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DAVID R. FONTIJN

SACRIFICIAL LANDSCAPES

CULTURAL BIOGRAPHIES OF PERSONS, OBJECTS AND 'NATURAL' PLACES
IN THE BRONZE AGE OF THE SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS, C. 2300-600 BC



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*Non multo post in Cantabriae lacum fulmen decidit repertaeque sunt duodecim
securae, haud ambiguum summae imperii signum.*

(Suetonius, book VII: Galba, Otho, Vitellius)

*Und dast Sterben, dieses Nichtmehrfassen
Jenes Grunds, auf dem wir täglich stehn,
Seinem ängstlichen Sich-Niederlassen -:*

*In die Wasser, die ihn sanft empfangen
Und die sich, wie glücklich und vergangen,
Unter ihm zurückziehn, Flut um Flut*

(R.M. Rilke 'der Schwan')

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12.1 INTRODUCTION

Body ornaments and dress fittings are another category of bronzes that matter in depositional practices of the Middle Bronze Age B and Late Bronze Age. I argued that their life should be understood in relation to their role in the construction of social identities; like weapons, they are primarily to be regarded as valuables of personhood (chapter 10). Even more than in the case of weapons, their role is referential rather than practical. They are primarily related to bodily adornment, and hence potentially involved in the signalling of social status. They should be regarded as the only archaeologically visible part of a completely dressed and decorated body, 'which is central to the acquiring of socially ascribed identities and the communication of them' (Sørensen 2000, 124). The construction of (gendered) identities may have been an important theme in the cultural biography of these ornaments and dress fittings ending up in deposition; it is a difficult one to grasp archaeologically. There is at least one distinction that we can and should try to grasp, however, since it was brought out in selective deposition: the distinction between ornaments and dress fittings deposited in burials versus those ending up in watery places and hoards. The following discussion will try to make sense of this distinction.

12.2 ORNAMENT DEPOSITION IN NATURAL PLACES VERSUS DEPOSITION IN BURIALS

Much of what was said on the biographies of weapons in the previous chapter applies to the biographies of ornaments and dress fittings. We saw that in weapon deposition burials were avoided. In the case of ornament deposition¹, a differentiation between deposition in burials and watery places mattered as well. There is no evidence that at some point in time a shift from one depositional context (wet places) to another (graves) took place, as we saw for weapons. In ornament deposition, both modes of deposition existed side by side.

For the Middle Bronze Age B, deposition of ornaments in farmyards can be assumed to have existed as well, but as set out in chapter 7 there is no compelling empirical evidence to sustain such an assumption. The discussion will therefore be restricted to the distinction between deposition in burials and natural places.

With regard to Late Bronze Age burial deposition, the following observation made in chapter 9 should be recalled. Not all ornaments were cremation artefacts. Some seem to have been deposited *after* the cremation remains were put into the urn or shroud. That unburnt body ornaments were added to a body that had already completely been destroyed makes it clear that this ornament was not deposited for its practical value (for example: a dress fastener), but for its symbolic social meaning. Thus, in the burial ritual, a social role held by the deceased was not only deconstructed (the individual was burnt dressed in the paraphernalia signalling this role), but sometimes an identity was also constructed by placing meaningful ornaments on the deceased's remains.

Depositing ornaments in natural places points to something different. As set out in the previous chapter, we can consider such an act as a practice in which the paraphernalia of a social role were laid down. They were not handed over to others to start a new life of circulation. Neither were they physically associated with the remains of what was once a living person, thus creating an indissoluble link between the deceased and the statuses associated with the imagery. Similar to the argument about weapons, we can imagine that depositing ornaments in natural places may be a way to deal with personal identities that should be temporary, ambiguous ones, related to special roles. This theory becomes more likely, if the ornaments kept out of graves are different from those current in burials. As we shall see later on, there are arguments to suppose that this was indeed the case.

12.3 SELECTIVE DEPOSITION OF ORNAMENTS AND DRESS FITTINGS DURING THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

During the Middle Bronze Age, bronze ornaments have only rarely been found. Those known are almost exclusively pins. A few were found in association with weapons, and seem to have been part of a male warrior outfit. The biographies of bronze ornaments in general seem to be different from those made of other materials. For that reason, I shall start by making some general observations on non-metal ones.

Burials and settlements: bone and antler ornaments

Non-metal ornaments dated to the Middle Bronze Age are known of stone, bone, antler and amber (appendix 7.2), all

carried out as pendants, beads and pins. The evidence on such objects is limited, which in part can be explained by bad preservation circumstances. With the exception of amber beads, they are made of locally available material, in techniques that do not demand special craftsmanship. This is not to say that some of the objects did not have a special biography. The brown bear phalanx that was found in grave no. 5.2 from Toterfout-Halve Mijl might have been the trophy of a prestigious hunt, or a magical object (Theunissen 1993, 33-34). We are dealing here with an example of a specific rather than a generalized biography, however (cf the discussion in chapter 3).

It is interesting to see that these objects sometimes carry incised ornamentation of types unknown from other material culture forms, some even in elaborate styles (Verwers 1966a, fig. 5). They thus seem to have been regarded as a category in themselves with specific characteristics, not known from other kinds of material culture. There is furthermore no unity whatsoever in their design and ornamentation. They may have been important in signalling specific kinds of personhood, but probably in a way that was locally-specific rather than shared among many communities. Such ornaments have also been found on well-preserved settlement sites (farmsteads, chapter 7; appendix 9). The majority, however, is known as cremation artefacts in graves (appendix 7.2). We should not forget, however, that if bone and antler objects were primarily post-cremation grave gifts, they would have decayed in most cases.

It must be said that in both graves and settlements such ornaments are surely no regular find category. They are virtually unknown from the kind of natural places where bronze deposits are generally found, but this may be the result of a research bias due to their low visibility during dredging activities when compared to larger bronze objects as well as their actual absence.

Rivers and marshes: bronze pins and a bracelet

Although our knowledge on the depositional contexts of non-metal ornaments is skewed and biased due to site-formation processes, it is nevertheless important to bring up the little evidence there is of them. The reason for this is that the depositional context of bronze ornaments only partially overlaps with them.

First of all, contrary to non-metal pins, pendants etc. bronze ones are *absent from graves*. Some bronze ornaments have been found on settlement sites, just like those of bone and antler. However, these are all rather simple roll-headed pins. The more elaborate types of pins seem to have had different biographies. For the Middle Bronze Age B, a distinction can be made between ornaments decorated in a style affiliated to international ones (wheel-headed pins and pins of the Courtavant and Wollmesheim type) versus

the more simple ornaments (roll-headed pins). The elaborate, international-styled pins tend to come from rivers. The more roll-headed pins, however, have several times been found on settlement sites. The contextual associations of most pins from a watery context are unknown, but in the Meuse near Alem and in the Scheldt near Antwerpen several have been found, suggesting that they were deposited on the same occasion. The German reference finds from graves make it clear that wheel-headed pins signal high-status female identities (Wels-Weyrauch 1989). We do not know whether the same applies to the Courtavant and Wollmesheim pins. In Germany, the latter type is known from a warrior's grave implying that it was part of male martial imagery (chapter 7). Comparable ornaments from wet places that ostensibly indicate male martial identities are the Bargloy pin found in association with weaponry in the Overloon hoard (Middle Bronze Age A; chapter 6), or the only Middle Bronze Age bracelet known, which was found in association with a rapier, spearhead and a dagger (the Escharen hoard, chapter 7).

12.4 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SUPRA-REGIONAL ORNAMENT STYLES: THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE OSS MOULD

A conclusion to be drawn from the above is that elaborate bronze ornaments and dress fittings are all of styles shared between different regions. Styles idiosyncratic to the region or locality seem to have been worked out in the decorated bone pins or pendants but not in bronze. Although by the Middle Bronze Age B a thriving regional bronze production was established, the general impression is that people apparently still imported bronze ornaments, which in itself would be remarkable since these objects were certainly not the most difficult ones to produce. Lohof (1994, 116-7) sees the presence of wheel-headed pins as an argument to suppose that long-distance exchange of marriage partners took place. The wheel-headed pins would then have been part of the native dress of such females.

The clay mould from Oss described in chapter 7 sets these ideas in a new light. One of the forms that could be shaped in this mould was a wheel-headed pin. Its form was carved out in the clay in the mould. The form was not reproduced by pressing an existing (imported) mould into the clay, but the form was imitated. We are therefore dealing here with the production of such 'foreign' ornaments in our own region. It is not a local variety of the regional form of the wheel-headed pins, but rather a form very similar to those from the German regions (for example: the German Rhineland (Weber 1993)). Apparently it was important that this ornament in its form referred to supra-regional styles, rather than to local styles. Therefore, in ornaments, the supra-regional-local distinction seems to have mattered.

12.5 SELECTIVE DEPOSITION OF ORNAMENTS AND DRESS
FITTINGS DURING THE LATE BRONZE AGE
12.5.1 *Ornaments and the construction of local
identities in urnfield graves*

In chapter 9, bronze finds from Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age urnfields were analysed. A significant contrast with regard to the Middle Bronze Age the burial deposition is that this time we do have ample evidence for bronze ornaments being part of burial equipment. Does this signal a major change in the way the dead were adorned? Probably this is more apparent than real. Even in the urnfields, where almost any individual seems to have been buried in an archaeologically visible way, graves with bronze objects are only a tiny fraction (generally 15 % or less; chapter 9). We should not forget that the burials known from the preceding Middle Bronze Age represent only 10 to 15 % of the entire population, whilst the representativity of burials in an urnfield is close to 90 %.

In urnfields, the metal ornaments and dress fittings are most of the times quite simple pins, spirals, bracelets and so on. Some were cremation artefacts, others were added after cremation. Here, non-metal ornaments are also occasionally known, as are small grave gifts (like small pots). The physical anthropological analyses of the graves with ornaments for the Early Iron Age shows that their social meanings must have been fleeting and ambiguous. In one urnfield, they are exclusively associated with females, whereas they are gender-neutral in another one (see chapter 9). Their meanings were often locally-specific. At the level of the individual urnfield it can for example sometimes be seen that bracelets were almost exclusively found in graves of women (Roermond-Mussenberg, for example; chapter 9; appendix 7.3). It was argued that here differentiations were made not between males and females, but between different kinds of female identities.

In chapter 9 it was established that in general a distinction can be made between:

- *Metal ornaments used in ways differing from time to time and from urnfield to urnfield.* Such objects were probably related to themes and social messages that mattered specifically at the level of the local community, the urnfield group, of which he or she was a member (most pins and bracelets).
- *Metal ornaments that were used in the construction of appearances in ways that were shared between neighbouring communities.* The best example that I could find for the second phenomenon is the local-specific dress of necklaces consisting of several bronze conical pendants. They are characteristic for a number of neighbouring urnfields near the present Dutch-Belgian border, and probably part of a characteristic female dress.

A type of burial set that occurred over a much larger area comes from the so-called Ha C chieftains' graves from the

Early Iron Age (chapter 9 and 11). These warriors' graves generally lack body ornaments, however. They probably exclusively expressed male, martial identities.

In general, we can therefore conclude that in urnfields, bronze ornaments and dress fittings were mainly simple objects signalling locally-specific – often female – social roles and statuses. The social meaning of bodily ornamentation in urnfield graves seems primarily to have been based on conventions idiosyncratic to the local communities involved.

12.5.2 *Placing ornaments and dress fittings in rivers
and sources*

The practice of ornament deposition in major rivers and sources, which originated in the Middle Bronze Age, continued and slightly increased in frequency during the Late Bronze Age. In chapter 8, it was concluded that ornament deposition in natural places contrasts with ornament deposition in burials in a number of ways. It is true that there is an overlap in the types of ornament deposited in both these watery places and those in urnfields. This suggests that burial and object deposition in wet locations had points of convergence. This makes an interpretation of river finds as 'graveless grave goods' or *Totenschätze* a feasible one (cf. the discussion on weapons from rivers in 11.7). There are other observations, however, that imply that both ways of deposition should be seen as practices of a quite different nature.

First of all, among the ornaments found in such contexts, we miss the burnt or deliberately destroyed items generally present in cremation graves. This is not a very strong argument, in view of the coarse-grained recovery methods. Next, from the source-deposit of Berg en Terblijt, it is clear that ornaments were deposited in high quantities not seen in graves, suggesting that the depositional practice was not comparable to what happened in an average urnfield (chapter 8). It rather suggests a lavish activity involving a large audience. On top of that, this hoard contains items which are completely absent from contemporary urnfields: axes, sickles and a chisel.

Furthermore, just like in the Middle Bronze Age B, river finds include elaborate, imported ornaments, of types unknown from burial contexts (very long pins: Antwerpen-left bank complex; giant pins of type Ockstadt, the decorated bracelet from Maren-Kessel; chapter 8). Moreover, there are ornaments among these that are not only unknown from urnfields, but large ceremonial items in their own right: the *Bombenkopfnadel* of type Ockstadt (chapter 8). It was argued that these are exaggerated forms of regular pins that are also unknown from urnfields. The ceremonial pins could never have been used as dress fittings or brooches, but all show signs of a ceremonial use-life, involving modifications of the

original object. That such objects were deposited in rivers illustrates that river deposits were special, ceremonial occasions. It was argued that they were possibly related to the notion of male, martial imagery. The oversized proportions of these pins are paralleled in some of the Celtic ornaments from later periods, also known from deliberate deposits in our region. These consist of characteristic neck rings, torcs, which are often much too large as well to be worn on the body (Van Impe 1997, 23). Their aggrandized form seems to have been related to the fact that such torcs are seen as attributes of gods, rather than people (Green 1989). In this way, they are 'larger than life'.

12.5.3 *Deposition of special ornament types in hoards: the Lutlommel hoard*

A new form of ornament deposition emerges in the Late Bronze Age: deposition of ornaments in lavish hoards on the land. Three examples are recorded: Berg en Terblijt, Overpelt-De Hoven, and Lutlommel-Konijnepijp (chapter 8).

I would like to pay special attention to the latter since it is most clearly an example of selective deposition. It contains ornaments of types unknown from rivers and burials. Interestingly, similar types of ornament hoards are known from north French and Belgian regions, the so-called hoards of the '*culture du Plainseau*' (chapter 8; Gaucher/Verron 1987). Apart from characteristic ornaments, they often contain tools of specific types as well. In our region, these are predominantly Plainseau axes. The only 'Plainseau' hoard from our region containing ornaments is the one from Lutlommel-Konijnepijp (fig. 12.1; Van Impe 1995/1996). In chapter 8, I already made argued that this hoard results from a special kind of deposition, contrasting with contemporary practices. We shall now take up this argument in order to make sense of what happened at Lutlommel.

Analysing the typology of the ornaments in the hoard, it was concluded that they are generally lavish, elaborate ones when compared to those from other contexts. As a matter of fact, they include some ornaments that are virtually unknown



Figure 12.1 The still existing objects of the Lutlommel hoard (after Van Impe 1995/1996, fig. 2).

from other depositional contexts like graves, marshes or rivers. Interestingly, similar ornaments are known from rich hoards in other regions (northern France, southern Belgium, see chapter 8). In these regions their presence seems to be restricted to such hoards as well. For Lutlommel, there are some indications that we are dealing with ornaments related to specific *female* identities (chapter 8). Siding with Van Impe, I argued that in view of their elaborate character, such ornaments should probably be regarded as the paraphernalia of high-status female identities, fulfilling special (although unknown) social roles. Although the different Plainseau hoards are far from possessing identical female imagery, there certainly are recurrent ornament types (chapter 8; Gaucher/Verron 1987). This seems to indicate the existence of conventions on high-status female appearance that were shared between different regions. The references made to non-local appearances as apparent from such supra-regional ornament types can therefore be taken to be deliberate. The individual dressed in such a way was 'dressed in internationality'. It might be ventured that they should be seen as the female counterpart to Late Bronze Age male warrior appearances.

The Lutlommel hoard, then, represents the deposition of such special imagery, and it is to this case that we should now turn. As the hoard has been incompletely recovered, it is no longer possible to see whether sets of ornaments were deposited, indicating several females, or whether the ornaments should be seen as the conspicuous dress of just one person. They were deposited together with some dozens of axes in what probably was an isolated location in between the territories of different local communities. The depositional location is not situated in the usual stream valleys, but on a higher (but not necessarily dry) gentle slope (fig. 12.2; chapter 8).

For the present discussion it is particularly this location in the cultural landscape which is interesting, since it neatly illustrates the selective character of this deposition. In the immediate vicinity of the find, no less than three urnfields are known. Unfortunately, none of these has been completely excavated. All yielded finds from the Early Iron Age, one contains burials from the Late Bronze Age as well (Lommel-Kattenbosch, about four kilometres away). The find of an Iron Age settlement nearby should also be mentioned (Hoeverheide). All sites now dated to the (Early) Iron Age may well have a history going back to the Late Bronze Age. At least, it could have been the community of the Lommel-Kattenbosch urnfield who deposited this hoard. Van Impe goes on to argue that if we assume that all urnfields display a more or less representative picture of settlement, it then becomes more clear how this hoard was deposited in a zone in the landscape, remote from urnfields and probably from settlements as well (if we assume that these were located in

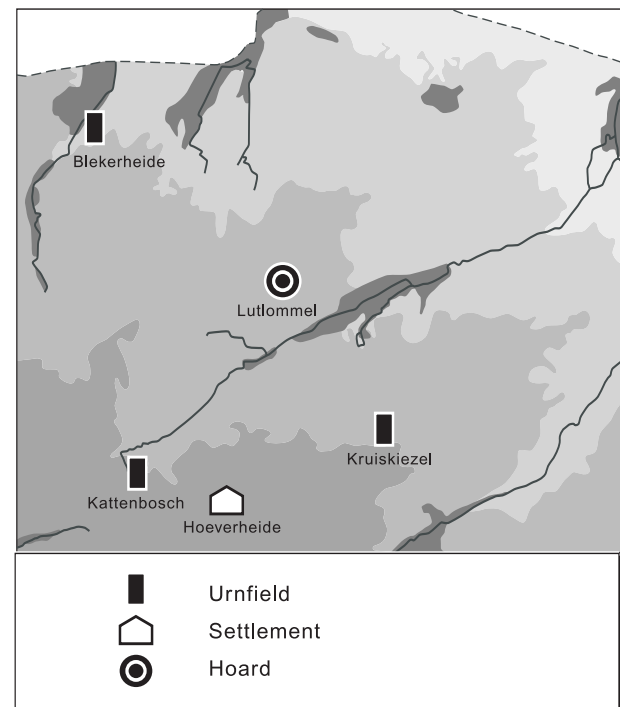


Figure 12.2 The position of the Lutlommel hoard in the Late Bronze Age landscape (scale 1 : 118000; the darkest shade represents 50 m and up, the lightest represents 40 m (after Van Impe 1995/1996, fig. 11).

the neighbourhood of urnfields; Roymans/Fokkens 1991). Van Impe sees this isolated position as an added argument for an interpretation of the hoard as a deliberate deposit.² I would like to use his reconstruction to illustrate something else: the selective character of this deposition comes much more to the fore if we compare the bronze ornaments from those urnfields with those in the hoard. The bronze ornaments from the contemporary Lommel-Kattenbosch urnfield for example are of the simple, local types described in section 12.5.1. In Kruiskiezel, for example, one grave contained the conical pendants that I interpreted as a characteristic local female dress. In the urnfields, however, there is nothing in the way of the elaborate bracelets or arm rings that we know from the hoard. Of course our knowledge of these particular urnfields is biased, but we have seen in chapter 9 that this lack of special, supra-regional styled ornaments is characteristic for Late Bronze Age urnfields in general. The hoard represents a deposition of objects that were not placed elsewhere in the urnfield or settlement, and in view of its rich contents (probably originally more than 50 objects, Van Impe 1995/1996, 28), its deposition must have been a very special event.

If we compare this hoard to other depositions in the region, its special character becomes more marked. Including

the deposits in the stream valleys and major rivers, it can be seen that the other category of high-status, prestigious bronzes, weaponry, is predominantly to be found in the major rivers (fig 8.22). This seems to be a pattern, since it is conspicuous that for all Belgian and Dutch 'Plainseau hoards' swords are lacking. The contrast between the content from such an ornament hoard and the deposits in major rivers becomes more marked if we consider a hoard consisting entirely of ornaments found in the adjacent west-Belgian region: the Gent-Port Arthur hoard (Verlaeckaert 1996, 91-9; nos. 45-56). This hoard contained a number of ornaments, typical for the Plainseau hoards (among others Lyzel pendants), but no spears or weapons. It was found near a stretch of the river Scheldt, where considerable numbers of contemporary bronzes including swords and spears were found. Although ornaments have been dredged up from the river Scheldt in some numbers, the types from the 'Plainseau' hoards ornaments are not among them.³

Let us return to Lutlommel. This hoard must represent a deposition of special valuables, in line with a more general concern to keep these specific paraphernalia of a perhaps female, high-status supra-regional identity outside the sphere of the local, and outside the sphere of the martial as well. In agreement with what was argued in the previous chapter, it might thus be ventured that such imagery was just like chiefly, martial imagery considered an ambiguous, temporary one, the paraphernalia of which should be treated with the utmost caution and kept apart. The large number of objects deposited on one occasion implies that Lutlommel represents what Needham (1989, 59) has termed a 'community deposit': an important deposition by a group of people or an aggregation of groups, reflecting very basic concerns of society and 'buried in the knowledge and to the benefits of society at large'. The association of ornaments with numerous axes, that for other reasons can be interpreted as communal valuables *par excellence*, would be in line with this (the role of axes will be discussed in the next chapter). If Van Impe is right that these ornaments were possibly deposited in a no-man's land, in between the communal burial grounds of different local groups (1995/1996, 28), we might venture to see this deposit as involving participants of these different communities.

12.6 CONCLUSION: THE CONTRAST BETWEEN LOCAL AND NON-LOCAL IDENTITIES

Although the discussion on the biography of ornaments in terms of their role in the process of engendering remains difficult, a general theme in their selective deposition can be recognized throughout the centuries. This is the role of ornaments in constructing male or female identities that were primarily meaningful at the level of the local community, versus those ornaments which expressed the individuals'

membership of non-local, 'imagined', communities.

Ornament deposition in graves is related to the *construction* of local identities. Ornament deposition in hoards, however, is about the laying down of paraphernalia, and hence about the *deconstruction* of identities. Fig. 12.3 illustrates the role of ornaments in the life-cycle of a female member of society and gives several options for moments in life when these objects may have been deposited. The interesting thing is that in the case of deposition in Plainseau hoards we are strictly dealing with identities that are the opposite of those expressed in graves: they are of a *non-local, supra-regional* character. Ornament deposition in burials versus deposition in hoards and watery places are therefore not contradictory, but complementary. A clear illustration of this was found in the Lutlommel hoard. We must be dealing here with the same group of people that were doing different things in different places. Two conclusions are to be drawn from this.

The significance of belonging to distant communities

The first is that the difference between local and non-local identities mattered in these local communities, and had their implications for the way in which objects were made. Regionality, particular in female identities, was apparently important. It is tempting to relate this to the significance of kinship and marriage alliance relationships, in which it mattered where a marriage partner came from, and in which way he or she took part in supra-regional exchange networks (cf. Lohof 1994). After all, the communities we are studying are by their dependence on bronze items inextricably linked up with larger networks, of which the bronzes are probably just the aspect visible to us. Communication of technological and cultural knowledge might have been another thing that flowed via these channels, as is the exchange of people themselves. The significance of belonging to distant communities through exchange networks becomes archaeologically visible by the lack of outspoken local styles, and the copying of supra-regional ones, the importation and wearing of imported ornaments and costumes.

The significance of local identities

The second conclusion is that in spite of the considerable 'openness' of the system to these non-local ways of dress, the contrast between local and supra-regional identities did matter, and was played out in the deposition of objects. Supra-regional identities, as reflected by the Plainseau ornaments, were not part of the imagery of the deceased in an urnfield grave. They seem to have been deliberately kept out of the final representations of the deceased, and instead ornaments, and items were deposited that were primarily meaningful at the local level. References to non-local identities and to the essential involvement of this community in a wider area of groups are lacking. Instead, emphasis is on

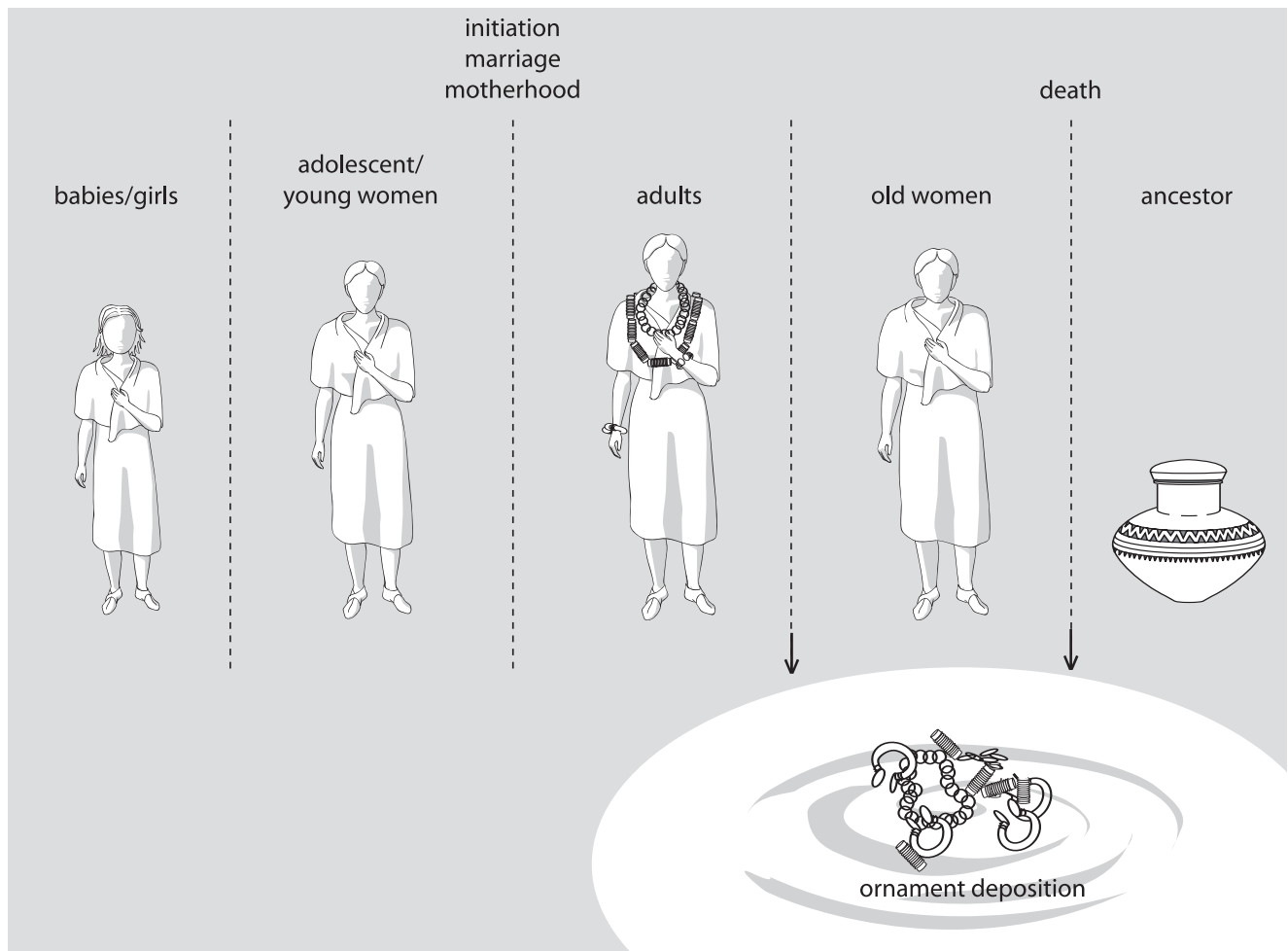


Figure 12.3 Hypothetical life-cycle of a female of high status. The assumption is that this identity was confined to a specific stage in the life-cycle and that specific non-local body ornaments were instrumental in signalling this stage of personhood. Consequently, the deposition of these objects marks the transition to another stage of life. Shown are possible moments at which such a deposition may have taken place.

decorating the dead according to highly idiosyncratic local norms and ideas. Gerritsen (2001) has recently argued that a local identity is not just something that results from the fact that people live nearby and work together on the fields. A notion of a local identity is just as much an ideological value, a construction. This becomes particularly pronounced in the case of Late Bronze Age urnfields. After all, these are the communal burial grounds of different households, living dispersed over the land. These households, however, buried their dead in a communal, fixed and inclusive cemetery, linking different social entities to each other and to their ancestors (Gerritsen 2001, 257). In a Late Bronze Age urnfield every individual is represented as subjected to a larger, communal whole (Roymans/Kortlang 1999, 53). Collectivity seems to have been a dominant value in urnfields, to the

extent that values relating to difference in personal status were not expressed. We already touched upon this with regard to the clear absence of weapon graves in such urnfields. In addition, the evidence from ornament deposition discussed here implies that urnfields were not just imbued with notions on communal identities, but that these were explicitly understood as an identity that was profoundly *local* in nature. We can deduce from the wholesale reliance on imported bronzes and the general 'openness' of regional bronze production styles, that being part of non-local exchange networks was highly significant. In the Late Bronze Age urnfields, there is not much that reminds us of that. Although we can assume that some social roles embodied the social significance of such a belonging to non-local identities by adopting non-local appearances (Plainseau ornaments,

warrior identities), these nevertheless did not play a role in the final representation of the deceased in an urnfield.

The reality of a community that is firmly rooted in a specific environment and the ensuing sense of belonging to that area, seems to have been at odds with the reality of certain individuals participating in networks stretching far beyond the boundaries of that environment. These were not just about acquiring access to non-local materials, but also about sharing cultural knowledge on supra-locally acknowledged categories of personhood and their appearance. This probably involved getting access to the circulation of personal valuables that served as constituents of personal identities. As in the case of weapons, the latter seem nevertheless not to have been fixed to a specific individual by placing them in a burial, but rather these were laid down in nature. Like weapons, they were probably also regarded as ambiguous, temporary identities that were worn or shed at

some stage in the life-cycle. Given the Lutlommel evidence or that from rivers, this may have been performed in a communal gathering of special nature, in a special environmental setting.

notes

1 For practical reasons, the term ornament used here includes dress fittings (pins) as well.

2 Following the approach set out in this book, it was already argued that this hoard represents a deposition intended to be permanent, because such large Plainseau hoards are not an isolated, but a patterned phenomenon (chapter 8).

3 Verlaeckt 1996, 27-9, see specifically his discussion on bracelets with everted terminals and pendants of type Lyzel.