

Re-approaching Celts: Origins, society, and social change

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Abstract

This work re-approaches the origins of the Celts: detailing the character of their society, and the nature of social change in Europe across 700-300 BC. A new approach integrates regional burial archaeology with contemporary Classical texts, to further refine our social understanding of the European Iron Age. We find ‘Celts’ as matrifocal Early Iron Age groups in central Gaul, engaging in social traditions out of the central European salt trade, and becoming heavily involved in Mediterranean politics. The paper focuses on evidence from the Hallstatt–La Tène transition, to solve a 150-year old problem, as we learn how Early Iron Age *Celts* became the early La Tène *Galatai*, who engaged in the Celtic migrations, and the sacking of Rome at 387 BC.

Keywords: Celts, archaeological method, Vix, Galatai, Gaul, Herodotus.

Introduction: Origins and society

A good place to begin, is to state what this paper on ‘Celts’ does not do. I do not address modern ‘Celtic’ identity (see Collis 2017; James 1999), nor do I consider ‘Celts’ of the early medieval period (papers in Karl and Stifter 2007) – each has relatively little to do with the task of understanding the people of Iron Age Europe. I do touch briefly on ‘Celtic’ language, where the archaeology allows it, and I hope that this work, in combining archaeology and historical texts, will assist those interested in Celtic linguistics. My primary aim is to further refine our knowledge of the historical Celts (Κελτοί, *Keltoi*) – their origins, the nature of their society (plural), and social change (between 700-300 BC). To this end, I use a large dataset and new method, to produce an *evidence-based narrative*: one that foregrounds chronology, regional archaeological traditions, and the integration of evidence from *contemporary* historical texts. The aim is to more closely define what was meant in those first uses of the word ‘Celt’ – which should assist in understanding its continued use through time. First, I must set out the inherited problem.

The origin of ‘the Celts’ is a problem that has eluded resolution for over 150 years: as ‘impossible’ and ‘lost in the mists of time’ (Chadwick 1971; Duval 1997; Karl 2012; Pauli 1980). For this author, however, the problem lies only in how we have approached the evidence. Our main setback has been a reading of the historical sources that lacks temporal context. Previous narratives on ‘the Celts’ (singular) see a mixing together of Classical ideas on ‘Celts’ from across 1000 years (see Stopford 1987). The result is construction of a static, romantic notion of ‘Celtic society’ operating independent of regional-level archaeologies. Instead, on the basis of broad-brush material-culture similarities, a pan-European ‘Celtic culture’ continues to be imagined across Europe, acting historically via events-in-time mentioned in the texts (e.g. Cunliffe 2019a; Cunliffe and Koch 2012, 2013; Hornblower et al. 2012). This *historicist narrative* of ‘the Celts’ is then linked to an equally fossilized ‘Celtic’

linguistics, operating at a similar geographical scale, leading to retention of out-dated notions of cultural diffusionism (see Karl 2012). Despite archaeological thinking moving against this early twentieth-century practice, both in the 1950s-1960s and again in the 1980s (below), mainstream scholarship continued to accept ‘Celt’ in its early 1st millennium AD romantic state, to fit the final linguistic spread.

Unfortunately, this old thinking on ‘cultures’ has also re-emerged in European Bronze Age studies, where the scientific term ‘population replacement’ – innocent enough when working with aDNA datasets – has been applied culturally, leading to simplistic narratives of Beaker/Yamnaya invasion and inter-cultural violence. The method and ethics of such work – where material culture distributions, or language, or aDNA is mapped onto ideas of ‘ethnicity’ or nation-states/empire/culture is not only methodologically unsound, but anachronistic, and politically dangerous (see excellent work by Booth 2019; Collis 2019; Hakenbeck 2019; Heyd 2017; Saini 2019). Here, I follow John Collis (1996) in explicitly rejecting notions of ‘cultures’ and attempts to determine ‘ethnicity’ by seeking to elucidate large-scale, bounded entities in the archaeological material. It is clear that these large-scale distributions represent firstly, fossilized- and secondly, artificial- social datasets over deep-time. The ‘spread’ is an artefact of hindsight, and exists only through the medium of our own study – it does not in any real sense belong to the past. Broad similarities in material culture over large geographies do not make those groups the same: ideas travel further than people. David Clarke (1968) was very clear that different data categories (different material culture types, language, aDNA) each diverge in the scale of their reach, overlap, and are not coherent signatures of ‘culture’. It is hard to understand how this fundamental learning on the nature of our data has been lost by some of our most senior archaeologists.

Our problem then, in seeking to understand the nature of European prehistoric society, has primarily been one of scale, and data resolution. Over the last 150 years, Archaeology has

been a struggle, through the generations, between those who accept large-scale ‘cultures’ and grand narrative (historicist method, broad-brush material culture distributions, linguistic spreads) and those seeking instead to determine ‘regional characteristics’ in the archaeology (Bertrand 1876, Cunnington 1923, Clarke 1968; Kenyon 1952). Through this case-study, I try something that might bring the two schools together: building social narrative out of regional archaeological characteristics, and historical sources, via temporal method.

I argue here that overturning twentieth-century romanticism – ‘Celts’ as an inherited historical/mythical conglomeration – and completing Archaeology’s 1960s-1980s paradigm shift, lies in all archaeologists working to build contextual method. Our quest to understand past people, scientifically, insists on a local/regional analytical focus – from which we can provide broader synthesis. Through this case-study, I seek to develop the idea that modern archaeological studies must centre contextual practice. Context is achieved temporally (refining chronologies, sequencing data – a stratigraphy almost) alongside accepting cultural particularism (via unbounded, regional traditions – a route in, at present, to what are in fact smaller-scale social groups). An older generation of social narrative, in lacking contextual, temporal method, has overlooked critical social information in the archaeology itself –instead imposing typically Roman or early Medieval social forms onto Prehistory (via analogy from 1st millennium AD textual sources, and abstract social modelling). The move now is towards reconstructing past societies (plural) from *the archaeological data*, by achieving greater contextual resolution (temporal and spatial) to move us towards identifying generational, local/regional social forms, their temporalities, and the mechanisms social change. Alongside this must travel new learning on social networks, anthropologies of kinship, and archaeological work on mobility (Latour 2005; Strathern 2020) – understanding the various scales, and temporalities, at which people interact across space. I offer this work as a case-

study in how we can begin doing this. Where better to begin applying new method than to the ‘impossible’ question of origins.

To situate the research, I begin the paper with a potted history of thinking on Iron Age Celts, from 19th century to present day (see also Collis 2003) bringing us up-to-date with current objectives in Archaeology more generally. The methodology section details how archaeological data was chosen and approached to improve the quality of social information, as well as the method around contextualizing and integrating the historical sources. The majority of the paper takes the form of a *chronological narrative*, developed from the sequenced archaeological and historical data, for 700-300 BC. First, I detail the historical and archaeological evidence for the seventh-sixth centuries BC: *encountering the Celts* in the era of a burgeoning salt trade out of Austria. The second section discusses 550-450 BC, in which Europe is politically involved with the Mediterranean, with unrest amongst the *Galatai* – resolved here as the historically-distinct descendants of the Celts – with decline of the Hallstatt era at 450 BC. The final section focuses on 450-300 BC, the period surrounding the ‘Celtic migrations’ and the 387 BC attack on Rome – using texts and archaeology to discover how ancient writers understood/documentated the ‘Celts’. I then discuss what has been revealed about the Celts in discussion, and conclude by reflecting on how applying new method brings new information.

Iron Age Celts: Previous Study

The ‘Celts’ problem

In the early 19th century, we understood the Celts as from Gaul. Amédée Thierry (1827) used first-century BC Caesar and Strabo to locate Livy’s ‘Celts’ (see Collis 2003, fig. 20). This Classicist understanding subsequently became confused on inclusion of archaeological studies. By the 1860s–1870s, ‘Celtic’ was used by archaeologists to mean ‘pre-Roman’. Our

Iron Age ‘type-sites’, the Hallstatt salt mine in Austria and La Tène ritual lake in Switzerland, were each labelled Celtic, with British La Tène art ‘Late Celtic’ (Collis 1996, pp. 22-23; Kruta 1997, p. 27). The whole of the Iron Age had become ‘Celtic’. Meanwhile, a link was established between the archaeology of La Tène and neighbouring N. Italy (Mortillet 1871) apparently corroborating Polybius and Livy on early Celtic migrations to Italy. By the mid-1870s, an important debate began between Medieval historian and philologist Henri d’Arbois de Jubainville (1875) whose thinking sat in opposition to archaeologist Alexandre Bertrand (1876). After the ‘several names’ problem identified first by Pezron (1703), the historian, d’Arbois de Jubainville, conflated ‘Celts’ and ‘Galatai’, using linguistics to argue for Celts across Europe: a ‘Celtic empire’ of south German origin. The archaeologist, Bertrand, instead saw social distinction between ‘Celts’ and ‘Galatai’, seeking instead to marry texts and material culture with applied dating, to define smaller social units across space/time. The difference between the two scholars, and their evidence, was one of scale: large-scale-linguistics versus small-scale-archaeology. It was also one of method: generalist versus particularist – the debate that remains today.

The political and social context of this expansion of ‘the Celts’ – from Thierry’s (1827) Gaul to d’Arbois de Jubainville’s (1875) empire – is a back-projection of contemporary European imperialist attitudes (Trigger 1984, p. 110 ff.). In Britain, General Pitt-Rivers saw hillforts reflecting the perpetual hostility of tribal society, as he employed craniometry in his Cranborne Chase excavations to understand race (Lane Fox 1868). At Oxbridge, contemporaries of Darwin saw different types of hillfort as denoting ‘successive races of men’ advancing in civilisation: indigenous British, supplanted by Caesar’s Belgae – with invasion of Goidelic/Brythonic Celts explaining language change (Cardale Babington 1881; Rhys 1882). Late nineteenth-century Iron Age studies chose generalizing method

(history/linguistics) in support of evolutionary thinking, invasionism, and race science, over burgeoning notions of cultural particularism (archaeology/anthropology) under Bertrand.

By the 1910s, however, influential Iron Age scholars in France and Britain, Joseph Déchelette and Maud Cunnington, were developing method towards ‘archaeological cultures’ – the former mapping burials to historical groups, the latter developing chronology from ceramics (Collis 2009b). Déchelette (1913) saw Celts ‘arriving’ whilst Cunnington (1923) proposed long-term, small-scale ‘incursions’. Unfortunately, Déchelette continued to follow d’Arbois de Jubainville in accepting French La Tène art as ‘Celtic’ and of Hallstatt origin (Collis 2003, p. 90). In early twentieth-century French scholarship then, with Celts=La Tène, ‘Celts’ spread from Gaul to Bohemia. Déchelette’s acceptance of the Victorian ‘Celtic’ labelling of European Iron Age archaeology, supported by geographically-broad linguistics/material culture spreads, and late nineteenth-century imperialist thinking, was retained by the British School into the late 1950s. Despite the methodological progress of Maud Cunnington, and her demonstration of indigenous development in the ceramics, British thinking reverted to historicism/invasionism following WWI, taken forward by a young Christopher Hawkes (Hawkes and Dunning 1931; Wheeler 1921) – albeit critiqued by Cunnington (1932). Meanwhile, Gordon Childe’s ‘cultures’ (1929, p. v-vi) continued to focus on large-scale synthesis, diffusionism, and notions of progress.

Celtic art studies continued to apply this old method. Terence Powell (1958) saw a ‘Hallstatt culture’ across all of Europe, his La Tène ‘Celts’ of the art-style saw fourth/third-century BC ‘expansion’ via the historically-attested migrations. Whilst Powell was content to split culture temporally, he continued to lump it geographically, meaning that the Victorian idea of ‘empire’ simply morphed into large-scale early-mid twentieth-century ‘cultures’ on the basis of broad-brush material culture similarities. Critically, the important work of Irish scholar William Dinan (1911) was absent from Powell’s bibliography, leading to a continued

acceptance of historical Celts=La Tène art-style, which we now know to be incorrect. In the post-war publishing boom, Thames & Hudson books on ‘Celts’ by Powell (1958) and medievalist Nora Chadwick (1964), meant for a popular audience, saw La Tène art=Celtic cemented in the British public’s imagination. Meanwhile, Stuart Piggott (1967) began the project, as continued by Collis, of resolving the scholastic histories. These broad 1950s-1960s ideas on ‘Celtic culture’ in art-history and medieval studies were very different, however, to contemporary archaeological thinking in British hillfort studies.

By the 1950s, a generation of British fieldworkers, particularly out of the London Institute, were moving against Hawkes’ historicism, having recognised that the theory did not fit the ceramics (see Cunliffe 1991, 13-15; Prtak 2019). More akin to Bertrand/Cunnington, this field was increasingly interested in defining ‘regional characteristics’ from the archaeology – e.g. the enormously important work of Kathleen Kenyon (1952). Roy Hodson (1964) subsequently focused on the material *differences* between Britain and the Continent (e.g. round- versus recti-linear houses). Two years later, an influential paper by Grahame Clark (1966) saw full and final rejection of invasionism in British archaeology. Younger scholars stressed *continuity* in their efforts to move against narratives of culture change as external. As a result, both Chadwick (1971, 38) and Powell (1971, 1976) began considering late Hallstatt culture as ‘Celtic’ – having previously accepted culture change at 450 BC. In 1970s France, however, Venceslas Kruta’s (1976) popular paperback ‘*Les Celtes*’ began at Herodotus and the sacking of Rome: a separate 450 BC origin for the Celts (=La Tène), akin to Powell (1958). The following year, Duval (1977), re-stating Déchelette, labelled the well-known ‘watershed distribution’ of late Hallstatt archaeology ‘Origin of the Celts’. As a result, ‘Celts’ remained La Tène, of late Hallstatt origin, into the late twentieth-century (cf. James 1993; Kruta 1997; Pauli 1980). The thinking of d’Arbois de Jubainville remained.

Hillforts and Social Modelling

Meanwhile, discovery of the high-status tombs of Vix (1953) and Hochdorf (1968, excavated 1978-79) created interest in their related settlements (Joffroy 1954, 1960; Kimmig 1969). Wolfgang Kimmig established a link between small late Hallstatt/Early Iron Age hilltop enclosures, and an apparent social hierarchy, as demonstrated by these associated ‘princely’ burials. Meanwhile in Cambridge, David Clarke’s (1972) social model for Glastonbury saw Iron Age society divided by sex (see Pope 2011 for social context). Having reconstructed regional settlement and ceramics types for Britain in 1974, after Kenyon, Barry Cunliffe (1984, p. 561) understood that Iron Age social structure varied across space. However, 1980s archaeology lacked the method to reconstruct ‘society’ beyond analogy – something upon which later twentieth-century archaeology relied very heavily (Binford 1967; Clarke 1972; Hodder 1982). As such, German and British scholars constructed social-evolutionary models of ‘Celtic Society’ (Cunliffe 1984; Eggert 1988; Fischer 1995; Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978). Ideas of ‘warrior societies’ and territorial expansion were linked to trade-based interactions with the Mediterranean, in core-periphery models (Brun 1994; Cunliffe 1988; Nash 1984, 1985; Pare 1991) with hilltop enclosures acting as central-places (Brun 1988; Büchsenseschütz 1995; Cunliffe 1974, p. 305; 1984). This flowed into ideas of late Hallstatt kingship/royalty (Cunliffe 1983, fig. 94; Krause 1999; Kristiansen 1998; Veit 2000) and on into urbanism and state-formation, with the advent of second-century BC *oppida* (Brun 1995; Collis 1995; Cunliffe and Rowley 1976). Ideas of aggregation as urbanism continue, with late Hallstatt Heuneburg now a ‘town’ (Fernandez-Götz 2014a; 2014b; see Moore 2017).

Thinking in these later twentieth-century archaeologies was evolutionary, diffusionist, and hierarchical, and an important retrospective on ‘Celtic Society’ is now provided by Collis (2019). Thinking was also androcentric. High-status burial evidenced ‘Celtic’ social hierarchies (princes, kings, cities, states): ‘Celtic’ society was male-dominated, with any

‘princely’ graves of women explained away as ritualists or transvestites (e.g. Pauli 1972; Spindler 1983; see Arnold 1991). The sex of Vix was heavily debated. Apparently ‘only a fraction of the population was formally buried... members of the political, economic, and religious elite’ (Brun 2018) – an idea stemming perhaps from the social profile of late Hallstatt burials failing to adhere to a stratified, triangular society, as envisaged (see e.g. Fernández-Götz and Ralston 2017). Ideas of ‘Celtic Society’ retained ‘Celts’ as a monolithic entity, so that by the mid-1990s, ‘Celts’ were as widespread as ever. The introduction to Arnold and Gibson (1995) saw ‘Celts’ from Britain to Anatolia, as Miranda Green’s substantial edited volume of the same year took ‘Celts’ through the Medieval period and into the modern era. Celts of the 1990s were as widespread as during the late nineteenth-century.

In all this work, the central problem in Iron Age studies (Celts=La Tène) remained unresolved – despite both Piggott (1967) and Chadwick (1971) recognising that, in the texts, the term dated to *before* 450 BC. Piggott (1983) avoided the issue, bringing out a second edition of Powell’s (1958) book. Meanwhile in Italian philology, Aldo Prosdocimi (1984) was recognising Celtic-Etruscan inscriptions in the Golasecca region, dating to between 600–400 BC. This, alongside textual references to Celts at 500 BC, suggested that Celts=La Tène – i.e. Powell (1958)/Kruta (1976) – must not be correct. After Duval (1977), some 1990s scholars (e.g. Fischer 1995; James 1993) continued to use ‘early Celts’ for the late Hallstatt period. Others followed Powell/Kruta more closely, including French scholar Patrice Brun (1995) who considered ‘with certainty’ that Celts=La Tène, from 400 BC onwards, with the continued assertion (after d’Arbois de Jubainville, Piggott) that ‘Celts and Gauls’ were terms used interchangeably in the early texts. Cunliffe (1997) too continued to accept Celts=La Tène, with late Hallstatt instead as Plato’s ‘barbarians’ – pairing the La Tène archaeology of Rhineland/Champagne/Bohemia with Livy’s Celts. Only Collis (1994, 1996, 1997) began to state that Celts ≠ La Tène.

Nevertheless, the Oxford School brought 1960s, and ultimately Victorian, ideas on ‘Celts’ through into the early twenty-first century. Using ‘Celtic mixing pot’ method, one could never study origins, due to a lack of chronological precision; nor the sub-regional nature of society, nor ideas of ongoing, small-scale mobility, beyond notions of large-scale migrations/invasion. Oxford continued to accept historicism (d’Arbois de Jubainville, Déchelette, Powell) over archaeological method (Bertrand, Cunnington, Kenyon). In material culture studies, Daphne Nash Briggs (2003, 2007) discussed economic links and transmission of culture. Linguist John Koch attempted ‘Celticization’ and a retrogressive bid to salvage invasionism (Koch et al. 2007). Koch’s (2009; 2011) premise that Tartessian might be considered an [early] Celtic language was heavily critiqued by philologists (see Sims-Williams 2016, footnote 47, 2020, 12). Similarly, the subsequent *Celtic from the West* hypothesis (Cunliffe and Koch 2012) was rapidly critiqued on its archaeological modelling, as culture-historical diffusionism (Karl 2012). Cunliffe did, however, make good the problematic 1990s English/French notion of Celts=La Tène, making clear our need to separate ‘Celts’ and La Tène material culture (Cunliffe 2012, p. 17) – as suggested by Collis since 1994. A major achievement has been the uncoupling of Atlantic ‘Celtic’ linguistics as linked to Iron Age archaeology alone, with a successful argument for deeper, prehistoric ancestry, as this inter-disciplinary collaboration now begins to bear fruit (Cunliffe and Koch 2013, 2016, 2019; see Pope 2020).

Settlements and Critical Method

Contemporary with Ian Hodder’s post-processualism out of Cambridge, a turning point for Iron Age studies was Collis (1984), which rejected culture-historical ‘Celts’ in favour of the increasingly *archaeological* study of the European Iron Age (see Collis 1986, 1996; comment by Megaw and Megaw 1992, 254). In British Iron Age studies, critical reviews of Cunliffe’s

social model for Danebury (Collis 1985; Haselgrove 1986) set the tone for new thinking on the Iron Age, with radical theory from Bowden and McOmish (1987), Jennie Stopford's critically important (1987) work against historicist narrative, followed by J.D. Hill (1989), and feminist thinking out of the US (Ehrenberg 1989; Arnold 1991). Even amongst the older generation, Pauli (1994) labelled much of the 1980s social modelling 'banal', as Collis (1994) critiqued 'warrior societies' and nucleation=hierarchy – although remaining focused on notions of 'power'. Meanwhile, Hill (1995, 1996) began to consider a different, egalitarian Iron Age, critiquing the settlement hierarchy=social hierarchy principle, and offering alternative routes in to the data, as Carole Crumley (1995a) called for polity-level research, and Bettina Arnold (1995a) focused on the nature of the Hallstatt-La Tène transition. In Celtic art studies, and an important debate developed between Collis and the Megaws – primarily about La Tène art being mislabelled 'Celtic' but more importantly on false, and politically dangerous, notions of European 'Celtic' ethnicity. Collis' argument was: the spread of 'Celtic art', or language, does not reveal shared 'Celtic' ideology/ethnicity – not only because 'Celtic art' is not actually Celtic, but more importantly because (after Clarke 1968) the relationship between art, language, and ethnicity is not simple, and intersects (Collis 1996, 1997; Karl 2004; Megaw and Megaw 1996; Sims-Williams 1998). Collis (1996) was a particular turning point, with Celtic 'culture' explicitly rejected, especially if linked to ethnicity. Another came in the publication of the 1991 Celts exhibition at the Palazzo Grassi, Venice – with its clear focus on material by region (Moscati et al. 1997).

Methodological progress was found in 1990s settlement archaeology. A continued focus on hillforts (e.g. Hill 1996; Pauli 1994) provided only limited ready-information on regional social structures, and thus new understandings of 'society'. In northern Europe, however, a new school of archaeological method was developing, with a focus on houses, households, and the social organisation of settlements (Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997; Hingley

1984; Samson 1990). A development of the *regional traditions* recognised in settlement studies since the work of Aileen Fox (1953), Hodson (1964) and Cunliffe (1974). Scholars began to exchange abstract social modelling for regional-level household studies, and a *longue durée* approach to larger archaeological datasets (e.g. Brück 1999; Fokkens 1998; Fontijn and Fokkens 2007; Gerritsen 2003; Hedeager 1992; Pope 2003, 2007; Webley 2008). Interest turned to Marx's 'Germanic' mode of production, and Evans-Pritchard's east African pastoralist/segmentary societies (Hill 1995; Hingley 1984) – where households retain the means of production (cattle/arable) alongside communal rites over pasture/surplus (see Sastre 2011). This was very different to Kimmig's hierarchical 'Celtic Society' modelled on the hillforts and high-status burials of the 'watershed area' further east. As a result, the 'Celtic expansion from core' model for Iron Age Europe was rejected by the mid-2000s, with recognition instead of archaeologically-distinct 'culturally differentiated groups' (Diepeveen-Jansen 2007; Kruta 2005, p. 14; 29) – more in line, finally, with Bertrand. As settlement archaeology focused in on the household, the scale of analysis around 'Celts' also reduced. This involved detailing the historiography surrounding the conflation of first-millennium AD and modern 'Celtic' identities with the Iron Age archaeology – separating out Celtic studies into sister fields (archaeology, history, linguistics) in a bid to gain a developed academic understanding of each (Collis 1996, 2003, 2008; Cunliffe 2013, Cunliffe and Koch 2016; James 1999; Karl and Stifter 2007). On the question origins of the Celts, however, the answer remained: 'we do not know' (Collis 2003, p. 223).

Attempts at understanding 'Iron Age Society' were improved by critiquing social hierarchy as a baseline state (Cripps 2007; Crumley 1995b; Hill 2006) and moving beyond analogy to contextual practice, with social models led more explicitly by the material evidence (see Pope 2007). In two important papers, Collis (2008, 2009a) called for an end to grand narrative around 'the Celts' and instead new method: a *sequencing* of events. Method

more akin to that of settlement archaeology: with a focus on chronology and regionality. Karl (2012) requested more scholarly, scientific practice, with notions of pan-European culture, expansion, and diffusionist spread no longer accepted (Pope 2015a). Arnold (2012) and Fernández-Götz (2014a fig. 5; 2014b) instead considered temporality/biography. Hill (2011) began to consider British Iron Age societies as heterarchical/segmentary: with households linked to (15–20 km) kin-networks, gathering periodically as wider hillfort-communities. Archaeologists understanding the mechanisms of kinship, how households build into community, is now of fundamental importance (see Carsten 2003; Currás and Sastre 2019; Sastre 2011; Strathern 2020). For this author, ‘segmentary societies’ seem a good fit for the household-based pastoralist groups of the Early Iron Age Atlantic west (Scandinavia, Netherlands, Britain, Galicia, western France) contrasting with burial evidence for late Ha ‘lineages’ further east (see Pope 2018, fig. 34.6; Brun 2018, p. 19). Different too is growth in communal/tribal identity in the *developed hillforts* of Britain after 400 BC, alongside lowland settlement ‘agglomeration’ (Netherlands, Denmark, eastern England). To date, we have two models of Iron Age society (hierarchy and heterarchy) although we accept that there were many more – see Cunliffe (1984, p. 561) and Hill (2011) on multiple ‘messy’ Iron Age societies, as cautiously identified here (Table 1; see also Currás and Sastre 2019).

[Table 1 here]

Burials: Integrating Women

One way in to a perceived multiplicity of prehistoric societies, is to break down a further normative assumption that partners hierarchy: that social structures were universally male-authored, as suggested by Chadwick (1971). Problematic thinking on the social role of prehistoric women in 1980s-2000s scholarship, particularly out of Cambridge, has been explored fully elsewhere (Arnold 1991; Ehrenberg 1989; Gilchrist 1999, pp. 17-18; Pope

2007, 2011; Pope and Ralston 2011, p. 376 ff.). Despite this our ‘different’ Iron Age continued to focus on the primacy of men (Hill 2011). Even in this more egalitarian society, women were apparently ‘not so equal’ – an assertion unsupported by archaeological evidence. Many working with the burial archaeology have now demonstrated that for La Tène Gaul and Britain, it is age rather than sex that was the more important structuring principle, with women equally likely to achieve high social status, apparently in their own right (e.g. Evans 2004; Giles 2012; Milcent 2003; Pope 2018; Pope and Ralston 2011, p. 409; Trémeaud 2019). Nevertheless, Collis and Karl (2018) use first-century BC Roman texts to suggest that: ‘The political power of women in most of these societies was very limited’. Whilst accepting wealth in primary female burials as evidence for matrilineal inheritance, after Pauli (1972), with the possibility of women achieving high-status in their own right grudgingly accepted for Vix, they speak of ‘exceptional circumstances’ and reassure that high political status was typically for men. The two argue uncritically, that because Caesar sees women in a derogatory way, women across the Iron Age held no social power. They become keen to state that burial-wealth need not imply power *in these cases* – preferring instead Medieval, Roman, and modern ethnographic analogy over the Iron Age burial archaeology, with its difficult-to-explain high-status women (see also Collis 2011, p. 233; Karl 2008). We find again the tired repetition of female-wealth as only ever linked to marital status (i.e. Hinton 1986; James 1993) when indeed marriage may itself be an anachronism in some places, with gendered burial clusters in late Hallstatt Austria and Gaul, and Caesar’s reference to polyandry (women with several partners) in Britain. So it is, that some scholars argue against the archaeology, in favour of repeating abstracted versions of Roman patriarchy and Medieval feudalism as representing Iron Age Europe. Whilst breaking down baseline notions of social hierarchy in Iron Age studies, and advocating for radically ‘different’ Iron

Ages – the same scholars’ ideas on past women remain static, and disappointingly conservative.

Instead, moving beyond unsupported *a priori* assumptions regarding social hierarchies, and beyond binary (hierarchy vs heterarchy) – the attempt now is towards a form of cultural relativism/particularism, in the vein of anthropologist Franz Boas. The idea here is to gain information on multiple ‘societies’ from a chronological sequencing of the regional burial archaeology. Certainly, Hill’s ideas of a more egalitarian Iron Age find support in analysis of French and British La Tène cemeteries. Unfortunately, recent British work on ‘Society’ has elected not to engage with a wealth of scholarship working to reconstruct social forms from the mortuary evidence (Arnold 1991, 1995a, 2012; Burmeister 2000; Evans 2004; Giles 2012; Hodson 1990; Pope and Ralston 2011; Trémeaud 2019). Here, notions of what constitutes relative ‘status’ and identity are explored, not via tired repetition of Caesar, nor various forms of analogy and generalising argument, but in the steadfast development of new thinking, and applied method in burial datasets. Working at the level of cemetery/region, the *regionality* of these social forms is recognised (Pope and Ralston 2011, fig. 17.2; Trémeaud 2019, fig. 9); as a recent move into supra-regional synthesis attempts the complex task of elucidating *data-led* social narratives (Pope 2018; Trémeaud 2018).

Mainstream British scholarship nevertheless continues to ignore comment, predominantly from French scholars, on the elevated status of women and the potential for matrilineal Early Iron Age society (e.g. Brun 2018; Fernández-Götz and Ralston 2017; Milcent 2003; Pauli 1972; Pope 2018; Pope and Ralston 2011; Roualet 1997; Trémeaud 2019). The terms matrifocal/patrifocal are preferred here, rather than matrilineal/patrilineal. Matrifocal for instance suggests female-authored social forms, without alluding yet to the social mechanism (i.e. inheritance patterns, prescribed mobility) through which this might be achieved. Although lineages are suggested by the Early Iron Age archaeology (see Pope

2018). Beyond France, Arnold (2012) considers the archaeology may be suggesting patrilineal social forms in contemporary south-west Germany. Future, targeted, strontium isotope and aDNA studies, might help to identify any formal pattern of men being brought-in to female lineages (matrilocal) or women brought-in to male lineages (patrilocal) amongst particular groups, leading in to discussions on what this might then mean socially from the rest of the archaeological evidence. Reconstructing Iron Age societies (plural) must now be increasingly built-up from the regional archaeological data, rather than via application of a notional, generic top-down social model.

Recent Trends: Understanding Mobility

This corpus of work on understanding the nature of society from the burial data, sits well alongside new thinking on networks and mobility, as discussed by Sara Champion (1994, p. 149) and now aided by new science. The potential is our enabling patterns of movement to be discovered in the archaeological data, rather than read only from historical texts (e.g. Polybius and Livy). The excellent, multi-stranded analysis of the Early Iron Age Magdalenenberg uses osteology and isotopes to discuss diet, movement, and social structure – revealing individuals from Austria and the Alps/northern Italy (Oeltze et al. 2012). Here, and in Middle Iron Age Britain and Germany, isotope studies show long-distance mobility as restricted to a few individuals (Green 2008; Jay and Montgomery 2020; McKinley et al. 2014; Scheeres et al. 2013) and as ungendered (Giles et al. 2020, pp. 58-59; Pope and Ralston 2011, p. 408). Meanwhile, archaeological evidence for potential migrations (e.g. Ha D1 Austria, Rhineland/Champagne across 550-450 BC, La Tène France) do reveal gendered signatures (Arnold 2012, p. 105; Pope 2018). Most recently, Fernández-Götz (2020) provides an excellent review of thinking on migration in recent scholarship, whilst Brunel et al. (2020) reveal aDNA studies as unable yet to reveal these small-scale events. aDNA studies seem to

work best at the level of the cemetery (e.g. Kiesslich et al. 2005), such as important work by Mallory Antcil (2019) on contemporary burials from Hallstatt and Dürrenberg. Antcil's work revealed similar aDNA signatures in each cemetery, suggesting high levels of contact between the two – i.e. connected social networks, rather than distinct, isolated groups. Similar 'homogeneity' is now discussed by Brunel et al. (2020). For researchers then, retaining a distinction between *mobility* (various scales and motivators for movement) as different from *migration* (a specific process) now seems sensible, as archaeological studies on mobility and isotopes/aDNA open up new thinking on identifying social/kinship networks archaeologically (Bickle 2019; Frieman et al. 2019; Hakenbeck 2018). This is an exciting time for all who study past human populations.

Methodology

Approaching the Archaeology

The method here is primarily concerned with scale (see Champion 1994, pp. 145-147). As contextual archaeologists, our scale must be separate to that of Celtic language studies, which has a particular problem with the temporal/geographical scale of the data. Archaeologists cannot define early first-millennium BC Celts using the geographical distribution of Celtic place-names – language that survives to us in its most fully-diffused state, and widest geographic spread, in the late Roman/early historic period. The scale of archaeological study has decreased steadily over time: from Victorian empires → Childe's prehistoric civilisations/cultures of Europe and the Middle East → Kenyon's regional characteristics: as expanded by the 1990s/2000s Scandi-Dutch school (above). With roots in the latter, I seek to move 'Celts' beyond twentieth-century grand-narrative – the generalist, historical 'mixing pot' where Celts (=Galatai=Gauls) are pan-European, across millennia. I seek to move too beyond 1960s-1980s evolutionary narratives of chiefdom-tribe-state, and analogy-reliant

social modelling. This work is instead an attempt at cultural relativism and historical particularism, seeking to develop method towards identifying this archaeologically by comparing/contrasting increasingly detailed regional-chronological information (Champion 1994, p. 150; Collis 1994, p. 33). As Bertrand (1876) wanted, ultimately an appreciation of cultural scale built from the archaeological record itself; revealing social forms *through the archaeology*. This is somewhat akin to 1990s-2000s settlement archaeology: documenting local/regional social characteristics, chronologically, with a focus on social change over time.

Methodologically then, the first emphasis is on recognised *regional archaeologies*. It is accepted here that, for Iron Age Europe, regional-level variation is most readily and consistently apparent in the burial archaeology – e.g. Ha D2/3 Bavaria has a different archaeological signature to the grave assemblages of (contemporary) neighbouring Austria, which is different again to that west in Württemberg. Meanwhile, Württemberg’s neighbour in NE France has comparative material culture, but different gender information – the latter more similar to Switzerland. The burial archaeology reveals ‘society’ as a distinctly regional affair, at most (Clarke 1968). The dataset used here employs sequenced information from high status Early-Middle Iron Age graves across seven key regions (primarily Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Rhineland, eastern central Gaul, Switzerland, and northern England – with data also from The Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, Scotland, southern England, Spain, Portugal, Bohemia, Slovakia, Slovenia/Croatia and Hungary); comprising 374 entries (see **Supplemental Tables 1-4**).

From a literature of several thousand burials, and building on the data collation of Pare (1992), data collection was conducted according to two principles: 1) sex/gender information; 2) relative high-status (e.g. largest barrows, relative ‘high-status’ goods, evidence for Mediterranean contact). This method has developed rapidly in the field since Roy Hodson’s (1990) work on the Hallstatt cemetery which revealed status material culture

and gender information, in particular, as two important markers for identifying social traditions in the European Iron Age (Clarke's 1968 *social* and *sex subcultures*). I consider these two areas as having most potential regarding provision of regional-level social information (i.e. inter-regional and Mediterranean connections, gendered social structures). Analysing status variation *within* cemetery populations (e.g. Brun 2018) is also critical work, but is not the focus of this paper, due to the geographical scope currently necessary in order to approach the question of the Celts. Ideas around these twin sampling principles of relative 'status' and gender information require a little unpicking.

Archaeologists think critically about what grave-goods represent, with potential meaning rooted in many things other than simplistic notions of social hierarchy or role, or even as necessarily related to individual identity/personhood in life (Arnold 2006; Brück 2004; Giles 2012). As such, discussing grave-wealth in terms of an elite is problematic, especially as we do not yet understand the late Ha data sufficiently well, temporally or regionally, to necessarily demonstrate social stratification – beyond perhaps at Hallstatt, although critically here workers also had wealth. Meanwhile, Brun's (2018) argument for stratification in La Tène France is convincing. The social meaning of traditions involving grave-wealth is increasingly ours to discover, through contextual analysis, not something to assume. As such, I do not seek here to learn the meaning of status – instead I am isolating status data as having the most potential to reveal variant regional social forms. What it is that constitutes status on death is relative, varying in character between groups, and potentially representing different things to each: material culture perhaps a marker of authority in one region, but not another (see Collis 1994, p. 33; Collis and Karl 2018, pp. 5-7; Pope and Ralston 2011, p. 376). What we do know, is that where ranking by grave-wealth has been attempted, it is Iron Age women who hold more material wealth on death (e.g. Hinton 1986; Hodson 1990). In a much wider analysis of the north-Alpine complex (721 graves), the two

higher wealth-classes are feminine; whilst masculine gender is quantitatively better represented, it is associated with the two poorer wealth-classes (Trémeaud 2019). We also know that graves of both men and women display the material culture of political structures. Our objective here is to see how these matters varied across space, and over time, in our aim to develop a more nuanced understanding of Iron Age ‘society’.

Alongside critical thought on status and society, sits developed thinking on gender. Despite early critical thinking in anthropology and social theory (de Beauvoir 1949; MacCormack and Strathern 1980; Mead 1935; 1950) and subsequently in archaeology (Conkey and Spector 1984; Gero 1983; Gero and Conkey 1991; Gilchrist 1999) mainstream studies have continued to struggle with understanding gender beyond binary-sex stereotypes. This extends also into method. Despite interpreting grave-wealth with male bodies as power, when female burials display wealth or weapons, we begin to question that relationship (e.g. Hinton 1986, pp. 364-365; see Arnold 1991; Trémeaud 2019). We might now label this the Birka Problem, after the mental gymnastics that followed aDNA science demonstrating the Birka warrior as a woman (Hedenstierna-Jonson et al. 2017). The past is different, and changing our interpretations of material culture associations *on the basis of gender alone* tells us more about contemporary attitudes to women than it does about people in the past.

Early queer theory saw gender as a social structure tied to (binary) biological sex – imposed, and performative (Butler 1990). Since then, gender has increasingly been understood beyond binary, as spectrum. Currently gender is seen in terms of identity/agency, with a biological element perhaps next to be resolved. For Butler (2020), this presents culturally as the ‘diverse and historically shifting meanings of gender’ – signatures which may then be glimpsed structurally in the burial archaeology, or equally may be socially prohibited (see Arnold 2006; Trémeaud 2019, 278). As archaeologists, we must clearly distinguish between osteological sex, and perceived genders built up from archaeological

analysis (Table 2). Rather than talking about male and female burials, I prefer referring to masculine/feminine assemblages, which allows for different and complex notions of past gender, and helps to extend potential identities beyond those determined by biological sex as we currently perceive it.

Studies in Austria and Germany were first to acquire gender information – experimenting with assemblage seriation, in the absence of biological data. Hodson (1990) found status ungendered; Arnold (1991) identified feminine assemblages with spears; whilst Burmeister (2000) found a 10-15% crossover between masculine and feminine assemblages. Evans (2004) found that even when gender was most defined (LT A France) still 40% of burials were gender neutral; Trémeaud (2019) giving a 20% figure. Using osteological analysis, Pope and Ralston (2011, fig. 17.8) found some objects more gendered (martial masc., mirrors fem.) than others (chariots, craftworking, jewellery); as we recognised too that gender markers vary across time/space (Arnold 2012, 95). We are now identifying different genders, both for women (Bickle 2019; Pope and Ralston 2011, p. 397) and men (Giles 2012; Pope 2018). For example, whilst Iron Age status masculinity often displays a concern with martial metaphors, in patrifocal Ha D1 Bavaria, some elder high-status men instead displayed toilet-equipment; whilst in Middle Iron Age Britain, martial *ideologies* seem open to elder women, with martial *practice* linked to younger men – Iron Age gender more concerned with age than sex. It is understood that analysis beyond the scale of the grave, as necessary here, obscures detail. Grave assemblages require close contextual study to determine whether goods were worn by the deceased, or placed by mourners (e.g. Arnold 2012; Giles 2012). At the Magdalenenburg, for example, bodies with both masculine and feminine markers turned out, on inclusion of the osteology, to be children/adolescents, perhaps with goods from each parent (Pope 2018, pp. 8-9). As such, method/analysis at both scales must develop in tandem.

[Table 2 here]: sex/gender/gendered artefacts

Data collection had to span the period 800-250 BC, in order to resolve what constitutes ‘Celts’ by explicitly covering origins, the late Hallstatt period, and the Hallstatt-La Tène transition. Understanding the latter – which moves from wealthy Ha D lineages, to egalitarian La Tène groups, with warrior ideologies, at the Ha D periphery – is of particular importance in resolving ‘Celts’ due to the inherited Celts=La Tène problem (above).

Absolute dating remains limited, however period categories (Ha D1-LT A) are each in the region of two generations (Table 3), with recent French scholarship putting more that was once cautiously ‘Ha D2/3’ into Ha D2 (540-510 BC) i.e. the Vix generation. Data collection, rather than selection, was reliant on accessibility, so is not exhaustive, and omissions must be expected. Much work remains, both in refining our chronologies, and in continually improving our thinking/method around what burial status and gender constitute.

[Table 3 here]: chronology

Archaeological data for 800-250 BC, with markers for status and sex/gender information, was then sequenced chronologically (see Supplemental Tables 1-4). Next, approaching the texts as a chronologist/contextual archaeologist, information from thirty-one contemporary textual sources was similarly sequenced (Table 4), working to accept the usual caveats re. partial survival, bias, translation. The objective was to add textual sources in to the contemporary archaeological framework – combining historical and archaeological evidence, allowing each to help *structure* the other. Archaeology and texts were then combined in writing a chronological social narrative, in a bid to help ‘Celts’ become contextual (below). This method builds on 1980s thinking (Hodder 1986; Wylie 1985): that greater context enables a relatively better indication of meaning. Whilst not resorting to the acceptance of objective truths, we can realise the potential for relatively ‘better’ narratives of the past – as those increasingly grounded in contextual archaeological data, over analogy. The method is

akin to archaeological principles of stratigraphy in applied single-context field method – breaking down time into contexts (events) and sequencing them to build narrative (see also Pope et al. 2020). Beyond historicist romanticism, and beyond analogy, this applied method attempts a bringing together of text and archaeology (humanities and science) in increasingly contextual approaches to the past.

[Table 4 here]: texts

Archaeologists and Historical Sources

Before turning to our new, chronological narrative, I want briefly to consider the problematic way that archaeologists have previously employed historical texts. Archaeologists trained in the 1960s/1970s continued the easy, instead of working to understand texts historically/contextually (i.e. what fifth/fourth-century BC Greeks thought of Celts versus what first-century BC/AD Romans thought of Celts) references to *Keltoi*, *Celtae*, *Galatai*, *Galatae* and *Galli* were all simply conflated. This was the generalizing method of d'Arbois de Jubainville (1875). The core of the problem can be traced back to Piggott (1967) who believed the ancient authors muddled, as repeated most recently by Cunliffe (2019, 1) who suggests 'Celt' as a general term, used 'rather loosely' by Classical authors for the people of central and western Europe. However, this notion of 'Celt' as a general term is an artefact only of archaeologists melding together of early and late texts. Whilst Piggott was right that the Romans were muddled, Diodorus Siculus even left us a cautionary note on conflation by Roman authors (5.32.1) – the Greeks were markedly less so. Rather than taking our learning on the texts from Piggott (1967) we would have learned more on the early texts from Nora Chadwick's book of the same year (Dillon and Chadwick 1967). Sadly, Chadwick's method on the early texts was not carried forward by late twentieth-century archaeologists in Cambridge, leaving our field poorer for it (see Pope 2011 for context). The result was that

late twentieth-century archaeologists continued to see ‘Celts’ spread across Europe, as in Victorian times (e.g. Brun 1995, p. 13; Cunliffe 1997, fig. 55; Megaw and Megaw 1989, fig. 2) – only Collis was working towards *separating out* the textual evidence and beginning to think critically about its scope (1996; 2003, chapters 1, 6).

For archaeologists trained in the 1980s/1990s, this earlier approach to the texts also revealed a lack of understanding on the importance of context (i.e. a lack of learning in post-processual archaeology). It revealed too, a lack of understanding around the *historical development of ideas* in texts across time (i.e. a lack of learning from younger Classicist colleagues) as well as around notions of cultural scale since Childe (i.e. a lack of learning from colleagues in Anthropology). A generalizing approach to the texts was again validated by static ‘fossil-maps’ of linguistics data (e.g. Cunliffe 2012, fig. 1.1) – devoid of temporal depth. As such, pan-European notion of ‘Celts’ cannot be blamed on the historical texts, but on our own poor method (Karl 2012). Instead treating the textual evidence contextually, like Chadwick, we now find that only some authors (usually Roman) used ‘Celt’ as a general term, whilst early writers (Greek) were in fact relatively geographically specific.

A further problem was an archaeological focus on Caesar (e.g. Collis 1996). However, by Caesar’s time we are several centuries on from understanding the origin of ‘Celts’ – a term/identity already over half a millennium old. Our mid-late twentieth-century continuation of a generalizing notion of ‘culture’ led us easily to ideas that a monolithic ‘Celtic’ identity lasted into the early Medieval period – when in fact we might now argue that Iron Age ‘Celts’ had already begun morphing into new social identities as early as 450 BC (below). That said, the potential cultural continuity/adoption of ‘Celts’ as a *subsequent* identity – in N. Italy, central Europe, and the Atlantic west – becomes an interesting topic for critical study in its own right. Different again, of course, is the Roman understanding of those

identities, and their histories. A further contextual textual assessment, in the nature of that undertaken here, is now required for the period after 300 BC.

Linked to the above is the assumption by archaeologists that Roman knowledge was as valid as Greek regarding Celts, rather than seeking to treat both the texts, and the notion of identity, temporally – working to unfold Classical knowledge across time. We have instead been subjected to a circular argument: If we begin from the principle that everyone across Europe is a Celt, then we can throw all texts into the Celtic mixing pot, and pull out confirmation that everyone across Europe is a Celt. The result is that we began, as a result of our own generalizing method, to develop a mistrust of the sources when they did not reflect back our own generalist understanding – a distrust that has moved beyond that of healthy critical engagement (e.g. Freeman 2001; or Sims-Williams 2016, p. 17 and Collis 2003, p. 126 on Herodotus). This, purely because the texts have been continuously, repeatedly taken out of historical context. We have seen progress in recent years on understanding historical texts as containing (political) bias, and as relative in a cultural sense: every undergraduate can now recite this by rote. What we have *not* understood is that texts are also historically/temporally contingent. Texts are a manifestation of knowledge at a specific point in time – they are not an absolute, and as with any other archaeology, trends in knowledge shift across time/space, and do not follow the path of social evolutionary thinking. Caesar’s first-century BC understanding of ‘Celts’ is very different to that of fourth-century BC Plato.

A major problem, made worse by our constant bid to generalize, lies in acceptance of a later third-century BC mis-reading of Herodotus’ ‘beyond’. In an era of confusion/parody in the Classical texts (330 BC – see [Table 4](#)), the historian Ephorus, considers Spain Celtic. This is heavily critiqued by first-century BC Strabo: “Ephorus extends the boundaries of Keltica too far, including within it most of what we now name Iberia, as far as Gades” (*Geog.* 4.4.6). Arguably Strabo, who is also critical of Pytheas, may have too-literal a reading of Ephorus’

essentially ‘schematic’ geographic trope (Sims-Williams 2016, p. 7). The degree of confusion caused by Ephorus’ trope in subsequent scholarship, however, lends support to Strabo’s slight pedantry. A further mis-reading of Herodotus by third-century BC librarian, Eratosthenes, as Celts in Spain *with the exception of Cadiz*, only enhanced the scholastic problem (Kruta 2005, p. 14). In its fifth-century BC sea-faring context, Herodotus’ Celts ‘beyond Cadiz’ most likely references a coastal outpost, in the vein of Narbo, on the coast beyond Cadiz, supported by the fact he differentiates between *Keltoi* and the more western *Cynetes* – the latter considered by near-contemporary Herodorus to be Iberian. Beyond this group of Celts beyond Cadiz, Spain-as-originally-Celtic is a mis-reading (ancient and modern) of Herodotus. The idea relies on ‘Celtic’ place-names – largely of the Roman period, and late third-century BC at their earliest (cf. Collis, 2003, pp. 130–131; pp. 175–179; Cunliffe 1997, p. 137; Sims-Williams 2016; 2020, pp. 11-12). Beyond Herodotus’ group in the south-west, most of Iberia may not be ‘Celtic’ until relatively late, i.e. late third-century BC (the time of Eratosthenes – see comment by Dinan 1911, p. 145). The dating of Celtiberian archaeology is critical here.

These issues resolved, the texts can become another strand of archaeology. Classical texts become most useful in helping us understand the past when they are contextualized, something best achieved by archaeologists collaborating with classicists. **Table 4** provides a synthesis of historical references to the Celts of the late Hallstatt and Hallstatt-La Tène transition period. This updates Dinan (1911) and Collis (2003) and will hopefully serve as a useful resource for future scholars. The texts are ordered chronologically, regarding the date of events recounted (given in square brackets when historical). If existing as later fragments, this is noted to aid contextualization.

This *sequencing* of the Classical texts has revealed several distinct phases of historical activity. Apparently oral histories of the late 7th-early 5th centuries BC were written down in later texts, with the first contemporary accounts recorded in the mid-late fifth-century BC.

The early fourth-century BC is a period of lost accounts (e.g. Theopompus' book on the western Celts) – and it is interesting to consider that this may be a result of Rome desiring to re-write its origins. After this there is a period of information recovery (mid-late fourth-century BC) followed by an episode of vagueness/error/parody (330 BC). The third-century BC is then a period of subsequent clarifications. Texts, like archaeology, are contextual.

Historical texts are subject to temporal rhythms, and our reading of them can only benefit from the adoption of increasingly contextual archaeological method – towards a 'genealogy' almost of Classical thinking. Iron Age archaeologists must seek greater integration of Classicists and Ancient Historians in our bid to further understand the social context of the texts, as we build them together with the archaeological evidence. In our bid to learn more about the origins of Celts, their society (plural) and social change, the combined historical and archaeological evidence will now be discussed, chronologically, in three parts: 1) *Encountering the Celts* (seventh-sixth centuries BC); 2) *Power Politics and the decline of Hallstatt/the Celts* (550-450 BC); and 3) *making sense of a new era* (450-350 BC).

Encountering the Celts (seventh-sixth centuries BC)

Our earliest Celts (Κελτοί, *Keltoi*) are found in much later texts, written by late second-first century BC historians: Polybius (Greek) and Livy (Roman). Here, the very ancient *Veneti*, Italic-Celts on the Adriatic coast, founders of the Alpine peoples, had at least seventh-century BC origins, from Gaul (table 5). In the archaeology of that time, final seventh-century BC Celtic-Etruscan inscriptions further west, in Golasecca, provide evidence for cultural integration of 'Celtic' speakers in N. Italy (Collis 2003, p. 191; Kruta 2005, p. 30). Celts, from Gaul, were perhaps settled then in two areas of N. Italy by the seventh-century BC. A well-established relationship between Etruscans and Celts was certainly reported by second-century BC Polybius: 'Their chief intercourse was with the Celts, because they occupied the

adjoining districts' (*Hist.* 2.17). This relationship is attested archaeologically by Etruscan drinking vessels in high-status graves (Austria, Germany, France) between 700–400 BC (down to 350 BC at Waldalgesheim, and 300 BC in the Paris Basin). For late second-first century BC Classical writers then, the first Celts were from Early Iron Age Gaul, small groups of whom had settled in N. Italy to become friendly with the Etruscans.

[Table 5 here]: Polybius and Livy

Celtic language studies now consider 'Celtic' to have developed originally in Bronze Age France (Sims-Williams 2020, p. 13). Similarly, following initial heavy critique, Koch's (2019) 'Tartessian-Celtic' is now thought pre-700 BC: an Early Iron Age *predecessor* to La Tène 'Celtic' of Bronze Age and deeper roots (Cunliffe and Koch 2019) – as such *pre-dating* our first Classical references to Celts. Our earliest recognised 'early Celtic' languages (Venetic, Lepontic) are currently dated to 600 BC (Koch 2019, p. 25) – which the re-working of the Classical evidence here might now push slightly earlier. It seems possible that the fragments of an early-Celtic language identified by Koch (2019) in Tartessian might stem from Sims-Williams' (2020) early-Celtic language in Gaul. Something perhaps confirmed by Herodotus' group of Celts beyond Cadiz. 'Celtic' language proper only becoming more widespread in the La Tène period, with a late third-century BC date at earliest for Spain, and perhaps also Britain (Sims-Williams 2016, 2020, p. 13). A third-century BC date is also given for Galatia in the east – converging now with the archaeology (**below**). The linguistics then appear to be resolving.

A new, continuity of Late Bronze Age burial traditions is now recognised in the archaeology (Verger and Pernet 2013) meaning that these seventh-century BC 'Celts' in Gaul did not arrive (see Cunnington 1923; Chadwick 1971) and now confirmed by the aDNA evidence (Brunel et al. 2020). Analysis by Trémeaud (2019) reveals a Middle Bronze Age rise in female status, followed by a period of well-documented Late Bronze Age masculinity.

These social traditions continue into the Earliest Iron Age in the Atlantic west, with iron swords the notable artefact between 800-625 BC (Brun 2018, p. 6); contemporary with lowland cattle-raising settlements in eastern Scotland, which lack formal burial rites (Pope 2018, 2015b). Social signatures are different, however, further east. Late Bronze Age Poland seems instead more feminine/neutral, with wealthy women noted east to Slovenia and the Balkans, female warriors amongst the Scythians, and extraordinary female wealth amongst early Etruscan women – e.g. Regolini-Galassi (Cerveteri) and Barberini (Preneste) (Brun 2018; Cunliffe 2019b; Trémeaud 2019). In terms of location, status Ha C burials surround the Alps, focusing on river valleys (fig. 1) with the the Hallstatt salt trade at its seventh-century BC height – revealing connections east to Italy, Slovenia, and Scythia, with feminine graves typically the richer (Supplemental Table 1; Hodson 1990; Pope 2018; Trémeaud 2019). Contemporary Germany/France seems however to be looking west, continuing patrifocal Late Bronze Age traditions, although some high-status female graves are now found in France, prior to female status exploding after 600 BC (Trémeaud 2019; Supplemental Table 1). At 615 BC, an important social transition takes place in western Europe: from Ha C continuity of patrifocal Late Bronze Age mortuary traditions, to an increasingly matrifocal Early Iron Age proper, in line with social norms further east – out of the salt trade (fig. 2).

[Fig. 1 here]: Ha C map

[Fig. 2 here]: Graph 1 (Ha C-D)

A 600 BC foundation tale for Massalia (Marseilles) – recorded first by Aristotle (fourth-century BC) and subsequently by Athenaeus (second-century AD) – records that, in the time of Tarquin (616–579 BC), a Gaulish leader’s daughter, Petta, chose a Phocaeon as her husband, and together they founded Massalia (Rankin 1996, pp. 35-36; Athen. 13.576ab). Justin, in the Epitome of first-century BC Trogus Pompeius of Gaul, tells a further tale on the origins of the alliance between Celts and Greeks (*Phil. Hist.* 43.5). In the archaeology, this

Celtic-Greek friendship is referenced by Greek items in high-status graves in France between 540–450 BC, and down to 350 BC at Bourges. Meanwhile, second-century BC Polybius describes the wandering open settlements of the Celts in Gaul, their concern for combat, cattle, gold, with the *Laevi* and *Lebecii* moving first to the Po source, near the Etruscans.

First-century BC Livy has 600/590 BC as the first migration of Celts across the Alps, again in the form of an origin tale: two high-born brothers, Segovesus and Bellovesus, set out east with surplus population – one north to the Danube source, one south to the Po source. The archaeology does reveal the Danube source as a clear Ha D1 settlement focus (fig. 3). The Celts, finding themselves in the same position as the migrating Phocaeans, help the latter to establish at Massalia. Collis (2003, pp. 21–22, p. 121) suggests an error by Livy, however Collis’ reading conflates separate historical events. Despite Livy *knowing* that migrations began at 600 BC, he seems to detail those of the fifth-century BC (see also *ibid.* p. 170). Applying the principle of archaeological stratigraphy to the texts (table 4) we find Livy’s travellers, rather than being first to cross the Alps, occupy land already settled by the *Insubres* of Polybius’ account – positioning the Greek account as earlier sixth-century BC, and Livy’s as slightly later. In mapping the area of the groups mentioned by Polybius and Livy, using the geography of Strabo and Caesar – as undertaken by Thierry/Bertrand and Collis (2003, figs 20 and 55) – we find their ‘Celts’ in central Gaul (fig. 4). Using second/first-century BC oral histories and locations, to map groups reported four-five centuries earlier, however, is problematic, and it is assumed that the geographical area of the *Early Iron Age* groups was somewhat smaller. Remembering too that Early Iron Age groups were valley-based, not spanning whole areas. As such, Fig. 4 remains an approximate reconstruction, based on later textual information. It is worth recognising too that Hecataeus recording ‘Celts’ in southern central Gaul is not an indication of where Celts originated – it is simply where Greeks began to encounter them.

[Fig. 3 here]: Ha D1 map

[Fig. 4 here]: map from texts

Classical tales then position ‘Celts’ of 600 BC as those of central Gaul, who, through growth in population, sought land at the newly-popular Danube source (i.e. the Heuneburg) and Po rivers (near the Etruscans) and that in migrating to N. Italy, they allied with the Phocaean Greeks and helped to establish Massalia. Important too is the relationship between Celts and Ligurians. Surviving in a much later text, the lost *Massiliot Periplus* (600 BC) placed Celts in coastal north France beyond Brittany, on land taken from the coastal *Ligurians* (table 4) – suggesting Celts as initially inland, rather than coastal groups (Sims-Williams 2016, p. 10). Ligurians were also recorded on the south coast of France (Hecataeus, 500 BC) and in northern, coastal Spain (Himilco, 490 BC): fig. 4. Ligurians then seems shorthand for coastal (non-Iberian) groups, as different to ‘Celts’ who were initially those further inland. By the time of Caesar, those of northern Gaul were *Belgae*, from across the Rhine, with Celts, as they by then apparently called themselves, again more central, a return perhaps to traditional landscapes.

The archaeology of 600 BC reveals an established, well-connected, and equitable/feminine Austrian salt trade, connected west to a thriving Heuneburg of high-status women (Hohmichele, Bettelbühl). Here, female burials outnumber males (39:21 percent) and burials were segregated by sex (Arnold 2012, p. 97). The Heuneburg was connected to the Magdalenenberg, south to the Mediterranean, and west to an apparently matrifocal Gaul, where all high-status Ha D1 graves were feminine (Arnold 2012, p. 105; Milcent 2003; Pope 2018; Supplemental Table 2). The archaeology shows a new geographical focus between Danube and Seine (fig. 3) – perhaps supporting Livy – and a new trend, through to LT B, with feminine graves the wealthier in western Germany/NE France (Trémeaud 2019, fig. 10; Evans 2004). This emergence of matrifocal society seems more short-lived in Germany than

in Ha D1 France; it is not apparent in patrifocal Bavaria, and is found only later further east to Poland (Trémeaud 2019, p. 286; [Supplemental Table 2](#)). The period around 600 BC seems one of relative mobility, with long-distance connections attested in the grave-goods of Hallstatt, and some early movement perhaps from Austria to Bavaria (Pope 2018, pp. 7-8). After 616 BC, individuals of Hallstatt and N. Italian heritage were buried at the Magdalenenberg, with a new love of Italian coral found in the west (Oeltze et al. 2012; Kruta 2005, p. 72). This 600 BC date also sees the Heuneburg rebuilt in Mediterranean style (Krausse et al. 2016), and Livy's tale of Gauls moving to the Danube source at 600/590 BC sits well here. It should not surprise us that people travelled, and indeed the status item of late Hallstatt Europe is the wagon (Pare 1992; Piggott 1983), which both Powell (1958) and Cunliffe (1997) considered as having eastern, Ha C origins, with burnt wagon burials in Late Bronze Age southern Germany (J. Collis pers. comm. 2019).

Across the sixth-century BC, the settlement archaeology of Bavaria to central France is one of small hilltop enclosures, with settlement focused on particular valleys (Büchsenseschütz and Mordant 2005; Collis 2003, fig. 72). Broadly twenty *fürstensitze* are known, in association with the increasingly wealthy *fürstengräber* of their occupants (Fernández-Götz and Ralston 2017). Meanwhile, pastoralist farmsteads formed around Bronze Age urnfields in the Netherlands, and contemporary early hillforts in southern England, seem engaged only in pastoralism, with no formal burial tradition, perhaps excarnation. A coastal tradition exists in Britain, around depositing gender-ambiguous wooden figurines, alongside the origins of formal burial: five women north of the Humber estuary (Melton) and a cemetery in Somerset ([Supplemental Table 2, no. 239-245](#)). In the texts, Polybius and Livy see continuation of small-scale migrations from Gaul to the Po source ([table 5](#)); as Switzerland begins to reveal wagon burials, but a paucity of settlement (Kruta 2005, p. 46). The early sixth-century BC burial archaeology, seems to document a

relatively gender-fluid society in Germany, alongside matrifocal groups in France, with an increasingly feminine character to society after 550 BC (Burmeister 2000; fig. 5). In the archaeology, we see late Hallstatt traditions adopted by those the Greeks called ‘Celts’ in east-central France – the archaeology suggesting (social/kin) links east to Württemberg (Pope 2018, fig. 34.6). Leaving the archaeology aside for a moment, we continue our quest for ‘Celts’ by turning to the word of contemporary Greeks.

[Fig. 5 here]: Graph 2 (Ha D1-2/3)

Our first *contemporary* Classical references to Celts are found at 500 BC, as fragments of writing on early fifth-century BC voyages, surviving in later texts (table 4). For Carthaginian explorer, Himilco, after the earlier *Massaliot Periplus*, Celts were on the coast of Gaul opposite Albion (Britain) beyond the Oestrymides (tin isles – considered here as the twin peninsulas of Brittany and Cornwall) on previously Ligurian land. This is perhaps confirmed in the *Argonautica* with a journey along a three-mouthed river (Po, Rhône, Rhine) to a vast area of stormy lakes in the land of the Celts. Whilst Sims-Williams (2016) has the journey up the Po to the N. Italian/Swiss lakes, if it continued down the Rhine (as indicated by the ‘three mouths’ element – Collis 2003, p. 17) we would meet Himilco’s Celts on the N. coast of Gaul. The *Argonautica* also has ‘Celts’ inland of Ligurians in a journey down the Rhône (Sims-Williams 2016, p. 10). For geographer, Hecataeus of Miletus (500 BC) the *keltikei*, land of the Celts, was above (i.e. inland from) Massalia – a Phocaeen colony in the land of the Ligurians (coastal southern Gaul). Finally, geographer Hecataeus mentions a Celtic settlement at Nyra – thought by early French scholars, after Caesar, to be *Noreia*/Noricum in Austria. This is disputed by Collis (2003, pp. 188–189) and Sims-Williams (2016) – although an Austrian interpretation might make sense in a ‘trading outpost’ model, as a means of accessing salt. Hecataeus also mentions a ‘market settlement’

at Narbo (thought Narbonne) – although Collis believe Lattes (Montpellier) the important Gaulish port (Collis pers. comm. 2019; Powell 1958; Rankin 1996, p. 8).

So, for Mediterranean sailors at 500 BC, Celts were those inland from the Mediterranean coast of France, with some perhaps inland too from the Adriatic (Hecataeus). This is presumably those occupying the small hillforts of central France (e.g. Mont Lassois). Himilco, and perhaps the *Argonautica*, also had ‘Celts’ on the coast of northern Gaul, from Normandy to the Rhine. Interestingly Brittany, as one of the Oestrymnides, seems neither Celtic nor Ligurian, its tin perhaps holding the land in common. Brittany was perhaps conceptually linked to its pair in Cornwall, aligning with the settlement archaeology: Brittany slightly odd in France for its roundhouses (Godard 2013). Early fifth-century BC ‘Celts’ then were: primarily inland, non-Mediterranean, but with Mediterranean interests – as represented by traditional seventh/sixth-century BC friendships with Masalliot and Etruscans, and the ‘market settlement’ of coastal Narbo (fig. 4). This is the distribution largely accepted by linguist Sims-Williams (2016, p. 24) who notes these areas (N. Italy, France, Switzerland) as those where Celtic-language inscriptions (Lepontic, Gaulish) first appear, with Lepontic dated from 600 BC (Koch 2019, p. 25).

In summary, whilst twentieth-century archaeologists (Déchelette, Kruta, Cunliffe) used ‘Celts’ as a generic term for Iron Age Europe, this was *not* the case amongst early Mediterranean writers. A Celts-as-west trope *can* be found in later work (i.e. Ephorus) but only once the greater accuracy of the early term was already lost. Contemporary writers tell of ‘Celts’ in central/northern Gaul from 500 BC, which Aristotle and Polybius subsequently extend back to the seventh/sixth-centuries BC. This subsequent writing down of Celtic origin tales presumably a result of their notoriety in the Mediterranean after 400 BC. The Early Iron Age archaeology of central France, the area of the Celts, is one of small hillforts: the burials reveal people who are well-connected, travelling, and accumulating wealth, in apparently

matrifocal social structures. To help us further resolve the issue of the Celts, we must turn to their relationship with the ‘Galatai’. A long history of scholars conflated the two, assuming *Galatai* to mean those of Gaul. Here, following application of contextual method to both texts and archaeology of the Hallstatt-La Tène transition, we find that this is not the case. The archaeology suggests that as early as 550 BC, prior to our first Greek references, new social structures were already beginning to form: the origins of the *Galatai*.

Power Politics: Hochdorf, Vix and *Galatai* (550-450 BC)

Origins of the Galatai? (550/540 BC)

The archaeology reveals 550/540 BC as a politically significant time. This is a period of settlement expansion north and south of the earlier Danube-Seine corridor (fig. 6). In Württemberg, the archaeology reveals strong Mediterranean links – i.e. The Heuneburg architecture, Greek couch fittings and ceramics, Etruscan drinking cups and local copies (Krause et al. 2016) with the early Heuneburg burials (Hohmichele, Bettelbühl) suggesting women in authority. However the Heuneburg suffered a major fire at 540/530 BC; the majority of the outer settlement was abandoned, and after 550 BC Württemberg burials reveal a decline in gender-ambiguity, with the highest-status grave ultimately that of Hochdorf (Burmeister 2000; Fernández-Götz and Ralston 2017; Pope 2018; fig. 5). Whilst we hear that Württemberg’s western neighbours, as ‘Celts’ had initial ties with Phocaeen Greeks through Massalia, Gaul seems ultimately more connected to the Etruscans (NW coast of Italy). Württemberg, on the other hand, saw initial influences from the Piceno region (NE coast of Italy) – e.g. the 600 BC Guerriero di Capestrano, influencing both Hirschlanden and Hochdorf – before developing a stronger relationship with Greece. This reached its zenith in the lifetime of Hochdorf (25 years old at 550 BC) and Grafenbühl (d. 500 BC) whose graves involved an *ostentatious* display of Greek furniture. Towards the end of this period, at around

550 BC, we find feminine grave-assemblages with daggers/spears (Neuhausen ob Eck, Kappel-Grafenhausen T1, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt G1) as well as the first *disproportionate deposition* of curated feminine wealth (e.g. ‘matriarchal’ Mühlacker, Esslingen-Sirnau) – a practice continuing down into early La Tène ([table 6](#)): signatures of unrest, as broadly contemporary with the Heuneburg fire and the ostentation of Hochdorf/Grafenbühl.

[[Fig. 5 here](#)]: Graph 3 (Ha D1 & D2/3)

[[Fig. 6 here](#)]: Ha D2/3 map

[[Table 6 here](#)]: disproportionate deposition

Contemporary, apparently matrifocal, eastern Gaul (the women of Ste-Colombe, Apremont; under 70-80 m barrows) reveals less evidence for unrest at 550/540 BC – notwithstanding perhaps some migration to Champagne and N. Italy. In Champagne, from 550 BC, at the periphery of the late Hallstatt *fürstensitzel/furstengraber* tradition, an austere ‘Jogassian’ settlement was established – becoming densely populated by 400 BC (Kruta 2005, p. 46). At Les Jogasses cemetery, graves were spatially segregated by sex (as at Hallstatt) and some women were buried with an iron dagger. The authority of Jogassian women is discussed by Milcent (2004, pp. 197-211) as high-status graves in eastern France become exclusively female (550-450 BC) and possessing most grave-wealth down to LT B1 (375 BC) ([Supplemental Tables 3-4](#); Pope and Ralston 2011, p. 381; Trémeaud 2019, p. 286). The adoption of late Hallstatt (Württemberg-Greek) traditions by those in central-eastern France, seems to have inspired some women to move north. It is perhaps relevant that contemporary Brittany (tin source) was instead influenced by N. Italy (Kruta 2005, p. 52). As Württemberg became friendly with Greece, it is the long-established links between ‘Celts’ and Etruscans/N. Italy that ultimately seem more binding. From Classical authors, we heard how ‘Celts’ in N. Italy continued to be joined by further groups from Gaul ([table 5](#)).

In neighbouring Rhineland, the archaeology reveals a society different again to both Hochdorf's Württemberg and to Jogassian Champagne. By contrast, Rhineland barrow cemeteries seem to reveal excess men (1:7 fem:masc): wagons and high-status goods were predominantly buried with men, the defining object was the spear (fig. 5b), with Trémeaud's (2019) analysis revealing a surge in masculine grave-wealth after 550 BC (see fig. 2). The archaeology reveals these more masculine, northern groups as much less concerned with displaying Mediterranean contact. The impression is male authority, greater insularity, and a concern for martial identity over wealth-display: a new austere social order, in which women seem less interested. Interestingly, it is here, towards the end of the Hallstatt period, that the first chariots are found, in Hunsrück-Eifel west of the Rhine; as the number of status burials increases (after 475 BC) in Rhine-Moselle (Pope and Ralston 2011, p. 384).

In the archaeology of Bavaria, whose elder Ha D1 men had prized appearance (toilet-sets, razors, tweezers) came a new martial masculinity. The majority (85%) of Pare's (1992) Ha D Bavarian wagon burials had typically masculine grave-goods and, as in Rhineland, masculinity displayed a martial identity (82% had weapons). Again, there was less concern for the Mediterranean – whilst limited continuity of contact is found, Bavarian tradition preferred feasting from ceramics (e.g. Großeibstadt I G4 with his 56 vessels). In Bavaria, however, unlike Rhineland, some of the wealthiest wagon burials were feminine (e.g. Schesslitz-Demmelsdorf with five bronze neck-rings, five arm-ring pairs, amber and gold) – a further example of *disproportionate deposition*, tokens of absent female relatives perhaps, as some women left family in the late Hallstatt heartland. Interesting too is that depictions on Bavarian vessels reveal a 50:50 representation of men/women (Rebay-Salisbury 2016).

The archaeology shows Ha D2/3 as a time of population growth: new settlements and 400 cemeteries were established north in Rhineland/Champagne with tens of thousands of graves (Brun 2018, pp. 12-13; fig. 6). Both texts and archaeology reveal 550/540 BC as a

period of movement (fig. 7): north and east, out of late Hallstatt traditions (to Bavaria, Rhineland, Champagne) and south to N. Italy. A move also apparently gendered by region – feminine in Champagne (amongst matrifocal groups), masculine in Rhineland (amongst patrifocal groups), and mixed in Bavaria. These new, northern communities reveal martial identities: daggers with Württemberg/Champagne women, spears in Rhineland/Bavaria. Groups perhaps fighting their way out of late Hallstatt society, whether literally or metaphorically. There is movement too to already-established communities: eastern groups to Bavaria, Celts to N. Italy. Amongst older communities (Württemberg, Bavaria) Hallstatt-derived wealth is rapidly deposited, speaking of fractured communities – family items deposited instead of passed on, with similarly high feminine grave-wealth in NE Germany/Poland from Ha D2/3-LT B (Trémeaud 2019, pp. 286-289). This seems a period of upheaval, necessitating a re-alignment of communities (people either stay, go to join cousins, or start afresh in the north) presumably on the basis of shared values.

[Fig. 7 here]: temporal maps 620-540 BC

At this time in the Mediterranean, Persia had absorbed eastern Greek settlements, leading Phocaeans to migrate west to Alalia: their colony established on east-coast Corsica in 565 BC (Cunliffe 1997, p. 50; Hornblower et al. 2012). This upset Etruria, and in 535 BC, an Etruscan-Carthaginian alliance expelled Phocaeans from Alalia. In the 530s BC, during Hochdorf's lifetime, the western Mediterranean might be interpreted as increasingly 'anti-Greek'. Contemporary martial assemblages in NW Europe (Württemberg, Rhineland, Bavaria, Champagne) alongside Polybius' migrations, suggest a rejection, by some, of late Hallstatt values (Hochdorf's lavish wealth, Greek alliance) – perhaps especially for 'Celts' with their long-held Etruscan allegiances. Alongside the disproportionate deposition of feminine Hallstatt wealth in Württemberg and Bavaria, it is out of the new, northern and

eastern communities, that we see the very origins of new La Tène societies after 550 BC: those known to Greek writers as *Galatai* (below).

The Political Vix (520-450 BC)

It is following this period of political upheaval that we find the grave of Vix (Burgundy): often considered the wealthiest in western Europe. The associated settlement of Mont Lassois seems inherited from the woman of Ste-Colombe de la Butte, whose 76 m diameter tumulus is paralleled only by Hohmichele. Vix, in life, was very much in the middle of things. Mont Lassois was strategically positioned near the heads of both the Seine (north to Atlantic tin) and the Rhône (south to Phocaeans at Massalia, and the Mediterranean). Geographically, Vix was at the overlap of Celtic identity to the west and Württemberg influence to the east – a cultural overlap that may have inspired early moves to N. Italy. Politically, Vix was born as Etruscans and Carthaginians expelled Phocaeans from Alalia. Despite Gaul having Phocaeans connections through Massalia (e.g. the Megaron-type house of Mont Lassois) – on her death, Vix seems to assert anti-Greek sentiments. At 500 BC her Württemberg contemporary, Grafenbühl, displays Greek furniture, akin to earlier Hochdorf. The tomb of Vix contained the largest Greek krater in all of Europe and the Mediterranean – symbol of the masculine Greek *symposion* (Hobden 2016). This krater however, subverts. It employs unusual, leg-spreading, terrifying gorgon imagery at the base of the handles. The usual parade of soldiers on the lid/sieve-rim had been removed (not recovered in Joffroy's excavation) and instead, at the lid's centre, was soldered an Italian bronze figure of a woman (Rolley 2003). On one of the two Attic cups women, Amazons, were fighting Hoplites. The material culture of Vix's tomb reads as a subversion of the Greek *symposion*, an assertion instead of female authority, referencing back perhaps to Etruria via the Italian female figure. From Hecataeus, it is during the life of Vix that the Celtic market-settlement of Narbo is established – perhaps revealing

an attempt by Celts, at this politically-charged time, to circumvent Massaliot middle-men in the trade north. So, in the generation following the unrest of 550/540 BC, our ‘Celts’ seem to have avoided greater conflict, by re-stating Etruscan over Greek allegiances. At this time, Livy has more Celts moving to N. Italy, which now makes more sense in political context, who now end up fighting Etruscans for land (table 5).

The political resolve of Vix, restating Etruscan allegiances, seems to have survived for two generations after her death, coming undone only at 450 BC. It is interesting that we have no surviving contemporary Greek texts of this period, particularly given that the archaeology suggests an era of female political authority. Two subsequent stories: Diodorus Siculus on the foundation of Gaul, and Plutarch writing in AD 100 on the judicial role of Celtic women in matters of war, can be read as regarding the political situation at the time of the Vix burial (*Hist. Lib.* 5.24; *Mulierum Virtutes* 246c). Each text highlights the respect for the political role of Celtic women in late Hallstatt-early La Tène society.

Decline of Hallstatt, and the Celts (450 BC)

Back in the Mediterranean, Etruscans, having allied with Carthage against the Phocaeans, saw trade flourish after 480 BC (Cunliffe 1997, p. 62; p. 51). This however led to conflict, e.g. a Syracusan offensive against coastal Etruria (454/453 BC). Meanwhile, the female-authored unrest in Württemberg seems, three generations on, to have spread further west, and particularly now amongst the men. In the archaeology of Rhineland and Champagne, the earlier Rhine-Moselle pattern (550/540 BC) repeats at 450 BC with a new, martial identity in Hunsrück-Eifel. Here, the wealthiest La Tène A burials are masculine (Hochscheid, Bescheid) and there is a notable absence of wealthy women north of the Moselle – the suggestion being that patrifocal groups shift further north again, as the traditional late Hallstatt heartland is abandoned (fig. 8). In Champagne too, an association is now found

between men and chariots, particularly in the earliest examples, with a new growth of masculine status-display alongside the established wealthy women of Champagne.

(Supplemental Table 3, no. 278). By 450 BC, it seems to have been the men who led the final social move out of late Hallstatt traditions, alongside the breakdown of late Hallstatt gender norms (fig. 9a). Importantly, our well-documented ‘shift north’ at 450 BC was in fact a *continued* move out of the Ha D1 Danube-Seine corridor, and was originally female-authored – something we had missed due to our previous lack of interest in female graves.

[Fig. 8 here]: LT A map

[Fig. 9 here]: Graph 3 (LT A-B)

‘Celts’ then were caught up in broader social change: the social transition from Hallstatt to La Tène beginning to snowball. Late Hallstatt traditions east to Germany, as embraced by the eastern Celts, were dying. By 450 BC the Heuneberg was abandoned, Greek trade had ended, and late Hallstatt grave assemblages were becoming ritualized. In Gaul, movement to N. Italy continues, with Italian material culture dating later further west (e.g. Bourges); meanwhile others appear to join the now well-established northern communities. As had happened in neighbouring Moselle-Rhine (after 475 BC) alongside masculine burials with swords/spears, the northern communities (e.g. Champagne) saw dramatic growth in Early La Tène feminine wealth after 450 BC. The graves display late Hallstatt jewellery – torcs, bracelet pairs, ear-rings; as graves of contemporary *Senones* women of the Adriatic also display torcs and bracelet pairs (Evans 2004; Kruta 2005, p. 70; Verger 1995). Interestingly, with only 13% infant burials during this period (Marne, Pernant cemeteries) early La Tène women seem in control of their fertility, with this new northern society considered ‘egalitarian’ by Roualet (1997, p. 170). Similarly, contemporary Middle Rhine saw incredible female wealth (gold, *Schnabelkannen*) as Late Hallstatt traditions came to an end in the early La Tène period. This process involved slightly odd, potentially ritualized

imagery/behaviour: miserable warriors in (N. Italian) defensive stance; mistletoe headgear (Hirschlanden, Glauberg); a young boy of status (Hoppstädten); high-status women displaying N. Italian links (Reinheim, Waldalgesheim) – a continued regret perhaps for Greek alliance, and perhaps also for a loss of the Celts.

Alongside growing wealth in the northern communities of Middle Rhine and Champagne, the archaeology of those closer to the older salt communities, in Austria/Switzerland, shows rapid deposition of extraordinary female wealth, contemporary with the decline of late Hallstatt traditions in Germany (table 6). In Dürrenberg, women received a disproportionate number of fibulae on burial: a community actively depositing inherited wealth, in its move away from feminine late Hallstatt power structures. In Switzerland, we find notably austere masculine graves, with relatively plain iron swords, as *children* are buried with objects of female wealth, referencing adult elite themes and Etruscan contact, a notable development from late Hallstatt traditions that had celebrated middle-aged achievement and leadership. That it was dead children receiving feminine wealth was previously unrecognised (fig. 9a; see Pope and Ralston 2011, p. 378). As seen first in Württemberg/Bavaria, these ostentatious grave assemblages seem to mark the deposition of an accumulated wealth of generations: representing a society shrinking rather than growing, heirlooms deposited rather than inherited; the older traditions dying with the parents. Contemporary with this is the accumulation of large depositions of weaponry and animal remains at ritual sites (La Tène, Gournay-sur-Aronde, Ribemont-sur-Ancre) – the masculine equivalent it seems of the feminine graveside practice of *deliberate deposition*.

The late Hallstatt celebration of wealth, originating out of the salt trade, was in very rapid decline at 450 BC. Pockets of fast-deposition, inside a generation, reveal the objects of female wealth as no longer being passed-on, in socially-fractured, martial communities, in which status remained ungendered, but where leadership was now less obviously the preserve

of women. Identity on death celebrated martial ideologies/traditions, presumably those that had begun a century earlier under Hochdorf. Earlier individual migrations (to Bavaria, Rhine-Moselle, Champagne) seem evidenced again, now further west/north (e.g. **Supplemental Table 3, no. 287, 294**). After which followed greater female wealth-display/deposition – traditions still demonstrating links to Italy, amidst cessation of Greek trade. Female wealth was deposited in areas of France, Switzerland, Austria, middle Rhine. Younger women at 450 BC seem to have accepted the end of Hallstatt traditions – as some of their ‘Celtic’ great-grandmothers had perhaps refused to do at 550/540 BC, under Ste-Colombe, and then Vix. A century after the upset of Hochdorf, more ‘Celts’ joined that original move north. Others perhaps moved west (e.g. to Bourges) or south to join relatives in N. Italy – as increasingly verified in the archaeology (Cunliffe 1997, p. 73; Kruta 2005, pp. 66–67, p. 72; Vitali 1997).

What we can establish then, from the archaeology, is the slow development of new, northern communities, forming across 550–450 BC *out of late Hallstatt traditions*. This was not a mass-migration – but a slow process of groups of people, changing politically and socially across three-four generations, shifting their settlement over time. An insight which only a refined, chronologically-sequenced understanding of both archaeology and texts can provide. These newer, northern communities, those who develop the La Tène art traditions, became known to Greeks as *Galatai*: sort-of-Celts, but not quite. To take our understanding of Galatai, and their relationship with the Celts further, we now turn primarily to the texts. First to Herodotus, who was documenting ‘Celts’ after the 450 BC shift north, on the moment of their decline.

Making Sense of a New Era

Re-locating the Celts (435–400 BC)

Greeks of 500 BC understood Celts as of central Gaul, with some also dotted at points along various coasts (fig. 4). Rather than ‘Celts’ referring broadly to western Europe, akin to the Greek *Hyperborean* trope, Celts were noted at specific locations. By 435 BC, Herodotus recorded a Celtic market settlement on the south coast of France, and another coastal group in south-west Spain, and by 400 BC Herodorus of Heraclea placed an Iberian *Kelkianoï* tribe, the name suggesting Celtic links, slightly further east. Groups of Celts had settled the Mediterranean coast – presumably to access Massalia, Emperion, Tartessos, Carthage. In linguistics, we initially tried to push these coastal Celts of Herodotus and Herodorus from the Pillars to the Pyrenees, to account for third-century BC Celtic linguistics further east; now other scholars accept fragments of an early-Celtic language surviving in south-west Spain (Cunliffe and Koch 2019; Sims-Williams 2017). It is the latter that now seems more in agreement with the contextualized texts.

Herodotus also had Celts at the Danube source, perhaps 15 years after we now think the Heuneburg was abandoned: a need perhaps to document on decline (Krause et al. 2016). The context is Herodotus seeking to correct a misunderstanding that had crept into 470s/460s BC Greek knowledge, under poets Pindar and Aeschylus, that the Danube source was Hyperborean (*Pyth. O.* 3.10; Collis 2003) – a poetic extension of the people-from-the-north trope, and repeated by historian Hellanicus towards the end of the fifth-century BC (Dinan 1911, p. 26). Historian and stickler Herodotus, sought to correct this poetic geography, reasserting the area as Celtic, not Scythian, showing how early poets Hesiod (750 BC) and Aristeas (seventh-century BC) had *Hyperboreans* further east, with the Danube source instead in the land of the Celts, *ek Kelton*. Livy’s 600 BC migration of Celts to the Danube source can be seen as supporting Herodotus here, and Herodotus perhaps understood something of the history of the Heuneburg – as Hecataeus knew Nyra. If so, Herodotus believed that Heuneburg traditions, then dying, had included Celts; which, given the

relatedness of the archaeology seems reasonable (see Pope 2018). So despite later, Roman use of ‘Celts’ as a geographical trope for west, we find early Greek writers understanding Celts ethnographically: as from central Gaul, different to Iberians and Ligurians, with small groups settling east to the Danube source, and south to the Mediterranean coast.

Herodotus has the Danube source near a *polis* named Pyrene, something that has created much confusion (see Sims-Williams 2016). There are three key interpretations: 1) that it is the Pyrenees, leading scholars to suggest Herodotus was referring to Emporion, meaning his geography is wrong: his ‘imagined’ Danube (cf. Collis 2003, p. 126; Cunliffe 2012; Sims-Williams’ 2016, p. 17). Whilst Aristotle’s poor geography is accepted, this is disputed for Herodotus (Dobesch 1997). One solution is that: if referencing the Pyrenees, Herodotus was not being geographically literal, but employing a device to labour a *western*, rather than northern, source to his reader, which makes sense in the context of the incorrect poetic geography; 2) that the Heuneburg is Pyrene (Krausse et al. 2016): this is problematic, given that Pyrene is located in the *Massaliot Periplus* on the coast west of Massalia, i.e. Pyrenees/Emporion (Collis 2003, p. 126; although notably not mentioned by Pseudo-Skylax). Dinan (1911, p. 30) suggests Pyrene as a mistake, noting that it was written out of a later extract, highlighting Herodotus himself saying: ‘concerning the western extremities of Europe I cannot speak with certainty’ (*Hist.* III.115). Perhaps, most simply, Herodotus got the location (Danube source) right, but the name wrong. In summary: Pyrene was Emporion; Celts were at the Danube source (Heuneburg); and Herodotus, in his labours *west* over north to correct the poets, initially confused the two (see Rankin 1996, p. 9). Following Herodotus, we hear less on Celts during the Peloponnesian war (431-404 BC).

The archaeology of 430/425 BC – a generation on from the 450 BC male chariot burials of Hunsrück-Eifel/Champagne (newer communities) and deposition of feminine wealth in Austria/Switzerland (older communities) – reveals growing wealth of Champagne

women, with martial masculine assemblages again further north and west (Aisne-Marne, Upper Seine). Traditional status items (torcs, daggers) are replaced by those of combat (helmets, spears). Across 425–400 BC, Champagne saw more chariot burials, now proportionate between men and women, with burials now in family groups, rather than late Hallstatt/Jogassian sex-based clusters: a different social norm. Meanwhile further east at Dürrnberg, alongside continuity of Hallstatt traditions (balanced gender rules, Greek contact) we see helmets, as in Marne. The archaeology reveals a continuing martial identity (burial with weapons) that began in late Hallstatt southern Germany/eastern France. By 430 BC, this had touched even the old salt communities, and further east to Hungary (Kruta 2005, p. 58). This ‘martial identity’ may reveal active combat, or was perhaps more a continuing cultural reference, on death, to the events of 550/540 BC and 450 BC.

So at a time of war in the Mediterranean, martial identities also flourished in Europe. At 425–400 BC, we find female chariot burials in western Aisne-Marne, as far west as the Belgian Ardennes, with a lone outlier at Newbridge, south of the Forth estuary in Scotland; as two ‘Scandinavian’ women were buried at Cliffs End, Kent; so too begin the *Dama* statues of south-east Spain (Supplemental Table 2, no. 246-247). This potential for a western survival of Celtic identity perhaps fitting the linguistics (Sims-Williams 2020, 13). In the German/Austrian archaeology, disruption of Italian trade is seen at 400 BC, although dying Hallstatt traditions may reveal some contact down to 350 BC at Waldalgesheim (Arnold 1995a, p. 51; contra. Cunliffe 2001, p. 315; Supplemental Tables 3-4). After 400 BC, the Celts of the Greek writers (Timagetus, Theopompus, Xenophon) refer exclusively to those of N. Italy (table 4) – and as allying with Sicilians against Athens in 415-413 BC, reflecting their older political allegiances. Polybius and Livy tell of further groups travelling from Gaul to N. Italy across the fifth-century BC, ultimately taking all land between the Alps and the Po, and the Adriatic coast; as confirmed by Pseudo-Skylax (tables 4-5). Livy says the final

group, the *Senones* of Champagne, settled down to Ravenna, and came to Clusium seeking land (table 5). More than two centuries, eight generations, after the first small groups settled in the N. Italy, the decline of Late Hallstatt society in Gaul saw Celts without enough further N. Italian land to settle. These were the ultimate Celtic Migrations that attracted the attention of Rome – arguably changing the course of history following its sacking in 390/387 BC.

Celtic Migrations

What of the descendants of the original Celts in Gaul, prior to the occupation of Rome (387 BC). The settlement archaeology of 400 BC reveals the decline of communal sites in Europe: late Hallstatt ‘society’ had lasted 200 years before becoming lost to politics (Collis and Karl 2018; Fernández-Götz and Ralston 2017; Milcent 2014). Meanwhile, the burial archaeology of the newer, northern settlements reveals whole areas deserted at 400 BC (Rhineland, Marne, Bercy, Champagne, S. Bohemia – Supplemental Table 4). Champagne saw a shift from 162 active cemeteries in the late fifth-century BC, to just 36 in the first decades of the fourth-century BC (Fernández-Götz 2020, p. 193): a depopulation, the new northern communities disbanding within 150 years of their origins (fig. 10). The late move out of late Hallstatt traditions at 450/430 BC then seems temporary, surviving only a generation. This well-recorded, and male-authored ‘shift north’ to the newer northern communities established at 550/540 BC, by women in Gaul and men in Germany, seems not to have worked socially, and had broken down by 400 BC. The area of Champagne that remained populated (Reims) saw cemeteries with few men, and lavish feminine graves: bronze torcs with half the community, and high-status contact now exclusively with Italy. Arnold’s (1995b) argument for female authority as linked to male absence might hold most currency here, with Roualet (1997, 170) suggesting a matriarchal society. The women had stayed.

[Fig. 10 here]: LT B map

This seems an archaeology of the historically documented migrations, at their 400 BC peak. Men in particular seem to be leaving the newer northern settlement, moving north for the Aisne Valley, Seine/Paris Basin, and south to N. Italy – where contemporary *Senonian* cemeteries in N. Italy see half the men with swords, some La Tène (Collis 2003, p. 137; Kruta 2005, p. 66, p. 85). Instead new, male-dominated groups in the Seine Basin, and East Yorkshire (Kirkburn) reveal a decline in female welfare: the latter including two stillbirths and higher than average neonate/infant deaths, suggesting perhaps an absence of elder female knowledge (Giles 2012, pp. 92–95; Pope and Ralston 2011, p. 388). Rather than mass-migrations, however, isotope work in eastern Britain suggests this as a few individuals in Kent, as Yorkshire reveals predominantly local signatures (Green 2008; Jay and Montgomery 2020; McKinley et al. 2014). The British settlement evidence may point to something more substantial taking place, specifically at around 400 BC, with the swelling of *developed hillforts* alongside a marked increase in the number of farmsteads, and social agglomeration in the lowland pastoralist settlements of Denmark and eastern England (Pope et al. 2020; Pope and Haselgrove 2007, p. 8). Alongside this are hints of a potential western survival of some ‘Celtic’ traditions: such as the ithyphallic pendant from Bourges with its Mont Lassois parallel; occasional extended inhumations, a Gallic rite, in south-east England/East Yorkshire, in cemeteries that reveal more women than men, and a penchant for Italian coral; as contemporary with the *Damas* of coastal Iberia; and later, ultimately perhaps the gold-torc depositions of Norfolk (fig. 9; Giles 2012; Pope 2018; Pope and Ralston 2011, p. 400). The archaeology at least reveals the further upset at 400 BC as once again markedly gendered. A socio-political episode visible in the archaeology, that might begin to make sense of the linguistics (Sims-Williams 2020, p. 13).

Meanwhile, western Germany sees fewer high-status burials, with a move from chariot burials to cremations in bronze vessels. Final late Hallstatt burial rites (as defined by gold ornaments, drinking vessels, bracelet pair) at Reinheim and Waldalgesheim seem ritualized, feminine, still referencing Etruria (fig. 9b). At Nebringen, the wealthiest burial was a woman, the highest strontium values a woman from Hungary or Romania – connections east; with La Tène material culture, again apparently demonstrating feminine wealth, from Bohemia and Moravia (Čižmář 1997; Sankot 1997). Cunliffe (1997) considered Bohemia an origin for the migrations to Italy at 400 BC, but the Bohemian material has a 400 BC start-date. Similarly, Kruta's (2005, p. 67, p. 121) idea that Livy's *Boii* were from Bohemia seems unlikely, as the *Boii* reportedly crossed the Poenine pass, i.e. from the West. A wealth of Bohemian early La Tène material, and evidence for subsequent abandonment (e.g. Závist) might, however, support a Bohemian origin for the third-century BC 'great expedition' to Delphi – although see Kruta (2005, p. 67, pp. 82–83) for an alternative model. So, whilst 'Celts' were migrating to N. Italy (and north, west) the same process was happening in Germany, moving east. Marking the final end of late Hallstatt traditions.

Celts, Galatai and Rome (390/387 BC)

Polybius records the last group of 'Celts' from Gaul as the *Senones* from southern Champagne (Kruta 2005, 67) – where cemeteries reveal desertion of the men. Whether these migrating groups were by then technically still Celts, as of the late Hallstatt period, is a moot point: these late groups moving into N. Italy were by now those of the newer northern communities. Certainly, early fourth-century Greeks seem to reserve the term 'Celts' for those of N. Italy. Another clue comes from Theopompus, whose near-contemporary account used *Galatai* (Γαλάται, Galátai) for those who occupied Rome, as did later Polybius – as distinct from the N. Italian Celts. Linguistically, *Galatai* from Celtic *Galos-* means 'brave

fighter' (Bridgman 2004). Theopompus distinguishing the migrating early La Tène northern communities (e.g. the Senones) from the original late Hallstatt Celts, and the N. Italian Celts is critically important – finally proving d'Arbois d'Jubainville (1875) wrong. Sadly, the writing of Theopompus survives only as fragments in later texts; his Books 42-43 on the western Celts lost (Shrimpton 1991, p. 99). In fact, no contemporary accounts on early fourth-century BC Celts remain (table 4). Perhaps Rome sought not to preserve the history of its sacking, perhaps especially as the Galatai, as descendants of the Celts of Gaul, had such a deep heritage of female political authority. It is now clear that the Battle of Allia (387 BC) and the subsequent burning and seven-month occupation of Rome, was undertaken by the descendants of the Celts; descendants of a potentially matriarchal northern Gaul who, under Vix, had already snubbed the Greeks.

In fact, the only other near-contemporary mention of a Galatai leader, in the late fourth/early third-century BC, refers to a woman. The anonymous *Tractatus De Mulieribus Claris in Bellos* [*Women Intelligent and Courageous in Warfare*] tells of fourteen, mostly Early Iron Age women leaders, but including an early fourth-century BC Galatai leader, Onomaris (Gera 1997). In the absence of male leadership, Onomaris helped a group suffering famine and wishing to flee their country by placing their property in common, leading them across the Danube, where she conquered the locals in battle, settled and led (ibid.). A brief re-dating of the *Tractatus* is warranted, because of the fourteen, it is only Onomaris, who remains undated. Although two of the women are pre-800 BC, the remainder date to 800–400 BC, giving us a preliminary 400 BC *terminus ante quem*. An early fourth-century BC date for Onomaris, the final entry, is preferred here – based largely on the use of 'Γαλάτων'. For the catalogue itself: vocabulary, genre, mode of citation each suggest a late fourth-century BC *terminus post quem* (Gera 1997) – whilst the sources, upon which it depends, are fifth-third centuries BC. For Gera, two (Meneclis, Xenophilus) push this down to 100 BC. If so, it is

odd that none of the *Tractatus* women are in Plutarch's second-century AD *Mulierum Virtutes* (26 notes on outstanding women). This late date is also contradicted by Gera's (1997, p. 126) own argument that the *Tractatus* was the source for Timaeus' mid third-century BC Dido. As such, a late fourth/early third-century BC date seems most appropriate for the writing of the *Tractatus* – its 'women intelligent and courageous in warfare' title very much fitting the mood of that time. From Theopompus and the anonymous *Tractatus*, early fourth-century BC Galatai were those on the move.

Confusing the Celts: Plato and Aristotle (350-300 BC)

Only at the point of the final death of late Hallstatt traditions, did Greek writers again mention Celts. At 350 BC, the time of Waldalgesheim's death, Plato (correctly) described Celts as one of six barbarian peoples given to combat and, like Scythian/Thracian women, to hard-drinking. His pupil Aristotle disagreed, emphasising 'Celts' as a warlike race, labouring that, as such, they were unusually *not* under the control of their women, preferring instead relations with other men (*Pol.* 2.6.6) [sic: he seems in fact to be describing Theopompus' early fourth-century BC Galatai]. The geography of the younger philosophers is also confused: Aristotle by Herodotus' Pyrene (**above**) whilst his peer, Heraclides, incorrectly employs the *Hyperborean* trope for the attack on Rome (see Collis 2003, p. 125). Aristotle recognises difference between *Celts* and *Galatai* on the basis of their Druids and Semnothei. He also reports 'Celts' [no location] raising their children with few clothes in a cold climate to aid health; and fearing nothing, neither earthquakes nor waves – but that this, following Plato, was an excess (Tierney 1960). This has always been read as a comment on Celtic foolhardiness, however it might be read almost as a lament, on the relationship between the 'civilised' world and their barbarian neighbours – that the bravery of the latter is not of

ignorance or madness, but of spirit, courage and resolve; *as the Celts who take up arms to resist the waves of the sea* – the fruitlessness of resisting the Mediterranean world.

Plato's historical grasp of the Celts became confused and lost: his students had a particular problem it seems in understanding the heritage of the Celts, which is interesting once set in the context of Aristotle's well-studied misogyny (see *Politics*). The period towards the end of Aristotle's life (330 BC) sees Celts and Galatai drawn into ridicule by comic poets (Ephippus, Sopater of Paphos) as the archaeology reveals La Tène burials further east. Manifestation of a defence mechanism perhaps, against the descendants of those who had razed Rome to the ground. Meanwhile, in contrast to the philosophers, contemporary historians instead reasserted the geography: distinguishing Celts from Iberians; noting a *Keltoi* nation next to Etruscans at the head of the Adriatic 'left behind from the [387 BC] expedition' (Xenophon, Pseudo-Skylax). Ephorus repeated Hecataeus on Celts above Massalia between Alps and Pyrenees: Celts as Gaul, as an anonymous *periplus* placed Celts again at the north Pillar. Akin to Plato, Ephorus revealed *Keltoi* as one of the four great barbarian peoples (Persians east, Scythians north, Libyans south, Celts west). More generally, 'Celts' continued for those of N. Italy. A generation after the sacking of Rome, Xenophon again had [N. Italian] Celts allied to Syracuse against Thebes in 368 BC. Beyond Theompompus and Xenophon, only *later* writers detail mid fourth-century BC politics: Polybius on a new (357/5 BC) expedition and a first Roman (345 BC) success against the [N. Italian] Celts; whilst Ptolemy Lagos reports Alexander the Great receiving 'Celtic' emissaries in 335 BC; and Polybius reports a 331 BC peace treaty between Gauls and Rome (table 3).

By the late fourth-century BC, matters seem more resolved after Pytheas of Massalia's voyage (310–306 BC) which describes Britain as some days' sail from 'Celtica' [Gaul], and distinguishes *Keltoi* from *Germanoi*. From Pytheas, Strabo tells us of a small island opposite the Loire mouth, inhabited by Samnite women practising Bacchic rites

(Italian origin) and ritual sacrifices, who sail to the mainland and back for intercourse, and hold an annual temple re-roofing ritual – in which the first woman to drop her roofing material is ripped limb from limb. Slightly modified by Pomponius Mela, the island is later home to an oracle of a Gallic god, with nine priestesses, of remarkable intelligence, in a vow of chastity: the *Senae* (old women) who control sea and wind with song, shape-shift, cure the incurable, and predict the future. Western women, still resisting the waves of the sea.

Resolving Celts, Galatai and the Ha-LT transition

In 1875, d'Arbois de Jubainville proposed no difference between *Keltoi* and *Galatai*, and twentieth-century archaeologists (Powell, Piggott, Cunliffe, Collis, Kruta) accepted the two as used interchangeably by Classical writers, and thus interchangeable. Further, Greek *Galatai* was proposed as equivalent to Latin *Galli* as those 'Celts' migrating south/SE (Collis 2003, p. 99; Cunliffe 1997) – despite Diodorus Siculus *specifically noting* that Roman writers erroneously conflated the two and called them all Gauls (5.32.1). Meanwhile, Collis (2003, pp. 98-100) has early third-century BC Hieronymus of Cardia as first to use *Galatai*, and interchangeably with Celts, with only Strabo distinguishing between the two. In fact, Hieronymus does distinguish, as does earlier Aristotle regarding Druids/Semnothei, see also his disagreement with Plato, which quite clearly distinguishes. Further, it is early fourth-century BC Theopompus who first uses *Galatai* for those who sacked Rome. Of contemporary writers it is only Sopater, writer of farce, who used the two interchangeably. Archaeologists' grasp of the texts has been our main problem, alongside a lack of confidence in archaeological method, resulting in deference instead to Caesar.

We are now closer to understanding. Bridgman (2004) argued for *Galatai* 'brave fighters' as a character trait, a non-geographical sub-group of the more general Celts. Cunliffe too accepted Celts as a general name, with *Galatai* specific to those who migrated

south (1997, p. 2). Developing this, I suggest the fourth-century BC distinction (Theompompus, Plato/Aristotle) as primarily temporal: *Celts* (Early Iron Age Gaul) and *Galatai* (La Tène brave-fighters) with Celts also retained for those already well-established as such in N. Italy. Galatai then were brave fighters of Celtic descent, those of the shift north, whose martial character we begin to see in the archaeology of 550/540 BC, taking full effect by 450 BC: *Galatai* as La Tène. La Tène art, the art of warrior ideology. Confusion came from late Hallstatt social traditions *morphing into* those of La Tène over time, which explains later Classical conflation. A temporal distinction between Celts and Galatai is supported by Strabo (*Geog.* IV.1.14), who we know used fourth-century BC Ephorus. This suggests *Keltai* (Κέλται) as the oldest given name (i.e. seventh-century BC). Collis (2003) reads this as *Keltoi* (general) receiving their name after a small group named *Keltai* (presumably those inland from Massalia, after Hecataeus). Linguistically, however, *Keltai* seems to derive from the Latin *Celtae*, perhaps supporting a later origin for the name, in line with the first-century BC texts (Strabo, Posidonius) in which it is first given (B. Cartlidge pers. comm. 2019). Nevertheless, the oral history that Strabo communicates may still be valid.

The important thing that Strabo was recording, seems to be that the name *Keltoi* (Κέλτοί) was Celtic in origin, as also reported by third-century BC Hieronymus of Cardia. Given first we think in fragments from the anonymous *Massiliot periphus* of 600 BC, then historian/geographer Hecataeus and traveller Himilco of Carthage at around 500 BC. The name was used for the people encountered in Early Iron Age inland Gaul – who were in reality, a whole series of valley-based, apparently matrifocal groups. In Greek, the prefix *kel-* is of noisiness/shouting/exhortation, dark/gloominess, travelling – suggesting *Keltoi* as a nickname almost ‘the shouty ones’ in the vein of the *Boii* (the terrible ones) and the *Aedui* (the fiery ones): the naming sits within Celtic tradition, the written word as received is Greek – a mixing of the two traditions, as in Aristotle’s origin tale for Massalia.

The name *Galatai* (Γαλάται) is found by the fourth/third-centuries BC (Theompompus, Aristotle) – (contra. Collis 2003, p. 99; Kruta 2005, p. 15). Its root ‘galos’ – brave fighter, a new name for a now La Tène north. Often taken to refer to Gaul, but the two are not mutually exclusive (contra. Cunliffe 1997, p. 2). From third-century BC Hieronymus of Cardia (Pausanius 1.3.5): the *Galatai*, originally Celts, inhabit northern Europe, with ‘Galatas’ a late term; third-century BC Timaeus, has northern Europe called Galatia (Dinan 1911, p. 145). The concept of Gaul later than the first *Galatai*. *Galatai* then were of Celtic descent, northern, and later. Confusion also exists between fourth-century BC *Galatai* (northern Europe) and *Galatae* (eastern Europe). Both ultimately of Celtic origin, latterly conflated as one people.

By the fourth-century BC then, La Tène *Galatai* (brave fighters, general) had morphed out of sixth/fifth-century BC *Keltoi* (central Gaul); named after a seventh-century BC group north of Massalia. Diodorus Siculus, who, like Strabo, used earlier Ephorus – gives further geographical distinction between *Celts* and *Galatai*: the latter *above* Celtica, along the ocean and Black Forest (source of Danube) east to Scythia (5.32.1, quoting Posidonius). So: *Celts* as Gaul; *Galatai* as more northern/eastern (i.e. our northern La Tène cemeteries of Marne, Rhineland, Bohemia): the ‘shift north’ identified in the archaeology. Further, Diodorus distinguishes between *Galates* (Gauls) and *Galatai*: linking *Galates* with Alesia (Gaul); and placing *Galatai* further north, beyond the Rhine (5.24-25). So in summary: *Celts* were well-established and from central Gaul; *Galatai* were new (La Tène ‘brave fighters’) located further north/east.

From Plato’s 350 BC ‘women who drink’ (i.e. Vix; and Waldalgesheim, as Plato’s direct contemporary) – a recording of the embers of Celts and late Hallstatt traditions, who at their late fifth-century BC zenith, prized alcohol and challenged the Greeks – to 330s BC Aristotle describing instead the masculine ‘brave-fighters’ of the early fourth-century BC:

fearless, warlike, homosexual. There is a time lag here; as if Greek knowledge, of these other peoples, is already a generation or two old. Between Herodotus/Plato (435–350 BC) and Aristotle/Ephorus (350–330 BC), Greek knowledge on the Celts had shifted: from those of Gaul/Württemberg (late Hallstatt drinking traditions) to the more masculine/martial traditions of La Tène (*Galatai*). Whilst Aristotle arguably sought to write Celtic women out of history, following the sacking of Rome by those of a matrifocal Champagne culture, Strabo (*Geog.* 4.1.14) seems to gender Gaul female (Collis 2003, 99). The following on Belgic Gaul agreeing with the sequenced archaeology:

‘But as for their custom relating to the men and the women (I mean the fact that their tasks have been exchanged, in a manner opposite to what obtains among us), it is one which they share in common with many other barbarian peoples’

Strabo, *Geog.* 4.4.3

Discussion: Lost in the Mists of Time?

Having employed chronologically-sequenced archaeological data and contemporary Classical texts, we find the original use of ‘Celts’ referring to matrifocal Early Iron Age groups in central Gaul; as Caesar (*DBG* 1.1) almost had it. Archaeology, Linguistics, and aDNA studies all now agree that ‘Celts’ had Bronze Age origins – they did not ‘arrive’ from anywhere else, with small groups settling in N. Italy by the seventh-century BC (Golasecca, Adriatic). The evidence confirms that ‘Celts’ were not initially of Britain or Spain (beyond Tartessos) – each area developing ‘Celtic’ language later (fourth/late third centuries BC respectively). We might argue, tentatively, for some survival of ‘Celtic’ traditions in the archaeology of the

Atlantic west, after 400 BC – something that may help to progress our understanding of ‘Celtic’ identity through time (see also Sims-Williams 2020, p. 13; but cf. James 1999).

Our historical ‘Celts’ were distinct from late Hallstatt archaeological traditions (as centred on Austria/Germany – fig. 4) meaning we can finally reject Duval’s (1977) late Hallstatt=early Celt hypothesis. Those of eastern Gaul did adopt late Hallstatt traditions from Württemberg. ‘Celts’ are recorded as moving to the Danube source: the Seine-Danube corridor of the archaeology, with potential lineages now identified between the two areas; revealing significant cultural overlap, but also *marked* social differences, not least of which around gender (Pope 2018). At 600 BC, the western Mediterranean had very many culturally-different, yet crucially inter-mingling, groups: Tartessians (Phoenician influence); Ligurians (coastal groups); Massaliots (Phocaeans, Celts); Etruscans (N. Italy); variant late Hallstatt traditions inland (Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg); Celts (central Gaul); Celts (N. Italy). Each is a shorthand, a name applied by Greeks, Romans, archaeologists, linguists, to categorise and simplify down a more complex social reality. The archaeology demonstrates that each region actually comprised numerous, much smaller, valley-based social groups. Initially, texts and archaeology reveal ‘Celts’ as friendly with Phocaeans, Etruscans, and their likely cousins in Württemberg – even moving to be in direct proximity (Narbo, N. Italy, Heuneburg). ‘Celts’ then evolved socially into their descendents: the *Galatai*, ‘brave fighters’ of early La Tène.

We find evidence for a period of major political drama at 550/540 BC, alongside growth in population (fig. 6), with a first move out of the Seine-Danube corridor, as ‘Celts’ continued to move to N. Italy. The root of the upset is central Gaul apparently preferring more feminine Etruria, as Württemberg preferred more masculine Greece. The archaeology reveals unrest, to the north and east of the old Hallstatt heartland. In Württemberg, we find women with daggers/spears, in Ha D1-established patrifocal Bavaria are men with spears. Meanwhile, new communities were established north (Rhineland – men with spears;

Champagne – women with daggers). As such, the initial formation of a new La Tène social order might originate at 550/540 BC, potentially linked socially to the 540/530 BC fire at the Heuneburg. At a time of wider anti-Greek feeling in the Mediterranean, some in Württemberg seemed unhappy with golden-shoed Hochdorf and his Greek alliance/links – as the *disproportionate deposition* of female wealth in Württemberg and Bavaria speaks of fractured communities disowning their past. Celts seem less affected than their southern German cousins at this time. A generation on, and Vix's grave re-stated a Celtic-Italic identity, influenced perhaps by deep N. Italian links, perhaps around Breton tin. As Tierney (1960) had it, a move against materialism in fourth-century BC Greece (Plato, Theopompus, Ephorus) may see origins in the 550/540 BC archaeology of the west: the active rejection of Greek-derived wealth, as typified by Hochdorf's golden shoes, in a move to an austere, egalitarian, equitable north/west (fig. 9b). As some in late Hallstatt Germany actively parted company with Greek-inspired values, some 'Celts' moved to join those nearer the Etruscans.

The early Greek texts do not see 'Celts' as a pan-European culture (contra. Hornblower et al. 2012). Fifth-century BC Greek voyages place Celts, at their height, in central/northern Gaul, from Rhine mouth to Danube source, alongside peak engagement with late Hallstatt traditions. At 500 BC, Massaliot trade north ended (Kruta 2005, p. 52) as Celts, under Vix, seemed instead to establish their own trading posts along the Mediterranean reach, enabling direct long-distance contact: Narbo (midway between Massalia and Emporion) and south-west Spain (near Gadir); the biggest of course lying in the settlement of N. Italy, next to Etruria. In discussing the long relationship between Gaul and N. Italy, resulting in the early fourth-century BC migrations, Kruta (2005, p. 70) talks of acculturation and assimilation, a 'back and forth' of Celts across the Alps; Collis (2003, p. 182, p. 192) has *continuous* contact; with Celts entwined with Etruscan culture: the Celtic province in N. Italy exercising a 'profound and durable influence' on the Celts of Gaul (Kruta 2005, p. 75; Rolley 2003, fig.

245) – it was this long-term to-and-fro contact, and presumably deep kinship, between the two regions that resulted in the political decision-making of Vix.

A generation after Vix's apparent descendent Lavau died, came more political upset. 450 BC saw the shift north (fig. 8) and decline of late Hallstatt traditions in Germany: the Heuneburg abandoned, Greek trade ended, and final late Hallstatt graves seem ritualized (Reinheim, Glauberg). Alongside this was more *disproportionate deposition* of female wealth in the graves of the old Hallstatt heartland (Austria, into Switzerland); with ritual deposition also at the type-site of La Tène itself. The lead-up to the Hallstatt-La Tène transition is captured best perhaps in the sequence of the wealthiest burials in the Hallstatt-Dürrenberg salt community: seventh-century BC (G507, male/female couple); sixth-century BC (G505, female); fifth-century BC (T44/2, male). Meanwhile 'Galatai' traditions grew: a northern crescent forming around a declining Württemberg core (fig. 11) – with new groups in Aisne-Marne and the Upper Seine Basin (430/425 BC); as a now well-established Champagne flourished (425-400 BC). These newer communities were again markedly martial, people again seemingly *fought* their way out of the old Hallstatt order, leading to generations of subsequent warrior identities. The archaeology now suggests several influential factors: Mediterranean politics, traditional allegiances, tin, reactions against greed, gender politics – no longer only Cunliffe's (1997, p. 74) over-population (taken, erroneously, from Livy).

[fig. 11 here]: temporal maps 450-350 BC

The Ha-LT transition is traditionally received as 450 BC. What we have discovered here, however, is that a new social form was already evolving, three generations in advance of the other dying; as first identified in 1970s German chronology (see Collis 2003, pp. 167–168). The question now is whether this 550/450 BC disjuncture in the German/French archaeology might be an artefact of that early German chronology, with now a good time to revisit the relative chronology of the two regions. If it holds, then we find the transition to be

a *process*, a slow identity shift, taking place in full across two centuries (550–350 BC). This sees the 550 BC origins of a martial La Tène identity in Rhineland; a 450 BC flourish, marked by the cessation of Greek trade; with the survival of late Hallstatt burial traditions, ritualized, down to 350 BC (Waldalgesheim). The transition from one social order to another takes place across several generations, and varies markedly in character across regions.

The transition is not Hallstatt → La Tène, but late Hallstatt/Celtic → Galatai/La Tène. Those of La Tène period northern Europe became known to the Greeks as Galatai/brave - fighters; as the already well-established ‘Celts’ of N. Italy retained the older name. ‘Galatai’ were notably more egalitarian, jettisoning the wealth of Hallstatt traditions out of Austria (salt) and Württemberg (Greece). An important observation is that this more masculine, martial society was not, however, patrifocal (Pope 2018). Worth noting too is only *at the end of the process* (late fourth-century BC) did Aristotle begin to identify ‘Galatai’ as different to the Celts of old, after his teacher Plato had begun to record the latter, following the attack on Rome, as mentioned by Aristotle’s peer, Heraclides Ponticus. Aristotle described the ‘Galatai’ as fearless and homosexual and not ruled by their women – reflecting the masculine nature of the migrating groups, as now verified in the archaeology.

By 400 BC, depopulation of the newer settlements (Rhineland, Marne, Champagne, Bercy, S. Bohemia) sees increases instead further east (Bohemia, Moravia); west (Bourges, Britain); and south to Italy. Arnold’s (1995b) argument, female authority on male absence, does not work here, with female wealth *in advance of* masculine out-migration at 400 BC – reflecting instead the deep history of matrifocal social forms. Over the course of a century a different-but-connected Württemberg/Burgundy had effectively split in two: into north (new, egalitarian, austere, masculine) and south (traditional, hierarchical, showy, feminine). At 400 BC, the long contact between NW Europe and N. Italy ended (Arnold 1995a). Referenced down to 350 BC at Waldalgesheim, however, and 300 BC further west, in the Paris Basin –

whilst in Britain, the coral feels old, inherited. The current suggestion is that the ‘Celts’ of Gaul did not seem to survive as such beyond 450 BC, except as those long-identifying as ‘Celts’ in N. Italy, and perhaps as a more fragmented identity further west (western France, Spain, coastal Britain). A fourth-century BC shift took place from decorative Early Iron Age daggers to swords, the latter becoming practically utilitarian by La Tène B, as political tensions replaced contact/exchange, although again Britain seems different here. Livy’s late-stage migrations to N. Italy also resulted in tension, and ultimately the sacking and occupation of Rome in 387 BC, by the descendants of the Celts.

The story of the Iron Age western Mediterranean then is that Württemberg, presumably via the success of the Austrian salt trade, became increasingly fond of (masculine) Greece; whilst ‘Celts’ (Gaul) preferred (feminine) Etruria. The origins of the new La Tène social order were partly influenced by wider Mediterranean politics; and coeval with Hochdorf’s authority in Württemberg (550/540 BC) – resulting in an episode of what seems a relatively violent out-migration (north and east). A new martial, but ultimately equitable, La Tène period of ‘brave-fighters’ – fighting their way out of old late Hallstatt social values, as increasingly influenced by the eastern Mediterranean; instead establishing settlements further north, as Hallstatt traditions continued in the old heartland. This 550/540 BC rebellion seems largely led by women to the west (Württemberg, Champagne) and men to the east (Rhineland, Bavaria). A less-violent response in Gaul seems a result of the political savvy of Vix, her burial assemblage actively signaling an anti-Greek political mood. These northern communities were subsequently joined by more (men) at 450/430 BC. Key here, alongside martial masculinity, was the (rapid) deposition of women’s late Hallstatt wealth. Between 450–350 BC, after dropping contact with Greece, the old feminine late Hallstatt social system, now ritualized, was in very active decline.

The archaeology suggests fairly liberal Early Iron Age societies, associated with small episodes of predominantly, although not exclusively, masculine out-migration (Pope 2018). The gender of this activity is not so clearly masculine in Gaul, however, as it is further east in Germany, until after 450 BC. Displaying a martial heritage/identity, presumably referencing the initial period of unrest at 550/540 BC, and related also to their becoming known as the brave-fighters, the new La Tène social order is nevertheless considered relatively egalitarian/equitable, in recent archaeological analyses of burial datasets out of France and Britain (Evans 2004; Giles 2012; Pope and Ralston 2011; Trémeaud 2019). The irony of course is that it is the Roman fear of the *Galatai* who sacked Rome, as descendants of the Celts, with their deep history of matrifocal society, sexual freedom, their political move against the Greeks, and their martial prowess, that may be partly what led us, ultimately, to the backlash that was the Roman empire.

Conclusions

By combining archaeology and contemporary texts, the ‘impossible’ origin of the historical Celts, that has eluded resolution for over a century, is here further resolved. The name *Keltoi* a merging of Celtic naming and Greek writing. ‘Celts’ had Bronze Age origins in Gaul, with early groups settling in N. Italy and at Spain’s north pillar (as supported now in the linguistics) and developing connections east to the Heuneburg, These ‘Celts’ of central Gaul were widely travelled and connected, looking north to tin and south to the Mediterranean. They seem at their height in the late sixth-century BC, under Vix, who, at a time of wider anti-Greek feeling, snubbed Greece for Etruria, as Celtic outposts were established on the Mediterranean coast, cutting out Phocaeen middle-men. The decline of the late Hallstatt social order (550-450 BC) saw some ‘Celts’ abandon late Hallstatt traditions, in favour of joining the more austere ‘brave-fighters’ of La Tène northern Europe, as others moved to N.

Italy, retaining their ‘Celtic’ identity. By 400 BC, however, these northern early La Tène communities had fragmented again, our ‘Celtic migrations’, some (men) moving to N. Italy, and ultimately encountering Rome; whilst some (women) moved west – as perhaps now fits the ‘Celtic’ linguistics evidence, from the third-century BC.

As defined in the early Classical texts, these groups known as ‘Celts’ never equated fully to late Hallstatt archaeological traditions (contra. Duval 1977) nor to those of La Tène (contra. Cunliffe 1997). In fact ‘Celts’, as an historical label, does not map neatly onto any archaeological tradition – it overlaps with late Hallstatt traditions in NE France and less ostentatious archaeologies further west: this very overlap perhaps the cause of much political strife. Nor did the name ‘Celt’ ever equate to all of Gaul, let alone all of Europe. A label instead for less than a quarter of Gaul and more akin to Caesar’s first-century BC ‘Celtic Gaul’. Yet even this remains a gross over-simplification. Iron Age settlement was within valleys and at points on coastlines, it did not cover whole regions. The name ‘Celt’ was, and remains, a *categorisation* (by Greeks, Romans, archaeologists) for various small-scale Early Iron Age groups. Our error has been trying to force that label to fit the archaeology/linguistics/state, none of which is about Iron Age people. Celts was only ever a shorthand. Attempting to define ‘Celts’ as a cultural entity is a nonsense: these groups did not represent an ethnicity. Instead, we know from the archaeology that we are dealing with a *nickname* for a multiplicity of prehistoric groups. It is important to make clear that ‘regional archaeological traditions’ do not perform the same role as early twentieth-century ‘cultures’ – tied as they were to large-scale linguistics spreads, as ethnicity. Regional archaeological traditions are not a bounded social entity, but instead a placeholder, as we continue to refine our method on the scale of past social groups, and the time-depth of social change, by reducing the scale of our analysis ever further.

Having improved our understanding of the historical Celts, we find the archaeology, texts, and linguistics finally converging, so too the aDNA. Celtic language is now believed to have Bronze Age roots in Gaul. Early-Celtic (Venetic, Lepontic) is found in N. Italy, with fragments too in south-west Spain: each might now receive a cautious seventh-century BC date. The growth of ‘Celtic-proper’ is seen further west in the third-century BC (Spain, Britain) as well as east to Galatia (Cunliffe and Koch 2019; Sims-Williams 2020): a phenomenon of the ‘Celtic’ migrations (actually the descendants of the Celts). People, in a myriad of social networks, communicate, travel, and *integrate*, meaning traditions ultimately shift, typically over centuries, and societies change: Late Hallstatt society lasted 200 years, *Jogassian* 150 years. *A continuous coming and going of individuals* and small groups: how metal and burial rites shift east as ceramics shift west (Collis 2003, p. 188). Movement was *small-scale over time* (Cunnington 1923). Even our migrations to N. Italy took place across over 200 years. Social transitions typically *take time*: the demise of Hallstatt traditions took three-four generations, whilst Greek texts display a 60-year time lag in knowledge.

We find historian d’Arbois de Jubainville (1875), who sought to conflate Celts, Galatai, Gaul, to have been remarkably unhelpful over all these years; whilst archaeologist Alexandre Bertrand (1876) – who sought to marry texts and archaeology with applied dating methods, and saw evidence for social distinction, i.e. smaller social units, to have been right. The long game, of critically-applied scientific method, will ultimately create a better social narrative, and so a better grasp of humanity, than rapid, historicist generalisms. Similarly, if we seek to study past societies, without actively considering the women alongside their men, then we will only ever half-understand those societies. This latter is something that is especially relevant to the study of the Celts, and may help to explain why we have struggled with them for so long. What remains now is to further refine our chronologies and our social understanding of regional/local Iron Age archaeologies.

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Figure captions

Fig. 1 Map of Ha C (800–615 BC) sites mentioned in the text. **Austria**: 1 E Alps, 2 Statzendorf, 3 Mitterkirchen, 4 Zagersdorf, 5 Hallstatt, 6 Grafenwörth 7 Inzersdorf an der Traisen, 8 Strettweg, 9 Ampass-Demfeld, 10 eastern Austria/Slovakia. **Slovenia**: 11 Stična. 12 *Croatia*. 13 *Balkans*. **Czechia**: 14 Platěnice, 15 Hradenín. **Germany**: 16 GroÙeibstadt, 17 Donauwörth; 18 Frankfurter Stadtwald, 19 Magdalenenberg, 20 Pilsting-Oberndorf, 21 Schirndorf. **France**: 22 Séverac-le-Château 23 Grand Communal (Doubs), 24 Chemilla, 25 Périgny-la-Rose, 26 Crancey, 27 Haroué, 28 Northern Massif central 29 Berry, 30 Auvergne, 31 Champagne, 32 Magny-Lambert, 33 Diarville. **Netherlands**: 34 Oss, 35 Wijchen. **Britain**: 36 Llyn Fawr. **Spain**: 37 Tartessos 38 Setefilla, 39 Cabeza Lucero, 40 NE Spain.

Fig. 2 The Ha C-D transition (615 BC) as seen in the burial archaeology (n=228) revealing shifting settlement patterns across time (N.B. numbering in each region follows the dataset structure, so is broadly chronological).

Fig. 3 Map of Ha D1 (615–550 BC) sites mentioned in the text: **eastern Slovakia and Hungary**: 1 Sopron, 2 Pécs. 3 Eastern Alps. **Austria**: 4 Hallstatt, 5 Bischofshofen-Pestfriedhof, 6 Langenlebar, 7 Gemeinlebar, 8 Frög, 9 Mia á Saint-Georges-les-Baillargeaux. **Bavaria**: 10 Ausber-Kriegshaber, 11 Bad Königshofen-Merckershausen, 12 Beilngries, 13 Beratzhausen, 14 Dietfurt, 15 Hilpoltstein-Weinsfeld, 16 Hohenfels, 17 Illschwang-Gehrsricht, 18 Leipheim, 19 Neukirchen-Gaisheim, 20 Pilsach-Niederhofen, 21 Pöcking-Aschering 22 Schmidmühlen-Markhof, 23 Velburg-Lengenfeld, 24 Wehringen. **Bavaria**: 25 GroÙeibstadt, 26 Lupburg-Gottesberg, 27 Waltenhausen. **Württemberg**: 28 Magdalenenberg, 29–30 Heuneburg environs (Bettelbühl, Hohmichele), 31 Gerlingen, 32 Heidenheim, 33 Neuhausen ob Eck, 34 Kappel-Grafenhausen, 35 Sankt Johann, 36

Hohenstein-Oberstetten, 37 Sulz am Neckar, 38 Meßstetten-Hossingen, 39 Tannheim, 40 Albstadt-Ebingen, 41 Bitz, 42 Emerkingen, 43 Engstingen-Großengstingen, 44 Hügelsheim (Heiligenbuck), 45 Immendingen-Mauenheim, 46 Inzigkofen-Vilsingen, 47 Tübingen-Bebenhausen. *Switzerland*: 48 Rances, 49 Ins. **France**: 50 Massalia, 51 Ste-Colombe-sur-Seine, 52 Apremont (Haute-Saône), 53 Franche-Comté, 54 Marainville-sur-Madon, 55 The Auvergne, 56 Paris Basin, 57 Courtesoult (Haute Saône). **Britain & Ireland**: 58 River Thames, 59 Teigngrace (Devon), 60 Roos Carr (Withernsea), 61 Ballachulish (Argyll), 62 Dagenham (Essex), 63 Shercock (Co. Cavan). **Spain and Portugal**: 64 NE Spain, 65 Galicia, 66 N Portugal.

Fig. 4 Mapping fifth-century BC textual references, and the sixth-century BC tribes of Polybius and Livy, via Strabo and Caesar (inset: after Collis 2003, figs 20 and 55) to reveal the location of groups of people identified in shorthand as ‘Celts’ (and their market settlements); note the overlap with western late Hallstatt archaeological traditions.

Fig. 5 The Ha D1-D2/3 transition (550 BC) as seen in the burial archaeology (n=180)

Fig. 6 Map of Ha D2/3 (550–450 BC) sites mentioned in the text: **western Slovakia**, **Hungary**: 1 Sopron, 2 Pécs. **Austria**: 3 Dürrenberg (Eisfeld, Hexenwandfeld Simonbauernfeld), 4 Helpfau-Uttendorf ‘Moos’. **Bavaria**: 5 Straubing, 6 Dillingen-Kicklingen, 7 Schesslitz-Demmelsdorf, 8 Weismain-Görau, 9 Leinach-Oberleinach. **Württemberg**: 10 Heuneburg (Speckhau, Gießübel-Talhau, Herbertingen-Hundersingen (Gießübel)), 11 Kappel-am-Rhein, 12 Dußlingen, 13 Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 14 Hohenasperg (Ludwigsburg-Römerhügel, Ditzingen-Schöckingen, Hirschlanden, Hochdorf, Kleinspergle, Grafenbühl), 15 Nordhouse (Bas-Rhin), 16 Hochwald-Nahe, 17 Mühlacker, 18

Esslingen-Sirnau, 19 Zweifalten-Mörsingen, 20 Hegnach, 21 Erkenbrechtsweiler, 22 Stuttgart-Weilimdorf, 23 Söllingen, 24 Breisach am Rhein-Gündlingen, 25 Kirchberg and der Jagst-Lendsiedel. **Rhineland**: 26 Offenbach-Rumpenheim, 27 Middle Rhine-Moselle, 28 Elm-Sprengen, 29 Schwalbach, 30 Oberlahnstein, 31 Niederweiler, 32 Bell, 33 Hundheim, 34 Wallerfangen 35 Hunsrück-Eifel. **Switzerland**: 36 Allenlüften, 37 Payerne, 38 Grächwil, 39 Adiswil, 40 Châtonnaye, 41 Düdingen, 42 Unterlunkhofen, 43 Urtenen. **France**: 44 Les Jogasses, 45 Ensisheim (Alsace), 46 Chouilly J, 47 Aure, 48 Manre, 49 Paudy 'Ste-Favrille', 50 Champagne, 51 Savoyeux, 52 Grandvillars, 53 La Motte de Cérilly, 54 Diarville, 55 Vix, 56 Lavau, 57 Mercey-sur-Saône, 58 Forêt des Moidons (Chilly-sur-Salins), 59 Hatten, 60 Gurgy (Yonne), 61 Heiltz-l'Évêque, 62 Mondelange (Metz, Lorraine). 63 Le Pâturel (Auvergne), 64 Bourges. **Britain**: 65 Dibble Farm (Christon, Somerset), 66 Melton, 67 Newbridge (Edinburgh), 68 Cliffs End (Kent).

Fig. 7 Temporal maps (620–540 BC): integration of evidence from texts and archaeology (N.B. these do not represent culture groups – they are artefacts of archaeological and textual data only)

Fig. 8 Map of La Tène A (450–200 BC) sites mentioned in the text: **Austria**: 1 Dürrenberg, 2 Hallein. 3 **Bohemia**. 4 **Slovakia**. 5 **Hungary**. **Switzerland**: 6 Münsingen-Rain (85), 7 Saint-Sulpice (Vaud). **Hunsrück-Eifel**: 8 Hochscheid, 9 Bescheid. **Middle Rhine**: 10 Worms-Herrnsheim, 11 Reinheim, 12 Rodenbach, 13 Besseringen, 14 Bad Dürkheim, 15 Glauberg, 16 Pfalzfeld, 17 Holzgerlingen, 18 Hoppstädten. **France**: 19 Vert-Toulon, 20 Lèglise, 21 Route de Dun (Bourges), 22 The Auvergne, 23 La Motte-Saint-Valentin à Courcel-les-en-Montagne (Haute-Marne), 24 Somme-Bionne, 25 Somme-Tourbe, 26 Châlon-sur-Marne, 27 Pernant, 28 Berru, 29 Prunay, 30 Bucy-le-Long (Aisne). 31 Belgian Ardennes. **Britain**: 32

Wetwang Slack, 33 Danes Graves. **Spain**: 34 Elche (Alicante), 35 Baza (Granada), 36 Guardamar, 37 Cabezo Lucero (Alicante), 38 El Cigarralejo (Mula, Mercia).

Fig. 9 The LT A-B transition (400 BC) as seen in the burial archaeology (n=91)

Fig. 10 Map of La Tène B (400–250 BC) sites mentioned in the text: 1 north Bohemia. 2 north Moravia. **Germany**: 3 Bescheid, 4 Waldalgesheim, 5 Nebringen. **France**: 6 Reims (Champagne), 7 Seine Basin, 8 Epiais-Rhus (Paris), 9 Agris, 10 Plessis-Gassot (north of Paris), 11 Aulnat (Auvergne), 12 Bozouls (Aveyron). **Austria**: 13 Sopron-Bécsidomb. **Hungary**: 14 Ménfőcsanak. **Romania** 15 Ciumești. **Ireland and southern Britain**: 16 Old Croghan (Co. Meath) 17 Clonycavan (Co. Meath), 18 Old Castle (Ogmore) Down (Glamorgan), 19 Ventnor (Isle of Wight), 20 Mill Hill (Deal, Kent), 21 Shouldham (Norfolk), 22 Newnham Croft (Cambridge). **Yorkshire**: 23 Cowlam, 24 Burton Fleming, 25 Arras, 26 Kirkburn, 27 Danes Graves, 28 Rudston, 29 Burton Fleming, 30 Grimthorpe, 31 Wetwang (Village, Slack), 32 Pocklington. **Netherlands**: 33 Noordersluis. **Spain**: 34 Ibiza, 35 Cerro de los Santos.

Fig. 11 Temporal maps (450–350 BC): integration of evidence from texts and archaeology (N.B. these do not represent culture groups – they are artefacts of archaeological and textual data only)

Table i: Different, potential social structures current

	society type	examples
Ha C	warrior	Atlantic west (long Late Bronze Age, masc.)
	heterarchical	Britain (early hillforts)
	lineages (stratified)	Austrian salt communities (fem.)
Ha D	lineages (poss. unstratified)	patri-focal Bavaria; Württemberg (gender fluid); matri-focal Gaul
		Rhineland (masc.)
LT A	egalitarian	Champagne (fem.), NE France, East Yorkshire (gender neutral)
	tribal	Britain (developed hillforts), Low Countries, Denmark (agglomerated settlement)
LT B	proto-urban, warrior	<i>Oppida</i>

Table ii: Sex and gender signifiers used in the dataset, including most-securely gendered artefacts in Iron Age Austria and Germany (after Hodson 1990; Arnold 1991; 2012; Burmeister 2000)

M, F	sexed bodies
m., f.	typically masculine assemblages (i.e. razor, single arm-ring, bicep-ring, iron belt-plate, iron needle) typically feminine assemblages (i.e. bronze neck-ring, arm-ring pair, anklets, amber, ear-rings, hair ornament, bronze belt-hooks, bronze needles)
m./f.	where more than one gender is indicated in the assemblage, uncertainty

Table iii: Chronology used in the text

Ha C	800-615 BC
Ha D1	615-550 BC
Ha D2	550-500 BC
Ha D3	500-450 BC
LT A	450-400 BC
LT B	400-250 BC

Table iv: Historical sources, predominantly Greek, referring to the people/events of the 7th-3rd centuries BC in western Europe

Author	Date of events	Text(s)	Notes/References
<i>Origin tales of early Celts (7th–6th centuries BC) surviving in later texts (2nd century BC–4th century AD)</i>			
Polybius	[7th–e. 6th centuries BC]	<i>Hist.</i> 2.17	Recorded much later (2nd century BC). The very ancient <i>Veneti</i> , and the first migrations to N. Italy. See Table v.
Livy	[7th century–600 BC]	<i>Rise of Rome</i> 5.33–5.34	Recorded much later (1st century BC). <i>Veneti</i> : Founders of Alpine peoples, and the first migrations across the Alps into N. Italy who assist Phocaeans in establishing Massalia.
Aristotle	[600 BC]	<i>Frag. 549 Rose; Athenaeus</i> 13.576ab	Foundation tale for Massalia. Fragment attributed by 2nd century AD Athenaeus to a lost work <i>Aristotle</i> (c. 330 BC) (see Rankin 1996, pp. 35–36)
Diodorus Siculus	[e. 6th century BC]	<i>Hist. Lib.</i> 5.24	60–30 BC. Used (4th century BC) Ephorus (and perhaps 500 BC Hecataeus, unless this via Ephorus). On the foundation of Gaul. Critiqued Roman authors.
Plutarch	[mid-6th century BC]	<i>Mulierum Virtutes</i> 246c	On Celtic women (AD 100).
Livy	Later 6th–earlier 5th centuries BC	<i>Rise of Rome</i> 5.34–5.35	Recorded much later (1st century BC). Migration of surplus Celtic peoples, encountering the Etruscans, settling older adopted ‘Celtic’ lands. See Table v.
<i>Travellers’ tales of Celts (6th–e. 5th century BC surviving in later texts (3rd century BC–6th century AD)</i>			
Anon.	[600 BC]	Massilliot periplus	Surviving via a 4th century AD poem, <i>Ora Maritima</i> , by Rufus Festus Avienus (Cunliffe 1997, p. 3; Rankin 1996, p. 2 ff.).
Hecataeus of Miletus	[500 BC]	<i>Geography</i>	Surviving in a 6th–10th centuries AD Epitome, after 6th century AD Stephanus of Byzantium (Hornblower et al. 2012; Collis 2003, pp. 188–189; Sims-Williams 2016)
Himilco of Carthage	[490 BC]	Avienus’ <i>Ora Maritima</i>	Quotes from an account of Himilco’s 490 BC voyage reproduced in Avienus’ 4th century AD <i>Ora Maritima</i> (Dinan 1911; Collis 2003, p. 16; Rankin 1996, pp. 2 ff.).

Apollonius of Rhodes	[c. 490 BC]	<i>Argonautica</i>	Tale of the <i>Argonautica</i> , surviving in a 3rd century BC poem of Apollonius (Sims-Williams 2016)
Contemporary tales (5th century BC)			
Pindar	466 BC	<i>Argonautica</i>	Tale of the <i>Argonautica</i> – first surviving mention (Collis 2003, p. 17)
Herodotus	435 BC	<i>Histories</i> II.33; IV.32–36, 13, 49	On land/location of Celts; corrects poets on Hyperboreans and Danube (Bridgman 2004)
Herodorus of Heraclea	400 BC	<i>History on Heracles</i>	<i>Kelkianoi/Cynetes</i> as Iberian (Sims-Williams 2017)
Fragments, lost texts, recorded later (early 4th century BC)			
Polybius	later 5th–early 4th century BC	<i>Hist.</i> 2.17	Recorded later (2nd century BC). Migrations from France to N. Italy, and ultimately sacking of Rome. See Table v.
Theopompus of Chios	[390/387 BC]	<i>Pliny N.H.</i> 3.9, 3.57; Athenaeus 10.443bc	Fragments of Theopompus (410-370 BC) in 1st century AD Pliny, and 2nd century AD Atheneaus. On sacking of Rome, and on N. Italian Celts drugging the Illyrians. First to use ‘Galatai’ for those who sacked Rome. Theopompus’ Books 42-43 on the western Celts are lost (Shrimpton 1991, p. 99).
Justin	[390/387 BC]	<i>Phil. Hist.</i> 20.5; 43.5	Fragments (1st century AD). In the Epitome of the first century BC Gaulish writer Trogus Pompeius, is a tale on the origins of the alliance between Celts and Greeks. On the sacking of Rome.
Polybius	[387-331BC]	<i>Hist.</i> 2.17	Recorded later (2nd century BC). Use ‘Galatai’ for those who sacked Rome. Discusses new expedition (357/5 BC) and a first Roman success against the Celts (345 BC); 331 BC peace treaty between Gauls and Rome (Kruta 2005, p. 76, 66)
Timagetus	e. 4th century BC	<i>On Ports</i>	Lost work. On N. Italian Celts (Sims-Williams 2016, p. 16)
mid-late 4th century BC information recovery on Galatai and Celts			
Anon.	[e. 4th century BC]	<i>Tractatus De Mulieribus Claris in Bellos</i>	On 14 women ‘intelligent and courageous in warfare’ including the <i>Galatai</i> Onomaris (Gera 1997). Written in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC.
Xenophon	362 BC	<i>Hellenica</i> 7.1.20; 7.1.31	Mentions Celts and Iberians allied with Dionysius of Sicily against Athens (415-413 BC); Celts allied to Syracuse against Thebes in 368 BC (Kruta 2005,

Plato	350 BC	<i>Laws</i> 637de	On Celts (of Gaul) as one of six barbarian peoples given to combat and, like Scythian and Thracian women, to hard-drinking.
Pseudo-Skylax	350 BC	18	Celts and Iberians; Celts in Italy (Shipley 2011)
Aristotle	350/340 BC	<i>Pol.</i> 2.6.6, 2.9.7; <i>Nic. Eth.</i> 3.7.6–7; <i>Eud. Eth.</i> 3.1.25	Celts [of early 4th century BC perhaps] as a warlike race but unusually <i>not</i> under the control of their women, preferring instead relations with other men. Raise their children with few clothes in a cold climate to aid health; fear nothing, neither earthquakes nor waves – an excess (Tierney 1960). Distinguishes between <i>Celts</i> and <i>Galatai</i> – suggesting difference, but also similarity, in their Druids and Semnothei. This latter preserved by earlier 3 rd century AD Diogenes Laertius (1.1). Plutarch (1st century AD) also has Aristotle using Gauls/Galatai for those who attacked Rome (<i>Camillus</i> 22.3).
Anonymous	c. 340 BC	Periplus	Apparently contemporary with Ephorus – places Celts in Spain at northern pillar (Dinan 1911, p. 48)
Ptolemy of Lagos	[335 BC]	Strabo <i>Geog.</i> 7.3.8	From 300 BC, surviving as a fragment in Strabo. Alexander the Great receives Celtic emissaries.
<i>Vague mention, error, parody, cynicism (c. 330 BC)</i>			
Ephorus	d. 330 BC	<i>Histories</i>	Lost. Survives as fragments in 2nd century BC Polybius and 1st century BC Diodorus Siculus and Strabo. A very broad/vague mention of the Celts.
Heraclides Ponticus	c. 330 BC	-	Aristotle's peer – confused re. Hyperboreans (Collis 2003, p. 125).
Ephippus	c. 330 BC	fr. 5 K.-A.	Celts mentioned by the comic poet (Hornblower et al. 2012)
Sopater of Paphos	c. 330 BC	fr. 6 K.-A.	Parody/farce on <i>The Galatai</i> – using the terms interchangeably with Celts (Hornblower et al. 2012)

Strabo	[l. 4th century BC]	<i>Geog.</i> 1.1.14; 1.4.3; 4.4.3; 4.4.6	1st century BC. On Gaul, and the names Galatai, and Keltoi. On Pytheas of Massalia's (310–306 BC) voyage: Britain some days' sail from 'Celtica' (Gaul), distinguishing <i>Keltoi</i> from <i>Germanoi</i> . On men and women's tasks having been exchanged in a manner opposite to the Greeks. On a small island opposite the Loire mouth inhabited by Samnite women, practising Bacchic rites (of Italian origin) and ritual sacrifices, who sail to the mainland and back for intercourse, and hold an annual temple re-roofing ritual – in which the first woman to drop her roofing material is ripped limb from limb. Critical of Ephorus and Pytheas (Sims-Williams 2016, p. 7).
<i>Resolving Celts and Galatai (3rd century BC-1st century AD)</i>			
Hieronymous of Cardia	e. 3rd century BC	<i>Histories</i>	Lost. Preserved by (2nd century AD) Pausanius (1.3.5). Galatas a late term, and Celts the original. Galatai (originally Celts) inhabit northern Europe.
Timaeus	3rd century BC	Diodorus Siculus 4.56, 5.24	Fragments in Diodorus Siculus. Has northern Europe called Galatia (Dinan 1911, p. 145)
Pomponius Mela	[late 3rd century BC]	<i>De Situ Orbis</i> 3.6	Written AD 43/44. Celtic island called Sena, in the British Sea (opposite to the shores of Osismii) home to an oracle of a Gallic god, with nine priestesses, of remarkable intelligence, in a vow of chastity: <i>Senae</i> (the old women) who control sea and wind with song, shape-shift, cure the incurable, and predict the future). Similar perhaps to Strabo's (4.4.6) tale (perhaps going back to the late 4th century BC).
Diodorus Siculus	60–30 BC	5.32.1; 5.24–5.25	Used (4th century BC) Ephorus (and perhaps 500 BC Hecataeus, unless this via Ephorus) and 4th century Timaeus. Noted that Roman writers conflate 'Celts' and 'Galatai' calling them all Gauls – instead he distinguishes between each of the three names geographically, on the basis of the early Greek texts.

Table v: An archaeological assessment, and suggested timeline, for the Early Iron Age migrations of Celts into N. Italy (Polybius' 'most important tribes').

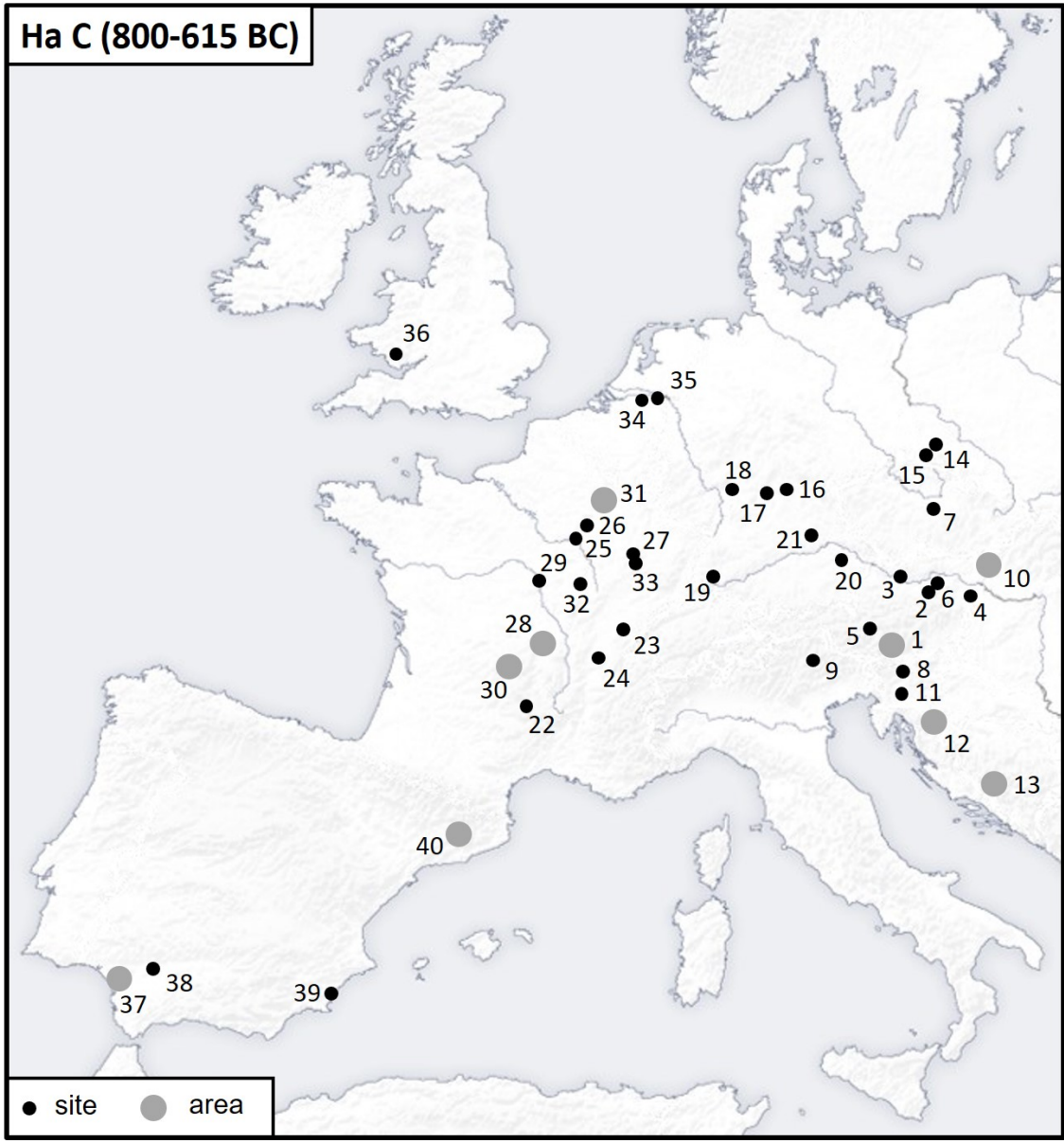
	Polybius (<i>Hist. 2.17</i>)		Livy (<i>Rise of Rome</i>)	
7thC BC	<i>Veneti</i>	along Adriatic shore, very ancient	<i>Veneti</i>	founders of Alpine peoples (5.33)
600 BC	<i>Laevi*</i> <i>Lebecii</i>	source of Po	-	Livy's date for first migrations across Alps, who assist migrating Phocaeans in establishing Massalia (5.34)
early 6thC BC	<i>Insubres*</i> <i>Cenomani</i> <i>Anares</i>	(largest tribe) next to <i>Insubres</i> , along bank of river south of Po, Apennine region, west	-	
?later 6thC BC	-		Surplus <i>Bituriges</i> , <i>Arverni</i> , <i>Senones</i> , <i>Aedui</i> , <i>Amboni</i> , <i>Carnutes</i> , <i>Aulerci</i>	Passed through the Taurini [Piedmont]; encountered Etruscans near R. Ticinus; settled on <i>Insubres*</i> land (5.34) [i.e. along the Po bank (Polybius)]. <i>Venēti</i> , prior to 509 BC, now a corner of the Adriatic (5.33)
?earlier 5thC BC	-		<i>Cenomani</i> <i>Libui</i> <i>Salvi</i>	establish at Verona (5.35) [additional to those recorded by Polybius] - settled around Ticino river, near the ancient <i>Laevi*</i> [one of Polybius' first settlers]
later 5thC BC	<i>Boii</i> <i>Lingones</i> <i>Senones</i> from S. Champagne (Kruta 2005, 67)	next to <i>Anares</i> , further east next to <i>Boii</i> , on Adriatic coast south of <i>Lingones</i> , still on coast	<i>Boii</i> <i>Lingones</i> <i>Senones</i>	crossed via Poenine Pass; holding everything between Po and Alps; crossing Po to drive out Etruscans and Umbri, up to far side of Apennines. settled down to Ravenna; came to Clusium for land; then Rome.

* marking stratigraphic links.

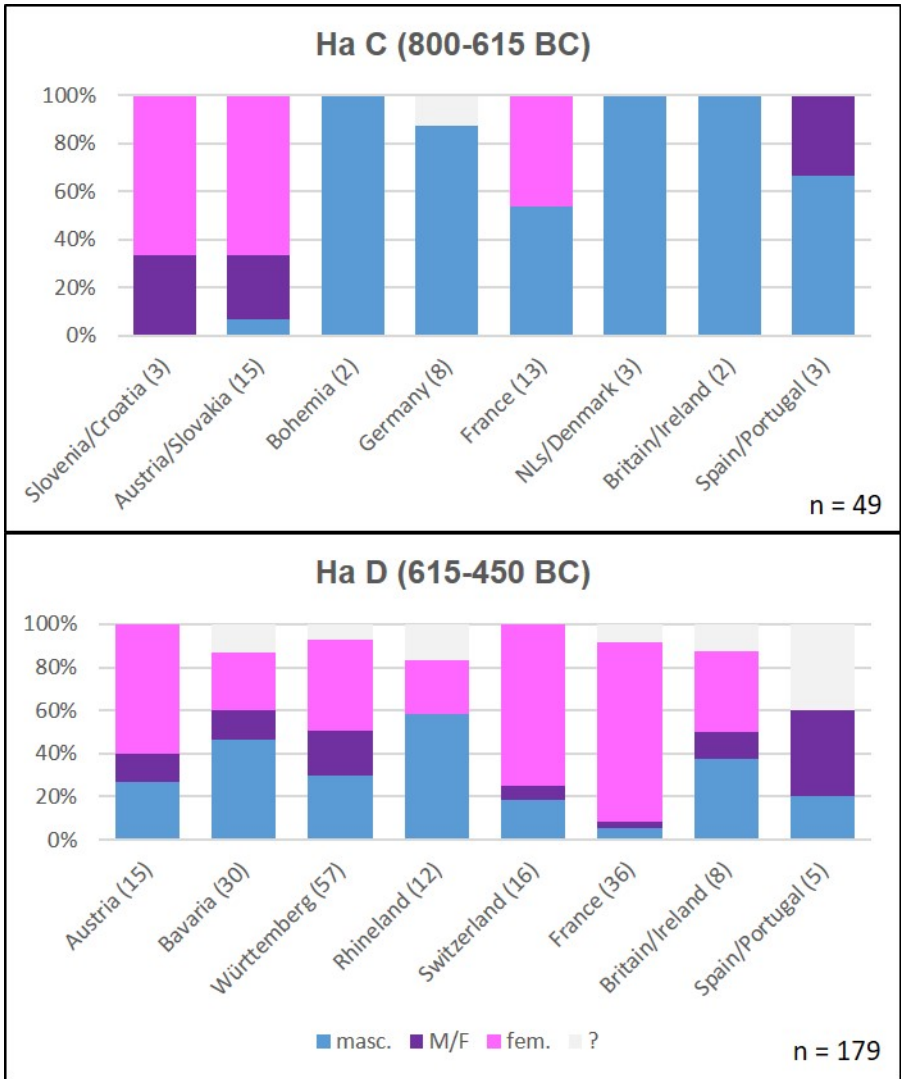
Table vi: Disproportionate deposition of late Hallstatt feminine wealth

Cemetery	Grave	Sex/age	Disproportionate deposition
<i>Hallstatt D Bavaria</i>			
Weismain-Görau	T3	?female	9 bronze neck-rings, 20 arm-rings
Bad Königshofen-Merkershausen	1897	?female	13 bronze ankle-rings, 9 fibulae
Schesslitz-Demmelsdorf	-	?female	5 bronze neck-rings, 10 arm-rings, 12 ear-/hair-rings
<i>Ha D2/3 Württemberg</i>			
Mühlacker	10/1	Female	27 bronze pins, 23 gold ear-rings
Esslingen-Sirnau	-	Female	18 gold ear-rings, 10 bronze pendeloques
Hegnach	18	Female	12 brooches, 6 gold ear-rings
<i>La Tène A</i>			
Dürrnberg (Austria)	-	Female	Large number of fibulae in individual graves
Münsingen-Rain (Switzerland)	G12	Child (7-14)	140-bead amber necklace, 5 finger-rings, 5 fibulae
	G62	Child (milk teeth)	38-bead necklace (amber, blue glass), 2 bracelet pairs, 8 fibulae
	G149	Female (14-20)	118-bead necklace (blue glass, amber), 2 anklet pairs, 4 finger-rings, 16 fibulae

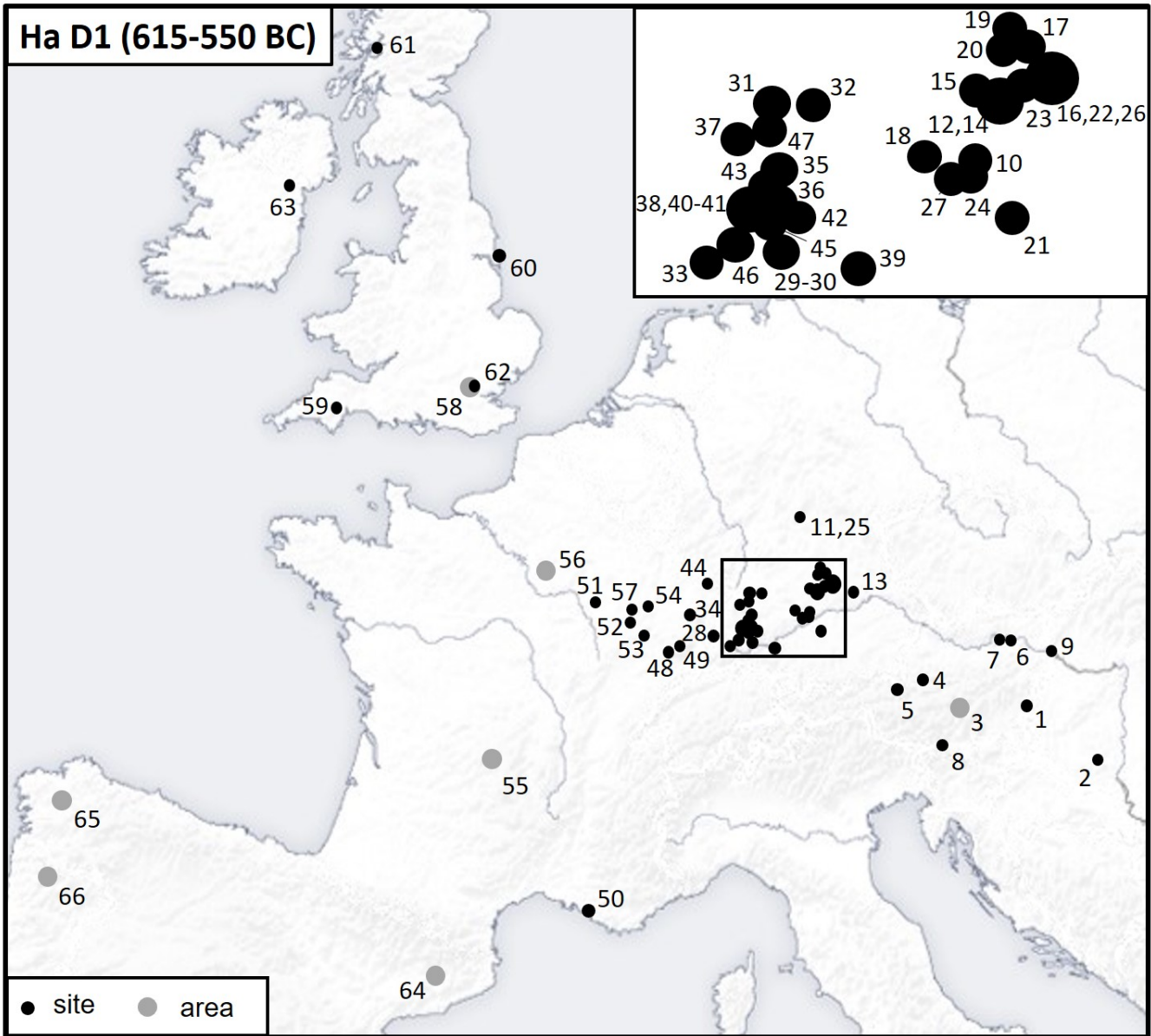
For complete assemblages, see Supplemental Tables 1-4.



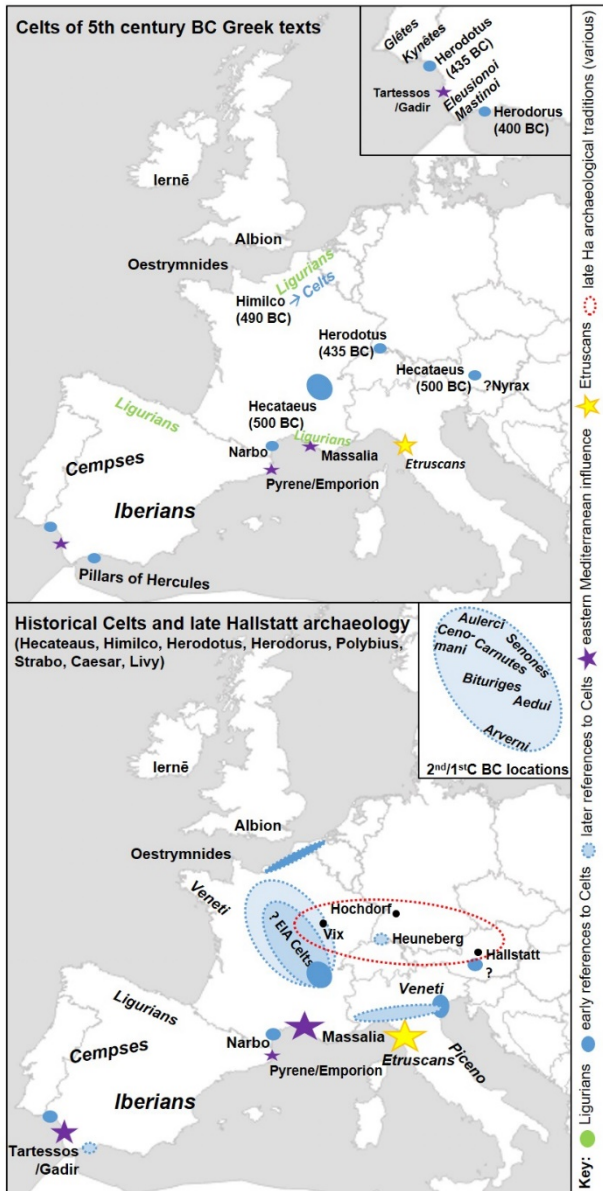
[Fig 1]



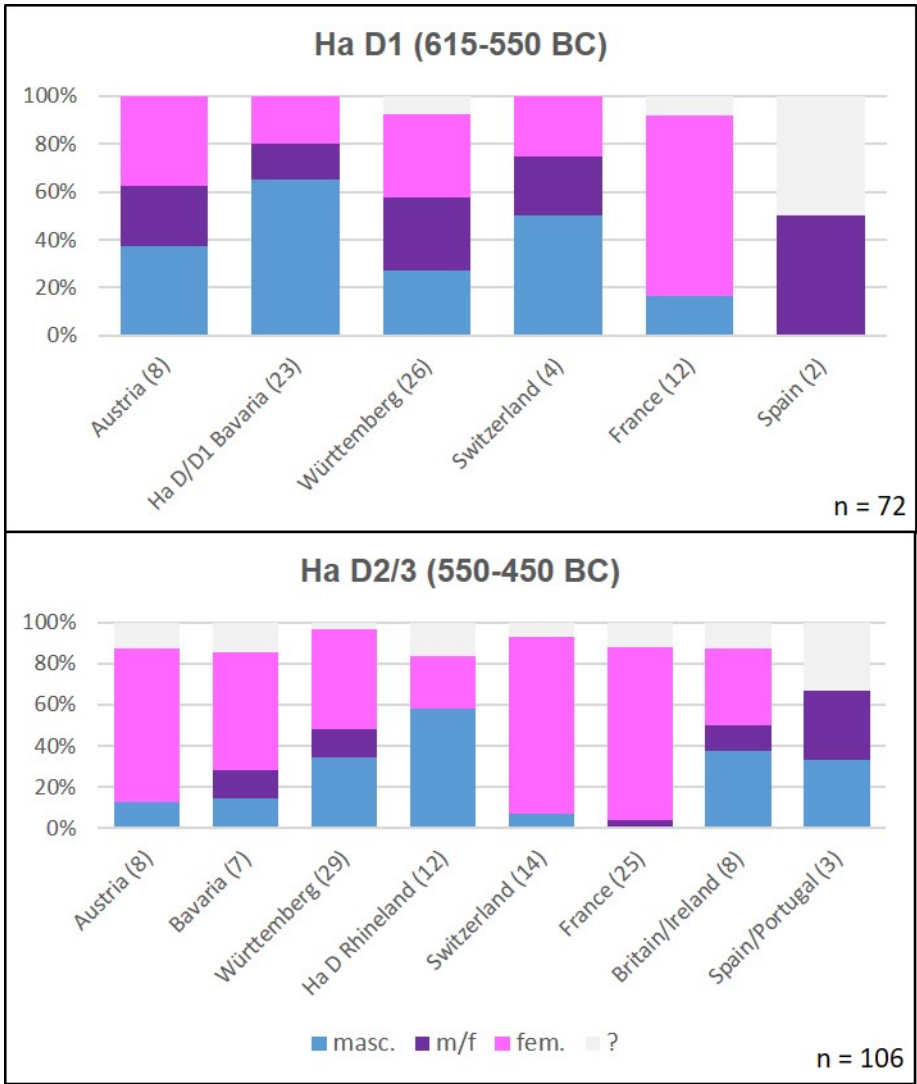
[Fig 2]



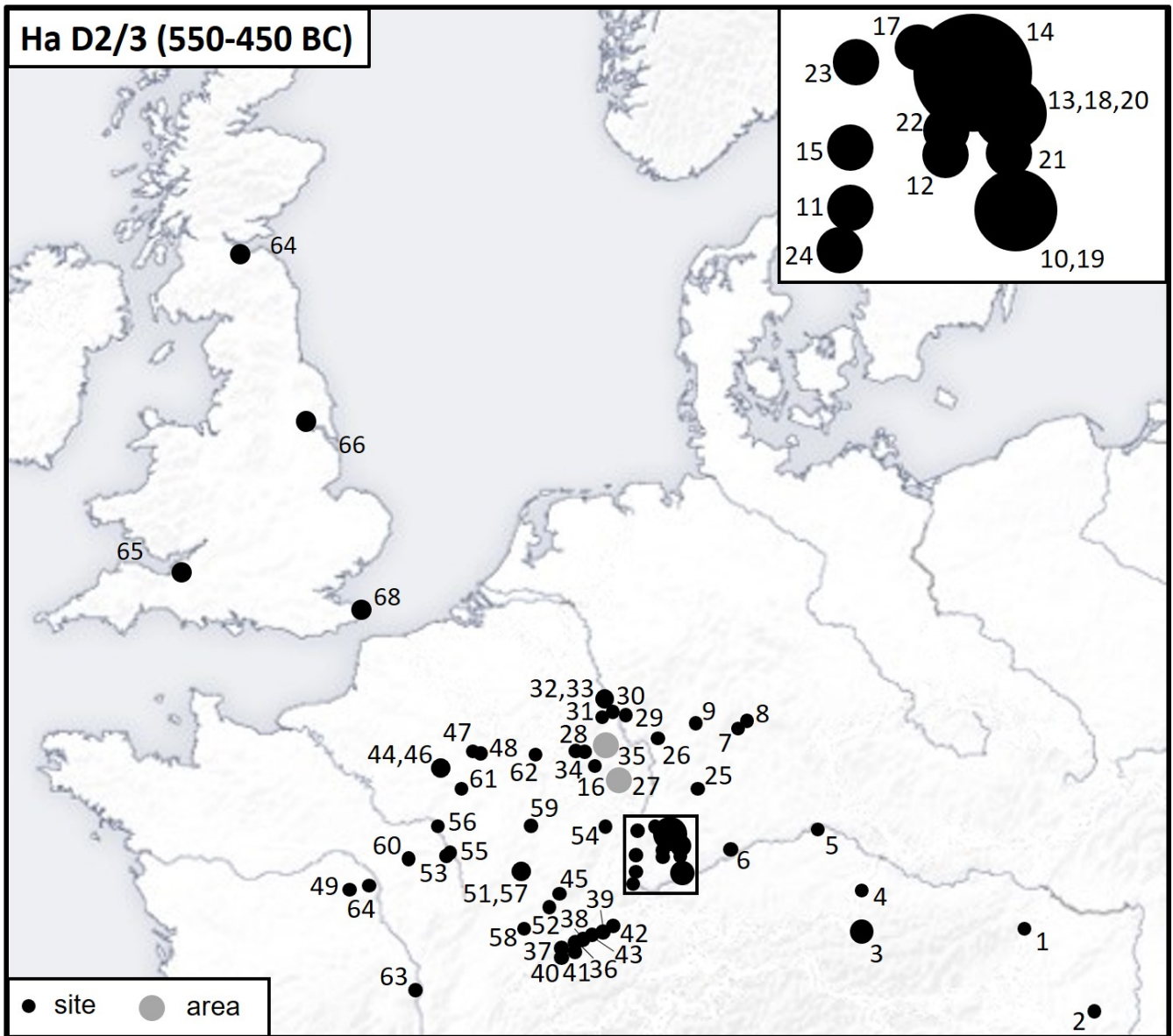
[Fig 3]



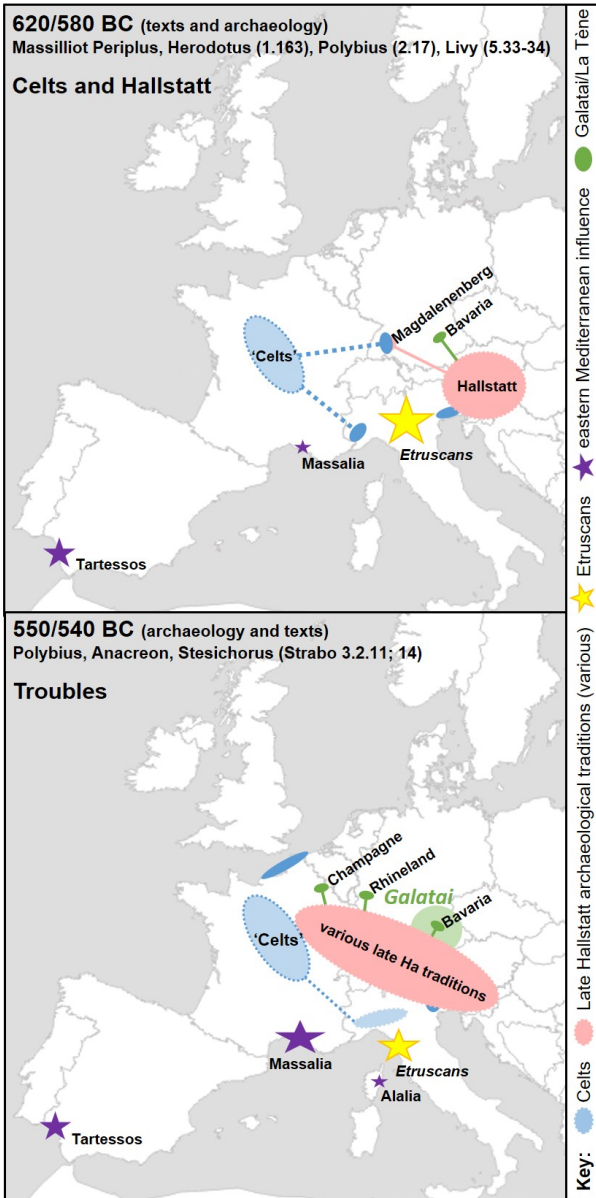
[Fig 4]



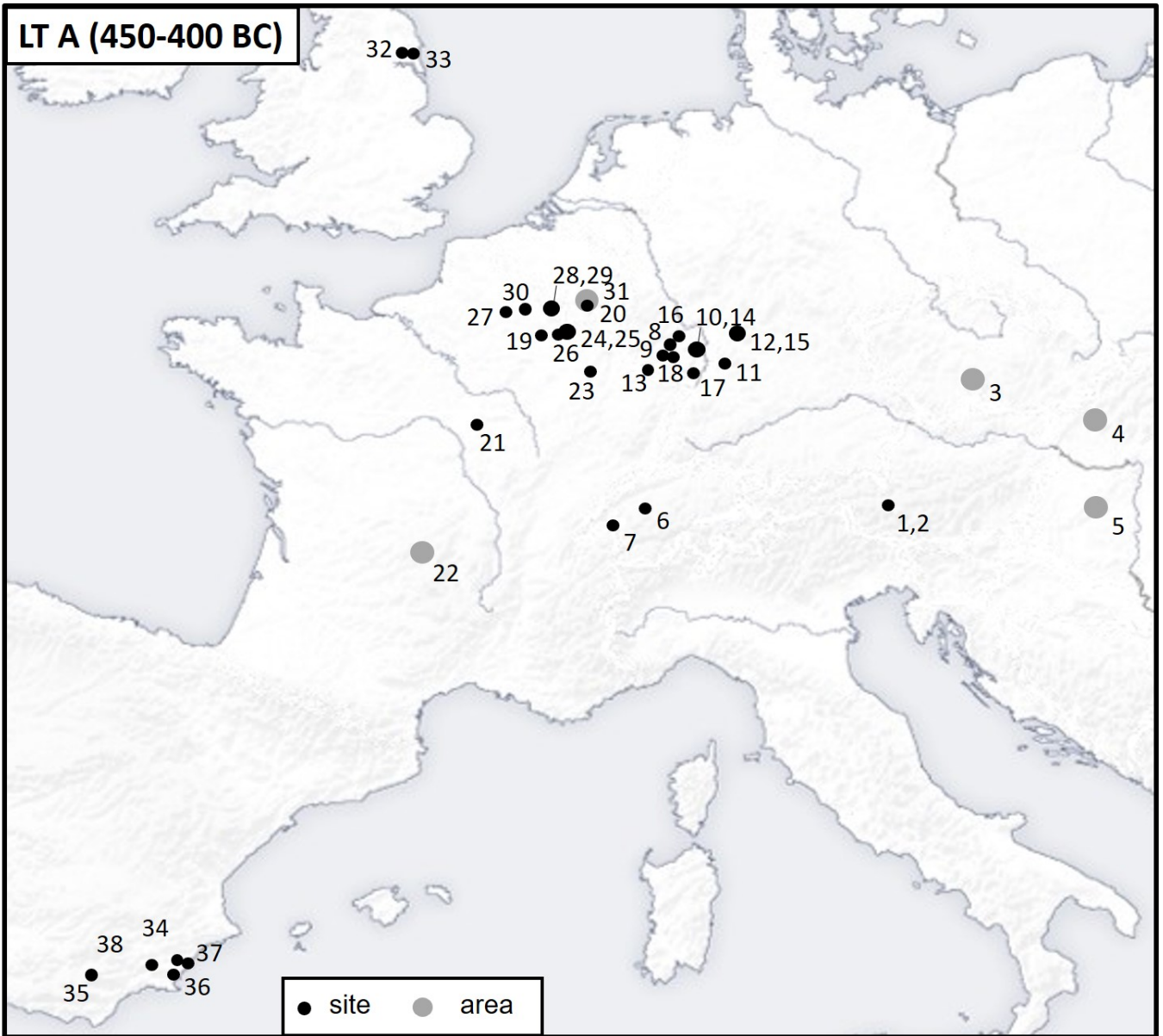
[Fig 5]



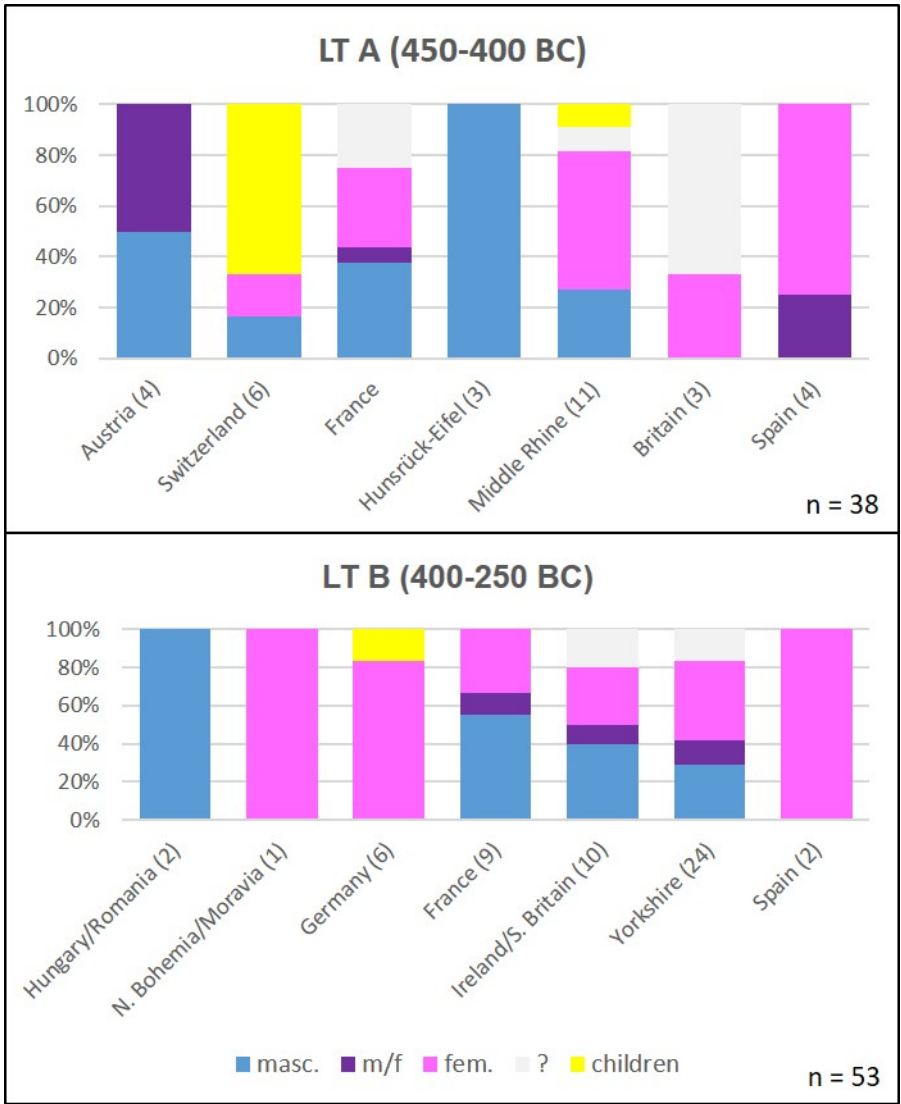
[Fig 6]



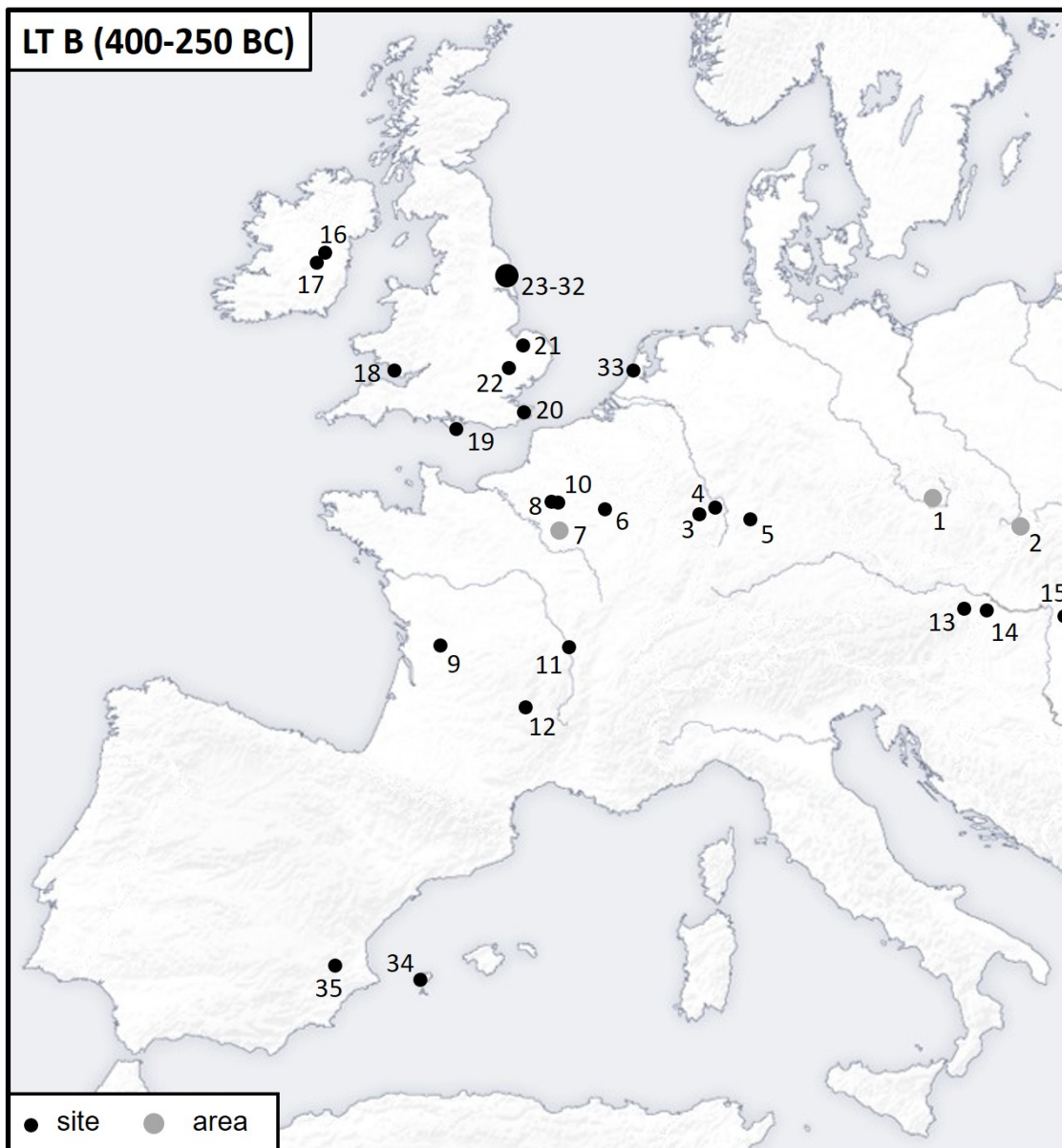
[Fig 7]



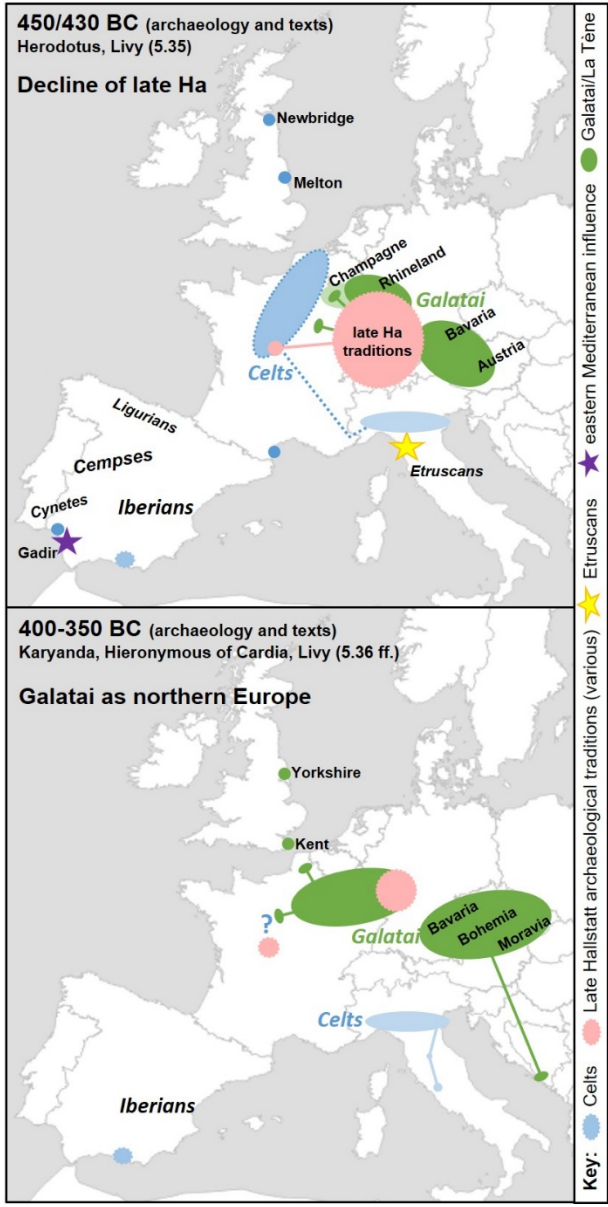
[Fig 8]



[Fig 9]



[Fig 10]



[Fig 11]

Supplemental Table 1: Gender information from 'high status' Ha C/Earliest Iron Age burials (800-615 BC)

Ha C Austria						
1	eastern Alps	800 BC	-	Elite burials found first in eastern Alps; peak in 6 th century BC.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016; Pope 2018
2	Statzendorf cemetery	800-600 BC	F	Vast majority of wealth deposited with women, with dress connections west.		Rebay 2007; Rebay-Salisbury 2016
3	Statzendorf C001	Ha C	f.	Wealthiest. Two bronze fibulae (one w. a big amber bead), 2 bracelets, several finger rings, bronze belt, ceramic vessels, animal remains, iron knife.		Rebay 2007; Rebay-Salisbury 2016
4	Mitterkirchen HÜ-X/1	Ha C	F	Wealthy female wagon burial.		Kiesslich et al. 2005; Rebay-Salisbury 2016
5	Mitterkirchen TX	Ha C	F	Double burial. Woman with headdress, bead necklace, leg-rings, pin, leather cloak decorated with thousands of little bronze rivets and rings.		Kiesslich et al. 2005; Rebay-Salisbury 2016
6	Zagersdorf T1	Ha C	F	Multiple female cremation chamber.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
7	Hallstatt cemetery	Late Ha	M/F	Gendered clusters. Relative gender parity in wealth distribution (although least wealthy women had more material wealth than the least wealthy men). Both sexes were involved in physical labour of salt production (47% of skeletons were of indeterminate sex) with gendered tasks – men picking/hammering; women lifting/carrying, supporting heavy loads. The women had greater bicep development. Children of both sexes were accorded status. Association between women and cattle symbolism (sacrifice and divination). Swords heavily decorated. Connections to south and east: Italy, Slovenia, and even Scythia – communities where women shared high status; display of contact with Italy appropriate for either sex. High-status motifs of sacrificial animals, drinking, feasting, travel/contact; and cattle, water bird, wheel – the last two together, and of direct Italian inspiration. Far-flung connections fewer after end of 7 th C BC.	Y	Hodson 1990; Pany and Teschler-Nicola 2007; Pany 2009; Kern 2009; Pope 2018, table 34.1; Kossack 1954; Merhart 1969; Brun 2018
8	Hallstatt G507	7 th C BC	M/F	Wealthiest Ha C grave. Large, double cremation. Wagon (4 lynch pins), decorated bronze panel, 4 bronze buckets, 2 bronze dishes, elaborate bronze vessel stand, ceramic vessels. Feminine items included: 800-bronze-bead necklace, sheet-bronze belt, bracelet pair, bronze anklet, wheel pendant, sceptre-jangle, 4 spectacle fibulae. Masculine items: iron sword w. ivory and amber pommel, axe, iron knife w. bronze hilt.	Y	Hodson 1990
9	Hallstatt G504	7 th C BC	M/F	Double cremation deposited side by side. Sword, axe, sheet-bronze belt, 2 child-sized arm-rings, bronze bucket, two bronze dishes, ladel.	Y	Hodson 1990
10	Hallstatt G299	7 th C BC	M/F	Sword, bracelet, 5 hair pins and coil, 4 spectacle fibulae, bucket.	Y	Hodson 1990
11	Hallstatt G469	7 th C BC	M	Cremation. Dagger, armour, iron knife, 2 axes, and 4 spears.		Hodson 1990

12	Grafenwörth cemetery	Ha C	F	Women and children receive new rite of inhumation first; men see continuation of older cremation rite.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
13	Inzersdorf an der Traisen cemetery	Ha C	F	Women and children receive new rite of inhumation first; men see continuation of older cremation rite.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
14	Strettweg	late 7 th century BC	F	Large barrow for several cremated individuals. Drinking/feasting equipment (large bronze vessel, w. elaborate openwork stand), 3 horse bits. Bronze wagon (w. large central female deity, with belt and ear-rings) balancing a vessel (as smaller sexless figures hold a stag for sacrifice by a male/female pair with axe, flanked by mounted warriors).	Y	Brun 1987; Rebay-Salisbury 2016
15	Ampass-Deimfeld	?Ha C	F	Bronze female deity figure w. horse heads for arms.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
16	eastern Austria/Slovakia	Ha C	F	Female dominance in human representations.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
Slovenia, Croatia, Balkans						
17	Slovenia/Croatia	Ha C	F	Female dominance in human representations.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
18	Stična, Slovenia	Ha C	f.	Barrow cemetery. Six burials in one barrow: 20,000 glass beads, large number of amber beads in elaborate pendants.		Brun 2018
19	Balkans	HaC/D1	m./f.	Five wealthy, monumental graves (Pilatovíci, Atenica, Novi Pazar, Pécka Banja, Trebenište TVII). Prestigious burial accorded to either sex. Imported bronze vessels (south Italian, Greek workshops). Abundant amber. Stratified.	Y	Brun 2018, 10
Bohemia						
20	Platěnice	Ha C	?M	Sword burial.		Collis 2003, 185
21	Central Bohemia (e.g. Hradenín cemetery)	Ha C	?M	Barrow inhumations w. wagons, harness, swords.		Collis 2003, 185
Germany						
22	Großeibstadt I G1	Ha C	M	Male, 40 years old. Wagon, horse gear. Sword. Fe knife, animal bones, 3 bronze vessels, 34 ceramic vessels.	Y	Pare 1992, 289; Piggott 1983
23	Großeibstadt II G2	7 th C BC	M	Adult male. Wagon, horse gear. Fe swan's neck pin, toilet set. Bronze bowl, iron knife, 19 ceramic vessels, animal bones.	Y	Pare 1992, 292
24	Donauwörth (on the Danube)	Ha C	M	Primary cremation. Spear, 22 ceramic vessels, animal bones.		Piggott 1983
25	Frankfurter Stadtwald	Ha C	M	Sword, knife, situla, 4 bronze bowls, animal bones, yoke and horse bits.	Y	Piggott 1983, fig. 88

26	Hunsrück-Eifel	Ha C	?	Cremation rite, continuing Urnfield traditions, w. bronze ornaments becoming more common.	Y	Collis 2003, 161
27	Magdalenenberg primary (Villingen-Schwenningen)	616 BC	adult M	100 m tumulus. Wagon, horse gear. ?bow and arrow, leather and textiles. Piglet skeleton, wooden vessel.		Frey 1997, 89; 98; Rebay-Salisbury 2016; Pare 1992
28	Pilsting-Oberndorf (Bavaria)	Ha C	M	Wagon. Gündlingen sword.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
29	Schirndorf (Bavaria)	Ha C	M	Cremation cemetery. Women and children buried at peripheries of mounds raised for men.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
Ha C France						
30	Séverac-le-Château (south of France)	8 th C BC	F	Female w. iron torc considered to be of highest status.		Verger and Pernet 2013, 183
31	Grand Communal T2 S3 (Doubs) Franche-Comté, eastern France	? late Ha C	?F	13 m tumulus. Primary burial. Openwork pendant, w. parallel south to Chemilla.	Y	Milcent 2013b
32	Chemilla S.2, Jura	? late Ha C	?F	12 m tumulus. Openwork pendant = strong associations with Italy, and also demonstrate links back to Late Bronze Age costume.	Y	Milcent 2013b; Verger 2013a
33	Périgny-la-Rose	? late Ha C	?F	Two miniature axe pendants. Not far from Crancey.		Chevrier 2013
34	Crancey	? late Ha C	?F	Very wealthy bronze assemblage.		Chevrier 2013
35	Haroué (Meurthe-et-Moselle)	8 th C BC	M	Biggest barrows for men with (Gündlingen) swords.		Olivier 2000, fig. 3a
36	Northern Massif central and Berry	Ha C	M	Barrows for men with swords.		Milcent 2004
37	Auvergne	Ha C	M	Dominated by male burials, incl. several w. Mindelheim swords		Collis 2003, 171
38	Champagne	Ha C	M	Burials rare, although one or two tumuli w. bronze swords.		Collis 2003, 164
39	Magny-Lambert (Burgundy)	Final 8 th / e. 7 th C BC	M	32 m barrow w. Gündlingen sword, razor, bronze vessels, large bowl w. ladle, drinking cup.	Y	Mohen 1997, 117
40	Diarville T1 (Lorraine)	End of Ha C2-	m.	Exca. 1988-1999. 30 m tumulus. Oak coffin. Large Mindelheim sword, hilt towards feet, wrapped in cloth. Bronze bracelet on left forearm. Small iron		Olivier 2018, 30

		beginning Ha D1		tweezers and small bronze ring-like piece (on pelvis). Ceramic vessel. Tumulus covered by larger, f. /f.Diarville T2.	
41	Diarville T3	End of Ha C2- beginning Ha D1	m.	Red amber and gold bead (near neck). Iron Mindelheim sword, wrapped in cloth. Bracelet (on left forearm). Razor with suspension ring (at feet).	Olivier 2018, 33
Netherlands, Denmark, Britain, Ireland					
42	Scandinavia	6 th -3 rd Cs BC	-	Cremation cemeteries. Little evidence of social distinction, egalitarian. Regional style differences, communal identities.	Brun 2018
43	Oss, Netherlands	Ha C	m.	'Chieftain's grave'.	Fontijn and Fokkens 2007; Pare 1992
44	Wijchen, Netherlands	Ha C	m.	Wagon grave with Gündlingen sword and axe.	Fontijn and Fokkens 2007; Pare 1992
45	Denmark	Ha C	m.	Mindelheim and Gündlingen swords? Large barrow on island of Fyn.	Collis 2003, 184; Brun 2018
46	Llyn Fawr, Wales	Ha C	m.	Masculine burial assemblage?	Piggott 1983, 177
47	Britain and Ireland	EIA	m.	Gündlingen swords – contact w. contemporary masculine culture in France.	Cunliffe 2001, 321
Spain					
48	Tartessos, southern Iberian peninsula	Ha C/D1	?	Wealthy tombs (imported items, prestigious goldwork) e.g. Almuñecar, La Joya, Niebla, Carmona.	Brun 2018, 10
49	Setefilla Tombs A and B (Tartessos)	late 8 th C BC	M	Men w. higher life expectancy (27-30) compared to women (22).	Prados 2010, 209
50	Cabeza Lucero (Alicante)	Ha C	M	Men w. higher life expectancy.	Prados 2010, 211
51	NE Spain	Ha C/D	m./f.	Characterised by weapons burials, wagons; but also there are diadems.	Graells Fabregat 2011, 587

Supplemental Table 2: Gender information from Hallstatt D/Early Iron Age burials (615-450 BC)

Ha D Austria						
52	eastern Alps	6 th C BC	-	Elite burials peak in 6 th century BC.		Pope 2018
53	Frög cemetery	c. 800-550 BC	M/F	Most figurines are male, with horse riders (deemed masculine), and 75 male and 38 female figures. REP: Ha D1 rather than Ha C?		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
54	Langenlebar T3	? 600 BC	M	Three ceramic male figures.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
55	Gemeinlebar T1	c. 600 BC	m/f.	50 m barrow. Pyre material, wagon, horse burial w. horse gear, sword, and ceramic figurine set (female and sexless figures, conducting sacrifice of a stag).		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
56	Hallstatt cemetery	Ha D1/2	F	More women buried than men. Feminine items include gold, lunate fibulae, chain pendants.		Hodson 1990
57	Hallstatt G573	Ha D1	?M	Heavily-decorative Mindelheim sword (amber-inlaid ivory pommel). Now dated to Hallstatt D1 after its parallel from Marainville-sur-Madon.		Hodson 1990; Milcent 2013b; Pope 2018
58	Hallstatt G505	?Ha D1/2	F	Wealthiest Ha D cremation. Amber necklace, arm-ring, anklet pairs, large-jangle fibulae pair, amber ring, gold ornaments, bronze-decorated belt, 2 bronze buckets, 2 bronze vessels; golden belt hook (?sword skeuomorph). Utilises sun/wheel symbolism of wealthiest Hallstatt C grave (G507) a generation earlier.	Y	Hodson 1990; Pope 2018
59	Hallstatt G259	?Ha D1/2	M	Helmet, dagger, 2 spears.		Hodson 1990
60	Bischofshofen-Pestfriedhof cemetery	?Ha D1/2	F	More females in cremation cemetery (64%).		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
61	Mia á Saint-Georges-les-Baillargeaux (Vienna)	mid 6 th C BC	f.	Array of fine bronze jewellery.		Verger 2013a
62	Helpfau-Uttendorf 'Moos' T5	Ha D2	?	Large tumulus. Wagon. Gold neck-ring.		Milcent 2018, fig. 8, table 5
63	Dürrnberg	470 BC →	M	Higher-status male burials after 470 BC; proximity to the newer Bavarian social norms was perhaps taking effect.		Moser 2009; Pope 2018
64	Eisfeld cemetery (Dürrnberg)	?Ha D2/3	F	Women with most material wealth (multiple bracelets, anklet pairs, bronze belts, and typically three fibulae – a few with three large double-spiral pins). Men (also with bronze belts) and weaponry (axes and a set of three spears).		Moser 2009
65	Eisfeld T59	?Ha D2/3	F	'Priestess' grave: armlets, gold hair combs, 3 rich fibulae, bronze disc with iron shaft.		Moosleitner 1997, 200

66	Eisfeld T118	?Ha D2/3	F	'Priestess' grave: with bronze sphere.		Moosleitner 1997, 200
67	Hexenwandfeld cemetery (Dürrnberg)	?Ha D2/3	F	Women with most material wealth (multiple bracelets, anklet pairs, bronze belts, and typically 3 fibulae; a few with 3 large double-spiral pins). Men (also with bronze belts) and weaponry (axes and a set of three spears).		Moser 2009
68	Simonbauernfeld cemetery (Dürrnberg)	?Ha D2/3	F	Only a few graves see deposition of daggers.		Moser 2009, 170
Ha D Bohemia						
69	e.g. Závist	Ha D	-	Ostentatious burial disappears, replaced by simple cremation cemeteries (and hillforts).		Collis 2003, 185
Ha D Slovakia and Hungary						
70	eastern Slovakia and Hungary	6 th C BC	-	Scythian-type burials w. horses.		Collis 2003, 190
71	Sopron and Pécs (western Slovakia and Hungary)	Ha D2/3	-	Wealthy late Ha-type burials.		Collis 2003, 190
Ha D Bavaria (?Ha D1/2)						
72	Ausber-Kriegshaber	?Ha D	M/F	Man, woman and child. Wagon. Spear, ferrule. 13 pottery vessels.		Pare 1992
73	Bad Königshofen-Merkershausen	?Ha D	f.	2 bronze melon arm-rings, 7 bronze ankle-rings, bronze belt-sheet. Ceramic.		Pare 1992
74	Beilngries G74	?Ha D	?	Wagon, horse bones. 13 pins, iron dagger, 2 iron fire-dogs, 14 iron spits. Ceramic.		Pare 1992
75	Beratzhausen	?Ha D	m.	Vehicle. Fe sword. Bronze tweezers, bronze spiral ring, 2 bronze swan's neck pins, bronze cup-headed pin. Ceramic.		Pare 1992
76	Dietfurt	?Ha D	m.	Vehicle. Fe sword. Knife and 18 ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992
77	Großebstadt I G4 (central Germany)	?Ha D	M	23 m tumulus. Male, 20-30 years old. Wagon, horse gear. Amber ring, antenna-hilted Fe dagger. Fe knife, 56 ceramic vessels		Pare 1992, 290
78	Großebstadt II G4	?Ha D	?	Inhumation (disturbed). Wagon, horse gear. Antenna-hilted Fe dagger. 19 ceramic vessels, animal bones (dagger seems used for this rather than knife).		Pare 1992, 292
79	Großebstadt II G14	?Ha D	?	15 m tumulus. Wagon, rich horse gear. 3 bronze vessels, 34 ceramic vessels.	Y	Pare 1992, 292
80	Hilpoltstein-Weinsfeld	?Ha D	M	Male 50-60 years. Wagon. 2 bronze drum fibulae, iron razor, spear. Large knife, bronze bowl, 2 ceramic vessels, pig bones.	Y	Pare 1992
81	Hohenfels	?Ha D	m.	Wagon. Fe sword, fibula. Knife, ceramic bowl.		Pare 1992

82	Illschwang-Gehrsricht	?Ha D	m.	Vehicle. Fe sword. 6 ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992
83	Leipheim X	?Ha D	f.	18 m tumulus. Vehicle, horse gear. 2 bronze ankle-rings, sherds.		Pare 1992
84	Leipheim 14	?Ha D	m.	Cremation. Vehicle, horse gear. 6 spears, ceramics.		Pare 1992
85	Neukirchen-Gaisheim	?Ha D	m/f.	Vehicle. Antler hammer, whetstone, birch bark, 8 ceramic vessels. Not definitely associated: bronze melon arm-ring, spear, spear ferrule, and knife.		Pare 1992
86	Pilsach-Niederhofen	?Ha D	m.	Vehicle. Fe sword, bronze belt-hook, ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992
87	Pöcking-Aschering	?Ha D	m/f.	Bronze sword, toilet set, bronze belt-hook, bronze pin, 5 ceramic vessels. ?later ?chariot.		Pare 1992
88	Schmidmühlen-Markhof	?Ha D	f.	Vehicle. 2 glass beads.		Pare 1992
89	Velburg-Lengenfeld	?Ha D	m.	Wagon. Fe sword. Bronze bowl, knife, ceramic.	Y	Pare 1992
90	Wehringen	?Ha D	m.	Wagon. Bronze sword. Small gold sheet cup, 21 ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992
Ha D1 Bavaria						
91	Bavaria	Ha D1	M	More male-authored (may have involved an earlier out-migration from Austria).		Pare 1992; Pope 2018
92	Großleibstadt II G2	Ha D1	M	Adult male. Vehicle, horse gear. Iron swan's neck pin, iron toilet set. Bronze bowl, animal bones, iron knife, 19 ceramic vessels.	Y	Pare 1992
93	Lupburg-Gottesberg	Ha D1	m.	Vehicle. Iron sword, 7 ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992
94	Waltenhausen	Ha D1	f.	Vehicle. Bronze arm-ring, gold finger-ring, amber bead, bronze belt-sheet, bronze cauldron, 2 ceramic vessels.	Y	Pare 1992
Ha D2/3 Bavaria						
95	Bavaria	Ha D2/3	M	Wagon burials predominantly male (85%) – although not high status – and associated with weaponry (referencing combat now over contact/exchange). swell of male chariot burials might again suggest movement out of Württemberg at time of Hochdorf to this established, different society in Bavaria (of Hallstatt D1 origin). Like the Rhineland (and unlike Württemberg) Bavaria less concerned with absorbing Mediterranean culture.		Pare 1992; Pope 2018
96	Bavaria	Ha D2/3	F	Wealthiest wagon burials female. Disproportionate deposition.		Pope 2018
97	Straubing	Ha D2/3	?	Egyptian contact.	Y	Verger and Pernet 2013, 189-190
98	Dillingen-Kicklingen	Ha D2/3	?F	Bronze neck-ring, fibula, bronze belt-sheet, spear, bronze punch. Six ceramic vessels, pig bones.		Pare 1992

99	Schesslitz-Demmelsdorf	Ha D2/3	F	5 bronze neck-rings, ten bronze arm-rings, 12 bronze ear/hair-rings, large amber bead, 2 bronze drum fibulae, bronze belt-sheet, gold wire spiral. 12 ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992
100	Weismain-Görau 3	Ha D2/3	F	9 neck-rings, 20 arm-rings, a few ear-rings, serpentine fibula. Ceramic sherds.		Pare 1992
101	Leinach-Oberleinach	Ha D2/3	M/F	6-8 skeletons at with wagon. 13 bronze ear-rings, bronze arm-ring, 7 agate beads, ?coral-decorated item, bronze belt sheet, 7 spearheads, 2 knives.		Pare 1992
Ha D1 Württemberg						
102	Württemberg	Ha D	F	Seriation analysis showed that adult women (aged between 20–40 years) had both the largest burial chambers, and most grave-goods.		Burmeister 2000
103	Württemberg	end of Ha C into D1	-	Display of individual status apparent (here, and also further west).		Stöllner 2014
104	Magdalenenberg community	616-575 BC	M/F	144 secondary burials. Similar numbers of men and women. A 'highly mobile' community (individuals as children at Heuneburg, Hallstatt, N. Italy). Mobility not gendered. Seriation of 94 costume assemblages found 10% had elements of both masculine and feminine attire/items. Far greater no. of items with secure female associations (bronze neck-ring, armband pair, bronze needles, amber, bronze belt adornments, spacers) than male (razors, and female items but made in iron: belt-plate, needle). A wide <i>range</i> of feminine items w. male bodies (arm/anklets, bronze belt-plates, ear-rings, feminine brooches) suggests grave goods a by-product of individual selection, with women perhaps more often placing tokens in male graves. Four of six sexed Magdalenenberg men w. weapons were among those w. more feminine items; elders more likely to have daggers (perhaps performing a more relaxed gender in their later years). Age again seems the more significant structuring principle; elder martial male identity receiving greater access to proteins.		Oelze et al. 2012, 409; 413–415-416; Burmeister 2000; Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005; Zäuner and Wahl 2013; Pope 2018
105	Hohmichele VI (Heuneburg)	I.7 th -I. 6 th C BC	F/M	Exca. 1930s. Double inhumation on cattle skins. Central woman, more spatially assoc. w. wagon. Horse gear. Long multiple necklaces (amber, glass, coral) > 2000 beads, textiles, finger ring, belt of animal teeth, serpentine fibula. Man: Fe neck-ring (an inversion of the usual female bronze), bronze belt-plate (a typically female item), 2 serpentine fibulae, 3 iron rings. Grave: Two bows, bronze-decorated leather quiver w. 51 Fe arrowheads. Fe knife and whetstone. Large cauldron and bronze vase, bronze dish, 4 boar-tusks in bronze settings, ceramic vessels, wicker basket.	Y	Ehrenberg 1989, 171; Arnold 1995, 44; Frey 1997, 86; Krause 2016, 80; Pare 1992

106	Hohmichele I (Heuneburg)	Ha D1	F	Exca. 1930s. 80 m barrow. Wagon. 400 glass beads, textile and gold belt, bronze ring, textiles, horse and cattle fur. Knife. Outside: belt, bronze shield, miniature ceramic vessel, 200 glass beads, amber bead & ring, plait of red hair & tufts of pubic hair, sheep fleeces, hazelnuts, fruit.	Frey 1997, 86; Pare 1992
107	Bettelbühl G4 (Heuneburg)	583 BC	F	Exca. 2010. Woman (w. displaced skull). Horse gear incl. decorated bronze cap. 98 amber beads, 34 gold beads, 1 glass bead. Gold fibula pair; 3 amber fibulae; 5 other fibulae. Gold ear-ring/headress, 7 shale armlets, 2 bronze anklet pairs, bronze belt-plate. 6 wooden 'drums'. Boars tooth jangle, pile of decorated bronze <i>klappers</i> . Knife, pig remains. Collection of fossils, minerals, crystal. Textiles and fur. Secondary burials: female burial, unadorned (chamber corner); girl beyond chamber.	Krausse 2016; Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2018
108	Germany	580-425 BC	F	Roughly five generations where high status represented by daggers, esp. in Germany. Daggers occur first in more feminine assemblages (e.g. Neuhausen ob Eck, Kappel-Grafenhausen T3) – contemp. with the Hohmichele VI man (notably without dagger). The 'holding up' motif of anthropomorphic daggers also seen on the Strettweg wagon (600 BC), and later on the Hochdorf couch or <i>kline</i> (530 BC) and Reinheim mirror (450–400 BC) – these examples of the motif all gendered female. Daggers as sword skeumorphs? Belly and cow imagery. Swords found only with men over age of 20, daggers with elder men – suggesting weapon type was related to age and social role; that the dagger might represent former heroicism, linked more to elevated status than to active combat. Found also in elite feminine assemblages; perhaps more appropriate for adolescents too (e.g. the small sword from Barbey).	Pope 2018; Frey 1997: 121; Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005; Marion 2004: 185
109	Württemberg	Ha D1	f.	Two distinct elite female identities in Württemberg: one with gold, but no Mediterranean contact (perhaps indigenous); the other with weapons and Mediterranean contact (perhaps linked to Greece).	Pope 2018
110	S. Württemberg	Ha D1	m.	Gender as relatively complex. Characteristically female belt-plates and anklets/armlets assoc. are found in a few male burials. Here, it is the most <i>popular</i> female items (arm/anklets, ear-rings, belt-plates) – i.e. those most <i>stereotypically</i> female – that have become associated with men (unlike the <i>range</i> of items at the Magdalenenberg, suggesting mourner selection).	Burmeister 2000
111	N. Württemberg	Ha D1	-	Gender less complex for men in N. Württemberg, than to the south of the region. However does look like more women with weaponry here.	Burmeister 2000
112	Gerlingen 4/1, N. Württemberg	Ha D1	?F	Bronze neck-ring, weaponry.	-

113	Heidenheim 4/3 (Seewiesen-Süd)	Ha D1	-	Sexed male found with needle (typically female item).		Burmeister 2000
114	Neuhausen Ob Eck	Ha D1	F	?vehicle. Head-dress (9 small bronze rings), bronze chain necklace, amber bead, 2 bronze arm-rings and amber, 2 bronze drum fibulae, Fe dagger w. scabbard, whetstone, 2 spears.		Burmeister 2000; Pare 1992
115	Kappel-Grafenhausen T3	Ha D1	m/f.	Wagon. Bronze neck-ring, bronze fibulae, Hallstatt dagger w. scabbard, 2 Fe spears. 2 large Fe knives w. bone handles, 14 bronze vessels (including a large cauldron, large situla, a bowl, small jug, and 8 ribbed buckets), a tripod with animal heads, ceramic vessels.	Y	Pare 1992, 259
116	Sankt Johann 1897	Ha D1	m/f.	Vehicle. Bronze neck-ring, Fe dagger, spear, pair of serpentine fibulae. Bronze cauldron.	Y	Pare 1992, 267
117	Sankt Johann 1884	'Hallstatt'	m/f.	19 m tumulus. Double burial. Vehicle, horse bones. 2 Fe spears, bronze belt sheet.		Pare 1992, 267
118	Hohenstein- Oberstetten 2, secondary	Ha D1	m/f.	20 m tumulus, cremation. Fe Hallstatt sword, shield, Fe cauldron.		Pare 1992, 253
119	Sulz am Neckar	'Hallstatt'	?	19 m tumulus. Wagon, Fe dagger and scabbard, ?spear, 2 sherds.		Pare 1992, 270
120	Meßstetten-Hossingen	'Hallstatt' ?Ha D1	?m.	?vehicle. Fe sword, 3 bronze pins, toilet set.		Pare 1992, 263
121	Tannheim VI	'Hallstatt' ?Ha D1	?	Vehicle, horse gear. Fe dagger, 7 ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992, 271
122	Albstadt-Ebingen	Ha D1	m.	Vehicle. Fe dagger, 2 fibulae. Bronze cup, 2 pieces of boar tusk, 2 ceramic plates and bowl.	Y	Pare 1992, 238
123	Bitz	Ha D1	m.	Vehicle. 2 spears, small gold ring. 2 ceramic vessels, piece of boar tusk.		Pare 1992, 245
124	Emerkingen	Ha D1	m.	32 m barrow. Vehicle. Fe dagger. Sherds, hazelnuts.		Pare 1992, 249
125	Engstingen- Großengstingen	Ha D1	f.	Wagon. Crystal bead. Small bronze vessel.	Y	Pare 1992, 250
126	Kappel-Grafenhausen T1	Ha D1	f.	74 m tumulus (larger than Hochdorf, directly comparable in size to contemporary female barrows at Sainte-Colombe-sur-Seine). Wagon. Gold neck-ring, gold arm-ring pair, 3 gold buttons, bronze belt-sheet, 2 bronze pin-heads, bronze	Y	Pare 1992, 258-259

				dagger w. scabbard. Large bronze cauldron, bronze <i>oinochoe</i> , Fe knife w. bronze scabbard, pig jawbone.		
127	Hügelsheim, (Heiligenbuck)	Ha D1	m.	72 m tumulus. Robbed, considered male. Wagon, horse gear. Bronze dagger hilt (no blade), leather and textiles, bronze serpentine fibula. Bronze cauldron and cup, jug, ribbed bucket.	Y	Frey 1997, 89-90; Pare 1992, 254
128	Immendingen-Mauenheim M	Ha D1	f.	Wagon. Barrel-shaped sapropelite arm-ring, bronze arm-ring, bronze belt-sheet, 5 bronze pins. 2 ceramic vessels, pig bones.		Pare 1992, 255
129	Immendingen-Mauenheim N	Ha D1	m.	Wagon, horse gear. Fe antenna-hilted sword, 2 fibulae (1 Fe serpentine). Pig skeleton.		Pare 1992, 255
130	Inzigkofen-Vilsingen	Ha D1	f.	Wagon. Bronze arm-ring pair. 8 bronze vessels (Bronze Rhodian flagon, 2 large cauldrons, 3 bronze cups, 2 bronze dishes), large Fe knife, 5 ceramic vessels. First evidence for contact with Greece.	Y	Pare 1992, 257
131	Tübingen-Bebenhausen 1901	Ha D1	m.	Cremation. ?vehicle. Fe dagger. 6 ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992, 273
Ha D2/3 Württemberg						
132	southern Germany	Ha D2/3	-	Wagon burials reduce by half alongside fewer hillforts; wealth concentrates. Society relatively less mobile? Increasingly high status Ha D2 burials, dating to final generation of 6 th century BC.		Cunliffe 1997, 57
133	Württemberg	Ha D2/3	M	Gendered analysis of wagon burials, found typically only men had access to the old rite of wagon burial. In contrast to France, gold neck-rings seem more typically a male item in contemp. Germany (Hochdorf, Ludwigsburg, Gießübel-Talhau, Hundersingen), although female examples are claimed for Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt and Kappel-Grafenhausen T1. Leadership seems even more masculine in the generation after 550 BC (Hochdorf, Ludwigsburg, Hundersingen, Söllingen), following greater contact with Greece.		Baray 2000; Pope and Ralston 2011, fig. 17.2; Pope 2018; Arnold 2012
134	Speckhau T17 G1	Ha D2/3 (post- 540 BC)	M	Sword, iron helmet plume clamp, iron belt-hook, two spears. Cauldron.	Y	Arnold 2012
135	N. Württemberg	Ha D2/3	F	Start to find spindlewhorls in female burials – a typically more eastern item.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
136	Kappel-am-Rhein T1 G1	Start of Ha D2	M?	Large tumulus. Gold neck-ring.		Milcent 2018, fig. 8, table 5
137	Dußlingen	Ha D2	M?	Large tumulus. Gold neck-ring.		Milcent 2018, fig. 8, table 5

138	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt G1	Ha D2	?f.	Exca. 1930s. Wagon, horse gear. Gold neck-ring, gold arm-ring, bronze arm-ring, bronze belt-sheet, 3 hair ornaments (2 gold rings, 1 bronze), 3 fibulae, 2 Fe spears. 2 bronze cauldrons, small gold bowl (akin to Apremont and Hochdorf). West of chamber: 3 fibulae, out-sized spear. Milcent (2018) dates to Ha D2.	Y	Arnold 1991; Frey 1997, 96; Pare 1992; Kimmig and Rest 1954; Milcent 2018, table 5
139	Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt G2	Ha D2	?	Exca. 1930s. Large tumulus. Gold neck-ring.		Milcent 2018, fig. 8, table 5
140	Ludwigsburg, primary (Römerhügel)	Ha D2	?f.	70 m tumulus. Dagger, gold sheet, amber plaques.		Pare 1992; Milcent 2018, table 5
141	Ditzingen-Schöckingen (near Hohenasperg)	Ha D2	F	25 year old woman (contemp. with Hochdorf). Headress: 9 small gold rings found near head (akin to bronze example from Ha D1 Neuhausen ob Eck); bronze torc, coral necklace, 3 gold bracelet pairs, 3 bronze spiral-serpent arm-rings, 7 gold-decorated pins, 4 coral pin-heads, anklet. 3 coral balls. Bronze pins paralleled at Grafenhausen T1 and Erkenbrechtsweiler X.	Y	Rolley 2003, 248; Biel 1997; Frey 1997, 81; Milcent 2018, table 5
142	Herbertingen-Hundersingen T1 G1, G3, G5 + (Gießübel)	Ha D2	m/f	Large tumulus. Series of wealthy Ha D2 male and female burials.		Milcent 2018, table 5
143	Hirschlanden, nr Leonberg (Hohenasperg)	550 BC	m.	Exca. 1962. 19 m tumulus. Primary burial lost. Warrior stelae (Italian inspiration) w. hat, happy-mask, neck-ring (typically female item), dagger, belt, erection, arms in defensive gesture.	Y	Biel 1997; Megaw and Megaw 2009, 293; Armit and Grant 2008
144	Nordhouse 4/4 (Bas-Rhin)	550 BC	F	Sexed female. 200 coral beads, 9 amber beads, 8 gold and 5 coral pins, gold ear-rings, 2 glass/coral bracelet beads, 2 anklet pairs, 3 brooches, 3 pendeloques, belt. Italian connections.	Y	Rolley 2003, 248; Verger and Pernet 2013, 186
145	Hochdorf, central burial (Hohenasperg)	530 BC	M	Exca. 1978-79. 60 m tumulus. 6' tall, 40-45 year old male. Wagon. Gold neck-ring, gold-plated dagger, gold-plated belt, 1 gold armet, gold serpentine fibulae pair, gold-decorated shoes, birch bark hat (akin to Hirschlanden 20 years earlier). Razor, nail clippers, comb (referencing Ha D1 Bavarian culture). Quiver of arrows, 3 fish-hooks and line, spear, small knife, axe. Greek bronze klinē (showing ritualised one-on-one combat on wagons – a more typical 'sporting' stance, with erect penises; held aloft by 8 coral-decorated fem. castors). Greek 500 litre (locally-repaired) cauldron with 3 lions and mead, golden bowl (w. mead, found inside cauldron), gold cup, 9 drinking horns (one larger and of iron), bronze dinner service (9 plates, 3 large bowls), 2 large iron knives. Woven and embroidered textiles. Laid on badger fur with pillow of herbs.	Y	Arnold 1991; Frey 1997, 93; Biel 1997, 128; Olivier 1999; Pare 1992; Rebay-Salisbury 2016

146	Kleinspergle, secondary (Hohenasperg)	later 6 th C BC (Ha D2)	F	60 m tumulus (larger than Glauberg). Primary burial apparently robbed, leaving a secondary cremation. Gold ornaments, belt. Italic ribbed bucket, Etruscan <i>stamnos</i> (ceramic mixing jar), local Etruscan-style <i>Schnabelkanne</i> flagon (like that of Vix), two Attic cups (one repaired in gold), and two gold-decorated drinking horns. Considered female on excavation, but reinterpreted as male on the finding alcoholic residues (sad indictment of 20 th C reason).	Y	Arnold 1995, 160; Frey 1997b; Cunliffe 1997, 116
147	Hochwald-Nahe	Ha D2/3	F	Small pocket of elite female graves.		Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 107
148	Ludwigsburg, secondary (Römerhügel)	Ha D2/3	?M	70 m tumulus. Wagon. Gold neck-ring. Fe dagger, small whetstone, bronze cauldron, ribbed bucket, basin, plate, gold-decorated drinking horn.	Y	Pare 1992
149	Mühlacker cemetery	Ha D2/3	F	Matriarchal society. Tumuli covering small, ?family cemeteries; each cemetery with a primary elder woman burial (husband and children clustered around her). Hallstatt and La Tène objects.		Pauli 1972; Collis 2003, 167-168
150	Esslingen-Sirnau	Ha D2/3	F	15 coral beads, 18 gold ear-rings, gold bracelet pair, glass/coral bracelet bead, 10 bronze pendeloques, 4 brooches. Disproportionate deposition. Esslingen bronze pendant depicts a naked and joined male and female pair (similar separate-pair pendant from Stuttgart-Uhlbach; akin to those from Unterlunkhofen, Switzerland).	Y	Rolley 2003, 248; Rebay-Salisbury 2016
151	Zweifalten-Mörsingen I	Ha D2/3	F	Bronze torc, 3 amber beads, 2 bronze pins, 2 bronze bracelet pairs, 28 bronze pendeloques, 6 brooches, belt. 2 ceramic vessels.	?	Rolley 2003, 248
152	Hegnach 18	Ha D2/3	F	Bronze torc, 6 amber and 2 glass beads, 6 gold ear-rings, anklet pair, 12 brooches. Disproportionate deposition.		Rolley 2003, 248
153	Bad Cannstatt	Ha D2/3	F	Exca. 1930s. Bronze figurine in the 'warrior's death' position (of Hirschlanden, Glauberg) – but notably in reverse.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
154	Erkenbrechtweiler X	Ha D2/3	m/f.	Wagon. Gold ear-ring, 2 serpentine fibulae, bronze pin, ?spear.		Pare 1992
155	Stuttgart-Weilimdorf	'Ha D' ?Ha D2/3	?f.	Vehicle, 5 arm-rings.		Pare 1992
156	Söllingen	Ha D2/3	m/f	Bronze neck-ring, amber bead, 1 gold arm-ring, 2 bronze brooches.		-
157	Mühlacker 10/1	Ha D3	F	Bronze torc, 4 amber beads, 27 bronze pins, 23 gold ear-rings, 2 amber/coral bracelet beads, bronze bracelet pair, anklet pair, 3 brooches, 3 pendeloques (2 bronze), belt. Disproportionate deposition.	?	Rolley 2003, 248; Milcent 2018, table 5

158	Herbertingen-Hundersingen T1 G2 (Gießübel)	Ha D3	?m.	46 m tumulus. Wagon. Gold neck-ring, bronze knife-shaped pendant, bronze belt-sheet, Fe dagger w. bronze scabbard, 3 spears, Fe socketed-axe. Bronze cauldron, ceramic vessels, horse bones.		Pare 1992, 251; Kimmig and Rest 1954; Milcent 2018, table 5
159	Grafenbühl (Hohenasperg)	500 BC	m/f.	Exca. 1964-65. 40 m tumulus (33 secondary burials). Primary burial. Robbed, surviving bones suggested a 30 year-old male (despite fem. assemblage). Gold embroidered clothes (akin to Hohmichele I), gold-plated belt hook (f.), gold-plated fibulae pair (m/f.). Amber decoration. Mirror (7 th C BC Syrian ivory handle), Greek furniture (bone/ivory <i>klinē</i> , bronze/bone chair, bone/ivory casket), 2 amber/ivory intaglio sphinxes (furniture from southern Italy). ?Etruscan cauldron and tripod w. lion feet (parallels to ?f. Ste-Colombe de la Garenne). No weapons (but apparently robbed).	Y	Pare 1992; Arnold 1991; Beil 1997; Rebay-Salisbury 2016
160	Breisach am Rhein-Gündlingen	'Hallstatt' ?Ha D3	m.	45 m tumulus. Vehicle. Fe sword tip, 4 ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992, 245
161	Kirchberg and der Jagst-Lendsiedel	'Hallstatt' ?Ha D3	m.	42 m tumulus. Vehicle, sword.		Pare 1992, 259
Ha D2/3 Rhineland						
162	Offenbach-Rumpenheim	Ha D	m.	Wagon, bronze-decorated Fe spearhead. Fe knife, 2 ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992, 238
163	Middle Rhine-Moselle	550 BC	M	Ratio of seven elite men to one woman.		Haffner 1997, 175; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 96
164	Rhineland	Ha D2/3	M	Gendered analysis of wagon burials found that typically only men had access to this rite.		Baray 2000; Pope and Ralston 2011, fig. 17.2; Pare 1992
165	Central western Germany	Ha D2/3	M	Neck-rings a distinctly male status item; hollow gold torcs of the period currently found only with men.		Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 96; Spindler 1983; Frey 1997, 89
166	Elm-Sprengen	?Ha D2/3	f.	Wagon, gold ear-ring.		Pare 1992
167	Schwalbach	Ha D2/3	f.	Wagon. Bronze neck-ring, ceramic vessel.		Pare 1992, 238
168	Oberlahnstein	Ha D2/3	?	Wagon. 2 Fe spears, 2 Fe arrowheads, bronze fibula.		Pare 1992, 237
169	Niederweiler	Ha D2/3	?m	Wagon. Fe spear. Bronze cauldron, two ceramic vessels.	Y	Pare 1992, 237
170	Bell	Ha D2/3	?m.	Wagon. Fe spear, situla.	Y	Pare 1992, 237
171	Hundheim T2 G1	Ha D2/3	?	Bronze armlet, Fe spear, spear ferrule, 3 Fe arrowheads.		Pare 1992, 237

172	Wallerfangen	Ha D2/3	f.	Wooden coffin w. textiles. Gold neck-ring, gold bracelet pair, finger rings, amber and glass bead, anklet.		Rolley 2003, 248; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 95
173	Hunsrück-Eifel	end of Ha period	M	First chariots found.		-
174	Rhine-Moselle	475 BC →	F	Number of status burials increases, similar to contemporary Champagne. Unlike contemp. Marne, no helmets. Distinctly feminine assemblages.		Haffner 1997, 174-176; Frey 1997, 156
Ha D Switzerland						
175	Switzerland	615 BC	-	Following increasingly decorative swords amongst well-connected of Hallstatt, daggers appear by the start of Hallstatt D1, perhaps earlier in Switzerland. Swords decline more generally by 580 BC.		Sievers 1982; Hodson 1990; Pope 2018
176	Switzerland	Ha D2/3	F	Gendered analysis of wagon burials for the period revealed that both sexes had access to this rite; whilst analysis of the 15 wagon burials in Pare (1992) that can be gendered, reveals the majority (11, 73%) with typically feminine grave assemblages.		Baray 2000; Pope and Ralston 2011, fig. 17.2; Pare 1992
177	Rances	Ha D	?m.	Wagon. Bronze belt-sheet. Fe dagger w. antenna hilt. Cauldron.	Y	Pare 1992, 236
178	Ins II, 1849	Ha D1	f.	Wagon. Bronze-neck-ring, bronze bracelets, barrel-shaped arm-band, lignite bracelet, large openwork bronze disc.		Pare 1992, 235
179	Ins VI, primary	?Ha D1	m/f.	Wagon. Gold chain, gold bead, bronze razor (gender norms akin to contemp. Württemberg; inherited item?).		Pare 1992, 235
180	Ins IV	?Ha D1	m.	Wagon, Fe razor.		Pare 1992, 235
181	Allenlütten	Ha D2	f.	28 m barrow. Wagon. Gold neck-ring, gold armlet, bronze belt-sheet.		Pare 1992, 232; Kimmig and Rest 1954; Milcent 2018, table 5
182	Payerne, primary	Ha D2	f.	Jewellery, incl. drum fibula (no wagon).		Pare 1992, 235; Milcent 2018, table 5
183	Grächwil	c. 540 BC	f.	?wagon burial. Very fine Greek hydria, with feminine divinity figure.		Pare 1992, 234; Piggott 1983
184	Ins VIII, secondary	Ha D2/3	f.	Wagon. Gold ear-ring, gold ornaments. Situla.	Y	Pare 1992, 235
185	Ins VI, secondary	?Ha D2/3-LT A	m.	Wagon. Fe sword w. bronze scabbard.		Pare 1992, 235
186	Adiswil	Ha D2/3	f.	Wagon. Gold neck-ring, 9 large agate pin-heads, amber bead, 7 small gold rings, anklet pair. Situla.	Y	Pare 1992, 232
187	Châtonnaye	Ha D2/3	f.	Wagon. Gold and Fe neck-ring, gold armlet, agate armlet, gold ear-ring, fibula, dagger chape (gender akin to contemp. Württemberg). Bronze vessel.	Y	Pare 1992, 234

188	Düdingen	Ha D2/3	f.	Wagon. Gold and Fe neck-ring, gold and Fe armlet, 3 bronze armlets, 3 lignite armlets, various spiral arm-rings, gold and bronze belt-sheet, drum fibula. Cauldron.	Y	Pare 1992, 234
189	Payerne, secondary	Ha D2/3	f.	Wagon. Gold neck-ring.		Pare 1992, 235; Kimmig and Rest 1954
190	Unterlunkhofen	Ha D2/3	f.	28 m barrow (largest in cemetery of 63). Wagon. 3 bronze neck-rings, arm-rings, bronze belt-sheet, bronze beads, pins, drum fibula. Male/female pair of bronze ithyphallic pendants (parallel at Ha D2/3 Esslingen-Sirnau, Württemberg).		Pare 1992, 236; Rebay-Salisbury 2016
191	Unterlunkhofen 62	Ha D2/3	F	Bronze torc, 2 amber beads, 3 bronze bracelets, bronze pin, 4 brooches, bronze pendeloque, ?aiguillette (gold lace tip, ?parallel at Diarville).	?	Rolley 2003, 248
192	Urtenen	Ha D2/3	f.	Wagon. 30 large gold pin-heads, gold ear-ring, 4 lignite armlets. Bronze ribbed bucket, ceramic vessels.		Pare 1992, 236
193	eastern Alps	c. 500 BC	-	Older elite burials decline in eastern Alps as they increase in the west.		Rebay-Salisbury 2016
Ha D Gaul (Celts)						
194	Le Pâturel cemetery, Auvergne	Ha D	F	Rich in female ornaments (bracelets, anklets); male burials generally unaccompanied.		Collis 2003, 171
195	Bourges	Ha D	?	Pins w. amber/coral; Greek ceramics; Massaliot amphorae. No rich <i>furstengraber</i> ; some graves w. imported Italian bronzes.	Y	Collis 2003, 170
196	'Burgundy'	?	?F	22 m tumulus. Primary inhumation. ?wagon. 2 amber beads, bronze bracelet, bronze razor, Fe 'Hallstatt' sword, numerous small bronze nails near head (leather helmet).		Pare 1992, 223
Ha D1 Gaul						
197	Gaul	e. 6 th C BC	-	Links between German and French 'dynasties' (e.g. Hohmichele, Apremont/Courtesoult, Hirschlanden/Bad Cannstatt) may denote kinship.		Pope 2018, fig. 34.6; Kimmig and Rest 1954
198	Gaul	Ha D1	F	Elite Hallstatt D1 France (Courtesoult, Apremont, Diarville, Gurgy) considered a matriarchal society.		Milcent 2003
199	Tumulus de la Butte, Ste-Colombe-sur-Seine	Ha D1/Ha D2	f.	Exca. 1863. 76 m tumulus (almost akin to Hohmichele, and largest in Burgundy; by comparison, contemporary masculine wagon barrows typically 20-40 m). Body: E-W oriented, supine. Wagon. Gold armlet pair (embossed decoration) and large finely decorated gold ear-rings on body. Two square-socketed Fe axes. Greek ceramic vessels, wine from Massalia. Milcent (2018) has as Ha D1.	Y	Rolley 2003, 248 Pare 1992, 228; Milcent 2003; Frey 1997, 120; Baray 2000, figs 13-14; Olivier 2018, 12-15; Milcent 2018, table 5
200	Apremont G1 (Haute-Saône)	Ha D1/Ha D2	f.	Exca. 1879. 70 m tumulus (akin to contemporary Hohmichele). ?Primary inhumation. Wagon, textiles/wrapping (7 or 8 different fabrics). Sheet-gold	Y	Mohen 1997, 118; Krause 2016, 96; Pare 1992; Olivier

				head/neck-ring ('woman's choker necklace'), 4 amber beads (necklace, positioned behind torc), gold fibulae/5 small gold ornaments near the neck, 10 small ivory bands near left forearm (bracelet), ivory rod (alongside body). Large bronze cauldron (< 500 litres), gold cup (inside). To the left of feet: secondary, m. cremation, w. razor and ritually-killed (rolled up) Carp's tongue-like sword (wrapped in cloth). Sex of inhumation constantly under debate. Milcent (2018) now gives a later, Ha D2 (540-510 BC) date.		2018, 18-22; Milcent 2018, table 5
201	Apremont G2	Ha D1/Ha D2	?m.	Exca. 1885. ?Wagon. Gold neck-ring, iron dagger, lignite armband. Milcent (2018) now gives a later, Ha D2 (540-510 BC) date.		Mohen 1997, 118; Pare 1992; Olivier 2018, 22; Milcent 2018, table 5
202	Franche-Comté, eastern France	e. Ha D	F	Armlets, anklets, brooches, ornaments. Jangles.		Pope and Ralston 2011
203	Marainville-sur-Madon	Ha D1	?	40 m tumulus. Inhumation. Wagon, horse gear. Fe sword with amber-inlaid ivory pommel. Bronze cauldron, bronze cup. Parallels Hallstatt G573		Milcent 2013b; Pare 1992, 226; Pope 2018
204	Eastern France	Ha D1	F	Several female 'founder' barrows now known, with up to a hundred secondary burials extending into the La Tène period.		Milcent 2003, 330
205	The Auvergne	e. Ha D	F	Characterised by female burials w. torcs, bracelets, anklets. Imported bronze vessels and gold is rare.		Collis 2003, 171
206	Paris Basin	Ha D1/2	-	Ribbed buckets suggest continued contact with Central Europe.	Y	Frieden 1982, Table 4
207	Courtesault, primary (Haute Saône)	Ha D1/2	F	25 km north of Apremont. 16 m tumulus. Primary woman. Coffin burial. Hair ornaments, bracelet pair, anklet pair, belt. Primary woman surrounded by ring of six women, six men and children more peripherally placed. Similar burial tradition to Hirschlanden (where it is male). Parallels w. Franche-Comté.		Verger 2013a; Milcent 2013a, 141; Pope and Ralston 2011
208	Courtesault S.28 and S.48	Ha D1/2	F	Amulets worn around the neck reveal contact with Italy, and potentially even further east.	Y	Verger 2013b
Ha D2/3 Gaul						
209	Burgundy	very start of Ha D2 (550 BC)	F	Shift towards individual (rather than collective) barrow deposition, suggesting that, as in Baden-Württemberg, the individual was growing in importance – esp. high-status women.		Baray 2000, fig. 14
210	Les Jogasses cemetery, Champagne	550 BC	F	Graves spatially-segregated by sex, wagons, some women buried with an iron dagger.		Milcent 2004, 197-211; Kruta 2005, 46; Pope and Ralston 2011, 381; Brun 2018

211	Ensisheim, Tumulus 1 (Alsace)	Ha D2	?f.	Exca. 1873. 50 m tumulus. Gold sheet torc/tiara, gold bracelet, 2 gold-leaf covered bronze rings, small gold ring, amber-decorated bronze fibula, 2 bronze rings. Large iron spearhead.		Olivier 2018, 16-18; Milcent 2018, table 5
212	Gaul	Ha D2/3	F	Baray (2000) sees wagon burials as a female rite; Milcent (2003) records the majority (nine of fifteen) sexed French wagon burials as female.		Baray 2000; Pope and Ralston fig. 17.2; Milcent 2003, 334
213	Chouilly J	Ha D2/3	F	Twelve female graves 'stand out' with their amber/coral beads and decorated brooches. Divided by sex.		Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 167; Fernández-Götz 2014c 95
214	Aure and Manre cemeteries	Ha D2/3	F	Female graves with 'wealthier' items.		Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 167
215	Paudy 'Ste-Favrille'	Ha D2/3	f.	Neck-ring, gold ear-rings, 4 lignite armlets, 2 anklet pairs, 5 brooches, ?sleeve ornament.		Rolley 2003, 248; 335
216	Champagne	525-425 BC (late Ha-e. LT)	-	British-Jogassian daggers.		Milcent 2015
217	Savoieux (central E France)	?Ha D2/3	f.	Exca. 1880. Tumulus. Primary. Wagon. Gold neck-ring, 2 amber beads and one brown-glass bead. Gold bracelet, heavy bronze twisted wire ?bracelet (18-20 cm long). Bronze cauldron (lebes). Socketed iron billhook. Post-burial: Roman ?Dressel 1 amphora intentionally broken and scattered at edge of mound.	Y	Pare 1992, 230; Olivier 2018, 25-26
218	Grandvillars	Ha D2/3	f.	Wagon (Diarville parallel). 3 armlets, anklet pair, ear-rings, 3 rings. Bronze basin.	Y	Pare 1992, 224
219	Tumulus de la Garenne, Ste-Colombe-sur-Seine	?500 BC	?f	Exca. 1846. 70 m tumulus. ?3 cremations. Wagon. 3 fibulae (one coral-decorated). Etruscan bronze gryphon-headed cauldron, and tripod (parallels 500 BC Grafenbühl), Tumulus fill: 3 human skulls, leg bones, amber disc, bronze ring.	Y	Rolley 2003, 343; Pare 1992, 229; Frey 1997, 95; Cunliffe 1997, 61
220	La Motte de Cérilly, Burgundy	?500 BC	?	Exca. 1863. Large mound. Large cremation chamber. Gold ring. Heat-affected weapons or adornments. Large iron tripod.	Y	Olivier 2018, 16
221	Diarville 7/1	end of 6 th C BC/Ha D3	f.	41 m tumulus (largest barrow). Wagon (Grandvillars parallel). Gold ear-rings, hollow bronze bracelet pair, single bronze anklet (near shins), glass bead (near neck), bronze fibulae pair (near chest), bronze sheet belt buckle, Bronze needle and wire (near skull). Ceramic vase.		Rolley 2003, 248; Olivier 2018, 31
222	Diarville 7/2	end of 6 th C BC	f.	41 m tumulus. Wagon (Grandvillars parallel, intact). Gold ear-ring, decorated fibulae pair (on chest), bronze anklet pair, aiguillette pair (gold lace tips: typically		Rolley 2003, 248; Pope and Ralston 2011, 383-4; Verger

				masculine lace terminals on her shoes, as at Vix). Gold decorated fibula (near abdomen). Polished quartzite pebble (near femur).		1995: 445; Olivier 2018, 31-33
223	eastern France	5 th century BC	F	High-status female graves increased, as male graves became much less frequent.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 381
224	Diarville T2 (Lorraine)	Ha D3	f.	Exca. 1860s/1888. 50 m tumulus. Wagon (Grandvillars parallel). Gold neck-ring (40 cm x 3 cm). Bronze sheet <i>cista</i> w. 9 straps (akin to Mercey-sur-Saône T2). Bronze fibula. ?bronze <i>oinochoe</i> , ceramic vessels. Broken Gündlingen sword? Tumulus built over that of late Ha C-early Ha D male burial (T1). Olivier (2018, 26) discounts sword and dates to Ha D3.	Y	Pare 1992, 226; Olivier 2018, 26, 30-31
225	Ensisheim, Tumulus 2 (Alsace)	Ha D3-LTA 1	?F	Large tumulus. Ha D3-LT A assemblage. Badly recorded.		Milcent 2018, table 5
226	Vix, Burgundy	Ha D3 500/480 BC	F	Exca. 1953. 42 m tumulus (akin to Grafenbühl). Wagon (wheels wrapped in cloth). 30-35 year-old woman. Gold torc (480 g, heaviest then known) with lions paws and Pegasus motif, of local manufacture (at skull). 7 amber and 4 diorite/serpentine bead necklace (on chest), amber-bead bronze bracelet pair, 6 lignite armlets, 8 coral-decorated (Italic) brooches, hollow bronze anklet pair, aiguillette (gold lace tips, akin to earlier Diarville), bronze waist-ring. Bronze torc wound with a leather thong (found on abdomen, i.e. not worn but placed). Greek krater (1.64 m tall, 1100 litres, half full; largest from the Classical world) – modified to highlight female imagery (thought to hail from a south Italian workshop, a generation prior to deposition c. 540-530 BC), silver bowl (with gold-sheet umbilicus) found on top of the krater, a black-figure Attic cup (with Amazons fighting Hoplites) and a plain Greek cup (530-520 BC), an <i>oinochoe</i> (Greek ceramic jug), Etruscan beaked flagon and three bronze platters/bowls (500 BC). Textiles.	Y	Joffroy 1954; Rolley 2003; Arnold 1991; Pare 1992, 231; Frey 1997; Cunliffe 1997, 61; Pope and Ralston 2011, 384; Rebay-Salisbury 2016; Olivier 2018, 28-29
227	Lavau, Aube	475 BC	M/f.	Exca. 2014. 40 m tumulus (built over a late Ha C m. one, as at Diarville). Male body? Two-wheeled vehicle. Gold torc (580 g, heavier than that of Vix) with winged monsters. Several amber beads, gold armlet pair w. zoomorphic motifs, lignite bicep ring (left), two coral-decorated iron-hook belt attachments, aiguillette (gold lace tip) and bronze shoe fasteners (akin to earlier Diarville and Vix). Greco-Etruscan bronze basin (1 m wide, 200-300 litres) with river god Achelous and eight lioness heads, sitting on a large bronze <i>cista</i> with straps; gold-	Y	INRAP 2015; Dubuis et al. 2015; Olivier 2018, 34-35; Brun 2018

				decorated black-figure (Dionysus and a woman) <i>oenochoe</i> (in the cauldron), strainer with snake handle, 2 bronze basins, perforated ?silver spoon, second smaller <i>oenochoe</i> , ?silver goblet stem, ?drinking horn, fluted ceramic vessel in shape of bottle. Large, sheathed iron knife. Three other wealthy burials, nearby of c. 450 BC.		
228	Mercey-sur-Saône T2, SE France	Ha D3	?	Exca. 1880. 37 m tumulus. ?wagon with Fe fittings. Gold torc, gold bracelet on right forearm, bronze Etruscan <i>oenochoe</i> wrapped in wool in an oak case, embossed bronze sheet from a small <i>cista</i> with straps.	Y	Olivier 2018, 23-24; Milcent 2018, table 5
229	Forêt des Moidons/Chilly-sur-Salins T2	? late Ha D	f.	17 m tumulus. Wagon. 2 blue glass beads, 3 fibulae (one coral-decorated), 2 bronze arm-ring pairs, bronze ?bicep ring, bronze anklet pair, bronze belt-sheet. Bronze cauldron, large ceramic vessel. Bracelet beyond grave.	Y	Pare 1992, 224
230	Hatten	? late Ha D	?	15 m tumulus. Primary cremation. Wagon. Gold neck-ring, ? Fe spearhead. Bronze <i>Schnabelkanne</i> , <i>Plumpe kanne</i> w. lion's head, bronze cauldron, bronze handled dish, boar's tusk.	Y	Pare 1992, 225
231	Gurgy II (Yonne)	fin Ha D3	F	Cremation. Bronze torc, 3 amber beads, glass and jet beads, gold ear-rings, anklet pair, 6 brooches. 3 bronze vessels.	Y	Rolley 2003, 248; 339; Verger and Pernet 2013, 186
232	Gurgy 61 (Yonne)	Ha D3	?F	Cremation. 3 brooches. 2 bronze vessels.	Y	Rolley 2003, 338
233	Bourges region, Paris Basin	Ha D2/3	-	Contact first with northern and then central Italy, as demonstrated by the situlae and Etruscan <i>Schnabelkannen</i> respectively.	Y	Frieden 1982, Table 4; Pope and Ralston 2011, 384
234	Heiltz-l'Évêque cemetery, Champagne	Late Ha-ELT	-	Divided by sex.		Fernández-Götz 2014c, 95
235	Courtesoult	Ha D3-LT A1 (530-370 BC)	-	Divided by sex. Later burials: women buried to the NE and men to the SE of the tumulus.		Verger 2013a; Milcent 2013a, 141
236	Mondelange cemetery, Metz (Lorraine)	early Ha D3 (c. 500 BC) until LT B2	F	Nine wealthy women, one with a gold and coral torc.		Fernández-Götz 2014c, 100
Britain and Ireland						
237	Britain	Ha D1/2	-	Sword distribution (which had revealed British and Irish contact with masculine Ha C France) became relatively few in the 6 th century BC.		Cunliffe 2001, 322

238	R. Thames	Ha D	?	Late Ha daggers from the R. Thames	Collis 2003, 181
239	Roos Carr, Withernsea (East Yorkshire)	600 BC	M/F	Five wooden (yew) figurines with quartzite eyes, and shields, on a serpent-headed boat. Ambiguous sex/gender.	Hull Museum 2020
240	Ballachulish, Argyll	6 th century BC	F	Wooden female figurine, holding a phallus or phallic object.	NMS 2015
241	Teigngrace, Devon	EIA	M	Wooden male figurine.	Green 1997, 24
242	Dagenham, Essex	EIA	?M	Wooden figurine. Considered male; but deserves new consideration.	Piggott and Daniel 1951, 17
243	Shercock, Co. Cavan (Ireland)	EIA	?M	Wooden figurine. Considered male; but deserves new consideration.	Piggott and Daniel 1951, 17
244	Melton (N. bank of Humber estuary)	EIA	F	Early Iron Age cemetery on north bank of the Humber estuary, all-female population of N-S crouched inhumations, suggesting an indigenous burial rite (8 th -5 th centuries BC).	Fenton-Thomas 2010; Pope and Ralston 2011, 390
245	Dibble Farm, Somerset	EIA	-	21 Early Iron Age inhumations.	Morris et al. 1988
246	Newbridge, Forth	5 th C BC	?	Belgian-style chariot burial.	Hunter et al. 2010; Pope and Ralston 2011
247	Cliffs End, Kent	5 th C BC	F	Two 'Scandinavian' women (with LBA Kent connections).	McKinley et al. 2014
Spain and Portugal					
248	NE Spain	Ha D1	m/f.	High status present, broadly in line with Ha D1 developments in eastern France. Weapons burials (short sword, spear, round shield, less frequently horse gear); some incorporating stelae, metal feasting sets, tombs. Some women and children recorded as amongst those associated with weapons. Burials of women and children, as well as men, contain notably short swords. Whilst not included in burials, 6 th century BC also saw gold torcs – slightly earlier perhaps than in France.	Graells Fabregat 2011, 577; Cunliffe 2001, 319; 341; Pope 2018
249	Galicia	?Ha D1	?	Gold torcs.	Cunliffe 2001
250	northern Portugal	?Ha D	?M	Male <i>guerreros galaicos</i> statues w. shield, dagger, torc. Date of these statues less certain.	Cunliffe 2001, 343; Pope 2018

Supplemental Table 3: Gender information from Early La Tène/La Tène A burials (450-400 BC)

La Tène A Austria							
251	Dürrenberg cemetery	LT A	M/F	Inhumations under tumuli, several hundred graves. Continuity of Hallstatt traditions. Balanced sex ratio/wealth distribution, wealthiest graves those of male/female couples; some wealth also with children. Women w. large no. of fibulae. Well-connected with the <i>Veneti</i> , south of the Alps.	Y	Frey 1997, 156; Moser 2009; Pauli 1978; Mossleitner 1997, 201	
252	Dürrenberg T145	LT A	M/F	Double burial. Leather armour, sword, spear, coral-decorated bronze helmet. Large no. of fibulae.		Frey 1997, 156; Moser 2009, 171; Mossleitner 1997, 200	
253	Dürrenberg T44/2	LT A	M	Wealthiest burial. Chariot. Bronze helmet, iron broadsword, 2 large spears, arrow or javelin tips. Sheet-gold boat. Wooden flagon (bronze masculine appliqué, w. mistletoe headgear); bucket-shaped bronze situla (90 litres) containing an Attic black-varnished ceramic <i>kylix</i> (made 470 BC); locally made bronze beaked-flagon with imported Mediterranean, mulled wine (18 litres); large bronze platter (with gold-leaf appliqués and coral beads); haunch of pork.	Y	Frey 1997, 156; Kruta 2005, 63; Mossleitner 1997, 199-200; Pauli 1978	
254	Hallein G112	400-350 BC	M	Chariot. Etruscan vessels (incl. fine jug, situla), 2 spearheads.	Y	-	
Bohemia							
255	southern Bohemia	LT A	-	Cremations under tumuli; richest w. vehicles or harness fittings; occasional imported beaked flagons. In general comparable w. Hunsrück-Eifel.	Y	Collis 2003, 185	
256	northern Bohemia	LT A	-	Disappearance of inhumations. Palisaded settlements w. Attic red-figure ware. Radovesice = late Ha- late LT continuity.	Y	Collis 2003, 186	
Slovakia and Hungary							
257	east and west	LT A	-	LT cemeteries, metalwork and ceramics. Hungary demonstrates continuity across Ha-LT.		Collis 2003, 190	
Switzerland							
258	Münsingen-Rain cemetery	LT A	M	Notably austere masculine graves (with c. 30 relatively plain iron swords). Extreme feminine wealth – disproportionately deposited with children.		Hodson 1968; Hinton 1986; Pope 2018	
259	Münsingen-Rain G149	LT A	F	Wealthiest grave. 14-20 years. 16 fibulae. (see Pope 2018, table 34.2)		Hodson 1968; Hinton 1986; Pope 2018, table 34.2	
260	Münsingen-Rain G12	LT A	C(F)	7-14 years. (see Pope 2018, table 34.2)		Hodson 1968; Hinton 1986; Pope 2018, table 34.2	

261	Münsingen-Rain G23	LT A	C(F)	Child. (see Pope 2018, table 34.2)		Hodson 1968; Hinton 1986; Pope 2018
262	Münsingen-Rain G62	LT A	C(F)	Child with milk teeth. (see Pope 2018, table 34.2)		Hodson 1968; Hinton 1986; Pope 2018
263	Saint-Sulpice (En Pétoleyres G48), Vaud	LT A	C(F)	Young girl. Wealthy burial incl. an amber, coral and gold 'sun' brooch.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 384
Hunsrück-Eifel						
264	Hunsrück-Eifel cemeteries	LT A	M	Wealthiest burials male. Wealthy women absent north of the Moselle.		Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 107
265	Hochscheid	450-400 BC	M	Clustering of 4 wealthy male tombs, each with a 20-25 m barrow. Coral-decorated sword (G2). Coral-decorated fibulae, iron openwork belt clasps, a set of bracelets. 2 bronze Etruscan beaked flagons.	Y	Haffner 1997, 187
266	Bescheid G6	LT A	M	Chariot, fabric-lined tomb. Coral-decorated sword and belt clasp, 3 spears, 3 arrowheads, gold-decorated knife (at feet). Drinking horns.	Y	Haffner 1997, 189
Middle Rhine						
267	Middle Rhine	Early LT	F	Beyond weapons, early La Tène women had same elite items as men (66% of chariot burials were without weapons) and more gold, esp. neck-rings and jewellery. Incredible female wealth: gold and beaked <i>Schnabelkannen</i> – i.e. displaying traditional links to north Italy; “women of the ruling class were admitted to political and religious functions”.	Y	Diepeveen-Jansen 2007, 386; 2001, Table 3.5a; Frey 1997, 156; Haffner 1997, 186; Fernández-Götz 2014c, 99
268	Worms-Hernsheim	LT A1	F	Lavishly equipped female tomb.		Haffner 1997, 186; Milcent 2018, table 1
269	Reinheim	450-400 BC	F	23 m barrow. Gold torc, amber spacer-plate necklace, glass and coral beads, 2 bronze pendants (masculine, with stunted penises), gold bracelet-pair, gold brooch, 2 coral-decorated gold fibulae, glass and lignite bracelets, two gold finger-rings, bronze brooch. Bronze mirror (perhaps following Grafenbühl) – locally manufactured after Etruscan tradition (masculine handle, with mistletoe head-dress; perhaps reminiscent of Hallstatt-type dagger-hilt design). Bronze flagon (2 male faces), 2 gold-decorated drinking horns, bronze platters. Eight human depictions: Female, with head-dresses, all in gold (neck-ring, bracelet, brooch); male depictions all in bronze. Cunliffe thinks goldwork of potential Scythian as well as Etruscan influence.	Y	Keller 1965; Cunliffe 1997, 117-118; Pope 2018
270	Rodenbach	LT A	F	Gold torcs, bracelets (goldwork similar to Reinheim).		Collis 2003, 162; Cunliffe 1997, 117-118
271	Besseringen	LT A	F	Goldwork similar to Reinheim.		Cunliffe 1997, 117-118
272	Bad Dürkheim	LT A	F	Woman with gold neck-ring.		Haffner 1997, 186

273	Glauberg cemetery, Hess	LT A	?	Jug of mead (4 litres); Jug of imported wine w. added honey (4 litres).		Kruta 2005, 63
274	Glauberg G1	late 5 th C BC	M	48 m barrow. Warrior statue w. shield, dagger, mistletoe headgear, gold torc, miserable face, beard, armour, arms in defensive gesture, several armlets (f.), finger ring. Statue replicates objects in grave itself: gold torc w. amphorae decoration, gold leaf-crown, fibulae, ring, decorated belt, early La Tène sword, spears, bow and quiver. Fine bronze flagon (with male figure) of Etruscan inspiration if not origin, with mead residues.	Y	Stöllner 2014
275	Pfalzfeld stelae	1.5 th /e.4 th C BC	M	Mistletoe headgear (strong parallel to Glauberg).		-
276	Holzgerlingen stelae	5 th C BC	?M	Janus-headed, horned headgear, belt, defensive arm. REP: seems later.		-
277	Hoppstädten T1	LT A	C	7-8 year-old boy in a grave next to an adult male. Sword, spearheads, arrows. Etruscan bronze <i>Schnabelkanne</i> (flagon).	Y	Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 108; Haffner 1997, 187
Gaul						
278	Champagne chariot burials	450 BC	M	Earliest examples almost exclusively male. Only five originally thought female (Reims 'Murigny', Juniville MCa, Bucy-le-Long a and b-c, Rethel A). Female inhumations with torc, bracelet pair, perhaps gold ear-rings.		Verger 1995; Pope and Ralston 2011, 385; Roualet 1997; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 177; Table 4.7a
279	Champagne cemeteries	450 BC →	F/M	Strong and rapid growth. 400 cemeteries (c. 3.5 km apart, tens of thousands of graves). Develops from Jogassian tradition, but graves no longer segregated by sex and in family groups. Of eight double burials, seven were male/female, one male/male. Number of early La Tène status burials increased dramatically. Women with bronze Hallstatt jewellery (torcs, bracelet pairs, ear-rings). As contemp. Middle Rhine sees incredible female wealth (gold, <i>Schnabelkannen</i>). 250 chariot burials, only 20 of of which female. Men w. swords and spears (swords/daggers w. parallels in R. Thames). Helmets. Greek and Etruscan vessels rare (only three Etruscan <i>oenochoe</i>), as is gold. Bronze Marzabotto brooches.	Y	Diepeveen-Jansen 2007, 378; Frey 1997, 156; Piggott 1983; Collis 2003, 164-165; Brun 2018, 13
280	Upper Seine Basin	e. LT	-	Meat becomes gendered: beef for women and mutton/pork for men.		Evans 2004, 186
281	Vert-Toulon	LT A	-	Highly-decorated sword.		Pope 2018
282	Lèglise, Belgium Mound 1 G2	LT A	M?	Broadsword		Kruta 2005, 58
283	Route de Dun, Bourges	LT A	F	2 torcs, ithyphallic pendant (parallel at Mont Lassois), 2 rings. 3 Golasecca pendeloques. Etruscan jug and situla. ram/ox horn end.)	Y	Rolley 2003, 340; Pope and Ralston 2011, 384

284	Bourges	LT A	-	Masilliot amphorae, Attic red- and black-figure ceramics.	Y	Cunliffe 1997, 65; Frieden 1982, 245
285	The Auvergne	e. LT	-	Lack of burials.		Collis 2003, 173
286	Marne cemeteries	LT A	F	High-ranking women with torcs; first long-swords (out of Hallstatt designs). Here (as in Pernant cemeteries) infants constitute only 13% of burials (i.e. control of fertility).		Kruta 2005, 51; Roualet 1997, 169
287	Aisne-Marne, upper Seine cemeteries	430/425 BC	m.	Decrease in gendered status items (torcs, beads, swords) in favour of spears. Several helmets. Around La Tène A1-A2 transition (425 BC), renewed popularity of swords (Aisne-Marne, upper Seine, middle Rhine, Dürrnberg). Re-adoption associated with same generation that saw the final, cordial contact with Mediterranean communities.		Evans 2004; Piggott 1983, 202; Pope 2018
288	La Motte-Saint-Valentin à Courcelles-en-Montagne, Haute-Marne	fin LT A ancienne	?M	Central cremation. Bronze stud. Fe sword. Etruscan bronze vessel. Bronze vessel handle. Attic cup.	Y	Rolley 2003, 356
289	Aisne-Marne, upper Seine	425 BC ff.	-	Each cemetery = equal proportions of men and women. Family groups. Chariot burials only of those with >100 graves (i.e. older). Stratified. Small, hierarchical political units. Status goods equal between men and women: Weapons male, torcs female (10-20%). 75% of those with lesser personal adornment (e.g. fibulae, belt hooks) = female. Same proportion with pottery, no grave goods = male.		Brun 2018; Demoule 1999
290	Somme-Bionne	420 BC	?	Chariot, Etruscan bronze vessel, red-figured Attic cup (420 BC)	Y	Cunliffe 1997, 65
291	Somme-Tourbe	-	?	Greek/Italic vessels.	Y	Brun 2018
292	Châlon-sur-Marne	-	?	Greek/Italic vessels.	Y	Brun 2018
293	Pernant	-	?	Greek/Italic vessels.	Y	Brun 2018
294	Berru, Somme-Tourbe, Prunay cemeteries	425-400 BC	m.	Assemblages include sword, spear and/or javelins, knife, sometimes helmets. Wealthiest burials predominantly male, but proportion of wealthy women is higher than first expected.		Roualet 1997, 169-170; Brun 2018
295	Champagne cemeteries	425-400 BC	m.	Deposition now by family group, with proportionate numbers of masculine and feminine burials. Chariot burials more common; masculine status burials (10% of population) contain weapons/armour; swords replace daggers. Notion of gendered power structures seems actively rejected, in favour of clear social alternative, meaning apparent male authority seems not to have translated into patriarchy.		Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 167; Demoule 1999; Pope and Ralston 2011, 384-385; Roualet 1997; Pope 2018
296	Bucy-le-Long, Aisne	-	f.	Four of the five chariot burials were female.		Brun 2018
297	western Aisne-Marne	425-400 BC	F	Female chariot burials; 41% of chariot burials do not contain weapons; predominance of 'lavish' female graves in Marne.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 384-385; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001,

						Tables 4.7a and 4.8; Roualet 1997, 170
298	Belgian Ardennes	425-400 BC	F	Female chariot burials		Pope and Ralston 2011, 384-385
Britain						
299	R. Thames	e. LT	?	early LT daggers from the R. Thames		Collis 2003, 181
300	Wetwang cemetery	e. LT	?	early LT swords		Collis 2003, 181
301	Danes Graves	?LT A/B	f.	Large, coral-inlaid wheel-headed pin.	Y	Giles 2012, 140
Spain						
302	NE Spain	450 BC	-	Absence of weapons from 450 BC.		Graells Fabregat 2011, 587
303	La Dama de Elche, Alicante	5 th /4 th C BC	F	Very fine Iberian female funerary sculpture (made to hold cremated remains) with aristocratic headdress, and amphora necklace. Prados (2010) suggests this represents female elites in later 5 th -early 4 th centuries BC southern Spain – as female authority is beginning to wane in neighbouring France.		Prados 2010; Pope 2018
304	La Dama de Baza, T155 Granada	start of 4 th C BC	F	Cremation of a 30 year-old woman. Very fine painted statue: depicted seated on a winged throne, with amphora necklace and ear-rings. Grave: impressive ceramic assemblage, largest collection of weaponry in Iberia, including the deposition of four suits of armour.		Prados 2010; Pope 2018
305	La Dama de Guardamar, Cabezo Lucero (Alicante).	430-350 BC	F	Strong parallels with Elche; found in fragments, some burnt.		Prados 2010; Pope 2018
306	El Cigarralejo, Mula (Mercia) T200	425-375 BC	M/F	Wealthy double burial of a man and woman, with a vast array of textile equipment, ceramics (including Greek vases) and weaponry.		Prados 2010, 210

Supplemental Table 4: Gender information from La Tène B burials (400-250 BC)

307	southern Bohemia	400 BC	-	Burials virtually unknown for rest of LT period.		Collis 2003, 186
308	Rhineland	400 BC	-	Deserted?		Diepeveen-Jansen 2007, 378
309	Champagne	400 BC	-	Champagne deserted, only Reims continues.		Diepeveen-Jansen 2007, 378; Kruta 2005, 51
310	Marne	400 BC	-	Dramatic slump in population.		Kruta 2005, 51; Cunliffe 1997, 75
311	Bercy (Paris)	400 BC	-	Area abandoned suddenly.		Kruta 2005, 88
312	northern Bohemia and Moravia	LT B	F	La Tène material culture, demonstrating feminine wealth. Subsequently abandoned. Many extended flat inhumation cemeteries, until LT C1; after which small group of cremation cemeteries only in extreme north.		Sankot 1997; Čižmář 1997; Kruta 2005, 67; Collis 2003, 186
313	western Germany	LT B	F	Fewer elite burials. Bronze vessels replace chariot, as rite shifts to cremation. Of the six graves where sex of body was attempted, the one female is significantly wealthier than the 5 men; 50% of chariot burials do not have weapons [remembering Diepeveen-Jansen (2001) attributes male elite status on the inclusion of weaponry]; 92% of elite graves had a shield.	Y	Diepeveen-Jansen 2007, 382; Haffner 1997; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 114; Table 3.7
314	Bescheid G9	Shortly after 400 BC	C	8 year-old girl. Bronze neck-ring, headbands, bracelet pair, iron armlet, belt. Knife at feet, goblet, bronze Etruscan <i>kyyatos</i> /cup.	Y	Haffner 1997, 187
315	Waldalgesheim	350 BC (LT B1/B2)	F	Richest burial of the 4 th C BC. Chariot (yolk includes a female representation, with mistletoe head-dress). Gold torc, 2 gold bracelet pairs, gold ?bicep bangle. Mistletoe imagery (male and female). Beautifully decorated Etruscan bronze jug, and imported bronze bucket. Goldwork with shades of Glauberg.	Y	Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, fig. 3.18; Brun 2018
316	Nebringen cemetery	La Tène B1-B2	-	Small flat inhumation cemetery (restricted to lower Neckar area). Similar numbers of men and women; same number of men and women revealed local and non-local origins (four and three respectively for each sex) with no trend found for weapons burials.		Collis 2003, 166; Scheeres et al. 2013, fig. 6
317	Nebringen G23	LT B	F	Wealthiest grave; local woman of 30-40 years. Coral-decorated bronze torc, amber bead, 2 get beads, 1 bronze ring, bracelet pair, anklet pair, 4 brooches.	Y	Scheeres et al. 2013, 3620.
318	Nebringen	LT B	F	Highest strontium values; woman with an early La Tène brooch, originating perhaps from Hungary or Romania.		Scheeres et al. 2013, 3620.

319	Reims (Champagne)	400-350 BC	F	Female-dominated, new styles from Celtic-Italian region feature strongly; bronze torcs with half the female population. Weapons with only 10% of the men; lack of men? Swords a fairly uniform, almost utilitarian, Hatvan-Boldog type. Egalitarian society.	Y	Kruta 2005, 51; Verger 1995; Roualet 1997, 170; Champion 1995, 413; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001: 159; Pope 2018
320	Seine Basin	400-350 BC	M	Masculine martial status, increase in food offerings for men, less for women; increase in stillbirths may suggest some decline in female welfare.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 388
321	Senonian cemeteries, N. Italy	400-350 BC	M	Half of graves excavated are of armed men.		Kruta 2005, 85
322	Epiasis-Rhus (near Paris)	350 BC	M?	Sheet bronze appliqué on iron scabbard – exact match of those on c. 350 BC from a Senonian grave at Mosacno di Fabriano.		Kruta 2005, 75
323	Agris, western France	350 BC	M?	Coral-decorated gold helmet. Found in a cave.	Y	-
324	Rhineland	350-250 BC	-	Lack of elite graves; total population decline (in line with end of Hallstatt traditions; in Germany; and new traditions in Britain).		Diepeveen-Jansen 2007, 378; Pope 2018
325	Champagne	350-270 BC	-	Lack of elite graves; total population decline (in line with end of Hallstatt traditions in Germany; and new traditions in Britain).		Diepeveen-Jansen 2007, 378; Pope 2018
326	Marne	350-300 BC	-	Short-lived fad for Graeco-Etruscan red-figured vases	Y	Kruta 2005, 51
327	Plessis-Gassot (north of Paris)	300 BC	M	Two Etruscan black-varnished cups.	Y	Kruta 2005, 75
328	Paris Basin	300 BC →	M/F	Masculine items (weaponry) are finally in the majority.		Evans 2004; Pope and Ralston 2011
329	Champagne	270 BC	F	Begins to be re-occupied from c. 270 BC (beginning in the south: the historic territory of the <i>Senones</i>). Vehicle and sword graves rarer, and generally peripheral to LT A distribution. Cremation (some with Etruscan bronze vessels).	Y	Kruta 2005, 86; Collis 2003, 164
330	Aulnat, Auvergne	Later LT B	-	Ceremonial/cult sites w. large quantities of Italian amphorae, rich array of imported ceramics, LT brooches, sword fragments and occasional objects decorated in Waldalgesheim style.	Y	Collis 2003, 171
331	Bozouls, Aveyron (south of France)	3 rd -1 st C BC (LT B-C)	F	Female warrior statue (torc and dagger).		Kruta 2005, 190
Slovakia/Hungary/Romania						
332	Hungary	LT B1	-	Many cemeteries e.g. Sopron-Bécsidomb, Ménfőcsanak		Brun 2018
333	Hungary, Romania	c. 300 BC	m.	Series of chieftain's tombs (incl. Ciumești). Several with Hellenistic bronze vessels	Y	Brun 2018

334	Ciumești, Romania	c. 300 BC	m.	Chieftain's tomb. Helmet, topped by bird of prey with movable wings. Greaves (shin armour) of Greek manufacture.	Y	Brun 2018
Netherlands (LT B)						
335	Noordersluis (IJmuiden, Velsen)	360-200 BC	f.	Bronze torque armband (12 cm int. diameter), 32 amber beads, 10 blue glass beads.		J. Kleijne pers. comm.
southern Britain (LT B-C)						
336	Britain	LT B-C	-	Unlike La Tène France, Britain does not see a decline in sword decoration and swords became longer over time, perhaps linked to equestrianism; many deposited outside burial contexts, reflecting older indigenous customs.		Stead 2006; Pope 2018
337	Wessex settlement burials	LT B	F/M	Slightly more women again. Burial rites ungendered. Age again more defining.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 398
338	Ventnor, Isle of Wight	? LT B	F	Bronze bracelet.		Whimster 1981
339	Mill Hill, Deal (Kent) X2	360-200 BC	F	Extended inhumation. Spoons. High protein diet. Non-local isotope values.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 400
340	Mill Hill, Deal (Kent) G112	350-160 BC	?M	Extended inhumation. Bronze headgear, sword, broken shield, brooch. 'More local' isotope values.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 400
341	Mill Hill, Deal (Kent) G47	LT C	F	Extended inhumation. LT C brooch, small dog. Non-local isotope values.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 400
342	Shouldham, Norfolk	3 rd -e. 2 nd C BC	?M	Isolated, extended inhumation. Short, anthropoid sword.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 400; Stead 2006
343	Newnham Croft, Cambridge	?LT C	?M	Originally thought female. 3 brooches (one La Tène C, coral-decorated) and a beautifully-decorated bronze armlet.	Y	Whimster 1981
Yorkshire						
344	Cowlam, Burton Fleming cemeteries (East Yorkshire)	4 th C BC/ LT I (LT B)	?	Arched and inlaid bow brooch types w. rare examples of early, highly-arched Marzabotto-type.	Y	Giles 2012, 136
345	Burton Fleming BF10	?LT B	f.	Bronze bracelet pair. One of three founder burials.		Giles 2012, 142; Pope and Ralston 2011, 395
346	Arras A5	?LT B	f.	Bronze torc, 9 jet beads, miniature wheel ornament.		Giles 2012, 143; Whimster 1981
347	Arras A12	?LT B	f.	Bronze anklet.		Giles 2012, 142
348	Arras Queen's A4 (East Yorkshire)	?LT B	f.	Chariot. 100 glass-bead necklace, coral- and sandstone-decorated bronze disc pendant, 2 bracelets, gold ring, amber ring, bronze ring, coral-decorated 'sun/flower' brooch. Nail scoop and tweezer set.	Y	Giles 2012, 152; Pope and Ralston 2011; Giles et al. 2020

349	Arras Lady A3 (East Yorkshire)	?LT B	?F	Extended inhumation. Chariot. Mirror. Pig/pork. In midst of the demise of late Hallstatt traditions in Germany (450-350 BC), Arras A3 seems to represent the first iron mirror in East Yorkshire – which Piggott (1983) linked back to Reinheim.		Giles 2012; Pope and Ralston 2011; Piggott 1983, 207; Giles et al. 2020
350	Cowlam B	?LT B	?f.	Blue glass-bead necklace (70 beads).		Giles 2012, 147
351	Kirkburn K5 (East Yorkshire)	?LT B	m.	Chariot and horse gear. Mail tunic (LT I). Decorated lid. Pig/pork. Non-local isotope signature (poss. N. Yorks.)		Pope and Ralston 2011; Giles 2012, 116
352	Danes Graves DG95	?LT B	?	Amber- and coral-decorated brooch.	Y	Giles 2012, 139
353	Rudston and Burton Fleming cemeteries	?LT B	f.	Women three times more likely to have meat provided in the grave.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 393
354	Rudston R22	?LT B	?	Coral-decorated brooch, repaired w. red enamel.		Giles 2012, 137
355	Rudston cemetery, East Yorkshire	?LT B	m.	9 sword burials (some extended) and shields. ?female with weaponry (R163). Gendered burial clusters (as at Les Jogasses).		Pope and Ralston 2011; Giles 2012, 163-164
356	Grimthorpe (East Yorkshire)	?LT B	m.	Sword; décor disc; coral bead w. bronze pin; 2 bronze studs; bronze rivet; 3 nails; [spearhead; 16 bone lance points]	Y	Giles 2012
357	North and West Yorkshire	LT B (4 th /3 rd Cs BC)	-	Chariot burials (intact). Must sit somewhere between 5 th C BC Newbridge (intact) and 200 BC East Yorkshire (dismantled, insular). Ferry Fryston (W. Yorks.) seems to have non-British isotope signature (north Scotland/Scandinavia).		Jay et al. 2012; Giles 2012, 117
358	Yorkshire	LT B/C	F	Two distinct gender identities for women (martial/mirrors; jewellery).		Pope and Ralston 2011, 409
359	Yorkshire	LT B/C	M	Younger men received special, martial rites (spearing, circular barrows); with a more fixed martial masculine identity more generally.		Pope and Ralston 2011; Giles 2012
360	Wetwang Village (East Yorkshire)	LT B/C	F	Chariot, coral-decorated horse gear. Brooch. Mirror, w. 120 miniature blue glass beads. Pig/pork.	Y	Pope and Ralston 2011, 396; Giles 2012
361	Wetwang Slack WS155	4 th C BC/ LT I	?	Coral-decorated bow brooch (a fairly ridiculous display of coral).	Y	Giles 2012, 137
362	Wetwang Slack WS454/CB2	LT B/C	F	Chariot and horse gear. Gold- and coral- decorated iron pin. Mirror, suspended bronze container (somewhat akin to an Etruscan <i>cista</i> – see also Mercey-sur-Saône). Pig/pork.	Y	Giles 2012, 157; Pope and Ralston 2011
363	Wetwang Slack CB1	LT B/C	M	Chariot. Sword, shield. Pork/pig. 7 spearheads [spearing rite].		Pope and Ralston 2011
364	Wetwang Slack cemetery, East Yorkshire	LT B/C	M/F	Breastfeeding restricted, early weaning. Access to protein not gendered; elder men had greater access. WS454 (f.) elder female with 'refined' diet. Again, age not sex. Rare individuals with non-local isotope signature. 10 predom. senior women with glass-bead necklaces (av. 55 beads, max. 77). Coral decorated horse-gear and brooches.	Y	Jay et al. 2008; Giles 2012, 114; 147; Jay and Richards 2007; Pope and Ralston 2011

365	Pocklington	320-174 BC	M	Man in late 40s or older. Chariot, two ponies (leaping). Decorated bronze shield. Red glass 'dragonfly' brooch. Six piglets (around head). Healed blunt force traumas.		Stephens and Ware 2020
366	Kirkburn K3	300-200 BC (LT B-C)	m.	Heavily decorative sword with red enamel hilt.		Stead 2006
367	East Yorkshire cemeteries	3 rd -e.2 nd Cs BC (LT B-C)	F/M	More women than men (57:43 %). Burial rites and mortality profile ungendered (beyond costume, foodstuffs). More women receive meat in the grave. Age the greater defining structuring principle. Violent trauma predominantly men, but some women. Bracelets predominantly for women. Weapons predominantly for men, but 'extremely rare' (Stead 2006); just over 2 in 3 bodies w. weaponry are reliably sexed male.		Pope and Ralston 2011, 396-397; Giles 2012, 99-100, 142; Jay et al. 2012; Stead 2006, 80
368	East Yorkshire	200 BC (LT C)	M/F	Chariot burials (deconstructed).		Jay et al. 2012
Wales and Ireland						
369	Old Castle (Ogmore) Down, Glamorgan	LT B	?	Double burial. 4 th century BC Italic-Celtic helmets, unusual barbed daggers.	Y	Pope and Ralston 2011, 399
370	Ireland	LT B	?	Decorative metalwork, both in line with British traditions and different.		Collis 2003, 183
371	Clonycavan (Co. Meath)	LT B/C	M	Bog body (392-201 BC).		-
372	Old Croghan (Co. Offaly)	LT B/C	M	Bog body (362-175 BC).		-
Spain						
373	La Dama de Ibiza, Puig de Molins	3 rd C BC	F	A 0.47 m high statue urn found in the necropolis of Puig de Molins, along with depictions of female divinities. By 3 rd century BC, high status female depictions have acquired greater ritual associations – akin to the situation in Germany. The latter part of a wider votive tradition, with deposition of female sculptures in particular continuing down to the 2 nd -1 st centuries BC.		Jiménez 2011, 508
374	La Dama del Cerro de los Santos from the Montelegre del Castillo, Albacete	3 rd /2 nd C BC	F	A 1.30 m statue, offering from the sanctuary. Two other seated females.		MAN 2013

List of references to accompany supplemental tables

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