FRAGMENTING THE CHIEFTAIN

A practice-based study of Early Iron Age Hallstatt C elite burials in the Low Countries

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PALMA 15

*This dissertation is dedicated
to my parents Koos and Merrilee and my husband Wouter
who all helped make it possible,
and to my daughter Leena
who did not make it impossible*

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Preface

Several years ago I had the privilege of placing the striking artifacts that make up the Chieftain's grave of Oss, undisputedly one of *the* most iconic finds from Dutch prehistory, into an exhibition case at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. A big bronze bucket known as a *situla*, a curled-up iron sword with a gold-inlaid handle, an iron knife and axe, two iron horse-bits, assorted bronze and iron horse tack decorations, some pins and a few organic fragments of unknown function all had to be carefully placed on little pedestals (Fig. 1). As I was doing this, I found myself trying to visualize how all the bits and bobs had gone together. Where did everything go? Why did *these* objects end up in *this* grave? I then looked for the repairs that are supposedly present on the situla. To my surprise, I could not find them. The 'amateuristic repairs' that allegedly indicate that this bucket was a hand-me-down, used up, second-rate vessel (Verhart/Spies 1993, 80–3), turned out to not exist. This intriguing inconsistency led me to wonder, what else might this famous and extraordinary grave still have to tell? I suppose that this moment could be described as the one where I tipped down the rabbit hole and happily got lost in a world of Hallstatt C elite graves, because interest in the Oss burial quickly leads to interest in others.

Fig. 1 The Chieftain's grave of Oss in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden. Photograph by M. Bink © RMO.

The Chieftain's grave of Oss is one of a number of rich and fascinating Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age graves that have been found in the Netherlands and Belgium. All yielded captivating finds that I now wanted to understand. What did these elite graves contain? Who was buried in them? How were the burials created and why? Satisfying answers could not be found in existing publications. The time was deemed right for the present research into these remarkable archeological complexes. A *PhD in the Humanities* (PGW-12-07) grant awarded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) made it possible, and with its publication in the National Museum of Antiquities' *PALMA* series this research has come full circle.

1 Introduction

The transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age marks the start of an era of rapid development and change in European prehistory (Nebelsick 2000b, 220; Milcent 2012, 9–10; 2015, 42; Sørensen/Thomas 1989; Wells 2011). The first millennium BC has been referred to as the period in which Europe took shape with the appearance of a number of important 'civilizations', including the Celts and Germans, north of the Alps and increasing social and political complexity (*e.g.* Biel 1993; Broodbank 2013, Ch. 10; Champion *et al.* 1984; Collis 1984, 10–20; Milcent 2012, 9–10; Thurston 2009, 351; Wells 1984, Ch. 3). It is a period marked by contact, mobility and ever-increasing interaction between Northwest and Central Europe and the Mediterranean, even in the form of structured trade between far-flung reaches (*e.g.* Collis 1984; Frankenstein/ Rowlands 1978; Huth 2012, 12; Kristiansen 1998, Ch. 6; Milcent 2012, 9–10; 2015; Schweizer 2010; Stary 1993; Wells 2008a; 2011). North of the Alps monumental settlement construction starts taking place, and during the 6th and 5th centuries BC the resultant so-called *Fürstensitze* dominate the landscape (Fernández-Götz/Krausse 2016ab; Kimmig 1969; Nakoinz 2013, 43–57).

This was a time when new materials such as iron – the very material that lends this age its name – became common in the archeological record (Collis 1984; Kristiansen 1998, 211–9; Thurston 2009, 350–1). Tools and weapons now were not only made in bronze but also of iron, a substance that requires a different way of making and using. In contrast to the ores required to make bronze, iron ores generally are spread widely and available in most areas (Collis 1984, 28–32; Kristiansen 1998, 211; Thurston 2009, 350–1; Wells 2011, 410). The adoption, exploitation and use of iron (and other new materials and technologies) resulted in (or from) changes in the trade and contact networks crisscrossing Europe during the Bronze–Iron Age transition (Cunliffe 1997; Geselowitz 1988; Huth 2012, 14; Kristiansen 1998, Ch. 6; Taylor 1989; Thurston 2009, 350–1). These developments are thought to have involved profound social change and a new social order (Cunliffe 1997; Kristiansen 1998, 210; Rieckhof/Biel 2001; Wells 1984; 2011). A novel elite way of burying arose through which a select number of individuals were laid to rest with extravagant grave goods and their burials marked with impressive monuments. Variations of this burial rite are found in large parts of Northwest and Central Europe (Collis 1984; Fernández-Götz/Arnold 2017; Hansen 2011; Kossack 1974; Kristiansen 1998, Ch. 6; Makarová 2017; Pare 1992, 203; Tremblay Cormier 2017; Wells 2011).

1.1 Early Iron Age elites and their burials

In this research the last aspect of Early Iron Age developments listed above is considered – the results of the elite burial rite: the Hallstatt C/D chieftain's burial. The term 'chieftain's burial' and its equivalents (princely burial, *Fürstengrab* in German, *tombe de chef* in French or *vorstengraf* in Dutch) are used to refer to an archeological type of Early Iron Age grave in which specific types of objects are found (Section 2.2.1.1; Fernández-Götz/Arnold 2017; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 354; Krauße 2006; Müller
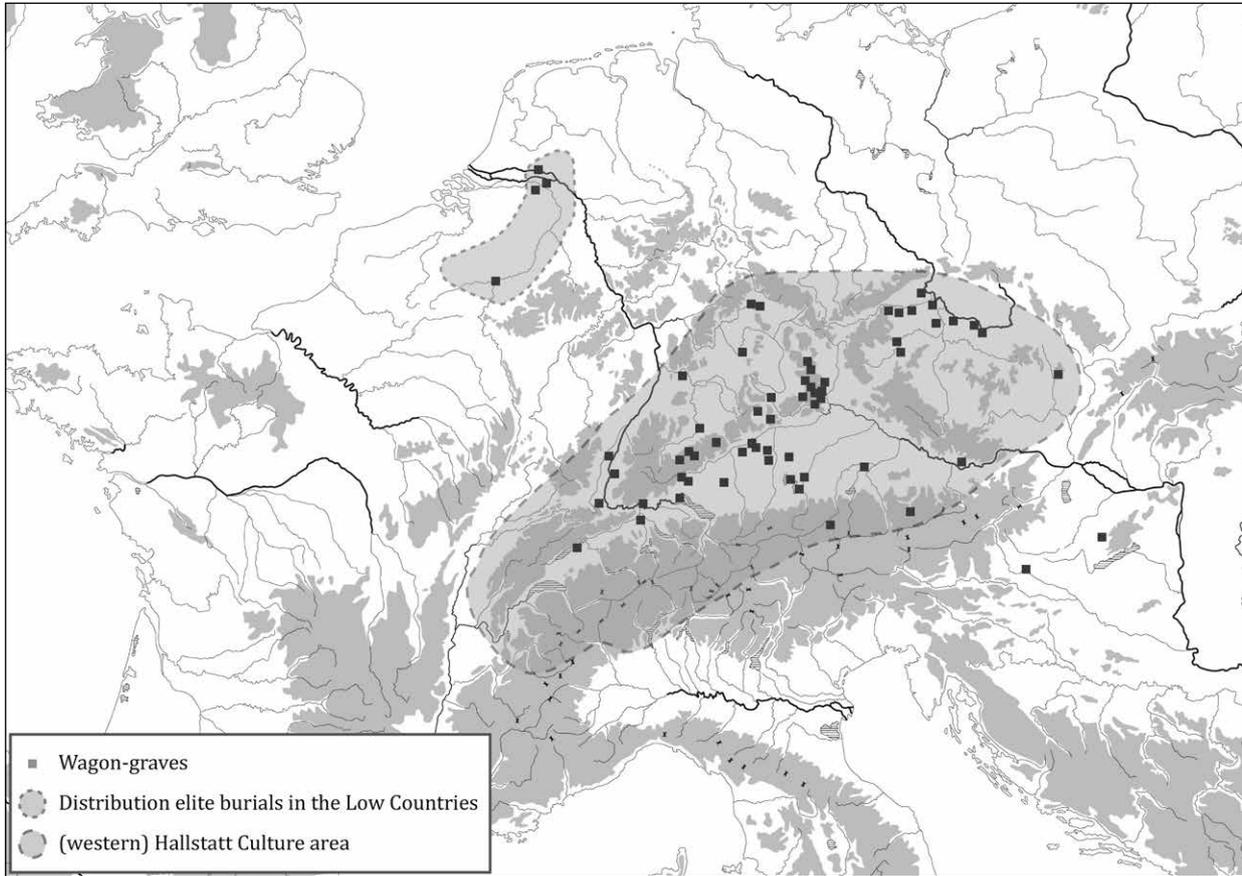
Fig. 1.1 Distribution of the elite burials of the Low Countries and the (western) Hallstatt Culture area, with wagon-graves marked. Figure after Karl 2010, fig. 2.3; Pare 1992, fig. 4; Schumann 2015, fig. 8.1.

2012).[1] The grave goods include sophisticated weaponry such as swords and daggers, richly decorated horse-gear and (ceremonial) wagons, bronze drinking and feasting vessels, tools such as knives and axes, toiletries, ornaments and sometimes even luxurious cloth survives (Augstein 2017; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001; Fernández-Götz/Arnold 2017; Kossack 1974; Krauße 2006; Schumann 2015, 269–70; Schumann/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017). During the Late Bronze Age a relatively 'egalitarian' burial rite dominated in Europe through which the general population was buried in 'collective' urnfields (Childe 1950, 200; Gerritsen 2003, 243; Harding 2000, Ch. 3; Kristiansen 1998, 113; Roymans 1991; Roymans/Kortlang 1999). The development of an ostentatious and aberrant burial rite during the Early Iron Age in parts of Northwest and Central Europe by which a select few were

buried so very differently (the so-called princely graves) therefore can be considered remarkable as it involved a break with previous customs (*e.g.* Hansen 2011; Metzner-Nebelsick 2003, 108; Pare 2003, 76), especially as this new rite involved not only a novel way of dealing with the dead, but also these specific grave goods.

Some of the objects found in these exceptional burials were newly introduced innovations in certain areas during this period (*e.g.* the horse-gear and the wagons in the present-day Low Countries). Others, like swords and axes, were already in use during the Late Bronze Age and continued to develop in shape, form and even material. The striking difference is that these very objects that are so defining of the Early Iron Age princely burials, seem to have been deliberately kept out of graves during (most of) the Late Bronze Age (*e.g.* Fontijn 2002, Ch. 8; Kristiansen 1998, 88; Milcent 2015). It is as if during this earlier period there was a cultural rule which dictated that these objects should not accompany the dead to their final resting place but should be deposited, for example in hoards.

The archeologically visible shift from river and hoard deposition to burial deposition is often linked to the rise of

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1   In this research I use the terms chieftain's burial and princely grave interchangeably for the sake of readability. I use these words purely to indicate this archeological phenomenon. It is a term that has evolved historically, and though recently contested in the Low Countries (see Jansen 2011; Roymans 2011), I find no problem in using it in its descriptive sense (see also Section 2.2.1.1).

the (traditional Hallstatt C/D chieftain's) elite burial and has been interpreted as one of the ways that elites affirmed and expressed their social position (Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 354–5; 369–70; Frankenstein/ Rowlands 1978; Huth 2003a; Kristiansen 1989; Roymans 1991, 30–2; 56). To some scholars this signals a change of setting for the 'conspicuous consumption' of valuables (Kristiansen 1989; Roymans 1991), while others take the burials as evidence of a new cosmology shared throughout Europe (*e.g.* Huth 2003a). The people buried in these strikingly new and different graves are thought to have formed an elite stratum that stood at the apex of a hierarchical society that revolved around and was controlled by these elites (Biel 1987; Frankenstein/ Rowlands 1978; Kimmig 1969; Sangmeister 1994; Sievers 1982; Zürn 1970; though see Biel 2007; Jung 2005).

In Central Europe (during the 6th and 5th centuries BC) these elites supposedly lived in the large fortified and monumental settlements known as *Fürstensitze,* which are interpreted as their royal residences (Biel 2007; Fernández-Götz/Krausse 2016ab; Kimmig 1969; Nakoinz 2013). They supposedly strove to emulate Mediterranean lifestyles and habits as another way of legitimizing their social positions (Fischer 1973; Huth 2012, 122; see also Jung 2007; Schweizer 2012). To this end ostentatious drinking and feasting vessels and other goods were imported and acquired from that region and their use allegedly was controlled and restricted (*e.g.* Arnold 1999; Dietler 1990: Frankenstein/Rowlands 1978; Jung 2007; Kimmig 1969; see also Section 6.1).

The Early Iron Age elite graves primarily belong to the Hallstatt Culture and are concentrated in southern Germany though they are found from Burgundy in the west to Moravia and parts of Hungary and Slovenia in the east (*e.g.* Augstein 2017; Fernández-Götz/Arnold 2017; Hansen 2011; Huth 2012, 10; Karl 2010; Kossack 1974; Makarová 2017; Metzner-Nebelsick 2017; Milcent 2015; 2017; Tremblay Cormier 2017; Wells 2011) and have been intensely researched for over a century (*e.g.* Kossack 1954; 1959; see Krauße 2006 for an overview). This research focuses on one of the more mystifying aspects of the European Early Iron Age elite burial phenomenon – a small cluster of comparable burials found far removed from the Hallstatt Culture: the elite graves of the Low Countries (Fig. 1.1).

1.1.1 Elite graves in the Low Countries

The Chieftain's grave of Oss (Fig. 4.7) was the first such burial in the Low Countries to be excavated professionally by archeologists, though similar complexes had been found by chance. It was, however, the study and publication of Oss by J.H. Holwerda (1934) that triggered academic interest in these special burials in the Low Countries. He recognized the similarity between some of the Oss

objects and those found in Central Europe, and justifiably asserted the importance of this Chieftain's grave on a European scale (see also Chapter 7). In the next 30 years older discoveries containing similar objects started attracting attention. M.-E. Mariën (1958) studied and published the exceptional cemetery of Court-St-Etienne. A few years later P.J.R. Modderman studied the wagon-grave of Wijchen together with G. Kossack, though they never published their results. The former did publish his study of Oss, which is when its English name *Chieftain's grave of Oss* first appeared in print (Modderman 1964). Since then, many more graves containing similar objects have been discovered. At present there are a handful of burials known as chieftains' graves in the Low Countries, and several dozen related (probable[2]) graves. Even though the latter are not actually labeled 'chieftains' graves', due to their resemblance they frequently are included in the elite burial debate (and are therefore a part of the present research; see also below and Section 2.2.1.1).

1.1.1.1 Connections between the Low Countries and the Hallstatt Culture

As already recognized by Holwerda (1934), in terms of (sets of) grave goods, the Dutch and Belgian graves resemble the *Fürstengräber* of the Hallstatt Culture found in Central Europe. They contain weaponry, horse-gear and (ceremonial) wagons, bronze vessels, tools, toiletries and ornaments in various configurations. In Central Europe these objects are found alongside the inhumated remains of the dead in massive wooden chambers underneath monumental barrows (though they also are found in other kinds of burials), while in the Low Countries they are found in cremation burials. These graves, the Dutch and Belgian chieftains' graves and the Central European *Fürstengräber*, represent unprecedentedly monumental and elaborate burials. The richness of the grave goods and the immense burial structures that cover the graves are in striking contrast with the earlier and in the Low Countries contemporary, 'egalitarian' urnfield burial custom (*cf.* Gerritsen 2003, 243; Roymans 1991; Roymans/ Kortlang 1999) in which grave goods are sparse, if present at all. Not only do the Low Countries chieftains' graves and Central European *Fürstengräber* contain a similar grave set, most of the objects found in the Dutch and Belgian graves are likely imports from southern Germany and Upper Austria (some possibly even from Eastern Europe). Their presence in the Low Countries showcases that there was contact between these areas and that somehow elite objects made their way several hundred kilometers across Europe. The nature of this contact, however, is a matter of long-

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2　Some of the finds discussed in the Catalogue are believed to be burials but no human remains survive, making their identification as 'burials' conjecture (see Section 1.2.1.2).

standing discussion and continues to fascinate (Fokkens/ Jansen 2004, 73–87; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007; Fontijn/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2016; Huth 2003a; Roymans 1991, 56–61; Van der Vaart-Verschoof/Schumann 2017).

As there appear to be (almost) no similar, typical Hallstatt Culture finds in the areas between these regions (Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 77; Pare 1992, Fig. 135; Roymans 1991, 47–50; figs. 10; 16), an intriguing question remains whether the people living in these areas shared social customs, cultural habits and a similar belief system, which some believe are reflected in the burials (*e.g.* Huth 2003a; Roymans 1991, 57). How should we envisage the contact that existed between the distant Early Iron Age societies that involved not only the sharing of objects, but also certain social customs over such a large area, while the lack of such finds and burials in the area in between suggest that we are not dealing with simple diffusion or down-the-line exchange?

Despite their many similarities to Central European burials, the Chieftain's grave of Oss and others like it in the Low Countries traditionally are perceived as peripheral manifestations (Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 84; Gerritsen 2003, 10–3; Huth 2003a) as are those in northern and western France during the Early Iron Age (Milcent 2015, 23). For years archeologists have seen the people buried in these Dutch and Belgian graves as local leaders who attained status and wealth (in part) through their ability to maintain contacts with the Hallstatt 'core area' (Fokkens/ Jansen 2004, 84–5; Roymans 1991; *cf.* Frankenstein/ Rowlands 1978). Scholars have explained this contact by attempting to identify the commercial export that the inhabitants of the Low Countries had to offer in trade for these exotic imports (Pare 1992, 171; Roymans 1991, 50–4). In recent years new excavations and new research have started to topple reigning interpretations (Fokkens *et al.* 2009; Fontijn *et al.* 2013a; Fontijn/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2016; Jansen in prep.; Jansen *et al.* 2011; Van der Vaart 2011), and the idea that the combination of grave goods found in the Low Countries elite burials reflect Central European influence has been challenged, with many arguing for an Atlantic influence or predecessor (*e.g.* De Mulder/Bourgeois 2011, 309; Milcent 2004, 108–12; 2012; 2015; Warmenbol 2015).

1.1.1.2 How the elite burials were studied in the past and present thinking

In the past research mainly focused on the (types of) objects interred with the (elite) dead. The current research argues that a better understanding can be achieved by studying the grave goods and human remains in detail and in doing so consider how the objects and the dead were treated and what kinds of acts were incorporated into the burial rituals. By embracing practice theory (Section 2.2.2) and studying the burial practice it is possible to consider how

(differently) people were represented in death. A case study of a select number of chieftains' burials involving examination of the grave goods as a medium for examining the burial practice yielded very promising results (Van der Vaart 2011), and this research aims to do the same on a larger scale. It has been over half a century since anyone has studied the actual objects found in these graves, and the case study showed that detailed study of the grave goods from these burials can provide unexpected insights. The current research therefore returns to the primary data and artifacts in order to understand the burial practice (see below).

A comprehensive study of the Dutch and Belgian elite burials is needed in order to study the elite burials of the Low Countries and explore the connection that existed between this area and the rest of Northwest and Central Europe. Even though the chieftains' burials belong to the top finds of the Low Countries and are the star attractions in many museums and special exhibitions (Fig. 1), knowledge about their actual content and context is poor. Most such graves were found by chance at the end of the 19th or the first half of the 20th century and neither were excavated properly nor extensively published. Apart from the most eye-catching finds like the *situlae* (Holwerda 1934; see Fig. 6.1), the sword of Oss (Modderman 1964; see Figs. 6.3, 6.5 and C26.4) and the linchpins of Wijchen (Pare 1992; see Fig. 4.12), most of the objects recovered from these burials have never been studied or published in detail. In many cases there is not even a published overview of all the objects found in a famous grave or such overviews have turned out to be incomplete (see the Catalogue), making past statements regarding grave contents rather suspect. The elite burials, however, cannot be understood in isolation. One must consider how the new practice of identifying individuals as high status members of society in graves could come about by reflecting on why some people's swords were deposited while others took their elite paraphernalia to the grave. Moreover, these burials represent a fraction of the graves from this period, and one must therefore also consider how they differ from the urnfield burials.

Lastly, the Dutch and Belgian graves cannot be understood without considering the area where the objects found in them come from and how they were treated there. Again, by focusing on the burial practice, on what people were actually doing with these objects, we in time will be able to better comprehend the connection that existed between the Low Countries and Central Europe (Sections 2.4 and 7.3). This research therefore not only contributes to the very local understanding of the Early Iron Age Low Countries, but also touches upon wider research themes such as mobility and contact in later prehistoric Europe and problems of culture contact.

It forms a step towards understanding how individuals living in the Low Countries and the Central European Hallstatt Culture interacted (see also Fontijn/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2016; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017).

1.2 Research questions and methodology

The above discussed how new research and excavations indicate that we need to review our understanding of the Low Countries' elite burials and their role in Early Iron Age society. In the past the focus has been on the (larger) grave goods, but a comprehensive understanding of these burials can only be achieved by considering the elite burial practice. This research therefore seeks to identify and understand *the burial practice through which the Early Iron Age elite burials (some of which are known as chieftains' graves) in the Low Countries were created.*

This understanding is achieved by conducting research on several different levels, focusing on the artifacts and the actions fossilized in them, the individual burial complexes and burial rituals, and by comparing Early Iron Age burial practices in the Low Countries with those of the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe. To this end the following research questions were formulated (deriving in part from what was discussed in Section 1.1.1.2):

1. *What was the social and cultural significance of the objects selected for burial?*
2. *How did the elite burial practice develop?*
3. *How was the elite burial ritual practiced and what was its social, cultural and ideological significance?*
4. *How does the elite burial practice in the Low Countries compare with contemporaneous burial practices in the Low Countries and Central Europe?*

Each of these questions requires its own approach to answer. The following describes the methodology employed and the research conducted, giving also the motivation and reasoning behind both, and how these answer a specific research question or contribute towards answering one, listing also where the results of the research described are given.

1.2.1 Elite burials: definition, inventory and examination

In order to study the elite funerary practice and answer the research questions this research first had to establish how many elite burials there are in the Low Countries, for which it needed to determine what an elite (burial) is and how they may be recognizable archeologically. This was approached from two angles, namely by considering which Early Iron Age Dutch and Belgian burials (traditionally) are identified as elite burials, what was found in them and what can be

defined or recognized as elite from a more theoretical perspective.

1.2.1.1 Identifying elites and their graves

In the past, attempts to understand the elite burials were based primarily on the Prestige Goods model (*e.g.* Friedman/Rowlands 1977; Kristiansen 1998, Ch. 6; Roymans 1991), which does not consider what elites actually are and can be. How they can function or might become archeologically visible has rarely been addressed in relation to Early Iron Age burials (with a few exceptions, *e.g.* Schumann 2015). In order to identify the deceased found in these burials as elite and discuss what role they may have played in society, one must first establish what elites are and how such a social class may be recognizable in the archeological record (see Section 2.1). Rareness of burials and objects or the size of burial monuments is not solid grounds for labeling the buried dead and presumed owners of the extravagant grave goods as elites (*cf.* Krauße 2006, 66–8; Müller 2012, 12). This research therefore considered what can be defined and recognized as an elite burial by examining what traditionally is defined as such, what an elite is and whether we can recognize them in the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age burials of the Low Countries traditionally labeled elite graves. An extensive literature research into elite sociology was conducted, resulting in the theory of elites discussed in Section 2.2, focusing on how the burials generally identified as those of elites relate to how elites are theoretically defined. This was of necessity a somewhat paradoxical, circular way of working that could not be avoided, as the decision to study elite theory flowed from a pre-selection of graves and that theory was then applied to that same selection.

1.2.1.2 Creating a Catalogue

In most cases, the artifacts from the elite graves are all that survive. Context information tends to be lacking as most of the burials are old (chance) discoveries. It is therefore mainly through the objects and the actions they reflect that these graves can be understood. Prior to this research, however, there was no overview of all such burials nor of what they contain. A complete inventory of chieftains' graves and otherwise rich or elite graves and their contents therefore was created, including information regarding how the grave goods were used and treated before and during the burial rituals. Such a comprehensive overview is also intended to make possible future comparisons between the elite burials of France and Central Europe and the so-called peripheral Low Countries. This overview was created through literature research and by visiting museums and depots in order to inventory (and analyze, see below) artifacts. An extensive literature research was conducted, and note was made of every mention of Hallstatt Culture imports or rich

grave goods. The overview works of rich Early Iron Age burials in the Low Countries, such as those by Mariën (1958) and Roymans (1991) formed the starting point for the inventory. Experts working on Early Iron Age burial practices in this area were consulted, likely journals and series were searched and the Archis 2 database[3] was consulted for recent excavations with relevant finds. The original publications of all sites were consulted.

Graves were selected for study based on a number of factors. All burials known as chieftains' graves or elite burials in the Low Countries were studied, as were graves containing at least one of the objects considered 'chiefly' or elite (such as bronze vessels, weaponry, horse-gear and/or wagon components; see Section 2.1.2 and Chapter 6), including also such burials that appear to be chronologically Late Bronze Age. Any burials described as rich in literature were included (I use the problematic term 'rich' to refer to graves that contain more or other grave goods than the usual urnfield burials). I stress that this division between 'rich' and 'simple' burials is the product of the current paradigm and one of necessity in terms of what is possible to study within a PhD-research, and that I reexamine and reassess this in Section 8.1 in the hope of creating nuance in our understanding of Early Iron Age funerary practice (see also Louwen in prep.). I also selected burials that are used in literature as parallels for specific finds from elite burials. Any graves with metal finds like toiletries from sites that also yielded elite burials were incorporated to give an overview of said sites. Any such finds that are believed to be from graves were included, even though in some cases no (record of) human remains survive.

All information was recorded for each site and (probable) grave selected for study, with a particular focus on find circumstances, burial context and information regarding the objects and human remains. The post-excavation history of the objects and burials was considered as well, as this is often crucial to understanding these (old) finds (see Chapter C3). Any available information regarding restoration work on the artifacts and existing interpretations was noted, documented and also included in the Catalogue (see below). Most published descriptions of grave goods were not detailed enough for the purpose of this research. In those cases the current location of the grave goods was determined and access arranged. The objects then were studied in detail and photographed. In many cases it was only through this combination of literature research and examination of objects in museums and depots that a complete overview of the contents of a grave could be established.

While actual examination of all artifacts from the selected burials was preferred, many unfortunately have been lost and in those cases literature study had to suffice. As part of the inventory process every artifact (fragment) was given a unique number that consists of a site code (listed in Appendix A1.3), burial number and sequential number. The sword from Basse-Wavre Tombelle 5, for example, is identified by the number *BW.T5.3*. When such an identifying number is followed by an asterisk, this means that I did not examine the artifact (because it was lost, inaccessible or adequately published). The lost pin fragments from the same grave, for example, are identified by the number *BW.T5.5**. In the Catalogue the current location (when known) of finds and other numbers used in literature or museums and depots are given so that in future the artifacts can be located more easily.

Once inventoried, integral and comparative analyses of the objects as a whole were conducted with a particular focus on recognizing human action. The result of this research phase can be found in the accompanying *Fragmenting the Chieftain – Catalogue. Late Bronze and Early Iron Age elite burials in the Low Countries*. In this Catalogue the terminology and typology of the various types of grave goods (Chapter C2) are given and the dataset of burials is described in detail. This volume forms the first comprehensive overview of rich Late Bronze–Early Iron Age elite burials – with Hallstatt Culture imports or otherwise – in the Low Countries (note also that all photographs taken will be available freely for researchers through Data Archiving and Networked Services; DANS EASY). The dataset presented in the Catalogue is summarized in Chapter 4. The Catalogue is intended not only to facilitate the current research, but also to assist studies and considerations of these graves and objects by other (future) scholars interested in the primary data regarding the burials discussed. For many graves this is their first (detailed) publication in English. Chapters, figures, sections and tables in the Catalogue all start with 'C' to indicate that they can be found in that volume. For more information on Basse-Wavre, for example, the reader is referred to Chapter C5 (in the Catalogue), while Chapter 5 (in this volume) discusses the (development) of the elite burial practice.

1.2.2 Why these grave goods

The selection of objects interred as grave goods likely was significant and meaningful (Huth 2003a; Pare 1992). How an object was used and treated (its cultural biography; Kopytoff 1986) can provide insights into the meaning it may have had and why it was selected for deposition (*cf.* Fontijn 2002; see also Section 2.3). To

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3 Archis is the automated Archeological Information System (my translation) of the Netherlands, managed by the Cultural Heritage Agency, in which archeological sites and finds from all time periods are recorded.

understand why certain (types of) objects were selected for burial, this research considers what their social and cultural significance may have been (research question 1) by looking at use-wear, iconography, early texts and published works on how bronze vessels, swords, wagons and horse-gear, tools, and items of self-adornment were used and buried. The results of this phase are discussed in Chapter 6.

1.2.3 The development of the elite burial practice

In order to consider how the elite burial practice developed (research question 2), this research first established the dating of the inventoried graves (to see which might be early and which late) and secondly considered how the elite burial practice arose and then developed through time.

1.2.3.1 Dating the burials

In the past the elite burials in the Low Countries were dated almost exclusively on typochronological grounds, even though most available typochronological schemes are based on Central Europe. ^{14}C-dating of the Dutch and Belgian burials became possible with the introduction of AMS-dating (only small fragments of datable material survive) but was not attempted until some 20 years ago due to the calibration difficulties of the Hallstatt plateau. The result is that different scholars sometimes give different dates for the same burial (see Section 3.2). Better dating of the burials was needed to understand how this practice evolved and compares to other regions (see below). New ^{14}C-datings therefore were conducted on find material from the key site the Chieftain's burial of Oss and combined with new typochronologies that do take the Dutch and Belgian finds into account to create a new chronology of these burials. The results are discussed in Chapter 3.

1.2.3.2 The rise of the elite grave

The research phases described above and below are intended to establish what the elite graves are and what their role was within the Early Iron Age Low Countries and Europe. An important question, however, is how this burial practice evolved and whether it was a sudden occurrence or a more gradual process rooted in earlier customs (Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 365). Elite objects that were kept out of the burial sphere in the Late Bronze Age suddenly were deemed suited to deposition in graves, thereby identifying the deceased as elite (see Section 2.1 and Chapter 5) – something that was avoided before. How could such a shift in social customs come about? The rise of the elite burial practice was examined by considering the overlap and shift that existed in social customs relating to the representation of elites during the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition. In particular, the research looked at how the types of objects

that end up in the elite burials during the Early Iron Age were treated during the preceding Late Bronze Age and whether the objects found in the elite burials also were deposited elsewhere during the Early Iron Age. The results of this research phase are discussed in Chapter 5.

1.2.4 Reconstructing elite burial practice

The detailed examinations of grave goods and (when possible) their find context cannot only reveal how objects were used in life, but also can shed light on how they were treated during the burial ritual and by extension on the elite burial practice. By studying this social practice more can be learned about the people buried in these graves *and* the mourners who did the burying. The choices made and customs upheld in terms of the objects deposited, the treatment of the dead and their grave goods and the places where they were buried all needed to be considered. By reconstructing the burial practice through which these special people were laid to rest, this research aims to get a step closer to understanding their role within the Early Iron Age Low Countries. This phase considered how the elite burial ritual was practiced and its social, cultural and ideological significance (research question 3).

A comprehensive understanding of the funerary ritual and the complex treatments of the grave goods was created by charting the life-paths of the grave goods (and all fragments) with a particular focus on recognizing the way objects were manipulated (disassembling, folding, breaking, incomplete deposition) during burial rituals. This was done through the detailed examination of objects, both macroscopically and using low-power magnification by which traces of use can be recognized on a microscopic level. For certain analyses specialists were consulted. Once detailed information on the individual artifacts was collected, the burials were 'reassembled' to reconstruct the individual funerary rituals in as much detail as possible. While this occasionally was limited by their (sometimes very poor) find circumstances and differences in conservation and documentation, a lot was revealed by taking advantage of each burial's unique history. Through comprehensive analysis of the individual funerary rituals the burial practice was reconstructed. The results of this research phase are described both in the Catalogue and in Chapters 4, 5 and 7.

1.2.5 The elite graves within the spectrum of local and Central European burial practices

The examination of only the chieftains' and other exceptional burials of the Low Countries would give a very one-dimensional view of Early Iron Age mortuary ritual and this research therefore puts this elite burial practice in perspective by comparing it to contemporary burial practices, both locally and farther afield (research question 4). This is of necessity a summary comparison as

it was not feasible to study the whole spectrum of burial practices that occur in the archeological record of the Early Iron Age in as much detail as the elite burials of the Low Countries, but it is hoped that it will be possible to elaborate on these issues in the near future (see also Louwen in prep.).

1.2.5.1 The local burial practices spectrum
The Early Iron Age elite burials of the Low Countries are very much the exception – the majority of the population in the Low Countries was interred through (variations of) the urnfield burial practice in which each individual was buried in an urn under a very small mound with little to no grave goods, at most small personal dress items like pins (*cf.* De Mulder 2011; Desittere 1968; Fontijn 2002; Kooi 1979; Theuws/Roymans 1999). The elite burial practice therefore was compared with the 'urnfield burial practice', in so far as was possible within the current research. For this research phase I relied on literature and research of others, in particular A.J. Louwen's (in prep.) ongoing work into the contemporaneous urnfield burial practice(s). The results of this research phase are considered in Chapter 5.

1.2.5.2 The Low Countries elite on a European scale
One of the most fascinating and intriguing aspects of these elite burials is that many of the objects deposited in them were imported from far away, and any attempt to the comprehensively understand the Dutch and Belgian elite graves needs to address their connection with the rest of (Northwest and Central) Europe. Many researchers have considered how the objects made their way to the Low Countries (*i.e.* through down-the-line or direct exchange) and what kind of relationship existed between the Low Countries elites and those living elsewhere in Northwest and Central Europe (Fontijn/Fokkens 2007; Huth 2003a; Milcent 2015; Van der Vaart-Verschoof/Schumann 2017). Were the objects all that were imported or did the Low Countries elites take over customs and belief systems (or even people) from Central Europe? In this research, the elite burials of the Low Countries therefore are considered on a European scale, in particular the contacts that existed with the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe, in so far as this is possible within the scope of this research and the current (poor) availability of data and information. A number of the characteristic features of the Low Countries elite burial practice as established in this research are compared with burial practices of the Hallstatt Culture. The results of this research phase are discussed in Chapter 7.

1.2.6 Conclusion: fulfilling the main research goal
The results of the research phases and answers to the research questions described above are combined in Chapter 7 in order to comprehensively understand *the burial practice through which the Early Iron Age elite burials (some of which are known as chieftains' graves) in the Low Countries were created.* In the final chapter questions raised by the current research and possibilities for future research are discussed, and the manner in which the current research was conducted is reviewed. This research forms a step towards the comprehensive understanding of the Early Iron Age burial practices in the Low Countries and in turn could help move forward our understanding of Early Iron Age elites in Europe.

2 Theoretical framework: identifying elites and their graves

This chapter introduces and discusses a number of (theoretical) concepts and issues that are needed to study and understand the Early Iron Age elite burial practice. A workable definition of elites is presented and how we might recognize them archeologically is discussed. Related to this is how 'chieftains' graves' – acknowledged as a specific kind of elite burial – are defined and how the very richest graves can dominate our understanding of past funerary practices. The burial practice concept and a number of related issues are considered also and practice theory is introduced as this offers a way of translating the study of actions through objects to studies of the social. Lastly, the archeology of culture contact is touched upon as this research also considers the relationship that existed between the Low Countries and the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe.

2.1 Defining and recognizing elites

As introduced in the previous chapter, in order to understand the elite burial practice it needs to be established how many such graves there are in the Low Countries. To do so this research considers what elites are and how they might be archeologically recognizable in burials. In this section the definition of and criteria for defining elites used in this research are discussed and how they can be recognized in the burials under discussion through the sociology of elite distinction.

2.1.1 Defining elites

Defining 'elites' is easier said than done, even though the issue of stratification within society has been much studied, reviewed and published on (*e.g.* Daloz 2010; Drennan *et al.* 2012; Higley 2010; Lopez 2013; Sastre 2011; Williams 2012). Under 'elite' in Darvill's (2002) concise Oxford dictionary of archeology is a referral to stratified society, which is defined as: "A society in which competing groups have unequal access to power and/or resources, some groups being subordinate to others. The uppermost stratum is termed an elite." In recent theory elites are defined as "actors controlling resources, occupying key positions and relating through power networks" (Lopez 2013, 3; Yamokoski/Dubrow 2008), in which power (in the Weberian sense) "can be achieved through material and/or symbolic resources" (Lopez 2013, 3; Reis/Moore 2005). Elites, however, are not rooted necessarily in strict class distinctions. There are other kinds of social elites, and they do not automatically have greater power. For example modern day elites are not only our political figureheads, but also musicians, movie stars, philanthropists and so forth. This research therefore understands *elites* as categories of people who stand at or near the apex of society (*cf.* Daloz 2010). This terminology has heuristic advantages, as it encompasses all kinds of upper groups, rather than solely the politically powerful.

While I acknowledge that this looser definition still carries with it problems regarding what exactly is understood as an upper group, and does not resolve the concomitant complicated concepts such as social stratification and the contested issue of power, delving into these goes well beyond the scope of this research. In order to answer the research question posed, it suffices to identify (some of) the burials under discussion as elite graves, *i.e.* the burials of exceptional individuals who likely held a high social status. I stress that I use the term elites to describe, not to explain (*cf.* Stockhammer 2012a, 10–1). What, in my opinion, marks (some of) the graves under consideration as elite burials is discussed in the following sections.

2.1.2 Recognizing elites – how they make their status visible

Generally speaking, graves are accepted as the prime source of archeological information on issues of social ranking, and though frequently debated, the principle that "mortuary differences reflect social differences" remains widely accepted and practiced (Drennan *et al.* 2012, 46; *e.g.* Binford 1971; Brown 1981; Carr 1995; Hodder 1982; Parker Pearson 1999; Milcent 2015; Thurston 2012). Even though many of the burials under study are accepted relatively widely as elite burials, in this section I want to show that, for the present study, identifying them as such is based on more than just the extravagance of the burial set or the labor investment that the large funerary monuments represent (even though these are widely accepted signifiers of social differences). It is not only the elaborateness of the graves under discussion and the objects that they contain that indicate they are the final resting places of elites, it is also the nature of the grave goods.

2.1.2.1 The three main social fields of showing distinction

People can distinguish themselves in many different ways, and while social distinction is not restricted to the upper spheres of society, the logics at work at the top tend to be more visible. A person might show his/her status through embodied or external signs of superiority, as well as through indirect signs (Daloz 2010, 2–4). Of these, however, it is really only the external, material signals of elite distinction that might be archeologically recognizable. The relevant feature of elite distinction for this research is that these external signals of social distinction most often manifest materially in specific types of *transport, food and drink consumption* or the sphere of *personal appearance* (Daloz 2010), as these are represented in the traditional chieftains' graves and Late Bronze–Early Iron Age elite burials more generally (Milcent 2015; Pare 1992; Schuman 2015; Treherne 1995).

Transport

It seems that it is, and has always been, a priority to be able to travel as fast as possible, with as much comfort and style as can be had. This is why vehicles tend to be highly valued and why they feature strongly in competitive display – they were and are more than just means of transport. Vehicles can be an important means of getting attention (Daloz 2010, 72–4), which certainly holds true for the horse-gear and wagons found in the elite burials. They are widely acknowledged as exceptional and attention-grabbing conveyances (Section 6.3; *cf.* Egg 1989; Egg/Pare 1993; Pare 1992).

Food and drink

The consumption of specific (higher-quality) foods and drink, or in certain quantities, always features in social distinction. Not only the consumption of specific special or rare foods can play a role, but likewise the ability to offer these high quality foods to guests is often a major means of distinction (Arnold 1999; Daloz 2010, 77–80; Dietler/Hayden 2001; Knipper *et al.* 2015, 579). Analysis of the Chieftain of Oss' cremation remains suggests he may have consumed a particularly rich diet (Lemmers *et al.* 2012; Smits/Verhart 1997), and analysis of the slightly later Prince of Glauberg has shown that he consumed a distinctive diet featuring more meat and fish or special types of meat than his contemporaries (Knipper *et al.* 2015, 589). Another way to signal social distinction is the use of special food and drink containers or ways of serving, of which there is ample evidence in both the Low Countries and Hallstatt Culture burials (see Section 6.1).

Personal appearance

Within all social groups aspects of personal appearance can play an important role. These can be material or physical. Material signs include clothing and jewelry. Clothes are not only a way to protect the body, but they also convey meanings and signals (*e.g.* Grömer 2017). They can elicit deference, provoke sexual interest or in other ways reinforce identity (see also Sections 6.5 and C2.7). In addition to showing the conspicuous consumption of the individual wearing the clothes, certain garments also can signal a disassociation from physical work (Daloz 2010, 64–6; Veblen 1994 [1899]). The human body can signal distinction as well through certain physiques, hairstyles or facial hair which may be valued highly. As archeologists we may not find past people's physical appearance, but we can find the things used to maintain their ideas of beauty. Again, there are many examples of valuable objects used in body care found in the elite burials (*cf.* Daloz 2010, 90; *e.g.* Harding 2008; Treherne 1995).

2.1.3 Conclusion on elites

Although I acknowledge the somewhat paradoxical problem that I had to pre-select graves in order to consider whether they might be elite burials, it would appear that the types of objects found in the Dutch and Belgian burials under study reflect refinement in the three social fields – transport, food and drink, personal appearance – in which distinction generally is expressed. I also believe that the swords would have contributed to and could have reflected a specific kind of personal appearance. Similar to Milcent (2015, 24–7) in his discussion of Atlantic and French elites, in this research the bronze vessels, wagons and horse-gear (and swords) therefore are identified as elite gear, a label also confirmed by their status as 'exotica' (especially the (decorated) Mindelheim swords; see Section 6.2.1.2). It is striking though that many of the other types of items identified by Milcent (2015, 24–7) as such are not found in the Dutch and Belgian burials (*i.e.* "large golden jewelry; defensive weapons such as shields and helmets; […] other feasting gear, notably flesh hooks and rotary spits" or "precision weights and beams from scales; model wagons; musical instruments".

It should be noted though that while we tend to differentiate between 'elite burials' and 'others' (see also Section 7.2.2), distinction is more commonly something that takes place within the dominant class, rather than between it and subordinate classes and there are many examples that show that distinction in one of the social fields identified above can jumpstart the ability to conquer other fields of distinction (Daloz 2010, 65–7). It is important to consider that specific prior knowledge is required to properly comprehend most signals of social distinction. Though it is also true that many manifestations of high station might be impressive, even if the viewer does not completely understand them. The point is that distinction strategies only make sense to an audience that is at least somewhat versed in understanding the strategy employed (Daloz 2010, 92; Wells 2008b; see also Section 2.3.4).

2.2 Burials – rituals and practice

As this research seeks to understand a specific burial practice, the following sections discuss how a number of relevant terms, such as grave, burial, burial ritual and burial practice can best be defined so that it is clear what is meant by certain terms. The traditional definition for an Early Iron Age elite burial in the Low Countries, the 'chieftain's grave', is also considered, followed by discussion of how this has in a way hindered our understanding of the burial practice (the problem of the 'ideal burial'). This section also discusses what burials might reflect – about both the decedent and the mourners. Following this, a number of practical issues relating to the (study of) the

cremation process are addressed as almost all burials under study are cremation graves.

2.2.1 Defining graves and burials, rituals and practice

While the terms *grave* and *burial* are frequently used interchangeably, some authors make a distinction between the two with the latter being the physical act of burying, while the former is the place of burial (McKinley 1997, 130). In this research both terms are used to refer to the result to keep the text readable. During the *burial ritual* or *funerary ritual* the corporeal remains of a deceased individual are disposed of. The ritual can include a range of activities and occupy various timespans, depending how one defines it. For example, does it start when someone dies or when the remains arrive at the burial site? And if a community returns to a burial site years later, is it part of the same ritual? What is included as part of the burial ritual therefore needs to be made explicit.

In this research *burial ritual* is used to refer to the actions taken from the moment someone dies to the activities surrounding the disposal of the physical remains. Burial rituals generally include activities that cannot be recognized archeologically, such as the laying out of the corpse prior to cremation or burial (McKinley 1997, 130; see Sprague 2005, 70–1 for an overview of some examples), and it is important to acknowledge that through artifacts and their archeological contexts we likely see only a fraction of the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age funerary rituals conducted. Moreover, some of the Dutch and Belgian burials and sites reveal activities carried out some time after the actual burying. These are discussed as they relate to the graves that form the focus of this research, to the dead buried in them and to the people who did the burying and grieving. However, these are not deemed part of the actual burial ritual. This is my own, modern distinction and this division may not have been apparent to the prehistoric communities discussed in this research.

The terms *burial practice* or *funerary practice* in this study are more in line with practices as they are described in practice theory, as developed among others by P. Bourdieu (1977) and A. Giddens (1979; 1984). According to practice theory, practices govern the actions of people, practices are made up of actions, and actions are essentially social (Ortner 2006; Schatzki 1996, 90–7). People come to be through practices and through practices they interconnect. Within practices personal viewpoints and actions are structured and brought together. Practices carry considerations, empathies, and intelligibilities. Social order and individuality are the products of practices (Schatzki 1996, 13). In other words, a practice is a series of actions carried out by a single individual, but that series of actions is not defined by reference to that person alone.

They may be composed of a single person's activities, but the life conditions these activities express determine to which practice the behavior belongs (Giddens 1984, 21; Schatzki 1996, 106; 144). People's conditions depend on two things. The first of these is the specific practice they are carrying out at a certain moment. The second is the wider system of practices that carries understandings of life conditions, and which people enact and are confronted with which nurture physical capabilities. So when an individual carries out acts of X, it presupposes a widespread practice of X-ing. People, however, may have varying views of common actions they carry out, as can be observed through differences in their doing (Schatzki 1996, 92–132). The series of actions carried out during a burial ritual are dictated by the wider, overarching system of practices – the rules, guidelines, structure and understandings of the practice – that guide how such actions should be carried out. So when acts of X are carried out during a burial ritual, it indicates a widespread (burial) practice of X-ing.

So in summary, in this research *burial ritual* refers to a specific series of actions in which a person is laid to rest. For example, the burial ritual through which the Chieftain of Oss was laid to rest. *Burial practice* or *funerary practice* refers more to a cultural norm of how to bury. *Grave* and *burial* are used to refer to the result.

2.2.1.1 The 'chieftain's grave' as an archeological type of burial

From their very first discovery centuries ago, a number of Early Iron Age graves have been known as 'chieftains' graves' or 'princely burials', or by similar terms in other languages (Section 1.1; *e.g.* Holwerda 1934; Kossack 1974; Modderman 1964). They are seen as the final resting places of elites, as showcased by the very words used to describe them. The interpretation of these graves has been based primarily on the ostensible richness of the burial goods and/or the apparent time and effort it would have taken to construct the (generally quite large) funerary monuments. The variation in the richness of grave goods has been taken as evidence that this upper social stratum was not homogeneous but had an internal hierarchy, and that the richly equipped graves therefore can be referred to as elite burials (*e.g.* Frankenstein/Rowlands 1978; Hessing/Kooi 2005, 644; Roymans 1991, 54).

With regard to Early Iron Age research, the terms 'chieftain's grave' and 'princely burial' (as well as the various translations) not only are used to refer to the exceptional burials found in the Low Countries, they also are used to refer to certain contemporaneous elaborate graves found in the Hallstatt Culture in Central Europe (Fig. 1.1; *e.g.* Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 354; Kossack 1974; Krauße 2006; Modderman 1964; Müller 2012). The so-called princely or chieftains' burials from these geographically

distinct areas are both similar and different. In both areas they contain horse-gear and/or wagon components, weaponry, elaborate metal drinking and feasting vessels, tools and ornaments. In the Hallstatt Culture area, however, these terms generally are used to refer to graves where these objects are found intact in large wooden chambers with inhumations (see also Section 7.3). Examples are the *Fürstengräber* of Frankfurt-Stadtwald (Fischer 1979; Willms 2002), Großeibstadt Grab 1 (Kossack 1970), Otzing (Classen *et al.* 2013; Gebhard 2015; Gebhard *et al.* 2016) or Hochdorf (Krauße 1996). In the Low Countries these same objects (or frequently only components thereof) are found in cremation graves known likewise as chieftains' burials or *vorstengraven* in Dutch. Examples are the Chieftains' burials of Oss (-Vorstengraf; Jansen/Fokkens 2007; Modderman 1964) and Rhenen-Koerheuvel (Van Heeringen 1998) or the *Vorstengraf* of Meerlo (Verwers n.d.).

As an archeological type of burial in the Low Countries the chieftains' graves are recognizable through the three-fold set of "weapons, situlae and/or horse-gear" they contain (Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 71–4; Roymans 1991), though it has been debated whether recent finds should be labeled as such (Jansen 2011; Roymans 2011). These rich graves represent a burial practice that differs from the earlier and contemporary urnfield burials which are very poor in grave goods and are perceived as reflecting an egalitarian society (Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 64; Roymans 1991, 29–30; Roymans/Kortlang 1999; Section 5.4). The chieftains' burials are seen as evidence of a hierarchical society, with the Wijchen grave representing the very top (Hessing/Kooi 2005, 643; Roymans 1991, 54–6).

While the extremes appear clear, it are the graves that fall between the object-poor urnfield graves and the object-rich chieftains' burials such as Oss and Wijchen, that complicate matters. Where do the 'chieftains' graves' end and the 'urnfield burials' begin? In other words, how should graves be categorized that are deemed richer than an urnfield burial, but not rich in the same way as a chieftain's grave? A burial containing pottery, a sword and two iron horse-bits, for example, is known as the "*Vorstengraf* van Meerlo", yet it does not contain a bronze vessel (Verwers n.d.; Chapter C23; Figs. 4.19 and C23.1). The "Chieftain's grave of Rhenen" does not contain a sword (Van Heeringen 1998; Chapter C28; Fig. 4.10). These graves are labeled chieftains' graves, yet do not contain the 'complete' three-fold chiefly set, and there are many more similar examples (see Catalogue). Some authors ascribe value to this supposed incompleteness, when they describe such graves with swords but lacking a bronze vessel as "much simpler" than the Wijchen and Oss burials (*e.g.* Hessing/Kooi 2005, 644).

There is a discrepancy between the way archeologists define a chieftain's grave and how the term is used. In

the Low Countries there are, in fact, a mere three burials (Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3, Oss-Vorstengraf and Wijchen) that contain horse-gear and/or wagon components, weaponry *and* bronze vessels. There are, however, more than forty graves that contain horse-gear, wagon components, weaponry *or* a bronze vessel, or a combination thereof (see Catalogue). Many of these are known as the 'Chieftain's grave of'. Moreover, burials such as those from Court-St-Etienne, Horst-Hegelsom, Limal-Morimoine, Meerlo, Rhenen-Koerheuvel and Someren-Kraayenstark often are referred to in discussions of 'true' chieftains' graves such as Oss-Vorstengraf and Wijchen, as well as vice versa (*e.g.* Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 71–87; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007; Mariën 1958; Modderman 1964, 57; Pare 1992; Roymans 1991; Van Heeringen 1998, 43; Verwers n.d., 10–2), implying a mental grouping of these graves in the same category, even though explicit characterizations of a chieftain's grave as an archeological type generally exclude such burials.

In this research I therefore distinguish between the use of *chieftain's* grave to indicate an archeological type of burial requiring a checklist of object types, and a more intuitive use as a name to describe specific rich Early Iron Age burials. The term *traditional chieftain's* grave is used to refer to an Early Iron Age burial that contains horse-gear or wagon components, weaponry and drinking vessels. With this use, however, this research is *not* claiming that there was necessarily a conceptual difference between such a grave and others to Early Iron Age people. However, while the burial from Meerlo might not contain the complete diagnostic set of objects, it has been known as the *Vorstengraf* of Meerlo for several decades (Verwers n.d.). For this grave and others like it, the words 'chieftain's grave of' (and its translations) are historically evolved names and this research does not call for a discontinuance of their use. In this dissertation, therefore, when reference is made to a burial as *the Chieftain's grave of* (with capital 'C'), the reader should take this as a name rather than as a typological classification. While this research finds it unnecessary (not to mention impractical) to rename established 'Chieftain's graves of' based on their lack of a complete diagnostic set, I do plead that from here on the term should be applied more diligently, or at least with more transparency. If a grave does not contain the set considered diagnostic for a type of burial, then it should not be labeled it as such.

2.2.1.2 The problem of the 'ideal burial'

In the past the focus on the very richest Early Iron Age burials, *i.e.* the chieftains' graves, (unconsciously) has colored our understanding of burial practices. This is not only true for this period, but within mortuary studies more generally. The focus is often on the absolutely richest graves, as these are the burials scholars are most familiar with, and sometimes a mental ideal grave type is created – a (sub) conscious understanding of what a burial 'should' be. This kind of thinking has influenced how the chieftains' graves are viewed and is something this research tries to overcome. For it appears that any Early Iron Age burial found in the Low Countries containing a bronze situla, a sword, horse-gear or wagon components, or any combination thereof, is almost automatically compared to the Oss burial and our image of the Oss Chieftain[4] as a wagon-riding, feasting elite warrior. This is not surprising as the Chieftain's grave of Oss was the first scientifically found burial of its kind (in 1933) in the Low Countries. It is also one of the richest graves and yielded one of the most elaborate sets of grave goods. To our modern value system it is excellent and attention grabbing. As such it has become the archetype of what such a burial 'should' look like. In the years since its discovery, new finds of graves containing any of the types of objects found in this burial have been compared, either explicitly or implicitly, to the Chieftain's grave of Oss. A burial found at Rhenen-Koerheuvel in the 1990s was labeled the "Chieftain's grave of Rhenen" because it contains horse-gear, wagon components, a bronze vessel and an axe, even though the absence of a sword was explicitly noted (Van Heeringen 1998, 85). Once a grave contains a number of elements deemed characteristic of a chieftain's grave, the absence of other elements is deemed noteworthy, as though it is somehow incomplete.

The perception of a burial in this manner can become a checklist on which elements are marked present or absent. For example, even a burial like Horst-Hegelsom that by comparison is relatively poor in grave goods is compared to Oss because they both have Mindelheim swords (Willems/Groenman-van Waateringe 1988). The Oss burial then in turn is compared to burials like Hochdorf (Krauße 1996), even though the latter dates quite a bit later – again, because that is what our by comparison simple looking burials 'should' look like. When a burial does not conform to our understanding or fit into this existing grave typology, an explanation is sought for its deviating nature. For example, when an Early Iron Age inhumation burial with a rich, yet 'unchiefly' set of grave goods was found at Uden-Slabroek a few years ago (Jansen *et al.* 2011; Chapter C32), the decedent was labeled an import bride because the grave was deemed not to resemble other Early Iron Age elite burials (Roymans 2011). The 'foreigner' argument sometimes is used to explain such individual burials that seem to deviate from the norm, as it is perceived. While there certainly may have been foreigners living and dying in the Early Iron

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4   Note that while I use the term 'Chieftain' to refer to the individuals buried in graves like the Chieftain's burial of Oss, I use it as a name, not in the socio-cultural meaning sense of the word.

Age Low Countries, there is a risk to using this as an explanation for (perceived as) deviating burials. A more nuanced understanding of the Dutch and Belgian elite graves can result when one studies the range of burials comprehensively, including the burial practice through which they were created, rather than trying solely to explain why one deviating find does not fit (*cf.* Bourgeois/ Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017).

In short, the notion of the 'ideal burial' is a problem because by focusing on what elite graves 'should' look like, one loses sight of the actual burials (which is why this research went back to the original data and created the Catalogue). There is no 'elite grave' checklist that can be applied universally, though as argued above it would seem that the bronze vessels, weaponry and especially the wagons did play a role in conveying status. When we keep an open mind with regard to idealized grave types and switch our perspective to include the actions taken during the burial ritual, *i.e.* the burial *practices*, a better-rounded understanding can result. This research (also) considers what people did with these objects and the dead to determine what really distinguished them (in death). This is discussed further below.

2.2.2 What studying burial practices can tell us

As stated in the previous Chapter, this research aims to understand the burial practice through which the elite graves were created as burial practices reflect the social world of the people involved in creating a grave, both the dead and the living, and is one of the few archeologically visible practices that can give insight into beliefs about the body, death and the afterlife (*cf.* Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 15). As a social field, funerary ritual is highly suited to a study of social practices, since mortuary practice tends to be a rigidly constructed social sphere, more so than most social interactions. Graves are ultimately the result of a complex combination and interaction of ritual customs and norms that are influenced by the deceased and the social group conducting the funerary ritual (*cf.* Knipper *et al.* 2015, 579; Rebay-Salisbury 2016, Ch. 4; Schuman 2015, 315). Burial practices generally are linked with non-discursive practices and long-standing traditions, the original meaning of which may not even be apparent anymore to the people participating in the burial rituals (Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 15).

In the dialectic between individuals taking part in the burial ritual and the 'system', which dictates the actions that should be part of a burial ritual (*i.e.* the practice), the emphasis is on the dictating system. Burial ritual seems to allow for far less individual innovation than most social situations. Time, participants, type, process and execution of the acts associated with a ritual derive from the situation,

which is why they generally follow the same form (Trachsel 2005, 54–5). Individuals with similar *habitus* (in the sense of "internalized collective dispositions") will behave in similar ways as they "are moved by similar motivators of action" (Stockhammer 2012a, 11). Simply put, during burial rituals things generally are done in a certain way as people remember that that is how it has 'always been done', making something the right way of doing it (see also Section 2.2.1). Longstanding traditions guide and justify the actions taken (Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 15). This does not mean that burial practices do not change. For while individuals learn (practices) from the people around them, humans also tend to fiddle and change things (Hodder 2012, 147). People may appear tradition bound (to specific practices), but they also easily give life to new traditions (Hobsbawm/Ranger 1992; Hodder 2012, 147). So it rather depends whether they replicate and reproduce the things and behaviors around them (Hodder 2012). However, when changes are made in the burial practice, justification and explanation for those changes are needed, and the deviant practices have to be discussed and negotiated (Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 15).

Since it is possible to reconstruct series of actions of the elite burial rituals (see Chapter 5), practice theory offers us a way to gain insight into the social motivations that may have been behind those actions. If certain actions and behaviors are represented repeatedly in the graves under study, they could reflect a practice, thereby indicating that there was a set of considerations, customs and so on that guided behavior during these burial rituals (*cf.* Oakeshott 1975, 55–6; Schatzki 1996, 96). Through practice theory it may be possible to gain insight into the social motivations that may have been behind those actions, because it is within practices that people and objects acquire meaning and that the understanding of what things are is established (Schatzki 1996, 112–3; Stockhammer 2012a). The *habitus* of the people involved in creating the elite burials motivated them to act in similar ways, and any similarities, regularities and/or structure perceivable can be interpreted as the realization or enacting of similar world views or identities (Maran/ Stockhammer 2012; Stockhammer 2012a, 11).

In short, by reconstructing the actions that took place during the burial rituals through which the various elite graves were created, it might be possible to reconstruct the factors that made up the burial practice. If we can reconstruct the enacted practice, we might also be able to recognize individuality (*cf.* Olivier 1999). This research therefore endeavors to reconstruct the various steps and phases of each burial ritual. Formalization is a key aspect to 'ritual' (Trachsel 2005, 54–5), and this makes it likely that various actions were performed repeatedly during the elite burial rituals, increasing the odds that they may be archeologically recognizable.

2.2.3 Cremations and cremating: definitions and practical issues

A key element of the burial practice under study is that, with one exception, they are all (or all appear to be) cremation burials (see Section 7.2). Cremation is not just a means of disposing of the dead. It involves interdependent processes of technological, social and ritual transformation (Oestigaard 1999, 346). It is one of the most powerful techniques of transforming the body after death and breaking it into parts; however, it does not fully destroy the body. The cremated bones, which are left after the corpse has been burned on the funerary pyre, are as real as the physical body had been during life. The manner in which cremation remains and accompanying grave goods were handled can reveal much about the effort expended during and the rituals surrounding the cremation process. The evidence of Bronze and Iron Age funerary practices reveals that cremation remains were important. The manner in which they were treated, as variable as it was, indicates "a recognised connection between the physical remains and the cremated person" (Rebay-Salisbury 2010, 64). This section therefore discusses the technical aspects of cremation and the manner in which cremation may be enacted and experienced.

2.2.3.1 Cremation: the act and the result defined

Cremation is the process by which the dead are purposefully disposed of by means of fire (Darvill 2002, 107; Mays 2010). Archaeologists tend to use 'cremation' to refer to a 'cremation burial' or 'cremation grave'. A *cremation*, however, is the burning pyre with corpse and grave goods or offerings on it (Marschall 2011, 13; McKinley 1997, 130). The bone fragments left after the cremation process can be referred to as *cremation remains*. The term cremation (remains) often calls up the image of modern crematoria that reduce a body to ashes (McKinley/Bond 2001, 281). Most people are unaware that prehistoric cremations can result in rather substantial remains (McKinley 1994a, 339; see for example Fig. C26.2), and it is important that we adjust our understanding of cremations to what they were in the past.

2.2.3.2 A cremation burial ritual

Any kind of burial ritual likely included a range of activities that cannot be recognized archeologically, such as the laying out of the corpse prior to cremation or burial (McKinley 1997, 130; Rebay-Salisbury 2016, Ch. 4; Sprague 2005, 70–1). Modern day Hindu cremation rituals in India serve as an example. Following the death of a relative, family members place a basil leaf, clarified butter and a piece of gold in the mouth of the decedent. This is intended to satisfy the deceased's desire for food and wealth. It is important that the (eldest) son of the deceased carry the corpse to the pyre site. This is considered a good deed and symbolizes carrying the decedent on the last part of his or her journey on Earth. Family members are expected to wail and cry out loudly. Failure to do so is considered unhealthy and pathological. The family members are not expected to cook and friends and family provide food for twelve days following a death. On the 13th day relatives and friends are provided with a feast. During the feast the bereaved family makes rice balls cooked in milk and feeds them to birds. They call the Atman (soul) of the dead relative, and when the birds do not eat the rice it can cause anxiety for the Atman of the deceased (Gupta 2011, 254–5). These are but a few of the rituals and customs that accompany a modern day Hindu cremation ritual that would not be recognizable archeologically. It is important to acknowledge that through artifacts we see only a fraction of the funeral rituals conducted in the Early Iron Age (see also Section 7.2).

Preparing for a cremation could have taken a significant amount of time, and it is likely that circumstances dictated the ritual sometimes be postponed (*cf.* McKinley 2006, 82; see also Section 7.2.1). Any grave goods that were to be burned on the pyre had to be brought together, perhaps even be made for the occasion (as appears to have been done at Hochdorf for example; Olivier 1999). The objects may have needed some kind of preparation prior to being placed on the pyre. The building of the pyre itself would have required selecting a site and collecting fuel. The manner of construction of the pyre does not seem to have changed much throughout history. The time needed to cremate a corpse on a pyre depends on a variety of factors, such as available fuel, the construction and tending of the pyre, as well as the weather. The placement and posture of the deceased also plays a role. These same factors also influence the efficiency of the cremation (Williams 2004, 274). Experiments indicate that prehistoric cremation rituals probably took roughly ten hours to complete, depending on the circumstances already mentioned (McKinley 1994b, 84). During this process temperatures up to 1200 °C can be reached (Williams 2004, 271), though they can vary drastically within the pyre. The internal 'workings' of the pyre and the manner in which it is tended can influence the process significantly (McKinley 1994b).

The actual cremation would have been a visual, aural and olfactory experience for anyone present. Cremation on an open-air pyre is not a quick, clean-cut process. It literally involves fire, blood and guts, and would have assaulted all the senses of the mourners. As the body burns, its insides can become visible as successive layers burn. Any coverings such as shrouds and clothing would burn away first, revealing the body. After this skin, hair and fat would have disappeared, revealing the inner workings of the corpse. Jets of steam may even have sprayed from

the body as bodily liquids evaporated in the heat. While the body burns, bones and muscles can emit cracking and snapping noises. Gases within the body can expand and explode in such a way that the corpse appears to be moaning. These effects of the fire on the body may have been perceived to 'animate' the deceased's corpse, rather than just destroying it (Williams 2004, 271–82). Any mourners watching would remember this fiery spectacle. The cremation itself, however, was generally not the final stage of the burial ritual nor of the handling of the deceased's corporeal remains (Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 22).

Experiments have shown that the collapse of a pyre is gradual, and that the corpse can remain in anatomical position in the final stage (McKinley 1997, 134). While the pyre cools, the fragmented bones can be visible. The bones of the deceased and any accompanying animals are relatively easy to recognize and retrieve, though complete retrieval does not always seem to have been important in the past (Rebay-Salisbury 2010, 64). The same holds true for any grave goods burned on the pyre. Some kinds of objects may disappear completely when burned, but others would survive in one form or another (see below). This was, however, not a just straightforward, practical activity. It would have been an emotional process as the mourners would have been brought into direct contact with the transformed remains of someone they had known and likely loved (Williams 2004, 278–80). McKinley (1997, 142) argues that the time expended or the number of people involved in the collecting of the remains may reflect the status of the deceased. She emphasizes that 'status' in this context should not be taken to indicate power, wealth or social position, but may have resulted from the individuals' personal popularity. One can almost think of cremation rituals in terms of a *chaîne opératoire*, with the decisions of how to do things at a certain stage perhaps pre-determining certain outcomes later in the process (Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 22; see also Chapters 5 and 7).

2.2.3.3 A word of warning – working with old cremation analyses

The majority of cremation remains from the burials under study do not survive. This is generally because they were never excavated or deposited with museums or depots, but there are also cases where they were and since have been lost. In some instances, like the Chieftain's burial of Meerlo, they were lost before ever being examined, while in other cases they were analyzed long ago and have since been lost or mixed up, like Court-St-Etienne. It is with regard to the latter that a word of warning is required. Physical anthropological analysis of human cremation remains is a relatively recent specialization that is continuously developing, and it appears that older determinations should not be taken at face value.

Several instances are known of cremation analyses being redone on Dutch and Belgian remains several decades after the initial examination, in which the results differ (*e.g.* Temmerman 2007, 315–6; Theunissen 1993, 33). Especially any determinations made prior to the 1990s should be treated as suspect. So while past determinations (in cases where new analyses are impossible) are included in the current research, it should be noted that these may be unreliable.

2.2.3.4 Recognizing cremation artifacts

Grave goods can be added to the burial deposit following the cremation process, but they can also be placed on the pyre with the deceased (see also Section 7.2). Certain kinds of grave goods can survive being burned on the pyre, while others will disappear completely. Clothes will burn, while any metal (dress) components can survive to varying degrees. Bone and stone objects can survive, though in burned condition. These kinds of objects that were fired on the pyre are referred to as cremation artifacts (*cf.* Roymans 1990, 219). As already mentioned, temperatures up to 1200 °C can be reached in open-air pyres, although the temperatures within the pyre can vary substantially as a result of a variety of circumstances (Marshall 2011; McKinley 1994b). Under some circumstances the melting point of bronze can be reached. The degree to which a bronze object will melt depends on its specific alloy. Bronze cremation goods therefore can show different degrees of heat-damage, ranging from a slightly bubbly looking surface to being completely melted and distorted (for example Figs. 4.24 and C35.1). On the other hand, it is also possible that temperatures in certain parts of the pyre remain low enough that bronze objects would not appear burned at all. Therefore any grave goods recovered from cremation burials that do not appear affected by heat, may nonetheless have been on the pyre. In contrast, it is unlikely that the melting point of iron (ca. 1500 °C) would ever be reached and iron cremation artifacts therefore probably will appear unaffected. It is important to bear this in mind when examining grave goods and trying to reconstruct their role in the burial ritual.

2.3 Meaningful objects and grave goods

Section 2.2 advocated an approach that focuses on the actions involved in the burial rituals through which the elite graves were created. However this does not mean that the objects that featured in those burial rituals were themselves unimportant or not meaningful. They most likely were very much so (see Chapter 6). The following section discusses how objects can carry meanings and how Kopytoff's cultural biography model is valuable to the current research in its attempt to distinguish between culturally shared and individual beliefs with regard to

the objects interred as burial goods. Finally what can be learned from the choices made when depositing certain objects as grave goods is discussed.

2.3.1 Objects as meaningful things

In recent years there has been a general return to 'things' within archeology and other social sciences and there has been a focus on how society and things co-produce each other (*cf.* Hodder 2012, 1; 15). We shape the material world and are in turn shaped by that material world (Boivin 2008; Hodder 2012). At the same time, however, there has been a movement of scholars trying to distance themselves from the one-sided semiotic or utilitarian approaches to things (Boivin 2008; Hodder 2012, 10; Latour 1993; Renfrew 2004). Objects can be meaningful. This can relate to the fact that the production, use and observation of an object are mental processes as well as physical ones. People connect feelings, memories and ideas with objects, on both a conscious and subconscious level. This cognitive effect that objects evoke can be understood as *meaning* (Fiske 1993, 46; Fontijn 2002; Hodder 1987). The meaning (and function) of objects in this sense are not states but rather processes (Stockhammer 2012a, 13).

Broadly speaking objects can hold two kinds of meaning: the referential and the visual/material. When people associate an object with an idea or a specific concept, it is called its referential meaning (Hodder 1994, 73–4; see also Section 2.3.4.1). Archeologists tend to focus on the referential meaning of objects to such a degree that they lose sight of the fact that objects are more than just the embodiment of ideas (Fontijn 2002, 23). The more intrinsic, and often the more neglected, meaning of an object comes about from the fact that it *is*, its very materiality and the fact that it is perceivable (Fontijn 2002, 23; Tilley 1994, 15–6). This *visual/material* meaning refers to the effect an object can have on a person simply by being perceived. It is an effect that the observer cannot put into words (Fletcher 1989; Fontijn 2002, 23; Wells 2012). The visual/material meanings of objects tend to take a backseat in archeological research to the so-called referential meaning. As Fontijn (2002, 23) puts it:

> "An object can mean many things. A sword can be understood in terms of its function (a weapon), but it can also be associated with the paraphernalia of a high social position (its societal meaning). On another level, it can also be associated with more abstract and unbounded notions (Hodder 1986, 124–125): it can, for example, be perceived as 'sacred' (Godelier 1999, 123)."

An interesting related concept is Saussure's classic model of the sign, which in his view is two-parted. He divides the sign into the signifier and the signified, the *signifier* being the form that a sign takes, and the *signified*

being that to which the sign refers (Boivin 2008, 31). Interestingly, the meanings of material symbols tend be in some way iconic or indexical. Material signs often have a non-arbitrary basis in the material world (Boivin 2008, 41); there is a link "between signifier, signified and lived context" (Hodder 2012, 16). It is in this sense that two horse-bits are interpreted as representing a team of two horses and wagon (Section 6.3). Moreover objects can have both individual and collective meanings. The meaning an object holds for a person can vary from individual to individual. There are, however, also meanings that are associated more collectively with objects, a meaning perceived, understood and shared by all within a social context (Fontijn 2002, 23–4; see also Section 2.3.4.1). For example, a set of horse-bits may refer to deceased's favorite horses who once wore them, but at the same time the interment of a set of horse-bits was understood more generally or collectively as referencing or symbolizing a wagon. It is this type of meaning that archeologists have the best hope of recognizing. A shared understanding of an object likely will lead to a specific treatment of that type of object being repeated, increasing the odds of it being archeologically recognizable (see also above).

2.3.2 The life of an object, and the role of objects in life

This research considers both the use-lives and the cultural biographies of the objects buried with the Early Iron Age elites, as this could yield insights into why these specific objects ended up in these graves and perhaps whether they were viewed differently in the Hallstatt Culture area than in the Low Countries. According to the concept of the cultural biographies of objects, the 'life' of an object resembles the life of a person in many ways. Objects can be imbued with culturally specific meanings and become culturally constructed entities (Kopytoff 1986, 68). With objects, as with people, one can discern a birth, life and death. One might more naturally speak of the production, use and disposal of an object, but the concepts behind the words are the same. As with people, culturally desirable life-paths exist for objects. The life histories of specific objects often follow the same pattern within a particular society (Kopytoff 1986, 66). Within a given society there are certain expectations with regard to what kind of life-path objects should lead, so-called idealized biographies. These often only become apparent to members of the given society when an object is treated in a way at odds with its desirable life-path (Fontijn 2002, 26; see also Section 7.2.3.3). For example, the deposition of swords in rivers during the Late Bronze Age strikes some 21st century Europeans as strange, since in our society such valuable and costly objects never would be thrown away intentionally.

While a cultural biography of objects is a popular concept within archeological studies, for this research I wish to emphasize that it is something different than the use-life of an object. When one studies the production ('birth'), use ('life') and deposition ('death') of a *single* object, this is something different from studying its cultural biography. The cultural biography of objects relates to the way a given society believes that a specific kind or class of objects should be produced, used and deposited. This makes it difficult to determine the cultural biography of an object if one only studies the use-life of a single object. In order to reconstruct the former, information regarding cultural context and use is required. Kopytoff's concept, with regard to the current research, suggests that the objects interred in the Hallstatt Culture burials (or graves with Hallstatt Culture imports) likely had different meanings during the different stages of their use-lives. Olivier (1999, 119) discusses this phenomenon for the artifacts from the Hochdorf burial; they had "particular and different meanings during their manufacture, then their utilization, and finally during their placement in the grave". He argues that the foreign grave goods demonstrate how contextual interpretations are influenced by the cultural or social settings within which these objects were used. Imported Mediterranean artifacts are ascribed different meanings when used in a Greek situation than when they are used in a Hallstatt Culture context.

A similar issue arises when considering the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Did the people in the Low Countries share a conceptual framework or cosmology with people living in the Hallstatt Culture area? It has been assumed (implicitly) that the Low Countries were not actually part of the 'Hallstatt world' (Fontijn/Fokkens 2007), and this research argues that if this were the case, then one would expect to find that the objects had been treated differently in the Dutch burials than in the Hallstatt Culture ones. One would expect to find different life histories (see also Sections 2.4 and 7.3).

2.3.3 Traveling objects – commodities and inalienable valuables

Many of the artifacts in the Dutch and Belgian burials originate from some distance away, and it is important to acknowledge that objects of similar form do not necessarily hold the same function or meaning in different contexts. Objects with a wide distribution tend to be interpreted as supra-regional identity markers, but we must also consider the social practices and contexts in which they feature (*cf.* Stockhammer 2012a, 32). If certain commodities are circulated widely, they eventually will be localized to generate cultural meanings relevant to the specific context (Appadurai 1986; 1995; Daloz 2010, 137). I return to this in Section 2.4. The significance, importance and/or meaning of an imported objects

does not (solely) derive from its transfer from one place to another, but rather comes from how it was used and contextualized. By their "integration into discourses and practices, new frameworks of meaning were created conforming neither with what had existed in the receiving society nor in the area of origin of the object" (Maran/Stockhammer 2012, 1). This is not to say that the manner in which the objects found in the elite burials made the trip to the Low Countries would not have influenced how these objects were seen and understood. If they were exchanged as gifts, they would have become infused in a way with their previous owners and become personified. In such gift-exchange their purpose is to create, influence or maintain social relations, and the objects are inalienable (Weiner 1992; see also Section 7.2.1.8).

2.3.4 Perceiving objects

The objects interred in the Early Iron Age elite burials, and in particular what they can tell us about Early Iron Age burial practices and society, are the main focus of this research. Through the detailed study of the grave goods information can be gleaned regarding the production, use and deposition of these objects. When we study archeological artifacts in brightly lit museums, often under magnification, we have to remember that in many cases the objects were never (made to be) used or perceived under such ideal circumstances. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that the manner in which we perceive sights and images today is very different from the way Early Iron Age people did. Humans learn to perceive and comprehend images from infancy through exposure to them. Not only does the human brain have to learn to understand images, it also has to learn to perceive them as it are not our eyes that see but our brains. Our brains select what we see and focus on and to do this they rely on stored memories and on our previous experiences. Our world today is overrun with man-made sights and images, while during the Early Iron Age these were rare. Because of this our brains act differently from Early Iron Age ones (Wells 2008b, 13–29) and we must factor in how people would have perceived the objects that ended up in burials.

2.3.4.1 Degrees of visibility and understanding

Perception is dependent on the distance between the viewer and the object or image that is being observed. Understanding what one perceives is dependent on prior knowledge. My necklace serves as a modern example (Fig. 2.1). From quite a distance, say at least 10 m, one can see that I am wearing a silver necklace. A viewer, however, has to get physically close to observe that my pendant has a design made up of multiple small spheres. With our modern sense of personal space, there are few who actually get close enough to see the detailed design. You

Fig. 2.1 A silver necklace with a Zeeuws knopje as a pendant.

may say that access to that level of detail is the privilege of those that are metaphorically and therefore literally, close to me. While we cannot know what constituted personal space during the Iron Age, it seems plausible that different people would have had different kinds of access to certain objects or images, especially with regard to things worn on the body (Grömer 2017; Wells 2008b). Some individuals of the community may have been permitted to view certain figures only from afar, while others were allowed closer access and therefore were able to examine details (Wells 2008b, 60). As with lighting, this is something to take into account when examining artifacts up close or magnified, or when we study detailed photographs.

There also is a difference between seeing and understanding an object. My necklace, for example, is known as a *Zeeuws knopje*, a design from the traditional dress of the Dutch province of Zeeland. While appreciated for its attractive visual qualities by my American relatives, they do not understand it as originally part of the traditional costume of Zeeland and therefore a piece of Dutch heritage (until I explain it to them). To many of my Dutch family and friends the (unconscious) realization that it is a *Zeeuws knopje* is part of the way they perceive it. It is part of our cultural knowledge and therefore part of our perception. Most of us see a *Zeeuws knopje*, not just a pretty silver pendant. Beyond this cultural recognition of the necklace, only those who know me personally know that it has added significance for me because it once belonged to my mother-in-law. These

kinds of factors need to be taken into account when studying archeological artifacts. The distance to an object as well as prior (cultural) knowledge strongly affect not only *how* but also *what* we perceive.

The wagon from the Wijchen burial, for example, is nowadays famous for its axle-pins with Etruscan-style anthropomorphic protomes (Fig. 4.12). What the close-up drawings and pictures often obscure, however, is that these little heads measure barely a centimeter. We may assume that in the Early Iron Age many people were able to see the wagon of Wijchen from a distance, and that the bronze axle-caps and pins (as well as the other bronze wagon decorations) would have shined brightly and been quite noticeable (see also Section 6.3). However, one would have had to get extremely close to the wagon to be able to see the detailed little heads. We also might question whether the people living in the Early Iron Age Low Countries would have been able to identify those little heads as 'Etruscan-inspired', since this would require rather specific prior knowledge. They may have perceived them merely as foreign or other (see also Section 2.3.3).

As archeologists studying intricately made objects we can get caught up in discussions of detail features. Continuing with the Wijchen example, one of these axle-pins has heads that have different eyes, noses and ears than the other three. This observation has sparked discussion of whether this one axle-pin perhaps served as the inspiration for the other three, or that perhaps one of the original pins broke and was replaced with the new and different one (Pare 1992; Van der Vaart 2011). While this is an interesting observation to us in considering where these pins were made and whether the deviant one was inspiration for the other three or a local attempt at recreation (Section C35.2), most Iron Age viewers of the wagon likely would not have been able to see this difference, let alone consciously note it. When studying objects we must therefore bear in mind that there are different degrees of visibility and that there is also a difference between seeing and understanding.

2.3.4.2 Perceiving with all senses

The previous section discussed human visual perception with regard to studying archeological artifacts and stressed the importance of certain universal characteristics of human vision and perception. This section emphasizes that we also should try and translate our other senses onto the past. If we take, for example, the Wijchen wagon again, there is no doubt that the axle-pins with the many dangling rings would have jingled audibly. Even if you had your back turned, the very noise of this wagon moving would draw in your attention. When we try and envision how objects were perceived, whether visually or audibly, through touch, smell or taste, the sterile artifacts come alive. In this way very obvious facts can present themselves

that otherwise would go unnoticed (for example that the axle pins would have jingled and attracted attention when the wagon moved). Objects, however, may well be perceived differently during a burial ritual than during use in life. The Early Iron Age elite burial rituals were not everyday things. We need to bear in mind that these were truly exceptional events and that this special setting may have affected perception.

2.4 Archeology of culture contact

This research argues that in order to understand why the elites were buried the way they were, we have to understand what and who they were in life. One aspect of this is to consider how these elites featured in their local society and in the European network, in particular how the Low Countries (elite) may have interacted and connected with the parts of Europe from which they obtained the (majority of) the objects interred as grave goods and how these were treated in their area of origin. This section therefore considers the theory of culture contact, relying in particular on studies of appropriation (*e.g.* Hahn 2004; 2005; Hahn/Weis 2013; Stockhammer 2012a; 2012b) as these offer research avenues for understanding the contact and long-distance interaction that the burials of the Low Countries reflect.

2.4.1 Appropriation and entanglement

When people encounter new or foreign objects they can choose to integrate them into their lives and world. When objects are inserted into new contexts, for example when foreign goods are appropriated, the complex interaction between humans and objects becomes visible as their potential is explored and "translated into local social practices and world views" (Stockhammer 2012a, 13). Doing so triggers the making of unconscious and conscious decisions that are strongly influenced and determined by the foreign objects. This process can be referred to as entanglement (*e.g.* Stockhammer 2012ab; see also Hodder 2012) or appropriation (*e.g.* Hahn 2004) and "primarily struggles to create a structured handling of the new or foreign by modifying the object's context" (Stockhammer 2012a, 16). While the materiality of the object (generally) does not change, the relationship to the objects does.

Hahn (2004, 218–24) differentiates four aspects to this process, which are entangled and happen simultaneously: appropriation, objectification, incorporation and transformation. *Appropriation* is the process by which an object goes from being a commodity to an (inalienable) personal possession (Hahn 2004, 220; Stockhammer 2012a, 14; see also Section 2.3.3). The ascribing of an item into an existing grouping or kind of own objects is then the *objectification* of it (Hahn 2004, 220–1; or *objectivisation*; Stockhammer 2012a, 15), involving also the attribution of a specific meaning. This differs from 'reinterpretation' as this requires prior knowledge of the foreign function (Stockhammer 2012a, 15; 31). The third aspect, *incorporation*, involves acquiring the competence to handle and interact with objects in the 'correct' way (Hahn 2004a, 221–2; Stockhammer 2012a, 15). The result of appropriation, *transformation*, involves the transformation and integration of the object into the appropriating society (Hahn 2004, 222–4; 2005, 107; Stockhammer 2012a, 15). The object now has local meaning(s) and only to a limited extent is perceived as 'foreign' (Hahn 2004, 222). This does not mean that the provenance of the object is negated. In many societies objects simultaneously are seen as global goods and locally defined (Hahn 2004, 222). As noted also by Stockhammer (2012a, 15), some of the aspects of appropriation generally will not be archeologically visible, but it does provide a framework for understanding the "the integration of an object into existing social practices" that this research argues the elite burials reflect (see Section 7.3).

3 Dating elite burials

In their classic work Lanting and Mook (1977, 9) list the "royal graves of Oss and Wijchen types" as one of the cultural phenomena of the Early Iron Age in the southern Netherlands, which by their definition starts when the *Niederrheinnische Schrägrandurne* first appear. These burials are still seen as one of the key features of the Early Iron Age (though this chapter argues that some sword-graves in the dataset date to the Late Bronze Age, see below). The precise dating of these graves, however, is problematic. There is little consensus regarding their exact age in existing publications, in particular with regard to the most elaborate and famous burials. However, accurate dates (also in an absolute sense) are needed both to determine how the elite funerary practice evolved in the Low Countries (see also Chapter 5) and to relate the events and developments taking place in the Netherlands and Belgium to things happening in the rest of Europe (*cf.* Rebay-Salisbury 2016, Ch. 1). Only once their chronology is established will it be possible to determine whether the elite burials appear in the archeological record of the Low Countries before or after there is material evidence of contact with the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe (see also Chapter 5), as well as how they relate temporally to developments elsewhere.

A number of factors make it difficult to narrowly date these burials. First, the constant development and changes of existing Hallstatt Chronologies together with the research history of the Dutch and Belgian elite burials have resulted in a large range of dates given in publications (*e.g.* Roymans 1991; Warmenbol 1993). In some cases establishing the original source of a given date is key. For instance, several dates of Dutch and Belgian graves ultimately trace back to Modderman's (1964) publication of the Chieftain's burial of Oss in which an antenna dagger still is listed in its burial inventory (it does not contain a dagger, see Sections C3.1 and C26.2). As an antenna dagger is a *leitfunde* for the Hallstatt D phase, the graves in question were dated quite late in the Early Iron Age. In other cases detailed knowledge of a specific burial is needed to note that a published date may not apply to the whole complex.[5]

Also, as the reigning views on how to sub-divide the Early Iron Age into chronological phases have changed, so have the precise dates associated with certain sub-phases. The result being that 'phase Hallstatt C' can mean different things when used by different scholars (and it is not always clear what exactly is meant). Not only have the phases shifted in terms of their precise dating, new phases have been introduced and discarded, sometimes several times over. Section 3.2 therefore considers how this research history

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5   For example, at Weert-Boshoverheide T.O, six urn burials were found in a long barrow, three of which also contained the remains of bronze swords (see Section C34.6). These finds have been lost for several decades or more, and depictions exist only for fragments of two swords (Fig. C34.5). One of the depicted swords can be identified as a Gündlingen type sword (Section C2.3.1.3). The other depicted sword fragment shows no diagnostic features. The excavator (Ubaghs 1890, 212) describes the third sword only as in poor condition and heavily melted. No information is given on any diagnostic features. The date for the long barrow as a whole therefore always is based on only one of the swords found in it.

and the concomitant developments of chronologies have influenced the dating of the Dutch and Belgian burials.

Another difficulty of Early Iron Age chronology is a problematic segment of the calibration curve known as the Hallstatt plateau. Fluctuations in atmospheric ^{14}C-levels between 800 and 400 BC make it difficult to narrow down ^{14}C -dates between 2550 and 2400 BP any more specifically than those 400 years based on ^{14}C-dating alone (De Mulder 2011, 127–8; Hajdas 2008, 16; Reimer *et al.* 2004; Van der Plicht 2004). The chronology of later prehistory in the Low Countries is therefore based on ^{14}C-dates, dendrochronology, stratigraphy and the typology of ceramics and metal objects. Also, organic material suited to ^{14}C-dating was preserved in only a few elite burials. Where it survives, the high status of these burials within museum collections and depots makes getting permission to ^{14}C-date (*i.e.* destroy) samples difficult. Section 3.3 presents the ^{14}C-dates available, of which two were conducted as part of the current research.

The paucity of (narrow) ^{14}C-dates means that most elite burials can only be dated through typochronology. One must, however, be careful which scheme one employs. A typochronology developed for one cultural context may not be applicable to a different cultural context as the life histories and depositional trajectories may not be the same (see below). Another thing to be aware of is that most of the existing typochronologies of the objects found in the elite burials were developed in and for Central Europe. This research therefore makes use mainly of the most recent typochronologies as developed by P.-Y. Milcent (2004; 2012) and M. Trachsel (2004), the latter is of particular interest as he uses Dutch and Belgian finds as well as those from Central Europe to work out a "finely structured relative chronology for the Hallstatt and Early La Tène period" and tests this "against the absolute dates provided by natural sciences" (Trachsel 2004, 337).

3.1 Depositional trajectories and life histories of objects

The depositional trajectories of objects depend on and are influenced by a wide array of social variables, such as age, gender and individual mobility, that are constantly negotiated and changing, and which can affect both the timing and/or distribution of archeological deposition (*e.g.* Arnold 2012, 91; Olivier 1999, 124–5; Vandkilde 2007, 134). Single objects or categories of object are "subject to socially determined scalar forces that intersect with one another and may result in different depositional rhythms" (Arnold 2012, 87). Ornaments considered the personal property of the wearer, for example, generally will be deposited at a different rate than objects considered communally owned or heirlooms. As such, the kinds of objects used to establish a typochronological

scheme can affect in what contexts that scheme can be used. A typochronology developed for settlement finds, for example, may not be applicable to burial finds (Arnold 2012, 87). While this does not mean that such typochronologies cannot be used, they need to be applied with care. As most of the typochronologies for the types of objects found in the elite burials were developed based on funerary finds this is generally not a problematic factor for the current study. But one must remain aware that graves can be an amalgamation of materials from different origins that were incorporated into the burial at multiple moments in time (as demonstrated for example by Olivier (1999) for the *Fürstengrab* of Hochdorf).

3.2 History of Hallstatt C/D dating and changing chronologies

There are numerous chronologies for the Early Iron Age, and especially in last 30 years there have been changes in the relative and absolute chronology of this phase in Central Europe, France *and* in the Low Countries.[6] It is important to consider the history of Hallstatt C/D (Ha C/D) dating as the ever-changing chronologies influence the (precise) dating of the burials in the Catalogue. As the start and finish dates of a certain phase or period change, so do the dates associated with the statement that a burial dates to that phase or period. For example, when Roymans (1991) states that something dates to the Hallstatt C phase, this means something different in an absolute sense than when Trachsel (2004) does. For this reason I summarize the main changes that have taken place in Hallstatt C/D dating.

The Iron Age of Central Europe was divided into two major periods by H. Hildebrand (1874): the Hallstatt, or Early Iron Age, and the La Tène, or Late Iron Age. O. Tischler (1881; 1885) in turn sub-divided the Hallstatt period into the older Hallstatt Phase C or Sword Phase (characterized by male burials with swords) and the younger Hallstatt Phase D or Dagger Phase. The chronology that is still used in modified form today was created by P. Reinecke (1965 [1911]). He divided the Early Iron Age into phases Hallstatt A through D. His Hallstatt C phase (the main period of interest to this research) was based primarily on the bronze or iron long double-edged swords that we now classify as Mindelheim swords (see Sections 3.4.1.2 and C2.3.1.2). G. Kossack (1959) later divided Hallstatt C and D into two sub-phases each based on south German cemeteries and the

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6   *E.g.* Burgess 1979, 271–3, Fig. 15A; De Mulder 2011; Fontijn 2002; Hennig 2001; Kossack 1959; 1970; Lanting/Van der Plicht 2001/2; Milcent 2004; 2012; Müller-Karpe 1959; O'Connor 1980; Pare 1991; 1992; 1996; 1999; Trachsel 2004; Warmenbol/ Leclercq 2009; Zürn 1952.

relative chronology of the ceramics, weaponry and certain types of jewelry found there (he later summarized his chronology; Kossack 1970). His 'early Hallstatt C1 horse-gear' in particular are still considered *Leitfunden* for the early Hallstatt period (Fig. 3.1; Kossack 1954; Pare 1992, Ch. 10; Trachsel 2004, 52–61).

Various scholars since have divided each of these phases further into a variety of sub-periods and sub-phases or introduced other terms (see Fig. 3.2).[7] Not only do the sub-periods change between the various schemes, the dates relating to the various phases can differ (sometimes considerably) between the various chronologies (see Fig. 3.2).[8] Moreover, most of these chronologies are based on and reflect developments elsewhere in Europe, rather than developments in the Low Countries. Also, the terminology and dating can differ per region (see for example De Mulder 2011, fig. 5.3 or Fontijn 2002, fig. 1.4 for comparative overviews) and relating the different periods and phases can be challenging.

3.2.1 The problematic Gündlingen/ Wehringen phase

For dating the elite burials from the Low Countries matters get complicated and problematic from the early 1990s onwards when C.F.E. Pare (1991, 3; 18; 1992, 315–7; pl. 95B–97A) used a wagon burial from Wehringen to argue that there was a transitional chronological horizon (ca. 800–720/700 BC) between Hallstatt B3 and Hallstatt C1.[9] This Gündlingen phase (also known as the Wehringen phase; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 356; Friedrich/Hennig 1995) was introduced as characterized by Gündlingen swords (and type 1 wagons) and predating the classic Hallstatt C1 phase with Mindelheim swords and rich horse-gear (Fig. 3.1; as defined by Kossack 1954; 1957; 1959; 1970). Later Pare (1992, 138) questioned whether this Gündlingen horizon

could be "consolidated as a true chronological phase" due to an insufficient number of transitional ensembles emblematic of this Gündlingen phase, but maintained that certain "transitional ensembles" can be dated prior to the Hallstatt C1 phase (before 775 BC). This phase also is known as Hallstatt C0 (for example in Hennig's (2001, 85–6; 88–9; tab. 1) chronology of Bavarian Swabia, the region where the Wehringen grave is located).

The Gündlingen/Wehringen phase was first picked up in the Dutch and Belgian research tradition by N. Roymans (1991, 20), when he stated that "*Pare [1991] has convincingly demonstrated that a new chronological horizon can be defined between this phase* [Ha B2/3] *and Ha C, in which the bronze Hallstatt swords of the Gündlingen type are a diagnostic feature*". The Gündlingen phase features in many later publications, but there appears to be some (unintended linguistic) ambiguity as to whether it should be seen as the earliest part *of* the Hallstatt C phase/Early Iron Age, or whether it dates *before* the Hallstatt C phase. The result is that precise dates can differ. Moreover, it is not always clear which 'option' authors are employing, making it difficult to relate an author's dating of a burial as 'Hallstatt C' to years as this phase can start up to a hundred years later if the Gündlingen phase is seen as preceding Hallstatt C (Fig. 3.2). More recent chronologies have rejected the Gündlingen phase (Milcent 2004; 2012; Trachsel 2004) and it is also not used in the current study. In this research 'Hallstatt C' (*i.e.* Ha C1–2) equals the 8th and first half of the 7th century BC (see below; Fig. 3.5).

3.2.2 Hallstatt C as a chronological phase and an archeological style

The manner in which the word 'Hallstatt' currently is used can also lead to ambiguity. The term 'Hallstatt' in reference to these rich Early Iron Age burials derives from the excavation of a cemetery with over a thousand rich burials near the village of Hallstatt, Austria by J.G. Ramsauer in the mid-19th century. Originally this term was associated with an archeological culture and style of objects. As noted above, in the early 20th century Reinecke (1965 [1911]) introduced the term *Hallstatt period*. Since then the two meanings of the word have become intertwined and the term 'Hallstatt' currently is used in (Dutch and Belgian) archeology both to indicate a style of object or burial and to indicate that said object or burials dates to the Hallstatt period (for example Pare's (1992) use of the term "Hallstatt wagon" throughout his classic work on wagons and wagon-graves).

The adjective 'Hallstatt' has an attractive vagueness in that it roughly delineates both a style and chronological period. This can be seen in the effort required to relate the term to years in certain publications, but also by the avoidance of defining what a 'Hallstatt burial/object' truly is. It can be used to refer to items that were imported

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7   *E.g.* Milcent 2004; Müller-Karpe 1959; Pare 1991; 1992; Torbrügge 1991; Trachsel 2004.

8   A number of authors (Baitinger 1999, 197–201; Lanting/Van der Plicht 2001/2, 123; Nebelsick 2000a, 68; tab. 3; Pare 1992, 146) for example argued against recognizing Kossack's (1959) Hallstatt C2 as a separate phase, instead seeing it as part of Hallstatt D. Hennig (2001, 91; tab. 1) in contrast retains Hallstatt C2 for Bavarian Swabia.

9   Pare (1991, 3; 18; 1992, 315–7 no. 145, pl. 95B–97A) argued that the wagon burial in Barrow 8 of the Hexenbergle group at Wehringen, Lkr. Augsburg, Bavaria was typologically transitional between Hallstatt B3 and Hallstatt C. He argued that the wagon in this grave was closer to Late Bronze Age urnfield wagons than those characteristic of Hallstatt C, and the Gündlingen sword and winged chape were unusual for Hallstatt C wagon-graves in Bavaria (and in general are not associated with rich Hallstatt C1 horse gear over a wider area). Pare has since been vindicated by a felling date of 778 ± 5 BC for timber from the wagon and the burial chamber (Hennig 2001, 263).
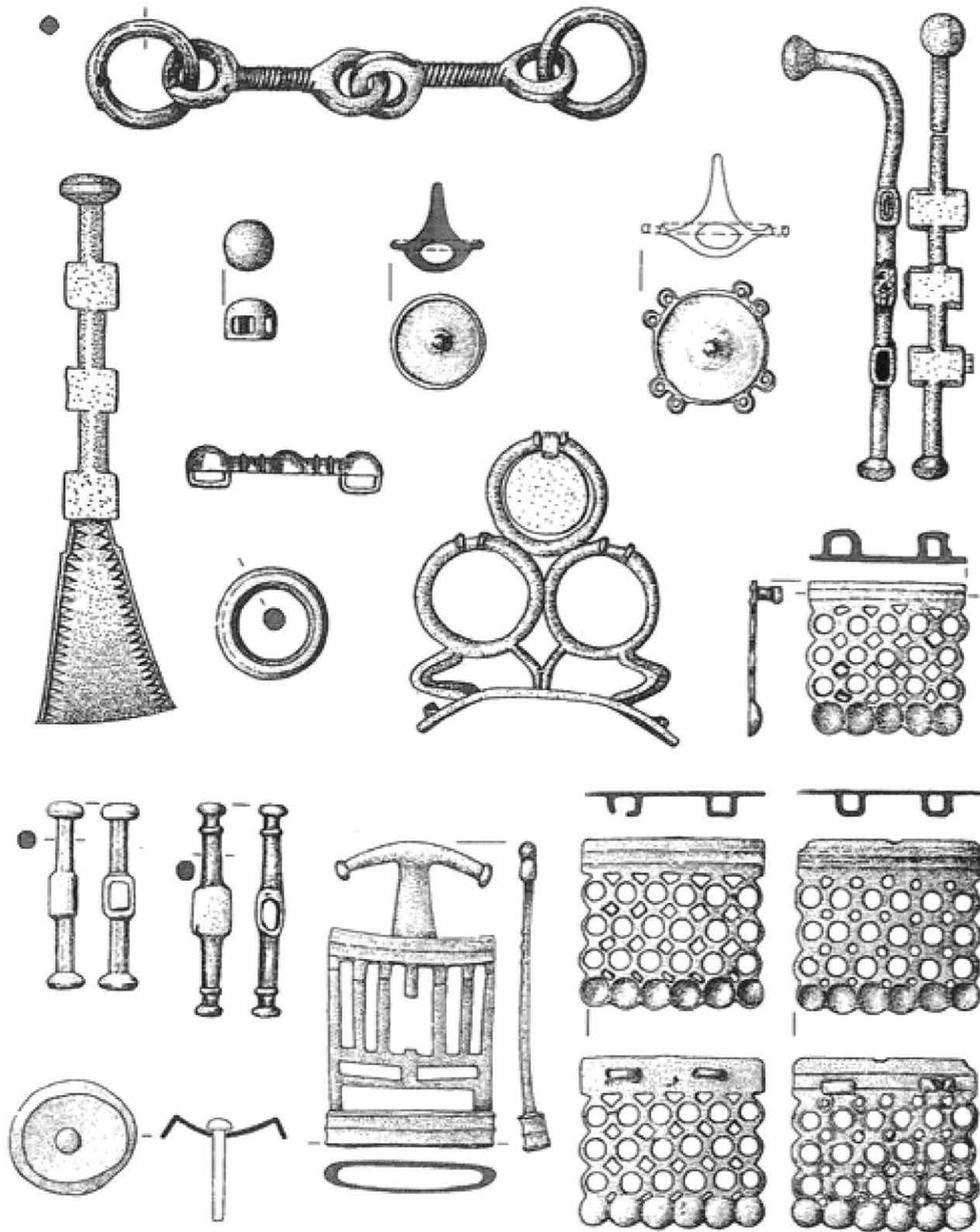
Fig. 3.1 Kossack's (1954) 'early Ha C1 horse-gear'. Figure after Pare 1992, fig. 100.
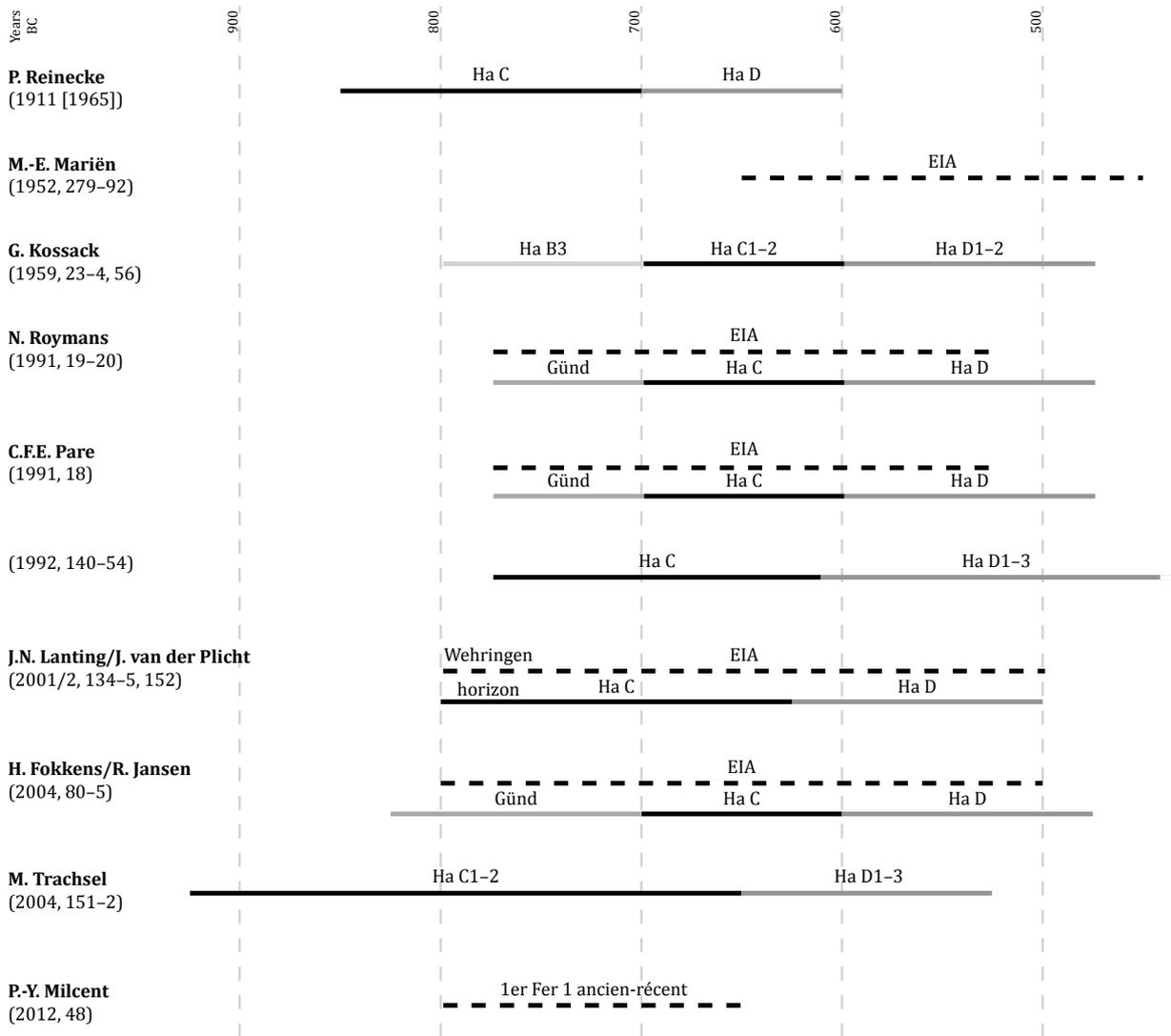
Fig. 3.2 A number of chronological schemes used to date Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Sources listed in figure.

from the Hallstatt Culture, but also to (possibly) locally made objects that resemble imports. The close connection between the Hallstatt 'style' and period also is revealed by the fact that finds dating between 800–500 BC that do *not* contain 'Hallstatt-style objects' almost never are referred to as dating to the Hallstatt C or D period in the Low Countries.

3.3 ^{14}C-dating the Low Countries elite burials

Accurately ^{14}C-dating the Dutch and Belgian Early Iron Age elite burials is hampered by the fact that no organic material suitable for ^{14}C-dating survives from most of them. Even in those cases that suitable material has survived, samples have been dated only rarely (seven burials have been ^{14}C-dated). There are several reasons for

this. Prior to accelerator mass spectrometry ^{14}C-dating and the ability to date cremated bone, suitable samples were non-existent. When organic material survives in these burials it almost always is highly fragmented. Even now that minuscule samples can be dated, obtaining them remains problematic as the museums and depots that house these high status finds are often reluctant to part with even small samples. The expense also plays a role.

Prior to this research, suitable samples from only six burials had been ^{14}C-dated. Two ^{14}C-dates were performed as part of the present research for the Chieftain's grave of Oss. This section presents and discusses these dates and their calibrations (with OxCal v4.3.2, all at the 2σ range) are presented and discussed (Fig. 3.3). Table 3.1 lists the lab/date number, the uncalibrated and calibrated dates and source for each ^{14}C-date. Particular attention is paid to the exact

R_Date Horst-Hegelsom_charcoal

R_Date Leesten-Meijerink g1_cremation

R_Date Neerharen-Rekem t72_cremation

R_Date Oss-Vorstengraf_wood

R_Date Oss-Vorstengraf_cremation

R_Date Oss-ZevenbergenM3_wood

R_Date Oss-ZevenbergenM3_wood

R_Date Oss-ZevenbergenM7_woodV189

R_Date Oss-ZevenbergenM7_woodV190

R_Date Oss-ZevenbergenM7_woodV209

R_Date Oss-ZevenbergenM7_cremation V151

R_Date Uden-Slabroek_charcoal_27

R_Date Uden-Slabroek_charcoal_37

R_Date Uden-Slabroek_charcoak_60

R_Date Uden-Slabroek_charcoal_60

R_Date Uden-Slabroek_charcoal_68

R_Date Uden-Slabroek_charcoal

R_Date Uden-Slabroek_charcoal

1400   1200   1000   800   600   400   200

Fig. 3.3 The calibrated the ^{14}C-dates (with OxCal v4.3.2 at the 2σ range). The sources of the given dates are listed in Table 3.1.

source of the date and its relation to the burial event. The dates are discussed in alphabetical order of site name. The ^{14}C-dates, however, do not always narrowly date a burial as the calibrated dates predominantly hit the Hallstatt plateau (with the exception of Neerharen-

Rekem t.72's very early date; Section C25.3) and by themselves provide only broad dating ranges. The typochronological dates of a number of key objects and sites are used below to narrow down the date ranges to likely timespans.

Site_material_number	Date number	14C-date	Calibrated date	Source of the 14C-date
Horst-Hegelsom_charcoal	GrN-10761	2440 ± 35 BP	754–681 cal BC (23.0%), 670–610 cal BC (12.8%) and 594–407 cal BC (59.6%)	Lanting/van der Plicht 2001/2, 174
Leesten-Meijerink g1_cremation	GrN-49737	2570 ± 35 BP	811–744 cal BC (67.3%), 686–665 cal BC (7.0%) and 644–551 cal BC (21.1%)	Van Straaten/Fermin 2012, 91–3
Neerharen-Rekem t72_cremation	GrA-17787/19062	2675 ± 40 BP	905–796 cal BC (95.4%)	Lanting/van der Plicht 2001/2, 174
Oss-Vorstengraf_wood	GrA-55555	2785 ± 30 BP	1007–854 cal BC (95.4%)	Section C26.3
Oss-Vorstengraf_cremation	GrA-55551	2500 ± 30 BP	788–537 cal BC (95.4%)	Section C26.3
Oss-Zevenbergen M3_bark side	GrA-27852	2460 ± 40 BP	761–415 cal BC (95.4%)	Van Wijk et al. 2009, 102
Oss-Zevenbergen M3_heartwood side	GrA-27851	2555 ± 40 BP	808–730 cal BC (47.7%), 692–659 cal BC (11.4%) and 651–543 cal BC (36.4%)	Van Wijk et al. 2009, 102
Oss-Zevenbergen M7_charcoal central find assemblage V189	GrA-41260	2550 ± 35 BP	804–734 cal BC (48.5%), 690–662 cal BC (11.2%) and 649–546 cal BC (35.7%)	Fontijn et al. 2013d, 115–6
Oss-Zevenbergen M7_charcoal central find assemblage V190	GrA-41261	2445 ± 35 BP	755–680 cal BC (24.4%), 671–608 cal BC (14.6%) and 596–409 cal BC (56.4%)	Fontijn et al. 2013d, 115–6
Oss-Zevenbergen M7_charcoal central find assemblage V209	GrA-41264	2490 ± 35 BP	788–486 cal BC (95.4%)	Fontijn et al. 2013d, 115–6
Oss-Zevenbergen M7_cremation V151	GrA-50085	2520 ± 35 BP	795–701 cal BC (31.7%) and 696–540 cal BC (63.7%)	Fontijn et al. 2013d, 115–6
Uden-Slabroek_charcoal_27	GrA-51471	2430 ± 30 BP	750–683 cal BC, 668–639 cal BC (6.6%) and 590–405 cal BC (69.2%)	Section C32.3
Uden-Slabroek_charcoal_37	GrA-51473	2465 ± 30 BP	764–430 cal BC (95.4%)	Section C32.3
Uden-Slabroek_charcoal_60	GrA-51443	2425 ± 30 BP	749–684 cal BC (17.6%), 667–641 cal BC (5.5%), 588–579 cal BC (0.9%) and 562–403 cal BC (71.4%)	Section C32.3
Uden-Slabroek_charcoal_69	GrA-51475	2480 ± 30 BP	774–482 cal BC (94.9%) and 441–434 cal BC (0.5%)	Section C32.3
Uden-Slabroek_charcoal	GrA-32776	2430 ± 15 BP	730–692 cal BC (12.1%), 659–652 cal BC (1.7%) and 544–411 cal BC (81.6%)	Section C32.3
Uden-Slabroek_charcoal	GrA-48681	2470 ± 35 BP	768–430 cal BC (95.4%)	Section C32.3

Tab. 3.1 The available 14C-dates and their calibrations (with OxCal v4.3.2, all at the 2σ range) of burials in the dataset.

3.3.1 Horst-Hegelsom

Lanting and Van der Plicht (2001/2, 174) give a 14C-date of 2440 ± 35 BP for a charcoal sample taken from the pit in the gap in the ditch running around the burial of Horst-Hegelsom (Chapter C16). They question the relationship between this pit and the burial as they claim this pit to be only a dip in the soil profile. However, Willems and Groenman-van Waateringe (1988, 17) describe this pit as being a distinct feature filled with large chunks of charcoal, leading them to argue that a fire had burned in it (see also Chapter C16 and Fig. C16.2). It therefore seems unlikely that this was only a dip in the soil profile (especially since Lanting and Van der Plicht appear to base their statement only on Willems and Groenman-van Waateringe 1988). It may be worthwhile to also have a sample of the cremation remains 14C-dated, but this has not yet been done. The given 14C-date calibrates to ca. 750–400 BC (Fig. C16.4; Tab. 3.1). The date for the Horst-Hegelsom burial is narrowed down to a likely date range with typochronology below.

3.3.2 Leesten-Meijerink g.1

The cremation remains from the Leesten-Meijerink grave (see Chapter C18) were dated 2570 ± 35 BP; Van Straaten/Fermin 2012, 91–3), which calibrates to ca. 810–550 BC (Fig. C18.4; Tab. 3.1). The date for this burial is narrowed down to a likely date range with typochronology below.

3.3.3 Neerharen-Rekem t.72

Lanting and Van der Plicht (2001/2, 174) give a 14C-date for cremation remains from Neerharen-Rekem t.72 of 2675 ± 40 BP (see Section C25.3). The given date calibrates to ca. 905–795 BC (Fig. C25.3; Tab. 3.1).

3.3.4 Oss-Vorstengraf

As part of this research two samples were selected from the Chieftain's burial of Oss and submitted for 14C-dating (see Section C26.3; Fig. C26.11). These were a fragment of the human cremation remains and a piece of wood that were found in the bronze urn upon excavation. Both were made available by the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. Physical anthropologist and cremation expert S. Lemmers

selected a long bone fragment that was sufficiently calcinized for ^{14}C-dating from the cremation remains. This cremation fragment gave a date of 2500 ± 30 BP, which calibrates to ca. 790–540 BC (Fig. C26.11; Tab. 3.1).

Together with wood and charcoal experts E. van Hees and C. Vermeeren a wooden fragment suitable for ^{14}C-dating was selected from this burial. The sample selected for dating was possibly alder (*Alnus*), but certainly was not oak (*Quercus*) or beach (*Fagus*). While it could be that the fragment was contamination, this seems unlikely given the find context, see Chapter C26. It therefore probably derives from an objects interred with the Chieftain. The only (known) wooden artifacts from this burial are the fragmented remains of a grooved bowl (*OV.33*) and the grip of the Mindelheim sword (*OV.06*). As the fragmented bowl is made of oak this cannot be the source of the dated sample. A newly discovered wood sample from the sword handle was also analyzed by Van Hees and Vermeeren, and they determined that this was likely *not* oak and this in theory could therefore be the source of the dated sample. It is also possible that the fragment derives from something else that has not survived. The wood fragment gave a date of 2785 ± 30 BP, which calibrates to ca. 1005–855 BC (Fig. C26.11; Tab. 3.1). As discussed below, the typochronological dates of the grave goods indicate that this date is too early to relate to the time of burial. It could be that the early date is due to old-wood-effect or the dated wood fragment could be from an object that was already old at the time of the Chieftain's burial. Preference therefore is given to the ^{14}C-date obtained from a fragment of the Chieftain's cremation remains (see above).

3.3.5 Oss-Zevenbergen M.3
Two samples taken from the oak plank in the center of Oss-Zevenbergen M.3 (see Section C27.1.3) were

[14]C-dated. C. Vermeeren sampled roughly ten year rings at the heartwood side of the plank and at the bark side. She estimated that there were ca. 130 (± 20) year rings between the two samples. The bark side sample gave a date of 2460 ± 40 BP and the heartwood side sample gave a date of 2555 ± 40 BP (Tab. 3.1; Van Wijk *et al.* 2009, 102). The felling date of the tree from which the plank was cut was calculated by using the Gap function in Oxcal, which allows you to enter the number of years between two samples (Fig. 3.4). This yielded a calibration of ca. 675–415 BC. Mound 3 most likely dates to one of these timespans.

3.3.6 Oss-Zevenbergen M.7
Several samples from Oss-Zevenbergen M.7 were ^{14}C-dated: a charcoal fragment, two charcoal twigs (to minimize the margin of error) and a fragment of cremation remains from the urn (Fig. C27.5; Section C27.2.3; see also Fontijn *et al.* 2013d). Charcoal twigs V189 (V = find no.) and V190 yielded dates of 2550 ± 35 BP and 2445 ± 35 BP, which give calibrated dates of ca. 805–545 BC and ca. 755–410 BC. Charcoal fragment V209 gave a ^{14}C-date of 2490 ± 35 BP that calibrates to ca. 790–485 BC. The fragment of cremation remains from the urn (V151) yielded a ^{14}C-date of 2520 ± 35 BP that calibrates to ca. 795–540 BC (Tab. 3.1). The date for the Mound 7 burial is narrowed down to a likely date range with typochronology below.

3.3.7 Uden-Slabroek g.1
Six charcoal samples from the planks that made up the Uden-Slabroek burial chamber and the charcoal filling the burial cut from this grave have been ^{14}C-dated (Fig. C32.5; Section C32.3). They all yielded ^{14}C-dates around 2450 ± 30 BP, each of which calibrates to approximately the
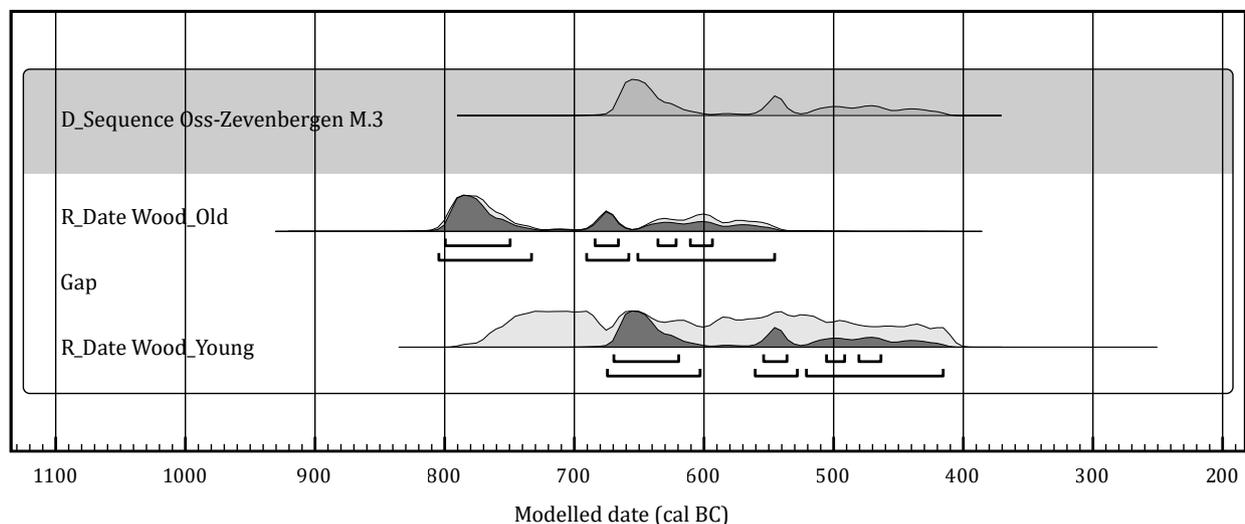
Fig. 3.4 The calibrated ^{14}C-dates (with OxCal v4.3.2 at the 2σ range) of samples of wood and Gap analysis from Oss-Zevenbergen M.3.

8th through the 5th centuries BC (see Tab. 3.1). The date for this burial is narrowed down to a likely date range with typochronology below.

3.4 Dating through typochronology

Due to the limited number of ¹⁴C-dates available and the wide date ranges that they generally provide due to the Hallstatt plateau, it is primarily through typochronology that the elite burials can be dated. In the past there has been wariness towards dating the Low Countries burials and their imported grave goods in this manner as the typochronologies of the kind of horse-gear, wagon components, weaponry and bronze vessels found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials are based primarily on their area of origin in Central Europe. For a long time it was unclear how finds in that area relate to those found in the Low Countries, especially temporally.

In the past Pare (1992, 139–40), for example, cautioned against using early Hallstatt C1 horse harness components (Fig. 3.1) to date the burial of Wijchen because these presumably were produced locally after they had gone out of fashion in southern Germany and Bohemia. He stated that graves with several types of early fittings are located almost exclusively in southern Germany and Bohemia and that outside this area burials generally only contain a single type of 'early' fitting, indicating that people from the hinterland likely imitated or acquired them from the central area of distribution (even though Pare (1992, 170) himself argued that the Wijchen wagon was likely made in Central Europe and imported to the Low Countries). However, there are no indications that these wagons and horse-gear elements were produced in the Low Countries (see also Section 6.3), and there are also Dutch and Belgian burials with multiple early fittings. The Chieftain's grave of Oss, for example, yielded early Platenitz horse-bits, a *Tutulus*, yoke rosettes and toggles as well as number of other bronze ornaments, that all can be assigned to Kossack's early Hallstatt C1 horse-gear (Figs. 3.1 and 4.7). Especially when viewed in light of the destructive and highly selective nature of the Low Countries elite burial practice (see Chapters 5 and 7), it would appear that Kossack's classic early Hallstatt C1 horse-gear can in fact be used to date a number of Dutch and Belgian elite burials early in the Hallstatt C phase (see below).

It furthermore appears that a number of sword burials, in particular those with Gündlingen swords and certain types of chapes, actually date very early when compared to developments elsewhere in Northwest and Central Europe. Neerharen-Rekem t.72, with its three early types of bronze Gündlingen swords (App. A2.3; Section C2.3.1.3), for example ¹⁴C-dates to the 9th century BC, even though such swords and chapes are traditionally dated to the 8th century BC (Milcent 2012, Fig. 9.A; Pare 1992, 138; Stöllner 2002, 119–20), with Trachsel (2004, 118–24) as an exception dating them slightly earlier (to the second half of the 9th century as well).

3.4.1 Dating the Low Countries elite

In the following I discuss the dating of the burials by roughly grouping them based on their content and (mainly typochronological) corresponding date (Fig. 3.5). The corresponding sections in the Catalogue provide more details on the dates ascribed to individual burials. The following is based on a small dataset with generally poor find contexts and any new finds or ¹⁴C-dates may change it.

3.4.1.1 Gündlingen and early chape burials

Typochronologically a type Viehofen/A2 chape (*CSE-LQ. UC.48*) from an unknown flat grave at Court-St-Etienne La Quenique and a type Beutelortband/Han-sur-Lesse chape found at Weert-Boshoverheide t.4 are some of the earliest finds in the Catalogue (Milcent 2012, 48; Trachsel 2004, 112–3). These types of chapes generally are found with early Gündlingen type swords, like those found in Harchies-Maison Cauchies t.1 and t.2, Hofstade-Kasteelstraat, Maastricht-Heer and Neerharen-Rekem t.72 (App. A2.3). As noted above, while Gündlingen swords generally are dated to the 8th century BC, in the Low Countries the 9th century ¹⁴C-date of the Neerharen-Rekem burial with Gündlingen swords indicates that earlier ones in fact can date to the (second half of the) 9th century BC as well (*cf.* Trachsel 2004, 117–24). For this reason burials with these blades and the accompanying chapes (Basse-Wavre T.5, Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.K, Gedinne-Chevaudos T.1 and Harchies-Maison Cauchies t.3 and t.4 and Weert-Boshoverheide T.O, in addition to those already mentioned) are dated ca. 850–750 BC in this research (Fig. 3.5). As will be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 7, an early date for the Gündlingen sword burials appears consistent with developments seen in the elite burial practice.

3.4.1.2 Iron (Mindelheim) sword burials

It is generally agreed that the Mindelheim type swords evolved from the Gündlingen type, with the latter starting in the 9th century, followed by a period where they were both in use, with then the Mindelheim type continuing after the Gündlingen type went out of style (Section C2.3.1.2; Milcent 2004, Ch. 2; Pare 1991; 1992; Stöllner 2002, 119–22; Trachsel 2004, 107–44). Mindelheim swords usually are dated to the Hallstatt C period, or roughly the (second half of the) 8th and first half of the 7th century BC (with some 30–50 years difference in the start and end dates given by various authors; *e.g.* Milcent 2012, Fig. 9.A; Trachsel 2004, 124–31).

Burial

	Years BC	Ha B3	Ha C1	Ha C2	Ha D1	Ha D2	Ha D3	La TA
	900	800	700	600			500	

Weert-B. t.3
Weert-B. t.4
Neerharen-R. t.72
Harchies-MC t.1
Harchies-MC t.2
Hofstade-K.
Maastricht-H.
Weert-Bos. T.O
Harchies-MC t.3
Harchies-MC t.4
Court-St-Etienne LQ T.K
Gedinne-Ch. T.1
Basse-Wavre T.5
Flobecq-P. T.78
Court-St-Etienne FR T.5
Havré T.16
Louette-SP FAM T.I
Louette-SP FAM T.III
Weert-B. t.2
Lommel-K. T.20
Limal-M. T.2
La Plantée dD
Court-St-Etienne LQ T.B
Court-St-Etienne FR T.3
Court-St-Etienne FR T.4
Court-St-Etienne LQ T.A
Court-St-Etienne LQ T.Z
Leesten-Meijerink g.1
Limal-Morimoine T.1
Meerlo
Court-St-Etienne FR T.1
Baarlo
Ede-Bennekom
Court-St-Etienne LQ T.L
Court-St-Etienne LQ T.M
Gedinne-Ch. T.2
Gedinne-Ch. T.13
Gedinne-Ch. T.14
Gedinne-Ch. T.16
Havré T.E
Heythuizen-B.
Someren-Kraayenstark
Weert-B. t.1
Someren-Ph.
Stocquoy
Rhenen-Koerheuvel
Wijchen
Court-St-Etienne FR T.2
Gedinne-Ch. T.P/Q
Havré T.2
Havré T.4
Havré T.9
Havré T.10
Haps g.190
Venlo
Oss-Vorstengraf
Uden-Slabroek g.1
Oss-Zevenbergen M.7
Horst-Hegelsom
Darp-Bisschopsberg
Oss-Zevenbergen M.3
Meppen

Legend

—— Typochronology   ▪▪▪▪ ¹⁴C-date & typochronology   ━━ ¹⁴C-date   ······ Less reliable date

As the Gündlingen swords appear to be relatively early in the Low Countries, the Mindelheim swords could be early as well (early in the 8th century BC), or it could be that the use of Gündlingen swords continued longer here. The ^{14}C-date derived from the cremation remains of the Chieftain's burial of Oss, which reveals that it could be as early as ca. 790 BC, does not contradict an early 8th century date for this burial as indicated by the typical early Hallstatt C1 horse-gear found in it. The burial of Horst-Hegelsom also yielded a Mindelheim type sword and a ^{14}C-date that calibrates to ca. 750–400 BC (Fig. C16.4; Tab. 3.1). This research therefore dates burials with Mindelheim type swords – such as Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.1, Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.L and T.M, Gedinne-Chevaudos T.2, T.13 and T.14, Havré T.E and Someren-Kraayenstark to ca. 800–650 BC (Fig. 3.5). The iron sword from Heythuizen-Bisschop was too degraded to identify it as a Mindelheim type sword, though given the associated pottery this seems plausible (Section C14.3). The burials of Someren-Philipscamping and Stocquoy are reported to contain Mindelheim swords, or at least iron Early Iron Age swords (see Sections C30.3 and C31.2).

3.4.1.3 Early horse-gear (and iron swords)

A number of burials most likely can be dated to the early 8th century BC based on the horse-gear they contain. This 'early' horse-gear was defined by Kossack (1954) and is still used to identify early Hallstatt C(1) burials (*e.g.* Pare 1992, Ch. 10). There are eight burials that contain *Leitfunde* for Kossack's phase Hallstatt C1. These are Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3 and T.4, Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A, Limal-Morimoine T.1, Meerlo, Oss-Vorstengraf, Rhenen-Koerheuvel and Wijchen (Fig. 3.1), and especially those with multiple early horse-gear fittings likely date early in the 8th century BC (*cf.* Trachsel 2004, 52–61; see the Catalogue).

Four of the eight burials with characteristic early horse-gear also contain iron Mindelheim type swords (Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A, Limal-Morimoine T.1, Meerlo, Oss-Vorstengraf), and this combination indicates that these burials most likely date to the 8th century BC. This is consistent with the *Schräghals*-urn found in Meerlo. An 8th century date for Oss-Vorstengraf is also consistent with the type of bronze bucket found there (which predominantly date Hallstatt C1, though they also occur in Hallstatt C2; Prüssing 1991, 49–52) and the ^{14}C-date derived from the Chieftain's cremation remains (Section 3.3.4). The Chieftain's burial of Rhenen-Koerheuvel contains the same type of bronze bucket as the Oss-Vorstengraf burial. It was found together with an early rein-knob (and *phalera*) as well as linchpins and hub fittings that indicate that Rhenen-Koerheuvel most likely dates later in the Hallstatt C1 phase, though it could also be Hallstatt C2. Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge yielded early Hallstatt C1 horse-bits (*cf.* Kossack 1954; Pare 1992, Ch. 10) of the same type as found in the Chieftain's burial of Oss and Limal-Morimoine T.1, which indicate that this burial most likely also dates to the 8th century BC (Section C6.2.4.2; Trachsel 2004, 53). This is consistent with the (early) Hallstatt C date ascribed to the antenna sword (Sievers 1982, 18; Trachsel 2004, 137) and the axe type. The Oss-Zevenbergen M.7 burial also yielded horse-gear and yoke decorations and is dated to ca. 780–650 BC based on ^{14}C-dates and typochronology (Section C27.2.3; see also Fontijn *et al.* 2013d, 115–6). The Wijchen burial, with its early horse-gear and slightly later wagon is dated to the earlier Hallstatt period, possibly to the Hallstatt C2–D1 transition (Pare 1992, 139–40; 151; Trachsel 2004, 53; 371) – a date that is consistent with the early axe and Hallstatt period ribbed bucket. The burial of Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.B yielded numerous early horse-gear elements that likely date to the (early) 8th century BC (Trachsel 2004, 52; Section C6.3.3.2). Weert-Boshoverheide t.2 yielded a single horse-gear element (or possibly scabbard element) that most likely dates to the Hallstatt C1 phase, and the single piece of horse-gear found in Weert-Boshoverheide t.1 is dated Hallstatt C1–2 (Trachsel 2004, 464–6). A number of characteristic early horse-gear components (*CSE-LQ.UC.28–33*) found within Court-St-Etienne La Quenique likely

come from the same grave date and most likely date to the 8th century BC (see Section C6.3.10).

3.4.1.4 Personal appearance

Objects related to physical appearance, such as ornaments, razors and toiletry items frequently are found in burials from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. They are found both in urnfield graves and in the richest burials in the Catalogue. The burials in the dataset characterized only by ornaments, razors and toiletry items all date Hallstatt C1 or early in the Early Iron Age (see Catalogue). The razors from Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.5, Havré T.16, Limal-Morimoine T.2, and Louette-St-Pierre Fosse-Aux-Morts T.I and T.III indicate that the burials they were found in likely date to the (early) Hallstatt C1 phase (Trachsel 2004, 142–3). The burials of Gedinne-Chevaudos T.P/Q, Havré T.2, T.4, T.9 and T.10 and Limal-Morimoine T.2 all are dated as most likely early in the Early Iron Age based on the tweezers and toiletry sets they contain and Lommel-Kattenbos T.20 probably dates to the Hallstatt C1 period based on the razor, tweezers and *Schräghals*-urn it yielded (Section C20.3; see also Warmenbol 1988, 255). The urn burial from Weert-Boshoverheide t.3 contained a bracelet that is similar to the ones found in Slabroek and likely dates to the Late Bronze Age or to the Hallstatt C1 phase (Section C34.4).

Exceptional burials with elaborate ornament sets: Leesten-Meijerink and Uden-Slabroek

There are also burials that emphasize personal appearance through the inclusion of jewelry, such as Leesten-Meijerink and Uden Slabroek which both contained rich ornament sets. As discussed above, both were also 14C-dated, yielding dates that hit the Hallstatt plateau, but by adding the typochronological date of the grave goods it is possible to narrow down the likely date ranges. The type of urn and the *Ringaugenperlen* combined with the 14C-date derived from the cremation remains indicate that the Leesten-Meijerink burial most likely dates to the 8th century BC (Section C18.3; Van Straaten/Fermin 2012, 93).

The calibrated 14C-dates of the charcoal samples from Uden-Slabroek all approximately fall in the range of 780–430 BC, but the typochronology of the grave goods helps narrow this down to a likely date range (see also Section C32.3). The bracelets with everted terminals resemble Late Bronze Age bracelets found in hoards (though they have no exact parallel in the Low Countries). The hatched decoration on the matching bracelets is frequently found on Late Bronze and Early Iron Age bracelets (*e.g.* Fig. 5.3; Dyselinck/ Warmenbol 2012, 60–1; Fontijn 2002, Fig. 9.5). The Slabroek toilet set not only appears to be a parallel for a number of other Early Iron Age toiletry items discussed above, it likely was deposited in a leather pouch with an amber closing

bead. This practice has close parallels in for example the Hallstatt C Frankfurt-Stadtwald *Fürstengrab* (Fischer 1979; Willms 2002). The bronze anklets are known as *Hohlwulsten* or *Wulstringen* (Schacht 1982) and usually are dated to the Early Iron Age (Butler/Steegstra 2007/8; Van Impe *et al.* 2011). Bronze hair rings (of different designs than the ones from Slabroek) have been found in several Early and Middle Iron Age inhumation graves around Nijmegen (Van den Broeke 2002; 2011). In short, incorporating the typochronological dates of the grave goods indicates that this burial most likely dates Hallstatt C1–2 phase (see also Section C32.3).

3.4.1.5 Bronze vessels

The four intact Early Iron Age bronze vessels found in the Low Countries as single finds can be dated to likely date ranges through typochronology (see the respective sections in the Catalogue for more details). The bucket of Baarlo is of the same type as those found in Oss-Vorstengraf and Rhenen-Koerheuvel. These buckets predominantly date to the Hallstatt C1 phase, though they can also be from the Hallstatt C2 period (Prüssing 1991, 49–52). Situlae like the one of Ede-Bennekom are dated to the older Hallstatt C phase by Prüssing (1991, 60–71, taf. 25) but can also date to the whole Hallstatt C phase. According to Stöllner (2002, 145–6) vessels like the one from Venlo can date both to the Hallstatt C and D period, but are most common in Hallstatt C. Meppen is one of the few burials from the dataset that appears to date to the later Hallstatt D phase (Kimmig 1964; see Section C24.3).

3.4.1.6 Other

There are also a number of graves that do not fall into the groups discussed above, or cannot be narrowly dated (see the respective sections in the Catalogue for more details). The knives from Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.2 for example are not narrowly diagnostic and this burial therefore is dated Hallstatt C1–D3. Gedinne-Chevaudos T.16 is dated Hallstatt C1–2 based on the pottery and spearhead. Haps could be one of the later burials included in this study and is dated Hallstatt C1–D3. La Plantée des Dames T.4 contains a bronze button that most likely dates it to Hallstatt C1. Lastly, Oss-Zevenbergen M.3 has quite a long date 14C-range of ca. 675–415 BC and some hard to identify artifacts, and for this reason is included here rather than with the bronze sword burials (though this burial did yield an unusual bronze sword fragment, see Section C27.1.3).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter proposed a chronological sequence of the Early Iron Age elite burials in the Low Countries based on new (calibrations of) 14C-dates and typochronologies.

It was argued that accurately dating these burials has been hampered in the past by complex and ever-changing (typo)chronologies. In particular the introduction and shifting date range of the Gündlingen/Wehringen phase (Section 3.2.1) has complicated matters. This research argues that such a phase is not represented in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials and that we should abandon the term (as do Milcent 2004; 2012; Trachsel 2004). In Section 3.2.2 it also was discussed how the habit of using 'Hallstatt C' both to indicate a chronological phase and an archeological culture group (or artifacts deriving from that culture) has led to (an attractive) vagueness in the meaning of the term.

The proposed chronological sequence of the Early Iron Age elite burials in the Low Countries indicates that most of our burials are probably earlier than previously thought. A large number appear to date to the 8th and first half of the 7th century BC (*i.e.* Hallstatt C1–2), with some (possibly) being even earlier and some later. The new dating of these burials has brought the burials with Mindelheim swords chronologically closer to those with Gündlingen swords. Where before it was thought that there was a large chronological gap between them, it now appears that they overlapped.

As will be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 7, this is consistent with the continuity in burial practice customs observed.

The new, and often earlier, dates proposed have interesting consequences with regard to how we should envision the role of the Low Countries in Early Iron Age Northwest and Central Europe. It appears, for example that the custom of identifying the dead as elites in burials may have arisen prior to any archeologically visible contact with Central Europe. The majority of the elite burials in fact appear contemporaneous with the Hallstatt C *Fürstengräber* of the Central European Hallstatt Culture, rather than with the later (and quite different) Hallstatt D burials, which means we should re-examine how we envision the relationship that existed between the Low Countries and Central Europe at this time (see Section 7.3).

Lastly, a word of warning – as also stated above, the proposed chronological sequence is an attempt to make the dating of the elite burials in the Low Countries as accurate and transparent as possible. However, I stress that it is based on a small dataset and may need to be adjusted to incorporate any new finds, ^{14}C-dates or relevant typochronologies.

4 The elite burials: presenting the dataset

As noted in the introduction chapter, in order to study the elite burial practice in the Low Countries this research first had to create a detailed inventory of such graves, which can be found in the accompanying Catalogue titled *Fragmenting the Chieftain – Catalogue. Late Bronze and Early Iron Age elite burials in the Low Countries.* In it the find history, material remains, dating and burial ritual of each site and grave are described in detail as is the process through which I examined them (*e.g.* whether I relied on literature research or had access to the artifacts). By consulting the Catalogue the reader can verify any statements made regarding object associations, the treatment of objects or the reconstruction of the funerary rituals. When possible the Catalogue depicts all finds, and an overview of the objects from burials can be found listed and depicted per type in Appendix A2 in the current volume. For the first time detailed information regarding the Dutch and Belgian elite graves is now accessible to a wider research community. This chapter serves as a summary of said Catalogue and gives a comprehensive overview of the dataset of Dutch and Belgian Late Bronze–Early Iron Age graves that form the basis for the analysis of elite burial practices in the Low Countries. The burials are divided into groups based on the grave goods to keep this chapter readable, though as will be argued in Chapter 5 this division is also (in part) reflected in the burial practices. Where possible and necessary I consider graves in more detail, with a focus not only on the objects interred, but also on the burial ritual through which a grave was created. The locations in which these burials were situated and how the elite burial practice developed are addressed in Chapter 5.

4.1 The dataset

The burials in the dataset were selected in a number of steps, based on several factors (see also Section 1.2.1.2). First, any Late Bronze–Early Iron Age burial described as a chieftain's graves in publications was selected. These included the 'traditional' chieftains' burials (as defined in Section 2.2.1.1) such as Oss and Wijchen, but also the burials of Court-St-Etienne, Meerlo and Rhenen-Koerheuvel. Any graves described as princely burials, princess graves or as exceptionally rich also were selected. Graves listed in a number of key publications on Early Iron Age elite burials (such as Fontijn/Fokkens 2007; Mariën 1958; Roymans 1991) were included, such as the sword-graves of Horst-Hegelsom and Someren-Kraayenstark, but also bronze vessels that are believed to be from burials, such as Baarlo and Venlo. As Early Iron Age elite graves generally are defined as any burial containing any of the characteristic 'chieftain's burial' grave goods, I searched literature, depots and museums for other burials with or stray finds of bronze vessels, swords, horse-gear, wagon components, axes, knives, razors, toilet implements and ornaments (though see Section 6.5 on razors, toiletries and ornaments). I also included any graves that might be considered exceptional in terms of the burial ritual conducted (when possible). This resulted in the burials listed in the Catalogue, which all contain objects that set them apart from the perceived 'normal' or 'average' urnfield burial or are
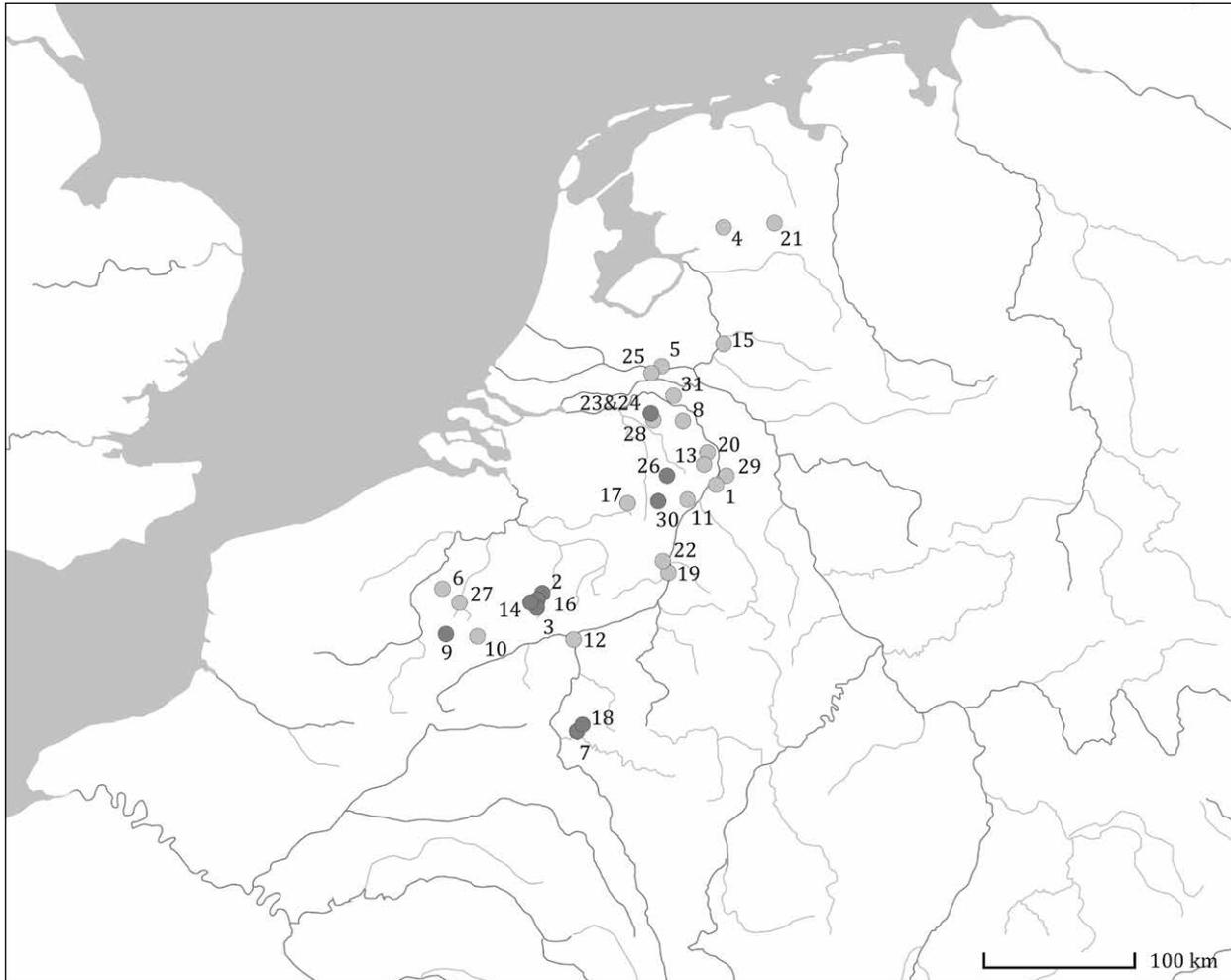
Fig. 4.1 1. Baarlo; 2. Basse-Wavre; 3. Court-St-Etienne; 4. Darp-Bisschopsberg; 5. Ede-Bennekom; 6. Flobecq-Pottelberg; 7. Gedinne-Chevaudos; 8. Haps; 9. Harchies-Maison Cauchies; 10. Havré; 11. Heythuizen-Bisschop; 12. Hofstade-Kasteelstraat; 13. Horst-Hegelsom; 14. La Plantée des Dames; 15. Leesten-Meijerink; 16. Limal-Morimoine; 17. Lommel-Kattenbos; 18. Louette-St-Pierre Fosse-Aux-Morts; 19. Maastricht-Heer; 20. Meerlo; 21. Meppen; 22. Neerharen-Rekem; 23. Oss-Vorstengraf; 24. Oss-Zevenbergen; 25. Rhenen- Koerheuvel; 26. Someren; 27. Stoquoy; 28. Uden-Slabroek; 29. Venlo; 30. Weert-Boshoverheide; 31. Wijchen. Map background supplied by H. Fokkens.

from sites which yielded such graves (see Sections 1.2.5.1, 5.4 and 7.2.2). While a handful contain several of these objects, I stress that there are also many burials that contain only one or at most a few such objects. This is considered further below, and the reader is referred to Section 8.1 for a discussion of how new insights would have affected this selection process. A number of stray finds are included in the dataset as well. These finds originate from the sites discussed, but their precise origin within those sites is unknown and they cannot be assigned to a specific burial or barrow. These are often from sites that were excavated long ago (such as Court-St-Etienne La Quenique). Early excavators frequently dug up several barrows and graves in a short timespan and then only published which finds were done during the excavation campaign, rather than specifying which objects came from which graves. While

these loose finds cannot be used to reconstruct burial inventories, they are interesting to consider with regard to the absolute numbers of certain kinds of objects.

The resulting dataset includes in total 75 (probable[10]) individual burials. These were found in 69 (probable[11]) barrows or flat graves (some contained multiple individuals), from a total of 32 sites. Ten of these sites

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10   The Catalogue includes a number of (chance) finds that are believed to be burials even though human (cremation) remains were not found or recorded.

11   A number of (chance finds, such at the bucket of Baarlo are believed to have been found in a barrow, but conclusive proof cannot be offered. The same is true for certain finds that probably are from flat graves, like the sword-graves of Harchies-Maison Cauchies. The line of argument behind each interpretation is given in the Catalogue.
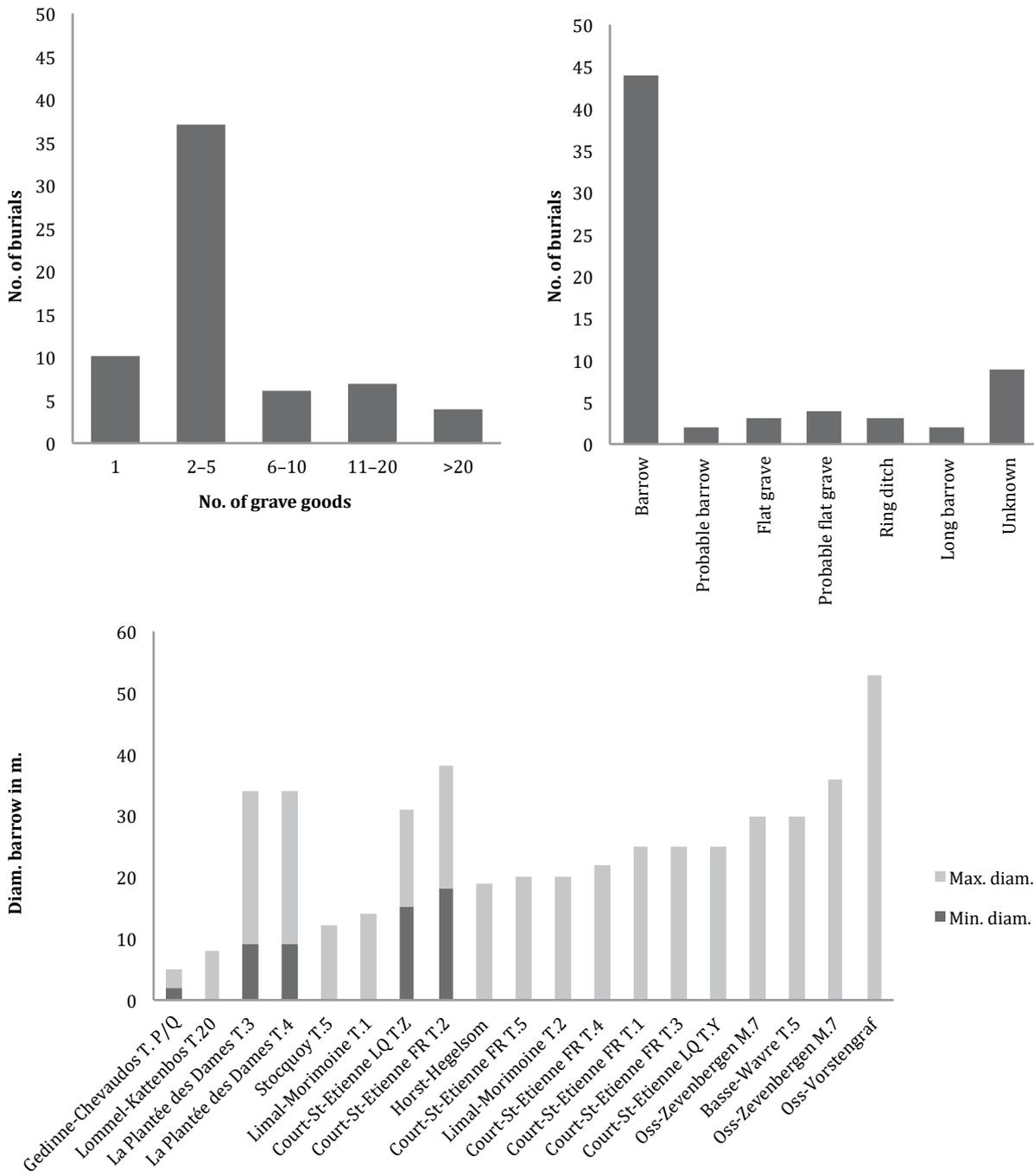
Fig. 4.2 Graphs of the number of burials with various numbers of grave goods, type of burial (marker) and the sizes of the known burial monuments.

yielded multiple burials of interest to this research, while the other 22 yielded only a single (probable) elite grave. Five sites also yielded so-called stray finds. This dataset was used for analyzing the elite burial practice in the Low Countries. The burials are listed in Table C1.1 and the find locations are shown in Figure 4.1. Of the 75 (probable) individual burials, 44 graves yielded pottery

and eleven had bronze vessels (see also Fig. C2.1). Weaponry was found in 36 graves in the form of swords, chapes, lance-, spear- and arrowheads. Horse-gear is a less common occurrence (15 burials), with six burials yielding yoke, wagon and/or wheel components. Tools are surprisingly rare and were found in only nine graves. Objects relating to appearance are somewhat more
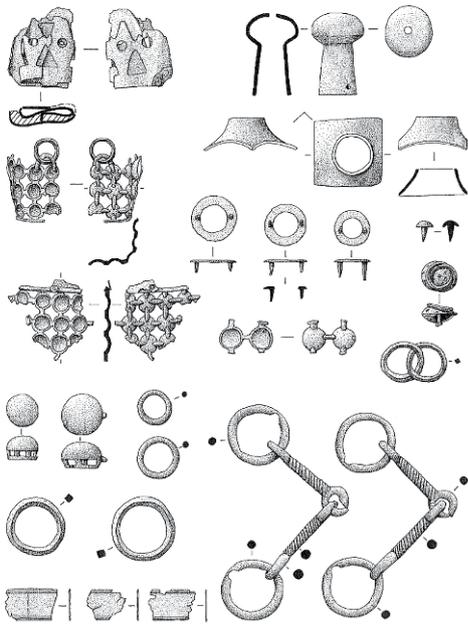
Fig. 4.3 Examples of selective depictions of grave goods from the wagon-grave of Wijchen. Pare's excellent object drawings (top left) frequently depict only a selection of each object type (compare with top right). A different form of selective depiction is shown by the difference between the photo taken for this research of all surviving finds (bottom left) and the stock photo of this grave which features only a selection (right). Drawing after Pare 1992, pl. 5; photographs ©Museum het Valkhof, Nijmegen; by J. van Donkersgoed.

common, with 17 burials containing razors and/or toilet implements or sets, and eleven burials yielded clothing pins or other jewelry. This does not include the finds of which the exact find context within a site is unknown. In terms of the number of grave goods (not counting the inclusion of burned wood or human remains) burials range from having a single object to graves that yielded over 20 individual objects (Fig. 4.2). With regard to the shape these burials take, more than half come from (propable) barrows, but they are also known from (probable) flat graves, ring ditches and long barrows. Of several the burial structure is unknown. The mound size of only 13 barrows is known; they are relatively large (see Fig. 4.2). The barrow of Oss-Vorstengraf is not only the largest of the Low Countries, but also one of the largest

of Northwest Europe at 53 m in diameter. Elite burial in the Low Countries, however, does not automatically equal (oversized) barrow (see also Roymans 1991, 56–7).

4.1.1 Visualizing burial complexes
One of the challenges when working with this material is determining the exact grave goods inventory of each burial. In many cases the larger objects, like the swords and bronze vessels, are relatively well known, while the smaller (fragments) are not (see for example Chapter C26). This in part seems to be the result of past research focuses, but I argue that it is also partially the result of the manner in which these graves have been depicted. In many, if not most cases only a selection of finds is depicted in published drawings and pictures. This can be due to the

Burial / Grave good type	Wood	Human remains	Pot	Bowl	Acc. vessel	Bronze vessel	Drinking bowl	Sword	Chape/scabbard/sheath	Dagger	Lance-/spear-/arrowhead	Horse-bit component	Decoration	Yoke component	Wagon-box component	Wheel component	Knife	Axe	Tools other	Razor	Toilet implement/set	Clothing pin	Ornament	Other
Basse-Wavre T.5	wood	unknown sex	ceramic pot (+)					sword (bent/broken, exposed to fire)												razor		clothing pin		
Oss-Vorstengraf		male (textile)				bronze vessel	wooden bowl	sword (bent/broken)				horse-bit	horse-gear decoration (+)	yoke component			knife (textile, bent/broken)	axe	(whet)stone	razor		clothing pin (multiple)		other (textile, +)
Uden-Slabroek	wood	female (textile)																		toilet item		clothing pin (textile, bent/broken)	ornament (+)	other (textile, +)

Legend

Textile	Bent/broken	Exposed to fire	Multiple (+)	Bronze/iron / Pottery/wood	
Wood	Sword	Horse-bit	Knife	Toilet item	
Unknown sex/male/female	Chape	Horse-gear decoration	Axe	Clothing/hair pin	
Ceramic pot/bowl/accessory vessel	Scabbard/sheath	Yoke component	(Whet)stone	Ornament	
Bronze vessel	Dagger	Wagon box component	Spindle whorl	Other	
Wooden bowl	Lance-/spear-arrowhead	Wheel component	Razor		

Fig. 4.4 Three burials depicted and visualized as an example. Left to right: Basse-Wavre T.5, Oss-Vorstengraf and Uden-Slabroek. Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed; P.J. Bomhof ©RMO.

fact that not all grave goods survive, but in many cases it seems to be the result of other factors. For example, in graves with multiple objects of the same type, often only a single example or a selection of those objects is depicted (*e.g.* Fig. 4.3, top). Moreover, photographs in particular frequently only depict a selection of artifacts, usually the more attractive and recognizable items, while fragments or unattractive objects often are not included. This may have been a choice motivated by the desire to create an attractive photograph, but also may relate to the fact that it also can be very difficult from a technical perspective to capture large items like bronze vessels and swords on the same photograph as smaller objects like pins and razors (see also Fig. 4.10).

While this is perfectly understandable, the problem lies in the fact that these stock photographs and drawings tend to take on a life of their own. A specific (incomplete) image can be used over and over again, and in a way comes to stand for that burial in the minds of the readers and researchers. While the accompanying text may inform the reader that certain objects are not depicted (though this is not always the case), the image is what people remember. For example, Figure 4.3 (bottom right) has for years been the stock photo used for the wagon-grave of Wijchen. To many these select objects *are what this burial is*. I had Figure 4.3 (bottom left) taken, which is a photograph of everything from this grave, including all smaller fragments. When I started to use this new image, scholars (who are familiar with this grave) were surprised to discover the sheer number of objects that were buried with this person. And Wijchen is but one example. Many of the graves in the dataset are 'known' through photographs or drawings that are 'incomplete'. I therefore stress that

we should be wary of equating published photographs with burials, as there is a very real chance that these do not show all the grave goods (or even that not all grave goods have been recognized). In an attempt to deal with this problem I intended to take new pictures of complete burial inventories for the graves in the dataset. Unfortunately, this was only rarely possible as many objects have been lost or were mounted in such a way that I could not take overview photographs. In several cases the grave goods were not available at the same time. In the Catalogue I therefore include figures of complete inventories compiled of pictures, drawings and icons to give a visual overview of a grave's content (see also Chapter C1; Fig. C1.1).

I also needed a way to not only visualize these burials, but one that allowed me to compare them. Such a figure not only needed to show the type of objects found in each burial included in the dataset, but also whether objects were exposed to fire, bent and/or broken or wrapped in textile during the burial ritual. By creating icons for the various types of objects, as well as symbols for the various treatments of objects, the individual burials are not only easier to visualize but can also be compared. Figure 4.4 illustrates how these figures should be read, as well as demonstrating the informative value of this format over pictures of burial inventories on their own. Figure C1.1 in the Catalogue shows the entire dataset visualized in this manner in alphabetical order. Using icons for the various types of objects creates a visual overview, despite the fact that no images survive of many of the grave goods. I used this format to divide the burials into groups, based on both objects interred and actions carried out during the burial ritual. This division was created in large part to make this chapter readable, but as will be discussed in Chapter 5, it also (to some extent) reflects variations in the burial practice.

4.2 Horse-gear and wagon burials

There are 15 burials in the dataset that contain either wagon components and/or horse-gear that relates functionally to a wagon (see also Section 6.3). These burials are discussed together here, as they appear to be quite different from the other burials in this dataset, not only in terms of objects interred but also with regard to the burial rituals (see also Section 5.3.3).

4.2.1 The most elaborate horse-gear and wagon burials

There are two burials that not only contain horse-gear and wagon components, but that can also be labeled traditional Chieftains' burials according to the definition discussed in Section 2.2.1.1. These are the burials of Oss-Vorstengraf and Wijchen which both contain a bronze vessel and a sword, as well as horse tack and wagon components. The sheer number of grave goods already set them apart, yet what really appears to be specific to these and two other burials in terms of the nature of the grave goods is the presence of axes (Fig. 7.4). This is discussed further below and in Section 7.2.3.3. There are another two burials that stand out due to the numerous substantial objects interred in them. These are Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3 and Rhenen-Koerheuvel. While the burial in the former may not contain the three-fold set of objects of a traditional chieftain's burial, it does contain a set of horse-bits that are functionally suited to driving (see also Section 6.3). The latter is known as the Chieftain's grave of Rhenen-Koerheuvel (Van Heeringen 1998), though it does not contain the 'required' weaponry. In this case it is tempting to attribute the lack of a sword to the disastrous find and excavation circumstances, as wel as the fact that this burial really does appear recovered incompletely (see Section C28.1). These four graves are discussed in further detail here as they are vitally important to understanding

Fig. 4.5 The most elaborate burials with wagon-related horse-gear and wagon components (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

the elite burial practice and they are some of the few exceptions where a lot can still be discerned regarding the burial rituals (Fig. 4.5).

4.2.1.1 Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3

Tombelle 3 was one of five excavated at Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge in 1905 by Count Goblet d'Alviella (I rely on his (1908) and Mariën's (1958) work along with my own objects analyses in my consideration of this barrow). It was over 25 m in diameter and contained one of the richest deposits of grave goods found at Court-St-Etienne, spread out over multiple burials (Goblet d'Alviella 1908; Mariën 1958, 108–28). Even though it was excavated during one of the better-recorded excavation campaigns at this site, the documentation is still less than ideal. While Goblet d'Alviella (1908, Fig. 3) did leave a (rough) excavation plan on which he marked the find locations of objects, it is too vague to determine which of the urns belongs with which objects (Fig. 4.6).

This barrow yielded at least two urns, probably three, filled with cremation remains and two deposits of artifacts (Mariën 1958, 108–28). An urn containing the cremated remains of an (likely male) adult (though see Section 2.2.3.3) was found near the center of the barrow in the northern quadrant. Another urn was located just south of the center of the barrow and contained the remains of a (probably male) adult of about 30 years of age. East of the barrow center was a third pot, accompanied by an accessory vessel. A large irregular block of sand with iron oxide was found on the remains of a pyre close to the center in the western quadrant. This block turned out to be two horse-bits, a lancehead, an antenna sword and an axe. A knife was also found in the block of artifacts (though there is some debate as to whether the knife

depicted by Mariën (1958, Fig. 19) is Iron Age in date. In Section C6.2.4 I argue that *a* knife at least was found here, even if we do not know exactly what it looked like. In the same section I also argue that a bronze chape belongs to this complex as well. The sword in this burial is unique within the dataset and rare in general (Sievers 1982). It has an antenna-style hilt with four prongs, each capped with a small sphere, yet is quite long. This grave is also the only complex in the dataset to contain an iron sword and iron lancehead (Neerharen-Rekem t.72 is the only other burial to contain a sword and lancehead, though in bronze, see below). The lancehead is unfortunately in very poor condition at present, though the drawings and photographs published by Mariën (1952; 1958) provide some insights (see Sections C3.3 and C6.2.4; Fig. C6.9).

The burial ritual of Tombelle 3

This reconstruction of the burial ritual(s) that resulted in Tombelle 3 is based on Goblet d'Alviella's (1908) and Mariën's (1958) published findings, and on the actions I could discern from the objects examined (Fig. C6.5). Three individuals were cremated and lain to rest in or under this barrow, though it cannot be determined whether all were also primary burials or later burial depositions dug into an existing barrow. The complex of the horse-bits, lancehead, antenna sword and axe rusted together and found among the remains of what was probably a pyre in the western quadrant indicates that this deposit, at least, was probably primary (Mariën 1958, 112). The urn found in the northern quadrant was located roughly a meter from this deposit and is assumed to be the associated burial. If correct, then an adult, probably a man, was cremated here (Mariën 1958, 114; though see Section 2.2.3.3). His cremated remains were collected and deposited in

Fig. 4.6 Excavation plan of Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3 interpreted by author (all find numbers are preceded by CSE-FR.T3.*) and finds from Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3 (incomplete burial inventory; see also Fig. C6.5). Original plan after Goblet d'Alviella 1908, fig. 3; photograph by J. van Donkersgoed.*

an urn (Goblet d'Alviella 1908; Mariën 1958, 108–28). As the two horse-bits, lancehead, sword, knife and axe were rusted together we know that these grave goods were deposited packed close together, suggesting that they were wrapped in something organic that did not survive. These objects show no visible signs of being burned, but as argued in Section 2.2.3.4 this does not mean they never were exposed to fire. They could have been lying on the edge of the pyre as the deceased was cremated, or placed on the burned-out pyre later. The knife, however, was broken intentionally into three pieces prior to its final deposition (Mariën 1958, 125).

A second person, probably also a man (though see Section 2.2.3.3; Mariën 1958, 126), was also cremated and his remains were deposited in an urn in this barrow. Unfortunately it is impossible to determine whether this man was cremated at the same time as the presumed man buried in the other urn. A third person, whose remains have not been analyzed, was cremated and deposited in a third pot along with an accessory vessel. Though a direct association cannot be proven, this urn was found closest to the iron trident, some 'traces of bronze' (which I argue are a number of melted situla fragments in Section C6.2.4.1) and the flint pounding stone. A bronze chape was also found in this barrow, though exactly where is unclear. It shows signs of heavy burning, and may be intentionally broken. As it is fragmented and incomplete a type is difficult to determine, though a chape with curved blades is a possibility, in which case a date in Hallsttat C is the most probable (Trachsel 2004, 112–6), making it possible that it belongs with the antenna sword which dating evidence also places early in Hallstatt C (Sievers 1982, 18; Trachsel 2004, 137).

4.2.1.2 Oss-Vorstengraf: the Chieftain's burial of Oss

This burial is probably the best-known Chieftain's grave of the Low Countries and one of the most iconic prehistoric finds of the Netherlands (Amkreutz 2009, 96; Bloemers *et al.* 1981, 65; Van Ginkel/Verhart 2009, 121). It is also one of the richest burials, in terms of both grave goods and archeological information that can still be gleaned from it. While an old discovery (1933, see Holwerda 1934 and Chapter C26), the manner of recovery and subsequent treatment of this find allow for a surprisingly detailed reconstruction of the burial ritual. A funerary ritual that resulted in a bronze situla filled with the cremated remains of a man and a Mindelheim sword with gold-inlaid handle, two bridles with bits and ornaments, parts of a yoke, a knife and axe, razors and pins, a (whet)stone, a wooden carved bowl and precious textiles (Fig. 4.7) buried under one of the largest barrows in Northwest Europe. This grave was uncovered during reclamation work on the heath near Oss in 1933. The bronze situla was first exposed while leveling

the barrow that covered it. The two local men who found it managed to keep the badly degraded bucket and the finds it contained *in situ* (Fig. 4.8, top left) until it could be properly lifted (Holwerda 1934, 39). When Bursch, assistant to the curator of Prehistory at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (RMO), arrived in Oss he was able to cover the entire find in plaster and lift it as a block. The plaster block, and the then unknown finds within, were transported to Leiden where they were removed by restorer D. Versloot (Holwerda 1934; Modderman 1964). Later that year Bursch returned and excavated what was left of the mound, as well as several barrows in the direct vicinity (Bursch 1937; Holwerda 1934; see also Section C26.1).

As the bucket was block-lifted and only emptied at the RMO, it is certain that only objects that did not survive the test of time *in situ* are absent from this complex. In the following 80 years, the bronze bucket and its contents were restored three times and researched and re-published even more (a.o. Fokkens/Jansen 2004; Fokkens *et al.* 2012; Holwerda 1934; Jansen/Fokkens 2007; Modderman 1964; Van der Vaart 2011). During each restoration 'new' objects were found hidden in corrosion (see Section C3.1 and C26.1–2). While some notes from the first restorer survive, no information from the second is available. The last restoration was documented minutely with photographs and X-rays (Kempkens/Lupak 1993). Study of these allowed for a detailed reconstruction of how objects had been corroded together upon discovery. In reverse, this enabled a reconstruction of the funerary ritual and how the grave goods were treated during this process and even how certain organic materials were incorporated into the ritual and eventual burial (even though most of the organic material survives only in fragments, if at all; see also Section C26.4). As stated above, the Chieftain's grave goods are described in detail in the Catalogue and briefly in the burial ritual reconstruction given below. A number of new facts regarding some of the grave goods, however, warrant a little more attention as they influence how this burial is and should be perceived.

A used-up bronze bucket?

It has been stated that the bronze bucket used as an urn in this burial was heavily used and repaired (Verhart/ Spies 1993, 80–3), an idea that has since been repeated (Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 56). There are, however, no repairs from use visible on it, only a repair plate on the base that was put there during the production process (my determination (Section C26.2), as also confirmed by restorer Kempkens 2011, pers. comm.). The only repair on this bucket therefore was done during the initial fabrication process. This is not to say that the bucket was never used. There are dents in it that the restorers and I determined are likely original rather than post-

Fig. 4.7 The Chieftain's grave of Oss (incomplete burial inventory, see also Fig. C26.1). Photograph by P.J. Bomhof ©RMO.
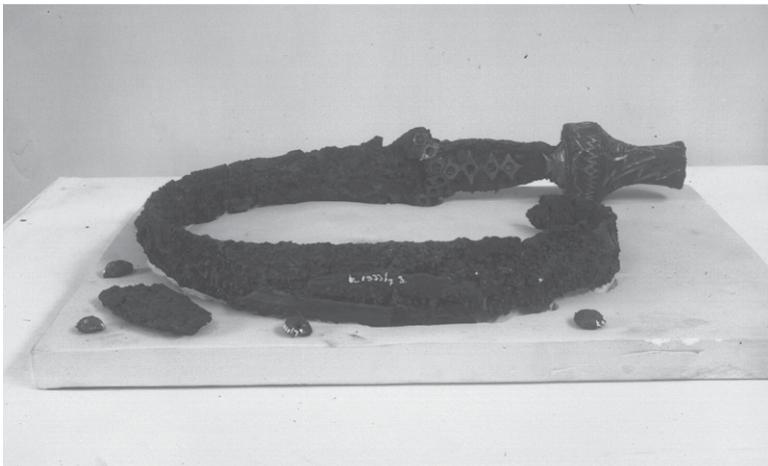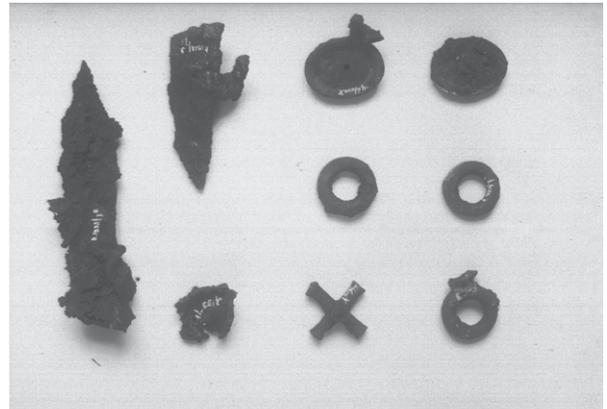
Fig. 4.8 The bucket in situ (top left; note the sword fragment showing at the top of the bucket) and some of the finds as they appeared after their first restoration in the 1930s (different scales). Photographs ©RMO.

depositional. A lead base ring may be a later addition (Kempkens 2011, pers. comm.). I stress that this bucket is in far better condition than previously thought because the assumption that this bucket was used-up and heavily repaired has influenced how this grave and others like it were interpreted in the past (see Section 6.1.1).

An extravagantly decorated Mindelheim sword

The curled-up iron sword with the gold-inlaid handle is one of the most iconic prehistoric finds of the Netherlands. It is a Mindelheim type and likely was made in southern Germany or upper Austria (Roymans 1991, 36; see Section 6.2.1.2). It has been extensively restored, and upon discovery was 26 cm shorter than it is today. As discussed in more detail in Section C26.2, the fragment shown in Figure C26.4 (B) was interpreted both by Holwerda (1934) and Modderman (1964) as being from a different blade, when in reality it was from the Mindelheim sword. The latter went as far as stating that the Chieftain had been interred with a Mindelheim sword *and* either a (antenna) dagger or even a second sword (Modderman 1964). This important article was until recently the only English publication of this find and is so widely cited that the belief that the Chieftain had multiple swords or a dagger persisted even after later restoration work in the 1980s and/or 1990s restored the sword fragment onto the blade (*e.g.* Lanting/Van der Plicht 2001/2, 173; see also Section C3.1). Presently the sword is ca. 116.5 cm in length (blade is 96 cm), which is unusually long. The only sword in the current study to come close is the sword of Wijchen (see also Sections 6.2.1.3 and C2.3). During the course of this research it was established that a small circle of lead (as identified through XRF-analysis) and thin bone strips were part of the Oss sword handle as well. Its original appearance was therefore different than it is today (Section C26.2). The shape of the gold decorations is discussed further in Section 6.2.1.2.

Extraordinary textiles

A unique element to this burial is the amount and quality of textile that survives, both in the corrosion of metal grave goods and as loose fragments. Some of the loose fragments and objects with textile were examined in the 1980s by L. Jørgensen (1983), though at the time much of the textile on the objects was not yet visible as these were uncovered during the later restoration. For this reason all textile was reexamined by K. Grömer (from the Natural History Museum in Vienna and a well-known textile expert specializing in Hallstatt textiles; *e.g.* Grömer 2013; 2014; 2017) and myself. Jørgensen (1983) already identified three different types of cloth in this burial. Grömer in turn identified a total of eight different weaves (the technical details for each weave are given in Appendices A2 and CA1, and the textiles are discussed

more generally in Section C26.2). Grömer also was able to establish which weaves can be found on the different objects and in some cases how various weaves overlay each other (the microstratigraphy). This led us to deduce that certain pieces of cloth were used to wrap objects, while a large quantity of high quality diamond twill was deposited as a grave good in its own right. Figure CA1.1 shows where on the various artifacts the different weaves (and therefore different pieces of cloth) were found and below it is discussed how this translates into how they were placed in the bucket. It is unusual and extremely rare to find textile from this period as it so seldom survives. In this case it also can be stated that some of the cloth would have been rare and precious at the time it was made and used as well. The majority of the textile that survives was a diamond twill of extremely high quality with threads spun so thin (0.3 mm) and so well-made and a thread count so high (ca. 25 per cm) it has to have been made by someone highly skilled and experienced and would have taken months to produce (see also Grömer 2017). An item of this cloth was folded around another piece of high quality textile into a package that was placed in the bucket as a grave good in its own right (see Chapter C26 and Fig. 4.9).

The burial ritual of the Chieftain's grave of Oss

This section describes the burial ritual of the Chieftain of Oss and the objects that played a role in it. While some of the information presented is derived from earlier publications (Fokkens/Jansen 2004; Holwerda 1934; Modderman 1964; Smits *et al.* 1997), the reconstruction itself is my own based on examination of the artifacts, evidence derived from the restoration report and X-rays by Kempkens and Lupak (1993) and a number of collaborations with material experts (see Section C26.2). This is only a summary presentation, and the reader is referred to the Catalogue for more information on both this burial ritual, the objects and on how this reconstruction was made. This section is intended to further familiarize the reader with this exceptional burial and to demonstrate that the placement of objects appears to be highly structured.

The burial ritual was of a tall man (30–40 years of age, younger than previously thought, see Section C26.2), who was cremated, and his remains collected for deposition in the bronze bucket. S. Lemmers (2013, pers. comm.), the most recent physical anthropologist to study the Chieftain's cremated remains, noted that this is one of the most complete prehistoric cremations she has ever studied (ca. 1800 gr. with all skeletal elements represented), and the collecting process therefore must have been done very diligently and thoroughly. This makes it striking that his teeth are completely absent, even though these usually survive cremation (in a fragmented state; Lemmers 2011,

Fig. 4.9 Reconstruction of the Chieftain of Oss' cinerary urn based on the current research. The textile package on the bottom of the bucket and partially behind the sword hilt contains the iron rings. Next to and on top of this lie the leather bridles with iron horse-bits and bronze trappings. The sword is shown wrapped in textile, with the packet of high quality imported textile lying against it (the blue packet). The textile package on the left contains the iron knife and axe. On top of this lies the wooden ribbed bowl. The cream textile package contains the cremated remains of the Chieftain himself. The leather yoke panels with bronze rosettes and iron toggles can be seen draped over the sword and partially lying underneath the wooden bowl. Note that the colors of the textiles are conjecture based on parallels (see also Sections 5.6.1.3 and C26.4). Painting by R. Timmermans.

pers. comm.). Since the 1960s it has been known that this man had a condition known as *diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis* (DISH; Modderman 1964, 57; Smits *et al.* 1997), whereby the ligaments and ligament attachments ossify. This condition, while appearing quite drastic, would not have hindered this man beyond a slightly stiff back in the morning. Furthermore, the robusticity of his skeleton with well-defined muscular attachments, the condition of the joints and an absence of severe enthesopathies indicate that the Chieftain was in no way severely restricted in his movements. He appears to have been strongly built (Lemmers 1011, pers. comm.; Lemmers *et al.* 2012; Smits *et al.* 1997).

A bronze situla was used as an urn for the remains and grave goods of this man. This situla survives relatively complete (though it is heavily restored; see Section C26.2). Originally this bucket would have had strap handles (the attachment points are still visible on the bucket, see Figure C26.3), and hanging rings probably

hung from these (Fig. C26.3). Given how poorly the bucket rim survived (see Fig. 4.8), it seems plausible that these were simply not recovered when the bucket was covered in plaster and block-lifted in the 1930s. An unusual feature of this bucket is the incorporation of lead into both the rim and the base (Section C26.2). In any case, this bronze vessel was chosen to serve as an urn for the dead Chieftain. A number of objects were selected, and some were dismantled, wrapped in textile and placed with care into the bronze bucket along with the cremation remains (an earlier version of this reconstruction can be found in Van der Vaart 2011, but note that new analyses, in particular the textile analyses, have added to and altered this reconstruction).

The first thing placed in the situla during the composition of the cinerary urn were about a dozen iron rings. These rings probably were removed from a yoke and then wrapped up in textile. The rings today form an outstretched and flat group, but this is mostly

reconstruction added during the restoration process (see Fig. C3.3; Section C3.1). Originally they were packed close together (see Section C26.4). Figure A2.4 shows the remains of textile and the imprint of the bucket base on ring fragments. A bridle decorated with bronzes and a bit were placed on the bottom of the bucket next to the rings and partially overlapping them. The sword with gold-inlaid handle was bent carefully round and covered in textile by wrapping a piece of cloth around its length prior it to being placed in the bucket with the handle downwards (in contrast to what some report, see Section C26.4). A packet of folded high-quality textile was placed against the wrapped sword and filled the 'circle' of the sword (the blue packet in Fig. 4.9), as evidenced by its survival and microstratigraphic location on the sword (Fig. CA1.1). The combination of wrapped sword and textile would have formed a 'barrier' down the center of the bucket (Fig. 4.9).

A knife with traces of textile on it and an axe were positioned on top of the bridle (Fig. CA1.1). Based on their position within the situla, the axe and knife may have been wrapped up together. This could relate to their function or use in life, as it has been argued that both kinds of tools played a role in (ritual) slaughtering (Huth 2003a; Krauße 1996, 299–307; see also Section 6.4.2). A second bridle, also incorporating bronze trappings[12] then was placed onto the mass of rings. This would later come to rest on the knife and axe after the textile 'barrier' degraded. Some yoke components, including yoke rosettes and toggles were put on top. Archeological parallels indicate that the rosettes originally likely attached decorative leather panels to the wooden yoke (Section C26.4). It appears that the mourners removed those elements of the yoke that would fit and then placed only them in the bronze vessels. Two razors were then placed on top of the yoke panels.

The spatial distribution of three pins with hollow heads within the bucket indicates that they may have been used to fasten the three textile packages, the rings, the knife and axe, and the sword. One pin was located near the knife and axe and could have fastened that bundle, and one could have fastened the wrappings on the sword. The original location of the third pin is unknown, but it may have fastened the package of iron rings. There is also number of objects of which the original location within the situla-urn could not be reconstructed. These are a stone tool, some worked bone fragments as well as a *Tutulus*. The latter was likely originally incorporated into one of the bridles. A number of wooden fragments that are

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12 Between them the two bridles incorporated two iron horse-bits and the following bronzes: *Tutulus* (*OV.13*), tubular cross-shaped object (*OV.12*) and at least 15 hemispherical sheet-knobs (*OV.11, OV.16, OV.20*). Three solid bronze rings (*OV.15*) probably also featured in the bridles.

probably from a drinking bowl also cannot be repositioned within the bucket. Some fragments of animal bone may be the remains of food offerings. Fragments of textile and leather survive as well. In Section C26.4 I argue that the Chieftain's cremated remains were likely placed into the urn last, and probably were wrapped in textile.

The situla-urn and its content were buried in an already existing (Bronze Age) barrow. A pit was dug straight through the older mound and another 50 cm underneath it. The pit was a little off-center in the barrow, and this may have been done intentionally to avoid and respect the older central burial. Perhaps the intention was to link the Chieftain's burial with this 'ancestor burial' (Fokkens/ Jansen 2004, 133–5; Jansen/Fokkens 2007). An enormous mound 53 m in diameter was erected over the older barrow, the creation of which would require stripping vast stretches of heath. It represents an enormous investment of time and manpower (Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 133–5). The size of this barrow is significant beyond its impressive size. It is large enough that the mourners could have buried an intact yoke, or even a wagon. They could have left the Mindelheim sword straight, rather than bending it round. *But they chose not to*. The mourners invested time and effort in making everything they deemed relevant, or at least elements of everything, fit into this bronze vessel. The very act of creating this cinerary urn in this manner, with everything relevant represented *in* the urn seems to have been important.

4.2.1.3 The Chieftain's burial of Rhenen-Koerheuvel

The burial of Rhenen-Koerheuvel is generally referred to as a chieftain's grave as it contains a bronze situla (of the same type as Oss-Vorstengraf), some horse-gear, linchpins, naves and an axe (Fig. 4.10; Van Heeringen 1998). It is a relatively recent discovery, though a series of unfortunate events led to it being recovered under less than ideal circumstances and the burial inventory is likely incomplete (see below). It probably was disturbed in 1935 by building activities atop the Koerheuvel on the northwest edge of Rhenen. There are reports of charcoal layers, a bronze ring, bronze fragments and burned bone that are believed to be from the Chieftain's burial (Van Heeringen 1998, 75). However, it was not until housing developments in the 1990s that this grave was recognized for what it was (after a mechanical excavator repeatedly tore through it) and excavated. The results of this excavation were published by Van Heeringen (1998), to which I have added results of my own analyses of the surviving artifacts. Not only did the latter add a number of grave goods to the burial assemblage, it allowed for a reconstruction of the funerary ritual (described in Section C28.4 and summarized below). It is extremely likely that this grave was disturbed to such a degree that

Fig. 4.10 The finds from Rhenen-Koerheuvel with magnified inset of linchpins. Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.

the artifact-complex as it is known today is incomplete. Van Heeringen (1998, 77) lists the following artifacts as being found in 1993: bronze vessel, upper part of a socketed axe, ring-footed knob, a spherical fitting, two buckles, cemented (fused) objects with fragments of three linchpins, a small iron plate, fragments of iron bands, two bronze sheet fragments and loose rings and possibly fragments of nave fittings. However, upon examination of all the finds I found that the two buckles most likely are not prehistoric (they may be medieval) and probably do not belong to the Early Iron Age burial inventory. Some tweezers, however, likely do (see Section C28.2).

The bronze situla used as an urn is extremely similar in appearance to those of Baarlo and Oss-Vorstengraf. The walls of the bucket are made of two sheets of bronze plate riveted together and it has two embossed strap-shaped handles. Rings with square cross-sections hang from the strap-handles and wear on both indicates that the vessel hung suspended by these rings (Fig. C28.2). Several repair plates are riveted onto the body of the vessel, of which at least one appears to have been attached after the initial production of the vessel (see Fig. C28.2 and Section 28.2). The wagon parts found in this burial consist of three linchpins and the remains of one or more naves. They may have been a *pars pro toto* deposition of a wagon (*cf.* Pare 1992, 122–3), or it may be that other wagon components were simply not found (see also Section 6.3). The linchpins are of the so-called Bohemian type, a well-defined group,

which do not seem to have been used in combination with axle-caps (Pare 1992, 92; Van Heeringen 1998, 43). The presence of only three, rather than the usual four, may be another indication that the disturbances on site and haphazard retrieval of the finds resulted in an incomplete find assemblage. The linchpins originally took the shape of flattened iron pins (9 mm thick) which forked at the top to form two large loops and then loop at right angles to the large loops and end at the fork (Fig. A2.4). Loose rings would have dangled from the smaller loops, with three rings attached to each loose ring (Van Heeringen 1998, 80–1). While the linchpins do not appear to have been bent deliberately, all three are broken at the point where the loops connect to the stem. Given that this is the thickest and strongest part of the linchpin and that their stems are not among the finds, it certainly is possible that they were broken deliberately. The stems may then have been kept out of the bucket, or they may have been deposited but just not recovered (see also Section C28.4). In addition to the rings belonging to the linchpins, there are several loose rings of different diameters which may be from horse tack or the wagon. Two corroded masses made up of multiple metal bands corroded onto each other are likely the remains of a nave (Fig. C28.5). Van Heeringen (1998) identifies them as the remains of a Breitenbonn nave, which seems plausible given their shape and the fact that Bohemian linchpins have only been found with Breitenbonn and Erkenbrechtsweiler nave fittings (Pare

1992, 92; see also Section C28.2). Bridle decorations indicate that bridles probably were interred, even though no horse-bits were recovered. It is possible that the bridles deposited never contained bits.

Fragments of an axe and probably a knife were the tools placed in this bucket. The surviving axe fragment (it likely is a modern break of unknown cause) is a plain Wesseling type axe and probably was made in the eastern part of the Netherlands or adjacent parts of western Germany according to J. Butler (in Van Heeringen 1998, 93–4). A small iron fragment roughly 1 by 2 cm is likely a fragment of a knife blade as indicated by the characteristic cross-section (see Section C28.2). Tweezers very likely also were placed in the urn after they were folded up. Some tiny surface ridges on the interior surface of the tweezers possibly served for gripping (similar to the ridges on modern tweezers). In addition to the objects already described, there are several bronze plate fragments corroded onto the linchpins. One of these measures roughly 2 by 3 cm and appears to originally have had a curved edge, which I very tentatively suggest could be from a winged chape. The grave goods (and cremated remains) may have been wrapped in textile prior to deposition, as evidenced by some faintly visible traces of textile present on some of these objects as well as the presence of textile on bucket fragments (Van Heeringen 1998, 79).

Incomplete?

As already noted, the burial assemblage as we know it today is incomplete. For example, the recent break on the recovered axe indicates that half the axe was not recovered rather than never deposited. The absence of cremation remains is also strange, though as discussed above (and in Chapter C28) these were likely disturbed in the 1930s. Another indication is the presence of only three linchpins. The less-than-ideal discovery and excavation of the burial probably are responsible for this. The presence of textile fragments on the rim of the bucket is another indication that this burial was disturbed to such an extent that the original deposit was not recovered completely. The grave inventory as we know it today would not have filled the bucket up far enough to leave textile imprints on the bucket rim (unless the bucket ended up 'tipped over').

This complicates our understanding since we cannot know what objects may be missing. On the other hand, there is also a certain 'danger' to the knowledge that it was recovered incomplete. The knowledge that certain objects, like the axe half, were definitely present but not recovered, makes it somewhat tempting to simply state that any 'missing elements' were just not retrieved. For example, the absence of a sword in this burial, which otherwise so resembles a traditional chieftain's grave like the one of Oss, has been remarked on in the past (Van Heeringen

1998, 85). The absence of a sword can be 'explained' by stating that it probably was not recovered (as I initially thought likely myself; Van der Vaart 2011). It gives us the option to state that this is a perfect example of a traditional Hallstatt Chieftain's burial that fits the pattern, but is incomplete because artifacts were not recovered, and care therefore should be taken when interpreting it.

It is also entirely possible that the absence of certain 'expected' artifacts was intentional. The linchpins and naves from Rhenen are at present the only objects that conclusively indicate the presence of a wagon. It is possible that there were originally more wagon components in this burial but that these either did not survive or were not retrieved. The presence of three, rather than the expected four linchpins certainly seems to indicate this. However, it is possible that depositing *only* linchpins was an intentional act. There is a recurring phenomenon of linchpins being deposited as a *pars pro toto* of a wagon. Pare (1992, 122–3) mentions 15 burials in which linchpins are the only wagon component. In all cases the linchpins were of *Bohemian type*. In the case of Rhenen the linchpins therefore indeed may be an intentional *pars pro toto* deposition of a wagon.

The burial ritual of Rhenen-Koerheuvel

The destructive manner in which this grave was disturbed, discovered and then excavated under extreme conditions means that the burial ritual cannot be reconstructed as precisely as Oss-Vorstengraf. The burial set and activities that can be reconstructed, however, appear similar. The linchpins and naves would have had to be removed from the wagon somehow. The former could have been removed relatively easily, while removing the latter would have involved breaking them or the wheels. It is also possible that the whole wagon was burned. The linchpins and naves most probably would not have been (seriously) affected by this and could have been collected from the pyre. The linchpins may well all have had their stems broken off intentionally (see above and Section C28.2). A base fragment from the bucket corroded onto one of the linchpins and rust spots on the inside of the bucket base indicate the linchpins, and possibly the nave fragments were placed in the bronze vessel first. The bridle decorations suggest either a whole bridle (or two) was interred, or otherwise a number of ornaments were removed and placed in the urn. They may have been wrapped or positioned in contact with textile in the vessel. An axe and knife (possibly intentionally fragmented) and a folded pair of tweezers were also placed in the bucket. Any number of other objects also may have been interred in the bucket. The cremated remains (noted on site in the 1930s; Van Heeringen 1998) probably were wrapped in textile and the last item placed in the bronze cinerary urn. The urn thus created was buried high atop the Koerheuvel (Van Heeringen 1998).

Fig. 4.11 Reconstruction of what the wagon and horse-gear from Wijchen might have looked like. Note that in terms of absolute numbers this painting sometimes depicts more bronzes of certain type than were actually found in the burial. Painting by I. Gelman.

4.2.1.4 The wagon-grave of Wijchen

The wagon-grave of Wijchen is known for its beautiful and unique linchpins (Figs. 4.3 and 4.12; Bloemers *et al.* 1981, 65; Hessing/Kooi 2005, 643–4; Pare 1992; Van Ginkel/ Verhart 2009, 116). Pare (1992) was the first to publish this burial in detail, and he gives an excellent description of the wagon parts and horse tack. This grave however contains many more artifacts that rarely are discussed or have never been published (see also Fig. 4.3). The detailed description given in the Catalogue (Chapter C35) is the first comprehensive publication of the complete burial complex. The Wijchen grave is a very old discovery, found by chance in 1897 while sand atop the Wezels(ch)e berg was being quarried (Vissers 1996, 6). According to the records housed in Museum het Valkhof – where this burial complex currently resides – the metal goods were found in a ceramic urn that does not survive (Abeleven/ Bijleveld 1898, 12; Vissers 1996, 5). While no cremation remains were deposited at the Museum, examination of the objects revealed a number of cremation fragments embedded in the corrosion of several objects. It is possible that only a very minimal amount of the cremation remains were buried (such as Oss-Zevenbergen M.3 and M.7, see below), but it is more likely that the remains were discarded upon discovery (which was common

practice). The grave goods include an iron sword, fragments of a ribbed bucket, horse-bits and ring-footed rein-knobs, wagon decorations, a knife and axe, a pin and fragments of a belt plate (Fig. 4.3; Section C35.2). This burial is unique within the Netherlands and Belgium as the only one to contain the metal remains of bridles, yoke, wagon-box *and* wheels. Not only is this combination of grave goods without parallel in the Low Countries, the wagon and a number of its components are exceptionally rare in Northwest Europe. Surprisingly, it is not only the wagon that is so special. Restorer R. Meijers of Museum het Valkhof and I established that the iron sword found in this burial is likely unique as well (Sections 6.1.2.3 and C35.2). These special objects are discussed further here, and all are described in the Catalogue.

The Wijchen wagon with Etruscan influences

Pare (1992) studied the wagon from Wijchen in detail and determined that it falls into his wagon classification type 4. There are seven known examples of this wagon type, including Wijchen, and another two potential ones, found in France, the Netherlands, southern Germany and Switzerland. The seven wagons all had Pare's type iii box decorations. The wagon from Wijchen forms a clear outlier. Its type of box-decoration otherwise is found only
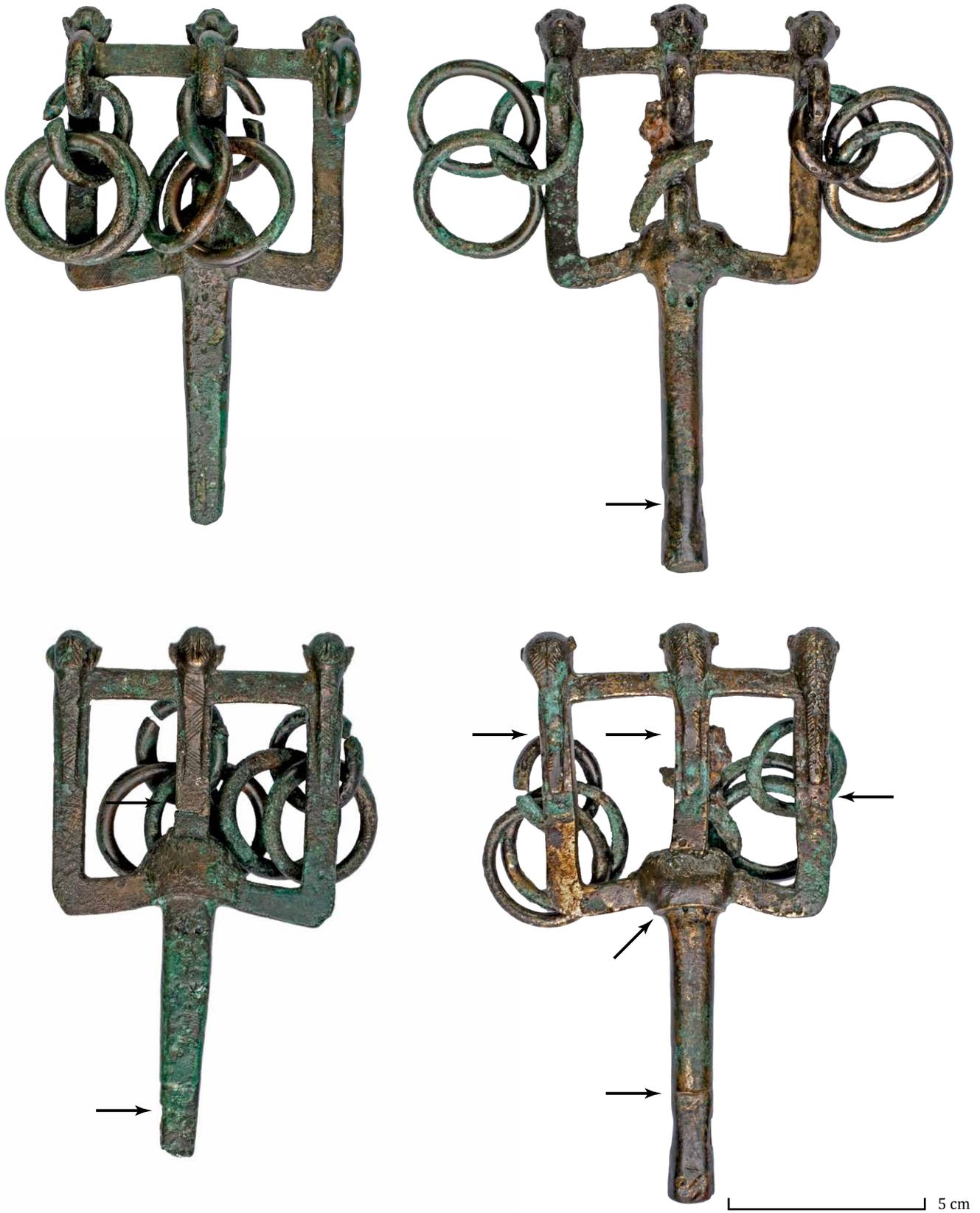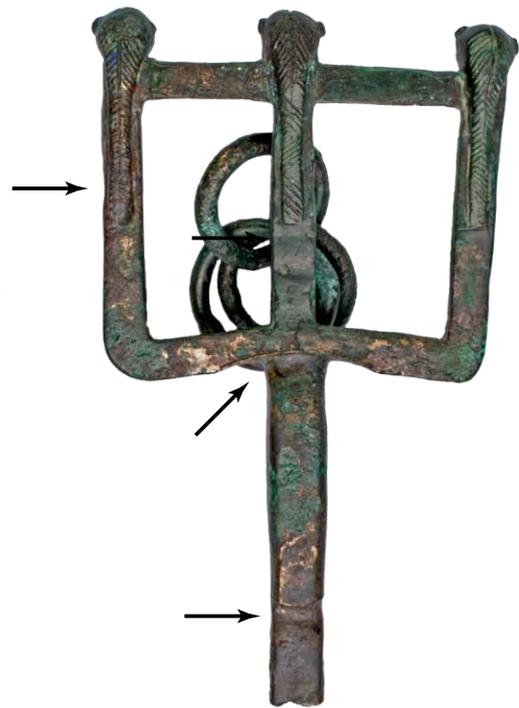
Fig. 4.12 Linchpins (left to right: WIJ.18a–d; front and back views) from Wijchen. Note the wear indicated with arrows. Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.

north and northwest of the Alps (Pare 1992, 101). The Wijchen wagon and horse-gear were used extensively in life as demonstrated by wear traces on the bronzes, and were therefore certainly not constructed solely to be on a funeral pyre (see Section C35.2; Figs. 4.12 and C35.5). The bridles had bronze bits and ring-footed rein-knobs. The bronze bits show extremely extensive use-wear and must have been used for a very long time to develop such use damage, which is so great the leather bridles likely had to be remade (Fig. 6.9; Section C35.2). The yoke was decorated with bronze bands and the wagon itself would have been covered in bronze (see Fig. 4.11).

What really sets this wagon apart though are the linchpins (Fig. 4.12). They are trident-shaped, with each prong topped by a zoomorphic protome, in this case a little head with a braid running down the back. A cast-on ring at the top of each prong held dangling bronze rings that jingled noisily. The four linchpins are all slightly different with no two exactly alike (Section C35.2). Pare (1992, 170) argues that they probably were made in Central Europe, but the heads atop the trident show central Italian influence as the hairstyles, especially the braids down the back, resemble depictions of Etruscan women (see Fig. 35.9; Section C35.2). While a few other linchpins of such a trident-shaped design are known, there are no others that have these 'Etruscan' zoomorphic protomes (Fig. 4.12).

Unique iron sword

Prior to this research the sword from this burial was in very poor condition. I collaborated with restorer R. Meijers of Museum het Valkhof who treated the highly fragmented and corroded sword fragments and managed to piece together many of the fragments and uncover several diagnostic features that had not been visible before (Figs. 4.3 and C35.4). The tang is square in cross-section and topped by a square knob with rounded edges as pommel piece. Restoration also revealed a raised central rib flanked by engraved lines. At the very tip of the sword the blade only has a central raised rib. Slightly further up the sword there are grooves on either side of the central rib, forming an additional small rib on either side. Even further up the blade there are another two grooves, creating two small raised ribs on either side of the central rib (see Fig. 6.5 for reconstruction). Not only does the design of this sword appear to be unique, it is also unusually long. It is at least 115 cm, which makes the sword of Oss the only one in this dataset that comes close (see Section 6.2.1.3).

The burial ritual of Wijchen

By examining all the grave goods from Wijchen, including the smaller and unattractive fragments, it was possible to reconstruct the following burial ritual. As stated above, a number of cremation remains were found embedded in the iron corrosion of several objects, which tells us that someone was cremated here. Many of the bronze grave goods show signs of having been burned, indicating most objects and possibly all accompanied the deceased on the pyre. The fire damage varies from a slight bubbling of the surface to actual liquefaction (such as seen on the axe; Figs. A2.4 and C35.11). These signs unsurprisingly are restricted to the bronze objects, as open-air pyres do not reach high enough temperatures to visibly affect iron (as discussed in Section 2.2.3.4). The varying degrees of burning visible on the bronze are probably the result of being in different places within the pyre (see also Section C35.4). This is particularly visible on a number of wagon parts, such as two sets of a bronze socket and base, one set of which is in perfect condition while the other is completely melted (Fig. C35.1). In the Catalogue I argue that despite the variation in fire damage to the wagon components, it is still most likely that the entire wagon was burned on the pyre (see Section C35.4.1). The same appears true for the bridles and yoke. It is worth noting, however, that the bronze axle-caps and linchpins do not appear burned at all. This may be because they were on the edge of the pyre, but it is also possible that the mourners removed the wheels from the wagon before burning it. It is often assumed that the dead Chieftain was placed on top of the wagon on the pyre, but it is also possible that the mourners made the pyre large enough for the wagon to be positioned next to the body. The high degree of burning visible on the belt plate indicates that the deceased was likely cremated wearing it, and the 'melting' of the axe indicates it probably was placed by the body on the pyre (see Section C35.4). The appearance of the iron objects cannot reveal whether they were burned on the pyre, though it seems plausible given that the axe, wagon and horse tack were.

This grave has some of the clearest evidence of the destructive burial practice that is discussed further in Chapters 5 and 7. Following cremation, the human remains and objects were collected from the pyre. This was done diligently with regard to the wagon and horse-gear. Components of the bridles, yoke and wagon all were collected, making it odd that the bucket is so fragmentarily present. As a part of this process of gathering from the pyre and bringing together everything in the ceramic urn, several objects were intentionally manipulated. A decorative plaque and yoke band were bent, a band with openwork decoration and a fragment of bronze plate were both folded several times and a set of bronze pendants is almost wrenched apart. It appears that they were all manipulated *after* having been on the pyre. The unusual sword, like many others, was curled up prior to deposition. The collected cremation remains and bent, broken and fragmentary objects were placed in a ceramic pot. This urn was buried, though it is unknown exactly where or how.

Burial \ Grave good type	Wood	Human remains	Pot	Bowl	Acc. vessel	Bronze vessel	Drinking bowl	Sword	Chape/scabbard/sheath	Dagger	Lance-/spear-/arrowhead	Horse-bit component	Decoration	Yoke component	Wagon-box component	Wheel component	Knife	Axe	Tools other	Razor	Toilet implement/set	Clothing pin	Ornament	Other
CSE-LFR T.4	●	♀	●		●	●							●	●									●	●
CSE-LQ T.A	●	●	●		●●			●				●		●										●
Oss-Zevenbergen M.7	●	●	●										●	●										●

Fig. 4.13 Burials with horse-gear and yoke components (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

4.2.2 Burials with horse-gear and yoke components

Above I discussed the four most elaborate burials (in terms of the grave goods) in this dataset. These all yielded wagon and yoke components or a reference to a wagon through a pair of horse-bits functionally suited to driving (see Section 6.3). The graves discussed above also yielded weaponry, bronze vessels, tools and items related to personal appearance. There are, however, also several burials that yielded horse-gear that relates to wagons (functionally) and/or yoke components (Fig. 4.13). While containing objects that are of the same quality as those found in the four burials described above, what seems to make these graves different is that they contain only a few of these exceptional items. This may be the result of differential retrieval, (see Section 7.2.3.2) or perhaps more destructive or selective burial rituals (see Section 7.2.3). However, the fact is that as far as can be determined from the surviving objects and information, these burials do seem different. For this reason they are discussed separately. However, though they appear different in terms of the composition of the burial set, they do seem comparable in terms of the burial practice to the four elaborate burials discussed above. This is addressed in Chapters 5 and 7. They are the burials of Court-St-Etienne T.4 and T.A and Oss-Zevenbergen M.7, which all yielded (some) remains of a yoke, and may also show some similarities in the manner of deposition. These graves are discussed in further detail in the following.

4.2.2.1 Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.4

Tombelle 4 of Court-St-Etienne was excavated in 1905 (Goblet d'Alviella 1908). It was ca. 22 m in diameter and yielded an urn, an accessory vessel, fragments of a small bronze cup or bowl, several *phalerae*, yoke decorations (including a complex horse chest ornament; Fig. 4.14), and an iron fragment with textile imprint on it (Mariën 1958, 128). Assuming the correct urn has been identified

as coming from this barrow (Mariën 1958, 142; Section C6.2.5), and the physical anthropological determinations are correct (see Section 2.2.3.3) then this is one of the few burials where the deceased may have been a (small) female. (S)he was cremated with the bronze bracelet, bronze vessel and the elaborate set of horse-gear and yoke components. An unidentifiable fragment of iron with a textile imprint on it indicates that wrapping played a role in this burial (Mariën 1958, 128–37).

4.2.2.2 Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A

Tombelle A was excavated in 1861, and unfortunately it is unknown exactly where it was located within the La Quenique cemetery (Figs. 5.12 and C6.1; Mariën 1958, 23–4). According to Tarlier (1864, as cited by Mariën 1958, 24), the mound was barely a meter high and Cloquet (1888, 182) states that it contained a bed of charcoal and cremated bone. It is possible some of the metal objects were located on this charcoal bed (which may have been the burned-out pyre). These included a large urn, cremation remains, a small accessory vessel with an ear, a second small vessel, a long sword, two cheek-pieces for horse-bits and a yoke component. The cremation remains and eared accessory vessel were found in the urn. It is unclear whether the remaining finds were also interred in the urn. The iron sword was intentionally bent and is in very poor condition. Little more can be said of this weapon, though a woven pattern in certain patches of corrosion indicates it may have been wrapped in textile. The sword has been intentionally bent (section C6.3.2.1). A probable tang fragment with a beveled edge found with this sword may also be from this same weapon, though Mariën (1958) does not depict it. A second iron sword also may be attributed to Tombelle A, though if it belongs to the same burial as the objects listed above, this would be the only burial in the dataset to contain two swords (Section C6.3.2.2). Two cheek-pieces and a yoke decoration known as a *Jochschnalle* are the horse-gear and yoke component found in this

Fig. 4.14 The bronze phalerae and yoke rosettes from Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.4 as they appear today (inset) and reconstruction of how they likely would have been situated on bridles and a yoke in life, reconstructed here with cheek-pieces like those found in Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A and T.Z . Painting by I. Gelman; photograph by J. van Donkersgoed.

barrow. While not appearing burned, the cheek-pieces may have been broken intentionally (see Section C6.3.2.1). It is striking that there are only two sidepieces as this means that either there are two sidepieces from one bridle, or one sidepiece from each of two bridles. The *Jochschnalle* (it likely decorated a yoke strap, see Figs. 4.15, A2.4 and C2.8) may show some signs of wear and exposure to fire. According to Mariën (1958, 29) the little 'cups' of the *Jochschnalle* would have been inlaid with something organic, probably bone. The little cones that survive in some of the cups would have served to affix the organic material to (Fig. C6.18). This *Jochschnalle* initially was misidentified as a strange fibula (Cloquet 1882).

The burial ritual of Tombelle A

The cremation remains were buried in a large pot with protuberances and accompanied by two small accessory vessels and some metal objects (Mariën 1958, 128–36). These cremation remains are unfortunately lost, so it is impossible to know who was buried here. A small accessory vessel, originally with an ear, lay in the urn with the human remains. A number of other objects were deposited with the deceased, either in or alongside the urn. A long sword was bent carefully in half. Horse-gear in the form of two cheek-pieces as well as a yoke component accompanied the dead as well, and may have been broken intentionally prior to deposition. While it cannot be established whether any leather components of the bridle that held the cheek-pieces or the leather straps from the joke that the *Jochschnalle* would have decorated were interred, the presence of the bronzes indicates the presence of both horses and a yoke, and therefore a wagon. The yoke decoration had been used long enough before deposition to leave wear traces. It was also exposed to fire during the burial ritual.

4.2.2.3 Oss-Zevenbergen M.7

Mound 7 is one of three large Early Iron Age barrows found at Oss (see Sections 5.6.1.3 and C27.2), and at 36 m in diameter it is one of the largest barrows in the dataset. This barrow did not yield a straightforward

Fig. 4.15 The sword, horse-gear and yoke component from Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed.

Burial	Grave good type	Wood	Human remains	Pot	Bowl	Acc. vessel	Bronze vessel	Drinking bowl	Sword	Chape/scabbard/sheath	Dagger	Lance-/spear-/arrowhead	Horse-bit component	Decoration	Yoke component	Wagon-box component	Wheel component	Knife	Axe	Tools other	Razor	Toilet implement/set	Clothing pin	Ornament	Other
Darp-Bis.			🧍	◼	◠							⦚⦚⦚	⊙⊙	🟠											◆
Limal-Morim. T.1		🪵	🧍	◼					⬍				⊙⊙	🟠											◆
Meerlo			🧍	◼	◠				⬍				⊙⊙												◆

Fig. 4.16 Burials with horse-gear that relates to wagons (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

burial deposit like Oss-Vorstengraf. Instead a large spread of charcoal interspersed with a number of bronze artifacts was found. Given the complex nature of the find assemblage it is fortunate that this barrow is one of the few burials in this dataset that was uncovered according to modern standards. The mound was excavated by hand, and the complex central find assemblage was lifted in blocks and excavated under laboratory conditions by restorers of Restauratieatelier Restaura in Haelen (Fontijn *et al.* 2013a; Kempkens 2013). The manner of excavation here means that most likely nothing was missed, so we can be relatively sure that in this case absence of evidence is evidence of absence.

The excavation and analysis of this barrow has been recently published in detail in English, so the reader is referred both to Section C27.2 and to Fontijn *et al.* (2013a) for more detailed information. In summary, the spread of charcoal and bronzes were the remnants of a cremation ritual of a man, whose remains were collected from his pyre and buried in a *Schräghals*-urn right by the burned-out pyre remains (Fontijn *et al.* 2013c; Van der Vaart *et al.* 2013). However, the mourners did not deposit all his cremation remains in this urn. Some fragments appear to have been left deliberately among the burned-

out pyre, while some were never deposited here (Smits 2013; see also Section 27.2). Leather panels and wooden knobs decorated with over a thousand tiny bronze studs were removed from a wooden yoke and lay near the pyre as it burned (Fontijn/Van der Vaart 2013). When the pyre remains were searched, these bronze-studded leather yoke panels were pushed to one side and left there. A ring was deliberately broken, and one fragment put back among the pyre remains, while the other was removed from the burial deposit entirely. A hemispherical sheet-knob (see also Section C27.2) lay by an intact ring. A small fragment of decorated bone that lay among the pyre remains indicates some object with decorated bone lay on or near the pyre as well. The whole complex had been carefully covered with sods and incorporated into a large barrow (Fontijn *et al.* 2013a).

This mound also serves as a warning of what we may be missing in burials that were excavated long ago or under different conditions. The delicate bronze studs likely would not even have been noticed if uncovered through less precise methods, nor would they have survived if lifted in the field. It was only the blocklifting, X-raying and restoration by Restaura that allowed us to draw detailed conclusions and interpret the studs and
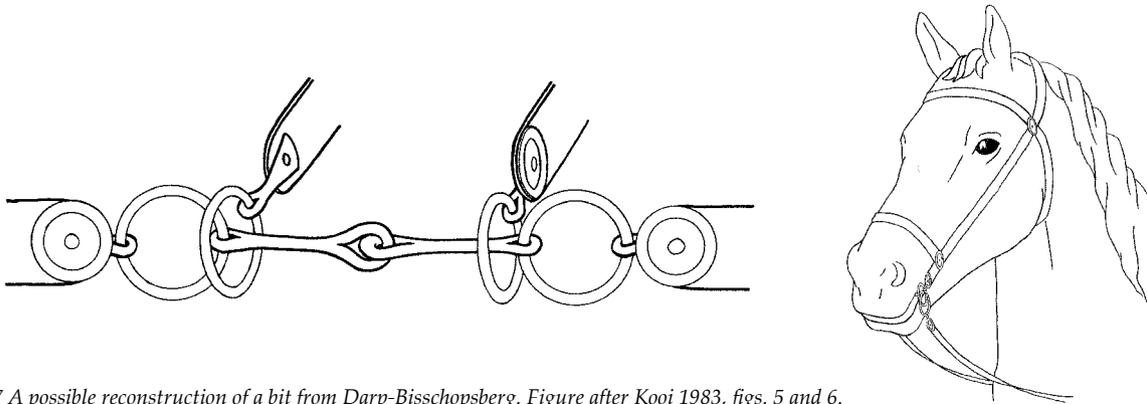
Fig. 4.17 A possible reconstruction of a bit from Darp-Bisschopsberg. Figure after Kooi 1983, figs. 5 and 6.

rings as the remains of a yoke and possibly horse-gear. Not only does this show that we may be missing a lot of artifacts in other burials, it shows that the manner of excavation strongly influences what is possible in terms of interpretations. This is something to bear in mind when dealing with this problematic and difficult dataset.

4.2.3 Burials with horse-gear that relates to wagons

In addition to burials that contain actual wagon or yoke components, there are also a number of graves that contain horse-gear that I argue relates functionally to a wagon (Fig. 4.16). A set of horse-bits has long since been interpreted as referring to a set of draft horses, and therefore as a reference to a wagon (*e.g.* Pare 1992; Roymans 1991; Section 6.3.5.4). In addition, I argue that certain types of bits are functionally highly suited to driving and may well have been specifically designed for such use. While this does not mean that they could not have been used for riding, I assert that even a single such bit or fragment of one may well have been intended as a *pars pro toto* deposition of a wagon in a burial, just as much as a set of bits may have.

4.2.3.1 Darp-Bisschopsberg

The burial of Darp-Bisschopsberg yielded a pair of horse-bits and may also reference draft animals and therefore a wagon. It was found by chance (Kooi 1983), and most of the metal objects have since been lost. I therefore was not able to examine them myself. The following is based on published information and detailed color drawings found in the archive of the RMO. This burial consisted of an urn that contained cremation remains, and was covered with a bowl. Three lanceheads were also recovered (which has led to this burial being interpreted as later than Hallstatt C (*e.g.* Hessing/Kooi 2005, 644–5), though there is reason to question this, see Section 3.4.1.3). The lanceheads may have been intentionally broken (Section C7.3). The drawings reveal that the horse-gear found in this grave is

quite different from the rest of the dataset. The bits were incorporated into bridles that were elaborately outfitted with bronze and iron decorative discs, which may have looked something like Figure 4.17 (though see Section C7.2).

4.2.3.2 Limal-Morimoine T.1

This barrow was one of four located on a high plateau overlooking the Dyle river valley (Figs. 5.12 and C19.1). It was ca. 14 m in diameter and excavated in 1902 (Mariën 1958, 214). A number of metal artifacts were found alongside an urn and cremation remains, including half a horse-bit, a sword and a few horse-gear decorations (Figs. 4.18 and C19.1; Mariën 1958, 216–22). Of these only the urn and some of the bronze decorations were available for examination (see Section C19.2). On the old surface a pyre was found that was interpreted as being built over a pit of some kind. The pyre was roughly trapezoidal in shape, ca. 5 m long and about 4 m wide at the base and 1.75 m at the top. The area to the east of the pyre was dotted with charcoal. This restricted distribution is interpreted to be the result of a strong wind blowing from the opposite direction at the time of cremation. The cremation remains and small bronzes were spread out among the pyre remains. The iron horse-bit fragment, which is of the same type as those of Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3 and Oss-Vorstengraf, was found in the center, and a Mindelheim sword lay in the northern corner (Fig. C19.1). The weapon is in good condition and is one of the few blades in the dataset to not have been bent prior to deposition. The urn, which contained ashes, was buried among the pyre remnants (Dens 1903, 142–9). The manner of deposition here is very similar to the burial of Oss-Zevenbergen M.7.

4.2.3.3 Meerlo

The burial of Meerlo, often also referred to as a Chieftain's burial (even though it contains no bronze vessel, see Section 2.2.1.1), consists of an urn that contained cremation remains, a sword and two extraordinarily large
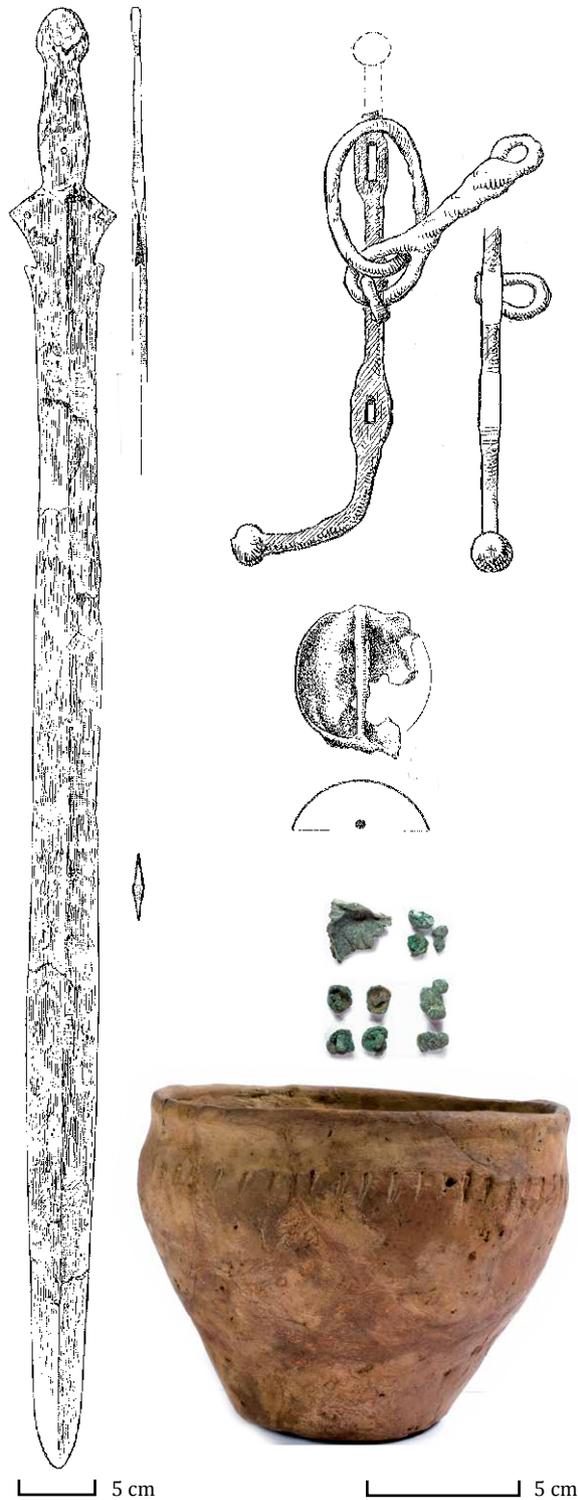
Fig. 4.18 The finds from Limal-Morimoine T.1. Drawings after Mariën 1958, Fig. 40; photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.

horse-bits. A ceramic bowl was used as a lid to close off the urn (Verwers n.d.). The cremation remains unfortunately have been lost, so it is unknown who was buried here. As all grave goods are iron, it is impossible to determine whether they accompanied the deceased on the pyre. Examination revealed that the sword and horse-bits, however, were manipulated prior to deposition. The sword literally was folded up, rather than only curled round. Two cheek-pieces also were folded intentionally prior to deposition (Fig. 4.19). The two horse-bits can be interpreted as a *pars pro toto* representation of a wagon (see also Section 6.3.5.4), but there is something decidedly strange about them. While of a very recognizable form of Kossack's early Hallstatt C1 horse-gear with the characteristic fan-shaped terminals to the cheek-pieces (Fig. 3.1), they are absurdly large. Verwers (n.d.) already published the measurement of the mouthpiece, which is 19 cm long, though he did not note the significance of this. Not only are these bits larger than any other bit in this dataset, they are also larger than any modern bit. It is impossible that these could have been used to communicate with a horse, they are simply too big to be effective. This is discussed further in Sections 6.3.4 and 6.3.6.4.

4.2.4 Other horse-gear burials

The burials of Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.B and T.Z, La Plantée des Dames T.4, Weert-Boshoverheide t.1 and t.2 all yielded horse-gear that appears to be from tack for a single horse (Fig. 4.20; Mariën 1958; Ubaghs 1890). In fact, Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.Z, La Plantée des Dames T.4 and both burials from Weert-Boshoverheide contained only a single piece of horse-gear, all thought to relate to bridles. While it is of course possible that these are also *pars pro toto* depositions of wagons, it is also possible that we should interpret these as the remains of horse riders, rather than drivers, or it may be that they were heirlooms no longer seen as wagon components. This is elaborated on in Sections 5.4.2 and 7.2.3.4.

4.3 Bronze vessel burials

In addition to the burials of Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3 and T.4 and La Quenique T.A, Oss-Vorstengraf, Rhenen-Koerheuvel and Wijchen already described above, there are six (probable) graves that yielded (only) bronze vessels (Fig. 4.21; see also App. A2.2). The urn burials of Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.5 (Mariën 1958) and Gedinne-Chevaudos T.A (Warmenbol 1978) both yielded the fragmentary remains of bronze vessels (as did Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.4, which is discussed above). In both cases the bronze vessels were placed in or by the urn. The bronze vessel of Ede-Bennekom was buried as an urn containing the cremated remains of the deceased (Pleyte 1877). The vessels of Baarlo, Meppen and Venlo

Fig. 4.19 The metal finds from Meerlo.

Grave good type / Burial	Wood	Human remains	Pot	Bowl	Acc. vessel	Bronze vessel	Drinking bowl	Sword	Chape/scabbard/sheath	Dagger	Lance-/spear-/arrowhead	Horse-bit component	Decoration	Yoke component	Wagon-box component	Wheel component	Knife	Axe	Tools other	Razor	Toilet implement/set	Clothing pin	Ornament	Other
CSE-LQ T.B	●	☖											⬤+											
CSE-LQ T.Z	●	☖	▬									○○												◆
LPD T.4	●	☖											⬤						▬					◇◆
Weert-Bos. t.1		☖	▬										⬤											
Weert-Bos. t.2		☖	▬										⬤											

Fig. 4.20 Other horse-gear burials (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

are suspected burial finds and may have been used as urns (Braat 1935; De Wit 1998, 345; Roymans 1991; Van der Sanden 2016). It is believed that such vessels served as central wine mixing vessels at festive gatherings associated with elites and in particular the 'chieftains' (Section 6.1). This makes it somewhat surprising that there are at least four, possibly six such large bronze vessels in the Dutch and Belgian dataset which appear to be practically the sole grave goods.

4.4 Weaponry burials

By far the majority of the graves in this dataset (including some already discussed) yielded weaponry, primarily swords but also chapes, lance-, spear- and arrowheads, as wel as a single dagger. Twenty of these are known to have been urn burials (in one case with a bowl used as lid), while the others as far as can be determined are not. In some cases other objects were found, but at most these are small dress items or small fragments of unidentified objects. The emphasis is heavily on the presence of a sword. These are the 'sword-graves' that are mentioned in most discussions of the chieftains' burials in the Low Countries (*e.g.* Roymans 1991). There are also several swords (or fragments thereof) of which the exact find context is unknown, but which are believed to be from burials. These include a bronze tang fragment of a Gündlingen sword found at Harchies (Leblois 2009; 2010) and six bronze

Fig. 4.21 Burials with bronze vessels (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

Burial	Wood	Human remains	Pot	Bowl	Acc. vessel	Bronze vessel	Drinking bowl	Sword	Chape/scabbard/sheath	Dagger	Lance-/spear-/arrowhead	Horse-bit component	Decoration	Yoke component	Wagon-box component	Wheel component	Knife	Axe	Tools other	Razor	Toilet implement/set	Clothing pin	Ornament	Other
Baarlo						x																		
CSE-LFR T.5	x	x	x	x	x	x														x				x
Ede-Bennekom		x		x	x	x																		
Gedinne-Ch. T.A		x	x			x																		
Meppen		x				x																		x
Venlo						x																		

Fig. 4.22 Burials with bronze swords (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

Burial	Wood	Human remains	Pot	Bowl	Acc. vessel	Bronze vessel	Drinking bowl	Sword	Chape/scabbard/sheath	Dagger	Lance-/spear-/arrowhead	Horse-bit component	Decoration	Yoke component	Wagon-box component	Wheel component	Knife	Axe	Tools other	Razor	Toilet implement/set	Clothing pin	Ornament	Other
Basse-Wavre T.5	x	x	x+					x												x		x		
CSE-LQ T.K		x	x					x																
Flobecq-Pottel. T.78	x	x						x																
Gedinne-Ch. T.1	x	x	x					x	x										x					x
Harchies-MC t.1		x	x					x															x	
Harchies-MC t.2		x	x					x		x														
Harchies-MC t.3		x	x					x	x															
Harchies-MC t.4		x	x					x																
Hofstade-Kast.	x	x		x				x	x															
Maastricht-Heer								x	x															
Neerharen-R. t.72		x						x	x		x													x
Oss-Zeven. M.3	x	x						x														x		x
Weert-Bos. T.O		x+	x+					x																

swords (or fragments thereof) found at Court-St-Etienne La Quenique (Mariën 1958). Fragments of another four iron swords and a bronze chape also were found here.

4.4.1 Bronze sword burials

Over a dozen graves yielded (fragments of) bronze swords (Fig. 4.22). Most are urn burials, with only five being found without pottery (though in some case this may relate to the find circumstances). Five burials contained chapes as well as swords). Basse-Wavre T.5, Harchies-Maison Cauchies t.1 and Gedinne Chevaudos T.1 yielded bronze swords and (fragments of) objects relating to personal appearance. Neerharen-Rekem t.72 and Weert-Boshoverheide T.O stand out as they contain multiple individuals and weapons, and are discussed in more detail below. Oss-Zevenbergen M.3 is listed in this group as it probably contained a bronze sword fragment, even though it is likely of a different kind than the other bronze swords in the dataset (see Fig. A2.3; Section C27.1.2). All the bronze swords included in the dataset were bent, broken or both prior to deposition and in most cases appear to have been exposed to fire. In most cases it also seems that they were only partially deposited, though this may be due partly to the poor recovery circumstances. Iron swords, while also frequently deposited bent or broken, are found also in their original straight condition (see below).

4.4.1.1 Basse-Wavre T.5

This burial was found in one of the smaller mounds of the Basse-Wavre barrow group, which is also known as La Bruyère-Saint-Job (Mariën 1958, 210–3; Chapter C5; Fig. 5.12). This mound is discussed in more detail, as it is the only burial that contained a razor in addition to a bronze sword. This barrow yielded multiple pots, at least one of which was filled with cremated remains (De Loë 1920; Mariën 1958, 207–8). A single fragment of a Gündlingen sword was recovered, and in this case it appears

Fig. 4.23 The sword fragment and razor from Basse-Wavre T.5. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed.

that this fragment is all that was found of this blade. It is a fragment consisting of about half the tang and the shoulders and appears to have been intentionally broken (Fig. 4.23; see also Section C5.2.1). A bronze razor shaped like two little figures is unique in the dataset, and it may have been reground prior to deposition (see Section C5.2.1). The combination of a bronze sword with a razor is unusual and was already remarked on by Mariën (1958, 211). A number of fibula fragments reportedly also were found in this barrow, though these have since been lost.

4.4.1.2 Five swords from Harchies

The site of Harchies is one of the 'busiest' sites in this dataset. In a relatively small area and over a probably rather short timespan (Leblois 2009; 2010; Chapter C12; Section 3.4.1.1), at least four individuals were cremated and buried with bronze swords. The resulting sword-graves were found close together, but the find circumstances unfortunately mean that we know little of the surrounding area, in particular whether there may have been more such burials or an urnfield nearby. A number of other finds done here, including urn fragments, "various objects from the Metal Ages", including a ring 39 mm in diameter, another ring, some kind of pendant and a decorated 'band' of some kind (Leblois 2010, 107), as well as several vessels (of which at least one contained cremation remains) encountered at the MRAH from this site, suggest there may have been other burials as well (see Section C12.6). The find of another sword fragment (a piece of a tang; Fig. C12.8) some 800 m to the east of Maison Cauchies may indicate the presence of more sword burials in the area (see Section C12.6). What we do know is that there was a lot of activity here, and that while there is a high degree of similarity between these burials, there is also variation in nuance and execution.

The four sword burials (tombes 1–4) are likely all cremation graves, and three contained urns. All graves yielded bronze Gündlingen swords that were intentionally broken, though broken in different ways (Fig. 4.24). Tombe 1 also contained a 'band' of some kind, possibly a bracelet or earring. Tombe 3 yielded two bronze chapes, though it is unclear whether this indicates that there were originally two swords in this grave (Leblois 2009; 2010). The chapes are broken, though it is unknown whether this is intentional. I was able to examine most of the finds from tombes 1, 2 and 4 at the MRAH, where I found an unpublished and unusual find that appeared to be the remains of a wooden scabbard (Fig. C12.5). The swords in these graves date typochronologically quite close together (see Chapter C12), yet were all treated slightly differently during the funerary rituals. The sword from t.1 may have been broken with a hot-short, but a lot of the damage appears post-depositional. The blade from t.2 probably

Fig. 4.24 Three (of the four, possiby five) swords from Harchies-Maison Cauchies. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed.

was exposed to fire, but the bending and breaking of this sword mostly appears to have involved brute force. The sword from t.3 not only was bent, but also broken into eight fragments, and the first, fifth and eighth fragments show the most pronounced signs of burning (Leblois 2010). The sword from t.4 in contrast is not only broken but has melted to a high degree. A number of other objects also were found, in addition to the grave finds. Whether these are indeed isolated finds, or from unrecognized graves is unknown. Both scenarios seem plausible given the haphazard excavation work that took place at this site.

4.4.1.3 Neerharen-Rekem t.72

The burial of Neerharen-Rekem is one of, possibly even *the,* earliest sword burials in the Low Countries (see Section 3.3.3). It is also one of the more unusual weaponry graves (unfortunately the objects were not available for study and the following is based on published works; Temmerman 2007; Van Impe 1980; Van Impe/Thyssen 1979). In a single grave the cremated remains of at least two adult males and an adult female were found. It is also the only known case of multiple individuals in a single deposit in the dataset. Their cremated remains were wrapped in textile with a number of bronze weapons that had been burned, bent and broken. One was heated, bent and broken into at least six fragments, of which four fitting fragments were deposited in this grave. An 'iron plate' (or possibly leather) and D-shaped ring lay against this, and may relate to a scabbard of some sort (see Section C25.2). As argued in

Section C25.2, another sword likely was broken first and then melted. Yet another sword was broken into at least four fragments, of which two were deposited in this grave. These do not appear burned, though one fragment has been bent. The three swords are accompanied by two bronze chapes, one of which had its ends broken off. Half of a broken bronze lancehead, as well as two complete ones also were placed in this grave. The cremated remains and broken bronzes were wrapped up together in textile and buried in a small pit (Temmerman 2007, 223; Van Impe/Thyssen 1979, 66).

4.4.1.4 Oss-Zevenbergen M.3

This barrow covered one of the more unusual deposits included in the dataset. Mound 3 was one of several enormous Early Iron Age barrows at Oss (see also Section 5.6.1.3 and C27.1). Mounds 3 and 7 were located at Oss-Zevenbergen, with the Chieftain's burial of Oss found not 500 m away at Oss-Vorstengraf (see Fig. 5.13). While Mound 7 was positioned in a barrow row, Mound 3 was separated from the barrow line by a row of posts and also had a post circle (Fig. 5.15). The latter was 30 m in diameter and covered a large charred plank, a single fragment of human cremation remains and fragments of four objects. This deposit is interpreted as an extreme *pars pro toto* burial deposition (Fokkens *et al.* 2009, 88–103). The plank was cut from a massive and very old oak tree that would have had to be at least 180 years old (Fokkens *et al.* 2009, 91). The object fragments (Figs. 4.25, A2.3 and A2.6) include a bronze fragment with a strange plastic decoration that has been interpreted as a sword fragment

Fig. 4.25 The finds from Oss-Zevenbergen M.3. Photograph by R.J. Looman ©RMO.

⊢————————⊣ 1 cm

due to the cutting edges present on both sides. The raised decoration, however, is completely without parallel. An iron fragment appears to be a pin of some kind. It cannot be determined what the other fragments, an iron pin-like object and a burned, unrecognizable piece of bronze, were originally from.

4.4.2 Iron sword burials

A dozen burials yielded iron swords, in addition to those already described (Fig. 4.26). Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.1, Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.L and T.M, Gedinne-Chevaudos T.2 and T.13, Someren-Philipscamping and Stocquoy T.5 yielded iron swords, as did the urn-graves of Havré T.E, Heythuizen, Horst-Hegelsom, Gedinne-Chevaudos T.14 and Someren-Kraayenstark. The urn burial of Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.1 yielded not only a sword, but also two iron rings. While Mariën (1958, 105) claims that these rings are from a horse-bit, I do not label them as such as I argue it is impossible to ascribe loose rings a function when there is no context information to support an interpretation (see Section C2.4.4). This grave also contained a bowl, though this is thought to be a later addition to the barrow (Section C6.2.2).

Horst-Hegelsom contained not only an urn with the cremated remains of a man and a sword, but also a bowl used as a lid (Chapter C16; Willems/Groenman-van Wateringe 1988), reminiscent of the burial of Meerlo. The majority of the iron swords were bent or broken prior to deposition, just as all bronze swords in the Catalogue. However, there are at least four (possibly five) iron ones that were deposited in their original straight form. This change in custom is discussed further in Section 5.3.1.

4.4.3 Other: chape, lancehead and dagger burials

There are three weaponry burials in the dataset that did not yield swords (Fig. 4.27). These include one with a chape from Weert-Boshoverheide, one with a lancehead from Gedinne-Chevaudos and the dagger burial from Haps which also yielded arrowheads.

4.4.3.1 Weert-Boshoverheide t.4

An urn burial from Weert-Boshoverheide yielded a bag-shaped bronze chape (Fig. A2.3; Ubaghs 1890, 212–3). This type of chape generally is not found in combination with swords, though they likely date late in Hallstatt B

Fig. 4.26 Burials with iron swords (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

Fig. 4.27 Burials with other weaponry (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

and probably went with Ewart-Park type swords (Trachsel 2004, 113), which makes this one of the earliest graves in this dataset. This burial is also interesting because this type of chape is known from Atlantic France (see Section C2.3.1.3).

4.4.3.2 A lancehead from Gedinne

The urn burial of Gedinne-Chevaudos T.16 contained a single bronze lancehead (Fig. A2.3).

4.4.3.3 Haps g.190

Haps g.190, which was located in the center of a closed ring ditch (ca. 7.5 m in diam.), is the only burial in the dataset to yield a dagger (Fig. 4.28). Cremation remains were deposited with an antenna dagger with sheath, three iron arrowheads and a pin (Verwers 1972). The dagger and sheath are both decorated with linear designs, and it appears that a textile or leather interior of the sheath survives as well (see

Fig. 4.28 The finds from Haps g.190. |———————| 5 cm

Chapter C11; Fig. C11.2). The cremation remains were never analyzed, so it is unknown who was cremated, but his or her remains were buried inside a ring ditch. The iron grave goods show no damage from fire and the presence of the leather lining of the metal sheath around the dagger indicates that (at least some of) the grave goods did not accompany the deceased on the pyre. The grave goods were found corroded together among the cremation remains (Verwers 1972). In order to rust onto each other in this manner, the objects must have been deposited very close together and may have been packed in something organic. It is likely that the arrow shafts were snapped off in order to deposit the arrowheads so close to the dagger (Section C11.4).

4.5 Burials with razors, toiletries and ornaments

There are 15 graves in the dataset that distinguish themselves through the incorporation of objects in the grave goods set that relate to personal appearance (Fig. 4.29). These include not only razors, tweezers and nail cutters, but also (clothing) pins and ornaments. Such objects also are found in several of the graves discussed above, but in these 15 cases the personal appearance objects are the only items interred (in addition to pottery; with one exception, Lommel-Kattenbos also yielded a whetstone). Five burials of Havré yielded toilet sets, with T.10 also yielding a pin (Mariën 1999). Havré T.16 and two burials from Louette-St-Pierre Fosse-Aux-Morts contained razors (Mariën 1999; Warmenbol 1978). The burials of la Plantée des Dames T.3, Limal-Morimoine T.2 and Lommel-Kattenbos T.20 each yielded both a razor and other toilet instrument (De Laet/Mariën 1950; Mariën 1958)While the latter two contained iron razors, the first yielded a bronze one. The urn burial of Lommel-Kattenbos T.20 also contained a (whet) stone. Two burials within this group stand out and are considered in more detail below: the (probably) female burials of Leesten-Meijerink and Uden-Slabroek. Both contained unusual and elaborate ornament sets, with Uden-Slabroek also yielding a toilet set. A bronze bracelet very similar to one worn by the (presumed) lady of Slabroek was found in an urn burial at Weert-Boshoverheide t.3 (Ubaghs 1890).

4.5.1 Leesten-Meijerink g.1

Leesten-Meijerink is one of the few confirmed burials of a female within this dataset. She was discovered only a few years ago and this grave was labeled a 'Princess grave' by its excavators. This recent find has played a role in the ongoing discussion regarding the use of terms such as 'chieftain's grave' (Van Straaten/Fermin 2012, 12; see Section 2.2.1.1). This grave was found in an urnfield, marked by a double peripheral ring ditch. The ditches did not survive intact, so it is unclear whether they had openings, and as the urnfield had been leveled it is impossible to reconstruct the appearance of the monument At the center of the double ditch an urn, an accessory vessel and a ceramic spindle whorl located near the remains of a pyre were found. The urn contained the cremated remains of a woman who was between 25 and 35 years old when she died, as well as another accessory vessel and spindle weight, a pin and a range of bronze studs and beautiful glass beads (Figs. 4.30 and 5.2; Van Straaten/Fermin 2012, 38–92). These ornaments are rare in Northwest Europe and unique within the dataset.

Burial	Wood	Human remains	Pot	Bowl	Acc. vessel	Bronze vessel	Drinking bowl	Sword	Chape/scabbard/sheath	Dagger	Lance-/spear-/arrowhead	Horse-bit component	Decoration	Yoke component	Wagon-vbox component	Wheel component	Knife	Axe	Tools other	Razor	Toilet implement/set	Clothing pin	Ornament	Other
Gedinne-Ch. T.P/Q			●																		●			
Havré T.A	●	●	●																		●			
Havré T.2	●	●	●																		●			
Havré T.4		●	●																		●			
Havré T.9		●	●																	●	●			
Havré T.10		●	●		●																●	●		●
Havré T.16		●	●		●															●				
LPD T.3	●	●																		●	●			
Leesten-Meijerink	●	●	●		●●														●			●	●	●
Limal-Morimoine T.2	●	●																		●	●			●
Lommel-Kat. T.20	●	●	●																	●	●			
LSP-FAM T.I	●	●	●●																		●			
LSP-FAM T.III	●	●	●		●																●			
Uden-Slabroek	●	●																			●	●	●	●

Fig. 4.29 Burials that (only) emphasize the personal appearance of the dead (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

4.5.2 Uden-Slabroek

Uden-Slabroek is the only inhumation burial in the dataset. In Chapter C32 I argue that this is likely the grave of a woman, though no bone material survives to corroborate this. The deceased was buried wearing a long-sleeved dress and an elaborate ornament set of anklets and bracelets, rings in her hair (or veil), and a range of pins and toilet instruments. The Faculty of Archaeology of Leiden University excavated this burial, and I collaborated in the analysis of it. The full details of the excavation can be found in Jansen *et al.* (2011; Jansen in prep.) and my own description of the finds and the burial is given in the Catalogue (Section C32.2).

The following burial ritual can be reconstructed. In an open area on the edge of a large urnfield a deep pit was dug. In a large fire a number of oaken blocks and planks were charred prior to being used to line the pit in which the deceased then was laid to rest, creating a small burial chamber. (S)he wore a dress with long sleeves that reached her ankles. Fragments of this garment

⊢―――――――⊣ 1 cm

Fig. 4.30 A selection of glass ornaments from Leesten-Meijerink g.1. Figure supplied by B. Fermin.

Fig. 4.31 Burials with other grave goods (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

Burial	Grave good type																							
	Wood	Human remains	Pot	Bowl	Acc. vessel	Bronze vessel	Drinking bowl	Sword	Chape/scabbard/sheath	Dagger	Lance-/spear-/arrowhead	Horse-bit component	Decoration	Yoke component	Wagon-box component	Wheel component	Knife	Axe	Tools other	Razor	Toilet implement/set	Clothing pin	Ornament	Other
CSE-LFR T.2	●	●	●														●							●
CSE-LQ T.X			Pottery, multiple					Weapons of unknown type									Tools of unknown type							
CSE-LQ T.Y																								●

Fig. 4.32 Stray finds from the sites included in the dataset (sites in alphabetical order, see Fig. 4.4 for legend).

Stray finds	Object type																							
	Wood	Human remains	Pot	Bowl	Acc. vessel	Bronze vessel	Drinking bowl	Sword	Chape/scabbard/sheath	Dagger	Lance-/spear-/arrowhead	Horse-bit component	Decoration	Yoke component	Wagon-vbox component	Wheel component	Knife	Axe	Tools other	Razor	Toilet implement/set	Clothing pin	Ornament	Other
Basse-Wavre UC	●	●	●					●											●					●
CSE-LFR UC													●							●				
CSE-LQ UC		●	●	●	●			●	●				●						●			●	●	●
Harchies-MC UC		●	●					●															●	●
Limal-Morimoine UC								●																
LSP-FAM UC																				●			●	

survived in the corrosion of the bronze bracelets and anklets that adorned the arms and legs. This gown was likely made of red and blue checked cloth (Fig. C32.4; Sections C32.2 and CA1.2; Grömer 2017). A long pin and a ring lay near (or were pinned on) the right side of the body. A pouch, which probably closed with an amber bead and containing a toilet set, lay by the left shoulder. A bronze pin was broken and placed on the body next to it the toilet-set containing pouch. Coiled metal rings likely adorned the hair. A second textile was found in this burial, which may be a shroud that was placed over the body (see Chapter C32; Grömer 2017). A few fragments of leather may be from a pouch hanging from the belt. The small chamber was sealed off with more charred oaken planks, and the burial pit was then back-filled, with large quantities of partially burned oaken branches placed in the top half of the pit. The mourners may have demarcated the grave above ground somehow, but this remains unknown due to the extensive plow damage at the site.

4.6 Other

These are two burials from Court-St-Etienne which yielded other unusual objects (Fig. 4.31). La Ferme Rouge T.2 contained two iron knives, and T.Y of La Quenique yielded two bronzes of unknown purpose. Neither burial can be dated narrowly. La Quenique T.X may also have yielded weaponry or tools (see Section C6.3.7), but is included here as it is unclear what finds exactly were found there (Mariën 1958).

4.7 Stray finds

As stated in the introduction, a number of sites also yielded stray finds of which the exact find context is

unknown (Fig. 4.32). These objects are discussed here, as they are relevant to this research. For even though they cannot be assigned to a specific burial, they do show that the sites under discussion yielded even more pottery, weaponry, razors and ornaments than discussed above. At Basse-Wavre multiple urns and deposits of human cremation were found, as well as one or more bronze and iron swords. A polishing stone, fragments of indeterminate bronze or iron and globules of molten bronze were found here as well (see Section C5.1; Cloquet 1888, 186–7; De Loë 1920; Mariën 1958, 208). No depictions survive of these objects. At Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge a fragment of what appears to be a *phalera* cannot be assigned to a specific barrow. This is also true for two razor fragments (see Section C6.2.7; Fig. C6.16; Mariën 1958, 146–7).

Court-St-Etienne La Quenique yielded by far the most stray finds of unknown context within a single site (see also Mariën 1958). As described in Section C6.1, this site was excavated in several campaigns. As it was recorded from which campaign the loose finds are, we at least know which objects probably belong together (as deduced from Mariën 1958, see Figs. C6.26–34 and Section C6.3.10). In summary, there is at least one deposit of human cremation remains that cannot be placed within the site, as well as a dozen pots, bowls and accessory vessels. A surprisingly large number of swords also fall into this category. Fragments of at least six bronze swords as well as two fragments of chapes come from this site in addition to those listed above. There are at least four iron swords, one of which can be identified as type Mindelheim. A selection of bronzes can be recognized as horse-gear ornaments. A grinding stone is the only tool that cannot be assigned to a specific burial. A fragment of a pin and bracelet (fragment), as well as a number of bronze (sheet) fragments and fragments of bronze rods and rings also cannot be assigned to a particular grave.

At Harchies-Maison Cauchies an urn filled with human cremation remains as well as two pots were found that cannot be assigned to any of the four sword burials. A decorated band (probably a hair- or earring) and a ring and pendant(?) also probably originate from the sword burials. A tang fragment of a bronze sword was found some 800 m away, though it is unclear what its find context is (Section C12.6; Leblois 2009; 2010). An iron sword found in the MRAH is listed as coming from Limal-Morimoine. However, it is not certain that it is from this site, nor is it certain that it is Iron Age in date (see Fig. C19.4; Section C19.4). The last loose finds of unknown context are a bronze bifid razor, bracelet fragment and a perforated tooth pendant with bronze ring which were found at Louette-St-Pierre Fosse-Aux-Morts (Fig. C21.4; Section C21.3; Warmenbol 1978).

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter an overview is given of the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age burials that make up the dataset listed in the Catalogue. They yielded pottery, bronze vessels, weaponry, horse-gear, yoke and wagon components, tools, grooming tools and ornaments in various configurations, and range from graves with many finds to ones with a single item. The majority are weaponry burials or graves with finds that relate to personal appearance. The following chapters consider the elite burial practice from which I argue these burials result. The possible meaning or beliefs that may have motived the selection of these particularl grave goods also is discussed. It is important to not only discuss which object types occur together, but rather to also consider how they were deposited and what those artifact types (may) refer to. It is only then that is found together becomes meaningful. This is discussed further in the following chapters.

5 The (development of the) elite burial practice

This chapter combines the dataset presented in the previous chapter with the chronology of the graves as established in Chapter 3, to reconstruct the elite burial *practice* and how it developed through time, as understanding this practice is the main research goal (see Section 1.2). This chapter also considers the kinds of locations selected for elite graves and discusses a number of illuminating examples.

5.1 The Chieftain's goods before they were burial gifts: deposition

Some of the kinds of objects found in the elite burials presented in Chapter 4 are decidedly *new* and first appear in the archeological record in the Low Countries in these few graves, such as the elaborately decorated horse-gear and wagons, as well as the bronze drinking vessels. Swords, axes and ornaments, however, were in circulation in the Low Countries *before* the rise of the elite burial and were treated differently both before and partially at the same time as when they were interred as grave goods – they were deposited. As it is believed that the deposition practice was linked to how elite (or warrior) identities were understood and expressed (*cf.* Fontijn 2002, Ch. 11), the switch to expressing this identity in the funerary sphere may reflect changes in that understanding or in how those identities were constructed (see also De Mulder/Bourgeois 2011; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007). The following sections therefore consider how the types of objects that were interred in elite burials featured in depositions and what they are believed to represent.

5.1.1 Depositions and hoards

In the Low Countries swords were deposited during the Late Bronze Age, and it has been argued that there was some sort of taboo on placing weaponry in graves (Fontijn 2002, 230; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 354; Roymans/Kortlang 1999, 56). The same could be said for axes and certain types of ornaments, which likewise were kept out of the burial sphere and instead were considered suitable for deposition. This practice is discussed briefly here. The following is (of necessity) a very summary overview of a complex custom that was practiced over a long time period and in large parts of Europe, considered from the perspective of the Low Countries elite burials. Even so, considering this earlier and partially contemporary practice of deposition provides some insights into how the elite burial practice arose.

5.1.1.1 Depositing swords

The use and deposition of weaponry in rivers (*e.g.* Fig. 5.17) is believed to primarily have been the purview of a male, warrior elite (Fontijn 2002, 189; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007; Roymans 1991). This depositional practice is taken as indicating that warriorhood was a life stage for some of the sword bearing elites, and that the weapons themselves were only one part of a "more encompassing cultural idealization involving the construction of martial personal identities" (Fontijn 2002, 227). The deposition of high quality

ceremonial swords implies that the emphasis on weaponry in depositions had a wider ideological significance, and the practice is believed to have been religiously motivated. Swords were considered markers of ambiguous and temporary identities that needed to be kept out of the burial sphere (Fontijn 2002, 189; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007; Roymans 1991).

5.1.1.2 Feminine hoards?

These male and martial depositions in wet places contrast with the inland hoards that contain ornaments and sometimes axes (Bradley (2000, 55–60) also recognized such a contrast between weapon and ornament deposits in Scandinavia). The elaborate ornaments from hoards such as the Drouwen hoard (Kooi 1979), the Gent-Port Arthur hoard (Verlaeckt 1996, 91–9) or the Hijken hoard (Butler/Steegstra 2007/8) have been argued to reference high-status *female* identities (*e.g.* Fontijn 2002, Ch. 8). It also has been argued that there were conventions on the appearance of high-status women, and that these were shared between different regions in the Late Bronze Age (*e.g.* Bradley 2000, 55–60; Fontijn 2002, 178–82; 192–4; Van Impe 1995/6, 32; Sørensen 1997; 2010; 2013). The Lutlommel-Konijnepijp hoard (Fig. 5.1), for example, intentionally consisted of paraphernalia of "a perhaps supra-regional identity outside the sphere of the local, and outside the sphere of the martial as well" (Fontijn 2002, 243). In short, these ornaments (and in particular the bracelets with everted terminals, see also Section 5.2.2; Warmenbol 2015, 52) were *supra-regional markers* that deliberately were kept *out* of the burial sphere during the Late Bronze Age – just like the swords discussed above. This is in stark contrast with the contemporary urnfield burials (see also Section 5.4.1), which first of all only rarely yield bronze grave goods, and when they do, the bronzes are generally quite simple ornaments such as pins, spirals and bracelets (*e.g.* De Laet

Fig. 5.1 The Lutlommel-Konijnepijp hoard. Figure after Van Impe 1995/96, fig. 2.

1982; De Mulder 2011; De Mulder/ Bourgeois 2011; Dyselink/Warmenbol 2012; Hessing/Kooi 2005; Kooi 1979; Louwen in prep.; Verlinde 1987; Verlinde/Hulst 2010). The use of these ornaments was time- and place specific and probably expressed and relayed ideas, social messages and matters related to the local community of which the wearer was a member (*e.g.* Fontijn 2002, Ch. 9; 241).

5.1.1.3 Religious acts referencing supra-regional elite identities and connections

So while there are differences in locations and compositions of depositions, it seems that there is an argument to be made that both the weaponry and ornament depositions relate to the expression of supra-regional elite identities (*e.g.* Fontijn 2002; Warmenbol 2015). Note that this appears to be true not for only male but also female identities, though markers of the latter tend to be emphasized less (or less visibly so) than the male ones (see also Section 8.1.3 on recognizing female burials). The last type of object to discuss when considering Late Bronze Age deposition practices is the axe as these featured regularly in depositions at this time (Fontijn 2002; Warmenbol 2015) and *never* were buried with the dead. They appear to have had dual roles and been deposited according to those roles. On the one hand axes were multifunctional everyday tools that derived meaning and significance from their entanglement with people and daily life. In this way they were valuable and meaningful to the community (as argued by Fontijn 2002, 188; 251–8). It is in this sense that most appear to have been deposited, as it were primarily used axes that were chosen for (primarily single) deposition – their use-life mattered (Fontijn 2002, 165–6; 188). On the other hand, axes also featured in supra-regional exchange. They could be readily used or serve as a convenient way of exchanging raw material for making new items.

5.1.2 Developments in deposition practices during the last phase of the Late Bronze Age

As noted above, the deposition of bronzes (in the Low Countries) has a long history, with a climax in the intensification of depositions taking place during the Late Bronze Age (*e.g.* Maraszek 2000, 209; Milcent 2015, fig. 3.12.1–2). The numerous artifacts found in depositions at this time can be divided into ornaments, tools and weapons (*e.g.* De Mulder/Bourgeois 2011, 304; Fontijn 2002, Ch. 8; Verlaeckt 1996, 49–50). While there was certainly continuity in deposition practices in the Low Countries, a number of fundamental changes can be observed in the practice and frequency of metalwork deposition in the last phase of the Late Bronze Age (Hallstatt B2–3/ *Bronze final IIIb*; De Mulder/Bourgeois 2011, 307–11; Fontijn 2002, Ch. 8; Warmenbol 2015, 50–6).

On the one hand, axe deposition continued as it had before. Most axes had similar life-paths – they were made, circulated, used and some ultimately were deposited individually in streams, marshes or rivers (but never in graves; Fontijn 2002, 165). For the first time though, axes with very different life-paths were deposited in those same places. Axes that not only had never been used, but that were completely unusable, like the Geistingen axes believed to be a specialized exchange form, were introduced and selected for deposition (Fontijn 2002, 165–6; 252; Nienhuis *et al.* 2011; 2012; Warmenbol 2015). Another change is the appearance of mass depositions of axes (mostly Atlantic Plainseau axes; Van Impe 1994). These developments signal that traditional views on axe biographies were being undermined and that (certain) axes were being perceived differently (Fontijn 2002, 157–62; 187).

There is also an increase in the deposition of (bronze) ornaments in the Late Bronze Age. Ornaments were deposited both in graves and natural places, with the latter often consisting of multiple object hoards (Fontijn 2002, 172–8; Warmenbol 2015). While there are ornaments that are known only from hoards, many of the ornaments deposited (in hoards) would not look out of place as grave goods in urnfields. They are generally simple and locally made and it has been argued that the meanings associated with them were time and place specific (*e.g.* De Mulder 2011; Fontijn 2002, 182; Ch. 9). A notable difference, beyond deposition context, lies in how they were treated. The ornaments deposited in burials were frequently damaged by fire or partially deposited (*pars pro toto*), while ornaments from rivers or hoards were not burned or intentionally damaged (*e.g.* De Mulder 2011; Fontijn 2002, 182; Louwen in prep.; Warmenbol 2015; 2017).

However, there are also types of deposited ornaments that have never been found in other contexts, such as the oversized type Ockstadt *Bombenkopfnadeln* (Wassink 1984), which are interpreted by Fontijn (2002, 175–8) as an exaggerated variety of a normal type of pin created for ceremonial use only. Their 'normal' counterpart, the *Bombenkopfnadeln* (such as those found in the Chieftain's burial of Oss; Section C26.2), however, are not among the range of pin types regularly found in urnfields, which suggests that they may have been considered special ornaments, possibly associated with special (martial) identities. If such pins were perceived as 'martial', then their exclusion from graves would be in line with the general Late Bronze Age practice of not placing swords, a type of object strongly associated with martiality, in burials (Fontijn 2002, 178). Or was it the elite or supra-regional character of both weaponry and these ornaments that made them unsuited to grave deposition?

When found in multiple-objects hoards, the (special) ornaments generally are associated with tools, especially axes (Fontijn 2002, 182; Warmenbol 2015). The Lutlommel-Konijnepijp hoard (Fig. 5.1), for example, dates to the last phase of the Late Bronze Age and yielded at least 19 (and possibly as many as 44) socketed (mostly Plainseau type) axes, small rings, numerous beads (that probably were part of an elaborate necklace, belt or headdress), two decorated so-called omega-shaped bracelets with everted terminals and fragments of a spiral armring (Fontijn 2002, 178–9; Van Impe 1995/6). These special and elaborate ornaments are generally not found in graves. Though data are limited, it has been argued that they were part of a distinct costume that was restricted to women of special rank that expressed (elite) identities shared at the supra-regional level (*e.g.* Fontijn 2002, 178–82; 192–4; Van Impe 1995/6, 32). Again, there are indications that objects that served to express specific, perhaps elite, identities – which may well have been shared over larger areas – were deemed unsuited to accompany their owners in death, and instead 'required' deposition.

Swords continue to be deposited in rivers in the last phase of the Late Bronze Age. Following on a long-running tradition, these markers of rank and social position and symbols of martial life (Fontijn 2002, Ch. 8; Thrane 2004, 168–9; Section 6.2) were generally deposited intact. For the first time, however, swords are also found in burials (Fontijn 2002; Roymans 1991; Warmenbol 2015).

5.2 Transitioning: depositions and burial gifts

In the very last phase of the Late Bronze Age type Gündlingen swords (see Section C2.3.1.3) appear in the archeological record and are the first swords to be found both in depositional context *and* in burials (Fontijn 2002, 201; Roymans 1991; Warmenbol 2015). This shift from depositing swords, seen as markers of male martial elite identities, in rivers to placing them in (chieftains') burials has long been recognized, and it has been argued that the new practice of placing swords in graves forms a break with earlier customs when there seems to have been a taboo on weaponry in graves (Fontijn 2002, 230; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 354; Roymans 1991; Roymans/Kortlang 1999, 56). In contrast to the earlier period, when the social elite were "almost filtered away in the burial rite" (Roymans 1991, 29–30), (elite) graves now *intentionally referenced supra-regional identities*. This change in preferred depositional contexts for these supra-regional markers indicates that there was a widespread transformation in attitude towards what were considered proper settings for expressing one's elite, supra-regional identity (*e.g.* Milcent 2017).

While the evidence is less widespread (or less recognizable archeologically), it appears that certain types of (elite female) ornaments also started to be deposited

both in natural places *and* in burials. One example is the bronze bracelets with everted terminals. These are not a typical grave find and are found mostly in Late Bronze Age ornament hoards, such as for example the Lutlommel-Konijnepijp hoard (Fig. 5.1) or the Drouwen hoard mentioned above. A rough parallel for these bracelets can be found in the (believed female) inhumation burial of Uden-Slabroek (Jansen *et al.* 2011; see also below and Chapter C32). Not only was this person interred wearing bracelets of a shape that are typically found in depositions, (s)he also wore hair rings very similar in design to those found in the Drouwen hoard, as well as hollow bronze anklets (which also are associated with female elites) of a type similar to those found deposited together with two axes in the Beerse-Beekakkers deposition (Hertoghs 2011; Van Impe *et al.* 2011).

Another example comes from a very rich cremation grave found at Leesten-Meijerink, where a female was buried with an elaborate set of ornaments, including bronze studs and beads, as well as unusual glass beads (Van Straaten/Fermin 2012; Chapter C18). These likely formed an elaborate necklace or belt, both of which are

characteristic elements of elite female dress. Moreover, glass beads appear to be an uncommon burial gift in Late Bronze Age urnfields (Cosyns *et al.* 2005, 324), but glass beads similar to those of Leesten-Meijerink were found in the depositions of Trou de Han in Han-sur-Lesse (Fig. 5.2; Warmenbol 1996; 2013; 2015). Bronze spiral beads like those buried with the lady of Leesten-Meijerink were also found in the Lutlommel-Konijnepijp hoard (Fig. 5.1). Again, unusual types of objects (that may have had supra-regional significance) were deposited during the Late Bronze Age, but also given as a grave gift in a very Early Iron Age burial.

Moreover, while these almost 'over the top' (presumed) female burials generally are acknowledged as elite graves (for example Van Straaten/Fermin 2012, 92; Sections 7.2.4 and 8.1.3), we must consider that there may be many more graves of female elites that are currently not recognized as such. The urn burial with a decorated bronze bracelet with everted terminals found at Weert-Boshoverheide t.3 serves as an example (Section C34.4; Ubaghs 1890, 210). When such bracelets are found in large numbers in a hoard or around the wrists of the 'Lady' of Slabroek, they are interpreted as markers of elite identity (Fig. 5.3; see above). Does this mean that someone buried with one such bracelet should be seen as such as well? After all, if a person buried with only a sword is seen as an elite warrior, perhaps certain ornaments should be seen in the same way (see also Sections 7.2.4 and 8.1.3)?

The general decline in bronze depositions in wet contexts and natural places is for the most part contemporary with other regions and has been linked to the adoption of locally made iron (De Mulder/ Bourgeois 2011, 307; Fontijn 2002, 193; Huth 1997, 197; see also Section 6.2.2.1), though iron swords were also deposited (discussed below). The break in tradition evidenced by the placement of swords in burials (Fontijn 2002, 172) is all the more conspicuous because within the Atlantic world

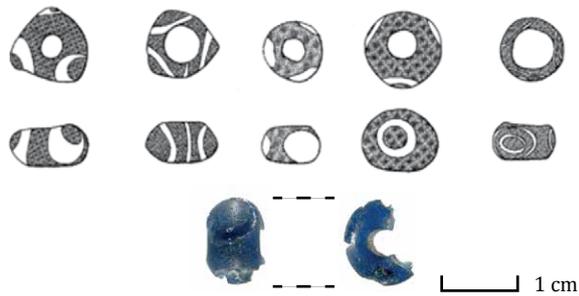*Fig. 5.2 A selection of beads from Trou de Han in Han-sur-Lesse (top) and a matching bead from Leesten-Meijerink (LeM.g1.08; bottom). Drawing after Warmenbol 2015, fig. 4.9; photograph provided by B. Fermin.*

Fig. 5.3 The finds from Uden-Slabroek (left) and a similar bronze bracelet with everted terminals from Weert-Boshoverheide t.3 (right). Drawing after Ubaghs 1890, pl. V; photograph by J. van Donkersgoed.

it only appears to have been practiced in the southern Netherlands and Belgium, while elsewhere these swords still were deposited in rivers (*e.g.* Milcent 2017; Warmenbol 1988). In the Low Countries the shift from deposition in watery places to burials seems to have happened gradually, as some types of swords and ornaments are found both deposited in wet contexts as well as in graves. In any case, something triggered and enabled people to start placing these objects in graves, and it is in within this early context that the rise of the elite burial practice must be viewed. It seems to have happened both with male and female elite paraphernalia, in particular those of a supra-regional nature, indicating not only a change in attitude towards weaponry, but perhaps towards elites, their gear in general and perhaps their supra-regionality.

5.2.1 The bronze sword burial practice

The earliest graves in the dataset are those with bronze Gündlingen swords and the accompanying chapes (summarized in Tab. 5.5.) and are dated to (parts of) the 9th and 8th centuries BC (Chapter 3). These sword-graves primarily have been seen as the phenemon that 'led up' to the chieftain's burial proper, and the focus has been on the presence of the sword, an unusual burial good at this time. This section instead considers not only the grave goods but also the burial practice through which these graves were created.

Most of the early burials are very much in line with the reigning (urnfield) burial practice, only with the addition of weaponry, as portrayed in Figure 5.4 in a *chaîne opératoire*-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the bronze sword burials (see also Fig. 5.9; Tab. 5.5). In a few cases fragments of pins, and in a single case a razor were interred as well, but overall these graves are quite sparse in grave goods beyond the bronze swords. Sometimes they are marked by a (long) barrow, and in only one case is it known that a very large barrow marked a burial (Basse-Wavre T.5; Mariën 1958, 210–3; Section C5.2). A type Beutelortband/Han-sur-Lesse chape for example was found in Weert-Boshoverheide t.4 in an otherwise 'unremarkable' urn burial within an urnfield (Section C34.5; Ubaghs 1890, 212–3). Burial in or near an urnfield is very common (see also Section 5.6), with eleven of the early graves with bronze swords and chapes coming from such contexts, and some being also from barrow groups. The burial monuments – barrows, long barrows and flat graves – are also in line with reigning burial practices. This all suggests that the choice of burial location was (still) guided by the same social conventions.

At Basse-Wavre T.5, Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.K and Gedinne-Chevaudos T.1 the burials with bronze swords and chapes appear to be the first elite graves at locations that would be used for other elite interments later, while at Harchies-Maison Cauchies four people were buried with bronze Gündlingen swords and chapes within a relatively short time span (Leblois 2009; 2010; Mariën 1958; Warmenbol 1978; see Catalogue). Multiple individuals were buried in a single structure at Neerharen-Rekem t.72 and Weert-Boshoverheide T.O (the significance of this is discussed further below), while the other graves appear to be isolated occurrences of elite burials (Hissel *et al.* 2012; Temmerman 2007; Ubaghs 1890; Van Impe 1980; Van Impe/Thyssen 1979; see Catalogue).

In terms of funerary rituals there are a lot of similarities, but also some variations. Fire played an important role – all involved cremation of the dead (except for one chance find (Maastricht-Heer) where no human remains were recovered; Chapter C22) and in about half the cases the remains of the pyre were incorporated into the burial (it is possible that this was the case for more graves but that pyre remains were not noted during early excavations or chance finds). As already mentioned, multiple individuals were buried together with weaponry in Neerharen-Rekem t.72 and Weert-Boshoverheide T.O (Temmerman 2007, 224; Ubaghs 1890, 212). The former is a rare occurrence where the cremated remains have been analyzed, revealing that this burial contained two males and *a female associated with weaponry* (Temmerman 2007, 224; Van Impe/Thyssen 1979, 66).

Fire was not only used to cremate the dead. The swords and chapes themselves were bent and broken, and in some cases exposed to fire. In several burials only a few fragments of the broken swords actually were deposited in the grave. Sometimes swords appear to have been exposed to fire before they were broken, while in other cases they were clearly fragmented after being burned (*e.g.* Harchies-Maison Cauchies; Chapter C12 and Section 4.4.1.2). In a few cases it also appears that only *parts* of the broken weaponry were deposited. As is discussed further below (and in Chapter 7), the destructive nature of the burial practice seems to be a local custom reflected in all burials.

So even though there is some diversity in the choices made as part of these early funerary rituals, the overall pattern in burial practice appears to be the same as in urnfields (see below; *e.g.* De Mulder 2011; Louwen in prep.). The same types of places in the landscape seem to have been selected, and the burial practice likewise emphasizes the actions taken of manipulating and fragmenting grave goods. Cremation is key, and the *pars pro toto* nature of the depositions indicates that the taking away object fragments may have been as important as interring them (see also Section 7.2.1.8). The eventual burial could be deposited in an urn or in a hole in the ground, and left unmarked or marked by a (long) barrow.

Fig. 5.4 Visualization of the bronze sword burial practice in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of the bronze sword burials (see also Tab. 5.5).

5.2.2 The practice of exceptional ornament burial

The (early) 8th century graves of Leesten-Meijerink and Uden-Slabroek (also mentioned above) yielded exceptional arrays of ornaments and are the result of somewhat unusual funerary rituals (Fig. 5.5). They are (probably) the graves of females and though found in urnfields, both were marked by unusual burial structures. The latter is the only inhumation in the dataset.

At Leesten-Meijerink an urn (with more grave goods), an accessory vessel and a ceramic spindle whorl were found located near the remains of a pyre at the center of an unusual double peripheral ring ditch (Van Straaten/ Fermin 2012, 92–3). The urn held the cremated remains of a woman who was between 25 and 35 years old when she died, as well as another accessory vessel and spindle weight. It also contained an iron pin that had been broken and partially interred, as well as a range of bronze studs or beads and beautiful glass beads that are unique within the dataset. Bronze spiral beads were furthermore pulled apart prior to being placed in the urn. The detailed manner of excavation here reveals the deliberate choice of placing a number of her grave goods in the urn, while others were deliberately positioned alongside the urn and burned-out pyre (see Chapter C18).

Uden-Slabroek, in contrast, is the only inhumation burial included in the Catalogue. Here a probable female was buried wearing a brightly colored garment, bronze anklets and bracelets, rings in her hair or veil, and was accompanied by a range of bronze and iron pins and toilet instruments, of which one pin was broken deliberately prior to being placed on the chest. (S)he was interred in a small chamber made from deliberately charred oaken blocks and planks, which was sealed off with more charred oaken planks. The use of charred wood indicates that a large fire was part of the funerary ritual, even if the deceased was not cremated. The burial pit was then back-filled, with large quantities of partially burned oak branches placed in the top half of the pit.

On the one hand these graves link up with the urnfield burials in that the grave goods relate to the personal appearance of the deceased (see also below). Yet at the same time they hint at changes in funerary customs in that the dead are identified as exceptional individuals through both their grave goods and unusual burial structures. It appears that their individuality as elites was shown in the manner of their burials – in contrast to the egalitarianism of the urnfields.

5.2.3 Developing an elite burial tradition

I assert that these very earliest burials – the early bronze sword-graves in general and the elaborate ornament burials – reflect that people at this time were adjusting to and developing this new idea and custom of it being appropriate to bury individuals with their supra-regional status markers that previously had been considered inappropriate to accompany the dead. There is less uniformity in burial practice than there is later when the graves with Hallstatt Culture imports dominate (see below), as though people were developing and adjusting to new ideas and customs regarding what was appropriate when burying these (special) people.

Two sites in particular seem to reflect the ambiguous nature of the sword burial at this time – Neerharen-Rekem t.72 and Weert-Boshoverheide T.O are (as far as is known) the only elite graves where multiple individuals were interred together. It has been argued that in these burials "an outspoken association of a sword with a specific individual was mystified under a collective veil", and that this may have been to bring them "in line with the general egalitarian nature of the urnfield burial ritual at that time" (Fontijn 2002, 193). This fits with the idea that the changes from deposition to burial reflect a shift from collectivity to individuality (*cf.* Roymans 1991). The deliberate destruction and damaging of swords deposited in burials may furthermore reflect the Late Bronze Age taboo of placing weaponry in graves. The Gündlingen swords deposited in rivers at the same time are undamaged after all (Fontijn 2002, 193; for example Fig. 5.17). The deliberate destruction of (some of) the grave goods continues to be a common element in Early Iron Age burial practice in the Low Countries, continuing on once Hallstatt Culture imports appear.

5.3 Hallstatt Culture imports appear in burials

In the 8th century BC – while the bronze sword-graves likely still were being created – Hallstatt Culture imports start appearing in graves that were for the most part created through a very similar burial practice. These broadly speaking can be divided into iron sword burials, bronze vessel graves and burials with wagons and (related) horse-gear. Note that while these groups partially overlap with the groups presented in Chapter 4, there are also differences as the divisions in this chapter are based on chronology and funerary rituals as well as the grave goods interred. Stray finds are discussed when useful.

5.3.1 Iron sword burials

With one exception all iron swords from burials are most likely imports from the Central European Hallstatt Culture (see Sections 6.2 and C2.3). However, there are also 'locally' made iron short swords (stray finds) in the Catalogue that probably date quite early (see Sections 6.2.1.1 and C6.3.10). There are a dozen iron sword burials from nine sites in the Catalogue, as well as a number of stray finds. Most of these were found or excavated under less than

Phase 1 Preparation

Burial site
Location selection:
- High location
- Urnfield nearby

Corpse
Body could be/was:
- Dressed in special clothes
- Outfitted with pins, ornaments

Grave goods
Select & collect:
- Pottery   - Ornaments
- Tools   - Other
- Toiletries

Phase 3 Cremation

Pyre
Location selection: Creation of pyre:
- High location   - Collect wood
- Overlooking river   from surroundings
- Existing urnfield
- Elite burials present

Fire

Phase 3 Collection

Collection

Remove from burial context

Phase 4 Constructing urn/burial deposit

Deposition elsewhere
Location selection: Location preparation:
- High location   - Construction of small
- Close by river   burial chamber
- Urnfield nearby   from charred wood
- Elite burials present

Deposition at same location

Phase 5 Burial

Placement in urn

Placement other/unknown

Phase 6 Marking the grave

Other marker
- Ring ditch
- Wooden structure?

Legend
→→ →→ Burial site   → – → Grave goods/grave furnishings   ——→ Corpse   // Fragmented/manipulated

Fig. 5.5 Visualization of the burial practices of Leesten-Meijerink and Uden-Slabroek in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of these burials.

Legend

➤➤ ➤➤ Burial site ➤ – ➤ Grave goods/grave furnishings ➤ Corpse ╱╱ Fragmented/manipulated
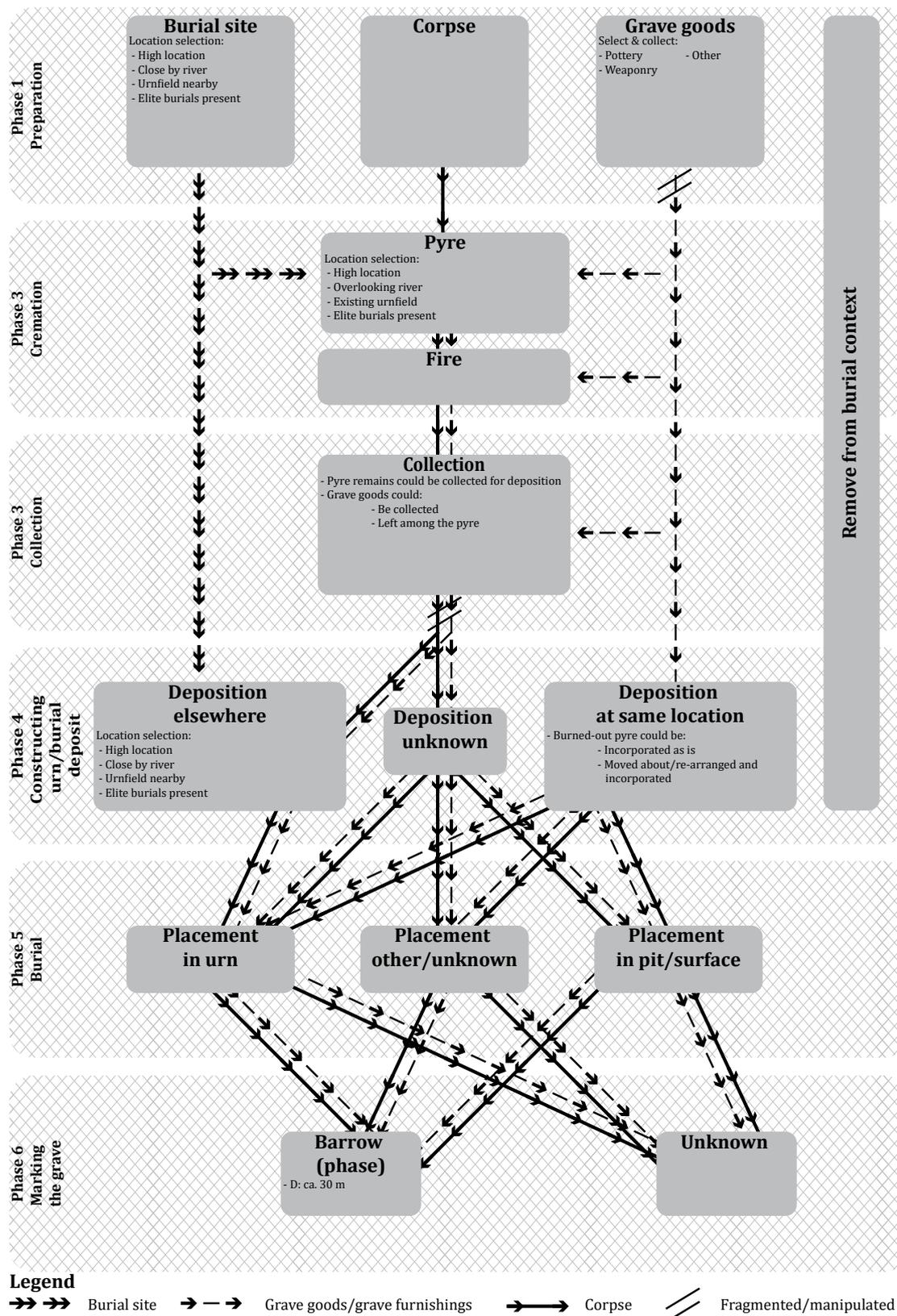
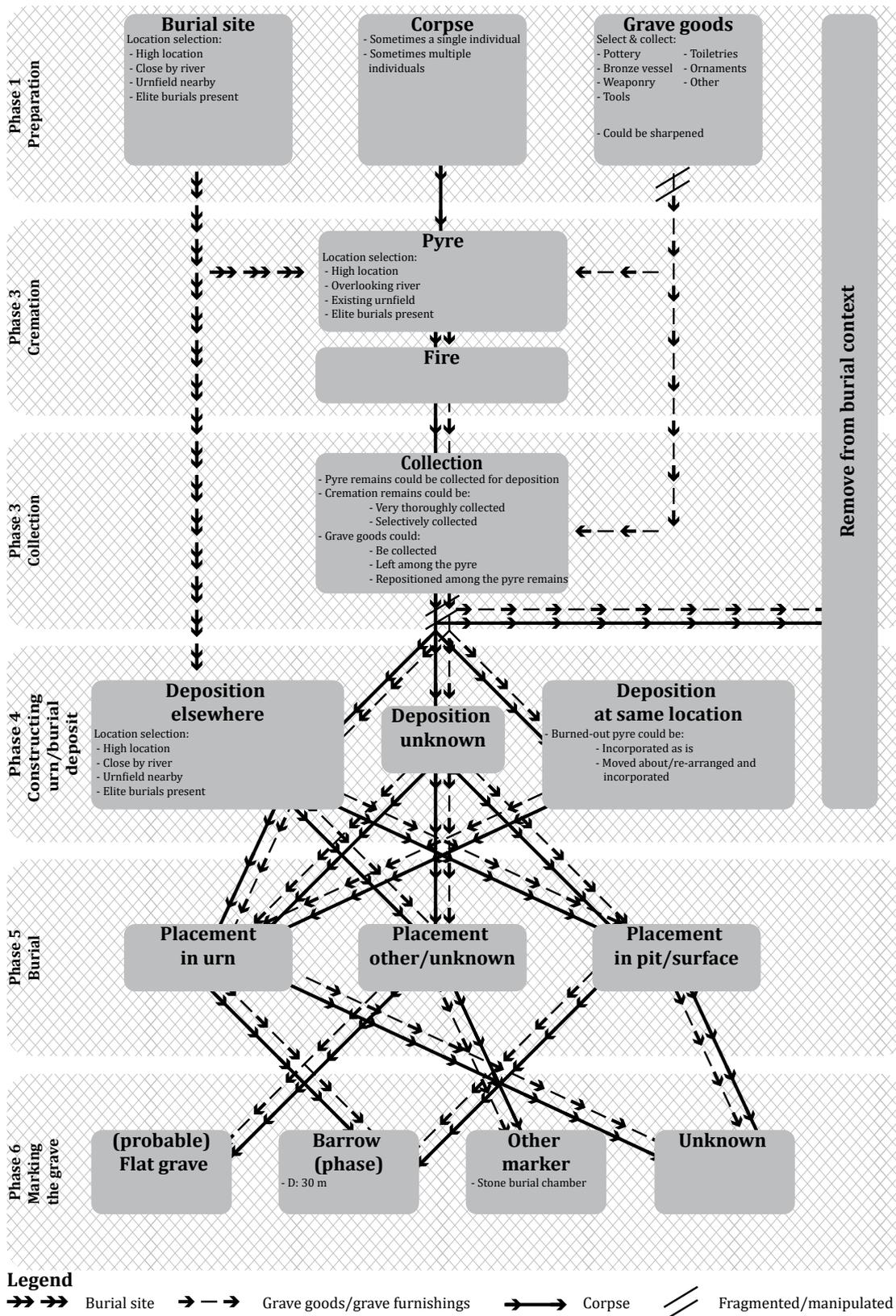*Fig. 5.6 (previous page) Visualization of the iron sword burial practice in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of the iron sword burials (see also Tab. 5.5).*

ideal circumstances, so context information or details on the individual funerary rituals often are limited. These burials primarily come from barrows, with one mound also marked by a ring ditch. The size of the barrows only is known in three cases, but these are quite large (ca. 19–25 m in diam.). Most of the iron sword-graves come from barrow groups, with some from urnfields and one from a site with both. In little more than half the cases the iron sword burials were found in or near urnfields. In contrast to the bronze sword burials, two-thirds of the iron sword-graves come from sites with multiple elite burials, while one-third appear to have been found in isolation. Some were positioned on higher places in the landscape and some were located near rivers (Tab. 5.5).

Most iron sword-graves are the result of a similar burial practice as the bronze Gündlingen sword-graves (Figs. 5.4 and 5.6). One difference is that all iron swords appear to have been deposited complete. They are found both straight and bent, but in contrast to the bronze swords there is no clear partial deposition. Fire again played an important role, with almost half the burials also incorporating pyre depositions. Given the prevalence of the use of fire and the fact that cremated bone usually survives well, it is somewhat surprising that only seven burials are known to have yielded human remains. While this may be due to the manner of excavation, it is worth noting that the three graves (Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.L and T.M and Havré T.E) that reportedly did not contain cremation remains yielded swords that were deposited in their original straight condition (Sections C6.3.5, C6.3.6 and C13.3; Mariën 1958; 1999). Moreover, human remains were found in almost all Court-St-Etienne barrows – the only exceptions are T.L and T.M and a couple that were plundered rather than excavated (Chapter C6; Mariën 1958). Havré T.E is also the only barrow of this site where no human remains were found. So the fact that specifically these burials yielded unbent swords (when bending certainly seems to have been the dominant practice) certainly is worth noting.

5.3.2 Bronze vessel (burials?)
Another Hallstatt Culture import that appears in burials from the 8th century BC onwards is the bronze vessel. In addition to those found in the wagon burials discussed below, there are six bronze vessels from six sites, of which four are confirmed as being from burials, with the other two suspected to be (Fig. 5.7). None of these were recovered under good circumstances, so context information or details on the individual funerary rituals are limited. At Ede-Bennekom the bronze vessel was used as an urn (Chapter C8; Pleyte 1877, 52), and in Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.5 the vessel can be identified as a burned grave good (Section C6.2.6; Mariën 1958, 137–41) while in others their function is unknown. They

come from (probable) barrows and one from a ring ditch (and the find context of two is unknown). The bronze vessel burials sometimes are the only elite graves at a given site and sometimes there are more. Only one is known to have been located at a high place in the landscape and near a river. Unusually, the bronze vessels do not appear to have been manipulated or fragmented deliberately during the burial ritual when they are the only (exceptional) grave good interred (see also below), though given the nature of these objects and how poorly they were preserved it is not unlikely that any kind of interference could go unrecognized.

5.3.3 Wagons and wagon-related horse-gear burials
Ten burials yielded yoke or wagon components or horse-gear that functionally relates to a wagon (Tab. 5.5; Section 6.3) and date roughly to the same period as the iron sword and bronze vessel burials. These graves stand out first because they generally contain *more* grave goods, sometimes even the 'Hallstatt set' of horse-gear and wagon components, weaponry and bronze vessels like in the Chieftain's burial of Oss or the wagon-grave of Wijchen (see Section 2.2.1.1). Second, it appears that they are the result of an exaggerated burial practice where textile featured and dismantling, manipulation and fragmentation were emphasized (Fig. 5.8). The ten burials come from nine sites, with some being the only elite burial found at the site and some coming from sites with multiple elite graves. Fire played an important role, with all burials yielding cremation remains. In seven burials the burned-out pyre was incorporated into the grave. It is in these wagon (-related) burials that textile is used to wrap grave goods (at least five graves, and there are indications that this happened more frequently). Grave goods tend to be (heavily) manipulated or fragmented. *Pars pro toto* depositions make a comeback and often are emphasized, with parts of broken objects being taken out. The horse-gear components found at Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A for example indicate that many components were deliberately not interred in the grave (see Section C6.3.2).

These graves also tend to be marked by substantially larger barrows (most were covered by a barrows and in two cases marked both by a barrow and a ring ditch), with the barrow (53 m in diam.) covering the Chieftain's burial of Oss for example being the largest known in this part of Europe. These graves come from barrow groups, barrow groups with urnfields and in or near urnfields – with almost all located near urnfields in any case. They all appear to be from high places in the landscape, as well as positioned close to rivers. It furthermore seems that there was a preference for placing burials in such a way as to connect with earlier burials, such as the Chieftain of Oss being buried in a
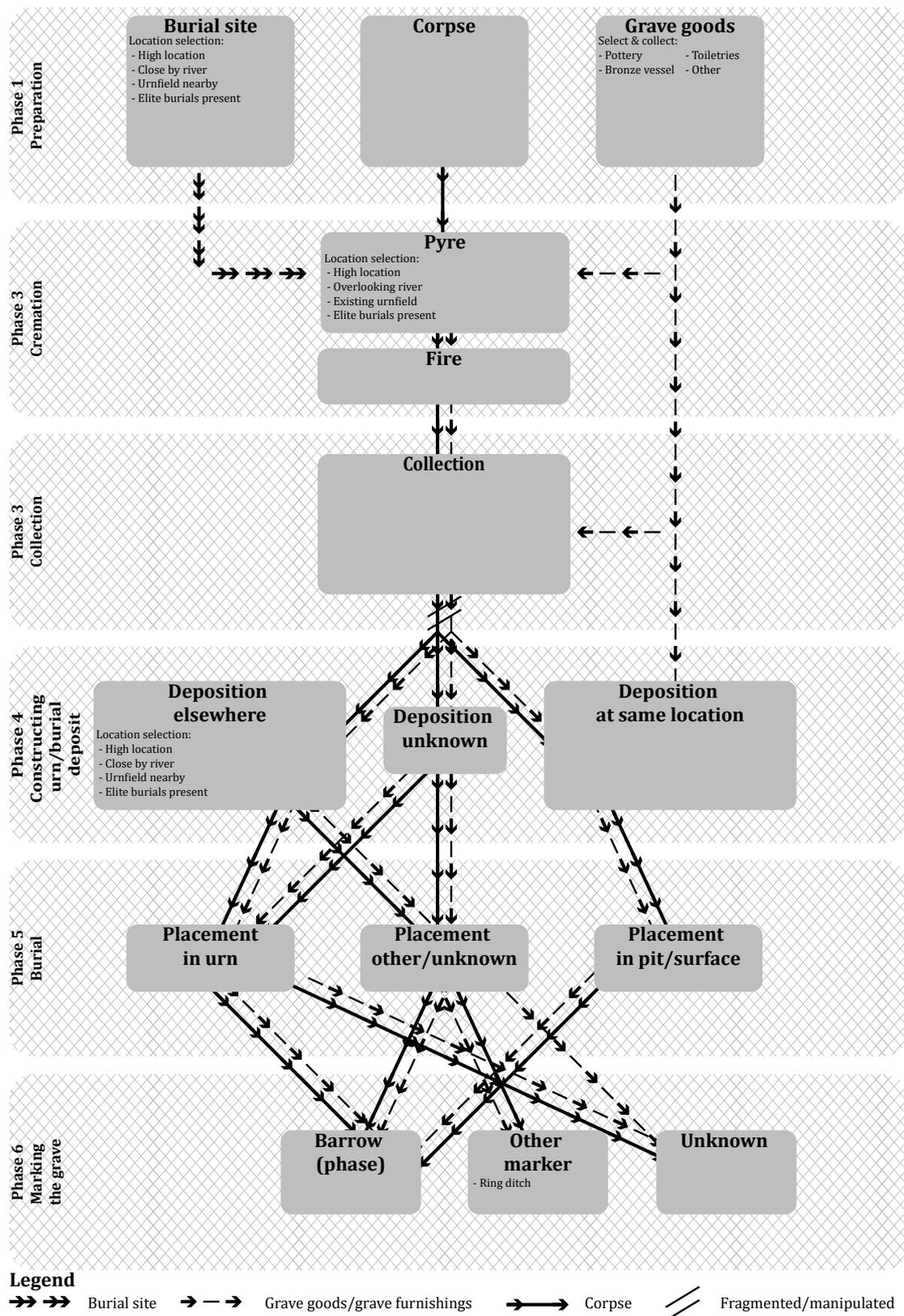
Fig. 5.7 Visualization of the bronze vessel burial practice in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of the bronze vessel burials (see also Tab. 5.5).

Phase 1 Preparation

Burial site
Location selection:
- High location
- Close by river
- Urnfield nearby
- Elite burials present
Location preparation:
- Removal vegetation (through fire)
- Ablate a (natural) mound

Corpse
Body could be/was:
- Outfitted with pins, ornaments

Grave goods
Select & collect:
- Pottery   - Tools
- Bronze vessel   - Toiletries
- Weaponry   - Ornaments
- Horse-gear   - Other
- Wagon/yoke

- Could be dismantled/ taken apart

Remove from burial context

Phase 3 Cremation

Pyre
Location selection: Creation of pyre:
- High location   - Collect wood
- Overlooking river   from surroundings
- Existing urnfield
- Elite burials present

Fire
- 'Full' cremation or 'premature' extinguishing

Phase 3 Collection

Collection
- Pyre remains could be collected for deposition
- Cremation remains could be:
    - Very thoroughly collected
    - Selectively collected
- Grave goods could:
    - Be collected
    - Left among the pyre
    - Repositioned among the pyre remains

Phase 4 Constructing urn/burial deposit

Deposition elsewhere
Location selection: Location preparation:
- High location   - Removal vegetation
- Close by river   (through fire)
- Urnfield nearby   - Ablate a (natural) mound
- Elite burials present

Deposition unknown

Deposition at same location
- Burned-out pyre could be:
    - Incorporated as is
    - Moved about/re-arranged and incorporated

Phase 5 Burial

Placement in urn

Placement other/unknown

Placement in pit/surface

Phase 6 Marking the grave

Barrow (phase)
- D: 2–53 m

Unknown

Legend
➤➤ ➤➤ Burial site   ➤ – ➤ Grave goods/grave furnishings   ➤ Corpse   ⫽ Fragmented/manipulated

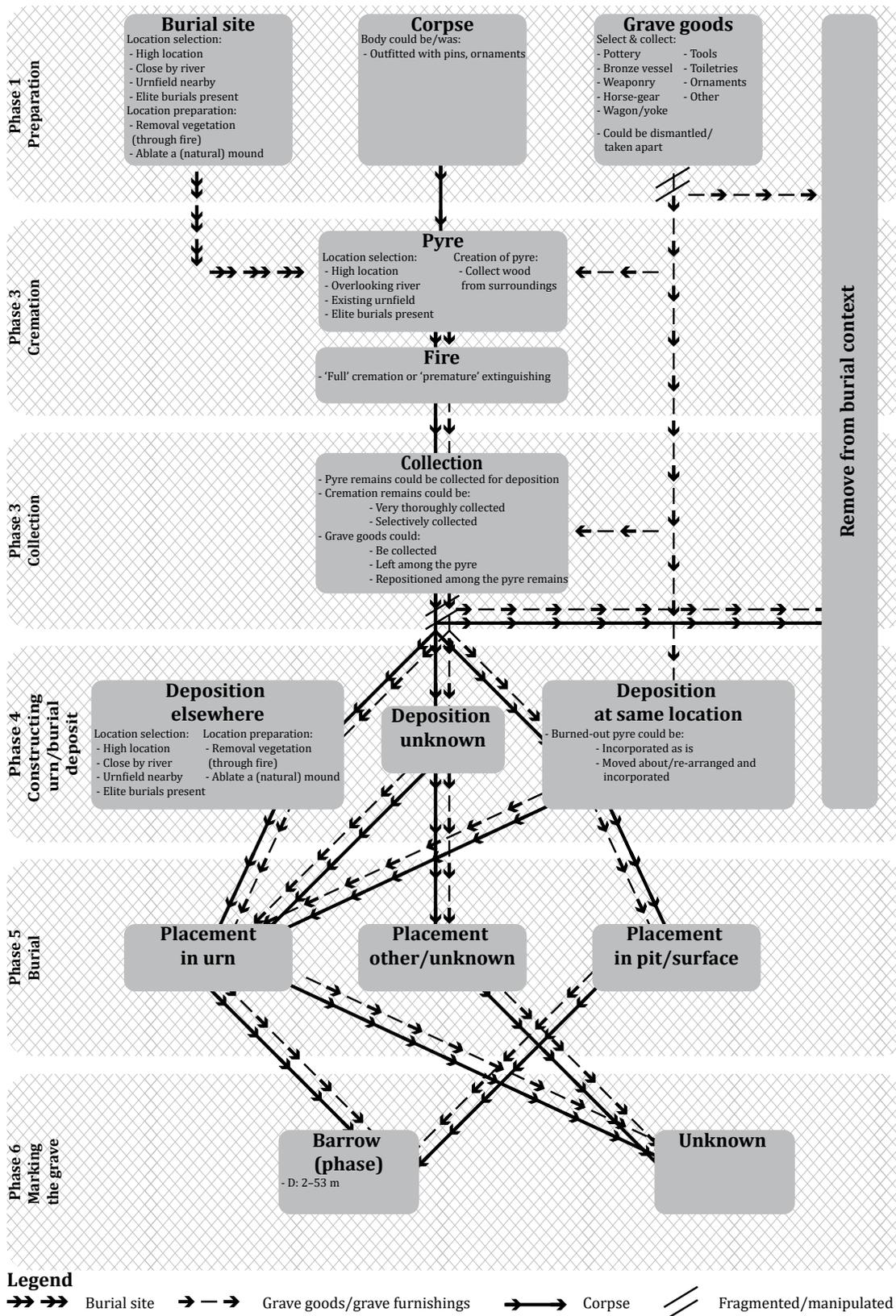*Fig. 5.8 Visualization of the wagon and wagon-related horse-gear burial practice in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of the wagon and wagon-related horse-gear burial burials (see also Tab. 5.5).*

Middle Bronze Age barrow (*cf.* Jansen/Fokkens 2007, 86; see also Section 7.3.5).

5.4 Urnfield graves in the Catalogue

As touched upon in Chapter 1, the graves considered in this research are very much the exception. The vast majority of people (well over 99%), were buried in urnfields during the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age in the Low Countries (Louwen in prep.). They are a characteristic element of many European societies during the Late Bronze Age (*e.g.* Cunliffe 2008, 234; Fontijn 2002, 152; Harding 2000; Kristiansen 1998; Roymans 1991; Roymans/Kortlang 1999). In the Low Countries the urnfield burial custom remained the dominant way of burying well into the Early Iron Age and for a time was practiced alongside the elite burial tradition (*e.g.* De Laet 1982; De Mulder 2011; De Mulder/Bourgeois 2011, 303; Hessing/Kooi 2005; Kooi 1979; Louwen in prep.). It is therefore important to realize that the elite burials under discussion in this research all took place in a time and place when almost everyone was buried in urnfields. In fact, several of the graves with toiletries and ornaments included in the Catalogue only were incorporated into the current study because they come from sites that yielded elite burials or because they are often mentioned as parallels for the toiletries found in the more elaborate graves (see Sections 1.2.1.2 and 8.1.2). In reality they appear far more in line with urnfield burials than with the other graves considered in the Catalogue. For this reason the urnfield burial practice is summarized *very* briefly in the following section, after which the burials in the Catalogue that appear to be the result of this, or at least a very similar, burial practice are discussed.

5.4.1 Urnfield burial practice

It should be noted that given the vast number of urnfield graves known and the longevity of this burial practice it is practically impossible to give a comprehensive overview that does justice to this diverse funerary custom. The following is therefore a very general overview based on a number of summary works, and is a relatively unnuanced summary, which likely will need to be adjusted in future upon completion of this study's ongoing 'sister research' by A.J. Louwen (in prep.; see also Section 8.1.2) into the urnfield burial practice of the Low Countries. During the Late Bronze and parts of the Early Iron Age, cremation was the dominant treatment of the dead in the Low Countries (though there are some areas where inhumation also was practiced; Van den Broeke 2002, 28; 2008), and people of all sexes and ages (with the possible exception of newborn babies; Fokkens 1997) were interred in urnfields, mostly in individual graves and often covered

with a small mound. This led to the development of some very large urnfields. They can take a variety of forms and have an array of burial monuments, including flat graves, long barrows (*langbedden* in Dutch), as well as be enclosed by circular and rectangular ring-ditches (*e.g.* De Laet 1982; De Mulder 2011; De Mulder/Bourgeois 2011; Dyselink/Warmenbol 2012; Fontijn 2002, 197–8; Hessing/Kooi 2005; Kooi 1979; Lohof 1994; Louwen in prep.; Temmerman 2007; Van Beek/Louwen 2013; Verlinde 1987; Verlinde/Hulst 2010). Indications of social differentiation are rare, and the urnfields from this period are generally interpreted as collective cemeteries meant to provide a strong sense of community for the local groups (*e.g.* De Mulder/Bourgeois 2011, 303–4; Roymans/Kortlang 1999, 36).

It often is assumed or posited that the deceased were placed on the pyre dressed in their finest clothes and ornaments, perhaps accompanied by personal paraphernalia, food and drink (*e.g.* De Mulder 2011, 211; Fontijn 2002, 203), though grave goods also could be added to the burial assemblage afterwards. Following cremation (part of) the remains sometimes were deposited primarily near the pyre, though the more common practice was to collect (a selection of) the cremated remains and deposit them elsewhere (*e.g.* De Mulder 2011, 213). Sometimes the cremated bones were collected in an urn or other kind of (perishable) container, and occasionally parts of the pyre and the burial goods were selected for deposition as well.

Grave goods were generally limited to a single beaker or cup, and metal grave goods in particular appear to be rare (though there certainly are exceptions, for example the urnfield of Maastricht-Ambyerveld; Dyselink/Warmenbol 2012). In terms of object types, pins were the most common type of ornament, followed by (twisted/decorated) bracelets or armrings. Pendants and gilded rings are also known, as well as spirals in varying sizes and shapes, bronze beads, razors and tweezers. These were primarily bronze ornaments, with some iron ones appearing from the Early Iron Age onwards (*e.g.* De Laet 1982; De Mulder 2011; De Mulder/Bourgeois 2011, 303–4; Dyselink/Warmenbol 2012; Fontijn 2002, 171; 197–8; 203; Louwen in prep.; Temmerman 2000, 84; 2007; Verlinde/Hulst 2010; Warmenbol 2015, 50).

Both cremation remains and grave goods frequently were deposited incomplete. It is commonly accepted that these were intentional *pars pro toto* depositions, and that it was the "representative character of the collected remains that counted" (Fontijn 2002, 204). Broadly speaking it seems that established social practices guided the choices made and actions taken during the creation of urnfield burials, but at the same time it appears that different choices were made in different

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │  cremation remains  │
                    └─────────────────────┘
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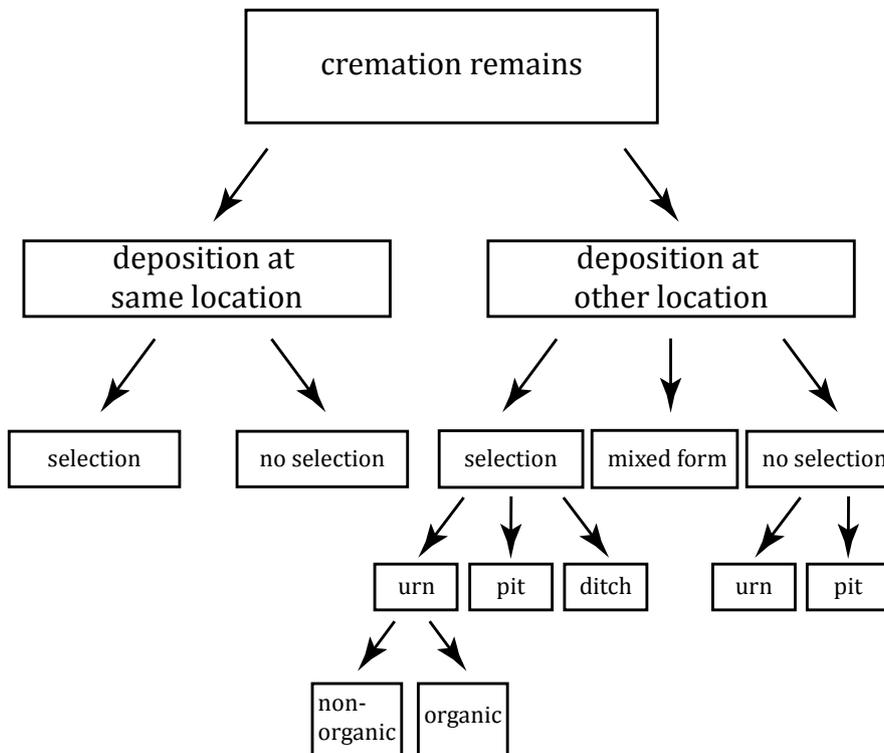
Fig. 5.9 Scheme of choices made in funerary activities developed by G. de Mulder. Figure after De Mulder 2011, fig. 8.4; my translation.

burials. Sometimes these follow regional preferences, and sometimes it appears that there was a range of acceptable options. The grave typology developed by De Mulder (2011, Fig. 8.4) visualizes (some of) the choices and steps he identifies in the funerary rituals he considered in his study (Fig. 5.9).

5.4.2 Urnfield graves with ornaments and toiletries in the Catalogue

There are over a dozen burials with ornaments and toiletries in this dataset that appear to be very much in line with the urnfield burial practice in terms of the grave goods they contain and/or the funerary rituals through which they were created (these will be discussed further by Louwen in prep.; Fig. 5.10; Sections 7.2.2 and 8.1.2). Had they not been found alongside elite burials or referenced as parallels for the toiletries found in the more elaborate graves, they likely would not have been selected for the current study during the inventorying process (see Sections 1.2.1.2 and 8.1; Tab. 5.5). Most were found in barrows and barrow groups, though they also come from ring ditches, flat graves and a long barrow, or in/nearby urnfields. Grave goods sometimes are manipulated or fragmented, and in one case a *pars pro toto* deposition could be identified. The burials sometimes were created near the pyre and sometimes elsewhere. In terms of grave goods they mostly yielded pottery, razors and toiletries, and more rarely pins and ornaments. Notably, while the

exact origin of some of the razors and tweezers cannot be established, a number of the bronze razors appear to be in the Atlantic tradition and do not appear to be Hallstatt Culture imports (see also Section 5.7).

5.4.3 Urnfield burials with horse-gear(?) in the Catalogue

There are also a number of burials that appear to be in line with the graves described above and the urnfield burials, except for the inclusion of a single kind of small (probable) horse-gear element (Tab. 5.5: see also Fig. 7.5). These are all relatively 'simple' urn burials, but with some unusual bronze grave goods. A very rare type of horse-gear ornament, for example, was interred in Weert-Boshoverheide t.1, though as it is the only grave good it is not clear whether it was still used as such when selected for burial (Sections 7.2.3.4 and C34.2). A bronze cross-shaped ornament from t.2 of the same site may be from horse-gear or from a sword scabbard (Section C34.3; Ubaghs 1890). The two bronze buttons found in La Plantée des Dames T.4 are listed as horse-gear as they could be *phalerae*, but again it is unclear whether they were used as such at the time of burial (Section C17.3; Mariën 1958). As was discussed above, it was common to take apart horse-gear and wagons during the burial ritual and to take away certain items of fragments. While we cannot know what happened to those items, it is not difficult to imagine that they were reused as ornaments or amulets (*cf.* Koch 2012), and then only later interred in their new owners' graves as such (see also Section 7.2.3.4). With
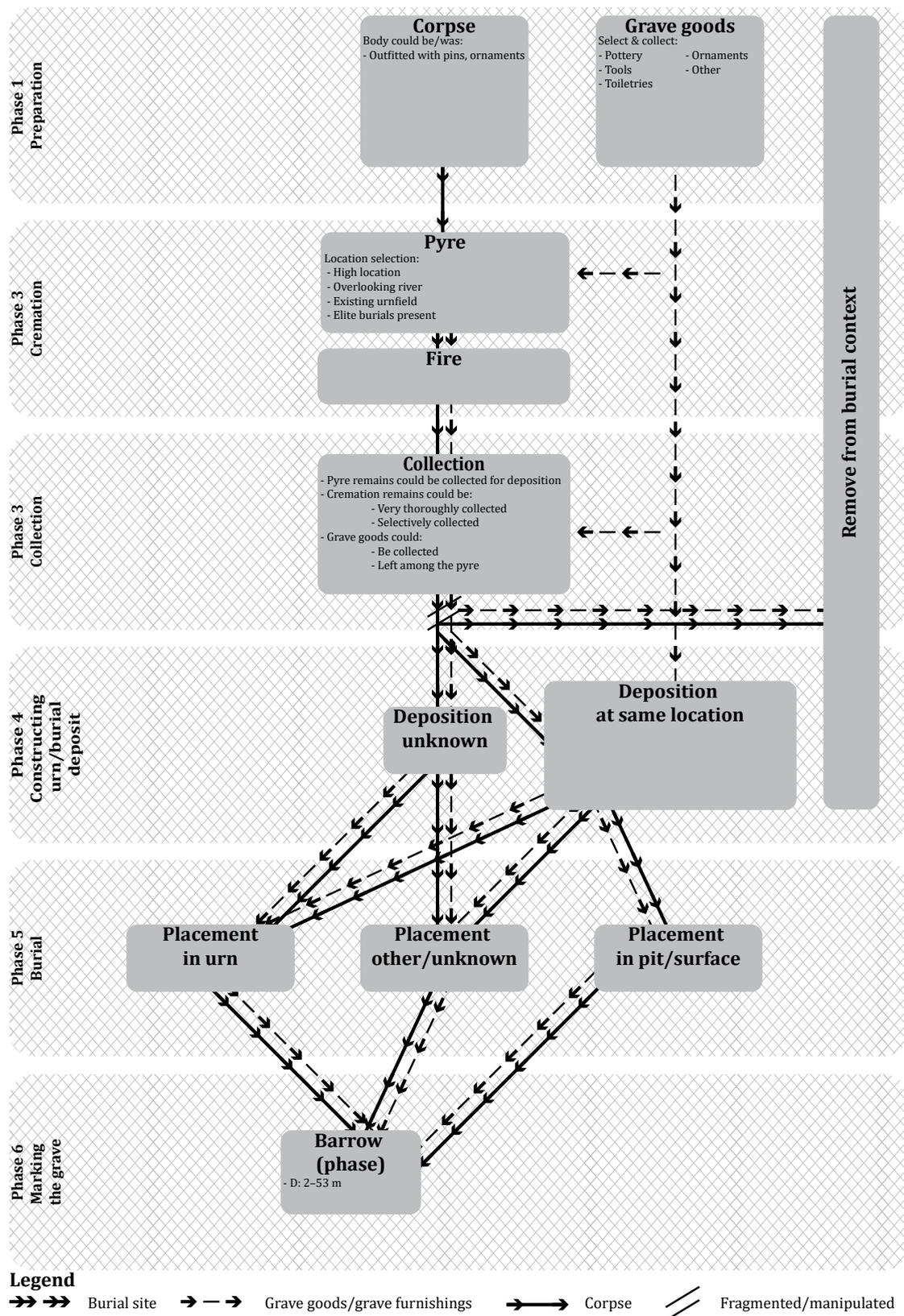
Fig. 5.10 Visualization of the burial practice of the urnfield burials in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of the urnfield burials (see also Tab. 5.5).

regard to the bronzes under discussion it is worth noting that it is only through parallels that they can be identified as (likely) deriving from horse-gear, and in actuality are highly suited to being worn as ornaments both in shape and size (see Fig. 7.5). In any case, it appears that at least some of the bronzes and iron objects inventoried in the Catalogue were interred in the 'usual' manner, in urnfield burials.

5.5 Other burials

In addition to the burials described above, there are six graves that do not fall into the groups recognized and described above either because they cannot be placed chronologically or because they contain unusual or unique grave goods. Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.2 for example yielded two knives, and Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.Y yielded bronzes of unknown purpose (Sections C6.2.3 and C6.3.8; Mariën 1958). Both burials were included in the Catalogue because they come from a site that is of great interest to the study of elite burials. Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.X on the other hand is known to have contained weaponry or tools, but it is unclear exactly what kind, making it difficult to 'categorize' (Section C6.3.7). Gedinne-Chevaudos T.16 was likewise included in the dataset as it comes from a very interesting site, and because it yielded a spearhead (Section C10.6; Warmenbol 1978, 88). Spearheads are rare in the dataset, and this is the only burial to yield only a spearhead. Haps g.190 is likewise the only burial with an antenna dagger and arrowheads (Chapter C11; Verwers 1972). Both graves are therefore difficult to place into the scheme described above regarding the development of the elite burial tradition(s). Last but not least is Oss-Zevenbergen M.3, perhaps the most enigmatic barrows in the Catalogue as it yielded a burned oaken plank, a single human cremation fragment and fragments of four metal objects (Section C27.1; Fokkens *et al.* 2009). One of these is the unique fragment that appears to be from a bronze sword, but with an unknown type of plastic decoration. This burial is not included with the bronze sword-graves described above as it is so very different both in objects, funerary ritual and date (it is one of the latest dating burials in the Catalogue).

5.6 The locations in which elite burials were created

The sections above already touched upon the kinds of locations selected for elite burials, a theme upon which the following sections elaborate based on the information gathered in the Catalogue (and summarized in Tab. 5.5). Detecting patterns in burial locations is hindered by the fact that the exact find location of many graves is unknown, making it hard to give precise numbers. Still there seem to have been some preferences in terms of locations, though these may relate more to preferences in burial location in general, rather than specifically elite graves (Louwen in prep.). While it appears that none of the elite burials were created close to settlements, they generally were not located in isolation. Instead about a quarter was located in urnfields with over half being found at least near urnfields. Over half the elite burials (ca. 40 graves) come from almost a dozen barrow groups, with some of those being barrow groups that also had urnfields nearby (see also Tab. 5.5). While this may in part be due to how one defines (groups of) burials, there also appear to have been regional preferences. Burials from barrow groups are primarily from the Belgian part of the research area around the Dyle and Haine valleys, while those in the southern Netherlands tend to be from, or least have been found near, urnfields. This is not to say that none of the Belgian graves come from urnfields. The largest barrow group in the dataset, Court-St-Etienne, for example was located near an urnfield (see below and Chapter C6; Mariën 1958). At least three-quarters of the individuals considered in this research therefore appear to have been buried among or near other members of the past and present community – even though they were (sometimes) marked as exceptional individuals through their grave goods or burial monuments. In contrast to what is sometimes thought (Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 85; Hessing/Kooi 2005, 644; Roymans 1991, 55), elite burials tend to be from sites with multiple elite graves (Fig. 5.11). This is of interest as the supposed 'isolated occurrence' of elite burials has been interpreted as evidence that power positions were achieved through the personal qualities of leaders rather than being passed down through the generations (Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 85; Hessing/Kooi 2005, 644; Roymans 1991, 55).

In several cases the primary literature of the burials under discussion notes that a grave was located in a 'high', 'unusual' or 'striking location', and the view of a nearby river is noted for several burials. The topographic names of a number of burials also reveal that they were created on hilltops, such as Darp-Bisschops*berg* or Rhenen-Koer*heuvel* (both *berg* and *heuvel* refer to high places). The visibility of or from the burial also is noted or emphasized frequently. Jansen and Fokkens (2007, 87; my translation) for example discuss how the Chieftain's burial of Oss and surrounding graves were located on a "striking viewing location in the landscape" and that from this location one would have had a good view of the surrounding landscape, especially the lower lying wet areas which were used for depositions. Given the location on the edge of a plateau in an open landscape they also note that the barrows would have been visible from afar (Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 163). Van
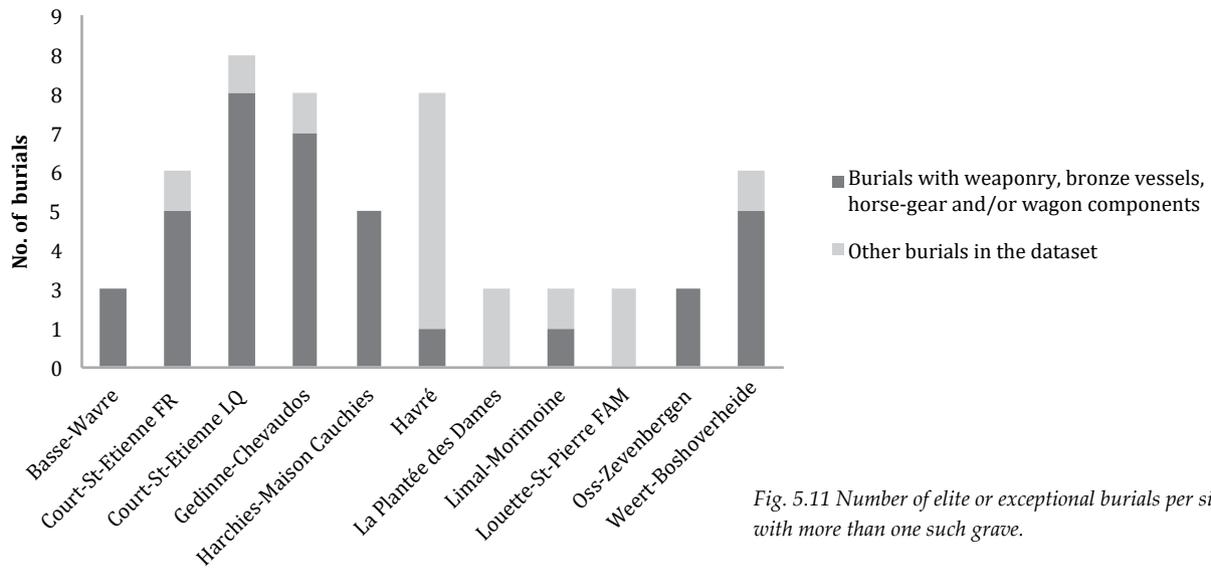
Fig. 5.11 *Number of elite or exceptional burials per site with more than one such grave.*

Legend:
■ Burials with weaponry, bronze vessels, horse-gear and/or wagon components
□ Other burials in the dataset

Heeringen (1998) highlights that the Chieftain's burial of Rhenen was located on one of the highest points in the landscape and emphasized that the Rhine was within view, and Mariën (1952, 298; my translation) likewise notes the high position of the Limal-Morimoine cemetery and the "beautiful" view of the river Dyle from it. It is hoped that in future the subjective labels of 'highness' and 'near river' as well as the visibility of the burials can be examined through vegetation reconstructions and viewshed analyses as these were not possible within the current research. For now it can be stated that there does seem to have been a preference for high or otherwise striking locations for elite burials, something that also has been noted for burials in general at this time (Hessing/Kooi 2005, 645).

5.6.1 Some sites as examples

Above a number of apparent preferences for burial locations (of elites) were discussed and noted. As already stated, context information of many, if not most of the elite burials considered in this volume is extremely poor, which makes it difficult to provide hard numbers for location choices. There are some graves, however, with better context information that provide insights into the choices made by the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age mourners when deciding where to bury these people, and also some of the choices made through time. In the following a number of these insightful sites are discussed (in alphabetical order) as examples of the burial location preferences noted above and the activities (that could be) carried out at these places.

5.6.1.1 Court-St-Etienne: dynastic royal cemetery?

The Court-St-Etienne burials are located on the southern edge of a plateau surrounded by the Dyle river and a number of streams (Chapter C6; Mariën 1958). The plateau drops quite abruptly to the Orne stream (Mariën 1958, 13–6). The Orne then joins the Dyle, along which several other sites with exceptional burials are located (Fig. 5.12). This striking location in the landscape was used repeatedly over a span of perhaps 200 years to bury people, some of whom were interred with exceptional grave goods (Tab. 5.1). Five barrows are located at the western end and are known as *Tombelles* 1–5 of La Ferme Rouge. To the east lies the zone known as La Quenique, at which at least eight barrows were excavated, though the exact location of only two is known (Fig. C6.1). Furthermore, numerous burials and barrows are known to have been destroyed without ever being examined or excavated (Mariën 1958).

The number of burials and their close typo-chronological dates make it difficult to determine which elite burial was first. Generally speaking the burials with bronze Gündlingen swords probably predate those with iron Mindelheim swords. This suggests that the T.K with its bronze Gündlingen sword was likely (one of) the earliest on the plateau, though there are also a number of stray finds of Gündlingen sword fragments. There are four barrows (T.1, T.L, T.M, T.X) with iron swords burials, two with horse-gear and swords (T.3, T.A) and some with just horse-gear (T.4, T.B, T.Z). In addition, there are numerous stray finds of iron swords and horse-gear. In addition to these exceptional graves, there are barrows with knives and other objects, as well as the flat graves from the urnfield. This means that these people repeatedly chose to associate with earlier elite burials. At least a dozen exceptional funerary rituals took place here, and probably many more. They are so close together in time that the mourners creating
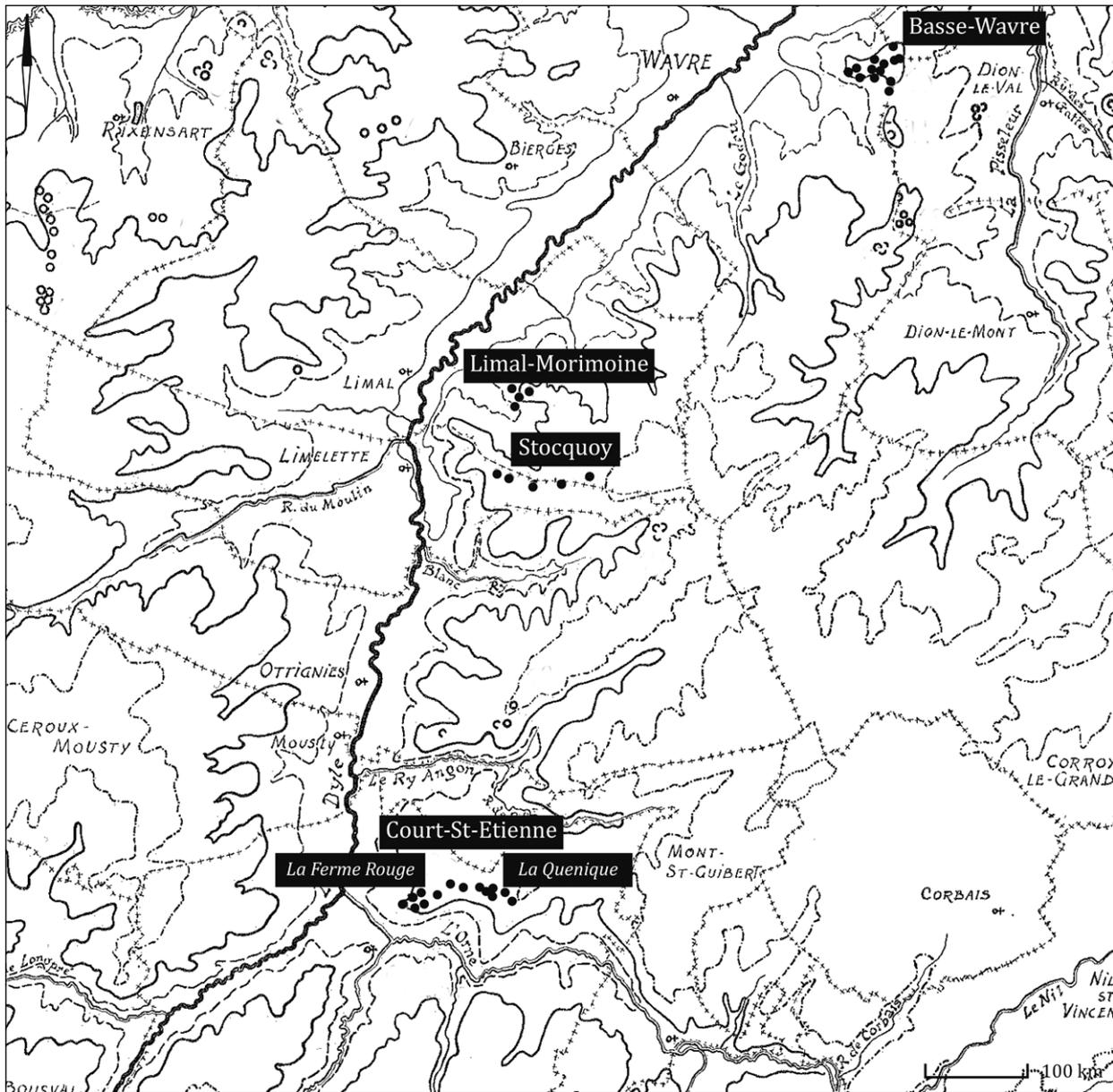
Fig. 5.12 Map showing a number of barrow groups from the Dyle river valley, with Basse-Wavre, Court-St-Etienne, Limal-Moirimoine and Stocquoy marked. Figure adapted from Mariën 1958, fig. 36.

the later burials almost certainly still knew about the people buried earlier. This is the only site in the dataset where people created so many exceptional burials so close together in such a short time span. However, while the sheer number of graves sets this site apart from the others in the dataset, it fits the pattern in almost every other respect. It is a high location close to a river. There is both an urnfield and an abundance of (large, oversized) barrows. Moreover, the burial rituals through which these graves were created follow the same general choreography as most others in the dataset (see Chapters 7 and C6; see also Bourgeois 2013).

5.6.1.2 Something completely different: Harchies-Maison Cauchies

Harchies-Maison Cauchies is another site with multiple elite burials (see also Chapter C12; Leblois 2009; 2010; Mariën 1975). In contrast to the graves from Court-St-Etienne discussed above, those from Harchies likely date to a very short time span. Four burials (probably flat graves) with bronze swords were found very close together (Fig. C12.1). It is unusual to find four such similar burials so close together. This site serves as an example that multiple elite burials can occur close together, both in time and space, and be

	Burial no.	Monument		Finds	Date
		Shape	Size		
La Ferme Rouge	T.1	Barrow	D: ca. 25 m	Cremation remains, urn, accessory vessel (2x), bowl, iron sword (Mindelheim), iron ring (2x), iron fragments	Ha C1–2
	T.2	Barrow	D: 18–20 m	Cremation remains, urn, iron knife (2x), 'traces of bronze'	Ha C1–D3
	T.3	Barrow	D: ca. 25 m	Cremation remains (3x), urn (3x), accessory vessel, situla fragments, iron and bronze antenna sword, iron lancehead, bronze chape, iron horse-bit (2x), iron knife, bronze axe, flint pounding(?) stone, iron trident	Ha C1–2
	T.4	Barrow	D: ca. 22 m	Cremation remains, urn, accessory vessel, bronze cup fragments, iron horse chest ornament, bronze *phalera* (2x), bronze yoke rosette (3x) and fragment, bronze bracelet, fragment of iron with cloth imprint	Ha C1–2
	T.5	Barrow	D: ca. 20 m	Cremation, pot, accessory vessel, bowl, bronze situla fragments, bronze bifid razor, iron rod	Ha C1
	UC	Probable barrow(s)		Bronze *phalera* fragment, bronze razor fragment (2x)	Ha C1–2
La Quenique	T.A	Barrow	-	Cremation remains, pot with protuberances, small accessory vessel, small cup, iron sword (3x), bronze cheek-piece from a horse-bit (2x), bronze *Jochschnalle,* iron socket, bronze rod fragments	Ha C1
	T B	Barrow	-	Cremation remains, bronze attachment, bronze *phalera* fragment, bronze studs, bronze buckle, bronze buckle fragment, bronze buckle/strap end(?) with small bronze studs, bronze studs (5x)	Ha C1–2
	T.K	Barrow	-	Cremation remains, large urn, bronze sword (Gündlingen Etappe 4/ Weichering(?))	Ha B3–C1
	T.L	Barrow	-	Iron sword (Mindelheim)	Ha C1–2
	T.M	Barrow	-	Iron sword (Mindelheim)	Ha C1–2
	T.X	Barrow	-	Pottery, weapons and tools	Ha C1–D3
	T.Y	Barrow	D: ca. 25 m; H: > 2m	Bronze 'scepter' ends	Ha C1–D3
	T.Z	Barrow	D: ca. 15–16 m; H: 1 m	Fragment of human cremation, pottery, bronze cheek-piece, rolled quartz bloc, bronze nail/rivet, shard of phtanite, small bronze fragment	Ha C1–2
	UC	Barrow group/ urnfield	-	Cremation remains, pottery (assorted), iron sword (4x), bronze chape (2x), bronze sword (6x), bronze hollow ornament, bronze *Tutulus* (2x), bronze *phalera* (3x), bronze studs, bronze buckle, *phalera* attachment(?), bronze bridle decoration, grinding stone, fragment of bronze discoid pin head, bracelet (fragment) with grooves, bronze sheet fragment, bronze fragment, bronze rod with flattened end, bronze ring fragment/rod, bronze fragments, bronze hemisphere, bronze pendant(?), bronze rivet (2x)	Ha B3–C1
	t.I	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains, urn, accessory vessel, bronze spiral beads, glass bead,	Ha B
	t.II	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains, urn, accessory vessel, spindle whorl	Ha D
	t.III	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains, urn	Ha A2
	t.V	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains, urn, bronze fragments	-
	t.XI	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains, urn, small cup	Ha B
	t.1	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains	-
	t.2	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains	-
	t.3	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains	-
	t.4	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains	-
	t.5	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains	-
	UC	Flat graves	-	Assorted pottery, chape, pin	-

Tab. 5.1 Overview of the (burial) monuments and stray finds from Court-St-Etienne (see Chapter C6; Mariën 1958).

from (probable) flat graves, all features that generally are not associated with the elite burials of this time (as described above).

5.6.1.3 Elites in Oss
Archeologists from Leiden have been involved in research in Oss for decades, and several excavations of the barrow groups of Oss-Vorstengraf and Oss-Zevenbergen have been conducted (see Fokkens *et al.* 2012 for a recent overview). Though both sites have known earlier excavations (in the 1930s or '60s), they also have been excavated by Leiden University in the last 15 years, with the most recent excavation in 2007 (Fig. 5.13–15; Fontijn *et al.* 2013a; Jansen/Fokkens

Burial no.	Shape of monument	Finds	Date
t.1	Flat grave	Cremation remains(?), pot, bronze sword (2 fragments; Gündlingen Etappe 2/Villement), bronze 'band'	Ha B3–C1
t.2	Flat grave	Cremation remains, urn, bronze sword (broken into 5 pieces; Gündlingen Etappe 1/Holme Pierrepoint), wood fragments (scabbard?)	Ha B3–C1
t.3	Flat grave	Cremation remains, bronze sword (8 fragments; Gündlingen Etappe 3/Villement), bronze chapes (2x; Prüllsbirkig/C1)	Ha B3–C1
t.4	Flat grave	Cremation remains, urn (half), bronze sword, (3 fragments; Gündlingen Etappe 3/Villement)	Ha B3–C1
UC	-	Cremation remains, pots (3x), pot, bronze sword fragment, decorated band, bronze ring, pendant(?)	Ha B3–C1

Tab. 5.2 Overview of the burials and stray finds from Harchies-Maison Cauchies (Chapter C12; Leblois 2009; 2010).
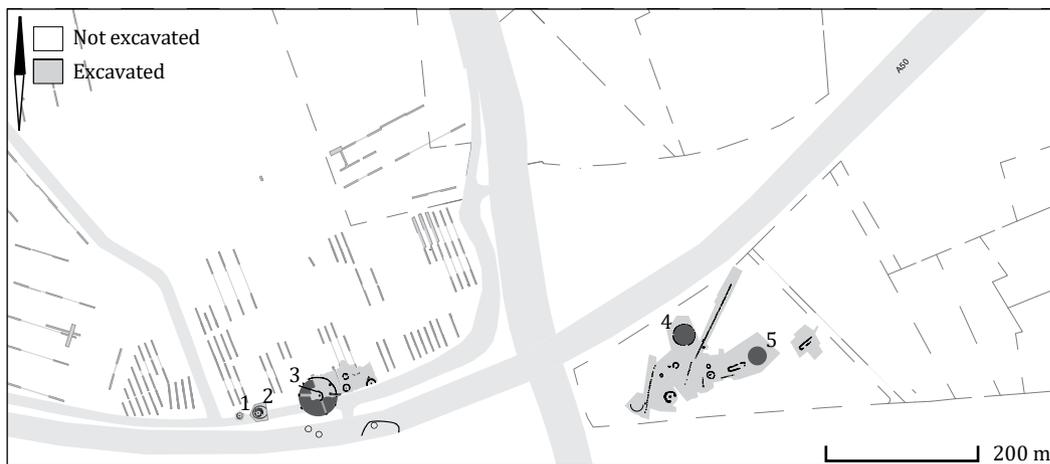
Fig. 5.13 The barrow group and cemetery of Oss-Vorstengraf (left) and Zevenbergen (right). 1 and 2. Middle Bronze Age mounds; 3. Chieftain's burial; 4. Mound 3; 5. Mound 7. Figure adapted from Fokkens et al. 2012, fig. 6; after Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017, fig. 2.

2007). Excellent context information is therefore available, a rarity within the dataset. This site serves not only as an example of the various activities that took place in addition to the three special burials, but also serves as a warning of how much we may be missing at sites with poor(er) context information.

The Oss-Vorstengraf and Oss-Zevenbergen cemeteries were located in heath landscapes about 300–400 m from each other on the northern edge of the high lying Peel Blok plateau (known as the Maashorst). They are positioned not only in what would have been a physically striking location (the northern edge of the Maashorst commands a view of the lower lying areas), but also within a prehistoric cultural landscape (see also Jansen/Van der Linde 2013). There are outcroppings of various soils and sediments as well as (by Dutch standards) substantial height differences between the middle and low terraces in this area. Most of the Zevenbergen mounds were positioned on a small ridge, likely of locally blown sediments. The original microrelief map shows that the barrows were "located on a naturally prominent location in the landscape, situated on the highest flank of the middle terrace"

(Jansen/Van der Linde 2013, 40; Fig. 2.6). There were also variations in groundwater levels (Jansen/Van der Linde 2013, 42; Van der Linde/Fokkens 2009) caused by groundwater being forced to the surface (*kwel* in Dutch). There is a lower lying *kwel* landscape to the north of Oss-Vorstengraf, which is visible from the Chieftain's barrow. This wet landscape was used for other kinds of rituals in the Bronze Age, like the deposition of a bronze *Oldendorf* axe (1700–1500 BC; Jansen/Fokkens 2007, 63). A similar *kwel* zone is located to the west of Zevenbergen, and there is a fen and the start of a brook to the northeast of the site (Jansen/Van der Linde 2013, 42). This wetter area likely formed a natural boundary between the two barrow complexes. Depositions in similar wet places reveal the importance and/or meanings that were ascribed to such areas (Fontijn 2002; Jansen/Fokkens 2007, 87–8).

Palynological analyses established that there was an open heathland (max. ca. 500 m long) at Oss-Zevenbergen long before the first barrows were built, and that the heath vegetation was probably maintained by grazing and burning activities (and maybe sod-cutting; Doorenbosch 2013, 183–212).

Fig. 5.14 The excavation plans of the Chieftain's burial of Oss from 1933 and 1997/'98 combined. 4. Early Iron Age Ha C Chieftain's mound; 5–7. Early Iron Age graves; 8. Early Iron Age flat graves; 9. Post alignment; 10. Post structure. Figure after Fokkens/Jansen 2004; Holwerda 1934, fig. 26; Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017, fig. 2.

There was alder carr in the lower lying and wetter areas, and a forest that mainly consisted of *Quercus* and *Tilia* with *Corylus* present at the forest edge in the drier areas (Doorenbosch 2013, 212). The Middle Bronze Age barrows (M.2, M.4 and M.8; see below) were constructed in an open area (with Ericaceae as the main vegetation). They were positioned on one of the highest places in the area so were probably highly visible. By the time the Early Iron Age barrows were constructed the heathland may have expanded slightly and there were some slight changes to the forest (*Fagus* partially replaced *Tilia*). Following this period the area probably was used for grazing. As the vegetation was kept low through management activities, the barrows on their relatively high location would have occupied a prominent place in the landscape (Doorenbosch 2013, 183–212), though trees would have obstructed a truly wide view (Bakels *et al.* 2013, 247). Jansen and Van der Linde (2013, 42) argue that the landscape characteristics of this area, with its ridge, the presence of water, and soils "strongly influenced the positioning of the (first) barrows and the subsequent evolving of a meaningful '(ancestral) landscape of the dead' that was used for almost two millennia". In short, these were special places with special histories.

Oss-Vorstengraf

The Chieftain of Oss and his unusually rich array of grave goods not only were buried in a physically striking location in the landscape, but were also incorporated into an existing (ancestral) barrow landscape that already had been in use for nearly a millennium (Fig. 5.14). The heath in which these barrows were positioned was probably maintained both through sheep grazing and burning (De Kort 2007; Jansen/ Fokkens 2007, 84). The Chieftain was buried in one of three Middle Bronze Age barrows located on the edge of a dry valley (see also Chapter C26). A Middle Bronze Age A barrow (M.6) covered an urn filled with cremated remains placed within a ring ditch some 6 m in diameter. This is the earliest known burial monument at the Oss-Vorstengraf site, though some 100 m to the southwest lay a Neolithic beaker grave (Jansen/Fokkens 2007, 84; Fig. 6.7). Two Middle Bronze Age B barrows (M.8 and M.9) marked by multiple post circles lay 50 m to the west of the Middle Bronze Age A barrow in which the Chieftain would later be buried. One of these was later used for a secondary burial (Jansen/ Fokkens 2007, 84). A small urnfield, probably erected during the Early Iron Age, was created to the southeast of the Middle Bronze Age barrows. Although the extent of the urnfield could not be established, it was noted that

Burial no.	Monument		Finds	Date
	Shape	Size		
1	-	-	*Schräghals*-urn with painted decoration	EIA
2	-	-	Urn	EIA
3	-	-	Urn	EIA
4	-	-	Urn	EIA
5	-	-	Urn	EIA
M.6 & M.7	Ring ditch & barrow	D: 14 m	(bottom of) urn	MBA A
	Ring ditch & secondary mound phase	D: 53 m	Cremation remains, bronze situla, iron Mindelheim sword with gold-inlaid hilt, iron horse-bit (2x), bronze hemispherical rein-knob (12x), bronze tubular cross-shaped object, bronze *Tutulus*, bronze harness decoration(?), bronze ring (3x), mass of iron rings with assorted objects, iron ring (2x), iron ring fragment (3x), bronze yoke rosette (2x), iron toggle (2x), iron knife with leather and textile remains adhered, iron socketed axe, (whet)stone, iron razor (2x), bronze & iron *bombenkopf* pin (3x), wood fragment, wooden fragments with carved grooves (10x), worked antler object fragment, worked bone object fragment (2x), leather fragments (multiple), textile fragments (multiple), bone fragment (6x)	EIA, Ha C
M.8 (T.I)	Triple post circle	D: 7 m	Stretched corpse silhouette	MBA B
	Multiple phases?	D: 7 m	-	MBA B
	Multiple post circles	D: > 5.5	Corpse silhouette?	MBA B
M.9 (T.II)	Multiple phases?	D: > 5.5	-	MBA B
	Oval ditch or later interment?	10 x 15 m	Cremation remains, urn	MBA B
10	Loose find	-	Urn	-
'M.'11	Ring ditch	D: 5 m	-	EIA
'M.'12	Ring ditch	D: 6 m	-	EIA
'M.'13	Ring ditch	D: 16 m	-	EIA
'M.'14	Square ditch with rounded edges	D: 35 m	Burial monument?	EIA
15	-	-	Urn	EIA
M.16	Ring ditch with opening on southeast side	D: 10 m	Cremation remains	EIA
M.17	Ring ditch with opening on southeast side	D: 7 m.	Cremation remains	EIA
M.18	Ring ditch	D: 11 m	Cremation remains, sherds	EIA
'M.'19	Flat grave	-	*Schräghals*-urn, cremation remains	EIA
'M.'20	Flat grave	-	*Schräghals*-urn, cremation remains	EIA
'M.'21	Flat grave	-	Urn, cremation remains	EIA
'M.'22	Flat grave	-	Cremation remains	EIA
M.A	Beaker grave	-	Cremation remains, beaker, arrowhead	NEO
Post structure B	6-post structure	-	-	BA?
Post structure C	Post alignment	-	-	MBA?

Tab. 5.3 Overview of the (burial) monuments and loose finds from Oss-Vorstengraf. Table adapted from Jansen/ Fokkens 2007, tab. 6.2; my translations.

it had rather an 'open' character, which may be a regional variant (Jansen/Fokkens 2007, 56).

Some post structures were also found at this site. A double and partly triple post alignment some 15 m long lay partially underneath the large Chieftain's barrow and was oriented more or less east-west (Fig. 5.14; Fokkens *et al.* 2012, 197). It was found partially underneath the Early Iron Age Chieftain's barrow and therefore must predate it. Its orientation on the Middle Bronze Age barrow over which the Chieftain's barrow later would be erected, suggests the *allée* is Bronze Age in date. Jansen and Fokkens (2007, 86–7) interpret it as a relic of ancestral practices

Fig. 5.15 The barrow group and cemetery of Oss-Zevenbergen. 2, 4 and 8. Middle Bronze Age mounds; 1 and 6. Late Bronze–Early Iron Age mounds; 9–12 and interments in 2 and 8. Early Iron Age graves; 3 and 7. Early Iron Age mounds. Figure after Fokkens et al. 2009, fig. 13.01c; Fontijn et al. 2013b, fig. 16.6; Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017, fig. 2.

that may relate to funerary ritual. There was also a six-post structure to the east of the Chieftain's barrow that may have been some kind of funerary structure (or *dodenhuisje* in Dutch; Jansen/Fokkens 2007, 86–7). The Chieftain's grave itself forms the last known phase of use of this cemetery (which admittedly was not excavated extensively) for funerary purposes. The Early Iron Age mourners selected the most easterly barrow to bury the Chieftain in, a mound that was already a thousand years old at the time. The Iron Age diggers purposely respected and avoided the central Bronze Age burial, indicating that they knew they were burying the Chieftain in a funerary monument. This has been interpreted as a deliberate act intended to link the new burial with the ancestral one (Jansen/Fokkens 2007, 86). The Bronze Age barrow was then covered with the largest barrow known in the Low Countries.

Oss-Zevenbergen

Oss-Zevenbergen is one of the few Dutch sites with more than one exceptional Hallstatt C burial: Mounds 3 and 7. Like at Oss-Vorstengraf, the exceptional barrows were erected on a visually striking location in an existing barrow group and urnfield with a long use-history. This heath landscape, however, was marked by more than just funerary monuments during the Early Iron Age. It was a structured landscape with not only a barrow row but also several post alignments that seem to compartmentalize the landscape (Fig. 5.15). It is postulated that Mound 7 was the first monumental barrow created in this cemetery, with Mound 3 probably being erected slightly later (see also Chapters 3 and C27). At the time of Mound 7's creation the Zevenbergen cemetery consisted of a barrow row of round mounds and long barrows, and had been in

use as a funerary location for nearly a millennium (see also Fontijn *et al.* 2013b, figs. 16.1; 16.5, 16.6.).

The oldest of these funerary monuments are three round barrows (M.2, M.4 and M.8) that were erected during the Middle Bronze Age A. They were created in a row on the sand ridge described above. Secondary burials took place in all three mounds, which were heightened as well (Fontijn *et al.* 2013b, 286; see Tab. 5.4). Two long barrows (M.1 and M.6) lay at the northern end of the barrow row and were erected during the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age. They were likely the first monuments created at this location in quite some time (Fontijn *et al.* 2013b, 287). While Mound 1 is a relatively straightforward long barrow, Mound 6 experienced two phases (Valentijn 2013). The long barrows flank a natural elevation that later would be incorporated into Mound 7. It seems as though the builders of the long barrows respected the natural elevation and lengthened the barrow row by building the long barrows on either side of it (Fig. 5.15). As has been previously argued (Fontijn *et al.* 2013b, 293), it seems likely that the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age people perceived the roundish natural elevation as just one of the burial mounds of this already ancient barrow row. At some point during the Early Iron Age a small urnfield likely was created. Four ring ditches, of which two can be identified positively as graves, lay to the north of the barrow row ('Mounds' 9–12). As these features cannot be dated more accurately it is impossible to establish whether they were created earlier or later than the exceptional Hallstatt C mounds.

The natural elevation was chosen to be the final resting place of a man during the Early Iron Age, which may have been perceived as an ancient burial mound, and the mourners may have intended to bury the man of Mound 7 in an ancestral barrow as was done with the Chieftain of Oss not 500 m away. Moreover, the natural elevation also may have been chosen because of the prominent visual qualities of its location. The burial ritual took place atop it and would have been visible to people standing around the elevation or from farther away in the heath (Fontijn *et al.* 2013b, 295). The mourners prepared the natural elevation by stripping the vegetation and erected a pyre of mainly oak and ash at the northern part of the elevation. The wood used likely was collected from the local forest ringing the heath (Bakels *et al.* 2013; Fontijn *et al.* 2013b, 295). The burial ritual itself is described above and in further detail in Section C27.2.4. Following the cremation a large barrow was erected which incorporated the natural elevation (Fontijn *et al.* 2013a).

Mound 3 with its unusual extreme *pars pro toto* deposition is the only barrow not located on the barrow row (Fig. 5.15; Section C27.1). It was built on a flat spot at the northern edge of the high lying area. As Fontijn *et al.* (2013b, 302) already noted, its position in the landscape is similar to that of the Chieftain's burial of Oss. It overlooks the low-lying area to the north. This barrow is not only unusual within this site for its separated location, it also was marked with a post-circle, which is rather rare for Early Iron Age barrows (Fontijn *et al.* 2013b, 304). In addition to the funerary monuments there is an unusual 9-post structure located on the west flank of the natural elevation over which Mound 7 was created (Fig. 5.15). These two parallel rows of four posts each with a 'blocking' post at one end must have been placed prior to the construction of the Early Iron Age Mound 7, though it is unknown exactly when (Fontijn *et al.* 2013b, 292). There are also a number of post rows that have been argued to be Early Iron Age in date (Fokkens *et al.* 2009; Fontijn *et al.* 2013a). There are five single and widely spaced post rows, sometimes flanked by small four-post constructions that seem to divide the Zevenbergen cemetery (Fokkens *et al.* 2009, 131–9; Fokkens *et al.* 2012; Van Wijk *et al.* 2009). The five singular alignments vary in size from 8 m to 116 m long. They also vary in orientation (Fig. 5.15). The two four-post structures look very comparable, measuring 1.8 by 1.9 m and 1.3 by 1.3 m.

A structured landscape

Jansen and Fokkens (2007, 86) argued that the Oss-Vorstengraf cemetery was not only a burial location, but likely also was visited repeatedly for rituals and possibly for the deposition of objects. Zevenbergen likewise appears to have been more than just a burial location (Fontijn *et al.* 2013a). One already mentioned example of such use are the *allées* or corridors of double post rows found both at Oss-Vorstengraf and at Oss-Zevenbergen (Figs. 5.14 and 5.15). These *allées* have been interpreted as relics of ancestral rituals that may relate to funerary rituals or activities that took place at these sites. As these structures were found underneath the HallstattC Chieftain's barrow and Mound 7 they must predate them. At Oss-Vorstengraf the corridor is oriented on the Middle Bronze Age barrow over which the Chieftain's barrow later would be erected, suggesting that the *allée* is Bronze Age in date. At Oss-Zevenbergen the orientation of the structure suggests a link with Mound 6 (Fontijn *et al.* 2013d, 111). Fokkens *et al.* (2009, 136) furthermore argued that the two four-post structures were "an integral part of the cemetery and that the burial ground of Zevenbergen therefore, at least in the Early Iron Age, was not used exclusively for burials".

As already mentioned above, during the Early Iron Age the Zevenbergen cemetery was structured not only by the burial monuments erected there, but also by a series of post alignments. They do not have an association with a particular barrow. Instead, they seem to compartmentalize the landscape. Fontijn *et al.* (2013b, 306) suggested that a visible compartmentalization of the monumental

Burial no.	Phase	Monument		Grave (finds)	Date
		Shape	**Size**		
M.1		Long barrow	4.7 x > 23.5 m	Not found	LBA/EIA
M.2	1	Round mound with widely spaced single post circle	D: 12.5 m	Pit filled with sods in center	MBA
	2	Round mound with closely spaced double post circle	D: 16 m	Not found	MBA
	3	No addition	-	Urn grave dug into mound	EIA
	4	No addition	-	Inhumation graves	13th/14th c. AD
M.3		Round mound with single, widely, partly paired spaced post circle	D: 30	Burned wood, 1 piece of human bone, and pieces of 4 metal artifacts in center	Ha C2–LTA
M.4	1	(Probably round) mound	Indet	Not found	MBA (A)
	2	(Probably round) mound	D: 14.5 m	Not found	MBA B
	3	Addition south flank?	Indet	Not found	
	4	(Probably round) mound – "phase 3"	Indet	Not found	MBA B
M.5	1	Interpretation as anthropogenic mound uncertain	Indet	Not found	Indet
	2	Interpretation as anthropogenic mound uncertain	Indet	Not found	Indet
M.6	1	Long barrow surrounded by posts	28.5 x 8.5 m	Cremated bones, sherds; position in mound unknown	MBA B–LBA
	2	Long barrow with ditch	26.5 x 6.5 m		LBA (EIA)
M.7		Round mound without peripheral structure	D: 36 m	Urn grave, next to pyre debris, including metal and bone artifacts	Ha C1–2
M.8	1	Round mound	D: 12 m	Inhumation	MBA (A)
	2	No addition	-	Urn dug into mound	MBA B
	3	Unknown	Indet	Sherds, remains of urn?	EIA
	4	Ring ditch	D: 9.5		EIA
'M.'9		Ring ditch, no true mound recognized	D: 5 m	Not found	Probably EIA
'M.'10		Ring ditch with opening in southeast, no true mound recognized	D: 7.5	Urn	EIA
'M.'11		Ring ditch, no true mound recognized	D: 4 m	Remnants of 2 pots, no cremated bone found	LBA/EIA
'M.'12		Ring ditch, no true mound recognized	D: 2.5–2.8 m	Not found	Probably EIA

Tab. 5.4 All excavated funerary monuments at Oss-Zevenbergen. Table after Fontijn et al. 2013b, tab. 16.1.

funerary landscape was created and that this indicates that "certain zones in the barrow landscape were symbolically shielded from others and/or that particular routes through that landscape were emphasized (for example, in relation to formal funerary ceremonies where different groups gathered)". In our opinion the creation of these post alignments may have been part of a process in which an older cemetery was redefined and given new meaning, as though it were being reclaimed (Fontijn *et al.* 2013b).

Three degrees of fragmentation at Oss

There is one last element to the Oss burials that warrants consideration here, namely that there is an interesting pattern to what was deposited under the three huge mounds. The Chieftain's burial contained one of the most complete prehistoric cremations ever found in the Low Countries. In Mound 7 a substantial amount of cremation remains were deposited, both in the urn and left among the pyre remains, but even together these do not represent a complete cremation deposit. In fact, it appears that a fair amount of material also was removed intentionally, resulting in a partial cremation remains deposition. Mound 3 then takes it another step more extreme, with only a single cremation fragment carefully placed on the old surface around a burned oak plank. In a way, it appears that the cremation remains reflect three degrees of fragmentation, and the same can be argued for the objects interred. In the Chieftain's burial the larger objects were dismantled, and then the components that were small enough to fit in the bucket were deposited, but never broken. At Mound 7 objects were dismantled as well, but here the loose components were broken and fragmented, and then only partially deposited. In Mound 3 the excavators encountered

an extreme *pars pro toto* deposition of small object fragments, though even these small fragments represent exceptional grave goods, such as evidenced by what appears to be a unique bronze sword fragment. And the result of these three both very similar and also very different burial rituals was the construction of a monumental mound.

So to sum up there are three monumental Early Iron Age barrows at Oss, each extraordinary and unusual in their own way. All built in existing barrow landscapes, located no more than a couple hundred meters from each other. And though we cannot be sure exactly when they were constructed, or in what order, based on their dates we can postulate with some confidence that when the second and third were constructed, people still would have known what happened at the previous ones. It is therefore striking that in such a small area three monumental mounds were built to cover similar depositions involving three degrees fragmentation, both with regard to the human remains and the grave goods. It would seem that both here in the Oss area and in other elite graves there is a correlation between the way human remains and the accompanying grave goods were treated during the burial ritual. Perhaps, as J. Brück (2004, 325) postulated for the British Bronze Age, "human bodies and artefacts were treated in similar ways […] because objects constituted part of the person". As will be elaborated on in Chapter 7, the observed correlation between treatment of the body and the grave goods as well as the fragmentation practice more generally could have to do with manner in which identity was conceptualized, namely as a more relational than essential concept of the self (*cf.* Brück 2004, 313).

5.6.1.4 Elites in Rhenen?

The Chieftain of Rhenen was buried in a striking location high atop a hill known as the Koerheuvel, located on one of the highest points of an ice-pushed ridge, the *Utrechtse Heuvelrug*, with a view of the river landscape of the Rhine. The Chieftain was not the only person buried here. As Figure 5.16 shows, there are clusters of Late Neolithic, Early and Middle Bronze Age barrows high up on the southern flank of the ridge. Three urnfields are located close to/on top of the northern flank, and the Chieftain was buried either on the edge of or in one of the urnfields. There also appear to be Middle and possibly Late Iron Age barrows at the southern foot of the ridge. A bronze Gündlingen sword (Fig. 5.17) found deposited in the nearby river (Van Heeringen-Doorenbos 1978) close to the spot where the Chieftain's burial of Rhenen later would be created suggests that there were sword-wielding elites in this area prior to the Hallstatt C period. As discussed above, there may have been a conceptual link between the practices of deposition of elite paraphernalia and deposition

in burials. Both practices occurred close together, and perhaps the same people conducted these rituals.

5.7 Changing contacts and networks

Considering how strongly the rise of the Hallstatt C chieftain's burial in the Low Countries is generally seen as influenced by and/or connected with developments in the Central European Hallstatt Culture (De Mulder/Bourgeois 2011; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007; Roymans 1991), it warrants stressing that the earliest finds in the dataset are (primarily) Atlantic creations (*cf.* Warmenbol 1988). Even though the Atlantic nature of some of the grave goods found in elite burials (Roymans 1991, 37; Warmenbol 1988) and the local roots of the elite burial practice in the Low Countries long since have been recognized (Fontijn/Fokkens 2007), it is still the connection with Central Europe that generally is emphasized. However, as shown above, the practice of identifying certain dead as elite individuals in graves started at a time when there is no (archeologically visible) evidence of contact with the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe (*cf.* Warmenbol 1988).

Instead both material culture and certain cultural customs, especially as can be identified in certain 'elite objects' and their distribution (*cf.* Milcent 2015, 24), indicate that during the Late Bronze Age the Low Countries were very much a part of the Atlantic world, including parts of France and southwest England (*cf.* Milcent 2015; Warmenbol 1988). Many (elite) artifacts in the Low Countries are imports from or stylistically affiliated with these regions to the west and south. Razors, for example, are generally in the Atlantic style (*cf.* Warmenbol 1988), and swords from this period are imports from or stylistically affiliated with for example northern France and parts of England (Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 365; Warmenbol 1988). While less well known, there is also a connection between some of the horse-gear found at Court-St-Etienne with that found in the Llyn Fawr hoard in England (Section C2.4.3; Alcock 1961), again evidencing connections to the west. The 'taboo' of placing weaponry in graves also is known from northern France, for example, while in certain adjacent German regions, swords were sporadically interred in burials (*e.g.* Gehring-Kerig, Kr. Mayen, grave no. 16; Desittere 1968), which also supports the suggestion that contact with the Atlantic world dominated at this time.

It is only at the very end of the Late Bronze Age that the new practice of depositing swords in burials shows that the Low Countries start to deviate from Atlantic cultural conventions, and align more with Continental ones (Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 365). With the start of Hallstatt C the supra-regional contact networks reorientate (following the so-called collapse of the supra-regional Late Bronze
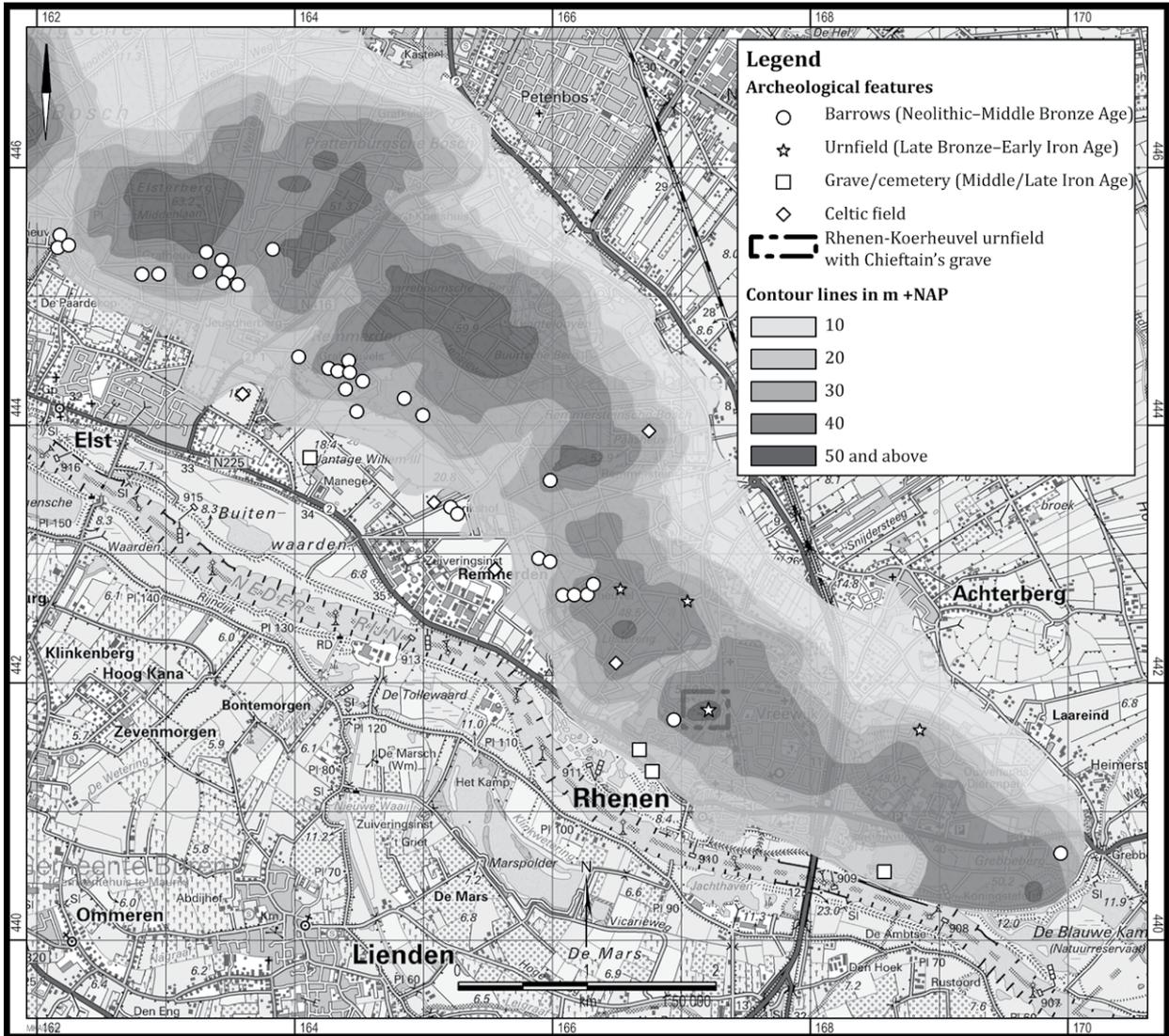
Fig 5.16 Burials in the vicinity of the Chieftain's grave of Rhenen-Koerheuvel. Figure after Van Heeringen 1998, fig. 2; by W.B. Verschoof-van der Vaart.

Fig. 5.17 A Gündlingen sword deposited in a river near Rhenen (RMO inv. no. e 1896/9.5) with details of the imprint of the handle (bottom left) and the bent point (bottom right). Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.

Age exchange networks which in the past has been linked to the emergence of a new elite; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 365–7; *cf.* Roymans 1991) and Hallstatt Culture imports appear in the Low Countries, such as the Mindelheim type swords, the bronze vessels and most of the horse-gear and wagons found in the elite burials. However, as there are indications for an elite presence in the Low Countries during the Late Bronze Age, it was most likely not the reorientation of contact networks that resulted in an elite presence, though this may have influenced how 'eliteness' was expressed and that this influenced the shift from deposition to burial.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the elite burial practice and how it developed in the Low Countries. It established that during the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition in the Low Countries there was a shift from depositing certain supra-regional objects to placing them in burials and that these developments may reflect changes in attitude towards (markers of) supra-regional (elite/warrior) identities. This was a gradual process, with events occurring in parallel. For a while during the very last phase of the Late Bronze Age and the very Early Iron Age, weaponry and ornaments relating to supra-regional identities both were deposited and placed in graves. For a time, at least, there were multiple, acceptable ways of dealing with these elite objects, and it follows that views on the construction and (appropriate) expression of eliteness or supra-regionally recognized identities were changing as well.

One important conclusion is that the shift towards elite burials started *before* Hallstatt Culture imports appear in the archeological record during the 8th century BC (*cf.* Fontijn/Fokkens 2007). In most case, it furthermore

appears that these objects were incorporated into graves through burial rituals that were decidedly local and in the majority of cases 'unremarkable' in nature. People were buried in the 'usual' (urnfield) fashion, involving the cremation of the dead and the dismantling, burning, bending and breaking of grave goods, and *pars pro toto* depositions of both, except with the adition of unusual, and sometimes imported grave goods. It appears that only the burials with wagons and wagon-related horse-gear were created through an exceptional, exagerated burial practice that strongly incorporated the dismantling, manipulation and fragmentation of grave goods. *Pars pro toto* depositions are emphasized in these graves and they regularly feature the use of textile as part of the burial rituals which appear grander in nature and execution. As will be discussed further in the following chapters this is likely due to the religious signifance that these wagons and accompanying horse-gear held (*cf.* Pare 1992, Ch. 12) and their 'newness' in the Low Countries.

Lastly, I want to stress again that even though the burials in the dataset are discussed divided up into groups in this chapter and others, in reality there does not appear to be or have been a strict division between the chieftains' burials and urnfield graves. It is a burial spectrum with different mourners emphasizing different things (see also Chapter 7). What is clear is that a number of characteristics deemed defining of the elite graves and the burial practice through which they were created also have been observed in the contemporary urnfield graves, suggesting these elements are linked with the reigning local burial customs. However, something about the individuals who were buried with wagons and wagon-related horse-gear triggered elaborate funerary rituals with extensive object sets influenced by Hallstatt Culture customs, yet still incorporated into the local burial practice (see also Section 7.3).

Exceptional ornament burials

Site, zone, burial	Year and method of discovery	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/ fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Leesten-Meijerink g.1	2010; excavation (excellent)	Ha C1–2	Double ring ditch (++)	D: 5.2 m; D: 6.8 m	In/near urnfield	++	++	-	-	-	-	++	++	++	-	-	Urn, accessory bowls, spindle whorls, glass beads, bronze pin, bronze ear/hairrings, bronze studs, fragments animal bone
Uden-Slabroek	2010; excavation (excellent)	Ha C1–2	Flat grave (++)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	++	-	Ind	Ind	++	++ (complete)	++	-	++	Bronze bracelets, bronze anklets, bronze pin, iron pin, bronze hairrings, bronze and iron toiletries, amber bead, textile

Bronze sword burials

Site, zone, burial	Year and method of discovery	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/ fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Basse-Wavre T.5	1882–'83; excavation (poor)	Ha B3–C1	Barrow (++)	D: >30 m	Barrow group (line)	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	+	-	Cremated remains, multiple ceramic pots, bronze sword fragment, bronze razor, bronze/iron fibula fragments
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.K	1877–'78; excavation (poor)	Ha B3–C1	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	-	++	++ (ind)	a	-	-	Cremation remains, large urn, bronze sword fragments
Flobecq-Pottelberg T.78	1837; excavation (poor)	Ha B3–C2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-+	++	++	Ind	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	-	-	Cremation remains, bronze sword
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.1	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha B3–C1	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	-	-	-	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	-	-	Cremation, pots, bronze sword fragments, bronze chape, grinding stone, small piece of flint
Harchies-Maison Chauchies t.1	1913; chance find (poor)	Ha B3–C1	Flat grave (+)	Ind	Group of (flat?) graves	+	-	-	-	++	-	-	++ (ind)	++	+	-	Cremation remains, pot, bronze sword, 'band'(?)
Harchies-Maison Chauchies t.2	1914; excavation (medium)	Ha B3–C1	Flat grave (+)	Ind	Group of (flat?) graves	+	-	-	-	++	-	-	++ (ind)	++	++	-	Cremation remains, pot, bronze sword, wooden scabbard fragments?
Harchies-Maison Chauchies t.3	1926; chance find (poor)	Ha B3–C1	Flat grave (+)	Ind	Group of (flat?) graves	+	-	-	-	++	-	-	++ (ind)	++	-	-	Cremation remains, pot, bronze sword, bronze chape (2x)
Harchies-Maison Chauchies t.4	1955; excavation (medium)	Ha B3–C1	Flat grave (+)	Ind	Group of (flat?) graves	+	-	-	-	++	-	-	++ (ind)	++	+	-	Cremation remains, pot, bronze sword
Hofstade-Kasteelstraat sp. 16	2014; excavation (excellent)	Ha B3–C1	Flat grave (++)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	-	-	++	-	++	++ (ind)	++	++	-	Cremation remains, bowl, bronze sword, bronze chape
Maastricht-Heer	2000; chance find (medium)	Ha B3–C1	Ind	Ind	Ind	++	++	Ind	Ind	-+	Ind	-	-	++	-	-	Bronze sword, bronze chape
Neerharen-Rekem t.72	1978; excavation (good)	Ha B3	Flat grave (++)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	+	+	++	-	-	++ (ind).	++	-	-	Cremation remains (3x), bronze sword (3x) bronze chape (2x), bronze spearheads(3x), bronze ring, 'iron' plate(?)
Weert-Boshoverheide T.O	1889–'90; excavation (poor)	Ha B3–C1	Long barrow (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	-	-+	-+	++	Ind	-	++ (ind)	++	+	-	Pots (6x), cremation remains (6x), bronze swords (3x)

Iron sword burials

Site, zone, burial	Year and method of discovery	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/ fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.1	1905; excavation (medium)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	D: ca. 25 m	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	-	-	Cremation remains, urn, accessory vessel (2x), bowl, iron sword, iron ring (2x), iron fragments
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.L	1877–'78; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	-	-	-	-	Iron sword
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.M	1877–'78; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	-	-	-	-	Iron sword
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.2	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	-	-	-	++	-	-	-	++	+	-	Iron sword

Tab. 5.5 The dataset divided according to burial practice, grave goods and date.

Site, zone, burial	Year and method of discovery	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/ fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.13	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	--	-	-	++	++	++	-	+	-	--	Iron sword
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.14	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	--	-	-	++	++	-	++ (ind)	++	-	--	Bone fragment, pot fragments, iron sword
Havré T.E	1930; chance find (medium)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	++	+	+	++	--	--	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Human remains, pot, iron sword
Heythuizen-Bisschop	1934 or earlier; unknown	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group and urnfield	++	++	Ind	Ind	++	++	+	++ (ind)	++	-	--	Cremation remains, pot, iron sword
Horst Hegelsom	1979; excavation (good)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++); ring ditch (++)	D: 19 m	In/near urnfield	++	++	-	-	++	-	-	++ (partial?)	++	-	--	Cremation remains, pot, bowl, iron sword
Someren-Kraayenstark	1939; chance find (medium)	Ha C1–2	Ind	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	-	Ind	Ind	++	Ind	--	++ (ind)	++	-	--	Cremation remains, pot, bowl, iron sword, bronze ring
Someren-Philipscamping	Unknown; chance find? (poor)	Ha C1–2	Ind	Ind	Ind	+	-	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Iron sword
Stocquoy T.5	1863; 1880; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	D: 12 m; H:60 cm	Barrow group	No	++	-+	+	++	Ind	--	++ (ind).	++	-	--	Cremation remains, iron sword
Burials with bronze vessels																	
Baarlo	1934 (chance find, medium)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (+)	Ind	Ind	++	++	Ind	Ind	--	Ind	--	--	-	-	-	Bronze vessel
Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.5	1905; excavation (medium)	Ha C1	Barrow (++)	D: ca. 20 m	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	--	--	--	Pot, accessory vessel, bowl, bronze sheet from vessel, bronze razor, iron rod
Ede-Bennekom	Prior to 1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	++	Ind	Ind	++	--	--	++ (ind)	--	--	--	Cremation remains, bronze vessel
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.A	1881; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–D3	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	--	-	-	++	-	--	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Urn, bronze sheet from vessel
Meppen	1936; chance find (medium)	Ha D1–3	Ring ditch	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	Ind	Ind	--	Ind	--	--	--	-	--	Human remains, bronze vessel, other
Venlo	Unknown; chance find (poor)	Ha C1–D3	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	--	Ind	++	Ind	--	-	--	Bronze vessel
Burials with horse-gear and/or wagon components																	
Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3	1905; excavation (medium)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	D: ca. 25 m	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	-	--	Cremation remains (3x), accessory vessel, urn (3x), bronze sheet fragments, iron and bronze antenna sword, iron lancehead, bronze chape, iron horse-bit (2x), iron knife, bronze axe, flint pounding(?) stone, iron trident

Tab. 5.5 Continued.

Burial	Context					Location				Burial ritual				Grave goods			
Site, zone, burial	Year and method of discovery	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/ fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.4	1905; excavation (medium)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	D: ca. 22 m	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	-	-	++	Cremation remains, urn, accessory vessel, bronze cup fragments (8x), bronze *phalera* (2x), iron horse chest ornaments, bronze yoke rosette (2x), bronze yoke rosette fragment, bronze bracelet, fragment of iron with cloth imprint
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A	1861; excavation (poor)	Ha C1	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	+	++	Cremation remains, pot with protuberances, small accessory vessel, small cup, iron sword (in 2 or 3 fragments; Mindelheim?), bronze cheek-piece from a horse-bit (2x), bronze *Jochschnalle*
Darp-Bisschopsberg	1907; chance find (medium)	Ha C2–D1	Ind	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	+	+	++	Ind	-	++ (ind)	++	-	++	Cremation remains, pot, bowl, iron spearhead (3x), iron hors-bit (2x), bronze and iron rings, bronze *phalerae*, iron fragment
Limal-Morimoine T.1	1902; excavation (medium)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	D: 14 m	Barrow group	-	++	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	+	+	-	Cremation remains, pot, iron sword, horse-bit fragment, bronze *phalera*, bronze stud (4x), melted drops of bronze (5x)
Meerlo	1967; chance find (medium)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	-+	-+	++	Ind	-	++ (ind)	++	-	-	Cremation remains, pot, bowl, iron sword, iron horse-bits (2x)
Oss-Vorstengraf	1933; chance find & excavation (good)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++); ring ditch (++)	D: 53 m	Barrow group/ urnfield	++	++	++	++	++	-	-	++ (complete)	++	-	++	Cremation remains, bronze bucket, iron sword with gold-inlaid hilt, iron horse-bit (2x), bronze hemispherical sheet-knob (12x), bronze tubular cross-shaped object, bronze *Tutulus*, bronze harness decoration(?), bronze ring (3x), iron rings (and fragments), bronze yoke rosette (2x), iron toggle (2x), iron knife with leather and textile remains adhered, iron socketed axe, (whet)stone, iron razor (2x), bronze & iron *bombenkopf* pins (3x), wood fragments, worked antler and bone fragments, textile fragments
Oss Zevenbergen M.7	2007; excavation (excellent)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	D: 36 m	Barrow group/ urnfield	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	++	-	Cremation remains, *Schräghals*-urn, bronze studs and fragments, bronze ring fragments, bronze hemispherical sheet-knob, wooden knobs with bronze studs, decorated bone fragment, iron fragment
Rhenen-Koerheuvel	1935; chance find (poor) & excavation (medium)	Ha C1–2	Flat grave (-+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	++	++	++	-	-	++ (ind)	++	+	++	Cremation remains, bronze bucket, bronze hemispherical ring-footed rein-knob, bronze/iron rings (and fragments), bronze *phalera* fragment, bronze spherical fragment (part of a sheet knob?), iron linchpin (3x), iron/bronze nave fragments, socketed bronze axe (top half), iron knife fragment, bronze plate fragments

Tab. 5.5 Continued.

Burial	Context					Location				Burial ritual				Grave goods			
Site, zone, burial	Year and method of discovery	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/ fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Wijchen	1897; chance find (poor)	Ha C1–D1	Ind	Ind	Ind	++	++	++	+	++	Ind	Ind	++ (ind)	++	–	–	Cremation remains, urn, bronze bucket fragments, iron sword (and fragments of sword), bronze horse-bit (2x), bronze ring-footed rein knobs (6x), bronze rings with a thickening, bronze sheet yoke band fragments, hollow cast bronze socket (2x), square cast bronze base (2x), flat bronze rings with a pair of nails (ca. 11x), bronze nails with domed head (3x), fragments of cast bronze plaques composed of hollow hemispherical cups linked together, bronze band decoration, bronze pendant (2x), bronze linchpin (4x), bronze axle-cap (4x), bronze socketed axe, iron knife, iron hollow-headed pin with linked rings with square cross-section affixed, fragments of decorated bronze sheet, probably from a belt plate, bronze rings
Urnfield burials with toiletries and ornaments																	
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.P/Q	1881; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–D3	Barrow (++)	D: 2–3 m	Barrow group	--	--	--	-	--	--	--	--	--	-	--	Urn, iron toiletries
Havré T.A	1930; chance find (medium)	HaC1–D3?	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	++	+	+	++	++	++	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Pot, iron toiletries
Havré T.2	1931; excavation (medium)	Ha C1–D3	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	++	+	+	++	+	++	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Pot, iron toiletries
Havré T.4	1931; excavation (medium)	Ha C1–D3	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	++	+	+	++	--	--	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Pot, iron toiletries
Havré T.9	1931; excavation (medium)	Ha C1–D3	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	++	+	+	++	--	--	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Pot, bronze razor, iron toiletries
Havré T.10	1931; excavation (medium)	Ha C1–D3	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	++	+	+	++	--	--	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Urn, accessory vessel, iron toiletries, iron pin, iron ring
Havré T.16	1931; excavation (medium)	Ha C1	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	++	+	+	++	--	--	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Urn, small cup, bronze razor
La Plantée des Dames T.3	1902; excavation (medium)	Ha B3–D3	Barrow (++)	20 x 13.3 m	Barrow group	--	Ind	+	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	-+	-	-	Bronze razor, iron toiletries(?)
Limal-Morimoine T.2	1902; excavation (medium)	Ha C1	Long barrow (++)	D: 8 m; H: 50 cm	Barrow group	--	++	+	+	++	++	--	++ (ind)	-+	-	-	Iron razor, iron toiletries, bronze and iron rings
Lommel-Kattenbos T.20	1939; excavation (medium)	Ha C1	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	Ind	-	-	++	-	++	++ (ind)	++	-	-	Urn, iron razor, iron toiletries, grinding stone
Louette-St-Pierre Fosse-Aux-Morts T.I	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	Ind	-+	-+	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	-	-	Pots, bronze razor
Louette-St-Pierre Fosse-Aux-Morts T.III	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	Ind	-+	-+	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	+	-	Urn, accessory vessel, bronze razor
Weert-Boshoverheide t.3	1889–90; excavation (poor)	Ha B3–C2	Flat grave (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	--	-+	-+	++	Ind	--	++ (ind)	--	--	--	Urn, bronze bracelet
Urnfield burials with horse-gear(?)																	

Tab. 5.5 Continued.

Burial	Context					Location				Burial ritual				Grave goods			
Site, zone, burial	Year and method of discovery	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/ fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.B	1861; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Cremation remains, bronze attachment, bronze *phalera* fragment, bronze studs, bronze buckle, bronze buckle fragment, bronze buckle/strap end, bronze studs, small, bronze hemispheres, studs (5x)
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.Z	1891; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	D: ca. 15-16; H: 1 m	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	++ (partial?)	--	+	--	Fragment of human cremation remains(?), pottery, bronze cheek-piece of a horse-bit, rolled quartz block, kind of bronze nail or rivet, shard of phtanite, small bronze fragment
La Plantée des Dames T.4	1902; excavation (medium)	Ha C1	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	Ind	+	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Bronze button (2x)
Weert-Boshoverheide t.1	1889–'90; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Flat grave (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	-	-+	-+	++	Ind	-	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Urn, horse-gear ornament
Weert-Boshoverheide t.2	1889–'90; excavation (poor)	Ha C1	Flat grave (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	-	-+	-+	++	Ind	-	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Urn, horse-gear/scabbard ornament
Other burials																	
Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.2	1905; excavation (medium)	Ha C1–D3	Barrow (++)	D: 18 20 m	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Cremation remains, iron knife (2x), traces of bronze
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.X	1784–'85; excavation (poor)	HaC1–D3?	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Pottery, weapons, tools
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.Y	18th & 19th century; excavation (poor)	HaC1–D3?	Barrow (++)	D: ca. 25 m; H: > 2m	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	Bronze 'scepter' ends
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.16	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1–2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	-	-	-	++	-	-	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Cremation remains, large pot, pot with cylindrical neck, accessory vessel, bronze lancehead
Haps g.190	1960s; excavation (good)	Ha C1–D3	Ring ditch (++)	D: 7.5 m	In/near urnfield	++	++	-	-	++	-	-	++ (ind)	+	-	--	Cremation remains, iron dagger with decorated bronze sheath, iron arrowhead (3x), iron pin
Oss-Zevenbergen M.3	2004; excavation (excellent)	Ha C2–LTA	Barrow (++)	D: 30 m	Barrow group/ urnfield	++	-	++	++	++	-	++	++ (partial)	++	++	--	Cremation remains (fragment), bronze sword fragment, iron pin fragment, iron fragment, bronze fragment
Weert-Boshoverheide t.4	1889–'90; excavation (poor)	Ha B3	Flat grave (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	-	-+	-+	++	Ind	-	++ (ind)	--	-	--	Cremation remains, pot, bronze chape

Tab. 5.5 Continued.

6 How grave goods were used and interpreted

As already touched upon in previous chapters, many of the grave goods interred in the elite burials were not only objects that were used, most were probably also important symbolic items related to special (elite) identities. There is therefore likely a significance to them being selected as grave goods. How the bronze vessels, weaponry, horse-gear, wagons, tools, toiletries and ornaments were used, understood and perceived will have influenced their selection as grave goods and the roles they played during the burial rituals (see also Section 2.3). The importance and symbolic value ascribed to these items therefore lie at the heart of this research, as in order to understand the elite burial practice we need to understand (why) the objects (were) deposited. This chapter therefore explores the various categories of elite gear (*cf.* Section 2.1.3) found in the elite burials, focusing in particular on how they were used in the past and how they currently are interpreted. The reader is referred to Chapter C2 for the terminology and typology of these objects.

6.1 Bronze vessels as holders of alcoholic drinks and social facilitators

Use-wear traces observed on several bronze vessels from the Low Countries (Oss-Vorstengraf, Rhenen-Koerheuvel, Venlo, Wijchen and possibly Ede-Bennekom; Fig. 6.1) indicate that they hung suspended from their rings or handles for extended periods of time. These vessels were evidently used prior to ending up in these graves. The following sections explore how they were used and consider what role they (may have) played in funerary rituals.

6.1.1 Bronze vessels in the Low Countries: a different meaning?

The bronze vessels imported from the Hallstatt Culture have long been seen as prestige goods that belonged to local leaders in the Low Countries that derived added value from their status as import pieces (*e.g.* Kimmig 1964, 94–5). It remains unclear, however,

Fig. 6.1 (Complete) bronze vessels from (L–R) Venlo, Baarlo, Ede-Bennekom, Oss-Vorstengraf, Overasselt (otherwise not included in current research as it dates later) and Rhenen-Koerheuvel. Photograph by P.J. Bomhof ©RMO.

whether they had the same status or meaning as in the Hallstatt Culture area or represented something different (in burials) in the Low Countries. For example, the use of bronze vessels as cinerary urns in the Low Countries – something thought not to occur in their area of origin – has been interpreted as indicating a difference in associated meaning (Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 57; 82; Kimmig 1964, 94–5). However, while a rare occurrence, there are examples of bronze vessels being used as urns outside the Low Countries, such as in Döhren (Günther 1981), Frög (Schumann 2015, 247) and Strettweg (Kimmig 1964). Moreover, there are also several examples of bronze vessels in the Low Countries that (probably) were *not* used as urns, such as those found in Court-St-Etienne and Wijchen (see also Roymans 1991, 61).

Another factor influencing interpretation of the Dutch and Belgian vessels is the widely held view that the bronze vessels found in the Netherlands were used for extended periods of time, requiring frequent repairs (*e.g.* Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 56; Verhart/Spies 1993) and that this long-term use, in combination with their use as urns (see above) indicates that they were perceived differently here than in the Hallstatt Culture. However, it now appears that while there is some use-wear on the handles of a few vessels, there is little evidence of repairs of use-damage on the Dutch and Belgian vessels. Only the bucket from Rhenen-Koerheuvel has patches of bronze riveted on that seem to be later repairs (Fig. C28.2). While the vessels from Ede-Bennekom and Oss-Vorstengraf have small plates attached on the bottom and around the base ring, these are argued to be from the initial fabrication process (Figs. C8.2 and C26.3). Bronze plate tends to tear when being hammered out during the production process and the easiest solution is to rivet on a repair plate. It is this type of repair that is present on the vessels from Ede-Bennekom and Oss. No other repairs were observed on Dutch or Belgian bronze vessels. While we must bear in mind that we are dealing with a small sample and that conservation conditions and subsequent restorations may have obscured repairs, at present there is no reason to suppose that the Dutch and Belgian vessels were more extensively used than those in the Hallstatt Culture.

In short, there are no indications at present that the bronze vessels found in the Netherlands and Belgium were treated all that differently than they were in their area of origin. Both in the Hallstatt Culture and in the Low Countries they were deposited as grave gifts and as cinerary urns. While showing signs of use, they are not 'extensively repaired' or 'used up'. If we stop thinking of these bronze vessels as heirlooms that were in use for generations, it would seem prudent to rethink our views on the meaning they carried and the role they played in the past. This research therefore considers what kind of

role the vessels and the substances they contained may have played in society.

6.1.2 Vessels for alcohol and feasts

Direct evidence (such as chemical residues) revealing the original content of the bronze vessels unfortunately rarely survives, though mead residue found in bronze vessels in a number of elite graves – for example at Hochdorf (Biel 1985, 129–30) and Bad Cannstatt (Kimmig 1988, 158) – supports the widely accepted notion that the large bronze vessels were used to mix and serve alcoholic beverages (see also below). Historical texts and the remains of a possible brewery in Germany further confirm that grain beers and mead were being produced and consumed in Europe during the 1st millennium BC (*e.g.* Arnold 1999; Dietler 1990; 1999; 2006, 223; Nebelsick 2000b; Stika 1996; 2011). The presence of the large bronze vessels as part of sets of drinking and feasting ware found in elite burials in northern Italy and the Hallstatt Culture area furthermore indicate that the alcohol-filled bronze vessels would have played a central role in feasting activities (see also below). This practice of interring grand feasting sets, though having a longer tradition, peaks with the Hallstatt C chiefly burials (*e.g.* Arnold 1999, 71; Schumann 2015, Ch. 7). These sets often are composed of a large bronze bucket or cauldron, a sieve, ladling and drinking utensils, as well as bowls, dishes and cups or beakers (for overviews of bronze ware see *e.g.* Bouliemié 1977; Jacob 1995; Kimmig 1964; Schick 1981; Stjernquist 1967; Von Merhart 1969). These sets can be made entirely of bronze, but also can include (imported) ceramic or wooden vessels (*e.g.* Bietti Sestieri 1992; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 43; Kimmig 1964; Nebelsick 2000b, 226; Schumann 2015, Ch. 7). They indicate that 'in life' liquid was scooped out of a large mixing vessel (bucket, situla, basin or cauldron) with some kind of ladle or vessel and then poured through a sieve into a smaller bucket or situla. The filled vessel then would be brought to the drinkers and transferred into a smaller drinking bowls or vessels (Prüssing 1991, 6; see also below).

No elaborate sets of multiple vessels have been found in the Low Countries, where instead the focus seems to have been on the larger mixing vessels (at least in terms of what was selected as grave goods). In the case of the Chieftain's burial of Oss, the role of the bucket as a drink-holding vessel appears emphasized by the presence of a smaller wooden drinking cup with carved ribs among the grave goods (see Section C26.2). Even among the elite burials of the Hallstatt Culture with more elaborate feasting sets, an association between a larger mixing vessel and smaller drinking bowl is emphasized frequently – for example in the *Fürstengrab* of Frankfurt-Stadtwald, where a bronze vessel and ribbed drinking bowl were positioned
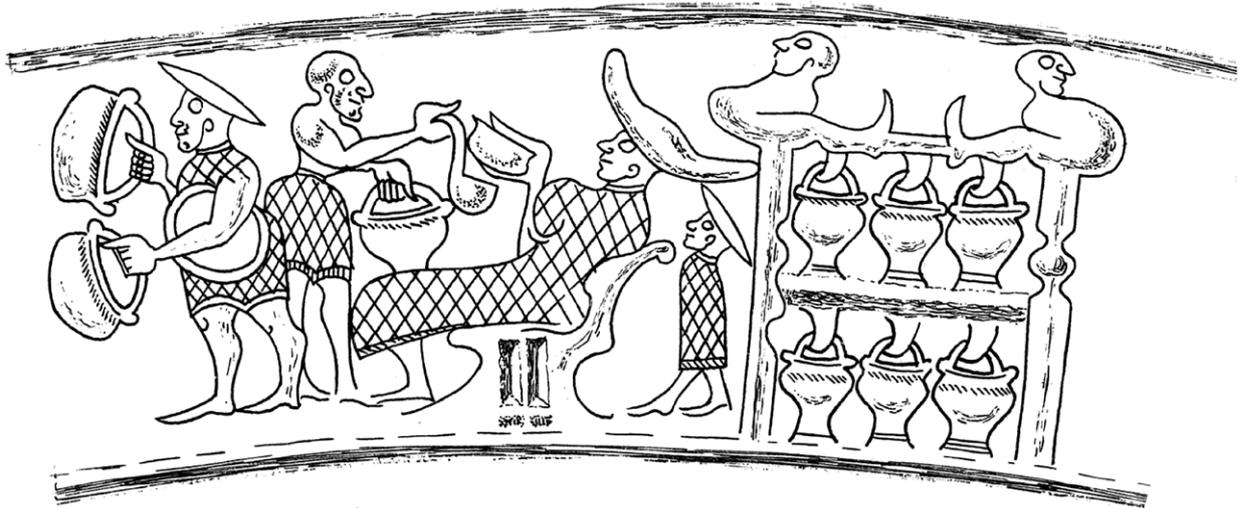
Fig. 6.2 Banquet scene on the situla from Kuffarn (Lower Austria, ca. 400 BC). Figure after Lucke/Frey 1962, pl. 75.

separately from the other feasting vessels within the burial chamber (Fischer 1979, 40–5; Willms 2002, 27–9). Ribbed drinking bowls in particular are a characteristic find in elaborate elite feasting sets throughout Etruria and the Hallstatt Culture (*e.g.* Sciacca 2009). The presence of a ribbed bowl in the Chieftain's burial is all the more striking as it suggests that even though the bronze bucket was used as a cinerary urn at Oss, it still mattered as a drink-holding vessel as well.

6.1.2.1 Bronze vessels depicted in Early Iron Age contexts

Figural depictions on bronze vessels (so-called *Situlakunst*, see *e.g.* Frey 2011; Kastelic 1965; Lucke/Frey 1962) found in the South-Alpine region also provide insights. Even though these depictions are generally later than the elite burials and situlae from the Low Countries, it has been argued that the situla art stood for the same thing as the earlier interred situlae (*cf.* Huth 2003a). As such, the situla art provides insights into the use of the earlier vessels, and why they may have been interred in burials. The *Situlakunst* scenes indicate that the situlae and other vessels found in the elite graves were essential at drinking bouts or banquets and played a role in cult life, and it has been argued that they likely played similar roles in burials (at least in their area(s) of origin and in the Hallstatt Culture area; *e.g.* Arnold 1999; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 41–4; Eibner *et al.* 2010; Kimmig 1964, 91–5; Nebelsick 2000b; Prüssing 1991, 5). The situla of Kuffarn from Lower Austria (ca. 400 BC), for example, shows a feasting scene with a seated individual being served a drink from a situla with a smaller ladle/bowl and several situlae suspended from hooks (Fig. 6.2; Frey 2011, 288–9; fig. 9.5; Lucke/Frey 1962, plate 75). Similar scenes are also found on other bronze vessels, such as the

situla from Vače in Slovenia (ca. 500 BC; Lucke/Frey 1962, pl. 73). The figures on the situlae can be identified as privileged individuals through their quality clothing and headgear and the fact that they are seated and being waited on (Eibner *et al.* 2010, 15; Prüssing 1991, 5). The scenes depicting the vessels suspended from hooks and poles, and sometimes transported in this manner, are of particular interest as the use-wear found on the bronze vessels from the Low Countries is consistent with such use.

6.1.2.2 Bronze vessels described in later contexts

Classical texts on the drinking and feasting habits of the 'Celts', though dating even later than the *Situlakunst*, also can offer insight into how the bronze vessels may have been used. While it must be acknowledged that the use of such texts is not without problems, there are certain recurring illuminating features in classical texts. One recurring element is that of the 'king's or 'hero's' portion at feasts, another is the concept of guest-friendship. Generosity was seen as an important virtue and as a defining characteristic for a good chieftain (Arnold 1999, 72–3). Poseidonius described a typical 'Celtic' feast during the 2nd century BC, which was later transcribed by Athenaeus (Tierney 1960, 247):

> *"When a large number dine together they sit around in a circle with the most influential man in the center, like the leader of the chorus, whether he surpasses the others in warlike skill or nobility of family, or wealth. Beside him sits the host and next on either side the others in order of distinction … The drink of the wealthy classes is wine imported from Italy or from the territory of Marseille. This is unadulterated but sometimes a little*

water is added. The lower classes drink wheaten beer prepared with honey, but most people drink it plain. It is called corma. They use a common cup, drinking a little at a time, not more than a mouthful, but they do it rather frequently."

Though not describing an Early Iron Age feast, this text offers another explanation for the recurring set of a large mixing vessel with a smaller drinking cup or bowl in the Early Iron Age elite burials discussed above.

6.1.3 The social role of feasting and drinking

As noted above, the drinking paraphernalia (including the bronze vessels) present in the Hallstatt C and later graves have been interpreted as the material manifestation of drinking (cults) and feasting events (*e.g.* Arnold 1999; Dietler 1990; Nebelsick 2000b). The one-time presence of alcoholic drinks in precious and prestigious vessels like those found in the Dutch and Belgian burials, their presence in elaborate sets, as well as surviving depictions and descriptions of their use all seem to confirm that feasting involving alcohol and its consumption played an important role in late prehistoric Europe and would have been a symbolically charged, ritual activity (as also argued for example by Arnold 1999; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 39–44; Dietler 1989; 1990; 2006; 2011; Treherne 1995, 108; see also McGovern (2009) for a history of alcoholic beverages). In Iron Age studies of Northwest Europe this often calls up images of feasting and drinking events hosted by members of the elite or ruling class to show their status and to maintain relationships. However, feasting can encompass a broad range of activities (often including the consumption of alcohol) that can serve various social purposes and uses (see also Arnold 1999; Dietler 1990; 1996; 2006; 2011; Dietler/Herbich 2001; Heath 1987; McGovern 2009; Nelson 2005). Considering these purposes and uses offers insights into the use of the bronze vessels and their role in the elite burials and therefore is elaborated on in the following sections.

6.1.3.1 Feasting as a commensal ritual

Many different definitions of 'feasting' can and have been given, but the communal consumption of food and drink in ritual activities or events plays a central role in all (Dietler 2001; 2011, 180; Dietler/Hayden 2001). Eating and drinking are far more than a basic human need. They are usually social activities, in particular the consumption of alcohol with its psychoactive effects and transformative properties. Both generally are embedded strongly in socio-cultural ideologies and play an important role in ritual and religious practices. As such, food and drink have been argued to be embodied material culture and symbolically charged (Dietler 1990; 2001; 2006; 2011, 179–81; Heath 1987; McGovern 2009, 130). Feasts,

however, are different from every day meals in a domestic context and can take numerous forms and serve various purposes (including multiple ones simultaneously; Dietler/Hayden 2001, 3).

Feasting, like other ritual undertakings, is a polysemic activity and a single event can serve multiple purposes. This makes attempts to develop a classification or typology of feasting problematic (see Dietler 2011 for an overview of the various classifications of feasts; see also Adams 2004; Benz/Gramsch 2006; Dietler 1996; 2001; Hayden 2001; Kirch 2001). Feasts serve as settings to create, manipulate, maintain and show social relationships, both within and across social groups and networks and at different scales (from family dinner-style feasts to feasts for the area's political community; Bell 1997, 120–8; Dietler 2011, 180–2; Dietler/Hayden 2001). The social order can be expressed, and individuals or groups may attempt to change or enhance their own station within that social order. For example, people may try to supplement or negate prestige and power gained in other social contexts, such as warfare, religion and so on (*cf.* Dietler 2011, 183–4; Bourdieu 1990; see also Section 2.1).

Feasts also have an intrinsic political dimension to them (Dietler 1996; 2001; 2011, 180; Hayden 1996; 2001). At feasts social control and the order within a community can be maintained in various forms. Legal issues can be addressed (judgments can be passed, sanctions can be carried out and disputes can be arbitrated), religious issues can play a role (feasts can emphasize and strengthen commitments to religious values and principles) and provide links to deities or ancestors. They can also serve to mobilize labor in the form of 'work feasts' (Dietler 2011, 182; Dietler/Herbich 2001). In fact, nearly all feasting activities define social boundaries in one way or another while also generating and contributing to a sense of community (Dietler 2011, 184). As rituals or ritualized events feasts frequently play a central role at *rite-de-passage* events, such as for example burials (Dietler/Hayden 2001, 9). Another (possible) diagnostic feature of feasts relevant to the present study is the presence of alcohol, the drinking of which is not part of daily meals in most small-scale societies. Instead it is reserved for and typical of feasting events (Dietler 1990; 2001; Dietler/Hayden 2001, 10).

6.1.3.2 The social and symbolic uses of alcoholic beverages

As noted above, the bronze vessels were used to hold alcohol and this substance generally features in feasting activities. Alcohol, in fact, has played a key role in almost all human cultures since the Neolithic, with all societies making use of some form of intoxicating substances, with alcohol as the most common (*e.g.* Dietler 2006; Heath 1987). From its earliest recorded use, the drinking of

alcoholic beverages has been primarily a social activity, the consumption of which and accompanying behavior have been subject to self-imposed social controls (McGovern 2009; SIRC 1998, 6). Alcoholic drinks are widely used as powerful, potent and multipurpose symbolic tools to create and manipulate the social world in all societies. Cross-culturally there are four main symbolic uses of alcoholic beverages. They can be used to label, identify and/or define the nature of social situations or occasions or as indicators of social status. Alcoholic drinks also can be used to express affiliation or as gender differentiators. Interestingly, in cases where 'foreign' drinks are adopted, often the associated drinking customs (and associated paraphernalia) of the alien culture are adopted as well (SIRC 1998, 8).

These drinking customs conform with the primary functions of the 'drinking cult' that according to Arnold (1999, 87) would have existed in a mutually supportive network in Iron Age Europe. In this cult alcohol could be used in "[…] its ideo-political manifestation as the vehicle of kingship in the inauguration ceremony of the chief or king", in "[…] its socio-political manifestation as the means of maintaining the chiefly prerogatives through feasting and the distribution of liquor among the warrior elites and clients as an incentive and reward for service" or in "[…] its ideological manifestation as an emblem of sovereignty in the complex of status markers meant to accompany a chieftain to the Otherworld". There is a large overlap in the ways feasting and alcoholic beverages can be used to create and maintain the social order, which is only natural as alcoholic drinks frequently play a key role at feasting events that do the same. As the containers for the alcoholic beverages and foodstuffs, the (bronze) vessel sets naturally would have featured at such events and could have come to stand for them.

6.1.3.3 Feasting and drinking after death
But what can be made of the presence of the bronze vessels in burials? It has been argued that they played similar roles in burials as they did in life (Arnold 1999; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 41–4; Eibner *et al.* 2010; Kimmig 1964, 91–5; Kromer 1959; Nebelsick 2000b; Prüssing 1991, 5). Exactly how remains the question – were they interred as symbolic grave goods, or were they used at a funeral feast or for libations in the deceased's honor? Arnold (2001, 214) argues that there was a common belief during the Early Iron Age in some kind of existence after death that reflected the world of the living and involved feasting and drinking as well as "differential social relationships". If this was the case, then the presence of drinking and feasting equipment in the elite burials were the 'tools' the deceased would require to feast and drink in his (/her) life after death, thereby exacting and expressing the same effect on the social order. This conforms to some extent with the

assertion that the presence of bronze vessels refers to the metamorphosis of the deceased into an ancestor or god (Huth 2003a; Nebelsick 2000b). As Celtic and Germanic mythology features the use of cauldrons to brew liquids that confer immortality and supernatural powers (Brown 1913; Macculloch 1911, 381*ff.*; De Vries 1956), Nebelsick (2000, 227) argues that when cauldrons were used as urns this may be a "sepulchral reflection of these concepts".

6.1.4 Conclusion on bronze vessels
In conclusion, there is little to suggest at present that the bronze vessels in the Dutch and Belgian burials were viewed differently from those found in Central Europe. While there is no direct evidence that the bronze vessels from the Low Countries ever held alcoholic beverages, the above indicates that this was a likely use. It is specifically the communal mixing vessels that are found in the Dutch and Belgian elite graves. It may be therefore that it was their function as holders of alcoholic beverages for social feasting events that was being emphasized when they were selected as grave goods. The combination of the large bronze vessel with the smaller ribbed drinking bowl in the Chieftain's burial of Oss especially indicates that it likely was deposited with the intention of representing or reflecting some kind of communal drinking event.

Traces of use-wear on a number of Dutch and Belgian vessels reveal that they were suspended from their rings, indicating some kind of use in life, most likely in elite feasting activities. These bronze vessels came from Central Europe, and it may be that the alcoholic beverages they once held were imported as well. As noted above, the adoption of 'foreign' drinks and drinking customs (and perhaps the associated paraphernalia) go hand-in-hand. It is certainly plausible that feasting events were a big part of the relationships that existed between the Low Countries' elites and the Central European ones (see also Section 7.3). The addition of bronze vessels to the funerary repertoire may indicate a change in the social appreciation of communal eating and drinking. Interment of bronze vessels, items specifically associated with feasting activities – events that facilitate culture contact and power negotiations – may have been a deliberate expression of the contacts that existed between the dead elites and those foreigners who supplied the bronze vessels and perhaps the alcoholic beverages they once contained as well as the social activities that they engaged in.

6.2 Weaponry
This section considers a number of weaponry grave goods in more detail and discusses how the weaponry found in the elite burials was likely made, used and treated, and what they may have represented.

6.2.1 Local copies and prestigious imports

Two short iron swords as well as the swords from Oss and Wijchen warrant discussing in more detail.

6.2.1.1 Short iron swords: local copies of bronze swords?

As already stated by Fontijn (2002, 171) the first iron swords likely were modeled after the bronze ones (even though the technology of iron working is different from bronze casting, as also argued by O'Connor 1980, 246). This appears to be the case with the short iron swords *CSE-LQ.16** and *CSE-LQ.26* (and possibly *CSE-FR. T3.8* and *CSE-LQ.TA.5* as well, though these are too degraded for a proper comparison). They resemble early Gündlingen/Holme Pierrepoint bronze swords (see also Section C2.3.1.3), although there are also differences. The iron swords have central raised ribs and a diamond cross-section, which the bronze Gündlingen swords do not. The iron swords also lack ricasso, an identifying feature of Gündlingen type swords. Unfortunately the short iron swords in the Catalogue are broken at the tang, so it is unknown how the tang and hilt design compared. A short iron sword with bronze hilt from Battel that has been mentioned as an example of an iron Gündlingen sword from the Low Countries (Fontijn 2002, 171; Warmenbol 2015, 63; Fig. 4.15) may offer some insights into this as it has a bronze handle consistent with the Gündlingen type. There are also some differences however. The blade of the Battel sword (Fig. C2.6) is roughly consistent with an early type of Gündlingen sword (Etappe I/type Holme Pierrepoint) and is quite similar to the swords *CSE-LQ.16** and *CSE-LQ.26*, though lacking the edging found on bronze swords. The differences between the short iron swords and the bronze Gündlingen swords could be due to the technical differences between bronze casting and iron forging (*cf.* O'Connor 1980, 246; see also below), for they certainly appear inspired by the early bronze Gündlingen swords. The striking fact relevant to the current discussion is how different these swords are from Hallstatt Culture ones, both in design and size. The Belgian iron short swords originally would have measured roughly 55 cm, while the shortest iron sword included in Gerdsen's (1986, 216–29) classic inventory, for example, is 70.5 cm (see also Tab. 6.1). The differences also become apparent when we view the short iron swords on the same scale as the other iron swords in the Catalogue (Fig. A2.3).

In summary, the Belgian short iron swords bear no resemblance to swords found in the Hallstatt Culture and are likely not imports from Central Europe (as also postulated by Roymans 1991, 36). Instead they may have been produced locally or at least in the Atlantic sphere. Their general shape and design is consistent with Atlantic sword types with their wide leaf-shaped blades. It is somewhat surprising though that these early iron swords

most closely resemble the very *earliest* Gündlingen (Etappe I/type Holme Pierrepoint) swords, as it generally is believed that iron swords date far later. If these iron swords from Court-St-Etienne and Battel are 'locally' (*i.e.* Atlantically) produced blades inspired by bronze Gündlingen swords, they may be far earlier than generally thought. While iron swords in the Low Countries generally are believed to date to the 7th century BC (Warmenbol 2015, 63; though see Section 3.4.1.2 for why this research argues they can also date to the 8th century BC) the Gündlingen Etappe I/type Holme Pierrepoint swords are argued to date earlier (around 850–750 BC; see Section 3.4.1.1).

6.2.1.2 The gold-inlaid sword of the Chieftain of Oss

There is one Mindelheim type blade that warrants further discussion: the sword of the Chieftain of Oss. This sword is an iconic object from European prehistory, and for good reason. It is visually striking due to its unusually long iron blade with grooves and raised ribs and its hilt decorated with gold and bronze (Figs. 6.3 and 6.5). Moreover, this research established that it originally was decorated with a lead ring and strips of carved bone as well. These were likely incorporated into the pommel hat (see Section C26.2). The identification of the lead ring is especially significant, as this appears to be the earliest use of 'pure' lead (*i.e.* not as part of an alloy) in the Low Countries, which was likely a rare, possibly 'exotic' material.

Ornamentation is not common on swords from this time and it really sets this sword apart. In particular the 'lightning' design on its pommel hat is a very unusual pattern in the Early Iron Age and the only of its kind to be found in the Low Countries. According to Wells (2012, 122) this sword, along with one from Gomadingen (Baden-Württemberg, Germany) and two swords from Hallstatt grave 573 (Oberösterreich, Austria), showcase great craft effort involving the use of precious and exotic materials (see below; Fig. 6.4). He also stated that "the use of imported materials, such as gold, amber and elephant ivory, was especially significant at this time, because it served to draw attention to the far-flung contacts of the elites, (however indirect those contacts may have been) and to the elites' ability to command these exotic materials from far away" (Wells 2012, 122). Note that again *supra-regionality was being stressed* (see Chapter 5).

It is, however, not only craftsmanship that links the swords from Oss, Gomadingen and one sword from Hallstatt (grave 507). There is also an interesting similarity in decoration design. All three feature variations of the extremely rare 'lightning design' mentioned above. In the case of Oss several such emblems of gold are inlaid in the pommel hat (Fig. 6.3), while the Gomadingen sword has a lightning-like design made of gold on its wooden grip. The Gomadingen and Oss swords also have similar designs

Fig. 6.3 The hilt of the sword of Oss from various angles (different scales) showcasing the gold and bronze decorations. Photographs by R.J. Looman ©RMO.

on the bottom of their pommel hats (Fig. 6.4). At 108 cm the former is unusually long (Gerdsen 1986, 119; Von Föhr/Mayer 1892, 37), as is the sword of Oss. The sword from Hallstatt has an ivory pommel hat with an inlaid amber lightning design, which is particularly similar to the one on the top of the Oss pommel hat. Interestingly, this Hallstatt pommel hat not only has this 'lightning' design picked out in amber, it also has what appear to be inlaid 'crescent moons' and a 'sun' (Fig. 6.4). These three designs together on a single item certainly suggest that what we have been describing as 'lightning' may well have been intended as such. It could even be argued that the design on the bottom of the pommel hat of Oss (Figs. 6.3 and 6.4) incorporates a similar moon-design.

The Oss sword has an unusually shaped pommel hat, which when compared to most surviving pommel hats is rather long. While this may be a restoration error (see Section C3.1), another sword from the Hallstatt Cemetery (grave 573) has a similarly shaped pommel hat of ivory, this time inlaid with amber (Fig. 6.4). The sword from grave 573 also, like the Oss sword, has an extremely long blade (Tab. 6.1).

In my opinion the unusually shaped pommel hats, the extreme blade lengths, the use of rare materials like gold and amber along with the similarities in decoration design – all rare features – speak of the same creator and I argue that these swords may all be from the same master smith or workshop. Roymans (1991, 36) once postulated that the sword from Oss likely was made in southern Germany. Given the dispersion of the richly decorated swords discussed above (with the exception of Oss) in southern Germany and Upper Austria, I suggest that this may be where the master smith or workshop was located.

6.2.1.3 The unique Wijchen sword – a local copy?

Above it was argued that a number of short iron swords likely were not imported from the Hallstatt Culture area, but instead may have been locally produced. The same may be true for the very unusual iron sword from
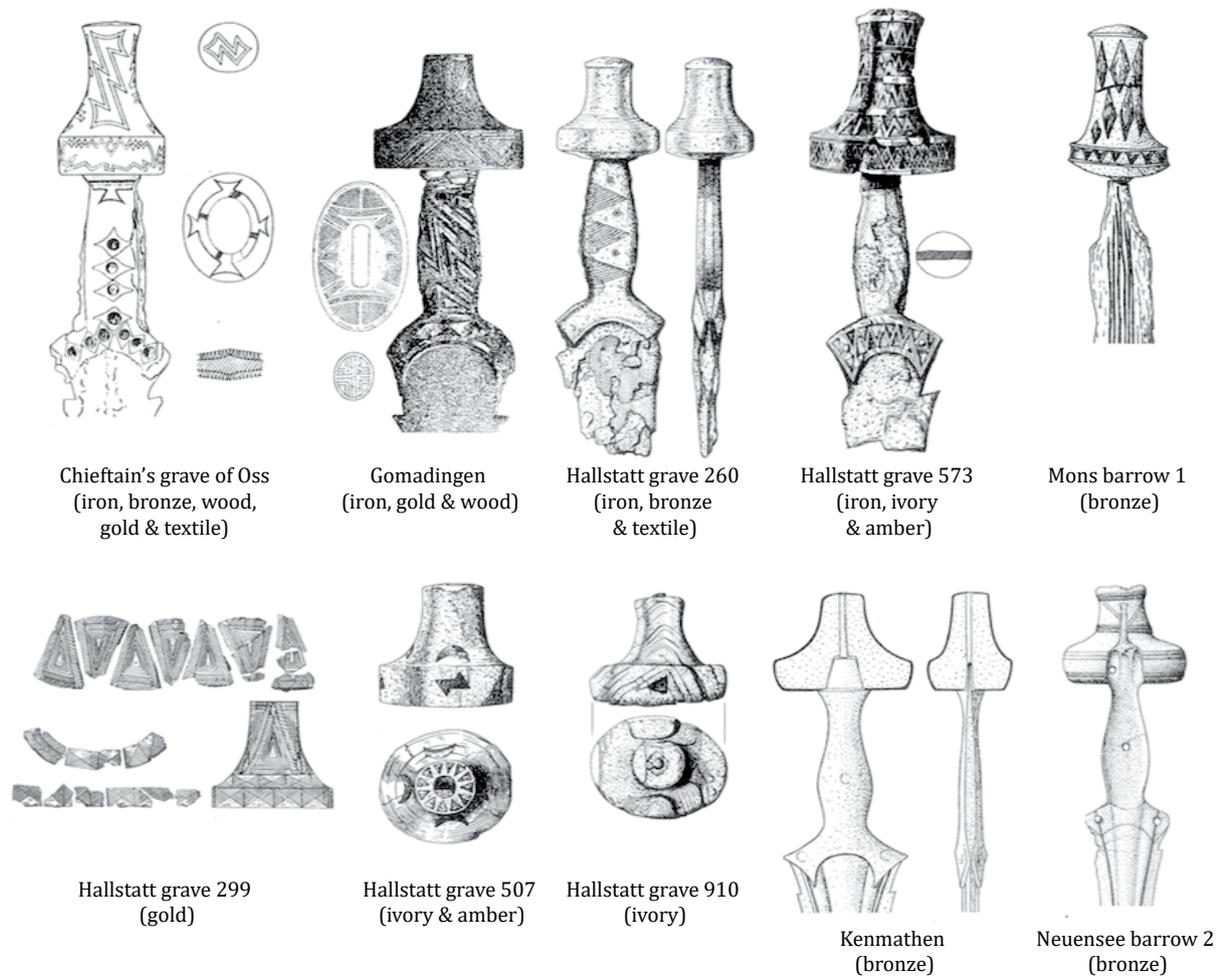
Fig. 6.4 A number of surviving and decorated hilts from Mindelheim swords. Note the similarities in decoration design between the swords from Gomadingen, Hallstatt grave 507 and Oss (see also Fig. 6.5). Figure after Gerdsen 1986, pl. 4–6.

Wijchen. Following its restoration (see Sections C3.2 and C35.2) a number of diagnostic features were uncovered that allowed for the reconstruction seen in Figure 6.5. This revealed that it is exceptionally long for swords from this period, at least 115 cm. Only one sword listed in Table 6.1 and the sword from the Chieftain's burial of Oss are of comparable length (see also Figs. 6.5 and A2.3). Unlike contemporary Mindelheim swords (see above and Section C2.3.1.4), the Wijchen sword has a rod-shaped tang with a square cross-section and a squar-ish knob as terminal. To my knowledge and that of all experts I have consulted, *there is not a single parallel for such a sword*. It appears to be unique in Northwest Europe.

However, there are similarities between the Wijchen sword and the one from the Chieftain's burial of Oss and other similar Mindelheim swords, if one considers only the blade. Not only are they roughly the same length, the general shape of and in particular the design and decoration of grooves on the blade are similar (see

Figs. 6.5 and C35.4). In theory, the Wijchen sword therefore could have been made by someone who had seen the Oss sword or a blade like it, and recreated it as best he or she could, without knowing what the tang looked like underneath the organic hilt. Given the preponderance of Mindelheim swords, and the smiths who could make them in the Hallstatt Culture area, the aberrant Wijchen sword may have been made locally. This remains conjecture at present, but research into the composition of the iron in this sword is currently underway (by I. Joosten and V. Fontani) and may shed some light on the matter.

6.2.2 The production, use and deposition of swords

Section C2.3.1.6 discusses the assertion that mounted warriors used the Hallstatt C swords and rejects the arguments on which this is based. This section builds on this and (briefly) discusses how Late Bronze and Early Iron

Site	Hilt description	Sword blade	Length	References
Gomadingen (Baden-Württemberg, Germany)	Wooden grip, hat-shaped pommel decorated with geometric shapes of gold sheet	Iron	108 cm	Gerdsen 1986, 119; Von Föhr/Mayer 1892, 37
Hallstatt grave 260 (Oberösterreich, Austria)	Bronze pommel and bronze grip decorated with three ribbed triangles and three circumpunct decorations.	Iron blade with textile adhering;	-	Kromer 1959, 77–9
Hallstatt grave 299 (Oberösterreich, Austria)	Plates of gold sheet decoration	Bronze	72.5 cm	Kromer 1959, 84–5
Hallstatt grave 504 (Oberösterreich, Austria)	Bronze pommel, engraved with triangles	Iron (with textile adhering)	-	Kromer 1959, 116–7
Hallstatt grave 507 (Oberösterreich, Austria)	Ivory pommel, inlaid with amber lightning/moon/sun motif	Iron (with wooden scabbard fragments)	-	Kromer 1959, 118–9
Hallstatt grave 573 (Oberösterreich, Austria)	Pommel and grip made of ivory, inlaid with amber zigzag and diamonds motifs	Iron	115 cm	Kromer 1959, 128; Wells 2012, 122
	Gold striped inlay on the bottom of the grip	Iron	-	
Hallstatt grave 600 (Oberösterreich, Austria)	Bronze pommel and grip	Iron	-	Kromer 1959, 132–3
Hallstatt grave 607 (Oberösterreich, Austria)	Bronze pommel and grip	Bronze	88.5 cm	Kromer 1959, 134
Hallstatt grave 697 (Oberösterreich, Austria)	Ivory pommel, bronze grip and rivets	Iron	-	Kromer 1959, 146
Hallstatt grave 910 (Oberösterreich, Austria)	Ivory pommel	Iron	-	Kromer 1959, 173–4
Ilsfeld (Baden-Württemberg, Germany)	Hat-shaped pommel with remains of colors on it, probably from decoration	Iron	93 cm	Gerdsen 1986, 124
Mindelheim (Bayern, Germany)	Bronze pommel decorated with lines and diamonds with circumpunct decoration in them	Bronze	83 cm	Kossack 1959, 167
Neunsee Mound 1 (Bayern, Germany)	Bronze hat-shaped pommel decorated with lines	Iron	88 cm	Gerdsen 1986, 130
Neunsee Mound 12 (Bayern, Germany)	Bronze pommel	Bronze	93.6 cm	Gerdsen 1986, 130

Tab. 6.1 Swords with surviving and/or decorated handles (some also depicted in Fig. 6.4).

Age swords may have been made, worn, used, damaged and deposited.

6.2.2.1 Making and maintaining a sword: bronze vs. iron

Making a sword requires skill and experience, but involves very different processes depending on whether it is made of bronze or iron, with only the hammering being at all similar. While bronze swords are cast, iron has to be forged. The early iron swords were treated in a similar way to their bronze contemporaries, indicating that a change in material did not necessarily involve a change in how they were conceptualized (Arnoldussen/Brusgaard 2015, 118; see also Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 364–5). While it is thought that bronze Gündlingen swords were being produced in the Low Countries, the iron swords generally are assumed to be imports. In Section 6.2.1.1 above, however, it was postulated that a number of short iron swords from the Low Countries may have been produced 'locally' (or at least in the Atlantic rather than the Hallstatt Culture sphere). This was argued purely on the basis of morphological characteristics. The following

sections discuss the differences between producing a bronze and iron sword to address whether it is plausible that the iron swords were in fact local productions.

Casting a bronze sword: imperfection acceptable?

When casting bronze swords, stone molds can be reused, and an existing bronze sword can be used to produce a clay mold to produce a new sword. While the subsequent trimming, hammering and grinding naturally influence the sword produced, in essence it is possible to remake the same sword. To sharpen a newly cast bronze sword it first has to be homogenized by heating, for example in a charcoal hearth. This process makes it pliable enough to forge, and it can then be hammered (*e.g.* Burridge 2004; Kerr 1994; Molloy 2011). It appears that during prehistory bronze swords did not have to be 'perfect' to be acceptable. Colquhoun (2011, 55–6) argues that the frequent occurrence of small casting flaws (such as small holes from air entering the metal while cooling) on swords that appear to have been used means that not all swords that appear imperfect were recycled. 'Imperfect' weapons
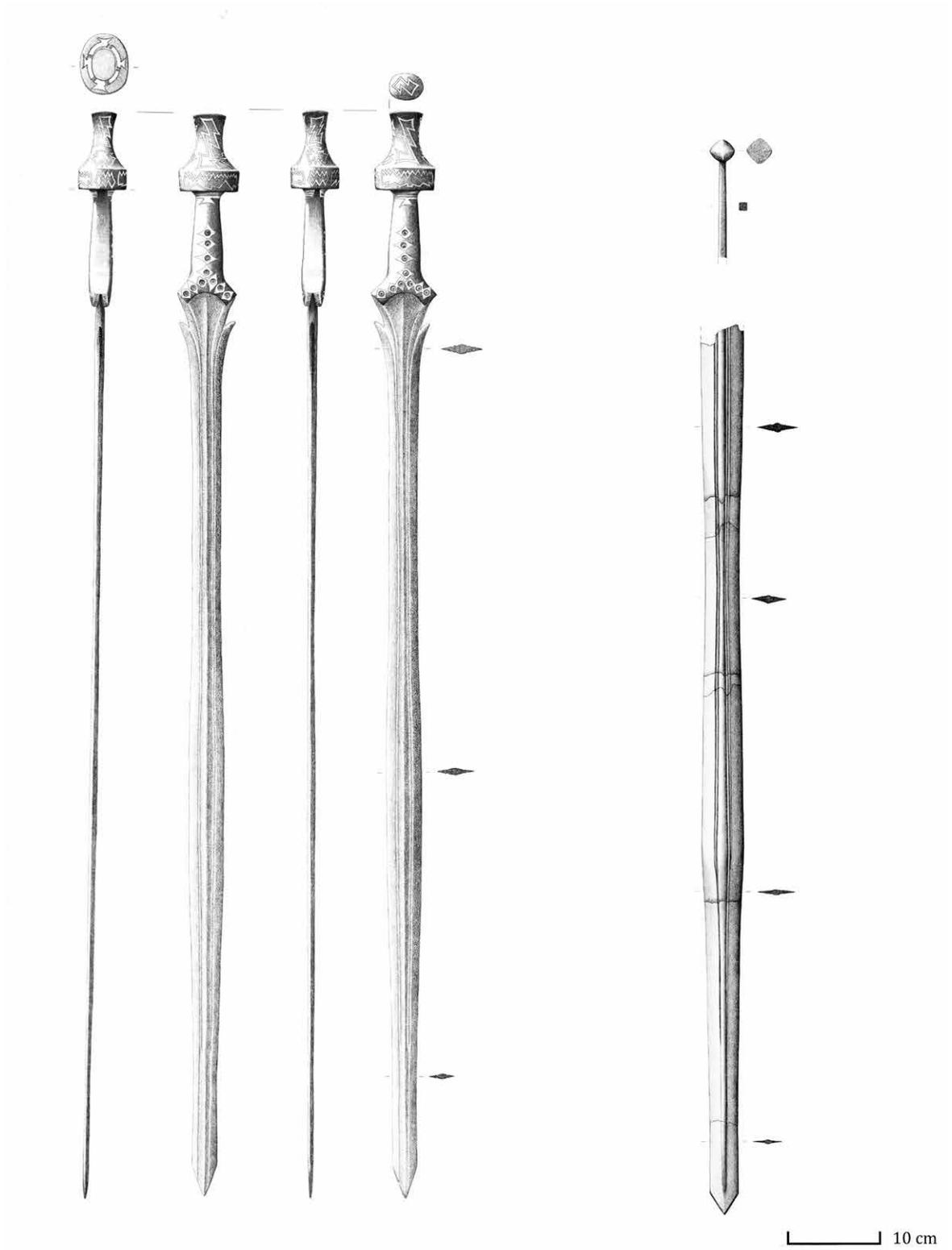
Fig. 6.5 The Oss Mindelheim sword with inlays and the (left) and reconstruction of the sword from Wijchen (right). Drawings by R. Timmermans.

were apparently acceptable, probably depending on whether such 'flaws' would be visible once the hilt plates were attached, or on the status of the intended owner. In his discussion of Irish bronze swords Colquhoun (2011, 56) notes that repairs are common, especially of breaks across rivet holes and that new hilts were added.

Forging a sword: the attraction of iron

Like bronze, iron first has to be produced from ore before it can be shaped into an object (Serneels/Perret 2003, 469). Processing ore into iron involves extraction, *i.e.* prospecting and amassing ore and smelting, a process by which ore is converted into bloom. This is followed by primary and secondary smithing. During the former, blooms are converted into bars or billets, while the latter turns the bars or billets into objects (such as a sword). Each phase produces its own kind of waste products (see Arnoldussen/Brusgaard 2015, 115; De Rijk 2003; Serneels/Perret 2003). Unfortunately little is known about the various phases of Iron Age metalworking in the Low Countries (Arnoldussen/Brusgaard 2015, 115; Brusgaard *et al.* 2015). Iron smelting does not appear to have taken place in the Netherlands before the Roman period (Arnoldussen/ Brusgaard 2015, 117; Brusgaard *et al.* 2015; Joosten 2004; Van den Broeke 2005), and iron would have come to the Low Countries either as finished objects or as bars/billets. What little evidence there is, also from the later Iron Age, derives from the last stage of the smithing process, and represents small-scale, domestic production serving one or possibly two settlements (Arnoldussen/Brusgaard 2015; Brusgaard *et al.* 2015).

Iron imported in the form of bars or billets can be forged directly into a sword if the bars/billets are big enough. If they are too small or one is reworking objects, they have to first be welded together at high temperature. The result then can be worked into a sword. This also has to be done at high temperature to prevent the fibrous structure of early iron from delaminating. J. van Zuiderwijk (2016, pers. comm.), a smith experienced in prehistoric iron forging referred to this process as 'kneading with hammer and anvil', where bit by bit the object is made into its eventual form. During the smithing process the surface is burned continuously, which gives the surface an 'oxide skin' and pitting. This requires a final processing, whereby the shape is finely hammered and the surface refined. As this involves minor shape changes there is little risk of delamination and it can be done at a lower temperature. The hammer also leaves marks, which can be worked out with lighter hammering. The final hammering is done cold, as this strengthens the iron and the edge can be hammered sharp. Following this the blade has to be sharpened. This is a lengthy process done with stones and polishing materials (similar to bronze swords). Upon completion of the blade the hilt has to be made (Van Zuiderwijk 2016, pers. comm.).

Going from bronze to iron

In light of the discussion of where the earliest (short) iron swords were produced, how should we envision the very first iron sword being made? Can a bronze smith, for example, switch to working iron? The experiences of J. van Zuiderwijk, an experienced bronze caster using prehistoric techniques who also learned to work iron, suggest this is certainly possible. Any discussion of this with regard to later prehistory has to be limited to the thought-experiment realm, but it is worth briefly considering in light of the short iron swords that appear to be Atlantic copies of local bronze swords. With regard to the differences in skills, it is mostly the welding and the knowledge required regarding the high temperatures needed to work the iron that are challenging to learn. However, while involving different skillsets, once the basics are known the rest can be learned through hands-on trial and error (Van Zuiderwijk 2016, pers. comm.).

Early iron was relatively easy to work with, but due to its relative softness the swords likely would not have held an edge any better than the bronze contemporaries (Van Zuiderwijk 2016, pers. comm.). The earliest iron swords likely held little advantage over bronze ones in terms of functionality. While iron can be worked into longer swords, it is important to acknowledge that the very earliest iron swords, like those found at Court-St-Etienne, were no longer than bronze ones. The differences in shape between the short iron swords and the bronze Gündlingen type swords could be due to the technical differences between bronze casting and iron forging (*cf.* O'Connor 1980, 246). In time it may have been the widespread availability of iron that made it attractive.

Hilt for the owner?

The metal swords that survive show a high degree of uniformity in terms of shape and size, with exceptions of course. It may be, however, that the hilts, as the most visible and conspicuous part of a sword, were personalized (as was the case for example in Anglo-Saxon England; Colquhoun 2011, 57). Colquhoun (2011, 57) suggests this following a brief discussion of the almost complete absence of surviving organic hilts (or components thereof), in which he argues that more should have survived as so many swords are found in bogs (in Ireland). He postulates that hilt plates and pommels may have been removed prior to deposition. They may then have been considered heirlooms and incorporated onto new weapons, or played a role in rituals (see also Section 7.2.1.8). From this flows the question: if the sword hilt's design was unique to the user, was the prospective user involved in the weapon's

production? In a similar vein one can question how the sword producer/consumer relation functioned. Did a warrior 'order' a sword from the smith or did the warrior select a suitable one from swords on offer? On the one hand the strong uniformity of sword morphology seems to suggest the latter, on the other a sword has to fit the warrior to be used effectively. Unfortunately such questions cannot (yet) be answered, but it is still worthwhile to consider them.

6.2.2.2 Wearing a sword

To wear a sword, one needs a scabbard with mounts or attachments, one or two sword belts and perhaps straps that connect the scabbard and sword belt. The buckles or belt crossings can be decorated with metal ornaments (*cf.* Trachsel 2005, 70). The leather components of course can be decorated with color or engravings as well. There are some indications, in the form of small rings found on or by swords, that they were worn at an angle (Trachsel 2005, 71; Willms 2002, 71; Zürn 1987, 125). Especially in comparison to the sheer number of swords that have been found, finds of scabbards or fragments/elements thereof are extremely rare. Generally only the bronze chapes that would have decorated and strengthened the point of the scabbard survive (see also Section C2.3). What little evidence there is regarding the organic components appears somewhat contradictory. On the one hand there are several cases in which thin fragments of wood with strips of linen or woolen textile survive on the sword blade (Gerdsen 1986, 48; Kossack 1970, 16–7; see also Section C12.3.1). It appears that the wooden strips were held together with the textile, and they are interpreted more as protective coverings rather than as 'true' functional scabbards. On the other hand there are also instances where a substantial and likely functional construction survives of wooden 'shells' covered in cloth (which likely was drenched in some kind of adhesive) and in one case with leather (Gerdsen 1986, 48; Schickler 2001, 112; Trachsel 2005, 71; Zürn 1987, 124–6). In some cases it appears that the wooden scabbards were reinforced with bronze elements (Gerdsen 1986, 48; 91). Given the sometimes substantial nature of the chapes and in particular the rivets with which they were attached to the scabbard tip, it seems most likely that chapes should be envisaged as attached to the latter type of construction. A few very well preserved burials in which the distance between the tip of the sword and the chape could be measured indicate that the organic scabbard was slightly longer than the sword blade (Trachsel 2005, 71).

6.2.2.3 Owning a sword

Swords (of the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age) are viewed as weapons of prestige and it has been argued that they played a role in rituals and the construction and posturing of the warrior (stratum of society; *e.g.* Anderson 2012, 187; Colquhoun 2011, 56–7; Fontijn 2002, 231–2). Yet it is also argued that (in particular the bronze Gündlingen) swords were relatively common (in certain areas) and should not be interpreted as markers of elite status per se (Milcent 2015; see also below). Either way, Fontijn (2002, 149; 221) argues that there is more to owning a sword than any other tool as it is an example of specialized weaponry (in contrast to multifunctional objects such as axes and bows for which a use as a weapon is but one manner of use). Weaponry is related to power in a very direct way and can be used to inflict violence and potentially to impose one's will on others (Claessen 1988, 7–8). It has been postulated that in the largely egalitarian Late Bronze Age society in the Low Countries that the possession of weapons by certain individuals may have been perceived as a "potential threat to social cohesion" (Fontijn 2005, 149; Fokkens 1997; Roymans 1996, 14).

With regard to ownership, it can be questioned whether swords were personal possessions or perhaps communally owned items that certain individuals temporarily were granted the use of. It has been argued, for example, that weapons are linked with "martial identities, either at a communal or at a personal level" (Fontijn 2002, 232). Selective deposition of swords was then a way to deconstruct these ambiguous and transgressive martial identities. If swords were related to a person's life cycle and achievements, then by physically laying down weaponry, the associated role and status were laid down as well. This may have happened during one's lifetime, for example following a battle, when one reached a certain age or at death (Fontijn 2002, 26–7). From this perspective it is interesting to consider the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition, a time when some swords were selected for deposition in rivers, while morphologically the same swords were placed in burials, and whether this reflects a change in how ownership of weaponry was conceptualized.

6.2.2.4 Using a sword as a weapon: becoming a warrior

While swords can be used for symbolic and ritual functions, they are first and foremost weapons, presumably intended to be used in combat to maim or kill one's adversaries (*e.g.* Anderson 2012, 12; Colquhoun 2011, 56; Molloy 2007, 90). The longer swords of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age represent cut-and-thrust swords that were far more adaptable and efficient weapons than earlier swords (Fontijn 2002, 222; Harding 2000; Thrane 2004, 170). While skeletal evidence for fighting injuries is rare (though perhaps warriors fallen in battle were left on the field as postulated by Trachsel 2005, 72), the swords themselves have been used. Evidence for this may in some cases be anecdotal (Fontijn 2002, 222; this

research[13]), but there is a growing body of systematic experimental and use-wear analysis of (primarily) bronze weaponry that indicates that striking one bronze sword against another produces edge damages consistent with those found on archeological examples, such as nicks along the beveled edge (in particular at the widest part of the blade (*e.g.* Anderson 2012; Bridgford 1997; 2000; Colquhoun 2011, 56; Gentile 2016; Molloy 2006; 2007; York 2002). Repairs have also been found on several blades that indicate they could not have taken heavy blows (*e.g.* Schauer 1971, no. 608, 616, 618, 635; Trachsel 2005, 73; Zürn 1987, 125).

While discussing exactly how this fighting would have been done goes beyond the scope of this research (though see *e.g.* Anderson 2012; Gentile 2016; Molloy 2007), it likely was embedded in the daily lives of those individuals who used the swords. When it comes to the constitution of a warrior, archeological studies tend to focus on the *owning* of a sword, and how this relates to the warrior identity (see also above). Sometimes even only an association with a sword, for example in a burial, is deemed sufficient to label the deceased a warrior. Here, however, it is emphasized that extensive training and continual practice are needed *if one actually wants to effectively use that sword*. One has to learn the limitations of the weaponry, as well as how to effectively use it to defend and attack. The body and mind have to be continually conditioned until fighting becomes instinctive. This stage of becoming and being a warrior generally has received less attention, most likely as it is very difficult to identify and understand such behavior archeologically, but there are a few insights that can be gleaned. First of all, as already noted, using a sword requires practice. Weapon properties (such as its "weight, balance, grip, morphology, sharpness and the presence or otherwise of bevels or a midrib") as well as aspects of the user (including "strength, height, stamina and defensive equipment") and target (including "material and movement") all influence the most effective mode of fighting (Anderson 2012, 42). The efficacy is dictated not only by a fighter's strength or the quality of the sword, but also by the fighter's ability to employ and adapt strikes to the fight and weapon used. His/her skill and experience matter far more than brute strength (*e.g.* Anderson 2012, 42;

105–6; Molloy 2007, 102). In order to effectively use such a weapon, one must therefore receive training and practice extensively.

As bronze weaponry can be relatively easily damaged in combat (*e.g.* Anderson 2012, Ch. 12; Gentile 2016; Molloy 2006; 2007), it has been argued that warriors likely trained with wooden practice weapons (Anderson 2012, 191; Molloy 2007, 102–3). A Late Bronze Age wooden (yew) sword with a handle polished from use found on Orkney is argued to be such a training weapon (Anderson 2012, 191; Stevenson 1957, 191). While wooden swords may have been used as part of the training process (*cf.* Kristiansen 2002, 325–6), these would not accurately replicate fighting with solid bronze swords (Colquhoun 2011, 56). It has also been argued that at least some of the signs of use and damage on prehistoric swords are likely the result of repeated practicing with them (Colquhoun 2011, 56). And if people were training with practice weapons – then there must have been a reason (*cf.* Anderson 2012, 191).

There are also cultural aspects to sword fighting. While it may be common practice to equal sword fighting with the desire and intention to kill one's opponent by any means necessary, in reality sword fighting is not only generally an embedded social practice dictated by cultural guidelines, it is not always to the death. It may be understood that a sword fight is only until first blood, such as for example in 'modern' dueling practices where the intention was to win by wounding one's opponent, rather than killing him/her. Learning to use a sword is therefore not only a very practical endeavor, it is also a cultural one. A fighter has to learn 'appropriate' combat techniques and fighting style. In short, being a warrior, a swordfighter, is not just about owning a sword, it is in a practical sense very much a way of life.

6.3 Horse-gear and wagons: prestigious transport

In this section I discuss the Hallstatt Culture wagons (*Prunkwagen* in German), associated yokes and horse-gear, focusing on how they appeared, were made and used. Following this the horses who wore the horse-gear and pulled the wagons and what they represented are discussed. As will become clear in the next chapter, the information presented here is key to understanding an important feature of the elite burial practice. M. Egg, J. Koch and C. Pare have contributed greatly to our understanding of the Hallstatt Culture wagons and horse-gear, and the following is based primarily on their research (Egg 1989; Egg/Pare 1993; Koch 2006; 2011ab; Pare 1987a–c; 1992), as well as on my own experiences with horses and horse-gear.

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13 Some possible signs of use-wear or battle damage were noted on swords from the dataset and are listed in the Catalogue, but I stress that these are macroscopic and anecdotal observations. Use-wear analysis was not possible within the current research as microscopic examination could not be facilitated as well as due to time restraints and this research's focus (see also Section 1.2.1.2). Research by V. Gentile (2016), however, has confirmed the presence of battle damage on Dutch Gündlingen swords through proper microscopic use-wear analysis and experimental analysis.

6.3.1 Forerunner of the Hallstatt Culture wagon

Four-wheeled horse-drawn wagons with spoked wheels are found from the Late Bronze Age Urnfield period onwards in western and Central Europe (*e.g.* Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 35–7; Egg/Pare 1993; Pare 1987a–c; 1992, Ch. 3; 186–8; 1998; Winghart 1993). Archeological evidence for the (ceremonial) wagons of the later Urnfield period comes primarily from hoards or single object depositions (Egg/Pare 1993, 211), and it has been argued that draft horses and wagons played a role in cult activities in Northern Europe during the Late Bronze Age (Burmeister 2004, 35–6; Pare 1992, 186–8). Horse-gear and wagon components are found in funerary contexts only at the very start of the Urnfield period in an area north of the Alps (Pare 1992, 19–42), for example the Hart-an-der-Alz group which yielded several cremation burials with burned wagon components, horse-gear and weaponry (Müller-Karpe 1956, 16*ff.*; Pankau 2013; Schauer 1987, 13–4).

In the period under discussion in this research, the Hallstatt C phase, there was a resurgence of wagon deposition in (inhumation) burials in the eastern Hallstatt Culture area that spread westwards during the Hallstatt C/D phase (*e.g.* Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 35–7; Egg/Pare 1993, 211; Makarová 2017; Milcent 2017; Pare 1992; Metzner-Nebelsick 2017). During this period wagon makers adopted technological advantages from central Italy, an area where the two-wheeled chariot dominated (Pare 1992). The continued use of the four-wheeled wagon north of the Alps shows the Hallstatt Culture wagon tradition to be rooted in urnfield practices. While there are strong similarities between the Hart-an-der-Alz wagon burials (13th and 12th centuries BC) and the later wagon burial custom of the Hallstatt period, the absence of any such graves in the intervening time indicates we are not dealing with continuity in funerary practices (Pare 1992, 186). There is, however, ample evidence that horse-drawn wagons featured in cult activities (see Section 6.3.5.3 below; also Pare 1987ac; 1992, 135; 1998).

6.3.2 Hallstatt Culture wagons

In this section the construction of the four-wheeled wagons is discussed (see Fig. C2.7 for the terminology used). The wagons had relatively small rectangular wagon-boxes that generally were twice as long as they were wide (between 56.5–84 cm wide and 148–185 cm long) with low sides (max 15 cm). They were never longer than the wheelbase, which is the distance between the axles (Fig. C2.7; Pare 1992, 134). Most wagons had a wheel gauge (distance between the axles) between 110 and 130 cm and wheel bases vary between 140 and 190 cm (though there are outliers). The undercarriage of most wagons was undecorated, as were the draft poles (Pare 1992, 129),

with Hochdorf being the best-known exception with its decorated pole (Koch 2006). The wagon-boxes could be elaborately decorated with bronzes (*e.g.* Fig. 4.11), and it seems that the rear ends in particular were richly decorated (Pare 1992, 134) such as, for example, the wagon from Mitterkirchen as reconstructed by Pertlwieser (1987, fig. 10).

The wheels were spoked (usually ten, but the number can range from six to 16 spokes) and generally between 70 and 95 cm in diameter (though both smaller and larger wheels are known; Pare 1992, 127–8). In some cases the wooden spokes of the wheel had metal fittings, which can be undecorated bronze sheet or ribbed cylinders of bronze or iron sheet, such as found for example on the wagon from Býčí skála (Czech Republic; Barth 1969; 1987). They would either be small cuffs at the base or cover the entire spoke (Pare 1992, 87). There are many different types of naves, which often had bronze or iron fittings (such as the type Breitenbonn naves found in Rhenen, Fig. C28.5). Pare (1992, 64) argues that their rapid development suggests that this part of the wheel was critically important "to the functioning of the wagon and required constant development". Most wagons had forged iron tires on every wheel (as found for example at Grosseibstadt; Kossack 1970, 57; Uenze 1987), and these are the most common wagon component to survive in wagon-graves (Pare 1992, 43). While none were found in the elite burials of the Low Countries, it is assumed that wagons probably were equipped with them here as well. The iron tire first occurred during the Hallstatt period and was an innovation in Early Iron Age Central Europe. Though corrosion often hinders identification, a wide variety of forms were in use during the Hallstatt period. They vary in width (16–42 mm) and cross-section (Pare 1992, 43). Iron tires are known in the Low Countries from later Iron Age graves, like the Nijmegen chariot burial (Bloemers 1986).

6.3.3 Hallstatt Culture yokes

The wagons described above were pulled by a pair of horses, who were hitched to the wagon with a wooden yoke mounted just behind the withers of the horses (forward of where a rider would sit; *e.g.* Figs. 4.11 and 6.8). The large 'cavities' on the underside of the yokes were designed to clasp the ribs of the horses (in contrast to ox yokes which rest on the neck, forehead or in front of the withers and therefore do not have big cavities; Bauer 2012, 5). The yokes were attached to the horses with straps (note that the chest straps depicted in Figure 4.11 and the like are only to affix the yoke on the horses, they do not contribute traction power; *cf.* Bauer 2012, 8). These wooden yokes often were decorated with bronze or iron fittings, which are a strikingly uniform, distinct and easily recognizable group, though some box fittings do
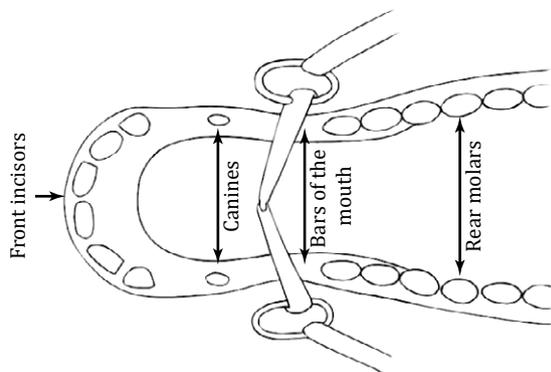
Fig. 6.6 View of the bottom jaw of a horse showing how a bit rests in the mouth. Figure by I. Gelman.

resemble certain yoke fittings (Pare 1992, 94–5). These include *Jochschnallen* (such as find *CSE-LQ.TA.6*), cast bronze oval fittings (such as find *OV.21*), small bronze sheet-knobs (round or oval, with two tongues; such as find *OZ.04–14*) and bronze sheet bands with point-boss or ring-boss decoration (Fig. A2.4). Occasionally bronze or iron chains attached to a central ring are associated with the yoke. Openwork bronze fittings with anchor-shaped terminals that would have been attached to the end of leather straps have been found with some yokes (*e.g.* find *CSE.LQ.TB.2*; see Fig. C2.8; Pare 1992, 94–5). Nailed rectangular frames, nailed rings, nailed hemispherical bosses and nails with triangular heads have never been found on yokes. Cast bronze plaques from wagons are generally also different than the *Jochschnallen* which have rectangular loops for leather reins on their rear side and typologically form a very uniform group (Pare 1992, 94–5; compare for example *CSE-LQ.TA.6* and *WIJ.15*).

6.3.4 Hallstatt Culture bridles

The horses that once pulled the wagons are not found in the elite burials of the Low Countries, only the horse-gear that they once wore is. This horse-gear forms the primary source of information regarding these animals that likely were highly valued both in the Low Countries and abroad (see below; *e.g.* Kmeťova 2013ab). The main horse-gear component found in the elite burials, in addition to the yoke attachments discussed above, are the bridles (*i.e.* headgear worn by the horse). As with the yokes, the leather bridles of the Hallstatt period often were bedecked with metal components. The elaborateness of decoration of both yokes and bridles peaks in Hallstatt C1 (Koch 2011a, 58–60), and it is primarily the metal fittings that survive. While there are some surviving leather components of bridles (for example at Hochdorf; Koch 2006), in most cases reconstructing the leather headgear involves speculation

as various functional configurations of the straps are possible (*e.g.* Figs. 4.11, 4.14, 7.1 and C2.8).

The main component of (most) bridles is the horse-bit, and it is one of the tools available to the equestrian or driver for communicating with a horse. The *mouthpiece* and the *bit rings* together make up a horse-bit. The bridle and reins attach to the *bit rings* on the sides of the mouthpiece (Fig. C2.7). If these are loose rings that can rotate freely it keeps the bit looser in the mouth since it promotes chewing and relaxation by the horse. When communicating with the horse, the ring will rotate slightly before the mouthpiece puts pressure on the mouth. In this manner the loose ring allows for more signal. A disadvantage is that the ring can pinch the corners of the horse's mouth, in particular if the mouthpiece is too small (see also Section 6.3.6.4). The bit rings affect how the bit works, but the design of the bit mouthpiece is of greater influence. Note that the mouthpiece rests on the gums or 'bars' in the horse's mouth, not the teeth (Fig. 6.6). Leverage and pressure play a role in the functioning of a bit, as does pressure applied by other parts of the bridle. Bits that apply pressure directly to the tongue and lips are *snaffle bits*. These usually have a single-jointed mouthpiece that has a nutcracker effect on the bars, tongue, as well as sometimes on the roof of the mouth (such as for example the bits from Wijchen, see Fig. 6.9). The *cheek-pieces* of a bit keep it from sliding sideways in the mouth, and more specifically prevent pinching at the side of the mouth (which is painful to a horse and can cause him/her to (vehemently) object).

(Modern) bits come in many different shapes and sizes and work by transferring pressure to the horse's mouth; they should not cause pain. Determining what type of bit is needed depends on both the needs of the horse and the rider/driver. In the wrong hands even the gentlest bit can cause pain to a horse, and in the right hands severe bits can convey gentle and subtle instructions. A horse in turn has to learn what particular pressures mean, as these depend on the situation and are generally not natural reflexes (*cf.* Dietz 2003, 192; 2006, 161; see Section 6.3.5.2). Several different general types of horse-bits were in use during the Hallstatt period, made from iron and/or bronze. The mouthpieces were almost always single-jointed, and often constructed from two interlocked rings twisted into bars. In modern horsemanship, bits that have twisted mouthpieces are considered very severe because the edges amplify the pressure on the mouth of the horse. They are more common when driving (see below), but their use is sometimes even forbidden in certain dressage competitions. The Hallstatt Culture bits can have rod-shaped or semi-circular cheek-pieces. The rod-shaped cheek-pieces have either a fan-like or bent ending on one side (see Figs. 3.1, 4.7 and 4.19 for examples). Based on the functioning of the bit, modern parallels and considering

the comfort of the horse, the more elaborate endings of the cheek-pieces would have pointed downwards when the horse was wearing the bit (note that this is in contrast to how it is sometimes reconstructed, see for example Fig. C2.8). The added weight at the bottom of the cheek-pieces provides extra leverage, making them extremely suited for use with driving. This is due to the fact that when one drives a horse one only has the reins and the pressures on the bit to communicate (and possibly a whip or stimulus), while a rider can use his seat and leg pressure to communicate as well and therefore can often suffice with a gentler bit (see also Section 6.3.5.2).

6.3.5 Function(ing) of the Hallstatt C horse-drawn wagon

The four-wheeled wagons (*Prunkwagen* in German) of the Hallstatt Culture were intricately made and designed to be seen and heard. The bronze decorations would have jingled and sparkled in the sun, announcing the arrival of whoever was driving (or riding in) it. While it has been noted that their use in life may have differed from their function in the burial or mortuary ritual, it is striking that in discussions of the functioning of these wagon the focus is generally on its role as a prestigious (grave) good used in ceremonial or cult activities. The more practical aspects such as how were they made or driven generally receive less attention (*cf.* Vosteen 2011, 110; with the works by Pare being the obvious exception). However, comprehending how an object was used in life is crucial to understanding why it may have been selected for burial and the role it may have played during the funerary ritual. This section therefore discusses how the four-wheeled wagons were made, worked and driven (the horses who pulled them are considered in Section 6.5.6 below).

6.3.5.1 Making wagons

The manufacture and maintenance of the four-wheeled wagons would have required experience, skill, expertise and specialized tools (Pare 1992, Ch. 9; Trachsel 2011, 95). Woodworking for example involves different skills than those needed to cast the components and ornaments (*cf.* Trachsel 2011, 107). As the wagons are known almost exclusively from funerary contexts, finds of prefabs and casting molds generally are lacking (Trachsel 2011, 96). It is assumed that there were sedentary workshops specialized in making the elaborate wagons. These would have combined the skills of several craftsmen (Pare 1992, 165; Trachsel 2011), though Trachsel (2011, 105) argues that the workshops primarily would have made everyday wagons, rather than being specialized solely in the production of the ceremonial four-wheeled ones. The typological similarities of wagon components and horse tack throughout the western Hallstatt Culture indicate that parts or production methods (or both) were

exchanged (Trachsel 2011, 105). While it is primarily the metal components that survive, the skill and expertise required to produce the wooden wagon should not be underestimated. Wagon building requires the use of seasoned wood, which has to be selected carefully and then stored for a number of years. The skill needed and care taken when selecting raw materials is evident both in recently made wooden wheels and in Hallstatt Culture ones. The wheels from Hochdorf, for example, have naves made of elm, felloes of ash or elm and spokes of maple (Koch 2006, 128–31; Pare 1992, 165).

The wheels show willingness on the part of the makers to develop and adopt technological advances. The draft pole and undercarriage construction were efficient and functional. The fast development of technological features suggests that they had an "important and probably strenuous function" (Pare 1992, 135). The signs of wear observed on certain bronze wagon components, such as on the axle-caps and linchpins from Wijchen (see Figs. 4.12 and C35.8) certainly indicate extensive use. However, the small size, light construction and simple wagon-boxes seem to argue against them having been used for travel or transport over long distances, suggesting a ceremonial function (Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, 38; Egg/Pare 1993, 213; Pare 1992, 135). At most one or two people could sit or stand on such a wagon and it is probable that they were used for short or festive transport (Egg/Pare 1993, 213; see also below).

Metal fittings decorated the wagon-box, the wheels and sometimes even the draft pole. Many of the fittings have a functional shape and are therefore relatively uniform over large expanses. Decorative elements allow more freedom of design, and Trachsel (2011) argues that in a (very limited) number of cases specific workshops can be identified through these. He also argues that the wagon decorations were made in series and intended for more than one wagon, as shown for example by the manner in which a number of components from the *Prunkwagen* of Birmenstorf were produced which only makes sense if they were making a large number of them. Specialists likely also were needed to make any major repairs on two-axled wagons with spoked wheels, as this requires specialized knowledge, tools and equipment (Trachsel 2011, 95–8).

6.3.5.2 Driving wagons

Wagon driving in the Hallstatt period was relatively well evolved. The driver could communicate with the two horses pulling the wagon in several different ways, with voice commands, through the reins (which connected with horse-bits worn by the horse) and/or with a stimulus (*Treibstachel* in German; Dietz 2006; Koch 2011b, 63). He or she could use these to get the horses to change direction or pace (Koch 2011b, 63; see also Brownrigg 2006). In modern day wagons it is common for the inner
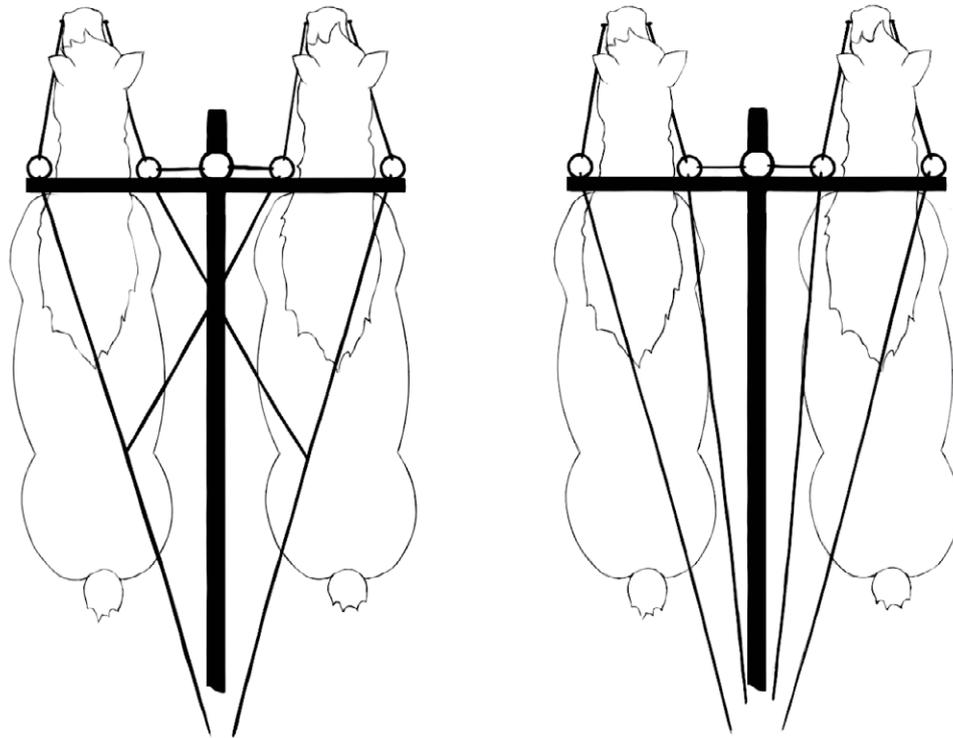
Fig. 6.7 Reconstruction of the reins. Figure inspired by Koch 1999, abb. 207; by I. Gelman.

side of horse-bits to be connected to each other with a short bridging strap, while the outer side of the bridles are connected to reins (which are held by the driver). Koch (2006, 237–9; Fig. 203) reconstructs the reins on the Hallstatt wagons differently. She argues that these could either all run from the bridles, through the terrets (supporting rings that carry reins over a yoke and horses' backs) on the yoke to the driver (who would then carry four reins), or the inner reins could cross and connect (meaning the driver would carry two reins; Fig. 6.7).

Horse harnessing also has to be adapted to the wishes of the driver and the horse, and in particular the "physical and psychological problems that a horse has to solve in order fulfill respective commands" (Dietz 2006, 161). For example, when driving a wagon you generally want to prevent a horse from galloping, and this requires very different harnessing than when one rides a horse with a tendency to fling his or her head up. This also means that horse tack cannot always be used interchangeably on different horses (this is elaborated on below). While we cannot reconstruct exactly how such wagons were driven, there are certain givens when working with horse-drawn wagons, namely the build of horses and their instincts, which have not changed (significantly) since the Early Iron Age. Situla art (see also Section 6.1.2.1), moreover, suggests that wagon driving in the Hallstatt period was done according to

the same basic postures and moves in use today (Koch 2011b, 63; see also Eibner *et al.* 2010; Frey 2011; Lucke/Frey 1962).

Both horses and drivers have to be trained to effectively communicate with each other. There must have been general rules or customs over large stretches of Europe with regard to how one drove such a wagon, as horses have to be trained to respond to signals (see also Brownrigg 2006). The supra-regional horse exchange or trade which is postulated to exist at this time (Kossack 1988, 139–40; Teržan 1995, 92*ff.*) only would have worked if horses were communicated with in similar ways over large areas, indicating the existence of a general driving style. The manner in which the reins are held, for example, can influence how signals are transmitted to the horses. Dietz (2006, 162) postulates that there may have been an important innovation in the posture of the hands at the time of the Hallstatt Culture (as depicted on situlae), and that this new way of holding reins would have allowed for more refined rein aids and therefore more difficult maneuvers.

Not only does a person need training and experience to drive a wagon, in the case of the Hallstatt Culture wagons it may have involved quite some physical strength and skill. While it was once postulated that wagons had some kind of chair on the wagon bed (for example the wagon of Ohnenheim H.9 as reconstructed by R. Forrer or the
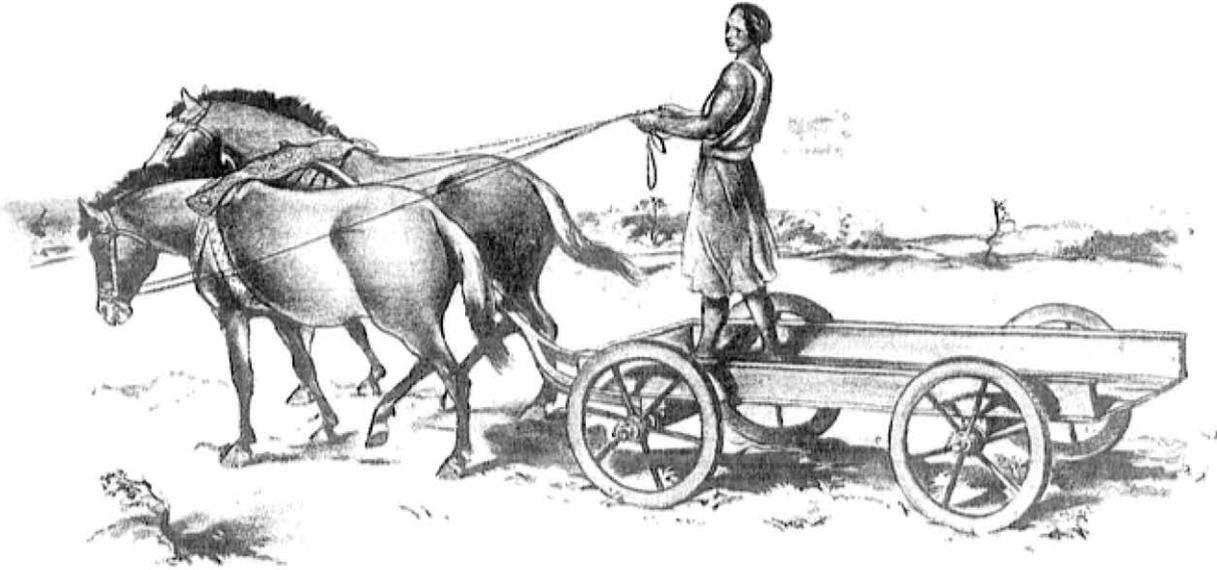
Fig. 6.8 Romantic reconstruction of the four-wheeled wagon from Hradenín. Figure after Dvoràk 1938, fig. 1.

Mitterkirchen wagon as postulated by M. Pertlwieser), this idea has since been discarded (Egg 1987; Torbrügge 1992). However, there is some pictorial evidence – such as for example on the bench from Hochdorf (Hoppe 2012, 222) – that the four-wheeled wagons were driven by a single individual standing on the wagon bed (as seen in Dvoràk's (1938, Fig. 1) reconstruction of the wagon from Hradenín; Fig. 6.8). Given the construction of these wagons, with their flat wagon beds and low edges, this would mean that the driver had nothing to hold onto, while standing on a moving surface and trying to control two horses. The driving of such a vehicle would have involved considerable skill and physical prowess, especially given the speed at which they likely were moving.

Reconstructing how fast these horses and wagons could move involves conjecture, but an educated guess can be made. The breed, gait, and conditioning of a horse all influence the speed at which it moves. Modern horses have an average walking speed of 6.4 km/h, and can trot at 13–19 km/h or canter at around 19–24 km/h. While a horse on average can gallop 40–48 km/h, it cannot sustain such speeds for very long (www.speedofanimals.com). A horse pulling a wagon naturally will move more slowly and the distances it could cover in a day can vary depending on the size of the party and circumstances (*i.e.* weather, type of terrain and condition of the roads). Wagons generally are pulled at a walk or a trot, and long-distance travel most likely would be done at a walk. So anywhere from 20–40 km per day can be considered a good day's journey. An interesting insight into the speed of the Hallstatt wagons comes from spoke fittings found on the wagon from the Býčí skála cave (Barth 1969; 1987). The ribbing on these fittings was placed in such a

way that a spiral pattern was produced when the wagon went a minimum of 14 km/h. Not only does spacing the decoration in such a way to create this effect evidence the expertise of the Hallstatt wheelwright (Pare 1992, 87), it also indicates that this wagon was intended to travel at this speed (at least part of the time). This wagon, therefore, likely was pulled at a trot at least part of the time, which could indicate that when the *Prunkwagen* were used in their ceremonial and attention-grabbing function that they moved at a trot (see also below).

6.3.5.3 Function(ing) of wagons

The extensive use-wear and the care taken in their construction and repair indicate that the ceremonial Hallstatt Culture wagons were not just funeral hearses or made exclusively for burial. They definitely were used, though their small size and simple wagon-boxes seem to argue against them having been used for regular travel or transport over long distances, suggesting a ceremonial function (Pare 1992, 135). There are ample indications that horse-drawn wagons were part of a complex symbolic system and may have featured in cult activities. One class of objects that appears to support this are the various wagon models that characterize this period, such as the *Beckenwagen*, wagons with zoomorphic or ornithomorphic vessels, as well as *Kesselwagen* with bronze vessels and those with ornithomorphic protomes (Pare 1992, 179–81; Schauer 1987). The wide variety of single and hoard depositions of wagon components also shows the esteem in which the wagon was held (Pare 1992, 177–91; Von Brunn 1980). Depictions of wagons in some kind of procession on Pomeranian face-urns as well the later *Situlakunst* (Eibner *et al.* 2010; Frey 2011; Lucke/

Frey 1962; Pare 1992, 186–91; 204–15) also all support the ceremonial or cult-like nature of the wagons, which sometimes (also) took on the role of high status symbols (in wagon-graves; Schauer 1987; Pare 1992, Ch, 12).

While they likely held a ceremonial function, the extensive use-wear found on some wagons and the accompanying horse-gear (for example at Wijchen; Section C35.2; see also Figs. 4.12, 6.9, C35.5 and C35.8) also demonstrates that they did in fact *move around a lot*, something that seems to garner less attention from scholars than their 'symbolic value'. This was a mode of transport that by the very design of the horse-gear and wagons was intended to attract attention. The bronze fittings on the wagons would have gleamed in the sun and many of the ornaments would have jingled while the wagon was in movement. These wagons were designed to be seen and heard, presumably to attract and focus attention on the driver and/or passenger. This was a highly ostentatious way of getting around, and we should perhaps try to imagine the impact the local Chieftain would have had riding around in such a vehicle. They were symbolically charged, attention-grabbing and status-enhancing modes of transport in life, and they may have fulfilled the same role in death.

6.3.5.4 Wagons in burials – complete and partial deposition

Wagon-graves range from burials with complete wagons to those with only a few components (in particular linchpins) interred as a *pars pro toto* of a complete wagon (Pare 1992, 195). There is, however, a difference between a grave where intentionally only parts of the wagon were selected for interment to stand for the wagon, and cremation graves where a wagon was burned and only some of the fittings were collected and deposited without symbolic intention (Pare 1992, 122–3). Which is *not* to say that fittings from a cremated wagon cannot be *pars pro toto* depositions, but the difference needs to be acknowledged.

Horse-gear as a *pars pro toto* of a wagon

There are also graves in which the harnessing for (often a pair) of horses is found without an accompanying yoke or wagon, which are sometimes likewise interpreted as *pars pro toto* depositions of wagons (Koch 2010, 141; 2012; Kossack 1959; Metzner-Nebelsick/Nebelsick 1999; Pare 1992, 195). It is important, however, to distinguish between horse-gear intended for riding or driving when making such interpretations. Some horse-gear, like certain types of bits with elongated cheek-pieces is suited functionally to driving (see above and below), but also could have been used by a rider. When found in isolation this gear cannot always be identified as draft harnessing, even though this is often a likely use, especially in the case of bits functionally suited to driving (see below).

Only when yoke or wagon components are found as well can it truly be established that horse-gear was used with a wagon. However, there is also evidence to suggest that perhaps it was the idea of representing a pair of draft horses, and by extension a wagon, that mattered. The oversized horse-bits from Meerlo probably should be interpreted as such. These bits are typologically 'correct', but so large that a real horse could never have worn them and they may have been made as a 'symbol of a symbol' (Chapter C23). This is discussed further below. The reverse is, in a way, also true. For while burials with horse-gear for a single horse frequently are interpreted as rider graves (Kmeťova 2013b, 73; Koch 2010, 140; Pare 1992, 195–204), there is an argument to be made that sometimes the horse-gear could still be from a draft horse (which sometimes also can be suggested for technological reasons). This is especially so in the Low Countries where a very destructive and selective burial custom was in practice (see Chapters 5 and 7).

Buried with horse-gear and/or a wagon

There is not a lot of data regarding the age or sex of the people buried with wagons and/or horse-gear. In general though it can be said that horses were used by male elites in all aspects of life (Koch 2010, 150), though there is also evidence to suggest a link between females and horses (Metzner-Nebelsick 2009; Metzner-Nebelsick/Nebelsick 1999; see below). Koch (2010, 149) uses finds of horse-gear and wagons as well as figurative art (primarily situla art) to argue that horses were used in many different roles in the Hallstatt Culture (area), including travel, horse racing, carrying armed riders, hunting, jousting or participation in sacrificial rituals. She also argues that peaceful activities dominate. It should be noted that while primarily associated with males, there are also a handful of women's and child burials with horse-gear depositions, indicating that horses were not only a male purview (Koch 2010). This certainly appears to be indicated by a recurrent association of horse-gear and female attributes throughout the Late Urnfield and Early Hallstatt period, ranging from the burial of horse-gear as ornaments in the Hallstatt Cemetery to ornaments and horse-gear found together in Late Bronze Age hoards (Koch 2012; Metzner-Nebelsick 2009; Metzner-Nebelsick/Nebelsick 1999). Metzner-Nebelsick and Nebelsick (1999, 69) argue that this recurrent linking of horses and women relates to a widespread and long-lived mythology of "heroines and goddesses with equestrian ties as bestowers of fertility, sovereignty and legitimacy".

6.3.6 The horse in the Hallstatt Culture and the Low Countries

The elaborate horse-gear and wagons found in the elite burials generally are seen as prestigious (grave) goods

and possessions that played a key role in funerary rituals (*e.g.* Hennig *et al.* 2009; Koch 2006; 2010; Kossack 1959; Pare 1992). The animals that wore the richly decorated horse tack and pulled these wagons, however generally receive less attention. This research, however, argues that they were likely just as important as the wagons and horse-gear. Horses represent and involve major economic and emotional investments. It takes years of training to make a horses suitable for pulling a wagon (and a driver suited to train, control and communicate with them). They would have been valuable animals and important to people's way of life. Moreover, people connect and bond with horses (see below). Even if we ignore the emotional effect that horses have on humans, horses enable people to manage territory, livestock and other people and are seen as a means of controlling wealth and exercising power (Bendrey 2007; 2010). I argue that a pair of horse-bits therefore need not (only) be a *pars pro toto* deposition of a ceremonial wagon at all, it may instead (also) represent the valuable animals used to pull it. Horse-gear has to be made to fit a specific horse in order to work properly. The horse-gear might therefore just as well have been part of the identity of the horse, rather than the chiefly identity of the deceased. This section focuses on these 'noble animals' and their role in the Early Iron Age.

6.3.6.1 Relating to horses
Relationships between humans are characterized by "uniqueness, irreplaceability and interdependence" (Adler *et al.* 2003, 14–5). As many horse owners will tell you, the same features characterize their relationships with individual horses. Horses have their own personalities and vary widely in psychological traits. They often are described in the same terms used to describe a human's personality. A horse can be honest, headstrong, spirited and so on. Describing horses in such a manner may seem somewhat un-academic, but in my opinion it is imperative that we acknowledge that (most) people who interact with horses, *do* see them in this manner. Riders understand horses not "out of misguided logic or intellectual naivety about the perceived dangers of anthropomorphism", but as other beings and not as "objects or academic constructs" (Argent 2010a, 169). Humans bond with horses and value them for more than their functional and economic uses. This does not, of course, mean that horses sometimes were not (and still are) exploited, dominated and oppressed by their owners. However, as Argent (2010a, 159) argues, "the relationship between humans and horses is not *necessarily* exploitive". She explores a more cooperative model of human-horse interaction, whereby horses are seen as more than objects or tools used by humans. Working from this perspective she proposes a very interesting interpretation of the costumes worn by the Iron Age Pazyryk horses interred

in the human-horse burials in a Kurgan. By viewing the horses as subjects and analyzing their costumes as possibly reflecting the characteristics and accomplishments of the horses themselves, she was able to suggest that the horses' costumes reflect the roles and statuses of the horses, rather than those of the humans (Argent 2010ab). This type of approach can be of value when examining the Hallstatt C horse-gear. By acknowledging the connections between humans and horses we can avoid treating horses as objects being acted upon. While the elite burials of the Low Countries do not contain the horses themselves, it may be possible to say something about them based on the horse-gear they do contain. The characteristics of a bit, for example, can say something both about the horse and the rider/driver, and even hint at their relationship.

6.3.6.2 Horses (represented) in the Hallstatt Culture
During the Early Iron Age, horse tack components (in particular horse-bits) started to be placed in human graves of the Hallstatt Culture, followed by a surge of objects representing horses, including clothing, jewelry and vessels with horses depictions, in particular as grave goods (*e.g.* Kmeťova 2013b, 68–9; Koch 2006, 144; Lucke/Frey 1962; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 454–5, 462–8; 2007; Pare 1987a–c; 1992, 195–202; Fig. 135; Reichenberger 2000). The miniature wagons and figurines, such as the cult wagon found at Strettweg (Egg 1996), are well-known examples (see above). The horse quickly became the most frequently depicted animal of this time period (Kmeťova 2013a, 249).

In the western regions of the Hallstatt Culture and central Italy it was typical to inter horse-gear for a pair of horses, while tack for a single horse was characteristic for the Pannonian Basin and northern Italy. In the East-Alpine Hallstatt regions these two customs met, and there was also the placement of tack for three horses in graves. Numeric symbolism apparently played an important role, with a pair or horse-bits symbolizing horse tack for two (draft) horses and a wagon or chariot vs. a single bit symbolizing harnessing for a single (riding) horse (Kmeťova 2013b, 73; Pare 1992, 195–204; Von Hase 1969, 53–6; though see above). In several regions of the East-Alpine Hallstatt Culture the horses would be buried as well. Sometimes entire horses were buried, while in other cases only some (cremated) fragmentary remains were interred (Kmeťova 2013ab). No burials of horses have been found in the Low Countries, though the Chieftain's grave of Oss yielded a burned fragment of horse bone (Smits *et al.* 1997, 99: Section C26.2). In general though, objects associated with horses were interred more frequently than horse remains (Kmeťova 2013b, 69).

While the prestige associated with owning an elaborate four-wheeled wagon is frequently stressed,

the horses likely would have been equally or even more valuable. Kmeťova (2013b, 73–4) argues that owning one or several high-class and costly horses and a lavish wagon was highly prestigious and the interring of horses and/or horse-related objects in elite burials shows the value of horses in Hallstatt Culture society. Horse tack in graves therefore represented the high social rank of its owner (alive or dead) and identified them as a member of a privileged social class (namely as a rider or driver of horses). In this manner horses, and not only the wagons, served as social symbols for the members of the elite stratum (Kmeťova 2013b, 67). She goes on to paint a picture of the importance a horse would have had in the life of an elite, how it would have been "a nobleman's daily companion in many of his 'class-specific' activities, such as warfare, hunting and racing as well as a manifestation of his wealth and elevated rank" (Kmeťova 2013b, 77–8). After death, the horse served to show the social status of the deceased during the burial ritual, especially in front of his progeny and the community that he once may have led. For certain areas of the eastern Hallstatt Culture it has been argued that placing horses or their harnesses in a grave not only marked the deceased as a holder of high social rank, but probably also expressed the journey after death to the Underworld for which the horse would have served as companion on the final journey (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 492; Kmeťova 2013a, 251–2; 2013b, 73–5).

This conforms with the fact that, more generally speaking, the horse certainly had a strong mythological presence in many Indo-European cultures. It has been argued that in funerary rituals in general a horse "performed both the role of intermediator between the human and divine worlds and, also, it provided the deceased the means for resurrection" and that "a sacrificed horse [had the ability] to bring eternal life, as well as spiritual and physical energy" (Kuzmina 2006).

6.3.6.3 The origin, appearance and prowess of the Hallstatt Culture horse

Important remaining questions are where did the horses come from, and what were they like? Kossack (1988) already speculated that the introduction of larger horse-bits during Hallstatt C1 indicates that a larger horse-breed was introduced during this period, probably from the North Pontic steppes (see also Pare 1992, 138). A related and for this research perhaps more relevant question is whether the horses in the Low Countries were the same as those in the Hallstatt Culture area. Answering this is difficult as the actual remains of these horses are rare and the following therefore is based on limited evidence. The Hallstatt Culture horses are believed to be descendants of horses who were domesticated on the Eurasian steppes during the Eneolithic and subsequently dispersed from

Eastern to Central and southeast Europe (*e.g.* Anthony/Brown 1991; Anthony *et al.* 1991; Bökönyi 1974; Greenfield 2006, 22; Olsen 2000; 2006). Osteometric data, for example, indicate that horses imported from Eastern or southeastern Europe were used to initiate controlled breeding of horses in central and southern Germany (Benecke 2006). In general it has been argued that there must have been controlled breeding in the Iron Age as horses were so important. Intensive local breeding certainly is indicated by the development and production of local versions of horse-gear and the burials of high-class horses in certain areas (Bökönyi 1974, 250*ff.*; Kmeťova 2013a, 254; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 357–62; Palk 1984). According to Kmeťova (2013a, 254) the importance of the horse could have increased throughout the wider social range as a result of such economic investment and the wider population strata may have participated in rites related to the horses.

With regard to the physical appearance of Iron Age horses in Europe, in his classic work Bökönyi (1968) postulated that the horses of Iron Age Central and Eastern Europe fall into two (not uniform and geographically separated) groups based on osteometric morphological data (though these groups were not identifiable in terms of genetics in a recent study by Hennig *et al.* 2009). The 'eastern group' (covering the eastern part of Central Europe, of Eastern and southeastern Europe) incorporated "Scythian and Greek horses of Southern Russia, the Thracian horses of Bulgaria, the horses from the 6th century B.C. of Histria in Romania, the Scythian horses of Hungary, as well as the horses of the Hallstatt Age of Magdalenska gora and of Breje" (Bökönyi 1968, 19). The horses of the Hallstatt period of Austria and Germany and of the La Tène period of Germany and Switzerland belong to the 'western group' (covering the western part of Central Europe; Bökönyi 1968, 18–9; 39). The horses generally had relatively big heads (Bökönyi 1968, 41). Horses from the 'eastern group' were mostly larger-bodied stock, and had an average withers height of roughly 137 cm/13.5 hands (ranging from 121.1–149.9 cm or 120.4–151.9 cm depending on which bone is used to reconstruct the height), while the western group generally are smaller-bodied horses with an average withers height of roughly 126.7 cm/12.5 hands (ranging from 109.9–149.9 cm or 112.5–153.5 cm depending on which bone is used to reconstruct the height; Bökönyi 1968, 22; 36–41). For modern comparison purposes, an average Thoroughbred is 163 cm/16 hands, and ponies can measure up to 147 cm/14.2 hands. The horses of the eastern group were stockier than the western ones. The horses of the steppe had stockier legs than the slender-legged mountain-woodland horses. The eastern horses were more desirable as they were faster, could carry heavier loads and cover greater distances. People living in areas

where the western group was prevalent therefore likely would have striven to acquire horses from the eastern group, something that Bökönyi (1968, 41) postulates was mainly possible for elites. It may be that this is reflected in the change in the size of horse-bits (from 70–80 mm during the Urnfield period to 80–100 mm in Hallstatt C) observed by Kossack (1959, 88–9; 1988; Pare 1992, 3). The size of mouthpieces and how this relates to the horses who wore them is discussed further below.

In terms of appearance, Koch (2006, 222–5; fig. 195) offers modern day Dartmoor or Exmoor ponies as a parallel for what the Iron Age horses may have looked like. These animals, however, are smaller than the Early Iron Age horses, and modern day Haflingers may serve as a better example. All these modern breeds, however, have loose flowing manes, while Iron Age horses often are depicted with a short, standing mane (*e.g.* on the situla of Kuffarn; Eibner *et al.* 2010). This can be specific to the horse breed (for example modern day Przewalski horses), but also the result of the mane being cut short. This is a common practice, in particular with horses that pull wagons, to prevent the reins from becoming tangled in the mane.

Horse burials

As already mentioned above, both complete horses and fragmentary (cremated) remains of horses were buried in several regions of the East-Alpine Hallstatt Culture (Kmeťova 2013ab). Horses, however, are almost never found in burials in the west Hallstatt Culture. One exception comes from Großen Buhl near Aislingen (Lkr. Dilingen in Bavaria) where two horses were found buried in a pit separate from the central burial chamber (Hennig *et al.* 2009). Though the grave had been robbed out, the fragmentary remains show that a wagon of Pare's (1992) type 4 had been buried in the central chamber. The two horses match in size and build, which in combination with their proximity to the wagon burial, indicates they are a set of draft horses which once pulled the buried wagon (Hennig *et al.* 2009, 183). The horses were stallions or possibly geldings. One was at least 15 years old and the other may have been older. They were slenderly built and 138–141 cm high at the withers (modern day Haflingers would be a close comparison; Hennig *et al.* 2009, 176–81). This is relatively large for horses of that time, and Hennig *et al.* (2009, 183) argue that they are from the local region and were selected for the elites because they were the best. The care taken during the burial shows the esteem in which both the deceased and the horses were held. Two 15–20 year old stallions were found in a large barrow in Nersingen as well (Manhart 2001, 146). In contrast to the Aislingen horses the Nersingen ones were buried wearing horse tack.

6.3.6.4 Changes in horse tack, changes in horses?

As noted above, Kossack established that during Hallstatt C horse-bits in the Carpathian Basin were wider (80–100 mm) than the horse-bits from the preceding western Urnfield Culture (70–80 mm), with bits of 120 mm wide appearing to be the largest in use during the Hallstatt C period (Kossack 1959; 1988). The size of the mouthpiece provides insight into the horses that once would have worn them, as a bit has to fit the mouth of the horse to be functional (see also above). The change in bit size was therefore interpreted as evidence of the introduction of a larger horse breed (Kossack 1959; 1988; Pare 1992, 3; 138). It should be noted, however, that the size of the horse-bit does not always relate one-to-one to the size of the horse. While larger horses generally require larger bits, there are also small horses or ponies with larger heads, and it is therefore important to know about the size and build of a horse's head (*cf.* Koch 2006, 219). Changes in the size of horse-bits in use, however, could indicate a change in the (breed of) horses used.

This makes it all the more striking that the bits found in the Low Countries appear unusually large (Tab. 6.2). The smallest are 120 mm, which is bigger than what Kossack (1959; 1988) noted for the Hallstatt C period. As noted above, the bits from Meerlo are so large that they never could have been used (see also Section 7.2.3.5). Even today there is no horse that takes a bit of 190 mm. The use-wear found on the bits of Oss-Vorstengraf and Wijchen, however, show that these certainly were used (Fig. 6.9), which makes their large size striking. When comparing the sizes of mouthpieces it is important to specify exactly what is being measured. Figure 6.9 shows how measurements can differ depending on where they are taken. I measured the diameter of the mouthpieces from the inside of the outer eyes, or in those cases where only half the mouthpiece survives, from to the inside of the inner eye to the inside of the outer eye (Fig. 6.9, bottom). This gives the best measurement of the material that would have been inside the mouth. The bit would be angled inside the horse's mouth (Fig. 6.6), and this measurement therefore does not equal the width of the mouth. As far as can be determined at present by measuring and comparing horse-gear published by Kossack (*e.g.* 1959), it appears he measured in roughly the same way. This could indicate that at least some of the horses pulling the elaborate ceremonial wagons in the Low Countries were bigger (-mouthed) than those in use in the Hallstatt Culture area. While this does not necessarily mean that we are dealing with a different breed of horse, it does appear that the larger (-headed) animals were selected for duty as draft horses for these particular wagons.
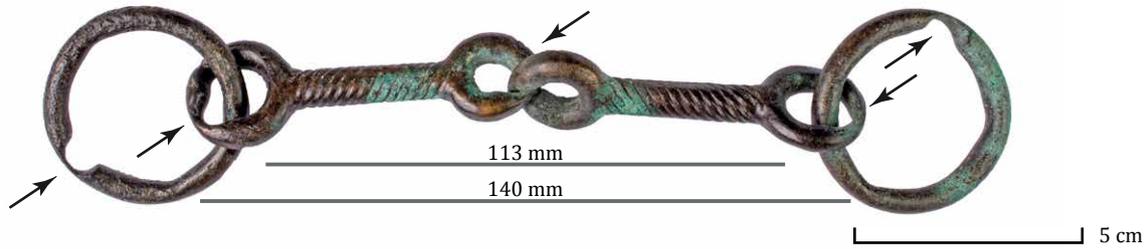
Fig. 6.9 Use-wear on one of the Wijchen bits and the difference in the width of the mouthpiece depending on the point of measurement. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed.

Object no.	Material and type	Size mouthpiece
CSE-FR.T3.11	Iron bit, type Platenitz	Ca. 120 mm
CSE-FR.T3.12	Iron bit, type Platenitz	Ca. 132 mm
*DB.5**	Iron bit	-
*LM.T1.4**	Iron bit fragment, type Platenitz	Half the mouthpiece: 71.5 mm; total mouthpiece would have measured ca. 143 mm
M.05, M06, M.08, M09	Iron bit	Ca. 190 mm
M.07, M.10, M.11	Iron bit	Ca. 190 mm
OV.09	Iron bit, type Platenitz	Ca. 155 mm
OV.10	Iron bit, type Platenitz	Ca. 158 mm
WIJ.07a	Bronze bit, simple snaffle	Ca. 135–140 mm
WIJ.07b	Bronze bit, simple snaffle	Ca. 134–140 mm

Tab. 6.2 Size of horse-bit mouthpieces in the Catalogue.

6.4 Tools

Tools generally are not considered one of the defining factors of Early Iron Age elite burials. However, it appears that some were key elements of ('ritual') butchering practices, and this research posits that the axes found in a number of Low Countries elite burials actually reveal the involvement of individuals familiar with Hallstatt Culture burial practices in the funerary rituals (see also Section 7.3).

6.4.1 Axes: local and regional products

As noted in Section C2.5.2, only four axes are included in the Catalogue and they all appear to be regional products in that they certainly do *not* seem to be Hallstatt Culture imports. This means that the axes were not imported alongside the swords, wagons and horse-gear as part of some elite set. The decision to include an axe in these four graves was made by the people doing the burying. What makes this significant is that the decision to include such objects in burials appears to go completely against the local customs. In the Low Countries axes *never* ended up in graves during this period, instead they were deposited in other contexts (Fontijn 2002, app. 2.14–15; Section 5.1). These four axes, which incidentally were found in some of the richest graves in the dataset (see also Section 4.2.1), are the only known exceptions. Something about these

four individuals or the people who buried them made it acceptable, and apparently necessary, for them to be buried with axes (see also Section 7.2.3.3).

6.4.2 Butchering tools: knives and axes

The apparently locally made decision to make an exception to local customs and bury four special individuals with axes becomes even more interesting when we consider that axes feature in several of the richest Hallstatt Culture *Fürstengräber* of Central Europe. Here the axes and knives are interpreted as ritual butchering tools linked to feasting and/or offering and are believed to represent a meaningful component of the elite set and elite identity expressed in these graves (*e.g.* Krauße 1996, 299–307; Mörtz 2012, 172; Schickler 2001, 124–5). The quality of some of the axes found in elite burials appears consistent with a non-everyday use or function. The axe from Oss, for example, is unusually fine and detailed (compare for example the axe from Didam-Kerkwijk; Van der Veken *et al.* 2011), and making such an axe from iron would not have been easy. Some axes found in elite burials of the Hallstatt Culture are even decorated with gold (Schickler 2001, 125). As noted in Section C2.5.2, the knives found in elite burials can be extravagant both in size and decoration, perhaps likewise indicating a non-mundane function or use.

Examples are the unusually large knife reportedly found in Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3, and the knife inlaid with gold found in the *Fürstengrab* of Frankfurt-Stadtwald together with swine bones, which appears to be a recurring association. Iron knives, for example, were found in association with pig hindquarters and bones in several elite burials at Hradenín (graves 1, 24 and 46; Schickler 2001, 25–6). The (ritual) butchering of animals also is represented repeatedly on situla art, and more specifically a pig or swine can be seen being dragged towards two seated, feasting individuals on the situla of Bologna (Krauße 1996, 304; Lucke/Frey 1962; Schickler 2001, 123). In short there is reason to believe that the axes and knives found in the elite burials held a special function and role, both in life and death, and were an important part of the grave goods.

6.4.3 Whetstone or other stone tool?

Supposed whetstones have been found in a number of the elite burials, which may in fact not have been whetstones at all (Section C2.5.3). Use-wear analysis on the supposed whetstone of Oss revealed no signs of use to sharpen blades. While the absence of use-wear traces does not exclude the possibility that the object once was used for a certain function, the presence of traces of use of a very different kind on the Oss stone does indicate that this was not a whetstone. Instead the narrow end appears to have been used in a transverse, scraping motion (see Section C26.2). It has not yet been possible to reconstruct the exact function of this object. The fact that it was selected for burial and rubbed with ocher, probably during the burial rite, does appear to indicate a special function or significance. At present the Oss stone is the only such item to have been examined in such a way, and it is certainly plausible that some such objects were in fact whetstones. The Oss example, however, demonstrates that such a use cannot be assumed based on shape alone. Research into this is ongoing.

6.5 Personal appearance: toiletries and ornaments

As discussed in Chapter 5, it has been argued that the elite burials with Hallstatt Culture imports were geared in their entirety towards conveying a supra-regional, elite, and indeed, warrior identity (*e.g.* Fontijn 2002, 206; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007; Treherne 1995). Though the artifact complex itself may play a role in conveying a specific identity (see Section 7.2.1.1), there are also several kinds of objects specifically related to physical appearance. These include razors, tweezers and other toiletry items as well as clothing, dress items and ornaments. The razor(s), tweezers and other toiletries in particular would have been used to alter a person's

body and/or face, and it is worth considering how and why this was done. Textiles, though elusive finds, were used not only to keep the body warm, but also to convey messages.

6.5.1 Grooming tools: adjusting one's physical appearance

It has been argued that Bronze Age razors and toiletry items played a role in the presentation of the self and the expression of identity, and that this became increasingly important at this time (*e.g.* Harding 2008; Treherne 1995). As most men naturally have facial hair once they reach a certain age, "the decision whether to keep or remove it, and if so, in what manner, is part of the presentation for that person" and razors are therefore "the archeological expression of how men presented themselves" (Harding 2008, 194). We should, however, not discount the possibility that some razors and depilatory tweezers may have been used by women. In the case of the current dataset only the razors from Oss (*OV.27* and *OV.28*) can be identified as coming from the grave of a man. Other toiletries cannot be assigned to a specific sex based on physical anthropological grounds, though in the case of Slabroek (*US.11–13*) it is suggested they come from the grave of a woman.

6.5.1.1 The razor's edge – the importance of a close shave?

The razors found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials fit into a long tradition of both the use and interment of such items. Throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Age razors are found both in poorly furnished burials and in the very richest (Fontijn 2002; Jockenhövel 1971, 248; Louwen in prep.), indicating, "it was not just a matter of observable status in terms of grave goods that determined whether men possessed razors"(Harding 2008, 192). This again raises the question of how a certain type of object was used in life as this gives insight into its selection as a grave good (Section 6.1) – how, and in particular how often were these razors (and tweezers) used? While it is possible to shave with bronze razors, experiments indicate that they are ill-suited to shaving daily or only a few days beard growth. They require about a week's growth so that the blade 'grips' better (Drescher 1963; Kaul 1988). So while perhaps not a part of the daily routine as they are for most men today, the wear and resharpening found on many indicate that they certainly were used. Harding (2008, 191) suggests that in the Bronze Age this may mean that (in the absence of mirrors) a specialist was responsible for shaving the living and the dead (though he does acknowledge that Jockenhövel (2003, 138) argues that razors are too common for this to be the case). So while these razors most likely played an important role in how people presented themselves to the outside world,

of particular interest to this research is that the razors may have been used during the burial ritual to prepare the corpse, or by the mourners themselves, as suggested by Treherne (1995, 121) in his seminal work (see also Fontijn 2002, 204; 227–8; Harding 2008). However, Barrett (1994, 116) warns that a distinction must be made between similar items that played a role in dressing the living and those that adorned the dead. In contrast to the living, a corpse does not play an active role in its own adornment. Whether it played an equal role in life and in death, there was an aesthetic of beauty that was considered important enough to play a role in the burial and the dead were being made to look a certain way (see also Section 7.2.1.1).

6.5.1.2 Toiletries as ornaments?

Razors, however, were not the only objects used to change the appearance of the face (and possibly the body). There are a number of toiletry items found in the elite Early Iron Age burials, including tweezers which presumably were used for depilatory purposes. Items with a V-shaped notch are interpreted as nail-cutters, and small spooned items are believed to be implements for applying makeup or for cleaning ears (Harding 2008, 192).

There are some indications that these toiletries were worn on the chest. The set from Slabroek, for example, was found on the left shoulder. It is argued that it was likely in a (leather) pouch of some kind that had an amber bead as a closing (see Chapter C32). The same arrangement was found in the *Fürstengrab* of Frankfurt-Stadtwald, where a bronze and iron toilet set was found in a leather/cloth pouch that not only had an amber bead as closing but was also decorated with feathers (Fischer 1979; Willms 2002, 49). There are also many other instances of toiletry sets found on the chest, and perhaps they were worn pinned on the chest as some kind of ornament. Their presence there perhaps reinforcing the idea of beauty that they were used to maintain.

6.5.2 Pins and ornaments

Pins and ornaments are also among the grave goods found in the burials under discussion. They range from simple clothing pins to more elaborate ornaments like bronze anklets and hair rings. Chapter 5 already touched upon the special nature of a number of these ornaments, namely the *Bombenkopf* pins found in the Chieftain's burial of Oss and possibly also in the Wijchen grave (Sections C26.2 and C35.2). The significance of certain types of ornaments as supra-regional identity markers also was discussed. The exceptional ornaments from Leesten-Meijerink (Chapter C18), which were discussed in Section 5.2.2, appear to be a unique assemblage in the Low Countries. Otherwise, however, the pins and ornaments listed in the dataset appear to

be 'normal' adornments of commonly found types. This should not come as a surprise as ornaments are common finds in both deposits and burials during the Late Bronze Age (Fontijn 2002, 172–4; 198–201; Louwen in prep.).

6.5.3 Cloth and clothing

Not only did the razors, toiletries and ornaments play a role in the specific appearance of the dead, the organic dress of the deceased did as well. In some cases only the imprint of textile survives on metal objects, such as for example a fragment of iron with cloth imprint (*CSE-FR.T4.10**) found at Court-St-Etienne or the impression of textile observed on the bucket of Rhenen-Koerheuvel (Sections C6.2.5.1 and C28.2). There is also indirect evidence of the clothing of the deceased, in the form of metal dress pins and ornaments. Only in two burials in the dataset do actual textiles surive: Oss-Vorstengraf and Uden-Slabroek.

6.5.3.1 Oss-Vorstengraf and Uden-Slabroek: different cloth cultures?

The textiles found in the Chieftain's burial of Oss and in the exceptional Uden-Slabroek grave appear to have had different functions in the two graves in which they are preserved. While some textiles have been identified as the clothing of the deceased, some are also a functional part of the funerary ritual and were used to wrap grave goods, either by themselves or in groups. In the Chieftain's burial of Oss textile was used to wrap up a number of grave goods (see Insert 7.1; Sections 7.1 and C26.4.2). In the same grave the extreme high quality of some of the textiles, as well as the manner of deposition, suggest that cloth (perhaps in the form of clothing) also was deposited as a grave good in its own right, such as the packet of imported diamond twills (Textiles C and D; App. A2.7 and CA1; Fig. 4.9; Section C26.2). In Uden-Slabroek the deceased appears to have been buried in a long dress with long sleeves, made from an attractively colored woolen textile with a (probably blue and red) houndstooth pattern (see App. A2.7 and CA1; Section C32.2).

In some cases we can use the properties of materials to make an educated guess regarding how they may have been used. Fine, light and/or loosely woven fabrics will fray if left unhemmed, but are well suited to being made into shawls or soft and pleated dresses. Stiff and dense textiles are hardwearing and serve well as outerwear (Grömer *et al.* 2013, 226–7). Differences in types of cloth and their uses also are reflected in the two elite burials of Oss-Vorstengraf and Uden-Slabroek. While the technical aspects of these textiles are discussed elsewhere (App. A2.7 and CA1; Sections C2.7, C26.2 and C32.2), there are some elements to them that warrant further discussion. It appears that the textiles found in the elite burials of Oss-Vorstengraf

and Uden-Slabroek may come from different cloth cultures (a concept introduced by Harris (2008; 2012) and discussed in Section C2.7.1). They are different in terms of thread and weave patterns, and the wool used to make them could not have come from the same sheep as the wool used in Uden-Slabroek could not have been spun as thinly as some of the threads used in the Oss textiles (Grömer 2015, pers. comm.). Some of the Oss textiles have close parallels in the Hallstatt Culture area and Italy and were most likely precious imports in their own right. The dress from Uden-Slabroek, though brightly colored with an attractive pattern, was worn for long enough period of that it became quite worn, almost felted in places (Grömer 2015, pers. comm.).

6.6 Conclusion: grave goods that reflect an elite lifestyle

This chapter discussed practical aspects of both the production and use of the (types) of objects found as grave goods in the elite burials. They are components that played a role in the construction and expression of a complex identity, and I have attempted to show that these objects were both symbolically charged and very much a part of daily life. The bronze vessels held drink and likely served as focal points for social gatherings which could have served a range of (simultaneous) purposes, not least of which was to ease and celebrate the meeting and interaction of people from far-flung reaches. Exceptional, imported horses once wore the horse-gear and pulled the wagons that were driven by people who had to have trained and practiced extensively to do so. As a moving, glittering and jingling ensemble, perhaps crossing the heath or farmlands the wagons would have stood out and attracted attention. The swords were worn and trained and fought with, perhaps in ritualized combat but most likely also in encounters where the combatants were truly intent on inflicting harm on the other person. The precious textiles, ornaments and grooming tools were used to create and in the latter case maintain a specific appearance that may have made them immediately identifiable as individuals of a certain rank or members of a specific social class, possibly even in way that people from across Europe would have understood. The grave goods are what is left in death of an active and specific way of life and in this manner remain signifiers of that lifestyle, status and identity (*cf.* Boivin 2008, 16–41; Section 2.3.1). Their uses and roles in life likely influenced why they were selected for burial with these specific people through this specific burial practice.

7 Conclusion

The Chieftain of Oss

Over 2700 years ago a tall and muscular man, some 30–40 years old, died.

As was customary, a pyre was created for him and the man's corpse was cremated, accompanied by a number of food offerings. This was a fiery spectacle of melting flesh and breaking bones. A fire so hot that anyone watching could not have come close transformed the dead Chieftain, until all that was left were cracked, white pieces of bone lying among the ashes of the burned-out pyre. Significant care was then taken to collect as much burned bone as possible, making sure every skeletal element was represented – except for his teeth, strangely enough.

A number of exceptional objects, presumably his one-time possessions, were selected to accompany him in his grave. An exotic bronze wine-mixing bucket, imported from Central Europe, was destined to be his urn. It appears to have been important that both the deceased and all his one-time possessions and soon-to-be grave goods be placed or signified in that urn. A wagon, imported from far away as well and used in life as a special, ceremonial and attention-grabbing mode of prestigious transport, and the horses that pulled it, also needed to be represented with him in death. Perhaps his ability to drive this unconventional and foreign vehicle and control the large draft horses who pulled it was strongly tied to his elite identity. The wagon itself was not interred – instead a number of metal components were selected to represent it. The remaining wooden wagon may have burned on the pyre or remained in use following the Chieftain's death, as the removal of the metal components represented in the burial would not have rendered the wagon unusable. Iron rings removed from the yoke were wrapped tightly together with a woolen cloth. This package of rings was placed on the bottom of the bronze bucket. Horse-gear designed for and used by large horses likewise was selected for burial. One of the leather bridles, incorporating a worn iron bit and bronze trappings, was placed next to the package of rings.

An extraordinary and exceptionally long imported iron sword with an elaborate hilt decorated with precious gold, lead, bone and bronze was hammered round, rendering it both useless and small enough to fit into the bronze urn. The iron blade was wrapped in yet another woolen cloth, possibly secured with an iron pin with a hollow bronze head, and placed in the bucket, hilt down, hiding the shining gold from view. Two different kinds of fine woolen cloth were folded together and deposited as grave goods in their own right, placed against the wrapped sword. In terms of craftsmanship and value, these imported textiles would have rivaled the precious sword.

An iron knife was wrapped with another woolen cloth and placed on top of the bridle together with an exceptionally well-made socketed iron axe – both likely used during (ritual) slaughtering activities or during feasting ceremonies surrounding his death and burial. It would have appeared strange to some of the mourners that this man was being buried with an axe, as this went completely against the community's customs. The second bridle was placed on top of the packet of wrapped rings in the bucket. Bronze rosettes were forcibly removed from the wooden yoke and placed in the bronze vessel together with the iron yoke toggles and perhaps leather yoke panels as well. As with the wagon, the wooden yoke may have been burned, or it may have remained in use following the burial or been otherwise disposed of. Two iron razors were added to the urn, as were a ribbed wooden drinking cup and a stone tool that was rubbed with ocher as part of the ritual. The Chieftain's cremated remains were likely the last element added.

The situla-urn and its content were then placed in a deep pit that had been dug through one of several ancient barrows located in a heath landscape. The mourners dug the Chieftain's grave pit slightly off-center in the mound, making sure not to disturb the older burial, and perhaps intentionally linking the deceased with the ancestor buried there. They then proceeded to cover the small ancient mound with one of the largest barrows most of them had ever seen and without parallel in Northwest Europe, some 53 m in diameter, stripping vast stretches of heath and investing both time and manpower in order to do so.

The burial ritual as a whole – from start to finish likely would have taken several days, if not weeks or even longer to complete – and members of the community to which he once belonged may have visited his final resting place for years to come…

Insert 7.1 The burial ritual of the Chieftain of Oss re-imagined based on the available evidence (see also Chapter C26 and Fig. 7.1).
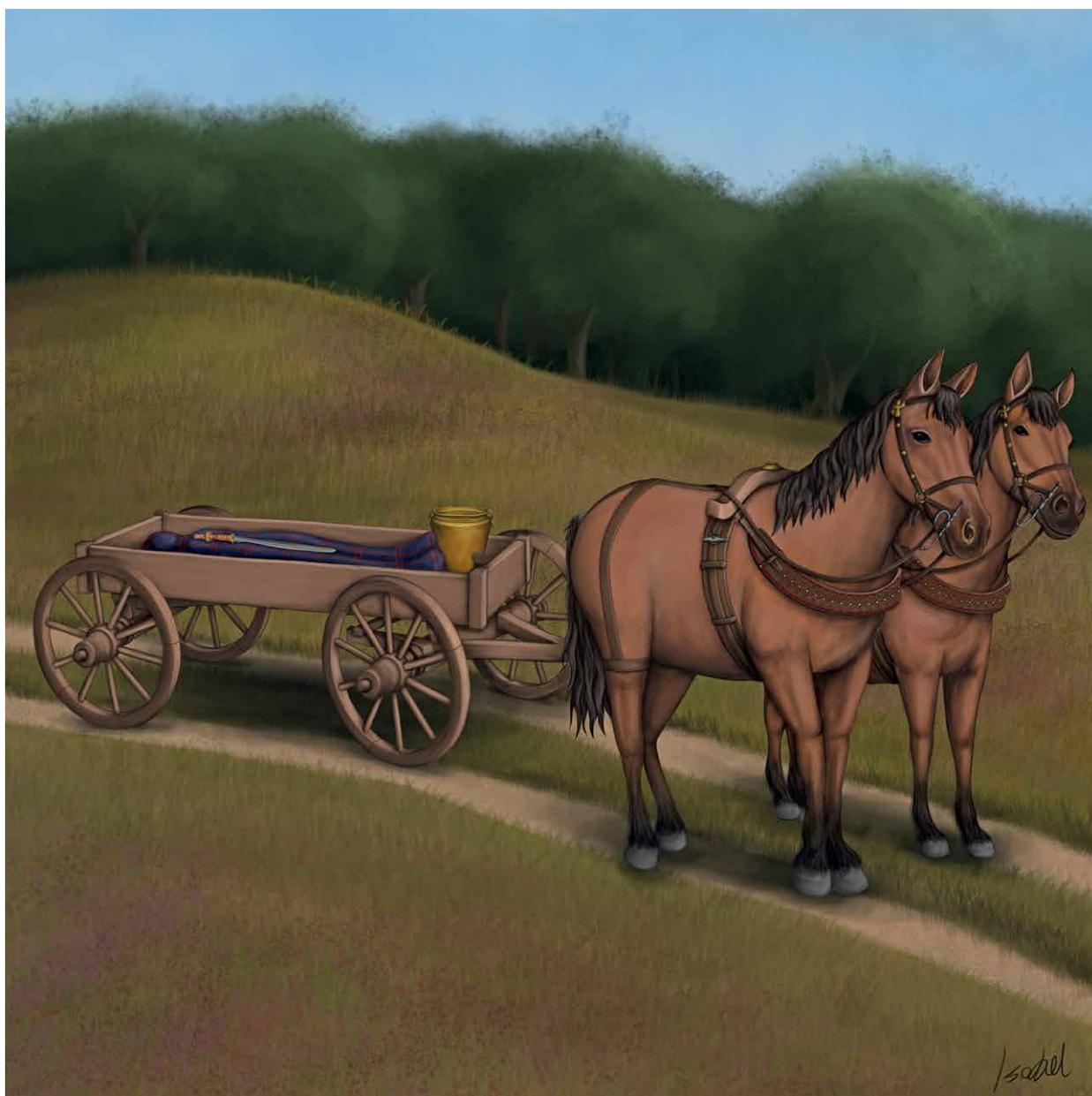

Fig. 7.1 Romantic reconstruction of the Chieftain's of Oss' burial. Note that the yoke chest straps are reconstructions of finds from Oss-Zevenbergen M.7 (see Section 7.2.1.8). Painting by I. Gelman.

7.1 Eight decades later: a 'new' Chieftain's burial of Oss

Nearly three millennia after the fiery funeral described above (Insert 7.1), the grave created would become known as the Chieftain's burial of Oss and its discovery would trigger over 80 years of archeological research (so far). This grave and the admittedly romanticized reconstruction (see the next section) given showcase the strength of the practice-based approach taken and thick-description methodology used in the current research. I am the fourth 'generation' of archeologists to study this find since it was discovered in 1933, and still new objects were recognized and new insights generated into the burial and the ritual through which it was created (Chapters C3 and C26). Both 'dry facts' such as the composition of certain metals or the weave types of textiles were established and actions such as the dismantling of a yoke were recognized. ^{14}C-dating and typochronology indicate that this burial is earlier than previously thought and study of the restoration history revealed how grave goods were placed in the situla. Use-wear showed the supposed whetstone to have been used for some other purpose than sharpening blades and to have been rubbed with ocher (as also confirmed with XRF-analysis). XRF-analysis of tiny fragments revealed that lead, a rare metal in the Early Iron Age, was incorporated into the sword hilt. Microscopic analysis of yet more fragments revealed that it also was decorated with strips of carved bone. More XRF-analysis confirmed the presence of a lead 'rod' as a structural element in the bronze bucket. Textile analysis identified eight different weaves in the bucket, and established that woolen cloth had been used both to wrap items during the burial ritual, and interred as a prestigious (imported) grave good in its own right. Dyestuff analysis could not identify colors, but micro-CT scans have been conducted in the hopes of establishing whether these were ever present. Last but not least, re-analysis of this man's cremation remains using new techniques completely changed how we view the man himself (see Section C26.2). In short, cooperation with a number of specialists (see Chapter C26) refined our image and understanding of this extraordinary grave, with most of the new insights and information coming from detailed study of small, corroded and unprepossessing fragments that initially may not have seemed worth studying.

7.2 The elite burial practice

The insert above and those in the rest of this chapter give somewhat romanticized impressions of the burial rituals through which the Chieftain of Oss and others were interred, but ones that are based on data collected and reconstructed during the course of this research. I have chosen this mode of portraying them to show that even with a lot of unknowns (due to the poor data quality), it is still possible to reconstruct burial rituals (to various degrees). These reconstructions also form an attempt to make the sterile objects come alive again. For while we primarily see them as beautiful bronze vessels and fantastic swords, often viewed in glass cases or handled with white gloves on, the last time they were beheld prior to their re-discovery they were the remarkable belongings of exceptional individuals who had died and were being interred during what were surely emotional events – something we at times forget. Returning to the Chieftain of Oss' burial ritual, the mourners intentionally created a specific identity for the deceased and laid him to rest according to the local custom of burying, though with some exotic influences. Many of the acts that now can be reconstructed for this funerary ritual appear to be part and parcel of Early Iron Age funerary customs in the Low Countries. The use of fire, the cremation rite, the manipulation and fragmentation of human remains and grave goods are found in (almost) all elite burials, and appear reflected in the dominant (sometimes referred to as 'normal') Urnfield graves customs as well. There is a recurring pattern, a recognizable way of dealing with the elite dead – a burial practice.

7.2.1 The phases of the burial practice

Generally speaking, there are five to six phases of actions and activities recognizable in the elite funerary rituals which inform us about how the dead were treated and perceived as well as the identities that appear to have been created. Different burials emphasize different things, but they appear to follow the same basic set up, which is visualized almost as a *chaîne opératoire* in Figure 7.2. This infographic is a compilation of the similar figures found in Chapter 5 and gives all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals reconstructed in the Catalogue, from the urnfield burials to the most elaborate chieftain's grave. Note that while the following sections refer to phases, this is more of a descriptive term than a reality for the people who performed the burials. Moreover, these phases need not have taken place in quick succession, there may have been long periods of time between them or even between the acts in a single 'phase' (Section 2.2.3.2). For some graves only a few of these phases can be reconstructed, while others are assumed to have taken place based on parallels. Note also that, as with any kind of funerary ritual, it is likely that a range of activities was performed which cannot be recognized archeologically (see also Section 2.2.3.2).
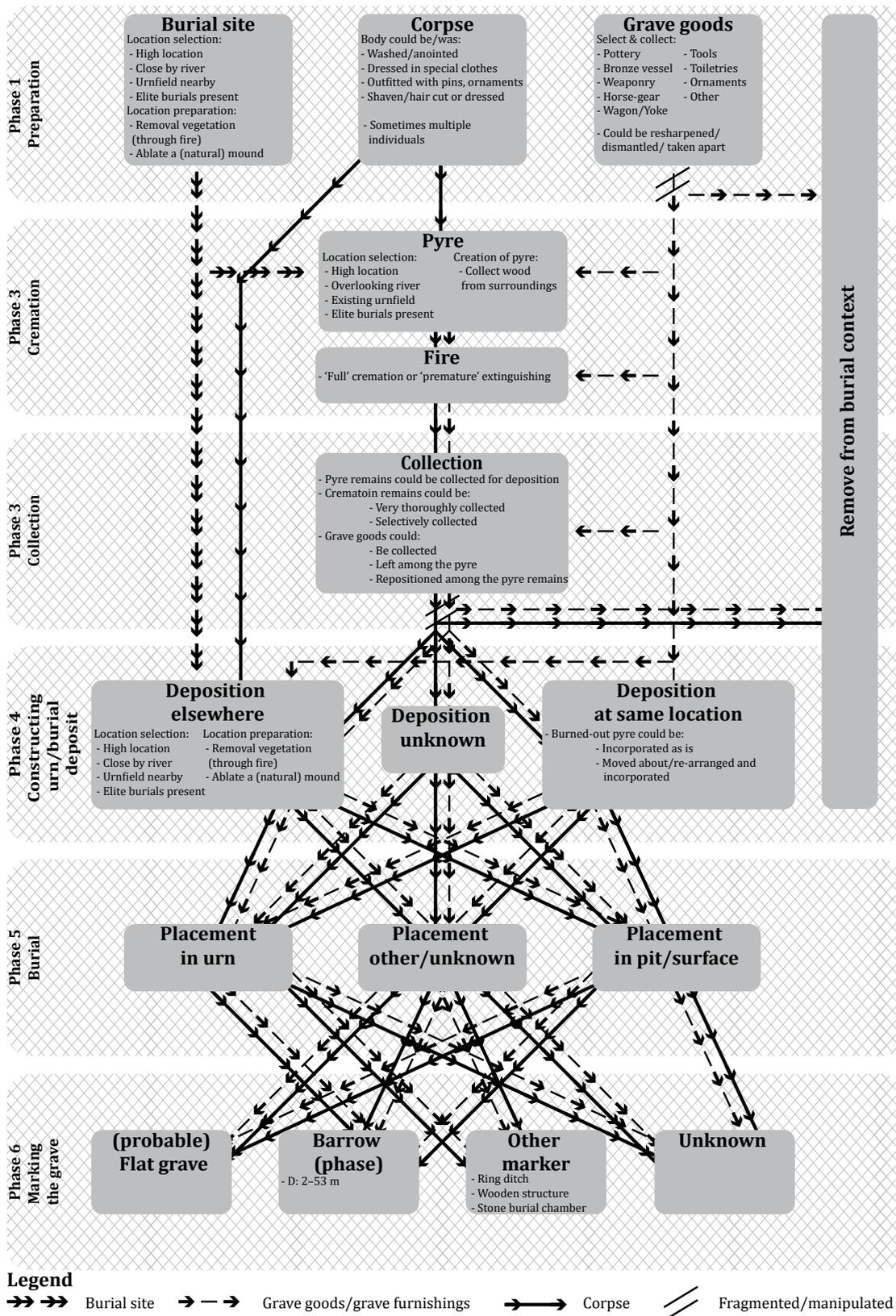
Phase 1 Preparation

Burial site
Location selection:
- High location
- Close by river
- Urnfield nearby
- Elite burials present
Location preparation:
- Removal vegetation
  (through fire)
- Ablate a (natural) mound

Corpse
Body could be/was:
- Washed/anointed
- Dressed in special clothes
- Outfitted with pins, ornaments
- Shaven/hair cut or dressed

- Sometimes multiple
  individuals

Grave goods
Select & collect:
- Pottery   - Tools
- Bronze vessel   - Toiletries
- Weaponry   - Ornaments
- Horse-gear   - Other
- Wagon/Yoke

- Could be resharpened/
  dismantled/ taken apart

Remove from burial context

Phase 3 Cremation

Pyre
Location selection: Creation of pyre:
- High location   - Collect wood
- Overlooking river   from surroundings
- Existing urnfield
- Elite burials present

Fire
- 'Full' cremation or 'premature' extinguishing

Phase 3 Collection

Collection
- Pyre remains could be collected for deposition
- Crematoin remains could be:
          - Very thoroughly collected
          - Selectively collected
- Grave goods could:
          - Be collected
          - Left among the pyre
          - Repositioned among the pyre remains

Phase 4 Constructing urn/burial deposit

Deposition elsewhere
Location selection: Location preparation:
- High location   - Removal vegetation
- Close by river   (through fire)
- Urnfield nearby   - Ablate a (natural) mound
- Elite burials present

Deposition unknown

Deposition at same location
- Burned-out pyre could be:
     - Incorporated as is
     - Moved about/re-arranged and
       incorporated

Phase 5 Burial

Placement in urn

Placement other/unknown

Placement in pit/surface

Phase 6 Marking the grave

(probable) Flat grave

Barrow (phase)
- D: 2–53 m

Other marker
- Ring ditch
- Wooden structure
- Stone burial chamber

Unknown

Legend
➤➤ ➤➤ Burial site   ➤ — ➤ Grave goods/grave furnishings   ⟶ Corpse   ⫽ Fragmented/manipulated

Fig. 7.2 Visualization of the range of choices made and actions taken during the elite burial practice in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals reconstructed in the Catalogue.

7.2.1.1 Phase 1: Preparation

The first phase identified involved the selection and preparation of the pyre, corpse, grave goods and sometimes also the burial site. This is a phase that generally little is known about, as it most likely would have comprised actions that leave no archeological correlates. A few rare exceptions and a number of parallels, however, can give some insights into what (could have) happened during this part of the burial practice (see also Section 2.2.3.2).

Preparation corpse

In general, the dead are prepared in some manner for cremation or burial. Examples from elsewhere indicate that there are numerous treatments that a corpse can undergo that would leave no archeologically recognizable traces, especially after the cremation rite. The body may have been treated with any range of substances and rituals may have been performed on or around it. The deceased's hair or beard may have been styled or shaven in a certain way, perhaps with the razors or tweezers that were interred in several of the elite burials (see Section 6.5.1.1). Nails similarly could have been cut or cleaned with the toiletry items provided, and it may be that "the use of the toilet articles by mourners and on the deceased […] played a role in fixing a certain image of the latter in death" (Treherne 1995, 120). Another common means of preparing a corpse is to dress it in certain clothes or adorn it with ornaments. Due to the cremation rite limited evidence survives of this for the elite burials, though there are exceptions. The deceased of Wijchen, for example, likely was equipped with an ornate bronze belt plate before being burned. The (possibly female) individual buried in Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.4 was cremated wearing a bronze bracelet. The woman of Leesten-Meijerink wore a range of ornaments, including a pin and hair- or earrings as well as glass beads and bronze studs that either decorated her garments or were some kind of necklace or belt. At Uden-Slabroek the deceased was buried in a dress with long sleeves, a garment that had been worn regularly enough in life for it to start to wear. Bronze bracelets and anklets that reflected the deceased's elite identity adorned the limbs and bronze spirals decorated the hair (see Catalogue).

Preparation grave goods

Preparing the grave goods that were to be buried with the deceased firstly would have involved selecting them. As noted in Chapters 2 and 6, the items interred as grave goods not only were used, they were also meaningful objects that in all likelihood were selected as grave goods for specific reasons. They doubtless reflected who the deceased was in life, but probably also were used to create a specific, perhaps powerful and elite identity for them in death. The use-life or associated symbolism of an object (see Section 2.3 and Chapter 6) may have influenced

why it was selected. The recurrence of specific kinds of grave goods, especially the combination of certain types of objects, would appear to confirm that certain social guidelines or cultural customs underlay the selection process. The objects that were to accompany the deceased would not only have to be selected, they also would have to be collected and brought together. It generally is assumed that these were once the property of or at least used by the deceased and therefore likely would have been easy to access, but there are also hints that grave goods sometimes were made specifically for burial, such as the oversized and unusable horse-bits found in Meerlo (see also Olivier 1999). Again, any range of rituals may have been performed with or on them. As noted above, the razors and toiletries may have been used to shave the deceased and the mourners may have dressed the hair of the corpse in a certain way. The butchering knives and axes could have been used for (ritual) slaughtering, intended as offerings or for a funerary feast, at which the bronze vessels may have been used to hold alcoholic beverages. The wagon may have been used to transport the deceased to the pyre (Fig. 7.1).

In some cases grave goods were dismantled or manipulated during this phase, *i.e.* before ending up on the pyre. At Wijchen, for example, horse-gear had to be removed from the horses prior to burning and the wheels may have been removed from the wagon prior to it being placed on the pyre (Section C35.4). The bronze sword from Harchies-Maison Cauchies t.3 may have been broken prior to being exposed to fire (Section C12.4; Leblois 2010). Of the grave goods only those that eventually ended up in the burial survive, and there are clear indications that even at this stage of the funerary ritual parts or components of the grave goods were removed from the burial sphere. If we assume that these objects were linked to the identity of the deceased, then both their interment and their removal becomes significant (see below).

Preparation pyre/burial site

As also discussed below, in some cases the pyre and burial site were the same place, while in others the pyre was created somewhere removed from the eventual burial site. In both cases little tends to be known regarding the preparation, if there even was any, of a burial/pyre site. Only in the handful of well-excavated barrows that covered pyres can anything be reconstructed regarding where the pyre was built and what it was constructed from (note that these few exceptions supply the 'characteristics' of pyre sites listed in Figure 7.2 and the similar figures in Chapter 5). Pyres have not been found or recognized in other contexts. The best studied example of a pyre incorporated into a barrow comes from Oss-Zevenbergen M.7, where the pyre appears to have been constructed from wood suited to burning a body, like oak, ash and possibly

willow that likely was gathered from the surroundings of the pyre site (Bakels *et al.* 2013). This is also one of the few examples where evidence survives that the pyre site, which later would be used as the place of burial, was prepared by ablating the top of the dune prior to erecting the pyre. Another example is Horst-Hegelsom where the vegetation appears to have been burned off prior to the construction of the barrow. This phase need not necessarily *precede* cremation in those cases where the eventual burial did not incorporate the pyre – the mourners may have cremated elsewhere and then later prepared the eventual burial site.

7.2.1.2 Phase 2: Cremation

The second phase reconstructed is the cremation itself of the deceased and possibly his or her grave goods. It seems to have mattered little whether objects were burned or not, as these are found both burned and unburned – sometimes even in the same grave. As discussed in Section 2.2.3, cremation was a fiery assault on the senses. It was a noisy, smelly spectacle lasting for hours. The fire may have needed tending, and it would have made an impact on everyone involved. This process transformed the deceased, leaving him or her unrecognizable, perhaps an important step in changing them from a person to an ancestor (see *e.g.* Fokkens 2013; Helms 1998; Huntington/Metcalfe 1979). This phase of course did not take place with inhumation burials, though even at Uden-Slabroek, the only inhumation in the dataset, a large fire was used to char the beams and planks that would be used to shore up the burial pit.

7.2.1.3 Phase 3: Collection

A range of activities took place following the burning of the body, indicating that the cremation itself was not the final stage of a burial ritual (*cf.* Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 22). The collection of the burned remains was the third phase recognized. From those graves with more detailed context information, and especially those in which the pyre was incorporated into the barrow, we know that this was an elaborate process. Sometimes the pyre would be carefully combed through, with as much cremation remains collected as possible. The Chieftain of Oss, for example, is one of the most complete prehistoric cremation deposits found in the Netherlands.

Collecting cremated bone is in itself not difficult, though it may take some time (Section 2.2.3.2; McKinley 1994b; 1997; Williams 2004). In several cases a selection of cremated bone intentionally was left among the pyre remains, or at least was not placed in the eventual burial. In Oss-Zevenbergen M.7, for example, an ulna fragment was found lying front and center in the burned-out pyre, and it would appear that it was left there intentionally. At the same burial only a partial cremation remains deposit

was found in the urn, which even combined with the remains left among the pyre would not constitute a full deposit. This means that a selection of human remains was *removed* from the pyre and not incorporated into the barrow. Other examples of what appear to be partial deposits of cremation remains are Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.Z and Horst-Hegelsom.

In those cases where objects accompanied the deceased on the pyre, they sometimes would be collected completely as well as sometimes partially deposited. At Wijchen, for example, it appears that all grave goods were burned, (a selection?) collected and placed in an urn. At Oss-Zevenbergen M.7 a number of grave goods intentionally were left lying by the pyre, after having been moved to one side during the collection process. It also appears that as part of this process the grave goods (and perhaps the bones?) frequently were manipulated and fragmented. Sometimes the complete, though bent or broken, object would be interred, while in others only part of it ended up in the burial deposit. At Wijchen, for example, several wagon components were bent and broken, some appearing almost wrenched apart, with the ribbed bucket only very partially interred. Other examples are the already mentioned Mound 7 where a bronze ring was broken and only half placed back into the burial deposit, or Leesten-Meijerink where a number of pin fragments are missing from the burial deposit. The bronze swords are another example – none were recovered complete. Especially the tangs and points frequently were not selected for interment (and this is also true for burials with excellent context and excavation information). When only parts of people or objects were interred, they likely were intended as *pars pro toto* depositions, where a part of something stood for the whole thing. It is not unlikely that those objects or object fragments removed from the burial deposit were kept as precious reminders or amulets (as may be the case with a number of horse-gear decorations, see below).

7.2.1.4 Phase 4: Constructing the cinerary urn or burial deposit

The fourth phase identified involved constructing the cinerary urn or burial deposit. These appear to have been constructed in various ways, but always in a structured manner. Broadly speaking there are four ways this was done. Either an organic or inorganic container was used or a deposit was created in or on the ground (the latter two options somewhat overlap with the fifth phase discussed below). Sometimes everything appears to have been wrapped in something that has not survived, like cloth or leather or even a basket, while in others a ceramic or bronze vessel was used as an urn. At Neerharen-Rekem t.72 or Haps g.190, for example, everything was packed together so tightly that the deposits likely

were wrapped in something organic. At Gedinne-Chevaudos T.1 everything except some pottery was placed in a ceramic urn, and at Ede-Bennekom everything was interred in a bronze one. For the Chieftain of Oss we have the finest resolution of insights into the construction of the cinerary urn. As described above, the grave goods were wrapped and stacked in the bronze bucket used as an urn. But also in others we have some insights – for example burials where only some of the grave goods were placed in the urn, while others were positioned next to it. Like Leesten-Meijerink, where (something decorated with) bronze studs and glass beads, fragments of bronze ornaments and one accessory vessel and spindle whorl were placed in the urn with the cremation remains, while a second accessory vessel and spindle whorl were placed next to the urn in the burial pit. Sometimes everything was arranged on the surface, like Oss-Zevenbergen M.3, an extreme *pars pro toto* where a burned oaken plank, one piece of cremation remains and a number of object fragments were arranged on the old surface. In other cases, like M.7 from the same site they even did both, by interring a selection of cremation remains in an urn, but also incorporating the burned-out pyre and a number of objects into the burial deposit.

7.2.1.5 Phase 5: Burial
The burying of the urn or funerary deposit was the fifth phase identified. The location selected for this varied, though high places in the landscape or ones close to rivers seems to have been preferred. An association with older or other burials also appears to have been common (see Section 5.6). In general terms, burial either took place by placing the (organic) urn filled with cremation remains and grave goods in a pit dug into the ground or in an existing burial monument. The urn or deposit also could be placed on the old surface. In either case the burial then would be covered, which in some cases was done by erecting a barrow (and in this manner this phase sometimes overlap with phase 6). The cinerary urn of the Chieftain of Oss, for example, was dug into an existing Middle Bronze Age barrow, while several of the Court-St-Etienne burials appear to have been arranged on the old surface. Oss-Zevenbergen M.3 is also a striking example of a 'burial' elaborately created spread out on the ground. Sometimes the urn was placed in or near the pyre, and sometimes grave goods appear to have been 'arranged' in a certain way. Like Oss M.7 already described or Havré T.E where the urn not only was buried close to the pyre but the iron sword was stuck into the ground by the urn. Limal-Morimoine T.1 is another remarkable example where a rectangular zone of cremation remains appears to have been arranged, perhaps mimicking the shape and size of a body (an established practice), among the burned-out pyre. The urn with ashes was placed at the center of this zone and horse-gear decorations arranged on either side of the urn.

7.2.1.6 Phase 6: Marking the grave
The sixth phase recognized (which it appears did not always take place) was the construction of the burial marker or monument. This was done in a number of ways. The construction of a barrow or new mound phase was the most common (see Fig. 4.2). These could be relatively modest like Lommel-Kattenbos T.20 (8 m in diam.) or immense like the Oss mounds (30 m, 36 m and 53 m in diam.). A singular example is Oss-Zevenbergen M.3, the only barrow with by a post-circle. Sometimes the burial was marked with a ring ditch as well as a barrow like at Horst-Hegelsom. In some cases only a ring ditch was found, like at Meppen where one of the largest ring ditches of the northern Netherlands surrounded the bronze bucket, and it is not always clear whether there originally was a barrow as well. Leesten-Meijerink is one well-excavated example where a (double) ring ditch appears to have been all that marked the burial. In some cases, like Uden-Slabroek, it seems that there was some kind of marker above ground (given that later burials respected it), but it is unknown what this was. There are also graves that do not appear to have been marked above ground, at least not in a way that left archeologically recognizable correlates (see the Catalogue).

7.2.1.7 Phase 7?
It may be that funerary activities took place after the marking of the grave that cannot be recognized archeologically. The mourners may have visited the grave, or performed rituals or sacrifices (as may have been done at Horst-Hegelsom, see below). They may have returned to bury others, or the area may have been used for other activities like grazing sheep (as was done at Oss; De Kort 2007; Jansen/Fokkens 2007, 84). Barrows in particular may have served as visual markers or orientation points (see *e.g.* Bourgeois 2013).

7.2.1.8 The other side of *pars pro toto* depositions and relational identity
It appears that the partial deposition of both grave goods and human remains was a common element in Late Bronze and Early Iron Age funerary practices. In a number of the sword burials under discussion, for example, almost the complete sword is interred, with only one or two fragments 'missing', while in others only part of the sword was interred and the question remains – what happened with the rest of the sword? In Oss-Vorstengraf components of the yoke were deposited while the wagon appears to not have been interred at all and would have remained

usable (see below). In Wijchen only a small selection of bucket fragments was selected for burial, and even though all elements of the wagon are represented there were likely many more bronze decorations than those deposited. The significance of the process through which certain elements were selected for burial has been stressed, but in this section I emphasize that there is another side to the *pars pro toto* practice, one that tends to receive less attention or consideration. Namely that when only a selection of grave goods or human remains is interred, this means that the rest is deliberately kept out of the funerary deposit – and it may be that those, for us archeologists 'missing' elements were just as (or more) important. While we cannot know what happened to those elements that we do not find, it is important to consider that during the burial rituals people not only dismantled and fragmented objects (and in a way the deceased as well) but that they elected to to *not* bury certain things. In other words, *whether to inter or to keep was a deliberate choice.* So perhaps it was not always, or at least not only, about representing something in a grave, perhaps it was also about taking something away, such as a memento in the form of a fragment of horse-gear or a single wagon decoration (see also Section 7.2.3.4), or an entire yoke or wagon that still could be used. Brück (2004, 319–21) has argued that fragmentation and destruction of objects at the grave side were "powerful symbolic statements of the social impact of death" and that this allowed "mourners to express and to think through the changes wrought by death", and it may have been important that something continued on, outside of the grave.

The concept of relational identity (as introduced and applied to the Bronze Age by J. Brück and D. Fontijn) may offer an explanation for the destructive and selective nature of the Low Countries (elite) burial practice and why the mourners invested time and effort into fragmenting what appear to be valuable objects (*e.g.* Brück 2004; 2006ab; Brück/Fontijn 2012). Brück and Fontijn (2012, 203) argue that objects can be material manifestations of interpersonal links, and that relationships can be mapped out on to and around the corpse by the arranging of grave goods (see also Brück 2004; 2006ab). They also state that the relational nature of identity can be signified by removing objects from the funerary context, and that by fragmenting an object (or a person's remains through cremation), parts of it can be deposited in the grave and "other elements retained as tokens of the dead by the living" (Brück/Fontijn 2012, 203). The value of the objects selected as grave goods lay perhaps less in their economic worth, and rather more in the meanings ascribed to them (see also Section 2.3). They may have been inalienable, for example as a result of the manner in which they reached the Low Countries, presumably through some form of direct exchange with people living

far away. Their particular cultural biographies made them meaningfull and significant and gave them value (see also below and Section 2.3.2), and it may be their their particular histories made them suitable to serve as grave goods (*cf.* Brück/Fontijn 2012, 199). This meaning and the relationships that certain objects reflect may then be not only why they were selected to serve as grave goods, but also why certain objects were dismantled and fragmented, with parts of objects interred with the dead and parts kept with the living.

A yoke and wagon re-used at Oss?

I – very tentatively – suggest that some of the above may be reflected in the Oss graves, namely the burial of parts of a wagon and the continued use of the rest of the wagon by someone else (I stress that this is primarily intended as a thought exercise; see also Fig. 7.1). The Chieftain of Oss was buried with rosettes and toggles that were removed from the yoke to be placed in the bucket. We know from newly discovered drawings that a single small stud was found in this grave (Section C26.2). This stud is of the same size as those found in Oss-Zevenbergen M.7, where it is argued that yoke panels covered in at least a thousand such studs were found. At M.7 a single hemispherical sheet-knob was recovered, a knob of the same dimension as the 15 such knobs found in the Chieftain's burial. This of course could be pure coincidence, but it is not impossible that the Chieftain had a yoke and yoke straps that were decorated with bronze studs, yoke yosettes and toggles, and that during his funeral the rosettes and toggles (and the bridles) were removed. It is possible that the rest of the yoke was kept, and that wooden knobs covered in studs were added to replace the rosettes, and that this yoke (and the wagon) then was used by the individual who later was buried in M.7. While this is pure speculation, it is offered as an example of what *could* have happened with those elements not placed in the burial.

7.2.2 The local way of burying and being 'distinguished' in death

The phases, steps and actions described above can be recognized to varying degrees in all graves in the dataset. There is a recurring pattern with variations, but all within the same spectrum (see also Chapter 5). Strikingly though, in many respects this burial practice hardly appears to deviate from the 'normal' urnfield burial practice, which is likewise characterized by the use of fire, manipulation and fragmentation and *pars pro toto* deposition (Figs. 5.9 and 5.10; *e.g.* De Laet 1982; De Mulder 2011; De Mulder/Bourgeois 2011, 303; Hessing/Kooi 2005; Kooi 1979; Louwen in prep.). This is especially true for those people buried with *only* a bucket, *only* weaponry or *only* personal items. For these people were not treated all that differently in death than others during the funerary rite.

Buried in a bucket: Ede-Bennekom

Someone died and was cremated. His/her remains were collected and placed in a small bronze bucket, which the deceased may have used to mix alcoholic beverages in during life. The mourners deliberately may have deposited skull fragments in the bronze urn last. No other grave goods were given, and the cinerary urn thus created was buried in the ground.

Buried with a sword: Horst-Hegelsom

Following the death of a man some 25–60 years old, his body was cremated and at least some of his cremated remains were collected and deposited in a Schräghals-*urn. An iron sword was bent round and its handle may have been broken off deliberately. The sword was placed on top of the cremation remains in the urn, with the handle possibly placed among the curled-up blade. A ceramic bowl served as a lid for the urn. The urn was placed in a pit, which in turn was marked by a funerary structure of some sort, which may have been burned as part of the burial ritual. This deposit was covered with a fairly large barrow (ca. 19 m in diam.) and marked by a wide ditch dug around the mound. The earth removed from the ditch was used to create the barrow, with more sods being brought in from elsewhere to complete it. Initially an opening was left in the ring ditch in the west-northwest side, where a fire burned (which could be a rare example of archeologically recognizable 'phase 7' activities taking place at the site, see above).*

Appearance emphasized: Lommel-Kattenbos T.20

Someone was cremated, after which his/her remains were collected and deposited in a ceramic Schräghals-*pot. It may be that the (facial) hair of the deceased was shaven or tweezed with the razor and tweezers that later were deposited, and his/her nails may have been trimmed with the nail cutter. The urn was placed by an area of charcoal, and a grinding stone was broken and placed close to the urn. Iron toiletry items were found among the charcoal as well, and could have been left there following being burned on the pyre or been placed there after the pyre cooled. The nail cutter may have been broken prior to deposition. The burial deposit created was covered with a small barrow (8 m in diam.).*

Insert 7.2 The burial rituals of the deceased buried in Ede-Bennekom, Horst-Hegelsom and Lommel-Kattenbos T.20 re-imagined based on the available evidence (see also Chapters C8, C16 and C20).

They were identified as exceptional individuals through the elite objects interred with them, but other than the inclusion of those objects as grave goods, their funerary rituals conformed to the local way of burying (see also Chapter 5). Insert 7.2 offers the reconstructed funerary rituals of Ede-Bennekom (a 'simple' urnfield burial whose only distinguishing feature is that the urn is made of bronze), Horst-Hegelsom (a rare case of a 'simple' sword burial where we have a finer resolution of the funerary ritual) and Lommel-Kattenbos T.20 (where the personal appearance of the deceased was emphasized through a razor and toiletries) as examples.

As these few examples show, the burial practice described above seems to have been the standard *modus operandi* for burying the remains of people from all levels of society, whether they were to be buried in a hole in the ground, in a pot with a pin or with a sword or bronze bucket. This practice in essence appears to be the same as the urnfield burial custom (see also Section 5.4), which dominated both before and at the same time as the elite burial practice under consideration. There are variations in the choreography conducted, but all fall within proscribed social 'guidelines' and customs as with most societies. There was a culturally accepted and known way of burying people, in which it made little difference for the actions undertaken during the funerary ritual whether you had weaponry or feasting vessels in life or death.

Certain, special individuals may have taken exotic objects to their graves and sometimes have had larger burial monuments, but their funerals were decidedly local, and perhaps really not all that exceptional. As has already been noted, there was a burial spectrum, rather than a strict division between 'elites' and 'non-elites', at least in terms of the way people were laid to rest (see also Bourgeois/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017). The urnfields – the predominant way of burying – both predated the elite burials and continued after the elite burial practice went out of use. The elite graves represent the exception, even though most of the people interred in them were laid to rest through funerary rituals that in most ways conformed to this predominant and 'normal' way of burying. Except, it appears, for those to be interred with wagons.

7.2.3 Wagons make the dead different

Burials with wagon components or wagon-related horse-gear seem to be the result of an exaggerated and elaborate burial practice where – within the 'normal' burial customs – dismantling, manipulation and fragmentation were emphasized (see Tab. 5.5). In this group of graves the *pars pro toto* practice is more common and exaggerated and it is in these burials (and Uden-Slabroek, see below) that textiles are used to wrap grave goods and the deceased. These graves appear to have been placed preferentially in such a

Insert 7.3 The burial ritual of the deceased buried at Wijchen re-imagined based on the available evidence (see also Chapter C35).

1 cm

Fig. 7.3 Interpretation: from bronze studs to a decorated yoke to a wagon. Painting by I. Gelman; photograph by Restauratieatelier Restaura, Haelen.

way as to connect with earlier burials and tend to be marked by substantially larger barrows (see Figure 4.2 and Section 5.6), like the Chieftain's burial of Oss. It is also these Hallstatt C burials that contain *more* grave goods, sometimes the 'Hallstatt set' of horse-gear, wagon components, weaponry and bronze vessels (see Section 2.2.1.1). While harder to define, many of them also have something unique, non-standard or 'odd' to them – something done 'differently'. The Wijchen burial, for example, is the result of an extremely destructive burial ritual in which grave goods were manipulated and fragmented to an unparalleled degree. They were not just bent or broken – objects were hammered round and bronzes were folded several times or even wrenched apart (see also Section C35.4).

Just about everything about the deceased's of Wijchen's grave goods (which may have been his/her belongings) was exotic and special, from the precious bronze ribbed drinking vessel to the unique sword and a wagon that may well have been one of the most elaborate, exotic and symbolically charged vehicles in use in this part of Europe at the time. Made somewhere in Central Europe and influenced by Etruscan art, it was used extensively and covered many miles before finally being burned with this person. The axle-pins were decorated with anthropomorphic figurines that only could be viewed by those allowed and able to come close to the wagon when it was stationary. This was a form of art almost unknown in Early Iron Age Low Countries and may have made a big impression on people living there, or perhaps would not have not been understood by them (see Section 2.3.4). Whether they recognized the Etruscan influences or merely perceived the wagon as 'foreign' is unknown. But in any case, something about this individual warranted an exaggerated burial ritual and total destruction of the extraordinary wagon, unique sword and ribbed bucket.

7.2.3.1 The common denominator: wagons and wagon-related horse-gear

The common factor connecting the burials created through exaggerated burial rituals is that they all contain wagon components or items related to wagons, such as yoke components or horse-gear suited to driving (see Section 6.3). Recognizing the 'presence' of the wagon is not always easy – the challenge is often to go from fragments to objects and then to use and behavior (Fig. 7.3). For example the tiny bronze studs from Oss-Zevenbergen that are actually the metal remains of a decorated yoke, which indicates the one-time presence of a wagon, or the small bronze found in Court-St-

The elite burials of Court-St-Etienne

Limal-Morimoine T.1

Tombelle K *Someone was cremated and the remains were collected and placed in an urn. A bronze sword was heated, bent and broken. The resulting fragments were deposited in a stone coffin of some sort, either in or under a barrow. It appears that the tang and tip of the sword were not interred, and may have been kept out of the burial intentionally.*

Tombelles L and M *All we know of the rituals conducted at Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.L and T.M is that they involved fire, as evidenced by the charcoal beds found in the barrows and the deposition of an iron sword in both. Whether the charcoal beds relate to a cremation burial, or even to the same rituals in which the swords were deposited cannot be determined from the available evidence.*

In many ways the majority of the elite burials at Court-St-Etienne do not differ from the urnfield graves found nearby, at least not in terms of the funerary rituals through which they were created. Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.4, where parts of wagon-related horse-gear and a yoke were deposited, in contrast appears far more elaborate, involving many more actions, as well the use of textile, with the result also being a much larger barrow:

Tombelle 4: *The person who was to be buried in T.4, who may have been a small female, was also to be cremated. The pyre was prepared while the corpse was ornamented with a bronze bracelet, and possibly dressed or made ready in some other manner. (S)he was cremated wearing the bronze bracelet, with a number of objects, presumably her one-time possessions, placed on the pyre around her. These included a bronze vessel, perhaps a bowl but maybe a cup. An entire yoke may have been burned on the pyre, or a number of metal elements may have been removed and burned separately. These include bronze yoke rosettes and a complex iron chest ornament for a horse made of iron rings with dangling pendants that may have burned on the pyre, but also may have been removed from the yoke chest strap to be placed in the urn. A bridle either was burned as a whole or bronze* phalerae *were removed from it prior to placement on the pyre. Following cremation, the cremation remains and burned bracelet were collected from the pyre. A number of horse-gear and yoke components were selected, and some bronze vessel fragments were collected and may have been fragmented intentionally. Then either some of the metal objects, or the cremation remains, metal objects and ceramic accessory vessel together were packed together tightly in textile and placed in an urn. The urn either was buried or placed on the ground and covered with a large barrow, some 22 m in diameter.*

Someone of unknown sex died, and a large pyre was constructed for his/her cremation. The deceased was accompanied on the pyre by at least a number of horse-gear components. As the pyre and body burned, a strong wind blew from the west, spreading charcoal speckles around the pyre. Upon completion of the cremation, the burned-out pyre was searched through and spread about. The cremation remains appear to have been collected and some spread out in a rectangular area on or by the burned-out pyre, perhaps with the intention of mimicking the size and shape of a human body. The remainder were put in an urn which in turn was positioned in the middle of the zone of cremation remains. The horse-gear ornaments appear to have been placed to either side. The iron sword ended up at the other end of the burned-out pyre, and may have lain there as the pyre burned, or else was placed there later. The horse-bit appears to have been broken, and half was left on the edge of the burned-out pyre. The half a bit and very minimal horse-gear decorations suggest that some objects either were never burned, or were removed from the burned-out pyre before it was covered, such as the other half of the bit, or the second of what was likely a pair of bits.

Insert 7.4 The burial ritual of a number of deceased at Court-St-Etienne and the deceased of Limal-Morimoine T.1 re-imagined based on the available evidence (see also Chapters C6 and C19). More funerary rituals from Court-St-Etienne are re-imagined in Insert 7.6.

Etienne La Quenique T.A that is in fact a *Jochschnalle*, which reveals the one-time presence of a yoke and in turn a wagon. In cases such as the Oss-Zevenbergen studs, the excavation and documentation has to be of very high quality to allow for the identification of a yoke. Or the wagon, yoke or horse-gear component has to be recognizable as relating to a wagon, like a *Jochschnalle*. There are also numerous kinds of bronze wagon and yoke decorations that are not nearly so characteristic, and therefore still allow multiple interpretations (see Section 6.3). In any case, whether represented by a small bronze fragment or the entire wagon, the wagon's presence appears to correlate with exceptional treatment.

7.2.3.2 Not a matter of archeological resolution

Both the number of grave goods and the quality of the excavation of the burial influence the degree to which a funerary ritual can be reconstructed. The more grave goods there are, the greater the chance of any kind of special treatment of them during the burial ritual being recognizable. The same is true for sites that were excavated properly as they provide a higher archeological resolution of prehistoric events. Both factors make it easier to recognize actions performed during the burial ritual. Some of the best-excavated burials in the dataset are those with wagons and wagon-related horse-gear. Graves with these

The Early Iron Age mourners ablated the top of a roundish natural dune that may have been viewed as an ancient barrow given its roundish appearance and location in an ancient barrow row. Oak, ash and possibly willow were collected, likely in the immediate vicinity, and used to construct a pyre on top of the ablated dune. The corpse of a man some 23–40 years old at the time of his death was placed on the pyre. A number of leather and wooden components from a yoke and horse-gear were placed at the edge of the pyre. These yoke and horse tack elements were decorated richly with over a thousand bronze studs and several bronze rings. Other objects, including something decorated with carved bone, were placed near the pyre as well, which then was fired and the man cremated. For some reason the fire went out before the wooden pyre burned completely, though the cremation was already complete. It may be that a wind picked up and extinguished the pyre located on the high, ablated dune. The cremated remains were collected from the burned-out pyre, with some pieces left (probably intentionally) among the pyre remains. Some of the cremation remains were placed in a ceramic urn, while some of the collected remains were kept out of the funerary deposit. As they searched through the burned-out pyre, mourners moved charcoal beams to one side and shoved the bronze-studded horse-gear and yoke components to the other side and left them lying there. A number of bronze rings were broken intentionally, and only a selection was placed back among the pyre remains. The burial deposit so created was covered carefully with sods and a large mound created, incorporating the natural dune that served both as pyre and burial site.

Insert 7.5 The burial ritual of Oss-Zevenbergen M.7 re-imagined based on the available evidence (see also Chapter C27).

items represented in them in general also tend to have more grave goods (see also Chapter 4). There is therefore a link between graves with wagon and wagon-related horse-gear and the degree to which the funerary ritual can be reconstructed, and it could be thought that this is why they appear to be the results of more exaggerated and extreme rituals. However, I argue that the difference seen between the majority of elite burials and those with wagons and wagon-related horse-gear is not simply a matter of archeological resolution. 'Unusual' funerary rituals also can be recognized in burials that are relatively poor in grave goods. Limal-Morimoine T.1, for example, yielded an urn, a sword, a *phalera*, four tiny studs and only half a bit (of a type that relates functionally to driving; see Sections 6.3.5 and 6.3.6.4), yet it also appears to be the result of an exaggerated funerary ritual with unusual, possibly even unique elements. Court-St-Etienne serves as a striking example that contradicts the suggestion that it is quality of excavation that makes a number of burials with wagon-related items appear 'different'. This site yielded a dozen exceptional burials, and numerous stray finds indicating the one-time presence of even more exceptional graves. All of them were excavated in the early 20th century or even earlier and there is little to no context information available for them. Yet the burials with wagons and/or wagon-related horse-gear stand out in terms of the funerary rituals through which they were created (Insert 7.4).

The few burial rituals of Court-St-Etienne reconstructed in Insert 7.4 show that a difference in terms of the extravagance of the burial ritual between those buried with wagons and wagon-related horse-gear and others also can be observed in finds that were excavated poorly (by modern standards) and have poor context information. Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.4, where parts of wagon-related horse-gear and a yoke were deposited, appears far more elaborate, involving many more actions as well as the use of textile and resulting in a much larger barrow than the sword burials of T.K, T.L and T.M. While Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.4 may not be the most striking example of an exaggerated funerary ritual for a wagon-related burial, the difference between the funerary ritual that created it and those that resulted in the sword-graves is clear. The point is that the archeological resolution for these is roughly the same, and yet there are still differences recognizable in the burial rituals, with Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.4 appearing far more exaggerated and 'aberrant'. There are also striking similarities between the funerary ritual of Limal-Morimoine T.1 and the one at Oss-Zevenbergen M.7 described below, another burial poor in grave goods but with wagon-related ones. Both are more elaborate than most, and both have unique features to them (at least within the dataset), even though they are relatively poor in grave goods actually deposited.

So while the graves with wagons and wagon-related horse-gear often offer a surprising amount of detailed insight into the burial rituals through which they were created, the exaggerated and sometimes 'strange' nature of the funerary rituals also can be observed in burials with fewer graves goods or those that were excavated poorly. It therefore does not seem to be archeological resolution that makes the wagon and wagon-related horse-gear burials appear to stand out in terms of how they were created.

7.2.3.3 Axes: local knowledge of exotic customs?

Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3, Oss-Vorstengraf, Rhenen-Koerheuvel and Wijchen are the graves that could be labeled 'traditional' Chieftain's burials (*cf.* definition given in Section 2.2.1.1), and those that come closest.

CSE-FR.T3.14 *OV.25* *RK.10* *WIJ.20*

Fig. 7.4 The axes from Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3, Oss-Vorstengraf, Rhenen-Koerheuvel and Wijchen. Photographs by P.J. Bomhof ©RMO; J. van Donkersgoed.

⊢————————⊣ 5 cm

They all yielded bronze vessels, weaponry, horse-gear and/or wagon components, tools and items related to the personal appearance of the dead (in various configurations). They are also all the result of exaggerated, elaborate burial rituals, each with unique features. Beyond the sumptuous grave goods sets and sometimes aberrant funerary rituals, these four very richest burials in the dataset stand out for another reason. They are the *only* Late Bronze or Early Iron Age graves in the Low Countries, elite or otherwise, that have yielded axes and represent less than 0.01% of burials known from this period (see Louwen in prep.; Fig. 7.4). There seems to have been a widespread belief and practice that axes should be deposited and should never end up in burials (see Section 5.1.2). Their presence in these four elite burials is therefore completely at odds with the desirable life-path for axes that existed at the time (Section 2.3.2; Fontijn 2002, 26). Something about the deceased of Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3, Oss-Vorstengraf, Rhenen-Koerheuvel and Wijchen made it not only appropriate to break with local customs and bury them with axes, it apparently was required.

It is striking that in the Low Countries axes were added only to the very richest burials with a (almost) 'complete Hallstatt set' (see Section 2.2.1.1), the ones that most closely resemble the Central European Hallstatt Culture *Fürstengräber* – where axes sometimes are included also (see also Section 7.3.1; *e.g.* Krauße 1996, 299–307; Schickler 2001, 124–5). While most of the objects in

the four richest burials from the Low Countries graves are very likely Hallstatt Culture imports, the axes are not. The axes in these graves are all local or regional products that do not appear to have been imported from Central Europe. This means that it was a locally made decision to bury these four people with axes and it certainly was not some kind of 'elite set' that was imported and interred. The people doing the burying *chose* to break with local customs and inter these individuals with axes, perhaps at the request of the deceased. Given how aberrant and completely against the local customs of the Low Countries it was to place an axe in a grave and the fact that they sometimes are found in the very richest *Fürstengräber* of the Hallstatt Culture, their presence in these four graves suggests that people who had knowledge of Hallstatt Culture funerary practices were involved in the creation of Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge, Oss-Vorstengraf, Rhenen-Koerheuvel and Wijchen graves, even though all the objects were recontextualized through the local burial custom. The question remains, were perhaps the decedents themselves from that area?

7.2.3.4 Horse-gear buried 'normally' not viewed as such?

It furthermore appears to have mattered whether horse-gear was viewed as relating to a wagon at the time of deposition. A number of small bronzes found in a handful of burials are listed as horse-gear in the Catalogue but it is

Insert 7.6 The burial ritual of the deceased buried at Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A and T.Z re-imagined based on the available evidence (see also Chapter C6).
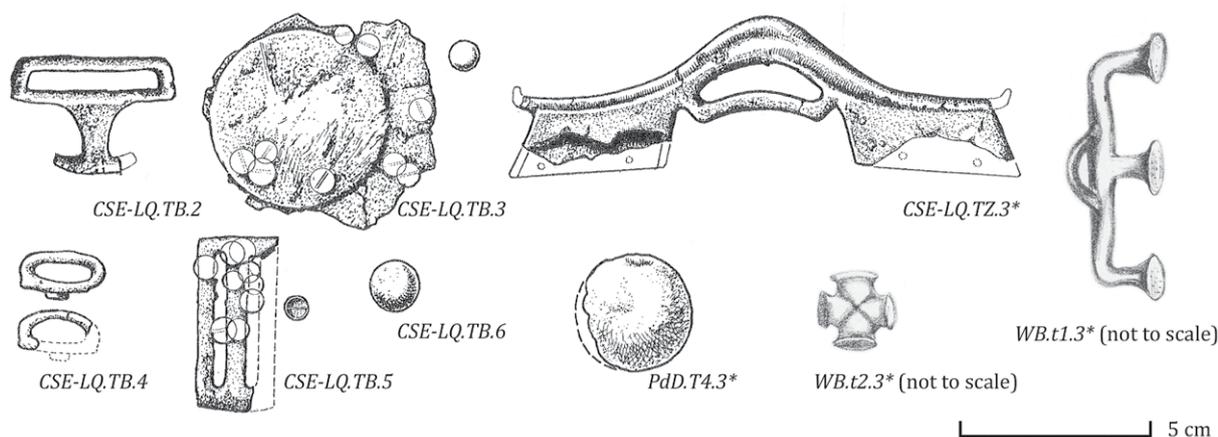

Fig. 7.5 The bronzes found in Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.B and T.Z, La Plantée des Dames T.4, Weert-Boshoverheide t.1 and t.2. Figure after Mariën 1958, figs. 4, 12 and 44; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 19 and 24.

unclear whether they were (still) used or viewed as such at the time of burial (see Fig. 7.5 and Tab. 5.5). In contrast to the (wagon-related) horse-gear discussed above which was treated in exceptional manners, these few items were interred in relatively 'normal' graves through apparently unremarkable' funerary rituals. It does not appear that these bronzes or their owners, triggered any kind of exceptional treatment in the way that they were buried, in contrast to the wagon and wagon-related horse-gear components described above. The difference, I argue, may have been that these horse-gear elements were related to riding a horse rather than driving a wagon, or that they were not viewed as (wagon-related) horse-gear at the time of death of their owner. Compare, for example Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A and T.Z which yielded almost identical bronze cheek-pieces. In. T.A two cheek-pieces of the same type were found in association with a *Jochschnalle*, indicating an association with a wagon, while in T.Z the cheek-piece is the only piece of horse-gear interred.

Even hindered by the poor archeological resolution due to poor find circumstances a number of special, exaggerated elements to the Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A burial ritual can be recognized – the bending of a sword, the breaking of horse-gear cheek-pieces, the extreme *pars pro toto* deposition of yoke (and by extension wagon) and the use of textile – the latter of which appears to be specific to exceptional wagon-related burials (and Uden-Slabroek, see below). By comparison the burial ritual of T.Z seems relatively 'normal' and straightforward. The difference in treatment of what in essence are the same objects may relate to how they were used or viewed when they were selected as grave goods, presumably at the times of death of the owners. In T.A there is an association with a yoke, and therefore a wagon, and it is argued that the bronze cheek-pieces were buried as functional parts of bridles (or as *pars pro toto* depositions of bridles). In T.Z, however, there are no indications for a wagon and the single bronze cheek-piece received no special treatment during the funerary ritual. Could this be because at the time of burial the latter was not viewed as relating to a wagon?

Strikingly, the horse-gear decorations and components from graves that are the result of 'undistinguished' burial

rituals can, at most, be related to a single rider (rather than a pair of horses, a yoke or a wagon). They also may have been worn as ornaments prior to their use as grave goods, an attested practice. At the cemetery of Hallstatt, for example, a woman was buried with a necklace that incorporated a horse-bit that showed use-wear from being used on a horse (Koch 2012). The bronzes in question from the Low Countries' burials could have been heirlooms (perhaps left over from a different burial, see also Section 7.2.1.8) that were reused as ornaments of some kind, and it may be that they were incorporated into these burials in this capacity. If they were in this manner not viewed as relating to wagons, this could explain why they were treated 'normally' in death.

7.2.3.5 Why did wagons warrant different treatment in death?

Something about the deceased of Oss, Rhenen, Wijchen and the like warranted them being interred with elaborate grave goods sets through exaggerated funerary rituals that, while still conforming in most ways to the local burial practice, also show the influence Hallstatt Culture burial customs. As noted above, the common denominator between them is that wagon components or wagon-related items like yokes and horse-gear for a pair of horses were among the grave goods. The question remains – why did wagons, or even objects related to wagons, trigger exaggerated or unusual funerary rituals? Or perhaps more accurately, what about those people who were to be buried with wagons or wagon-related items, and who presumably drove them in life, made them so exceptional?

First it is important to realize that in the Low Countries there is no precursor to the elaborate wagons and large horses with decorated horse-gear. While there were local customs of drinking and feasting before the introduction of the bronze vessels, and sword fighting before the introduction of the imported Mindelheim swords, the horse-gear and wagons signal *radically different technology and behavior* (see also Chapter 6), and this may be why the individuals associated with them were treated differently in death. Perhaps it was the wagons, or again more accurately the ability to own and drive one that truly seemed exotic to the people of the Low Countries, and this is why they either warranted or required such elaborate burial rituals. Perhaps there was no established social protocol or cultural custom in place for dealing with such, perhaps exotic, people in death (see also Section 2.2 and below). Second, there is something special going on with horse-gear and wagons in the Low Countries, even beyond how they were treated during burial. Some horse-gear and wagons were extensively used, like the worn bits of Oss-Vorstengraf and Wijchen, or the worn wagon components of the latter (Figs. 4.12, 6.9, C35.5 and C35.8). Yet some horse-gear is completely unusable.

The bits from Meerlo (Fig. 4.19) for example, are so large that they could never have been used on a real horse, and we can speculate whether they were made for burial or functioned as some form of symbols in life.

As discussed in Section 6.3, it is thought that in their area of origin these elaborate wagons held some kind of cosmological or religious significance, and this certainly appears to fit with how they were treated in death in the Low Countries. Both horses and wagons feature in cult art and iconography during the Early Iron Age (*e.g.* Egg 1996; Koch 2006, 144; Lucke/Frey 1962; Metzner-Nebelsick 2002, 454–5, 462–8; 2007; Reichenberger 2000), with the horse being the most frequently depicted animal during this period (Kmeťova 2013a, 249; see also Section 6.3.6.2). Taken together, it appears that individuals associated with the introduction of these profoundly new wagons, horses and horse-gear imbued with (perhaps new) religious or cosmological significance and ideas triggered a different treatment in death. It seems that within the Early Iron Age societies of the Low Countries there was no established cultural practice for burying these objects and the people who owned or used them. This shows particularly in some of the 'strange' elements that were found in a number of burial rituals. These people were special, and so were their funerals. This is not to say that a wagon is the only thing that could make a person exceptional in death.

7.2.4 Different, but similar: Uden-Slabroek

The grave of Uden-Slabroek is unique within the dataset for several reasons. It is the only inhumation burial, and the only grave with such an elaborate set of anklets, bracelets and hair rings. As such, it has been referred to or presented as unusual on several occasions (Jansen 2011; Jansen *et al.* 2011; Roymans 2011). However, as I argue elsewhere with Q. Bourgeois, in terms of the burial ritual through which this grave was created, it conforms in most regards with the practice described above (Bourgeois/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017). Like most elite burials, this grave was located in an urnfield. A big difference, of course, is that the deceased was not cremated – but a large fire did in fact play a role in the funerary ritual and was used to intentionally char the oak beams and planks that would be used to construct a small burial chamber. The deceased was buried wearing a woolen dress, three bronze bracelets (two on the left wrist, one on the right) and a bronze anklet on each ankle. The deceased's hair was decorated with bronze spirals.

While this may not be the 'standard' set of objects found in the traditional chieftains' burials (*cf.* Section 2.2.1.1), (exceptional) objects emphasizing personal appearance are common in Late Bronze and Early Iron Age elite graves. Ornaments and pins are common grave goods, and it is within this custom that the Uden-Slabroek ornaments

should be seen. The special appearance of the Early Iron Age (elite) dead frequently is emphasized also by the interment of toiletry sets or razors, and Uden-Slabroek is no different. A toiletry set was placed on the deceased's left shoulder, likely in a leather pouch with an amber bead closing (see also Section 6.5.1.2). Another common and characteristic feature of the elite burials is the deliberate manipulation and fragmentation of grave goods – yet another feature found at Uden-Slabroek as well. A bronze pin was broken deliberately prior to placement in the grave. A last feature common to the rich burials and Uden-Slabroek already referred to is the use of textile, in the form of a shroud used to cover the deceased. So while this inhumation initially may appear to deviate from the burial norm for exceptional people, it in fact shares many features and again appears to be a slightly deviating burial practiced within established local customs. It was an elite funerary ritual similar to the reigning burial practice, only without the cremation of the body and unique in its own way (see also Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017).

7.3 The Hallstatt Culture connection

One last aspect worth considering is whether and how the people of the Low Countries were truly aware of the Hallstatt Culture communities with which they were in contact. Did they have a specific conceptualization of the communities they were obtaining objects from? For this I argue that globalization theory, the latest approach to "interregional interaction and culture change" in archeology (Jennings 2016, 12), offers valuable insights and a feasible way of coming to grips with this issue as the perception of the non-local, other people as connected to the local community is argued to be a key aspect of globalization (*cf.* Steger 2003, 13). Elsewhere D. Fontijn and I discuss in more detail whether Low Countries elite burials can be seen as reflecting a prehistoric form of globalization (Fontijn/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2016), and for this research it suffices to stress that if we can recognize the shared codes of conduct that Jennings (2016) identifies as a characteristic of globalized behavior we will get a better idea of whether and how the Low Countries (elite) inhabitants conceived of the Hallstatt Culture communities with which they were in contact. It is 'networks of practices' that are important, rather than 'networks of objects' (Brown/Duguid 2000). In short, if similar practices can be observed in the Low Countries and Hallstatt Culture burials of Central Europe this would be one archeologically feasible way of recognizing Iron Age globalization and would indicate that the local communities of the Low Countries indeed had a "particular conceptualization of the non-local other[s]" (Fontijn/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2016, 525). While this is a debate that cannot be resolved within the

current research (see also Section 8.2), a first attempt is made in this section by discussing a number of defining features of the elite burial practice of the Low Countries and how they compare to the (primarily Hallstatt C) elite graves of the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe.

7.3.1 The grave goods 'set'

As already noted in Chapters 1 and 2, the elite burials of the Early Iron Age, both in the Low Countries and in the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe contain – among other things and in differing combinations – (parts of) decorated four-wheeled wagons and elaborate horse-gear, metal drinking vessels, weaponry, tools, toilet articles and body ornaments (*e.g.* Kossack 1970; 1974; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, Ch. 2; Krauße 2006; Pare 1992; Wells 2008a.). It has been argued that these objects were meaningfully related and they generally are interpreted as reflecting and/or representing a shared 'elite ideology' (which is thought to have its roots in northern and Mediterranean Europe; *e.g.* Diepeveen-Jansen 2001, Ch. 2; Huth 2003a, 51–5; 2003b; Jung 2007). In the Low Countries, however, there are only very few burials that actually contain the 'full set' (see Section 2.2.1.1), and it is unclear whether interring only a bronze vessel or only a sword was intended to refer to the ideology that the set is thought to reflect. However, I argue that in a number of cases the selection of the grave goods set was guided by an understanding of that grave goods set and the symbolism it referred to as evidenced by the mourners electing to include axes in those few burials that do contain a full set (or those that come closest). As also argued above, this went completely against the established local practice, and likely reflects the involvement of individuals familiar with Hallstatt Culture elite funerary customs in the burial rituals. In some cases therefore, interring the 'set', including the axes, certainly seems to reflect familiarity with and understanding of this complex and what it represents, as well as the practice of placing this configuration of objects in certain burials. While this does not mean necessarily that the deceased or (any of) those burying him or her from the Hallstatt Culture area, it certainly is plausible (see also Section 8.2.3).

7.3.2 Pars pro toto *deposition*

Pars pro toto deposition appears to be an important feature of Hallstatt Culture elite burials, as they are in the Low Countries. As with the Dutch and Belgian graves, there seems to have been considerable variability as to how a wagon could be expressed in a burial. Not only were complete wagons sometimes interred in inhumation burials in the Hallstatt Culture, there are also graves where the wagon is represented by only certain components. These are interpreted as *pars pro toto* wagon-graves (*e.g.* Pare 1992), such as for example

Großeibstadt (Kossack 1970), Hradenín (Dvořák 1938) or Gilgenberg-Gansfuß (Stöllner 1994) to name a few. As noted in Section 6.3.5.4, horse-gear for a pair of (draft) horses also may have been intended to represent a wagon (Koch 2010, 141; 2012; Kossack 1959; Metzner-Nebelsick/Nebelsick 1999; Pare 1992, 195), or it may have been intended as representing the horses who pulled the wagon. Mindelheim H.11 (Kossack 1959), for example, yielded a pair of horse-bits (and bridle ornaments) similar to those found in Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3 or Oss-Vorstengraf (which this research argues functionally relate to driving rather than riding a horse, see Sections 6.3.5.2 and 6.3.6.4), and similarly are interpreted as relating to a wagon. Another example is the *Fürstengrab* of Frankfurt-Stadtwald where a richly decorated yoke and horse-gear for a pair of (draft) horses were found, but no wagon (Fischer 1979; Willms 2002), or Mitterkirchen g.X/1 where a wagon-box and yoke were found but no horse-gear (Metzner-Nebelsick 2009; Pertlwieser 1987, 89–103). As with a number of Dutch and Belgian burials, it appears that also in the Hallstatt Culture burials cremation remains were deposited incomplete (*e.g.* Augstein 2017).

7.3.3 Manipulation and fragmentation

While burial practices in the Hallstatt Culture appear in no way as destructive as the funerary practices in the Low Countries, there does appear to have been a custom of fragmentation or manipulation. While not something traditionally looked for, M. Augstein (2017, 141), for example, found numerous cases of bent and broken items in Early Iron Age burials in Bavaria, and even went as far as stating that fragmentation "seems to be the connecting element of all of these in detail different graves". As another example, more than half the swords found in early Hallstatt Culture burials were bent or broken prior to being placed in the grave (Trachsel 2005, 68). The chape found in the previously mentioned Frankfurt-Stadtwald burial, for example, appears to have been broken deliberately (Fischer 1979; Willms 2002). Wagons it seems sometimes also were interred in a non-functional state, like the wagon of Wehringen (Hennig 2001; Pare 1991). At Großeibstadt wagons appear to have been deposited incomplete and in non-functional states or the wagon is represented only by *pars pro toto* items or references to the draft horses, and some horse-gear even appears broken deliberately (Augstein 2017; Kossack 1970). So even though bending does not seem to be a common element of Hallstatt Culture burial practices, it appears that various forms of destruction were practiced during the course of the funerary ritual – ranging from damaging and fragmenting a sword to making a wagon unusable.

7.3.4 Wrapping in textile

The wrapping of grave goods (and the deceased) in textile is a common and striking element in Hallstatt Culture elite burial practices. The best-known examples date to the later Hallstatt period, like Eberdingen-Hochdorf where both grave goods and the burial as a whole appear to have been wrapped in textile (Banck-Burgess 1999; 2012), or even the La Tène period, such as the Glauberg burials and in particular the wrapped *Schnabelkanne* found there (Bartel *et al.* 2002; Balzer *et al.* 2014). Yet there are also examples of this practice during Hallstatt C in Central Europe, in particular instances of swords being wrapped. Recently excavated examples are two iron swords found in two burials at Nidderau (Hesse, Germany) that were wrapped in textile (Ney 2017; in prep.). Another example is a broken sword found at Mitterkirchen that likewise was wrapped (Leskovar 1998). So it appears that in Central Europe there was also an existing practice of wrapping grave goods during Hallstatt C, even though it may not always be recognized.

7.3.5 (Reuse of ancient) burial mounds

Beyond the similarities in grave goods sets and treatment of grave goods in elite burials from the Low Countries and the Central European Hallstatt Culture, there are also similarities in terms of the burial monuments themselves. In contrast to the earlier Urnfield period, the practice of erecting a barrow is a key feature of the Hallstatt Culture, as is noted regularly in discussions of the definition and the start of the Hallstatt Culture (Pare 2003). The elite graves of the Low Countries also frequently are found in and under (large) barrows – in contrast to the regular urnfield burials that still were created in the Low Countries during the Early Iron Age. But even more strikingly, old burial mounds, primarily of the Middle Bronze Age, were reused in the Hallstatt Culture in a manner similar to for example the Chieftain's burial of Oss. The best-known example is the already mentioned Frankfurt-Stadtwald *Fürstengrab*, where three phases of the burial mound were identified. In both the Oss and Frankfurt burials a Middle Bronze Age barrow was enormously enlarged during the course of the creation of the Early Iron Age burial (Fischer 1979; Fokkens/Jansen 2004, 133–5; Jansen/Fokkens 2007; Willms 2002).

7.3.6 Shared practices – globalized perception?

Above a number of defining features of the elite burial practice of the Low Countries were discussed and it was established that these are found also, in various forms, in the (primarily Hallstatt C) elite graves of the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe. There are similarities in grave goods, the fragmentation of grave goods (to a certain degree), *pars pro toto* deposition of human remains and grave goods and

the use of textile as wrappings. Another shared trait is the barrow practice, with in particular the reuse of ancient mounds being strikingly similar in some cases. These elements were considered here as similarities in practice, *i.e.* more than just similarities in grave goods, could reveal something more of the kind of relationship that existed between these two areas, beyond the fact that they were engaged in material exchanges (see also Sections 2.2.2 and 2.4; *cf.* Fontijn/Van der Vaart 2016; Schumann/ Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017). While this connection certainly warrants further study (see also Section 8.2.3), this preliminary comparison already indicates that more was exchanged and shared between the Low Countries and the Central European Hallstatt Culture than just objects. The Early Iron Age communities in the Low Countries were not passive receivers of exotica – they "actively engaged with such items in ways that correspond to how they interpreted these non-local items" (Fontijn/ Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2016, 526). In some respects the Early Iron Age communities of the Low Countries and the Central European Hallstatt Culture seem to have had intimate knowledge of each other's burial customs and even shared them.

It appears that the elite burials of the Low Countries and the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe reflect more than 'networks of objects', and in fact reflect the 'networks of practices' (*cf.* Brown/Duguid 2000) that are important in discussions of globalization. Not only do there appear to have been extensive connectivities between the Low Countries and the Central European Hallstatt Culture, but there also appears to have been an "awareness" among the Dutch and Belgian communities of the deep connections that existed between the local and the distant, which is yet another feature of globalization (*cf.* Steger 2003, 13). We therefore should not disregard the possibility that the Low Countries communities not only were identifying a number of their dead as special, elite individuals, they also intentionally may have been burying them in a supra-regional, globalized way, intended to show their connection with (members of) the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe.

7.4 Conclusion

This research considered one of the characterizing elements of the Early Iron Age in the Low Countries: the elaborate Hallstatt C elite burials, some of which are known as chieftains' or princely graves (Chapter 1; though see Section 2.2.1.1). Even though many of these burials repeatedly have been the focus of research over the last century, this is the first comprehensive overview of such graves. As the majority are old discoveries with poor context information and publications of them are frequently difficult to access, the accompanying Catalogue

serves as a first step towards understanding the role the elite burials of the Low Countries played in Early Iron Age Europe by making this dataset available to other scholars. In addition to presenting the first comprehensive overview, this research is also the first practice-based analysis of these graves and argues that examining the *burial practice* (in the long-run) will afford us a better understanding of the elite graves and the society that created them (Section 2.2.2). The detailed analyses conducted indicate that they are the result of a dynamic funerary practice with links to both local burial habits and funerary customs practiced in the Central European Hallstatt Culture.

It turns out that the very earliest elite burials predate any material evidence of contact with Central Europe. The later interaction and incorporation of Hallstatt Culture ideas, ideals, customs and objects (see also Chapter 5), however, never could have happened with the speed that it did if there was not already a compatible social structure in place – which I argue the early burials with Atlantic Gündlingen swords reflect (see also Sections 5.2 and C2.3.1.3). (Some of) the people living in the Low Countries were used to interacting with people from France and Britain during the Late Bronze Age (and into the Early Iron Age), as shown not only by the Gündlingen swords but also by less 'prestigious' or exclusive metalwork like razors that were obtained from those regions (Section C2.6.1). They were accustomed to interacting in this manner and had social practices in place for such encounters, and perhaps were used to traveling to other regions themselves.

In terms of the reconstructed burial practice, this research established that the majority of the burials traditionally identified as 'exceptional' by archeologists based on the grave goods they contain, in fact appear to be the result of the 'normal' way of burying and seem to conform in almost all respects to the dominant urnfield burial practice (which is the topic of by A.J. Louwen's (in prep.) ongoing PhD-research). While traditionally the elite graves and urnfield burials are considered separate (as also shown also by the topics of Louwen's and my PhD-researches), in reality there appears to have been a burial spectrum that flows from the very 'poorest' and 'simplest' urnfield burials to the very 'richest' chieftain's burial (*cf.* Bourgeois/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017). Similar to the dominant urnfield burial practice in the Low Countries, the reconstructed elite funerary rituals involved (primarily) cremation rites that incorporated the manipulation and fragmentation of grave goods as well as the *pars pro toto* deposition of both human remains and grave goods (Fig. 7.2; see also Chapter 5). In fact, it appears that in the majority of graves considered only the presence of a bronze vessel or piece of weaponry differentiates them from the numerous urnfield burials (which frequently are found in the immediate surroundings).

Instead, in terms of the manner of burial, it appears that from the perspective of the Early Iron Age mourners it were people who were to be buried with wagons and wagon-related horse-gear that warranted exceptional treatment in death. Such elites were interred through unusual funerary rituals in which the destructive nature of the reigning burial practice was emphasized and exaggerated. It seems that their association with wagons made them exceptional individuals who's passing needed to be marked in a special manner. This research argues that perhaps it was these radically new and cosmologically charged vehicles (Section 6.3), and the ability to drive them and keep and control the (large) horses who pulled them that truly set one apart as an individual of the very highest rank, either in a social or perhaps even in a shamanistic sense. The Early Iron Age communities of the Low Countries may have been in the process of *appropriating* these decidedly new and foreign elite modes of transportation and what they represented (see Section 2.4; *cf.* Hahn 2004, 220; Stockhammer 2012a, 14). For when we look at the individual burial rituals through which apparent wagon-owners were interred, it appears that there was no established funerary practice for such individuals. In some cases it almost seems as though the mourners were innovating, though always in a manner that showed the status of the deceased, beyond the exceptional elite gear they were buried with – for example through elaborate burial rituals involving precious textiles and (exceptionally) large barrows.

This is not to say that the other kinds of objects found in the elite burials did not mark their owners as special – like the elaborately decorated horse-gear and wagon components, the bronze drinking vessels and majority of iron weaponry found in the elite graves originate from the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe and somehow made their way hundreds of kilometers northwest to end up in the (possession and) graves of exceptional Dutch and Belgian individuals. Not only were these exotic imports, the sociology of elite distinction (see Section 2.1) indicates that the kinds of objects interred as grave goods – exceptional modes of transport, drinking equipment and items that emphasize personal appearance – in life reflected and enacted an individual's role as a member of the elite stratum who engaged in certain activities. Swords required practicing with, horses and drivers needed to learn to work together and (a specific) personal appearance had to be maintained (see Chapter 6). These objects are also about communal practices and identities, for example in the form of ritual butchering

and feasting activities. It therefore would appear that the selection of these specific objects for interment with these specific dead was about more than just their 'richness', they were exceptional objects emblematic of a specific elite life-style imported from afar and the significance of them being selected as grave goods should not be underestimated (see Chapters 2 and 6).

Furthermore, while still incorporated within the local burial practice, some graves also appear to reflect the involvement of individuals familiar with Hallstatt Culture funerary customs. This would explain why people deviated from established social and cultural practices and elected to include axes with the grave goods when burying the Chieftains of Oss, Rhenen, Wijchen and Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3 (Section 7.2.3.3). The inclusion of axes is but one of the indications that the Low Countries (elite) were interacting with the Hallstatt world on a deeper level than just simple material exchange. The composition of the grave goods set in the most elaborate burials, the use of (high quality) textiles to wrap grave goods during the burial ritual as well as the reuse of funerary monuments in several Dutch and Belgian graves all point towards a shared understanding of how such objects should be used and what they represent, both in life and in death. There may be differences, but I argue that a statement was being made regarding the connectedness of Early Iron Age elites. These regions not only exchanged objects, they seem to have had shared codes of conduct and perhaps a shared elite lifestyle (*cf.* Treherne 1995). While we cannot (yet) establish whether there were people from the Hallstatt Culture settling in the Low Countries or whether individuals were only visiting (and vice versa), it certainly appears that the people living in these far-flung reaches interacted frequently enough and in such a manner that they, at least to some extent, developed a shared understanding of these exceptional objects.

In conclusion, there were elites living and dying in the Early Iron Age Low Countries who appear to have shared a certain ideology or cosmology, which was associated in particular with ceremonial wagons and associated horses. When they died their one-time ownership and use of the elaborately decorated wagons, their association with these symbolically and cosmologically charged vehicles appears to have marked them out in death. While this research acknowledges that an understanding of how the apparently stratified society functioned and interacted across Northwest Europe cannot be achieved solely by examining these elite graves, this study will hopefully contribute to future research into this worthwhile topic (see also Chapter 8).

8 Final reflections and questions for the future

The Early Iron Age in Europe was a time of contact and interaction. Developments in metalworking and textile weaving were shared across the continent and there was a flow and exchange of goods, people and ideas (see also Chapter 1). Within this vibrant, international society, a select number of individuals living in the Low Countries apparently warranted being buried in a special way with exceptional and exotic grave goods that reflected both local customs and influences from faraway places. It is the resulting graves that formed the focus of this study. In this chapter I briefly re-evaluate the research conducted, and discuss what, with the benefit of hindsight, I perhaps could have done differently in the hope that this may help future researchers. Furthermore, while this book has revealed something of Early Iron Age elites and the practices through which they were laid to rest, it has also raised many questions. I therefore briefly discuss a number of issues touched upon in this research that warrant further consideration in future. It is my hope that considering them here will stimulate future research.

8.1 Re-evaluating: what worked and what I would do differently

In this section I discuss a number of aspects of how the current research was conducted that were succesful, and things that with the benefit of experience and hindsight I would now perhaps do differently.

8.1.1 A question of methodology: fragments are worth considering and restoration history is key

First, this research highlights the importance of re-examining original data and finds, especially when dealing with older discoveries. By going back to the finds, 'new' objects were discovered and 'new' burial inventories created. Much also was learned about the objects found in the elite graves and the actions taken during the funerary rituals through thick description of the actual finds. Even though the majority of Dutch and Belgian elite burials were discovered by chance or inadequately excavated, and poor in terms of context information, the current study has shown that it can be very rewarding to consider that which seems unprepossessing and unworthwhile. By examining the surviving fragments and information one can still learn a lot, especially when similar, better-excavated finds can be used to help interpret those for which little context information survives. This may take time and effort, but can uncover very unexpected results, as this research testifies.

8.1.2 The problems of selecting 'elite' and 'normal' burials

This research initially set out to understand the chieftains' burials of the Low Countries and how these featured both in the Low Countries and in Northwest and Central Europe. However, it quickly became evident that there are very few traditional chieftain's graves in the Low Countries and that elite burials are far more diverse than previously thought, both in terms of grave goods and funerary treatment. Rather than discrete

'blocks' of types of graves, there appears to have been a continuous spectrum of burials, ranging from the very richests chieftain's grave to the very simplest urnfield burial. All, however, appear to have been created through a local burial practice, which in some elite cases became exaggerated (Chapters 5 and 7).

As it truly appears to be a burial spectrum, I wish to acknowledge some of the problems that arose from focusing on the elite graves, in particular when it came to selecting an appropriate dataset. While a selection had to be made for research purposes (as studying all burials from this period in one PhD-research was not feasible), we will not achieve a comprehensive understanding of Early Iron Age burial practices in the Low Countries until those graves studied here are contextualized by considering their contemporaries in more detail than was possible here. The comparison I make in Section 5.4 is a first attempt at this, but is a very generalized assessment as there is no comprehensive publication on the the 'remaining' Early Iron Age burials in the Low Countries. Fortunately, research into the 'non-elite' burials is currently underway by A.J. Louwen (in prep.) and it is expected that upon completion of his PhD-research our understanding of (elite) Early Iron Age burial practices in the Low Countries will have to be reviewed. The interconnectedness of my research with that of Louwen is also evident when we consider the difficulty I experienced when trying to select my study sample. I included graves with any metalwork from the sites studied, even when there is nothing 'elite' about them, which is why I eventually came to identify them as urnfield burials in Chapters 5 and 7. I also did not include burials that in retrospect could be considered elite burials, as my starting point in my selection process were the graves with Hallstatt Culture imports. This may in particular be true for *female* elite graves (see below).

8.1.3 Female elites harder for archeologists to recognize?

Roymans (1991, 56) already noted the lack of rich female graves from the Hallstatt C period and states that the "grave material confronts us with a thoroughly male-dominated social system". One wonders though whether this may be a matter of archeological visibility and interpretation (see also for example Metzner-Nebelsick 2009). First of all, while we tend to think of weaponry, bronze vessels and wagons as indicating male burials, there is only physical anthropological evidence to back this up for *five* burials, and even fewer if we consider only cremation analyses conducted after 1990 (*cf.* Section 2.2.3.3). Furthermore, it may be that female elites were buried in such a way that they are harder to excavate and recognize. For example, new finds such as the female cremation grave of Leesten-Meijerink and the presumaby female burial of Uden-Slabroek in all likelihood would not have survived or been recognized had they been uncovered in the past, and there may well be more waiting to be excavated, or recognized. We also may need to rethink how we may recognize female elite burials. While there is a broad consensus that the (supposed) female burial of Uden-Slabroek with an elaborate ornament set is the grave of a richly ornamented elite woman, should someone buried with one of those bracelets or anklets be seen as elite as well? After all, someone with one 'part' of the chieftain's set, *i.e.* a sword, or a bronze vessel or a wagon is taken to be an elite, does someone with part of the 'Slabroek elite set' also warrant being seen as such? If a sword equals an elite male, could a single bracelet equal an elite female? This is one of the questions I was confronted with during the course my research that in my opinion warrant further consideration (see below).

8.2 Questions for the future
During this research I was confronted with many questions that fell outside of the current research scope, but which I feel are worth addressing in the future. A selection of relevant ones are presented here.

8.2.1 Traditional chieftains' burials: significantly insignificant?
This research emphasized that within Early Iron Age burials practices in the Low Countries the elite burials studied were very much the exception. Even within that group there are only a select few that are 'true' traditional chieftain's graves (*cf.* Section 2.2.1.1). It also was argued that, in terms of how the dead were treated, drivers of exceptional wagons were truly different in death and treated as such. This would mean that within the dataset studied at most about a dozen individuals were truly exceptional, at least in terms of how they were buried. This makes it debatable how much this says about the general population of the Early Iron Age Low Countries. A question that follows from this is of course how many such burials there were originally, regarding which Roymans (1991) once estimated that 10% of elite burials have been excavated. This would translate to their originally being at most 100–700 elite graves (depending on how elite graves are defined). When this is compared with the almost *40,000 urnfield burials* that already have been inventoried by A.J. Louwen (in prep.), it raises the question whether the elite graves really are all that significant and how much they actually reveal of Early Iron Age society in general. While certainly an archeologically characteristic element defining of the Early Iron Age in the Low Countries, I do wonder how much influence the individuals buried in them or their elaborate funerals would truly have held for Early Iron Age communities. From an emic perspective, how significant or representative were they really, and

were they actually defining of the Early Iron Age Low Countries? Also, how frequently and in what manner would the average farmer (if there is even such a thing), have interacted with the people buried in the elite graves? At present these are questions that I cannot answer, but it is hoped that in the future, especially once this research can be combined with that of A.J. Louwen, we may achieve a better understanding of these issues.

8.2.2 Contextualizing through elite and burial theory

I also assert that further exploration of elite and burial theory could help us contextualize the elite burials further and understand them better, in particular with regard to the significance they would have held towards the communities living and dying in the Early Iron Age Low Countries. Due to the challenging nature of the finds (the generally poor find circumstances and lack of detailed publications), the focus of the present study was very much on gathering the basic data in as much detail as possible, with one result being that the theory side of things could not be explored in as much detail. While the basic data (this research) had to be compiled first, it is hoped that it will be possible to continue this research in future, focusing in particular on how we should understand them from a more developed theoretical framework.

8.2.3 Comparison to the rest of Europe

This research focused primarily on the connections that existed between the Low Countries elite and the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe, as this is where the majority and most striking of the grave goods found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials originate from. This connection is certainly important and worth considering in more detail in future. In particular now that new ^{14}C-dates and typochronological research indicate that the elite burials of the Low Countries date earlier than previously thought (to the 8th – 7th centuries BC; see Chapter 3), which means we have to refocus what we are comparing them to in terms of European developments. As noted in Section 2.2.1.2, there is a tendency to compare the Chieftain's burial of Oss with graves such as Hochdorf, but in reality, if we

want to understand the connection that existed between the Hallstatt Culture and the Low Countries, we need to be looking at burial practices some 200 years earlier and the developments taking place at that time. Moreover, we need to be looking more broadly than just the western Hallstatt Culture. This research already touched upon the relationships that existed with parts of France and England, but these remain understudied. For example, did the Hallstatt Culture imports found in England make their way there through the Low Countries elites? Were the Low Countries perhaps more 'central' than 'peripheral'? And crucially, were the people buried in the Dutch and Belgian burials originally from the Low Countries or were they migrants from elsewhere? And if so, from where? It is hoped that further analysis, for example strontium- and/or DNA-analysis in future will be able to shed light on this. Connections that may have existed with the eastern Hallstatt Culture also may warrant further study. Some of the bronze vessels or textiles, for example, show strong similarities with artifacts found in eastern Hallstatt Culture contexts. Considering these connections unfortunately remains problematic due in particular to language barriers (which is also a problem when comparing the Low Countries and France). However, progess is being made, with more and more sites and research being published in English. In future it should be better possible to consider the relationships that existed between the Low Countries' elite and other regions of Northwest and Central Europe during this fascinating time period of rapid development, change and interaction.

8.3 Conclusion

The Early Iron Age chieftains' burials and other elite graves in the Low Countries are a fascinating element of Northwest European prehistory, and it is hoped that the current research will further our understanding of them. At the same time we should be wary of overestimating their importance from an emic perspective, at least until future research yields true understanding of the significance of the spectacularly fragmented Chieftains.

Summary

There is a cluster of Early Iron Age (800–500 BC) elite burials in the Low Countries in which bronze vessels, weaponry, horse-gear and wagons were interred as grave goods. Mostly imports from Central Europe, these objects are found brought together in varying configurations in cremation burials generally known as chieftains' graves or princely burials. In terms of grave goods they resemble the *Fürstengräber* of the Central European Hallstatt Culture, with famous Dutch and Belgian examples being the Chieftain's grave of Oss, the wagon-grave of Wijchen and the elite cemetery of Court-St-Etienne. *Fragmenting the Chieftain* presents the results of an in-depth and practice-based archeological analysis of the Dutch and Belgian elite graves and the burial practice through which they were created.

Studying the Dutch and Belgian elite burials, however, is not without its challenges. The quality of the available data generally is quite low as most graves were unearthed several decades to several centuries ago and context information generally is limited. This research strove to overcome this by going back to the original data, performing thick descriptions on surviving finds and studying even the most unprepossessing fragments. This revealed how much still can be learned from a comprehensive and detailed re-examination of all available documentation and artifacts from elite burials. While it is true that context information for many is extremely poor, limiting interpretation, detailed study of what remains and comparison with newer and better-excavated finds allows for the reconstruction of the elite funerary practice in surprising detail. All information regarding the individual graves gathered from literature study and object examinations was compiled in the accompanying Catalogue *Fragmenting the Chieftain – Catalogue. Late Bronze and Early Iron Age elite burials in the Low Countries*, which for many of these graves is the first English and/or accessible publication. This inventory forms the dataset used to analyze the elite burial practice. In order for the current volume to be readable on its own, Chapter 4 summarizes the dataset, using iconographic overviews of grave contents and the treatment of objects to visualize the burials analyzed, with more detailed descriptions regarding specific graves and burial rituals available in the Catalogue. This manner of visualization allows for the recognition of patterns in terms of grave goods composition and treatments. Where relevant individual burial rituals are described, as these form the basis for the analysis of the burial practice.

Chapter 5 discusses the elite burial practice and how it developed. It addresses the shift from depositing certain supra-regional objects like swords and ornaments, to interring them in graves during the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition. These changes are argued to reflect changes in attitude towards (markers of) supra-regional (elite/warrior) identities. For a short time, certain exceptional objects could end their lives in depositions as well as in graves, and it appears that eventually burial deposition became preferred. The practice of interring individuals with bronze swords arose in the 9th century BC, and those with Hallstatt Culture imports occurring also early in the 8th century BC and continuing into the 7th century BC. This was established in Chapter 3 using new (calibrations of) 14C-dates and typochronologies, which revealed that the majority of burials either are or could be earlier than generally thought. When combined with the

origins of certain grave goods and the cultural context they reflect, this adjusted chronology revealed that Atlantically-oriented bronze sword-graves are actually closer together with the Hallstatt Culture-oriented ones (in terms of the origin of the objects they contain). Where before these were perceived as chronologically separated phenomena, they in fact overlapped and apparently smoothly transitioned from one into the other. Significantly, the practice of identifying deceased as elites through lavish grave goods started *before* there is any material evidence of contact with the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe. This means that the rise of the elite burial practice was in fact a local development (as has been argued in the past as well; Fontijn/Fokkens 2007).

The burial practices reflected in the elite burials are visualized in *chaîne opératoire*-style infographics, which reveal that in most cases, the burial practice through which the dead were interred was decidedly local in nature and, with the exception the grave goods interred, apparently 'unremarkable'. People were buried in the 'usual (urnfield) fashion in the usual places', primarily in high and striking locations in the landscape and generally in or by urnfields and/or barrow groups. Sometimes there is a single elite burial per site, but generally there are more. Sometimes the elite burials represent a short burst of activity, sometimes they reflect a longer period of time. The elites were laid to rest through rituals involving the cremation of the dead and the dismantling, burning, bending and breaking of grave goods, and *pars pro toto* depositions of both. In terms of how they were buried, owning (only) a bronze vessel, a sword or horse-gear does not appear to have warranted exceptional treatment during the burial ritual.

Analysis of the burial practice reveals that in fact with regard to how individuals were interred, it were those accompanied by wagons and wagon-related horse-gear that were laid to rest through an exceptional, exaggerated burial practice that strongly incorporated the dismantling, manipulation and fragmentation of grave goods. *Pars pro toto* depositions of both human remains and grave goods are emphasized in these graves and they regularly feature the use of textile as part of the burial rituals which appear grander in nature and execution. Recognizing this common denominator, the wagon, is not always easy due to the destructive and selective nature of the burial practice.

In an attempt to understand this difference in funerary treatment, that appears linked to the type of grave goods that accompanied the dead, Chapter 6 explores how the (kinds of) objects found in the elite burials were treated in life. Focusing in particular in a very practical sense on how they were used, but also considering how they were perceived and what they may have symbolized. By doing so it was established that the (types) of objects found as grave goods in the elite burials played a role in the construction and expression of a complex identity. The bronze vessels, weaponry, horse-gear and wagons, as well as the tools and ornaments were both symbolically charged items and very much a part of daily life. It were the exceptional wagons and accompanying horse-gear, however, which reflect truly new social practices in the Low Countries, and it was likely this in combination with the religious signifance that they held (*cf.* Pare 1992, Ch. 12), that triggered their, and their owners', exceptional treatment in death.

In conclusion it was established that the elite burials are embedded in the local burial practices – as reflected by the use of the cremation rite, the bending and breaking of grave goods, and the *pars pro toto* deposition of human remains and objects, all in accordance with the dominant local urnfield burial practice (Chapter 7). It appears that those individuals interred with wagons and related items warranted a more elaborate funerary rite, most likely because these ceremonial and cosmologically charged vehicles marked their owners out at exceptional individuals. Furthermore, in a few graves the configuration of the grave goods set, the use of textiles to wrap grave goods and the dead and the reuse of burial mounds show the influence of individuals familiar with Hallstatt Culture burial customs.

Samenvatting

In de Lage Landen bevindt zich een cluster elite graven uit de Vroege IJzertijd (800–500 v. Chr.). Bekende Nederlandse en Belgische voorbeelden zijn het Vorstengraf van Oss, het wagengraf van Wijchen en de elite begraafplaats van Court-St-Etienne. Deze veelal crematiegraven bevatten bronzen vaatwerk, paardentuig, wagens en wapens in verschillende configuraties, die grotendeels geïmporteerd zijn uit Centraal Europa. Qua grafgiften lijken deze graven op de zogeheten *Fürstengräber* van de Hallstatt Cultuur. *Fragmenting the Chieftain* presenteert de resultaten van een *in-depth* en *practice-based* archeologische analyse van de elite graven in de Lage Landen en de grafpraktijk door middel waarvan ze gecreëerd zijn.

Het onderzoek naar de Nederlandse en Belgische elite graven is echter niet zonder uitdagingen. De meeste van deze graven is een aantal decennia tot een aantal eeuwen geleden gevonden, waardoor de kwaliteit van de beschikbare archeologische data over het algemeen vrij laag is en er relatief weinig contextinformatie beschikbaar is. Dit onderzoek legt daarom de nadruk op een uitgebreide studie van de originele vondsten, waarbij zelfs de kleinste fragmenten zijn bestudeerd. Uit deze studie bleek dat veel informatie kan worden verkregen door alle beschikbare documentatie en vondsten uitgebreid en gedetailleerd te analyseren. Hoewel het zeker waar is dat de contextinformatie van de graven over het algemeen minimaal is, was het mogelijk om door middel van gedetailleerde studie, in combinatie met een vergelijking van recentelijk en 'beter' opgegraven vondsten, het elite grafgebruik in verrassend detail te reconstrueren. Alle uit literatuurstudie en uit object analyses verkregen informatie is te vinden in de bijhorende Catalogus (*Fragmenting the Chieftain – Catalogue. Late Bronze and Early Iron Age elite burials in the Low Countries*). Voor veel graven is dit de eerste Engelse en toegankelijke publicatie. In de Catalogus worden ook gedetailleerde omschrijvingen van specifieke graven en grafrituelen gegeven. Waar relevant worden individuele grafrituelen beschreven aangezien deze de basis vormen voor de analyses van het grafgebruik. De inventaris vormt het uitgangspunt om het elite grafgebruik te analyseren en deze wordt in Hoofdstuk 4 van dit boek samengevat zodat het huidige werk ook afzonderlijk van de Catalogus te lezen is. Iconografische overzichten worden gebruikt om grafinventarissen en de behandeling van objecten uit de onderzochte graven te visualiseren. Deze manier van visualiseren stelt het mogelijk om patronen in de samenstelling en behandeling van grafgiften te herkennen.

In Hoofdstuk 5 wordt het elite grafgebruik en hoe deze zich ontwikkelde besproken. Het is vastgesteld dat een verschuiving plaatsvond van het deponeren van supra-regionale objecten zoals zwaarden en ornamenten, naar het plaatsen van deze in graven tijdens de overgang van de Late Bronstijd naar de Vroege IJzertijd. Er wordt beargumenteerd dat deze overgang veranderingen reflecteert in hoe men (*markers* van) supra-regionale (elite/krijger) identiteiten zag. Voor een korte tijdspanne konden uitzonderlijke objecten hun leven zowel in deposities als in graven eindigen, waarbij grafdepositie uiteindelijk de voorkeur kreeg. Het gebruik om individuen met bronzen zwaarden te begraven ontwikkelde zich tijdens de 9^e eeuw v. Chr., waarbij graven met Hallstatt Cultuur importen pas in de 8^e en

eerste helft van de 7ᵉ eeuw werden gecreëerd. Dit wordt in Hoofdstuk 3 vastgesteld door middel van nieuwe (kalibraties van) ¹⁴C-dateringen en typochronologieën. Hierbij is vastgesteld dat de meerderheid van de graven vroeger zijn dan werd gedacht.

Wanneer dit gecombineerd wordt met de herkomst van bepaalde grafgiften en de culturele context die zij reflecteren, kan er vastgesteld worden dat de Atlantisch-georiënteerde bronzen zwaardgraven in tijd dichter bij de Hallstatt Cultuur-georiënteerde graven (met betrekking tot de oorsprong van de objecten die erin gevonden worden) liggen dan aanvankelijk werd gedacht. Waar deze eerst werden gezien als chronologisch gescheiden fenomenen, blijken deze nu te hebben overlapt en van het een in het andere te zijn overgegaan. Significant hierbij is dat het gebruik om de dode door middel van rijke grafgiften als elite te identificeren al was opgekomen *voordat*, in zoverre uit de archeologische overlevering kan worden opgemaakt, er contact was met de Hallstatt Cultuur van Centraal Europa. De opkomst van het elite grafgebruik was dus een lokale ontwikkeling (zoals ook beargumenteerd door Fontijn/Fokkens 2007).

Het grafgebruik waar de elite graven het resultaat van zijn wordt in dit boek gevisualiseerd in *chaîne opératoire*-stijl infographics. Deze laten zien dat, over het algemeen, het elite grafgebruik in lijn lag met het lokale gebruik, en dat deze relatief alledaags waren, met uitzondering van de grafgiften. Mensen werden begraven volgens het 'normale (urnenveld) grafgebruik op normale plekken', namelijk in hoge en opvallende locaties in het landschap, over het algemeen in of nabij urnenvelden en/of grafheuvelgroepen. Soms werd maar één elite graf per plek gecreëerd, maar vaak zijn het er meer. Soms werd een site kortstondig gebruikt, soms werd tijdens een langere periode mensen begraven. De elite werden ter aarde gelegd in rituelen die crematie van de dode en het ontmantelen, verbranden, verbuigen en breken van grafgoederen en *pars pro toto* deposities van beide omvatte. In termen van hoe ze begraven werden, lijkt het bezitten van (alleen) een bronzen emmer, zwaard of paardentuig geen bijzondere behandeling te hebben veroorzaakt.

Door middel van analyse van het grafgebruik is echter vastgesteld dat bij de individuen die met een wagen en wagen-gerelateerd paardentuig begraven werden, een uitzonderlijk (en overdreven) grafgebruik plaatsvond. Het

grafrituel was grootser en uitvoering van aard. Hierbij speelden het ontmantelen, manipuleren en fragmenteren van grafgiften een sterke rol. Ook *pars pro toto* deposities werden in deze graven benadrukt en het gebruik van textiel komt veelvuldig voor. Het herkennen van de gedeelde factor, de wagen, is niet altijd makkelijk vanwege de destructieve en selectieve aard van het grafgebruik.

In een poging om dit verschil in funeraire behandeling te interpreteren, welke verbonden lijkt met het type grafgift welke met de dode werd meegegeven, wordt in Hoofdstuk 6 gekeken hoe de verschillende (soorten) objecten die in de elite graven gevonden zijn tijdens het leven werden gebruikt. Hierbij ligt de nadruk op hoe deze praktisch gebruikt werden, maar ook is gekeken hoe ze werden waargenomen en geïnterpreteerd, en wat ze mogelijk gesymboliseerd hebben. Zo is vastgesteld dat de (soorten) objecten die als grafgiften in de elite graven gevonden worden een rol speelden in de constructie en expressie van een complexe identiteit. Het bronzen vaatwerk, paardentuig, de wagen en wapens, maar ook het gereedschap en de ornamenten waren symbolisch geladen objecten, maar speelden ook een rol in het dagelijks leven. Het waren echter de uitzonderlijke wagen en het bijbehorende paardentuig welke echt nieuwe sociale gebruiken in de Lage Landen vertegenwoordigen. Waarschijnlijk speelde dit, in combinatie met hun religieuze significantie (*cf.* Pare 1992, Ch. 12) een rol in waarom zij, en hun eigenaren, zo uitzonderlijk behandelt werden in de dood.

Concluderend is vastgesteld dat de elite graven ingebed waren in het dominante, lokale urnenveld grafgebruik – herkenbaar aan het gebruik van het crematieritueel, het buigen en breken van grafgiften, en de *pars pro toto* depositie van zowel menselijke resten en objecten (Hoofdstuk 7). Het lijkt er echter op dat de individuen die met wagens en gerelateerd paardentuig begraven werden uitzonderlijke grafriten vereisten. Deze werden waarschijnlijk als exceptionele individuen geindentificeert als gevolg van hun associatie met de ceremoniële en kosmologisch geladen wagens. In een aantal graven duidt de samenstelling van de grafgiften, het gebruik om grafgoederen en de dode met textiel in te wikkelen en het hergebruik van grafheuvels op de invloed (en aanwezigheid?) van individuen die bekend waren met de grafgebruiken van de Hallstatt Cultuur.

Acknowledgements

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Curriculum vitae

Sasja van der Vaart-Verschoof was born on November 18, 1986 in Delft, the Netherlands to a Dutch father and American mother. From 1999 to 2006 she attended the Haags Montessori Lyceum in The Hague, where she obtained her *Gymnasium* diploma. In 2006 she started her studies at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University. Here she obtained first a Bachelor degree in Archaeology (*met genoegen* in 2009) followed by a Research Master (*cum laude*) in Prehistoric Farming Communities of North-West Europe in 2012. Her Master-thesis focused on a selection of Dutch elite burials and established that there was still much that could be learned from them. Her thesis was nominated both for the W.A. van Es Prize for Dutch Archaeology (2012) and the Leiden University thesis prize (2012). She also worked on the design and construction of the exhibition "Archaeology of the Netherlands" during a year long internship at the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities.

Upon completion of her Research Master she was appointed as a Research Assistant within the NWO-funded *Ancestral Mounds* project to oversee the final stages of compiling and editing the extensive excavation report of a rich Hallstatt C grave found at Oss-Zevenbergen Mound 7 (Fontijn *et al.* 2013; *Transformation through Destruction. A monumental and extraordinary Early Iron Age Hallstatt C barrow from the ritual landscape of Oss-Zevenbergen*). In the fall of 2009 she was awarded a 'PhDs in the Humanities' research grant by the NWO for her research proposal "Constructing powerful identities. The conception and meaning of 'rich' Hallstatt burials in the Low Countries (800-500 BC)", of which the current volume is the result. Throughout her PhD she published several papers, participated in conferences and served as a member of the Research Committee of the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University**.** She also co-organized an international workshop at Leiden University in collaboration with the Institute for Prehistoric Archaeology of the University of Hamburg, the results of which are published in *Connecting Elites and Regions. Perspectives on contacts, relations and differentiation during the Early Iron Age Hallstatt C period in Northwest and Central Europe* (co-edited with R. Schumann). She is currently also a member of the Reuvendagen Program Committee and works as a freelance archeological consultant, researcher and editor.

App. A1 Abbreviations

The following sections give the abbreviations used in this research.

A1.1 Burial form abbreviations

Abbreviation	Burial form
T.	Tombelle or Tumulus
t.	Tombe
M.	Mound
g.	Grave
UC	Unknown context (= stray finds)

A1.2 Museum and depot abbreviations

Abbreviation	Museum or depot
AS	Archeologiehuis Someren
CC	Centre Ceramique, Maastricht
DM	Provinciaal Drents Museum, Assen
GDB	Gemeentelijk Depot voor Bodemvondsten, Zutphen
LM	Limburgs Museum, Venlo
NBM	Noordbrabants museum, 's Hertogenbosch
MdN	Musée de Namur, Namur
MhV	Museum het Valkhof, Nijmegen
MK	Museum Kam
MRAH	Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (= *Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*)
RMO	National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (= Rijksmuseum van Oudheden)

A1.3 Site name abbreviations

Abbreviation	Site
Ba	Baarlo
BW	Basse-Wavre
CSE-FR	Court-Saint-Etienne La Ferme Rouge
CSE-LQ	Court-Saint-Etienne La Quenique
DP	Darp-Bisschopsberg
EB	Ede-Bennekom
FP	Flobecq-Pottelberg
GC	Gedinne-Chevaudos
HMC	Harchies-Maison Cauchies
H	Havré
HB	Heythuizen-Bisschop
HK	Hofstade-Kasteelstraat
HH	Horst-Hegelsom
PdD	La Plantée des Dames
LeM	Leesten-Meijerink
LM	Limal-Morimoine
LK	Lommel-Kattenbos
LSP-FAM	Louette-Saint-Pierre Fosse-Aux-Morts
MH	Maastricht-Heer
M	Meerlo
Me	Meppen
NR	Neerharen-Rekem
OV	Oss-Vorstengraf
OZ	Oss-Zevenbergen
RK	Rhenen-Koerheuvel
S	Stocquoy
SK	Someren-Kraayenstark
SP	Someren-Philipscamping
US	Uden-Slabroek
V	Venlo
W	Wijchen
WB	Weert-Boshoverheide

A1.4 Other abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
BA	Bronze Age
D.	Diameter
Diam.	Diameter
EIA	Early Iron Age
H.	Height or *Hügel*
IA	Iron Age
L.	Length
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
Thr.	Thread
wght	Weight

App. A2 Summary overview of objects in Catalogue, per find category

This appendix gives a summary overview of the objects from burials included in the Catalogue (note that stray finds are not listed). They are listed per the following categories: pottery, the bronze vessels, weaponry, horse-gear and wagons, tools, ornaments and toiletries. An overview figure of the objects is given per category. Note that for the figures I relied on available images, which is why they are not all in the same style. In some cases there are more examples of a specific type of object than depicted and bent objects are sometimes depicted in their original state. Please be aware that this can give a misleading impression (*cf.* Section 4.1.1; see also Catalogue for more detailed information and depictions).

A2.1 Pottery

Object no.	Description	Signs of		
		Use/ repair	Bending/ breaking	Fire
*BW.T5.2**	Ceramic pots, multiple	Indet	Indet	Indet
CSE-FR.T1.2	Urn, contained cremation *CSE-FR.T1.1**	--/--	--/-	--
CSE-FR.T1.3	Accessory vessel	--/--	--/--	--
*CSE-FR.T1.4**	Accessory vessel	--/--	--/--	--
CSE-FR.T1.5	Bowl, contained iron fragments *CSE-FR.T1.8*	--/--	--/--	--
*CSE-FR.T2.2**	Urn	Indet	Indet	--
*CSE-FR.T3.04**	Accessory vessel	Indet	Indet	Indet
CSE-FR.T3.05	Urn, contained cremation *CSE-FR.T3.01*	--/--	--/--	--/--
CSE-FR.T3.06	Urn, contained cremation *CSE-FR.T3.02*	--/--	--/--	--/--
CSE-FR.T3.07	Urn, contained cremation *CSE-FR.T3.03**	--/--	--/--	--/--
*CSE-FR.T4.2**	Urn, contained cremation *CSE-FR.T4.1**	--/--	--/--	--/--
*CSE-FR.T4.3**	Accessory vessel	--/--	--/--	--/--
CSE-FR.T5.2	Pot, contained cremation *CSE-FR.T5.1*	Indet	Indet	--
*CSE-FR.T5.3**	Accessory vessel	Indet	Indet	--
*CSE-FR.T5.4**	Bowl	Indet	Indet	--
CSE-LQ.TA.2	Pot with protuberances	--/--	--/-	--
CSE-LQ.TA.3	Small accessory vessel	--/--	--/-	--
CSE-LQ.TA.4	Small cup	--/--	--/-	--
*CSE-LQ.TK.2**	Large urn, could not be identified	Indet	Indet	Indet
*CSE-LQ.TZ.2**	Pottery	Indet	Indet	Indet
*DB.2**	Pottery urn, contained cremation DB.1	--/--	--/--	--
*DB.3**	Pottery bowl	--/--	--/--	--
*GC.T1.02**	Urn, contained cremation *GC.T1.01**	Indet/indet	Indet	Indet

Tab. A2.1 Pottery found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials (stray finds from the Catalogue are not included; see also Fig. A2.1).

Object no.	Description	Signs of		
		Use/repair	Bending/breaking	Fire
*GC.T1.03**	Pot, lay scattered and incomplete	Indet/indet	Indet/+-	Indet
*GC.T1.04**	Pot, lay scattered and incomplete	Indet/indet	Indet/+-	Indet
*GC.T14.02**	Pot fragments	Indet	Indet	Indet
*GC.T16.02**	Large pot, contained cremation *GC.T16.01**	Indet	Indet	Indet
*GC.T16.03**	Pot with cylindrical neck	Indet	Indet	Indet
*GC.T16.04**	Accessory vessel?	Indet	Indet	Indet
*GC.TA.02**	Urn	Indet	Indet	Indet
*GC.TP/Q.01**	Urn	Indet	Indet	Indet
*HMC.t1.2**	Pot, likely contained cremation *HMC.t1.1**	Indet	Indet	Indet
HMC.t2.2	Urn, contained human cremation *HMC.t2.1*	--/--	--/--	--
HMC.t4.2	Urn, half	--/--	--/+-	--
*H.TE.2**	Pot	Indet	Indet	Indet
*H.T2.2**	Pot	Indet	Indet	Indet
*H.T4.2**	Pot	Indet	Indet	Indet
*H.T9.2**	Urn	Indet	Indet	Indet
*H.T10.2**	Urn	Indet	Indet	Indet
*H.T10.3**	Accessory vessel			
*H.T16.2**	Urn			
*H.T16.3**	Small cup			
HB.2	Pottery urn, fragments	--/--	--/-+	--
*HK.2**	Urn	--/--	--/-	++
HH.2	Pottery urn	--/--	-/-	--
HH.3	Pottery bowl	--/--	-/-	--
LeM.g1.02	Pottery urn, contained *LeM.g1.02*	--/--	--/--	--
LeM.g1.03	Pottery accessory bowl, found next to *LeM.g1.02*	--/--	--/--	--
LeM.g1.04	Pottery accessory bowl, found in *LeM.g1.02*	--/--	--/--	--
LM.T1.2	Pot, contained cremation *LM.T1.*	--/--	--/--	--
*LK.T20.2**	Urn (*Schräghals*)	--/--	--/--	--/--
*LSP-FAM.TI.02**	Pot, broken and possibly burned	--/--	--/+-	+
*LSP-FAM.TI.03**	Fragments of a large pot.	Indet	Indet	Indet
*LSP-FAM.TIII.2**	Urn, contained cremation *LSP-FAM.TIII.1** and *LSP-FAM.TIII.4**	Indet	Indet	Indet
*LSP-FAM.TIII.3**	Accessory vessel	Indet	Indet	Indet
*M.02**	Pot (*Schräghals*)	--/--	--/--	--
*M.03**	Bowl	--/--	--/--	--
OZ.M7.03	*Schräghals*-urn, contained *OZ.M7.01*	--/--	--/--	--
*SK.2**	Pot	--/--	--/-	-
*SK.5**	Bowl	--/--	--/-	-
*WB.t1.2**	Urn	Indet	Indet	Indet
*WB.t2.2**	Urn	Indet	Indet	Indet
*WB.t3.2**	Urn	Indet	Indet	Indet
*WB.t4.2**	Urn	Indet	Indet	Indet
*WB.TO.04**	Large urn, contained cremation *WB.TO.01**	--/--	--/--	--
*WB.TO.05**	Large urn, contained cremation *WB.TO.02**	--/--	--/--	--
*WB.TO.06**	Large urn, contained cremation *WB.TO.03**	--/--	--/--	--
*WB.TO.08**	Large urn	--/--	--/--	--
*WB.TO.11**	Large urn	--/--	--/--	--
*WB.TO.14**	Large urn	--/--	--/--	--
WIJ.02	Fragment	--/--	--/-	--
*WIJ.30**	Urn	Indet	Indet	Indet

Tab. A2.1 (continued) Pottery found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials (stray finds from the Catalogue are not included; see also Fig. A2.1).
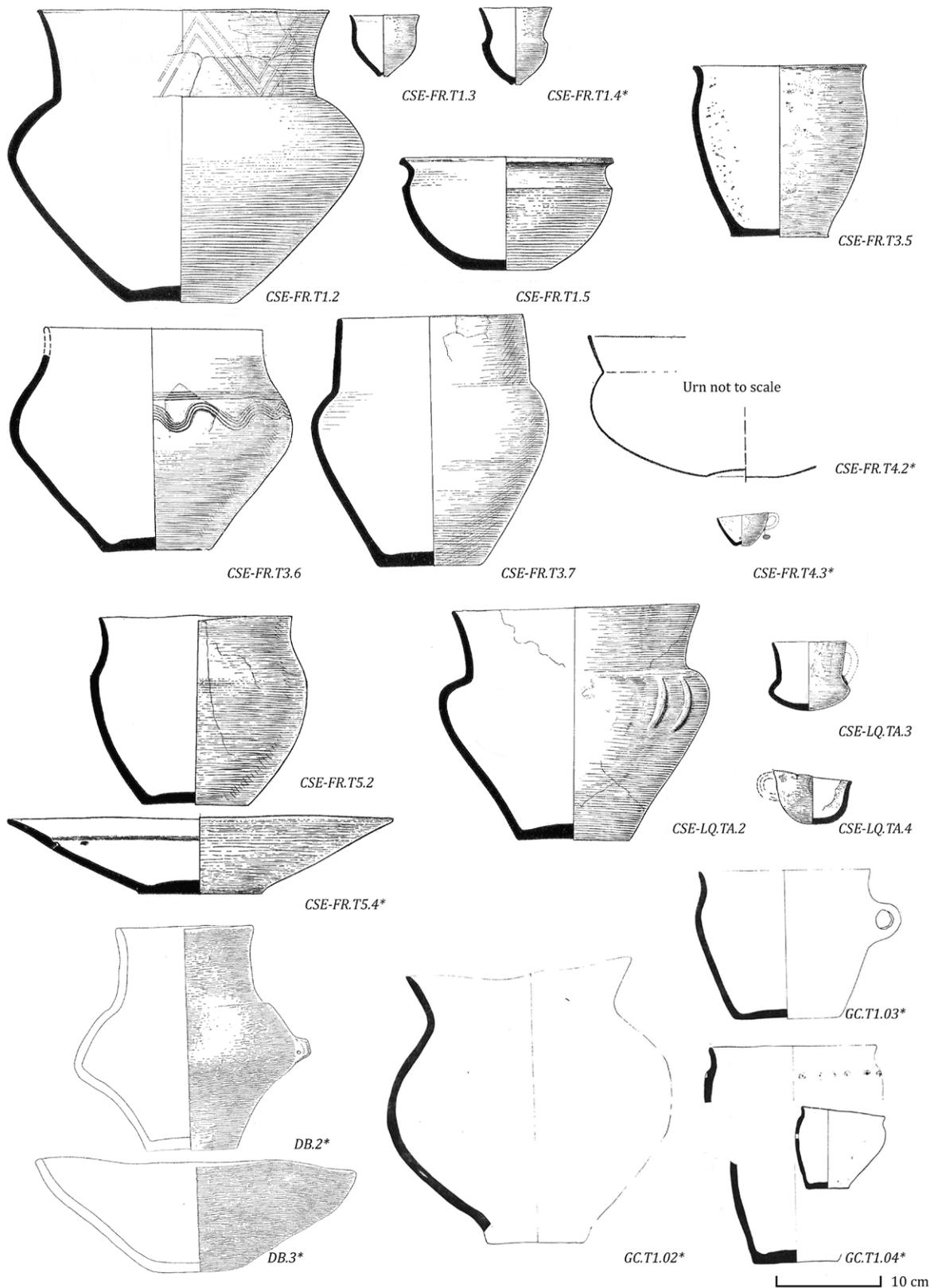
Fig. A2.1 Pottery found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials (stray finds from the Catalogue are not included; note that for some finds no drawings exist). Drawings after Fontijn et al. 2013c, fig. 6.1; Kam 1956, fig. 1; Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 4, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 34 and 40; 1999, figs. 5–7; Verwers 1986, fig. 2; Warmenbol 1978, pl. I, II, VII and XIV; by J.P. Boogerd; supplied by G. de Mulder.
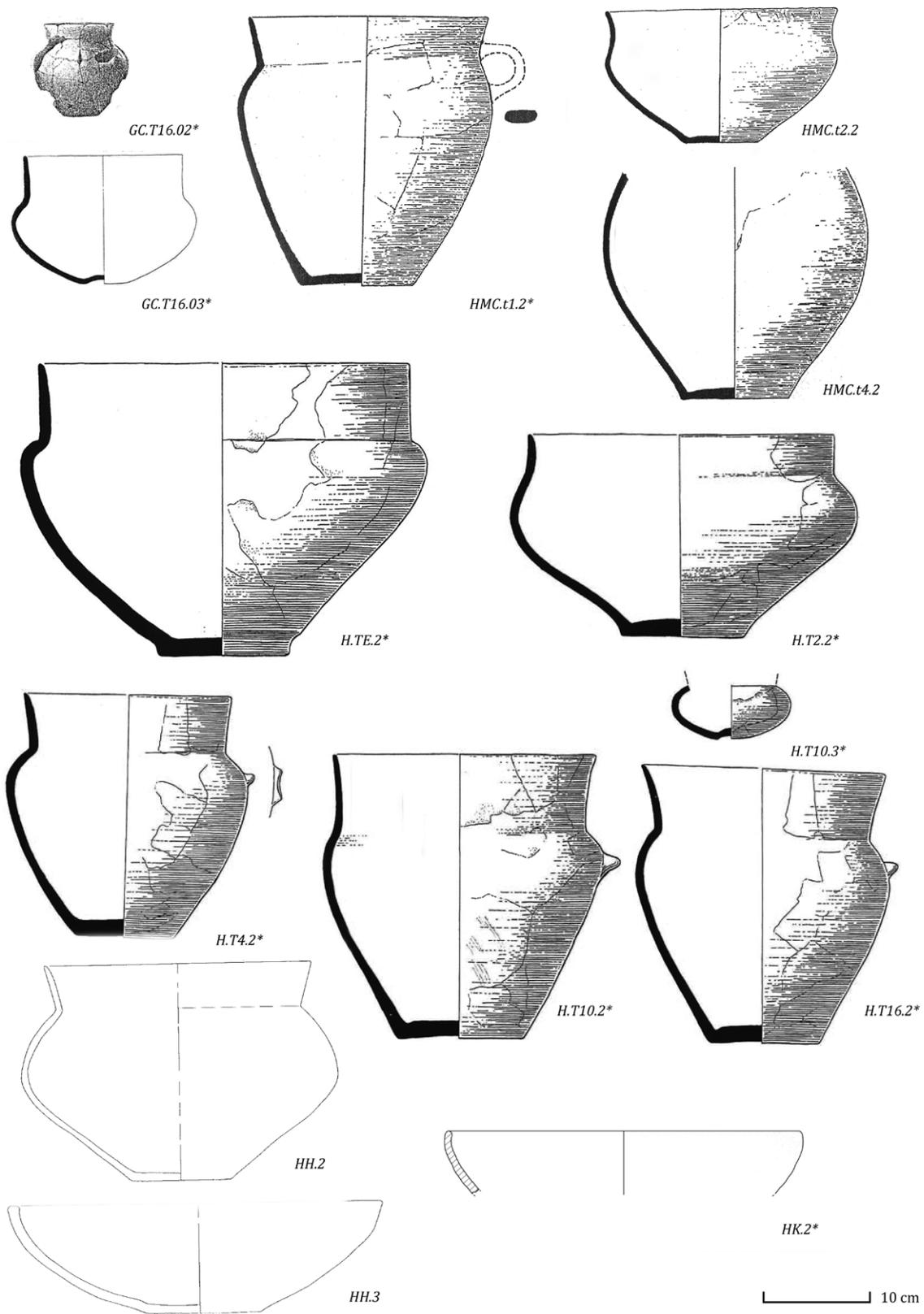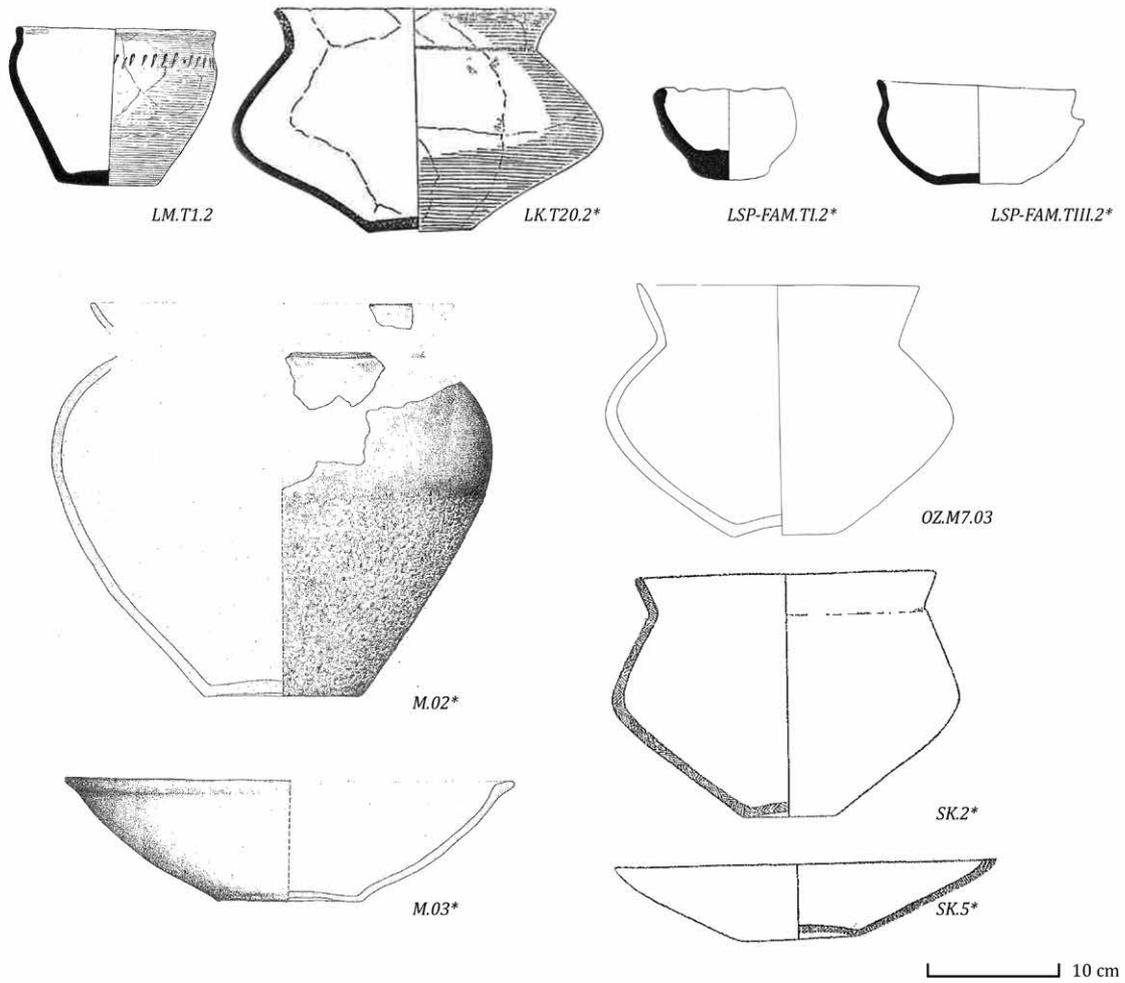
Fig. A2.1 (continued) Pottery found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials (stray finds from the Catalogue are not included; note that for some finds no drawings exist). Drawings after Fontijn et al. 2013c, fig. 6.1; Kam 1956, fig. 1; Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 4, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 34 and 40; 1999, figs. 5–7; Verwers 1986, fig. 2; Warmenbol 1978, pl. I, II, VII and XIV; by J.P. Boogerd; supplied by G. de Mulder.

Fig. A2.1 (continued) Pottery found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials (stray finds from the Catalogue are not included; note that for some finds no drawings exist). Drawings after Fontijn et al. 2013c, fig. 6.1; Kam 1956, fig. 1; Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 4, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 34 and 40; 1999, figs. 5–7; Verwers 1986, fig. 2; Warmenbol 1978, pl. I, II, VII and XIV; by J.P. Boogerd; supplied by G. de Mulder.

A2.2 Bronze vessels

Object no.	Description	Signs of			Used as urn?	Manner of survival	Type	Area of origin
		Use/ repair	Bending/ breaking	Fire				
Ba.1	Bronze bucket	--/-	--/--	--	Unknown	Intact, now mostly complete (base is missing)	Type 'Kurd' (Gerloff 2010, 237; Von Merhart 1969)	East(?)-Alpine region (Roymans 1991, 43)
*CSE-FR.T3.17**	Bronze traces, believed to be *CSE-FR. T3.18-21.*	Indet	Indet	Indet	Probably not used as urn	Fragments	Ind	Ind
CSE-FR.T3.18	Bronze sheet fragment, rectangular with rivets, interpret-ed as situla fragments with repair plates	--/--	+-/+-	++				
CSE-FR.T3.19	Bronze sheet fragment, edge with two rivets with large flat heads, interpreted as situla fragments	--/--	+-/+-	++				
CSE-FR.T3.20	Rivet fragment, interpreted as a situla fragment	--/--	+-/+-	++				
CSE-FR.T3.21	Bronze sheet fragment, 2x	--/--	+-/+-	++				
CSE-FR.T4.4	Bronze cup, fragments, 8x	--/--	+-/+-	++	Probably not used as urn	Fragments	Bowl or cup	Ind
CSE-FR.T5.5	Bronze sheet, is probably (from) the same object as *CSE-FR.T5.6.*	--/--	+-/+-	++	Probably not used as urn	Fragments	Ind	Ind
CSE-FR.T5.6	Series of bronze sheet fragments, interpreted as situla fragments	--/--	+-/+-	++				
EB.2	Bronze situla	+- /+	--/--	--	Used as urn	Complete and intact	Situla *mit Schulterippen* and *Omegaförmigen Attaschen* (Prüssing 1991, 60–71, taf. 25)	East(?)-Alpine region (Roymans 1991, 43)
*GC.TA.03**	Bronze sheet, possibly a situla/cup	Indet	Indet	Indet	Probably used as urn	Fragments	Ind	Ind
Me.1	Bronze bucket	--/--	--/--	--		Complete and intact, now incomplete	Separate type (Boulimié 1977; Kimmig 1964)	Central Italy or France
OV.02	Bronze bucket	+/--	--/--	--	Used as urn	Complete	Type 'Kurd' (Von Merhart 1969)	East(?)-Alpine region (Roymans 1991, 43)
OV.03	Bronze plate frag-ments from *OV.02*	Indet	Indet	Indet				
OV.04	Bronze plate frag-ments from *OV.02*	Indet	Indet	Indet				
OV.05	Bronze plate frag-ments from *OV.02*	Indet	Indet	Indet				
RK.02	Bronze bucket	++/++	--/--	--	Used as urn	Complete	Type 'Kurd' (Gerloff 2010, 237; Von Merhart 1969)	
V.1	Bronze vessel with cross-attachments	++/--	--/--	--	Unknown	Complete and intact(?)	Von Merhart's (1969, 286) group C	South-Alpine region (Roymans 1991, 43)

Object no.	Description	Signs of			Used as urn?	Manner of survival	Type	Area of origin
		Use/ repair	Bending/ breaking	Fire				
WIJ.03	Bucket handle and handle attachments	++/--	--/+	+-	Not used as urn	Fragments, incomplete	*Rippenziste* type E5 handle; type AH3 handle attachments: (Stjernquist 1967, 31)	Italy (Roymans 1991, 43)
WIJ.04	Fragments of decorat-ed bronze plate from the ribbed bucket.	++/--	--/+	+				
WIJ.05	Fragment of deco-rated bronze plate/ sheet from the ribbed bucket	++/--	--/+	+				

Tab. A2.2 Bronze vessels (and fragments thereof) found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials (see also Fig. A2.2).
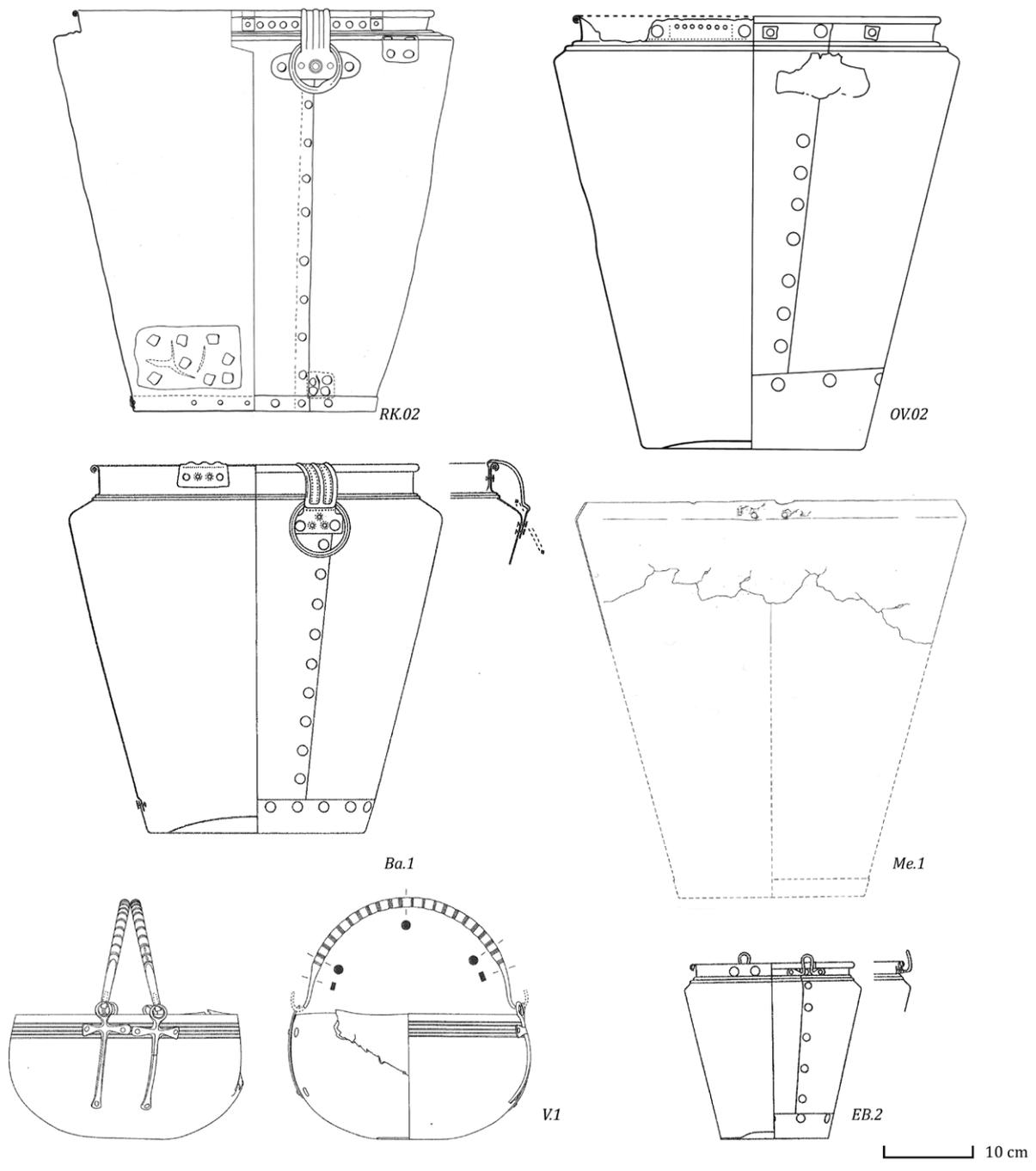
Fig. A2.2 Bronze vessels and fragments thereof from the Low Countries. Figure after Jansen/Fokkens 2007, fig. 6.2; Mariën 1958, figs. 20 and 25; Roymans 1991, figs. 14 and 15; Warmenbol 1978, pl. XVI.

CSE-FR.T3.18–20

CSE-FR.T3.21

CSE-FR.T4.4

CSE-FR.T5.6

WIJ.04   WIJ.05

WIJ.03

GC.TA.03*

5 cm
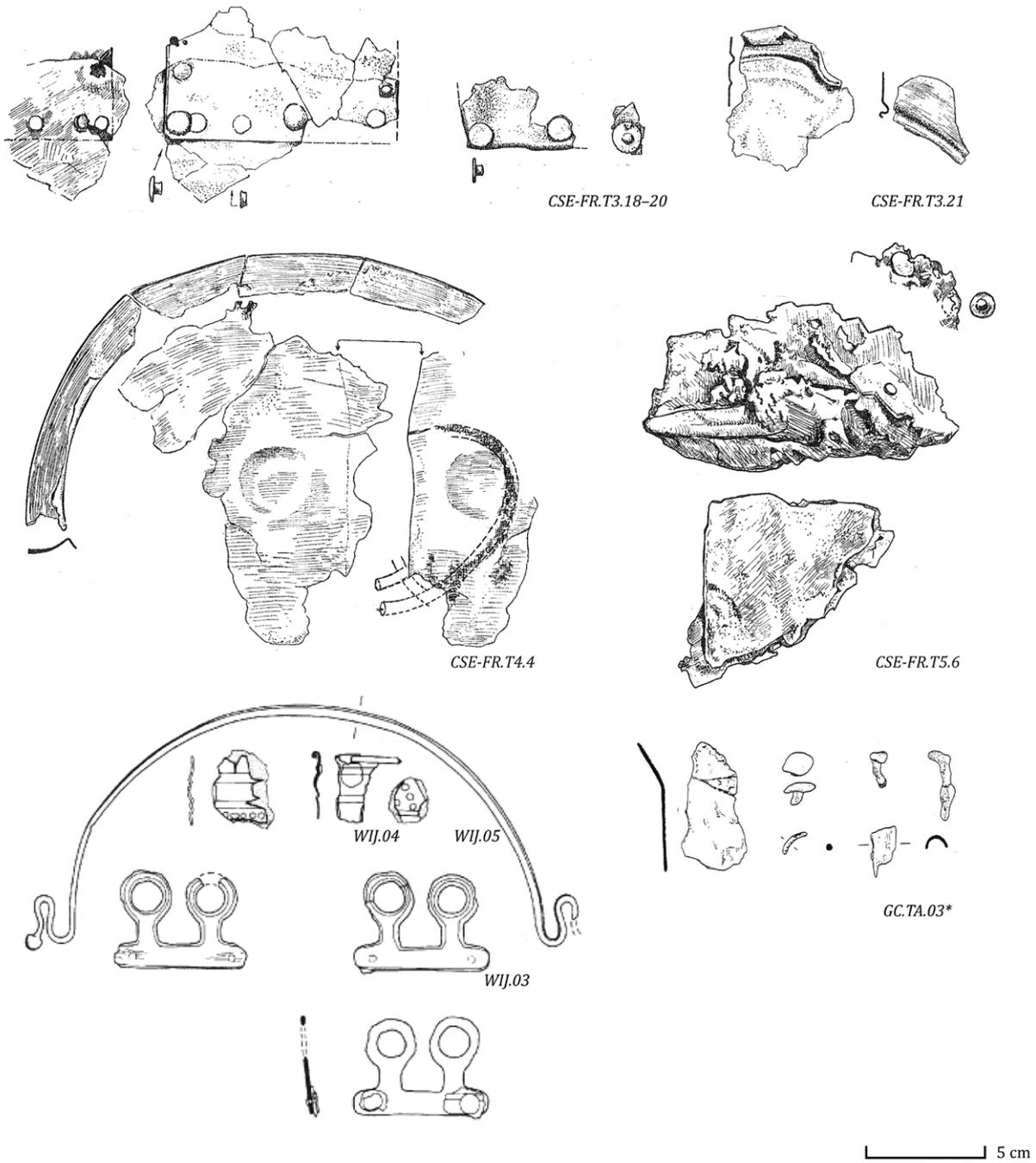
Fig. A2.2 (continued) Bronze vessels and fragments thereof from the Low Countries. Figure after Jansen/Fokkens 2007, fig. 6.2; Mariën 1958, figs. 20 and 25; Roymans 1991, figs. 14 and 15; Warmenbol 1978, pl. XVI.

A2.3 Weaponry

Object category	Object no.	Description	Signs of			Type
			Use/ repair	Bending/ breaking	Fire	Trachsel 2004/Milcent 2004; 2012
Bronze sword (fragments)	BW.T5.3	Bronze sword, fragment	--/--	++/++	+	Type Gündlingen Etappe 4/Weichering
	CSE-LQ.TK.3	Bronze sword, fragments	--/--	++/++	++	Type Gündlingen Etappe 4/ Weichering(?)
	FP.T78.2*	Bronze sword	Indet/ indet	Indet/++	Indet	Ind
	GC.T1.05*	Bronze swords, 3 fragments	--/--	++/++	++	Type Gündlingen Etappe 4/ Weichering(?)
	HMC.t1.3	Bronze sword, 2 fragments	-/--	--/++	+-	Type Gündlingen Etappe 2/Villement
	HMC.t2.3	Bronze sword, broken into 5 pieces	+-/--	++/++	+	Type Gündlingen Etappe 1/Holme Pierrepoint
	HMC.t3.2*	Bronze sword, 8 fragments	--/--	++/++	++	Type Gündlingen Etappe 3/Villement
	HMC.t4.3	Bronze sword, 3 fragments	--/--	--/++	++	Type Gündlingen Etappe 3/Villement
	HK.3*	Bronze sword, broken	Indet	++/++	+	Type Gündlingen Etappe 1/ Holme-Pierrepoint
	MH.01	Bronze sword, broken in three pieces	--/--	++/+	+-	Type Gündlingen Etappe 2/Villement
	NR.t72.02.a–d*	Bronze sword fragments	--/--	++/++	++	Type Gündlingen Etappe 2/Villement
	NR.t72.03.a–b* (and NR.t72.05*, NR.t72.07–9*?)	Bronze sword fragments	--/--	++/++	++	Type Gündlingen Etappe 1/Holme Pierrepoint
	NR.t72.04* (and NR.t72.06*?)	Bronze sword fragments	--/--	++/++	++	Type Gündlingen Etappe 1/Holme Pierrepoint
	OZ.M3.2	Bronze sword fragment, plastic decoration	--/--	--/++	+	Ind
	WB.TO.09*	Bronze sword, fragments	--/--	++/++	+	Type Gündlingen
	WB.TO.12*	Bronze sword, fragments, found in WB.TO.11*	--/--	-/++	++	Ind
	WB.TO.15*	Bronze sword, fragments, found in WB.TO.14*	--/--	+-/++	++	Ind
Iron sword (fragments)	BW.UC.4*	Iron sword, possibly multiple ones	Indet	-+/++	+	Ind
	CSE-FR.T1.6*	Iron sword, curled up	+/--	++/--	+	Type Mindelheim Etappe 2, ohne Serienzugehörigkeit
	CSE-FR.T3.08	Iron and bronze antenna sword	+-/--	--/--	--	
	CSE-LQ.TA.5	Iron sword, in 2 or 3 fragments	--/--	++/+	++	Type Mindelheim?
	CSE-LQ.TA?.1	Iron sword, large, fragment	--/--	--/--	--	
	CSE-LQ.TA?.2*	Iron sword, large	Indet	Indet	Indet	
	CSE-LQ.TL.1	Iron sword	+-/--	--/--	--	Type Mindelheim
	CSE-LQ.TM.1*	Iron sword	--/--	--/+-	--	Type Mindelheim
	GC.T2.01*	Iron sword	--/--	++/--	+	Type Mindelheim
	GC.T13.01*	Iron sword, stuck into the ground	--/--	--/+-	--	Type Mindelheim
	GC.T14.03*	Iron sword, folded	--/--	++/--	+	Type Mindelheim
	H.TE.3	Iron sword	+-/--	--/--	--	Type Mindelheim
	HB.3	Iron sword, fragments (bent)	--/--	++/+-	+	
	HH.4	Iron sword, curled up	--/--	++/+-	+	Type Mindelheim
	LM.T1.3*	Iron sword	--/--	--/--	--	Type Mindelheim

| Object category | Object no. | Description | Signs of | | | Type |
			Use/ repair	Bending/ breaking	Fire	Trachsel 2004/Milcent 2004; 2012
	M.04	Iron sword	--/--	++/	+	Type Mindelheim
	OV.06	Iron Mindelheim sword	--/--	++/--	+	
	SK.3*	Iron sword	--/--	++/--	+	Type Mindelheim
	SP.3*	Iron	Indet	++/indet	+	Type Mindelheim?
	S.T5.2*	Iron sword, folded	--/--	++/--	+	
	WIJ.06	Iron sword (and fragments of sword)	--/--	++/-	+	
Chape (fragments)	CSE-FR.T3.10	Bronze chape	--/--	+/+	++	Type Dottingen/Bubesheim?/E3/F1–2?
	GC.T1.06*	Bronze chape, partially melted	--/--	+-/+-	++	Type Büchenbach/Frankfurter Stadtwald/E2
	HMC.t3.3*	Bronze chape	--/--	--/++	Indet	Type Prüllsbirkig/C1
	HMC.t3.4*	Bronze chape chape	--/--	--/++	Indet	Type Prüllsbirkig/C1
	HK.4*	Bronze chape	Indet	+-/++	+	Type Viehofen/A2
	MH.02	Bronze chape	--/--	--/--	--	Type Coplow Farm/B2
	NR.t72.10*	Bronze chape	--/--	+-/--	-	Type Prüllsbirkig/C1
	NR.t72.11*	Bronze chape	--/--	--/+	-	Type Coplow Farm/B2
	WB.t4.3*	Bronze chape	--/--	--/--	Indet	Type Beutelortband/Han-sur-Lesse
Other		Iron lancehead	--/--	--/--	--	
	DB.4a*	Iron spearhead	--/--	+-/+	--	
	DB.4b*	Iron spearhead	--/--	--/+	--	
	DB.4c*	Iron spearhead	--/--	--/+	--	
	GC.T16.05*	Bronze lancehead	--/--	--/--	--	
	Hp.g190.2	Iron dagger with decorated bronze sheath	-	-	-	
	Hp.g190.3-5	Iron arrow head, 3x	-	--/+	-	
	HMC.t2.4	Wood fragments, sheath?	--/--	--/-	--	
	NR.t72.12*	Bronze lancehead, fragment				
	NR.t72.13*	Bronze lancehead				
	NR.t72.14*	Bronze lancehead				

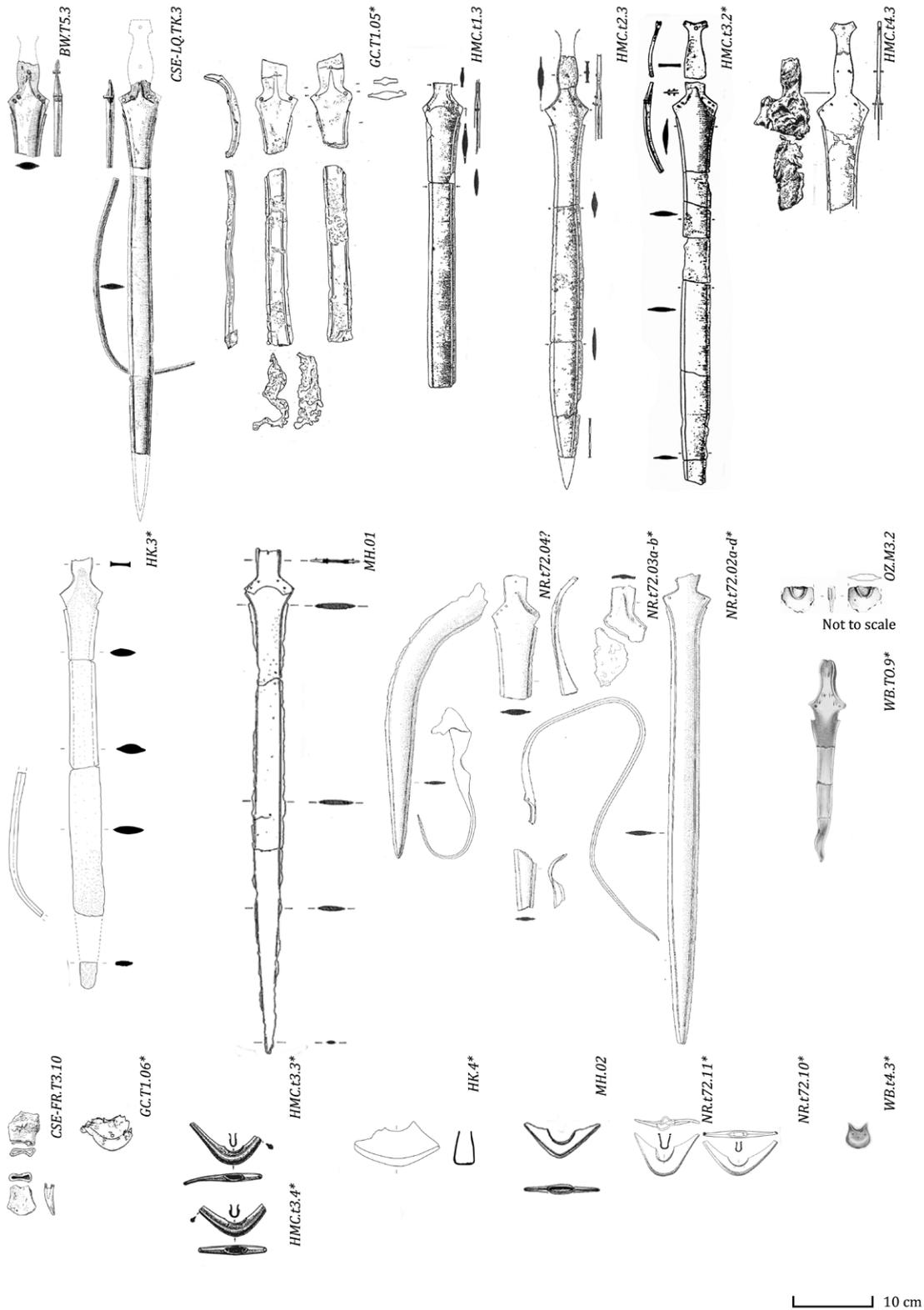Tab. A2.3 Weaponry found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials burials (see also Fig. A2.3).

Fig. A2.3 Weaponry found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Dijkman 2000, fig. 3; Kam 1958, fig. 1; Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 6, 10, 11, 15, 1819, 25, 28 and 40; 1975, figs. 3–5; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 31 and 35; Van Impe 1980, pl. XI and XII; Van Wijk et al. 2009, fig. 6.16; Verwers 1972, abb. 31 and 32; 1986, fig. 3; Warmenbol 1978, pl. XII, XIII and XIV; Willems/Groenman-van Waateringen 1988, fig. 2; supplied by G. de Mulder; by B. Dekker; R. Timmermans.
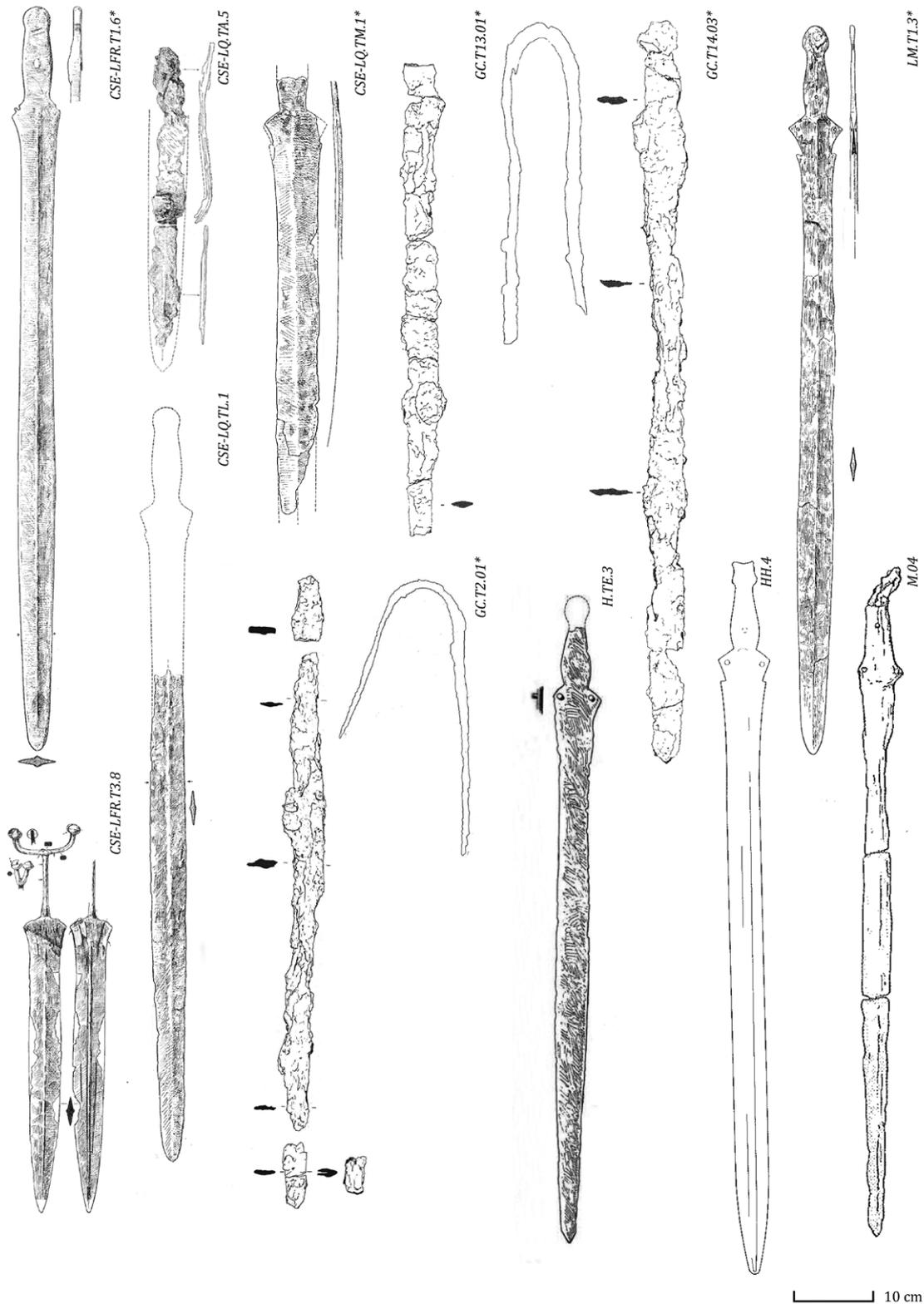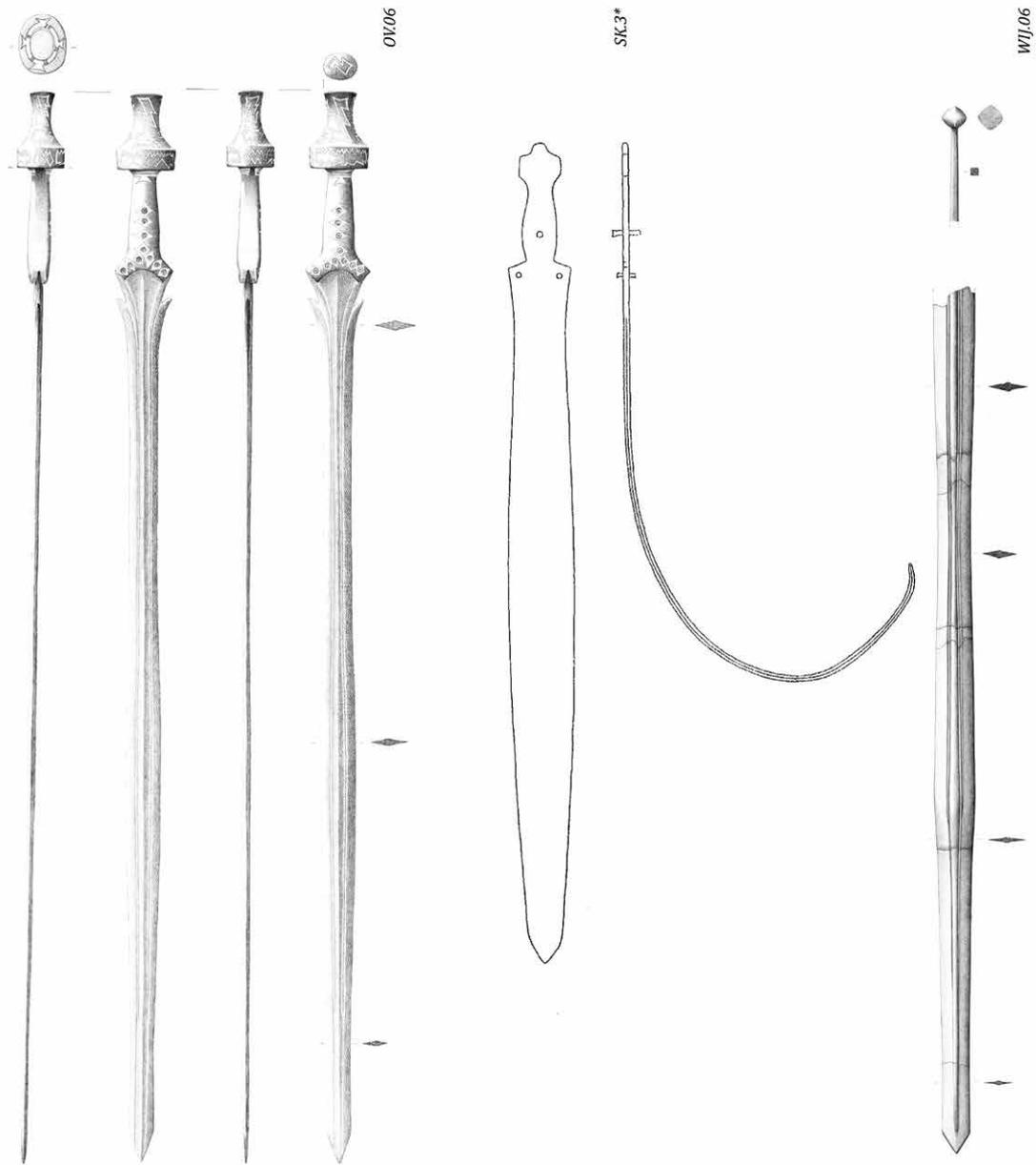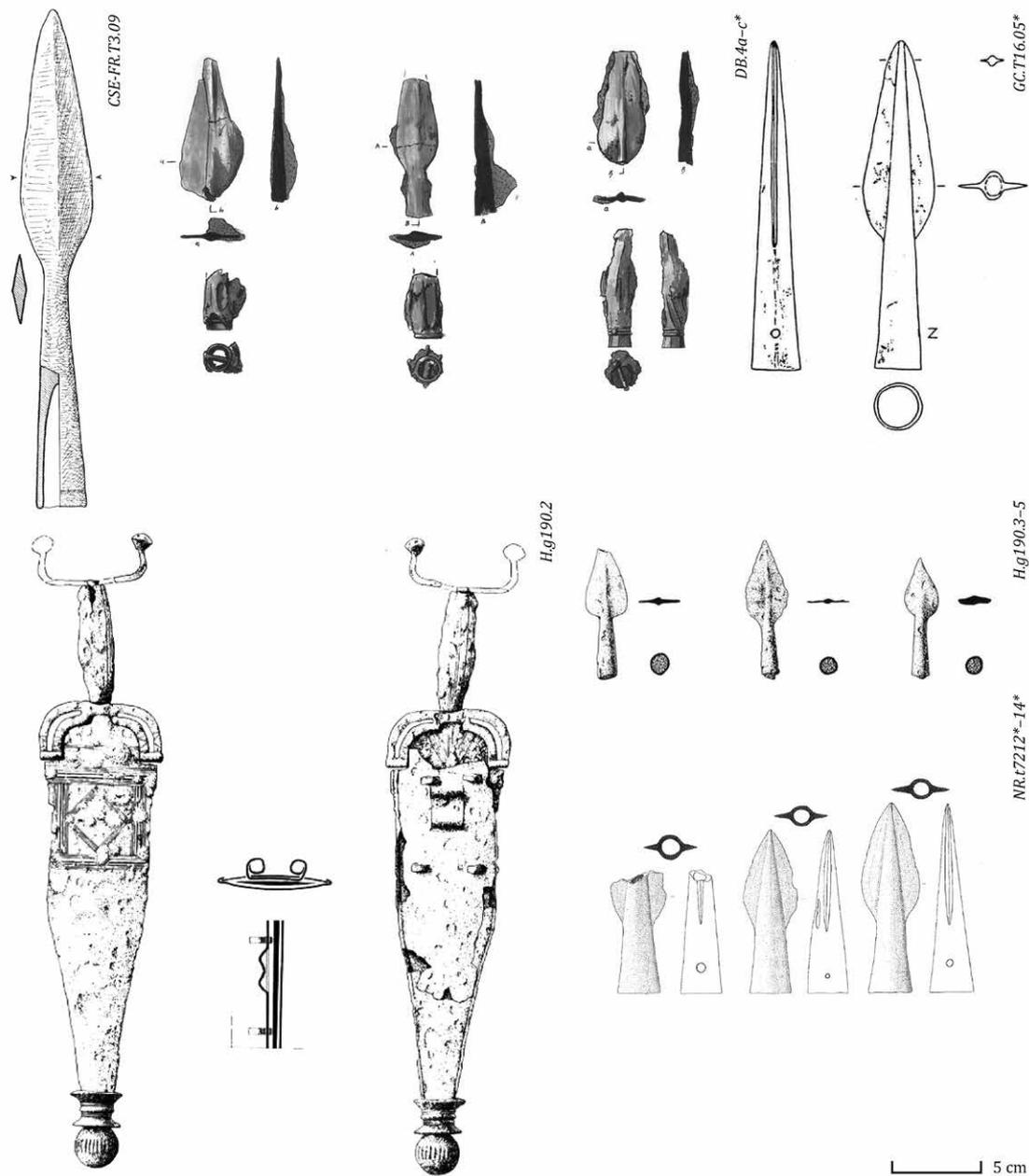
Fig. A2.3 (continued) Weaponry found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Dijkman 2000, fig. 3; Kam 1958, fig. 1; Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 6, 10, 11, 15, 1819, 25, 28 and 40; 1975, figs. 3–5; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 31 and 35; Van Impe 1980, pl. XI and XII; Van Wijk et al. 2009, fig. 6.16; Verwers 1972, abb. 31 and 32; 1986, fig. 3; Warmenbol 1978, pl. XII, XIII and XIV; Willems/Groenman-van Waateringen 1988, fig. 2; supplied by G. de Mulder; by B. Dekker; R. Timmermans.

Fig. A2.3 (continued) Weaponry found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Dijkman 2000, fig. 3; Kam 1958, fig. 1; Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 6, 10, 11, 15, 1819, 25, 28 and 40; 1975, figs. 3–5; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 31 and 35; Van Impe 1980, pl. XI and XII; Van Wijk et al. 2009, fig. 6.16; Verwers 1972, abb. 31 and 32; 1986, fig. 3; Warmenbol 1978, pl. XII, XIII and XIV; Willems/Groenman-van Waateringen 1988, fig. 2; supplied by G. de Mulder; by B. Dekker; R. Timmermans.

Fig. A2.3 (continued) Weaponry found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Dijkman 2000, fig. 3; Kam 1958, fig. 1; Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 6, 10, 11, 15, 1819, 25, 28 and 40; 1975, figs. 3–5; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 31 and 35; Van Impe 1980, pl. XI and XII; Van Wijk et al. 2009, fig. 6.16; Verwers 1972, abb. 31 and 32; 1986, fig. 3; Warmenbol 1978, pl. XII, XIII and XIV; Willems/Groenman-van Waateringen 1988, fig. 2; supplied by G. de Mulder; by B. Dekker; R. Timmermans.

A2.4 Horse-gear, yoke and wagon components

Object category	Object no.	Description	Use/ repair	Bending/ breaking	Fire
				Signs of	
Horse-gear	CSE-FR.T3.11	Iron horse-bit	+/--	-/-	--
	CSE-FR.T3.12	Iron horse-bit	+/--	-/-	--
	CSE-FR.T4.6	Bronze *phalera*, 2x	--/--	+-/+-	++
	CSE-LQ.TA.7	Bronze cheek-piece from a horse-bit	--/--	--/+-	--
	CSE-LQ.TA.8	Bronze cheek-piece from a horse-bit	--/--	--/+-	--
	CSE-LQ.TB.2	Bronze attachment	--/--	--/-	-
	CSE-LQ.TB.3	Bronze *phalera* fragment	--/--	--/+-	-
		Bronze studs	--/--	--/+-	-
	CSE-LQ.TB.4	Bronze buckle	--/--	--/+-	-
		Bronze buckle fragment	--/--	--/+-	-
	CSE-LQ.TB.5	Bronze buckle/strap end?	--/--	--/+-	-
		Bronze studs, small	--/--	--/--	-
	CSE-LQ.TB.6	Bronze hemispheres, studs, 5x	--/--	--/--	++
	CSE-LQ.TZ.3*	Bronze cheek-piece of a horse-bit	Indet	--/+-	Indet
	DB.5*	Iron horse-bit, 2x	--/--	--/-	--
	DB.6*	Bronze discs and iron rings, partially lost. Textile present.	--/--	--/--	--
	DB.7	Bronze disc *phalera*, 4x and multiple fragments	--/--	--/--	--
	PdD.T4.2	Bronze button (inventoried at MRAH under same number as *PdD.T5.1*, but according to Mariën (1958, 227–30) they are not from the same barrow)	--/--	--/--	--
	PdD.T4.3*	Bronze button	Indet	Indet	Indet
	LM.T1.4*	Iron horse-bit, about half	---/--	--/+	--
	LM.T1.5*	Bronze *phalera*	--/--	--/+-	++
	LM.T1.6	Bronze studs, 4x	--/--	--/--	++
	M.05	Part of an iron mouthpiece with disc-shaped hook fragment attached.	--/--	-/+-	-
	M.06	Iron ring with part of a mouthpiece	--/--	--/--	--
	M.07	Iron disc-shaped hook	--/--	--/--	
	M.08	Iron cheek-piece, bent	--/--	++/--	+
	M.09	Iron cheek-piece, straight	--/--	--/--	--
	M.10	Iron cheek-piece with mouthpiece and disc-shaped hook	--/--	--/--	--
	M.11	Iron cheek-piece, bent	--/--	++/--	+
	OV.09	Iron horse-bit	+/--	--/--	--
	OV.10	Iron horse-bit	+/--	--/--	--
	OV.11	Bronze hemispherical sheet-knobs, 12x	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.12	Bronze tubular cross-shaped object	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.13	Bronze *Tutulus*	--/--	+/--	--
	OV.14	Bronze harness decoration(?)	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.15	Bronze rings, 3x	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.16	Mass of 10 iron rings with assorted objects	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.17	Iron ring	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.18	Iron ring with textile remains	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.19	Iron ring fragments, 2x	--/--	--/+	--
	OV.20	Iron ring fragments, bronze sheet knob fragment.	--/--	--/+	--
	OZ.04–14	Bronze studs and fragments	--/--	--/--	++
	OZ.M7.15	Bronze ring with square cross-section, 2 fragments	--/--	--/--	++
	OZ.M7.16	Bronze ring with square cross-section, fragment	--/--	++/++	++
	OZ.M7.17	Bronze ring fragments with square cross-section, broken, bent and burned	--/--	++/++	++
	OZ.M7.18	Bronze ring with round cross-section, possibly gilt	--/--	--/--	+
	OZ.M7.19	Bronze ring with round cross-section	--/--	--/--	+

Object category	Object no.	Description	Signs of		
			Use/ repair	Bending/ breaking	Fire
	OZ.M7.20	Bronze hemispherical sheet-knob	--/--	--/--	+
	RK.03	Bronze hemispherical ring-footed rein-knob	+/--	--/--	--
	RK.04	Bronze/iron ring fragment	--/--	--/+-	--
	RK.05a	Ring fragments, 2x (corroded together with RK.05b-d)	--/--	--/-	--
	RK.05b	Bronze *phalera*, fragment (corroded together with RK.06a, c-e)	--/--	--/-	--
	RK.06a	Rings, 5x (corroded together with RK.06b- f)	--/--	--/-	--
	RK.07	Bronze spherical fragment (part of a sheet knob?)	--/--	--/-	-
	WB.t1.3*	Horse-gear ornament	--/--	--/--	Indet
	WB.t2.3*	Horse-gear ornament/scabbard element	--/--	--/--	Indet
	WIJ.07ab	Bronze horse bit, 2x	++/+	--/--	--
	WIJ.08	Bronze ring-footed rein knobs, 6x	++/+	--/--	+-
	WIJ.09*	Bronze rings with a thickening, missing	--/--	--/--	--
Yoke/wagon components	CSE-FR.T4.5*	Iron horse chest ornaments, rings and pendants	--/--	+-/-	Indet
	CSE-FR.T4.7	Bronze yoke rosette, 2x	--/--	+-/-	++
	CSE-FR.T4.8	Bronze yoke rosette fragment	--/--	+-/+-	++
	CSE-LQ.TA.6	Bronze *Jochschnalle*	--/--	--/-	--
	OV.21	Bronze yoke rosettes, 2x	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.22	Iron toggle	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.23	Iron toggle	--/--	--/--	--
	OZ.M7.21	Wooden knobs with bronze studs	--/--	--/--	++
	RK.05cd	Iron linchpin (2x), incomplete; corroded together with RK.05ab,e	--/--	+-/+	+
	RK.06b	Iron linchpin (incomplete), five rings, corroded together with RK.06a, c–f	--/--	+-/+	+
	RK.06c	Iron/bronze bands (corroded together with RK.06ab,-d–f)	--/--	+-/+	+
	RK.08	Superimposed iron/bronze bands cemented together (larger), possible from the nave	--/--	+-/+	+
	RK.09	Superimposed iron/bronze bands cemented together (smaller), possibly from the nave	--/--	+-/+	+
	WIJ.10	Bronze sheet yoke band fragments	--/--	+/+	--
	WIJ.11ab	Hollow cast bronze socket, 2x	--/--	--/+	++
	WIJ.12ab	Square cast bronze base, 2x	--/--	+/+	++
	WIJ.13	Flat bronze rings with a pair of nails, ca. 11x	--/--	--/--	++
	WIJ.14	Bronze nails with domed heads, 3x	--/--	--/--	--
	WIJ.15	Fragments of cast bronze plaques composed of hollow hemispherical cups linked together	++/--	++/+	+
	WIJ.16	Bronze band decoration	--/--	++/-	+
	WIJ.17	Bronze pendants, 2x	-/--	+/++	++
	WIJ.18a–d	Bronze linchpins, 4x	++/--	--/-	-
	WIJ.19a–d	Bronze axle-caps, 4x	++/--	--/-	-

Tab. A2.4 Horse-gear and yoke and wagon components found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials burials (see also Fig. A2.4).
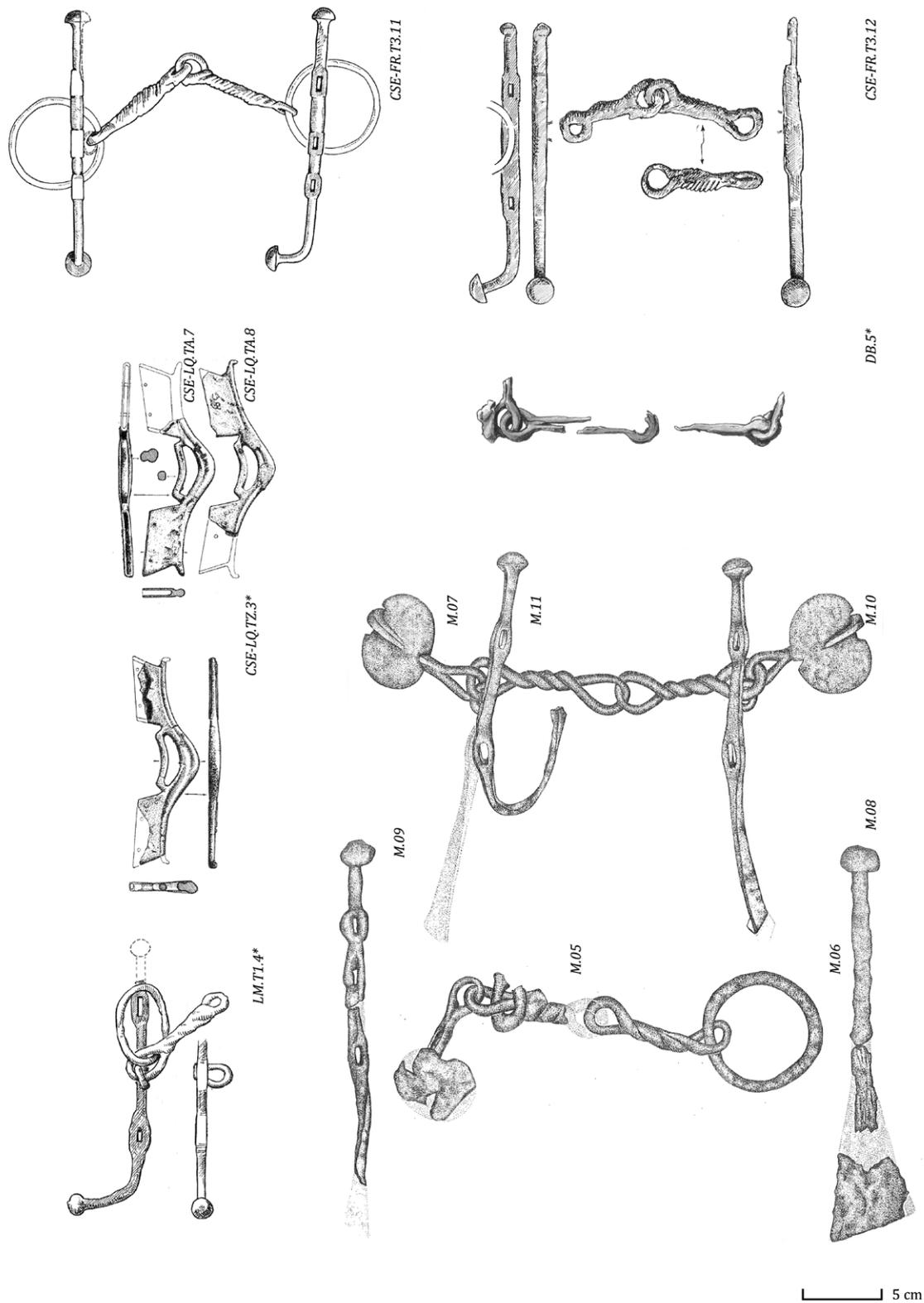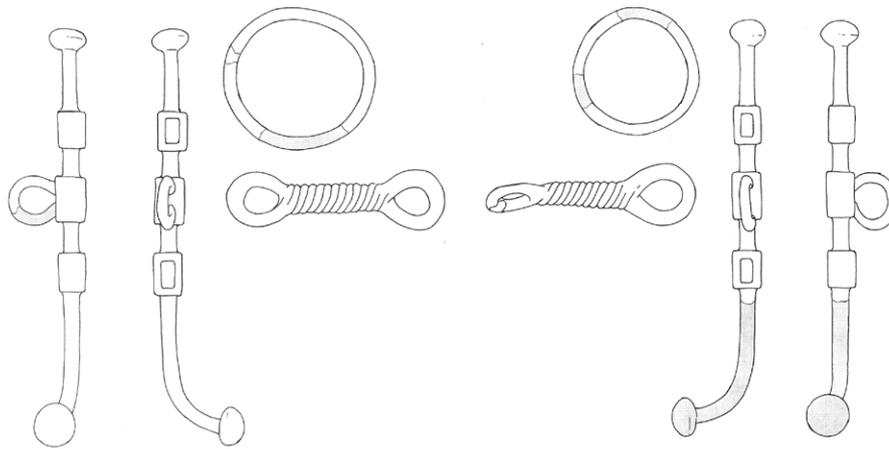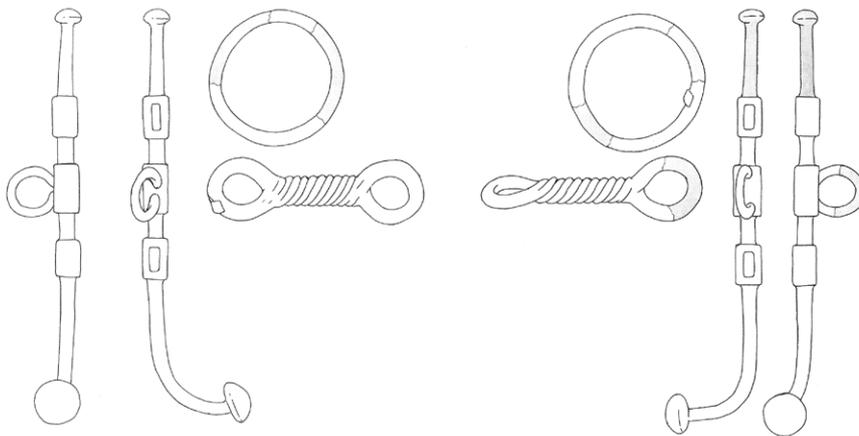
Fig. A2.4 Horse-gear, yoke and wagon components found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 4, 12, 18, 20, 22 40 and 44; Pare 1992, pl. 1–4; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 19, 24 and 25; Van Heeringen 1998, figs. 11 and 13; Verwers 1986, fig. 4; by B. Dekker; G.J. de Vries; J. Kempkens; E. van Driel; photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.
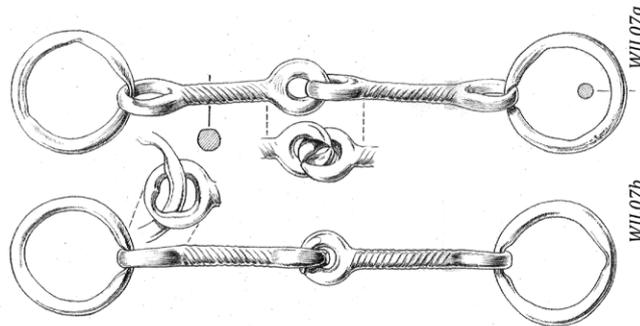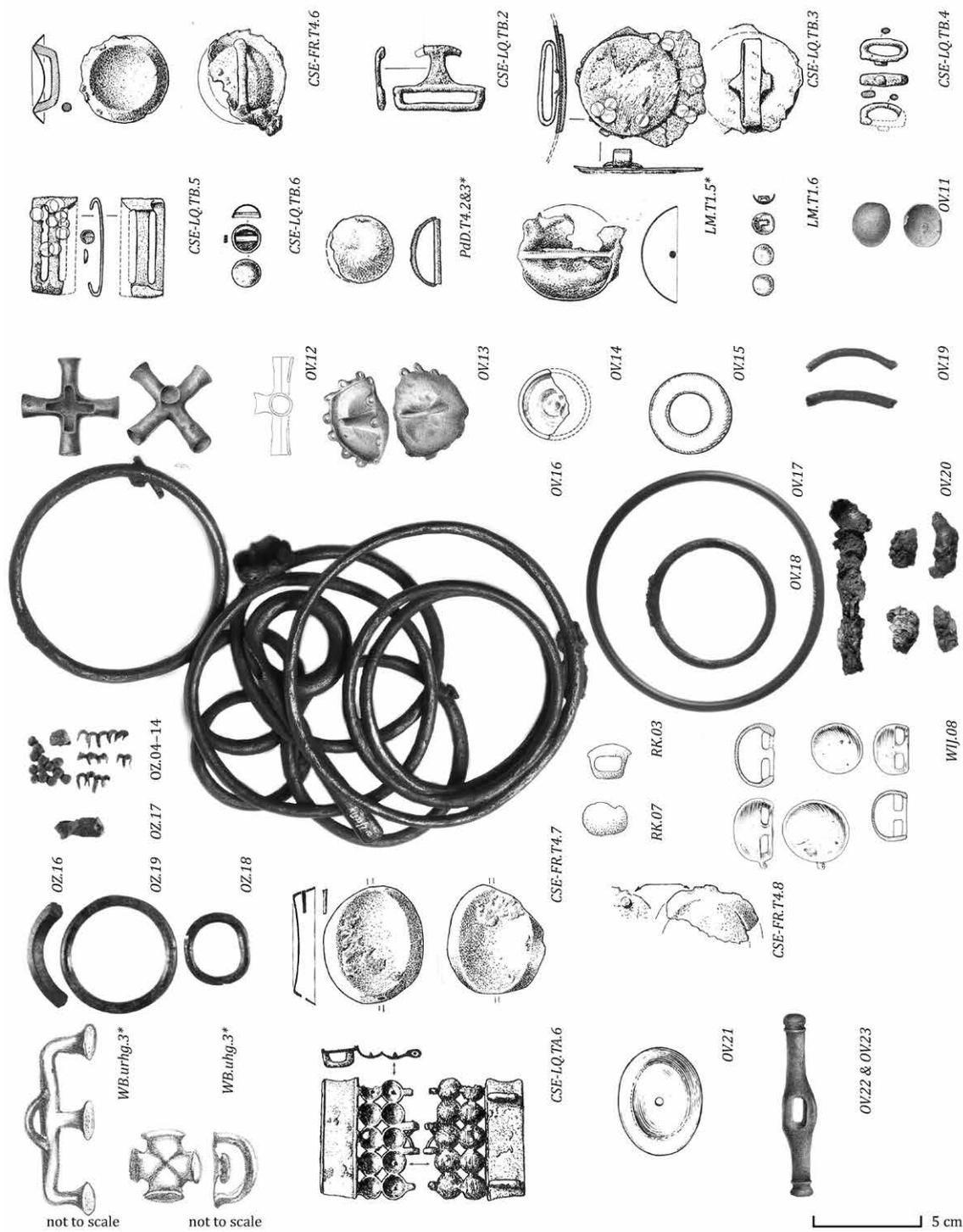
Fig. A2.4 (continued) Horse-gear, yoke and wagon components found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 4, 12, 18, 20, 22 40 and 44; Pare 1992, pl. 1–4; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 19, 24 and 25; Van Heeringen 1998, figs. 11 and 13; Verwers 1986, fig. 4; by B. Dekker; G.J. de Vries; J. Kempkens; E. van Driel; photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.
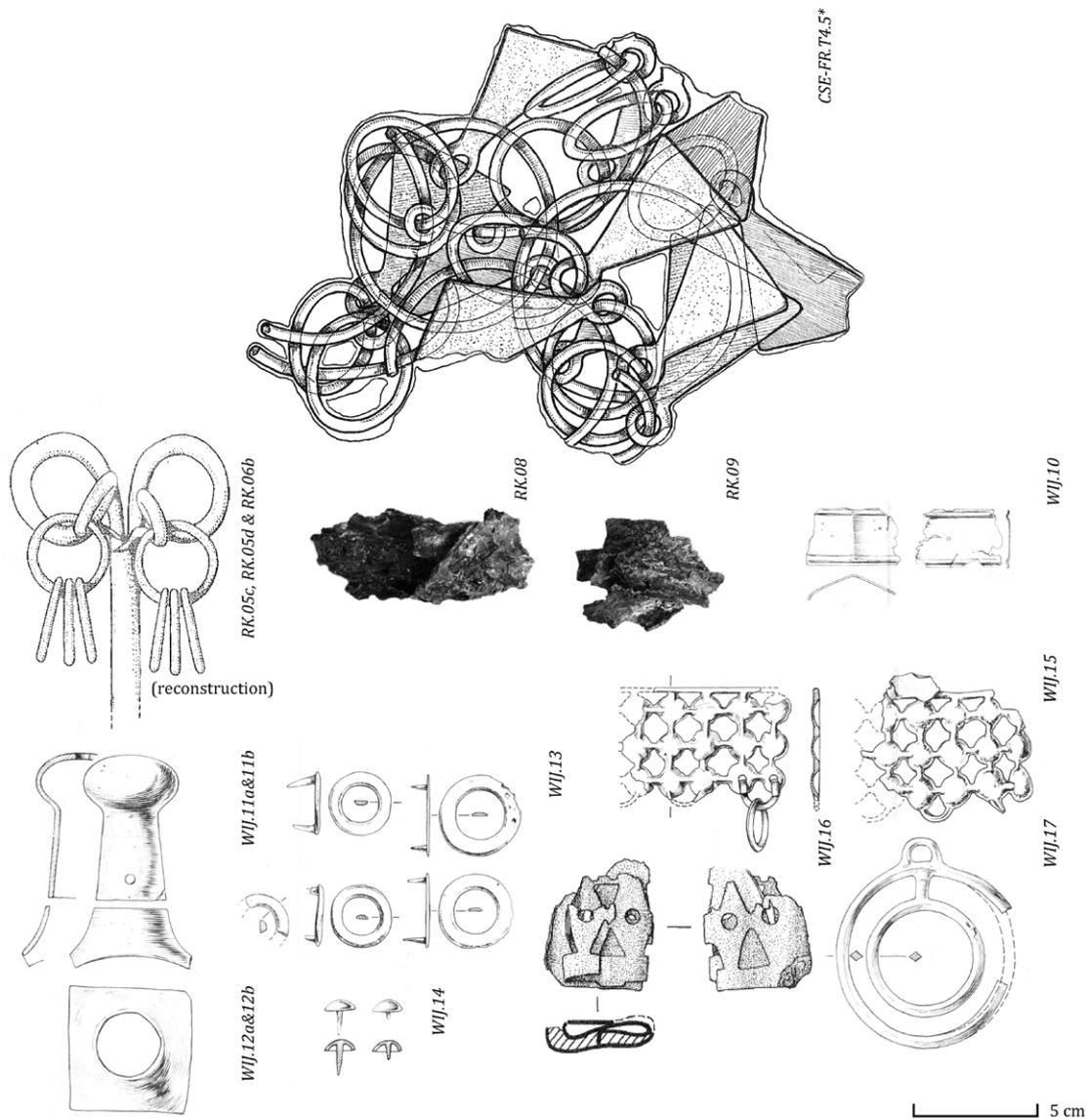
Fig. A2.4 (continued) Horse-gear, yoke and wagon components found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 4, 12, 18, 20, 22 40 and 44; Pare 1992, pl. 1–4; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 19, 24 and 25; Van Heeringen 1998, figs. 11 and 13; Verwers 1986, fig. 4; by B. Dekker; G.J. de Vries; J. Kempkens; E. van Driel; photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.

Fig. A2.4 (continued) Horse-gear, yoke and wagon components found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 4, 12, 18, 20, 22 40 and 44; Pare 1992, pl. 1–4; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 19, 24 and 25; Van Heeringen 1998, figs. 11 and 13; Verwers 1986, fig. 4; by B. Dekker; G.J. de Vries; J. Kempkens; E. van Driel; photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.

CSE-FR.T4.5*

RK.08

RK.09

WIJ.10

RK.05c, RK.05d & RK.06b

(reconstruction)

WIJ.11a&11b

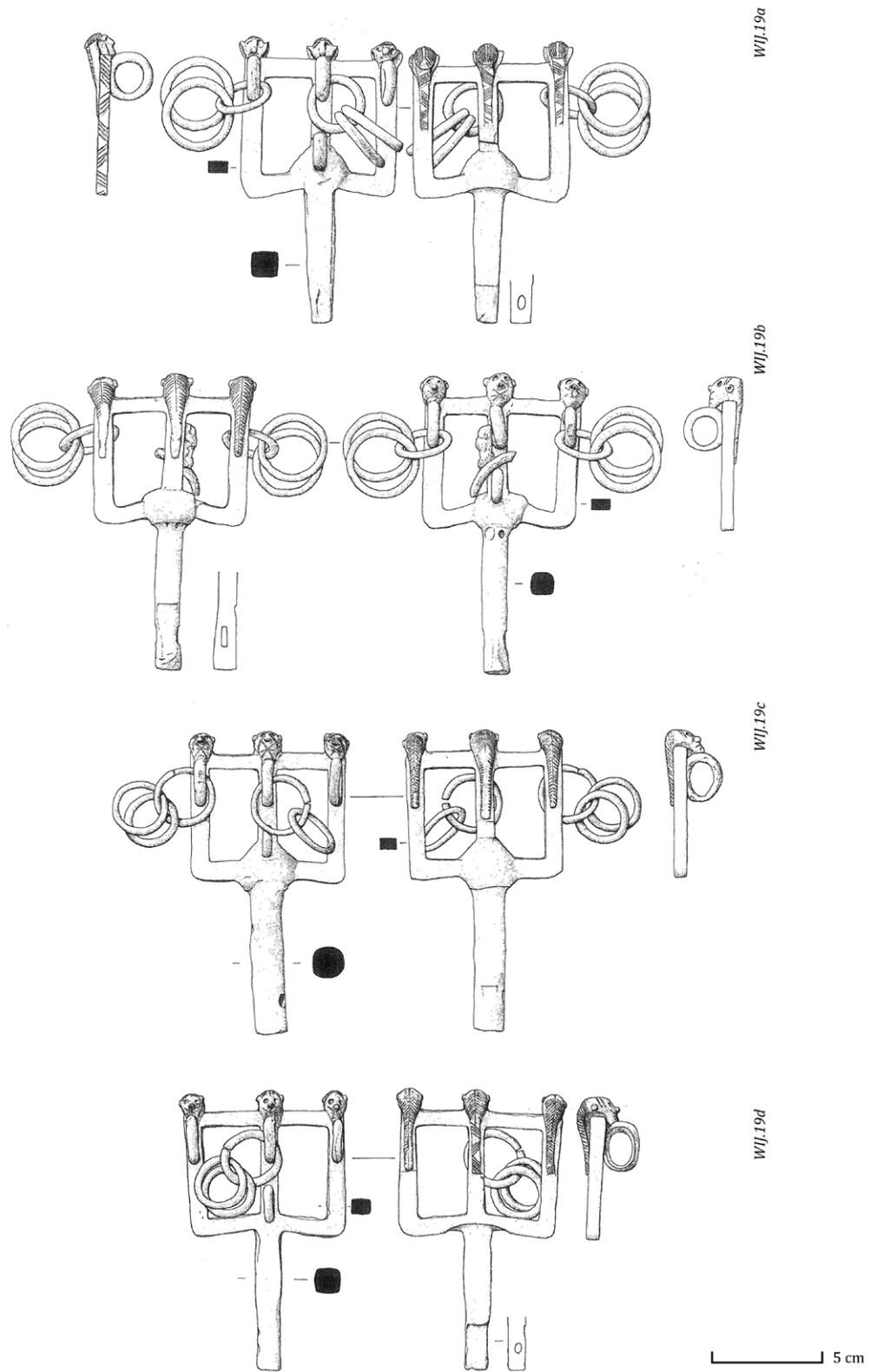WIJ.13

WIJ.15

WIJ.12a&12b

WIJ.14

WIJ.16

WIJ.17

5 cm

Fig. A2.4 (continued) Horse-gear, yoke and wagon components found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 4, 12, 18, 20, 22 40 and 44; Pare 1992, pl. 1–4; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 19, 24 and 25; Van Heeringen 1998, figs. 11 and 13; Verwers 1986, fig. 4; by B. Dekker; G.J. de Vries; J. Kempkens; E. van Driel; photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.
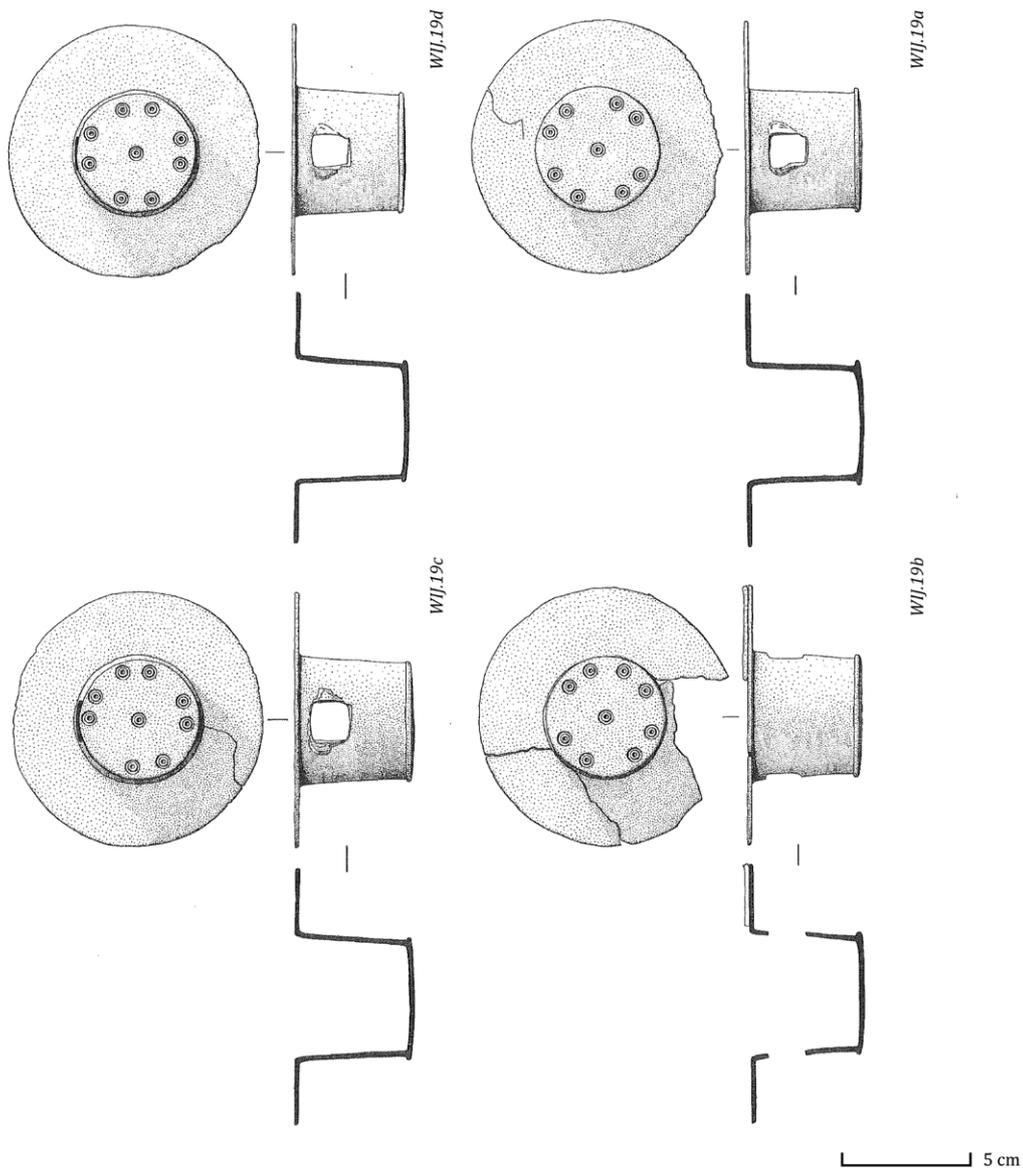
Fig. A2.4 (continued) Horse-gear, yoke and wagon components found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 4, 12, 18, 20, 22 40 and 44; Pare 1992, pl. 1–4; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 19, 24 and 25; Van Heeringen 1998, figs. 11 and 13; Verwers 1986, fig. 4; by B. Dekker; G.J. de Vries; J. Kempkens; E. van Driel; photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.

WIJ.19d

WIJ.19a

WIJ.19c

WIJ.19b

5 cm

Fig. A2.4 (continued) Horse-gear, yoke and wagon components found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings after Mariën 1958, figs. 3, 4, 12, 18, 20, 22 40 and 44; Pare 1992, pl. 1–4; Ubaghs 1890, figs. 19, 24 and 25; Van Heeringen 1998, figs. 11 and 13; Verwers 1986, fig. 4; by B. Dekker; G.J. de Vries; J. Kempkens; E. van Driel; photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.

A2.5 Tools

Object category	Object no.	Description	Signs of		
			Use/ repair	Bending/ breaking	Fire
Knives	CSE-FR.T2.3	Iron knife	--/--	--/--	--
	CSE-FR.T2.4	Iron knife	--/--	--/--	--
	CSE-FR.T3.13*	Iron knife	--/--	--/++	+
	OV.24	Iron knife with leather and textile remains adhered.	--/--	+/--	--
	RK.06d	Iron knife fragment (corroded together with RK.06a-c, ef)	--/--	--/+-	--
	WIJ.21	Iron knife	--/--	++/--	+
Axes	CSE-FR.T3.14	Bronze axe	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.27	Iron socketed axe	--/--	--/--	--
	RK.10	Socketed bronze axe (top half)	--/--	--/-	--
	WIJ.20	Bronze socketed axe	--/--	--/-	++
Stones	CSE-FR.T3.15	Flint pounding(?) stone	++/--	--/+	+
	CSE-LQ.UC.41	Grinding stone	++/--	--/--	--
	GC.T1.07*	Grinding stone, sandstone	Indet	Indet	Indet
	LK.T20.6*	Grinding stone	--/--	--/++	--/--
	OV.26	(Whet)stone(?)	++/--	--/--	--
Spindle whorl	CSE-LQ.tpII.4*	Spindle whorl	Indet	Indet	Indet
	LeM.g1.05	Ceramic spindle whorl, decorated, found in LeM.g1.02	--/--	--/--	--
	LeM.g1.06	Ceramic spindle whorl, found next to LeM.g1.02	--/--	--/--	--

Tab. A2.5 Tools found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials (see also Fig. A2.5).
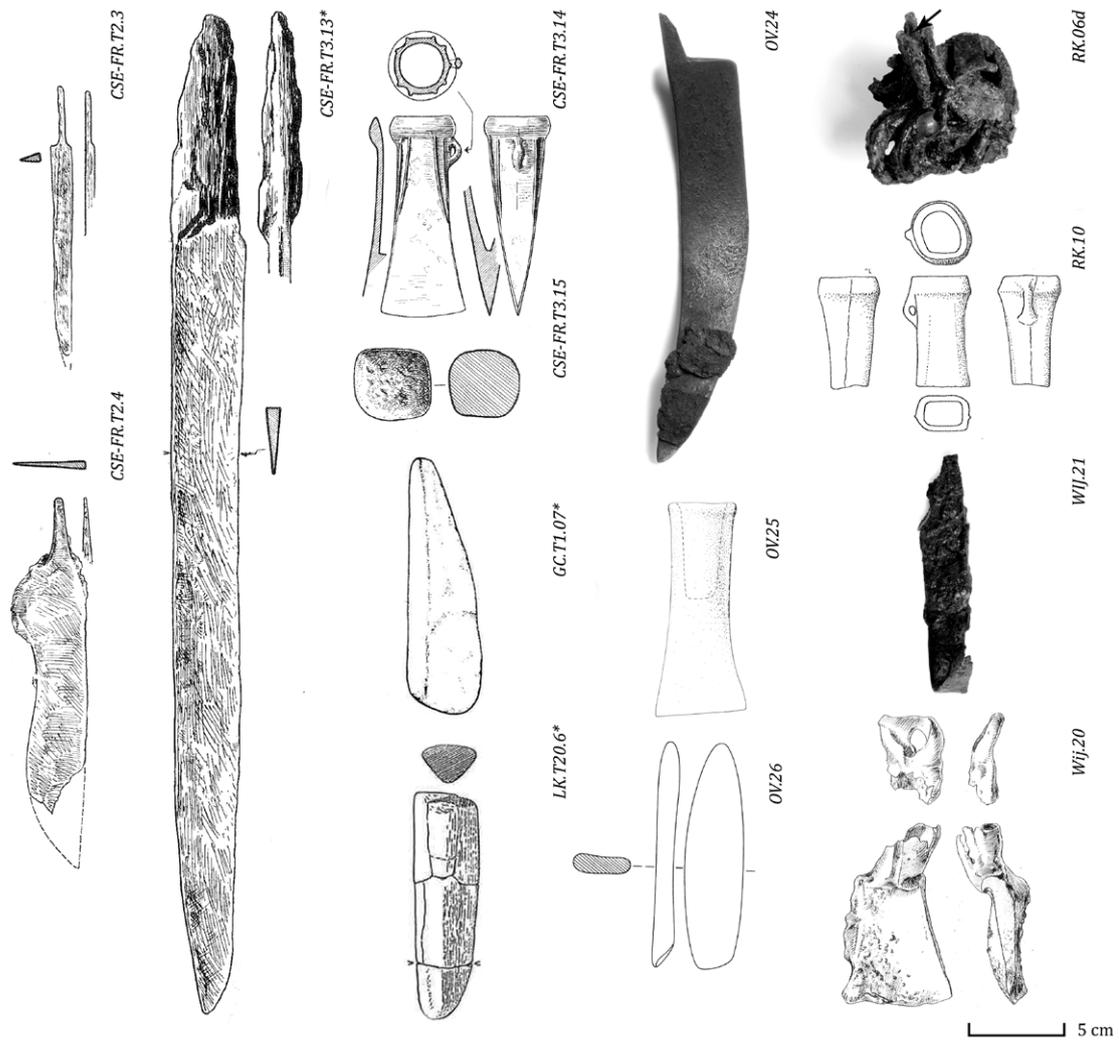
Fig. A2.5 Tools found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Figure after De Laet/Marien 1950, fig. 6; Mariën 1958, figs. 16, 17 and 19; Van Heeringen 1998, fig. 10; Warmenbol 1978, pl. VI; drawings by G.J. de Vries; J. Ypey; photographs by P.J. Bomhof; J. van Donkersgoed.

A2.6 Personal appearance: grooming tools and ornaments

Object category	Object no.	Description	Use/ repair	Signs of Bending/ breaking	Fire
Razors	BW.T5.4	Bronze razor (type Gruppe C/Feldkirch/Bernissart)	+/+	--/--	--
	CSE-FR.T5.7*	Bronze bifid razor (Gruppe B)	--/--	--/+-	++
	H.T9.3*	Bronze razor	Indet	Indet	Indet
	H.T16.4*	Bronze razor	Indet	Indet	Indet
	PdD.T3.2*	Bronze crescent-shaped razor	--/--	--/--	++
	LM.T2.2	Iron razor (type Gruppe D)	--/--	--/--	-
	LK.T20.3*	Iron razor	--/--	--/--	--/--
	LSP-FAM.TI.04*	Bronze razor, fragment (Gruppe B, type Gramat?)	+-/--	++/++	++
	LSP-FAM.TIII.4*	Bronze razor, found in LSP-FAM.TIII.2*	--/--	--/+	--
	OV.25	Iron razor(?)	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.28	Iron razor	--/--	--/--	--
Toiletries	GC.TP/Q.02*	Iron tweezers and iron rod	Indet	Indet	Indet
	H.T2.3*	Iron ring and toiletries	--/--	--/-	--
	H.T4.3*	Iron fragments from a toilet set	--/--	--/-	--
	H.T9.4*	Toilet set with tweezers	Indet	Indet	Indet
	H.T10.4*	Toilet set with tweezers	Indet	Indet	Indet
	PdD.T3.3*	Iron object, from a toilet set?	--/--	+-/+-	+
	LM.T2.3	Iron tweezers with iron instrument	--/--	--/--	--
	LK.T20.4*	Iron tweezers	--/--	--/--	--/--
	LK.T20.5*	Iron nail cutter	--/--	--/--	--/--
	RK.11	Bronze tweezers	--/--	++/--	+
	US.11	Bronze tweezers, found with US.12-13	--/--	--/--	--
	US.12	Iron nail cutter, found with US.11 and US.13	--/--	--/--	--
	US.13	Iron ring with leather knotted around it, found with US.11-12	--/--	--/--	--
Ornaments	BW.T5.5*	Bronze, and bronze and iron fibula fragments	Indet	Indet	Indet
	CSE-FR.T4.9*	Bronze bracelet	Indet	Indet	++
	CSE-LQ.UC.34	Fragment of a bronze discoid pin head	--/--	--/+-	--
	CSE-LQ.tpl.4*	Bronze spiral tubes	Indet	Indet	Indet
	CSE-LQ.tpl.3*	Glass bead	Indet	Indet	Indet
	Hp.g190.6	Iron pin	-	-	-
	HMC.t1.4*	"band"?*	Indet	Indet	Indet
	H.T10.5*	Iron pin	Indet	--/+-	Indet
	LeM.g1.07	Glass bead, 72x	--/--	-	++
	LeM.g1.08	Glass Ringaugenperlen, 4x	--/--	--/-	++
	LeM.g1.09	Bronze clothing or hair pin, in fragments	--/--	--/+-	++
	LeM.g1.10	Bronze hair- or earring fragments	--/--	++/++	++
	LeM.g1.11	Bronze spiral beads	--/--	++/++	+-
	LeM.g1.12	Bronze 'button'	--/--	--/--	+-
	LeM.g1.13	Bronze studs, > 50	--/--	-/-	+-
	OV.29	Bronze & iron Bombenkopf pin	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.30	Bronze & iron Bombenkopf pin	--/--	--/--	--
	OV.31	Bronze & iron Bombenkopf pin	--/--	--/--	--
	OZ.M3.3	Iron pin, fragment	--/--	--/+-	--

Object category	Object no.	Description	Use/ repair	Bending/ breaking	Fire
				Signs of	
	US.06	Bronze anklet, found by right ankle with *US.02, US.20-22*	--/--	--/--	--
	US.07	Bronze bracelet, found with *US.03, US.23-24*	--/--	--/--	--
	US.08	Bronze bracelet set, found with *US.25-27*.	--/--	--/--	--
	US.09	Bronze anklet, found around the left ankle	--/--	--/--	--
	US.10	Hairring	--/--	--/--	--
	US.14	Bronze pin, deliberately broken, found with *US.29*	--/--	--/++	--
	US.16	Bronze ring, found with *US.17* and *US.30*	--/--	--/--	--
	US.17	Iron pin, found with *US.16* and *US.30*	--/--	--/--	--
	US.18	Hairrings	--/--	--/--	--
	WB.t3.3*	Bronze bracelet	--/--	--/--	Indet
	WIJ.22	Iron hollow-headed pin with linked rings with square cross-section affixed	--/--	--/+-	+-
	WIJ.23	Fragments of decorated bronze sheet, probably from a belt plate	--/--	++/++	++

Tab. A2.6 Items related to personal appearance found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials (see also Fig. A2.6).
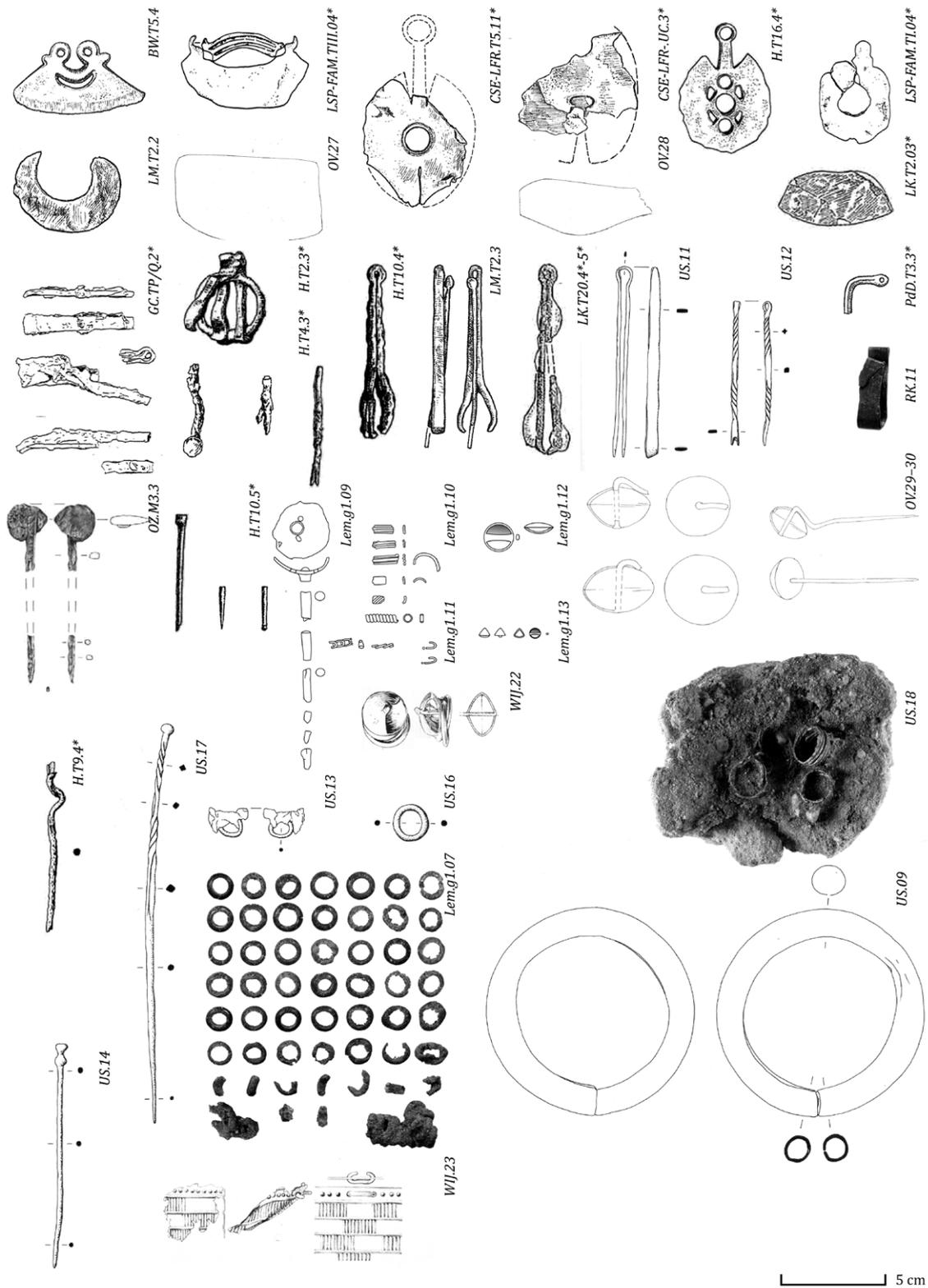
Fig. A2.6 *Metal items related to personal appearance found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings by G.J. de Vries; J. Kempkens; R. Timmermans; J. Ypey; after De Laet/Marien 1950, fig. 6; Mariën 1958, 24, 25, 38, 43 and 44; 1999, fig. 5–7; Ubaghs 1890, fig. 29; Van Wijk et al. 2009, fig. 6.16; Verwers 1972, abb. 32; Warmenbol 1978, pl. I and III; supplied by B. Fermin; photographs by Restauratieatelier Restaura, Haelen; J. van Donkersgoed.*
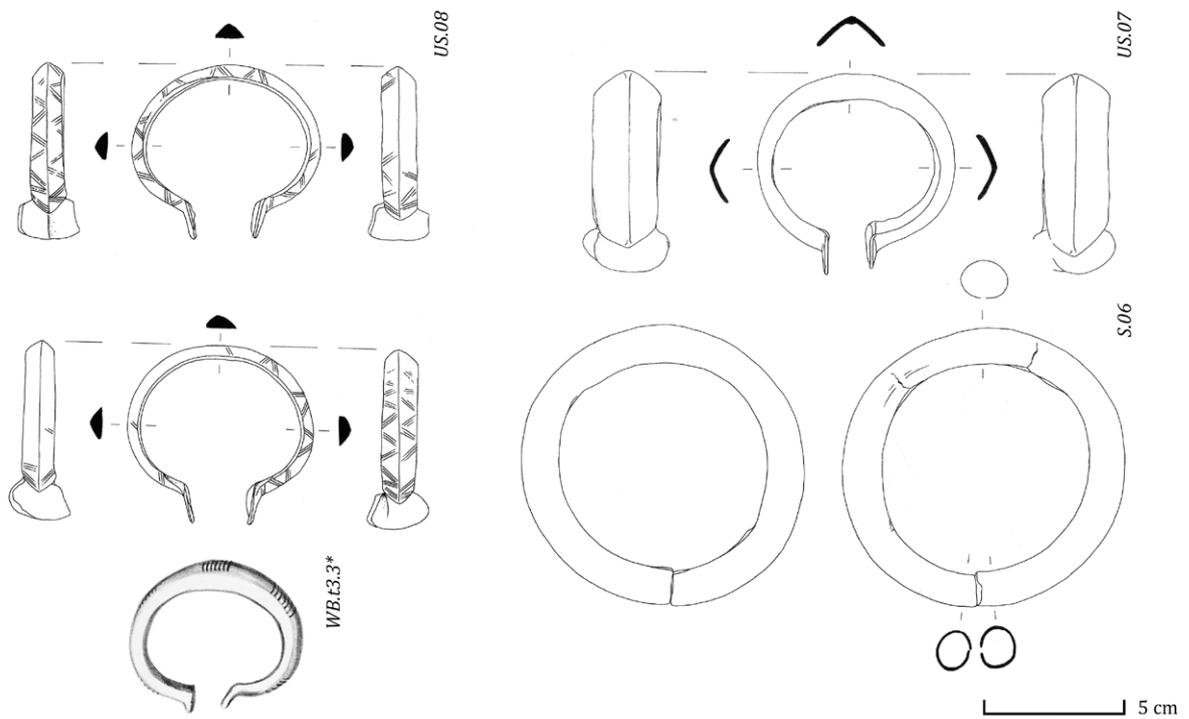
Fig. A2.6 (continued) Metal items related to personal appearance found in the Dutch and Belgian elite burials. Drawings by G.J. de Vries; J. Kempkens; R. Timmermans; J. Ypey; after De Laet/Marien 1950, fig. 6; Mariën 1958, 24, 25, 38, 43 and 44; 1999, fig. 5–7; Ubaghs 1890, fig. 29; Van Wijk et al. 2009, fig. 6.16; Verwers 1972, abb. 32; Warmenbol 1978, pl. I and III; supplied by B. Fermin; photographs by Restauratieatelier Restaura, Haelen; J. van Donkersgoed.

A2.7 Textile in burials

Find no.	Textile; material; weave type;	Micro-stratigraphy	Interpretation	Color	Identification of warp and weft	Technical details Thread system 1	Technical details Thread system 2	Surface, seams, hems, patterns
CSE-FR.T4.10*	-	Fragment of iron with cloth imprint		-	Indet	Indet	Indet	-
CSE-LQ.T4.5	-	Woven pattern due to corrosion. If textile then it is located direction on the sword blade	If textile, then the sword may have been wrapped	-	-/-	++/+	++	-
DB.6*	-	Textile present direction on Bronze discs and iron rings		-	-/-	-/-	-	-
OV.06; OV.16; OV.42	Textile A; wool with kemp; coarser tabby	Located directly on sword grip (OV.06); directly on iron ring (OV.16); as 'loose' find from situla	Textile A was used to wrap up the rings, and then was transferred to the sword handle as it lay against it.	Rust-red, material, no dyestuffs could be identified.	No selvedge survived	0.5 mm z-yarn; 5–6 threads per cm	0.4–0.5 mm s-yarn; ca. 6 threads per cm	Open weave, surface worn out, low cover factor
OV.06; OV.42	Textile B; medium fine tabby	Located directly on the sword blade (OV.06), covered by the fine diamond twill 'Textile C; as 'loose' find from situla	Appears to have been used to wrap the sword	Rust-red and blackish	No selvedge survived	0.4 mm z-yarn; ca. 15 threads per cm	0.4 mm z-yarn; 14–15 threads per cm	-
OV.06; OV.39–42	Textile C; wool; fine diamond twill, with point repeat in one direction, displacement in the other	More than six layers covering the sword blade (OV.06) on different parts on the outer and inner side, going over one edge; textile on the inner side of the sword very destroyed, but might belong to this fabric. Between sword blade and Textile C sometimes Textile B can be seen, with sometimes Textile D on top of C. There are numerous 'loose' fragments, many folded to several layers, sometimes one layer of textile D folded in	This textile can be identified as a grave good in its own right. It was carefully folded into multiple layers and around something made of Textile D. Whatever the Textile C was from, one fragment shows stitches.	Rust-red, black to reddish-brown	No selvedge survived	0.2 mm s-yarn; ca. 20–24 (20–22) threads per cm	0.2 mm z-yarn; ca. 20–24 (24–26) threads per cm	OV.39: very regular stitches of overcast-stitch(?); sewing thread 0.3 mm sZ-plied yarn
OV.06; OV.42	Textile D; wool; finer tabby	This tabby is partly visible as top layer on Textile C (which is on Textile B, which is on the sword (OV.06)), and as 'loose' fragments there are 2 lumps of multi-layered textile C with one layer textile D folded in.	This textile was folded into the Textile C textile, and can therefore also be identified as a grave good in its own right.	Rust-red to dark brownish	No selvedge survived	0.3–0.4 mm s-yarn; 16 threads per cm	0.3–0.4 mm z-yarn; 16 threads per cm	Open weave
OV.16; OV.42	Textile E; Bast fibre?; fine diamond twill with point repeat	Located directly on iron ring (OV.16); as 'loose' find from situla	Multi-layered, at least 6 layers; appears to have been used to wrap the iron rings	Rust-red and blackish,	No selvedge survived	0.3 mm s-yarn; ca. 20 threads per cm	0.3–0.4 mm z-yarn; ca. 10 threads per cm	-
OV.24	Textile F; Coarse tabby	The tabby is directly attached to the knife blade (OV.24), it is partly covered by leather	Lining of the leather knife sheath or a wrapping/covering of the knife blade	Rust-red	No selvedge survived	0.6 mm s-yarn; 12 threads per cm	0.6 mm z-yarn; 12 threads per cm	Very dense, slightly ribbed appearance due to different thread counts in warp and weft
OV.42	Textile G; wool; coarse twill	Loose find from bucket	Remains unclear, the weave was found only in the box, without a specific micro-stratigraphy or other context with a metal find	Rust-red and blackish	No selvedge survived	0.4 mm z-yarn; 5–7 threads per cm	0.4–0.5 mm s-yarn; ca. 6 threads per cm	Threads low z-twist; on some fragments the surface is heavily worn; use-wear or caused by degradation process?
OV.42	Textile H; wool?; repp	Loose find from bucket	This may be a belt of some kind that was used to wrap up the Textile C and D grave goods, but this is speculation.	Rust-red and blackish	No selvedge, but due to weave structure (repp) it seems feasible to identify the plied yarn as warp.	Warp 0.8 mm zS-plied yarn; threads per cm not countable	Weft 0.3–0.4 mm z-yarn; threads per cm not countable	-
RK.02	-	Found on inside rim bronze bucket	May have been used to wrap grave goods	-	Indet	Indet	Indet	-

Find no.	Textile; material; weave type;	Micro-stratigraphy	Interpretation	Color	Identification of warp and weft	Technical details		Surface, seams, hems, patterns
						Thread system 1	Thread system 2	
US.23; US.25; US.28	Textile A; Sheep wool with some kemp; coarse twill 2/2 twill	Located directly on bracelet US.07, covered by fragments of Textile B; Located directly on bracelet US.08, sometimes in several layers, covered by fragments of Textile B, which was covered by hide fragments (US.26); Located directly on anklet US.09	The colour checked twill with point repeat (Textile A) covered the bracelets and anklets in multiple layers – maybe it belonged to a long-sleeved garment that reached to the ankles.	More or less brownish, in oblique light some colours visible (brighter, reddish) and darker. In Microscope bluish threads visible. Dyestuff analysis carried out by M. van Bommel.	No selvedge survived	0.5-0.7 mm z-yarn; 9 threads per cm	06-0.8 mm z-yarn; 11 threads per cm	Surface of some fragments rubbed off and worn out, looks felted inside and outside: maybe from degradation process or use-wear. Surface of other fragments are very well preserved, under oblique light even the pattern is visible. Different colours in warp and weft visible. Pattern countable: from left to right: 6 dark threads, 8 light threads, 8 dark, 2 light; from top to bottom: 4 dark threads, 8 light, 8 dark. Maybe it was a regular checkered pattern of alternating 8 dark and 8 light threads in warp and weft. After the dyestuff analysis red and blue dyestuffs could be detected. It was a pattern in bright red and blue block checks.
US.23; US.25;	Textile B; sheep wool; finer twill (2/2)	Located on Textile A (US.23) on bronze bracelet (US.07); located on Textile A (US.25) on bronze bracelet (US.08), covered by hide fragments (US.26);	This twill may be a shroud	Brownish	No selvedge survived	0.3-0.4 mm zS-plied yarn; 16-18 threads per cm	0.3-0.4 mm zS-plied yarn; ca. 16 threads per cm	-

Tab. A2.7 Summary of textiles and textile imprints found in the Low Countries. Analyses on Oss-Vorstengraf and Uden-Slabroek by K. Grömer, I. Joosten and M. Bommel (see also App. CA1 and Fig. A2.7).

FRAGMENTING THE CHIEFTAIN

There is a cluster of Early Iron Age (800–500 BC) elite burials in the Low Countries in which bronze vessels, weaponry, horse-gear and wagons were interred as grave goods. Mostly imports from Central Europe, these objects are found brought together in varying configurations in cremation burials generally known as chieftains' graves or princely burials. In terms of grave goods they resemble the *Fürstengräber* of the Hallstatt Culture of Central Europe, with famous Dutch and Belgian examples being the Chieftain's grave of Oss, the wagon-grave of Wijchen and the elite cemetery of Court-St-Etienne.

Fragmenting the Chieftain presents the results of an in-depth and practice-based archaeological analysis of the Dutch and Belgian elite graves and the burial practice through which they were created. It was established that the elite burials are embedded in the local burial practices – as reflected by the use of the cremation rite, the bending and breaking of grave goods, and the pars pro toto deposition of human remains and objects, all in accordance with the dominant local urnfield burial practice. It appears that those individuals interred with wagons and related items warranted a more elaborate funerary rite, most likely because these ceremonial and cosmologically charged vehicles marked their owners out as exceptional individuals. Furthermore, in a few graves the configuration of the grave good set, the use of textiles to wrap grave goods and the dead and the reuse of burial mounds show the influence of individuals familiar with Hallstatt Culture burial customs.

A comprehensive overview of the Dutch and Belgian graves can be found in the accompanying *Fragmenting the Chieftain – Catalogue. Late Bronze and Early Iron Age elite burials in the Low Countries*.

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