largely corresponds to the known geographic distribution of ‘princely graves’. In this respect, the analyses of the present work produce very limited new results.

From the reviewer’s perspective, the most interesting aspects of the study at hand are those confronting the author with the greatest problems. This, for example, is true for the apparent “disappearance” of male graves without weapons in time slot 3. His hypothesis that this is primarily a social phenomenon based on the differing innovativeness of the relevant social groups is bold. However, it is not convincing since the chronology of Ha D mainly rests on fibulae not offering themselves as distinctive features. There is also the question why this explanation should not apply to the apparent devolution in transition to the Early La Tène period as well. Similarly, the spatial exclusion of Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène grave goods is in need of explanation. While it is apparent why the author did not pursue these issues further as they weaken his approach significantly, they should be taken up increasingly by future research.

A meta-analysis of the various quantitative approaches of recent years exploring Early Iron Age societies, both in terms of the power of the methods used as well as the results achieved (Burmeister 2000; the book under review here; Ch. Keller, Die Rekonstruktion sozialer Gruppen der Hallstattzeit zwischen Enns und Donau. Eine statistische Analyse. Berliner Arch. Forsch. 14 [Rahden / Westf. 2015]; R. Schumann, Status und Prestige in der Hallstattkultur. Aspekte sozialer Distinktion in älterenzeitlichen Regionalgruppen zwischen Altmühl und Save. Münchner Arch. Forsch. 3 [Rahden / Westf. 2015]), would undoubtedly be interesting. The book by Ch. Steffen has brought the quantitative approach with a wealth scale based on the scale and diversity of grave-goods in order to analyse the vertical social structure of a prehistoric society to a remarkable point. Exemplary in its methodological rigour, it also elucidates the limitations of such an approach.


On the outside, the brick of a book is bound in dark blue and embossed with golden letters. Inside the reader await velvety white pages and an abundance of high quality illustrations, maps, graphs and tables. Bagley’s dissertation was chosen to become the 25th volume of the oldest and most distinguished German archaeological monograph series “Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen”. Started in 1924, the series had recently thought to have come to an end when there were no new volumes published for about 10 years (p. 9). Designed as if from good old days, the book today oscillates between retro-style icon and reanimated dinosaur. The price the volume is offered for seems a bargain as it probably won’t even cover the raw material it is made of. As nobody will want to carry around over 3 kg, the book’s prestigious appearance lays claim to be offered one of the rare places on the shelf of standard volumes. Indeed, between its covers it holds a dragon’s treasure of European prehistory: a catalogue of more than 1 100 Early La Tène metal objects with figurative decoration from about 750 sites all over Europe. In the author’s own words, her aim with these precious objects is the attempt “to evaluate the significance of figural art in prehistoric times” (p. 283). Full of expectation we open the book: will it live up to its ambitions?
Already in her MA dissertation on mythical beasts in the Early La Tène period, Bagley had noticed significant differences regarding the form of certain motifs, their distribution patterns and the respective objects bearing them. This made her want to look at Early La Tène art as a whole and more specifically how humans and animals were depicted in that period. She hoped to find out whether – and possibly also in which way – these motifs are relevant anthropological or even sociological sources for different aspects of prehistoric societies. Many before her have been working on the Early La Tène revolution infigurative and ornamental expression and there are well established stylistics, chorology and chronology regarding most of the objects. But apart from studies of some exceptional single objects – she can claim rightly – a general investigation in Early La Tène figurative depiction is still missing. She is cautious enough not to promise to be able to lay open definite mythological or religious meanings, but she intends to analyse the human-icon-relationship by seeking answers to questions like “who used these pictures when, how and in which context” (pp. 13–15).

In a very concise way, Bagley introduces established terminologies, explains the approach of individual authors and describes results and interpretations that have been offered. She observes correctly that almost all authors – except Ch. Huth who uses results from developmental psychology in his study of the ‘anthropomorphic depictions of the Early Iron Age’ (Menschenbilder und Menschenbild. Anthropomorphe Bildwerke der frühen Eisenzeit [Berlin 2003]) – have remained within the archaeological ‘classic’ range of methodologies when analysing Early La Tène figurative décor. So far masterpieces and the social élite have been in the focus while Bagley intends to take a more holistic approach by looking at the human and animal figures on all pieces published (pp. 16–19).

When developing her ‘communication model’, Bagley seeks an interdisciplinary base for her study of the ‘picture as a source in cultural anthropology’ by introducing concepts from visual and communication studies as well as from philosophy, art history, semiotics and sociology. She applies for example Bourdieu’s concept of habitus – the way a person positions herself in society – when she discusses how figurative depictions could have been deliberately used to communicate status. While concepts like these are already being employed in prehistoric archaeology, it is Bagley’s merit to use them for the first time systematically on such a great corpus of Early La Tène objects. Indeed, new about her approach is the point of departure: it is the motifs and not the objects. Only in the second step the relation motif–medium will come into focus – medium here being understood as type of object, material and context. The conceptual approach allows Bagley to develop the traditional way to catalogue objects into a more theory-led investigation of what was “in between” and “behind” the motifs: media, messages and messengers.

Bagley identifies three recipients of the ‘motifs’ message’: the contemporaries, the supernatural and the archaeologist. For the contemporaries as important as communication within the group is the distinction from others. Objects again with an apotropaic function – for example a talisman – might have communicated only with the numinous, because it might not have been visible for the contemporaries. The archaeologist – last recipient of the message – finds his / her perception severely hampered not only by lack of cultural knowledge but additionally by several cultural and natural filters. In this case communication with the archaeologist takes place almost completely in the funerary context (pp. 20–36).

Bagley’s account of the ‘Celtic’ art style – on its current classifications, development, and predecessors in the Bronze Age and Hallstatt period – is precise and well-structured. She tells us all we need to know on the ‘Early Style’, Waldalgesheim Style and the Cheshire Cat phenomenon (pp. 37–56).

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The ‘Early Style’ with its figurative and floral designs has been labelled ‘syncretistic’ by P. Jacobsthal. It intertwines and transforms elements of different belief systems or world views – Mediterranean-Etruscan, Near Eastern-Scythian and Late Bronze Age-Hallstatt – into a concept of its own. Mediterranean influence has been demonstrated by P. Jacobsthal and others in different ways: in the object itself (flagon), in the clothing of figures (composite armature), in their posture (cross-legged) or – astonishingly rarely – in a whole group of motifs (Potnia or Despotes Theron, commonly known as ‘mistress of the [wild] animals’) (pp. 37–39).

Apart from typical motifs like the lion and the ram, it is again body posture (inversion) or stylistic devices (‘zoomorphe Junktur’) that qualify figurative decorations as Near Eastern-Scythian influence. Bagley makes aware – without taking sides – of a harsh intellectual controversy about the nature of this influence: was there direct contact or was it mediated via the Mediterranean that is to say via the Este culture in today northeastern Italy? The strongest argument against direct contacts is the absence of imports from the Near East in the initial phase of the ‘Early Style’. Otherwise researchers agree that ‘Celtic art’ as it evolves in Early La Tène in Central Europe north of the Alps is a radical break with the artwork of preceding periods. This implies a profound change of society: the establishment of a new charismatic power-elite, a change in religious belief and the economic system (pp. 39–45).

The Waldalgesheim Style marks a drastic drop in the use of figurative decoration, only anthropomorphic faces stay in the repertoire. Combined with the sudden end of ‘princely’ graves, this indicates again a drastic change of economic and social structures. Bagley cites here St. Verger (La genèse celtique des rinceaux à triskeles. Jahrb. RGZM 34, 1987, 287–339, p. 299) who interprets the objects he has looked at for his research as “applied art style for the wider public” (pp. 45–48).

The Cheshire Cat phenomenon is a stylistic form that can be found throughout Early La Tène. It describes two types of decoration: firstly the hidden inscription of a figure – mostly a human head – or secondly the rendering of two faces in one object which become visible when the object is turned. According to P. Jacobsthal, this ‘dual legibility’ and ‘obscured inscribing’ is a foremost characteristic of Early La Tène art. J. V. S. and M. R. Megaw see ‘shape shifting’ of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic depictions or mythical beasts paralleled in the medieval Irish Sagas. The authors speak of a ‘communication system’ that by using non-narrative depictions overcomes the barriers between man and animal, the world of man and the world of the gods (pp. 48–56).

Early La Tène objects with figurative decoration are attractive and therefore usually published quite quickly and prominently, but there is a high percentage of finds from museum collections with little background information. As not sufficiently published and therefore a potential source of new insights, Bagley points on the one hand to Iron Age Italy as well as to recent excavations at Dürrnberg in Austria – a site with an exceptionally high amount of objects with figurative decoration of which 180 are published so far. Bagley has condensed the available information on the objects in her gazetteer and provides us with high quality illustrations of all of them (pp. 56–60, gazetteer pp. 399–512 and plates 1–212).

Bagley’s approach is statistically sound at least what regards the core regions of her research: it is based on over 1,100 objects from Central Europe within a clear time frame – about 450 to 250 BC. Within the overall distribution, she observes four foci: the Champagne, the Middle Rhine region, Northern Bavaria and Bohemia (pp. 14–15 figs 1; 1a–d). The most popular motifs by far are birds, followed by anthropomorphic heads, animal-headed lyres and beasts with gaping jaws. She uses environmental studies to compare the spectrum of motifs on the artefacts with that of the Iron Age fauna and can state clear discrepancies: domestic animals which dominate the archaeological record are rarely or not at all depicted while birds are extremely rare in animal bone remains.
Compared with preceding and following periods Early La Tène has the widest motif spectrum especially when it comes to mixed and mythical beasts (pp. 60–67).

Regarding hybrid creatures, it might be worth for Bagley – and us – to take notice of a recently discovered series of deliberately rearranged animal skeletons near Winterborne Kingston in Dorset – a Late Iron Age settlement from the late 1st century BC (cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duropolis [last access: 20 November 2015]).

To contextualise the many objects with figurative decoration from graves, Bagley defines twelve configuration groups according to the combination of objects in them. Her grave classification includes the additional category ‘grave goods with symposial character’. For the so called ‘princely graves’ she refers back to R. Echt pointing out that objects with figurative decoration are only present in about a third – in 55 of 143 – of the graves on his list (pp. 67–75).

Most of the objects with figurative decoration – about two thirds – are fibulae. They are followed in frequency by neck, arm and ankle rings, by belt hooks and fittings, vessels including the famous flagons, horse harness, pendants, weapons and sculptures (pp. 75–100).

In the following part, Bagley defines and describes in detail each of the motifs: the variants of anthropomorphic depictions, the mixed and mythical beasts, the different animals and – last but not least – shoes. Each of the motifs is – as were the object types before – plotted on a distribution map and analysed in its occurrence in relation to the object types, the configuration groups and its combination with other motifs. While this seems a tedious task, Bagley goes about it not only with scrutiny, but impresses with intimate knowledge of all the – famous and not so well-known – pieces. In the individual cases she offers observations and insights into the development and context of motifs and objects that reward the reader’s perseverance (pp. 100–210).

In general, Early La Tène figurative décor lacks scenic depictions. The most prominent exception of this is the so called Potnia or Despotes Theron, a combination of a central human figure with two animals or mythical creatures also called ‘master / mistress of the animals’. It has been identified with Near Eastern or Greek deities or is thought to have had a function in an Etruscan ancestor cult. Because of the great variability of the motif group and its widespread use, Bagley argues together with others for an abstract interpretation, in this case for a personification of power and strength. (pp. 210–239).

At this stage, Bagley looks at the material the objects with figurative decoration were made of. The great majority – about 80 % – is from bronze followed by iron – about 6 % –, pure gold – about 3 % – and ceramic – about 2 %. Of the rest most of the objects are additionally decorated with coral, amber or vitreous enamel or are fabricated from a combination of metals (fig. 153).

Bagley is aware, for example, of corrosion having a drastic effect on the amount of surviving iron objects and especially on the possibility to discover figurative decoration on them. She does not consider enough what we miss out on figurative decoration because of the drastic loss of organic material which must have dominated daily life. Certain motifs seem not only to be specific to types of objects, but also – as Bagley demonstrates with her study – sometimes are bound to certain materials. Motifs could be invisible to archaeologists, because their use was restricted to organic materials. Such could have happened to the ‘disappearing’ motif of the Potnia or Despotes Theron in the Late La Tène period: one of the then rare depictions of a ‘master / mistress of the animals’ – the famous statue from the well of the ‘Viereckschanze’ in Fellbach-Schmiden (p. 229) – is from oak.

Bagley presents clear results with respect to the relation between motifs and objects (figs 167–172): Birds are the motif most often chosen to decorate fibulae, while human heads dominate on
rings, vessels and weapons. Animal-headed lyres and beasts with gaping jaws – which she identifies with the ‘master / mistress of the animals’ (pp. 220–232) – are together with human heads the prevailing motif on belt-hooks, horse harnesses and chariot fittings. She also observes from La Tène A to La Tène B the development of conventions with regard to the use of motifs on certain objects. This in her view would also imply that craftsmen lost the freedom to combine motifs and adhered more to a pre-set canon (pp. 239–269).

Bagley sees two parallel developments during La Tène A: a more traditional strand involving the majority of the society represented by bird and horse depictions on fibulae as opposed to a more innovative strand – the ‘Early Style’ – supported by the élite with depictions of mixed creatures on various objects. In her view, in this phase the élite uses materials to actively communicate social position while the motifs are not canonised yet and convey an openness of mind as well as ongoing transformation processes. Only later in La Tène B, Bagley recognises a certain canonisation of motifs in relation to objects and materials. Bagley draws additional indications for the use of motifs from grave furnishings: some of her configuration groups – for example weapons – seem gender specific, while rings – usually associated with females – turn – when from gold – into a symbol of high status of either sex.

The depiction of mixed creatures and beasts of prey are in Bagley’s view a result of intense contact with Mediterranean cultures, but are restricted to an élite minority which uses this secret ‘knowledge’ as a means of distinction. Exactly this exclusivity – Bagley argues – could have accelerated the disappearance of these motifs as well as of the more traditional depictions, when the respective élite no longer can be traced in the archaeological record and the mass-produced Nauheim fibula of iron comes into fashion (pp. 270–274).

Bagley’s list of references is impressive, but she misses out on important Anglo-American contributions. One of these authors is P. S. Wells and his recent work on prehistoric material culture (cf. P. S. Wells, How Ancient Europeans Saw the World [Princeton 2012]). It is worth to contrast Wells’ and Bagley’s approaches as they are written at about the same time and on almost the same topic: Bagley covers 200, Wells 2000 years; Bagley speaks to European Iron Age specialists, Wells tries to make the topic relevant to academics across subjects worldwide. Both authors’ results are similar, but Wells describes the bigger picture: “[in the earlier Hallstatt period] the use of zonal patterns in decoration indicates increasing concern with differentiation”, while he sees the following La Tène art style as “a repositioning of world view and the sense of self […] in which] relations with the local elites were no longer so important, replaced by a sense of relationship to the larger world” (op. cit. 191; 194).

Busily mapping and classifying the vast number of objects, Bagley’s approach – while seeking to produce hard facts and to be scientifically sound – is profoundly materialistic and not enough aware or even critical of widespread paradigms in prehistory. As there are filters in the record when it comes to organic materials, there are gaps in the record of prehistoric societies because they are deeply rooted in oral tradition. To see the ‘Early Style’ solely as a ‘processing’ of influences of more ‘advanced’ societies in the South and Southeast, is too much of a one-way-street. J. V. S. Megaw (p. 41) speaks about “visual stimuli” and “mutually influencing responses” and makes clear that there are reciprocal or even ‘multi-procal’ factors involved in the development of styles. Dividing the world into giving and receiving cultures is still widespread in other periods and disciplines: It lies hidden behind the concept of the Neolithic revolution, the *ex oriente lux* of the Bronze Age or the term Romanisation which describes the transformations of the everyday culture of so called Barbaric tribes through contact with the Roman Empire. It is about time to challenge this paradigm also in the Iron Age and to look actively for influences, goods or ideas that went back and forth and transformed man, mind and matter mutually.
Bagley provides a dense, concise and well-structured overview on Early La Tène figurative art and the relevant research strands. Innovative and rewarding is her approach to look at the motifs in the first place and then to analyse their relation to the objects, materials and how they appear in the different funerary configuration groups. Precise to the detail despite the vast amount of objects and more than satisfying as a PhD, the study does not exhaust the possibilities of GIS mapping, also her charts are just two-dimensional and never include time as a factor. Despite the large space Bagley is covering, her perspective is close and focused. She would profit now from stepping back to make us understand the developments of depiction and conventions in the Early La Tène period from a wider perspective.

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