

# The social structure of the Hallstatt culture in eastern and central France

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## 1. Introduction

Already in the 1950s, German archaeology first defined the scope and elements of the Westhallstattkreis (western Hallstatt domain), imparting a cultural connotation to the space. To this end, German researchers borrowed the concept of culture from Immanuel Kant, who was probably one of the first to model the concept. Subsequently Anglo-Saxon socio-anthropologists such as Edward B. Tylor (1832–1917) and Bronisław Malinowski (1884–1942), in particular, extended the syntagmatic meaning of culture, as did French colleagues like Paul Durkheim (1858–1917), Marcel Mauss (1872–1950) and others.

Edward Burnett Tylor, one of the founders of Anglo-Saxon anthropology, offered one of the earliest definitions.<sup>1</sup> For him, culture was a set of patterns (patterns of thought, behaviour, feelings, beliefs, modes of production and reproduction, etc.) that were socially shared by a group forming a people or a society.

In defining a cultural group, often enough through force of circumstance, archaeology makes do with aspects

related to material culture that are sometimes combined with information extracted from funerary complexes and other evidence about the organization of the territory.

Following up on the ideas put forward by Professors Georg Kossack (1923–2004) and Walter Torbrügge (1923–1994), Walter Reinhard marked out the boundaries of the Westhallstattkreis.<sup>2</sup>

Diatopic and diachronic variations that combine criteria associated with material culture and funerary rites allow us to distinguish several cultural entities within the western part of the Westhallstattkreis. This differentiation should not cloud the fact that some parameters – such as those relating to the organization of territory (establishment of Hallstatt principalities) or to funerary rituals reserved for the elites (wagon graves richly furnished with objects imported from the Mediterranean) – transcended the ambient regionalism and proved to be important factors of inclusion, helping to forge Hallstatt social structure while at the same time giving it its unitary character.

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<sup>1</sup> TYLOR 1871.

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<sup>2</sup> REINHARD 2003; 2017.

## 2. The idiosyncratic variations of Hallstattian regional cultural groups of eastern and central France

Several syntheses of the Early Iron Age in eastern and central France have been published in the last twenty years. They have sought to characterize specific regional differences regarding aspects such as material culture and funerary rites, and to a lesser degree territorial organization in the Early Iron Age across this vast space. The nature and extent of contacts that each group maintained with groups in adjoining regions have also been investigated. This panorama provides a reasonably precise picture of the situation, despite variations in just how synthetic the studies and authors have been.

Since the late 1990s and the early 2000s, the work of Laurent Olivier on Lorraine,<sup>3</sup> Pierre-Yves Milcent on the Centre,<sup>4</sup> and my own work on Burgundy<sup>5</sup> have made it possible to divide the western part of the western Hallstatt area into subunits (fig. 1). Only an overview of them is provided here since the many strands of these substantial studies cannot readily be summarised in just a few lines. The geographical framework selected omits Alsace, where

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<sup>3</sup> OLIVIER / REINHARD 1993; OLIVIER / WIRTZ 1993; OLIVIER 2000.

<sup>4</sup> MILCENT 2004.

<sup>5</sup> CHAUME 2001.

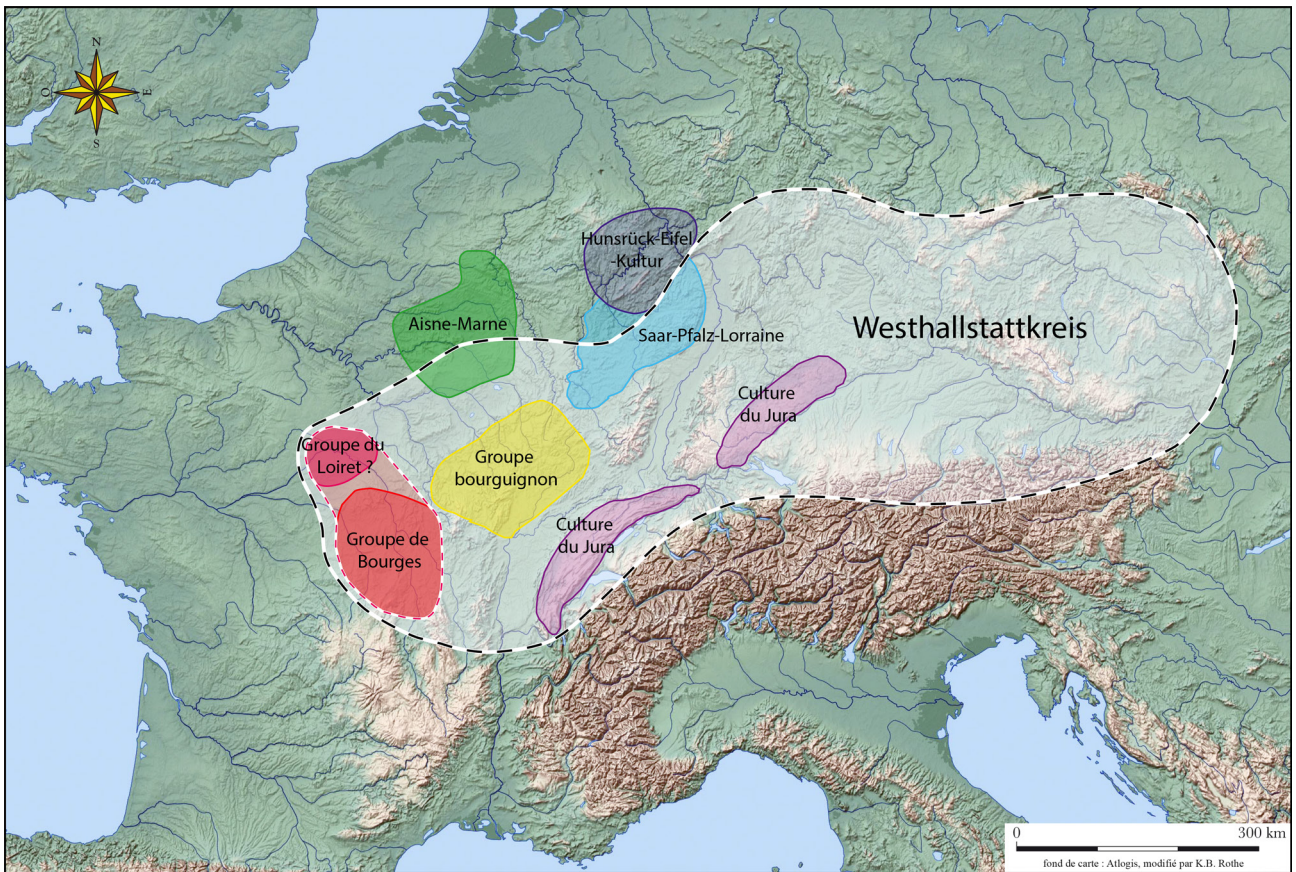


Fig. 1. Map of the eastern and central groups of the Western Hallstatt culture (map: B. Chaume).

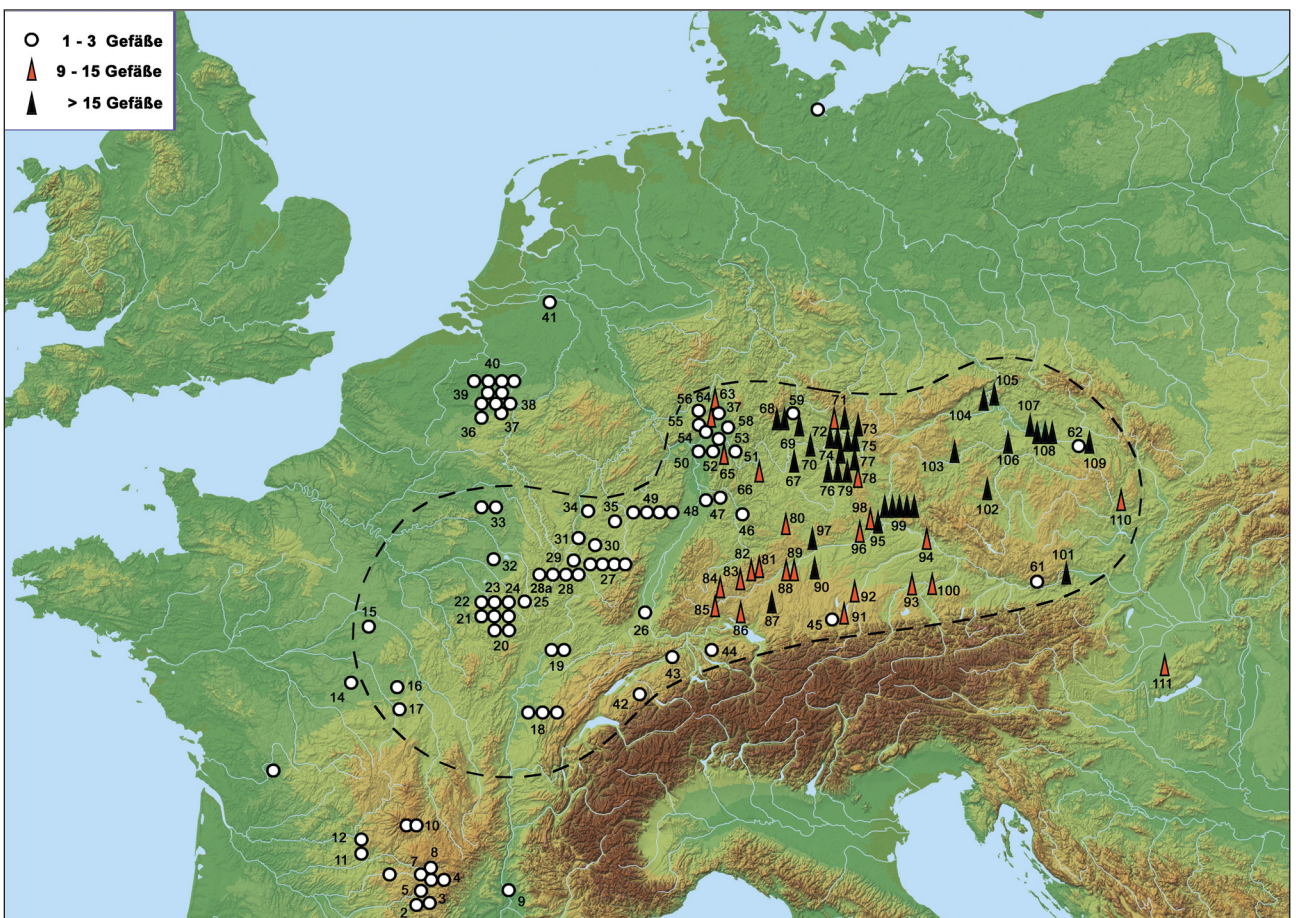


Fig. 2. Distribution map of Ha C sword graves with ceramics (map: REINHARD 2017, fig. 28).

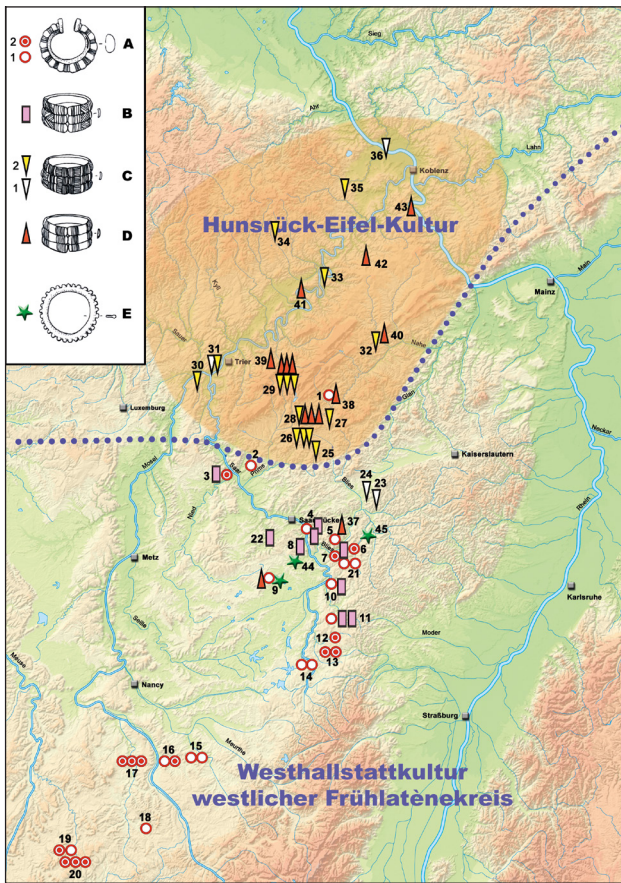


Fig. 3. Distribution map of Ha C burials in the Palatinate-Saar-Lorraine area including different types of artefacts (map: REINHARD 2017, fig. 84).

contacts with Baden are manifest, concentrating instead on regions west of the Vosges.

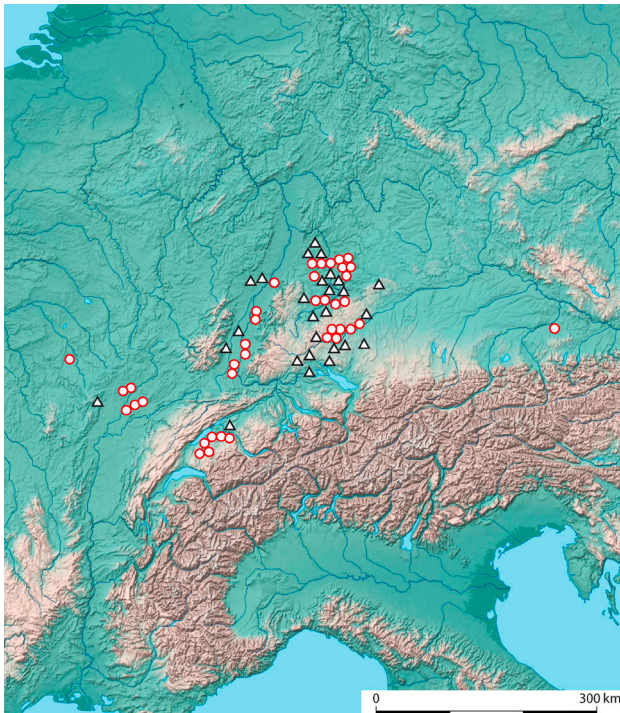


Fig. 5. The Jura Culture. Ha D gold artefacts (map: BRUN 1988, fig. 2).

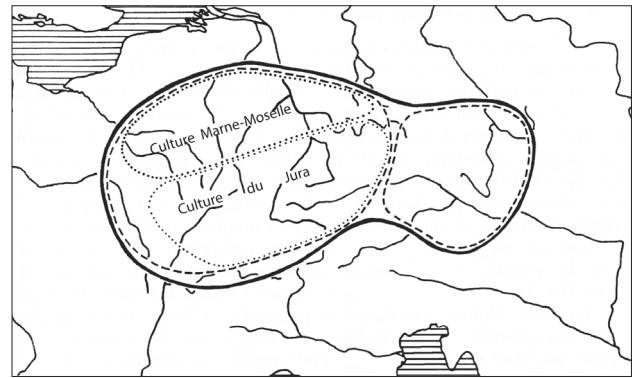


Fig. 4. The boundaries of the Jura and Marne-Moselle cultures (map: BRUN 1988, fig. 2).

## 2.1. The Palatinate-Sarre-Lorraine group

As early as 1965, Alfred Haffner suggested the existence of a Palatinate-Sarre-Lorraine cultural group.<sup>6</sup> That suggestion was taken up later by W. Reinhard, the publication of whose PhD thesis made a decisive contribution to its definition.<sup>7</sup>

The Sarre-Palatinate-Lorraine group operated from the beginning of Ha C up until and including Ha D1<sup>8</sup> (figs 2-3) along a main, although not exclusive axis running from the Sarre to the plateau of Langres. Thereafter, the direction of flow was reversed and ran towards the Palatinate and Hesse from Ha D2-D3; in the course of this period,

<sup>6</sup> HAFFNER 1965, 20.

<sup>7</sup> REINHARD 2003, 67-78 figs 44-53.

<sup>8</sup> OLIVIER / REINHARD 1993, 105.

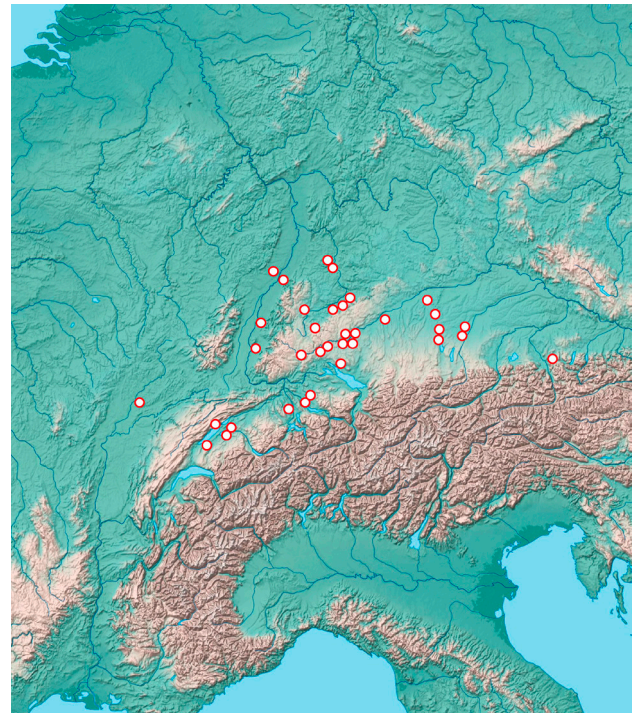
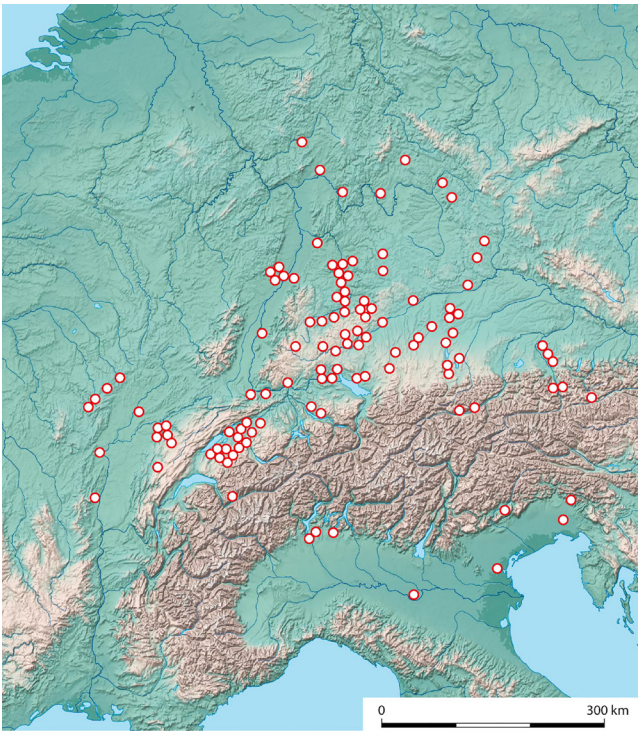
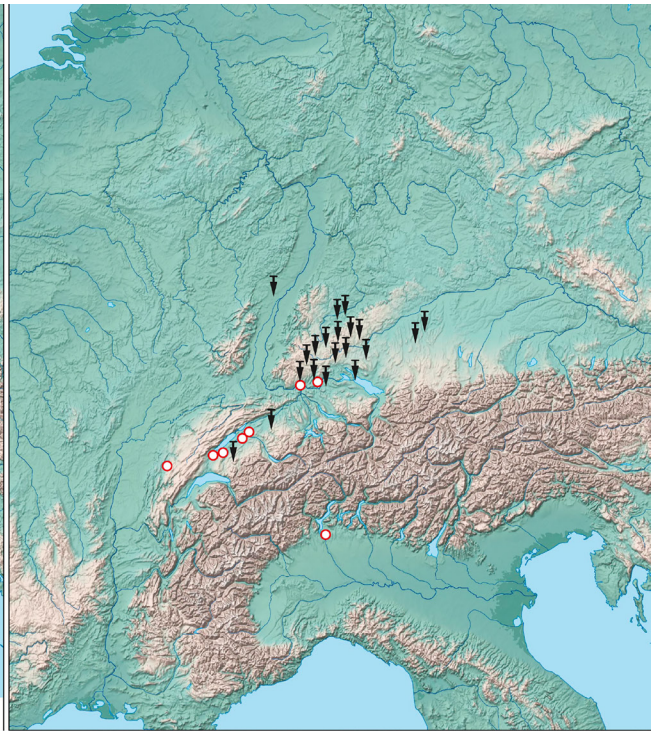


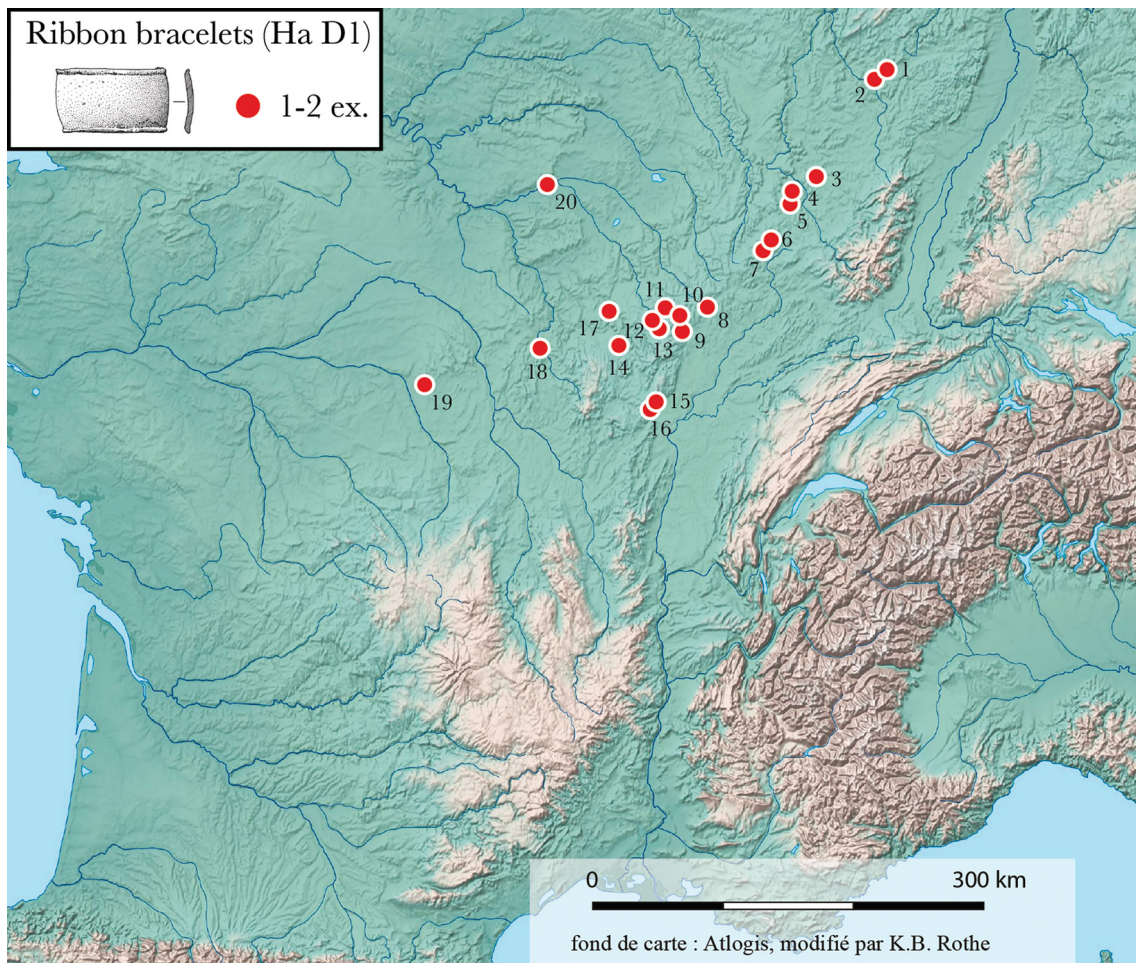
Fig. 6. Distribution map of bronze cauldrons with iron handles (map: BRUN 1988, fig. 3,B).



**Fig. 7.** Distribution map of different types of Ha D daggers so called 'hallstattians' (map: BRUN 1988, fig. 3,C).



**Fig. 8.** Distribution map of different types of Ha D daggers. (map: BRUN 1988, fig. 3,D).



**Fig. 9.** Distribution map of ribbon bracelets, cf. list 1 (map: B. Chaume, after OLIVIER 1993, fig. 9).

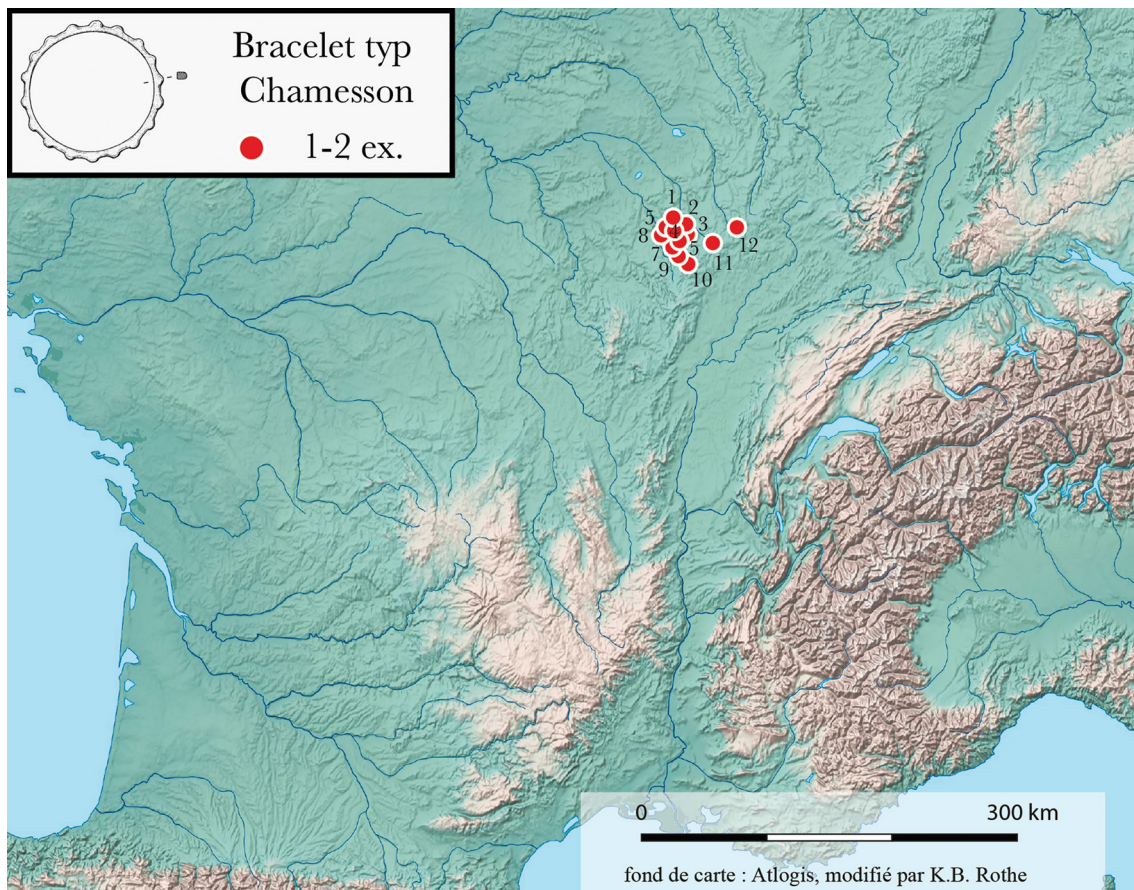


Fig. 10. Distribution map of Chamesson-type bracelets (map: CHAUME 2001, fig. 106).

the two regions became distinctive, while over the same timespan the aristocratic centre of Saxon-Sion (dép. Meurthe-et-Moselle, FR) was emerging, perhaps as well as that of Tincry (near Château-Salins, dép. Moselle, FR) in north-eastern Lorraine), although archaeological evidence for the latter is wanting.

## 2.2. The Burgundian / Jurassian group

In 1988, Patrice Brun revised the internal divisions of the western part of the Hallstatt domain, finally seeing in them just two large subunits:<sup>9</sup> the Marne-Moselle Culture in the north and the Jura Culture in the south (fig. 4). The former was extremely well characterized by Jean-Paul Demoule, who defined its central features.<sup>10</sup> For the latter, P. Brun attempted to specify it as a cultural group under the name of Jura Culture, an entity covering the uplands of the Swabian, French, and Swiss Jura, and including the neighbouring Burgundian part (figs 5–8). While his analysis does not fail to take into consideration the points of convergence in the material cultures between Burgundy and the Jura, occurrences vary widely at different periods and

for different types of object: it can be observed, however, that they cover all of the Early Iron Age and intensify somewhat towards the end of the period.

What P. Brun characterizes as the North-Alpine Complex is nothing other than the Hallstattkreis of our German colleagues. He seeks to validate the hypothesis set out at the beginning of his paper, namely that the cultural groups that have been identified coincide with the Hallstatt principalities.<sup>11</sup> But where P. Brun saw a single unit for the Jura Culture, I feel it is more appropriate to separate the western part, that is Burgundy, which I propose was a separate culture by Ha C.

It is suggested here, therefore, that for Ha D<sup>12</sup> we separate a Burgundian group extending from south Lorraine to southern Burgundy<sup>13</sup> (figs 9–12), while further west, according to P. Y. Milcent, the areas of Bourges, and then Orléans, formed separate cultural entities although still part of the western Hallstatt complex.

The Burgundian and Jurassian groups were interconnected, especially in Ha D2–D3, as is shown by the

<sup>9</sup> BRUN 1988.

<sup>10</sup> DEMOULE 1999; BRUN 1993.

<sup>11</sup> BRUN 1988, 137.

<sup>12</sup> The situation is a little more complex for the Ha C because, apart from warrior graves containing large iron swords, very few graves or habitats are known that might yield data for individualizing these cultural areas.

<sup>13</sup> CHAUME 2001.

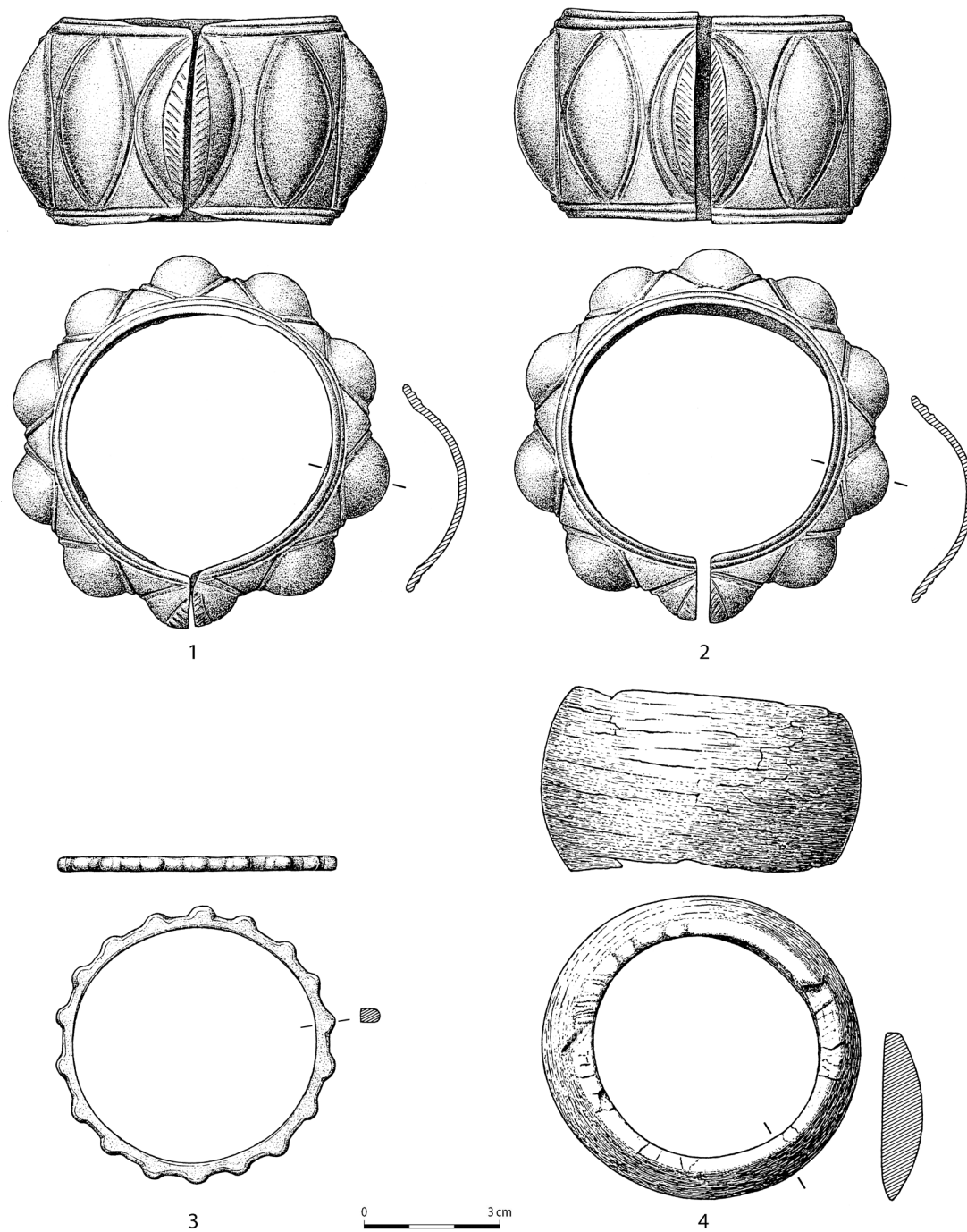


Fig. 11. Grave 8 of the tumulus of Bois Bouchot (Chamesson) (drawings: LEIZA Mainz).

distribution map of hollow bronze ankle rings typical of female graves of the period. By weighting type chorology by the number of rings found per site (fig. 13), it can be shown that Burgundy, and more especially its northern part, the Châtillonnais, accounted for about 50 per cent of these items. There is every reason, therefore, to think that this micro-region was the centre or one of the centres of production.

### 2.3. The central France group

Martine Willaume, and above all P.-Y. Milcent have characterized the cultural groups of the Early Iron Age and the onset of the Late Iron Age that settled in the Centre of France and the northern part of the Massif Central.<sup>14</sup>

The groups of sword graves of Ha C of the Berry and Sologne areas exhibit differences, especially in the choice of metals used for making the blades (sometimes bronze, sometimes iron), and P. Y. Milcent hypothesises that

<sup>14</sup> WILLAUME 1985; MILCENT 2004.

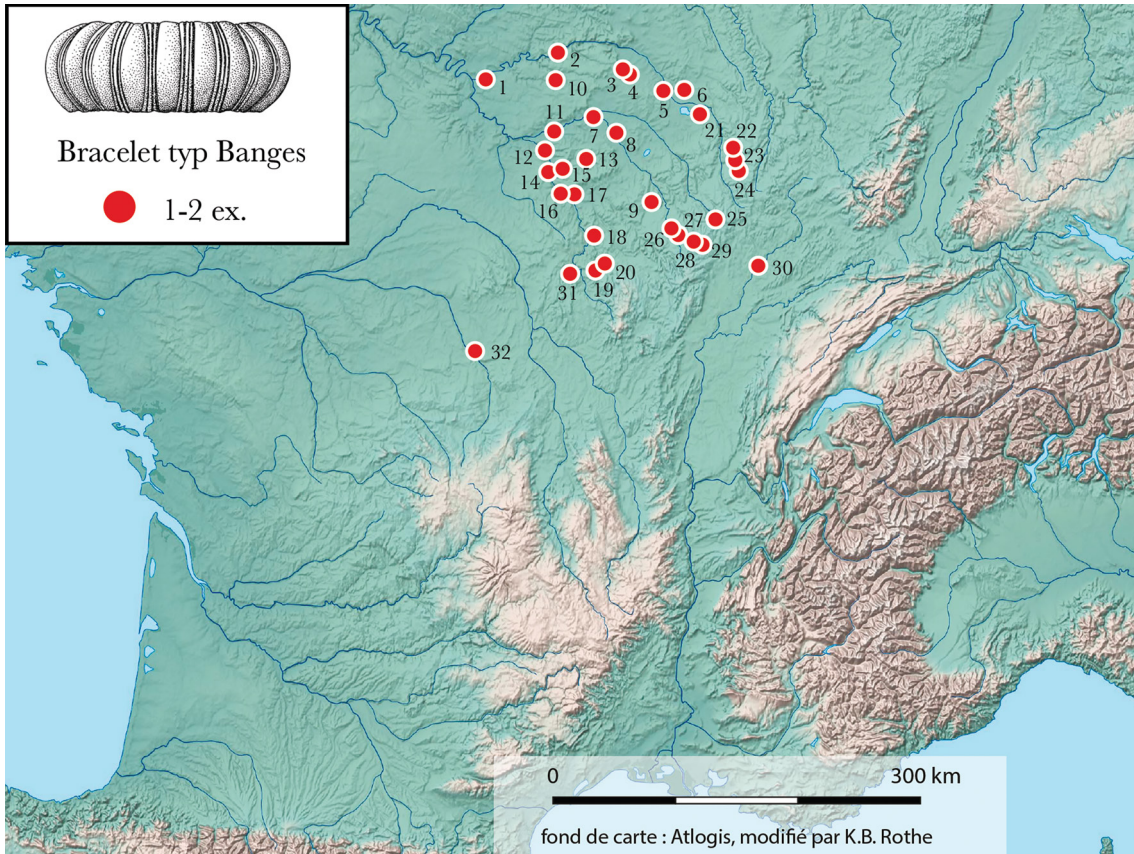


Fig. 12. Distribution map of Banges-type bracelets, cf. list 2 (map: B. Chaume).

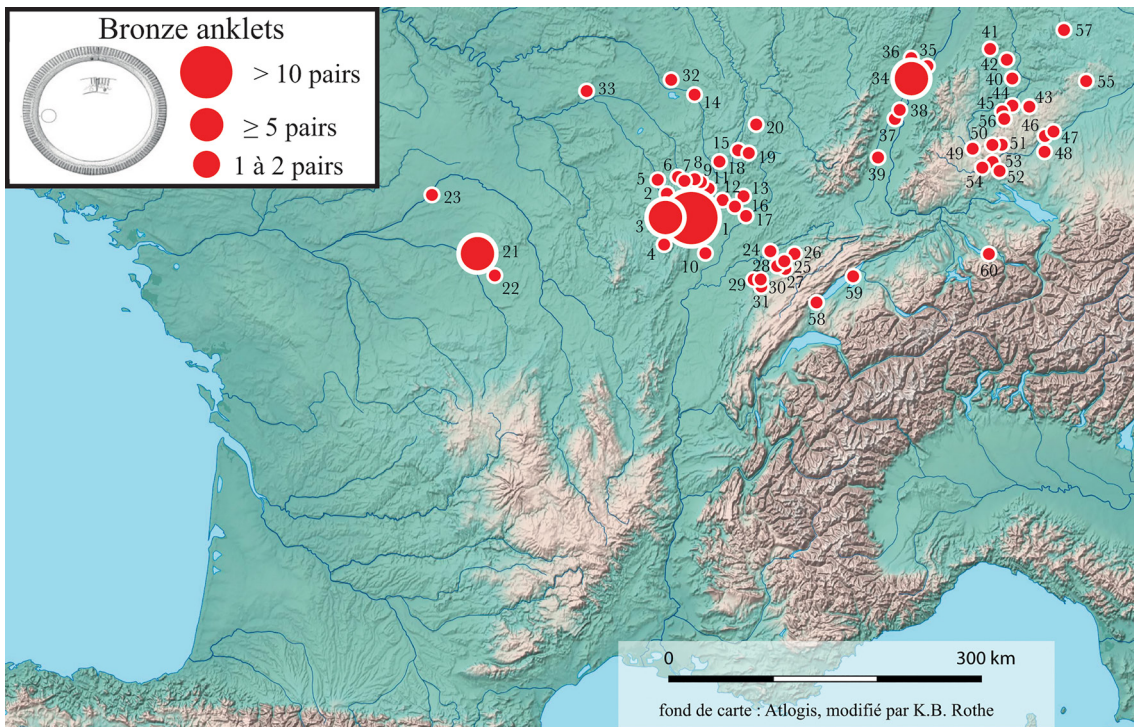


Fig. 13. Distribution map of Ha D2-D3 bronze anklets, cf. list 3 (map: B. Chaume).



**Fig. 14.** Map of Herrenhöfe (green squares) and Hallstatt principalities (red and blue star symbols) (map: REINHARD 2004, fig. 1).

this suggests there were subsets belonging to a larger macro-regional societal complex.<sup>15</sup>

Two material facies can be observed in central France for the 5<sup>th</sup> century B. C. In the north-east, Berry seems representative of a larger group encompassing the Orléans area and the lowland part of Auvergne. In the west, the cemeteries of the Creuse yield material that shares its main characteristics with material found in the eastern Limousin and on the western edges of the Cantal.<sup>16</sup>

As for more remote contacts, the artefacts that reached the Centre region trace out the routes of a network connecting the region with the south of the Massif Central and the Launac area of Languedoc, while to the east of the region material evidence attests to close ties with Burgundy and the Saône basin, and beyond there with southern Germany.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> MILCENT 2004, 133.

<sup>16</sup> MILCENT 2004, 244.

<sup>17</sup> MILCENT 2004, 245.



### 3. Social and territorial hierarchy in the Hallstatt period

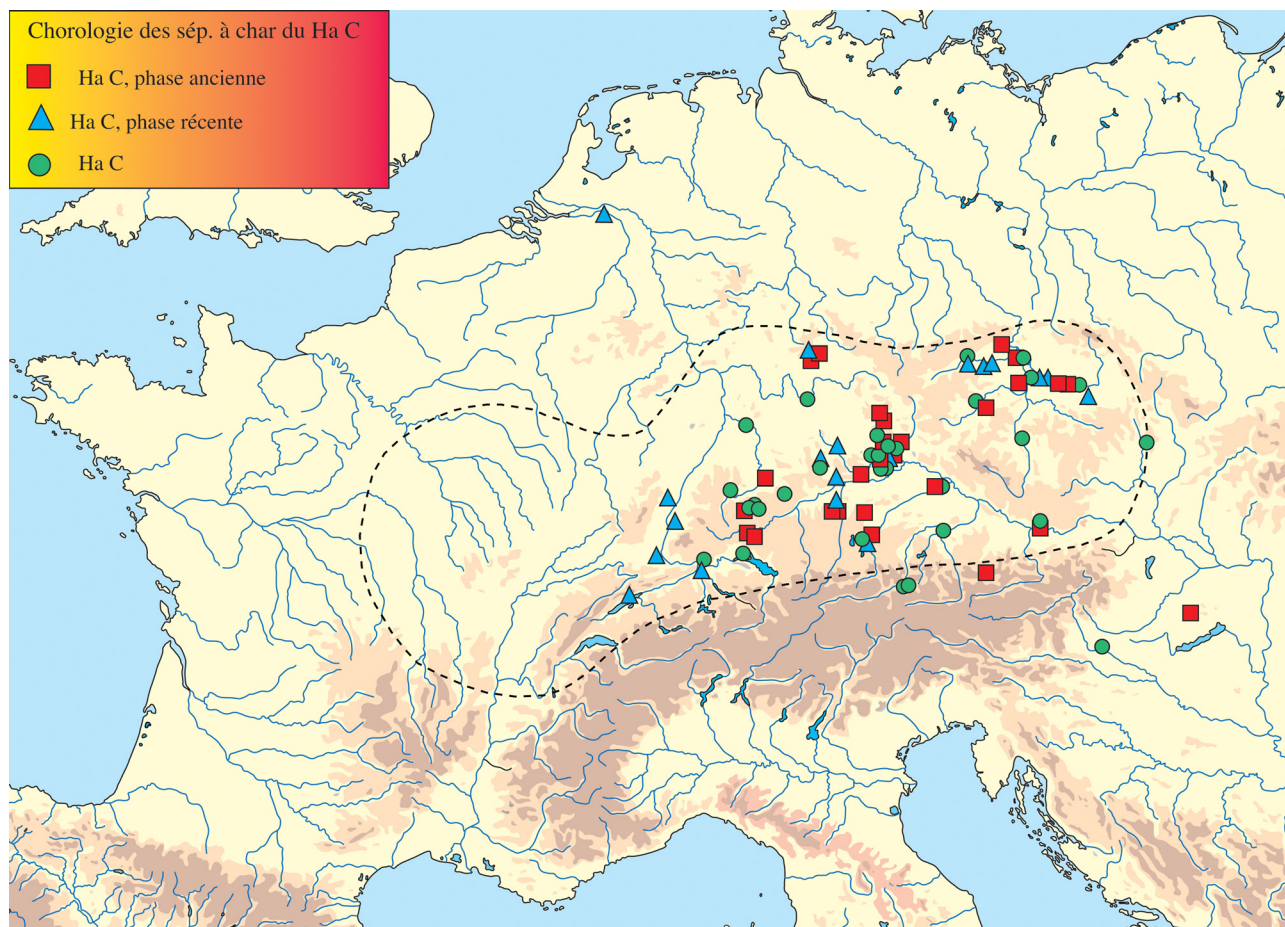


Fig. 15. Spatio-chronological evolution of Ha C wagon graves (map: B. Chaume; after PARE 1992, 162 fig. 108).

The spatial-chronological division of the part of West-hallstatt corresponding to central and eastern France seems to bear the signature of a regional system. But the funerary ritual of wagon graves, the symbolic status of elite burials, and the organization of territories (Hallstatt principalities) – three important parameters which concerned the upper stratum of society – were all powerful factors of social integration. They were shared across the entire Hallstatt domain, ensuring a stable social structure.

#### 3.1. The warrior aristocracies of the Ha C

The earliest Hallstatt iron swords appeared sporadically from the very end of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B. C. However, it was only in the final third of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B. C. that the new metal and the technological innovations that went with it became more widely adopted for making sword blades.<sup>18</sup>

Although the continuity between Br F. IIIb and Ha C has been demonstrated,<sup>19</sup> and has never been called into question since, nevertheless, it should not be concluded that there was no gap at all. Heinrich Härke (1979) in particular was one of the first to point out the marked decrease in the number of hilltop sites between Ha B2–B3 and Ha C.<sup>20</sup> Although his claim has since been moderated because of uncertainties about the typo-chronological development of ceramics, there is no escaping the fact that his observation was essentially correct, and there seems to be agreement on this question today.<sup>21</sup>

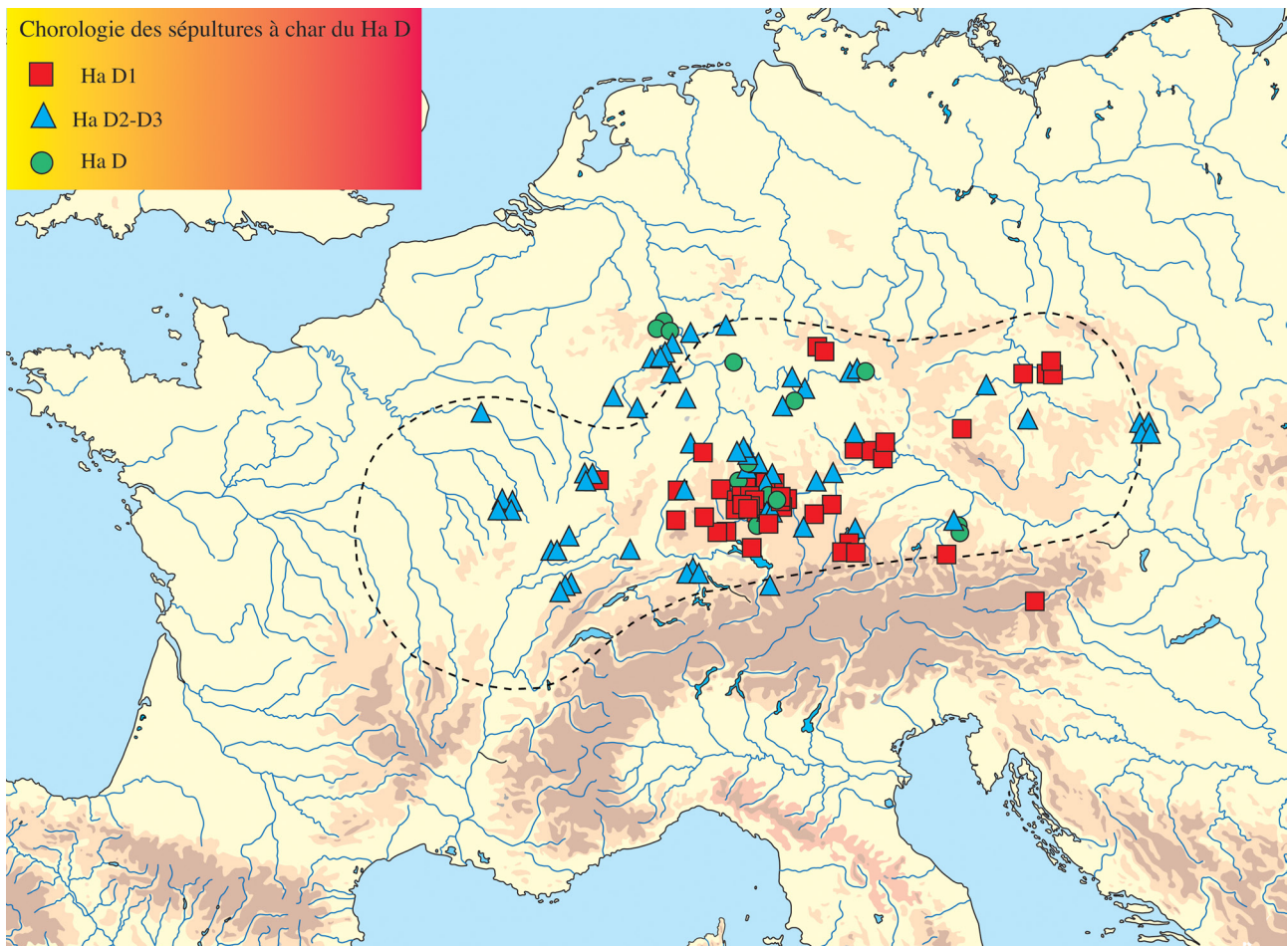
Even so, beyond this observation alone, the choices made by the population in Ha C concerning the organization of their territory underscore substantial spatio-economic changes that could not but influence and affect the development of society. Mixed farming was still practised, but communities left the defended hill spurs they had occupied until Br F. IIIb in order to settle instead in open or lightly fortified lowland habitats (perhaps much as at Villiers sur Seine, for example). All too little is

<sup>18</sup> BRUN et al. 2009.

<sup>19</sup> PARE 1991; ROYMANS 1991.

<sup>20</sup> HÄRKE 1979.

<sup>21</sup> BRUN et al. 2009; MILCENT 2009, 470 fig. 19.



**Fig. 16.** Spatio-chronological evolution of Ha D wagon graves (map: B. Chaume; after PARE 1992, 163 fig. 109).

known about the forms these settlements took. Plausible explanations are concerns about control over surface iron deposits, or even over foodstuffs, which in the case of the latter were, because of a deteriorating climate, even more of a strategic issue. But other explanations should also be considered when it comes to compiling a more detailed account of the causes of these changes.

For southern Germany, W. Reinhard has mapped the divide (fig. 14) between the eastern part (mostly Bavaria), where fortified farms of the *Herrenhöfe* type were the preferred form of habitat, and the western part, where certain hilltop sites overlooking the crossroads of strategic communication pathways were again settled with the Celtic principality type towns that emerged in Ha D1. These models owe nothing to chance, but most certainly result from the choices made by the elites. Although there were hilltop sites in the eastern part that would have made good locations for Celtic principalities of the type found at Vix (dép. Côte-d'Or, F) or the Heuneburg (Herbertingen-Hundersingen, Lkr. Sigmaringen, D), the Hallstatt elites there opted instead to settle in *Herrenhöfe*.

If we zoom out to view the whole of the western Hallstatt domain, other differences have been observed between its eastern and western subunits. Those concerning funerary rites are not the least important.

During Ha C, the western Hallstatt domain was split into two large blocks, a divide that was, in fact, already apparent by the end of the Bronze Age<sup>22</sup> (fig. 2).

In the east, the cremation rite prevailed for sword graves of elite warriors, as opposed to burial in the western part, with the Rhine valley marking the interface between the two phenomena.

The adoption of the wagon burial rite as a shared social expression of the aristocratic, upper stratum of society first appeared with the onset of Ha C in Bavaria and the Czech Republic (figs 15–16), before spreading westwards and ultimately covering the entire western Hallstatt domain.<sup>23</sup> It was one of the federating features that were essential if elites were to put in place a relatively durable social structure that was as well organized as the Celtic principality model was.

The process of social complexification that intensified at the end of the Bronze Age seems to have peaked at the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries B. C. with the appearance of rich wagon burials in eastern France (aristocratic tumuli of

<sup>22</sup> REINHARD 2003, 60 fig. 37; 65 fig. 41; 66 fig. 42–43; OLIVIER 2000, 214, fig. 1; 215, fig. 2.

<sup>23</sup> CHAUME 2007: 29–32.

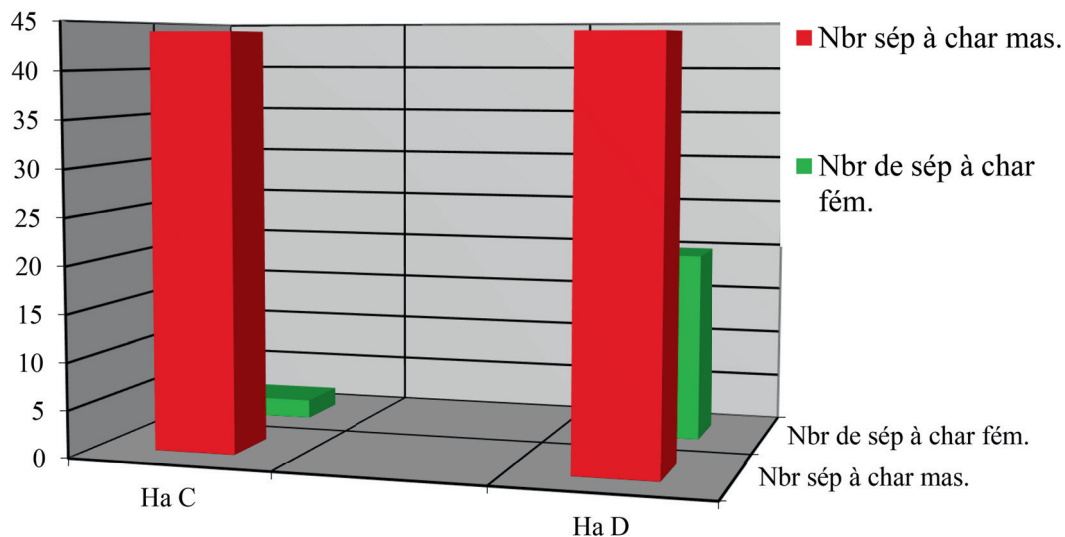


Fig. 17. Distribution of Ha C–D wagon graves by gender (diagr.: B. Chaume).

larger volume combined with richer graves) and territorial entities with larger footprints.

It was at this point in the history of the phenomenon, as it was coming towards its end, that women emerged at the top of the social pyramid, as is attested by the remains found in sumptuous graves beneath large tumuli. The grave of the “Lady of Vix”, discovered intact in January 1953 is one such sepulchre,<sup>24</sup> and probably the one that has shed the starkest light on this social feature of the end of the Early Iron Age.

### 3.2. The hereditary transmission of power: the case of female wagon graves

If the idea is accepted – and there is no reason to dismiss it – that female aristocratic graves at the end of the Hallstatt period such as Vix, and the burials of their contemporary male counterparts served one and the same purpose, then it has to be conceded that women played a part in the mechanisms of the exercise and/or passing on of power.

A social development that implied the establishment of lineages with hereditary transmission of power (a hypothesis in keeping with known models) seems to best fit the socio-political context of the Final Hallstatt period as seen through the archaeological record. In default of male heirs, women seemingly acceded to political positions through the interplay of a modification in the rules for handing on power – possibly based in part on a matriarchal lineage – which might account for their growing power within the aristocratic caste towards the end of Ha D.

These changes in social structure apparently came about at the turn of the 7<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries B. C. Since Ha C there would seem to have been a gradual but uninterrupted shift from a system of hierarchy based on warrior values, symbolized by male sword graves in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries B. C., to a hereditary dynastic system, resulting, in about one case in three, in women acceding to the status of chiefs (fig. 17).

In the absence of any male heir, women presumably acceded to political office, in the broadest meaning of the term, which in no way rules out their social position being consolidated by any religious or divinatory powers that might have been attributed to them, as some authors have suggested.

Far from being antinomic, the “temporal and spiritual” domains were closely interrelated in the ancient world. The mysteries of power are not confined to activities of command or political decision-making, in other words the direct exercise of authority; such a way of viewing the problem would narrow the scope of investigation.

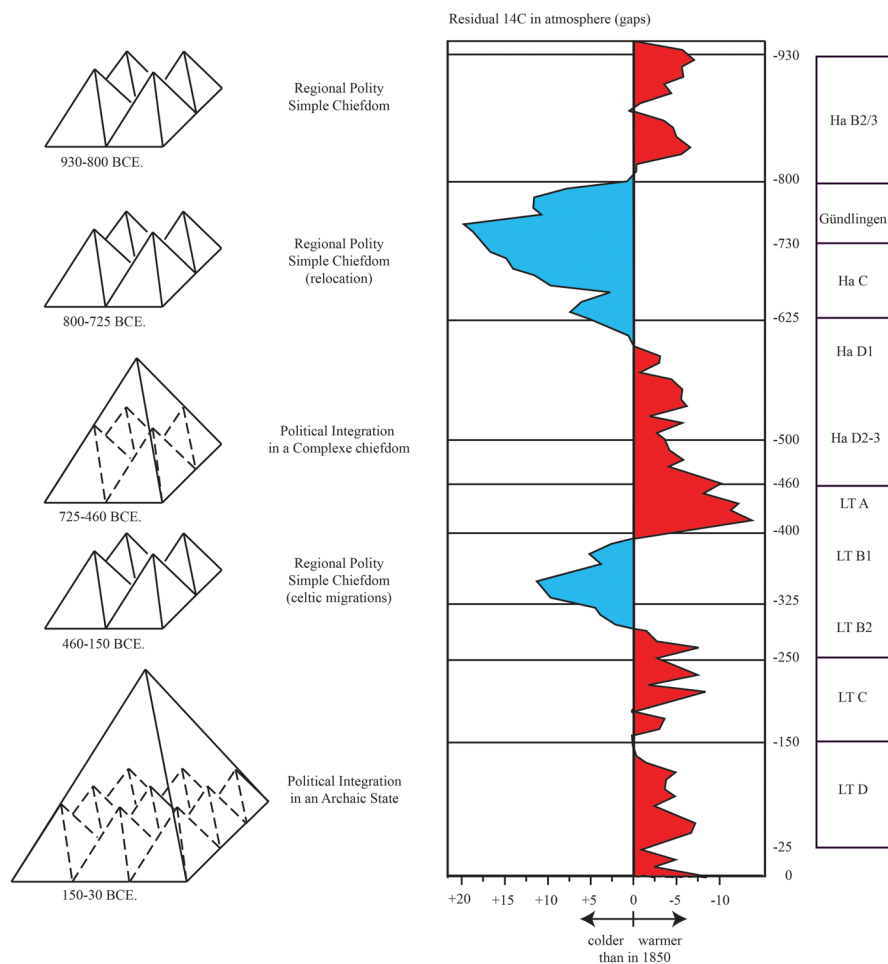
Bettina Arnold<sup>25</sup> has attempted to apply the concept of the “honorary male syndrome”, developed by Antonia Fraser, to the societal context of the Final Hallstatt period.

For A. Fraser, critical and exceptional circumstances resulting in a power vacuum would have led to power being wielded by certain women or queens.<sup>26</sup> This development might explain the emergence of rich female aristocratic burials like that of the Lady of Vix. Women supposedly stood in for men who had joined the populations migrating to northern Italy (the Celts reached Rome between 391 and 386 B. C.). The model may be attractive, but its application remains problematic since the waves of Celtic warriors migrating to northern Italy that supposed-

<sup>24</sup> JOFFROY 1954.

<sup>25</sup> ARNOLD 1995a; ID. 1995b.

<sup>26</sup> FRASER 1988.



**Fig. 18.** Evolution of the Hallstattian social structure compared with changes in atmospheric concentrations of residual carbon-14 correlated with climatic oscillations (diagr.: P. Brun, P. Ruby after BRUN / RUBY 2008, 55).

ly coincided with the power vacuum occurred at least two generations after the fall of the Hallstatt principalities.

Women's involvement in the exercise of power probably took on subtle and crucial forms.<sup>27</sup> The Early Middle Ages provide a historical setting that was in many regards comparable with the situation we know of at the end of the Hallstatt period. There were areas of sovereignty that a woman might share with her "royal spouse" or even hold alone. For example, the Lombard and Ostrogoth queens in Italy (7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries A. D.) and their Carolingian counterparts in France in the 9<sup>th</sup> century A. D. enjoyed important

prerogatives in the transmission of the royal treasure and of titles and rights after the king's death that legitimated a prime position in the ordering of royal succession.

These transformations apparently coincided with another equally significant change in the organization of Hallstatt societies: the shift from simple to complex chieftom (fig. 18). These two phenomena, which radically re-shaped the social structure, were especially decisive parts of the transformation since they occurred simultaneously, at the beginning of Ha D1. This hypothesis suggests a double change which coincided with the observed strengthening of the hierarchy and structure of power – as is attested for complex chieftoms –, which then came to be based on hereditary transmission.

<sup>27</sup> CHAUME 2007, 43–55.

## 4. An abortive attempt at urbanization as the high point of the princely phenomenon at the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries B. C.

The current state of knowledge enables us to conclude that an attempt at urbanization occurred north of the Alps from western Bavaria to eastern Berry.<sup>28</sup> Internal and external factors came together, enabling the creation of expanded territorial principalities centred around a settlement where the governing institutions, whether political or economic, were concentrated. In some instances, as at Vix or the Heuneburg, for example, these principalities developed to the point where they tended towards an urban type of organization,<sup>29</sup> although without fully reaching that stage of development, and above all – and this is the crux – without the development spreading to the entire Hallstatt domain, let alone becoming a permanent feature. This attempted urbanization remained unfinished business, one that can be characterized as atelo-urban (uncompleted urban).

The reasons for this are still poorly understood, but they were probably systemic and continental in scale.<sup>30</sup> Such anepigraphic political formations proved ephemeral, some more so than others, but the longest-lived barely

outlasted a century. Groupings of several thousand people living in the same locality for several decades implied a highly stratified territorial and social organization – as is postulated by Peter Wells, Susan Frankenstein and Michael Rowlands, P. Brun<sup>31</sup> and others –, an organization on the level of complex chiefdom if reference is made to the typology of Allen W. Johnson and Timothy Earle.<sup>32</sup> Although contested by Alain Testart<sup>33</sup> (1945–2013) for its overly evolutionary character, as if societies were in some way predestined to develop necessarily from one stage to the next, this classification of societies developed in A. Johnson and T. Earle's *The Evolution of Human Societies* (2000), is the one that is most widely accepted.

In the absence of any textual sources, it is by comparing and contrasting archaeological data and anthropological models that the foundations of the princely phenomenon can be addressed. From this exercise in comparativism, new defining features emerge that can serve to provide a new outline of Hallstatt social structure.

<sup>28</sup> KRAUSSE 2010; BRUN / CHAUME 2013; FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ / KRAUSSE 2013; BRUN / CHAUME 2021; BRUN et al. 2021.

<sup>29</sup> CHAUME 2020a; ID. 2020b.

<sup>30</sup> BRUN / CHAUME 2013, 342; ID. 2021.

<sup>31</sup> WELLS 1980; FRANKENSTEIN / ROWLANDS 1978; BRUN 1987; 1995; ID. 1997.

<sup>32</sup> JOHNSON / EARLE 2000.

<sup>33</sup> TESTART 2005.

## 5. Appendix

### List 1: Findspots of ribbon bracelets (OLIVIER 1993, with additions by B. Chaume. – Fig. 9)

#### Germany

1. Homburg «Lange Tannen» (Saarpfalz-Kreis).
2. Auersmacher, Gde. Kleinblittersdorf, «Mühlenwald» (Regionalverband Saarbrücken).

#### France

3. Clayeures «La Naguée» (départ. Meurthe-et-Moselle).
4. Haroué «Bois de Voivre», tum. 25, 33, 37, 73 (départ. Meurthe-et-Moselle).
5. Marainville-sur-Madon «Sous le Chemin de Naviot» (départ. des Vosges).
6. Dombrot-Suriauville «Bois David-Bois des Moncelles» (départ. des Vosges).
7. Martigny-les-Bains «Bois de Couchépiéd» (départ. des Vosges).
8. Cusey «Les Combottes» (départ. Haute-Marne).
9. Villecomte «Charmadot», tum. 1 (départ. Côte-d'Or).
10. Busseaut, tumulus de la Montagne (départ. Côte-d'Or).
11. Nod-sur-Seine «Puits-de-Nod», tum 1 (départ. Côte-d'Or).
12. Oigny, Granges d'Oigny (départ. Côte-d'Or).
13. Billy-lès-Chanceaux «tumulus des Champs Rouges» (départ. Côte-d'Or).
14. Genay «Les Cras» tum. C (départ. Côte-d'Or).
15. Cussy-la-Colonne «tumulus des Communaux» (départ. Côte-d'Or).
16. Ivry-en-Montagne «Bois de la Pérouse», tum. 1 (départ. Côte-d'Or).
17. Noyers, tum. du Grand Vaucharme (départ. de l'Yonne).
18. Ouagne «Chateauvert» (départ. Nièvre).
19. Vornay «Soupize–Route de Crosses» (départ. Cher).
20. Périgny-la-Rose «Les Usages» (départ. de l'Aube).

## List 2: Findspots of Banges-type bracelets (B. Chaume. – Fig. 12)

1. Chelles (départ. Seine-et-Marne).
2. Blesmes (départ. Marne).
3. Aulnizieux (départ. Marne).
4. Ecury-le-Repos (départ. Marne).
5. Fontaines-sur-Cooles (départ. Marne)
6. Heiltz-l'Évêque (départ. Marne)
7. Barbuise-Courtavant (départ. de l'Aube).
8. Méry-sur-Seine (départ. de l'Aube).
9. Bragelonne-Beauvoir (départ. de l'Aube).
10. Saint-Martin-des-Champs (départ. de l'Yonne).
11. Grisy-sur-Seine (départ. de l'Yonne).
12. Ciry (départ. de l'Yonne).
13. Courgenay (départ. de l'Yonne).
14. Paron-Saint-Bond (départ. de l'Yonne).
15. Sens «La Motte de Ciar» (départ. de l'Yonne).
16. Villeneuve-sur-Yonne (départ. de l'Yonne).
17. Dixmont (départ. de l'Yonne).
18. Mailly-le-Château (départ. de l'Yonne).
19. Menades (départ. de l'Yonne).
20. Annay-la-Côte (départ. de l'Yonne).
21. Attancourt (départ. Haute-Marne).
22. Lanques-sur-Rognon (départ. Haute-Marne).
23. Nogent (anc. com. d'Essey-les-Eaux) (départ. Haute-Marne).
24. Dampierre (départ. Haute-Marne).
25. Auberive (départ. Haute-Marne).
26. Nod-sur-Seine, tum. 1 du Puits-de-Nod (départ. Côte-d'Or).
27. Chamesson, tum. du Bois Bouchot (départ. Côte-d'Or).
28. Moitron (départ. Côte-d'Or).
29. Minot, tum. 2 and 7 (départ. Côte-d'Or).
30. Broye-Aubigny-Montseugny (départ. Haute-Saône).
31. Courcelles (départ. Nièvre).
32. Coust, tum. de Creuzet 1 (départ. Cher).

## List 3: Findspots of Ha D2–D3 bronze anklets (PININGRE / GANARD 2004; revised and with additions by B. Chaume. – Fig. 13)

### Côte-d'Or

1. Minot.
2. Essarois.
3. Magny-Lambert.
4. Darcey.
5. Vix.
6. Villiers-le-Duc.
7. Maisey-le-Duc.
8. Vanvey-sur-Ource.
9. Chambain.
10. Bresse sur Tille.

### Haute-Marne

11. Rivières-les-Fosses.
12. Prautoy.
13. Courcelles en Montagne.
14. Chamouilley.
15. Bourmont-entre-Meuse-et-Mouzon (anc. Nijon).

### Haute-Saône

16. Montarlot-lès-Champlitte.
17. Beaujeu-Saint-Vallier-Pierrejux-et-Quitteur Quitteur «Sur la Noue».
18. Bourguignon-lès-Morey.

### Vosges

19. Sauville.
20. Châtenois.

### Cher

21. Bourges.  
Bourges «Arsenal»  
Bourges Arsenal  
Bourges Boulevard Auger  
Bourges Fonderie de canons  
Bourges «Pyrotechnie»
22. Dun sur Auron «La Périssette».

### Loir-et-Cher

23. Saint-Laurent-Nouan «Fontaine du Robateux» Doubs.
24. Besançon.
25. Flagey.
26. Myon «Petites-Chaux».
27. Amondans «au Décrêt».
28. Saraz «Le Fourré».

### Jura

29. Arbois-Grange-Perrey «Champ Grandjean-Bas».
30. Parancot.
31. Moidons.

### Marne

32. Heiltz-l'Évêque «Charvais».

## Aube

33. Esclavolle.

## Bas-Rhin

34. Brumath.

35. Haguenau «Maegstu».  
Haguenau «Donauberg».

36. Uhlwiller.

37. Westhouse «Jungholz».

38. Nordhouse.

39. Herrlisheim-près-Colmar.

## Allemagne

40. Böblingen (Lkr. Böblingen).

41. Mühlacker (Enzkreis).

42. Eberdingen-Hochdorf (Lkr. Ludwigsburg).

43. Erkenbrechtsweiler (Lkr. Esslingen).

44. Nehren (Lkr. Tübingen).

45. Neustetten-Wolfenhausen (Lkr. Tübingen).

46. Ehingen (Alb-Donau-Kreis).

47. Erbach-Ringingen (Alb-Donau-Kreis).

48. Bad Buchau (Lkr. Biberach).

49. Deißlingen (Lkr. Rottweil).

50. Veringenstadt (Lkr. Sigmaringen).

51. Hettingen-Inneringen (Lkr. Sigmaringen).

52. Krauchenwies-Bittelschieß (Lkr. Sigmaringen).

53. Sigmaringen-Laiz (Lkr. Sigmaringen).

54. Tuttlingen (Lkr. Tuttlingen).

55. Heidenheim an der Brenz-Mergelstetten (Lkr. Heidenheim an der Brenz).

56. Engstingen-Großengstingen (Lkr. Reutlingen).

57. Vellberg-Großaltdorf (Lkr. Schwäbisch Hall).

## Switzerland

58. Rances «Le Montet» (Kt. Vaud).

59. Ins «Grossholz» (Kt. Bern).

60. Wangen «Wieslistein» (Kt. Bern).

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## Abstract: The social structure of the Hallstatt culture in eastern and central France

Diatopic and diachronic variations that combine criteria associated with material culture and funerary rites allow us to distinguish several cultural entities within the western part of the Westhallstattkreis. In this geographical area, since Ha C, there was a gradual and continuous shift from a hierarchy based on warrior status, symbolised by the male sword tombs of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries B. C., to a dynastic hereditary system that in around one in three cases led to women reaching the top of the social pyramid. At the same time, these transformations would have been accompanied by another change in the organisation of Hallstatt societies, the transition from simple to complex chiefdoms.

## Zusammenfassung: Sozialstrukturen der Hallstattkultur in Ost- und Zentralfrankreich

Diatopische und diachrone Variationen, die mit der materiellen Kultur und den Begräbnisriten in Zusammenhang stehende Kriterien vereinen, erlauben es uns, mehrere kulturelle Einheiten innerhalb des westlichen Westhallstattkreises zu unterscheiden. In diesem geografischen Gebiet vollzog sich ab Ha C ein allmählicher und kontinuierlicher Wandel von einer auf dem Kriegerstatus basierenden Hierarchie, symbolisiert durch die Männerbestattungen

mit Schwert im 8. und 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr., hin zu einer dynastischen Erbfolge, die in einem von drei Fällen dazu führte, dass Frauen an die Spitze der sozialen Pyramide gelangten. Im selben Zeitraum erfolgte auch ein Wandel in der Organisation der hallstattzeitlichen Gesellschaft in Form eines Übergangs von einfachen hin zu komplexen Häuptlingstütern.

## Keywords / Schlagwörter

Social structure / complex chiefdom / socio-political power / dynasty / wagon graves / Hallstatt / eastern and central France

Sozialstrukturen / komplexes Häuptlingstum / gesellschaftspolitische Macht / Dynastie / Wagengräber / Ost- und Zentralfrankreich

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