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Introduction

1.1. A decade of new discoveries and research

Not long after the completion of my PhD, Melanie Giles's major monograph on life and death in Iron Age East Yorkshire was published ('A forged glamour: landscape, identity and material culture in the Iron Age' - 2012), followed in 2013 by Peter Halkon's book on 'The Parisi', covering both Iron Age and Roman East Yorkshire. Another paramount publication for our understanding of Iron Age mortuary practices was Dennis Harding's 'Death and burial in Iron Age Britain' (2016). In addition, Bayesian modelling (Jay et al. 2012) and new isotope studies (Jay et al. 2013; Jay and Montgomery 2020) have provided invaluable information on dating and mobility, respectively. Furthermore, several PhD theses have been devoted to or have drawn on the East Yorkshire material, many of which will be cited below.

Both in Britain and in northern France several new chariot burials have been excavated in recent years, and it is remarkable that the share of instances where the horses had been buried with the vehicle is unusually high as compared to the corpus of chariot burials known hitherto. The most astonishing find was that of the two standing horses 'pulling' the chariot at the site of The Mile in Pocklington (East Yorkshire), but equally intriguing and unique was the presence of four horses in Warcq (French Ardennes). For both sites, only preliminary reports are available at this stage, but the publication of the Pocklington cemeteries of The Mile and Burnby Lane is imminent (Stephens in press). Finally, the discovery of a chariot burial in Wales, dating to the second half of the first century AD, demonstrates that chariot burials had a wider geographical distribution than previously believed, and that the concept lasted longer than commonly thought.

1.2. The Arras Culture

Iron Age mortuary practices in eastern Yorkshire were remarkably different from those in the rest of Britain. Although inhumations are increasingly attested in other regions, this is still by far the area with the highest concentration. Of a more exclusive nature are the chariot burials: apart from finds in West Yorkshire, Scotland and Wales, all chariot burials are from the eastern part of Yorkshire; reports of alleged chariot burials in other regions remain unconfirmed (Stead 1965: 8-9). Another typical feature are the square-ditched enclosures surrounding the burials. All in all, these funerary customs are strikingly similar to burial rites practised in northern Gaul, so naturally questions arose regarding their adoption in eastern Yorkshire. The burials became to be conventionally referred to as the 'Arras Culture', named after the type site Arras, a deserted medieval village near Market Weighton in East Yorkshire. The name 'Arras' was derived from 'Erg', which developed into 'Herges', 'Erghus' and finally into 'Arras' in the 16th century, and as such has no connection with the town of Arras in northern France (Stead 1979: 7) which is a phonetic evolution of the name of the Gaulish people of the Atrebates. The barrows at Arras were explored in the period 1815-1817 by a group of local gentry, which led to the discovery of the first chariot burials. The most renowned 'barrow diggers' in East Yorkshire, however, were active in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century: John Robert Mortimer (1825-1911) and Canon William Greenwell (1820-1918).

Mortimer and Greenwell had opposing opinions as to the identity of the people who were buried in Arras and in other large cemeteries like Danes Graves and Scorborough. Mortimer (1898: 125-26) was inclined to believe they were 'invaders of a comparatively recent period, say a few centuries before the Roman occupation of this country, who settled in little communities along the east coast'; he argued that there was 'too great a leap in the advance of ornamentation and the art of working in metals between the barrows containing bronze only and those which contain iron, rather than a gradual transition from one stage of culture to the other.' Greenwell (1877: 212), however, was of the opinion that the Iron Age burials he excavated at Cowlam were not unlike those from the Bronze Age, apart from the pieces of jewellery. He therefore concluded that 'no new people had come in with iron, but that acquaintance with and use of this metal were gradually developed amongst an originally bronze-using people, either according to the natural process of improvement characteristic of man, or through knowledge gained by contact and intercourse, in whatever way, with people who had already attained to a higher grade of civilisation'. Although Mortimer believed in gradual progress (Giles 2006: 302), he insisted that no transitional stage of development was visible in the Iron Age burials of East Yorkshire; to him the 'sudden introduction of iron and its accompanying greater advance in mechanical skill and the decorative arts' could not be of 'independent native origin' (Mortimer 1905: 364). This 'great advance in civilisation' was brought about by 'settlers from over the sea' (Mortimer 1911: 315-16). By this time, Greenwell (1906: 307) had become more circumspect in his statements; although he warned that the similarity in burial rites with countries overseas does not necessarily point to an 'identity of race', he left open the possibility that the people of East Yorkshire were 'united by the affinity of blood'with people in northern Gaul.

While in the colonial period identity was closely related with race, in the 20th century the concept of 'culture' to define group identity gained ground. Childe (1929: v-vi) wrote: 'We find certain types of remains – pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, and house forms – constantly recurring together. Such a complex of regularly associated traits we shall term a 'cultural group' or just a 'culture'. We assume that such a complex is the material expression of what would to-day be called a people.' Archaeological cultures are usually named after a type artefact or a type site and so it happened that in his *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*, Childe (1940: 216) entitled one of his subchapters 'The Arras Culture'.

Fox (1938: 32, 68), an advocate of environmental determinism, claimed that a country's vulnerability to invasion depends on its nature and personality. He divided Britain into a highland and a lowland zone, whereby eastern Yorkshire, although it 'fluctuated in its allegiance' between the two zones, was considered susceptible to invasion. The invaders were 'Parisii and culturally related groups'.

Not long before, Hawkes (1931) had laid the fundamentals for his Iron Age A, B and C cultures system (referring to successive waves of migration from the Continent), which was further developed and geographically and chronologically subdivided throughout the following decades, resulting in the well-known article in Antiquity, in which the 'Arras Culture' was categorised as Eastern Second B (Hawkes 1959: 180-81, fig. 4). Within the framework of culture history, migration was one of the key concepts to explain cultural change; it was especially called upon when this change seemed sudden. Although Hawkes (1959: 172) allowed for a component of internal development in his ABC system, he was particularly clear with respect to East Yorkshire, which was colonised by 'newcomers', 'La Tène chiefs (who) ruled their followers and the native population with an absolutism that allowed them to maintain more of their Continental habits and standards'; they were 'an offshoot of the people whose name has been so conspicuously preserved in that of the French capital' (Hawkes and Hawkes (1958: 127).

The ABC system was widely adopted amongst British archaeologists. Like Hawkes, Brailsford (1953: 48-49) discerned two Iron Age B migration movements of Marnians into Britain as from the third century BC, one to Sussex and one to Yorkshire, whereby the absence of fine Marnian pottery in East Yorkshire suggested that the 'invading chieftains' came over 'without their womenfolk' (!). Childe (1940: 212) on the other hand assumed that highly skilled potters would not be easily lured into joining the overseas adventures of the invaders whom he saw as 'warrior-bands, seeking new lands, perhaps the younger sons of Gaulish chiefs with their junior tenantry for whom no room was left on the ancestral farm'.

In spite of its success, the ABC system also encountered opposition. In Antiquity, Hodson (1960) objected to the 'rigid geographical limits' and claimed that cultural boundaries should be 'defined by the distribution of type-fossils and not by fixed "Provinces" or "Regions"'. Based on such a distribution of type-fossils, Hodson (1964) distinguished three main cultural divisions: two La Tène cultures (the Early La Tène 'Arras Culture' and the Late La Tène 'Aylesford Culture') and an indigenous 'Woodbury Culture', consisting of a series of regional groups which formed the continuity of native Bronze Age traditions; he pointed out that although continental influence is not absent in these regions, many types of objects reflect local inventiveness.

Indigenous evolution versus continental influence became the topic of another discussion in Antiquity, this time between Clark and Hawkes. Clark (1966a) mocked the tendency of British prehistorians to ascribe every change or innovation to overseas contact, or even to straightforward invasion from the Continent; he even accused Hawkes and others of suffering from 'invasion neurosis'. He argued that it was normal for leaders to adopt foreign fashions and import foreign luxury goods, and that such prestige products, even when of continental inspiration, often show insular features. But even he made an exception for East Yorkshire: 'The invaders with La Tène culture for which a reasoned case has been made (…) were the offspring of the Parisi who introduced the Arras culture to East Yorkshire' (Clark 1966a: 186). Many years before, Clark (1941: 69-70), already referred to the 'overlords of East Yorkshire' who were 'frequently buried with their chariots, like their cousins in the Marne district of France'; they were 'immigrants' who introduced metal horse bits into Britain in the third century BC.

Clark's article elicited a prompt reaction from Hawkes (1966: 298), who claimed that indigenous evolution had to be demonstrated rather than assumed. Clark (1966b: 299) responded that although he agreed that British prehistory had to be studied in its European context, more attention should be paid to the study of 'inherent dynamism of economic and social life'. Manifestly, Clark's views did not accord with the traditional principles of culture history, which considered culture as mainly conservative, with internal cultural evolution being slow and sudden changes being attributed to external influence, be it through diffusion or migration (Jones 1997: 24). Clark's opinions illustrated a growing unease with the culture-historical paradigm.

Shortly before, Ian Stead (1965) had published his PhD thesis, *The La Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire*. In his introduction he dismissed the ABC system and supported Hodson's call for 'the identification of cultures defined by recurring groups of type fossils'. Based on this system, Stead identified two distinct cultures in East Yorkshire, one with vehicle burials (the 'Arras Culture') and a much smaller one with sword burials (the 'North Grimston Culture') (Stead 1965: 84). Only the Arras Culture he considered intrusive. Stead's problem, however, was that the issue of the intruders' area of origin remained

unsolved: the name of the later 'Parisi' of East Yorkshire suggested a link with the Paris area, but vehicles burials were mainly known from the Champagne, and certain practices and artefacts might point to a link with Burgundy and Switzerland. In an attempt to reconcile all these elements, Stead suggested the possibility that a tribe originating from Burgundy or further east travelled to Paris, whereby an offshoot headed for East Yorkshire and that perhaps another tribe, associated with the Marnians in the Champagne, was also involved in the migration.

New finds and further research compelled Stead to review his position with regard to the dual culture issue. In the preface to his next major publication, *The Arras Culture* (1979), he stated that all the material belonged to a single culture. In his conclusion, Stead (1979: 92-93) still deemed this culture the product of migration, but perhaps of only a small group (adventurers, mercenaries, evangelists, farmers), who did not dominate the community but had a strong influence in matters of death and funeral ritual. Their place of origin remained obscure, largely on account of the local evolvement of the Arras Culture which led to substantial differences with the Continent. In *Iron Age Cemeteries in East Yorkshire: Excavations at Burton Fleming, Rudston, Garton-on-the Wolds, and Kirkburn*, Stead (1991: 184) suggested that perhaps the new burial rites were introduced by a single immigrant, a 'well-connected evangelist'.

A few years earlier, Van Endert (1986: 280-82) had argued that the Arras Culture was founded by immigrants from the Belgian Ardennes, whereas Higham (1987: 5) thought that mercenaries or warriors who returned from Gaul or the Rhineland 'brought back imperfectly absorbed elements of the sepulchral traditions of their employers and hosts'. These conflicting opinions potentially reflected different theoretical frameworks: migration as the key explanation for cultural change survived much longer on the Continent than in Britain.

Similarly, the concept of an 'archaeological culture' already came under pressure in the Anglo-Saxon world towards the end of the 1960s. Where originally the culture-historical paradigm had seemed a convenient system to order archaeological information, it turned out inadequate to incorporate the ever-expanding body of data; Hawkes's system, for example, proved to be over-simplistic (Giles 2008b: 336). The awareness grew that an archaeological culture in the sense of a strictly defined entity does not reflect the complex archaeological reality. Also anthropologists criticised the idea that humanity 'can be parcelled up into a multitude of discrete cultural capsules' as Ingold (1994: 330) described it, who also stated that: 'What we do *not* find are neatly bounded and mutually exclusive bodies of thought and custom, perfectly shared by all who subscribe to them, and in which their lives and works are fully encapsulated.'

One of the central ideas of culture-historical archaeology was that a given material assemblage could be attributed to an historically known ancient people. Yet it became clear from anthropological research that 'the relationship between culture and peoplehood is not so straightforward, and that the idea that ethnic and national groups are fixed, homogeneous, bounded entities extending deep into the past is a modern classificatory invention. On the contrary it has been shown that ethnic and national identities are fluid, dynamic and contested' (Jones 2000: 448).

Furthermore, the traits or types that were considered appropriate to define a given archaeological culture were often chosen intuitively or were too limited in number: Hodson's Woodbury Culture, for example, was only based on three type fossils, the permanent round house, the weaving comb and the ring-headed pin (Jones 1997: 18, 108, 119).

In the 1960s and early 1970s, terms like 'tribe' and 'race' were replaced by 'ethnic groups', and the focus of research in social sciences with regard to cultural differentiation shifted to ethnicity (Jones 2000: 448). Barth (1969) emphasised the importance of self-identification; he argued that there is 'no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences', since actors consider only certain differences significant. In the footsteps of social scientists, archaeologists started exploring new approaches to identity, and often turned to ethnographic analogies instead of historical sources to explain Iron Age phenomena (Giles 2008b: 336-45). In the last decades of the twentieeth century, British Iron Age archaeology mainly focused on regional diversity, trying to understand smaller regional units each in their own terms; during this process, broader perspectives generated less interest, but more recently attention has returned to the larger scale, whereby interregional commonalities are 'investigated on the basis of detailed examination of local cultural traditions and comparisons between them' (James 2007: 20).

The last comparisons between eastern Yorkshire and northern Gaul in terms of Iron Age burial traditions go back a few decades (Stead 1965, 1978; Van Endert 1986, 1987); new data have become available since and new insights have been gained. This is perhaps the right time to revisit the issue. The hypothesis of a small-scale migration of an influential elite still persists (see e.g. Bradley 2007: 266; Cunliffe 2005: 84-86) despite the apparent inability to identify the alleged immigrants' homeland. The aim of this new comparison, which will focus on both spatial and temporal variation and similarity, is to shed new light on the case.

1.3. Methodology

The purpose of my research was to establish which hypothesis is more plausible. Were the new burial rites introduced into eastern Yorkshire by a small group of elite immigrant from overseas, and if so, where did they come from? Or was the Arras Culture a local development, initiated by the contacts of the local rulers with their peers

on the Continent through elite networks? In order to achieve this, it was necessary to make a thorough comparison of all the relevant funerary practices in all the regions where two-wheeled vehicle burials were attested in Western Europe in the La Tène period. The aim was also to narrow down the time frame within which the transmission of the burial rites took place, as this could possibly deliver precious information about the circumstances of this transmission.

The reason why the comparison is restricted to funeral data is twofold. First, in most other respects, the archaeology of eastern Yorkshire is perfectly consistent with that of the rest of Britain; only the burial rites stand out and suggest a connection with the Continent. Secondly, the quantity of funerary data available from northern Gaul is enormous. The Aisne-Marne region alone counts no less than 250 chariot burials, although some of them are only known from aerial photography (Chossenot, Chossenot and Neiss 1985).

The chariot burials of northern Gaul can be divided in two groups, not because they are basically different, but because they occur in different regions and periods. The first and largest group, located in the Aisne-Marne and the Middle Rhine – Moselle regions, and in the Belgian Ardennes, mainly date from the second half of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century BC. The phenomenon revives in the third century BC; this second group is much smaller but covers a large, discontinuous area: chariot burials of this period were attested around Paris, the French Ardennes, the eastern Oise department, the Belgian province of Hainaut and in Lower Normandy, while in the former locations they reappeared in the Aisne and in the Belgian Ardennes.

The first group is well-known and has been extensively studied. For the Aisne-Marne region, for example, around 200 chariot burials were thoroughly re-examined and described in detail by Verger (1994) in his doctoral thesis, while the chariot burials (and other rich burials) of the Middle Rhine – Moselle were catalogued and discussed by Haffner (1976). The 19 chariot burials of the Belgian Ardennes, all excavated between 1966 and 1994, were the subject of a synthesis by Anne Cahen-Delhaye (Cahen-Delhaye 2013), following on earlier papers discussing the main characteristics of funerary practices in the region (Cahen 1998a, 1998b). Given the quantity of primary data, it was decided to draw heavily on the existing high-quality and comprehensive syntheses, especially in the case of the Aisne-Marne region; naturally, primary source material was consulted in case of doubt, need for further detail, or when addressing issues of particular importance.

During research it became evident that the chariot burials of eastern Yorkshire belong to the second period. These later chariot burials were never studied as a separate group, and as such any possible similarities became obscured. Some of them are from old excavations with proper context often lacking, whilst several others are from recent excavations and are not yet fully published. Therefore, all the chariot burials of the third and second century BC (Figure 1.1) were individually examined; a detailed catalogue is provided in Appendix A.

For sake of completeness, an inventory of all the chariot burials of the fifth and fourth century BC can be found in Appendix B. As mentioned above, the chariot burials of this period have already been studied in detail. Apart from the catalogues included in the above-mentioned studies by Verger and Haffner, all the chariot and wagon burials west of the Rhine (including the British ones) were catalogued by Van Endert (1987) and discussed by region in a separate paper (Van Endert 1986). The inventory in Appendix B also includes bibliographic sources, but these are not exhaustive; additional source material can often be found in the catalogues of Haffner (1976), Van Endert (1987), Verger (1994) and others.

In the later third century BC, a new rite emerged in the wake of the change from inhumation to cremation, consisting of cremation burials containing certain parts of a chariot and/or horse harness, either as a *pars pro toto* (whereby one or a few parts represent the vehicle as a whole) or because the vehicle was burned on the pyre; these occur in large parts of northern Gaul and the practice continues into the Roman period. Since this rite is unattested in eastern Yorkshire, it will only be briefly discussed here; a comprehensive study, including a catalogue, can be found in the doctoral thesis of Schönfelder (2000).

The outcome of the comparison between the Arras Culture and the various regions in northern Gaul was in favour of the hypothesis that the new burial rites in eastern Yorkshire were developed locally, as the result of contacts with the Continent. As such, the remainder of this study concentrates on the phenomenon of social networks. It will start with a short introduction to the theory of social networks and will subsequently trace a change in network structure in northern Gaul, which will embrace the emergence of the Arras Culture. The question also arises of what mechanisms and strategies are at the base of social networks and help to maintain them. The examples that will be discussed are of particular relevance to long-distance elite networks: strategic marriages, clientship, fosterage and hostageship.

Finally, since the first part of the study has demonstrated that the closest link between eastern Yorkshire and northern Gaul is at the ritual level, it was imperative to investigate the potential role of religious and spiritual leaders, such as the druids, with regard to the transmission of religious ideas and belief systems over long distances.

1.4. Use of historical sources

Concern for the pitfalls of culture history has led archaeologists to turn away from historical sources. In the past, Roman and Greek texts were too often believed to provide true reports of Gaulish or British society, and Irish medieval texts were presented as ‘a window on the Iron

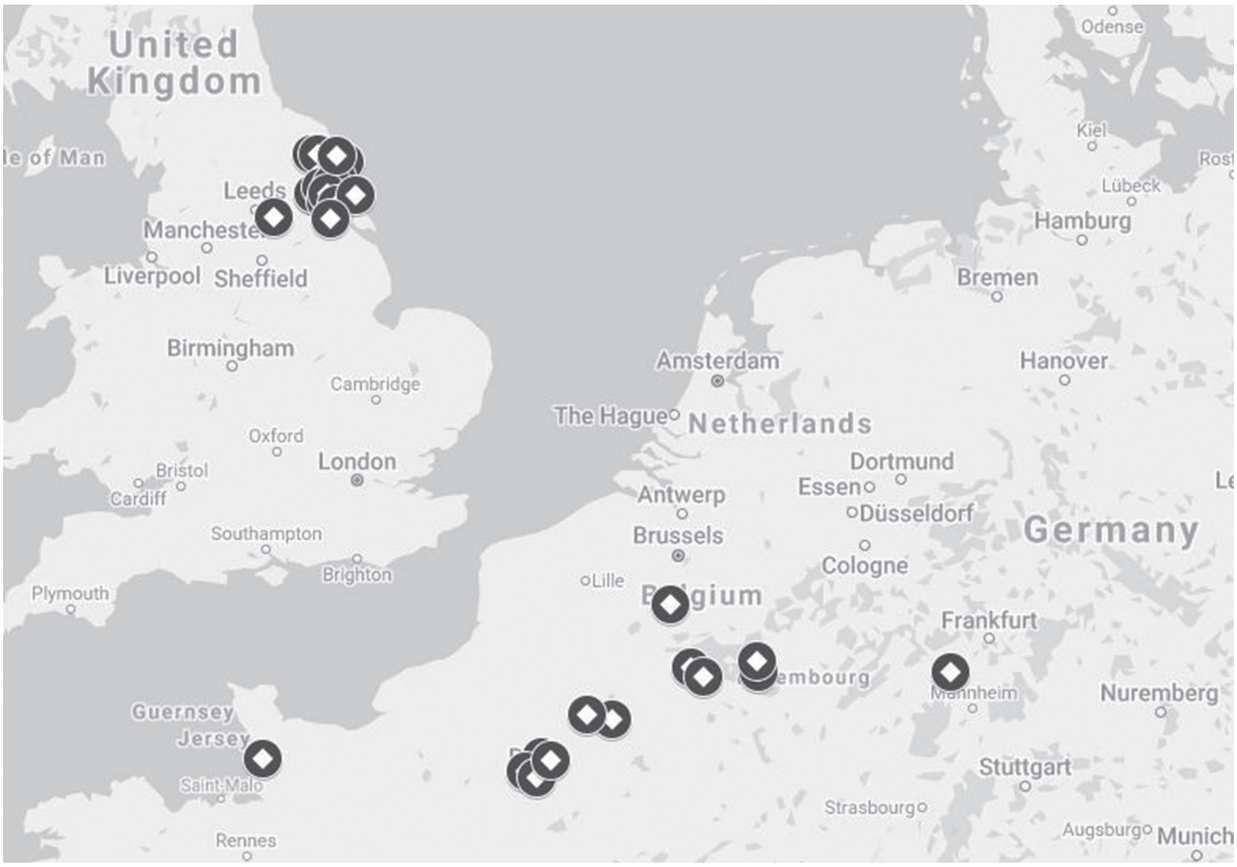

Figure 1.1. Chariot burials (with inhumations) of the third and second centuries BC

Age' (Jackson 1964). Many archaeologists (e.g. Collis 1994; Hill 1996; James 1999) have warned against the use of written sources to explain Iron Age societies.

The issues with the classical authors are known: they are outsiders and do not fully grasp the subtleties of the society they describe, they write from a Roman or Greek perspective, their information is often second-hand and most of them have a hidden agenda. In addition, some authors are 'historians': they relate events that happened several centuries earlier. Furthermore, the question arises to what extent social institutions that are historically attested for, say, the first century BC can be extrapolated into the past. When using classical sources, it is, therefore, important to identify their shortcomings with regard to the information extracted from them.

Given the large chronological and geographical gap, the use of early medieval Irish texts for understanding aspects of Iron Age society in Britain and Gaul is deemed even more controversial. Archaeologists claim that written sources can only be applied to the societies they describe (Collis 1994: 35); they contest the use of later historical sources for the study of Iron Age society because it falsely implies the existence of a uniform 'Celtic society' and is reminiscent of assumptions made in culture history (Hill 1996: 96-97). Objections have also been raised by anti-nativist scholars of Irish medieval literature, who argue that the Irish monks borrowed heavily from the Bible and from Homeric epics. The general consensus now seems to be that especially the heroic tales are creative writings reflecting the medieval monks' views of the pagan past (Karl 2005a; 2008: 70). However, Raimund Karl (2003) has demonstrated that chariots (which figure frequently in the heroic tales) and how they were used in Iron Age Europe had much closer affinities with medieval Irish texts than with both biblical sources and Homeric epics.

As Raimund Karl (2005a) has written, 'societies develop from older societies', and 'conserve information about former states of their development'; he also claims that social organisation and social practices 'remain surprisingly stable over long periods'. As such, social practices outlined in early medieval Irish texts that are strikingly similar to practices described for Iron Age Gaul in classical sources, are meaningful and cannot be ignored. Comparable practices are often attested in other early European societies like the Italic or early Germanic societies.

In addition, medieval Celtic languages have preserved cognate terms for certain practices and offices that already existed in Iron Age Europe. The best examples is that of the Irish words 'druïd', 'fáithi' and 'baird', which are the equivalent of the 'druides', 'vates' and 'bardi' in classical literature (Birkhan 1997: 896). However, caution is

required here, since the meaning of a term can be subject to modification: under influence of Christianity, the role and status of the druids in early medieval Ireland changed substantially, as discussed in section 15.2.1.1. This also illustrates that in many cases it is possible to determine the influence of Christianity and the Bible in the writings of the monks; of course, there will always be room for scholarly debate, since other issues may prove much harder to identify.

The similarities between social practices in classical literature and those that emerge from early Irish medieval texts are often striking. It is clear that a high level of caution and critical thinking is imperative, but when these conditions are met, there is no reason to avoid written sources, since these can provide useful analogies in the same way as, for example, ethnographic sources do. The a priori rejection of documentary evidence deprives us of the valuable additional insights that can be gained from an integrated approach.

1.5. Terminology

As discussed above, the concept of an archaeological culture is not an adequate device to study the complex world of past societies. It should be clear, therefore, that the use of the term 'Arras Culture' in this study is not to be read in that sense. Finding an alternative name remains a challenge: in recent books on British prehistory the term is still widely used, with or without quotation marks (see e.g. Bradley 2007: 263-70; Cunliffe 2005: 84-86; Pryor 2003: 344-47); in other publications it is carefully circumvented, by referring to 'East Yorkshire cemeteries' (Parker-Pearson 1999: 43) or 'East Yorkshire Iron Age burials' (Hill 2002: 410), aiming to avoid both the loaded term 'culture' and the reference to a type site. The convenience of 'Arras Culture' is that it combines time and space in just two words. A good alternative might be 'Arras burial tradition' (see for example Harding 2016: 144), but cleaned of its wrong connotations, the conventional 'Arras Culture' should still be acceptable. Another reason for using it here is to serve as a tribute to Ian Stead, for his major contributions to our knowledge of the Iron Age burial tradition of eastern Yorkshire.

Another term that needs explaining is that of 'chariot burials', which Ian Stead (1965: 5) replaced by 'cart burials' out of concern that the vehicles would be wrongly seen as war chariots. There is quite a range in the type of two-wheeled vehicles found in burials, but many of them have beautifully decorated parts and are often associated with colourful harnesses, so that it is difficult to define them as 'carts', as if suggesting they were heavy-duty vehicles used in agriculture (Piggott 1983: 23). The vehicles attested in the burials are lightweight; they were destined for the transport of people. As already argued by Piggott (1983: 23), chariots were also, and probably mainly, used in peaceful circumstances for travel, ceremonial and parade, and hence 'chariot burials' should be considered the more appropriate term. However, the connection with warfare has not been abandoned. In France, archaeologists make a distinction between fancy, ceremonial vehicles ('chars d'apparat', 'chars de parade') and ordinary vehicles which they often refer to as 'chars de guerre' or 'chars de combat'. Both types occur on the cemetery of Roissy near Paris: one chariot burial with an ordinary vehicle and weapons, and another one with a luxurious vehicle and no weapons (Lejars 2005: 80). Yvonne Inall (2020: 79) argues that even though chariots were (also) used in non-martial contexts, the presence of a chariot in chariot burials with weaponry would reinforce the martial identity construction for the individual concerned.

There is no doubt that this construction of a martial identity was the purpose of depositing weapons in burials. Fraser Hunter (2005: 50) has rightly argued that 'whether the individuals wore arms in life is irrelevant: this is the image they took to the grave'. Therefore, there is no reason for avoiding the term 'warrior burial'.

Technical terms with regard to vehicle parts and horse harness are assembled in a glossary (Appendix C), as are a number of typically continental terms (Appendix D).

1.6. Chronology

Reinecke's chronology, now also generally used in France, will be followed as much as possible (Table 1.1). However, when no detailed chronological information is available or is not quoted in the sources, reference will be made to Early La Tène (ELT), Middle La Tène (MLT) or Late La Tène (LLT). The use of LT I, II and III (Viollier) will be avoided.

Other abbreviations used in the text are EBA (Early Bronze Age), LBA (Late Bronze Age), EIA (Early Iron Age), LIA (Late Iron Age), LH (Late Hallstatt). Ha A, B, C and D refer to subdivisions of the Hallstatt period.

Table 1.1. La Tène period chronology systems (based on Brun 2002: 312, fig. 11).

	Reinecke	Viollier	Dating BC
ELT	LT A1	LT Ia	475-430
	LT A2		430-400
	LT B1	LT Ib	400-325
	LT B2	LT Ic	325-250
MLT	LT C1	LT II	250-175
	LT C2		175-130
LLT	LT D1	LT III	130-75
	LT D2		75-30