Breaking and making the ancestors. piecing together the urnfield mortuary process in the Lower-Rhine-Basin, ca. 1300–400 BC

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5

Objects and the urnfield mortuary process

5.1 Introduction

Even though urnfield graves might not be particularly known for their abundance in grave goods (Kristiansen 1998, 113; Harding 2001, 320), only seldom does a grave consist of just the burnt bones of the decedent. Urns, pyre-debris, animal bones and a broad array of objects such as accessory pottery and pieces of jewellery can be found in urnfield graves. One for one these grave goods concern intentionally added substances to the bare and shrunken bones of the cremated corpse. Also, some of the objects found in urnfield graves might very well have accompanied the decedent from the very moment he or she drew last breath all the way to the grave. But why did a decedent who him/herself was no longer physically recognisable as human being still needed to be provided with these objects? Plain and simple as grave goods in urnfield graves might look, none were added without reason and as such they conceal stories that reflect upon their role in the narrative about death and burial in the Late Bronze- and Early Iron Age. Therefore, in the following will be examined which grave goods were selected for burial (Sections 5.2; 5.3; 5.4; 5.6; 5.7), how these grave goods were treated (Section 5.5) and when exactly they entered the mortuary process.

5.2 Urns

5.2.1 To be urned or not to be urned…

As it provided the burial grounds central to this research with their very name, one would expect urn graves to be omnipresent in these cemeteries. However, not even half the graves in the present dataset qualified as such as only 1,389 of the 3,182 (43.6%) graves in fact produced an urn. But, as Table 5.1 also clearly shows, this overall share of urn graves can certainly not be projected on individual cemeteries. The variation in the share of urn graves per cemetery is in fact striking, even within specific case-study regions and for specific archaeological periods (Tab. 5.1). Cleary, urns were not deemed as a prerequisite for most cemeteries. A difficulty with the here presented overview (Tab. 5.1) is that many cemeteries were in use throughout the entire Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, if not longer. Certain time bound trends in the use of urns can easily be obscured by the longevity of these cemeteries. Also, many urns lacked clear typo-chronological markers allowing for a more detailed date than just Late Bronze Age/ Early Iron Age. Only the cemeteries in East Brabant and North Limburg (Region ‘G’ in Tab. 5.1)

Region	Site-code	Toponym	Period in use	N graves	N urns	% urns
A.	NL-DR-026	Gasteren	MBA-MIA	92	55	59.78
A.	NL-DR-054	Noordbarge-Hoge Loo	MBA-MIA	345	121	35.07
A.	NL-DR-038	Buinen-Hoornse Veld	LBA – EIA	53	32	60.38
A.	NL-DR-039	Drouwen	LBA – EIA	96	61	63.54
A.	NL-DR-045	Wapse	LBA – EIA	164	70	42.68
A.	NL-DR-094	Sleen	LBA – EIA	115	41	35.65
B.	NL-OV-003	Mariënberg	LBA	32	2	6.25
B.	NL-OV-006	Varsen	LBA	11	4	36.36
B.	NL-OV-024	Noord Elsen	LBA	96	33	34.38
B.	NL-OV-050	De Tij	LBA	30	10	33.33
B.	NL-OV-051	Oldenzaal-De Zandhorst	LBA	20	13	65.00
B.	NL-OV-077	Haarle	LBA	29	14	48.28
B.	NL-OV-084	Mander III	LBA	2	0	0.00
B.	NL-OV-086	Vasse	LBA	1	0	0.00
B.	NL-OV-092	Borne-Veldkamp/Schild Es	LBA	20	14	70,00
B.	NL-OV-003II	Hardenberg-Mariënberg II	LBA/EIA	6	0	0.00
B.	NL-OV-003III	Hardenberg-Mariënberg III	LBA/EIA	7	0	0.00
B.	NL-OV-015	Hulsen	LBA/EIA	10	4	40.00
B.	NL-OV-030	Stokkum I and II	LBA/EIA	32	8	25.00
B.	NL-OV-049	Losser-De Aust	LBA-MIA	34	30	88.24
B.	NL-OV-059	Rossum-Oranjestraat	LBA-MIA	88	41	46.59
B.	NL-OV-025	Elsen-Friezenberg	EIA	32	23	71.88
B.	NL-OV-062	De Borchert	EIA	3	3	100.00
B.	NL-OV-080	Manderveen	LBA/EIA	9	8	88.89
C.	NL-GL-030	Epse-Waterdijk Noord	LBA	1	0	0.00
C.	NL-GL-031	Epse-Waterdijk II	LBA	14	0	0.00
C.	NL-GL-067	Epse-Waterdijk-West (III)	LBA	5	0	0.00
C.	NL-GL-068	Twello-De Schaker	LBA – EIA	9	6	66.67
C.	NL-OV-088	Colmschate-Kloosterlanden	LBA-ROM	14	2	14.29
C.	NL-OV-012	Colmschate-Banekaterveld	LBA/EIA	24	5	20.83
C.	NL-GL-019	Steenderen-Steenderdiek	EIA	15	13	86.67
C.	NL-GL-029	Epse-Olthof Noord	EIA	22	17	77.27
C.	NL-OV-089	Colmschate-'t Bramelt	EIA	94	27	28.72
C.	NL-GL-056	Zutphen-Looërenk (Meijerink)	EIA-MIA	27	15	55.56
D.	NL-GL-293	Nijmegen-Kops Plateau	MBA-MIA	48	21	43.75
D.	NL-GL-060	Meteren-De Bogen	MBA-MIA	3	0	0.00
D.	NL-GL-065	Lent-Smiltjesland	LBA	12	6	50.00
D.	NL-GL-294	Nijmegen-Hunerberg	LBA-EIA	5	5	100.00
D.	NL-GL-022	Meteren-De Plantage	LBA-MIA	46	0	0.00

Tab. 5.1 (continued on right page): Shares of urns per cemetery, sorted by case-study region and archaeological period. N graves = total number of all included graves (= features that produced human remains) per cemetery; N urns = total number of urns retrieved from a specific cemetery; % urns = share of urn graves calculated over all included graves from a specific cemetery. The letters in the 'Region-column' represent the following case-study regions: (A) The Frisian-Drentian plateau; (B) The glacial landscape of Salland and Twente; (C) The riverine area of the IJsselstreek and East Veluwe; (D) The Dutch riverine area; (E) The Dutch coastal area; (F) The cover-sand and marsh landscape of West Brabant; (G) The cover-sand and stream valley landscape of East Brabant and North Limburg; (H) The Meuse terraces and loess landscape of South Limburg.

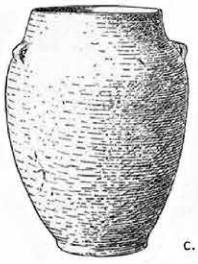
Region	Site-code	Toponym	Period in use	N graves	N urns	% urns
D.	NL-GL-038	Lent-Zuiderveld-Oost (Ressen)	LBA-MIA	9	1	11.11
D.	NL-GL-026	Huissen-Agropark	EIA	11	8	72.73
D.	NL-GL-047	Elst-Westeraam/Parklaan	EIA	1	1	100.00
D.	NL-UT-012	Wijk bij Duurstede-De Horden	EIA	87	37	42,53
D.	NL-GL-036	Lent-Lentseveld	EIA	12	0	0.00
D.	NL-GL-017	Ewijk-Keizershoeve II	EIA-MIA	18	1	5.56
D.	NL-GL-024	Groesbeek-Hüsenhoff	EIA-MIA	27	1	3.70
D.	NL-GL-037	Lent-Steltsestraat	EIA-MIA	33	0	0.00
D.	NL-GL-039	Lent-Schoolstraat	EIA-MIA	1	0	0.00
D.	NL-GL-063	Lent-Castilliëstraat	EIA-MIA	2	0	0.00
D.	NL-GL-064	Lent-Laauwikstraat-Zuid	EIA-MIA	9	0	0.00
E.	NL-ZH-001	Den Haag-Hubertustunnel	LBA	16	0	0.00
F.	NL-BR-136	Oosterhout-De Contreie	MBA-ROM	88	27	30.68
F.	NL-BR-159	Hilvarenbeek-Laag Spul	LBA	71	12	16.90
F.	NL-BR-010	Zundert-Mencia Sandrode	LBA-MIA	31	8	25.81
F.	NL-BR-011	Breda-Steenakker	LBA-MIA	15	6	40.00
F.	NL-BR-155	Goirle-Hoogeind	LBA-EIA	26	10	38.46
G.	NL-BR-196	Haps-Kamps Veld	MBA-MIA	110	36	32.73
G.	NL-BR-250	Valkenswaard-Het Gegraaf	LBA-EIA	33	13	39.39
G.	NL-BR-210	Sint Oedenrode-Haagakkers	LBA-MIA	48	5	10.42
G.	NL-BR-004	Geldrop-Genoenhuis	EIA	52	35	67.31
G.	NL-BR-224	Someren-Philips Kampeerterrein	EIA	22	20	90.91
G.	NL-LI-313	Well-De Hamert	EIA	92	85	92.39
G.	NL-LI-365	Roermond-Mussenberg	EIA	148	146	98.65
G.	NL-LI-377	Beegden	EIA	19	18	94.74
G.	NL-LI-385	Weert-Kampershoek	EIA/MIA	65	47	72.31
G.	NL-BR-014	Someren-Waterdael III	EIA-MIA	35	1	2.86
G.	NL-BR-220	Mierlo-Hout-Snippenscheut	EIA-MIA	49	2	4.08
G.	NL-BR-223	Someren-Waterdael I	EIA-MIA	87	0	0.00
G.	NL-LI-017	Weert-Laarveld	EIA-LIA	27	3	11.11
G.	NL-LI-020	Weert-Kampershoek Noord	MIA	4	0	0,00
H.	NL-LI-006	Maastricht-Ambyerveld	LBA	89	58	65.17
H.	NL-LI-397	Maastricht-Vroendaal	LBA/EIA	15	14	93.33
H.	NL-LI-018	Maastricht-Oosderveld	LBA-EIA	32	21	65.63
H.	NL-LI-396	Maastricht-Withuisveld	LBA-EIA	19	15	78.95
H.	NL-LI-387	Sittard-Hoogveld	EIA-LIA	113	54	47.79
TOTAL:				3,182	1,389	43.65

seem to provide a little more insight in the use of urns throughout the Bronze- and Iron Ages. Here, all five cemeteries that have been solely dated to the Early Iron Age show remarkably high shares of urns. Four out of five cemeteries even display values above 90%. These high percentages seem to decrease as soon as cemeteries were still in use at the beginning of the Middle Iron Age. This trend has been noted before (Gerritsen 2003, 128) and is perfectly illustrated by the three cemeteries near present day Someren. Where the Early Iron Age cemetery of Someren-Philips Kampeerterrein still exhibits a share of 91% urn graves, both Early-/Middle Iron Age cemeteries of Someren-Waterdael (I/III) combined produced only one single urn (Tab. 5.1). Perhaps less clear, the same contrast between the earlier and later Iron Age seems to have been the case for the Dutch riverine area as well (Region 'D' in Tab. 5.1).

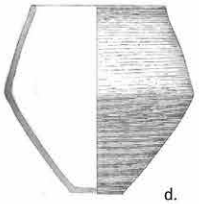
Gasteren urns

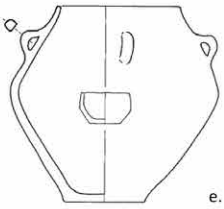

a.

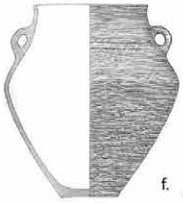

b.

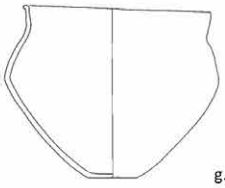

c.

(Hals)doppelkoni

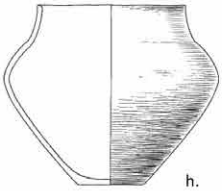

d.

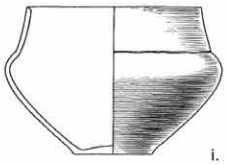

e.


f.


g.

Terrinen


h.

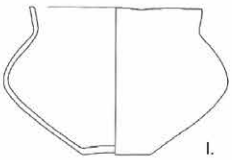

i.

Zylinderhals urns


j.


k.

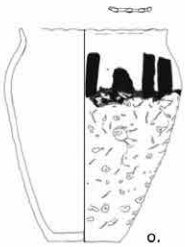
Schräghals urns


l.

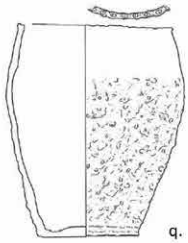

m.


n.

Harpstedt urns


o.


p.


q.

5.2.2 Urn types

For the Lower-Rhine-Basin ample studies are available that deal with the abundance of urn types found in urnfields (*e.g.* Desittere 1968; Kooi 1979; Verlinde 1987; Ruppel 1990; Schoenfelder 1992; Verlinde/Hulst 2010). The present research has no intention of redoing these encompassing works as these already form the steady encyclopaedic basis for any study encumbered with pottery retrieved from Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age cemeteries. Moreover, the typology of pottery is hardly relevant for a reconstruction of the mortuary process. Notwithstanding, the shapes and other stylistic characteristics of urns are still often used as an indication for the age of graves, if not entire cemeteries. Therefore, wherever possible, track was kept of the various urn types occurring in the cemeteries under study. For some distinctive urn types like *Harpstedt*- (Fig. 5.1: o-q) and *Schräghals*-urns (Fig. 5.1: l-n) this proved easier than for other more general pottery forms. For instance, conic shaped vessels occurring both with and without necks, known as *(Hals)doppelkoni* (Fig. 5.1: d-g), are far less strictly defined and sometimes it is even rather difficult to distinguish a *Halsdoppelkonus* from a so-called *Zylinderhalsurn* (Fig. 5.1: j-k) or a *Terrine* for that matter (Fig. 5.1: h-i). Often the names of these different pottery types have been borrowed from neighbouring regions in West- and South Germany where their shapes are more pronounced (Verlinde/Hulst 2010, 39). In between these latter shapes a whole range of hybrid forms exists with no clear typological denominations. As a result, some creativity in the descriptions of urns like '*afgeknot peervormig*' (English: 'truncated pear-shaped') is not uncommon in literature encumbered with Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age pottery (*e.g.* Waterbolk 1957, 60). It should therefore be noted that with regards to these less well defined pottery shapes, others would perhaps have made different decisions as to their typology.

For the present dataset, the sum of radiocarbon dates available for the most occurring urn types have been presented in Figure 5.2. *Zylinderhals* urns have been left out as there was only one radiocarbon data available for this specific urn type. As Figure 5.2 shows, the typology of urns may only be used as a rough indication for the age of specific graves. Pretty much all *Schräghals*- and *Harpstedt*-urns produced radiocarbon dates in the flat section of the calibration curve known as the Hallstatt-plateau (Van der Plicht 2004, 45), indicating both pottery forms represent the later end of the spectrum (*cf.* Verlinde 1987, table K). At the same time, conic-shaped vessels are likelier to produce radiocarbon dates earlier in the spectrum, before the Hallstatt-plateau. So-called *Gasteren*-urns (Fig. 5.1: a-c), an urn type from the northern Netherlands, even date substantially earlier than what is conventionally seen as the beginning of the urnfields in the Netherlands (Fig. 5.2; also see Lanting/Van der Plicht 2003, 162; 213).

Fig. 5.1: Selection of the most occurring urn types in Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age cemeteries in the Netherlands: (a) Gasteren; height urn (H): 26 cm (Van Giffen 1945, fig. 15:54); (b) Gasteren; H: 24 cm (Van Giffen 1945, fig. 15:56); (c) Gasteren; H: 40 cm (Van Giffen 1945, fig. 15:51); (d) Wapse; H: 24 cm (Waterbolk 1957, fig. 27:102); (e) Oldenzaal-De Tij; H: 25 cm (Verlinde 1987, fig. 40:255.21); (f) Wapse; H: 24 cm (Waterbolk 1957, fig. 27:94); (g) Haarle; H: 21.5 cm (Verlinde 1987, fig. 86:101); (h) Buinen; H: 22 cm (Kooi 1979, fig. 69:93); (i) Drouwen; H: 17 cm (Kooi 1979, fig. 94:1); (j) Zundert-Mencia; H: 20 cm (Krist 2005, fig. 17); (k) Zundert-Mencia; H: 20 cm (Krist 2005, fig. 13); (l) Roermond-Mussenberg; H: 18 cm (Schabbink/Tol 2000, fig. 2.15j:120a); (m) Well-De Hamert; H: 18 cm (Holwerda 1914, fig. 21:18); (n) Oss-Zevenbergen; H: 19 cm (Fontijn *et al.* 2013d, fig. 6.1); (o) Geldrop-Genoenhuis; H: 26 cm (Hissel *et al*. 2007, fig. 7.9:29a); (p) Well-De Hamert; H: 37 cm; (Holwerda 1914, fig. 25:84); (q) Roermond-Mussenberg; H: 26.5 cm (Schabbink/Tol 2000, fig. 2.15e:48a) (Figures A-D; F; H; I: © University of Groningen, Groningen Institute of Archaeology).

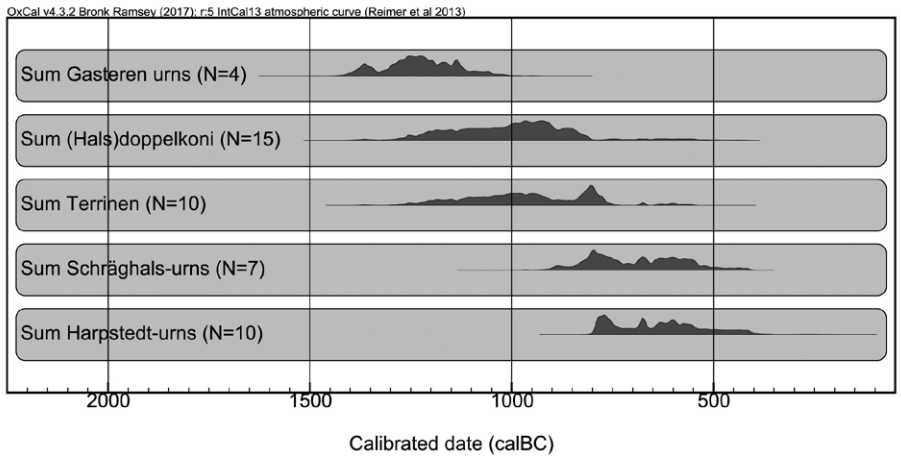


Fig. 5.2: Often occurring urn types in the present dataset and the associated sums of radiocarbon dates.

5.2.3 Sealed urns and alternative containers

For some 72 urns it could be established that the mouth of the urn had originally been sealed off with some form of lid. In most cases a pottery bowl had been placed upside-down over the mouth of the urn (Fig. 5.3: d. and e.) but other examples illustrate that fragments of larger vessels would also suffice (Fig. 5.3: f. and g.). In the cemetery of Noordbarge-Hoge Loo even two examples occurred where two smaller vessels had been stacked upside-down over the mouth of the urn (Fig. 5.3: c). Finally, in four cases the urns had been covered with a stone slab (Fig. 5.3: a).[54] Sealed off urns have been retrieved from cemeteries in both the north as the south of the country and date both to the Late Bronze Age as the Early Iron Age. As many urn graves got "decapitated" over time by recent disturbances the number of urns covered with lids would originally have been much higher. Also, it is not unlikely that more perishable materials like leather or textile cloths were also used to seal off urns. Occasionally, inside a burial pit the position of an accessory vessel right above the mouth of the urn suggests a perishable material once covered the mouth of the urn and prevented the smaller vessel from falling in. For the present dataset this was most probably the case for one grave in the cemetery of Rossum-Oranjestraat (Fig. 5.3: b)

At least these 72 examples show that throughout the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age it was not uncommon for the mourners to make sure the cremated remains in the urn were separated from the surrounding earth by sealing off the mouth of the urn. In this regard an additional two graves without urns should be mentioned as in these cases respectively a pottery bowl and the bottom of a larger vessel had been placed upside-down over the cremated remains, possibly reflecting the same desire of shielding the cremated remains.[55]

54 Three specimens in the cemetery of Drouwen [NL-DR-039] had stone slabs as lids, as had one example in the cemetery of Noordbarge-Hoge Loo [NL-DR-054] (Kooi 1979, 136).

55 Zundert-Mencia [NL-BR-010; Grave_ID 262] and Wijk bij Duurstede-De Horden [NL-UT-012; Grave_ID 1679]. Both graves date to the Early-/Middle Iron age.

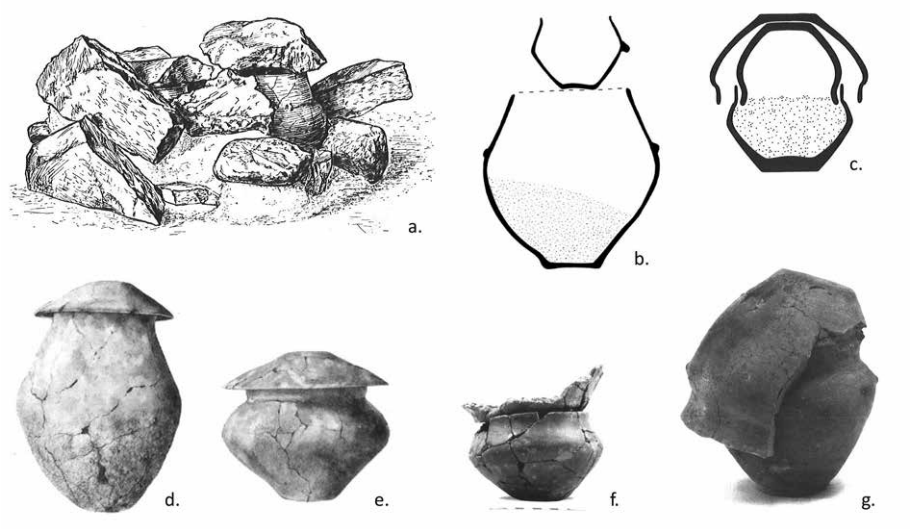


Fig. 5.3: Selection of urns in the present dataset that had some form of lid: (a) Drouwen (Kooi 1979, fig. 89); (b) Rossum-Oranjestraat; height urn (H): 35 cm (Ufkes 2008, fig. 3.1:87/88); (c) Noordbarge-Hoge Loo; H (urn): 9 cm (Kooi 1979, fig. 42:156); (d) Well-De Hamert; H: 31 cm (Holwerda 1914, fig. 21:10); (e) Well-De Hamert; H: 18.5 cm (Holwerda 1914, fig. 21:13); (f) Maastricht-Oosderveld; H: 10 cm (Mildner *et al.* 2005, fig. 3); (g) Noordbarge-Hoge Loo (Kooi 1979, fig. 20) (Figures A; C; G: © University of Groningen, Groningen Institute of Archaeology).

It is evident from the present dataset that cremated remains not necessarily had to be shielded or contained. Not uncommonly they were just scattered in burial pits or even sprinkled over the urns (Section 6.3.1). However, it is not unlikely that a fair share of cremated remains retrieved from graves without urns were originally still wrapped or packed in a container of a more perishable material like leather, textile or perhaps even wood. The present dataset did not produce any new evidence that proves this thesis. For the Netherlands the already mentioned examples from Nieuwenhagen and the 'Chieftain's grave of Oss' (Section 3.2.4) are still the only clear examples where textiles have been retrieved from graves that could indicate cremated remains and grave goods were indeed wrapped in cloth (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017b, 194). It should be noted though that both these examples are in fact urn graves. Notwithstanding, especially the compact bundles of cremated remains, De Mulder's type C graves,[56] could indicate these were originally wrapped in textile or leather causing the compressed distribution of cremated remains in these graves.

For the present dataset the bronze '*cista a cordoni*' that was found in the cemetery of Sittard-Hoogveld is the only clear example of an alternative container used to contain the cremated remains. Even though this delicate bronze bucket was severely damaged, it could still be established the *cista* was used as an urn based on the cremated remains that were found on the inside of the bottom fragment that was still lodged in its original place (Tol 2000, 109). According to its excavators, the *cista a cordoni* must have found its way to Sittard all the way from northern Italy or the eastern Alpine region and was dated between 450 and 350 BC on typo-chronological grounds (Tol 2000, 112-113).

56 German: '*Knochenlager*'; Dutch: '*Beenderpakgraf*' or '*Crematienest*'

5.2.4 The selection of urns and indications for prior use

Several questions spring to mind when the use and selection of urns are concerned. For instance, when exactly does the urn enter the mortuary process? Was it only somewhere after the cremated remains had been collected from the location of the pyre or are there indications for prior use of urns? Do urns concern typical funerary pottery or are they merely a representation of whatever pottery could be found in any household's kitchen? And what were the requirements to be buried in an urn in the first place?

5.2.4.1 Age and sex

To begin with the latter question, the considerable size of the present dataset perfectly allows for an assessment of the use of urns related to sex and age in general. However, when it comes down to specific cemeteries this assessment becomes much more difficult as for most cemeteries only for about one third of the individuals buried in urns some details as to their sex are available. The present analysis will therefore remain restricted to the overall level.

Regarding the relation between sex and the use of urns the numbers clearly speak for themselves (Tab. 5.2). For 187 urn graves some indications for the sex of the decedent were available. Only graves that contained just one individual have been included and the indications for the sex of the decedent include all variations of certainty (Section 3.3.4). The almost perfectly equal shares of females and males buried in urns, respectively 50.8 vs 49.2% (Tab. 5.2), indicate that sex was clearly not a determinant when it came to the use of urns.

The same observation also applies to age. In Section 6.2 it will show that the overall share of non-adults in the present dataset is 26%. As Table 5.3 shows, for 487 urn graves the age of the decedent could be approached. Some 25.5% appeared to concern individuals that did not make it to adulthood, almost perfectly resembling the overall share of non-adults in the present study. Clearly, when the overall population is concerned, neither sex or age seem to have been significant in determining whether someone's ashes were to be put in an urn or not (*cf.* Kooi 1979, 134).

A next assessment would be to check whether specific types of urns show some relation to sex and age. For this assessment it is necessary to have cooccurring, well distinguishable types of urns. For the present dataset *Schräghals*-urns and *Harpstedt*-urns were deemed the most suitable types as they both concern typical Early Iron Age forms (Verlinde 1987, 288-289, tab. K.; Fig. 5.2) and often cooccur in the same cemeteries (*e.g.* Tol 2000; Schabbink/Tol 2000; Waterbolk 1957). As Table 5.3 shows, the shares of the different sex and age categories related to these specific types of urns hardly deviate from the numbers presented in Table 5.2. Clearly, the type of urn was neither related to either sex or age.

5.2.4.2 Size of urns

Even though no exact track was kept of their measurements, the variation in sizes of urns is already evident from just glancing at the various drawings and photographs in the original publications (see Fig. 5.4). Sometimes the urns are hardly bigger than a coffee mug while others are as big as the drums in modern washing machines. A thorough assessment of how the amount of cremated remains exactly relates to the size of an urn has yet to be performed but so far there does not seem to have been a one on one relation between the two. For the exceptional cases in the present dataset where the cremated remains

Sex	N	%
Female	95	50.80
Male	92	49.20
Total:	187	100.00

Age	N	%
Non-adult	124	25.46
Adult	363	74.54
Total:	487	100.00

Tab. 5.2: The use of urns related to sex and age.

	Schräghals-urns		*Harpstedt-urns*	
Sex	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Female	15	48.39	29	51.79
Male	16	51.61	27	48.21
Total	31	100,00	56	100,00
Age	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Non-adult	15	21.43	24	21.62
Adult	55	78.57	87	78.38
Total	70	100.00	111	100.00

Tab. 5.3: The use of specific types of urn related to sex and age.

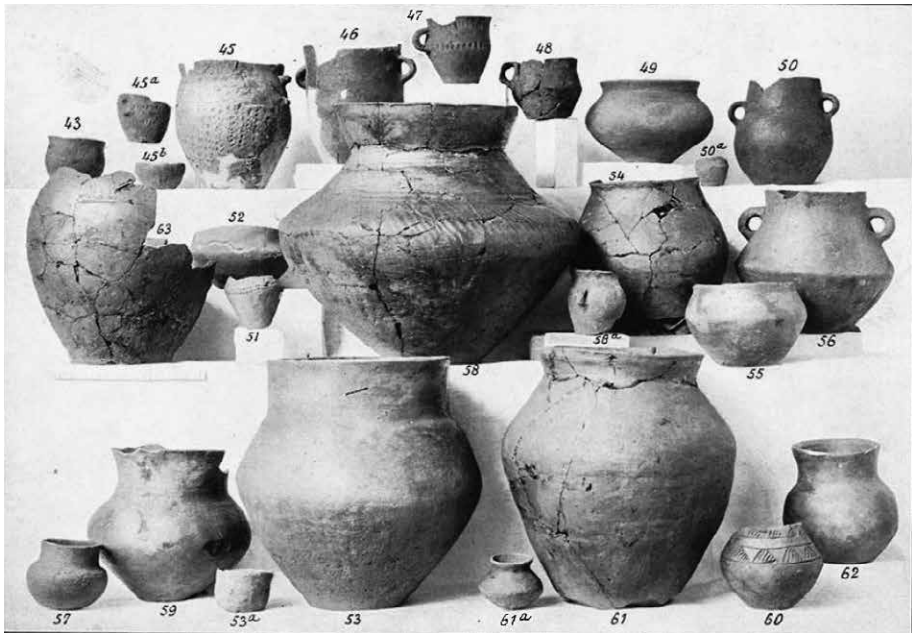


Fig. 5.4: Urns excavated in the urnfield of Riethoven (NL-BR-252) on display. As an indication for the variation in sizes of urns compare nos. 47 and 48 to nos. 53 and 58. (Photograph originally published in Holwerda 1913: Fig. 53; Holwerda 1914: Fig. 18).

inside the urn had been projected on the urn drawings it often showed that the urns were filled up to around the shoulder. However, other cases show a clear discrepancy between the amount of cremated remains and the size of the urn. In some cases the cremated remains even hardly reached several centimetres above the bottom of the urn (Fig. 5.5). Especially in these latter cases it should be considered that the remaining space in urns was filled up with more perishable materials that did not make it to our era. As recent research on the 'Chieftain's grave of Oss' has shown the many grave goods retrieved from this extraordinary urnfield grave were wrapped in textile cloth and placed in bundles inside the situla (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017a, 59). Since many of the grave goods in

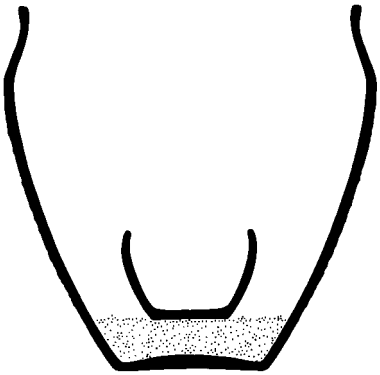


Fig. 5.5: The cremated remains and accessory vessel projected on the inside of the urn in grave 821 (Grave ID: 2864) in the urnfield of Noordbarge-Hoge Loo. As this image shows, the amount of cremated remains hardly relates to the size of the urn. Original height urn: 28 cm. (Kooi 1979, fig. 42: 821 © University of Groningen, Groningen Institute of Archaeology).

the present dataset bear references to the consumption of food and drink (Section 5.3) it is not unlikely food and drink were placed on top of the cremated remains inside the urn. Perhaps future micromorphological analysis of the insides of urns can shed some new light on this hypothesis.

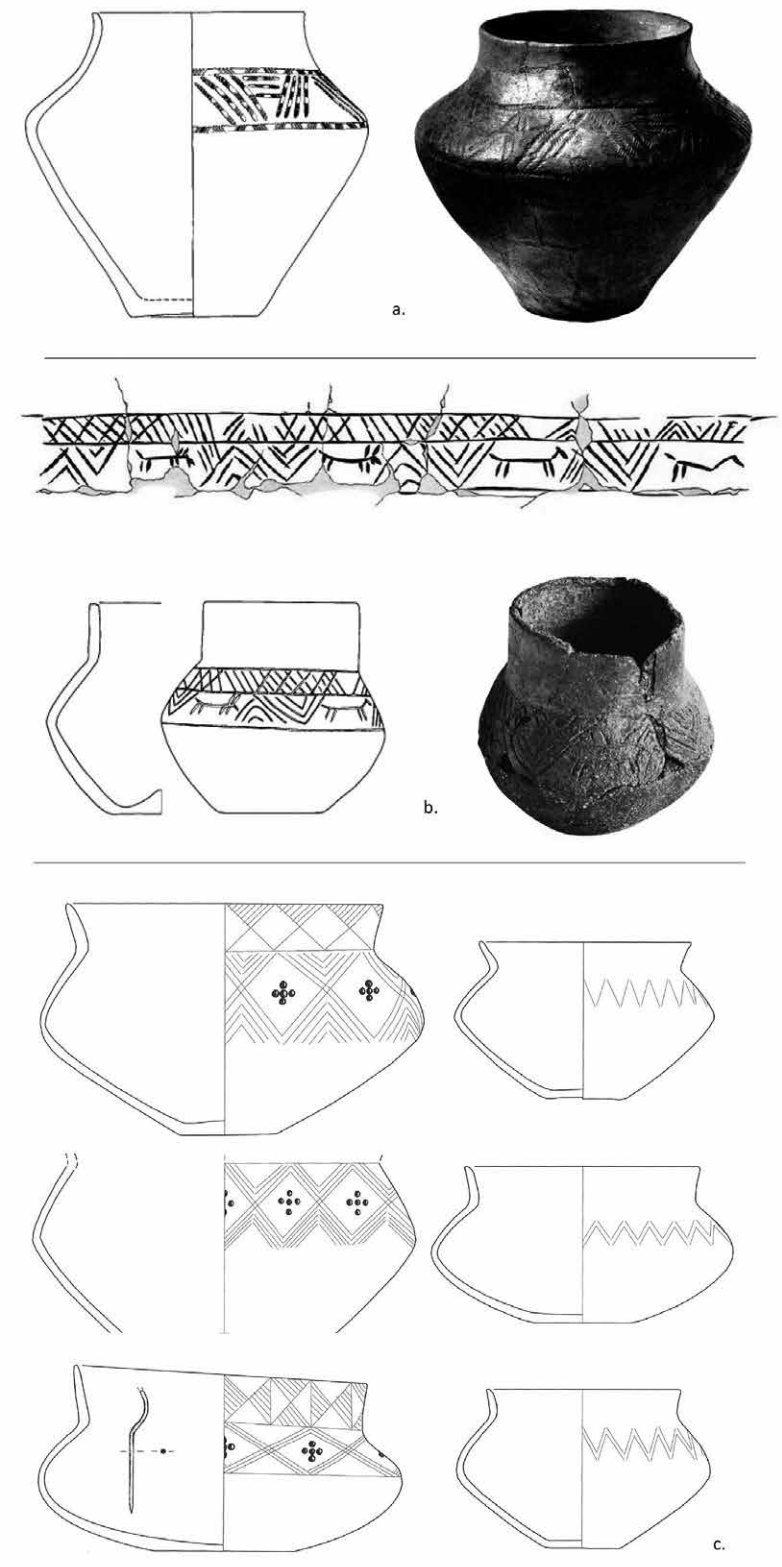
5.2.4.3 Funerary pottery or ordinary cooking pots?

It is beyond the scope of the present research to make an extensive comparison between the pottery retrieved from cemeteries and the pottery found in contemporary settlement sites. An additional difficulty lies in the fact that only rarely the accompanying farmsteads to specific cemeteries have been excavated (Louwen 2010, 167). For the present dataset only the cemeteries of Haps-Kamps Veld (Verwers 1972), Someren-Waterdael I (Kortlang 1999), Wijk bij Duurstede-De Horden (Hessing 1989), Zutphen-Looërenk (Fontijn 1996b; Van Beek 2009, 224-226) and Colmschate-'t Bramelt (Hermsen 2007; Van Beek 2009, 176-179) qualify as examples where with a fair amount of certainty some of the associated farmsteads have been found. Another problem is that pottery retrieved from settlements is usually incomplete and heavily fragmented. Nevertheless, the general impression is that the vessels that ended up in cemeteries are not much different from the pottery retrieved from settlements (Hessing/Kooi 2005, 640) or were even selected from the gamut of pottery used on a daily basis in and around the farmhouse (Verlinde 1987, 284).

Slight differences between urns and pottery retrieved from settlement terrains are however occasionally observed for particular cemeteries. For instance, for the Early Iron Age cemetery of Wijk bij Duurstede-De Horden and accompanying settlement it was noted that 'coarse' (Dutch: *besmeten*) surfaces occurred more often in the settlement than in the cemetery (Hessing 1989, 320-321).[57] This observation could indicate that some attention was paid to the refinement of pottery in the selection process. However, the typical *Harpstedt*-urns that often exhibit these rough and coarse surfaces are still abundant in Early Iron Age cemeteries.

Fig. 5.6 (right): Compilation of exceptional decorations in the cemeteries of (a) De Oelemars; H: 25 cm (After: Verlinde 1987, figs. 31:198 and 31a); (b) Losser-De Aust; H: 9 cm (After: Hijszeler 1962, figs. 1 and 2; Verlinde 1987, fig. 5; (c) Beegden (Roymans/Hoogland 1999, fig. 5.

57 25% vs 75%.


a.
b.
c.

As the decoration of the walls and rims of pottery was clearly not only restricted to urns or accessory pottery (Van den Broeke 2005a, fig. 27.8), neither can decoration be used as a marker to distinguish funerary pottery from household pottery. In general the decoration of pottery in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age is restricted to geometrical patterns like incised triangles, horizontal 'collars' of finger- and nail imprints on the rims, necks, shoulders and bellies of vessels and horizontal and vertical fields of finger- and nail imprints in so-called '*Kalenderberg*' pottery (Van den Broeke 2005a, fig. 27.8). We see these different patterns and forms of decoration occur on both household pottery as on urns. Only in exceptional cases does it seem that particular forms of decoration have been reserved for funerary pottery. In the cemetery of Losser-De Aust a little urn or piece of accessory pottery was found on which four stylistic animal figures can be recognised surrounded by the more common incised triangles (Fig. 5.6: b; Hijszeler 1962a; Hijszeler/Verlinde 1978, 105). So far, this is the only piece of pottery in the Netherlands of a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age date showing zoomorphic figures. In the same province, at a site called 'De Oelemars' an urn was found that was decorated with imprints of a bronze bracelet, again in a triangular pattern forming a horizontal frieze on the shoulder of the urn (Fig. 5.6: a; Verlinde 1974, 93; 1987, 67; fig. 31a). Finally, six urns from the cemetery of Beegden should be mentioned with regards to their decoration. Here two pairs of three urns, all *Schräghals*-urns, have been excavated showing very distinct configurations of either zigzag incisions or triangular incisions combined with groups of five dots or so-called '*dellen*' (Fig. 5.6: c; Roymans/Hoogland 1999, fig. 5). One can simply not have made one urn without seeing or knowing of the others, suggesting these vessels were made by the same person or at least group of people (Roymans/Hoogland 1999, 72).

An indication for prior use of urns other than resembling the general household assemblage stems from the work of Verlinde (1987). He had observed that some 10% of the urns retrieved from cemeteries throughout the province of Overijssel showed weathered and damaged surfaces, particularly on their bottom sections. This indicates these vessels had already been used rather intensively before being selected as urns (Verlinde 1987, 284). For the present dataset comparable macroscopic use-wear has been observed for four urns from the cemetery of Geldrop-Genoenhuis (Hissel 2007, 92). Also, some urns in the present dataset showed burn marks[58] or even charred crusts of what presumably concerns burnt food or fat.[59] A logical explanation is that these urns were used as cooking vessels before finally being selected as urns. The question that subsequently comes to mind is *when* did the actual cooking then take place?

5.2.4.4 On the possible other roles of urns

An urn would be no urn without cremated remains. It seems therefore logical to assume an urn entered the mortuary process right after cremation. But what concrete evidence is there to prove the urn was already present at the point of collecting the cremated remains?

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58 Urns with (secondary) burn marks: Breda-Steenakker [NL-BR-011]: 'grave 9' [Grave_ID 278] (Berkvens 2004, 161); Noordbarge-Hoge Loo [NL-DR-054], 'grave 85' [Grave_ID 2582] (Kooi 1979, 25); Huissen-Agropark [NL-GL-026]: 'grave S2.27'; 'grave S4.08'; 'grave S4.10' [Grave_ID's 1490; 1493; 1495] (Beckerman 2011, 34); Geldrop-Genoenhuis [NL-BR-004]: 'grave 16' [Grave_ID 906] (Hissel 2007, 92).

59 Urns with charred crusts of presumably food or fat: Steenderen-Steenderdiek [NL-GL-019]: 'grave 9'; 'grave 11' [Grave_ID's 1735; 1736] (Van Straten 2010, 35); Geldrop-Genoenhuis [NL-BR-004]: 'grave 42' [Grave_ID 932] (Hissel 2007, 92).

Fig. 5.7: Photo of a well preserved pelvis in an Early Iron Age grave recently excavated by Leiden University at the barrow alignment of Epe (Central Netherlands). Only seldom is a pelvis found in cremation graves in such a well preserved state since its cancellous structure makes the bone very brittle when burnt. As this example still finds itself in one piece it is likely the pelvis was directly assembled in the urn after cremation. (Photos: Louïse Olerud; courtesy of Dr. Quentin Bourgeois, Leiden University).

As shown in Section 4.4.2.4 the cremated remains in most occasions seem to have entered the urn in an already shuffled and fragmentary state. Also, it has been argued that the time between cremation and interment might as well have taken years (Section 3.2.5). Cremated remains could therefore have been transported to the settlement, or somewhere else for that matter, only to be put in the urn moments before the actual interment. For (urn) graves that contained the remains of multiple individuals this would in fact be a logical sequence of events (Section 4.4.3). In this scenario the urn thus only enters the mortuary process moments for the act of interment.

It is however not set in stone that this scenario applied to all urn graves. On the contrary, urns in which the cremated remains are (1) not shuffled, (2) are still rather intact and (3) show some anatomical order could indicate the cremated remains were indeed collected directly into the urn. As demonstrated by a recent pilot of a multi-layered excavation of the cremated remains inside an urn found at Epe, direct placement of the cremated remains inside the urn right after cremation also forms a plausible scenario (Fig. 5.7).

Whether it was directly after cremation or only moments before interment, both scenario's set out in the above presuppose the urn to only have functioned as an urn. But as the mortuary process can be considered a narrative in which the decedent is gradually transformed to whatever *persona* he or she was envisioned to reflect (*cf.* Fowler 2013), objects too might not simply have been the static entities they appear to be. In this light

it is possible that, like the decedent her-/himself, grave goods resurfaced throughout the mortuary process several times and in different capacities. Here we return to the burn marks and charred crusts that have been observed on several urns in the present dataset: were these vessels indeed part of the original kitchen inventory of a farmhouse or is there a possibility that cooking was also part of the mortuary process? As will appear later on, many grave goods bear references to the consumption of food and drink (Section 5.3) while the presence of burnt seeds (Section 4.3.2) and animal bones (Section 5.6) suggest that food offerings like fruits and chunks of meat were already accompanying the decedent on the pyre. Also, accessory pottery like small bowls and eared drinking cups not uncommonly show severe burn marks as well, suggesting these objects too were already present at/on the pyre. An alternative explanation for the presence of burnt animal bones, fruit seeds, drinking cups and pottery dishes is that these reflect the residue of a funeral feast held in the run up to cremation or perhaps during the process of cremation itself (though the smell of burning flesh would certainly not have aroused the appetite…).

The sharing of food and drink somewhere along the mortuary process is one possible occasion where a vessel that was later to be used as urn could turn up. The bronze cauldrons known as *situlae* (Kimmig 1964) that are found in contemporary Hallstatt chieftains' graves (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017a, 117-121) are generally ascribed a function of (communal) mixing vessels for strong liquor (Prüssing 1991, 6) which has been confirmed by mead residue on the insides of cauldrons retrieved from Early Iron Age elite graves in Germany (Biel 1985, 129-130; Kimmig 1988, 158; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017a, 118). The initial function of these cauldrons seems therefore inextricably linked to social events such as feasts or drinking bouts (*e.g.* Arnold 1999; Diepeveen-Jansen 2001). Yet in the Lower-Rhine-Basin these cauldrons were used as urns. Still, use wear analysis of some examples has shown that before these kettles ended their lifepaths as urns they were also used for what probably was their original purpose (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017a, 117). Even though it is difficult to prove archaeologically these cauldrons were also used for mixing (and sharing out) alcoholic beverages *during* the mortuary process itself, what the *situlae* in Early Iron Age elite graves however have in common with the more ordinary pottery vessels in urnfield graves is that they were both initially fabricated for the production or temporarily storing of food and/or liquids before ending their mutual life paths as urns. The possibility that urns too, especially the ones showing burn marks and charred residues of what might have been some form of nourishment, functioned earlier in the mortuary process as cooking pots should therefore also be granted consideration.

5.2.5 Conclusion

The use of urns was clearly not a prerequisite in Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age funerals (Section 5.2.1). Neither was the use of urns related to either sex or age (Section 5.2.4). Even though there certainly are cemeteries where burial in urn was definitely the norm like at Roermond-Mussenberg, in other cemeteries like Someren-Waterdael I and Den Haag-Hubertustunnel urns are completely absent (see Tab. 5.1). For the vast majority of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age cemeteries however, urn graves and urnless graves cooccur (Tab. 5.1). How should this variation in the use of urns be explained?

It has been noted that some cemeteries show remarkably high shares of urn graves while others do not (Section 5.2.1; Tab. 5.1). The use of urns in general could therefore reflect certain local and timebound ideas about how cremated remains should enter the earth. But

when cremated remains could also enter the ground without a pottery container, why then use urns in the first place? From a pragmatic standpoint it could be argued that the cremated remains simply had to be transported from 'A' to 'B' in some way as none of the graves in the present dataset were located in the same place as the pyre (Section 4.3.1). There are also clues that some of the urns possibly functioned earlier in the mortuary process as cooking vessels or as the containers of food and drink before finally ending up as the container for the cremated remains (Section 5.2.4). Other urns reflect the intention of shielding the cremated remains from the surrounding earth as they had been carefully sealed off with fitting lids. Yet other urns, like the ones found in the cemetery of Beegden, show very distinct decorations that seem to emphasise a certain relation between the individuals buried in these specific urns (Fig 5.6: c). Even though urns with distinct anthropomorphic features have not been attested for the present dataset, the urn serving as a new skin for the bare bones on the inside surely is another option that should be considered.

In addition, while to our minds an urn might represent a rather distinct category of objects, Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age people might have considered a textile- or leather cloth as just another means to pack the cremated remains. Also, scattering the cremated remains directly back into the earthly womb that eventually brings forth all life on earth might have been regarded as meaningful an act as keeping the cremated remains together in a new skin and then place it in the earth.

The substantial variation in the ratios between urn graves and urnless graves as observed for the cemeteries in the present dataset remains notable. While the reasons behind the use of urns might indeed have been as diverse as the people and (local) communities who once did the actual burying, utilising an urn as the container for cremated remains was clearly something that made sense to all of them in some way. The fact that cremated remains could also be buried without urn makes this latter observation even more interesting. Since the use of urns was not related to either age or sex (Section 5.2.4), it seems the mortuary process of the Late Bronze- and Early Iron Age offered quite some room for interpretation and the variation in the use of urns reflects local, perhaps even personal ideas about how the narrative of the mortuary process was to be ensued.

5.3 Selection of objects

5.3.1 General figures

Next to the urns there is a whole range of other objects that were intentionally added to urnfield graves. As mentioned, these various objects and their respective treatments conceal stories about their role(s) in the narrative of the mortuary process. Mapping the array of objects that were selected for burial and the way they were treated along the mortuary process is therefore an exercise worthwhile.

Objects other than urns have been collected from 436 graves in the present dataset. This means that overall a share of at least 13.7% of the decedents (436/3,182) was provided with an object in the grave. Sixteen of these graves in fact concern inhumation graves. When redoing the math separately for these conceptually rather different ways of treatment of the corpse it shows that inhumed individuals (16/44 = 36.4%)[60] were likelier to be provided

60 After leaving out the one inhumation grave that probably dates to the Late Medieval- or Modern Era (Section 4.2.1).

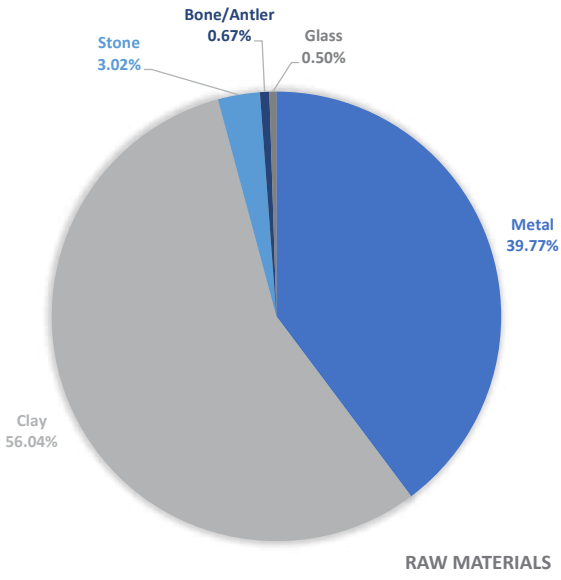

Fig. 5.8: Raw materials used to fabricate the objects retrieved from the graves in the present dataset. N total = 596.

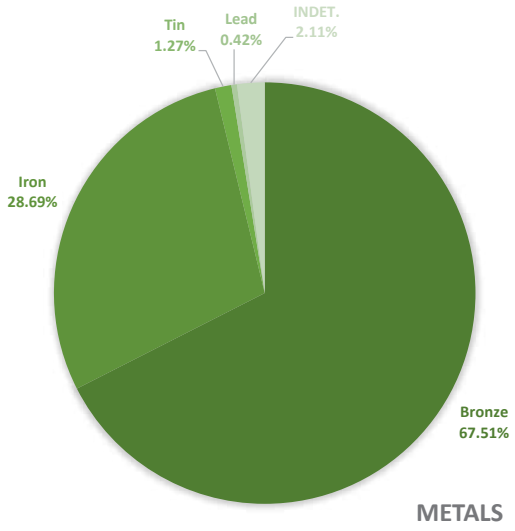

Fig. 5.9: Subdivision of the raw material 'metal' into different kinds of metal used to fabricate the metal objects retrieved from the graves in the present dataset. N total = 237.

with objects in the grave than cremated individuals (422/3,137 = 13.5%). A slight bias might exist in favour of inhumation graves as in these graves objects did not have to go through the destructive process of cremation.

When looking at the number of objects per grave, 342 graves contained one object, 62 graves had two objects, 19 examples produced three objects and in 13 graves more than three objects had been deposited. In total 561 Object-ID's have been distributed that together represent at least 596 individual objects. It should be noted though, that especially for a fair share of metal objects it proved impossible to determine which original object the lumps of metal once represented, let alone their original number.

The raw materials used to fabricate the different objects have also been recorded. Even though strictly speaking metal and glass are not raw materials it was still decided to

use these categories as they both concern very distinct materials that after their intensive production processes hardly betray their mineral roots. Clay is the best represented raw material (334 objects) followed by the metals (237 objects). Stone (18 objects), bone and antler (4 objects) and glass (3 objects) only make up modest shares (Fig. 5.8). The alloy *bronze* is by far the best represented material among the metal objects (160 examples), followed by *iron* (68 objects). Additionally, three *tin* objects and one made of *lead* have been recorded (Fig. 5.9). *Amber* is best represented among the small group of stone objects (4/11). *Tephrite, jet, lignite* and *lydite* are all represented only one time. Some objects concern artefacts composed of multiple raw materials. These objects have been counted under the raw material forming the main constituent. It must be mentioned here that a fair share of grave goods fabricated of more perishable materials like textiles, leather, wood, worked bone and all sorts of food and drink are probably missing. It only are the more resilient materials like stone and baked clay that made it to our era. As the fragile state of many a metal object in the present dataset shows, we cannot even assume that all of the metal objects that once entered the grave survived the more than two millennia they had to spend in the ground before being uncovered by archaeologists.

The share of graves containing an object other than an urn varies considerably per cemetery (Tab. 5.4). Nevertheless, even for the cemetery (Maastricht-Vroendaal) that produced the highest share of graves containing an object (46.67%) still not even half the decedents were provided with one. Like the use of urns, the provision of objects in the grave clearly was not deemed a prerequisite.

As Table 5.4 also shows, metal objects are far better represented in the south of the country. North of the river Rhine (Regions A-C) the share of graves containing a metal object rarely exceeds the boundary of 10% (Tab. 5.4). In fact, in many of these northern cemeteries no metals have been found at all and even in thoroughly excavated large cemeteries like Noordbarge-Hoge Loo (Kooi 1979; Arnoldussen/Albers 2015) only 3 out of 345 graves produced a metal object (0.87% of the entire grave population). This picture slightly changes as soon as the old river Rhine is crossed in southern direction. Still the shares of graves that produced metal objects do not skyrocket, but percentages between 10 and 20% are not uncommon. For the cemetery of Roermond-Mussenberg even a share of 21.62% was recorded (Tab 5.4). More to the south the share of graves containing a metal object seems to slightly decrease again (compare regions H and G in Tab. 5.4). Possibly the confluence of the major rivers Rhine and Meuse played some role in the access to metal objects.

				Graves with objects		*Graves with metal objects*	
Reg.	**Cemetery**	**Period in use**	**N graves**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
A.	Gasteren	MBA-MIA	92	22	23.91	7	7.61
A.	Noordbarge-Hoge Loo	MBA-MIA	345	25	7.25	3	0.87
A.	Buinen-Hoornse Veld	LBA – EIA	53	2	3.77	0	0.00
A.	Drouwen	LBA – EIA	96	20	20.83	4	4.17
A.	Wapse	LBA – EIA	164	11	6.71	1	0.61
A.	Sleen	LBA – EIA	115	10	8.70	1	0.87
B.	Mariënberg	LBA	32	12	37.50	1	3.13
B.	Varsen	LBA	11	1	9.09	0	0.00
B.	Noord Elsen	LBA	96	9	9.38	0	0.00
B.	De Tij	LBA	30	4	13.33	1	3.33
B.	Oldenzaal-De Zandhorst	LBA	20	5	25.00	0	0.00
B.	Haarle	LBA	29	3	10.34	0	0.00
B.	Borne-Veldkamp/Schild Es	LBA	20	1	5.00	0	0.00
B.	Hulsen	LBA/EIA	10	2	20.00	0	0.00
B.	Stokkum I and II	LBA/EIA	32	7	21.88	0	0.00
B.	Losser-De Aust	LBA-MIA	34	2	5.88	0	0.00
B.	Rossum-Oranjestraat	LBA-MIA	88	14	15.91	0	0.00
B.	Elsen-Friezenberg	EIA	32	4	12.50	4	12.50
C.	Epse-Waterdijk II	LBA	14	1	7.14	0	0.00
C.	Colmschate – Kloosterlanden	LBA-ROM	14	1	7.14	0	0.00
C.	Colmschate-Banekaterveld	LBA/EIA	24	0	0.00	0	0.00
C.	Steenderen-Steenderdiek	EIA	15	1	6.67	1	6.67
C.	Epse-Olthof Noord	EIA	22	4	18.18	4	18.18
C.	Colmschate-'t Bramelt	EIA	94	5	5.32	0	0.00
C.	Zutphen-Looërenk (Meijerink)	EIA-MIA	27	2	7.41	1	3.70
D.	Nijmegen-Kops Plateau	MBA-MIA	48	9	18.75	7	14.58
D.	Lent-Smiltjesland	LBA	12	0	0.00	0	0.00
D.	Meteren-De Plantage	LBA-MIA	46	7	15.22	6	13.04
D.	Huissen-Agropark	EIA	11	2	18.18	2	18.18
D.	Wijk bij Duurstede-De Horden	EIA	87	10	11.49	5	5.75
D.	Lent-Lentseveld	EIA	12	2	16.67	2	16.67
D.	Ewijk-Keizershoeve II	EIA-MIA	18	1	5.56	1	5.56
D.	Groesbeek-Hüsenhoff	EIA-MIA	27	3	11.11	3	11.11
D.	Lent-Steltsestraat	EIA-MIA	33	3	9.09	3	9.09
E.	Den Haag-Hubertustunnel	LBA	16	1	6.25	1	6.25
F.	Oosterhout-De Contreie	MBA-ROM	88	6	6.82	3	3.41
F.	Hilvarenbeek-Laag Spul	LBA	71	11	15.49	3	4.23
F.	Zundert-Mencia Sandrode	LBA-MIA	31	6	19.35	2	6.45
F.	Breda-Steenakker	LBA-MIA	15	4	26.67	1	6.67
F.	Goirle-Hoogeind	LBA-EIA	26	3	11.54	1	3.85
G.	Haps-Kamps Veld	MBA-MIA	110	16	14.55	7	6.36
G.	Valkenswaard-Het Gegraaf	LBA-EIA	33	10	30.30	2	6.06
G.	Sint Oedenrode-Haagakkers	LBA-MIA	48	9	18.75	6	12.50
G.	Geldrop-Genoenhuis	EIA	52	3	5.77	3	5.77

Tab. 5.4 (continued on right page): Numbers and shares of graves containing objects for individual cemeteries for which more than 10 graves had been published.

				Graves with objects		*Graves with metal objects*	
Reg.	**Cemetery**	**Period in use**	**N graves**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
G.	Someren-Philips Kampeerterrein	EIA	22	2	9.09	2	9.09
G.	Well-De Hamert	EIA	92	25	27.17	11	11.96
G.	Roermond-Musschenberg	EIA	148	37	25.00	32	21.62
G.	Beegden	EIA	19	1	5.26	1	5.26
G.	Weert-Kampershoek	EIA/MIA	65	2	3.08	0	0.00
G.	Someren-Waterdael III	EIA-MIA	35	2	5.71	2	5.71
G.	Mierlo-Hout-Snippenscheut	EIA-MIA	49	5	10.20	2	4.08
G.	Someren-Waterdael I	EIA-MIA	87	7	8.05	2	2.30
G.	Weert-Laarveld	EIA-LIA	27	7	25.93	5	18.52
H.	Maastricht-Ambyerveld	LBA	89	25	28.09	13	14.61
H.	Maastricht-Vroendaal	LBA/EIA	15	7	46.67	0	0.00
H.	Maastricht-Oosderveld	LBA-EIA	32	4	12.50	0	0.00
H.	Maastricht-Withuisveld	LBA-EIA	19	2	10.53	0	0.00
H.	Sittard-Hoogveld	EIA-LIA	113	23	20.35	8	7.08

Object group	**Object purpose**	**Object type**	**N Graves**	**N Objects**	**% all graves**
Accessory pottery	Consumption of food and drink	Tableware	291	327	9.15
Cosmetics	Personal hygiene; Appearance	Razors	7	7	0.22
		Tweezers	6	6	0.19
Cosmetics and clothing	Adornment	Beads and pendants	12	12 (>106)	0.38
		Bracelets and neckrings/torques	22	25	0.69
		Ear-/hairrings	7	21	0.22
		Spirals	3	6	0.09
		Buttons and studs	4	4 (33)	0.13
	Adornment; Fastening pieces of clothing	Fibulae	6	6	0.19
		Belt (-buckles, -hooks,-rings)	7	7	0.22
		Needles and pins	23	23	0.72
Tools	Hammering; Preparation of food	Grinding- and pounding tools	2	2	0.06
	Wood working	Nails	3	3	0.09
	Manufacturing textiles	Spindlewhorls	4	5	0.13
	Sharpening objects	Whetstones	1	1	0.03
Weapons and tools	Fighting; Cutting food	Daggers and knives	4	4	0.13
Weapons	Fighting and hunting	Arrow(head)s and spear(head)s	8	23	0.25
	Fighting	Swords	1	1	0.03
	Protection and hunting (Reference to past?)	Wristguards (Neolithic)	1	1	0.03
Horsegear	Horse riding	Horsegear	1	1	0.03
Diverse	Manifold	Rings	24	>25	0.75
Unknown	Unknown	INDET.	81	>81	2.55

Tab. 5.5: Overview of the different object groups and types of objects as observed for the present dataset.

5.3.2 Categories of objects

The almost 600 objects that have been recorded for the present dataset can roughly be divided into the four main object categories of (1) accessory pottery, (2) cosmetics and clothing, (3) tools and (4) weapons. More than half the objects could be counted under 'accessory pottery,' which is also by far the largest object group. In some 81 cases, practically all lumps of deformed metal, it could no longer be established what object these fragments once represented. The remaining objects show a broad range of especially cosmetics, some toiletries, a few tools and a small amount of rather specific weapons.

5.3.2.1 Accessory pottery

Starting with the largest group of objects, at least 291 graves produced one or more pieces of accessory pottery. In this count, only the objects still recognisable as such have been included. Among the hundreds of graves that only contained pottery sherds (Section 5.7.2) there are probably more pieces represented. The share of graves containing a piece of accessory pottery as presented in Table 5.5 (9.15%) must therefore be considered as the most modest estimation of the share of decedents that were provided with accessory pottery. Clearly accessory pottery formed the most dominant type of object to be put in a grave in the entire study area and throughout the entire period of study. The forms and sizes of the vessels concerned vary considerably but in most occasions they include small bowls, little beakers, eared cups and little basins (Fig. 5.10: a-c) some of the latter category with feet. Occasionally an accessory vessel resembles the form of the urn it was found in. Sometimes exceptional forms occur as well like the spoon-like object found in the cemetery of Zundert-Mencia (Krist 2005, 42) and the two bowls with drilled holes from Lent-Zuiderveld/Ressen and Wijk bij Duurstede-De Horden that most logically functioned as sieves (Ball/Daniël 2010, 138; Hessing 1989, 321). For the cemetery of De Horden, it was suggested that the sieve was used for the collection of the cremated remains from the pyre-debris (Hessing 1989, 321). Pottery with drilled holes can also be connected to the production of cheese as the residues of milk fats found on some very early examples in Poland have shown (Salque *et al.* 2013). Neither examples from the present dataset have been tested for residues, nor have any of the other 325 examples of accessory pottery. Notwithstanding, the sizes and shapes of the different vessels suggest that most of the accessory pottery found in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age cremation graves was is in some way related to the consumption of food and drink. Especially the one-eared cups known as *Henkeltassen* or *Henkelbecher* (Verlinde 1987, 308) suspect an original function of drinking cups. Other functions, or references for that matter, must however still be considered. As an example, for the typical small basins that go by the name of *Eierbecher* (Tackenberg 1934) a function of oil lamps has been considered as one of its original purposes (Perizonius 1976, 90).

5.3.2.2 Cosmetics and clothing

The second group of objects includes all objects that are somehow related to (personal) adornment and appearance. In relation to cremation graves this is in fact a rather peculiar group of objects as there clearly was no longer a body to adorn with these trinkets. Yet still the group of cosmetics and clothing forms the second largest group of objects represented among the different graves and, as will appear from the following, consists of a broad variety of jewellery, toiletries and pieces of garment.

Razors

In total seven razors have been recorded. Six of them have been retrieved from cemeteries in the north of the country (provinces of Drenthe and Overijssel) while the seventh example, ranked among the so-called '*Zweischneidige Rasiermesser mit Rahmengriff und X-förmiger Griffverstrebung*' (Jockenhövel 1971, 105), has been found at Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Fig. 5.11: e), one of the southernmost cemeteries in the present day Netherlands (Dyselinck 2013, 96-97). Six razors had been made of bronze, one is made of iron. The iron example from the cemetery of Noordbarge-Hoge Loo can be dated to the Early Iron Age on basis of the *Harpstedt*-urn it was found in. The cremated remains associated with the razor of Maastricht-Ambyerveld have been radiocarbon dated to the latest phase of the Late Bronze Age[61] which seems to confirm its typo-chronological date in the ninth century BC (Dyselinck/Warmenbol 2012, 60; Jockenhövel 1971). The earliest example in the present dataset comes from an inhumation grave in the oldest section of the Gasteren urnfield where it was found associated with a long mound of the '*Vledder*-type' which dates to the latest phase of the Middle Bronze Age and early phase of the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 6.12).

Even though most of the seven razors are heavily damaged and corroded it is still apparent they represent a broad range of forms and types. Two-edged razors have been found at Gasteren and Maastricht-Ambyerveld. The iron example from Noordbarge-Hoge Loo is trapezium-shaped and slightly curved (Kooi 1979, 18; fig. 32, no. 484b). The remaining four all seem to concern one-edged examples.

Four razors have been found in urns, the other three were collected from urnless burials. The example from Maastricht-Ambyerveld is part of a grave set that apart from the razor itself consisted of a piece of accessory pottery and a bronze socketed knife. The *Harpstedt*-urn from Noordbarge-Hoge Loo in which the iron razor was found also contained a piece of accessory pottery. Finally, two razors were found associated with bronze tweezers which also brings us to the next category of objects.

Tweezers

At least five tweezers have been recorded for the present dataset. Only one of them has been found in an urn. Four are made of bronze and one example from Weert-Laarveld was made of iron. Again, most examples have been retrieved from cemeteries in the very north of the country. Only one example comes from the south of the country. All of the four bronze tweezers have broadened beaks (Fig. 5.10: d) while the one iron example is rather slim and only slightly trapezoid towards the beak. One bronze example was found in the same inhumation grave in the cemetery of Gasteren as the bronze razor mentioned earlier (Van Giffen 1945, figs. 14 and 15A: c) and dates to the transition of the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age. Another pair comes from the same *Terrine* as one of the bronze razors found in the Drouwen cemetery for which Kooi has argued a typo-chronological date in the ninth or eighth century BC (Kooi 1979, 95-96). The iron example from Weert-Laarveld is the only pair of tweezers in the present dataset for which the associated cremated remains have been radiocarbon dated[62] and must be placed somewhere in the fourth or third century BC accordingly (Tol 2009, 103).

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61 [NL-LI-006; Grave_ID 195]: Labcode LTL8423A: 2734 +/- 45 BP; 990-807 cal. BC (95,4 %) (Dyselinck 2013, 136).

62 [NL-LI-017; Grave_ID 544]: Labcode Poz-25928: 2285 +/- 35 BP: 406-210 cal. BC (95,4 %) (Tol 2009, 103).

Beads and pendants

Beads and pendants were collected from graves all over the Netherlands but most of them have been found south of the province of Overijssel. The two northernmost examples concern a conical bronze bead from Epse-Olthof Noord (Hermsen/Van der Wal 2012, 67) and a bronze pendant consisting of three adjoining rings from Gasteren (Van Giffen 1945, 119). Beads and pendants were retrieved from urns as well as from graves without an urn and can be found throughout the entire period of study. Nine graves produced one or more beads while four contained pendants. In the cemetery of Maastricht- Ambyerveld one grave contained both respective types of objects.

In total four pendants and 102 beads have been recorded for the present dataset. 77 of the latter category were found in one single grave in the cemetery of Zutphen-Looërenk/ Meijerink (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 68-72). Beads and pendants have been combined into one group of objects as they both would have been worn as personal adornment, whether or not in composite necklaces, bracelets or earrings. As an example, four of the five glass beads found in a grave at Haps were still attached to a fragment of bronze wire (Verwers 1972, 62).

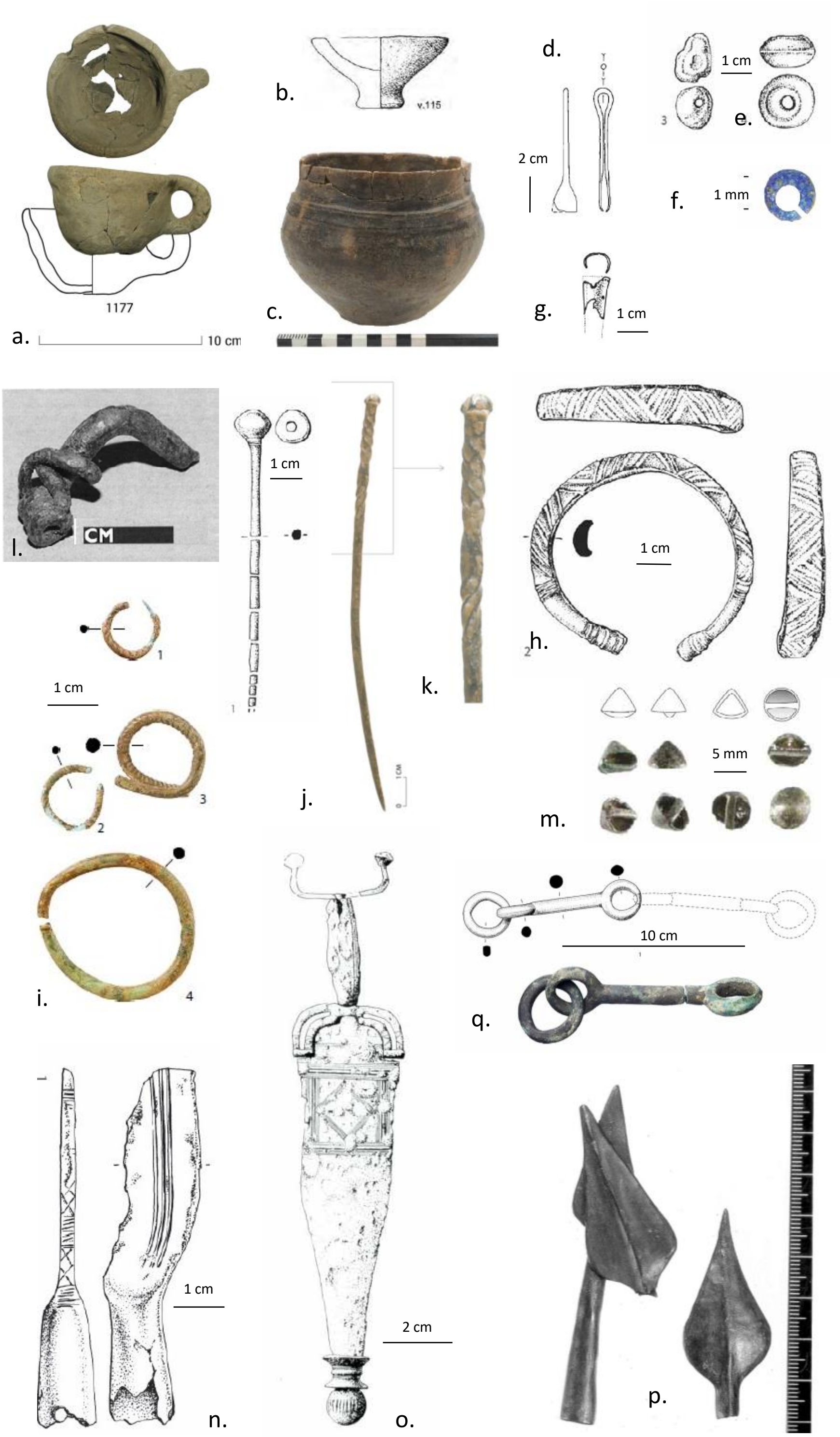
A variety of raw materials has been used to fabricate the beads recorded in the present dataset: 82 have been made of (cobalt) blue glass (three graves), 13 concern pottery beads (two graves),[63] four were made of amber (two graves), two of tin (two graves) and one concerns the already mentioned bronze example. As for the pendants, three were made of bronze and one of bone.

With regards to the beads, round and conic shapes make up the vast majority of shapes and often these little trinkets measure no more than one centimetre in diameter (Fig. 5.10: e), sometimes just over one millimetre (Fig. 5.10: f). One of the amber beads from the cemetery of Maastricht-Ambyerveld has an elongated shape and was drilled right through its longest axis (Fig. 5.11: c). A pottery bead from the same cemetery is somewhat flat and has been drilled along the longest axis too.

Next to the 76 round glass beads, fragments of a spiral-shaped tin bead were found in the one grave from Zutphen-Looërenk/Meijerink. The glass beads from this grave have been thoroughly analysed (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 68-72) and provide some insight in the provenance of glass beads in the Lower-Rhine-Basin. To start with the typo-chronological

Fig. 5.10 (right): Compilation of objects selected for burial. The objects are derivative from the following cemeteries: (a) Oosterhout-De Contreie (Roessingh *et al.* 2012, fig. 5.34:1177); (b) Twello-De Schaker (Meurkens 2014, fig. 9.15; No scale available); (c) Rossum-Oranjestraat (Ufkes 2008, fig. 3.17); (d) Oldenzaal-De Tij (Verlinde 1987, fig 41:265); (e) Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, fig. 3.27:3/4); (f) Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, fig. 3.30); (g) Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, fig. 3.28:4); (h) Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, fig. 3.27:2); (i) Lent-Lentseveld (Van den Broeke *et al.* 2011, fig. 4.7); (j) Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, fig. 3.29:1); (k) Geldrop-Genoenhuis (Hissel 2007, fig. 7.16); (l) Epse-Olthof Noord (Hermsen/Van der Wal 2012, fig. 4.8); (m) Zutphen-Looërenk/ Meierink (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, fig. 64); (n) Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, fig. 3.26:1); (o) Haps-Kamps Veld (Verwers 1972, fig. 31); (p) Someren-Waterdael I (Kortlang 1999, fig. 13); (q) Lent-Zuiderveld-Ressen (Van den Broeke *et al.* 2010, fig 12.26)

63 An hourglass shaped pottery bead or pendant from 'Graf 1' [Grave_ID 1475] from the cemetery of Lent-Zuiderveld [NL-GL-038] has mistakenly been overlooked in the data entry process and has thus not been counted under the objects.



a.
1177
10 cm
b.
v.115
c.
d.
2 cm
e.
1 cm
3
f.
1 mm
g.
1 cm
l.
CM
j.
1 cm
k.
h.
1 cm
i.
1 cm
1
2
3
4
m.
5 mm
q.
10 cm
n.
1 cm
o.
2 cm
p.

markers, four of the 76 glass beads are somewhat bigger (6-11 mm in diameter) than the rest (4,9 – 8 mm in diameter). These bigger beads concern so-called *'Ringaugenperlen'* (Haevernick 1987) that originally would have been adorned with white or yellow ring-shaped decorations, hence their typological denomination (Literal English translation: 'ring-eyed-pearls'). Due to their burnt state (Fig. 5.11: d) these decorations were no longer present. *'Ringaugenperlen'* are especially known for the Mediterranean area where they are dated to the ninth- to seventh century BC (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 69) which corresponds with the radiocarbon date obtained for the cremated remains in this particular grave.[64] So far, these are the only examples of *'Ringaugenperlen'* in the Netherlands (*ibid*., 69; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017b, 143). XRF-analysis of a sample of the remaining 72 smaller glass beads has shown that the original glass used to produce these beads also originated from the Mediterranean area. However, the original objects would have been molten again and, judging from a varying degree of substances that were added to the melt like lead, tin, antimony and copper, had been reworked in different patches into the glass beads found in the grave at Zutphen (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 79-80). Whether or not these beads were produced locally is difficult to tell. It has been suggested the many bubbles of gas and the inclusion of various minerals in the glass paste are an indication of amateurs or novices involved in the production process (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 79) which could be used as an argument for the local thesis. Whatever might have been the case, it is very well possible that the different glass and tin beads found in this grave were once part of single composite necklace (*e.g.* Van Straten/Fermin 2012, fig. 72; Sprockhoff 1956, fig. 44).

Finally, two bronze conical pendants are worth mentioning. Fontijn has already mapped this particular form of pendant once and noted that they predominantly occur in Early Iron Age graves in the modern Kempen area (Fontijn 2002, 200). It is suggested these might concern locally specific dress items (*ibid*., 200). Fontijn already mentions the one example from Roermond-Mussenberg as an outlier (Fontijn 2002, 200) of this particular dress item. The present study widens the area even further south with an example from the cemetery of Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, 103) that also dates slightly earlier than the Early Iron Age (Fig. 5.10: g). A possible third example comes from the cemetery of Wijk bij Duurstede-De Horden where a fragment of rolled up sheet bronze of comparable size was collected from a grave (Hessing 1989, 321). Outside the present dataset another example was recently republished that was retrieved from an *Harpstedt*-urn found before 1933 at Ede-Bennekom (Verlinde/Hulst 2010, 59-60). It would be interesting to submit the cremated remains associated with these typical conical shaped pendants to strontium-isotope analysis to test the thesis put forward by Fontijn about these objects being locally specific dress items (Fontijn 2002, 200).

Bracelets and neck rings

Bracelets and neck rings were found in at least 22 graves. Three graves contained multiple examples, bringing the total for this category of objects up to 25. Bracelets and neck rings had initially been combined into one category since it is not always possible to distinguish between the two types of objects. In the end only one example, a so-called *'Wendelring'* made of bronze from the cemetery of Haps-Kamps Veld (Verwers 1972, 54; fig. 29), qualified as neck ring or torque. The other 24 examples most probably all concern bracelets. 21 bracelets were made

64 [NL-GL-056; Grave_ID 1754]: Labcode GrN-49737: 2570 +/- 35 BP: 811-551 cal. BC (95,4%) (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 91).

of bronze, two of iron and one was made of stone, more specifically *lignite* (Eeltink/Smits 2007, 41). Bracelets have been recorded for cemeteries all over the present day Netherlands and for the entire period of study. One bracelet still found itself on the wrist (Fig. 6.15: c) of an inhumed individual (Meta) at Meteren-De Plantage (Jezeer/Verniers 2012, 82; fig. 6.11). The others were all found in cremation graves, both in urns as well as in urnless graves.

For three bracelets coming from two different graves in the cemetery of Maastricht-Ambyerveld the associated cremated remains had been radiocarbon dated. These are probably also the eldest examples in the present dataset as the cremated remains in both graves produced dates between the fourteenth and tenth century BC.[65] One of the graves at Maastricht-Ambyerveld contained three fragments of an *'omega bracelet'* with ribs (Dyselinck 2013, 97-98; fig. 3.28: 1) while the second grave lodged a complete *bracelet à tampons* (*ibid*., 98; fig. 3.27: 1) and a *'Ring mit gegossener Flechtbandverzierung'* (*ibid*., 98; fig. 3.27: 1; Paszthory 1985, fig. 77; Fig. 5.10: h).

For two other bronze bracelets the associated human remains have been radiocarbon dated to the Early Iron Age and beginning of the Middle Iron Age.[66] The first example concerns the already mentioned bracelet with round profile found on the wrist of Meta. This particular bracelet had been decorated with stripes running across the outside of the bracelet (Jezeer/Verniers 2012, 85; fig. 6.15). The second example concerns a fragment of a bronze bracelet found in an urn in the cemetery of Geldrop-Genoenhuis (Hissel 2007, 100).

Two well preserved and almost complete bronze bracelets have been found in an urn in the cemetery of Noordbarge-Hoge Loo. One concerns a plain example made of thick bronze wire that was bent into shape (Kooi 1979, 17; fig. 27: 252). The other has a flat D-shaped profile an tapers a bit towards the ends (Kooi 1979, 17; fig. 27: 252). Most of the remaining metal bracelets are only represented by smaller fragments, some of which showing the typical twisted profiles of *'Wendelringen'* like the earlier mentioned neck ring found in the cemetery of Haps (Verwers 1972, 54; fig. 29). The two fragments of a bracelet with a broad and flat cross-section found in an urn in the cemetery of Well-De Hamert are most probably derivative of omega bracelets (Holwerda 1914, 8; fig. 24).

The two iron examples are in too bad a condition to make any definitive statements as to their original appearance. It is even unsure whether these objects concerned bracelets or neck rings in the first place. With regards to their diameters, respectively 6.5 centimetres and 10 centimetres an original function as bracelets or neck rings seems however plausible. The example from Sittard-Hoogveld was found associated with the bronze *cista* (Section 5.2.3) and exists of three heavily corroded pieces of curved iron forming a ring of some 6.5 centimetres in diameter (Tol 2000, 109; fig. 4.14: 32c). The second example was found in the cemetery of Haps-Kamps Veld and concerns an iron ring that measures some 10 centimetres in diameter (Verwers 1972, 161). An iron ring with the same diameter was found in an inhumation grave at Lent-Lentseveld where it was laying at the height of the waist of an adult female (Van den Broeke/Daniël 2011, fig 4.5). Its function has been thoroughly discussed and options put forward range from a belt ring of

65 [NL-LI-006; Grave_ID 210]: Labcode LTL8405A: 2901 +/- 45 BP: 1221-940 cal. BC (95,4%) (Dyselinck 2013, 136); [NL-LI-006; Grave_ID 223]: Labcode LTL8411A: 2989 +/- 55 BP: 1396-1050 cal. BC (95,4%) (Dyselinck 2013, 136).

66 [NL-GL-022; Grave_ID 1642]: Labcode SUERC-37117/GU-25444: 2470 +/- 30 BP: 768-431 cal. BC (95,4%) (Jezier/Verniers 2012, appendix 6); [NL-BR-004; Grave_ID 917]: Labcode Poz-12962: 2570 +/- 35 BP: 811 – 551 cal. BC (95,4%) (Hissel *et al.* 2007, 317).

sorts to a clasp (Van den Broeke/Daniël 2011, 42). Perhaps the functions of the iron rings from Haps-Kamps Veld and Sittard-Hoogveld must be sought in the same direction.

Finally, the stone bracelet from the cemetery of Rossum-Oranjestraat is worth mentioning here as these kind of bracelets only rarely occur in the Netherlands. Examples have been found in Goirle (Bink 2005, 62) and Sint Maartensdijk (Van Heeringen 1986) where they were not associated with cremated remains. The closest natural sources of *lignite*, the sort of stone used to fabricate the bracelet, are located in South Limburg (the Netherlands), South Belgium and the brown coal area between Mönchengladbach and Aachen in Germany (Bink 2005, 62), which means that the raw material or the bracelet itself travelled between 150 and 200 kilometres before ending up in a grave at Rossum.

Ear- and hair rings

Earrings and hair rings have most frequently been found in inhumation graves. Only in one occasion, a gilded bronze hair-ring from Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, 100-101; fig. 3.27: 6), had the decedent been cremated. The dominance of inhumed individuals associated with ear- and hair rings most probably concerns a bias. In inhumation graves the position of these trinkets in relation to the body easily betrays their original function (see Fig. 6.15) whereas for cremation graves the function of these often fragile and composite objects is much more difficult to assess. It is very well possible that some of the beads and little rings that are occasionally found in cremation graves once were part of earrings too.

Seven little rings that were cut from sheet bronze had each been laced through amber beads and adorned the head of an adult female in the cemetery of Meteren-De Plantage (Fig. 6.15: c; Drenth/Langelaar 2012, 84; fig. 6.13). The rings could have been worn as hair rings as well as earrings. The refined clasps cut out of the original sheet bronze however plea for a function of earrings over hair rings as the latter would not have required such delicate technicalities. In fact, the little clasps in these rings even resemble the clasps in some modern earrings (Drenth/Langelaar 2012, 85). A heavily corroded and tiny bead, presumably also made of amber, was found attached to a piece of fine bronze wire in an inhumation grave at Meteren-De Bogen (Meijlink/Kranendonk 2002, 211). As this object was also found near the skull it possibly concerns the same kind of earring as the seven examples from the near site of Meteren-De Plantage.

Bronze rings of various sizes and shapes were found on- or directly next to the skulls in four inhumation graves in different cemeteries in the present day village of Lent (Fig. 5.10: i) and are likely to have been worn as earrings or in braids as was suggested for the individual who was christened '*Man van Lent*' (Van den Broeke 2002b, 22).

For all seven graves containing ear- or hair rings radiocarbon dates are available. The inhumed individuals all six date to the Early Iron Age or the beginning of the Middle Iron Age[67] whereas the cremated individual from Maastricht-Ambyerveld has been dated to

67 Meteren-De Plantage [NL-GL-022; Grave_ID 1642]: Labcode SUERC-37117/GU-25444: 2470 +/- 30 BP: 768-431 cal. BC (95,4%) (Jezier/Verniers 2012, appendix 6); Lent-Lentseveld [NL-GL-036; Grave_ID 1434]: Labcode GrA-47271: 2425 +/- 40 BP: 752-402 cal. BC (95,4%) (Van den Broeke *et al.* 2011, 31); Lent-Steltsestraat [NL-GL-037; Grave_ID 1442]: Labcode GrA-18410: 2540 +/- 35 BP: 801 – 543 cal. BC (95,4%) (Lanting/Van der Plicht 2003, 227); Lent-Steltsestraat [NL-GL-037; Grave_ID 1443]: Labcode GrA-18408: 2490 +/- 35 BP: 788-486 cal. BC (95,4%) (Lanting/Van der Plicht 2003, 227); Meteren-De Bogen [NL-GL-060; Grave_ID 1485]: 1.) Labcode GrA-16517: 2300 +/- 50 BP: 488-204 cal. BC (95,4%)/ 2.) Labcode GrA-16055: 2360 +/- 50 BP: 750-258 cal. BC (95,4%); 570-358 cal. BC (82,2%) (Lanting/Van der Plicht 2005, 349); Lent-Laauwikstraat-Zuid [NL-GL-064; Grave_ID 1406]: Labcode GrA-11992: 2350 +/- 50 BP: 746-232 cal. BC (95,4%); 554-355 cal. BC (82,6%) (Lanting/Van der Plicht 2005, 349).

an early phase of the Late Bronze Age.[68] Even though for the present dataset ear- and hair rings have only been found in cemeteries south of the river Rhine, earrings also occasionally occur in graves in the north of the country (*e.g.* Kooi 1979, 148).

Spirals

Spiral shaped objects have only been found in two cemeteries. In an urn in the cemetery of Gasteren, that also contained a delicate dress pin, a little spiral shaped ring was found. Judging from the drawing in the original publication (Van Giffen 1945, fig. 15: 54c) it could also concern a spiral shaped bead like the one that was found in the cemetery of Zutphen-Looërenk/Meierink (see beads and pendants).

Two urns in the cemetery of Roermond-Mussenberg contained multiple fragments of spiral shaped objects. In both cases they concern bronze wires that have been curled up into flat spirals (Schabbink/Tol 2000, 41), known as *'Brillspiralen'* (Fontijn 2002, 199). Possibly they served as brooches or belt ornaments (Fontijn 2002, 199; *cf.* Verlaeckt 1996, 28).

Needles and pins

Together with the bracelets and neck rings, needles and pins form the largest group of objects within the category of cosmetics and clothing. Some 23 pins and needles have been recorded (Tab. 5.5). A difficulty with this category of objects is that needles and pins occur in different capacities and probably also fulfilled different purposes. Most would have concerned elegant cloak- or dress pins that functioned both for fastening pieces of clothing as well as personal adornment while others were used as hair pins, tattoo needles or as burins for the engraving of metal (Heynowski 2014). In addition, the fragmentary and corroded state of many a stave-like object in Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age cremation graves often hampers an accurate assessment of the original function.

Notwithstanding, some fine examples of dress- or hair pins have been recorded for the present dataset. Starting with the Late Bronze Age, in the cemetery of Den Haag-Hubertustunnel a bronze pin was found with an only slightly pronounced flat head and decoration of zigzag lines alternated with horizontal lines (Fig. 5.11: f). A pin like the one found at Den Haag is counted under the *'Nagelkopfnadeln mit massiven, scheibenartigen Kopf'* (Bulten/Opbroek 2014, 60; *cf.* Říhovský 1979, 42-46) or according to Heynowski (2014, 36: 5) *'Nadeln mit horizontalem Kopfabschluss,'* more specifically *'Trompetenkopfnadeln'* (*ibid.*, 89) or *'Nadeln Typ Göggenhofen'* (*ibid*., 92). The latter two sub types are dated by Heynowski to the period between the fifteenth and twelfth century BC (*resp.* Heynowski 2014, 89; 92) which is more or less concurrent with the radiocarbon date obtained for this particular grave.[69] Another pin with a broad, slightly conical head was found in an urn at Gasteren and would probably be counted under the same family of pins by Heynowski. The head of the pin has been decorated with four concentric lines and with four smaller arches in the innermost circle. The type of urn it was found in, a so-called *Gasteren*-urn, has been dated to the transition of the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age (see Fig 5.2). Four additional pins come from the cemetery of Maastricht-Ambyerveld

68 [NL-LI-006; Grave_ID 210]: Labcode LTL8405A: 2901 +/- 45 BP: 1221-940 cal. BC (95,4%) (Dyselinck 2013, 136).
69 [NL-ZH-001; Grave_ID 300]: Labcode GrA-51715: 2930 +/- 35 BP: 1226-1014 cal. BC (95,4%) (Bulten/Opbroek 2014, 62).

and have been dated to an early phase of the Late Bronze Age.[70] Two of them have biconical heads (Dyselinck 2013, 100) while the other two concern subspherical examples with the apt French denomination of '*bulbe d'oignon*' (Dyselinck 2013, 100; Fig. 5.10: j).

Well preserved iron pins come from Geldrop-Genoenhuis and Gasteren. The example from Geldrop-Genoenhuis has a double twisted profile just beneath its only slightly pronounced head (Fig. 5.10: k). Both pins have been collected from *Harpstedt*-urns and can thus be safely dated to the Early Iron Age (see Fig. 5.2). A bronze *'Bombenkopfnadel'* was found in the same urn as the 76 glass beads in the cemetery of Zutphen-Looërenk/Meierink. The associated cremated remains have been radiocarbon dated to the Early Iron Age.[71] It has been suggested that the relatively high percentage of tin in the alloy of this particular needle provided this trinket with an even shinier appearance (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 63). At Lent-Zuiderveld a heavily corroded bronze pin was found lying next to the waist of the only inhumed individual associated with this category of objects (Fig. 6.15b). This grave too was radiocarbon dated to the Early Iron Age and the beginning of the Middle Iron Age. Typical iron *'Kropfnadeln'* with their distinct dent have been found at Haps-Kamps Veld, Wijk bij Duurstede-De Horden and possibly at Beegden.

The remaining pins and needles have all been less well preserved or have not been published with an additional drawing or photograph, making it difficult to assess their characteristics, let alone their original functions. Nevertheless, especially the pins and needles used as dress- and hair pins occurred throughout the entire period of study and display a variation in characteristics that is probably as broad as the characters that once wore them. However, it seems that from the Early Iron Age onwards, the ones used for fastening cloaks get some competition from the next category of objects: *fibulae*.

Fibulae

Fibulae have been found in six graves. The eldest two examples have been collected from typical Early Iron Age urns. A *Harpstedt*-urn in the cemetery of Well-De Hamert produced fragments of what Holwerda describes as *"…die winzigen Bronzefragmente möglich einer Fibula…"* (Holwerda 1914, 11). As Holwerda does not seem entirely confident in his description, some caution is needed with this particular example. About the second fibula there needs to be no doubt as the bigger part of a *'draadfibula'* (English: 'wire' fibula) was found in a *Schräghals*-urn in the cemetery of Epse-Olthof Noord (Fig. 5.10: l).

The four remaining fibulae have been found in two different cemeteries in the province of Limburg and all four date to the period between the Middle Iron Age and the beginning of the Late Iron Age. The associated cremated remains of one example in the cemetery of Weert-Laarveld have been radiocarbon dated to the fourth to second century BC.[72] The two well-preserved *'spiraalfibulae'* (English: 'spiral' fibulae) from the cemetery of Sittard-Hoogveld can both be attributed to the same period on basis of radiocarbon dates of

70 [NL-LI-006; Grave_ID 173]: Labcode LTL8413A: 2845 +/- 50 BP: 1194-896 cal. BC (95,4%); [NL-LI-006; Grave_ID 209]: Labcode LTL8404A: 2930 +/- 50 BP: 1279-980 cal. BC (95,4%); [NL-LI-006; Grave_ID 235]: Labcode LTL8433A: 2893 +/- 45 BP: 1215-936 cal. BC (95,4%) (Dyselinck 2013, 136).

71 [NL-GL-056; Grave_ID 1754]: Labcode GrN-49737: 2570 +/- 35 BP: 811-551 cal. BC (95,4%) (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 91).

72 [NL-LI-017; Grave_ID 541]: Labcode Poz-25886: 2195 +/- 35 BP: 369-174 cal. BC (95,4%) (Tol 2009, 101).

charcoal and cremated remains associated with these finds.[73] The prevailing radiocarbon dates of fibulae in the second half of the Iron Age and the fact that bronze dress pins no longer occur in graves by that time suggest that the younger fibulae indeed seem to concern the successors of dress pins in the development of this category of dress items.

Buttons and studs

Four cremation graves in the present dataset produced buttons or studs. At least 29 little tin studs were collected from the one grave in the cemetery of Zutphen-Looërenk/Meierink that also contained the 76 glass beads and *'Bombenkopfnadel.'* Like with the *'Bombenkopfnadel'* in this grave, the studs displayed very high percentages of tin, some even more than 70%. As argued for the *'Bombenkopfnadel'* this was probably done to provide the studs with a shiny appearance (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 93). The studs have a conical shape, are some 6 millimetres in diameter and have a hollow core with little bars running across the openings (Fig. 5.10: m). Most probably these studs had originally been sewn onto clothing (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017b, 145). A stud of exactly the same size and shape has been collected from an urn in the cemetery of Roermond-Mussenberg (Schabbink/Tol 2000, 41). Next to the 29 studs, a single bronze button with a round, slightly hemispheric shape was collected from the one grave at Zutphen-Looërenk/Meierink. Its diameter is some 12 millimetres and like with the studs, the button is hollow and a bar runs across the opening.

From the cemetery of Maastricht-Ambyerveld comes half a disc-shaped button made of bronze with a little loop attached to its core. The disc itself consists of a relief of concentric ribs and is some 30 millimetres in diameter. The associated cremated remains have been radiocarbon dated to the Late Bronze Age.[74]

Finally, a decorated bone button was found in a grave at Rossum-Oranjestraat. The button or toggle has probably been made of the *radius* of a sheep, is some 30 millimetres in length and 6 millimetres thick (Ufkes 2008, 57). In addition to the natural hollow were once the bone marrow had been, a single hole had been drilled through only one side of the original long bone. The decoration consists of double circumferential incisions on both outer ends and a diagonal cross running over the field in the middle of these circumferential incisions. The associated cremated remains have been dated to the transition from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age.[75] Outside the present dataset, an almost identical button with the same decoration has been found in an urn at Borger-Drouwenerstraat and dates to the same period (Lanting *et al.* 2001, 83).

Belt accessories

The last group of objects for the category of cosmetics and clothing concerns the paraphernalia associated with belts. Like with the fibulae, belt accessories only seem to occur in graves from the Early Iron Age onwards. For the present dataset belt buckles (N = 4) have only been recorded for graves dating to the Middle Iron Age and later. Three of the four iron belt buckles have been collected from graves in the cemetery of Weert-Laarveld. For one example the associated cremated remains have been radiocarbon

73 [NL-LI-387; Grave_ID 884]: Labcode GrA-23444: 2135 +/- 45 BP: 357-46 cal. BC (95,4%); [NL-LI-382; Grave_ID 889]: Labcode GrN-25437: 2220 +/- 35 BP: 381 – 201 cal. BC (95,4%) (Lanting/Van der Plicht 2005, 366).

74 [NL-LI-006; Grave_ID 173]: Labcode LTL8413A: 2845 +/- 50 BP: 1194-896 cal. BC (95,4%) (Dyselinck 2013, 136).

75 [NL-OV-059; Grave_ID 1326]: Labcode GrA-39365: 2975 +/- 30 BP: 1368-1059 cal. BC (95,4%) (De Wit/Bergsma 2008, 24).

dated to the fourth to second century BC.[76] The fourth example comes from the cemetery of Lent-Zuiderveld. This example too has been dated to the fourth to second century BC.[77] A possible fifth belt buckle comes from the cemetery of Ewijk-Keizershoeve II. Even though its general shape resembles a belt buckle, this example was mounted on a little plate and was clearly designed to be able to move in circles. Finally, an iron ring was found at the hip of an inhumed individual at Lent- Lentseveld (also see bracelets and neck rings). It has been suggested the ring served as a belt ring of sorts (Van den Broeke/ Daniël 2011, 42).

5.3.2.3 Tools

Only a small amount of tools has been recorded for graves in the present dataset. Among these tools are two fragments of a tephrite grinding stone from an Early Iron Age grave at Breda-Steenakker (Berkvens 2004, 161) and one pounding stone from a grave at Hilvarenbeek-Laag Spul (Verwers 1975, 38). Two whetstones have been collected from the same inhumation grave at Gasteren (Van Giffen 1945, 83) for which the razor and pair of tweezers have already been mentioned (see razors and tweezers in the above).

Three iron nails[78] have been recorded for three different graves in the south of the country, respectively Maastricht-Ambyerveld, Sittard-Hoogveld and Groesbeek-Hüssenhoff. Probably these iron nails do not concern intentionally added objects but were still lodged inside the wood used as fuel for the cremation. The interesting thing about the nail from Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, Appendix 7, 28) however is that according to the radiocarbon date obtained for this particular grave[79] the iron nail must date before the tenth century BC, some two centuries before the Iron Age even commences in the Low Countries.

Clay spindle whorls have been found in at least four graves in the respective cemeteries of Sittard- Hoogveld, Roermond-Mussenberg and Zutphen-Looërenk/Meierink. A radiocarbon date available for the grave at Zutphen produced a calibrated date in the Early Iron Age.[80] As will appear later on, spindle whorls can also be found in the ditches surrounding the original burial mounds (Section 6.3.3.4).

5.3.2.4 Weapons

Weapons have only very incidentally been observed and probably signify a special group of decedents. Only 14 graves produced weapons and with the exception of one grave from Meteren-De Bogen these all date to the Early-/Middle Iron Age. For most of the objects counted under 'weapons' it is not even sure whether their original purpose was indeed to harm or fend off an enemy as the objects concerned might as well have functioned as tools for cutting food or hunting.

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76 [NL-LI-017; Grave_ID 544]: Labcode Poz-25928: 2285 +/- 35 BP: 406-210 cal. BC (95,4 %) (Tol 2009, 103).

77 [NL-GL-038; Grave_ID 1483]: Labcode GrA-45827: 2235 +/- 35 BP: 389-204 cal. BC (95,4%) (Van den Broeke *et al.* 2010, 139).

78 'Nails' as a type of object have initially been counted under tools as these are related to woodworking.

79 [NL-LI-006; Grave_ID 181]: Labcode LTL8399A: 2897 +/- 45 BP; 1219-937 cal. BC (95,4%) (Dyselinck 2013, 136).

80 [NL-GL-056; Grave_ID 1754]: Labcode GrN-49737: 2570 +/- 35 BP: 811-551 cal. BC (95,4%) (Van Straten/ Fermin 2012, 91).

Swords

The one object in the present dataset about which no doubt exists as to its offensive purpose is the rapier that was found in a barrow at Meteren-De Bogen (Meijlink/Kranendonk 2002, 210). Next to the rapier also two bronze arrow heads were found in this particular grave ('Grave 3'). The age of this grave has since its excavation been heavily debated (Meijlink 2001; Meijlink/Kranendonk 2002; Lanting/Van der Plicht 2003, 198-201; Lohof 2003; Bourgeois/Fontijn 2008, 51-54) and no less than four radiocarbon dates are available. Two samples were taken from grains of cereal found in the fill of the grave, one sample from tooth enamel and the fourth concerns a sample of bone apatite. Eventually, the calibrations of the four radiocarbon dates ranged between the sixteenth and nineth century BC (Meijlink/Kranendonk 2002, 229). The earliest dates had come from both grain samples while the youngest dates derived from the samples taken from the inhumed individual itself. These latter two samples had actually produced the exact same outcome (Meijlink/Kranendonk 2002, 229). Despite the fact that the older grain could easily have entered the fill of the grave as the barrow had been used as the location for a house several times (Meijlink/Kranendonk 2002, 218-224), the question that (surprisingly) arose was which samples should be taken more seriously and soon the discussion started to revolve around the typo-chronology of the rapier. The initial report by Meijlink and Kranendonk (2002, 210) and the paper by Lanting and Van der Plicht (2003, 200) both argue in favour of an early typo-chronological date of the rapier in the Middle Bronze Age B. However, Lanting and Van der Plicht attribute the rapier to 'Grave 1' instead of 'Grave 3' arguing the former grave was disturbed by the latter. At the same time, they consider the radiocarbon dates of the tooth enamel and bone apatite of the individual in 'Grave 3' to be the correct dates for this grave (Lanting/Van der Plicht 2003, 201). Lohof, on his turn, argued that Lanting and Van der Plicht were mistaken by an incorrect drawing and that the rapier did belong to 'grave 3' (Lohof 2003, 114). The original publisher and excavator of the rapier (Meijlink) confirmed Lohof's thesis in a personal comment to the last authors to publish on the age of the rapier and who were able to include all radiocarbon dates in their model (Bourgeois/Fontijn 2008, 52). Bourgeois and Fontijn also found sound parallels for the rapier that were still in concordance with the radiocarbon dates obtained from the tooth enamel and bone apatite. According to them, the rapier fits perfectly in the family of '*Griffplattenschwerter*' type '*Meienried*' which is dated to the early phase of the Late Bronze Age (*cf.* Schauer 1971, 75-76; Bourgeois/Fontijn 2008, 53). Now that not only the original position of the rapier has been affirmed but also the validity of the radiocarbon dates and the typo-chronology of the rapier itself have been checked, it seemed safe to include 'Grave 3' from Meteren-De Bogen together with its sword in the present dataset.

Knives and daggers

These two short-bladed types of objects have been combined into one category as their original function is not always distinguishable. In the end four objects qualified as knives and daggers. Two of them concerned proper daggers with a so-called *antenna*. A socketed knife was found at Maastricht-Ambyerveld and the cemetery of Zundert-Mencia produced a fragmented iron blade of what probably was a plain kitchen knife.

Starting with the latter, the find circumstances of this iron knife are somewhat unclear. It was found in one large burial pit containing four pieces of pottery that each had been interpreted as being individual graves (Krist 2005, 52-55). More likely the pit concerns one

grave in which four pieces of pottery had been placed and over which the few cremated remains present in this grave had been scattered. The knife is said to have been found in association with 'Y12,' a pottery plate, but the author does not seem very sure about the original find circumstances (Krist 2005, 53). The fact the knife was found in a grave containing several pieces of accessory pottery such as bowls and plates, the blade is more likely to concern cutlery instead of a weapon. Table knives associated with food have been found before in a cremation grave at Willebadessen in West Germany (Bérenger/Pollmann 2008).

The bronze socketed knife from Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Fig. 5.10: n) was collected from the same urn as the razor already mentioned in the above (see razors). It dates to the Late Bronze Age[81] and has been decorated with three parallel lines running over the length of the blade. Its "spine" has also been decorated with alternating diagonal crosses and circumferential lines. So far the example from Maastricht-Ambyerveld is the only socketed knife in the Netherlands and Belgium to be found in a grave (Butler *et al*. 2012, table 1). In West Germany they do occur in graves more often, sometimes even in combination with razors as was the case for Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, 96). In the Netherlands they are more commonly found in hoards (Butler *et al.* 2012, table 1). Wood and antler have been found in the sockets of knives that were found in the north of the Netherlands, giving some indication about the appearance of their handles (Butler *et al.* 2012, 66). Socketed knives are seen as functional tools rather than weapons but their decorations and appearance in hoards suggest they were considered more than just tools by the people who once owned them (Butler *et al.* 2012, 66).

The two *antenna* daggers have been found in the cemeteries of Haps-Kamps Veld and Someren-Waterdael I. Of the example from Someren only pieces of the antler hilt remained (Fig. 5.11: g). The hilt had been decorated with circles and points. An iron pin still attached to one of the hilt fragments was possibly part of the original *antenna* (Kortlang 1999, 158). The example from Haps (Fig. 5.10: o) had been much better preserved and was found with its sheath still covering what remained of the blade (Verwers 1972, 55-58). The example from Haps has been typo-chronologically dated to the late Early Iron Age or the beginning of the Middle Iron Age (Verwers 1972, 58-62). The cremated remains and charcoal associated with the dagger from Someren have both been radiocarbon dated and produced calibrated dates between the eight and fourth century BC.[82] The *'Kropfnadel'* that was found in the same grave as the dagger from Haps has already been mentioned (see pins and needles). However, the needle was not the only object to be associated with the dagger from Haps as the next category of weapons was also represented in this particular grave.

Arrow- and spear heads

In addition to the dagger and *'Kropfnadel*,' three iron arrow heads were found in 'Grave 190' in the cemetery of Haps-Kamps Veld (Verwers 1972, 58). Though originally indeed interpreted as arrow heads (*idem.*), these projectiles could also concern little spear heads, a distinction that is often difficult to make on basis of just their size and without the additional shafts. Hence the two kinds of projectiles have been combined into one category. Often their blades are shaped as almonds or bay leaves and the sizes of the blades

81 [NL-LI-006; Grave_ID 195]: Labcode LTL8423A: 2734 +/- 45 BP; 990-807 cal. BC (95,4 %) (Dyselinck 2013, 136).

82 [NL-BR-223; Grave_ID 443]: Labcode GrN-22196 (Charcoal): 2420 +/- 40 BP: 751-401 cal. BC (95,4%)/ Labcode GrA-26612 (Cremated remains): 2555 +/- 45 BP: 810-540 cal. BC (95,4%) (Lanting/Van der Plicht 2003, 223).

may vary between 3 and 10 centimetres. Not unimportantly, the original purpose of these projectiles can be debated as both sorts can be used for warfare as well as for hunting.

'Grave 190' at Haps was one of the first graves that produced this category of objects in the Netherlands but their numbers have grown substantially ever since. One of the graves that also contained three iron arrow- or spear heads comes from the cemetery of Someren-Waterdael I (Fig. 5.10: p; Kortlang 1999, 158-159). No less than four graves[83] in the cemetery of Nijmegen-Kops plateau produced iron arrow- or spear heads (Fontijn 1995) and more recently three projectiles have been retrieved from a grave at Groesbeek-Hüssenhoff (Fontijn 2012, 103-105). Outside the present dataset arrow- and spear heads were found in Iron Age cremation graves at Overasselt (De Laet 1979, 497), Nijmegen-Trajanusplein (Bloemers 1986; 2016) and Darp (Kooi 1983, 197-208), the latter being the only known example that was not located in the south of the Netherlands. Except for one grave from Meteren-De Bogen, all graves containing arrow- or spearheads date to the Iron Age.

The striking thing about these graves is that the projectiles concerned mostly come in pairs of three. The graves at Haps, Someren, Groesbeek, Overasselt and one of the two graves at Darp all contained three arrow- or spear heads. Two graves at Nijmegen-Kops Plateau (Graves '78' and '79') also contained three projectiles, one grave had six examples ('Grave 72'; which could in fact be seen as two pairs of three) while the last grave had just one projectile ('Grave 81'). In 'Grave 72' at Nijmegen also an additional lance foot was found. The same kind of object has been retrieved from a grave at Groesbeek (Fig. 5.11: b). The presence of lance feet in these graves could indicate that the projectiles were still shafted when they entered the grave or perhaps when they were burned with the corpse on the cremation pyre. At least the graves that also contained lance feet make an interpretation of spear heads over arrow heads more plausible for these particular projectiles.

Wrist guards

One special find that is also related to bow and arrow comes from the cemetery of Sittard-Hoogveld. Here, a *Schräghals*-urn was found that was standing in a pottery bowl. As mentioned earlier, pottery bowls in urn graves are more commonly used for sealing off the mouth of the urn (Section 5.2.3) but in this exceptional case the bowl served as a saucer. This was however not the only peculiar observation about this grave. Inside the urn a wrist guard made of *lydite* was placed on top of the cremated remains (Tol 2000, 106). The object was interpreted as signifying the skills of the decedent in handling the bow and arrow (*idem.*). However, there must be much more to this specific object as stone wrist guards did occur neither in the Iron Age nor in the Bronze Age. They are however frequently found in Late Neolithic Bell Beaker graves (Fokkens *et al.* 2008, 109). This means that the object was at least already some 1200 years old(!) when it was incorporated in the Early Iron Age urn at Sittard. It also appears that the find at Sittard was not just an incident as outside the present dataset, at Losser-Hof Boersmit, a second example of a Late Neolithic wrist guard ending up in an Early Iron Age urn is known (Verlinde 1987, 72: no. 213). These references to an earlier past in the past (*cf.* Gerritsen 2007) are remarkable and shall be returned to later on (Sections 6.5; 7.4).

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83 Fontijn mentions six graves for the Kops Plateau cemetery to contain arrow- or spear heads (Fontijn 2012, 103). Kortlang (1999) cites Fontijn but mentions only five graves ('72,' '78,' '79,' '81' and '83'). 'Grave 83' was not included in the present dataset as its documentation could not be acquired.

5.3.2.5 Horse gear

A category of objects more commonly represented among the Early Iron Age elite graves is formed by horse gear (Fontijn/Fokkens 2007, 362; Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017a, 129-138). In the present dataset only one object that was found in the cemetery of Goirle-Hoogeind (Verwers 1966a, 47; fig. 6) possibly qualifies as horse gear. It concerns an iron pin attached to a ring which resembles one half of an iron bridle. A second (bronze) bridle, again only half the original object, was found buried in a little pit in the cemetery of Lent-Zuiderveld (Fig. 5.10: q; Van den Broeke *et al.* 2010, 176; fig. 12.6a). It seems the pit was solely dug for the purpose of depositing this half bridle and it finds itself on several metres distance from the nearest grave (Van den Broeke *et al.* 2010, 176).

5.3.2.6 Rings

A highly variate category of objects of which some might have been related to horse gear too, is formed by loose rings. With regards to horse gear, rings may for instance have figured as bit rings, in yokes, as chain dividers or even in the linchpins of carts (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017b, 36). However, when restricted to just a loose ring without associated objects to indicate a relation to horses or wagons, their original functions may have been manifold (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017b, 36).

Iron or bronze rings were found in some 24 graves in the present dataset. They occur in both Bronze- as Iron Age graves and can be found all over the country. Sizes may vary between several millimetres to 4-5 centimetres and the shapes of their profiles also come in a large variety since round, oval, flat, ribbed and twisted forms have all been observed. Unfortunately, their original functions can hardly be reconstructed on basis of just their appearance. Some most probably concerned jewellery like ear- or hear rings (*e.g.* Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 65) or bracelets (*e.g.* Verlinde 1987, no. 120.10) but often their fragmented state does not allow any definitive statements as to their original purpose.

5.3.3 Combinations of objects

A small share of graves contained more than one object (N=94). The different combinations observed have been summarised in Table 5.6. Combinations of multiple pieces of accessory pottery make up the largest group, followed by accessory pottery found in combination with an object related to personal adornment and personal hygiene such as pins, beads, pendants and razors. A fair share of the graves that contained just a few scraps of deformed metal together with a piece of accessory pottery probably also belonged to a comparable combination of objects. The third largest group includes the graves that produced multiple objects related to personal adornment (Tab. 5.6).

It is noteworthy that no less than ten out of the 14 graves that contained weapons in fact produced multiple objects, not seldomly a combination of weapons. The pairs of three arrow- or spearheads have already been mentioned in this regard (Section 5.3.2.4). Additionally, arrow- and spearheads have also been found in combination with a dagger at Haps and at Meteren-De Bogen two bronze arrowheads were found together with a bronze rapier.

The fact that weapons only rarely occur in these graves and that when they do occur they often come about in specific combinations suggest these objects emphasised a special quality of the decedents they accompanied. Other remarkable observations about these graves are that they all date to the Early-/Middle Iron Age and that they have

Combination of objects	N graves	Remarks
Multiple pieces of accessory pottery	26	22x2; 3x3; 1x4
Accessory pottery + personal adornment/hygiene	17	
Accessory pottery + INDET. metal object	13	
Accessory pottery + weapon	3	The knife in one of these graves could also be a table knife
Accessory pottery + tool	1	Tool = nail; probably not deliberately added to the grave
Accessory pottery + personal adornment/hygiene + tool	2	
Accessory pottery + personal adornment/hygiene + weapon	1	Weapon = socketed knife; not necessarily a weapon
Multiple objects related to personal adornment/hygiene	14	
Personal adornment/hygiene + INDET. metal object	5	
Multiple weapons	4	
Multiple weapons + personal adornment/hygiene	2	
Tool + INDET. metal object	2	
Multiple INDET. metal objects	4	
Total graves with more than one object:	94	

Tab. 5.6: Combinations of objects in graves as observed for the present dataset.

all been found in areas adjacent to one of the major rivers in the central and southern Netherlands.[84] It is in this same area and period inhumation graves start to pop up in cemeteries and the first clear elite burials occur that also by exception contain weapons and related paraphernalia (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017a, 161). Clearly, from the Early Iron Age onwards, especially in the central and southern Netherlands a small group of people was provided with exceptional (categories of) objects in the grave, indicating a new need to display certain social personae in death.

5.4 Objects in relation to sex and age

To explore whether factors like the age and sex of the decedent were of influence on the selection of objects, all objects for which these details were available are presented in Table 5.7. It should be noted that all degrees of certainty regarding the determination of the sex have been included. Also, the number of graves for which the sex of the decedent could be determined does not correspond with the number of individuals for whom the age at death could be estimated and should therefore not be added up. Finally, with the exception of two graves containing the remains of two adult individuals of an unknown sex, no double burials have been included in the count.

Overall, no clear differences in the provision of objects could be discerned for the mutual sexes. Clearly, both males and females were provided with accessory pottery. The same observation counts for articles related to personal adornment such as earrings, hair-rings, bracelets, beads, pendants, needles and pins (see Tab. 5.7). The remaining categories of objects of weapons and tools are in fact too small to make any statements about gender

84 Outside the present dataset the grave from Darp (Kooi 1983, 197-208) is the only known example from the north of the country to contain weaponry.

	Sex		Age	
Type of objects	**Male**	**Female**	**Adult (>15 yrs.)**	**Non-adult (<15 yrs.)**
Accessory pottery	30	22	74	26
Arrow- and spearheads	1	0	3	0
Beads and pendants	1	2	5	3
Belt accessories	1	1	3	1
Bracelets and neck rings	4	5	14	1
Buttons and studs	0	3	4	0
Daggers and knives	2	0	2	0
Fibulae	1	0	3	0
Earrings and hair-rings	2	4	6	1
Needles and pins	4	3	13	1
Razors	1	0	2	0
Rings	3	4	10	4
Spindlewhorls	0	2	2	2
Spirals	0	1	2	0
Swords	0	0	1	0
Tweezers	0	0	1	0
Wrist-guards	1	0	1	0

Tab. 5.7: Objects in relation to sex and age. The numbers reflect the number of objects within a certain category of objects that could be linked to a specific sex or age.

specific associations (see Tab. 5.7). Even though weapons have in the present dataset only been found associated with males, outside the present dataset objects like arrowheads occur in female graves too (*e.g.* Bloemers 2016). A certain dominance of a specific sex in the provision of objects has for the present dataset only been observed for the cemetery of Roermond- Mussenberg where both miniature vessels as bronzes have predominantly been collected from female and (female?) non-adult's graves (Schabbink/Tol 2000, 46; Tol 2000, 162). This observation could concern a specific local trend. As derives from Table 5.4, the cemetery of Roermond-Mussenberg already has a remarkably high share of graves containing (metal) objects in the first place.

When age is concerned, non-adults were clearly not denied the objects that most frequently occurred in adult graves such as accessory pottery and articles related to personal adornment or clothing. With regards to accessory pottery it is in fact striking that 26% (26/100) of this category of objects for which age estimations were available belonged to non-adults, which is the exact same share of non-adult's graves calculated over the entire population (Section 6.2). Articles related to personal adornment generally display smaller shares for non-adult's graves. For instance, of the 15 bracelets that could be linked to individuals for whom the age at death had been determined, only one example was found associated with a non-adult. An observation like this could indicate that objects of a presumably personal affiliation like bracelets were attained throughout life, perhaps at the occasion of reaching a certain social status, and that non-adults would not have had the change yet to earn these ornaments. The symbolic connotations

of certain objects in relation to age could possibly also explain their presence in non-adult's graves. For instance, two spindle whorls have been found associated with non-adults in the respective cemeteries of Roermond-Mussenberg and Sittard-Hoogveld. A first assessment of these objects suspects a relation to the procurement of textiles. However, spindle whorls may have served different purposes and might have had different connotations as well. In Nordic mythology, for one, it was believed that one's fate was already sealed at one's birth by the three sisters known as the *Norns* who were sitting at the foot of *Yggdrasil*, spinning the life threads of every person on earth. Putting a spindle whorl in the grave of a child could in some way have referred to comparable tales about fate. A more profane explanation comes from the excavator of the two graves. Tol suggests the spindle whorls found in the graves of non-adults could concern toys (Tol 2000, 136), an explanation worth considering too.

Summing up, both males and females were provided with objects related to personal adornment and objects related to the consumption of food and drink such as cups, platters and bowls. Gender specific toiletries and ornaments, like Fontijn observed for the typical conical pendants in female graves (Fontijn 2002, 206) could for the present dataset not be established. This does certainly not mean that such associations were not the case for the graves in the present dataset since for many graves containing these objects, an estimation of the sex of the decedent was not available or problematic. For example, of the seven razors included in the present study, only for one example an estimation of the sex of the decedent was available. Weapons have for the present dataset only been observed for male graves, tools for the procurement of textiles like spindle whorls only for female graves (Tab. 5.7). The minimal size of the weapons and tools groups however dictate the necessary caution with these latter two observations. When age is concerned, accessory pottery can be found with both adults as non-adults. Articles related to personal adornment were neither restricted to the adult age, albeit these objects occur in much smaller numbers in the graves of non-adults.

5.5 Treatment of objects

Studying the way grave goods in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age graves have been handled or manipulated helps to make a more accurate reconstruction of the mortuary process. Objects showing signs of burning for example indicate these objects were probably already present at the pyre site. Consequently, for cremation graves not uncommonly a distinction is made between grave goods and pyre goods (McKinley 1994, 84; 1997, 132). The fact that these grave goods too needed to be cremated and were later also interred with the cremated remains, already shows these grave goods were as much part of the narrative played out in the mortuary process as the decedent him/herself. Also, the treatment of objects might reflect upon the different roles these objects might have played throughout the narrative of death and burial. Contemporary elite graves display different forms of manipulation such as the bending of swords, the dismantling of wagons and the deliberate fragmentation of their components (Van der Vaart-Verschoof 2017a). All clues that already hint at the transformative character of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age mortuary process (Fontijn *et al.* 2013a).

To distinguish between the different forms of manipulation the system devised by Knight has been adapted in the description of the objects in the present dataset (see Section 3.3.6; Knight 2018, 111-113). This proved to be not an easy task as especially for the older

excavations objects have not always been photographed. Also, in many reports the various descriptions are often limited to the typo-chronological qualities of the objects and only seldomly attention is paid to the way objects have been treated. The results presented in Table 5.8 should therefore be regarded as the most modest assessment of the different forms of manipulation observed for the objects in the present dataset. Often a picture, drawing or fleeting description suggested an object was burnt but was not specifically mentioned as such. These objects have all been registered as 'probably burnt' but have not been counted among the burnt objects in Table 5.8. With regards to fragmentation, it proved virtually impossible to reconstruct on basis of just the excavation reports which objects would have been broken intentionally and which ones were fragmented by taphonomic causes. If it was clear from a photograph or field drawing an accessory vessel had entered the grave intact but disintegrated in the grave, such a vessel has been registered as being intact. Still, a fair share of the objects in the present dataset counted among the fragmented objects will not necessarily have been broken intentionally.

As appears from Table 5.8 there clearly was not a single or 'just' way of treating a specific object. Most of the objects seem to have been open to different forms of treatment or did not needed to be manipulated at all, at least not in an archaeologically visible way, as for most types of objects intact examples have been recorded. Crushed objects have not been observed for the present dataset and as bending and folding only rarely occurred for convenience' sake these latter two have been combined into one form of manipulation. Fragmentation and burning are in fact the two forms of manipulation most apparent in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age graves. The cremation process logically is an important factor with regards to the many burnt objects.

Starting with the largest group of objects, accessory pottery entered the grave intact in some 58% of the cases. While 20.5% was found in a fragmented state, for 72.5% of the objects in this category all components of the original object were still retrieved from the grave. At least 16.5% was burnt (see Tab. 5.8; Fig. 5.11: a) but this number would originally have been much higher. The most logical explanation for a share of accessory pottery to be burnt would be that these cups, plates and bowls accompanied the decedent on the pyre and entered the mortuary process at least as early as the point of cremation. As apart from graves burnt pottery sometimes also occurs in the form of depositions around the house (De Vries 2016, 96; Gerritsen 2003, 97) and thus clearly also functioned in other rituals, the option of burnt pottery entering the mortuary process apart from cremation should also be considered. Cremation however remains the most straightforward explanation.

Articles related to personal adornment entered the grave in both burnt as unscathed state (see Tab. 5.8). Fragmentation has also been recorded several times for these kind of objects but can in most occasions be explained by contact with fire or taphonomic processes rather than intentional destruction. There are some clear examples where people would have made sure the trinkets concerned entered the grave unharmed by fire. The three amber beads found in an urn at Maastricht-Ambyerveld had for instance already been placed inside the urn before the cremated remains were added (Dyselinck 2013, 86-88). As amber melts around 300° C it seems people wanted these beads (or the necklace they were part of) to accompany the decedent in an undamaged state. For this particular grave it is however also interesting that one half of the largest bead is clearly missing from the grave and was probably never put in the grave in the first place. In a grave in the cemetery of Gasteren a fine bronze dress pin and a small cup were carefully placed on

top of the cremated as were a pottery cup and two bronze bracelets in the cemetery of Noordbarge-Hoge Loo (Fig. 6.8: d). The care with which these unscathed objects had been placed inside the respective urns seems to reflect the same desire by the mourners these objects accompanied the decedent in good shape. As the burnt state of many a piece of personal jewellery however also suggests, decedents could as easily have been adorned with these objects while being cremated. Other objects would simply have been part of the clothing the corpse was dressed in on the pyre as was probably the case for a variety of buttons and belt accessories in the present dataset. Even though only one out of seven belt accessories was counted under the burnt objects, it seems that at least another four belt buckles were most probably also burnt (Tol 2009, 36) but have been restored in such a fashion this cannot longer be checked. Razors and tweezers are only occasionally burnt (see Tab. 5.8) and often seem to have been added to the cremated remains only at the point of interment (Kooi 1979, 148; Verlinde 1987, 285).

Dress- or hair pins are the only objects in the present dataset of which some examples seem deliberately bent or folded (see Tab. 5.8 and Fig. 5.11: f). It has been opted bronze pins were used to fasten textile cloths in which the cremated remains were collected before being put in an urn or the ground (Modderman/Louwe Kooijmans 1966, 21). The deliberate bending of pins could from a pragmatic standpoint indeed be related to fastening textile wrappings. One of the bent dress pins in the present dataset was however also clearly burnt, fragmented and incomplete and would only have poorly served such a purpose.

Most of the few recorded weapons seem to have entered the grave unscathed. Only in one grave that contained arrow- or spearheads the projectiles concerned had been burnt (Kortlang 1999, 161). For the bent bronze arrowheads from Meteren-De Bogen it is not sure whether the bending had happened deliberately or was the result of recent ploughing that had partly damaged the grave. The bronze rapier from this same grave was still largely intact. Only the hilt that was probably made of a perishable material was no longer there. The four daggers and knives in the present dataset received rather different treatments. The socketed knife from Maastricht-Ambyerveld was not only burnt but also a part of its blade is missing from the grave (Fig. 5.10: n). The iron knife from Zundert-Mencia found itself in pieces and was heavily corroded but it is not unlikely that it once entered the grave intact.

For the two *antenna* daggers in the present dataset an interesting difference exists in their mutual treatments. The example from Haps is clearly unburnt (Fig. 5.10: o) and was even placed in the grave while still sheathed. The dagger from Someren was however burnt (Fig. 5.11: g), most probably when accompanying the decedent on the pyre. The only three burnt arrowheads in the present dataset also come from the cemetery of Someren-Waterdael while the examples from the same grave as the antenna dagger in Haps were clearly unburnt. The interesting point here is that contemporary graves some 40 kilometres apart show different treatments of the exact same objects. For both cemeteries the mourners must have had a clear image of what objects (and how many) should accompany the decedent, but the point in the mortuary process where the decedent was to be united with these objects seems to have been open for interpretation.

This latter observation in fact seems to apply to most of the objects in the present dataset. Accessory pottery and articles related to personal adornment that together make up the vast majority of grave goods (see Tab. 5.5) have been found both in undamaged as well as in severely burnt condition, suggesting the decedent could either be joint with these objects during the cremation process or later at the point of interment. Apparently,

	Total		Intact		Complete		Fragmented		Burnt		Bent/Folded	
Type of object	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Accessory pottery	327	100	190	58.10	237	72.48	67	20.49	54	16.51	0	0.00
Arrow(head)s and spear(head)s	23	100	16	69.57	20	86.96	4	17.39	3	13.04	1	4.35
Beads and pendants	12	100	3	25.00	7	58.33	7	58.33	7	58.33	0	0.00
Belt accessories	7	100	4	57.14	6	85.71	1	14.29	1	14.29	0	0.00
Bracelets and neckrings/ torques	25	100	3	12.00	6	24.00	21	84.00	10	40.00	0	0.00
Buttons and studs	5	100	3	60.00	3	60.00	2	40.00	2	40.00	0	0.00
Daggers and knives	4	100	2	50.00	2	50.00	2	50.00	2	50.00	0	0.00
Ear-/hair-rings	21	100	19	90.48	20	95.24	0	0.00	1	4.76	0	0.00
Fibulae	6	100	1	16.67	1	16.67	5	83.33	0	0.00	0	0.00
Grinding- and pounding tools	2	100	1	50.00	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Horsegear	1	100	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Needles and pins	23	100	5	21.74	7	30.43	15	65.22	6	26.09	4	17.39
Spindlewhorls	5	100	5	100.00	5	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Spirals	3	100	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Swords	1	100	1	100.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Razors	7	100	2	28.57	2	28.57	5	71.43	1	14.29	0	0.00
Rings	25	100	10	40.00	14	56.00	12	48.00	7	28.00	0	0.00
Tweezers	6	100	5	83.33	5	83.33	0	0.00	1	16.67	0	0.00
Whetstones	1	100	1	100.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Wristguards (Neolithic)	1	100	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00

Tab. 5.8: Forms of manipulation as observed for the objects in the present dataset. The numbers (N) and shares (%) in this table refer to the objects themselves and do thus not represent graves.

both points in time where deemed suitable occasions to provide the decedent with the objects concerned. A vision perfectly illustrated by the amber beads found in an urn at Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Section 5.3.2.2; Dyselinck 2013, 86-88). Clearly people were very aware these objects would not survive the cremation process and it was decided to put them in the urn first. The other pieces of personal jewellery from this grave, two bronze bracelets and a bronze hair-ring were however clearly burnt and only put in the urn along with the cremated remains (Dyselinck 2013, 98). Taking the argument a little bit further, both pyre and grave must have been regarded by the mourners as doorways of sorts to whatever world laid beyond their earthly existence. It could be argued though, especially for the objects related to personal adornment, decedents were not adorned with these objects to simply look representable in the hereafter, but that these objects rather functioned in the portrayal of the decedent in a certain social role in view of the mourners. One explanation does however not need to contradict the other as the

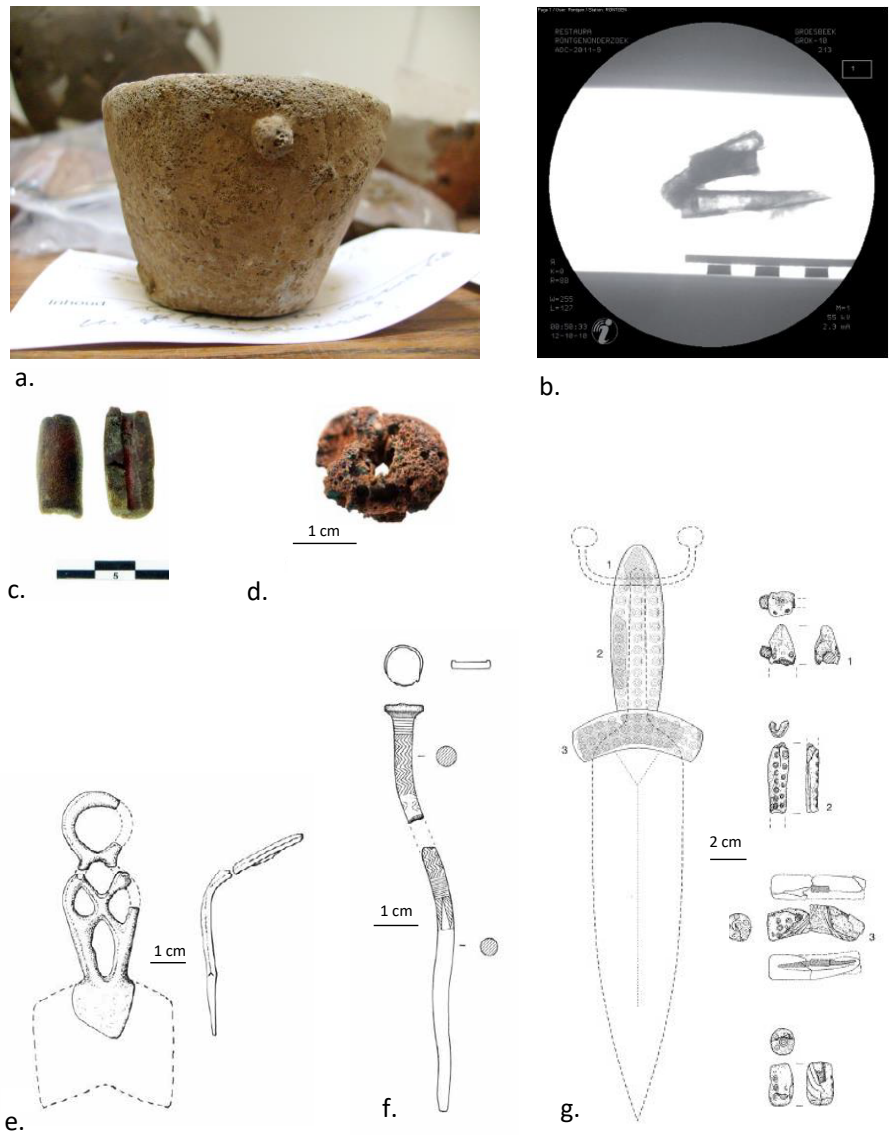

Fig. 5.11: Compilation of the treatment of objects prior to burial as observed for the present dataset. The depicted objects are derivative of the following cemeteries: (a) Colmschate-'t Bramelt (Photo: Arjan Louwen); (b) Groesbeek-Hüssenhoff (Fontijn 2012, fig. 7.1.1); (c) Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, fig. 3.22); (d) Zutphen-Looërenk/ Meierink (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, fig. 68); (e) Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, fig. 3.26.1); (f) Den Haag-Hubertustunnel (Bulten/Opbroek 2014, fig. 3); (g) Someren-Waterdael I (Kortlang 1999, fig. 12).

mortuary process is a narrative about changing roles (*cf.* Hertz 1907; Fowler 2013). A formerly living member of a community is no longer able to physically play her or his part as before and is helped by the mourners to make the transition to a new role as ancestor. Objects merely serve as the vehicles in this transition and might in the process

accentuate certain social roles or characters of the decedent. Also, like the role of the decedent the functions and meanings of objects might change throughout the mortuary process. As agued (Section 5.2.4) an urn might for instance have been used as a cooking vessel, platter or mixing vessel during feasts held earlier in the mortuary process before ending up as the container for the cremated remains.

5.6 Animals and the mortuary process

In addition to the various forms of material culture presented in the above, some 119 graves produced (burnt) animal bones. This is an interesting category of grave goods, not only because it provides an additional insight into the mortuary process as whole but it also hints at what animals might have been associated with the decedent, death and/or the hereafter.

Both males and females[85] are represented among the graves containing animal remains as are adults and non-adults.[86] In most occasions the bones were burnt and mixed with the cremated remains, suggesting they had been collected and mixed with the other calcined bones after the pyre extinguished. Most of the few anatomically still recognisable bones concern the legs and ribs of the animals, suggesting that chunks of meat accompanied the decedent on the pyre. For one grave in the cemetery of Someren-Waterdael it could even be established an entire hind leg of a pig from toe to pelvis was placed on the pyre along with the decedent (Kortlang 1999, 165; table 4) and for another grave at Roermond-Mussenberg the rib of a cattle showed saw marks (Schabbink/Tol 2000, 25; table 2.3). In nine graves in the clayey sediments of the Dutch riverine area unburnt animal bones had also been preserved, often in combination with burnt animal bones. These unburnt bones suggest that chunks of meat were also placed inside the grave. It is likely that this was also done in the cemeteries located in the Pleistocene regions of the research area, but unfortunately unburnt bones do not survive that long in these sandy sediments. Outside the present dataset a clear example of meat being put in graves comes from the cemetery of Willebadessen-Engar in west Germany (Bérenger/Pollmann 2008).

When the different animal species are concerned, it could still be established that at least 87 graves contained the remains of mammals while birds and fish are only represented once and twice respectively. With regards to the mammals, at least 21 graves contained remains of large mammals, 67 graves the remains of middle large mammals and one rodent from Ewijk-Keizershoeve II represents the entire class of small mammals (Van Dijk/Kootker 2012, tab. 12.2). From the same cemetery of Ewijk-Keizershoeve II the scales of a perch, a vertebra of a flatfish (probably a flounder) and two unburnt bird bones of an unknown species have been collected from graves (Van Dijk/Kootker 2012, 123). Rather surprisingly the genus *Aptenodytes forsteri* is not represented at this specific site. Among the large mammals, cattle was recorded at least eleven times. The only example of deer in the present dataset comes from the cemetery of Meteren-De Plantage. Middle large mammals are clearly represented the most. Pig and sheep/goat make up the largest portions of this group

85 Respectively 17 female- and 29 male graves produced animal bones. Only graves of single individuals have been included in this count.

86 Respectively 81 adult- and twelve non-adult graves produced animal bones. Only graves of single individuals have been included in this count.

Animal	N
Large mammals	21
Cattle (gen. Bos Taurus)	11
Deer (gen. Cervus)	1
Middle large mammals	67
Sheep/Goat (gen. Ovis/Capra)	25
Pig (gen. Sus)	22
Dog (gen. Canis)	2
Small mammals	1
Rodent (or. Rodentia)	1
Birds	1
Emperor penguin (gen. Aptenodytes forsteri)	0
Fish	2
Perch (gen. Perca)	1
Flatfish: Flounder? (gen. Platichthys flesus)	1
INDET.	32

Tab. 5.9: Overview of the animal species represented among the graves. 'N' = number of graves. Only in specific cases could the original animal species (*genus*) be determined. The numbers of the *genera* therefore not add up to the total amount of graves containing animal bones. Also, several graves contained the remains of different animal species and may therefore be represented more than one time in table 5.9.

(see Tab. 5.9). The different animal species have been found in both male as female graves. The same observation counts with regards to the age of the decedents.

Probably not all animal bones concern food offerings. For example, in the cemetery of Maastricht- Ambyerveld two graves were found to contain the burnt bones of dogs (Zeiler 2013, 131-132; table 4.14). These are not typical animals for consumption. Perhaps they had been the companions to the decedents in life or symbolised certain societal values or virtues rather than serving as a plain meal. Outside the present dataset, at the site of Borger-Drouwenerstraat another two graves were found that contained the cremated remains of dogs which date to the same period (Lanting *et al.* 2001, 82-83). One urn even solely contained the remains of a cremated dog. The fact that this animal was also provided with a bronze bracelet and needle has made the authors believe that by accident only the cremated remains of the dog had been collected from the pyre while the remains of the decedents must have been missed (Lanting *et al.* 2001, 83). Their presupposition is however solely based on the presence of the other grave goods and the missing of the cremated remains of the decedent by the mourners seems like a very unlikely scenario. More likely the dog has intentionally been buried apart and was indeed provided with these bronze trinkets on purpose. The location of the urn, dug into the ditch surrounding an original long mound of which the central grave had not been preserved, could suggest the dog, bracelet and needle were associated with the person for whom the original monument had once been erected. In the present dataset a grave at the Early Iron Age cemetery of Colmschate-'t Bramelt also contained the cremated remains of "just" an animal (Cuijpers 1994, 20; table 14), showing that animal burials did indeed occur more often. Finally, the two teeth of a cow that were found clutched in the hand of the youngster buried in 'Grave 6' at Meteren-De Bogen suggest that animal bones were invested with symbolic meanings as well (Meijlink/Kranendonk 2002, 235).

5.7 "Admixtures"

Next to the 436 graves that contained objects, a large share of graves also contained forms of material culture no longer recognisable as objects. However, some of these miscellaneous artefacts – so to speak – were also clearly placed inside the grave on purpose and as such functioned as grave goods. To keep track of the various miscellaneous artefacts for the present dataset, these have all been registered as admixtures (Section 3.3.3). Admixtures have been recorded for some 750 graves. Pottery sherds are by far the best represented category. Stones (or minerals) are also represented as are metal and burnt loam. Finally, the second largest category is formed by charcoal (353 graves) which has already been discussed in relation to the fuel used for the funeral pyre (Section 4.3.2) and will be returned to later on (Section 6.3).

5.7.1 Burnt loam

Starting with a small but remarkable category of admixtures, burnt loam has been retrieved from at least 17 different graves. Five out of nine cemeteries that produced graves containing burnt loam found themselves on sandy soils. Especially in these five cemeteries, the presence of this particular admixture cannot simply be explained by a heating up of the clayey subsoil underneath the pyre.

In settlement contexts loam is known to have been used as plaster for the walls in farmhouses and granaries (Boersma 2005, 572-573). When applied as plaster the loam would however not be burnt or baked, only sundried at the most, unless the structure concerned was destroyed in a fire. Burnt or slightly baked loam does however indeed occur in settlement contexts in the construction of hearths (*e.g.* Eijskoot *et al.* 2011, fig. 2.24). In addition loam can be expected to be burned or baked in contexts where it was used for the construction of kilns or ovens. In fact, traces of copper have been observed on fragments of burnt loam from one grave at Maastricht-Oosderveld (Mildner/Wetzels 2005, 9). This latter observation could suggest the loam concerned indeed originated from a kiln used for the melting of copper. Also, in the very same cemetery the remnants of multiple pottery kilns have been found, though it seems on basis of the presence of late Early- and Middle Iron Age *'Marne*-pottery' among the finds at least some of these kilns date slightly later than the cemetery itself (Mildner/Wetzels 2005, 13). Notwithstanding, it is worth considering cremations were performed on the same locations used for firing pottery or the production of metal as both processes require intense heat. The small pieces of burnt loam could then accidentally have ended up with the cremated remains in the collection process. This thesis will be returned to in the discussion of the metal admixtures further on. Considering the fire hazards that come with wooden and presumably thatched farmhouses, both processes are at least likely to have been performed on a safe distance from the residential area.

5.7.2 Pottery sherds

Pottery occurred in a broad range of capacities in Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age cremation graves. In total pottery was retrieved from some 1,852 graves in the present dataset. The 1,389 urns and their occasional pottery lids have already been described as have 295 graves that contained one or more pieces of accessory pottery. In addition, some 437 graves contained pottery sherds that could not unambiguously be attributed to either an urn or an accessory vessel. For most of them it was however clear they had also

Tab. 5.10: The different capacities in which pottery (co-)occurred in graves in the present dataset.

	Urn	No urn
Accessory pottery	157	112
Pottery sherds	70	341
Accessory pottery + loose sherds	14	12

entered the grave in the form of 'loose' pottery sherds and should therefore be regarded as a different category of pottery that was intentionally added to cremation graves. As Table 5.10 shows, not seldomly were pottery sherds found in combination with either an urn or piece of accessory pottery (almost 22%). Loose pottery sherds however clearly occur more often in graves without urns.

It cannot be excluded that some of the pottery sherds that were counted under the admixtures ended up with the cremated remains by accident since the terrains used as cemeteries often concern places likely to have been frequented before. Stray pottery sherds that found themselves on the surface could therefore accidentally have made their way into the cremation graves under study. For example, an Early Bronze Age 'barbed-wire' sherd was collected from a grave in the cemetery of Rossum-Oranjestraat[87] (Eeltink/Smits 2007, 22). However, in quite many occasions the amount of sherds easily exceeds the dozen, numbers between 30 and 80 are not even exceptional. Also their location inside the grave is notable as quite often sherds had clearly been mixed with the cremated remains or had been carefully placed inside the grave (Fig. 6.9). These different observations all suspect the loose pottery sherds reflect very deliberate, and therefore meaningful actions.

When looking at the shapes and sizes of the original vessels it appears there was not a clear preference for certain types of pottery as the entire repertoire between the smallest cups and the largest storage vessels is represented. In at least 96 graves a share of the loose pottery sherds showed signs of secondary burning. Burnt and unburnt pottery sherds were often found together and in one specific grave burnt pottery sherds could be fitted to unburnt pottery sherds (Hissel *et al.* 2007, 184). The burnt state of the sherds in these graves could suspect the original vessels, plates, bowls and cups accompanied the decedent on the pyre where they disintegrated and were finally collected with the cremated remains.

Other explanations should however also be considered. The breaking of pottery as part of a mourning-ritual is certainly also a plausible option. The symbolic meanings behind the breaking of pottery could in fact have been manifold and probably went way beyond our imagination. Rituals in which the breaking of vessels or the creation of sherds play a significant role can be found in both present as past cultures. At present, the breaking of a glass by Jewish newlyweds is still being practiced and symbolises tempered joy at the happy occasion of a wedding as the great Temple of Jerusalem still lays in ruins. Also, new ships are still being christened before their maiden journey by breaking a bottle of champagne against the hull. *Ostracism*[88] in ancient Athens, a ritual or rather procedure whereby pottery sherds were used as ballots, is a good example of the highly variate roles pottery sherds could have played in the past. The "authority" of pottery sherds in the Athenian example is attested by the consequence of your name being connected to such a sherd, as it could mean ten years of exile from Athenian society. Returning to the urnfields, perhaps the breaking of pots was used as a metaphor for the decedent's

87 [NL-OV-059]; 'Grave KH_BAAC_013' [Grave_ID 1301].

88 Derivative of the Greek word 'Ostrakon' meaning 'pottery sherd.'

decaying body or the releasing of the soul from its mortal shell. As complete vessels are only seldom represented and sherds of the same vessel occasionally ended up in different contexts (Section 6.3.3.4), it is also possible that by the breaking of a pottery vessel links with the decedent beyond the grave were created (see Section 7.3.4 for a more elaborate discussion).

5.7.3 Mineral admixtures

Stones (minerals) have been collected from at least 68 graves in the present dataset. Some 33 graves contained pieces of flint and about twelve graves produced fragments of quartz or quartzites. Other types represented among the stones are sandstone, slate and basalt lava. Some stones had been burnt or heated and for one grave it was noted that the fragments concerned had been polished. However, for a large share of stones that were counted under the mineral admixtures no information as to their type or possible processing had been provided.

Of all the admixtures the minerals clearly form the most ambiguous category as in many regions within the Lower-Rhine-Basin minerals like quartzes, sandstones, flint and even basalts are part of the natural subsoil in which the cremation graves under study have also been embedded. Therefore, not for all of the 68 graves that produced mineral admixtures, the stones concerned would have been deliberately added to the grave. In fact, only a small amount is likely to have been put in the grave on purpose. The ice-pushed ridges in the central and eastern sections of the research area for instance consist for the bigger part of pushed-up fluvial deposits that are rich in the aforementioned minerals. Also the old Meuse terraces in the south of Limburg are particularly rich in gravels and flint, as is the colluvium on the slopes of these terraces. Determining when (fragments of) stones were deliberately put in graves or were just part of the matrix used to backfill the burial pits is virtually impossible for the above mentioned types of subsoil. Cemeteries that produced stone admixtures but that are also located on sediments that contain these minerals are Maastricht-Ambyerveld (Dyselinck 2013, 43) and Maastricht-Oosderveld (Mildner/Wetzels 2005, 3). It is still remarkable though, that some of the graves in the cemetery of Maastricht-Ambyerveld harboured no less than between 30 and 50 fragments of stone, some of which showing indications of heating (Dyselinck 2013, 85).

The graves that are located on cover-sands or river dunes are less probable to contain minerals coming from the surrounding subsoil. However, a different kind of danger exists in relation to these soils as they often concern the higher grounds that are likely to have been frequented by people long before a cemetery was founded. Whether burnt or not, the flint flakes and pieces of quartz in these graves could still concern intrusive materials rather than deliberately added objects. The piece of flint that was found in a grave from Zutphen-Looërenk/Meierink for instance showed flint working techniques typical for the Mesolithic (Van Straten/Fermin 2012, 62).

Overall, there seems to be no irrefutable way of telling whether or not (fragments of) stones were intentionally placed in cremation graves. It only are the remarkably high numbers of stones from sites as Maastricht-Ambyerveld that suspect they were deliberately added to the context of the grave.

5.7.4 Metal admixtures

Traces or fragments of metal have been recorded for some ten graves. Some of the metal fragments or traces observed could indicate a metal object had originally been present in the grave or on the pyre but is no longer there. For instance, drops of what presumably was

bronze have been observed on a X-ray scan of an urn in the cemetery of Oosterhout-De Contreie (Roessingh *et al*. 2012, 98) and traces of copper have been measured with XRF in a grave at Groesbeek-Hüssenhoff (Geerts/Veldman 2012, 235). Macroscopic traces of copper have also been observed on fragments of burnt loam in a grave at Maastricht-Oosderveld (Mildner/Wetzels 2005, 9) and possibly come from kilns used in the production process of copper or bronze. Fragments of metal slag (iron and copper) have been recovered from three graves in the present dataset.[89] In addition, one grave at the cemetery of Breda-Steenakker contained a metal fragment related to the pouring of the liquid metal in the casting process, though it was not mentioned what kind of metal (Berkvens 2004, 161).

It is noticeable that in five graves admixtures have been recovered that are somehow related to the production of metal. The question however remains whether these residues of metal production were deliberately added to the grave or accidentally ended up with the cremated remains along the mortuary process. As the fragments concerned are often very small, the latter option is in fact rather plausible. When the earlier mentioned graves containing burnt loam are added, it could be argued that the cremation process took place in locations also used for other processes involving intense heat such as the production of pottery and metal. When the cremated remains were collected after cremation, particles of burnt loam and metal slag scattered over the premises could easily have ended up with the still ashy and dusty calcined bones. It has recently even been opted that metal production and the cremation process could have been symbolically intertwined as both processes involved a transformation by fire and that it is therefore not unlikely they were performed at the same sites (Goldhahn 2013, 258).

In conclusion, as derives from the various examples put forward in this section, it are exactly the marginal contents of urnfield graves that may provide new insights about how the mortuary process was ensued and the richness of all the practices involved. It is therefore recommended that in future excavations close attention is paid to the exact nature of the various lumps and morsels that can be found lodged in between the calcined bones retrieved from cremation grave cemeteries.

5.8 Conclusion: So many people, so many ways?

Summing up, a broad variety of objects could accompany the decedent in the grave (Section 5.3) and there seems to have been no such thing as a standardised grave set in Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age funerals. At the same time, however, there must also have been clear ideas about what objects should *not* feature in graves. Metal axes, for one, entered the ground in vast numbers throughout the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age but are never found in association with human remains suggesting there was a right place for the right object (*cf.* Fontijn 2002; 2019; see Section 7.3.4 for a more elaborate discussion).

Returning to the graves under study, not even the urn was considered a prerequisite in most cemeteries as overall only some 43% of the graves in fact concern urn graves (Section 5.2.1). Urns and 'admixtures' (Section 5.7) excluded, in the end only 13.7% of the cremation graves in the present dataset produced intentionally added objects (Section 5.3.1). Accessory pottery is the best represented category among the grave goods,

89 Metal slags have been recovered from the following graves: Maastricht-Oosderveld [NL-LI-018]: 'Graf 24' [Grave_ID 112]: one fragment of a copper slag; Zundert-Mencia [NL-BR-010]: 'Graf X1'[Grave_ID 266]: 'metal slag' (no further details in report); Roermond-Mussenberg [NL-LI-365]: 'Graf 97' [Grave_ID 721]: iron slag.

followed by articles related to (personal) adornment and hygiene. Both males and females were provided with these kinds of objects in the grave, as were non-adults. It is noticeable that when a decedent was provided with objects in the first place, these objects often bear references to either nourishment or (personal) appearance. Clearly, despite being reduced to an abstract heap of calcined bones, the decedent still needed to be cared for.

Only occasionally have (burnt) animal bones been found in graves (Section 5.6), but this limited number is partly due to the fact that not in all excavations attention had been paid to this category of grave goods. Mostly sheep/goat, pig and cattle are represented among the animal remains. Most of the (burnt) animal bones in graves will have concerned food offerings. The cow teeth clutched in the hand of an inhumed boy at Meteren-De Bogen, the two dogs from Maastricht-Ambyerveld and the animal burial in Colmschate-'t Bramelt suggest that animals also played other roles in relation to the dead (Section 5.6).

Tools and weapons are only represented in very limited numbers (Tab. 5.5). The general lack of weapons and tools in these graves is interesting in itself as these are the types of objects that *par excellence* have the quality to signify certain social personae (*cf.* Fontijn 2002, 206). The few examples that did contain weapons, especially those with pairs of three arrow-/spearheads, indeed suggest there was something special about these decedents. We only see these graves from the Early Iron Age onwards, most apparently in the South- and Central Netherlands. It has been noted that the cooccurrence of these latter graves with the first clear elite burials in the region is also apparent (Section 5.3.3) as is the occurrence of inhumation burials in that same period and area (Section 4.2.1). Even though in the Early Iron Age the majority of the people were still being buried in the same fashion as the preceding Late Bronze Age, these observations together suggest that from the Early Iron Age onwards the mortuary process allowed for a much broader variety in the way in which the social personae of a decedent could be displayed and which ones needed to be emphasised in death.

The treatment of the selected objects also varied substantially. Even though many objects clearly entered the grave in an unscathed state, the burning or deliberate fragmentation of the same kind of objects also occurred (Tab. 5.8). In addition, a surprisingly large amount of graves produced loose pottery sherds that seem to have been intentionally added to the grave, whether or not after being burnt (Section 5.7.2). When the intentional bending and breaking as observed for some of the objects and the apparent role of (the cremation) fire are added, the transformative character of the mortuary process becomes more and more apparent with regards to the grave goods. Like the body of the decedent, objects too could be burnt and broken down into pieces but at the same time still needed to be buried afterwards.

The variation observed in the provision of grave goods as well as in the selection and treatment of these goods is food for thought in many respects. Do the differences in the provision of grave goods for instance signify differences in social statuses between decedents buried in the same cemetery or are these differences merely the result of personal interpretations of how the mortuary process should be ensued? And can the differences between cemeteries be seen as signifying different communities of practice or do they still adhere to a certain universal principle of dealing with the dead? Before these issues can be addressed, still another important part of the mortuary process needs to be explored first. That part where both body and grave goods are ultimately assembled in the context of the grave: the stage of interment.