

Atlantic Europe in the first millennium BC

Crossing the divide

Edited by
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Preface

The initial idea for this volume developed from a conference held in Durham in 2007, organised by the editors, when Xosé-Lois Armada was on a fellowship at Durham funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science. It had become increasingly clear to us that, despite our own wide ranging interests in the first millennium BC of Western Europe, there appeared to be an increasing disparity between the theoretical and methodological approaches we encountered in different European countries. Whilst topics such as ethnicity, identity and agency were popular foci for discussion in Britain, very different approaches were being taken in France, Iberia and elsewhere. At the same time we were concerned that an awareness and engagement with developments in the archaeology of the first millennium BC at a European scale was increasingly limited, restricted to relatively few individuals and national traditions. It seemed that much of the European first millennium BC was being studied in relative isolation, with certain regions in particular, such as Iberia and Britain, often divorced from general overviews of European developments (which instead concentrated on central Europe), whilst these regions themselves often seemed overly insular, focusing on regional and national concerns and agendas, seldom stepping beyond geographic and theoretical boundaries. Through a subsequent conference we attempted to address these issues by bringing together contributions from leading scholars of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age from across Western Europe.

This volume hopes to develop on the success of that conference in increasing the awareness of developments and approaches across what we have defined as the Atlantic region of Europe, with papers which expounded on different approaches to key themes in the discipline, including landscape and settlements, social organization, chronologies, rhythms of life and death, material culture studies and the history of research. Initial chapters from leading European specialists provide overviews on these themes and personal perspectives whilst subsequent chapters provide case studies or in-depth discussions of particular issues. In addition, we have contributed a longer discussion piece at the beginning of the volume to introduce the reader to what we regard as some of the problems and reasons behind the current divide within our sub-discipline.

In order to ensure that the true diversity and range of approaches can be appreciated the volume includes younger contributors, alongside more well established scholars, and those based at universities, national and regional institutes and working in contract

archaeology, as well as authors from a diverse set of countries, including the USA. Throughout, these chapters provide a plurality of theoretical approaches, techniques and methodologies representing a cross section of current research in Western Europe. The intention of this volume is not to espouse a particular theoretical paradigm or represent a coherent singular narrative, but instead to illustrate the variation in approaches whilst fostering dialogue and comparison between regions, research traditions and theoretical stances. The volume is, we hope, just one step along a path to increased dialogue and engagement within and between European first millennium BC studies.

Bringing together such a volume is a complex task and we are extremely grateful for the advice and support provided by a number of colleagues, in particular Colin Haselgrove, Richard Hingley and Margarita Díaz-Andreu. We are also extremely grateful to a range of anonymous expert referees who graciously gave their time to read and comment on each of the contributions and to two anonymous referees who gave helpful advice on the original proposal for the volume. The conference, from which this volume has developed, was held at Durham University in November 2007 and the editors would like to thank following for their help in its organisation: Claire Nesbitt, Chris Unwin, Arthur Anderson, Dana Millson, Helen Drinkall, Eleanor Standley, César Villalobos and Robin Coningham. The conference was supported by the Department of Archaeology, Durham University and by a grant from the British Academy. At Oxford University Press, Hilary O'Shea and Dorothy McCarthy have assisted us enormously in bringing the volume to fruition. Finally, our thanks to our partners, Claire Nesbitt and Ana Pernas, for their patience and support.

Tom Moore and Xosé-Lois Armada

Crossing the Divide: opening a dialogue on approaches to Western European first Millennium BC studies

Tom Moore and Xosé-Lois Armada

PART I: INTRODUCTION: WHAT DIVIDE?

With the plethora of articles and volumes on the Iron and Bronze Age in Western Europe some might argue that the study of the first millennium BC is in rude health. Look more closely, however, and deep divisions can be traced between, and within, European first millennium BC studies. Indeed, we might argue that the period has witnessed an increasing theoretical and methodological divide between the approaches taken in different European countries. Varied national agendas and theoretical paradigms have increasingly led to a disjuncture and unfamiliarity between the archaeologies of Europe, even of, and between, areas which are in relative close proximity (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 13). Rather than increasing integration in European archaeologies (Lodewijckx 2001: 5) we are seeing increasing claims of division (Kristiansen 2008; Harding 2009). At the same time, research has increasingly focused on processes at local or regional scales, while broader geographic approaches and narratives have become perceived as rather old fashioned (Kristiansen 2008: 14-25). Despite this increasing distance between practitioners and practices little attention has been drawn to this as a fundamental challenge for study of the first millennium BC, either in national agendas or wider syntheses.

Although there has been recognition of the disparity between approaches to the European Iron Age in the past (e.g. Arnold and Gibson 1995a: 1), despite pleas to move beyond entrenched positions the divisions seem as large as ever. Discussions of the period have instead often glossed over these contrasts, whilst those which acknowledge the varying approaches to the study of European later prehistory have tended to be written from, and for, an Anglo-Scandinavian perspective. This can lead to discussions which heavily characterise approaches, without fully engaging with the European diversity or articulating with alternative narratives and theoretical paradigms (Olivier 1999).

This volume aims to explore this issue by providing insights into recent perspectives and approaches within particular areas of Europe. A number of key papers (Ruiz Zapatero;

Hingley; Collis; Armbruster) provide broader perspectives at a larger scale, whilst other papers consider particular cases studies, reflections on particular issues or regional exemplars of current approaches. The volume does not attempt to homogenise theoretical standpoints or give pre-eminence to particular methodological agendas. In attempting to explore the contrasts and similarities of the western European Late Bronze Age and Iron Age, we aim to advance beyond the anecdotal, culture centred visions typical of the Celticist dynamic which has tended to dominate study of the European first millennium BC and which have been in danger of implying a homogenous past. At the same time, we must avoid falling into regionalist agendas which fail to explore wider processes of change. In this volume, the variability and diversity of Later Bronze and Iron Ages in Western Europe means that papers cannot hope to represent a comprehensive overview of contemporary studies. Instead they are allowed to stand as a reflection of European first millennium BC research. In doing so, the volume as whole does not seek to impose a coherent narrative on the period or research trajectories as other holistic volumes have attempted to do (e.g. Kristiansen and Jensen 1994; Kristiansen 1998a), but instead wishes to explore the plurality and fragmentation of research as well as areas of theoretical and methodological alignment.

This paper has somewhat distinct aims. Here we wish to provide a background for the following papers by examining the current state of first millennium BC research, focusing on the ways our archaeological traditions have converged and diverged between and within the major Western European countries. The impact of such differences on the creation of different archaeologies throughout the region is discussed, focusing on key developments in social modelling, landscape archaeology and studies of identity. The reasons why topics such as ethnicity, identity and agency have preoccupied many British scholars and why such themes have had less resonance in continental approaches are examined and the question asked: to what extent recent work, illustrated by the papers in this volume, represent the emergence of a paradigm shift, or continued divergence of perspectives. This paper does not seek to provide a comprehensive historiography of the sub-disciplines, although we would argue that such analyses of Bronze and Iron Age studies are long overdue. Instead, we aim to provide a view of the state of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age studies from our contrasting, European perspectives. Through this discussion we conclude with an outline of how a European approach may be conceived and reflect on the benefits of European wide dialogue.

A conceptual divide

The title of this volume echoes that of John Collis' (1996a) influential paper 'Across the great divide', which was situated within a volume which challenged the contemporary orthodoxies of Iron Age studies in Britain. As Collis recognised, the divisions constructed in first millennium BC studies have often been regarded as archaeological, distinguishing for example between the rich archaeological records of the south and the paucity of the north (Collis 1996a: 1). The problems in such a stand point, both within and beyond the British Isles, have been well explored in the British literature (e.g. Collis 1996a; Bevan 1999) recognising such divisions reflect more modern perceptions of marginality and centrality than the archaeological record. The divides within European first millennium studies also reflect deep seated notions of national identity and culture (Collis 1996a; Arnold and Gibson 1995a: 1; Olivier 1999) and a major disjuncture between disciplinary boundaries and approaches (Veit 2000). For some, the fluidity of approaches has been described as a 'mist', from which the acute observer may perceive unity (Thurston 2009: 396). However, the disjointed nature of the European Iron Age can be regarded in an alternative light: one which is characterised by disjuncture between dialogues, with archaeologies of the European first millennium BC increasingly isolated from one another (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 5).

Attempts to assess the Iron Age at a European level were relatively widespread in preceding decades (e.g. Duval and Hawkes 1976; Champion and Megaw 1985; Kristiansen and Jensen 1994; Arnold and Gibson 1995b; Hill and Cumberpatch 1995; Green 1995), but have been notably absent in recent years, whilst Bronze Age studies have, in contrast, continued to have a more European outlook (e.g. Kristiansen and Larsson 2005; Celestino, Rafel and Armada 2008). Those few papers which have examined the European Iron Age have tended to focus on Anglo-Scandinavian perspectives, which are far from representative (Shennan 1987; Thurston 2009), or emphasise a 'Celtic' narrative (Aldhouse-Green 2001; Koch 2007a). The limitation of such approaches is that they tend to underplay the varying divergence between perspectives in an attempt to create unity, underestimating the contrasting paradigms in European archaeologies. So too, they tend to give pre-eminence to Anglophone studies at the expense of alternative approaches in Spanish, French and German. Those volumes which engage more whole-heartedly with the divergence of approaches are rarer, although they suffer from the impression that many contributors are talking past each other (e.g. Rieckhoff 2006a; Anthoons and Clerinx 2007).

It is clear that the divisions within first millennium BC research are not based on realities of differing archaeologies (Daniel 1955: 211), but on social, methodological and disciplinary foundations. Neither are they, as will become clear, a simple divide between an

Anglo-American and a continental approach (Olivier 1999; Thurston 2009: 396). The picture is more fractured, with overlapping spheres of influence based on disciplinary boundaries, forms of academic discourse, theoretical perspectives, social networks and language (Kristiansen 1998a: 420; 2008; Venclová 2007: 208).

A brief survey of current approaches to the European Iron Age reveals the incredible divergence in even the basic premise for studying the period. Although archaeological techniques and methodologies have gradually converged across the continent, the research questions asked and the theoretical basis from which they stem are as divergent as at any time in the last 100 years. Kristiansen's (1998a: 420) statement remains surprisingly valid, with the picture "one of rather closed circles of research determined by a variety of both archaeological and political configurations [and] a dichotomy between 'traditional' and 'new' archaeology". We might debate what we mean by such terminology, but the closed circles largely remain. Such a lack of convergence not only makes studying the period on a trans-regional scale difficult, but also contributes to wider questioning of the usefulness of the period in answering the larger, fundamental questions concerning human societies (Gosden 1997; Kristiansen 2008: 16), such as urbanism, social systems, cultural change and colonialism. In Anglo-American studies, at least, this may lead to an increasing peripherality of first millennium BC archaeology from wider discourse (Thurston 2009: 348).

Defining Europe(s)

Before assessing the state of Atlantic European archaeologies we must first define both 'Europe' and 'Atlantic Europe', neither a simple task (figure 1.1). Geographical labels are, by their very nature, excluding: creating boundaries and determinisms. Even terms such as 'Europe' have been the focus of objectification, manipulated and aligned to senses of European identity, both past and present (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 9; Collis 2003: 203-204; Kristiansen 2008). Deciding on where to focus study of the first millennium BC faces similar constraints (cf. Shennan 1987: 366). Dividing lines have frequently been drawn between the British Isles and Continental Europe; northern and Mediterranean Europe; Iberia and temperate Europe. In France too a distinction is often drawn between an independent, 'Celtic' France and southern, Hellenized regions. Some areas by contrast have been regarded as natural bedfellows; Britain and Ireland are often treated together (e.g. Champion and Collis 1996; Hill 1995a).¹ Iberia too has frequently been examined as whole, ignoring the

¹ Although the latter invariably appears as minor additions to surveys of Britain (e.g. Haselgrove and Moore 2007a), and often cast as peripheral (Raftery 2006: 276).

national boundary (e.g. Díaz-Andreu and Keay 1997). Others, on the other hand, have taken an extremely broad definition of Europe (e.g. Thurston 2009: 349).

The divisions, between north and south; Atlantic and central; temperate and Mediterranean, also stretch beyond notions of the archaeological record, relying as much on modern preconceptions and divisions in disciplinary frameworks as varying archaeologies (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 12). Other divisions are based on core-periphery models which reflect deep seated notions of distance from ‘civilization’ equating with increased barbarity.

Geographic divisions are also potentially problematic in their reinforcement of the nature of study itself, particularly in research of the Iron Age (e.g. Ruiz-Zapatero 1996). Concepts of the ‘Celts’ in particular have been inextricably linked to La Tène art styles allowing concepts of Iron Age Europe to be extended far to the east, to the Adriatic and Black Sea (e.g. Treister 1993; Dobrzańska, Megaw and Poleska 2005). In contrast, the correlation between ‘Celtic Europe’ and the European Iron Age, which includes Hallstatt or La Tène metalwork, has frequently had the converse effect on the British Isles, Scandinavia and Iberia - excluding them from integrated study (e.g. Collis 1997). In those areas, where La Tène metalwork is rarer and the archaeological record has clear differences, such as roundhouse architecture, a Celticist or Eurocentric approach has often regarded them as peripheral to a true European first millennium trajectory (e.g. Powell 1974: 289). As with chronological schemes, such divisions tend to reflect the material under study; the mobility of brooches and artistic styles compared to the perceived static nature of settlement form or burial custom.

The structure of research frameworks and research groups has also had a tendency to harden boundaries of European study. Study of the Iron Age has been dominated by a number of bodies, the *Association Française pour l’Etude de l’Age du Fer* (AFEAF), established in 1977, has been a particular focal point. Despite its French focus, the AFEAF has engaged with studies elsewhere in Europe, occasionally holding its annual conference outside France (Collis 2001: 4), and including papers discussing material overseas (figure 1.2). Despite the cross-cultural links embodied in the AFEAF the focus has unsurprisingly remained heavily French. Other groups, such as *Lunula* in Belgium, cross linguistic and period boundaries, and include papers from different countries. The division then between continental Europe and the British Isles, in particular, is a subtle one but there does appear to have emerged an unofficial division between Anglophone and Francophone spheres of influence.

Defining the basis of study for the European first millennium BC has more than academic relevance. Both the Bronze and Iron Age have been used as tools to enhance concepts of European unity since the emergence of these as areas of study (Arnold 1990). The *Bronze Age Campaign* in 1993 (Kristiansen 2008: 10) and *The Celts* exhibition in Venice in 1991 (Moscatti *et al.* 1991; Collis 1996b: 172) have emphasised the first millennium's ability to be used to convey a sense of Europeanism.² The latter did not deny its link to contemporary European unification: 'the Celtic exhibition...turned itself into a symbol of the new Europe, by now united from the Urals to the Atlantic' (J. Leclant and S. Moscati, forward to *The Celts*, 1991: 14). In the past, elements of defining Europe have also been pillars of nationalist and regionalist agendas (Collis 1996b; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Abois *et al.* 2006) whilst others have argued (erroneously we would suggest) that Euroscepticism in England has been a driving force behind the 'Celtosceptic' debate (Megaw and Megaw 1996; cf. James 1998; 2007a). Many, therefore, have seen the inclusion or exclusion of elements of Europe as fundamental in the agendas set by various archaeological approaches.

How then can we seek to analyse European archaeology at a level that is coherent yet inclusive? The papers in this volume cover an area of Europe that is seldom considered (for the Iron Age at least) as a whole: the western half of Europe (figure 1.1; for convenience sake, this encompasses the modern countries of Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain and Portugal). This area cuts across the supposed 'Celtic' heartland, centred on eastern France and western Germany, and includes areas beyond those included in recent definitions of Atlantic Europe (e.g. Cunliffe 2001: 20; Henderson 2000; 2007) (figure 1.3). At the same time, the use of the term 'Atlantic' to describe the first millennium BC has become a significant focus for many working in the region, reflecting the importance given to the Atlantic as a cultural and economic axis within European Prehistory (Chevillot and Coffyn 1991; Jorge 1998; Kristiansen 1998a: 365; Bradley 2007: 19; Cunliffe 2001).

Defining the Atlantic rim of Europe as a coherent archaeological entity is neither new (Bettencourt 1998; Fernández-Posse 1998: 24-36; Henderson 2007: 11-16) nor one restricted to Anglophone studies (Briard 1965; Coffyn 1985). The concept of the 'Atlantic Bronze Age' emerged in the 1940s as a result of Atlantic academic networks, popularized by J. Martínez Santa-Olalla and Eoin MacWhite (Fernández-Posse 1998: 26-28; Díaz-Andreu 2002: 80-85). Santa-Olalla was the driving force behind Spanish archaeology during the first years of Franco's dictatorship (Gracia 2009) and he supervised MacWhite's PhD on the Atlantic

² With more recently questions of a Celtic past potentially important for Turkey's sense of 'European' identity and its admission to the European Union (Rieckhoff 2006b: 39).

Bronze Age in Iberia (1947), published some years later (MacWhite 1951). After his degree in Ireland, MacWhite spent two years in Madrid (1945-47) funded by the National University of Ireland (Díaz-Andreu 2002: 80-81). These academic networks, linked to the idea of an Atlantic community, were also represented by H. N. Savory, who was MacIver Research Student in Iberian Archaeology at Queen's College, Oxford (1936-1938), when he undertook research in Portugal, leading to key papers on the Atlantic Bronze Age (e.g. Savory 1949).

The relevance of the Atlantic perspective to Iron Age studies has been less well-explored although recently there have been suggestions for a continuum of social practice along the Atlantic rim, visible in material culture or settlement architecture (Cunliffe 2001: 336-359; Henderson 2007). Recent work on DNA has also stressed Atlantic, rather than central European, genetic and linguistic links (Oppenheimer 2006), although the implications of these studies remain to be properly integrated. Ralston (2008), by comparison, has criticised approaches which see the Atlantic Iron Age as bound by shared mentalities. The debate on Atlantic connections has, at least in the Iron Age, also become inextricably linked to the 'Celtic' issue (see below) and nuanced arguments on the role of nationalism, as well as archaeology and linguistics, in the construction of regional Celtic cultures both ancient and modern (James 1999; Oppenheimer 2006: 23-29). Whether or not one regards Atlantic Europe as a coherent entity, such issues touch at the heart of this volume in exploring the place of Britain and Iberia within Europe and the nature of European wide contacts and networks, both in the past and today (Van de Noort this volume; Cunliffe 2001).

In Spain and Portugal this debate has been less contentious. González Ruibal, under the influence of Cunliffe (2001), argues that, after a decrease in contacts in the Early Iron Age, the Late Iron Age set the basis of a new Atlantic *koine* that had its height after the Roman conquest. In his opinion, these contacts are attested from the fourth century onwards through the spread of symbols and icons such as swastikas and 'ducks' (González Ruibal 2006-07: 534-540). Furthermore, he focuses on the Atlantic perspective as a *longue durée* of interaction that became more intensive in certain periods. In similar, but also contrasting ways, some authors have argued for the idea that these contacts became a key factor to explain the emergence of 'Celtic' societies in Iberia (Almagro-Gorbea 2004: 205) or for the spread of Indo-European or Celtic languages in the Atlantic area (Ruiz-Gálvez 1998: 348-358; González García 2007a: 114-117; González Ruibal 2008: 900-901), a perspective supported by British scholars (Oppenheimer 2006: Ch. 2; Henderson 2007: 292-295).

Others have seen meaningfulness in distinguishing between, if not an Atlantic and Central Europe, at least between east and west. Bradley (2007; cf. Hill 1999) draws a

distinction between the Iron Age settlement patterns of western Britain and France and that of eastern England and the Netherlands, contrasting a tradition of wandering, unenclosed settlement in the latter to a more long lived tradition of enclosure in the west. Such broad characterisations invite the exception but are broadly supported by recent studies in this volume (Mathiot this volume; cf. Moore 2006: 215).

If an Atlantic ‘tradition’ in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age can be defined there is a danger that parts of Western Europe: central France, the Low Countries and central Britain become, by default, a border between two spheres of influence (see figure 1.3). The meaningfulness of supra-regional terms, such as ‘Atlantic Bronze Age’ or ‘Central European Iron Age’, is, however, being challenged. Concepts of web-like exchange and social networks are argued as better reflecting the dynamics of community interaction and a more meaningful base with which to analyse the nature of inter-regional relations (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 5) rather than focusing on defining the borders of particular ‘regions’. We need to be careful, therefore, when defining Atlantic Europe not to reinforce concepts of peripherality in contrast to a dynamic Central and Mediterranean Europe. In past perspectives, we might also ask whether it is a coincidence that the so-called ‘core’ reflects the European ‘banana’ of modern wealth and power, stretching from southern Britain to northern Italy (figure 1.4) (Brunet 2002), whilst models of Atlantic Europe reflect modern perceptions of an economically poorer Atlantic region (figure 1.5). Models of European super-regions suffer, therefore, from similar simplifications and manipulations of the past as they do for the present.

With these issues in mind, we use the term ‘Atlantic’ in a geographic (although not necessarily environmental), rather than cultural, sense; there is no attempt to draw direct parallels between the archaeologies of Iberia with those of western Britain or central France (cf. Henderson 2007). Yet, issues of connectedness of communities and traditions across western or Atlantic Europe still require consideration and explanation. Much of the Later Bronze Age in particular shows evidence for what might be termed ‘Atlantic’ traditions, particularly in metalwork (Armada 2008a; Burgess and O’Connor 2008; Needham and Bowman 2005). However, as De Mulder and Bourgeois (this volume) point out, the Low Countries were as much part of an Atlantic tradition in the early first millennium, as they were central European developments. For reasons of scope this volume has drawn a boundary of Atlantic or Western Europe which excludes that to the east of modern France, but many of the papers reach across the boundaries imposed by many other discussions, here for example we can contrast central France with the Low Countries and southern Britain. The volume also

covers the Mediterranean area of Iberia (papers by Graells, Grau) and France (Armit) recognising the difficulties created by divisions within the sub-regions of Europe, for example between Atlantic and Mediterranean Iberia, and '*indépendante*' and Mediterranean France. The focus on Atlantic Europe also allows for greater integration of Iberian archaeology so frequently marginalised by studies of first millennium BC Europe (e.g. Collis 1997) where the draw of central European developments has often been beguiling (e.g. Kristiansen 1998a; Cunliffe 1988). Many papers in this volume reflect such tensions, situated within and between the boundaries of an Atlantic, western and central Europe.

Chronologies of the first millennium BC

A major challenge to first millennium BC studies has been the creation and comparison of chronologies. Echoes of the 19th century creators of the sub-disciplines we inhabit are keenly felt in the chronological terminology and disciplinary structures which study of the first millennium BC encompasses. Chronologies of the period developed in close relationship with the establishment of archaeology as a discipline and many of those concepts, such as typology and type fossils, maintain a grip on our narratives (Collis 2008a). Chronological terminology also developed within a period which was firmly embedded in concepts of social evolution, the ages of Bronze and Iron regarded as social and technological stages, as well as phases of time (Childe 1944; Pare 2008: 70-75).

In the 19th century the defining and categorisation of the first millennium BC was undoubtedly led by continental archaeologists; the typo-chronological systems initially advanced in Scandinavia by Thomsen in 1836, and developed in Germany and France, sought to provide a refined chronology to the period outside the previous reliance on textually created narratives (Kaenel 2008). Tischler's, 1885, examination of brooch types led to the creation of a tripartite La Tène, which continues to be reflected in chronological frameworks of the Iron Age in western Europe, and began the emphasis on fibulae as a key chronological tool. Reinecke and Déchelette followed in the late 19th and early 20th century refining Tischler's phasing using the type-fossils of brooches and other metalwork (Kaenel 2008: 329).

From Tischler to Reinecke the emergence of chronological terminologies for the first millennium BC, situated within a culture-historical paradigm, quickly became confused between cultural and chronological labels (Champion 1996: 70). By the 1930s, in Britain, Hawkes' (1959) ABC phasing of the first millennium BC was not only a chronological sequence, compiled from changes in material culture and settlement form, but also one which

represented social change through the invasion of distinct cultural (quasi-ethnic) groups: A: Hallstatt, B: Marnian, C: Belgic (Hawkes 1931: 266). Throughout Europe too, the La Tène and Hallstatt terminologies as chronological divisions became intrinsically linked to cultural groupings in the 20th century (Collis 2008a: 87).

The terminologies of earlier eras and approaches to chronology have also left a legacy of fossilised and compartmentalised first millennium BC studies. This has led to at least one other ‘great divide’: that between the Bronze and Iron Age. This has been particularly felt in academic specialisation, between for example the *Iron Age Research Seminars* and *Bronze Age Forum* in Britain, and AFEAF and *Association pour la Promotion des Recherches sur l'Age du Bronze* (APRAB) in France, making discussion of developments across period boundaries problematic (Haselgrove and Pope 2007b: 2; Jones 2008: 8). In France, further disciplinary divisions have developed between protohistory and prehistory; the differences in the methodological and theoretical impetuses of each have been long recognised, at least from an external perspective (Daniel 1955). Other divisions in the chronological sub-disciplines which study the first millennium BC are significant, with that between ‘Iron Age’ and ‘Roman’ archaeology the most obvious. Studying the late Iron Age from the perspective of the Roman Empire has been particularly detrimental to understanding Late Iron Age society in northern Europe (see below). Some see the concept of the expansion of the Roman Empire as marking a “decapitation” of the Iron Age (Thurstun 2009: 350), although this is widely argued as placing too greater emphasis on military conquest, overlooking longer term process of social and cultural change.

Beyond the three ages?

Perhaps most surprising is how the chronological frameworks established by the likes of Reinecke have endured and been increasingly refined (Kaenel 2008: 334). Although the problems in using such schemes have been outlined in methodological terms (Collis 2008a), they continue to be the basis for chronologies in much of Europe. Reinecke’s system, in particular, provides a beguiling certainty in chronological dating. More recently there has been a move away from such models. In Britain, this has long been the case with both Hawkes (1959) and Hodgson (1964) recognising that, for Britain, the continental chronologies were not applicable to much of the archaeological evidence and that insular systems were required (Hawkes 1959: 171).

The need to move beyond the constraints of the three age system has also been widely expressed (Kristiansen 1998a: 24; Bradley 2001) as part of a wider desire to reconsider

chronological frameworks (Haselgrove and Moore 2007b: 2; Haselgrove and Pope 2007b: 3-4). This is not least because of the geographic constraints of tripartite models which ignore the regionality of change (Bradley 2001: 231). Bradley (2007) in his narrative of British and Irish prehistory tries to provide equal space to eras based on their time span, a novel concept considering the frequent emphasis given to the later first millennium BC because of its greater material record. Increasingly too, new dating has made the cultural significance of Hallstatt and La Tène labels less relevant, as transitions and changes are recognised as breaching these boundaries.

The divide between Bronze and Iron Age studies, has increasingly been recognised as problematic and as much a product of the terminologies. For many, a perception of continuity or fluidity is often seen in the archaeologies of the Late Bronze Age and earlier Iron Ages; or at least as part of a *longue durée* (e.g. Brun and Ruby 2008; Cunliffe 2005), although others see the transition as a sharp divide (e.g. Needham 2007). Such perspectives reflect diverging data sets, between landscape and material studies (cf. Needham 2007: 39; Bradley 2007: 25), with some arguing that the long-term processes of change are only visible through the spheres of settlement and economy (Kristiansen 1998a: 26). In this light, some regard earlier prehistory as a whole, seeing the Late Iron Age as a separate entity (Bradley 2007). Kristiansen (1998a) also sees more coherence to the Bronze Age and earlier Iron Ages, consciously ending his narrative by 150BC. A move away from firm period definitions does not necessarily mean that transitions were invariably gradual processes; increasingly there is recognition, discussed in detail in this volume (Barrett, Bowden and McOmish), that change may be dramatic and sudden. In this volume contributors are also keen to examine long term processes of change and move beyond periodized studies; if we assume a four-phase division to the first millennium BC, the majority of papers (21/33) adopt a multi-phase perspective covering more than two phases (see table 1.1).

Although Reinecke and Déchelette's frameworks led to a division in Europe between a, largely, Germanic and Francophone usage (figure 1.6), they have also been beneficial in their inherent transferability. A danger with fragmenting chronological frameworks, in a move away from (perhaps misleading) clearly defined chronologies is the burgeoning plethora of chronological terms (Collis 2008b). This entails that it becomes increasingly difficult to compare processes even within relatively localised parts of Europe, let alone across larger geographic entities. The existence of different labels has also perhaps blinded researchers to broader comparable processes of change, such as the increasing prevalence of

settlement enclosure around the fourth and third centuries BC (Gerritsen 2003; Moore 2007b; Mathiot this volume).

We have provided here a generalised overview of the comparative chronologies commonly used in Western and Atlantic Europe (figure 1.7). Although such a table inevitably simplifies the situation, it allows some comparison between the terminologies used between authors. The difference in approaches, and confidence in chronologies, is to some extent reflected in the range of terminologies used by authors in this volume. Whilst many, particularly British authors, tend to rely on few, generalised chronological labels, such as ‘Early’, ‘Middle’ and ‘Later’, the papers discussing continental material use a range of far more specific periodizations (e.g. ‘Hallstatt D2’, ‘La Tène D’) as well as terms such as ‘early’ (*premier*) and ‘later’ (*second*).

The drawing of chronological tables, such as that in figure 1.7, beyond vague comparisons of nomenclature, becomes increasingly meaningless as one begins detailed examination. As a brief examination of regional studies within western European quickly demonstrates, chronological schemes for a single region, let alone a country, can be vastly different. In Iberia the division can be generalised between a ‘Indo-European’ (or ‘Celtic’) and an Iberian region. In the first, the Iron Age is usually divided in to two phases: the first (or early) Iron Age and second (or late) Iron Age, located in the northwest (Parcero 2002; González Ruibal 2006-07) and in the Meseta/plateau (Romero Carnicero *et al.* 2008) although this replaced more fragmented regional chronologies. The exception is the eastern Meseta (the area called Celtiberia), where some authors usually distinguish several sub-phases (Lorrio 2008: 559, 641). In the Iberian area, archaeologists usually define a short first Iron Age or pre-Iberian period (until 550 BC) and a periodization of the Iberian culture from 550 onwards, for example, in Sanmartí’s (2005) periodization of northeast Iberia: Ancient Iberian period (550-400 BC), classical or middle Iberian period (400-200 BC) and Late Iberian period (200-...) (Sanmartí 2005; see also Grau this volume for southeast Iberia). It is noticeable that the periodization for the Atlantic region shows more similarities to the divisions more recently argued for much of northern France and parts of Britain.

An examination of the situation in Britain exemplifies the problem. Figure 1.8 shows the divergent chronologies of southern Britain, indicating their subjectivity (see Hill 1995a: 84). Chronological models also reflect the scale at which they are conceived and the material which underpins them. Although the move to early, middle and late, rather than ABC (Collis 1977: 6), was argued by some as merely a new nomenclature (Harding 1977: 65), it at least emphasised a distinction between chronology and culture. More recently some argue the Iron

Age is more meaningfully bi-partite (earlier and later), at least for some regions (Moore 2007b). This ambiguity in chronological schemes reflects a continued reliance on a small number of ceramic and radiocarbon sequences and the need for better chronological precision (Cunliffe 1995; Haselgrove 1986: 365; Collis 2008a: 86).

Despite the differences across Europe, it appears that there is an emerging desire to create somewhat less specific chronological limits, reflecting broader processes of change, accepting perhaps the limitations of detailed frameworks. Current approaches in Iberia, for example, tend to consider the First Iron Age (850/800-400 BC) in the Atlantic area as a long period of transition, where important changes coexist with features of continuity (González Ruibal 2006-07: 269; Bettencourt 2005). One of the main features of this period, the fortified settlements, emerged in some areas in the Late Bronze Age, though the phenomenon spread in the First Iron Age linked to communal tendencies and a decrease in social inequalities (González García *et al.* this volume). This process had external and internal causes, but it seems clear that the Phoenician presence in Iberia from the ninth century, and their involvement in the Atlantic network, played an important role (Ruiz-Gálvez 1998: 290-327). This divergence emphasises potentially different dynamics in Atlantic Iberia compared with areas further north. Despite the differences, it is increasingly clear that the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age should be regarded from an integrated perspective (Ruiz Zapatero 2007: 40).

In France too, papers in this volume reflect the use of a variety of terminologies and chronologies revealing their increasing complexity and reliance on new terminologies to identify major transformatory phases. Nouvel for example conceives of a 'premier' and 'second' Iron Age, comparable to the use of earlier and later in Britain. Similar to its proponents in Britain, the transition in the middle of the first millennium BC is regarded as most fundamental, with continuous landscape augmentation in the later La Tène rather than a radical shift in the final centuries. Others suggest a more dramatic transition in the second and first centuries BC (e.g. Colin 1998). De Mulder and Bourgeois (this volume) by contrast use a Hallstatt chronology reflecting the dating of many of the funerary sites and deposits on the basis of metalwork, regarding the major change as taking place in the fifth century BC. This corresponds with Nouvel and Mathiot's date for the Hallstatt-La Tène transition, although there is reluctance to explore its significance.

The extent to which absolute dating will reconceptualise our chronological frameworks remains debatable. Whilst radiocarbon dating has led to revisions of the chronology of the first millennium BC (e.g. Armit 1991; Needham *et al.* 1998; Lanting and

Van der Plicht 2001; Jordá *et al.* 2009) the radiocarbon plateau between around 800 and 400 cal BC continues to be a significant hurdle. The potential of Bayesian statistics and techniques such as thermoluminescence and dendrochronology, to overcome such problems and revise current schemes is promising but also remains to be seen (see Lambert and Lavier 1996; Barnett 2000; Hamilton and Haselgrove 2009).

One area of confusion is the combining of major transformations in social terms with material changes. Despite the truism that chronological phases based on typologies ‘have no historical relevance’ (Pare 2008: 69), some studies suggest that changes in material culture, marked both chronological and cultural shifts. For example, in Britain the massive increase in ornamental material culture in the Late Iron Age, Hill’s (1997) “Brooch event horizon”, has been argued as reflecting a dynamic shift in social behaviour; so too Milcent’s discussion of central France regards metalwork as a key indicator not just of chronological change but of social developments (Milcent 2004). We might question, therefore, whether chronologies of the period should relate more to the aspect of first millennium societies we are studying rather than attempting to create monolithic frameworks in to which communities and regions should be placed. More fluid chronologies, which might see a community adopting enclosure at one period but only utilising a particular brooch type later, perhaps more accurately represent the dynamic between agents and cultural, economic, climatic and social phenomena.

The solution to such issues cannot necessarily be resolved through simple refinement; a more widespread reconsideration of chronologies is long overdue. Radiocarbon dating may make it possible rebuild local chronologies, which can then be compared at a larger-scale. John Collis (2008a) has called for a radical overhaul of our approaches to European chronologies. Recognising the methodological problems in the type fossil approach, he suggests the move to a horizon based model. Collis’ (*ibid.*: 99) proposal has the advantage of de-coupling unrelated archaeological changes from type-fossils offering new ways of exploring the chronological basis for the period. We should, however, be wary of the continued emphasis on typo-chronologies as a chronological basis, when many of the fundamental changes in first millennium BC societies relate to settlement architecture and landscape which have a quite different chronological trajectory (Kristiansen 1998a: 26).

Having recognised the conceptual problems with the chronological frameworks which have dominated our studies, how should we define our period? Chronologically, this volume encompasses the first millennium BC emphasising the importance of the themes which cross the Late Bronze–Iron Age division. The dates of 1000 BC and 0 BC are not, however,

regarded as barriers but part of a flexible chronological framework, with many papers extending their discussion beyond the first millennium boundaries and covering both the Bronze and Iron Age, crossing these chronological divides.

PART II: A DIACHRONIC VIEW OF FIRST MILLENNIUM STUDIES

Before any attempt can be made to cross borders to examine the archaeologies of the first millennium BC across Europe there is a need to understand the theoretical underpinning of current research agendas in those countries which have shaped the resource (Trigger 2006: 536). The history of European archaeology cannot be divorced from the nationalist and colonialist forces which drove society in the 19th and 20th century (Trigger 2006: 248-278; Díaz-Andreu 2007b); it is in this context that the development, and inheritance, of first millennium BC studies must be placed (Arnold 1990; Dietler 1994; Collis 2003; Morse 2005).

For some countries our period has had an explicit place in the modern nation's identity and collective memory (Nora 1996). In France for example, recognition of how La Tène archaeology was manipulated throughout the 19th and early 20th century for national political agendas has been widely explored (Dietler 1994; 1998; Fleury-Ilett 1996; Pomian 1996). Archaeology was mainly a facilitator for identifying the figures found in classical references focusing on Gallic identity (Dietler 1998), with Napoleon III's excavations at Alesia, in particular, aimed at relating archaeology to textual evidence (Goudineau 1990). Subsequently, images of cultural unity based on a Gallic past have been part of a complex relationship with different both the political right (in the shape of Marshall Petain and Jean-Marie Le Pen at Alesia and Gergovie) and left (in the form of President Mitterrand's creation of the *Centre Archéologique Européen* at Bibracte) (Fleury-Ilett 1996: 204; Dietler 1998).

The Iron Age has had particular relevance to Belgian nationalism, with the historically attested Belgae useful in defining Belgium's distinctiveness from its neighbours, as well as overcoming its linguistic divisions (Bonenfant 2006). Another textual figure, Ambiorix, dominated discussion of pre-Roman archaeology (e.g. Perreau 1846; Ulrix 1993) and continues to figure in Belgian senses of identity: Ambiorix came fourth in a 2005 vote organised by a Belgian TV company to find the 'greatest Belgian'.³ Such figures, like

³ Although such polls are not statistically representative of public opinion, they provide some guide to the place of such figures in popular imagination. Even in Britain and France Iron Age figures feature relatively prominently in the national consciousness: in the same year Vercingetorix came 80th in a similar list for France,

Boudica and Vercingetorix, have thus become revered as ‘heroic figures’ with corresponding sites, such as Bibracte and Alesia in France and Numantia in Spain, becoming focal ideological symbols in the contemporary world, manipulated as part of a mythologizing of the past and focus for semic acts, aimed at exploiting (and reinforcing) collective memory (Fleury-Ilett 1996: 204-206; Goudineau 1990: 16-19; Dietler 1998; cf. Hingley and Unwin 2005: Ch. 7).

Those countries which have strongly identified with their perceived ‘Celtic’ past, such as Ireland, have also been the subject of examinations of the role of archaeology in configuring their national identities (Morse 1996: 309-314; Raftery 2006). For others, this period has largely been sidelined with other eras regarded as more fundamental in public and academic discourse; for example in England where the Roman and Anglo-Saxon pasts are regarded as the focus of attempts at national legitimization (Hingley 2000; Williams 2006; Stout 2008: 55-57).⁴ Such divergence of the place of the Bronze and Iron Age in national consciousness has contributed to contrasting approaches. It has been suggested, for example, that the absence of interpretive archaeologies in Germany is related to the damaging role of the Nazi’s use of prehistory and lasting repercussions of Kossinna and his colleagues’ legacy (Veit 1989; Arnold 1990: 474; Collis 1996b: 174-175).

The weight of nationalist ideology in the development of Spanish archaeology has also been well established (Díaz-Andreu 2002; Fernández Martínez 2006: 200-205). The role of political influence is not always clear-cut, however, and, as in France, some issues, such as the concept of the Celts, were used and manipulated at the same time by opposing political movements. This is the case, for example, in their use both by the hegemonic, nationalist agendas managed from Madrid and alternative approaches by, so-called, peripheral or non-centralist regions such as Galicia (Ruiz Zapatero 2006; González García 2007a). The latter were repressed during the Francoist dictatorship, when centralism and Spanish nationalism achieved their height. At the same time, this model caused a parallel situation at the administrative level, as the research and heritage management in archaeology were concentrated in Madrid and thus in the hands of a few people characterised by their loyalty to the Franco regime (Díaz-Andreu 2002: 89-101; Gracia 2009).

In this context, the Congreso Nacional de Arqueología (National Conference of Archaeology) became the most regular and popular conference in Spain. This meant that the

whilst in 2002 Boudicca came 35th in a poll conducted in Britain. The divisions within Belgium can be seen by the fact that in the Walloon version, Ambiorix came 50th rather than 4th.

⁴ The place of nationalism in later prehistoric archaeology has been less overt, although the manipulation of particular historical characters at certain times, whilst not as commonplace as in France, can be highlighted in the form of Boudica (see Hingley this volume).

display of new projects, finds and excavation reports were usually framed in an explicitly national context. Twenty-seven meetings of the Congreso Nacional de Arqueología were organised in several Spanish cities between 1949 and 2002 (Beltrán Lloris 2007). A new trend appeared in the 1990s with initiatives that promoted an Iberian or Peninsular approach, stimulating dialogue between Spanish and Portuguese archaeologists. The Congreso de Arqueología Peninsular have started to replace the Congreso Nacional de Arqueología, with four conferences since 1990 (Beltrán Lloris 2007: 22), three of them in Portugal (Porto, 1993; Vila Real, 1999; Faro, 2004), the other in Spain (Zamora, 1996).⁵ In this context of collaboration and internationalization the creation of the *Journal of Iberian Archaeology*, published in Portugal, whose first volume appeared in 1998, is also significant.

Despite these new trends and the efforts to publish in international journals and become involved in projects abroad, Spanish and Portuguese archaeologies still show a limited degree of internationalization, as can be seen in bibliometric studies. In the Spanish case, it seems clear that the isolationism and the economic underdevelopment of the Franco regime influenced this situation, although the role played by the university system from the 1980s should not be ignored.

Even in the times of Franco's dictatorship, Iberia was perceived as a fragmented entity. The most famous and large-scale divide are those established between a Celtic or Indo-European area and an Iberian-Mediterranean and non-Indo-European area. Though this divide appeared earlier, it was stressed from the middle of the 20th century onwards by linguists such as Antonio Tovar (1964; 1987). But other divides have been outlined either on the basis of the archaeological record (e.g. the degree of Phoenician or Greek influence) or classical sources. This fragmentation has consolidated since the early 1980s, when the responsibilities for the management of the archaeological heritage were passed from the state to the regional governments (Ruiz Zapatero 1993). This ensures that every autonomous region has its own policy for fieldwork and the management of archaeological heritage. Some implications of this become clear if we look at the map with the geographic coverage of papers in this volume (figure 1.9): while five chapters cover the whole of Britain, all the chapters dealing with Iberia focus on smaller geographic areas.

This can be regarded as a continuity of a rather antiquarian perspective in some areas, particularly those under the influence of Phoenician and Greek colonists and with more eye-catching material culture, which are treated in more depth in books on the Iberian Late

⁵ This trend also explains the change in the name of the conference on archaeometry in Spain; at the fifth event (1995) the name changed from Congreso Nacional de Arqueometría to Congreso Ibérico de Arqueometría, although all meetings have taken place in Spain.

Bronze and Iron Ages (Bendala 2000; Almagro-Gorbea *et al.* 2001; Vega *et al.* 2003; Gracia 2008). At the same time, areas often under-examined or largely ignored in these books, such as Galicia or Catalonia, have witnessed dynamic research and contribute interesting perspectives to international publications (Parcero 2003; González Ruibal 2006; Sastre 2008; González García 2009; Belarte 2008), as chapters of this volume also demonstrate.

Alongside nationalism and national agendas particular regions, such as central southern England, eastern France and western Germany, have dominated discussions of the European Bronze and Iron Age. This has often meant that areas such as central France, the Low Countries, and northern Britain have been interpreted in their shadow, rather than on their own terms. Despite recent attempts to move away from such dominance (see below; Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997a: 1; Bevan 1999; Milcent 2004) such areas remain the focus of intense research time and expenditure; for example, the geographic focus of recent major European projects, on Fuerstentum (www.fuerstentum.de) and Oppida (www.oppida.org), are tellingly both concentrated on the European heartland, whilst there is a continued pre-eminence of Wessex in recent British Iron Age research (Moore 2009).

The relationship between the dominance of such areas and role of major figures in later prehistoric research (particularly in forging social models) has begun to be explored (Sharples this volume) although is not yet fully appreciated. The fact that these areas are also located within continental Europe's social and economic powerhouse, the 'European banana' (see above), stretching from central southern Britain to northern Italy, may also be significant. This reflects the locations of major academic institutions and research foci, alongside the impact industrialisation on early archaeological discoveries and work by prominent antiquaries. Whatever the reasons, these have potentially important implications for understanding the construction of archaeological resource and subsequent dominance of these regions in discourse.

'Celtic' Europe?

The development of European archaeologies of the first millennium BC is also closely linked to the other dominant, and somewhat contrasting, force in studies of the period: questions of the 'Celts'. The debate over use of the term 'Celtic' exemplifies perhaps the discrepancy between European approaches. First identified from classical texts, use of the term Celts as applied to linguistics, material culture, cultural groups, archaeological periods, and ethnic identities has a long and complex history which has been closely linked to later Prehistoric research since at least the 16th century (Collis 2003; Morse 2005). In recent years the division

between linguists and archaeologists in their approach to the Celts is increasingly apparent (see Toorians 2007 and papers in Karl and Stifter 2007).

In contrast to the focus on national agendas, the increasing synonymity of ‘Celtic’ with ‘Iron Age’ as early as the 19th century in much of Europe led to Europeanism in approaches to the material (see Megaw 2007: 442). Throughout the early 20th century comparison and awareness of Europe wide material was regarded as necessary in order to tie regional archaeologies into a broader Celtic culture (Megaw and Megaw 2001). The chronologies of metalwork were directly tied to antecedents in central Europe, themselves linked to models of diffusionism (Powell 1958), which directly impinged on the sequences of sites and regions as far away as Scotland (Armit 1999). In the past the use of Celtic models could be used as a means of implying cultural unity across Europe (e.g. Moscati *et al.* 1991) but also in the creation of unique pasts within national agendas (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 15; Collis 2003).

The last 15 years has seen a critiquing of concepts of the ‘Celts’ as an ethnic entity that migrated across Europe (James 1999; Collis 2003). Criticism that this is purely an English phenomenon (Megaw and Megaw 1996; cf. James 2007a), disputed at the time (James 1998), seem increasingly tenuous. A re-examination of the question of Celts as a term relevant to the Spanish Iron Age has been widely explored (Ruiz Zapatero 1996; 2003; 2006) alongside historiographical analysis and critical deconstruction along the lines of those proposed by James (1999) and Collis (2003), exemplified by the works of Burillo (1998: 13-120), Ibarra (2006) and González García (2007a). This is also increasingly the case elsewhere, in Germany (e.g. Rieckhoff 2006a; 2006b), the Low Countries (Anthoons and Clerinx 2007), and to a lesser extent France (Collis 1994) and Ireland (Raftery 2006). Even in areas which have resisted the debate, such as France and Germany, acknowledgement of the issues is being made (e.g. Rieckhoff and Biel 2001; Buchsenschutz 2007; Koch 2007b).

In Spain and Portugal, as in other areas of Europe, the Celtic question has been one of the most discussed topics since the 19th century. Here the archaeological debate has been closely interwoven with the contributions from linguists, especially since the mid-20th century. The amount and range of evidence in Iberia (Celtiberian and Lusitanian inscriptions, pre-Latin words on Roman inscriptions and classical sources as well as archaeology) has led to an inter-disciplinary dialogue between archaeologists, linguists and ancient historians over the Celtic question in Iberia, by both Spanish and foreign scholars, reflected in recent years in the journal *Palaeohispanica*. Both ‘Celts’ and ‘Iberians’ were approached from a culture-historical perspective and linked to Spanish identity during the Franco dictatorship. However,

while the importance of the Celts was emphasized during the first decades of the regime, their importance declined from the fifties onwards as a consequence of ideological and political changes. With the fall of Fascism, the Indo-Europeans represented in Spain by the Celts were replaced by the Iberians as the essence of the Spanish identity (Ibarra 2006: 41-44).

Nevertheless, this change of perspective did not involve a theoretical change with regard to the concept itself. The Celts continued to be approached within the same culture-historical and diffusionist/invasionist model. Inside (allegedly) Celtic Iberia, Galicia and northern Portugal were the first areas where the Celts were rejected. This was in the early 1970s and 1980s as a reaction by the first generation of professional archaeologists against the older generation of amateurs. As one of us has argued, anti-Celticism was in this case a ‘generational flag’; these archaeologists were interested in demonstrating that north-western Iberia was not a Celticized area, but they did not question the concept itself (Armada 2005: 171-172). It was in the 1980s and 1990s that the idea of the Celts started to be discussed by some and ignored by others. On the one hand, the research lines which emerged in the 1980s, influenced by processualism and landscape archaeology, did not require the Celts as a explanatory tool. On the other, critical perspectives developed by that time in the UK exerted some influence on Spanish scholars; a Spanish version of the influential paper by J D Hill (1989) ‘Rethinking the Iron Age’ was published in 1993 in *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, the most influential Spanish journal (Hill and Cumberpatch 1993).

At the same time, others decide to retain the concept, but assessed it from a critical perspective. Almagro-Gorbea, for example, developed a model under the influence of Hawkes’ idea of ‘cumulative Celticity’ (Hawkes 1973). In his opinion, the presence of the Celts in Iberia must be explained as a long process starting in the Late Bronze Age or even earlier and in which the Atlantic Bronze Age played an important role in the configuration of a ‘proto-Celtic’ substratum that was involved in processes of acculturation and ethnogenesis that resulted in the ‘proper’ Celts (Almagro-Gorbea 1992; see also Lorrio and Ruiz Zapatero 2005: 175-176). In more recent publications, Almagro-Gorbea links the origins of what he calls the proto-Celtic culture with the Bell Beaker phenomenon and explains the Celtic ethnogenesis as a fluid polymorph model rather than a cumulative one (Almagro-Gorbea 2004). Although his approach has been criticized (Burillo 1998: 109-110; Fernández-Posse 1998: 168-173), it has stimulated the debate and called to attention some interesting issues.

There has not necessarily been consensus on approach, therefore, with widespread continued use of ‘Celt’ in cultural-historical terms (e.g. Maier 2003). Others avow a Celtic

model that seems little changed from Powell's (1958) vision and have seen little merit in this dialogue (Megaw 2005). It is notable that it is those scholars which focus on ritual and religion (e.g. Aldhouse-Green 2001; 2004) and art (e.g. Megaw and Megaw 2001) which are most comfortable in accepting a unity in Celtic culture, over-emphasising perhaps the importance of particular aspects of the archaeological record, particularly imagery on metalwork, in order to maintain earlier paradigms (Armada 2005).

The problem of the Celts cannot merely be reduced to one of name, whether or not people in certain areas identified themselves as Celtic, but in how it suffuses approaches to later prehistoric societies. Models of hillfort chiefdoms in Britain, hierarchical societies in central France and warrior elites in Spain, are frequently based on Celtic social models, stemming from regarding societies as similar and unchanging. Thus whilst the nomenclature is increasingly recognised as problematic, the over-arching models of Iron Age societies inherited from a Celtic approach (see Hill this volume) remain persistent.

Why then in this volume is the issue of the Celts hardly touched upon? To some extent this reflects a move away from this issue as a focus of debate, particularly in Britain where the argument has perhaps largely been won (although see Megaw 2005). It also suggests the issue is no longer regarded as fundamental to regional narratives with alternative debates of greater concern to younger scholars (see Davis, Sharples and Waddington 2008). One of the dangers of the Celtic debate is perhaps its increasing intransigence (see Collis 2003; Megaw 2005; papers in Anthoons and Clerinx 2007) which has come to overshadow discussions concerning European approaches to the first millennium BC. Whilst a vital concern, there is a danger that, rather than enhancing pan-European dialogue, it has begun to stifle debate. A Celticist approach to the period does have one advantage, however: that it requires a European-wide knowledge of material and emphasises international dialogue, particularly on chronologies, ritual and artistic styles. It is no coincidence that many scholars who espouse a Celtic model are those with an excellent awareness of material at a continental scale (e.g. Megaw and Megaw 2001). The increasingly regionalist approach and the corresponding decline in Celtic models has, inevitably perhaps, led to a reduction in the need to view material from a European perspective. We must be conscious, therefore, not to ignore the place of cultural dynamics, migrations and movements, and interconnectedness at a continental scale, when rejecting some of failings of Celticist approaches.

Theoretical paradigms

It is in the theoretical basis of study that perhaps the greatest division across European Bronze and Iron Age studies lies; one which cross-cuts national, geographic and disciplinary boundaries. The early years of European Iron Age, and to some extent Bronze Age, studies were dominated by the existence of classical text and philology, seen for example in Welsh, Irish and German studies (e.g. Peate 1932). This focus on philology led to a disciplinary split between first millennium BC archaeology and Celtic studies. Although in some parts of Europe the connection remained a close one, for example in Germany and Ireland (Raftery 2006: 274), and has been championed more recently elsewhere (e.g. Karl 2007; this volume), the division has been largely one of mutual disregard (see papers in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* and Anthoons and Clerinx 2007).

Cultural historical explanatory frameworks in Europe in the early 20th century (e.g. Kossinna 1911; Childe 1925) provided later European prehistory with its own methodological and theoretical framework. The key tenet of culture based archaeologies engendered an emphasis on the inter-relationship of first millennium BC communities through invasion, migration and diffusionism. In doing so, archaeologists of the period were instinctively European: change must have come from external forces and in order to understand these processes knowledge of European developments was essential (e.g. Duval and Hawkes 1976). Despite various nuances, there existed a common culture-history approach by the majority of leading European scholars well in to the second half of the 20th century. This commonality allowed for the cross pollination of ideas and internationalisation of research. Working on, or at least having a detailed understanding of, the archaeologies of both sides of the channel was regarded as fundamental in explaining the nature of archaeological evidence (e.g. Wheeler 1939: 58). These perspectives emphasised that grand, continental narratives were essential to explaining change in later prehistory (Childe 1925; 1942; Hawkes 1940), for which a European-wide knowledge and network of contacts was vital (Duval and Hawkes 1976; see Díaz-Andreu 2007a; 2007c). The dialogue between different areas of Europe at this time, for example between Germany and Britain, is reflected in the pages of *Antiquity*, where papers by German scholars were presented as exemplars (e.g. Wagner 1928; Kraft 1929).

By the latter half of the 20th century overarching chronological and cultural models came in for particular criticism and ‘culture’ as an ethnic label undermined. The development of processualism in Britain and USA led to an emphasis on economic and environmental, rather than cultural, forces in social models and process of change. However, an emphasis on exogenous change remained, for example the economic impact of the Roman Empire or

Greek colonies, which were linked to world-systems of interaction and core-periphery models. This ensured that many leading archaeologists in Britain, Spain, USA, Scandinavia and France, continued to require a basis of knowledge at a European scale in order to explain change at the regional level (e.g. Cunliffe 1988; Brun 1992; Kristiansen 1998a). The engagement of Bronze and Iron Age specialists with European developments continued therefore, even if theoretical stances had diverged.

Throughout these developments the influence of social evolution has been deep in Anglo-American and Scandinavian first millennium BC studies. Whilst modifications have been made, such terminology continues to be used (e.g. Gibson and Geselowitz 1987; Kristiansen 1998a: 45-53). In Arnold and Gibson's critical assessment of European Iron Age studies, they continued to see things in remarkably evolutionary terms: 'There is tangible evidence that social complexity increased throughout the Bronze Age' (Arnold and Gibson 1995a: 5). In many areas of Europe such socio-evolutionary perspectives have been undermined, with the Late Bronze Age-Iron Age in northwest Iberia and the Iron Age in Wessex, for example, both seen as a break in the social inequalities and conspicuous consumption that characterized the Late Bronze Age (González García *et al.* this volume; Parceró 2002; González Ruibal 2006-07) rather than part of a unilinear evolutionary trajectory towards social complexity.

In certain countries local political conditions had significant influence on theoretical trajectories. During most of the 20th century, Spanish archaeology showed a high degree of continuity. Gilman (1995) argued that the Civil War and resulting dictatorship did not engender any great changes in dominant theoretical models. He suggests that archaeologists were few and came from similar class backgrounds and, at the same time, the delicate political situation after the Second World War prevented the development of a fascist archaeology (Gilman 1995: 3). This conservative ideological framework, before and after the Civil War, may allow us to explain the duration of a range of approaches which integrate diffusionism, idealism and nationalism within a culture-historical model (Fernández Martínez 2006: 201; Ruiz Rodríguez 1993).

For Spain, new approaches only appeared after the end of the Franco dictatorship in 1975. Socioeconomic changes in Spain, as well as leading to an opening of intellectual life and changes in the profession, created the background to the reception of New Archaeology and theoretical and methodological issues related to it. A bibliometric study of the most relevant conference proceedings published in Spain during the 1980s shows that 81.44 % of the bibliographic references concerning theory come from the Anglo-Saxon sphere, mostly

processualist in nature (García Santos 1997). This certainly helped in influencing the development of a range of Marxist approaches which emerged in the 1980s (see below).

The diverse reactions of particular regions, such as Iberia, to dominant theoretical paradigms emphasises the complex picture within countries. In discussing the theoretical historiographies of an entity the size of Europe, there is a danger of oversimplifying a far more complex narrative, underestimating alternative perspectives (Cunliffe 2005: 11; Sharples this volume). Many historical accounts of later prehistory focus on the role of singular figures in effecting paradigm shift and the dominance of particular theoretical perspectives. This marks an obsession with the role of dominant, charismatic figures, in a Weber-like sense (see Weber 1968), and a persistence of regarding ‘great men’ as the drivers of the discipline (Díaz-Andreu 2007b: 1). As Sharples and Zapatero (in this volume) emphasise, however, the history of theoretical change in first millennium BC studies is frequently far more one of ‘minorities and mainstreams’.

A postprocessual divide?

Since the 1990s, the broad school of postprocessualism has had a particularly strong impact on later Prehistoric studies in Britain. These range from emphasising the importance of agency (Barrett 2001); an emphasis on phenomenology and materiality (e.g. Tilley 1994; Bradley 2000; Brück and Goodman 1999); explorations of habitus and praxis in structuring social space, and ideas of fragmentation and personhood (e.g. Giles and Parker Pearson 1999; Parker Pearson 1999; Brück 1999).

Such postprocessual archaeologies have, however, had a varied impact on first millennium studies across Europe. The influence has been significant in the Netherlands and Scandinavia (e.g. Gerritsen 2003; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001) and increasingly so in Iberia (seen in many of the papers in this volume) but has had a limited influence in France (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 13). A crude assessment of this can be made by examining the role of those philosophers and anthropologists whose work has been so prominent in the creation of postprocessual archaeologies in the English speaking world in studies of the first millennium BC. In two edited volumes which concentrate on Britain, one from 2007: *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the near continent* (Haselgrove and Pope 2007b), ten out of the 25 papers refers to at least one sociologist or anthropologists’ work. Of those most frequently cited were: Bloch, Bourdieu, Giddens, Mauss and Godelier, although Gell, Geertz, Lévi-Strauss, Clastres, Boas, Braudel are also cited; in an earlier volume, *Reconstructing Iron Age societies* (Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997b) 15 out of the 31 papers referred to at least one social scientist

or philosopher, with Heidegger, Giddens, Bourdieu, Bloch, Foucault, Marx, Geertz, Durkheim, Clastres mentioned, amongst others. This is likely to be an underestimate of the influence of these approaches, with many other papers basing their work on the likes of Hill, Barrett, Ingold, and Bradley, whose own work is more explicitly rooted in these philosophical paradigms.

The impact of postprocessual theory on Iberian archaeology can also be witnessed in this way; in *Social inequality in Iberian late prehistory* (Díaz-del-Río and García Sanjuán 2006) of 13 papers almost all refer to a philosopher or anthropologist (including Sahlins, Kuhn, Marx, Bourdieu, Clastres, Godelier, Mauss, Wason) with additional references to a range of archaeological theorists, particularly those of a postprocessual approach (Tilley, Bradley, Hodder and Barrett). This range of influences reflects the forecasted winds of theoretical change in Iberia (Díaz-Andreu 1997; Ruiz-Zapatero 1996) but also highlights its diversity, with the prominence of Marx and Clastres (e.g. Gonzalez Garcia this volume; Sastre this volume) representing a peculiarly Iberian approach.⁶ This shows one of the main trends in Spain since the early 1980s: the development of a range of Marxist approaches, applied to the study of the Bronze Age and -to a lesser degree- the Iron Age, particularly in the work of a group lead by Arturo Ruiz at Jaén (Ruiz Rodríguez 1993; Ruiz Rodríguez and Molinos 1998). In addition to these new approaches, however, there has also been significant continuity of traditional paradigms, particularly in research focused on Mediterranean Spain and only recently can postprocessual approaches be considered ‘mainstream’ (Keay and Díaz-Andreu 1997: 3).

The current scene in Spain reflects, to some extent, that in Britain, being marked by relative diversity, where postprocessual research coexists with more traditional approaches, rooted in culture-historical archaeology, and with models influenced by Marxist thought. Spain demonstrates, particularly in recent times, the impact of what might termed ‘British theoretical colonialism’, being influenced by both processualism and postprocessualism. Simultaneously, some Spanish scholars have used this influence to develop their own perspectives, often rooted in Marxist traditions and with some explicit criticisms of postprocessual archaeology (e.g. Ruiz Rodríguez, Chapa and Ruiz Zapatero 1988; Lull *et al.* 1990). Although the international repercussions of these studies has, until recently, been relatively limited, a range of publications are having a significant influence on scholars elsewhere, as papers collected in this volume shows.

⁶ Clastres, for example, has been largely overlooked in Britain (although see James 2007b).

A somewhat similar situation can be argued for Portugal. With the development of professional archaeology in the country only really taking place after the end of the dictatorship in 1974, earlier work was largely amateur in nature with relatively under-developed, conservative theoretical frameworks (Jorge and Jorge 1995: 251). Since the 1980s, however, the situation has changed dramatically with the cultivation of a highly diverse set of theoretical perspectives (for example by V.O. Jorge and J. de Alarcão; see Jorge and Jorge 1995: 259) and increasingly reflected in archaeologies of the first millennium BC (e.g. Martins 1997; Sande Lemos *et al.* this volume).

The situation in France is markedly different. An assessment of the influences referred to in recent AFEAF conference proceedings reveals a very different picture, with few references to anthropologists or philosophers. The picture is by no means universal, however, with Brun and Ruby's *L'âge du Fer en France* (2008) containing references to Braudel, Mauss, Barth, Fried, Service, Balandier, Lapiere, Testart and Godelier. The divergence in theoretical approaches cannot be regarded as merely down to lack of awareness, therefore (Olivier and Coudart 1995; Scarre and Stoddart 1999: 153), and French studies have debated theoretical approaches even if the paradigms are different (e.g. Buchsenschutz 1995; Brun 1992: 190-191; Brun and Ruby 2008: 20-23). However, it does seem that French philosophical movements and social-anthropology have had greater impact beyond France than within it (Trigger 2006: 444-445). Even the Annales school, an inspiration for a number of scholars (Brun 1988), seems to have had a wider impact elsewhere (e.g. Bintliff 1991; Cunliffe 2005: 609). Cleuziou *et al.* (1991: 91; cf. Coudart 1999) have rightly argued there is no reason why French archaeologists should be any more influenced by these because they are French. But, the accessing of a range of French philosophical and sociological movements by European colleagues does surely indicate this movement has less to do with an Anglo-Saxon mentality but an approach which more explicitly engages with anthropology and philosophy as an explanatory and conceptual framework. This does not necessarily mean that French Iron and Bronze Age studies are less theoretical but that they generally do not feel the need to explain the theoretical basis of their approach, in contrast to Spanish and British studies (Scarre 1999: 159).

In the case of North American authors, the place of postprocessual approaches has been more varied and complex; whilst elements of gender theory have been adopted (e.g. Arnold 1996), and ethnography has figured prominently (e.g. Dietler 1994), others have retained elements of a Celticist approach and there has been criticism of postprocessualism (Gibson and Geselowitz 1987: 7-14). Many studies continue a long tradition of processualist

analyses based on advocating modelable hypotheses, relating to the works of Service and Sahlins (Gibson and Geselowitz 1987; Arnold and Gibson 1995a). These cannot be simply characterised, however, with often quite diverging models of society evident in these studies (cf. Crumley 1974; 1995; Arnold 1995). More recently, studies of identity by Wells (2001) have been influenced by British studies, whilst Thurston (2009) explores a diverse set of theoretical perspectives. The US, therefore, represents a complex combination of approaches alongside novel perspectives (see Meyer and Crumley this volume).

Assessing the place of anthropological and sociological theory in first millennium BC archaeology in this way is admittedly crude; research will, of course, be influenced by a range of implicit disciplinary approaches whilst regional studies are unlikely to be theoretically explicit. However, it demonstrates the divergence between those who wish to demonstrate the background on which their models are built and those for whom theory is implicit. Where theoretical stances are less clearly articulated, a range of cultural historical, empiricist and processual approaches usually exist (Hodder 1991; Gibson 1995; Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 7).

Why can we continue to see theoretical divergence across Europe? In some instances new approaches have been regarded as ‘Anglo-Saxon’ in ideals, unable to co-exist with theoretical alternatives, as well as being resisted for underlying cultural reasons (Olivier and Coudart 1995; Olivier 1999; Cooney 1995: 269). The divergence, however, may be better characterised between those regions and practitioners who feel comfortable using anthropological and philosophical concepts and inferences and those where they are regarded as unhelpful, as witnessed in the debate in the pages of *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* (Eggert 1999; Krauß 1999). The resistance to anthropological analogy in German (and French) archaeology is counteracted by a tendency in Iron Age archaeologies towards implicit analogies, of elites and ‘princes’ for instances (Kimmig 1969; Brun 1988), or those based on historically documented cultures of the Mediterranean (Krauß 1999), but not on worked comparison with ethnographic examples (cf. Dietler 1990; Eggert 1999: 211). Despite shying away from ethnography, therefore, interpretations *are* based on analogy but the emphasis is on prioritising text over archaeological evidence. A similar debate has been witnessed in Britain and America, between those who regard ethnography as useful in suggesting alternative social practices, for example on the Late Hallstatt (Dietler 1990), Late Iron Age (Crumley 1974), or British Iron Age (e.g. Collis 1977; Sharples 2007; Hill this volume) and those who see veracity in using evidence from historical comparisons such as early medieval Ireland (Cunliffe 1984; Arnold 1999). The emphasis on anthropological

influence is, however, not necessarily long-standing in British archaeology (Gosden 1999: 8-9). Despite its early proponents who, for example, suggested the potential of parallels for Iron Age hillforts in Maori and Algerian societies (Firth 1927; Hilton-Simpson 1927), the influence of such nascent ethnography was largely overlooked in favour of classical sources.

Methodologies and theoretical standpoints also go beyond purely national terms, with various schools cross-cutting national and disciplinary boundaries. Even within the British Isles, which have seen an explosion of postprocessualism, there remains huge variation in theoretical perspectives (Cooney 1995) and it is certainly not clear that an orthodox approach has appeared (contra Carr and Stoddart 2002: 327). Assessments of the theoretical changes in such areas are in danger of overly characterising the differences: ‘...members of the old orthodoxy of British Iron Age studies...are content to work directly from fieldwork and data rather than construct post-processual theory’ (Carr and Stoddart 2002: 331), overlooking the reality that most postprocessual studies work systematically from archaeological datasets. If within British Iron Age studies there can be such confusion of what a postprocessual approach means, it is unsurprising there is confusion elsewhere.

The recent trend, argued by some commentators (Kristiansen 2008: 12-13; Thurston 2009), for the development of overarching approaches to European archaeology, replacing processualism with postprocessualism seems, at least for first millennium BC studies, hard to prove. Trigger’s (2006: 479) assessment that ‘while European culture-historical archaeology has grown more social-science oriented, subjectivist and theoretically pluralist, it also has remained particularist, historically qualitative and artefact oriented’ seems more realistic. The broad divisions which have been envisaged for much of European archaeology, between a ‘Kossina’ province or ‘mitteleuropäisch’ (continental and/or central Europe) and theoretically informed ‘Anglo-Saxon’ (Anglo-American and Scandinavian) approach (Acherson 2008; Harding 2009) are in danger of overly homogenising the diversity of theory within first millennium BC studies. Certainly on the basis of papers within this volume, Iberia does not fit this trend. We should be wary that underplaying existing fluidity could act in the creation, rather than undermining, of quasi-ideological divisions. There is the danger in defining theoretical approaches across Europe that we are in fact charting the success of a real, or perceived, Anglophone theoretical colonialism (Olivier 1999: 176). Rather than regard theoretical paradigms as processes of ‘contribution’ many perspectives see it as ‘adoption’, ignoring the challenges offered by alternative perspectives (ibid.: 282; Holtorf and Karlsson 2000: 5-8) which have yet to be fully incorporated into mainstream analysis. Whilst there is no theoretical convergence in European archaeology (Harding 2009), we might ask, therefore,

whether theoretical convergence is desirable. For many, convergence means ‘theoretical hegemony’ (Holtorf and Karlsson 2000: 6) or a ‘third way’ (Bintliff 2004), yet until dialogue exists between contrasting outlooks, we are unlikely to see development beyond entrenched paradigms. An alternative is to advocate pluralism, allowing interpretative frameworks to stand on their own merits, whilst encouraging a reflexive approach to national and regional perspectives.

A ‘Europe of the regions’?

Whilst nationalism frequently drove archaeology in 19th and early 20th century, the role of national, regional and European political and social interests in first millennium BC studies today is less clear-cut. Despite the increasing interdependence of European research strategies and globalization of research, first millennium studies, rather than move away from a regional focus have increasingly emphasised national research agendas. Although some attempts have been made to bring together specialists from across Europe these rarely explore the divergences (e.g. Haselgrove 2006) with only the Celtic debate stimulating more direct comparison (e.g. Anthoons and Clerinx 2007). The place of contrasting funding streams in this process may be significant, one from European sources, which emphasises interconnected and interdisciplinarity, contrasting with funding for solely nationally based research. To what extent then is first millennium BC research in the new Europe leading, in terms of Denis de Rougemont’s famous phrase, to a ‘Europe of the regions’, focusing on regional, rather than supra-national concerns and continental socio-economic forces (Applegate 1999: 1)?

In Britain, Iron Age studies have becoming increasingly focused on the local and regional, with few examining Britain in a wider, European context. This tendency can be seen in the focus of British based PhD topics (figure 1.10). Analysis of PhDs undertaken in Britain between 1970 and 2006 indicates a general decline, since the 1980s, in the number of research theses which have their main focus on material from western or central European countries.⁷ An additional decline can be seen in those theses which (explicitly) compare Britain with other parts of Iron Age Europe, or represent wider studies of European Iron Age

⁷ The number of theses topics related to the Iron Age completed in the UK between 1970 and 2006 was compiled from data supplied by the Index to Theses, accessed in July 2008. Theses on the Iron Age of Italy, Greece, and Scandinavia beyond Denmark, were not included. Ireland has been included under continental Europe.

material.⁸ Whilst the number of theses on Iron Age subjects has seen a substantial rise in the 1990s and 2000s (figure 1.10), this has not been matched by a comparable increase in theses covering topics centred outside Britain. This trend is reflected in recent edited volumes (figure 1.12), with the vast majority of papers focusing on the British Iron Age (see Humphrey 2003; Davis, Sharples and Waddington 2008). Whilst a preponderance of British based studies is to be expected in volumes which stress a ‘British’ agenda (e.g. Champion and Collis 1996), the limited European inclusion in more general ‘Iron Age’ or ‘first millennium’ volumes is more concerning. Even in this volume we are conscious that few authors decided to take a transnational perspective, feeling more comfortable with the dissemination of regional models and local perspectives.

The situation for Bronze Age studies⁹ is somewhat different (figure 1.11). Here, a similar rise in PhD numbers in the 1990s and 2000s is witnessed but transnational and continental studies remain a relatively substantial proportion. This perhaps reflects the nature of the period, focused more on metalwork for example, which lends itself to transnational study, and a more long-lasting tradition of European-scale analyses.¹⁰

The picture is by no means simple. Even though the decline in recent years of British based theses focused on European material is clear, within a western European context, UK universities remain the main producers of international perspective PhDs. Comparison with Spain, through a preliminary study of 158 PhDs in archaeology written between 1984-1998, shows a tendency to regionalism framed by current administrative boundaries (Piñón 2000). This study shows that 85% of PhDs focused on the archaeology of the Iberian Peninsula and in some universities, such as Santiago de Compostela or Granada, more than a 75% of theses focused on their own autonomous region (Piñón 2000: 445). In the case of Portugal, a search of the online database of the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education¹¹ provides a list of 50 PhDs in archaeology completed in Portuguese universities during the period 1970-2008. Twelve of them deal with topics of Protohistory and Romanization,

⁸ Undoubtedly, some included here under ‘Britain’ will contain comparative reference to developments elsewhere in Iron Age Europe and there well may be other topics which have included Iron Age material as part of more general studies.

⁹ As a whole, rather than just the Late Bronze Age.

¹⁰ The number of theses topics related to the Bronze Age between 1970 and 2008 was compiled from data supplied by the Index of Theses, accessed in December 2009. Theses on the Bronze Age in the Mediterranean (apart from Iberia) were not included or those on Italy, Greece and Scandinavia. Ireland was included under continental Europe and this may partly explain the strong presence of continental studies with a large number of Bronze Age studies related to Ireland compared to Iron Age studies.

¹¹ The Portuguese data on theses was accessed at GPEARI (www.gpeari.mctes.pt) in July 2009.

always within the boundaries of their own country. In Ireland and France too, the situation is largely one of theses focused on indigenous material.¹²

To some extent the shift in Britain may be driven by changes in theoretical perspectives. As part of a rejection of overarching culture-historical and world system models, past societies have increasingly been viewed through the lens of identity as expressed at the local level. As such, many of the most influential recent studies have concentrated on the intra-site scale to explore these processes. A desire by many since the 1990s to emphasise the regionality of the British Iron Age, as part of a reaction against ‘Celtic’ models (Hill 1989; Bevan 1999: 6), has also led to an emphasis on the development of regional models. Concomitant with this, the critiquing of core-periphery and world-systems meant that change could be seen as related to internal dynamics and the role of the agent, rather than reactions to larger scale forces.

These approaches have been extremely successful, on one level, in undermining the tyranny, discussed above, of particular regions of over narratives of Bronze and Iron Age societies. It has enabled challenges to orthodox models, illustrating the complexity of Iron Age archaeologies at even relatively localised scales (e.g. Diepeveen-Jansen 2001). Current debates over the social role of castros in Iberia (examples of which are given in this volume), or the complexities of social organisation in parts of Ireland and Scotland, for example, whilst they have not yet had a European wide impact, are beginning to rebalance the dominance of Wessex and central Europe.

Despite the necessity of regional work, it may be leading to unforeseen consequences. In emphasising the insular we should not overlook the possibility that broader perspectives may be lost as studies shy away from trans-national comparisons. The danger of a regional emphasis is in creating studies which can be placed alongside each other, but cannot be combined in to overviews of European developments. Concerned with only local questions and research methodologies, it may be difficult to create dialogue or even synthesize the results of such work. Without broader perspectives, regionalist approaches may ‘...become static, neglecting explanations of social and historical change on a larger temporal and spatial scale’ (Kristiansen 1998a: 24).

Recent fieldwork is indicating that, not only are national characteristics breaking down at a regional level, so too trans-regional distributions are more complex. For example, the eponymous roundhouse, often regarded as a characteristic of the ‘insular’ British Iron

¹² A search of the online database of French theses (SUDOC: www.sudoc.abes.fr) since 1970 with ‘Âge du Fer’ in the title produced 49, of which 6 were European studies and 4 on areas of Europe outside France. This does exclude, however, many theses which are on protohistory or without Iron Age in the title, which includes a number of Late Iron Age studies.

Age, has been revealed on a number of sites in France (Villes 1983; Haselgrove 2007b: 406) in addition to their familiar presence in Iberia, whilst rectangular buildings may have been more common than previously considered in the British Late Bronze and Iron Age (Moore 2003). Such developments emphasise how the characteristics of regional archaeologies may be as much due to preconceptions and research methodologies as realities, indicating the need to look beyond local parallels. Indeed, a European ‘archaeology of the regions’, may mean that new regions of study will emerge, such as the ‘Transmanche’, which reflect the reality of cross-cultural influences, exchange networks and social systems (e.g. Hamilton 2007). With such increasing complexity, meta-narratives and models to explain social change at the larger scale will need to be developed (Sherratt 1995; Pare 2008: 80). In losing doctoral studies with an international perspective, we may have fewer specialists who are willing, and able, to engage with material at a transnational scale, let alone explain them.

Internationalism

Theoretical perspectives may not be the only reason for increasing regionalism; a decline in language skills within academia may also be a factor. The regionality of first millennium BC studies is not one that necessarily has long roots. The social and academic connections of key researchers in European Iron Age studies in the early 20th century illustrates their catholic tastes. Hogg, Hawkes and Wheeler’s examination of hillforts in France is notable, whilst the widespread international links of Christopher Hawkes, a leading figure in British Iron Age studies through the 20th century, are well known (Díaz-Andreu 2007a; 2007c; Díaz-Andreu and Price 2009). More recently, key British researchers, including Ralston, Cunliffe, Haselgrove and Collis have all conducted major research and/or fieldwork in Spain, France and Germany. Indeed, the increasingly limited reference to wider European resources appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon. To some extent, this development may be one of language. Ralston (2009) has recently noted that British volumes purporting to assess the development of European prehistory have an emphasis, reflected in their referencing, towards Anglophone analyses. Partly such patterns derive from citing references that support the authors’ own theoretical stance or a desire to assist the monolingual reader (Collis 1997: 181), but it also reflects regionalism and, perhaps, an unwillingness to engage with alternative perspectives.

It seems that, as Europe in political terms has expanded, the range of references to work undertaken outside national borders, or in foreign languages, has often declined (Kristiansen 2001; Venclová 2007: 214; Cooney 2009). This perhaps has less to do with

increased nationalism in response to European expansion (Megaw and Megaw 1996; Venclová 2007: 214), and perhaps more to do with insularity of research and linguistic familiarities. Variations in linguistic dominance may be having other unforeseen consequences; Kristiansen's (2008) analysis of the language environment of European archaeologies sums up the problem: 'large nations with international language claims, have become monolingual in their readings and references, while smaller countries such as Scandinavia and the Baltic states, demonstrate familiarity with other languages and reading outside their own borders' (Kristiansen 2008a: 14). Taking the situation in Britain, it is unsurprising that greater resonance is frequently found with approaches from the Netherlands. A glance at the bibliographies of many major Iron Age studies from the Netherlands reveals the high number of Anglophone references, reflecting the widespread familiarity with English. On the other hand, the fact that many theses and volumes by Dutch institutions are published in English increases their impact on archaeology in Britain (and elsewhere). This is not the place to overly analyse the processes of cause or effect, and the extent to which Dutch and Scandinavian research reflect British approaches because of language, or because of pre-existing similarities in research culture. However, the dynamics by which such processes exert an influence on research paradigms need to be better understood.

A recent report by the British Academy (2009) noted that Britain's research was threatened by the increasing lack of language teaching within the UK at all levels. It noted that the decline in language skills is leading to an increasing move away from research areas which do not have English as a first or second language. Whilst this may mean that archaeological research on Asia and America continues, the impact is likely to more keenly felt in Europe and may be reflected in the study of these topics discussed above.

The aforementioned influence of British theory on Spanish archaeology may also be linked to changes in language teaching within the wider education system. Until the 1980s, French was usually the language taught in secondary schools in Spain, a fact which explains the more fluid relationships between Spanish archaeologists and their French colleagues in previous decades. This situation changed when English became the language taught in primary and secondary school and can perhaps be seen as reflected in the increasing deployment of Anglophone theoretical studies in recent Spanish papers, both in this volume and elsewhere. Iberian colleagues are also increasingly wishing to disseminate their research to an English-speaking audience, as seen in recent publications (Díaz-Andreu and Keay

1997; Díaz-del-Río and García Sanjuán 2006), influenced by the emphasis of Spanish funding bodies on internationalisation.

Differences in language abilities have consequences beyond problems of accessing datasets and dissemination. As Meyer and Crumley (this volume) note, and Venclová (2007) has discussed elsewhere, the nuances of language have particular significance in understanding theoretical concepts and are embedded in linguistic nuances and references of which only other native speakers are aware. In addition, the current fragmentation of archaeological research in to linguistic spheres (such as those on GIS, geophysics and theory) within Anglophone discourse, and more specific period based groups, particularly those focused on a cultural-historical or artefactual perspectives in French and German mean that only attuned participants can fully engage in such dialogue (Chapman 1997: 283; Venclová 2007: 219). Neither development is healthy, with the danger of certain research fields becoming entrenched in linguistic ghettos and self-perpetuating dialogues. Kristiansen's (2008) response to such issues is simple: increased language training for archaeologists. We would argue that, additionally, an attempt to disseminate research beyond linguistic borders should be encouraged.

An increasing resource

One of the common elements of most first millennium BC research in Western Europe is the increasing archaeological resource. With increasing development in the 1990s and a move by many countries to encase this work in new legislative frameworks,¹³ rescue archaeology has led to major increase in the excavation and survey of first millennium BC material. The staggering amount of new data available for the Bronze and Iron Age can be seen in many areas, including Britain (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001: 1; Bradley 2007), France (Buchsenschutz and Meniel 1994; Haselgrove 2007b: 401; Blancquaert *et al.* 2009: 11), the Netherlands (e.g. Arnoldussen 2008: 20-23), Belgium (Bourgeois and Verlaeckaert 2001; Bourgeois, Cherretté and Bourgeois 2003) and Iberia (González Ruibal 2006-07; Gracia 2008). Aerial photographic survey has also continued apace adding to large datasets established in the 20th century in Britain (e.g. Davis 2007), France (Haselgrove 2007a: 494), and the Low Countries (e.g. Bourgeois and Verlaeckaert 2001: 14; Bourgeois, Meganck and Semey 2003). This is now being augmented with increasing LiDAR coverage (e.g. Schubert 2007; Verhoeven 2009).

The increase in material began in the 1990s but it has only really been since 2000 that this dataset has begun to be fully incorporated in to regional and national syntheses (e.g.

¹³ See Aitchison (2009) for changing regulations and its impact across Europe.

Fabech and Ringtved 1999; Bradley 2007; Haselgrove 2007a, b; Brun and Ruby 2008). Many of the papers in this volume recognise this trend and the need to develop our models accordingly. Such data sets can inevitably be drawn on in different ways, in Britain, for example, it has been argued as challenging preconceived notions of landscape and settlement patterns in many areas (see papers in Haselgrove and Moore 2007a; Haselgrove and Pope 2007a). The impact of this data is increasingly varied, however, even within countries and regions; the impact of development led archaeology in France, for example, has been felt far more strongly in northern France than in the less developed centre and south (see Blancquaert *et al.* 2009: 11). In Britain the impact has been significant in the south and east, but less so in the uplands of northern and western Britain (Darvill and Russell 2002). The variation in where and what kinds of data are revealed raises important questions concerning methodologies and discussions of settlement expansion or nucleation over the first millennium BC. The role of national variations in the creation of the archaeological resource has long been recognised as a significant issue in understanding first millennium societies (e.g. Kraft 1929: 37) and with increasing investigation our awareness of how, at a regional, national and international scale, the data set has been impacted by research strategies and planning policies will become increasingly fundamental to the creation of broad-based narratives.

This dataset has also been augmented by an increase in stray finds, in the British Isles in particular, mostly via metal detecting. In England this has been through the successful, if controversial, Portable Antiquities Scheme which seeks to voluntarily record metal-detectorist finds throughout England (Bland 2005). This is leading to potentially radically different perspectives on the place of coinage and metalwork in Iron Age societies (Worrell 2007). Here too we see another potentially widening gap between British (at least English) approaches and those on the continent; in August 2009 the French Minister of Culture, Frédéric Mitterrand, made it clear that no such approach would be taken in France, strongly criticising the PAS. Similar laws to France apply elsewhere in Europe and the PAS remains an exception. To what extent such variation in approaches to metalwork may have an effect on distribution maps and the ability to cross-compare artefact types will be interesting to see.

This glut of evidence is, however, adding to the difficulty of assessing settlement patterns and social changes at supra-regional levels (Pearce 2008: 52) and may also be partly responsible for the decline in grand narratives as researchers struggle to digest vast amounts of data. Partly this is a problem of handling large datasets, but is also one of access to relevant reports and information, often the result of a lack of full publication or limited to

grey-literature. A number of recent projects are attempting to tackle this problem: a Leverhulme funded project, *British and Irish prehistory in their European context* (Bradley and Haselgrove 2009), examining first millennium BC developer funded archaeologies on the near continent of Europe to Britain is attempting to integrate European data whilst marking a welcome return to exploring the links between the continent and Britain.

PART III. CURRENT CONCERNS AND APPROACHES

Considering the fluid development of research, to what extent do current approaches to key aspects of the European first millennium BC reflect the converging or diverging of contemporary approaches? What are the current preoccupations of researchers in the field and how do these relate to the concerns and traditions discussed above? Reflecting the range of papers in this volume, the following discussion takes an overview of current research foci arguing that a number of key areas have become important research areas but that large disparities in approaches remain.

Landscape studies

In contrast with theoretical approaches it is in methodologies and techniques that European first millennium studies have seen the greatest convergence. European archaeology has sometimes been characterised as focusing on material culture and funerary evidence at the expense of settlement archaeology but in recent decades landscape archaeology has become increasingly prominent in Iron Age and Late Bronze Age studies, redressing the balance.

In France, landscape assessments are leading to the development of rich data sets. Until the late 1980s there had been few regional surveys of Iron Age settlement, despite the excellence of some of those that did exist (Giot, L'Helgouach and Monnier 1979; Daniel 1981: 117). Recent developments, by contrast, are marked by the explosion of evidence for settlement patterns. Regional surveys emerged in the 1980s, with major studies of the Aisne valley (Demoule and Ilett 1985; Haselgrove 1996) and the Auvergne (Mennessier-Jouannet 2007), and more recently, large-scale regional surveys, often by combined teams from the CNRS, INRAP and Universities have become widespread. This has enabled detailed reconstructions of settlements patterns and regional syntheses (e.g. Bertrand *et al.* 2009; Bourgeau 2009; Marion and Blancquaert 2000; Blancquaert *et al.* 2009), with papers in this

volume (Nouvel; Mathiot; Peake *et al.*) reflecting this development. This has also led to a more landscape approach being taken to major monuments (e.g. Creighton *et al.* 2007; Chaume 2001; Chaume *et al.* 2004).

The trend elsewhere in Europe has also been towards the implementation of large projects assessing landscape developments at a range of scales and crossing chronological boundaries. This approach has been particularly successful in the Netherlands (e.g. Fokkens 1998; Theuws and Roymans 1999; Gerritsen 2003) and Scandinavia (Fabech and Ringtved 1999: 15) with numerous surveys of the *longue durée* of landscape change and regional analyses. In Britain too, a move away from the focus on excavating hillforts, which dominated the 1960s and 1970s, to larger landscape studies has been fruitful (e.g. Cunliffe 2000; Haselgrove 2009). Indeed, in Britain, Spain (Criado 1993; Parceró 2002; Grau 2002), and the Netherlands, landscapes (or at least studies of settlement patterns) dominate discussion of the Iron Age (see Haselgrove and Moore 2007a; Haselgrove and Pope 2007a), and are increasingly focal for the Late Bronze Age (Brück 2001; Fontijn 2002; Bradley and Yates 2007; Arnoldussen 2008). Despite the prevalence of landscape studies, many have largely been restricted to assessments of fieldwork undertaken by contract archaeologists (e.g. Yates 2007; Moore 2006), rather than the instigation of research driven field projects, raising questions over the role of theoretical perspectives in driving how landscapes are explored.

Much of this approach to landscape archaeology in Western Europe has been about the adoption of technological approaches and methodologies. The use of GIS has become commonplace across Europe as a means of exploring landscape data, for example in the Netherlands, France (e.g. Batardy *et al.* 2008) and Spain (e.g. Grau 2006). In France, Britain and the Low Countries, technologies such as LiDAR and various geophysical techniques have also become standard (e.g. Kattenberg 2008; Barral, Bossuet and Jolly 2009). In addition, environmental analyses are becoming increasingly widespread in regions such as France as part of a desire to explore the broader impact of settlement patterns and the increasing role of mining and large-scale metal production in many areas (e.g. Dhennequin, Guillaumet and Szabó 2008: 8-12).

Despite the advances in landscape archaeology across Europe, this is somewhat overlooked by many in the English speaking world. It is notable that a recent discussion of the development and history of 'landscape archaeology' does not include discussions from non-English speaking European countries (David and Thomas 2008). This raises interesting questions concerning, the methodological and theoretical relationships between 'Landscape

archaeology', as understood in Britain, and 'Archéologie du paysage' in France, and the theorised context of many of the surveys referred to above. French approaches take a different attitude to the landscape with concepts of 'settlement archaeology' at a landscape scale, rather than exploring 'landscapes' as a concept (Collis 2006); there remains a tendency towards cataloguing, rather than interpreting landscapes in social terms. Many continue to see landscapes as broadly deterministic: an environment which impacted upon first millennium BC communities or a set of resources (Fabech and Ringtved 1999: 19). Contrastingly, in other parts of Europe settlement and landscape research has integrated studies of material culture in attempts to place landscapes in a broader view of the rhythms and cycles of later prehistoric communities. In such studies, votive deposition in the landscape, physical properties of space, and agricultural regimes are integrated (Hutcheson 2004; Fontijn 2008). A number of such studies have seen close relationships between biographies of individuals and communities with the sequences and shifts they detect in the form and placing of architecture and settlements (Gerritsen 2003; Webley 2008). Part of this has been exploring concepts such as phenomenology and the conceptual role of the landscape (e.g. Bradley 2000), which have had significant impact on British archaeology, but limited role elsewhere in Europe, apart from Iberia and the Netherlands (e.g. Fontijn 2002; Bettencourt 2008; González Ruibal 2006-07). Such divisions are to some extent reflected in this volume, with more conceptual approaches offered by Iberian and British studies in contrast to more deterministic approaches by those from France and Belgium.

Meyer and Crumley's advocating of Historical Ecology (this volume; Crumley 1994), marks a quite different tradition of landscape studies which emphasise a holistic approach combining a range of techniques, theoretical perspectives and types of analysis which go beyond previous approaches to landscape narratives. Despite previous use of this approach (Crumley and Marquardt 1987), historical ecology has yet to have a major impact in Europe, despite its popularity in America. Meyer and Crumley's paper here represents a challenge to examine the potential of new methodologies for regional and landscape studies and emphasises the potential of dialogue for providing alternatives from different disciplinary spheres.

Hierarchies and heterarchies: social modelling

'...for Iron Age studies we are still in fundamental disagreement on the methodology and general rules for social reconstruction' (Collis 1996a: 1)

First millennium BC archaeology in much of Western Europe has been dominated by arguments of social modelling: how Late Bronze and Iron Age societies can be reconstructed. For a substantial period in the 20th century, the dominance of cultural historical approaches meant that social modelling followed parallel lines of enquiry and arrived at analogous models across Europe. In Britain, although social models were rarely explicit, hillfort societies were regarded essentially as proto-‘poleis’ (Hawkes 1931). In the Late Iron Age these were seen as coalescing in to larger ‘tribal’ groups (ibid.: 93). Chieftain dominated societies were similarly envisaged elsewhere, such as Germany, although, as in Britain, the workings of such social systems were rarely clearly defined (e.g. Wagner 1928: 46). An inherited 19th century social evolutionary approach also regarded Bronze and Iron Age social systems as concomitant with their technological level. Hawkes’ model reflects the broader perspectives of the time: firstly, its allusion to assumed social evolution of Iron Age societies, with the development of ever larger, hierarchical social groups, and secondly its use of classical models as instructive for northwest Europe. These two themes have since dominated perspectives on first millennium BC societies. Whatever the paradigm, however, archaeologies of Atlantic Europe have rarely played a significant part in debates over social organisation, which have instead tended to focus on central Europe.

Throughout the later 20th century, approaches to social modelling were preoccupied by the usefulness and validity of hierarchical models (Hill 1989; 1996; this volume; Arnold and Gibson 1995a: 2-10). The assumption that first millennium BC societies were socially stratified remained persistent in Britain (e.g. Frere 1959: 186) with Cunliffe (1974: 303-305) proposing a similar model to Hawkes, of hillforts as proto-urban centres controlling regional polities. Through the expert excavations of Danebury, developed versions of this model, which now exploited processual modelling of territories, emphasised the role of hillforts as central places (Cunliffe 1984; 2000). Much of European Iron Age social models followed similar trajectories; the enclosed sites of the late Hallstatt, for example, were similarly seen as central places for a stratified society (Kimmig 1969; Brun 1988).

Britain’s hierarchical models developed from its most obvious characteristic: hillforts. Elsewhere in Europe a well defined funerary archaeology in many areas allowed for social systems to be mapped from grave goods. This was dominated by surveys of iconic cemeteries such as Hallstatt, with processual studies leading to systematic approaches such as Frankenstein and Rowlands’ (1978) influential reconstruction of a hierarchical Hallstatt society (cf. Hodson 1977). This equation between grave goods and social status remains remarkably prevalent in much of European first millennium BC studies (e.g. Kristiansen

1998a: 222; cf. Pope and Ralston this volume). Some areas of Europe, particularly central Europe, thus became focal points for understanding society, with discussions of *Fürstensitze* intimately bound to ideas of world-systems, regarding these hillforts as central to economic and social systems tied to developments in the Mediterranean (see discussion in Diepeveen-Jansen 2001: 8). Variations on this model were influential throughout Western Europe (e.g. Brun 1992) and whilst models might be nuanced, the over-riding assumption was that societies were hierarchical.

Alongside central place models debates which emerged concerning social structure in the 1970s and 1980s also focused on whether Bronze Age or Iron Age societies could be classified as ‘chiefdoms’ or ‘states’ (Arnold and Gibson 1995a: 7). These reflected the influence of American anthropological perspectives, in particular Morton Fried and Elman Service, which argued that human societies could be divided in to evolutionary stages with similar social systems. These had a significant influence on prehistoric studies at the time and are reflected in contemporary attempts to define chiefdoms in the Bronze Age (Kristiansen 1998a: 44-49). These approaches were not universal with some French perspectives arguing such categories were problematic (Buchsenschutz 1995: 63; Duval 1983). Their alternatives were based on a historical approach with a vision of Iron Age society which suggested that: ‘power was in the hands of the aristocracy, which were dispersed in the countryside’ (Buchsenschutz 1995: 62) and in the early La Tène a hierarchy of chiefly society of ‘free farmers’. Although critiquing central place models, they retained the axiom of a hierarchical Iron Age, derived from classical texts.

This has become entrenched in our terminology; Kimmig’s (1969) description of Hallstatt hillforts as *Fürstensitze* (princely sites) and burials as *Fürstengraber* (princely graves), reflecting an essentially medieval nomenclature and creation of quasi-feudal models of Hallstatt society (Arnold and Gibson 1995a: 6; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001: 3; Dietler 2005: 20). Thus, whilst explorations of social systems may have become more detailed (e.g. Chaume 2001; Brun and Ruby 2008), this terminology continues to frame research in many areas. The widespread use of the term ‘aristocratic’ to discuss La Tène burials or settlements (e.g. Guichard and Perrin 2002) may similarly constrain research projects in to unrewarding dichotomies of high/low status.

A different methodological way of approaching societies has been through philology and the use of classical texts. Iron Age archaeology has a long history of the use of philology and many continue the use linguistics to see commonalities between ‘Celtic’ languages, as a basis for reconstructing Iron Age societies (Karl 2007; this volume; Bernardo Stempel 2006;

Brañas 2005). Such approaches have been widely critiqued in Anglophone literature, arguing in particular that they stem from assumptions over an association between cultural unity and language (Collis this volume). At a larger social scale too, models of social organisation have frequently been constrained by the classical texts, with Late La Tène, communities across most of Western Europe regarded as part of larger political and/or ethnic groups, whose names derived from classical references.

Social models of our first millennium communities, therefore, stem more from major differences in methodologies between and within national traditions. To what extent have developments in the 21st century challenged earlier models of society? In a number of areas, particularly Britain, attempts to explore alternatives to hierarchical models became increasingly influential from the 1980s. Such studies have explored concepts of heterarchies (Hill 1996; Crumley 2003), the relationships between construction and contributions of labour as part of reciprocity, gift exchange, potlatches, and ritual practices (see Eggert 1999; Sharples 2007; Wigley 2007) and seeing social systems as networks (Moore 2007a; Sastre 2008). The divergence between areas where hierarchical models have been challenged and those where it has not, broadly reflect those archaeologists, and disciplinary frameworks, who regard ethnography and anthropology as helpful and those who argue instead that social models should be based on the evidence in classical texts and through comparison with comparable societies in the contemporary Mediterranean (Cunliffe 1984; 1995; Krauß 1999). At the same time, another broad group exists where the process of arriving at social models remains implicit and ill-defined. The former group has been largely restricted to Britain and America, in the works of Dietler (1990) on the Hallstatt, Hill (this volume) and many others (Collis 1977; Hingley 1984) in studies of the British early and middle Iron Age, and Crumley's (1974; 2003) discussion of the Late La Tène. In Britain, by the 1990s the weight of critiques of hierarchical models effectively remodelled Iron Age archaeology (papers in Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997b; Haselgrove and Pope 2007a; Haselgrove and Moore 2007a), not replacing overarching models of society but calling for regional studies (e.g. Bevan 1999). This led to regions which had often been regarded as peripheral, including northern England and Scotland, establishing competing visions of societies.

As part of these, more critical approaches to funerary evidence have emerged in areas of Europe (e.g. Diepeveen-Jansen 2001; Parker Pearson 1999) although these have remained largely limited to the Low Countries. Gosden (1985) and Eggert's (1988; 1999) critiques of Hallstatt social models having had seemingly limited impact in Germany, despite a number of challenges to the traditional model (Pare 1991; Veit 2000; Arnold 2001).

In France, the role of anthropology has been down-played and recent studies do not indicate a major re-modelling of Bronze and Iron Age social models. Whilst in the 1980s, Ralston (1988) argued for a greater variety of social organisations in Late La Tène France, and despite Buchsenschutz's (1995: 63) call to re-examine Iron Age social structures in the light of anthropological studies, the debate within French archaeology remains very different to that in Britain and Iberia. Although there is increasing recognition of the complexity of settlement patterns (Blancquaert *et al.* 2009), this has not led to wholesale reinterpretation of the workings of society. Buchsenschutz (1997: 53) proposal of a systematic approach to settlement form and social organisation has been duly followed by a number of studies which have analysed settlement size and spatial organisation to explore hierarchies of settlement and communities (Malrain, Blancquaert and Lorho 2009; Nouvel this volume). Some of this work is leading to similar conclusions to studies of the British Iron Age; for example, the suggestion that enclosures were constructed through gang work and may represent networks of relationships between communities (Malrain, Matterne and Méniel 2002: 155-158; Mathiot this volume). However, there is generally little within this work which challenges the overall hypotheses that social systems were hierarchical, often equating settlement size with social status (e.g. Deberge, Collis and Dunkley 2007: 258). For the early Iron Age there also appears to have been little erosion of orthodox models; whilst social modelling is contextualised within anthropological debate, hierarchical models remains pre-eminent (see papers in Brun and Chaume 1997; Chaume 2001: 340-353). In this respect, the alternative social models, discussed in Britain and Germany, have had little prominence.

Iberia has in some ways followed a model similar to Britain, although the critique has been later in developing. Social models based on European 'Celtic' perspectives and text-based analyses came to dominate studies of north-western Iberia (as argued in Sastre 2004) and have now been widely challenged by regional studies of the archaeological evidence which suggest more nuanced social reconstructions (Sastre 2004; 2008; this volume). Others have made a critical assessment of the 'Celtic' paradigms and, rather than abandon them, have combined the refined picture with anthropological perspectives, creating interesting approaches (Parcero 2002; García Quintela 2002; González García 2007b; González García, Parcero and Ayán this volume). However, the picture is by no means universal and the aforementioned division between a 'Celtic' and an 'Iberian' area has had an impact on approaches: the dominance of hierarchical models being more common in the latter. Graells (this volume) for example draws an image of a hierarchical society which, despite its nuances, follows the analysis by the likes of Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978). Such work

has been challenged in Iberia itself but the competing strands of social modelling have yet to be resolved.

Characterising these debates then into a difference between Anglo-Saxon models and continental approaches (Buchsenschutz 1995: 63; Scarre 1999: 160) may be unhelpful and there have always been counter streams to national trends. Gerhard Bersu, for example, not only presented alternative possibilities in archaeological techniques to British archaeology (Evans 1989) but also had a nuanced approach to interpreting social organisation; Bersu's (1946) discussion of Wittnauer Horn, Switzerland, although retreating into hierarchical models, is unusual in arguing the possibility that hillforts and lake-dwelling communities may be of 'equal standing', emphasising that 'not one of the houses shows any sign of being occupied by a person of high social standing' (Bersu 1946: 8). In Britain, the hierarchical model of the 1970s was also not accepted wholeheartedly (e.g. Collis 1977: 5-6) with even its greatest proponent at least considering the possibility that early Iron Age societies could be presented as 'a primitive form of communism' (Cunliffe 1974: 303).

As with the broader theoretical divergences, there is also a danger of stylising the debate in Britain and Germany into one of hierarchical, elite based models versus egalitarian, communal societies (Hill this volume; Krauß 1999; Thurston 2009: 360-363). Whilst this largely reflects the models that have been applied it is not entirely helpful in framing future discussion and may be in danger of alternative assumptions, for example that 'hierarchies' did not exist. It is notable for instance that, despite the claims of 'regionality' of social organisation in Britain, few new analyses propose highly stratified societies. More nuanced approaches to power and legitimacy in society (González García *et al.* this volume; Pope and Ralston this volume) are offering alternatives. Research here may benefit from exploration of alternative concepts such as social exchange, complexity theory and kinship networks to explain the inter-relationship between communities and processes. The existence of varied approaches to social modelling is to be welcomed, therefore, marking a move to more diverse models rather than static archetypes.

Continuity and change

One of the greatest debates for study of the first millennium BC has been the question of change and why it happens. The place of exogenous or endogenous factors, in particular, has focused the minds of scholars. Cultural-historical frameworks meant that external sources were seen as the driving force of change (e.g. Hawkes 1959: 181). Even in Britain, where links to continental Europe were harder to identify, there was continued emphasis on the role

of migrations and invasions well in to the 1970s (Powell 1974: 291; Harding 1977). The decline in seeing material in cultural historical terms meant that from the 1960s change was increasingly regarded instead as related to internal developments (e.g. Hodson 1964; Collis 1977: 1; Cunliffe 1974).

This emphasis on the Mediterranean as the driver of change has been remarkably widespread and persistent, particularly prominent in discussions of the adoption of iron (e.g. Pleiner 1980), development of Hallstatt societies (e.g. Kimmig 1969; Dietler 2005) and changes in the Late La Tène (e.g. Cunliffe 1976; 1988; Creighton 2000). For many this process has been one of acculturation and adoption of Mediterranean lifestyles, through Hellenization (e.g. Py 1968) and Romanization (e.g. Millett 1990; Metzler *et al.* 1995). The emphasis on world-systems also emphasises interconnectedness of temperate Europe with the Mediterranean, especially in discussion of early Iron Age France and Germany (Brun 1988; 1992; Kristiansen 1998a), and areas of Iberia in the Late Bronze Age (Ruiz-Gálvez 1998).

The role of Rome has been particularly dominant in explanatory models. For example, in Galicia and northern Portugal a school of thought dominated from the late 1960s to 1990s which placed the major features and transformations of the Castro culture in the Roman period (see González García 2007a: 74-79). It has only been through changes in excavation methodologies that have led to revising this perspective; from the early 1990s since open-area excavation techniques and radiocarbon dating (Jordá *et al.* 2009; this volume), allowed for a recognition of the origin of the Castro culture in the Late Bronze Age and a pre-Roman origin of some of its main features (such as stone sculpture and jewellery). For the Late La Tène this has also been the case with less emphasis on Rome as the instigator of change with a broader post-colonial approach which focus on the agency of Iron Age societies in social change. This has been particularly true in Iberia (González Ruibal (2006-07; Vives-Ferrándiz 2008; Jiménez Díez this volume) and Britain (e.g. Hill 1997; Hingley 2000). These demonstrate the influence of Anglophone post-colonial writers, such as Gosden, Van Dommelen and Hingley, on Iberian perspectives although less so on discussion of Late La Tène France.

In other areas of Europe too, the role of culture contact as a driving force in change has been undermined and the adoption of La Tène style art no longer regarded as related to migration, in areas such as Ireland (Raftery 2006). In recent years, however, the role of Atlantic seaways in providing contact routes is once again being raised (Oppenheimer 2006; Henderson 2007), although the processes by which communities interacted is seen as more complex than diffusionism or migration. Bound in to such discussions, and of essential

concern to discussion of Atlantic Europe, is the question of maritime contacts (Cunliffe 2001; Van der Noort this volume). Many regions, discussed here, particularly Iberia, are especially useful for exploring issues of culture-contact located as they are on the interface between the Atlantic and Mediterranean networks.

The decline in invasionist models in some areas saw a tendency towards the opposite extreme: a timeless, gradual Iron Age. Ironically, this can stem both from a Celticist perspective, which regards Celtic culture as largely static from the mid first millennium BC to first millennium AD, and from a postprocessual approach which tends to overlook chronological change (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1997; Giles and Parker Pearson 1999). Barrett, Bowden and McOmish's paper in this volume argues instead that change could frequently be sudden and dramatic. Elsewhere, re-examination of evidence from some regions may imply occasionally sudden periods of transformation, for which concepts such as punctuated equilibrium and chaos theory may explain process of rapid and slow change (Moore 2006: 215-216; cf. Crumley 2003). For others, concepts of the *longue durée* of landscape change have been influential with periods of rapid change regarded often as the *evenements* of longer term processes related to the natural environment, population growth and climate change.

Others are exploring the role of monuments and places as part of the *longue durée* of social space. García Sanjuán (this volume), for example, explores how Late Bronze Age stelae represent the persistence in prehistory of signing the landscape with stelae and engraved rocks. Other authors in Britain and Spain show that certain artefacts and monuments appear to have had resonance in societies long after their apparent use or circulation (e.g. Blas and Villa 2007; García Sanjuán, Garrido and Lozano 2007; Hingley 1999; 2009). Concepts of time and space can, therefore, also be incorporated in to understanding processes of change, seeing them articulated through use of monuments, landscape locales and in structuring social space.

Considering stimuli of change, one element which has been largely overlooked in recent years is that of climate. The role of climate was regarded as significant for the first millennium BC, particularly in debates over the end of the Late Bronze Age (Harding 1982; Cunliffe 2005: 33). As a reaction against climatic determinism, which envisioned direct links between climate changes and social developments, studies in Britain, and elsewhere in Europe, however, largely shied away from explaining social change as related to climate. Collis' (1977) discussion of 'catalysts for change', for example, discussed migration, imitation and reciprocity, but did not mention climate. Climate continues to merit little

mention in recent discussions of the first millennium BC (e.g. Haselgrove and Moore 2007a; Haselgrove and Pope 2007a), and when discussed tends to be downplayed (e.g. Haselgrove and Pope 2007b: 13). It is remarkable too that many discussions rely on early climate studies (e.g. Lamb 1981; Cunliffe 2005: 34), or on rather generalised models of climate proxies (e.g. Krauß 2003: 172; Brun and Ruby 2008: 55). Interestingly, in this volume climate appears to be re-emerging as an important issue, with two papers considering its place in the Bronze and Iron Age (Meyer and Crumley; Barrett *et al.*).

One of the greatest dangers in dealing with climate is in overly generalising, equating parallels in settlements change with climate factors which, in fact, had widely divergent local impacts (Kristiansen 1998b: 307; Cunliffe 2005: 582; Dark 2006). Fundamental changes around the fourth century BC in settlement patterns in many areas of Europe, for example, may represent different reactions to climatic changes which may have dramatically contrasting influences depending on communities' agricultural regimes, social systems and economic complexity (Crumley 1995: 28; Kristiansen 1998b: 308). Climate cannot be ignored, therefore, as a factor in social change but should be explored at a local level, regarded as a constraint or potential which is regionally varied (Kristiansen 1998a: 409), relating climate to broader changes in symbolic and social actions.

Material culture studies

Artefact studies were essential to the culture-history models which equated material with quasi-ethnic groups, and for the creation of chronologies. Since the 1960s, technical studies of metal, glass and ceramics have also provided evidence for methods of production whilst others have explored the link between material and exchange networks, most obviously in ceramics and metalwork. There has also been an emphasis on typological studies, frequently linked to artistic approaches to material, in particular metalwork (e.g. Megaw 1970; Jope 2000). Yet, as part of the reaction against Celticist approaches, the 1990s (in Britain at least) saw a neglect of artefact decoration and explorations of art in the first millennium BC. Such barriers are now being broken-down, with varied theoretical approaches emerging in an attempt to understand the implications behind design and decoration, technologically, culturally and symbolically (e.g. MacDonald 2007; papers in Garrow, Gosden and Hill 2008) reflected in papers in this volume (Armbruster; Joy). These have demonstrated that approaches to the 'art' of the first millennium BC can take a theoretically informed approach which does not undermine their place as art or their materiality, whilst allowing complexities

in the material itself to examine their place in social networks without relying on ethnic or cultural affiliations.

These new theoretical perspectives are also having a varied reception in other aspects; the papers in this volume on goldwork (Armbruster, Becker) and on mirrors (Joy) represent examples of the current emphasis in seeing these objects not only as masterpieces to be approached from the history of art, but also objects that offer information on technology, chronology and symbolism. Concepts of artefact biographies (Appadurai 1986) have been particularly influential in British and Iberian literature, seeing artefacts as part of social process from their creation to deposition rather than divorcing them from their physical and social contexts. This has embedded the study of material culture in a landscape context, through studies of production, exchange and deposition (e.g. Ruiz-Gálvez 1998; Fontijn 2002; Hutcheson 2004; Giles 2007), whilst exploring their place in social relations, dining and symbolism (e.g. Hill 1997). Concepts such as commensality have also been incorporated in to debates on feasting in the Late Bronze Age, particularly in Iberia (Armada 2008a; Needham and Bowman 2005), and Iron Age of central Europe (Dietler 1999; Arnold 1999). As part of such studies, a number of neglected materials, such as quern stones, have also been re-examined, particularly for understanding exchange mechanisms and social relations (e.g. Cumberpatch 1995; Reille 2000; Moore 2007a) and exploring the symbolic role of production (Hingley 1997; Giles 2007).

Material culture studies also figure prominently in analyses of structured deposition and the role of, apparently mundane, artefacts in cosmologically inspired practices (Hill 1995b; Parker Pearson 1999; Brück 1999). The presence of sanctuary sites in many areas, particularly the Late La Tène, has also led recent work in France to move beyond a focus on metalwork and human remains to examine treatment of the animal remains and demonstrate how material, such as amphorae, was symbolically fragmented (Poux 2004). Increasingly too, other material such as quern stones can be seen to have had a role in such depositional practices. As in Britain, this has led to reappraisal of the division between the sacred and profane, with many of the rectangular enclosures referred to as Viereckschanzen (Webster 1995: 453), previously regarded as sacred sites, now increasingly recognised as domestic settlements with the types of deposition familiar from settlements elsewhere (Venclová 1993; Von Nicolai 2009).

One of the greatest divergences between Britain, in particular, and the rest of the continent is not just in the ways in which material culture studies are undertaken but the number of studies on material culture and the levels and range of expertise in analyses of

materials. The emphasis in recent research, particularly for the Iron Age, on landscape and settlement archaeology (see above), has led to a decline in the number of studies of material culture. Contrastingly, in France and Germany far more studies focus primarily on material culture as a window in to social systems and changing nature of first millennium BC societies (e.g. Milcent 2004; Poux 2004). To some extent this reflects the varied nature of the archaeological record, with more in the way of material culture for much of the first millennium BC beyond Britain.¹⁴ However, this also represents theoretical divergence, meaning that whilst biographical and contextual approaches to material culture have been extremely successful, the neglect of typological and technological studies may lead to increasing problematic discussion of material such as glass beads and ceramics where a lack of chronological precision makes examining changing patterns of dress and deposition more difficult.

Rhythms of life and death

The lives of later prehistoric societies and pre-industrial communities are often dictated by rhythmical processes and actions. These may be repeated movement and actions in space, such as moving around settlements (Parker Pearson 1996; Brück 1999), agricultural cycles (Williams 2003) or lifecycles (of both humans and animals). Many of these become inter-related through architecture, the arrangement of social space, and the deposition and exchange of material culture (see Gerritsen 2003; Parker Pearson 1999). Just as concepts of cycles has been prominent in the studies of material culture in the Anglophone literature, examination of lifecycles and biographies has been increasingly influential upon other aspects of the first millennium BC (Brück and Goodman 1999).

The dead and the living

Increasingly, archaeologists are exploring past lives as long-term processes and biographies rather than as discreet elements of domesticity and death. The Iron Age archaeological record of much of Atlantic Europe lends itself to such perspectives with the frequent absence of funerary evidence (García Sanjuán this volume; Armit 2007a) increasingly being placed within a broader social and symbolic context. Most clearly, the occurrence of human remains on settlement sites and within ‘domestic’ contexts suggests that the dead played an active part in the social spheres of the living (Hill 1995a; Brück 1999). It has become impractical, in the

¹⁴ Ireland also has a focus on metalwork in particular (see Becker this volume), partly due to the continuing problematic nature of the settlement record of the Irish Iron Age (Raftery 1994).

eyes of many, to divide ‘settlement’ and ‘domestic’ space from interrogation of the role of human remains.

Interpreting the treatment and role of human remains found within settlement sites, however, represents a stark example of the divergence of approaches across Europe. Inhumations and disarticulated remains found in storage pits, ditches and other features on settlements, have long been recognised as a characteristic of the British Late Bronze and Iron Age occurring on a range of sites from hillforts to unenclosed farmsteads (Brück 1995; Hill 1995a). These can be seen as part of a wider set of practices which represent only a small fraction of the living population (Lally 2008: 120-121). Once regarded as a largely British phenomenon the process of depositing the dead, either whole or disarticulated, on settlement sites elsewhere in Europe, whilst recognised in the past (Demoule and Ilett 1985: 205; Roymans 1990: 242), is becoming increasingly visible in northern and southern France (e.g. Blaizot and Thiériot 2000; Brun and Ruby 2008: 110; Armit 2006), the Low Countries (Roymans 1990: 242), and Iberia (Arnáiz and Montero this volume) from the Iron Age and Late Bronze Age. In some areas too, such as central France, a similar lack of burial evidence has been noted. In some cases, such as northern France, deposition patterns also mirror Britain in that they include animal remains and fragmented artefacts (Malrain, Matterne and Méniel 2002: 209-211).

For many parts of the continent, such as northern France, this treatment appears to be part of a range of practices for dealing with the dead, alongside the presence of cemeteries and human remains at sanctuary sites (Roymans 1990; Brunaux 2000). Britain too is beginning to display greater heterogeneity, with the recognition that, in addition to human remains on settlements sites, some inhumation ‘cemeteries’ did exist (Cunliffe 2005: 550-552).

This apparent similarity has not been a focus when discussing the commonalities of the Atlantic region (e.g. Henderson 2007), due to the fact that the distribution of such remains does not neatly fit an Atlantic realm, situated across southern Britain (but not necessarily the western fringes or Ireland), northern France and parts of Iberia. Despite the apparent similarities in practices, interpretative models are strikingly contrasting. Such evidence, in France tends to be seen as part of dichotomies in treatment of the dead, between normal or deviant; high or low status; and domestic or ritual (e.g. Delattre this volume).¹⁵ Disarticulated human remains are usually regarded as secondary burial, as part of rites related to sanctuaries

¹⁵ Although see Roymans (1990: 243).

(Brunaux 2000) and/or as ‘deviant’ burials, of those who were not full members of the community, for example children or criminals (Delattre this volume; Roymans 1990: 243).

Similar evidence in Britain is explained in very different ways; disarticulated remains are argued as evidence for excarnation (Carr and Knüsel 1997; Lally 2008: 121) and as part of wider symbolic practices through structured deposition in reference to cosmological and agricultural cycles (Hill 1995b; Fitzpatrick 1997; Williams 2003). Many of these explanations draw on wide-ranging ethnographic analogies (Carr and Knüsel 1997: 168; Lally 2008: 123), recognising such varied treatment does not always represent deviant members of the community (Cunliffe 1992: 76-78; Lally 2008: 124). In so doing, they tend to breakdown the emphasis on sacrifice as the prime explanation for this treatment of the dead (although see Aldhouse-Green 2001; Thurstun 2009: 372). In stark contrast, Celticist visions envision trans-European head-cults (e.g. Ross 1967; Green 1989), but are in danger of drawing parallels between potentially contextually different practices.

The variation in interpretation largely reflects the theoretical differences discussed above, between explanations which stem from anthropological perspectives and those which emphasise a ‘commonsense’ approach. This material suggests, however, that whilst accepting commonality of practice need not infer similar meanings, the possibility of trans-regional rites must be explored, re-examining whether contrasting explanatory models are based on real archaeological distinctions or theoretical divergences.

Other approaches to the funerary record have concentrated on its role in ideological manipulation. García Sanjuán, Graells, Arnáiz and Montero stress the role of the dead in creating and reproducing social inequalities. Reanalysis of the Hirschlanden statue also emphasises the range of messages being expressed through funerary monuments and the dangers seeing these merely as statements of power (Armit and Grant 2008). For later periods approaches to burial evidence, have concentrated on their role in expressing identities, for example in the adoption of new identities through the process of cultural interaction prior to the Roman conquest.

An area largely unexamined in this volume, and only beginning to emerge in studies of the period, is the exploration of status, origin and diets through palaeopathological analyses using DNA and isotopes. Studies have used this to facilitate discussion on the origin of individuals and explore movement of peoples but also on diet, which may reflect social status, community and perhaps belief systems (Jay 2008; Jay *et al.* 2008). The impact of isotope studies, for the Iron Age at least, has barely begun in most areas of Europe. Whether examination of diet or origin might enable us to provide a clearer picture on some of the

questions above remains to be seen, but studies of for example whether the dead, from so-called massacre sites in Britain or the ossuaries at sanctuaries in France, represent local individuals or those from further afield may be instructive in understanding the social context of such depositions (cf. Randsborg 1995; Brunaux 2000: 108).

Warfare

Related to these issues is the level and place of warfare and inter-personal violence within European first millennium BC societies. Historiographically, the desire to down play or emphasise warfare has been varied; for many, the existence of warfare has been regarded as fundamental in social mechanisms and a driving force in change (e.g. Cunliffe 2005: 541). Conversely, postprocessual approaches have downplayed the role of hillforts in warfare (Hill 1996) as a reaction against militaristic visions (e.g. Avery 1993), whilst recently there has been recognition that these critiques have ‘pacified’ the Iron Age, underestimating levels of conflict (James 2007b). Debates, therefore, over the evidence for warfare and its role in the reproduction of societies have been increasingly important in Britain (e.g. Sharples 1991; Craig, Knusel and Carr 2005; Armit 2007b) and Iberia (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 2008; Sastre 2008; González García 2009; González García, Parceró and Ayán this volume) with anthropological arguments, such as those of Clastres and Ferguson, often paramount. In France, warfare remains a key element of social organisation, figuring prominently in many syntheses but detailed discussions of the place of warfare in anthropological terms are less prevalent.

Perhaps most significant amongst new accounts of warfare is a more explicit analysis of its role within social reproduction, without reverting to simplistic concepts of the warrior; in this volume González García, Parceró and Ayán and Graells’ papers, for instance, both have contrasting views on the place of ‘warriors’ as a social class which contrast, and yet also converge, with Cunliffe’s ‘warrior chiefs’ and J. D. Hill’s ‘farmers who occasionally fight’. Whilst palaeopathological analyses provide indications of the extent and nature of violence (e.g. Craig, Knusel and Carr 2005; Redfern 2008) it is clear we are dealing with a distinct burial population which has been selected from a wider community and as such, trauma does not necessarily provide a true reflection of violence whilst those who died in ‘unusual ways’ may be varied (Delattre this volume). Discussion of warfare therefore are increasingly placing warfare as social component rather than discreet element or natural state and examining how studies are driven by the material culture of each region, particular regional focusing on the burial, sculptural and textual evidence (see Armit this volume).

Identities

Concepts of identity have recently been the focus of Anglo-American analyses of Later Prehistory, focusing on expressions of individual and ethnic identity, particularly in the Late Iron Age (e.g. Hill 1997; Jones 1997). This emphasises a broader post-processual approach which regards expression of identity as central to human action (Insoll 2007: 1). It also continues the periods' long focus on ethnicity (through culture-history) and onomasticon with tribal names, seen in the prominence of the Celtic debate and role of classical sources in understanding Iron Age societies (see Jones 1997; Reher-Díez this volume). For Britain and Iberia a relative similar trajectory in approaching this issue can be mapped, dividing in to three phases: firstly, a culture-historical approach; secondly, ethnicity as a reality that can be approached by a combination of several sources (archaeological data, linguistic evidence, classical sources) (exemplified by the volume by Almagro-Gorbea and Ruiz Zapatero 1992, and Cunliffe's 1991 ethnogenesis model); and finally, ethnicity as a social construct, dynamic, subjective and linked to identity and self-perception (an approach influenced by Jones' *The archaeology of ethnicity* 1997, seen in Díaz-Andreu 1998; Armada 2005; Reher-Díez this volume). This dialogue on ethnicity has to some extent been participated in by researchers in America (e.g. Wells 1995), although others continue to emphasise a more classically driven narrative of ethnic identity. Elsewhere, French studies continue to expound narratives more closely aligned to classical texts, although the arguments are less explicitly driven by debates over identity but more concerned with political structures (see Fichtl 2006). Despite their prevalence in Anglo-American research, other aspects of identity, such as gender, remain largely under examined, despite its increasing prominence in archaeological studies in general (Díaz-Andreu 2005). Thurston (2009: 393-4), emphasising the work of Arnold (1996) and others, has recently suggested that gender studies have seen significant development in European Iron Age archaeology. Yet, despite Pope and Ralston's paper in this volume, gender archaeology, as understood elsewhere, is generally absent from first millennium studies (Arnold 1996: 156; Coudart 1998: 61). As Knüsel's (2002) reanalysis of the female burial at Vix makes clear, gender is bedevilled by simplified perspectives in most European approaches and it is notable that Thurston (2009) has to rely almost solely Anglophone and Scandinavian studies. Many continental European analyses continue to regard material culture in gendered terms, assuming, in particular, the existence of male elites (e.g. Brun and Ruby 2008: 32) and females as associated with particular social roles (as seen in a recent exhibition: *Trésors des femmes*, Bibracte 2006). The reasons for the diverging

perspectives on gender across Europe are varied, reflecting underlying theoretical differences discussed above alongside different feminist traditions (Coudart 1998).

The picture is not substantially better in Anglophone studies, however. Joy (this volume), Pope and Ralston (this volume) and Hill (2006: 171) have all noted, that considerations of gender have had limited impact, despite the increasing number of studies on identity. Despite widespread recognition of the problems in gendering grave goods and other material culture (Joy this volume), few studies attempt to seriously consider gender roles. The lack of gender analysis may have a particular impact on perceptions of social structure, where gender roles (amongst others, such as age) are not seen as significant for reconstructing social systems (Díaz-Andreu 2005: 18). This has the potential to create implicitly male dominated social systems, despite the varied evidence to indicate that power was not necessarily gendered (Pope and Ralston this volume).

Potentially related to the limited discussion of gender in the period is the role of women in first millennium BC archaeology in the present. Recent assessment of the extent and impact of women in British later prehistoric archaeology has indicated the apparent disparity between an increasing interest in gender in the past and the continued under representation of female authors in recent volumes on the Iron Age (Moore 2009): c. 29% in Haselgrove and Moore (2007a) and c. 33% in Haselgrove and Pope (2007a) and c. 20% in Davis, Sharples and Waddington (2008). This is not a universally European phenomenon; the two most recent AFEAF volumes include relatively high proportions of female contributors, c. 42% (2009) and c. 37% (2007) respectively, suggesting the situation in France may be somewhat different.¹⁶ Whilst such figures cannot be taken as necessarily representative, they do emphasise the variation of engagement of female researchers with first millennium BC studies. To what extent this may have led to more patriarchal views of Bronze and Iron Age societies remains worthy of closer scrutiny (see Pope and Ralston this volume; Arnold 1996: 156). Whether, the lack of explicit gender discussion in much of continental archaeology despite the apparently higher number of female researchers implies this has less to do with female engagement and more to do with dominant theoretical paradigms is also open to question.

European research traditions

An appreciation of the value of historiography for archaeology has increased in recent years, reflecting a growing concern with the ways in which the discipline has been created (e.g.

¹⁶ Although both volumes include overseas contributors, the majority are French.

Díaz-Andreu 2007b; Trigger 2006; Schnapp 2002). Despite this, aside from detailed discussion of the Celtic question, historiography of the period has been relatively under-examined in contrast to other periods (cf. Rowley-Conwy 2007; Hingley 2008; Gillett 2002). This situation is beginning to change with a Europe-wide recognition by a number of researchers of the importance of past perceptions in developing and creating the resource (e.g. Arnold 1990; Giles 2006; Thurston 2009), seen in papers in this volume (Hingley; Rogers; Sharples). In Spain especially, there has been a recent focus on greater understanding of the historiographical basis of the subject (Wulff 2003; Ruiz Rodríguez, Sánchez and Bellón 2006; Armada 2008b; Gracia 2009). Others, demonstrate the success of the historiographic deconstruction of Celtic models (e.g. Ibarra 2006), by the likes of Ruiz Zapatero, Collis and James, allowing more critical examinations of the roots of other dominant disciplinary paradigms.

In Britain, too the development of history of archaeology has touched Bronze and Iron Age studies, leading largely to analyses of significant individuals, such as Christopher Hawkes (Díaz-Andreu and Price 2009), John Mortimer (Giles 2006), and Christian MacLagan (Esldon 2004). This reflects a longer tradition of examining significant individuals, such as Wheeler and Childe (Hawkes 1982; Green 1981), but new studies are marked by their critical appreciation and contextualising of these individuals' work. Another area has been a more critical attitude to the place of classical sources (Hingley this volume; Champion 1985) which, although not universally accepted (Karl 2004), has focused debate on the place of texts in first millennium BC studies.

Recent research tends to overcome the division between internalist and externalist perspectives, that has been predominant in historiographic research (Díaz-Andreu 2002: 25-31; Moro 2007). This duality is not clearly reflected in the papers of this volume, with that by Sharples a good example of the combination of externalist (institutions, universities...) and internalist (theories, fieldwork...) perspectives. Overall, the growth in historiography of the period marks a maturing of first millennium BC studies and a desire to examine the basis on which pervasive models rest. As we have suggested above, such discussions need to move beyond linear models of the discipline's development, exploring the ways in which national agendas, disciplinary frameworks, and theoretical underpinnings have shaped approaches to the period in order that critical discussions can develop (Schnapp 2002: 135).

Historiographical studies covering the period have yet to do much more than scrape the surface of the evidence of networks and influences which have structured our debates, yet those that have (e.g. Díaz-Andreu and Price 2009) indicate the wealth of the resource. The

division of European first millennium BC archaeology is also, however, apparent in some of our historiography, with studies to date largely focused on individual figures and insular concerns, and few studies of the sub-discipline's development at a European scale in relation to the broader social, political and archaeological forces (e.g. Díaz-Andreu 2007b). In comparison to most other periods, we are only at the beginning of such studies with the next few years anticipating a range of critical appreciations of the subject.

CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS EUROPEAN APPROACHES?

Writing this paper we have been struck by just how many of the concerns raised here can be found in earlier assessments of the period (cf. Shennan 1987; Collis 1996a; Arnold and Gibson 1995a), and how many of those concerns remain valid. Rather than a narrowing of the gap between approaches, they seem as large as ever. It is ironic that whilst Anglophone studies stress the importance of multi-vocality in the past and present (e.g. Habu, Fawcett and Matsunga 2008), studies of the first millennium BC often remain polarised in to a set of dominant orthodoxies.

In our discussion we hope to have illustrated that by crossing the divide of perspectives, increased dialogue provides a better appreciation of different theoretical paradigms allowing for consideration of more nuanced approaches, offering in particular the potential to challenge the current theoretical hegemony entrenched in many regions. Many such approaches, such as the Iberian explorations of Clastres, have the potential to fundamentally alter debates elsewhere. However, in this paper, and in the selection of papers for the volume, we have been careful not to argue that crossing the divide entails the primacy of a particular theoretical approach. Instead we suggest the need to develop dialogue to allow for cross-comparison and a plurality of perspectives. Such an approach will allow studies to advance beyond the often sterile debates within national, linguistic or theoretically bounded groups. We do not hope, necessarily, for theoretical convergence (cf. Bintliff 2004), regarding plurality a benefit rather than a hindrance. Dialogue is, however, required to allow the models and paradigms created by the historical frameworks of national and disciplinary structures to be challenged. We envisage, therefore, a European approach not as a homogenising theoretical model or methodological kit-bag but a set of dialogues which may develop approaches to the first millennium at all scales, from the local to the continental. We

are not therefore advocating a homogenising manifesto, but suggesting that through plurality and dialogue new perspectives may emerge.

Dialogue may also allow us to maintain the benefits of regional analyses whilst avoiding narrow perspectives. Through the use of regional case studies as part of discussion of wider themes, trends and causations at supra-regional and European scales can be examined without the loss of finer detail. Examples of such approaches which have been influential beyond their geographic coverage, for example on landscapes and settlement patterns (Gerritsen 2003), mark a model for future studies reminding us that regionality need not equate to insularity. Although the papers within this volume rarely try to draw parallels across the continent, from our assessment of the state of first millennium BC studies we would suggest that, despite the problems inherent in studying prehistory at a European scale, now is the time to grasp the nettle of examining broader processes of change, without reverting to cultural or deterministic models. This may lead to a return to the creation of broader narratives (Sherratt 1995), but these need not be meta-narratives or emphasise structure over agency, but bridge the divisions between regional studies. Without comparing, contrasting and explaining Europe-wide phenomena, including patterns of behaviour and changes in settlement patterns, we risk reducing Late Bronze and Iron Age studies to particularist analyses. The challenge remains in many areas to move beyond the wealth of successful regional analyses, to engagement between regions, particularly those which are seldom explored beyond their supra-regional and linguistic boundaries. Most obvious is the limited comparison of France and Britain where apparent similarities in archaeological records contrast with a disparity in current narratives.

The current picture presented in this paper is not one of stagnation, however, and the positives and vibrancy of recent research must be stressed. The rapidly changing nature of first millennium BC archaeology in Spain, witnessed in many papers here, is of particular interest, indicating the ways in which theoretical perspectives may develop whilst representing welcome challenges to (perceived) Anglo-Saxon approaches. Meanwhile, in France the quantity and quality of recent studies provides an enviable data-set which is beginning to see major re-evaluations of the period. The challenge is, of course, not merely a European one, and some of the most novel approaches to European archaeology, and cogent overviews of the discipline, come from outside Europe's borders (e.g. Thurston 2009). Here, perhaps, an external perspective and different disciplinary context offers challenging approaches, not least in Crumley and Meyer's paper, but also in the works of Wells (2001) and Dietler (1998). As Arnold and Gibson (1995a: 4) suggested there is a need in studies of

the European Iron Age to embrace alternative perspectives, both methodological and theoretical; Crumley and Meyer have been one of the few in this volume to explicitly outline a methodology that might be followed.

The authors of this paper hoped that the conference that preceded the volume might be part of a wider set of dialogues concerning first millennium BC research in Western Europe. There are some lights of hope, with increasing numbers of continental participants at the *Iron Age Research Student Seminar*, in Britain, and the successful *École Européenne de Protohistoire de Bibracte*, aimed at postgraduate students of the Late Iron Age. At present, the division frequently falls between an Anglo-Saxon (and now also Iberian) audience and a central European one. As the Bologna process promises to bring European University programmes more in to line (Collis 2009: 89), it is hoped that the increased transferability of study might help lead to greater cross-pollination of students and approaches. Perhaps the greatest challenge to scholars of the first millennium BC in the 21st century is to recognise the dangers in researching as independent units and to begin to place regional and national research in a continental context.

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Figure captions

Figure 1.1. Atlantic Europe as defined in this volume (drawn by Chris Unwin).

Figure 1.2. Regional focus of papers in AFEAF volumes.

Figure 1.3. Definitions of Atlantic Europe. Comparisons of Atlantic Europe defined by (a) Barry Cunliffe, (c) Jon Henderson and (b) Kris Kristiansen's Bronze Age 'Atlantic tradition' area (redrawn by Chris Unwin after Cunliffe 2001: 20; Henderson 2007; and Kristiansen 1998a: fig. 26).

Figure 1.4. European economic 'banana' and key first millennium BC sites (drawn by Chris Unwin).

Figure 1.5. European Union Atlantic economic zone (drawn by Chris Unwin).

Figure 1.6. Spheres of use of the Déchelette and Reinecke chronological systems in the 20th century (drawn by Chris Unwin after Kaenel 2008: fig. 9).

Figure 1.7. A simplified comparative chronology of Western Europe.

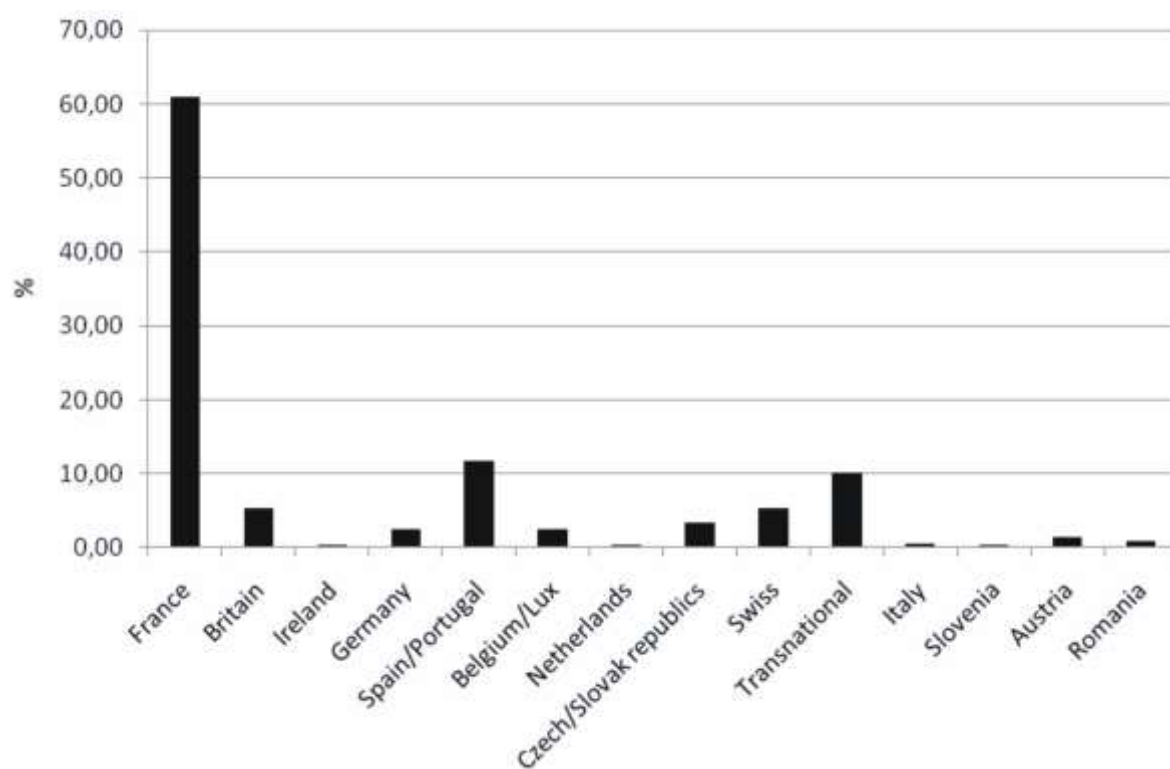
Figure 1.8. Comparison of chronological divisions of southern Britain.

Figure 1.9. Geographic focus of papers in this volume.

Figure 1.10. Topic of Iron Age PhD theses in Britain: a) in real numbers; b) as a percentage.

Figure 1.11. Topic of Bronze Age PhD theses in Britain: a) in real numbers; b) as a percentage.

Figure 1.12. Focus of papers in British edited volumes.





a



b

0 500 kilometres



c

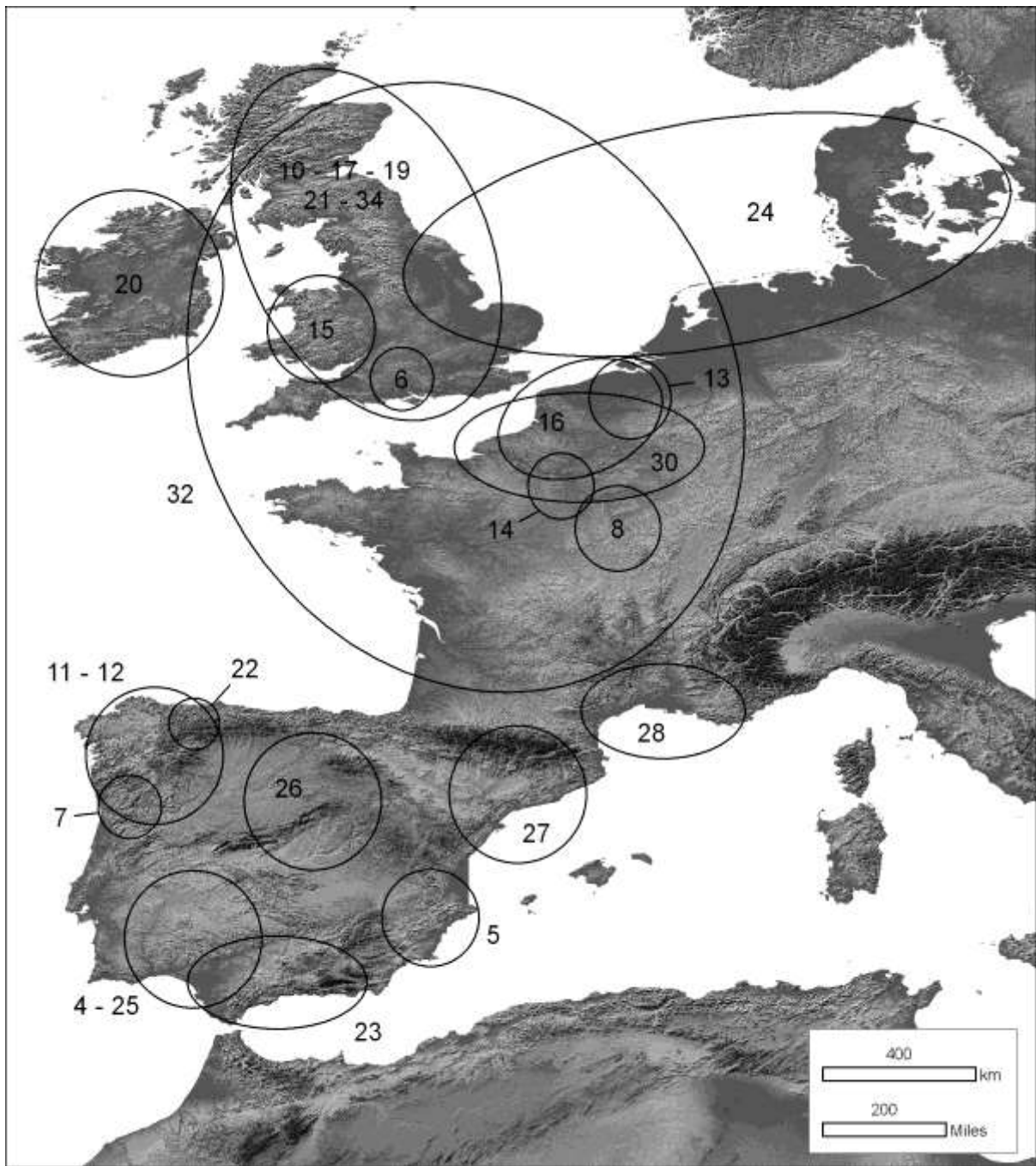


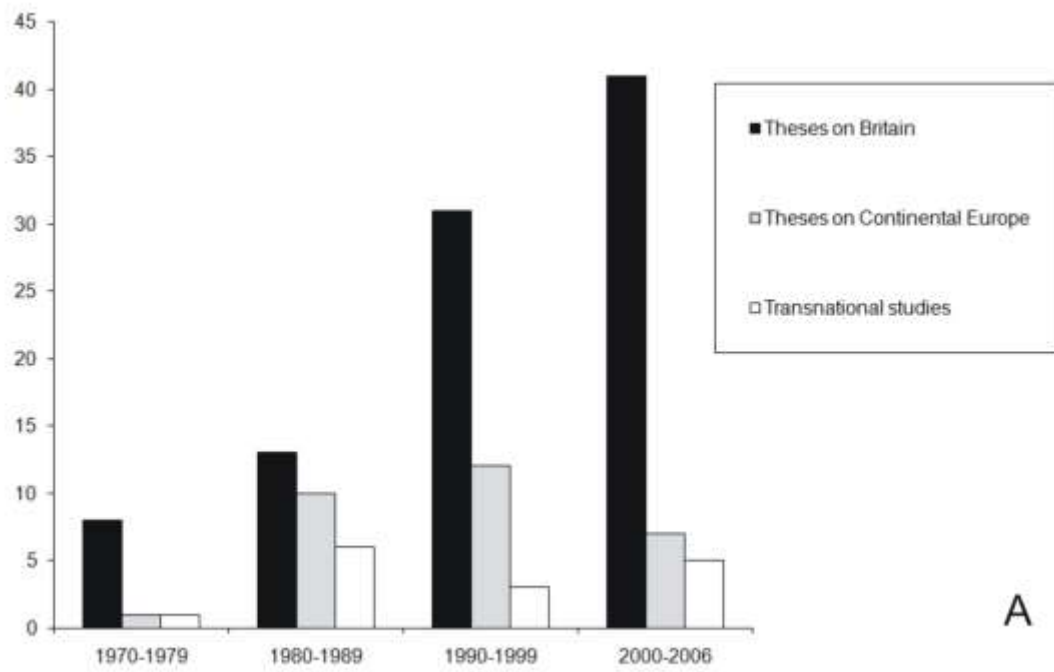




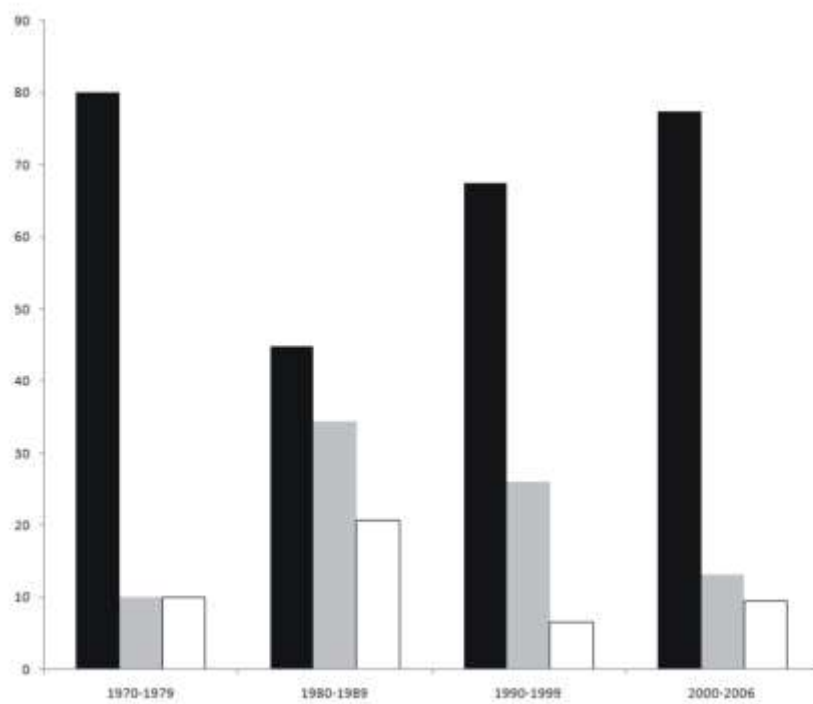
	Reinecke	France	Iberia	Netherlands	Ireland	Britain
1000						
900	Hallstatt B	Late Bronze Age	Late Bronze Age	Late Bronze Age		Late Bronze Age
800					Late Bronze Age	
700	Hallstatt C					Earliest Iron Age
600		Premier Iron Age	First Iron Age	Early Iron Age		
500	Hallstatt D					
400	La Tène A					Early Iron Age
300	La Tène B			Middle Iron Age	Iron Age	
200		Second Iron Age	Second Iron Age			Middle Iron Age
100	La Tène C			Late Iron Age		
BC	La Tène D1					
AD	La Tène D2					Late Iron Age
100	Roman	Roman	Roman	Roman		Roman

	Cunliffe 2005	Hill 1995	Hill 1999 Moore 2006	Hawkes 1961	Hodson 1964
1000					
900	Late Bronze Age		Late Bronze Age		
800		Late Bronze Age			Bronze Age
700	Earliest Iron Age			Bronze Age	
600					
500	Early Iron Age	Early Iron Age	Earlier Iron Age		Earliest Pre-Roman Iron Age
400					
300				Iron Age A	
200	Middle Iron Age	Middle Iron Age		Iron Age B	Earlier Pre-Roman Iron Age
100			Later Iron Age		
BC	Late Iron Age			Iron Age C	
AD	Latest Iron Age	Late Iron Age			Late Pre-Roman Iron Age
100	Roman	Roman	Roman	Roman	Roman

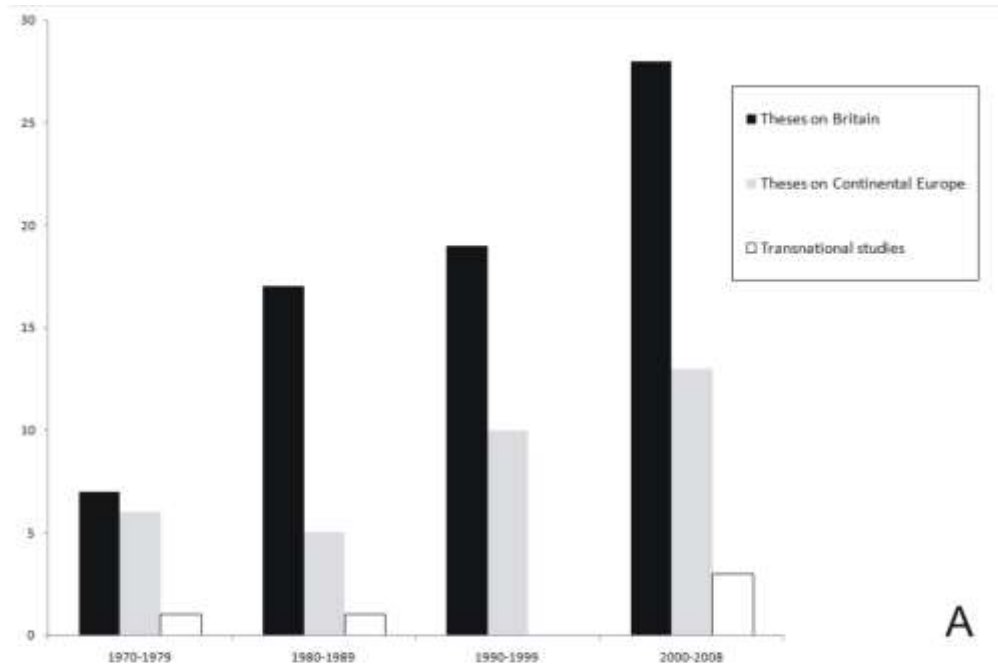




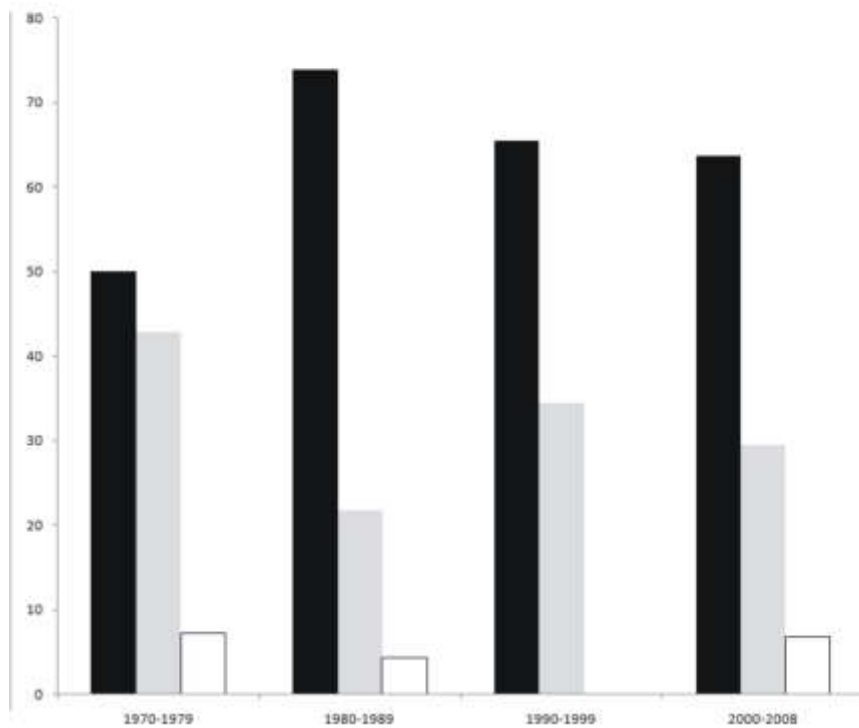
A



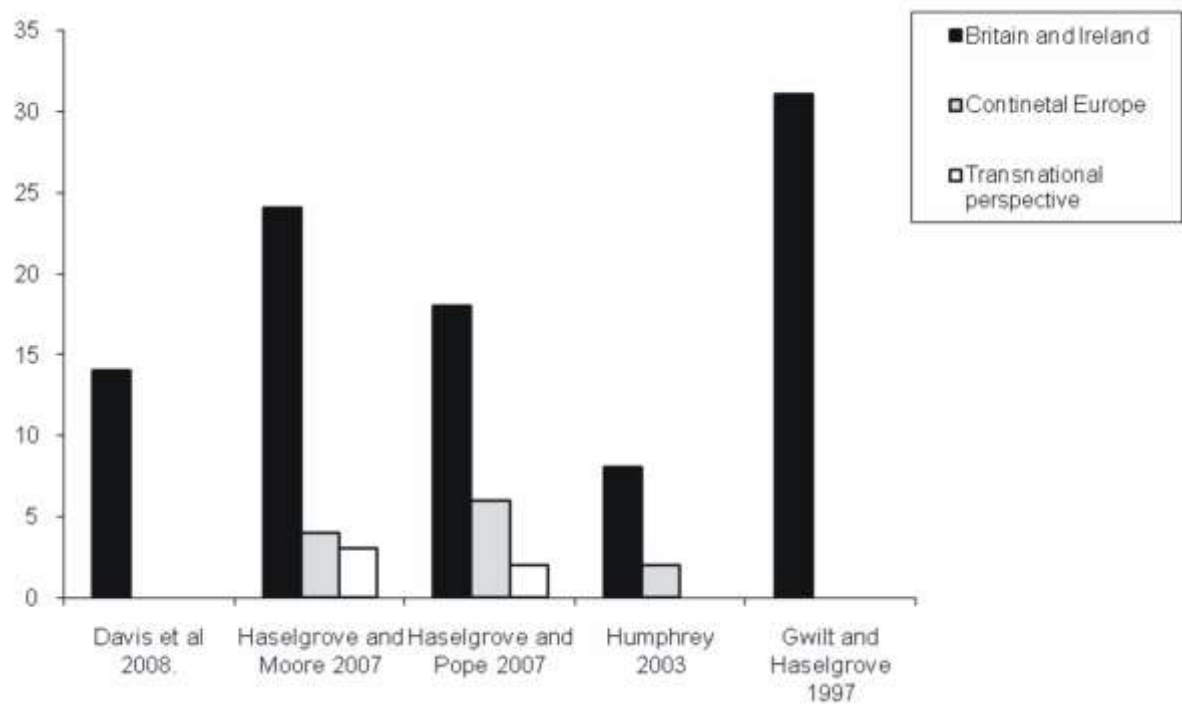
B



A



B



Paper	LBA	EIA	MIA	LIA
Moore and Armada				
Ruiz Zapatero				
Meyer and Crumley				
Celestino et al.				
Grau				
Davis				
Sande Lemos et al.				
Nouvel				
Collis				
Hill				
Sastre				
González, Parcero and Ayán				
De Mulder and Bourgeois				
Peake, Delattre and Issenmann				
Karl				
Mathiot				
Pope and Ralston				
Armbruster				
Barrett, Bowden and McOmish				
Becker				
Joy				
Jordá, Marín and García				
Jiménez				
Van de Noort				
García Sanjuán				
Arnáiz and Montero				
Graells				
Armit				
Ralph				
Delattre				
Hingley				
Rogers				
Reher				
Sharples				