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Fragmenting the Chieftain : a practice-based study of Early Iron Age Hallstatt C elite burials in the Low Countries

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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

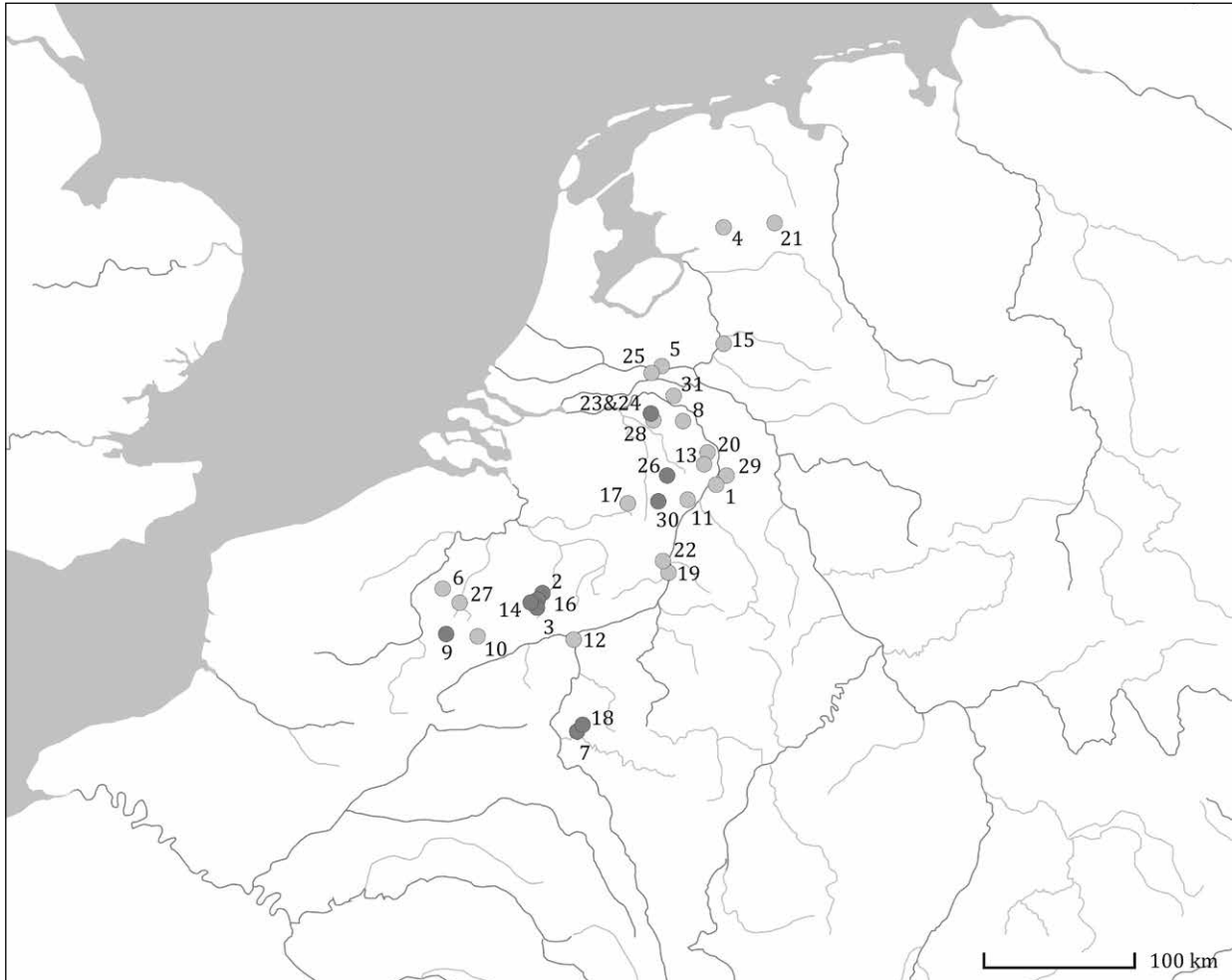


Fig. 4.1 1. Baarlo; 2. Basse-Waivre; 3. Court-St-Etienne; 4. Darp-Bisschopsberg; 5. Ede-Bennekom; 6. Flobecq-Pottelberg; 7. Gedinne-Chevaudos; 8. Haps; 9. Harchies-Maison Cauchies; 10. Haoré; 11. Heythuizen-Bisschop; 12. Hofstade-Kasteelstraat; 13. Horst-Hegelsom; 14. La Plantée des Dames; 15. Leesten-Meijerink; 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 (probable¹⁰) individual burials. These were found in 69 (probable¹¹) barrows or flat graves (some contained multiple individuals), from a total of 32 sites. Ten of these sites

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 as 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.

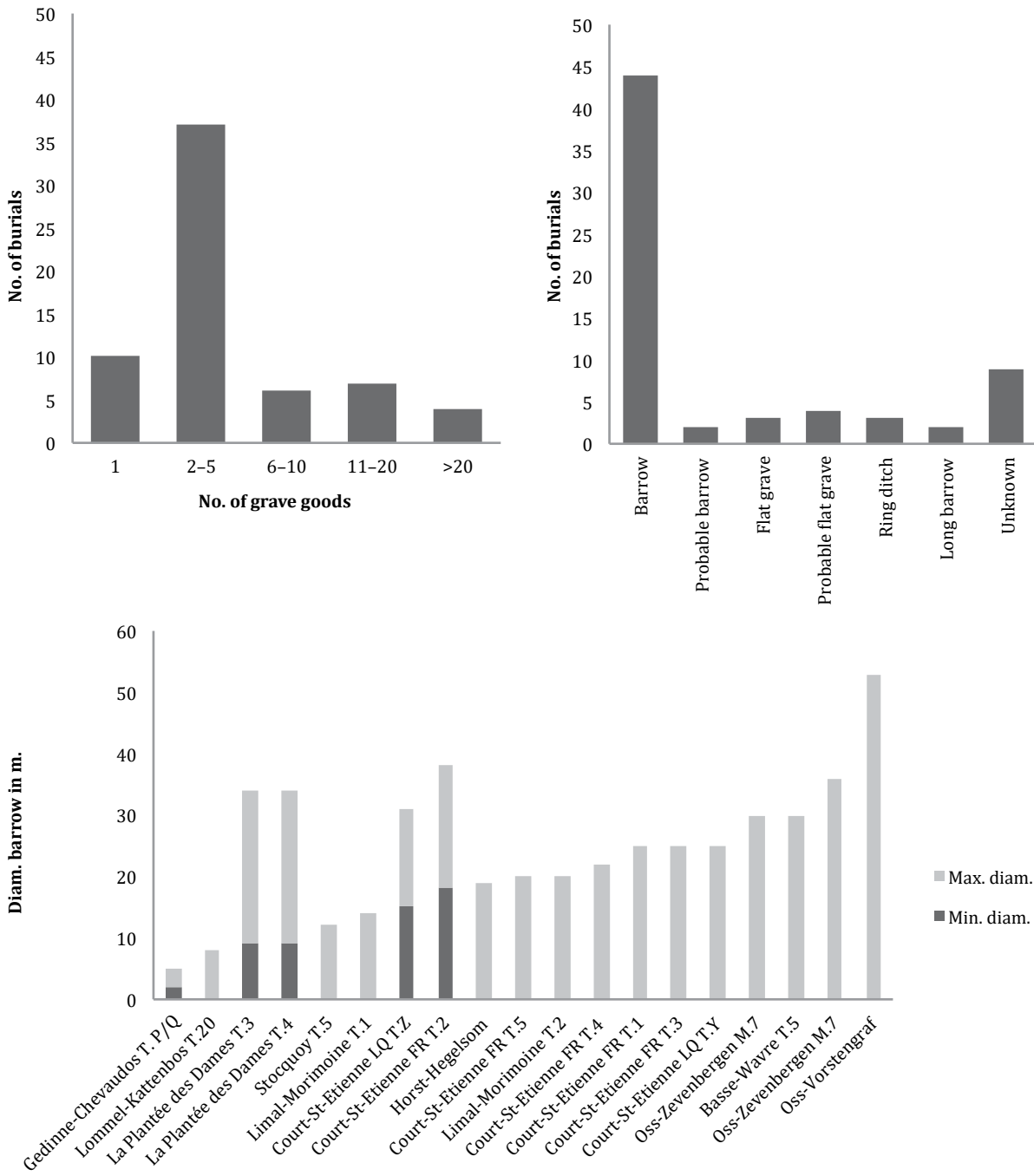


Fig. 4.2 Graphs of the number of burials with various numbers of grave goods, type of burial (marker) and the sizes of the known burial monuments.

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

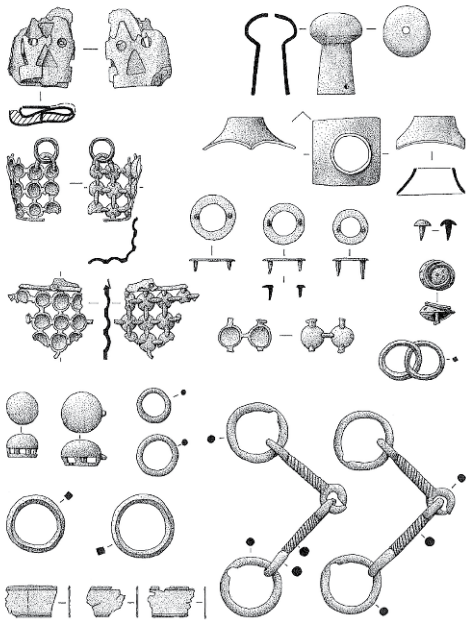


Fig. 4.3 Examples of selective depictions of grave goods from the wagon-grave of Wijchen. Pare's excellent object drawings (top left) frequently depict only a selection of each object type (compare with top right). A different form of selective depiction is shown by the difference between the photo taken 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 (probable) 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																									
Oss-Vorstengraf																									
Uden-Slabroek																									

Legend

	Textile		Bent/broken		Exposed to fire	+	Multiple		Bronze/iron
	Wood		Sword		Horse-bit		Knife		Pottery/wood
	Unknown sex/ male/female		Chape		Horse-gear decoration		Axe		Toilet item
	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-Koerheuvél. 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-Koerheuvél (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 well 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

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-LFR T.3																								
Oss-Vorstengraf																								
Rhenen-Koerheuvél																								
Wijchen																								

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 belonged 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 Hallstatt 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 republished 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.

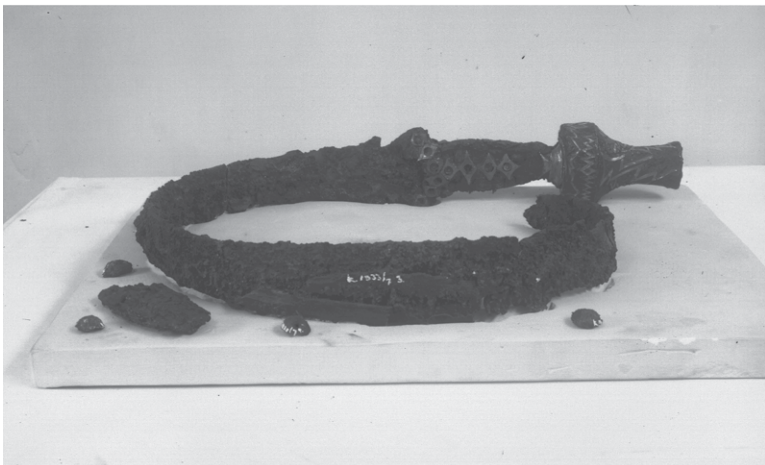
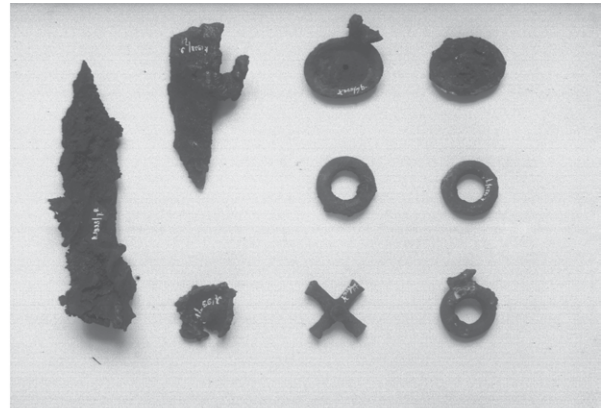


Fig. 4.8 The bucket in situ (top left; note the sword fragment showing at the top of the bucket) and some of the finds as they appeared after their first restoration in the 1930s (different scales). Photographs ©RMO.

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 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; Krauß 1996, 299–307; see also Section 6.4.2). A second bridle, also incorporating bronze trappings¹² 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

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

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.



Fig. 4.10 The finds from Rhenen-Koerheuveld 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

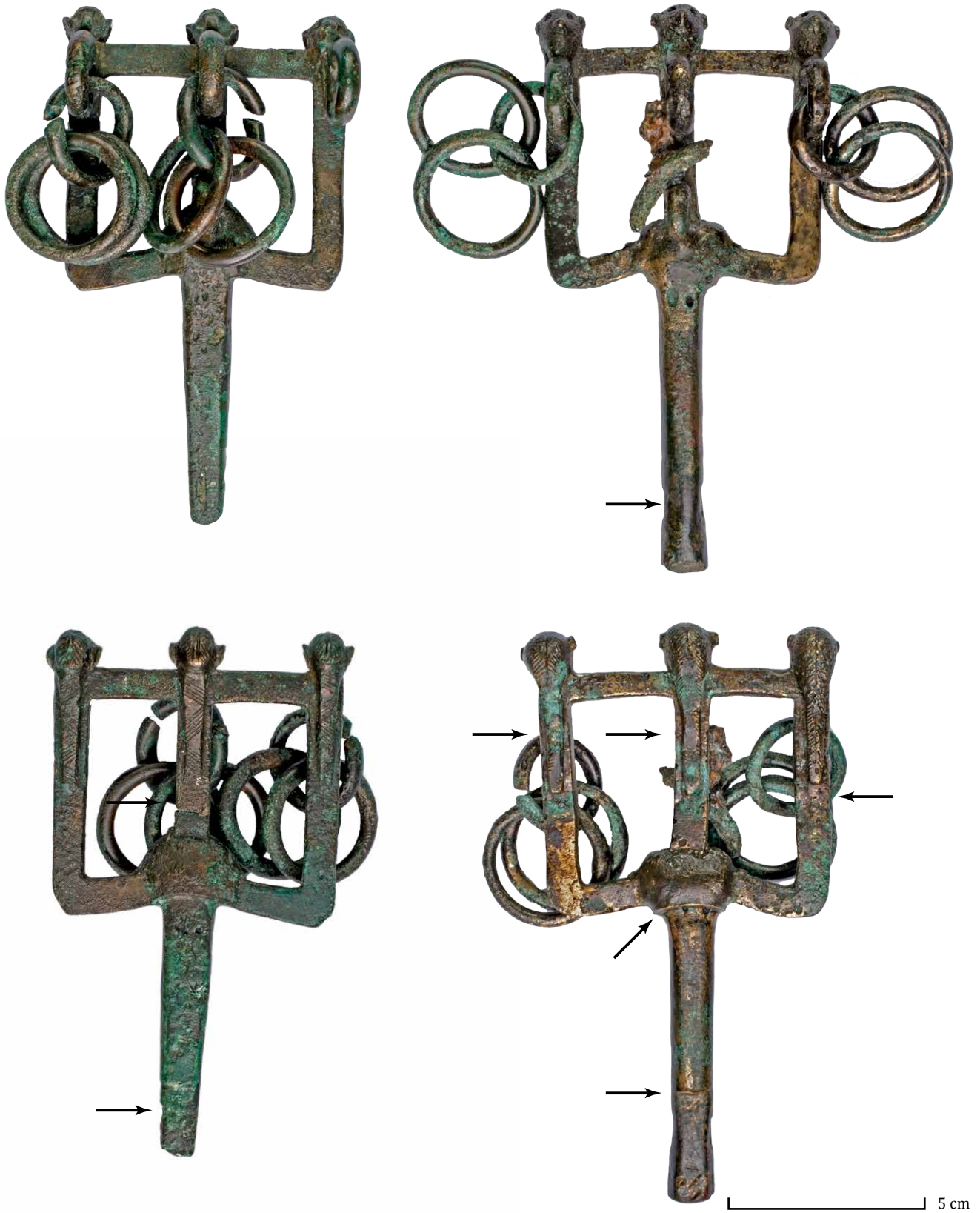
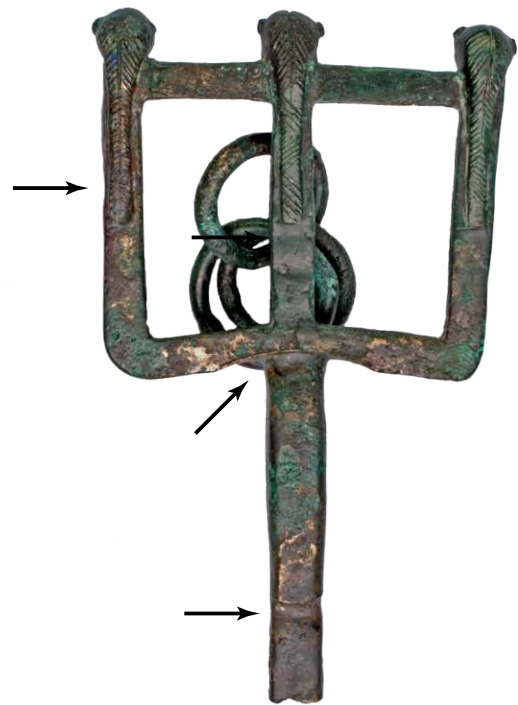


Fig. 4.12 Linchpins (left to right: WIJ.18a–d; front and back views) from Wijchen. Note the wear indicated with arrows. Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.



5 cm

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 yoke 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 *Schrägghals*-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

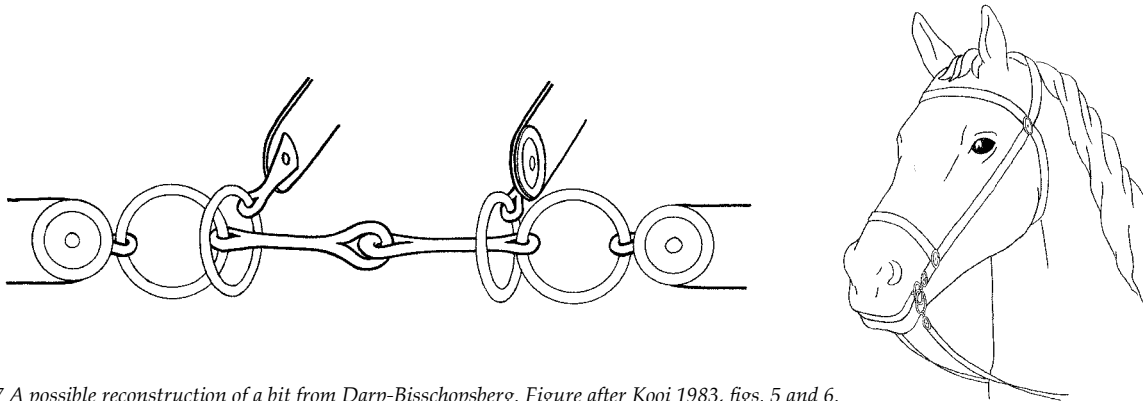


Fig. 4.17 A possible reconstruction of a bit from Darp-Bisschopsberg. Figure after Kooi 1983, figs. 5 and 6.

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

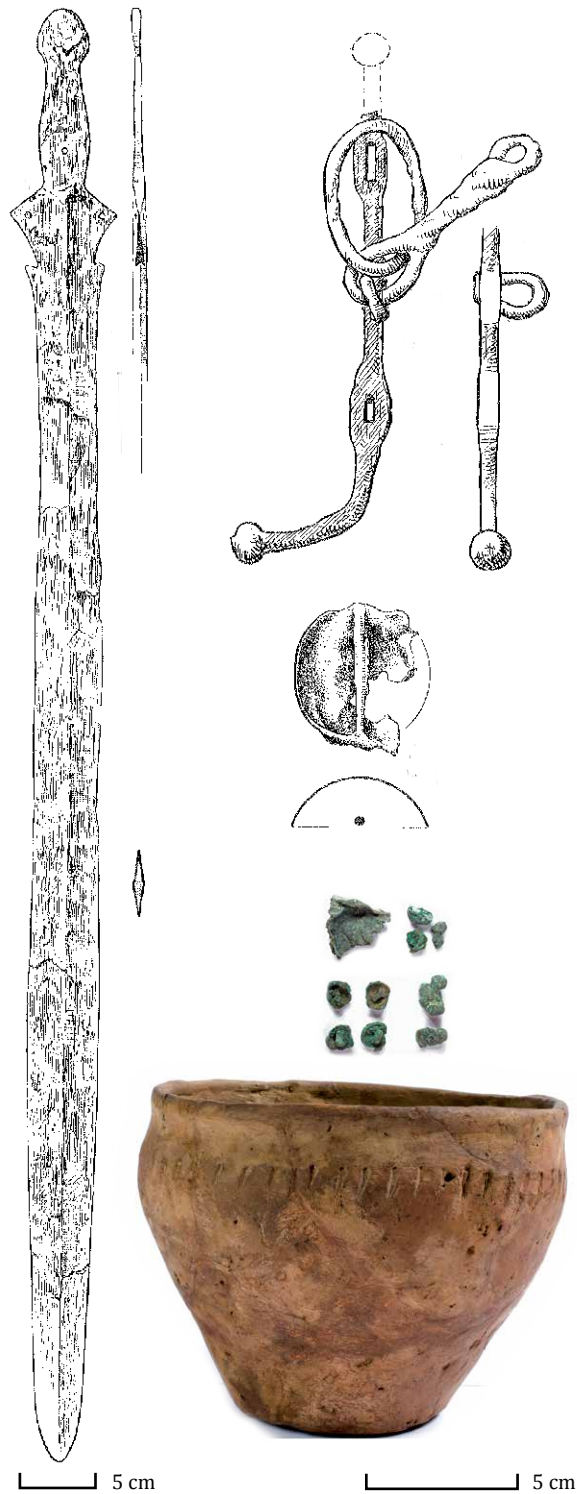


Fig. 4.18 The finds from Limal-Morimoine T.1. Drawings after Mariën 1958, Fig. 40; photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.

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.

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-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 well 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

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	
Baarlo																									
CSE-LFR T.5																									
Ede-Bennekom																									
Gedinne-Ch. T.A																									
Meppen																									
Venlo																									

Fig. 4.21 Burials with bronze vessels (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	
Basse-Wavre T.5																									
CSE-LQ TK																									
Flobecq-Pottel. T.78																									
Gedinne-Ch. T.1																									
Harchies-MC t.1																									
Harchies-MC t.2																									
Harchies-MC t.3																									
Harchies-MC t.4																									
Hofstade-Kast.																									
Maastricht-Heer																									
Neerharen-R. t.72																									
Oss-Zeven. M.3																									
Weert-Bos. T.O																									

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

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

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



Fig. 4.24 Three (of the four, possibly 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.

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

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.1																										
CSE-LQ T.L																										
CSE-LQ T.M																										
Gedinne-Ch. T.2																										
Gedinne-Ch. T.13																										
Gedinne-Ch. T.14																										
Havré T.E																										
Heythuisen-Bis.																										
Horst-Hegelsom																										
Someren-Kraay.																										
Someren-Philips.																										
Stocquoy T.5																										

Fig. 4.26 Burials with iron swords (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	
Gedinne-Ch. T.16																										
Haps g.190																										
Weert-Bos. t.4																										

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-Boshoeverheide 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	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-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



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

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. 4.31 Burials with other grave goods (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-Morimoin UC																									
LSP-FAM UC																									

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

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-Morimoinne. 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 motivated the selection of these particular 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.

