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EDITORIAL

Off site', 'marginal', 'outfields', 'uncultivated areas': all different terms defining uncultivated landscapes, the central subject of this volume of PCA. This is a topical subject that will be addressed in at least three scientific meetings this year (at two different meetings in Rome and at least in a couple of the sessions of next EAA congress in Istanbul).

Indeed, it appears that many European archaeologists have agreed to move beyond traditional thematic approaches to archaeology, such as looking at different settlement types, fortifications, craft areas, churches, cemeteries... in order to deal with the archaeology of entire historical landscapes, conceived as complex systems of agricultural and uncultivated areas (forests, marshes and the coastline), connecting networks (drove roads, hollow ways, outgangs, rivers and water channels) and different kinds of settlements (including houses, castles, churches, monasteries and industrial and processing buildings such as mills, forges, etc.) whose relationships have, over time, changed and influenced each other.

The result is a stratified landscape that can be investigated and understood diachronically with the help of innovative archaeological methods. This approach is also innovative and significant, in that it combines, in a transdisciplinary perspective, new and traditional sources usually utilised in contrasting disciplines within the study of historic and cultural landscapes. This approach conceives landscape not purely as a spatial context for settlement but as a multiplicity of natural and constructed elements in which components acquire new significance in relation to each other.

Three approaches are relevant in order to understand landscapes: the quantitative, the relational and the diacronical one. Quantitative analysis allows, through the techniques developed by "Land Capability Analysis", an estimate of the significance of agrarian production and the resources taken from non-cultivated areas and therefore their differential economical impact. Within a specific territory, the communities that inhabit it may identify many connections between the various landscape components, not only from an economic point of view but also from a so-

cial, ideological and cultural perspective. Finally the evolution of each landscape element must be researched, not just as an isolated site, but holistically, as part of a wider historical landscape.

The final outcome of this approach is an evaluation of the sustainability of past agricultural systems in the context of a range of historic, environmental and global changes. If we consider the post-classical period, the end of the Roman globalised economic system of land exploitation brought about dramatic changes in the ways that societies managed their environment, turning from a semi-globalized world to more regionalised system based on local states. Landscape and settlements, in many cases structured by local self-sufficient communities, underwent reorganisation resulting in distinct new characteristics. These formed the network of landscapes that has survived until modern times. Two elements were particularly relevant to these transformations: 1. the arrival from the 4th Century AD onwards of new populations (in the sample area we consider: Goths, Lombards, Franks, Anglo-Saxons, Muslims), who introduced new agricultural practices, including new ways of exploiting outlying resources; 2. climatic changes, with a very cold period in the 6th century AD shifting to a warmer era from the 7th-8th centuries AD. These changes forced adaptations in some areas, such as in the Venetian lagoon and its hinterland, or the French Riviera, with radical transformations of the courses of rivers, lakes and the shorelines. Understanding the way in which these two phenomena altered and transformed the relationship between settlements, crops and outland can be crucial not only for landscape conservation, but also in adapting to current changes: cultural and economic globalisation, increasing urbanisation, climate change, loss of peasant knowledge and the abandonment of many rural marginal areas.

A better understanding of the historical mechanisms that lead to the transformations of landscapes in the past is also of relevance as part of the strategies and policies connected to sustainable development. The dossier of this fourth volume of PCA has been therefore devoted to the subject of the transmission and communication of archaeology and archaeological knowledge to society at a range of levels, from stakeholders, to tourists, families, amateurs, schools, etc.

This number of PCA again focuses on the objectives that we proposed from its foundation: discussion about new topics, on the frontier between trans- and interdisciplinarity, in an international context. A journal which aims also to promote the research of young scientists by publishing their papers (sometimes the result of PhD research) and for that purpose we have assigned with this number the First PCA Young Award prize for research by Sylvain Burri on the significance and use of inculatum in Provence.

WINNER OF THE PCA AWARD 2014

Reflections on the concept of marginal landscape through a study of late medieval *incultum* in Provence (South-eastern France)

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The concept of marginal landscape is often used by historians and archaeologists to qualify peripheric lands, such as islands, and all non intensive agricultural lands, such as mountains, forests and wetlands. The use of this concept must be cautious and argued according to the complexity of the notions of margin and landscape. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate, through a historical and archaeological cross-study of late medieval *incultum* landscape in Provence that a so-called marginal landscape may in fact be a spatial, economical and social integrated landscape.

Keywords: South-eastern France, late medieval age, landscape, *incultum*

Le concept de paysage marginal est souvent utilisé par les historiens et les archéologues pour qualifier des espaces périphériques, comme des îles, et toutes terres non dédiées entièrement à l'agriculture, tels que les milieux de montagne, les forêts et les zones humides. L'emploi de ce concept doit être soumis à caution et argumenté en raison de la complexité des notions de marge et de paysage. L'objectif de cet article est de démontrer, au travers d'une étude croisée historique et archéologique sur le paysage de l'incultum provençal, qu'un paysage présupposé marginal peut s'avérer être, en fait, un paysage spatialement, économiquement et socialement intégré.

Mot-clés: Sud-est France, médiéval, paysage, incultum

1. Introduction

The concept of margin has been, in recent years, the subject of discussion within the community of historians (Bailey 1989; Pollard 1997) and archaeologists (Mills, Coles 1998; Turner, Young 2007; Ruralia VII 2009; Bernard in press). It is relative and depends on the point of view of the observer, and on different scales of study (Pollard 1997; Svens-

son, Gardiner 2009; Brown *et al.* 1998). The main idea is that of a distance of the object being studied in relation to a standard or center. The concept of margin can be conceived in an ecological, spatial, social, economical, political or cultural way. When it is applied to the rural landscape, it is in a reductive sense: lands of low agricultural output and the periphery (Bailey 1989; Pollard 1997; Svensson, Gardiner 2009, p. 22). This is due to the weight of a medieval historiography of economic history long influenced by the work of D. Ricardo (1821), and marked by the supremacy of agriculture over other rural products, including crafts (Mousnier 2000). All areas unfit for agriculture or low productive, such as mountains, forests and wetlands, had been qualified as marginal (Pollard 1997, pp. 9-10). Their marginality would be based on several criteria such adverse natural conditions to permanent agriculture (topography, soil fertility, climate), a small road network and a large distance from the center (political, religious and / or economic). Marginality of these spaces is reflected in their inhabitants who are perceived pejoratively by their poverty, their lack of education, or their wildness. This restrictive view of the margin does not take into account the complexity of the notion of landscape as a product of a society. As stated G. Bertrand: "The simplest and most ordinary landscape is both natural and social, subjective and objective, spatial and temporal, material and cultural production, real and symbolic, the landscape is a system that straddles the natural and social" and a system whose spatial, economic, psychological, ecological aspects can not be studied separately (Bertrand 1975, 1978). Without exploiting the notion of system, some researchers suggest a revaluation of so-called marginal lands, taking into account the pastoral and craft economy (Bailey 1989; Pollard 1997; Svensson, Gardiner 2009; Groenewoudt 2009). Understanding the complexity of the concepts of marginality and landscape requires a close collaboration between historians and archaeologists studying a partial, but complementary, view of the same reality.

The reflection focusses here on a specific landscape: late medieval *incultum*. The term *incultum* is preferred to *saltus* and *silva* because the boundaries of these areas are blurred and permeable. A broad and literal definition of the *incultum* as any uncultivated land is not satisfactory because it obscures any care brought to these areas and their contribution to the agrarian economy (Sigaut 1975; Burri 2012; Charraudas, Schroeder 2013). The definition chosen is that the *incultum* is any spaces not regularly cultivated, left fallow or under care, and can be temporarily converted to agricultural land (Sigaut 1975; Burri 2012). Although historians have always recognized the importance of uncultivated land in the medieval agrarian system, they have long been considered

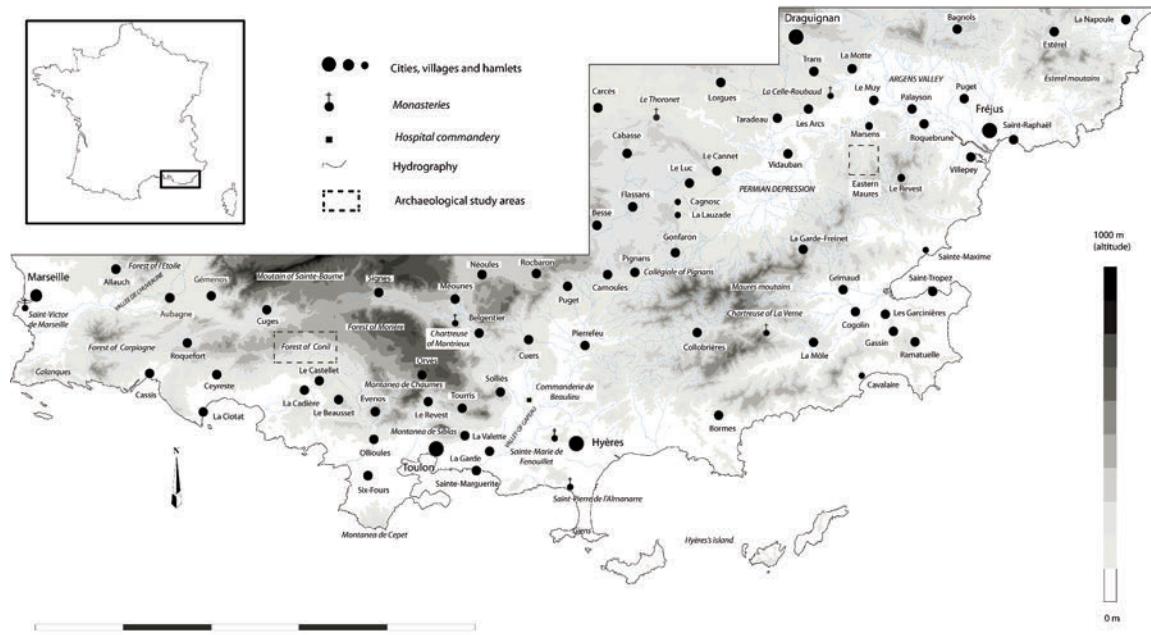


Fig.1. Location of the study area.

marginal (Postan 1972). Despite many syntheses¹, the idea that these spaces are marginal remains among historians, archaeologists and agronomists even if the *incultum* is again at the heart of the problems of economic and environmental development (Kang *et al.* 2013).

The framework of this study is the lower central Provence between the twelfth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century (Burri 2012). The geographical area stretches from the Calanques of Marseille, in the west, to the Maure and Esterel mountains, to the east (figs. 1, 2). It is bounded on the north-west by Mount Sainte-Baume and by the Permian depression and the Argens valley on the north-east. The image of its landscape, seen on a small scale, is that of a landscape split between forests and fertile plains or depressions. It is difficult to reconstruct the medieval environment due to lack of paleoenvironmental studies. They are concentrated in the eastern part of the lower valley of the Argens (Dubar *et al.* 1994; Bertoncello 2006). For the Massif des Mau-

¹ SCLAFERT 1959; YOUNG 1979; BIRRELL 1980; DUBY, WALLON 1975; CARLÉ 1976; RACKHAM 1976; BECHMANN 1984; ANDREOLLI, MONTANARI 1988; CAVACIOCCHI 1996; RAMOS 2001; CORVOL-DESSERT 2004; GRESSER 2004; CHARBONNIER *et al.* 2007; BECK 2008.



Fig. 2. Current landscape of the Maures Mountains (Le Muy, Var).

res, off-site pollen and charcoal analysis show an open forest formation composed of an oak (oak and cork oak) with a scrub comprising heather, cistus and legumes in the Middle Ages and the modern time (Dubar *et al.* 1993; Bergaglio, Talon, Medail 2006). This area does not match the definition of a marginal region: it straddles several political constituencies, three bishoprics (Marseille, Aix, Fréjus), composed of a large urban network connected by a developed road network, and whose economic vitality is expressed through both land and sea trade. The notion of marginality will be considered not on a regional scale but at the local level. It is not our objective to reconstruct the paleoenvironment, but to study the landscape of the *incultum*, as ecological, economic and social system, in order to examine whether this is really a marginal entity.

2. The *incultum*: an ecological, spatial and temporal shifting entity

2.1. The interweaving of *cultum* and *incultum* within territories

The *incultum* is often seen in the shape of bounded forests located in the margins of villages and farmlands. However, the reality is quite dif-

ferent. The spatial overlap of cultivated and uncultivated land is typical of the late medieval rural landscape. The *incultum* is actually everywhere and it is very difficult to draw limits between *cultum* and *incultum*, as demonstrated for fallows (Morlon, Sigaut 2008) and for forest edge (Husson 2013). It develops along the paths, on rivers, ponds and swamp edge². It is structured in the form of bushes or hedges in the bocage country (Antoine 2002; Antoine Marguerie 2007) or fallow land and field margins in the openfield (Leturcq 2013) or near the city gates (Leguay 2012, pp. 89-104). Just like their neighboring region of Languedoc, the Provencal countryside is not immune to this fact³. This coexistence in the same area is multifaceted. Thus, in Toulon, where uncultivated land are mainly located in Toulon Mountains, cultivated and uncultivated land intertwine both in hill in plain, away and at the gates of the city (Burri in Pecout in press). Indeed, 14% of the parcels declared in the royal inquiry of 1332 mix *cultum* and *incultum* in different combinations: vineyard and woodland, arable land and woodland, vineyard and gastes, arable land and gastes. The same image appears from the cadastre of 1370 and 1442 (Lucioni 2012).

This overlap is also found in contracts for the exploitation of great property called affars. In 1415, the affar of Ruscat, belonging to the monastery of St. Mary of Fenouillet, is composed of "domos, terras, prata, pascua, nemora, campos cultos vel non cultos et quecumque omnia alia ruris". The lessee agrees to cultivate the land, but he also has the right to use uncultivated parts of this, including charcoal burning⁴. In addition, the contract states that oaks and leaves used for tannery called "nerta" are excluded from the pact, which proves once again the mix between *cultum* and *incultum*. Other owners sell firewood from their affar to craftsmen such as limeburners⁵. Similarly, the statutes of Solliès (1380) forbid anyone to pick up the nerta "in alienis clausuris vinearum ultimate aliarum possessionem sine dominorum ipsarum licencia" under penalty of a fine⁶. Nerta is not exclusively a product from woodlands, but also from hedges planted to protect the vines.

Incultum is difficult to map because it is a shifting entity whose limits are in a perpetual movement. This mobility should be thought in terms of

² Abbé 2006; DURAND 2008, pp. 247-268, 356-358; BECK 2008; PICHOT 2013.

³ Languedoc: BOURRIN 2002; DURAND 1998, 2004; Provence: SOLAFERT 1959; FÉVRIER 1959; MALAUSSENA 1969; STOUFF 1986; COULET 1988.

⁴ AD. Var, 3 E 83/3, fol. 95v-96v.

⁵ AD. BdR, 373 E 75, fol. 184v-185.

⁶ AD. BdR, 56 H 1465, art. 41.

space and time. The expansion or shrinkage of the uncultivated areas depends mainly on the intensity of human pressure on natural resources. Indeed, periods of high pressure correspond to a decline of the *incultum* or rather to a temporary or long-term cultivation of these lands. In contrast, periods of demographic crises, during which the pressure on environment decreases, match with a revegetation or a “rewilding” of the landscape. Thus in 1369, the inhabitants of Signes and Château Vieux complain to their lord of the colonization of paths by vegetation and the proliferation of wild animals (wolves, deers and wild boars) that destroy the fields and vineyards and devour the sheeps⁷. The reason mentioned is the demographic crisis consecutive to the first plague of 1348. Also, nature takes its rights back and vegetation, mainly made up of oaks, evergreen oaks and other shrubs, recolonizes open areas that there abandoned, probably former coppice fallow. The inhabitants obtain under certain conditions the right to cut, to lop off branches, to prune oaks and evergreen oaks for their own needs. Written documentation can sometimes provides information on landscape transformation in the short term, as a few decades, imperceptible by the time scales of paleoenvironmental studies.

2.2. Cultivation in the incultum: assarting

Assarting, clearing of forest ground for agricultural use, creates temporary or permanent enclaves of *cultum* in *incultum* (Sigaut 1975). The practice observed in medieval Provence (Burri 2012, pp. 146-156, 316-319) corresponds to the descriptions by Provençal modern naturalists (Darluc 1786, p. 281; Laure 1837, I, p. 174). In common lands, it is within the common rights. For example, the inhabitants of Roquebrune can take parcels of gaste in Palayson, and clear it with slash-and-burn, to plow and sow grains⁸. An increasing regulation started from the thirteenth century to reduce the risk of fire, with more or less success⁹, but also to fight against the illegal clearing to improve the collection of a tax called “tasque”, which is a significant source of revenue. In private lands, clearing is subject to contract which states sometimes the size of the parcel, the duration of the operation and the procedure of cultivation, harvesting and processing of grains.

⁷ AD Var, E dépôt 055, DD 16.

⁸ AC Roquebrune-sur-Argens, DD 1; AD BdR, 1 H 1001, doc. 296, 366.

⁹ DUBLED 1978, art. 111; AD Var, E dépôt 029, FF 82; E 546, fol. 118-v; E 639, fol. 137; AC Le Luc-en-Provence, BB 1, fol. 211; fol. 215; AC Vidauban, AA 1; ASV, Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex. 163, fol. 68; Collect 105, fol. 10v.

When assarting is regulated by the local authorities, the crop rotation is sometimes known. The community of Arcs gives each year plots in the défens of Val Saint-Jean for a period of two years against payment of a fee. The lessee shall clear his plot, harvest two crops, one of wheat, another of rye or barley, and bring the plot back to nature for three years. This practice is more akin to "taillado" (shrubby) than a true clearing (trees) (Sigaut 1975, pp. 26-27). In notarial contracts, clearing rotation ranges between 1 and 6 years, but the duration of the rest of the plot is not mentioned. In Dauphiné cleared plots were cultivated for four to five years, and then left to nature for twenty years (Sclafert 1926, pp. 254; Mouston 2007). South Alpine "wooded meadow system" provides only one year of cultivation after slash-and-burn and then 5 to 6 years of meadow (Durand 2004, pp. 117-122). Modern naturalists provide 15 to 20 years of rest for clearing and 8 to 12 years for "taillado" (Laure 1837, I, p. 174; Sigaut 1975, pp. 26-27). In common lands of Tende, the peasant should mark his plot by signs on tall trees, then cut small trees and leave the saplings and finally use the plot for five years (Struyff 1977, p. 30). The land has a dual function: to grow grain and wood. Assarting generates a nested forestry and agriculture, which share the same spaces, through a series of products such as timber and fuelwood, charcoal, barrel hoops, leaves, bark and wooden vessels (Burri 2012, pp. 155-156).

2.3. Cultivation of the incultum

A final factor shatters the distinction between cultivated and uncultivated land: tree cultivation. As pointed out G. Duby (1962), the late Middle Ages is the time of a "protected cultivation of trees". It results in the creation of woodland sectors known as 'forbidden' called défens, the protection of living trees or just of some specific species, the numerical limitation of sampling, the prohibition to cut parts of trees such as stumps and roots, setting a minimum size for cutting logs, spatial and temporal limitation... The medieval forestry, well documented in regions with a central administration of Water and Forestry (Gresser 2004; Beck 2008), is hardly graspable for Provence. But it does exist, notably for the willow. This species is particularly protected as evidenced by the prohibition of their cutting in Hyères in the 13th century (Dubled 1978, art. 14). Some willows were exploited for wood used in the manufacture of parts mills, vineyard vases, trellises, slats, fences... (Bernardi 1995, p. 142; Durand 1998, pp. 349-350; Burri 2012, p. 65). In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the willows of the Bishop of Fréjus are cultivated by cuttings to increase their output. Men are paid for cutting willows and

to replant them in an island of the Argens river. Cutting willows occurs in March and between August and September, as Pietro de Crescenzi advises¹⁰.

Another form of trees cultivation is oak coppice. Provencal regulations do not rule out this practice but it does exist. In 1369, the inhabitants of Signes obtained the right to cut oaks and evergreen oaks coppice, but only if they leave at least one stem in each stain for the regeneration of the trees¹¹. In Cuges, debarking of oaks and evergreen oaks is permitted provided not debark all the stems of a strain so that one stem can sprout again, and that the tree does not die away. These examples show a real management strategy combining resource use and regeneration of oak coppice in Provence. Coppicing is better documented in Languedoc¹², in the Comtat Venaissin (Leroy 2007) and in Italy (Redon 2008; Redon, Piussi 2008). Oak woods are sometimes divided into several cutting districts in which the rotation duration changes from one region to another. La Selva del Lago, forest of Siena, was at the end of the 13th century divided into thirteen cutting district. One comes into exploitation each year from August to May after twelve years of growth. The oak coppice of La Valène is divided into twelve districts during the 15th century. The sale takes place every four years (Britton *et al.* 2007). Sometimes the use of specific tool induces the size of the wood to cut and so a management of the resources (Leroy 2007).

Finally, we should also note the cultivation of chestnut trees in the coastal forest of Maures (Burri 2012, pp. 157-158, 319-321). It is regulated at least since the middle of the 13th century in Le Cannet, where the lord reserves the chestnuts fallen on the ground during the eight days before the Feast of St. Michael which he keeps¹³. Chestnut is also a source of revenue. In common land, the harvest is rented each year in mid-September in the end of the 16th century¹⁴. The Bishop of Fréjus taxes it at *castrum Stellelo* from 1337¹⁵. The texts do not specify, however, the way in which chestnut trees are cultivated, unlike Italian documentation (Cherubini 1981). The *incultum* is a shifting reality that can't be studied without taking into account the global socio-economic context of medieval countryside.

¹⁰ Piero Crescenzi, *Ruralia commoda*, vol. XXVI, pp. 189-190; BURRI 2012, pp. 192-193.

¹¹ AD BdR, 29 E 18 (1545).

¹² FABRE 1996; DURAND 1998; BREICHNER *et al.* 2003; BRITTON 2007.

¹³ AC Le Cannet-des-Maures, AA 1, fol. 14-18v.

¹⁴ AC Le Cannet-des-Maures, BB 1 (1584-1600).

¹⁵ ASV, Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., 163, fol. 192v.

3. An economical integrated landscape

3.1. A reservoir of natural resources

Forest and uncultivated areas of Provence are an exploited, traveled and inhabited landscape. Peasants draw many daily resources in the name of their common rights: fuels, food and materials¹⁶. Two rival practices coexist and compete. On the one hand, common rights tend to be fixed, framed and limited temporally and spatially by the manorial and municipal authority, on the other hand commercial exploitation is subject to authorization and payment of a fee. This increased guidance aims to improve resource management, but not in a strictly environmental perspective, but also in an economic way to increase their profitability.

The raw or processed wood is the basis of Provencal peasant and craftsmen sampling¹⁷. Wood is transformed into timber for building and shipbuilding (mainly Pine and Oak), firewood for domestic and crafts fuel (glass, potters, tile makers, plaster and lime furnaces). It is also used in the manufacture of agricultural tools and barrels (Willow, Chestnut tree, Phoenician juniper, Wicker, Oak, Evergreen oak) and wooden vessels (Heather, Strawberry tree). Fat softwood, called "tea" (Aleppo pine, Scots pine, Juniper oxycedrus, Phoenician juniper) is used as torch. Various products are manufactured by heat treatment of wood, such as charcoal (Heather, Pine, Oak) and wood tar (Pine, Juniper oxycedrus). Cork of Maures and Esterel mountains are used mainly in the manufacture of shoe soles. The bark of oaks, evergreen oak, kermes oak, and pine as well as various species of "nerta" (Myrtle, Arbutus, Therebinth, Lentisc; Spurge flax) are collected to extract tannin for tannery. Even the pine cones are harvested. Archaeology have difficulty studying these activities which have not left remains or very fleeting ones, like charcoal and woodtar pits and kilns¹⁸ (figs. 3, 4). Ethnoarchaeology helps to understand the technical processes used in the archaeological sites¹⁹ (fig. 5).

Agro-pastoralism is another base of the medieval rural economy. It is both complementary and competing with plant uses. Provence is a land of intensive pastoralism. Numerous shepherds, drovers, and pig farmers

¹⁶ BLOCH 1952; SCLAFERT 1959; YOUNG 1979; BIRRELL 1980; DUBY, WALLON 1975; CARLÉ 1976; RACKHAM 1976; BECHMANN 1984; ANDREOLLI, MONTANARI 1988; BOYER 1990; CAVACIOCCHI 1996; RAMOS 2001; CORVOL-DESSERT 2004; GRESSER 2004; CHARBONNIER *et al.* 2007; BECK 2008.

¹⁷ SCLAFERT 1959; AMOURIC 1991; BURRI 2010b, 2012, t.1; BURRI in press; ROMAGNAN 2007, 2013.

¹⁸ BURRI 2010b; BURRI 2012, pp. 577-835; DURAND *et al.* 2010; CANU *et al.* 2012.

¹⁹ ACOVITSIOTI-HAMEAU 2005; BURRI 2008; BURRI, DURAND, ALILOU 2013; BURRI *et al.* 2013; BURRI, DURAND in press; FABRE 1996; LUGLI, PRACCHIA 1995.



Fig. 3. Modern charcoal kiln of Font de Mars (Le Castellet, Var).

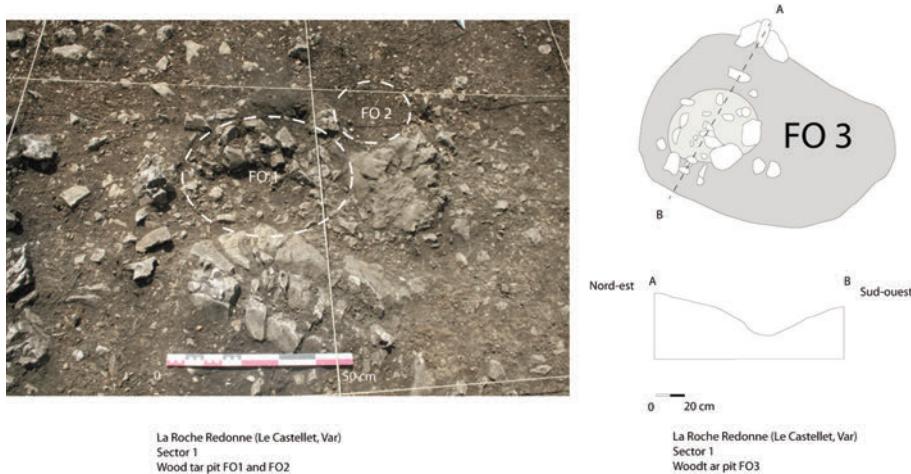


Fig. 4. Medieval woodtar pits of Roche Redonne (Le Castellet, Var).

roam these areas to find grass or acorns needed to feed their cattle, while peasants turn woodland into arable land. In the Maures and Esterel, some farmers keep bees to collect honey and wax. Other peasants pick chestnuts. Vermilion is harvested in the scrublands of the Toulon region to provide material for dyeing (Burri 2012, pp. 146-170, 289-411). This picture should be completed with fishing and hunting (Duceppe-Lamarre



Fig. 5. Chimney of a current charcoal kiln in Croceferrata (Serra San Bruno - Vibo Valentia, Italy - 2007).

2006; Beck 2008; Gresser 2008). The proximity of major economic centers like Marseille and Nice, or secondary ones, such as Toulon, Hyères, Brignoles, Draguignan and Frejus, stimulates the commercial use of the *incultum* and some activities such as timber, resins and wood tar making develop to a proto-industrial level (Burri *et al.* 2013).

2.2. A seasonal integration

Seasonality is an essential factor to understand rural economy²⁰. Careful analysis of written sources has established a schedule of agro-silvo-pastoral activities (fig. 6) (Burri 2012, pp. 171-326). Given the limited size of the corpus of documents, this schedule reflects a reality but does not value rule. The season when the use of forest products is the most diverse, if not intense, is spring. During the months of April and May firewood, "nerta", "tea", bark and cork harvesters, loggers, charcoal burners, and shifting cultivators work. Summer would be the least active season, or at least less diversified. Only barrel hoops are cut, the barks and nerta are picked and honey is harvested. The winter dormancy period, is logically a time when gathering of plant material (bark, cork,

²⁰ MAUSS 1905; ROCEK, BAR OSEF 1998; SCHIPPERS 1986; MANE 2006; SILLAR 2009.

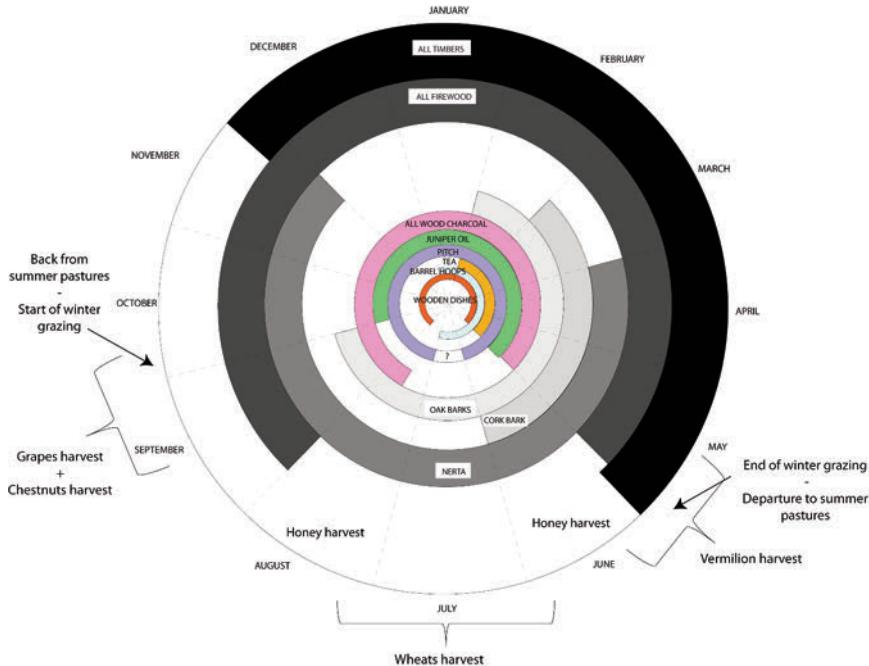


Fig. 6. Late medieval calendar of agro-sylvo-pastoral system in Provence.

“nerta”) interrupted. However, this is an ideal time for manufacturing timber, fuel, wooden dishes and charcoal. Pitch seems to be produced throughout the year, while juniper oil is only manufactured from October to the end of May. Operating seasons are modeled largely on the life cycle of the plants. The logging activities and processing of raw wooden material take place during the plant dormancy period, except for some barrel hoops, while resin, bark and leaf harvest coincides with the period of sap flow and leaf growth. Other example: “tea” harvest is legated to anchovies and sardines night fishing which depends itself on seasonal migration of these fishes. Some uses are, however, contrary to the life cycle, such as winter cork harvesting to be sold as shoe soles at the fair of Beaucaire in July (Romagnan 2013; Burri in press).

Linking craft calendars with agro-pastoral ones shows a complementarity between the activities of the *incultum* and *cultum*. Pastoralism is characterized by the practice of summer and winter grazing. Thus, Provencal pastures are flooded with sheep and goat herds from the high country and the Southern Alps from October to late May. Then foreign and Provencal cattle move up to alpine summer pastures. Thus, the seasonal production of juniper oil matches the arrival of herds in Provence and their departure to

summer pastures. The *incultum* is used throughout the year, but not by the same people and for different purposes. Periods of low agricultural activity correspond to a translation of the activity to the *incultum* and *vice versa*.

3.3. An essential component of the medieval economic system

The use of the Provencal *incultum* is integrated into the broader workings of the rural and urban economy, where all sectors are complementary and interdependent (Burri 2012). A relation of co-dependency links the *incultum* to activities consuming natural resources (fig. 7). The links between timber and building and shipbuilding²¹ and between charcoal and the forge and metalwork, and poliorcetics through the manufacture of gunpowder²² are well known. Other researchers have focused on the links between craft fire and fuel plants, between mines, forest and mountain agro-pastoralism or viticulture and woodland²³. The exploitation of cork is connected with fishing by making fishing nets, with the manufacture of shoes and with building by using cork for covering of barns (Romagnan 2012). Harvesting bark, leaf and vermillion provides for the tanning and dyeing industry²⁴. Links between debarking and charcoal burning are highlighted. Connections between the fishing industry and the "tea" harvest (Bresc 2010) were confirmed. Close relationships exist between temporary agriculture and forestry. Pastoralism needs juniper oil for veterinary care and pitch for marking animals. To these interrelationships could be added ash burning for glass and soap making (Devèze 1961; Harvey 1975; Foy 2000), and fuel required for forest saline (Weller *et al.* 2008) or refining of sugar (Bresc 1986, pp. 96-97; Ouerfelli 2009).

4. A social integrated landscape

4.1. Mobility as an integration factor

One of the criteria of marginality is the distance from the political, administrative, cultural or economic center. The importance of this factor

²¹ SCLAFERT 1959; BARATIER REYNAUD 1951; BRAUNSTEIN 1988; BIGET *et al.* 1991; BERNARDI 1995, 2007; CRUMLIN-PEDERSEN 1989; GATTI 1999; POISSON, SCHWIEN 2003; MURAT 2009; EPAUD 2007.

²² SCLAFERT 1926; MÉTAILIÉ 1992; ARNOUX 1993; BONHÔTE 1998; IZARD 1999; Verna 2002.

²³ Craft fire and fuel plants: FOY, AMOURIC 1992; DURAND 2004, pp. 42-70; CHAPELOT, CHAPELOT 2000; CORTONESI 1996; VASCHALDE 2012; VASCHALDE *et al.* 2013. Mines, forest and agro-pastoralism: PY 2010a; 2010b; PY, DURAND 2010; PY, DURAND, ANCEL 2013. Viticulture and woodland: GRESSLER 2002.

²⁴ CARDON 1999; CARDON, PINTO 2007; HALASZ-CSIBA 2002; ROMAGNAN 2007.

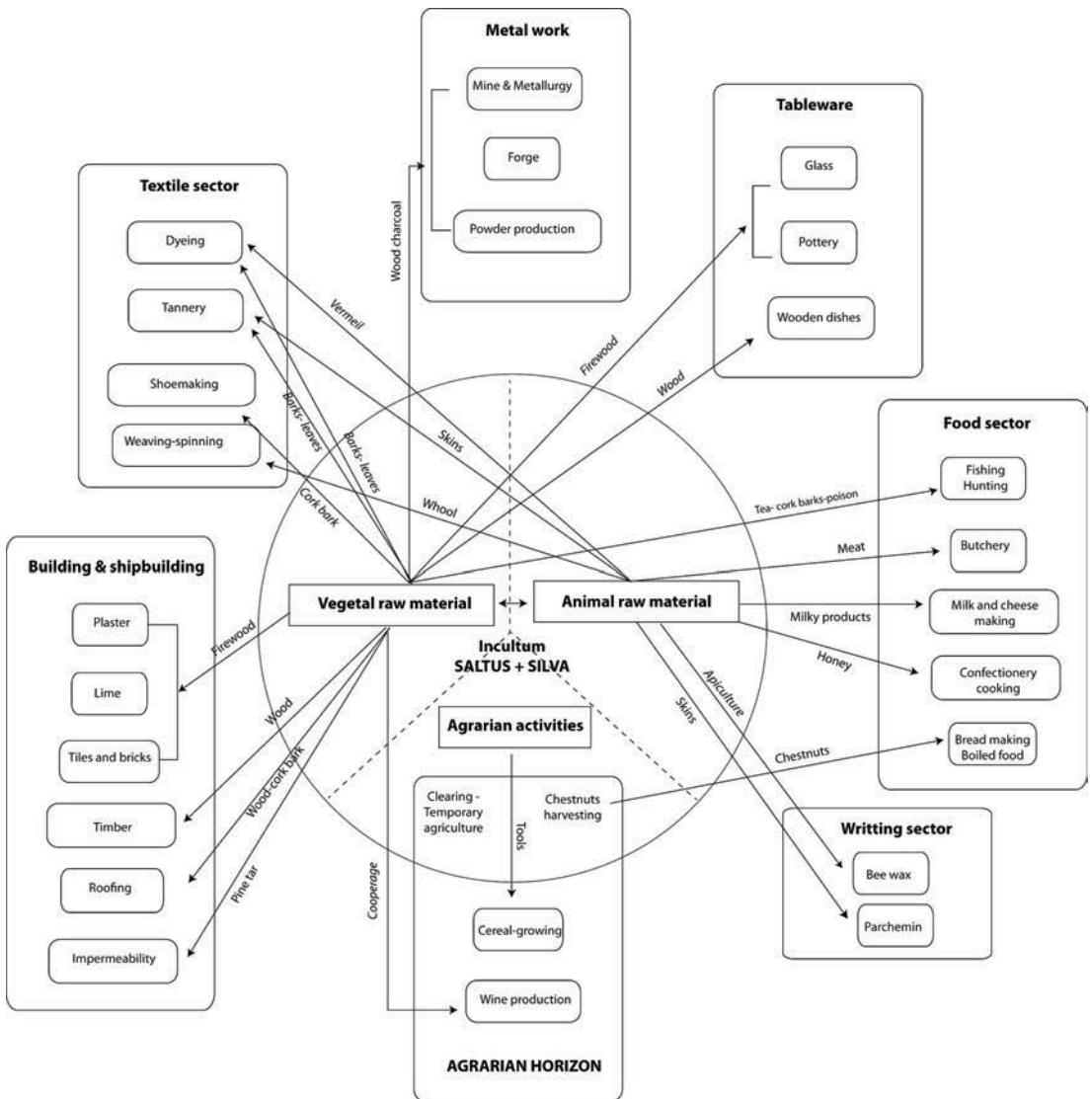


Fig. 7. Integration of *incultum* products in the medieval Provence global economy.

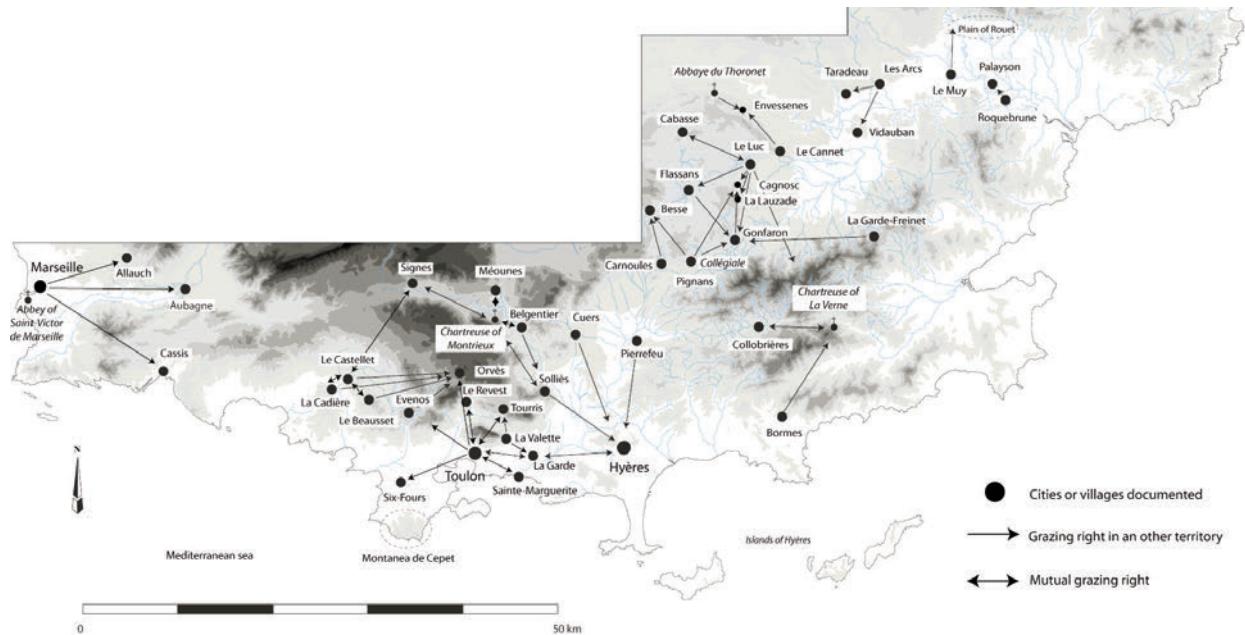


Fig. 8. Pastoral micromobility and mutual grazing during the late Middle Ages.

is considerably limited by the high human mobility which is characteristic of medieval rural life (Bloch 1968, pp. 95; Le Goff 2008, p. 109; Lauwers 2010). The itinerant life of *incultum* users has been mentioned earlier, without being considered in itself²⁵. Agrosilvopastoral activities necessarily generate a mobility of users from their residence, either in the village or dispersed in the *cultum*, up to their workplace located in the *incultum*. Human mobility therefore establishes bridges between the world of *cultum* and *incultum* and reinserts these spaces in rural life (Burri 2010a; Burri 2012, pp. 334-439). This aspect, inaccessible to the archaeologist because of a lack of material evidence, is highlighted by the texts. It takes three forms: the usual mobility and micro-mobility, seasonal migration and migration (Dupâquier 2002).

Incultum is reintegrated at the local level by micro-mobility. These movements take place mainly in village territory or neighboring territories because of agreements between communities. It concerns all common rights to natural resources like mutual grazing (fig. 8), and charcoal burning (fig. 9). Mobility is also a factor for integration at the regional level. The study of sea-

²⁵ ALFRED MAURY 1865; SCLAFERT 1926, p. 204; BLOCH 1952, pp. 71-72; DEVÈZE 1961, pp. 129-135; DUBY 1975, p. 336.

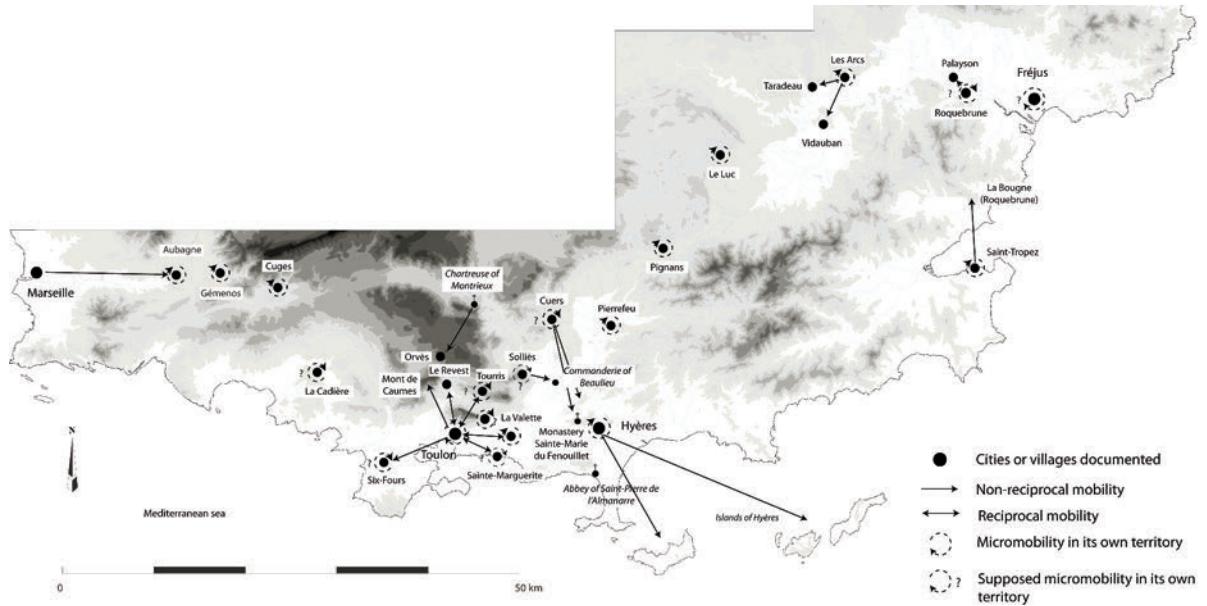


Fig. 9. Micromobility of charcoal burners during the late Middle Ages.

sonal migration related to the practice of summer and winter grazing clearly shows complementarity between the low pastures of Provence and alpine pastures (fig. 10). The distances travelled show much variability. For communities located on the border between summer and winter pastures, the distances are low (below 40 km) or medium (between 40 and 80 km). In contrast, some herds travel from 80 km up to 200 km. Some craftsmen also travel for medium distances. With the decrease of woodlands around Marseille, loggers, charcoal burners and woodtar makers of the city are constrained to go further, up to c. 40 km, to find their raw materials. Some cases of seasonal migration are known, like Alpine and Ligurian loggers or cork harvester coming from Geneva. Others people chose to emigrate, as Italian charcoal burners living in Marseille and in Aix.

4.2. An alternative inhabited landscape

The *incultum* is also an alternative living space complementary to the village house. For twenty years, archaeological research has focused on mountain summer grazing settlements²⁶, to the detriment of winter graz-

²⁶ MAGGI *et al.* 1991; FOX 1996; MEYER *et al.* 1998; BARTOSIEWICZ, GREENFIELD 1999; RENDU 2003; RENDU 2003; WALSH *et al.* 2007; TZORTZIS, DELESTRE 2010.

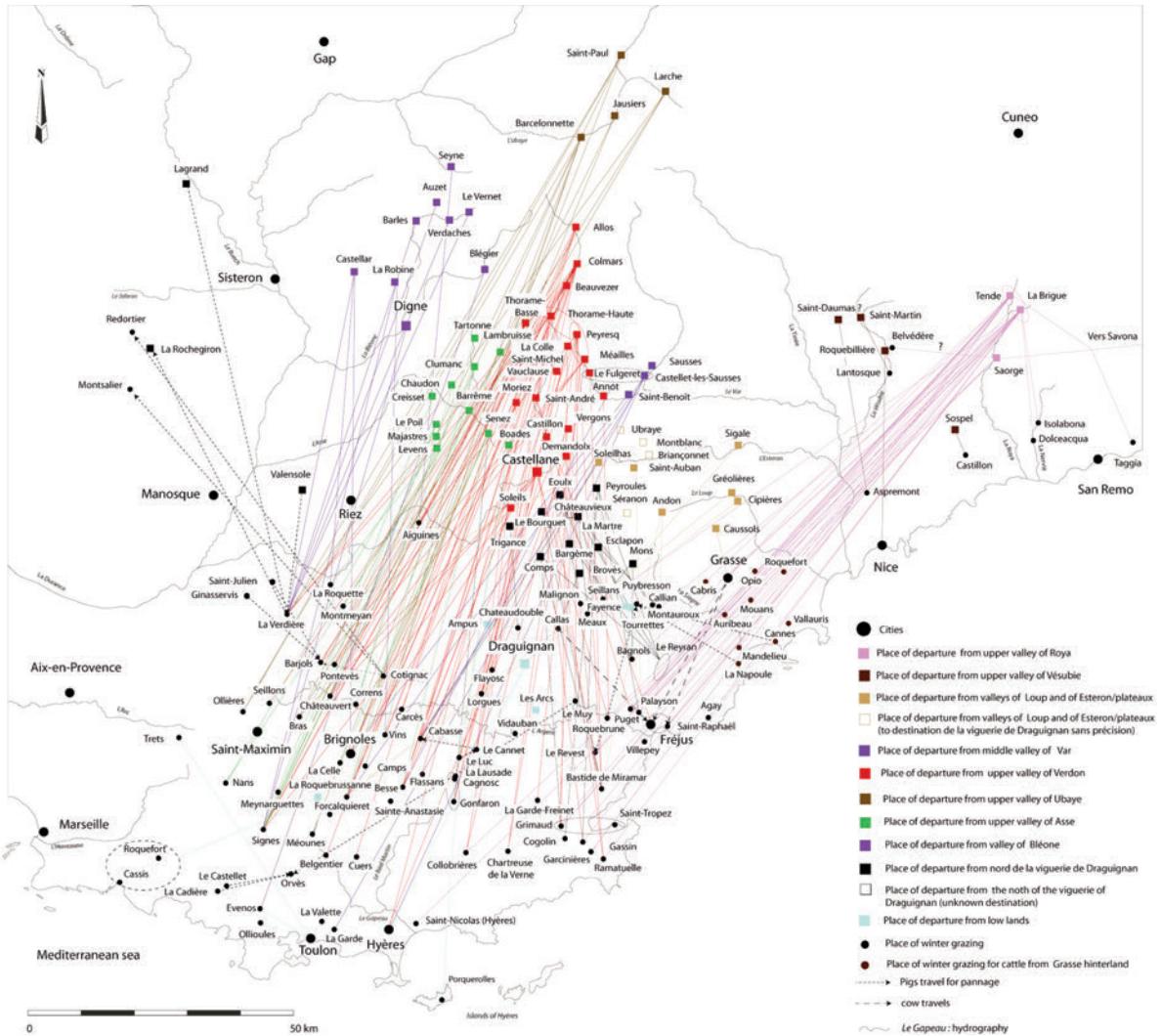


Fig. 10. Seasonal migrations for winter grazing in central and eastern Provence during the late Middle Ages.

ing settlements (Badan *et al.* 1995). Those related to the *incultum* crafts are unknown. However, when spatial (distance residence-place of production), time (duration of the operating season) and technical (operational time and monitoring) constraints are too high, these activities lead to the creation of temporary dwellings. Post-fire archaeological survey of eastern Maures highlighted a long term occupation, as on Redouinet hill where sites from neolithic to modern times have been recog-

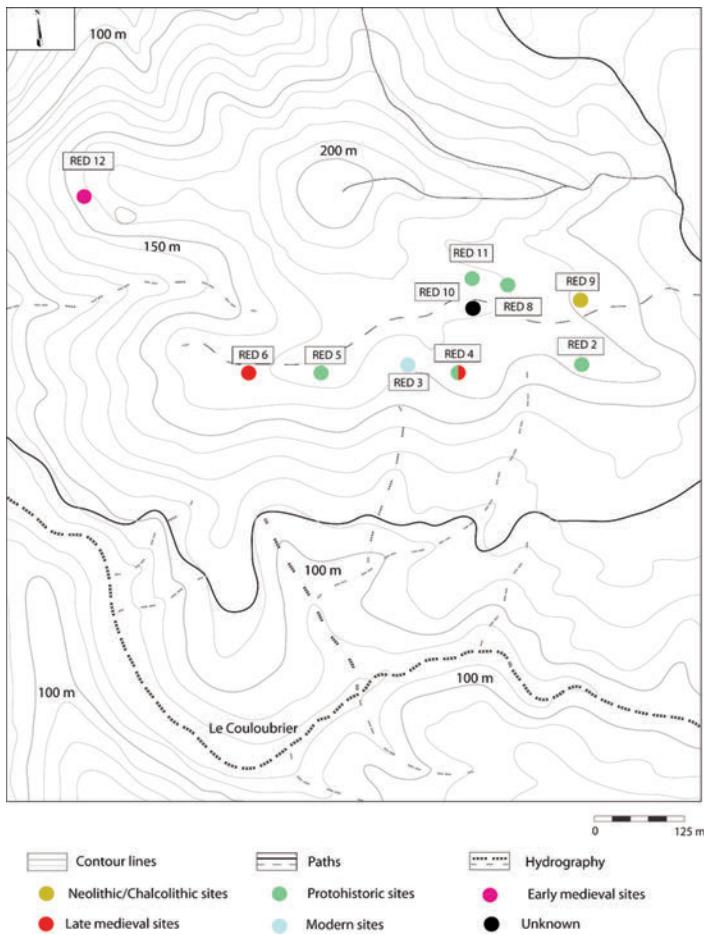


Fig. 11. Long-term occupation of the Redouinet hill (Le Muy, Var).

nized along a path (Bertонcello, Gazeenbeek 1997; Bertонcello 2005; Burri 2012) (fig. 11). The archaeological study of temporary dwellings faces several difficulties: recognition of their remains under dense plant cover, identifying temporary dwelling structures as such and finally characterization of the activity to which they relate, which is often impossible due to lack of discriminating structures or artefacts.

All the temporary dwellings studied share one common feature: they host temporary, but repeated occupations (Burri 2012, pp. 471-576). Sustainability of Provencal structures echoes summer grazing huts²⁷. The frequency of visible reoccupation varies from several centuries to

²⁷ MEYER *et al.* 1998; RENDU 2003; RENDU 2003; WALSH *et al.* 2007; PY 2010, pp. 902-1006.



Fig. 12. Temporary dwelling of Castel Diol 2 (Le Muy, Var).

less than a century apart, placing a temporary structure in the long term. The low sedimentation, bio-turbations and cleaning or flushing previous floors create palimpsest soils. On the site of Castel Diol 2 (Le Muy, Var), the coin and ceramics found on the only visible floor (US 3) reflects successive occupations during the 14th, 16th and 18th centuries (fig. 12). At Roque Fadade (Le Muy, Var) although there remains only one complete floor, and a fragment of an earlier one, four periods of occupation have been revealed by the study of ceramics rejected outside and

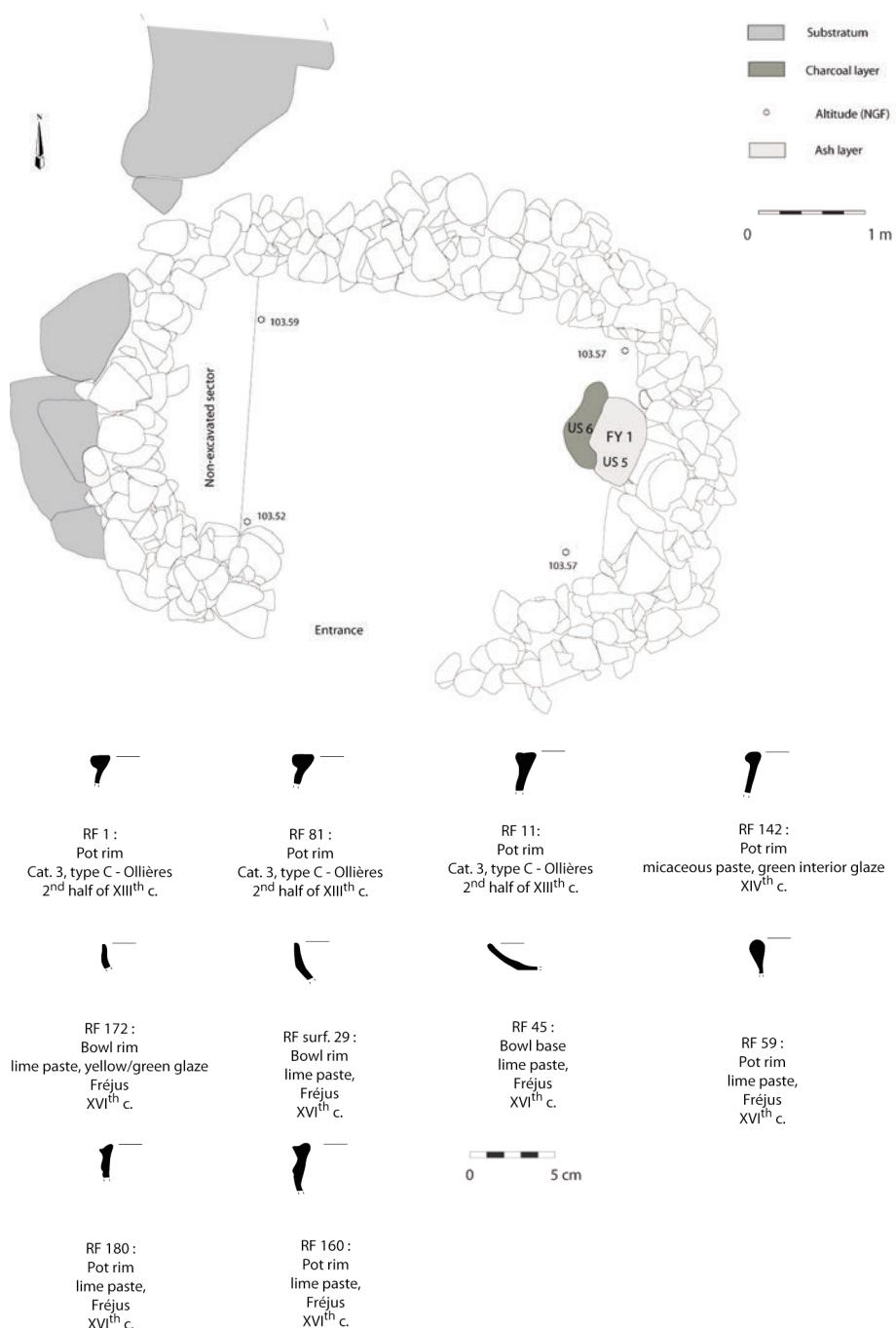


Fig. 13. Spatial organization of excavated temporary dwellings.

conventional radiocarbon dating of the fireplace: mid- 13th, 14th, 16th and 17th centuries (fig. 13). Archaeology captures the secular dynamics, while the actual rate of occupation is in annual or multiyear cycles as informed by the texts (Burri 2012, pp. 504-576; 1044-1051).

As regards building techniques, the researcher is confronted with the distorting prism of each type of sources. Written regulations refer only to protected resources, namely wood, archeology finds sites with permanent components, namely stone and iconography records the plurality of reality, but is often difficult to interpret. The reality is the co-existence of wooden, stone and composite materials structures (fig. 14). The living area of those temporary dwellings ranges from about 3 m² at Payol 2 (Le Muy, Var), to 9 m² at Font de Mars (Le Castellet, Var), to 10.5 m² at Roche Redonne (Le Castellet, Var), to 12 m² at Roque Fadade 6 (Le Muy, Var) and finally to 24 m² at Castel Diol 2 (Le Muy, Var). These differences are not yet interpretable in terms of number of inhabitants. Excavation shows the same organization of domestic space, divided into two functional areas: the preparation and consumption of meals around the fireplace and the rest area behind it. In the case of palimpsest floor, only the last organization is known. Indoor or outdoor benches are sometimes made in modern structures. Because the occupations are ephemeral, the remains of daily life are rare. The cross-study of ceramic artefacts and texts offers clues to understanding the nature of the occupation (individual, team of men, family) and the way of life of the inhabitants, such as water and food supply. Ethno-archaeological studies conducted in Central Provence (Acovitsioti-Hameau 2005), in Southern Italy (Lugli, Stopiello 2000; Burri 2008) and in Morocco (Burri, Durand, Alilou 2013) confirm the plurality of forms, building techniques and functional organization of the encampments (figs. 15, 16). The study of depositional and post-depositional processes on current structures provides input for the debate on the actual place of wooden structures during medieval times and the contingent preservation of their remains. Similarly, methodological research is developed to highlight the fleeting traces of domestic activities through chemical analyses of occupation floors (Pecci *et al.* in press).

The status of these settlements needs to be rethought. Under this "temporary dwelling label" are grouped very different residential realities documented by texts. Indeed, the duration for which men stay in woodlands varies ostensibly between two days and seven months. Therefore, some structures perceived and defined by archaeologists as temporary dwellings are in fact the main residence because the inhabitants stay longer than in the village house, wrongly regarded as the permanent and main residence.



Fig. 14. Spatial organization of excavated temporary dwellings.



Fig. 15. Different kinds of charcoal burner's encampment in current Morocco: a) simple encampment (Sidi Yahia, Maroc - 2008); b) encampment with built kitchen (Sidi Yahia, Maroc - 2008); c) complex family encampment of charcoal burners in Current Morocco (Zaouiat-ech-Cheickh, Morocco - 2009).

3.3. Woodsmen, fieldsmen

In light of this study, the question of presupposed marginality of those who live in the *incultum* and from *incultum* resources arises. Unlike the figure of the medieval shepherd (Kaiser-Guyot 1974; Le Roy Ladurie 1975; Rendu 2003), the “monde des boisilleurs” (Bloch 1952) is unknown. The thorough analysis of the textual documentation reveals the plurality of social status and the extreme versatility of the people, whether they are sedentary or mobile (Burri 2012, pp. 1142-1244). Pluri-activity concerns all the activities of *incultum* like those of *cultum*



Fig. 16. Spatiofunctional organization of a charcoal burner family hut (Naour, Morocco - 2009).

and village²⁸. Resource availability is seasonal, sometimes only for a short time, so people involved in these activities have no other choice than to have income throughout the year from multiple activities. It translates as versatility between different kinds of craft or between craft and agriculture. All shades of peasant-craftsmen are documented. Some tend increasingly to specialize, which results in the use of a professional adjective. Others remain peasant-craftsmen or craftsman-peasants, according to the share of each activity performed. It is sometimes reported that there is use of a double professional title. Finally, many producers seem to be more farmers than craftspeople. They are sometimes qualified with agricultural resonance, but they are most often subject to any professional title. Those results are qualitative and not quantitative and must be confirmed by other studies in other regions.

This study shows that peasant-craftsmen, shifting cultivators and shepherds are integrated in the village society (Burri 2012, pp. 1245-

²⁸ DUBY 1977, p. 253; BIRRELL 1969; POSTAN 1972, pp. 147-148; BELMONT 1998; BERNARDI 2002; MANE 2006; CHAMPAGNE 2007.

1284). Although many of them, such as loggers and charcoal burners, live in the woods for months, they are not uprooted from rural society. They come back to the village and to the fields during agricultural peak seasons. Moreover, there is solidarity among *incultum* users that is expressed by professional associations. Solidarity expresses within the family and the village community. This reality, revealed by the archives, shades the myth of marginal and wild woodsmen developed in medieval literature. In addition, life in the woods is not necessarily a solitary life or a man's life. It also can be a family life in the cabin, this home away from home. Temporarily living in the woods does not mean to be marginalized. This social integration is a reflection of the integration of uncultivated land in the agrarian system.

Incultum is a shifting landscape entity. It must be studied as a matter of space and time. Unlike the thorny and impenetrable deep forest of the Maures moutains, described by Liutprand of Cremona in the tenth century (Sauze, Senac 1986, p. 120), the *incultum* of Provence is not a marginal landscape in every sense of the word. It is spatially, economically and socially integrated. There is no opposition between *cultum* and *incultum* worlds (land/economy/people), but rather a great complementarity and seasonal co-dependency. Instead of being marginal, the *incultum* is an essential component of life in the medieval countryside. So the use of the concept of marginal landscape must be cautious and argued. Only an environmental, archaeological and historical cross-study can take into account its complexity.

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EDITORIAL

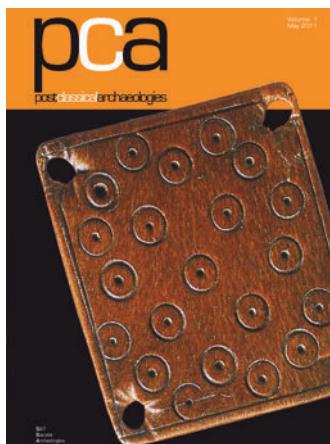
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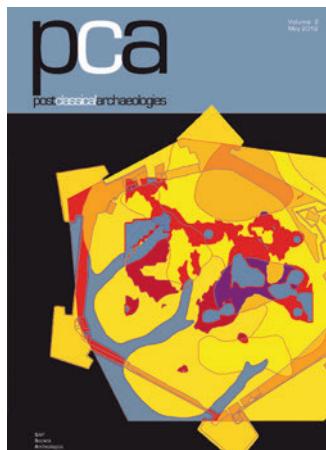
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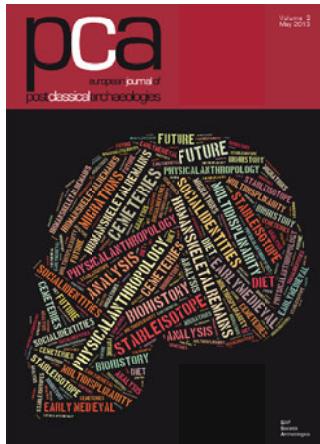
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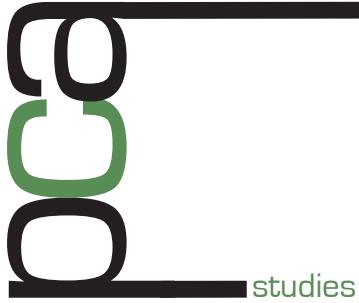
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