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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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5 The (development of the) elite burial practice

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

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

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

5.1.1 Depositions and hoards

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

5.1.1.1 Depositing swords

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

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

5.1.1.2 Feminine hoards?

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



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

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

5.1.1.3 Religious acts referencing supra-regional elite identities and connections

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

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

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

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

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

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

When found in multiple-objects hoards, the (special) ornaments generally are associated with tools, especially

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

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

5.2 Transitioning: depositions and burial gifts

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

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

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

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

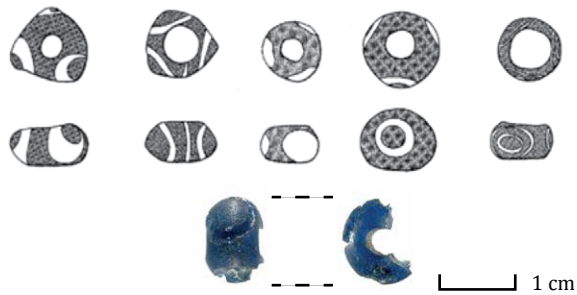


Fig. 5.2 A selection of beads from Trou de Han in Han-sur-Lesse (top) and a matching bead from Leesten-Meijerink (LeM.g1.08; bottom). Drawing after Warmenbol 2015, fig. 4.9; photograph provided by B. Fermin.

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

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

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



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

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

5.2.1 The bronze sword burial practice

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

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

At Basse-Wavre T.5, Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.K and Gedinne-Chevaudos T.1 the burials with bronze swords and chapes appear to be the first

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

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

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

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

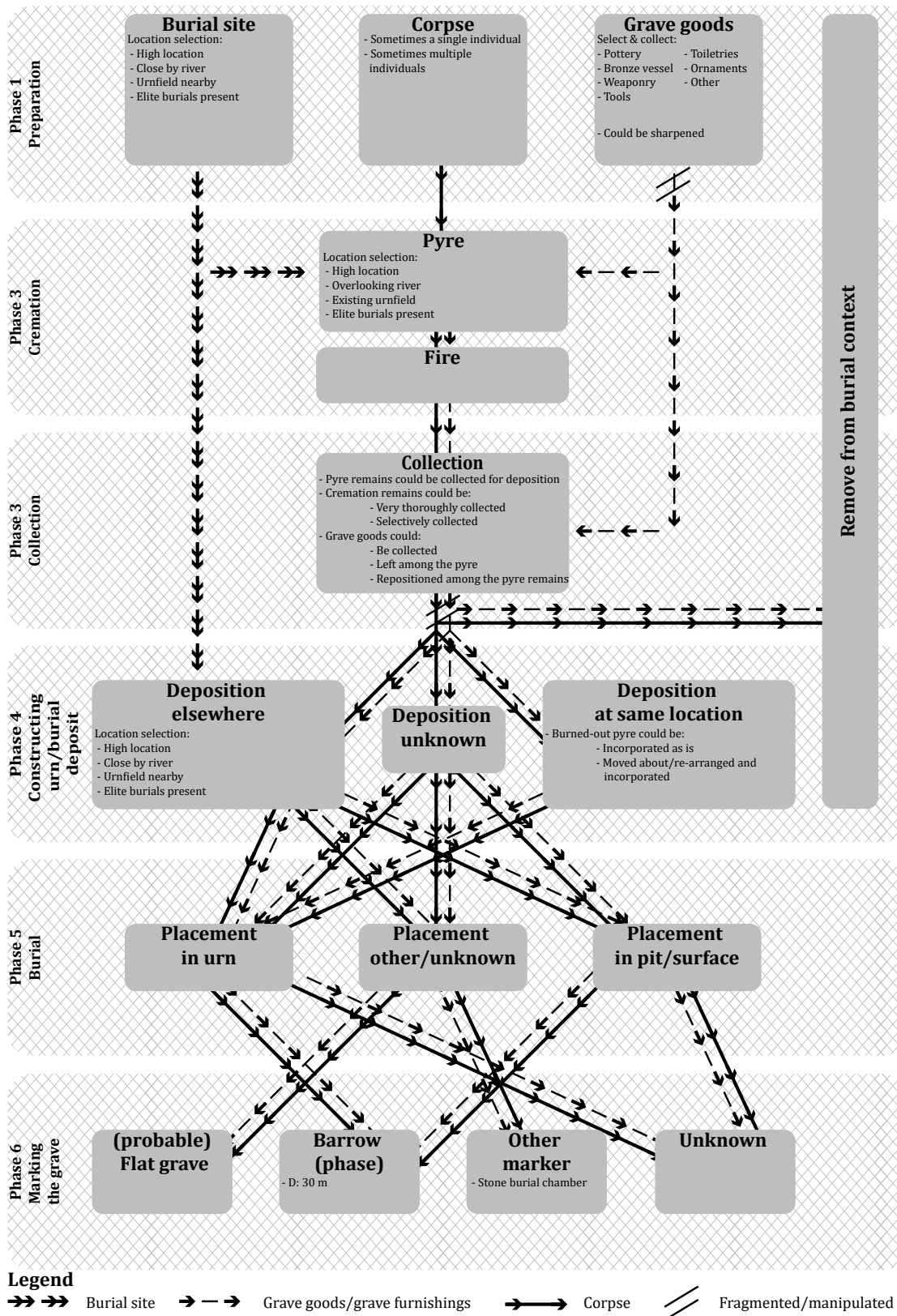


Fig. 5.4 Visualization of the bronze sword burial practice in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of the bronze sword burials (see also Tab. 5.5).

5.2.2 *The practice of exceptional ornament burial*

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

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

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

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

5.2.3 *Developing an elite burial tradition*

I assert that these very earliest burials – the early bronze sword-graves in general and the elaborate ornament burials – reflect that people at this time were adjusting to and developing this new idea and custom of it being

appropriate to bury individuals with their supra-regional status markers that previously had been considered inappropriate to accompany the dead. There is less uniformity in burial practice than there is later when the graves with Hallstatt Culture imports dominate (see below), as though people were developing and adjusting to new ideas and customs regarding what was appropriate when burying these (special) people.

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

5.3 Hallstatt Culture imports appear in burials

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

5.3.1 *Iron sword burials*

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

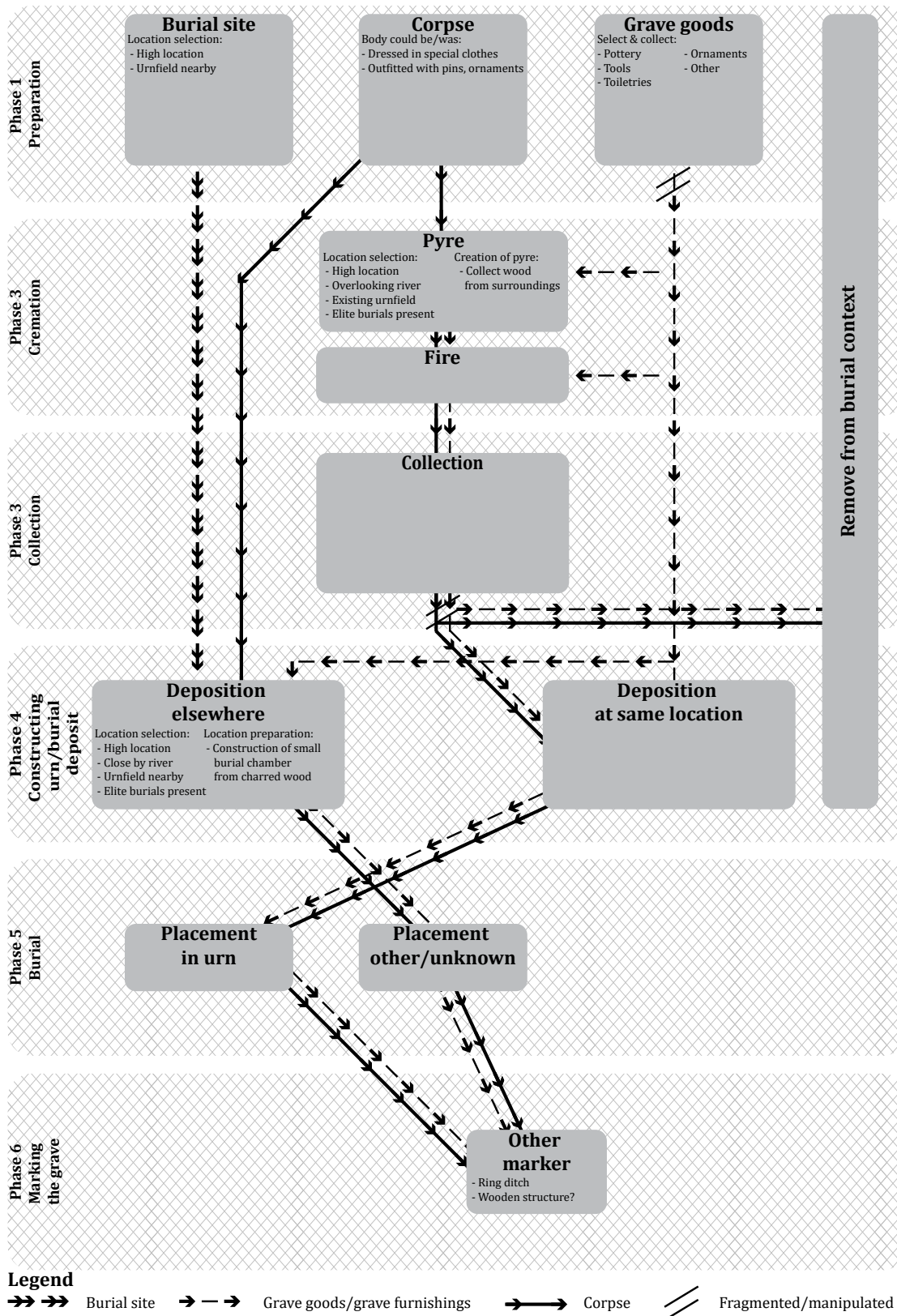


Fig. 5.5 Visualization of the burial practices of Leesten-Meijerink and Uden-Slabroek in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of these burials.

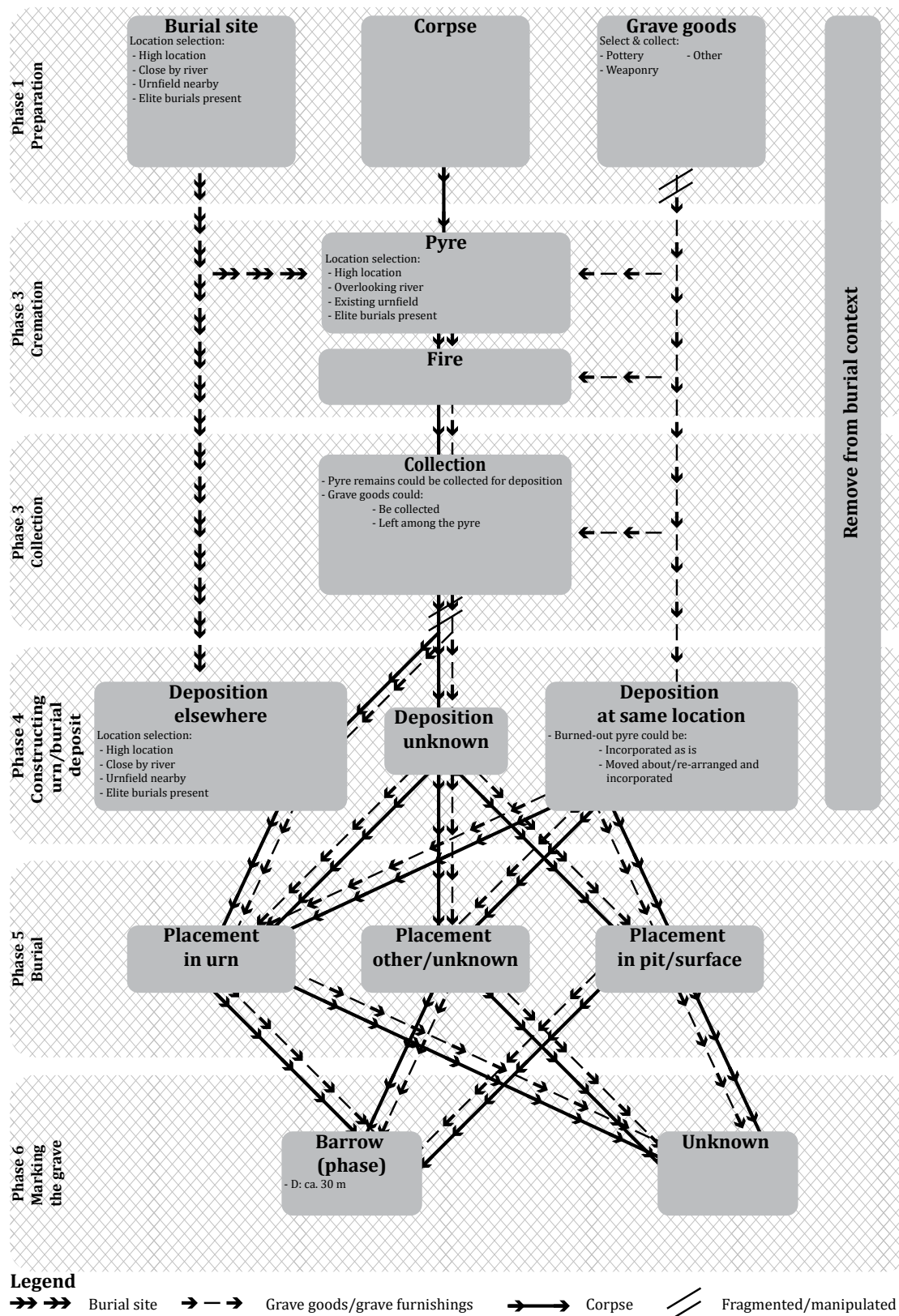


Fig. 5.6 (previous page) Visualization of the iron sword burial practice in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of the iron sword burials (see also Tab. 5.5).

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

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

5.3.2 Bronze vessel (burials?)

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

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

5.3.3 Wagons and wagon-related horse-gear burials

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

These graves also tend to be marked by substantially larger barrows (most were covered by a barrows and in two cases marked both by a barrow and a ring ditch), with the barrow (53 m in diam.) covering the Chieftain’s burial of Oss for example being the largest known in this part of Europe. These graves come from barrow groups, barrow groups with urnfields and in or near urnfields – with almost all located near urnfields in any case. They all appear to be from high places in the landscape, as well as positioned close to rivers. It furthermore seems that there was a preference for placing burials in such a way as to connect with earlier burials, such as the Chieftain of Oss being buried in a

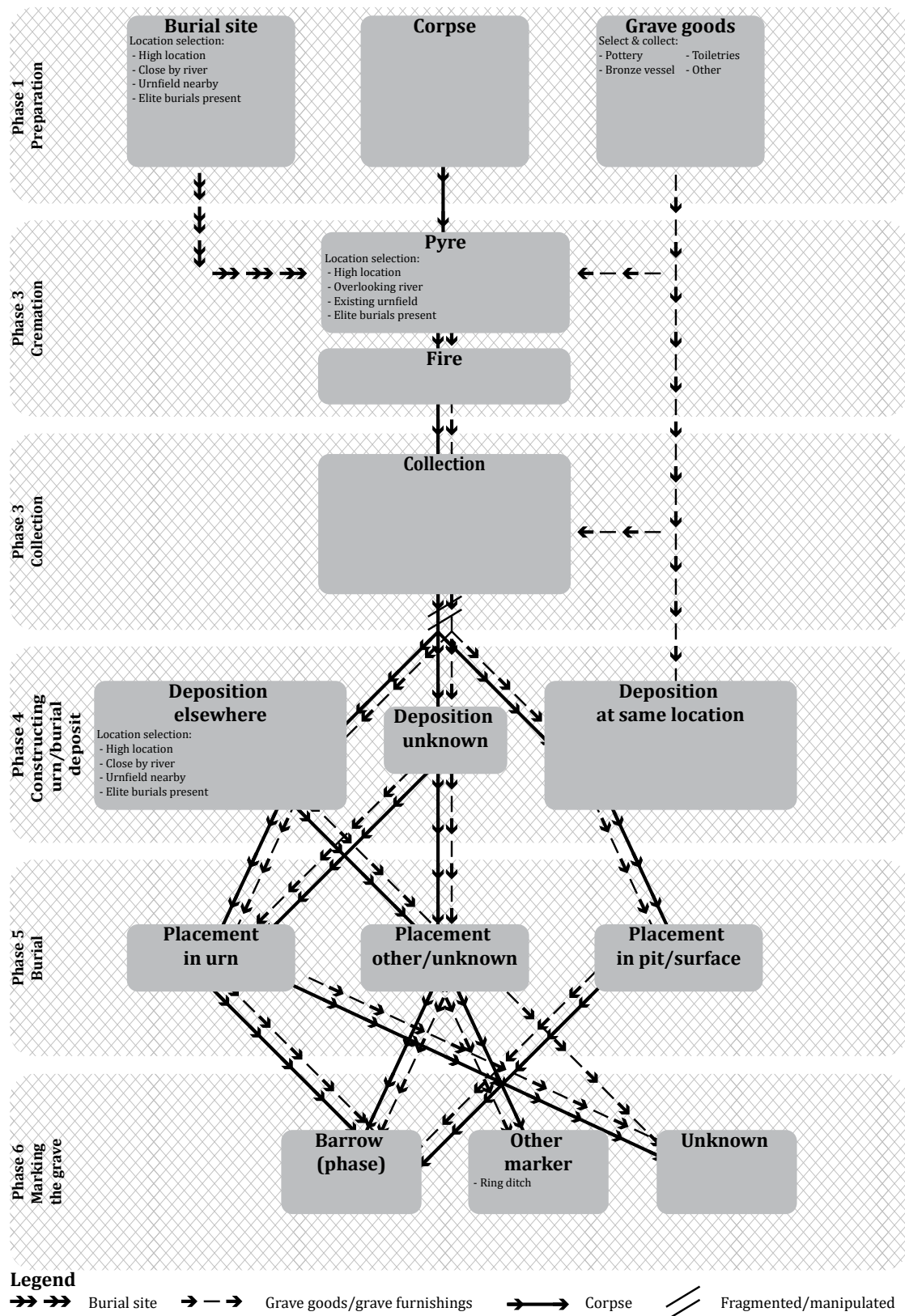


Fig. 5.7 Visualization of the bronze vessel burial practice in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of the bronze vessel burials (see also Tab. 5.5).

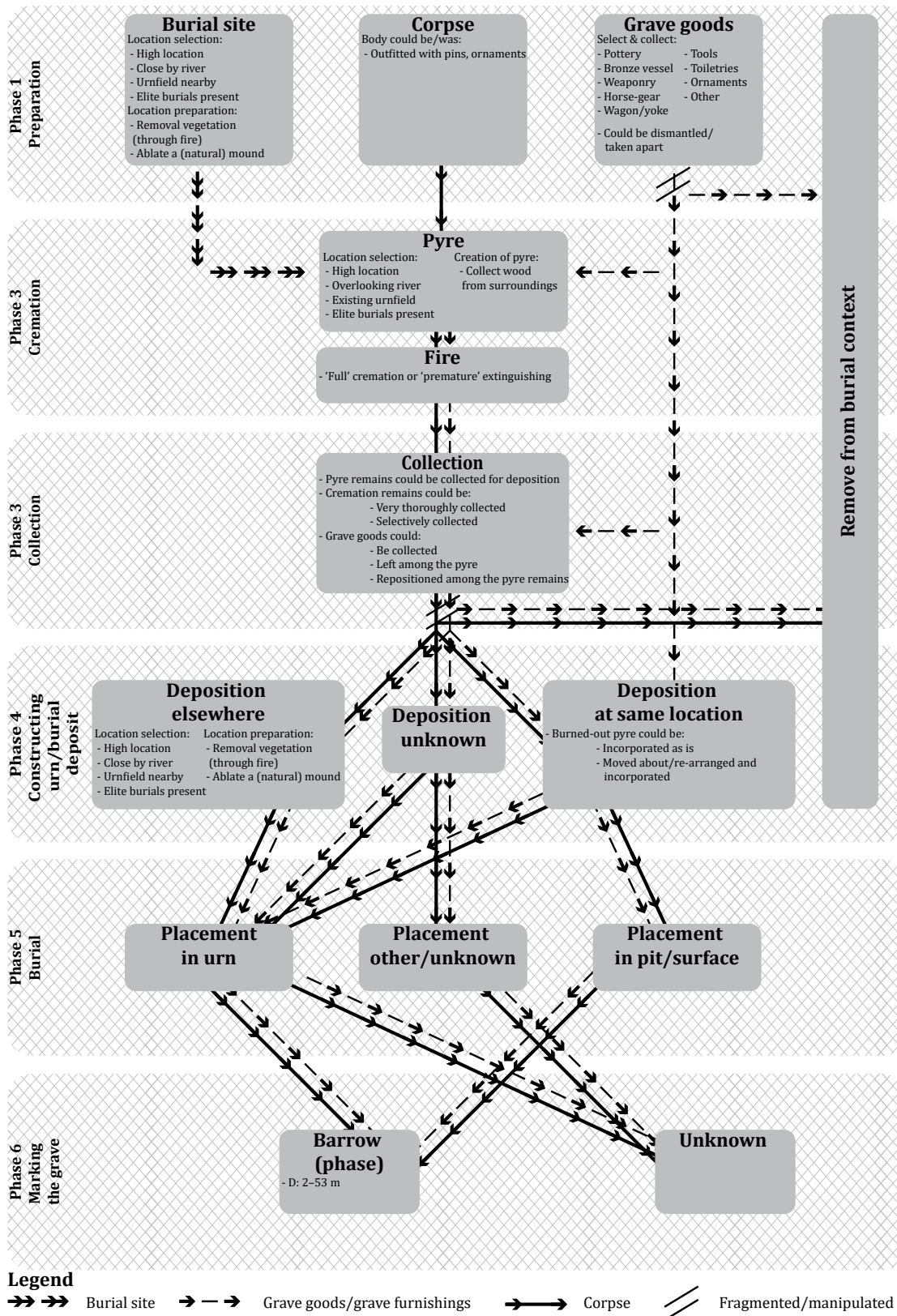


Fig. 5.8 Visualization of the wagon and wagon-related horse-gear burial practice in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of the wagon and wagon-related horse-gear burial burials (see also Tab. 5.5).

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

5.4 Urnfield graves in the Catalogue

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

5.4.1 Urnfield burial practice

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

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

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

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

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

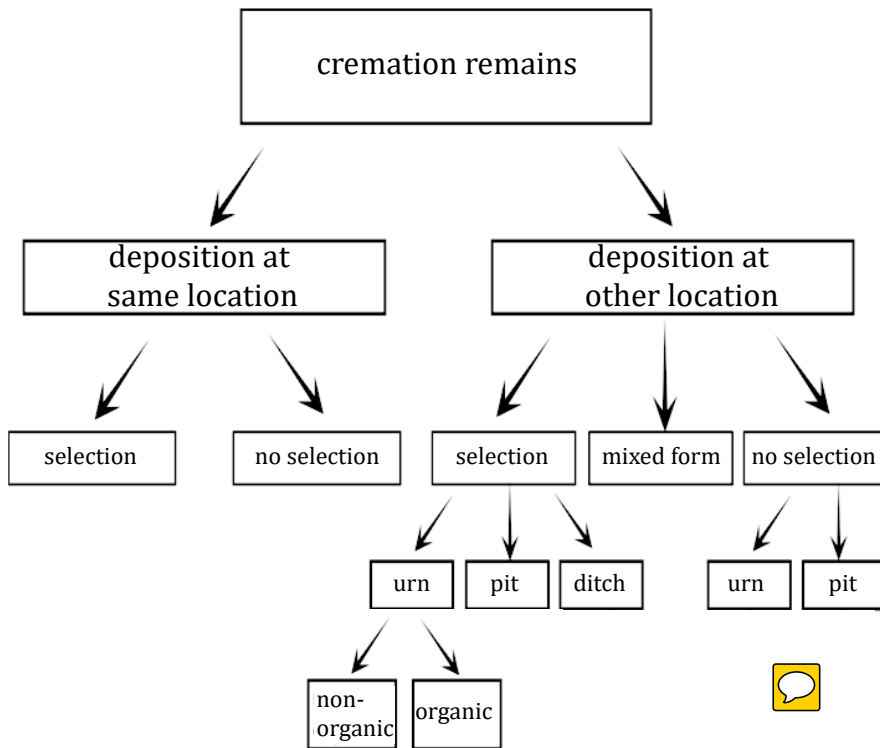


Fig. 5.9 Scheme of choices made in funerary activities developed by G. de Mulder. Figure after De Mulder 2011, fig. 8.4; my translation.

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

5.4.2 Urnfield graves with ornaments and toiletries in the Catalogue

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

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

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

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

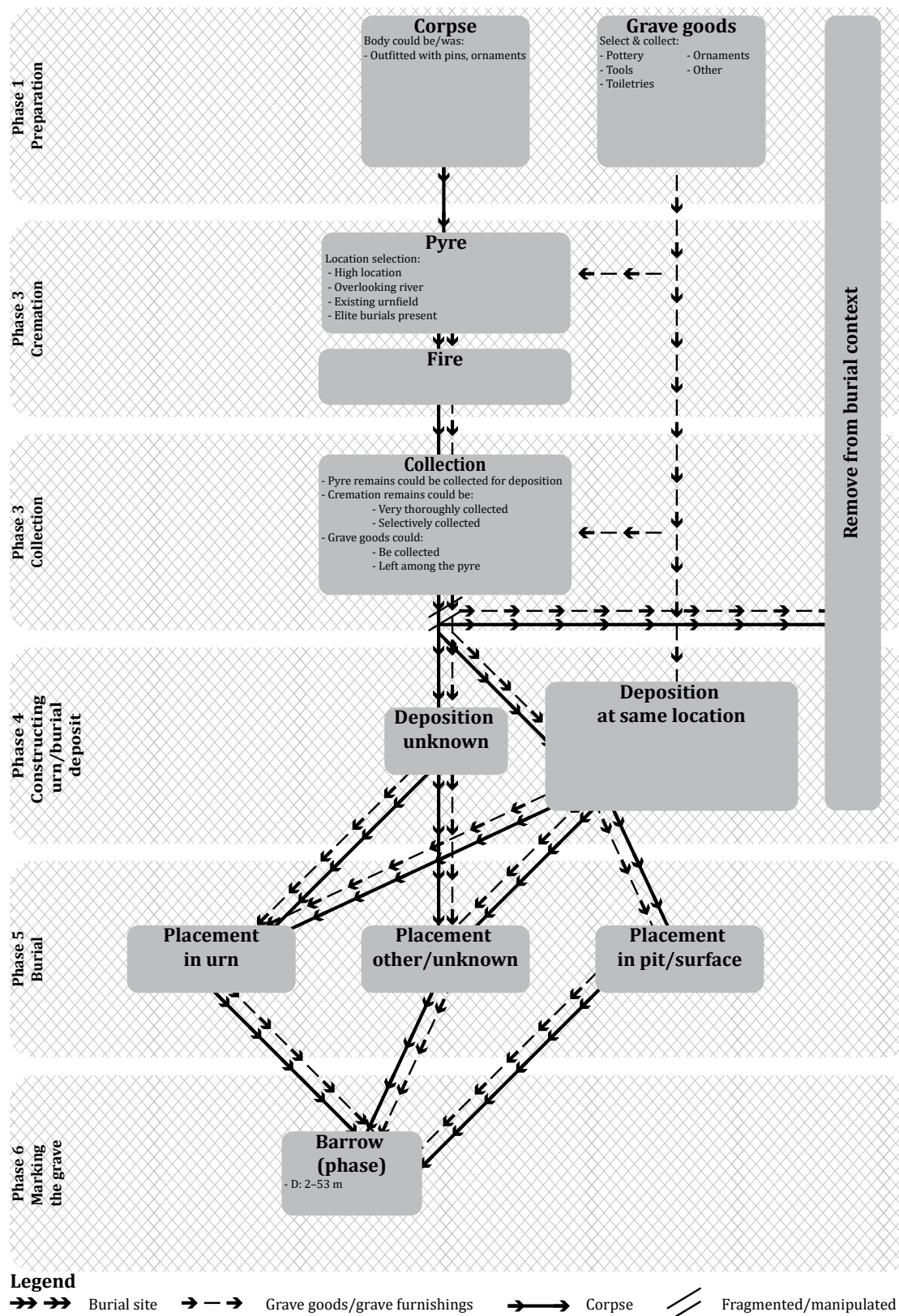


Fig. 5.10 Visualization of the burial practice of the urnfield burials in the form of a chaîne opératoire-style visual compilation of all actions and choices observed in the funerary rituals of the urnfield burials (see also Tab. 5.5).

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

5.5 Other burials

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

5.6 The locations in which elite burials were created

The sections above already touched upon the kinds of locations selected for elite burials, a theme upon which the following sections elaborate based on the information gathered in the Catalogue (and summarized in Tab. 5.5). Detecting patterns in burial locations is hindered by the fact that the exact find location of many graves is unknown, making it hard

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

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

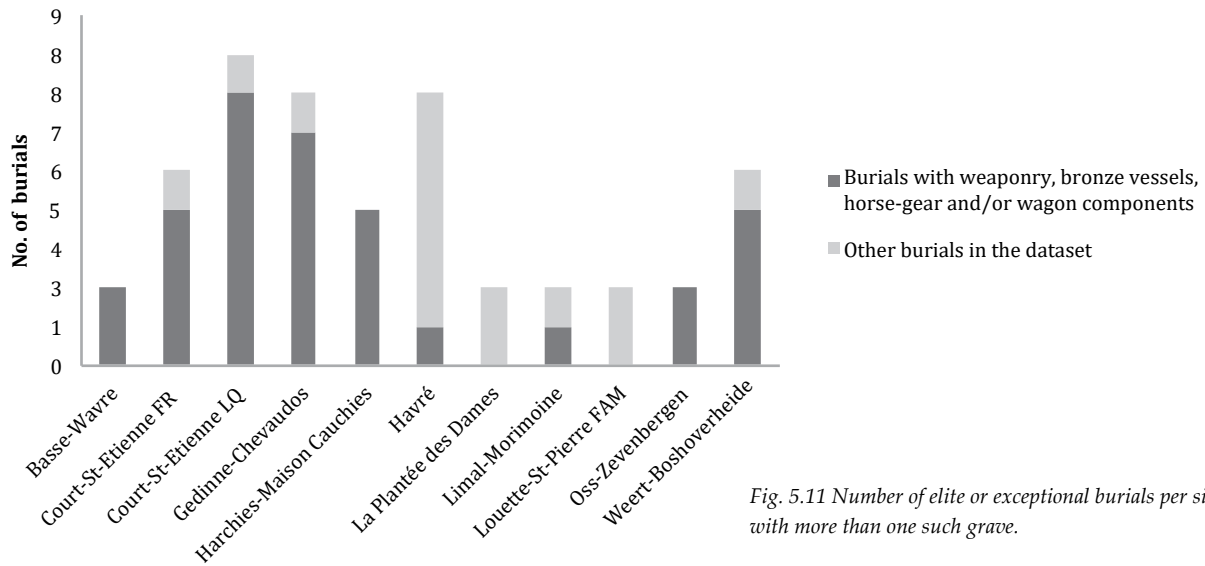


Fig. 5.11 Number of elite or exceptional burials per site with more than one such grave.

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

5.6.1 Some sites as examples

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

5.6.1.1 Court-St-Etienne: dynastic royal cemetery?

The Court-St-Etienne burials are located on the southern edge of a plateau surrounded by the Dyle

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

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

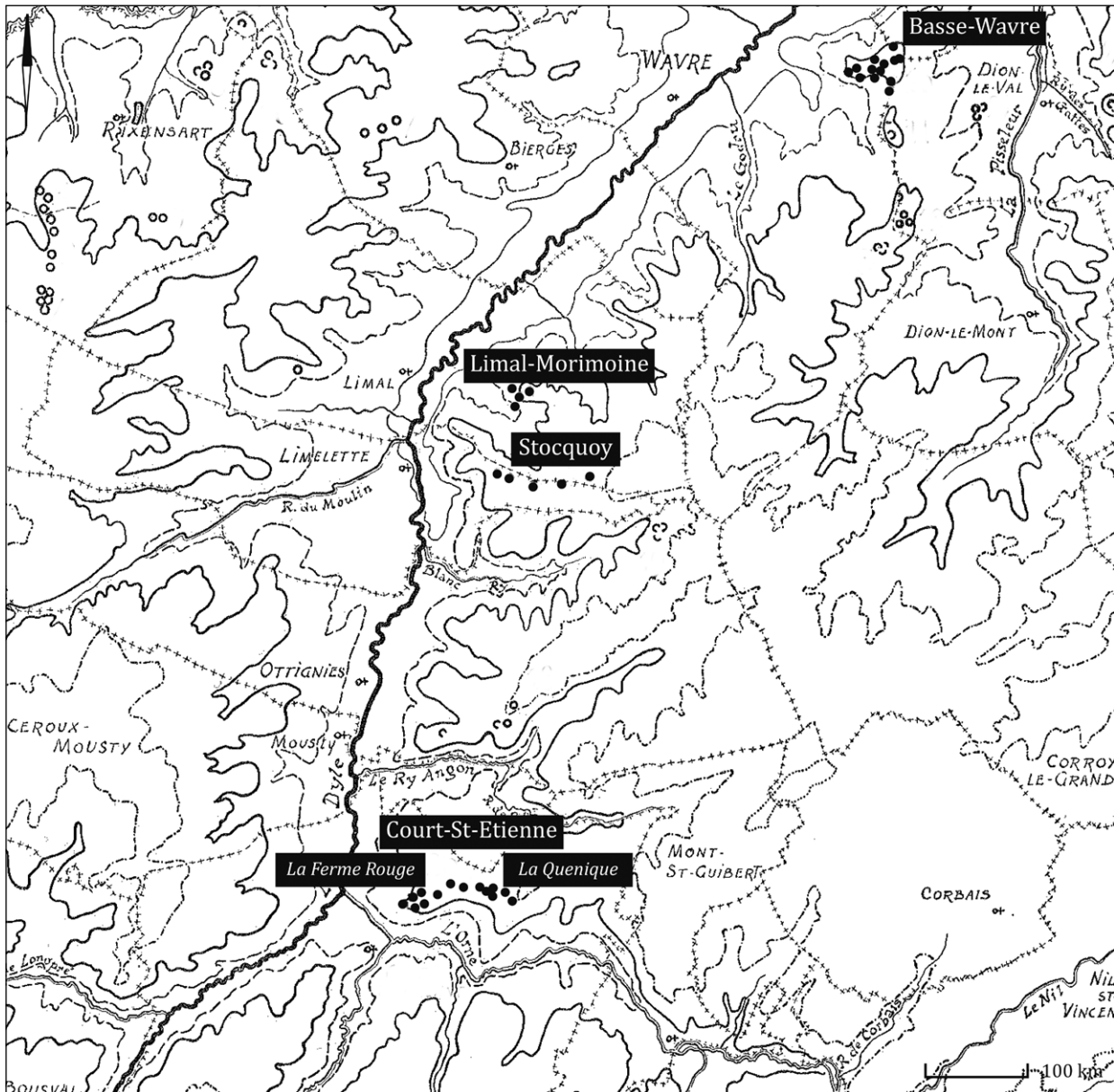


Fig. 5.12 Map showing a number of barrow groups from the Dyle river valley, with Basse-Wavre, Court-St-Etienne, Limal-Moirimoine and Stocquoy marked. Figure adapted from Mariën 1958, fig. 36.

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

5.6.1.2 Something completely different: Harchies-Maison Cauchies

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

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

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

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

5.6.1.3 Elites in Oss

Archeologists from Leiden have been involved in research in Oss for decades, and several excavations

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

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

Tab. 5.2 Overview of the burials and stray finds from Harchies-Maison Cauchies (Chapter C12; Leblois 2009; 2010).

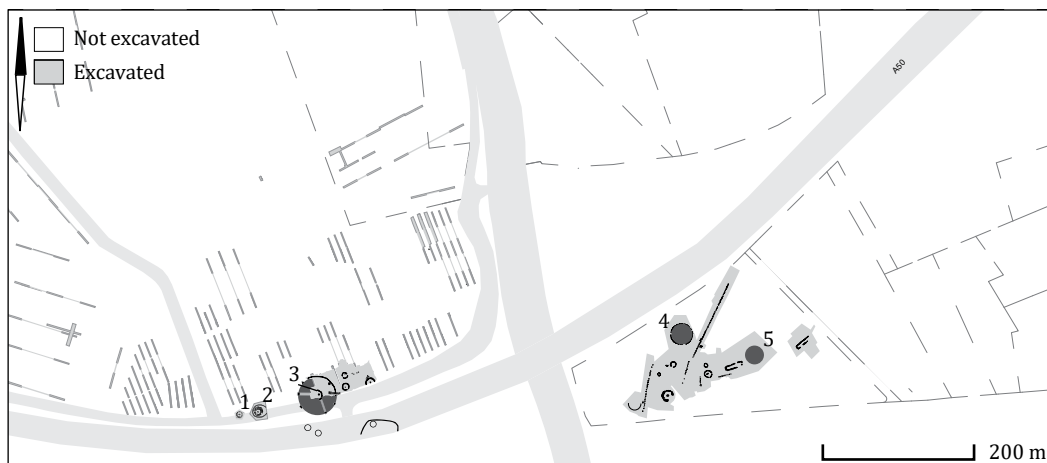


Fig. 5.13 The barrow group and cemetery of Oss-Vorstengraf (left) and Zevenbergen (right). 1 and 2. Middle Bronze Age mounds; 3. Chieftain's burial; 4. Mound 3; 5. Mound 7. Figure adapted from Fokkens et al. 2012, fig. 6; after Jansen/Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017, fig. 2.

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

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

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

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



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

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

Oss-Vorstengraf

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

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

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

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

Some post structures were also found at this site. A double and partly triple post alignment some 15 m long lay partially underneath the large Chieftain's barrow and was oriented more or less east-west (Fig. 5.14; Fokkens *et*

al. 2012, 197). It was found partially underneath the Early Iron Age Chieftain's barrow and therefore must predate it. Its orientation on the Middle Bronze Age barrow over which the Chieftain's barrow later would be erected, suggests the *allée* is Bronze Age in date. Jansen and Fokkens (2007, 86–7) interpret it as a relic of ancestral practices



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

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

Oss-Zevenbergen

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

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

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

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

Mound 3 with its unusual extreme *pars pro toto* deposition is the only barrow not located on the barrow row (Fig. 5.15; Section C27.1). It was built on a flat spot at the northern edge of the high lying area. As Fontijn *et al.* (2013b, 302) already noted, its position in the

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

A structured landscape

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

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

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

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

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

Three degrees of fragmentation at Oss

There is one last element to the Oss burials that warrants consideration here, namely that there is an interesting pattern to what was deposited under the three huge mounds. The Chieftain’s burial contained one of the most complete prehistoric cremations ever found in the Low Countries. In Mound 7 a substantial amount of

cremation remains were deposited, both in the urn and left among the pyre remains, but even together these do not represent a complete cremation deposit. In fact, it appears that a fair amount of material also was removed intentionally, resulting in a partial cremation remains deposition. Mound 3 then takes it another step more extreme, with only a single cremation fragment carefully placed on the old surface around a burned oak plank. In a way, it appears that the cremation remains reflect three degrees of fragmentation, and the same can be argued for the objects interred. In the Chieftain’s burial the larger objects were dismantled, and then the components that were small enough to fit in the bucket were deposited, but never broken. At Mound 7 objects were dismantled as well, but here the loose components were broken and fragmented, and then only partially deposited. In Mound 3 the excavators encountered

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

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

5.6.1.4 Elites in Rhenen?

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

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

5.7 Changing contacts and networks

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

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

It is only at the very end of the Late Bronze Age that the new practice of depositing swords in burials shows that the Low Countries start to deviate from Atlantic cultural conventions, and align more with Continental ones (Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 365). With the start of Hallstatt C the supra-regional contact networks reorientate (following the so-called collapse of the supra-regional Late Bronze

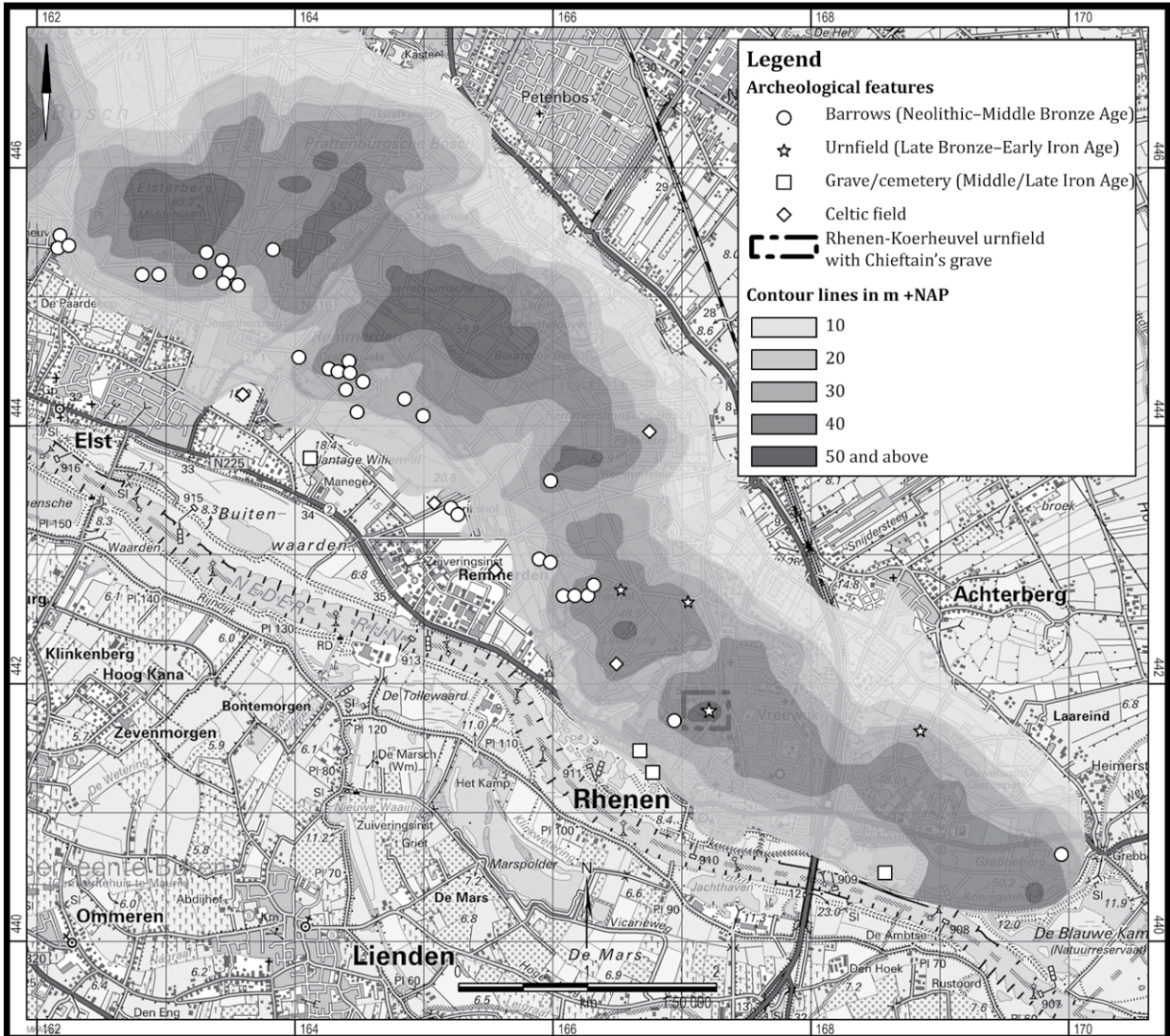


Fig 5.16 Burials in the vicinity of the Chieftain's grave of Rhenen-Koerheuvel. Figure after Van Heeringen 1998, fig. 2; by W.B. Verschoof-van der Vaart.



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

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

5.8 Conclusion

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

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

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

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

Burial	Context		Location		Burial ritual		Grave goods									
	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Exceptional ornament burials																
Leesten-Mejerink g.1	2010; excavation (excellent)	Ha C1-2	Double ring ditch (++)	D: 5.2 m; D: 6.8 m	In/near urnfield	++	++	--	++	--	++	++	++	--	--	Urn, accessory bowls, spindle whorls, glass beads, bronze pin, bronze ear/hairrings, bronze studs, fragments animal bone
Uden-Slabroek	2010; excavation (excellent)	Ha C1-2	Flat grave (++)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	--	++	Ind	++	++ (complete)	++	--	++	Bronze bracelets, bronze anklets, bronze pin, iron pin, bronze hairrings, bronze and iron toiletries, amber bead, textile
Bronze sword burials																
Basse-Waivre T5	1882-83; excavation (poor)	Ha B3-C1	Barrow (++)	D: >30 m	Barrow group (line)	++	--	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	+	--	Cremated remains, multiple ceramic pots, bronze sword fragment, bronze razor, bronze/iron fibula fragments
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.K	1877-78; excavation (poor)	Ha B3-C1	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	--	++	++ (ind)	a	--	--	Cremation remains, large urn, bronze sword fragments
Flobecq-Pottelbeig T.78	1837; excavation (poor)	Ha B3-C2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	+	++	Ind	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	--	--	Cremation remains, bronze sword
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.1	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha B3-C1	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	--	--	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	--	--	Cremation, pots, bronze sword fragments
Harchies-Maison Chauchies L1	1913; chance find (poor)	Ha B3-C1	Flat grave (+)	Ind	Group of (flat?) graves	+	--	--	++	--	--	++ (ind)	++	--	--	Cremation remains, pot, bronze sword, 'band'(?)
Harchies-Maison Chauchies L2	1914; excavation (medium)	Ha B3-C1	Flat grave (+)	Ind	Group of (flat?) graves	+	--	--	++	--	--	++ (ind)	++	+	--	Cremation remains, pot, bronze sword, wooden scabbard fragments?
Harchies-Maison Chauchies L3	1926; chance find (poor)	Ha B3-C1	Flat grave (+)	Ind	Group of (flat?) graves	+	--	--	++	--	--	++ (ind)	++	--	--	Cremation remains, pot, bronze sword, bronze chape (2x)
Harchies-Maison Chauchies L4	1955; excavation (medium)	Ha B3-C1	Flat grave (+)	Ind	Group of (flat?) graves	+	--	--	++	--	--	++ (ind)	++	+	--	Cremation remains, pot, bronze sword
Hofstade-Kasteelstraat sp. 16	2014; excavation (excellent)	Ha B3-C1	Flat grave (++)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	--	++	--	++	++ (ind)	++	++	--	Cremation remains, bowl, bronze sword, bronze chape
Maastricht-Heer	2000; chance find (medium)	Ha B3-C1	Ind	Ind	Ind	++	++	Ind	++	Ind	--	--	++	--	--	Bronze sword, bronze chape
Neerharen-Rekem L.72	1978; excavation (good)	Ha B3	Flat grave (++)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	+	++	--	--	++ (ind)	++	--	--	Cremation remains (3x), bronze sword (3x) bronze chape (2x), bronze spearheads(3x), bronze ring, 'iron' plate(?)
Weert-Boshoverheide T.O	1889-90; excavation (poor)	Ha B3-C1	Long barrow (++)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	--	+	++	Ind	--	++ (ind)	++	+	--	Pots (6x), cremation remains (6x), bronze swords (3x)
Iron sword burials																
Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.1	1905; excavation (medium)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++)	D: ca. 2.5 m	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	--	--	Cremation remains, urn, accessory vessel (2x), bowl, iron sword, iron ring (2x), iron fragments
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.L	1877-78; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	++	++	--	--	--	--	Iron sword
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.M	1877-78; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	++	++	--	--	--	--	Iron sword
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.2	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	--	--	++	--	--	--	++	--	--	Iron sword

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

Burial	Context		Location				Burial ritual			Grave goods							
	Site, zone, burial	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.13	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	-	-	-	++	++	++	-	+	-	-	Iron sword
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.14	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	-	-	-	++	-	++ (ind)	++	++	-	-	Bone fragment, pot fragments, iron sword
Havré TE	1930; chance find (medium)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	+	+	+	++	++	++ (ind)	++	-	-	-	Human remains, pot, iron sword
Heythuisen-Bisschop	1934 or earlier; unknown	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group and urnfield	++	++	Ind	Ind	++	-	++ (ind)	++	++	-	-	Cremation remains, pot, iron sword
Hoist Hegelsom	1979; excavation (good)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++) ring ditch (++)	D: 19 m	In/near urnfield	++	-	-	-	++	-	++ (partial?)	++	++	-	-	Cremation remains, pot, bowl, iron sword
Someren-Kraayenstark	1939; chance find (medium)	Ha C1-2	Ind	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	-	Ind	Ind	++	-	++ (ind)	++	++	-	-	Cremation remains, pot, bowl, iron sword, bronze ring
Someren-Philipscamping	Unknown; chance find? (poor)	Ha C1-2	Ind	Ind	Ind	+	-	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Iron sword
Stocquoy T.5	1863; 1880; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++)	D: 12 m; Ht: 60 cm	Barrow group	No	++	+	+	++	-	++ (ind)	++	++	-	-	Cremation remains, iron sword
Burials with bronze vessels																	
Barlo	1934 (chance find, medium)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (+)	Ind	Ind	++	++	Ind	Ind	-	Ind	-	-	-	-	-	Bronze vessel
Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.5	1905; excavation (medium)	Ha C1	Barrow (++)	D: ca. 20 m	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	-	-	-	Pot, accessory vessel, bowl, bronze sheet from vessel, bronze razor, iron rod
Ede-Bennekom	Prior to 1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	++	Ind	Ind	++	-	++ (ind)	-	-	-	-	Cremation remains, bronze vessel
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.A	1881; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-D3	Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	-	-	-	-	++	-	++ (ind)	-	-	-	-	Urn, bronze sheet from vessel
Meppen	1936; chance find (medium)	Ha D1-3	Ring ditch	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	Ind	Ind	-	Ind	-	-	-	-	-	Human remains, bronze vessel, other
Venlo	Unknown; chance find (poor)	Ha C1-D3	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	-	Ind	Ind	Ind	-	-	-	Bronze vessel
Burials with horse-gear and/or wagon components																	
Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.3	1905; excavation (medium)	Ha C1-2	Barrow (++)	D: ca. 2.5 m	Barrow group	++	-	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++	++	-	-	Cremation remains (3x), accessory vessel, urn (3x), bronze sheet fragments, iron and bronze antenna sword, iron lancehead, bronze chape, iron horse-bit (2x), iron knife, bronze axe, flint pounding(?) stone, iron trident

Tab. Continued.



Burial	Context			Location			Burial ritual			Grave goods						
	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.4	1905; excavation (medium)	Ha C1-2 Barrow (++)	D: ca. 22 m	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++ (ind)	--	-	++	Cremation remains: urn, accessory vessel, bronze cup fragments (8x), bronze <i>phalera</i> (2x), iron horse chest ornaments, bronze yoke rosette (2x), bronze yoke rosette fragment, bronze bracelet, fragment of iron with cloth imprint
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.A	1861; excavation (poor)	Ha C1 Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++ (ind)	++	+	++	Cremation remains: pot with protuberances, small accessory vessel, small cup, iron sword (in 2 or 3 fragments; Mindelheim?), bronze cheek-piece from a horse-bit (2x), bronze <i>Jochschnalle</i>
Darp-Bisschopsberg	1907; chance find (medium)	Ha C2-D1 Ind	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	+	+	++	Ind	--	++ (ind)	++	-	++	Cremation remains: pot, bowl, iron spearhead (3x), iron hors-bit (2x), bronze and iron rings, bronze <i>phalerae</i> , iron fragment
Limal-Morimoinne T.1	1902; excavation (medium)	Ha C1-2 Barrow (++)	D: 14 m	Barrow group	--	++	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++ (ind)	+	+	-	Cremation remains: pot, iron sword, horse-bit fragment, bronze <i>phalera</i> , bronze stud (4x), melted drops of bronze (5x)
Meerlo	1967; chance find (medium)	Ha C1-2 Barrow (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	-	-	++	Ind	--	++ (ind)	++	-	-	Cremation remains: pot, bowl, iron sword, iron horse-bits (2x)
Oss-Vorstengraf	1933; chance find & excavation (good)	Ha C1-2 Barrow (++) ring ditch (++)	D: 53 m	Barrow group/ urnfield	++	++	++	++	++	--	--	++ (complete)	++	-	++	Cremation remains: bronze bucket, iron sword with gold-inlaid hilt, iron horse-bit (2x), bronze hemispherical sheet-knob (12x), bronze tubular cross-shaped object, bronze <i>Tutulus</i> , bronze harness decoration(?), bronze ring (3x), iron rings (and fragments), bronze yoke rosette (2x), iron toggle (2x), iron knife with leather and textile remains adhered, iron socketed axe, (whet)stone, iron razor (2x), bronze & iron <i>bombenkopf</i> pins (3x), wood fragments, worked antler and bone fragments, textile fragments
Oss Zevenbergen M.7	2007; excavation (excellent)	Ha C1-2 Barrow (++)	D: 36 m	Barrow group/ urnfield	++	--	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++ (ind)	++	++	--	Cremation remains: <i>Schrijghals</i> -urn, bronze studs and fragments, bronze ring fragments, bronze hemispherical sheet-knob, wooden knobs with bronze studs, decorated bone fragment, iron fragment
Rhemen-Koerheuvel	1935; 1993; chance find (poor) & excavation (medium)	Ha C1-2 Flat grave (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	++	++	++	++	--	--	++ (ind)	++	+	++	Cremation remains: bronze bucket, bronze hemispherical ring-footed rein-knob, bronze/iron rings (and fragments), bronze <i>phalera</i> fragment, bronze spherical fragment (part of a sheet knob?), iron linchpin (3x), iron/bronze nave fragments, socketed bronze axe (top half), iron knife fragment, bronze tweezers, bronze plate fragments

Tab. Continued.



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

Tab. 5.5 Continued.

Burial Site, zone, burial	Context			Location			Burial ritual			Grave goods						
	Date (range)	Burial type	Size burial marker	Context	Urnfield nearby	Only one elite burial	High location	Close by river	Fire	Burial by pyre	Intentional deposition wood	Deposition human remains (partial/complete)	Manipulation/fragmentation	Partial deposition	Textile	Material categories
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.B	1861; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2 Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++ (ind)	--	--	--	Cremation remains, bronze attachment, bronze phalera fragment, bronze studs, bronze buckle, bronze buckle fragment, bronze buckle/strap end, bronze studs, small, bronze hemispheres, studs (5x)
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.Z	1891; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2 Barrow (++)	D: ca. 1.5-16; H: 1 m	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	++	++	++ (partial?)	++ (partial?)	--	+	--	Fragment of human cremation remains (?), pottery, bronze cheek-piece of a horse-bit, rolled quartz block, kind of bronze nail or rivet, shard of phlante, small bronze fragment
La Plante des Dames T.4	1902; excavation (medium)	Ha C1 Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	Ind	+	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++ (ind)	--	--	--	Bronze button (2x)
Weert-Bosshoverheide t.1	1889-90; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2 Flat grave (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	--	+	+	++	Ind	--	++ (ind)	--	--	--	Urn, horse-gear ornament
Weert-Bosshoverheide t.2	1889-90; excavation (poor)	Ha C1 Flat grave (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	--	+	+	++	Ind	--	++ (ind)	--	--	--	Urn, horse-gear/scabbard ornament
Other burials																
Court-St-Etienne La Ferme Rouge T.Z	1905; excavation (medium)	Ha C1-D3 Barrow (++)	D: 18 20 m	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	++	++	++ (ind)	++ (ind)	--	--	--	Cremation remains, iron knife (2x), traces of bronze
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.X	1784-85; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-D3? Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Ind	Pottery, weapons, tools
Court-St-Etienne La Quenique T.Y	18 th & 19 th century; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-D3? Barrow (++)	D: ca. 25 m; H: > 2m	Barrow group	++	--	++	++	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Bronze 'scepter' ends
Gedinne-Chevaudos T.16	1863; excavation (poor)	Ha C1-2 Barrow (++)	Ind	Barrow group	--	--	--	--	++	--	--	++ (ind)	--	--	--	Cremation remains, large pot, pot with cylindrical neck, accessory vessel, bronze lancehead
Haps.g.190	1960s; excavation (good)	Ha C1-D3 Ring ditch (++)	D: 7.5 m	In/near urnfield	++	++	--	--	++	--	--	++ (ind)	+	--	--	Cremation remains, iron dagger with decorated bronze sheath, iron arrowhead (3x), iron pin
Oss-Zevenbergen M.3	2004; excavation (excellent)	Ha C2-LTA Barrow (++)	D: 30 m	Barrow group/urnfield	++	--	++	++	++	--	++ (partial)	++ (partial)	++	++	++	Cremation remains (fragment), bronze sword fragment, iron pin fragment, iron fragment, bronze fragment
Weert-Bosshoverheide t.4	1889-90; excavation (poor)	Ha B3 Flat grave (+)	Ind	In/near urnfield	++	--	+	+	++	Ind	--	++ (ind)	--	--	--	Cremation remains, pot, bronze chape

Tab. 5.5 Continued.

