in the archaeological record from the early excavations, in which the excavators did not always specify whether the objects were on the floor or in the collapse layers. In spite of these difficulties, the combined analysis of all the elements allows us to attempt to understand the use of the spaces in the three selected groups.

An earlier study of these houses has already been published in a preliminary version (Gailledrat and Belarte 2002), in which the data from the archaeological record left by Solier are analysed. Following this research, a review of the pottery was carried out. This revealed some conflicts between the information provided by the structural remains and that from the functional implications of some of the pottery. In this paper we also attempt

to explain these apparent incoherencies, which mainly correspond to the changes that took place during the life cycles of these dwellings.

The pottery finds. Some remarks

Three major groups or categories of pottery are considered as indicators of daily use and behaviour during the last period of activity in the *oppidum*: tableware, common/kitchenware and storage ware (amphorae and containers/*dolia*). The three units studied in this paper show some differences in the composition of the pottery contexts, although the analysis of their spatial distribution and the combination as a whole seems to show a similar, individual and constant pattern related to the activities and significance of the spaces.

A study of the tableware shows a consistent presence of imported black-gloss ware in all the rooms, with a prevalence of Rhode workshop[3] vessels, followed by Campanian A and very few *Petites Estampilles* vessels. The Iberian (reduced) grey ware is found in similar or slightly higher ratios than the black-gloss ware as a whole, with a repertory that combines drinking and serving/eating vessels. Iberian painted pottery is practically non-existent. As regards the common/kitchenware, both local hand- and wheel-made items are always present, with different types of S-shaped cooking pots (used for boiling, stewing, etc.) and bowls and saucers (seasoning, preparing, serving). Occasional vessels of Punic, Massaliot or Italic origin, particularly mortars, casseroles and jars, complete the assemblage. Despite the fact that the volume of amphorae is very low, there are remains of at least three containers per room; their provenance is very heterogeneous: Punic from northern Africa or Ibiza, Iberian from the Catalan coast, Massaliot, eastern Greek and Greco-Italic (Campania). Massaliot containers are found in every room (no more than four per room) and those of Greco-Italic origin can be found everywhere, except in rooms 58A and 58C2 (cf. *infra*). Moreover, the latter show obvious signs of 'mass' storage in two different but adjoining units, although in some cases their purpose or use would not be the primary one of trading containers (Gorgues 2008, 178–83).

Despite the presence of some older and discordant elements that could be interpreted, *a priori*, as intrusions (i.e. Attic ware), the pottery *facies* can reasonably be attributed to the late third century BC, which is actually the date assigned to the destruction and subsequent abandonment of the site. However, a more detailed review seems to prove not only that the interpretation of these Attic pieces as intrusions is incorrect, but also confirms their important role in the definition of the meaning and use of the spaces.

Firstly, these Attic pieces, either red-figured or black-gloss, appear together in groups. They always combine a serving vessel (a *krater*, the vessel in which the drink, mainly wine, was prepared and served) and cups (*kylixes*, *skyphoi* or *kantharoi*, the vessels from which the beverages were drunk), or bowls. These could be described as an 'Attic drinking set'. In all these cases, the determining element of the set appears to be the serving vessel or *krater*, which is always an Attic red-figured piece dated to the middle or second half of the fourth century BC. The drinking vessels also date to this period. A number of them are even earlier, including some Attic red-figured *kylixes* or *skyphoi*. Thus, the idea of an 'Attic set' as a unit is confirmed by the contemporaneity of the vessels, their complementary and specialized use and their consideration as 'prestige', 'exceptional' or 'luxury' goods. This would imply that they were preserved and used over several generations. It is impossible to determine, *a priori*, if this 'Attic set' can be considered as a marker of everyday life, although its long preservation and hypothetical status point in a different direction: it could have been used on special occasions or for 'ritualized' events, probably connected to the drinking of wine or the celebration of banquets/symposia. It could, therefore, be

hypothesized that every unit or group of people occupying a house and functioning as a 'family unit' would have had an 'Attic set', at least as far as *îlot* I is concerned. Accordingly, the spatial location/contextualization of this 'Attic set' within the houses should indicate, in the first instance, domestic spaces for food preparation/consumption or domestic storage areas.

This argument becomes clearer if the presence and occurrence of tableware and kitchenware are taken into account.

Contextualizing the evidence. The units of îlot I

a) Domestic Unit 58A–58B–58E This unit had a total ground area of 133.4 sq m and was made up of three spaces: 58A, 58B and 58E. Rooms 58A and 58B, at the rear, were covered areas, as can be seen from the remains of their carbonized roofs in the collapse levels; 58E was interpreted by Solier as an open space or courtyard (see Fig. 4; Fig. 5).

Figure 5.
Open in figure viewer
View of Domestic Unit 58A–58B–58E from the south-west (photo: CCJ reference 121 313).

Room 58A This had a stone-paved area at the rear associated with a covered area of sand. In this room, a lead disc with hammer strokes (which could be interpreted as an anvil on which bronze sheets were straightened) was found, as well as a fragment of a nailed human skull, which should be related to the destruction level. A pit containing some fragments of *dolia* can be interpreted as a support for a storage container. The pottery context (Table 1) shows a slight prevalence of kitchenware over tableware and amphorae. Finally, a millstone was also found in this room.

Table 1.
Room 58A context

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
AT-VN	3	0.71	1	1.56
ROSES	1	0.23	1	1.56
CAMP-A	36	8.55	7	10.94
COT-CAT	138	32.77	9	14.06
Table ware	**178**	**42.26**	**18**	**28.12**
COM-IB	4	0.95	4	6.25
COM-PUN	1	0.23	1	1.56
CL-REC	1	0.23	1	1.56
Common ware	**6**	**1.41**	**6**	**9.37**
CNT-LOC	134	31.86	26	40.65
CCT-LOC	30	7.12	5	7.81
Kitchen pottery	**164**	**38.98**	**31**	**48.46**
A-GRE	5	1.18	1	1.56
A-MAS	6	1.42	1	1.56
A-IBE	57	13.57	5	7.81
A-IND	2	0.47	1	1.56
Amphorae	**70**	**16.64**	**8**	**12.49**
DOLIUM	3	0.71	1	1.56
TOTAL	421	100	64	100

The equipment and remains taken as a whole indicate that this was a multifunctional space.

Room 58B This had a central hearth and a stone bench at the rear of the room, adjoining the rampart. A mortar and a millstone indicate that this room was used for grinding. As for the pottery (Table 2), kitchenware continues to be in the majority, although the find of 23 almost complete amphorae (18 of them Greco-Italic), and up to six *dolia*, seems to confirm a storage use. In addition, four coiled lead tablets were recovered, three of them with inscriptions in the Iberian language (probably trading documents or letters) (Solier 1979, 56–90).

Table 2.
Room 58B context

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
PET-EST	1	0.10	1	1.47
ROSES	6	0.60	1	1.47
CAMP-A	9	0.90	3	4.41
CELT	2	0.20	1	1.47
COT-CAT	55	5.54	3	4.41
Table ware	**73**	**7.32**	**9**	**13.23**
CL-MAS	2	0.20	1	1.47
COM-IND	2	0.20	1	1.47
Common ware	**4**	**0.40**	**2**	**2.94**
CNT-LOC	200	20.10	27	39.71
CCT-LOC	11	1.10	6	8.83
Kitchen pottery	**211**	**21.20**	**33**	**48.54**
A-MAS	29	2.91	1	1.47
A-PUN	13	1.31	1	1.47
A-PE	1	0.10	1	1.47
A-IBE	581	58.40	1	1.47
A-GR-ITA	19	1.91	18	26.47
A-IND	51	5.12	1	1.47
Amphorae	**694**	**69.75**	**23**	**33.82**
DOLIUM	13	1.31	1	1.47
TOTAL	995	100	68	101

This space has been interpreted as a stock-room, although it could also have been used for grinding and roasting grain.

Room 58E This room contained several hearths and a pit bordered by vertical stone slabs. A large amount of cooking debris was also recovered from all over the surface of the room. The pottery assemblage is very rich (Table 3), with kitchenware by far the most numerous, with a prevalence of local handmade S-shaped cooking pots. Imported tableware is represented by a combination of eating and drinking vessels (remains of an 'Attic set'). There are few examples of amphorae.

Table 3.
Room 58E context

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
AT-VN	5	0.58	2	1.76
ROSES	49	5.80	11	9.64
CAMP-A	1	0.11	1	0.88
IB-PEINTE	1	0.11	1	0.88
COT-CAT	427	49.88	15	13.15
Table ware	**487**	**56.48**	**30**	**26.31**
COM-IB	1	0.11	1	0.88
COM-GR-ITA	1	0.11	1	0.88
COM-PUN	1	0.11	1	0.88
CL-MAS	4	0.46	3	2.63
COM-IND	2	0.22	2	1.76
Common ware	**9**	**1.01**	**8**	**7.03**
CNT-LOC	62	7.24	44	38.60
CCT-LOC	24	2.80	14	12.28
Kitchen pottery	**86**	**10.04**	**58**	**50.88**
A-MAS	127	14.93	4	3.50
A-PUN	1	0.11	1	0.88
A-PE	6	0.70	1	0.88
A-IBE	130	15.48	6	5.26

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
A-GR-ITA	6	0.70	4	3.50
Amphorae	**270**	**31.22**	**16**	**14.02**
DOLIUM	4	0.46	2	1.76
TOTAL	856	100	114	100

Judging by the overall remains and equipment, this room could have been a cooking area.

Discussion This unit appears to be paradigmatic. The 'Attic set' was located in the front room of the house (room 58E), in which, however, tableware is in the minority. In summary, it seems quite logical that room 58E would have been a kitchen or a multipurpose area where food was prepared and even consumed. Its position, at the front of the house, could indicate an area emphasizing more common or social activities. As for the rear rooms, both 58A and 58B are very similar: less pottery than in room 58E and a predominance of kitchenware over tableware. However, there is some discordance concerning the amphorae, as in 58A no more than eight fragmentary containers were quantified, whereas in room 58B an accumulation of 18 complete Greco-Italic amphorae was found, which would indicate the use of this space as a store-room. On the other hand, judging by the small quantity of amphorae, as well as tableware/kitchenware, found in room 58A, uses other than domestic cooking/consumption activities or storage could be inferred (a working area: craftwork? grinding?).

b) Domestic Unit 54B–54C This unit is made up of two independent spaces that do not communicate directly and are accessible from the street. It covers a ground area of 82.32 sq m (see Fig. 4). It has been interpreted as a single house on the basis of the complementary nature of the uses (neither space seems to have served as an independent dwelling).

Room 54B This room had a stone-paved area in the centre, several hearths and a pit containing metal items, perhaps destined to be melted down; iron objects were recovered nearby. The study of the pottery assemblage (Table 4) shows that the tableware and kitchenware ratios are quite even, whereas the amphorae, despite the heterogeneity of the group, are in the minority.

Table 4.
Room 54B context

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
AT-VN	1	0.18	1	2.08
PET-EST	9	1.61	1	2.08
ROSES	18	3.22	3	6.25
CAMP-A	66	11.83	3	6.25

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
IB-PEINTE	1	0.18	1	2.08
IB-LANG	3	0.54	1	2.08
COT-CAT	142	25.47	9	18.78
Table ware	**240**	**43.03**	**19**	**39.60**
COM-IB	7	1.25	1	2.08
COM-PUN	4	0.72	1	2.08
INDIK	1	0.18	1	2.08
COM-IND	2	0.34	2	4.16
Common ware	**16**	**2.49**	**5**	**10.40**
CNT-LOC	196	35.12	11	22.92
CCT-LOC	27	4.84	7	14.60
Kitchen pottery	**223**	**39.96**	**18**	**37.52**
A-GRE	2	0.36	1	2.08
A-MAS	10	1.79	1	2.08
A-PE	1	0.18	1	2.08
A-IBE	62	11.11	1	2.08
A-GR-ITA	2	0.36	1	2.08
A-IND	4	0.72	1	2.08
Amphorae	**81**	**14.52**	**6**	**12.48**
TOTAL	558	100	48	100

This room was probably used for craftwork (a forge).

Room 54C This room had a small stone-paved area against the eastern wall, a pit containing domestic debris and several hearths. As for the ceramics (Table 5), a deposit of 16 amphorae (13 of them Greco-Italic) and some *dolia* were found, although tableware was clearly in the majority (with remains of an 'Attic set'). It is also interesting to note the appearance of another lead tablet with inscriptions in the Iberian language just outside room 54C, in Street 4 (Solier and Barbouteau 1988, 62–73).

Table 5.
Room 54C context

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
AT-VN	4	0.98	2	2.67
PET-EST	9	2.20	1	1.33
ROSES	87	21.27	16	21.34
CAMP-A	16	3.91	2	2.67
COT-CAT	136	33.25	23	30.67
Table ware	**252**	**61.61**	**44**	**58.68**
COM-GR-ITA	1	0.24	1	1.33
COM-PUN	13	3.18	1	1.33
CL-MAS	3	0.73	1	1.33
COM-IND	17	4.16	1	1.33
Common ware	**34**	**8.31**	**4**	**5.32**
CNT-LOC	37	9.06	5	6.67
CCT-LOC	40	9.78	4	5.34
Kitchen pottery	**77**	**18.84**	**9**	**12.01**
A-MAS	2	0.49	1	1.33
A-PE	2	0.49	1	1.33
A-IBE	19	4.64	1	1.33
A-GR-ITA	13	3.18	13	17.33
Amphorae	**36**	**8.80**	**16**	**21.32**
DOLIUM	10	2.44	2	2.67
TOTAL	409	100	75	100

The collapse levels suggest that there was a second storey, at least at the rear of the room, as several layers of fragmented and dispersed amphorae and *dolia* were found, mainly against the wall. A burnt level represented by ash covered this room.

Discussion The particular structure of unit 54B–54C indicates a hybrid context. In room 54B, the tableware and kitchenware ratios are balanced, whereas amphora remains are clearly in the minority. In general, room 54B resembles 58A.

However, in 54C tableware is in the majority, with a large number of Iberian grey ware drinking vessels (mainly goblets). There is also an 'Attic set'. Nevertheless, the low representation of kitchenware is surprising, given that in the other rooms, that category is always in the majority, although it must also be borne in mind that a deposit of 13 Greco-Italic amphorae was found at the rear of room 54C. Thus, it would appear quite sensible to think of 54C in terms of a store-room, as has been suggested for room 58B. However, in this case the issue is more complex, owing to the peculiar structure of the unit and the different distribution/concentration of the ceramic categories. The conspicuous presence of tableware and kitchenware suggests that room 54C could also be considered as a kitchen or eating area. Moreover, judging by the excavation record and the evidence of the ceramic finds, it could be inferred that the tableware and kitchenware were located in the front half of the house. Room 54C, therefore, seems to bring together in a single environment the two different functions (preparation/consumption and storage) that were carried out in unit 58A–58B–58E in structurally separate spaces. However, the operation of those functions would have been clearly defined at specific locations within the room, despite the absence of physical or structural divisions: preparation/consumption in the front (as stated for unit 58A–58B–58E: room 58E) and storage at the rear (as also stated for unit 58A–58B–58E: room 58B). In other words, unit 54B–54C is reproducing the same pattern suggested for unit 58A–58B–58E from a functional point of view, but within a different architectural context.[4]

c) Domestic Unit 58C–58D This unit is made up of four differentiated spaces: C1, C2, D1 and D2 (see Fig. 4; Fig. 6). It has a total ground area of 87.5 sq m. However, the situation is complicated owing, on the one hand, to the incomplete archaeological record and, on the other, to its particular location within the urban network of the site at the eastern end of *îlot* I, on the corner of Street 5 and the eastern alley. Moreover, it has two entrances/accesses, one from Street 5 and the other from the eastern alley.

Figure 6.

Open in figure viewer
View of îlot I from the north. Domestic Unit 58C–58D is in the upper left-hand corner (photo: CCJ reference 121 314).

Room C1 A hearth was found in this room. It was associated with abundant cooking debris (animal bones) and a reused pottery tuyère with iron slag, which suggest that metalworking (with a forge) was carried out in this place or nearby.

Among the few pottery finds (Table 6), imported tableware predominated (with remains of an 'Attic set': a *krater* and a *kantharos*) over kitchenware (local hand- and wheel-made) and amphorae.

Table 6.
Room 58C1 context

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
AT-VN	2	0.64	1	4.76
CAMP-A	5	1.61	1	4.76
IB-PEINTE	1	0.32	1	4.76
IB-LANG	1	0.32	1	4.76
COT-CAT	27	8.72	3	14.29
Table ware	**36**	**11.61**	**7**	**33.33**
COM-IB	8	2.59	2	9.53
COM-PUN	1	0.32	1	4.76
CL-MAS	1	0.32	1	4.76
Common ware	**10**	**3.23**	**2**	**19.05**
CNT-LOC	2	0.64	1	4.76
CCT-LOC	9	2.91	1	4.76
Kitchen pottery	**11**	**3.55**	**2**	**9.52**
A-MAS	12	3.88	1	4.76
A-PE	2	0.64	1	4.76
A-IBE	168	54.20	1	4.76
A-GR-ITA	2	0.64	2	9.53

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
A-IND	6	1.93	1	4.76
Amphorae	**190**	**61.29**	**6**	**28.57**
DOLIUM	63	20.32	2	9.53
TOTAL	310	100	21	100

This room shows a multifunctional nature. The hearth, the abundance of cooking debris and the pottery vessels define it as a space for cooking and eating, although some of the remains could be related to metalworking. The function of room 58C1 may possibly be related to certain items found in D1 and D2.

Room C2 This space contained a lot of domestic debris (animal remains), although no specific equipment was detected. The excavation provided little evidence of pottery (Table 7). Few tableware vessels were recorded and even less kitchenware and amphorae compared to the previous room, indicating a place where pottery was not for primary use.

Table 7.
Room 58C2 context

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
ROSES	1	0.51	1	5.55
CAMP-A	3	1.54	2	11.11
CELT	3	1.54	1	5.55
IB-LANG	14	7.19	1	5.55
COT-CAT	12	6.15	3	16.68
Table ware	**33**	**16.93**	**8**	**44.44**
CNT-LOC	12	6.15	3	16.68
CCT-LOC	30	15.38	1	5.55
Kitchen pottery	**42**	**21.53**	**4**	**22.23**
A-MAS	20	10.26	1	5.55
A-PE	1	0.51	1	5.55
A-IBE	96	49.23	3	16.68

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
Amphorae	**117**	**60.00**	**5**	**27.78**
DOLIUM	3	1.54	1	5.55
TOTAL	195	100	18	100

It can be interpreted as a domestic space that may have been used for eating.

Room D1 Before the final abandonment of the settlement, this appears to have been a specialized space (a workshop): it had a furnace next to the door that communicates with C1, as well as a small deposit of iron slag bordered by stones; a Y-shaped tuyère was also found.

Pottery was plentiful (Table 8): tableware is again in the majority, with a varied representation of eating, drinking (among which an Attic *skyphos*) and serving vessels. There is also a large amount of kitchenware, with local hand- and wheel-made S-shaped cooking pots and saucers and some examples of imported common ware; amphorae are also present.

Table 8.
Room 58D1 context

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
AT-VN	1	0.13	1	0.95
PET-EST	1	0.13	1	0.95
ROSES	79	10.31	24	22.86
CAMP-A	33	4.31	11	10.48
VN-IND	18	2.35	1	0.95
IB-LANG	7	0.91	1	0.95
COT-CAT	397	51.83	33	31.44
Table ware	**536**	**69.97**	**72**	**68.58**
COM-IB	37	4.84	3	2.86
COM-GR-ITA	1	0.13	1	0.95
COM-PUN	1	0.13	1	0.95
CL-MAS	5	0.65	5	4.76

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
COM-IND	7	0.91	1	0.95
Common ware	**51**	**6.66**	**11**	**10.47**
CNT-LOC	24	3.13	4	3.81
CCT-LOC	66	8.62	11	10.48
Kitchen pottery	**90**	**11.75**	**15**	**14.29**
A-MAS	7	0.91	1	0.95
A-PUN	29	3.78	3	2.86
A-PE	11	1.44	1	0.95
A-IBE	39	5.10	1	0.95
A-GR-ITA	3	0.39	1	0.95
Amphorae	**89**	**11.62**	**7**	**6.66**
TOTAL	766	100	105	100

This space was probably used for metalworking, even though the pottery suggests a strong domestic character.

Room D2 This room had a hearth, a small rectangular pit containing iron slag and two millstones. The pottery assemblage was very rich, too (Table 9), but unlike the other rooms in this unit, common and kitchenware are here in the majority.[5] In addition, an increased number of amphorae were detected as well as several *dolia*.

Table 9.
Room 58D2 context

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
AT-VN	1	0.09	1	0.74
PET-EST	2	0.19	2	1.48
ROSES	18	1.68	14	10.38
CAMP-A	6	0.56	3	2.22
CELT	14	1.31	7	5.19

CATEGORY	NFR	%NFR	MNI	%MNI
IB-PEINTE	1	0.09	1	0.74
COT-CAT	197	18.43	21	15.57
Table ware	**239**	**22.35**	**49**	**36.32**
COM-IB	18	1.68	2	1.48
COM-GR-ITA	10	0.94	1	0.74
COM-PUN	54	5.05	2	1.48
CELT-GR	23	2.15	14	10.37
COM-IT	5	0.47	1	0.74
Common ware	**110**	**10.29**	**20**	**14.81**
CNT-LOC	286	26.76	16	11.85
CCT-LOC	204	19.08	31	22.96
Kitchen pottery	**490**	**45.84**	**47**	**34.81**
A-MAS	27	2.53	1	0.74
A-PUN	14	1.31	1	0.74
A-PE	17	1.59	1	0.74
A-IBE	122	11.41	5	3.70
A-GR-ITA	14	1.31	5	3.70
Amphorae	**194**	**18.15**	**13**	**9.62**
DOLIUM	36	3.37	6	4.44
TOTAL	1069	3100	135	100

As in the case of room D1, there are items that lead us to define this space as a work area (for metalworking or perhaps grinding), while the pottery appears to be for domestic use.

Discussion The interpretation of the whole unit does not seem to match the previous pattern evident in units 58A–58B–58E and 54B–54C: in unit 58C–58D, the rear rooms should be storage or work spaces, whereas the evidence of eating activities (e.g. an 'Attic set'), or even the lack of containers (an accumulation of amphorae, *dolia*), would point to a different function. However, the front room, 58D2, may follow the pattern: a large volume

of pottery finds, with kitchenware slightly in the majority, an 'Attic set' (fragmentary) and containers would match the idea of a consumption/storage space. Room 58D1 could correspond to the same idea, although here the volume of pottery is lower and tableware is in the majority. As pointed out above, the excavation of this part of the unit has not been satisfactorily interpreted and different conclusions may be reached when taking into account the specific location of the finds.

To sum up, unit 58C–58D has various elements in common with units 54B–54C and 58A–58B–58E, although there are others that deviate considerably from the functional pattern of those units. The discrepancies could, therefore, be the result of its unusual architectural organization and urban disposition (two different entrances suggesting two places more related to or focused on social activities). This would have modified the original concept, but it would still have underlain the use of the unit.

A radical transformation in the use of space

As can be seen from the evidence presented for the entire Pech Maho III phase, the eastern units of *îlot* I constituted a homogeneous assemblage of houses in which different activities and tasks were undertaken in a clear domestic context. These activities appear to have had a logical spatial distribution, despite the variable surface areas and sizes of the houses. This is true even where there was no physical or structural separation of the spaces: craftwork and storage were at the rear and food preparation and consumption at the front. Thus, the people occupying them shared the same concept of the domestic environment and, judging by the artefacts they used, their social status was similar.

However, by the end of the last quarter of the third century BC, the site had been destroyed. The streets and houses show evidence of general destruction, with conspicuous traces of violence and fire: collapsed walls and features, layers of ash, burnt artefacts and the remains of fallen and abandoned bodies, both human and animal. From this, it has been hypothesized that the *oppidum* was attacked and plundered as a result of external aggression or an act of war. The date assigned to the destruction of the site suggests that it could have taken place during the Second Punic War or that it may have been an incident related to its immediate aftermath (Py 2006, 1167).

Whatever the reason for the destruction of the *oppidum*, it clearly brought an end to the activities carried out at the site leading to its abandonment and cessation of its previous function and importance as an indigenous conglomeration and trading centre.

Despite this traumatic event, the destruction of the site did not lead either to its disappearance or to complete depopulation, even though it ceased to be a settlement. It took on a new significance that would ensure its survival as a communal place, though this new function would not involve the affairs of the living.

A funerary area in a settlement? Sector 54A

Sector 54A is located next to unit 54B–54C, separated from it by the western wall of that house, with its southern side delimited by the rampart (see Fig. 4). Sector 54A is one of the areas where activity has been clearly detected following the violent destruction and abandonment of the site at the end of the third century BC. However, we are now dealing with a very different situation from that described in the houses of *îlot* I during the last phase of the settlement. Sector 54A is no longer related to domestic occupation, but is used as a collective *ustrinum* or pyre, as shown by Solier (unpublished). The excavation of this area revealed a deposit of several cremated human bodies (Fig. 7). They were

accompanied by pottery (tableware and handmade pottery urns), weapons (swords and spears), ornaments (rings, earrings and belt buckles) and some food offerings, all of which were laid on a layer of fine gravel conglomerate. Solier interpreted the context as a collective burial of warriors who had fallen in battle.

Figure 7.
Open in figure viewer
Detail of the *ustrinum* during Yves Solier's excavations (1970) (photo: Y. Solier).

The palaeoanthropological study of the human remains by H. Duday and J. Rouquet (1998) shows that the deposit may have contained at least four adult individuals. The evidence from the latest excavation of this area appears to show that it may have been even more (Gailledrat *et al.* 2008). The bodies had been subjected to temperatures of up to 650°C, as indicated by their colour, which varied from greyish to whitish, as well as by the fissures in the bones and their considerable fragmentation. The objects associated with these individuals also show evidence of having been subjected to high temperatures, probably at the same time as the bodies were cremated. This would suggest that the bodies were burnt as part of a preconceived and careful plan, which included the deposition of the grave goods. It should not, therefore, be considered as an act carried out in haste.

The funerary ritual followed by the local population was cremation, which was predominant in the Mediterranean region from the Late Bronze Age. The bodies were cremated together with artefacts. After cremation, a selected sample of the bones and some of the burnt objects were collected and put into a ceramic urn, which was taken and interred at the burial site/necropolis, which was normally some distance from the settlement. The necropolis of Pech Maho is about 500 m to the south, in the place known as 'Les Oubiels'. Part of the ancient necropolis was excavated in 1971 by Solier, who discovered some fourth and third century BC graves.

In the special context of sector 54A, the dead were cremated and placed directly on a layer of gravel, where the remains were left *in situ*. The excavated sherds of handmade urns containing bones appear to be offering vessels, rather than funerary ossuaries. Thus, as Duday and Rouquet (1998) had already noticed, the practice/ritual documented in sector

54A is closer to the idea of a Roman *bustum* than to an *ustrinum*, as there is no evidence of the subsequent collection of bones in order to bury them in a distinct grave.

Despite the impossibility of determining the use of this sector prior to the destruction (the excavations have not yet reached the layers below), it can be deduced that it would have been either a dwelling area with a mainly domestic function like the rest of the buildings in this district, or a metallurgical workshop. Thus, the use of this sector must have changed dramatically at the very end of the site's occupation or immediately after it ceased to be used as a dwelling. During this new phase, the proximity of the rampart could also explain the particular meaning given to the area: the fortification was both symbolic and functional, and it acquired a special significance after the violent end of Pech Maho. Moreover sector 54A is located near the monumental round tower, which is considered to be a major component of the defences.

The layer containing ashes and human bones was adjacent to the inner side of the rampart, on the same level as the upper preserved part of the ruined wall. According to Solier, this layer would have been deposited after the dismantling of the *oppidum* wall. Moreover, the pottery and metal objects found in the excavation are of the same date as the rest of the layers of Phase III. Although the evidence for interpreting the true significance of this deposit is inconclusive, there appears to be a close relationship between the destruction of the site, probably by the Romans, and the holding of a funerary ritual here immediately or soon after. Recent excavations (2007) (Fig. 8) demonstrate that this entire sector, between Room 54B to the east and Complex 49A–D to the west, had already been largely destroyed when dense deposits of ash containing ceramics (especially fine ware), some metallic objects and abundant food remains were laid there, preceding the so-called '*ustrinum*'. The interpretation of these deposits is problematic: either this area was already in disuse before the destruction of the site or these remains are the result of successive feasts held in the ruins. The date of the artefacts (the very end of the third century BC) indicates that this entire sequence took place over a very short period of time, despite the fact that some of the evidence from the deposits and the funerary use of this place continues up to the beginning of the second century BC (*c.*200 BC). On the other hand, the stratigraphical evidence is clear: all these deposits are later than the destruction of the third century BC building located below.

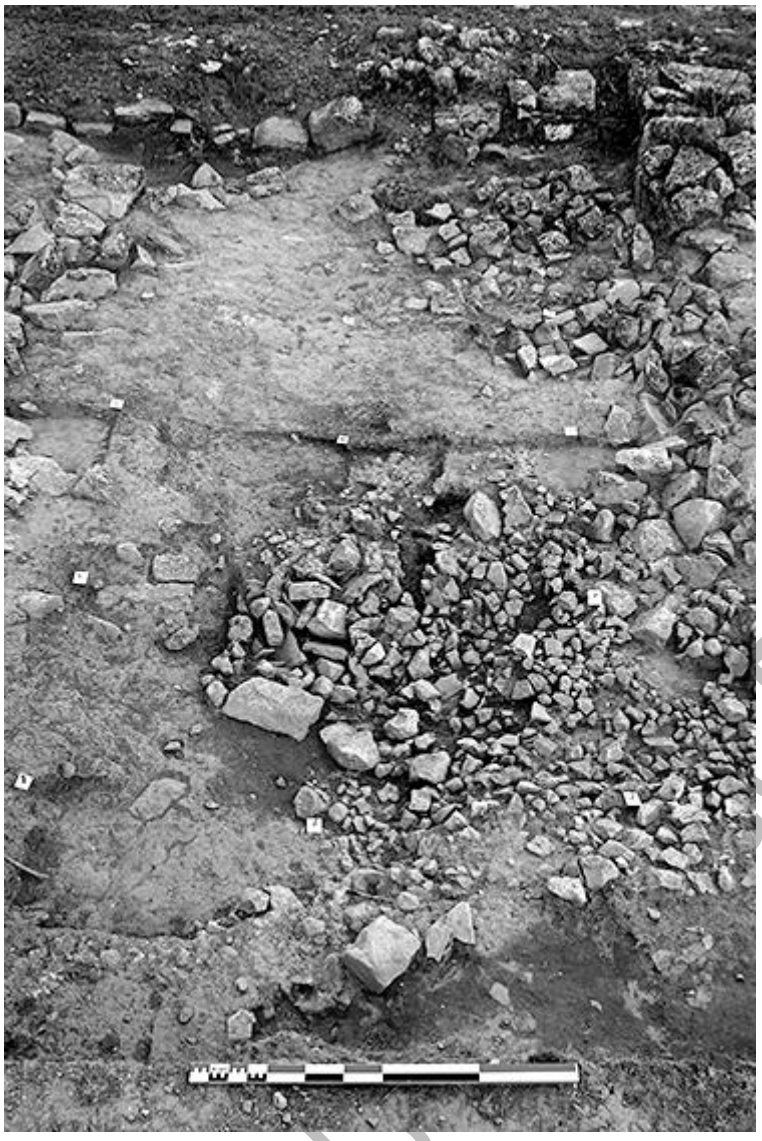

Figure 8.
Open in figure viewer
General view of the *ustrinum* during Eric Gailledrat's excavations (2007).

In northern Gaul, the Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Somme) deposit provides a plausible parallel for the ritualized dead of Pech Maho. The Ribemont example contains the bones of several hundred warriors, who were probably killed in a battle between Belgians and Armoricans at the beginning of the third century BC. The Belgians treated the battlefield as a ritual site and demarcated the area with several enclosures, probably completed with an embankment, where the remains of the defeated could be preserved (Brunaux 2004, 106–9). The deposit was composed of the bones of humans (young men) and animals (mainly horses), and weapons. The absence of skulls indicates a ritual treatment of the dead: the heads would have been removed following the Celtic rite of decapitating the defeated enemy. Since the weapons were used and broken they had probably been recovered from the battlefield and preserved by the Belgians as a trophy. This example shares a common trait with the Pech Maho deposit – the ritual treatment of the dead after a battle – although their meanings are very different. In the Pech Maho deposit, a destroyed settlement was transformed into a ritual area in which the heroes of the battle, who were probably local, would have been laid to rest after the placing of some offerings. In Ribemont, a

battleground was transformed into a sacred area where the remains of the executed and decapitated enemies would have been exhibited.

Returning to the Pech Maho example, there is little evidence for the use of part of a settlement as a funerary area in the local prehistoric record, or in the more general context of western Mediterranean pre-Roman societies. In this entire region, beginning in the Late Bronze Age and continuing throughout the Iron Age, there was normally a clear separation between the areas for the living and the dead: cemeteries were normally separated from settlements by several hundred metres. The only exception normally made to this was for infants, who were frequently buried inside the settlement, under the floors of domestic areas, during the Iron Age. The presence of adults buried in a living area is normally considered as fortuitous or, at least, an exception to the rule.

However, the number of exceptions to this rule has increased in recent years, as has interest in the issue. This can be seen from the two international conferences held on the subject[6] and by the examples mentioned in general publications. It is not the aim of this paper to deal in detail with all the data concerning this type of practice. We have selected only a few examples from the same area or those closest in the Mediterranean region to illustrate the Pech Maho *bustum* in its context.

This example is not unique in southern Gaul. Several cases have already been published (Taffanel and Taffanel 1960; Solier 1968a; Chabot 1983) and have appeared in syntheses (Arcelin *et al.* 1992, 181–242; Arcelin and Gruat 2003). They are always related to a rebuilding of the site and normally set near the walls. The earliest burial documented in a southern Gaulish context comes from the middle of the fourth century BC in Le Cayla (Mailhac). It consists of a cremation urn, buried near the rampart, surrounded by offerings, particularly ceramic vessels. The presence of the latter suggests the holding of some kind of ritual to accompany the cremation, which would have included libations or liquid consumption, as well as weapons, tools and ornaments (Taffanel and Taffanel 1960).

A second Gaulish example comes from Pech Maho: it is near the main entrance through the rampart and consists of a cup containing the deceased's cremated remains placed inside a pit, together with remarkable grave goods (pottery, metallic objects, etc.). The deposit dates from the early third century BC and thus belongs to the last rebuilding of the site (Solier 1968a). According to Solier, by the time the funerary deposit was made, this area had been transformed into a votive place. A stone pavement had been added and there was a bench that has been interpreted as the base of a portico with a limestone basin, pits containing molluscs, and a stone that could be interpreted as a betyle. The remains of food offerings surrounding the grave were also recorded. Solier interpreted this burial as a *herôon*. A recent review of the evidence associated with this monumental complex has revealed that the burial and architectural layout are not strictly contemporary: the place chosen for the funerary deposit was an important public space that was already monumental in character (Gailledrat and Marchand 2003).

Two further deposits interpreted as *herôa*, both in Provence, should be mentioned. One is at the site of Pain-de-Sucre in Marseille; it dates from the third century BC and has been interpreted as a fortified farm. The early excavations carried out at this site recorded a pottery vessel containing the remains of a human cremation buried in a room near the main entrance to the site. Close to the vessel, there was a sort of stone corridor, as well as some offerings (pottery, a coin); it looks as though the body was not buried, but exposed (as in the Mailhac example). According to Arcelin, Dedet and Schwaller (1992, 205), this would also have been a *herôon*. Finally, at La Cloche (Les Pennes-Mirabeau), human

remains and a lead receptacle (a funerary urn?) were found in the collapse layers dating from the first century BC (Chabot 1983). Although they were not *in situ*, they may be from a burial inside the settlement (Arcelin *et al.* 1992, 206).

Some examples are also known in the Iberian area, closely related to Pech Maho geographically and culturally, and have been recently considered by Graells (2007). One of them is from the major Iberian *oppidum* of Ullastret and consists of a set of pottery sherds, metallic objects (slag and melted materials), burnt bones and ashes found in the earliest excavations carried out at the site by M. Oliva. It was dated to the sixth century BC and interpreted as the remains of a grave destroyed while preparing the area for later buildings (Arribas and Trias 1961; Sanmartí 1982). The pottery sherds may have been from the funerary urn and the objects may have been the remains of the offerings, with the ashes and bones indicating a cremation; however, the anthropological study has not yet been completed. If this interpretation were to be proved right, there would have been a burial area inside this settlement.

Another interesting example from northern Iberia is the human remains buried in a barrow inside the settlement of El Coll del Moro in Serra d'Almos (Vilaseca 1953). This burial took place immediately after the abandonment of the site. In this case, however, the body was not cremated but inhumed, an exceptional practice in protohistoric times. The deceased was accompanied by a complex and exceptional set of pottery, tools and ornaments (Cela *et al.* 1999, 108). The distinctive nature of this find led Graells (2007, 107) to interpret it as a *herôon*.

Finally, in Italy, some examples of individual burials within settlements are mentioned in a study by G. Bartoloni (2003, 105–7). As in the previous examples, the bodies were cremated and the remains deposited in urns and buried in pits near dwellings (e.g. in Campassini-Monteriggioni, Siena, below the Casa di Livia in the Palatinum) or in sacred buildings (e.g. in the sacred area of Sant'Antonio in Cerveteri). These practices date mainly from the archaic period (ninth–eighth centuries BC) and can be taken as an indication that there was no well defined separation between the habitation and funerary areas. Some of these cases seem to relate to both aristocrats and individuals who had achieved high status within their communities (Bartoloni 2003, 105).

Conclusions

As we have suggested above, the use of space in the different domestic units that make up the eastern part of îlot I seems to show a certain regularity. It could be hypothesized that food preparation/cooking and consumption activities took place in the front of the houses (even though there was no physical separation of the spaces, as stated in room 54C), whereas storage and craftwork would have been located at the rear. Thus, activities involving social contact took place in rooms closest to public spaces. Spaces dedicated to specialized work, as well as to the storage and preservation of objects, materials and supplies, which did not involve social openness are located at the rear, in a more 'protected' area. The contextual study of the finds from each room has provided enough evidence to support this interpretation.

Thus, for Pech Maho Phase III, *îlot* I seems to have been a quarter made up of complex domestic units combining homes and specialized activities, mainly related to metalworking and storage, all of a very similar social level. Their complexity was a function of conceptual organization and the view the inhabitants had of the spaces, which shaped their reality.

The people lived and worked in the same places (the house, the domestic unit), performing different activities in a single domestic production process. The artefact distributions showed that each activity had a specific location in terms of the conceptual organization of the houses within the quarter, which was shared by the group of people living and working in that area.

Although reuse of the living space as a burial area was not a common practice in western Mediterranean protohistory, it is well attested in southern Gaul. These activities have often been interpreted as the result of ritual practices related to ancestor worship. People interred inside the settlement were normally community leaders, whose presence among the living may have been used to guarantee social cohesion, as well as the protection of that community after the leader's death. These ideas seem to have been quite widespread in ancient times (Snodgrass 1982, 117–18; Arcelin and Gruat 2003, 199). In the Celtic world this belief was particularly strong in the case of warriors, who were transformed into heroes after death and buried in special tombs called *herôa* (a term borrowed from Greek culture for which there is no equivalent in any modern language) (Arcelin and Gruat 2003, 199).

We have found several examples of this type of practice. However, in Pech Maho, the evidence of collective meals interpreted as ritual banquets, followed by the collective burial of cremated individuals, is unique in this region. The practice began a short time after the destruction of the site, although the care and treatment of the bodies, as well as the deposition of the goods accompanying them, suggest that this practice was carried out by the last inhabitants of the settlement, perhaps in a final attempt to turn some of them into heroes and to protect the site from external violation or plunder. This deposit is also the main indicator of the end of the settlement.

Pech Maho has yielded a separate example of a burial inside a settlement, also from *îlot* I, and carried out during the last period of the site's occupation. The interment, interpreted as a 'chief's tomb' (*tombe de chef*) (Solier 1968a), was of an individual laid to rest in a particularly well arranged area that has recently been reinterpreted as a public space (Gailledrat and Marchand 2003, 234–8). The presence of a burial would have reinforced its central social function by adding a ritual or sacred significance. This burial is not far from the *ustrinum* in sector 54A, and we see some sort of relationship between them. The ritual and funerary significance taken on by this area when the site was abandoned can be linked to the previous social function of *îlot* I. As a hypothesis, a community that has interred its leader in a special area inside the settlement, in order to increase its protection at a time when a serious conflict was approaching, would also have chosen ritually to bury their best warriors (and perhaps also their entourages), who had died trying to defend the site.

Is it therefore possible to explain the decision to locate this tomb inside the settlement as a consequence of the earlier significance and function of the existing buildings of *îlot* I? The evidence is not clear with regard to the domestic units studied here, since it appears difficult to assess whether their nature was specific enough (e.g. 'chieftains' houses'), so this importance may have been 'renewed' after the destruction. It would obviously be naive to imagine that the individuals cremated in sector 54A had been those who lived in this quarter. However, the presence of public buildings on the eastern side of the quarter could be connected with this choice, as well as the proximity of the rampart, the symbolism of which has already been noted. Moreover, this sector is characterized by its high visibility from the south, i.e. from the mainland. The fact remains that, although no monuments or distinctive signs (e.g. barrows) seem to have been associated with the

ustrinum, following the violent destruction of the site it was chosen to become a place of great significance, whose purpose archaeology can only glimpse.

Footnotes

- [1] ICREA Research Professor, Institut Català d'Arqueologia Clàssica, Tarragona, Spain.
- [2] Several examples of methodological approaches for the study of settlements can be found in Allison 1999, Brück and Goodman 1999, or Cutting 2006; regarding the study of funerary areas, examples of methodological approaches are included in Beck 1995, Parker Pearson 1999, or Rakita 2005.
- [3] For a clear, synthetic and overall explanation of the different types of pottery production cited in the text, we refer you to the DICOCER[1] (Py 1993). The names and abbreviations are as follows: Attic black-gloss and red-figured ware: AT-VN Campanian A: CAMP-A Celtic ware: CELT *Petites Estampilles*: PET-EST Rhode workshop ware: ROSES Unknown black-gloss pottery: VN-IND Iberian (reduced) grey ware: COT-CAT Iberian painted ware: IB-PEINT 'Iberian' painted ware from Languedoc: IB-LANG Indiketan ware: INDIK Iberian (oxidized) common ware: COM-IB Local handmade kitchen pottery: CNT-LOC Local wheel-made kitchen pottery: CCT-LOC Massaliot common ware: CL-MAS Late Massaliot common pottery: CL-REC Italic or Greek common ware: COM-GR-ITA Italic common ware: COM-IT Punic common ware: COM-PUN Unknown common/kitchen pottery: COM-IND Greek amphorae: A-GRE Greco-Italic amphorae: A-GR-ITA Iberian amphorae: A-IBE Massaliot amphorae: A-MAS Punic amphorae: A-PUN Ebusitan (Punic) amphorae: A-PE Unknown amphora: A-IND
- [4] We could even hypothesize an identical functional distribution of the spaces, as in both unit 54B–54C and unit 58A–58B–58E the 'working area' occupies the left part (the western side of the units in both cases).
- [5] It is worth mentioning, among the tableware finds, the presence of a fragmentary Attic krater.
- [6] *Sepolti tra i vivi. Evidenza ed interpretazione di contesti funerari in abitato* (Rome, Italy, April 2006) and *Morts anormaux, sépultures bizarres. Questions d'interprétation en archéologie funeraire* (Sens, France, March 2006), with a session entitled 'Les dépôts humains dans les structures d'habitat désaffectées'.

References

- Aldenderfer, M.s. and Stanish, C. 1993: Domestic architecture, household archaeology, and the past in the south central Andes. In Aldenderfer, M. (ed.), Domestic Architecture, Ethnicity, and Complementarity in the South-Central Andes (Iowa City), 1–12.
  Web of Science® Times Cited: 27
- Allison, P. 1999: The Archaeology of Household Activities (London–New York).
- Arcelin, P. and Gruat, P. 2003: La France du sud-est (Languedoc-Roussillon, Midi-Pyrenées, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur). In Arcelin, P. and Brunaux, J.-L. (dirs.), Cultes et sanctuaires en France à l'Age du Fer (Paris, Gallia 60), 169–241.
- Arcelin, P., Dedet, B. and Schwaller, M. 1992: Espaces publics, espaces religieux protohistoriques en Gaule méridionale. Documents d'Archéologie Méridionale 15, 181–242.
- Arribas, A. and Trias De Arribas, G. 1961: Un interesante "hallazgo cerrado" en el yacimiento de Ullastret. Archivo Español de Arqueología XXXIV, 18–40.

- Bartoloni, G. 2003: La società dell'Italia primitiva. Lo studio della necropoli e la nascita delle aristocrazie (Rome).
- Beck, L.a. (ed.) 1995: Regional Approaches to Mortuary Analysis (New York). CrossRef
- Belarte, M.c. 2008: Domestic architecture and social differences in north-eastern Iberia during the Iron Age (c.525–200 BC). Oxford Journal of Archaeology 27(2), 175–99. Wiley Online Library | Web of Science®
- Brück, J. and Goodman, M. (eds.) 1999: Making Places in the Prehistoric World: Themes in Settlement Archaeology (London).
- Brunaux, J.-l. 2004: Guerre et religion en Gaule. Essai d'anthropologie celtique (Paris). Web of Science®
- Campardou, J. 1935: L'oppidum préromain de Pech Maho-Sigean. Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne XVIII (1931–5), 148–55.
- Campardou, J. 1938: L'oppidum préromain de Pech Maho-Sigean. Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne XIX (1936–8), 560–8.
- Campardou, J. 1957: L'oppidum préromain de Pech Maho à Sigean (Aude). Etudes Roussillonnaises VI, 35–65.
- Cela, X., Noguera, J. and Rovira, C. 1999: Els materials arqueològics del Coll del Moro de Serra d'Almos (Tivissa, Ribera d'Ebre). Col·lecció del Museu Comarcal Vilaseca de Reus. Pyrenae 30, 91–121.
- Chabot, L. 1983: L'oppidum de La Cloche aux Pennes-Mirabeau (B.-du-Rh.). Revue Archéologique du Narbonnaise XVI, 39–80. CrossRef
- Cutting, M. 2006: More than one way to study a building: approaches to prehistoric household and settlement space. Oxford Journal of Archaeology 25(3), 225–46. Wiley Online Library
- Dietler, M. and Herbich, I. 1993: Space, time and symbolic structure in the Luo homestead: an ethnographical study of 'settlement biography' in Africa. In Actes du XIIe Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques (Bratislava), 26–32.
- Duday, H. and Rouquet, J. 1998: Les restes humains de l'oppidum de Pech Maho à Sigean (Aude). In Gailledrat, E. (coord.), Étude et mise en valeur du site archéologique de Pech Maho (Sigean, Aude) (Montpellier, Service Régional de l'Archéologie).
- Gailledrat, E. and Belarte, M.c. 2002: Sigean-Pech Maho. In Dellong, E. (coord.), Carte Archéologique de la Gaule – Narbonne et le Narbonnais 11/1 (Paris, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres), 592–605.
- Gailledrat, E. and Marchand, G. 2003: Pech Maho (Sigean, Aude). Un ensemble à caractère public et cultuel dans l'habitat. In Arcelin, P. and Brunaux, J.-L. (dirs.), Cultes et sanctuaires en France à l'Age du Fer (Paris, Gallia 60), 234–8.
- Gailledrat, E. and Moret, P. 2003: La fortification de Pech Maho (Sigean, Aude) et le problème de ses pierres plantées. In Alonso, N., Junyent, E., Lafuente, A. and López, J.B. (coords.), Chevaux de frise i fortificació en la primera edat del ferro europea (Lleida), 119–33.
- Gailledrat, E. and Rouillard, P. 2003: Pech Maho aux VIe–Ve s. av. J.-C. Une place d'échanges en territoire élisyque. In Peuples et territoires en Gaule méditerranéenne. Hommage à Guy Barruol (Montpellier, Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise, Supplément 35), 401–10.
- Gailledrat, E. and Solier, Y. 2004: L'établissement côtier de Pech Maho (Sigean, Aude) aux VIe–Ve s. av. J.-C. (fouilles 1959–1979) (Lattes, Monographies d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne 19). Web of Science®

- Gailledrat, E., Anwar, N., Beylier, A., Cavero, J., Curé, A.-m., Marchand, G. and Piquès, G. 2008: Pech Maho (Sigean, Aude). Rapport intermediaire 2008, http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/34/99/22/PDF/PM2008.pdf.
- Gerritsen, F. 1999: To build and to abandon. The cultural biography of the late prehistoric houses and farmsteads in the southern Netherlands. Archaeological Dialogues 6(2), 78–97.
  CrossRef
- Glowacki, K. 2002: Digging houses at LM IIIC Vronda (Kavouisi) Crete. Habitat et urbanisme dans le monde grec: de la fin des palais mycéniens à la prise de Milet (494 av. J.-C.) (Toulouse, Pallas 58), 33–47.
- Goodman, M. 1999: Temporalities of prehistoric life: household development and community continuity. In Brück, J. and Goodman, M. (eds.), Making Places in the Prehistoric World: Themes in Settlement Archaeology (London), 145–59.
- Gorgues, A. 2008: Le travail des femmes dans le nord-est du domaine ibérique (IIIe–Ier s. av. J.-C.). Pallas 76, 173–202.
- Graells, R. 2007: ¿Culto heroico durante la Primera Edad del Hierro e Ibérico Antiguo en el Noreste peninsular? Algunas consideraciones a partir del registro funerario. Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Madrid 33, 91–115.
- Joyce, R.a. and Gillespie, S.d. 2000: Beyond Kinship. Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies (Philadelphia).
- Kent, S. 1990: A cross-cultural study of segmentation, architecture, and the use of space. In Kent, S. (ed.), Domestic Architecture and Use of Space (Cambridge, New Directions in Archaeology), 127–52.
  Web of Science®
- Parker Pearson, M. 1999: The Archaeology of Death and Burial (Texas, College Station).
  Web of Science® Times Cited: 7
- Py, M. (dir.) 1993: Dictionnaire des céramiques antiques en Méditerranée nord-occidentale (Provence, Languedoc, Ampurdan) (Lattes, Lattara 6).
- Py, M. 2006: Les monnaies préaugustéennes de Lattes et la circulation monétaire protohistorique en Gaule méridionale (Lattes, Lattara 19).
- Rakita, G.f.m. (ed.) 2005: Interacting with the Dead: Perspectives on Mortuary Archaeology for the New Millennium (Gainesville).
- Sanmartí grego, E. 1982: Les influences méditerranéennes au nord-est de la Catalogne à l'époque archaïque et la reponse indigène. I focei dall'Anatolia all'Oceano, La parola del passato CCIV–CCVII, 281–98.
- Snodgrass, A. 1982: Les origines du culte du héros dans la Grèce antique. In Gnoli, G. and Vernant, J.-P. (dirs.), La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes (Cambridge and Paris), 107–19.
- Solier, Y. 1960: Fouilles de 1958 à Pech Maho. Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne 25(1),61–73.
- Solier, Y. 1961: Oppidum de Pech Maho. Fouilles 1961. Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne 25(2),126–47.
- Solier, Y. 1962: Oppidum de Pech Maho. Fouilles 1962. Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne 26, 22–54.
- Solier, Y. 1963a: L'oppidum de Pech Maho. Rapport sur les fouilles de 1963. Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne 27, 98–129.
- Solier, Y. 1963b: L'oppidum de Pech Maho. Rapport sur les fouilles de 1963. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Scientifiques de l'Aude 64, 379–94.
- Solier, Y. 1965: Postes-frontière Elisyques des Corbières. Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne 28, 7–35.
- Solier, Y. 1968a: Une tombe de chef à l'oppidum de Pech Maho. Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise 1, 7–37.

CrossRef

- Solier, Y. 1968b: Céramiques puniques et ibéro-puniques sur le littoral du Languedoc du VIème au début du IIème siècle av. J.-C. Rivista di Studi Liguri XXXIV (Hommage à F. Benoît II),127–50.
- Solier, Y. 1976: Pech Maho, oppidum préromain (VIe–IIIe s. av. J.-C.). Guide du IXe Congrès de l'UISPP (1976), 253–62.
- Solier, Y. 1978: La culture ibéro-languedocienne aux VIème–Vème siècles. In Simposi internacional, els orígens del món ibèric, Barcelona-Empúries 1977 (Barcelona, Ampurias 38–40), 211–64.
- Solier, Y. 1979: Découverte d'inscriptions sur plomb en écriture ibérique dans un entrepôt de Pech Maho à Sigean. Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise XII, 57–123.
- Solier, Y. 1985: Pech Maho (Sigean, Aude). In Dedet, B. and Py, M. (dirs.), Les enceintes protohistoriques de Gaule Méridionale (Caveirac, Cahier no.14), 60–3.
- Solier, Y. unpublished: Rapport de fouille 1970 (Montpellier, Service Régional de l'Archéologie).
- Solier, Y. and Barbouteau, H. 1988: Découverte de nouveaux plombs, inscrits en ibère, dans la région de Narbonne. Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise 21, 61–94.
  CrossRef
- Taffanel, O. and Taffanel, J. 1960: Deux tombes de chefs à Mailhac (Aude). Gallia XVIII, 1–37.
  CrossRef
- Vilaseca, S. 1953: Coll del Moro, yacimiento posthallstáttico (Serra d'Almors, Tarragona) (Valencia, Instituto de Estudios Ibéricos y Etnología Valenciana, Estudios Ibéricos I).