

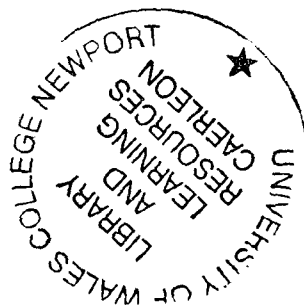
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Summary of Thesis

This thesis studies the use and development of anthropomorphic iconography in Iron Age Gaul, up to the beginning of the Roman period. The principal focus is on free-standing human imagery. Art, and in particular religious art, is for many societies a critical feature in the definition of cultural identity. It is the contention of this study, therefore, that a better understanding of the changes in the iconography of this period will furnish us with a better comprehension of changes within Iron Age societies themselves. In particular, it is considered whether the anthropomorphic representation of gods is essentially a post-conquest phenomenon, or whether post-conquest religious art built upon earlier, Iron Age traditions.

In order to assess these aspects three case study areas (Armorica, Central Gaul and South-West Gaul) were selected on the basis of concentrations of images in these areas. In each of these areas the depiction of anthropomorphic and associated imagery on other media, such as metalwork, is assessed in order to identify any regional trends. In addition free-standing human imagery of the same period from regions outside Gaul is considered in order to identify any wider trends. The free-standing human images of Gaul are then assessed in relation to each other and this data.

As a result of this assessment two principal groups were identified. The first is an Early group, produced near the beginning of the period, quite naturalistic in appearance and frequently associated with burial sites. The second much larger Torso group, dates to the late Iron Age with the images depicting a simplified human form. Both groups are considered in relation to the social changes taking place at the time of their production and use.

University of Wales College, Newport

The Human Image in the Iron Age Iconography of Gaul

Simon Philip Roper

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Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction & Methodology	Page 1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Methodology of the Research	5
1.3 Structure of Thesis	8
Chapter 2: Background to Case Study Areas	11
2.1 Armorica:	12
2.1.1 Physical Environment	12
2.1.2 Archaeological/Historical Background	14
2.2 Central Gaul	19
2.2.1 Physical Environment	19
2.2.2 Archaeological/Historical Background	20
2.3 South-West Gaul	26
2.3.1 Physical Environment	26
2.3.2 Archaeological/Historical Background	27
Chapter 3: Iconography in Other Media and Regions	30
3.1 Introduction	30
3.2 The Different Media	30
3.2.1 Metalwork	35
3.2.2 Coinage	40
3.2.3 Miscellaneous	44

3.3 Armorica	44
3.3.1 Metalwork from Armorica	45
3.3.2 Coinage from Armorica	46
3.3.3 Other Media from Armorica	48
3.4 Central Gaul	50
3.4.1 Metalwork from Central Gaul	50
3.4.2 Coinage from Central Gaul	52
3.5 South-West Gaul	54
3.5.1 Metalwork from South-Western Gaul	54
3.5.2 Coinage from South-Western Gaul	56
3.6 Imagery of Neighbouring Regions	57
3.6.1 Southern Gaul Region	59
3.6.2 Germany Region	62
3.6.3 Iberian Region	68
3.6.4 Britain Region	71
3.7 Summary	75
Chapter 4 The Iron Age Human Imagery	80
4.1 General Section	80
4.1.1 Distribution	80
4.1.2 Dating/Chronology:	83
4.1.3 Material:	86

4.1.4 Imagery:	88
4.2 Armorica	96
4.2.1 Distribution:	96
4.2.2 Dating/Chronology:	97
4.2.3 Material:	99
4.2.4 Imagery:	100
4.2.5 Contexts:	104
4.3 Central Gaul	112
4.3.1 Distribution	112
4.3.2 Dating/Chronology	113
4.3.3 Material	116
4.3.4 Imagery	117
4.3.5 Contexts	127
4.4 South Western Gaul	136
4.4.1 Distribution	136
4.4.2 Dating	137
4.4.3 Material	138
4.4.4 Imagery	139
4.4.5 Contexts	143
4.5 Summary	148
4.5.1 Contexts	148

4.5.2 Conclusion	153
Chapter 5: Conclusion	156
Appendix 1: Gaulish Iron Age Iconography	165
Appendix 2.1 : Other Media from the Case Study Areas	189
Appendix 2.2 : Images from Neighbouring Regions	192
Bibliography	197

List of Figures

Fig.3.1	Examples of different treatment of limbs; A) Vix figure (cat. No. 17), B) Bozouls figure (cat. No. 20), C) Yvignac figure (cat. No. 1).	Page 31
Fig.3.2	Mont-St.-Vincent figure (cat. No. 14)	32
Fig.3.3	Second Paule figure (cat. No. 5)	32
Fig.3.4	Double-faced Lennon stele	33
Fig.3.5	Torc-wearing Paulmy figure (cat. No. 10)	33
Fig.3.6	Euffigneix (cat. no. 22) and Poulan-Pouzols (cat. no. 21)	34
Fig.3.7	'Lyre player' Paule figure (cat No. 4)	34
Fig.3.8	Bronze situla, Waldalgesheim grave good (Birkhan 1999, 134 no. 64)	36
Fig.3.9	Human faces from Basse-Yutz flagon and Courtisols torc (Megaw & Megaw 1989, no. 87 & 172)	38
Fig.3.10	Lennon figure (cat. No. 3) and Sussions issue coin (Allen 1995, no. 79).	41
Fig.3.11	Crosslegged figures; figure from the Gundestrup cauldron (Lorre 1999, 19), Bouray figure (R.M.N. 1993), Roquepertuse figure (Megaw 1970, no. 212), coin from Belgic Gaul (Nash 1987, no. 166)	43
Fig.3.12	Coin of the Aulerici Ebuovices depicting a boar superimposed on a man's neck (Allen 1976, 271) and the Euffigneix figure (cat. No. 22)	44
Fig.3.13	Kernavest dagger sheath (Daire 1991, 237)	46
Fig.3.14	First phase coin depicting a running figure (de Jersey 1994, 48), and a second phase coin depicting the female armed rider (de Jersey 1994, 56)	47
Fig.3.15	Third phase coin of the Aulerici Diablintes (de Jersey 1994, 107)	48
Fig.3.16	Granite stele from Kermaria, Finistère (Daire 1991, 241)	50

Fig.3.17	Fragment of iron scabbard from Saône at Marnay. Depicting two dragons (Raftery 1990, 51)	52
Fig.3.18	Early phase coin depicting a large human head (Nash 1978, no. 14)	53
Fig.3.19	Torc from Vielle Toulouse, with animal heads terminals (Megaw 1970, no. 45)	56
Fig.3.20	Coin of the Volcae Tectosages (Allen 1980, no. 103)	57
Fig.3.21	Cross-legged Roquepertuse (Megaw 1970, no. 212) and Entremont figures (Green 1989, 110)	60
Fig.3.22	Roquepertuse double head (Birkhan 1999, 247 no. 367), and Entremont group of heads (Megaw & Megaw 1989, no. 270)	61
Fig.3.23	Hirschlanden figure (Birkhan 1999, 126 no. 38-9), and the Holzgerlingen figure (Birkhan 1999, 195 no. 229)	63
Fig.3.24	Glauberg figure (Birkhan 1999, 127 no. 44), Heidelberg head (Megaw 1970, no. 49), and Pfalzfeld pillar (Megaw 1970, no. 75)	65
Fig.3.25	Leichlingen head (Megaw 1970, no. 85)	66
Fig.3.26	Waldenbuch pillar (Megaw 1970, no. 142), and Felbach-Schmiden goats with suggested position of human figure (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 163)	67
Fig.3.27	Part of the Porcuna sculptural assemblage (Almagro-Gorbea 1991, 404), and the Lady of Elche bust (Keay 1988, 20)	70
Fig.3.28	<i>Gurreros galaicos</i> sculpture from Castro di Lezenbo (Almagro-Gorbea 1991, 404)	71
Fig.3.29	Ballachulish figure (Coles 1996, plate 10), and one of the Roos Carr figures (Coles 1996, 318)	72
Fig.3.30	Kingsteignton figure (Coles 1996, 319), and two examples of the Parisi chalk figurines (Stead 1988, 10)	74

Fig.4.1	Geneva figure (cat. No. 23) and Seurre figure (cat. No. 15)	87
Fig. 4.2	Eye depicted on the side of the Euffigneix figure (Hatt 1970, no. 61)	90
Fig. 4.3	Bais ithyphallic triad (cat. No. 2)	90
Fig. 4.4	Ars torc holder figure (cat. No. 9)	95
Fig 4.5	Lennon figure (cat. No. 3) and Bais figure (cat. No. 2)	102
Fig. 4.6	The Paule figures (cat. No. 4, 5, 6, 7)	103
Fig. 4.7	Yvignac figure (cat. No. 1)	110
Fig. 4.8	Seurre figure (cat. No. 15) and second Vix figure (cat. No.17)	115
Fig. 4.9	Ars figure (cat. No. 9) and Paulmy figure (cat. No. 10)	118
Fig. 4.10	Châteaumeillant (cat. No. 13), Pérassay (cat. No. 12) and Orsennes (cat. No. 11) figures	120
Fig. 4.11	Levroux figure (cat. No. 8)	122
Fig. 4.12	Mont-Saint-Vincent figure (cat. No. 14)	123
Fig. 4.13	First Vix figure (cat. No. 16)	126
Fig. 4.14	Bronze Age statue menhirs from Sainte-Sernin-sur-Rance and La Serre in Aveyron	137
Fig 4.15	Bozouls figure (cat. No. 20)	139
Fig. 4.16	Cahors figure (cat. No. 19)	141
Fig. 4.17	Poulan-Pouzols 'animal' figure (cat. No. 21)	142

List of Maps

Map 2.1. Location of the case study areas.	Page 11
Map 2.2. Armorica case study area.	12
Map 2.3. Central Gaul case study area.	19
Map 2.4. South-West Gaul case study area.	26
Map 3.1. Metalwork and other media depicting relevant imagery in the Armorican case study area.	45
Map 3.2. Metalwork finds depicting relevant imagery in the Central Gaul case study area.	51
Map 3.3. Metalwork finds depicting relevant imagery in the South- Western Gaul case study area.	55
Map 3.4. Human Imagery from neighbouring regions (after Megaw 1970).	58
Map 4.1 Distribution map of sites with catalogue numbers.	82

Chapter 1: Introduction & Methodology

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is intended to give an introduction to the research undertaken, the rationale and the approach adopted, and the overall structure of this study. This thesis comprises a study into the genesis and development of anthropomorphic iconography in Iron Age Gaul, up to the beginning of the Roman period. Art, and in particular religious art, is for many societies a critical feature in the definition of cultural identity. It is the contention of this study, therefore, that a better understanding of the changes in the iconography of this period will furnish us with a better comprehension of changes within Iron Age societies themselves. In particular, it will be considered whether the anthropomorphic representation of gods is essentially a post-conquest phenomenon, or whether post-conquest religious art built upon earlier, Iron Age traditions.

The use and representation of the human image occurs in almost all forms of art and has been particularly extensive in Western Europe since the Roman period, which introduced the tradition of mimesis, or lifecopying, from ancient Greece. However its use in Gaul in the period prior to this, the Iron Age, is far less well documented. Whilst there are a number of representations known from mobiliary art (Megaw 1970), the examples of stand-alone monumental images are rare. Indeed Iron Age examples of such images have frequently been dismissed as too few to comprise a significant group (Henig 1984, 22). Where examples have been acknowledged as existing, there has been a tendency to ascribe their presence simply to increasing classical influence.

Classical influence, whether Greek or Roman, did undoubtedly affect how the use of the human image developed within the areas of Gaul. The one region that does have a considerable amount of monumental human imagery in the Iron Age is the lower Rhône valley of south-eastern Gaul (Benoit 1969), in the area around the Greek colonies established there from the 6th century BC onwards. Similarly, post-conquest Gaul shows a great increase in the quantity of iconographic material recovered (Espérandieu 1907-66). It is, however, the degree of influence which is equivocal. The extent to which classical influence may have affected those examples produced prior to the conquest, through what has sometimes been termed 'pre-roman Romanisation' (Haselgrove 1984, 5-7), is also an issue worthy of debate. This section will outline the approach that has been adopted to access these issues.

There are a number of difficulties associated with this research; some related to the material itself, and others connected with its treatment in the past. Most studies of 'Celtic iconography' do not start in the Iron Age - they start in the Roman period (Green 1986, Webster 1986). One significant reason for this has been the long held perception that pre-conquest Celtic religion was aniconic (Lewis 1966, 4), and that the key to the study of the 'Celtic' gods was therefore the Roman interpretation of those deities (Brunaux 1987, Henig 1984) after the conquest. One objective of this research is to break down this already questionable view, which is being eroded by increasing finds of pre-Roman icons (e.g. Arramond & Le Potier 1990, Büchsenschütz & Krausz 1986, Green 1998). To this end, one aim of this Thesis is to catalogue all Iron Age or likely Iron Age human iconographic images in Gaul.

There are two dominant strands to traditional studies of Iron Age and Romano-Celtic Iconography: The first studies Romano-Celtic Iconography to understand pre-Roman

'Celtic deity'. (Green 1989, Ross 1967, Thevenot 1968 etc.). This raises an immediate problem - 'retrospective inference' (Webster 1995, 450): i.e. we study Celtic gods in terms of their Roman period identities. This means a whole series of assumptions have to be made about Iron Age religion surviving unscathed into the Roman period. These are major assumptions, as many Romano-Celtic gods appear to have no iconographic existence prior to the conquest.

There have also been some studies of Iron Age iconography alone, most notably the works of Vincent and Ruth Megaw (Megaw 1970, Megaw & Megaw 1989), which have collected and analysed a very large body of material. These studies however consider the material culture purely in terms of 'Art', and so remove it from its social and geographical context, allowing it to be presented in terms of an ill-defined and sweeping concept of 'Celticness' (Taylor 1991, 129).

The end result of conventional approaches is that the study of Iron Age human imagery is treated either in aesthetic isolation, or as a back-projection from the Roman period; it is not contexted in the Iron Age itself. My contention is that we can only more fully understand the role of human imagery in the Iron Age period in Gaul by analysing the Iron Age data first. Having explored the meaning and function of the human form in Iron Age contexts by this means, it then becomes necessary to treat the subsequent early Roman iconography as the product of a society in transition: it is part of what makes up Romano-Celtic society and cannot be considered as 'Celtic' or Iron Age iconography.

The material itself also presents difficulties to any new attempt at assessment. There are some problems with dating the iconography, since much of it has no archaeological context, having been reused (e.g. as building materials), displaced or

reworked in a later period. Alternatively much of the material was excavated without stratigraphic/contextual control, and in the absence of scientific means for the dating of stonework, other methods have been adopted. A certain amount of material has been dated and ascribed an ethnic context based on the style it is perceived to possess, a process which is fraught with problems and inconsistencies. Work produced after the conquest but rendered in what could be termed a 'native' style may be dated to the Iron Age, and the reverse true of that produced in the Iron Age and heavily influenced by Classical imports. Added to this is the element of arbitrariness inherent in decisions of what is 'native', these being based mainly on the opinion of the person assessing the material. This type of assessment and study has been described by Shanks (1996, 368) as the archaeologist acting as connoisseur. The procedures used are ill-defined, and appear based upon intuition and awareness of the qualities of design and manufacture, derived from familiarity and long-term handling of the material. It requires an almost blind faith on the part of the reader in the expertise and impartiality of the assessor. It has also been suggested that the art of an ancient culture can act as a kind of Rorschach blot test (Flannery & Marcus 1998, 43), with the assessor projecting his or her own experience and personality on to it. Elements of this type of approach can be seen in some of the previous studies of the material (Espérandieu 1907-66, Megaw 1970, Megaw & Megaw 1989), and is a concern for anyone undertaking such a study.

The other problematic element of stylistic attribution being used to assign a date and ethnicity to the iconography, is the very concept of style. Aside from its reliance on the esoteric expertise of the 'connoisseur' archaeologist, the concept of style also divorces the object or objects from the society that produced them. This, it can be argued, is due to the ideas of 'style' and 'artist' being idealist, and only having

meaning in relation to the art style they refer to (Shanks 1996, 369-70), with the object being explained, evaluated and given significance by its contribution to the future development of the style, and being detached from the social and political reality of the culture. Shanks (1996, 373) therefore sees style, when conceived as a medium of description, and used for classification and typology, as being abstracted from social context and hence meaningless. This is not to suggest that style should be completely dismissed, rather that the method of its application should be carefully considered. Approaches such as “information theory” for instance, where the shapes, colours and decoration of a style are seen as actively signalling information about social identities (Hays 1993, 81), connect style and its use back to the society that produced the material. It is therefore important to find an approach which, whilst aiding the identification of material without archaeological context, does not become dependent on, or dominated by, the concept of style alone.

1.2 Methodology of the research

The need then, appears to be for a methodology which will take into account the background which led to the production of these images, to stress their “social context” (Shanks 1996, 371). The importance of placing objects, or bodies of material, within their context before studying them, has been recognised for some time, particularly with some of the studies which have looked at symbols and their use in societies. The meaning behind objects can only be approached if the contexts of use are considered, and the similarities and differences compared (Shanks & Hodder 1995, 14-15), since the same or similar objects can have different meanings in different contexts. This need for context has a number of different facets; archaeological context (where possible), not just for the information this may give in

regard of dating the material, but to provide an insight into the section of society that was producing or using it, the type of use it was put to and the reasons for its deposition, accidental or deliberate; symbolic context, how the artefact fits into the overall system of symbols of the religion and society as a whole, helping to indicate what is represented and its possible role; social, political and historical context, in order to understand its significance in the society and how it may have been used and to understand what pictorial elements have most relevance to the question being asked.

All of these facets are equally important, if not always available, since they inevitably overlap with each other, and inform each other. For example Hays (1993, 83) has argued against a reliance on a total symbolic context, by searching for patterns in stylistic behaviour and understanding them in their economic, social and ideological contexts. For if certain objects play roles as types of social tool, that is almost certainly only one aspect in a large and complicated system of human activity, cognition and signification. Just how complicated is indicated by the realisation that if the context can change the meaning of an object, equally the meaning can change the context (Shanks & Hodder 1995, 15). For example animal bones may have very different meanings when found within a pit on a settlement site, as opposed to when they are found in a burial. Similarly, how the animal bones are placed within the pit may determine whether the feature is a simple refuse pit or a ritual deposit. With reference to iconography specifically, Flannery & Marcus (1998, 43) stress the importance of understanding as fully as possible the contexts of the culture under study. With this background they believe a truly scientific analysis can be made, whilst without it iconographic study can turn out to be little more than “Science Fiction”.

Any attempt at an iconographic study therefore needs to utilise as much contextual information as possible. With the focus of the current research being on the development of the anthropomorphic form in iconography, potentially in the depiction of gods, ancestors or heroes, the first aim of the methodology has been the compilation of a catalogue of monumental human imagery (Appendix 1), focusing on archaeological and contextual information. This collection of data has isolated concentrations of material, which in turn has resulted in the selection of specific case study areas, Armorica, Central Gaul¹, and South-West Gaul². This will allow the regional context (social, political, historical) of each study area to be considered in greater detail, and may also highlight regional differences to provide explanation for differences in iconography. The final aim is to provide as much of a symbolic context as possible. This will be done via the building up of a visual 'lexicon' of anthropomorphic representation in the different case study areas, through a study of the use of anthropomorphic imagery in both certain iconographic contexts (deity, ancestor etc. representation, images within ritual enclosures) and non-iconographic or uncertain iconographic contexts (coinage, pottery, metalwork) (see Appendix 2:1), thus providing a better understanding of the underlying grammar of belief and practice which informs the use of the human image in Iron Age Gaul. In addition the free-standing human imagery from neighbouring regions, such as Britain and Germany (see Appendix 2:2), will be studied for similarities with the catalogued Gaulish material. This will facilitate the recognition of regional trends which extend beyond the borders of Gaul, and will help to establish general features of human imagery in Europe. It will also make it easier to assess chronological changes in

¹From Côte-d'Or to Indre-et-Loire east to west, and Loiret to Creuse north to south.

²The area around Toulouse.

iconographic representation. Based on this understanding of the Iron Age material it will be possible to assess the catalogued Gaulish images, and the symbols or images depicted on or with them. Following this, consideration of the differences in the depiction of the human image, both between the case study areas, and within them over time, will be undertaken in order to assess the ways in which the human image was used, for what purpose, and whether use changes over time.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

First stage : a catalogue of all iconographic human images or likely images of probable Iron Age date from Gaul. This has provided the data for the selection of the case study areas used in the second stage. The areas which have been selected are Armorica, Central Gaul, and South-West Gaul.

Second stage : a study of the use of anthropomorphic imagery in primarily non-iconographic contexts in the case study areas, including coinage, pottery, and metalwork. This is done in order to develop an understanding of all the contexts within which, and the media through which, anthropomorphic imagery was employed in Iron Age Gaul. Given that the human form is relatively rare in pre-conquest contexts it will also be necessary to focus on an additional theme, non-anthropomorphic motifs which are repeatedly associated with the human form, for example the torc, the lyre, and animals. At the end of this section it will be assessed how far, if at all, it is possible to identify differential patterns in human imagery - related, for example to particular media, such as are images on coins different to those on pots, and differences based on location, for instance regional traditions in representation. Also in this second stage free-standing human imagery from neighbouring regions is assessed in order to establish overall trends in human imagery

of this period. These neighbouring regions comprise South-western Gaul, Germany, Britain and Iberia. The first of these treated separately from the rest of Gaul due to the Greek colonies established there in the 6th century BC. Regional trends which extend beyond the borders of Gaul will be considered, for example within Eastern Gaul and Germany, as will the dating within the Iron Age of certain trends. These Iron Age patterns will help in the assessment of the free standing Gaulish images looked at in the final stage.

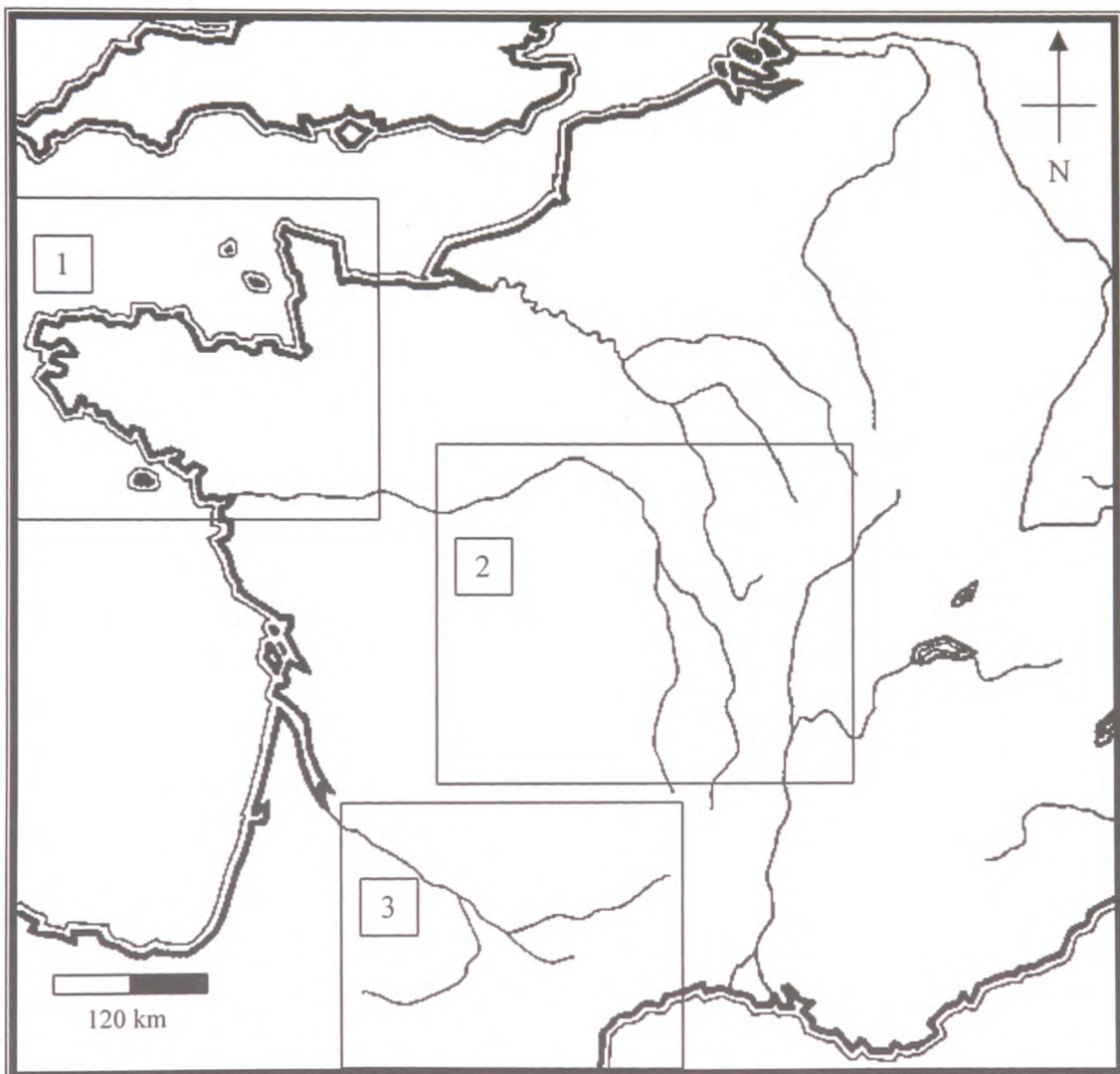
Third stage: the images from the catalogue of stage one are compared and contrasted with the data from stage two. This maximises all the possible contextual information for the images from the catalogue, by considering them in terms of, and in relation to, the criteria derived from other imagery. The research then focuses on addressing how much anthropomorphic imagery there is, and asking whether there are differences in human form in terms of different media. For instance, do images in bronze have regular differences from those in stone? Are new media introduced, or do existing ones become more popular. Do image types exhibit regional or chronological patterns?

The proposed body and methodology of research which has been outlined above is expected to provide the means for a better and more contextualized explanation for the development of anthropomorphic iconography in Iron Age Gaul. The grammar of belief and practice which informs the use of the human image is one of the main issues which will be explored. Frequent past assumptions that these images are depictions of gods may prove false, with individuals, ancestors or heroes being some of the alternative interpretations. By approaching the study of Iron Age iconography

and religion in this more structured way an original interpretation of these aspects of the society will be produced.

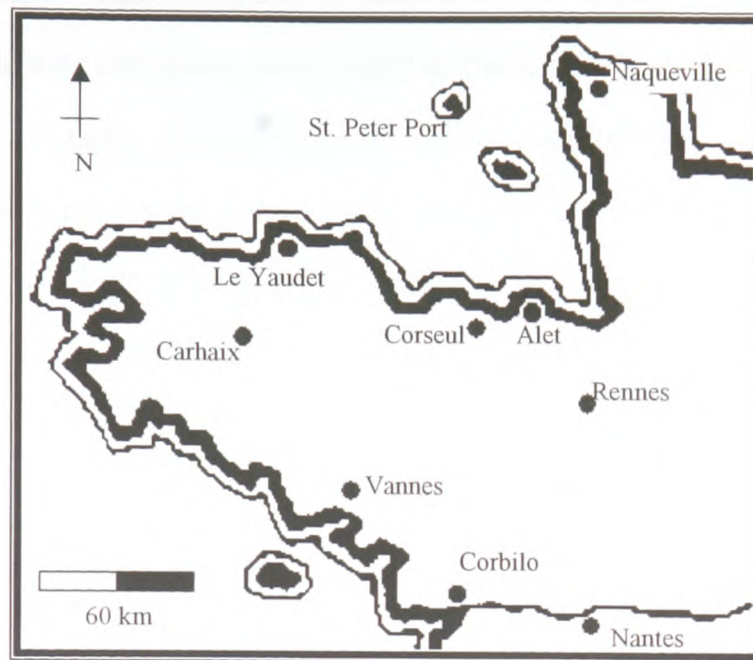
Chapter 2: Background to Case Study Areas

The case study areas selected for this research are Armorica, Central Gaul and South-West Gaul (see Map 2.1). This chapter will outline the physical and archaeological backgrounds of these areas in order to place the iconography from them in a better regional context.



Map 2.1. Location of the case study areas, 1) Armorica, 2) Central Gaul, 3) South-West Gaul

2.1 Armorica



Map 2.2. Armorica case study area.

2.1.1 Physical environment

Armorica formed the far north-west part of ancient Gaul, as a peninsula reaching out into the Atlantic, a large area of which is today called Brittany. These areas are largely based upon the geological body of the Armorican massif, the crystalline rocks of which form a generally fan-shaped structural pattern (de Jersey 1994, 2). Most of these rocks are very old, Precambrian or Palaeozoic in most cases, the oldest being a soft-weathering Brioverian, a silty shale (Astill & Davies 1997, 34-5). These are intruded by granites and overlaid by shales and sands of younger sediments, with calcareous deposits being very rare (Giot 1960, 15). The geography of this area is dominated by broad plateaux, that rise and fall gently and slope towards the sea, rarely rising above 300m and therefore without any significant heights (Bender 1986, 18). The soils are considerably varied, from the relatively deep brown soils of the

depressions, that though susceptible to erosion are continually supplied with new material from their soft parent rocks (Astill & Davies 1997, 34-5), to those of the ridges which are slightly podzolic and hence provide excellent forest land (Giot 1960, 16), a fact which is reflected in the lands of the Breton interior being called Argoat - Land of the Woods (Bender 1986, 18). These interior arable soils are also quite shallow and acidic, making them better for pasture than cereal growing (Bender 1986, 18), and only the coastal plains or narrow valleys are more fertile.

From an archaeological perspective, the acidic soils tend to make the preservation of bone and other organic material a rarity, and the shallowness of the soils makes the preservation of successive occupations by stratification unlikely (Giot 1960, 15-17), with the only real depth being found in artificially accumulated structures. The rocks do contain tin, lead and iron, with scattered amounts of silver (in association with lead) and a little alluvial gold (Bender 1986, 18). Of these metals the iron is quite widespread but never in any great quantity, and up to fifty possible sites of prehistoric tin extraction have been identified (de Jersey 1994, 5). The other main source of resources is the surrounding sea, for instance the salt marshes on the north-east and south-east coasts, which appear to have been exploited over a long period (Astill & Davies 1997, 34-5).

The climate has undergone some changes; between 800-400 BC there was a gradual change from the dry sub-Boreal climate to the more humid sub-Atlantic regime on the western fringes of Europe (Büchsenschütz 1995, 555), and in this period the sea level was probably between 0.5m and 1m lower than it is today (de Jersey 1994, 6). This wetter climate encouraged the spread westward of forest trees such as beech, hornbeam and sometimes alder (Büchsenschütz 1995, 555), although in this period

deforestation through woodland clearance has been suggested by environmental study (Astill & Davies 1997, 34-5).

2.1.2 Archaeological/Historical background

The archaeological record for this period is extremely limited, mainly because of the environmental conditions outlined above such as the soil conditions, resulting in metals and organic materials being lost, leaving pottery and some stone objects the most common finds (Giot 1960, 186-9). Due in part to the writings of classical authors we know the names of the Iron Age Armorican tribes, at least from the later part of the period: the eastern part was occupied by tribes of the Veneti, Redones and Namnetes, and the northern and western region by the tribes of the Osismi and Coriosolitae (Astill & Davies 1997, 41). The exact organisation of these tribes in terms of territory is uncertain, although it is assumed that the Roman towns were built on the sites of the original tribal centres, since no evidence other than that provided by the coinage of the time has been found of their existence (Giot 1960, 200). The cultural region occupied by these tribes stretched beyond the modern boundaries of Brittany, which is often equated with Armorica, into lower Normandy and also the pays de la Loire (de Jersey 1994, 2). A number of the traits of this cultural region appear similar to those of the other western peninsulas of Europe such as Cornwall and Galicia (Büchschütz 1995, 563), these similarities almost certainly being due to trade between these different areas.

In the very early stage of this period trade appears to be somewhat limited, the Atlantic bronze trade and its resulting network having collapsed (Bender 1986, 46), and the few imported objects found suggesting sporadic contacts with the centres of eastern Gaul, for example Burgundy, via the rivers Loire and Seine (Galliou 1990,

47). The products being traded probably included tin, salt, forest products and slaves in exchange for personal adornments, occasional iron weapons and situla (Bender 1986, 46).

From 450 BC onwards there was a shift in power in eastern Gaul to the Marne and Moselle regions, with their position partly sustained by the resources which are siphoned off from areas as far afield as Armorica, and these contacts resulting in changes within Armorica itself, such as a greater variety in pottery production (Cunliffe & de Jersey 1997, 38). Cunliffe (1982, 52-3) has characterised other trade in this period as long distance expeditions by Greek and Carthaginian merchants probably for tin and other metals, an interpretation which could be seen to be supported by Strabo's account (Bender 1986, 48) of an important trading emporium on the Loire at Corbilo. Other classical sources make references to cross channel trade between western Armorica and south-west Britain as part of the metal trade (Cunliffe & de Jersey 1997, 51), and there is significant archaeological evidence of trading ports along the north coast in this period, such as Naqueville near Cherbourg, Alet near St. Malo, Le Yaudet at the mouth of the river Leguer, and also nearby on Guernsey at St. Peter Port. All these elements point towards Armorica functioning as the focus of a broad exchange network of southern Ireland, south-west Wales, Cornwall and Devon via the channel, down the Atlantic coast with Iberia and via the rivers of Gaul with the Marne and Moselle regions, helping to explain the spread of similar cultural traits between these areas.

These trade routes continue until the late second century BC, when the region first begins to be drawn into a Roman commercial network (Astill & Davies 1997, 70) which, despite the occasional expeditions by the Greek and Carthaginian merchants,

Galliou (1990, 47) sees as the first real long-distance trade to the peninsula. This new trade appears to have been prompted by the creation of Narbonensis and the resulting Roman wine trade (Cunliffe 1982, 52-3), which involved Armorican middle men, most notably the tribe of the Veneti (Bender 1986, 50), in short haul transport of goods. The economic and political strength of this tribe is indicated by their production of their own coinage in the second century. The first coinages of this region were localised and small in scale (Cunliffe & de Jersey 1997, 72), and were produced by the eastern tribes first, with the Osismi and Coriosolitae following them within a century (Astill & Davies 1997, 41). In the later second century, the image that became the most defining feature of the regional coinages, and the clearest indication of a connection between them, was the appearance of the cheval androcephale or human headed horse (de Jersey 1994, 2), first appearing on the coins of the Veneti in the mid second century, and was subsequently copied and reinterpreted in various ways by the neighbouring tribes (Cunliffe & de Jersey 1997, 72).

The main industries in this period were salt-working and iron-working (Büchsenschütz 1995, 564), the raw materials of the latter appearing to have been extracted locally although probably not through mine working (Giot 1960, 199). This industry really developed in the mid Iron Age producing prestige items, and utilitarian items which allowed more intensive farming and forest clearance (Bender 1986, 48), the countryside of the region at this time being increasingly deforested with open heathland. Cultivation of the open ground was producing cereals and vegetables, such as buckwheat and beans (Büchsenschütz 1995, 564), however little is known about the type of animal husbandry which took place due to the lack of survival of many bones in the acid soils.

Also in this period there is increasing evidence of more permanent field boundaries, associated with isolated farmsteads or hamlets (Bender 1986, 49), settlement being largely dispersed and these houses being grouped with their outbuildings within enclosures (Büchsenschütz 1995, 564), and often on high ground or islands and surrounded by ditches and banks. There are also examples of more heavily defended sites such as hillforts and coastal cliff-castles, some dating from the early Iron Age, and all of which were occupied in the later Iron Age. A number of these sites appear to have shared some of the functions oppida provided in other parts of Gaul, but on a smaller scale and some of them being more open sites (de Jersey 1994, 27). The architecture varied, with small post built circular and rectangular houses, and others which were defined by low dry stone walls (Büchsenschütz 1995, 564). With a concentration in Morbihan and Finistère, there are also underground chambers or souterrains cut out of the rock, the purpose of which is uncertain (Giot 1960, 193-5). Some appear to display evidence of temporary occupation as hiding places or shelters possibly, with cult sites (Bender 1986, 49) and storage (Büchsenschütz 1995, 564) being other suggested functions.

In the early Iron Age a number of different burial traditions were used (Giot 1960, 174-8), such as Hallstatt round barrows, groups of small barrows, cremation cemeteries and a few inhumations, and the grave goods being predominantly modest (Bender 1986, 46-9). In the later Iron Age flat cemeteries become the norm and stone stelae are now often erected in association with them, while grave goods are still somewhat limited, usually to a few bracelets and sometimes some glass beads (Büchsenschütz 1995, 564). The stone stelae mentioned above are not only found in direct association with burials (Bender 1986,49), and are made from granite, some carved and some plain (Giot 1960, 179-84), with those that are being cited by

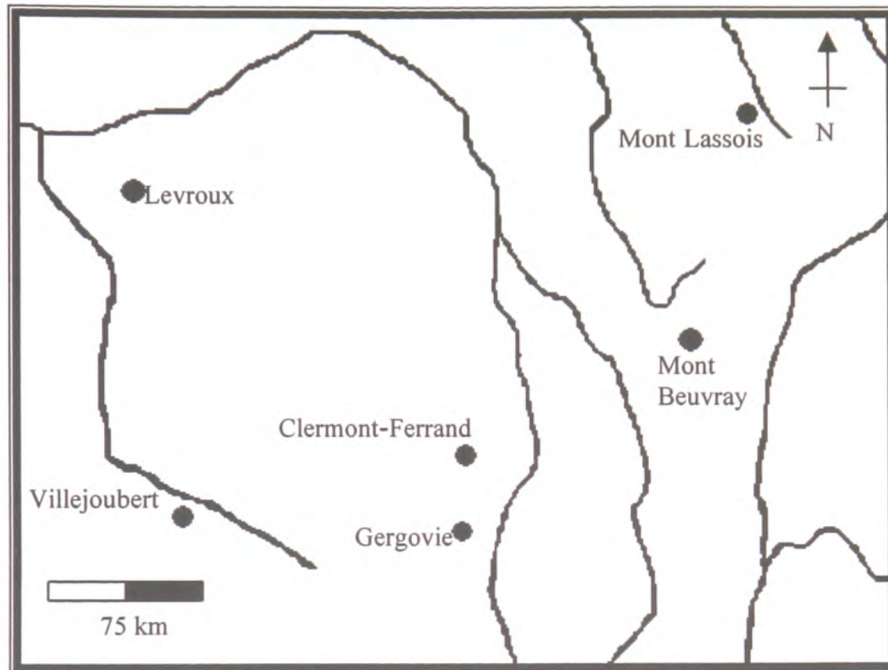
Büchenschütz (1995, 564) along with carved figures such as those from Paule, as evidence of advanced stone working techniques. Throughout this period alterations in the social structure were taking place, brought about and reflected by the changes which have been described above. The structure of power relations changed with land control becoming of increasing importance (Bender 1986, 49), and from the fifth and fourth centuries petty chiefdoms began to again emerge. By the time of the Roman conquest the distinct tribes named at the beginning of this section had formed.

The Roman conquest of Armorica took place in 57-56 BC, and although there was little immediate change, by the end of the first century AD the administrative structure of the civitates based on the five tribes was in place (Astill & Davies 1997, 41). Towns had developed also, although they were fewer and smaller than in the rest of Gaul, with their main function appearing to be administrative rather than industrial (Bender 1986, 54), this being the case with the civitas capitals of Rennes, Corseul, Carhaix, Vannes and Nantes which developed from Iron Age settlement foci, and were rebuilt as Roman towns in the first century AD with regular street systems and public buildings (Astill & Davies 1997, 79-80).

Other towns developed at nodal points in the region, often combining river or sea navigation with inland transport systems (Bender 1986, 55), such as the network of small roads which had begun to lace the countryside, and which tied into the three major roads which ran from east to west across the peninsula (Astill & Davies 1997, 41). It was the location of the road network also influenced the placement of villas, often more than the location of the best soils (*ibid.*, 84), particularly those not replacing Iron Age farmsteads but being established on newly cleared land (Bender 1986, 55). Many of these estates were on a far larger scale than the Iron Age

farmsteads, being two to three hundred hectares in size and maintaining several hundred people. These then were the major changes which took place to the landscape of the region in the post-conquest period.

2.2 Central Gaul



Map 2.3. Central Gaul case study area.

2.2.1 Physical environment

The study area of Central Gaul comprises the regions of Burgundy and the Massif Central, forming an area with a number of different physical features. Some of these are beneficial to its study and others detrimental, for instance the uplands of the Massif Central have proved particularly difficult to carry out archaeological surveys. This is due in part to their inaccessibility, but also the lack of ploughed land in the area, making identification of sites more difficult, and the rarity of building developments which would require the intervention of rescue archaeology (Büchschütz 1995, 565). The area is bordered to the south, and somewhat to the

west, by the steep southern slopes of the Massif, which form a type of escarpment (Hodge 1998, 39), while to the east it is defined by the western-most extremity of the Alpine arc (Büchsenschütz 1995, 568). The river network is also of great significance, with many of the major waterways rising in or near this area. This was of particular relevance to the eastern half of the study area, occupying as it did a key position in north-south and east-west contacts, with openings onto the valleys of the Loire, Seine, Saône-Rhône, and the Doubs, the last of which leads directly to the Rhine.

The geology present in this area is quite varied, but it is principally dominated by limestone, particularly that of the Jurassic and Cretaceous, an exploitable resource in terms of its workability. The variation in this geology occurs in pockets of different rocks on a fairly small scale, such as to the south where Permian rocks first appear and then alter to highly metamorphosed gneisses and schists (Ralston & Büchsenschütz 1975, 8-9). In terms of mineral wealth there is evidence for ancient mine workings, and gold extraction in Limousin appears to have started no later than the middle La Tène period (Büchsenschütz 1995, 567), and with areas in Berry being noted for their iron-workings in the Roman period and possibly before (Ralston & Büchsenschütz 1975, 8-9).

2.2.2 Archaeological/Historical background

Before detailing what is known from the archaeological record it is worth pointing out its somewhat fragmentary nature in the area under study. Some of these problems relate to the physical properties of the landscape as outlined above, others to variations within the area. However one consistent restriction is that the archaeological record is confined predominantly to the material culture of the nobility (Nash 1978a, 3), resulting in the majority of the material culture of the population,

such as coarse pottery, having been very poorly studied. This gap in the record has made changes in processes such as settlement development very difficult to trace. It is the changes in settlement which have formed the backbone of studies of the Iron Age in this area.

For the whole of the study area the settlement pattern of the early Iron Age is extremely hard to identify. During the Hallstatt period in the eastern half of the study area, fortified prestige sites such as Mont Lassois flourished due to the influx of trade from the Mediterranean into this region (Collis 1984a, 82), while small hamlet sized sites have also been identified. In the western half of the study area, during the Hallstatt and early La Tène periods, the defended hilltop sites do not appear to have been used for permanent habitation (Nash 1978b, 457), and were subsequently abandoned. The settlement pattern for the middle La Tène is more diffuse and dispersed for the region as a whole. In the Massif towards the end of this period there is a coalescing of scattered hamlets to form villages (Büchsenschütz 1995, 567-9), while in Burgundy isolated farms associated with the remains of field systems have been identified. It is in the second century BC that large nucleated settlements begin to appear, in the Massif this involving the reoccupation of some of the early Iron Age strong points (Nash 1978a, 9), or the growth of lowland villages in major centres. In the east, the settlement agglomerations (Büchsenschütz 1995, 569) appear to include a mixture of agricultural and craft activities, open village settlements with areas of 5-10 hectares, such as those around Clermont-Ferrand like Aulnat-Gandaillat, which was on the plain of the Grande Limange. It is from the late second to the early first century BC, that these lowland settlements start to be abandoned in turn, with a shift to defended hilltop sites, as occurs at Levroux (Büchsenschütz 1995, 569). This development is the emergence of the oppida, and continues right up to the Roman

conquest, and in some cases after, the site of Gergovie apparently being settled around 40-20 BC, with the abandonment of the settlement of Aulnat-Gandailat occurring at the same time (Collis 1984b, 181).

The growth of oppida has been seen as the central development of the late Iron Age in Gaul, and this region in particular. Most of the archaeology of this period has been carried out on oppida and the social changes which took place at the time related to their emergence. A typical example of the type is Mont Beuvray, Caesar's Bibracte (de Bello Gallico, VII, 4), in Burgundy. The settlement, the inner enclosure of which is 135 hectares, is situated on an 800 m summit of the Morvan uplands, with a *murus gallicus* rampart forming an uninterrupted circuit, and fortifications and gates which are gigantic. Such an effort to demarcate the settlement suggests a special status (Büchsenschütz 1995, 570), an urban or proto-urban space that has been isolated from the countryside around it. Within the Massif Central the development of the oppida was rather uneven, with those in the east and south featuring *murus gallicus* ramparts, imported amphorae and other artefacts characteristic of the proto-urban sites. The site of Villejoubert in Limousin is huge (*ibid.*, 567), however many other sites in this area are refortifications of earlier hillforts rather than new foundations. The valleys of the south west, Lot and Dordogne, were bordered by oppida, which also overlooked the plains of Limagne, Forez and Allier, on which there were still agricultural, trade and craft settlements. Nash (1978b, 457-9) identifies three major functions of the oppida; 1st as heavily defended refuges in time of war; 2nd political sites of 'state' and local administration, and hence geographically sited to best oversee the tributary territory, close to mineral resources or the interface of two or more ecological zones; 3rd as centres for regional and long distance exchange, luxury Mediterranean imports having been found within them with fine goods and metalwork that were produced on there.

Some of the larger and better sited settlements became fully urbanised before the Roman conquest, and it is on these sites that the emphasis on long distance trade is most marked.

The most important source of this long distance trade was the Mediterranean, and this trade had a significant effect on the societies it was carried out with. The earliest example of the impact of the Mediterranean trade was in Burgundy, forming the social conditions for a prestige goods economy, as the elaborate grave goods of the Vix burial, such as the imported bronze krater, help demonstrate. These goods weren't however restricted to the elite sites (Büchsenschütz 1995, 568), but have also been found at small hamlets, such as Lyon-Vaise. The collapse of this trade also appears to have led to the collapse of the dominant society in this area. Long distance trade did not attain a similar level until the late Iron Age, and as stated above the development of the proto-urban oppida. In this later period rather than individual prestige items the trade revolved around amphoras of Italian wine and Campanian feasting ware (Nash 1978b, 459), which were used by the Gaulish nobility in the conduct of their social competition. In exchange for these, products such as cloth, iron and slaves were probably traded, the last of these being the most important and due to the endemic warfare between the tribes one of the most readily available.

Coinage was developing in the region at roughly the same time as the trade with Rome began to grow. In the third to second century BC there were a great variety of small overlapping coinage issues, suggesting a number of relatively minor authorities. These would have been producing quite heavy coinage based around imitations of the gold staters of Philip of Macedonia, which were themselves quite numerous (Büchsenschütz 1995, 567). In the late second-early first century BC there are a

number of changes which occur to the coinage, the issues become greater in volume and restricted to only one or two in any area, the differences in absolute value between those of different authorities become wider, and the distributions are well defined with little overlap. It is suggested that this may indicate the establishment of those central authorities which developed into the civitates of the Roman period (Nash 1978b, 460), with those sites that have produced coins and die-stocks for striking possibly representing settlements of higher economic and social status (Collis 1984b, 181). The other change was the production of a smaller fractional coinage, struck in silver in line with the weights of western Greek and Roman standards, for use in transactions (Büchschütz 1995, 569), and a bronze coinage which is associated with oppida and thought to be an essentially town coinage.

The burial record of this period is quite uneven. The early Iron Age in the Massif was characterised by burials under tumuli, while in Burgundy the princely tombs, such as the Vix princess at the foot of Mont Lassois, have received the most attention. In the middle La Tène, the record becomes more indistinct, with cemeteries in the east being identified often through aerial survey due to the enclosures surrounding the graves, and the grave goods varying from area to area (Büchschütz 1995, 566-9), while in the west there is a gradual shift to flat graves often with weapons, torcs, bronze bracelets and brooches or fibulae. This trend largely continues into the late Iron Age, with much of the knowledge of this period derived from aristocratic burials and their grave goods (Nash 1978a, 3).

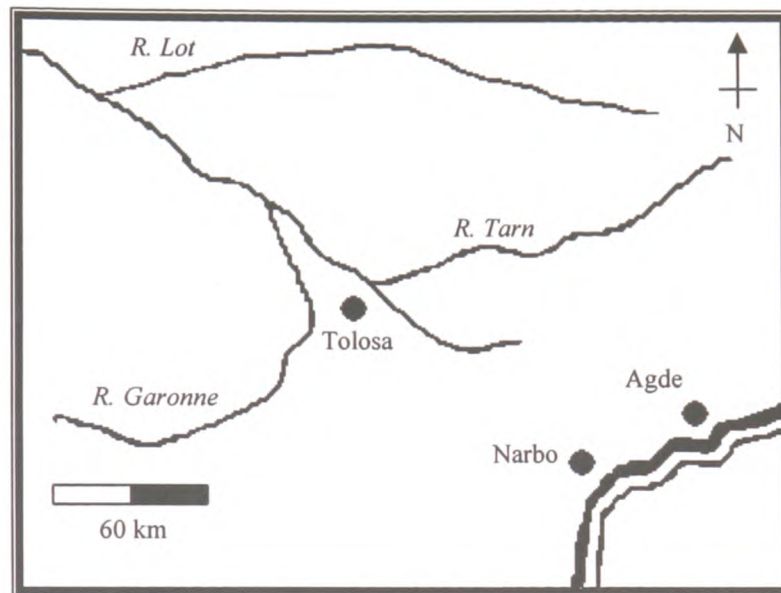
Over this period a large number of social changes sweep the whole of Gaul, but this area in particular, a number of which have been mentioned briefly above. The first of these was the emergence, and subsequent collapse, of a prestige goods economy in the

area around the Mont Lassois settlement in Burgundy (Collis 1984a, 82), through which the elite maintained their position by the distribution of prestige goods, often imports, to their followers. As outlined above this appears to have broken down at the same time as the Mediterranean trade did to this area, and there follows a period without obvious elites or nucleated settlements. When the latter of these do again begin to appear, it is as the open artisan villages, which have produced evidence of craft industries and hence the development of production by groups of artisans, a permanent activity that produced wealth by a new means, by an important and new group of individuals (Büchsenschütz 1995, 569). The final and most radical changes took place in the final centuries prior to the Roman conquest, probably due in part to the increase in Roman influence northwards following the conquest of the Provincia in the 120s BC (Ralston & Büchsenschütz 1975, 9). As noted above the coinage distributions became larger and more defined, suggesting fewer and larger central authorities. These central authorities appear to be based around the major tribal territories of this period, those of the Aedui, Lemovices, Bituriges and Arverni. These in turn developed into the Gallo-Roman civitates, and Nash (1978a, 8-9) therefore suggests that these areas were developing into states in the late second-early first century, with urbanised settlements acting as administration centres for the territories, and the issuing of their own coinage.

Due to these late Iron Age developments in the society the post Roman conquest period saw very little radical change, rather an acceleration of the processes already underway. The territories and borders were officially defined, and the move towards fully urbanised settlements increased. By the mid-Augustan period open farm settlements had begun to emerge onto the plains again, interacting with the urban sites rather than replacing them (Collis 1984b, 181). The local industries also continued,

but with an intensification in production, such as the iron workings in the Foret d'Allogny (Ralston & Büchsenschütz 1975, 8).

2.3 South-West Gaul



Map 2.4. South-West Gaul case study area.

2.3.1 Physical environment

Toulouse is at the centre of the basin of the upper Garonne, and it is roughly this area, with the valleys of the rivers Tarn and Lot to the north that forms the study area. Geographically this area is part of the Roman province of Aquitania rather than Gallia Narbonensis (Rivet 1988, 8), into which much of it did fall, but the reasons for its incorporation in the southern Gaulish province date to the Roman conquest of that region and their interaction with the tribe of the Volcae Tectosages. To the north and the east the uplands of the Massif Central and the Cevennes border the region, this area being the watershed of France, with the land sloping gently to the north and more steeply to the south (Hodge 1998, 39), forming a type of escarpment. The rising of so

many rivers in or near this region is of some significance, as is the easy passage from the Aude to the Garonne through the Gate of Carcassone.

The agricultural and pastoral use of the land is not so great as the fertile coastal plain to the south, but its fertility is referred to by both Caesar and Strabo. The area is too far to the north to be within the olive belt (Rivet 1988, 125), resulting in the importation of oil, but vine cultivation was possible, and hence wine production. Other resources included the mining of metal ores in the uplands to the north particularly the Montagne Noire (Cunliffe 1988, 22), including precious metals, the area being sufficiently rich in gold and silver to accumulate wealth from its own resources (Rivet 1988, 116).

2.3.2 Archaeological/Historical background

The settlement pattern of this period is largely dominated by hilltop settlements. Large nucleated settlements first appear between 650 and 450 BC, mostly on hilltops with a few on plains (Bromwich 1993, 5). By the 4th century fortifications have begun to appear, enclosing areas of at most a several hectares, and of dry stone construction. Some of the larger settlements have buildings which are identical in design and positioned in an organised fashion along parallel streets, appearing indicative of established plans and highly organised societies. This pre-urban layout was widespread and continued in use for a long time (Büchsenschütz 1995, 574), although in the hinterland of the region settlement continued on a modest scale with hundreds of little hilltop fortifications scattered through out the uplands. As stated above the dwellings in these earlier settlements were often virtually identical, being rectangular stone-built houses (Bromwich 1993, 5). These buildings were quite different in design from those constructed in the northern parts of the country, due in

part to the different building materials available, post built structures were gradually replaced by weight bearing walls, and wood by stone and earth based materials (Büchsenschütz 1995, 573-4). The other cause for a difference in architecture was the difference in the environment and the need for buildings to resist extremes of heat, wind and storms. The houses of this early period were of modest proportions, comprising a single room hardly exceeding 15 metres square. Variation in the houses found in these settlements did not occur until the second century BC and only became common in the first century BC in the richer settlements, with single room dwellings alongside more highly evolved plans, with interior partitions and second storeys (Hodge 1998, 197).

Trade is of significance throughout this period, due to the proximity of the region to the Mediterranean. From 650-450 BC trade appears to be taking place with Punic Carthage, Etruscan Italy and the Greek world, based on the amounts of pottery found from these centres. The rise of Rome in the later period, 450-120 BC, saw an upsurge in the trade with central Italy, with imports such as amphorae and ceramics like Campanian ware being exchanged for products such slaves (Bromwich 1993, 5-6). However this region was important not only as a source and destination of imports but also as a trade route, specifically the passage from the Aude to the Garonne. It was partly via this route that the tin/wine trade between Britain and the Mediterranean was carried out (Rivet 1988, 8), this and the other routes meeting at Massalia, and from there dispersing into the Mediterranean. The different trades also had their impact on the development of settlements with urban activities such as craft industries, indicated by finds for instance of oil presses or blacksmiths tools, appearing before the Roman conquest in the second century BC, at sites which were nearest to the trade axes (Büchsenschütz 1995, 574-6).

The whole of southern France had been strongly influenced by the Greek or Roman presence before the region was conquered by Rome. Even though the study area is somewhat removed from the immediate zone of interaction, it cannot have been unaffected. The foundation of the Greek city of Massalia in 600 BC led to both further colonies being established along the coast and the spread of ideas inland. This early period was followed in the Middle La Tène by an intensifying Roman presence, due to the wars with Carthage and the conquest of Spain (Cunliffe 1988, 53-5). Roman armies passed through southern Gaul at fairly regular intervals, with the local area becoming a supplier for the army. Then in the 120s BC Massalia was attacked by the Salluvii and asked Rome for assistance, the ultimate result of which is the conquest of the province. A garrison was established at Tolosa (Toulouse), although little impact was made on the surrounding area until the uprising of the local tribe, the Volcae Tectosages, of 107 BC is put down the following year (Rivet 1988, 43-5). Even then however the changes in the lives of the majority of the inhabitants appear to have been minimal. Rather the gradual shift to more urbanised settlements continued and with the improved travel network trade increased. Old Gallic roads were modernised, bridges built and milestones put in, while a number of the larger oppida began to have paved streets laid out on a grid plan (Hodge 1998, 197). A considerable number of villas have also been located in the region with possibly many more still to be identified.

Chapter 3: Iconography in other media and regions

3.1 Introduction

While the focus of this research is on the representation and development of the human form in free-standing imagery in Gaul, anthropomorphic is also present within other media and other areas of Europe (see Appendices 2:1 & 2:2). By studying the imagery of these other media a better understanding of the ways the human image was used in this period can be built up. This chapter will also assess whether such representations differed according to the media employed. In addition certain images and motifs are repeatedly associated with human imagery, and their significance, both separately and in their association with the human form, is considered below. First the different media employed in the depiction of the human form are considered in general for the whole of Iron Age Gaul. Following this the material from the individual case study areas (Armorica, Central Gaul and South-Western Gaul) is assessed in greater detail. In addition the free-standing human imagery from the regions neighbouring Gaul are assessed. Similarities will be sought for in the imagery, motifs and form of these figures and those from Gaul. This may suggest that the imagery of the Gaulish figures are part of widespread trends across Western Europe, form regional trends both within and without Gaul, or have similar sources of inspiration.

3.2 The different media

The principal examples of other media using the human form and associated imagery are metalwork and coinage, with some additional examples occurring on pottery and stone stelae (see Appendix 2:1). An initial examination of the data forming the

catalogue of statuary (Appendix 1), which will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter, provided a set of criteria and examples of imagery to assess those produced in other media. These criteria were based on observations such as:

Morphology

- Treatment of the limbs. Free standing human imagery can be roughly split into three groups; those with a full set of limbs (A), those with arms only (B), and those with no limbs indicated at all (C). The most common group appears to be those with arms only, the body being produced as a single block without legs. An example here is the Ars figure (cat. no. 9). The position of the limbs may also be of significance with a number of the images either holding an object to their chest, or having their arms folded across their chest.

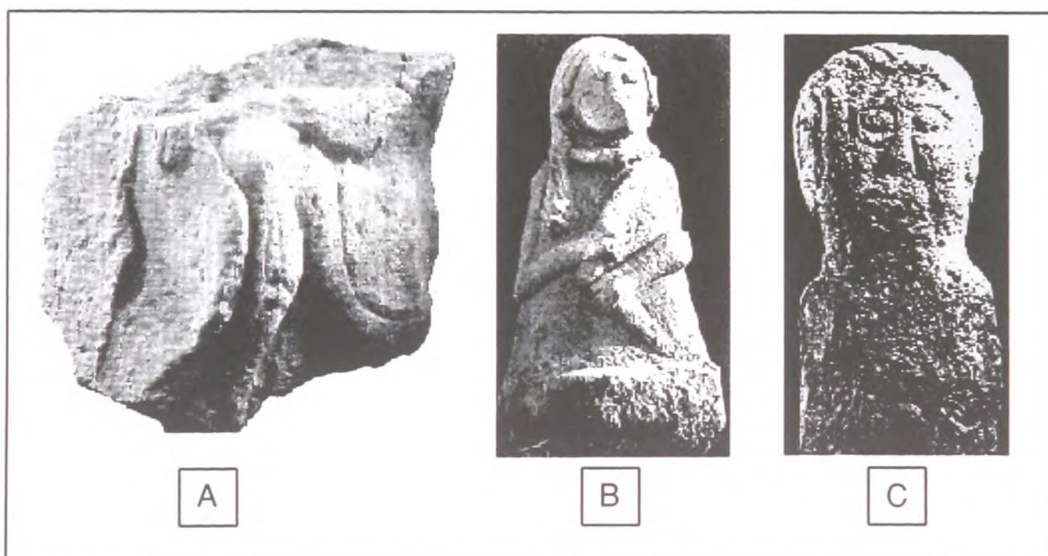


Fig.3.1 Examples of different treatment of limbs; A) Vix figure (cat. No. 17), B) Bozouls figure (cat. No. 20), C) Yvignac figure (cat. No. 1).

- Emphasis on the head. In almost all cases the head is emphasised either by an exaggeration of scale (with the head appearing out of proportion for the rest of the

body) or the features of the head are depicted in greater detail than the remainder of the body (see fig.3.2).

- Facial features. There is a considerable degree of variation in the level of complexity displayed in the facial features of the human images from Gaul, although certain similarities can be picked out. These include the tendency for the face to be quite flat. As a result, the cheeks are frequently poorly denoted, and the nose is indicated two dimensionally, usually in a rectangular or trihedral form (see fig.3.3).



Fig.3.2 Mont-St.-Vincent figure (cat. No. 14)



Fig.3.3 Second Paule figure (cat. No. 5)

- Multiplicity. The multiplication of an image (or feature of an image), is one of the most common means of visual emphasis in the Roman period. Its presence in the Iron Age iconography, as on the double faced Lennon stele (cat. no. 3) (see fig.3.4), may imply the survival of indigenous symbolism into the Roman period. It could also represent an indication of pre-Roman Romanisation.

Images/Motifs

- Torcs. A number of the images either wear or hold torcs (see fig.3.5). These are probably best interpreted as status indicators. In some instances the significance of the torc may also be tied to the emphasis given to the head, acting as a delimiter for the boundary between the head and the rest of the body.



Fig.3.4 Double faced Lennon stele (cat. no. 3)



Fig.3.5 Torc wearing Paulmy figure (cat. No. 10)

- Animals. In two cases, Euffigneix (cat. no. 22) and Poulan-Pouzols (cat. no. 21), human images have animals superimposed on their bodies (see fig.3.6). Post-conquest iconography frequently depicts accompanying animals, but as additional subjects not represented on the bodies of the figures themselves. This may indicate a somewhat different relationship between human and animal imagery in the pre-Roman and Roman eras.



Fig.3.6 Euffigneix (cat. no. 22) and Poulan-Pouzols (cat. no. 21)

- Other possible symbols. Both the Poulan -Pouzols figure (cat. no. 21) and the Bozouls figure (cat. no. 20) have quite elaborate hair-styles, with the hair of the other figures being very simply indicated, if at all. The other most obvious associated symbol is the Lyre of the first Paule figure (cat. no. 4) (see fig.3.7).



Fig.3.7 Lyre player Paule figure (cat No. 4)

On the basis of the observations made above, the following criteria are used in the assessment of the media discussed below; the morphology of the body, body position, emphasis on the head, multiplicity, and the association of objects or images such as torcs, lyres, and animals with free standing human imagery. In addition images or

motifs which do not appear on free-standing human imagery, but do occur repeatedly on the other media, are also assessed.

3.2.1 Metalwork

The metalwork of Iron Age Gaul is the most heavily studied of the different media. Most of the studies of Iron Age art in Europe have been based primarily on the metalwork. The definitive example of these works is Jacobsthal's (1944, reprinted 1969) *Early Celtic Art*, which divides into four styles the development of Iron Age metalwork. Early Style, early 5th to mid 4th century BC, produced in period of innovation and experimentation (Megaw 1970, 22). Waldalgesheim Style, late 4th century, the most two dimensional and non-representational. Plastic Style and Sword Style both developed in the 3rd century, however are unrelated to each other, the former dealing with solid masses and the latter being strictly two dimensional (ibid., 23). Duval (1977) produced his own evolutionary classification - 'strict style' to 'free style' to 'free graphic style' to 'free plastic style' - which was to a greater or lesser degree equivalent to Jacobsthal's. The earlier system however has remained the dominant form of classification.

The Early Style was produced in response to both internal and external artistic influences. It is seen to have three main roots, strange beasts and formal human masks, strict angular geometry, and vegetable motifs, flowers and palmette fronds (Megaw 1970, 24). Many of these were part of the repertoire of art motifs which originated in the Near East. The adoption of these forms, or orientalising process, led to their adaptation into a dynamic and intricate abstract art (Collis 1984a, 123), quite distinct from their source. This orientalising process had already been undergone by the classical societies, and it is through contact with these areas that the oriental

motifs are usually thought to have spread to northern Europe (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 65).

Waldalgesheim Style was named after the grave in Germany which contained a number of objects decorated in this way (Collis 1984a, 136) (see fig.3.8). Also known as the Vegetal style, it consists of a series of variations of the plant motifs described above (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 107). Human faces appear in what has been termed a 'Cheshire-cat style', extremely abstract and constructed from the plant motifs. The style originated in south Rhineland, but spread its influences as far West as Armorica (Megaw 1970, 29).

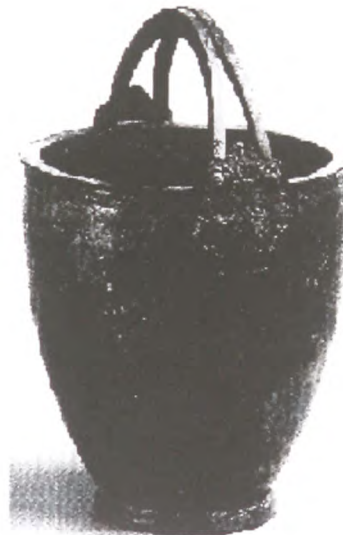


Fig.3.8 Bronze situla, Waldalgesheim grave good (Birkhan 1999, 134 no. 64)

The Sword Style was originally termed the Hungarian Sword Style, due to Hungary being the source of its development (Jacobsthal 1969, 95). Many of its elements are derived from the Waldalgesheim Style (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 126-7), occasionally including some older regional motifs. Developing in the same period, the first half of the 3rd century, the Plastic Style seems to have developed from the 'Cheshire-cat' elements of the Waldalgesheim Style (ibid., 135). Megaw (1970, 30) has suggested

the term 'Disney Style' as an alternative name, due to the human face being broken down into a number of curvilinear geometric forms, similar to cartoons.

Most of the metalwork described in this chapter has been classified and interpreted previously in terms of the classification described above. When dated on stylistic grounds (due to poor archaeological context) it has usually been with reference to this system. This may not always prove to be entirely accurate, and therefore needs to be considered if using the objects in this media to assist the dating of free standing human imagery. Jacobsthal's classification was derived by looking at the metalwork from across Europe, and fitting it all into these four styles. Megaw (1970, 38) suggests that the importance of local styles, over the divisions outlined above, will become apparent with more detailed study.

Iron Age metalwork displaying representations of the human form is limited in Gaul. Much of it presents the human form within, and as part of, the overall decoration of the objects. Many such examples occur in the Marne-Mosel region of France and have often been dated to the 4th-3rd century BC (Megaw & Megaw 1989). The great increase in the amount of elaborate metalwork produced in this region in these centuries can be tied to the shift in trading centres that took place in the preceding century, as outlined in the previous chapter.

Human faces or heads often appear within the overall decoration of an object, recalling the emphasis placed on the head in the free-standing imagery. This form of ornamentation is repeated in much of the metalwork from Gaul displaying anthropomorphic form. For instance the base of the handles of the Basse-Yutz flagons (Smith 1929, 1-12), from Marne-Mosel region, depict a bearded and rather abstract face constructed from the swirling patterns which decorate other parts of the

flagons (see fig.3.9). Due to the uncertain circumstances surrounding their discovery (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 76) the archaeological context of these flagons is unknown, however associated finds suggest a date of the late 5th / early 4th century BC. In terms of the criteria outlined above two very significant artefacts have also been found in the Marne-Mosel region. Both are torcs or neck-rings (images of which often appear on free-standing human imagery) decorated with depictions of human heads. On the first of these, found in a grave from Courtisols, Marne (Morel 1898, 135-6) and dated to the late 4th century BC, human faces decorate the ring just above the terminals (see fig.3.9). The human faces have exaggerated features, such as heavy brow ridges and large oval eyes. The second of these bronze neck-rings is from Witry-les-Reims, Champagne (Jacobsthal 1969, no. 208 B) has no archaeological context and is dated on stylistic grounds to the late 4th /early 3rd century BC, and incorporates very similar imagery. Similarly dated, and for similar reasons, is the bronze armring from La Charme, Aube (Le Clert 1898, no. 602), on which human faces, less abstract in this instance, again appear amidst other decoration.

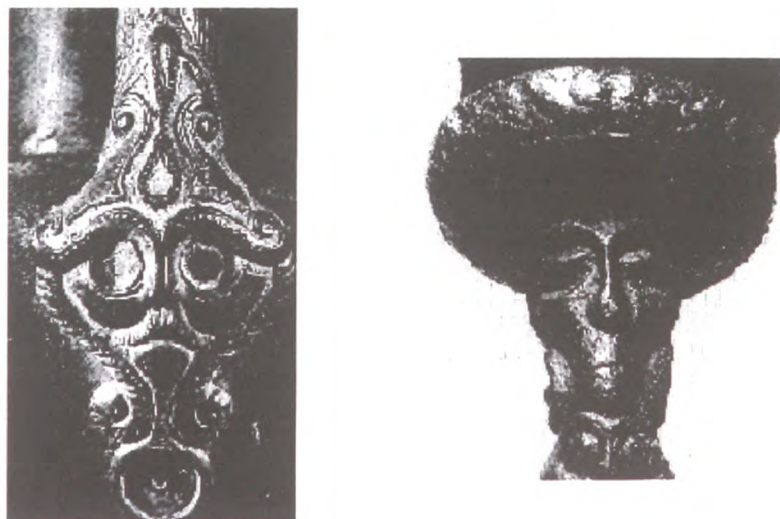


Fig.3.9 Human faces from Basse-Yutz flagon and Courtisols torc (Megaw & Megaw 1989, no. 87 & 172)

In the later Iron Age the most common means of depicting the human form on metalwork takes the form of anthropoid sword-hilts. These were classified by Hawkes (1955) chronologically, from A to G, with the earliest (A & B) developing in central Europe in the 4th century BC. The later more naturalistic representations (F & G) are exclusively West European (Fitzpatrick 1996, 374). Deliberate deposition, such as in graves or watery contexts, appears the most common reason for their archaeological contexts. This suggests, with their relative scarcity and overall design, that these swords had a specialised purpose (*ibid.*, 376-7).

These short swords in general depict the head quite clearly, forming with the arms the base of the hilt, the torso acting as the grip, and the legs the guard before the blade. The legs and arms, at right angles to the body, end in bulbous terminals rather than hands and feet. Without the presence of the head, which again exhibits the exaggerated features and heavy brow ridges above oval eyes seen on the torcs, the hilt would hardly suggest anthropomorphic imagery. The bronze hilt from Châtenay-Macheron, Haute-Marne (Hawkes 1955, no. 27) follows this basic design, while on the example from Salon, Aube (Morel 1898, 145-6, 177) the arms and legs are at more vertical angles, causing the head to form part of the grip with the torso. These two examples both came from inhumation graves and were each found in association with La Tène II longswords, and have been dated to the 1st and 2nd century BC respectively (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 165), on the basis of Hawkes classification.

The anthropomorphic imagery which is present on the metalwork demonstrates a clear emphasis on the head, as the criteria derived from the free-standing imagery suggested. Other criteria suggested the depiction of certain objects or animals. Torcs are objects of metalwork themselves and as already shown may include human

imagery in their decoration. Lyres do not seem to appear in this medium. There are however a number of depictions of animals. These include birds and dogs or dog-like creatures, both of which appear on the Basse-Yutz flagons discussed above. Other animals which appear include the bronze boars found buried as a hoard at Neuvy-en-Sullias, Loiret, which date from the 1st century B.C.. With their prominent crests these recall the image of a boar on the Euffingneix figure (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 160-2). Much of the other decoration of metalwork in this period involves swirling plant-like patterns derived from the shape of leaves and flowers, a good example being the elaborate helmet from Agris, Charente (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 72) dated to the late 4th century BC. These swirling patterns recur in other media too.

3.2.2 Coinage

Coinage in Gaul is a mid to late Iron Age development, appearing from the late 4th/early 3rd century onwards. Many of the early examples are imitations of Greek originals, especially the stater of Philip II of Macedonia (de Jersey 1994, 32). Given the quantity of coinage recovered, reference to individual coins is largely avoided below, except in providing examples of particular types.

There are a large number of images and motifs found on the coinage. The human form appears in some way on almost all the coins, usually on the obverse and sometimes on the reverse as well. The image on the obverse is most often a human head shown in profile, facing left or right, and can vary from the quite naturalistic to the more schematic. Sometimes however the obverse image can be more interesting, such as on a group of coins from the Suessiones region in northern Gaul, which depict a double Janus type head (Allen 1995, No. 78-85). This provides an example of multiplicity as described in the list of criteria given above and recalls the double faced stele from

Lennon, Finistère, further to the west (see fig.3.10). Another example of multiplicity, although not in the morphology of the human image, occurs with a doubling or tripling of the heads on the obverse. These may either be images of more than one individual, or the repetition of one image, such as those from the Remi region in north-east Gaul (Allen 1995, No. 53-64). When depicted on the reverse the image is usually of the entire human form, often in the process of some action. Many of the earlier issues, those which were still quite closely copying the Philip II stater, show a charioteer and his horses which later on seem to develop into a rider on a horse. Other examples include recumbent figures or a human head beneath the chariot or horse (Allen 1980, No. 16, 24), and standing figures either by themselves or next to an altar (Nash 1987, No. 7). With reference to the morphology of the figures one recurrent example of something unusual is the depiction of a winged figure, sometimes driving a chariot or riding a horse (Allen 1995, No. 62), and other times appearing above the other images on the reverse. This figure is probably in many cases a depiction of the Roman goddess Victory.

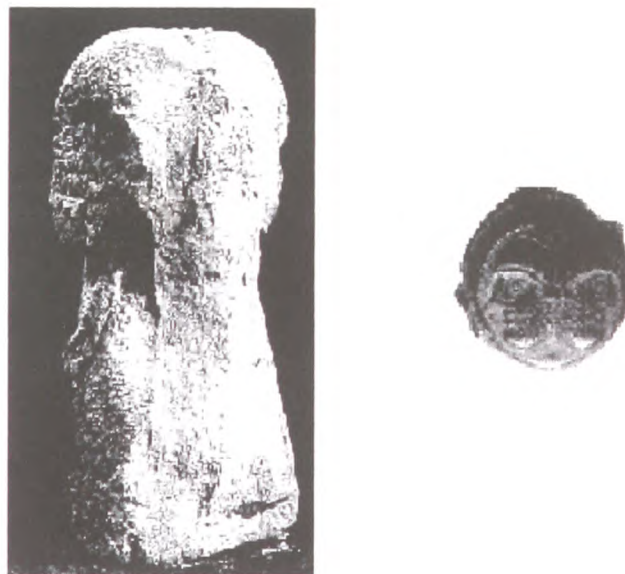


Fig.3.10 Lennon figure (cat. No. 3) and Suessiones issue coin (Allen 1995, no. 79).

In addition to the anthropomorphic images a number of motifs or animals appear, usually on the reverse of the coins. One of these is the decorative S motif, which normally appears above, below or to one side of the main image on the reverse of the coin, and may be depicted normally, reversed or on its side (Allen 1995, No. 451, 109, 188). This motif is from no one specific area of Gaul. It appears on coins from many different regions, and while it does not appear in association with free-standing human imagery, it does appear on almost all the other media, as discussed further below.

One of the most interesting images employed on coinage is the torc. This is sometimes depicted as a motif in itself, rather like the S motif described above, appearing to one side of the main image on the reverse (Allen 1995, No. S331). It can also appear on the obverse around the neck of the head depicted there (Allen 1995, No. 109). These two forms of representation seem to indicate that the torc has a meaning in itself, and is not simply meaningful when worn by a person. Possibly the most interesting examples of the depiction of the torc are those where it is held rather than worn, or appears on its own. This is how a group of free-standing human images from the centre of Gaul display torcs. One of the most interesting coin groups is from Belgic Gaul, and shows a cross-legged figure with an out of proportion head holding up a torc in its right hand (Nash 1987, No. 166). This image, recalls the cast bronze figure from Bouray, Essonne (Varagnac & Fabre 1956, 96), the stone figures from Roquepertuse, Bouches-du Rhône (Espérandieu 1907, no.131), and the figure of the antlered god on the Gundestrup cauldron (Megaw 1970, no. 209b), all geographically divergent from each other (see fig.3.11). There are also examples of coins with a walking figure holding a torc in its right hand and facing left (Allen 1995, No. 483-506).



Fig.3.11 Cross-legged figures; figure from the Gundestrup cauldron (Lorre 1999, 19), Bouray figure (R.M.N. 1993), Roquepertuse figure (Megaw 1970, no. 212), coin from Belgic Gaul (Nash 1987, no. 166)

Another object held by a free-standing human figure is the lyre, although this occurs in only one instance. The lyre does however appear quite often in the coinage of the northern half of Gaul, usually below the horse or chariot on the reverse of a coin (Allen 1995, No. 363-371). Animal images appear on many Gallic coins. Horses have already been mentioned above, and other images include bulls, wolf/dogs, and birds. Excepting horses the most common animal to be depicted is the boar, either as the main image on the reverse or as a smaller motif with another main image. Boar imagery is found on coinage from many parts of Gaul, but particularly the north-east (Allen 1995, No. 10, 144, 204, 398-450). The boar also sometimes appears on the obverse, in one instance appearing superimposed on the neck of the human head depicted on a coin of the Aulerici Ebuovices (Allen 1976, 271). This suggests comparison with the Euffigneix figure from Haute-Marne with the image of a boar on the front of its body (see fig.3.12). All of this suggests the boar had a particular significance, especially when associated so closely with a human image.



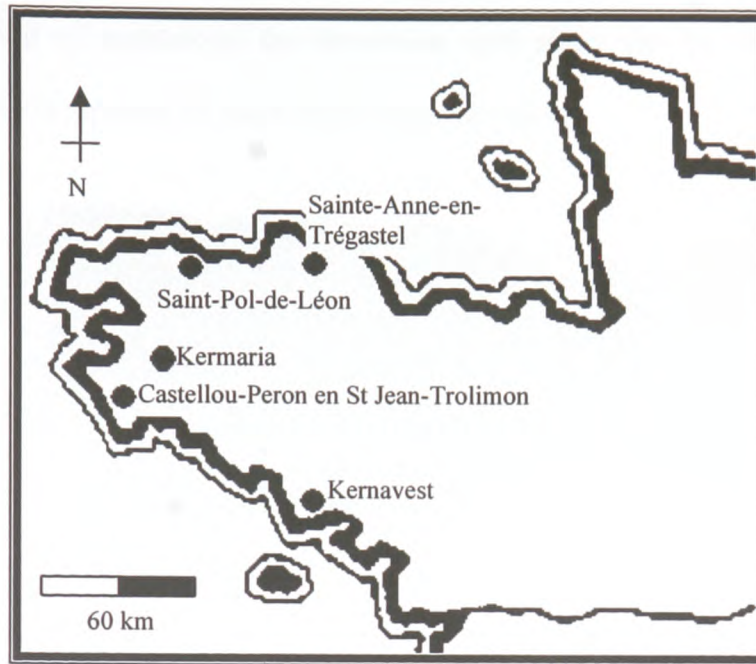
Fig.3.12 Coin of the Aulerci Ebuovices depicting a boar superimposed on a mans neck (Allen 1976, 271) and the Euffigneix figure (cat. No. 22)

3.2.3 Miscellaneous

Although metalwork and coinage, provide the bulk of additional imagery, a few other media also display either anthropomorphic images or associated motifs. One of these is pottery. The pot from La Cheppe, Marne (Jacobsthal 1969, no. 411) depicts a pair of dragon like creatures incised on its side. Dated to the 4th century BC the pot was discovered in a chariot grave. There are also examples of stone stelae which, though not displaying human imagery, do depict motifs associated with the human form and certain other media. Wood was the other medium most probably used for these images, however due to the conditions required for its survival there are only a few examples of free-standing human imagery in wood.

3.3 Armorica

The first case study area has a number of different media depicting the human image and the associated motifs. The quantity varies between the different media.



Map 3.1. Metalwork and other media depicting relevant imagery in the Armorican case study area.

3.3.1 Metalwork from Armorica

Examples of Iron Age metalwork from Armorica are extremely limited. This may be due in part to the physical conditions discussed in chapter two, the very acidic soils of the region resulting in the loss of metals from the archaeological record. A few examples do exist however, such as a fragment of a sheet gold ring from Brittany dated to the 6th century B.C. (Megaw 1970, p.44 No. 5), although this is without any context. The decoration consists of rows of a geometric 'Greek key' design, and a ridge given a twisted wire effect by its patterning. Most significant though are the rows of tiny human heads, all clean shaven and with exaggerated and bulbous features, demonstrating again the importance of the human head especially in metalwork. Geometric patterning also appears on a bronze coated dagger sheath from the Kernavest barrow in Morbihan (Daire 1991, 237-8), the stamped decoration also including curvilinear designs which recur on other media (see fig.3.13). Despite the

limited amount of metalwork, the decoration used either fits the criteria already devised or else is repeated on other media from the region.



Fig.3.13 Kernavest dagger sheath (Daire 1991, 237)

3.3.2 Coinage from Armorica

The coinage evidence from Armorica is very substantial and has been very well researched in the past, most recently by Philip de Jersey in *Coinage in Iron Age Armorica*, which formed the major source of data for this section. De Jersey (1994, 32) splits the stages of coinage issue in Armorica into three phases, the first covering the mid 4th to the late 3rd century, the second to the late 2nd century, and the third to the Roman conquest. In the first phase the coinage is largely confined to the eastern side of Armorica, with concentrations to the north and south. The obverse of all these early coins features a human head, and the other representations fall largely into two groups, the larger being a charioteer and the smaller group a figure running to the left holding a baton and some other object (de Jersey 1994, 48) (see fig.3.14). There are three main types of non-human imagery present, the lyre which is confined at this point to the north-eastern part of Armorica, the sword, and the bird (de Jersey 1994,

43-6). The first two feature the image under the horse on the reverse, the latter including a ship and sword sub-group on which the rider or charioteer holds a ship in their left hand. The Bird type depicts the bird resting on or just above the back of the horse, with a sub-group that includes a cauldron underneath the horse (Nash 1987, No. 1).



Fig.3.14 First phase coin depicting a running figure (de Jersey 1994, 48), and a second phase coin depicting the female armed rider (de Jersey 1994, 56)

In the second phase the anthropomorphic depiction has remained much the same, with three additional elements. The first is the armed rider, a female figure who appears riding a horse and holding a shield and a sword on the reverse of the coins (de Jersey 1994, 54-6) (see fig.3.14). The second is the depiction of a recumbent figure beneath the horse on some coins. The third is the development of the human headed horse, an image which is particularly associated with the Armorican coinage, and which again emphasises the significance of the head, in this instance combining it with the animal imagery. In the second phase the lyre is still present and has spread further west, and a new motif has appeared, the thunderbolt (de Jersey 1994, 54-5). Images of animals continue, including the bird, and on the obverse of more than one group the boar is depicted, often above the head. A new animal image is the hippocampus, or sea horse, which appears on more than one group on the reverse under the human headed horse (de Jersey 1994, 67-71).

The human form depiction in the third phase remains much the same except for two variations. On the obverse of some coins the large head is surrounded by three or four smaller heads connected to it by chains or beads. Some of the depictions of the charioteer are more schematic, the body parts being disconnected. The first of these variations is yet another emphasis of the head, the second possibly an experimentation with the human form itself, breaking it up into its component parts. There are a large number of different non-anthropomorphic images appearing on the coinage by this phase, however two in particular dominate, the lyre and the boar. The lyre appears mainly on the reverse of the coin, apart from the Baiocasses/Unelli issue where it appears on the obverse (de Jersey 1994, 107). The boar image had become almost universal, appearing on some coins of almost every issue, and frequently depicted on both obverse and reverse. One other motif should be noted: this is the appearance of the torc, which appears on the Aulerici Diablintes coinage (de Jersey 1994, 107), held in the left hand of the charioteer (see fig.3.15), emphasising it as an object of importance to be brandished rather than just worn.



Fig.3.15 Third phase coin of the Aulerici Diablintes (de Jersey 1994, 107)

3.3.3 Other media from Armorica

Armorica provides two examples of different media which either display decoration fitting the criteria outlined above, or are present on the other media found in the case study area. First, the pottery produced in the 5th and 4th centuries displays a number of the same geometric patterns that are used to decorate the metalwork. The pot from

Castellou-Peron en St Jean-Trolimon, Finistère (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 98), dated to the 5th century, has rows of geometric shapes incised into the surface very similar to the metalwork described above. By the 4th century the patterns while still being incised have developed into the swirling plant-like palmette pattern as can be seen on the vase from Saint-Pol-de-Léon, Finistère (Raftery 1990, 44).

The second medium comprises of stone stelae decorated with abstract motifs such as the S-shape, swastikas and Greek key patterns. All of these appear on the other media described above, but are not found on the free-standing human imagery. The methods used in the carving of the stelae are the same as those used in the production of the later anthropomorphic statuary. A number of stelae were reused and recarved as anthropomorphic imagery, mainly in the Roman period, although Daire & Villard (1996, 126, 138) believe the practice probably originated at the end of the Iron Age. There appear to be two types, first a short squat variety where the decoration frequently goes in rows around the surface and almost totally cover it, such as the granite example from Kermaria, Finistère (Daire 1991, 239-42) (see fig.3.16); second a tall form where the decoration seems to be spread more randomly over the surface like the example from Sainte-Anne-en-Trégastel, Côtes-d'Armor. These stelae, like the pottery, probably date to the 5th and 4th centuries, the similarity with the patterns and decoration on the ceramics being one of the factors used to date them (Daire & Villard 1996, 147,153). The majority of those with a good archaeological context are associated with cemeteries of this date (*ibid.*, 140).



Fig.3.16 Granite stele from Kermaria, Finistère (Daire 1991, 241)

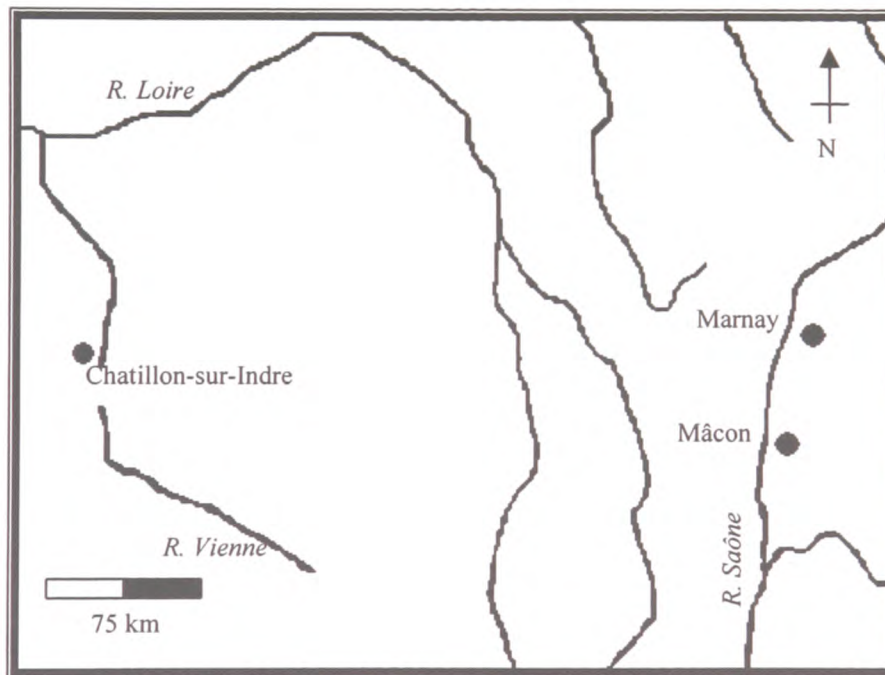
3.4 Central Gaul

Central Gaul has less variety in terms of the different media displaying imagery. However the variation in the amount between each medium is less uneven. The coinage evidence is again quite plentiful and has been previously well researched, and there is a greater quantity of metalwork than the previous case study area.

3.4.1 Metalwork from Central Gaul

The metalwork from Central Gaul displays a number of different images. The human imagery includes a silver neck ring without an archaeological context from Mâcon, Saône-et-Loire (Jacobsthal 1969, 123). This artefact has been dated to the 4th century B.C., the face is similar to those described on neck rings in section 3.2.1, large oval eyes and an incised mouth, although the features in general are less exaggerated. As well as the human imagery the neck ring from Mâcon also depicts other motifs, in particular the elaborate S motif, which appeared on the coinage discussed in section 3.2.2 and the stone stelae of section 3.3.3. In this instance the motif appears on the neck ring directly above the human head. As discussed above (section 3.2.1) although

no images of torcs or neck rings appear on the metalwork, they are associated with the human form through function and decoration, and display additional motifs as well. Emphasis on the head is again displayed on another piece of metalwork from this region, a bronze anthropomorphic sword hilt from a rich grave on the right bank of the river Indre at Châtillon-sur-Indre, Indre (Raftery 1990, 90), dated to the 1st century BC. The associated grave goods included fragments of a long iron sword, a bronze basin and jug, and seven amphorae. This example follows the general description of anthropoid sword hilts given in section 3.2.1, with the head and arms forming the end of the hilt and the body the grip, the head again depicted in the greatest detail.



Map 3.2. Metalwork finds depicting relevant imagery in the Central Gaul case study area.

The other imagery present on the metalwork from the case study area is that of animals, although none of those associated with the free-standing human imagery. An iron scabbard fragment from the 3rd century B.C. which was recovered from the river Saône at Marnay, Saône-et-Loire (Raftery 1990, 51), has two confronted dragons

either side of a central line, and further emphasised by a punched or dotted background (see fig.3.17). Similar imagery appears on other metalwork and on some coinage in other areas. The image of a bull's face forms one end of what is thought to be a cup handle (Watson 1949, 48) thought to be from Mâcon, Saône-et-Loire. Made from bronze in the 3rd century B.C., the features of the bull are made up from wide swirling shapes which are similar to those depicted on some of the pottery from the same period as discussed below.

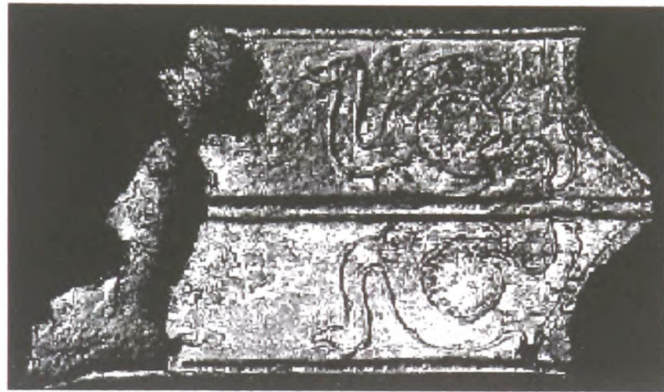


Fig.3.17 Fragment of iron scabbard from Saône at Marnay, depicting two dragons (Raftery 1990, 51)

3.4.2 Coinage from Central Gaul

As with Armorica the coinage of Central Gaul has been well researched, principally by Nash in *Settlement and Coinage in Central Gaul c. 200-50 BC*. The depiction of the human form is very similar to that of the Armorican coinage. The obverse of most of the coinage has a human head facing left or right depicted on it, in most cases quite naturalistic, with a few examples of more abstract or schematic representations (Nash 1978a, No. 696). The whole human images on the reverse of the coinage tend to be engaged in some form of activity such as driving a chariot or riding a horse. In addition to these fairly common images there are two others. First of a winged figure or human headed bird, which Nash (1978a, No. 2, 16) has interpreted as Nike. Second

the image of a human head alone, often out of proportion with the other images depicted and usually positioned under the horse on the reverse of the coin (Nash 1978a, No. 14) (see fig.3.18). The depiction of any human form, be it the head alone or the rest of the body as well, on the reverse of the coinage seems to be a predominantly early phenomenon. Far less of the final phase coinage from 120-50 B.C. has human imagery on it, and the depiction of other images or motifs becomes far more common.



Fig.3.18 Early phase coin depicting a large human head (Nash 1978a, no. 14)

By far the most common motif to occur is the lyre, which appears quite early on and is present up until 50 B.C.. It is only depicted on the reverse of the coinage and is usually positioned beneath or to one side of the main image, which is often a horse (Nash 1978a, No. 134, 170, 264, 327, 678). Two other motifs appear as objects associated with the free-standing human imagery; swords and torcs. The first of these only appears in the final phase as an image in itself, usually in the right hand corner on the reverse (Nash 1978a, No. 500-8), although it is carried by some of the horse riders in the earlier phase. The torc does not appear as an image in itself at all, only depicted on the obverse of a few coins being worn by the human head image (Nash 1978a, No. 78-86, 425). The significance of the torc as an important image in itself does not seem to be supported by the coinage of this area, although it does appear in the earlier and later phases. The final motif is the S-shape, which also appears on the metalwork, see above section, and which occurs on the reverse of the coinage either

upright or on its side (Nash 1978a, No. 314-23, 426-9). It may also appear in any position around the main reverse image.

Other than the horse the most common animals depicted are the boar and the bird. Bird images can be cranes, eagles or generic forms (Nash 1978a, No. 378, 388, 463), and like many of the other motifs may be positioned under the main reverse image. Very often, if the main reverse image is a horse, the bird will be perched on its back. The bird appears in one form or another, from the earliest coinage to the final phase, while the boar only seems to appear after 120 BC. The boar is depicted only on the reverse of the coinage, mostly as an additional image like those described above, but occasionally as the main reverse image (Nash 1978a, No. 403, 683).

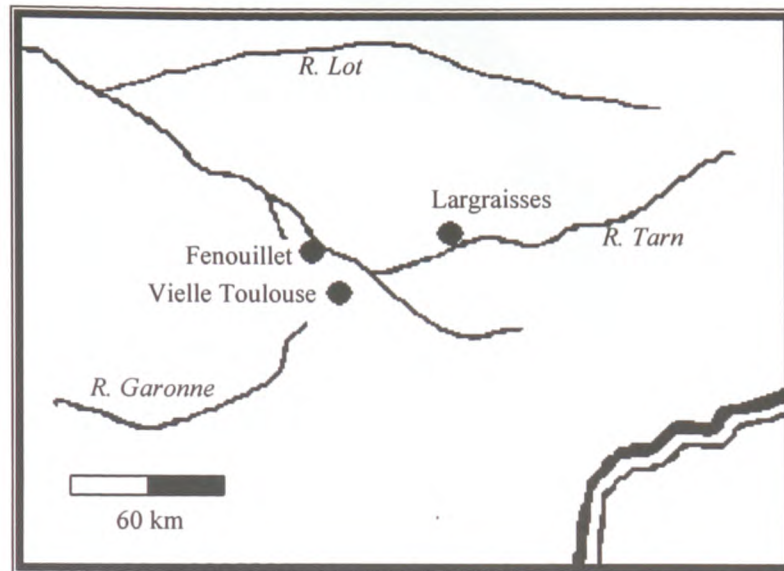
3.5 South-West Gaul

The South-West of Gaul has a far more even distribution of media displaying imagery and motifs, with the additional influence of the nearby Greek colonies on the southern coast of Gaul.

3.5.1 Metalwork from South-Western Gaul

The metalwork from the South-West of Gaul includes some very elaborate and rich pieces, many of them made from gold. The human image, however, is not represented in the material found to date, and other imagery and motifs are also somewhat limited. Two pieces of metalwork which do display some different imagery are both made from bronze. The first is a torc from Vielle Toulouse, Haute Garonne (Morel 1898, 151-2), from the late 5th to early 4th century B.C., and with terminals in the shape of animal heads, probably horses (see fig.3.19). The second is a bracelet from the river Tarn, Tarn (Raftery 1990, 62), 3rd century BC, consisting of eight hollow ova, four of

which are decorated with linked triskels, and the other four with the pervasive S motif.



Map 3.3. Metalwork finds depicting relevant imagery in the South-Western Gaul case study area

Apart from these two examples however, decoration seems to have been more important than the imagery on the majority of metalwork from this area. The plant-like patterns described previously are augmented by an elaborate flower effect, such as on the group of gold torcs from Fenouillet, Haute Garonne (Jacobsthal 1969, 172, Megaw & Megaw 1989, 147). These were dated from the 3rd century B.C., and display varying amounts of the flower/plant decoration, from being covered entirely, to just the terminals being decorated. Similar to this are the gold torc and bracelet from Lagraisses, Tarn (Jacobsthal 1969, 172), the first of them having groups of flower decoration with the twisted metal effect of the body of the torc in-between, and the second composed of eight ovals of flower like decoration. The Lagraisses metalwork is also from the 3rd century BC.



Fig.3.19 Torc from Vielle Toulouse, with animal heads terminals (Megaw 1970, no. 45)

3.5.2 Coinage from South-Western Gaul

The coinage from this case study area displays clear influences from the Greek colonies in the south and from Roman issues following the formation of the Provincia, however there is also a certain degree of influence from the Aquitaine region. The coinage of the Volcae Arecomici tribe displays the first of these influences, featuring a female human head facing right on the obverse (Allen 1995, No. 213, 220). There are two variations on the reverse, the first depicting an eagle on a palm, and the second a human figure wearing a toga and facing a palm leaf or a palm tree. Both are images very common to the Mediterranean repertoire. The coinage of the Volcae Tectosages displays the second of these influences, producing coinage similar to the that of Aquitaine, with a human male head on the obverse and the reverse divided by a cross with three circles and right angled symbol filling alternate quarters (Allen 1980, No. 103) (see fig.3.20). This division on the reverse by a cross also occurs on the silver coinage of the Volcae Arecomici and the Ruteni. The former has the elaborate S motif as one of the symbols in each quarter, the others being pellets, crescents and rings (Allen 1990, No. 74-9). The latter features an axe, two dotted suns

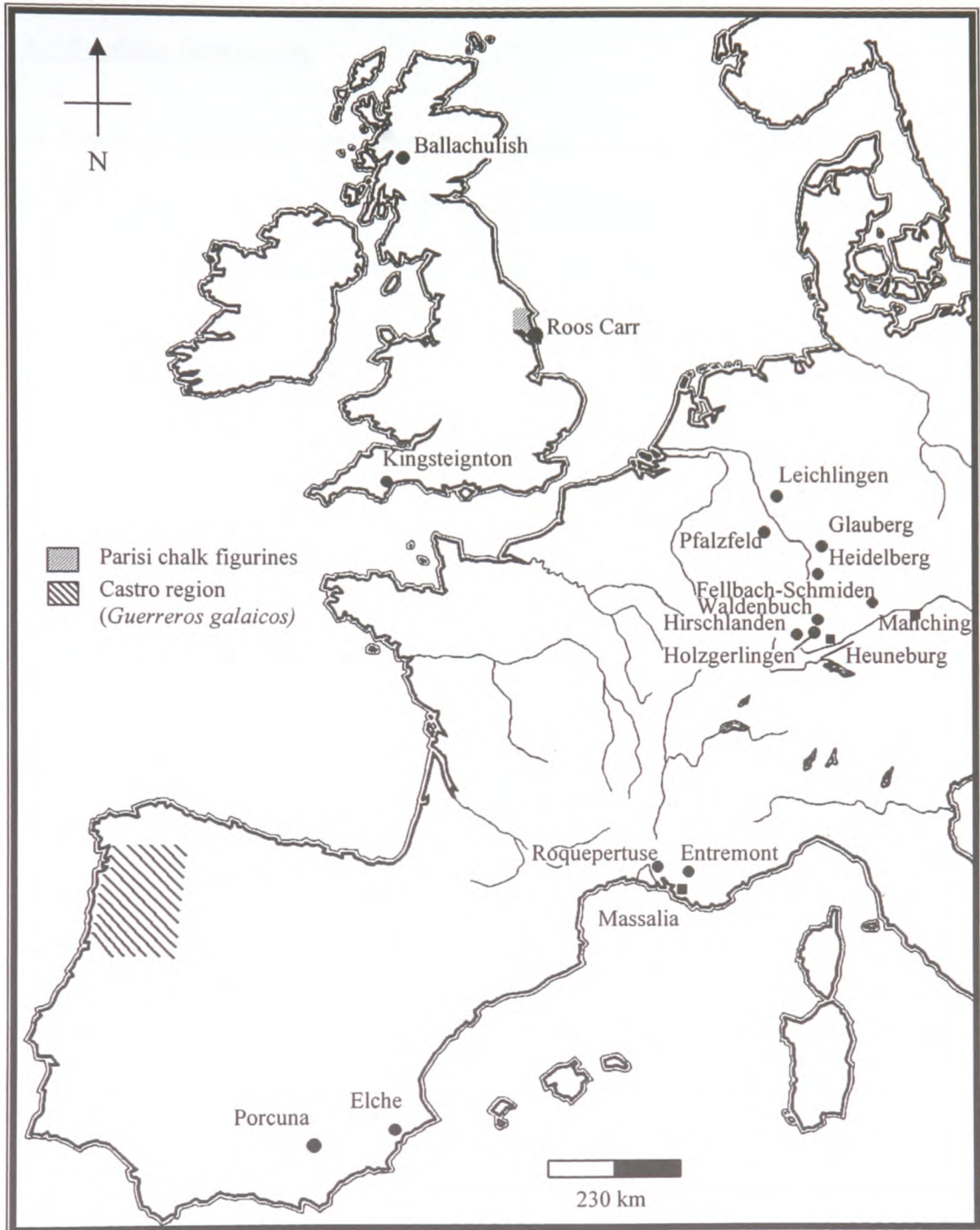
and a torc (*ibid.*, No. 91-8). The coinage of the Ruteni includes an issue with the usual depiction of a head on the obverse and a boar facing left on the reverse (*ibid.*, No. 100). Another issue from Aveyron in the north of the case study area has again a human head on the obverse, and a boar as the main image of the reverse (Allen 1980, No. 104), recalling some of the coinage from the other two case study areas.



Fig.3.20 Coin of the Volcae Tectosages (Allen 1980, no. 103)

3.6 Imagery of neighbouring regions

The free-standing human images from other regions (see Appendix 2:2) display in some cases similarities with both the Gaulish imagery and with each other. This suggests some widespread trends across several of the regions, and others restricted to Gaul or part of Gaul and one other region. The connections between this material and the Gaulish imagery, and what this suggests about their production, will be highlighted in the subsequent chapter. This section will look at the imagery from Southern Gaul, Germany, Iberia and Britain (see map 3.4.), and assess it using much the same criteria as was used on the other media above.



Map 3.4. Human Imagery from neighbouring regions (after Megaw 1970).

3.6.1 Southern Gaul region

The Southern Gaul region comprises the Mediterranean coast of Gaul and principally the area around the Bouches-du-Rhône. This region was not included in the assessment of the free-standing human imagery from the rest of Gaul, certain factors setting it apart. The region had been heavily influenced by classical culture, due to the strong Greek presence dating from 600 BC with the foundation of their first colony in the area, Massalia. In addition to Greek influence the Roman presence in this area became increasingly strong from the Middle La Tène onwards, with treaties between the Greek colonies and Rome, and wars in Spain and with Carthage resulting in a Roman troops frequently present in the region (Bromwich 1993, 5-6). Finally the area as a whole was conquered by Rome earlier than much of the rest of Gaul, in the 120s BC. These classical contacts and influences had a significant impact on the development of the local communities, this being reflected in their settlement, their economy and their religion and art. The best known examples of free-standing human imagery from this area are from the sanctuary sites of Roquepertuse and Entremont (Benoit 1969) discussed below. All these images are dated to between the 5th and 2nd centuries BC, the sites probably being destroyed in the Roman intervention of the 120s BC (Webster 1995, 452).

The first image to be considered is the cross-legged figure from Roquepertuse (see fig.3.21). This life-size figure is carved from limestone and sat at the front of the sanctuary (Megaw 1970, 134), with at least one other similar image. The figure is 1.05 m tall, sitting upright in a cross-legged position with the head and both forearms missing, although it is possible to tell where the arms would have been positioned. The right arm would have hung at the side with the right hand, the remains of which

still survive, resting on the right knee (Espérandieu 1907-1966, no. 131). From the area of damage done to the chest it is possible to tell that the left hand would have rested here, however whether it held an object it is impossible to tell. On the chest and back of the figure are a series of squares which have been interpreted as armour (Green 1995, 467). The imagery of this figure is based principally around its morphology, the form being naturalistic both in proportion and depiction of the body and limbs. Other cross-legged images have already been highlighted above (section 3.2.2), and a number of the Gaulish images either hold their arms or an object to their chest. A few of the figures are also depicted associated with weapons, such as the Vix figure (cat No. 17), another naturalistic depiction.



Fig.3.21 Cross-legged Roquepertuse (Megaw 1970, no. 212) and Entremont figures (Green 1989, 110)

Very similar in appearance and probable purpose is the cross-legged figure from Entremont (see fig.3.21), again from a sanctuary site with more than example originally (Green 1989, 109-10). The head and arms are missing, the original position of the arms not being possible to tell, with the legs also being damaged in this

instance. Again the figure wears armour. The imagery of this figure fits the same criteria as that of the Roquepertuse figure above.

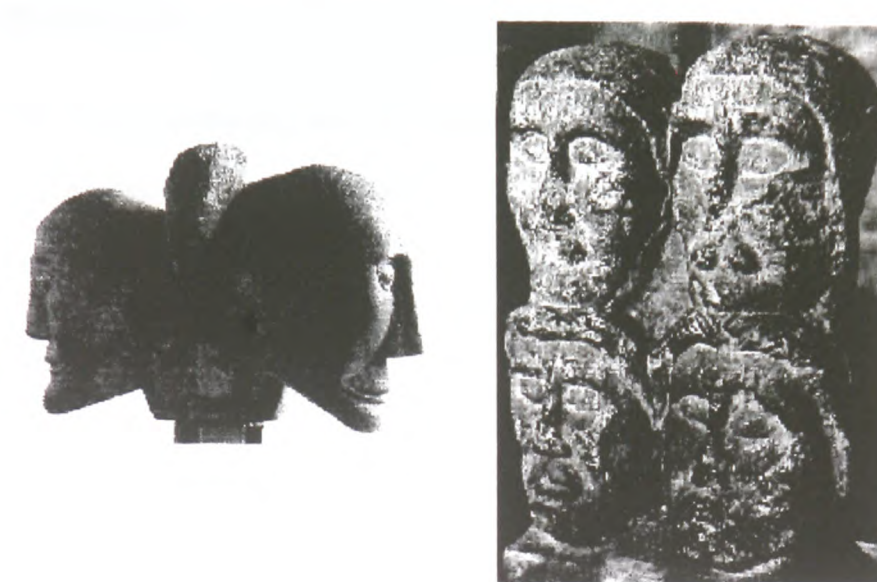


Fig.3.22 Roquepertuse double head (Birkhan 1999, 247 no. 367), and Entremont group of heads (Megaw & Megaw 1989, no. 270)

In addition to the complete human forms, as depicted by the two examples described above, both of these sites also have examples of separately depicted human heads, both of which demonstrate different forms of multiplicity (see fig.3.22). The example from Roquepertuse is a janiform head (Green 1995, 467), two fully formed heads joined back to back. The heads appear to be bald and the facial features recall some of those highlighted in the criteria listed at the beginning of this chapter. These features include large oval eyes, heavy brow ridges, trihedral noses and thin quite simply produced mouths (Benoit 1969, 40). Similarities can be drawn with the form of the Lennon figure (cat No. 3). Four human heads facing the same direction in a block form the example from Entremont, each slightly different from the others and naturalistic in appearance (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 168). It has been suggested that these heads, with two others, may have formed a group that rested between the knees

of a cross-legged figure (Birkhan 1999, 296). This image does certainly show the emphasis placed on the head, demonstrated by the other Gaulish figures.

3.6.2 Germany region

The German region comprises the area immediately neighbouring Gaul, to the east of the river Rhine, which formed the frontier in the Roman period. This region was at the centre of the area of the Hallstatt chiefdoms that developed in the early Iron Age, stretching from Eastern France, across southern Germany, to Eastern Europe. In the 6th century BC the western half of the Hallstatt chiefdoms experienced a dramatic increase in wealth and power, as displayed in their burials and settlements. Collis (1984a, 82) suggests two factors involved in this, the development of a hierarchical society in the region, and the establishment of an inland trading network following the foundation of Massalia at the mouth of the Rhône. The results of this trade and accompanying Greek influence can be seen in some of the grave goods, such as the krater from the Vix burial, or other features such as the Mediterranean style defensive wall at the Heuneburg. This Greek/Mediterranean influence may also have made itself felt in the art of this area. This influx of trade and associated wealth dries up in the early 5th century, and the region declines as an area of local power, which shifts to the north and west in the Hunsrück-Eifel region (Wells 1995, 603-4). Trade still passes through the region via the Rhine, which includes an increase in Italian/Etruscan goods. In the later Iron Age oppida like Manching develop, and following the conquest of southern Gaul in the 120s BC, trade with the Roman world increases principally across Gaul but also in this region.

A number of the free-standing human images from this region are associated with burials, such as the first image to be considered the Hirschlanden figure (see fig.3.23).

This figure was found in 1963 lying at the perimeter of a barrow mound it is thought to have stood on top of originally (Zürn 1964, 224-6). The life-size figure, carved from sandstone, is of a standing ithyphallic male, with its arms held against its body, the left across the chest and the right across its stomach, similar to the Gaulish figures that either hold objects or their arms against their chests. Other than a belt, dagger, torc and helmet the figure is naked, with weapon and armour again recalling the Gaulish and southern Gaulish figures, and the torc being the most common accoutrement of the free-standing human imagery. In form the figure is quite naturalistic, the exception to this being the exaggerated musculature of the lower limbs and the thinness of the arms. A similarity in form has been suggested with the Warrior of Capestrano statue from Etruscan Italy (Birkhan 1999, 66), and the conical shape of the helmet also seems to suggest some Etruscan inspiration. The figure is usually dated to the late 6th/ early 5th century BC (Megaw 1970, 47).

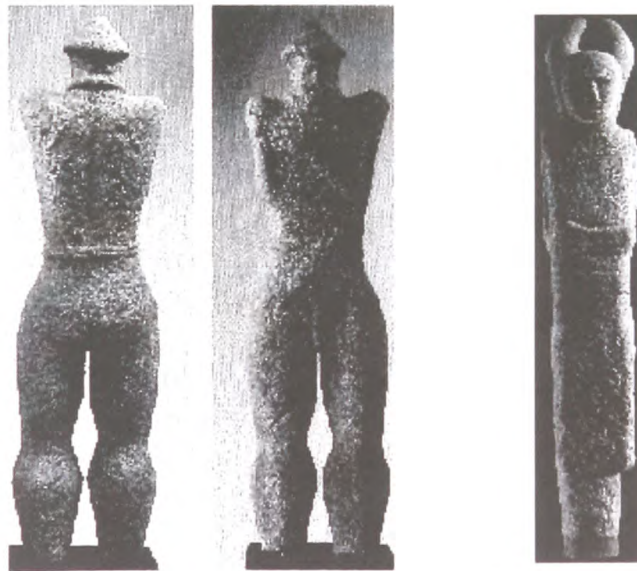


Fig.3.23 Hirschlanden figure (Birkhan 1999, 126 no. 38-9), and the Holzgerlingen figure (Birkhan 1999, 195 no. 229)

The morphology of the second image to be considered, the Holzgerlingen figure, fits many of the criteria outlined at the start of the chapter (see fig.3.23). Carved from a single block of sandstone, the figure is pillar-like with no lower limbs depicted, and the arms depicted simply on the body at the side and across the torso (Jacobsthal 1969, no.13). Emphasis of the head and multiplicity are also displayed, with the figure being double faced, and one of the two arms rests across each torso. The large, oval, bald heads recall both the Roquepertuse janiform head and the Lennon (cat. No. 3) figure, with the simplified, quite flat facial features, of trihedral nose, heavy brow ridge and simple incision representing the mouth similar to several of the Gaulish figures. Two other features are present on the image, a belt around the waist and a twin-horned crown placed between the heads (Megaw 1970, 48). Like the Hirschlanden figure this image is also dated to the 6th/5th century BC.

Of similar date is the life-size sandstone figure from Glauberg (see fig.3.24), again associated with a burial, which is dated to 470-440 BC (Goudineau 1999, 21-3). In proportions and appearance this image is similar to the Hirschlanden figure, with the exaggerated musculature of the lower limbs, and thin arms which are held in much the same position, although the other way round from the first figure. Again the figure is armed, with a sword depicted on the right side of the torso, a shield with a large central boss held in front of the body by the left arm, and wearing armour which is similar to that of the southern Gaulish figures. The sword and shield recall the figure from Vix (cat. No. 17) which is also associated with a burial. Around his neck is what appears to be a necklace rather than a torc, and the facial features are quite simple with globular eyes a trihedral nose and unusually a beard. On the forehead are three leaf shapes while behind the head are two comma shaped lumps, in a similar position as the horns on the Holzgerlingen figure but more rounded. Exactly what these

appendages are is uncertain, however similar ones appear on other images discussed further below. Also worth mentioning from this site is a piece of metalwork from the burials. On the top of a beaked flagon is a cross-legged human figure wearing a breast-plate and resting his hands on his knees in a pose very similar to the southern Gaulish figures (Birkhan 1999, 67).

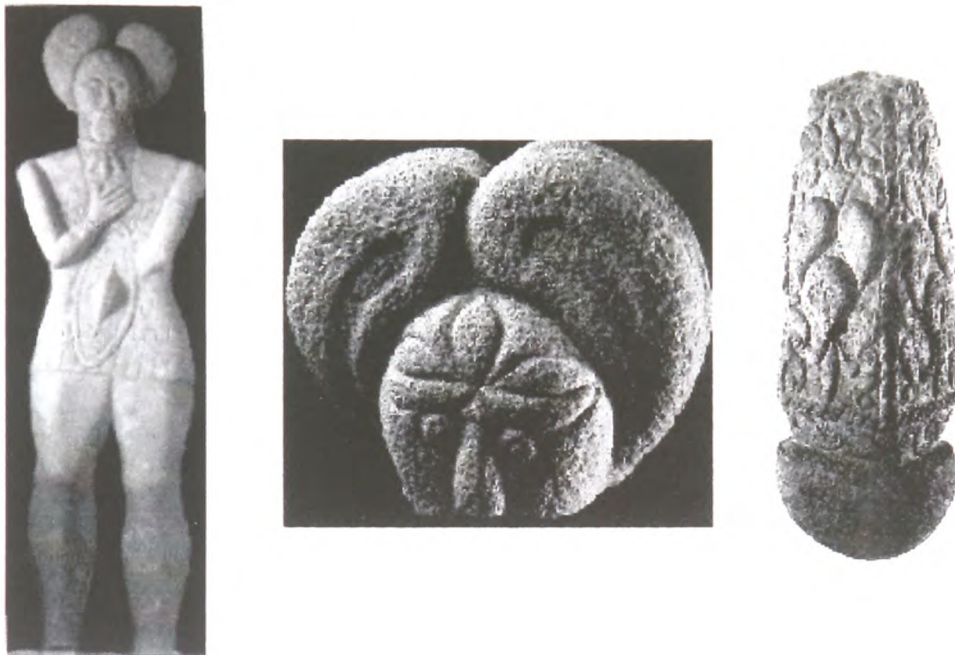


Fig.3.24 Glauberg figure (Birkhan 1999, 127 no. 44), Heidelberg head (Megaw 1970, no. 49), and Pfalzfeld pillar (Megaw 1970, no. 75)

The next two images are representations of heads alone (see fig.3.24), which both have the comma shaped crowns described above and are both dated slightly later to the 5th/4th century BC. The first of these is the head from Heidelberg, the bottom part of which is missing from below the nose (Jacobsthal 1969, no.14). As well as the comma shaped crown the figure also has the leaf shapes on its forehead like the Glauberg figure, which Megaw (1970, 64) has interpreted as a lotus bud. The rear of the head is patterned with a series of arcs, and of the facial features which are visible

the eyes are round and globular and the nose quite flat. This image may have also been associated with burials, however the reports of two inhumations and one cremation nearby are uncertain. It is thought to have been a capping for a pillar statue similar to the Pfalzfeld pillar (ibid., 77) the second example of isolated heads with comma crowns. This is a four sided pillar with twisting plant-like decoration on it, and a head depicted on each side, largely identical to each other and similar to both the previous two images. The heads are oval with globular eyes, trihedral noses and what may be prominent jaws or beards. As before the leaf pattern appears on the forehead above which the comma crowns rise (Green 1995, 467), neither of which appear to have comparisons with the Gaulish material.



Fig.3.25 Leichlingen head (Megaw 1970, no. 85)

Another example of an isolated head, but without a comma crown, is the example from Leichlingen dated to the 4th century BC (Megaw 1970, 81) (see fig.3.25). The features of the face, large round eyes, simple nose and mouth, and stylised ears (Jacobsthal 1969, no.10) recall those of the Yvignac (cat. No. 1) figure. This image also displays multiplicity being another double faced head, and the collar round its

neck has been suggested as representing a torc (Megaw 1970, 81), although it may simply indicate the start of the base.

The final two examples from this region display only fragmentary parts of the human form (see fig.3.26), and will be discussed briefly. The first is the Waldenbuch pillar-stature which displays an arm towards the top of one of the four sides (ibid., 102). Above this the statue is broken, therefore further features may have been displayed. The second example is made of wood, from a well within a square ritual enclosure at Fellbach-Schmidlen near Stuttgart (Megaw & Megaw 1995, 364). Two oak animals, usually interpreted as goats, rise on their hind legs while around the body of each is a human hand and forearm. It has been suggested that these two animals may have been part of a single image joined in the centre by a human figure reaching out to hold each of them (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 162-3). However if this is so the figure associated with these animals has not survived.

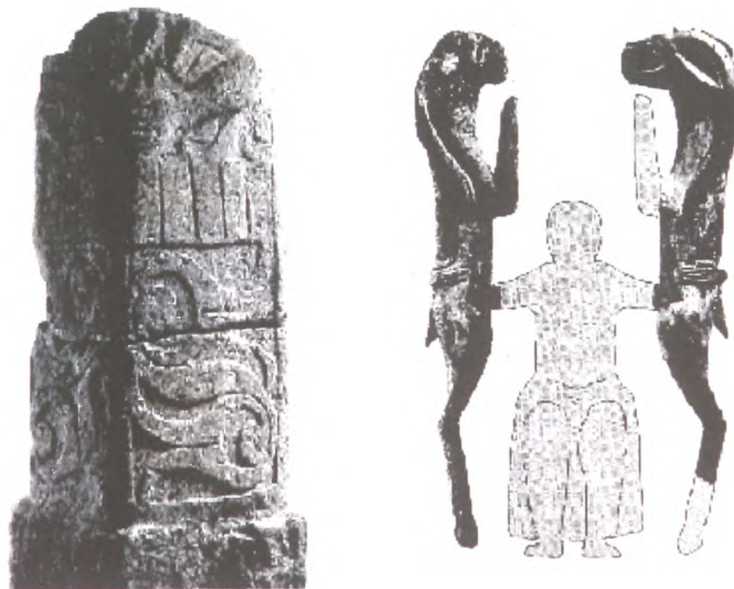


Fig.3.26 Waldenbuch pillar (Megaw 1970, no. 142), and Fellbach-Schmidlen goats with suggested position of human figure (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 163)

3.6.3 Iberian region

This region consists of the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, modern day Spain and Portugal. However this is a very large area and in terms of the ethnic groups, outside influences, and different forms of imagery, it can be roughly split into two areas. The south, east and much of the centre of the peninsula, was occupied by the ethnic group known as the Iberians (Ruiz & Molinos 1998, 248-68). Their culture, whilst indigenous, undergoes a number of changes during the Iron Age, due in part to outside influences. The first of these are Greek and Phoenician colonies established on the Mediterranean coasts to the south and east from the 8th century onwards (ibid., 239), which heavily influenced the territories round them and those further inland. Later in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC the region becomes a focus of dispute between Rome and Carthage, with wars being fought over the region, ending in 205 BC with the Roman conquest of all the Carthaginian territories in Iberia. In the north and west the situation was rather different, with the dominant ethnic group being Celtiberians, so named as their language and aspects of their culture are similar to those of the people from Gaul, northern Italy and central Europe (Lenerz-de Wilde 1995, 533-4). Here the outside influences were far less intrusive. These appear to have been based principally on contacts via the Atlantic seaboard, with the Atlantic regions of Gaul and with Britain. In the early Iron Age the Castro (hillfort) culture appears to have dominated much of this region, with these settlements being sited on strategic places, at heights of 1250 metres and protected by thick walls. Greek and Phoenician influences probably did filter into the region, but to a far lesser extent than in the south and east and with far less direct interaction. In the later Iron Age the Roman conquest of the south and east of Iberia led to an increase in their influence and impact on the cultures to the north and west. The Roman conquest of this part of the

peninsula, following the defeat of Carthage, took approximately another two hundred years with the whole of Iberia becoming a Roman province in the reign of Augustus (*ibid.*, 550).

The area to the south and east of the region will be considered first, with two examples being looked at, both natively produced work but clearly heavily influenced by the colonisers presence. The first of these is the sculptural assemblage from Porcuna (see fig. 3.27), consisting of 1288 catalogued pieces, the assemblage having been smashed and subsequently buried in a sacred site. These images are dated to the first half of the 5th century BC, and depict fights between warriors, a warrior and a griffin and a hunting scene (Ruiz & Molinos 1998, 269). Though the weaponry depicted is Greek in appearance, the scenes associated with the cult of the hero, and the stylistic technique also apparently Greek, this appears to be a natively produced series of images. The iconology is of a type not usually depicted by the Greeks except in minor arts (*ibid.*, 271), with the battle scene possibly a historical fact. As seen in the other regions depictions of warriors or heroes appear to be one of the most common.

The second example is the Lady of Elche (see fig. 3.27), which Arribas (1964, 160) has described as the masterpiece of the native sculptors. This is a near life size bust of a women wearing an elaborate head-dress and extremely rich jewellery, dated to the fourth century BC, and possibly a votive offering (Keay 1988, 19-20). The influence of the coastal colonies seems again quite clear, in this case probably Carthaginian, with a speculative identification with their goddess Tanit having been suggested. These are two examples where native images are produced in a style influenced by the culture of the coastal colonies, but for indigenous purposes, rather like those from the

southern Gaul region. In addition very similar finds to those from Roquepertuse and Entremont, carved heads on pillars for example, are known from the north east of Iberia where it borders Gaul (Lenerz-de Wilde 1995, 550).



Fig.3.27 Part of the Porcuna sculptural assemblage (Almagro-Gorbea 1991, 404), and the Lady of Elche bust (Keay 1988, 20)

In the north and west of Iberia the images are rather different. These included the *guerreros galaicos*, life-size stone figures found mainly in the entrance areas of castros (ibid., 547). The example from the Castro di Lezenbo (see fig. 3.28) is dated to the 2nd/1st century BC, and is typical of all these images. The figure is upright wearing a tunic, belt and around its neck a torc, while a round shield with a central boss is held in front of the figure and a dagger or short sword held in the right hand (Almagro-Gorbea 1991, 404), recalling both the Vix figure (cat. No. 17) from Gaul and the Glauberg figure from Germany. All of the limbs are depicted with the legs not separated but indicated separately. The features of the face, which is bearded, are again quite simplified with round globular eyes, heavy brow ridge and a flat nose. In addition to these warrior figures there is another group of free-standing imagery common to this area, however not human imagery but bulls and pigs are depicted.

These images known as Verracos, have been seen as funerary monuments or of religious significance, however more recently have been suggested as landmarks indicating grazing resources and as boundary markers (Álvarez-Sanchís 2000, 75).



Fig.3.28 *Guerreros galaicos* sculpture from Castro di Lezenbo (Almagro-Gorbea 1991, 404)

3.6.4 Britain region

Unlike the regions already discussed Britain had few if any direct contacts with the Mediterranean cultures, until the very late Iron Age. However trade, and the resulting exchange of cultural traits, did take place with the rest of Europe, and principally Gaul. Early in this period these contacts were reduced from what they had been in the preceding period, the network of the Atlantic bronze trade having collapsed shortly before (Bender 1986, 46). However as the period progresses trade increases, as the finds from ports on both sides of the channel (e.g. Hengistbury head, Naqueville and Alet) make clear (Cunliffe & de Jersey 1997, 51). In the later Iron Age Britain is brought into the periphery of the Roman commercial network, principally via the wine trade. All of this trade and contact took place with the southern lowland zone of Britain, the nature of the contacts becoming more diffuse further north in the upland

zone. The free standing human imagery of this region is spread both across the length of the island and across the period. In the 50s BC Caesar made two expeditions to Britain, and almost a hundred years later the region was conquered in the reign of Claudius.

The first image to be considered dates to the very beginning of the Iron Age, the Ballachulish wooden figure from Scotland (see fig. 3.29) with a radiocarbon date of 728-524 cal BC (Coles 1998, 164). Found at the base of a peat bog, the figure was lying face down on gravel (possibly a raised beach) and covered with a sort of wickerwork. This figure is almost life-size at 1.48 m in height, and carved from alder, with inset quartz eyes. It has a full set of limbs with the legs separated and joined lower down at a pedestal base, and the arms and hands outlined on the figures body, the hands on the front of the torso. The pubic are is marked with a central vertical incision, suggesting a female gender. Emphasis of the head is present with it appearing too large for the body, however it is not possible to comment much on the facial features due to the condition of the wood (Coles 1990, 320).

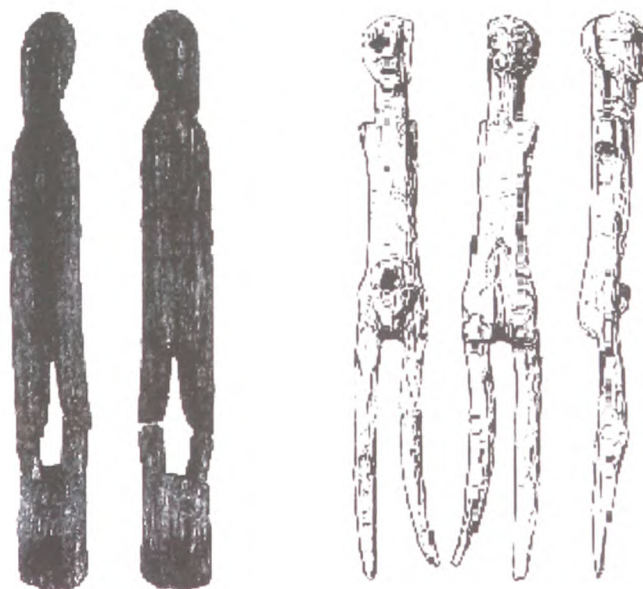


Fig.3.29 Ballachulish figure (Coles 1990, plate 10), and one of the Roos Carr figures (Coles 1990, 318)

Also of early Iron Age date are a group of five human figures from Roos Carr in Yorkshire (see fig. 3.29), made from Yew and radiocarbon dated to 606-509 cal BC (Coles 1998, 164). These figures have a set of detachable arms, shields and a boat associated with them, and stand between 35-40 cm high (Coles 1996, 24-5). Each of the figures have holes for attaching arms to them and separated legs, and another hole possibly for attaching penises or to be deliberately ambiguous in the ascribing of gender. Again the heads are out of proportion with the rest of the body, and the facial features appearing slightly asymmetrical and comprising of a simple incision for the mouth, quite flat noses, and the inset quartz pebbles giving the eyes a wide staring appearance (Coles 1990, 316-7). As with many of the images discussed in this section (3.6), these again appear to be depictions of warriors, as indicated by the shields.

The final wooden figure of this period comes from Kingsteignton in Devon (see fig. 3.30), with a mid Iron Age date of 426-352 cal BC (Coles 1998, 164). The morphology of this figure is mostly complete but all out of proportion. The legs are separated, the buttocks and male genitals indicated just above them, and the body is twice the length of the legs. No arms are depicted although there is a hole they could probably be attached to (Coles 1990, 319). The neck is very long and the head is again very large compared to the other features. As with the first example the facial features are hard to make out due to the condition of the wood, but do seem to include a flat trihedral nose and heavy brow ridge.

The last group of figures from Britain are a group of chalk figurines from Yorkshire (see fig. 3.30), from the region occupied by the Parisi, and of late Iron Age date. There are about 22 complete or near complete figures, of which the average height is 12.5 cm (Stead 1988, 13). The morphology of these figures seems to recall very

closely that of many of the late Iron Age figures from Gaul, for example the Yvignac and Ars figures (cat. No. 1 & 9), taking the form of a block-like torso surmounted by a head, some with arms indicated on the torso and others without any limbs. Of the 22 figures 13 represent warriors again, some with sword slung across their backs, the others at their side, with the arm often reaching over to touch it, not always on the hilt (ibid., 19). Other accoutrements include belts and in at least one case a hood over the head. The facial features, if they are visible at all, tend to be very simple with incisions for the eyes and mouth, rectangular nose, and the whole face appearing quite flat, which is again similar to many of the figures from late Iron Age Gaul. In most cases there is no indication of gender, however one example does have male genitals very simply depicted.

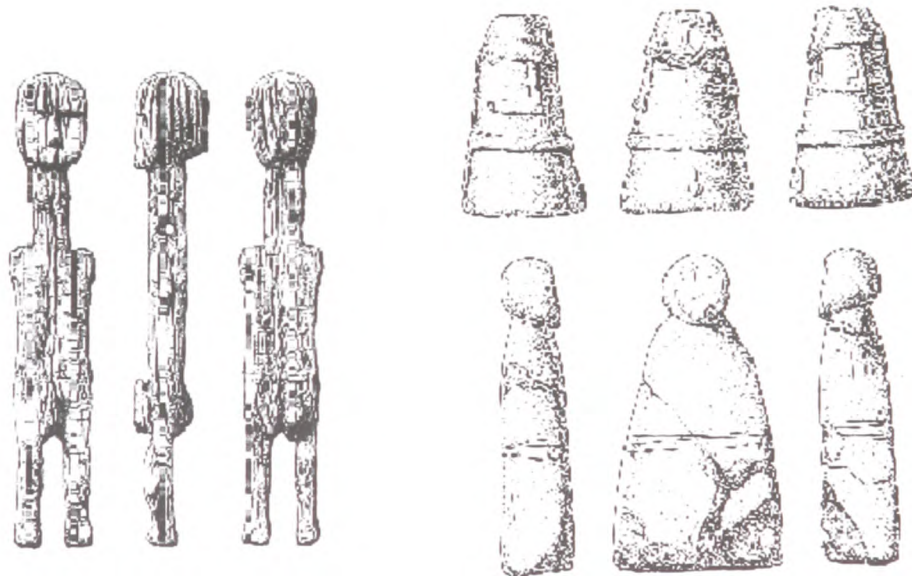


Fig.3.30 Kingsteignton figure (Coles 1990, 319), and two examples of the Parisi chalk figurines (Stead 1988, 10)

3.7 Summary

The different media have produced a number of different images and motifs, some of which are analogous to the free-standing human imagery and others which, though present in the other media, are absent from these anthropomorphic sculptures. The human imagery appears to be restricted to the metalwork and coinage. In the metalwork, from all the regions, where the human form is represented the emphasis is quite clearly on the head or face. The images that appear on the flagons or torcs/neck-rings are all of the head or face alone, and the one common example of the body being depicted is that of the anthropoid sword-hilts, where again the head appears to be emphasised. On the coinage the use of human form is quite wide, with heads appearing on their own, human headed animals, winged figures, and figures involved in some action such as driving a chariot. Some of the images recall specific free-standing human images such as the Euffigneix (cat. no. 22) or Bouray (Varagnac & Fabre 1956, 96) figures and others hold objects such as weapons or torcs that are associated with free-standing imagery.

The other imagery present on these media can be split into two groups; objects or motifs, real or fantastic animals. In this first group three images are most commonly depicted, the lyre, the torc and the S motif. A lyre is held by one of the Paule figures from Armorica (cat. no. 4) (see fig.3.7), and is very common on the coinage of this region (see fig.3.14). It first appears on the more eastern issues but by the 1st century BC is found on coinage from all across Armorica, and also on coinage in Central Gaul. This widespread distribution confirming the importance of this image across Gaul. The torc does not appear as an image on the metalwork being itself an object of metalwork but as discussed above representations of human heads are often depicted

on torcs. In the coinage it appears being worn, being carried, and as a motif and possible symbol in itself, occurring in both Armorica and Central Gaul. The final example, the S motif, is not associated with free standing human imagery at all but is the most common motif to appear on the other media. It appears on a few examples of metalwork in Central Gaul, on the stone stelae of Armorica, and on the coinage from all over Gaul. This widespread distribution makes its absence from the specifically human imagery appear somewhat odd.

The second group, representations of animals, is again dominated by three types: the horse, the bird and the boar. The first of these has no association with free-standing human imagery, but is so common on coinage that it must be included here, particularly as in the Armorican region it is associated with human imagery in the form of the human-headed horse motif. In addition, the horse does appear on metalwork such as the torc from South-West Gaul, and its significance may be tied to its role as an elites animal and transport. The bird appears on a limited amount of metalwork, and is associated only with the Poulan Pouzols figure (cat. no. 21) (see fig.3.6) from the free-standing imagery. Again on the coinage however it is very common, appearing across Gaul and in many different forms, such as an eagle, crane, duck and even human headed. By far the most common animal image however is that of the boar, depicted on both the Euffingneix and the Poulan Pouzols figures, as well as a free standing image itself in metal. On the coinage it is the most common image after the horse, and appears as both main and minor reverse image and also on the obverse as well where it is often very closely linked to the human image.

The free-standing human imagery from other regions shares certain traits with the Gaulish material, and suggests some wider trends. These shared traits can be split into

the two groups of criteria outlined at the start of this chapter, morphology and images/motifs. In the first of these groups all four of the main points listed (treatment of the limbs, emphasis on the head, facial features and multiplicity) occur on the images. The first of these, treatment of the limbs, probably has the greatest number of similarities, such as the cross-legged position of the southern Gaul figures. Also the position of the arms of these figures, several of the German figures and the Ballachulish figure from Britain, either held across the chest or holding an object against their chest is very common in the images from Gaul, for example the Paulmy (cat. No. 10) figure (see fig.3.5). As already stated above, the simplified form of the Parisi chalk figurines and the figure from Holzgerlingen, is similar to many of the Gaulish images, such as the Paule figures (cat. No. 4,5,6,7) (see figs.3.3 & 3.7). Emphasis on the head is shown by many of the images, all the wooden figures from Britain for instance having heads out of proportion with their body. Like the Gaulish figures the facial features of the images varied considerably, however the round eyes, simple nose and flatness of the face, which is quite common in the Gaulish figures (e.g. Yvignac (cat. No. 1)), also occur on some of the German, British and Iberian images. Finally multiplicity is demonstrated by a few images from Germany and southern Gaul, in general recalling the Lennon (cat. No. 3) double faced figure.

The second group, images/motifs is rather more limited. A few figures wear torcs, Hirschlanden from Germany and the *guerreros galaicos* figures from Iberia, unlike Gaul where it is the most common image. Similarly only a few are associated with animals, Fellbach-Schmiden (where the human figure is mostly missing) and the Porcuna images being the only examples. By far the most common image to occur, which is also present on the Gaulish material, was the depiction of weapons. Indeed the depiction of warriors was one of the most unifying features across all the regions,

and over the period. Many of the images held shields in front of them, such as the *guerreros galaicos* figures, Glauberg and the Roos Carr figures, which recall the Vix (cat. No. 17) figure. Others held or wore swords or daggers, for example the Parisi figures or Hirschlanden figure, similar to the Bozouls figure (cat. No. 20). The one other motif worth mentioning are the crowns behind the heads of a number of the German figures. These are usually comma shaped as with the Heidelberg head, but also appear more horn-like behind the Holzgerlingen figure. Various suggestions have been made as to what they depict, none however very convincing, with none of the other regions depicting anything similar.

The recurring warrior imagery discussed above is one of the wider trends apparent through looking at this imagery from other regions. Another is the degree of influence Mediterranean cultures had on these representations of human imagery, which appears related to proximity and contact with these cultures. The images of southern and eastern Iberia appear the most heavily influenced, adopting the Greek or Phoenician forms of sculpture almost totally, although for slightly different purposes, as with the Porcuna images depiction of a probable historic event. The images from the southern Gaul region also show a high degree of Greek influence, but with indigenous traits such as the crossed legs of some of the figures. In addition while these figures do form part of a sanctuary complex as Greek depictions would, this includes very indigenous features such as niches for human skulls and carved representations of human heads. The German free-standing human imagery displays some features, such as the exaggerated lower musculature of the Hirschlanden figure, which can be related to Greek or Etruscan influences, these being the two Mediterranean cultures this region had trade contacts with. However the images have many features which are alien to these two cultures, as is their frequent association

with burials. The areas such as north and western Iberia and Britain, which appear to have had little direct contact with the Mediterranean cultures, have very few characteristics that could be linked to them. In addition all those images which do display some Mediterranean influence date to the early Iron Age.

Chapter 4 The Iron Age Human Imagery

The data forming the catalogue of Iron Age free-standing human imagery (Appendix 1) is examined in this chapter. Comparisons are made between the images, with distribution, dates ascribed to the figures, the material used, and the imagery depicted considered. The data collected in chapters two and three is used to help place the images in their social/historical and symbolic contexts. This will aid both the dating of those figures with poor archaeological contexts and the assessment of the reasons for the production of these images. Both general and regional trends will be looked for within the case study areas.

4.1 General section

This first section will consider together the free-standing human imagery from the whole of Gaul, under the headings outlined above. Trends for the whole of Gaul will be highlighted and subsequently considered at the regional level of the case study areas.

4.1.1 Distribution:

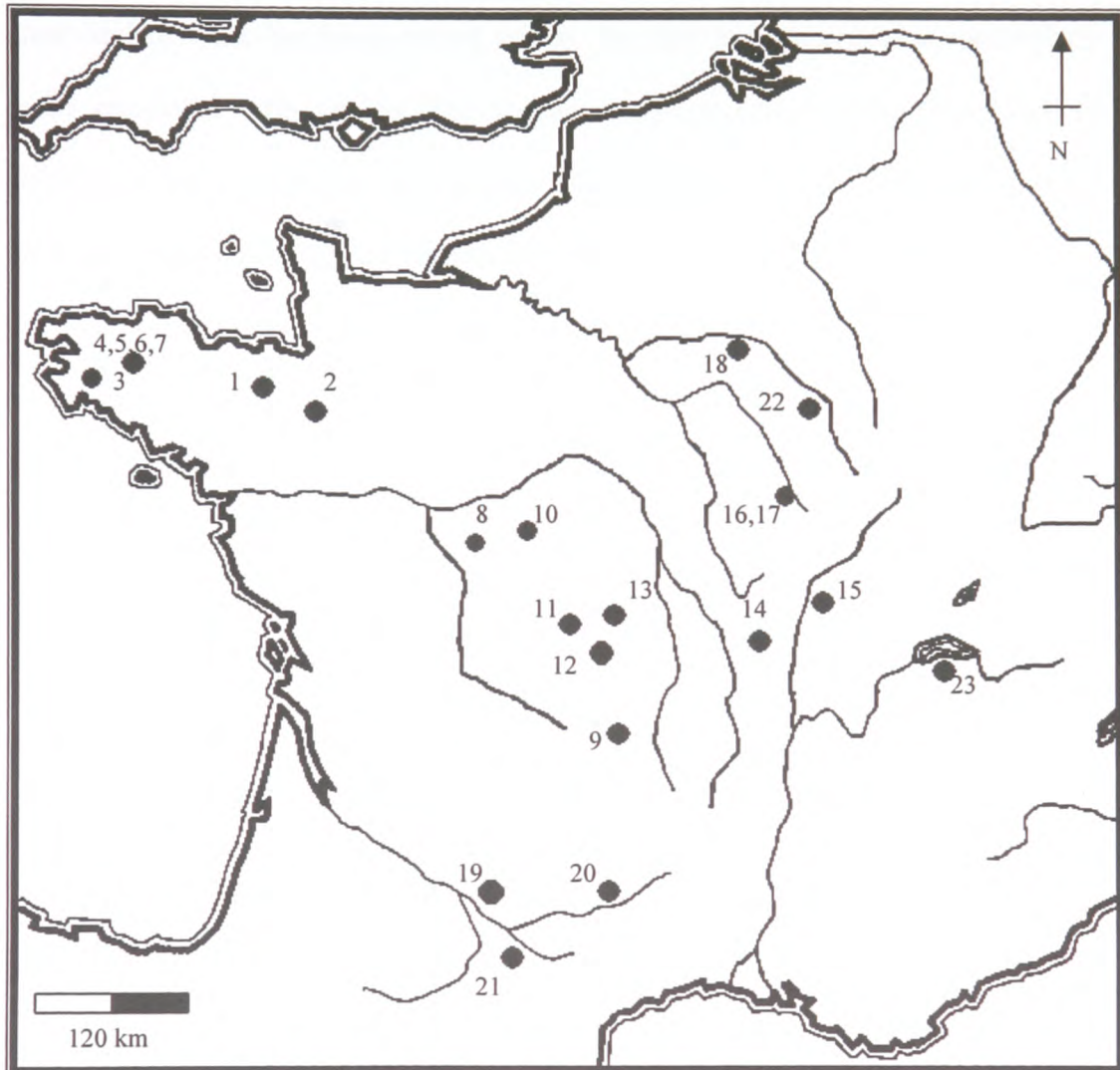
The area under study coincides with the Roman province of Gaul. The whole of Gaul is considered, with the exception of the area in the south-east in which the Greek colonies such as Massalia were established in the 6th century BC. The distribution of free-standing human imagery within Iron Age Gaul is quite sporadic. Distribution varies from clear concentrations to diffuse scattering of examples, to apparent absences of material in large areas. This section will assess the possible reasons for each of these variations, and how they affect the consideration of the material.

Concentrations of material provided the basis for selection of the case study areas. Three collections of material were apparent in the overall distribution (see map 4.1), in the north-west, the centre, and the south-west. The case study areas became designated as Armorica, Central Gaul, and South West Gaul. The possible reasons for these concentrations of material will be proposed in greater individual detail below. Factors to be considered include proximity to Greek colonies or Roman provinces, continuation of a long-term regional tradition, and location in relation to major trade routes and local centres of power.

Along the eastern side of Gaul and to the north there is a scattering of examples. These figures appear in isolation from other free-standing human imagery. Those images not included within the case study area concentrations appear separately and some distance from each other. Despite sharing some characteristics with the other imagery, all these diffuse examples are very distinct from each other. This could suggest that certain regions had a tradition in the production of human images, and that outside of these areas such production was rare and unusual.

A large area on the far west of Gaul has no recorded material within it at all. This includes, with the exception of Armorica, the whole western side of Gaul bordering the Atlantic coast, down to Iberia. No obvious explanation can be given for the total absence of material from this area. Isolation from the rest of Gaul or other regions does not account for it since a number of major trade routes are believed to have passed through this area, based on rivers such as the Loire or Garonne. In addition Iron Age material of a different nature, such as red slip pottery and fibulae, have been recovered from cemeteries and settlement sites (Mohen 1980, 229). The absence of

material in this instance may simply be random, as may the concentration of some of the material.



Map 4.1: Distribution map of sites with catalogue numbers.

1. Yvignac 2. Bais 3. Lennon 4. First Paule (Lyre player) figure 5. Second Paule figure 6. Third Paule figure 7. Fourth (capped) Paule figure 8. Levroux 9. Ars 10. Paulmy 11. Orsennes 12. Pérassay 13. Châteaumeillant 14. Mont-Saint-Vincent 15. Seurre 16. First Vix (torced) figure 17. Second Vix (Warrior) figure 18. Broussy 19. Cahors 20. Bozouls 21. Poulan-Pouzols 22. Euffigneix 23. Geneva

When assessing the distribution of this material certain modern factors, which may affect it, should be taken into account. The first are different levels of archaeological investigation, absences or concentrations of material in different areas due to the amount of archaeological work carried out there on relevant sites. For instance, a great deal of work has been carried out on the sites in central France, particularly those associated with oppida. The second are publication issues, either lack of publication due to delays in the synthesis of the data, or obscure publication in small local journals with a limited circulation. Either of these could explain scarcity or absence of catalogued material. These factors would need to be considered in any archaeological study, but particularly one such as this where so much of the material comprises random finds.

4.1.2 Dating/Chronology:

One of the major problems associated with this material is dating it securely. Many of the images have either no recorded or a poorly recorded archaeological context. This is due to many of the figures being discovered in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, when these details were not recorded. Others have been moved from their original context sometime previous to their rediscovery. The double faced figure from Lennon (cat. No. 3) was reused as building material in a wall, and was only discovered when the wall was demolished. Even when excavation details are recorded, these can be lost. The Mont-Saint-Vincent (cat. No. 14) figure resided in the Musée Denon for almost fifty years without a provenance (Bonenfant & Guillaumet 1998, 29-31), until a connection was made between the donator and an article in a small local archaeological journal. The lack of secure archaeological contexts has meant that very often the images have been assigned a date based on a stylistic

assessment. This is extremely unreliable, some figures being given Iron Age dates by one author and Roman dates by another. This form of assessment is also open to the criticisms of the 'archaeologist as connoisseur' argument (Shanks 1996, 368) outlined in chapter 1.

In Table 4.1.2 the different figures have been split into those of definite, probable or uncertain Iron Age Date. Definite dates are those based on associations with material of Iron Age date in secure archaeological contexts, or some other dating method (radiocarbon dating for example). Probable dates are those where the figure has been found on, or in association with sites of Iron Age date, or dated by a less secure method. Uncertain dates are those where the figure is only tentatively associated with either sites or material of Iron Age date, if at all. Those of uncertain date make up more than half the total number of figures. Through an assessment of their social and symbolic contexts it will be possible to assign many of them a probable Iron Age date. This will involve the assessment of the social and historical background of the area they were found in (see chapter 2), and comparison with those figures of definite or probable date, and the data collected on other media and regions (see chapter 3).

There is no obvious correlation between the date of the figures and the material they are produced in, the two wooden examples being separated by several hundred years, and the selection of stone probably based on what was locally available.

Definite	Probable	Uncertain
Levroux (cat. No. 8)	Yvingnac (cat. No. 1)	Bais (cat. No. 2)
Paule fig 1 (cat. No. 4)	Vix fig 1 (cat. No. 16)	Lennon (cat. No. 3)
Paule fig 2 (cat. No. 5)	Vix fig 2 (cat. No. 17)	Cahors (cat. No. 19)
Paule fig 3 (cat. No. 6)	Geneva (cat. No. 23)	Ars (cat. No. 9)
Paule fig 4 (cat. No. 7)		Pérassay (cat. No. 12)
Seurre (cat. No. 15)		Orsennes (cat. No. 11)
		Paulmy (cat. No. 10)
		Châteaumeillant (cat. No. 13)
		Bozouls (cat. No. 20)
		Poulan Pouzols (cat. No. 21)
		Euffigneix (cat. No. 22)
		Mont-St.-Vincent (cat. No. 14)
		Broussy (cat. No. 18)

Table 4.1.2 dating of figures to the Iron Age

4.1.3 Material:

Stone and wood are the two media used in the depiction of free-standing human imagery. Stone is by far the more common, although the potential for deterioration by wood or indeed metal, and the possible recycling of the latter, may partly account for this. The type of stone used varies both from one region to another, and within regions. All of the stone appears to be either local or potentially local, with no reason to assume either the figures or the raw material were imported. Most of the stone figures are carved from sandstone or limestone, of local variation, materials that are easily carved (Hamilton et al. 1974, 194, 198) and which would have presented no great restrictions to the form of the figure. A few figures are carved from granite, a far harder material (ibid., 154) and more difficult to carve. Despite this there appears to be no great variation in the carvings based around the choice of stone.

Only two wooden figures have been found (see fig. 4.1), very probably due to this medium's poor survival rate. The type of wood used was oak for the Geneva figure (cat. No. 23) and fruit tree for the Seurre figure (cat. No. 15). The choice of wood may be significant for the function of the figure. The Bronze and Iron Age wooden figures of Britain and Ireland appear to demonstrate certain characteristics related to the type of wood they are produced from. These include gender and facial features (Coles 1998, 165-6). Oak trees have frequently been associated with ritual activities in the Iron Age (Ross 1970, 147) in particular those of the Druids. The Geneva figure is huge, over 2 metres tall, which with the use of wood from this ritually significant tree, implies a figure of great importance. The use of wood from a fruit tree could suggest a fertility or harvest connection for the Seurre figure. This figure was recovered from the river Saône, its deposition in which could have been deliberate, and if so the

decompositional properties of wood could suggest some form of sacrifice. Metal objects such as swords when deliberately deposited in watery contexts, for example lakes or rivers (Webster 1995, 450), have frequently been bent or broken first, killing the object (Roymans 1990, 82). The nature of the material would have allowed relatively easy carving, the Geneva figure formed from a whole trunk, the Seurre figure probably from a bough.

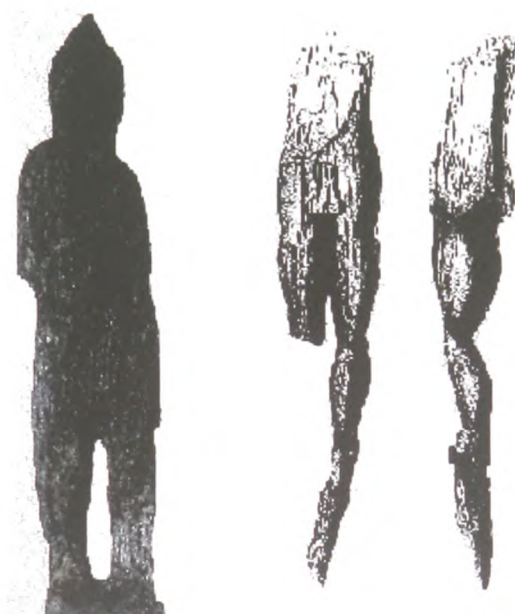


Fig.4.1 Geneva figure (cat. No. 23) and Seurre figure (cat. No. 15)

The choice of material for these two figures has allowed them both to be dated quite securely, the Geneva figure (cat. No. 23) figure by dendrochronology to 80 BC and the Seurre figure (cat. No. 18) by radiocarbon dating to about 500 BC (905-352 BC). The British wooden figures referred to above, fit within the date range of the Seurre figure, while the animal images from Fellbach-Schmidlen, around each of which a human arm is depicted, are dendro-dated between the two Gaulish examples at 123 BC. The existence in neighbouring regions of other images produced in wood, while

being few in number, suggests that the practice was widespread and that it may have been more common than the number of examples in existence would initially suggest.

In terms of the imagery of the figures, the choice of material does appear to affect the form and morphology. Many of the stone figures have no limbs depicted at all, or depicted in either bas-relief or flat against the body of the figure. The wooden figures all depict limbs, in most cases a full set. The wooden figures both have separated legs, a feature far more difficult to reproduce in stone. In addition the wooden figures are produced with all their physical features in proportion with each other, while many of the other figures display an exaggeration of one or more features. Aside from these differences in morphology, many almost certainly related to ease of production, no particular imagery seems tied to particular material.

4.1.4 Imagery:

An initial assessment of the imagery present on the figures has already been made in chapter 3. Some areas however can be looked at in greater detail. As discussed above most of the stone figures depict limbs in quite limited ways, if at all. Only three of the stone figures depict legs: the Bais figure (cat. No. 2) and the two Vix figures (cat. No. 16 & 17). In each case the legs are part of the overall block the figure is fashioned from as opposed to separated. As suggested above this treatment of limbs and the frequent absence of legs is probably tied to choice of material. The number of images either holding an object to their chest, or having their arms folded across their chest was also noted in section 3.2, and similarly may be connected to ease of production. However the bronze figure from Levroux (Vuaillet et al. 1989, 36), which may be early post conquest, holds an object to its chest and the wooden Geneva figure has its arms against its body and an object held in one hand by its chest. Therefore the

relative workability of the various materials would not appear to be the only deciding factor in the morphology of the figures.

Emphasis on the head is sometimes produced through the exaggeration of scale (with the head appearing out of proportion with the rest of the body). Other features are also exaggerated, frequently the eyes, as on the Yvignac (cat. No. 1), Levroux (cat. No. 8), and the Euffigneix (cat. No. 22) figures. On the last of these the exaggeration of this particular feature is further emphasised by the large and elaborately carved eye on the side of the figure (see fig. 4.2). This emphasis and exaggeration of the eyes may be associated with some form of 'all-seeing' aspect, with the additional depiction of an eye on the body of an image further emphasising this. The exaggeration of the head recalls the ritual importance of heads and skulls at sites such as Entremont and Roquepertuse (Megaw 1970, 134, Collis 1984a, 113). The significance placed on the head is probably based on the perception of it as the centre of control of the body and thought or wisdom, and exaggeration may imply an increase in these abilities. Other exaggerated features include the hands of the Mont-St.-Vincent figure (cat. No. 14), which appear totally out of proportion.

Another physical feature depicted on these images is that of the erect phallus, appearing on the Mont-St.-Vincent, Seurre and Bais figures. On the first of these the phallus is carved in relief towards the base of the figure, apparently in proportion although given the exaggeration of other features it is not entirely possible to tell. On the Seurre figure the phallus is carved flat against the lower stomach of the figure, again apparently in proportion. The Bais figure is a triple image, and each of the images has an erect phallus, again carved flat against the body. In addition to the triplication with the rest of the figure, it has been suggested that this feature is further

emphasised by the shape of the figure as a whole (Meuret 1990, 87-91) being phallic in shape (see fig. 4.3). Phallic imagery has been connected with fertility, sexuality and aggression (Green 1989, 210). The first of these appears the most likely in connection with these images, particularly the Seurre figure, the possible connection with fertility and the fruit tree wood the figure is carved from having been suggested in section 4.1.3.



Fig. 4.2 Eye depicted on the side of the Euffigneix figure (Hatt 1970, no. 61)



Fig. 4.3 Bais ithyphallic triad (cat. No.

This leads to consideration of the gender of the figures. The three cases outlined above appear obviously masculine, and the majority of the other figures are also probably male, some having other masculine features (Broussy figure (cat. No. 18) one face bearded) and some traditional masculine associations such as weapons (Bozouls figure (cat. No. 20) with sword). This last point however should not be assumed to identify male gender, since weapons are sometimes associated with

female images, such as the female armed rider which appears on Armorican Iron Age coinage (de Jersey 1994, 54-6). Others appear to be male with no overtly masculine features (first Paule (cat. No. 4) figure) and some can be viewed as indeterminate or possibly both/neither (Levroux figure). None however can be viewed as definitely female. Those which it has been suggested may be female are the first Vix figure (indeterminate clothing or form and seated position recalls later, Roman, seated goddesses) and the Poulan-Pouzols figure (cat. No. 21) which has been interpreted as both male and female (Labrousse 1962, 603) due to the lack of features on the front of the figure and the hair style.

The last major variation in form exhibited by the free-standing human imagery is multiplicity. This characteristic is displayed on the Lennon, Bais, Cahors (cat. No. 19) and Broussy figures. The first of these is a double faced stele, with no bodily features depicted other than the two human heads which face in opposite directions. The remaining three are all triplicated depictions, just the face of the Cahors and Broussy figures, while the whole body of the Bais figure is repeated three times. The Lennon double image could represent a figure looking forward and backward simultaneously, possibly to the past or future. Alternatively it may be a particularly symbolic duality being represented in the figure, for example good/evil, light/dark, day/night. However both of the faces are similar to each other, any such interpretation presumably being reliant on the figures context. The triplicated figures could be connected to being able to see all around, to being in effect all-seeing. This interpretation would seem most applicable to the Cahors and Broussy figures, the multiplication of the features being limited to their heads. The Bais figure may be rather different having an entire figure repeated three times on a four sided image, the fourth side being a back view of the figure, and therefore not able to see all round. Another point to consider is whether

the different faces or bodies represent different entities or the repetition of one image. The three front images of the Bais figure are all virtually identical, suggesting a repetition of one entity's image, which is supported by the one back image, implying a single being with three fronts. The Broussy figure has no bodily features depicted, the faces surmounting an unmarked pillar. These faces however are not all the same, the two damaged faces both having frowning mouths, and the third a small mouth and a beard. The differences in features could suggest either individual entities depicted together or a single entity with different personalities or traits. It has been suggested that the different faces represent Teutates and Esus (Hatt 1984, 287), however this is almost certainly due to these being almost the only names of Gaulish gods known, rather than based on any sound reasoning. The Cahors figure has no body whatsoever, the three faces depicted quite simply on a single block with a few minor differences between them, but no clearly different features to distinguish one from the other. The features are too worn to make any certain judgement, however the lack of obvious differences would possibly suggest a single triple faced entity. Whilst the triplication of the image is the most common form of multiplicity displayed by the Gaulish images the examples from neighbouring regions have more similarities with the double faced Lennon figure (cat. No. 3). From southern Gaul is the janiform head from Roquepertuse (Benoit 1969, 40), which as outlined in chapter 3 has a number of similarities with the Lennon figure, and is dated to the 3rd or 2nd century BC. From Germany there is the Holzgerlingen figure (Jacobsthal 1969, no. 13) and the Leichlingen head (Megaw 1970, 81), the first dated to the 6th/5th century BC and the second to the 4th century BC. Again both display a number of similarities with the Lennon figure as highlighted in chapter 3. Multiplicity was therefore not restricted to

the Gaulish region, however the doubling form appears to have a longer history suggesting that the triplicating form may be a late development.

The images and motifs, which were highlighted in section 3.2, were principally torcs, animals and a few individual examples. The Euffigneix figure has already been remarked upon for the eye motif on its side, whilst on the front is the image of a boar (see fig. 3.6). The similar depiction of a number of different animals occurs on the Poulan Pouzols figure, including again a boar and also deer, these being the two most commonly depicted wild animals in Iron Age iconography (Green 1992, 152). In each of these cases the associated imagery, both animal and optical, is superimposed on the figure itself rather than independently accompanying the figure. This suggests a very direct association between the figure and the images. Green (1992, 197) sees animals as more important in Romano-Celtic iconography than Classical, such as Epona relying on her depiction with a horse for her identity, and this may have been the case in earlier iconography. Creighton (2000, 43-52) has linked the association and merging of human and animal images depicted on British and Gaulish Iron Age coins to shamanic practices. In particular the trance experience or Altered State of Consciousness (ASC), usually brought about through the use of narcotics, in which the shaman frequently experiences a transformation into an animal, has been suggested as a possible inspiration for these images. The art of pre-industrial societies very often includes images derived from these experiences, such as that of the Bushmen of South Africa (ibid, 43-4).

In addition to the superimposed images, many of the figures are depicted carrying objects, frequently against their chest. One of the clearest examples is the first of the Paule figures, which holds a lyre with both hands against its chest. Weapons are also

depicted, most clearly on the Bozouls figure, which holds a short sword in its right hand and the scabbard in the left. The second Vix figure holds a round shield in front of its legs while sitting down, and on its right side next to its calf is an object thought to be a sword (Bonenfant & Guillaumet 1998, 25-7). Another possible sword or blade is held by the Paulmy (cat. No. 10) figure in its right hand resting on its chest, although the image is so worn it is impossible to be sure. The Ars figure (cat. No. 9) also holds an object that is unidentifiable in its left hand (see fig. 4.4). Finally the Geneva (cat. No. 23) figure holds a rounded object in its right hand against its chest which has been variously interpreted, two examples being an egg (Green 1989, 185) or a purse (Mottier 1999, 30) both objects with clear symbolic meanings, of rebirth and prosperity respectively.

The most common object depicted however is the torc, which is held or worn by some of the figures. The Ars figure does both with one torc around its neck and another held in its right hand against its chest (see fig. 4.4). A number of the other torc wearing figures also either hold objects against their chests or have their arms crossed or resting on their chest, some of which have been mentioned above. These include the Pérassay (cat. No. 12), Orsennes (cat. No. 11), first Paule (cat. No. 4), Châteaumeillant (cat. No. 13) and Paulmy (cat. No. 10) figures, suggesting some sort of connection between these two parts of the imagery. Those other figures wearing torcs are the first Vix (cat. No. 16), Bozouls (cat. No. 20) and Euffigneix (cat. No. 22) figures, the last two of which have been discussed above in connection with their imagery.



Fig. 4.4 Ars torc holder figure (cat. No. 9)

Other forms of adornment include jewellery, clothing and hairstyle. In addition to the torcs held and worn by the Ars figure, it also wears two bracelets, one on each arm. No other jewellery is depicted, however some of the figures do wear items of clothing. The Geneva figure appears to be wearing a form of hooded cloak, the *cucullatus*, which is associated with pilgrims (Green 1989, 187). This cloak falls to the back of the knees except down the figure's right side where the tail of the cloak falls against the right leg. The Châteaumeillant figure may be wearing some form of tunic, the chevron patterning at its sides having been interpreted as the folds of sleeves (Coulon 1990, 69). Other garments are more minor in nature, such as what appears to be a belt on the Poulan-Pouzols (cat. No. 21) figure, only visible on the back, and the cap of the fourth Paule figure (cat. No. 7) with its thick rim at the edge. Finally the other means of decoration some of the figures display are their hairstyles. In most cases the hair of the figures is very simply indicated if at all, as for example on the second Paule (cat. No. 5), the Levroux or the Bais figures, the hairline often being the only indication. A few examples however do display greater variation.

Some figures have the locks of hair clearly and quite elaborately shown, such as the Yvignac (cat. No. 1) or Euffigneix figures. Others actually appear to have quite elaborate hairstyles such as the plaited or braided hair of the Poulan-Pouzols figure or the twin plaits of the Bozouls figure.

4.2 Armorica

The first case study area to be considered is that of Armorica. A total of seven figures have been found within this area. This section will attempt to highlight any regional trends present in the case study area, and assess how the images fit into the Gaulish imagery overall.

4.2.1 Distribution:

The distribution of figures within the case study area appears to be quite random, with an even spread of sites from East to West. The only concentration is the site of Paule on which half of the figures from this study area were found. Its excavators have described this site as an aristocratic fortress (Menez & Arramond 1997, 119), a site which began quite small, as a farm in the 5th century. The site then grew in size and importance, with the original settlement being levelled in the 3rd century to allow the construction of a private fortress. A concentration of figures such as this on one site appears to be quite unique in this period. It raises the possibility of similar collections of figures being found on similar sites in this area, should they ever be excavated, or highlights the unusualness of this particular site.

Both Paule and the other western site of Lennon are located within the area believed to be the territory of the Osismi. The eastern sites of Yvignac and Bais appear in the territories of the Coriosolites and Namnetes respectively. These tribal groupings

however are quite a late development and may have no direct correlation to the production of these images.

No internal explanation can be given for the distribution within this study area, given the apparent randomness of the location of the sites. It may be possible however to provide some explanations for the concentration of material within this area. Armorica appears remote from the centres of power that grew up in the East of Gaul during the middle Iron Age, or those areas bordering the Mediterranean. However its location on the Atlantic coast put it at the hub of an Atlantic coastal trading network (Cunliffe & de Jersey 1997, 56-7), as outlined in chapter 2, with further trading links to central and southern Gaul via various rivers. Armorica was therefore at the hub of a number of different cultural influences. The Atlantic trade included links with northern and western Iberia, an area which also had a tradition of human statuary (Rodriguez 1997, 182), in addition to links with Britain and Ireland. Long distance trading expeditions were also undertaken by Greek and Carthaginian merchants to these areas. A wide variety of different influences were present in this area during the Iron Age up until the Roman period and may have provided some of the inspiration or impetus for the production of these images. However it should be considered that similar links and influences were available in the rest of western Gaul along the Atlantic coast, and as outlined in section 4.1.1 this is the one area of Gaul totally devoid of these images.

4.2.2 Dating/Chronology:

Because half the figures of this case study area originate from one site which has a good archaeological context, the proportion of figures from this area with secure dates is unusually high. Four figures, those from Paule (cat. No. 4, 5, 6, 7), have definite

dates, while the Yvignac figure (cat. No. 1) is a probable Iron Age date, and the Lennon (cat. No. 3) and Bais (cat. No. 2) figures of uncertain date. The first of the Paule figures was excavated from one of the ditches surrounding the embankment of the palisade in the same context as Dressel 1A amphora and other pottery, giving a date of early 1st century BC. The second and third Paule figures were found close to each other within the Iron Age encampment, as was the fourth Paule figure. All three were found in the same context as 2nd century BC indigenous pottery, giving a date of late 2nd / early 1st century BC. All the material from these areas of the site is of Iron Age date, the entire site being abandoned in the mid 1st century BC prior to the Roman invasion (Menez & Arramond 1997, 139-43). A brief period of reoccupation occurred between 10 BC and 40 AD, after which it was permanently abandoned, and very little material of this period was found.

The Yvignac figure has been ascribed a probable date of the mid 1st century BC. This is based upon its association with a pre-Roman site, having been found within a quadrangular enclosure of Iron Age date. This enclosure is located near areas of Iron Age iron extraction, with finds of Dressel 1 amphora fragments and Coriosolite issued coinage found on these sites. The Lennon figure has an uncertain date based on a stylistic assessment, of the early La Tène period. This is due to the figure being found totally out of context, having been reused as building material in part of a wall and only discovered following the wall's collapse. Similarly the Bais figure is also without a context having been found in a pond without any associated material. The deterioration of the material of the figure indicates its antiquity, however the site of Bais has seen continuous occupation since the Neolithic period. Again the dating has been based on stylistic assessment giving a date of the 1st century BC.

There are no obvious characteristics that can be tied to the date of the figures. All of the figures have been given a late Iron Age date with the exception of the Lennon figure. The form and appearance of the Lennon figure is different from the other figures of the case study area. Since it is on the basis of its appearance that its date has been assigned however, to highlight this is a circular argument. The Yvignac figure and those from Paule all share some similarities in form, which will be discussed further below, and date to the 1st century BC with secure or probable dating.

4.2.3 Material:

All of the figures from Armorica were produced in stone. This may be due to the acidic nature of the soils referred to in chapter 2, making the preservation of organic or some metallic objects unlikely. Alternatively production of such images in these materials, particularly less reactive metals such as bronze, may not be appropriate in this region. Relative scarcity of metals may also have played a part, there being comparatively little metalwork found in this area generally.

All of the stone appears to have been of regional origin. All the Paule figures are carved from the same material, metahornblendite, a very hard coarse grained metamorphic (Watt 1982, 79, 91) rock, consisting largely of hornblende. This would have been imported to Paule due to the nearest deposit being located 57 km from the site (Menez 1999, 25). The Yvignac and Bais figures are carved from granite and microgranite respectively, again a very hard material, and local to each site. The images do not appear to have suffered much in their production from the hardness of the material, all displaying a high degree of detail and a lack of crudeness in the composition. The one exception to the hardness of the material is the Lennon figure, which is carved from the local Arkosic sandstone, which is derived from the

disintegration of granite (Hamilton et al. 1974, 194). This is very finely grained, allowing quite fine detail to be produced, and of medium hardness suggesting it may have been easier to carve than the others from the region.

4.2.4 Imagery:

Most of the imagery displayed by the figures is related to their form or morphology, rather than associated motifs and objects. A number of figures are produced with no, or almost no, bodily features depicted, appearing as heads upon a largely formless body. The Yvignac figure (cat. No. 1) takes this form with a quite spherical head on a neck that widens slightly to indicate shoulders, and below this the figure is unmarked. The second, third and fourth Paule figures (cat. No. 5, 6, 7) largely follow this form, with the shoulders and upper torso being indicated in shape but not marked in detail, and forming a base below. The first Paule figure (cat. No. 4) is slightly different in that it does have arms depicted (see fig. 3.7). However these are carved just slightly standing out from the body, and in overall shape is the same as those discussed above. All of these figures have secure or probable late 2nd century / early 1st century BC dates, suggesting this may be a temporal characteristic. Figures from other areas display a similar form with only the upper body depicted (e.g. Orsennes (cat. No. 11), Euffigneix (cat. No. 22)), however those from Armorica appear somewhat square in shape, possibly a regional variation of this characteristic.

All of the figures discussed in the paragraph above display another example of form related imagery, in the exaggeration of certain features. The emphasis on the head is clearly displayed in all the figures from Paule and the Yvignac figure, with it appearing out of proportion with the body. In addition to this certain facial features are exaggerated such as the eyes on both the first Paule and the Yvignac figures, the

latter also having out of proportion ears. These characteristics are present in many of the figures from other regions.

Another example of imagery depicted in the form of a figure is the ithyphallic nature of the Bais figure. The Bais figure is a multiple image, discussed below, and each forward facing face is depicted with an erect phallus. In addition to this, Meuret (1990, 89-91) has suggested that the shape of the figure as a whole, with particular reference to its head, is very phallic in nature. As discussed above such imagery does appear on other figures from Gaul, but no other examples are known from Armorica. In addition this makes the Bais figure the only clearly male figure from Armorica. The gender of the remaining figures appears to be male, such as the first Paule figure, or deliberately neutral such as the Lennon figure. None of the figures display characteristics which could be defined as female, although some such as the fourth Paule figure (cat. No. 7) it is impossible to be sure.

The final example of form related imagery is that of multiplicity, as displayed by the Lennon and Bais figures (see fig. 4.5). The form these take and the possible nature of the representation have already been discussed to some degree in section 4.1.4. The repetition of the image may be simply another form of emphasis, the depiction of a multiformed individual, or more than one entity depicted in one image. In the case of the Lennon figure, depiction of an individual or individuals seems unlikely given the simplicity of the features and the lack of any distinctive characteristics other than multiplicity. The representation of a concept or idea, such as the future and the past or looking forward and back seem more likely. The inclusion of a back view to the Bais figure does seem to imply an actual fully formed individual. The two side images may therefore represent an emphasis through repetition or a multiple entity. However as

stressed earlier, without knowing the context of their use or display, the ideas of what they represent are predominantly speculative. In terms of regional trends, suggesting one for Armorica in multiplicity seems unlikely. Although Armorica does contain half the examples of multiplicity displayed in the free standing human imagery, there being only four in total, the form of the multiplicity displayed is very different in each case. In addition each of the figures is from the extreme ends of the case study area, with no examples in between, which does not suggest a close association between the two. Examples of multiplicity should probably therefore be considered on an individual basis.

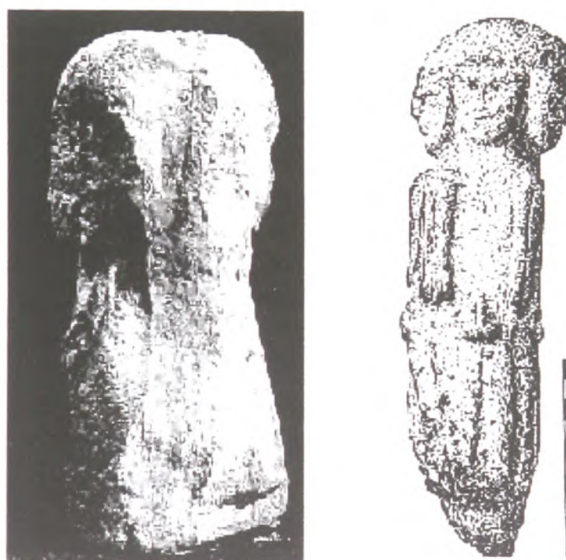


Fig 4.5 Lennon figure (cat. No. 3) and Bais figure (cat. No. 2)

The objects or motifs associated with the figures from Armorica are very few. Only two of the figures have any objects in association with them, both from Paule. The fourth Paule figure is wearing some form of cap with a thick folded rim, the only figure to wear any headgear. The first Paule figure has two objects included in its depiction, one a very common image the other unique. The first of these is the thick torc worn around the neck of the figure, as discussed earlier one of the most

significant and prevalent images, however this is the only example from Armorica. The second image is unique to this figure and one of the clearest symbolic images, a lyre held against the chest with both hands. Each of these depicted objects are unique in Armorica, and in two cases unique to the whole of the free standing human imagery, although in the case of the cap other clothing does appear on some other figures. The rarity of associated objects or motifs on the figures from this case study area, with only one figure displaying a clearly symbolic or significant example, could suggest that such associations were seen as unnecessary in this region. Possibly the depiction of the human form itself was sufficient for their designated purpose.



Fig. 4.6 The Paule figures (cat. No. 4, 5, 6, 7)

Finally in this section the Paule figures should be considered as a group (see fig. 4.6), originating as they do from the same site, and with similar dates. As noted above, the general shape and form of the figures are very similar, with certain characteristics such as the exaggeration of features also common to all of them. A number of the facial features are also similar, all having unsmiling mouths, trihedral noses, and large eyes, while the hair of the first three figures is simply indicated by the depiction of the hairline without individual locks being carved. The first and third figures are the most

alike, being roughly the same height, produced from similar shaped blocks, and heads which may have been nearly identical (half the face of the third figure is missing). Indeed the third figure looks as if it may have been an unfinished version of the first so similar is it. The fourth figure is the most different, having been produced from a more rectangular than square block, and with slightly different facial features. Most of the hair is not visible beneath the cap but what is visible is indicated as individual locks, the face is rather more pointed and the features of the face as a whole slightly more refined. However the similarities between the figures in form and appearance are greater than the minor differences in the features. So strong are the similarities and so close the dates that the whole group may be the work of a single artisan.

4.2.5 Contexts:

Using the data collected in chapters 2 and 3 the social/historical and symbolic contexts will be assessed. This process may provide a better understanding of the purpose of these images and help to secure better dates for those figures with a poor or no archaeological context. Both general trends of Gaul and regional trends will be considered in relation to the free standing human imagery from Armorica.

The major trends in the imagery of Gaul have already been highlighted in chapter 3. Those with relevance to the Armorican figures include emphasis on the head, exaggeration of features, multiplicity, images of torcs and lyres. Emphasis on the head is present in both the metalwork and coinage across Gaul, appearing as an independent image on torcs, for example, and again as an independent image on the reverse of some coinage. Exaggeration of features is most clearly demonstrated by the images on torcs, with large eyes and heavy brows. Multiplicity, both double and

triple, is depicted on the coinage across Gaul, as are the images of torcs. Lyres also appear on the coinage, predominantly of northern Gaul.

Within Armorica itself the different imagery of the figures is in some cases represented and in others absent from the imagery present on other media. Given the majority of imagery associated with the figures is based around their form the direct parallels appear somewhat limited. However emphasis on the head as displayed by the Yvignac (cat. No. 1) and Paule figures (cat. No. 4, 5, 6, 7) is present in other media for some time. The gold ring from Armorica decorated with rows of tiny heads is stylistically dated to the 6th century BC (Megaw 1970, 44), although this is without a context. The coinage is securely dated, and between the late 3rd and late 2nd century BC, the image of the human headed horse appeared on it, with the image of a single large head surrounded by smaller heads (de Jersey 1994, 64-5) appearing at the same time. Both of these images continued and increased in use in the 1st century BC prior to the Roman conquest. This would suggest that the emphasis on the head in this region can be dated to the late 3rd century BC onwards, with an increase in its depiction, which agrees with the secure and probable dates we have for the figures, from the late 2nd century onwards.

The exaggeration of features is less clearly demonstrated. The human heads on the gold ring appear to display them, however this may be due to their size rather than deliberate intent, and without a secure date or provenance for the ring comparison is of limited value. Also lacking regional comparisons is multiplicity. Despite multiple images commonly appearing on the coinage throughout Gaul, none are present on the Armorican coinage. The closest comparison for the Lennon figure (cat. No. 3) is on an issue from the Sussions region (Allen 1995, No. 78-85), depicting a double head

morphologically similar (see fig. 3.10). No morphological comparisons are available for the Bais figure (cat. No. 2), however tripling of the human image does occur on the issues of the Remi in the north east of Gaul (ibid., No. 53-64). All coinage in Gaul dates from the early 3rd century onwards, the two issues described above being circulated before 50 BC (ibid., 37-8), possibly suggesting a later date for these figures.

The associated imagery of the torc and lyre, both appearing only once and together on the free standing human imagery, have very different occurrences on the coinage of the region. The torc appears only on the issue of the Auleri Diablintes (de Jersey 1994, 107) in the 1st century BC, in the east of the study area (see fig. 3.15). The lyre however appears on the earliest issues of coinage in the region, originating in the north-east and spreading west as time goes on, becoming with the boar one of the two dominant motifs appearing on most issues. The very different level of depiction on the coinage suggests quite different interpretations on each of these motifs single depiction in the free standing human imagery of Armorica. The torc is the most common motif associated with the imagery from the rest of Gaul, therefore its appearance with only one of the figures from Armorica seems unusual. However the torc is also extremely common on the coinage of the rest of Gaul as well, and its near absence from this Armorican medium as well would seem to suggest far less importance was assigned to it as a symbol in this region. The lyre appears on none of the other free standing human imagery from the rest of Gaul, making its appearance unusual. It does appear on other coinage in the rest of Gaul, however not as early as in Armorica and not so often, therefore the motif seems to have a particular significance in this region.

As discussed in chapter 2, while appearing to be a region on the fringe of the rest of Gaul, Armorica had varying degrees of contact throughout the Iron Age with other Atlantic countries and regions, other areas of Gaul and even the Mediterranean. The majority of the Armorican figures have been dated, securely or otherwise, to the late Iron Age (the late 2nd century BC onwards). It was in this period that the region became drawn into the Roman commercial network, probably prompted by the creation of Narbonensis and the resulting wine trade (Cunliffe 1982, 52-3). The impact this may have had on the region can be seen in the growth of the economic, and hence political, strength of the Veneti tribe who acted as transportation middle men in this trade (Bender 1986, 50). Settlement remained largely dispersed at this time, although an increase in the use of defended sites and the addition of defences to existing sites took place, as occurred at Paule. A number of changes took place in the social structure from the late 5th century onwards (ibid., 49), with control of land becoming increasingly important, the alterations in settlement perhaps reflecting this. This culminated in the formation of the tribal groupings already discussed. Similar developments occurred in north east Gaul, as studied by Roymans and Theuws (1999, 15-6), with alterations in the organisation, use and possibly ownership of land. Open settlements with shifting farmsteads are replaced by nucleated settlements with fixed locations and ditched enclosures. Individual farmsteads are increasingly rebuilt on the same spot, suggesting a close and inheritable bond between individual households and specific areas of land built up, with the control of land playing a role in the power of elite families.

The majority of these figures therefore appear to have been produced towards the end of a period of social upheaval and alteration, with distinct ethnic groupings emerging in the region and control of land having become increasingly important. The use of

these figures may have been tied to this. Tilley (1999, 37) has identified the human body as the most accessible image of the social system, acting as a source of metaphors for the society as a whole. Changes in the structure or perception of society may therefore be represented or interpreted in or by these images.

The Paule figures may have been placed in their context due to deliberate deposition, three of them within the compound, and the first figure in the ditch surrounding the compound. Interestingly this figure from the ditch is depicted holding what seems to be a very significant regional symbol or motif, the lyre. The figure also wears a torc, generally seen as an indicator of status. Parallels exist for deliberate deposition in ditches including human imagery. At the Belgic sanctuaries of northern Gaul, particularly Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont, weapons and bones (animal and human) have been deposited in the ditches of the quadrangular enclosures (Brunaux et al. 1985, Webster 1995, 456-8). Many of these weapons were intentionally destroyed, swords broken or folded, as if to sacrifice the object (Roymans 1990, 82). In Britain some of the chalk Parisi figurines from Yorkshire were found deposited in the ditches of the Iron Age cemetery of Garton Slack. Others were found with Iron Age pottery located in the floor of a round hut (Stead 1988, 22), similar to the deposition of the Paule figures within the compound.

The figures may represent some form of ancestor worship or respect, a practice often associated with the claiming of rights to particular areas of land. Many 5th century BC stelae of the type discussed in section 3.3.3 were recarved as anthropomorphic imagery, mainly in the Roman period although Daire and Villard (1996, 126, 138) believe the practice began in the Late Iron Age. Since the majority of them were associated with cemeteries, this suggests a further connection with earlier ancestors.

Alternatively the association some of these figures have with ritual sites or depositions, the Yvignac figure for example, could imply the depiction of religious officials themselves. As discussed below, these sites, and presumably the rituals associated with them, seem to take on a greater significance in this period, and those who regulated them may well have done so to. However the depiction of the figures do not seem to suggest distinct individuals, having no distinct features. They may represent generic ancestors, or the tribal identity given a form, or possibly even tribal gods. This last point could be associated with the strong connection to the Roman world formed by the wine trade. This interaction would have introduced a number of new cultural concepts into the region. One of these concepts may have been the personification of gods, possibly not as distinct personalities but able to be represented in human form and tied to a particular group. This trade would also have been increasing the wealth of the region, wealth that would have been centred in the hands of the elite controlling the trade. These concepts of tribal identity or tribal gods would have held the most significance to these elites, helping to bolster their position within the group, it would therefore be unsurprising to find these figures on 'aristocratic' sites such as Paule. Late Iron Age hierarchical tribal formations appear to emerge at the same time as cult places of regional significance (Roymans 1990, 16), similar in form to the enclosure the Yvignac figure was found in. Rituals undertaken at these sites are seen as playing a central role in the reproduction of ideas and values underlying the more hierarchical social organisations (ibid.). The sites the figures are located on and the social context they were produced in, indicate a connection between their production and the development of tribal groups and the control of territory.

Finally, a reassessment of the relative dating of the figures, following consideration of their various contexts, should be made. The Paule figures were assigned secure Iron Age dates, of late 2nd to early 1st century BC, on the basis of their good archaeological context. Consideration of their symbolic and social/historical contexts seem to support this dating quite strongly, making it even more secure. This allows these figures themselves to be used for comparative purposes.



Fig. 4.7 Yvignac figure (cat. No. 1)

The Yvignac figure was assigned a probable Iron Age date on the basis of its association with a pre-Roman quadrangular enclosure. The symbolic context appears supported by both the general Gaulish and the regional trends, with emphasis on the head and the exaggeration of features both present on the metalwork and coinage. The social/historical context also appears to support the Iron Age date assigned. Most convincing of all however are the similarities with the Paule figures, with form, proportions and features all similar (see figs. 4.6 & 4.7). These strong similarities in conjunction with the figures association with an Iron Age enclosure very possibly of ritual use, means the ideas suggested by the social/historical context for the figures

possible use also correspond well. This strongly supporting evidence for the dating means the Yvignac figure can be considered to definitely be of Iron Age date.

The Lennon figure was originally dated on stylistic grounds to the Iron Age, but was without any archaeological context making it uncertain. The symbolic context helps very little with no comparative material present within the region, and only one issue of coinage displaying a similar form of multiplicity in the whole of Gaul, and this within a region quite distant from the case study area. The social/historical context does little to suggest an early La Tène date, although a later date would be supported by those same reasons applied to the Paule figures. However comparison with the Yvignac and Paule figures provides few if any similarities, in form, proportion, features or size, the Lennon figure almost twice the height of the next nearest figure. An Iron Age date for the Lennon figure is quite possible, however without further symbolic contextual evidence, or the discovery of a similar figure in the region with an archaeological context, the assigned dating must remain uncertain.

The Bais figure was also assigned an uncertain Iron Age date, again having no archaeological context. The symbolic context for this figure is even worse than that for the Lennon figure. No examples of this form of multiplicity are found in any other media in Gaul, although tripling of images does occur on some coinage but none near to the case study area. No ithyphallic imagery is found on the different media within the Armorican region either. The social/historical context does not seem to specifically support the production of such an image, though it does not argue against it either. Comparison with the other figures from the region provides almost no similarities, other than the depiction of multiplicity with the Lennon figure, which has

an uncertain date. Therefore there is little to suggest an Iron Age date, meaning it should be considered uncertain if not unlikely.

4.3 Central Gaul

The second case study area has the largest number of free standing human images within it, ten in total. This number of figures eases comparison both within the study area and outside it, with this section highlighting regional trends and variations.

4.3.1 Distribution

The distribution across the case study area appears to be quite even and random. One site, Vix, has two figures from it, all the other examples being individual finds. There appears to be a slight gap between those figures on the eastern fringe of the study area and those in the centre and west. This slight deviation in the distribution may be explained by chronological and geographical variations. The first of these concerns all those figures believed to be earlier than the 2nd century BC in date being located in the eastern side of the study area, as discussed in the following section. The second involves modern day factors, with the area comprising the gap being the eastern edge of the Massif Central. As outlined in chapter 2, this is an area that presents a number of problems to archaeological surveys, such as inaccessibility, lack of ploughed land and rarity of building developments.

The distribution of the figures falls principally into four tribal territories. These are the Turones and Bituriges Cubi in the west, the Arverni in the centre and south, and the Aedui in the east. The majority of the western figures are within the territory of the Bituriges Cubi and the eastern figures within the territory of the Aedui. However the wide date range of these figures means that these tribal groupings, a predominantly

late Iron Age development, may have variable significance to the production of some or all of these images.

Some internal explanation has been given above to account for the distribution within the study area. In addition some explanation for the concentration within this area as a whole may also be given. As outlined in chapter 2 the case study area underwent a number of significant social changes throughout the Iron Age. In the late Hallstatt/early La Tène period the eastern side of the study area was a region of wealth and power for the whole of Gaul. This was largely due to the influx of Mediterranean goods principally by the river Rhône (Collis 1984a, 82), producing a prestige goods economy by which the elites demonstrated and maintained their power. These conditions led to the development of large fortified settlements such as Mont Lassois. In addition to the trade brought to the area via the Rhône, were the additional trade routes of the Loire, Seine and Doubs valleys. This can account for the number of figures of early date on this side of the study area. The later Iron Age saw the development of the oppida, particularly within the Massif Central. These were proto-urban sites, and appear to herald the development of centralised states (Nash 1978a, 8-9). In addition the river Loire runs through the heart of this area, and formed an important part of the Roman wine trade network.

4.3.2 Dating/Chronology

The majority of figures from this case study area have uncertain Iron Age dates, with only the Levroux (cat. No. 8) and Seurre (cat. No. 15) figures having definite dates and the two Vix figures (cat. No. 16 & 17) probable dates. The remaining seven are without either archaeological contexts or alternative dating. The two definite dates were derived in quite different ways. The Levroux figure has a secure archaeological

context from the 'Celtic' village of Arènes at the foot of the oppidum of Levroux. It was found in a ditch associated with material of 80-60 BC in date, on a site of Iron Age occupation. The Seurre figure was dredged from the bed of the river Saône, and therefore is without a secure archaeological context. However due to it being carved from wood it was possible for the figure to be radiocarbon dated to between 905-352 BC. The late Hallstatt pottery dredged from the river at the same time, in conjunction with the radiocarbon date range, suggest a 6th/5th century BC date is most probable.

The two Vix figures have been ascribed a probable Iron Age date of the start of the La Tène period. This is based on their association with a site of this date, having both been found in the ditch of an enclosure which was 200m from the tomb of the 'Vix Princess'. All the other figures were dated, if at all, on stylistic grounds. The Mont-Saint-Vincent (cat. No. 14) figure was found in association with 'ancient coins' (Bonenfant & Guillaumet 1998, 28) on the defended hilltop site of Mont-Saint-Vincent and dated to c. 450 BC. The Ars figure (cat. No. 9) was found amongst the debris of a large villa, and dated to the 1st century BC, as was the Châteaumeillant figure (cat. No. 13) that was found broken in a pit, in the same layer as pieces of glazed Arezzo ware pottery of 30-10 BC date. The associated material of both of these appears to suggest that an early Roman date may prove a more accurate reassessment, although these are dates of deposition and the figures may have been produced some time earlier. The Paulmy figure (cat. No. 10) was found in a field, and the Pérassay figure (cat. No. 12) at the village of Pointe-Mazière, while the Orsennes (cat. No. 11) figure has provenance at all, and has been dated variously to the La Tène period as a whole or the 1st century BC.

As outlined above (section 4.3.1) all of those figures ascribed dates earlier than the 2nd century BC are located on the eastern side of the study area. These include the securely dated Seurre figure, the probably dated Vix figures and the uncertain stylistically dated Mont-Saint-Vincent figure. All of the figures in the western side of the study area are dated to the late Iron Age, suggesting a chronological distinction between the two halves. In conjunction with the apparent gap in distribution outlined in section 4.3.1, it is possible that each half should be considered independently of the other. This will be further assessed in the subsequent sections.

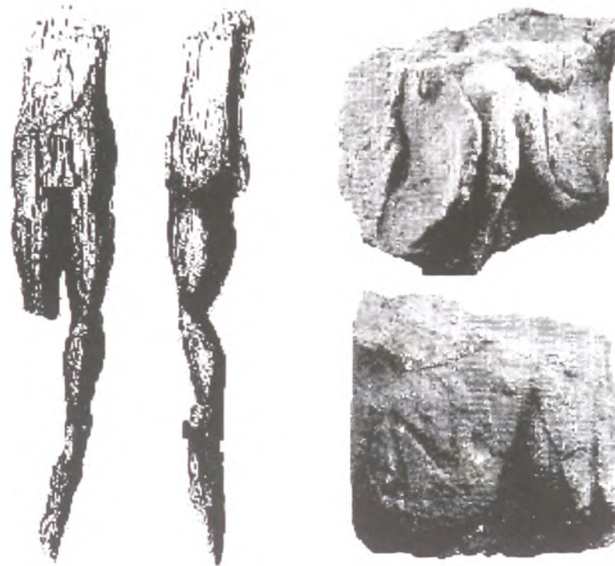


Fig. 4.8 Seurre figure (cat. No. 15) and second Vix figure (cat. No.17)

A few characteristics of the figures themselves appear to be tied to date. Those dated to the late Iron Age are all torso figures, with little or no depiction of bodily features, and no features depicted below the waist. Most are similar in form to the Yvignac (cat. No. 1) and Paule (cat. No. 4, 5, 6, 7) figures, with arms simply depicted on their torso. The figures dated to the early period display in two cases a high degree of naturalism, the Seurre and second Vix figures surviving features appearing naturalistic and in proportion with each other (see fig. 4.8). The first Vix figure is

seated and lacking sufficient features for them to be assessed, while the Mont-Saint-Vincent figure is block like with no legs depicted, and of cruder carving than those from the later Iron Age. The variations in the morphology of the figures will be considered in greater detail in the Imagery section below.

4.3.3 Material

All of the figures from this study area, with one exception, are made from stone. Of these the majority are made from limestone, being the Orsennes (cat. No. 11), Levroux (cat. No. 8), Paulmy (cat. No. 10) and two Vix (cat. No. 16 & 17) figures. The Châteaumeillant figure (cat. No. 13) is also probably limestone, based on its appearance, although the only published data on its material confirms it is stone. The high proportion of figures produced in limestone is not surprising, due to it dominating the geology in this area (see chapter 2). The texture of this rock can vary greatly, from very fine-grained to coarsely crystalline (Hamilton et al. 1974, 198). Within the study area are a number of fine deposits, particularly in the eastern side, making this material an obvious choice for sculpture. In addition to its texture limestone is also relatively soft, making it easy to carve.

The remaining stone figures are made from sandstone, Mont-Saint-Vincent (cat. No. 14) and Pérassay (cat. No. 12) figures, and granite, Ars figure (cat. No. 9). The sandstone of both figures is local to the areas of their provenance. The texture of sandstone is usually more coarse than limestone (Hamilton et al. 1974, 194), and slightly harder being composed mainly of quartz (Watt 1982, 87). This would make these figures slightly harder to carve than those produced in limestone, however still very workable. As discussed in section 4.2.3 granite is a very hard material making it

harder to carve than either of the other two types of rock. Its granular texture however would allow it to be worked (Hamilton et.al. 1974, 154).

The one image not produced in stone is the wooden Seurre figure (cat. No. 15), which survived despite its material due to its deposition in the river Saône. Wood may have been used far more widely than archaeological evidence would suggest owing to its poor survival rate. The nature of the material also allowed the scientific dating of this figure by radiocarbon dating, giving it one of the two secure dates for the figures in this case study area. The choice of wood for the production of this image, could have been based upon the availability of the material, the ease with which it could be worked or its appearance. If the selection of the type of wood has a symbolic value, as suggested by Coles (1998, 165-6) then the use of fruit tree wood may have a connection with harvest, fertility or agriculture, as suggested in section 4.1.3. The deliberate deposition of objects in general, in watery contexts during the Iron Age has already been highlighted, as has the possibility that the very decompositional nature of the material led to its choice, other objects being 'killed' before their deposition. This region also has a strong tradition of deliberate deposition of wooden figures in watery contexts from the Roman period, at the Source of the Seine site (Deyts 1983). A direct link between the deposition of these two groups of material is unlikely, however a similar process may well have been taking place. The survival rate of wood is so rare that it is not possible to attribute a particular significance to the occurrence of one such figure in this area.

4.3.4 Imagery

The imagery displayed in this case study area is again centred on the morphology of the figures, with however a greater number of associated motifs and images than

Armorica. As in the first study area many of the free standing human images are torso figures carved from a single block indicating the shape of the body and without any lower limbs represented. All of those from the western side of the case study area take this form, while one from the eastern side, the Mont-Saint-Vincent (cat. No. 14) figures shows similarities. Unlike the majority of the Armorican images however, those in Central Gaul which take this form also depict arms on the figure. These are usually either crossed across or holding an object against the chest.



Fig. 4.9 Ars figure (cat. No. 9) and Paulmy figure (cat. No. 10)

The figures from the western side are considered first, due to closer similarities between them. Those holding objects against their chest are the Ars (cat. No. 9) and Paulmy figures (cat. No. 10), the first with a torc held in its right hand and the second with both hands resting on its chest possibly holding a sword or blade (see fig. 4.9). The right hand of the Paulmy figure also has six digits. Those with their arms folded or resting across their chests are the Châteaumeillant (cat. No. 13), Pérassay (cat. No. 12) and Orsennes (cat. No. 11) figures (see fig 4.10). The first of these has a more elaborate form than the others in this group, appearing to be wearing some form of

clothing, formed from a rectangular block with the arms being simply depicted across the chest at right angles from the elbows, without the digits of the hands shown. The Pérassay figure is more rounded and has its elbows bent at an acute angle, its hands resting at the top of its chest. It is possible that the hands held an object, however the figure is too worn to tell if this is so. The Orsennes figure is formed from a rounded block and appears somewhat plump, with its arms stretched across its chest at right angles at the elbows. The final figure from the western side is that from Levrux (cat. No. 8), which only has the left hand depicted resting on its chest, the rest of the arm having broken off and the right limb possibly never depicted. Most of these figures are formed from a single round block without lower limbs, surmounted by a spherical or oval head, with those limbs which are depicted resting against the chest and body. They all have late Iron Age dates, one definite the others uncertain, suggesting that this type of representation is a temporal characteristic as in Armorica. The depiction of these images with their arms folded across their chest does not occur outside the case study area, suggesting it may be a regional tradition. The holding of objects against the chest is also more common in this area.

The Mont-Saint-Vincent figure referred to above shares some of these features as well, being carved from a single block without lower limbs, and with its arms folded across its chest. The shape of the shoulders and body is less clearly indicated however, with the block appearing far more roughly cut, and the other features of the figure are less clearly depicted. The date it has been ascribed is earlier than those figures to the west, though it is uncertain. What this trend for depicting the arms across the chest or holding objects against the chest may indicate is uncertain. In people such postures or gestures are normally interpreted as defensive or negative in nature (Pease 1997, 59). Folding one or more arms across the chest forms a barrier to

whatever may be threatening that person. The depiction of the figures in these postures may be a deliberate attempt to suggest such an attitude, and could indicate defensive or protective purpose for their production.

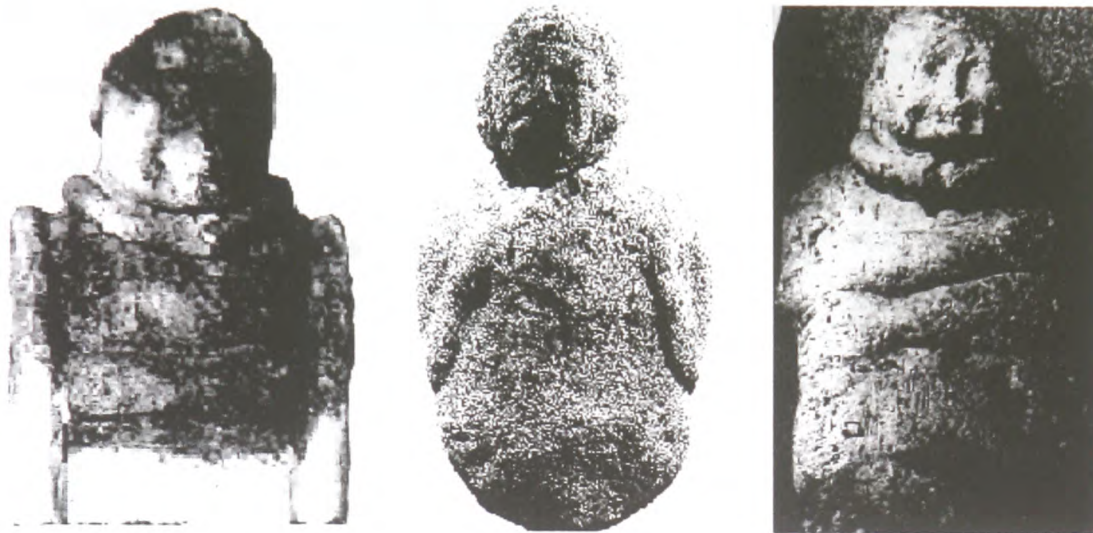


Fig. 4.10 Châteaumeillant (cat. No. 13), Pérassay (cat. No. 12) and Orsennes (cat. No. 11) figures

The remaining figures from the study area are those from Vix (cat. No. 16 & 17) and the Seurre figure (cat. No. 15). All of these are dated to the late Hallstatt/early La Tène period, either securely or probably, and are very different in form, appearing more naturalistic, as outlined in section 4.3.2. The first Vix figure is less so than the others, being a largely featureless block in the general shape of a seated figure, although the indication is of a fully formed figure. The second Vix figure is also seated, this time on the ground resting on its heels and haunches, with its arms held forward and its wrists resting on the knees. The shape, alignment and position of the limbs are all very naturally depicted, the figure appearing to be an intentionally mimetic representation. The same appears true of the Seurre figure, with the shape of the back, buttocks and legs naturalistically depicted. With all three of the above having quite secure early Iron Age dates, and the majority of the torso figures dated to the later Iron Age, it suggests that simplification of form demonstrated by the torso

figures was a late trend. The one exception to the late date for the torso figures is the Mont-Saint-Vincent figure, however this may be an indication that its stylistically derived uncertain date will need to be revised.

The exaggeration of certain features appears to be tied exclusively to the torso figures, with the heads appearing to a greater or lesser extent out of proportion to the body. The hands may also be out of proportion as with the Levroux (cat. No. 8) and Paulmy (cat. No. 10) figures. The clearest example of this imagery is the Mont-Saint-Vincent figure (cat. No. 14), all of its features appearing to be of different proportions to each other. The facial features can also appear exaggerated; the eyes depicted as large and globular, as for example on the Ars figure (cat. No. 9).

Since these torso figures seem to comprise a distinct group, their relative dimensions should be compared. The height of these figures range from 23.5 cm to 77 cm as outlined in the table below:

< 35 cm	35 cm – 65 cm	> 65 cm
Levroux (cat No. 8) 23.5 cm	Orsennes (cat No. 11) 47.5 cm	Pérassay (cat No. 12) 66 cm
Châteaumeillant (cat No. 13) 25 cm	Ars (cat No. 9) 48 cm	Paulmy (cat No. 10) 77 cm
	Mont-Saint-Vincent (cat No. 14) 55 cm	

Table 4.3.4 height of Central Gaul torso figures

More than half a metre separates the smallest from the largest. However the size difference may not have been so great initially since both of the figures smaller than 35 cm are broken at the base and may well have been significantly larger. Most of the figures would therefore have probably been within 30 cm of each other in height, and of similar size to the Armorican torso figures.



Fig. 4.11 Levroux figure (cat. No. 8)

Most of the facial features are similar, with round eyes divided by the bridge of a trihedral nose, and a simple incision forming the unsmiling mouth. Some of the figures display minor variations such as facial hair, the Orsennes figure (cat. No. 11) having a large moustache. The most distinctive facial features are those of the Levroux figure, with large oval eyes divided by a small nose, beneath which is a clearly defined palate, and well shaped mouth (see fig. 4.11). All of these features are produced by deep incisions resulting in the figures expression appearing to change slightly depending on the direction it is lit from, an attribute which may or may not have been deliberate. Both the Vix figures and the Seurre figures have lost their heads making a comparison with their facial features impossible. The Ars figure has facial features fitting the description given above, and an additional feature at the back of its

head. This has been described as an animal tail, although it is probably a form of hairstyle, being a thin feature hanging down the back of the head over the torc and neck, and ending in a curled spiral next to the right shoulder.



Fig. 4.12 Mont-Saint-Vincent figure (cat. No. 14)

Another morphological characteristic is the erect phallus, which is depicted on the Mont-Saint-Vincent (cat. No. 14), the Seurre (cat. No. 15) and possibly the Ars figure (cat. No. 9). The last of these is possible since its left arm hangs against the body and the left hand reaches across near the base of the figure to the centre of the body where it may be gripping a phallus or some other object. The position suggests a phallus, but the figure is too worn to be certain. On the Mont-Saint-Vincent figure the phallus is carved in relief towards the base of the figure (see fig. 4.12), probably in proportion although as stated in section 4.1.4 it is hard to tell. On the Seurre figure it is carved resting flat against the lower stomach, its use on this figure possibly connected with the choice of fruit tree wood as the production material, highlighting a probable fertility connection for this figure. Both the Roos Carr and the Kingsteignton wooden figures from Britain (Coles 1998, 164) are of similar date and the first have holes for the insertion of phalli and the second also has an erect phallus depicted in a similar

fashion to the Seurre figure. The associations with sexuality and aggression (Green 1989, 210) may prove to be more appropriate for the other two images.

All the figures discussed above are either definitely or probably male, with the Orsennes (cat. No. 11) figure also appearing to be male due to its facial hair. The majority of the others also appear to be probably male, although without any physical features that would make it beyond doubt. The second Vix (cat. No. 17) and Paulmy (cat. No. 10) figures both possibly have weapons depicted with them, usually assumed to be male associated objects. Only one figure suggests any real possibility of being female, the first Vix figure (cat. No. 16), due to the lack of physical features depicted implying a gown of some form is being worn, and the similarity in position suggesting later Roman goddesses, although this does not suggest a continuation of this imagery. The figure is also depicted wearing a torc, which in the neighbouring area of the Rhineland appears to be confined to women during this earlier period (Megaw & Megaw 1989, 74). In addition the richest burial at this site is of a female, the 'Vix Princess'. All the other figures seem to be probably male (Paulmy) or deliberately neutral (Levroux).

The occurrence of associated images and motifs with the figures is far greater in this study area than Armorica. Two thirds of the figures are depicted with an object or motif, although the variety of the motifs is the same as Armorica. A motif that differs from those in Armorica is the depiction of weapons, which occurs twice, on the second Vix and Paulmy figures. The first of these holds a circular bossed shield in front of its shins, similar to the later *guerreros galaicos* figures from Iberia (Lenerz-de Wilde 1995, 547), while at its right side next to its calf is what is thought to be a sword (Bonenfant & Guillaumet 1998, 25-7). Here the weapons do not appear to be of

symbolic value, rather they are the accoutrements of a warrior, and are depicted to indicate this. Another possible sword or blade is held by the Paulmy (cat. No. 10) figure against its chest, although the image is so worn it is impossible to be sure. In this instance the form of presentation does suggest some symbolic value being placed on the object, held against the chest of an image on which the depiction of features has been kept to a minimum.

Clothing is depicted on three of the free standing human images. Both of the Vix figures appear to be clothed, as does the Châteaumeillant figure (cat. No. 13). The first Vix figure (cat. No. 16) has very few details portrayed on it, one of the reasons for the assumption that the figure wears a gown of some form. If this is the case no attempt has been made to indicate folds of material for instance. The second Vix (cat. No. 17) figure wears a tunic of some description, the hem of which falls around the thighs. Again few details are included, some possible folds included on the right side. In each case the depiction of clothes appears incidental to the imagery of the figures. The decoration of the Châteaumeillant figure, that has been interpreted as clothing, is by contrast quite elaborate. A thick fold at each of the shoulders of the figure continues down the front and back, creating a border to the sides which are then decorated in a chevron pattern. This patterning has been interpreted as the folds of sleeves (Coulon 1990, 69), suggesting a rich and elaborate tunic being worn, possibly signifying the status of the figure.

The most frequently depicted image or motif is the torc, appearing on six of the free standing human imagery. The head of the first Vix figure is missing, but around the base of the neck is what appears to be a quite thin, almost delicate image of a torc (see fig 4.13). This is the only figure from the eastern side of the case study area to be

depicted with a torc, however both the second Vix and Seurre (cat. No. 15) figures are missing the upper portions of their bodies, hence it is impossible to tell whether they were depicted wearing torcs or not. The remaining torced images are all torso figures from the western side of the case study area. The Paulmy (cat. No. 10), Orsennes (cat. No. 11), Châteaumeillant (cat. No. 13) and Pérassay (cat. No. 12) figures all wear quite thick, heavy looking torcs round their necks. As discussed earlier in this section all these figures either have their arms folded across their chests or hold objects against their chests. This could suggest a possible link between these two forms of imagery, although other torso figures both within (Levroux (cat. No. 8)) and without (Yvignac (cat. No. 1)) this study area are not depicted with torcs. Finally the Ars figure (cat. No. 9) seems to combine these forms of imagery to a further extent, being depicted with two torcs, one of which is worn and the other held against the chest. In addition to the torcs the figure is wearing another form of ornamentation, with bracelets on each arm, possibly acting as further indicators of status.



Fig. 4.13 First Vix figure (cat. No. 16)

4.3.5 Contexts

The social/historical and symbolic contexts of the Central Gaulish figures are considered, using the data from chapters 2 and 3, in order to allow the purpose of these images and a reconsideration of their dating to be assessed. The general trends for the whole of Gaul and the regional trends, particularly within the symbolic context, will both be considered for the free standing human imagery of Central Gaul.

The main trends in the imagery of Gaul, with relevance to the Central Gaulish figures, include emphasis on the head, exaggeration of features, predominance of the male gender, and images of weapons and torcs. As highlighted in section 4.2.5 the emphasis on the head is present in both the metalwork and coinage, while the exaggeration of features is most clearly demonstrated in the facial features of the images on torcs. Across the whole of Gaul the human images depicted on other media are predominantly male, as with the free standing human imagery, although some female depictions do occur on the coinage. Images of weapons and torcs occur on the coinage across Gaul, these images produced as metalwork objects across Gaul as well.

Within the case study area itself, as with Armorica, due to the majority of the imagery being based around the morphology of the figures the direct parallels are somewhat limited. The emphasis on the head is demonstrated in the torso figures, and represented in a similar fashion on the anthropomorphic sword hilt from Châtillon-sur-Indre (Raftery 1990, 90). This particular example is dated to the 1st century BC, the same period as the majority of the figures displaying this trait, the features and form of the head of this group of metalwork objects becoming increasingly distinct and emphasised in the later Iron Age. The significance of the human face and head originates earlier than this however as the silver torc from Mâcon (Jacobsthal 1969,

123), dated to the 4th century BC, demonstrates. This piece of metalwork is from the eastern half of the case study area, as are all the early examples of the free standing human imagery. The emphasis on the head is also highlighted on the coinage of the region with the human head appearing alone as a motif on the reverse (see fig. 3.18), often out of proportion with the other motifs and positioned under the frequently portrayed horse (Nash 1978a, No. 14). However any portrayal of the human form on the coinage appears to be an early phenomenon, with the depiction of human imagery far less common from 120 BC onwards. This is just the period when the majority of the free standing human imagery is dated to, possibly implying a shift in the medium of representation.

The exaggeration of features is, as in Armorica, less clearly demonstrated. The torc from Mâcon does feature this with large oval eyes and a simple incised mouth. An exaggeration of features also occurs on another piece of metalwork from Mâcon, however not of human features. A cup handle in the form of a bull's face, dated to the 3rd century (Watson 1949, 48), is made up from wide swirling shapes, with the eyes horns and nose all exaggerated as a consequence. These pieces of metalwork are both dated to the middle of the Iron Age suggesting that the exaggeration of features was not a late development

The associated imagery of the torc and weapons is variably represented. Images of these do not occur on the metalwork, although they do occur as objects in themselves, as discussed already in this section. On the coinage the motif of a sword appears for the first time in the final phase, 120-50 BC, on the reverse of some issues, usually in the right hand corner (Nash 1978a, No. 500-8). Prior to this it had occasionally been depicted as part of another image, carried by a horse rider. Its limited depiction on the

coinage echoes the occasional portrayal of weapons on the free standing human imagery. The torc however has no independent depictions on the regional coinage, despite its many associations with the case study area figures. It does appear on the obverse of some issues, around the neck of the heads that are usually depicted there. One of the most interesting ways the torc is used in the free standing human imagery is as a held object, in addition to a worn one, as by the Ars figure. There are no comparisons within the region for this imagery, however some of the coinage from Belgic Gaul does depict human figures brandishing torcs. The first of these features a cross legged figure holding a torc in his right hand (see fig. 3.11) (Nash 1987, no. 166, Allen 1995, no. 477-82), and the second by a figure walking to the right (Allen 1995, no. 483-506). Other examples of torcs being held by human figures exist on the coinage, however none as clearly as those described above.

As outlined in chapter two, the case study area underwent a number of social alterations during the Iron Age, forming an important region within Gaul, both early in the period and later. The majority of these figures are dated, insecurely in most cases, to the 1st century BC. However those dated earlier than this are all within the eastern side of the study area, suggesting that the social/historical context of this region should be considered first. In the early Iron Age all the evidence suggests that this was an area of regional wealth and power, based principally around the trade from the Mediterranean. This trade produced a prestige goods economy allowing the rise of a powerful elite within the region, and making the region a centre of power for the rest of Gaul. These elite were part of the West Hallstatt chiefdoms, the majority of which developed in Germany, their emergence marked by strongly defended hilltop enclosures surrounded by clusters of rich 'aristocratic' burials (Cunliffe 1988, 29). The settlement pattern of the region reflects this with the emergence of fortified

prestige sites such as Mont Lassois. At the foot of Mont Lassois is the Vix burial from which extremely rich burial goods have been recovered, many of them imports, such as a complete wine drinking set, a Greek bronze krater, a beaked Etruscan flagon and three Attic cups (Collis 1984, 94-7). Two of the figures originate from this burial site. The region therefore developed as a powerful and wealthy centre due to the import of these prestige goods, and following the reduction and eventual halt of this trade the regional power shifted further north.

The prestige goods model consists of a number of stages. First a number of groups within a larger tribal system are able to elevate their social standing through the production of a surplus of domestic goods (Frankenstein & Rowlands 1978, 76). This surplus could then be invested in wealth or prestige goods, frequently imports obtained through external exchange, again serving to increase the social and political power of these groups. In turn their dominant position allowed them to maintain control of the flow of these goods, making the neighbouring smaller groups reliant on them for their own social position. However this system is unstable due in part to its reliance on an external system over which it has limited practical control (ibid., 79). This is highlighted by the number of different factors suggested for the collapse of the West Hallstatt chiefdoms in the late 5th century BC (Cunliffe 1988, 32-3). Principal suggestions for changes to the external systems, which caused the collapse, are a rise in population in the peripheral zone, and the realignment of trading axis due to political changes in the Mediterranean (ibid., 35). These political changes comprised of conflict between the Etruscans and the Greek colonies leading to the decline of Etruscan sea-power in the Mediterranean (Nash 1985, 56-9), and the subsequent development of their inland cities. These inland cities continued to trade with the areas to the north, however the intermediary role had been taken over by the Alpine

Tessin community, bypassing the Hallstatt Chiefdoms (Brun 1995, 16) and destabilising their economy and therefore their power. The Alpine region shows increasing wealth at the end of the 5th century BC, and products of this culture have been found on contemporary sites in the Rhineland (Brun 1994, 59). Alternatively internal factors may have prompted the collapse, Dietlter (1995, 69) suggesting the territorial expansion and the elaborateness of the Hallstatt burials may have been a desperate attempt by the Chiefdoms to bolster the legitimacy of their authority. The repeated destruction of the Heuneburg walls and looting of elite burials in this period could be due to the 'failure of ideological hegemony in legitimating expansionary domination' (ibid, 70), with the resistance to their authority finally causing their collapse.

Whichever of these explanations is most accurate, the Vix (cat. No. 16 & 17), Mont-Saint-Vincent (cat. No. 14) and Seurre (cat. No. 15) figures were therefore probably produced during or shortly after this period of great regional wealth and power, with a dominant elite controlling the resources that created it. The Vix figures appear most closely tied to this elite, their association with the princely tombs of the site and its proximity to the foot of Mont Lassois the local centre of power. With their naturalistic form and associations with both a cemetery site and regional centre, the figures somewhat recall figures from Germany such as Hirschlanden (Green 1986, 10) and Glauberg (Goudineau 1999, 20-3). These figures were found at burial sites are naturalistic in form and both depicted as warriors, the first wears a dagger and helmet and the second what appears to be armour and holds a bossed shield. These figures may therefore represent some form of ancestor worship or respect, possibly acting as guardians or depictions of specific or generic ancestors. The maintenance and

legitimation of power is often achieved through display of status and the linkage to a previous authority, these figures possibly allowed both.

The Seurre figures watery context has already been discussed with reference to its possible purpose, as some form of sacrificial offering. The deposition of votives in watery contexts in the early Roman period is well documented, but its origins could date back in some form to this earlier period. Given the date range of the figure it is possible it was produced in the period just after the collapse of the region's economy, which could be a reason for its production in wood, a cheaper, easier to work and more readily available material. However without further information on the context of use or examples of similar figures, it is difficult to tie the figure to its social context. The Mont-Saint-Vincent figure was found on another fortified prestige site in the region, however the date assigned to it is uncertain and will be reconsidered later in this section.

Following a reduction in trade and a dispersal of settlement in the middle Iron Age, from the 2nd century BC onwards there are a number of social shifts across the whole of the case study area. These are due partly to the increasing Roman influence following the conquest of the Provincia in the 120s BC, which also led to a re-emergence of Mediterranean trade, and partly indigenous developments. This is highlighted by the alterations in the settlement patterns, with nucleated open settlements forming in the 2nd century BC, which in the late 2nd /early 1st century BC shift to fortified sites and develop into oppida. It is the development of these defended proto-urban sites in conjunction with larger and more defined coinage distributions, which has led Nash (1978a, 8-9) to suggest that the tribal territories outlined at the start of this section were developing into states in this period. Some criticism has been

made of this interpretation by Haselgrove (1988, 77-8), particularly the acceptance of terms used by Caesar, and the civitas areas inferred from the latter Gallo-Roman diocese boundaries. Ralston (1988, 787-9) is also critical of the interpretation of terms used by Caesar, and some of the characteristics used to define an urban/state community, such as *Murus Gallicus* ramparts which are found well beyond the region under discussion. This does not dispute the existence of urbanised and archaic states within Gaul, but rather that they were not confined to a single area and may have displayed a greater diversity in form than suggested (ibid, 793)

The majority of figures from the case study area are dated to this period of great change and developing centralisation. As in Armorica most of these figures take the form of torso images, with a regional emphasis in this study area on the upper limbs crossed on the chest or holding an object against the chest. Also similar to the first case study area are some of the social developments, trade and contact with the Roman world increasing, and new forms of authority emerging. Only one of the figures has a secure date and archaeological context, the Levroux figure (cat. No. 8). These date it to 80-60 BC, in a village at the foot of the oppidum site of Levroux. This figure was found face down at the bottom of a ditch, rather like the first of the Paule figures (cat. No. 4), comparisons with which have already been made with the deposition of the Parisi chalk figures and the use of ditches surrounding the Belgic temple sites. Many of the other torso figures are depicted wearing torcs, and holding them in the case of the Ars figure (cat. No. 9) and a bronze figure from Levroux, found on the later fortified hilltop site. This is an object associated with status, and the depictions on the figures are large and emphasise the significance of the image. With their similarities in appearance and social conditions at the time of their production the Central Gaul figures may have had a similar function to those from Armorica, as

generic ancestors, or the early development of deities probably tied to the new ideas of territory and the increased Roman influence. The apparent defensive/protective posture of many of these figures, with their arms across their chests, possibly fits well with these ideas. Ancestors or tribal gods may well have had defensive associations, protection of their group from those outside it possibly being one of their major functions, thus strengthening the ideas of tribal identity.

A reassessment can be made for the dates of some of the figures, following the consideration of their various contexts and comparison with the other figures from the case study area and those from Armorica with secure dates. The secure dates of the Levroux and Seurre figures are not challenged by the social/historical or symbolic contexts of each figure, allowing them to be used for comparative purposes.

The two Vix figures (cat. No. 16 & 17) were assigned probable Iron Age dates on the basis of their association with a pre-Roman site in close proximity to the 5th century BC burial of the Vix Princess. In addition the Vix site itself is close to the foot of Mont Lassois a 6th/5th century BC prestige site. The symbolic context appears supported by the naturalistic morphology of the similarly dated Seurre figure, and the comparable forms of some of the German figures. The social/historical context is also supportive and again suggests comparison with the German figures. Because of these supportive associations the Vix figures can be assigned a definite date rather than the probable one previously assigned. The Mont-Saint-Vincent figure is uncertainly dated to roughly the same period. However the symbolic context considered with regard to its morphological form would seem to imply a later date. The simple block like form, lack of lower limbs and depiction of the arms across the chest with exaggeration of features, all seem to link it most closely with the torso figures of the later period. In

addition whilst lacking a proper archaeological context this figure was found in association with 'monnaies anciennes'. Given that coinage does not appear widely in Gaul until the late 4th century BC at the earliest (de Jersey 1994, 40) this seems to further support a later date for this image. The possible interpretations of these figures provided by the social/historical context also appear to fit better than that of the earlier period, allowing a probable late Iron Age date to be given to this figure.

The remaining torso figures can be considered as a group, because of their archaeological contexts being comparably poor, and their imagery so similar. In basic morphological form all are similar to the securely dated Levroux figure, and the Armorican torso figures. All have either their upper limbs crossing their chest like the Levroux figure, or are holding an object against their chest like the first Paule figure. The emphasis on the head highlighted by the delimiting aspect of the torcs many of them wear, and the exaggeration of features all fit with the symbolic context. The depiction of torcs most of these figures wear also fits with the symbolic context for Gaul, although the relative scarcity of its depiction on other media within the case study area seems unusual. A similar purpose for their production and use as those in Armorica fits within the social/historical context of the region. One problem with assigning an Iron Age date to these figures however is the association two of them have with Roman material, the Ars figure (cat. No. 9) found in proximity to a villa site, and the Châteaumeillant figure (cat. No. 13) which was found in a pit with some very early Roman pottery. In each case the association with the Roman material could have occurred some time after the production of the image. Alternatively the context of use for these figures could have continued into the early Roman period with few, if any, changes. A probable Iron Age date can be accepted for this group of figures with the acknowledgement of a possible very early Roman date for some examples.

4.4 South Western Gaul

The final case study area has the smallest number of images within it, despite its proximity to the Greek colonies to the east and the establishment of the Roman Provincia to the south. Regional trends will be considered in addition to comparison with the images from the other case study areas.

4.4.1 Distribution

The number of images from this case study area is very small, only three, and consequently the distribution is quite widespread over the study area. In addition there are no concentrations within the study area, each image appearing, in terms of distribution, independently of the others. The provenance of the Poulan Pouzols (cat. No. 21), Bozouls (cat. No. 20) and Cahors (cat. No. 19) figures are within the tribal areas of the Volcae Tectosages, Volcae Arecomici and the Ruteni respectively. As stated previously with respect to the other case study areas, these tribal groupings may be late developments with no direct relevance to the production of these images.

No internal distribution variations exist requiring explanation, but a number of details, which could have had an impact on the creation of this grouping of material, should be noted. The proximity of the case study area to the Greek colonies such as Massalia, established from the 6th century BC onwards, would have provided a close source of different ideas and cultural influences, from a comparatively early date. Later in the period the Mediterranean region of Gaul was conquered by Rome, creating the Provincia in 120 BC (Bromwich 1993, 5-6), resulting in another influx of different cultural influences. In addition to these possible Mediterranean influences, were those from the north of Gaul and further afield such as Britain brought into this region by trade routes. These were principally via the rivers Tarn and Garonne, leading to the

Atlantic coast and then Armorica, and were heavily used in the Roman wine trade. This region also has a indigenous tradition of stone carved human imagery dating back to the Bronze Age. Taking the form of statue menhirs erected throughout the landscape, such as those from Sainte-Sernin-sur-Rance and La Serre in Aveyron (Espérandieu 1907-1966, no. 1631 & 7046) (see fig 4.14), these images may have provided their own inspiration to the production of the later images.

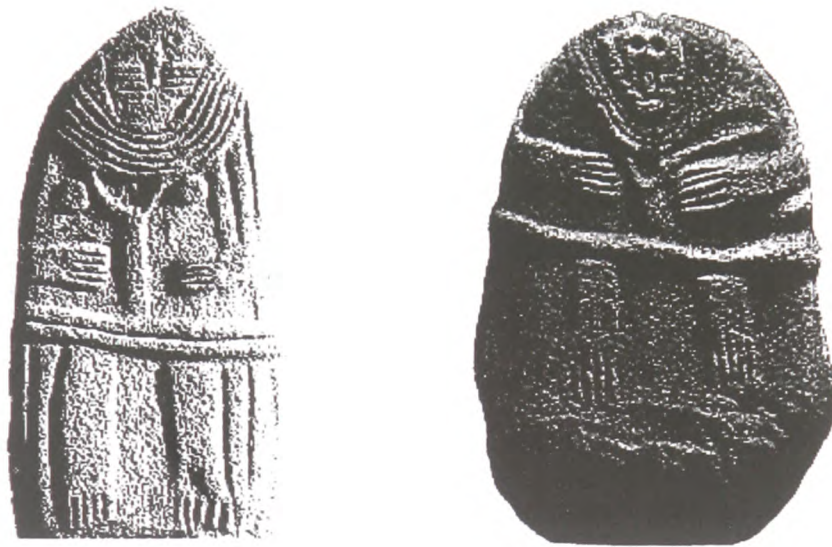


Fig. 4.14 Bronze Age statue menhirs from Sainte-Sernin-sur-Rance and La Serre in Aveyron

4.4.2 Dating

All of the figures from this case study area have uncertain dates, having been dated to the Iron Age based on a stylistic assessment, and without secure archaeological contexts. The Cahors figure (cat. No. 19) has been given a mid 1st century BC date, presumably on the basis that it may be interpreted as either Roman or Iron Age. Its only provenance is that it was found local to Cahors, having no recorded context and hence an insecure date. The context of the Bozouls figure (cat. No. 20) was largely destroyed during the act of its discovery, having been uncovered (and slightly damaged) by a bulldozer during construction work. No date other than during the La

Tène period has been given for its production, based entirely on the style of the figure. The Poulan-Pouzols figure (cat. No. 21) is the one figure associated in any way with archaeological material, although not in context. The figure was found in a field that was strewn with pottery of probably early Gallo-Roman date. Direct correlation between these different materials is impossible to ascertain, and the figure could have been produced in an earlier period and the association with the pottery occurring at a later date. With no other contextual information a late Iron Age / early Roman period date has been assigned to this figure.

There are no obvious characteristics that can be tied to the date of the figures. This is due in part to the uncertainty of their dating, and also due to the lack of variation in either their distribution or material. The imagery displayed by each figure is so different from the others that indicating a particular trait as chronologically significant is not possible.

4.4.3 Material

All of the figures from the south west of Gaul are produced in stone, specifically sandstone, with no images in either metal or wood having been found. The colour of the figures is not known of the Cahors figure (cat. No. 19), but is pink in the case of the Bozouls figure (cat. No. 20) and yellow in the case of the Poulan-Pouzols figure (cat. No. 21). Sandstone is a medium grained sedimentary rock (Hamilton et. al. 1974, 194), of variable softness and relatively easy to carve, presenting no great difficulty in the production of these images. However this also means they are at greater risk of damage and erosion, as highlighted by the unclear features of the Cahors figure and the obliteration of detail from the front of the Poulan-Pouzols figure. The material

used for each of these figures appears to be of local origin, and not imported for their production.

4.4.4 Imagery

The figures from the south west of Gaul, despite being the smallest sample, display the greatest range in imagery of the case study areas. This includes both morphological variation and differing associated images and motifs, each figure significantly different from the others. One feature all of these figures share is the lack of depiction of lower limbs, although each in different ways. The Bozouls figure (cat. No. 20) is the most similar to the torso figures from the other case study areas, with only the upper body depicted, the bottom of the figure forming a base (see fig. 4.15). The arms are carved against the sides and a sword is held against its chest in one hand while the other holds the scabbard. This image is somewhat larger than those from other areas, almost a metre tall (95 cm), and not carved from a square or rounded block, but rather cone shaped, however its general form fits with the torso group.



Fig 4.15 Bozouls figure (cat. No. 20)

The Poulan-Pouzols figure (cat. No. 21) has no frontal features visible at all, and it is therefore impossible to tell if limbs were depicted in relief on the front of the figure, however no indication of them is visible on the rear of the figure. Unlike the torso figures this image clearly depicts the shape of the body and is quite broad and flat, rather than a largely formless block surmounted by a head. In addition part of the body below the waist is depicted, although the details are impossible to make out, and the figure is a similar size (91 cm) to the Bozouls figure. The Cahors figure (cat. No. 19) has almost no body depicted at all, with a head supported by a neck resting on a wide base, which may or may not be intended to indicate the top of the body.

The exaggeration of features is not so clearly indicated on these figures as others. The eyes of the Cahors and Bozouls figures are both large and globular, with the head in both cases also appearing slightly too large. Other than this there are no obvious examples of exaggeration on these images. Another form of morphological emphasis occurs on the Cahors figure through multiplicity (see fig. 4.16), with the triplication of the face on the head. This is similar in form to the Broussy figure, with a single head and three faces all around it, however in this case the faces, though very worn, all appear to have very similar neutral features rather than being clearly different depictions. This being the case it suggests a single entity with three different faces, similar to the Bais figure (cat. No. 2), rather than an amalgam of different beings. Alternatively as highlighted earlier (section 4.1.4) the multiplicity may be intended to represent a particular characteristic such as all-seeing or different aspects of the same being.



Fig. 4.16 Cahors figure (cat. No. 19)

The gender of these figures is not clear in any one of them. The Bozouls figure has usually been interpreted as male, principally due to the sword it is depicted holding and the traditional association between weapons and males. In addition the figure does not appear to have any breasts or other clearly female features depicted on it. Therefore despite not having any overtly male characteristics this figure can still probably be seen as male. The Cahors image has very neutral facial features that could be interpreted as male or female, both or neither. No bodily features are depicted at all, making any designation of gender all but impossible, and given the neutral appearance of this figure possibly irrelevant. The Poulan-Pouzols figure has been interpreted as both male and female (Labrousse 1962, 603), the designation turning principally on the interpretation of the hairstyle, there being so few other features visible. Again there are no overt characteristics of either gender, and no traditionally gender related associations, making it impossible to claim any specific gender for the figure, possibly deliberately.

No other morphological imagery is present on the figures, and only the Poulan-Pouzols and Bozouls figures display additional images or motifs. The first of these

does have its additional imagery depicted on its body however. A number of different animal images including a hare, boar, bird and deer are depicted over the back and sides of the Poulan-Pouzols, not as separate images but superimposed on the surface of the figure (see fig. 4.17). This certainly implies a very close association between these two types of images, and may highlight a connection between the figure and nature, the hunt or the specific animals. All the depicted animals are wild animals, those thought to have been amongst the most commonly hunted such as the deer, boar and hare (Green 1992, 44). Alternatively it may be intended as representing transformations or alternate forms, or simply a form of decoration.



Fig. 4.17 Poulan-Pouzols 'animal' figure (cat. No. 21)

The Bozouls figure is depicted with two objects seen in the previous case study area, the sword and the torc. The first of these is held against the chest of the figure in the right hand while the scabbard is held below it in the left hand. The tip of the blade is pointing to the left shoulder or neck. The torc is quite thick and is worn around the neck. Neither of the other two figures are depicted with the objects, the only additional motif being what may be a belt worn by the Poulan-Pouzols figure. Other than these objects the only other imagery depicted on these two figures are their

hairstyles, the Bozouls figure having a single large plait hanging over its right shoulder and down its front, while the Poulan-Pouzols figure has a series of small plaits hanging down the back of its head. Various attempts have been made at interpretation of these features, from identifying gender (Poulan-Pouzols figure) to signifying an image of a warrior (Bozouls figure). Treherne (1995, 111, 121) sees a connection between the development in the Bronze Age of a prevailing ideology based on the male individual and his personal accoutrements, particularly ideas of masculine beauty. This warrior orientated society continued into the Iron Age, suggesting that such elaborate hairstyles may have been intended to designate the images as warriors.

4.4.5 Contexts

The data from chapters 2 and 3 can be used to help provide and assess the social/historical and symbolic contexts of this case study area. This may allow a reassessment of the dating of these figures to be made and allow consideration of their purpose and possible use. Both the trends of Gaul and regional trends will be considered in relation to the free standing human imagery of south western Gaul.

The major trends of the imagery of Gaul have been highlighted previously (chapter 3), and those with relevance to south western Gaul are emphasis on the head, multiplicity, and images of torcs, weapons and animals. All of these forms of imagery appear on the coinage across Gaul, to a greater extent in some areas than others. Both torcs and weapons form part of the metalwork, which frequently depicts an emphasis on the head in its examples of human imagery.

Within the study area of south western Gaul the examples of this imagery appearing on other media are very limited. Neither emphasis on the head nor multiplicity, as

displayed by the Bozouls and Cahors figures are present on the coinage, metalwork or any other media of this region. Examples of both these trends occurring outside this study area have been referred to previously (sections 4.2.5 and 4.3.5), but without examples within this case study area. However the associated imagery and motifs do occur to a limited extent. The commonest depiction is that of animals, as depicted on the Poulan-Pouzols figure, appearing on both metalwork and coinage. A 5th/4th century torc from Vielle Toulouse in Haute Garonne has terminals in the shape of animal heads (see fig. 3.19), probably horses (Morel 1898, 151-2). Whilst these specific animals are not depicted on the free standing human imagery it does demonstrate the appropriateness of using depictions of animals in this region from an early date. On the coinage two different animals are depicted, the eagle and the boar. The first of these appears on the coinage of the Volcae Arecomici, with an eagle depicted on a palm, on a bronze issue dated to 70/60 BC (Allen 1995, No. 213, 220). This image is heavily influenced by the Roman coinage produced further south, and has little association with the imagery depicted on the Poulan-Pouzols figure. Finally the one animal depicted on other media and also appearing on the free standing human imagery is the boar. This image occurs on the coinage of the Ruteni, dated to 78-77 BC, with a boar facing to the left on the reverse (Allen 1990, No. 100). The boar also occurs on an issue from Aveyron, with the boar as the main reverse image (Allen 1980, No. 104). The occurrence of the boar on more than one issue and on the free standing human imagery corresponds well with the frequency of depiction of this animal image. It is one of the most common images on the coinage of Gaul, and the only animal to appear on another example of the free standing human imagery, the Euffigneix figure (cat. No. 22) (see fig. 3.6).

The image of the torc does not occur on the metalwork at all, though there are a number of actual torcs recovered from the study area. These range from the bronze example from Vielle Toulouse described above, to the elaborate gold examples from Fenouillet in Haute Garonne and Largraisses in Tarn (Megaw 1989,147, Jacobsthal 1969, 172), both dated to the 3rd century BC. On the coinage the image of the torc occurs once on the coinage of the Ruteni (Allen 1990, No. 91-8). It appears on the reverse of a silver issue, which is divided in four by a cross, the torc appearing in one of the quarters created by this. On this same issue is the one depiction of what could be interpreted as a weapon, an axe appearing in another quarter, however it may be being depicted as a tool.

As discussed in chapter 2 the case study area has had a long period of Mediterranean influence, with the establishment of Greek colonies along the coast to the south, from the 6th century BC onwards. Reflecting this proximity to, and awareness of, the Mediterranean societies are the trading links of the region. From 650 to 450 BC regular trade was carried out between this region and Punic Carthage, Etruscan Italy and the Greek world (Bromwich 1993, 5-6). From 450 BC onwards it is with central Italy and the growing Roman world that the greatest increase in trade occurs. In addition to these direct trade links, were the major trade routes which passed through this area, principally the passage from the Aude to the Garonne (Rivet 1988, 125). These trade routes were important not just for the wealth they brought into the region, but also the influences they had on the settlements of the region, with those near these axes of trade displaying evidence of urban activities such as craft industries (Büchschütz 1995, 574-6). Nucleated settlements had first started to develop from 650 BC, and these gradually developed more urban characteristics until the end of the 2nd century BC, those close to the trade routes displaying the greatest change. In the

middle period of the Iron Age, the region saw an increasing Roman presence due to wars in Spain and with Carthage, culminating in the 120s BC with its creation as a province (Cunliffe 1988, 53-5). A garrison was established at Tolosa (Toulouse), within the case study area, however little impact was made on the surrounding area with the gradual development of more urban settlements continuing much as before (Rivet 1988, 43-5).

The figures from south west Gaul were therefore produced in an area in close proximity to, and influenced by, the Mediterranean societies from early in the Iron Age. Unlike the central Gaul region however these contacts continued through out the middle Iron Age up to the Roman conquest. Despite the long and significant Mediterranean contacts the sample of figures from this region is small, and with few similarities between them. The processes of urbanisation and emergent statehood began much earlier in this region and were more gradual than in other areas of Gaul. Therefore if the development of the later figures in these areas, particularly the torso group, are tied to these processes and the emergence of a new elite, as suggested earlier in this chapter (sections 4.2.5 & 4.3.5), then there may have been less need for these images in the south western region. Without the indigenous derived requirement for the form of legitimisation these images may have provided, the strong Mediterranean influence was irrelevant to their production.

A reconsideration of the dating and function of these figures should be considered on an individual basis given the diversity in their form and appearance. The Cahors figure (cat. No. 19) has almost no comparable features with the other figures from this case study area, nor are there any comparisons in the other media of the area. Two figures from other regions of Gaul display triplication, the Bais (cat. No. 2) and

Broussy (cat. No. 18) figures, however both in somewhat different forms. Comparisons have been made with the tricephalos heads from eastern Gaul, which date from the start of the Roman period (Bouloumie 1986, 202-4). The statuary from the south east of Gaul at Roquepertuse and Entremont has also been used as comparisons, and provide the main basis for the Iron Age. With such a weak symbolic context in the region, and a social/historical context which while providing a source for the form of imagery does not provide a reason for its production, an uncertain Iron Age date remains the best option.

The Bozouls figure (cat. No. 20) appears to fit the form related criteria for the torso figures that occur in other areas of Gaul. The sword held in the right hand against the chest most closely recalls the Paulmy figure (cat. No. 10) from the central Gaul study area. In addition to this the weapon and carefully depicted hairstyle can be interpreted indicating the depiction of a warrior of an indigenous nature. The figure could therefore have been of either a generic warrior image, or a tribal god or representation which emphasises these elements. The symbolic context within the region is quite weak, although there is some comparative imagery particularly of the torc, and the comparisons with the free standing human imagery from other areas of Gaul help strengthen it. The social historical context does not provide any objection to its production within the Iron Age, which with its comparison to the other free standing human imagery allows a probable Iron Age date to be assigned.

The Poulan-Pouzols figure (cat. No. 21) may be the hardest to date, having been found without a secure context but within an area strewn with Gallo-Roman pottery. The simplified form of the image, similar to the torso figures in the lack of depiction of limbs, and the elaborate braided hairstyle suggest an indigenous derived

production. The animal imagery depicted on the body of the figure has been used to suggest both a classical (the image of the 'chase') and a native derivation (Labrousse 1962, 603, Provost 1995, 209-10). The social/historical context could support either interpretation, with the long Mediterranean influence in this area, and continuous indigenous development. The symbolic context provides three examples of animal imagery on the coinage and metalwork, however only one of these appears on the Poulan-Pouzols image. This is the image of the boar that appears on more than one issue of coinage in the region, and is one of the most common images on the coinage across the whole of Gaul. In addition it is the only animal image to be depicted with another of the free standing human imagery, the Euffigneix figure, on which the imagery is depicted in a similar fashion, superimposed on the body of the figure. Therefore an indigenous derived origin for the figure seems most likely, however this may have been produced in either the late Iron Age or early Roman period, giving the figure an uncertain date.

4.5 Summary

The figures from each case study area have been looked in detail in the preceding sections. There are in addition a few other figures outside these study areas, which will now be assessed and compared with all the free standing human imagery. The contexts of these images will be considered, groupings within them searched for, and explanations for these groups proposed.

4.5.1 Contexts

As highlighted in the earlier sections of the chapter, the most common forms of imagery depicted on the figures are; emphasis of the head, exaggeration of features, multiplicity, torcs, held images (weapons, lyre etc) and animals. The first two of these

are present on both the metalwork and the coinage across Gaul, such as the 4th century BC torc from Courtisols (Morel 1898, 135-6), the 1st century BC bronze anthropoid sword hilt from Châtenay-Macheron (Hawkes 1955, no. 27) and the human head depicted as a motif alone on the coinage (Allen 1980, no. 24). The examples of multiplicity are confined to the coinage of the Suessiones and Remi (Allen 1995, no. 78-85 & 53-64). Torcs and weapons, as already shown above, occur as objects in themselves across Gaul and as motifs on the coinage. Along with the images of lyres and animals the representation of these motifs occur at different times and different levels on the coinage of Gaul, which do not always match the occurrences on the free standing human imagery. In general the symbolic context provided by the images on these other media fits well with those figures with quite secure dates, and varies with those of less secure dating.

Examination of the figures appears to allow them to be split into four broadly distinct groups, a chronologically early group, a torso figure group, a multiplicity group, and a final group comprised of those images which appear to be individual examples. The early group comprises three figures, the two images from Vix (cat. No. 16 & 17) and the wooden figure from the river Seurre (cat. No. 15). These have all been assigned a 6th-5th century BC date, and each have very different forms, the first Vix figure with minimal features and seated on a chair, the second Vix figure depicted with lots of detail and seated on the ground, and the Seurre figure detailed and standing upright. Both the second Vix and Seurre figures are very naturalistic in form, as the first Vix figure may have been intended to be. The Vix figures were found close to the rich Vix burial at the foot of Mont Lassois, the regional centre during this period, and one of many pairings between clusters of rich burials and fortified sites in this early period (Champion et al. 1984, 283). These figures are probably best seen as part of wider

tradition within the west Hallstatt chiefdoms of associations between burials, particularly tumuli, and anthropomorphic statuary. These include the Hirschlanden (Green 1986, 10) and Glauberg (Goudineau 1999, 22-3) figures, from Germany, both naturalistic in form with their features in proportion with each other (see figs. 3.23 & 3.24). These may represent the person buried within the tumuli, be generic warrior/guardian figures, or ancestor figures of the social group. At the same time, as with the rich burials themselves, they would have served to emphasise and legitimate the wealth and power of the ruling elite, further singling out these burials. These associations within the wider social/historical context have allowed a definite Iron Age date to be assigned to the Vix figures. In this early period therefore, a naturalistic form of depiction appears to have been the norm.

The torso group of figures are by far the largest group, and made up from figures across Gaul. They are a group of figures of which only the head and upper body are carved, some with upper limbs (often crossed on the chest) and some without, usually with an exaggeration of features. These are the four Paule figures (cat. No. 4, 5, 6, 7), Levroux (cat. No. 8), Yvignac (cat. No. 1), Ars (cat. No. 9), Pérassay (cat. No. 12), Orsennes (cat. No. 11), Paulmy (cat. No. 10), Châteaumeillant (cat. No. 13), Bozouls (cat. No. 20), Mont-Saint-Vincent (cat. No. 14) and Euffigneix (cat. No. 22) figures. The last of these is from outside the case study areas, and is a well carved head surmounting a block for the body, with no limbs depicted. The body has two images superimposed on it, an elaborate eye on the side and a boar on the front. The second of these images is one of the most commonly depicted on the coinage of Gaul, including one issue of the Aulerce Eburovices where it is depicted superimposed on the neck of the obverse human head (Allen 1976, 271). This similar form of depiction is repeated by the Poulan Pouzols figure (cat. No. 21), which will be discussed further

below. All of the associated imagery of these figures appears on the metalwork or coinage across Gaul to a greater or lesser extent, predominantly in the 2nd/1st century BC.

All of those figures originally assigned a definite or probable date were also dated to this period. This period also saw the re-establishment of Mediterranean trade to many areas of Gaul, and the emergence of more centralised political units (Champion et al. 1984, 316), as highlighted earlier in this chapter. The connections between the ways the human form is depicted and the structure of society have been highlighted by many authors, forming part of the material code of communication by which cultural realities are shaped and represented (Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou 1997, 103). The body is frequently a primary source of symbolism, with it acting as a metaphor for society (Tilley 1996, 239), due to it being the most accessible image to hand (Tilley 1999, 37), and its new use and depiction in this context reflecting the alterations and developments in Gaulish society. All of the torso images depict the human image in a simplified form, suggesting the emphasis may be on the human form itself or the images associated with it. In looking at east European Neolithic figurines, Kokkinidou & Nikolaidou (1997, 98) suggest that their schematic form may have been intended to simply convey the general concept of human. If the torso images do therefore represent gods, this could suggest they are not personalised beings, and may rather be either tribal gods or tribal representations, possibly with associated tribal images (the lyre of the first Paule figure, the boar on the Euffigneix figure). The purpose of such tribal images may have been to strengthen the recently formed social structure. Tringham & Conkey (1998, 42) in again looking at Neolithic figurines point out that they are often seen as overt symbols that help create and maintain ideologies which confirm legitimacy on the *status quo*. Iconography, with its stylized representation,

can serve to legitimise systems of inequality and control, with materials, objects or symbols identifying ruling elites with the supernatural (Earle 1990, 73-5). In his study of Mesoamerican complex chiefdoms Earle (1990, 79-81) saw the spread of the Olmec style and iconography in the region as the ceremonial legitimisation of the chiefdoms. The appearance of these images during the period of early state formation in much of Gaul could have been due to their use to legitimise the new elite, those with a secure archaeological context having been found in association with elite or ritual sites. Given the strong associations within the group, the good symbolic context and the possible explanation the social/historical context provides for their production, all the torso images of uncertain date were assigned a probable Iron Age date.

The multiplicity group consists of the Bais (cat. No. 2), Lennon (cat. No. 3), Cahors (cat. No. 19) and Broussy (cat. No. 18) figures, none of which have any archaeological context. The symbolic context for these figures is similarly poor, only the coinage of the Suessiones and Remi (Allen 1995, no. 78-85 & 53-64) outlined above displaying any form of multiplicity. All of the figures show distinct differences in form from each other, and this in conjunction with their poor contexts makes it difficult to assign a date. Examples of multiplicity are far more common in the Roman period (Green 1989) and so if these images are Iron Age in date, it is probably late Iron Age. The possible reasons and meanings to their multiplicity have already been discussed in previous sections, and with such a diversity of form and uncertainty over their date locating them within a specific social/historical context is all but impossible. As such all of these images remain assigned an uncertain Iron Age date.

The final group consists only of the Poulan-Pouzols (cat. No. 21) and Geneva (cat. No. 23) figures. The first of these should possibly be included within the torso group, principally being excluded due to the variation in its form, with the shape of the body more clearly represented being quite broad and flat, and tapering down to the base. The images within the torso group have the shape of their body more roughly indicated and a definite base. However the image does not appear to include limbs and the form of imagery on the figure, animal images superimposed on the body, recalls the Euffigneix figure. Its dating remains uncertain due partly to its lack of archaeological context and partly due to the earlier Roman conquest of this area. The wooden Geneva figure has been dated by dendrochronology to 80 BC, this being a probable date due to the uncertainties of this dating method when applied to pieces of heartwood. Due to the deterioration of the wood it is not possible to identify the object held by the figure, however the hooded cape it wears is associated with wooden pilgrim figures from the Roman period. As highlighted in section 4.1.3 the choice of material may be significant, the figure having been carved from oak, which with its great size may suggest an importance as great as a depiction of a divinity.

4.5.2 Conclusion

The contexts of these figures having been considered as a group, including a reassessment of their dating, it is possible to produce another table of their dates (see Table 4.5.2). The majority of these figures form a distinct group as torso images. These appear to have been produced at a specific time, possibly in response to the social changes taking place at this time. Their simplified form and associated imagery deliberate choices to signify their purpose and representation. Of the remaining images those with secure dates are all from the early Iron Age and should probably be

considered as part of a Hallstatt tradition of image making which would include the statues from Germany. Their more naturalistic form and direct association with rich burials of the period suggest a different purpose and context of use from the torso group. The other examples of free standing human imagery are possibly late Iron Age/early Roman in date and maybe should be seen as transitional images.

Definite	Probable	Uncertain
8. Levroux (80-60 BC)	9. Ars (1 st century BC)	2. Bais (La Tène)
4. Paule fig 1 (2 nd /1 st century BC)	12. Pérassay (1 st century BC)	3. Lennon (La Tène)
5. Paule fig 2 (2 nd /1 st century BC)	11. Orsennes (1 st century BC)	19. Cahors (1 st century BC)
6. Paule fig 3 (2 nd /1 st century BC)	10. Paulmy (1 st century BC)	18. Broussy (1 st century BC)
7. Paule fig 4 (2 nd /1 st century BC)	13. Châteaumeillant (1 st century BC)	21. Poulan Pouzols (1 st century BC)
15. Seurre (905-352 BC)	14. Mont-St.-Vincent (2 nd /1 st century BC)	
1. Yvingnac (1 st century BC)	22. Euffigneix (1 st century BC)	
16. Vix fig 1 (6 th /5 th century BC)	20. Bozouls (1 st century BC)	
17. Vix fig 2 (6 th /5 th century BC)	23. Geneva (80 BC)	

Table 4.5.2 revised dating of figures

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This chapter will highlight the major points that have arisen from this study of the human image in Iron Age Gaul. The preceding chapters presented the approach taken and the wider contexts in which these images were set, and assessed the images from Iron Age Gaul within these contexts. In chapter 1 the aims of this research were outlined, these being two-fold. The first was to consider the role and use of anthropomorphic images in Iron Age societies. Consideration was especially given, to the question of their possible identification as deities, ancestors or heroes. It was also asked whether these images could have been the forerunners of the Gallo-Roman gods depicted in post-conquest iconography. The second area of interest comprised the external factors in the production of human imagery, including the geographical position of statuary (its proximity to other cultures and major trade routes), and major social changes in the period.

At the end of the preceding chapter the material was divided into four groups (Early group, torso figures, multiplicity group and individual examples). Only the first two of these may be considered in relation to the aims set out above. The multiplicity group must be omitted from further study because the dating of these images remains uncertain. The double-faced figure from Lennon (cat. No. 3) is the only image in this group for which comparables of Iron Age date can be found. These comparables include the similarly-shaped double head from Roquepertuse (Benoit 1969 & Green 1995, 467), the double head depicted on the Suessiones coinage (Allen 1995, No. 78-85), and the double faced figures from Germany such as the Holzgerlingen figure (Jacobsthal 1969, no. 13). Three-fold multiple images lack such comparables, although the triplication of images does become quite common in the Roman period,

for example the triple faced images of the Remi (Green 1989, 172). This may suggest that triple images are either a late Iron Age or post-conquest development. Finally the two individual examples (the Poulan-Pouzols (cat. No. 21) and Geneva (cat. No. 23) figures) are probably best considered with the torso group. The first of these was initially excluded due to some morphological variation from the others in the torso group, but is similar to many of these none the less. The Geneva figure, whilst very different morphologically from the torso images, is also of a late date and can probably be seen as the result of the same or similar processes which produced the torso group.

The remaining two groups (the early group and the torso group) both to a certain extent meet the two aims discussed above. These two groups are from opposite ends of the period, and exhibit widely differing approaches to the representation of the human form. The first group of images are depicted quite naturalistically, and appear to be deliberately mimetic. The second group is quite schematic in form, exhibiting a minimal amount of detail. This simplification of form is a late development, and also appears to be a deliberate choice. The differences between the two groups are best explained in terms of their different social contexts.

The early group will be considered first. This group is small, consisting of the two stone Vix images (cat. No. 16 & 17) and the wooden Seurre figure (cat. No. 15). The size of this group is less of a problem if, as demonstrated in chapter 4, they are seen as part of a trend which extends beyond Gaul. They form part of a group of images found within the area of the West Hallstatt chiefdoms, and share characteristics with a number of images from Germany. In addition, they also share a social context with the German images, being localised to the area of the Hallstatt chiefdoms. The

Gaulish figures and a number of the German images, particularly the Hirschlanden (Zürn 1964, 224-6) and Glauberg (Birkhan 1999, 67) figures, are predominantly naturalistic in form. This use of a naturalistic morphology is probably derived from Mediterranean imagery, principally Greek and Etruscan. Both of these cultures had extensive trading links with the West Hallstatt region, and the influence they had in the production of these images appears fairly clear. The similarities between the Hirschlanden and Glauberg figures and Etruscan sculpture of the same period have already been detailed in chapter 3 (section 3.6.2). The Gaulish images are probably more heavily influenced by Greek sculpture, since the grave goods found in the burials at the Vix site were predominantly Greek, including exceptional finds such as the Greek Krater. The proximity of Vix to the Rhône-Saône trading axis with the Greek colonies in the south of Gaul is also significant. Trade with other cultures formed the basis of elite power in this region, and is one of the key external factors influencing the production of human imagery there.

A similar process of adoption of a form of depiction from another culture occurs in other areas in this early part of the Iron Age. In both Southern Gaul and Southern and Eastern Iberia, the influence of the Greek and Phoenician colonies can be seen in locally produced images. These include the figures from Entremont (Green 1989, 109-10) and Roquepertuse (Espérandieu 1907-1966, no. 131), the Lady of Elche bust (Arribas 1964, 160) and the Porcuna sculptures (Ruiz & Molinos 1998, 269). While the adoption of some Mediterranean art styles did take place however, it is unreasonable to assume that an entire 'cultural package' was adopted at the same time. In contrast to Mediterranean usage, a number of the West Hallstatt images are associated with burials, either surmounting tumuli (Hirschlanden) or within enclosures bordering burials (Vix), rather than within sanctuaries. This link with

burial sites could imply an attempt to bolster and legitimise the local elite position through an association with ancestors. As such these images may depict not gods, but ancestors (specific or generic), or guardians or heroes watching over these sites. The Mediterranean form was therefore adopted and adapted to an indigenous use, ancestral or hero images tied to the prestige displays of the local elite.

The torso group is the largest, consisting of more than half the figures from the catalogue. Rather than being confined to a single area these images are from across the whole of Gaul, during the 2nd-1st century BC. Their development at this time can be seen as part of a number of social changes that took place in this period, as suggested in chapter 4 (section 4.5.1), principally the emergence of oppida and other centralised settlements. These together with the adoption of coinage point to more centralised tribal authorities, some of which develop into early states. Other social changes also appear to have taken place, such as a change in the widespread burial rite and the creation of new sanctuaries. The first of these involved a change from flat grave inhumation to cremation with few if any grave goods. Almost all signs of individuality disappeared from burials at this time (Wells 1995, 93), suggesting a possible shift from an individual identity to a group or tribal identity. Brun has suggested (Brun 1995, 17) that the second of these changes, the creation of new communal sanctuaries, was due to a need to define tribal territories more clearly, and by association to strengthen the community identity of newly emerging tribal groups. The development of tribal groups and early states altered many aspects of Iron Age society, including those associated with ritual or religious practices. The development of the torso figures could perhaps best be seen in terms of this social change.

Given that these social changes may help explain the reasons why the torso images were produced, the form they took may explain in what way they were used. In all cases the torso figures comprise a single block, sometimes with the arms carved on to the block, with a second block for the head surmounting it. This simplified form appears to represent a deliberate choice rather than lack of artistic ability, given the level of skill exhibited by naturalistic depictions from the Early Iron Age and the skilful stone carving demonstrated on other monuments such as the stone stelae from Armorica. As suggested in chapter 4 the simplified, schematic form may be intended to convey the general concept of human and not an individual. If as suggested earlier (section 4.5.1), the body can be used as a metaphor for society (Tilley 1996, 239), then these images could have been produced to represent some of the changes that were occurring, as tribal gods or tribal representations. Those which had good archaeological contexts have frequently been found on elite or ritual sites, which may be most associated with the new social order.

During this period increasing contact took place with the Roman world, largely because of the development of the Roman wine trade (Cunliffe 1982, 52-3). This increased contact could have led to an exchange of ideas, including the concept of personalised depiction of gods. If this concept of gods as human-like beings did have its origins in contact with the Roman world, then as before - with the early group of images - a Mediterranean idea appears to have been adapted to fit with indigenous needs. The depiction of gods in a human form is probably linked with tribal identity, claiming a deity, and associating it with that group, rather than suggesting that deities are abstract powers affecting the whole world. The production of such images would have served to reinforce the new concepts of tribal identity, and to legitimise the position of the elite who were benefiting from the resulting centralisation.

Another issue is that of possible deliberate deposition of some of the torso images. About a third were deposited either within pits or ditches of settlement sites (Châteaumeillant (cat. No. 13), Levroux (cat. No. 8), Euffigneix (cat. No. 22) and first Paule figure (cat. No. 4)). As stated in chapter 4, the Parisi figures of Yorkshire share a number of similarities in form with the Gaulish figures and a number appear to have been deliberately deposited in the ditches of cemeteries or the floor of a round house (Stead 1988, 22). This raises the possibility that some of the torso images may have been deliberately deposited, in which case their association with the ditches surrounding settlements, the physical boundaries of a group, could be seen as another link with a local group identity.

Finally a number of general points can be made. The first, discussed above, concerns the adoption of Mediterranean features in the depiction of the human image. In the early group this can be seen quite clearly, with the morphology of the figures displaying similarities with Greek or Etruscan examples. Roman influence on the depiction of the torso group is far less certain, although it still remains quite possible that the adoption of the human form reflects influence from the Roman world. In either case however the adoption of an aspect of these different cultures was very limited and used in an indigenous manner; in the first case by association with burials, and in the second as part of wider social changes taking place at the time. The Mediterranean cultures do therefore seem to have influenced the production of the human image in Gaul in the Iron Age, but only in ways that were useful to the indigenous cultures, and in terms of indigenous selection of these useful foreign aspects. The acceptance of some artistic trends does not imply the complete acceptance of all facets of a foreign culture.

Another point of interest concerns the widespread depiction of warriors, an aspect of anthropomorphic imagery highlighted in chapter 3 (section 3.7). Three of the images from Gaul are depicted with weapons (Paulmy (cat. No. 10), Bozouls (cat. No. 20), second Vix (cat. No. 17)) and it is possible that others which are broken or damaged may have also been armed. In addition, many images from neighbouring regions either hold weapons or wear armour, for example the Glauberg figure (Germany), the Roquepertuse figure (Southern Gaul), the *guerreros galaicos* figures (Iberia), and the Parisi figurines (Britain). The coinage of this period also frequently depicts warriors, sometimes riding a horse or chariot and sometimes simply standing. The coin imagery includes one example that appears to go against the traditional assumption that weapons are associated with males; the female armed rider series (de Jersey 1994, 54-6) from Armorica, on which the female figure holds a sword and a shield. This should warn us against making assumptions about gender based purely on accompanying imagery. The frequent and widespread depiction of warriors suggests that the widely held idea that society in this period was warrior-orientated may well be true. It is the one unifying feature that appears on coinage across Gaul, and appears in the imagery of all the neighbouring regions. The significance of warrior imagery is therefore clear, although it should not be overstated, since the majority of the Gaulish images do not have any warrior associations.


In chapter 1 the importance of the use of different contexts in understanding the purposes and use of these images was discussed. This framework has been followed, as far as possible, throughout this study, and has allowed many of the conclusions discussed above to be drawn. Different contexts (archaeological, symbolic and social) have each highlighted different factors in relation to imagery production and meaning. For example, the known archaeological contexts of the figures forming the torso

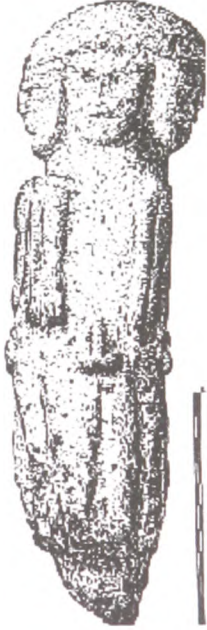
group have suggested a late date, and an association with the new elite or ritual centralised sites appearing at this time. The symbolic context highlighted associations such as that between the lyre held by the first Paule figure (cat. No. 4) and the frequent depictions of the lyre on the Armorican coinage, suggesting that the lyre may be a symbol of regional, possibly tribal, importance. When considering the social context of the torso figures, the many changes in late Iron Age society were highlighted, particularly the emerging tribal groups and states and increasing Roman influence, suggesting that the appearance of these images may be tied to these changes. Together these different contexts suggested the production of images tied to tribal identity and probably used by the elite to help legitimise their new social organisation. Considering objects in their different contexts, rather than in an aesthetic isolation as 'Art', can thus allow fresh interpretations and connections to be drawn.


At the beginning of chapter 1 the question was posed as to whether the anthropomorphic representation of gods was essentially a post-conquest phenomenon, or whether post-conquest religious art built upon earlier, Iron Age traditions. This work has shown that a number of anthropomorphic representations do exist in the pre-conquest era, and that they that appear to have a religious significance and a tribal connection. They have been interpreted as tribal gods or ancestors; beings of some power who were linked to the local group, and who functioned to strengthen new group identities. Therefore the anthropomorphic representation of gods does appear to have had a foundation in the Iron Age, with these tribal images probably providing the basis for some of the deities which emerge after the conquest. The distinct attributes and personalities displayed by the Gallo-Roman deities however, are probably a post-conquest development, occurring within the context of an attempt to equate them with Roman gods.


This work has identified a body of material that has been subjected to relatively little previous study. The significance of these images has been interpreted, and suggestions made as to the reasons for their production and use, through a consideration of their different contexts. Work which may follow on from this study could include a similar approach to other types of material, such as types of metalwork. Alternatively an examination of anthropomorphic images over a wider area, for example Western Europe, could be made which might highlight widespread changes in the depiction of the human form. Following on from the work based around the torso group, and the suggestion made above that they formed a foundation for the development of the Gallo-Roman gods, the early post-conquest material could be examined for indications of this. Transitional images could be looked for and the development of specific deities traced as far back as possible. The use of the human image in Gaul in the Iron Age was varied, both in form and in the purpose it served. Whilst free standing human imagery was not widespread its use at certain times in particular areas was significant in terms of its socio-religious role in Gaul.


Appendix 1: Gaulish Iron Age Iconography


ID no.: 1	<p>Description: Bust of a figure, roughly cylindrical in shape. Head mounted on a neck and top half of a body. Virtually all the features are on the head and face, and are quite flat, carved in base relief. The level of the hair is marked at the sides and back, and on the forehead as locks. The eyes are globular and circular with well-marked eyebrows over each, which meet in the middle. The nose is narrow at the bridge and widens towards the base. The mouth is simply marked, as is the line of the chin. The ears at the side of the head are well marked and quite large. Due to its flatness the cheeks are only slightly indicated. It is light grey in colour.</p>
Object name: Yvignac anthropomorphic Gallic figure	
Location: Not known	
Context/Provenance: Found in a quadrangular enclosure of pre-Roman date at Yvignac in Côtes d'Armor	
Date: mid 1st cent B.C.	
Height cm: 45	
Width cm: -	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Granite	
<p>Publication details: M-Y. Daire & L. Langouet (1992) "Une sculpture anthropomorphe Gauloise dans un enclos, a Yvignac (Côtes D'Armor)" in <i>Les Dossiers du centre Régional D'Archéologie D'Alet</i>. vol 20 p.5-16</p>	
	


ID no.: 2	<p>Description: A figure of three men nude and upright with a 4th face representing the back. The three figures look the same, knees, feet and elbows not sculptured. Schematized faces; the mouth and eyebrow horizontal lines, the nose a narrow vertical, eyes small circular hollows. One head of hair which is smooth on top and ends on the foreheads in a slight projection. The three figures are hardly different except that the middle one appears slightly taller. All the figures have an erect phallus, about 2.5 cm in height. The shape of the sculpture as a whole recalls the phallic theme. At the bottom is a tennon of 4cm in height and 4.5 in diameter.</p>
Object name: Ithyphallic Triad	
Location: Not known	
Context/Provenance: Bais (Ille-et-Vilaine), discovered in a pond.	
Date: 1st cent B.C.	
Height cm: 29.5	
Width cm: 8	
Thickness cm: 8	
Material: Microgranite	
<p>Publication details: J-C. Meuret (1990) "L'Antique statuette tricephale et ithyphalique De Bais (Ille-et-Vilaine)" in <i>Revue Archéologique de l'Ouest</i>, vol 7 p.87-91</p>	


ID no.: 3	<p>Description: A stele with a double head, greenish-grey in colour. Appears to take the form of two long necks/bodies which widen towards the base and are topped by two oval heads. The join between the two heads is marked by a raised ridge 4-5 cm in diameter. This ridge would have continued down the body. One face has features in light relief, 2 hollows for eyes, rectangular nose, and a horizontal line for the mouth. Other head similar to the first but blank of features. One side somewhat recut for its incorporation into the wall it was found in. The ridge would appear to have decended obliquely towards the left. The other side is flat, with slight grooves of tool marks from when it was recut. Heads appear to be tilting away from the flat side, possibly due to recutting.</p>
Object name: Double face Stele	
Location: Garden of M. Y. Cariou of Kergonniou	
Context/Provenance: Discovered in a wall at Lennon in Finistère. Village of Kergonniou	
Date: La Tène	
Height cm: 87	
Width cm: -	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Arkosic sandstone. V. fine grain & medium hardness.	
<p>Publication details: J-Y. Eveillard (1993) "Une stele anthroporphe et a double face, a Lennon (Finistère)" <i>Revue Archéologique de l'Ouest</i>. vol 10, p. 93-100</p>	


ID no.: 4	<p>Description: Male figure, with detailed, schematic features. The head is large and round with the hair indicated by a line at the sides and on the forehead. The eyes are large and round with a brow ridge indicated above them, running on from the nose which is flat and broadens towards the base. The palate is simply indicated as is the mouth. The ears are semi-circles at the side. The chin is rather lost where the neck runs into the torc which is worn by the figure. The shoulders are clearly indicated while the arms are held at the side and front. The hands are indicated with slight incisions for the digits, and hold in front of the figure, on its chest, a lyre which is quite detailed. The lower half of the body forms a squarish base.</p>
Object name: First Paule (Lyre player) figure	
Location: Rennes, S.R.A. Bretagne	
Context/Provenance: Iron Age settlement of Paule, associated with ditches of broken 1st cent B.C. pottery.	
Date: 1st cent. B.C. La Tene Finale	
Height cm: 43	
Width cm: 17.7	
Thickness cm: 12	
Material: stone (Metahornblendite)	
Publication details: J.-C. Arramond & C. Le Potier (1990) "Paule, Saint-Symphorien Habitat de l'Age du Fer" in <i>Revue Archéologique Ouest</i> . Supplement no.3 p.153-155	


ID no.: 5	<p>Description: Bust of a male figure. The features of the face are clearly drawn. The line of the hair is marked on the brow and drops at the sides past the ears to the level of the neck at the back. Eyebrows are marked and the eyes are almost triangular in shape. The nose is prominent and roughly trihedral in shape. The lips and upper palate are clearly marked, and the chin is strong. The cheeks are also well indicated as is the neck. Quite naturalistic in appearance.</p>
Object name: Second Paule figure	
Location: Rennes, S.R.A. Bretagne	
Context/Provenance: Found within Iron Age encampment, same context contained 2nd cent. B.C. indigenous pottery.	
Date: 2nd-1st cent. B.C.	
Height cm: 23.3	
Width cm: 8.2	
Thickness cm: 10.2	
Material: stone (Metahornblendite)	
<p>Publication details: Y. Menez (1996) "Paule: Le camp de Saint-Symphorien" in <i>D.R.A.C. Bretagne, Bilan Scientifc.</i> p. 26-27.</p>	


ID no.: 6	<p>Description: Probably male bust. Body very simply indicated, shoulders but no other features, forms in the end a squarish base. The head and face are quite well carved, however the right side of the face has been broken off. Features are very similar to the Lyre player figure. Eye is oval with brow ridge above it. Palate and mouth are quite simply indicated. Head is large and round with hairline visible on the forehead and sides. left ear a semi-circle on the side of the head. Figure has no adornment and virtually no neck.</p>
Object name: Third Paule figure	
Location: Rennes, S.R.A. Bretagne	
Context/Provenance: Found in Iron Age encampment	
Date: 2nd-1st cent. B.C.	
Height cm: 33.1	
Width cm: 11.5	
Thickness cm: 15.7	
Material: stone (Metahornblendite)	
<p>Publication details: S. Deyts et.al. (1999) <i>À la recontre des Dieux gaulois un Défi à César</i>, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités nationales. p. 25-6</p>	


ID no.: 7	<p>Description: Figure with detailed features on head and face, and very simply indicated body. Shoulder but no arms and no features on the body which spreads at the bottom to form a squarish base. Figure is wearing a cap with a thick rim/fold at its edge, hair indicated at the back and side of the head sticking out from under it. Ears are semicircles at the side of the head. Features of the face are quite flat, end of the nose is broken. Mouth is a simple horizontal incision, and eyes ovals with very simple brow ridges above them. Quite pointed chin which rests straight on the figures chest, it having virtually no neck.</p>
Object name: Fourth (capped) Paule figure	
Location: Rennes, S.R.A. Bretagne	
Context/Provenance: Found in Iron Age encampment	
Date: 2nd-1st cent. B.C.	
Height cm: 27.3	
Width cm: 11.5	
Thickness cm: 14.3	
Material: stone (Metahornblendite)	
<p>Publication details: S. Deyts et.al. (1999) <i>À la recontre des Dieux gaulois un Défi à César</i>, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités nationales. p. 25-6.</p>	


ID no.: 8	<p>Description: Anthropomorphic figure, head and body. The bottom sides and back have all been broken. Few features to the body, the left hand rests flat on on the chest with the thumb pointing up. The head is spherical and overlarge for the body. most of the features have been produced by incisions. The eyes are oval incisions, the right slightly larger. The nose is a slight rise and is narrow and short. The mouth has been marked by an incision in a wave shape. The palate has also been indicated and the chin by incisions. The ears are marked on the side of the head. The hair is indicated by incisions running from the front to the back. Schematic and simple, yet skillful as well.</p>
Object name: Anthropomorphic figure from Levroux	
Location: Not known	
Context/Provenance: Face down at the bottom of a ditch, with pottery and animal bones, of a 'celtic' village. At the village Arenes near Levroux	
Date: 80-60 B.C.	
Height cm: 23.5	
Width cm: 14.8	
Thickness cm: 10	
Material: Limestone	
<p>Publication details: O Büchsenschutz & S. Krausz (1986) "Decouverte d'une statuette anthropomorphe à Levroux" in <i>Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France</i>. vol 25 p.82-83. O. Büchsenschutz & S. Krausz & C. Soyer (1989) "Une statue de pierre anthropomorphe à Levroux (Indre)" in <i>Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France</i>. vol 28 p.77-90.</p>	


ID no.: 9	<p>Description: Upright bust of a figure, cylindrical in shape. The face is flat with two hollow grooves for the eyes, and two vertical grooves suggest the edge of the cheeks. Around the neck is what appears to be a torc. What looks like a tail of an animal hangs down the back of the head, over the torc and ends in a spiral. The arms are ornamented with two bracelets. The right hand holds what appears to be an open torc, resting on its chest. The left arm hangs further down and the hand is holding an indeterminate object.</p>
Object name: Ars torc holder	
Location: Musée de Guéret	
Context/Provenance: Commune of Ars, found amongst the debris of a large villa	
Date: mid 1st cent B.C.	
Height cm: 48	
Width cm: -	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Granite	
<p>Publication details: D. Vuailat, et al. (1989) <i>Aspects des Ages du Fer en Berry et Limousin: Livret guide de l'exposition au Musée de Guéret</i> p.37. G. Coulon (1990) "Un Nouveau personnage au 'torques' dans le centre de la France, à Pérassay (Indre)" in <i>Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France</i>, vol 29:1 p.67-73</p>	


ID no.: 10	<p>Description: Male standing figure, without legs shown. Rounded head, eyes appear closed and are round. Nose rectangular, mouth a simple incision. Torc around the neck. The hands are resting on the chest, the right one having 6 fingers and possibly holding an object (sword/blade?).</p>
Object name: Paulmy Figure	
Location: Collection Philippe Lemaistre	
Context/Provenance: Found in a field at Paulmy	
Date: 1st century B.C.	
Height cm: 77	
Width cm: 29	
Thickness cm: 17	
Material: Limestone	
<p>Publication details: G. Coulon (1990) "Un Nouveau personnage au 'torques' dans le centre de la France, à Pérassay (Indre)" in <i>Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France</i>. vol 29:1 p.67-73</p>	


ID no.: 11	<p>Description: Male bust statue. Quite plump looking figure, with a rather fat face, which is simply marked. Indentations for eyes and mouth, and also has a large moustache. Thick knobbed torc around its neck. the arms are folded one above (R) the other (L) on the chest. The hands rest on the opposite sides.</p>
Object name: Orsennes figure	
Location: Musée de Châteauroux	
Context/Provenance: Not known	
Date: 1st century B.C.	
Height cm: 47.5	
Width cm: 23	
Thickness cm: 36	
Material: Limestone	
<p>Publication details: G. Coulon (1990) "Un Nouveau personnage au 'torques' dans le centre de la France, à Pérassay (Indre)" in <i>Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France</i>. vol 29:1 p.67-73</p>	

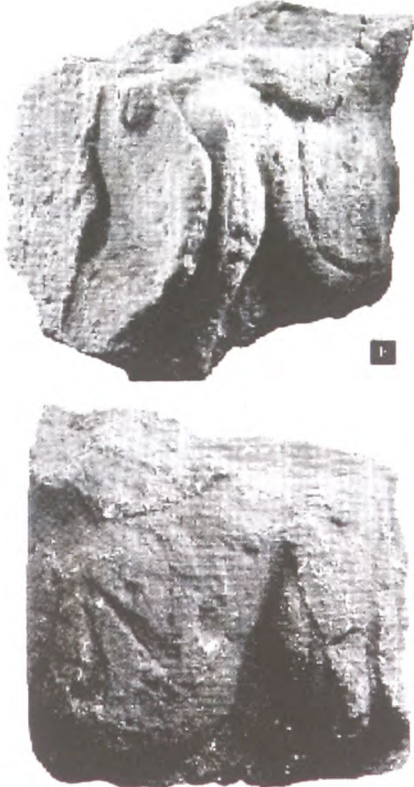
<p>ID no.: 12</p>	<p>Description: Male figure in round bust. The face is rounded and clearly marked, with a torc around the neck. The arms rest on top of the chest. Figure and its features quite worn, right side of face in particular damaged.</p>
<p>Object name: Pérassay figure</p>	
<p>Location: Pérassay, Mairie</p>	
<p>Context/Provenance: Found at Pointe-Mazière in Pérassay, just prior to second world war</p>	
<p>Date: 1st century B.C.</p>	
<p>Height cm: 66</p>	
<p>Width cm: 39</p>	
<p>Thickness cm: -</p>	
<p>Material: Greyish Sandstone (local)</p>	
<p>Publication details: G. Coulon (1990) "Un Nouveau personnage au 'torques' dans le centre de la France, à Pérassay (Indre)" in <i>Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France</i>. vol 29:1 p.67-73</p>	


ID no.: 13	<p>Description: The broken torso of a male (?) figure. Wearing a torc, with the features of the face all but obliterated, a slight indication of a mouth. The fore-arms appear folded on the chest, with the right on top, and in both cases the hands have the thumbs very clearly indicated. On the side of the figure are what have been suggested as sleeves, with thick fold like chevrons on them. The rest of the figure below the arms and chest is broken off. The whole piece is very worn with part of the top of the head damaged as well.</p>
Object name: Châteaumeillant figure	
Location: Not known	
Context/Provenance: Was found broken in a pit, in a layer containing glazed Arezzo ware of 30-10 B.C. date	
Date: Very late Iron Age/Very early Roman	
Height cm: 25	
Width cm: 17	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Stone	
<p>Publication details: C. Picard (1961) "Circonscription de Paris (region sud)" in <i>Gallia</i>. vol 19 p.330-331. G. Coulon (1990) "Un Nouveau personnage au 'torques' dans le centre de la France, à Pérassay (Indre)" in <i>Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France</i>. vol 29:1 p.67-73</p>	


ID no.: 14	<p>Description: Simply carved block like figure. Body roughly rectangular block, the head indicated as a rounded block on top. Face carved in relief, line indicating its borders. Mouth short horizontal incision, eyes rounded globes. The nose is straight, two verticle lines, and at right angles to it at the top the eye brows. Ears carved on each side of the head, and a slight narrowing before the body indicates the neck. Arms carved in base relief, across the chest. Right hand reaches towards the left shoulder, left hand just below right elbow. Erect phallus with genitalia engraved towards the base of the figure. Hands and head are overlarge for the rest of the features. Base of figure is broken.</p>
Object name: Mont-Saint-Vincent figure	
Location: Chalon-sur- Saône, Musée Denon no.51.71.1	
Context/Provenance: Found on Mont-Saint-Vincent, in association with 'Monnaies anciennes'	
Date: 2nd-1st cent. B.C. (originally 450 BC on stylistic grounds)	
Height cm: 55	
Width cm: 14	
Thickness cm: 19	
Material: Coarse sandstone (Local), Silicose cement, porous	
Publication details: P.-P. Bonenfant & J.-P. Guillaumet (1998) <i>La Statuaire Anthropomorphe du Premier Âge du Fer</i> Annales Litteraires De l'université de Franche-Comté No. 667, Série Archéologie et Préhistoire no. 43.	


ID no.: 15	Description: Male wood figure, broken. Broken off at top therefore no arms, head, or shoulders. Right leg broken at knee. Well carved figure, shape of the legs life-like. Front of the top part of body missing, but back and buttocks still intact. Legs are seperated. Figure is ithyphallic, erect penis flat against the stomach. The base carries on from the left foot and probably did the same for the other foot. All proportions are life-like.
Object name: Seurre Male wooden figure	
Location: Chalon-sur-Saône, Musée Denon no.77.10.3	
Context/Provenance: Bed of the river Saône near town of Seurre by a string of islands. Dredged up with Hallstatt pottery	
Date: c.500 B.C., Radio-carbon date 905-352 B.C.	
Height cm: 55	
Width cm: -	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Wood, fruit tree	
Publication details: P.-P. Bonenfant & J.-P. Guillaumet (1998) <i>La Statuaire Anthropomorphe du Premier Âge du Fer</i> Annales Littéraires De l'université de Franche-Comté No. 667, Série Archéologie et Préhistoire no. 43.	


ID no.: 16	<p>Description: Seated figure with the head broken off. Very few details of the body, just general shape. The limbs are not indicated except in the shape of the legs in a sitting position but no details. One clear feature is a torc around what was the figure's neck. Whole figure is quite badly damaged.</p>
Object name: First Vix (torced) figure.	
Location: Châtillon(Seine), Musée du Châtillonnais. Inv. 95.1.1	
Context/Provenance: Found in the ditch of an enclosure at Vix, 200m from the tomb of the 'Vix Princess'	
Date: Start of La Tène	
Height cm: 62	
Width cm: -	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Limestone (local)	
<p>Publication details: P.-P. Bonenfant & J.-P. Guillaumet (1998) <i>La Statuaire Anthropomorphe du Premier Âge du Fer</i> Annales Littéraires De l'université de Franche-Comté No. 667, Série Archéologie et Préhistoire no. 43.</p>	


ID no.: 17	<p>Description: A seated, probably male figure, resting on his haunches and heels. Left side is less damaged than right. From shoulders up is broken off. Carved from a squarish block of stone. Shape and form of the legs and arms very life-like. Arms stretched forward, with wrists resting on the knees and hands holding the rim of a shield in front of the shins and which is roughly circular with a boss in the centre. On the right side is thought to be a sword next to the calf of the right leg. Indication of some type of clothing, with hem falling around the thighs.</p>
Object name: Second Vix (Warrior) figure.	
Location: Châtillon(Seine), Musée du Châtillonnais. Inv. 95.2.1	
Context/Provenance: Found in the ditch of an enclosure at Vix, 200m from the tomb of the 'Vix Princess'	
Date: Start of La Tène	
Height cm: -	
Width cm: -	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Limestone (local)	
<p>Publication details: P.-P. Bonenfant & J.-P. Guillaumet (1998) <i>La Statuaire Anthropomorphe du Premier Âge du Fer</i>. Annales Littéraires De l'université de Franche-Comté No. 667, Série Archéologie et Préhistoire no. 43.</p>	


ID no.: 18	<p>Description: The upper part is 18cm tall and consists of three faces. Two of them are damaged with half their faces missing. Both are frowning and unbearded. The surviving face has a strong brow, narrow eyes, a rectangular nose and a small mouth. It is also bearded, indicated by grooves marked on the chin. The faces it has been suggested, by Hatt (1984, 287), represent Teutates and Esus. The lower part is simply a pillar, the base of which appears it might have rested in the ground.</p>
Object name: Broussy figure	
Location: Musée d'Épernay	
Context/Provenance: Found by a farmer at Broussy-le-Petit.	
Date: mid 1st cent. B.C.	
Height cm: 45.5	
Width cm: 14	
Thickness cm: 14.5	
Material: Limestone	
<p>Publication details: J.-J. Hatt (1984) "De la Champagne à la Bourgogne Remarques sur l'origine et la signification du Tricéphale" in <i>R.A.E.</i> vol 35 p.287</p>	

ID no.: 19	<p>Description: The sculpture is a neck with 3 heads or faces surmounting it. The top has been damaged preventing any of the hair to be looked at. The best preserved face has 2 globular eyes under a single eyebrow which stretches from one temple to the other. The nose is trihedral with no nostrils and the mouth does not appear drawn. The ears are shell like hollows and are the same for all the faces. The face to the left of the first is in a more worn relief. A short nose and for the eyes two hollows of slight depth. Flat surface between nose and chin. The final face, the upper left part has been broken. It has globular eyes and a trihedral nose. No mouth or cheeks are apparent, as well as lacking a forehead.</p>
Object name: Triple-headed bust. Museum of Cahors.	
Location: Musée de Cahors Inv. No. 62	
Context/Provenance: Local to Cahors	
Date: mid 1st cent. B.C.	
Height cm: 40	
Width cm: -	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Sandstone	
Publication details: B. Bouloumie (1986) "Un buste Tricéphale celtique au Musée de Cahors" in <i>Revue Aquitania</i> . Vol 4 p.201-204.	

ID no.: 20	<p>Description: A crouched male figure. The features of the face are quite clearly produced, with somewhat globular eyes, a rectangular nose, an incision for the mouth and a well defined chin. The right cheek and side of the mouth are missing due to damage done when it was uncovered. The hair forms a plait which falls as far as the base of the shoulder. The figure is wearing a torc around its neck. The arms rest across the front or chest of the figure with the digits indicated by incisions. The right hand holds a short sword the point of which is pointing up towards either the neck or shoulder (left). The left hand is below this and holds the scabbard of the sword. The lower half of the figure forms a base.</p>
Object name: Bozouls 'Heroic Warrior' figure	
Location: Not known	
Context/Provenance: Uncovered during construction work, by a bulldozer	
Date: 1st cent. B.C.	
Height cm: 95	
Width cm: -	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Pink Sandstone	
<p>Publication details: Marc-Andre Fabre (1958) "Un monument celtique a Bozouls (Aveyron)" in <i>Ogam</i>. vol 10 p. 201-201. M. Labrousse (1959) "Circonscription de Toulouse" in <i>Gallia</i>. vol 17 p. 409-410.</p>	

ID no.: 21	<p>Description: Quite a broad, flat figure, difficult to tell if it is male or female. The front face is quite badly degraded, difficult to make out any features including those of the face itself. On the back and sides however is a lot of detail with a number of animals carved onto the body of the figure, including a hare, boar, deer, bird etc... the hair of the figure falls in a series of plaits to the level of the shoulders, and possibly in a couple of longer plaits at the front. At the back is a slight ridge which may represent a belt. Suggested meaning of animals have ranged from a nature/hunter god/goddess, a representation of the classical motif of the chase, or may be implying shapeshifting.</p>
Object name: Poulan-Pouzols 'animal' figure	
Location: Musée d'Albi	
Context/Provenance: Found in a field of M. Phalippou, which was strewn with pottery probably of Gallo-Roman date.	
Date: 1st cent. B.C.	
Height cm: 91	
Width cm: -	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Soft yellow Sandstone	
Publication details: M. Labrousse (1962) Circonscription de Toulouse in <i>Gallia</i> . vol 20 p.603	

ID no.: 22	<p>Description: A pillar-stature, with head and body but no limbs. Well modelled features of the face, slightly damaged removing the end of the nose and mouth. The eyes are well defined under heavy eye-brows. The top of the head has been chopped off, but at the back and sides can be seen hair falling in locks. Around the neck is a torc. There are two images on the torso of the figure. On the front is a stylised boar with an upstanding crest along its back. On the figure's left side is the elaborate image of an eye. The lower part of the figure has been restored and was probably intended to be buried below ground. The style of the figure has led to the suggestion it may be a copy of a wooden figure.</p>
Object name: Euffigneix figure	
Location: Musée des Antiquités National St-Germain-en-Laye.	
Context/Provenance: Found in ditch amongst mixture of bones near village of Euffigneix, Haute-Marne	
Date: 1st cent. B.C.	
Height cm: 30	
Width cm: 18	
Thickness cm: 8	
Material: Limestone	
<p>Publication details: J.V.S. Megaw (1970) <i>Art of the European Iron Age</i> Adams & Dart, Bath. entry 226</p>	
	

ID no.: 23	<p>Description: Upright figure (213cm) standing on a round base (16cm) with a tenon for ground (76). Most of the features are not visible. Appears to be wearing a hooded cape (pilgrim's cloak?) with a flap down the right leg. The right arm is at right angles against the body. The right hand is holding a round object, possibly a purse.</p>
Object name: Geneva figure	
Location: Geneva Musée d'Art et d'Histoire no.4261	
Context/Provenance: Found during demolition of a granary in 1898	
Date: 80 BC, Dendro date	
Height cm: 305	
Width cm: -	
Thickness cm: -	
Material: Oak wood	
<p>Publication details: Y. Mottier (1999) 'La statue de bois du port antiqué de Genève' in S. Deyts et.al. <i>À la rencontre des Dieux gaulois un Défi à Cesar</i>, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités nationales.</p>	

Appendix 2 : Comparative data

Appendix 2.1: Examples of other media from the case study areas (Armorica, Central Gaul, and South-Western Gaul) depicting the human image or associated motifs.

Appendix 2.2: Examples of Iron Age free-standing human imagery from the neighbouring regions (Southern Gaul, Germany, Iberia, and Britain).

Appendix 2.1 : Other Media from the Case Study Areas

Armorica: examples of other media						
Object	Material	Provenance	Context	Date	Reference	Motifs/Decoration
Fragment of sheet metal ring	Sheet gold	Brittany (possibly)	Unknown	6th century BC	Megaw, 1970, p.44, no. 5	Geometric 'Greek key' design. 'Twisted wire' effect ridge. Rows of tiny clean shaven human heads.
Dagger sheath	Bronze coated	Kernavest, Morbihan	Burial in a Barrow at Kernavest.	5th century BC	Daire, 1991, p.237-8	Geometric patterns and curvilinear designs stamped decoration.
Vase	Pottery	Saint-Pol-de-Léon, Finistère	Unknown	4th century BC	Raftery, 1990, p.44	Palmette (swirling plant) pattern, incised on vase
Pot	Pottery	Castellou-Peron en St Jean-Trolimon, Finistère	Unknown	5th century BC	Megaw, 1989, p.98, fig. 132	Incised patterns similar to metalwork, in rows of geometric shapes
Pot	Pottery	Kélouer, Finistère	Cremation burial	4th century BC	Megaw, 1989, p. 99, fig. 133	Incised and stamped decoration, in rows and larger swirling patterns

Central Gaul: examples of other media						
Object	Material	Provenance	Context	Date	Reference	Motifs/Decoration
Scabbard fragment	Iron	River Saône at Marnay, Saône-et-Loire	Recovered from the river	3rd century BC	Raftery, 1990, p. 51	Two affronted dragons either side of centre line. Further defined by punched or dotted background.
Anthropomorphic sword-hilt	Bronze	Châtillon-sur-Indre, Indre	Rich burial on right bank of the river Indre	1st century BC	Raftery, 1990, p. 90	Human head and arms form the end of the hilt, with the body forming the grip.
Neck ring	Silver	Macon, Saône-et-Loire	Unknown	4th century BC	Megaw, 1989, p. 100, fig. 135	Human, probably male, face with oval eyes incised mouth and hairline indicated. Also elaborate S motif, and ovals and circles.
Cup handle	Bronze	Macon, Saône-et-Loire	Unknown	3rd century BC	Megaw, 1970, p. 108-9, no. 161	Face of a bull forms one end. Wide swirling shapes make up the features

SW Gaul: examples of other media						
Object	Material	Provenance	Context	Date	Reference	Motifs/Decoration
Bracelet	Bronze	River Tarn, Tarn	Recovered from the river Tarn	3rd century BC	Raftery, 1990, p.62	Eight hollow ova, four decorated with linked triskels and four with S motifs
Neckring / Torc	Gold	Fenouillet, Haut-Garonne	Found during canal construction	3rd century BC	Megaw, 1989, p. 147, fig. 230	Twisted metal effect for most of torc, front part more elaborate flower like pattern
Torc	Bronze	Vielle Toulouse, Haut-Garonne	From a pool/pond, possibly a sacred deposit	late 5th/early 4th century BC	Megaw, 1970, p. 62, no. 45	Terminals of the torc animal heads, probably horses.
Torc	Gold	Fenouillet, Haut-Garonne	Found during canal construction	3rd century BC	Jacobsthal, 1944, p. 172, n. 64	Twisted metal effect, with round buffer terminals
Torc	Gold	Fenouillet, Haut-Garonne	Found during canal construction	3rd century BC	Jacobsthal, 1944, p. 172, n. 65	Twisted metal effect with flower like decoration on the terminals
Torc	Gold	Fenouillet, Haut-Garonne	Found during canal construction	3rd century BC	Jacobsthal, 1944, p. 172, n. 66	Entire torc is covered in flower like decoration
Bracelet	Gold	Lasgraisises, Tarn	Found with Iron Age pottery	3rd, century BC	Jacobsthal, 1944, p. 172, n. 68	Eight ovals of flower like decoration
Torc	Gold	Lasgraisises, Tarn	Found with Iron Age pottery	3rd, century BC	Jacobsthal, 1944, p. 172, n. 69	Groups of flower like decoration with twisted metal effect between each group

Appendix 2.2 : Images from Neighbouring Regions

Images from Neighbouring Regions					
Country	Image/images	Provenance	Description	Date	Reference
Southern Gaul	Roquepertuse Warrior figure	With a number of similar images sat in front of the sanctuary at Roquepertuse near Marseilles.	Cross-legged life-size limestone figure, with head and forearms missing. Right arm would have hung at the side with the right hand resting on the figures knee. The left arm would have been held against the chest, possibly holding an object there. Appears to be wearing armour over the body. General appearance is naturalistic both in appearance and proportion	4th-2nd cent. BC	Espérandieu (1907) no. 131
	Roquepertuse Janiform heads	Placed over the gate of the sanctuary at Roquepertuse near Marseilles.	Two fully formed oval bald heads joined back to back, carved from limestone. Facial features are large oval eyes, heavy brow ridge, trihedral nose and thin lips.	3rd-2nd cent. BC	Megaw (1970) no. 235
	Entremont warrior figure	From the sanctuary site at Entremont near Marseilles, again with other similar examples.	Cross-legged life-size limestone figure, with head, forearms and lower part of legs missing. Very similar to Roquepertuse figure, naturalistic appearance and proportions. Again is wearing armour over its body.	4th-2nd cent. BC	Green (1989) p.109-10
	Entremont heads	Found within the sanctuary complex at Entremont near Marseilles.	Group of four heads in a block, all facing the same direction and naturalistic in appearance, slightly different from each other. May have formed a group with two others that rested between the knees of a cross legged figure	4th-2nd cent. BC	Birkhan (1996) p.296

Germany	Hirschlanden	Found in 1963 lying at the perimeter of a barrow mound it probably stood on top of originally.	Upright fully formed life-size sandstone figure, wearing a belt, dagger, torc and helmet. Legs are separated with exaggerated musculature and the arms held against the body, left across the chest and right across the stomach. Probably stood on top of burial mound originally.	late 6th/early 5th cent. BC	Megaw (1970) no. 12
	Holzgerlingen	Isolated find from Holzgerlingen in Greuten forest.	Double faced pillar figure carved from single sandstone block and 2.3 m high. No lower limbs depicted and one arm rests across the front of each torso. Large oval heads have quite flat simplified facial features, and between them are two horns. Figure also wears a belt.	6th/5th cent. BC	Jacobsthal (1969) no. 13
	Glauberg	Found in association with a burial mound, it may have stood on top of.	Life-size sandstone figure, very similar in form to the Hirschlanden image. Armed with a sword at the side of its torso, a shield held in front of the body and wearing armour. Large comma shaped crowns are above its head, and round its neck a necklace.	470-440 BC	Goudineau (1999) p.21-3
	Heidelberg	May have been associated with a cemetery.	Head with comma crown. Bottom part of face beneath nose is missing, eyes round and globular. Rear of the head patterned with a series of arcs. May have been capping stone for pillar-statue such as Pfalzfeld.	late 5th/early 4th cent. BC	Megaw (1970) no. 49
	Pfalzfeld	Found in the territory of the Treveri tribe.	Four-sided pillar with a head depicted on each side, largely identical to each other. Oval heads with round eyes, trihedral noses and what may be beards or prominent jaws. Above each head are comma crowns.	late 5th/early 4th cent. BC	Megaw (1970) no. 75

	Leichlingen	Carved from basaltic lava quarried in the Eifel district.	Double faced head with large round eyes, simple nose and mouth, and stylised ears. Suggested that collar around its neck may represent a torc.	4th cent. BC	Megaw (1970) no. 85
	Waldenbuch	Found in forest of Greuten in 1864 not far from the find spot of the Holzgerlingen figure	Four sided pillar statue with a human arm depicted near its top. Above this statue is broken and further features may have been displayed.	4th/3rd cent. BC	Megaw (1970) no. 142
	Fellbach-Schmidlen	Recovered from a watery context of a ritual well or shaft within a square ritual enclosure at Fellbach-Schmidlen near Stuttgart.	Two oak animals, possibly goats, on hind legs and with a human hand and forearm around each. May have been joined in the centre by a human figure that has not survived.	123 BC dendro. Date	Megaw & Megaw (1989) p.162-3
Iberia	Guerreros galaicos	Varied provenance's usually found near the entrances of Castros (hillforts).	Life-size upright stone figures, usually wearing a tunic, belt and torc, with a dagger or short sword and holding a round bossed shield in front of the body. Legs are indicated separately but not separated. Round eyes, heavy brow ridge, flat nose and beard.	2nd/1st cent. BC	Lenerz-de Wilde (1995) p.547
	Porcuna sculptures	Images were smashed and subsequently buried in a sacred site at Porcuna.	Sculptural assemblage of 1288 catalogued pieces, produced in Greek stylistic technique. Series of scenes depicting fights between warriors, a warrior and griffin and a hunting scene.	5th cent. BC	Ruiz & Molinos (1998) p.269

	Lady of Elche	Found within a sanctuary site at Elche	Near life-size bust of a woman wearing an elaborate headdress and rich jewellery. Shows Carthaginian influence, and suggested may be a votive offering or representation of goddess Tanit.	4th cent BC	Keay (1988) p.19-20
Britain	Roos Carr	Uncovered by labourers in 1836, six feet below ground surface in a layer of blue clay, in the parish of Roos Carr in Yorkshire.	Five human figures carved from Yew, 35-40 cm high, associated with a carving of a boat and with detachable arms and shields. The legs are separated and the figures have holes that may have been for detachable penises. Heads are out of proportion with the rest of the body, with quartz pebbles used for the eyes, a simple incision for the mouths and flat noses.	606-509 cal BC	Coles (1996) p.24-5
	Parisi chalk figures	All from within the tribal territory of the Parisi in Yorkshire, with contexts including the floor of a round hut, the ditches of a cemetery site and a posthole.	Group of figures or fragments of figures, of which 22 are complete or near complete, made from chalk. Block-like torsos are surmounted by a head with some figures having arms and some not, but none with any lower limbs depicted. More than half have swords either on their back or at their sides, and other accoutrements include belts and in one case a hood. The facial features are produced by simple incisions.	1st cent. BC/AD	Stead (1988)
	Kingsteignton	Found on left bank of the Teign in south Devon by workmen in 1886/7	Standing male figure 34 cm high with shoulders but no arms, and with separated legs made from oak. The body is very long as is the neck, and the head is out of proportion with all the other features. The buttocks and genitals are depicted and there is a hole in the neck, which may have been for the insertion of arms.	426-352 cal BC	Coles (1990) p.316-7

	Ballachulish	Unearthed at the base of a peat bog in 1880, lying face down on gravel (probably a raised beach) overlain with a sort of wickerwork.	Almost life-size figure (1.48 m) carved from alder and with inset quartz eyes. The legs are separated and then joined at a pedestal base, while the arms are depicted on the torso with the hands on the front. The head is again out of proportion with the body.	728-524 cal BC	Coles (1990) p.320
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