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► **To cite this version:**

John Ralph Collis. Changing paradigms from the 1960s onwards: Central Europe and Britain. Gilles Pierrevelcin; Jan Kysela; Stephan Fichtl. Unité et diversité du monde celtique. Actes du 42e colloque international de l'Association française pour l'étude de l'âge du Fer (Prague, 10-13 mai 2018), 42, AFEAF, pp.31-42, 2020, Collection AFEAF 2, 978-2-9567407-1-1. halshs-03262035

**HAL Id: halshs-03262035**

**<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-03262035>**

Submitted on 23 Aug 2021

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# Changing paradigms from the 1960s onwards: Central Europe and Britain

John Collis

In 1984 at the AFEAF meeting at Angoulême I gave a paper entitled 'Adieu Hallstatt! Adieu La Tène!' (Collis 1986) which is still somewhat remembered in the annals of the Association as one that produced something of shock/horror (Malrain 2007, p. 16) as I was attacking the very fundamentals of Iron Age studies in temperate Europe, the concept of Hallstatt and La Tène Cultures or Culture Groups, and wondering how we would re-write European prehistory if we were to abandon the terms. Returning to Prague reminds me of my student days when I arrived on an exchange in January 1967 with a scholarship arranged through the British Council. I was assigned to the Archaeological Institute based in Letenská (I had no contacts at that time with the Charles University), and was put under the charge of Eva Soudská and assigned a desk in the library, already piled high with books on my chosen subject for research, the oppida. I had a brief contact with Jan Filip, drinking a welcoming cup of coffee with him soon after my arrival. In fact I only spent six weeks initially in the snow and ice of Prague before returning to England for an interview for a post in the University of Sheffield, the application typed painfully, and far from faultlessly, on a typewriter with a Czech keyboard! Thankfully, as it turned out, I did not get the post (I finally went to Sheffield in 1972) as I went on to gain a three-year State Studentship from the British Government in October 1967 which allowed me to travel much more widely around Europe. I returned to Prague for a second period of six weeks in the beautiful sunny weather of May and June 1967, and also visited Brno and Nitra, experiences which were to have a profound impact on my thinking along with, in later years, three weeks in the RGK library in Frankfurt, and especially two months in the University of Tübingen under Wolfgang Kimmig, as well as briefer tours of France, Austria, Poland, and Hungary. I undertook a second tour in 1977 which started in Norway, passing through Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East and West Germany, Luxembourg, and France, again with a one-month British Council scholarship for the Czech part of the tour, and invitations to lunch, accompanied by two Czech colleagues, with both the British ambassador and the British consul in charge of the local British Council office in Prague. These experiences

I had across Europe were fundamental in developing the ideas that lay behind the Angoulême paper.

When I studied in Prague in the 1960s in both Britain and central Europe the dominant approach in Iron Age studies was still the 'Culture-History paradigm' (Trigger 1989), with the 'arrival' of Hallstatt and La Tène Cultures, linked with the supposed expansion of the Celts from southern Germany and northern France, especially identified in burial rites. In both areas there was an increasing interest in settlement archaeology which was changing approaches fundamentally, in Britain marked especially by excavations of small farming settlements and hill-forts, and in Czechoslovakia, under Jan Filip's instigation, of the oppida and other Late La Tène settlements like Zemplín (Benadik 1965, 1971; Collis 1972). At the same time in both areas there was assumed to be a time-lag in the arrival of new innovations. But in Cambridge the Hawkes system based on invasions was already under attack, in general terms by Grahame Clark (1966), but in greater detail for the Iron Age by Roy Hodson (1960, 1962, 1964). In the 1970s and 1980s the assumption that for the Iron Age every innovation came from southern Germany and eastern France was also queried – *e.g.* suggestions that typologically Gündlingen swords have their origin on the Atlantic coast though still might represent imports or influence from Germany on Britain and Ireland (Schauer 1972), and that Early La Tène stamped wares (*e.g.* the so-called Braubach Bowl) were perhaps earlier in central Europe than on the Rhine (Kimmig 1965), and so reversing the direction of influence suggested under the Celtic invasion model. This has gradually, though not finally, led to the collapse of the Culture-History and invasionist interpretations of Iron Age, and the research for new models to explain 'Culture Change'.

I studied as a student in Cambridge from 1963 to 1970, completing my BA in 1966, and my doctorate on Oppida in 1975, not published until 1984, but by that time my ideas, especially on urbanism, had developed considerably. Before starting my formal academic studies I was already experienced in excavation techniques, having started working on excavations for the Winchester Museum under the curator Frank Cottrill, digging and washing

finds, and later learning planning, section drawing and pottery drawing. From the age of eleven I had been taught stratigraphical excavation, mainly in urban contexts, but I had also worked on rural sites as well. Before I went to university I had dug for three Oxford professors, Sir Ian Richmond, Sheppard Frere, and Christopher Hawkes, and met some of the younger people who were to have a profound positive influence on my career: Barry Cunliffe, Colin Renfrew, and Martin Biddle. I had already started on a small scale what was to be my first major excavation, at the Iron Age and Roman farming settlement at Owslebury, just outside of Winchester. At Cambridge the professor was Grahame Clark who, under Scandinavian influence, taught environmental and economic archaeology *e.g. Prehistoric Europe: the economic basis* published in 1952. His assistant, Eric Higgs, had a strongly economic approach, and taught us to identify animal bones (at that time on most urban sites bones were just thrown away), so these approaches were something of a shock to someone like me brought up largely under the history-based norms of Roman archaeology. On the Culture History side David Clarke was beginning to teach Numerical Taxonomy, and though his study of Beakers (1970) was in the traditional framework of interpretation, with a sequence of immigrations, he was already beginning to question the methodology of the Culture-Group approach, and looking to other subjects like Anthropology and Geography; this was to develop as a shift of paradigm to 'The New Archaeology' marked by his book *Analytical Archaeology* published in 1968. For the definition of Culture Groups he advocated the use of a 'polythetic' definition under which all the features supposed to define a culture need not be present, rather than a 'monothetic' definition as usually used by, for instance Gordon Childe, under which all features should be present, a view very relevant to Iron Age societies on the supposed 'fringes' of the main Hallstatt and La Tène Culture areas like Britain and Czechoslovakia. Just before university I had also dug in Germany and to learn archaeological German I had read Hans-Jürgen Egger's *Einführung in die Vorgeschichte* (1959) another major influence on my thinking, criticising the problematic use of the Culture concept, especially under the Third Reich.

Studying in Prague added yet another layer. My main purpose was to study Oppida, but I also had to gain a general overview of the Iron Age, especially the La Tène period, and so to read at least some of Jan Filip's work, struggling with the Czech language of *Keltové ve střední Evropě (The Celts in Central Europe, 1956)* and of *Keltská civilizace a její dědictví, (1960)*, though helped by the more accessible English version *Celtic Civilisation and its Heritage. (1962)*. Though at Cambridge John Coles had introduced us to the horizon concept in the form of Hachmann's Bronze Age 'Hoard Horizons' in Scandinavia, the use of the horizon is more pervasive in the Czech tradition, and in the La Tène period we encounter Filip's 'Dux Horizon', and his 'Punched Belt Horizon'. I also went to visit Bohumil Soudský to see the impressive stripping of large areas at the Neolithic site of Bylany; he had just published a booklet (Soudský 1966) on the excavation which also introduced the codification of Neolithic pottery decoration by Ivan Pavlů whom I met in the Institute and whose work was recognised officially at the EAA meeting in Barcelona in 2018.

## Britain invasion models

Part of the British national myth is that we resisted invasion in the 1940s and that no-one had successfully invaded since the Normans in 1066 (not true – there were several like Henry VII and William of Orange, but they just had good English connections), but when we look at accounts of the early history of Britain, invasions are the favourite way of explaining history. The earliest surviving history of Britain is that of Bede (early 8th century AD) who relates that the Picts came from Scythia (Scandinavia), the Britons perhaps from Brittany, and the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes from what is now northern Germany – Jutland (Sherely-Price 1955). The invented histories which dominate the medieval period are equally based upon invasion, for William of Malmesbury, Trojans under Brutus (the earliest version is 10th century with Britto). The story of John of Fordun, based on early Irish texts, has a Greek, Gaythelos (Gael), and an Egyptian princess, Scotta, whose sons colonised Ireland and, later, Scotland. Both these histories were deeply embedded in the historical political conflicts between England and Scotland in late medieval and early modern times. The first attempt at a rational scientific interpretation, based on language and place-name evidence, is that of George Buchanan (1582; *cf.* Collis 1999) with Britons from Gaul, Celts who went to Ireland from Iberia, and the Picts from the Baltic Sea (based on Tacitus saying some of the tribes there spoke *Britannice*). Everyone was aware of the Roman invasions. All these reconstructions rely on the short biblical chronology of about six thousand years since the world's creation. In 1707 Edward Lhuys identified a group of related languages which he termed 'Celtic', and he recognised a fundamental difference between them, those that use a Q or C, for instance in names referring to 'the son of' (MacDonald, MacNeil) which he named 'Goidelic' and consisted of Irish and Scots Gaelic and Manx. The other group which he named 'Brythonic' consists of Welsh, Cornish and Breton and uses a P, but in surnames Welsh usually drops the initial M or the Ma (Apsimon, Probert, Price). He postulated that this represented two phases of colonisation, Goidelic, perhaps the earlier from Iberia, and Brythonic, probably the Belgae mentioned by Caesar, the later. The introduction of the Celtic languages is still commonly explained as due to migrations, but it has proved impossible to link the archaeology with the languages whereas for the appearance of English, we see the introduction of new continental style cremation and inhumation cemeteries in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, though the correlation between language and archaeology is not absolute.

Archaeologically based interpretations start in the mid-19th century, based initially on craniometry and using the new chronology of Thomsen's Three Age System of Stone, Bronze, and Iron. Thus there were long-headed dolichocephalic people in the Neolithic megalithic tombs, replaced by round-headed brachycephalic people with Beakers under round mounds (Morse 1999; 2005). This is linked with the evidence of languages, and the acceptance of the identification of Indo-European languages (*e.g.* Pritchard 1831), and their introduction, perhaps at the beginning of the Bronze Age. From the 1830s a long geological chronology was being adopted which allowed time for

huge changes, including an early origin for human life of tens of thousands of years. In 1890 Sir Arthur Evans saw in the rich 1<sup>st</sup> century BC cremation burial from Aylesford in Kent physical evidence of the invasion of the Belgae mentioned by Caesar, and linked them also with the introduction of gold coinage of northern French types. This approach was to dominate interpretation of the British Iron Age for much of the 20th century.

The first chronology based purely on material culture was that of Reginald Smith (1925) in the second version of his guide to the Iron Age antiquities in the British Museum where he suggested there were three main phases of contact with the continent: Hallstatt; Early La Tène; Late La Tène (Belgic), and he used the French terminology of Déchelette: Hallstatt I, II, La Tène I, II, III, and occasionally IV for the period between the conquest of Gaul and that of Britain. Though other schemes have been produced, this tripartite division of periods of contact was generally accepted. In 1931, Christopher Hawkes who had started his career in the British Museum under Smith, complained of the difficulties he had assigning the finds from his excavations at St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester, to the continental system as most of the pottery was of local types not paralleled in France. In 1931 he proposed a purely British nomenclature but each phase initiated by an invasion from the continent, followed by local developments: Iron Age A (Hallstatt); Iron Age B (Marnian); Iron Age C (Belgic). In 1962 the Ordnance Survey published an official *Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age* on which Iron Age A and B were shown in black and Iron Age C in red (largely confined to the south and east), while sites like Maiden Castle which produced both or continued late but did not have proper 'Belgic' finds were shown in purple. By this time Hawkes had come up with a more elaborate system which recognised regional variations. For instance Iron Age B included the Arras type burials from eastern Yorkshire, the richest of which contained chariots, but also the stamped pottery found on hill-forts around the Severn estuary in south-western England (Hawkes 1959; 1960). It was this system that was falling apart when I was a student.

## The new order, from 1964

Though there had been a number of criticisms of the Hawkes system, it had even been extended to cover parts of Scotland (Piggott 1966) and 'the Irish Sea Province' (Thomas 1972). As mentioned above it was Roy Hodson who effectively demolished it (Hodson 1960; 1962; 1964), though it was defended by people such as Leslie Alcock (1972; the anonymous person he attacks at the end of his article was in fact me!), and for a number of years Hodson's work was ridiculed at conferences. Firstly Hodson pointed out a number of factual errors, one of the most blatant being some pottery from Eastbourne (Sussex) on display in the museum (Hodson 1962). It consisted of hand-made jars one of which had rectilinear decoration in graphite paint for which Hallstatt parallels were sought, and was the major evidence for an Iron Age 'Hallstatt' invasion in the southeast. The next phase was typified in Sussex by pedestal bases with supposed parallels in northern France in the 'Marnian', and evidence of an Iron

Age B / Early La Tène invasion. In the store of the museum at Eastbourne, not on display, Hodson found a box of pottery from the same pit as the Iron Age A vessels, but which include pedestal bases supposedly typical of Iron Age B, and worse, one of them actually fitted on to one of the vessels on display. In an instant the division between Iron Age A and Iron Age B in that part of Sussex had been destroyed. At this time Hodson was already working on Münsingen (Hodson 1968), and brought to bear his knowledge of continental dating, and showed that, for instance, a bent silver finger-ring used by Hawkes to date one site was not La Tène Ib, but Ic (Hodson 1960). Hawke's dating of the Early La Tène brooches was also wrong, and Hodson identified a distinction between brooches which closely resemble continental Marzabotto brooches, but also a type which he labelled 'Blandford' which combined early and later continental features of Early La Tène brooches (the angle of the foot, length of the bow), but never found with that combination on the continent (Hodson 1971). Most of these finds were unstratified, and he argued that new excavations were needed to obtain properly stratified finds.

Hodson argued that the development of the British Iron Age was more an internal process rather than something orchestrated by invasions (Hodson 1964), though he still recognised the tripartite phases of contact perhaps indicating some settlement of continental immigrants (fig. 1): the dispersed 'Hallstatt' finds typified by the Gündlingen sword and chape from a possible burial at Ebberstone in Yorkshire (in the Sheffield Museum); the square-ditched barrow cemeteries with occasional chariot burials from eastern Yorkshire – the 'Arras Group' (named after a deserted medieval village in Yorkshire, not the French city! – Halkon 2019); and the Aylesford-Swarling group of burials in southeast England, belonging to La Tène III, and still equated with the Belgae. The internal developments were characterised by the local types of pottery (as noted by Hawkes in his earlier work) but there was a continuity of settlement types with roundhouses and associated 'Celtic' field systems which went back to the Bronze Age. <sup>14</sup>C dates for hill-forts were starting to show Bronze Age dates for some of these not only in the lowland areas of the southeast, but also in supposedly 'backward' areas of northern Britain and Wales. It was Barry Cunliffe who worked on all the old collections of pottery in the museums and developed a new chronology, but he was also one of the main excavators who started to produce the new stratified finds that Hodson had demanded. It was all brought together in his magisterial overview *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (1974), and introduced a new nomenclature of simply 'Early', 'Middle' and 'Late', something which I tried to define more precisely when I edited a series of papers reviewing the new books on the Iron Age (Collis 1977): Cunliffe's in the new tradition from Cambridge; and those of Dennis Harding in the Hawkes' Oxford tradition (Harding 1972; 1974). In the 'Early' phase there was strong continental influence in metalwork and pottery in Hallstatt and La Tène styles at least in the south of the country, ending around 400 BC. In the 'Middle' phase there was less strong continental influence ('involved' brooches, local ceramics); in the 'Late' phase there was again strong continental influence, especially in southeast England (wheel-turned pottery,

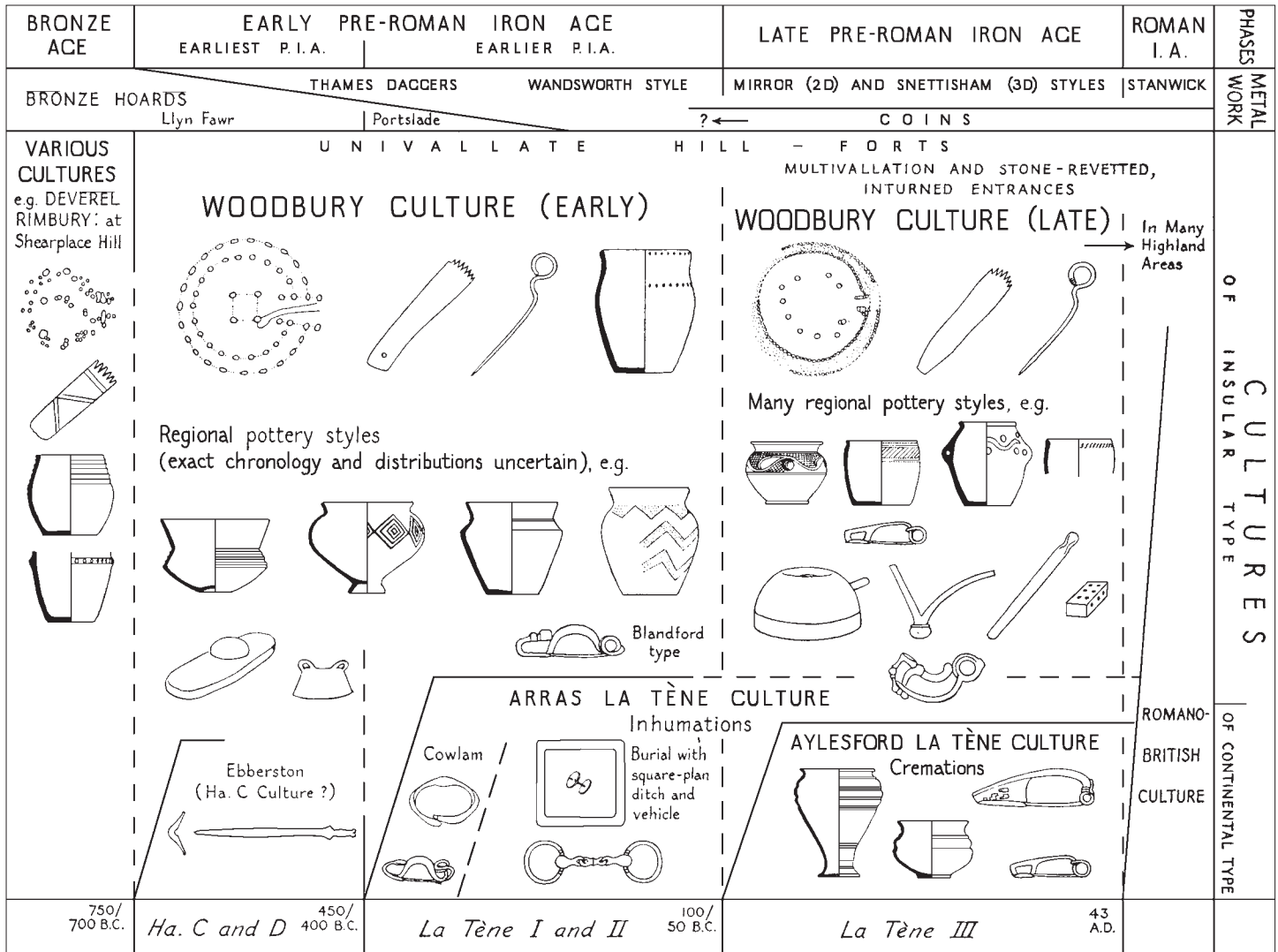


Fig. 1. The 'Woodbury Culture', from Hodson 1964.

coinage, cremation burials). This, then, was the still developing tradition of Iron Age studies in Britain with which I arrived in Prague.

### Prague 1967

Czech and Slovak Iron Age studies were, when I arrived, still dominated by the syntheses on the central European Iron Age by Jan Filip (1956; 1960) and for non-Czech speakers the 1962 translation, which became the standard introduction for non-Czech speakers to the Iron Age in central Europe. The theoretical basis was very much in the Culture-Historical framework, indeed, Filip follows Déchelette quite faithfully, and the arrival of the Celts in central and northern Bohemia in the 'Dux' or Duchcov horizon, named after the brooch type of Early La Tène construction which dominates the great hoard of bronze ornaments from a spring in northern Bohemia, is marked by the appearance of an extended inhumation burial rite of men and women with typical La Tène B grave-goods including wheel-turned pottery.

This is a phenomenon which occurs over substantial areas of central Europe, in Austria, Hungary, and Romania. In the later stages a couple of small groups in the north of Bohemia have cremation burials, but still using La Tène wheel-turned pottery, and these are interpreted as 'mixed' Celtic and Germanic. Filip also referred to a second horizon, that of the punch decorated iron belts found in male burials, and marking a period equating with Reinecke's La Tène C. In the following period, La Tène D, oppida dominated the archaeological record, but burials were generally lacking. At the end of the La Tène period the oppida were deserted and a new culture appeared cremating their dead and using hand-made pottery whose origin lies in north-western Germany, on the lower Elbe, the Elbe-Germanisch group, often assumed to mark the arrival of a Germanic-speaking people, the Marcomanni; in this case the traditional ethnic interpretation of a change of population seems the best option.

The problems lie with firstly the division of Bohemia into two distinct environment zones with differing cultural sequences: in the highland south with important natural resources such as the gold-bearing river Otava, or the graphite resources around České



Budějovice used in pottery manufacture, though there were some rich agricultural areas like the basin around Plzeň (for a modern overview see Venclová *et al.* 2013). It was in this southern area that the rich La Tène A burials were found, for instance at Písek with its imported Etruscan beaked flagon, overlooking the Otava, and presumably owing its wealth to gold exploitation. It was on the strength of such finds that Déchelette and others saw Bohemia, with Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, and Champagne as the origin of the La Tène Culture. But after this there is a virtual blank until the appearance of the oppida in La Tène C2. In contrast the occupation in the centre and north centred on the agriculturally rich löss soils. The cemeteries continued until La Tène C1 when they were abandoned, but settlements in some cases continued, though there were no certain examples of Late La Tène oppida in this area.

The second problem was the imposition of preconceived historical interpretations on the archaeological record, leading to it being dated too late. In Austria a research student, Stefan Nebehay, was suggesting there was La Tène A material in Lower Austria, but I was advised by the professor in Vienna, Richard Pittioni, that I should not believe this. His argument was that La Tène A dated to the 5th century BC, but the Celts could not have arrived before 400 BC, so anything that may look early had to be 4th century at the earliest. This was especially true for the stamp-decorated pottery which on the Rhine was dated to La Tène B. In his review of the supposed La Tène ritual site of Libenice in which a La Tène chronology was clearly laid out, Wolfgang Kimmig (1965) argued that the Czech chronologies were too late, and that in central Europe the earliest stamp-decorated pottery belonged to La Tène A, perhaps earlier than in its supposed origin area in western Germany. The influences were therefore flowing from east to west, the reverse of what the Celtic invasion model demanded.

### The road to Angoulême

The final major element that led to the Angoulême article concerned the Heuneburg and the confusion between the use of Hallstatt and La Tène as chronological or cultural terms. In the area around the Heuneburg there is plentiful evidence of the final phase of the Hallstatt period (Hallstatt D3), but very little for Early La Tène. In 1970 Hartwig Zürn suggested this could be due to conservatism in the local society who were still living in a Hallstatt life-style, while further north on the Middle Rhine and Nahe, the more dynamic societies had moved over to La Tène styles of art and dress. This idea of a chronological overlap between 'Hallstatt' and 'La Tène' societies was taken further by Ludwig Pauli (fig. 2; Pauli 1972) with the result that in his 1976 report on the excavations at the Heuneburg Egon Gersbach called some of the phases 'La Tène' even though all the material culturally looked Hallstatt (fig. 3; Gersbach 1976, p.19, Abb. 1). It also took the dating of the abandonment of the Heuneburg as late as 400 BC rather than around 500-475 BC. There were some obvious practical problems with this – if, as was assumed, the Heuneburg's wealth was partly at least based on trade with the

HUNSRÜCK- EIFEL Reinecke	BADEN- WÜRTTEMBERG Zürn Pauli		DATE
Hallstatt D <sub>1</sub>	Hallstatt D <sub>1</sub>	Hallstatt D <sub>1</sub>	600
Hallstatt D <sub>2</sub>	Hallstatt D <sub>2</sub>		550
Hallstatt D <sub>3</sub>		Hallstatt D <sub>2</sub>	500
La Tène A	Hallstatt D <sub>3</sub>	Hallstatt D <sub>3</sub>	450
La Tène B	La Tène A		400
	La Tène B	La Tène A	350

Fig. 2. The Hallstatt to Early La Tène chronology of Baden-Württemberg by Ludwig Pauli, showing the supposed overlap between Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène on the upper Danube and the Middle Rhine (Pauli 1972, fig. 1; Collis 2003, fig.71).

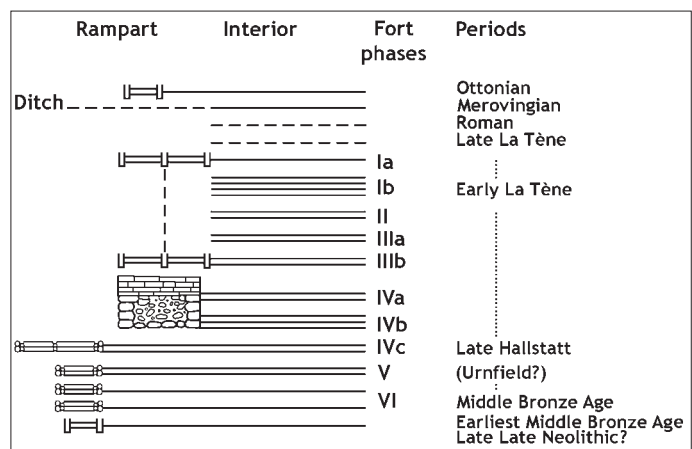


Fig. 3. The chronology of the Heuneburg, from Gersbach 1976, Abb.1 p.19. There is in fact almost no La Tène material from the hill-top, though Early La Tène brooches are now known from the bed of the Danube at the foot of the Heuneburg (Krause *et al.* 2015, 2016).

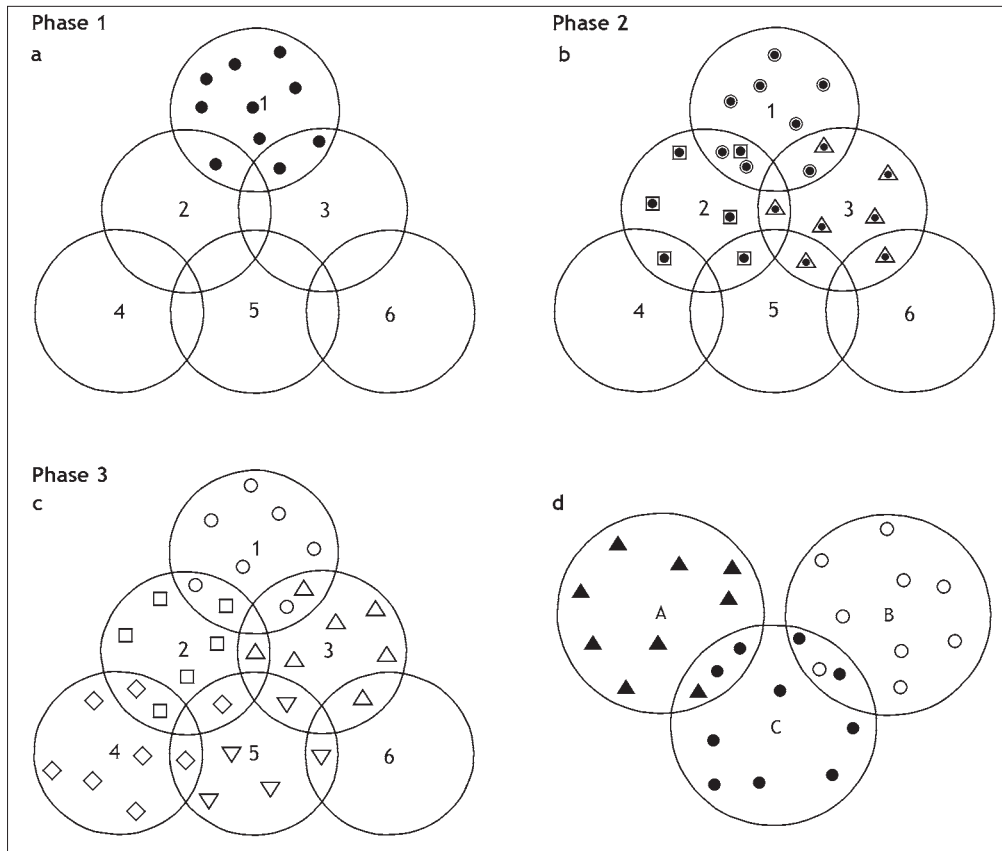


Fig. 4. The 'overlapping systems' model to describe the introduction of coinage into southern Britain (from Collis 1971). The model envisages linkage between several local societies who were gradually adopting coinage from adjacent societies whose social and economic connections overlapped, causing them to gradually adopt coinage, but adapting it to their own style, or, in the case of area 6 not adopting it at all. In figure d, area C overlaps with two different areas and takes characteristics from each; an example is the Durotrigan coinage of Dorset which took over the horse design found on the gold coins of northern France and southeastern Britain, but using the silver standard of Brittany and Normandy with which it also traded.

Mediterranean world, why was there no Attic Red Figure Ware, typical of the 5th century BC, only the earlier Black Figure Ware? The major problem, however, lay in the way in which chronologies were constructed, the use of type fossils and the division into chronological phases. By assuming that each phase had its own particular set of 'type fossils' (*fossiles directeurs*), this could cause problems when those type fossils turned up in phases pre-dating their supposed use, and this was one of the main reasons for both Zürn and Pauli wanting to date Hallstatt graves with supposedly 'La Tène' type fossils later rather than interpreting the find as an early example of what was to become a type fossil for a succeeding phase. What we are seeing is a change from the 'chest of drawers' (German *Stufen*) approach to chronology (where each type of find has to fit into a particular 'drawer'), over to 'seriation' (where each type of object has its own life-span independent of other finds) and this then resolved the problem of apparent overlap. It does, however, raise other questions like what names can we apply to this sort of chronology?

The other major problem I was encountering, as were others, was what alternative models were there to the concept of migrations and invasions to explain 'culture change'. My own answer was incorporated in an article 'Functional and theoretical interpretations of British coinage' (Collis 1971). When looking at maps with arrows showing directions of migrations or invasions I was always tempted to put an arrow on the other end implying that we were not looking at single movements in one direction, but continuous movement in both directions from the normal activities of human beings – trade, intermarriage, visiting relatives, apprenticeships, warfare, fostering, etc. So, when looking at the

supposed series of Belgic invasions signified by new coin types, I postulated that these could well be long term relationships in which the coins were only a part, and that the English Channel could be as much a means of linking societies as dividing them as happened in the medieval period when the kingdom of England was as much on modern French territory as English, and the aristocracy used French more than English. I thus came out with what I termed the 'overlapping systems model' (fig. 4) under which boundaries were not solid, but porous, and where new ideas would be introduced into neighbouring societies where they could be accepted, modified or rejected. Some developments of this sort could be very local, others almost pan-European like the adoption of the 'dragon motifs' on sword scabbards. It did not exclude migration as a factor, but opened up wider possibilities in provoking change. To explain the adoption and development of megalithic tombs along the Atlantic coast, Colin Renfrew and John Cherry (1988) came up with a similar model of continuous contact: 'Peer Polity Interaction'. Such models were perhaps better explanations, for instance, for the parallel development of Beakers in the Rhineland and Britain rather than David Clarke's series of migrations.

Martin Trachsel (2004) also encountered problems when trying to construct his chronology, especially around the so-called 'Hallstatt- La Tène transition'. His solution was to apply the term La Tène as soon as characteristics of La Tène appeared in a grave. So in the tomb of Vix he could pick out La Tène features: an open rather than closed gold torc; the winged Pegasus on its terminal; the plain *'Ringschmuck'* (bracelets, etc.); the position of the body on the vehicle even though ever since its discovery in 1953 it has

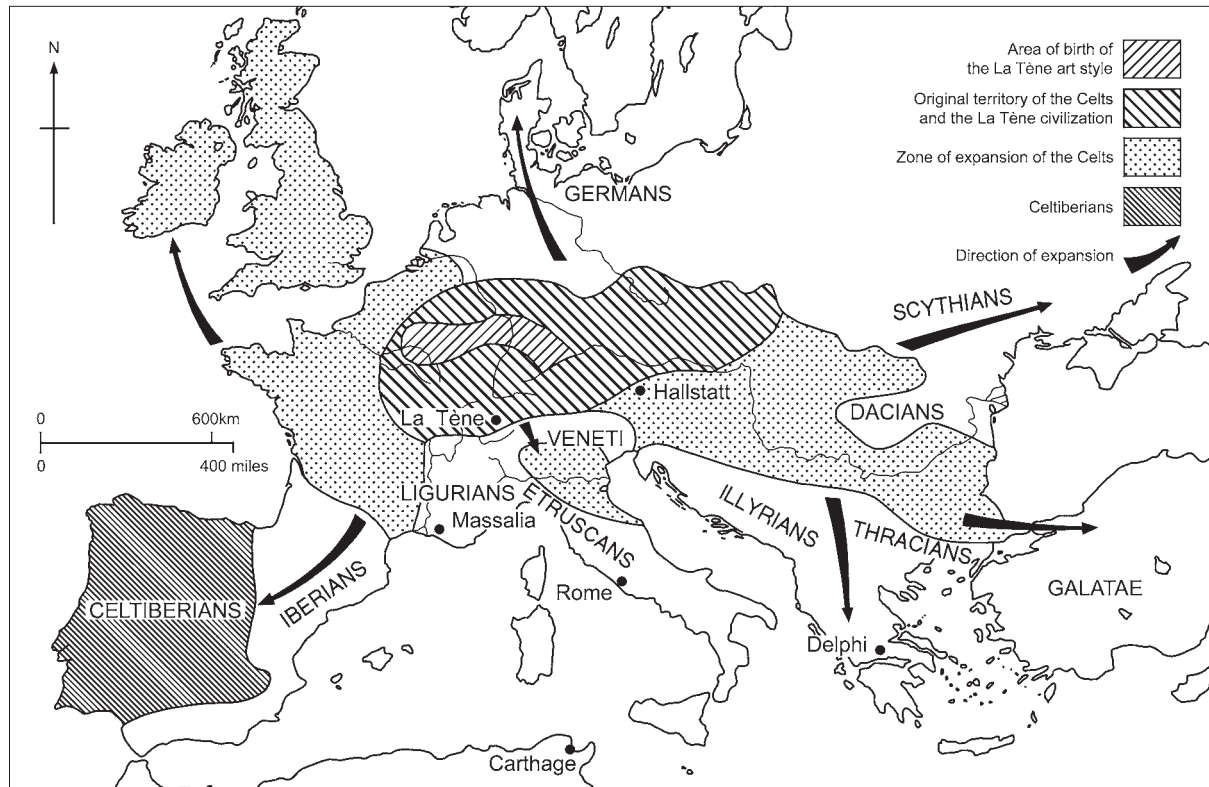


Fig. 5. The supposed origin and expansion of the Celts. In fact it is based on the origin and spread of La Tène Art and brooch types (Megaw, Megaw 1989). But this is too late for the expansion of the languages and ethnic Celts which had already taken place before the 5th century, at least in western Europe. The map is totally misleading and should not be used.

been taken to characterise the later Hallstatt period (Ha D3) in eastern France: the four-wheeled wagon; Hallstatt-construction brooches; black-figure Attic wares. Trachsel and I both start off with seriation as our main methodological basis for constructing chronologies, and recognise the likely contradiction in the evolution and typologies of different artefact types; Trachsel specifically states that for his subdivisions of the traditional periods (Ha D3, LT A, etc.) he deliberately uses terms like 'early', 'middle' and 'late' to avoid having to define them in detail. However, in the case of Vix he then confuses what for me are three different methods for constructing chronologies; he uses seriation to describe the material; the periods or *Stufen* are used to define what is 'Hallstatt' and what is 'La Tène'; and the horizon concept is used to define the beginning of his La Tène which he places somewhere around 500 BC rather than the usual 450 BC.

The idea that the spread of La Tène Culture can be linked with the spread of the Celts and Celtic languages is also very problematic. This belief that the Celts and their language came from southern Germany goes back to Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville in the late 19th century who claimed that the Celtic names of rivers east of the Rhine were older than those to the west, and he suggested the Celts spread west from there around 600 BC (Collis 2004). This was translated into archaeological 'Civilisations' (Culture Groups) by Joseph Déchelette in his two volumes dealing

with the Iron Age (1913; 1914), and finally turned into map form by André Aymard in 1954. In 1977 Pierre-Marie Duval produced a modified map using characteristics such as La Tène Art and brooches, and this was picked up by Ruth and Vincent Megaw in 1989 to produce what, with some local modifications, has become the standard map right across Europe for the origin and migrations of the Celts from southern Germany (see Collis 2003 for a discussion of the development of these maps). This map may represent quite well the spread of the art and brooch types, but it was too late for the spread of the language and peoples – these were already in place in Spain, France, northern Italy, and probably southern Germany before the written sources begin in the early 5th century (Hecataeus and Herodotus) (fig. 5).

My own map (fig. 6) was used in the British Museum exhibition 'Celts: art and identity', though not in the Edinburgh version or in the accompanying book (Farley, Hunter 2015). It was also used by Sabine Rieckhoff in the volume accompanying the exhibition in Stuttgart in 2012 'Die Welt der Kelten' (Rieckhoff 2012, 29). For the exhibition at the National Museum in Prague to accompany the AFEAF conference 'The Celts: Bohemia from the 8th to the 1st century BC' the Megaws' map was used, but in the accompanying volume reference was made to my alternative map (Milittký, Kysela, Tisucká 2018, 19, fig 4).



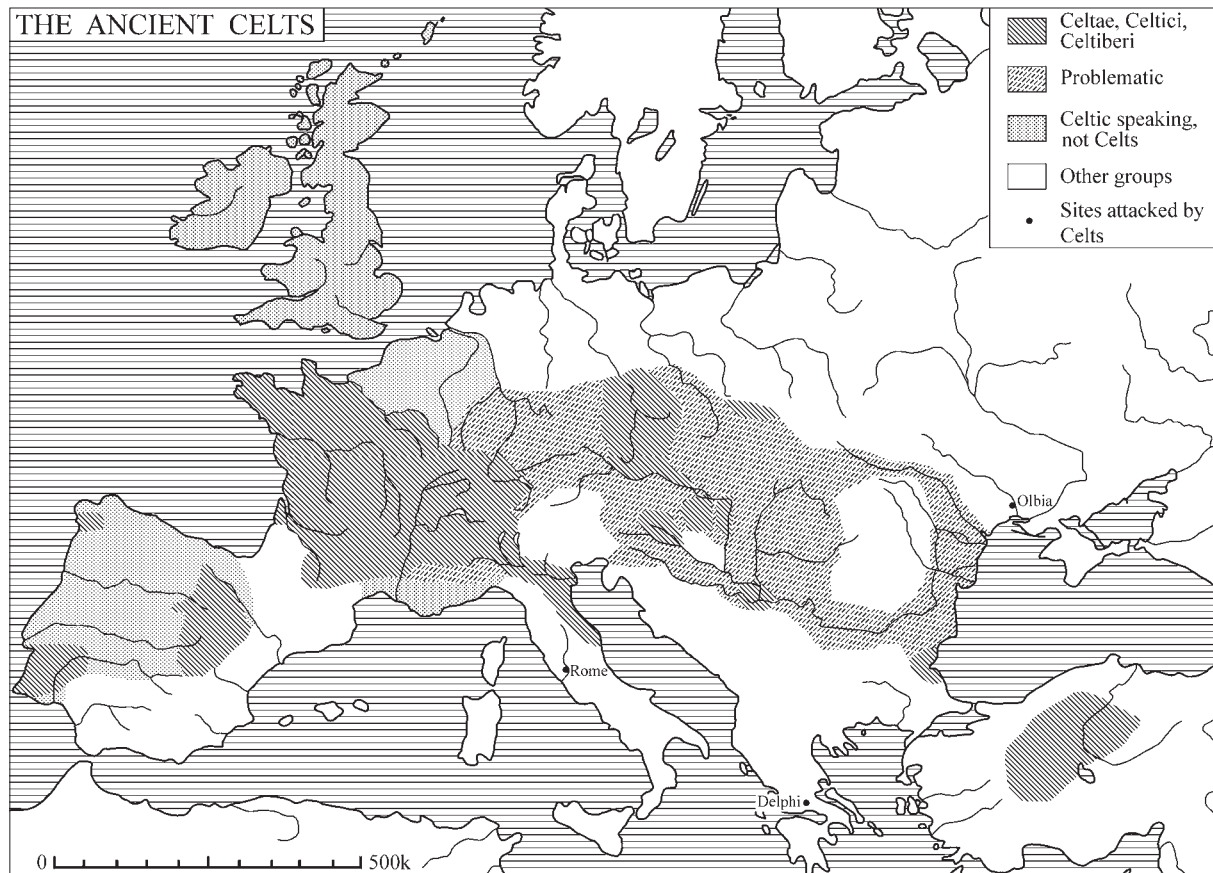


Fig. 6. The areas where there is documentary evidence of the Ancient Celts (500 BC-AD 500) compared with areas where it is likely that Celtic languages were spoken (after Collis 2006; 2007).

## Alternatives to the Culture-Historical models and terminology

The concept of the Culture Group as a block of material culture which represents a 'race' or a 'people' is a crude way in which to explain change, with the idea that these have their origin in one place from which they radiate out. For both the Hallstatt and La Tène 'Cultures' there are in fact multiple origins with often many people and ideas moving in many different directions. Certainly the Culture History approach does not work very well in the main places in which I have worked – England, Czech Republic, and the Auvergne – and the archaeology does not support ideas like 'the arrival of the Celts', though the adoption of a new language must involve the movement of a certain number of people. I now tend to think rather in terms of 'networks', at a local level of the continuous interlinking of people in their daily and seasonal contacts which can bring about a shared way of thinking and acting and a shared culture – language, dress, belief system, etc. But cross-cutting these are more specialised irregular or sporadic connections such as trade routes which can bring in more exotic ideas which can either be accepted, rejected or modified, so that groups can be following trends, but not necessarily achieving homogeneity. Though 'network' has a more limited meaning

than when I was writing my early articles, some terms like 'trade networks' have a long history in the literature. Such an approach is more flexible because it is not necessary to try to define boundaries as it is with Culture Groups; networks are open, and new ideas can develop anywhere within the networks, and be transmitted in any direction for any distance.

However the terminology and models generated by the Culture-History Paradigm have not gone away; rather they have seen a revival recently especially in the writings of geneticists who use ideas of 'invasion' and 'migration' and terms like the 'mixing' of populations, concepts taken over from the 'eugenics' movement which interpreted virtually everything in terms of race and inherited characteristics of races. In his book *Who we are and how we got here: ancient DNA and the new science of the human past*, David Reich (2018) continually uses such expressions, though he repeatedly says that he does not believe in eugenics (purity of race) which formed the basis, for instance, of the Nazi definitions of race, and who used it as an excuse to prevent people they considered to be 'degenerates' from 'breeding' and finally for the mass extermination of 'racial' groups they considered inferior such as Jews and Gypsies. Yet ideas taken from this way of thought crop up still in archaeological writings, like defining people by the language they speak (Celts, Germans), or in concepts like 'Celtic Society', or the equation of 'races' like the

Celts with Culture Groups. DNA may explain how we got here physically, but it does little to explain who we are. This is mainly decided by culture – the language we learn, the social norms that are inculcated into us from daily living, and even matters which are genetic, like gender, skin colour, homosexuality, albinism, inherited physical deformities, are mitigated by how our societies deal with such differences. I hope that the geneticists will start looking at the alternative models archaeologists were developing in the 1970s. For instance my overlapping systems model could be adapted to genetics, and instead of talking in terms of ‘mixing’ of (already mixed) populations we should rather think of ‘overlapping gene pools’, and how they change or are even replaced over time.

Personally I prefer to think in terms of a ‘Hierarchy of Conservatism of Change’ (Collis 2018);

Genetics most conservative, because we have no say in our genetic make-up, and it is something that usually changes gradually as we pass our genes on to our children, and when occasional mutations can happen;

Ethnicity, who we think we are, or others think we are, is something that usually stays with us for life;

Language, something which it is difficult to change, but which does happen, for instance in Ireland where the population has largely changed from Irish Gaelic to English, though without the concept of being Irish disappearing;

Social structure and religious beliefs, aspects of culture which tend to change gradually over time though there can be sudden changes like the adoption of Christianity in Early Medieval Irish society;

Material culture, the most ephemeral of all, which can easily change fundamentally within an individual’s life-time, and which, of course, is the main category which we as archaeologists use to define our ‘Culture Groups’.

These are different orders of data, so not directly interchangeable and cannot be used as a proxy for one another. Thus it means that questions like looking for the origin of the Celts or the Celtic languages by using material culture become meaningless, and at best we may perhaps be able to talk in terms of possibilities when such changes could have been taking place.

In Britain we have had the stimulus of changing our nomenclature for the phases of the Iron Age three times over the course of the 20th century, which can lead to major rethinking of our interpretations. But we, like our German and Slav colleagues, still end up talking about a Hallstatt and a La Tène Iron Age when dealing with continental material; Vincent Megaw taunts me by saying that after thirty years I have still not got rid of the terms Hallstatt and La Tène, and perhaps we never will! The French, however, do have a long-standing alternative for the chronological terms with the First and Second Iron Ages. I have suggested a different nomenclature based on Horizons, resting especially on attributes of brooches and their construction much as Tischler did over a century and a half ago (Tischler 1885; Collis 2014). His Early, Middle and Late nomenclature based

on single attributes of brooches (free standing foot; bound or clipped on to the bow; cast in with the bow) is still the most commonly used terminology, and, for all the caveats, we still use Thomsen’s ‘Three Age’ system based also on single attributes – the material an object is made of: stone, bronze or iron. But my new nomenclature also depends on a new way of constructing chronologies, and rather than thinking in terms of periods or phases we should think in terms of ‘horizons’, in the original sense of the arrival of a new attribute or object, and several different ‘horizons’ can be in use at the same time using different criteria (*e.g.* sword chapes, pottery decoration, etc.). This is not to be confused with the occasional misuse of the term horizon or *Horizont* as an alternative word for a phase. The concepts are very different; in the sense in which I use it, it is as a *terminus post quem*; it is unlike a period in that it does not have an ending or terminal date when deposition can stop, for instance deposition can continue in a museum case!

## Alternative vocabulary and concepts

My main concerns with the expressions Hallstatt and La Tène is that they have the double significance of being both terms for chronological phases and for Culture Groups, and, as we saw at the Heuneburg, the two can get confused, but also in other areas such as Britain or the Czech Republic the terms cannot always be directly applied to the archaeological finds, at least in the same way as in, say, southern Germany. I am also concerned with concepts like ‘transition’, often used for intermediate phases between two assumed major periods. In reality material culture is always ‘in transition’ and it is not a very useful concept as it is constructed by our own perceptions of the past, not what was necessarily going on or as it was seen by the people actually involved. But most of all, the terms have behind them this concept of the ‘Culture Group’ and though I have been a major critic of their use, I still find the terms colouring my thinking about the Iron Age, and usually not in a useful way.

So is there any context in which the terms can be used? I would suggest probably yes, but not in the concept of a Culture Group. It is useful to distinguish, for instance, the *styles* of pottery which were in use in the Early Iron Age at Hallstatt and other sites from the area north of the Alps – the used of red and black paints, the stamped and the incised decoration, and where there seem to be a specific range of activities for which such pottery was used – feasting, storage, etc. So ‘Hallstatt-style pottery’ may be a useful term with other more detailed categories of style like Alb-Hegau wares. Similarly the metal objects from the first Iron Age are distinctive, like the brooches, and here we might like to think in terms of metal-working *traditions*. So, I am not expecting to see the demise of the words Hallstatt and La Tène in my life-time!

Perhaps I should have chosen a different title for my article, and instead of committing the terms ‘to God’, I should have used the Czech term *na shledanou* – à *bientôt*, see you soon!

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## Abstract

When I studied in Prague in the 1960s in both Britain and central Europe the dominant approach in Iron Age studies was still the Culture History paradigm, with the arrival of Hallstatt and La Tène cultures, linked with the supposed expansion of the Celts from southern Germany, especially visible in burial rites. In both areas there was an increasing interest in settlement archaeology which was changing approaches fundamentally, in Britain marked especially by excavations of small farming settlements and hill-forts and in Czechoslovakia of the oppida. At the same time there was assumed to be a time lag in the arrival of new innovations. But in Cambridge the Hawkes system based on invasions was already under attack, in general terms by Grahame Clark, but in greater detail for the Iron Age by Roy Hodson. In the 1970s and 1980s the assumption that every innovation came from southern Germany and eastern France also came under attack – *e.g.* that Gündlingen swords were typologically of Atlantic origin, and Early La Tène stamped wares (*e.g.* the Braubach Bowl) were earlier in central Europe than on the Rhine. This gradually led to the collapse of the Culture History and invasionist interpretations of the Iron Age and the search for new models to explain 'Culture Change'. This is part of the background to my contribution to the Angoulême meeting of the AFEAF in 1984 ('Adieu Hallstatt; Adieu La Tène!') in which I suggested we should abandon the concepts of Hallstatt and La Tène periods and cultures and so re-write the Iron Age of temperate Europe. How far has this progressed (not much?), and how do we now conceive the relationships between areas such as France, Britain and Central Europe?

## Résumé

**Les changements de paradigmes en Europe centrale et en Grande-Bretagne depuis les années 1960.** Quand j'étais étudiant à Prague dans les années 1960, le paradigme dominant en Europe centrale comme en Grande-Bretagne était celui de la « Culture History ». L'arrivée des cultures de Hallstatt et de La Tène aurait été liée à l'expansion supposée des Celtes à partir de l'Allemagne méridionale, particulièrement visible dans les rites funéraires. Dans ces deux régions, l'intérêt croissant pour l'étude des habitats engendrait de profonds changements dans les approches, marquées en Grande Bretagne surtout par les fouilles de petits établissements ruraux et de « *hill-forts* », et en Tchécoslovaquie par celles des *oppida*. Dans le même temps, on supposait l'existence d'un décalage temporel dans l'arrivée de certaines innovations. Mais à Cambridge, le paradigme invasionniste développé par Christopher Hawkes était déjà critiqué, d'une manière générale par Grahame Clark, mais plus en détail pour l'âge du Fer par Roy Hodson. Dans les années 1970 et 1980, l'hypothèse selon laquelle toutes les innovations étaient originaires de l'Allemagne méridionale ou de l'Est de la France était également mise en doute, en considérant par exemple que les épées de Gündlingen étaient typologiquement d'origine atlantique, ou que la céramique estampée de La Tène ancienne (par exemple le bol de Braubach) était plus anciennes en Europe centrale que sur le Rhin. Cela a conduit graduellement à la chute du paradigme de la « Culture History » et des interprétations invasionnistes pour l'âge du Fer, et donc à la recherche de nouveaux modèles pour expliquer le « Culture Change ». C'est ce contexte qui a été à l'origine de ma contribution au VIII<sup>e</sup> colloque de l'AFEAF à Angoulême en 1984, intitulée « Adieu Hallstatt ; Adieu La Tène ! », dans laquelle j'avais suggéré que nous devions abandonner les concepts de civilisations et d'époques de Hallstatt et de La Tène, et qu'il fallait ainsi réécrire l'âge du Fer de l'Europe tempérée. Dans quelle mesure (pas beaucoup ?) ce programme a-t-il progressé, et comment concevons-nous aujourd'hui les relations entre des régions telles que l'Europe centrale, la France ou la Grande-Bretagne ?