Later Iron Age Mortuary Rites in Southern Britain: socio-political significance and insular and continental context

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

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All mistakes are my own, in this thesis and in life more generally. All rights pertaining to data used for the production of distribution maps and UK soil pH, copyright of the esri community, and the United Kingdom soil observatory, respectively. Images used to produce skeletal diagrams copyright of Dutch Renaissance Press LLC.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. The Scope of this Study

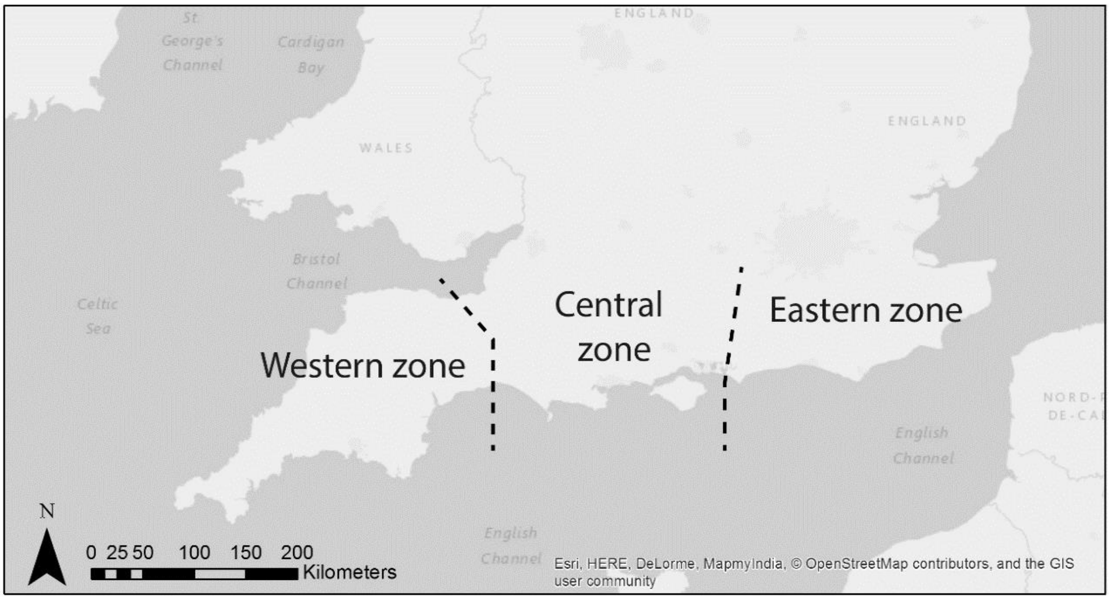
Death is a certainty. However, aside from life ending, nothing about death can be considered certain. Death can be a rift between kin, but contemporaneously a bridge to communicate with ancestors. The dead can be ignored and forgotten about, or they can be revered to the point that polities are founded upon their memory. In death, the strata of society may vanish, or can be emphasised to remind people of their place. For the deceased individual, it is the end of life, but for the society in which they lived, death presents a myriad of challenges and opportunities (Giles 2000, 206-7; Sharples 2010, 247).

This thesis examines the parts played by human remains in communities during the Later Iron Age, and how these roles changed over time. Through careful consideration of the available evidence, and by employing a new, composite theoretical model, this thesis will reframe Iron Age burial practises, by relating changes in mortuary rites to developments in the social and political organisation of societies in Britain and on the continent. To achieve this, it examines mortuary data from communities living in Later Iron Age southern Britain (c.500BC-c.AD70): the Isles of Scilly, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Sussex and Kent. Within this region, the dead were treated in a variety of ways in different locations and at different periods. Noted temporal changes to mortuary rites coinside with observable changes in the wider archaeological record, indicating that changes in such rites were part of wider socio-political developments. Besides marked developments over time and intra-regional heterogeneity, this data, at times, displays clear parallels to contemporary practices elsewhere in Britain and the near continent. This study considers the social and political role played by human remains during times of change. In doing so, it contextualises these rites within the broader British and near continental world. Taken together it suggests that mortuary practices were an integral part of Iron Age living, an important resource for structural cohesion, and one which was in part affected by changes elsewhere.

1.2 The Study Area

The region examined, referred to throughout this study as the study area, consists of a broad swathe of southern Britain. As will become apparent, this area did not possess a unified archaeological culture. Archeologically, geologically and, according to historical sources relating to the Late Iron Age, politically, it is and was a varied region. The selection of this area for study is thus a subjective one. The counties examined in this study were chosen for diverse reasons. Firstly, proximity to the English Channel, with all counties examined, excluding Wiltshire, bordering the Channel. The inclusion of Wiltshire is partly due to geological commonalities with Hampshire, Dorset and Sussex, which are described below. Its inclusion is also stems from some archaeological patterns it shares with the coastal counties, such as the the All Cannings Cross and Yarnbury-Highfield ceramic groups (Cunliffe 2005, 98). Secondly, the counties included in the study area have long been the focus of archaeological investigation, resulting in an abundance of data. The consistent attention paid to this region has led to the critique that some parts of the study area are over-privileged in terms of the amount of the archaeological study undertaken (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001, 23); a concern which will be addressed at the end of this chapter. The point here is to note that sufficient data exists for a study of this scope. This abundance of data is partly due to the cultural practices of Later Iron Age communities, and partly due to the degree of fieldwork which has been undertaken in this part of Britain.

Based upon past archaeological groupings, and as a tool to aid analysis, the region is divided into an eastern (Kent and Sussex), central (Dorset, Hampshire, Isle of Wight, Wiltshire, or collectively termed Wessex) and western (Devon, Cornwall and Scilly) zone (Map 1).



Map 1. Division of study area into sub-zones.

1.2.1. The Study Area: A historiography

The archaeological record available for the study area is the product of over two centuries of investigation. The significance of some of these discoveries was such that they influenced the development of the theoretical models used to explain the wider British Iron Age (section 1.3. . The historiography of the study area may be sub-divided into four phases:

1. The period prior to the 1920s.
2. The interwar abudance of excavations.
3. New excavations of the 1960s to early 80s in response to infrastructure developments.
4. The rise of developer-led archaeology since the late 1980s.

In each of these phases, different research aims, different excavation methods, and differences in the availability of resources affected how the archaeological record was recorded. Prior to the 1920s, most research was conducted on a small scale, such as William Barnes' (1865) excavations at Maiden Castle. As this period pre-dates the availability of aerial photography, excavations tended to occur at sites still visible in the landscape, in particular those with upstanding earthworks. Several large sites were uncovered during this period, such as Jordan Hill, Dorset (Warne 1872, 225-35), and

Harlyn Bay, Cornwall (Bullen 1912). Invariably these larger discoveries occurred as a result of construction projects, and rarely were archaeologists able to record them in sufficient detail before they were destroyed. It was typical for only the most lustrous or charismatic artefacts to be retained from such discoveries. The exception to these being Pitt-Rivers' (1898) intensively excavated and published work at Cranborne Chase, Dorset. The tendency to excavate upstanding earthworks meant that, during this period, the central, and to a much lesser extent, eastern zones of the study area were the focus of most serious attempts at excavation. Nevertheless, accidental discoveries in advance of infrastructure developments occurred across the study area.

The inter-war period has been referred to "the heroic age of British field archaeology" for the study area (Mulvaney 1962, 338). The advent of aerial survey (Crawford and Keiller 1928) opened the possibility to identify and excavate a range of new sites, hitherto invisible at ground level. Pitt-Rivers' legacy meant that archaeological sites were increasingly conducted with sufficient methodological rigour to expand the archaeological record to include a range of new objects, including those more indicative of daily life. Combined with this, public enthusiasm for archaeology enabled the funding of numerous county-based society led excavations (e.g. Hawkes 1940) and the large-scale excavations of Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943). Excavation methods of this period were predominantely reliant on cross-sections of earthworks, or the Wheeler-Kenyon method of test pits set within a larger grid. Although some excavations did focus on the interiors of sites, the labour-intensive methods of stripping topsoil by hand meant that a bias towards sectioning earthworks existed.

World War II initially catalysed fieldwork, with numerous airfields being constructed thereby necessitating rescue excavations, especially in the eastern zone in Kent and Sussex (Wainwright 2000, 909). Although post-war construction was rapid in some areas of the country, the study area was little affected outside of the coastal cities and saw few rescue excavations (e.g. Ashbee 1954). This ceased to be the case in 1960s. The Royal Commission for Historic Monuments in England (RCHME) report of 1963 identified, for the first time, sites which were at risk of being destroyed. Although the organisational framework to save these sites, compounded by the limited amount of notice developers had to give before destroying a site (3 months), was lacking, determined, large scale efforts were made to save some (e.g. Wainwright 1968; 1979). These were joined by comparably large excavation programmes at Owslebury, Hampshire (Collis 1968; 1970), and the massive scale excavations at Danebury, Hampshire (Cunliffe 1983; 1984a). Nevertheless, these excavations lagged behind the rate of destruction, especially in the eastern zone. It was only in the 1970s that legislative changes helped to counter the problems of infrastructure development, by providing government funds to supplement the more traditional revenues of society subscriptions, research grants, and public sponsorship (Wainwright 2000, 914). Although the more traditional practice of sectioning enclosing earthworks continued, these excavations emphasised large scale investigation of settlement interiors. This was made possible by the increasingly widespread adoption of tracked excavators; permitting the stripping of large areas of topsoil, yet with increased potential for damage to and loss of data. Attempts to maximise the amount of data recovered by sieving also began to be employed, although not universally.

In 1990 Planning Policy Guidance Note 16 (PPG-16) was issued by the government regarding archaeological practice. Central to PPG-16 is the notion that developers are responsible for paying for the excavation and publication of sites which are at risk of being destroyed. This has been crucial as, since the late 1980s, the number of infrastructure projects in the study area has continued to increase (e.g. Nowakowski 1991; Fitzpatrick 1997; Ellis and Powell 2008; Booth *et al.* 2011). PPG-16 has also been significant as it has enabled the western and eastern zones to be better documented. Archaeological societies in these zones have, historically, not had the resources to document much of the material which has been uncovered in their respective counties. This traditionally contrasted with the central zone, where resources had tended to be more readily available for excavation and publication. Nevertheless, discrepencies continue to exist within and between the three zones. This is particularly evident in the eastern zone, where developer funded excavations have enjoyed good rates of publication (Booth *et al.* 2008; Booth *et al.* 2011; Allen *et al.* 2012; McKinley *et al.* 2014; Taylor 2014) whilst the publication of many sites recorded, in some cases decades earlier, by county societies remains (for a variety of reasons, including financial) infrequent (e.g. Philp 2014).

As the location of infrastructure is determined by considerations other than what archaeological material may be present, and in many cases deliberately avoids sites which are still visible in the landscape, this has helped to offset the bias for excavating upstanding earthworks which existed in previous periods. The range of techniques employed in excavations since the later 1980s has also expanded greatly, and with it the rate of recovery of archaeological data. Geo-physical surveying techniques have aided the identification of potential features, thereby enabling excavations to better allocate resources. Good levels of cooperation between metal detectorists in some counties, greatly aided by the establishment of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) in 1997, has further assisted in locating sites and recording metal artefacts. This is offset, to some degree, by the speed with which some sites must be excavated, thereby limiting what can recorded. For this reason, labour intensive methods such as sieving are not ubiqituous. Even with improved surveying techniques and the need for archaeological supervision during many construction projects, accidental destruction of important sites remains a problem (e.g. Booth *et al.* 2008, 27). Finally, the range of post-excavation analysis techniques, with particular regards cremation burials, has informed our image of the archaeological record for the study area in a way which was not possible for earlier excavations.

1.2.2. Geological and geographical context

The improvements in surveying and recording techniques which have occurred since the 1880s, combined with differences in terms of the site types and features favoured for excavation, mean that the present image of the study area's archaeological record cannot be said to have resulted solely from the biases noted in section 1.2.1. The Study Area: A historiography. At the same time, what is recorded is not only the result of archaeological investigation; geology and geography have a major impact upon preserving the archaeological record and determining where excavations take place.

The study area is highly varied in terms of its geography and geology. It begins in the east in Kent, which is bordered by the Channel to the south and River Thames to the north. The county is divided by the North Downs, which run northwest towards the

Thames. Western Kent is lower than the east and adjoins East Sussex. East Sussex is itself divided in two by the South Downs, thus forming a geographically enclosed area, bordered by the North and South Downs to east and west, the Surrey hills to the north and Channel to the South. Beyond the South Downs is the Sussex Coastal Plain, which continues westward to form the great downland of Wessex. The Wessex downland is bordered to the north by the Wiltshire uplands, and in the south the Hampshire coast. In Devon the topography becomes more varied, with rugged coastlines to the south and moorlands in the north stretching to the Bristol Channel. A similar topographical situation exists in Cornwall, albeit with a lower inland and numerous inlets and coves within the coastal cliffs providing better maritime access. 45km to the southwest of Cornwall lie the Isles of Scilly, an archipelago consisting of various islands and islets.

Geologically, between Kent and the western boundary of Dorset, the study area is predominantly composed of Cretaceous rock, with a smaller spread of Cenozoic formations in northern Kent, West Sussex, southern Hampshire and parts of Dorset. The western coastal strip of Dorset is also composed of metamorphic geology. The Cretaceous rocks are largely composed of white chalk. This geology is particularly conducive to preserving bone, as it results in soils with an alkaline pH level (Map 2). The exceptions are within the Weald, with its sandstone and siltstone formations, and in southern Hampshire and eastern Dorset, were sands, silts and clays predominate. Both of these exceptions have acidic soils as a result of their geology, with some of the south Hampshire and eastern Dorset soils being particularly destructive to bone.

Devon, Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly are composed of older, Palaeozoic geology. These formations result in soils with acidic pH levels. Those of northern and central Devon, and coastal Cornwall have especially poor conditions for the preservation of bone. The same is true of the granites which form the Isles of Scilly. That said, soil pH levels in much of Cornwall are between 6.5 and 7.2, thus permitting some bone preservation. This varied geography and geology of the study area has ultimately affected the image we have of the archaeological record. In the past it would also have affected the resources available to communities and the connections which could have been maintained between regions, including those across the Channel.

With the study area defined, and the historical and environmental circumstances which have influenced our understanding of the archaeology of this region considered, it is possible to provide the chronological frame in which this study takes place before turning to the archaeological record itself.

1.2.3. Timeframe

The later pre-Roman Iron Age (Hill 1999; Moore 2006; Haselgrove and Moore 2007) is considered to last from c.500/450BC to AD43-c.70. Although the Roman conquest began in AD43, there is little observable discontinuity in the archaeological record between the the invasion (which in any case did not reach the Devon and Cornwall until AD47), until the start of the Flavian period (AD69-96) (Selkirk 1981, 104; Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 241; Mattingly 2006, 91; Hamlin 2007). For this reason, AD70 is considered to mark the end of the Later Iron Age. Although there is continuity in terms of deposition patterns from the earlier pre-Roman Iron Age (c.800-500/450BC) (Hill 1995, 120), settlement and ceramic developments across the region provide a suitable archaeological horizon at which to commence this research (Cripps 2007, 143, 151; Hamilton 2007, 83, 85).

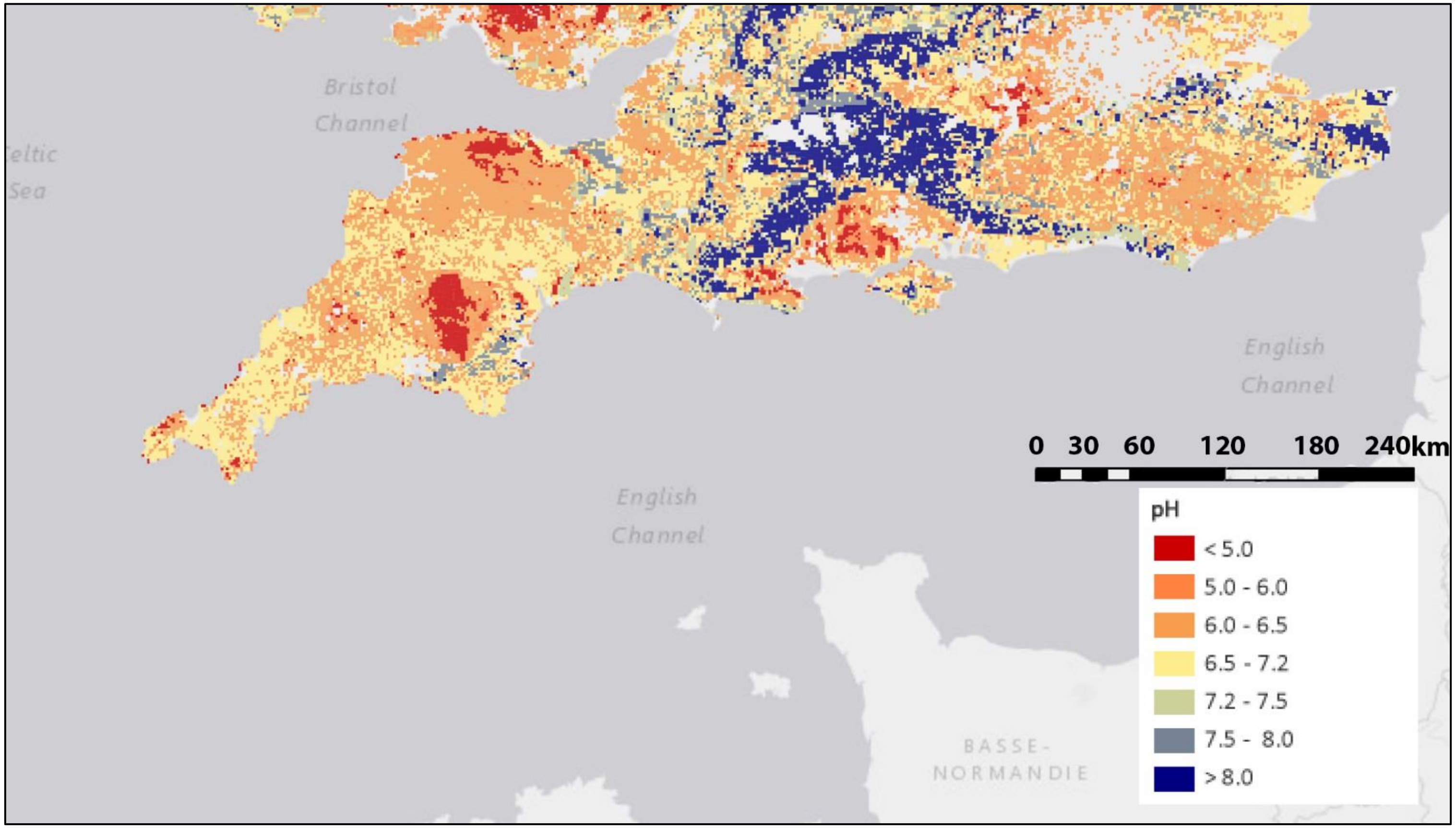
The period may be sub-divided in various ways. The chronological scheme outlined by Cunliffe (2005) is employed: Middle Iron Age (MIA), c.500/450-150BC, Late Iron Age (LIA) (c.150BC-AD43), whilst the period AD43-c.70 is referred to as the Early Roman Iron Age (ERIA). The MIA is further divided into an Early Middle Iron Age (EMIA), accounting for data which overlap the Early and Middle Iron Age (approximately the continental Hallstatt/La Tène transition). The east of this region is considered to have a Latest Iron Age (Cunliffe 2005), or a Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (c.20BC-AD43) (Hodson 1964). However, difficulties in refining chronologies in the west necessitate the above chronological scheme being employed for the entire study are (Quinnell 2004, 109-111; Cripps 2007, 143).

This period is broadly contemporary with the La Tène epoch of the continental Iron Age, recently updated to start c.500BC (Traschel 2004) (although see Sormaz and

Stöllner 2005, 365–67 for a later date). Re-dating of British La Tène artwork suggests that, contrary to earlier views, British La Tène art developed in parallel to continental styles (Garrow *et al*. 2009, 111), with many supposed LIA imports dating to the 2nd or 3rd century BC (*ibid,* 91). The Dutch MIA, to which reference is also made, begins c.500BC (Hiddink 2014, 186). A starting date of c.500/450BC is therefore beneficial in attempts to contextualise developments in the study area against those which occurred elsewhere in Britain and the near continent (see Figure 1 for comparative chronology).

1.2.4. The Eastern Zone: An Overview of the Archaeological Record

Using ceramics, MIA Kent is dated to begin no later than c.350BC (Hamilton 2007, 77; Champion 2011, 167). Parfitt (2007, 16) has proposed that c.350BC represents the start of the Kentish MIA, however Hamilton (2007, 83) states it represents the latter half of the MIA. Dating is frustrated by a lack of associated metalwork, however, a middle La Tène fibula from Farningham, indicates the MIA sequence dates no later than c.100BC (Champion 2011, 166). Although limited in number, these wares suggest that LIA centres, such as Bigberry, have an MIA origin (Hamilton 2007, 83). This interpretation is supported by the finds from the Mill Hill, Deal cemetery (Parfitt 1995),



Map 2. Soil pH levels in southern Britain. (data ©United Kingdom soil observatory).

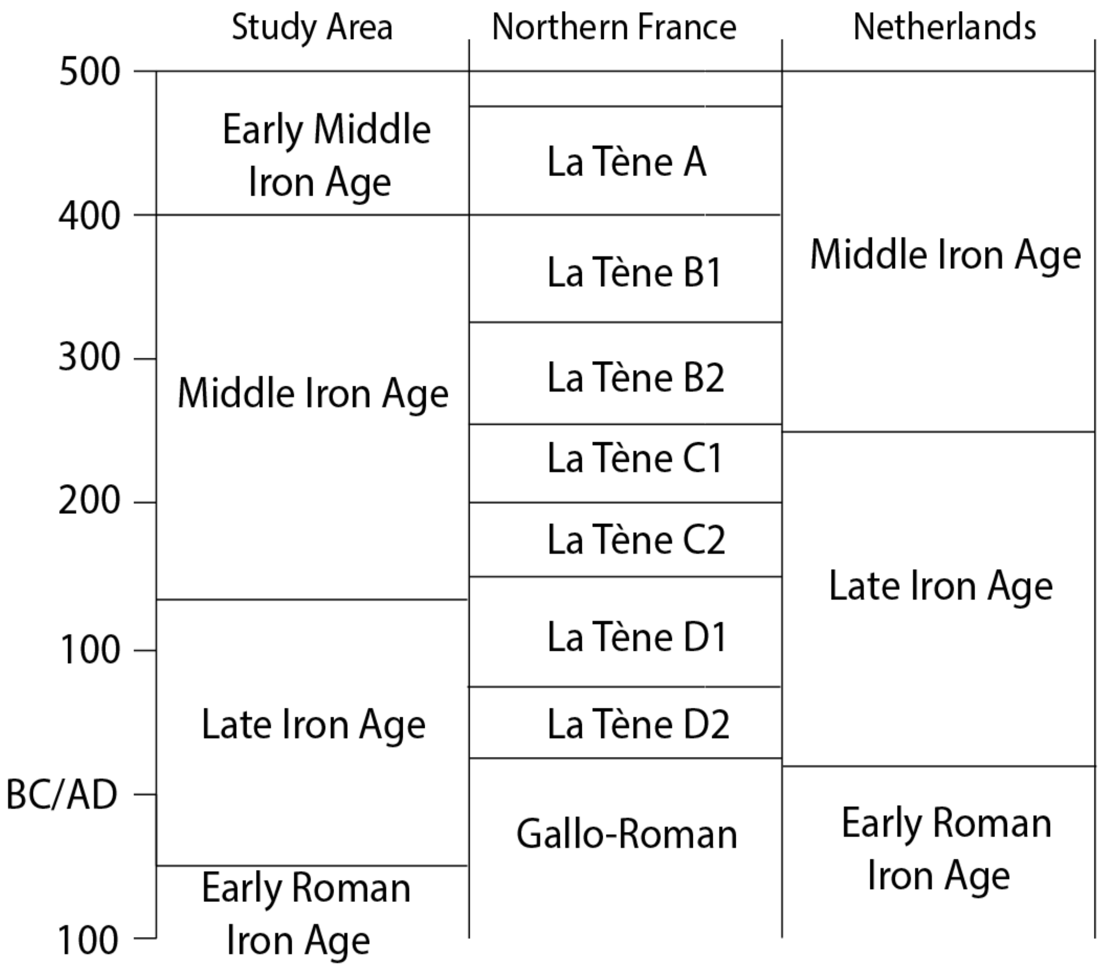


Figure 1: Comparative chronologies of study area and adjacent, contextual, regions of continent.

where the earliest inhumations date to c.200BC (Parfitt 1995, 62; Garrow *et al*. 2009, table 2). In north Kent there is greater evidence for discontinuity; many MIA sites being abandoned in the LIA in favour of new locations (Hamilton 2007, 85). South and west Kent remain largely unstudied on account of the South Downs.

Sussex benefits from the well defined the 'saucepan' pot continuum, lasting from the 4th-1st centuries BC, albeit with uneven distribution (Hamilton 2003, 77). Furthermore, there are differences between West and East Sussex, the former producing examples decorated in the 'St Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down' style, whereas in the east the 'Caburn-Cissbury' style is found (*ibid*). The settlement evidence is uneven, with a bias of data on the coastal plain and west of the river Arun (*ibid*). As in north Kent, there were major differences near the Sussex coast. New hill-forts were established in topographically dominant locations, with the total number of hill-forts in use declining. During the 4th and 3rd centuries BC the non-hillfort settlement pattern also changed; the landscape was re-settled and numerous settlements, which would form the basis of the LIA settlement pattern, were established (Hamilton 2007, 86). Taken together it appears to have been a period of population growth.

Trade contacts in the MIA appear to have been limited, with ceramic exchange within Sussex seemingly restricted to zones with a 12km diameter (Hamilton 2003, 81). Involuted brooches from Mill Hill, Deal, Farningham Hill, Kent (Philp 1984, 35, no. 6) and Shoreham, Sussex (Hartridge 1978, 99, nos. 7-9) suggest links with other regions of Britain (Adams 2013, 262, maps 6.16-7). Likewise, a shale bracelet from White Horse Stone, Kent, is evidence of links with either Dorset or possibly Boulogne (Champion 2011, 215). Ceramics from Highstead and Newington, both Kent, are decorated in a similar fashion to La Tène A1-B1 ceramics from north France, whilst a bowl from Eyhorne Street, Kent, may be a La Tène A import from Champagne (Macpherson-Grant 1991; Hayden 2006, 19). Some Hull and Hawkes 1A-1B fibulae are certainly continental imports (Haselgrove 2002, 286). 3rd century BC Picardy coins have also been recovered from Kent (*ibid*, 288). A silver finger ring of Swiss type from Park Brow, Sussex (Stead 1984, 62), likely of early La Tène date, hints at more exotic contacts. The coral used to decorate objects from Mill Hill grave 112 may have been imported from the Mediterranean, although an Atlantic source from cold water reefs has also been advocated (Adams 2013, 158).

In LIA Kent new ceramic groups, increasingly made on the fast potter's wheel, developed between c.120-80BC, and a division emerged between pottery intended for settlements and pottery intended for graves (Champion 2011, 169). In Kent it appears that larger settlement foci emerged, along with continuing settlement of the lowlands (Hamilton 2007). There was disruption at several sites, and a variety of new settlements were established pre-50BC (Champion 2011, 168-9). The ceramic assemblage of LIA Sussex belongs to Cunliffe's (2005, fig. 5.12) 'Atrebatic' wheel-turned ware. On the Sussex coastal plain a variety of settlements and structures developed, including extensive ditches, enclosed field systems, linear boundaries, various settlements, including *oppida* (Hamilton 2007, 87) and a sanctuary at Hayling Island (King and Soffe 1998). These developments seem to suggest different socio-economic trajectories between East and West Sussex by the LIA (Hamilton 2003, 69).

Evidence for continental contact is abundant, both in the form of imported metalwork and ceramics. In Kent and Sussex, the LIA saw the importation of Gallo-Belgic coinage, and subsequent minting of British issues. Contact with other regions of Britain are also attested, for example the presence of Kentish potins at sites like Humberstone, Leicestershire (Thomas 2011, 159, fig. 125). LIA metalwork, in particular post-Caesarean fibulae types (e.g. Colchester and Langton Down), are distributed throughout south-eastern England (Mackreth 2011).

1.2.5. Central Zone: An Overview of the Archaeological Record

Similarities with the eastern zone are apparent in the ceramic and settlement records. The MIA is attested by the widespread 'saucepan' pot tradition and its various styles, as well as the distinct Maiden Castle-Marnhull ware in Dorset (Cunliffe 2005, 107, 5.6). The MIA had begun by at least c.450BC, and is synonymous with significant settlement developments (Sharples 2010, 124). This appears to have been a period of population expansion. The settlement record attests to a densely-settled landscape consisting of a variety of open and enclosed sites. Of the latter the largest are the Wessex hill-forts. The origins of several hill-forts may be traced to the LBA or EIA, with several ceasing to be used at the transition to the MIA. Those that remained typically underwent extensive development of their enclosing earthworks.

Exchange in the MIA was predominantly on a local level, however intra-regional exchange of ceramics (Hamilton 2003, 81), and quern stones (Sharples 2010, 133) over long distances occurred. Evidence for exchange with other regions of Britain is slight. Early and middle La Tène fibulae of types found throughout Britain are known from the region (Adams 2013). Ehrenreich (1991, 77) has argued that there is a lack of evidence for iron smelting, and that Wessex communities were importing smelted iron from communities located in the Weald, Forest of Dean or Jurassic Ridge. As in the eastern zone, evidence for continental imports are exceedingly rare. At least one example of a coral-inlayed British fibula is known from Winchester, Hampshire (Adams 2013, no. 10268). A few coins from Normandy and Armorica are known (de Jersey 1997). An early La Tène copper alloy openwork disc, possibly a horse fitting of French origin (Cunliffe 2005, 467, fig. 17.17) or based on French prototypes (Megaw and Megaw 2005, 16), was recovered from Danebury. Immediately to the north of the study area, a cauldron from Chiseldon, Wiltshire, dating to 355-195 cal. BC, was discovered decorated in the continental Waldalgesheim style, indicating it was a possible import (Figure 2)(Joy 2014, 351).

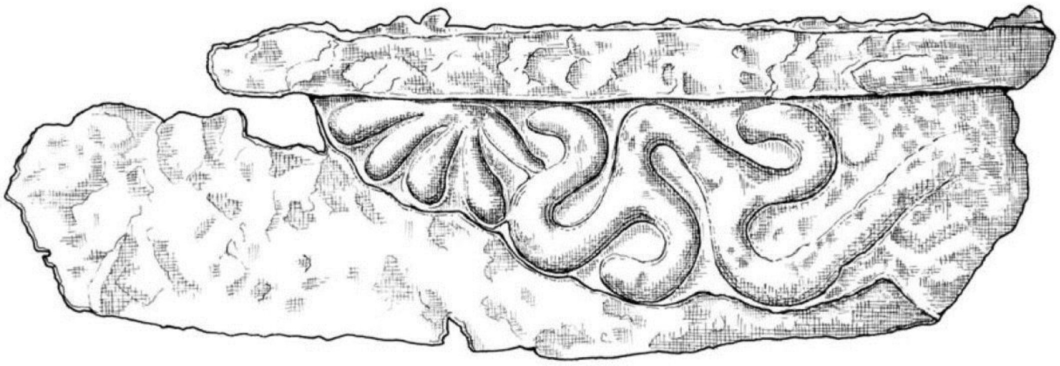


Figure 2. Detail of the rim from the Chiseldon cauldron showing the Waldalgesheim vegetal motif (reproduced by kind permission of Jody Joy, drawn by Craig Williams, ©Trustees of the British Museum).

The transition to the LIA witnessed comparable developments to those in the eastern zone. New wheel thrown ceramics, Cunliffe’s Atrebatic and Durotrigian wares, developed (Cunliffe 2005, fig. 512). In the east many hill-forts, such as Danebury, The Trundle and Bury Hill, were abandoned. In the west, Maiden Castle and Poundbury continued in use, but now as foci for burials. Other settlements likewise underwent a variety of changes. Some sites, such as Winnall Down, Hampshire (Fasham 1985, 134), appear to have been abandoned for a period. Others, like Whitcombe, Dorset (Aitkin and Aitkin 1990, 69) were likely new foundations, whilst some like Owslebury (Collis 1968; 1970; 1994) and Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979) continued in use, albeit with significant structural changes. Additionally, settlements with apparently new socio-economic roles developed, such as Hengistbury Head, Silchester and Winchester.

Evidence for extra-regional contacts during this later period is plentiful, although not to the same scale as in the eastern zone. It especially notable at the entrepôt of Hengistbury Head, with its Armorican ceramics and Dressel 1 amphorae (Cunliffe 1987). Armorican coinage is well represented (de Jersey 1997, 83-6, figs. 43-6). Finds of Gallo-Belgic coins (which, as in the eastern zone, served as a basis for indigenous coin production) and the adoption of Nauheim and Drahtfibel fibulae like those from Westhampnett (Montague 1997, 91-7), indicate easterly contacts. Some of the earliest wheel-turned ceramics from the central zone find their closest parallels in Breton and Normandy fine wares, indicating southern and western contacts also (Collis 1984, 162). High status imports include torcs employing Mediterranean manufacturing techniques, and gold La Tène D2 fibulae from the Winchester hoard (Hill *et al*. 2004). The Winchester fibulae have direct parallels from Corent, Puy-de-Dôme, which also yielded Kentish potin coins (Poux 2007, 218).

1.2.6. Western Zone: An Overview of the Archaeological Record

The MIA in the western zone likely commenced in the 4th century BC with South Western Decorated ware (Henderson 2007, 206). The settlement pattern consisted of small, multivallate hill-forts, cliff castles and hill-top enclosures (Cripps 2007, 145-153), multiple enclosure forts, and soutterains (Henderson 2007, 215). In the MIA, upland settlement declined in central and eastern Cornwall, with earlier settlements being abandoned, especially in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC. Other sites such as Bodrifty, Cornwall, show continual occupation to the 1st century AD (*ibid*, 218-9). By contrast, western Cornwall displays limited changes during this period. Hill-forts possibly served communal purposes (*ibid*, 150), and cliff-castles may have had a ritual function on account of their liminal position in the landscape (Cunliffe 2005, 288). In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC wheel thrown Cordoned wares emerged (Henderson 2007, 206), with sites such as Killibury (Miles 1977) and Threemilestone, Cornwall (Schweiso 1976, 64) producing examples of Cordoned-South Western Decorated transitional wares. New settlement types, the courtyard house and round (both restricted to Cornwall) were constructed, suggesting important social developments (Cripps 2007, 151). The dense distribution of rounds, and their placement near good arable land may be taken as evidence of population increase during this period (Henderson 2007, 220).

In contrast to the eastern and central zones, evidence of exchange in this area is abundant for much of the MIA. Intra-British exchange is attested to by Cornish made ceramics with find-spots as far north as Northamptonshire (Fitzpatrick 1989a, 635). Continental imports include early La Tène Iberian type fibulae (or insular examples based on continental imports) from Harlyn Bay, Cornwall (Whimster 1977, fig. 30) and Mount Batten, Devon (Cunliffe 1988), with find-spots in Brittany (Giot 1958, 19) and Aquitaine (Mohen 1980). 3^{rd}-2^{nd} century BC bronze figures of Iberian origin have been recovered here (Henig 1988), with others in County Sligo, Ireland (Cunliffe 1990, 247) and France (Boucher 1976). A copper alloy vessel from Rose Ash, Devon (Fox 1961) has parallels from elsewhere in south-west Britain (*ibid*, 192-3) and County Leitrim (Jope 1954). Likewise, the coral attached to the fibula from the Trevone burial (Dudley and Jope 1965, 21, fig. 7) is of Mediterranean or Atlantic origin. Armorican coinage is rarer here (de Jersey 1997, 82-88), but finds include a hoard from Mount Batten (Cunliffe and de Jersey 1997, 107). In further contrast to the east evidence for LIA exchange is limited (Cunliffe 1990, 250; Cunliffe and de Jersey 1997, 107-8), although it has been suggested that Cordoned wares dated to post c.50BC are related to developments in Brittany (Cunliffe 1991a, 182).

1.3. Mortuary data, the Study Area and broader paradigm shifts

To study the roles which human remains played in these regions, it is necessary to develop a suitable theoretical framework. This first requires considering the theoretical developments which have preceded this study. By critically considering these, and the major studies which have previously been conducted on the study area's mortuary data, fruitful avenues for study become apparent.

1.3.1. Developments Prior to 1960

Discoveries of Iron Age human remains in the study area have occurred since the 19th century (Barnes 1865, 353, Bate 1866, 500-510; Warne 1872, 225-35). Although much contemporary theoretical discussion occurred, only a few paradigms continue to merit consideration. These include Lubbock's (1900) attempt at social inferences from mortuary data, the significant recognition that graves represented a sealed context (Worsaae 1843; 1849) and Montelius' (1884, 21-3) emphasis on the spatial arrangement of graves. Van Gennep's (1960 [1909]) three phase division (separation, liminality and incorporation) of funerary rites ultimately proved to be highly influential (e.g. Fitzpatrick 2000; Carr 2007, 447; Oestigaard 2013). Whilst Hertz (1960 [1907]) and Durkheim (1965 [1915]) were early proponents of the need to contextualise mortuary data within their broader archaeological context; a highly effective approach which has only recently began to be applied to Iron Age mortuary data (e.g. Fitzpatrick 2007a, 129). Arguably the most important theoretical development at this date, with regards this study, was the recognition that death was a moment when communities reconstituted themselves (Hertz 1960[1907]; van Gennep 1960 [1909]).

Despite the variety of early, significant theoretical developments, it was Kossina's (1920 [1911]) *Siedlungsarchäologische Methode*, of viewing archaeological cultures as congruent with ethnicities/polities which had the most immediate impact on mortuary studies. The *Siedlungsarchäologische Methode* formed the basis of the Culture-History (and related invasionist) school of the first half of the 20th century (e.g. Abercromby 1912; Crawford 1922; Kroeber 1927; Childe 1929; 1956; Boas 1940). Initially a useful comparative means for considering the archaeological record, it subsequently became an inflexible framework, increasingly resilient to paradigm shifts.

Within the Culture-Historical school, differing mortuary practices were interpreted as representing distinct cultures. Fundamental to this interpretation were the Iron Age cremation cemeteries from Aylesford (Figure 3) and Swarling, Kent. Successive publications (Evans 1890; Bushe-Fox 1925; Hawkes and Dunning 1931) viewed this cremation rite, with good reason on account of similarities with northern French burials, as evidence for the Belgic settlers described by Caesar (BG V.12). These settlers, it was argued, were responsible for introducing an LIA cultural package to

Britain c.100BC, primarily consisting of wheel-turned ceramics, coinage and cremation rites. Over time an increasing number of developments were erroneously ascribed to the Belgae, including agricultural changes (Curwen 1929, 80; Karsalake 1933, 458-9), and new developments in commerce (Brooke 1933; Wheeler 1943, 33).

Figure 3. The grave goods from Aylesford, Kent, illustrating the bucket as initially reconstructed (©Trustees of the British Museum).

The Culture-Historical/invasionist school reached its zenith in 1959, when Hawkes, elaborating on ideas first proposed in 1931, finalised his concept of the ABC of the southern British Iron Age (Figure 4); a chronological matrix into which to fit different aspects of the Iron Age dataset. The matrix was expanded to include northern Britain a few years later (Rivet 1962). Mortuary data were crucial, with Iron Age B (c.350-150BC) commencing with Marnian Gauls, to whom the Arras culture of Yorkshire was ascribed, whilst the Belgae of the Aylesford-Swarling culture represented Iron Age C (c.150BC-AD43). The Aylesford-Swarling rite was not the only Iron Age C mortuary rite to have been identified within the study area, with an inhumation culture ascribed to the historical Durotriges also identified in Dorset (Wheeler 1943). As with the Aylesford-Swarling culture, however, its presence was ascribed to Belgic invaders (*ibid*, 387).

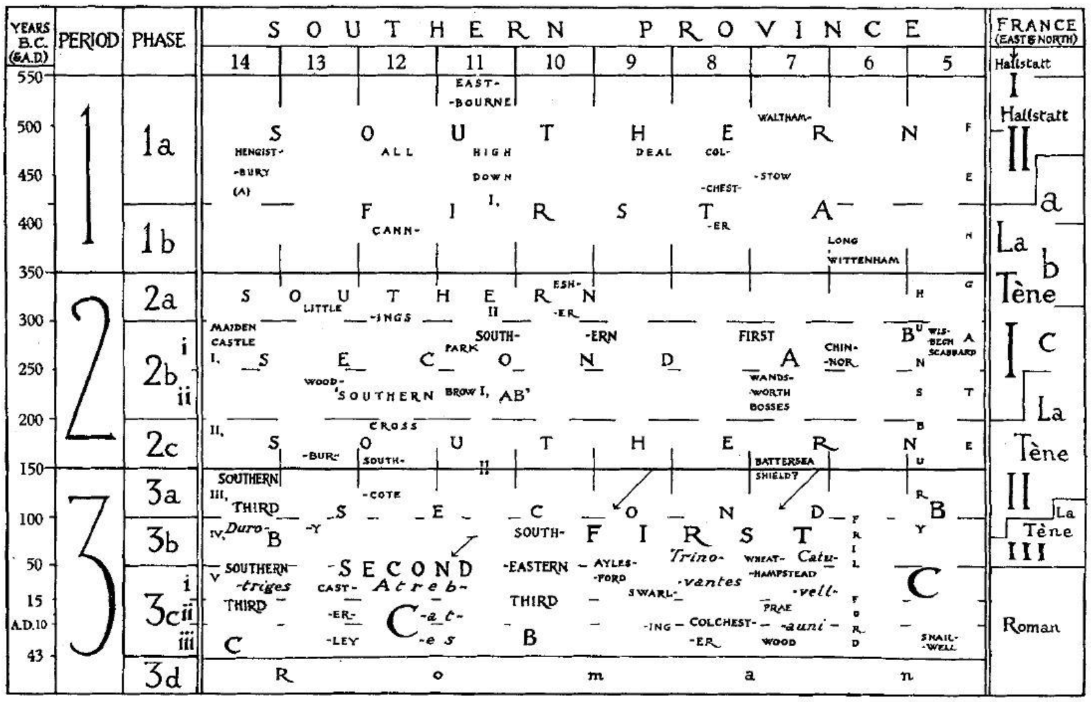


Figure 4. Hawkes ABC chronological framework for the central and eastern zones of the study area (Hawkes 1959, 178, fig. 4).

As a chronological tool, the ABC system provided an excellent framework in which to compare changes in material culture between different regions of Britain. Likewise, its emphasis on migration as an explanation for cultural change ensured that British Iron Age archaeologists of this period were often well versed in continental material. However, Hawkes' system largely ignored the social significance of mortuary data, despite earlier works advocating it as a means of enquiry (Hertz 1960[1907]; van Gennep 1960 [1909]). The ABC framework also had the unintended result of creating artificial barriers between different regions in Britain. Two regions may neighbour each other and display evidence of contact, but if placed into different parts of the chronological grid, it gave the immediate impression that the people in these regions did not influence each other. Furthermore, although regular reference was made to invaders as mechanisms for cultural change, the specifics of migration theory and the role of violence within these societies was under-developed (Armit 2011, 4).

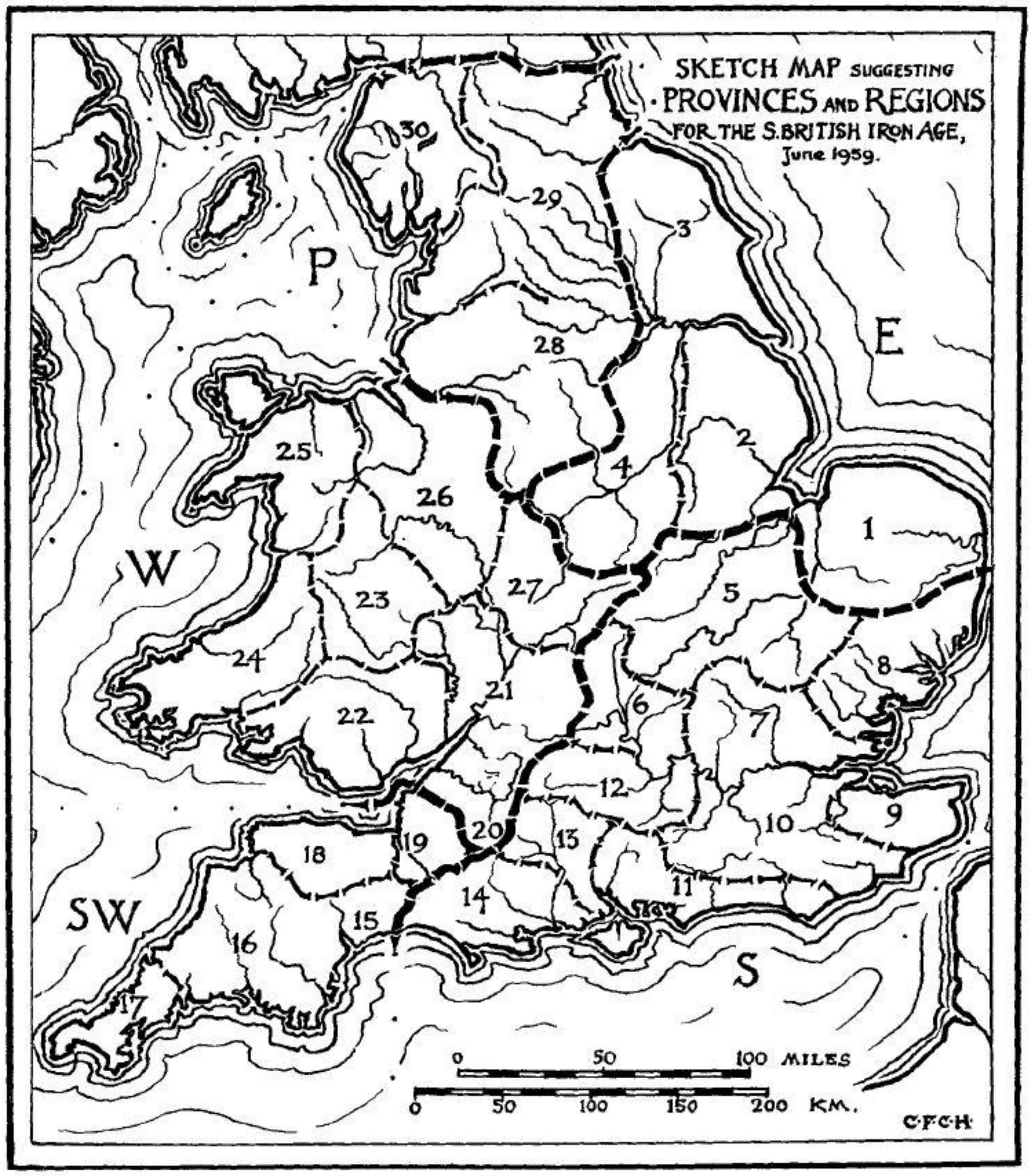


Figure 5. Hawkes proposed Iron Age provinces for Britain south of Hadrian's wall (Hawkes 1959, 173, fig. 1).

1.3.2. The Rise of New Archaeology

From the 1960s new, or processual, archaeology came to eclipse Culture-Historical paradigms. Processualists stressed the social context of mortuary data; a development of Durkheim, Hertz and van Gennep's earlier theories (Chapman 2013, 49). In contrast to Culture-Historical theorists, processual interpretations argued that social and material changes were more likely to arise from internal community developments; typically from internal or external stresses (*ibid*, 48). Invasionist and migration paradigms were abandoned as causes and catalysts for cultural change, in favour of internal economic dynamics or environmental crises. An unintended consequence of this was that the British archaeological record became increasingy divorced from that of the continent. This unintentional isolation would become increasingly apparent in later decades. In contrast to Culture-Historians, however, processualists made greater social inferences from mortuary remains, and sought to analyse them through examination of the variability of archaeological cultures (Parker Pearson 1999a, 73). Binford's (1971) idea of a *social persona*, a composite of social identities maintained in life and recognised as appropriate for consideration in death (Chapman 2013, 49), became highly influential.

Several processual theories have been shown to be untenable. Inferences of social hierarchy on the basis of grave goods (Peebles and Kus 1977), or detecting hierarchies from grave goods or the energy expended in funerals (Tainter 1975; 1977) are now abandoned. Saxe's (1970, 119) hypothesis that lineal groups maintain formal cemeteries to legitimate control of resources is no longer tenable (O'Shea 1981; 1984; Chapman 2013, 5). Binford and other processualists have likewise been critiqued for a pre-occupation with defining social categories (Fitzpatrick 2000, 15), though this is in part due to Binford's emphasis on "composite" identity being forgotten. Chapman (2013, 50) notes, however, that the work of Binford and Saxe was exploratory, primarily ethnographic, and was not intended to represent finalised theoretical accounts of the relationship between life and death.

Within British Iron Age archaeology, highly influential new studies such as Cunliffe's Wessex settlement evolution models (1984b; 1984c; 1991), and Haselgrove's (1982) core-periphery models for Late Iron Age (LIA) developments in south-east Britain developed from the processualist school. They and others (e.g. Herring 1992; 1994 for Cornwall), sought to produce holistic models of Iron Age societies. All aspects of society were viewed as operating as part of a dynamic, but largely stable entity; a uniform conception for which they have subsequently been critiqued, not least for the chronologically static nature of the mortuary rituals they described. Mortuary analyses were not the primary focus of such models, nonetheless the integrated approach advocated by processualists required attention be paid to mortuary data. Disarticulated bones, hitherto viewed as showing a disregard for the dead (Pitt Rivers 1887, 11; Liddell 1935, 25) or resulting from massacres (Boyd Dawkins 1917; Clay 1924), were reinterpreted. To these explanations were now added cannibalism (Stanford 1974, 220; Dunning 1976, 116-117), and the highly influential idea that such remains stemmed from excarnation rites (Ellison and Drewett 1971). Cannibalism did not receive widespread acceptance and can now be largely discounted (Wilson 1981, 147), whilst evidence for excarnation varies on a site-by-site basis (Ellis and Powell 2008, 136; Madgwick 2008, 108; Redfern 2008, 293). New studies of the Arras (Stead 1965) and Aylesford-Swarling (Stead 1976) cultures, as well as weapon burials (Collis 1973), were also published. Haselgrove likewise (1982; 1984) undertook a quantitative study of Aylesford-Swarling grave goods to effectively determine social rankings based on number of artefact types (NATs).

1.3.3. The Decline of the 'ABC' system and Belgic Migration

During this period Hodson (1960, 140) reviewed the cultural groupings suggested in the 'ABC' system, arguing that these were artificial constructs. He (1964) proposed a new British chronology: Early Pre-Roman Iron Age (750/700-100BC) and Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (100/50BC-AD43). Clark (1966, 172-188) effectively critiqued the earlier emphasis on migration to explain changes in prehistory. Clark (and others such as Cunliffe and Haselgrove) argued for alternative mechanisms, such as trade, catalysing change. Adams likewise (1968, 194-215) advocated that material culture was a poor indicator of population movement, highlighting a lack of objectivity and emotional attachment to migration theory by earlier theorists. Both Adams' and Clark's critiques have been instrumental in subsequently reconfiguring migration theory as a credible paradigm.

In an influential 1965 paper, Birchall concluded, on the basis of Mediterranean bronzes associated with such burials, that the first Aylesford-Swarling graves were not earlier than c.50BC (although see below). Despite the strong affinities with cremation rites in northern France, they could not be evidence of the Belgae whom Caesar recorded as inhabiting Britain in 54BC. Subsequent publications which attempted to reposition the narrative of a Belgic migration demonstrated exactly the sort of emotional attachment which Adams (1968) described. Hawkes (1968) sought to re-orientate studies of the Belgae, arguing for a Belgic migration beginning c.450BC and emphasising the role of coinage (the dating of which remained pre-Caesarean), rather than mortuary data. By contrast, Harding (1974, 208-226) continued to emphasise the Aylesford-Swarling culture as proof of a Belgic migration; combining inventive reading of the historical data with resistance to Birchall's chronology.

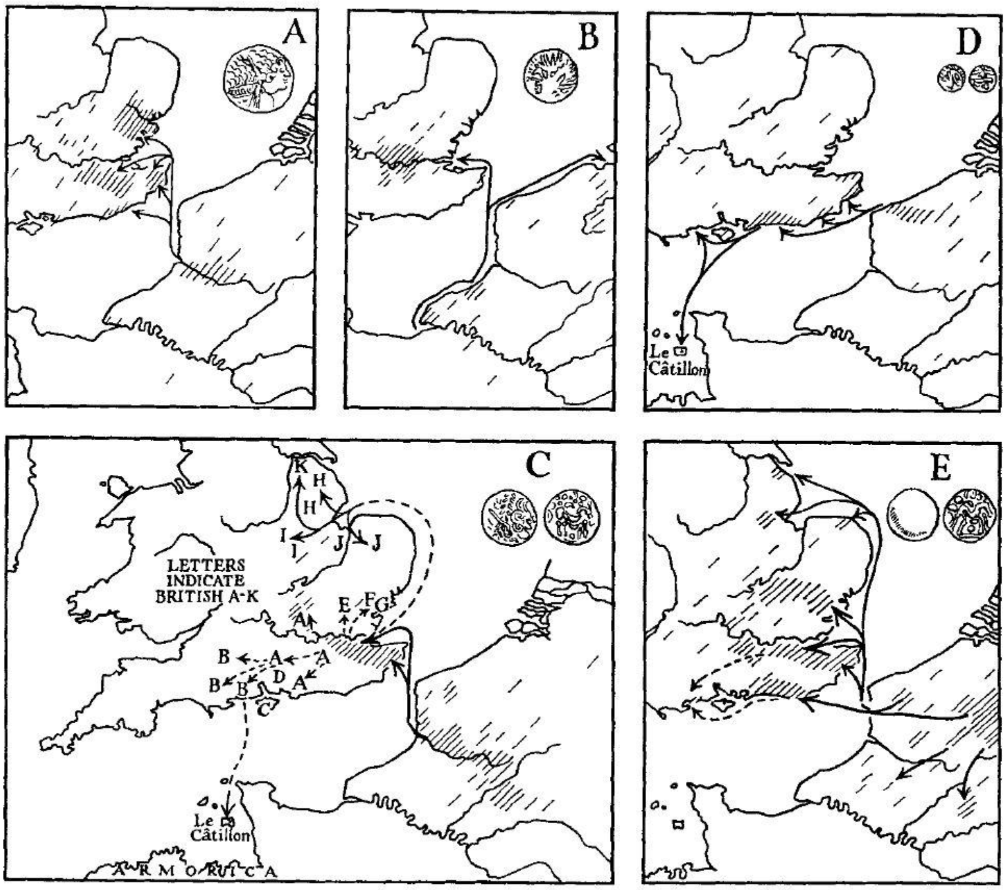


Figure 6. Hawkes attempt to propose that Belgic migration began in c.450BC, rather than c.150BC, emphasised coinage as evidence for the cultural longevity of this migration (Hawkes 1968, 11, fig. 3).

Hachmann (1976, 117-138), writing from a continental viewpoint, advocated a critical analysis of Caesar's writings, with a re-evaluation of northern French data to further the debate. Likewise, Cunliffe (1984c, 22) suggested that attempts to consider the Belgae should divorce themselves from the Aylesford-Swarling culture and its south-eastern distribution, instead focussing on Hampshire and the historical Belgae *civitas*. Ultimately, however, no resolution could be found which would satisfy either side. The

“Belgae of Britain and Gaul” instead became “The Problem of the Belgae”. The state of theoretical debate at this time is summarised well by Haselgrove:

> *“[the ‘Problem of the Belgae’] has virtually strangled research on the later Iron Age since 1890, first in generating the assumption that changes apparent in the archaeological record simply reflected this Belgic settlement, and, since the 1960s, by directing a great deal of energy into attempting to overcome the contradictions which had arisen rather than along fresh avenues.”*

– Haselgrove 1984, 49

1.3.4. The legacy of New Archaeology upon British Iron Age mortuary archaeology

The contribution of New Archaeology to studies of Iron Age mortuary data was significant. The increasingly static Iron Age communities imaged by the Culture-Historical school were replaced by dynamic entities, with mortuary data being an important component within them. These data were no longer a simple reflection of cultural changes, but instead could now be used to make inferences about social differences (as Lubbock had advocated in 1900). Furthermore, in attempting to explain changes observed in the archaeological record, the data were examined intensively, rather than making recourse to continental finds through overly-simplified migration models. The significance of the recognition of disarticulated human remains as originating from something other than disregard for the deceased cannot be understated.

That New Archaeology was a significant paradigm shift is evident. However, New Archaeology failed to consider several theoretical standpoints, many of which related to mortuary data. These included Montelius’ (1884) and van Gennep’s (1960 [1909]) earlier ideas regarding the spatial arrangements of graves and three phase division of funerary rites, respectively. Issues of performance and community’s response to death were also ignored. Many of these would be addressed by the next major paradigm shift, Post-Processualism. An unforeseen affect of New Archaeology was the aforementioned unintentional divorce of the British and continental Iron Ages. New Archaeologists never advocated ignoring the continent, and many of the main advocates for New Archaeology have been active in studying it (e.g. Cunliffe 1990;

1997; 2000; Haselgrove 1999; 2007; Haselgrove and Guichard 2013). The emphasis on autochthonous development, and distancing from migration theory, however, resulted in later studies largely ignoring contemporary developments on the continent (see below).

1.3.5. The Post-Processual Review

The 1980s witnessed another paradigm shift, combined with further increases in the dataset and new interpretations. In contrast to processualists, with their interest in reconstructing social hierarchies, post-processualist mortuary studies (e.g. Hodder 1982a, b; Pader 1982; Parker Pearson 1982; Wylie 1985) advocated the active role which the dead played as components within society (Brun 2004, 56). Fundamental to post-processual thought was the question of meaning, with an increased emphasis on context, as Binford had advocated (Hamlin 2007, 13). Post-processualist critiques argued that processualism focussed on the *who*, *what*, *when*, *where* and *how* of past cultures, but not the question of *why* (Hodder 1982a, b; Wylie 1985; Conkey 1990).

Many post-processualists incorporated Geertz's (1966; 1975) emphasis on the role of symbol systems and ritual within cultures as a prerequisite to understanding the archaeological record (Hamlin 2007). Instead of seeking to identify social identities, post-processualists focused on the processes which resulted in those identities being formed (Pader 1982; Parker Pearson 1999a, 84). This is seen with Pader's (1982) study of Anglo-Saxon graves. She effectively used symbols, in the form of the positioning and associations of grave goods, to identify social-subgroups and deviants. Parker Pearson (1999) employed similar approaches in his analysis of symbols (orientation, grave goods, cemetery layout) in identifying social groups within the Arras culture. Unfortunately, this approach has received only limited attention since (Hamlin 2007; Giles 2012). That the living can manipulate the dead for their own means was also identified (Parker Pearson 1982), thus the energy expenditure of a funeral (Tainter 1975) might bear no relation to the status of the individual.

1.3.6. The Study Area Dataset in the 1980s: New Data, New Interpretations

Three seminal studies were undertaken during this period. Whimster (1981) comprehensively surveyed Iron Age formal burials in Britain (cremations and complete inhumations), considering aspects like treatment, orientation and grave goods, as well as proposing chronologies and origins for different rites. His analysis, however, ignored the potential the socio-political role of such rites, and excluded disarticulated remains. Wilson (1981) examined 53 southern British sites, including hill-forts and non-hill-forts, identifying the significance of internal, boundary and external locations for the deposition of human remains. She concluded that age, but not sex, was a key variable in the decision to deposit remains in certain locations but failed to consider context, instead emphasising location of deposition within sites. Wait (1985) examined 10 hill-forts and 18 other settlements from Wessex, of which 22 contained human remains. In contrast to Whimster and Wilson, it was a contextual study, which considered cultural and ideological implications of certain rites, but suffered from the now critiqued notion of a uniform set of Celtic mores governing mortuary rites (Collis 1994; 2003; James 1999)

In contrast to earlier work (Pitt-Rivers 1887, 11; Millett and Russell 1982, 87), pit burials were increasingly recognised as a practice whose primary purpose was not disposal of the dead. The debate polarised between a group who viewed the rite as associated with grain propagation (Cunliffe 1983, 164; Bradley 1984; 159) and those who advocated sacrifice as a means of thanking the gods for protecting grain (Walker 1984, 462; Cunliffe 1992, 77; 1995, 83). Although thought provoking, such debates did not significantly further our understanding of these rites. As to the individuals within pits, Walker (1984, 561), Wait (1985, 461) and Cunliffe (1995) suggested they represented outcasts, but without scientific evidence to prove this. Only Grant (1984a, 158-60) argued that deposits from pits, including human remains, resulted from the same practices, and that human remains were not a distinct class of material; something which taphonomic studies has partially justified. Cunliffe (1992) later adopted Grant's interpretation with his idea of "special deposits".

The idea that disarticulated remains indicated disregard for the deceased continued (Walker 1984), but others advocated that they played a more socially significant role. Cunliffe (1992) and Woodward (1993) suggested curation of ancestral bones. Sharples' (1991a, 87; 2010) argument that they were obtained by re-opening graves, and the product of tightly bounded communities who attempted to limit the significance of the individual, is perhaps the most influential inference. The argument that disarticulated remains stem from the standard excarnation practice, however, was increasingly advocated (Cunliffe 1988; 1992; 1995; Carr and Knüsel 1997).

1.3.7. Recent Developments

The debate surrounding pit deposits culminated with Hill's (1995) study of those from Gussage All Saints, Winnall Down and Danebury. He argued that items placed within pits acted as intermediaries between profane and sacred worlds, rather than as fertility rites. Hill noted that within pit deposition studies, there existed two underlying dichotomies: human remains versus animal remains, and sacred or ritual versus economical practical explanations (*ibid*, 15). Despite the existence of other types of human remains in pits, and the close similarity in artefacts included with all types of human remains, there was a tendency for past studies (Walker 1984, 442; Wait 1985) to consider the inhumations separately.

Of particular note are Hill's views of ritual, whose association with religion he dismissed, noting that not all rituals were religious in nature (1995, 97). Nor did ritual/non-ritual conform to the idea of sacred and profane, rather, ritual should be viewed as an extension of quotidian activities, albeit somewhat unique. Rejecting the views that ritual practices were highly structured, repetitive actions (Richards and Thomas 1984, 215), Hill (1995, 99) argued they were instead unpredictable, infrequent and sought to replicate themselves according to an idealised view of how a ritual should occur. Ultimately, a ritual could never be a perfect copy of those which preceded it, and the variations in its performance opened the possibility for attendees to form new interpretations of the ritual, and wider society.

Hill's analysis of pit deposits was subsequently expanded upon (Madgwick 2008; Morris 2008; 2010). Taphonomic studies undertaken for Maiden Castle (Redfern 2011), Cadbury Castle (Barrett *et al*. 2000) and Danebury (Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005) succeeded in demonstrating the role of violence in this period, by identifying taphonomic indicators for sharp force trauma. These studies have contributed to critiques that there is an aversion to violence in many post-processual explanations of the British Iron Age (James 2007; Sealey 2007, 34; Armit 2011, 5), although some have advocated it as an endemic feature of life (Avery 1986; Sharples 1991b). Among several post-processual studies, the role of cosmology has also been considered (Fitzpatrick 1996a; 1997; Parker Pearson 1999b). Giles' (2000) study of Arras cemeteries represents an excellent example of this: employing an integrated approach to the mortuary data, she argues that the dead were strategically manipulated as part of a discourse in the production of identity, expanding upon earlier ideas of Parker Pearson (1982) and conforming to Hill's (1995) views of pit deposition. Despite critiques, ethnographic data continued to be employed in interpretations (Parker Pearson 1999b).

Sharples (2010, 247-287), Roth (2011) and Hamlin (2007) represent the largest studies of Iron Age mortuary data from the study area since the 1980s. Sharples examined a representative sample of 37 Wessex sites and 700 deposits of bone (300 from Danebury), highlighting performative aspects of mortuary rites (*ibid*, 248, 288), and evidence for discrete ritual categories in the Danebury dataset (*ibid*, 260-7) and for other Wessex sites. Sharples' (*ibid*, 268) analysis confirmed earlier observations of a prevalence of disarticulated remains in the EIA, with a progression to complete burials in the LIA. Like Hill (1995), he (2010, 270) noted some inter-site variability, with Danebury appearing to differ most from other Wessex settlements. He did not contrast his dataset with those of other regions, however. The significance of objects in graves also received only limited consideration (*ibid* 289). Roth (2011) sought to combine the studies of Whimster, Wilson and Wait, by studying LBA-LIA mortuary data for an area stretching from South Yorkshire to the Channel, excluding Wales and the West Country. Her analysis identified long running social and chronological trends suggesting a NE-SW cultural division during the Iron Age, as well as investigating the significance of sex and age in mortuary practices. Roth's analysis of material recovered with human remains was very broad, however she did advocate it as an avenue for future research, while also considering data from the south-west (*ibid*, 339).

Hamlin (2007) examined LIA and Romano-British burials from Dorset, seeking to integrate the idea of childhood into the analysis (Lillehammer 2000; Baxter 2005) and how sub-adult status may be represented. Like Wilson she noted the importance of age, but not sex, in determining location and provision of grave goods. No significant changes were detected in mortuary practices until a century after the Roman conquest. As with Sharples', Hamlin's thorough study did not consider the British or continental context, although she suggested this as a possibility for future research (Hamlin 2007, 334). Also noteworthy is Pitts' (2010) effective employment of multi-variate statistics to analyse Aylesford-Swarling graves. Although Birchall's post-Caesarean dating for many of these burials remains (Fitzpatrick 2000, 125), discoveries at Baldock, Hertfordshire (Stead and Rigby 1986), Westhampnett, West Sussex (Fitzpatrick 1997), and Chilham Castle, Kent (Parfitt 1998) illustrate the rite was present pre-50BC. The continental context of sites such as Westhampnett, Danebury and various Kentish and Sussex examples has been examined (Fitzpatrick 1997, 231-236; Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005; Hamilton 2007, 96-97). Although limited in scale, typically chapters or site analyses, these studies demonstrate promising avenues for further investigation.

1.3.8. Conclusion and Justification for Current Study

Mortuary data from the study area have benefitted from vibrant theoretical discussions, and have been subject to several seminal studies. Despite the significance of Hill's (1995) ideas concerning pit deposits, his advocacy of the role of ritual as a device for change has had limited impact. Mortuary data have increasingly been incorporated into studies of later Iron Age societies, however, the old tendency to view them as reflecting, rather than affecting change remains. Where the data have been considered as such, it is limited to rich burials (e.g. Haselgrove 1987a; Pearce 2015). In contrast to northern England, (Giles 2000; 2012) holistic studies of how human remains helped structure society has been little attempted in the south. It is curious that, considering the emphasis post-processualism has placed on agency and performative theory, that the ideas of Hertz (1960[1907]) and van Gennep (1960 [1909]) have been so little applied in this part of Britain (Sharples 2010, 287). Likewise, despite the recognition that the location within sites was a significant factor (Wilson 1981; Hill 1995), the spatial arrangement within graves continues to be overlooked. Since Montelius (1884, 21-3), considering location of grave goods has been recognised as a valid form of analysis

(Pader 1982) and continues to be advocated (Ekengren 2013, 183-189). As demonstrated for East Yorkshire (Giles 2012, 132-154), such analyses can be highly informative. Only the Durotrigian rite (Whimster 1981, 37-60; Hamlin 2007, 189-254) has been analysed from this perspective.

The scope of past studies also poses a problem, tending to be site specific or regional in focus (e.g. Tibbetts 2008; Tracey 2012; 2016). Only a few are interregional (Roth 2011) or international (Hamlin 2007). This is despite the recommendations of *Understanding The British Iron Age: An Agenda for Action* which critiqued the site-specific nature of many studies (Haselgrove *et al*. 2001, 17). As noted above, this can be attributed to the success of New Archaeology in emphasising autochthonous developments. Barry Cunliffe (2007, 101), one of the great architects of New Archaeology within the British Iron Age, now argues that the emphasis on insular development is too pronounced. Indeed, as Moore and Armada demonstrate, Iron Age studies in Britain have shown an increasingly insular trend since the 1970s (Figure 7-Figure 8). Cunliffe (2007, 99) has recently proposed considering Britain as a maritime region within European prehistory, rather than as a collection of islands.

The continental context of some aspects of the period, notably La Tène artwork, has been thoroughly considered (Megaw and Megaw 1989, 189-241; 2005; Fitzpatrick 2007c), but recent attempts to do the same for the southern British mortuary record have been limited (Cunliffe 1990, 248; Hamilton 2007, 97). Not since Hawkes and Dunning (1931) has there been a dedicated consideration of the relationship between mortuary rites in Britain and those of the near continent. Furthermore, there has been a lack of comparative analysis of mortuary rites, even when such rites are contemporary, such as Aylesford-Swarling cremations and Durotrigian inhumations. This critique also extends to considering continental data, where increasing commonalities, in the form of pit burials (Lambot 1998; Delattre 2010; 2011; Pinard 2010) and disarticulated remains (Villes 1987; Duday 1998), are being detected.

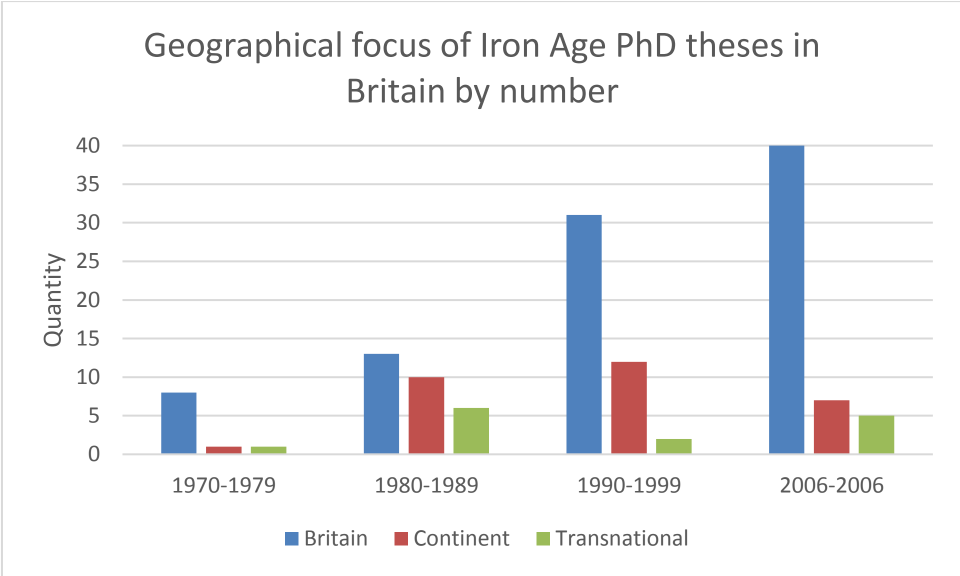


Figure 7. Geographical focus of Iron Age PhD theses completed in Britain between 1970 and 2006 (reproduced from Moore and Armada demonstrate (reproduced from Moore and Armada 2011, 35, fig. 1.10).

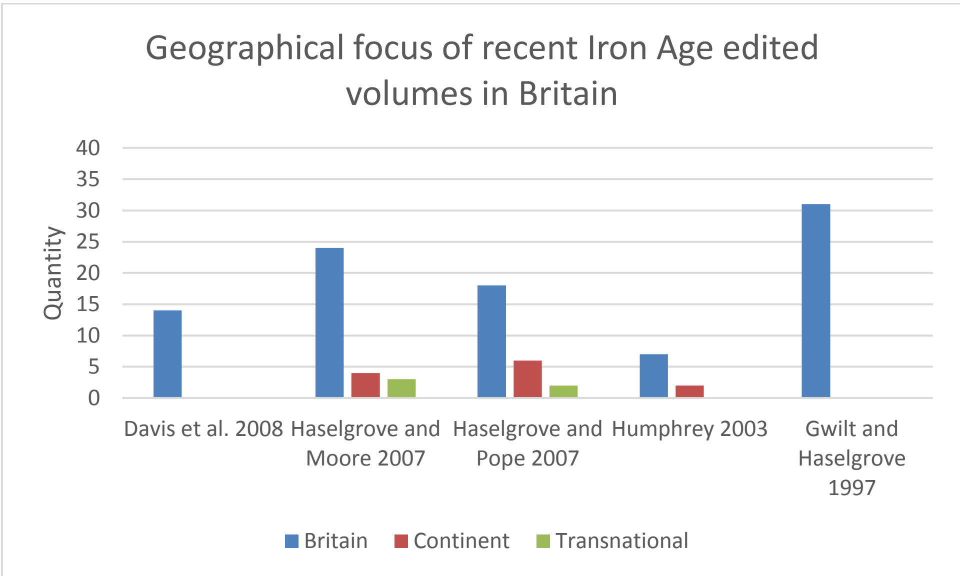


Figure 8. Geographical focus of recent Iron Age edited volumes in Britain (reproduced from Moore and Armada demonstrate (reproduced from Moore and Armada 2011, 36, fig. 1.11).

Stepping back from the current body of research, several potentially fruitful avenues of investigation become apparent:

1. The need to consider mortuary remains across a broad area, so as to better understand how changes relate to each other. In particular, the dynamic role of death, and the importance of ritual as a means of transforming the groups who lived in these areas.

2. The value of considering the placement and role of human remains at varying levels of resolution, including region, site and context.
3. The potential for the location of objects in graves to inform on how the dead were perceived and treated in death.
4. What the inclusion of specific objects can tell us about the *social personae* of the deceased, and their relationship to people buried with similar objects elsewhere.
5. The need to consider what similarities and differences existed between the region considered, and areas elsewhere, in particular the frequently ignored data of the near continent.

This study therefore bases itself on two quotes which summarise well, the goals of this research:

> *"Ritual practice in Iron Age societies was not separable nor secondary to political and economic realities."*
>
> – Hill 1995, 124

> *"It is vital in terms of southern Britain, with its confusion of native and continental metalwork and pottery traditions, that there should be some solution [to the changes in the material culture] in order that recourse to damagingly extreme invasionist and anti-invasionist positions will become unnecessary."*
>
> – Whimster 1981, 129

1.3.9 Research Questions

In view of the above quotes by Hill and Whimster, the following research questions are posed for this study:

1. How did the mortuary record develop over the course of the Later Iron Age at differing levels of resolution (site, context, demographic data, specific objects etc.) between the different zones? How do these developments relate to the broader societal change?
2. What is the British and continental context of these developments, and what do they tell us about interregional attitudes towards the dead and society and possible population movements?

In order to answer these questions a variety of data will be analysed in subsequent chapters, and the significance of the results obtained discussed thoroughly in Chapter 12. Viewing these data and interpreting them requires a suitable theoretical frame, or in the case of this study, frames. It is therefore the theoretical framework of this study which concerns the next chapter.

2. Theoretical Framework

The data selected for analysis in this study were chosen as they, in the opinion of the author, were data types best suited to answering the research questions outlined above. The justification for selecting these data types is the theoretical approach which is employed in this study. It is this theoretical approach, or rather approaches, which is the focus of this chapter. Instead of adopting a single theoretical perspective with which to interpret the results obtained, a composite approach of several complimentary theoretical frames has been employed. The benefits of constructing a composite theoretical framework has recently been demonstrated by Nieuwhof (2015) in her study of Iron Age mortuary practices in the northern Netherlands, where she sought to answer similar questions to those of this study. The theoretical frames used in this study are as follows:

- Social modelling for the southern British Iron Age
- Ritual theory, modes of religiosity and the psychology of ritual
- Personhood theory
- Migration and population exchange

This approach enables us to consider the social context which later Iron Age mortuary practices took place in, how these practices affected communities and individuals, what these rites can tell us about the people who were subject to them, and what similarities with rites elsewhere in Britain and the near continent may say about population exchange between communities.

2.1 Social modelling for the southern British Iron Age

It was noted in section 1.3 that the area examined here, in particular Wessex, has often been central to the development of British Iron Age archaeology, not least in terms of theoretical developments. Without labouring too much on how people have attempted to reconstruct Iron Age societies for this region of Britain, the discussion can be summarised as one between so-called “hierarchs” and the opposing “levellers”. “Hierarchs” (Wheeler 1943; Hawkes 1959; Cunliffe 1984a;b) have viewed these societies as highly stratified, with an elite at the top of the social spectrum, with hill-forts playing the part of central places for control of the territories ruled by these elites. By contrast, "levellers" (Sharples 1991a;b; Hill 1995; 1996; Sharples 2010) have cited a lack of clear evidence for social stratification in the archaeological record, and emphasised the communal nature (in Wessex at least) of hill-forts (Hill 2011, 244). Hill (*ibid*) has recently summarised some of the key points in favour of those who share his view. These include a lack of clear definition as to what an elite is (which can range from a wealthy farmer to a Roman emperor), a paucity of evidence in the settlement record for hierarchy, and evidence in the ethnographic, archaeological and historical record for the existence of functional non-hierarchical (which he terms heterarchic) societies elsewhere (Hill 2011, 247-8).

Sharples (2011) has reviewed the history of this debate since the 1930s, although he uses the approximate terms "dominant" for "hierarchs" and "subversive" for "levellers". For him, the debate has not been a constant one, but when it has occurred it has demonstrated recurring themes (Table 1). In sum, studies of southern British Iron Age society historically divided between those who emphasised hill-forts as centres of elite power, and those who argued for a more egalitarian social structure centred on households (Sharples 2011, 678).

	Dominant	**Subversive**
Author	Wheeler	Bersu
Author	Hawkes	Hodson
Author	Cunliffe	Hill
Site Type Emphasised	Hill-fort	Settlement
Site Emphasised	Maiden Castle	Little Woodbury
Continuity/Change	Chronological Change	Continuity
Point of Analysis	Stratigraphy	Society
External/Autochthonous Development	Invasion/Trade	Autochthonous development
Academic Tradition	Classics	Anthropology

Table 1. Opposing structures in the development of southern British Iron Age societal studies (adapted from Sharples 2011, 674, fig. 33.2).

This study is largely conducted from a "leveller/subversive" perspective, although not entirely. As will be demonstrated below, the paucity of human remains prior to the LIA and the lack of grave goods associated with those burials lends itself better to this perspective, rather than a “hierarch/dominant” one for which the evidence is largely absent until the final centuries of the Iron Age. Combined with studies of other aspects of the archaeological record, like settlement (Cripps 2007; Sharples 2010), the evidence better supports the idea that, prior to c.120BC, many communities in this region of Britain were more egalitarian than they were stratified. That said, some aspects of the “hierarch/dominant” perspective, in particular external influences and the issue of chronology/change, appear to have been much more pronounced than authors like Hill and Sharples have accepted.

These societies and communities were not static. At different points in time, especially during the MIA to LIA transition, the archaeological record evidences significant changes. A useful tool for considering how the individuals in these societies altered, and how this affected the composition of their societies, is the grid and group matrix of Mary Douglas (1970) (Figure 9), as recently demonstrated by Sharples (2010). Depending on where people are positioned on the matrix, they structure their society in a different way. Not all members of a society need be positioned in the same part of the axis, and Douglas (2005) has sought to stress that every society is composed of groups that can be placed in all four corners of her matrix. Within the groups which exist on the matrix, people define themselves in relation to each other, with these relationships being critical and competitive (Sharples 2010, 293).

In terms of explaining the matrix, in area A there are no defined groups, however, individuals are constrained by the roles that are ascribed to them. Within B individuals belong to a defined group, but membership of this group is not a defining characteristic of individuals, and there is a lack of stratification within the groups. In section C, individuals belong to closed groups that are clearly structured, normally in a hierarchical fashion. Whereas in section D, belonging to a defined group is crucial, yet the internal structure of the group is undifferentiated (Sharples 2010, 292). How societies use the dead can indicate whether members of the population occupy areas A, B, C or D. For example, a cemetery with large numbers of occupants, but a lack of detectable differentiation between them (such as the absence of grave goods or grave architecture) would appear to indicate the existence of people in area D. By contrast, cemetery in which there is a great degree of variation in terms of material wealth between graves, is better indicator of area C of the axis. Whereas opulent graves with no apparent association with other burials may indicate people in area A.

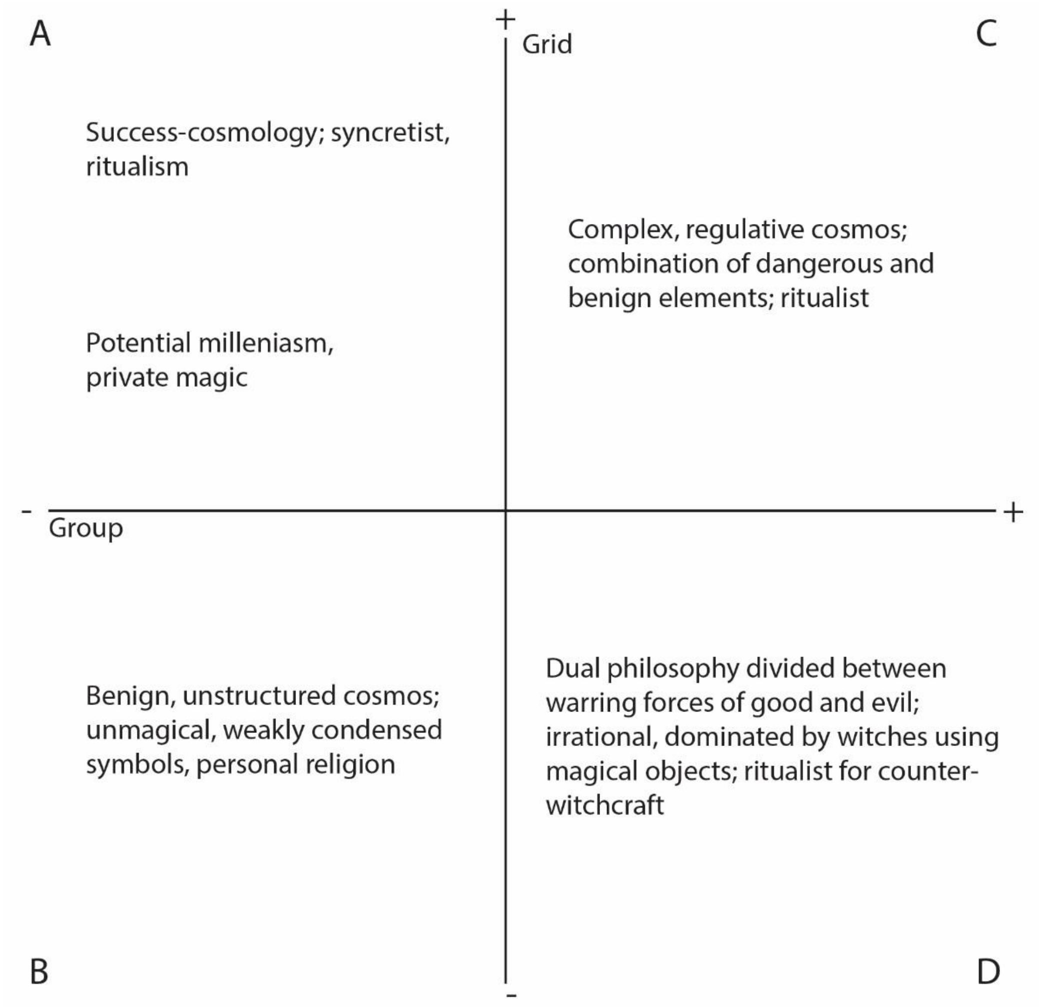


Figure 9. Mary Douglas (1970) grid and group matrix (adapted from Sharples 2010, fig. 5.16).

This framework provides a means for understanding how societies changed, by way of people within them reclassifying themselves. It also enables the inference of social change from analysis of mortuary data. It does not, however, explain how mortuary rites could be used to structure society. Nor does it aid in understanding how mortuary practices affect peoples' understanding of society and their place within it. For this, it is necessary to add the second theoretical frame: ritual theory.

2.2 Ritual Theory, Modes of Religiosity, and their Psychology: An Overview

2.2.1. Ritual Theory

When a person dies in a community, a concerted effort must be made to transform that person (physically, socially and, potentially, spiritually) so that the remaining, living, members of the community can come to terms with the death, and continue with their own lives (Nieuwhof 2015, 84; Knüsel and Robb 2016, 2). Death is thus a *rite of separation* (van Gennep 1960[1908]), and rites of separation are themselves rituals. Ritual can be a difficult subject in archaeology. It has often been used as a wastebasket for things which were not utilitarian and could not be easily understood (Nieuwhof 2015, 14). It is not uncommon for people to decry archaeologists for using the term "ritual" all too readily. For scholars of the Culture-Historical and New Archaeological schools, ritual was something which was often beyond the perceived limits of their data. As Nieuwhof (*ibid*, 14) correctly identifies, ritual is not an explanation, but the start of an exploration. By utilising the term, archaeologists open up a range of new ways of considering the significance of their data. Recently, discussions of ritual have become increasingly prevalent in the literature (e.g. Bell 1992; Hill 1995; Insoll 2011; Nieuwhof 2015). Nevertheless, it can remain a nebulous, foreign concept.

The first thing to note is that a ritual is not necessarily religious (Hill 1995, 97; Nieuwhof 2015, 14). It can be quotidian (Hill 1995, 99; Joy 2011, 415). It may involve special, foods, places and people, or it may not (Nieuwhof 2015, 14). Indeed, the boundary between ritual and practical was likely a blurred one in prehistory (Fitzpatrick 1992, 398; Brück 1999; Nieuwhof 2015, 77). What defines an act as ritual is that it is a structured, formal behaviour which generates a world with prescribed frameworks and relationships, and appears natural to those who encounter it (Bourdieu 1977, 120; Bell 1992, 82). The aim of a ritual is to reproduce certain mental structures (Hill 1995, 99). These structuring principles are what makes ritual potent, to the point rituals are considered as functional and indispensable by those who perform them (Nieuwhof 2015, 74). Ritualized behaviour can thus be characterised by:

1. A sense of urgency. Delaying a ritual is typically considered unwise.

2. Rigidity, with attendants sticking to the original script as closely as they can (although see below). Rituals which deviate too much from the script generate anxiety if they are perceived to have been performed incorrectly.
3. Goal demotion: the aim of the ritual is not always quantifiable, it does not have an observable goal.
4. Interval repetition and redundancy: a given action or sequence must be repeated an exact number of times to be effective.
5. A restricted number of themes: issues of pollution and purification, danger and protection, the possibility of intrusion from outsiders (Nieuwhof 2015, 76).

Ritual can be recognised in the archaeological record by the way in which the archaeological record was created. In contrast to repetitive non-ritual acts (routines), there is a great degree of mental involvement in ritual (Hill 1995, 99). Ritual must thus be experienced to be effective, structuring the minds of those in attendance so that the world they subsequently experience appears to be a natural order (Nilsson-Stutz 2015, 6). This brings us to two key aspects of ritual which highly important for this study: the social effects of ritual, and its psychological impact.

2.2.2. The Social Power of Ritual

Rituals are highly repetitive, however, they are never static, rather, they are highly dynamic (Nieuwhof 2015, 80). Rituals are concerned with reproducing mental structures within the minds of those in a community who witness them. They therefore structure society also. Whoever controls the ritual, controls the present and, by extension, the past also. The act of ritual is often employed as a means of creating and maintaining group identities, reaffirming social control, or challenging the prevailing order (Hill 1995, 124; Nieuwhof 2015, 79; Nilsson-Stutz 2015, 6). Within these social spectacles, issues of inclusion and exclusion are key. The closer one is to a ritual focus, the greater one's power is likely to be (unless one is a victim of it). With sufficiently similar and sustained performances of a ritual, a tradition is established. However, ruling groups may alter existing traditions or invent new ones in order to solidify their positions during a period of change (Haselgrove 1987a, 115; Oestigaard

2015, 369). Oestigaard (2015, 368) identifies two ways in which traditions may be created:

- New traditions acquire legitimacy by being viewed as a direct continuity of what preceded them.
- They are explicitly perceived as being a recreation of a lost tradition.

This capacity of ritual to alter society means that during most public rituals, a strict hierarchy exists in terms of who is permitted to perform certain parts of the rite (Oestigaard 2015, 368). But even if they are conducted by a single individual, ritual change is rarely mono-causal, and the causes of change are often interlinked. Seemingly abrupt and sudden changes in archaeological record for ritual (in the case of this study, mortuary data) are often long in the making (Härke and Belinskij 2015, 94). Mortuary rituals are particularly potent on account of the human material which they employ. It has been argued that the ways human societies deal with death is inevitably political to some extent (Knüsel and Robb 2016, 2). Human remains are rarely a plentiful material, and thus the comparative infrequency of rituals involving such remains adds to their potency. In this sense, bodies are perhaps best viewed as imbued with symbolism and used as strategic resources deployed in social and political discourse (Williams 2004, 264).

> *"When viewing the mortuary ritual and the ritual redefinition of the cadaver from this perspective, every burial – or every occasion for a mortuary ritual – becomes an arena for the reproduction of social structure in the widest sense of the term, including not only the classical archaeological categories of social status, gender etc., but also attributes to life and death, to the body, to the order of society and the wider world etc."*
>
> (Nilsson-Stutz 2015, 7).

Of particular note is Oestigaard's (2015) the notion of the "death myth". This refers to the grander cosmological or mythological scheme in accordance with which each funerary ritual is individually carried out. The funerary ritual is not a fixed box within which to conduct the rite, but rather an open field whose limits can be explored. The goal of exploration is to process the deceased (the aforementioned *rite of separation*) so that they appear to have died the "ideal death"; that is the death most pleasing to the community to which the person belonged and to the cosmology into which the dead are received (Kristoffersen and Oestigaard 2008, 128; Oestigaard 2015, 368). The ideal death need not look like anything that preceded it. Within such a ritual sphere almost any new invention may be possible, provided it is conducted by the right person and rooted in a real or imagined tradition (Oestigaard 2015, 368). As noted above, ritual is not only a social practice. In order for it to be effective, and not simply be a repetitive task, it must produce the necessary psychological stimulation.

2.2.3. The Psychology of Ritual

Nieuwhof (2015, 79) has suggested that ritual is an adaptive strategy, a form of culture which is a product of human cognitive abilities employed to help us adapt to the environmental and social worlds we inhabit.

> *"Rituals are successful concepts because they activate several cognitive systems "in the mental basement", that is unconsciously, producing highly emotional and salient effects"*
>
> (Nieuwhof 2015, 76).

In order for the sort of socially crucial rituals, such as those surrounding death, to take hold two things must occur:

1. The rituals must take a form that people can remember.
2. People must be motivated to pass on these rituals and their associated beliefs (Whitehouse 2002, 295).

If people cannot remember how to perform a ritual, then it will not be passed onto subsequent generations, and will become extinct (Whitehouse 2002, 295). And in order for a ritual to be remembered, even one which might appear as memorable as the death of a person, it must stimulate the cognitive faculties of the brain.

There are two forms of memory: implicit and explicit. Implicit memories are things which we know without being actively aware of, for example riding a bike. Explicit memory contains things known at a conscious level, and it can operate on a short term (remembering things for a few seconds), and long term (remembering things for a few hours to a lifetime) basis (Whitehouse 2002, 296). Long term memory can be further subdivided into semantic and episodic forms. The semantic form is represented by things which are "general knowledge" but we cannot remember the exact time when they became acquired knowledge. For example, knowing that the capital of Russia is Moscow. Episodic memory stores memories of specific moments, for example a person's first kiss, or their wedding day (*ibid*, 295). The death of a community member, and the associated rituals, are thus long term, explicit, episodic memories. It makes them extremely powerful psychological tools.

2.2.4. Modes of religiosity

In terms of ensuring that rituals are practiced correctly, that is, the repetitive structures noted above are recreated with sufficient accuracy, or a new "death myth" is accepted and remembered, there are two approaches. These approaches are termed *modes of religiosity* (Whitehouse 2002), although, as stressed above, ritual does not need to be religious. Nevertheless, they represent useful ways for understanding how rituals are transferred, psychologically, from one generation to the next. These modes are the *doctrinal mode* and the *imagistic mode* (Table 2). In short, the *doctrinal* mode involves an intellectual approach with constant learning, whilst the *imagistic* mode ritual teaching is learnt through rare, intensely memorable experiences (Whitehouse 2000; Boyer 2005, 8-9).

The doctrinal mode is a highly routinized method, in which large quantities of verbal knowledge are transferred to the recipient and retained in the semantic memory. This has the advantage of making complex cosmologies more easily understood by those present. All of the Abrahamic religions, in particular Christianity and Islam, are examples of this mode. The transmission of this information is done by a professional class of orators, who invariably take on an elevated position within society (e.g. a clergy). These orators typically use *orthodoxy checks* (e.g. an agreed version of a religious text) to prevent deviations from the standard doctrine. This is further assisted by the use of frequent repetition within rituals, which creates an implicit knowledge among attendees as to what is expected of them at certain points in the ritual. For example, if you say to a group of Christians “let us pray”, invariably they will close their eyes and bow their heads. This further inhibits deep reflection upon the doctrinal message, and encourages passive acceptance of what the orator says. The advantage of this system is that it makes large scale rituals based on complex doctrines possible. The existence of the orator class, combined with repetition, enables the rapid spread of a doctrine between communities. The risk of this mode is that it struggles to keep attendees motivated. In order to avoid losing practitioners to apathy, supernatural sanctions (e.g. eternal damnation) or incentives (e.g. eternal salvation) are typically employed (Whitehouse 2002, 295-303).

Imagistic practices are much less frequent. They include traumatic events, such as violent initiation rituals, collective altered states of conscious, or extreme episodes involving homicide. Unlike the doctrinal mode, the memories they create are episodic, on account of their infrequency and requirement for high levels of stimulation (visual, auditory, olfactory etc.). If performed correctly, they can create can be extremely vivid and long lasting memories. Whereas the doctrinal mode relies upon large amounts of verbally transmitted information, the imagistic mode relies on spontaneous exegetical reflection (SER) to instil the message of the ritual upon those who attended. SERs invite reflection on the meaning of the ritual, in contrast to the passive acceptance of the doctrinal mode. SERs, however, tend to inhibit the sort of dynamic leadership found in the doctrinal mode. As repetitive, verbal messages are difficult to pass on within the imagistic mode, so too is it difficult for an oratory class to be established. By extension, orthodoxy checks and centralisation are difficult to establish, and if rituals in the imagistic mode do spread, it is difficult to replicate them in the idealised way that is achieved in the doctrinal mode; there is too much variation. If leadership does exist within an imagistic ritual, it tends to be symbolic, for example the order of precedence a ritual is enacted in (Whitehouse 2002, 303-7).

Imagistic Mode		**Doctrinal Mode**
Infrequent	Transmissive Frequency	Frequent
High	Level of arousal	Low
Generated	Ritual meaning	Learned
Intense	Social cohesion	Diffuse
Fixed, local, exclusive	Religious Community	Universal, inclusive
Passive	Religious Leadership	Dynamic
Spontaneous exegis	Religious Knowledge	Orthodoxy
Slow	Spread	Rapid
Low	Degree of uniformity	High
Decentralized	Organization	Centralized

Table 2. Comparison of imagistic and doctrinal modes (Reproduced from Nieuwhof 2015, 91, table 7.1).

As noted, a key component of the imagistic mode is the sheer degree of mental stimulation involved. This is particularly the case if a ritual involves acts of violence. Although emotions are partially historically and culturally specific (Fleisher and Norman 2016, 2), we can assume the brain will experience similar reactions to certain stimuli, irrespective of the social context (Nieuwhof 2015, 69). Within psychology there are two possible reactions to exposure to such acts:

- Vicarious traumatisation: post-traumatic stress caused by watching a traumatic incident. Vicarious denotes the fact that the observer is not the direct victim, however the psychological effects can be as severe as those suffered by the victim (Shiri *et al.* 2008 106).
- Post-traumatic growth: the opposite of vacarious trauma. In this instance, psychological stress serves as a means for personal growth. This can occur at a personal level or at a communal level, in the latter case causing people to come together. This does not mean, however, that there is an absence of stress or suffering, only that the result is a positive one (Taku *et al.* 2008, 428, 440).

In order that post-traumatic growth, and not post-traumatic stress, is the result, it is necessary to find meaning in what has occurred (Taku *et al.* 2008, 428). Exposure to politically motivated violence can, at least among modern societies, lead to exceptionally high levels of post-traumatic stress. However, if witnesses possess a strong sense of purpose when witnessing such acts then it can develop into post-traumatic growth (Shiri *et al.* 2008). A suitable arena for this sort of post-traumatic growth are the small scale groups who are typical of imagistic modes (Whitehouse 2002, 307; Nieuwhof 2015, 93).

The doctrinal and imagistic modes bind people together in different ways (Nieuwhof 2015, 91). Doctrinal modes tend to foster a generalised sense of membership, for example a church congregation or the Islamic *Ummah*. Imagistic modes tie participants to individuals who were part of the same salient events (Boyer 2005, 22). Nevertheless, they are not mutually exclusive (Whitehouse 2002, 310). Amongst communities who lack access to the certain teachings, or sufficient motivation to undertake their rituals in a doctrinal mode, elements of an imagistic mode may be employed. Consider, for example, an African-American Baptist church service in Alabama, or a Chechen Sufi *Zikr*; imagistic practices within broader doctrinal modes (Christianity and Islam). Far from being mutually exclusive, the two modes can be reinforcing. Although the imagistic mode almost certainly pre-dates the doctrinal mode, the near universal shift to the doctrinal mode should not be viewed as a uni-linear process (*ibid,* 311). Like the rituals they are used to enact, these modes are dynamic, and the decision to use them is determined by the needs of the practitioners to produce replicate an idealised ritual or “death myth”.

2.3. Personhood

So far the theoretical perspective of the societies in which later Iron Age people lived, and how different rituals likely affected them, has been discussed. The penultimate theoretical perspective considers the differing ways in which these people may have conceived of themselves. This study is ultimately one of people and individual persons. What constitutes a person, that is the social not biological condition of being a person, has become a focus for discussion over the past 40 years (Strathern 1988; LiPuma 1998; Fowler 2004; 2005; 2016; Brück 2006; Wilkinson 2013). The dataset assembled for this study contains numerous examples of disarticulated human remains which, on the basis of the anatomical elements recovered from respective contexts, could not constitute a complete human skeleton. Furthermore, with the exception of a few examples (and even accounting for truncation) almost all cremation burials contained less cremated bone than required to represent an adult (1227-3001g: McKinley 1993). Even the total number of inhumed burials recorded in the dataset (577) is small considering that recent estimates put the average community at 100-200 persons (Hill 2011, 250). Clearly, many people are missing from the archaeological record. The second theoretical frame employed therefore considers the issue of personhood within the past.

It has come to be realised that our modern concept of what constitutes as person is the product of Abrahamic religion, Enlightenment philosophy and medical science (Brück 2005, 137; Fowler 2005, 122). The conclusion of these lines of enquiry was that the human brain is capable of reason, the repository of memory and personality, and the primary control mechanism in the body. As a result, a person is the product of a single act of procreation and, once born, represents an inseparable whole combined of brain and body (Fowler 2005, 122; Brück 2006, 308). This is what Wilkinson (2013, 418) terms the *Cartesian* person. As Fowler (2004, 5) notes, there has been a tendency to uncritically place the modern concept of being a person in the past, despite the fact that anthropological studies have identified that this view is not universally shared (e.g. Strathern 1988; Mosko 1992; Busby 1997; LiPuma 1998; Wilkinson 2013). He divides the notion of personhood into two categories (*ibid,* 7):

- Personhood: The condition or state of being a person. This is often an ongoing process involving transformations, and relationships with other humans and non-humans (some of which may also emerge as humans). A person's own interpretations of what constitutes personhood shape their interactions with others, however personhood is ultimately a mutually constituted tradition.
- Person: A person is any entity (human or non-human) which is considered to be a person. The state of being a person may be temporary, even for humans, and is thus contextually varied. Even if a person occurs in the form of an inanimate object, such as a corpse, it may still be considered to have agency (Williams 2004, 265). This is not the same as being self-aware, which we may assume for all mentally capable humans (Fowler 2004, 20).

Although personhood theory is not without critique (Jones 2005; Lucas 2012, 193; Gillison 2013, 118, 121; Wilkinson 2013), it has been effectively applied to other periods of British prehistory (e.g. Brück 2005; 2006; Fowler 2005; Chapman and Gaydarska 2011; Harris *et al*. 2013), as well as the central European Hallstatt period (Rebay-Salisbury 2016) and Finnish Iron Age (Wickholm and Raninen 2006). There has, however, been only limited application to the British Iron Age (Sharples 2010, 290; Harding 2016, 126, 288).

The problem is not whether different forms of personhood existed in the past, but what sort of personhood existed. For a long time the idea of personhood was dominated by Strathern's (1988) work on Melanesian peoples. She argued that within Melanesian society there existed a partible personhood, in which people were able to extract aspects of their personhood and place it into others (human and non-human). These exchanges created an intimate bond between donor and recipient, with parts of people belonging to others. In the extreme example of the New Guinea "big men", individuals who came to be composed of sufficient parts of others, that they represented their entire tribe (Mosko 1992, 711-2). Alternatively there also exist "great men", a less complete form of "big men" who possess fixed attributes (e.g. war chief, war sorceress, peace chief) (*ibid*; Brück 2005, 124).

Strathern's study proved highly influential in archaeological considerations of personhood (not least of which was Fowler 2004). However, there are problems with the model, not least of which is the fact that it is often forgotten that the Melanesian idea of partible personhood is a metaphor (Roscoe 2015, 69). A key problem with applying Strathern's work to past societies is that there are no borders to the Melanesian partible personhood. At every level of analysis, whether it be communal or individual, the view is the same; people held in common between each other (Wilkinson 2013, 428). Although an interesting way of considering how people relate to each other, archaeologically it can be difficult to test for. Likewise, Strathern's model alone cannot explain the shift to what can be called *indivisible* or *Cartesian* forms of personhood (Fowler 2004, 8): people who exist as ontological wholes, and cannot be divided.

In an attempt to resolve the apparent contradiction between supposedly indivisible *Cartesian* personhood, and the partible personhood advocated by Strathern, LiPuma (1998) advocated that partible and indivisible personhood existed at two ends of a scale; each representing one extreme of the other. This view has become increasingly widespread, and even elaborated on by Fowler (2016, 402, fig. 2) who has attempted to resolve critiques of the dividual/individual two tiered axis, by proposing a new, multi-axes heuristic model. He has argued that personhood is always relational, and never should it be considered as operating on a simple binary axis (*ibid*, 407). However, this approach has also been critiqued (Wilkinson 2013).

The main criticism of personhood theory has been that, in a quest to emphasise the otherworldly nature of the past, archaeologists have uncritically applied personhood theory to it. As Jones (2005) notes, the result has been to populate the past with Melanesians in what may be termed a “west versus rest” mentality. This “west versus rest” mentality has subsequently been critiqued by Wilkinson (2013), who notes a tendency for archaeologists to cite Strathern’s work and then apply LiPuma’s as a caveat. In doing so creating a different form of personhood for past peoples, but attempting to circumnavigate certain aspects which do not fit with the original Melanesian data (*ibid,* 425). As he notes:

> *“There appears then to be a deeply held sense among many prehistorians that we must represent the past as quite different to the present, lest we engage ourselves in a politically very problematic project”.*
>
> (Wilkinson 2013, 425)

If, as LiPuma (1998) and Fowler (2016) suggest, partible personhood is merely one extreme of an axis that includes indivisible personhood, why emphasise it so strongly in contrast to the latter. Strathern ultimately advocates for a markedly different form of personhood within Melanesian society than that which exists in the western world. By contrast, LiPuma proposes a universal form of personhood, in which dividuality and individuality exist at opposite ends of the same scale. Resorting to the view that westernised and non-westernised societies are so different in their views of personhood that the latter is populated entirely by indivisible persons, and the former by entirely relational beings is unwise (Wilkinson 2013, 417). Instead of asking whether someone was an individual or not (in the sense of whether they were perceived as divisible) it is better to ask what *sort of* individuals there were (*ibid*, 420). A more suitable theoretical view to take is perhaps that advocated by Wilkinson (*ibid*).

For Wilkinson the question is not one of divisibility or individuality, but one of scale. Within western society the body is an *a priori* ontological entity. Nevertheless, it is part of a biological exchange network. He raises the question of how we should view acts such as blood transfusions or sexual intercourse where substances are exchanged between human bodies. In its simplest terms these are biological exchanges, but there are also important social aspects to these acts. He argues that the term *individual* should not be used in the *Cartesian* sense described above. Rather, it should be employed to its etymological origins, to represent something which clear boundaries, though not necessarily synonymous with a human being (Wilkinson 2013, 428). Just because a sense of personhood is not synonymous with a human body, does not mean we should assume the existence of a permeable, divisible form of personhood (*ibid*, 428).

In studying the ethnography surrounding the *Sapa Inka* (Incan emperor) Wilkinson has argued for what may be considered a tidal or contagious form of personhood. Within the Inca Empire, bodily components of the *Sapa Inka* were incorporated into effigies known as *wawqi* (Wilkinson 2013, 422). These *wawqi* could serve as living extensions of the *Sapa Inka*, but were not the equivalent of his body; they could not replace him. Furthermore, it seems that many items which the *Sapa Inka* touched, in particular leftovers from his meals, were retained within ritual chests (*petacas*) and were ritually burnt inside a special hut at the end of the year. For Wilkinson the *Sapa Inka* was a “single person co-located within multiple material elements, each sharing the same fundamental identity” (*ibid*, 423). The *Sapa Inka* may have imbued objects with his presence, but unlike Strathern’s permeable personhood, the *Sapa Inka* had clear, recognisable boundaries. The items which he touched which were subsequently burnt were within these boundaries, boundaries which had expanded from the original core; his body. The personhood of the *Sapa Inka* was thus a contagious personhood, which spread through particular social networks, and had to be literally burnt back each year (*ibid*, 427).

A similar idea to Wilkinson's notion of a contagious state of personhood is offered by Busby's (1997) ethnographic work on the Indian caste system: *permeable personhood*. Within this system people are viewed as permeable vessels within which different essences reside. These essences have various values, for example knowledge is "cool", as wisdom may be seen to have a cooling effect on peoples' temperament. By contrast, alcohol is considered "hot" as it causes a loss of reason and makes people more volatile. Certain essences are considered more common in different castes, thus on account of access to education, higher castes are considered to possess a greater concentration of "cool" essences, in a similar way to how the *Sapa Inka* was an elite individual, with a form of personhood different to others in the pre-Columbian Andes. In permeable personhood the body remains a relatively fixed entity, as for the *Sapa Inka*, but the composition of essences varies as they are passed between bodies (Busby 1997, 264). Essences may likewise be inherited and shared between kin groups (Brück 2005, 120).

As will be illustrated below, there is a marked contrast between the abundance of certain data types in the MIA and LIA. Accounting for these differences is attempted through the application of personhood theory. Strathern's approach would appear to be untestable, due to the limits of such personhood being, potentially, archaeologically undetectable. By contrast LiPuma's view would appear to be theoretically flawed as it does not explain attempts to ascribe an ontological reality to a metaphorical concept. In considering the dataset assembled for this study, with its large samples of disarticulated, often intermixed human bones, and cremation burials with only a few grams of cremated bone, Wilkinson and Busby's views of a personhood with either expansive or permeable borders tied to an individual is perhaps of greatest use.

2.4. Migration

Migration represents the final theoretical frame of this study. In sections 1.2.4-6 it was noted that, throughout the period under consideration, the study area has evidence for continental imports. There are also a small number of objects of British origin on the continent (described below). The chronological frequency and quantity of these imports varies. Nevertheless, for the duration of the Later Iron Age, the study area and parts of the continent were in contact. In order for these objects to have crossed the Channel, they needed to be transported by people. The distribution of artefacts is not a good indicator of mobility, only exchange networks (Cunliffe 2007, 102). However, implicit to exchange networks is the issue of mobility and the movement of people between locations. As described in Chapters 4-11, there are also strong similarities in the data either side of the Channel, in certain locations and at different periods. Indeed, in some cases we may very well be dealing with migrant burials, something which the few historical accounts dating to this period support (BG 2.2; 2.14; 3.9; 4.20; 5.12; 6.13;

The final theoretical frame of this study is thus the issue of mobility and migration. As outlined above, ideas of migration and mobility were initially commonplace in discussions of the British Iron Age. With the rise of New Archaeology this changed. A primary, though not the sole, cause of this was that early migration theory lacked the methodological and theoretical rigour which processualist archaeologists advocated (Chapman and Hamerow 1997, 1; Burmeister 2000, 539; van Dommelen 2012, 394). Since the 1990s, however, there have been significant paradigm shifts and reengagement with migration theory (Cameron 2013, 218). Even key proponents of the processualist school advocate the application of migration theory to British prehistory (Cunliffe 2007, 101). Central to this paradigm shift have been the papers of Anthony (1990) Champion (1990) and Kristiansen (1989), which critically reviewed migration as a mechanism of cultural change. Modern migration theory is much removed from that of Culture-Historians, and the idea that artefact distributions are indicative of waves of invaders. Instead, migration is recognised as a complex process with numerous variables (Figure 10) summarised thus:

- Variation in possible destinations: migrants will likely consider a variety of destinations, not only the final location which they arrive at.
- Flow of information: information about possible destinations greatly influences the choice of terminus. Areas previously settled by the same, or similar, social

groups will be preferred over those areas that have not. Scouting parties may likewise be involved in the initial stages of migration.

- Technology: technological limitations will restrict which locations may ultimately be reached, irrespective of how attractive they may be.
- Intervening obstacles: including both geographical and political obstacles, for example hostile communities.
- Migration is not mono-directional. Not everyone who settles in a new location will choose to stay, some may instead return home. Likewise, if there is an indigenous population already present at a new location, members of this population may join the returning migrants. A contemporary example is the end of Empire, during which many Commonwealth citizens opted to emmigrate to the former imperial "motherland".

Despite the reengagement with migration theory having started nearly 30 years ago it remains much debated. Nevertheless, several points are increasingly agreed upon. One of the most significant of these is the realisation that the material culture of a migratory population is rarely a perfect copy of that employed in their homeland (Cordell 1995, 206; Burmeister 2000, 542; Collis 2011, 231). A variety of factors affects the migrants' material culture upon reaching their destination. These may include the degree of exchange and intermarriage with indigenous populations, or the original reason why the migrating population left their homeland; for example, persecution may cause them to remove as many reminders of their homeland as possible. Over time it is common for the archaeological distinctiveness of migrant populations to diminish (Stark *et al.* 1995, 218; Burmeister 2000, 547). Indeed, they may leave no archaeological signature at all (Cameron 2013, 221).

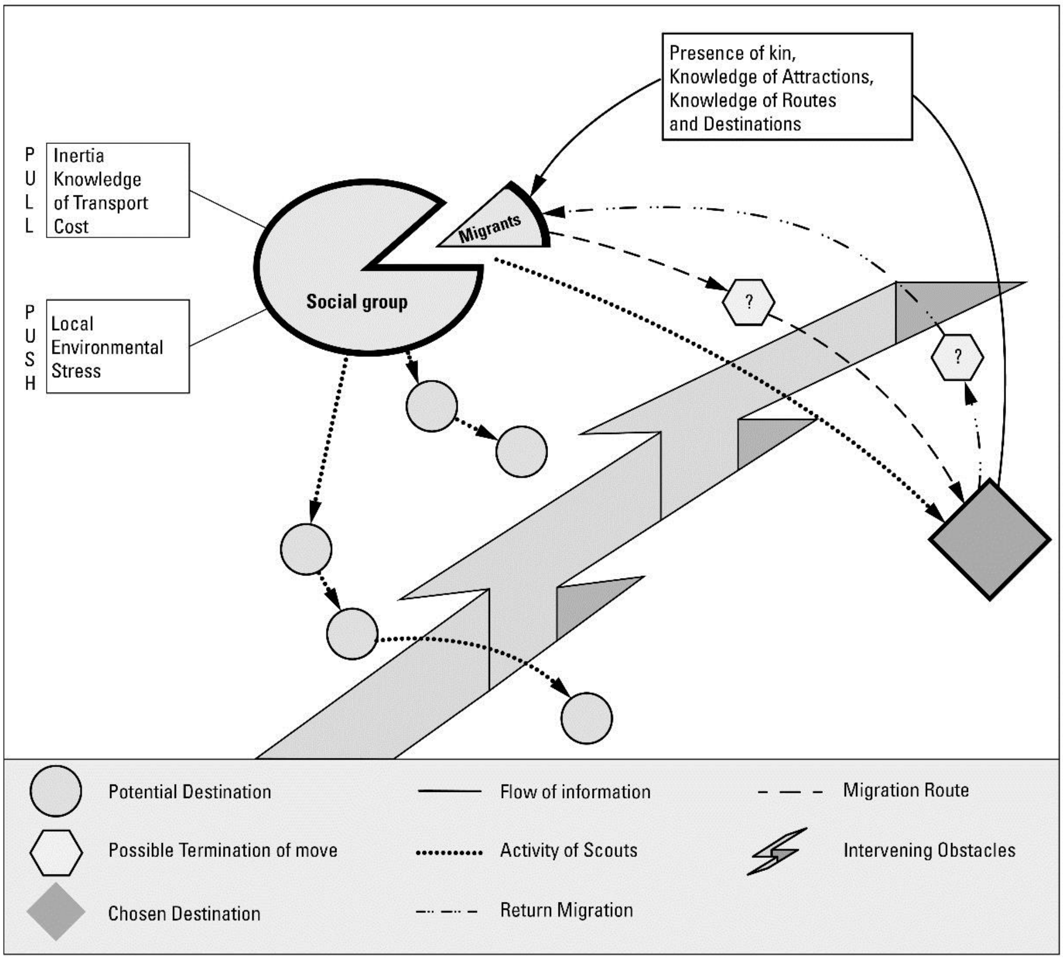


Figure 10. Variables influencing migrations (Fernández-Götz 2014, fig. 5.5).

It is recognised that migration is a process and social strategy, not an event, and is usually embarked upon by a defined sub-groups in society (Anthony 1990, 898; Anthony 1997, 22). Migrations rarely occur in waves. The first families, or groups, to successfully migrate may form apexes around which power is later centred (Anthony 1990, 903). Whether or not males are more prone to migrate (Anthony 1990, 905; Chapman and Dolukhanov 1992, 170; Burmeister 2000, 543) or females (Seielstad *et al.* 1998; Chamberlain 2006, 10) remains uncertain. The causes of migration are complex and hard to identify, however it is important not to overestimate the role of economic reasons and underestimate the role of ideological or military stimuli. Likewise culture-specific values and belief systems may also play a part (Anthony 1990, 898-900)

Migration theory is employed in this study as a means to explore similarities in the archaeological record in the study area and elsewhere. It is not intended to determine the scale of mobility, which in any case is always a problem (Cunliffe 2007, 104). Studies of early modern populations in Britain and the continent have proposed that a range of 2-10% of population turnover may be attributable to migration (both into and out of a given population) (Kitch 1992; Moch 1992, 44). Isotopic analyses of continental La Tène cemeteries (Monte Bibele and Münsingen-Rain) have identified that a range of 14.7-19% may be non-locals (Scheeres *et al.* 2013). By contrast, a study of the East Yorkshire cemeteries concluded only one individual was likely to have spent his childhood outside of the region (Jay *et al*. 2013, 488). It is not the purpose of this study to scientifically identify potential migrants, as this is beyond the scope of this research. Where examples of potential migrants have been identified by other studies, they will be noted. Instead, utilising migration theory provides a framework to consider if inter-regional similarities apparent in the data.

With the theoretical framework employed in this study now established, it is possible to consider the data analysed in this study. Prior to that, however, it is necessary to outline what data was collected, and what the the limitations pertaining to it are.

Chapter 3: Data Types and Methodology

With the background to this research and theoretical frame(s) of this study established, it is possible to turn to the data themselves, first by defining what data were collected, and the limitations inherent to them. As the research questions cover a range of subjects, a composite methodology was required in order to interrogate these data. The presented methodology is largely based on Whimster (1981), Wilson (1981), Pader (1982), Wait (1985), Roth (2011) and Giles (2000; 2012), given that these studies sought to answer similar questions to this one.

3.1. Data Limitations - Introduction

In all archaeological studies data are subject to limitations. The same is true for this study, with certain sub-regions of the study area, and certain site types being more abundantly represented than others. This is not necessarily an archaeological reality, but instead the product of the geological, historical, research and today's economic factors described above. Even allowing for optimum conditions of recovery, there are limitations imposed upon the data. Taphonomic and biological factors affect which human remains are better represented, whilst the lack of soft tissue restricts what can be deduced from the remains. Non-organic grave goods are likewise subject to distorting variables, ranging from the effects of sharing the grave space with a decomposing corpse, to truncation as a result of ploughing. In the following paragraphs, the main limitations of the data collected are discussed.

3.1.1. Geological Data

As noted, the geology and topography of the study area are varied. Underlying geology results in variable soil pH levels (Map 2), which impact bone preservation. For example, the chalk lowlands of the Wessex region are predominantly alkaline, and thus conducive to preserving bone. Conversely, the eastern and western parts of the study area are typified by acidic soils associated with poor bone preservation, restricting the amount of osteological information obtainable from this area.

3.1.2. Historical Variations

The human remains and associated data (spatial, grave goods etc.) employed within the study derive from excavations undertaken between the 1920s and 2010. Sites excavated earlier than this tended to be inadequately published or recorded, thus excluding several large inhumation datasets from analysis: Harlyn Bay, Scilly (N=c.130 individuals), Plymstock, Devon (N='very numerous': Bate 1866, 500-510) and Jordan Hill, Dorset (N=80: Warne 1872, 225-35; Whimster 1981, 260, 279-285). Even when adequately recorded, data are still influenced by the date of their excavation. During the inter-war period, for example, excavations predominantly concentrated on the hill-forts of Wessex (e.g. Hawkes 1940; Wheeler 1943) or Sussex (Curwen and Curwen 1927; Curwen 1929), rather than unenclosed sites. Many of the largest sites of in the 1960s and 70s, however, were excavated as part of an academic or public research project, usually with a research design in which mortuary data were an auxiliary concern.

Different sites were invariably excavated by different teams, employing a variety of research designs and excavation methods. As such, even among those sites excavated under modern conditions, differences exist. For example, at Gussage All Saints pits which did not contain complete inhumations were only half sectioned, likely explaining the low recovery rate of disarticulated human remains (N=18: *pers. comm*. Niall Sharples 25/02/2015). Recently, rescue excavation has been responsible for the majority of sites excavated. Although Harding (2016, ix) suggests this has had a positive effect of divorcing such excavations from research designs, biases are still inherent. Although new discoveries have tended to be better published (*ibid*, viii), poor quality or summary publication remains a problem in some instances (e.g. Murden 2014).

3.1.3. Geographic Limitations

Due to increases in rescue excavations in the post-war period, the location of infrastructure developments has impacted upon the distribution of data. Hampshire and West Sussex have continued to be foci for much fieldwork. The largest increase in Iron Age sites excavated, however, has been Kent, which has benefited from large infrastructure programs in the 21st century (e.g. Booth *et al*. 2008; Andrews *et al*. 2009). Devon has also seen new transport projects with Iron Age discoveries, although human remains are limited due to hostile soil conditions (Map 2) (Fitzpatrick *et al*. 1999). Cornwall, although subject to limited construction, has seen the addition of important mortuary datasets, albeit affected by local soil conditions (e.g. Nowakowski 1991). The uplands regions, such as the Downs of East Sussex and Kent, have undergone comparatively little recent infrastructure development programs, and as a result excavations have been limited.

3.1.4. Intra-site Variables

Total area excavations were conducted at only six sites in the dataset: Westhampnett, Gussage All Saints, Tutt Hill, Somborne Park Farm, Winnall Down and Tollard Royal. Of these, Somborne Park Farm, Hampshire was conducted entirely by machine, albeit under archaeological supervision (Harding 2010, 9). Thus, excluding apparently isolated inhumations (Portesham, Trevone, Bryher, Deal, Chilham, Latchmere Green, Bridge, The Bourne, Langton Herring), only 7.6% of sites examined were subject to total area excavation. This leaves open the possibility that some sights subject to limited excavation may have produced much larger datasets than were recorded. For example, the partial excavations at Suddern Farm uncovered a large inhumation cemetery which was only partially excavated. There is no correlation between total area excavation and project or rescue excavation.

3.1.5. Limitations of Dead Populations

Skeletal samples do not represent a simple guide to reconstructing living populations (Wood *et al.* 1992, 343-6; Milner and Boldsen 2017, 26). It is possible, through palaeopathological studies, to determine the health of an individual, however, populations are more difficult to assess. The dead in the archaeological record are a sample of the population, very rarely is the entire population represented (Milner and Boldsen 2017, 26-28). This is for three reasons which are largely archaeologically undetectable:

- **Demography nonstationary:** Describes when a part of a population moves away. This affects fertility in a population (for example if large numbers of females of child bearing age leave), but not the mortality of the population (Wood *et al.* 1992, 343; Wright and Yoder 2003, 45). Thus, the absence of a particular demographic group in the mortuary record may simply mean they were not present in the population in the first place.
- **Selective mortality**: The total number of people at risk of dying can never be known. All that can be known are those who succumbed to the risk of death. Thus, if most people were at risk of dying in childhood, but instead lived into their 50s, it can never be known that childhood was a potentially dangerous period for the population.
- **Hidden heterogeneity in risks:** The susceptibility of individuals to death (frailty), varies in any population. Many indicators of individual frailty leave no trace on the skeleton. If a cemetery is largely composed of people in their 20s, this is not necessarily due to the general state of population of the health. Each of the people in the cemetery may have died due to different reasons, unique to themselves and unrelated to each other (Wood *et al.* 1992, 343-5).

In view of these issues, the significance of a population primarily relates to the fact other members of the community chose to deposit human remains at a particular location, and the type of human remains deposited. Furthermore, it means considering what the death of people of certain demographic groups meant for the remaining population, rather than the general state of the population, which itself can rarely be reconstructed (Milner and Boldsen 2017, 36).

Small scale agricultural societies, like those to which all individuals in the study area likely belonged, have a predictable archaeological mortality profile, not reflected in real-world case studies (Chamberlain 2006, 66, fig. 3.6; 90). Infants tend be well represented in the mortuary record. This is predominantly due to their weak immune systems, but also fertility rates in agricultural communities where high birthrates tend to occur (*ibid*, 64). Other sub-adults represent a minority of the population in the mortuary record, due to their low frailty levels on account of robust immune systems. Women of child bearing age may be more prevalent in the archaeological record than their male contempories, but this is not universal (Giles 2012, 64). Older age categories of both males and females vary in terms of their representation in the archaeological record.

3.1.6. Biological Processes

The way in which the human body decomposes, and the way it is treated following death, have a major effect on what remains enter the archaeological record. Dry bones in a context represent only one part of a multi-staged, interrelated process of decomposition. Upon death, cells and tissues begin to degenerate, whilst muscle tone slackens (Giles 2013, 476). This is accompanied by *algor mortis*, an increase or decrease in the temperature of the corpse, depending on the temperature of the surrounding environment. Some corpses may even burst if they are not buried, depending on the environment they are in. Any fabric which the corpse was wrapped in also decays (Duday 2009, 9-10). Clothing and fabric wrappings can initially delay cooling of the coprse, thereby promoting decomposition. However, they can subsequently act as a barrier to necrophages (animals like beetles and worms which feed on the corpse), and other animals which in turn feed on these, thereby inhibiting decomposition (Giles 2013, 476).

The corpse ultimately cools, and a mucus like membrane forms over the eyes. Discoloration occurs as the skin darkens from red to purple on account of blood pooling in the body due to the end of cardiac activity. *Rigor mortis*, a stiffening of the body’s muscles, occurs and abates after a period of time. The body’s cells then break down, releasing enzymes which begin to digest the body by breaking down fats and proteins (*autolysis*). This in turn releases bacteria from the digestive and respiratory system, further resulting in a break down of soft tissues. During this period, the skin develops a ‘marbled’ appearance. Potential associated developments include the formation and subsequent bursting of vesicles which emit malodrous by-products, such as ammonia and carbon monoxide. These by-products can cause the body to swell, or can be emitted orally or rectally (Giles 2013, 476).

The swelling of the body and expulsion of fluids and gases can cause the corpse to appear animate. Gases escaping orally can even stimulate the vocal chords, results in moans or screeches. Even though internal decay can be in an advanced stage, the corpse can remain articulated, especially if wrapped or bound by a shroud or coffin. Depending on the degree of confinement, grave goods may be moved from their original position as a result of the decomposition. All of the above is influenced not only by the surrounding environment, but also by the nature of the deceased. Childrens' bodies cool rapidly due to their size, thus inhibiting decomposition. Adults' bodies, especially large adults, cool more slowly, thus encouraging bacterial growth and catalysing decomposition (Giles 2013, 476).

Skeletonization of the corpse can take up to one to three years in a temperate environment, depending on the surrounding environmental conditions (Giles 2013, 476). However, even after the soft tissues of the body have broken down, the skeleton continues to disarticulate. The bones of the skeleton separate at different rates. *Labile joints,* those connecting regions like the cervical vertebrae, hands, feet, and hyoid, are the first to decompose. As a result, these small elements are the first to disarticulate. When these bones display a lack of disarticulation, it indicates the body was little disturbed (Duday 2009, 27). The rib-cage also disarticulates rapidly, as the sternum is an anatomical element which decomposes early in the process. *Persistant joints* which connect load bearing elements of the skeleton, like the tibio-femoral joint, are the last to decompose due to their major ligamentous and tendinous attachments. The humero-ulnar and tempero-manidublar (lower mandible and cranium) joint also persist for some time, due to the strong tissue conntections between them (Knüsel 2014, 32-4). All of these movements have the potential to displace objects the deceased was buried with.

The degree of displacement can often indicate the presence or absence of containers or layers. A lack of disarticulation is a good dindicator that a container was employed, whilst disarticulation can indicate that the body decomposed in a void, or even at a different level to that which the bones settled on (Duday 2009, 34). The key here is gravity. Thus, if a skeleton is recovered in a position which would cause it to disarticulate from the effects of gravity (in other words, it is not deposited on the base of a context), then this likely indicates it decomposed in a filled space (*ibid*).

3.1.7. Determining the cause of death

As noted in section 2.2.3 above, this study considers the psychological affect of witnessing death, including those of a violent nature. Determining the cause of death from skeletal remains alone is problematic. Lesions present on the bone can indicate the presence of chronic diseases, such as the tuberculosis which afflicated a MIA male from Tarrant Hinton (Taylor *et al.* 2005) and potentially the LIA woman from Langton Herring, both Dorset (Craig-Atkins 2013). However, it perfectly possible for a person to have succumbed to a disease before lesions had a chance to develop. In the case of homicide, many acts of killing can leave no trace at all (Wood *et al.* 1992). For example, strangulation can leave no trace, unless the force used (e.g. as can occur from hanging) is sufficient to damage the vertebrae (Nieuwhof 2015, 246).

Although peri-mortem lesions on bone exhibit clear differences to those on dry bones (Table 3) it is extremely rare that a peri-mortem lesion can be said with certainty to be the cause of death (Cattaneo and Cappella 2017, 353). Ante-mortem fractures can take days, even weeks, to begin to heal at a level which can be detected microscopically. Injuries sustained post-mortem can appear to be peri-mortem for as long as the bone has sufficient moisture to remain elastic when subject to stress (*ibid*). Although this study did not seek to consider individual pathological cases, the above is important when considering the potential evidence for socially sanctioned homicide, as opposed to post-mortem manipulation of the body.

Fracture Features	Fresh Bone Characteristics	Fresh Bone Characteristics
Outline	Radial pattern circling diaphysis	Perpendicular/horizontal fracture surface
Surface Colour	Homogeneous colour with external bone	Heterogeneous colour with external bone
Surface	Smooth	Rough
Fracture Angle	Obtuse and acute angles	Right angles
Other	Loading point present	Loading point absent
Other	Fracture front never crosscut epiphyseal ends	Fracture front can crosscut epiphyseal ends

Table 3. Morphological comparison between fresh and dry bone features (adapted from Cattaneo and Cappella 2017, table 23.1).

3.2. Data Collection

The osteological sample and contextual archaeological data derive from published and unpublished sources. Published sources consisted of regional journals, monographs, edited volumes and popular publications. Unpublished sources consisted of grey literature deposited with the Archaeology Data Service (ADS) correspondence with Historic Environment Records (HERs), and companies responsible for excavation of particular sites. Grey literature searches were undertaken via the use of search engines built into the respective repositories of such literature, such as the ADS archive. Related terms such as "cremation", "disarticulated", "bone", "cremation" or "burial" were used to locate potential sites. The grey literature used within this study almost entirely relates to the region of Kent due to the recent infrastructure developments described above. Recently, Tracey (2012; 2016) has reviewed the data for six sites within this study (Danebury, Gussage All Saints, Maiden Castle, Micheldever Wood, Suddern Farm and Winnall Down) concluding that in some cases more, or fewer human remains were present than are listed in the published records. As Tracey has not made this revised data available, the original published data are employed (as Hamlin 2007; Sharples 2010; Roth 2011).

Additionally, the total numbers of remains for Suddern Farm differ slightly from that listed in most publications. This stems from Hooper's view that several of the disarticulated remains represent disturbed inhumations (in Cunliffe and Poole 2000b, microfiche 6:C8, 6:D2, 6:D13, 6:E3-4). Direct examination of osteological data was not undertaken. In instances of uncertainty, grey literature was consulted, and attempts made to contact those who had directly examined the material. Where the typology of grave goods was uncertain, identification was made by the author. Sites for which the data were too poorly documented (published or unpublished) were excluded but retained for contextualisation of the main results (Appendix A. 14); specific examples are noted below. Data collection closed in March 2016.

3.3. Data Storage

Microsoft Access was employed to store data, as it allows for a database with multiple, interlinked tables, accessible through a single menu. This is achieved via the use of primary keys, unique identifiers in each table which establish relationships between data with the same identifier in a different table. Two primary keys were employed for this study: a five-letter code to link respective sites to the data recovered from them, and the location number from which human remains were recovered, thus enabling a link between the remaining tables (Figure 11 for a simplified diagram). A complete list of coding employed in the database is provided in Appendix B). Depending on the table different sets of variables (listed below) were employed to record different aspects of the data. To enable electronic analysis, all data was stored in numeric form, typically as a set of variable specific codes. The data were recorded in seven tables (Figure 11). The specific variables recorded in each table are elaborated on below.

3.3.1. Terminology

In the methodology section described below, several terms are frequently employed. To avoid confusion it is necessary to briefly define them (Table 4):

Terminology	Definition
Study Area	The study area consists of the area from which archaeological material was subject to analysis by the author: The Isles of Scilly, Cornwall, Devon, Wessex, Sussex and Kent
Contextual Area	Other regions of Britain and the near continent, consisting primarily of the Channel Islands, Brittany, Normandy, Picardy, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Champagne-Ardenne, Belgium and the Netherlands, although reference to regions further east and south are made. Maps listing specific sites are provided in Appendix A.1-12).
Location	The location into which human remains and associated objects were deposited. A location may describe the deposition of an individual skeletal unit, be it an entire skeleton or single bone. A location may thus contain multiple remains.
Treatment	Refers to the way in which human remains have been manipulated and deposited into the archaeological record. Treatment in this study includes four categories; inhumed, cremated, articulated and disarticulated remains. Details as what each treatment entails are described below.
Formal burial	Instances where human remains (usually cremations or inhumations) were deposited in which the primary purpose of the ritual act was the deposition of human remains: a funeral. Thus a funeral is formalised as the data show such a degree of repetition as to suggest that the burial of human remains was the primary purpose of the associated ritual, and that the bones were not auxiliary components of another ritual.
Non-formal burial	Acts of deposition where human remains were not the primary focus of the ritual act, although they may have been intrinsic to it. For example, in Roman Catholicism the remains of Saints may form an important part of the procession, and may be subsequently re-deposited, however the purpose of the ritual is not to inter such remains, it is merely a feature of the ritual.
Cardinal Points	Describes the four cardinal directions on a compass (N,S,E,W). In this study it is also taken to include the ordinal directions (NE, SE, SW, NW). A variety of cardinal point systems are employed in this study, each described in greater detail below.
Grave Inclusions	Any material recovered from the context containing human remains.
Grave Goods	Objects or materials found in context with human remains which, in considering the placement of such material, suggest they were deliberately included so as to reference the human remains.
Pyre Goods	Material recovered from cremation contexts which displays evidence of having been damaged by heat as a result of being placed on a funeral pyre.
Dépôt Cinéraire	In accordance with the definition provided by Le Goff *et al*. (2009, 115) this term applies to data which was associated with cremated remains prior to their deposition in the grave, at least as far as the archaeologist can tell. Such data is identified either by diagnostic traits, such as evidence of having been burnt or being attached to calcined bone, or may be theorised to have been so, as is the case with containers into which cremated remains were placed. Objects within the grave which do not possess such diagnostic traits are not considered to be part of the dépôt cinéraire.
Durotrigian	Refers to the mortuary culture of LIA-ERIA southern Dorset (Whimster 1981a, 37-59; Sharples 277-280), it is not intended as an ethnographic term (Moore 2011, 342).
Garb	Refers to clothing the deceased were buried in.

Table 4. Terminology employed in this study.

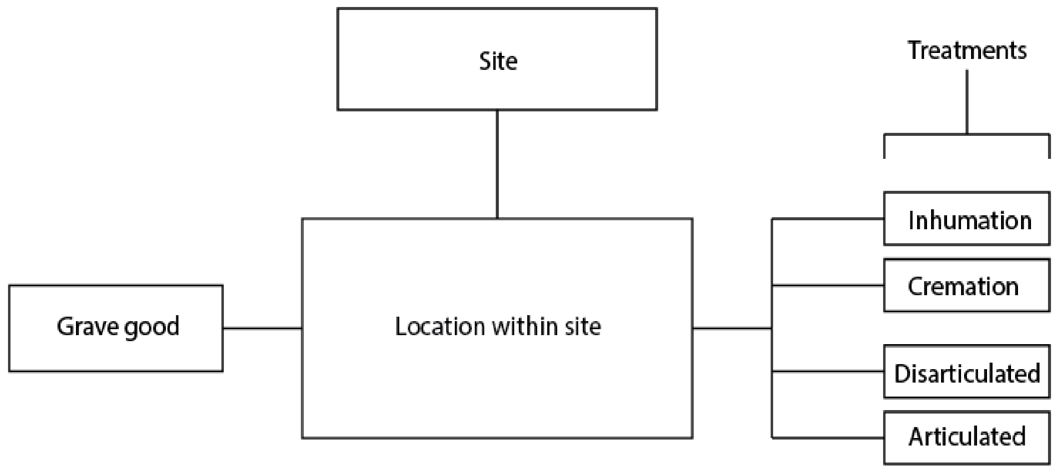


Figure 11. A simplified diagram of the structure of the database employed in this study, the tables within the database, and how they interrelate with each other

Table	**Data recorded**
Site	Information relating to the geographical location and site type.
Location within site	The location of each instance of human remains within individual sites.
Inhumation	Data for inhumations.
Cremations	Data for cremations.
Disarticulated	Data for disarticulated remains.
Articulated	Data for articulated remains.
Grave goods	Specific examples of grave goods recorded by location within the grave.

Table 5. Description of table contents

3.3.2. Site

The name, county and site type were recorded for all sites. For the sake of Access dynamics, each site was accorded a five letter identification code, e.g. the site of Westhampnett was coded 'Wspnt' and the county (West Sussex) recorded. This five letter code served as the primary key to link all database tables together.

3.3.3. Location within Site

Within the *location within site* table, spatial and chronological data for human remains were recorded:

- **Site**: The site at which the remains were recorded, recorded using the five letter code used for the site table.
- **Fine Chronology**: Fine chronology refers to four poential chronological divisions to date the data: EMIA, MIA, LIA and ERIA.
- **Broad Chronology**: Broad chronology refers to a two part division of a long MIA (c.500-120BC) and LIA-ERIA (c.120BC-AD70). The division is employed to account for the marked differences in duration of each finer phase, as well as the paucity of data for some phases, which thereby limits the veracity of patterns observed.
- **Single and Multiple Deposits**: Instances of single or multiple deposits in the same context were recorded in two forms (1) a coding system to record whether the data represented single or multiple depositions; (2) with continuous numbers to record the total number of human remains (of all treatment classes) recovered from a context.
- **Location with Respect to Site**: Whether remains were recovered from inside, outside or within the perimeter of a site (generally speaking, enclosing earthworks). Figure 12 illustrates this method applied to Gussage All Saint. As Roth (2011, 59) notes, typically it is not possible to determine the location with respect to site for open settlements, unless they have been totally excavated. In such circumstances, foci of activity may be used to gauge the extent of a site.
- **Context**: The type of context remains were recovered from (Table 6). A variation of Roth's (2011, 57) system is employed.
- **Function of context**: The function of the context was recorded in instances where it was possible to deduce (Table 7).
- **Associated features**: Records instances where remains were discovered associated with archaeological feature (Table 8).

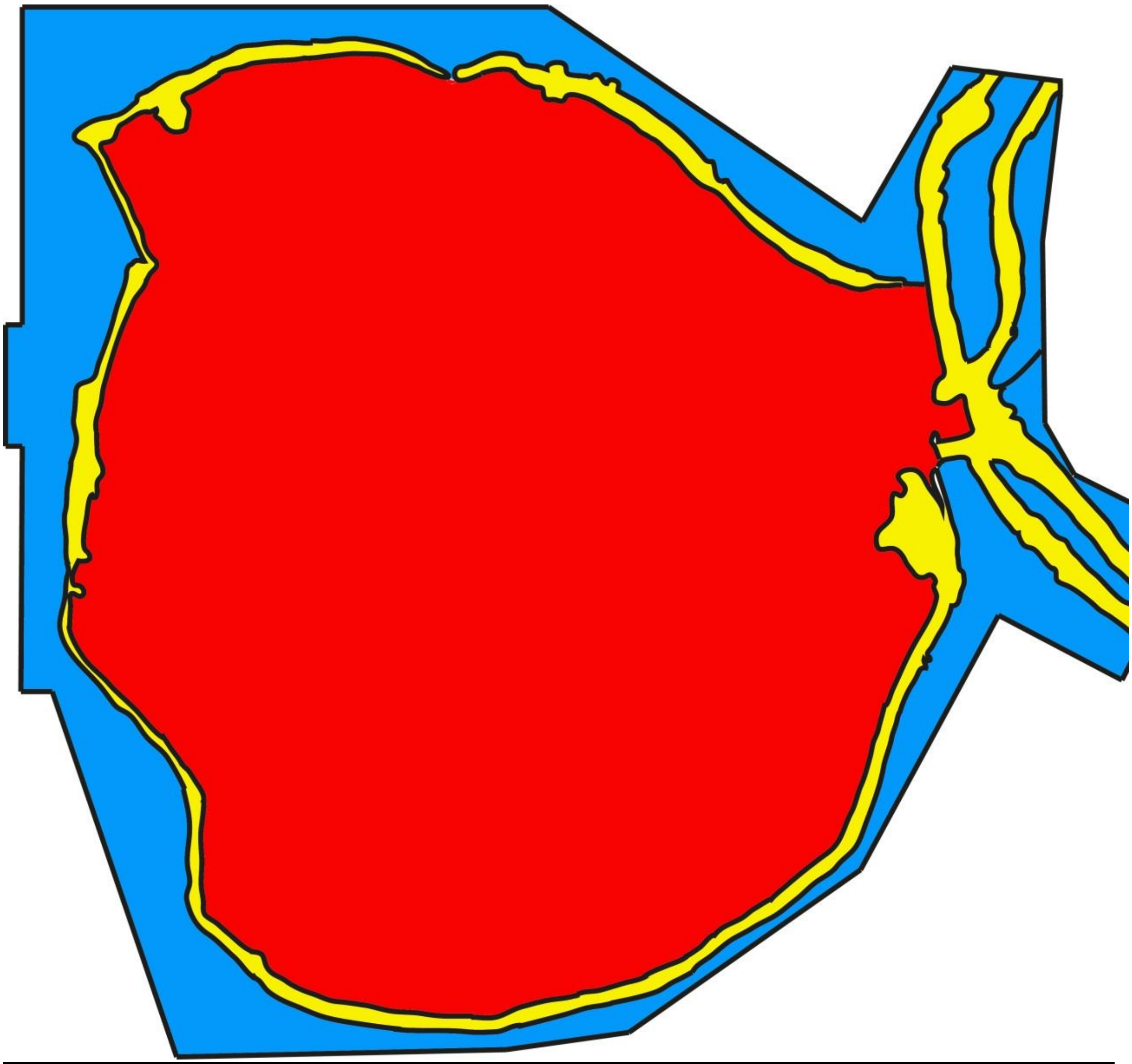


Figure 12. A simplified diagram of Gussage All Saints illustrating the zones which would be considered internal (red), perimeter (yellow) and external (blue) during Phase 2 (Middle Iron Age).

Types of Context
Grave
Enclosing ditch
Rampart/bank
Pit
Other ditch/gully
Post-hole
Midden
Other

Table 6. Types of contexts recorded

Function of Context
Funerary
Domestic/Occupation
Storage
Processing
Midden Refuse
Enclosure/Boundary
Other

Table 7. Variable functions of contexts found to contain human remains.

Associated Features
Settlement Enclosure
Other Enclosure
Entrance
Habitation structure
Two post structure
Multi-post structure
Field boundary/Linear Feature
Pyre site
Quarry/Gully
Other

Table 8. List of possible archaeological features associated with mortuary remains.

3.3.4. Osteological Data

Following standard conventions in British Iron Age archaeology, four treatments are identified: inhumation, cremation, articulated remains and disarticulated. Inhumation refers to the practice of burying the dead, whilst the act of burning the dead as means of disposal is termed cremation. Articulated remains refers to multiple bones recovered in the correct anatomical relationship, i.e. the same relative position to each other as they were when the person was alive. Disarticulated bones refers to instances where bones are recovered without being associated with any other bones with which they would immediately articulate. Thus a rib and femur, in the absence of the intervening anatomical elements, would be considered disarticulated remains. Likewise, any bone found in isolation would be classified as disarticulated.

Although there are unique variations in the data for each class of treatment, there are several variables which were common to all treatments:

- **Biological Age**: An age estimation system was devised based on published systems employed for sites in the study area. Due to the prevalence of data from sites examined by Bari Hooper (Danebury and its environs) a scheme comparable to his, but with two levels of resolution for analysis, (Table 9) was employed. The criteria which Hooper (1984, 463-4) employed to estimate death are outlined in Table 10. This classification system, like any use in prehistoric archaeology, is an etic construction; Iron Age age perceptions of age may have differed markedly from those used by modern researchers.

Classification 1		**Classification 2**	
Infant	0-24 Months	**Infant**	0-2 Years
Child	2-18 Years	**Child**	3-12 Years
		Adolescent	13-18 Years
Adult	19+ Years	**Young Adult**	19-35 Years
		Older Adult	35+ Years

Table 9. Age categories employed in this study.

Immature Individuals	**Mature Individuals**
Development of the dentition	Degree of attrition on the molar teeth
Degree of union of the epiphyses	Condition of the spheno-occipital suture of the crania
	Age changes in the pubic symphysis
	Senile skeletal changes
	Level of osteoarthritis observed

Table 10. Criteria employed by Hooper (1984) in estimating age of Danebury data.

- **Sex**: Biological sex is assigned by drawing upon the published findings of the original reports. Methodologies employed to estimate sex are not described by respective authors for all sites considered. For example, among the sites with the five largest datasets (Danebury, Owslebury, Suddern Farm, Westhampnett, and Maiden Castle), methodologies for estimation of sex were only described for Danebury (Hooper 1984, 464), and at Owslebury only for cremations (Willis *forthcoming*). Estimation of sex thus entirely reliant upon the author of respective reports. As per numerous reports from which data were obtained, sex was recorded according to the following system: female, possible female, unknown, possible male, and male. In the demographic profile analysis below, however, a simplified "male", "female" and "unsexed" division is employed, with "probable" sexed remains ascribed to different categories depending on the specifics of the data itself. For example, the Trevone inhumation was classified by Dudley (1965, 18) as a probale female on the basis of an associated shale bangle. The absence of a diagnostic skeletal elements to confirm this association means that in the below analysis, the Trevone inhumation is classified as unsexed.

Within the subsequent analyses, the simplified three way sex estimation assignment is employed. The main reason for doing so is to follow the same categorisation as employed within the British and continental studies against which the study area is contextualised (e.g. Pinard *et al.* 2009; Chanson *et al.* 2010; Roth 2011; Giles 2012). This enables comparisons with the aforementioned studies.

3.3.4.1. Inhumation

Variables unique to inhumations are as follows:

- **Orientation**: The position of the body in relation to cardinal points (Table 13). The orientation of a body is recorded according to the direction in which the cranium is orientated.
- **Layout of skeleton**: Within the English language at present, there is no standardised lexicon to describe the layout of skeletons (Knüsel 2014, 26). In order to permit comparison, and due to it representing a clear scheme, Roth's (2011, 51) definitions are employed: extended, flexed, crouched, and crouched (Table 11).

Layout	
Extended	In which the skeleton is arranged with the legs straight and unbent
Flexed	A skeleton with the knees bent, with both legs pulled towards the torso, with the angle at which the femora articulate with the acetabulum exceeds 90^{o} from the spinal column.
Crouched	A skeleton with the knees bent, with both legs pulled towards the torso, with the angle at which the femora articulate with the acetabulum does not exceed 90^{o} from the spinal column.
Contracted	Similar to crouched individuals, but with the legs drawn tightly up against the chest. In some instances of contracted burials there is evidence to suggest the deceased was bound prior to disposal. Likewise partial defleshing may have also occurred

Table 11. Layout of inhumations and determining criteria.

- **Position of skeleton**: the anatomical side on which the skeleton rests. Two resolutions were employed to enable varying degrees of analysis. Of particular note within the Position 2 category are sitting, head down and feet up. Head down and upright refer to instances where the skeleton had been inserted into a context head first or feet first, respectively. When supine and prone positions are listed as "left" or "right", this refers to the direction the legs. The classification of sitting, whereupon the inhumation was recovered sitting upright, was added to both sets of variables (Table 12).

Position 1	Position 2
Supine	Supine
	Right Side Supine
	Left Side Supine
Prone	Prone
	Right Side Prone
	Left Side Prone
Right Side	Right Side
Left Side	Left Side
Sitting	Sitting
Other	Head Down
	Upright

Table 12. Variables employed for recording the positioning of inhumed remains

- **Facial Direction of the Skeleton**: Refers to the cardinal direction in which the skull is facing *in situ*. It employs the same eight-point system used for recording orientation of the skeleton (Table 13).

Orientation of Body
N
NE
E
SE
S
SW
W
NW

Table 13. Various orientations of the body.

3.3.4.2. Cremation

The variable data for cremated remains includes the weight of bone recovered from the grave, the shape of the grave, the form of the cremated deposit and its location within the grave:

- **Weight of cremation**: Recorded in the form of a continuous value, with the weight given in grams. In instances where a context possesses all features which would identify it as being a grave, except for the inclusion of cremated remains, then it is recorded as such, with the weight of the cremation given as 0g.
- **Truncation and disturbance**: Whether a cremation had been disturbed prior to excavation was recorded. Such disturbances potentially affect the amount of cremated bone recovered. The location of artefacts associated with the cremation may also be affected. Only two sites, Westhampnett (McKinley 1997, 58, table 1) and Owslebury (Wells and Collis *forthcoming*), reported the specific degree of truncation/disturbance for each grave. In lieu of this data for other sites, a simple division of disturbed or undisturbed was recorded.
- **Form of Cremation**: Describes the manner in which cremated remains were deposited in the grave (Table 14; Figure 13); a variant upon the scheme proposed by Flouest (1993, 202, fig. 1). 'Contained' denotes instances in which cremations were deposited within a ceramic or organic container which has survived.

'Uncontained/decayed contained single deposit' refers to instances where remains have been deposited in a single pile in the grave. Many 'Uncontained/decayed contained single deposits' may have originally been contained within a container, but one which is not detectable except through an archaeothanological approach (Duday 2009). 'Uncontained parcelled deposit', describes instances where a single cremated deposit has been distributed as distinct quantities in different parts of the grave. 'Uncontained scattered' is used for cremated remains without any container, spread across the grave without forming any discernible pile or single deposit. Unknown is applied to those deposits for which there are insufficient data.

- **The location of the cremation within the grave**: Employs the same eight cardinal points employed for inhumation orientation. However, due to the different physical qualities of cremated remains, two additional variables are also employed for these data: deposits which are centrally located in the grave, and deposits which are scattered throughout the grave.
- **Orientation of Grave**: In instances where possible, the orientation of a cremation grave was recorded in accordance with the eight point cardinal scheme.

Form of Cremation
Contained
Uncontained single deposit
Uncontained parcelled deposit
Uncontained spread/scattered deposit
Form unknown

Table 14. The variables employed for recording the form of cremations

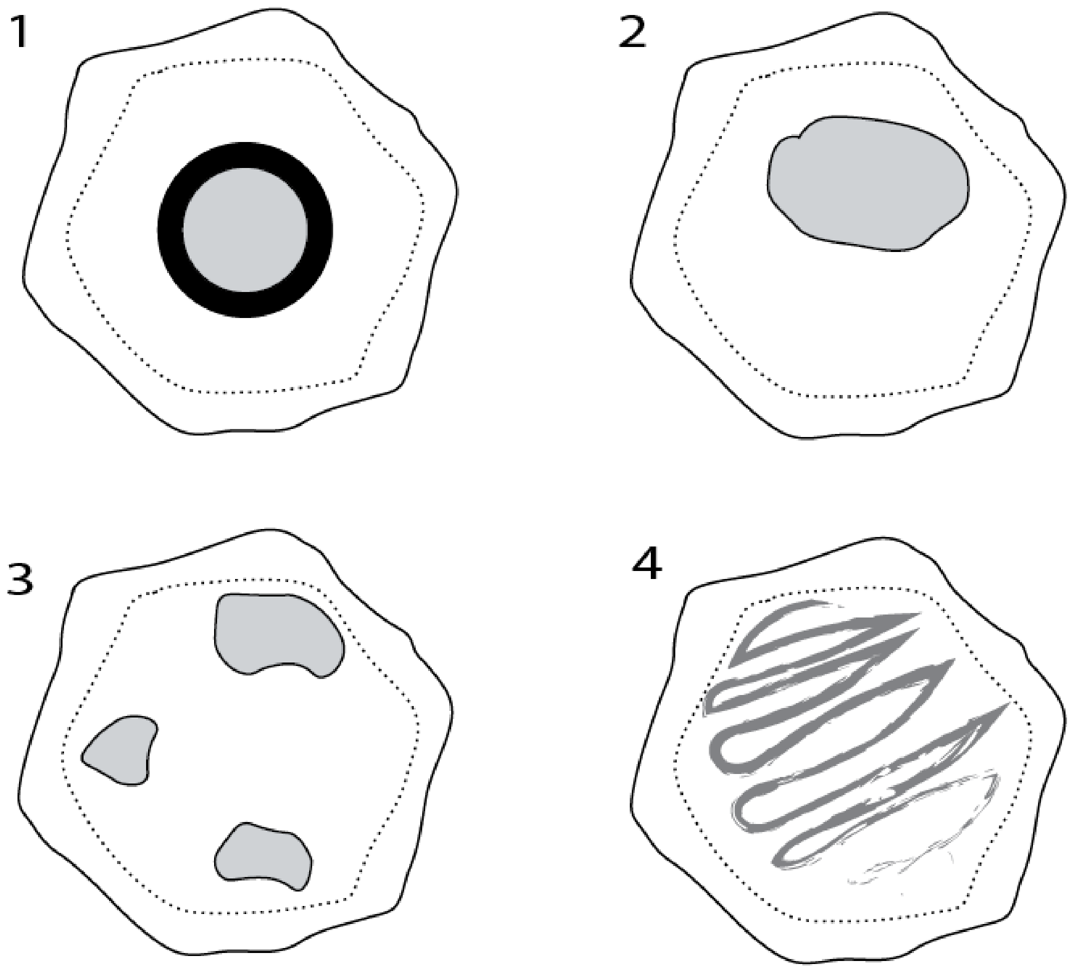


Figure 13. Schematic diagrams of cremation forms in the dataset. 1. Contained. 2. Uncontained single deposit. 3. Uncontained parcelled deposit. 4. Uncontained spread/scattered deposit.

3.3.4.3. Disarticulated Remains

In addition to demographic variables, data relating to disarticulated remains includes the following:

- **Disarticulated Element**: The element to which a disarticulated bone belongs was recorded according to two levels of resolution, thereby enabling differing levels of analysis. These sets of variables are referred to as Disarticulated Element A and Disarticulated Element B (Table 15-Table 16; Figure 14). Disarticulated remains were quantitied according to Number of Idedentified Specimens (NISP), due to difficulties in determining the number of individuals represented by disarticulated remains.

- **Side of Body**: The side of the body to which isolated elements belong was recorded according to the categorisations listed in Table 15.
- **Fragmentation:** Whether or disarticulated bone was fragmented was recorded. Due to the difficulties noted above in determining the time when breakages occur, combined with limitations in terms of time and the limits of the author's osteological expertise, the cause of fragmentation was not recorded.

Side
Right
Left
Central/Not Applicable
Both
Unknown

Table 15. List of variables for the side of the body.

3.3.4.4. Articulated Remains

The data for articulated remains includes the demographic variables employed for other mortuary treatments. Articulated remains also make use of the same variable system for Disarticulated A (referred to in this instance as Portion Present) and Side of Body, as used for disarticulated remains.

3.4.5. Associated Material

Grave goods are categoried according to two levels of resolution; Grave Inclusions A and Grave Inclusions B.

Disarticulated A	Disarticulated B
Skull	Cranium
Axial/Torso	Mandible
Upper Limb	Vertebrae
Lower Limb	Clavicle
Manual Phalange	Scapula
Pedal Phalange	Ribs
Unknow	Sternum
	Humerus
	Ulna
	Radius
	Carpal
	Metacarpal
	Phalanx
	Pelvis
	Femur
	Patella
	Tibia
	Fibula
	Tarsal
	Metatarsal
	Teeth
	Unknown

Table 16. Division of skeleton for articulated remains and Classification system 1 for isolated remains.

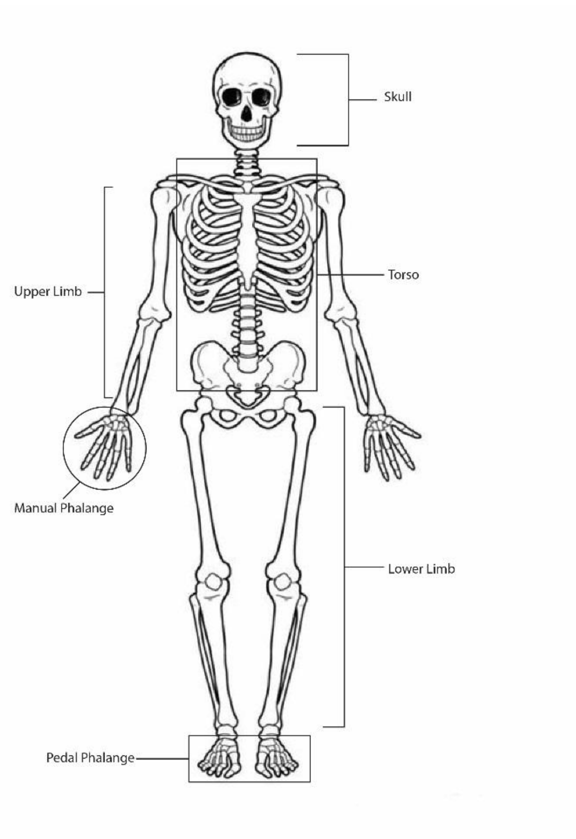


Figure 14. Division of skeleton for recording of articulated remains (base skeletal diagram ©Dutch Renaissance Press LLC).

3.4.5.1. Grave Inclusions A

Grave Inclusions A represents an overarching categorisation. The seventeen variables used to record Grave Inclusions A (Table 17) are a variation of the twenty seven categories employed by Wait 1985 (52-53), and comparable to the seventeen categories employed by Roth (2011, table 3.2). Grave Inclusions A were recorded according to the context they were recovered from, in the respective treatment table to which the associated remains belongs to. Thus, for example, a complete ceramic vessel may have been recovered from Grave 001, an inhumation burial. It would then be recorded in the inhumation treatment table, along with other data in that table relating to Grave 001. Any additional grave inclusions from Grave 001 would also be included in the same table entry. This methodology accords with Hill's (1995, 55) general approach that "small finds in the same pits as human remains cannot be described as 'grave goods'" with respect non-formal burials.

3.4.5.2. Grave Inclusions B

Grave Inclusions B represents a finer resolution than Grave inclusions A. For example the category "weaponry" includes specific entries for shields, swords, and other objects. The majority of items, such as indigenous ceramics (taken here to be ceramics identified as having been produced and in use within the study area) were subdivided according to form (jar, bowl, saucepan pot, cup, platter, lid) on account of the complexity and debate surrounding individual typological classifications (see Nishitani 2012 for problems surrounding ceramic typologies in Wessex). Due to their abundance and ease of identification, fibulae were recorded by typology. Details relating to manufacture were recorded for some objects; for example the material of manufacture of fibulae has been theorised to have been socially significant (Edgar 2012, 107-111).

Grave Inclusions A
Natural Material/Layer
Complete Ceramic Vessel
Intentionally Smashed Ceramic Vessel
Ceramic Sherd
Worked Bone/Antler
Animal Bone
Quern Stone
Other Worked Stone
Armament
Jewellery
Organic Remains
Domestic Debris
Ash/Charcoal
Other Metal Artefact
Coinage
Unknown
Other

Table 17. Variables recorded for the category Grave Inclusions A.

Grave Inclusions B are listed in the 'Grave Goods' table according to their location within the context. In contrast to Grave Inclusions A, which are listed per occurrence, Grave inclusions B were recorded according to how each inclusion had been listed in the site report. For example, if a context (Grave 001) was associated with three inclusions, a spear (listed in the site report as Object 001), an indigenous cup (Object 002) and a knife (Object 003), then each inclusion would be listed separately. Due to the use of primary keys, it is possible to record Grave 001, and its contents, as a single data entry, without resulting in duplicates being formed during the analysis.

3.5.6. Grave Goods

3.5.6.1 Spatial Analysis of Grave Goods Inclusions B

Within the 'Grave Goods' table, grave inclusions B, in this sense true grave goods (see above), were recorded according to their spatial positioning or layout within the context itself.

3.5.6.2. Spatial Data for Grave Goods in Relation to Inhumations

Within inhumation graves, the skeleton was employed as a point of reference to record the location of grave goods, as was likely the case for those who interred the body (Duday 2009, 16). Employing cardinal points to record the location of grave goods does not work. For example, suppose two inhumation graves Grave 001 (a male grave) and Grave 002 (a female grave) were provided with objects. In both, the grave good, a ceramic vessel, was located to the top right of the deceased's cranium. However, the two individuals were orientated in different ways; Grave 001 was orientated N-S, whilst Grave 002 was S-N. If cardinal points were employed to record the location of grave goods, the ceramic vessels would be recorded as having completely different locations within the grave (NE of Grave for 001, and SW of Grave for 002). An analysis would thus conclude that spatial positioning of grave goods for males and females was different, when in fact it was the same; the orientation of skeletons being the means by which males and females were differentiated. Even though the body provides a suitable point of reference, it must be remembered that the location of objects in a grave at time of excavation may have changed since the body was buried (Duday 2009, 17; Knüsel 2014, 29). Without a dedicated archaeothanatological study for most of these burials examined, the systems described below must suffice.

3.2.6.3. Spatial Analysis Zone A

For inhumation burials, two systems for recording the location of grave goods were employed. The first system, Zone A, records the location of grave goods that were in direct contact (or in such close proximity to suggest this was the case at the time of deposition) with the body (Figure 15). Two important points must be made regarding this method. Firstly, the grave inclusions are recorded according to the right and left of the individual interred, not right and left of the person viewing the remains (Duday 2009, 16). As with the use of the skeleton as the point of reference around which to position grave goods, this is an attempt at emic, rather than etic interpretation. Secondly, due to limitations of the language employed in the terminology, some of the variables listed in Figure 15 have slightly different meanings. Specifically, this refers to the variables *below*

A: Right cranium
B: Left cranium
C: Right thorax
D: Left thorax
E: Right leg/lower limb
F: Left leg/lower limb
G: Atop cranium
H: Beneath cranium
I: Atop thorax
K: Waist/pelvis
L: General cover of upper body
M: General cover of lower body
N: General cover of whole body
O: Right arm
P: Left Arm
R: Right hand
S: Left hand

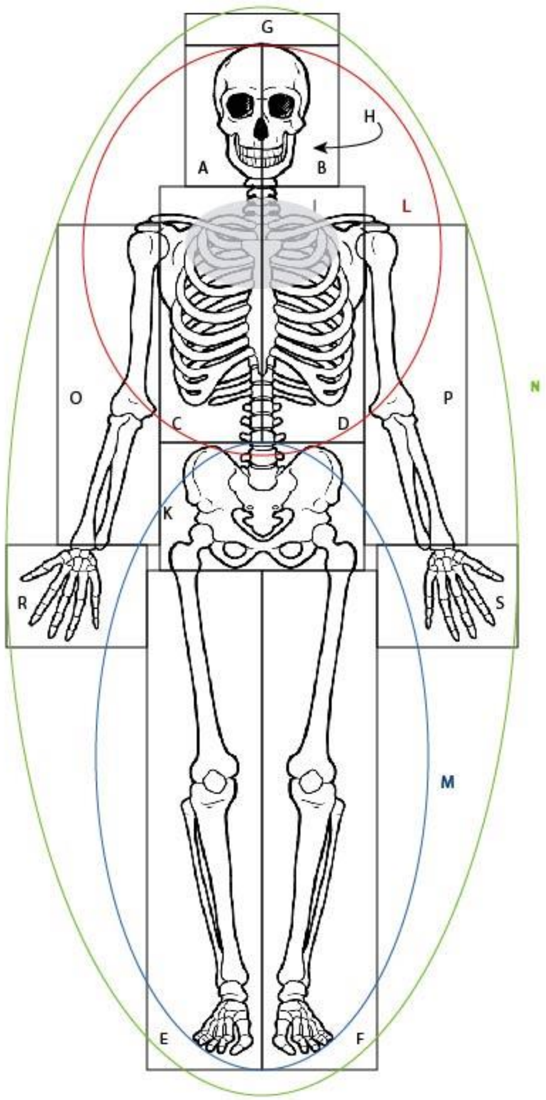


Figure 15. Zone A for the spatial recording of grave inclusions within inhumation graves (base skeletal diagram ©Dutch Renaissance Press LLC).

cranium, *atop cranium* and *atop thorax*. In the case of *below cranium*, these are object which were placed so that the cranium of the individual rests atop them, e.g. a pillow. The terms *atop cranium* and *atop thorax*, however, describe objects which were worn in these regions. In the case of *atop cranium*, this would involve headdresses, whilst for *atop thorax* it would include items such as torques, neither of which have a clear association with either the left or right side of the chest.

3.2.6.4. Spatial Analysis Zone B

Zone B refers to the area within the grave where grave goods are not immediately associated with the body. For this, a simple six part partition, to reflect the cranial, thoracic and lower limb sections, was employed. Unlike Spatial Analysis Zone A, this system records the location of grave goods in relation to their position in the grave as viewed from the perspective of someone viewing the grave, not the individual interred. This was done for the aforementioned emic reasons. Likewise in instances where an individual rests on one side, it is not possible to determine which area of a grave corresponds to their left or right side (Figure 16).

1 – Top left
2 – Top right
3 – Mid left
4 – Mid right
5 – Bottom left
6 – Bottom right

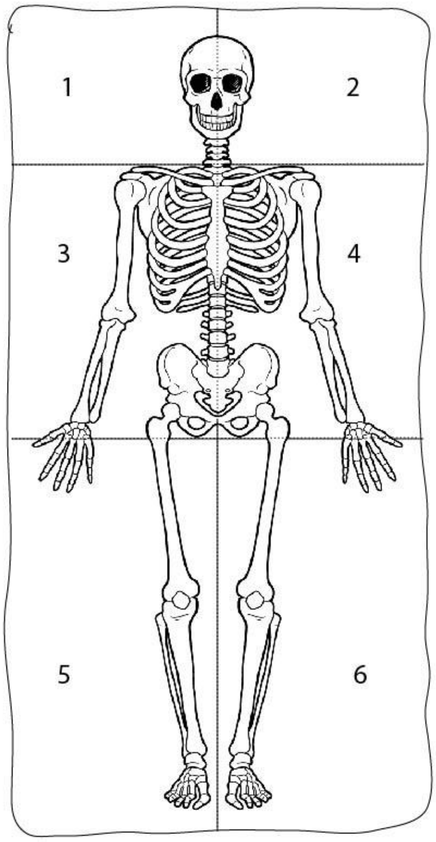


Figure 16. The six part division of an inhumation grave (base skeletal diagram ©Dutch Renaissance Press LLC).

3.2.6.5. Spatial Analysis of Cremation Burials

As cremation burials lack the anatomical features of an inhumation burial, spatial data within them was recorded via the use of an eight point cardinal system; the cremation acting as the centre of the compass. Additionally, a ninth point of reference was added for grave goods which formed part of the dépôt cinéraire, and a tenth point for containers which served as urns. It should be noted that cremated remains are not always positioned centrally in a grave. In situations where cremated bone were positioned off-centre, the deposit continued to act as the point of reference, even if this meant that some cardinal zones are missing from the grave. Figure 17 provides an idealised illustration of how this system operates. Information relating to the anatomical arrangement of individual cremations was unavailable in published form for the majority of sites considered. Only in a few cases, such as Westhampnett (McKinley 1997, 69), was this information deposited with the archive, which in any case was not accessed due to limitations of time and other resources.

1. N zone
2. NE zone
3. E zone
4. SE zone
5. S zone
6. SW zone
7. W zone
8. NW zone
9. Dépôt Cinéraire/urn

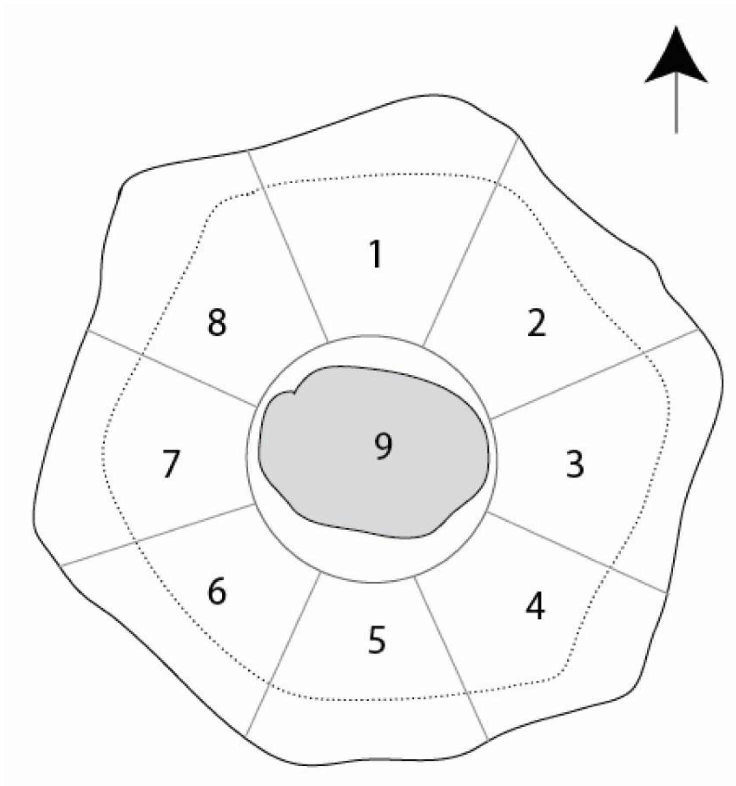


Figure 17. The spatial zoning system employed for grave inclusions in cremation graves.

3.5. On the Presentation of Results

Analyses were conducted to answer the research questions listed above (section 1.7). The data were analysed on dimishing scales, from the entire dataset, through to individual contexts, different mortuary treatments, associated artefacts and finally case studies of specific grave good classes. These are, in order:

- Overall quantification of the data.
- Analysis of associated archaeological locations and contexts.
- Disarticulated bone.
- Inhumations.
- Cremations.
- Quantification of grave goods.
- Spatial analysis of grave goods.
- Case studies of specific artefact classes:
  1. Fibulae
  2. Blades (Knives, razors and shears)
  3. Coinage
  4. Mirrors
  5. Buckets
  6. Weapons (swords, spears, shields, helmets)

In the interest of emphasising to the reader those analyses which produced meaningful results, only figures and tables which display clear patterns in the data are provided in the main text. All other results, as well as tables which quantify data displayed in the figures presented below, are provided in Appendices C-I. Reference is made in the analysis chapters to supporting quantification tables and non-conclusive results, should the reader wish to consult them.

3.5.1. Objective and Subjective Analytical Divisions

To analyse broad trends within the data, it is necessary to employ statistical and subjective divisions. In some cases this was achieved by dividing the data according to criteria such as site types (Wilson 1981, 152-3; Tracey 2012, 34). The types considered are hill-fort, settlement, cemetery, isolated burials and “other” (Appendix C.17). Whether a distinction between hill-forts and other settlements is justified, or hill-forts are merely very large enclosed settlements, is debated (Sharples 2010, 57-62). The use of the term settlement is not intended to imply that hill-forts were not permanently settled (*contra* Hill 1995), instead it results from limitations in terminology. Additionally, these categories overlook specific circumstances of individual sites. For example Danebury, Poundbury and Maiden Castle are all classified as hill-forts, despite the mortuary activities which occurred at these sites being taphonomically and chronologically distinct. The same is true of Westhawk Farm which consisted of an isolated LIA burial, but is classified here as a settlement on account of the association between this and a subsequent ERIA settlement with associated cemetery.

Cemeteries are instead considered as sites with inhumation and/or cremation burials (disarticulated remains and articulated remains are never found at such locations) but no proven associated settlement. In some cases, such as Cottington Hill and the Weatherlees WTW and Ebbsfleet Lane, the authors (Egging Dinwiddy and Schuster 2009) suggest that a contemporary settlement existed. However, the lack of detectable settlement has resulted in these sites being classified as cemeteries rather than settlements. Isolated burials likewise may have formed part of larger cemeteries (Fitzpatrick 1996b, 98) but are here considered as a separate class in lieu of proven associations. The "other" category refers to sites which do not fit comfortably into one of the above categories. In discussing the results, attempts will be made to account for intra-site differences for which it was not possible to accommodate in the basic analysis. Nevertheless, as a tool for basic analysis this approach is effective, if blunt.

The danger in using the above subjective categories is that it creates divisions which were not perceptible to the communities who deposited human remains. Combined with this are the influences placed on the data by the limitations described above. For example, the differences in terms of total and partial surface area excavations between different sites, and at different periods of research. In order to provide a comparative, objective alternative, quartile analysis was employed. Quartile analysis works by splitting datasets into four equal parts, with each of the four groups comprising a quarter of the data.

- Quartile 1: (Q_1): Splits the lowest 25% of the data from the highest 75%.

- Quartile 2 (Q_2): the median (50% of the data).
- Quartile 3 (Q_3): Separates the highest 25% of the data from the lowest 75%.

By employing quartiles it is possible to split the data so that the distorting effect of data-rich sites/graves can be offset. For example if there are 100 graves with a range of pots, but a mean value of 3 pots per grave, then it is possible to insert quartiles so as to separate data rich graves (those separated by Q_3) from those graves in the lower 75% of the dataset. Therefore if the mean number of pots in a grave is 5, we can test to see how great the influence of graves in excess of Q_3 is on the dataset, and how much graves below Q_3 differ from the mean. As quartiles represent divisions and not datasets, the following shorthand terms are used in the analysis:

- $<Q_3$: Data less than Q_3, in other words the lowest 75% of the dataset.
- $>Q_3$: Data greater than Q_3, in words the highest 25% of the dataset.

Chapter 4: Basic Quantification

4.1 The Data Quantified

The first stage of analysis undertaken involved a broad quantification of the dataset. Data from 80 sites or sub-sites (as in the case of excavations such as the A2 Pepperhill to Cobham road scheme) constitute the dataset (Map 3, Table 21; see Appendix J for literary sources of the data). Simple quantification of the data are displayed below in terms of the total dataset (Table 18), manner of treatment (Table 19) and periodisation (Table 20). A breakdown of the data by site is provided in Appendix C. 1.

Contexts	1376
Inhumations	577
Cremations	259
Disarticulated Remains	783
Articulated Remains	25
Grave Inclusions	1317

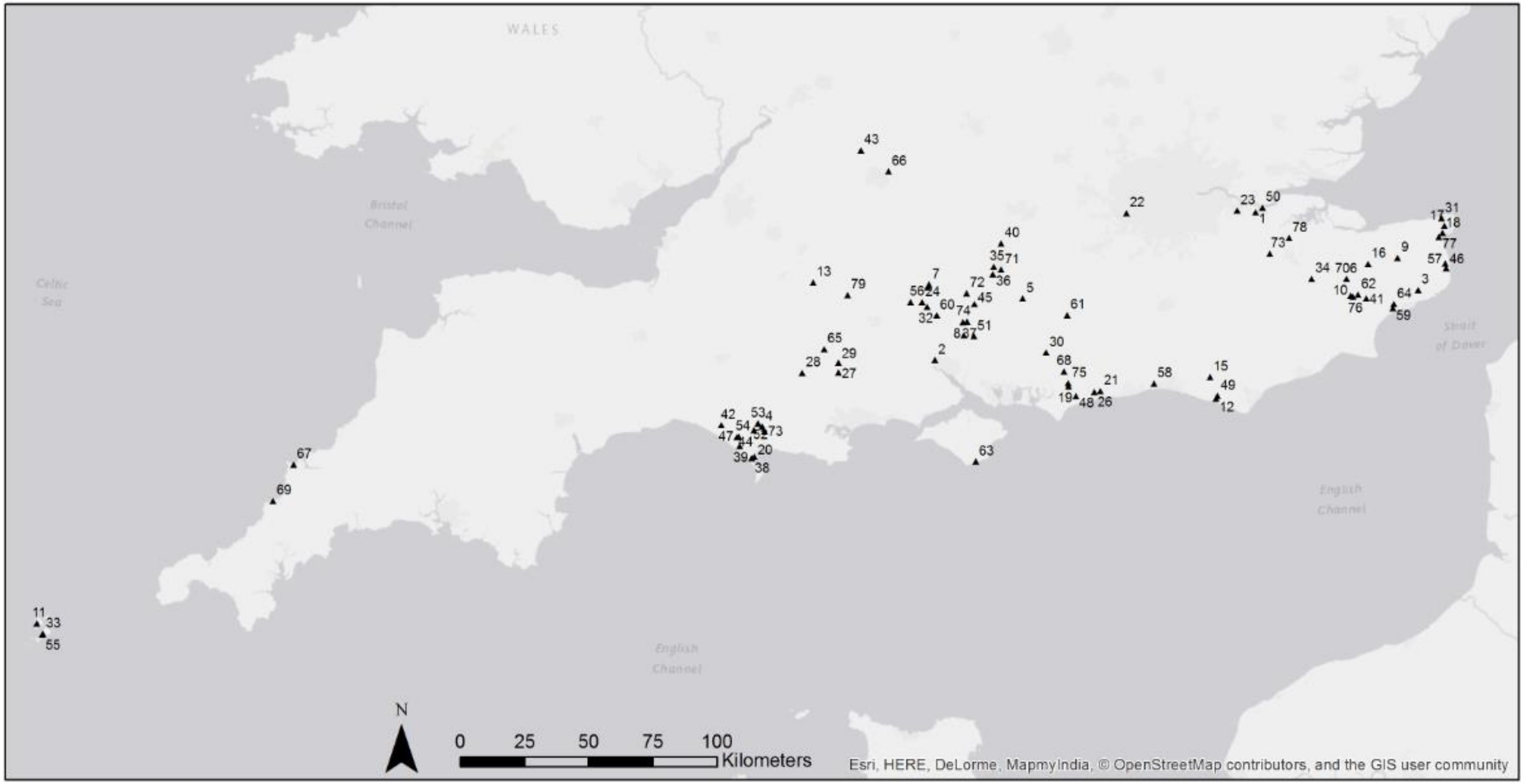
Table 18. Summary of the dataset collected for this study.

Manner of Treatment	**No. Sites**
Inhumation	29
Cremation	15
Articulated remains	0
Disarticulated Remains	10
Multiple Treatments	26

Table 19. Quantification of different treatment types by site.

Periodisation	**No. Sites**
E-MIA	4
MIA	12
LIA	26
Conquest	6
Post-Conquest	1
Multi-Period	30
Undated	1

Table 20. Quantified periodisation of the data.



Map 3. Distribution of sites in study area.

Number	Site	County	Number	Site	County
1	A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme	Kent	41	Maiden Castle	Dorset
2	Adanac Park	Hampshire	42	Manor Farm, Portesham	Dorset
3	Alington Avenue	Dorset	43	Micheldever Wood	Hampshire
4	Alkham	Kent	44	Mill Hill, Deal	Kent
5	Alton	Hampshire	45	North Bersted, Bognor Regis	West Sussex
6	Balksbury Camp	Hampshire	46	Northumberland Bottom	Kent
7	Battlesbury Bowl	Wiltshire	47	Norton	East Sussex
8	Beechbrook Wood	Kent	48	Old Kempshott Lane	Hampshire
9	Bishopstone	East Sussex	49	Owslebury	Hampshire
10	Bridge	Kent	50	Portesham	Dorset
11	Brisley Farm, Ashford	Kent	51	Poundbury	Dorset
12	Bryher	Isles of Scilly	52	Poundbury pipeline evaluation	Dorset
13	Bury Hill	Hampshire	53	Poynter's Garden	Isles of Scilly
14	Chilham Castle	Kent	54	Saltwood	Kent
15	Church Knapp, Wyke Regis	Dorset	55	Sholden	Kent
16	Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet	Kent	56	Site A, Kennel Farm	Hampshire
17	Coldswood Road (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipeline)	Kent	57	Slonk Hill, Shoreham	West Sussex
18	Copse Farm	West Sussex	58	Somborne Park Farm	Hampshire
19	Cottingon Hill (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	Kent	59	South Willesborough	Kent
20	Courtwick Lane, Littlehampton	West Sussex	60	St Lawrence	Isle of Wight
21	Danebury	Hampshire	61	Stone Farm Bridleway	Kent
22	Deal Cemetery	Kent	62	Suddern Farm	Hampshire
23	Easton Lane	Hampshire	63	The Bourne	Hampshire
24	Ford Airfield	West Sussex	64	The Caburn	East Sussex
25	Gussage All Saints	Dorset	65	The Triangle Site, South Marston	Wiltshire
26	Harting Beacon	West Sussex	66	The Trundle	West Sussex
27	Hartsdown College	Kent	67	Tollard Royal	Dorset
28	Hod Hill	Dorset	68	Trethellan Farm	Cornwall
29	Home Field, Down Farm, Sixpenny Handley	Dorset	69	Trevone	Cornwall
30	Houghton Down	Hampshire	70	Tutt Hill, Westwell	Kent
31	Hughtown, St Mary's	Isles of Scilly	71	Viables Farm	Hampshire
32	Jubilee Corner	Kent	72	Weatherlees WTW and Ebbsfleet Lane (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	Kent
33	Kings Worthy Primary School	Hampshire	73	West Malling and Leybourne Bypass	Kent
34	Langton Herring	Dorset	74	Westhampnett	West Sussex
35	Latchmere Green	Hampshire	75	Westhawk Farm, Ashford	Kent
36	Latton Lands	Wiltshire	76	Weston Down Cottages	Hampshire
37	Lea Road, Wyke Regis	Dorset	77	Whitcombe	Dorset
38	Little Somborne	Hampshire	77	White Horse Stone	Kent
39	Little Stock Farm	Kent	78	Winnall Down	Hampshire
40	Litton Cheney	Dorset	79	Yarnbury	Wiltshire

Table 21. Key to Map 2.

The dataset is dominated by sites with a single treatment (Figure 18; see Appendix C.3. for site specific details). Chronological variance between sites is also present (Figure 19), with some sites being in use for multiple, though not necessarily consecutive periods, whilst others displayed a single phase of deposition (Appendix C.5-6.). The quantity of human remains does not necessarily reflect how long a site was occupied for. Additionally, due to coarse dating in some cases, contemporaneity cannot be assured if deposition is recorded as having occurred within the same period. The dataset is thus highly varied, with marked contrasts in terms of the abundance of data and type of data present. Part of this stems from the aforementioned historical, geographical and geological factors which have affected the availability of data, but also from patterns inherent in the data themselves which are not possible to detect in this raw form.

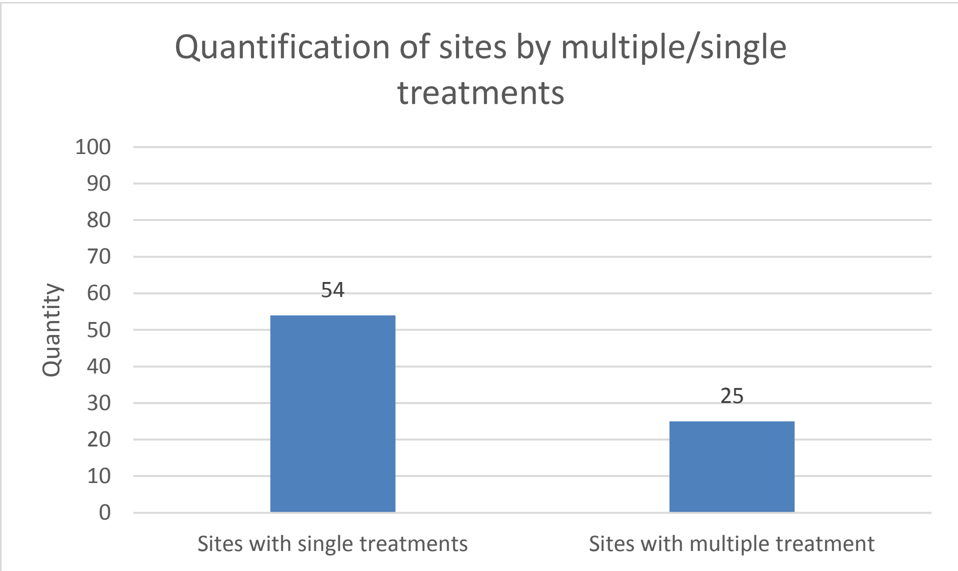


Figure 18. Quantification of sites by presence of multiple or single treatments.

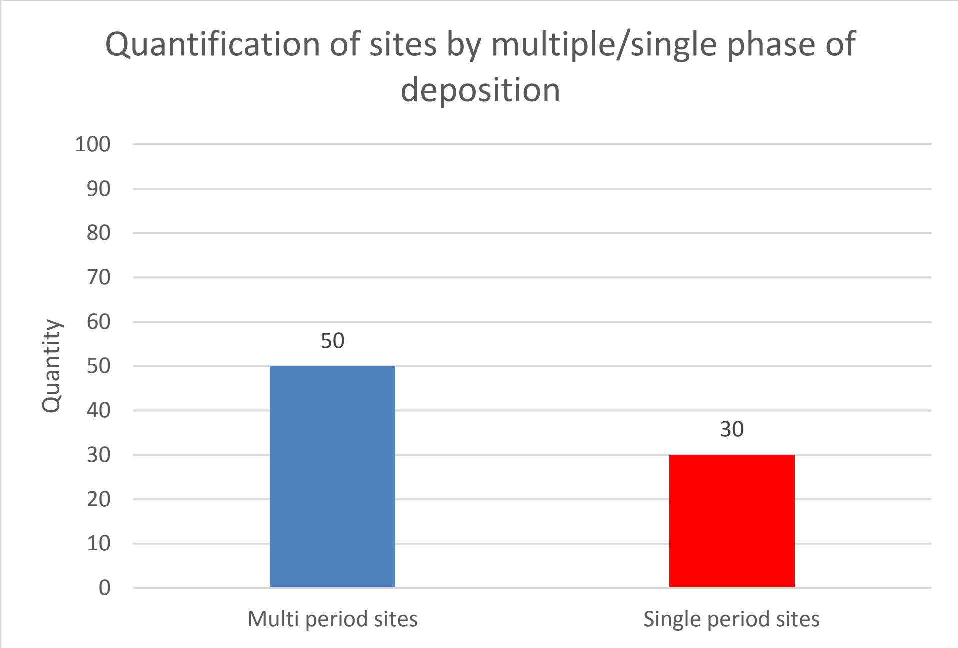


Figure 19. Quantification of sites by multiple or single phases of deposition.

4.2. Division of the Data: Quartiles, Chronology, Sub-regions and Site types

4.2.1. Division of the Data: Quartiles

The division of data according to frequency of distinct occurrences are displayed (Table 22). Distinct occurrences in this sense refers to individual examples of human remains irrespective of treatment, such as individual disarticulated remains, or individual inhumations. The mean number of occurrences $>Q_3$ are also displayed (Table 23):

Quantification	**Frequency**
Total Contexts	**1376**
Total occurrences	**1637**
Sites with 100+ remains	**4**
Sites with 50-99	**4**
Sites with 20-49	**6**
Sites with 10-19	**9**
Sites with <10	**57**
Mean No. of contexts	**17**
Mean No. of occurrences	**21**
$>Q_3$ remains	**11.25**

Table 22. Summary of data by frequency of occurrences

Sites in >Q_3			Frequency of Treatments			
Site	**Total Contexts**	**Total remains**	Inhumation	Cremation	Articulated remains	Disarticulated remains
Danebury	**284**	**396**	49	0	10	337
Owslebury	**111**	**178**	21	17	0	140
Westhampnett	**161**	**168**	0	168	0	0
Suddern Farm	**143**	**146**	45	0	7	94
Maiden Castle	**96**	**99**	75	0	0	24
Winnall Down	**52**	**93**	22	0	1	70
Gussage All Saints	**65**	**65**	47	0	0	18
Poundbury	**57**	**57**	55	0	0	2
Mill Hill, Deal	**47**	**47**	42	5	0	0
Battlesbury Bowl	**28**	**31**	7	0	1	23
Micheldever Wood	**19**	**25**	13	0	0	12
Trethellan Farm	**21**	**23**	23	0	0	0
Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet	**20**	**20**	8	0	4	8
Whitcombe	**20**	**20**	20	0	0	0
Adanac Park	**19**	**19**	19	0	0	0
A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme	**16**	**16**	**16**	0	0	0
Alington Avenue	**14**	**14**	14	0	0	0
White Horse Stone	**10**	**12**	2	1	0	9
Easton Lane	**8**	**12**	10	0	0	2
Yarnbury	**7**	**12**	12	0	0	0
Saltwood	**11**	**11**	1	10	0	0
Hughtown, St Mary's	**11**	**11**	11	0	0	0

Table 23. Sites, with total occurrences and frequency of treatments, within >Q_3.

Several trends are apparent. Firstly disarticulated, articulated remains and inhumations are well represented within >Q_3. Towards the end of the range in >Q_3 disarticulated remains rapidly decline in frequency. Inhumations also decline in frequency, however this decline is more measured, with a range of 47, compared to the range of 335 observed in disarticulated remains. This suggests that specific sites were foci for the deposition of disarticulated remains. Excluding the 168 burials from Westhampnett, cremations are almost totally absent from >Q_3. A more balanced variety of data is present in <Q_3, with only articulated remains underrepresented. It is worth noting that many sites in <Q_3 were subject to limited excavations, yet show a greater balance in the variety of data than those in >Q_3 which were often subject to large scale excavations.

4.2.2 Division of the Data: Chronology

The data display several chronological patterns (Figure 20-Figure *21*). Firstly, the prevalence of disarticulated remains in the earlier phases, with a marked subsequent reduction. Part of this may stem from characteristics of disarticulated bone (prone to fracturing, thus increasing its representation), but it cannot discount cultural factors. By contrast, inhumations remain relatively constant throughout, whilst articulated remains consistently represent a minority dataset. EMIA/MIA articulated remains (N=15) are recorded for 5 sites: Suddern Farm (N=7), Danebury (N=5), Hod Hill (N=1), Battlesbury Bowl (N=1) and Winnall Down (N=1). LIA/ERIA occurrences are only at Danebury (N=3). These patterns, however, mask several features of the data. Danebury produced 337 examples of disarticulated remains. Unfortunately, 71 unpublished occurrences of disarticulated remains could not be dated for Owslebury, although other authors have suggested they are MIA in date (Sharples 2010, 284). Likewise, on account of context not being considered at this stage in the analysis, differences in inhumation are not apparent (see Chapter 7).

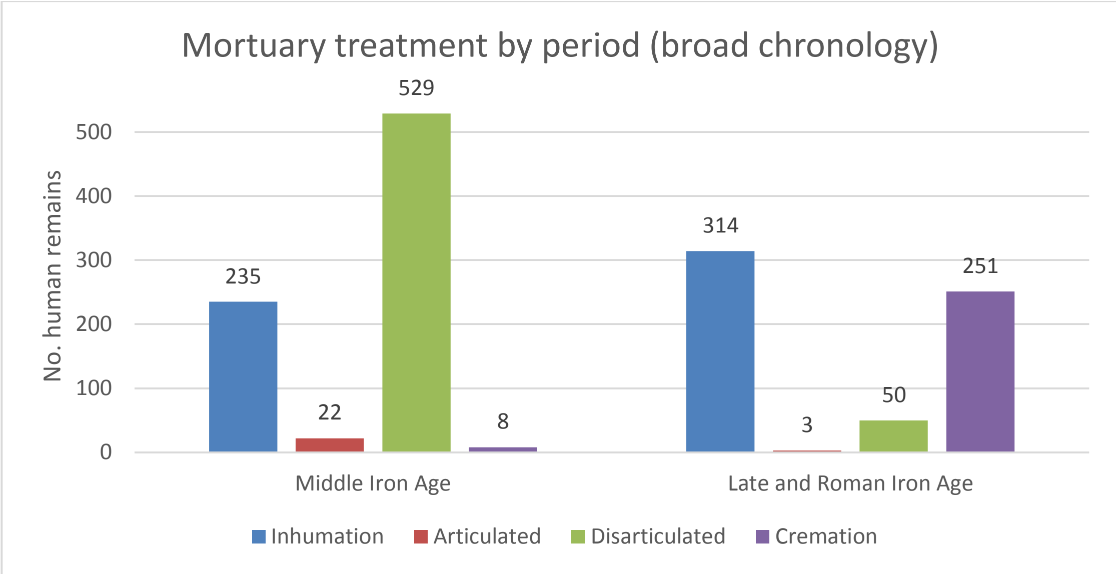


Figure 20. Broad chronological division for entire dataset (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

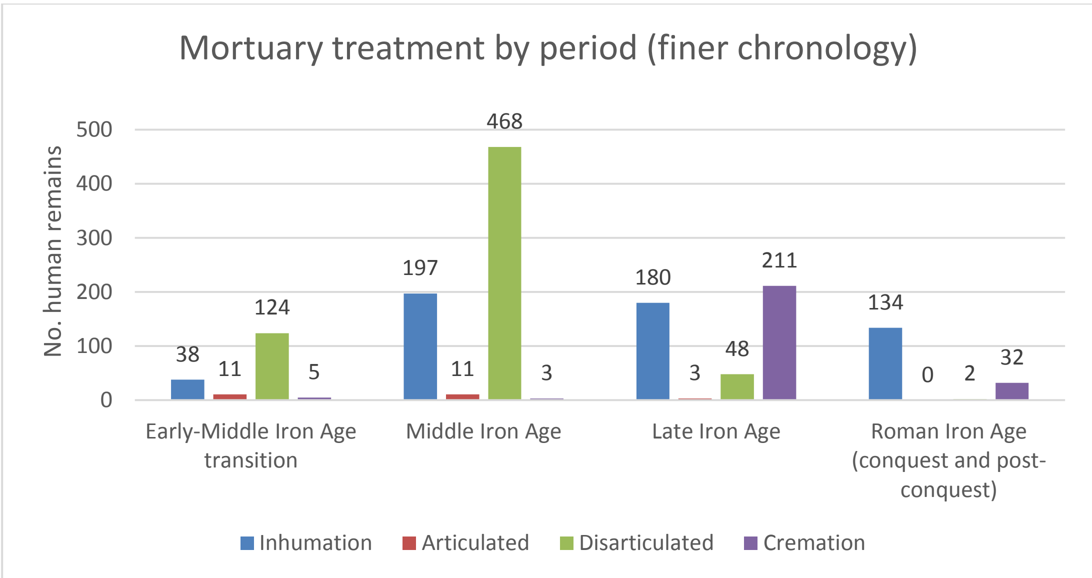


Figure 21. Fine chronological division for data for entire dataset (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Within <Q_3 chronological variance appears less marked (Figure 22Figure *23*). A limited, but more balanced variety of data are present. It appears that articulated remains are (with one exception) a feature of sites of >Q_3. The pattern for cremations for <Q_3 accords with that for the larger dataset: although present throughout the period, cremations are very much a feature of the LIA and Roman period. Likewise, disarticulated remains decline, although not as markedly as for the entire dataset (due in part to certain sites ceasing to be used, but also changes in deposition practices).

Although only a slight increase in inhumations is apparent, it likewise appears that this rite became more common in the LIA and ERIA.

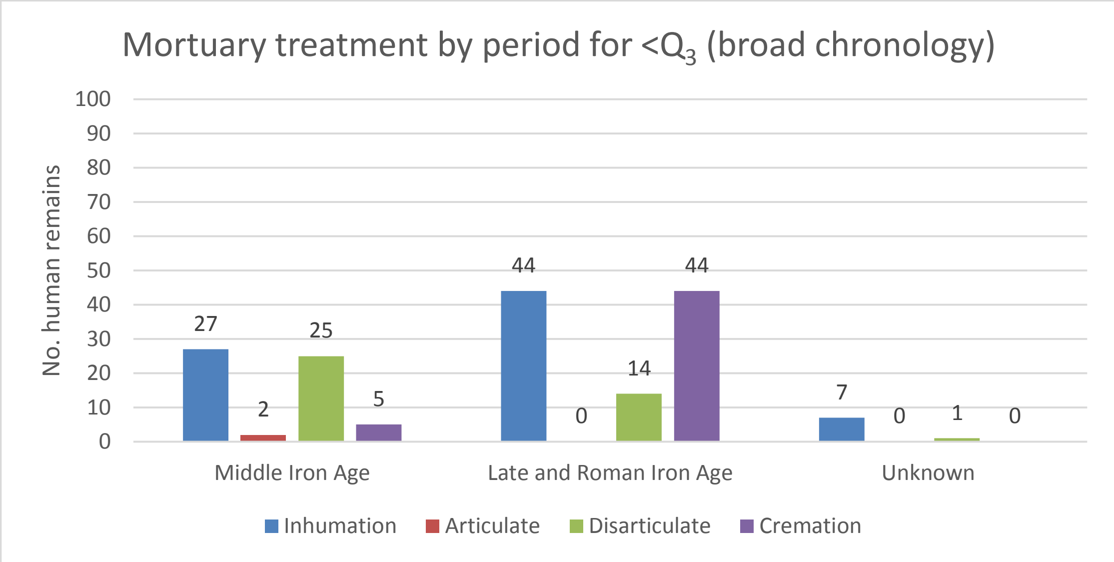


Figure 22. Broad chronological division for data from $<Q_3$ (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

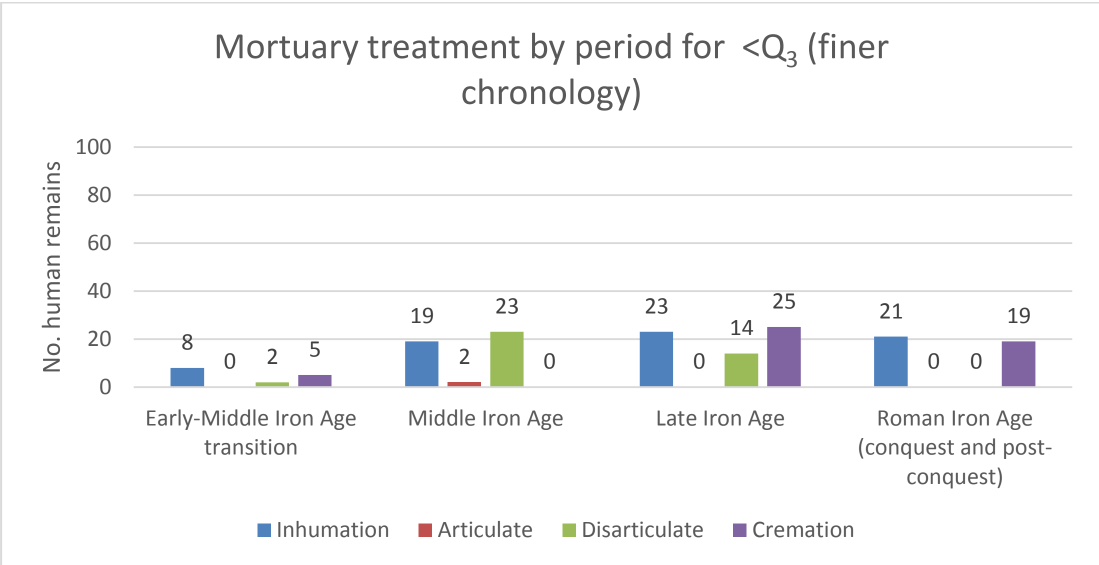


Figure 23. Fine chronological division for data from $<Q_3$ (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

4.2.3. Division of the Data: Sub-zones

The analysis has thus far considered the data as a geographic whole. As noted in Chapter 1, a tripartite division of the study area is employed for this study. The distributions of data according to sub-zones are described below.

4.2.3.1. Eastern Zone

The eastern zone echoes patterns within the main dataset, particularly the marked increase in cremation during the LIA. Although dominated by Westhampnett, 13 other sites, of which 12 are located in Kent, contribute to this pattern (Figure 24-Figure *25*). Likewise there is a generally constant rate of inhumation, even accounting for 51% (N=42) of this dataset being represented by the Mill Hill cemetery. Disarticulated remains are represented by a limited number of EMIA/MIA finds at White Horse Stone (N=9), Cliff's End Farm, Thanet (N=8), Harting Beacon (N=4), The Trundle (N=3), A2 Pepperhill scheme (Site G) (N=2), Little Stock Farm (N=1) and the Caburn (N=1). LIA-ERIA disarticulated remains are limited to Northumberland Bottom (N=9, all from 'ritual pit' (564)), Copse Farm (N=3, all from the same context, trench B), and A2 Pepperhill scheme (Ditch 3669) (N=1). Only 4 examples of articulated remains are known from the eastern zone, all from Cliff's End Thanet.

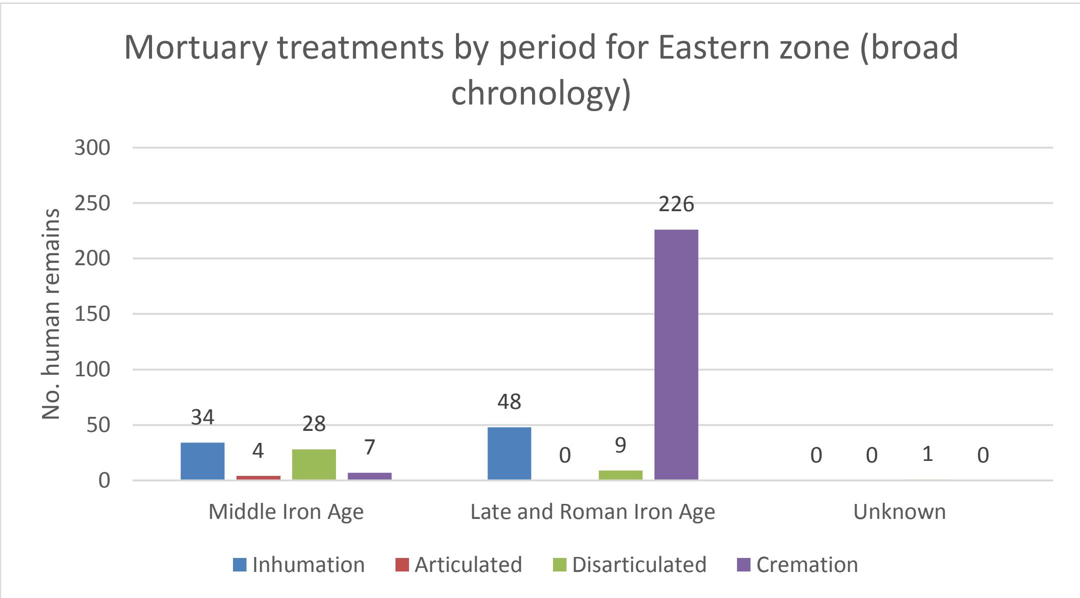


Figure 24. Broad chronological division of data for the eastern zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

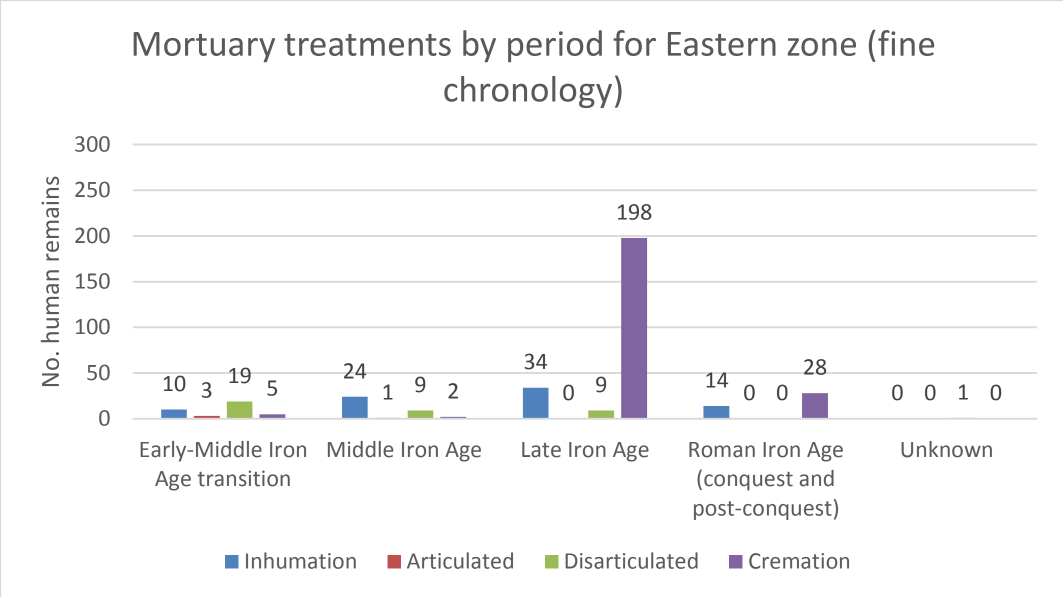


Figure 25. Fine chronological division of data for the eastern zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

4.2.3.2. Central Zone

The patterns observed show the strongest affinities with the overall dataset (Figure 26-Figure 27). This is unsurprising owing to the fact that 10 of 12 of the >Q_3 sites are from the central zone (Danebury, Owslebury, Suddern Farm, Maiden Castle, Winnall Down, Gussage All Saints, Poundbury, Battlesbury Bowl and Micheldever Wood). As noted, the prevalence of E-MIA/MIA disarticulated remains is largely a result of the Danebury dataset (N=317), although Suddern Farm (N=94), Winnall Down (N=70), Battlesbury Bowl (N=23), Maiden Castle (N=20), and Gussage All Saints (N=13) also contribute. Disarticulated remains are not restricted to these sites, but elsewhere represent a fraction of the dataset. The presence of these data-heavy sites makes the regional decline in disarticulated depositions during the LIA/ERIA particularly marked. Nevertheless, disarticulated remains are present on LIA sites: Danebury (N=19), Gussage All Saints (N=5), Micheldever Wood (N=3), Kings Worthy (N=3), Owslebury (N=2, although this may be more), Poundbury (N=2, originating from disturbed burials), Somborne Park Farm (N=1), Old Kempshott Lane (N=1) and the Bourne (N=1). This region also produced the largest number of articulated remains (N=21, 84% of the total dataset for this treatment).

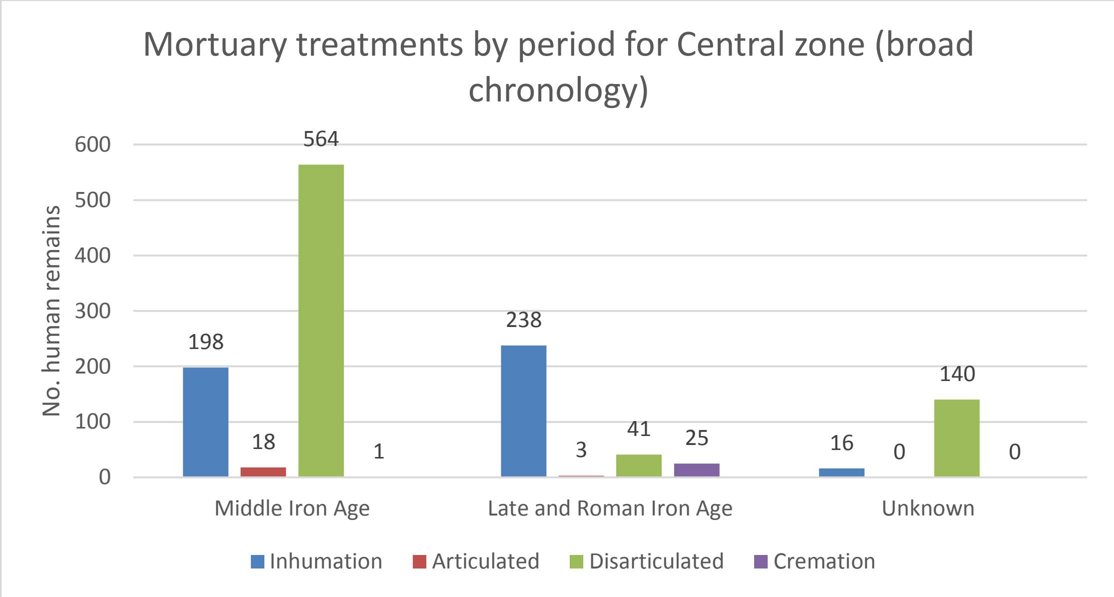


Figure 26. Broad chronological division for data from central zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

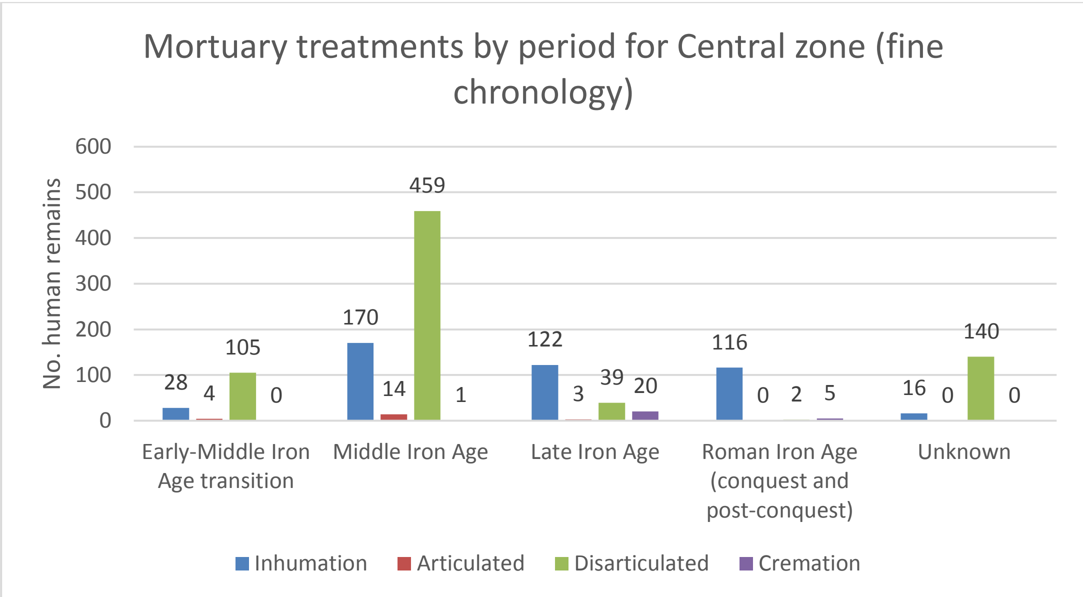


Figure 27. Fine chronological division for data from central zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Central zone inhumations for the earlier period (N=198) are dominated by Danebury’s pit burials (N=49; 24.7%), the Suddern Farm cemetery (N=44; 22.2%), the Maiden Castle ‘A’ and ‘B’ phase burials (N=23; 11.6%) of which N=12 are from the Iron Age ‘B’ cemetery, and the Winnall Down pit cemetery (N=22; 11.1%). Combined, these sites constitute 69.6% of inhumations for the EMIA/MIA in this region. Inhumation occurrences for the LIA/ERIA in the central zone (N=238) are dominated by sites with the Durotrigian rite (sites N=11; remains N=215; 90.3%), although sizeable, non-Durotrigian datasets for this period were also recorded for Gussage All Saints (N=40) and Owslebury (N=18). Cremations for the LIA/ERIA central zone (N=25) are dominated by the Owslebury dataset (N=15; 71.4%), although examples are known from elsewhere in the region.

4.2.3.3. Western Zone

The western zone constitutes the smallest regional dataset. Had the c.130 burials at Harlyn Bay been excavated under modern conditions, then this dataset would be substantially larger (Whimster 1977). All examples in this region are inhumations (Figure 28-Figure *29*). This is in part a reflection of the reality of preferred deposition practices, but also other factors. As shown in Map 2, soils in this region are generally acidic; unaccompanied human remains, in particular disarticulated remains, are unlikely to be preserved. Combined with this is a lack of large scale settlement excavations (Cripps 2007, 146, 148), comparable to those elsewhere in the study area. An apparent lack of subterranean storage features (see discussion below) (Miles 1977; Cripps 2007, 113), may likewise account for a lack of human remains.

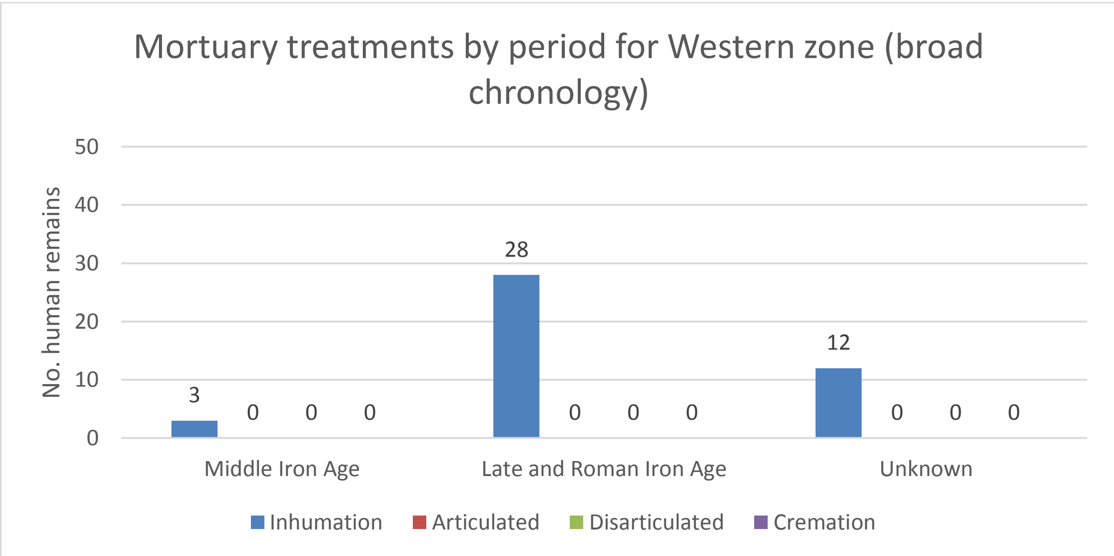


Figure 28. Broad chronological division for data from western zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

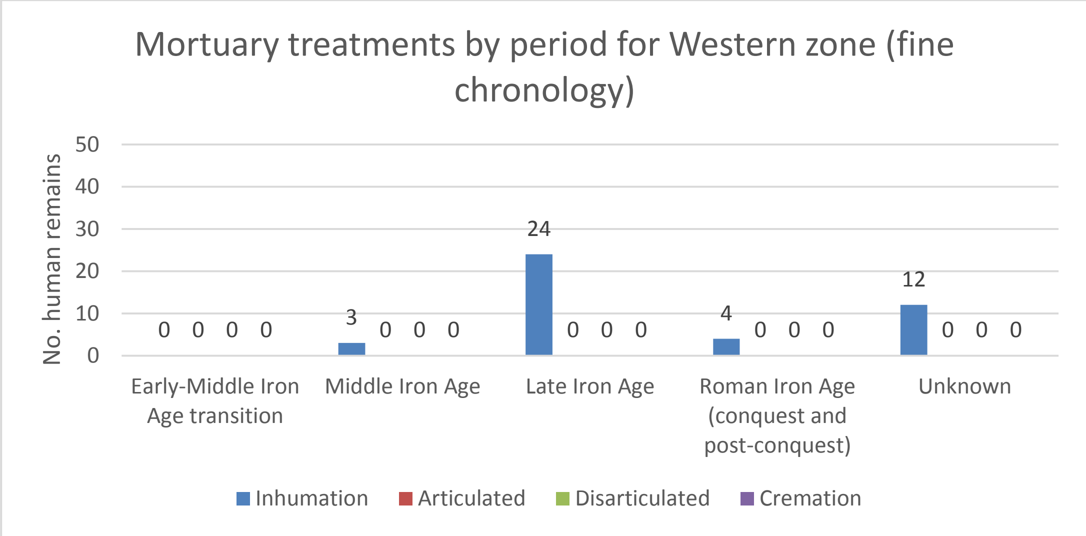


Figure 29. Broad chronological division for data from western zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

4.2.3.4. Division by Zones: Summary

There is much variation between the three zones. Even within inhumations, which are present in sizeable quantities across the three zones, chronologic variance is apparent. The eastern zone is one latterly dominated by cremation, in stark contrast to the others. Both the eastern and central zones possess disarticulated remains, but it is in the central zone that the majority of these occur. This may originate from the large scale fieldwork in this region, but could indicate a greater emphasis upon such remains by the peoples who lived here. The western zone appears to be composed entirely of inhumations throughout, although the acidic soil conditions may have destroyed evidence for disarticulated remains.

4.2.4. Division of the Data: Site Types

4.2.4.1. Hill-Forts

The data are dominated by Danebury, Poundbury and Maiden Castle. Thus the patterns observed (Figure 30-Figure 31) for this class are extremely similar to those already noted for the central zone above.

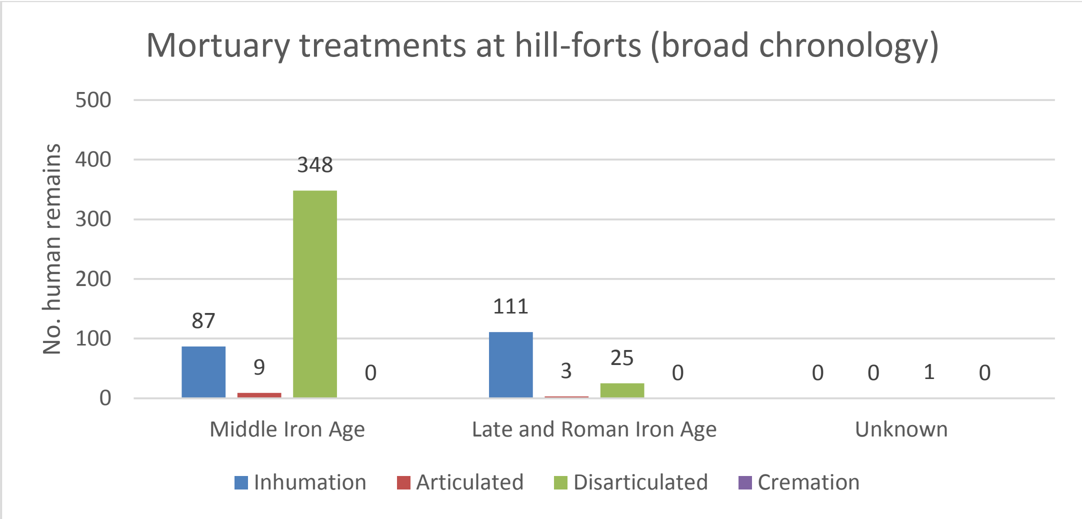


Figure 30. Broad chronological division for hill-fort sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

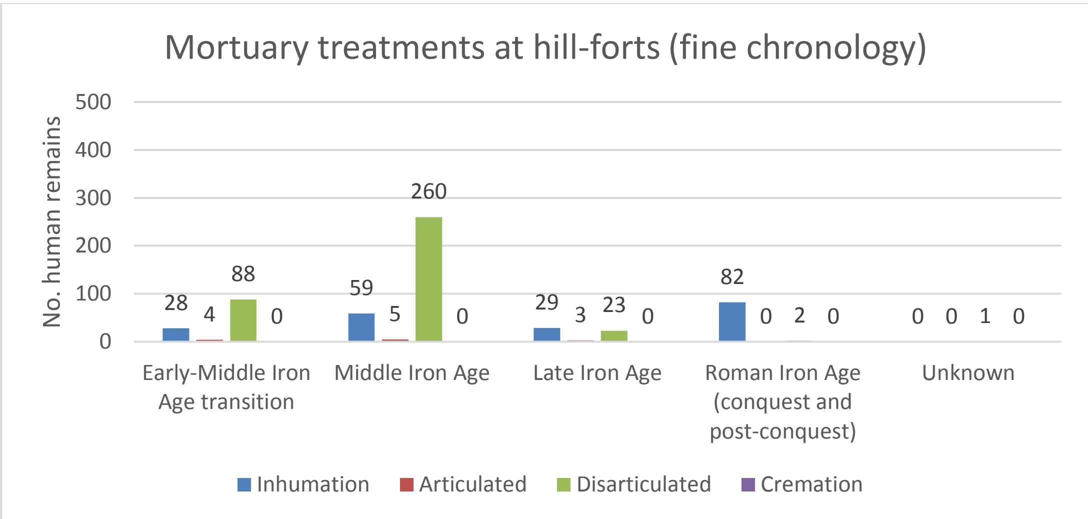


Figure 31. Fine chronological division for hill-fort sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

4.2.4.2. Settlements

The MIA inhumations from settlements (N=122) are predominantly from Suddern Farm (N=44; 36%) and Winnall Down (N=22; 18%), with Micheldever Wood (N=13; 10.6%) and Gussage All Saints (N=7; 5.7%) likewise contributing to the image. LIA inhumations (N=83) are largely represented by N=40 (48.1%) examples from Gussage All Saints, N=19 (22.8%) from Whitcombe, and N=16 (19.2%) from Owslebury. Disarticulated remains display a similar pattern to hill-forts. EMIA/MIA disarticulated remains are well represented (N=236) and are present at 15 settlements, with the majority of examples being from Suddern Farm (N=94, 39.8%) and Winnall Down (N=70, 29.6%). Like hill-forts, there was a marked decline in their prevalence in the LIA/ERIA (N=24), although they are still present at nine sites. A few articulated remains are present (N=9) from a limited number of sites (Suddern Farm N=7, Battlesbury Bowl N=1, Winnall Down N=1). In contrast to hill-forts, cremations are present at settlements (N=32), with the majority being LIA in date (N=20), and the sites of Owslebury (N=17, 53.1%) and A2 road scheme (N=9, 28.1%) representing the majority of examples across all periods (Figure 32-*Figure 33*).

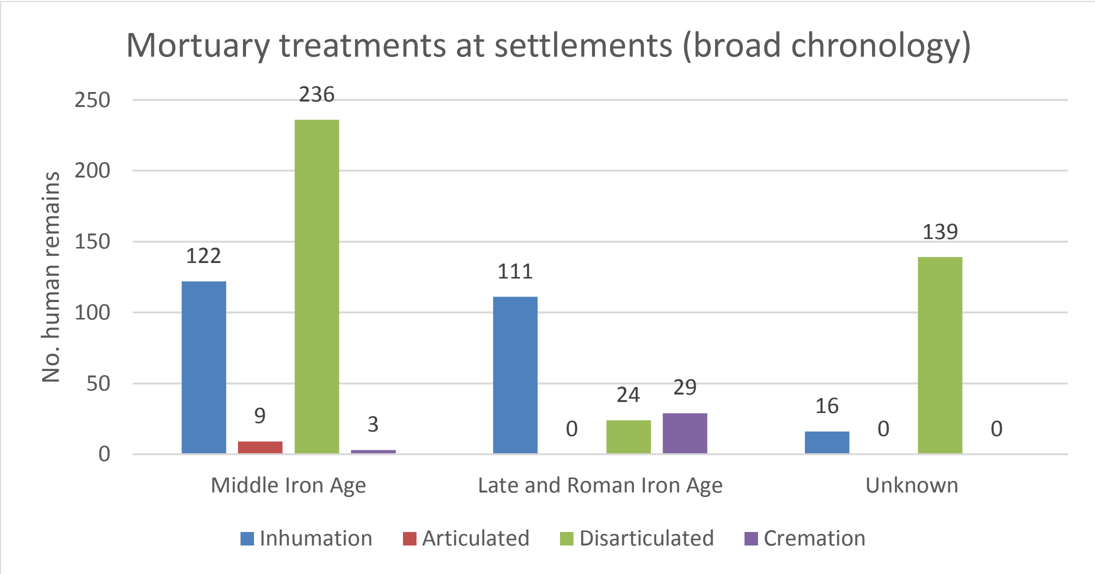


Figure 32. Broad chronological division for settlement sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

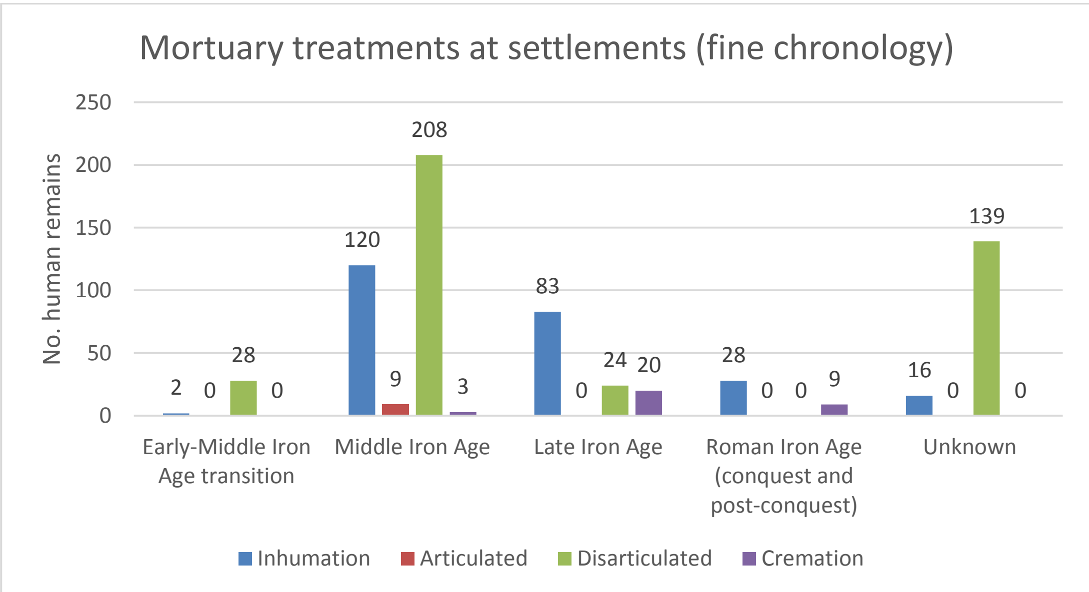


Figure 33. Fine chronological division for settlement sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

4.2.4.3. Cemetery

In contrast to settlements and hill-forts, articulated and disarticulated remains are (with exception of one undated disarticulated bone from Litton Cheney) totally absent (Figure 34-Figure *35*). Although present in small numbers (N=17, 6 sites) before the LIA, inhumations are very much a feature of this period, with the majority of examples being from Mill Hill, Deal (N=29, 46%) and Trethellan Farm (N=21, 33.3%). Cremations are likewise a feature of the LIA, with Westhampnett forming the majority of the sample (N=168, 89%).

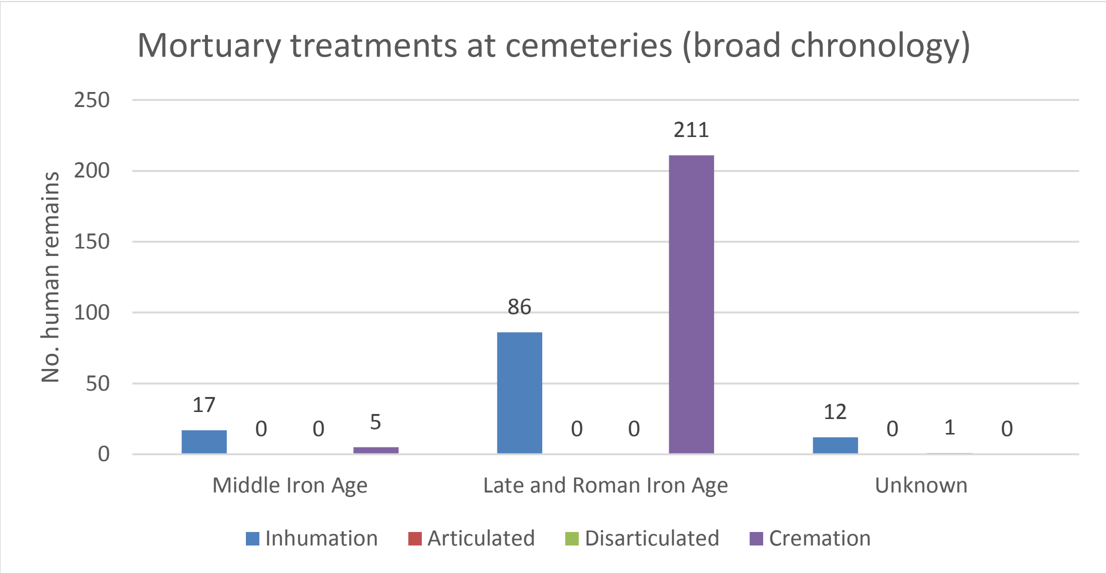


Figure 34. Broad chronological division for cemetery sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

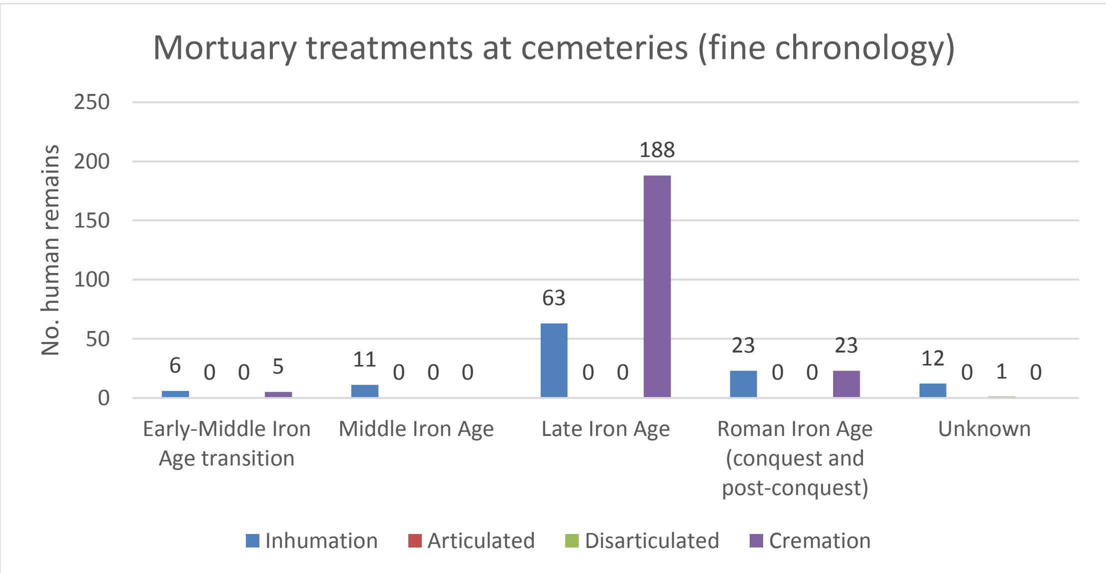


Figure 35. Fine chronological division for cemetery sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

4.2.4.4. Isolated Burials and "Other" category

The paucity of data for isolated burials and "other" (N=17 isolated; 22 "other") reveals no instructive patterns, beyond better representation in the LIA/ERIA for the former, and EMIA/MIA dates for the latter (See Appendix C. 25-31).

4.2.4.5. Division by Site Type: Summary

Hill-forts and settlements display comparable patterns, perhaps indicating common cultural practices among the inhabitants (who may indeed have been the same population). At cemeteries the emphasis was on cremations and inhumations, and the lack of disarticulated bone may indicate a different social role for these sites (which tend to post-date the main disarticulated deposits). With data quantified it is now possible to consider how these patterns compare to those elsewhere in Britain and the near continent.

4.3. British Context

Roth's (2011, 74) study of 100 LBA-LIA sites in England found that only 15% contained more than 20 contexts with human remains, and 76% possessed fewer than 10 (*ibid*, 70, table 4.2). The majority (39%) were of LIA date, but when sites with >20 contexts were removed, the majority of data were MIA in date (*ibid*, 70, table 4.4; 74). The results from the study area accord with this (Table 24).

Roth (2011) table 4.3		Study Area	
Manner of Treatment	**No. Sites**	**Manner of Treatment**	**No. Sites**
Inhumation	21	Inhumation	29
Cremation	19	Cremation	15
Articulated remains	1	Articulated remains	0
Disarticulated remains	16	Disarticulated Remains	10
Multiple treatments	43	Multiple Treatments	26

Table 24. Comparison of results from Roth (2011) and this study.

She observed a broadly equal trend in terms of the frequency of mortuary treatments, but with disarticulated remains generally being more common (37%). Excluding sites with 20 or more contexts, this pattern continued, albeit with a slight increase in the prevalence of cremations (Roth 2011, 74). She noted a decline in the prevalence of disarticulated remains from EIA/MIA (72.2% of remains for phase) to LIA (15.6%) (*ibid*, 76). All of Roth's observations broadly accord with those from the study area. Additional sites in the study area which possess LIA disarticulated remains, but were excluded from this studie's primary analysis due to the poor quality publications and/or time constraints, do not alter this pattern. These sites include Dumpton Gap, Broadstairs; Crundale Limeworks and Castle Hill, Folkestone, Kent (Carr 2007, 444), and Oving, Sussex (Bedwin and Holgate 1985). The presence of contemporary LIA cremated and disarticulated remains noted is likewise a feature to the north of the study area, as at Rushy Mead, Leicestershire (Pollard 2001, 28). Disarticulated remains continued to be present on Roman sites both within the study area (Silchester) and outside (Folly Lane, Verulamium and Baldock, Hertfordshire) (Fulford 2001, 203, 209; Niblett 2002, 143; Carr 2007, 444). Thus, as within the study area, in other regions of Britain disarticulated remains declined markedly in frequency in the LIA, but persisted.

Overall, Roth (2011, 82, table 5.2) found similar patterns, in terms of the prevalence of treatments by chronology, for both her entire dataset and >20 as observed in this study. The increase in LIA-ERIA inhumations noted above was also identified by Roth. Cremation was most prevalent in the LIA, particularly in >20 context sites, where it accounted for 46.3% of examples (*ibid*, 306). The LIA thus represented the peak of deposition within Roth's dataset, as is also the case for other classes of material in Iron Age Britain (Haselgrove 1997; Jundi and Hill 1999; Roth 2011, 74, table 4.8). The study area's patterns can thus be viewed within the frame of broader British trends. To the west of Roth's study area, in Wales, data are limited and patterns difficult to detect, although inhumation and disarticulation are both noted (O'Brien 2014, 25). Considering artefactual links between the study area and Wales (MacDonald 2007, 157), the mortuary data may prove comparable.

In the north, inhumation is the dominant rite in East Yorkshire from the 4th until the 1st century BC (Taylor 2001, 67). Inhumations, though perhaps not representing a majority rite, are present on Later Iron Age settlements in west and, to a lesser extent, north Yorkshire (Haselgrove 2016, 440; Marlow 2016, 325-326). MIA disarticulated remains have also been recovered from settlements in East Yorkshire (Giles 2012, 95) and elsewhere in Yorkshire, such as the oppidum at Stanwick (Langston and Lowther 2016, 324-5). Without a dedicated study of these disarticulated remains, it cannot be said how this region relates to the study area patterns. Whereas disarticulated remains are present in both regions, it seems that cremation was a cultural choice restricted to the south.

Human remains are not uncommon in south-east Scotland (Armit *et al*. 2013; Haselgrove 2016, 440). At Broxmouth hill-fort, Dunbar, a small inhumation cemetery was radiocarbon dated to 280/170-200/70 cal. BC; 93-95% probability) (Armit *et al*. 2013, 88). A series of isolated burials at the same site were dated to between 750-385 cal BC; 95% probability), whilst disarticulated remains ranged in date from the 6th century BC, to AD40 (*ibid*). Examples of inhumation from south-east Scotland include the 5th century BC isolated vehicle burial from Newbridge (Carter *et al*. 2010), and the sites such as Dryburn Bridge (800-400 cal. BC) (Dunwell 2007, 67), among others (Roy 2015, 199-200). It also seems, on the basis of the site of Phantassie Farm, East Lothian, that cremation was concurrent with inhumation and disarticulation in this part of Scotland (Lelong and MacGregor 2008, 195; Armit *et al*. 2013, 195). The persistence of inhumation, including the site types selected for deposition, has clear echoes with the study area. The lack of disarticulated remains may stem from local soil conditions, however they, and the presence of MIA cremations, may be a local practice unrecorded in the study area.

Among the Islands and part of the Highlands, data are more abundant and show parallels to mainland Scotland and the study area. Inhumations are present here, such as at Swainbost, Lewis (Duffy *et al*. 2007, 155-160), Bu, Orkney (Armit and Ginn 2007, 119) or Oban, Argyll (Saville and Hallén 1994) but are otherwise rare (Ralston 1979, 474-77; Whimster 1981, 172-4, 410-6; Harding 2004, 79). Beginning in the 1st century AD several small inhumation cemeteries were established in the Western Isles and Northern Isles (e.g. Mackie 1962; Badcock and Downes 2000; Neighbour *et al*. 2000). Disarticulated and articulated remains are well represented during this period in Orkney and Caithness, and to a lesser extent Sunderland, Shetland and the Western Isles (Armit and Ginn 2007, 116; Tucker 2010, 130, fig. 6.1). Information regarding chronological variance of deposition of these remains is limited, but suggests that the majority date between the 4th century BC and 3rd century AD (Tucker 2010, 132-40). Evidence for cremation is effectively absent (Armit and Ginn 2007, 125). Although rates of deposition are poorly understood, the disarticulated pattern for the Highlands and Islands is similar to that for the study area. Additionally, the creation of 1st century inhumation cemeteries echoes the central zone. The rate of inhumation, and pattern of cremation, however are distinct from the study area.

4.4. Continental Context

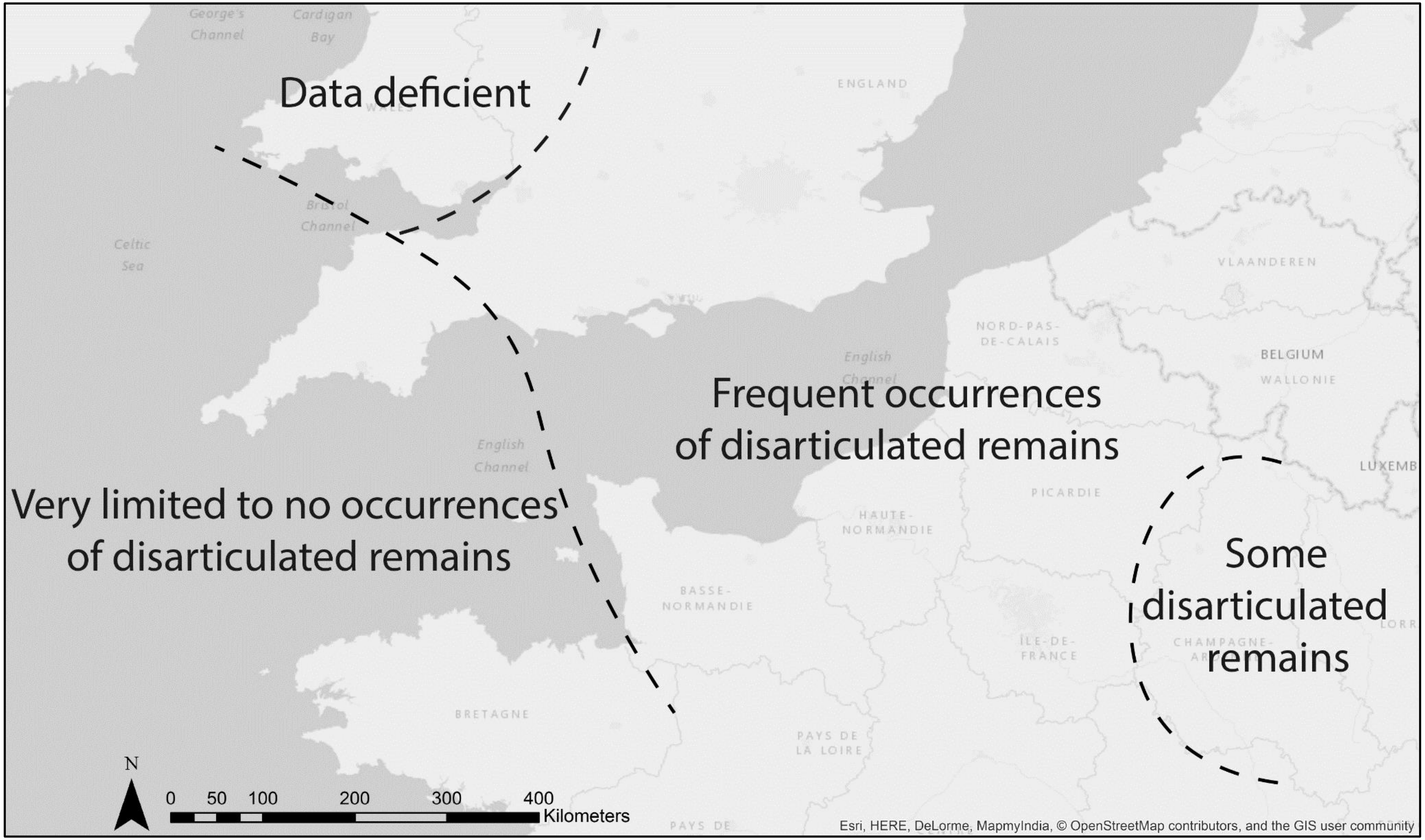
4.4.1. Problems of Comparison and Disarticulated Remains

In northern France, the general pattern is a prevalence of inhumation in La Tène A-B (Pommepuy *et al*. 2004, 262), a paucity of data in La Tène C1 (Rapin 2004, 27), and proliferation of cremation from La Tène C2 (Duval *et al*. 1986, 53; Pion and Guichard 1993, 180; Villard 1993, 245); trends broadly comparable to the study area. Nevertheless, important regional differences exist which reflect both archaeological reality and local research designs. A key problem in contextualising the British data is the tendency for continental studies to consider only formal burials. Inhumations from non-grave contexts, articulated and disarticulated remains are all noted, but rarely synthesised. In particular, it is not possible to quantify disarticulated remains, despite their being represented in some parts until the 1st century BC (Webley 2015, 132).

Further discussion of disarticulated data is provided in Chapter 6. At this stage it need only be noted that disarticulated remains appear to be a recurring feature of the Netherlands (Roymans 1990, 242-3; Nieuwhof 2015, 11, 66, 123), Normandy (Moreau 2011, 142) and north eastern France (Lambot 1998, 80; Malrain *et al*. 2005, 146; Oudry-Braillon 2009, 67; Pinard *et al*. 2009, 109). By contrast, possibly due to soil conditions, they are rare in Brittany (Le Goffic 1997, 45; Villard-Le-Tiec et al. 2010, 91, fig. 6; 93, fig. 10). Chronological patterns for such remains are uncertain, pending further study. Nevertheless, this broad geographical spread mirrors that for Britain, where regions to the east and north have produced the majority of disarticulated remains (Map 4).

4.4.2. Netherlands

Excluding the coast, for which data are limited (Hessing 1993; Nieuwhof 2015, 40), cremation was the standard rite from c.1100BC, something which is in stark contrast to the study area. In the north of the Netherlands, urned cremation appears to have ceased to have been used c.400BC, although there is very slight evidence for unurned cremation after this period (*ibid,* 258). In general, MIA Dutch cremation cemeteries typically numbered fewer than 20 individuals (Hiddink 2014, 189), whilst LIA Dutch cremation cemeteries were comparatively small as well (Nieuwhof 2015, 62). A small collection of inhumation burials, recovered from cremation cemeteries dating between c.700-375BC, are known from the municipalities of Nijmegen and Geldermalsen (van den Broeke 2014, 163, 174). Additionally, a total of 38 inhumations of pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman Iron Age date, are also known from the terps region in the north (coastal Friesland and Groningen) (Nieuwhof 2015, 243). The isolated nature of terps inhumations does not suggest they represent a majority rite, and in this respect echoes some regions of the study area (*ibid*, 194). On the Drenthe plateau, which forms the terps region of the Netherlands, it seems a variety of treatments were employed contemporaneously. The deep-rooted prevalence of cremation sets the Netherlands



Map 4. Broad distribution of disarticulated remains in the study area and neighbouring regions.

apart from Britain and northern France, however, the inhumation cemeteries do hint at related practices (see below). As in the study area, at Maiden Castle and Mill Hill, continuity between the MIA and Roman period is noted, with some sites, such as Weert "Molenakkerdeerf" (N=124) and Someren "Waterdael" (N=225) becoming substantial groupings over the years (Hiddink 2014, 189-90).

4.4.3. Nord-Pas-de-Calais and Belgium

Evidence for mortuary practices in Belgium is limited for the period c.500-250BC (Leman-Delerive 2014, 125). A recent study recorded only six sites, with eight graves between them (Oudy-Braillon 2009, 63). This pattern seems to display greater commonality with the adjacent eastern zone, than with neighbouring continental areas. Within the Scarpe valley, inhumation appears to have been the preferred rite, although there is also limited evidence for cremation in this region (Leman-Delerive 2014, 127). Within the Haine area there is a slight abundance of cremations (limited to 6 graves) (*ibid,* 131). One Haine cemetery is notable for the length of its use: La Tène B2 to La Tène D2 (Anthoons 2010a, 189), making it comparable to contemporary Mill Hill. Flanders is least well understood, but the slight dataset available for this region, for example within Capinghem (Labararre 2009) and Erquinghem-Lys (Desoutter 2008), suggests cremation was preferred from the 3rd century BC onward. Flanders data are most abundant towards the end of the La Tène period (Leman-Delerive 2014, 134). Thus, whereas Wallonia appears more comparable to Kent (albeit with its prevalence of cremations), Flanders is orientated towards the north.

In the 3rd century BC there is a large increase in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais dataset, and throughout the La Tène period cremation was preferred (Figure 36). Middle La Tène cemeteries in Nord-Pas-de-Calais tended to be small in size, with the largest, Hordain "ZAC", being 14 graves. This is a pattern common in this region of Europe, but echoes of it occur in the study area. The La Tène C1/2 transition period in Nord-Pas-de-Calais sees a slight decline in graves (38 from Oudry-Braillon's dataset), although the largest sites date to this period: La Calotteria "La Fontaine aux Linottes" (48 graves), Saint-Laurent-Blangy "Actiparc Site R" (18), Hordain "La Fosse à Loups" (20) and Duisans "La Cité" (22)

(Blancquaert and Desfossés 1998; Jacques and Rossignol 2001, no. 5; Severin 2006). Due to the coarse dating for the study area, it is unclear if similar patterns occurred.

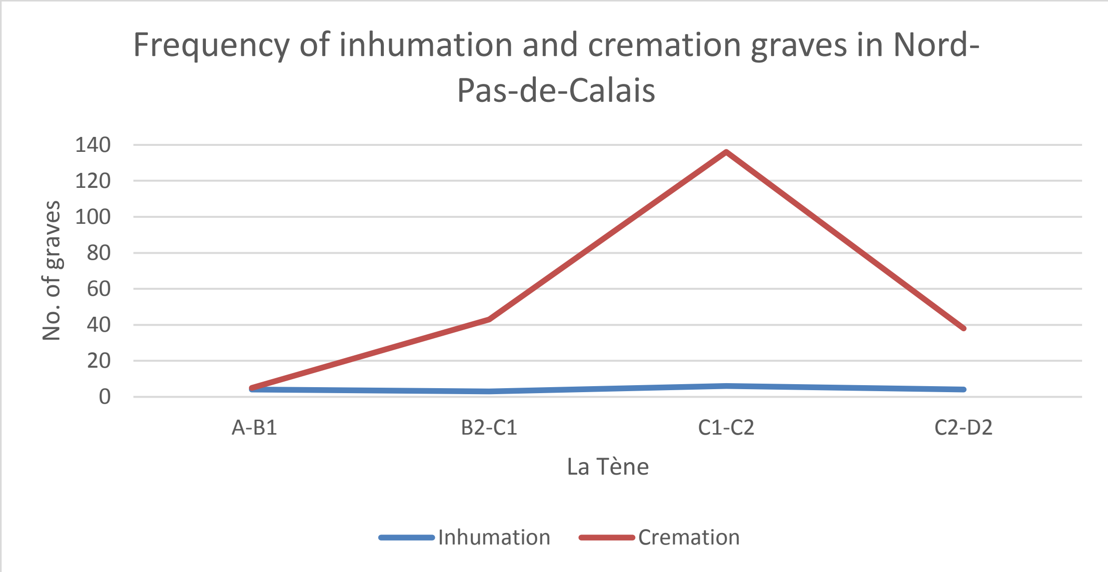


Figure 36. Frequency of inhumation and cremation graves in Nord-Pas-de-Calais (reproduced and adapted from Oudry-Braillon 2009, 61, table 1).

Number of graves	**Number of sites**
1	27
1-5	1
6-15	8
>15	4

Table 25. Number of sites according to cemetery sizes in Nord-Pas-de-Calais for entire period (reproduced from Oudry-Braillon 2009, 63, table 2).

Inhumation burials continued to be present, as in the study area, but represent a minority rite (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 63). Throughout the La Tène period in Nord-Pas-de-Calais inhumation was focussed around the Arras area (*ibid*, 65). The discovery in 1913 of over 200 headless bodies from Moeuvres may attest to larger mortuary sites in the region, perhaps a site comparable to Suddern Farm (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 63). Inhumations are also represented by possible non-formal burials, as at the storage pit burials from Lauwin-Planque (Devriendt *et al*. 2012). The quantity of data for the late La Tène in Nord-Pas-de-Calais is comparable to that for the mid La Tène period (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 63). Inhumations are still present in the dataset, but are represented by non-formalised deposits from wells (Jacques and Rossignol 2001, no. 19). Non-formal inhumations are observed throughout the La Tène period in Nord-Pas-de-Calais, as they are in the eastern and central study area, accounting for 50% (N=7) of examples recorded (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 67; Devriendt *et al*. 2012). Despite representing a small dataset, it has been suggested that non-formal burials declined in frequency over the course of the period (Pinard 2010, 134).

4.4.4. Picardy

Picardy conforms to the general pattern for much of France. Inhumations were prevalent in La Tène A-B and are present in Picardy between the 5th and 1st century BC, albeit in varying frequency (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 37). Likewise, cremation displays much chronological variation (Figure 37) (Bayard and Buchez 1998, 58; Pommepuy *et al*. 2004, 262; Pinard *et al*. 2009, 102, fig. 2, 103, fig. 5). The eastern zone displays a similar pattern, but with cremation being absent until the late 2nd century BC, after which point it became dominant. The rise in cremation coincides with a rise in the number of cemeteries, as in the eastern zone (Haselgrove 2007, 498). The two periods of radical change therefore appear to have been the 3rd and 1st centuries BC. In the Augustan period inhumation once again became the dominant formalised rite, something which did not occur in the eastern zone (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 43). As in Nord-Pas-de-Calais and the study area, it appears that non-formal inhumations declined in in frequency over the course of the La Tène period (Pinard 2010, 134).

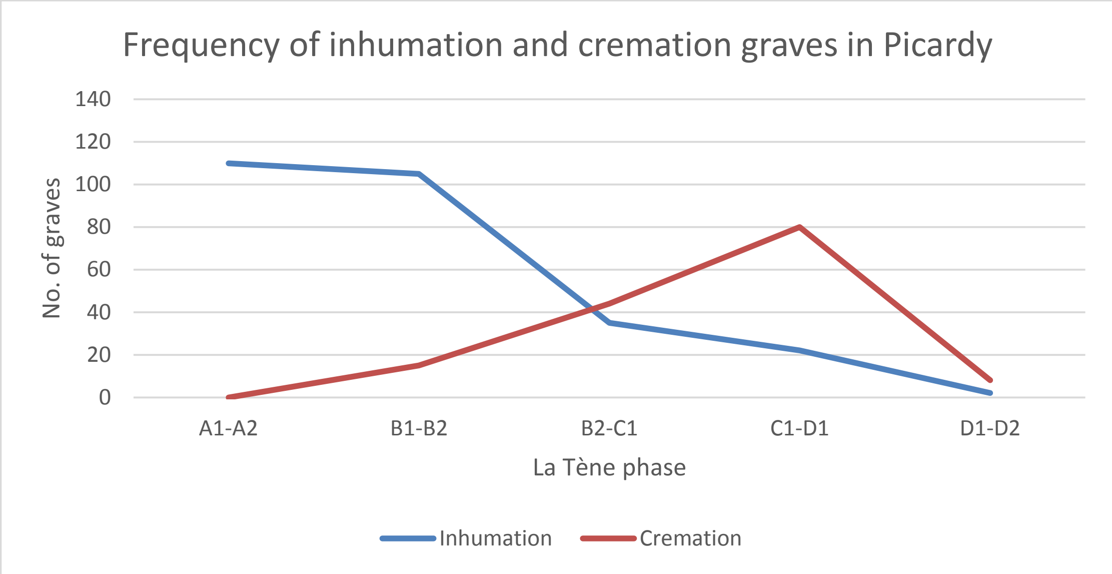


Figure 37. Frequency of inhumation and cremation graves in Picardy (reproduced from Pinard et al. 2009, figs. 2 and 5).

Cemetery sizes in the study area are comparable to those for Picardy, where they range between one and 200 individuals (Table 26). Isolated graves are similarly rare in Picardy (10% of examples) as they are in the study area. In both Picardy and the study area, they became increasingly common towards the end of the Iron Age (*ibid*, 28, 37). In general La Tène A was a period of the largest cemeteries, 40-100+ individuals, whilst La Tène B saw the foundation of more modest cemeteries (Two to 15 individuals) (Bayard and Buchez 1998, 58). Exceptions to this include Grand-Laviers (38-40 graves) and Abbeville, Somme (83) (Bayard and Buchez 1998, 58). La Tène C witnessed the greatest variety, including large cemeteries, the implantation of isolated burials and continuation of modest sized cemeteries, with the latter two categories continuing until La Tène D. La Tène D continued this pattern, with most sites being small, although exceptions like Vismes-au-Val and Saint-Sauveur do exist (Desenne *et al*. 2009, 37).

	Number of cemeteries per La Tène phase								
Graves per site	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2	D1	D2	**Total sites**
1					5		2	5	**12**
2-5				1	13	3	5	5	**27**
6-15			2	2	7	1	1		**13**
16-40		1			7	1			**9**
41-100	2				2				**4**
100+	1								**1**

Table 26. Cemetery sizes in Picardy according to date of foundation (reproduced from Desenne et al. 2009, 30, table 1).

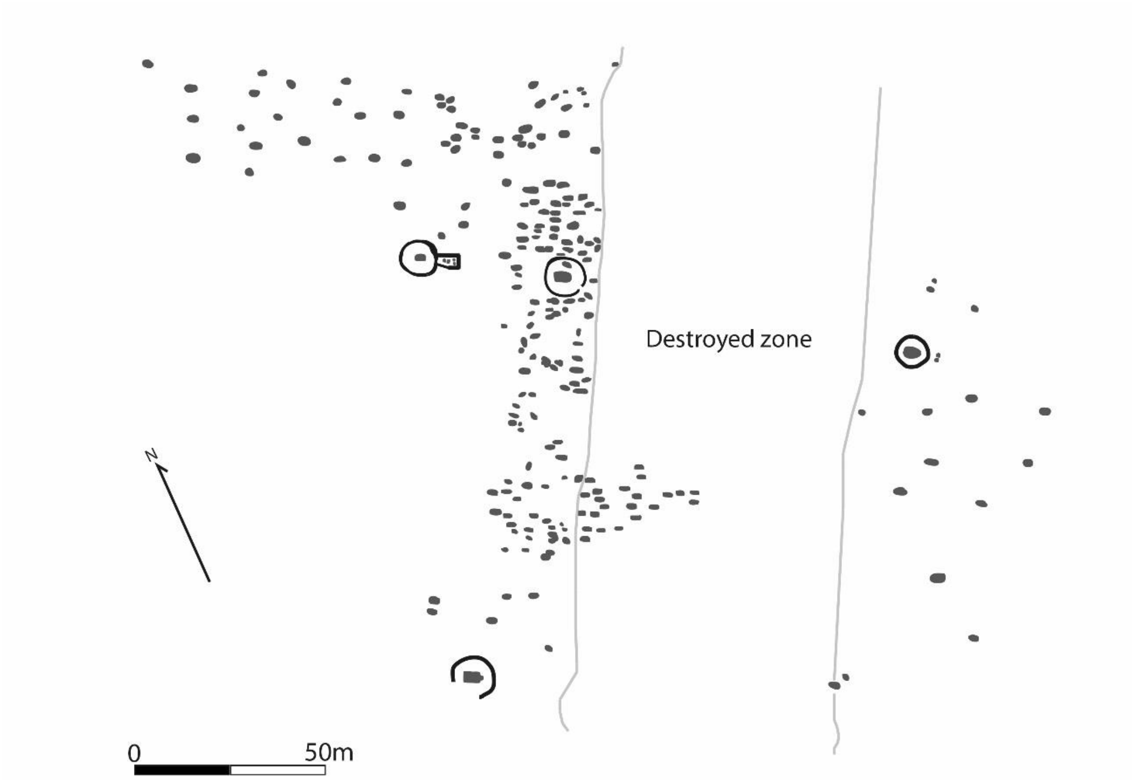


Figure 38. Site plan of Bucy-le-Long "La Héronnière", Aisne, the largest La Tène cemetery in Picardy and an example of the Aisne-Marne culture (re-drawn by author from Dessenne and Pommepuy 2009, 22, fig. 2).

The above developments in cemetery size are, in some ways, comparable to the study area. The largest examples of cemeteries in the study area, Suddern Farm and Harlyn Bay, date to early in the time period. The more modestly sized Mill Hill and Trethellan Farm would be broadly contemporary with La Tène B and C cemeteries of similar sizes. Likewise, in both regions the smallest cemeteries date to the end of the La

Tène period, albeit with exceptions such as Westhampnett, Maiden Castle, Vismes-au-Val and Saint-Sauveur. The main difference lies in the abundance of Picardy cemeteries, with Desenne *et al*. (2009, 30 table 1) recording 132 sites, compared to the 100 in this study for a larger region (although, as noted, this is not a complete list).

4.4.5. Champagne-Ardenne

Inhumation was the dominant rite in La Tène A-C1, with the earliest cremations dating to La Tène B. The difference in frequency of rites in La Tène A-B1 is well illustrated by the existence of five possible cremation graves, compared to 552 inhumation graves (or 594 inhumations from all contexts) (Bonnabel 2014, 113). As in Picardy, there was a notable shift from cremation to inhumation starting in the 3rd century BC (Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 166). A comparable pattern is not observed in the study area until a century later. By the final two centuries BC cremation had become the only formal rite, although inhumed and disarticulated remains continue to be present at some sites, as they were in parts of the study area (Ruby 2009, 18; Stead *et al*. 2006; Lambot 2014, 101).

Like Picardy, the largest cemeteries date to La Tène A, for example at Nanteuil-sur-Aisne, Ardennes (100 graves) (Lambot 2014, 101). La Tène A-B1 Champagne-Ardenne sites display a range of one to 83 burials (Bonnabel 2014, 113). Among Champagne sites, Bonnabel (*et al*. 2009, 51) found that of 475 inhumations dated to the period La Tène A-B, 48.6% (N=231) came from just three sites. The lack of evidence linking these large cemeteries to settlements suggests that they served multiple communities (Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 166). The chronology and size of these sites (though in some cases double in size of any from the study area) may indicate a similar social role to sites such as Suddern Farm or Harlyn Bay. The majority of these sites had ceased to be used by c.260BC (Demoule 1999, 192, table 11.6; Charpy 2009, 80-1). Among the Champagne cemeteries, small groups of burials and isolated graves were also present in La Tène A-C (Lambot 2002, 96), although evidence for the inhumation at settlements is limited to a single site at Europort de Vatry “En Haut des Gravelles” (Bonnabel *et al*. 2009, 49). Such isolated burials constitute only 1.2% (N=6) examples in Bonnabel’s dataset.

Data are poor for the 3rd century BC and may indicate some depopulation during this period (Roymans 1990, 222). Nevertheless, some cemeteries founded in the 3rd century BC continue until La Tène D2, for example at Bergnicourt, Ardennes, as was the case at Mill Hill and Trethellan Farm (Lambot 2014, 106). Except for sites such as Bergnicourt, the majority of late La Tène Ardennes funerary groups were new establishments (Charpy 2009, 80). The period c.150BC in particular saw the creation of several new, large sites in Champagne-Ardenne, such as Ménil-Annelles (Stead *et al.* 2006), Ville-sur-Retourne (Flouest and Stead 1977) and Acy-Romance "La Croizette" (Lambot 1993, 213). It may be that similar social developments, which prompted the creation of these sites, were also present in Picardy, and among the communities of the study area at Westhampnett. As in the eastern zone, cremation and inhumation co-existed at the La Tène C sites of Bergnicourt "La Louvière", and Ménil-Annelles and La Tène D-Augustan Champenoise "Fin d'Ecury" (Lambot 1993, 213; 2002, 91, 94).

4.4.6. Normandy and the Channel Islands

Between the 5th and 3rd centuries BC inhumation was the dominant formal rite (Verney 1993, 98), with a single possible example of a cremation from Ifs, Calvados dating to the very start of the period (Varoquaux 1966, 310). This is a pattern shared with French regions to the east, and the study area to the north. As with regions to the east, the 3rd century BC onward witnesses the rise of cremation as the main formalised rite, although formal inhumations and cremations occur at the same sites as they do elsewhere and in the study area (Cliquet and Lequoy 1990, 48, 70-3, 89; Mantel *et al*. 2002, 10; Chanson *et al*. 2010, 57). Examples include the 3rd century BC site of Saint-Riquier-en-Rivière "Au dessus du Val d'Aulnoy", Seine Maritime (Mantel *et al*. 2002, 10), the La Tène C2-D1 site of Bois-Guillaume (Merleau 2002a, 45), the late La Tène site of Urville-Naqueville (Lefort 2014, 22-37) and possibly the La Tène C1-D2 site of Cottévrard "La Plaine de la Bucaille" (Blancquaert 2002, 336).

At least two solely inhumation cemeteries are known from La Tène D: Tournedos-sur-Seine (Cerdan and Cerdan 1993) and Urville Nacqueville (Lefort and Rottier 2014). The existence of entirely inhumation cemeteries draws parallels with cemeteries in Brittany and the central and western study area. In Lower Normandy inhumation and cremation co-existed until the 1st century BC, with exclusively cremation cemeteries dating to this period being rare (Chanson et. al. 2010, 65). An exception to this is the site of Pîtres "La Remise", Eure (Cerdan and Cerdan 1993, 149). In Upper Normandy it appears that cremation became the exclusive formal rite (Merleau 2002d). In the current state of research, the Channel Island mortuary record is represented exclusively by inhumations for the period from the 4th to 1st centuries BC, as is the case for adjacent regions of the study area (Burns 1993; Cunliffe 1996a; de Jersey 2010, 299).

In terms of site size, Lower Normandy is the best studied. Here the pattern is similar to that described for Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne with the largest funerary groupings (40-100+ burials). The period from the mid-4th to mid-3rd century BC represents the greatest number of known funerary sites in Lower Normandy, with a mean of 6.8 individuals per site (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 68). Some sites established during this period, such as Pîtres, continue until the 1st century AD, as was the case at Mill Hill (Cerdan and Cerdan 1993, 149). From the mid-3rd century BC, until the conquest there is an increase in the number of funerary sites, with a slight rise in the mean number of individuals per site (7.3); a development with parallels in the study area.

Between the 4th and 1st centuries BC it is rare to find funerary groupings in excess of 15 individuals (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 65), with no site exceeding 22 individuals. The largest site dating to this period is Ifs "Object'Ifs Sud" (*ibid*, 68). Only four sites dated to this period have more than 10 individuals. 46% of Lower Normandy sites consist of three to 30 individuals (*ibid*, 57). By far the most abundant data are individual burials, which accounted for 48% of Chanson's (*et al*. 2010, 66) dataset, despite representing only 7.3% of individuals. Individual burials are present throughout the La Tène period, but become increasingly abundant as time progresses (*ibid*, 65, fig. 14). The data for the Channel Islands permit few conclusions regarding the size of cemeteries, although the King's Road site, tentatively dated to the 4th century BC, consisted of 22 individuals (de Jersey 2010, 291, table 1), whilst those dated to the 1st century BC (Burns 1993) appear to represent sites of one to five individuals. Throughout this period, as for the adjacent study area, inhumation was the norm.

4.4.7. Brittany

Data for Brittany, though limited, contrasts with other regions of northern France and the study area. Cremation was the dominant rite in the 5th-4th centuries BC, representing a continuation from Hallstatt B (Gomez de Soto 2009, 275). The data are geographically uneven, with most 5th century BC cremations coming from western Brittany, a pattern which mirrors the coastal distribution of Cornish and Scilly sites. Typically such sites number between one and 12 graves, although sites with as many as 40 are known (Villard-Le-Tiec *et al*. 2010, 86). There are also a small number of sites where inhumation and cremation were present, and at least two (Quiberon and Plouer-sur-Rance) which were solely inhumation (*ibid*, 88, fig. 2). Data for the phases La Tène B-C1 are lacking, with less than five cremation sites attested (*ibid*, 91, fig. 6; Gomez de Soto 2009, 275; Webley 2015, 132). This changes markedly in the mid 2nd century BC, when inhumation became the formalised rite on the south and north coasts, and cremations are unknown (Villard-Le-Tiec 2010, 93, fig. 10; Gomez de Soto 2009, 278). At this point the closest similarities are to be found in the western zone, where inhumation was the only known rite. The size of late La Tène Brittany sites is likewise comparable to the western zone; the majority being small, but including examples such as Saint-Urnel, Finistère (40+ individuals), comparable to Trethellan farm (Giot and Monnier 1977).

4.5 The British and Continental Contexts Reviewed

As with the study area, the British and continental mortuary record is chronologically and regionally varied. The rate of depositions within the study area have parallels with the English Midlands, although comparisons further north also exist, such as the creation of 1st century AD cemeteries in Atlantic Scotland. Likewise, there are British patterns in terms of the data present: the persistence of inhumation and evidence for disarticulated bone. The large cemeteries of eastern Yorkshire appear distinct from the study area, but it must be remembered that the study area also possesses sizeable cemeteries which served as communal foci.

The continental context appears to be more different, but parallels can be detected. These include the late La Tène inhumation cemeteries of Brittany and Normandy, with their similarities to practices in the adjacent study area. In the eastern zone the rise of cremation in the 2nd century BC follows a trend observed a century earlier in north eastern France. The size of cemeteries in north eastern France likewise shows possible parallels. In La Tène A-B there existed large, communal cemeteries. By the 1st century BC these had been largely replaced by, small, groupings of less than a dozen individuals, albeit with some larger groupings (as is also the case in the Netherlands). It is argued that a similar shift can be observed in the study area. Finally, there is the understudied, but present, phenomenon of disarticulated remains with the continental distribution pattern mirroring that of the study area. The above analysis, however, is a broad one, and necessitates a more detailed analysis at a spatial and contextual level.

Chapter 5: Locational and Context Data

5.1. Analysis of Locations

The second level of analysis sought to determine the locations and contexts into which human remains were placed. 474 locations for MIA data were recorded (Figure 39; Appendix D.1). MIA data were primarily recovered from interior and perimeter locations, due in part to the dominance of the Danebury, Suddern Farm and Maiden Castle samples. 396 locations for LIA data were recorded (Figure 40; Appendix D.2.). The prevalence for interior locations is predominantly the result of the Westhampnett sample. Although Westhampnett was an unenclosed site, the apparent decision to bury within an area of loam suggests that this may be viewed as the interior of the cemetery, with burials beyond this considered the exterior. The Westhampnett sample aside, the LIA data shows an increased representation of data in the perimeter and exterior of sites.

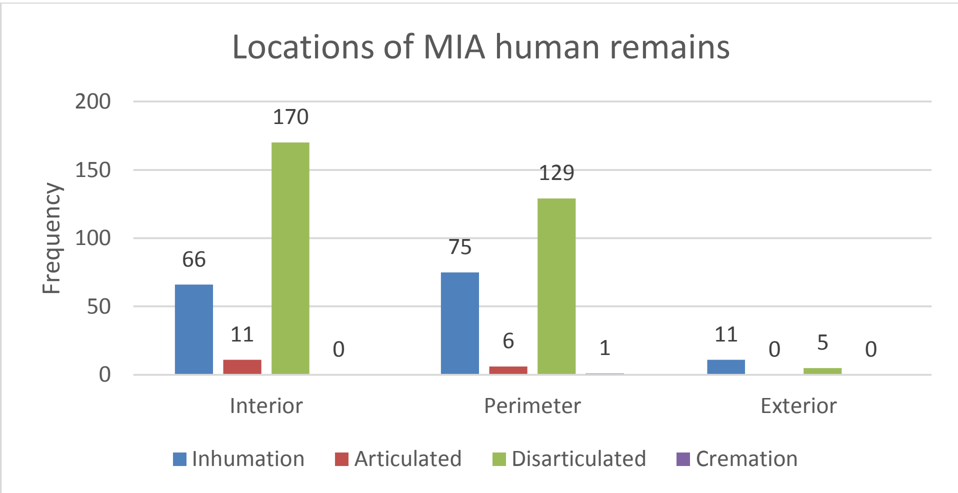


Figure 39. Locations of human remains during the MIA.

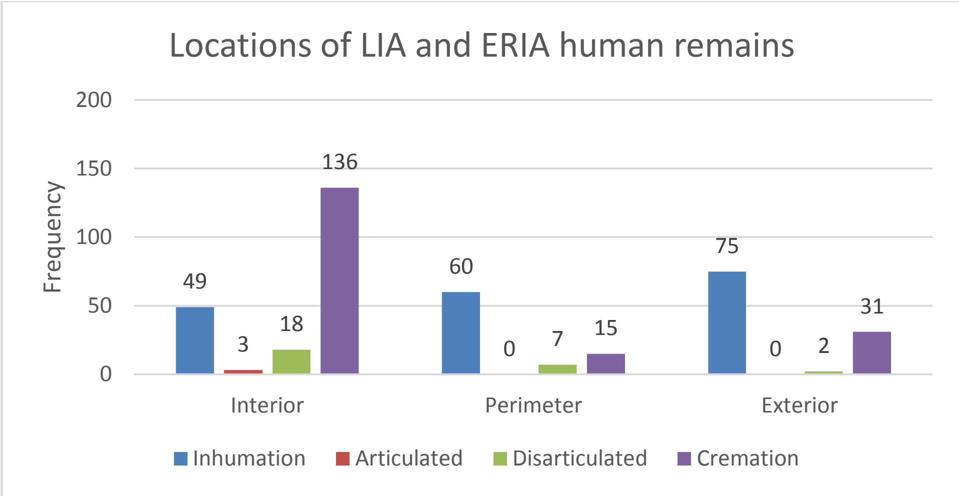


Figure 40. Locations of LIA and ERIA human remains

As with Chapter 3, quartile analysis was undertaken (Figure 41-Figure 42; Appendix D.3-4). Only 31 MIA locations were available, however they display a pattern similar to that observed for the entire sample (Figure 41). LIA data with known location are limited (N=20), but the pattern observed is comparable to that of the entire dataset (Figure 42). The absence of cremations from central locations results from the deduction of the Westhampnett sample, whilst the lack of inhumations from perimeter locations is explained by the exclusion of Maiden Castle and Poundbury.

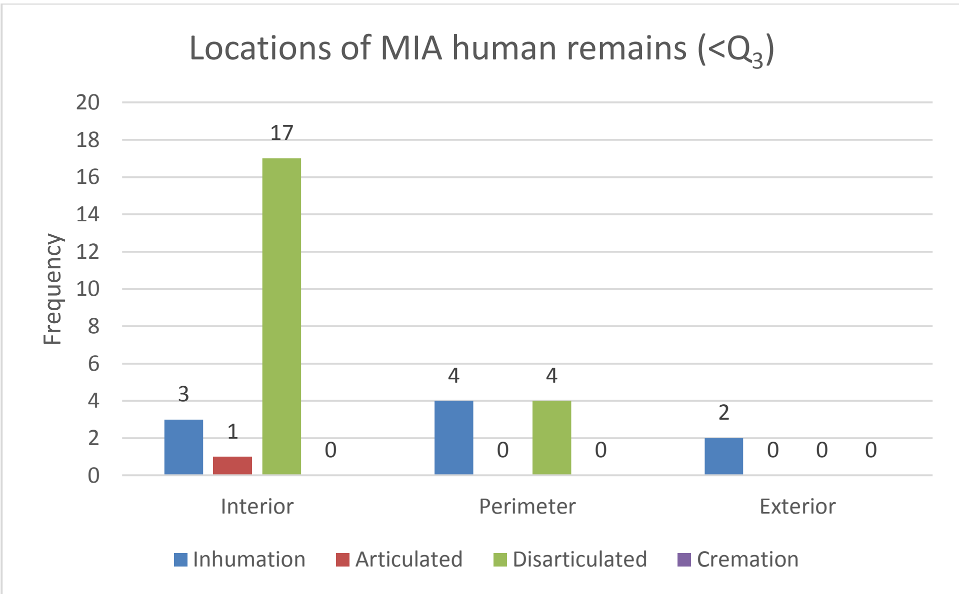


Figure 41. Locations of human remains during the MIA for <Q_3

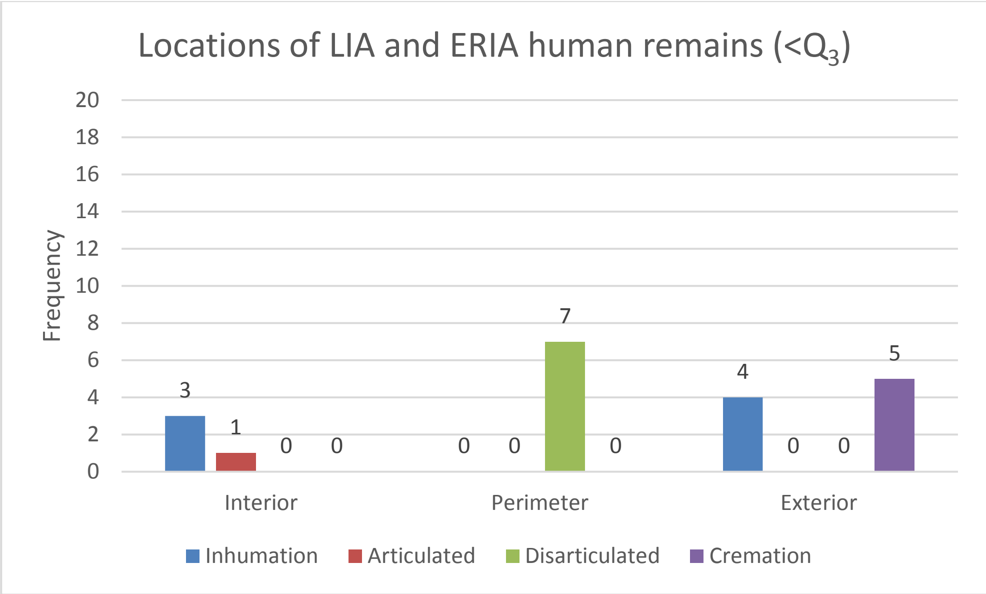


Figure 42. Locations of human remains during the LIA-ERIA for <Q_3

5.1.2. Location by Site Types

Analysis of locations within hill-forts and settlements was undertaken, and the results provided below. The limited/non-informative results obtained for cemetery, "other" and isolated burials are presented in Appendix D.9-14.

5.1.2.1. Hill-forts

For MIA hill-forts 243 locations produced data. The patterns observed (Figure 43; Appendix D. 5) display similar trends to those observed for the entire sample, unsurprising considering the dominance of the Danebury sample. The 19 instances of inhumation in perimeter locations is partly the result of rampart burials, but particularly the "Iron Age B" cemetery from Maiden Castle. 125 locations for LIA hill-forts were recorded (Figure 44; Appendix D. 6). These are primarily represented by data from Poundbury and Maiden Castle, and as such are largely represented by perimeter and exterior inhumations.

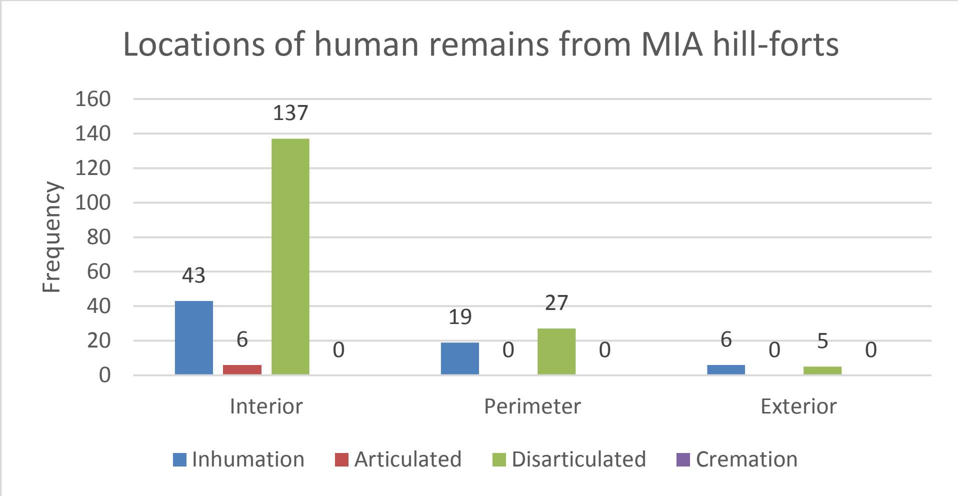


Figure 43. Locations of human remains from MIA hill-fort.

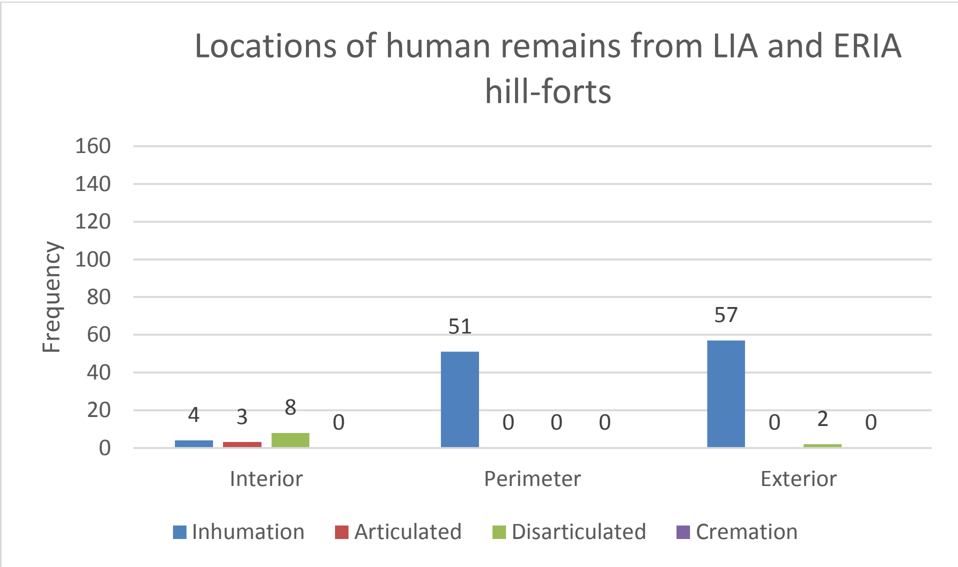


Figure 44. Locations of human remains from LIA and ERIA hill-forts.

5.1.2.2. Settlements

MIA settlements produced 211 locations (Figure 45; Appendix D. 7); as with MIA hill-forts, there was an abundance of interior and perimeter locations, albeit in inversed frequency. Non-hill-fort settlements with EMIA/MIA inhumations located in the perimeter of the site (N=56) are dominated by Suddern Farm (N=44; 78%). The articulated skeletal record (N=7) is likewise entirely composed of examples from Suddern Farm. 125 locations were recorded for LIA settlements (Figure 46; Appendix D. 8). As with hill-forts there is an increase in exterior inhumations, however of the 45 inhumations, 39 (86%) are from Gussage All Saints.

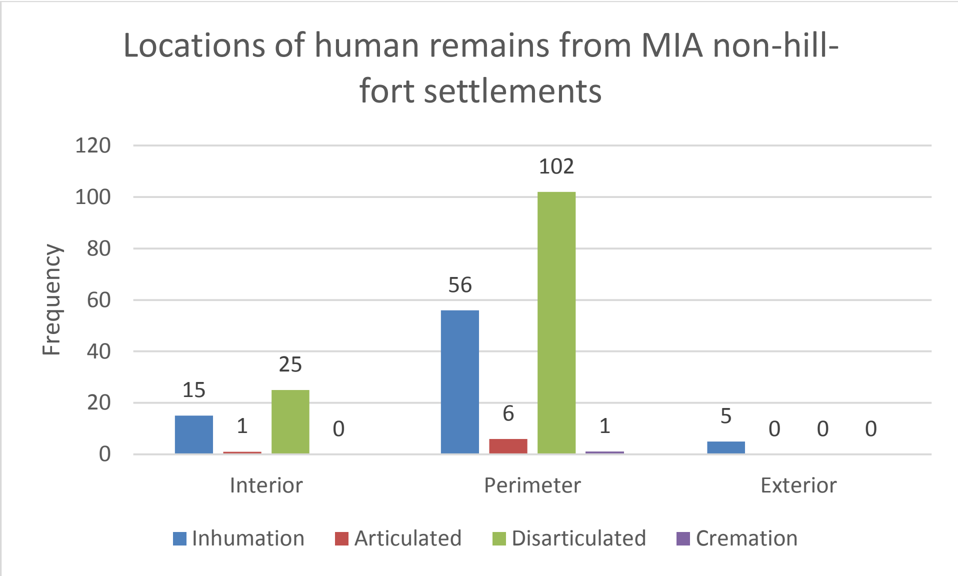


Figure 45. Locations of human remains from MIA settlements.

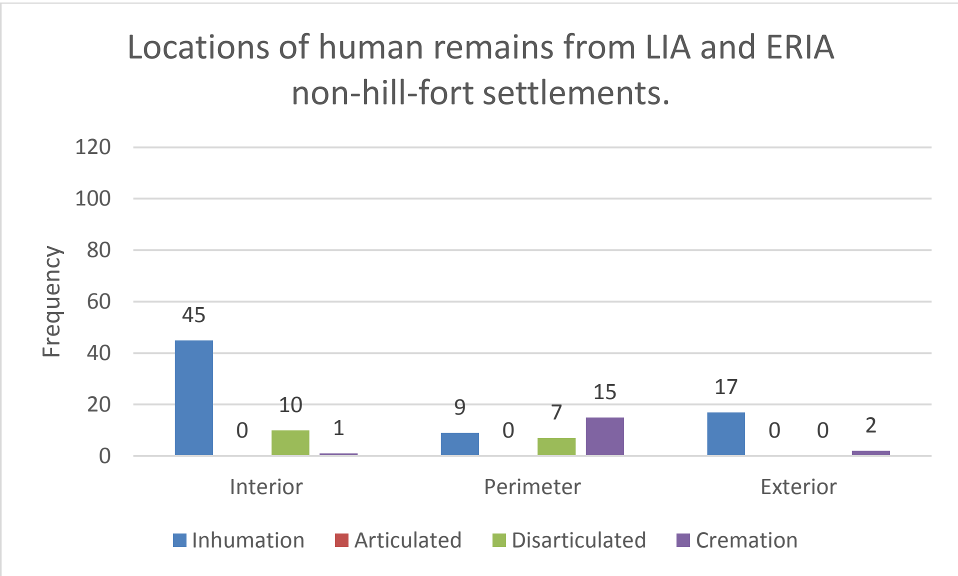


Figure 46. Locations of human remains from LIA and ERIA settlements.

5.2. Context Analysis

For the MIA, 641 known contexts were recorded (Figure 47; Appendix D. 15). Excluding middens, all contexts were present in the dataset, with the majority of contexts for all treatments being pits and graves. 586 known contexts were recorded for LIA data (Figure 48; Appendix D. 16). As with MIA data, pits and graves were well represented, with graves being most prevalent (N=483, 82%). 54 contexts for MIA <Q_3 data were recorded (Figure 49; Appendix D. 17). The pattern observed is comparable to that for the entire dataset, with an emphasis on deposition in pits and graves, albeit with an absence of disarticulated remains. The results do not take into account geographical differences, however, with grave contexts being dominated by western zone burials, whilst pits are the result of central and eastern zone data. 100 contexts for the LIA $<Q_3$ dataset were recorded (Figure 50; Appendix D. 18). The pattern echoes that observed for the entire dataset.

The distinction between a cremation pit and a grave is reliant upon stratigraphic observations. In contrast to inhumation graves, of which the majority ovoid, rectilinear or sub-rectangular (N=206, 83% of all inhumation grave contexts in dataset, with the remainder being circular, irregular or undefined), cremation graves vary greatly in shape. Of the 240 contexts identified as cremation graves, 128 (53%) were circular, and thus morphologically similar to pits. Proportions are likewise a poor indicator of the contexts use, with graves ranging from 1.68x1.68m (Baldock grave 1) to 0.45x0.43 (Westhampnett 20170). Stragigraphy instead appears to be the best indicator of whether a cremation containing context is a pit or grave: graves tend to have a single context resulting from backfilling the grave (although this may contain material likely associated with funerary activity, such as ceramic sherds), whereas pits contain multiple layers. Furthermore, in graves the cremated bone is invariably deposited at the base of the context (although instances of truncation may have removed evidence for deposition closer to the surface), whereas in pits this is not always the case. A good example of this is pit 3400, from from the A2 Pepperhill to Cobham site, in which the partially cremated remains of an adult were placed in a mid-level context (3454) in a pit with at least 12 fills (Allen and Powell 2012, 157).

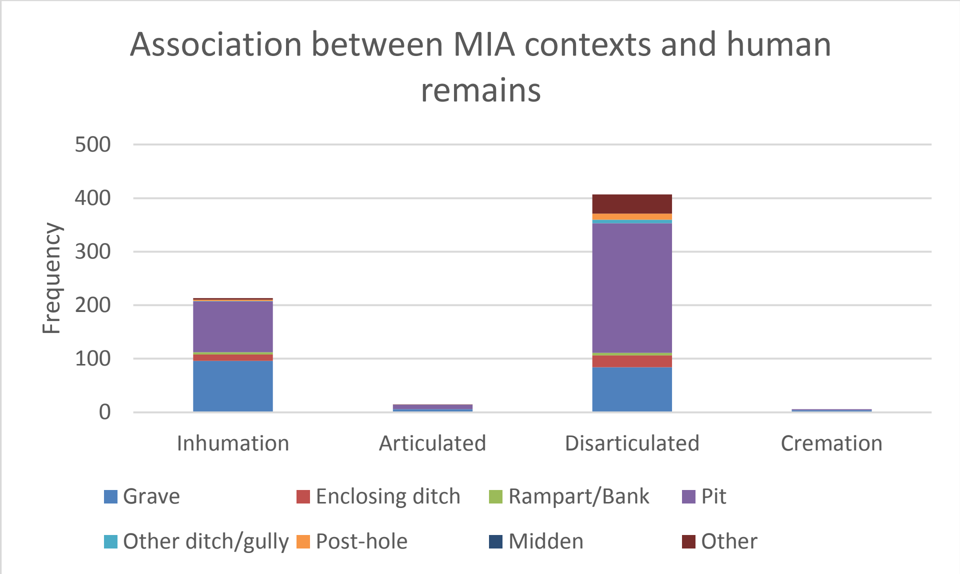


Figure 47. Association between MIA contexts and human remains.

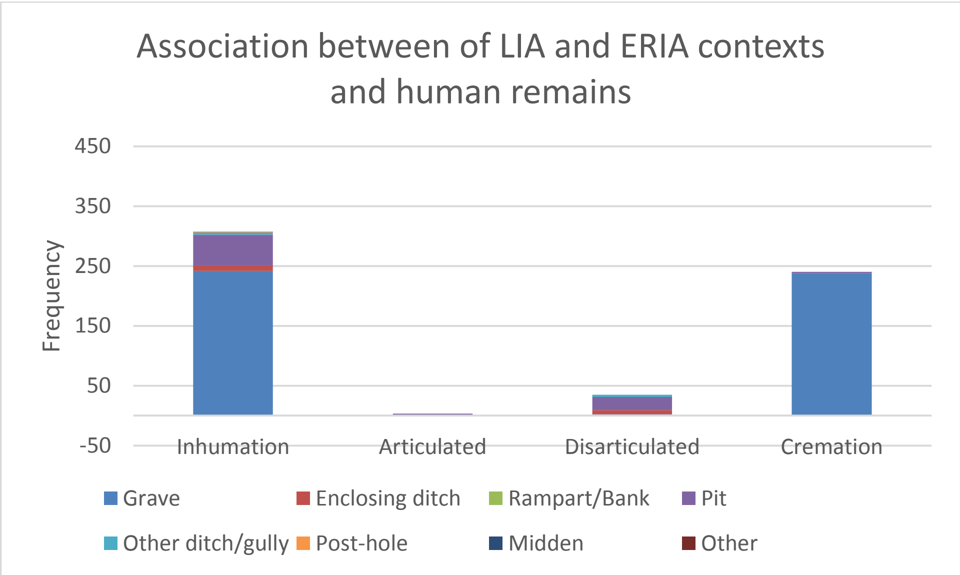


Figure 48. Association between LIA and ERIA contexts and human remains.

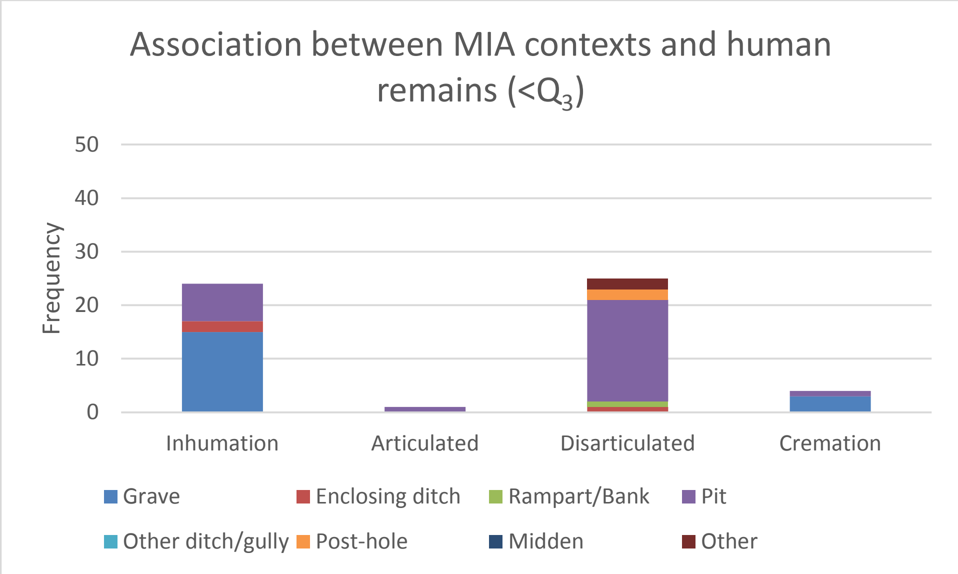


Figure 49. Association between MIA contexts and human remains (<Q_3)

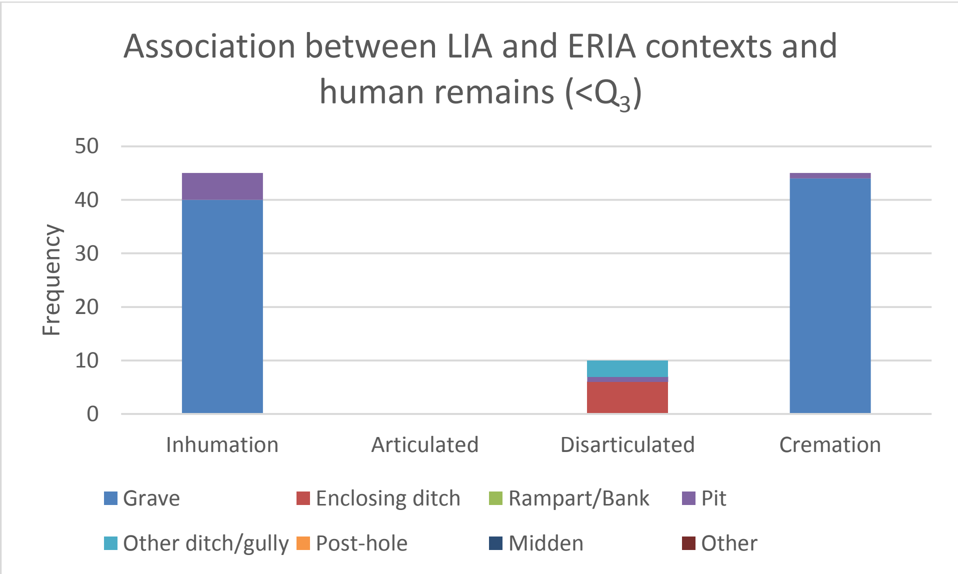


Figure 50. Association between LIA and ERIA contexts and human remains (<Q_3).

5.2.1. Context Analysis by Site Type

With regards context for "other" sights, data are too few to be informative (Appendix D. 25-6), however the pattern is comparable to that for settlements and hill-forts. Cemeteries and isolated burials are almost exclusively represented by grave contexts (Appendix D. 23-4).

5.2.1.1. Hill-forts

MIA hill-forts produced 310 known contexts (Figure 51; Appendix D.19). Across all treatments (except cremations which are completely absent) pits were the preferred context. In contrast to the pattern observed for the entire dataset, graves are not prevalent. Additionally, other contexts are better represented. LIA hill-fort data consisted of 130 contexts (Figure 52; Appendix D. 20). Again, graves were the dominant context for inhumations, on account of Maiden Castle and Poundbury data, with pits being the preferred context for disarticulated remains.

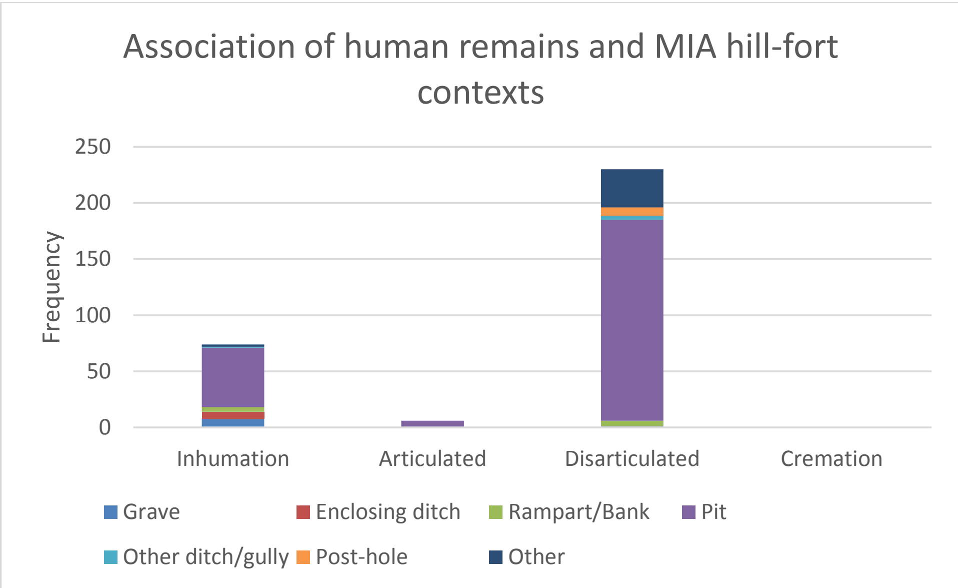


Figure 51. Association of human remains and MIA hill-fort contexts.

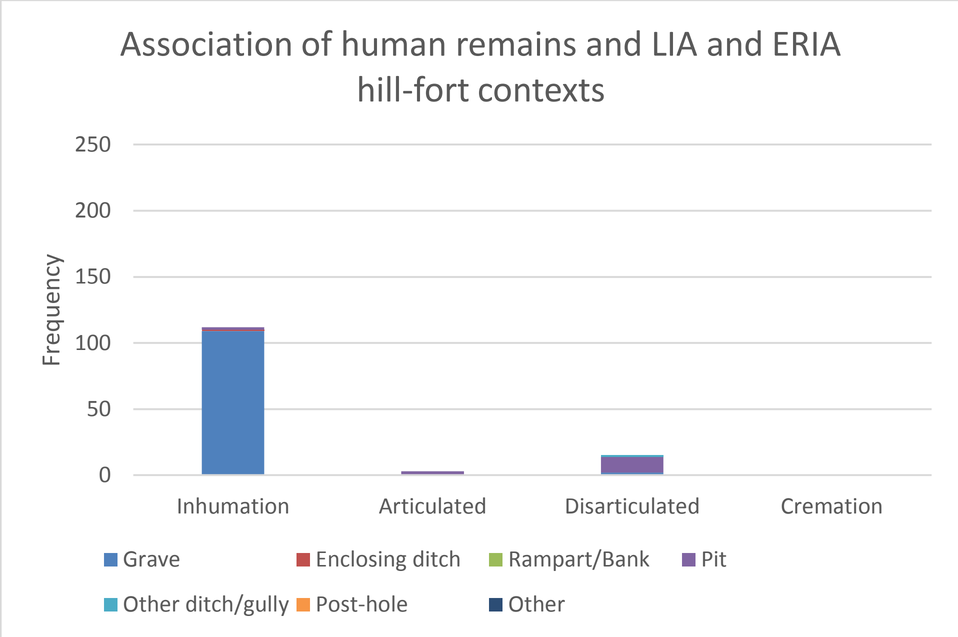


Figure 52. Association of human remains and LIA and ERIA hill-fort contexts.

5.2.1.2. Settlement

There are 304 entries for MIA settlement contexts. The pattern (Figure 53; Appendix D. 21) is comparable to that observed for the entire MIA dataset: a high frequency of graves (though almost entirely from Suddern Farm) and pits, with several enclosing ditch contexts. The pattern differs from that produced for MIA hill-forts, with a greater number of inhumations and disarticulated remains recovered from graves. Within the settlement category, broadly dated MIA inhumations (N=40) and disarticulated remains (N=63) from pits do not demonstrate as greater disparity as they do for contemporary hill-forts (N=53:179). The data for pit inhumations from settlements is, however, largely composed of only 4 sites (Winnall Down N=12; Micheldever Wood N=7; Battlesbury Bowl N=6; Gussage All Saints N=5). Although these sites contribute a sizeable proportion of the disarticulated remains (N=37), the dataset is more varied in terms of sites compose the dataset. 154 LIA settlement contexts were recorded (Figure 54; Appendix D. 22), producing a pattern similar to that observed for the entire dataset. As with hill-forts, inhumations in graves were well represented, though the majority of inhumations were derived from pits. Of the inhumations from settlements within grave context (N=44), N=30 (68.1%) were Durotrigian burials. As noted above, inhumation graves are overwhelmingly of sub-rectilinear/rectilinear/ovoid shape. This does preclude the use of pits as graves, however, and this topic is discussed in Chapter 12.3.

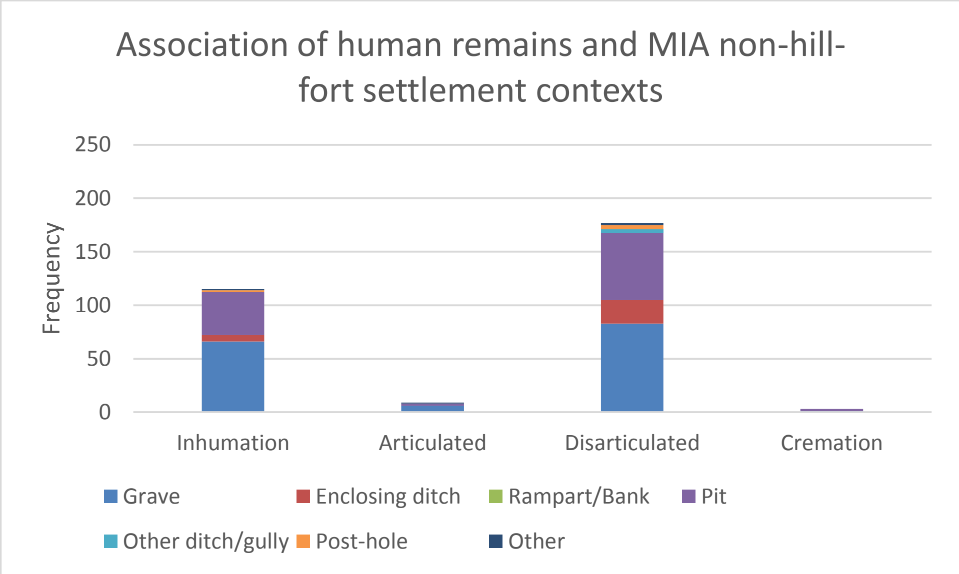


Figure 53. Association of human remains and MIA non-hill-fort settlement contexts.

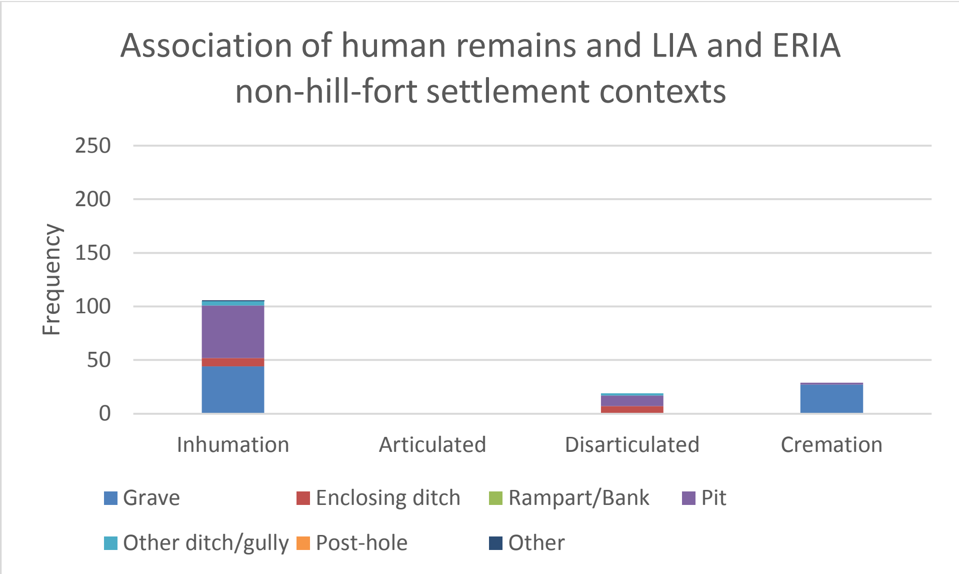


Figure 54. Association of human remains and LIA and ERIA non-hill-fort settlement contexts.

5.3. Feature Analysis

For the MIA, 274 associated features were recorded (Figure 55; Appendix D. 27). The dominance of quarries is largely the result of Suddern Farm (N= 133). Settlements and other enclosures were likewise well represented, with several examples of disarticulated remains from round structures. 211 associated LIA-ERIA features were recorded (Figure 56; Appendix D. 28). The high frequency of entrances is predominantly the result of inhumations from Maiden Castle's eastern entrance. The prevalence of other enclosures is explained by the proliferation of enclosed cemeteries during this period at sites like Alkham and Owslebury (Figure 57), and field boundaries such as at Alington Avenue.

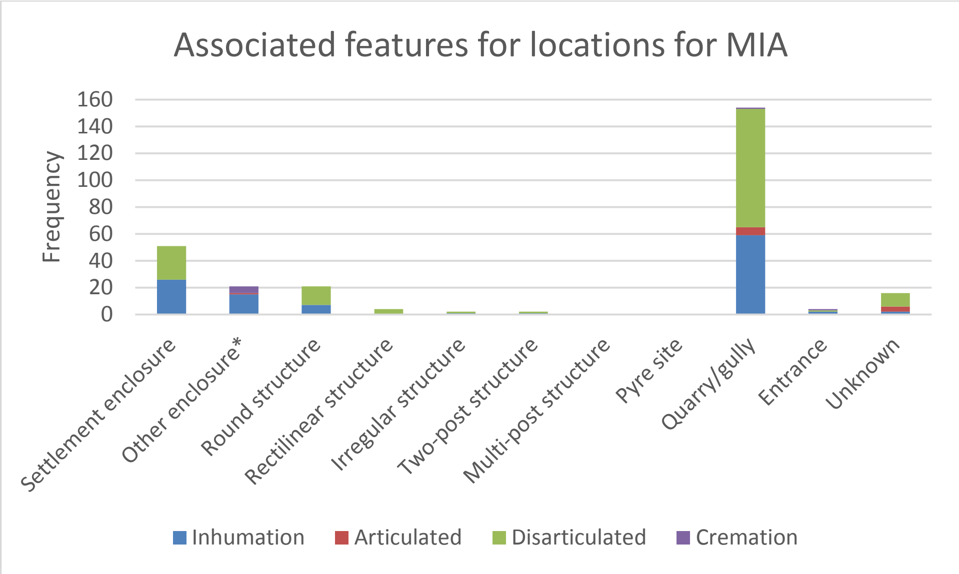


Figure 55. Prevalence of associated features for MIA.

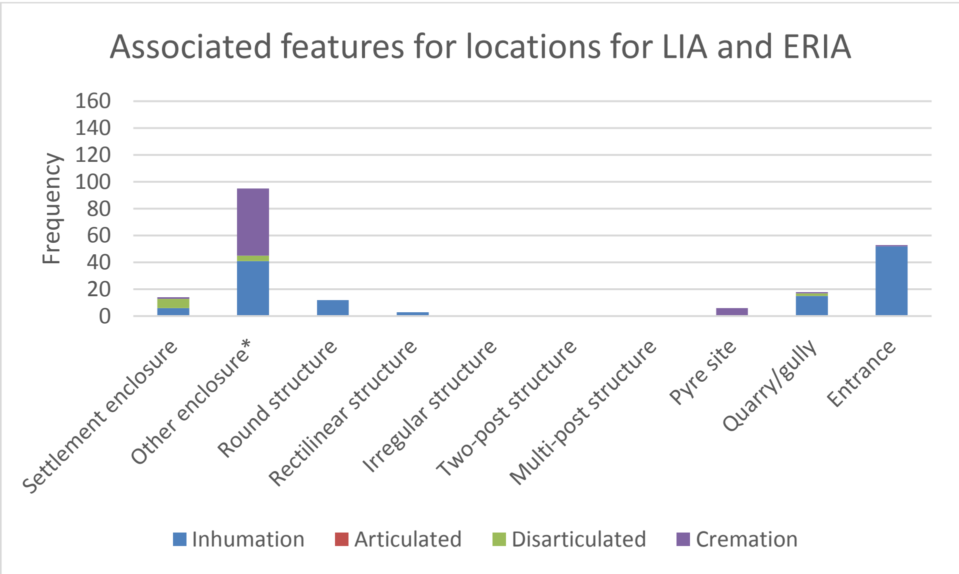


Figure 56. Prevalence of associated features for LIA-ERIA.

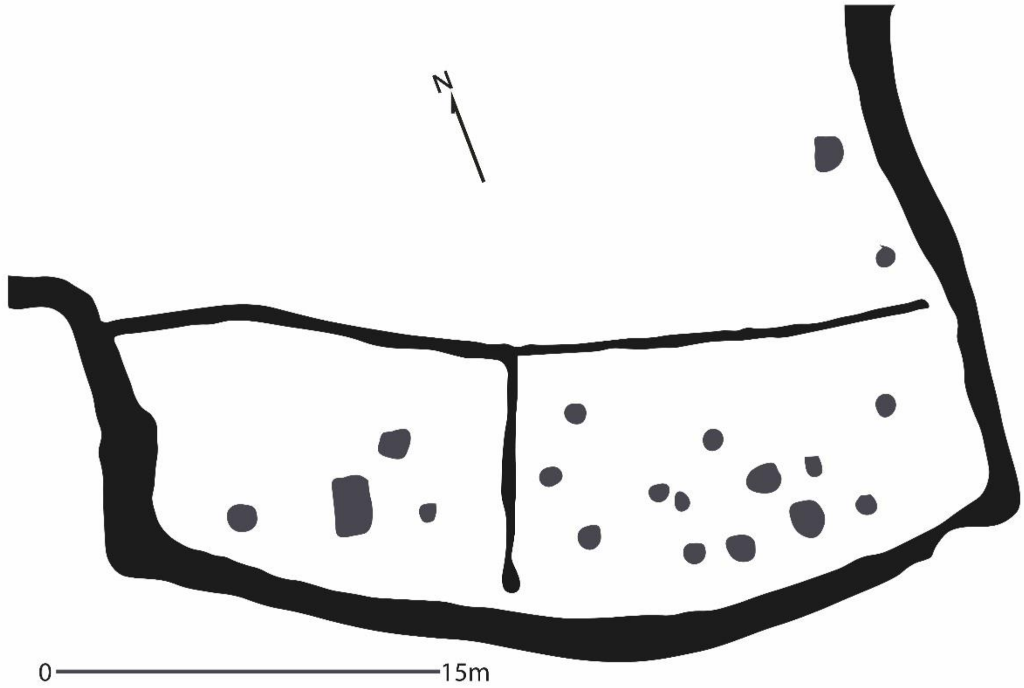


Figure 57. The LIA enclosed cemetery at Owslebury, Hampshire (re-drawn by author from Collis 1968, 26, fig. 4).

5.3.1. Analysis of Associated Features by Site Type

For MIA and LIA-ERIA cemeteries, the data are overwhelmingly associated with other enclosures, in particular in the LIA-ERIA (N=64). The associated features include the only recorded instance of pyres (Westhampnett, N=6) and a forge (Jubilee Corner). At the sites of Westhampnett and Saltwood Tunnel it appears there was a direct relationship between the cremation cemeteries and trackways. LIA-ERIA cemeteries also saw the development of graves associated with quadrangular enclosures (Westhampnett Grave 20566, Alkham 1-4) and, at Adanac Parc, barrows. Isolated burials and "other" sites tend to lack feature associations, and little can be said of these two groups.

5.3.1.1 Hill-forts

43 associated features were recorded for MIA hill-fort data (Figure 58; Appendix D.29). 53% of features were settlement enclosures, attesting to a preference for depositing remains in the perimeter of hill-forts noted above. LIA-ERIA associated features (N=74) were dominated by the Maiden Castle data, with few other associated features recorded (Figure 59; Appendix D. 30).

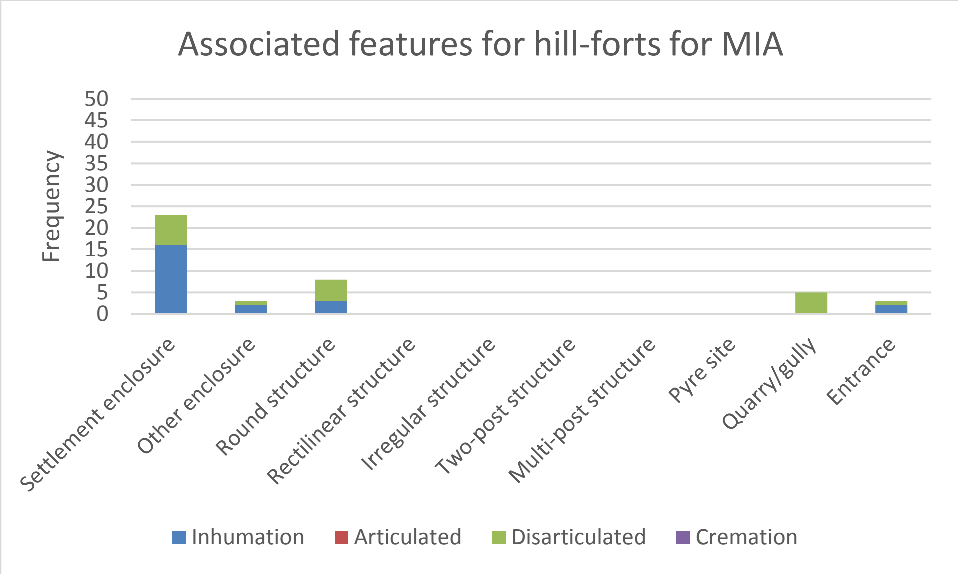


Figure 58. Prevalence of associated features for MIA hill-forts.

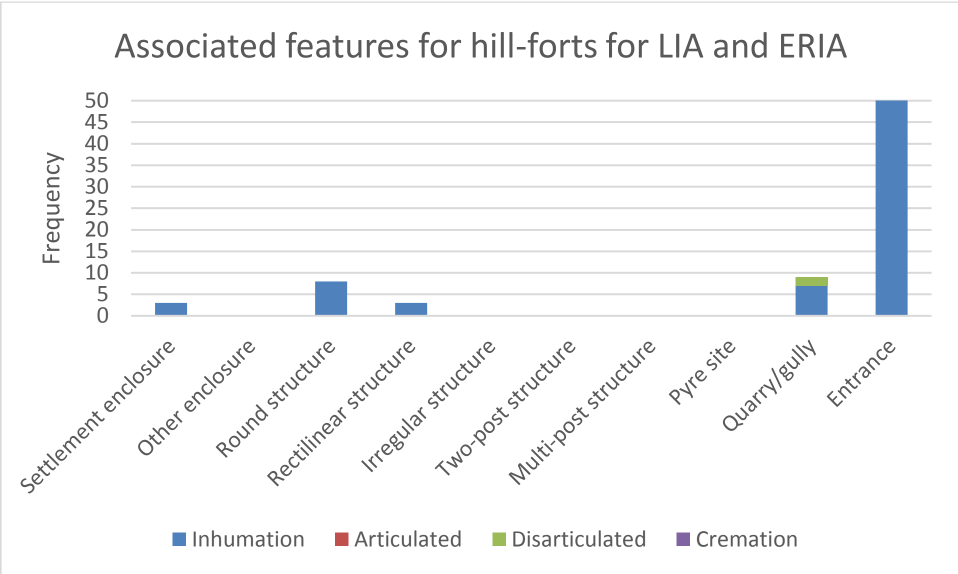


Figure 59. Prevalence of associated features for LIA-ERIA hill-forts.

5.3.1.2. Settlements

MIA settlement associated features amount to 198 entries (Figure 60; Appendix D. 31). As noted, above the prevalence of quarry contexts results from Suddern Farm data. As with hill-forts, settlement enclosures were associated with human remains. LIA-ERIA settlements features (N=82) display an increase in the representation of "other" enclosures (Figure 61; Appendix D. 32). As noted, this is largely the result of the existence of enclosed field systems and cemeteries during this period.

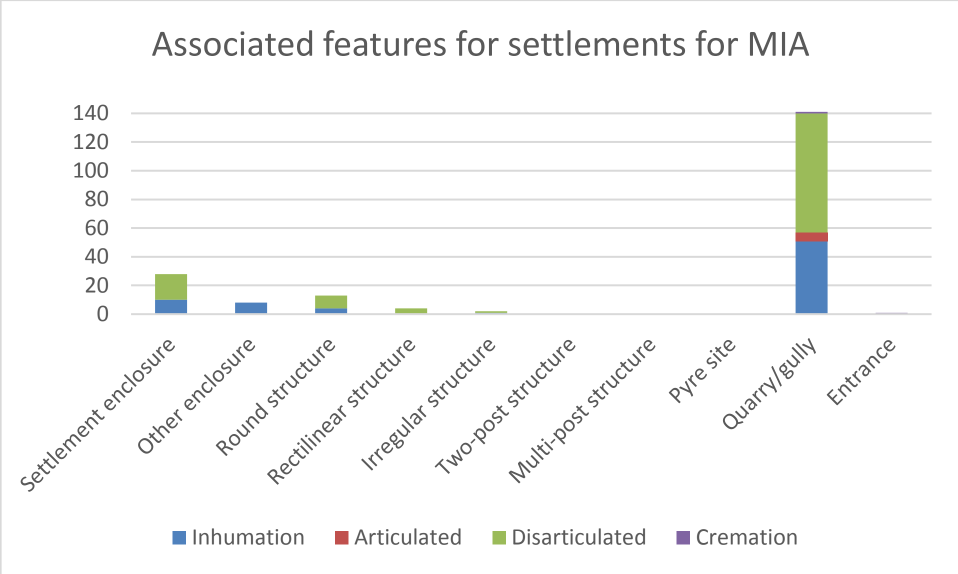


Figure 60. Prevalence of associated features for MIA settlements.

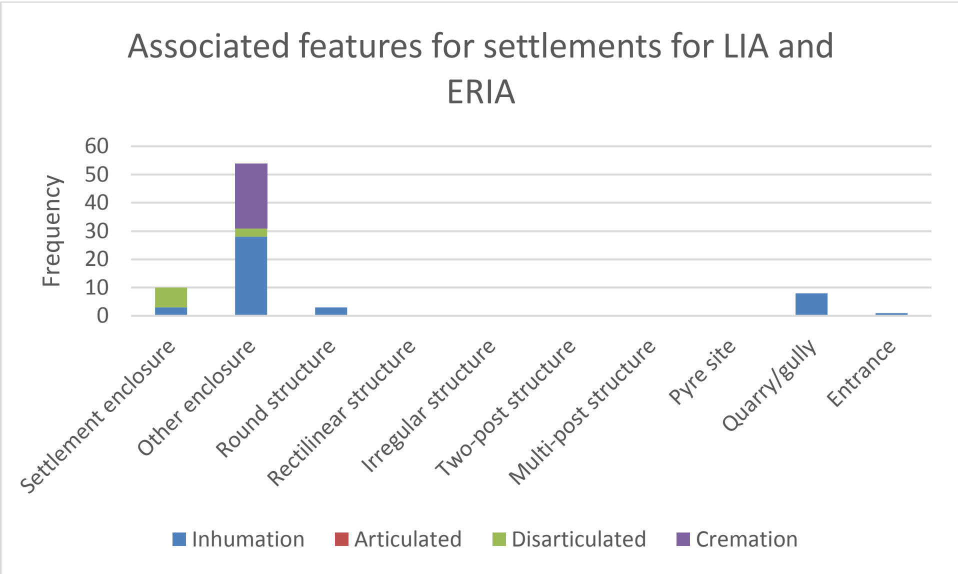


Figure 61. Prevalence of associated features for LIA-ERIA settlements.

5.4. British Context

Roth (2011, 79, fig. 4.13) identified a MIA preference for depositing in the interior of sites, as in the study area. Her LIA data displayed a relatively even distribution of interior, perimeter and exterior locations, suggesting different practices beyond the study area. When considered in terms of large (N=>20 locations) and smaller samples (N=<20 locations) she found that the larger sample accorded to this pattern (due in part to the inclusion of Danebury data). In the smaller sample the perimeter was preferred (*ibid*, 78, fig. 4.11). Wilson (1981, 143) concluded that, in both settlements and hill-forts, interior locations became more common in the LIA. Wait (1985, 100) echoed Wilson's conclusions, noting a shift from exterior to interior locations through the Iron Age. The above analysis thus appears to conform more to Roth than Wilson and Wait; a surprising conclusion, considering that Wilson and Wait's study areas were similar to those of this study.

Contexts containing MIA remains in southern Britain are highly varied. Cemeteries proper (that is represented solely by grave contexts) are limited to the 4th-3rd century BC cemetery at Yarnton, Oxfordshire (Hey *et al*. 1999). Possible examples are also known from Gravelly Guy, Oxfordshire, and Puddlehill, Bedfordshire (Lally 2008, 122). The use of hill-fort enclosing ditches and pits is a well-attested practice elsewhere in southern Britain, and supports the idea of study area communities sharing similar views to others in this part of Britain (Whimster 1981, 198-225, 249-251; Taylor 2001, 65). Roth (2011, 76, 46) noted that pits represented the most frequent context for the MIA, with graves being the most common context for the LIA, as is the case for the study area. In contrast to the above analysis, she found that ditches, not graves, were the second most prevalent context for the MIA (*ibid,* 76). Thus the study area displays similar, but not identical, patterns in terms of locational and contextual choices for deposition.

Further to the north, in East Yorkshire, graves represent the most frequently employed context (Stead 1991). Within this zone, as in the study area, other contexts were used, including inhumations in ditches at Rudston (Giles 2012, 93), and domestic contexts at Wetwang Slack (Dent 1984). Elsewhere in Yorkshire, pits and ditches were the preferred contexts for inhumations, as in the central zone. Additionally LIA-ERIA graves are attested at Stanwick, North Yorkshire (Haselgrove 2016, 441). Pit and grave (including cists) inhumations and disarticulated remains are known from south-east Scotland, as in different parts of the study area (Harding 2004, 79; Armit *et al*. 2013; Roy 2015, 199-200). In Atlantic Scotland the practice of depositing disarticulated remains in settlement contexts, usually as foundation deposits, occurs throughout this period. Here parallels exist, with the association between round structures and disarticulted remains observed in the study area. There are also a smaller number of inhumations and articulated remains from such contexts (Armit and Ginn 2007, 116, 119).

Roth (2011, 86) found that the MIA represented the highest frequency of associated features, a finding repeated above. In contrast, however, she concluded that the most frequently associated features were round structures. Enclosing ditches are known outside the study area from the 5th -4th century BC, making them contemporary with the study area examples at Suddern Farm, Hampshire and Stone Farm Bridleway, Kent. One of the earliest examples is the circular enclosing ditch from an inhumation burial at Bromfield, Shropshire (5th-4th century BC) (Hughes 1994). Like the study area, enclosures surrounding graves are more frequent in the LIA, and are a regular feature of the Aylesford-Swarling group. Examples include King Harry Lane (Figure 62), Stanway and Verulamium (Stead and Rigby 1989, 85; Crummy 2002, 145; Niblett 2002, 139). Although enclosing ditches are usually represented by square or rectilinear examples (Leivers *et al*. 2011, 26), round forms, similar to the circular barrow from Adanac Park, are known from Hinxton, Cambridgeshire (Taylor 2001, 71).

Figure 62. The LIA-ERIA cemetery at King Harry Lane, Hertfordshire during Phase 1 of its use (AD1-40) (re-drawn and adapted by author from Stead and Rigby 1989, figs. 47 and 182).

Until the discovery of Adanac Park, evidence for barrows outside of East Yorkshire was limited. An LIA cremation surrounded by a ditch is known from Handley, Cranborne Chase (White 1970), whilst from Balgden Copse, Hurstbourne Tarrant, Hampshire a mid-1st century AD cremation burial was recovered beneath a barrow

(Hawkes and Dunning 1931, 303, fig. 30). Tumuli are also a feature of the elite 1st century BC/AD Welwyn group in Essex and Hertfordshire (Stead 1967). Taken together they suggest a widely distributed LIA practice of experimenting with different funerary architecture.

5.5. Continental Context

Due to a lack of dedicated study which has considered issues of location, context and associate feature, attempts to contextualise the study area data are reliant upon extant syntheses. Across northern France, graves within cemeteries are most the frequently recorded context, but recent infrastructure projects have also uncovered inhumations, articulated and disarticulated remains from ditches and pits at numerous settlements. Their location and exact context, however, remains under-published, although it seems, as in the study area, that such remains declined in frequency in the 1st century BC (Pinard 2010, 127; Webley 2015, 132).

5.5.1. Picardy

Data for non-grave contexts are slight in Picardy, but the deposition of inhumations and disarticulated remains were seemingly contemporary practices, predominantly of early La Tène date and declining by La Tène D (Pinard 2010, 131); a pattern similar to the above results. Like the study area, pit depositions occurred in Picardy in the 5th-4th centuries BC, although in limited number. The practice appears to have become more common in the 3rd century BC, during which time it was well represented in the central and eastern zones (Pinard *et al*. 2009, 109). Human remains from pits and ditches are well attested at 3rd century BC Picardy sanctuaries, as they are at MIA hill-forts and settlements. Examples include Gournay-sur-Aronde and Montmartin (Craig *et al*. 2005, 173). From the 3rd-1st centuries BC disarticulated remains are recovered from pits and ditches (Roymans 1990, 242; Malrain *et al*. 2005, 146). At least one mid-late La Tène ditch inhumation is known from Vermand, Aisne (Pinard 2010, 128), and the practice may have been more common, as it was in Britain. One of the latest examples of the human remains in pits is La Tène D2 in date from Baron, Oise (Fémolant 1997), thus making it contemporary with study area examples from Gravesend, Kent and Viables Farm, Hampshire.

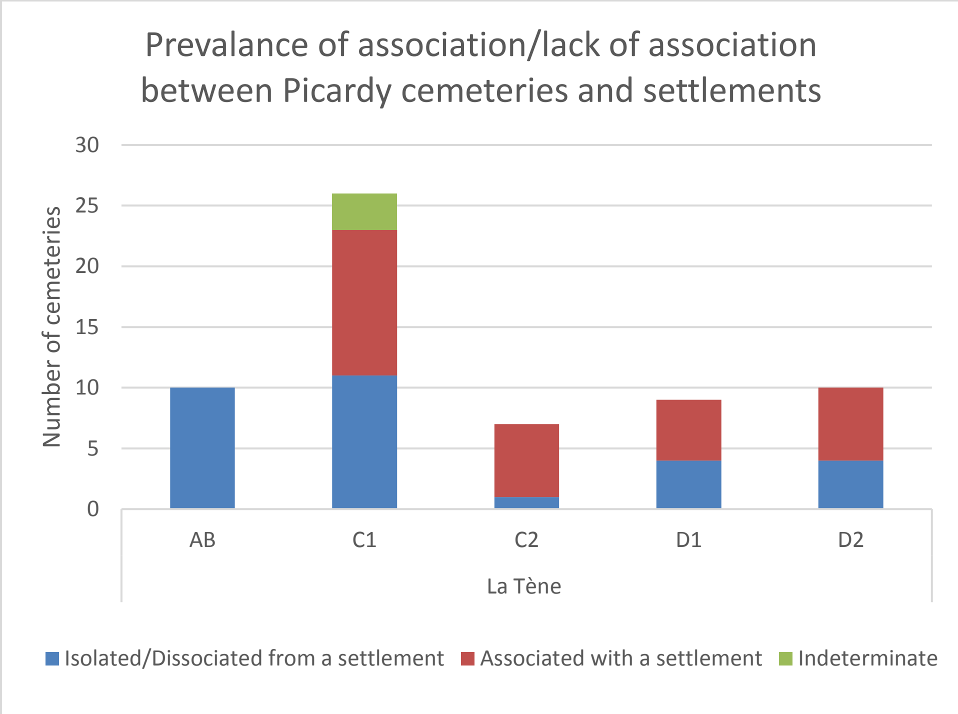


Figure 63. Prevalence of association/lack of association between Picardy formal cemeteries and settlements (excluding pit burials) (reproduced from Desenne et al. 2009, 28, fig. 5).

A range of associations exist between burials and enclosures during the La Tène period (Desenne *et al*. 2009, 34-36). In La Tène A-B1 Picardy cemeteries were generally not enclosed. From La Tène C1 almost half of Picardy sites were established close to settlements (Figure 63), with many situated next to settlement boundaries (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 39). The Somme region has the greatest abundance of such associations (Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 166). In the later La Tène, Picardy saw an increase in the number of burials associated with settlements (and their enclosing earthworks), in some cases pre-dating the settlement (Leman-Delerive 2014, 124). The proximity of this association varies from direct association, as at Bernay-en-Ponthieu “Pont-Rémy”, to a few hundred metres apart, as at Vignacourt (Haselgrove 2007, 494, 499). Conversely cemeteries within settlements are rare (Bayard and Buchez 1998, 58). The rise in burials associated with settlements, and a rise in the number of enclosed cemeteries, is broadly comparable to that observed in the study area.

During the late La Tène cemeteries and individual graves were increasingly enclosed within quadrangular enclosures (Ferdière *et al*. 1973, 482, fig. 3; Baray 1998, 215, fig. 4; 223, fig. 10; 225, fig. 11; Blondiau and Buchez 2009, 159). Nevertheless, in

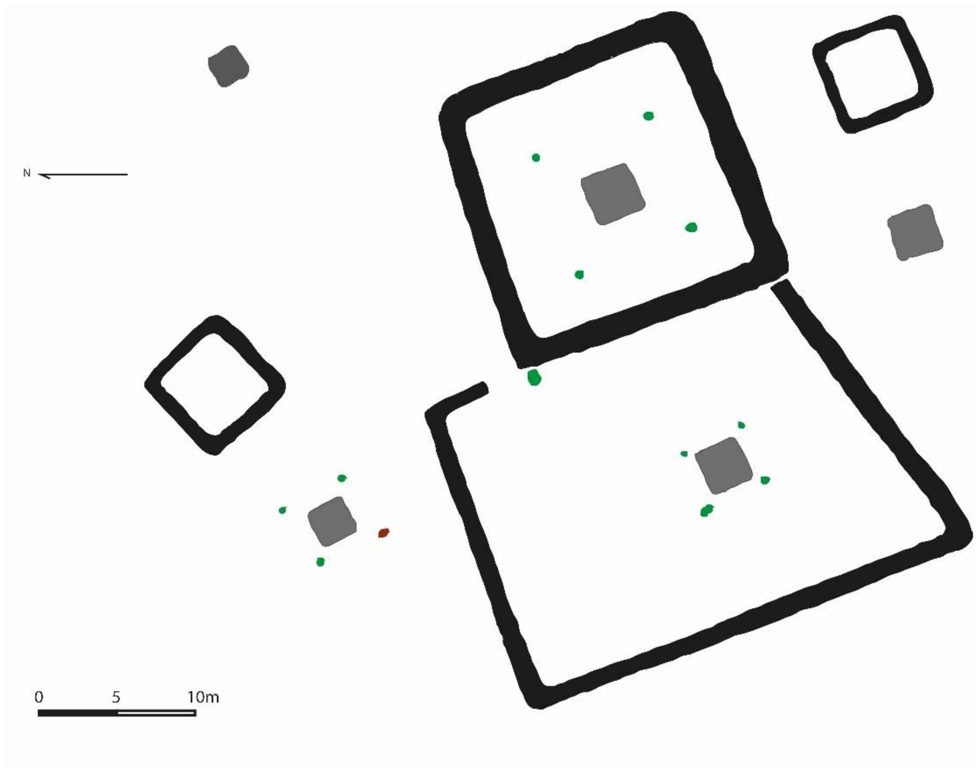


Figure 64. Tartigny, Oise, an example of a late La Tène cemetery from Picardy utilising enclosures (black) and enclosing posts (brown) (redrawn by author from Massy 1986, fig. 2).

contrast to Champagne to the south, it remained a limited practice (Lambot 2002, 98). This rise, yet still limited in application, in the number of enclosures appears to have its strongest parallels in the eastern zone. Gransar and Malrain (2009) have recently reviewed the evidence for individual mortuary enclosures in Picardy. Of 687 graves examined, 143 (16%) possessed individual enclosures. Such enclosures first emerged as circular structures in La Tène A2, and develop into quadrangular structures from La Tène B2 onward. Throughout the period wooden posts were employed either to frame the grave or provide an entrance (Figure 65). The paucity of data within the study area prevents identification of such a chronological scheme, however the presence of circular enclosures in the LIA is distinct to that of Picardy. Probable tumuli, as at Adanac Park, are also known from Vignacourt, Somme and Proviseux and Malmaison, both Aisne (Baray 2002, 125; Lambot 2002, 99-100). With the possible exception of Villers-les-Roye (Buchez and Dumont 1996), pyre sites are unknown in Picardy.

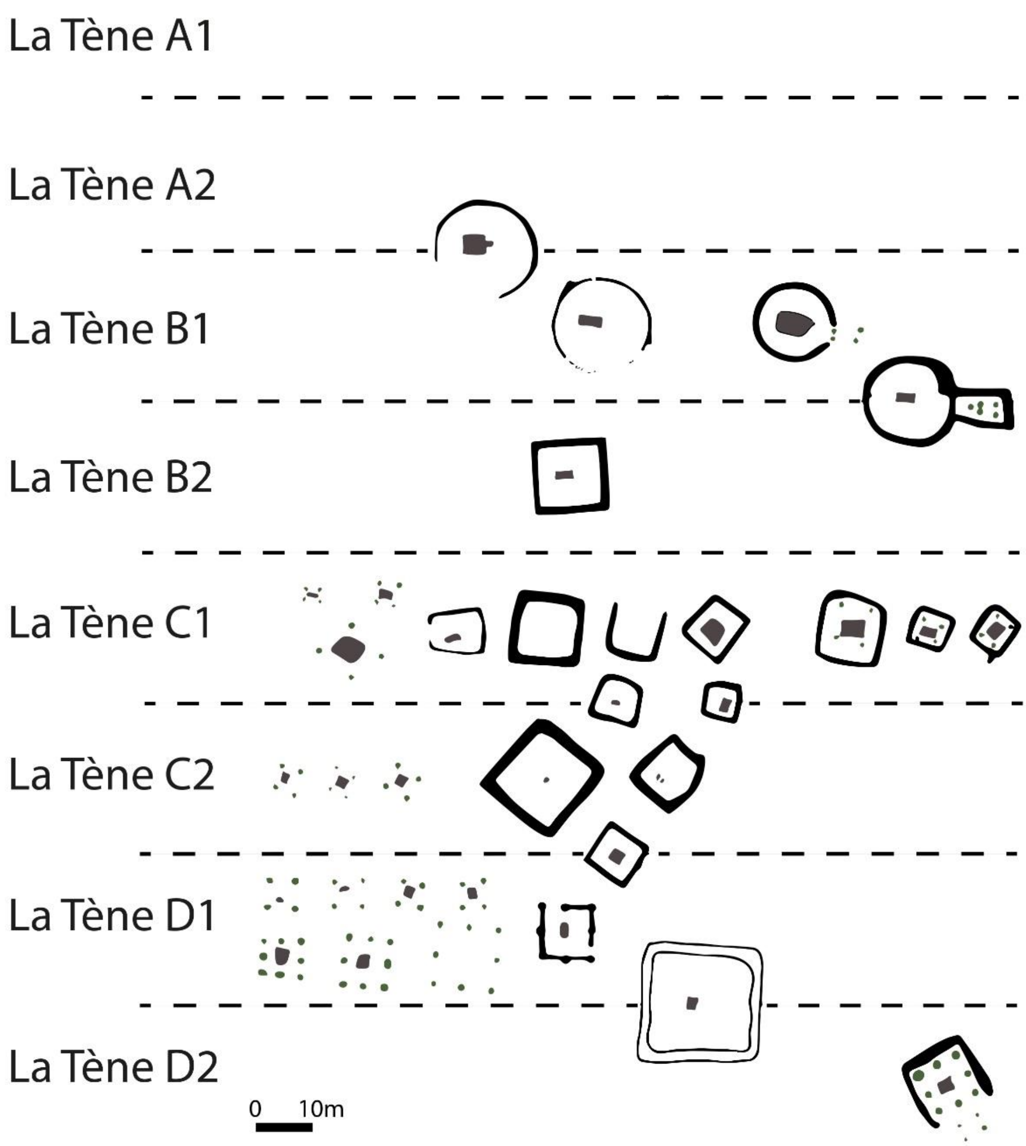


Figure 65. Typo-chronological development of funerary enclosures in Picardy (redrawn by author from Gransair and Malrain 2009, 147, fig. 7).

5.5.2. Nord-Pas-de-Calais and the North

Inhumations and disarticulated remains in pits are attested in Nord-Pas-de-Calais in the early La Tène to the mid-3rd century BC, if not later, thereby making the practice contemporary with British and Picardy examples (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 67; Pinard 2010, 128, 131; Devriendt *et al*. 2012, 104). Likewise, ditches containing burials and disarticulated remains are recorded at Bavinchove “Castel Veld”, Arras “Les Bonnettes”, Hamblain-les-Prés and Saint-Laurent-Blagny. Additionally, inhumations from a well are known from Fresnes-les-Montaubon “Le Chemin des Vaches”, whilst a possible massacre deposit is noted from Eprave (Mariën 1970, 246; Oudry-Braillon 2009, 63;

Leman-Delerive 2014); both practices are present in the study area. In terms of association with settlements and features, burials within settlements are present at Arras “Les Bonnets” and Duisans “les Bois d’Hattecourt” (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 66). Some quadrangular enclosures are recorded in Nord-Pas-de-Calais, as at La Calotterie “La Fontaine aux Linottes” (Blancquaert and Desfossés 1998). Burials in proximity to settlement enclosures are also known as at Saint-Laurent-Blagny, to which parallels may be drawn with the study area (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 66). Enclosures around groups of graves and individual graves are a late La Tène feature, as they mostly are in the study area. Examples include sites such as la Calotterie (Blancquaert and Desfossés 1998, 138, fig. 3). Despite the apparent preference for cremation during this period, pyres remain difficult to detect with certainty (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 67).

To the north in Flanders and the Netherlands, data relating to location are less readily available. Specific contexts for disarticulated remains are often unrecorded (Roymans 1990, 242), althought it seems a variety of contexts were used to deposit human bones (Figure 66) (Nieuwhof 2015, 62). In Noord-Holland, Zuid-Holland and Groningen, for example, associations between inhumations and houses are well attested (Hessing 1993; Nieuwhof 2015, 61). At least four sites have produced pit inhumations, whilst pits of MIA to ERIA date have also been found to contain disarticulated remains (all in the north-east Netherlands) (Le Brun-Ricalens 2014, 167, fig. 9; Nieuwhof 2015, 147). Creeks, and ditches and pits of MIA to ERIA date from Noord-Holland have likewise produced disarticulated remains (*ibid*, 149). Rivers, such as the Meuse-Waal confluence in particular, were also foci for the deposition of human remains (*ibid,* 59). It is presently unclear whether the comparable choice of contexts in the study area and Netherlands represents a related practice, or simply coincidence due to the same types of contexts forming settlements in both areas.

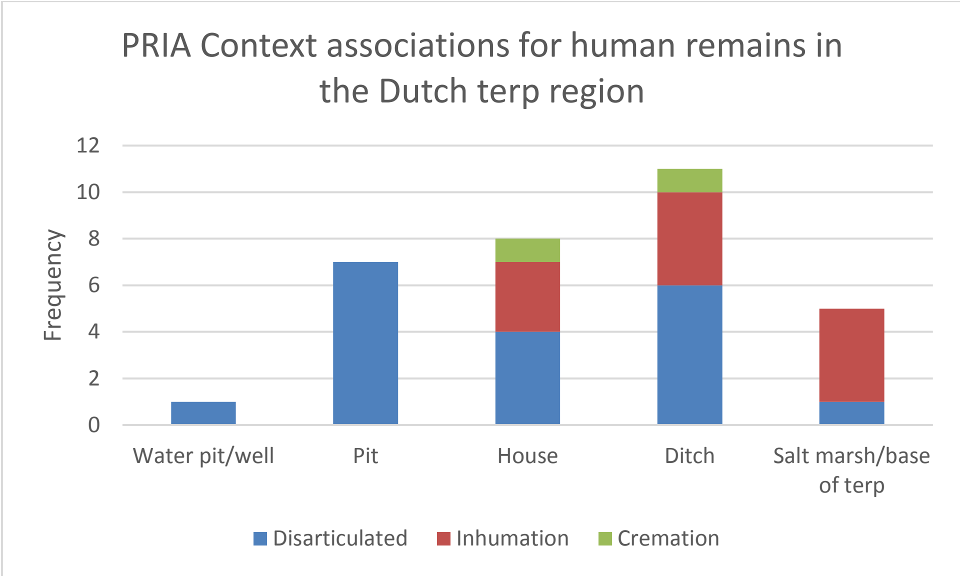


Figure 66. Context associations for human remains in the Dutch terp region (reproduced from Nieuwhof 2015, 279, fig.12.47).

As in the study area, the southern and central Dutch LIA witnessed an increased association of cemeteries with settlements (Roymans 2007, 488). Enclosing ditches are a feature of Dutch MIA, ERIA and to a lesser extent LIA cemeteries in this regions (Hiddink 2014, 92). However, monumentalised individual enclosures, such as those observed to the south, are absent from Flanders and the Netherlands until the 1st century BC, a date which makes them contemporary with the majority of southern British examples (Roymans 1990, 235; Leman-Delerive 2014, 132). In the northern Netherlands, in the terps region, cemeteries *proper* are unknown (Nieuwhof 2015, 41). This finds parallels in some parts of the study area, like northern Dorset, which did not develop the small LIA cemeteries of the Durotrigian tradition found further south.

5.5.3. Champagne-Ardenne

In Champagne-Ardenne, as of 2009, 25 sites had produced pit inhumations (MNI=64). They are present from La Tène A, but, as with Picardy, witnessed a peak in deposition in the 3rd century BC (Bonnabel 2010, 100, 108). As in the study area, pit burials continued into the late La Tène period, like at Acy-Romance and Pont-sur-Seine Site 1 (Lambot 1998, 83; Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 165). At Bétheniville a monumental ditch was also used to deposit a burial (Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 170), perhaps according to similar beliefs to rampart burials such as at Bury Hill and Maiden Castle. In the Seine-Yonne confluence to the south, pit inhumations are well attested (N=40). Here they appear to be a phenomenon of the 4th-3rd centuries BC, thus making them contemporary with Picardy and British examples (Delattre 2010, 117). As is the case for the study area, disarticulated remains from a variety of contexts are recorded into the 1st century BC (Lambot 2014, 108). At least one quarry cemetery of mid-La Tène date is known from Lavau, Aube (Durost *et al*. 2007); the chronology and context of choice draws parallels with the Suddern Farm cemetery.

The use of enclosures appears to be a highly localised tradition. Enclosure of cemeteries was long established, and in the 4th century BC, several large enclosures surrounding only a few graves were created (Lambot 1993, 223). In the period of the 5th -3rd century BC Champagne also possessed several *bouchons*: monuments which occasionally contained vehicle burials. These appear to form a border zone around the Aisne-Marne culture. The use of *bouchons* is unique to this region. Enclosures surrounding individual graves (including a unique local oval type) emerged in the 3rd century BC, as at Oiry, Marne, often within larger enclosures which contained the remaining burials (Lambot 2002, 94; 2014, 101). In La Tène C2 monumentalised graves surrounded by multiple post structures, similar to contemporary Picardy examples, appeared and continued into the Augustan period (Roymans 1990, 230; Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 167). In contrast to Picardy and the study area, the use of enclosure was widespread (Lambot 2002, 98). Enclosure of individual burials and communal cemeteries likewise continued into La Tène D (Lambot 1993, 216-219; Stead *et al*. 2006, 4-16). Although enclosing graves are attested in the study area and elsewhere in northern France, it is the prevalence of the practice which makes Champagne-Ardenne distinct (Figure 67).

Evidence suggests that in this area there was an emphasis on placing cemeteries some distance from settlements (Lambot 1993, 213; Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 166). Cemeteries in proximity to settlements only emerged in the Augustan period, for example at Bussy-le-Château “Bout des Forces” (Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 166). Even La Tène

Figure 67. The late La Tène cemetery at Ville-sur-Retourne, Ardennes (re-drawn by author from Stead et al. 2006, fig. 5.11).

sites described as being in association with settlements, such as Bergnicourt, were several hundred metres from the nearest settlement (Lambot 2002, 91). At least one exception exists: a later La Tène inhumation within a settlement is known from Nanterre, Hauts-de-Seine (Pinard *et al*. 2009, 109). As with the prevalence of enclosures, this division between the mortuary and domestic spheres sets Champagne-Ardenne apart from other parts of northern France and the central and eastern zones.

Tumuli are increasingly attested in the late La Tène, with possible examples including Ville-sur-Retourne and Vieux-les-Asfelds, both Ardennes (Metzler *et al*. 1991, 35; Lambot 2002, 98). Likewise, post-built structures surrounding graves are attested in both early and late La Tène, although no examples are known to date after c.80BC, again setting this region apart from others (*ibid*, 100). As in the study area (excluding Westhampnett) and northern France, evidence for pyre sites is lacking.

5.5.4. Normandy

Pit inhumations are known from Normandy: for example, three possibly La Tène D individuals from Notre-Dame-de-L'Isle (Aubry and Honoré 2009, 35). Likewise, inhumations in ditches are recorded, as at Saint-Riquier-en-Rivière (Mantel *et al*. 2002, 10). At the late La Tène sites of Pîtres "La Remise" and Tournedos-sur-Seine, inhumations were inserted into the enclosing bank and a circular structure at the latter site (Carre 1993, 68, fig. 16). Disarticulated remains are regularly recovered from ditches and roadsides. The chronology of such rites is, however, poorly understood, and as such it is difficult to determine how similar these practices were to those in the study area. At least seven sites have produced inhumations from quarries, usually of 5th century BC date, thereby drawing parallels with quarry burials from Suddern Farm, Danebury (171(F) G34/L26) and Cliffs End Farm (Burial 3616) (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 61-8).

The arrangement of cemeteries in Normandy varied over time, but display local and interregional patterns. In Ha D-La Tène A transition sites, such as Étreville, cemeteries and individual graves were positioned exterior to a sanctuary shaped enclosures and other monuments. At Étreville the oldest inhumations were deposited in ditches, similar to the rampart burials at Maiden Castle and Bury Hill. Elsewhere in Normandy, contemporary cemeteries were arranged around monuments as in the Aisne-Marne area. At ZAC de Ifs "Object 'Ifs Sud" the 5th-3rd century BC cemetery was established in association with a road; an association more common with 3rd-1st century BC burials. As mentioned, this association with trackways is also noted in the study area. By the 3rd century BC, as at Orval, individual enclosures around graves were created, as they were in Picardy, Champagne-Ardenne and latterly Britain (Lepaumier *et al*. 2010). Such enclosures continued to be a feature of the mortuary record into La Tène D2, as at Ifs "Crédit Immobilier". Throughout the La Tène period, Norman cemeteries were frequently associated with nearby settlements, as in the study area and Picardy (Blancquaert 2002, 331). Towards the end of this period most isolated burials are recovered from within the confines of settlements, usually dispersed throughout settlements (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 61-8).

5.5.5. Brittany, Guernsey and the Atlantic Coast

Brittany and Guernsey are poorly understood. Nevertheless, graves are the most commonly recorded context throughout the La Tène period in Brittany, as they are in the contemporary western zone (Milcent 1993; Gomez de Soto 2009). As in the western zone, pit deposits are unknown, but there is at least one inhumation, dated to c.50BC, from the rampart of the oppidum at Pons (Villard-le-Tiec *et al*. 2010, 104). In contrast to the western zone, disarticulated remains are also known from souterrains at Plougnasnou and Rugéré. (Le Goffic 1997, 45, 68). Likewise, from the 5th century BC tumuli and quadrangular enclosures were a feature of Breton cremation cemeteries, structures which are unknown for the western zone (Villard-le-Tiec 2010, 97). Enclosures do not appear to be a feature of late La Tène inhumation cemeteries (e.g. Giot and Cogné 1951; Giot and Monnier 1977), thereby contrasting with the rest of northern France, but according with contemporary burials in the western zone. Pyre sites in Brittany have not be definitely identified (Milcent 1993, 18). Data for Guernsey are even more limited, although at King's Road Site 2 an LIA inhumation was inserted into possible a 4th-3rd century BC ditch. The grave was also surrounded by four post holes at each corner of the enclosure, as observed at contemporary graves either side of the Channel (Burns 1993, 169).

5.6 The British and Continental Contexts Reviewed

From the above it is clear that during the Later Iron Age people held, at different times, extremely similar and highly divergent views of how to employ space with regards human remains. Across this region, with a few exceptions, such as in the western zone, an association between disarticulated remains and various domestic structures occurred. Likewise, in southern Britain and north eastern France, there is a general increase in the use of enclosures around cemeteries towards the end of the La Tène period. An increased association between settlements and cemeteries is likewise noted in the central and eastern zones, as well as Picardy, the Netherlands and possibly Nord-Pas-de-Calais. Champagne-Ardenne is distinct in this respect, in that communities seem to have made concerted efforts to separate the worlds of the living and deceased. A similar pattern is likewise observed in contemporary eastern Yorkshire, where communal cemeteries were set apart from individual settlements.

Chapter 6: Disarticulated Remains

6.1. Simple Quantification of Disarticulated Remains

With the data quantified, and the associated contexts considered, focus now turns to the various treatments which human remains were subject to in the study area and beyond. Disarticulated remains represent the largest dataset within the treatment category (N=782 entries). Basic quantification in terms of sites, context and chronology is listed in Table 27 (see Appendix E. 1. for a site specific breakdown of the data). As noted in Chapter 3, data are unevenly distributed, the central zone accounting for the majority of disarticulated remains, whilst the western zone is devoid of any. Indeed, the sample is dominated (84.5%) by five sites within >Q_3, all within the central zone: Danebury (N=337, 43%), Owslebury (N=140, 17.9%), Suddern Farm (N=93, 11.8%), Winnall Down (N=70, 8.9%) and Battlesbury Bowl (N=23, 2.9%). Furthermore the MIA accounts for 59.7% of all remains.

	Period				
	E-MIA	**MIA**	**LIA**	**ERIA**	**Unknown**
Number of sites	7	18	11	1	4
Contexts containing disarticulated remains	89	340	35	2	75
Number of disarticulated remains	124	467	48	2	141

Table 27. Basic quantification of disarticulated remains.

6.1.1. Anatomical Composition of Dataset

The dataset was considered in terms of its anatomical composition. The results of the simplified classification scheme (Disarticulated Element A) are displayed below (Figure 68; Appendix E. 2). Throughout the period, cranial elements form the majority of the dataset. Lower limbs are well represented, with axial elements and upper limbs less so. With the exception of a likely unrepresentative EMIA sample, phalanges (manual and pedal) are the minority throughout the period considered. Although cultural factors certainly contributed contributed to this pattern, the overall picture appears primarily stems from a combination of the natural qualities of the elements present, and excavation strategies used to recover these bones. As Bello and Andrews (2006, 3-5) demonstrated, the size and density of bones has a direct impact on their survivability. Thus, lower limbs, which are large and dense, are well represented whereas the small bones of the hands and feet are not. Additionally, as far as excavation reports indicate, only 17.5% (N=14) of sites employed sieving method during excavation. Large, dense bones, in addition to having high rates of preservation, are also much more easily identified. Some, such as the crania and femora, are especially characteristic. By contrast, phalanges are small and easy to miss unless contexts are systematically sieved.

The dataset was further examined according to the more refined classification scheme: Disarticulated Element B. The results are displayed below (Figure 73; Appendix E. 3). Once again a consistent pattern is visible from the EMIA to LIA period, with skulls and femurs being the most abundant element. As above, this pattern can be attributed to taphonomical reasons. The abundance of vertebrae is unsurprising considering there are 33 (including the sacrum and coccyx) in the human body. Among the upper upper limbs, humeri and ulnae are most abundant, whilst in the lower limbs femorae predominate. The better represented upper and lower limbs are also the densest, and all proximal, according with patterns observed in other studies (Bello and Andrews 2006, 4).

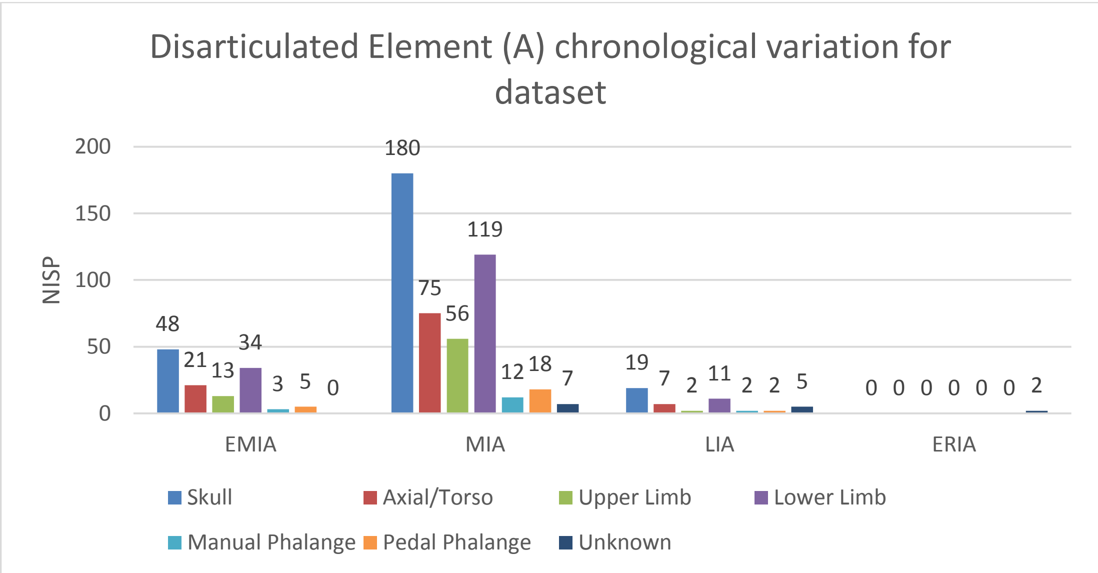


Figure 68. Composition of dataset for remains with known date, according to simplified classification scheme.

6.1.2. Differences in Disarticulated Remains between Site Types

6.1.2.1 Hill-forts

Within Hill-forts (Figure 69; Appendix E. 4) cranial and, to a lesser extent, lower limb elements. Within the Disarticulated B category (Figure 74; Appendix E. 5) this is represented by a prevallence of crania, mandibles and femora. Although these elements may have been preferred by the communities who deposited them, the overall picture once again accords with frequencies which should be expected on the basis of taphonomic processes (Bello and Andrews 2006, 3-5).

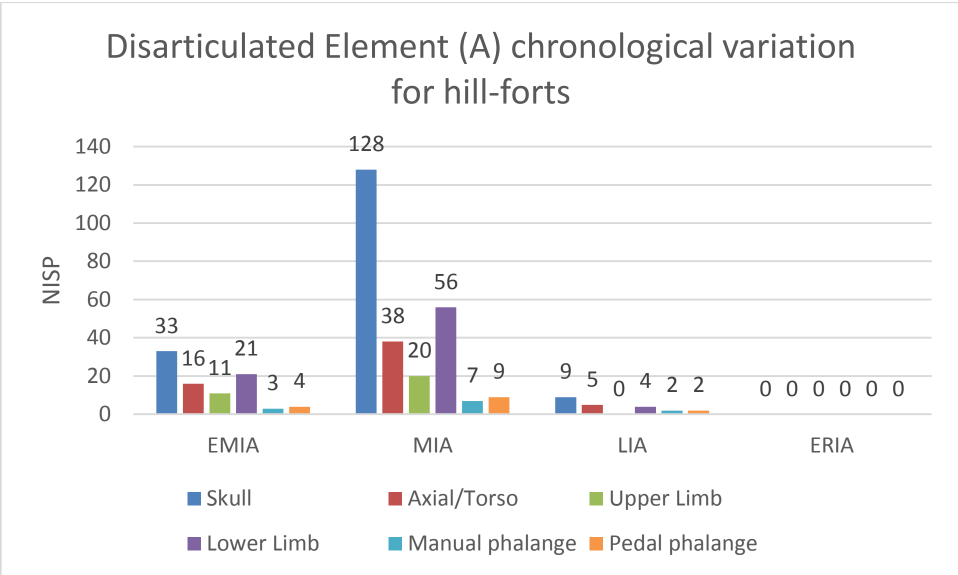


Figure 69. Composition of dataset for remains from hill-forts with known date, according to Disarticulated Element A scheme.

6.1.2.2 Settlements

The pattern observed for Disarticulated Element A within settlements (Figure 70; Appendix E. 6) is comparable to that for hill-forts, albeit it with a greater parity between cranial and lower limb elements. Within the Disarticulated B category (Figure 75; Appendix E. 7), as in hill-forts, crania are the most frequently encountered element, although across the dataset there is a less marked difference between different elements than observed at hill-forts. Although taphonomic reasons can account for the lack elements like phalanges and sternum, the greater parity between lower limb and cranial elements may be attributable to cultural reasons.

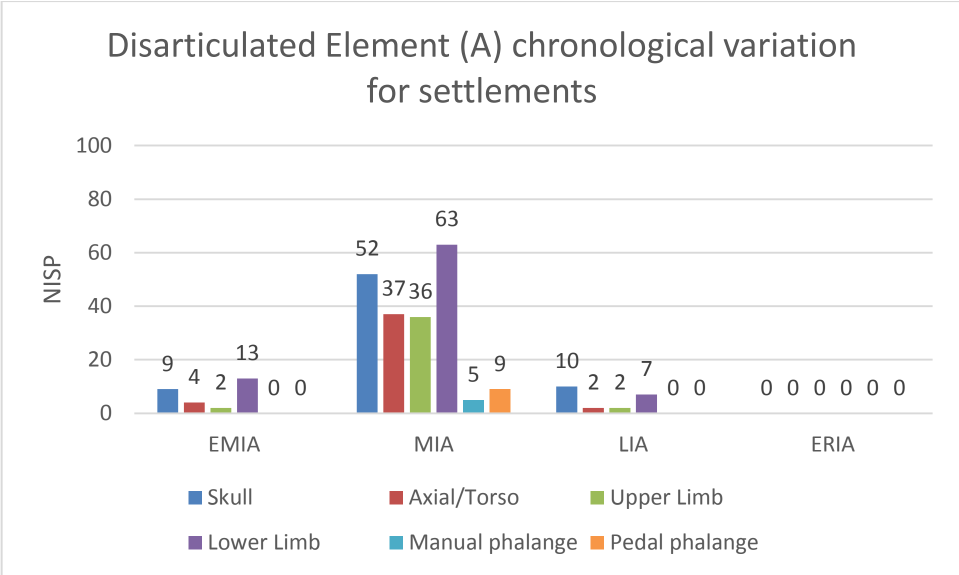


Figure 70. Composition of dataset for remains from settlements with known date, according to Disarticulated Element A scheme.

6.1.3. Anatomical sides represented amongst Disarticulated Remains

The data were examined to investigate the prevalance of remains with an identifiable anatomical side. The dataset as a whole was initially considered. The abundance of central elements reflects the prevalence of vertebrae and cranial data, with right sided elements being the second most prevalent (Figure 71; Appendix E. 8). Within the Disarticulated B category, the frequency of humeri and femora observed above accounts for the representation of right sided elements (Figure 76; Appendix E. 9). So as to be better able to visualise the data only those elements which were either left or right sided were considered (Figure 72). Within this group there is a majority, though not absolute, for right sided elements.

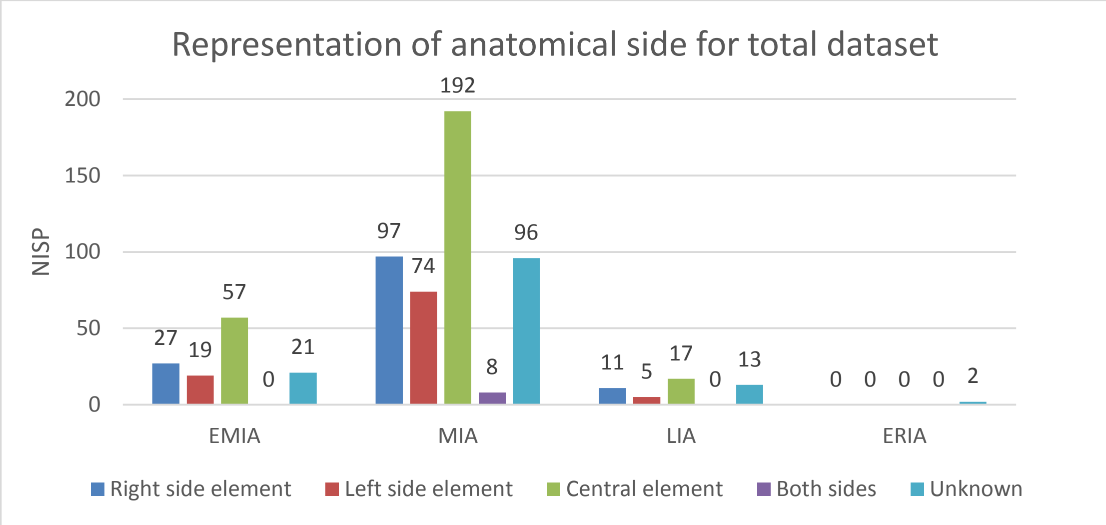


Figure 71. Representation of anatomical side according to chronological phasing for all disarticulated elements in the dataset.

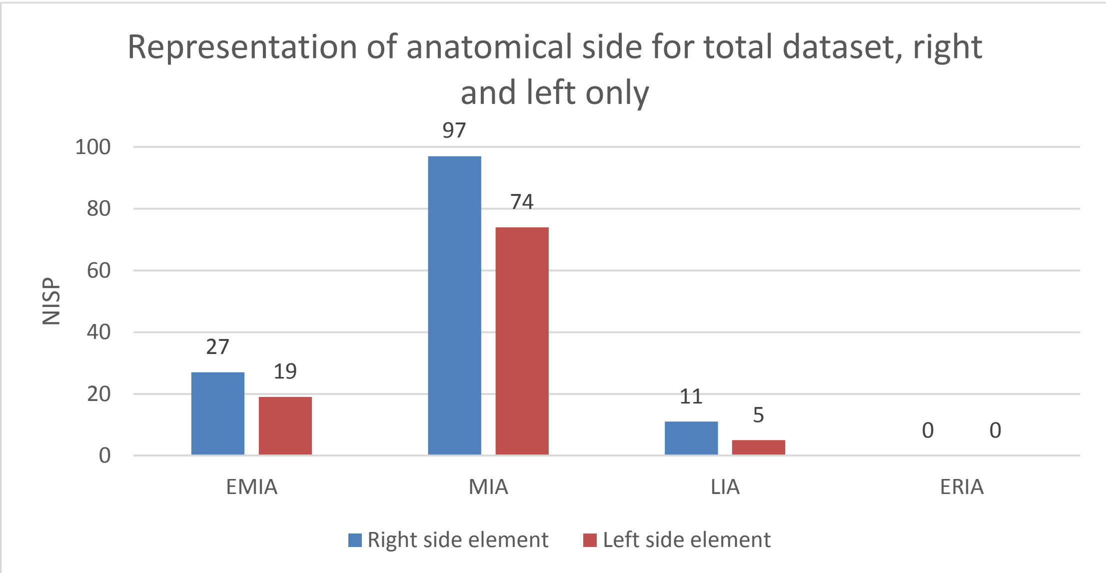


Figure 72. Representation of anatomical left or right side, according to chronological, phasing for all disarticulated elements in the dataset.

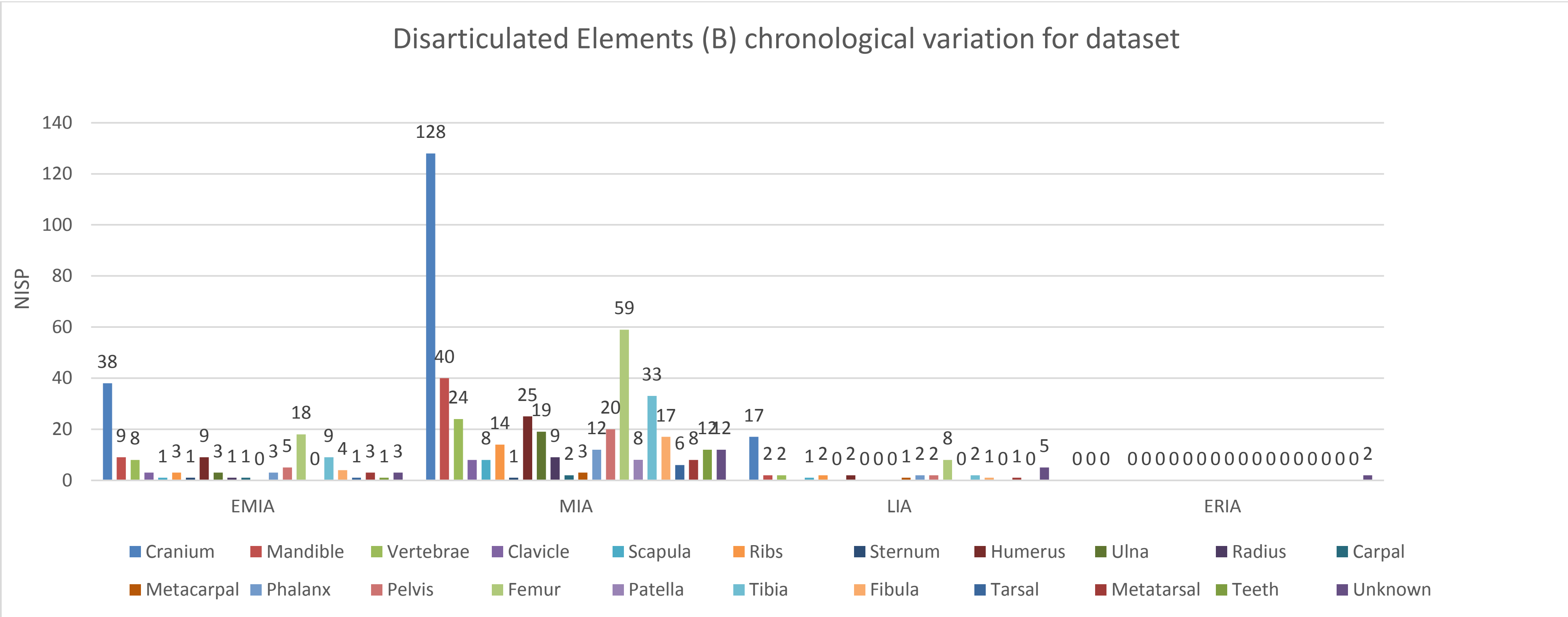


Figure 73. Composition of dataset for remains with known date, according to simplified classification scheme.

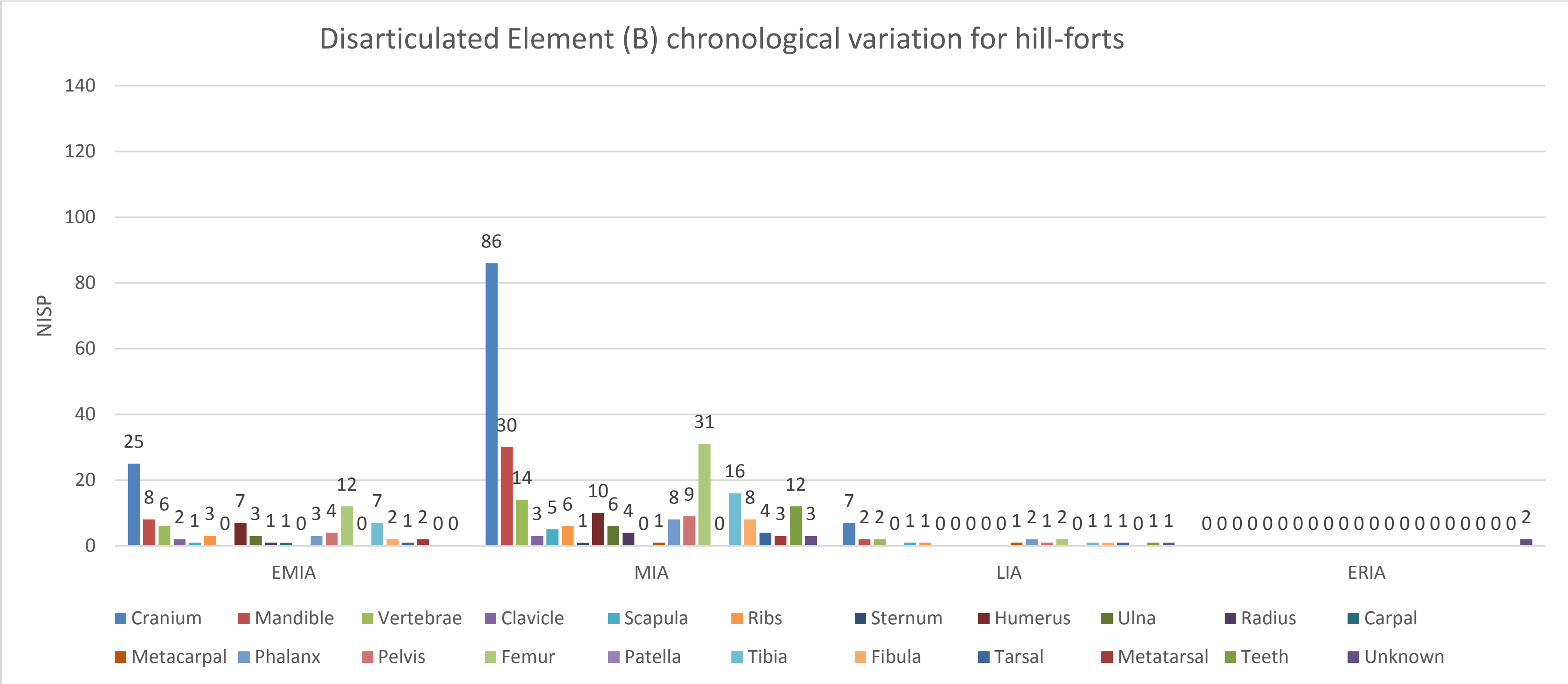


Figure 74. Composition of dataset for remains from hill-forts with known date, according to Disarticulated Element B scheme.

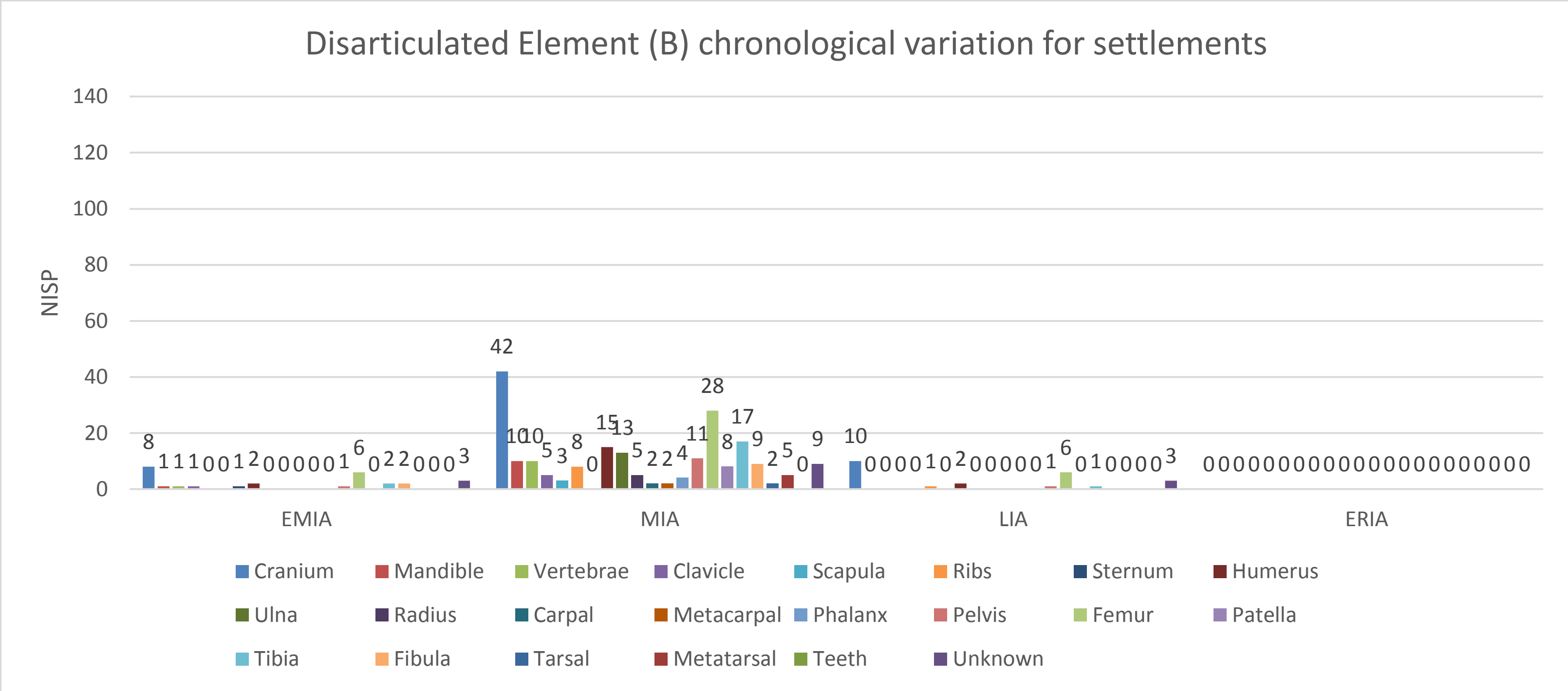


Figure 75. Composition of dataset for remains from hill-forts with known date, according to Disarticulated Element B scheme.

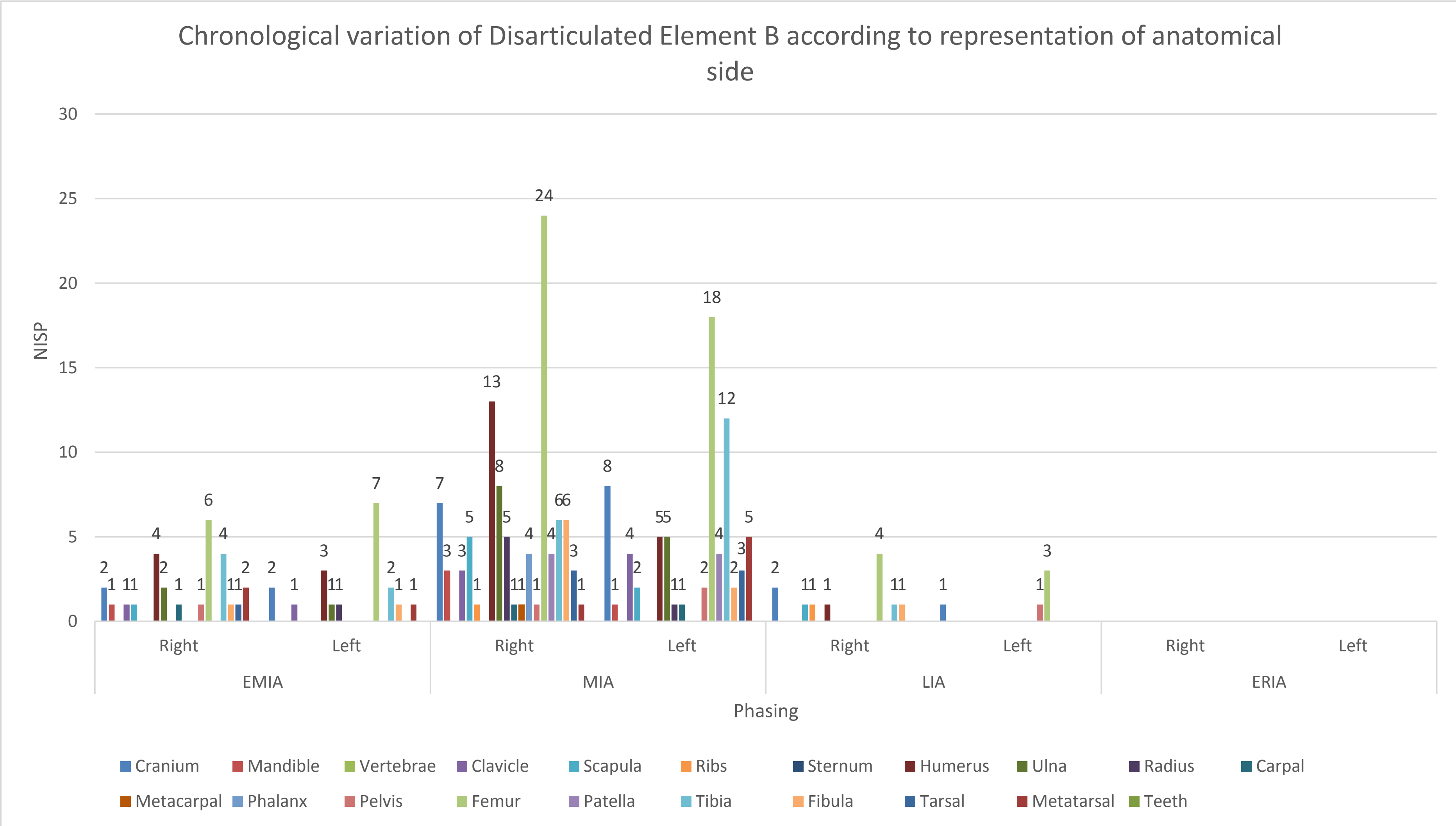


Figure 76. Chronological variation of Disarticulated Element B according to representation of anatomical side.

6.1.4. Summary: Anatomical Classification

Throughout the period, except the ERIA, disarticulated remains are predominantly represented by cranial and lower limb elements. The most frequently recorded elements were crania and femora. Upper limbs are likewise present in some quantity, predominantly as humeri and ulnae. These patterns accord with what should be expected as a result of taphonomic processes. The picture is further influenced by the limited application of sieving in excavations which were used to construct the dataset. Nevertheless, differences between the frequency of anatomical elements in hill-forts and settlements suggest that cultural preferences also contributed. Among those elements which can be ascribed to an anatomical side, right sided elements are the most common, although left sided elements are likewise present in quantity. This abundance of right sided elements cannot be attributed to taphonomic processes, and likely results from cultural practices.

6.2. Demographic Data of Disarticulated Remains

6.2.1. Ages Represented by Disarticulated Remains

The age of individual elements, within the Age Group 1 category, was available for 614 disarticulated remains (Figure 77; Appendix E. 10), and 370 elements according to Age Group 2 (Figure 78; Appendix E. 11). As noted above, the results are displayed according to NISP, not MNI, and thus should not be blithely interpreted as indicating the composition of contemporary populations.

Adult elements represent the majority of aged individuals throughout. At the same time sub-adult and infant elements are well represented, the former in the EMIA and MIA and the latter in the MIA. It is suprising that infant remains should be, comparatively, so abundant in the MIA, as their low bone density typically inhibits preservation (Bello and Andrews 2003, 5). Due to limited diagnostic characteristics present on individual bones, attempts to ascribe greater precision underrepresents adults who cannot be ascribed to the “Young” or “Old Adult” category. As such, the apparent dominance of adult remains masks what was possibly a more nuanced pattern.

None of the chronological sub-divisions accords with what would be expected for a "normal" mortality ratio (Chamberlain 2006, 66) (with the frequency of infant remains too low for the EMIA and LIA, whilst the frequency of sub-adults in the MIA is, comparatively, too high. This could be attributed to the fact the data are displayed as NISP, or it may indeed represent cultural choices.

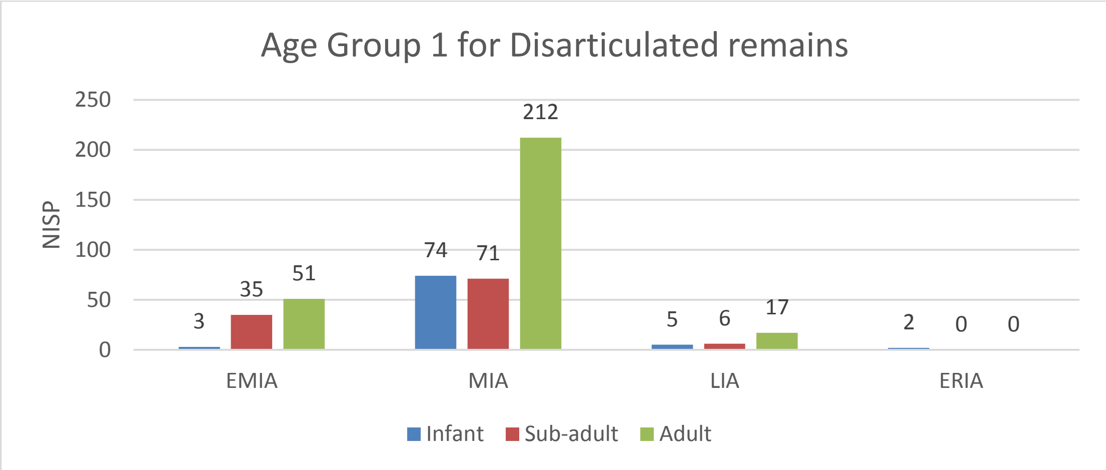


Figure 77. Chronological phasing of disarticulated remains in Age Group 1.

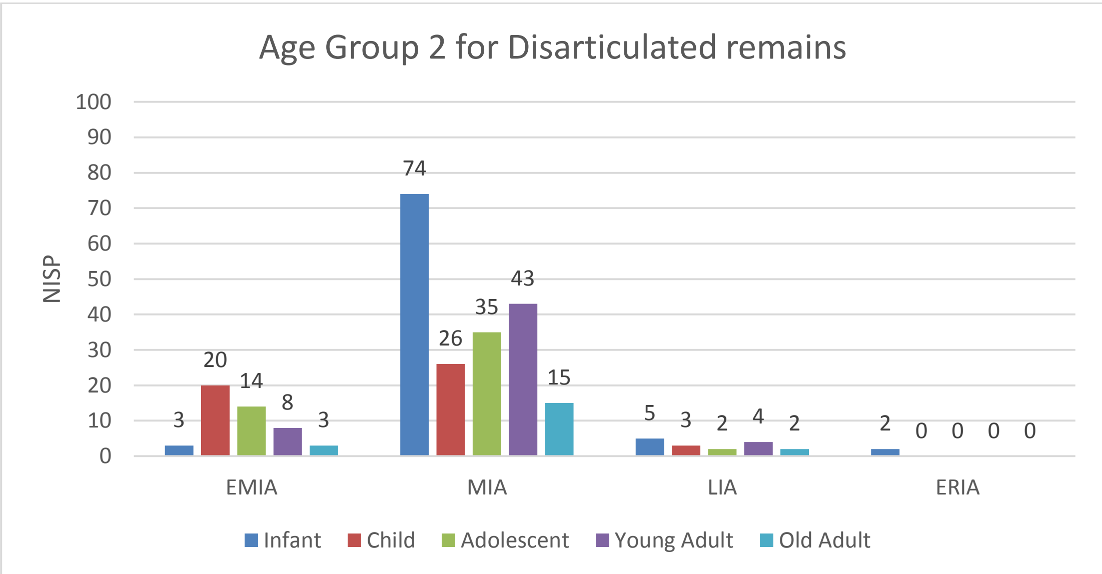


Figure 78. Chronological phasing of disarticulated remains in Age Group 2.

6.2.1. Sex

The sex of individual elements was also considered according to the Age Group 1 (Figure 79; Appendix E. 12) and Age Group 2 (Figure 80; Appendix E. 13) categories and displayed as NISP. A simplified comparison the prevalence of adult male and female elements in the dataset was also undertaken (Figure 81; Appendix E. 14). As with attempts to age disarticulated remains, a lack of diagnostic features limits information regarding sex. However, among adults it does appear that male remains represent the majority of examples, although the difference in frequency between sexes in the EMIA and LIA is negligible. Taphonomy may again account for this, with the the typically larger bones of males being more resilient to, generally speaking, smaller female bones (Bello and Andrews 2006, 10). As discussed below, however, male bones may have been preferred on account of the identity of the person they originated from being known.

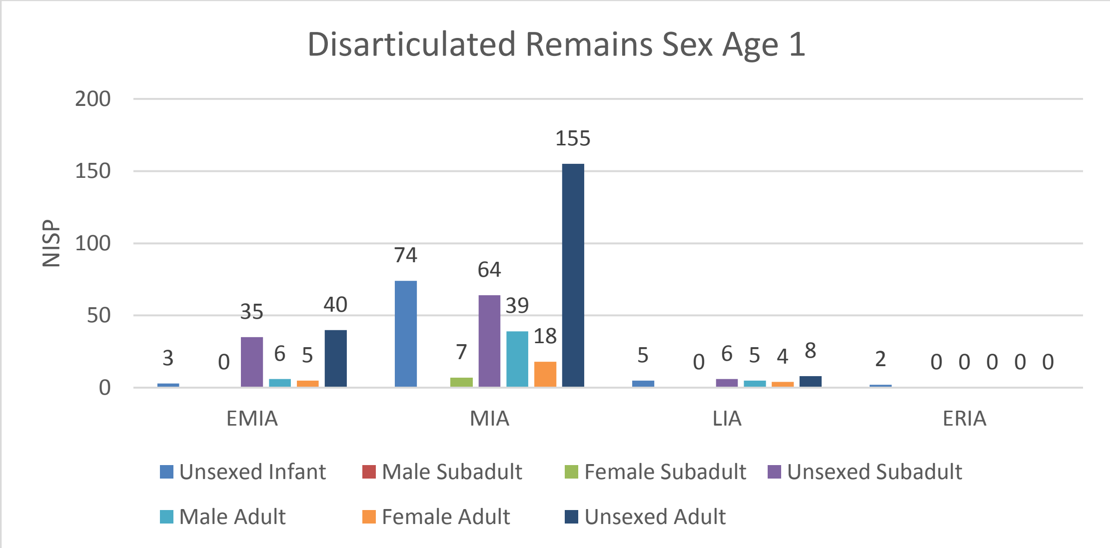


Figure 79. Chronological phasing of sexed disarticulated remains in Age Group 1.

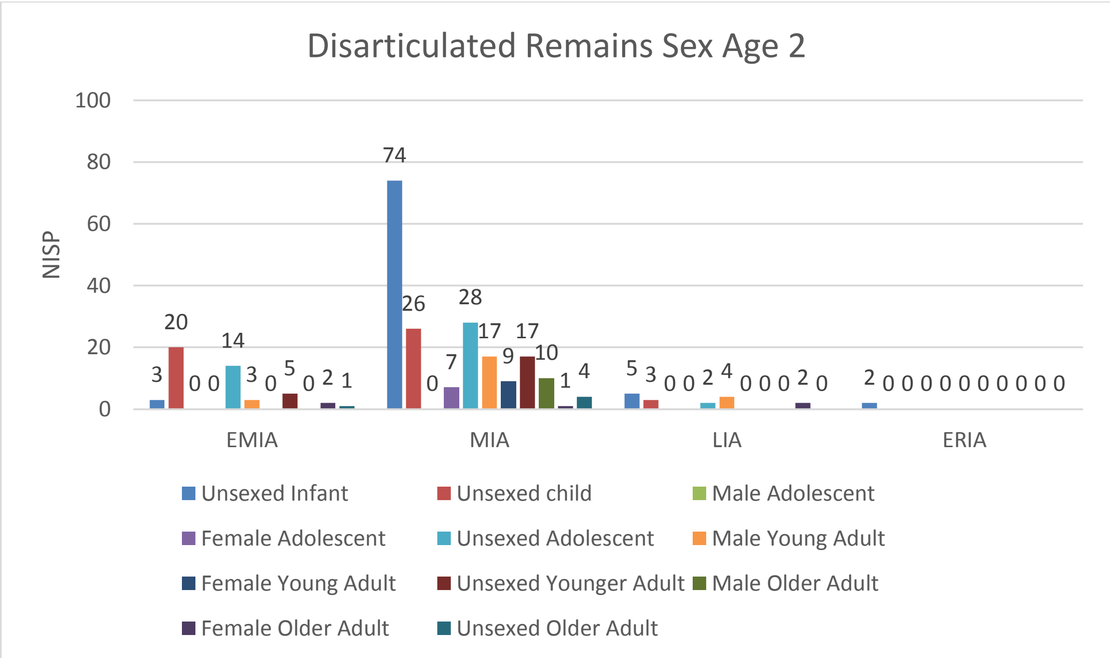


Figure 80. Chronological phasing of sexed disarticulated remains in Age Group 1.

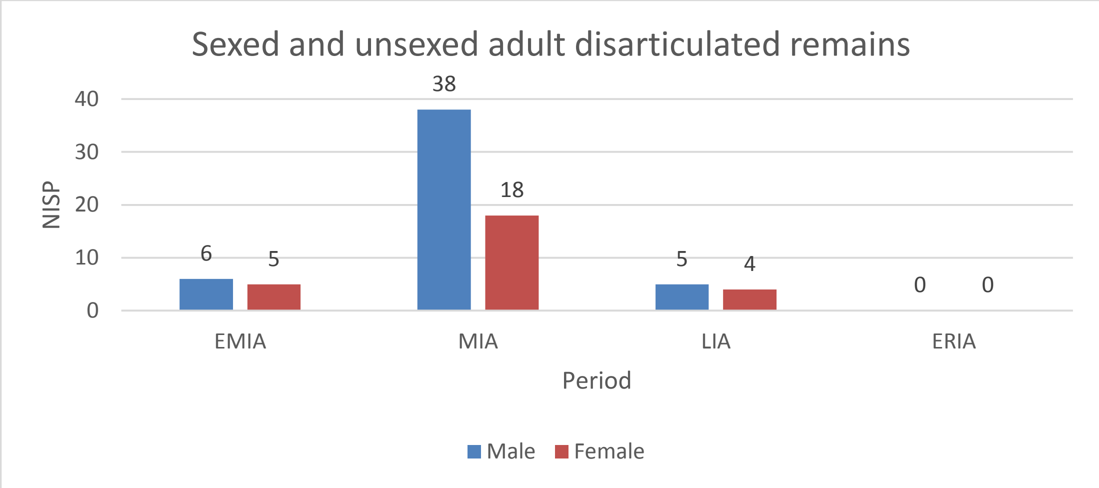


Figure 81. Simplified comparison of sexed male and female disarticulated elements.

6.2.3. Summary: Demographic Data

Certain aspects of the demographic patterns observed can be explained by taphonomic processes, such as the low frequency of infants in the EMIA and LIA. However, the variation observed for the MIA suggests that some demographic classifications were selected in accordance with cultural practices. This is particular apparent with the dominance of males in the MIA, and it is argued below that this represents a rite associated with structuring the community.

6.3. Fragmentation

A simple quantification of the frequency of fragmentation within disarticulated remains was considered (Table 28). As noted, the cause of fragmentation was not investigated, and may stem from taphonomic or deliberate causes. Nevertheless, fragmentation was present in 65.3% of the total sample. The data were further examined to attempt to determine if there was any relationship between fragmentation and demographic groups (Table 29). Fragmentation was noted in all groups, but with no clear pattern.

Total elements for dataset	783
Fragmented elements	512

Table 28. Quantification of fragmentation for all disarticulated remains in dataset.

	Infant		Sub-adult		Adult Male		Adult Female	
	Total elements	Fragmented elements	Total elements	Fragmented elements	Total elements	Fragmented elements	Total elements	Fragmented elements
EMIA	3	1	35	22	6	5	5	4
MIA	74	14	71	41	38	18	18	14
LIA	5	1	6	6	5	5	4	3
ERIA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 29. Demographic groups and chronological phasing of disarticulated remains with quantification of fragmented elements.

6.4. Associated Material Recovered with Disarticulated Remains

The most frequently associated class of material (Table 30) were animal bones, with ceramics and other domestic debris likewise being well represented. Lithics and metal objects were also present in some quantity. In terms of the most prevalent species, no clear pattern is apparent (Table 31), with horse, pig, cattle and sheep/goat being present in equal numbers. Fragmentation was present on the majority of ceramics associated with fragmented disarticulated remains (Table 32), although it does not appear that a state of fragmentation among animal bones was a pre-requisite if such material were to be deposited with fragmented human remains.

Class of material	**No. of disarticulated remains**
Ceramics	65
Worked bone/antler	18
Animal bone	131
Quern stone	28
Other worked stone	22
Slingstone	11
Metal object	28
Domestic debris/domestic debris	60

Table 30. Number of disarticulated remains associated with different classes of material.

Species	Frequency of associations
Pig	40
Cattle	38
Sheep/Goat	46
Horse	37
Chicken	0
Dog	4
Wild	4
Fish	1

Table 31. Prevalence of species associated with disarticulated remains.

Fragmented remains	512
Ceramic sherd(s)	41
Known fragmented animal remains	28

Table 32. Association between ceramics and fragmented remains.

6.5. British Context

The widespread distribution of such remains within the study area continues north into the East Midlands (Roth 2011, 266, fig. 8.3; 277, fig. 84). Within this area Roth (2011) examined 1,007 disarticulated remains. Due to the overlap with the study area, Danebury constituted 33% of her sample. Roth's findings are similar to those above, the MIA constituting the most abundant phase of deposition, with adults being the most frequently represented age class. Likewise, she noted that males were more prevalent, and that right sided elements were more frequent than left. Although the prevalence of adult males can be explained by taphonomic factors, the representation of right sided elements may be attributed to cultural choices. Furthermore, animals and ceramics were the most frequently associated material in her larger and smaller samples, respectively. In contrast to Wilson (1981), both this study and Roth's noted a decline in the frequency of disarticulated remains during the Iron Age. However, both confirm Wilson's observation that cranial fragments were the best represented element (Wilson 1981, 146, 162). Contrary to earlier studies, there appears to have been no overwhelming association between disarticulated remains and horses or dogs (Grant 1984, 543; Wait 1985, 152; Cunliffe 1983, 159; 1992, 77).

Further north there are clear parallels to the patterns within the study area. In East Yorkshire infant remains are mixed with animal bones within domestic contexts (Dent 1984). At Stanwick, North Yorkshire, disarticulated remains in the form of cranial and longbone elements were recovered dating to the latter half of the 1st century AD (Langston and Lowther 2016, 324). An earlier Iron Age cranial fragment is known from Heslington, from North Yorkshire (O'Connor *et al*. 2011). As noted, LIA and ERIA disarticulated remains have also been recovered from southern Britain.

At Broxmouth hill-fort, disarticulated bones ranged in date from the 6th century BC, to the 1st century AD, with most identified as adults (Armit *et al*. 2013, 88). Although a much smaller sample, the Broxmouth data is comparable to that from Danebury. The best evidence for disarticulated remains in the north comes from Atlantic Scotland, where the prior mentioned association between such remains and houses is known (Armit and Ginn 2007, 113). Deposition here appears to primarily be a feature of the 4th century BC to 3rd century AD (Tucker 2010, 132-40). In both the Northern and Western Isles crania are the most frequently recorded element, with several examples employed for foundation deposits (Armit and Ginn 2007, 120-3). Many examples are fragmentary, although no clear pattern is visible in the demographic profiles of these remains, and a range of ages and sexes are present (*ibid*, 126). In the case of all of the above, clear parallels are noted with the data from the study area.

6.6. Continental Context

Despite the widespread evidence for disarticulated remains in the near continent (Webley 2015, 132), a lack of dedicated study limits comment. Pinard (2010, 127-8) identified 16 sites in Nord-Pas-de-Calais and Picardy with human remains from non-mortuary contexts, including disarticulated remains. These sites date between the Late Bronze Age and La Tène D2, with the La Tène period being the main phase of deposition, thereby echoing the Britsh data. As with these data, material recovered with these remains includes animal bones, ceramics and lithics. Like in the study area, crania, but not the lower mandible, are well represented. Several such crania have been recovered upright, with the upper mandible serving as a base, perhaps for purposes of display

(Pinard 2010, 129). Excavation of 27 La Tène habitats in Picardy (Oise and Aisne) produced 223 disarticulated remains, representing an MNI of 70 (Pinard *et al*. 2009, 109). This figure likewise accords with rates of deposition observed in the study area.

At the oppidum of Condé-sur-Suippe, Aisne, of 34 disarticulated bones recovered, 19 were crania or cranial fragments, with adults being the majority of identifiable ages (Pierre Paris *pers. comm*. 15/12/2015). Parallels to the study area can be argued to stem from broadly universal taphonomic practices (Bello and Andrews 2006, 5). Nevertheless, the fact disarticulated remains were incorporated into the archaeological record on both sides of the Channel is possible evidence of similar cultural practices. In contrast to the study area, however, disarticulated remains are less prevalent than other forms of human remains in the region (Pinard 2010, 130). Despite the small sample size it suggests there was a preference for placing such remains in proximity to settlements, and the same range of contexts as in Britain appears to have been utilised (Malrain *et al*. 2005, 146; Pinard 2010, 132). Pinard has argued that deposition in ditches and structures was mutually exclusive at these sites (Pinard 2010, 133). In the Nord-Pas-de-Calais the dataset displays strong similarities to that of the study area; the majority being cranial fragments recovered from ditches (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 67).

As elsewhere in northern France, sanctuaries in Picardy have produced numerous examples of disarticulated remains (Craig *et al*. 2005, 173). The largest dataset is from Ribemont-sur-Ancre, where a feature interpreted as an ossuary contained 2,000 interlaced long bones. A pit containing burnt and fractured bones also contained the remains of 300 individuals (including 246 humeri and 501 femora). Both deposits have been dated to c.200BC, and may represent a single act of deposition (Duday 1998, 114; Craig *et al*. 2005, 173). In total (including inhumations) the site produced 10,000 human remains, but only six cranial elements (a fragmented mandible, a piece of temporal bone and four teeth) (Duday 1998, 115; Craig *et al*. 2005, 173). These datasets are without comparison, in terms of size, within the British context. Nevertheless, they show that such communal structures placed a similar emphasis on disarticulated remains to those (hill-forts) in the study area. At Ribemont the demographic data displayed clear selection criteria: no individual was younger than 12, likewise older adults were lacking, the sample seemingly dominated by males (Duday 1998, 114). By contrast, at the broadly contemporary sanctuaries of Montmartin and Gournay-sur-Aronde, cervical vertebrae and cranial elements were overrepresented (Duday 1998, 116). These selection criteria are site specific, however, they indicate that in Picardy, as in the study area, social and individual criteria existed determining which elements were suitable for depositon.

Despite a general lack of information for Belgium, and the soil conditions of the Netherlands, mid to late La Tène and ERIA disarticulated remains are known from these regions, although quantities remain to be calculated for most of the area. Exceptions do exist, however, such as the north of Groningen and Friesland, where 125 specimens are known (Nieuwhof 2015, 232). As with the British data, the sample is dominated by fractured cranial elements and lower limbs, in particular femora (Roymans 1990, 242; Nieuwhof 2015, 66). In the drenth plateau of the Netherlands, such remains are recovered associated with a similar variety of material culture as in the study area (animal bones, ceramic sherds, loom weights etc) (*ibid,* 128, 269). Disarticulated remains in Champagne-Ardenne are primarily known from Acy-Romance, although they are also present on other sites during the final two centuries BC (Lambot *et al*. 1994, 223; Lambot 1998, 79; 2014, 108). At Acy-Romance the associated habitat produced disarticulated remains for a minimum number of individuals of 136, whilst the site itself produced disarticulated remains for c.50 individuals (Lambot 1998, 84; 2014, 108). In contrast to the study area, but more akin to neighbouring Picardy, it appears that the practice was less prevalent than complete inhumation in the Ardennes during this period (Lambot 1998, 80).

Sites in Normandy regularly produce disarticulated remains. The Normandy chronology is compatible with that for the study area. Here they are present from Hallstatt D2/La Tène A, from Courseulles-sur-Mer, until La Tène D, as at Fleury-sur-Orne and Val-de-Reuil "ZAC des Portes" (Moreau 2011, 142). As in Picardy, sanctuaries have also produced disarticulated remains, for example at Fesques, Upper Normandy (Mantel 1997). In Seine-et-Marne, around the Seine-Yonne confluence, disarticulated remains have been recovered from various contexts. Associated material includes animal bones and, in stark contrast to the study area, "elite" material (for example weapons) (Delattre

2010, 113). Here most remains date to the 4^{th}-3^{rd} century BC, crania being the most frequently recorded and, again in contrast, left sided lower limbs in pits (Delattre 2010, 122). In Brittany disarticulated remains are too little studied to permit comment. They are known from a few sites, such as the La Tène B-C1 site of Voutré, and the La Tène C2-D sites of Saint-Pierre-sur-Erve "Grotte de Rochefort" and Plougasnou, Finistère (Le Goffic 1997, 45; Villard-Le-Tiec *et al*. 2010, 91, fig. 6; 93, fig. 10).

6.7. The British and Continental Contexts Reviewed

Disarticulated remains are recovered from across a wide area in Britain and the near continent. Indeed, it could be argued that their absence in some regions (the western zone and Belgium) stems from local soil conditions, rather than mortuary practices. The apparent paucity of such remains in Champagne-Ardenne may indicate a cultural choice, or may simply be a side of effect of excavations strategies. The comparative chronologies of these data are difficult to determine, however, they appear to have been present throughout the La Tène period. In northern France it seems that they declined in frequency in the 1^{st} century BC, however, disarticulated remains continued to be deposited in the study area and other parts of Britain until the Roman Iron Age.

Across the region, cranial and lower limb elements are most frequently recorded. Likewise adults appear to have been better represented. This pattern can be, in part, attributed to the taphonomic processes which affect the preservation of bone. At the same time, the decision to incorporate these specific elements into various contexts suggests something of a ritual *koine* either side of the Channel. Local selection criteria are also apparent, as in the Picardy sanctuaries. Thus, the representation of left sided elements in Normandy is at odds with the general pattern for the study area. Associated material likewise differed between groups, including the weaponry from Normandy (Pinard 2010, 131, fig. 7). However, on the basis of the large assemblages recovered from focal centres, including hill-forts and sanctuaries, it seems that the deposition of such remains had an important communal role. The sheer size of the datasets from Acy-Romance, for example, cannot be solely explained by the length of time the site was in use. Disarticulated remains indicate deliberate ritual processes

(Redfern 2008; Tracey 2012; Booth and Madgwick 2016), processes which had important communal, social roles to play.

Chapter 7 Inhumations

7.1. Demographic Profile Analysis for Entire Database

After disarticulated remains, inhumed bodies are the best represented treatment within the dataset. They occur across the study area. The chronological distribution of the 575 examples was considered according to simple demographic groups (Figure 82-Figure 83; Appendix F. 1). In both instances, adults and infants form the majority, with sub-adults representing a minority; a mortality profile observed among other agricultural communities (Chamberlain 2006). The dataset was further considered with reference to divisions within the sub-adult and adult groups (Figure 84-Figure 85; Appendix F. 2). Within the adult category there was no clear division between older and younger age groups. The broad parity between males and females suggests that inhumation was reliant upon cultural factors, rather than events such as childbirth or inter-personal violence (although quantifying instances of death from child-birth or interpersonal violence is itself difficult on the basis of osteological observations) (Figure 86-Figure 87, Appendix F. 5-6). As Wood *et al.* (1992, 347) note, determining the aggregate level of health of a living population from that of a cemetery is extremely difficult for a variety of reasons, including the source of the cemetery population and the archaeologically invisibility of frailty levels. As demonstrated below, however, these patterns differ for $<Q_3$.

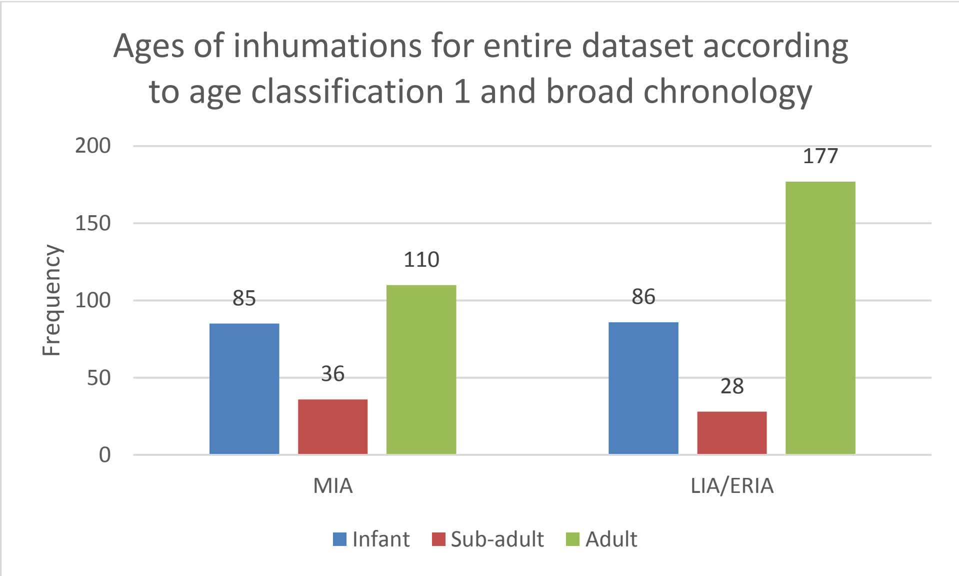


Figure 82. Simplified gradiation of ages of inhumations in dataset according to broad chronology.

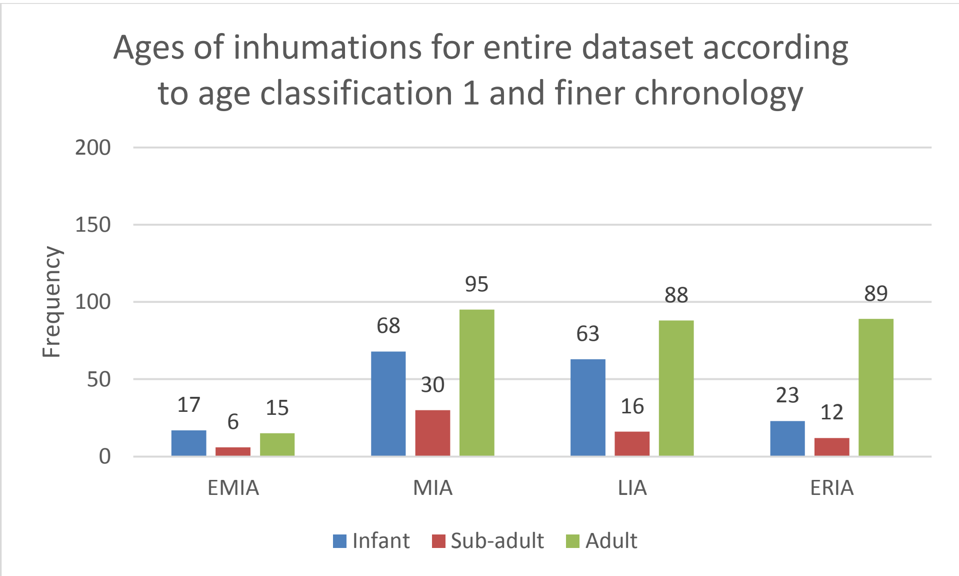


Figure 83. Simplified gradiation of ages of inhumations in dataset according to fine chronology.

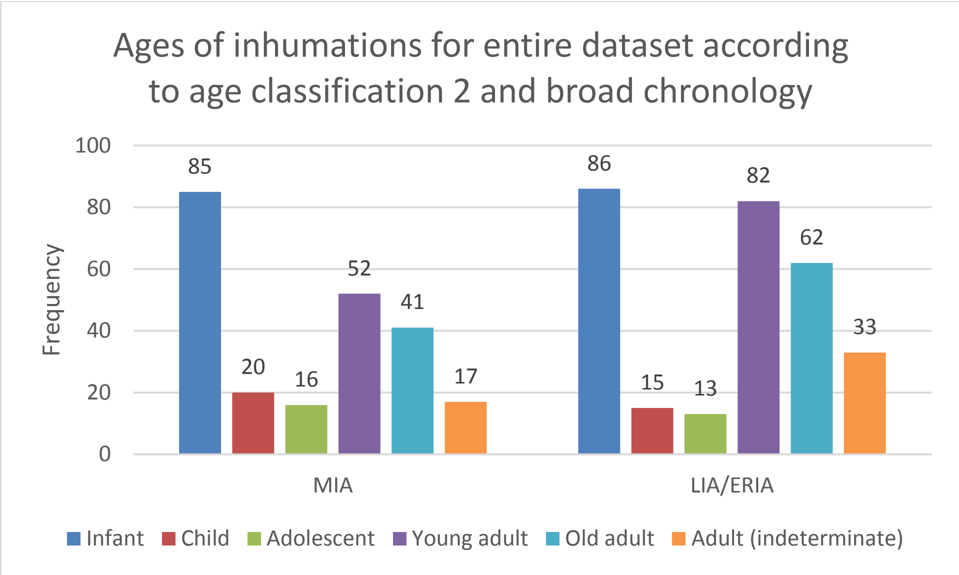


Figure 84. Finer gradiation of age groups within the inhumation dataset by broad chronological scheme.

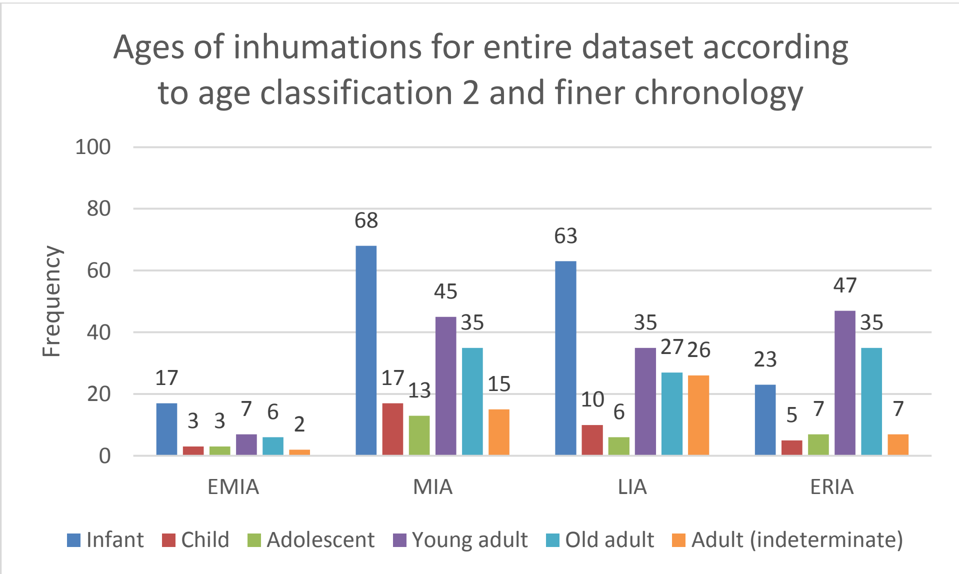


Figure 85. Finer gradiation of age groups within the inhumation dataset by finer chronological scheme.

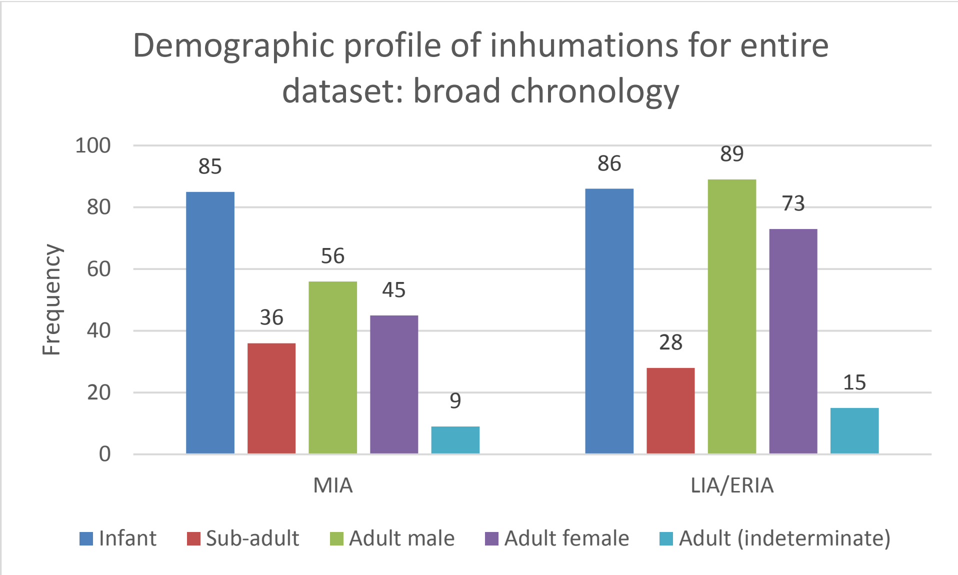


Figure 86. Demographic profile for entire dataset with reference to sex of adult deceased according to broad chronology.

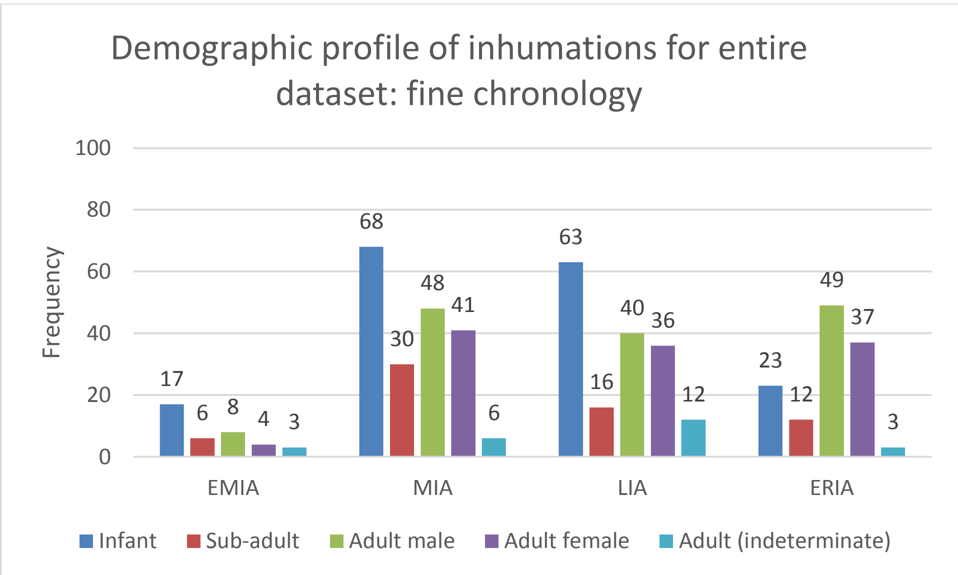


Figure 87. Demographic profile for entire dataset with reference to sex of adult deceased according to fine chronology.

7.1.1. Demographic Profiles of Inhumations in <Q_3.

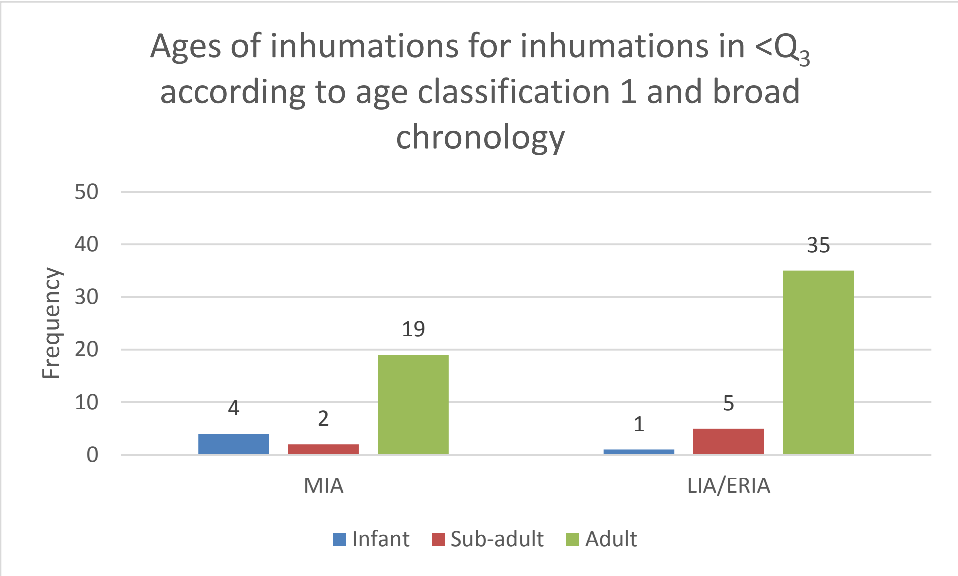


Figure 88. Simplified gradiation of ages in <Q_3 inhumation dataset according to broad chronology.

In contrast to the above, the <Q_3 data display a marked reduction in the number of infants for the entire period (Figure 88-Figure 89; Appendix F. 4), although the low representation of sub-adults and high prevalence of adults is maintained. It is possible that larger sites were preferred for depositing infants. However, of the 22 sites within <Q_3, 16 were positioned on the the chalklands of Dorset, Hampshire, Wiltshire or Kent, where geology is more condusive to bone preservation. Nevertheless, at least three sites, Gussage All Saints, Winnall Down and Micheldever Wood, had comparatively high levels of infants. The activities practiced at these sites, discussed in greater detail below (Chapter 12.3), may account for demographic profiles observed. As for the entire dataset, demographic data were considered according to refined age categories (Figure 90-Figure 91; Appendix F. 5-7). The sex of adults within the <Q_3 dataset was also considered (Figure 92-Figure 93; Appendix F. 8-9).

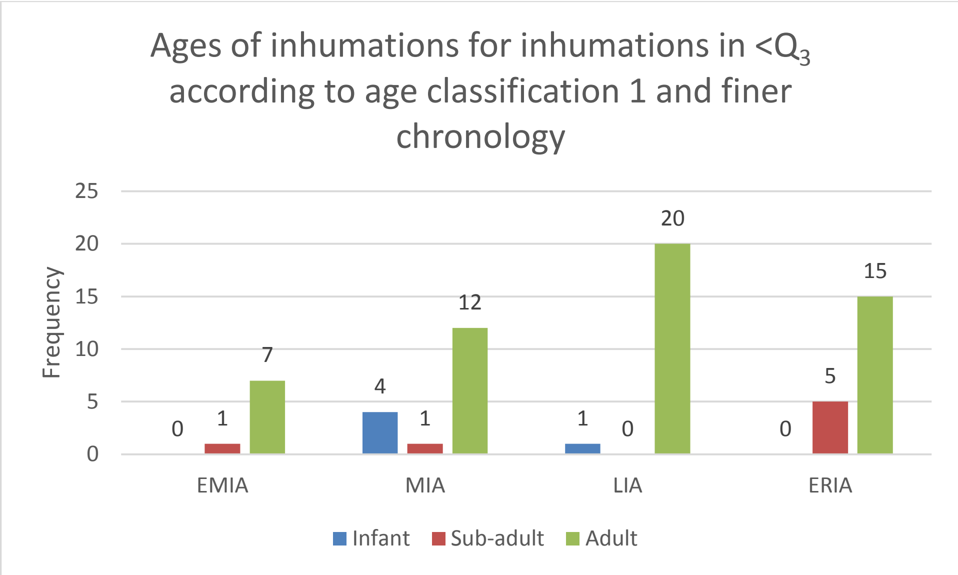


Figure 89. Simplified gradiation of ages of in $<Q_3$ inhumation dataset according to finer chronology.

The analysis displays a different pattern to that observed for the entire dataset. Whereas in the entire dataset the MIA shows a rough parity in sexes, in the $<Q_3$ sample females are most prevalent. In the LIA there is again a rough parity of sexed adults, as in the entire dataset sample, however in the LIA males are seemingly preferred. Due to the broad nature of the analysis it is unclear what may have caused this pattern.

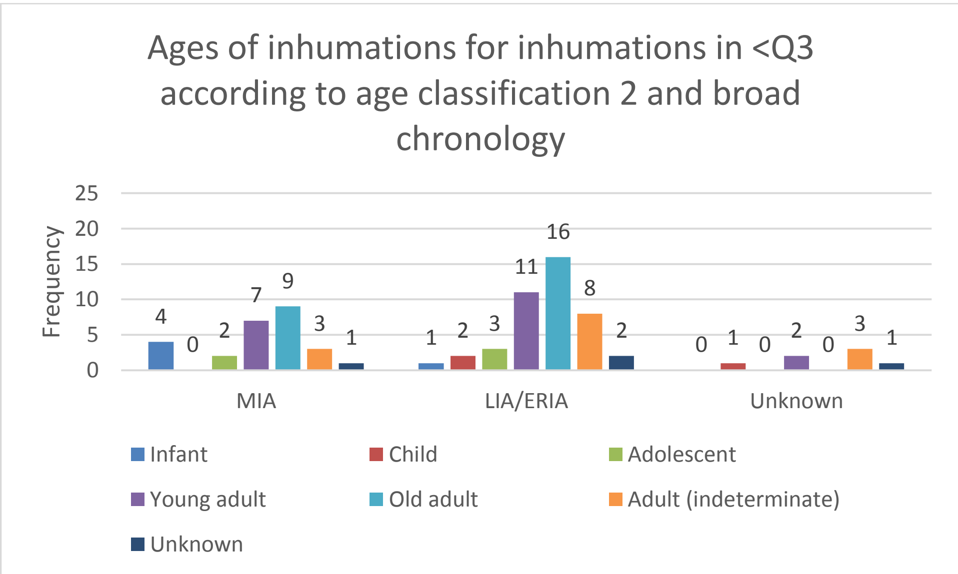


Figure 90. Finer gradiation of age groups in $<Q_3$ inhumation dataset by broad chronological scheme.

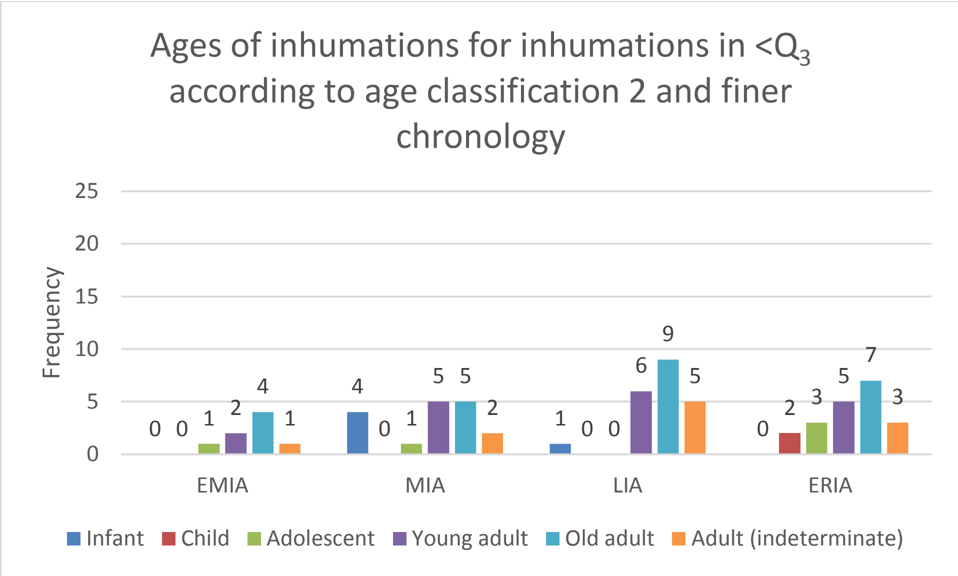


Figure 91. Finer gradiation of age groups in <Q$_3$ inhumation dataset by fine chronological scheme.

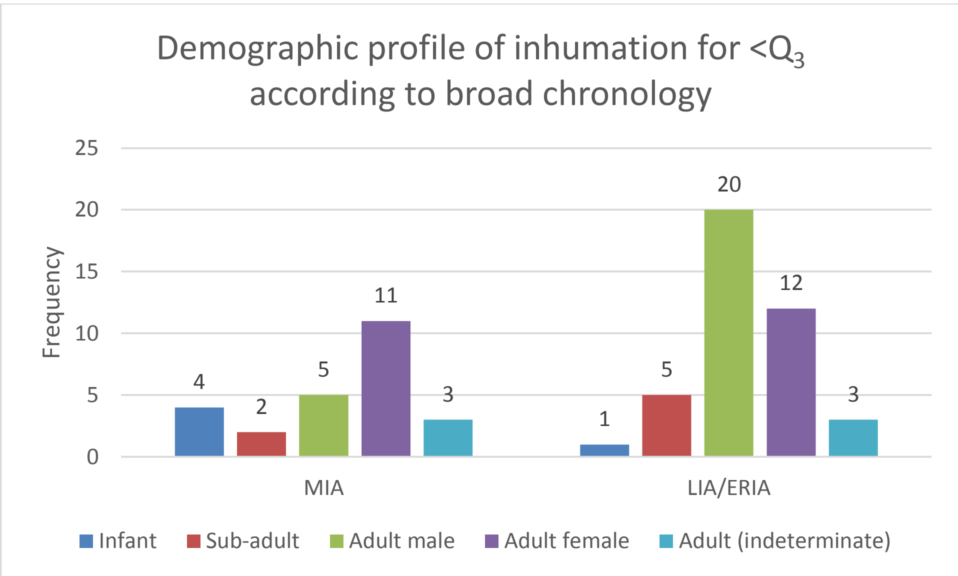


Figure 92. Demographic profile within the <Q$_3$ inhumation dataset with reference to sex of adult deceased according to broad chronology.

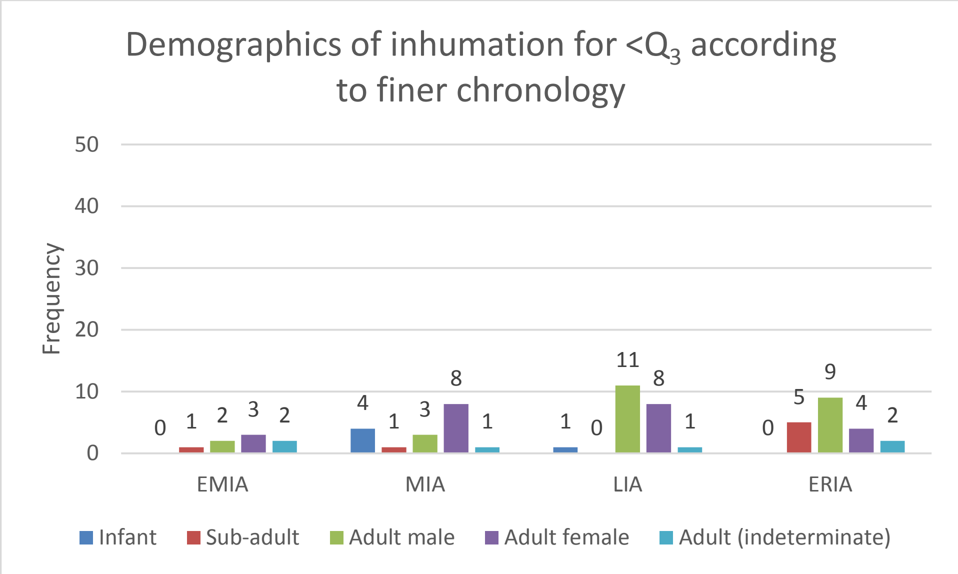


Figure 93. Demographic profiles within the <Q_3 inhumation dataset with reference to sex of adult deceased according to fine chronology.

7.2. Contexts associated with Inhumations

Associations of inhumations and contexts were examined with reference to the three study zones. The entire dataset was considered at first, in order to provide a set of comparative results (Appendix F. 10-15). The analysis demonstrated a prevalence for graves and pits across the dataset, especially in the central zone, with graves and a few pits in the eastern zone, and an exclusive representation of graves in the western zone. Certain demographic groups and contexts show a clear association, for example infants and enclosing ditches.

7.3. Body Positioning, Orientation and Facing Prevalence

7.3.1. Orientation

The orientation (Figure 94, Appendix F. 16) and facing (Figure 95, Appendix F. 17) of all inhumations was considered (see below 7.4). Inhumations were largely orientated towards the north, although other orientations within the N-SE arc are, likewise, well represented. Orientations between S and NW are few however. It does not appear that sex was a determining factor in orientation.

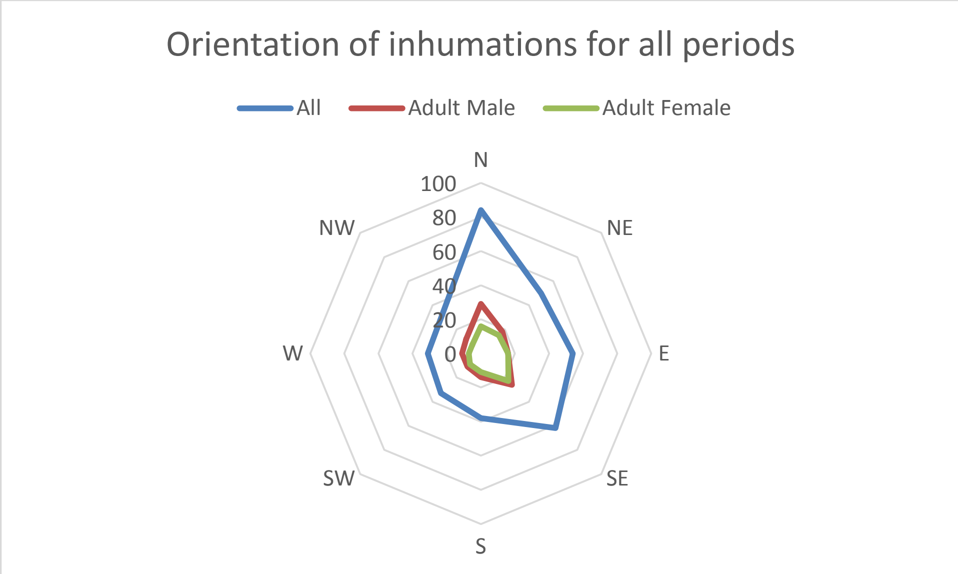


Figure 94. Orientation for all inhumations in the dataset for all periods.

7.3.2. Facing

In terms of the cardinal direction crania faced, the patterns are less clear. Generally speaking adult males and females appear to have been N and E facing, although the data are slight. This image is partly a result of local patterns (Chapter 7.4), but also variations in terms of the side upon which inhumations were placed. The patterns observed in Figure 95 should be treated with caution due to taphonomic processes: in the absence of muscular attachments to keep the head in position, and due to their shape and weight distribution, crania tend to fall into any available space within an inhumation grave (Duday 2009, 18; Knüsel 2014, 34). Thus unless the body was placed on its side, as in Durotrigian burials, the direction the crania is facing is likely to result from post-mortem, rather than cultural, processes (*ibid,* 38).

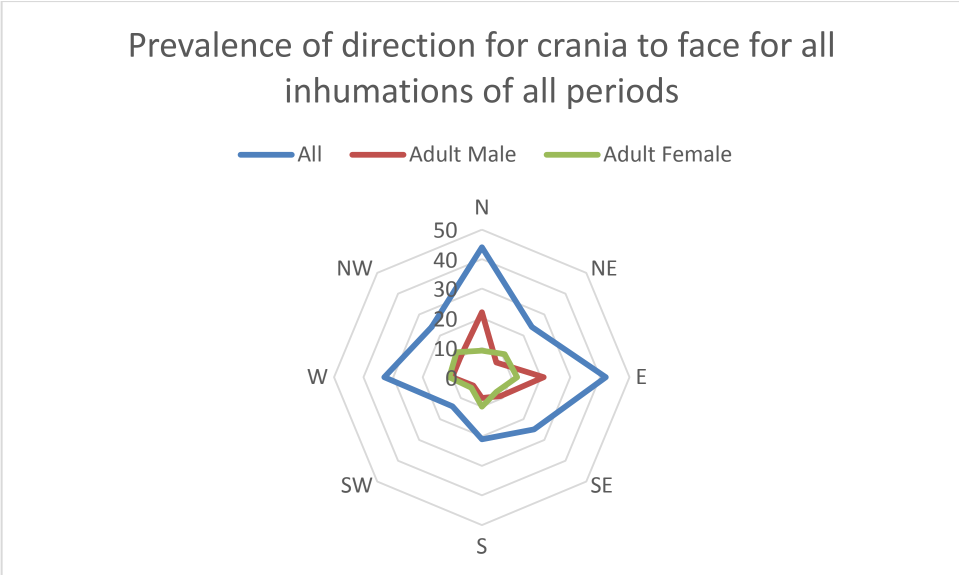


Figure 95. Prevalence of crania facing directions for all inhumations in the dataset for all periods.

7.3.3. Body Layout

Taken as a whole, flexed and crouched burials are best represented within the dataset (Figure 96; Appendix F. 18) and within each period (Figure 97; Appendix F. 19-20). Several of these examples may not represent the original position which the body was placed in at time of death. Instead, they may result from taphonomic processes (Knüsel 2014, 27). Except for a few examples, such as The Bourne, weapon burials like from North Bersted, and 15 examples from Maiden Castle's "Belgic War Cemetery", all extended inhumations are from Kent. Excluding extended inhumations, it does not appear that certain positions and contexts were associated with each other. 45% (N=20) of crouched inhumations were recovered from pits, in contrast to 26% (N=35) of crouched and (25%) (N=25) of flexed burials. Although crouched burials in pit contexts were more common in the MIA, this is more a reflection of the MIA prevalence of this type of context than a difference in body layout (Figure 98; Appendix F. 20).

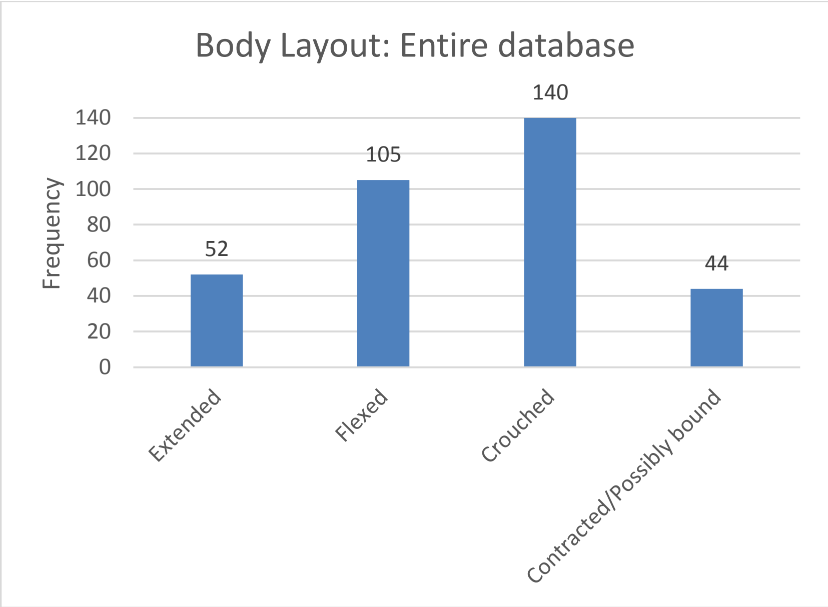


Figure 96. Body positioning for entire dataset.

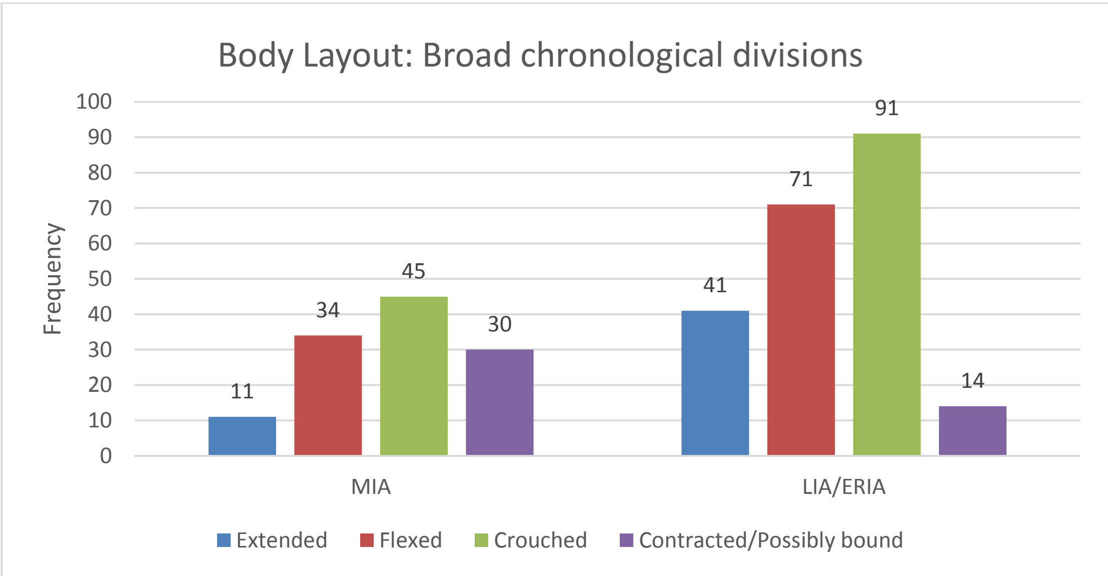


Figure 97. Chronological distribution of body positions for entire database.

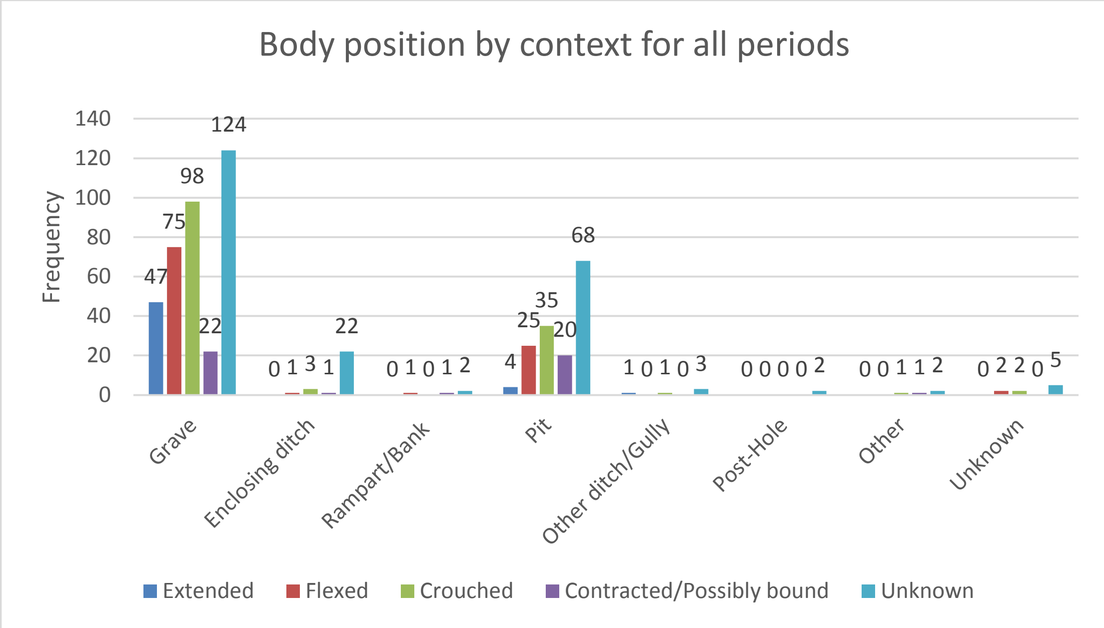


Figure 98. Distribution of bodily positions by context for all periods.

7.3.4. Demographic Profile and Bodily Positioning

There is no clear association between particular body positions and specific demographic groups (Figure 99; Appendix F. 24). Contracted positions (N=44) were recorded for all age groups, with adult males (N=17) and females (N=20) representing the majority of contracted individuals. Contracted burials are predominantly recovered from pits and graves, with adults of both sexes present in comparable numbers in both groups. Additionally, the body positions present in the dataset were examined by broad chronology (Figure 100) and context (Figure 101).

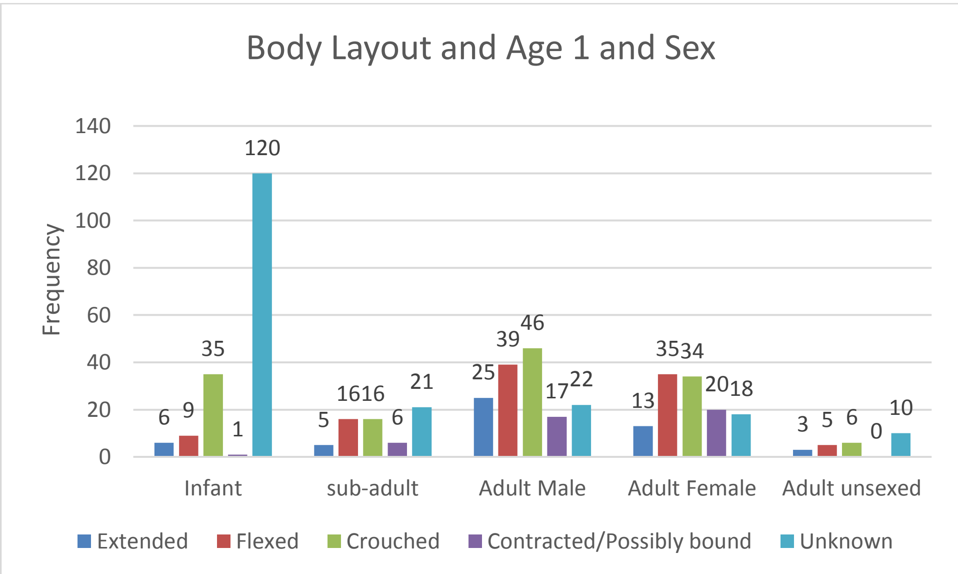


Figure 99. Frequency of body positions by age group and sex for adults.

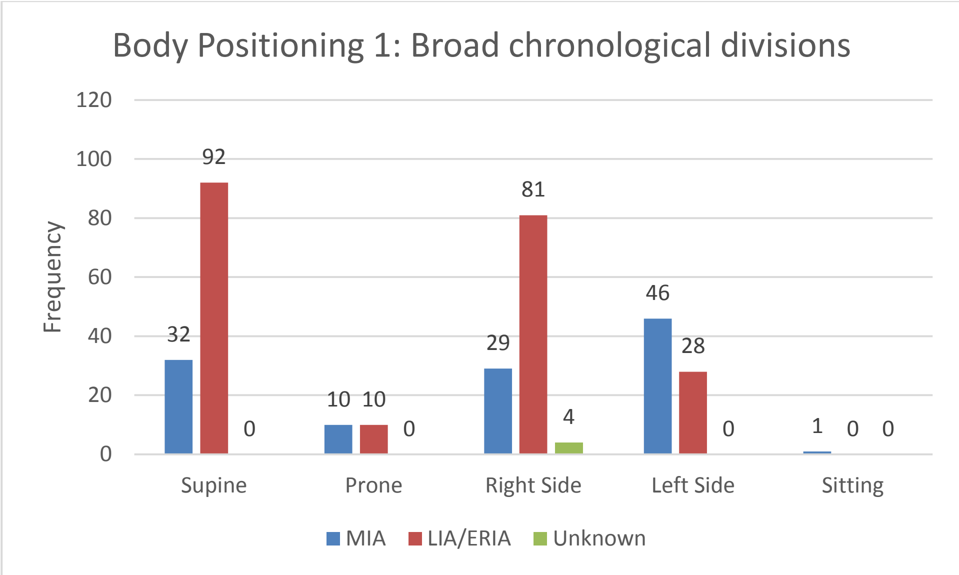


Figure 100. Frequency of anatomical sides upon which inhumations were recorded according to broad chronological division.

As with the body layout, there is no clear pattern with regards body positioning in terms of chronology or associated context. The majority of inhumations placed on one side were invariably deposited on the right side of the body, and this appears to be more prevalent among males than it does among females (Figure 102; Appendix F. 24).

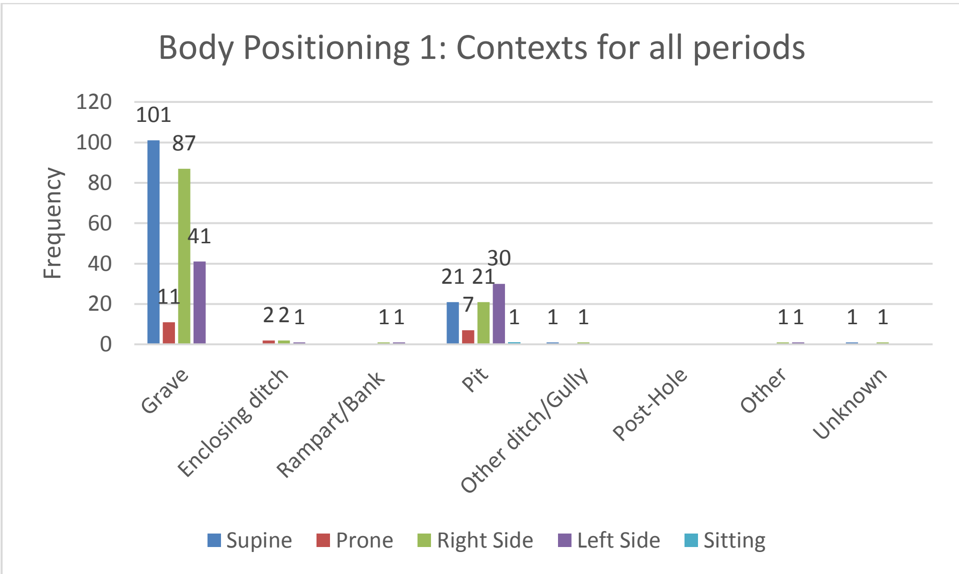


Figure 101. Frequency of side positions by contexts for all periods.

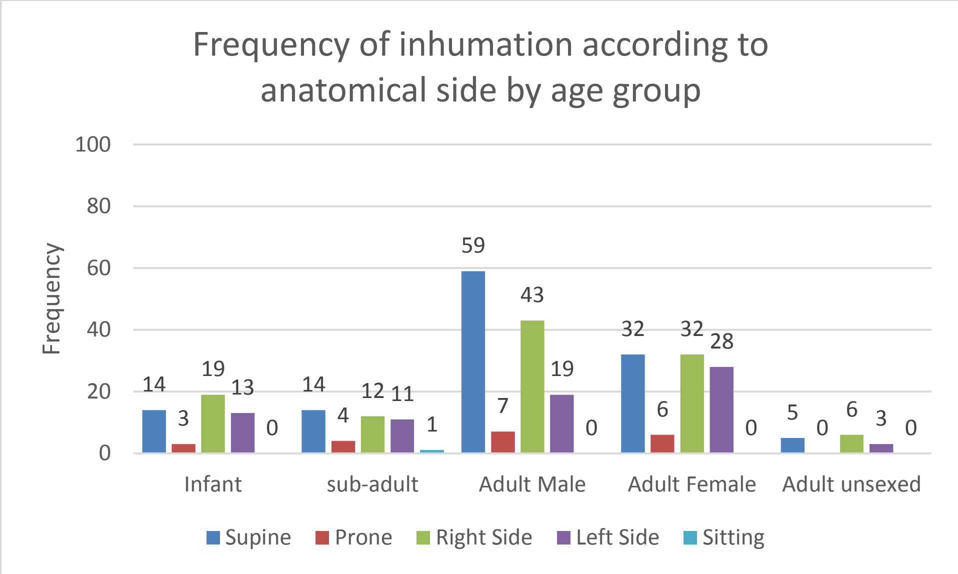


Figure 102. Frequency of inhumation according to the anatomical side the deceased was recorded as resting on.

7.3.5 Differences in Body Positioning between Sub-Zones

Clear sub-regional differences exist. In the eastern zone, extended positions were more common (N=31, 51.6%), whereas for the central zone flexed (N=90, 39.8%) and crouched layouts (N=118, 44.3%) predominated. This apparent dichotomy is partially the result of the Mill Hill data in the eastern zone (Figure 103), and the Danebury, Maiden Castle and Poundbury data in the central zone. To what extent the division between crouched and contracted represents a cultural choice is debateable. Experiements by Tracey (2012) have suggested that some contracted burials were deliberate. However, it is possible for crouched burials to become contracted burials. This is caused by the soft tissues of the abdomen decomposing, thereby creating a void into which the lower limbs can be forced by compression by the surrounding context (Duday 2009, 54).

Evidence for extended burial is found in funerary contexts elsewhere in Kent (Brisley Farm, Saltwood Tunnel, Cottington Hill and Weatherlees WTW and Ebbsfleet Lane). Likewise, the flexed and crouched prevalence in the central zone is also reflected at smaller MIA sites, both in funerary and non-funerary contexts, such as at Winnall Down and Suddern Farm, as well as the numerous LIA/ERIA Durotrigian burials. Within the western zone bone preservation hampers the results, however, of the known data (N=15) all (excluding a questionable ascription of “extended” from Trevone; Dudley 1965, 18) are crouched. Extended burials are present in the central zone (N=17), 52% of these belonging to the Belgic War Cemetery at Maiden Castle, and as such it may be questioned to what extent they reflect formal practices.

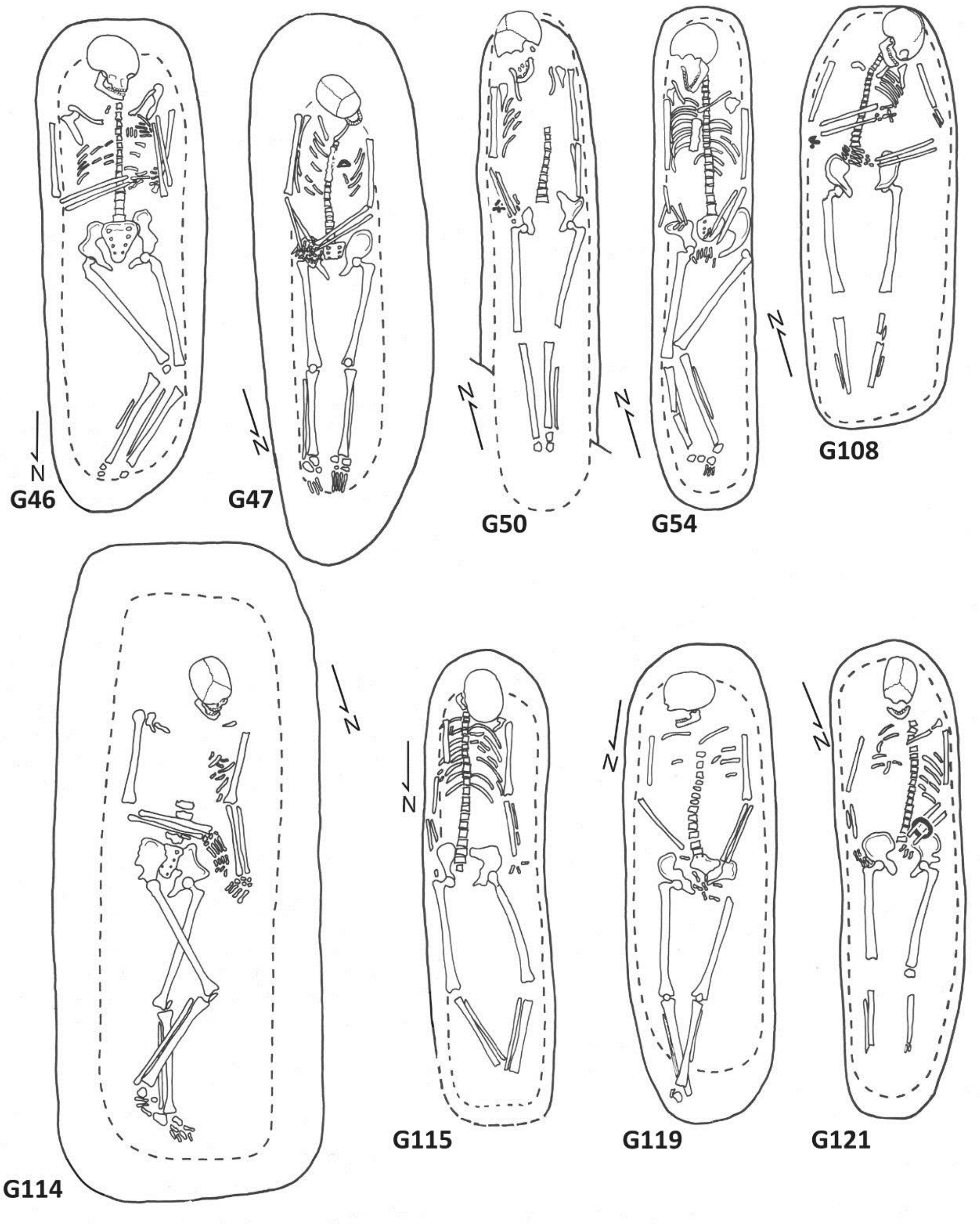


Figure 103. Inhumations from Mill Hill, Deal (re-produced with additions by author from Parfitt 1995, fig. 59 with kind permission of Keith Parfitt).

7.4. Mortuary Culture Differences

In an effort to identify clearer patterns, the inhumation dataset were analysed according to three mortuary cultures:

1. Durotrigian burials
2. Kentish inhumations (inhumations from grave contexts in the county)
3. South-west inhumations

7.4.1 Durotrigian Burials

7.4.1.1 Durotrigian Burials: Age

Within Age classification 1 there is a clear prevalence of adults, thereby reflecting, yet also accentuating, the pattern observed for the entire inhumation dataset (Figure 104; Appendix F. 25). The Durotrigian dataset was further divided according to the age category 2 scheme (Figure 105; Appendix F. 26). Within this category there is a clear prevalence for younger adults to be interred, although the number of older adults and infants is sizeable. As for the entire inhumation dataset, sub-adults are underrepresented.

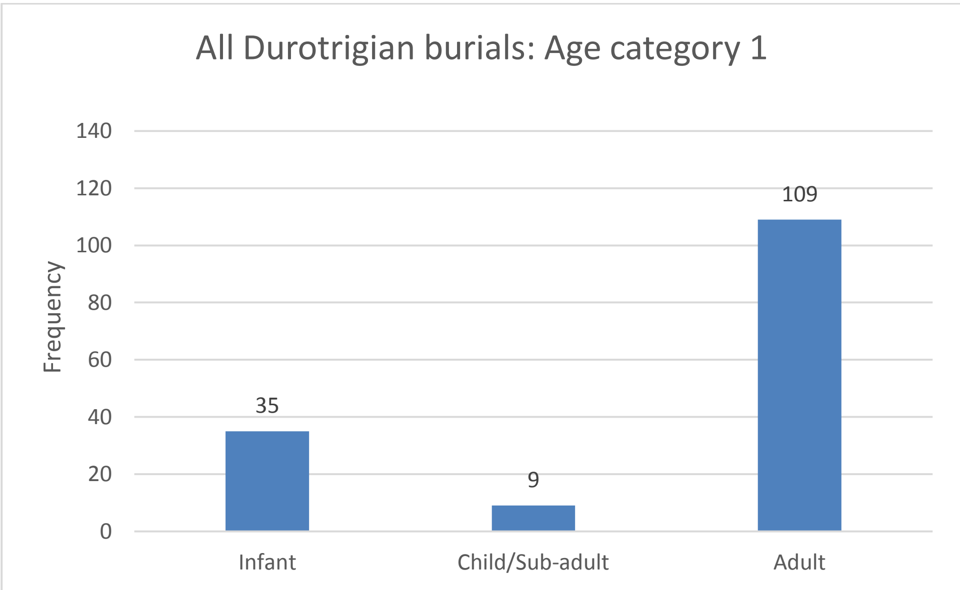


Figure 104. Entire Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 1.

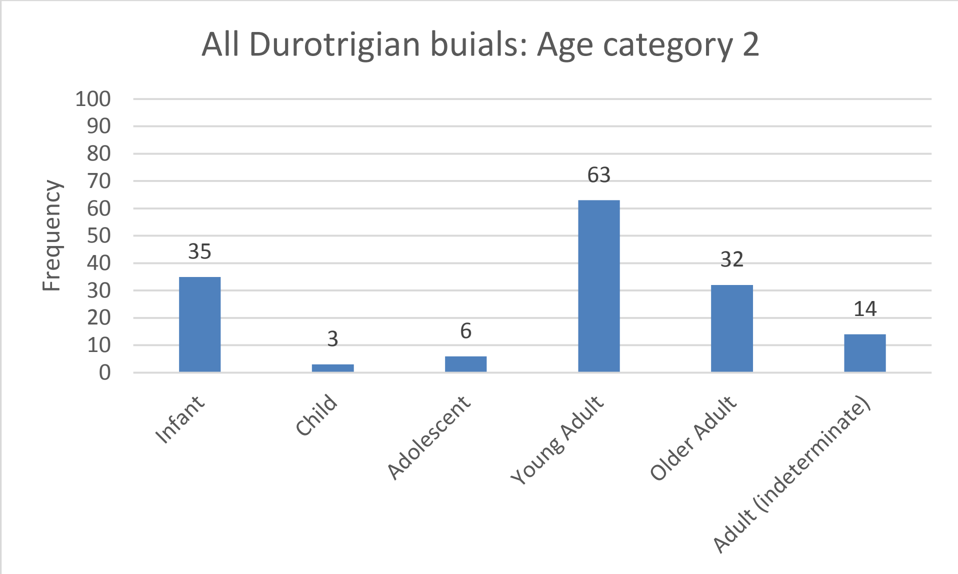


Figure 105. Entire Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 2.

7.4.1.2. Durotrigian Burials: Sex

Although a greater number of males are present, the difference in sexes was not sufficient to suggest that sex was a determining factor in access to the Durotrigian rite (Figure 106-Figure 107; Appendix F. 27-8).

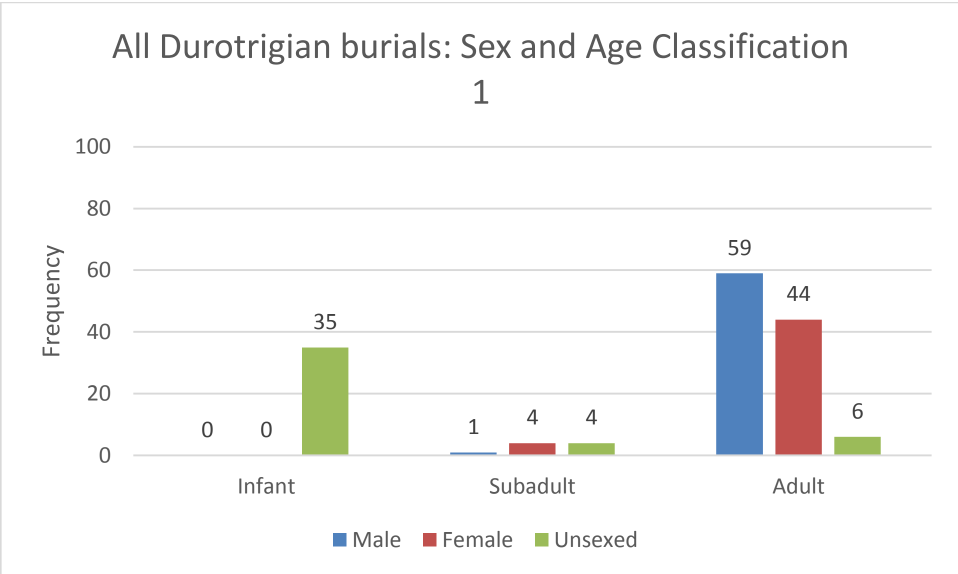


Figure 106. Entire Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 1.

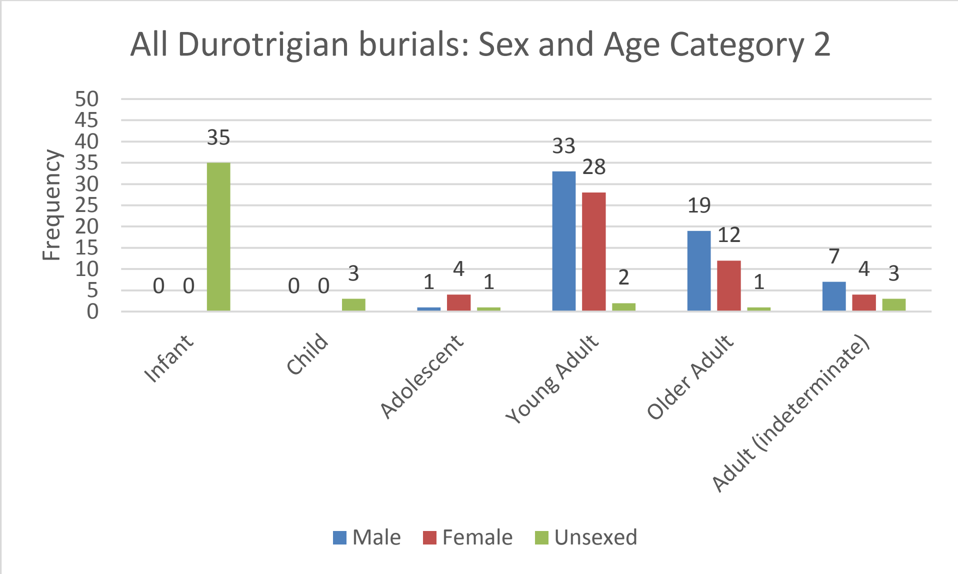


Figure 107. Entire Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 2.

7.4.1.3. Durotrigian Burials: Orientation and Facing

Most burials were recorded with a NE through to SE orientation, with no clear difference between sexed adults (Figure 108; Appendix F. 29). Data pertaining to facing in Durotrigian burials was less abundant (Figure 109, Appendix F. 30). The only pattern was a lack of burials facing SW, and there appears to have been no clear difference between the sexed adults. As Durotrigian burials were placed on their side, the general direction in which the crania faced, is likely a deliberate cultural choice, rather than a result of post-mortem movement of the skeleton.

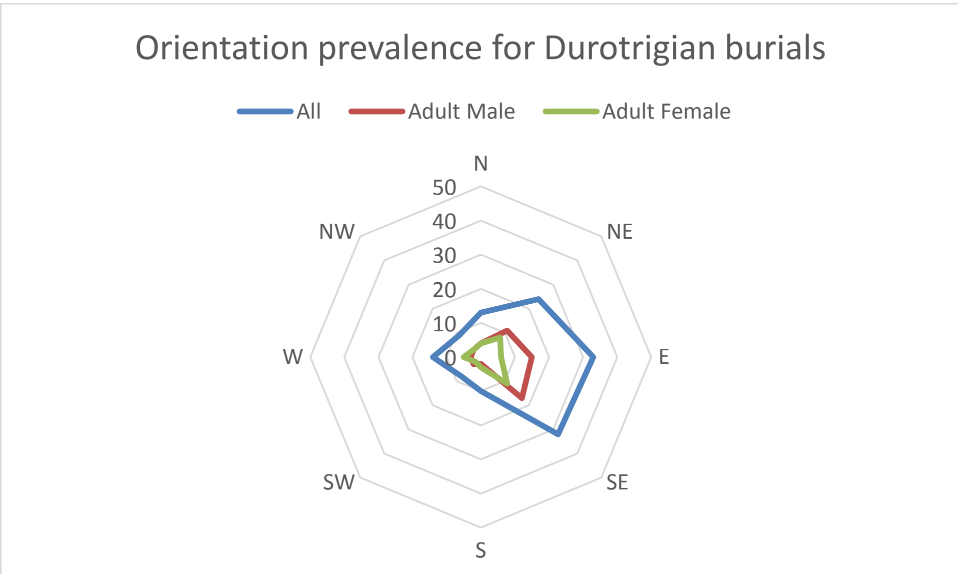


Figure 108. Orientation prevalence for entire Durotrigian dataset.

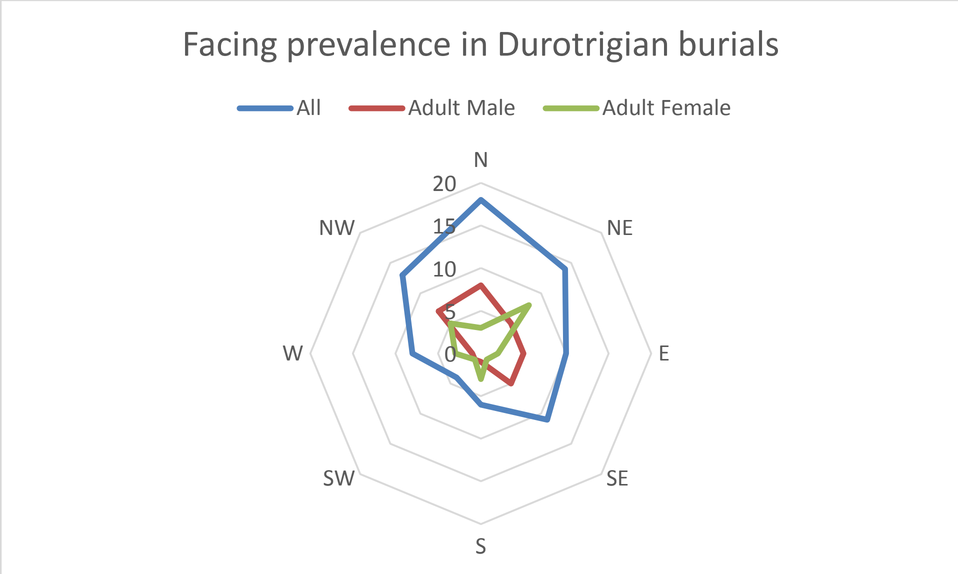


Figure 109. Prevalence of direction of skull facing for entire Durotrigian dataset.

7.4.1.4. Durotrigian Burials: Side Prevalence

It appears males were more likely to be placed on their right and females on their left (Figure 110; Appendix F. 31).

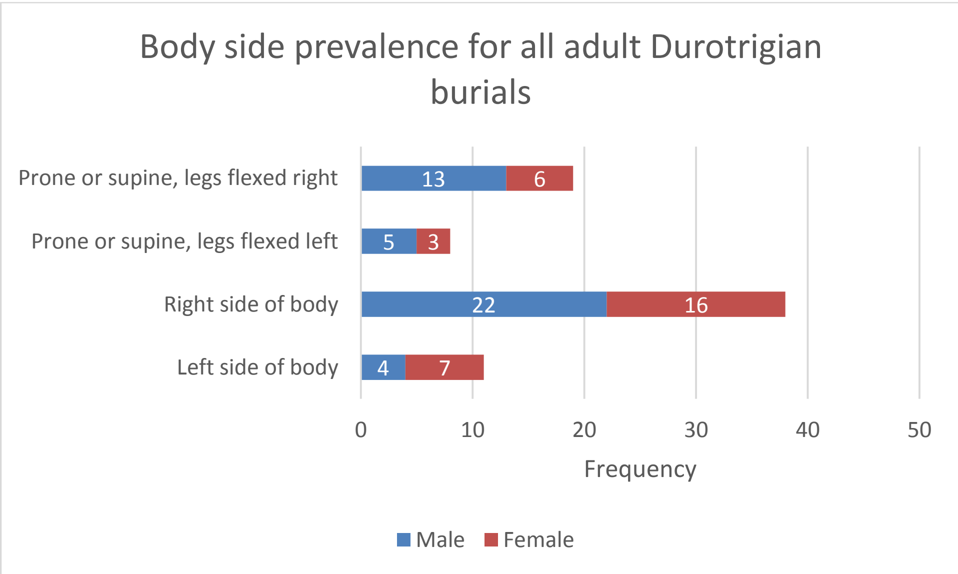


Figure 110. Body side prevalence for entire Durotrigian dataset.

7.4.1.5. Durotrigian Burials: Hill-forts

In order to attempt to detect variation within the dataset, and enable comparison with Hamlin's (2007) study, the Durotrigian dataset was divided into two groups. Below are the Durotrigian type data from the hill-forts Poundbury and Maiden Castle, which together account for 51.9% (N=102) of the dataset.

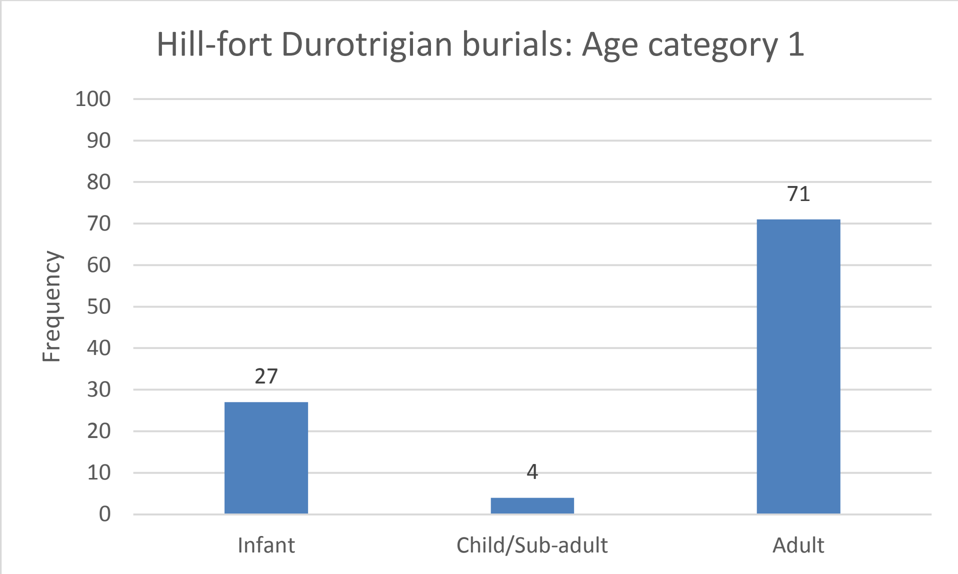


Figure 111. Hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 1.

Within the hill-fort sample there was an apparent tendency to inter adults, with sub-adults, in particular, being underrepresented (Figure 111-Figure 112; Appendix F. 32-3). Even accounting for the nine indeterminate adults, the hill-fort population is dominated by young adults.

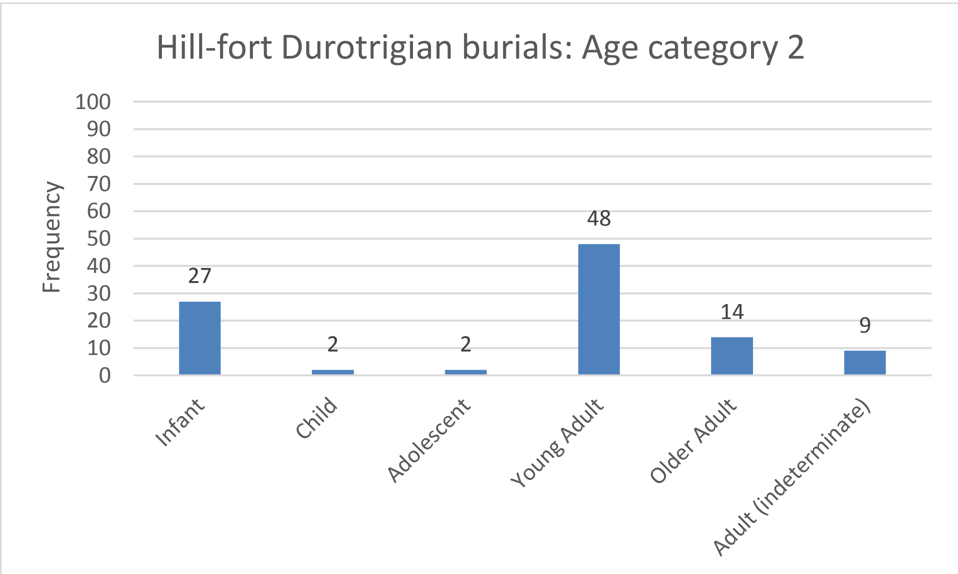


Figure 112. Hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 2.

Some of these young adults may have just reached skeletal maturity (Table 33) (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994, 43, fig. 20). However, it seems unlikely that potential skeletal maturity related to the decision to bury these people at hill-forts. Reasons for this include the lack of precise ageing available for the sample, with only spheno-occipital synchrodosis, clavicle-medial epiphysis, and some developments in the sacrum being indicators of skeletal maturity in males in their twenties (*ibid*.). The original osteological report for Maiden Castle made no mention of observations which support this idea. Furthermore, it seems more likely that indiscriminate killing, rather than cultural practices determined the composition of the Belgic War Cemetery.

Site	Location	Age (years)	Sex	Period
Poundbury	265 (C)	17	Female	LIA
Poundbury	432 (C)	>25	Male	LIA
Poundbury	454 (C)	25	Male	ERIA
Poundbury	459 (C)	>25	Male	ERIA
Poundbury	1396 (F)	25	Male	ERIA
Poundbury	1399 (F)	>25	Female	ERIA
Maiden Castle	T16	20-30	Male	LIA
Maiden Castle	T29	"Adolescent"	Female	LIA
Maiden Castle	P6	25-30	Male	ERIA (Belgic War Cemetery)
Maiden Castle	P7	25-30	Male	ERIA (Belgic War Cemetery)
Maiden Castle	P7A	20-30	Male	ERIA (Belgic War Cemetery)
Maiden Castle	P11	20-30	Male	ERIA (Belgic War Cemetery)
Maiden Castle	P12	20-30	Male	ERIA (Belgic War Cemetery)
Maiden Castle	P18	20-30	Male	ERIA (Belgic War Cemetery)
Maiden Castle	P20	18-20	Female	ERIA (Belgic War Cemetery)
Maiden Castle	P38	25-30	Male	ERIA (Belgic War Cemetery)
Maiden Castle	P39	25-30	Male	ERIA (Belgic War Cemetery)

Table 33. Young adults from Durotrigian hill-forts who may have only just achieved skeletal maturity at the time of death.

The hill-fort sample differs from the entire Durotrigian dataset in that males are much better represented across all adult age groups (Figure 113-Figure *114*, Appendix F. 34-5).

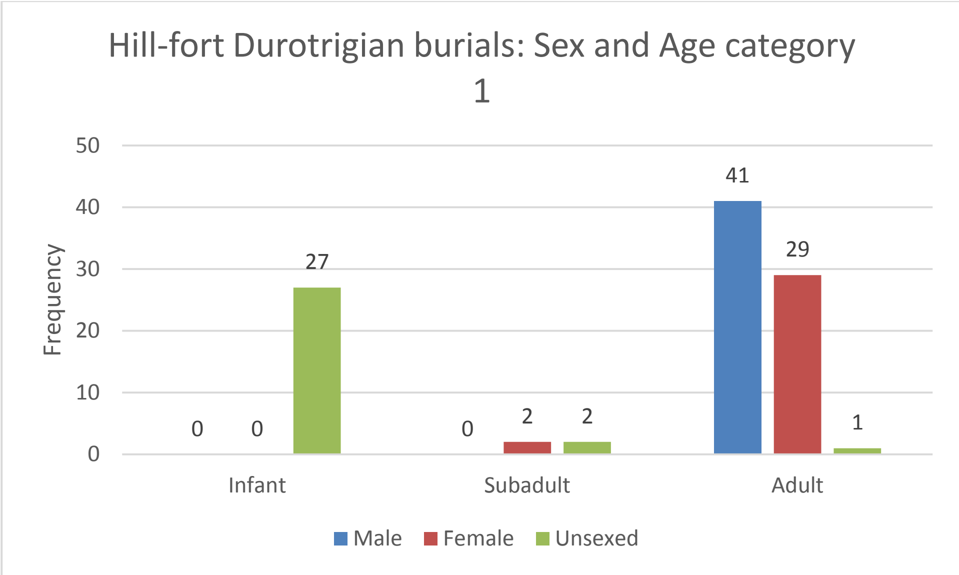


Figure 113. Hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 1.

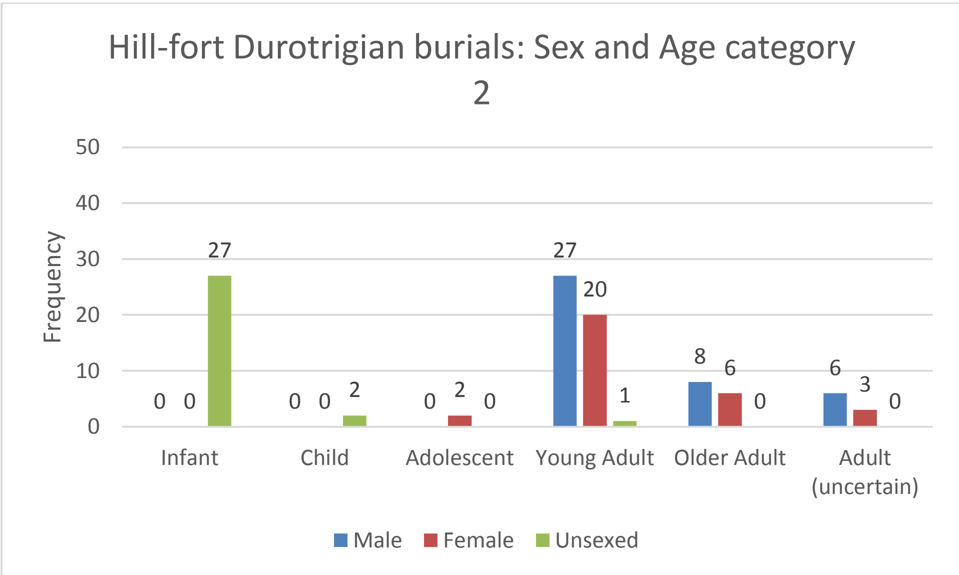


Figure 114. Hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 2.

The evidence for E and SE orientations is clearer than in the entire Durotrigian dataset (Figure 115, Appendix F. 36). As with the entire dataset, orientation does not appear to have been influenced by biological sex. The pattern observed for cranial facing (Figure 116; Appendix F. 37) is more marked than that observed for the entire Durotrigian sample, with a restricted range of orientations between NE and SE. A greater aversion to placing the deceased facing between the S and NW is also apparent. The preferred body side for burials from hill-forts is less clear than for the entire Durotrigian sample, and it appears that the right side of the body was preferred for both sexes (Figure 117; Appendix F. 38).

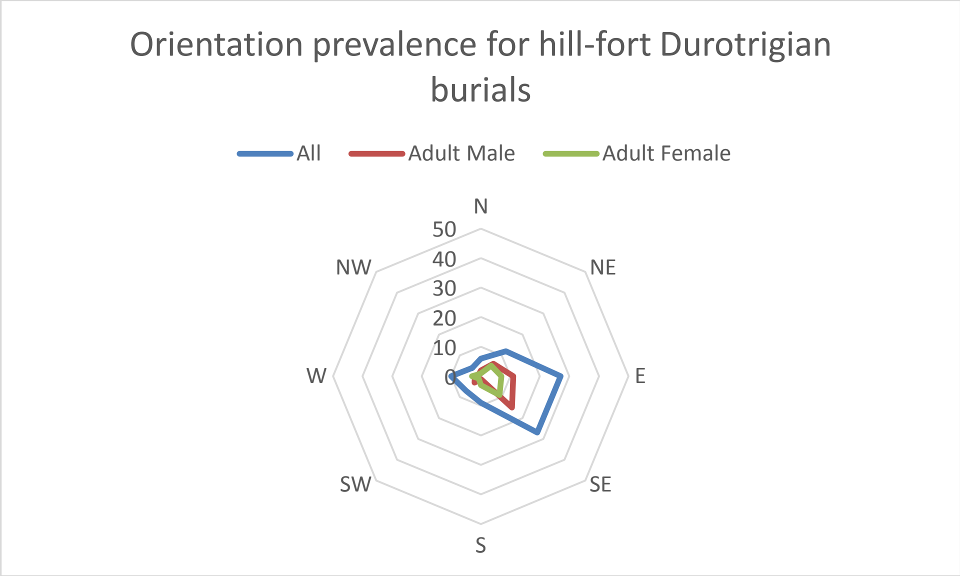


Figure 115. Orientation prevalence for hill-fort Durotrigian dataset.

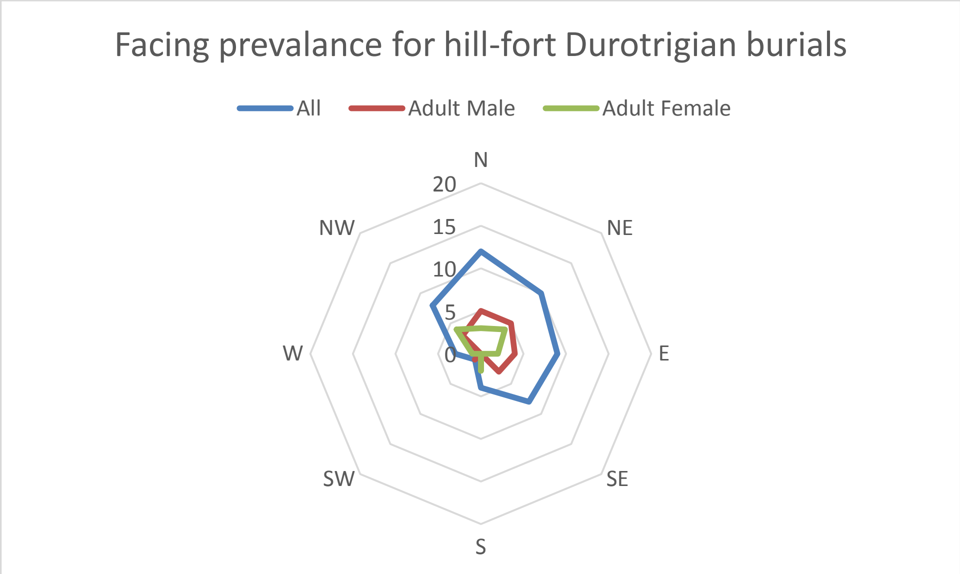


Figure 116. Prevalence of direction of crania facing for Durotrigian burials from hill-forts.

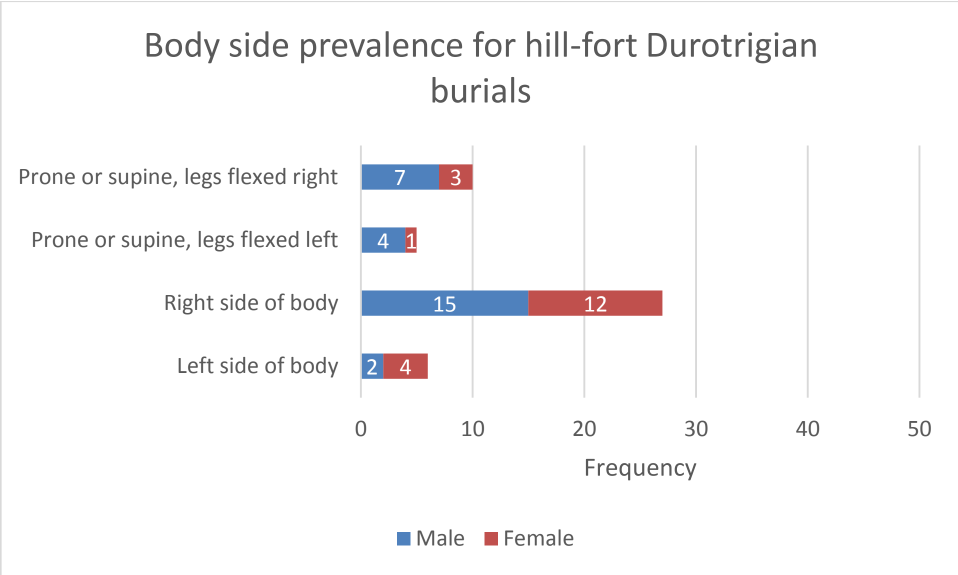


Figure 117. Body side prevalence for Durotrigian burials from hill-forts.

7.4.1.6. Non-hill-fort Durotrigian Burials

Within the non-hill-fort sample adults are likewise well represented, whilst sub-adults form a minority of the population (Figure 118-Figure *119*; Appendix F. 39-40). The absence of infants is in contrast to the hill-fort sample, but not unsurprising considering archaeological mortality profiles. In terms of different sexes within each age class (Figure 120-Figure 121; Appendix F. 41-2) there is a greater parity of adult males and females. Indeed, within the older adult population females are better represented.

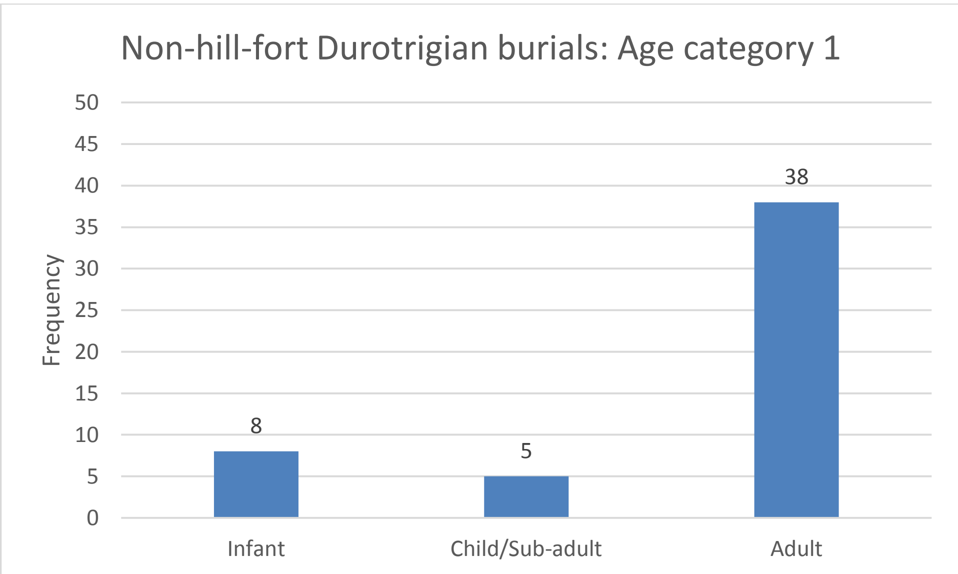


Figure 118. Non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 1.

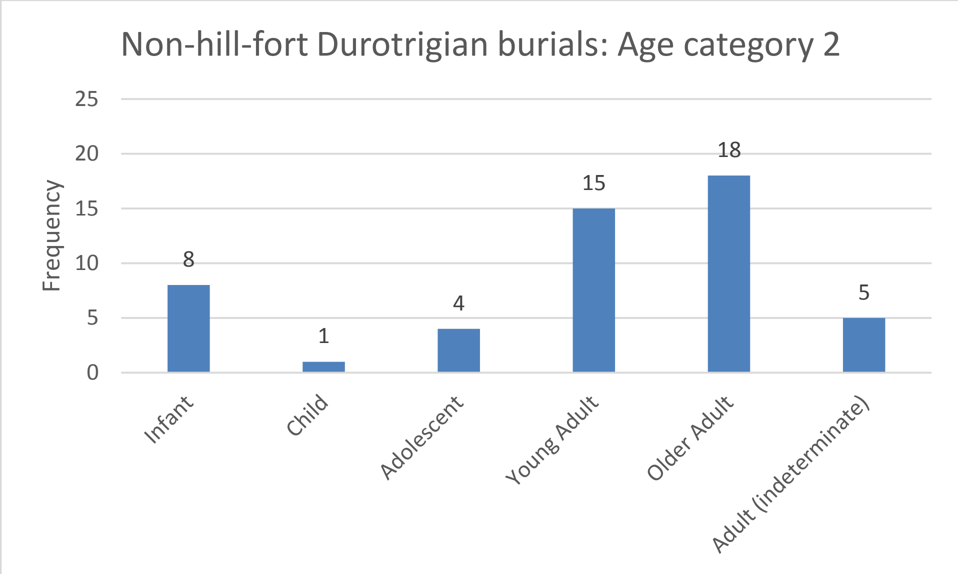


Figure 119. Non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 2.

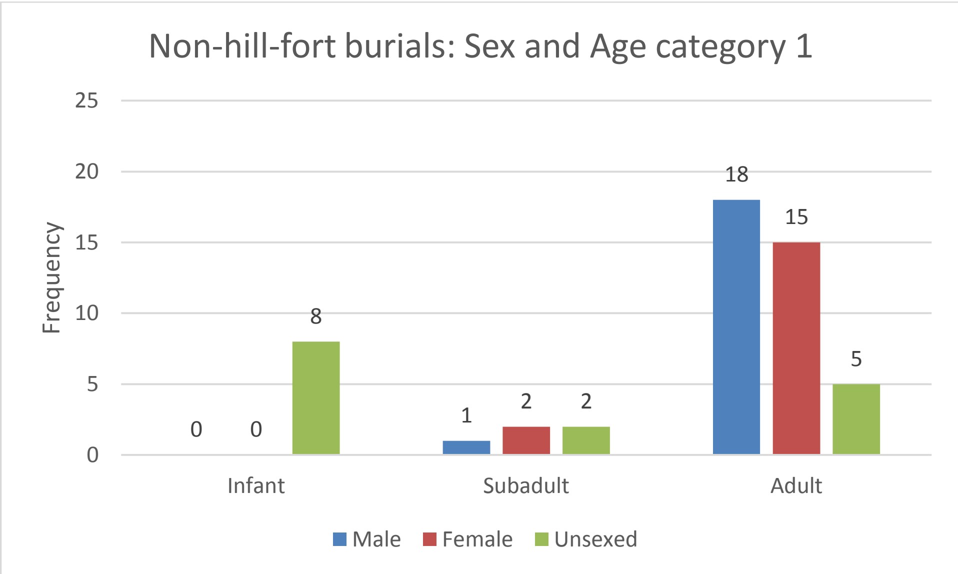


Figure 120. Non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 1.

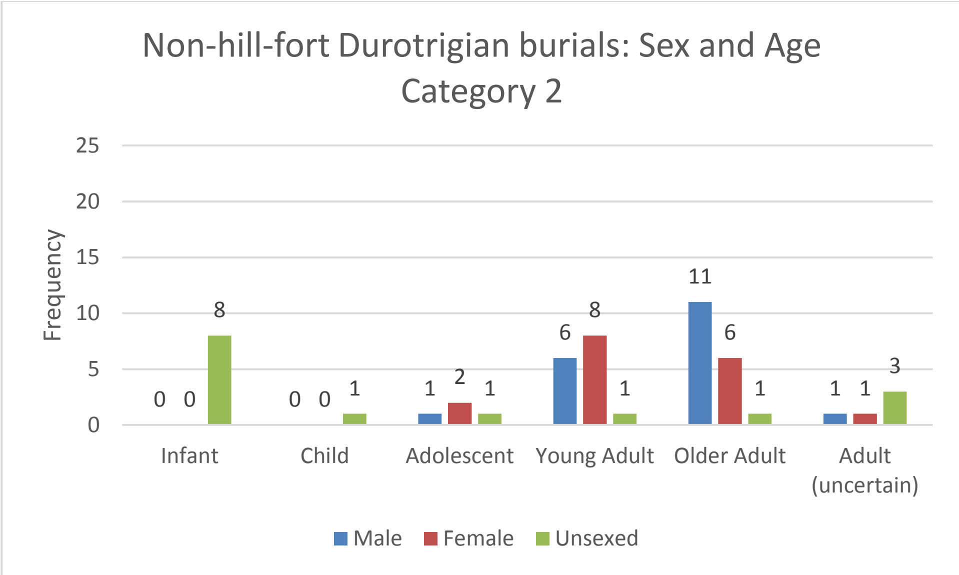


Figure 121. Non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 2.

The orientation observed at non-hill-fort sites accords with that observed for the hill-fort population, albeit with most skeletons orientated within a narrow NE range, rather than towards the SE. The quantities of sexed adults make is difficult to detect any meaningful patterns between males and females, but the limited sample available suggests that sex was not a determining factor (Figure 122; Appendix F. 43). No facing pattern is apparent within this sample (Figure 123; Appendix F. 44). All that may be said is that, in contrast to the hill-fort population, there was no aversion to facing towards the west. The sample is too small to determine any meaningful association between preferred body side and sex. However, within the sample the left side was more closely associated with females (Figure 124; Appendix F. 45).

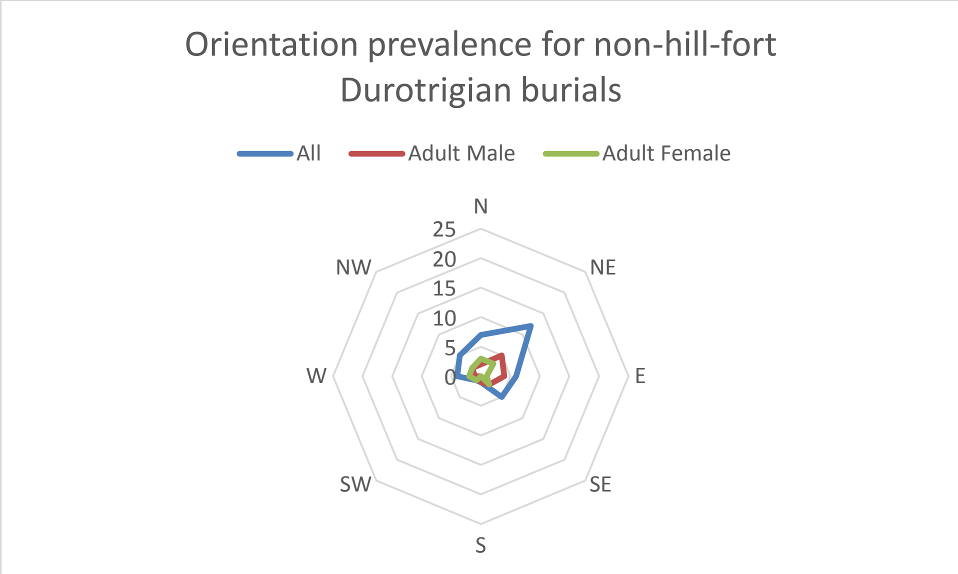


Figure 122. Orientation prevalance for non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset.

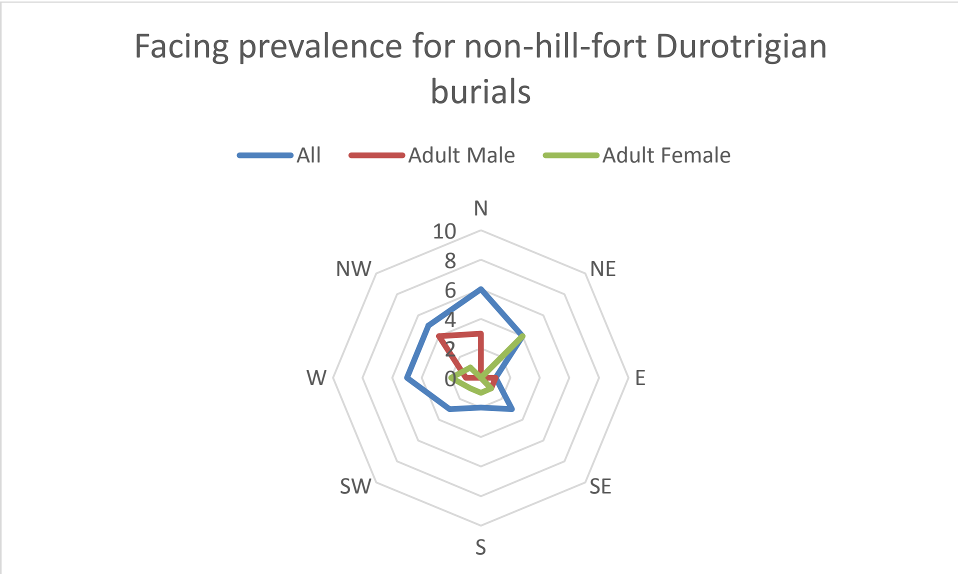


Figure 123. Prevalence of direction of cranial facing for Durotrigian burials from non-hill-forts.

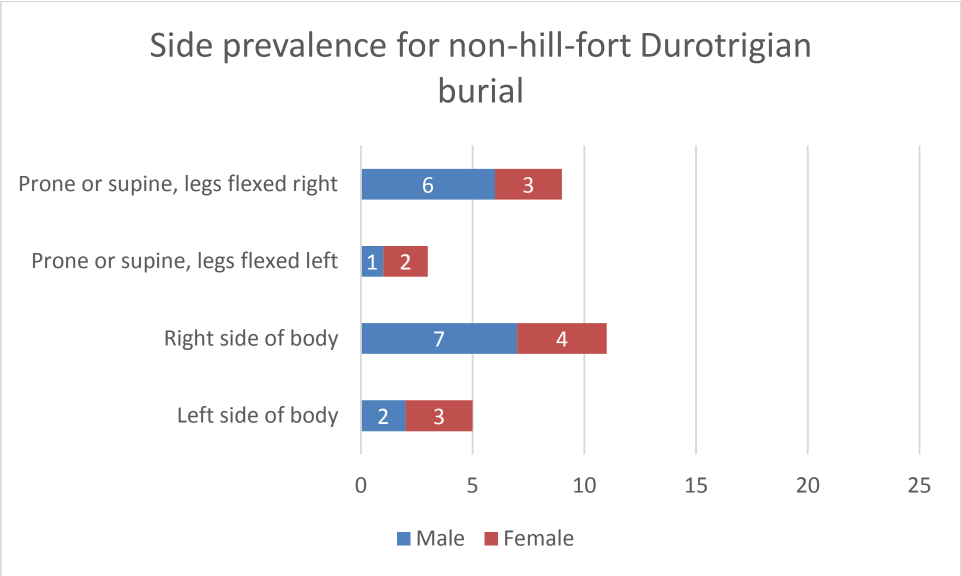


Figure 124. Body side prevalence for Durotrigian burials from non-hill-forts.

7.4.2. Kentish Inhumations

The Kentish sample was analysed according to three sub-samples:

- All inhumations from grave contexts
- The Mill Hill cemetery
- LIA and ERIA burials

7.4.2.1. Kentish Inhumations from Grave Contexts

As with the Durotrigian samples, access to the rite of inhumation within the Kentish group appears to have been tied to age; with adults representing the majority of the population (Figure 125-Figure 126; Appendix F. 46-7). In contrast to the Durotrigian sample, sub-adults, not infants, were the second most prevalent group. A parity of sexes is apparent within Kentish inhumations. Although the data are limited, it does not appear that sex was a determining factor in access to this rite, in contrast to the hill-fort Durotrigian population (Figure 127-Figure 128; Appendix F. 48-9).

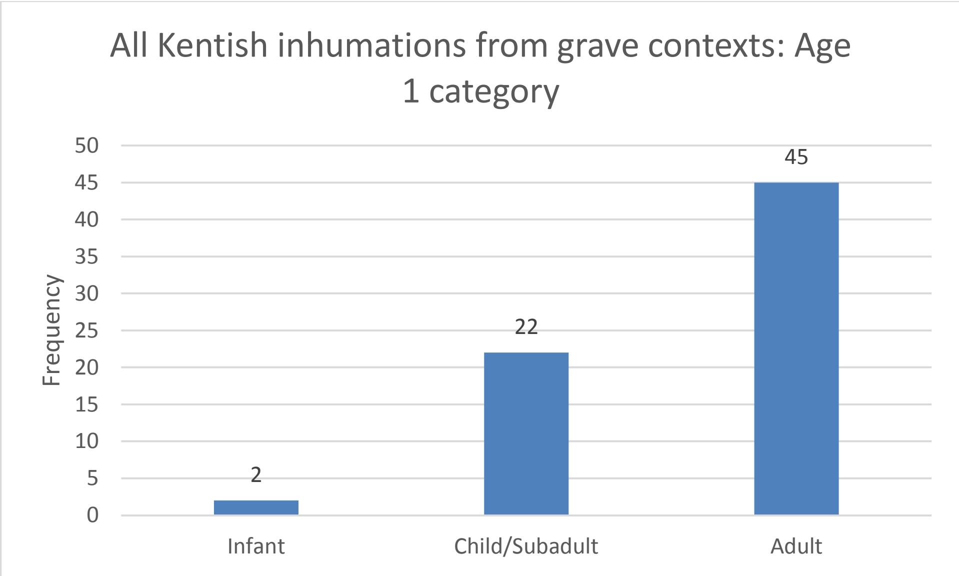


Figure 125. Kentish inhumation grave dataset classified according to Age category 1.

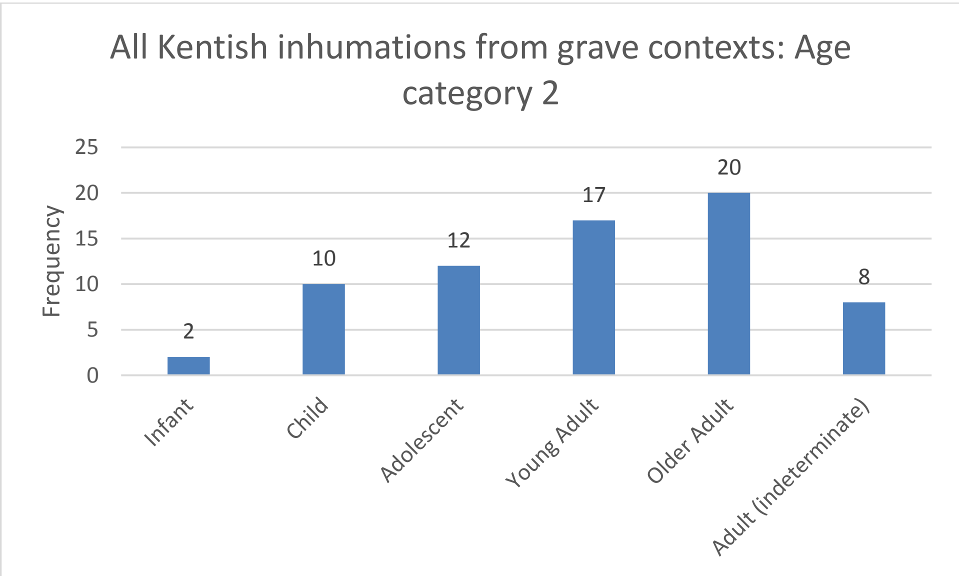


Figure 126. Kentish inhumation grave dataset classified according to Age category 2.

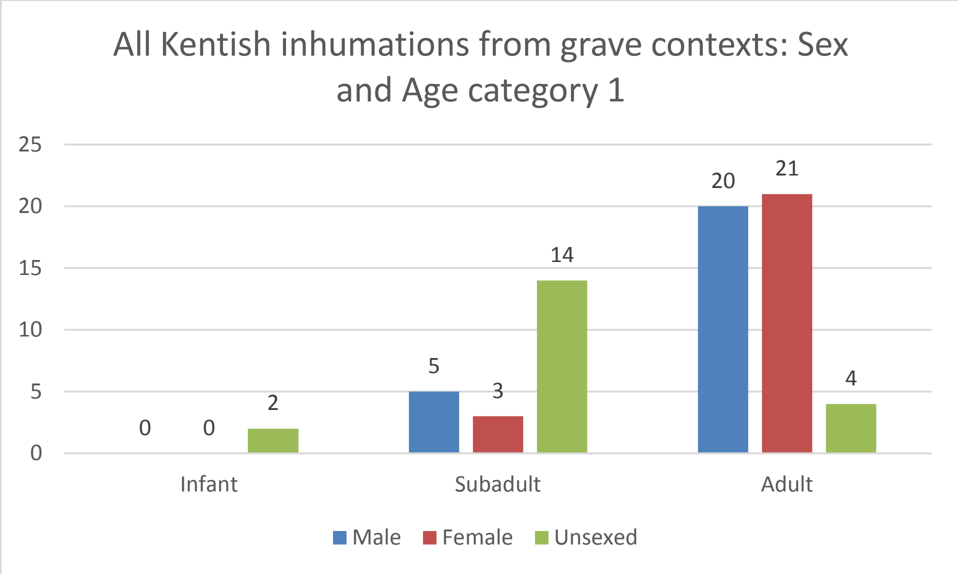


Figure 127. Kentish inhumation grave dataset classified according to sex and Age category 1.

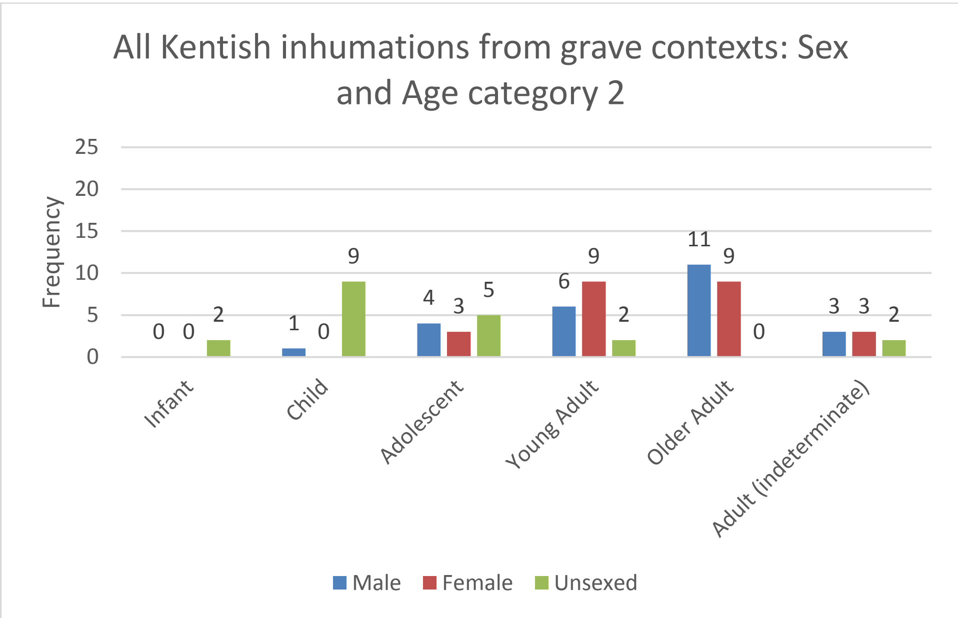


Figure 128. Kentish inhumation grave dataset classified according to sex and Age category 2.

The dataset for orientation is small, however N and SW-SE orientations were recorded for both males and females (Figure 129; Appendix F. 50). N, E and to a lesser extent, SW directions are the most frequent (Figure 130; Appendix F. 51). It is unwise to attribute too much significance to this. The dominance of the Mill Hill sample, where extended, supine positions dominated, means that the facial direction of the cranium likely originates more from the above described post-mortem movement, than from deliberate positiong (Duday 2009, 18; Knüsel 2014, 34). The dominance of the Mill Hill cemetery also means that only 11 individuals were recorded on an anotmical side; a number too small to be informative (see Appendix F. 52)

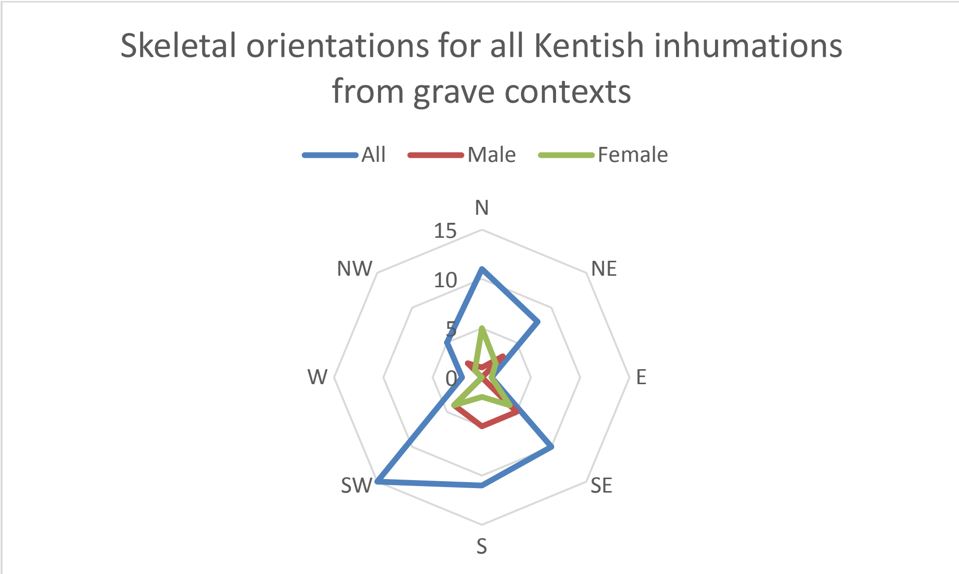


Figure 129. Orientation prevalence for Kentish inhumation grave dataset.

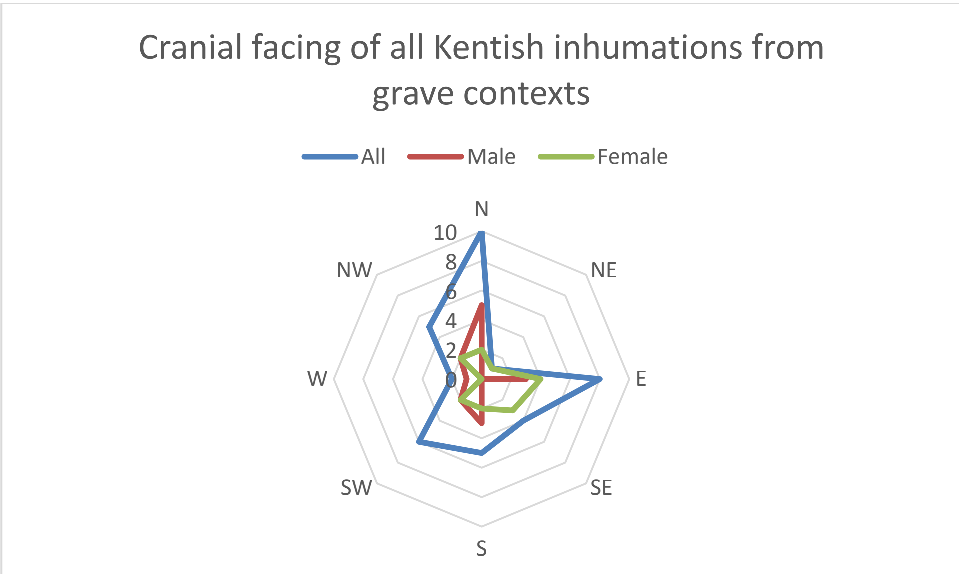


Figure 130. Prevalence of direction of cranial facing for Kentish inhumation grave dataset.

7.4.2.2. Kentish Inhumations: Mill Hill

Owing to the fact the cemetery at Mill Hill represents the largest single site for inhumation burials within the eastern zone, it was considered apart from the rest of the Kentish inhumation dataset. It is unsurprising, considering the size of the Mill Hill sample (58% of the Kentish inhumation dataset examined), that the results largely accord with those observed for the entire Kentish inhumation dataset (Figure 131; Appendix F. 54).

Although the underrepresentation of infant burials could be argued to originate from poor soil conditions at the site, the absence of empty, infant sized graves from Mill Hill argues against this. When considered within the age category 2 scheme (Figure 132; Appendix F. 55), the pattern from Mill Hill differs from those at Durotrigian burials in that infants are almost totally lacking, whilst there is a parity both younger and older adults. The distribution of sexes at Mill Hill (Figure 133-Figure 134; Appendix F. 56-7) accord with those observed for the entire Kentish dataset, and suggest that among adults, sex was not a determining factor in gaining access to the cemetery.

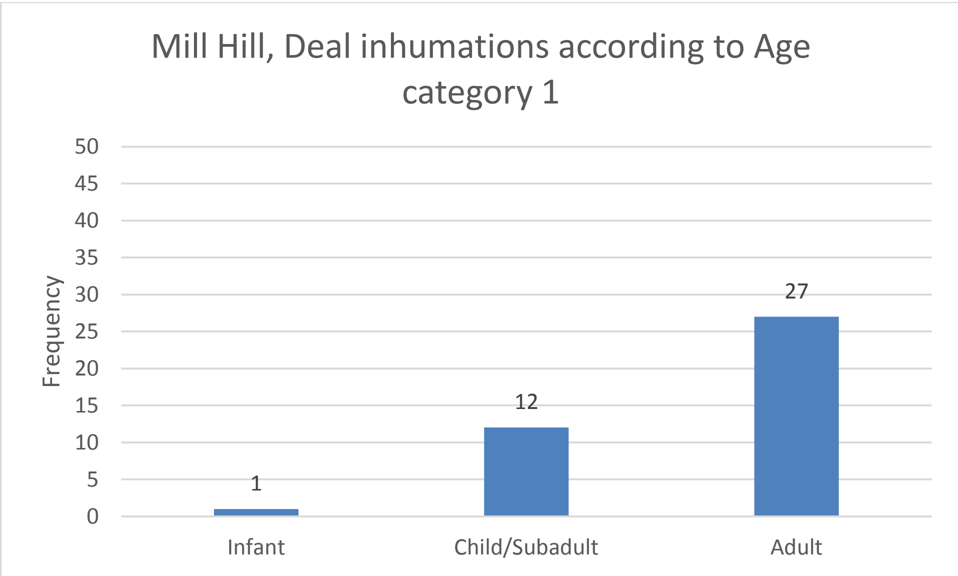


Figure 131. Mill Hill inhumations classified according to Age category 1.

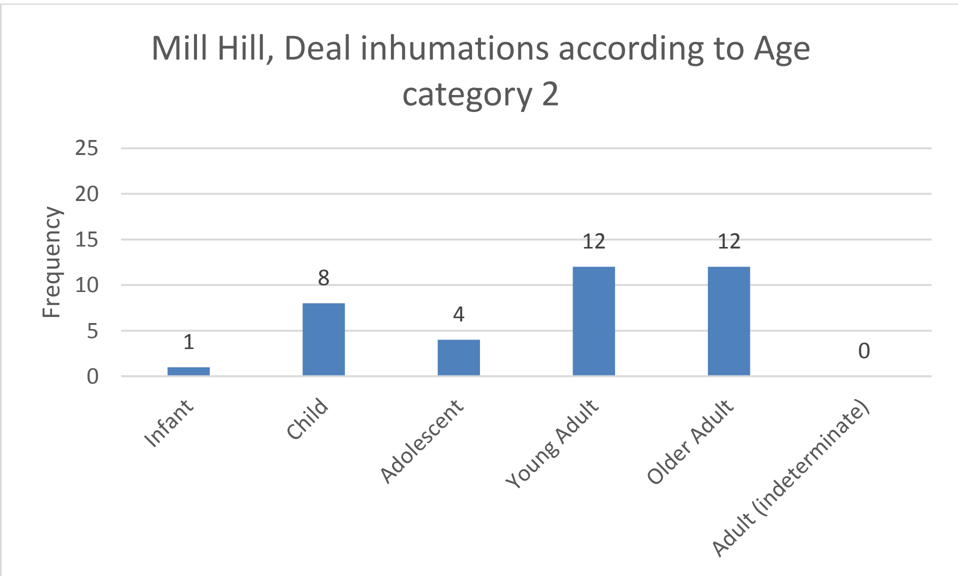


Figure 132. Mill Hill inhumations classified according to Age category 2.

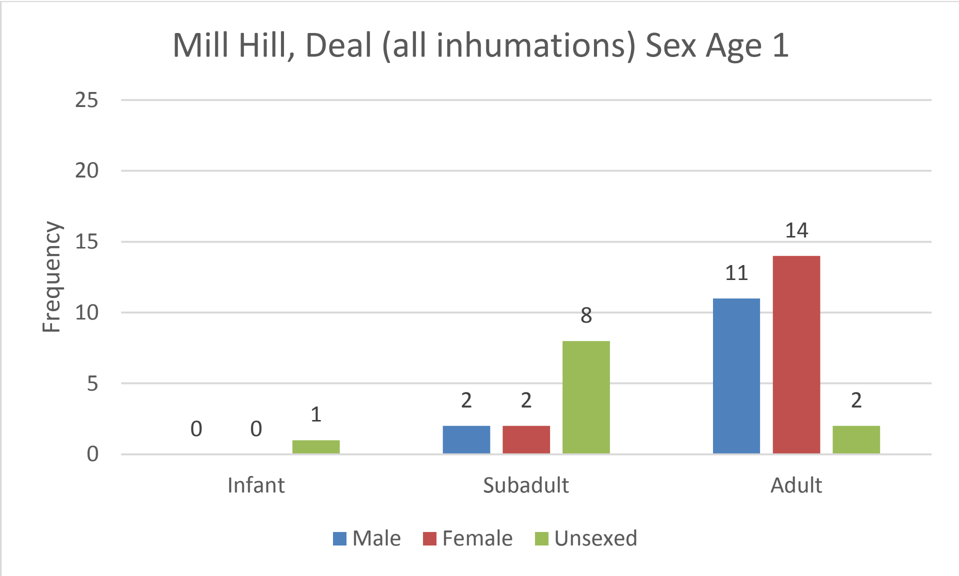


Figure 133. Mill Hill inhumations classified according to sex and Age category 1.

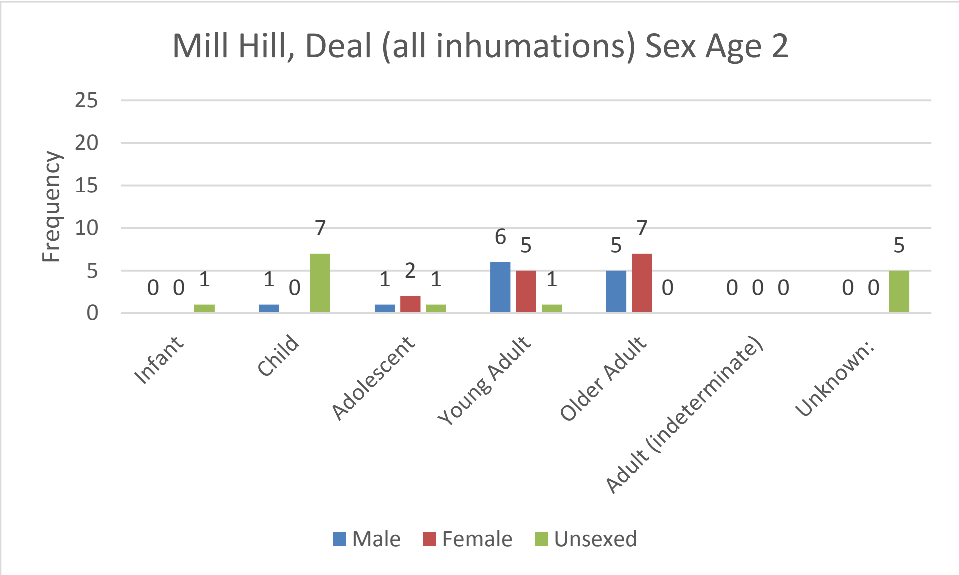


Figure 134. Mill Hill inhumations classified according to sex and Age category 2.

It appears the majority of deceased were orientated towards SW directions, albeit with a northward sub-group (Figure 135; Appendix F. 58). As with access to the cemetery itself, sex does not appear to have been a determining factor among adults. Patterns for facing are uninformative due to the fact facing could not be determined for 15 individuals, and in any case are likely due to the post-mortem movements noted above (Figure 136; Appendix F. 59). Only eight individuals at Mill Hill were recorded positioned on an anatomical side; the majority being supine and extended.

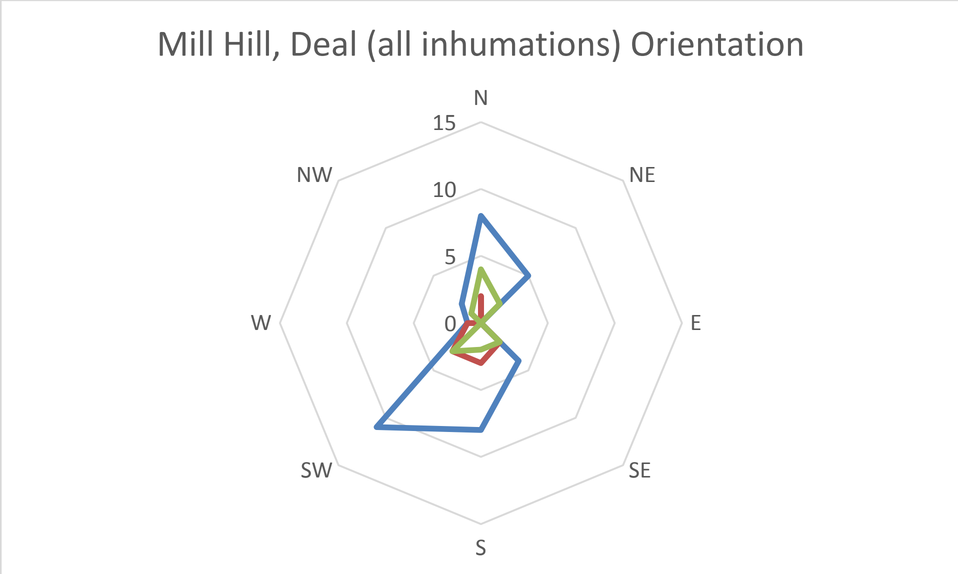


Figure 135. Orientation prevalence of Mill Hill inhumations.

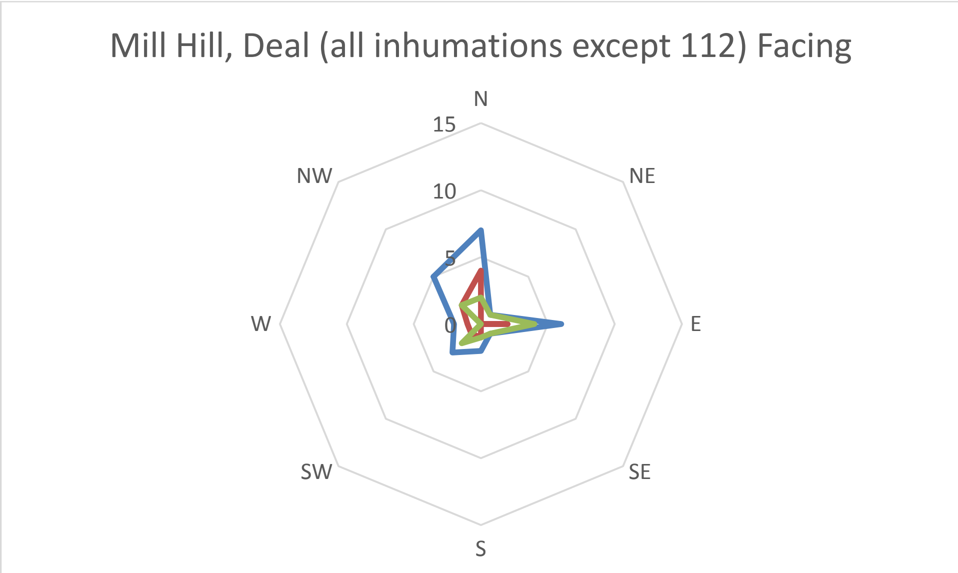


Figure 136. Prevalence of direction of skull facing for Mill Hill inhumations.

7.4.2.3. LIA and ERIA Kentish Inhumations

Although it had been intended to consider only those LIA/ERIA inhumation from non-Mill Hill graves, this represents only 12 burials, of which one (Westhawk Farm Group 5130) is an empty grave. Thus in order to obtain meaningful patterns, LIA/ERIA inhumations from Mill Hill were included in the analysis (Figure 137-Figure *138*; Appendix F. 60-1).

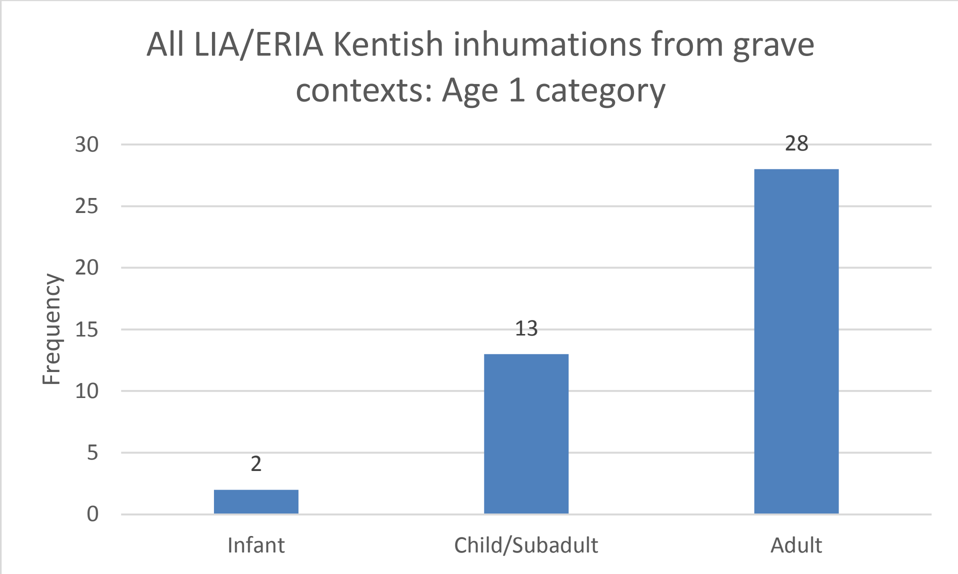


Figure 137. LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations classified according to Age category 1.

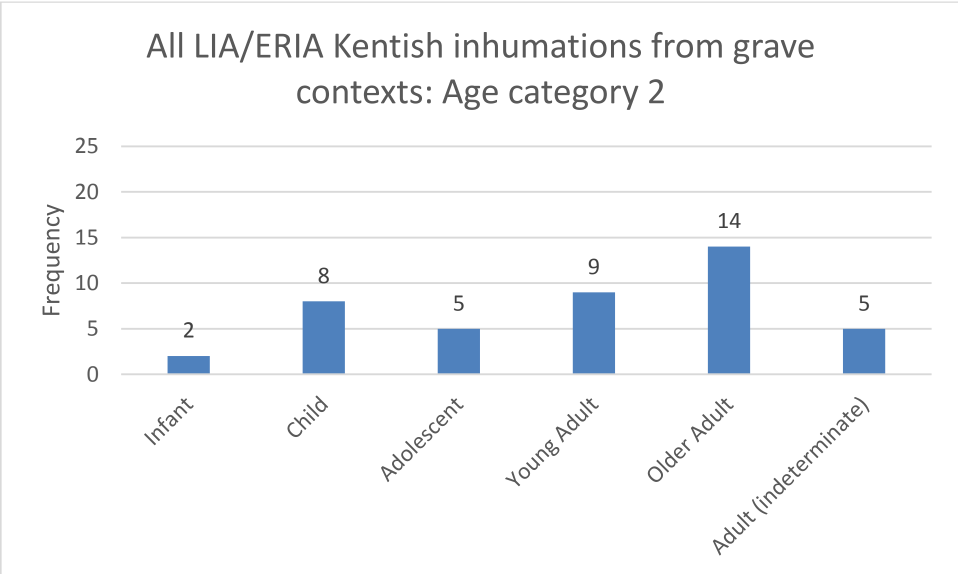


Figure 138. LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations classified according to Age category 2.

All age classes are represented in the LIA/ERIA sample, reflecting the pattern observed in analyses containing MIA data. Although most of the data is from Mill Hill, a greater parity of sexes is observed in the LIA/ERIA, than that of the entirety of the Mill Hill sample (Figure 139-Figure 140; Appendix F. 62-3). The observed pattern is comparable to that observed for non-hill-fort Durotrigian burials. Although sex did not restrict access to the formalised inhumation rite, it should be remembered that some sites (e.g. Brisley Farm) were represented entirely by a single sex. However, in such examples the distinctive nature of the burial (weapon burials) appears to have precluded certain sexes.

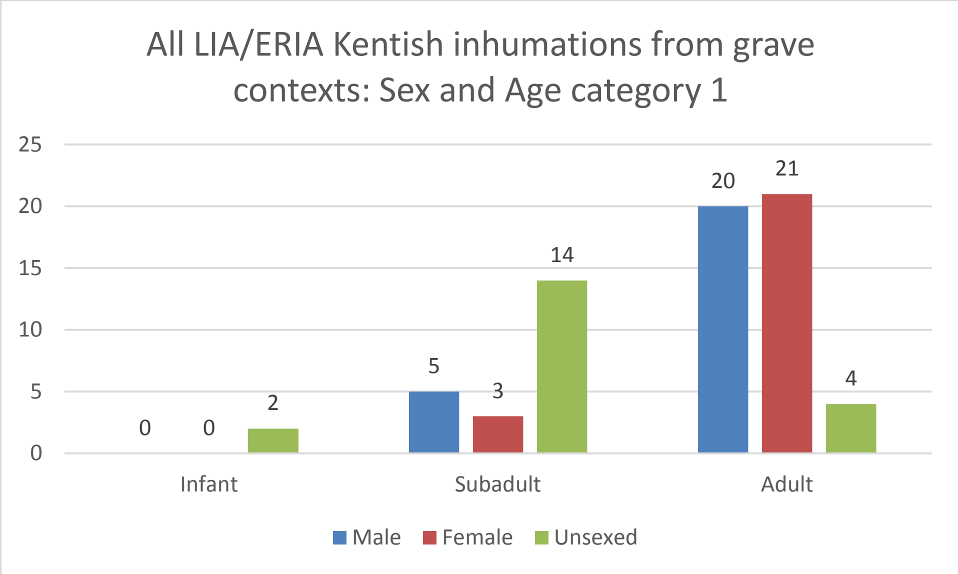


Figure 139. LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations classified according to sex and Age category 1.

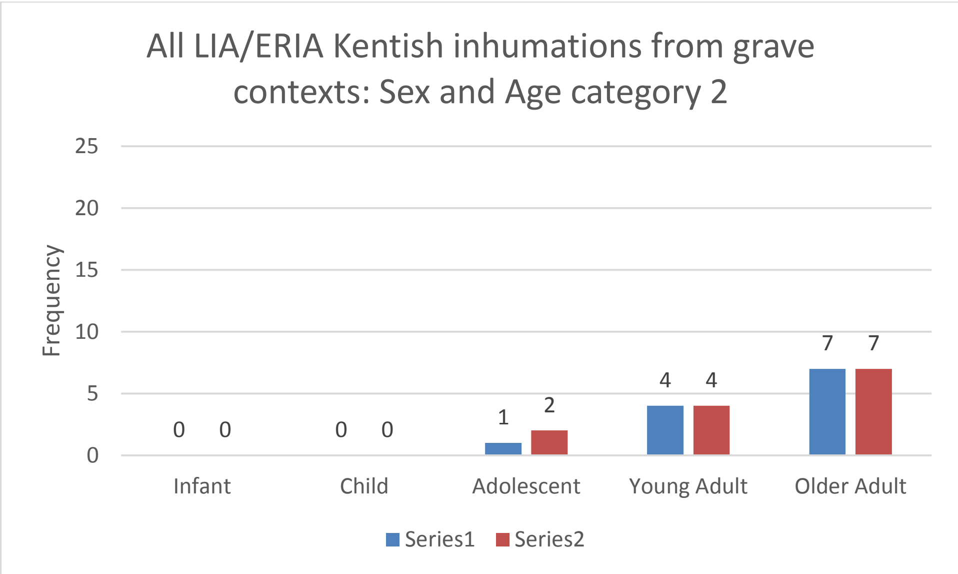


Figure 140. LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations classified according to sex and Age category 2.

Orientation and skull facing within the LIA/ERIA sample (Figure 141-Figure 142; Appendix F. 64-5) is comparable to that observed for the entire, and Mill Hill samples. Although the proportion of Mill Hill burials within the sample is a major factor, continuity with the MIA practices are present.

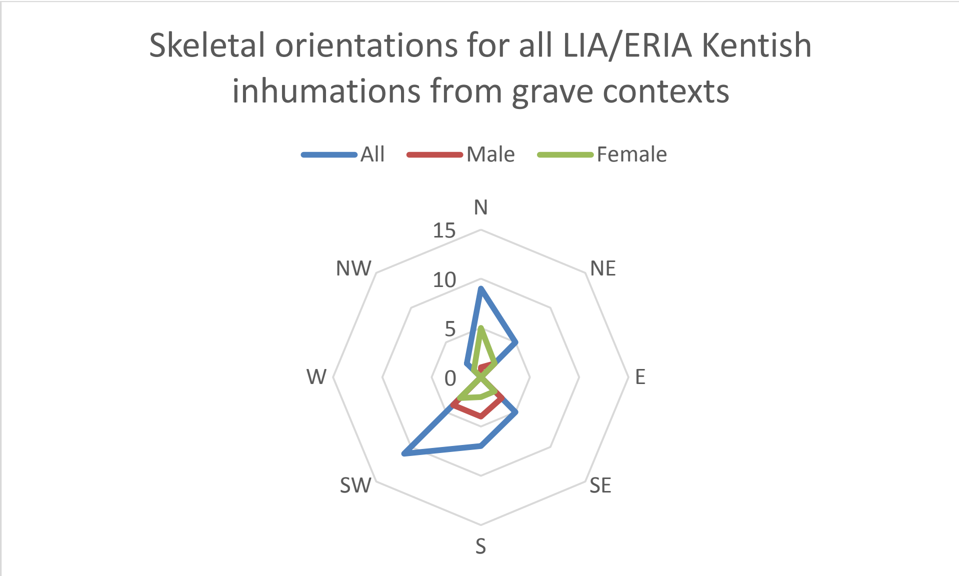


Figure 141. Orientation prevalance for LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations.

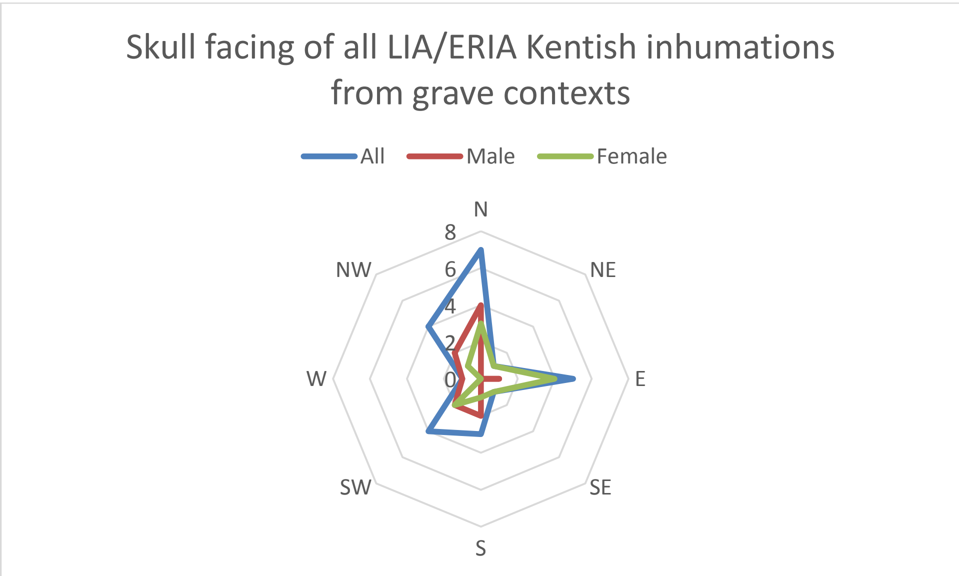


Figure 142. Prevalence of direction of skull facing for LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations.

7.4.3. South-west (SW) Inhumations

Owing to the small size of the dataset, the SW inhumations were considered in their entirety.

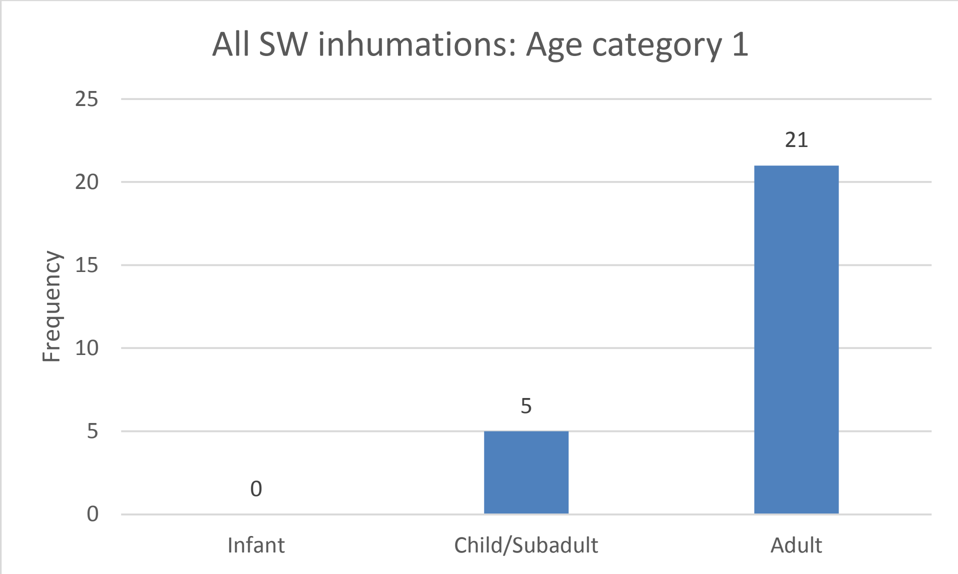


Figure 143. SW inhumations classified according to Age category 1.

Likely due to the hostile soil conditions within the SW zone, infants and sub-adults were underrepresented (Figure 143Figure 144; Appendix F. 68-9). The acidic soils at Trethellan Farm (Nowakowski 1991, 216), Bryher (Johns 2003, 10), Trevone (Dudley and Jope 1965, 18), Hughtown (Ashbee 1954, 9) and to a lesser extent Poynter's Garden (Dudley 1961, 226) can account for this. In contrast to Mill Hill, however, infants within the SW are recovered from adult sized graves, and thus the possibility that adult sized graves which contained no human remains may have original held children exists. Soil conditions likewise frustrate attempts to determine the composition of the adult population (Figure 145-Figure 146; Appendix 70-1), with only six adults classified beyond the more general "adult" category. The limited data available for sub-adults is likewise uninformative. Information relating to the sex of SW inhumations is also lacking. Certainly both sexes were present, and in light of the above it is questionable to what extent this was a male dominated rite.

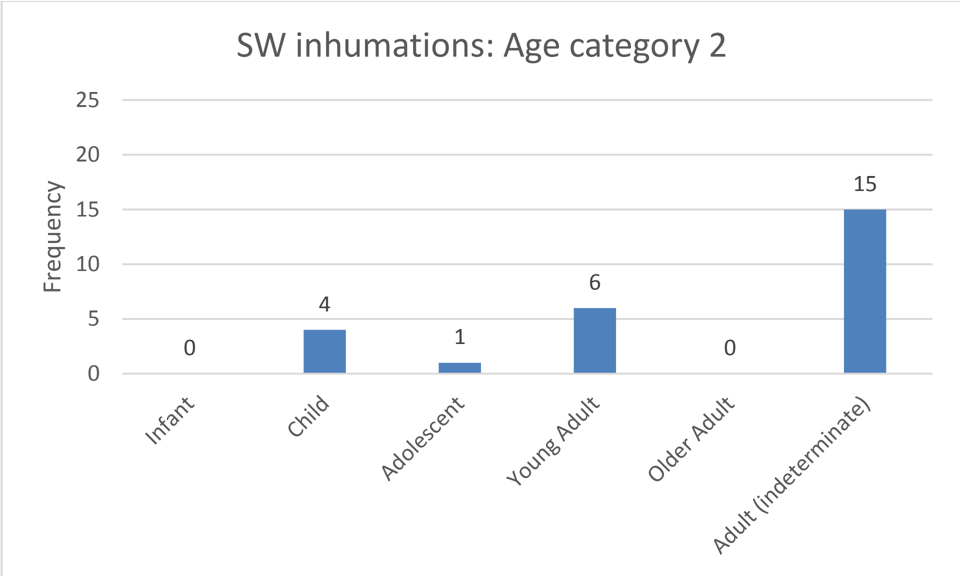


Figure 144. SW inhumations classified according to Age category 2.

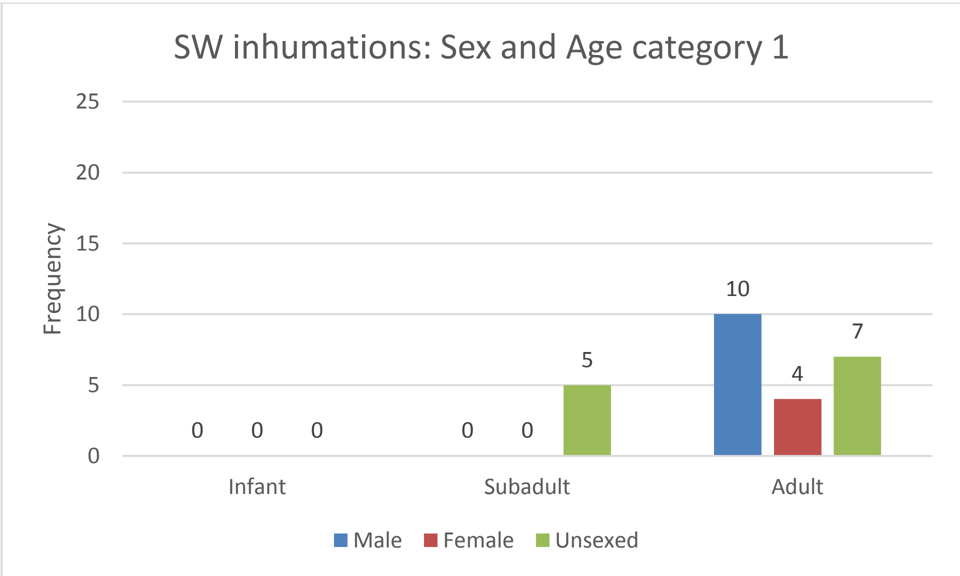


Figure 145. SW inhumations classified according to sex and Age category 1.

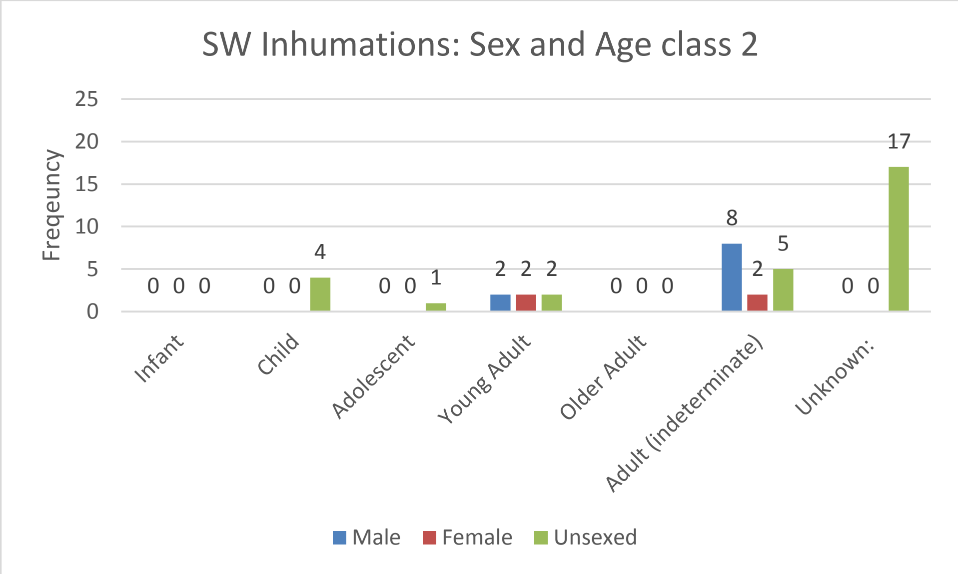


Figure 146. SW inhumations classified according to sex and Age category 2.

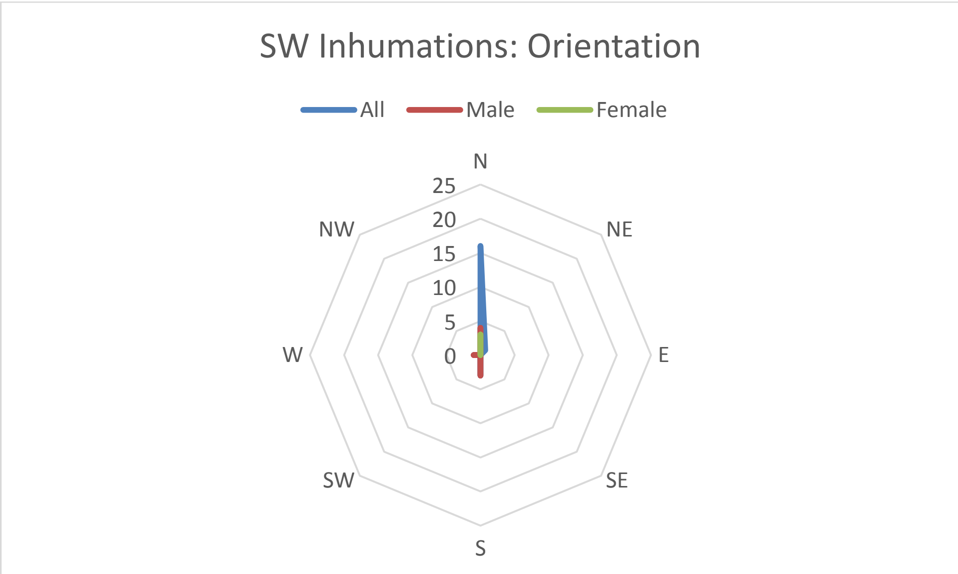


Figure 147. Orientation prevalence for SW inhumations.

The orientation of SW inhumations is the most uniform of any mortuary culture; with the majority of burials recovered orientated towards N (Figure 147; Appendix F. 72). That three females were orientated N does not suggest that sex governed orientation. Data pertaining to the direction of skull facing was available for only 13 individuals, and the patterns observed (orientations towards the W and E) are of limited use (Appendix F. 73). Only nine instances of a skeleton recovered on its anatomical side are noted. Of these eight (six males, two females) were placed on their right.

7.5. British Context

Roth's analysis of inhumations found no general trend in terms of age categories and periods for the British Iron Age. Instead such patterns that did exist appeared to be local (Roth 2011, 127); as appears to be the case in the study area. Sub-adults were more likely to be buried in ditches, whereas adults were more likely to be deposited in graves and pits (*ibid*, 127); again in accordance with the patterns observed in this study. In contrast, sub-adults outnumbered adults in the MIA, but this was reversed in the LIA (*ibid*, 124). This suggests the existence of different practices or variables (pathological, taphonomical, geological etc.) in the English Midlands to those in the study area. The above does, however, accord with Roth's finding that in her larger sample child inhumations outnumbered adults. Likewise, in her smaller sample adult inhumations outnumbered subadults in the MIA, whilst in the LIA the situation was reversed (*ibid*, 124). In the east and north of Roth's study area older sub-adults and adults, particularly in the MIA, are better represented in the archaeological record (*ibid*, 292). This contrasts with the study area, where younger adults are more prevalent. The reasons for this are unclear, however elevated levels of maternal death or interpersonal violence within the study area are candidates.

Wilson's suggestion that female and child inhumations were more common prior to the LIA (Wilson 1981, 146), appears to be substantiated. Of the positively sexed individuals from Arras cemeteries, 337 were females (57%) whilst 258 (43%) were males (Giles 2012, 99). In some cemeteries, particularly those in the Great Wold Valley, like Garton Station and Burton Fleming, there was almost a parity between males and females. Some cemeteries, such as Kirkburn, contained only infants (*ibid*, 95, 99). The highest mortality rate was among adults corresponding to the years 15-35, with those aged 20-25 being a poorly represented (*ibid*, 96). Comparisons with the East Yorkshire cemeteries are difficult owing to the non-formalised nature of many of the burials in the study area. Nevertheless, within the study area in all three mortuary cultures (except for SW inhumations for reasons above) males are better represented. To what extent this reflects the ease in identifying males is unclear. The higher representation of 15-35 year olds finds its closest parallels among the Durotrigian graves. Likewise, as at Micheldever Wood, sites overwhelmingly dominated by infant inhumations existed. In West

Yorkshire, Iron Age inhumations of both sexes are also a well-recognised phenomenon (Haselgrove 2016, 440). In south-east Scotland, a parity of sexes and presence of all age groups was also observed at Broxmouth, with a parity of adult sexes at Dryburn Bridge (Armit *et al*. 2013, 94). For both West Yorkshire and Scotland therefore, parallels are apparent within the study area.

Excluding the Kentish extended inhumations, the prevalence for crouched/flexed inhumations has widespread parallels across Britain (Wilson 1981, 163; Stead 1991; Craig *et al*. 2005, 165; Armit *et al*. 2013, 84, 94). Crouched inhumations are a feature of some larger Aylesford-Swarling cemeteries such as King Harry Lane, Baldock, Mucking and Clothall Common, Hertfordshire (Taylor 2001, 68). Indeed, flexed/crouched burials continued in Dorset into the 2nd century AD (Philpott 1991, 222). Flexed/crouched positions are present in both 3rd-2nd century BC Arras cemeteries (Stead 1991), as well as bodies recovered from settlements, such as Wattle Sykes (Martin *et al*. 2013, 39-41) and Micklefield, West Yorkshire (Brown *et al*. 2007, 39-41). Nevertheless, extended, supine positions are also noted in 1st century BC Arras burials (Stead 1991), as is the case for contemporary Kentish data. The results accord with Wilson's (1981, 136) finding that contracted skeletons were rare, though not that the majority occurred in the LIA (*ibid,* 138).

The results do not support Wilson's conclusion that positioning the body on the left side was more prevalent. The general preference for orientationtating the body within a N-E arc is noted above (Wilson 1981, 138), as well as a sizeable number of W orientated bodies. Arras culture burials were typically placed on their left side, head orientated north, although burials on their right side, orientated west are quite common. In the later 1st century BC, with the development of extended burials, E-W orientations also emerged (Sharples 2014, 142-4). The Kentish and SW inhumations display parallels with these MIA practices, whilst the Durotrigian do with those of the LIA. Parker Pearson (1999b, 53) found no relationship between sex, age, orientation or body positioning within Arras culture graves, concluding that such things may have been related to lineage or moiety affiliation. In view of the above it is possible that similar factors govered the orientation of inhumations in the study area.

7.6. Continental Context

The prevalence of inhumation rites in near continental Europe has been noted above and only specific points relating to the above analysis are considered here. Of 269 inhumed individuals for Picardy, 174 were adults, 67 were sub-adults and 28 indeterminate (Pinard *et al*. 2009, 102). Sub-adults thus represented less than 25% of the population, with only 18 individuals being between 0-6 years. At no point in La Tène Picardy do infants represent the majority of those inhumed (Figure 148), and typically ranged between 12.5-40% of the inhumed population (*ibid*). This is in stark contrast to the overall dataset, but the results from the mortuary cultures are comparable. One exception is the late La Tène site of Mory-Montcrux, Oise where only children were inhumed (Blanchet 1983; Malrain *et al*. 2005, 146). This parallels Micheldever Wood and some of the East Yorkshire cemeteries, albeit the Mory-Montcrux only contained five burials. Sex was determined for 174 (64%) of this Picardy sample; 84 males, 76 females and 14 indeterminate; a pattern with its closest parallels among the Kentish and Durotrigian groups.

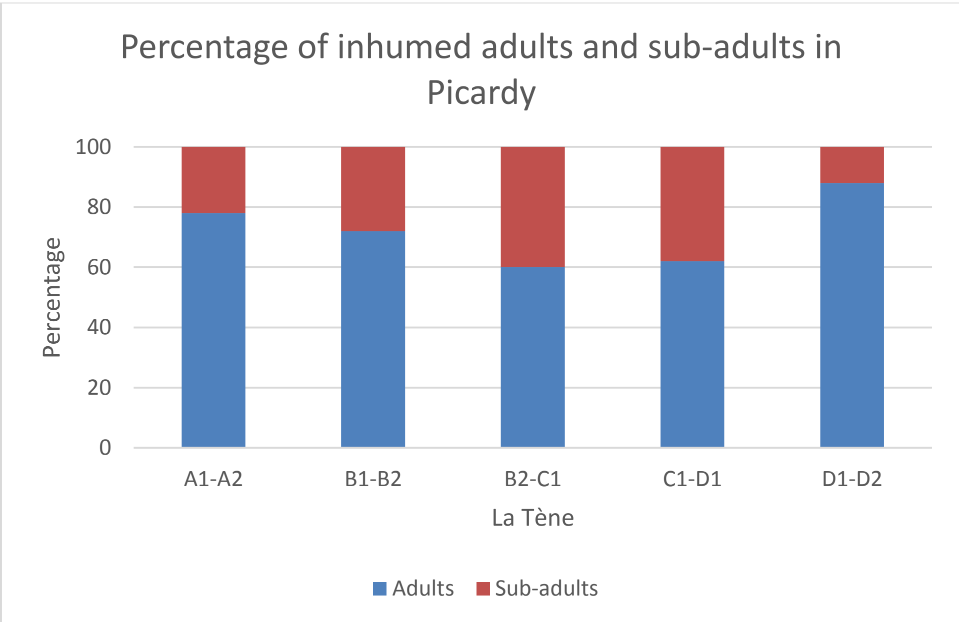


Figure 148. Percentage of adults and sub-adults represented in inhumation graves from Picardy[1] (reproduced from Pinard et al. 2010, 102, fig. 3).

[1] Pinard *et al.* employed a sample of 683 graves to calculate these percentages. Unfortunately, the chronological distribution of these data are unknown to the author, as Dr Pinard was unable to provide the original data used to calculate these percentages (*pers comm.* 21/05/18). As such, only percentages are displayed.

At Bucy-le-Long “La Héronnière”, Aisne, a parity of males and females was observed throughout the cemetery’s use, as is the case for the formal cemeteries in the study area (Pommepuy *et al*. 2004, 264). At this site the final phase saw the creation of numerous children’s graves, which were established in small groups to the north of the cemetery (*ibid*, 267). A similar act of depositing children towards the end of the cemetery’s life is observed at contemporary Suddern Farm. In contrast to the study area, females are more frequently recorded for the period of the 5th-2nd century BC in Picardy (Figure 149), however, the ratio which Pinard *et al.* (2009, 103) calculated for male and female inhumations was slight (1:0.904). The higher proportion of females may in fact result from females being easier to sex than males. In the 1st century BC, the only two inhumations recorded were male (*ibid*).

As in the study area it thus appears that within Picardy inhumations, sex was not a determining factor (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 42). Whereas in the study area infants were deposited in pits, in Picardy and Nord-Pas-de-Calais it appears that only adults were inhumed. Among pit burials in the Seine-Yonne confluence immatures are underrepresented, although still present (Delattre 2010, 116). Instead, within the Seine-Yonne confluence, it appears that older females were were more likely to be intered. This bears some similarity to the study area, but it is also to be expected for the mortality profile of an agricultural society (Chamberlain 2006).

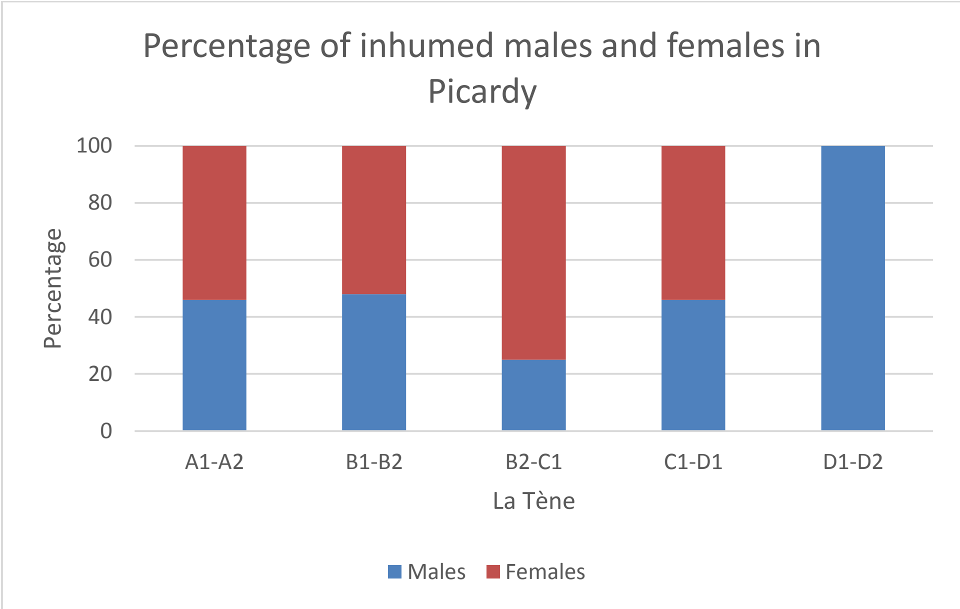


Figure 149. Percentage of males and females represented in inhumation graves from Picardy[2] *(reproduced from Pinard et al. 2009, 103, fig. 4).*

In his analysis of 1,252 cemeteries of the Aisne-Marne culture, Demoule (1999, table 11.4) found that there was a slightly higher proportion of males represented (Table 34). This was not, however, constant across all cemeteries he examined, and the results may represent local selection criteria or the differences in post-excavation analysis between the different sites examined. Sub-adults were likewise present, although it is not clear if these represented the unexpected occurrence of older children and adolescents, or the predictable inclusion of neonates and infants (Chamberlain 2006). Of 43 inhumations from Champagne pit burials, all age groups and sexes were recorded, although males were better represented; again illustrating the variable nature of this rite (Bonnabel 2010, 102). In both the mortuary cultures and Champagne-Ardenne cemeteries there appears to have been a parity of sexes and an underrepresentation of sub-adults (>25% for Champagne-Ardenne) (Millet 2008, 147; Bonnabel 2010, 102).

In Normandy a similar representation of sexes to those of the Durotrigian cemeteries is noted; with only the site of Basly possessing a 1:1 female to male ratio Chanson (*et al*. 2010). The site of Étreville "Le Clos des Lilas" may have possessed an

[2] Pinard *et al.* estimated sex for a sample of 84 females and 74 males. Unfortunately, as described in footnote 1, the original data used to calculate these percentages are unknown (*pers comm.* 21/05/18).

equilibrium of females (19%) to males (20%), but a third of individuals were unsexed adults (*ibid*, 58). As with Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne, this parity is noted in the mortuary cultures. Children under-five were likewise underrepresented (*ibid*, 59, fig. 8-9). As in the study area, and elsewhere, exceptions do exist, such as Étreville where 55% of burials were sub-adults. Étreville thus accounts for 100% of the under-one population, and 74% of the one to four year old population in Chansons *et al*.'s (2010) dataset. The variation apparent in the Norman data therefore suggests, as in the study area, that cultural choices were responsible for the demographic classes present, and not purely taphonomic factors (*ibid*, 58; Sellier 1996, 137). Owing to poor bone preservation demographic data for Guernsey inhumations are lacking.

In terms of body positioning, only the Kentish inhumations find clear parallels throughout the La Tène period. Across northern France supine, extended inhumations represent the majority of examples from graves. In Picardy, inhumations positioned on their side constitute only 1.5% of individuals for the entire La Tène period (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 43). They are predominantly a feature of La Tène A-B1 cemeteries, as at Chambly (Pinard *et al*. 2000b) and Longeuil-Sainte-Marie (Pinard 1997). Champagne-Ardenne inhumations were overwhelmingly extended, however flexed examples do exist, such as at the middle La Tène cemetery of Lavau (Durost *et al*. 2007, 99-100, figs. 17-78). In Picardy and Nord-Pas-de-Calais, as in the study area, pit burials display a variety of positions, with many placed on their side, legs flexed (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 43). Some, such as at Baron, where a male was inhumed supine and extended, are recovered in the same position as contemporary formal burials (Delattre 2010). Among the pit burials of the Seine-Yonne confluence, bodies likewise have a variety of positions and arrangements, suggesting they were thrown into pits (*ibid*, 116). Several distinctive sitting burials have also been recovered from pits in Champagne-Ardenne and Normandy (Lambot 1998, 80; Liégard 2007; Oudry-Braillon and Billard 2009), although parallels also exist at White Horse Stone (Burial 2184), Cambridgeshire (Whimster 1981, 33), and Scotland (e.g. Fairhurst 1984).

Cemetery	Adult, presumed female graves	Adult, presumed male graves	Ratio of females to males	Number of infant graves	Percentage of infant graves (%)	Disturbed graves	Total graves
Aure	26	20	1.3	7	12	7	60
Beine "l'Argentelle"	19	24	0.8	10	17	6	57
Bucy-le-Long	34	30	1.1	10	12	8	57
Chassemy	40	45	0.9	0	0	35+	110+
Chouilly (Hallstatt)	73	92	0.8	35	17	0	200
Chouilly (La Tène)	17	18	1	0	0	76	111
Cierges "Caranda"	31	38	0.8	0	0	18+	87+
Grandes-Loges	29	32	0.9	5	8	Numerous	66
Heiltz-l'Évêque	30	28	1	3	5	0	61
Manre	36	31	1.2	15	12	15	122
Oulchy	31	24	0.75	?	0	0	42
Pernant	25	22	1.4	8	12	5	65
Poix	25	28	0.9	0	0	9	62
Puiseulx "La Cuche"	17	15	1.1	13	25	6	51
Villeneuve-Renneville	27	31	0.9	11	14	8	77
Total	**453**	**478**	**0.95**	**117**	**14**	**233+**	**1,252+**

Table 34. Demographic profiles of Aisne-Marne culture cemeteries (reproduced from Demoule 1999, table 11.4).

In Normandy, crouched inhumations are a feature of Ha D/La Tène A period sites (Verney 1993, 98). Examples include Ifs "Object 'Ifs Sud" (where only a single Ha D individual was recovered extended and supine) (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 69) Fontenay-La-Marmion "La Grande Pièce" (Giraud 2009, 33), Basly "La Campagne" (San Juan and Le Goff 2009, 15) and Saint-Just "ZAC des Saules" (Fromont *et al*. 2009, 13). It is unclear if these result from contacts with Britain at this time, or if they are an indigenous development. Nevertheless, for much of the duration of the La Tène period, extended, supine inhumation was the rule in Normandy (Pétorin and Soyer 2003, 244; Chanson *et al*. 2010, 70). Exceptions do exist, however, such as Mondeville "L'Étoile" (mid-late La Tène) where adults were recovered prone, supine and on their sides (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 70). A notable exception, where formal inhumations were positioned in flexed positions, is the late La Tène site of Urville-Naqueville (Lefort and Rotier 2014, 30-36). Indeed it is likely this represents a migrant population (Chapter 12.11).

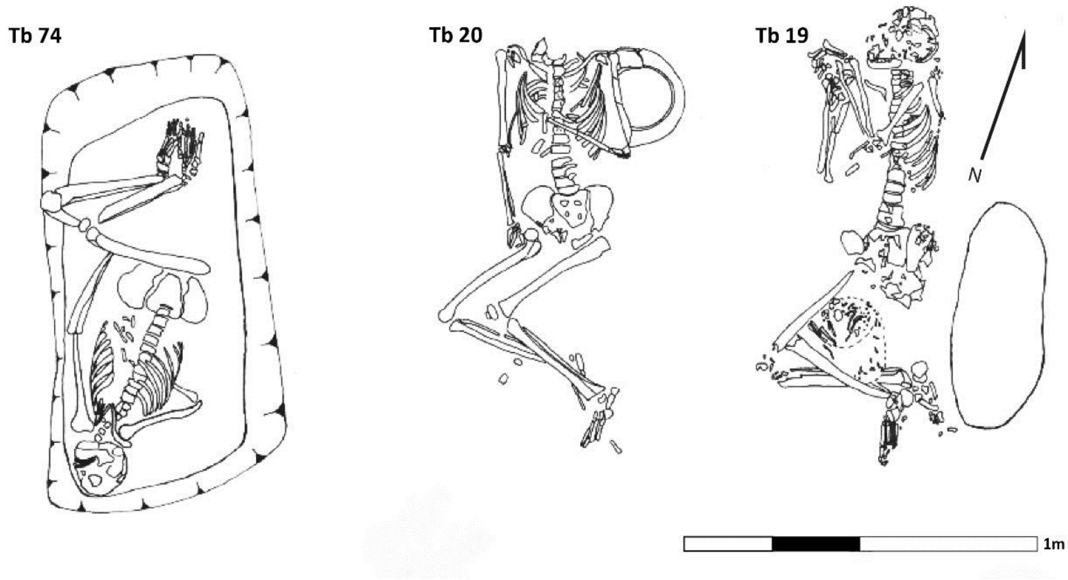


Figure 150. Crouched inhumations from the late La Tène cemetery from Urville-Naqueville (reproduced from Lefort and Rottier 2014, fig. 37, with kind permission of Anthony Lefort, with additions).

Flexed burials persisted in Brittany as late as the 2nd century BC (Villard-Le-Tiec *et al*. 2010, 88). When such positions are recorded in the 1st century BC, they are child burials, as at Goulvars (Tanguy *et al*. 1990). Nevertheless, two adult females are known from Saint-Urnel-en-Plomeur, Finistère (Giat and Cogné 1951, 16, fig. 10). During this period there is good evidence for contact with the western zone, and the practice of flexed burials may, in part, be due to this contact. On Guernsey the standard position of inhumations was extended, likely supine, which, alongside the local material culture, underlines Guernsey's continental associations (Cunliffe 1996a, 114). As with so many aspects of the continental data, the Dutch material is distinct. Among the inhumations from the central Netherlands, supine, extended inhumations, like those from northern France, are well attested (Figure 151) (van den Broeke 2014, 159-62). By contrast in the north and along the coast, the data are more comparable to the study area. Within these regions burials positioned on their side are well attested, whilst supine burials are rare (Nieuwhof 2015, 61, 248).

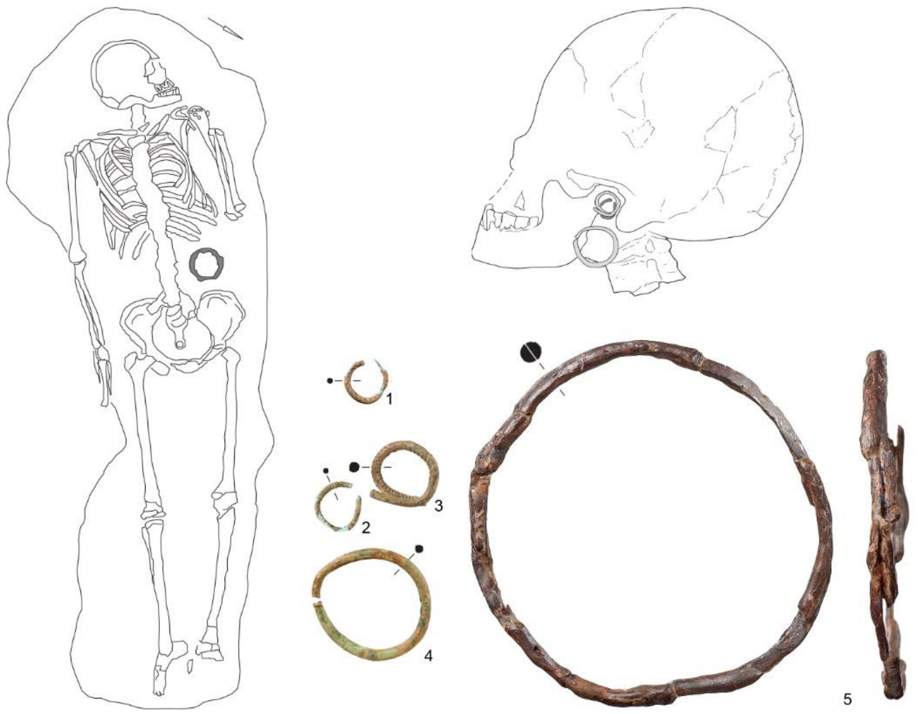


Figure 151. Supine, extended female from Lent "Lentseveld", 752-401 cal BC (reproduced with kind permission of Peter van den Broeke).

Data for orientation are limited, and it is hard to determine the significance of orientations in relation to the study area. In the early La Tène Champagne-Ardenne, inhumations were typically orientated SW-NW and NW-SW, similar to that of Mill Hill, albeit with exceptions (Desenne *et al*. 2009, 31). By La Tène B2-C2, at sites such as Saint-Benoît-sur-Seine "La Perrière", Aube, increasing numbers of deceased were orientated along E-W or W-E axes (Millet 2008, 78, fig. 3). In early La Tène Normandy cemeteries, a general preference for placing bodies along S-N orientations is recorded, with variations to the SE-NW (Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay) and SW-NE (Ifs and Mondeville) (Verney 1993, 95; Vauterin and Guillon 2010, 308). In La Tène A the orientation of bodies became standardised, as at Basly where 23 of 25 individuals were orientated SW-NE (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 70). At this site children were typically orientated in an opposite direction to their parents (NW). The same SW preferred orientation is also observed at Soumont-Saint-Quentin, Ifs "La Dronnière", Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay and Cagny "Projet Décathlon" (*ibid*). The tradition of N-S and S-N orientations and supine positions among Normandy inhumations continued with later inhumations into the middle and late La Tène period; as evidenced by Tournedos-sur-Seine (Carre 1993, 69), Bois-Guillaume "Les Bocquets" and "Terres Rouges" (Merleau 2002d, 307) and Orval (Lepaumier *et al*. 2010, 323). One inhumation (no. 484) at Tournedos-sur-Seine was positioned on its side (Carre 1993, 73). It is unclear to what extent these relate to contemporary SW practices. Among 1st century BC Breton cemeteries it appears that a W-E orientation was preferred, in contrast to contemporary SW inhumations (Giot and Monnier 1977). Information pertaining to orientation on Guersney is poorly recorded, owing to poor preservation of bone (Burns 1993). At King's Road, on the basis of artefacts, it seems that bodies were orientated S-W (N=16, 73%) and E-W (N=6, 27%), further highlighting their Brittany contacts (de Jersey 2010, 294).

7.7 The British and Continental Contexts Reviewed

The study area displays a variety of similarities to the rest of Britain and the near continent, as well as local peculiarities. Across this region, within formal cemeteries, it does not appear that sex was a determining factor in who should be buried. Nevertheless, local variations existed, such as the Durotrigian hill-forts or the East Yorkshire cemeteries. Likewise, several sites were selected solely, or mostly, for the inhumation of infants. Across this area infants were underrepresented in formal cemeteries, as is to be expected from standard, agricultural society mortality profiles. The practice depositing individuals on their sides, in crouched positions was a long established one in British prehistory. However, continental parallels can be detected in early La Tène Normandy, whilst extended inhumations are a feature of both Kent and 1st century BC Yorkshire, as well as being the norm on the continent. The variety of demographic groups and positions observed in pit burials varies between regions, and serves to emphasise the variety inherent within this practice. It is difficult to determine the significance of orientation and facing. Although regional differences exist, there are also differences at site level. In several regions in southern Britain and the near continent, inhumations and cremations were successive or contemporary, necessitating an analysis of the latter to understand the relationship between these treatments.

Chapter 8: Cremation Analysis

Cremations are the third most common treatment in the dataset. Data for cremations (N=233) are dominated by remains from graves (N=224), divided between Westhampnett (N=148) and other sites (N=76). These were analysed separately and together, but the results were more instructive when the sample was split (see Appendix G. 1-8 for combined results). Contexts lacking cremated bone (N=27), but interpreted as intended recipients of bone ("cenotaph" graves, or a result of post-depositional disturbance) were excluded.

8.1. Demographic Profiles of Cremated Remains:

8.1.1. Westhampnett Data

Westhampnett represents 63% of the entire dataset. Taken at face value, it appears that cremation was a rite predominantly afforded to adult females, although the large number of unsexed graves should not be overlooked (N= 120). As McKinley (1997, 65) notes, the high quantity of females relates to ease of identification, and possibly a lack of robusticity in the population. Likewise, the fragile nature of cremated infant bones may explain their under-representation. Six deposits containing the remains of two indivuals were recorded. Demographic data were available for only half of these, and indicated that mixed deposits could contain two sub-adults, two adults or a mixture of both.

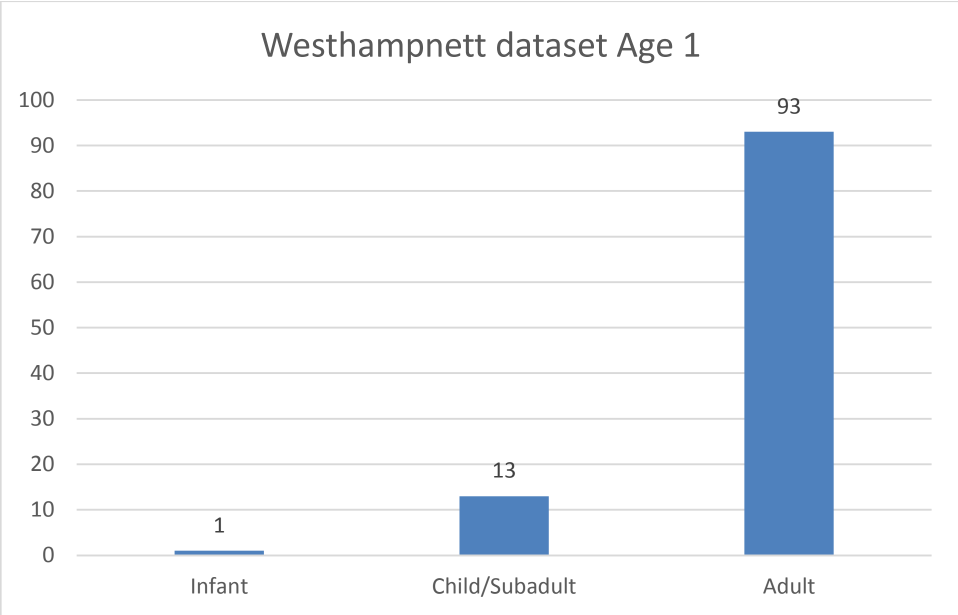


Figure 152. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from grave contexts from Westhampnett in Age Category 1.

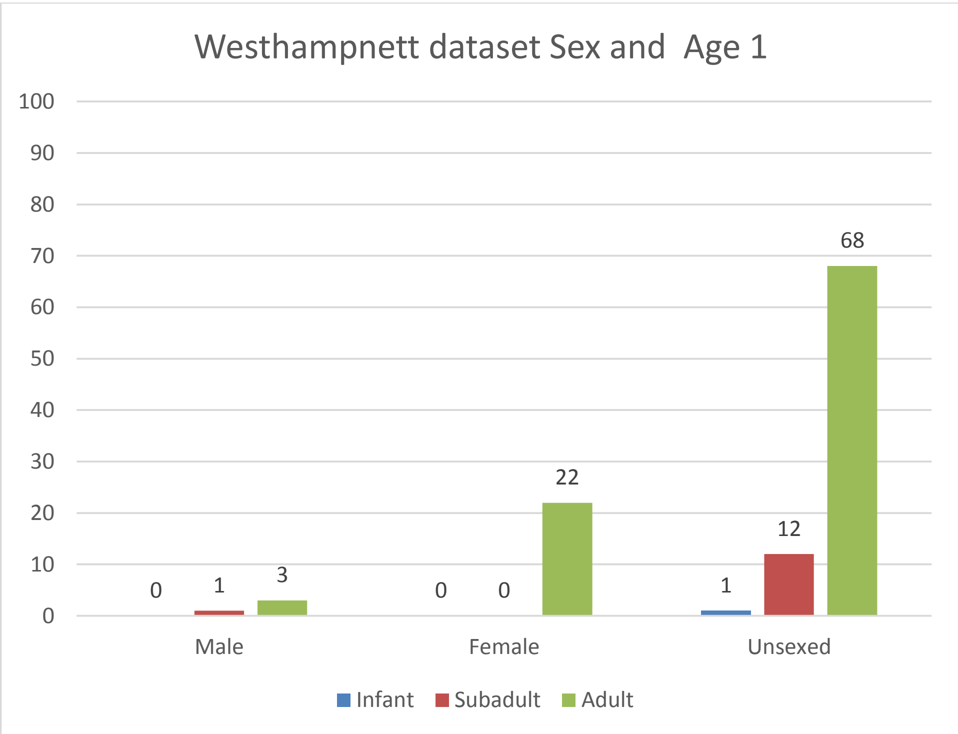


Figure 153. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from Westhampnett in Age Category 1 in relation to biological sex.

8.1.2. Non-Westhampnett Data

Non-Westhampnett grave contexts account for only 33% of the dataset, but display comparable patterns, suggesting that cremation was predominantly restricted to adults or that the process employed was particularly destructive to sub-adult bones. The difference in adult male and female numbers is less marked (9:15) than for Westhampnett (3:22), but again suggests that cremation may have been female-dominated. However, unsexed adults (N=26) are again a majority, raising the possibility that more males may be present. Two burials, Langton Herring and Latchmere Green, consisted of a mixed deposit formed of an adult and a child.

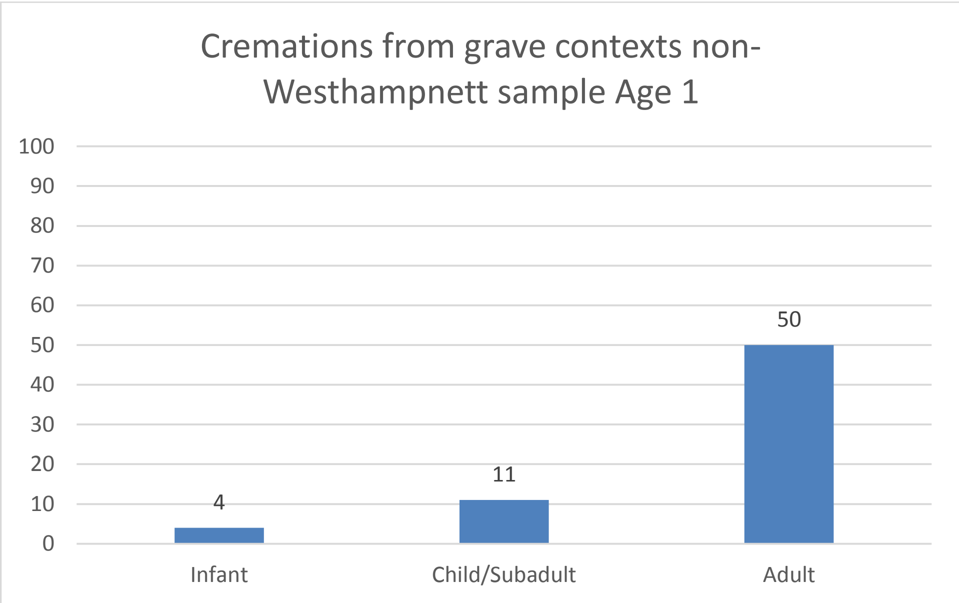


Figure 154. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from grave contexts from non-Westhampnett sites in Age Category 1.

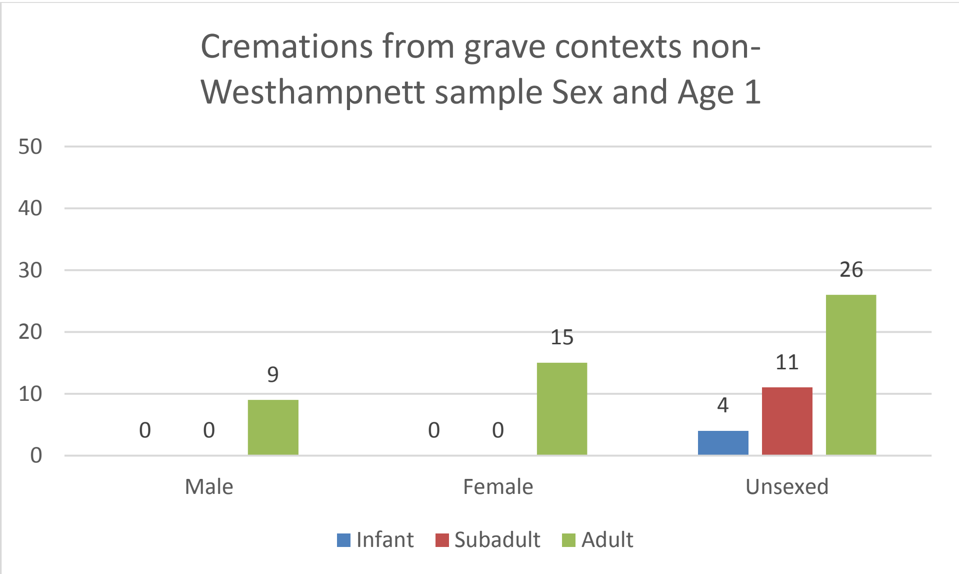


Figure 155. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from non-Westhampnett sites in Age Category 1 in relation to biological sex.

8.1.3. Summary of Results from Cremation Demographic Analysis

Accepting that sub-adults may be underrepresented for taphonomic reasons, it seems that cremation was a rite primarily afforded to adults. On the basis of sexed indivduals, cremation was a female-dominated rite, but given the number of unsexed individuals, it would be unwise to put too much emphasis on this result.

8.2. Analysis of Containers for Cremated Remains

Of 251 grave contexts, 232 contained deposits of cremated bone. The Westhampnett data (N=148; 63.7%) were again examined separately (Figure 156; Appendix G. 15) from the non-Westhampnett data (Figure 157; Appendix G. 16) for greater comparability (results for the entire sample in Appendix G. 13). The majority of the non-Westhampnett group were recovered buried within an urn, including one example (Beechboork Wood, Grave 2056), where an adult was distributed between two ceramic vessels. It should also be noted that of these, 23 (54%) belonged to the ERIA. Of the Westhampnett sample only four were deposited in containers which had survived (20053; 20566; 20637; 20750). However, the localised nature of most Westhampnett deposits would suggest they were originally contained in a soft sided, organic containers (*as per* Fitzpatrick 1997). To judge from the distribution of the deposit in some graves (for example 20055, 20095, 20134) no container was used to house the deposit in the grave. The lack of demographic data available from these deposits makes it difficult to detect and patterns in terms of selection for the different forms of deposition. By far the most prevalent container were ceramic vessels (when the samples are combined), accounting for 80% of examples from graves (Figure 158; Appendix G. 17).

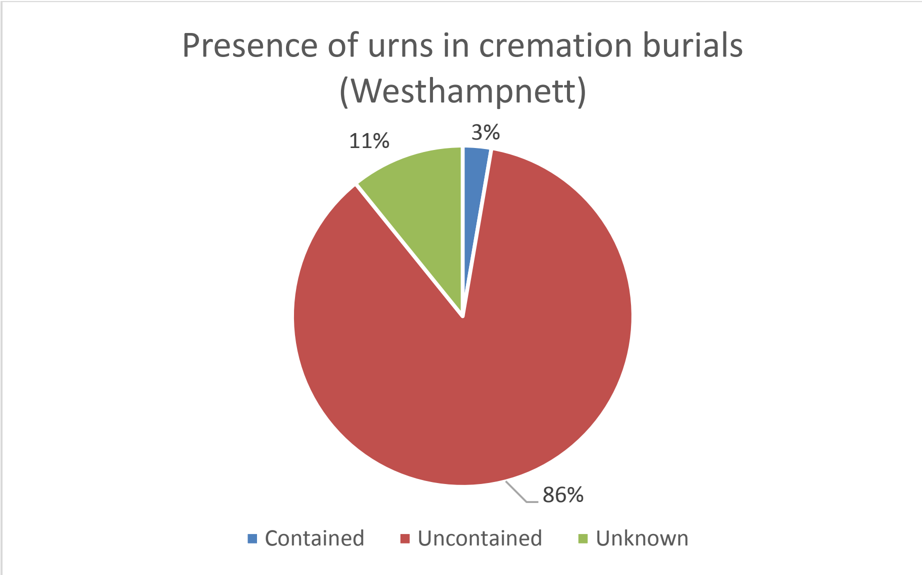


Figure 156. Prevalence of urns among Westhampnett grave contexts (N=148).

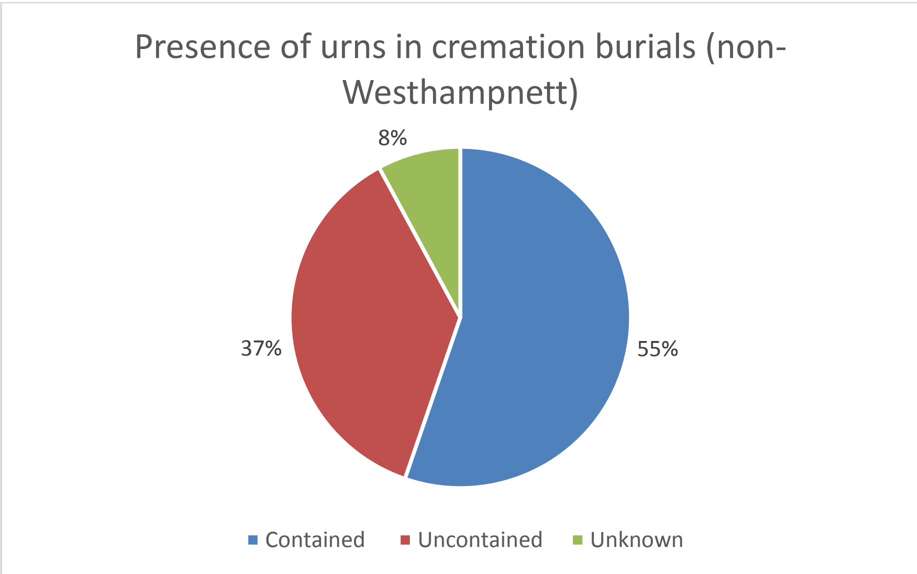


Figure 157. Prevalence of urns among sample from non-Westhampnett grave contexts (N=83).

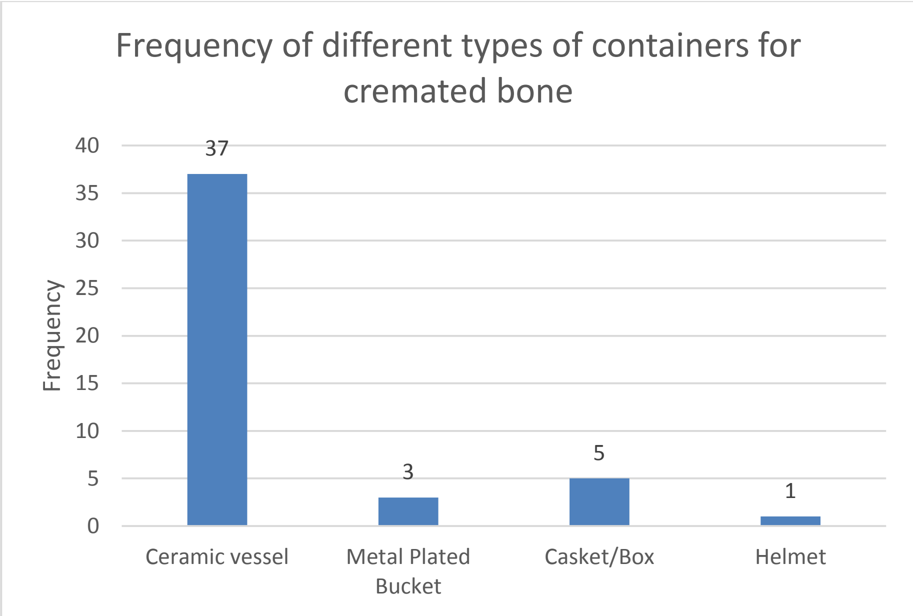


Figure 158. Frequency of different types of containers employed for cremation deposits.

In sum, Westhampnett and the other sites differ in terms of the evidence for the use of archaeologically detectable containers. Away from Westhampnett, over half of cremated deposits were deposited within an urn. This difference may be chronological (Westhampnett dates to the later 2nd-early 1st century BC), or may represent a cultural choice, or combination of the two. Data on sex are very limited but seems to suggest that this did not determine whether or not a cremation was contained. Ceramic vessels were the preferred recipients, with caskets/boxes and buckets representing a restricted rite, and the single helmet from Bridge being a unique example.

8.3. Cremation Deposits from Graves: Form of Cremation

The form of cremation deposit (see Chapter 1, Table 14) from grave contexts was also considered. As above, Westhampnett and non-Westhampnett were considered separately (analysis of the combined samples is displayed in Appendix G. 18). The use of archaeologically detectable containers appears to create a marked difference between the samples. As such, even though only a fraction of cremated bone was typically deposited (see below) there was an emphasis on maintaining the remains as a single deposit. This is apparent in both samples in that discrete and scattered deposits represent a minority.

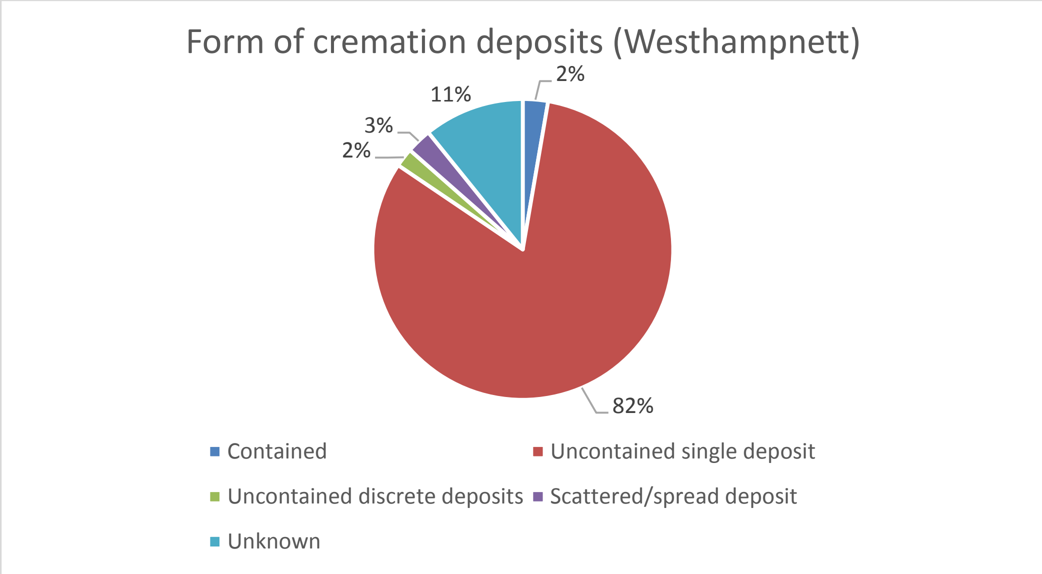


Figure 159. Form of cremation minus Westhampnett.

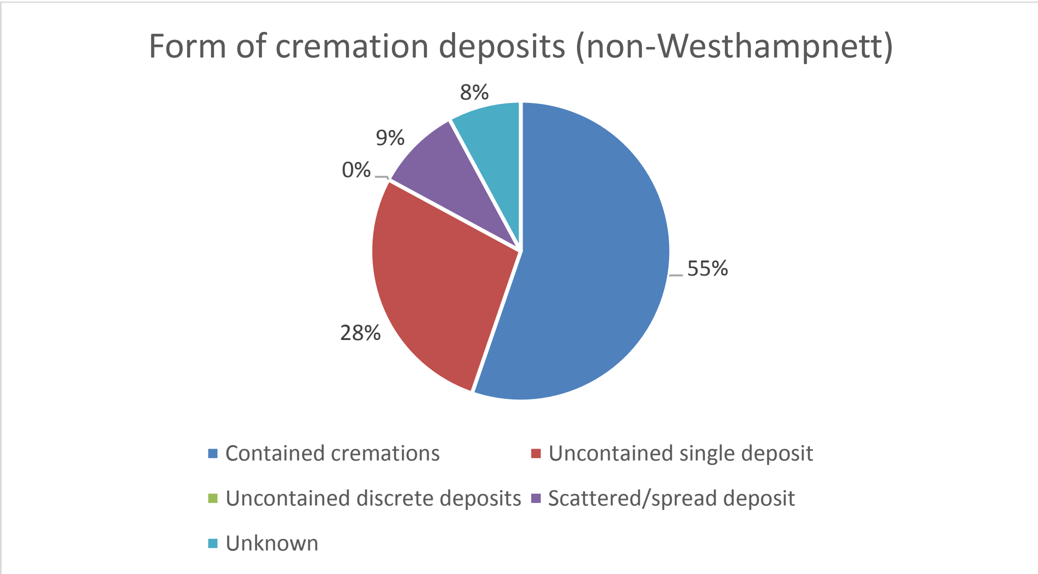


Figure 160. Form of cremation for non-Westhampnett.

8.4. Cremation Deposits: Location of Deposits within Graves

251 cremations were analysed to determine if there was any pattern in terms of the location within the grave where cremated bone was deposited. For greater comparability, the analyses differentiate the Westhampnett (Figure 161-Figure 162; Appendix G. 24), and non-Westhampnett data (Figure 163-Figure 164; Appendix G. 25).

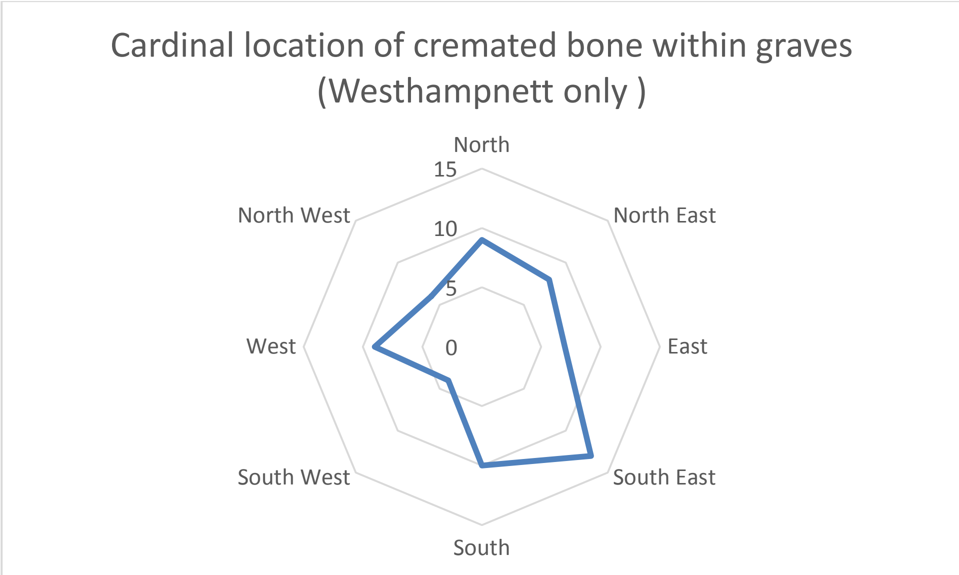


Figure 161. Location of cremated bone within graves for Westhampnett data for which cardinal points could be determined.

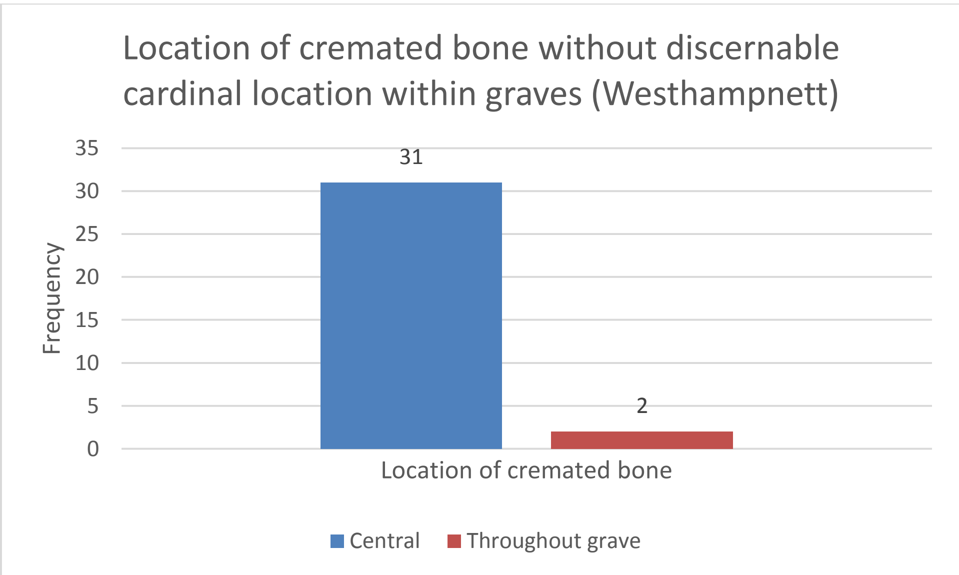


Figure 162. Location of cremated bone within graves for Westhampnett data for which cardinal points could not be determined.

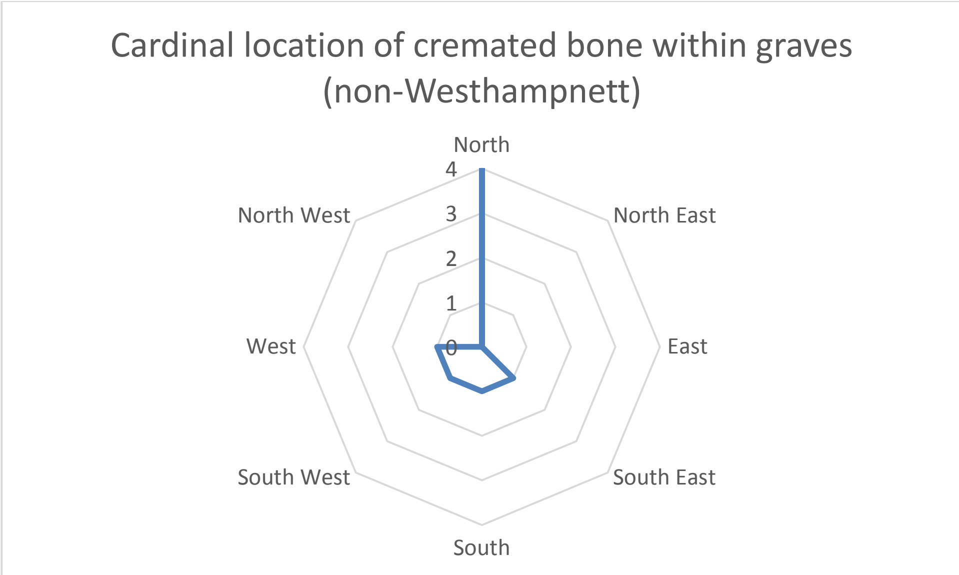


Figure 163. Location of cremated bone within graves for non-Westhampnett data for which cardinal points could be determined.

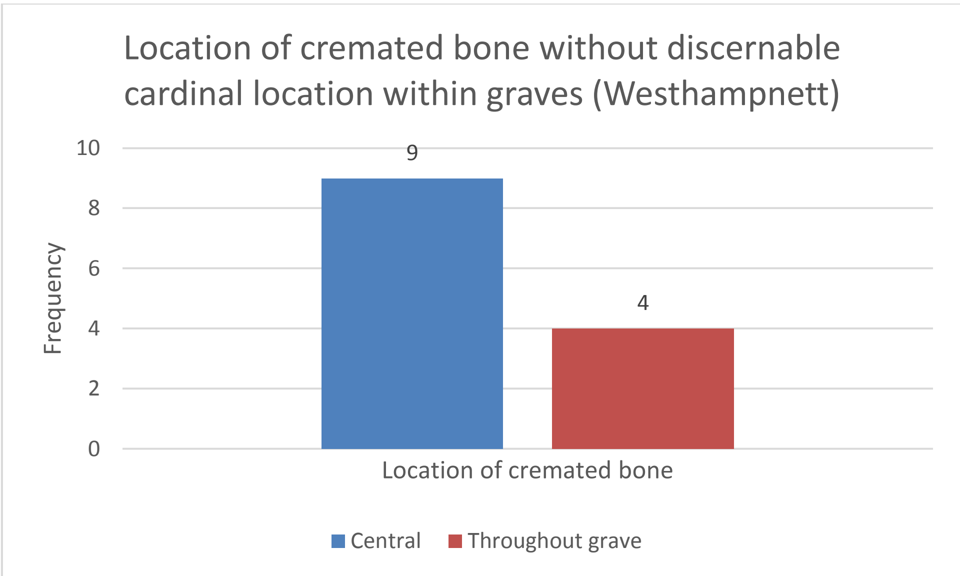


Figure 164. Location of cremated bone within graves for non-Westhampnett data for which cardinal points could not be determined.

8.4.1. Summary of Results: Location of Deposits within Graves

No location within graves appears to have been favoured for the deposition of cremated bone. In both samples central locations were the most common, but this is heavily biased by the many small graves; their small size limiting the options as to where to place cremated bone within the grave. Truncation no doubt affected the location of some deposits in archaeologically detectable containers, but is unlikely to have affected those in urns. Furthermore, at Westhampnett McKinley (1997, table 1) concluded that some graves displayed limited signs of disturbance. Northern and southern locations within the grave were slightly more common it seems, but data are too few to make this a valid conclusion. Issues of age or sex do not appear to have played a role in determining where to deposit cremated bone.

8.5. Analysis of Cremation Weights

Attempts to investigate the relationship between the weight of cremated bone and other data were frustrated by the fact that 68% (N=177) of the dataset was disturbed or potentially disturbed to some degree. Of those contexts which were not disturbed (N=81), 86% (N=70) were from Westhampnett. All undisturbed contexts, with the exception of Deposit 3454 from the A2 Pepperhill site, were graves. As noted it was not possible, on the basis of reports, to determine if disturbances had affected the quantity of cremated bone recovered. Disturbed graves were therefore (with a small number of exceptions noted below) excluded from analysis, as any conclusions obtained using such data were potentially false.

Only three cremated deposits represent was what classified as a complete adult (1227-3001g: McKinley 1993), all from disturbed contexts. These are Burial 3 from Alkham (2,000g), Group 1007 from Westhawk Farm (1,225g), Grave 4 (South-East cemetery) from Mill Hill, Deal (1,124g). Similarly heavy weights may have been more prevalent among other disturbed remains. However, this seems unlikely on the basis that none of the undisturbed cremated deposits contained sufficient cremated bone to represent a complete individual, including a further example from Mill Hill (Grave 131; 265g). Among undisturbed contexts, there existed a range of 999g (the same figure applies to the Westhampnett data), with a mean of 249.2g (245.7g for Westhampnett). Associations in terms of age were limited. Of the 65 deposits of known age aged, 84% (N=55) were adults, 27% (N=48) of which were from Westhampnett. Associations between sex were likewise uninformative due to the small number of individuals to whom sex could be ascribed (N=19), and it appears that weight was not affected by biological sex.

Within the undisturbed contexts a range of 27 existed in terms of the number of grave goods provided. The quantity of items does not appear to have affected the weight of cremated bone deposited. The highest number of grave goods recovered (28 from grave 6260 A2 Pepperhill) were associated with 360.6g of cremated bone. The third highest number of grave goods (12, from Owslebury Grave 11) was associated with a cremated deposit (104.3g) which was below the mean weight for the undisturbed dataset (249.2g). The only possible relationship is that contexts containing less than 104g of bone (N=23) contained a mean of 1.7 objects, whilst those with more than 104g (N=58) contained a mean of 4.7 obejcts. This seems, however, to be a statistical coincidence more than anything, with four of five graves with cremated bone weights in excess of 104g having less than 1.7 grave goods. Due to the dominance of the Westhampnett data, there are no apparent relationships between the date of deposition and the weight of cremated bone.

8.6 Charcoal

11 sites noted the presence of charcoal, although not all of these (e.g. A2 Pepperhill) were obtained from contexts in the dataset. Nine of these had identifiable species. The data are summarised in Table 35. In a few cases, the lack of charcoal recovered results from excavation procedure. However, at some sites it seems charcoal was deliberately excluded from the burial. At A2 Pepperhill, negative evidence suggests that bones were carefully selected from pyre, hence the lack of diagnostic charcoal (Challinor 2012, 468). It is possible that the charcoal at such sites was viewed as being unsuitable for inclusion in the grave, or that it was simply recognised as being a waste product of the cremation rite. The largest sample, and greatest number of species identified, was from Westhampnett.

Site	Context(s)	Chronology	Species Identified	Reference
A2 Pepperhil to Cobham	Cremation grave 12673	Roman Iron Age	Yew (*Taxus),* Cherry (*Prunus*), Ash (*Fraxinus*)	Challinor 2012, 468
Beechbrook Wood	Context 2210 (cremation grave)	LIA/ERIA	Gorse (*Ulex*), Hazel (*Corylus*)	Aldritt 2006, 6
Coldswood Road	Grave 8206	ERIA	Oak (*Quercus),* Pine (*Pinus)*	Stevens *et al.* 2009, 127
Courtwick Lane	Cut 343 (cremation burial)	ERIA	Unidentifiable	Wallis 2010, Appendix 12
Latton Lands	Cremation burial 1157	LIA	Pear (*Pyrus)/*Apple (*Malus),* Hawthorn (*Crataegus*)	Powell, Laws and Brown 2008, 45
Northumberland Bottom	Pit (232) (cremation burial)	LIA	Oak (*Quercus*)	Askew 2006, 28
Owslebury	B-12 (cremation burial)	LIA	Unknown	Collis *forthcoming*
Saltwood Tunnel	Unspecified	LIA/ERIA	Flowering plants (*Rosaceae*), Oak (*Quercus*), Hazel (*Corylus*), Elm (*Ulmus*)	Aldritt 2006, 6
South Willesborough	Cremation burial	LIA	Unknown	Deeves 2007, 246
Westhampnett	Grave 20053, 20089, 20095, 20142, 20169, 20196, 20252, 20719 (and pyre related features)	LIA	Oak (*Quercus*), Maple (*Acer*), Ahs (*Corylus*), Blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*), Cherry (*Prunus*), Birch (*Betula*), Pear (Pyrus)/Apple (Malus), Dogwood (*Cornus*), Flowering plants (Rosaceae), Guelder rose (*Viburnum opulus*), Yes (*Taxus*)	Gale 1997, 78-92

Table 35. Sites for whom charcoal is recorded.

This is unsurprising considering the size of the site, the research design for excavating the site (which prioritised recovery of cremation related deposits), and the presence of charcoal rich pyre related features. Where species could be identified in the dataset there is much variation. Generally speaking, three themes appear to have governed the selection of wood: the inherent qualities of different species as fuel, aesthetic values and possible ritual associations.

The suitability of certain wood types for use as fuel appears to have been a determining factor in the selection of several species. At Beechbrook Wood, the species selected were all quick growing and make excellent kindling (Aldritt 2006, 6). Likewise, at Westhampnett, the majority of species present were fast growing types which were either good for kindling or prolonged burning (Gale 1997, 79). The long duration and high temperatures produced by burning oak may, in part, explain its presence at Coldswood Road (Stevens *et al.* 2009, 127; O'Donnell 2015, 165), Northumberland Bottom (Askew 2006, 28), Westhawk Farm (Challinor 2008, 349) and Westhampnett (Gale 1997, 82). It is quite possible that its absence from other sites indicates that it was rare in the local landscape (Aldritt 2006, 6). Certainly the species present at Westhampnett appear to have been those present in the local landscape, judging by charcoal samples from nearby settlements (Bedwin and Holgate 1985, 232; Gales 1997, 232). Some species appear to have been imported for use in cremation, as was the case with the pine from Coldswood Road (Stevens *et al.* 2009, 127), and ash from Northumberland Bottom (Alldritt 2006, 6), although the latter species is suggested (*ibid*) to have initially been intended for industrial processes. On the basis of nails in the charcoal, Gale (1997, 78) has suggested that some wood at Westhampnett was being re-used.

Other species may have been selected for their sensory properties. At the A2 Pepperhill site, blackthorn and cherry were employed for Roman period cremations. Although good kindling, these species also produce a sweet aroma when burnt (Challinor 2012, 468). The same may also be true for the cherry from Westhampnett (Gale 1997, 82) and pear/apple from Latton Lands (Powell, Laws and Brown 2008). It is worth noting the inclusion of a perfume bottle from Alton, Grave 2 (Millett 1986, 55, fig. 11), which may indicate an increased emphasis on odour during cremations in the ERIA. The various Rosaceae species from Westhampnett and Saltwood Tunnel may have added colour to the cremation prior to ignition, assuming they were collected in spring or summer (O'Donnell 2015, 168).

Although being suitable kindling species, Aldritt (2006, 6) has suggested the gorse and broom from Beechbrook Wood had folklore connotations of spring and re-birth. The presence of yew, dogwood and possibly Virburnum at Westhampnett is curious. As Gale (1997) notes, their inclusion may have been opportunistic, or may have had a ritual or social significance. Baskets and pegs made from such materials have been recorded for prehistoric Britain (Earwood 1988, 90; 1993). The use of yew at the A2 Pepperhill sites is also unusual as yew has the potential to explode when burnt (Challinor 2012, 468). Challinor (*ibid*) has suggested that the inclusion of yew was likely the result of an artefact included in the pyre, possibly for a ritual purpose. The evergreen properties of yew have been associated with immortality in some cultures and evergreen species were often employed to line Roman coffins (Gale 1997, 81). Yew trees have historically been grown in graveyards in order to protect the dead (*ibid*).

Gale (1997, 80) calculated that approximately 1 ton of wood was required to cremate an adult, whilst McKinley (1994, 80) proposed 03-0.5 tons. For both the Bronze and Iron Age, it has been proposed that such large amounts of wood would have required it was stored locally in preparation for expected cremations (Gale 1997, 20; O'Donnell 2015, 168). Long term storage would also help to improve the burning properties of species such as oak. Such long term storage of different species is still practiced in some parts of Europe, as I have personally witnessed in Austria, Norway and Romania, where wood continues to be employed for a wider variety of roles than in Britain today. The need to collect such large quantities of wood provides further evidence of the degree of community or group involvement in these rites. The importation of species from outside of the local environment should not be surprising, considering the evidence for exchange during the LIA/ERIA, and the international distribution of cremation rites during this period.

8.7. British Context

That only a fraction of cremated bone was deposited accords with the broader pattern for prehistoric Britain (including the Iron Age) (McKinley 2013, 149). From analysing cremated deposits from multiple periods, including the Iron Age, McKinley (*ibid*, 163) found no clear pattern regarding which variables affected the weight of cremations. Analysis of c.6,000 cremated individuals from different periods found a range of c.100-3,000g, with on average 40-60% of the total weight of an adult being present (*ibid*). Within Roman cemeteries it is typical to find only 40-60% of the cremated bone within the grave (McKinley 2000, 42). This includes elite LIA burials such as at Folly Lane (Niblett 2002, 143); which conforms to the lack of association between cremation weights and grave goods noted above. As with crouched inhumations, the burial of a fraction of cremated bone appears to be a chronologically widespread practice.

Cremation burials in Iron Age Britain predominantly belong to the Aylesford-Swarling culture, including most of those from Kent. Thus, it is unsurprising that the post-50BC burials in the dataset accord with broader patterns for Aylesford-Swarling burials. Burials north and south of the Thames were typically deposited in urns, although a variety of containers, including buckets, and uncontained examples are also known (as is the case for the study area) (Whimster 1981, 157; Fitzpatrick 1997, 208; 2007a, 125). Although examples within buckets appear to predominantly be mid-tier/minor elite group (Whimster 1981, 159; Haselgrove 1984), non-contained cremations occur in both the most materially impoverished group and the elite Welwyn series (Whimster 1981, 157-8). There are no Welwyn type burials in the dataset, but the mid-tier examples from Westhawk Farm and Alkham accord with Haselgrove's (1984) conclusions about mid-tier burials.

At King Harry Lane, which represents the largest Aylesford-Swarling cemetery thus far discovered (N=455), the vast majority of graves analysed (N=283/388) could be classified as adults or possible adults (Stirland 1989, 242, table 48). Cremation weights ranged from 0 to 2249g, with a mean of 582g and standard deviation of 441. Here the majority of deposits (N=105, 33%) weighed less than 249g (*ibid*, 240, table 45). The most common form of deposits were contained (N=301, 66.1%), uncontained examples (N=66, 7.2%) being the second most common. As with the broader Aylesford-Swarling area, uncontained cremations represented both the materially richest and poorest examples, with contained examples occupying a varied middle range (Stead and Rigby 1989, 83, table 3). The demographic profiles reconstructed from King Harry Lane are similar to those from Westhampnett (the second largest Iron Age cremation cemetery in Britain). The chronological pattern of between placing cremated bone in archaeologically detectable or undetectable containers is due to the aforementioned early date of Westhampnett.

During the Roman period cremation within urns became increasingly common, as did containment within boxes, thereby continuing practices observed in the LIA/ERIA study area (Philpott 1991, 17). They are abundant in Essex and Hertfordshire, although examples are also known from Sussex and Kent (Booth *et al*. 2008, 385). As within study area Iron Age cemeteries, “cenotaphs” are known from Romano-British cemeteries also (Wenham 1968, 25; McKinley 2004, 306-7; 2013, 153).

8.8. Continental Context

8.8.1. Picardy and Nord-Pas-de-Calais

As with inhumations, similar demographic profiles for study area cremation burials exist in Picardy. Here sub-adults represent no more than 21.6% of the population that can be aged, and prior to La Tène C1 are absent from burials (Figure 165). Sexing of the Picardy cremated population is equally problematic, and only a fraction can be determined (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 43). Of 461 Picardy cremation graves, sex could only be ascertained for 147. Within this dataset children never exceeded 21% of the population (Pinard *et al*. 2009, 103). On the basis of these limited figures is seems that Picardy cemeteries possessed similar recruitment criteria to those in the study area. Baray’s (2002, 128) analysis of 3rd-1st century BC cremations in Hauts de France (and the Seine and Meuse valleys) reached similar conclusions, with 34% (N=96) of all graves (N=282) being sub-adults. Among adults, sex was not apparently a factor which determined access to the funerary rite (*ibid*), as for cremation and inhumation study area cemeteries.

The presence/absence of containers displays clear parallels with the study area; as to be expected considering the evidence for contact between the eastern zone and north east France (Figure 166; Pinard *et al*. 2009, 108; Pinard *et al*. 2010, 43, fig. 10). In La Tène C2-D1 cremated remains were typically placed directly in the grave in a heap, or within an organic container, including soft and rigid sided types (Bayard and Buchez 1998, 59; Baray 2002, 121-6; Mantel *et al*. 2002, 35; Le Goff *et al*. 2009, 121). Of 150 cremation graves, 60% (N=90) were contained in a perishable container, 39.3% (N=59) were contained within an urn, and one was spread between and urn and perishable container (Pinard *et al*. 2009, 108). In short, the choice of containers for cremated remains develops in parallel either side of this part of the Channel.

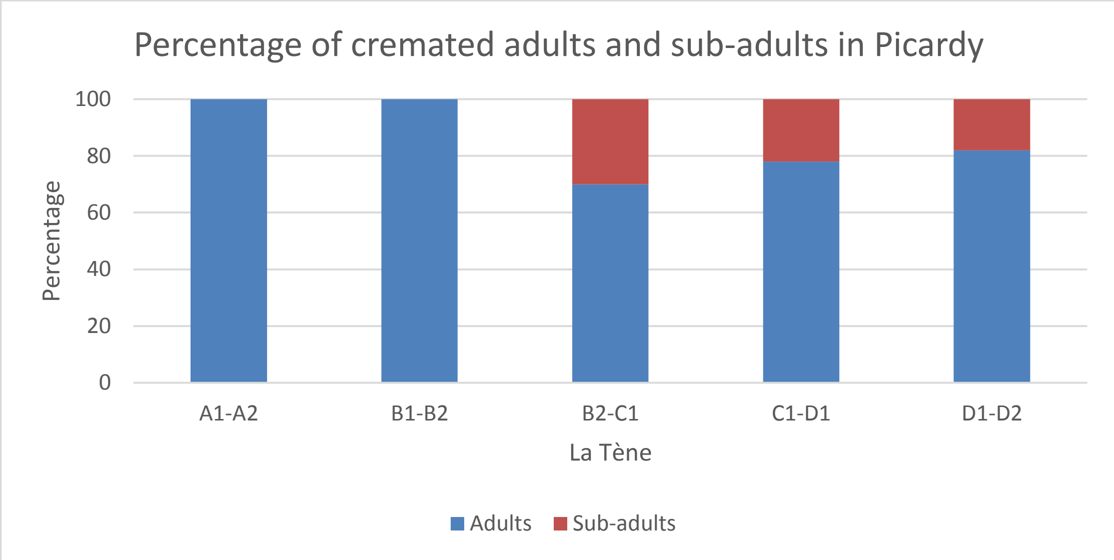


Figure 165. Percentage of adults and sub-adults represented in cremation graves from Picardy[3] (reproduced from Pinard et al. 2009, 104, fig. 6).

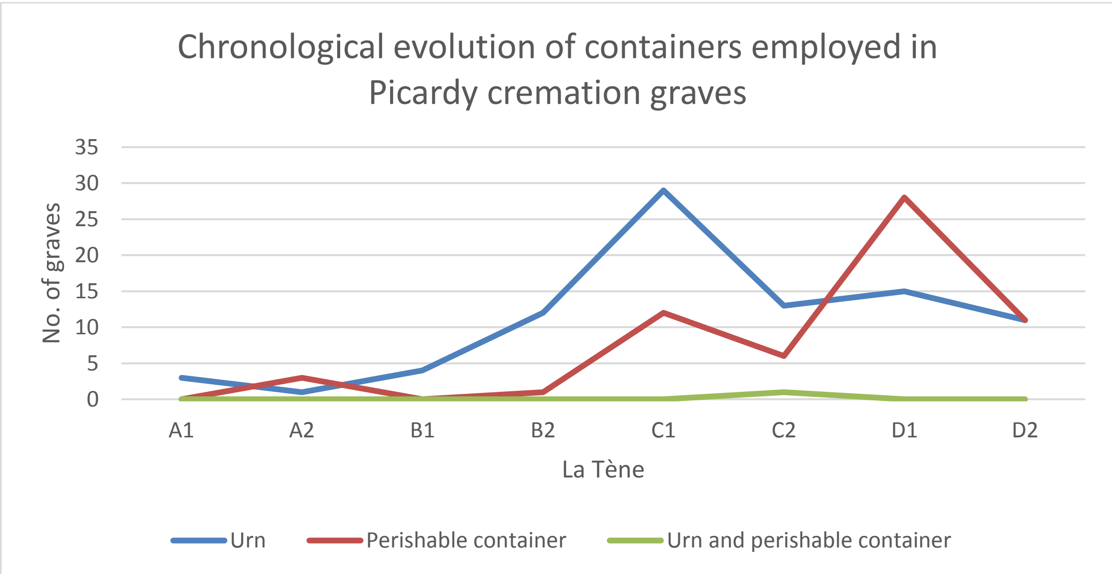


Figure 166. Chronological evolution of containers employed in Picardy cremation graves (reproduced from Pinard et. al. 2009, 109, fig. 13).

Cremation weights likewise display parallels, and throughout the period cremation was in use in Picardy, very few complete cremations are known Pinard (*et al*. 2009, 103). At some sites, such as Villers-les-Roye, Somme (Buchez *et al*. 1998) there

[3] Pinard *et al.* employed a sample of 147 cremation graves to calculate these percentages. Unfortunately, as described in footnote 1, the original data used to calculate these percentages are unknown (*pers comm.* 21/05/18).

was a relationship between grave size and the quantity of cremated bone deposited. At Marcelcave, Somme, five aristocratic graves dated to La Tène C1-D2 contained heavier cremation deposits.

In Nord-Pas-de-Calais the data are less instructive. Cremation was potentially a solely adult rite, as observed at Saint-Laurent-Blagny "Les Soixante" and Avion "Fossé à Leu", where inhumation was reserved for infants (Favier *et al*. 2004; Jacques and Prilaux 2008). Such a pattern is not, however, too different from the study area. In Artois, ceramic urns only began to be used post-50BC (Le Goff *et al*. 2009, 123), as was increasingly the case in contemporary Picardy and the study area. Within this region there appears to have been a great degree of variation, even at individual sites. For example, at la Calotterie, of 18 mid-La Tène deposits, one was contained within an urn, one in a possible box, seven within soft sided perishable containers, and nine spread across the floor (*ibid*, 119). Here it appears that the number of metallic objects in a grave accorded with the weight of the cremation; with the heaviest cremation (no. 604; 1,067g) associated with least seven metal objects, including horsebits and a bronze clad bucket (*ibid*, 121). Likewise the graves with >250g contained the fewest metal objects. At the same time the site showed a decline in the amount of cremated bone deposited between the start of La Tène C2 (311g) to the La Tène C2/D1 transition (80g), with no.604 intepreted as a founder grave (*ibid*, 124). As with Picardy, further study of cremation weights are required. However, if the weight of deposits was determined by chronology, then it may be that communities in the study area and Nord-Pas-de-Calais held similar views about such rites. Data relating to cardinal location of cremation remains is not well published, although Ginoux (2007, 69, table 2) notes that cremated bone placed in elite Somme and Nord graves was placed in the SW of the grave, with the exception of Cizancourt "Le sole des Galets".

8.8.2. The Netherlands and Belgium

The limited demographic data available attests to the presence of adults of both sexes and children being provided with access to the cremation rite (Roymans 1990, 236). For Dutch LIA cremations, sex can be determined for 45-55% of deceased, and age for 60%.

The available picture seems very different from the study area and north-eastern France. Except for a few sites where males are under-represented (likely owing to difficulties in identification), demographic traits do not appear to have determined access to cremation. The under-representation of children in some cemeteries is argued to result from their being in shallow graves, rather than exclusion (Hiddink 2014, 201-3). Within this region cremation was therefore a much more inclusive rite than appaears to have been in the study area. Urns are present in limited frequency, although it appears organic containers were preferred (Roymans 1990, 235; Hiddink 2014, 188), again displaying a local tradition. This is particularly marked on the Drenthe plateau, where urns cease to be used after c.400BC (Nieuwhof 2015, 62). The data seem to suggest that graves only contained a partial deposit of human remains. For example, during the Dutch LIA only 30-40% of cremated bone was buried (Hiddink 2014, 193). Complete deposits of cremated bone may have taken place, and that the local soil conditions which are hostile to bone preservation, the early date of several excavations, and intensive post-war agriculture resulting in truncation, have distorted the results available obtained.

8.8.3. Champagne-Ardenne

Demographic data are lacking for late La Tène Champagne-Ardenne (Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 182). What data are available are comparable to the study area, with an underrepresentation of infants, including a total lack of individuals under the age of two years. Furthermore individuals aged 15-19 are absent, a figure which also has parallels with inhumation burials in the mortuary cultures. Le Goff *et al*. (2010, 183) have suggested that under twos were deliberately excluded from cemeteries (though taphonomic factors cannot be discounted). They contend that 15-19 years olds are absent owing to their low mortality rates (*ibid*, 183). In contrast to the study area, Roman period cemeteries display a parity of sub-adults and adults (*ibid*, 183). Nevertheless at sub-regional levels differences exist. At Ville-sur-Retourne and Ménil-Annelles it appears that during the late La Tène phases all ages and sexes, with the exception of younger male adults, were present (Stead *et al*. 2006, 109, table 28). The absence of Gallo-Roman adult females has been suggested to reflect the ease of identification of males, rather than a deliberate exclusion (Stead *et al*. 2006, 99). At Acy-Romance both sexes, and all age groups, were recorded within cremation graves (Fitzpatrick 2000, 20). As for the Low Countries, late La Tène cremation cemeteries in Champagne-Ardenne appear to have been more inclusive than Hauts de France and British contemporaries.

In Late La Tène, cremation was subject to secondary deposition, and is recorded in all the forms present in the dataset. Despite earlier suggestions that deposition in urns was preferred (Le Goff 2002, 400), other forms of deposit are now well known, but differences are site rather than region specific. At Acy-Romance cremated remains were typically deposited in a single pile without an urn, with the majority being less than 1,000g (Lambot 1998, 76, 79). The same preference for uncontained cremations can be observed further east at Goeblange-Nospelt, in this case spread across the grave floor (Metzler 2009). The fact the Goeblange-Nospelt graves were elite and uncontained, draws comparisons with contemporary Welwyn burials. At Acy-Romance and Ménil-Annelles, urns were employed for women and bags for men (Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 179-80). The site specific nature of the cremated deposits thus limits what parallels may be drawn btween this region and others.

As elsewhere, a range of weights was observed. Although late La Tène cremations are generally heavier than early Gallo-Roman examples, the paucity of Gallo-Roman examples (N=3) compared to late La Tène (N=70) hazards against drawing too many conclusions (Stead 2006, 113, tables 32, 33). At Acy-Romance "La Croizette" a "complete" uncontained cremation weighing 1,241g, associated with 14 vessels, was recovered from a central position beneath a structure of unknown function (Le Goff 2010, 182). Cremation weights may therefore have been determined by associated material and/or chronology, however at present few conclusions can be drawn.

8.8.4. Normandy

It is unclear to what extent Normandy demographic profiles differ from those for the study area. The prevalence of sub-adult and adult graves varies on a site by site basis (Merleau 2002d, 313). At Bois-Guillaume "Les Bocquets", for example, sub-adults were not excluded from the cremation rite, whereas at nearby Cottévrard they were underrepresented (Merleau 2002a, 236; Le Goff 2002, 400). As in the study area, attempts at sexing are frustrated by the effects of cremation; for example, Saint-Riquier-en-Rivière, where none of nine burials could be sexed (Mantel *et al*. 2002, 34). The chronological variance of containers for cremated bones requires greater understanding to be able to compare it to the study area. Within Lower Normandy ceramic urns were preferred (Le Goff 2002, 400; Mantel *et al*. 2002, 35), as for example at Pîtres (Cerdan and Cerdan 1993, 150) and Urville-Nacqueville (Lefort and Rottier 2014, 22). The same preference is also observed at Upper Normandy sites such as Bois-Guillaume "Les Bocquets" (Merleau 2002a, 236). Nevertheless there are variations, as in Champagne-Ardenne, even over a small area. For example, at the nearby sites of Cottévrard and Saint-Aubin-Routot, Seine-Maritime, where urns and likely soft sided containers were respectively preferred (Blancquaert 2002, 392). At Ifs, cremation within urns and non-contained deposits were observed within the same cemetery (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 72). Unique containers are also attested, such as the Syrian glass bowl from Mailleraye-sur-Seine, Seine-Maritime (Lequoy 1993, 121). The presence of unique, exotic containers is likewise recorded in the study area in the form of the Coolus helmet from Bridge (Farley *et al.* 2014).

As is the case in the study area and elsewhere, the majority of recorded cremation weights are well below what would be required for a complete adult. Only a few 2nd-1st century BC cremation deposits reached or exceeded 1,000g. Examples include Saint-Gatien-des-Bois (Paris 1997) and Ifs "Crédit Immobilier" (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 72). Patterns in terms of cremation weights are few. Excavation along the A16 Nord showed a relationship between the date of deposition and the weight of cremated bone, as is proposed for the study area. Likewise at Bois Guillaume "Les Terres Rouges" and "Les Bocquets" it appears that the heaviest deposits were the earliest, whilst at Cottévrard the heaviest cremations were the last (Merleau 2002a, 236; 2002b, 297; 2002d, 315). Additionally at "Les Boquets" a relationship between the weight of cremated bone and the number of ceramic vessels is suggested (Merleau 2002d, 315), although I doubt this as the range of ceramic vessels between sites is very slight. At other sites, such as Boise Guillaume "Les Terres Rouge" no relationship was found between the weight of the cremated deposit and the number of ceramic vessels (Merleau 2002a, 218). Thus, as for the study area, although there are possible relationships between the date of a cremation and its weight, such relationships remainly extremely tentative.

8.8.5. Brittany

Cremation in Brittany, as in the Netherlands, represents a local tradition pre-dating the rite observed in north eastern France and southern Britain. Demographic profiles vary site by site, from 38 adults at Kerjaeouen, Quimper, to four children and four adults at Landeleau, Finistère (Briard *et al*. 1984; Villard-Le-Tiec *et al*. 2010, 88). Ceramic urns were the rule, continuing a pattern established in the later Hallstatt period, although perishable containers appear to have been used in some instances (Milcent 1993, 17; Villard-Le-Tiec *et al*. 2010, 86, 96). All of this highlights the local nature of these rites, and as such they are chronologically and socially divorced from LIA study area cremations. The only parallels between Brittany and study area rites is the invariably partial weight of cremated bone; with a fraction of the total cremated bone deposited in Breton graves also (Villard-Le-Tiec 2010, 96).

8.9. The British and Continental Contexts Reviewed

The closest parallels for study area cremations are, unsurprisingly, other Aylesford-Swarling cremations from north of the Thames. Westhampnett is distinct, largely due to its size and early date. In terms of the near continent, the later La Tène examples from Hauts de France are the most similar to those in the study area. Normandy and Champagne-Ardenne examples display a much greater degree of sub-regional variation, albeit with some patterns found in the study area, whilst those of the Low Countries and Brittany represent local rites with much earlier origins. It is interesting to note that similar demographic profiles are present in cremation cemeteries to those observed for formal inhumations. Across this region, however, only a fraction of the cremated bone was deposited in the grave, and it remains to be determined what governed the amount of bone which was deposited. A variety of containers were employed for cremated remains, and within south-eastern Britain and north east

France it is possible to detect similar trends. The use of containers in turns brings us to consider the wider role of material culture associated with inhumations and cremations, both in the study area and the wider region.

Chapter 9: Grave Good Quantification and Association

The final resolution of analysis examined is that of the grave goods associated with inhumations and cremations. Analysis was conducted in three forms: a study of quantities and associations between grave goods and inhumations and cremations, their location within grave contexts, and case studies of specific grave good classes. This chapter describes the first part of this analysis. 1,317 objects, interpreted as grave goods, were recorded. As noted, whether material was considered a grave good was subjective (Hamlin 2007, 110). Thus, broken quern stones associated with inhumations from pit 935 (Danebury) and 365 (Little Somborne) were excluded from consideration, whilst the shale bangle and bronze ring from Winnall Down pit burial 174 (4475) were included. In the former examples, the inhumations did not display characteristics to suggest they were formal burials (the material was not arranged in reference to the body), whereas at Winnall Down the two items of adornment were worn by the corpse. This may be argued to be a very etic approach, however as Hill (1995) demonstrated with his statistical analysis of Wessex pit fills, many objects associated with human remains cannot be considered grave goods. A perceived spatial relationship between an object and a formal rite, is therefore taken as evidence for that object to be a grave good.

9.1. Chronological Patterns

The chronological frequency of grave goods for inhumations and cremations were considered (Figure 167; Appendix H. 1).

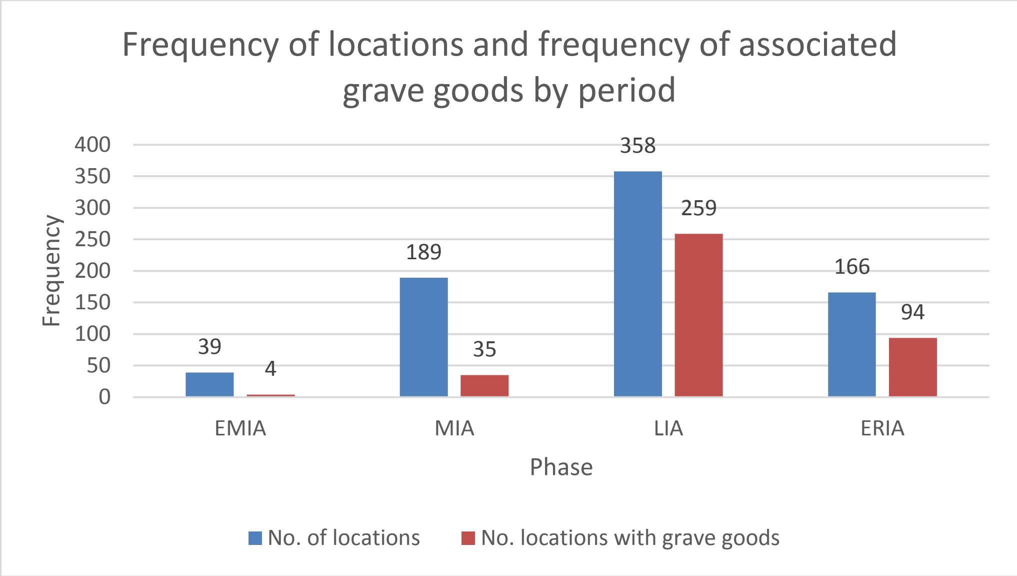


Figure 167. Frequency of grave inclusions for cremation and inhumation locations.

There is a clear difference between the earlier and later phases. It is further apparent when the percentage of locations with associated grave goods are considered (Figure 168). The EMIA transition is represented by eight grave goods from four associated occurrences. These are three ceramic vessels (Maiden Castle no. 13, N=1; Stone Farm Bridleway N=2), two spindlewhorls (White Horse Stone 2296) and three unworked lithic inclusions arranged in relation to the body (Maiden Castle no. 13 and Bury Hill burial 1). Grave inclusions were more prevalent for the MIA (N=35), and represented by local ceramics (N=15), fibulae (N=10), iron and copper alloy rings (N=2), iron and copper alloy bracelets (N=2), shale bangles (N=4), awls (N=4), a ring-headed bronze pin, a knife, a "bucket" (Richmond 1968, 27), a key, the weaponry from Mill Hill Grave 112, numerous slingstones from Maiden Castle pit Q4, as well as animal remains, other organic remains, and 27 lithic inclusions, including worked and unworked examples. The LIA represents the largest portion of the dataset, and includes all categories of objects present in the MIA, as well as others such as imported ceramics, mirrors, feasting equipment and gold objects. Likewise, the ERIA dataset contains a comparable set of objects to the LIA.

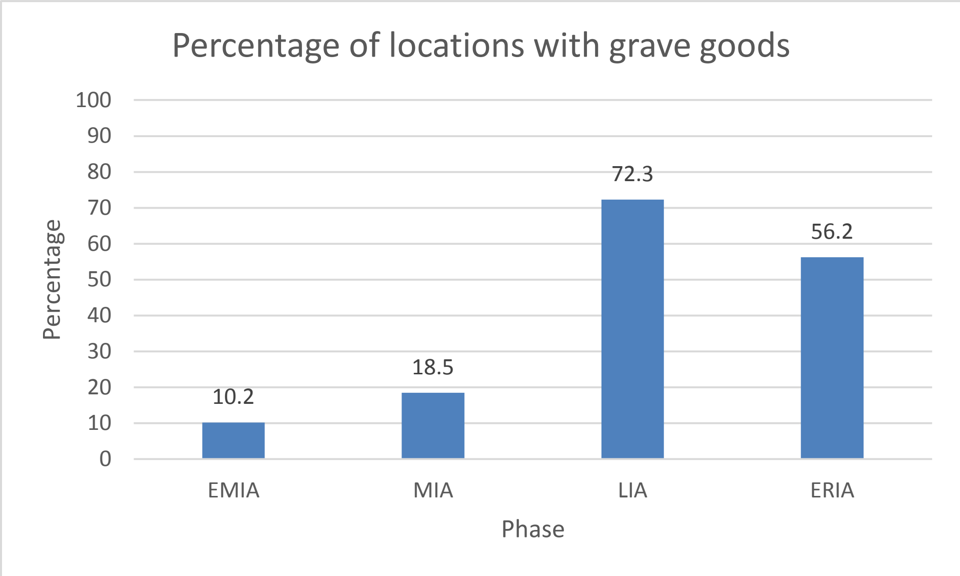


Figure 168. Percentage of locations, by phase, with associated grave goods.

9.2. Mortuary Cultures

The different mortuary cultures were analysed individually in order to detect differences in the age of individuals and quantity of grave goods. Due to the range of objects, only ceramics were analysed as they represent the most prevalent material recovered from graves; specific case studies are provided in Chapter 11.

9.2.1. Durotrigian

The Durotrigian group was analysed as in Chapter 7, beginning with the entire dataset (Figure 169-Figure 172; Appendix H. 2).

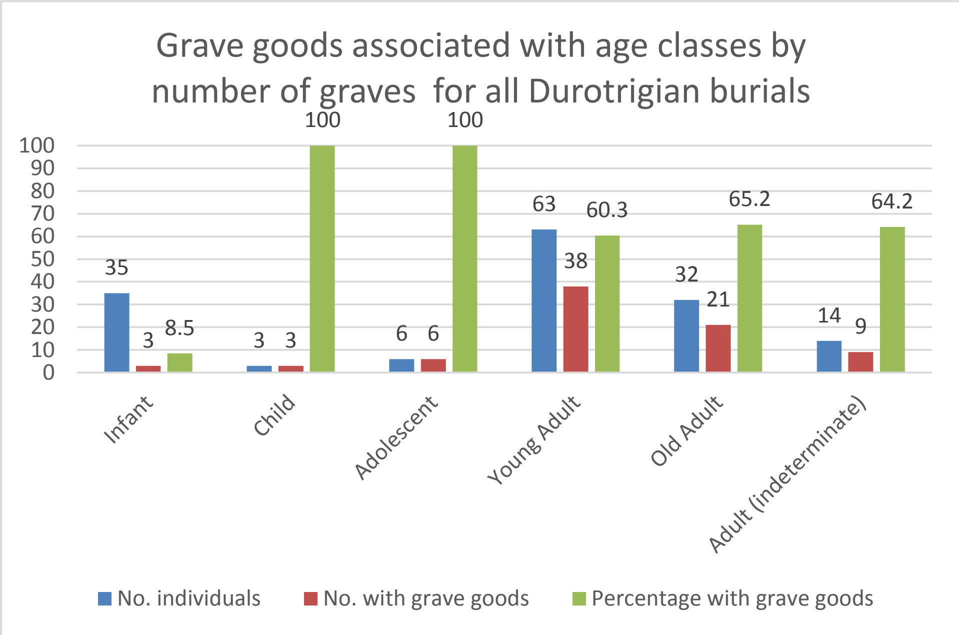


Figure 169. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for all Durotrigian burials.

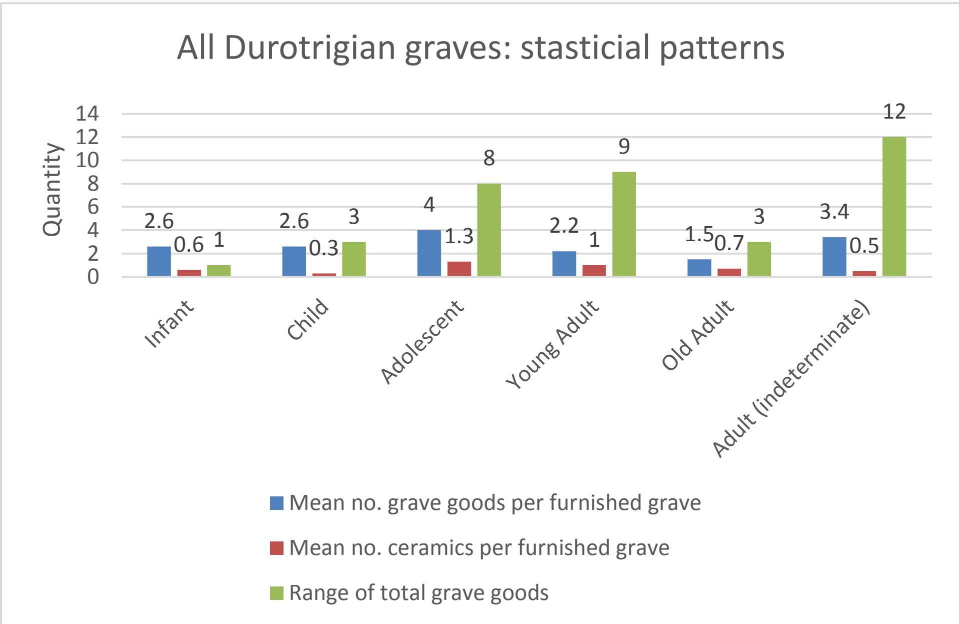


Figure 170. Statistical patterns for grave goods for all Durotrigian graves.

Provision of grave goods was restricted, with over a third of adults lacking associated objects. The prevalence of goods with sub-adults should be taken as indication of a status of some form; one in which these individuals were interred with items usually associated with adults. Sex does not appear to have been a determining factor in the provision of grave goods, although the most opulent graves in the dataset were both female (Figure 171-Figure 172; Appendix H. 3).

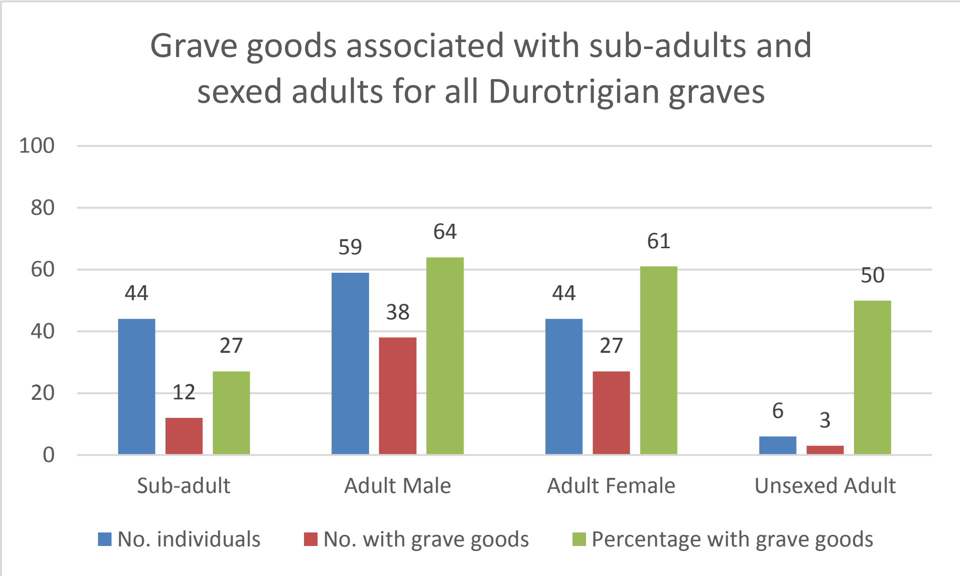


Figure 171. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for by number of graves for all Durotrigian burials.

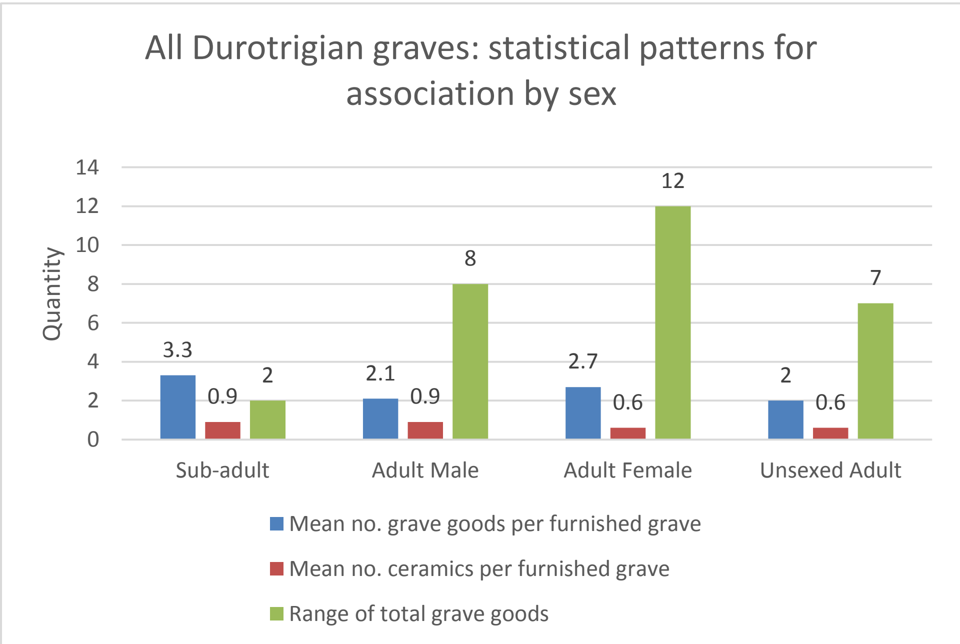


Figure 172. Statistical patterns for grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for all Durotrigian graves.

9.2.1.1. Durotrigian Hill-forts

The pattern observed for the hill-fort population is not markedly different from the entire group (Figure 173-Figure 174; Appendix H. 4-5). One notable variation is that fewer young adults (mean 1.7) were provisioned with artefacts than for the group as whole (mean 2.2). Means for ceramic inclusions are, with the exception of infants, likewise lower as a whole within this group.

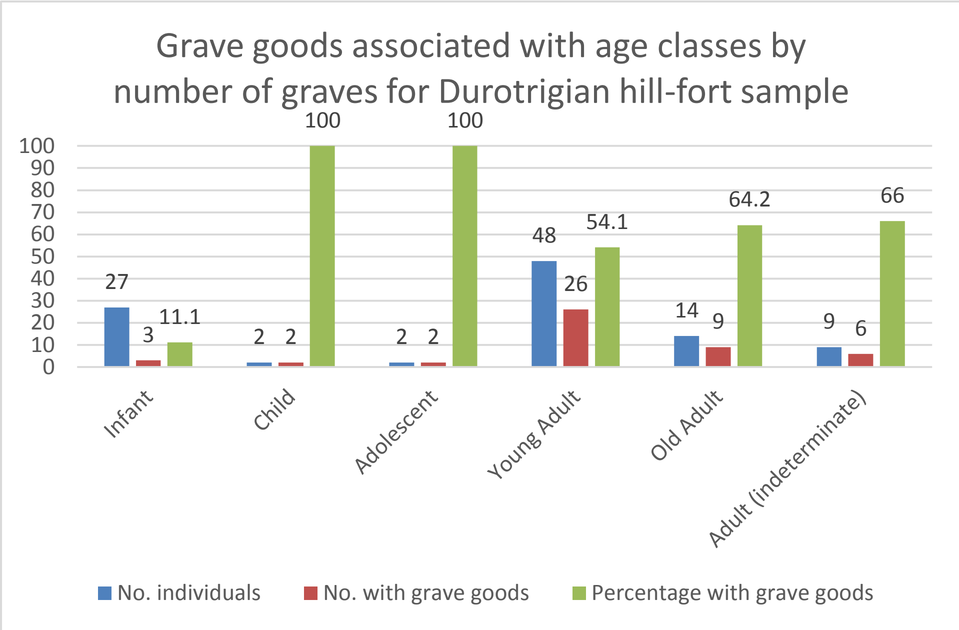


Figure 173. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for Durotrigian burials from hill-forts.

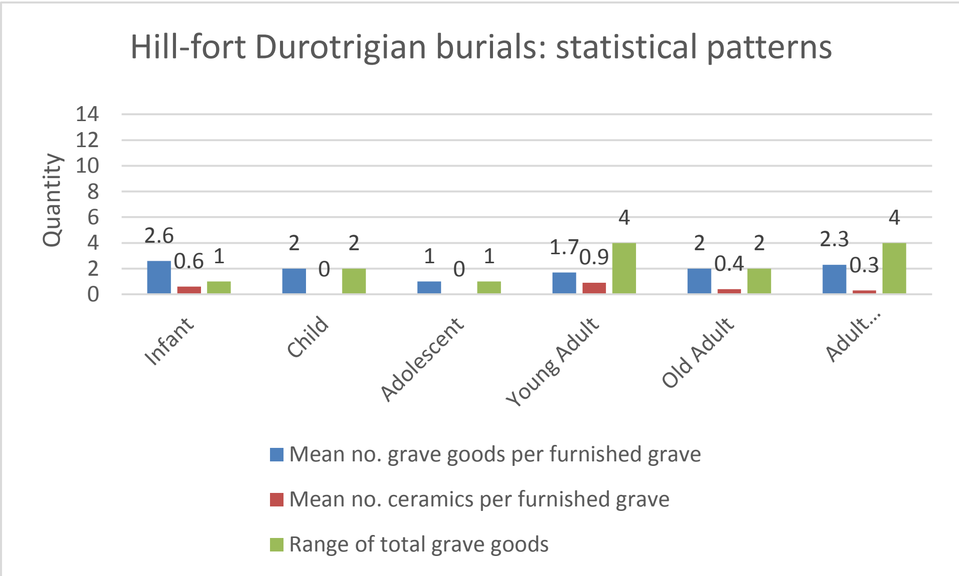


Figure 174. Statistical patterns for grave goods for all Durotrigian burials from hill-forts.

Sex appears to have played no role in terms of the provision of grave goods, with mean figures for males and females either the same or near identical (Figure 175-Figure 176; Appendix H. 4-5).

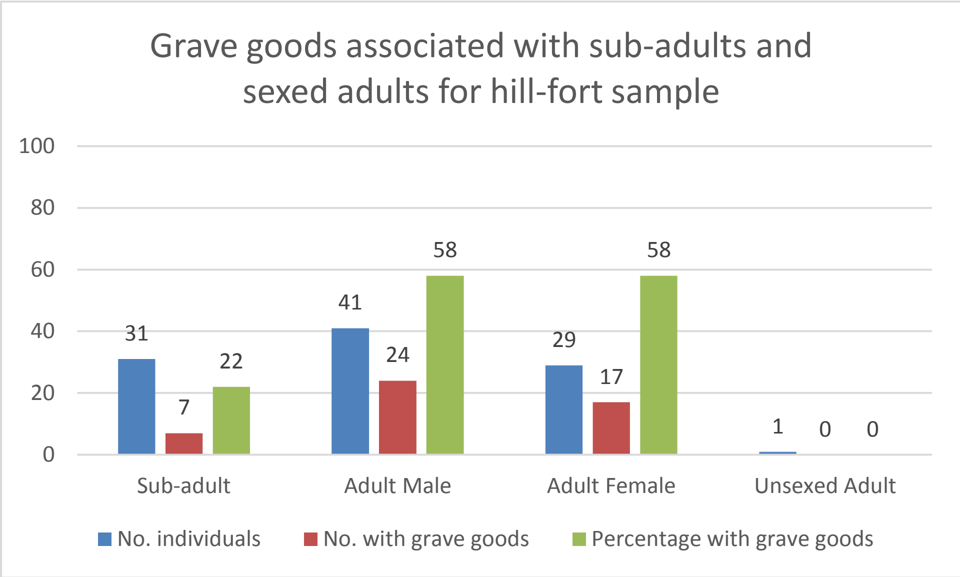


Figure 175. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for by number of graves for Durotrigian burials from hill-forts.

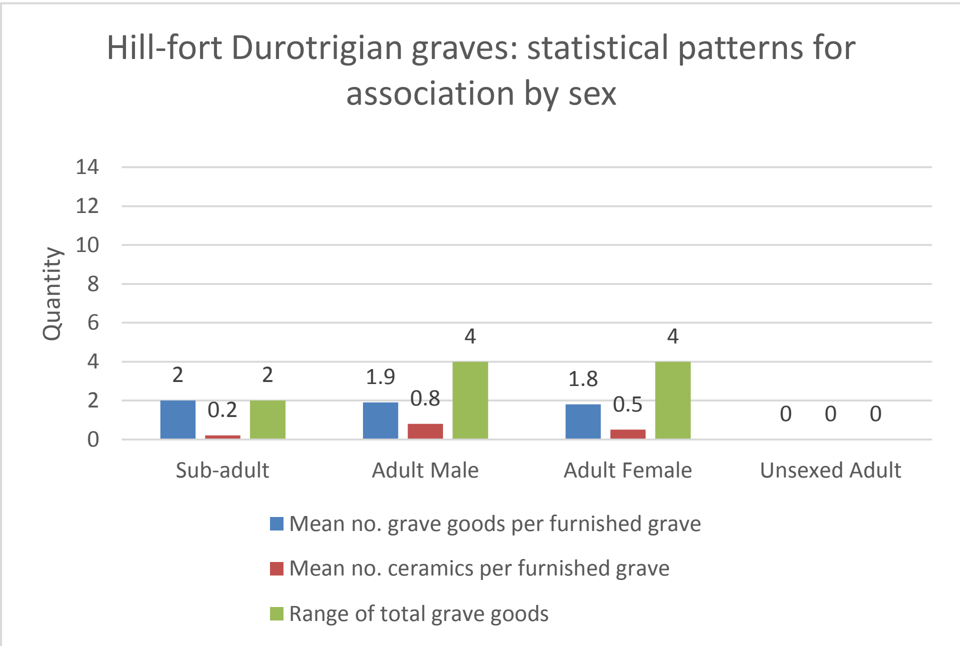


Figure 176. Statistical patterns for grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for Durotrigian burials from hill-forts.

9.2.1.2 Durotrigian: Non-hill-fort

In material terms, graves from non-hill-forts were richer than those within the hill-forts (Figure 177-Figure 178; Appendix H. 6-7).

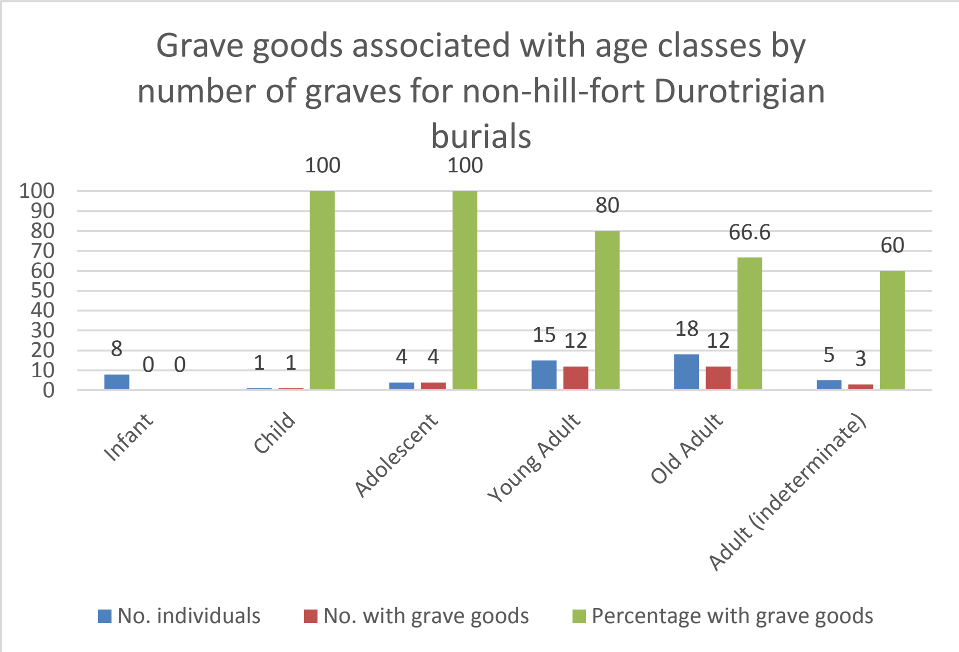


Figure 177. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for Durotrigian burial from non-hill-forts.

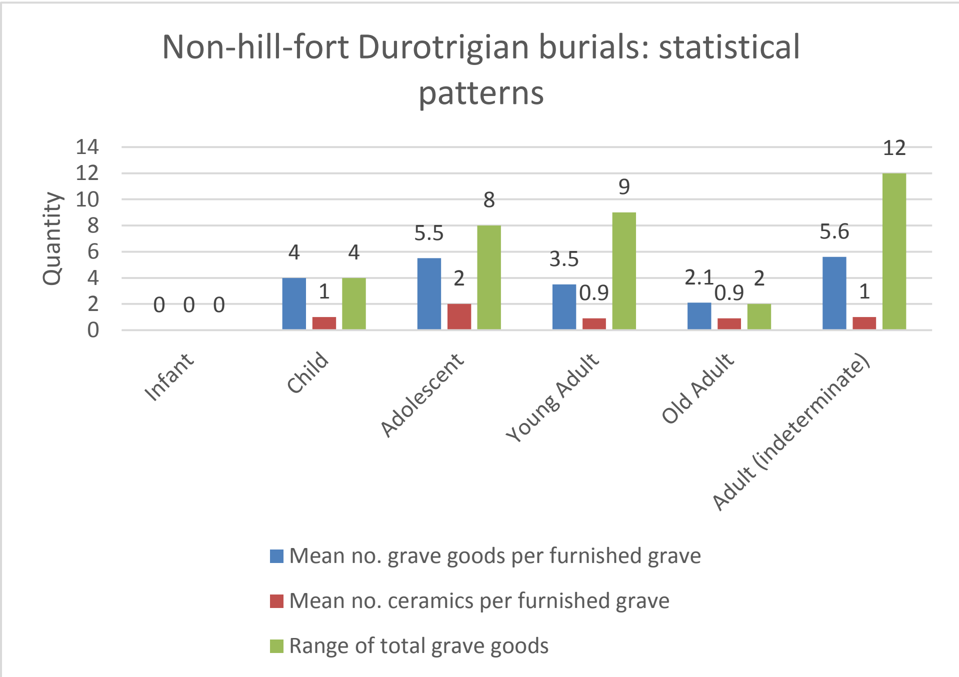


Figure 178. Statistical patterns for grave goods for Durotrigian burials from non-hill-forts.

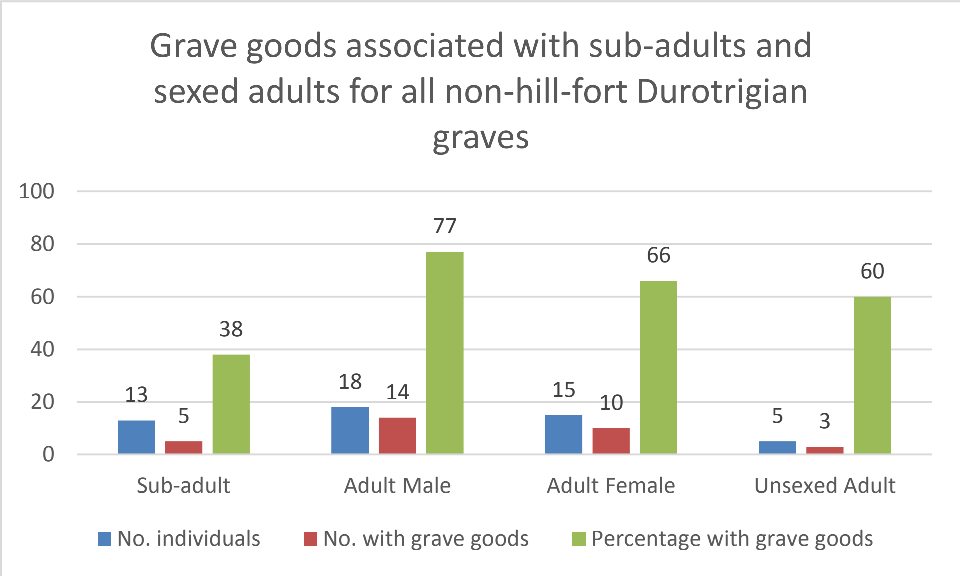


Figure 179. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for Durotrigian burials from non-hill-forts.

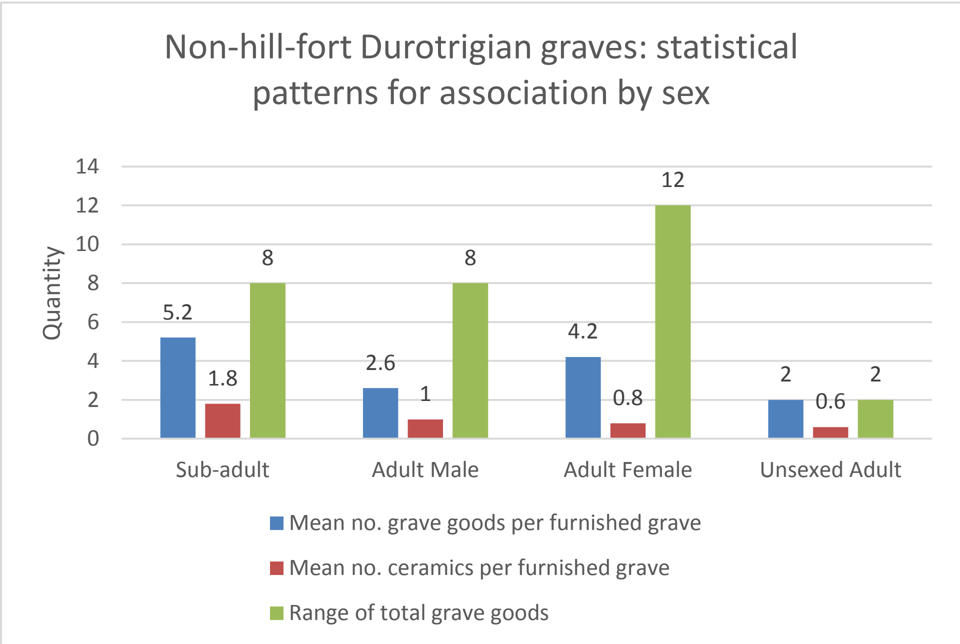


Figure 180. Statistical patterns for grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for Durotrigian burials from non-hill-forts.

The only group which was comparatively poorer were infants. The higher mean number of items is partly explained by the Portesham, Langton Herring and Whitcombe (Burial 9) finds. However, the percentages show that a greater proportion of the non-hill-fort population were provisioned with artefacts than their hill-fort contemporaries. The consideration of sex as a variable governing the provision of grave goods (Figure 179-

Figure 180; Appendix C6) suggests a females were more likely to be the recipients of grave goods. This is primarily a result of Portesham (Figure 181) and Langton Herring, but also Manor Farm INH502. However, the existence of Whitcombe 9 demonstrates that rich male graves may also exist. Additionally, two adolescents, Whitcombe Burial 8 and Manor Farm INH527, were provided with grave goods in excess of some adults within this dataset.

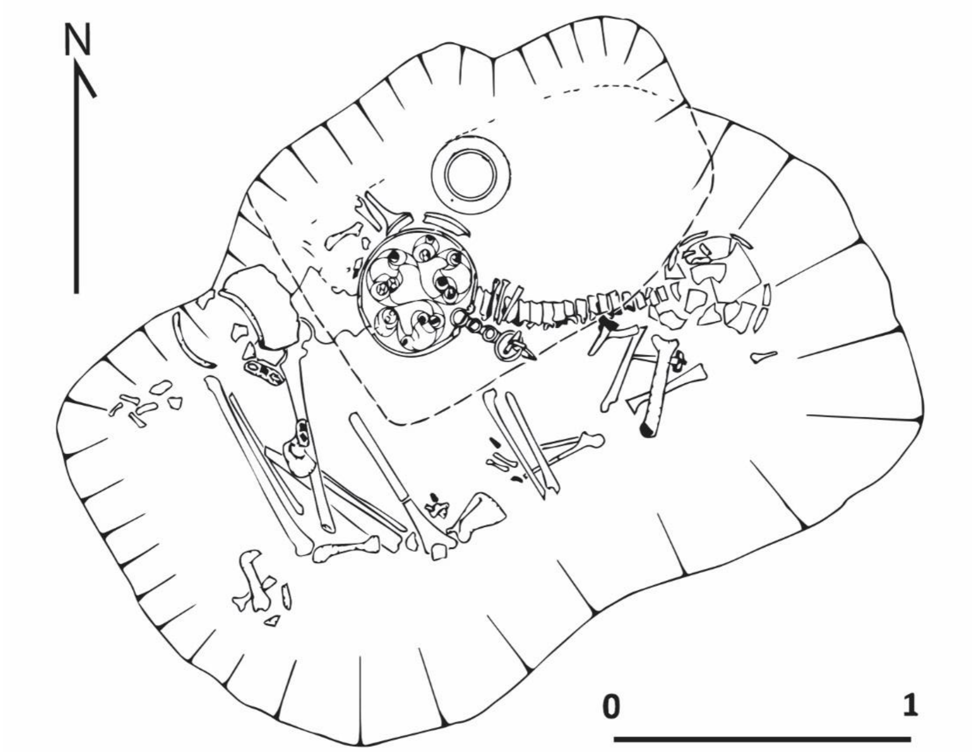


Figure 181. The Portesham burial which contained an abundance of grave goods including a bronze mirror, three fibulae, joints of pork and mouton, a toilet set, six ceramic vessels, a knife and a strainer (re-drawn by author from Fitzpatrick 1996, 53 fig. 2 with kind permission of Wessex Archaeology Ltd.).

9.2.2. Kent Inhumations

Kentish graves were considered according to the scheme employed for the inhumation analysis:

- A complete dataset (Figure 182-Figure 185; Appendix H. 8-9).
- The Mill Hill cemetery (Figure 186-Figure 189; Appendix H. 10-11).
- LIA/ERIA non-Mill Hill burials (Figure 191-Figure 192; H. 12-13).

9.2.2.1 Kentish Inhumations: The Complete Dataset

Kentish inhumations are materially poorer than Durotrigian examples. Across all age groups, percentages of furnished graves and mean values of material included were lower. The high mean value for the adult indeterminate group is the result of the inclusion of the Brisley Farm weapon burials.

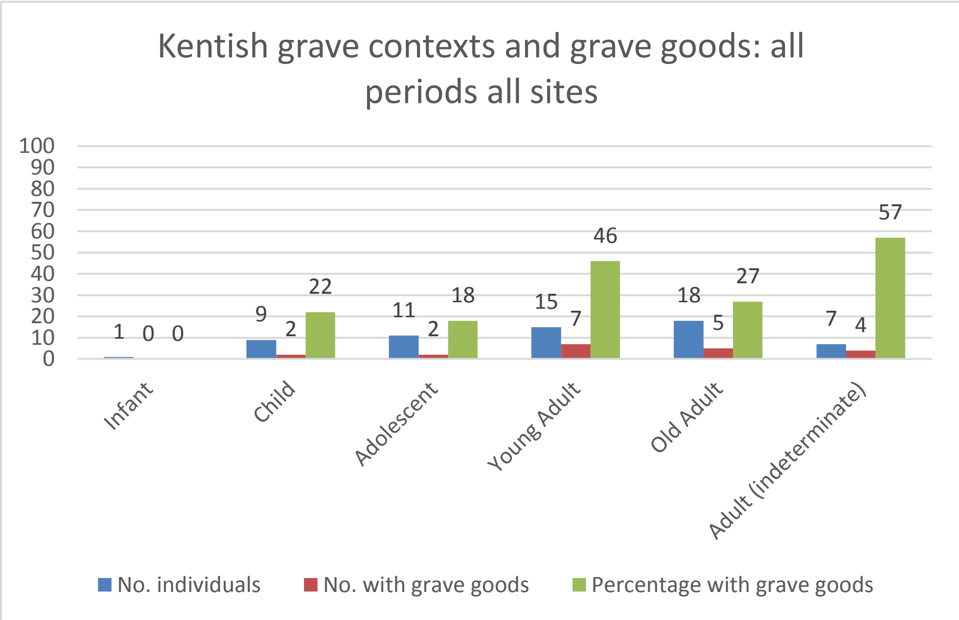


Figure 182. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for all Kentish formal burials.

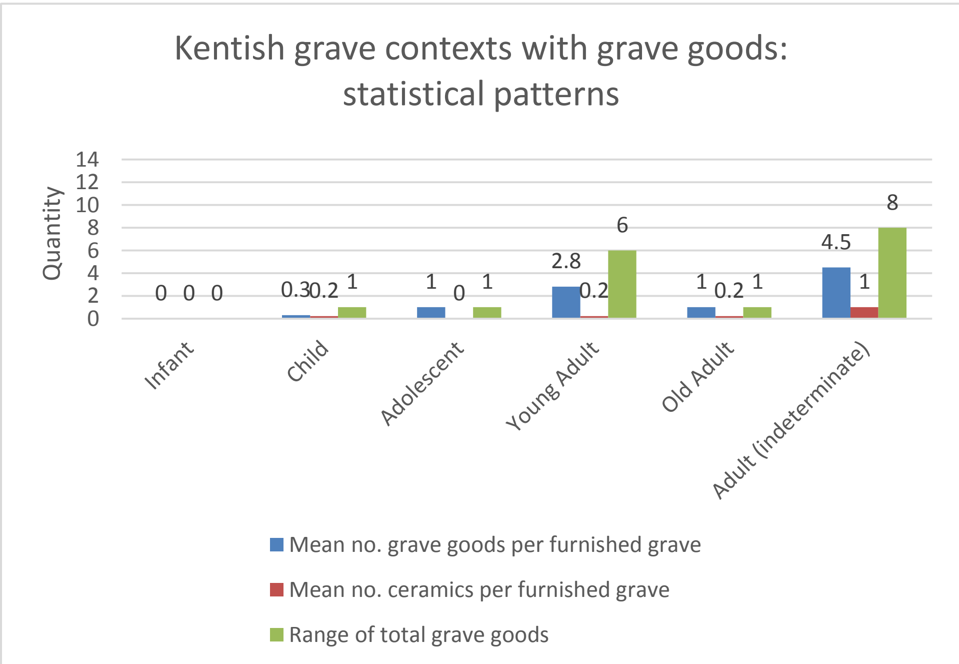


Figure 183. Statistical patterns for grave goods for all Kentish formal burials.

Males were more likely to have grave goods than females (Figure 184-Figure 185; Appendix C6). The higher mean values for male graves are, however, the result of the Mill Hill 112 and Brisley Farm burials. When these are subtracted, the mean values for males and females are comparable.

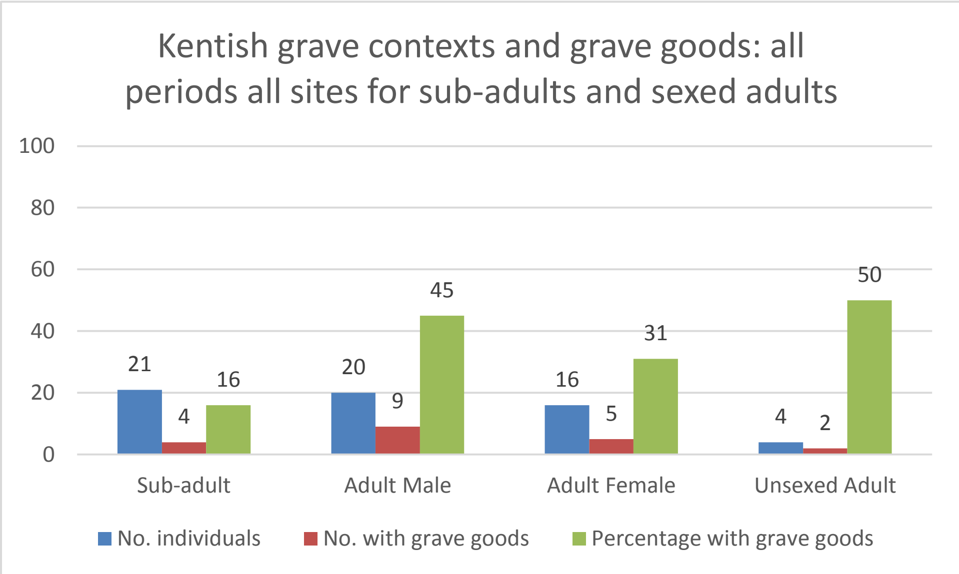


Figure 184. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for all Kentish formal burials.

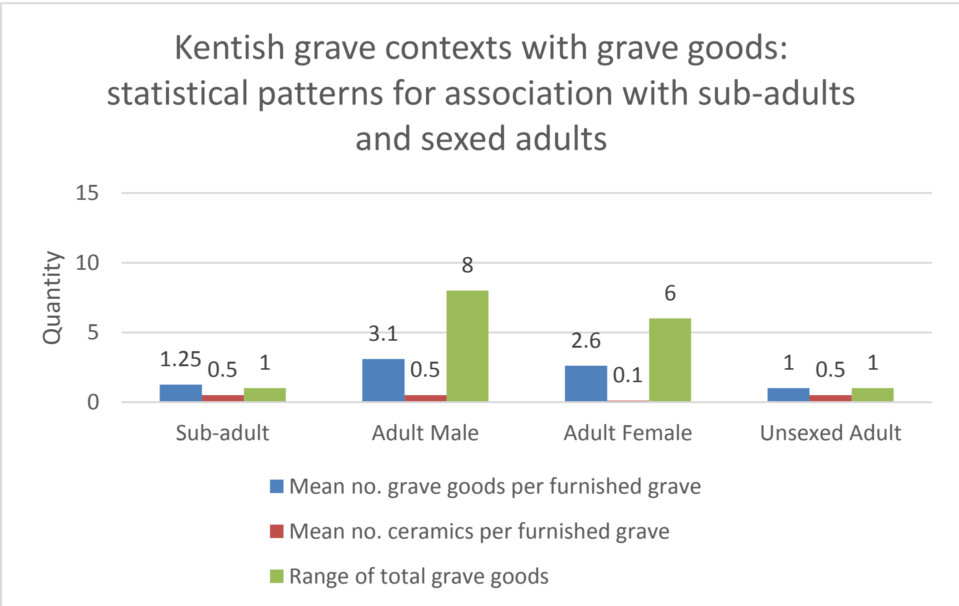


Figure 185. Statistical patterns for grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for all Kentish formal burials.

9.2.2.2. Mill Hill

Sub-adult graves at Mill Hill were poorer than those at other sites (Figure 186-Figure 187; Appendix C6). By contrast, the percentage of adolescent and young and old adult graves with grave goods was higher. Ceramics within graves were, however, lower than for the entire Kentish dataset. Likewise, the higher mean for young adults is partly explained by the richness of Grave 112.

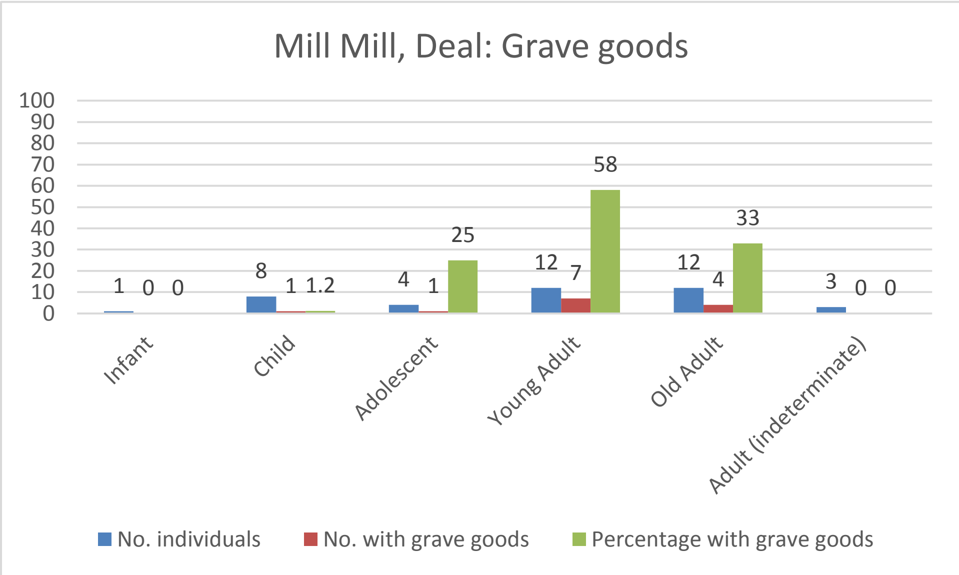


Figure 186. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for Mill Hill.

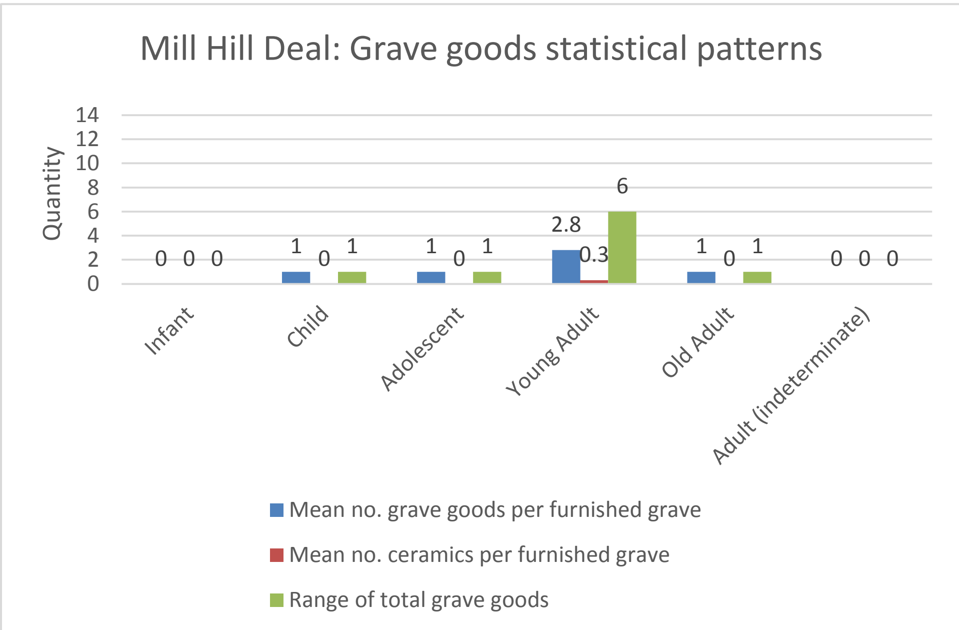


Figure 187. Statistical patterns for grave goods for Mill Hill.

Males were more likely to be provisioned with grave goods. Nevertheless, in terms of the statistical patterns, sex does not appear to have determined the quantity of grave goods. The abundance of material from male graves is the result of Mill Hill 112, otherwise no male grave contained more than two items. The pattern for female burials is likewise distorted by the joiner's dogs from Mill Hill 123, which were likely a single object, probably a coffin. No grave of either sex received more than two items (Figure 188-Figure 189; Appendix C6).

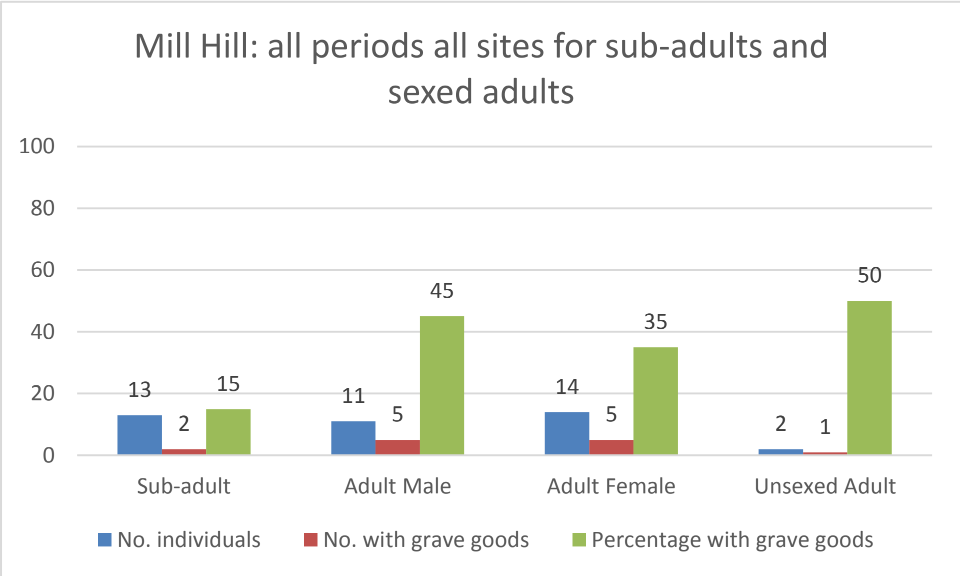


Figure 188. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for Mill Hill.

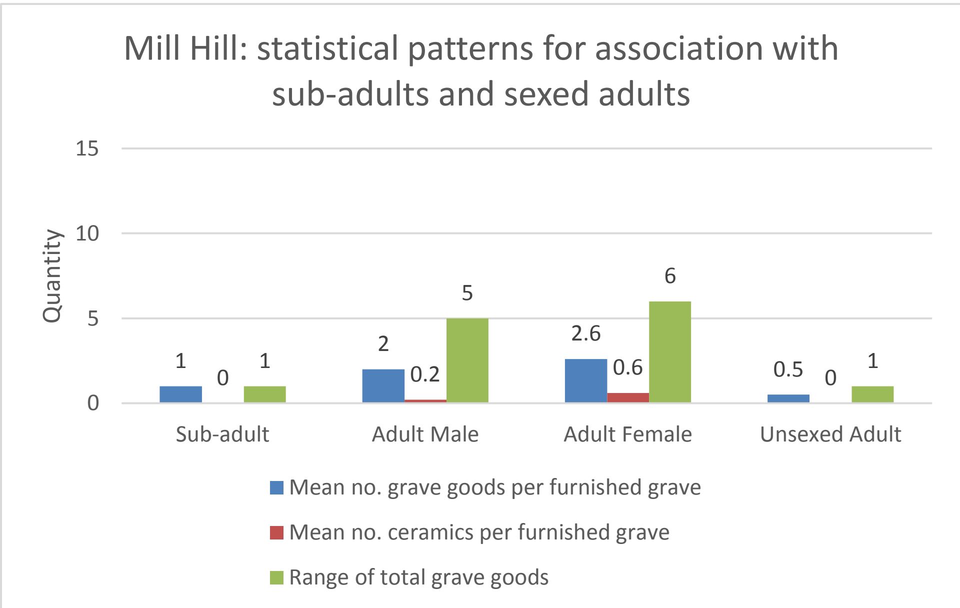


Figure 189. Statistical patterns for grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for Mill Hill.

9.2.2.3. Kentish LIA-ERIA Inhumations

It was hoped that excluding Mill Hill would produce patterns which could be compared to Durotrigian burials. However, this reduced dataset constitutes only nine graves, four of which (44%) contained no grave goods. Of the remaining five, two were the Brisley Farm burials whose 15 artefacts accounted for 78% of all objects. LIA-ERIA inhumations were therefore considered with the Mill Hill data. Initially LIA-ERIA graves do not appear materially poorer than for the full dataset, or the preceding periods at Mill Hill. This however does not take account of the Brisley Farm data. Furthermore, the 2.75 mean for young adults is largely the result of the aforementioned Mill Hill 123 grave. When these three graves are accounted for, LIA-ERIA graves appear to have been materially poorer than others in the dataset. Only ceramic quantities were marginally higher.

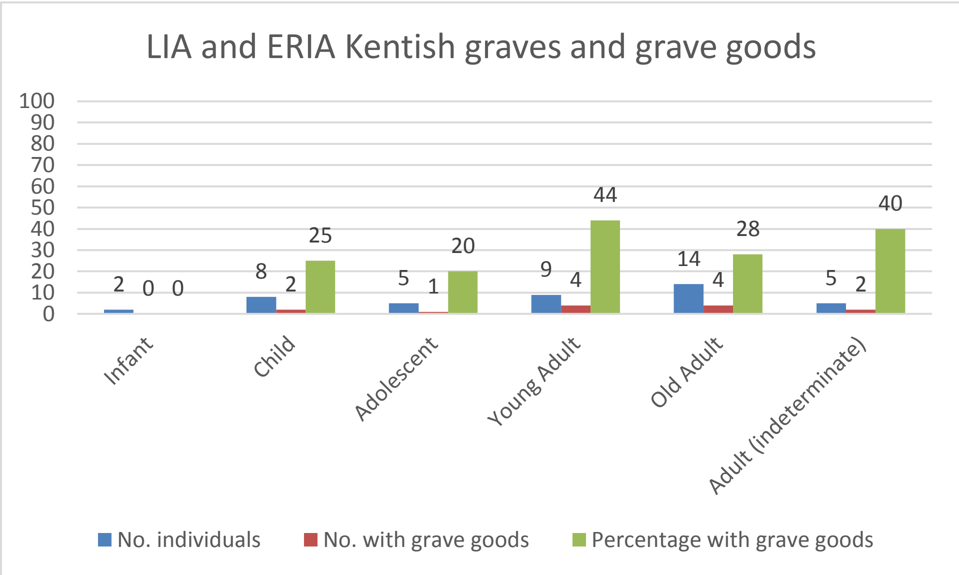


Figure 190. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for LIA and ERIA Kentish graves and grave goods.

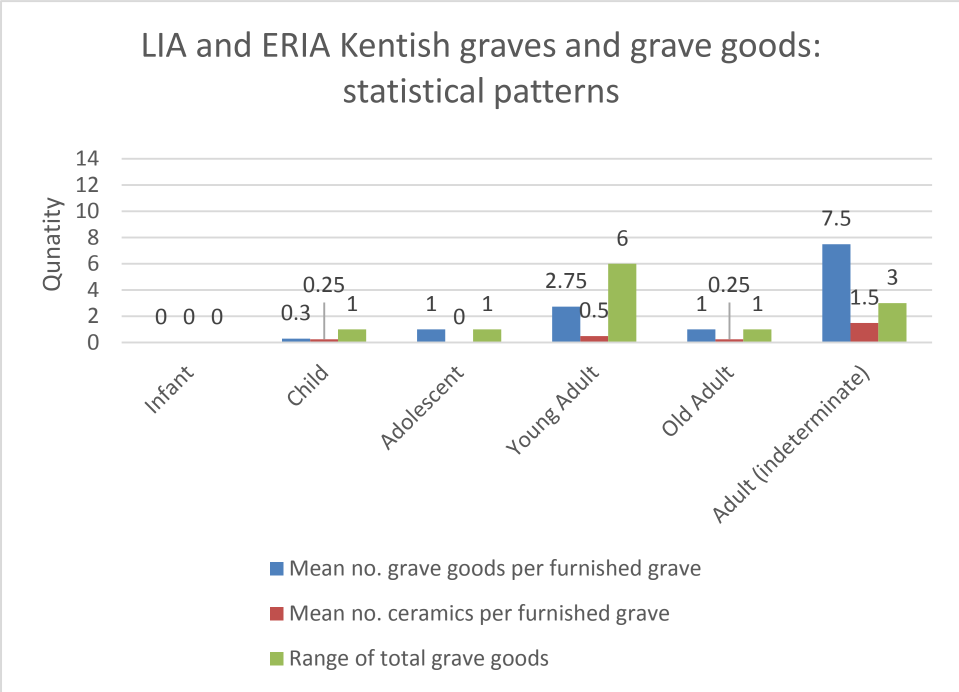


Figure 191. Statistical patterns for grave goods for LIA and ERIA Kentish graves and grave goods.

Owing to the dominance of LIA Mill Hill burials, the patterns observed with regards sex (Figure 190-Figure 191; Appendix C6) are not markedly different from the rest of the Kentish dataset. When the Brisley Farm burials are subtracted, sex does not appear to play a role in the furnishing of graves.

9.2.3. SW Inhumations

As with Kentish and Durotrigian data, it appears age was a determining factor, although not all adults were provisioned with grave goods (Figure 192-Figure 193; Appendix H. 14). Analysis of the role of sex in grave good provision was not undertaken, owing to the small number of males (N=4) and absence of females associated with grave goods. While this may be informative in itself, it must be remembered that 13 graves with grave goods could not be sexed.

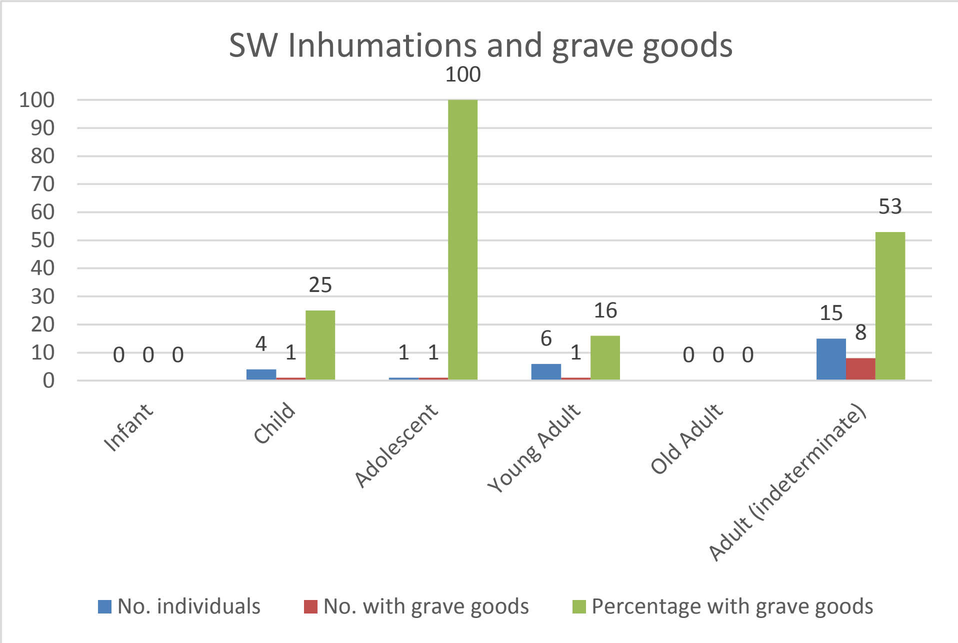


Figure 192. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for SW inhumations.

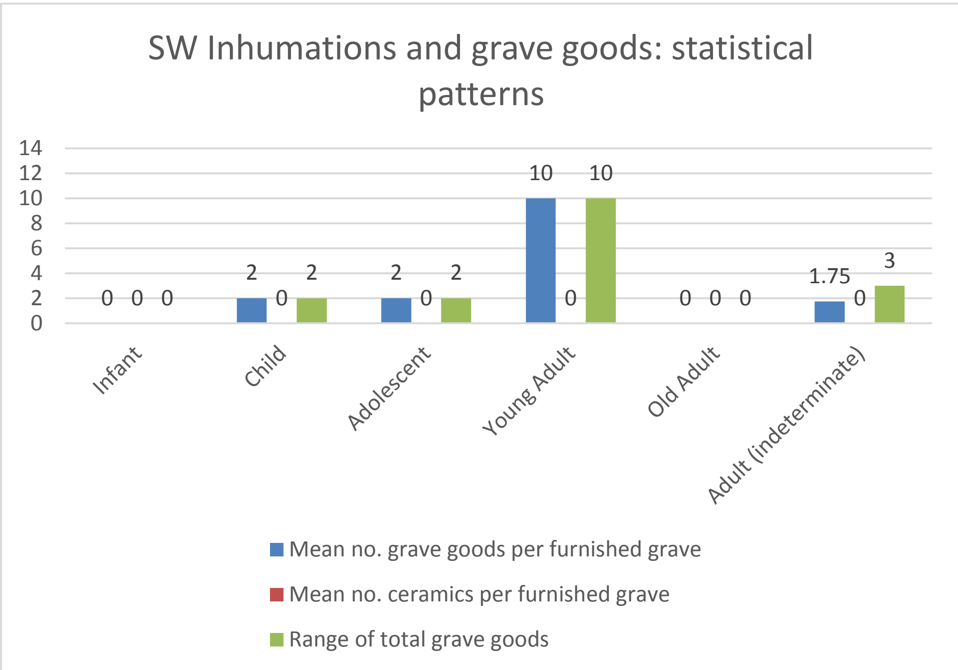


Figure 193. Statistical patterns for grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for SW inhumation graves.

9.2.4 Cremation Burials

Cremation burials were considered as separate Westhampnett and non-Westhampnett samples for reasons noted above (see Appendix H. 15-20 for results from the entire sample).

9.2.4.1. Westhampnett

In contrast to the inhumation cultures, Westhampnett displayed a much stronger correlation between burial and access to grave goods (Figure 194-Figure 197; Appendix H. 21-3). The higher mean values for sub-adult graves (in contrast to the entire dataset) is in part explained by the presence of double burials (consisting of adults and sub-adults), in which the adult may have been intended as the recipient. As a whole, the Westhampnett cemetery displays limited variation in the quantity of material inclusions, and mean values. The high number of unsexed individuals warns against attaching significance to the idea that females were more likely to be provided with materially richer graves.

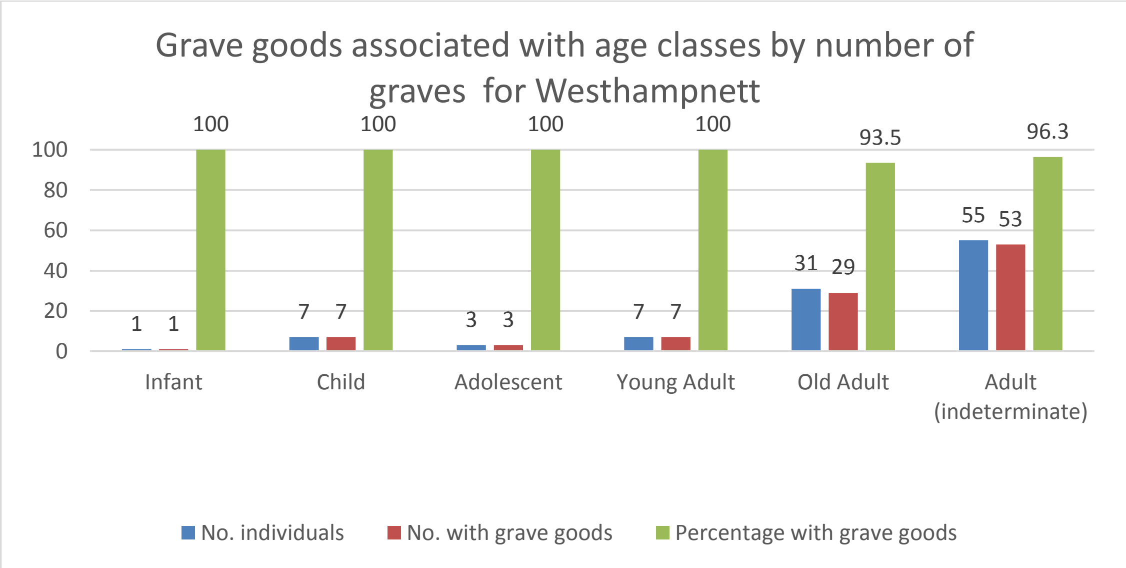


Figure 194. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for Westhampnett.

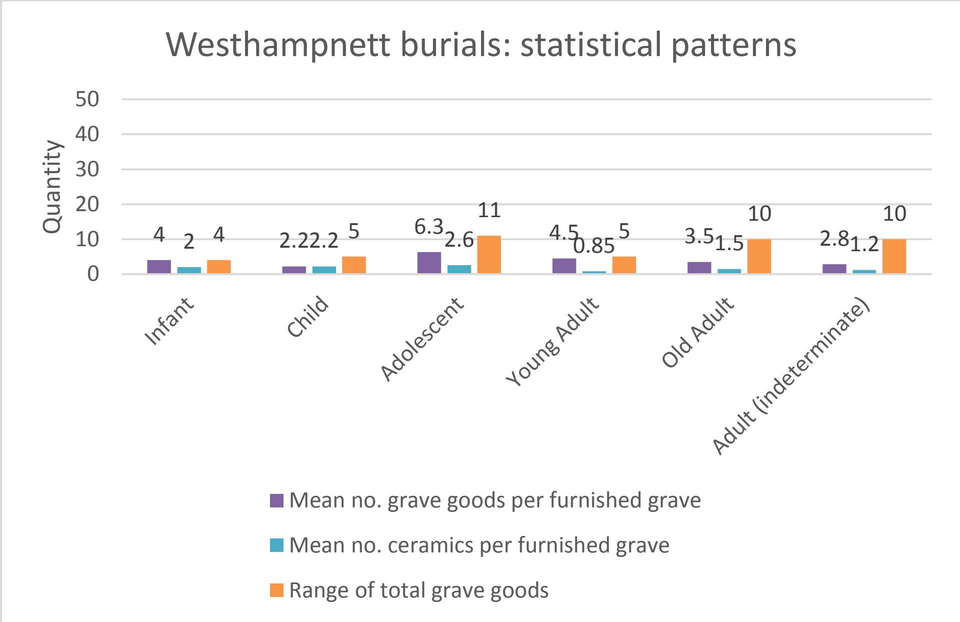


Figure 195. Statistical patterns for grave goods for Westhampnett burials.

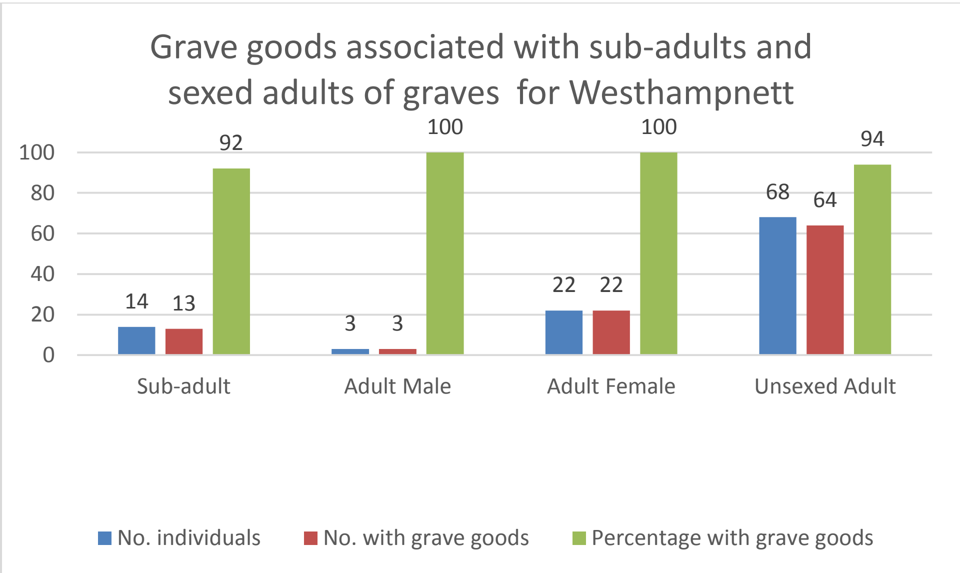


Figure 196. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for Westhampnett burials.

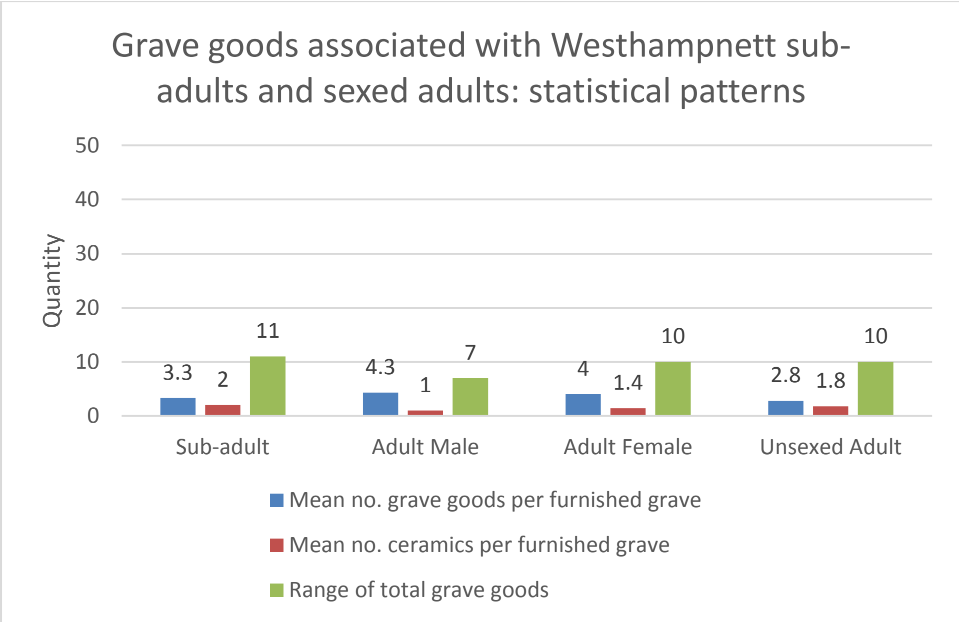


Figure 197. Statistical patterns for grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for Westhampnett burials.

9.2.4.2 Non-Westhampnett

The trends from the non-Westhampnett sample (Figure 198-Figure 201; Appendix H. 24-5) differ. Young adults and indeterminate adults in particular, were provided with more inclusions, including ceramics. The range in indeterminate adult graves is particularly marked, and results from rich burials from Alkham, Westhawk Farm and particularly Owslebury and Alton. As with Westhampnett, a large part of the dataset could not be sexed. Nevertheless, the higher rate of females with grave goods remains.

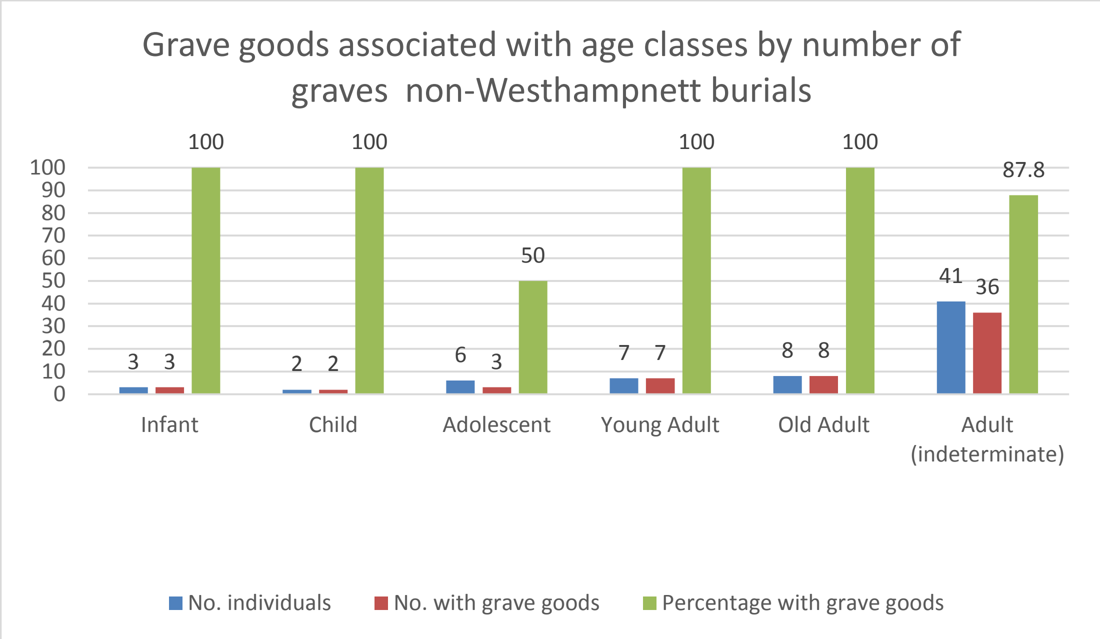


Figure 198. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for non-Westhampnett cremation burials.

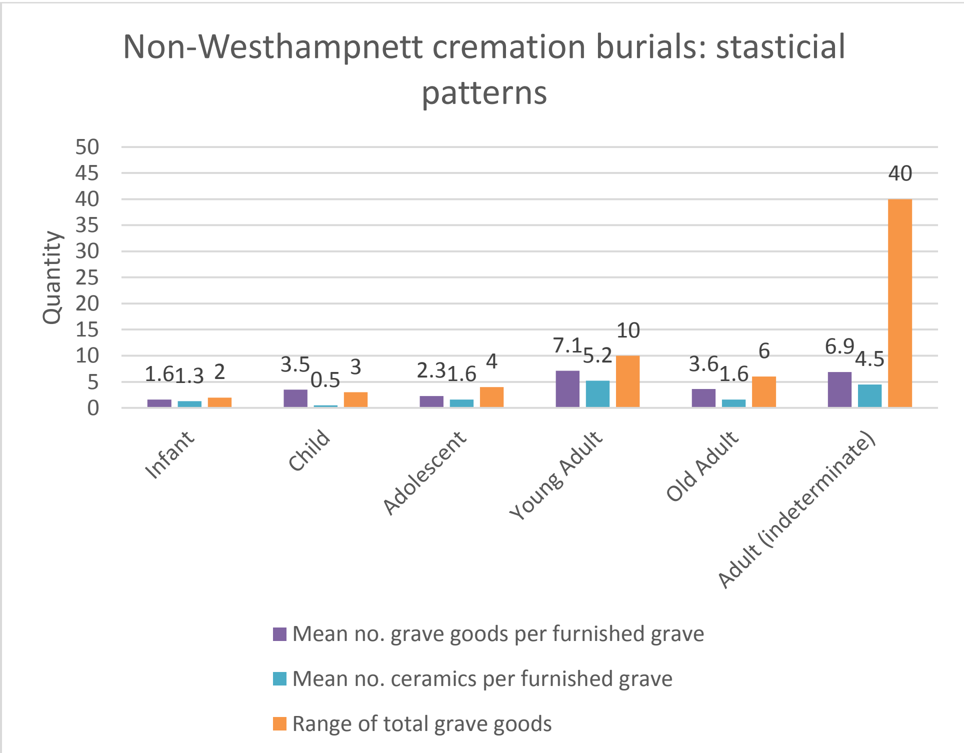


Figure 199. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for non-Westhampnett cremation burials.

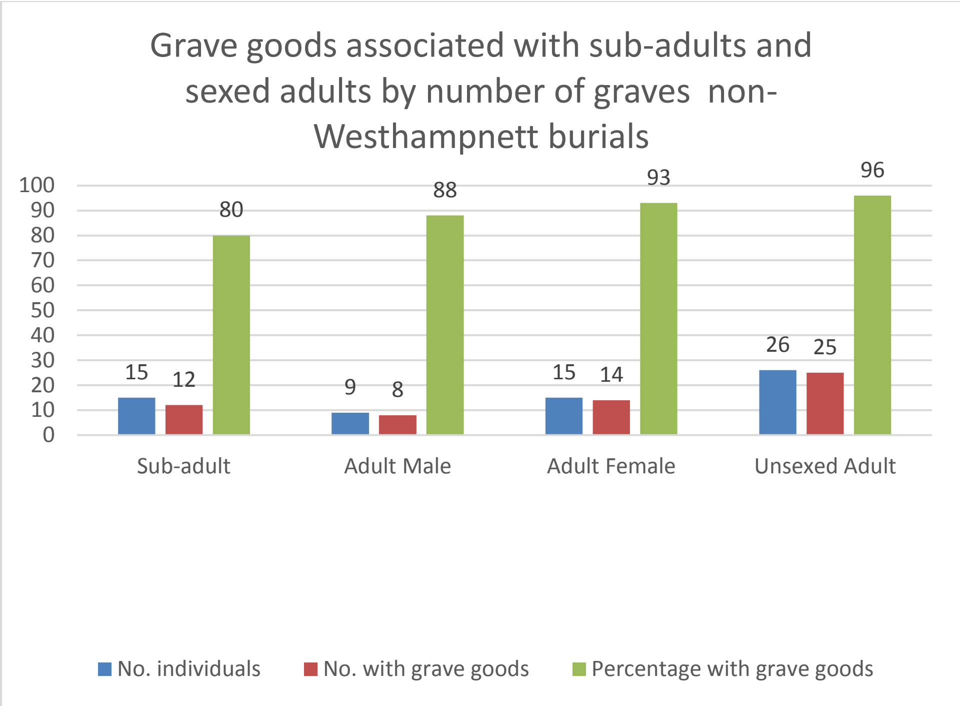


Figure 200. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for non-Westhampnett graves.

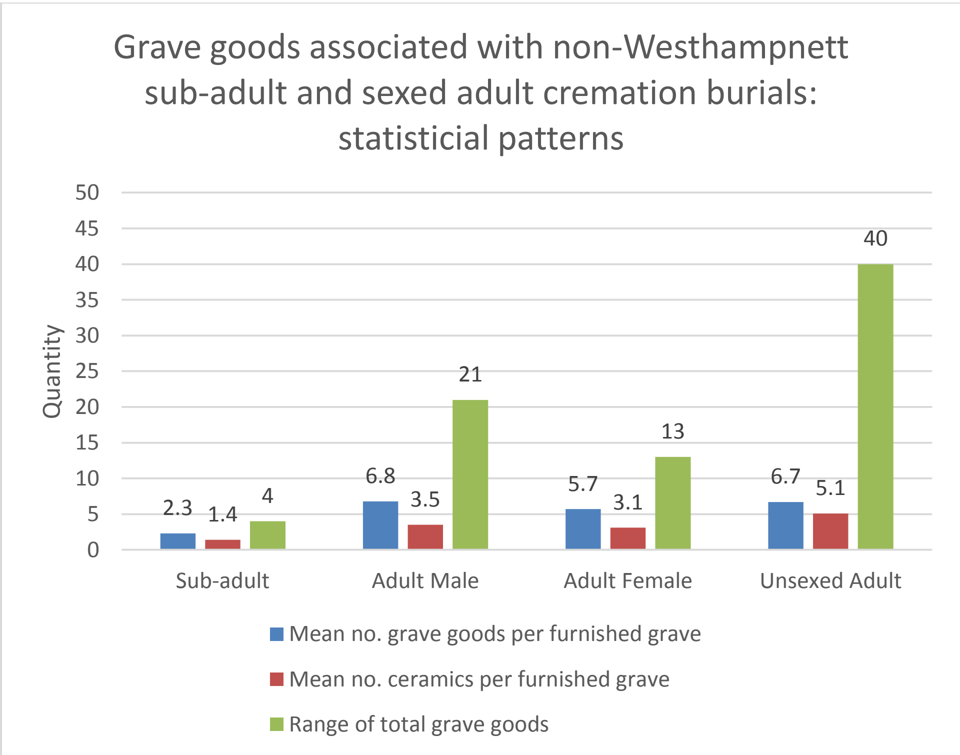


Figure 201. Statistical patterns for grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for non-Westhampnett graves.

9.3 British Context

The increase in grave goods in the study area parallels much of southern Britain. The analysis of Durotrigian graves conforms to Hamlin's (2007, 268-281) findings (N=111 graves): the lack of evidence for sex being a determining factor in the provision of grave goods, the material differences between hill-fort (in Hamlin's case only Poundbury) and non-hill-fort populations, and the comparative opulence of non-hill-fort female burials. Whimster (1981, 51, 59) studied 65 sexed and aged Durotrigian burials, and found that most individuals were provided with grave goods, but the quantity was not determined by sex. He calculated that 67.5% males had grave goods, 71% females and 75% of children (*ibid*, 50, 57); figures which have since decreased with new discoveries, though not to the c.50% level suggested by Fitzpatrick (1996b, 67; 2007a, 124). The findings support Sharples (2010, 277) conclusion that more male graves were furnished than female; although the mean of objects in female graves is higher.

SW inhumations are too few to draw firm conclusions (Nowakowski 1991, 231). With regards Kent, new discoveries conform to Hamilton's (2007, 92) comment that these contain a limited range and variety of artefacts. Cremation burials contrast strongly in terms of their abundance of grave goods. This echoes a pattern observed in the broader Aylesford-Swarling zone, with the richest examples being the 1st century BC-AD Welwyn series (Stead 1967; Fitzpatrick 2007a, 129-131). Of 264 LIA cremations examined by Roth (2011, 333) 238 (90.2%) had associated material. The mean values for grave goods and ceramics from cremation graves (excluding exceptional examples such as Alton) accord with the broader pattern for Aylesford-Swarling zone (Fitzpatrick 2007a, 126; Roth 2011, 330).

The lack of detectable burial rites prevents comment for much of Britain, with the exception of East Yorkshire. Of 815 burials analysed (Giles 2012, 94), 277 individuals had inclusions (34%), although many of the remainder were provided with a simple coffin (*ibid,* 131). As in the study area, infants were typically buried without items, whilst only a few adolescents were deposited with objects. By contrast, among adults older adults received the greatest quantity of inclusions (*ibid,* 132, fig. 5.2), something which is not observed in any of the mortuary cultures. Instead, in the study area a greater number of young adults were present in the mortuary record than elders. Likewise only one vessel was ever deposited in East Yorkshire graves (Figure 202)(*ibid,* 134); possibly to emphasise the communal emphasis of such burials (Chittock 2016). In this case, the variable quantities of ceramic vessels from Durotrigian burials suggests that the rite had a more individualistic emphasis; something supported by the limited (familial) size of the cemeteries containing the richer, non-hill-fort examples.

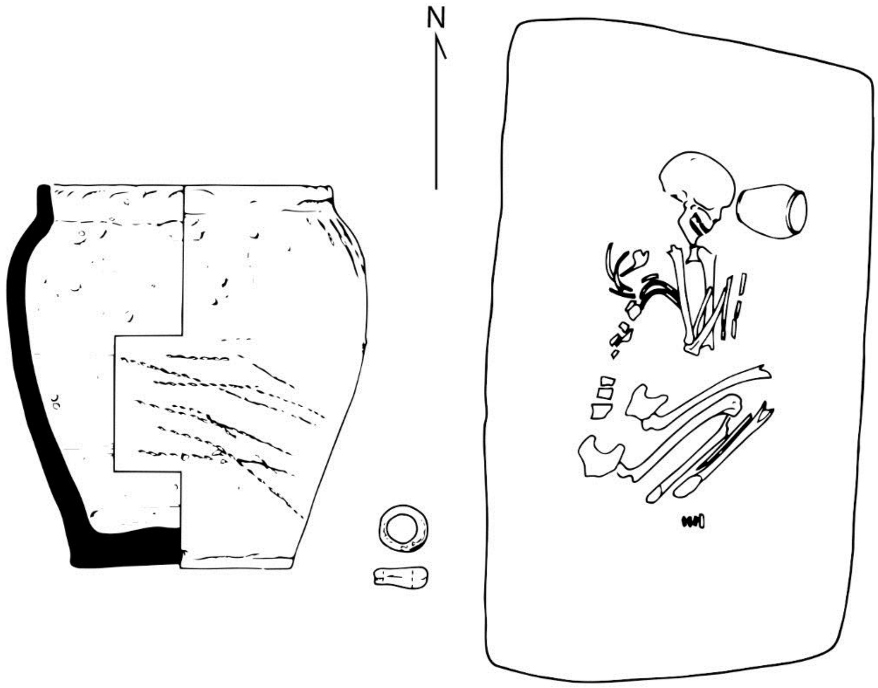


Figure 202. Rudston R16, a typical Arras culture grave in terms of the grave goods recovered from the burial (redrawn by author from Stead 1990, 189, fig. 102).

9.4. Continental Context

Data for the continent are uneven, but generally speaking the earlier La Tène period witnessed the greatest mean quantity of goods. Later La Tène graves are more modestly provisioned, with a restricted range and mean of grave goods. Across northern France, however, the late La Tène to Augustan period saw the creation of several well provisioned cremation graves in Northern France (Pearce 2015), including Somme and Nord (Ginoux 2007; Oudry-Braillon 2009, 68), Ardennes (Metzler 1993; Metzler 2009) and Brittany (Villard-Le Tiec *et al*. 2010, 97). In this sense the earlier La Tène bears little comparison to the study area, where contemporary cemeteries (Suddern Farm and Harlyn Bay) contained a tiny number of grave goods. The later La Tène patterns, however, are directly comparable to the study area.

9.4.1. Hauts de France and Champagne-Ardenne

Aside from a lack of funerary data from this region pre-c.250BC, Nord-Pas-de-Calais witnessed an increase in the number of grave goods over time, with late La Tène graves containing the highest quantities. A similar pattern is noted for the eastern study zone. In the late La Tène in Nord-Pas-de-Calais it was uncommen to have more than two ceramic vessels in a grave, although rare examples, with as many as 13 vessels, are known (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 68; Leman-Delerive 2014, 131). To the north in the Haine group, one to three vessels was the norm between La Tène B2 and La Tène C2/D1 (Figure 203) (Mariën 1961, 85-90; Anthoons 2010a, 193). These ceramic quantities find direct parallel with the numbers observed for LIA cremation burials in adjacent Kent. Within Picardy there is a broad ranging ceramic frequency. Here ceramics were most prevalent in La Tène B1 (mean: 4) and La Tène D1 (4.5), with a decline in La Tène D2 (Figure 204). As noted there is no parallel to the La Tène B1 data, however the quantities of ceramics from Westhampnett are the same as those from contemporary La Tène D1 burials. Some sites, for example, at Breuil-le-Sec, Oise, and Vignacourt, Somme, were exceptional, and possessed graves with as many as 12 and 17 vessels, respectively (Roymans 1990, 232; Baray 2002, 125). Broadly contemporary graves in the study area with comparable numbers of ceramics, include Alton and Owslebury. It appears that the greater the quantity and quality of other artefacts, the greater the quantity of ceramics (Baray 2002, 136); a pattern observed for cremation burials in the study area (Figure 195-Figure 197).

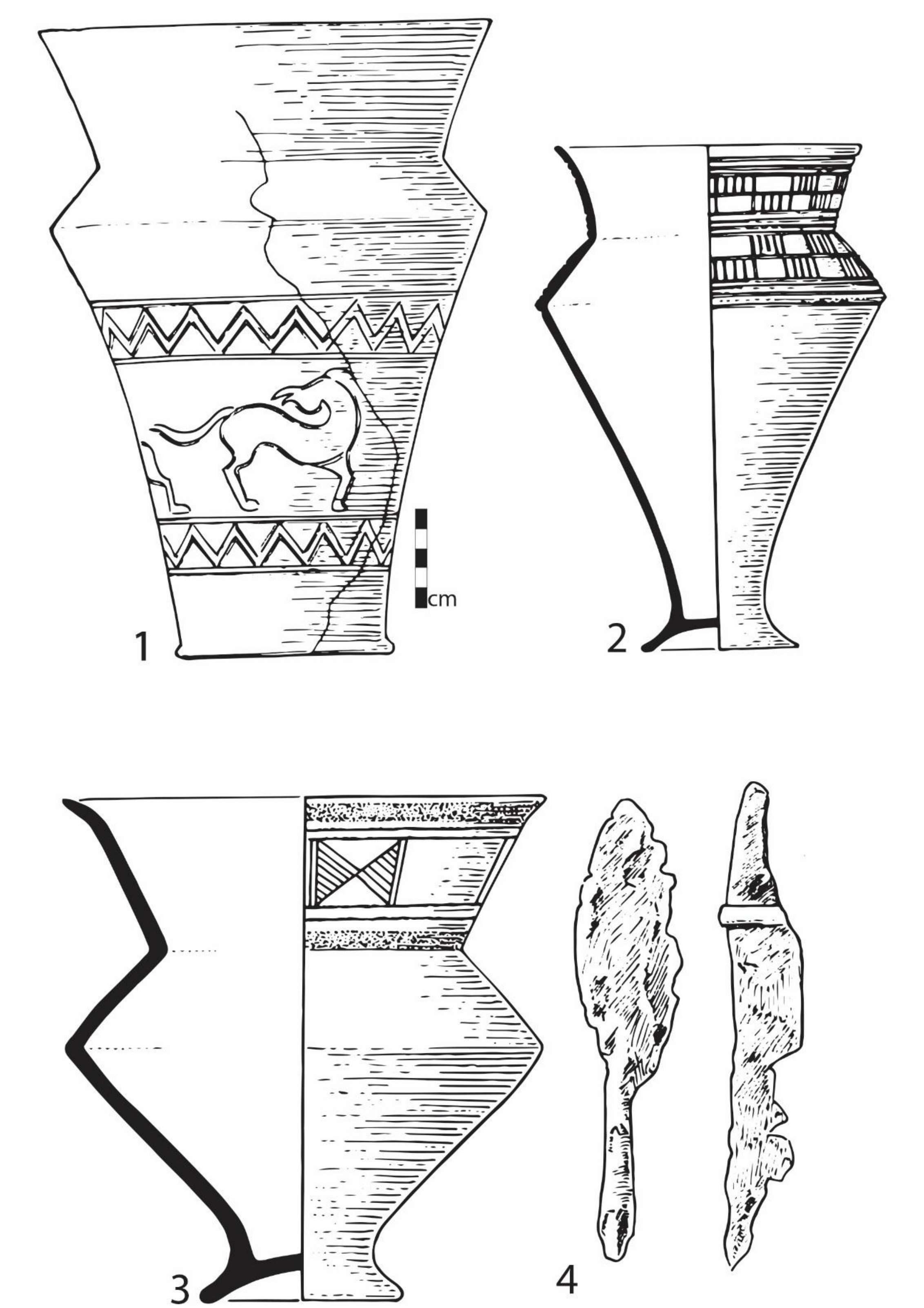


Figure 203. Grave 2 from Irsch, Groupe de la Haine, containing the standard range of ceramic vessels for the early La Tène period for this mortuary group (re-drawn by author from Mariën 1961, fig. 63).

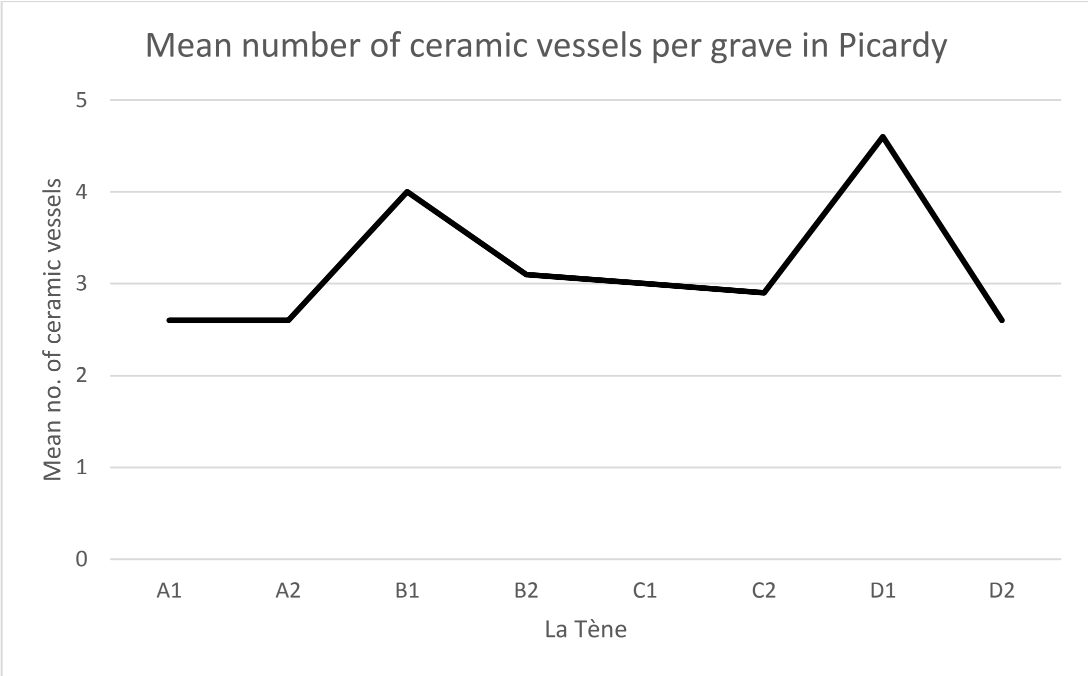


Figure 204. Mean number of ceramic vessels per graves in Picardy (after Dessene et al. 2009, 179, fig. 11).

As with other aspects of the data, it is harder to detect parallels between the study area and Champagne-Ardenne. Here the highest rate of grave good deposition dates to the end of the Aisne-Marne culture (Pommepuy *et al*. 2004, 273); something without parallel in southern Britain. Ceramics are abundant in La Tène A-B1 and D graves, but less in La Tène B2-C – although this may be partly due to lack of study (Saurel 2009, 248). Le Goff *et al*. (2010, 172) examined 20 late La Tène graves, finding a range of 1-22 vessels; the majority of graves (N=9) containing 1–2 vessels. This pattern is comparable to Acy-Romance (Figure 205). In the late La Tène graves from Ménil-Annelles a mean figure of five vessels per grave was recorded, whilst at Ville-sur-Retourne the average was nine per grave (Roymans 1990, 231). One of the highest number of vessels, 32, was associated with a child from Ville-sur-Retourne (Roymans 1990, 231). Within rich graves examined by Lambot (2002, 107, fig. 12), the majority (65%) contained 1–5 vessels, over a quarter 6–10 (27%), but only 8% over 11 vessels. As with Picardy, these late La Tène cremation graves possess almost the same ranges and means to those in the study area.

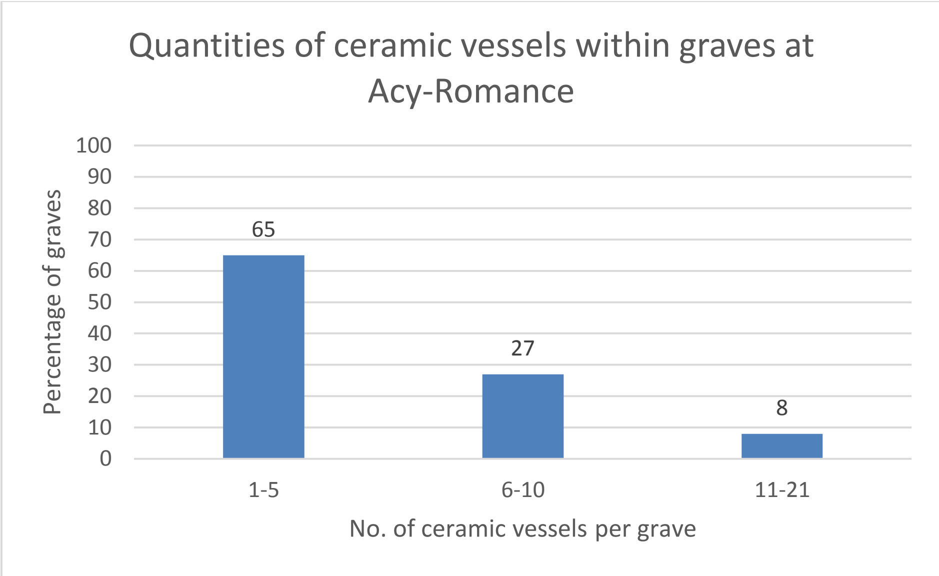


Figure 205. Quantities of ceramic vessels within 130 graves at Acy-Romance (reproduced from Friboulet 2009, 224, fig. 2).

9.4.2. Normandy, Brittany and Guernsey

Of 25 Normandy sites, dated between Ha D and La Tène D, which produced 491 inhumations, 175 (35.6%) possessed grave goods. As for north eastern France, and in contrast to the study area, the richest graves are of early La Tène date. Interestingly though, graves from La Tène B2 onward tend to lack artefacts (Figure 206), as is often the case in the study area (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 74). As with Durotrigian graves, inhumed females possessed greater quantities of grave goods, but this may result from difficulties in identifying males (*ibid*, 75). The high frequency of grave goods in the study area cremations is noted in Normandy also. Of 60 cremations examined by Chanson *et al*. (2010) 56 possessed grave goods. However, if urns are excluded, only 17 graves were provisioned (*ibid*, 80). The quantities of ceramics from cremation cemeteries are variable, but echoes the figures obtained for the study area. At the cemeteries around Bois-Guillaume (220-20BC) inhumations had a mean of two ceramics vessels, with a range of 0-4. Within the group, the sites of “Bocquets” and “Terres Rouges” possessed cremation burials, which contained a range of 1-7 and 1-5 vessels, respectively (Merleau 2002d, 309). The difference in ceramic quantities may relate to the fact inhumations were typically earlier at the cemeteries (Merleau 2002a, 237, fig. 145).

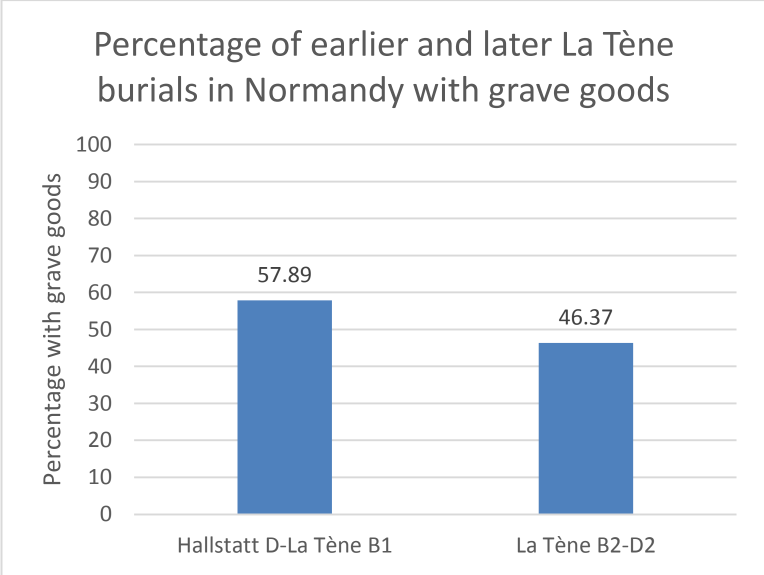


Figure 206. Percentage of earlier and later La Tène burials in Normandy with grave goods (reproduced from Chanson et al. 2010, 75, fig. 19).

Comparisons with Brittany and Guernsey are difficult due to the fact rates of deposition are less well known. In 5th century BC Breton cremation graves, it is typical to find only an urn, or rarely some metalwork (Gomez de Soto 2009, 275). As noted, this is a local tradition, and without parallel in the study area. Later Guernsey graves, as for most contemporary SW and Brittany inhumations, were poorly provisioned and data are lacking. Evidence from the King's Road cemetery suggests that such rates of grave inclusions were constant from the MIA (de Jersey 2010, 299). However, the very slight dataset of furnished graves (eight) may suggest that inclusion of grave inclusions was restricted (Cunliffe 1996a, 83). The slight patterns for Guernsey do however suggest a similar, conservative rate of deposition to that observed at the longlasting SW inhumation cemeteries of Harlyn Bay and Trethellan Farm.

9.5. The British and Continental Contexts Reviewed

As with other aspects of the mortuary record, it is possible to situate patterns relating to the quantity of grave goods within the British and continental context. The study area and much of Later Iron Age Britain displays a paucity of grave goods (due in part to a lack of formal burials) until the final two centuries BC. Similarities to the East Yorkshire cemeteries include the role of age, but not sex as a determining factor in the provision of grave goods. But whereas the communities of East Yorkshire provisioned their older adults with greater quantities of material, in southern Britain it was younger adults who were afforded more grave goods. Likewise, in the Durotrigian and cremation groups, ceramics were employed in a different way to those of the earlier Yorkshire burials. The restricted number of ceramics in contemporary Kentish and SW inhumations is more similar to the patterns in East Yorkshire, and may indicate that ceramics had a similar meaning in these communities.

On the continent, parallels are harder to detect for the early La Tène period. Slight similarities to the eastern zone may be observed in Nord-Pas-de-Calais, but elsewhere in France (excluding Brittany) the early La Tène period is one of high quantities of grave goods. In the later La Tène period similarities are more easily discerned. As in Chapters 7 and 8, the inhumation and cremation burials of the LIA echo contemporary inhumation and cremation burials in the adjacent continent. Additionally, across the region, it seems age and not sex was the variable which determined the provision of grave goods. In order to detect clearer patterns, analysis of the space within graves is required.

Chapter 10: Spatial Analysis of Grave Goods

10.1. The Dataset

The table "GraveGoods" contains 1,321 entries for 394 locations. 908 entries are from cremation graves, and 413 from inhumations. The data range from unique single items, such as the pyramidal tin object from Bryher, to indigenous jars of various forms (N=213). Owing to the limited number of entries for some types of material the data are considered in "lumped" categories (Table 36).

Fabric fastenings	Fibula, Dress Fastener, Belt Hook, Copper Alloy Pin
Tools	Knife, Key/Latch Lifter, Hammer, File, Awl, Spindle whorl, Loom weight, Whetstone, Axe
Armament	Sword, Spear, Shield, Armour, Scabbard fitting/Baldrick part
Jewellery	Iron Ring, Bronze Ring, Iron Bracelet, Bronze Bracelet, Shale bangle/armlet, Beads
Ceramics	All types (excluding unknown)

Table 36. Categories employed to analyse the location of grave goods within graves.

The results are displayed first for inhumation burials, and second for cremations. The inhumation data were examined according to zones A and B in Chapter 3. Analysis was conducted according to the three inhumation cultures in the study area. Analysis on inhumations as a whole (Appendix I. 1-17), produced no clear results, save for the observation that, in terms of the placement of ceramics in zones A and B, there was an apparent attempt to avoid contact with the body. It must at all times be remembered that the post-mortem biological processes described in section 3.1.7. and the surrounding context, can cause objects to move from their original positions (Duday 2009, 17).

10.2. Spatial Analysis of Grave Goods by Mortuary Cultures

As with prior sections, analysis of grave goods was undertaken by mortuary cultures.

10.2.1. Durotrigian Burials

10.2.1.1. Durotrigian Burials: Dress Fasteners

The Durotrigian dataset was considered in its entirety. Although earlier analyses have split the group into hill-fort and non-hill-fort populations, a divided dataset would be unlikely to produce meaningful patterns due the paucity of some classes of material. In Zone A, dress fasteners in tended to be in locations around the sternum, right thorax and left arm (in this case usually close to the shoulder) (Figure 207, Appendix I. 18). This arrangement suggests that many of the deceased were adorned as they would have been in life; clothes secured at the shoulder and chest. Within extended burials (which aside from the aforementioned “Belgic War Cemetery” are unknown in the sample) the ribcage can flatten, and the heads of the ribs can rises as the costosternal ligaments decay (Knüsel 2014, 32). Such a movement would affect any dress fittings in this region. Furthermore, the fact most Durotrigian burials were positioned on their sides, may mean that more fittings were originally associated with the chest, and have since moved as the material they were affixed to decomposed.

The presence of two fasteners from the cranial area at Porstesham and Langton Herring (both females) hints at some individuals having been placed in shrouds, or with some form of headdress. This seems unlikely at Portesham, and more probably the fibulae was positioned on the shoulder and shifted prior to excavation. In fact the Portesham burial had been partially disturbed by the metal detectorist who first alerted archaeologists to the burial (Fitzpatrick 1996b, 53). In the case of Langton Herring, however, a headdress or shroud is possible, although the position of the skeleton does not provide conclusive evidence for the latter. Two fibulae recovered either side of the legs of Alington Avenue Grave 3227 may represent a shroud, or something similar to a kilt (Mackreth 2011, 234). The only dress fasteners not directly associated with the body are two interlinked Colchester derivative fibulae from Manor Farm INH 527 which may attest to a fabric container. A similar arrangement (involving a fibulae and mirror) was also present at Portesham (Appendix I. 19).

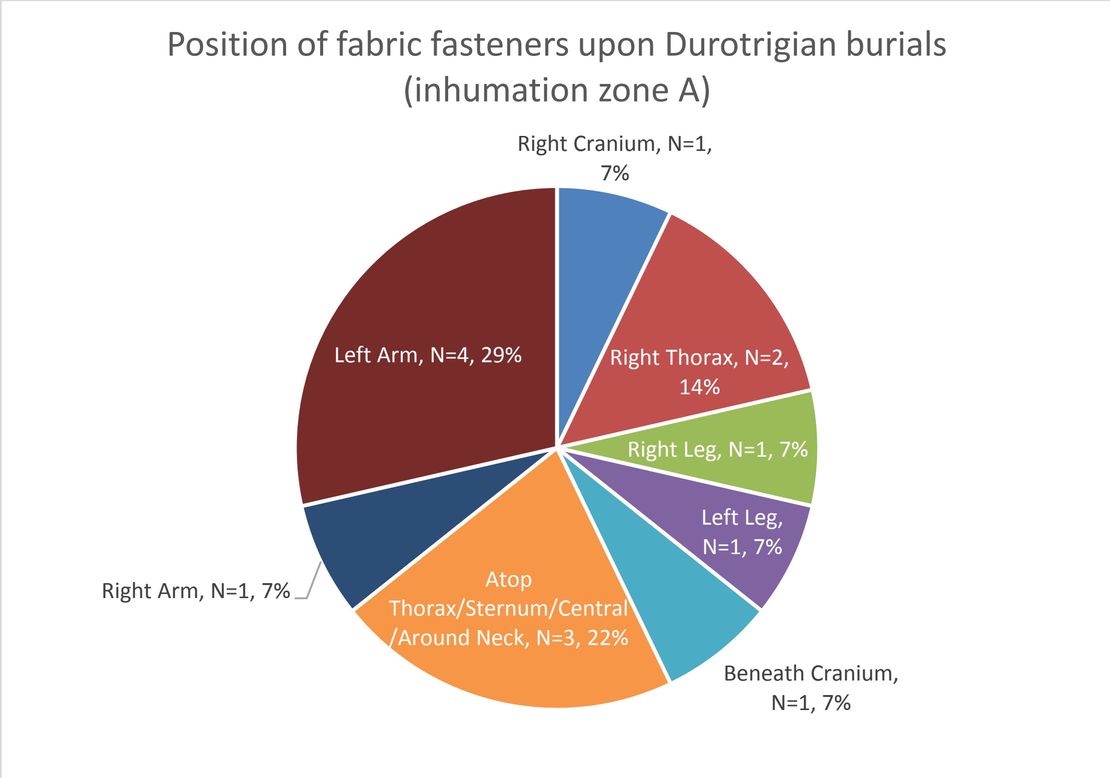


Figure 207. Location of fabric fastenings in Durotrigian inhumation graves (Zone A).

10.2.1.2. Durotrigian Burials: Tools and Weapons

Tools from Durotrigian graves are restricted to a spindle whorl, hammer and file from Whitcombe Burial 9, a knife from Portesham, an axe and knife from Maiden Castle P22, and a loom weight from Maiden Castle Q4 (Appendix I. 20). The dominance of Whitcombe Burial 9 limits conclusions. Weaponry within is likewise represented solely by Whitcombe Burial 9 (Appendix I. 21).

10.2.1.3. Durotrigian Burials: Jewellery

The predominant location of jewellery on the feet, hands and left arm of Durotrigian bodies, and to a lesser extent the right arm (example from P33 Belgic War Cemetery) suggests that these items were disposed of in the way they were intended to be worn in life (Figure 208, Appendix I. 22). It is almost certain that in the case of the four burials recovered with beads, that these items had moved post-deposition, thereby accounting the association between beads and the left arm in Whitcombe burial 8. Only Litton Cheney Skeleton F had jewellery associated with the chest. No jewellery was recorded in a location which suggested it had not been placed in direct association with the body.

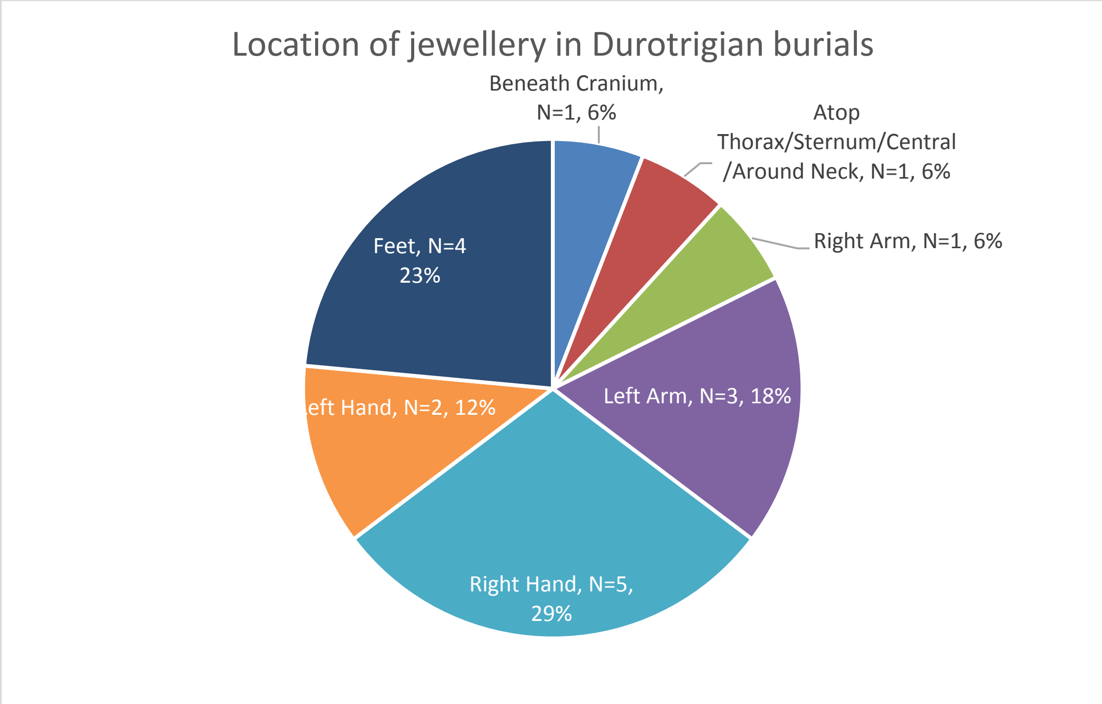


Figure 208. Location of jewellery in Durotrigian inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

10.2.1.4. Durotrigian Burials: Ceramics

Within Durotrigian graves, ceramics were typically placed either to the top right of the cranium, or by the left leg (Figure 209, Appendix I. 23). Locations atop the cranium or to the left of the cranium were likewise recorded. The placement of ceramic vessels atop and appears to represent a cultural choice rather than stemming from the restrictions imposed by the size of the grave. An unusual example of this is Maiden Castle No. 31, where a stone slab was placed over the head and topped with a bowl. The pattern in Zone A is reinforced within Zone B, where ceramics show a strong tendency to be placed at the top left of the grave, adjacent to the right of the cranium. In both cases, areas around the midriff appear to have been avoided (Figure 210, Appendix I. 24).

Of all the groups of grave goods within the Durotrigian sample, it seems likely that ceramics were subject to the least post-depositional movement. Upon discovery, most vessels were found base down, suggesting they were discovered in the same position they had originally been placed in. In Whitcombe burial 8, a vessel located between the pelvis and ankle had fallen on its side. However, the limited space available between the lower limbs of the deceased and the side of the grave would not have permitted much further movement. The only exception to this appears to be skeletons

P22 and P23 from the Belgic War Cemetery at Maiden Castle. Within this grave two vessels had been overturned, possibly due to the shallow depth of the grave, or the specific conditions which were associated with the creation of the "Belgic War Cemetery" (a possible Roman attack).

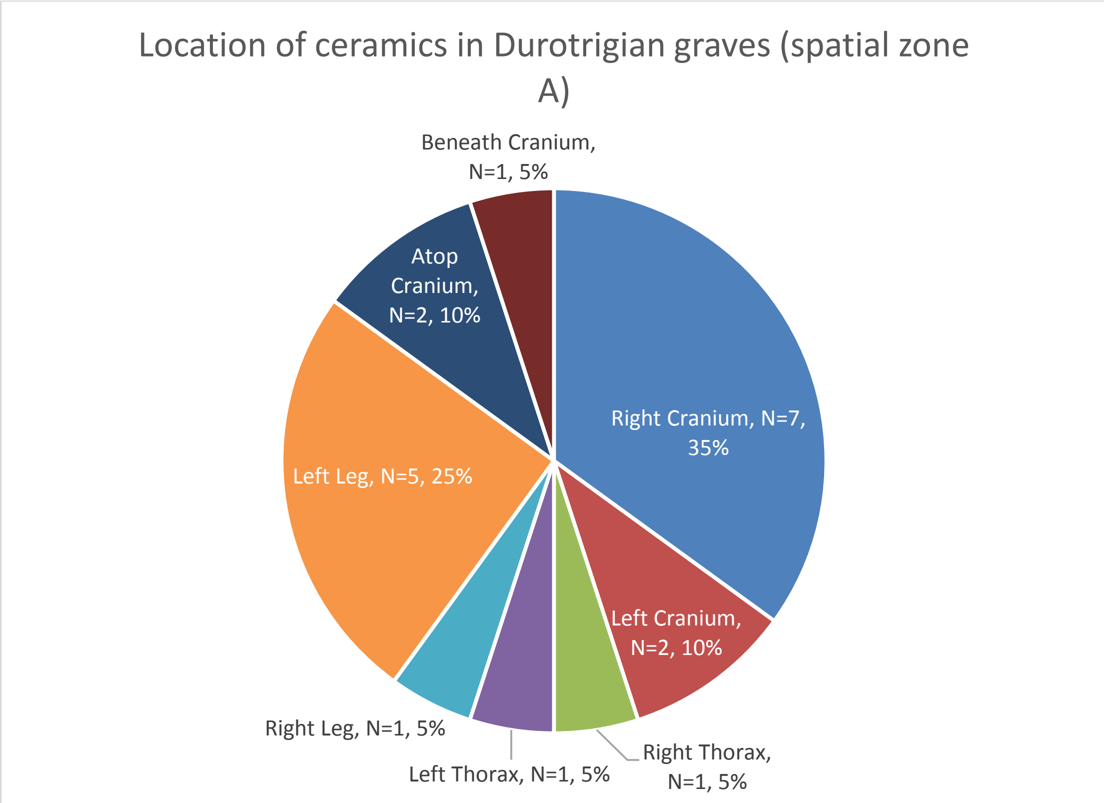


Figure 209. Location of ceramics in Durotrigian inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

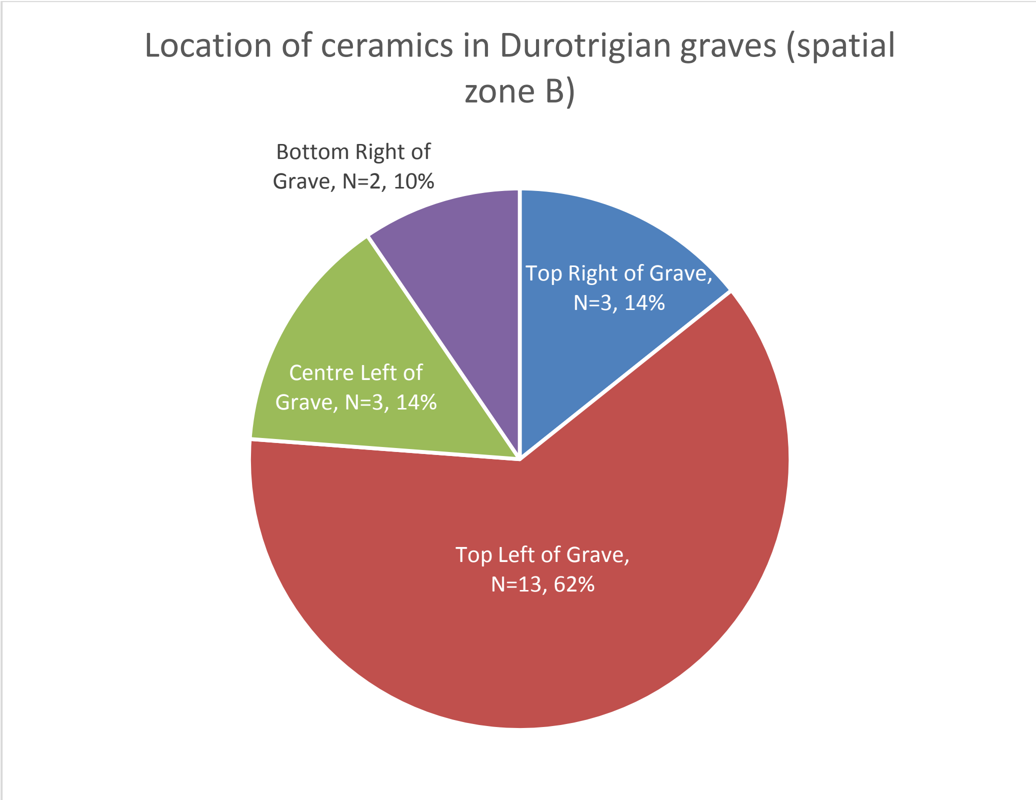


Figure 210. Location of ceramics in Durotrigian inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

10.2.2. Kentish Inhumations

The Kentish examples were considered without divisions, both due to the paucity of grave goods within this group, and to enable comparison with the Durotrigian and SW inhumation rites.

10.2.2.1. Kentish Inhumations: Dress Fasteners

Fabric fastenings are few (Figure 211; Appendix I. 25). They appear to attest to *garb* (for example Grave 47, Mill Hill), or possibly to shrouds judging from the position of fibulae at the outside of the right arm (Grave 50 and 108, Mill Hill). The best evidence for shrouds is Mill Hill Grave 123, where a ring headed pin was recovered along the spine of the deceased, whilst a fibula was played on the chest; the combined positioning of these items would be better suited for securing a shroud than clothing. Further evidence e for this can be seen in some burials which lack dress fasteners. In graves G3, G31, G44, G110 and particularly G127, the clustered nature of the pedal phalanges and proximity of the tibia to each other gives the impression of an invisible barrier having retained them in these positions. Such barriers, or "invisible walls" are good indicators of shrouds (Knüsel 2014, 34). The same anatomical pattern is observed in the aforementioned G123, where joiners dogs were probably part of a coffin (Figure 212).

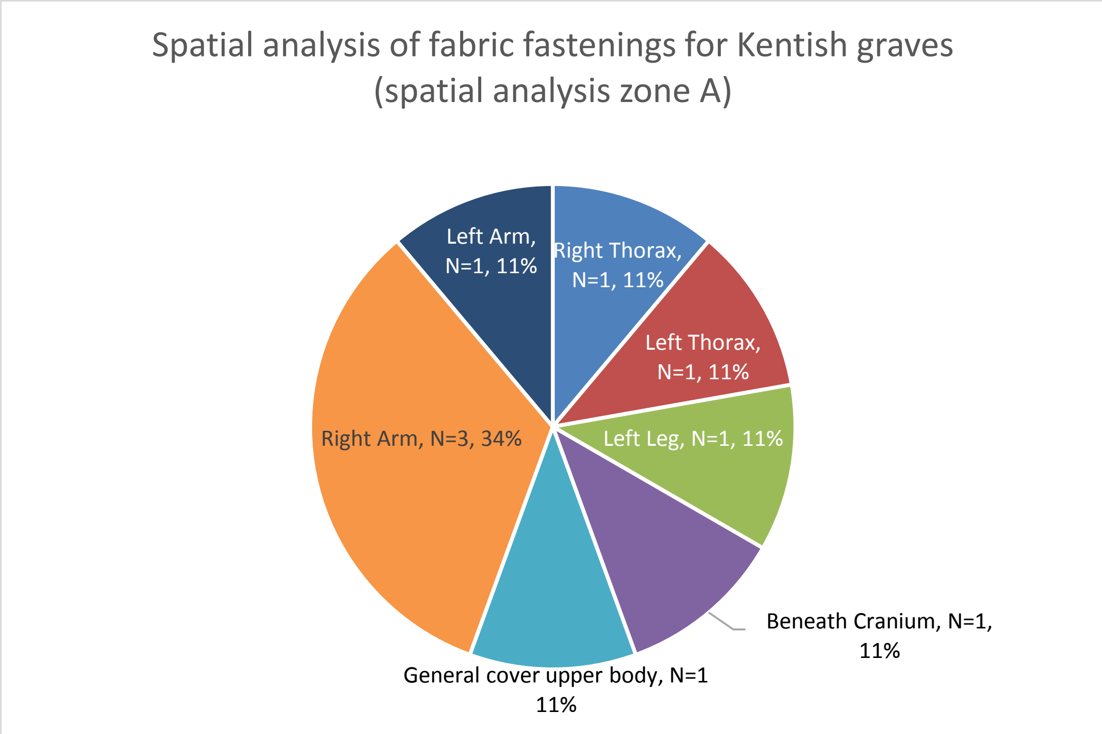


Figure 211. Location of fabric fastenings in Kentish inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

10.2.2.2. Kentish Inhumations: Tools

Tools within Kentish graves are limited to a single knife from the waist of an adult female burial at Mill Hill (Grave 110) and two spindle whorls from an adult male from White Horse Stone (Burial 2296), one associated with the left arm and another with the cranium. It is not possible to draw further conclusions save that the inclusions of such objects represents a minority rite.

10.2.2.3. Kentish Inhumations: Weapons

Kent possesses three weapon burials; Mill Hill 112, and Brisley Farm B19 and B20. Despite constituting a small group within a small region, these burials display marked variability in terms of the placement of weapons (Figure 213-Figure 214; Appendix I. 26-7). The practice of placing weapons by the right arm is due to the aforementioned presence of swords in such graves, whilst the bottom right location within graves is due to the

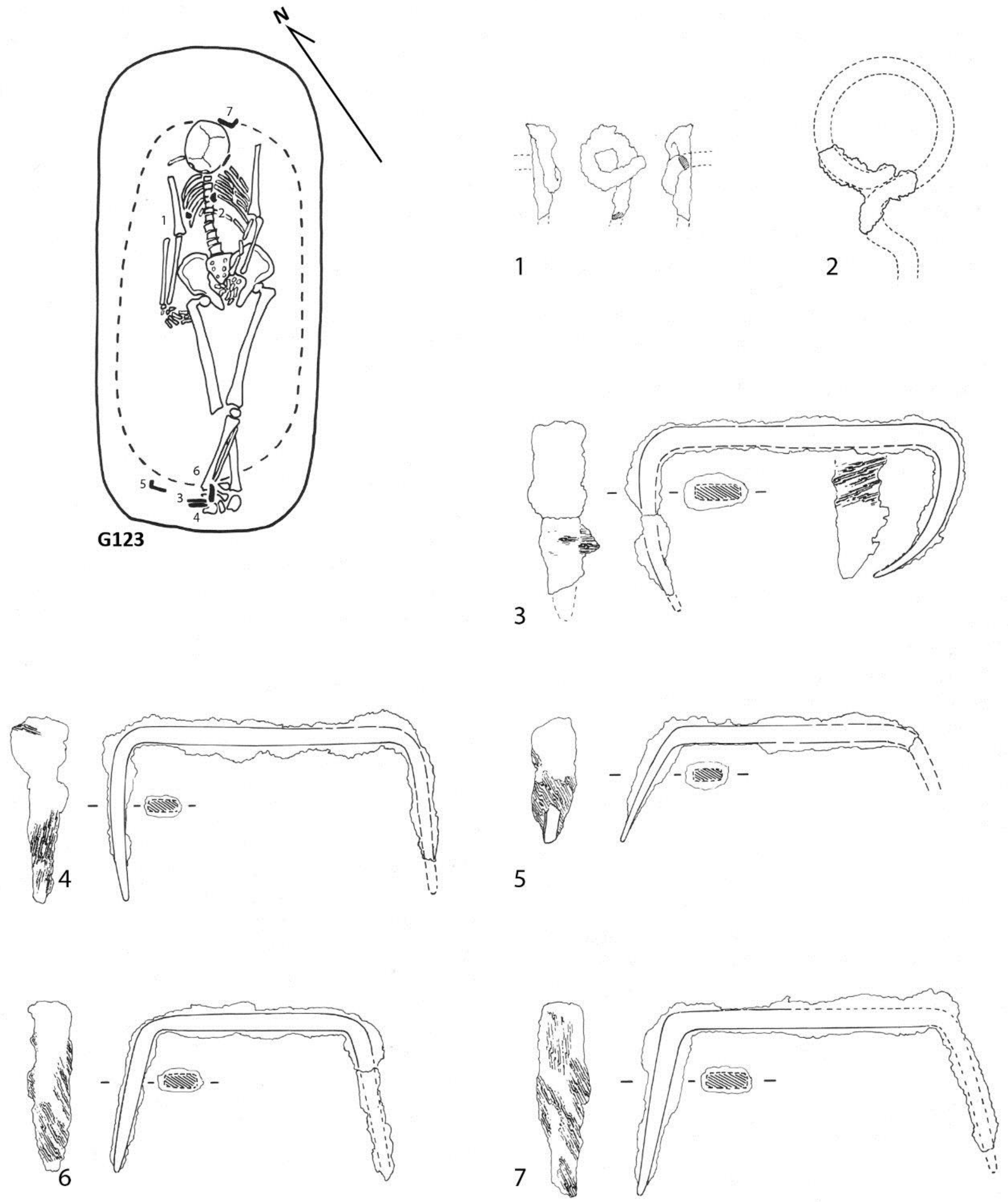


Figure 212. Grave 123, Mill Hill Deal. The combined positions of fibula (1), ring-headed pin (2) and joiners dogs (3-7) indicate the use of a shroud and coffin (redrawn from Parfitt 1995, fig. 60 by kind permission of Keith Parfitt).

presence of either a sword, spear or shield. The weight of the swords likely precluded post-depositional movement. The multiple, light weight components of the Mill Hill shield have almost certainly moved over time, although the overall distribution gives a good idea of their original location. (Stead 1995, 65, fig. 19). Finally, the shield bosses from Brisley Farm and North Bersted are sizeable late La Tène types, and it is doubtful they have moved much since they were buried.

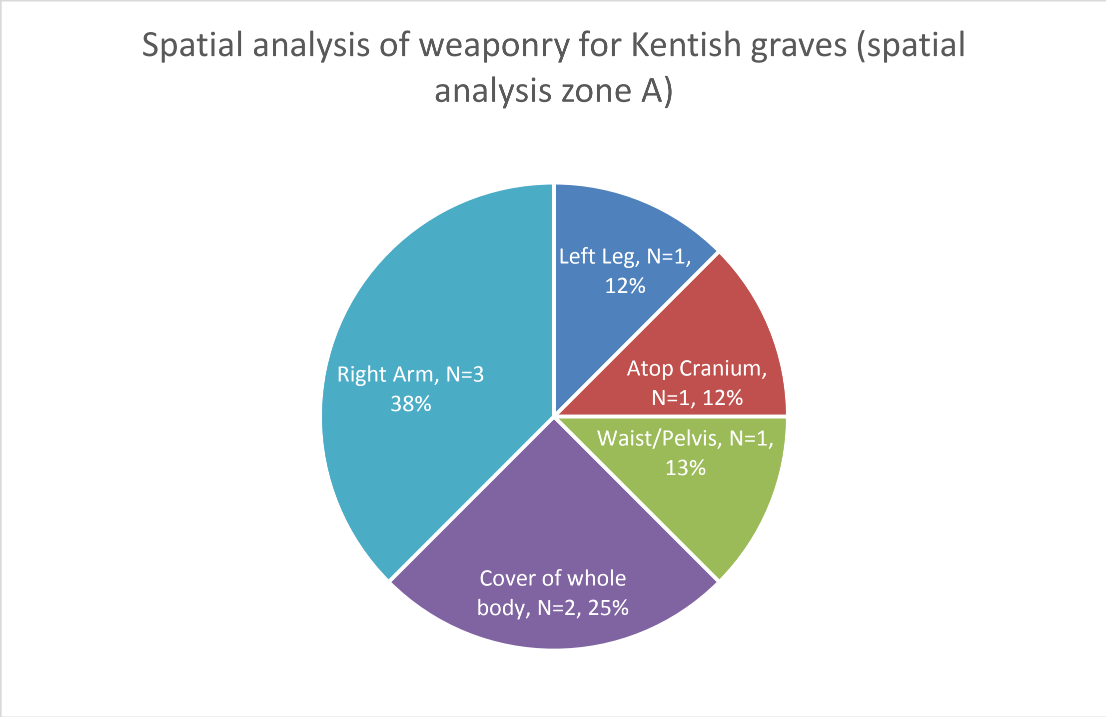


Figure 213. Location of weapons in Kentish inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

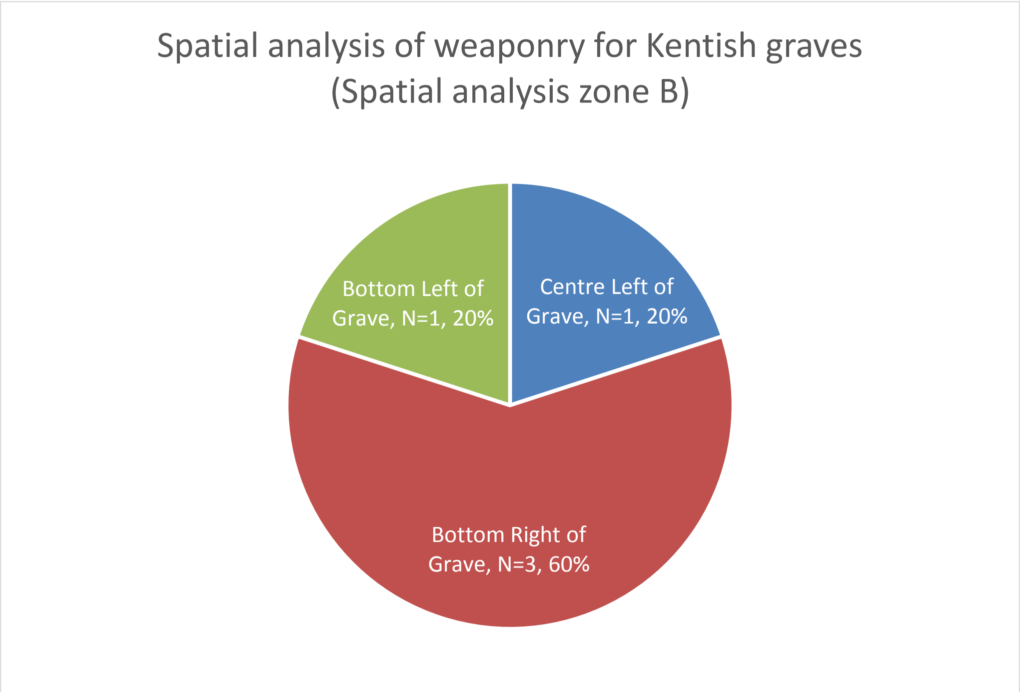


Figure 214. Location of weapons in Kentish inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

10.2.2.4. Kentish Inhumations: Jewellery

The only examples of jewellery recovered from Kentish inhumations were two adult burials (male Grave 44; unsexed grave 121), provisioned with a copper alloy ring on the right hand, and copper alloy bracelet on the right arm, respectively. That these objects were worn in these locations, and not reliant on a perishable material to retain their position, argues against post-depositional movement.

10.2.2.5. Kentish Inhumations: Ceramics

Only six ceramic vessels were recovered for Kentish inhumations (Figure 215 for a simplified visualisation; Appendix I. 28-9 for details). The ceramic evidence from Kentish inhumations is too limited to draw any firm conclusions as to the significance of their placement. No patterns are apparent in demographic terms, with ceramics being included with children and adults of both sexes. The paucity of ceramics accords with that observed for other items in Kentish graves.

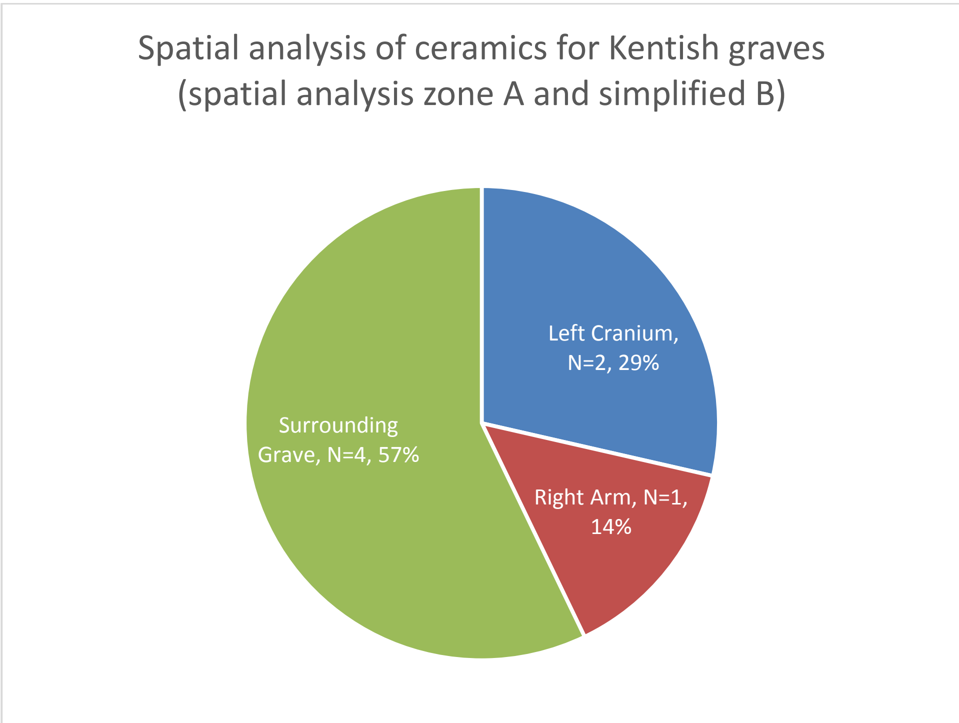


Figure 215. Location of ceramics in Kentish inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A and B).

10.2.3. SW Inhumations

SW inhumations, owing to the limited size of the database, and for the sake of comparison with Durotrigian examples, were likewise considered as a complete dataset. In the case of the majority of the SW inhumation sample, bone preservation was poor. This, combined with the effects of decomposition upon the body, and the nature of specific graves (e.g. the Trevone burial cist which had collapsed inward and been exposed to coastal winds) means the patterns observed are, at best, a rough guide.

10.2.3.1. SW Inhumations: Fabric Fastenings

The apparent association between dress fastenings and crania is a tenuous one (Figure 216, Appendix I. 30). Nevertheless, in some instances, such as Trethellan 2140 and 2184 the association seems to be a clear one. Fabric fastenings from Zone B (Figure 217) are represented by examples from Hughtown, where preservation was likewise poor. The presence of fabric fastenings towards the top of the grave appears to subscribe the pattern observed in Zone A, where such fastenings may have been associated with the cranium.

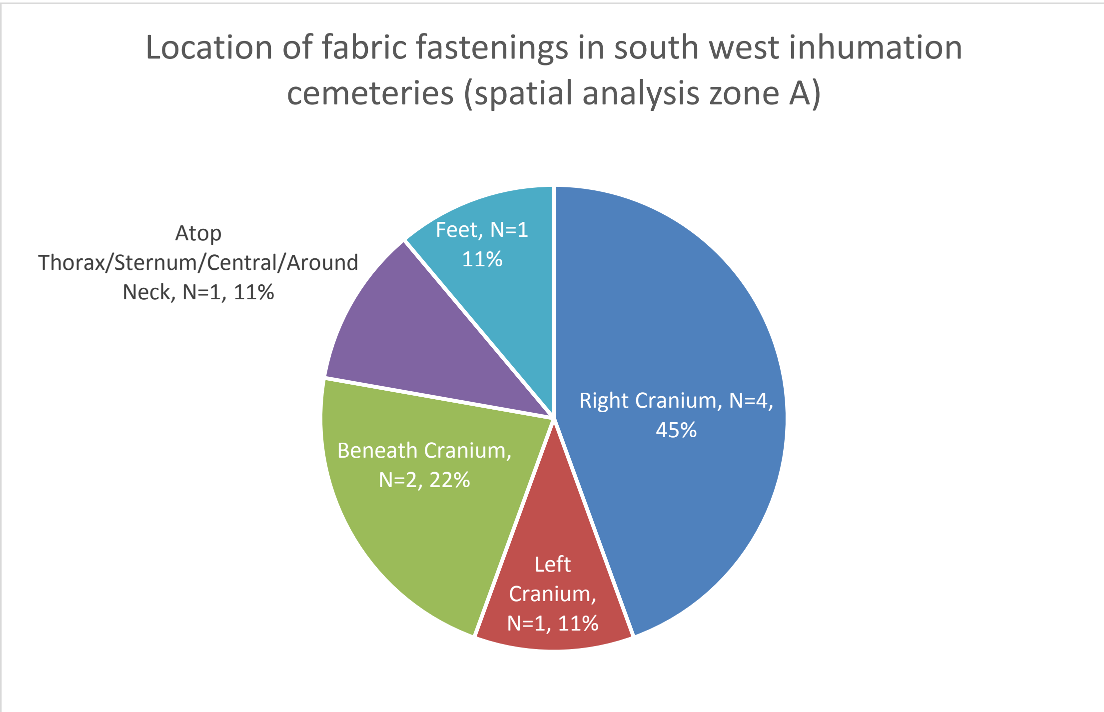


Figure 216. Location of fabric fastenings in SW inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

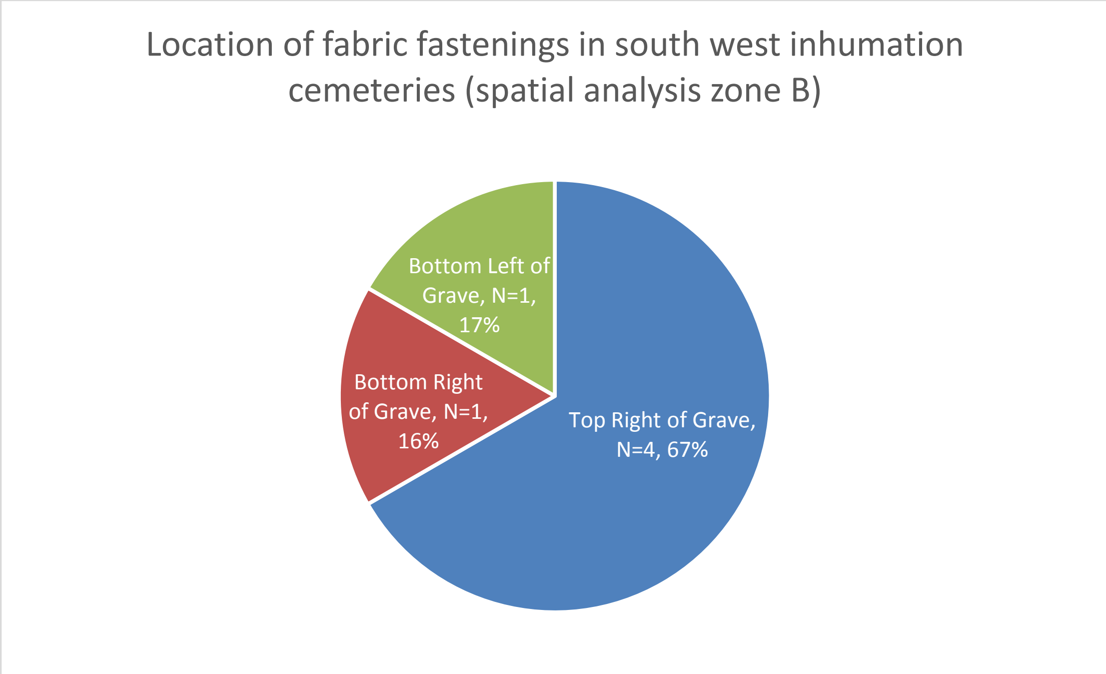


Figure 217. Location of fabric fastenings in south west inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

10.2.3.2. SW Inhumations: Jewellery

Jewellery from south-west inhumations is limited in frequency, but appears to have been predominantly placed in association with the cranium (Figure 218; Appendix I. 33). The veracity of these observations is not certain owing to the aforementioned poor bone preservation at Trethellan (four examples from two graves), and lack of grave plan from Trevone (two examples, one of which associated with the cranium). With regards Zone B, jewellery from south-west inhumations is limited to two examples, the aforementioned Hughtown and Bryher rings (Appendix I. 34).

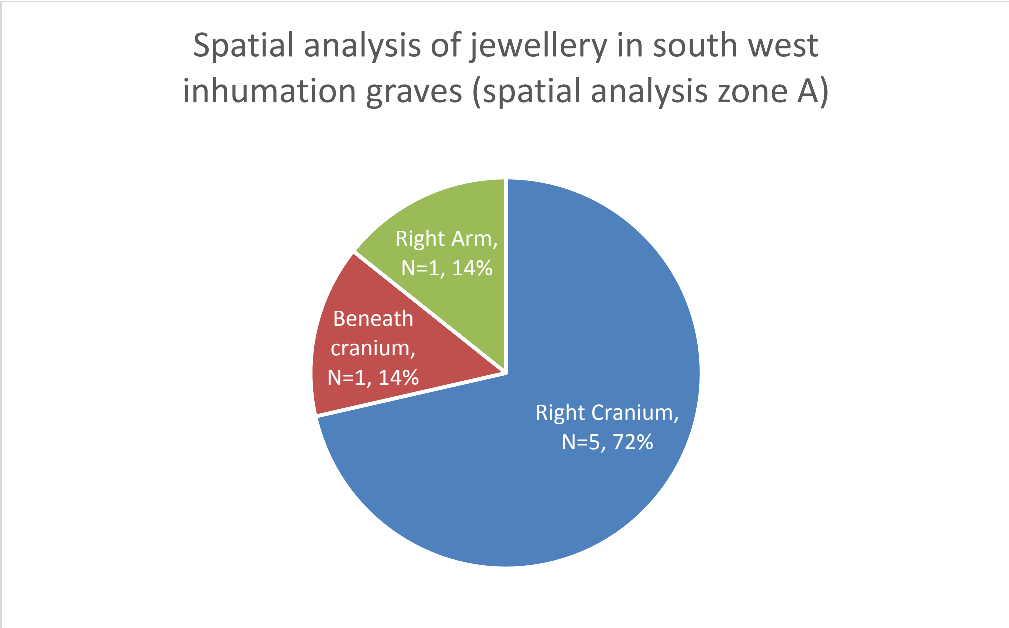


Figure 218. Location of jewellery in south-west inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

10.2.3.3. SW Inhumations: Tools, Ceramics and Weapons

No tools were recorded for SW inhumation graves. All weaponry recovered came from the surrounding grave of the poorly preserved Bryher cist (Appendix I. 32). Only Hughtown 5 and 11 produced ceramics, the former located at the top of the grave, the other towards the base. Aside from representing a minority rite, little more can be said of this data.

10.2.4. Summary: Inhumation Cultures

The Durotrigian evidence suggests that the deceased (or at least those for whom artefacts permit analysis) may have been interred dressed as they had appeared in life, or else in *garb*. Fastenings and jewellery within such graves occupy locations where where they would have been worn in life, although allowances must be made for subsequent displacement in the case of several burials. The limited data from weapons and tools further supports the idea the deceased were dressed in a way that they may have been in life. Coffins are attested at Maiden Castle (Skeleton T28), Lea Road, Wyke Regis (Grave 3B) and Poundbury (1359, 1383 and 1391). Coffins would have served to hide the deceased from viewing for a period, if not all, of the funerary ritual. However, the rarity of coffins within the Durotrigian zone, combined with the lack of evidence in the form of fastenings placed around the feet, crania or outer arms, suggests the dead were intended to be visible for part of the funeral. As noted, the positioning of ceramics around the lower limbs/feet and crania was a cultural choice, not one predicated by a lack of space within the grave. Placing such objects here may have served to frame the body; providing a border within which the attendees could view the deceased, in accordance with the way human eyes typically view patterns on objects (Wells 2012, 29)

The paucity of data for SW inhumations, combined with poor levels of preservation, limits conclusions. It appears that graves were arranged in a different manner to Dorset. Here the objective appears to have been to conceal the deceased. The location of fabric fasteners and jewellery around the cranium most likely represents the point at which a shroud was secured. The poor preservation of bone does not permit the identification of an "invisible wall" which might help to support this idea. Certainly objects within graves appear to have been concealed from view, as evidenced by the mirror at Bryher. The links between the treatment of grave goods and deceased have been highlighted by Giles and Joy (2007, 22). The lack of ceramics from such graves is certainly a cultural choice, however, by not placing such objects in the grave, these communities further served to avoid framing the corpse and inviting inspection.

Within the Kentish group, patterns present in the Durotrigian and SW rite are apparent. As in Durotrigian burials, some individuals were possibly placed in g*arb*. However, others were likely placed in shrouds when deposited. The rarity of fasteners from graves, and material culture in general, prevents determining which was more common. Two individuals were deposited with jewellery on their arms, suggesting that they were intended to be viewed in *garb*. As in SW inhumations there is a lack of ceramic inclusions, however, the examples recovered occur in a range of locations around the upper half of the body; possibly serving to frame the corpse as among Durotrigian burials.

10.2.5. Cremations

Excepting rare instances, like the gold ring attached to a calcined finger from Alton Grave 2 (Millett 1986, 43), cremation destroys information regarding the location of objects in relation to the corpse. Traces of heat distortion/damage on grave goods can be taken as an indicator of an item having been a pyre good. Conversely, a lack of heat damage/distortion suggests that such items were placed directly into the grave and were not associated with the corpse on the pyre (although exceptions do exist; Fitzpatrick 2000, 17). On the basis of evidence for heat damage/distortion, an attempt was made to identify pyre and grave goods within different classes of material.

10.2.5.1. Pyre and Grave Goods

The data show a clear dichotomy between objects intended for storage (ceramic vessels, metal plated buckets) and items associated with personal adornment and clothing (bracelets, fibulae, hobnails) (Table 38-Table 39). Items associated with beautification such as toilet instruments, cosmetic kits and perfume bottles do not appear to have been pyre goods. Likewise mirrors, both cosmetic Roman and insular bronze versions, were not considered suitable pyre goods. This is despite the fact both toilet kits and insular mirrors, through use wear analysis, appear to have been worn about the body in life (also to judge by their location in some inhumation graves, such as Portesham). Tools (in this case awls and knives) appear to have been suitable pyre goods, but also, in the case of knives, grave goods. No clear patterns emerge in terms of animal remains; with the most abundant species (pig, cattle, sheep/goat) being present as both pyre and grave goods (Table 37).

Species	No. examples from cremation graves	Pyre Good	Percentage of total examples from cremation graves	Grave Good	Percentage of total examples from cremation graves
Pig	25	Yes	56	Yes	40
Cattle	5	Yes	40	Yes	20
Sheep/Goat	14	Yes	64.2	Yes	35.7
Chicken	2	No	0	Yes	100
Dog	1	No	0	Yes	100
Wild	3	No	0	Yes	33
Fish	2	No	0	Yes	50

Table 37. Prevalence of animal remains from cremation graves in terms of their role as pyre or grave goods.

Object	No. from cremation graves	Pyre Good	Percentage of total examples from cremation graves	Grave Good	Percentage of total examples from cremation graves
Jar	193	Yes	1	Yes	95.8
Bowl	136	Yes	1.1	Yes	96.3
Bowl (import)	7	No	0	Yes	71.4
Dish	38	No	0	Yes	100
Dish (import)	1	No	0	Yes	100
Saucepan Pot	1	No	0	Yes	100
Cup	12	No	0	Yes	100
Cup (import)	7	No	0	Yes	85
Platter	33	No	0	Yes	100
Platter (import)	20	No	0	Yes	95
Lid	13	No	0	Yes	100
Tazza	2	No	0	Yes	100
Tazza (import)	1	No	0	Yes	100
Beaker	24	No	0	Yes	100
Flagon	12	No	0	Yes	100
Flagon (import)	3	No	0	Yes	100
Butt beaker	8	No	0	Yes	87.5
Barrel beaker	1	No	0	Yes	100

Table 38. Prevalence of ceramics from cremation graves in terms of their role as pyre or grave goods.

Object	No. from cremation graves	Pyre Good	Percentage of total examples from cremation graves	Grave Good	Percentage of total examples from cremation graves
Fibulae	81	Yes	51.8	Yes	33
Iron ring	5	Yes	100	No	0
Cu Alloy ring	6	Yes	83.3	No	0
Iron bracelet	1	Yes	100	No	0
Cu alloy bracelet	1	Yes	100	No	0
Mirror	3	No	0	Yes	100
Cu alloy pin	3	Yes	33	No	0
Belt hook	1	Yes	100	No	0
Knife	7	Yes	28.5	Yes	14.2
Metal plated bucket	5	No	0	Yes	100
Toilet equipment	11	No	0	Yes	45.5
Cu alloy vessel	10	No	0	Yes	90
Hobnails	2	Yes	100	No	0
Awl	4	Yes	100	No	0

Table 39. Prevalence of metal artefacts from cremation graves in terms of their role as pyre or grave goods.

10.2.5.2. Location of Pyre/Goods within the Grave: Non-Ceramics

The location of items within cremation graves was considered according to the scheme outlined in Figure 17. The results for the entire cremation dataset (Appendix I. 35-40) accord with that observed in the above pyre good/grave good tables; a strong tendency for being placed in the depot cimitiére and to an extent evidence of burning was observed in fabric fastenings (N=76, 89% in depot cimitiére; N=43, 51.7% of which burnt), tools (N=7, 77%; N=3; 38%) and jewellery (N=11; 85%; N=10, 77%).

10.2.5.3 Location of Pyre/Goods within the Grave: Ceramics

Ceramics represented the most numerous object recovered from cremation graves. The location of ceramics also displayed the greatest variation (Figure 219-Figure 222; Appendix I. 38-9). As with inhumation graves, unknown forms were excluded. At Westhampnett the majority of ceramic vessels were in association with the depot cimitiére (a similar practice is observed for the entire dataset). Although a slightly higher number of southerly and north-westerly locations may be discerned when the results are visualised, the quantified data do not suggest this was significant. In terms of the cardinal positions, however, the slight patterns detected need be treated with some caution, as A2 Pepperhill grave 6635 and Alton graves 1-3 account for 76 ceramic vessels alone. Additionally, although many ceramic vessels were associated with the depot cimitiére, it is unwise to draw too many conclusions from this considering the restricted size of many graves and thus where objects could be positioned

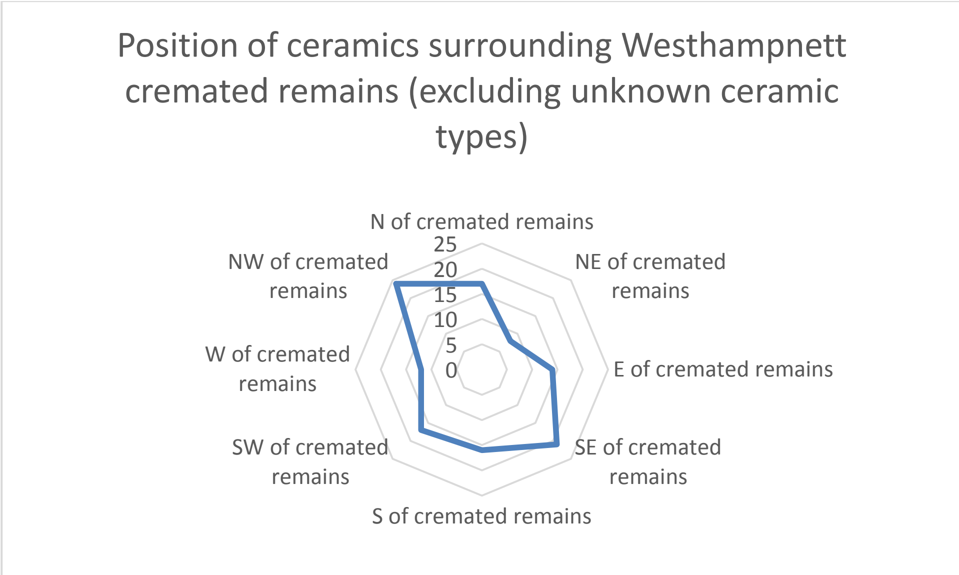


Figure 219. Location of all ceramic vessels in Westhampnett graves for which cardinal points could be determined.

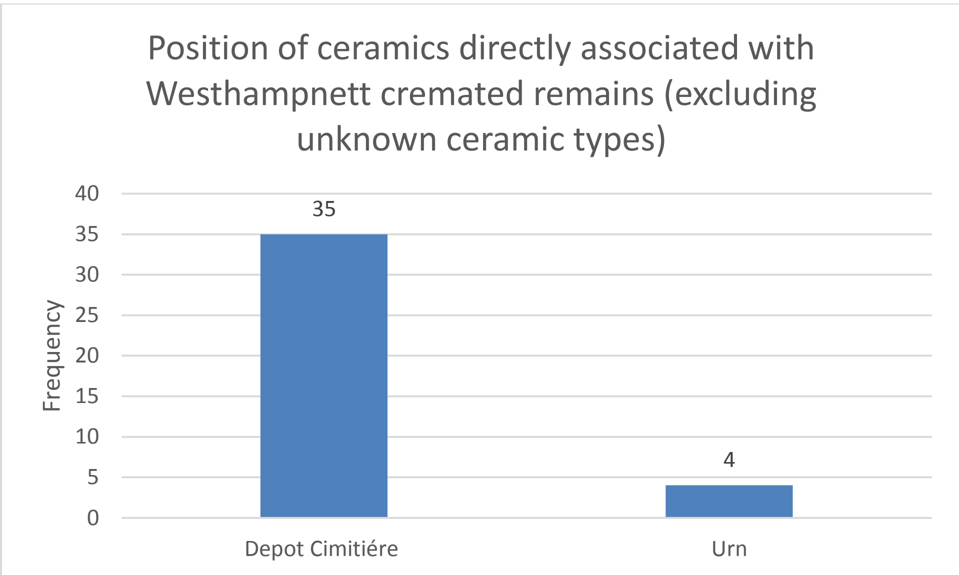


Figure 220. Location of all ceramic vessels in Westhampnett graves for which cardinal points could not be determined.

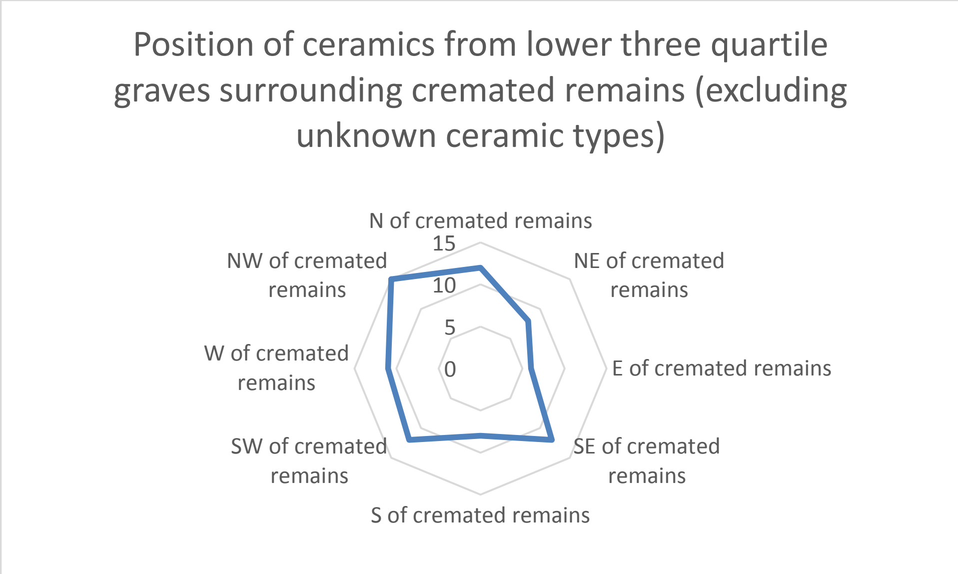


Figure 221. Location of all ceramic vessels in non-Westhampnett graves for which cardinal points could be determined.

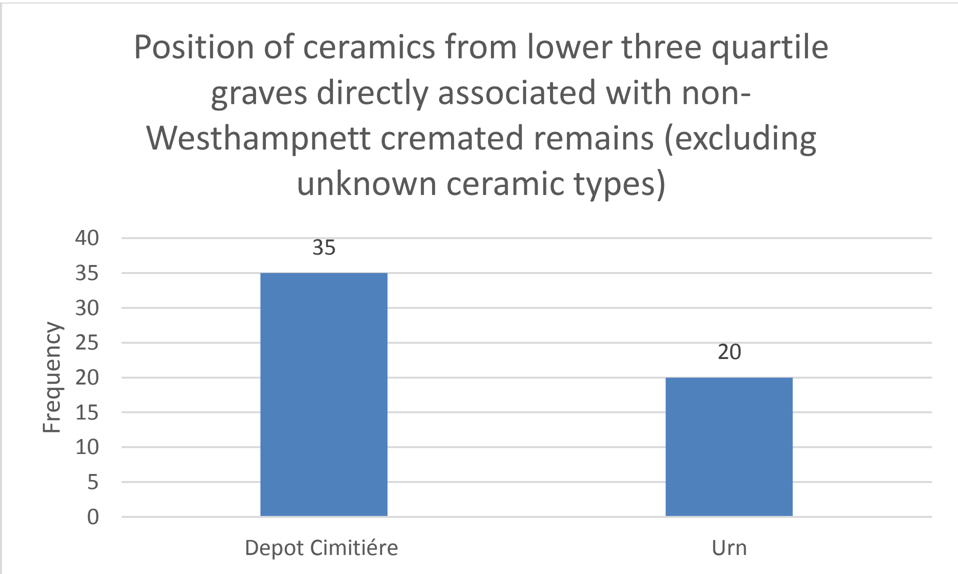


Figure 222. Location of all ceramic vessels in non-Westhampnett graves for which cardinal points could not be determined.

10.3. Contextualising within the British and Continental Contexts

Although it is possible to contextualise certain typologies or groups of artefacts from the study area within the broader British and continental contexts, information relating to the spatial arrangement within graves of such artefacts is typically restricted to individual sites, with wider syntheses generally lacking.

10.3.1. British Context: Inhumations

The aforementioned lack of formalised inhumation rites and grave goods for much of Later Iron Age Britain restricts comment. In terms of fabric fastenings, similar patterns to those observed in the study area exist elsewhere. The largest study is for East Yorkshire burials (Giles 2012). Among this group 21% of dress fastenings were in the vicinity of the upper torso, whilst 26% were associated with the ears/neck (*ibid*, 129, fig. 5.1). In 20% of cases, fastenings were associated with the front of the face or back of the head; which may be interpreted as evidence for shrouds. Giles interprets the small number of fibulae associated with the lower torso (9%), feet (2%) and thighs (2%) as possibly indicating the use of coverings for part of the body (*ibid*, 129). However she accepts that they may likewise be evidence of shrouds (after Dent 1984, 28). Based on the position of bones in the grave, only a few (like R82 and R140) seem to diplay the "invisible wall" which might indicate the presence of a shroud (Stead 1991, 198, fig. 107; 203, fig. 110; Knüsel 2014, 34), although the evidence is far from conclusive. Coffins are present within this group, predominantly at Wetwang Slack, which they are interpreted as representing a local variation on the possible use of shrouds elsewhere (Giles 2012, 130).

The use of shrouds is also attested in Scotland; a weapon burial from Alloa, Clackmannanshire was wrapped shroud of linen (Sealey 2007), whilst Grave 3, Broxmouth possessed a bone fabric fastener (the only associated object) located on the chest (Armit *et al*. 2013, 83). Broxmouth Grave 3 seems a likey candidate for a shroud burial, as evidenced by the retention of the metatarsals and phalanges in their original anatomical positions (Figure 223). As in the case of the SW and Kentish inhumations, the emphasis in Yorkshire and southern Scotland appears to have been on concealing the body. Although fibulae from graves are often positioned in areas which suggest the presence of a cloak or tunic, at least one LIA burial from Rotherley, Wiltshire contained a fibula recovered from the waist of the deceased, which has been interepreted by Mackreth (2011, 234) as evidence for the use of kilts (as suggested above for Alington Avenue Grave 3227). On the basis of the above, it is possible that similar attire existed within the Durotrigian group.

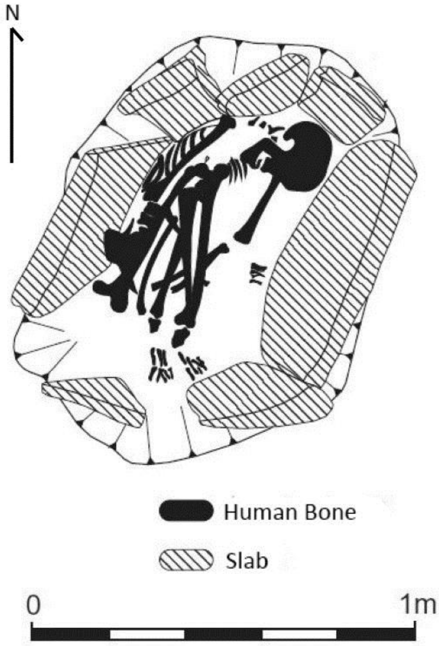


Figure 223. Broxmouth Grave 3 (Armit et al. 2013, 82, fig. 7).

In terms of jewellery only the East Yorkshire data permits comment, but displays similar patterns to those in the Durotrigian group. In East Yorkshire bracelets are recovered from both left and right wrist in comparable numbers, and the left and right forearms, with a preference for the former (Giles 2012, 142). Excepting three examples (WS 155 possibly disturbed; WS 209 across the body, possibly sown to clothing; WS 274 behind the right shoulder) beads are found around the neck, and exclusively associated with females (*ibid*, 146). Finer rings are rare, with only two examples recovered ('Queens Barrow'; WS 421), both from the right hand of the deceased. Toe rings, predominantly a female item, occur on both feet. Other rings have been recovered associated with the head, neck and shoulder regions, as is also the case for the SW inhumations (*ibid*, 150). Weapons in Arras graves occur in a variety of locations, as across the study area, including speared into graves. Swords are typically recovered along the spine; a local tradition unknown in the study area and discussed in greater detail in Chapter 11.6.

Tools from East Yorkshire grave include knives (N=3) recovered from the right side of male graves in positions where they would have likely been worn in life, as is the case for the knife from Mill Hill (Stead 1991, 79; Giles 2012, 160). Like the Whitcombe toolset, hammerheads from East Yorkshire are known only from male graves (N=2) (Giles 2012, 160). Whereas in the study area textile equipment is associated with males, in East Yorkshire it is exclusively female. In R92 and R183 spindle whorls were recovered from behind the right shoulder, whilst in R154 it was recovered from the waist, where it had possibly been suspended. Although the unsexed example of R141 with its tools, combined with the small sample size, makes conclusions tenuous, Giles advocates a possible dichotomy between male (metalworking) and female (textile) activities (*ibid*, 162).

The fact that only inidvidual vessels were placed in East Yorkshire graves makes it difficult to draw patterns in terms of spatial arrangement. Within the Great Wold Valley, Parker Pearson (1999b, 53) suggested that 23% of ceramic vessels were placed in association with the face or hands of women and only 6% of males. In terms of associations with the feet, 13% of male graves showed association with the feet, compared to 6% of female graves. Ceramics are likewise found around the body, as well as atop the torso (Giles 2012, 135). Although such arrangements have parallels with the Durotrigian examples, the difference in quantities suggests that ceramics in these two groups played very different (in the East Yorkshire example perhaps barely) visual roles.

10.3.2. Continental Context: Inhumations

Comment on the continental data is restricted. Fasteners, nails and joiner's dogs attest to the use of shrouds, funerary dress and coffins in northern France in various areas and periods, as in the case of the British context. Pinard *et al*. (2009, 103) identified 13 Picardy La Tène inhumations with fibulae above, or in association with, the head as one would expect were a shroud employed. On the basis of fibulae recovered from the thorax and shoulder, the use of shrouds ceased in early La Tène (Figure 224). Nevertheless, only 20% of inhumations show evidence of *garb* during this early period (*ibid*, 42). This indicates that, despite the aforementioned similarities between Picardy and the eastern zone, the use of shrouds in the latter is a local, British tradition.

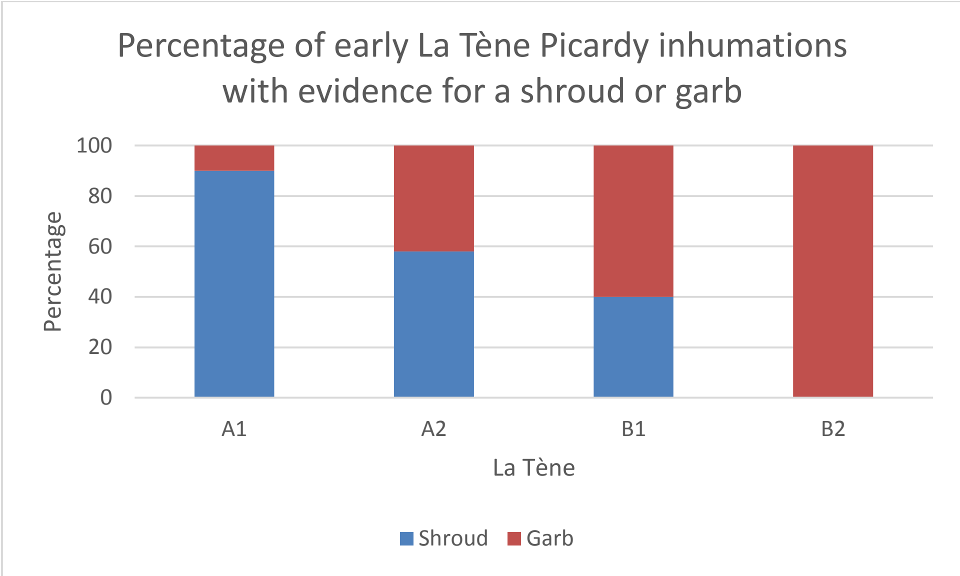


Figure 224. Percentage of early La Tène Picardy inhumations with evidence for use of a shroud or garb[4] (reproduced from Pinard et al. 2010, 42, fig. 6).

The Champagne-Ardenne data exhibits more similarities to the study area, and includes evidence for shrouds and *garb*. Middle La Tène inhumations from Châtenay-sur-Seine "Les Gobillons", Saint-Benoît-sur-Seine and the culturally related site of Bucy-le-Long "La Héronnière" in Picardy attest to the use of shrouds (Bontillot *et al*. 1975, 446, no.1-11; Auxiette 1995, 375; Millet 2008, 126). At Saint-Benoît-sur-Seine shrouds and *garb* were not-mutually exclusive (Figure 225), as is also the case for the study area. Like the contemporary study area, La Tène D Champagne-Ardenne exhibits evidence for both shrouds and *garb*. Examples include the La Tène C1-D1a inhumations at "Le Fond du Petit Marais", where people likely placed in shrouds (Edgar 2012, 163, fig. 7.5). At least one individual (a male) from "Le Fond du Petit Marais" possessed a pair of fibulae in a position indicative of clothing (*ibid*, 164). At Ménil-Annelles all fibulae recovered from inhumations were in close association with the corpse (*ibid*, 172). St.1 (a female), possessed a pair of fibulae across the chest, whilst St.2 and St.3 (males) had fibulae located near the head. In the case of St.2 and 3 these have been interpreted as shrouds, although it is likewise possible that St. 1 represents *garb* (*ibid*, 169-170).

[4] Pinard *et al.* do not list what quantities of inhumations were used to calculate these percentages. Unfortunately, as described in footnote 1, the original data used to calculate these percentages are unknown (*pers comm.* 21/05/18).

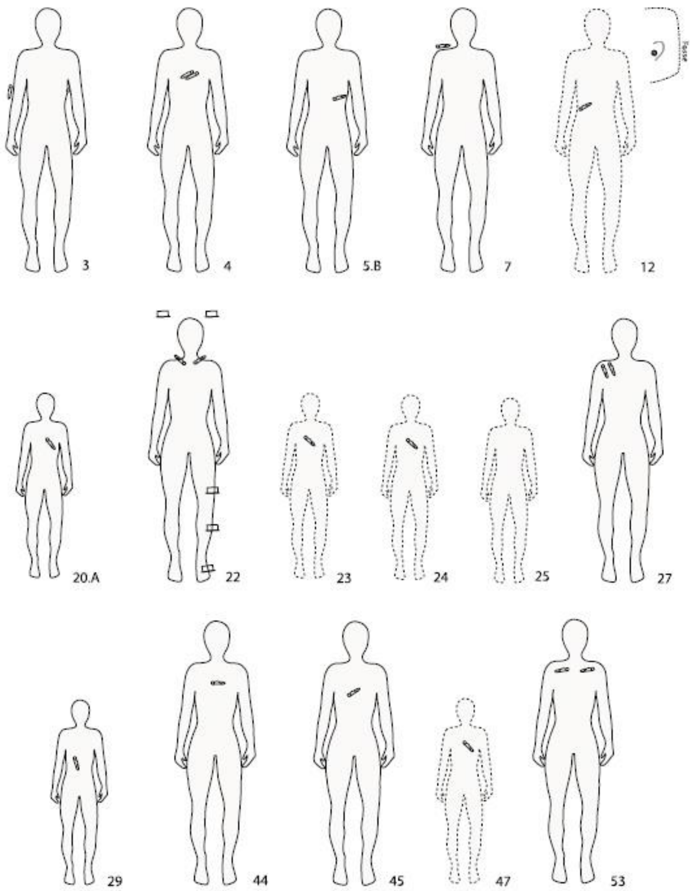


Figure 225. Location of fibulae at the La Tène B2-C2 site of Saint-Benoît-sur-Seine. Sépulture 22 was provided with Garb, as can be seen by the double fibulae at the shoulders, and then placed in a shroud secured with staples along the left leg (Millet 2008, 152, fig. 54).

In middle La Tène Normandy, *garb* became increasingly prevalent, as evidenced by graves from Ifs "Object 'Ifs Sud", where fibulae were associated with the shoulder or neck. Additionally, a few individuals were recovered with fibulae along their side, suggesting, but not proving, the use of shrouds (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 71). In late La Tène Normandy, the presence of nails and joiner's dogs from graves evidences the increased use of coffins; a pattern more akin to the eastern zone, than the adjacent central zone. The prevalence of fibulae during this period may likewise attest to the use of shrouds in some cases (*ibid*, 78). In Brittany, the paucity of material recovered from 1st century BC inhumation graves makes it difficult to observe patterns in terms of the placement of grave goods. This is, however, a similar picture to the SW inhumations during this period. The handful of richly adorned Brittany inhumation burials which date to this time, are different from each other, and too exceptional to be considered reflective of wider patterns. Nevertheless a shroud and *garb* may be attested at Saint-Georgés-les-

Baillargeaux (La Tène D-Gallo-Roman) (Pétorin and Soyer 2003, 245), although the poor state of preservation of the skeleton does not permit archaeothanatological comment (*per* Duday 2009).

In the Channel Islands, King's Road, Guernsey grave 10, displayed a similar arrangement of fabric fastenings and jewellery to that observed in Durotrigian graves (de Jersey 2010, 295). Likewise the possibility of coffins is suggested by the presence of iron clamps (like those from Mill Hill 123) at St. Peter Port (Cunliffe 1996a, 88, fig. 61, nos. 7-8). Elsewhere on the near continent, jewellery appears to have largely been placed on the corpse in locations where it would have been worn in life, as in the study area and East Yorkshire. The spatial arrangement of tools remains to be studied, whilst in the case of swords at least, the side of the body, particularly the right side, is the same as in most study area examples (Figure 256) (Lejars 1998, 93; Bonnabel 2014, 119). Nevertheless, some swords were placed on the chest (Millet 2008, 148, fig. 52, nos. 6.A and 18).

Spatial patterns for ceramics are largely unknown beyond site level, with early and middle La Tène Champagne-Ardenne representing an exception. During the final stages of the Hallstatt period, grave spaces were restricted, with a tendency for ceramic vessels to be placed atop the deceased. In La Tène A this changed, with larger graves being dug and standardisation of the layout of graves, and ceramic vessels now framing the body. The separation of corpse and ceramics in these graves appears to have been a major concern; with evidence for the limbs in such graves being arranged so as not to occupy the same space as vessels (Bonnabel 2014, 118). This pattern continues in the mid-La Tène period (Millet 2008, 147). This indicates, as with later Durotrigian examples, a greater desire to frame the body. Coupled with the evidence for *garb* in this period, it suggests that some corpses were intended to be viewed.

10.3.3. British Context: Cremations

The spatial arrangement of British cremation burials, and the division between pyre and grave goods is little studied. The study area cremations accord with the the broader Aylesford-Swarling practice of ceramics rarely being pyre goods. However, in contrast to the study area, pyre goods are relatively rare elsewhere in the Aylesford-Swarling group (Fitzpatrick 2007a, 126). This is particularly apparent at At King Harry Lane where only a few gaming pieces and some copper alloy items show evidence of exposure to heat (Taylor 2001, 81). Although deliberate breaking of objects is observed in high status Welwyn type burials (Fitzpatrick 2007a, 136-7), it does not appear this was achieved by placing items on the funerary pyre. Exceptions do exist of course. On the northern border of the Aylesford-Swarling zone, the high status site of Hinxton, Cambridgeshire possessed graves in which fibulae had been used as pyre goods (Taylor 2001, 78). Likewise, at Folly Lane the pyre goods include a rich variety of objects including firedogs, a mail shirt, chariot fittings and ceramics (Niblett 2002, 143). Exceptions aside, the paucity of pyre goods from other cremation burials, in contrast to other Aylesford-Swarlign examples, indicates greater continental similarities in this respect.

10.3.4. Continental Context: Cremations

In the north-east near continent, most objects were placed on the pyre. In the Netherlands and Flanders a different concept of the cremation rite appears to have existed, with most jewellery, fasteners, and ceramics being pyre goods (Roymans 1990, 237; Hiddink 2014, 193). As with other aspects, the study area cremations display parallels with Nord-Pas-de-Calais examples. Here, during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, fibulae are frequently employed as pyre goods. At La Calotterie at least one grave contained cremated bone bearing traces of metal, as is also observed at Westhampnett (Le Goff 2009, 121). In cremation burials from Picardy, personal items of metalwork were typically deposited in the depot cimitiére (Figure 226; Bayard and Buchez 1998, 59), but it is hard determine what proportion of fibulae were pyre or grave goods (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 43). At Bucy-le-Long, cremations possessed fibulae deposited in urns, but it does not appear such fibulae were pyre goods (Edgar 2012, 164). From La Tène C1, most meat offerings from Picardy graves were pyre goods (though exceptions exist; see Baray 2002, 121-3). The choice of animals in Picardy cremations is the same as for the study area; pig being the most prevalent species, followed by sheep and finally cattle (only found in graves pre-dating La Tène C1) (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 45). This preference for pig as a pyre good is a pattern for much of later La Tène northern France (Méniel 2004, 192).

As with the study area, the internal organisation of Picardy graves is poorly understood. At Cizancourt (tombe 3) and Marcelcave (tombe 9), there may have been a deliberate attempt to place cremated bone along the western edge of elite graves, but it remains to be determined how representative these graves are (Ginoux 2007, 70, fig. 2; 72, fig. 4). Within the other graves at Cizancourt, no patterns were apparent in terms of object placement, although the excavator suggests there were (Lefèvre 2002, 110, fig. 1).

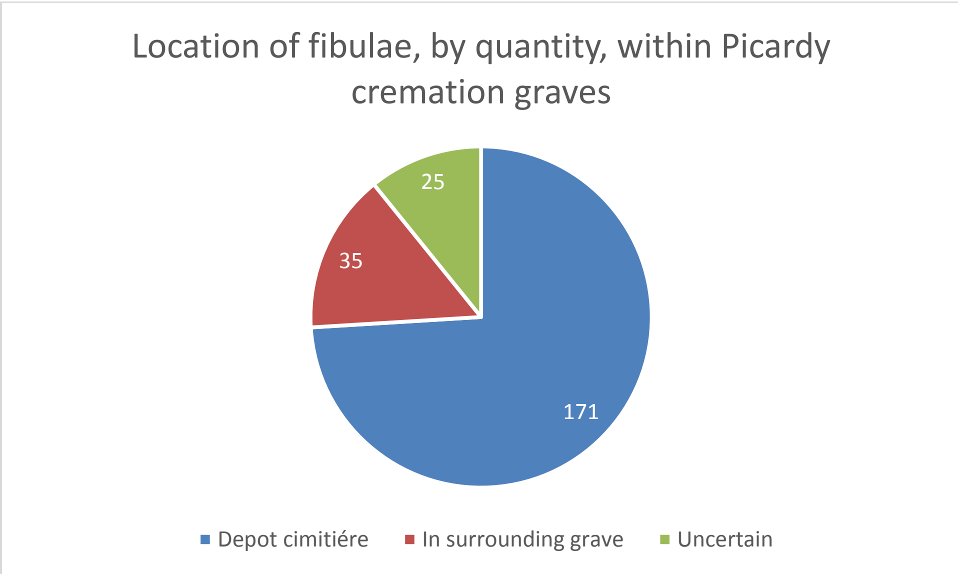


Figure 226. Location of fibulae, by quantity, within Picardy cremation graves (calculated by author, based on Pinard et al. 2009, 107, fig. 11).

The patterns for Champagne-Ardenne again display local traits. Here ceramics tended not to be pyre goods, although some jewellery is reported to have been (Roymans 1990, 231-2). At Acy-Romance glass beads and bracelets, keys, tools, razors, and animal remains were pyre goods, as in the study area (Lambot 1998, 78-9). However ceramics, including urns, were *de jure* grave goods (Fitzpatrick 2000, 20; Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 173-4). Copper alloy bracelets, rings and iron knives were also present in the depot cimitiére (Lambot 1998, 78-9). The evidence for burning in fibulae at Acy-Romance led Lambot to suggest that the deceased were wrapped in a shroud, although *garb* cannot be precluded (Fitzpatrick 2000, 21). In either case this suggests continuity with preceding Middle La Tène rites, as well as British parallels.

In Normandy the data display a similar variability to that observed for other aspects of the mortuary record in this region. Such variability makes it difficult to detect parallels with the study area, as is possible for Normandy inhumations. There was no clear division between items from the cremation grave and atop the depot cimitiére (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 80). Furthermore it is unclear what items constituted pyre goods. At Pîtres, Normandy at least one urn and accompanying bowl were subject to heat prior to deposition (Cerdan and Cerdan 1993, 152). At Cottévrard all vessels were subject heat, whilst at the neighbouring site of Saint-Aubin-du-Routot only one example was (Le Goff 2002, 398). At Ifs "Object 'Ifs Sud", 2nd-1st century BC cremations followed the scheme applied to grave goods in 3rd century BC inhumation graves. For example, in inhumation burials lignite and bronze bracelets were worn on the left arm, whereas in cremation graves such items were placed at the side of the urn. It was common for ceramics to be placed atop the depot cimitiére (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 72-4). As in the study area and north east France, animals were frequently employed as pyre good (*ibid*, 74).

10.5. The British and Continental Contexts Reviewed

Differences and similarities are detectable between the way that grave goods were arranged in graves in the study area, and in the areas of Britain to the north and near continent. Among inhumations there is varying evidence for the use of *garb*, shrouds and both simultaneously. In some regions, the decision to use these devices was seemingly a chronological one, with both Normandy and Picardy data suggesting that shrouds ceased to be used by the mid-La Tène period. Elsewhere, like East Yorkshire, Kent and some Champagne-Ardenne cemeteries, it is possible that the decision to use either a shroud or *garb* was governed by other variables, not least of which may have been the possibility that the body had laid in state to the point it was necessary to use a shroud to maintain the corpse in its entirety. The decision to conceal the deceased would have limited who was permitted to view the corpse for the final time, whereas the option to use *garb* would have potentially permitted the corpse to be dressed in an idealised fashion, perhaps to impress mourners.

Among cremations there is comparable variation. A broad division can be made between the Low Countries, where the majority of items were placed on the pyre, and Britain and France, where there was a deliberate division between objects intended for the fire, and those which were not. The presence of dress fittings, in particular fibulae, from the depot cimitiére in several areas suggests the use of a shroud or *garb.* The evidence for heat damage to several fibulae, described in the next chapter, supports this. Placing of animal offerings on the pyre in the study area, Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne may have been intended as a meal for the deceased. Alternatively, as discussed in greater detail below, the qualities of certain objects when exposed to heat, may have determined if they were pyre goods or not. In order to further examine the role of specific types of grave goods in these rituals, a series of case studies are considered next.

Chapter 11: Small Finds Case Studies

Thus far, analsyis has focussed on the broader themese of quantification of grave goods and their spatial arrangement within graves. In the following sections six classes of grave goods: fibulae, blades (knives, razors and sheers), coinage, mirrors, buckets and weapons are considered in greater detail.

11.1 Fibulae

11.1.2. Chronological Issues

Within continental studies fibulae are considered key fossil types for dating (Edgar 2012), although the fine dating proposed for northern French sites may be considered overconfident (Fitzpatrick *pers. comm.*). High hopes have similarly been placed on fibulae for dating the British LIA (Haselgrove 1997, 51, 58). Nevertheless a dedicated review of LIA British fibulae is awaited (Mackreth 2011 provides only broad dates). Additionally, pennanular fibulae display long chronologies (Haselgrove 1997, 51; Booth 2014, 25). As such, absolute dates should be applied with caution (Wendling 2007, 119-138). Dating for MIA types is reliant upon a few radiocarbon results (see Adams 2013, table 4.1), of which only one is from the study area (Mill Hill Deal, Grave 112 a Hull and Hawkes 2B). All other examples, excluding a Hull and Hawkes 1A from a non-mortuary context at Gussage All Saints, are reliant upon radiocarbon dates from other areas.

11.1.3. Quantification and Distribution

128 fibulae were recorded, 82 from cremations and 46 from inhumations. Of these 101 could be ascribed a typology, thus representing 24 types (Table 40). The classification scheme for fibulae employs the terminology used in dedicated studies of these artefacts (Mackreth 2011; Edgar 2012; Adams 2013). The earliest is the Hull and Hawkes 2B example from Mill Hill burial 112, recently radiocarbon dated to c.360-280 BC (Garrow *et al*. 2009, table 2). A Hull and Hawkes 2B from Wetwang in East Yorkshire returned a comparable radiocarbon date (Adams 2013, 113). The latest examples is likely the plate fibula from Hughtown No.2, which may post-date c.AD 70 (Ashbee 1954, 16; Mackreth

2011, 162). Excluding the Hull and Hawkes examples, all types identified are of LIA-ERIA date.

Frequencies of LIA and ERIA types were examined for the three study sub-zones (Figure 227-Figure 229). MIA examples were excluded on the basis of their low frequency. The data suggest that each sub-zone demonstrates a preference for different types, however, chronological variation must be considered. Certain types (e.g Nauheims from the western zone) may be absent as sites were not in use when these fibulae were current. Nevertheless, the presence of early (Drahtfibel) and late (Colchester and Colchester derivatives) types in all three zones suggests chronological variation may not be significant. Additionally some individual sites dominate the dataset, but this only seems affect the Feugère 2 type. Nevertheless the slight dataset does caution against too great an inference from the results.

Type	Total examples	Site(s) (quantity)
Hull and Hawkes 2A	**1**	Trevone (1)
Hull and Hawkes 2B	**1**	Mill Hill (1)
Hull and Hawkes 2C	**5**	Suddern Farm (1); Mill Hill (1); Slonk Hill (1); Trevone (1); Trethellan Farm (1)
Hawkes and Hull 3B	**2**	Mill Hill (1); Trethellan Farm (1)
SW La Tène Series	**1**	Trethellan Farm (1)
Edgar Type 3/Almgren Type 1	**1**	Whitcombe (1)
Edgar/Feugère Type 2	**20**	Westhampnett (19); Bridge (1)
Nauheim/Edgar 5a/Feugère 5a	**6**	Westhampnett (4); Mill Hill (1); A2 Pepperhill-Cobham (1)
Nauheim Derivative/Edgar Type 6	**1**	Bryher (1)
Drahtfibel/Edgar 5b	**5**	Mill Hill (1); Jubilee Corner (1); Latchmere Green (2); Trethellan Farm (1)
Drahtfibel Derivative	**2**	Trethellan Farm (1); Pepperhill-Cobham
Stead/Edgar Type 8/Almgren 65/14	**14**	Westhampnett (6); Alkham (4); Chilham Castle (2); A2 Pepperhill-Cobham
Langton Down/Edgar 14b	**4**	Saltwood (2); Litton Cheney (1); Langton Herring (1)
Rosette/Feugère Type 19	**5**	Coldswood Road (3); Owselbury (1); Langton Herring (1)
Colchester	**9**	Portesham (2); Mill Hill (1); Saltwood (2); Deal Cemetery (2); Sholden (2)
Aesica	**1**	Manor Farm (1)
Aucissa/Edgar Type 22	**1**	Latton Lands (1)
Colchester Derivative	**11**	Hughtown (3); A2 Pepperhill-Cobham (2); Alington Avenue (2); Manor Farm (2); Porthesham (1); Saltwood (1);
Feugère 11	**1**	Poundbury (1)
Pennanular	**5**	Litton Cheney (2); Hughtown (2); Trethellan Farm (1)
Trumpet Head	**1**	Jubilee Corner (1)
Disc	**1**	Hughtown (1)
Durotrigian	**2**	Hughtown (2)
Headstud	**1**	Hughtown (1)
Unknown	**27**	

Table 40. Quantity of fibulae in the dataset and site of provenance.

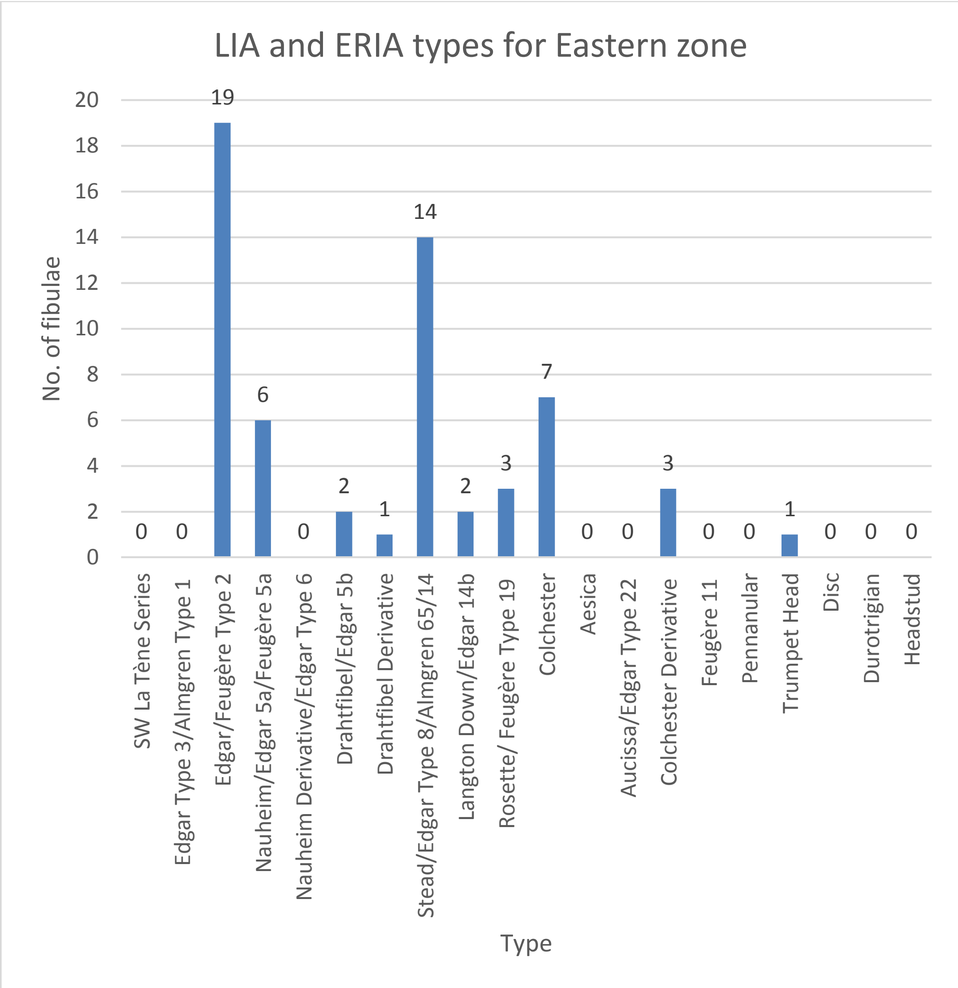


Figure 227. Frequency of LIA and ERIA fibulae types in the eastern zone.

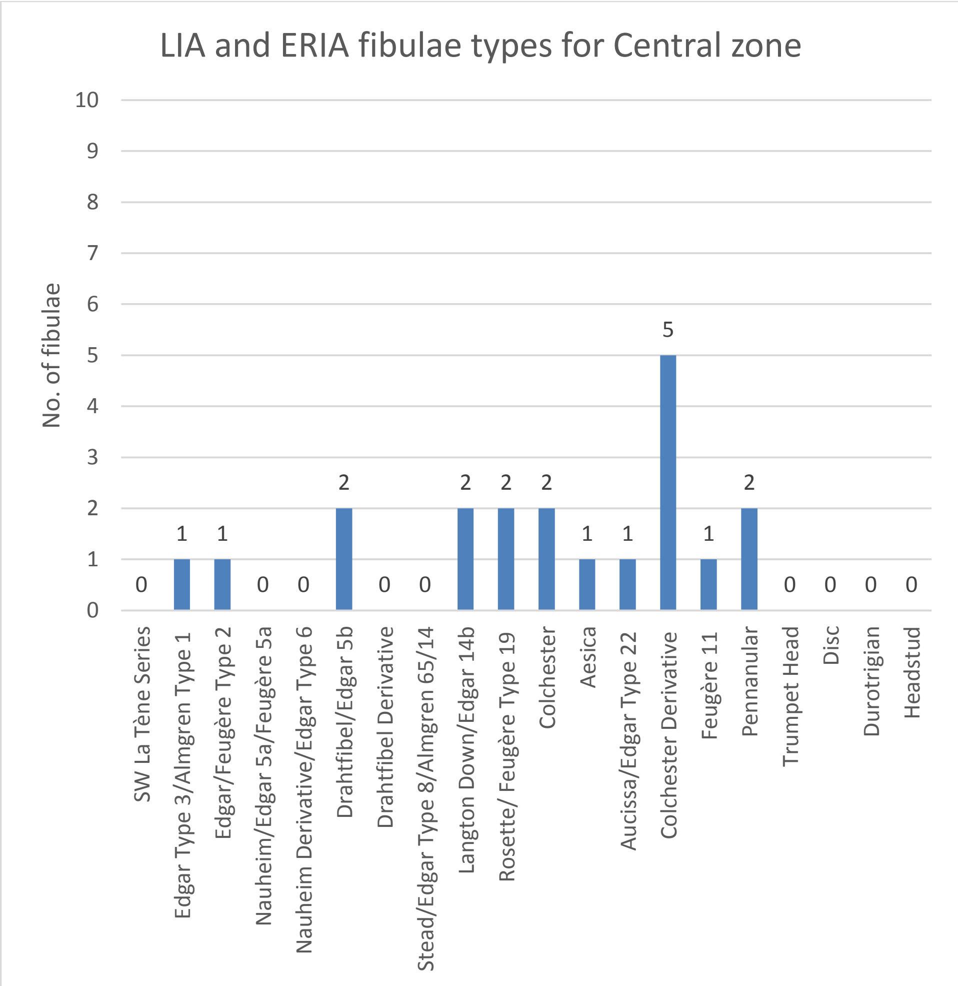


Figure 228. Frequency of LIA and ERIA fibulae types in the central zone.

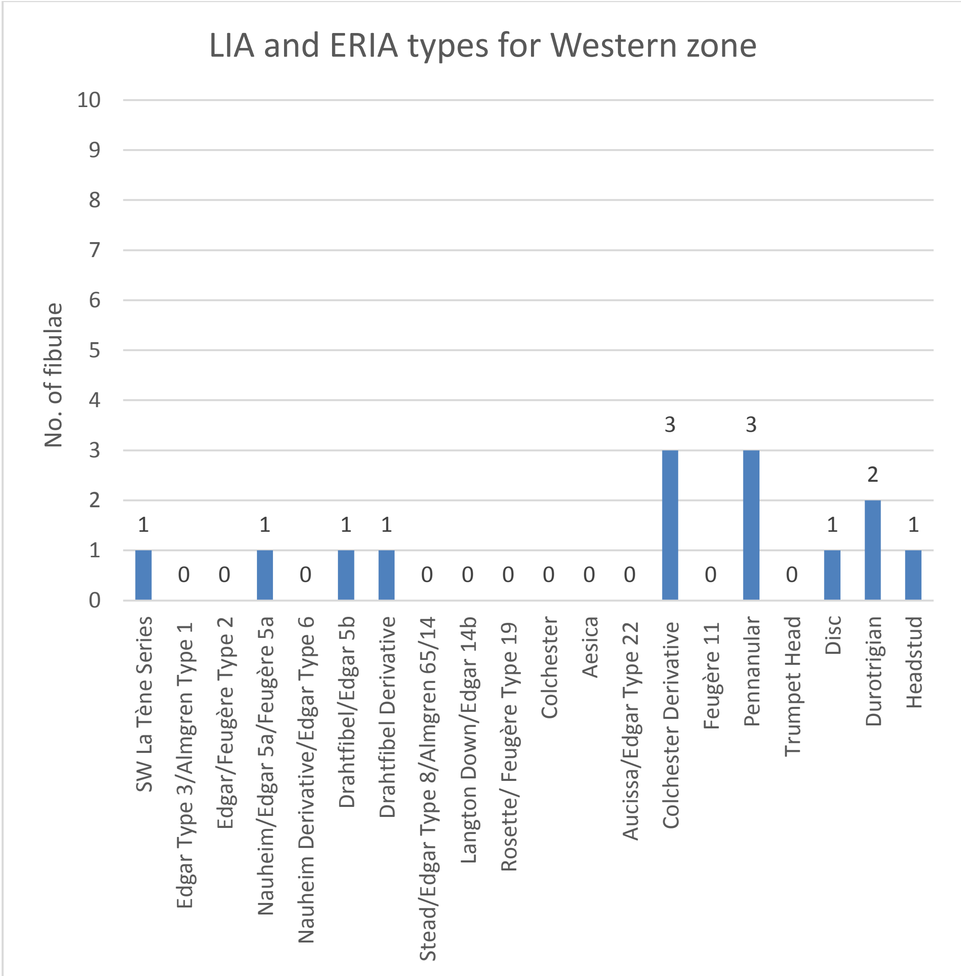


Figure 229. Frequency of LIA and ERIA fibulae types in the western zone.

11.1.4. Distribution of Fibulae by Mortuary Cultures

The dataset was examined to test for patterns between different fibulae types and recognised mortuary cultures. As above, cremations were considered as two samples: Westhampnett (Figure 230) and non-Westhampnett samples (Figure 231). This approach accounts for the prevalence of certain fibulae at Westhampnett, and its early date (90-50BC) in contrast to other (typical Ayelsford-Swarling) cremations. MIA fibulae were included owing to their presence at Trethellan and Mill Hill, sites which demonstrate continuity into the LIA.

The Westhampnett sample is dominated by late La Tène examples, all of which have close continental parallels (see below). Though not precise, the fibulae suggest a date stretching from the late 2nd century BC until the mid-1st century BC, although a later date of c.15 BC has been proposed by some (Montague 1997, 93-7; Mackreth 2011, 9;

Edgar 2012, 72). Although Edgar (*ibid*) advocates a late date for the Almgren 65, on the basis of the un-urned nature of the Westhampnett burials (Chapter 7.7), ceramic evidence (Mepham 1997, 130) and dominance of Feugère 2s (Edgar 2012, 52), I prefer a late 2nd-mid 1st century BC date. Both cremation samples contain Almgren 65 fibulae (which supports Mackreth's proposed dating). However, as to be expected the non-Westhapnett sample is lacking earlier types such as the Feugère 2 and 5 and Nauheim types. The later chronology of the second sample is also attested to by the presence of Rosettes and the Colchester and its derivative. These dates compliment a recent radiocarbon dating programme conducted on the cremated bone from Westhampnett, although the study suggested a start date prior to c.150BC was more likely (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2017, 377)

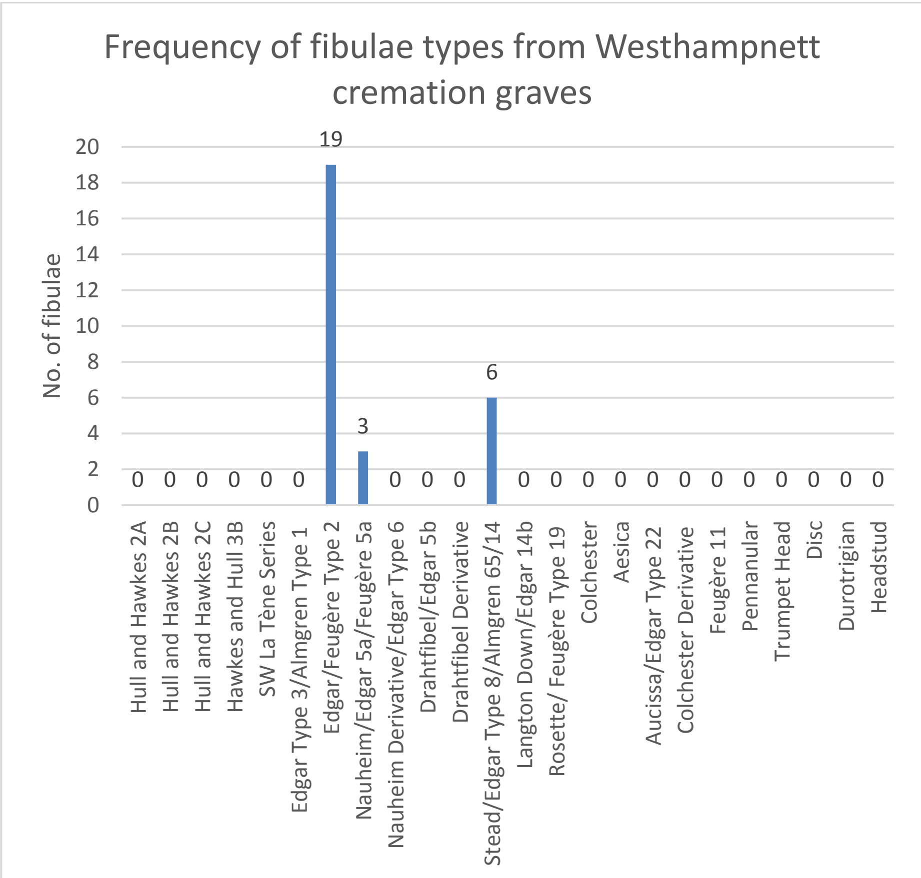


Figure 230. Frequency of fibulae types from Westhampnett graves.

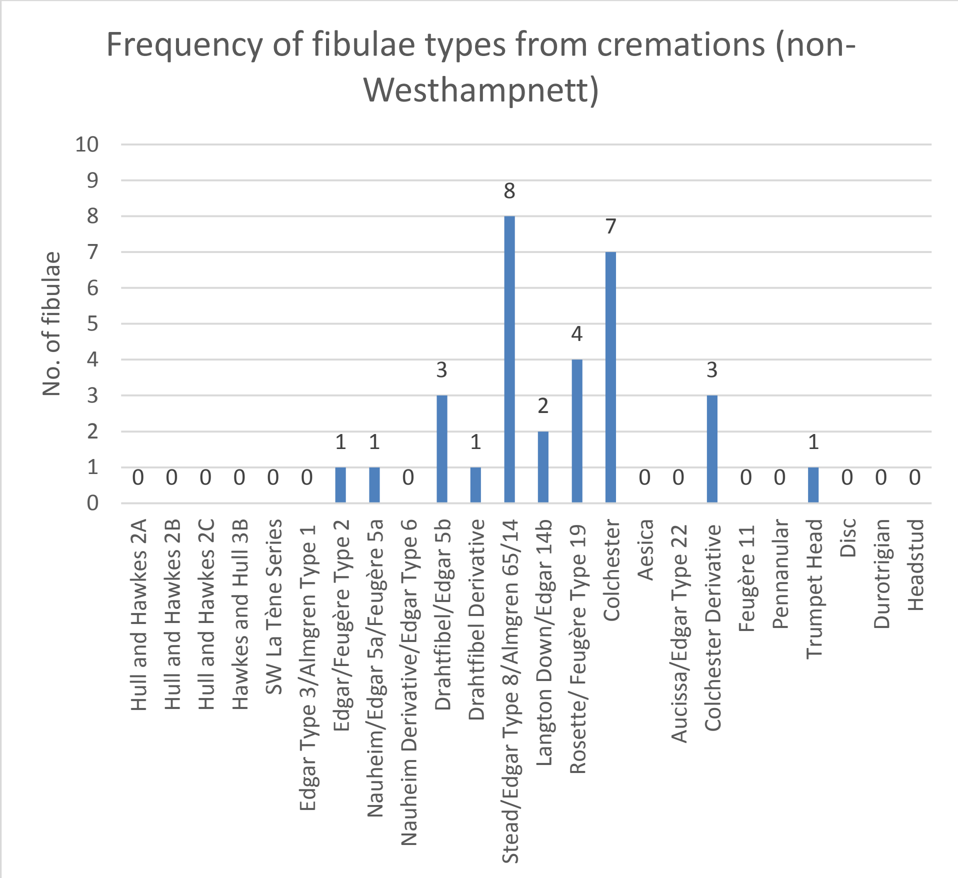


Figure 231. Frequency of fibulae types from non-Westhampnett graves.

Fibulae are scarce in Kentish inhumations (Figure 232). Burial 112 from Mill Hill provides apparent continuity in fibulae deposition from the MIA to LIA. Both inhumation and cremation were practised at Mill Hill, where Nauheim and Drahtifbel type fibulae are present in both types of deposition.

As with Kentish inhumations, the Durotrigian data are limited (Figure 233). Only a few types (Aesica and Almgren Type 1), are exclusive to inhumations. The prevalence of Colchester and Colchester derivatives stems from multiple examples from Portesham (N=3), Alington Avenue Grave 3227 (N=2), and Manor Farm INH527 (N=2). The presence of Langton Down, Colchester and derivatives, and Rosette types confirms the late 1st century BC/1st century AD dating of many of these burials. Of particular note is the absence of so called 'Durotrigian' fibulae from these graves. As with Kent, the presence of MIA types among SW inhumations (Figure 234) demonstrates the continuity of this group between the MIA and LIA-ERIA. Two Colchester derivatives stem from the same grave (Hughtown No.10). The presence of two Durotrigian type fibulae from Hughtown

No.3 and No.5 is unusual, and may indicate exchange with communities further east, for which there is scientific evidence (Chapter 12.11).

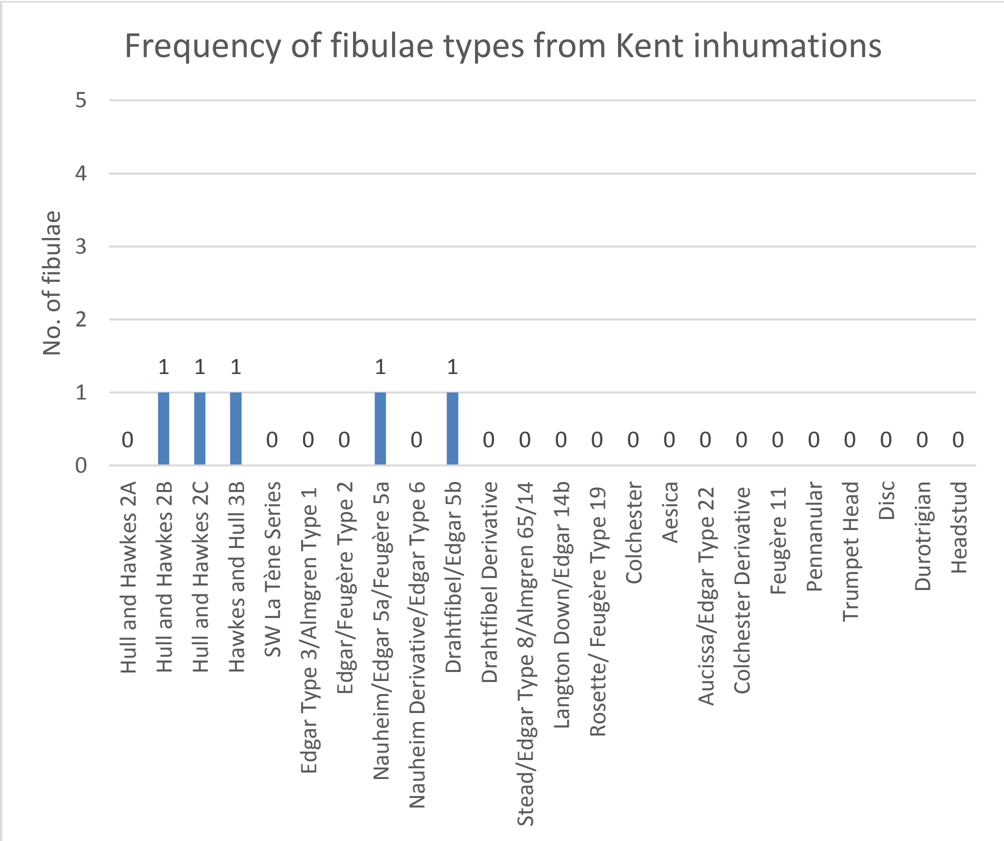


Figure 232. Frequency of fibulae types from Kentish inhumation burials.

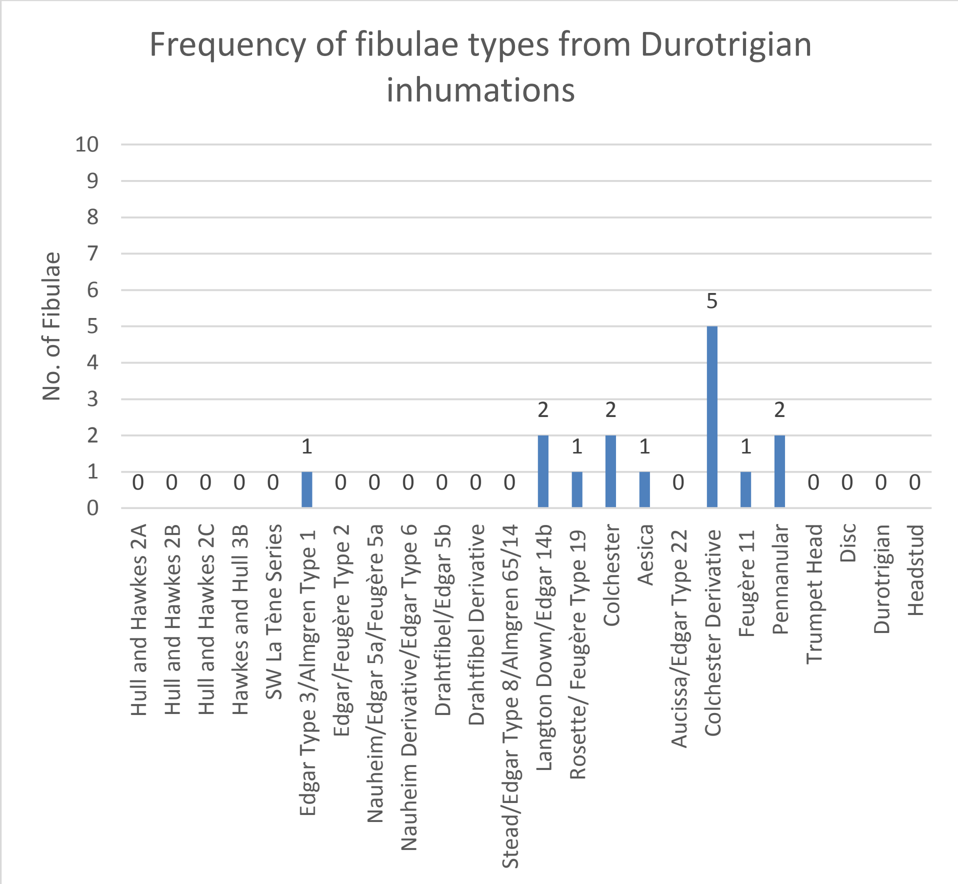


Figure 233. Frequency of fibulae types from Durotrigian inhumations.

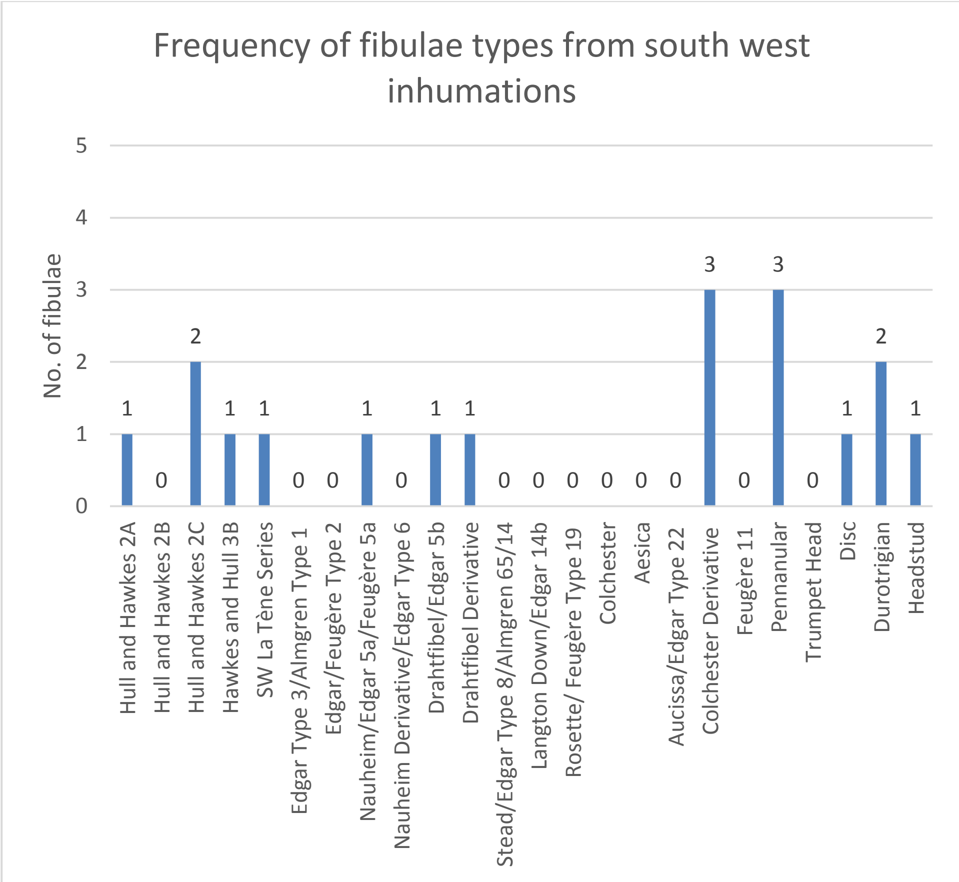


Figure 234. Frequency of fibulae types from south-west inhumations.

11.1.5. Demographics and Associations

Due to the limited dataset, fibulae from all phases were analysed by geographical sub-zones and according to demographic associations (Figure 235-Figure 240). Within the eastern zone, neither age nor sex was a determining factor in the presence of fibulae, except for Westhampnett where fibulae were twice as common in female graves. Across the study area, all age groups, excluding infants, were provisioned with fibulae, with instances of multiple fibulae in almost every age group.

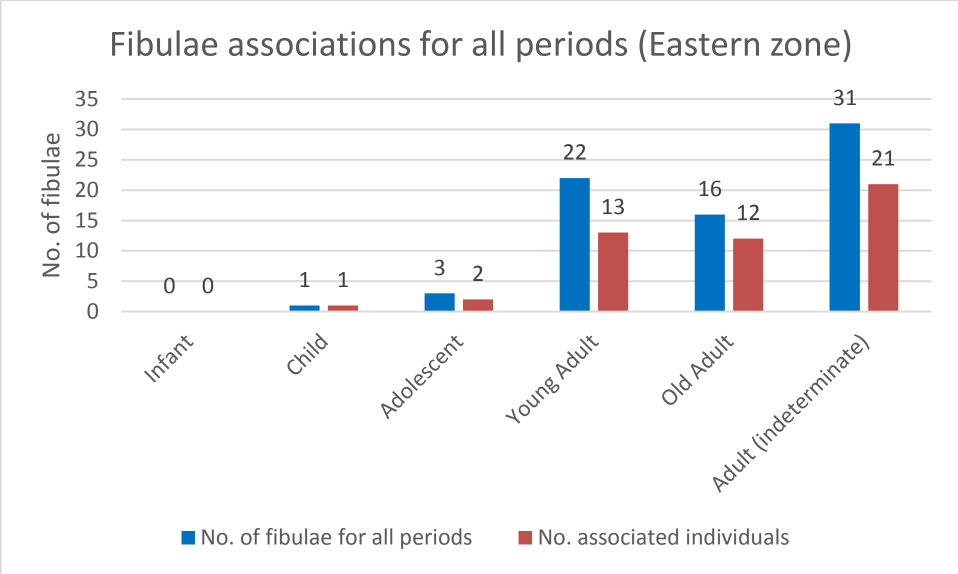


Figure 235. Frequency of fibulae for all periods by age groups for the eastern zone.

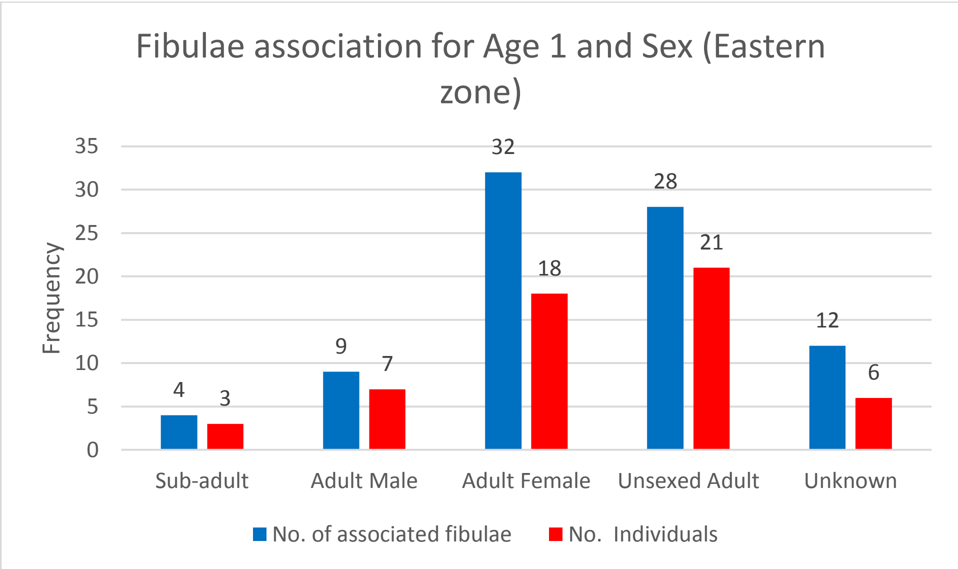


Figure 236. Frequency of fibulae for all periods by age and sex groups for the eastern zone.

Within the central zone the pattern is very much the same as for the eastern zone; with every age group, except infants, being deposited with fibulae.

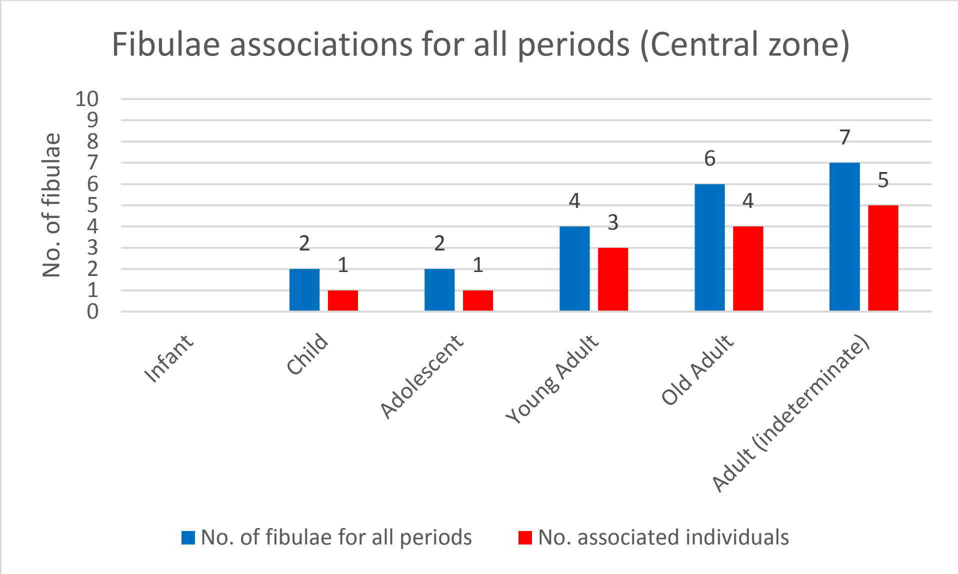


Figure 237. Frequency of fibulae by age groups for the central zone.

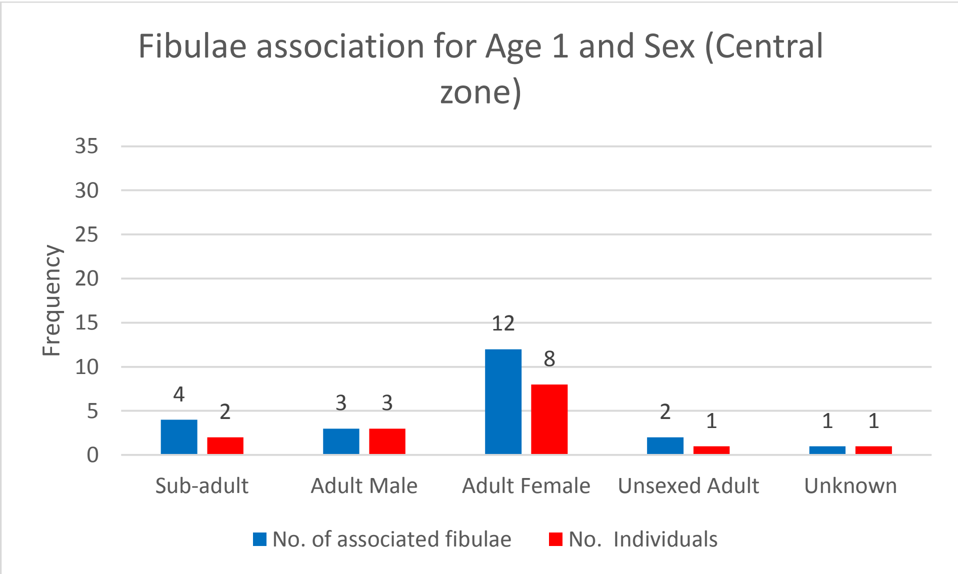


Figure 238. Frequency of fibulae for all periods by age and sex groups for the central zone.

The pattern is comparable in the western group, although multiple fibulae are restricted to adults.

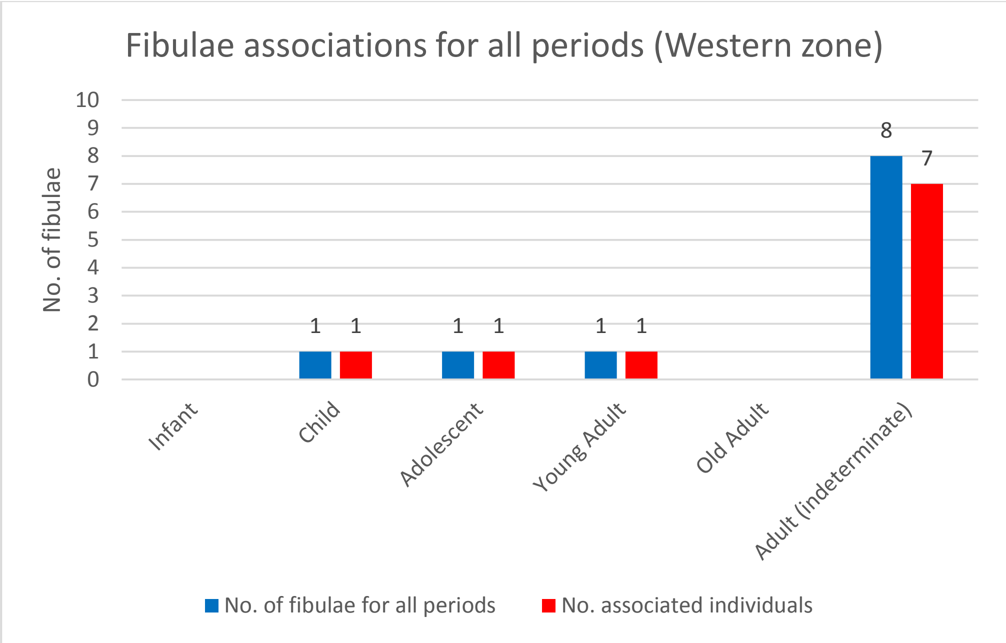


Figure 239. Frequency of fibulae for all periods by age groups for the western zone.

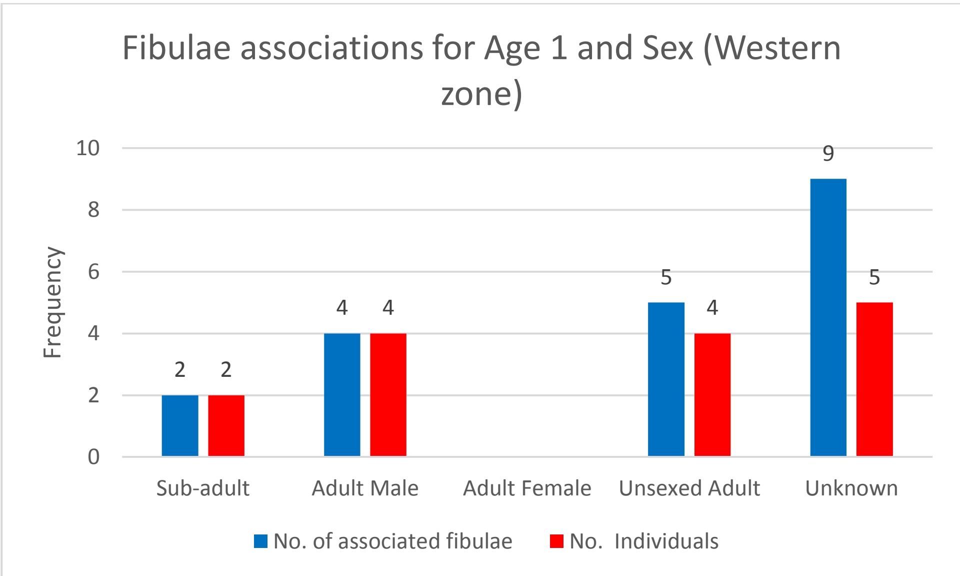


Figure 240. Frequency of fibulae for all periods by age and sex groups for the western zone.

11.1.6. Metallurgical Composition

Metallurgical composition reveals a prevalence of copper alloy in both cremation and inhumation (Table 41, Figure 242), with a single silver brooch from Westhampnett 20622. Gold examples are known only from non-mortuary contexts (Hill *et al*. 2004). Among the copper alloy fibulae were four of brass (N=2 Portesham; N=2 A2 road scheme, grave 4298). Brass may be more prevalent, however, identification of brass manufacture was reliant upon site reports. There is a no apparent regional variation to this pattern, and it occurs across the study area. Although data for the MIA are limited, it appears that there was a shift from copper alloy to iron, and back to copper alloy during the Later Iron Age (Figure 241). The change to depositing copper alloy fibulae in the ERIA may start in the LIA, with earlier fibulae from this period being iron (Feugère Type 2: N=18 iron examples, 90%; Drahtfibel: N=3, 75%; Nauheim: N=3, 60%) whilst later types are copper alloy (Colchester: N=9 copper alloy examples, 100%; Langton Down: N=2, 100%).

Material Composition (frequency)	Iron	Copper Alloy	Silver
EMIA	0	0	0
MIA	6	4	0
LIA	40	43	1
ERIA	0	32	0

Table 41. Composition of fibulae by chronology and frequency.

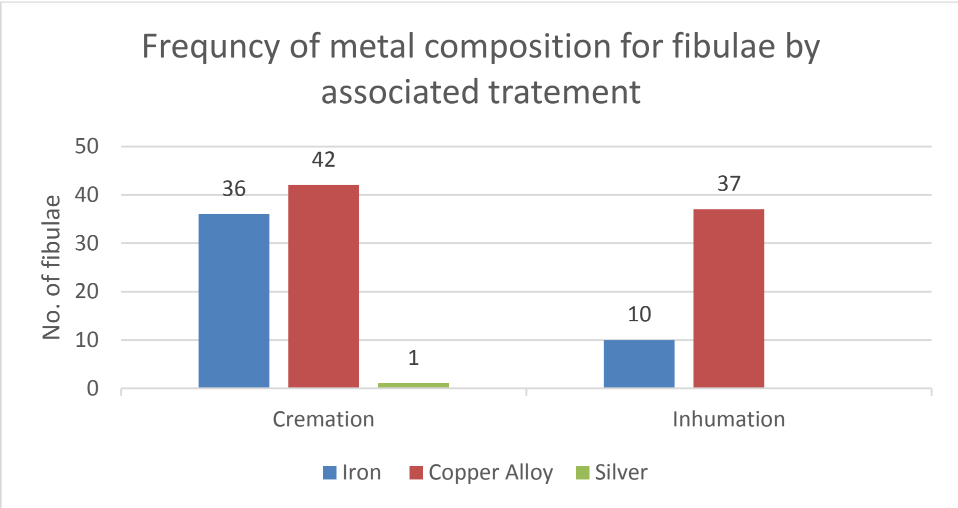


Figure 241. Frequency of metal composition for fibulae by associated treatment.

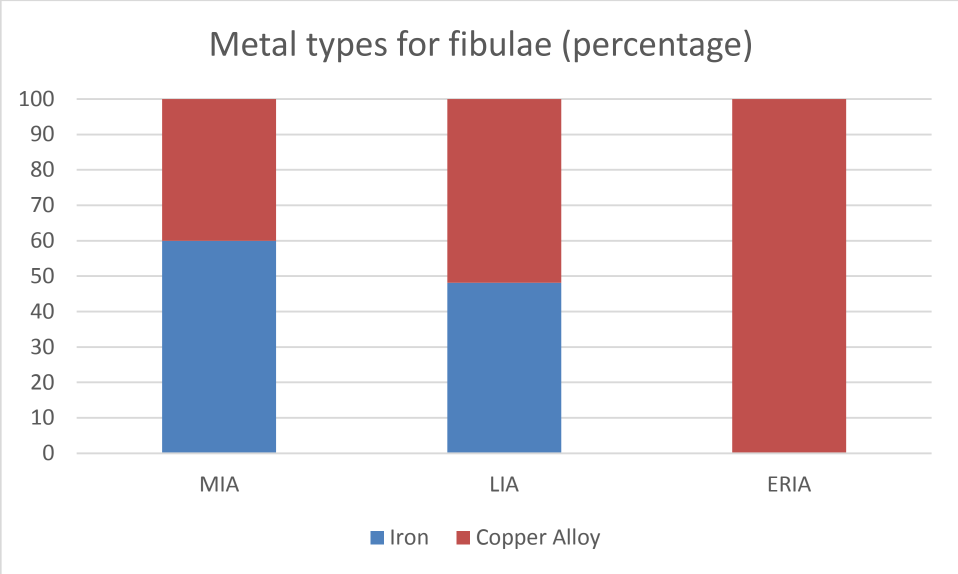


Figure 242. Composition of fibulae by chronology and percentage.

Evidence for heat damage (Table 42, Figure 243) (N=41) is overwhelmingly represented by Westhampnett (N=39), with two fibulae from Latchmere Green displaying similar evidence. It is unclear to what extent this was a cultural choice, or if it stems from the quality of post-excavation analysis. The majority of fibulae thus affected were iron (N=29, 70%). This likely indicates a cultural choice, even though the temperature of the funerary pyres at Westhampnett (700°C+; McKinley 1997, 65) would have been sufficient to melt copper alloy (Goldhahn and Oestigaard 2008, 225). The effects of pyres could have concealed a preference for copper alloy fibulae in cremations, although this seems unlikely owing to the fact only two possible (melted) copper alloy fibulae were recovered from the pyres at Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 1997, 105).

Fibulae affected by heat	**Number of examples**	**Percentage**
Iron	29	70
Copper alloy	12	30
Total	41	100

Table 42. Prevalence of heat damage by metallurgy.

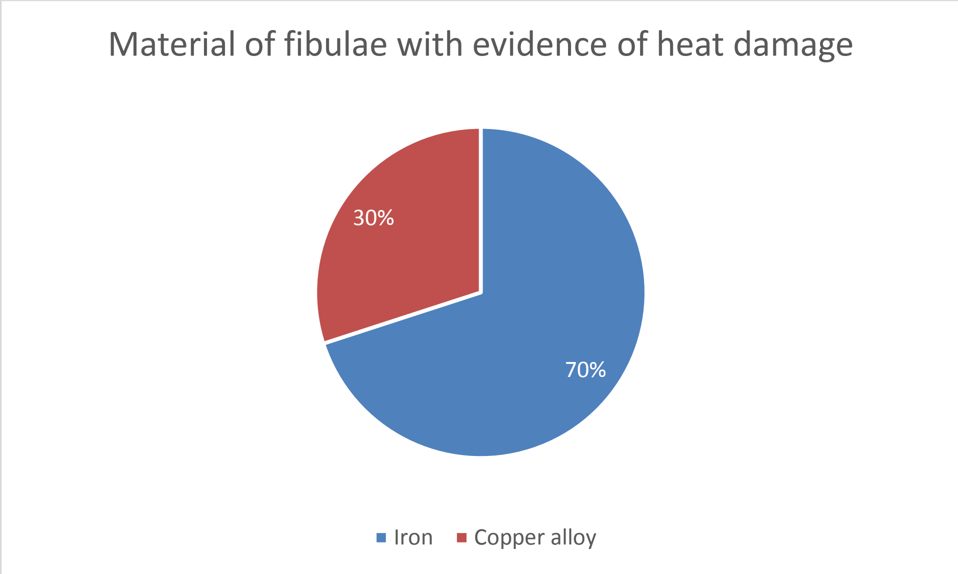


Figure 243. Prevalence of heat damage by metallurgy.

11.1.7. British Context

MIA fibulae from the study area represent a fraction of the national total (Adams 2013). Nevertheless, the patterns are comparable to elsewhere in Britain. In terms of metal composition, the prevalence of iron examples accords with the the rest of the country (for fibulae from all contexts) (*ibid*, Charts 5.2-3). The paucity of MIA fibulae is demonstrated by the single find from the Suddern Farm cemetery (grave C27). During the MIA, fibulae from Britain are dominated by those from East Yorkshire burials, with copper alloy and iron examples associated, in equal numbers, with males and females (Stead 1991, 90; Giles 2012, 135). Dent (1982) noted that smaller types were more commonly associated with females, although Giles (2012, 136, 172) suggests such fibulae indicate a variety of social traits, and there was a strong personal preference for certain fibulae types. Only a handful of these examples are distinctly continental, the majority being of local origin (Stead 1991, 136). Excluding the Hull and Hawkes 3A-B types, continental influences in British fibulae are lacking for the MIA in general (Haselgrove 1997, 15). Both the strong personal preference suggested by Giles, and lack of continental parallels, are also features of this study's dataset.

The dataset reflects well the LIA fibulae event horizon (Hill 1995, 121), which is evidenced by a major increase in the frequency of fibulae recovered across southern Britain. The East Yorkshire sequence of fibulae also continued into the 1st century BC, and types from the study area, such as the Nauheim derivative, occur within these graves (Stead 1991, 89, fig. 65, K1; Giles 2012, 136). Mackreth's (2011, 235) suggestion that most LIA/EPRIA graves which yield fibulae are cremations is true for this study. This is also the case for the largest mortuary dataset from outside the study area: King Harry Lane, where 237 fibulae dating 15BC to AD40/50 were recovered (*ibid*, 243-4). The increased use of copper alloy in later LIA and ERIA noted above is mirrored at King Harry Lane where copper alloy examples accounted for 79.3% (N=188) (Stead and Rigby 1989, 100, table 5). Colchester types accounted for the majority of examples (69.3%, N=104), and were made from copper alloy and iron, as is the case for contemporary study area graves. Demographic associations were similar to those in the study area. No significant differences were detected in terms of sex, with 41% of females and 38% of males buried with fibulae. Fibulae were also associated with both adults and sub-adults (*ibid*, 102). Elsewhere in Britain precious metal fibulae are rare in mortuary contexts. However, a pair of silver fibulae are also known from the LIA Great Chesterford cremation, thus drawing parallels with the Westhampnett example (Whimster 1981, 365).

Based on a sample of 2,507 fibulae from various contexts, Haselgrove (1997, 59, fig. 83) found Colchesters to be the most abundant, followed by Nauheim derivatives. The results from this dataset (which in part is the result of the dominance of the Westhampnett data) do not follow this pattern. Instead they indicate, as Giles as has suggested for East Yorkshire, that the selection of fibulae as grave goods was the result of personal choice. The results likewise differ slightly from Worrell's (2007) analysis of 651 fibulae from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). She found that Nauheim derivatives were commonest in Hampshire and Kent, whilst Colchester types were absent from Dorset. This dataset does, however, accord with her finding that Langton Downs were almost entirely restricted to Hampshire and Drahtfibel types were most prevalent in Dorset (*ibid*, 377, table 2).

11.1.8. Continental Context

The data for the near continent are unevenly distributed, with Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne being the most abundant and well researched.

11.8.1. Picardy, Nord-Pas-de-Calais and Champagne-Ardenne

During the earlier La Tène phases fibulae from Picardy mortuary contexts are more common than in the study area, and Britain in general. They include local types, as well as examples common across Europe such as the Duchov. La Tène A fibulae are present in 15% of graves. (Desenne *et al*. 2009, 173). La Tène B1 saw an increase in the frequency of fibulae in graves (40-60%), continuing into La Tène D2 (*ibid*, 174, fig. 1). By the late La Tène period, fibulae are the commonest metal items recovered from graves (Bayard and Buchez 1998, 59; Pinard *et al*. 2010, 42). The rise in fibulae observed in the LIA in the study area is thus preceded by two centuries in Picardy.

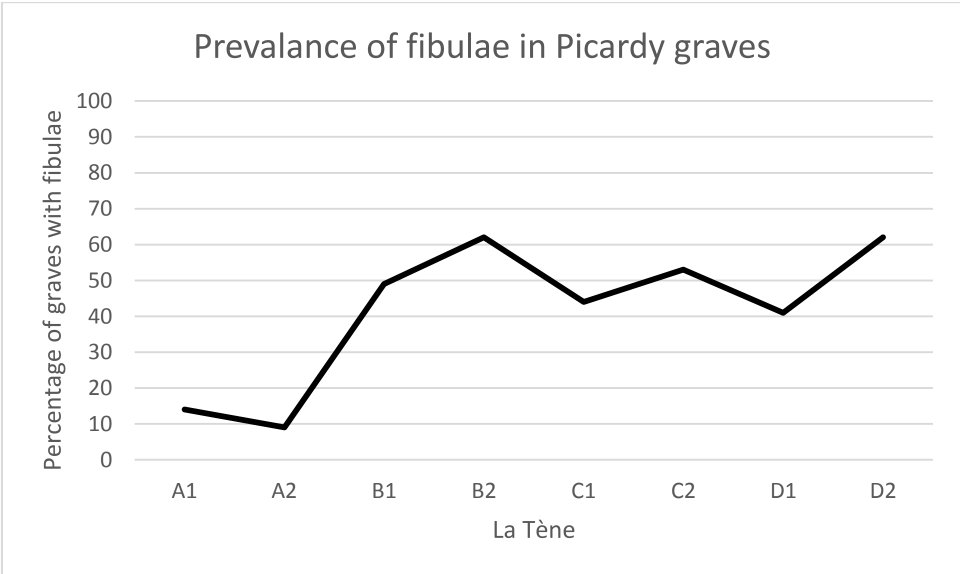


Figure 244. Prevalance of fibulae in Picardy graves[5] (reproduced from Desenne et al. 2009, 174, fig. 1).

In Nord-Pas-de-Calais a similar phenomenon occurred, with fibulae more prevalent in the later La Tène (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 68). This may reflect the limited number of graves from this region, but may also indicate a cultural choice; in any case it is bears a similiaity to the pattern observed in Britain. The same occurs in Champagne-Ardenne from c.180BC-AD15 (Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 172, fig. 8; Edgar 2012, 1, 257). As

[5] Desenne *et al.* do not list what quantities of fibulae were employed to calculate these percentages only that close to 700 graves were examined for their entire study (and it cannot be assumed that all of these contained fibulae). Unfortunately, attempts to contact Dr Desenne to obtain the original quantities used to calculate these percentages were unsuccessful. As such, only percentages are displayed.

Edgar (2012, 6) notes this general increase of fibulae in north eastern France is contemporaneous with the British fibulae event horizon. In contrast to Britain, there appears to be a marked decline in the deposition of fibulae in the La Tène D2b/GR1 transition, which may be related to changes in burial practices (*ibid,* 161).

The preference for certain types in the study area likewise echoes the north-east French data. Edgar (2012, 44) detected three phases of later La Tène fibulae development in north east France. Firstly in La Tène C1/C2, LIA types followed those of the preceding period in the form of reverted bow fibulae. In La Tène C2, simple filiform types were adopted and continued into the Augustan period (as with the prevalaence of Feugère 2s in the study area). In the final phase (LT D1-Gallo-Roman) more complex designs such as the Almgren 65 and À Collarette types began to be produced. The above is mirrored in the study area, with simple iron types present only in earlier LIA graves, and ornate types like the rosesste adopted at the same time as they were in Champagne-Ardenne.

Copper alloy and iron fibulae are present in Picardy from La Tène A (Desenne *et al.* 2009, 173), and at MIA study area sites. Edgar examined 1,633 late La Tène-early Roman fibulae from mortuary and non-mortuary contexts. Of these 1,029 (63%) were iron, with the remainder being almost entirely copper alloy. Gold and silver examples were present, but, as in Britain, represented a minority. Of fibulae from cremation graves, 89% were iron, thereby contrasting starkly with the study area (*ibid*, 108). Within the Ardennes the earliest La Tène C2 graves (typically inhumations) contained copper alloy fibulae, whilst later cremations contained only iron examples, as at Ménil-Annelles. In the immediate pre- and post-conquest period there was a return to copper alloy (*ibid*, 108-9). Exceptions exist, such as at Saint-Benoît-sur-Saine in La Tène B2-C2, where iron fibulae were more numerous than copper alloy (43:15) (Millet 2008, 100). Nevertheless this broad shift between iron and copper alloy is also apparent in the study area (Figure 242).

Jones (1996a, 9) views the return to copper alloy as being a reflection of Roman influences, whilst Edgar (2012, 11, 167) sees this as a local development resulting from the adoption of more complex types such as the rosette and Almgren 65. On the basis of the prevalence of ornate Colchester derivatives and the Rosette types, I agree with Edgar. A similar pattern to that in Champagne-Ardenne is observed in La Tène Picardy, with 90% of fibulae from late La Tène cremations being iron (Gransar and Malrain 2009, 149; Desenne *et al*. 2009, 174). In Nord-Pas-de-Calais the majority of fibulae appear to be iron (Leman-Delerive 2014, 132). It is possible that, as with the above noted evidence for shrouds, that British communities preferred to use copper alloy. Further parallels to this may also be found in shield bosses (see below); with continental types typically composed of iron, and British types largely copper alloy. Unfortunately demographic parallels are hard to determine. Of 457 late La Tène burials from Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne examined by Edgar, 87% (N=398) lacked demographic data (*ibid,* 160). At La Tène D2a Ménil-Annelles the Almgren 65 was restricted to adults (*ibid*, 171) whereas at Bucy-le-Long “Au fond de Petit Marais” (La Tène C1-D1a) adults and children were provided with fibulae.

11.8.2. Normandy

The data for Normandy are less well studied, although it appears the patterns are comparable to those in the east, particularly Picardy. Fibulae were present in mortuary contexts in the Calvados and Orne départments at the start of the La Tène period. As in the study area, early fibulae represent local, unique types, but also more widespread types, such as the Duchov example from grave 486 Tournedos-sur-Seine (Carre 1993, 69). Numbers may have increased through time (similar to Picardy), suggested by the La Tène B1/B2 transition at Ifs “Object’Ifs Sud” (Chanson *et al*. 2009, 71). If so, the Normandy data are comparable to the study area. In the mid-La Tène period fibulae became more common in Norman graves, thus preceding the patterns observed for southern Britain. By La Tène C2-D ,the Normandy data follow the same pattern as southern Britain, with fibulae being the most common form of metal object in both cremation and inhumation graves (*ibid*, 78). Nevertheless, as in the study area, fibulae were not a ubiquitous grave good (Blancquaert 2002, 373; Merleau 2002a, 173; Merleau 2002b, 281).

It appears that iron became more prevalent over time. Although copper alloy was most common in La Tène A, iron fibulae were present at sites such as Ifs, Meuvaines and Mondeville (Verney 1993, 98). By the mid-La Tène period, fibulae from Normandy graves were almost entirely iron, a pattern which appears to have continued in La Tène C2-D (Blancquaert 2002, 373; Mantel *et al*. 2002, 19; Chanson *et al*. 2009, 78;). As with the rise in fibulae numbers during this time, this shift in metal types predates that in the study area. It does not appear that mortuary treatment determined the inclusion of fibulae during La Tène C-D (Merleau 2002a, 173). However, demographic associations of fibulae are at present unclear (*ibid*).

11.8.3. Brittany and Guernsey

As in Britain, La Tène A-B1 fibulae are local types known from several Breton sites, such as Éterville "Le Clos des Lilas", Calvados (Santrot 1999, 138; Villard-Le Tiec *et al*. 2010, 97). In contrast to other parts of northern France, mid-La Tène graves are few, although fibulae are known from La Tène C Breton mortuary contexts, such as Chenon, Charente (Gomez de Soto 2009, 275; Villard- Le Tiec *et al*. 2010, 92, fig. 8) and La Tène D, such as Kerné (*ibid*, 97). In La Tène D, types known from the study area, such as the Almgren 65 and Nauheim, are present in Brittany. These include the Nauheims from Fontenay-le-Comte, Vendée and Les Akkeuds, Les Pichelots (Santrot 1999, 36-7). It is curious that fibulae are seemingly lacking from the richly adorned graves which develop on the western Breton coast in La Tène C2-D (Gomez de Soto 2009, 276-8). Nevertheless, fibulae are also absent from several contemporary elite Aylseford-Swarling graves (Stead 1967). In Guernsey, fibulae seem to display a similar pattern to that of northern France; present, but not ubiquitous, non-ostentatious and typically composed of iron. In this sense it is broadly comparable to the study area. Examples include Le Catioroc grave 1 and King's Road Graves 1 and 7 (Burns 1993, 167; Cunliffe 1996a, 91; de Jersey 2010, 295, table 2). In the case of Brittany and Guernsey the data are too few to draw conclusions regarding demographic associations.

11.8.3. The Netherlands

Fibulae are seemingly absent from MIA Dutch cemeteries, although a unique 5th century BC *Vogelkopf* type is known from a disturbed grave at Andelst (Figure 245) (Roymans 2009, 102, fig. 2). By the LIA they became quite frequent (Hiddink 2014, 197). Overall this paucity, albeit with a unique example, and successive abundance, accords with the broader pattern across southern Britain and the near continent. The dominance of iron examples in such graves is due in part to hostile soil conditions. The two most common types, the Benstrup and MLT, are local variants, although a small number of Nauheims are known. In contrast to the study area, it seems sex played a role in the provision of some fibulae. The Benstrup type are typically recovered in pairs, and graves from Nederweert and Panningen confirm a female association (*ibid*, 197-8). The MLT is of La Tène C and D1 date, and predominantly occurs with adult females and children. With the Roman conquest a small number new types of fibulae began to be deposited, for example the Drahtfibel from Rosveld (*ibid,* 2014, 198).

Figure 245. The Vogelkopf from Andelst, Netherlands, 5th century BC (©Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen).

11.9. The British and Continental Contexts Reviewed

The shortage of MIA fibulae mirrors the broader patterns in mortuary and non-mortuary contexts outside East Yorkshire (Jundi and Hill 1998, 126). Only a few MIA British fibulae exhibit continental influences, and the numbers are dwarfed by those recovered from graves in northern France. However, the unique design of several MIA examples from the study area does echo northern French practices. The LIA fibula event horizon is well represented in the study area, and is comparable to the increase in fibula deposition both in southern Britain, north east France and the Netherlands (Hiddink 2014, 193). The decline in the deposition of fibulae which Edgar (2012) noted in her study area does not appear to have occurred in the study area, and fibulae deposition rates appears to have remained constant. Nevertheless, there are direct parallels between the study area and the continent throughout the 1st century BC/AD, with larger, simpler forms such as the Nauheim and Drahtfibel types, being replaced by more complex forms such as the Almgren 65 and rosette (Jundi and Hill 1999, 129; Edgar 2012, 109).

Jundi and Hill (1998, 125) argued that the social role of fibulae in Iron Age Britain changed c.100-75BC. For them, fibulae were more than dress fastenings, conveying important social messages relating to age, ethnicity and social status. Haselgrove (1997, 51) and Giles (for the East Yorkshire examples) (2012, 140) concur. Mackreth (2011, 235) has demonstrated that Conquest period fibulae from site contexts display discrete groupings, which broadly correspond with known LIA polities. However, it seems problematic to view fibulae as indicators of ethnicity within mortuary contexts (Carr 2006, 40). The exception is Westhampnett, which demonstrates stronger continental affinities (Figure 246). The increase in deposition of fibulae, combined with the increase in formal burial, does however suggest a greater emphasis on individual visibility (Jundi and Hill 1999, 130; Carr 2006, 23). The analysis is perhaps too limited to permit comment regarding the role of fibulae as indicators of status or age. Nevertheless, Edgar (2012, 173) suggests that for Ménil-Annelles, provision of fibulae was indicative of adult status; children associated with them had thus attained adult status. This is supported by the evidence from Ville-sur-Retourne, where only one sub-adult (St. 10, a young adolescent) was recovered with a fibula (*ibid*, 173). This pattern is replicated in the study area; with limited association between children and fibulae across all three sub-zones.

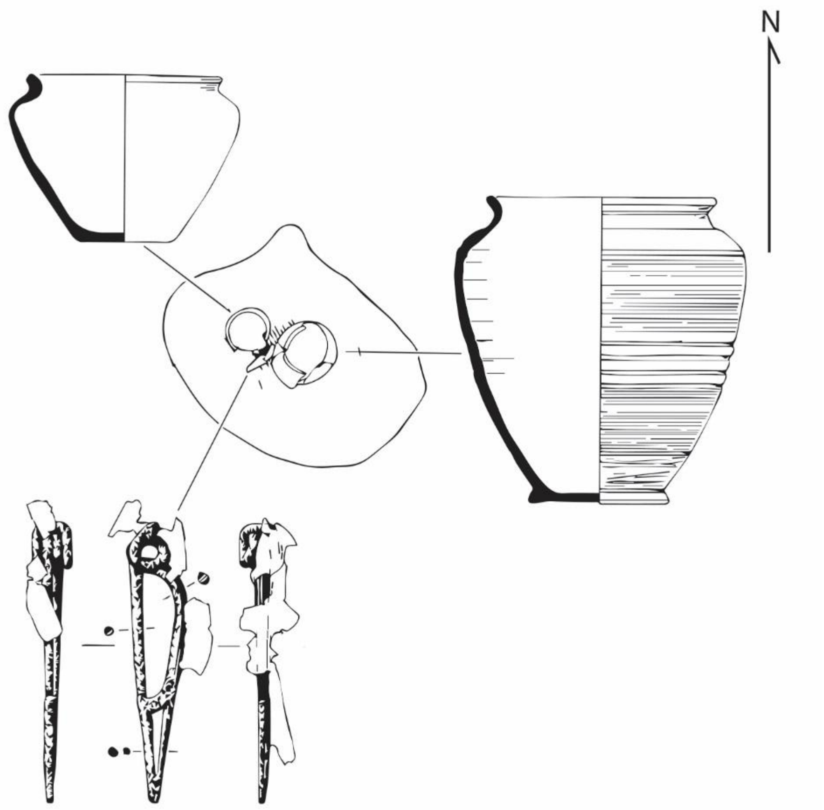


Figure 246. Westhampnett grave 20132, one of several graves to contain a continental type fibulae, in this case a Nauheim (re-drawn by author from Fitzpatrick 1997, fig. 73 with kind permission of Wessex Archaeology Ltd.).

Wild (1965, 107; 1968, 168) argued for what he termed the “Menimane costume”. Menimane, a 1st century AD woman buried in Mainz-Weisenau, was provided with a tombstone depicting her adorned in a local style of tunic, held in place by two fibulae on her chest, and two at her shoulder (Wells 2001, 127, fig. 15). The presence of similar grave stelae and multiple fibulae from graves in Nospel-Krëckelbierg, Luxembourg and the Saar region is taken as evidence for the existence of a specific form of female outfit. Support for this is forthcoming from elsewhere in the near continent, for example at Ménil-Annelles, where St.1 a La Tène C2 grave contained fibulae recorded at the shoulder (Edgar 2012, 170). Within Picardy, a similar arrangement is noted from La Tène B1 onward, where fibulae are recovered at both shoulders in female graves (Desenne *et al*. 2009, 174).

The presence of chains linking paired fibulae from the cremations at Westhampnett (Grave 20252 and 20601) and A2 Pepperhill (Grave 4298) suggests that such a costume may have been worn in the study area (Eckardt 2005, 152). The non-mortuary Winchester hoard, with its two pairs of chained fibulae, further supports this (Hill *et al.* 2004). Such dress styles were present in La Tène D Picardy (Olivier and Schönfelder 2002, 78), Roman Britain (Rosten 2007, 29), and probably the LIA Netherlands (Hiddink 2014, 197-8). Similar dresses are likewise noted on 1st century AD Danubian tombstones (Wild 1985, 396). However, if such costume was in use the study area, the presence of multiple fibulae in male as well as female graves, suggests that it was not restricted to one sex (*contra* Mackreth 2011, 235), although biological males with female gender is also a possibility. Likewise, individual fibula cannot be viewed as indicative of males (*contra* Hawkes 1981, 52, 67). Instead it appears there existed a similar situation to that noted at Ménil-Annelles, where males, women and children were provisioned with pairs of fibulae from La Tène C2 onward (Edgar 2012, 171).

Like elsewhere in Britain and the near continent, MIA fibulae were predominantly copper alloy, early LIA examples principally iron, and later LIA and ERIA types more typically copper alloy. What governed these changes is unclear. Within Britain, the increase in LIA fibulae is interpreted as resulting from an abundance of cheap iron (Edgar 2012, 107). Experimental archaeology (Drescher 1955; Wells 1995, 135) has suggested that the production of iron fibulae required less expertise (Edgar 2012, 109). These theories are supported by the prevalence of simple iron forms from Westhampnett. Additionally, iron could perhaps have been preferred for cremation burials owing to its high melting point (*ibid*, 108). The shift in the later LIA towards copper alloy occurs at a time when more complex forms, such as the Langton Down, rosette and Colchester were increasingly popular across the study area. A similar increase in fibulae complexity, combined with a preference for copper alloy has likewise been demonstrated for contemporary north-east France (*ibid*, 109). Finally, it is worth noting the paucity of precious metal fibulae throughout the period. For the MIA this can be viewed within a broader British context, where gold artefacts are virtually unknown (Creighton 2000, 31). The same paucity of gold is observed in northern France at this time (Lepaumier *et al*. 2010, 325). Within contemporary Picardy, the most ostentatious fibulae from mortuary contexts are copper alloy, such as the aforementioned example from Orainville (Desenne *et al*. 2009, 174, fig. 3).

11.2 Blades

Twelve non-martial blades were recorded: nine knives, two shears and one razor[6]. Details of these objects are summarised in Table 43 (knives) and 39 (shears). The dataset is too small to draw sub-regional conclusions about associations, whilst the variable quality of publication further limits what conclusions may be drawn. It appears that knives were provided to both sexes. No associations by sex can be deduced for razors or shears, although a male association for razors may be suggested on the basis of numismatic and historical evidence (below). It appears that knives were restricted to adults. I would propose the same is true of razors and shears, although the data are lacking. With regards spatial location there was a clear tendency to place such items on the body. Two knives show evidence of burning (White Horse Stone pit 6132, Westhmapnett 20055), suggesting that these items were placed on the body. The two shears were within the dépôt cinéraire, but it is unrecorded if they were pyre goods. Such data are also lacking for the razor.

In terms of associated grave goods, ceramics were associated with ten blades. Animal offerings were present with three knives, one shear and the razor. Two knives and one shear were deposited with fibulae. An association with toilet instruments is apparent at Portesham and the Maiden Castle P22 knives. A unique collection of tools were also associated with the Latton Lands knife. Textile contact was recorded on the knife from Grave 110, Mill Hill (Stead 1995, 110), and a leather covering was evident on the crescent blade from Westhampnett 20055 (Montague 1997, 101), which itself is a

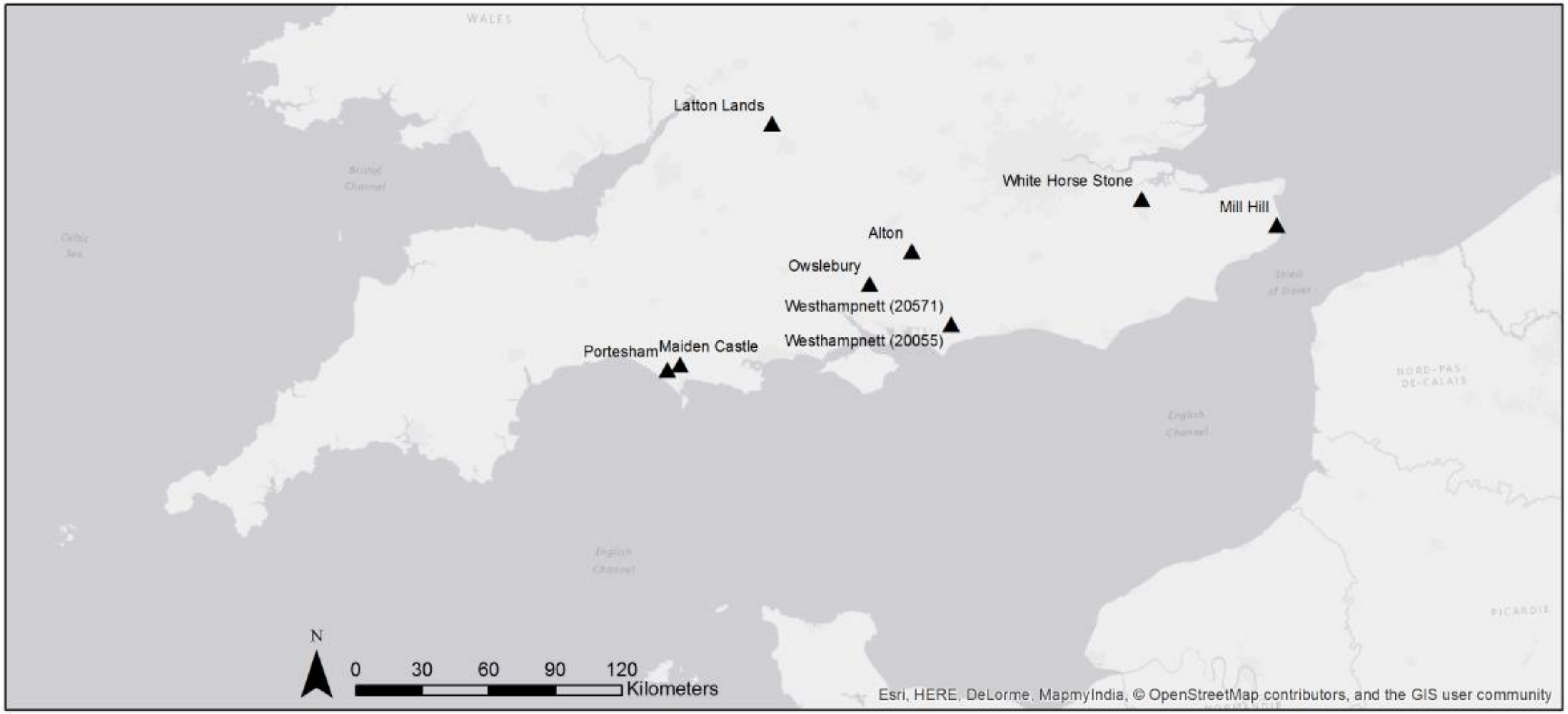
[6] An axe from Maiden Castle Skeleton P22, and the knife from Owslebury No. 41 may in fact be razors (Montague 1997, 101). Mill Hill context X3 produced a knife, but its uncertain context means it is excluded. Finally, object sf 438, Grave 4298 A2 road scheme, a notched copper alloy disk, is unique within the study area, but examples have been recovered from King Harry Lane, Maldon Hall Farm, Essex (Lavender 1991) and Biddenham Loop, Bedfordshire (Luke 2008). The purpose behind such discs is unclear, and they have been interpreted as circular knives (Luke 2008, 222; James and Rigby 1997, fig. 42). However an interpretation as measuring devices has been proposed, and they are excluded from the consideration below.

Site	Sex	Age (years)	Burial Treatment	Type	Legnth (mm)	Spatial location (pyre good)	No. associated artefacts	Associated artefacts
Westhampnett (20055)	Unknown	26-45+	Cremation	Unique	89	Dépôt cinéraire (pyre good)	3	Ceramic vessel (x2), Iron collars
Westhampnett (20571)	Unknown	Adult	Cremation	Manning 23/24	141	Dépôt cinéraire (unknown)	3	Ceramic vessel, Fibula, Key
Portesham	Female	26-45	Inhumation	Manning 8 or 13	99	Pelvis	13	Ceramic vessel (x2), Toilet items (x3), Fibulae (x3), Cu alloy strainer, Mirror, Pig, Sheep, Unidentified animal
Maiden Castle	Male	25-35	Inhumation	Unknown	Unknown	Left thorax	3	Ceramic vessel, Toilet equipment, Axe (razor?)
Mill Hill	Female	50-60	Inhumation	Manning 7	47	Pelvis	-	-
Owslebury	Male	Adult	Cremation	Unknown	Unknown	Dépôt cinéraire (unknown)	16	Ceramic vessel (x13), Cu alloy fittings, Pig
Latton Lands	Male	40-44	Partial cremation	Manning 23	100	Unknown (no)	5	Awls (x4), Sandstone whetstone
White Horse Stone	Unknown	Adult	Cremation	Unknown	178 and 161	Dépôt cinéraire (pyre good)	2	Ceramic vessle, Unidentified animal
Alton	Unknown	Unknown	Cremation	Unknown	68	Dépôt cinéraire (unknown)	17	Ceramic vessels (x16), Shears

Table 43. Knives recorded in the dataset.

Site	Sex	Age (years)	Burial Treatment	Type	Legnth (mm)	Spatial location (pyre good)	No. associated artefacts	Associated artefacts
Alkham	Unknown	Unknown	Cremation	Unique	Uncertain	Dépôt cinéraire (unknown)	11	Ceramic vessels (x2), Fibulae (x2), Ring (x3), Bucket, Iron object, Unidentified animal species
Alton	Unknown	Unknown	Cremation	Unknown	185	Dépôt cinéraire (unknown)	17	Ceramic vessels (x16), Knife

Table 44. Shears recorded in the dataset.



Map 5. Distribution of knives within the dataset.

Map 6. Distribution of shears in the dataset.

type known from IA and ERIA cremations both in Britain and on the continent (Stead 1995, 110). The knife from Grave 20055 had a crescent shaped blade, with no evidence for a handle, but traces of leather on one side. The Portesham example was probably contained within a leather pouch (Fitzpatrick 1996b, 58).

11.2.1 British Context

Although relatively infrequent in mortuary contexts, knives occur in both East Yorkshire and Aylesford-Swarling graves. At King Harry Lane, knives were the second most common metal grave good, with 15 examples recovered. Of these, six were of the triangular type from context X3 at Mill Hill (Stead and Rigby 1989, 104-5). Three could be associated with males, although demographic data were lacking for most graves. At least one child was provisioned with a knife. Triangular iron knives with crescent-shaped blades are also known from Welwyn Garden City (Stead 1967, 38, fig. 23.1). A surgical knife was recovered from the "doctors grave" (CF47; AD 40-55) at Stanway (Crummy *et al*. 2007, 253, 437). A further possible knife, which had been subjected to heat, was recovered from the dépôt cinéraire at Stanway CF72 (unsexed adult; c.AD50) (Crummy *et al*. 2007, 254). A male Welwyn type grave from Hertford Heath also contained a large knife (Stead 1967, 52). At least one razor is known from a Welwyn burial at Snailwell (Biddle 1967, table 1). Thus within southern Britain, the provision of knives was also a highly variable practice.

Knives are equally infrequent in East Yorkshire. At Rudston, Stead (1991, 80) identified four graves with knives; R45 (Manning type 17) which may also have been contained within a case, R50 (Manning 11A), BF63 (Manning 23), and R141 (Manning 58). All were associated with male burials, placed on the right side of the body, indicating that rules governing the deposition of knives existed. Knife sheaths composed of hide were also recorded (Giles 2012, 128). Giles (*ibid*, 161-2) notes that, in contrast to those in the study area, they appear to have been deliberately damaged at the time of deposition. A utilitarian role seems likely for the R141 example, as it was recovered associated with other tools (Stead 1991, 203, fig. 110). No razors were recovered from Arras burials.

Shears are rare in Britain, with a distribution centred on south-east and south-central England. Mortuary contexts with iron shears include the Hertford Heath burial (c.40-20BC) (Hüssen 1983) and graves 242 (c.25BC-AD25) and 384 (earlier 1st century AD) at King Harry Lane. Non-mortuary contexts have produced curious copper alloy examples. These include the LIA decorated example from Hamperden, Essex (Hill and Crummy 2005, 2-4), and an assumed LIA find from Flag Fen, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 2001). Outside of this area, shears are known from a non-mortuary context at Stanwick (Wheeler 1954), and may be attested by Lindow Man, Cheshire, whose moustache had been trimmed, likely by shears, prior to his death (Brothwell 1986, 37). Razors appear to be a late addition to British graves, appearing in the mid-1st century BC (Stead and Rigby 1989, 105). The paucity of examples in the dataset is thus a reflection of more widespread practices.

11.2.2. Continental Context

11.2.1. Picardy and Nord

The continental dataset is quite different from the study area. Knives are known from mortuary and domestic contexts across much of the continental contextual area (Lefèvre 2002, 111; Merleau 2002a, 201), and razors and shears are relatively frequent in Normandy, Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne (Massy *et al*. 1986, 21, fig. 13; Blancquaert 2002, 376; Lefèvre 2002, 111; Kaurin 2008; 2011). In Picardy the pattern differs somewhat from the study area, with knives interpreted as male associated objects (Dessene *et al.* 2009, 178). They are abundant in La Tène B1, where they were present in over of 20% of graves (Pinard 2009, 47). Following La Tène C2, knives became increasingly rare, with only 5% of graves possessing examples contemporary with those from the dataset (Figure 247). By the Roman period the deposition of knives had ceased. In this sense, La Tène C2-D Picardy is comparable to the study area. In 52% (of the entire Picardy Later Iron Age) knives were associated with cuts of meat, typically pork, although 10% may be interpreted as personal items, being associated with belt fittings. As with East Yorkshire, knives are interpreted as personal possessions, and are always associated with males (Dessene *et al.* 2009, 178).

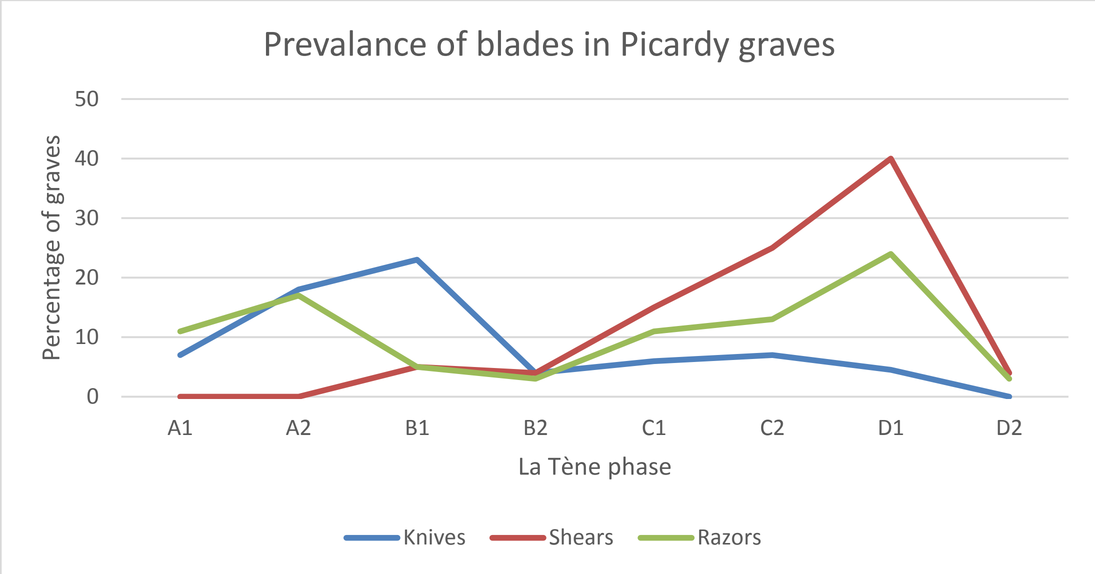


Figure 247. Percentage of Picardy graves with blades considered in this section[7] (reproduced from Desenne et al. 2009, 177-8, figs. 8 and 10).

Further north, with one exception at Saint-Laurent-Blagny (Jacques and Rossignol 2001; Leman-Delerive 2014, 132), knives are rarer. They are similarly rare in the Dutch Iron Age, with a notable exception being the MIA female from Geldermalsen "Middengebied" (Hulst 1999, 45, fig. 4). The combination of La Tène jewellery and strontium isotope analysis suggests this women may have been a migrant from northern France (van den Broeke 2014, 171-2). If this is the case, the inclusion of the knife at Geldermalsen may have served as an ethnic marker.

Razors and shears are less abundant in earlier Picardy La Tène graves than they are in later ones. An early example of shears comes from Thieulloy-l'Abbaye, Somme, grave 2, which contained a Duchov fibula, imported vessel, toilet kit and ternary torc (Leman-Delerive 2014, 124). Following La Tène B2, shears became increasingly common (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 46). Shears and razors are most abundant in La Tène C2 and D1, with 40% of graves containing shears and 25% containing razors in La Tène D1. As with knives, such items became increasingly rare in La Tène D2, and were invariably associated with males. (Dessene *et al.* 2009, 178, fig. 10). At Tartigny a razor and tweezers were deposited together as a cosmetic kit (Massy *et al*. 1986). Likewise, similar combinations

[7] Desenne *et al.* do not list what quantities of knives, shears and razors were employed to calculate these percentages only that close to 700 graves were examined for their entire study (and it cannot be assumed that all of these contained knives, shears and razors). See Footnote 5.

of knife, shears and/or razor were present at the elite Cizancourt grave 3, and Marcelcave grave 9, where they are associated with feasting and hearth furniture (Ginoux 2007, 68, table 1). The increased representation of razors and shears in later La Tène graves matches the study area, and may be viewed alongside an increase in other items of personal grooming, such as the tweezers from Portesham.

The high status ascribed to blades in north eastern France during this period is apparent from the presence of razors and shears in vehicle burials from the 3rd-1st century BC (Ginoux *et al*. 2009, 213-5, table 1); for example grave 604 at La Calotterie, Pas-de-Calais (Blancquaert and Defossés 1998, 141). Indeed, the combination of knife and razor in such graves is "classic" in north eastern France during this period (Ginoux *et al*. 2009, 217). This high status association is underlined by the fact that four post monumental graves tend to contain shears and razors (Gransar and Malrain 2009, 249). That shears were high status objects in the study area seems likely considering the contents of the two graves which contained them. In the case of Alkham this included a metal clad bucket, copper alloy cup, and two ceramic vessels, whilst at Alton a knife and 16 vessels were recovered from the same grave.

The association between knives and status is harder to determine. Of the 687 graves analysed by Gransar and Malrain (2009, 153), 7% of rich graves contained knives, but 27% of all graves contained one knife. Knives are known from rich graves, such as Cizancourt, grave 3 and Marcelcave grave 9, where they were associated with feasting and hearth furniture (Ginoux 2007, 68, table 1). Nevertheless they are not ubiquitous within elite Picardy graves, being absent from the elite graves at Raillencourt (*ibid).* A similar pattern seems to have existed in the study area, as shown by the variability of associated material in Table 43.

11.2.2. Champagne-Ardenne

Knives appeared late within Champagne-Ardenne graves (Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 171). The similarities to the study area are noticeable. Knives in Champagne-Ardenne have an uneven distribution and low rate of deposition. Examples were comparatively abundant at Ménil-Annelles (N=10), but rare are the neighbouring site of Ville-sur-Retourne (N=2).

Likewise, at Acy-Romance “la Croizette” and Thugny-Trugny knives were common, yet none were present at Acy-Romance “la Noue Mauroy” or the Hauviné cemeteries (Stead *et al*. 2006, 85). Knives are rare further east at the Titleberg, Luxembourg where only 16 of 160 graves contained knives, despite being deposited throughout the duration of the cemetery (La Tène D1b to AD50) (Kaurin 2008, 523-5).

Knives from the Champagne-Ardenne graves are comparatively well studied. For the Champagne-Ardenne group, Stead (*et al*. 2006, 85) identified four types, ranging in size from likely cosmetic blades, to cleavers. Kaurin (2008) proposed three types based on the Titelberg data: those employed in craftwork, cooking and personal/pocket knives (Figure 248). She also noted variable patterns of deposition according to each type (Kaurin 2008, 531, fig. 10). Comparable types to Kaurin’s “couteau artisanal” were recovered at Acy-Romance “La Croixette” from both male and female graves (Lambot *et al*. 1994, 164). These “bouchers feuille” types, are notable for their large size (Lambot 1998, 79). As in Picardy, it seems that within Champagne-Ardenne the deposition of knives in graves ceased during the ERIA (Stead *et al*. 2006, 97; Kaurin 2008, 525).

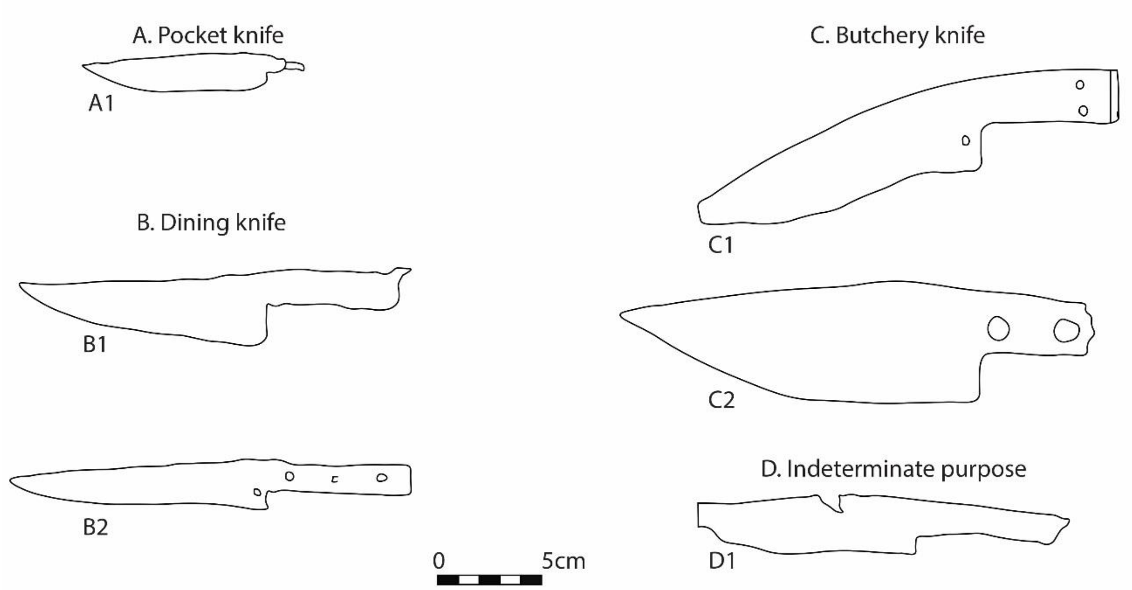


Figure 248.Kaurin’s proposed functions of knives from Champagne-Ardenne graves (re-drawn by author from Kaurin 2008, 528, fig. 8).

La Tène C2-D razors are represented at Ménil-Annelles, Ville-sur-Retourne, Acy-Romance graves 108 and 120, Hauviné “le-Bois Gilbert” grave 2, and Thugny-Trugny grave 4 (Stead *et al*. 2006, 86). Within Champagne-Ardenne razors are commonly associated with shears, and ascribed to men (*ibid*, 87). It is tempting to view the La Tène C-D date of these blades as reflecting a broader increase in items of personal grooming (as in the study area). However, a study of 60 shears from La Tène C2-Tiberian graves in Luxembourg and the French Ardennes identified three types of shears interpreted as being for different purposes, including utilitarian, and displaying a varied rate of deposition. It was not possible, however, to determine demographic associations (Kaurin 2011). Nevertheless, of 936 graves examined only 57 (6%) produced shears (*ibid*, 242); thus echoing the restricted deposition observed to the north. Shears were likewise present, albeit in small number, as at the Acy-Romance cemeteries (Lambot 1998, 78).

11.2.3. Normandy and Brittany

Normandy has fewer blades than north east France. La Tène C-D cemeteries in upper Normandy do contain long knives (c.250-300mm) (Mantel *et al*. 2002, 19) belonging to a tradition found elsewhere in 1st century BC France, but not in the study area (Perrin 1990, fig. 45, no. 198-202). Small knives like those in the study area, interpreted as toilet items, are also recovered (Merleau 2002a, 185). Shears are present in a limited number of graves from the 3rd century BC (Blancquaert 2002, 376), including a toolkit from Orval "Les Pleines" (Figure 249)(Lepaumier *et al.* 2010, 327). In Upper Normandy, knives and shears are present at sites with materially rich graves, such as Bois-Guillaume "Les Bocquets", where they are were recovered atop each other, likely deposited as a cosmetic set (Merleau 2002a 94, fig. 48; 113, fig. 67, 187-8). Shears and razors were found in high status graves 615, 605 and 636 at Bois-Guillaume "Les Bocquets" (*ibid*, 238). The La Tène D high status weapon grave from Champ des Corvées, Eure contained shears, razor and a knife (Cliquet and Lequoy 1990, 51). The association between high status graves and shears thus echoes that found in the study area. This link is further underlined by the association between shears and Normandy vehicle burials, such as Orval (La Tène B2/C1) and Mailleraye-sur-Seine (La Tène D), Seine-Maritime (Lequoy 1993, 121; Lepaumier *et al*. 2010, 325). At "Les Bocquets" 615 and Orval it appears they were contained within boxes (Merleau 2002d, 325; Lepaumier *et al*. 2010)

The dataset for Brittany is poor, and blades are rare. Where they do occur, they appear to be unique and unparalleled in Britain or other parts of France. Examples include the La Tène A knife in a stamped bronze scabbard from a possible inhumation at Kernavest, Quiberon (Revelière 1894), and the La Tène D1 bronze razors and knife from Saint-Georges-les-Baillargeaux, Vienne (Pétorin and Soyer 2003, 245-6).

Figure 249. The toolkit from Orval "Les Pleines" consisting of an axe, pair of shears and sickle (Lepaumier et al. 2010, fig. 21. ©Karine Chanson, INRAP).

11.2.3. The British and Continental Contexts Reviewed

The paucity of knives and shears in the study area matches patterns observed elsewhere in Britain. It contrasts with the Picardy evidence, although Picardy itself contrasts with other regions of northern France. The increase in shears observed among La Tène D2b Luxembourg graves is likely a result of the Roman *limes* and its associated economic and social dynamics, rather than an indigenous preference for such items (Kaurin 2011, 245). It seems that most of the knives were associated with the body of the deceased. This may indicate that they were personal possessions, as advocated for 10% of Picardy examples (Dessene *et al.* 2009, 178), and the shears and knives from Acy-Romance (Lambot 1998, 78).

The association between animal remains at Portesham, White Horse Stone and Alkham 3 suggests that such knives were used in the funerary feast. Metzler *et al*. (1991)

advocate that knives were used by the *pater familias* during the funerary feast, whilst Mantel *et al*. (2002, 30) infer they enabled the deceased to partake of the funerary meal. At Bois-Guillaume 615, the knife was associated with feasting equipment (Merleau 2002a, 192, fig, 116, 201). At the Titelberg, Kaurin (2008, 529) noted that so called artisanal knives, and those interpreted as being for butchery, tended to be associated with other cutting tools such as axes, and were usually Augustan in date. Whilst at Lamedelaine, Luxembourg, large knives recovered from atop joints of meat were interpreted as butchers' knives (Kaurin 2008, 521).

The evidence from Mill Hill 110, Owslebury 41, Westhampnett 20055 and Alkham 2 all point to grooming. Montague (1997, 101) suggested the knife from 20055 was a specialised tool, likely a razor, which may be comparable to the triangular examples from King Harry Lane (*ibid*). The rise in the emphasis upon personal care is well studied in the form of toilet instruments from mortuary contexts (Eckardt and Crummy 2008, 18-24). That personal grooming was becoming increasingly important for some individuals at the end of the Later Iron Age is tentatively supported by Caesar's comments about British shaving habits (BG 5:14). Numismatic evidence in the form of moustached figures on ABC 857 and 860 type coins (Haselgrove *pers comm.*) and trimmed beards on the issues of Epillus (Bean 2000, 313, plate X) may likewise point to a rise in personal grooming among elites. The association between status and shaving among continental Iron Age communities is borne out by Strabo's (4.4.2-6) comments about Gallic elites.

Nevertheless a simple equation with status is not possible, as evidenced by the absence of blades from other rich graves in the study area. This lack of correspondence is also apparent in rich Durotrigian graves (although Portesham contained one) and the absence of blades intended for grooming from several elite Asylesford-Swarling burials such as Stanway BF64 (Crummy *et al*. 2007, 170-1, fig. 80, 203, fig. 98) and Baldock. Likewise, among the elite Picardy graves, blades associated with grooming are not ubiquitous (Ginoux 2007, 68, table 1) and in the elite Ardennes graves the blades present (shears and knife) belong to Kaurin's (2008; 2011) utilitarian classes.

The knife from White Horse Stone was associated with four awls and a sandstone whetstone, possibly representing a toolkit (Hayden and Stafford 2006, 159). The LIA/ERIA date of this individual would be contemporary with similar practices observed in graves at the Titelberg (Kaurin 2011, 246). Assuming that the individual associated with these objects was involved in the working of hides, he may be evidence of the trade which Strabo (4.5.2) describes as being one of the main exports from Britain at this time. The association between tools and knives is noted for both East Yorkshire and among continental groups, for example graves 87 and 167 from the Titelberg (Kaurin 2008, 525). The large size of the awls led the authors to suggest that the White Horse Stone finds were intended for working hides (Hayden and Stafford 2006, 162).

The knife with the female from grave 110, Mill Hill was the only item which accompanied her. Older females were the largest demographic group among the Mill Hill inhumations (N=7), and her advanced age (50-60 years) would have made her one of the oldest of this group. The unique nature of the find limits conclusions, and all that can be said is that it is notable for its rarity. The shears from Alton and Alkham 3 are equally difficult to interpret, especially owing to the lack of information for the Alkham example, for which all we can say is that they were iron (Philp 2014, 12, fig. 3). The Alton example is comparable to Kaurin's type 1 (2011, 239, fig. 4), suggesting a cosmetic or domestic use. Combined with the short knife and ceramics it may therefore have been a table item. Although not within the study area, the Hamperden shears deserve mention for their characteristics: their La Tène decoration and copper alloy construction may indicate a non-quotidian role for them, and it is tempting to draw parallels with the broadly contemporary knife and razors from Saint-Georges-les-Baillargeaux (Chapter 11.6.4.4.). Although copper alloy razors and knives are presently lacking in the study area, the presence of similarly decorated copper alloy metalwork, such as mirrors and "divination" spoons (Fitzpatrick 2007b), suggests that examples remain to be discovered.

11.3 Coinage

Four coins are recorded (Table 45). The coin from Westhampnett Grave 20493 is the earliest (c.80-60BC at latest; Fitzpatrick 1997, 88), the Eppillus bronze from Mill Hill Grave 30 dates around AD1-10 (Holman 1995, 112), the Langton Herring denarius was minted 83-82BC but curated into the mid-1st century AD (Murden 2014, 205), whilst the Maiden Castle coin was deposited around the time of Vespasian's campaign in Dorset AD 43-47. The Langton Herring denarius is the only non-local issue, the other three examples all being types in circulation in their regions (Holman 1995, 113, fig. 50; Fitzpatrick 1997, 88; Fanello 2016). The Maiden Castle find may have been an accidental loss. The Langton Herring burial is the only example not to have come from a larger cemetery, whilst the Maiden Castle, Westhampnett and Mill Hill examples do not represent the most materially rich graves in their respective cemeteries.

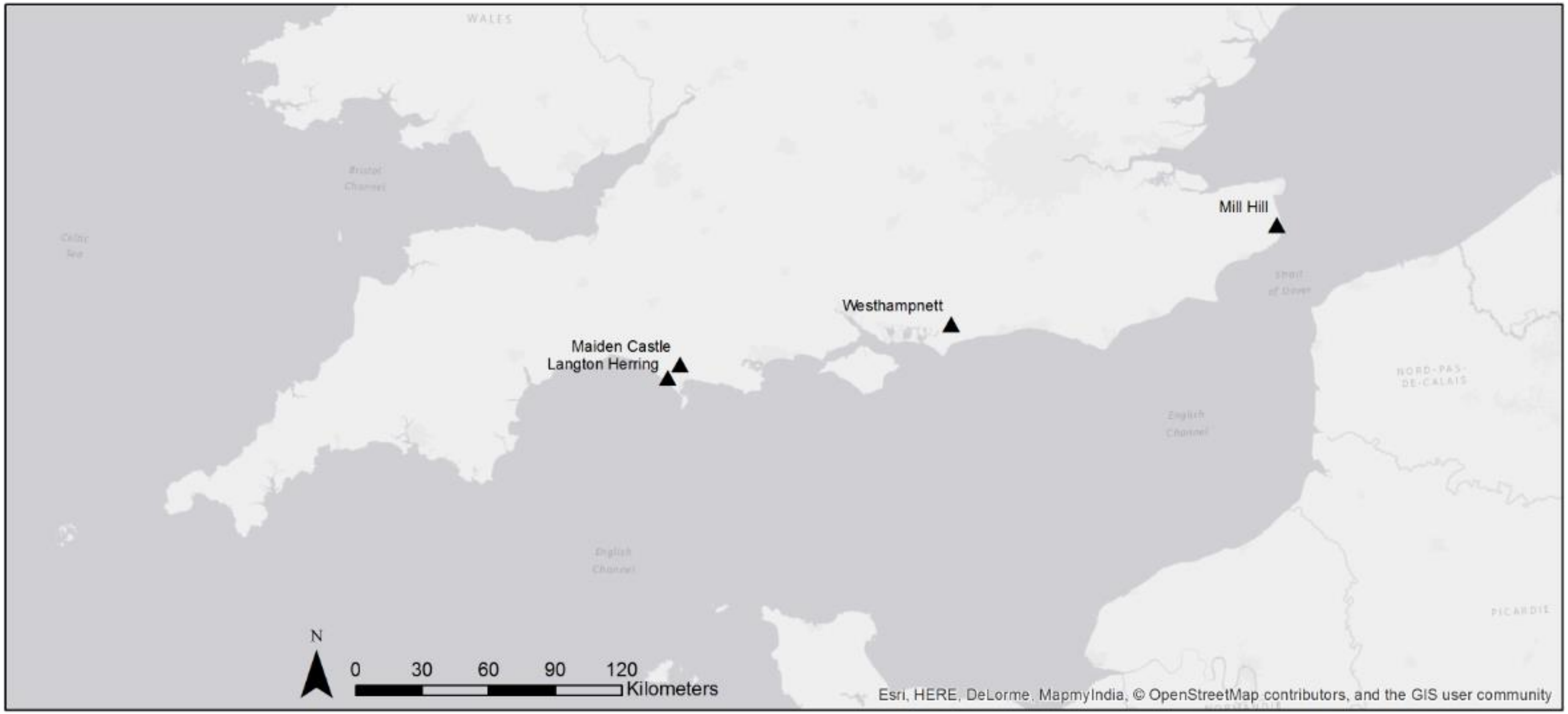
Evidence for pre-deposition modification is varied. The Eppillus issue from Mill Hill displays limited evidence of circulation (Holman 1995, 112). The Westhampnett coin may have been placed on the pyre, but showed no evidence of this (Fitzpatrick 1997, 87); the melting point of gold is 1,064°C and some pyres at the site reached temperatures of 1,000-1,200°C (McKinley 1997, 68). Clear evidence of modification is present on the Langton Herring denarius, with an off-centre perforation (Murden 2014, 205). The only certain spatial arrangement in the dataset is from Mill Hill, where the coin was recovered from the pelvis. The Langton Herring example may have been placed near the throat, but this is not certain.

11.3.1 British and Continental Contexts

Coinage from contemporary graves in Britain is rare (Fanello 2016, 130). Beyond the study area, examples are limited to Hertfordshire. These are a bronze Andoco, bronze Tasciovanus and four bronze Cvno/Tasci.F issues, interpreted as mortuary offerings, from Baldock (*ibid,* 132), and 10 Rviis issues from grave 317 King Harry Lane (Curteis 2005, 222-3). Additionally, a possible mortuary context of LIA-ERIA date is noted by Haselgrove (1987b, 124) from St. Albans. Coinage is similarly rare for graves from the near continent (Haselgrove *pers. comm*). Examples include Acy-Romance "La Croizette"

Site	Sex	Age (years)	Burial Treatment	Coin Type (material)	No. associated artefacts	Associated artefacts
Mill Hill	Female	20-25	Inhumation	Epillus issue (bronze)	1	Ceramic vessel
Westhampnett	Female	35+	Cremation	Allen GB DC (gold)	6	Ceramic vessel (x3), Cu alloy globules, sheep/goat or pig, unidentified animal
Langton Herring	Female	16-25	Inhumation	Denarius Serratus (silver plated bronze)	6	Fibulae (x2), Decorated bronze mirror, Beads, Toilet item, Cu alloy bracelet
Maiden Castle	Female	20-30	Inhumation	Allen GB C (bronze)	0	None

Table 45. Coinage in dataset and associated demographic data and grave goods. Identification of coins after Fanello (2016).



Map 7. Distribution of coinage within the dataset.

grave 104 (Lambot *et al*. 1994, 38, fig. 24) and possibly Armentières-sur-Ourcq, Aisne (Scheers 1977, 379; Fitzpatrick 1997, 89). Delestrée's (1998, 103) review of north-east Gaul noted only four coins from an inhumation grave from Amiens (dated to c.20BC) and the aforementioned Acy-Romance examples. A recent analysis of 457 burials from the Ardennes, found that only 11 contained coins, mostly Scheers 191 type potins, post-dating La Tène D1b (Edgar 2012, 176). In Normandy coinage from graves is also rare, with only one certain example I know of: Val-de-Reuil "La Comminière", Eure, cremation 93, which produced an Aulerci potin (c.55-25BC) along with an iron ring and fibula (Beurion 2009, 28). Val-de-Reuil "La Comminière" comprised 22 cremations and 38 inhumations ranging from the 4th century BC to the early Gallo-Roman period, thus demonstrating the rarity of this find (Beurion 2005, 4; 2009, 29).

Older reports of coinage from possible later La Tène mortuary contexts at Creully, Calvados, Bracquemont, Seine-Maritime and Cany, Seine-Maritime (Bertin 1975, 231, 236) must be treated with caution. Nevertheless, the image from Normandy is comparable to that for the rest of northern France and Britain. Coinage from graves in Brittany is likewise rare, and I know of only one example from the weapon grave at Tronoën, Saint-Jean-Trolimon (Villard-Le Tiec *et al*. 2010, 97). Coinage is unknown from Dutch and Belgian mortuary contexts (Roymans 2004, 84, footnote 281).

11.3.2. Coinage: discussion

The paucity of coinage from graves accords with Polenz's (1982) survey of 23 continental European graves dated between c.300-50BC. He noted a general pattern for coinage to be associated with females, typically young adults (*ibid*, 163-8). Fitzpatrick (1997, 89) concurred, as does the limited dataset from southern England. Polenz argued these graves were those of foreign wives, and that placing coins on the head (not observed in the British data) was intended to pay for transport in the afterlife (Polenz 1982, 197-217). Fitzpatrick argued against this view, noting the restricted range of ages of most individuals, in particularly the representation of young adults (Fitzpatrick 1997, 89). Instead he preferred to see coinage in graves as signifying a different *social persona*, possibly motherhood. The lack of associated grave goods for most of the examples frustrates attempts to propose a purpose behind these coins. Fanello (2016, 131-2) has suggested that between the 1st century BC and 1st century AD certain quantities of bronze coinage came to be considered equal in value to gold in graves. She also proposed that the deposition of coinage in graves was limited, as the practice restricted the possibility of retrieving coins.

Although the dataset is small, within the study area and further afield there is an apparent preference for plated or base metal issues, particularly among later depositions. This mirrors patterns at British sanctuaries such as Hayling Island, Harlow and Snettisham (Haselgrove 2005, 396, 402, 410). It has been argued that gold was a metal with divine associations (Creighton 2000; 2005; Fitzpatrick 2005, 173), and may therefore have been deemed unsuitable for 'normal' individuals. If so then the woman provided with a gold coin at Westhampnett may have been deemed to have had spiritual properties. A similar association is proposed for the Langton Herring woman on account of her associated grave goods (in particular the beads and mirror) and the fact she was associated with a perforated, curated denarius. Craig-Atkins *et al.* (2013, 41) have suggested that the perforation in the coin was deliberately positioned to avoid the chariot riding goddess on the obverse. The perforation, associated grave goods and possible location near the neck, suggests the coin therefore functioned as a talisman, indicating a special role for the wearer.

11.4 Mirrors

Mirrors were recovered from six burials: three inhumations and three cremations (Table 46), comprising three Aylesford-Swarling, two Durotrigian and one SW cist burial. Five were of the well-studied decorated bronze insular type (Figure 250) (Fox 1949; Joy 2007; Giles and Joy 2007), but the sixth from Grave 6645, A2 Road Scheme is a rectangular copper alloy, tinned, Roman type mirror.

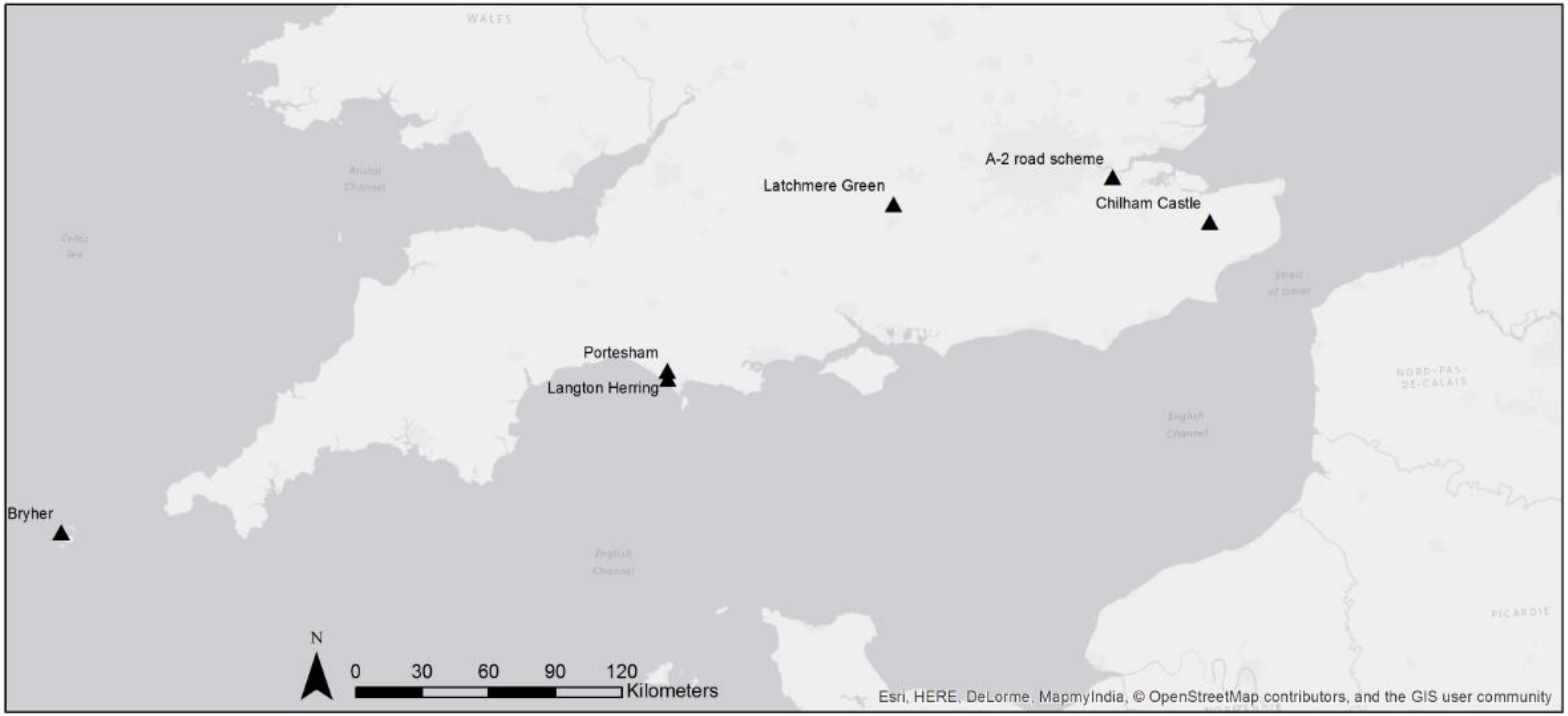
11.4.1 Decorated Bronze Mirrors

All of the decorated bronze mirrors were recovered from isolated burials (although Bryher, Langton Herring and Portesham could all have been on the edge of, as yet, undetected cemeteries). All, bar one, are discussed by Joy (2007). The exception is Langton Herring, which in many ways is comparable to Portesham. Both were female Durotrigian burials, and associated items included copper alloy fibulae and toilet items. Indeed, both may date to within a few years of each other at, or on the eve of, the Claudian invasion (Fitzpatrick 1996b, 67; Murden 2014, 208). The addition of the Langton Herring example supports the established pattern that mirrors are associated with females, although caution must be noted in the case of the Bryher and cremated examples for which demographic data are lacking.

Associated grave goods are varied, as to be expected from graves from different mortuary cultures. Likewise, the placement of the mirrors in the graves varies. Latchmere Green covered the mouth of the cremation urn (Fulford and Creighton 1998, 331). The Bryher mirror was contained within a bag to the side of the deceased (Johns 2002-3, 18). Chilham Castle may have been in a bag, judging by the location of the fibulae (Parfitt 1998, 345). Fibula 8 from Portesham was affixed to the loop handle, but this appears to have been for the purpose of suspending the mirror from the waist, rather than enveloping it. A fibula behind the skull of the Langton Herring

Site	Sex	Age (years)	Burial Treatment	Mirror Type	No. associated artefacts	Associated artefacts
A2 road scheme	Female	Adult	Cremation	Cosmetic bronze	11	Ceramic vessels (x5), Fibulae (x2), Glass perfume bottle, Casket, Possible box, Nails/Tacks
Bryher	Unknown	20-25	Inhumation	Decorated bronze	9	Sword, Scabbard, Shield, Scabbard Ring, Fibula, Finger/Toe Ring, Tin object, Sheepskin, Unidentified fibre
Chilham Castle	Unknown	18-30	Cremation	Decorated bronze	3	Ceramic vessel, Fibulae (x2)
Langton Herring	Female	16-25	Inhumation	Decorated bronze	6	Fibulae (x2), Coin, Beads, Toilet item, Cu alloy bracelet
Latchmere Green	Unknown	30+	Cremation	Decorated bronze	4	Ceramic vessel, Fibulae (x2), Pig
Portesham	Female	26-45	Inhumation	Decorated bronze	13	Ceramic vessel (x2), Toilet items (x3), Fibulae (x3), Cu alloy strainer, Pig, Knife, Sheep, Unidentified animal

Table 46. Mirrors in the dataset.



Map 6. Distribution of mirrors within the dataset.

female (Craig-Atkins *et al.* 2013, 37) raises the possibility of a shroud, within which the mirror was enveloped, however evidence for a dedicated container is lacking.

Although the sample is small, two patterns are apparent. The first is that cremation burials containing decorated bronze mirrors are materially poorer than inhumations (Taylor 2001, 76). The possibility that organic materials were placed in graves, as evidenced by finds from Bryher (Rogers 2002, 38) and perhaps for Chilham Castle, cannot be discounted (Parfitt 1998, 344). In terms of metalwork, however, cremation burials were materially poorer. The second is that such mirrors were mainly associated with adult women. This suggests that, although an object which eastern and western communities would have been familiar with, among western communities it can be argued that the materially richer graves are indicative of an elevated role within these groups.

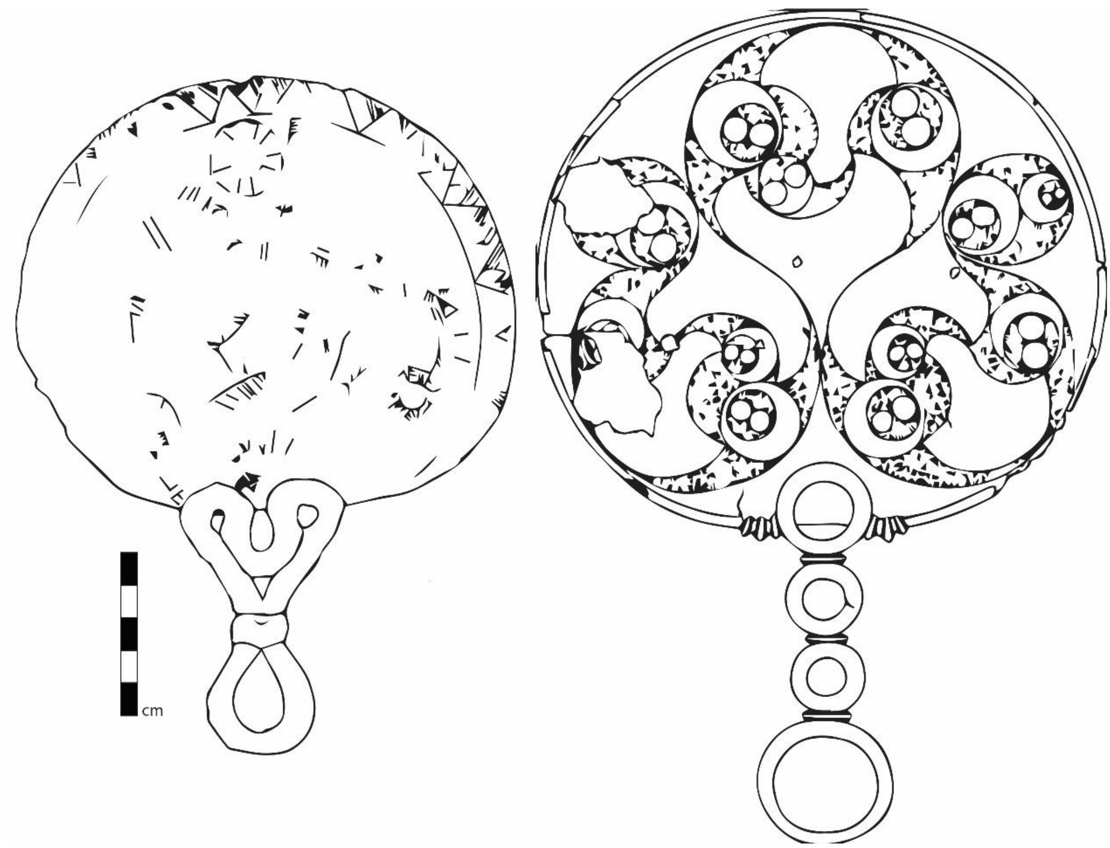


Figure 250. Mirrors from Bryher (L) and Portesham (R) (redrawn by author from Joy 2007, figs. A24 and 66, by kind permission of Jody Joy).

11.4.2. The Cosmetic Mirror from Grave 6645

Grave 6645 formed part of an early Roman cemetery. The mirror from Grave 6645 belongs to a Mediterranean tradition. Such mirrors form part of the *mundus muliebris*, a group of cosmetic items associated with women and legally defined as such since late Republican times. These mirrors are present, alongside other cosmetic items, in central Italian female graves dating from the late 1st century BC to 2nd century AD (Shumka 2008, 177-8). The presence of a glass perfume bottle from Grave 6645 accords with this image.

11.4.2.1. Insular and Continental Contexts

Bronze decorated mirrors are a southern British phenomenon; the majority of known examples coming from burials (Joy 2007, 8, fig. 1.3). They appear to share a common ancestry with plainer, iron mirrors recovered from burials in East Yorkshire (Figure 251) (*ibid,* 14). It seems that both groups originated from Greek mirrors imported into northern Europe in the 4th and 3rd centuries, such as the example from La Motte Saint-Valentin, Haute-Marne (Dunning 1928, 72). Within the southern British examples Joy has identified three chronological groupings: the Cornish group (125-50BC), the southeast group (c.80-15BC) and the large examples from outside of the southeast core (AD40-100) (Joy 2007, 165). The five examples in the dataset belong to Joy's earlier two groupings, with all except the Bryher example belonging to the southeast group. As noted, the Grave 6645 example belongs to a later Mediterranean tradition. The simple design is seemingly without parallels in Britain, although a group from Canterbury (Lloyd Morgan 1980), and examples from King Harry Lane (Stead and Rigby 1989) and Folly Lane (Niblett 1999) are possible candidates. At least one example is known from an Iron Age context from Hayling Island, Sussex (Sealey 2007, 16), which, along with the Grave 6645 example, represents an early example of this type in Britain.

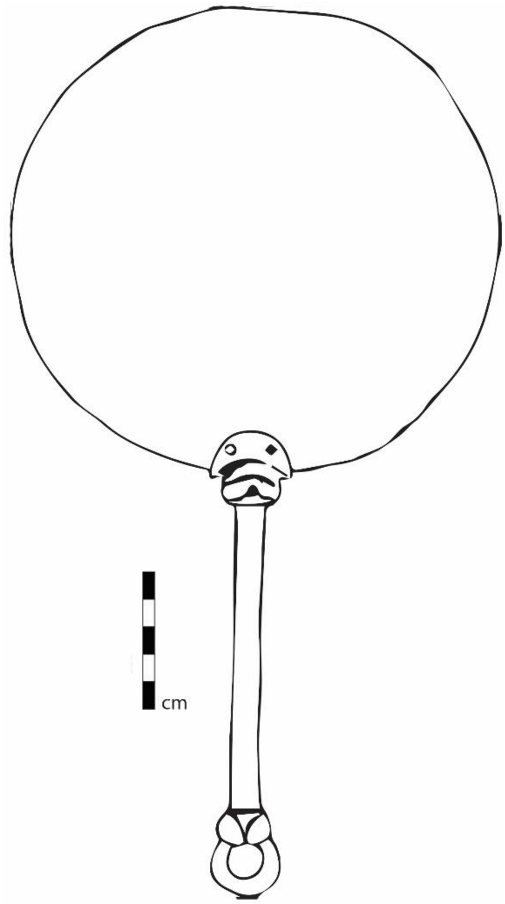


Figure 251. Iron mirror from Arras I, East Yorkshire (re-drawn by author from Joy 2007, fig. A1, with kind permission of Jody Joy).

A single example of an insular decorated bronze mirror is known from the Continent. The 1st century AD burial from Nijmegen, Netherlands is confusing (Figure 252) (Dunning 1928). Explanations for its presence include the apparent emergence of the British-Dutch trading axis during this period (*ibid,* 77) or transport by a Roman legionary (Fitzpatrick 1996b, 60). Joy (2007, 7) has drawn attention to the fact that the Nijmegen area was, in the 1st century AD, a centre for Roman mirror production. The only further evidence for such mirrors on the continent is in the form of a handle from the Oise (Guillamet and Schönfelder 2001, 125-7) which Joy (2007, 7) notes has stylistic parallels to the example from Dorton, Buckinghamshire. By contrast, the A2 example is well represented in continental graves, such as the 1st century AD elite female graves from Nospelt-Krëckelbierg, Luxembourg and Rohrbach, Saarland (Wells 2002, 128), and Primelles, Berry (Villard 1993, 255). As with grave 6645, mirrors are typically associated with toiletry items (for example perfume bottles) and we may interpret them as reflecting an indigenous elite with Mediterranean cosmetic taste.

Figure 252. The British type mirror from Nijmegen, Netherlands ©Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen.

11.4.3. The Insular and Continental Contexts Reviewed

Insular bronze mirrors cut across burials cultures, displaying a broad distribution within southern Britain. The decoration on the mirrors, characteristics of the burials in which they were deposited, and early date of the Bryher (c.125BC) and Chilham Castle (c.70BC) examples, indicate they belong to an insular tradition, and are not derived from Roman types (*contra* Fulford and Creighton 1998, 340) (though their ancestry could be traced to 4th century BC Greek examples: Joy 2007, 14). Nevertheless the lack of finds from the near continent, at a time when there is much evidence for exchange of high status metalwork, is perplexing. The *social personae* with which such mirrors were associated may not have existed among near continental communities. Related to this may be the insular La Tène art style present on such objects; it is possible that the motifs employed were socially and ritually mute among continental communities. As Joy (2007, 94) notes, the late date for the Nijmegen burial suggests that the people who deposited it were divorced from the cultural association which surrounded earlier examples. Finally, the level of material and technical expense invested in such items (Giles and Joy 2007, 19) meant have meant it was taboo for them to leave Britain.

This special role in society is further emphasized by the liminal location of many of these burials, suggesting that they were set apart from society. The case for such items being powerful objects, imbuing people with supernatural powers has been made by Giles and Joy (2007, 23). This view appears sound when the complex decoration which adorned these artefacts is considered; giving them the possibility to dazzle and ensnare the viewer (Giles 2008, 70-72). This shocking effect would have been further emphasised by the wrappings observed on the Bryher and Chilham Castle examples, which would have served to magnify the potency of the effect when such mirrors were exhibited (Giles and Joy 2007, 23; Giles 2008, 71). The application of a covering would have also helped to instil these objects in the memories of the attendees (Wells 2008, 92-3).

The idea that mirrors served as weapons of a sort (Giles 2008, 72) is supported by some parallels between sword graves in the study and contextual areas (see below also), and the placement of mirrors in coverings. At Bryher the sword hilt displayed traces of having rested on sheepskin (Johns 2002-3, 17). Stronger parallels are noted at Kelvedon, Essex where the sword was removed from its scabbard and wrapped in linen (Sealey 2007, 32) and at Birdlip, Gloucestershire where the sword blade likewise displayed traces of textile wrapping (Stead 2006, 199, no.231). That the Portesham mirror was hung from the waist may also have parallels with the wearing of swords (although the human body has a limited number of places from which to suspend heavy metalwork). Further evidence may be suggested by the female from Lytchett Minster, Dorset, recovered with objects similar to those from Langton Herring, in close association with a male with a sword and horse equipment (Taylor 2001, 75). Although a historically and geographically restricted example, it is worth noting that women were present at the defence of Anglesey in AD 60/61, where they are reported to have hurled curses upon the Romans (Annals 14:30). If the women who utilised these mirrors were spiritual warriors some kind, then it may be that women who defended Anglesey belonged to the same tradition as those buried with mirrors: women whose supernatural powers were considered equally (if not more) dangerous to their kinsmen who wielded weapons.

Finally there is the association between artefacts in these graves. Specifically the sword and mirror combination from Bryher, the curated coin-talisman and beads from Langton Herring, and the bronze strainer from Portesham. Were such a strainer recovered with items associated with the hearth or feasting, we could posit its use in a wine serving ceremony. Devoid of such associations alternatives be must considered, such as ritual washing (as with buckets). The presence of toiletry items in the Portesham and Langton Herring graves does not indicate that these mirrors were cosmetic aids. The other burials in this dataset lacked toilet items, whilst toilet items were recovered from Alkham Burial 4, Maiden Castle Skeleton P22 and Jubilee Corner cremation 4 without mirrors. Furthermore, bronze insular mirrors would have made poor reflective surfaces owing to the absence of high levels of tin within them (Giles and Joy 2007, 24). The stylistic and metallurgical differences between these and Roman cosmetic examples argues against a shared purpose. There is no reason to suggest an alternative role for these toilet items other than a cosmetic one, only that their presence does not define the role of the decorated bronze mirrors. In contrast, the simple cosmetic mirror from the A2 Pepperhill excavations represents a different material tradition; one associated with beautification and an increased emphasis on personal presentation.

11.5. Buckets

Five buckets are recorded in the dataset. Four further buckets are known from the study area, but only considered generally due to poor documentation. The buckets cover the period from c.100BC (Westhampnett Grave 20622; Alkham Burial 3 and 4) to c.AD50 (Westhawk Farm 9200). They possess a range of diameters and compositions (Table 47), and although fibulae and/or ceramics were present in all of the graves, there is no overall pattern of associated grave goods. Demographic data are limited, but buckets appear to be restricted to adult males.

11.5.1 British Context

11 further buckets are known from Britain (Table 48). They display a restricted geographic range, located entirely within the south-east of England, the find from the Melsonby hoard, North Yorkshire, being a much larger type of stave-built vessel (see Fitts *et al.* 1999, 40-6). The earliest (Baldock, Hertfordshire) dates from the 2nd century BC, whilst Westhawk Farm represents the only example of possible Roman date. As in the study area, they are known only from cremation burials, although four may be from non-mortuary contexts. Likewise they display a wide range of associated material culture. Due to the poor records from the earlier finds, combined with the use of cremation, demographic data are lacking for most examples. Additionally the circumstances of discovery, and often limited excavation prevents us from determining how the relevant graves were related to others. Collectively, however, the inclusion of buckets in graves can be shown to be a LIA rite, typically afforded to materially rich (though in most cases not exceptionally) graves.

Site	Sex	Age (years)	Burial Treatment	No. associated artefacts	Associated artefacts
A2 Road Scheme	Male	Adult (?older adult)	Cremation	3	Ceramic vessels (x2), Cu alloy vessel
Alkham (3)	Unknown	Unknown	Cremation	11	Ceramic vessels (x2), Fibulae (x2), Ring (x3), Shears, Iron object, Unidentified animal species
Alkham (4)	Unknown	Unknown	Cremation	10	Ceramic vessels (x2), Brooches (x4), Toilet set, Animal remains, Lithics, Shell
Westhampnett	Unknown	Adult	Cremation	1	Fibula
Westhawk Farm	Male	Adult	Cremation	6	Ceramic vessels (x2), Casket, Cu alloy vessels (x3), Animal remains

Table 47. Buckets in dataset and associated data.

Map 8. Distribution of buckets in the dataset.

Site (County)	Context/ Grave	Grave context		Cinerary container	Metal used in construction			Wood used	Diameter (mm)	Chrono-logy	Associated material culture
		Yes	?	Yes/No/ Unknown	Fe	Cu alloy	Composite Fe/Cu alloy				
A2 Pepperhill to Cobham (Kent)	4312	X	-	Yes	-	X	-	Yew	?	50-1BC	Ceramic vessels (x2), Cu alloy cup
Alkham (Kent)	Burial 3	X	-	Yes	-	X	-	Unknown	250	100-50BC	Ceramic vessels (x2), Animal remains, Rings (x2), Brooches (x2)
Alkham (Kent)	Burial 4	X	-	Yes	-	X	-	Ash	250	100-50BC	Ceramic vessels (x2), Brooches (x4), Toilet set, Animal remains, Lithics, Shell
Aylesford (Kent)	Grave X	X	-	No	X	-	-	?Yew	Unknown	20BC-AD20	Ceramic vessels (x5)
Aylesford (Kent)	Grave Y	X	-	Yes	-	X	-	Yew	250	20BC-AD20	Ceramic vessels (x4), Brooches (x3), Cu alloy vessels (x2)
Aylesford (Kent)	Grave Z	X	-	Yes	-	X	-	?Yew	200	20BC-AD20	Ceramic vessels (5-6)
Baldock (Herts)	2	X	-	No	-	X	-	Yew	250	Late 2^{nd}- Early 1^{st} BC	Cauldron, Bear skin, Animal remains, Bronze vessels (x2), Firedogs (x2)
Great Chesterford (Essex)	?	-	X	Unknown	-	-	-	?	150	c.50BC	Ceramic vessels (x2), shale vessels (x2), iron knives (x2), fibulae (x2), fibula chain
Harpenden (Herts)	?	-	X	Unknown	-	?X	-	?	?	1^{st} BC-AD	Shale vessels (x2), Cu alloy vessel
Hurstbourne Tarrant (Hampshire)	-	X	-	No	-	-	X	?	368	AD 40-50	Ceramics vessels (x 13), Fibula, Cu alloy bracelet
Marlborough (Wilts)	-	-	X	Unknown	-	-	X	?	?	1^{st} BC	-
Old Warden (Bedfordshire)		X	-	Yes	X	-	-	?	?	1^{st} BC	Amphorae (x2), shale urns (x2)
Swarling (Kent)	Grave 13	X	-	Yes	X	-	-	?Yew	762	50-1BC	Ceramic vessels (x8), brooches (x2)
Silkstead (Essex)	?	-	X	Unknown	-	-	X	?	?	?	-
Welwyn Garden City (Herts)	2	X	-	No	-	-	X	?	279	1^{st} BC	Ceramic vessel (x36), amphorae (x5), gaming pieces (x24), gaming board, Cu alloy vessel (x2), silver vessel, iron knife, straw mat
Westhampnett (E. Sussex)	20622	X	-	No	X	-	-	Oak	360	100-50BC	Fibula
Westhawk Farm (Kent)	9200	X	-	No	-	X	-	Yew	150	AD1-50	Casket, ceramic vessel (x2), Cu alloy vessel (x3), animal remains

Table 48. Comparison of buckets from Britain.

Figure 253. The bucket and associated copper alloy vessels from Aylesford, Kent, with the bucket correctly reconstructed with metal clad feet (©Trustees of the British Museum).

11.5.2 Continental Context

In contrast to the British examples, metal-clad buckets on the continent have a broad distribution (Vidal 1976, 176, carte 6; Feugère 1985a, 88, fig. 7), which newer finds have confirmed, with all known examples from France and southern and western Germany. Nevertheless, finds from sites such as Trégueux, Brittany (Allen *et al*. 2012, 317), Bois-Guillaume "Les Bocquets", Seine-Maritime (Merleau 2002a, 76-8, fig. 25-8), Vieux-les-Asfelds, Ardennes (Lambot *et al*. 1994), and Cambrai "Nouveau Monde", Nord (Assemet 2009) show that they were commoner in northern France than previously recognised, as well as present in Brittany. Indeed, buckets appear to be more abundant in the north than the south of France (Poux and Feugère 2002, 211, carte 9; Sueur and Garcia 2015, 53, fig. 6). Chronologically they are comparable to the British examples. The earliest continental examples date to slightly earlier (La Tène C2) than the examples from the study area, such as the example from grave 604/3 La Calotterie, Pas-de-Calais

(Blancquaert and Desfossés 1998). The majority of examples date to La Tène D, with no examples known after Gallo-Roman 1 (Sueur and Garcia 2015, 53, fig. 6).

Continental examples are recovered from a range of contexts and with no certain association with material culture or human remains. They are recovered associated with human remains (e.g. Metzler 2009, 74), from sites with burials but not from within the mortuary context themselves (Figure 254)(e.g. Lepaumier *et al*. 2010, 321) and from domestic sites with no association with human remains (e.g. Sueur and Garcia 2015, 48). Likewise, the deposition of buckets within graves varies. At Acy-Romance, Ardennes, large buckets with iron handles were deposited at the corner of a female grave (Lambot 2014, 109), whilst at Bétheniville bucket bindings from outside the grave display similar treatment to objects within the grave, and may indicate ritual destruction (Achard-Corompt *et al*. 2008). Whilst at Grave B, Goeblange-Nospelt one bucket was used to contain the dismembered joints of a pig (Metzler and Gaeng 2009. 75. fig. 58).

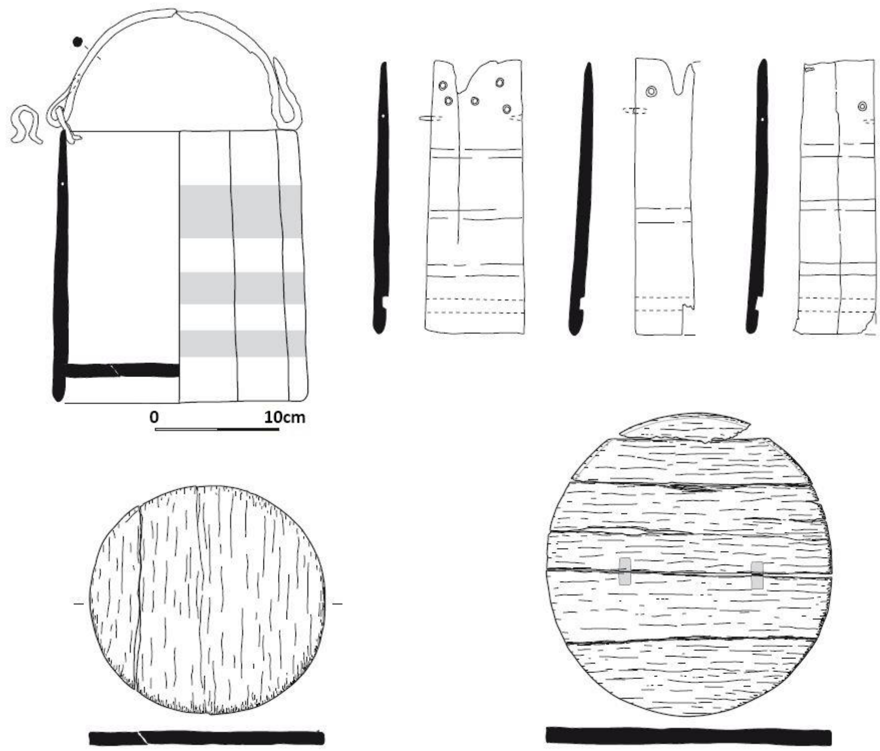


Figure 254. The bucket from Orval "Les Pleines" deposited in an enclosing ditch perhaps two hundred years after the original vehicle burial in the enclosure (reproduced from Lepaumier et al. 2010, 322, fig. 9 with kind permission of Hubert Lepaumier,).

11.5.3. The British and Continental Contexts Reviewed

Buckets were widely distributed, though not common. Parallels between the study area, the regions north of the Thames, and the near continent are evident in multiple ways. Within the mortuary record, buckets are exclusively associated with cremation graves. Examples employing solely iron (Westhampnett; Beuille), copper alloy (Westhawk Farm; Goeblange Nospelt; Vieux-les-Asfelds) or a combination of the two (Grand Champ à Raillencourt-Sainte-Olle, Nord) are known from both Britain and the continent. Feugère (1985a, 76) argued that buckets were involved in long distance exchange. Indeed these links may even extend to Poland, assuming that the bear skins recovered from Baldock (and non-bucket containing graves at Welwyn Garden City, Clemency and Lexden), are related to similar rites recovered in Germany and Poland (Schönfelder 1994, 19, fig. 3). Evidence for German and Baltic links are, however, slight when we consider the evidence for British objects in these regions (see below) (although see Andrzejowski 2010, 2-4, for Baltic maritime connections). Such links, however, remain to be proven, and for the moment the rite of buckets in graves is a predominantly western European rite which displayed considerable variation, even between graves at the same site (e.g. Alkham, Aylesford).

Whether such objects were produced solely for funerals is unclear. Harding (2016, 156) has suggested that the repoussé patterns on the bucket from Aylesford Y are more suggestive of festive occasions than funerary services, and as such the bucket may initially have had a non-mortuary role. An everyday role for such objects is possible, as evidenced by the repair on the iron clad example from Beuille, Allier (Sueur and Garcia 2015, 49). Sueur and Garcia proposed that oak examples were more likely involved in everyday roles, for which some support is given by the oak examples from Beuille and Trégueux. Such a role is unlikely for the ornate copper alloy examples. The incorporation of copper alloy and iron clad examples into both mortuary contexts and special deposits at high status sites (Sueur and Garcia 2015, 48-9), attests to the special role which such objects played, *contra* Feugère's (1985a, 75) purely utilitarian role for iron clad examples. In both the British and continental data (Metzler 2009, 301, fig, 280) there does appear to have been a preference for copper alloy. If copper alloy examples were employed in non-mortuary activities, it can hardly have been as domestic containers (Harding 2016).

What role buckets played in the funerary ritual is debated. Stead (1976, 276-8) and Feugère (1985a, 76) argued that buckets were the Iron Age equivalents of wine mixing bowls that accompany patera and ewer sets in the Roman world, and were therefore employed for mixing wine. He further distinguished between buckets on the basis of size, suggesting that buckets with a capacity in excess of 1 litre were intended for mixing wine, whilst smaller examples were miniatures designed for votive offerings. Lambot (2014, 109) does not specify wine, but does suggest that there was a link between buckets and alcoholic drinks. Fitzpatrick (1997, 208) initially suggested that they were for washing and ritual cleansing, but more recently has advocated their use in containing alcoholic beverages (Fitzpatrick 2007a, 131; 2010, 396). The use of yew to construct buckets does not preclude their use in serving drink, as the toxicity of the wood rapidly declines once the tree is felled.

Beer may very well have been contained in such vessels, considering the emphasis for feasting in many LIA graves in north west Iron Age Europe (Poux and Feugère 2002, 211, carte 9; Fitzpatrick 2010, 395-399; Pearce 2015, 225); however, the lack of amphorae and/or Italic bronzes at several examples does not support the idea that wine was consumed from these buckets (Harding 2016, 154). Although structurally similar to contemporary tankards, possibly involved in similar practices, and in the case of Great Chesterford, almost of the same proportions (*ibid*), the near exclusively insular distribution of tankards (with only two possible examples from Basle, Switzerland and Ornavasso, Italy) suggests they belong to different traditions (Sealey 2007, 12). Harding (2016, 160) has argued for multiple uses of buckets. Considering their use as containers for cremated persons, animal parts, association with feasting equipment, combined with their variable size and context of deposition, I would agree with him.

11.6 Weapons

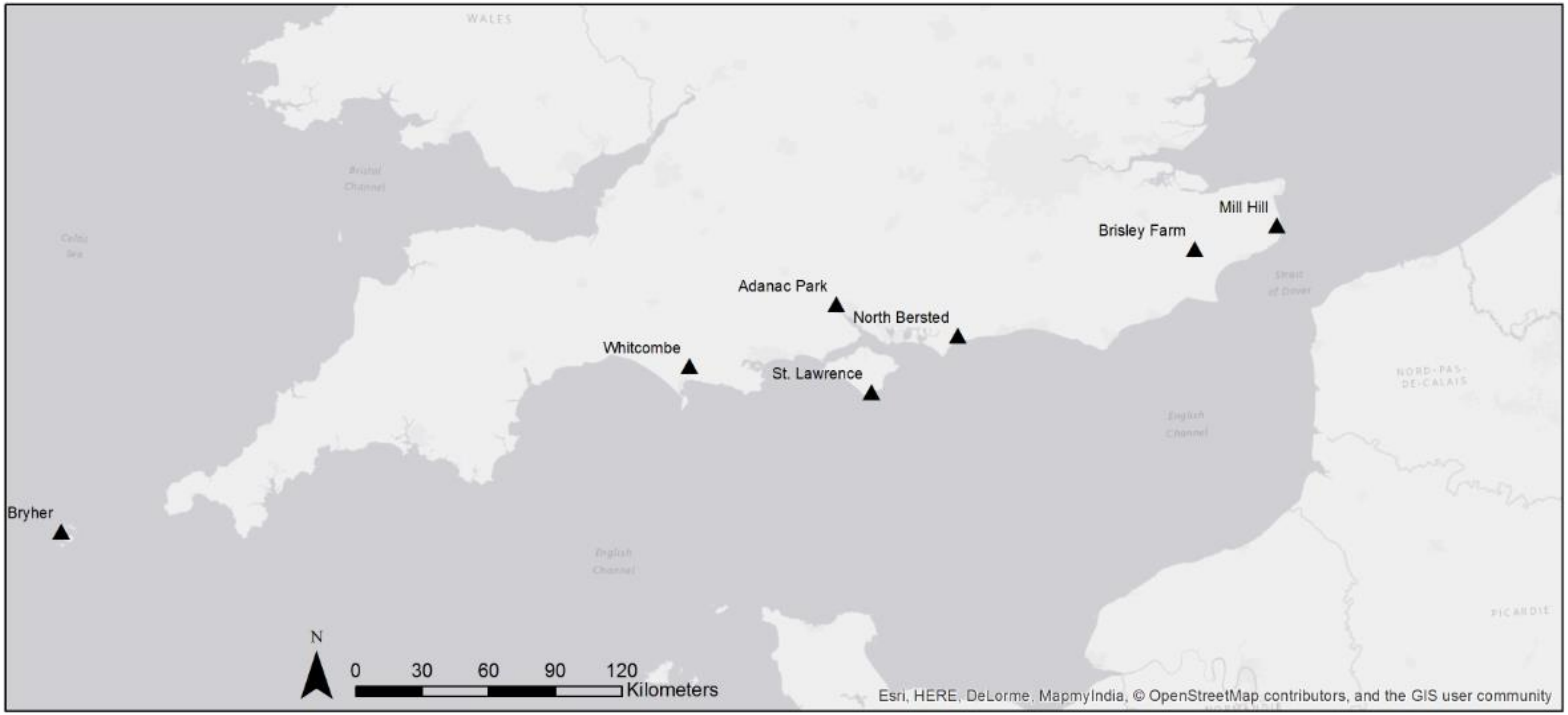
The dataset contains 16 burials with weaponry. This discussion considers burials with swords, spears, shields and helmets. All burials provisioned with these items were inhumations. The exception is the Bridge cremation, which contained a Coolus type helmet. The Bridge example is not considered below, as it represents a variation on the Aylesford-Swarling rite (Farley 2014, 386), rather than belonging to the inhumation tradition. Inhumed examples from Bradford Peverill, Dorset (Piggott 1950) and Dumpton Gap, Kent are excluded for lack of information. Three individuals with slingstones (pit Q4; T10; P34) are not considered on the basis that (*contra* Inall 2016) they are not associated with other weapons and may represent a different rite. The same is true for the Maiden Castle burials associated with an axe (P22) or arrowheads (T29; P7A) from Maiden Castle are omitted for the same reason.

11.6.1. The Dataset

All sexed examples (N=6) were adult males. Nevertheless, females may have been afforded this rite, as evidenced by the unsexed burial from Bryher, with its sword and mirror (Giles and Joy 2007, 17). Although generally extended and supine, there are variations (Whitcombe, Bryher and possibly St Lawrence). Orientation is similarly varied (Figure 255), as is the location of the burial in relation to the site. The location of the Whitcombe and Adanac Park weapon burials, with respect to other graves in the site (incorporated within, rather than focal), may indicate that they represent a different tradition to graves which appear to be focal or founder burials. Accompanying grave goods vary, as does the the position of the sword in relation to the body (Figure 256).

Setting these variations aside it is possible to detect several broad trends in the data:

- Inhumation.
- Provision of distinctive artefacts not found in other burials in the area; in all instances weaponry, but also other objects including tools and headdresses.



Map 9. Weapon burials in the dataset.

Burial	Position of body	Sex	Age	Sword	Additional notes on sword	Spear	Additional notes on spear	Shield	Additional notes on shield	Armour	Additional notes on armour	Other Grave goods
Whitcombe	Right side, supine	Male	Young Adult	Yes	Sword may have been non-functional on account of width	Yes	-	No	-	No	-	Almgren Type 1 fibula, possible handle, hammer, file and spindle whorl
North Bersted	Supine	Male	Old Adult	Yes	Sword bent	Yes	Spear dismanted prior to deposition	Yes	Unique example but with French parallels, too fragile to use in inter-personal violence, ritually destroyed	Yes	Coolus helmet, elaborate openwork adornments	Iron bars/bed structure, jars (x2), bowls (2), helmet adornments
Mill Hill, Deal	Supine	Male	Young Adult	Yes	Placed face down, scabbard pattern not visible from above	No	-	Yes	Common British type, but too ornate to use in melee conflict	Yes	Head band, likely religious based on Roman finds	Hull and Hawkes 2B fibula
Brisley Farm (B19)	Supine	Male	Unknown	Yes	-	Yes	Spear head bent at a right angle	Yes	Sugar loaf/circular continental type boss	No	-	Gallo-Belgic platter, imported cup, butt-beaker, unidentifiable fibula, nail, organic lining of grave
Brisley Farm (B20)	Supine	Male	Unknown	Yes	Sword inverted in relation to body	Yes	Spearhead thrust into wall of grave	Yes	Circular continental type boss	No	-	Butt-beaker, organic grave lining
St Lawrence Warrior	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	-	No	-	Yes	-	No	-	Unidentifiable metal object
Owslebury	Supine	Male	Old Adult	Yes	-	Yes	-	Yes	Unique form with French parallels	No	-	Belt hook
Bryher	Right Side	Unknown	Young Adult	Yes	Sword broken in scabbard upon discovery	No	-	Yes	Common British type, propped against left side of grave	No	-	Nauheim fibula, tin object, toe ring, sheepskin, coarse fiber
Adanac Park	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Remains of an oak scabbard detected	Yes	-	Yes	Decorated type, may have formed a triskel with insular decoration	No	-	No

Table 49. Weapon graves in the dataset.

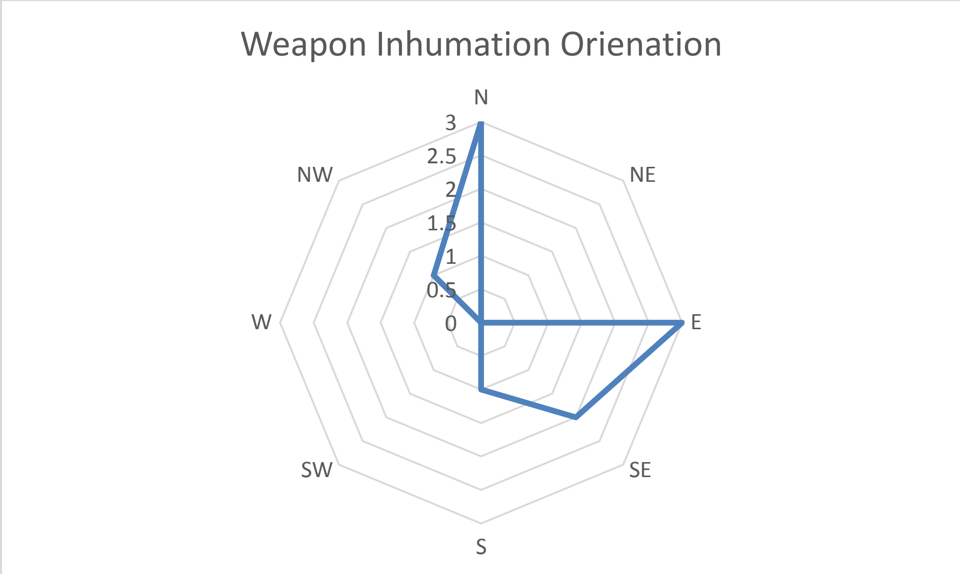


Figure 255. Orientation of weapon burials.

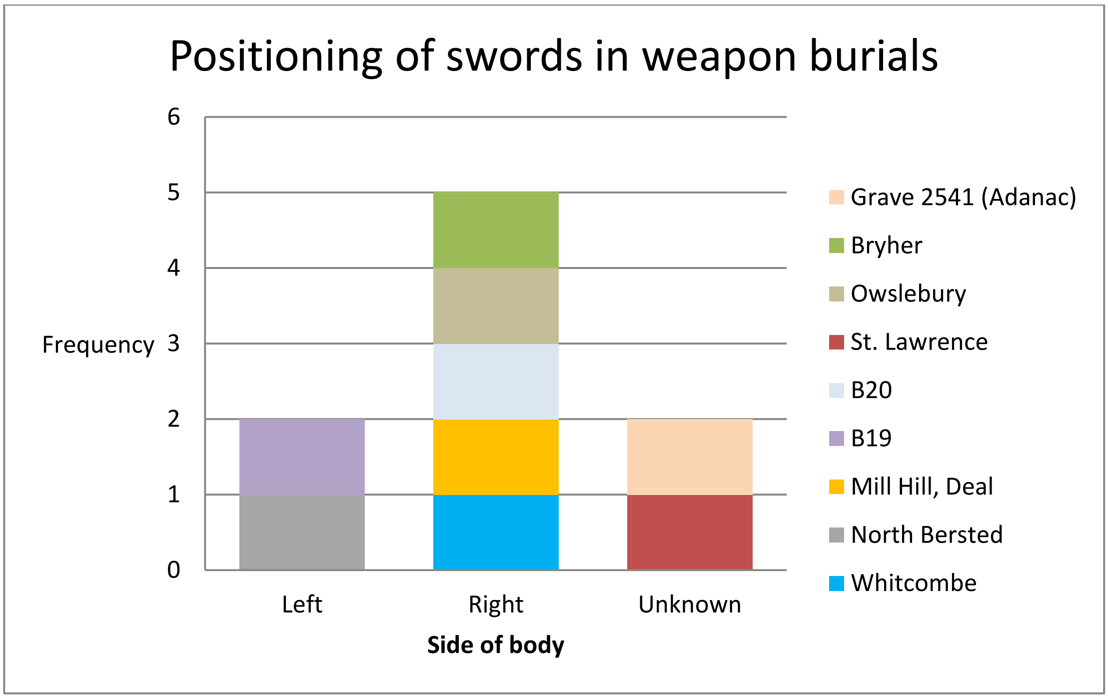


Figure 256. Location of sword in weapon grave in relation to body.

- Provision of distinctive artefacts not found in other burials in the area; in all instances weaponry, but also other objects including tools and headdresses.
- Distinct locations within the landscape and/or cemetery in some cases.
- A tendency to be buried near coastal locations (Map 9).

11.6.2. Chronology of Weapon Burials

When Collis (1973) and Whimster (1981) considered burials with swords, all examples (with the possible exception of Whitcombe) from the study area were thought to date post-50BC (Collis 1973, 130; Whimster 1981, 143-4). This is no longer the case. Mill Hill, Deal is certainly MIA, whilst several other burials appear to pre-date 50BC. Based on typology combined with results of Garrow's *et al.* (2009) radiocarbon dating of La Tène artwork a revised chronology is proposed.

- **Grave 112, Mill Hill, Deal:** Dating is difficult, despite the variety of artefacts (Stead 2006, 34). The blade and scabbard belong to Stead's (2006) Group B dating to La Tène C. The brooch, of Hull and Hawkes' type 2B (Adams 2013, 174), is unique. The inclusion of coral is significant. It may come from a Mediterranean or Atlantic source. The former would suggest an early date, possibly La Tène B2-C1, based on the fact the coral was pinned in place (Megaw *forthcoming*). Drawing on the radiocarbon dates by Garrow *et al*. (2009, 103), a date of c.275-200BC is likely, with the latter end of that range preferred.
- **Owslebury:** The shield boss has similarities with La Tène C2 examples from Gournay-sur-Aronde, and a La Tène D2 example from Ribemont-sur-Ancre (Lejars 1996, 95, fig. 9). The belt hook from the grave is a La Tène D1- D2 type (150-20BC) (Bataille 2001, 446-7, figs. 3-4). Garrow *et al.* (2009) produced a date range of 210-50 cal. BC for this burial. Combined with a likely date of the 1st century BC for other early burials at Owslebury, a broad range of 125-50BC is suggested.
- **Whitcombe Burial 9:** This burial was not radiocarbon dated, but Burial 8 in the cemetery produced samian vessels dated to AD41-68 and AD70-85 (Simpson 1990, 79). Whimster (1981, 142) viewed the fibulae from burial 9 as a mid-La

Tène type, but it seems to be of Almgren Type 1. This is generally dated to the late-early 1st century BC/AD (Feugère 1985b; Debord 1996; Edgar 2012). A proposed end date for this type of AD50 (Gaspar 2007) would fit with the data from Whitcombe. The sword is a La Tène D type (Stead 2006, 53-4). The Burial 9 is thus considered to date to AD25-70.

- **Bryher:** The earliest objects recovered from the burial are remnants of the hide shaped shield, a type first recorded in the 3rd century BC (Stead 1998, 68). The sword and scabbard are La Tène C types (Stead 2003, 26-28; 2006, 40). A later date is suggested by the La Tène D brooch (Stead and Hill 2003, 31-32). Finally there is the mirror, which is likely to late 2nd-1st century BC (*ibid*, 35; Joy 2007, 160). This data accords with a radiocarbon date obtained from the burial for 200-45 cal BC (Marshall 2003, fig. 20, 23). A date range of c.125-50BC is proposed.
- **St Lawrence:** The conditions surrounding the recovery of the burial, and lack of radiocarbon dates, make dating especially difficult. The blade is a La Tène D type, but the lack of scabbard prevents further comment (Stead 2006, 45, 50). The shield boss is a British type, which precludes comparison with continental types. At the time of publication the closest parallel to the St. Lawrence was from Llyn Cerrig Bach (Fox 1946, 7, 51, 91, pl. XXXVI) where similar La Tène D swords were recovered (Stead 2006, 181). Subsequent British shield discoveries provide further parallels, particularly the vertically aligned bosses on one of the Salisbury hoard examples (Stead 1998, 19, fig. 2.4). Some material from Llyn Cerrig Bach has been radiocarbon dated, but not the weaponry. The St. Lawrence burial is tentatively dated to the 1st century BC.
- **North Bersted:** The blade is a La Tène D type (Feugère 2009, 15). The shield, with its trapezoid shape and sugarloaf profile, finds its closest parallel with the Owslebury example. This unique profile, based on similar continental forms from Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Pîtres, suggests a La Tène D2 date (Lejars 1996, 95, fig. 9). The helmet is a Coolus type, a form in use from the late 2nd to mid-1st century BC (Feugère 2009, 13). Excluding the openwork attachments recovered with the helmet, it is comparable to the Bridge example found with a Feugère Type 2 La Tène D2 fibula (Farley 2014, 383). A date range of c.75-25BC fits the data.

- **Brisley Farm B19:** The sword is a La Tène D type of Stead's (2006) Group D. Although the exact form of the shield boss is unknown, the circular shape is comparable to La Tène D2 examples from Wederath (Lejars 1996, 95, fig. 9). Associated finds include a platter stamped CANICOS-, a Gallo-Belgic potter active between AD20-45 (Johnson 2002, 17). A date of AD25-50 is likely.
- **Brisley Farm B20:** B20 appears to be earlier than B19. A similar panoply of weapons were included within the grave, however, a butt-beaker of 10BC-AD20 was included (Johnson 2002, 17). On the basis of these objects the burial likely dates to 1-25AD (Figure 257).
- **Adanac Park:** The lack of bone and ceramics from Barrow 3 Grave 2451 makes dating reliant upon the metalwork (Leivers and Gibson 2011, 8). The spear is a common type in use for much of the Iron Age, whilst the sword (Stead Type D) dates from the later 2nd century BC until the mid-1st century AD (Fitzpatrick 2011, 14). As with other British finds, the shield boss is difficult to date. Fitzpatrick noted similarities with one from the Tal-y-Ilyn, Merionethshire, hoard likely deposited in the later 1st century AD. On this basis it would appear that the Adanac Park example dates from the later 1st century BC to earlier 1st century AD (*ibid*).

Sword burials are clearly not a post-50BC phenomenon (*contra* Collis 1973; Whimster 1981), but instead represent a practice which emerged in the 3rd century BC and lasted until the Roman conquest, if not beyond. Even with the most conservative dating for Mill Hill (Figure 260) and earliest dating for the Owslebury and Bryher examples, there exists a gap of 50, if not 75 years. This is not an unsurmountable problem, and likely to be resolved by future discoveries. The similarities in location within the site, body and grave good arrangement, suggest that Owslebury, North Bersted and the Brisley Farm examples represent a continuation of the rite practiced at Mill Hill.

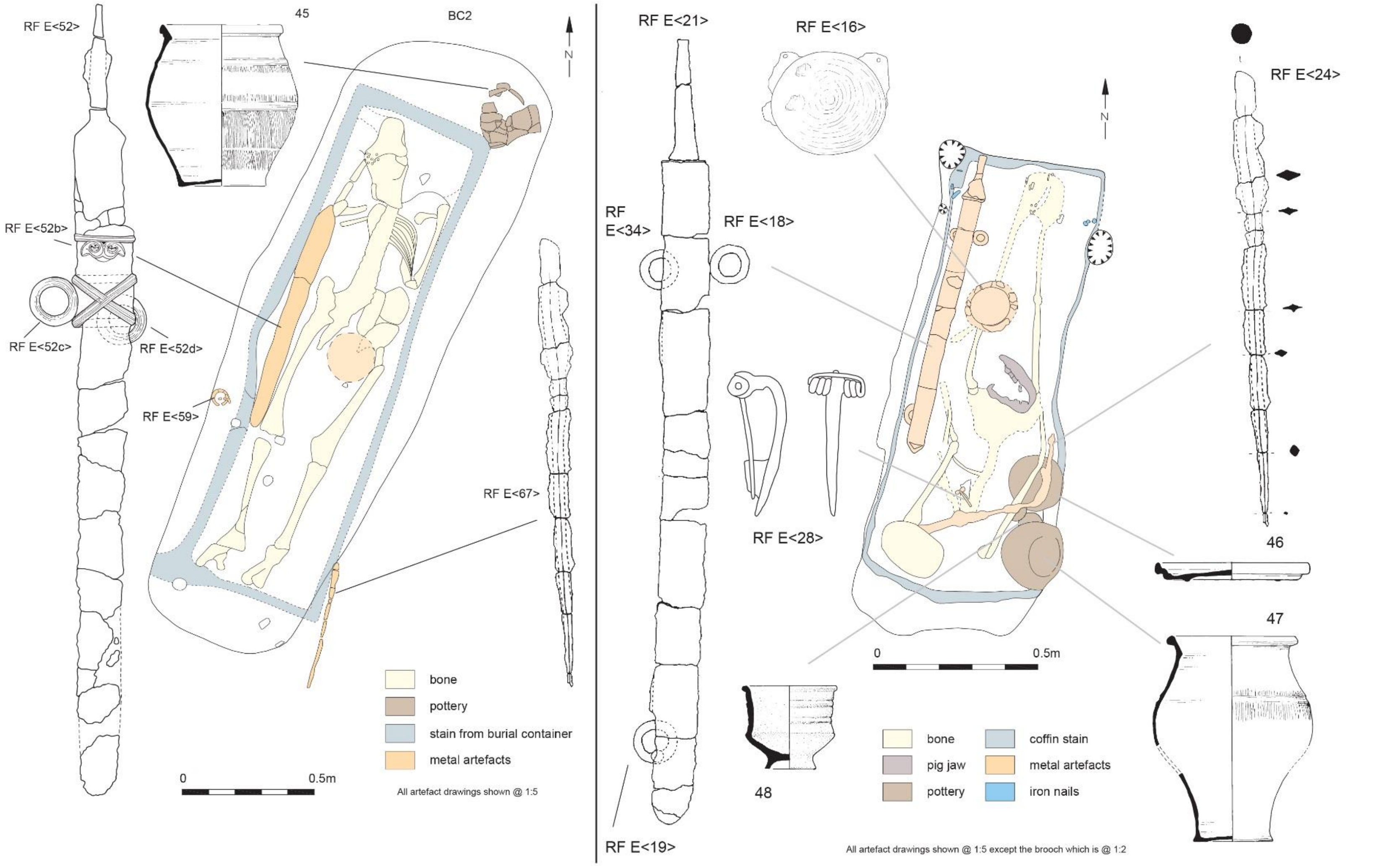


Figure 257. Burial B20 (left) and B19 (right) from Brisley farm (after Stevenson 2013, figs. 6.6 and 6.16, reproduced by kind permission of Archaeology South East).

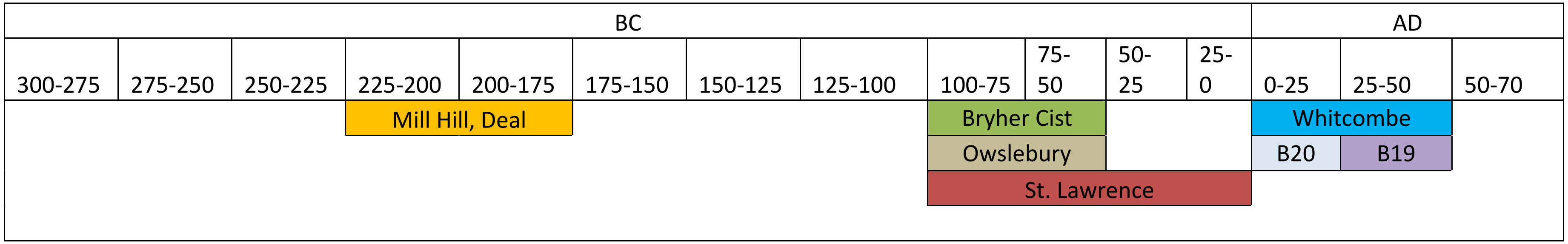


Figure 258. Original dating of weapon burials where stated by excavator.

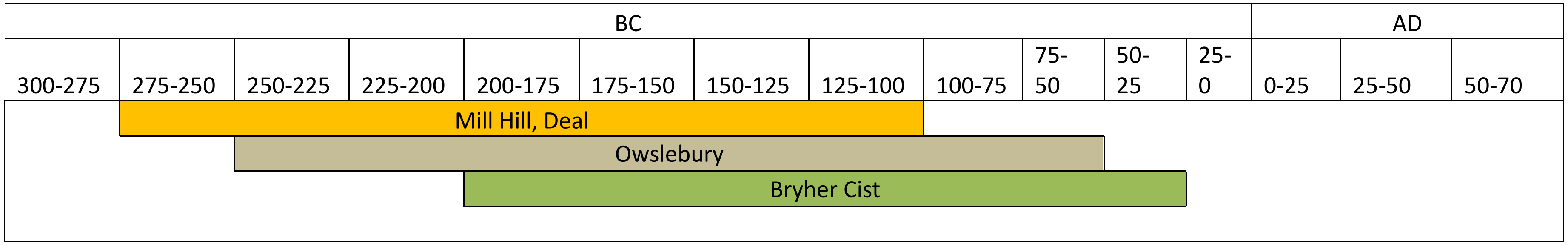


Figure 259. Radiocarbon results obtained for weapon burials by Garrow et al. (2009).

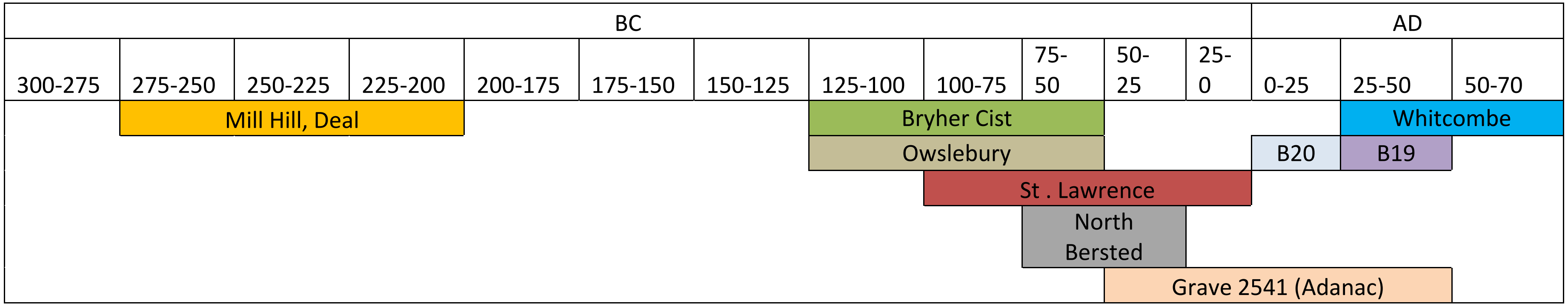


Figure 260. Proposed dating for weapon burials on the basis of typological analysis and results from Garrow et al. (2009).

11.6.3. The British Context

As elsewhere in Britain, weapons burials are distinctive, specifically for the inclusion of swords, for which a limited number (in comparison to the continent) are recorded for Iron Age Britain (Hunter 2005, 48, fig. 2; Stead 2006, 79). The distinct nature of British Iron Age weapon burials has long been recognised (Collis 1973). Estimations as to the number of such burials vary; Johns 2002 (64-68) lists 36 with swords and spears, Stevenson (2013, 166) 39 with weapons, Sealey (2007, 33) excludes solely defensive weaponry and lists 25 English and Welsh examples, Inall (2016, 44) at least 80 with objects of "martial character", whilst Hunter (2005, 52), considers there to be 63 burials with martial objects. Recent finds, both within the study area and outside, support the basic pattern observed by Collis (1973, 122, fig. 1), namely such burials represent a minority rite. Even within the Arras culture, which has the greatest regional concentration (40 weapon burials; Inall 2016, 58), they represent a fraction of all burials (1000+ excavated examples; Giles 2012, 94).

Strong insular traits are apparent in several burials. These include the flexed body positions from Whitcombe, Bryher and possibly St. Lawrence (see Chapter 7.3). The metalwork from Mill Hill and Bryher is likewise decorated in a British La Tène style, whilst the closest parallels to the shield boss from Adanac are a boss from Tal-y-Ilyn, Merionethshire. (Fitzpatrick 2011, 13). Coastal or riverine locations are also noted for other insular burials, including all those graves which possessed a full "warrior" panoply (spear, shield, and sword) (Inall 2016, 45, fig, 1). Although rare, weapon burials are geographically widespread, ranging from the two most northern examples at Camelon, Falkirk (1st century AD, Stead type G short swords) (Inall 2016, 51), to the west at Lambay Island, Co. Dublin (late 1st century AD) (Kelly 2002, 130). As with the study area, they display much variation in terms of body positioning, the combination of weapons in the graves, associated grave goods, and location within the landscape. It would appear that the majority of these other finds post-date the examples in the study area (being of 1st BC-AD or a later date). The exception is Birdlip, Gloucestershire, which is contemporary with the proposed early date for Owslebury and Bryher (Staelens 1982).

East Yorkshire is distinct due to the sizeable number of weapon burials it has produced. These burials are almost always males, and date from the MIA until the 1st

century AD (Giles 2012, 165). Individuals were predominantly positioned in flexed and crouched positions. Although at Rudston, extended supine (R107, R154, R174) and extended prone (R144) positions were observed (Stead 1991, 206, fig. 112; 204, fig. 111). The key difference between the weapon burials in the study area and those in Eastern Yorkshire is the positioning of the swords. Within the East Yorkshire graves, most swords were recovered positioned on the back of the deceased (Giles 2012, 165). The practice of wearing swords on the back is confirmed by a series of chalk figures from the area (Stead 1988). The only exception to the above is the Rudston R174 burial where the sword was positioned within the right arm (Figure 261) (Stead 1991, 206). R174, however, is not a clear parallel for the rite observed in the study area as it belongs to the so called "speared" burial rite (Stead 1991, 33; Giles 2012, 163). The spear from Brisley Farm B19 was thrust into the wall of the grave, but unlike the Yorkshire examples it did not penetrate the deceased.

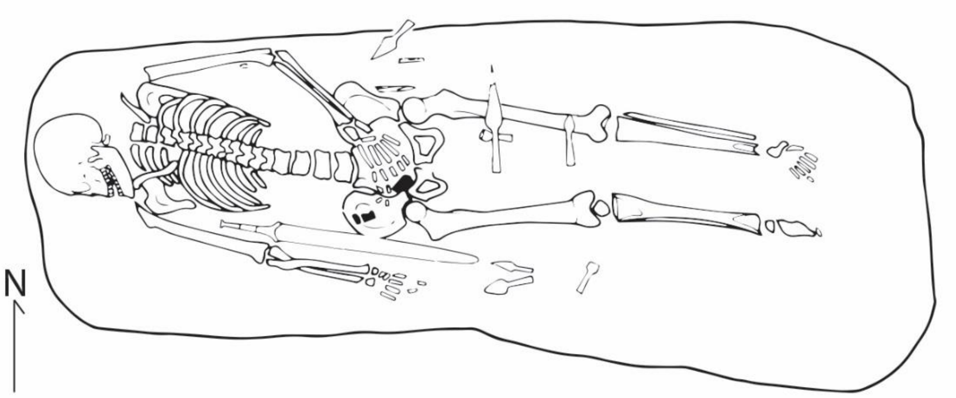


Figure 261. Rudston grave R174, the only example of an Arras burial where the sword was placed on the right of the body. R174 is also an example of a "speared" burial (redrawn by author from Stead 1990, 209, fig. 114).

Some East Yorkshire sword burials are spatially and structurally distinct from other graves. Unlike examples in the study area, however, they do not appear to have served as focal points around which later graves were created. R24, for example, was denied an enclosing ditch and was located apart from other graves in the cemetery. R87 and R146, R174, although located within the cemetery, lacked enclosures. However, the same is not true for Rudstone R57, R144, R146 or Garton Slack GS10 (Stead 1991). Sharples (2014; 144) noted that many of the most materially elaborate burials were set apart from the rest of the cemetery.

11.6.4. The Continental Context

A continental origin for insular weapon burials has long been advocated (Kendrick 1928, 91-2; Whimster 1981, 146; Cunliffe 1996a, 117; Johnson 2002, 17; Sealey 2007, 36, 39), and continental traits are particularly apparent in the Owslebury, North Bersted and Brisley Farm burials, both in terms of body positioning and material culture. The use of copper alloy for the Owslebury shield boss (a feature more common of British types; Stead 1985) exhibits continental parallels; with two copper alloy bosses known from Alesia (Sealey 2007, 11). Cemeteries with numerous weapon burials are well attested in several parts of Later Iron Age Europe. However, deposition patterns of weaponry in northern France are just as varied as in Britain. On account of the proposed early date for the weapon burials in the study area, discussion below focusses on data from the start of La Tène C1. Weaponry from La Tène C1 mortuary contexts are generally rare across Europe, in contrast with the preceding La Tène B2 phase (Lambot 2002, 90; Rapin 2004, 27). Among La Tène C2-D graves in north east France, weapons were included in only 20% of male graves, or 10% of the total population (Hunter 2005, 52), whilst the figures for western France are even lower.

11.6.4.1. Picardy, Nord-Pas-de-Calais and the North

Throughout the La Tène period, weapons in Picardy graves are rare, and during La Tène C2-D1 the pattern is comparable to southern Britain (Figure 262) (Roymans 1990, 251; Guichard and Vaginay 1993, 238; Lejars 1998, 92, fig. 91; Haselgrove 2007, 498; Desenne *et al*. 2009, 177, fig. 8). Instead, the majority of examples of weaponry come from sanctuaries (Roymans 1996, 15, fig. 1; Lejars 1998, 91, fig. 90). Most early La Tène weapon burials are from Aisne, and outside this area only a few exceptions, such as the sword inhumation from Abbeville, and the spear from burial 1 at Thieulloy-l'Abbaye, exist (Leman-Delerive 2014, 124). The sudden increase in La Tène D2 is probably related to the aftermath of the Gallic Wars, and the social mutations this created (Bataille *et al.* 2014, 134-6). As in the study area, the combination of spear, shield and swords was more prevalent towards the end of the Iron Age (Desenne *et al*. 2009, 177, fig. 8; Pinard *et al*. 2010, 47, fig. 16). Throughout the period, weaponry is only present in male graves, and absent from elite graves (Ginoux 2007; Desenne *et al*. 2009, 177).

Within Picardy there are sub-regional differences. The Somme valley is notable for a relative frequency of cremations with weapons towards the coast (Bayard and Buchez 1998; 61; Haselgrove 2007, 498; Leman-Delerive 2014, 125), such as Vismes-au-Val, Somme (Barbet and Bayard 1996). A small number of La Tène C2-D2 weapon burials are known from the middle Aisne (Roymans 1996, 15, fig. 1), however, these two groups are the exception. Indeed it has been suggested that this lack of weaponry from graves was intended to contrast the communities of later La Tène Picardy with those to the south (Rapin 1993, 292). When weapons are recovered from graves they are often bent or fragmented, as observed at North Bersted (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 48). Like the majority of the population, individuals with weapons were cremated, unlike the insular examples. In further contrast to the examples from the study area, at least in terms of the Somme valley, it does not appear that such burials were spatially distinct from others in the cemetery. Although distinguished from other graves by the provision of weaponry, the range of other items recovered from these burials is the same as those recovered from non-weapon graves, as for example Grave 3 from Vismes-au-Val.

In Nord-Pas-de-Calais, weaponry became increasingly common in graves beginning with the La Tène C1/C2 transition (Oudry-Braillon 2009, 68). Nevertheless, the distribution of weapons varies and is unevan across the region. For example, although data are extremely limited, it appears that Flanders communities did not place weapons in graves (Leman-Delerive 2014, 132). Weaponry is absent from Late Dutch Iron Age graves in the southern and central Netherlands (Hiddink 2014, 198), and instead was deposited in rivers throughout this period (Roymans 1996, 15, fig. 1; Lejars 1998). In the north, a single cremation burial with a coat of mail and a possible shield is known from the Drenthe province (van der Sanden 2003/4). In view of this it is difficult to determine to what degree these northern regions compare to the study area.

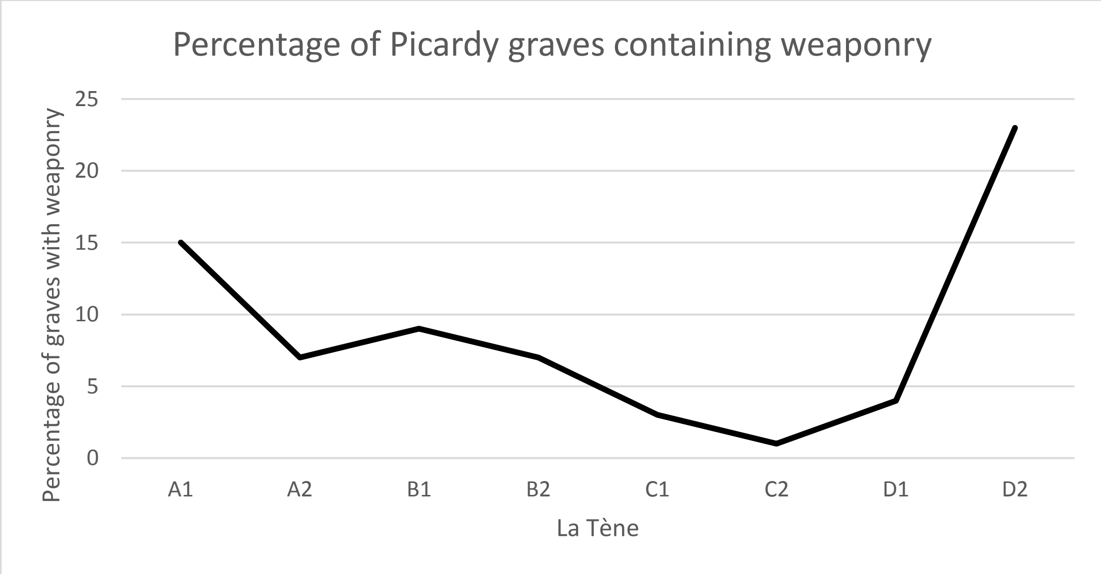


Figure 262. Percentage of Picardy graves containing weaponry[8] *(reproduced from Desenne et al, 177, fig. 8).*

11.6.4.2. Champagne-Ardenne

Champagne-Ardenne is distinct from the insular and coastal French regions, with weaponry occurring in graves throughout the La Tène period (Stead *et al.* 2006, 263; fig. 112, 271, fig. 120; Sealey 2007, 35; Bonnabel 2014, 119). As elsewhere, weaponry was typically associated with males (Bonnabel 2014). However, as in Picardy and Nord-Pas-de-Calais, there are sub-regional difference, with weaponry only present in large numbers in La Tène C2-D2 Marne (Roymans 1996, 18); a peak in deposition which accords with the study area. Whether such burials were inhumations or cremations was determined by general trends in the region, and unlike the study area examples, weapon graves do not employ a different rite from the rest of the cemetery. As in Picardy, such burials were incorporated into cemeteries (Lambot 2002, 96). Although some weapon graves were individually enclosed, this rite is also observed for graves without weapons; for example at Ville-sur-Retourne (Stead, Flouest and Rigby 2006, 11, fig, 5). A good example is the La Tène C1-D1 site of Fère-Champenoise "Fin d'Ecury", Marne where a 100m^2 enclosure contained 12 inhumations including two weapon burials. In La Tène C2 further inhumation burials were deposited outside the enclosure, with cremations similarly positioned in La Tène D1 (Lambot 1993, 213-4). Nevertheless,

[8] Desenne *et al.* do not list what quantities of weaponry were employed to calculate these percentages only that close to 700 graves were examined for their entire study (and it cannot be assumed that all of these contained weaponry). See Footnote 5.

the weapon burials did not serve as focal burials, as at Owslebury, Brisley Farm and others. Indeed when Fère-Champenoise was reoccupied in the Augustan period, new enclosures with monumentalised cremation burials were established (*ibid*). At Acy-Romance five graves (I.6; I.12, I.14, I.94 and I.103) produced weaponry including swords. I.12, I.94 and I.103 contained complete panoplies comparable to those from Owslebury, Brisley Farm (Figure 263) and North Bersted (Lambot 1998, 78).

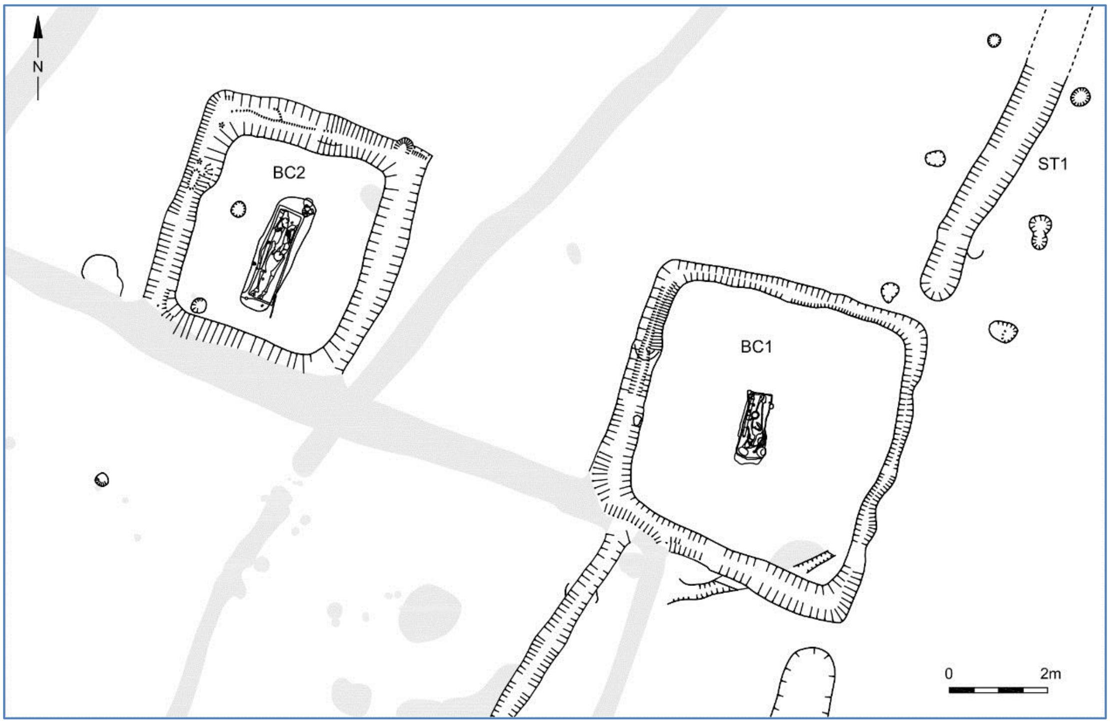


Figure 263. The burial complex at Brisley farm. The surrounding ditches of the burials became foci for subsequent ritual activity (after Stevenson 2013, fig. 6.1 reproduced by kind permission of Archaeology South East).

11.6.4.3. Normandy and the Channel Islands

Within Normandy the data are varied, but, as in the study area, burials with weapons represent a minority rite (Blancquaert 2002, 375; Chanson *et al*. 2010, 80). A concentration of middle and late La Tène burials with weapons exists along the middle and lower Seine (Roymans 1996, 18). Sites include Le Manoir, Eslettes, St. Wandrille, Mesnil-sous-Jumièges, Moulineaux, Alizay, Léry, Notre-dame-du-Vaudreuil and Pîtres (Bertin 1975; Lequouy 1993, 121; Dechezleprêtre and Pernet 2005). At Val de Reuil, Eure, a cremation dated to c.50BC contained a helmet, sword within its scabbard and a ceramic vessel (Cliquet and Lequouy 1990, 41). Except for the rite of cremation, the grave is chronologically and materially a close parallel to North Bersted. Vehicle burials, such as Léry "Champ des Corvées", also contained weaponry (Cliquet and Lequouy 1990, 51). Others like Alizay are too poorly recorded to determine if they are comparable to the British rite (*ibid,* 76). The burial at Mailleraye-sur-Seine dated to c.150BC, is unlike the British weapon burials, indeed it is more like a hoard. The cremated remains were recovered from inside an enclosure, covered by a Syrian glass bowl. Over and around the bowl were placed two ceramics vessels, five fibulae, a tripod, bronze cauldron, a pair of firedogs, three horse harnesses, three swords, four shield bosses, five spears, a variety of tools and toilet items including axes, razors and shears as well as six iron tyres (Lequouy 1993, 121-6).

Weapons are less common away from the Seine, at Bois-Guillame "Les Bocquets" (Merleau 2002a, 194, fig. 117) of 70 possible graves a single cremation containing a javelin blade was uncovered. Conversely the neighbouring site of "Terres Rouges" contained 22 graves, but no weaponry (Merleau 2002b). At Cottévrard "La Plaine de la Bucaille" Group 3, Grave 130 produced a La Tène D spear and sword, however, the grave does not appear to have been spatially significant in relation to the other eight cremation graves at the site, other than its location at the western extremity of the group (Blancquaert 1998, 177, fig. 8; 2002, 365). At Pîtres five of 27 late La Tène cremations were provided with weapons. As in Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne, the weapon burials were not spatially distinct from the other graves, whilst the use of cremation, and depositing the (bent) swords in the bottom of urns is a different rite to the inhumation weapon burials in Britain (Cerdan and Cerdan 1993, 105-2, fig. 2).

The only inhumation with weaponry in Lower Normandy I know of is the vehicle burial from Orval (Lepaumier *et al*. 2010), although some older discoveries of weapon burials might also be inhumations. Here an individual was deposited in a ditched enclosure with a complete chariot, sword, scabbard, spear, gold ring and toilet set consisting of shears and a razor, as well as a fibula of mid-La Tène type (*ibid*, 325). Additionally, a complete tool kit, similar to the Whitcombe burial, was also deposited consisting of an axe, two hammers (one smaller than the other, billhook, wood plane and a knife (*ibid,* 327). In terms of placement (next to a road) the chariot was similar to others in Lower Normandy, however the presence of weapons and a vehicle marks it out. A satellite cremation burial was also inserted into the enclosure, and in La Tène D two buckets, one with anthropomorphic decoration, were deposited at the site (*ibid*, 327).

Weapon burials are also known on Guernsey, which has produced all known examples of Later Iron Age weapon burials from the Channel Islands (de Jersey 2010, 289). As with contemporary Britain, all examples appear to have been inhumations, based on grave dimensions and the presence of cranial fragments and an arm bone from Les Adams, St. Peter-in-the-Wood (Burns 1993, 165; Cunliffe 1996a, 83, 112). Until recently, these burials were thought to be late La Tène, or at the earliest mid-late La Tène transition (Cunliffe 1996b, 127), but excavations at the King's Road site produced 22 graves, of which three were weapon inhumations (de Jersey 2010, 291, table 1). Contrary to other burials on the island, it appears that several of the King's Road examples date to the 4th or 3rd century BC (*ibid,* 298). de Jersey (*ibid*) has suggested this indicates a cultural link with the find from Orval.

11.6.4.4. Atlantic France: Brittany, Loire, Poitou-Charente

As in Britain, weaponry is largely absent in mid-La Tène mortuary contexts. The only exception is the 3rd century BC site of Mazerolles, Vienne where three swords from as many cremation burials were recovered; each showing differing levels of pre-depositional damage (Nicolini 1983; Villard-Le Tiec 2010, 97). In the late La Tène period several ostentatious graves were created, several of which display peculiar characteristics comparable to those in northern France and the British Isles (Gomez de Soto 2009, 276). At Saint-Georges-les-Baillargeaux, Vienne (c.125-75BC), an individual was deposited with weaponry (a spear) and a unique collection of objects including an unusually large bronze knife and bronze razors (Figure 264). The burial subsequently became a focus for activity, with an enclosing ditch constructed immediately prior to the burial containing broken amphorae and quern stones and animal remains (Pétorin and Soyer 2003, 245-6). A vehicle burial from Tesson, Charente-Maritime (c.75BC) is likewise notable for its inclusion of an anthropoid sword with stylistic links to an example from Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal (Duval *et al*. 1986, 44).

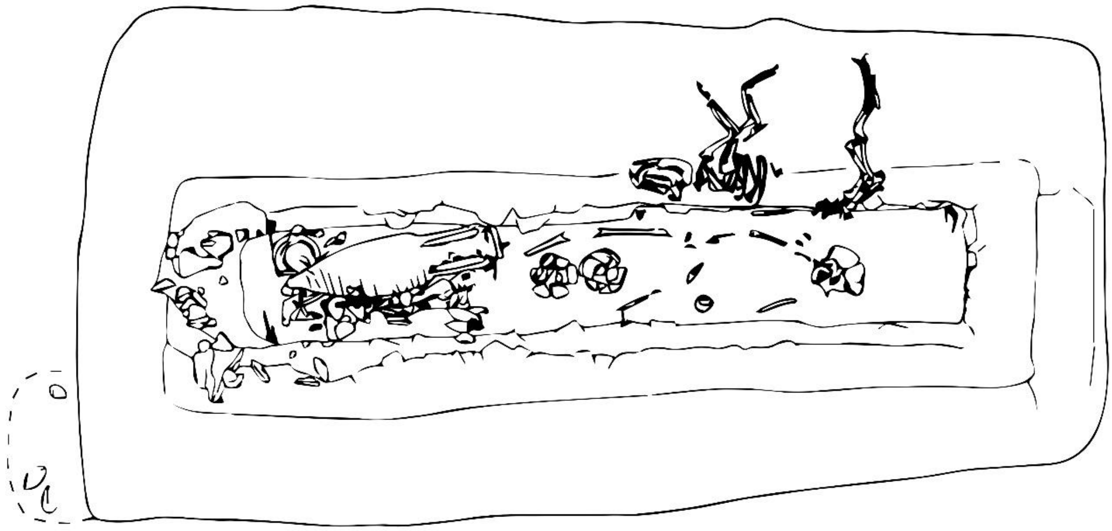


Figure 264. The weapon burial from Saint-Georges-les-Baillargeaux. The unique collection of copper alloy razors and a knife was recovered around the mouth of the amphora (after Pétorin and Soyer 2003, redrawn by author).

A close parallel to the insular weapon burials is known from Lelleton à Petosse, Saint-Jean-Trolimon, Vendée (c.120BC). Here a cluster of graves were located around a central, armed individual. The individual, a male, was positioned prone on a cow hide with a sword, shield and necklace composed of a boar tooth, around his neck (Moron and Lourdaux 1994, 39-41) (Figure 265). Other sites include Tronoën à Saint-Jean-Trolimon, where an armed individual was recovered at the edge of a sanctuary (Villard-Le Tiec *et al*. 2010, 97), and Fontenay-le-Comte, Vendée, where a possible private burial ground was provisioned with a sanctuary (Poux et Nillesse 2003; Villard-Le Tiec *et al*. 2010, 97). Finally, at Beaufort-en-Vallée, Marne-et-Loire a scythe and sword were broken prior to being deposited in possible association with a burial (Dubillot *et al*. 2004). It appears these burials served as focal or foundation burials (Villard-Le Tiec 2010, 97).

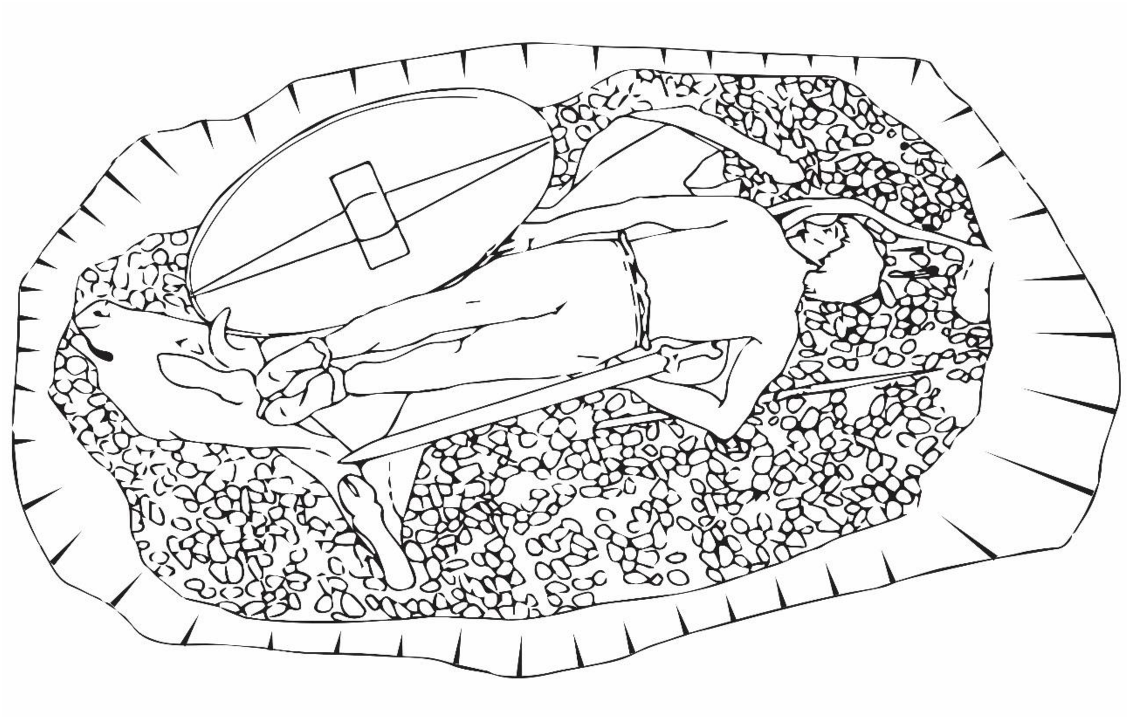


Figure 265. Reconstruction of the burial at Lelleton à Petosse (after Moron and Lourdaux 1994, re-drawn by author).

11.6.5. The Insular and Continental Contexts of Weapon Burials

Weapon burials thus display an eclectic variation across the study and contextual area. Even in regions where weaponry was comparatively abundant in graves, such burials represent a fraction of the graves excavated. The provisioning of weaponry, especially swords, in a grave may therefore be viewed as an act of heightened social significance. Giles (2012, 172), in discussing to the differences between East Yorkshire burials, describes the existence of "micro-traditions" between different cemeteries; a term which fits well with weapon burial in this part of Europe.

The location of many weapon burials shows commonalities. Inall (2016) has noted that the majority of LIA British warrior burials occur in close proximity to the coast, or major waterways. The same is true of several continental burials along the banks of the Seine and Aisne, in close proximity to the Breton, Norman (in the case of Orval) and Picardy coasts or, as at Bryher, St. Lawrence, Lambay Island, Kerné (Le Rouzic 1934) and Guernsey, on islands. This does not apply universally, and the presence of local settlements which required a reliable water supply may account for some of these burials. Furthermore the pattern may simply result from the conditions of discovery, for example the extensive gravel quarrying in the Seine. Nevertheless it does appear that for some communities proximity to waterways was considered important for the placing of weaponry in graves. Considering the importance which rivers played in connecting Iron Age communities to the wider world, as well as the ritual significance of rivers such as the Witham and Thames which served as foci for the deposition of metalwork, it may be that armed invididuals were venerated as guardians of local waterways.

This idea of veneration is supported by the liminal or focal locations of several burials. In the study area this includes Owslebury, North Bersted, Brisley Farm and, possibly, the Bryher example. The Kelvedon burial also appears to have been a founder. Several continental burials noted above, such as Orval and Lelleton à Petosse, served as focal graves, or were positioned apart from the main cemetery. Nevertheless the inclusion of weaponry does not seem to have determined the location in which some communities located their dead, for example Adanac Park and Whitcombe, or the Champagne-Ardenne examples. East Yorkshire presents the greatest variability, with some sword graves spatially distinct and others not.

Within graves such as these in the study area, unusual weapons are often found, such as the helmet and headdress from North Bersted and Mill Hill, the shield bosses from Adanac Park and North Bersted, and possibly the wide bladed sword from Whitcombe. The Whitcombe tools and Bryher mirror can also be included in this list, and the former may have been a weapon in its own rite (Giles and Joy 2007). Within the contextual area similarly unusual objects are also recovered from graves. From East Yorkshire are the Kirkburn sword and tools from Rudston R154 (Stead 1991, 206, fig. 112). Continental examples include the anthropoid sword from Tesson (Duval *et al.* 1986, 44), the 70cm long spearhead from Orval "Les Pleines" (Lepaumier *et al*. 2010, 325) and the Thugny-Trugny 89cm spear or standard (Lambot 2014, 108) and the *soliferreum ibère* from Bobigny "Hôpital Avicenne" (Marion 2009, 243). Although tool kits are attested from other Norman cemeteries (Merleau 2002a) the presence of an extensive toolkit from Orval is noteworthy for its association with weapons. Other tools of a more unusual nature include the enormous knife from I.94, Acy Romance (Lambot 1998, 79), and the bronze knife and razors from St. Georges-les-Ballargeaux (Gomez de Soto 2009, 277). Additional finds include the headdress from Lambay Island (Kelly 2002, 130), and the most exotic item of all, the Syrian glass bowl from Mailleraye-sur-Seine (Lequouy 1993, 121-6).

Previous interpretations of such burials has varied. Hunter (2005, 50) proposes the primary meaning of weapons in graves was to give the deceased the persona of a warrior, whilst Giles (2012, 168) suggests that they evoked brute power. Sealey (2007) argues that we are dealing with actual combatants. Wells (2007) likewise advocates that such individuals were combatants, but that the weapons were intended to emphasise communal cohesion and long distance connections. Roymans (1996, 14), promotes a symbolic role, but notes that weapons cannot be divorced from notions of violence and martiality. A multi-faceted role, including religious aspects, is advocated by Joy (2011, 416). Conversely, Inall (2016) has stressed the need to consider other objects from such graves as being equally important to the weapons.

A combatant role cannot be excluded for some individuals; Whitcombe for example appears to have died from a wound to the right humeral head (Buckland-Wright and Hebditch 1990, 69, table 3). The North Bersted man exhibited numerous pathological alterations, including osteoarthritis in the cervical vertebrae, strong muscle attachments in the legs, and an assymetric level of growth in the upper limbs. Falys (2014, 116-7) suggested these originated from a combination of wearing the heavy helmet recovered in the grave, horse riding, and repetetitive, right-handed use of a weapon. Despite the evidence for a physically active life, there was no skeletal evidence for trauma. By contrast Mill Hill 112 was a gracile individual, although with a single healed fracture on the upper lumbar vertebrae, possibly resulting from a traumatic incident. Whether this injury was accidental or deliberate is unknown (Anderson 1995, 116). With regards the functionality of the weapons, all of the swords from these graves would have been suitable for combat. Even the unusual width of the Whitcombe blade does not remove the possibility that it was designed for use in combat (Stead 1990, 73). The spears from Adanac, Owslebury, Brisley Farm and North Bersted all appear to be functional, whilst the Whitcombe example was of crude manufacture (*ibid*, 73), and may have been produced specifically for the burial.

The shields from these graves vary more than the swords. Owslebury, B19 Brisley Farm and likely St. Lawrence were provided with umbos which would have been suitable for combat. At North Bersted the shield evidenced signs of repair, however, its unusual, ornate umbo was likely "useless" for combat (Feugère 2009, 12-14). The same is true for the wafer thin umbo from Adanac Park (Fitzpatrick 2011, 13). The hide shaped shields from Mill Hill and Bryher, although a well-represented type in non-mortuary contexts (Stead 2003, 23), have ornate copper alloy fittings which may have been ill-suited to a melee. Insufficient remained of the B20 Brisley Farm umbo to allow analysis. Finally there are the headdresses from North Bersted and Mill Hill. The former was a Coolus type cavalry helmet in use among Gallic and Roman armies, but was adorned with ornate and unwieldy openwork attachments which greatly increased the weight for the wearer (Feugère 2009, 13-14). Nevertheless, continental finds, such as the Ciumeşti helmet (recovered with a full panoply of functional weapons), and depictions of Gallic warriors with horned helmets on Republican coinage, do not preclude the use of elaborate helmets in combat (Zawadzka 2011, plate II-III). The Mill Hill headdress was certainly unsuited for combat, and may instead be described as a crown (Figure 266) (Stead 1995, 72).

Although the some of these objects appear ill-suited for melee combat, peri-combat roles (such as pre-combat displays) remain a possibility. As Giles, Hunter and Roymans note these burials nevertheless contained items intended to inflict harm. The idea of endemic warfare among Later Iron Age communities in Britain is increasingly argued for (Sharples 1991b; 2010, 311-2; James 2007, 170-1; Sealey 2007, 33), albeit conducted according to strict social conventions (Finney 2005, 247-248). Wells (2007, 474) has suggested that such weapons should be viewed as tools for communication and communal ceremonies; their presence in graves likely having served to connect communities who would have viewed such objects in ceremonies (*ibid*, 474). Furthermore, in some European legends, weapons possessed communal powers which served to link people to their ancestors (*ibid*, 471). The founder/focal role of some examples has parallels in Sierra Leone, where the graves of settlement founders become the foci for activity (Manley 2011, 221). In considering the continental links of individuals such as North Bersted and Owlsebury, it is worth noting a Ghanaian founder myth in which a foreigner became deified in death (Mather 2003, 37). The Ghananian story is particularly interesting considering the tale of Commios, the likely date and location of his arrival, and the existence of the North Bersted burial.

Figure 266. The headdress from Mill Hill, Deal, Kent (©Trustees of the British Museum).

Inall (2016) advocates considering the non-martial objects recovered from such graves as a means of better reconstructing the social persona of such individuals. As noted above, many of the graves contained objects additional to weapons, with some such as the mirror from Bryher or the toolkit from Whitcombe being notable for their rarity. Depending on how the tools from Whitcombe were employed, they may have been just as powerful, in the eyes of the community, as the sword and spear. Giles (2007, 409) has drawn parallels with the ethnographic record, where metalworking was associated with issues of power and authority (*ibid*). A more powerful association is proposed by Goldhahn and Oestigaard (2008, 228-9) who cite ethnographic parallels from Bangladesh to emphasise the link between metalworking and supernatural forces. Likewise, the association between mirrors and divine or spiritual powers has been convincingly argued (Giles and Joy 2007, 27).

Furthermore, weapons are themselves often regarded as magical, with insular Medieval heroes (for example King Arthur or Cú Chullain) being associated with particular magical weapons (Excalibur or the Gaé Bolga). The headdresses from Mill Hill and North Bersted have been interpreted as being religious objects within a martial context (Stead 1995, 86; Feugère 2009, 13-14). The association between decorated La Tène headdresses/helmets and spiritual roles is largely accepted (Hunter 2005, 52; Fitzpatrick and Schönfelder 2014). Furthermore, the openwork on the Mill Hill burial has stylistic parallels with the North Bersted helmet (Feugère 2009, 14) and the use of shields as votive offerings is well attested to from the rivers Witham and Thames.

The inclusion of peculiar objects with weapons is noted both on the continent and elsewhere in Britain. The combination of beads, prone position and weaponry has led Gomez de Soto (2009, 276) to suggest a religious role for the Lelleton à Petosse burial. He likewise favours a similarly special role for the Saint-Georges-les-Ballargeaux burial on account of the bronze razors and knives (Figure 267), comparing them to Pliny's (Natural History, XVI, 95) account of druids' golden sickles (Gomez de Soto 2009, 277). At Acy-Romance, the presence of an axe and "butcher's leaf" type knife from I.103, and a second, larger, example and Aylesford type pan from I.94 led Lambot (1998, 79) to suggest that such individuals had a special role in society.

The Thugny-Trugny burial, containing a spear/standard and elaborately decorated bucket, has been interpreted by Lambot (2014, 108) as indicating an individual with a particular *social persona*. The 70cm spearhead from Orval was likewise interpreted as a standard (Lepaumier *et al*. 2010, 325). The extensive toolkit from the grave may be considered to parallel the tools from Whitcombe and Rudston R154 (Stead 1991, 206, fig. 112). Orval also contained a rare gold ring, the only mid-La Tène example known. As noted, gold as a metal associated with the supernatural and authority has been advocated by Creighton (2000; 2005) and Fitzpatrick (2005, 173). The Kirkburn (K3) sword and scabbard were inverted in respect to the body, whilst the K5 burial contained an inverted coat of mail atop the corpse (Stead 1991, 54; 225, fig. 125). At Brisley Farm

B19 weapon inversion was also observed. Finally there is the headdress from Lambay Island, perhaps serving a similar role to that proposed for the Mill Hill crown[9].

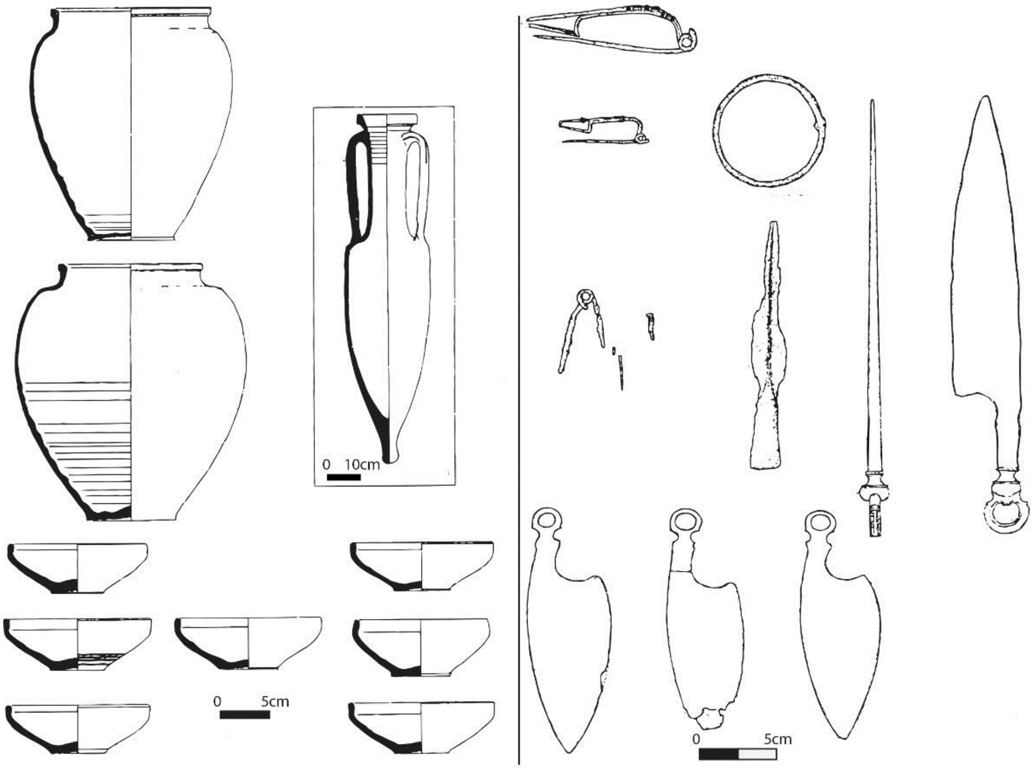


Figure 267. The grave goods from the weapon burial at Saint-Georges-les-Ballargeaux, with the three bronze razors and bronze knife (re-drawn by author form Pétorin 1999, 63, fig. 1).

[9] Although such headressed are not attested to in northern France, a continental example of extremely similar construction to the Mill Hill crown is known from the mid-late La Tène sanctuary of Roseldorf, Austria (Fichtl 2013, 8; Holzer 2014, 125).

Chapter 12 Discussion

In the preceding chapters, a variety of patterns have been identified, with differences between regions, site types and changes to these patterns throughout the period examined. Additionally, the functions and roles of a variety of artefact types recovered from the mortuary record have been considered. How do these findings help in answering the research questions posed above (1.3.9)? In the following discussion, the implications of these results will firstly be considered for the MIA and LIA in the study area. The frame of discussion is then widened to consider how the later Iron Age in the study area fits within the broader insular and near continental world. An overarching narrative which attempts to answer the research questions is provided in the final conclusion.

12.1. The Middle Iron Age dataset

Across the study area, the MIA is characterised by a paucity of human remains. 860 remains of all classes are listed in the dataset. It must be remembered that this does not represent 860 persons, with the disarticulated and articulated remains recorded according to NISP, and not MNI. Taken together, the dataset perhaps represents little more than 350 persons of varying ages. Considering that Hill (2011, 250) has proposed that the average local community had a population similar to this, it clearly represents a fraction of a total population over a period of more than three centuries. Despite this paucity of data, the patterns observed are not uniform.

The western zone displays the most distinct pattern. Here there existed a long-lived, formalised inhumation tradition within sparsely furnished graves. On the basis of Iberian type fibulae from Harlyn Bay (Whimster 1977, 76, fig. 30), it appears this tradition lasted from the start of the MIA until the LIA transition. It also seems that this rite was the only one to have been practiced in the western zone. Even accounting for the c.130 burials at Harlyn Bay, it is clear that only a fraction of the population is represented, leaving open the possibility that many people were afforded a rite which is archaeologically un-detectable. The acidic soils and lack of investigation of settlements and associated contexts used for human remains in other parts of the study area, may account for the lack of other forms of inhumation. These geological and archaeological conditions may also explain the absence of distarticulated and articulated remains from the dataset, whilst cremation may have occurred (potentially without an archaeologically detectable container). Nevertheless, in lieu of firm evidence for other rites, the MIA western zone is represented solely by poorly furnished inhumations in graves.

The eastern and central zones have more in common with each other, but cannot be described as being the same. The central zone is dominated by evidence for disarticulated remains and inhumations in a variety of contexts, of which pits appear the most frequently employed. Articulated sections of body, though not abundant, are sufficiently well represented. Deposition of disarticulated human remains and inhumations in pits within the central zone appears, on the basis of the Danebury ceramic sequence, to have peaked between c.300-100BC. The scale of deposition differed between settlement types, with hill-forts (in particular Danebury) producing the largest datasets (although this itself partially reflects the scale of excavation at the site). In terms of relative frequency, it appears settlements and hill-forts were foci for the deposition of the same types of human remains (Figure 30-Figure *32*). Alongside these data, a formalised, (almost entirely) unfurnished inhumation rite occurred at Suddern Farm throughout this period. Whilst at Maiden Castle, another formalised, largely unfurnished inhumation rite was practiced by the 2nd century BC (the "Iron Age B" cemetery). Some other settlements, like Winnall Down, may have also been used as formal cemeteries (see below), albeit with the deceased buried in pits and not graves.

In the eastern zone, the pattern is similar yet distinct to that observed in the central zone. Again hill-forts and settlements were the foci for deposition. The lack of large assemblages of human remains from hill-forts likely results from the lack of archaeological investigation of such sites in this zone. Once again, however, it seems that at both hill-forts and settlements, disarticulated remains were deposited in comparable contexts. Inhumations in pits and other contexts likewise occurred, albeit the available dataset is smaller. The most distinctive feature of the eastern zone dataset is the evidence for a formalised, inhumation rite from at least c.300BC onward. Grave goods are not abundant, but as evidenced by Mill Hill 112, there are clear exceptions. Like the western zone, and in contrast to the central zone, such burials occurred in cemeteries which show no clear relation to structures such as quarries (Suddern Farm) or ramparts (Maiden Castle "Iron Age B"). The eastern zone also represents the majority of cremations for this period, however this is part of a very small dataset (N=6, 85%).

What then can be said about the way people in the MIA study zone perceived, reacted to and utilised death within their communities? Clearly the dataset changed over time, indicating a change in society and people also. Wait (1985, 90) estimated that only 5% of the Iron Age population was represented in the archaeological record. Some have suggested even this figure is too high (Lally 2008, 121). The discovery of new sites such as Mill Hill and Suddern farm, does little to alter this figure, though this may yet change (Roth 2011, 23). Whether the SW inhumations represent a rite afforded to most of the population (Thomas 1966; 1977; Taylor 2001, 68) or a restricted one (Whimster 1981, vol. II, 74) is tangential here. The significant point is that a furnished inhumation tradition persisted for several centuries within this region. This extends also to formal inhumations in the central and eastern zones, a point discussed in further detail below

In lieu of evidence for 95% of the population, it is not possible to explain why these persons were selected for an archaeologically invisible rite. Their absence from the archaeological record is not evidence for the lack of reverence or ritual which is typically afforded to transgressors or non-group members (unless we assume that 95% of the population were transgressors) (Nieuwhof 2015, 229). As Rebay-Salisbury (2015, 19) has argued, there is perhaps an over-emphasis within archaeology on funerary practices in which the deceased are buried. These people no doubt lived lives comparable their archaeologically detectable LIA descendants; farming, raising families, exchanging goods with each other, and ultimately coming to terms with the death of community members, some of whom were closely related to them. Nevertheless, when they died, their bodies were treated in a way which we cannot reconstruct, and this in itself is significant for considering the role of death in such societies.

12.1 Death and Society in the MIA

That the majority of the population did not enter the archaeological record, does not diminish the fact that their death was a key moment for society. Depending on who dies, a substantial gap can be left in society. This can range from a deep personal loss, such as a loved one, to a societal absence, like the death of a specialised craftsman (Milner and Boldsen 2017, 36). The loss of a community member in the small scale agricultural societies which typified the later Iron Age in this type of Britain would have left a profound mark. In order for society to continue, the living were required to transform the dead into a new form which did not threaten the social fabric of society (Nieuwhof 2015, 84; Rebay-Salisbury 2015, 20; Knüsel and Robb 2016, 2).

Social models which advocated the existence of hierarchical, stratified societies in MIA southern Britain (e.g. Cunliffe 1984b) have largely fallen out of favour, and instead have been replaced by models which advocate hetararchical social structures, broadly egalitarian, with a lack of permanent elites, and competition between families (Hill 1995; 2011; Cripps 2007; Sharples 2010; 2011). The broader archaeological record, with its lack of opulent artefacts and the limited variation in settlement record (in terms of differences in size of houses), supports this (Cripps 2007, 180; Sharples 2010, 322). Sharples (*ibid*, 312) has characterised the societies of the central zone as being broadly egalitarian, shrouded in superstition and xenophobic. For such societies, the loss of a community member was dangerous as it also provided an opportunity for competition between members. One mechanism for averting this danger is to employ death rituals, in conjunction with other cultural expressions, as a means to emphasise the uniformity of society.

Although distinct, there are broad commonalities between the archaeological records of the central and eastern zones:

- The presence of hill-forts, likely for communal purposes (Champion 2007, 120; Sharples 2010, 170; Webley 2015, 130). For example, Danebury's storage capacity was well in excess of what its inhabitants would have required to sustain themselves (Stevens *et al*. 2010, 410).

- Inhabiting enclosed settlements during this period (e.g. Gussage-All-Saints, Winnall Down, Beechbrook Wood, Owslebury and Bishopstone).
- A largely uniform ceramic sequence, albeit with local styles, between the 4th-2nd century BC; the 'saucepan pot' continuum, which appears to have been designed for communal meals (Cunliffe 2005, 105; Hamilton 2007, 77; Champion 2011, 167).
- Low deposition rates of material culture, with what is present often quotidian and unremarkable (Hill 1995, 1-2; Sharples 2014, 151).

The construction of enclosures at hill-forts and other settlements is increasingly viewed as a means of engineering communal links (Massey 2006, XXIII; Sharples 2010, 171; 2014, 152; Manley 2011, 35). Exchange within the central zone appears to have been an important facet of society (Sharples 2010, 133), although on the Sussex coastal plain ceramic exchange appears to have been restricted to within a 6km radius (Hamilton 2003, 81). The lack of varied ceramic types, common stylistic repertoire and apparent use for communal meals, suggests that these vessels served to reinforce a local, communal identity (Chittock 2016, 34, for Arras culture jars; Fowler 2016, 403). Exchanges of objects in the MIA need not have created a strong sense of ethnicity, but did create social networks through which identity formed (Moore 2006, 94). Likewise the lack of imports indicates a limited desire to express social stratification. As Sharples (2010) has argued for the central zone, emphasis was on a strong corporate identity, reinforced through enclosure construction, activities within hill-forts, and exchange of readily identifiable material culture.

On the basis of the above, MIA societies in the eastern and central zone would predominantly belong to Mary Douglas' (1970) area D on the axis, as Sharples (2010) has argued for. The mortuary record fits this image well. 95% of the population left no trace in the archaeological record, because there was no desire to create a lasting legacy to them which could have endangered the community. These people were no doubt afforded a rite (or rites) when they died, as it was necessary to transform them into a state which would not threaten to tear the social fabric. But within a D type community, where intra-group divisions were not important and there was a desire to maintain a precarious state of egalitarianism, immortalising the memory of the deceased risked creating foci for veneration. Instead, the communal edifices of these people were not graves, but the enclosures which surrounded their settlements. In type D communities, however, there is also a pre-occupation with such enclosures and boundaries being transgressed and polluted. It is this idea of pollution which can account for the non-formal pit burials, inhumations in other non-grave contexts, articulated and disarticulated remains.

12.1.1. The Procurement of Disarticulated Remains

How disarticulated remains were obtained has been discussed both in terms of the taphonomic processes which created disarticulation (e.g. Lally 2008; Sharples 2010, 248; Tracey 2012; 2016; Booth and Madgwick 2016) and the contexts from which they were procured (Carr 2007, 448; Sharples 2010, 277; Webley 2015, 133). The question rarely asked is why these individuals remain in the record, when so many of their contemporaries left no trace. Something marked these people, and those from non-formal pit burials, out as special if not dangerous to communities obsessed with maintaining boundaries and warding off pollution.

In analysing remains from Gussage All Saints, Redfern (2008, 285) noted a tendency for disarticulated remains to bear traces of trauma. She has argued, on the basis of evidence of male frontal bones with peri-mortem trauma marks from these data, that such treatment predisposed these individuals to be selected for deposition as disarticulated remains. Redfern stresses, however, that males with evidence for blunt and sharp force trauma and were only examined from Gussage All Saints and Danebury. King (2010, 157, fig. 6.45) found high rates of violent trauma for individuals from sites in Hampshire. Overall, King identified 11% of human remains from Hampshire displaying peri-mortem violent trauma, with males being better represented than females (*ibid*, 240). Conversely, Roth found evidence for violent treatment in only 0.06% of her dataset (Roth 2011, 320). However, this figure covered all types of treatment between the LBA and LIA across a much broader area than this study. It is worth noting here that further north at Broxmouth, 25% (N=6) of the disarticulated remains displayed evidence of peri-mortem trauma (Armit *et al*. 2013, 84). Sword cuts are likewise noted on the four crania recovered from Glastonbury Lake Village (O'Brien 2014, 29).

The evidence that such remains were procured entirely from acts of violence is not unequivocal. As described above in the limitations to which the data are subject, detecting a peri-mortem injury relies on particular patterns of lesions on the bone. These can occur for as long as the bone has sufficient moisture (Cattaneo and Cappella 2017, 353). Likewise, a pre-mortem injury can appear to be peri-mortem if the deceased died of unrelated causes before the bone began to display microscopically detectable signs of healing. Conversely, it need be remembered killing does not necessarily leave a mark on the skeleton (King 2010, 252; Armit 2011, 8). Thus, although in the following sections emphasis will be made on the role of socially sanctioned violence, it cannot be said that all disarticulated remains resulted from a single act (*per* Booth and Madgwick 2016, 21).

Potential support for the idea that these remains stem from acts of socially sanctioned violence comes from Booth and Madgwick's (2016) histological study of the 20 bones from Danebury and Suddern Farm. The authors argued that the patterns of microbial bioerosion observed on the bones were indicative of a process whereby the deceased had been covered by a heavy textile, or leather, and were later exhumed (*ibid*, 21). Monitoring the decomposition of a deceased is typically reserved for those people who may not decompose properly, for example revenants or witches (Tarlow 2008, 70; Giles 2013, 477). Historically, it has been typical to remove parts of the body from such persons, to ensure that they cannot rise again (Nieuwhof 2015, 250). By permitting the body to decompose, it would mean that bones could be easily removed after a period of time. The variable positions in which many of these bodies were placed also lends itself to the idea they represent witches; many socieities manipulate the corpse in the belief that it will prevent the soul from easily returning to haunt the living. The idea of witches is also significant as within tightly bounded societys of Douglas' type D, witches play a crucial role as actors in polluting and threatening society (Sharples 2010, 300).

12.1.2. Non-Formal Pit Burials

Many pit burials do not represent formal burials, including almost all the Danebury examples, even the purpose dug Pit 374 (which contained an extended, prone male, atop whom was placed a crouched infant and disarticulated remains). A possible exception is Pit 829, which although not custom dug, contained three males all of whom were positioned flexed, and orientated between W and N. Other candidates for non-formal pit burials include Bishopstone burial 2, the Viables Farm inhumations, and Maiden Castle Pit Q4.

Since Villes (1987) and Walker (1984) there has been a general consensus that pit burials (exclude the possible formal burials described below) represent marginalised individuals. The reasons behind such marginalisation vary from unclean deaths, to witches to war captives. Who such people were remains conjectural within the study area. Earlier analyses link the associated material to aspects of the individual's existence (e.g. Millett and Russell 1982, 88). With the recognition that this does not necessarily reflect aspects of their life (something which can be argued as applicable to formal burials also) these earlier views are no longer tenable. Isotopic analysis of individuals from Danebury did not detect anything which indicated how these people differed from others in the area (see Chapter 12.11) (Stevens *et al*. 2010).

Explanations as to the purpose behind such pit burials vary, but have traditionally centred on ideas of fertility (e.g. Walker 1984, 462; Cunliffe 1983, 164; 1992, 77; 1995, 75). In northern France, the specific idea that fluids from the deceased served as libations to feed chthonic deities has been suggested (Lambot 1998, 83; Delattre 2011, 610; Le Brun-Ricalens 2014, 171). These interpretations are not necessarily wrong, rather they do not examine how the pit burial operated in society. Considering pit burials by themselves divorces them from what was likely a continuum of related acts (Hill 1995; Lally 2008). This is not the point here, rather it is to consider the social significance of depositing a person within a pit, specifically, individuals who were the victim of socially sanctioned violence.

12.1.3 The Psychology and Religiosity of Death in the MIA Eastern and Central zones

The death of a community member in the MIA would have released powerful emotions. However, in socieities composed of competing, nominally egalitarian households, such emotions would have been localised to the kith and kin of the deceased. In a community composed of hundreds, if not a thousand people, which lacked permanent leaders, a single death is unlikely to have made much of a psychological impact upon society (as continues to be the case today for most natural deaths). That is, unless the death was sanctioned by society itself.

Among some societies, particularly non-state societies such as appear to have characterised pre-Roman Britain, violence was potentially an important socialising tool (Armit 2011, 3). Acts of violence in response to perceived threats within non-state societies may be disproportionate in scale, thereby ensuring greater, further threats to stability are prevented (*ibid*). Within the paranoid societies which likely typified the central, and to a lesser extent eastern, zone, violence could have been a highly effective way of unifying a fractious society.

As discussed (Chapter 2.2.3) there are two forms of psychological trauma: vicarious traumatisation and post-traumatic growth. Depending on whether a traumatic experience produces vicarious trauma, or results in post-traumatic growth depends on the circumstances surrounding the episode (Shiri *et al.* 2008; Taku *et al.* 2008, 428). In order for post-traumatic growth to be stimulated, those witnessing it must have a strong sense of purpose. A homicide sanctioned by society provides the possibility for post-traumatic growth, and as such, the act of killing is viewed as a good thing.

12.1.4. Socially Sanctioned Homicide and Non-formal Pit Burials: the Social Significance

The idea that hill-forts were the location of more blood thirsty ritualistic practices has long existed (Wilson 1981, 162). The possibility that some individuals in such pits represent the results of sacrifice is a longstanding one (Walker 1984, 462; Cunliffe 1992, 77; 1995, 75; Taylor 2001, 66). Within these communities warfare has been argued to range from present (Finney 2005, 241; Lally 2008, 126) to endemic and ubiquitous (Sharples 1991b; 2010, 296; King 2010, 254; Manley 2011, 50). Taphonomic analyses of data from the study area, although not without its limitations, provides some support for this (Armit 2011, 11). Examination of Pits 923 and 1078 (LIA), which contained 10 and 11 inhumations, respectively, found evidence for mutilation and dismemberment on 7.9% (N=91) of bones from the sample examined (N=1151), usually on long bones (Craig *et al*. 2005, 169). If, as is argued above, disarticulated bones were procured from decomposing bodies within such pits, we should expect similar patterns for peri-mortem trauma on both data types (as difficult as it is to conclusively prove this).

Grain silos, which are the most commonly recorded context for these burials, were ultimately a communal feature; their size enabled them to hold enough grain to support multiple persons, and their location within settlements or hill-forts meant that they would have been a familiar feature to many. We cannot know how many people witnessed such acts, however, the lack of evidence for enclosure surrounding such pits suggests would indicate the access to spectacles was not restricted. Sacrificial pit burial was therefore likely a communal event (Roth 2011, 311). Pits, and the enclosures which surrounded them (in particular hill-forts) may be viewed as an “evocative space” within a political landscape (Smith 2003, 8). But what effect would this act of violence have had upon those witnessing it?

> “Central to the political work of the spectacular is the representation of the violence at the heart of sovereignty.”
>
> (Smith 2011, 420).

A display of brute, socially sanctioned violence, would have served to reinforce the need of the community to maintain the links engineered by exchange and communal acts of rampart building. By undertaking a socially sanctioned homicide, and depositing the victim within a communal feature, set within a likely communal settlement, witnesses would have been provided with the sense of purpose required to stimulate post-traumatic growth, and thus reinforce the social fabric (Taylor 2001, 66). Add to this the possibility of a psychologically stimulating act of violence set within view of the structures which a community had built (ramparts, pits, ditches), and the possibility of engendering post-traumatic growth increases as people are provided an emotional and social matrix in which they can interpret the obscene act.

Such acts would belong to the imagistic mode of religiosity. Their infrequency would have stimulated the creation of SERs, thus creating a lasting impression (Boyer 2005, 8-9). Unlike a doctrinal approach, they would have not required the attendees to have a predefined understanding of the specific mythology surrounding these rituals; with every person present taking their own meaning from the act. Furthermore, like other rituals performed in a doctrinal mode, a permanent class of religious leaders would not have been required, thus helping to avoid the possibility of a single group of people monopolising the act and elevating themselves above the rest of the community by way of their position (Whitehouse 2002, 303-7). In any case, the imagistic mode is difficult to transmit, and although I would argue these acts were widespread (in Britain and on the continent) they were highly varied interpretations of a broader cultural *koine*, rather than a fixed doctrine transmitted by missionaries.

12.2 Personhood in the MIA

In considering disarticulated MIA remains, a deliberate attempt to limit or destroy the significance of the individual has been suggested (Madgwick 2008, 111; Sharples 2014, 151). Within modern populations such methods have been applied in a wide variety of countries by abusive governments (such individuals are euphemistically termed "the disappeared"). But applying such an approach to the Later Iron Age is to risk applying our modern concept of what it means to be a "person". If disarticulated remains represent an attempt to limit or destroy the significance of an individual, then it assumes that MIA people associated personhood with a complete human body (*per* Fowler 2005, 122). The data clearly show this was not the case for the majority of communities in the study area. The aim of groups in the central and eastern zones was to avoid edifying the deceased, not to destroy their identity. As is argued, disarticulated bones likely represent a different group, procured from decomposing bodies (*per* Sharples 2010). Disarticulated remains are elements of people which were deliberately maintained, not destroyed. The predominance of femora and crania, and absence of elements like phalanges, is almost certainly the result of taphonomic processes as much cultural choices.

Instead of equating the human body with a human person as we do today, it is likely a non-*Cartesian* form of personhood prevailed in the MIA (Wilkinson 2013, 418). The idea that a non-*Cartesian* form of personhood within Wessex has already been proposed (Sharples 2010, 290), however it remains to be discussed at length. Strathern's (1988) idea of Melanesian partible personhood might appear a suitable model to explain the absence of 95% of the population, with 5% of the population in the eastern and central zones largely represented by disarticulated remains. Within such a model, the majority of the population were invisible because they were partible, and were thus shared between entire communities. The disarticulated remains provide evidence for this partible nature, as these are parts held in common between communities as evidenced by their deposition in communally constructed structures.

As noted (Chapter 2.3), however, Strathern's view is unlikely to help further our understanding of MIA society. At every level of analysis the view from Strathern's model is the same: people held in common between each other (Wilkinson 2013, 428). It does not explain why formal inhumation rites developed in the central and eastern zones, yet remained a minority practice. Applying LiPuma's (1998) caveat of a variable scale from divisible to indivisible personhood might be a way to explain this (Fowler 2016, 402, fig. 2), although as noted this is not without its problems (Wilkinson 2013). Nor does Strathern's version of personhood explain why there was a peak in the deposition of disarticulated remains and pit burials in the final centuries of the MIA. The Melanesian model is a seeminly easy fit to explain the archaeological data, but the data themselves are too varied and chronologically too dynamic, whilst the Strathern's partible personhood is too uniform and too static.

A more applicable form of personhood might be that advocated by Wilkinson (2013) in his study of the *Sapa Inka*. Within such a model, the human body is represented as central to personhood, however, the borders of personhood are less defined. Indeed, they can expand and the state of personhood can be contagious. This model of personhood is likewise compatible with Busby's (1997, 264) ideas of a permeable personhood. Although it is difficult to consider the personhood of those people who left no trace in the archaeological record, the *Sapa Inka* model does fit well for disarticulated remains, and the formalised rites which existed and developed in this period.

Within such a model, it possible to imagine disarticulated bones as possessing the qualities of the person to whom they originally belonged. Just as elements of the *Sapa Inka* were incorporated into *wawqi* effigies (Wilkinson 2013, 422), so too could skeletal elements of pit burials be incorporated into different contexts, where they could continue to exert influence. It has been suggested that violence was employed in the Iron Age as a means to “generate spiritual energy” from human remains (Aldhouse Green 2001, 55). The fragmentation of these bones, if deliberately undertaken, may have further served to release potent essences. Hill’s (1995, 108) analysis of MIA pit fills noted that within Wessex there were recurrent associations of different material, such as human remains, small finds and multiple species of animals; thus echoing the idea that some material may have been considered to have essences with fixed values.

This does pose a problem if, as is argued, several of these non-formal pit burials stemmed from witches and other polluters. However, it must be remembered that these bones had undergone a ritual transformation. In many socities, contagious substances like excrement and blood can have opposite meanings, and be viewed as protective substances when placed in other contexts (Nieuwhof 2015, 107). Why then could the bone of a potentially powerful individual, buried on the boundary of a settlement or in a grain pit (Figure 47-Figure 48), not exert a protective force? Within such a transformed state, a disarticulated element ceases to be a potentially polluting force, and instead becomes a spiritual tool which can be curated and exchanged within a community without the risk of elevating the original owner of the bone above the rest.

The exchange of these remains could have further reinforced communal bonds (e.g. Brück 2006, 302, for disarticulated Bronze Age remains). That human remains were exchanged seems probable when we consider the representation of disarticulated remains at settlements and hill-forts (Figure 30-Figure 33) (Madgwick 2008, 108; Sharples 2010, 249). When considered alongside other forms of material, rather than as a special class, the low rate of deposition is comparable to the rest of the archaeological record. Combined with their prevalence for placement within storage pits and ditches, and association between fragmented human and animal bones and ceramics, we may view them as belonging to a broader continuum of material culture (Lally 2008, 118, 125).

Thus far only the rites of non-formal pit burial, and subsequent transformation and manipulation of disarticulated remains, have been discussed, although a broader model for the personhood of this period has been proposed. In all three zones of the study area, non-formalised inhumation rites existed at some point in the MIA. How they developed within the prevailing rituals, social mores and perceptions of pesonhood is key to understanding the transition to the LIA.

12.3. Formal Pit Burials

Contrary to some critics (e.g. Tracey 2016, 165), Whimster (1981, 5-10) never described pit burials as a unified rite. Instead, he merely suggested that such inhumations shared a common theme of being deposited in pits, and that their distribution accorded with regions in which pits were present (which themselves are overwhelmingly distributed in regions of Jurassic and Cretaceous chalk; O'Brien 2014, 31, fig. 2). Thus we must remain open to the possibility that graves are not the sole context of choice for formal burial. In this study, grave contexts have been considered to be features which were purposely dug out so that a human may be deposited in them. Nevertheless, we should not forget one constant of the human condition: apathy. Faced with the prospect of digging out a new grave, or re-using an emptied grain silo (or another suitable feature) it is not unlikely that some communities opted for the latter; provided that this option was permitted within society (Whimster 1981, 10; O'Brien 2014, 30).

The decision to bury kin in these pits will, no doubt, have been influenced by other factors, like the significance of the site for the local community, or specific details of the individual interred. In no way should such burials be considered as "casual". Nevertheless, provided that the location was considered acceptable, and such a form of burial was considered suitable for the community and the deceased, an open pit may have been considered a more attractive option than exerting energy in digging a grave. There may also have been a metaphorical association; the aforementioned communal nature of grain pits, which on a small settlement like those discussed here, may have bound the deceased more closely to a family than the broader community. It may be that some of these burials occurred at times when it was not possible to provide the corpse with the more widespread, archaeologically invisible rite. A particularly harsh winter, for example, in which movement was difficult, the conditions unsuitable for practices like excarnation, and the ground frozen may have necessitated the use of such pits.

At MIA Winnall Down and LIA Gussage All Saints the representation of ages is not dissimilar to that observed among formal cemeteries of the Durotrigian tradition, albeit with an inversion of percentages among infant and adult populations (Table 50). In the case of both there is a slightly higher number of infants, but as with Durotrigian cemeteries, children and adolescents are almost absent (the standard mortality profile observed for pre-indutrial agricultural societies; Chamberlain 2006, 66). There is an uneven balance between adult sexes, however this also occurs in Durotrigian cemeteries. It is also worth remembering that infants at Durotrigian cemeteries, such as Litton Cheney (Bailey 1967, 148, fig. 2), were deposited in pits. Winnall Down has further indications of being a cemetery, in the conventional sense, in that one burial (174 (4475)) was adorned with a copper alloy ring and a shale bangle. Additional support for the idea is given by the fact the original field notes reported that some graves were provisioned with saucepan pots (Tracey 2016, 163). The same was also the case at Highstead, Kent, where six pit inhumations were excavated, some associated with late La Tène vessels (Whimster 1981, 18).

The representation of infants at both sites may further indicate why these sites were selected. Both appear to have been economically specialised sites. In the case of Winnall Down, this related to the raising of sheep (Maltby 1985, 99, fig. 20) whereas at Gussage All Saints iron and bronze working occurred on a large scale (Spratling 1979, 125-49). At Winnall Down there was a particularly high number of neonatal lamb mortalities (Maltby 1985, 102), itself a by-product of large scale sheep breading. It may be that some of the infants buried here were not the children of the community resident at Winnall Down. Rather, the site became a foci for grieving parents due to the association with the high number of neonatal lambs which were deposited at the site.

At Gussage All Saints, the iron smelting and bronze casting produced large amounts of waste, including failed castings. Among some African societies there are strong metaphorical associations between metalworking and childbirth (Giles 2007, 401). This can extend to describing a foetus as a "bloom" or menstruation as a "failed casting" (*ibid*). Such are the number of infants from Gussage All Saints combined with the sizeable evidence for metalworking, especially bronze casting, that metaphorical links like those Giles (*ibid*) describes, may explain why people chose to bury their infants there.

Dataset	%(N=) Infants	%(N=) Children and Adolescents	%(N=) Adults
MIA Winnall Down	66 (12)	8 (1)	25 (3)
LIA Gussage All Saints	74 (26)	2 (1)	23 (8)
All Durotrigian burials	22 (35)	7 (9)	68 (109)
Hill-fort Durotrigian burials	25 (27)	4 (4)	66 (71)
Non-Hill-fort Durotrigian burials	15 (8)	10 (5)	73 (38)

Table 50. Comparison of age categories present in MIA Winnall Down and LIA Gussage All Saints pit "cemeteries" comparied to Durotrigian dataset.

12.4. MIA Cemeteries

Although a limited quantity of human remains entered the archaeological record of the central and eastern zones in the MIA, what may be termed formal cemeteries are present at a few sties. Creating a cemetery requires recurrent deposition of individuals in a restricted location. Such an act neccesitates a powerful ideology to sustain the idea that the particular location selected is the right and proper place in which to deposit people (Giles 2000, 127). How then to explain such cemeteries within the context of the MIA? One possibility is that they represent a more contracted version of the personhood theorised to have existed within the area. Like the *Sapa Inka* the borders of personhood for these people was more synonymous with the human body, and not so expansive as to negate the need to preserve the corpse in a way which we can detect.

Perhaps a better view is to consider is that these burials represent either a reformation of, or resistance to, the prevailing "death myth" which existed in society (Oestigaard 2015). The aim of a ritual is to reproduce certain mental structures, if not preceding versions of the ritual (Hill 1995, 99). However, perfect repetition is never possible; variations will always occur. It is entirely possible for a new ritual to be created which, if performed correctly in the eyes of the attendees, can be seen to be perfectly legitimate (Oestigaard 2015, 368). Considering that funerary rituals were likely imagistic in nature, orthodoxy checks which would have prevented the creation of a new tradition were not possible. Individuals or groups could successfully manipulate the ritual in order to suit their own needs. It need also be remembered that, when considering Douglas (1970) grid system, that not all members of a society need be positioned in the same part of the axis. Indeed, Douglas (2005) has sought to stress that every society is composed of groups that can be placed in all four corners of her matrix. Thus, people who sought to manipulate the "death myth" likely existed in such socieities.

Although the various exchange systems which existed in this area of Britain served to engineer communal links, it also brought people into contact with others with clear differences. This contact could have served to catalyse increased expressions of identity, especially if issues such as resource control were beginning to arise (González-Ruibal 2011, 263). This seems particularly likely when we consider the data for Cliffs End, Thanet and Mill Hill, Deal. At Cliffs End, isotopic evidence indicates that a portion of the deceased were of non-local (if not continental) origin (Chapter 12.11) (Needham 2014, 220). For the people living in closer proximity to the coast, they were no doubt aware of different (though probably related) peoples. These continental peoples did not rely entirely on acts of exchange, and communal acts of construction, to create a sense of community. They also expressed themselves by burying their dead in cemeteries, with repetitive associations of grave goods used to construct a restricted number of *social personae* within accepted local "death myths".

Mill Hill, although lacking continental material culture until the implantation of LIA cremation burials, is nevertheless distinct on account of the extended, supine position of the inhumations. Roughly 5km from Deal is St. Margaret's at Cliffe, from where it is possible to observe the French coast; the population of eastern Kent, even if they did not incorporate many continental imports into the archaeological record, were aware of their contemporaries across the Channel. In the western zone, the idea that contact with outside groups stimulated a desire to express group identity in the mortuary record is supported by the evidence for imported items from the French and Iberian Atlantic coasts. Clear similarities between south-western decorated and Amorican wares can be seen as good evidence for ongoing contact between people either side of the western Channel. Atlantic communities were likely in constant contact between c.450-120BC (Cunliffe 1990, 250).

Further evidence of these contacts may be seen in the presence of glass, beads or bangles from Harlyn Bay, which represent some of the earliest examples in Iron Age Britain (Cripps 2007, 150). Indeed, maritime contacts are often easier to maintain than terrestrial ones (James 1999, 87). Cripps (2007, 150) has suggested that the SW social structure was based upon family units (rather than the much larger communities of central zone), as visible by the clustering of graves at Trethellan Farm and Harlyn Bay. Combined with exposure to populations in Brittany, this may explain why inhumation burials emerged so early in this region; identity and personhood was made local through exposure to others who were different. This is not to suggest that the central zone was lacking in external contacts, the slight evidence presented in Chapter 1 shows some degree of contact throughout this period. Rather, as Sharples (2010; 2014) has suggested, the xenophobic, controlling authority within such communities seems to have actively excluded foreign influences.

Inhumation cemeteries such as that from Suddern Farm are were likely more common than the dataset suggests (Roth 2011, 23). Suddern Farm does not represent a radical break from the prevailing communal social structure. The placement of Suddern Farm within a large quarry (the chalk of which was likely used in surrounding fields), in close proximity to a rampart, echoes the communal focus of rites in the surrounding area (Sharples 2010, 280). The population at Suddern Farm is also relatively large (N=44), perhaps representing a few related families. Furthermore, although deposited as whole bodies, the individuals at Suddern Farm were undifferentiated in terms of material culture; with only two burials (C18 and C27) possessing any grave goods (an iron ring and a Hull and Hawkes 2C fibula).

The same close association between a communal structure and the “Iron Age B” cemetery at Maiden Castle also suggests that this rite does not represent a radical break with prevailing traditions. Accepting that this cemetery, and the Church Knapp burials, represent a shift within the concept of personhood to one with less expansive borders, and the development of a new “death myth”, then it is indicative and catalysing of important changes towards the end of the MIA. Changes which are apparent elsewhere in the archaeological record also.

12.5. Changes in the late MIA

Towards the end of the MIA, the societies of the central and eastern zone were beginning to change (Massey 2006, XXIII). A rise in population has been suggested as a cause (Sharples 1991a; Massey 2006, 2). This was seemingly a period of improved climatic stability (Brun and Ruby 2008, 55); with warmer, drier climates facilitating population growth (Massey 2006, 289). This would have put pressure on families to monopolise land and resources at the expense of the wider community. The largely uniform nature of the ‘sauce-pan’ pot tradition began to show increased local variations. The later stages of the St Catharine’s Hill-Worthy Down style, which incorporates the Danebury environs sites, w itnessed the emergence of decorated wares and smaller vessels, more indicative of individual meals (Cunliffe 2005, 104). No longer did local ceramic traditions reflect the community, instead they represented a fractious society with people re-negotiating their place within it.

At this time human remains deposition peaked at Danebury; 119 of 284 contexts (42%) belonging to ceramic phase 7 of the site. A comparable increase in ritual deposits of other material during this period has also been noted (Lally 2008, 125). Irrespective of the source of the human remains, the desire to deposit greater quantities of human remains suggests a social system under stress (Sharples 2014, 154); the arbiters of this system sought solutions in increasing the frequency (and perhaps spectacle, considering the multiple males and animal remains from the Danebury “charnal” pits dated to this period) of the ritual. Society was breaking down, becoming polluted. The only remedy were more imagistic rituals to remind people of the necessity of the pre-existing order, and to deposit more ritually charged, protective bones and objects to protect the borders of society.

Conversly, the rise in depositions could indicate that control over the rites was diminishing, and more people could conduct these rituals. As more people came to perform these rituals, so they could manipulate the “death myth” to suit their own needs. The lack of orthodoxy checks, which had previously prevented the emergence of dedicated social groups who could control these rituals, meant that it was not possible to prevent manipulation of these rites. The end of the MIA also saw an increase in periodontal disease in sheep within the Danebury environs, possibly indicating deterioration of the chalkland pastures (Cunliffe and Poole 2000a, 191). The most visible signs of collapse of the old social order in Hampshire and Sussex is the torching of the Danebury gates, or the deliberate destruction of the entrance at Torberry towards the end of the 2nd century BC (Cunliffe 2005, 136).

Within Dorset, by c.200BC the Maiden Castle-Marnhull tradition of ceramics had developed; setting this region apart from Hampshire and coinciding with the “Iron Age B cemetery” (Sharples 1991a, 266; Cunliffe 2005, 107-8). The later MIA saw major settlement expansion along the Sussex coastal plain and around Poole Harbour (Hill 1995, 9). The earliest cremation burials at Westhampnett and Owslebury date to this period. At Adanac Park, Hampshire, a small community decided to inhume their dead during this period (Leivers and Gibson 2011). Adanac Park existed on the periphery of the active hill-fort zone during this period (Cunfliffe 2005, 389, 15.28), perhaps indicating the people here felt removed from, or opposed, the communal mentality to the north (*per* Sharples 2010, 306). Increased transhumance is likewise advocated for Kent, thereby bringing discrete groups into greater contact (Hill 2007, 23). At Mill Hill there was an increase in the rate of inhumation, whilst in the broader archaeological record a variety of changes occur, not least the importation of gold Gallo-Belgic coinage which may have proven particularly disruptive to pre-existing exchange systems (Creighton 2000) but also facilitative to new ones (Hill 2007).

12.5.1. Continuity of Old Rites

Despite new inhumation and cremation rites, and increased archaeological visibility of graves, older rites, and likely their associated views of expansive personhood, persisted. Pit burials, possibly for the same ritual function as had been the case in preceding years, occurred as Viables Farm, Hampshire, Gravesend, Kent and Flagstone, Dorset (Hill 1995, 112; Fitzpatrick 2007a, 124). Likewise, disarticulated remains within similar contexts as before continued at Northumberland Bottom, and Copse Farm, likely procured from pit burials like those above. The possibility that violence continued to be employed as a structuring agent is also attested. At Gussage All Saints a LIA male 285(3) was deposited within a pit; skeletal indicators suggesting he died as from his wounds (Keepax 1979, 167-8). Violence was not restricted to adults, at the LIA site Viables II, Hampshire, an infant from a pit was split in two from head to groin, either peri-mortem or immediately post-mortem (Baxter and Duhig 2004, 24).

12.6. The LIA

12.6.1. Formalised Inhumation Rites

One effect of these changes was an increase in formal burial cultures in the eastern and central zones. As with the MIA cemeteries, these likely resulted from people being in greater competition with others, a break down of older social controls, and the creation of new rituals. If this was a time of population expansion, as the settlement record suggests, then the increased competition for land may have resulted in a desire to adopt mortuary rites which served to anchor groups to the land. Control of the dead is very important in establishing control of an area, as the power of the dead endures longer than that of the living (Manley 2011, 238). If, as seems to be the case in the cental zone, the proscription against continental influences weakened, then people would also have become exposed to the ways in which near continental groups were now laying claim to land; small cemeteries for family members (Haselgrove 2007, 498). Groups became more aware of differences between each other, thereby stimulating a sense of “them” and “us” and prompting these differences to be emphasised in material culture in order to emphasise group solidarity (Jones 1996b, 69; James 1999, 72; Roymans 2004, 2, 253).

In this sense, we see good examples of the creation of a new "death myth" (Oestigaard 2015, 368). In the case of the Kentish and SW inhumations the preceding rites would have lent legitimacy to their LIA variants. For the Durotrigian rite, the Iron Age 'B' cemetery at Maiden Castle may be a predecessor, although the continued use of the hill-forts of Poundbury and Maiden Castle would have provided further surety of the natural order of such rites by providing a direct continuation with the past. It is unclear why Jordan Hill was selected as the site for a large cemetery, although the subsequent construction of a Romano-British temple there may indicate a longlasting significance of the location.

This is not to suggest that these rites are markers of ethnicity (Moore 2011, 351; Roth 2011, 333). Certainly items such as the Black Burnished Wares of Dorset are synonymous with Durotrigian rites, however we can never assume that one aspect of the record constitutes an ethnic marker (Roymans 2004, 2; Becker 2011, 449; Moore 2011, 342). A good example from the study area of the danger assuming that objects within these graves are indicators of ethnicity are fibulae. On the basis of the above analysis the differences in fibulae types in the dataset appears to have been determined by chronological patterns, rather than ethnic affinities; as evidenced by the predominance of Colchester types across the study area by the 1st century AD.

In terms of the personhood represented by such burials, the increased desire to maintain the corpse in its entirety is significant. If, as is argued, the personhood which existed was comparable to that of the *Sapa Inka*, the borders of personhood had contracted to become more synonymous with the human body. However, this may not necessarily represent the emergence of a non-divisible individual (*contra* Chapman 2000, 145). As will be argued below, it seems that *elite* individuals in particular display many of the features of contagious personhood described by Wilkinson (2013). The standardised nature of many these graves likewise advocates that the people buried within them were extensions of a broader personhood which, like those of the MIA, was community geared. Whilst the evidence for shrouds and coffins among Kentish and SW inhumations may suggest a means of shielding attendants from the effects of decomposition, they can be viewed as constituting acts of forgetting who people were; the body may be present, but the identity remains hidden (Giles 2000, 135).

Although inhumation preserves bodily integrity, the boundaries of the body are ultimately broken down, resulting in leaking of fluids and tissue (essences) (Giles 2000, 170). The highly restricted range of grave goods in both groups likewise argues against the existence of highly distinct, indivisible persons; instead, a communal identity was stressed in death (even if this may not have been the case in life). The placement of fibulae within Durotrigian graves may indicate a standardised *garb*, whilst the framing of the body (particularly around the head and lower limbs) with ceramics, most of which were local, could have carried a metaphorical meaning; situating the deceased within a broader web of community exchanges. The rituals which operated were potentially more varied, however, the notion of an "idealised death" existed. Furthermore, such is the standardisation observed in these burials that some form of orthodoxy checks were now in place. This would have prevented individual families from out-performing their neighbours within the new social structures which had formed during this period.

Nevertheless, exceptions existed: the weapon burials, particularly eastern examples, and mirror burials of the west (as noted, eastern mirror burials possess very restricted quantities of grave goods). As discussed above in the case study of weaponry, and elaborate on further below with regards the continental context, these burials have their origin in the MIA (Mill Hill 112 being the earliest example), but their prevalence in the LIA indicates a significant shift in the way ritual was used in society. Considering that not everyone within Douglas' (1970) grid system need have been rigidly tied to an area (area D in the sense of MIA communities), these *social personae* should not be seen as a development restricted to the LIA. However, as will be described below (12.8), the LIA permitted such people to exist in increased numbers, without transgressing the borders of society.

12.6.2. Cremation

Some see LIA cremation as a continuation of earlier cremation rites (Wilson 1981, 148; Seager Thomas 2005; Roth 2011), although for others it represents a new rite (Hill 1995, 122; Sharples 2014, 149). The dataset implies a break of a few centuries between the limited number of early MIA cremations and those of the LIA. The few isolated examples which exist are insufficient to support the idea that the rite continued. When cremation burials do appear in quantity in the LIA, at Westhampnett, they display a strong continental affinity. Cremation would thus initially appear to represent the most decisive break with the mortuary traditions of the MIA (Sharples 2010, 287). However, although a new rite, the decision to cremate is not a polar opposite of inhumation, with both rites overlapping in various ways (Sørensen and Rebay 2007, 2; Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2008, 56; Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 15)

New cremation rites were employed for the same socio-political goals as their contemporaneous inhumations. Deeves (2007, 245) has suggested that the cremation at South Willesborough was intended to act as a territorial claim. The same has been advanced for the contemporary cemetery at Westhampnett (c.110/90-50BC) (Fitzpatrick 1997; although see Fitzpatrick *et al.* 2017 for alternative, earlier dating). The small size of many cremation cemeteries, and in some cases proximity to known settlements (e.g. Owslebury), likewise suggests that they were employed to link people to the land. Nor were inhumations and cremations mutually exclusive, as evidenced by LIA Mill Hill and Highstead, Sittingbourne, Kent where 20 inhumations and six cremations were deposited at the latter site (Kelly 1978). Inhumation and cremation were similarly contemporary to the north at Verulamium (Niblett 2002, 139). The presence of cemeteries containing cremations and inhumations has been considered as representing a fluidity of individual and communal choice (Hamilton 2007, 90). Such an idea would fit with the idea of the inherently variable “death myth”. Indeed, similar views have been advocated for other periods of European prehistory (Sørensen and Rebay 2007, 2).

Although a new rite, a cremation funeral represents arguably the best arena in which to generate the SERs of an imagistic rite (Sørensen and Rebay 2007, 4), and demonstrate that a person is composed of essenses with potentially contagious borders (Rebay-Salisbury 2010, 64). Contrary to ideas that cremation represents a more efficient, cleaner form of disposing of the corpse (e.g. Sharples 2010, 288), pre-modern cremation was a visually stunning, unpredictable rite which likely lasted 10 hours, with temperatures of up to 1,200°C (Williams 2004, 271; Rebay-Salisbury 2015, 22). Williams

(2004), on the basis of forensic and ethnographic literature, provides the following sequence of likely events for a cremation atop a pyre:

1. Any coverings over the body would have burnt off, revealing the corpse underneath.
2. Clothing, hair, fat and skin would have been incinerated, making the muscle underneath visible.
3. As the body gained temperature, internal liquids may have heated so rapidly that they shot out in jets of steam.
4. Once heated, the body's own fat layers would have further accentuated the process.
5. The body may have moved about on the pyre as muscles contracted under the heat.
6. As the soft tissue incinerated the skeleton would have been exposed, with the fragmented bones of the cremation visible for hours during the cremation.

In addition to the above possibility of the body moving, there were additional movements involved, not least the flames, but also smoke rising, the body, liquids and pyre sinking to the ground, and possibly insects escaping from the corpse. Additionally, there would be the sounds of timber crackling, liquids hissing, and even gas escaping from the lungs, thereby giving the impression of speech (Williams 2004, 275). The act of cremation creates a variety of colours of bone, ranging from blue to white. Smell was likewise an important feature of such rites. Within some societies, controlling the smell of the cremation is considered paramount. In Indian and Southeast Asian societies, aromatic woods such as juniper, apple, sandalwood and mango are known to have been employed (Wales 1931, 159; Parry 1995, 176). Where samples were available, it seemed that the choice of wood for pyres within the dataset was determined by the local environment. However, at Westhampnett and A2 Pepperhill, aromatic species like cherry and blackthorn were presumably selected to mask the smell of the burning flesh (Chapter 8.6)(Gale 1997, 82; Challinor 2012, 468). Roman society employed perfumes to mask the smell of the cremation, which may explain the presence of a perfume bottle at Alton grave 2 (Williams 2004, 276). Cremation therefore displays how a human body can be made to expand, fuse with other substances, and mix its essenses with the earth and sky.

How then is cremation implicated within the framework of LIA personhood? Arguably cremation does not represent a break, but instead references the existing MIA rites; when cremation arrived in Britain from northern France (see below) it was reformulated and incorporated into existing MIA practices (Carr 2007, 441-5; Sørensen and Rebay 2007, 3). Of significance here are the fragmented nature of the cremated bone (Brück 2006, 299), the limited amount of cremated bone placed in graves, and the significance of pyre goods. Cremated remains were likely deposited in elaborate secondary burial cemeteries, possibly in a range of contexts in addition to the grave (*ibid*, 299-301; Madgwick 2008, 109; Oestigaard 2013, 498). Lucas (1996, 113) has suggested that in Bronze Age Yorkshire, cremated remains were distributed between attendees, with cremated remains in urns having the appearance of "packages". The same may be true of LIA cremations, with a token amount placed in the graves to tie the living (recipients of the cremated remains) to the land; the cremated bone acting as a nexus of communication, essences of the deceased distributed through society (Williams 2004, 267). In this sense the "complete" cremation deposits represent particular exceptions.

The objects employed as pyre goods may also be viewed as evidence of a personhood with inherent essenses. Metal is almost always in the form of an alloy, like a human body it is the product of several elements (Bennet 2010, 61). As noted above (Figure 243) copper alloy and iron fibulae were both employed as pyre goods. 700°C is sufficient to smelt and cast bronze, whilst temperatures of 300°C are hot enough for smelting iron slag (Oestigaard 2013, 504). Even if, as at Westhampnett, iron fibulae did not melt, they still fused with the bone; thereby demonstrating the expansive nature of the deceased's personhood. It may be why iron examples dominate in La Tène D1 cremations. In some cases, metal objects in contact with bone may stain it, making the bone look like an extension of the object (Williams 2004, 280). The destruction of people, animals and goods permitted their transmission to the gods as metaphorical essences (Fitzpatrick 2000, 27; Brück 2006, 306). Experiments have demonstrated that animals and humans placed on funerary pyres tend to retain their position, even as the pyre breaks down. Mourners could have distinguished between the two, lending greater significance to the fact animal and human bones were often mixed together (Williams 2004, 281).

The above would provide a social context into which cremation could fit, but why adopt it? In 19th century Britain cremation arose from a paucity of space in grave yards, combined with new notions of how Christianity might view the body, social disruptions and class conflict (Nilsson-Stutz 2015, 9). In the contemporary Austrian Empire, it was adopted as a sign of resistance to the ruling Hapsburg monarchs and their Catholic supporters (Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 19). For different cultures in Middle Bronze Age Hungary, the decision to cremate, inhume or use both rites has been linked to concepts of how the corpse should be reconstituted (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2008, 62). Within Hellenistic Anatolia (330-133BC) it appears that Greek influences were responsible for the adoption of cremation among the native population; however the co-existence of cremation and inhumation at cemeteries demonstrates that the decision to cremate or not was also subject to other considerations (Ahrens 2015, 208). Likewise, it is not clear why both cremation and inhumation co-existed in contemporary Greece and Rome, and may have been more reliant on personal preference than anything (Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 21).

Within Migration period (5th-8th century AD) cemeteries in western Norway inhumations and cremations are contemporary, sometimes occupying the same context. The decision to cremate or inhume appears to have been dictated by conditions specific to the deceased; for example if a widow died without sons, it was considered better to inhume her, as cremation by her daughters was looked upon less favourably than if they were to inhume her (Kristoffersen and Oestigaard 2008, 134). In the context of Anglo-Saxon cremations, Williams (2004, 285) argues that the rite was simultaneously innovative, yet at the same it evoked links with established rites in northern Germany and southern Scandinavia. In the context of the LIA study area, combined with the strong parallels with rites in northern France, it seems likely that the decision to cremate related to a variety of the above; personal choice, resistance to the prevailing social order, new ideas regarding the human body, and referencing contemporary rites in northern France.

12.7. Discussion: the British and Continental Contexts

Turning to the continental context, I shall briefly summarise the mortuary rites which existed contemporary to those in the study area.

12.7.1. Britain

Except in East Yorkshire, and a few seemingly isolated examples, such as Gravelly Guy, Newbridge and Swainboast, inhumation in graves was virtually absent in Britain until the final two centuries before the Claudian invasion. The only exception to this is a localised group of inhumations and cremations from south east Scotland. Prior to c.100BC, the mortuary record is predominantly represented by disarticulated remains and seemingly non-formal inhumations from a variety of contexts, of which pits are the most frequently recorded. Like the study area, this data cannot account for the majority of the population. Despite the lack of data for some regions of Britain, it appears that such practices were present across a wide area, stretching from the borders of the study area to the Western Isles and Orkney.

The use of different contexts in which to place human remains mirrors the local settlement record. Thus, pits are most prevalent in the chalklands of the south, whilst deposition in structures is particularly well represented by the rounds and wheelhouses of Scotland. Where bogs were a feature of the landscape some individuals were likewise deposited there. In contrast to the predominance of females in East Yorkshire cemeteries (Giles 2012, fig. 4.2), in southern Britain male adults were the preferred individuals to deposit during this period (Roth 2011, 106, fig. 5.20). Many of these human remains also display commonalities with other aspects of the archaeological record, including the infrequency of the rate of deposition, and associated material culture (animal remains and broken domestic objects), and context.

The first centuries BC and AD witnessed notable developments, which mirror those observed elsewhere in the archaeological record. In the south-east in Essex and Hertfordshire, the Aylesford-Swarling cremation culture became established at the same time as in the study area, subsequently expanding slightly further north and east into Cambridgeshire. This northern Aylesford-Swarling group included the rich Welwyn graves. These new rites occurred at a time of increased deposition; including a marked rise in the number of personal items recovered from the mortuary record. The emergence of detectable mortuary rites does not occur everywhere in Britain; indeed the East Yorkshire cemeteries ceased to be used in the 1st century BC, following a brief period when supine, extended burials were inhumed. Small inhumation cemeteries were established in the Western and Northern Isles in the 1st century AD, although deposition of disarticulated remains continued much as before. Data are largely lacking for the rest of the north, but it appears that disarticulated remains declined in frequency during this period over much of southern Britain (Roth 2011, 103, fig 5.14).

12.7.2 The Near Continent

12.7.2.1. La Tène A-B1

In early La Tène Picardy, the mortuary record is dominated by inhumation burials, often found in large cemeteries of up to 100 individuals. Cremation was also practiced, though in extremely limited number. Data are lacking for Nord-Pas-de-Calais, although Belgium saw the development of the long lived "Groupe de la Haine" cremation group. To the north in the Netherlands, except along the coast, small cremation cemeteries (typically 20 graves), predominated. A limited number of inhumation burials are also known from the central Netherlands. In early La Tène Champagne-Ardenne inhumation was the rule, in some cases in small cemeteries, associated with earlier monuments, but much better represented are the huge communal cemeteries like those in Picardy (the Aisne-Marne group being shared between both regions). Such cemeteries appear to account for the majority of the population (including all ages and sexes), and were often arranged in familial groupings (Lambot 2002, 98). The situation in Normandy is comparable to Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne, with inhumation being the majority rite and the largest cemeteries occurring from c.450-350BC. Between c.350-250BC Normandy cemeteries were much smaller than in the preceding period, however they were much more abundant. In Brittany, the evidence points to continuity from the late Hallstatt period into the early La Tène of local cremation rites, typically placed in small cemeteries. Data for the Channel Islands are wanting.

11.7.2.2. La Tène B1-C1

Middle La Tène Picardy saw a decline in formal data compared to the preceding period, although the largest deposits of disarticulated bones occur at this time. Cemeteries occurred in a variety of sizes; those at the start of this period tended to be small groupings, though larger examples and isolated burials were present by La Tène C1. During this period cremation became the majority formalised rite, though inhumation continued for non-formal burials. In Nord-Pas-de-Calais, the first detectable mortuary rites occurred in the form of formal cremations (restricted solely to adults) and non-formal inhumations (adults and infants). The largest example, Hordain, consisted of only 14 graves. In Picardy and Nord-Pas-de-Calais the number of formal burials declined markedly towards the end of the middle La Tène period. The Dutch LIA began at this point, and changes which were fully perceptible by La Tène D began to occur. Inhumation remained the majority rite in Champagne-Ardenne until La Tène C1, although most of the sites in use in La Tène A-B1 had ceased to be used by c.260BC. Instead, new cemeteries were established. In Normandy, cremation became the formalised rite, although inhumation persisted. This period is represented by small cemeteries populated by a limited number of individuals. In Brittany cremation burials persisted but had ceased by La Tène C1.

11.7.2.3. La Tène C2-D2

In La Tène C2-D2 Picardy and Nord-Pas-de-Calais cremation remained the formalised rite (with as many as 90% of burials being cremations; Baray 2002, 137), represented by small cemeteries and isolated burials. Inhumations were also present for both formal and non-formal burials. Within the Netherlands, some earlier cremation cemeteries continued in use, however, increasing numbers of small, permanent cemeteries were established, seemingly for family groups. Champagne-Ardenne cemeteries (now represented solely by cremations) varied in size during this period, but appear to represent groups ranging from individual families to conglomerations representing several villages. In the late La Tène, access to such cemeteries had become restricted, and only a fraction of society was permitted access to formalisedrites, assuming the patterns from Acy-Romance are representative of the area. Inhumation and disarticulated remains continued to represent non-formalised rites. Within Normandy cremation burials in small cemeteries (N=>15) predominated, although at least one solely inhumation cemetery is known, as are non-formal inhumations. In Picardy, Normandy and Champagne-Ardenne new, elite graves were established, typified by the inclusion of feasting equipment. In Brittany, communal inhumation cemeteries emerged, and access to them does not appear to have been restricted on the basis of sex or age (although poor soil conditions hamper attempts at establishing demographic profiles) (Giot and Monnier 1977, 159, 164). A series of elite, isolated graves were also established at this time, and disarticulated remains are present in the record. On Guernsey increasing numbers of adults were inhumed.

11.7.2.4. The Contextual Area: Summary

As is apparent, the data from the contextual area contrast greatly. Considering the size of this area this is unsurprising, but even at more local levels there is a great degree of variation. For example, different demographic profiles or ways of dressing the deceased are present in different cemeteries in East Yorkshire. In Picardy there are contrasting rates of cremation or inhumation in the Aisne and Somme, whilst in Champagne-Ardenne there are differences between east and west, and north and south which prevail throughout the La Tène period. Standing back from the evidence, however, we may detect three periods of marked change, albeit they do not apply everywhere:

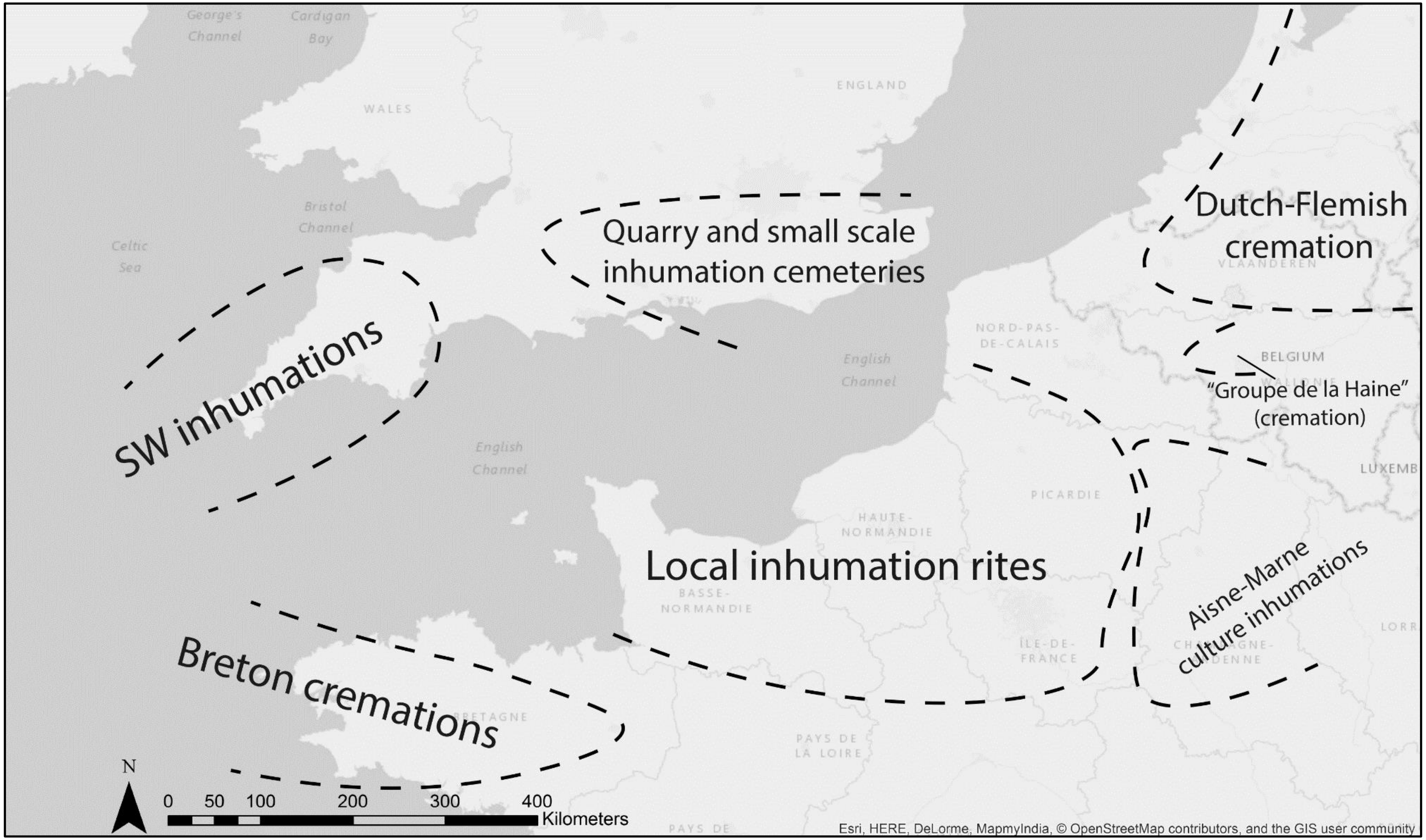
In Hauts-de-France and Champagne-Ardenne, the 3rd century BC saw the replacement of inhumation by cremation rites, the abandonment of earlier cemeteries, the end of vehicle burials, and a peak in pit inhumations. Indeed, it has been suggested that the 4th-3rd century BC represents the peak of pit deposition for La Tène Europe (Le Brun-Ricalens 2014, 166). In Picardy there was a rise in the number of sanctuaries containing human remains. The mean quantity of grave goods within Champagne-

Ardenne, Picardy and Norman graves declined from this point. In Brittany cremation burials became increasingly hard to detect, and by the mid-2nd century BC the rite appears to have ceased.

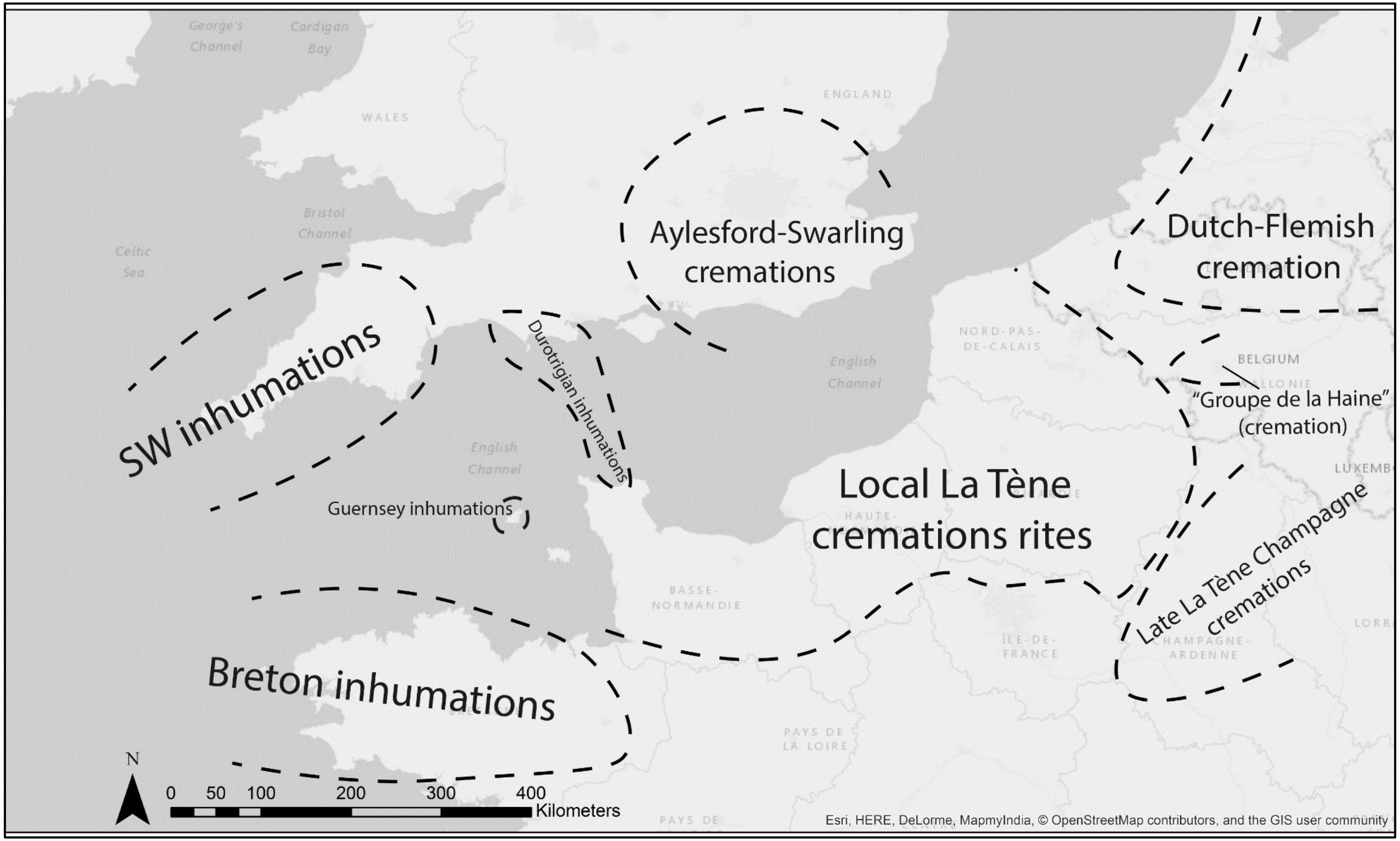
In Hauts-de-France and Normandy cemeteries became smaller in the late 2nd-early 1st century BC, and increasingly associated with settlements. New cemeteries were established in Champagne-Ardenne and Brittany (containing inhumation burials). In all areas new, elite graves were established, however, the majority of graves contained restricted quantities of artefacts; usually items of personal adornment and ceramics. In Britain this period saw an increase in archaeologically detectable mortuary rites, in particular cremation, as well as the first elite graves of the Welwyn series at Baldock. Around this time, or shortly after, the East Yorkshire cemeteries also went out of use. In the Netherlands, as in southern Britain, there was an increase in the number of items associated with personal adornment.

In the late 1st century BC-early 1st century AD, elite cremation graves either side of the Channel developed in tandem, albeit with increased Italic imports, whilst inhumation becomes more prevalent in regions such as Picardy as a result of the Roman conquest (Pearce 2015, 225-6).

Before considering how the study area data relate to the foregoing it is important to remember that the above developments are not limited solely to mortuary data. These periods witnessed important changes in the settlement and artefact record, which are beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, due to the absence of data for much of Britain and Brittany, changes in the mortuary practices may have occurred of which we have no knowledge. Precise chronologies for the East Yorkshire cemeteries are still developing, though new radiocarbon dates suggest that the vehicle burial rite was restricted to a short lived horizon c.200 BC, although how this influences our understanding of this culture remains to be decided (Jay *et. al.* 2012, 161; Hamilton *et al*. 2015, 651).



Map 10. Simplified representation of regionalised burial rites within the study area and and near continent between La Tène A and B2.



Map 11. Simplified representation of regionalised burial rites within the study area and the near continent between La Tène C and D2.

12.7.3. Cemetery Size and Associated Features

In terms of settlement size, there are three general trends in northern France, divided between the eastern coastal regions (Netherlands, Hauts-de-France, Normandy), Champagne-Ardenne and Brittany. In Normandy and Picardy the largest cemeteries date to early La Tène, and both regions display the greatest variety of cemetery sizes in the 3rd century BC. In the Netherlands, Hauts de France and Normandy cemeteries were smaller towards the end of the pre-Roman Iron Age (Desenne *et al*. 2009, 30, table 1; Chanson *et al*. 2010, 61-8). Within Picardy and the Netherlands (and perhaps Nord-Pas-de-Calais), there was also an increasing association between settlement and cemeteries towards the end of the La Tène period. In Normandy, an association between burials and settlements existed throughout the La Tène Iron Age, but by the final two centuries BC isolated burials were placed in association with settlements (Chanson *et al*. 2010, 61-8). Enclosure of individual graves or small groups was likewise increasingly prevalent in the late La Tène in the Hauts-de-France and Netherlands, although the practice is seemingly present throughout this period in Normandy (Lepaumier *et al*. 2010).

This contrasts with Champagne-Ardenne. Although the largest funerary groups there date to the early La Tène, additional large funerary groups were established in the late La Tène in the north of the region. Enclosure of individual graves, groups of graves and the construction of monumentalised graves were a feature of the late La Tène also (Lambot 2014, 101). By contrast, there appears to have been a deliberate attempt to dissociate settlements (the living) and burials (the dead) until the Augustan period (Lambot 2002, 98; Bonnabel *et al*. 2009, 49; Le Goff *et al*. 2010, 166). Within this frame Brittany stands out. Here, the largest cemeteries appear to date to the final two centuries BC, with those of the early La Tène typically containing less than a dozen individuals.

For Later Iron Age Britain, the fragmented dataset means that broader patterns are difficult to detect before the 1st century BC. The only clear period of development appears to be in the 1st century BC. In East Yorkshire the square barrow rite was abandoned, and settlements became increasingly enclosed (Giles 2000, 206). This period also witnessed the establishment of numerous small Aylesford-Swarling cemeteries, with the cemetery at King Harry Lane being notable for the large number of burials created there. As noted, by the 1st century AD, several small inhumation cemeteries had also become established in the Northern and Western Isles.

12.7.4. Cemetery Size and Associated Settlement: Discussion

It has been argued that the mortuary record for the central and eastern zones during the MIA emphasised communal identity; as evidenced by sites like Suddern Farm and the role of enclosing earthworks and pits as contexts for human remains. In the LIA this shifted to a more local emphasis, on the basis of the increase in small cemeteries and archaeologically detectable mortuary rites, which may have been employed as means of staking claims to territory (*per* Nieuwhof 2015, 120). This pattern is reflected to an extent elsewhere in the contextual zone. In East Yorkshire, abandonment of the communal cemeteries in the 1st century BC resulted in people increasingly identifying with individual settlements, rather than the broader community (Giles 2012, 216). The same may be true of 1st century AD cemeteries in northern Scotland. A similar process occurred in Hauts-de-France and Netherlands during this period, with a shift from the larger, communal cemeteries of the first two centuries of the La Tène period (for Picardy at least) to smaller cemeteries in the late La Tène (across these regions). The small size of Hauts-de-France cemeteries, combined with their proximity to settlements likewise seems to indicate the dead were increasingly employed as a means to stake claims to land. In the Netherlands the rise in LIA nucleated settlements appears to coincide

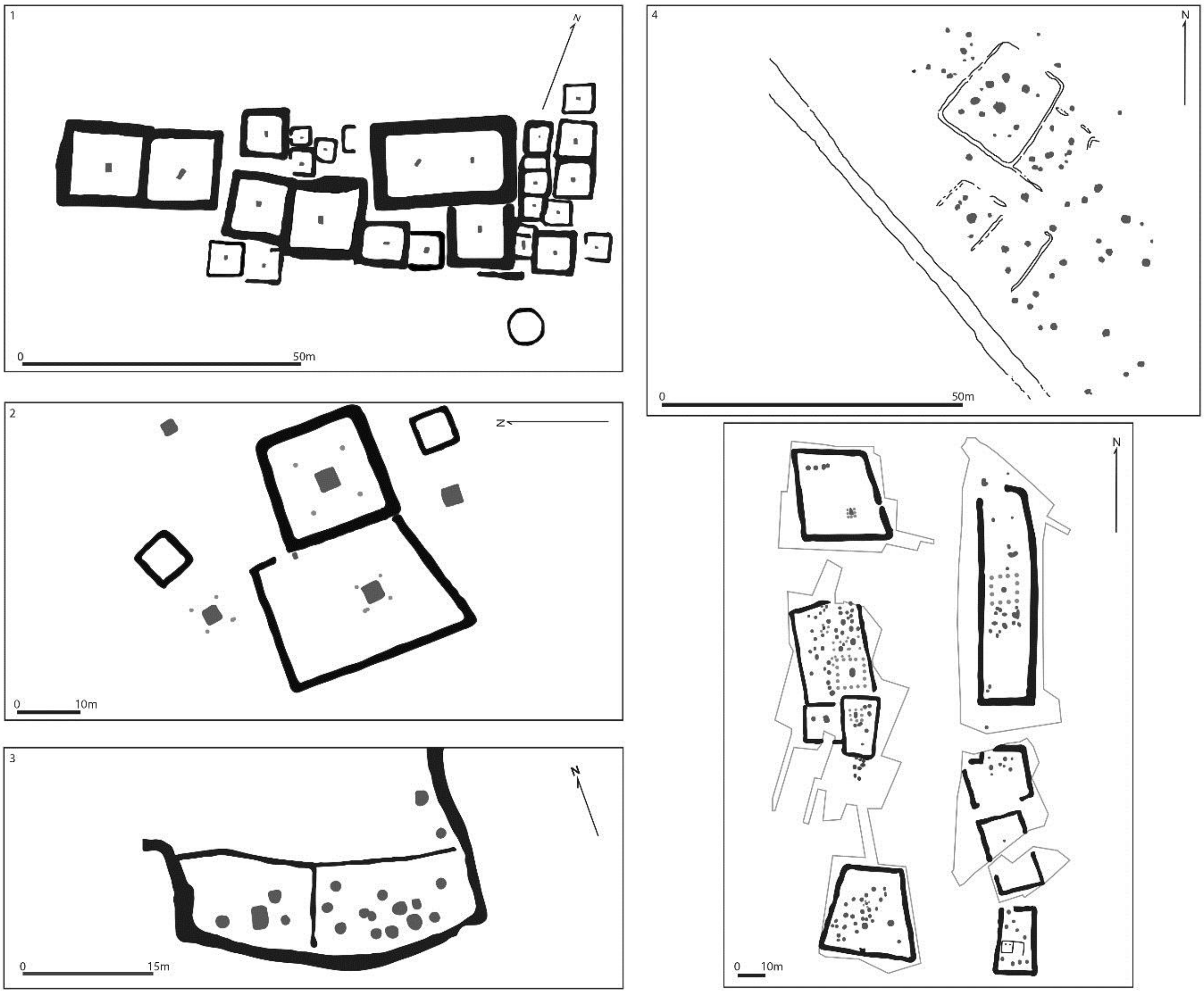


Figure 268. LIA funerary enclosures in Britain and the near continent: 1. Ville-sur-Retourne (Champagne-Ardnne), 2. Tartigny (Picardy), 3. Owslebury (Hampshire). 4. King Harry Lane (Hertfordshire), 5. Acy-Romance (Champagne-Ardenne).

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with the developments observed in the mortuary record at this time (Gerritsen 2003, 109). In the northern Netherlands it is suggested that communities at some sites were employing human remains to stake claims to land, with LIA inhumations occurring in close proximity to, or within, houses, in contrast to preceding periods when they were buried along communal boundaries (Nieuwhof 2015, 295). During this period, evidence for large deposits of human remains associated with communal acts of feasting ceased (*ibid*, 295).

In contrast to this are Champagne-Ardenne and Brittany. The cemeteries of the former show a consistent communal emphasis throughout the La Tène period, albeit with the disruptions and abandonments of the 3rd century BC (Demoule 1999, 194; Lambot 2002, 97). This is particularly notable in early La Tène phases with the large inhumation cemeteries and the *bouchons* which delineate the borders of this zone, and are theorised to represent communal limits (Lambot 2014, 101). Even with the move to smaller cemeteries in the late La Tène, the dissociation from settlements, and the existence of larger funerary groups, as at Acy-Romance, suggests that there was still a strong communal focus to such burials. At Acy-Romance the various cemeteries likely contained familial or kin groups, however their placement around the central ritual complex of the site serves to further underline the importance of the broader community to these peoples.

Brittany displayed a different trend in this respect (and others). The move from small cremation cemeteries to larger inhumation cemeteries at the end of La Tène is at odds with the picture to the east. It is worth noting that the majority of Guernsey data also date to this period. Within the study area the best parallels for these development come, unsurprisingly, from the south-west. Although there are no parallels to the small cremation cemeteries of the earlier La Tène period, the majority of inhumations in the dataset date to the LIA, whilst metalwork from Harlyn Bay indicates that the peak in burials also occurred during this period (Whimster 1977, 82).

12.7.5. Inhumation and Cremation

In very broad terms the patterns of treatment observed within the study area mirror those within the contextual area (Harding 2016, 230-7). In MIA Britain, except for East Yorkshire, disarticulated remains were the most prevalent form of human remains, as in the study area. Disarticulated remains may have been more prevalent in East Yorkshire, but are underrepresented owing to the lack of excavated settlements dating to this period (Giles 2012, 47-59). The second most common form of treatment was inhumation, again as in the study area. Cremation was adopted in the study area at the same time as north of the Thames, whilst its coexistence alongside inhumation is again paralleled elsewhere in Britain.

On the continent, there is a great degree of variety, although generally speaking, cremation was the most common formalised rite by the 2nd century BC; however it never fully replaced inhumation (e.g. Lambot 2002, 91), nor was its adoption simultaneous, even between certain regions. As in the study area, it is likely cremation was adopted for a variety of reasons, but when it was, it was interpreted within a local context; as evidenced by the degree of variation observed between cemeteries. Earlier studies (e.g. Hawkes and Dunning 1931; Birchall 1965) viewed cremation as a rite which spread in a wave across northern France; its British adoption being chronologically isolated from this pattern.

The present pattern is of a more complex, chronologically varied adoption, with much local sub-regional variation. Within this revised view the emergence of the first cremations in southern England fits much better chronologically; being only slightly later than the widespread adoption of cremation in Champagne-Ardenne in La Tène C1. If Fitzpatrick *et al.* (2017) are correct in their revised dating of Westhampnett, then the introduction of the LIA cremation rite in the study would be contemporary with the first cremation cemeteries of Champagne-Ardenne, and only slightly later than the widespread adoption of cremation in Normandy. Instead of viewing cremation as a single rite, it is better to view it is an idea which, in the final centuries BC, was adopted by related communities who subsequently adapted it to their own needs; an eastern *koine*. A lack of study of disarticulated remains from these regions of the continent restricts what can be said of this data, however the fact examples are recovered from

La Tène D across north eastern France (and the Netherlands) may indicate that a comparable pattern observed in the study area existed here also.

The exception throughout this period remains the south-west, Guernsey and Brittany. Cremation with grave deposition was apparently never adopted in the south-west or Guernsey, although it potentially persisted as late at the 2nd century BC in Brittany. The inhumation cemeteries of Brittany may date earlier than previously thought. The paucity of grave goods, combined with a lack of radiocarbon dates, means that an earlier date cannot be ruled out. To the north and east cremation and inhumation co-existed, likewise inhumation and cremation in Brittany may have overlapped chronologically.

Combined with the evidence that the SW inhumation tradition was well established by the 3rd century BC, at which point the first inhumations occurred at the King's Road cemetery on Guernsey (de Jersey 2010), not to mention other similarities in the archaeological recorded between these regions which indicate contact (settlement pattern, coinage, ceramics etc), an earlier date for the start of the Breton inhumation cemeteries seems likely. Although taphonomic processes and geological factors may account for the lack of disarticulated remains from both regions, this too may indicate a shared mortuary concept. Collectively, these similarities permit us to talk about a western *koine*, centred around the western Channel and focussed more on the Atlantic coast than the eastern Channel and river valleys of south eastern England and north estern France (Cunliffe 2007, 99).

12.7.6. Pits

One rite which appears either side of the Channel (and much further afield) is inhumations in pits. Within the study area the peak in pit inhumations appears to be the 2nd century BC, although a general date for the MIA fits well with the pattern observed elsewhere in southern Britain (Roth 2011, 163). In northern France the zenith of pit inhumations is the later 4th and 3rd centuries BC (Bonnabel 2010, 100, 108; Delattre 2010, 115, fig. 2; Pinard 2010, 133. table 1). The ages and sexes of people in pits vary from region to region, and even on a site by site level at times. Their widespread distribution evidences the aforementioned *koine* which included communities in southern Britain and those in northern France. The variations observed in terms of demographic profiles and associated material culture are exactly what we should expect from rituals performed in the imagistic mode.

It is argued above that some pit burials in the study area represent formal burials which took advantage of existing contexts, or at least experimented with the "death ritual" within a socially acceptable archaeological context. To the north of the study area the same phenomenon is observed at Gravely Guy, Oxfordshire, on account of common orientation and possible grave goods (Wait 2004, 232, 248). Indeed, Whimster originally identified several examples of pit burials which he believed may have reflected formal cemeteries: Birdlip and Hailes, Gloucesterhire, and Fordham, Cambridgeshire (Whimster 1981, 18).

In addition to the difference in chronology on either side of the Channel, there are also differences in material culture. In contrast to Britain and most of the pit inhumations in the study area, in north-eastern France it is not uncommon for pit inhumations to be associated with complete objects. These range from small ceramic vessels, such as Burial 74 from Menneville, Aisne, dated from Ha D2 to La Tène A (Pinard 2010, 131, fig. 6) to the *dolium* from the pit burial at Baron, Oise dated to La Tène D2 (Fémolant 1997). Items of personal dress are likewise recorded, as at Marolles-sur-Seine no. 139 (La Tène B2-C1) and Avenay Val d'Or Silo 39 (early La Tène) (Delattre *et al*. 2000, 27, fig. 17; Bonnabel *et al*. 2007, 601, fig. 10). In Champagne-Ardenne, roughly a quarter of pit burials were accompanied by objects of personal adornment of the same type which contemporary cemeteries contained (Bonnabel 2010, 102). I would argue that in some of these cases we are dealing with formal burials which took advantage of an open pit to deposit a person in, as is argued above for the Winnall Down burials. The presence of complete artefacts must likewise be contextualised within the different deposition patterns which existed within northern France, where items of personal adornment were much more frequent in graves in the early and middle La Tène period.

Although it cannot account for every pit burial, there is evidence to suggest that some pit burials outside the study area were the result of homicide. Severe post-mortem mutilation is also observed on individuals from Wandlebury, Cambridgeshire and Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire (Whimster 1981, 15). Of course, a ritual conducted in reverence may also account for the patterns observed on these bones (Rebay-Salisbury 2015, 24). Studies of the continental dataset for pit burials are few, however some do provide evidence of peri- or post-mortem violence (although see Cattaneo and Cappella 2017, 353 for difficulties in determing if trauma is peri-mortem). Among 3rd century BC pit burials from Île-de-France, for example, peri-mortem cranial removal has been observed (Delattre 2011, 611). A unique, albeit similar rite, is observed at Acy-Romance where at least one inhumed individual was killed by a blow to the back of the skull (Lambot 1998, 83). Indeed, sacrifice has been advocated as accounting for human remains recovered from within Champagne-Ardenne settlements (Lambot 2002, 89). Caesar (*BG* VI.6) describes how human sacrifice was carried out for political purposes in 1st century BC Gaul. Much further to the east, from Leonding, Austria, a large pit containing eight partially cremated bodies echoes the "charnal pits" observed at Danebury. Pertwieser (2000/2001, 366) interpreted this pit as evidence for a multiple sacrifice (although see Leskovar and Traxler 2008, 109-111, who argue this view is too restricted).

In addition to the above, the link between bog bodies and some pit burials is increasingly advocated (Cunliffe 1995, 87; Giles 2009, 88; Sharples 2014, 152; Tracey 2016, 179). At least ten examples of later prehistoric/early Roman bog bodies are known from Britain and Ireland, with several contemporary examples from the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark (Giles 2009, 77; Nieuwhof 2015, 58). There are many similarities between bog bodies and pit burials; the use of bindings to secure the victim (Giles 2009, 85), an apparent lack of clothing, and evidence of overkill as Craig *et al*. (2005) have suggested is apparent on the Danebury assemblage (Brothwell 1986, 26). In Champagne-Ardenne, individuals in pit burials were, on average, taller than those from grave contexts. Bonnabel (2010, 102) has suggested that the lower levels of enamel hypoplasia on Champagne-Ardenne pit burials, compared to cemetery internments, indicates these individuals had healthier childhoods than their contemporaries.

The suggestion that some Champagne-Ardenne pit burials were more privileged on account of the lack of enamel hypoplasia is not without its difficulties

(Wood *et al.* 1992, 343-5; Siek 2013, 93; Milner and Boldsen 2017, 27). Enamel hypoplasia indicates that these individuals were exposed to stress in their childhood, although the lower levels may indicate they were exposed to less stress than those in cemeteries. Alternatively, some pit burials without evidence for enamel hypoplasia may have succumbed to stress earlier, and thus not developed the condition, whilst those in cemeteries were sufficiently robust to survive the stress (Wood *et al.* 1992, 355). Individuals with this condition also suffer lower levels of immunity later in life (Milner and Boldsen 2017, 30), although an advanced age may, conversely, indicate they were exposed to fewer risks.

The potential evidence for a priveliged life among the Champagne-Ardenne pit burials finds parallels among some bog burials, who display a lack of evidence for manual labour, or were well-groomed (Giles 2009, 86; 2013, 479). Like pit burials, bog burials also took place in communal locations. Although seemingly isolated in the landscape today, bogs would have been important locations for Iron Age peoples, providing bog iron, and the possibility of game and fish (*ibid*, 86). The procuration of bog iron is of note here as it a represents a vital resource extracted from a subterranean source, much as grain was from pits. Aldhouse-Green (2001, 85) has also suggested that the evidence for overkill indicates that there was a communal purpose to such killings, whilst Giles (2009, 87) notes that such offerings are often associated with claims of sovereignty. The same has been advocated by Kelly (2006) who notes that Irish examples occur on parish boundaries, boundaries which are assumed, by Kelly, to have Iron Age origins. In any case, the evidence from location of ritual and treatment of the body indicates an incredibly potent imagistic rite, one which would generate an abundance of SERs and create vivid memories in the minds of those present.

As above, it is not my intention to propose a single reason for pit burials for such a wide area of Europe. Rather, it is to consider the social effects of pit burials in which publicly mediated acts of violence were employed. Although pit burials occur throughout the La Tène period, the apparent peak in deposition in the study and contextual areas is informative. As noted the 3rd century BC in Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne, saw the abandonment of many early La Tène cemeteries. Combined with this are a variety of developments in other aspects of the archaeological record, not least of which are the creation of numerous sanctuaries at which human remains were deposited, in some cases with large amounts of weaponry. This was cearly a period of major social changes, and it is entirely possible, in view of the grisly and martial evidence from many sanctuaries, to argue it was a period of upheaval and uncertainty.

Figure 269. Detail of Lindow Man (Lindow II), Cheshire, showing his well-groomed moustache (©Trustees of the British Museum).

It is argued that the early La Tène cemeteries had been important structuring components of the local community. Their abandonment indicates that the forces which had governed such communities were in abeyance, possibly with entire communities shifting between different areas on Douglas' (1970) grid as they attempted to reconfigure themselves. In Britain, the decline in pit burials in the 1st century BC occurs at a time of marked social changes and possibly increased stress. Pit burials then, as for the study area, may be indicative of a fraught period, when people experimented with the "death myth", re-emphasised an existing ritual in the imagistic mode, and attempted to sure up pre-existing borders from evil, polluting forces which were harming the community. Although bog bodies occurred from the Bronze Age until the Migration Period, there was a marked increase in the deposition of people (and objects) in bogs during the later Iron Age (Giles 2013, 478). During this period there is evidence to suggest that the woodland surrounding bogs was being cleared, lending weight to the idea that these bodies were likewise deposited at a time of social and political change. (*ibid*, 481).

12.7.7. Sanctuaries and Hill-forts

Looking at pit burials and the north-eastern French developments of the 3rd century BC, allows us to consider the relationship between two site types which are strongly connected with human remains: shrines from British hill-forts, and sanctuaries in northern France. The following discussion primarily considers British hill-fort shrines from southern Britain against sanctuaries from Picardy, though other sanctuaries are known in Normandy, Nord-Pas-de-Calais and Brittany. Although there are differences between these site types, there are evident similarities also.

Within hill-forts a variety of structures interpreted as shrines have been found. Four are known from Danebury, dating between the EIA/MIA transition and the end of the MIA (Cunliffe 1984a, figs. 6.3, 9.6). Two possible shrines from Maiden Castle, one EMIA and another a 1st century BC structure, may also be included (Drury 1980, figs. 3.2.8; 3.6.14; Wait 1985, 166). Beyond the study area is the shrine from Cadbury Castle, Somerset which, on the basis of associated ceramics, dates to the LIA (Alcock 1972, 80, figs. 10, no. 27). At Uley, Gloucestershire, two mid-1st century AD shrines, with possible MIA or LIA antecedents, were located adjacent to the nearby hill-fort, Uley Bury (Woodward and Leach 1993, 9, fig. 10). Such structures are, excepting the second Maiden Castle example, rectilinear, usually orientated east (as the case with examples listed above) (Wait 1985, 172). In the case of the Danebury and Maiden Castle examples, they were positioned at the ends of trackways which began at the eastern entrances of the hill-forts.

At first glance such shrines appear to share little in common with their counterparts in northern France. The British examples are small, so only a very small number of people would have been able to access their interiors (Wait 1985, 172; Fitzpatrick 1997, 231). By contrast, Gournay-sur-Aronde was around five times as large as the largest Danebury example (Brunaux et. al. 1980. 4, fig. 2). Unlike northern French sanctuaries (and later 1st century BC British examples such as Hayling Island), the MIA hill-fort shrines have produced few finds (Fitzpatrick 1997, 271). North French sanctuaries have, however, produced large assemblages of metalwork. Finally, there are issues of chronology. The earliest examples in the study area are EMIA in date, whereas in northern France most sanctuaries were constructed in the 3rd century BC, although the origins for some sanctuaries in Picardy can be traced to the 4th century BC (Lejars 1998, 89, fig. 89; Brunaux *et al*. 2003, 16).

The strongest parallel between these sites, however, is the way in which human remains were treated. The skeletal data from Danebury is comparable to that observed at north French sanctuaries such as Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Gournay-sur-Aronde and Montmartin. This includes a preference for a similar array of skeletal elements, albeit accounting for taphonomic factors which permit these elements to survive in the archaeological record; long bones, crania (although only six were recovered from Ribemont-sur-Ancre, this itself shows deliberate selection), articulated spines and pelvises (Duday 1998, 115; Brunaux *et al*. 2003, 62). The male-dominated assemblage and choice in skeletal elements at Gournay-sur-Aronde bears the strongest similarities to the Danebury dataset (Craig *et al*. 2005, 174). Osteological analysis of the remains from Danebury and Ribemont-sur-Ancre have demonstrated that comparable violent peri-mortem treatment was applied to numerous individuals at the two sites (*ibid*, 175). At Danebury and northern French sanctuaries similar contexts were employed to deposit human bone, particularly pits and enclosing ditches, (*ibid*, 173). Likewise, at both sites human remains were intermixed with animal remains, with the latter displaying similar peri-mortem treatments to those observed on the human remains (Brunaux *et al*. 1980, 4; Fitzpatrick 2010, 394-5).

Stepping back from the mortuary data, and contextualising such structures within their broader socio-cultural spheres, further parallels are apparent. If considered as isolated structures, British shrines appear much smaller than their French counterparts. However, as noted, many British shrines were located centrally within hill-forts, at the ends of trackways which took visitors through the enclosing earthworks and past the pits within hill-fort interiors. The same arrangement, albeit on a smaller scale, may be seen at numerous French sanctuaries: visitors would cross through one or multiple ditched and/or palisaded enclosures before reaching the shrine at the centre. In doing so passing ditches and pits which would have been recognisable (by appearance or possibly smell), as foci for the deposition of organic remains. Just as with British shrines, many northern French examples were orientated easterly, as at La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot (Frézouls 1983, 368, fig. 13), Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunuax *et al*. 1980, 4, fig. 2), and Bennecourt (Bourgeois 1999). The point to emphasise is that it is not the scale of the architecture, but of experience and performance within the space which contained the architecture, and the effect of this on the human mind. Several French sanctuaries also occupy prominent points in the landscape (e.g. Bennecourt is located at the top of a hill) or are located by important landscape features (Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Gournay-sur-Aronde are located next to rivers).

The use of enclosure at both types of sites is a further similarity. The size of some northern French sanctuaries indicates a sizeable amount of manpower was required to construct them. It is conceivable that the construction, reconstruction and, in the case of Gournay-sur-Aronde, controlled destruction, of such sites would have required much labour. At both hill-forts and French sanctuaries, such as Gournay-sur-Aronde, the entrances were continually modified and embellished (Wheeler 1943, 17; Cunliffe 1984b, 42-44; Fichtl 1994, 27-9). Hill (1995, 100) has suggested that pits within hill-forts and other settlements, assuming the animal bones recovered from them were the result of feasting, had a similar communal role to later feasting sites or contemporary sanctuaries in northern France. The same view has been advanced for the pits from Gournay-sur-Aronde (Fitzpatrick 2010, 393).

Although the early chronology of British and north French sanctuaries does not appear to correlate, the shrine at Danebury which shows the greatest structural affinity to the north French examples dates to c.350-50BC (Craig *et al*. 2005, 172); thus making it contemporary with the main phases of Gournay-sur-Aronde, and in use before and after Ribemont-sur-Ancre. Additionally, Danebury experienced a major phase of reconstruction c.300BC. Many northern French sanctuaries ceased to be used in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC (Arcelin and Brunaux 2003), the same time that hill-forts in the study area were abandoned (Fitzpatrick 1997, 213; Cunliffe 2005, 136) or transformed in use (Sharples 1991a; Sharples 2010, 305-6). The changes in deposition practices at many of the French shrines between La Tène C2-D1, in which there was an increase in the deposition of coinage and fibulae at the expense of weaponry, coincides with changes in the use of hill-forts (Haselgrove 2007, 501). Such changes must, of course, be viewed in the context of other depositional changes at this time, including in the burial record. Indeed, Haselgrove (2007, 500) has suggested that the increase in activity at these sanctuaries in La Tène C1 was linked to changes in the mortuary record. Certainly changes in deposition patterns at British hill-forts included significant changes in terms of the placement of human remains.

A case can therefore be made of viewing hill-fort shrines and northern French sanctuaries as a shared tradition; as highly charged communal spaces in which human remains were manipulated alongside other material, in order to reinforce social bonds (Fleisher and Norman 2016, 10):

> *"The political landscape is constituted in the places that draw together the imagined civil community, a perpetual dimension of space in which built form elicit effective responses that galvinize memories and emotions central to the experience of political belonging."*
>
> – Smith 2003, 8

It must be stressed that this is not to suggest that the concept of such structures was introduced to Britain or France from either region, as earlier Culture-Historical paradigms might have advocated. Instead, as with other aspects of the mortuary record, such ideas originated in the trans-Channel cultural and social *koine* regarding the manipulation of death.

Figure 270. Danebury hill-fort (1) and Gournay-sur-Aronde (2) plans for comparison. The Danebury shrine is represented by the blue rectangle at the centre (re-drawn and adapted by author from Cunliffe 1984b, and Brunaux et al. 1980, fig. 2).

12.8. Case Studies of Specific Artefact Types: Discussion

Alongside the marked changes in rates of deposition, formal burials and the adoption of cremation, the LIA and ERIA period witnessed a sizeable increase in the quantity of grave goods deposited in the study area. This is particularly marked among the Durotrigian and cremation burials. However, the presence of items such as mirrors and weapons across the study area (as well as the MIA antecedents of weaponry) indicates that this increase was part of a broader regional trend, not simply localised developments. As with other developments in the mortuary record, these objects, the changes they were subject to, and their social roles, were not restricted to the study area. Thus, it it possible to question the ritual and social significance of these objects across the broader region.

12.8.1. Mirrors, Swords and Spoons in the Study Area

Within each of the study area's inhumation cultures, there existed burials which contained sizeable quantities of often high quality objects: weapons and mirrors. To this group can be added so called "divination spoons" which likewise occur in graves. It was argued above that we may interpret such individuals as "priests" of a sort (Fitzpatrick 2007b; Hamilton 2007, 92; Joy 2011, 415). Although a clear sacred and profane division may not have existed (Fitzpatrick 1992, 396-7), ritual acts are nevertheless strategic and socially prescribed, sometimes presided over by officers, especially in those of the doctrinal mode (Whitehouse 2002, 295-303). Although more visible in the LIA and ERIA, it is argued above (Figure 260) that weapon burials represent an unbroken tradition first recorded in Burial 112, Mill Hill. The origin of the headdresses at Mill Hill and North Bersted may be traced to the 4th century BC, if the object from Cerrig-y-Druidon is one (Stead 1995, 86, table 9).

Spoons likewise have a long pedigree within the study area. An example from Andover, Hampshire, is likely of 4th century BC date, on the basis of comparisons with metalwork from Danebury, whilst an example from Weston, Somerset, is probably of comparable date. The examples from Mill Hill are possibly the latest in the corpus (late 2nd-early 1st century BC). An additional example is also known from Bournemouth (Fitzpatrick 2007b, 293-4). Finally, although the earliest example of a mirror burial in the corpus (Bryher) is possibly late 2nd century BC, the antecedents for such mirros can be traced to Greek imports of the 4th-3rd century BC (Dunning 1928, 72).

Figure 271. The divination spoon from Andover, Hampshire (©Trustees of the British Museum).

That such individuals became more prevalent in the LIA-ERIA, suggests that there was an increased need for them. A parallel for this is the Komani culture of 6th-9th century AD Albania, characterised by the emergence of the first well furnished burials since the end of Roman control in the area (Bowden 2015, 344). The richly furnished burials within this culture were an attempt to stabilise society around certain individuals at a time of social strife (*ibid*, 351). Within Komani burials many items attest to links with more distant Frankish, Alanic and Slavic groups, while also including local objects. This is comparable to what is observed in mirror and weapon burials, an interregional rite conforming to the local "death myth". If the LIA was a period of increased strife and competition between smaller groups (Sealey 2007), involving the arbitration of ritual at a more local level, combined with greater levels of deposition, then it should not be surprising that such individuals are more prevalent during this period.

This was a period when communities in the study area, at least according to the historical information we have, were being drawn into the politics of more distant polities, like the proto-states of central Gaul and the incursions of Rome. Numismatic evidence for the eastern zone show that, during the Gallic War, an abundance of Gallo-Belgic coinage (Allen's Type E) entered the archaeological record. This coinage is generally agreed to represent payments by Belgic groups for British retainers/mercenaries to assist in opposing Caesar (Creighton 2000, 72, fig. 3.6). In addition to monopolising the socially reproducing rituals of their communities, it is entirely possible that the men and women who bore swords and mirrors were elevated to the status of martial and magical heroes by their communities. It is quite possible, as was possibly the case for the North Bersted warrior, that some of these people could have returned from overseas travels. The role of mercenary veterans in continental Europe has been much discussed (e.g. Schönfelder 2007; Bouzek 2014) but rarely considered in Britain, despite the evidence from historical and numismatic sources to support their existence.

Faced with forces which the average Dorset farmer could likely not fathom (chief among them being Rome), heroic persons were elevated within different communities. An anthropological parallel to this are the "Great Men" of Papua New Guineau (Moko 1992). "Great men" have specific paraphernalia associated with them which reflects their attributes. They are also part of a hereditary institution. If similar concepts existed within LIA society, it might explain the peculiar objects associated with such burials, as well as the young age of some examples like the Langton Herring woman (whose death in the late teens/early 20s occurred in a society where many women lived for another decade).

The idea of a magical hero may also explain the largely coastal and riverine distribution of these burials, both in the study area and beyond (Inall 2016, 46). Many of the threats and disruptions which affected these communities in the final centuries of the Iron Age came from over the sea: Belgic raiders in the south east, Armorican refugees in the west, and ultimately the legions of Caesar and Claudius across southern Britain. By burying these people in close proximity to the coast, it may be that communities were attempting to protect the borders of their world, in a similar way to how their ancestors had been pre-occupied with the idea of protecting against polluting evils.

12.8.2. Mirrors, Spoons, Swords and the rest in the Study Area and Beyond

The tradition of LIA mirror, spoon and weapon burials is a phenomenon observed across Britain. Parallels to the British weapon burial are also observed in Guernsey and Brittany, with the Breton examples displaying a similar lack of standardisation as those in Britain. At least one spoon burial is also known from Pogny, La Chaussé-sur-Marne (Déchelette 1914, 783). Unique objects, likely with a ritual function are known also. Within the study area there is the pyramidal tin object from Bryher, the perforated Roman coin from Litton Cheney or the knotched copper alloy disc from Grave 4298 A2 road scheme. To the north of the study area examples include circular knives from King Harry Lane, Maldon Hall Farm, and Biddenham Loop, or the medical equipment from Stanway, which Crummy (2002, 151) has suggested may have been employed in divination. On the continent examples include the copper alloy razors and knives from the grave at Saint-Georges-les-Baillargeaux.

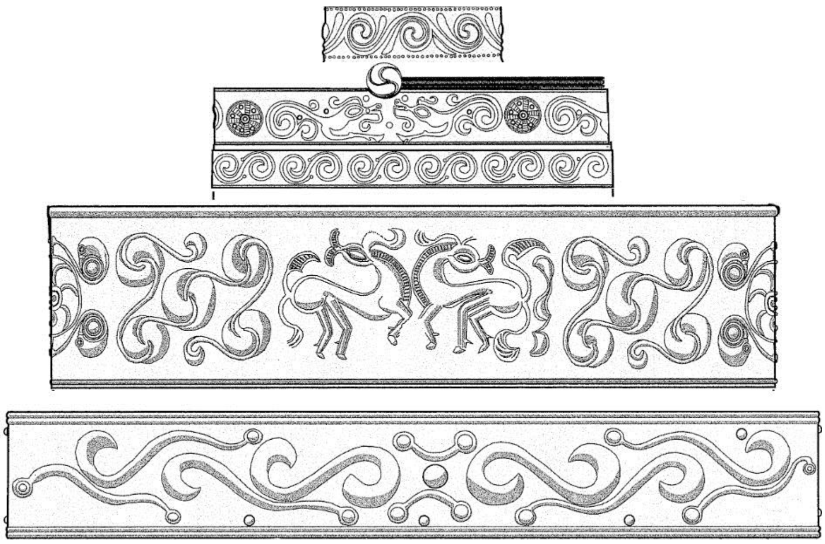


Figure 272. Metal bucket plaques with undulating patterning. Top to bottom: Geisenheim; Thugny-Trugny "Le Mayet"; Aylesford burial Y; Goeblange-Nospelt grave B. Scale 1:3. (After Metzler 2009, 302-5, fig. 281a, fig. 281d).

Fitzpatrick (2007b) has suggested linking some of these artefacts to druids, in particular spoons, and headdresses. Stead (1971, 276) argued that the helmeted figures on the Aylesford bucket portray individuals who presided over grimmer activities such as human sacrifice. If so, this argument extends to other buckets adorned with figures with headdresses, such as at Baldock. Even in instances of buckets which lack anthropomorphic decoration, the artwork applied to such objects is significant considering that the late La Tène is notable in that, on the continent, it is a period when such decoration is largely absent from objects (Garrow *et al*. 2009, 92). The undulating patterns on the larger example from Grave B, Goeblange-Nospelt, or the prancing beasts on the example from Grave Y, Aylesford, have almost carousel like qualities. Such decoration may have had the possibility of dazzling and ensnaring the mind of the viewer, as is argued for the British mirrors (Giles 2008, 70-72). Combined with the social role of the late La Tène feasting graves (Chapter 12.9.1.), it seems possible that individuals with (multi-faceted) ritual roles were present, particularly in the LIA. The often isolated nature of their graves, and contrast in grave good assemblages from other members of the community, suggests that during this period there was an increased recognition of special individuals within society through funerary assemblages.

12.9. Elites

The qualitative consideration of certain artefact types (Chapter 11) identified similarities between the way certain objects were incorporated into mortuary contexts (e.g. coinage), or areas where there are clear differences between the study area and elsewhere in Britain and the near continent (e.g. tools and knives). The paucity of grave goods recovered for the MIA makes such considerations difficult to make, and only in the LIA can informative comparisons be made. Due to the abundance of data available, the clearest parallels may be drawn between the materially rich cremation graves of the eastern zone and those of the contextual area. The above consideration of buckets highlights some of these variations. The buckets themselves belong to a suite of feasting related equipment well represented in insular Aylesford-Swarling graves, and La Tène C2 to Gallo-Roman graves from the near continent (see Pearce 2015 for a recent overview). Examples of equally rich graves are known further to south and include burial groups from Berry (Ferdière *et al.* 1993), Poitou-Charentes (Duval *et al*. 1986; Pautreau 1999; Pétorin and Soyer 2003) and Auvergne (Blaizot *et al*. 2012). The other sequence of materially rich graves which are present in the study area are the weapon and mirror inhumations. As noted above, the latter are overwhelmingly an insular phenomenon, whilst weapon burials, although relatively common further east in the Middle Rhine, appear to represent a rite which its strongest parallels in Brittany and elsewhere in Britain.

One practice common to the study and contextual areas is the attitude towards elite graves: mirror burials, graves with feasting equipment, and weapon burials in certain regions. These materially rich graves are set apart from their contemporaries in that, although that may possess a range of recurring artefacts (Haselgrove 1982; Poux and Feugère 2002, 206, fig. 5), the quantity of objects recovered from some graves, the labour involved in producing the associated artefacts, exotic provenance of some objects, and occasionally associated funerary architecture, sets them apart from "non-elite" graves. There are other differences which permit us to talk of them as representing distinct classes of burial. Across this region, such graves generally appear to have been set apart, either chronologically or spatially, from other graves. At Owslebury the weapon burial was the first in the cemetery, whilst the Whitcombe "warrior" appears to have been the last. At Folly Lane, an elite grave (c.AD55) was chronologically and spatially distinct from subsequent cremations (Niblett 1999, 29). The same is true of the vehicle burials at Bucy-le-Long, which were some of the last to be inserted into the cemetery (Pommepuy *et al*. 2004, 267).

This practice is also present in later La Tène burials from Champagne-Ardenne, and further east at Goeblange-Nospelt, with the elite set apart in the cemetery. In some cases, such as at the vehicle burial from Orval, or the weapon burials from Brisley Farm, the burial was separated spatially (by means of an enclosure) and chronologically from subsequent burials. Likewise, at Cizancourt the richest grave (Tombe 3) was positioned at the edge of the cemetery (Lefèvre 2002, 110, fig. 1), whilst at Petosse the weapon burial was isolated in the landscape. The same is also true of rich burials in the north of Britain, for example Kirkburn (Stead 1991, 24-28) and Newbridge (Carter *et al*. 2010, 32, fig. 1). Some materially rich graves were of course incorporated into cemeteries, however, many were not.

In the case of East Yorkshire, Sharples (2014, 144) has suggested separation reflects the ambiguous nature of the elite; individuals who had somehow disrupted the norm. If, as argued above, there existed a continued emphasis upon maintaining a lack of material variation between most British graves, then such individuals could very well have been viewed as dangerous, if not contagious, to the social fabric. If similar conceptions of personhood existed in the regions which buried these individuals, then it is possible these individuals represent Iron Age equivalents of the *Sapa Inka*'s form of expansive personhood (Wilkinson 2013). This could explain why many objects in the most materially rich graves display evidence of ritual destruction, such as in the Welwyn series. Pearce has drawn attention to the role of circulation within late La Tène/Gallo-Roman rich graves, in particular that many items are derived from socially restricted types, likely as a result of gift giving (Pearce 2015, 235). Haselgrove (1987a, 106) has made similar comments. It is possible that, aside from their intrinsic worth, some of these objects were only considered safe to possess if owned by the echelons of society who shared this extreme form of personhood.

12.9.1. The Late La Tène Feasting Culture

As noted, the period from La Tène C2 onward witnessed the interregional rise of high status graves associated with feasting equipment. It was argued in the discussion of buckets that these graves did not originate from an attempt to emulate Mediterranean dining practices. The eclectic range of objects from such graves, even within the study area, and the unique decoration on many of them (in particular buckets), also argues against viewing such graves and their grave goods as originating from a single source (Feugère 1985a, 75; Sueur and Garcia 2015, 51); instead they represent a variation on a "death myth" which was applicable to communities in north-west Europe. In north east France they emerged at a time when the deposition of human remains at sanctuaries was in decline, and almost a century after the large communal cemeteries of the early La Tène had ceased to be used, with the exception of Champagne-Ardenne. In Britain they appeared at a time, and in regions, where hill-forts had gone out of use, and although large communal cemeteries (e.g. Westhampnett and King Harry Lane) existed, the majority of the mortuary record is represented by small-scale cemeteries.

Although there is much variation in such graves, the recurring feature are items associated with the feast. Such items should be viewed as going beyond the private sphere, to incorporate the public sphere also (Pearce 2015, 238). On the basis of finds from graves and sanctuaries, feasting was an important activity in Iron Age Europe during the 6th-1st century BC, although only present in British mortuary contexts from the early 1st century BC at Baldock and Westhampnett (Fitzpatrick 2007a, 131; 2010, 390). The increased visibility of the feast, at a time when mortuary practices in southeast Britain and northeast France became more local in emphasis, is of interest. If one of the main purposes of the earlier La Tène communal cemeteries, and mid-La Tène deposits at sanctuaries were a means by which human remains were employed to inculcate a sense of community, then the same may be argued of late La Tène feasting graves (Pearce 2015, 235). The objects within them, even excluding later Mediterranean imports, would have required connections between different craftspeople, whilst the act of the communal feast would have brought people together (Poux 2004, fig. 124; Nieuwhof 2015, 43). Similar views regarding communal links, have been argued for comparably rich Late Bronze Age burials in Britain (Brück 2006, 297). The designs on buckets are argued to indicate festive occasions, rather than specifically being intended for funerary services (Harding 2016, 154). The very fact these are cremation burials likewise adds to the notion of heightened spectacle associated with such funerals. If carried out nocturnally, the performance associated with such burials would have been visible for people from some distance.

This is not to suggest that the individuals within such graves were static figures in society, whose funerals only served to create communal connections. As has been argued (Poux and Fuegère 2002, 216; Poux 2004), these individuals were clearly important members of society, enmeshed in long distance exchanges with other elites. The evidence from Goeblange-Nospelt for example, with its shift from La Tène longswords to Roman *gladii*, show that such individuals were active members of society engaged in contemporary political developments. The degree of variation between elite graves is in contrast to the restricted and standardised arrangement of contemporary non-elite graves. That these identities were inheritable is also suggested by Cizancourt grave 3, which, despite possessing a sumptuous array of feasting equipment, belonged to a sub-adult aged 7-13 years (Lefèvre 2002, 112). It is entirely possible that some elite individuals governed the conduct of their own funerals through instructions given before their death (Williams 2004, 265). Here therefore were people who designed their own "death myth" in accordance with an interregional scheme that was considered proper for elites.

As the *social persona* of warrior-priest was being cultivated, especially in the western Channel area, the rich graves with feasting equipment (and other sources of data like numismatics) attest to the expansion of a different form of social role: the dynast of which Creighton (2000, 74-9; 2006, 19-30) has discussed extensively. The elite society which these people occupied can be classified as sitting firmly in area C of Douglas' grid. For persons from the study area, it represents a clear shift from the social structure which their ancestors had inhabited, and attests to the power of these elaborate funerals to restructure society to suite the personal needs of an ambitious few.

12.10. Maintaining a maritime *koine*

The study area thus displays clear similarities with other regions of Britain and the near continent, thereby elaborating on the basic sketch which Collis (1977, 1) outlined. It is argued that these originated from the existence of a broader maritime and insular *koine*, as Cunliffe (2007) has argued existed prior to the Iron Age. Some shared features of course may originate from geological affordances, for example cists (Webley 2015, 132). Although the western zone, Channel Islands and Guernsey were certainly in contact at this period, examples of contemporary cist burials are known from regions which display no evidence of contact with this area, such as the Hunsrück-Eifel culture (Haffner 1976, tafel 174-175, 178), and as far afield as Boğazköy in Galatia (Darbyshire *et al*. 2000, 83). Nevertheless, the evidence for exchange between the study area and contextual area, even though slight at certain time, should be viewed as evidence for continual contact between these regions throughout the Later Iron Age (Haselgrove 2002; Webley 2015, 126). British Iron Age communities were likely connected, albeit indirectly, over long distances of hundreds if not thousands of kilometres, even if the focus of their life and mobility was primarily local (Hill 2011, 291).

The data are unbalanced, however, with evidence of exchange with the continent being primarily in the form of continental ojects in Britain. By contrast, British exports to the continent are rare. They include some coinage (Morris 2010, 16, 38), mostly from northeast France, although four potins are known from Corent, Puy-de-Dôme (Poux 2007, 218; Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 242-5) and two staters from Denmark (Allen 1960, 183, 224). Dembski (2009, 101) has suggested that a group of late La Tène coins from the sanctuary of Roseldorf, Austria are based on late 1st century BC Kentish issues of Dubnovellaunus. There is also a British type bronze bowl from Łęg Pierkarski, Poland (Megaw 1963, 28-37), a pair of (now lost) "divination spoons" known from Pogny, La Chaussé-sur-Marne (Déchelette 1914, 783), and a ritual crown comparable to the Mill Hill find from the aforementioned sanctuary at Roseldorf (Fichtl 2013, 8; Holzer 2014, 125). Insular horse fittings are the best represented non-numismatic metal exports to the continent, and are known from Paillart, Oise (Leman-Delerive *et al*. 1986), Blicquy, Hainaut (Demarez and Leman-Delerive 2001), La Courte, Hainaut (Spratling 1972, 51, 53) and La Tène, Switzerland (Vouga 1923, Pl. VIII, 49).

Evidence for ceramic exports is limited to a black cordoned ware vessel from Saint-Aubin-Routot, Seine-Maritime (Blancqauert 2002, 391). Shale from Kimmeridge, Dorset, was also used in the production of armrings from 6th/5th century BC graves in Switzerland, and 3rd century BC graves at Manching, Bavaria (Webley 2015, 125). Lignite bracelets from late La Tène graves at Urville-Naqueville may also have been produced within the study area (Lefort and Rottier 2015, 29, fig. 31). Additionally a vase composed of Kimmeridge shale is also known from a grave at Saint-Gatien-des-Bois, Calvados (Paris *et al*. 2000). Though slight, the above is evidence that exchanges occurred in both directions.

Such exchanges may have been maintained through the sort of networks which Anthoons (2010a, 2010b) proposes; with periods when the mortuary context displays particularly strong parallels being times when such networks were strongly interlinked, with information and ideas passing along the shortest routes possible between communities and individuals. Thus La Tène C1, when there is perhaps the least commonality in the mortuary record across the study area and near continent, would fit with the view of this period being one of a lack of contact (Collis 1977, 1; 1994, 31-

9). By contrast, La Tène C2 and succeeding phases which demonstrate a variety of similarities, ranging from the spread of feasting equipment and prevalence for cremation in the eastern Channel, and new inhumation cemeteries in the western Channel region, may therefore be viewed as a time of short, tightly bound networks. Nor should we expect communities' closest contacts to be overland.

As noted, the mortuary record of the western zone displays greater affinities with Brittany and the Channel Islands than with Dorset and Hampshire. Likewise, LIA Sussex shows greater affinity with Normandy and Picardy than it does with Hampshire, whilst the paucity of human remains from Nord-Pas-de-Calais between c.500-250BC (Webley 2015, 132) appears to have more in common with contemporary communities in Kent, than those in Picardy and Champagne. Though such patterns have been proposed before (e.g. Cunliffe 2005, 72, fig. 4.2), this is the first time that a dedicated study of the mortuary data has been undertaken which proves the veracity of such patterns. Furthermore they compliment patterns observed for other data, including metalwork hoards (Webley 2015, 144, figure 4.2), numismatics (Cunliffe and de Jersey 1997), and ceramics (Hawkes and Dunning 1931, 189, fig. 7; Henderson 2007, 207).

For such ideas to be shared requires that they be transmitted, and in a pre-literate world, as the Channel was until the expansion of Rome, the only mechanism to transmit ideas is by human interactions *tête-à-tête* (Anthoons 2010b, 223). Human movements within a network may not have resulted in permanent population exchanges, but it was required for the exchange of ideas and concepts. Although some developments were likely autochthonous, the possibility that migration played a role should not be discounted. In the final section of this chapter, the issue of mobility between Later Iron Age communities will be briefly considered.

12.11 Mobility and Migration

The distribution of artefacts is itself a poor indicator of mobility. Instead, they distribution patterns attest to exchange networks (Cunliffe 2007, 100). Identifying migrants is reliant upon the development of scientific techniques (e.g. Scheeres *et al*. 2013; Scheeres *et al*. 2014). Ideas, such as Anderson's (1995, 116) cautious suggestion that Mill Hill 112 appeared to have a wider nose, and was therefore possibly from a warmer climate, are of limited help in identifying migrants. The most common means of identifying migrants are by analysing strontium ($^{87}Sr/^{86}86$), oxygen (^{18}O), nitrogen (^{15}N), carbon (^{13}C) isotopes, and by DNA analysis. As DNA analysis has not been employed to identify migrants in the study area, discussion is reserved to isotopic analysis.

Isotopic analysis is not a flawless means of identifying migrants. Strontium isotope analysis is reliant upon the geology of underlying bedrock, which in turn affects the diet of individuals as they consume vegetable matter and animals who feed on plants, thereby providing variable strontium values for people. The variable Strontium levels are then preserved in tooth enamel (Millard 2014, 133). By itself, this method struggles to determine the origin of a skeleton, on account of the fact similar or shared geological formations result in the same $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ values. ^{18}O levels indicates altitude, latitude and thus distance from the sea, which in turn affects precipitation and the drinking water people consume, with the ^{18}O isotopes preserved in tooth enamel (Montgomery *et al.* 2009, 73-4; Millard 2014, 133). By itself, this method is likewise limited, with many regions of Europe producing similar ^{18}O levels to others. For example in Britain, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Manchester, Leicester and London produce the same range of oxygen isotopes (Montgomery *et al.* 2009, 80, fig. 5.9). On the continent, indistinguishable oxygen isotope ranges are obtained from all of the regions which border the Channel, except Brittany (Evans *et al.* 2012, 761, fig. 12). Only by using ^{18}O and $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ values in combination, can a meaningful guide to the origins of people be obtained.

Nitrogen (^{15}N) and carbon (^{13}C) isotopic analysis works in a similar way to $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ values, with the diet of a person affecting their subsequent ^{15}N and ^{13}C values. This method is of most use when identifying differences between people who lived in coastal locations, where they presumably consumed marine resources, and terrestrial areas (Millard 2014, 133). These values, and ^{18}O levels also, can be influenced by breastfeeding, with the infant's ^{15}N and ^{13}C values influenced by those of the mother, if she had grown up in a different environment (*ibid*). ^{15}N and ^{13}C are of less use than $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ values ^{18}O analysis in identifying where migrants have originated from.

However, the potential accuracy of ^{15}N and ^{13}C in reconstructing palaeo-diet can be used to indicate the presence of migrants, although their origin is often uncertain.

Using these techniques, a variety of authors have sought to identify potential migrants in the study area. Stevens (*et al*. 2010, 423) used ^{15}N and ^{13}C analysis to identify four adult inhumations who appeared to be isotopic outliers; their diet suggesting they originated beyond the Danebury environs, possibly as captives or slaves, or else had access to a different diet. Due to the limitations of ^{15}N and ^{13}C analysis, it was not possible to say where they had originated from. A combination of $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$ and ^{18}O analysis of seven LIA Dorset individuals from materially rich graves, found evidence for a childhood spent in south-west Britain in two instances, and eastern Britain in two others (Redfern 2016, 12). The North Bersted "warrior" may also have spent his childhood in a region south of Britain, on the basis of ^{18}O analysis, although the authors of the report were hesitant in being too certain about this identification (Pollard and Ditchfield 2014, 120).

At Cliff's End, Thanet, $^{87}Sr/^{86}Sr$, ^{18}O and ^{15}N and ^{13}C analysis demonstrated that five of the seven MIA and both of the late EIA individuals showed evidence for having been migrants (McKinley 2014, 144). In particular there was a marked 'Scandinavian' link, with a further burial appearing to have originated in more southern climes, as well as one individual who appears to have originated elsewhere in Britain. Indeed the population at Cliff's End appears to have been dominated by non-locals (*ibid*, 217). The Cliff's End findings are particularly interesting as there was nothing associated with these burials which set them apart from contemporary inhumations in Kent. The Dorset burials examined by Redfern were, aside from the relatively higher material wealth, also undifferentiated from contemporary burials.

In terms of individuals from the study area migrating elsewhere, scientific studies are at present lacking (though forthcoming; Lefort *pers. comm.*). As such, attempts to identify potential migrants are reliant upon archaeological similarities. As noted, this approach is not ideal (Cordell 1995, 206; Burmeister 2000, 542; Collis 2011, 231). The strongest candidate is the LIA cemetery from Urville-Naqueville, Normandy where three burials (Tb 19, 20 and 74) (Figure 150) were placed in flexed positions on their right (N=2) and left (N=1) sides. The authors noted that their positioning, combined with their date and coastal location, might suggest they belonged to the Durotrigian tradition (Lefort and Rottier 2014, 30). Contrary to this is the northern and southern preference for orientating these burials, and the fact crouched/flexed burials are a feature of the Normandy mortuary record in the 5th century BC. However, like Lefort and Rottier I would suggest that these were immigrants from Britain on account of the date of their burial, and the evidence for trade links between Dorset and Normandy at this time. Less convincing, though still potentially a migrant, is the female "divination spoon" burial from Pogny, La Chaussér-sur-Marne (Déchelette 1914, 783). Spoons, like mirrors, were very much a British artefact and the Pogny example was likely a British export (Fitzpatrick 2007b, 293). Considering such artefacts operated within a very insular ritual structure, the woman from Pogny may have been from Britain.

Perhaps the best candidate for a migrant population, in lieu of DNA or isotopic evidence, is the cremation cemetery at Westhampnett. Within Picardy the period of Westhampnett's establishment was one of social flux, as evidenced by a decline in the settlement pattern, possibly involving increased population movement (Haselgrove 1987a, 110; 2007, 502). Westhampnett, as noted, represents a markedly different rite from those in the study area at the time. The fibulae in the cemetery (Figure 230) display greater continental affinities than any other cemetery in the dataset, the "shrines" at Westhampnett parallel grave monuments in Picardy (Gransar and Malrain 2009), whilst the practice of placing the cremated bone in soft sided containers is likewise more common in contemporary Picardy (Pinard *et al*. 2010, 43, fig. 10). At the same time the ceramics from Westhampnett have insular, Norman (Fitzpatrick 1997, 208), although during this period urned cremation appears more common in Normandy than uncontained. Combined with this is the layout of the cemetery, with its circular arrangement and south-eastern orientation, which is more akin to Iron Age British cosmological arrangements at roundhouses, than contemporary French cemeteries (Oswald 1991, fig. 19), although as noted French sanctuaries often have eastern orientations. In this case, although Westhampnett likely represents a Gallic community (or one with a significant Gallic component), we should not expect it to be mono-ethnic, nor to be a perfect copy of any rite observed on the continent (Cordell 1995, 206; Burmeister 2000, 542).

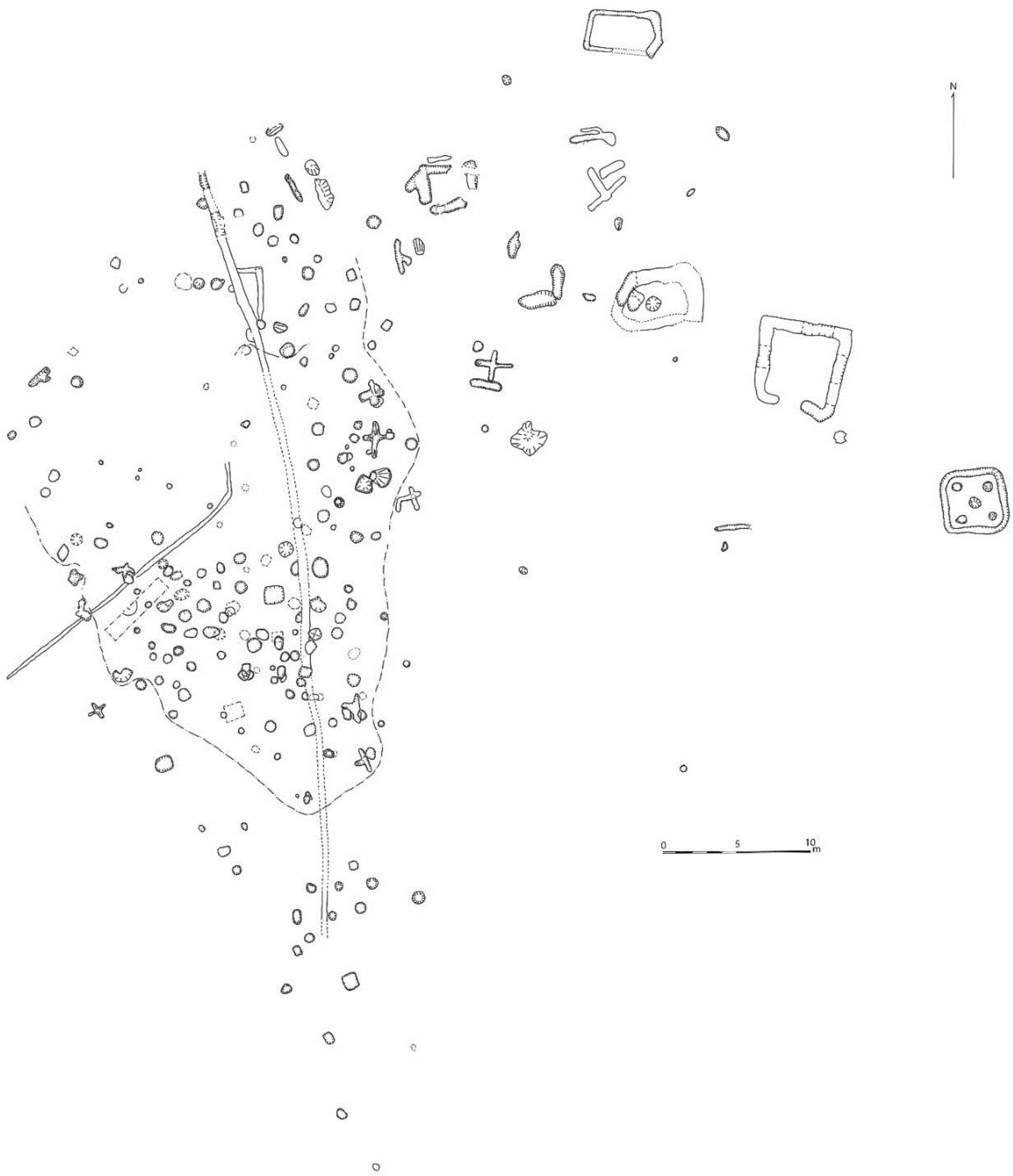


Figure 273. Westhampnett, with its combination of north French type cremation rites and single monumentalised grave suggests the occupants may have been migrants. British traits however are apparent in its south-west orientation (after Fitzpatrick 1997, re-drawn by author by kind permission of Wessex Archaeology).

12.12.2 Weapon burials as evidence for migration?

Weapon graves in the study area have long been interpreted as having origins outside of the region. In particular, the continent has been favoured as a source for the rite (Kendrick 1928, 91-2; Whimster 1981, 146; Cunliffe 1996a, 116; Johnson 2002, 17;

Sealey 2007, 36, 39). The coastal and riverine location of many weapon burials could indicate a maritime introduction, although, as argued above, they could equally be intended to stop maritime arrivals. Attempting to locate a geographic origin for such burials runs the risk of falling into an uncritical Culture-History paradigm and ignoring recent developments in migration theory (e.g. Anthony 1990; Chapman and Hamerow 1997; Anthoons 2010a; Cameron 2013). As noted, no two weapon burials are the same, and some examples from the dataset appear more insular, whilst others appear more foreign. The Whitcombe and Bryher burials appear firmly rooted in local inhumation rites, whilst the Mill Hill burial represents the earliest such example recovered from Britain.

A north-east French origin could be proposed for Adanac Park, where the weapon burial was a cremation, and one of the graves (Barrow 5) was enclosed in a structure similar to those observed in Picardy (Gransar and Malrain 2009, 147, fig. 7). However, the cemetery also contained British features, such as round barrows (Leivers *et al*. 2011, 28). The cremation burials of Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne which contain weapons may make them comparable to the Aylesford-Swarling burials with weapons in the study area. These include the Bridge helmet, or the Ham Hill cremation which contained an anthropoid hilted dagger and arrowhead (Walter 1923, 149-50). The Kelvedon warrior to the north of the study area, which may have been a cremation (Sealey 2007, 32), could likewise be compared to the coastal Picardy or Trier graves in this sense. Breton and Guernsey links are more apparent in the Owslebury, North Bersted and Brisley Farm examples, as evidenced by their dates and use of inhumation. Such burials may belong to a tradition observed on Guernsey and at Orval. The earlier dates for weapon burials on Guernsey indicated by excavations from the King's Road cemetery would also fit the earlier dating proposed here. Perhaps the best candidate for a continental origin of some of the weapon burials in the study area is Guernsey and Western France.

Nevertheless such conclusions remain highly conjectural. Rather, as with the rest of the dataset, I would argue that the weapon burials of the study area represent the product of a trans-Channel *koine*, to which communities in northern Britain were also exposed to. Seeking a geographical origin for weapon burials is pointless in lieu of scientific analysis. The material orgin of such burials can never be identified as the orgins of the weapon burial were immaterial; born of ritual changes, manipulations of prevailing “death myths” and societal changes within which the communities who buried these men (and possible women at Bryher) were embroiled.

Chapter 13: Summary and Conclusion

13.1. The Study Area

One aim of this study was to explore the socio-political role of human remains within communities in southern Britain. This region was selected due to the availability of data, the chronologically varied characteristics of the data, and the evidence for contact between this region and elsewhere in Britain and the continent. On the basis of geographical and archaeological features the study area was sub-divided into three zones, which could in turn be examined in greater detail. Across the study area, broad similarities were observed, yet each zone likewise exhibited distinct, local patterns. Within each zone the dead were a resource to be drawn upon maintaining society, yet catalysing change also (Giles 2000, 206; Armit *et al*. 2013, 97). How these human remains were utilised were indicative, and catalysing, of shifts in the social structure of communities. In order that these interactions had the necessary effect, it is argued that later Iron Age people in the study area relied upon psychological effects, then-current ideas of prevailing "death myths", and subversive alterations to rituals in order to achieve their collective and individual goals.

In the MIA it appears that there was a greater emphasis on the community as a whole, expressed in different ways between the three zones. It is argued that in the central, and to lesser extent eastern zone, society was characterised by a strong, potentially xenophobic, sense of community (*per* Sharples 2010). In these zones, disarticulated remains are the most abundant evidence for this communal emphasis. Such remains were handled, exchanged and processed in complex ways, thereby enhancing intra-communal networks along with other exchanges such as ceramics or quern stones. The abundance of these remains, and general lack of formal inhumations or cremations, in these zones also hints at the existence of a different concept of personhood to our *Cartesian* sense of what constitutes a person. The origins of such remains are probably from the numerous pit burials discovered in these areas, with evidence to suggest a portion came from individuals who had suffered violent deaths. Whether such people were enemies or kin remains to be determined. Nevertheless, the deposition of such remains in liminal or communal contexts, as part of a complex cosmology, served to further reinforce the communal bonds which bound these communities.

The structuring role of violence is likewise displayed in some examples of the pit burial tradition, thus lending weight to the idea that they were the source of disarticulated remains. These acts of socially sanctioned homicide were possibly accompanied by great spectacles, thereby creating vivid memories in the minds of people on account of their psychological impact. The location chosen for such deaths, and the contexts for deposition, would have instilled within spectators a sense of the power of the community, and the dangers in transgressing its boundaries. Nevertheless, even among the tightly bounded communities of Wessex, some groups had begun to test the borders of the prevailing "death myth"; as attested by Suddern Farm and some of the pit burials which likely represent formalised rites. Such rites, however, were not revolutionary breaks with the prevailing "death myth"; the paucity of grave goods, the flexed and crouched positions of bodies, and the communal locations chosen for such burials attest to their origins within the prevailing ritual framework. Cemeteries like these may indeed have been more prevalent (the radiocarbon dates from Yarnton offer the prospect that this may be so).

The emergence of archaeologically detectable formalised rites in the western and eastern zone in the MIA is argued to result from a lack of strict social conditions that prevailed in Wessex. Here, ideas from communities on the continent could be appropriated and expressed without fear of transgressing the communal boundaries. Thus, formalised inhumation cemeteries emerged which, although continuing to express a communal character, sought to edify the dead to an extent. This is particularly apparent in the western zone, where the Atlantic copper and tin trade exposed communities here to those as far apart as Ireland and Iberia. As the social structures of hill-fort dominated Wessex began to weaken, and transform (as illustrated by the Maiden Castle-Marnhull ceramic tradition, exchanges at Hengistbury Head, and creation of the Maiden Castle "Iron Age B" cemetery) so too did more restricted forms of personhood assert themselves. Nevertheless, this transition was not a simple process. As groups began to alter the prevailing "death myth" and manipulate extant rituals, it appears that the pre-existing social structure attempted to reinforce their waning control by with a rise in the frequency of the potentially psychologically damaging rites which had characterised the preceding centuries.

In the final two centuries BC, and the 1st century AD, the horizons of many communities expanded considerably, yet the sense of belonging became more local. Many of the cemeteries which were created at this time were associated with farmsteads, reflecting an increased desire to link individual families/households to parts of the increasingly populated landscape. Nevertheless, the existence of large cemeteries, such as Westhampnett, Maiden Castle and the final phases of Mill Hill, as well as the continued, albeit diminished, deposition of disarticulated remains, indicates that the broader community was still an important component in the worldview of some of these groups. Throughout the MIA and LIA it is conceivable that people from other parts of Britain and the continent arrived in the study area. Quantifying this migrant presence is impossible. Some may have brought ideas which had profound ideas of prevailing “death myths”, whilst others, like those at Cliffs End Farm, seem to have been treated according to local rites.

The final two centuries of the Iron Age display the greatest degree of experimentation with the “death myth”, and forms of personhood. Some forms of MIA *social personae* and personhood, such as the weapon and spoon burials, became more prevalent, whilst new forms like cremation or mirror burials appeared. It is within the elite graves of this period that the most variation exists; seemingly contagious persons who held significant, communal roles, interred with objects which referenced other regions of Britain and the continent, sometimes deposited using continental derived cremation rites. Even within this experimentation it is possible to detect threads which reach back into the MIA. The restricted range and variety of LIA Kentish and SW inhumations is a practice originating in the preceding centuries, whilst the comparable limited number of grave goods from Durotrigian graves, combined with the use of Poundbury and Maiden Castle as cemetery sites, likewise suggests a community emphasis to some extent. Even the seemingly revolutionary act of cremation employed acts of destruction, whether by pyre or other means, which referenced earlier rites.

13.2. The Contextual Area

The second aim of this study was to contextualise developments observed in the study area with regard to those both elsewhere in Britain and on the near continent. Although slight, evidence for contact with groups outside the study area is present. These contacts also endured throughout the Later Iron Age, with the intensity of these contacts paralleling those observed between communities on the continent; a peak in La Tène A-B2, a subsequent decline, and a revival from La Tène C2-D2 (*per* Collis 1977, 1). Problems of comparison, combined with a tendency to juxtapose mortuary data deficient southern Britain to that of regions such as East Yorkshire or the Aisne-Marne, have historically served to sever this part of Britain from its surrounding geographical context. The re-dating of British La Tène artwork suggests that, contrary to earlier views, British La Tène artwork developed contemporaneously to continental styles (Garrow *et al*. 2009, 111). Just as with British La Tène art, the mortuary record displays clear, local patterns, but patterns which can ultimately be set within a broader north-western European scheme.

The clearest, and chronologically longest lasting, parallels are human remains recovered from non-grave contexts in various degrees of disarticulation. Such remains display an uneven distribution from Orkney (Armit and Ginn 2007) to Galatia (Voigt 2012). The prevalence of such remains, their treatment, and the contexts they were deposited in, remains understudied, however, it appears that what patterns can be detected have strong local traits. For example, in the Seine-Yonne confluence the peak in pit burials was in the 4th-3rd centuries BC (Delattre 2010, 117), whereas in Picardy they continued to be a feature (albeit rare) until the 1st century BC. As within the study area, British and continental pit and rampart burials display local demographic trends, some possibly resulting from socially sanctioned killings, others from unknown causes of death, and some appearing to represent formalised rites (e.g. Broxmouth).

The paucity of MIA formal cemeteries likewise has clear parallels elsewhere in Britain, but also on the continent (Nord-Pas-de-Calais and the coastal Netherlands). From the apparent lack of formal inhumation cemeteries in Brittany prior to the 1st century BC, it is argued that the late La Tène examples are likely of earlier date, and parallel the development of inhumation rites for the western zone. Artefactually speaking, there is nothing in the early study area to compare to groups like the Aisne-Marne culture. However, in Normandy, Champagne-Ardenne and Picardy many earlier La Tène cemeteries display a similar emphasis on the broader community (dissociation from settlements, recurring sets of grave goods etc.), such as observed at Suddern Farm and MIA Mill Hill. A similar focus upon community identity during this period has also been argued for the East Yorkshire cemeteries during this period (Giles 2000).

Between the 2nd century BC and 1st century AD, the broader context of mortuary rites is much clearer. In the final two centuries BC the degree of interconnectivity reached a hitherto unexperienced level of intensity. The widespread distribution of new artefact types, such as "Belgic" ceramics, fibulae, and coinage, attests to these contacts. Some communities were living in increasingly concentrated numbers (the examples *par excellence* being oppida), although a dense settlement pattern developed in many parts of north western Europe at this time. The largest expressions of these groupings are the polities which Classical writers encountered in the 1st centuries BC and AD, whether they be the kingdoms of individual rulers, such as Cunobelinus, or regional groups like the Belgae. These connections enabled ideas to travel comparatively quickly (Anthoons 2010a; 2010b), and are best illustrated in the mortuary sphere by the La Tène C-D feasting culture.

Despite this interconnectivity and broadened horizons, people's sense of belonging and identity contracted. Faced with exposure to foreign influences, people sought to re-orientate themselves to more local groups. Thus, although large cemeteries such as King Harry Lane (N=463) or Weert "Molenakkerdeerf" (N=124) were created, most cemeteries of this period represent individual families seeking to tie themselves to the land. Some of course did not, and in Champagne-Ardenne and Brittany it seems that the emphasis on broader community was maintained. Nevertheless, within this interconnected increasingly populated world many comparable mortuary developments occurred across a broad area. In east Yorkshire the communal cemeteries went out of use, as people redefined their world through the use of enclosure along household based lines (Giles 2000, 206). Small inhumation cemeteries were established in the northern and western Isles (e.g. Mackie 1962;

Badcock and Downes 2000; Neighbour *et al*. 2000); communities which were in contact with regions further south (Fitzpatrick 1989b, 29-30, fig. 2; Hunter 2006, 149, Illus. 13).

In the Netherlands similar developments to those in the study area took place, even if evidence for direct contact is wanting during the Iron Age. These include a preference for small cemeteries, with a shift from "wandering" cemeteries of the Dutch EIA and MIA to more permanent groupings in the LIA and ERIA (Gerritsen 2003, 193). As in the study area new sanctuaries were established (Roymans 2007, 479-82), and a local fibulae event horizon occurred (Hiddink 2014, 193). The closest parallels during this period, however, are between the cremation burials of northern France and south eastern Britain. We should view such similarities as the effects of human interactions (Fitzpatrick 1989b). This is not to suggest a cultural transmission in the sense of a Culture-Historical interpretation, but rather that these influences and ideas were carried and communicated by humans. Some foreigners were laid to rest in the study area, as at North Bersted. Likewise, though their presence is less discernible, some British born individuals undertook to cross the Channel and live out their days in Normandy and the Marne. In each case, when a new influence arrived it was interpreted and adapted within the existing cultural norms (Giles 2000, 206). The mortuary cultures of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC thus represent a plethora of local "death myths" with varying degrees of foreign influence. The continued prevalence for crouched and flexed burials among British inhumations, and extended inhumations among those continental communities who continued this rite in the late La Tène phases is observed. Even among closely related mortuary cultures, such as the Breton and SW inhumations, the use of extended and flexed burials, respectively, betrays the local character of these rites.

Mortuary rites were initially largely unaffected by the Roman conquest. Only when civil authorities became effective do we detect developments. Elite graves from Coldswood, Alton and the A2 Pepperhill-Cobham route attest to communities whose material wealth was not impacted by the conquest. At non-elite sites, such as Hughtown, Poundbury, Alington Avenue and Mill Hill, mortuary rites continued as they had before, with no sudden increase in the number of deceased (Maiden Castle is exception). To the north, two of the richest Aylesford-Swarling burials, Welwyn and Stanway, both date the years around, or immediately after, the conquest (O'Brien 2014, 39). On the continent similar phenomena occur. Examples include the wealthy grave from Presles-et-Boves "derriére Saint-Audebert", Aisne immediately post-dating the Roman conquest of Gaul, where the amphorae and Hauvine type ceramics attest to well-connected communities, who were not suffering from post-war disruptions (Olivier and Schönfelder 2002, 80-1).

13.3. Concluding Remarks

Between the 5th century BC and 1st century AD individuals and communities in southern Britain employed human remains as a means to structure, maintain and change their social world. They did this in combination with a variety of other materials, in doing so creating the world as they wanted it to be. The methods they employed drew upon preconceived ideas of what constituted the correct way to conduct rituals and the psychological impact of certain rites, with the results of these rites used to reinforce or bend the prevailing social grid. In this sense human remains were both a proactive and reflective component of their world. Stepping back from the study area, we can see how such rites fitted into the broader picture of Later Iron Age communities in north western Europe. Just as some of the rites and human remains employed in such rites had their origins outside of the communities who practiced them, so it is fitting to conclude with the words upon which this study has been based:

> *"Ritual practice in Iron Age societies was not separable nor secondary to political and economic realities."*
>
> – Hill 1995, 124

> *"It is vital in terms of southern Britain, with its confusion of native and continental metalwork and pottery traditions, that there should be some solution [to the changes in the material culture] in order that recourse to damagingly extreme invasionist and anti-invasionist positions will become unnecessary."*
>
> – Whimster 1981, 129

13.4. Further Research

In considering a broad range of data types across a sizeable region, this study has necessarily been brief in certain aspects. Issues such as the status of children, animals within the funerary sphere, and finer analyses of the role of age, would benefit from more analysis (as Hamlin did for Durotrigian burials). The relationship between south-west/Breton inhumation rites is deserving of more detailed study; especially with regards their respective chronologies. The Breton inhumation rites probably date earlier than is currently thought, but only a dedicated study can determine this. A new study of the Aylesford-Swarling culture would likewise be beneficial. This study has restricted itself to south of the Thames. The last systematic study of Aylesford-Swarling burials from north of the Thames is now over 40 years old, and new conclusions are likely to be reached regarding this group.

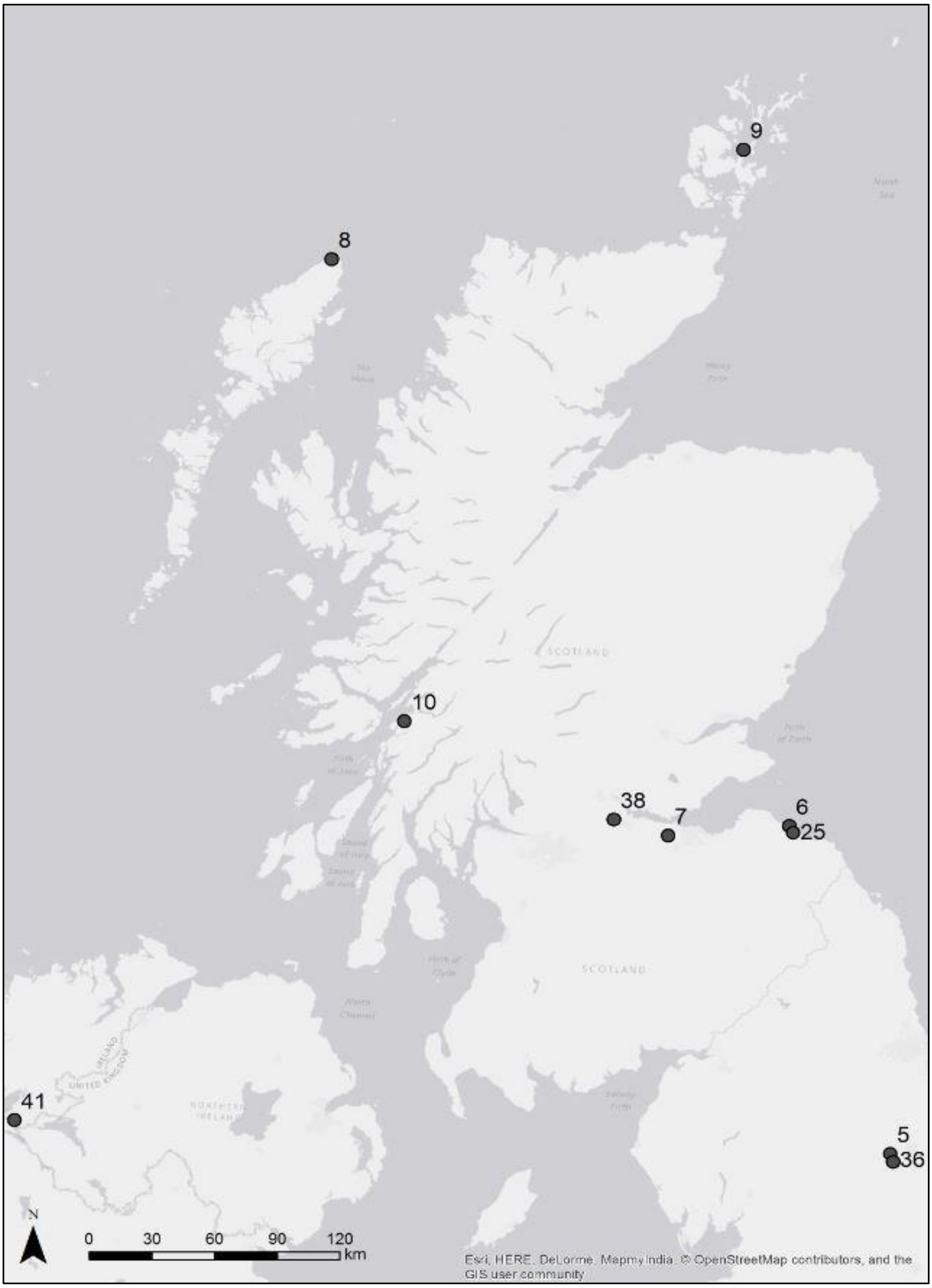
This study has sought to contextualise mortuary rites in southern Britain with those further north and the near continent. As briefly noted though, such links are not restricted to these areas. The anthropoid sword from Ballyshannon Bay, County Donegal (itself with clear parallels to Tesson and Grimthorpe), and the weapon and mirror burial from Lambay Island point to links with Ireland. Likewise, the presence of the bear hide from Baldock suggests a rite with its closest parallels in Germany and Poland; regions with some evidence of British trade links. Mortuary data for Ireland are still slight, but in light of excavations over the last few decades, the possibility for new study exists. Mortuary data for northern Europe are more abundant, and especially rich in LIA cremations. Though contact between Britain and these regions may have been limited at times, both were subject to many of the same developments: exchange with the continental La Tène zone, increasing populations and ultimately encounters with the politics of the Roman Empire. Of greatest benefit to attempts to contextualise southern Britain's mortuary rites would be a dedicated study of continental disarticulated remains on the continent, where existing studies are site specific rather than regional in scope.

Appendices

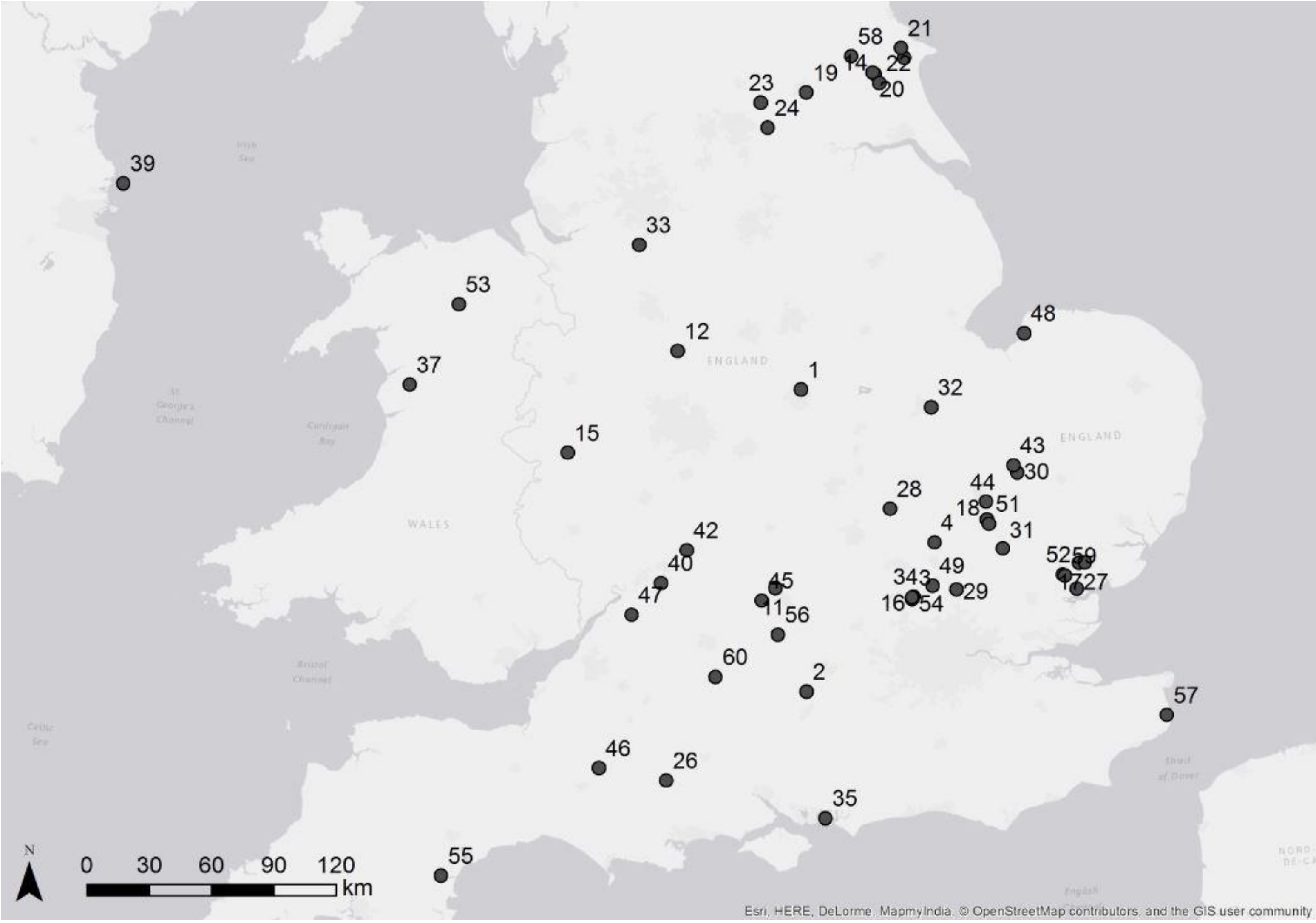
Appendix A: Maps and supporting keys

Site Name	Number	Site Name	Number
Rushy Mead	1	Hamperden	31
Silchester	2	Flag Fen	32
Verulamium	3	Lindow	33
Baldock	4	St. Albans	34
Stanwick	5	Hayling Island	35
Broxmouth	6	Melsonby	36
Newbridge	7	Tal-y-Ilyn	37
Swainbost	8	Camelon	38
Bu	9	Lambay Island	39
Oban	10	Birdlip	40
Yarnton	11	Ballyshannon	41
Puddlehill	12	Hailes	42
Rudston	13	Fordham	43
Wetwang Slack	14	Wandlebury	44
Bromfield	15	Stanton Harcourt	45
King Harry Lane	16	Cadbury Castle	46
Stanway	17	Uley	47
Hinxton	18	Snettisham	48
Heslington	19	Welwyn Garden City	49
Garton Station	20	Lexden	50
Burton Fleming	21	Great Chesterford	51
Kirkburn	22	Kelvedon	52
Wattle Sykes	23	Cerrig-y-Druidon	53
Micklefield	24	Folly Lane	54
Dryburn Bridge	25	Kingsteignton	55
Rotherley	26	Harwell	56
Maldon Hall Farm	27	Upper Deal	57
Biddenham Loop	28	North Grimston	58
Hertford Heath	29	Kelvedon	59
Snailwell	30	Marlborough	60

A. 1. Key to insular sites displayed in maps 3 and 4.



A. 2. Sites mentioned in the text in northern Britain and Ireland.

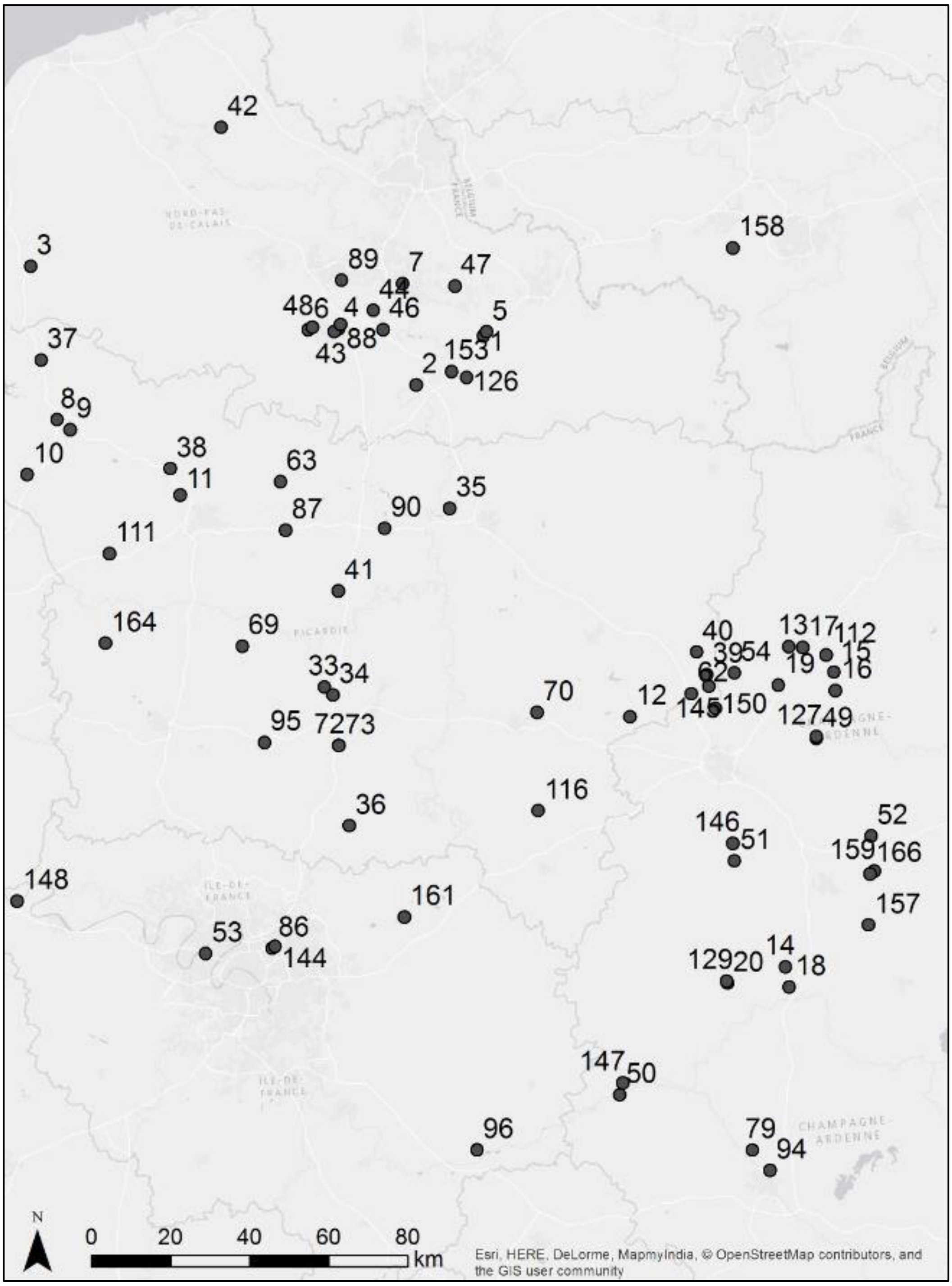


A. 3. Sites mentioned in the text in southern Britain and Ireland.

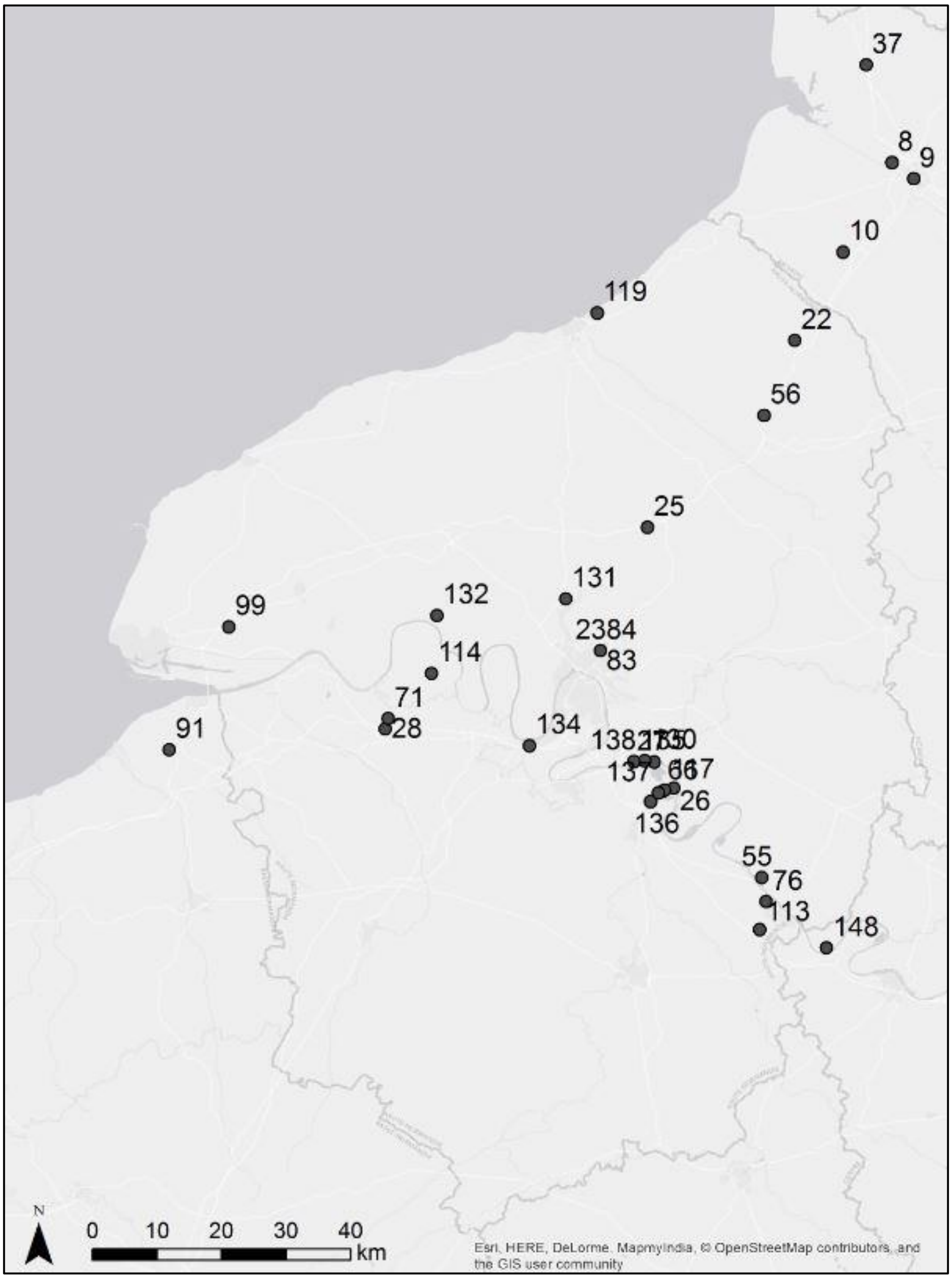
Site Name	Number	Site Name	Number
Hordain “ZAC”	1	Arras “Les Bonnettes”	43
Moeuvres	2	Fresnes-les-Montaubon “Le Chemin des Vaches”	44
La Calotteria “La Fontaine aux Linottes”	3	Eprave	45
Saint-Laurent-Blangy “Actiparc Site R”	4	Hamblain-les-Prés	46
Hordain “La Fosse à Loups”	5	Pecquencourt	47
Duisans “La Cité”	6	Duisans “les Bois d’Hattecourt”	48
Lauwin-Planque	7	Bétheniville	49
Grand-Laviers	8	Pont-sur-Seine	50
Abbeville	9	Oiry	51
Vismes-au-Val	10	Bussy-le-Château “Bout des Forces”	52
Saint-Sauveur	11	Nanterre	53
Maizy “Le Bois Gobert”	12	Vieux-les-Asfelds	54
Nanteuil-sur-Aisne	13	Notre-Dame-de-L’Isle	55
Europort de Vatry “En Haut des Gravelles”	14	Fesques	56
Ménil-Annelles	15	Ifs “Object ‘Ifs Sud”	57
Ville-sur-Retourne	16	Ifs “Crédit Immobilier”	58
Acy-Romance “La Croizette”	17	Pons	59
Sommesous “La Côte d’Orgeval”	18	Plougnasnou	60
Bergnicourt “La Louvière”	19	Rugéré	61
Fère-Champenoise “Fin d’Ecury”	20	Condé-sur-Suippe	62
Ifs	21	Ribemont-sur-Ancre	63
Saint-Riquier-en-Rivière “Au dessus du Val d’Aulnoy”	22	Courseulles-sur-Mer	64
Bois-Guillaume	23	Fleury-sur-Orne	65
Urville-Naqueville	24	Val-de-Reuil “ZAC des Portes”	66
Cottévrard “La Plaine de la Bucaille”	25	Voutré	67
Tournedos-sur-Seine	26	Saint-Pierre-sur-Erve “Grotte de Rochefort”	68
Pîtres “La Remise”	27	Mory-Montcrux	69
Etreville	28	Bucy-le-Long “La Héronnière”	70
King’s Road	29	Étreville “Le Clos des Lilas”	71
Quiberon	30	Chambly	72
Plouer-sur-Rance	31	Longeuil-Sainte-Marie	73
Saint-Urnel-en-Plomeur	32	Fontenay-La-Marmion “La Grande Pièce”	74
Gournay-sur-Aronde	33	Basly “La Campagne”	75
Montmartin	34	Saint-Just “ZAC des Saules”	76
Vermand	35	Mondeville “L’Étoile”	77
Baron	36	Goulvars	78
Bernay-en-Ponthieu “Pont-Rémy”	37	Saint-Benoît-sur-Seine “La Perrière”	79
Vignacourt	38	Soumont-Saint-Quentin	80
Proviseux	39	Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay	81
Malmaison	40	Cagny “Projet Décathlon”	82
Villers-les-Roye	41	Bois-Guillaume “Les Bocquets”	83
Bavinchove “Castel Veld”	42	Bois-Guillaume “Terres Rouges”	84
Orval	85	Bétheniville	127

Bobigny “Hôpital Avicenne”	86	Goeblange-Nospelt	128
Marcelcave	87	Fère-Champenoise “Fin d’Ecury”	129
Saint-Laurent-Blagny “Les Soixante”	88	Le Manoir	130
Avion “Fossé à Leu”	89	Eslettes	131
Cizancourt “Le sole des Galets”	90	St. Wandrille	132
Saint-Gatien-des-Bois	91	Mesnil-sous-Jumièges	133
Kerjaeouen	92	Moulineaux	134
Landeleau	93	Alizay	135
Lavau	94	Notre-dame-du-Vaudreuil	136
Breuil-le-Sec	95	Val de Reuil	137
Châtenay-sur-Seine “Les Gobillons”	96	Léry “Champ des Corvées”	138
St. Georgés-les-Baillargeaux	97	Les Adams, St. Peter-in-the-Wood	139
St. Peter Port	98	Mazerolles	140
Saint-Aubin-du-Routot	99	Tesson	141
Meuvaines	100	Fontenay-le-Comte	142
Kerné	101	Beaufort-en-Vallée	143
Fontenay-le-Comte	102	Bobigny “Hôpital Avicenne”	144
Les Akkeuds	103	Menneville	145
Les Pichelots	104	Avenay Val d’Or	146
Le Catioroc	105	La Villeneuve-au-Châtelot	147
Andelst	106	Bennecourt	148
Nederweert	107	Mainz-Weisenau	149
Panningen	108	Orainville	150
Rosveld	109	Titelberg	151
Geldermalsen	110	Lamedelaine	152
Thieulloy-l’Abbaye	111	Grand Champ à Raillencourt-Sainte-Olle	153
Thugny-Trugny	112	Clemency	154
Champ des Corvées	113	Beuille	155
Mailleraye-sur-Seine	114	Trégueux	156
Kernavest	115	Pogny	157
Armentières-sur-Ourcq	116	Leval-Trahegnies	158
Val-de-Reuil “La Comminière”	117	Courtisols	159
Creully	118	Lacoste à Mouliets-et-Villemartin	160
Bracquemont	119	Meaux	161
Tronoën	120	Mülheim	162
La Motte Saint-Valentin	121	Corrèze	163
Nijmegen	122	Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée	164
Nospelt-Krëckelbierg	123	Euffigneix	165
Rohrbach	124	Courtisols	166
Trégueux	125	Paule	167
Cambrai “Nouveau Monde”	126		

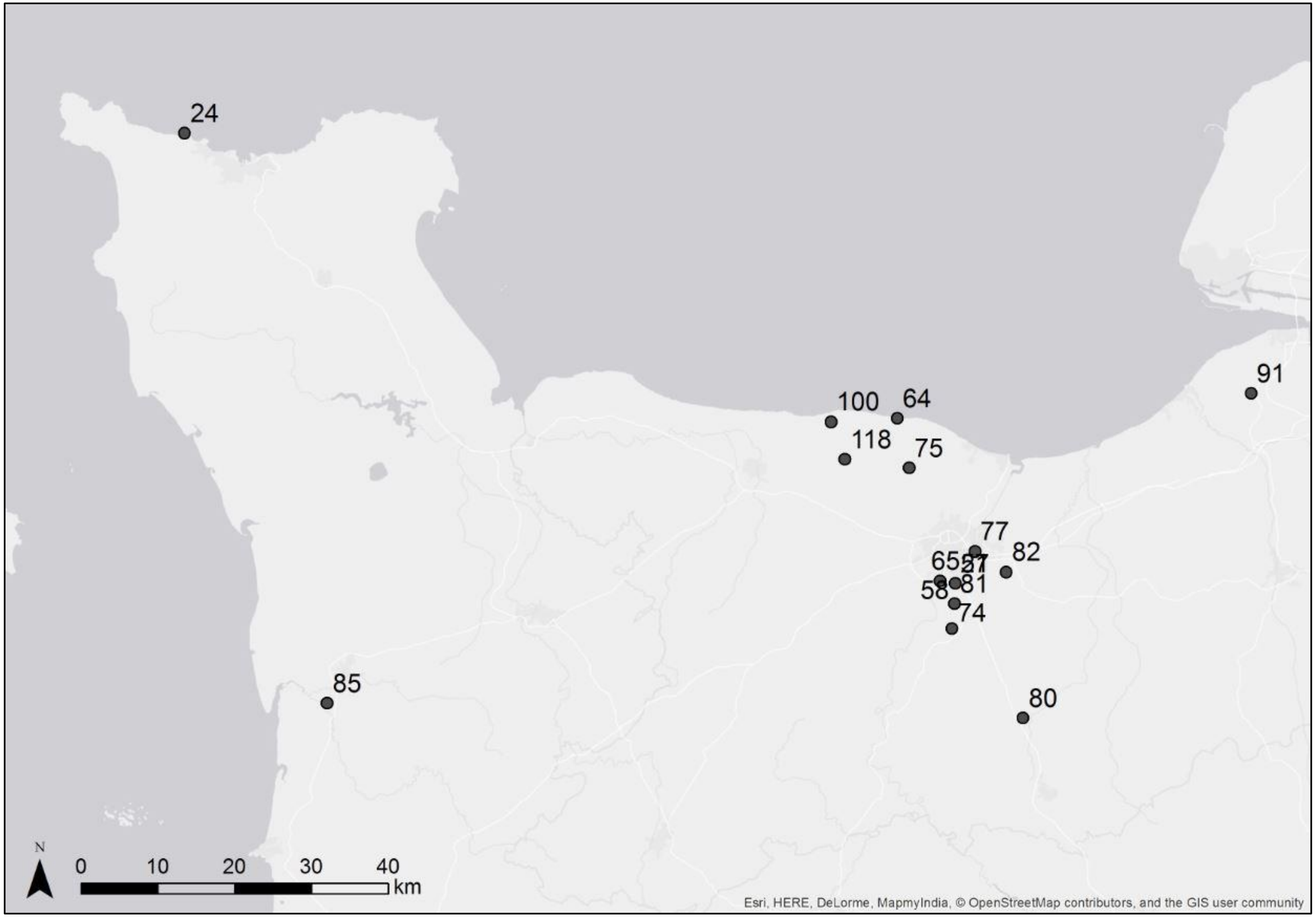
A. 4. Key to continental sites displayed in maps below.



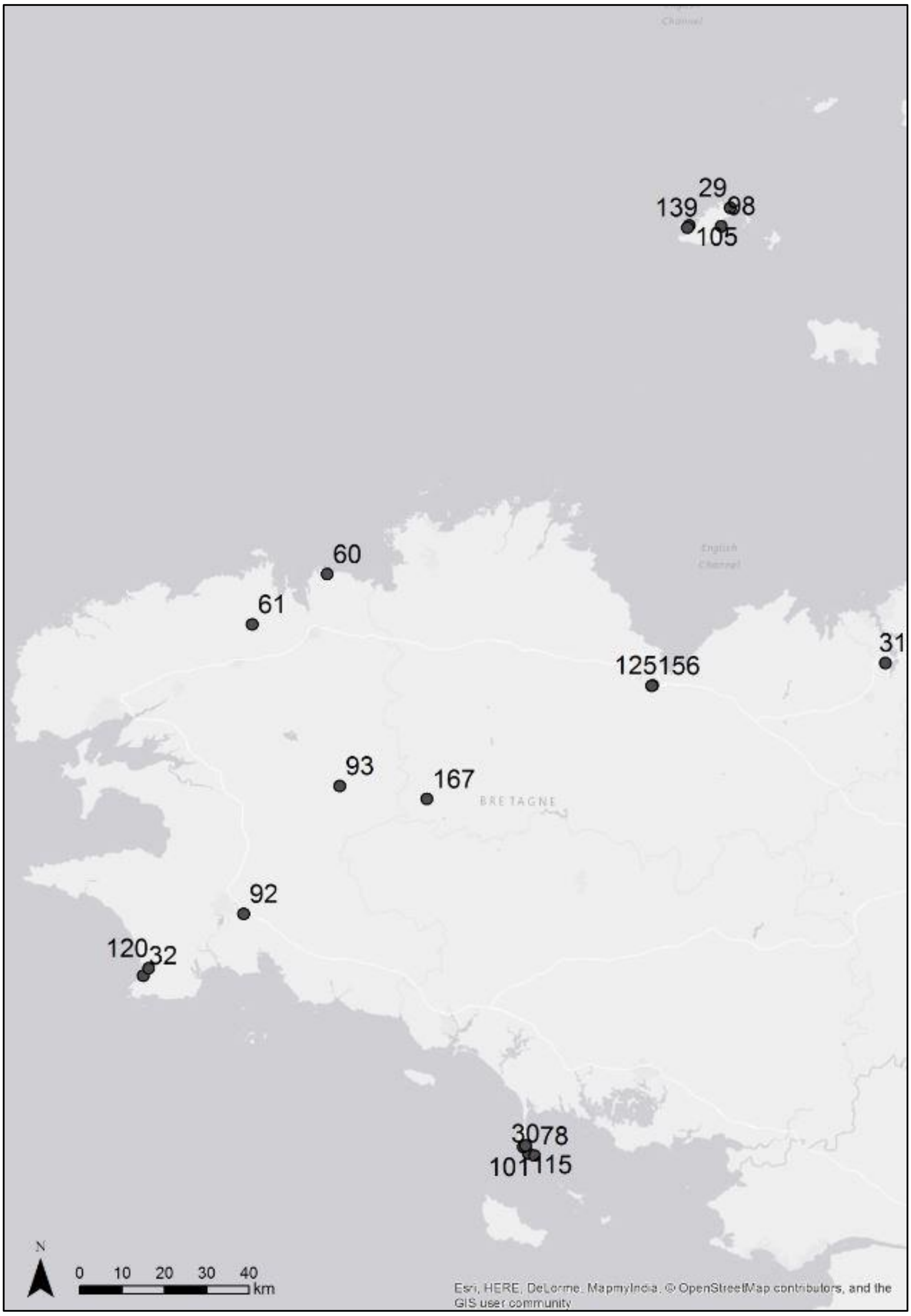
A. 5. Continental sites mentioned in the text from north east France and Belgium.



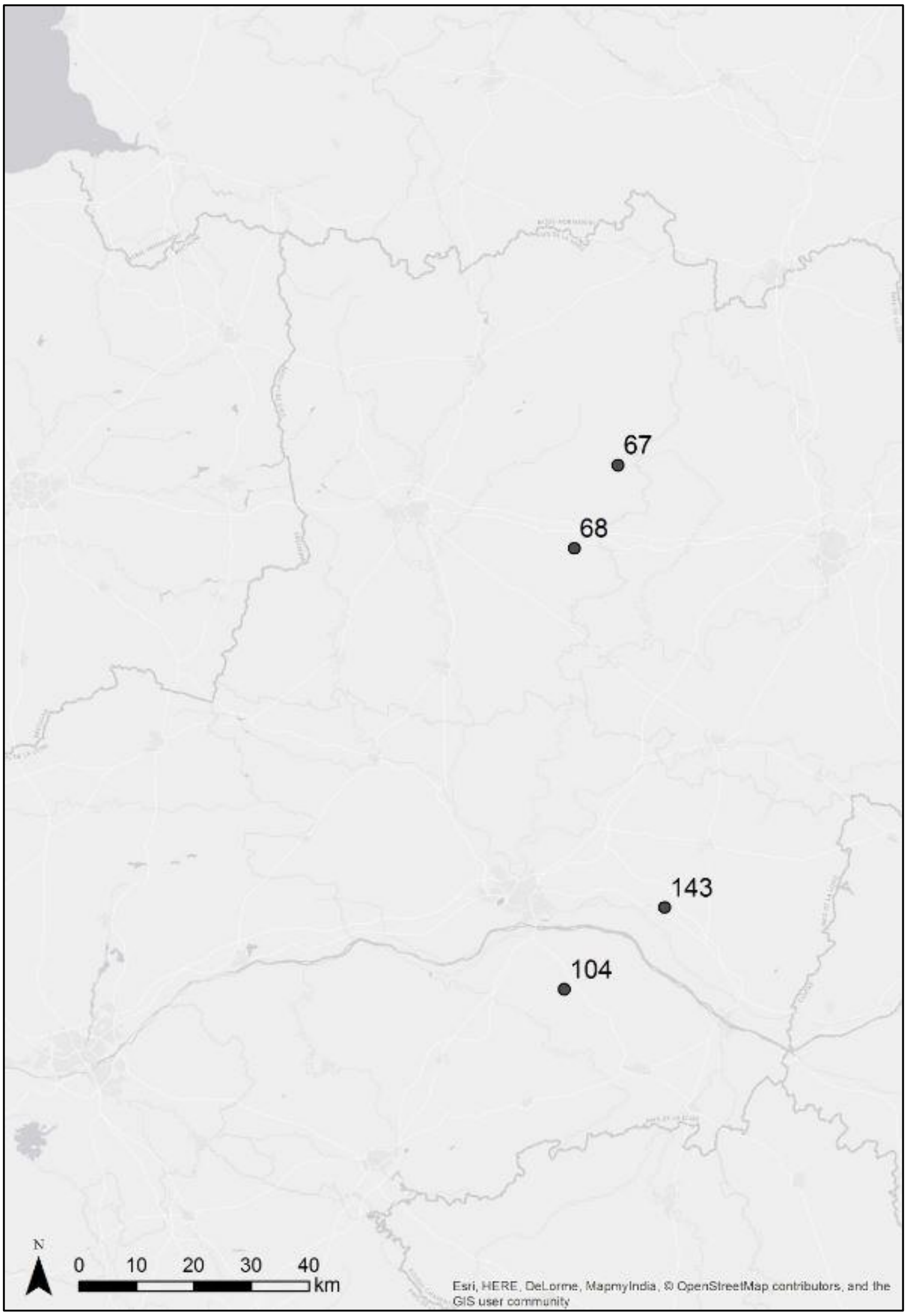
A. 6. Continental sites mentioned in the text from Upper Normandy.



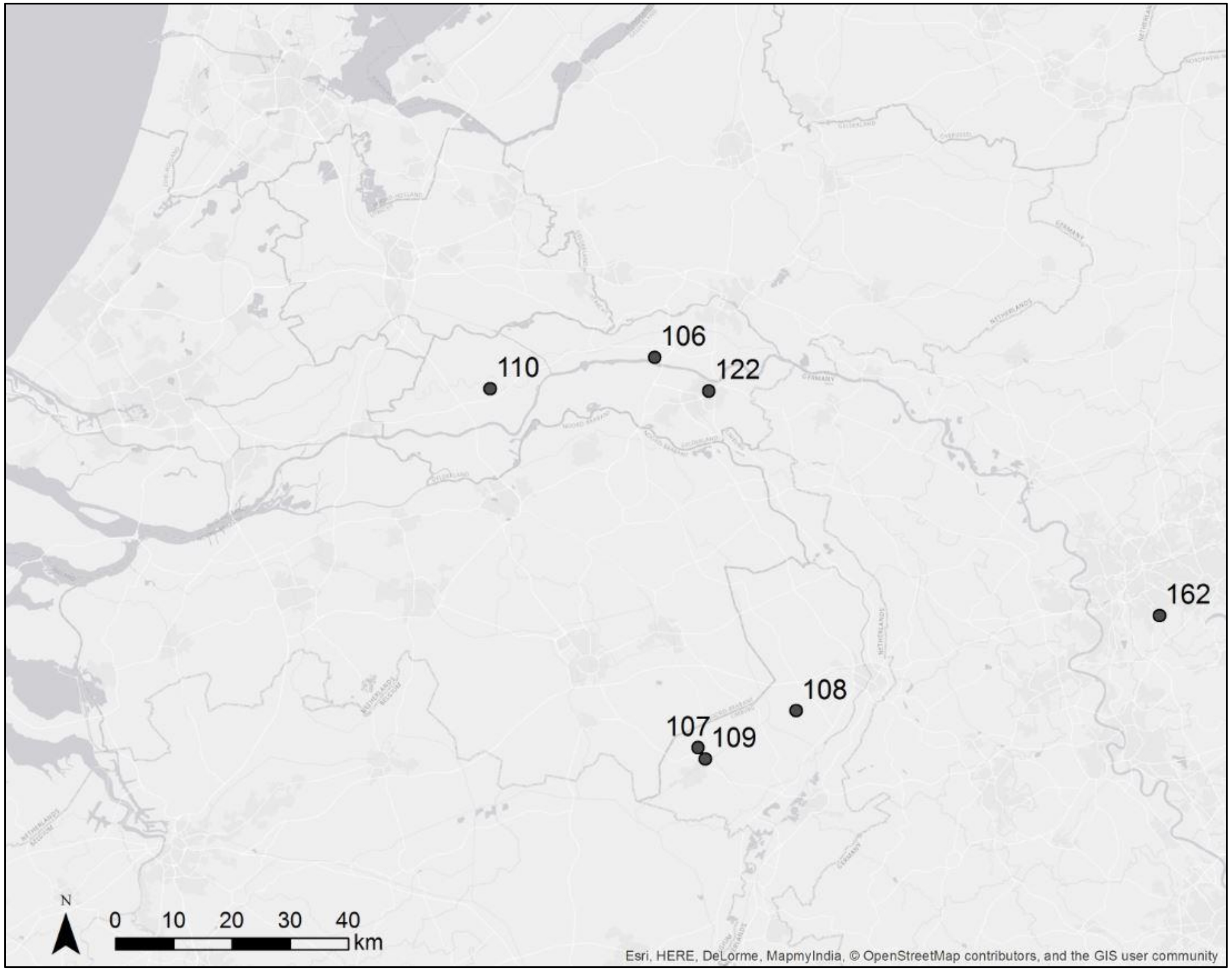
A. 7. Continental sites mentioned in the text from Lower Normandy.



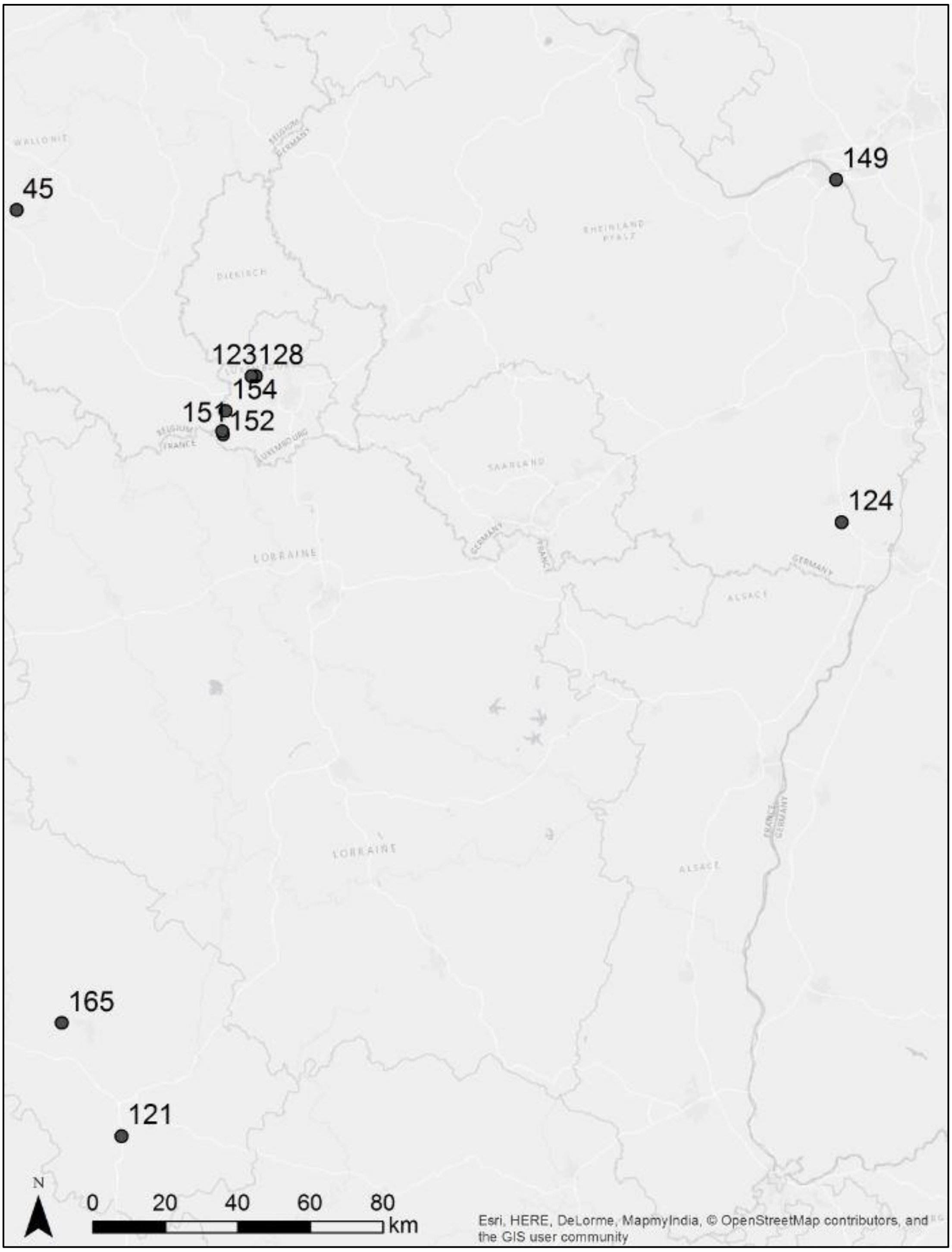
A. 8. Continental sites mentioned in the text from Brittany.



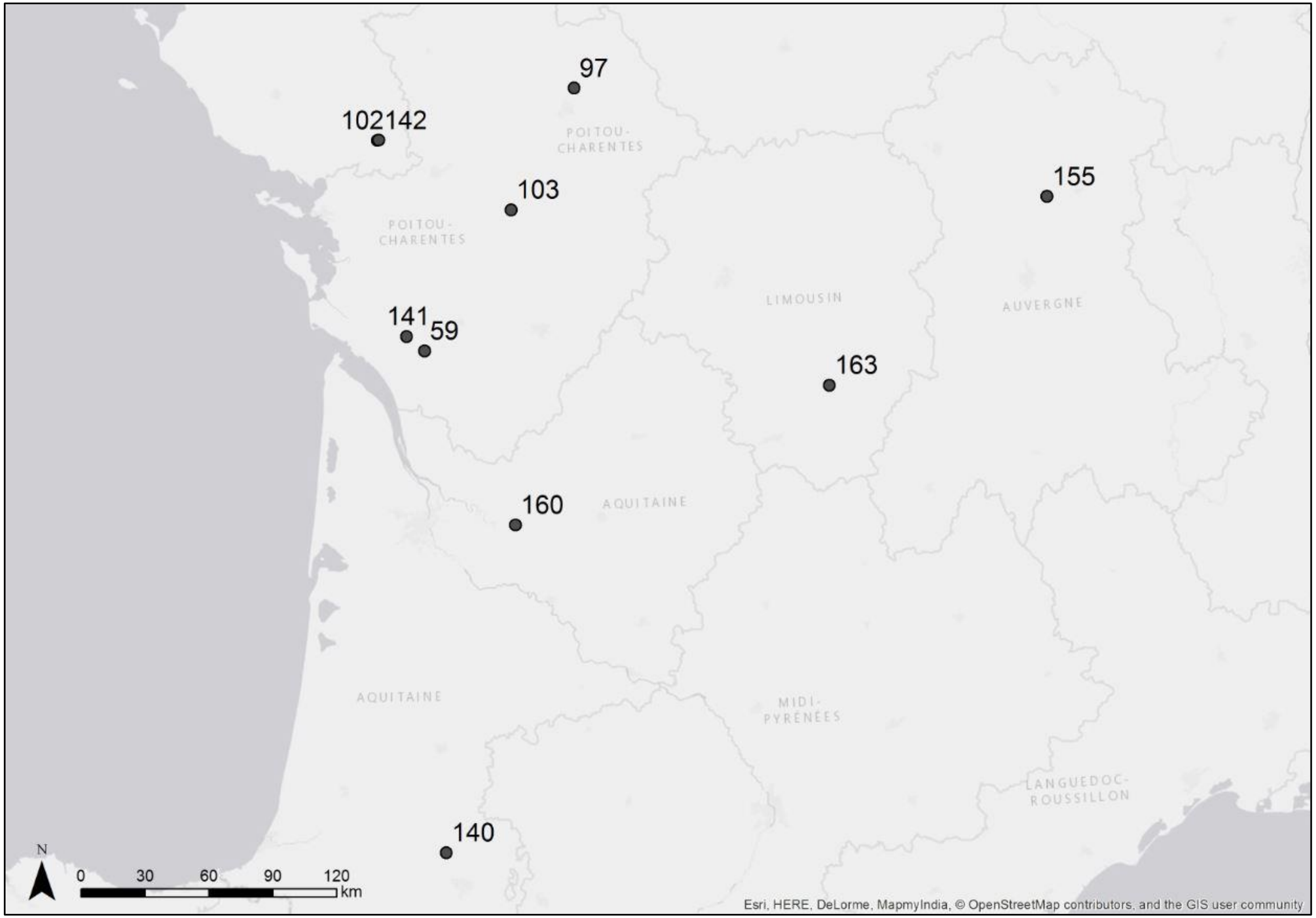
A. 9. Continental sites mentioned in the text from the Pays-de-Loire.



A. 10. Continental sites mentioned in the text from the Netherlands and Lower Rhine.



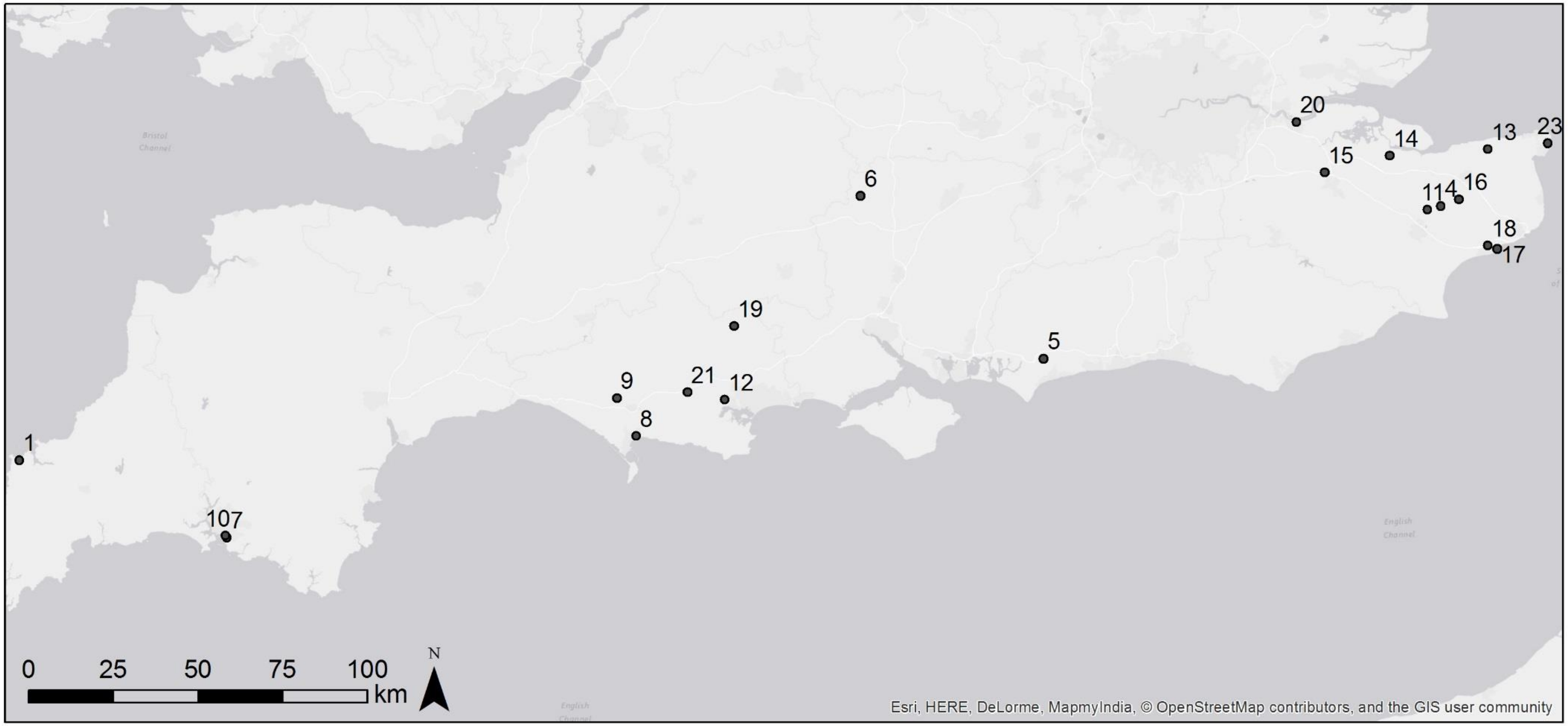
A. 11. Continental sites mentioned in the text from the Middle Rhine.



A. 12. Continental sites mentioned in the text from south west France.

No.	Site Name	County
1	Harlyn Bay	Cornwall
2	Dumpton Gap	Kent
3	Broadstairs	Kent
4	Crundale Limeworks	Kent
5	Oving	West Sussex
6	Balgden Copse, Hurstbourne Tarrant	Hampshire
7	Plymstock	Devon
8	Jordan Hill	Dorset
9	Bradford Peverill	Dorset
10	Mount Batten	Devon
11	Boughton Aluph	Kent
12	Lytchett Minster	Dorset
13	Highstead	Kent
14	Sittingbourne	Kent
15	Aylesford	Kent
16	Swarling	Kent
17	Cheriton	Kent
18	Castle Hill, Folkestone	Kent
19	Handley, Cranborne Chase	Dorset
20	Gravesend	Kent
21	Flagstone	Dorset

A. 13. Key to Map A 14.



A. 14. Sites in the study area too poor to include in the main analysis, but mentioned in the main text.

Appendix B: Coding sheets used for methodology

General Information:

0. Data missing

9999. Data unknown

Period:

1. Early/Middle Iron Age
2. Middle Iron Age
3. Late Iron Age
4. British Conquest years
5. British post-conquest

Study Zone:

1. East
2. Central
3. West

Sites

1. Hill-fort
2. Settlement
3. Cemetery
4. Isolated Burial
5. Other site type

Demographic Data

Sex:

1. Male
2. Female
3. Unkown/Unrecorded

Age Category 1:

1. Foetus/Neonate
2. Child/Infant
3. Adult

Age Category 2:

1. Neonate
2. Child
3. Adolescent
4. Young Adult
5. Older Adult

Locational Data:

Location with Respect to Site:

1. Interior
2. Perimeter
3. Exterior

Context:

1. Grave
2. Enclosing ditch

3. Rampart/Bank

4. Pit

5. Other ditch/Gully

6. Post-Hole

7. Midden

8. Other

Function of Context:

1. Funerary

2. Domestic/Occupation

3. Storage

4. Processing

5. Midden/Refuse

6. Enclosure/Boundary

7. Extraction

Associated Feature:

1. Settlement enclosure

2. Other Enclosure

3. Round structure

4. Rectilinear structure

5. Irregular structure

6. Two post structure

7. Multi-post structure

8. Pyre site

9. Quarry/Gully

10. Pit

11. Other

0. None

Treatment and Burial Type

Manner of Disposal:

1. Inhumation

2. Articulated remains

3. Disarticulated/Isolated Remains

4. Cremation

0. None/Missing

Inhumation

Condition:

1. Complete

2. Partial

Orientation (Head to Coccyx):

1. N

2. NE

3. E

4. SE

5. S

6. SW

7. W

8. NW

Facial Orientation of Skull:

1. N

2. NE

3. E

4. SE

5. S

6. SW

7. W

8. NW

Position 1:

1. Supine

2. Prone

3. Right Side

4. Left Side

5. Sitting

6. Other

Position 2:

1. Supine (1).

2. Right side supine (2).

3. Left side supine (3).

4. Prone

5. Right side prone

6. Left side prone

7. Right side

8. Left side

9. Sitting

10. Head down

11. Upright

Layout:

1. Extended

2. Flexed

3. Crouched

4. Contracted/Possibly Bound

<u>**Cremation**</u>

Alignment of Grave:

1. N-S

2. NE-SW

3. E-W

4. NW-SE

Weight of Cremation:

0. None present

9999999999. Present but not recorded

Continuous value for recorded weight.

Cremation Form:

1. Ceramic Urned

2. Unurned single deposit

3. Unurned parcelled deposit

4. Unurned spread /scattered deposit

Location of Cremation within Grave:

1. N

2. NE

3. E

4. SE

5. S

6. SW

7. W

8. NW

9. Central

10. Throughout grave

<u>**Disarticulated Remains**</u>

Disarticulated Remains A:

1. Skull

2. Axial/Torso

3. Upper Limb

4. Lower Limb

5. Phalange

Disarticulated Remains B:

1. Cranium

2. Mandible

3. Vertebrae

4. Clavicle

5. Scapula

6. Ribs

7. Sternum

8. Humerus

9. Ulna

10. Radius

11. Carpal

12. Metacarpal

13. Phalanx

14. Pelvis

15. Femur

16. Patella

17. Tibia

18. Fibula

19. Tarsal

20. Metatarsal

21. Teeth

Side:

1. Right

2. Left

3. Central/Not Applicable

4. Both

<u>Articulated Remains</u>

Portion Present:

1. Skull

2. Torso/Axial

3. Upper Limb

4. Lower Limb

Side:

1. Right

2. Left

3. Central/Not Applicable

4. Both

<u>Grave Inclusions:</u>

Grave Inclusions A:

1. Natural material/layer

2. Complete Ceramic vessel

3. Intentionally smashed ceramic vessel

4. Ceramic sherd

5. Worked bone/antler

6. Animal bone

7. Quern stone

8. Other worked stone

9. Armament

10. Personal Adornment

11. Organic Remains

12. Domestic Debris

13. Ash/Charcoal

14. Other metal artefacts

15. Coinage

16. Glass

Grave Inclusions (Grave Goods) B:

Indigenous Ceramics:

1. Jar

2. Bowl

3. Dish

4. Saucepan Pot

5. Cup

6. Platter

7. Lid

8. Pitcher

9. Tazza

10. Beaker

11. Flagon

12. Flask

Foreign Ceramics:

1. Cup

2. Butt-beaker

3. Platter

4. Bowl

5. Pedastal urn

6. Tazza

7. Barrel-beaker

8. Dish

9. Flagon

Armament:

1. Sword

2. Spear

3. Shield

4. Armour

5. Slingstone

6. Scabbard fitting/Baldrick part

7. Axe

8. Arrowhead

Fibulae

1. Hawkes and Hull 1C

2. Hawkes and Hull 2A

3. Hawkes and Hull 2B

4. Hawkes and Hull 2C

5. Hawkes and Hull 3B

6. Military La Tène II

7. SW La Tène Series

8. Edgar Type 1

9. Edgar Type 3/Almgren Type 1

10. Edgar/Feugère Type 2

11. Edgar Type A.

12. Edgar Type 4/Almgren Type 15

13. Nauheim/Edgar 5a/Feugère 5a

14. Nauheim Derivative/Edgar Type 6

15. Drahtfibel/Edgar 5b

16. Drahtfibel Derivative

17. Stead/Edgar Type 8/Almgren 65/14

18. Edgar 14a/Almgren 241

19. Langton Down/Edgar 14b

20. Rosette/ Feugère Type 19

20. Colchester

22. Glastonbury

23. Aesica

24. Alésia/Feugère Type 21

25. Aucissa/Edgar Type 22

26. Colchester Derivative

27. Feugère 11

28. Penannular

29. Trumpet Head

30. Disc

31. Durotrigian

32. Headstud

Fibulae Materia:

1. Iron

2. Copper Alloy

3. Silver

4. Gold

5. Brass

Other Jewellery:

1. Iron Ring

2. Copper alloy ring

3. Iron Bracelet

4. Bronze Bracelet

5. Gold Foil/Ring

6. Belt Hook

7. Chain

8. Mirror

9. Bead(s)

10. Shale bangle/armlet

11. Dress fastener

12. Bronze Pin

Other Metal Artefacts:

1. Knife

2. Metal Plated Bucket

3. Firedog

4. Toilet equipment (includes glass vessels)

5. Italian bronzes

6. Staple

7. Iron Collar

8. Nail

9. Key/Latch Lifter

10. Hammer

11. File

12. Hobnails

13. Stylus

14. Handle

15. Joiners Dog.

16. Tin Object

17. Razor

18. Copper Alloy Vessel

19. Sheers

20. Awl

Coinage:

1. Gallo-Belgic

2. British Uninscribed

3. British Inscribed

4. Potin

5. Roman

Animal Inclusions:

1. Pig

2. Cattle

3. Sheep/Goat

4. Horse

5. Chicken

6. Dog

7. Wild

8. Fish

9. Unidentifiable medium sized domesticate

10. Unidentified large domesticate.

Organic Inclusions:

1. Worked Bone

2. Leather

3. Mineralised wood

4. Worked antler

5. Adhered bone

6. Grave box

7. Caprine skin

8. Mineralised other fibre

9. Grain

10. Non-container wooden object

Lithics:

1. Flint

2. Pot boilers

3. Rubble

4. Chalk

5. Spindle whorl

6. Quern Stone

7. Limestone

8. Loom weight

9. Gaming Pieces

10. Whetsone

11. Ragstone

12. Neolithic axe

Evidence for Burning:

1. Yes

2. No

Spatial Analysis of Grave Goods

ZONE A (In direct/likely association with body):

1. Right cranium

2. Left cranium

3. Right thorax

4. Left thorax

5. Right leg

6. Left leg

7. Atop cranium

8. Beneath cranium

9. Atop thorax/sternum/central/around neck

10. Waist/Pelvis

11. General cover of Upper Body

12. General cover of Lower Body

13. Cover of whole body

14. Right arm

15. Left arm

16. Right hand

17. Left Hand

18. Associated with feet

ZONE B (In rectilinear/ovoid grave, not directly/unlikely to be directly associated with body):

1. Top right grave

2. Top left grave

3. Right centre grave

4. Left centre grave

5. Bottom right grave

6. Bottom left grave

Cremation Grave:

1. N

2. NE

3. E

4. SE

5. S

6. SW

7. W

8. NW

9. Depot Cimitiére

10. Urn

Appendix C: Basic quantification supplementary and additional tables and figures

Site	Total contexts	Total remains	Inhumation	Cremation	Articulated remains	Disarticulated Remain
A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme	**16**	**16**	3	9	0	4
Adanac Park	**19**	**19**	19	0	0	0
Alington Avenue	**14**	**14**	14	0	0	0
Alkham	**4**	**4**	0	4	0	0
Alton	**3**	**3**	0	3	0	0
Balksbury Camp	**1**	**1**	0	0	0	1
Battlesbury Bowl	**28**	**31**	7	0	1	23
Beechbrook Wood	**5**	**6**	0	6	0	0
Bishopstone	**2**	**3**	3	0	0	0
Bridge	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Brisley Farm, Ashford	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Bryher	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Bury Hill	**5**	**5**	2	0	0	3
Chilham Castle	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Church Knapp, Wyke Regis	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet	**20**	**20**	8	0	4	8
Coldswood Road (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	**7**	**7**	0	7	0	0
Copse Farm	**3**	**3**	0	0	0	3

Cottingon Hill (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Courtwick Lane, Littlehampton	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Danebury	**284**	**396**	49	0	10	337
Deal Cemetery	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Easton Lane	**10**	**12**	10	0	0	2
Ford Airfield	**2**	**2**	0	2	0	0
Gussage All Saints	**65**	**65**	47	0	0	18
Harting Beacon	**3**	**4**	0	0	0	4
Hartsdown College	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Hod Hill	**5**	**7**	5	0	2	0
Home Field, Down Farm, Sixpenny Handley	**1**	**1**	0	0	0	1
Houghton Down	**6**	**6**	2	1	0	3
Hughtown, St Mary's	**11**	**11**	11	0	0	0
Jubilee Corner	**6**	**6**	0	6	0	0
Kings Worthy Primary School	**2**	**3**	0	0	0	3
Langton Herring	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Latchmere Green	**1**	**2**	0	2	0	0
Latton Lands	**6**	**6**	4	2	0	0
Lea Road, Wyke Regis	**4**	**4**	4	0	0	0
Little Somborne	**5**	**7**	2	0	0	5
Little Stock Farm	**2**	**3**	2	0	0	1
Litton Cheney	**7**	**7**	6	0	0	1
Maiden Castle	**96**	**99**	75	0	0	24
Manor Farm, Portesham	**4**	**4**	4	0	0	0
Micheldever Wood	**19**	**25**	13	0	0	12
Mill Hill, Deal	**47**	**47**	42	5	0	0
North Bersted, Bognor Regis	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0

Northumberland Bottom	**2**	**6**	0	1	0	5
Norton	**1**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Old Kempshott Lane	**2**	**2**	0	0	0	2
Owslebury	**111**	**178**	21	17	0	140
Portesham	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Poundbury	**57**	**57**	55	0	0	2
Poundbury pipeline evaluation	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Poynter's Garden	**7**	**7**	7	0	0	0
Saltwood	**11**	**11**	1	10	0	0
Sholden	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Site A, Kennel Farm	**2**	**2**	0	0	0	2
Slonk Hill, Shoreham	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Somborne Park Farm	**1**	**1**	0	0	0	1
South Willesborough	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
St Lawrence	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Stone Farm Bridleway	**10**	**10**	5	5	0	0
Suddern Farm	**143**	**146**	45	0	7	94
The Bourne	**2**	**2**	1	0	0	1
The Caburn	**1**	**1**	0	0	0	1
The Triangle Site, South Marston	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
The Trundle	**3**	**3**	0	0	0	3
Tollard Royal	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Trethellan Farm	**21**	**23**	23	0	0	0
Trevone	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Tutt Hill, Westwell	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Viables Farmes Farm	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Weatherlees WTW and Ebbsfleet Lane (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	**4**	**4**	4	0	0	0

West Malling and Leybourne Bypass	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Westhampnett	**161**	**168**	0	168	0	0
Westhawk Farm, Ashford	**4**	**4**	1	3	0	0
Weston Down Cottages	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Whitcombe	**20**	**20**	20	0	0	0
White Horse Stone	**8**	**12**	2	1	0	9
Winnall Down	**52**	**93**	22	0	1	70
Yarnbury	**7**	**12**	12	0	0	0

C. 1. Distribution of human remains by site.

Inhumation	Cremation	Articulated	Disarticulated
A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme	A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme		A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme
Battlesbury Bowl		Battlesbury Bowl	Battlesbury Bowl
Bury Hill			Bury Hill
Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet		Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet	Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet
Danebury		Danebury	Danebury
Easton Lane			Easton Lane
Gussage All Saints			Gussage All Saints
Hod Hill		Hod Hill	
Houghton Down	Houghton Down		Houghton Down
Latton Lands	Latton Lands		Latton Lands
Little Somborne			Little Somborne
Little Stock Farm			Little Stock Farm
Litton Cheney			Litton Cheney
Maiden Castle			Maiden Castle
Micheldever Wood			Micheldever Wood
Mill Hill, Deal	Mill Hill, Deal		
Owslebury	Owslebury		Owslebury
Poundbury			Poundbury
Saltwood	Saltwood		
Stone Farm Bridleway	Stone Farm Bridleway		
Suddern Farm		Suddern Farm	Suddern Farm
The Bourne			The Bourne
Westhawk Farm, Ashford	Westhawk Farm, Ashford		
White Horse Stone	White Horse Stone		White Horse Stone
Winnall Down		Winnall Down	Winnall Down
	Alton		
	Northumberland Bottom		Northumberland Bottom

C. 2. Sites with multiple forms of treatment attested.

Inhumation	Cremation	Articulated	Disarticulated
Adanac Park	Alton		Balksbury Camp
Alington Avenue	Alkham		The Caburn
Brisley Farm, Ashford	Beechbrook Wood		Copse Farm
Bryher	Bridge		Home Field, Down Farm, Sixpenny Handley
Bishopstone	Chilham Castle		Harting Beacon
Church Knapp, Wyke Regis	Coldswood Road (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)		Old Kempshott Lane
Cottingon Hill (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	Courtwick Lane, Littlehampton		Site A, Kennel Farm
Hartsdown College	Deal Cemetery		Kings Worthy Primary School
Hughtown, St Mary's	Ford Airfield		Somborne Park Farm
Lea Road, Wyke Regis	Jubilee Corner		The Trundle
Langton Herring	Latchmere Green		
Manor Farm, Portesham	Sholden		
North Bersted, Bognor Regis	South Willesborough		
Norton	Tutt Hill, Westwell		
Poundbury pipeline evaluation	Westhampnett		
Portesham			
Poynter's Garden			
Slonk Hill, Shoreham			
St Lawrence			
Tollard Royal			
The Triangle Site, South Marston			
Trevone			
Trethellan Farm			
Viables Farm			
Weston Down Cottages			
Whitcombe			
West Malling and Leybourne Bypass			
Weatherlees WTW and Ebbsfleet Lane (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)			
Yarnbury			

C. 3. Sites with a single attested mortuary treatment.

E-MIA	MIA	LIA	Conquest	Post-Conquest
A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme	A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme	A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme		
	Adanac Park	Adanac Park		
	Alington Avenue			Alington Avenue
	Bishopstone	Bishopstone		
Battlesbury Bowl	Battlesbury Bowl	Battlesbury Bowl		
Bury Hill	Bury Hill	Bury Hill		
Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet	Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet			
			Cottingon Hill (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	Cottingon Hill (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)
Danebury	Danebury	Danebury		
	Easton Lane		Easton Lane	
	Gussage All Saints	Gussage All Saints		
Hod Hill	Hod Hill	Hod Hill		
	Houghton Down		Houghton Down	
		Hughtown, St Mary's	Hughtown, St Mary's	
	Old Kempshott Lane	Old Kempshott Lane		
	Latton Lands	Latton Lands		
Maiden Castle	Maiden Castle	Maiden Castle	Maiden Castle	
	Micheldever Wood	Micheldever Wood		
Mill Hill, Deal	Mill Hill, Deal	Mill Hill, Deal	Mill Hill, Deal	Mill Hill, Deal
			Manor Farm, Portesham	Manor Farm, Portesham
	Owslebury	Owslebury	Owslebury	
		Poundbury	Poundbury	Poundbury
	Suddern Farm	Suddern Farm		
	Saltwood	Saltwood	Saltwood	Saltwood
	Trethellan Farm	Trethellan Farm		
		Whitcombe		Whitcombe
			Weatherlees WTW and Ebbsfleet Lane (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	Weatherlees WTW and Ebbsfleet Lane (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)
White Horse Stone	White Horse Stone			
		Westhawk Farm, Ashford	Westhawk Farm, Ashford	Westhawk Farm, Ashford
Yarnbury	Yarnbury	Yarnbury	Yarnbury	

C. 4. Sites with multiple periods of deposition of human remains.

E-MIA	MIA	LIA	Conquest	Post-Conquest	Undated
Hartsdown College	Balksbury Camp	Alkham	Alton	Poundbury pipeline evaluation	Poynter's Garden
Site A, Kennel Farm	The Caburn	The Bourne	Beechbrook Wood		
Stone Farm Bridleway	Church Knapp, Wyke Regis	Bridge	Coldswood Road (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)		
Weston Down Cottages	Home Field, Down Farm, Sixpenny Handley	Brisley Farm, Ashford	Courtwick Lane, Littlehampton		
	Harting Beacon	Bryher	Litton Cheney		
	Little Stock Farm	Chilham Castle	Portesham		
	Norton	Copse Farm			
	Slonk Hill, Shoreham	Deal Cemetery			
	Little Somborne	Ford Airfield			
	Trevone	Jubilee Corner			
	The Trundle	Kings Worthy Primary School			
	Winnall Down	Lea Road, Wyke Regis			
		Langton Herring			
		Latchmere Green			
		North Bersted, Bognor Regis			
		Northumberland Bottom			
		Sholden			
		Somborne Park Farm			
		South Willesborough			
		St Lawrence			
		Tollard Royal			
		The Triangle Site, South Marston			
		Tutt Hill, Westwell			
		Viables Farm			
		West Malling and Leybourne Bypass			
		Westhampnett			

C. 5. Sites with a single episode of deposition of human remains.

Sites in lowest 75% of dataset (<Q_3)			Frequency of treatments			
Site	**Total Contexts**	**Total occurrences**	**Inhumation**	**Cremation**	**Articulated remains**	**Disarticulated Remain**
Stone Farm Bridleway	**10**	**10**	5	5	0	0
Little Somborne	**5**	**7**	2	0	0	5
Litton Cheney	**7**	**7**	6	0	0	1
Hod Hill	**5**	**7**	5	0	2	0
Coldswood Road (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	**7**	**7**	0	7	0	0
Poynter's Garden	**7**	**7**	7	0	0	0
Northumberland Bottom	**2**	**6**	0	1	0	5
Houghton Down	**6**	**6**	2	1	0	3
Beechbrook Wood	**5**	**6**	0	6	0	0
Jubilee Corner	**6**	**6**	0	6	0	0
Latton Lands	**6**	**6**	4	2	0	0
Bury Hill	**5**	**5**	2	0	0	3
Harting Beacon	**3**	**4**	0	0	0	4
Alkham	**4**	**4**	0	4	0	0
Westhawk Farm, Ashford	**4**	**4**	1	3	0	0
Lea Road, Wyke Regis	**4**	**4**	4	0	0	0
Manor Farm, Portesham	**4**	**4**	4	0	0	0
Weatherlees WTW and Ebbsfleet Lane (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	**4**	**4**	4	0	0	0
Alton	**3**	**3**	0	3	0	0
Copse Farm	**3**	**3**	0	0	0	3
Kings Worthy Primary School	**2**	**3**	0	0	0	3
The Trundle	**3**	**3**	0	0	0	3
Little Stock Farm	**2**	**3**	2	0	0	1
Bishopstone	**2**	**3**	3	0	0	0
Old Kempshott Lane	**2**	**2**	0	0	0	2
Site A, Kennel Farm	**2**	**2**	0	0	0	2
The Bourne	**2**	**2**	1	0	0	1
Ford Airfield	**2**	**2**	0	2	0	0
Latchmere Green	**1**	**2**	0	2	0	0
Brisley Farm, Ashford	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Church Knapp, Wyke Regis	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Cottingon Hill (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Norton	**1**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Slonk Hill, Shoreham	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0

The Triangle Site, South Marston	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Viables Farmes Farm	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Weston Down Cottages	**2**	**2**	2	0	0	0
Balksbury Camp	**1**	**1**	0	0	0	1
Home Field, Down Farm, Sixpenny Handley	**1**	**1**	0	0	0	1
Somborne Park Farm	**1**	**1**	0	0	0	1
The Caburn	**1**	**1**	0	0	0	1
Bridge	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Chilham Castle	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Courtwick Lane, Littlehampton	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Deal Cemetery	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Sholden	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
South Willesborough	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Tutt Hill, Westwell	**1**	**1**	0	1	0	0
Bryher	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Hartsdown College	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Langton Herring	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
North Bersted, Bognor Regis	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Portesham	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Poundbury pipeline evaluation	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
St Lawrence	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Tollard Royal	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
Trevone	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0
West Malling and LeyThe Bournee Bypass	**1**	**1**	1	0	0	0

C. 6. Sites, with total occurrences and frequency of treatments, within <Q_3.

Broad chronology	**Inhumation**	**Articulate**	**Disarticulate**	**Cremation**	**Total remains**
Middle Iron Age	235	22	529	8	794
Late and Roman Iron Age	314	3	50	251	618
Unknown	28	0	141	0	169

C. 7. Broad chronological division for entire dataset (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Finer chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation	Total remains
Early-Middle Iron Age transition	38	11	124	5	178
Middle Iron Age	197	11	468	3	679
Late Iron Age	180	3	48	211	442
Roman Iron Age (conquest and post-conquest)	134	0	2	32	168
Unknown	28	0	141	0	169

C. 8. Fine chronological division for data for entire dataset (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Broad chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Middle Iron Age	27	2	25	5
Late and Roman Iron Age	44	0	14	44
Unknown	7	0	1	0

C. 9. Broad chronological division for data from <Q_3 (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Finer chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Early-Middle Iron Age transition	8	0	2	5
Middle Iron Age	19	2	23	0
Late Iron Age	23	0	14	25
Roman Iron Age (conquest and post-conquest)	21	0	0	19
Unknown	7	0	1	0

C. 10. Fine chronological division for data from <Q_3 (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Broad chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation	Total remains
Middle Iron Age	34	4	28	7	73
Late and Roman Iron Age	48	0	9	226	283
Unknown	0	0	1	0	1

C. 11. Broad chronological division of data for the Eastern zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Finer chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Early-Middle Iron Age transition	10	3	19	5
Middle Iron Age	24	1	9	2
Late Iron Age	34	0	9	198
Roman Iron Age (conquest and post-conquest)	14	0	0	28
Unknown	0	0	1	0

C. 12. Fine chronological division of data for the Eastern zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Broad chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Middle Iron Age	198	18	564	1
Late and Roman Iron Age	238	3	41	25
Unknown	16	0	140	0

C. 13. Broad chronological division for data from central zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Finer chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Early-Middle Iron Age transition	28	4	105	0
Middle Iron Age	170	14	459	1
Late Iron Age	122	3	39	20
Roman Iron Age (conquest and post-conquest)	116	0	2	5
Unknown	16	0	140	0

C. 14. Fine chronological division for data from central zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Broad chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Middle Iron Age	3	0	0	0
Late and Roman Iron Age	28	0	0	0
Unknown	12	0	0	0

C. 15. Broad chronological division for data from western zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Finer chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Early-Middle Iron Age transition	0	0	0	0
Middle Iron Age	3	0	0	0
Late Iron Age	24	0	0	0
Roman Iron Age (conquest and post-conquest)	4	0	0	0
Unknown	12	0	0	0

C. 16. Fine chronological division for data from western zone (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Hill-fort	Settlement	Cemetery	Isolated Burials	Other
Bury Hill	Alington Avenue	Beechbrook Wood	Bridge	Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet
The Caburn	Balksbury Camp	Brisley Farm	Bryher	Ford Airfield
Danebury	Bishopstone	Hughtown	Chilham Castle	
Hod Hill	Battlesbury Bowl	Jubilee Corner	Deal Cemetery	
Harting Beacon	Copse Farm	Litton Cheney	Latchmere Green	
Maiden Castle	Easton Lane	Latton Lands	North Bersted	
Poundbury	Gussage all Saitns	Mill Hill, Deal	Portesham	
The Trundle	Hartsdown Technical College	Poynter's Garden	Sholden	
Yarnbury	Houghton Down	Saltwood Tunnel	South Willesborough	
	Old Kempshott Lane	Stone Farm Bridleway	St Lawrence	
	Site A, Kennel Farm	The Triangle Site, South Marston	Trevone	
	Little Stock Farm	Trethellen Farm	Tutt Hill	
	Micheldever Wood	Westhampnett	The Bourne	
	Manor Farm, Portesham	Alkham	Langton Herring	
	Norton	Church Knapp, Wyke Ridges	Courtwick Lane, Littlehampton	
	Northumberland Bottom	Lea Road, Wyke Ridges		
	Owslebury	Weatherlees WTW and Ebbsfleet Lane (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)		
	Poundbury pipeline evaluation	Cottingon Hill (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)		
	Suddern Farm	Coldswood Road (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)		
	Slonk Hill	Alton		
	Somborne Park Farm			
	Little Somborne			
	Tollard Royal			
	Weston Down Cottages			
	Whitcombe			
	Winnall Down			
	Viables Farm			
	Adanac Park			
	Kings Worthy Primary School			
	Home Field, Down Farm, Sixpenny Handley			
	A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme			
	West Malling and Leybourne Bypass			
	White Horse Stone			
	Westhawk Farm, Ashford			

C. 17. Sites in dataset divided by site type.

Broad chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Middle Iron Age	87	9	348	0
Late and Roman Iron Age	111	3	25	0
Unknown	0	0	1	0

C. 18. Broad chronological division for hill-forts (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Finer chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Early-Middle Iron Age transition	28	4	88	0
Middle Iron Age	59	5	260	0
Late Iron Age	29	3	23	0
Roman Iron Age (conquest and post-conquest)	82	0	2	0
Unknown	0	0	1	0

C. 19. Fine chronological division for hill-fort sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Broad chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Middle Iron Age	122	9	236	3
Late and Roman Iron Age	111	0	24	29
Unknown	16	0	139	0

C. 20. Broad chronological division for settlement sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Finer chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Early-Middle Iron Age transition	2	0	28	0
Middle Iron Age	120	9	208	3
Late Iron Age	83	0	24	20
Roman Iron Age (conquest and post-conquest)	28	0	0	9
Unknown	16	0	139	0

C. 21. Fine chronological division for settlement sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Broad chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Middle Iron Age	17	0	0	5
Late and Roman Iron Age	86	0	0	211
Unknown	12	0	1	0

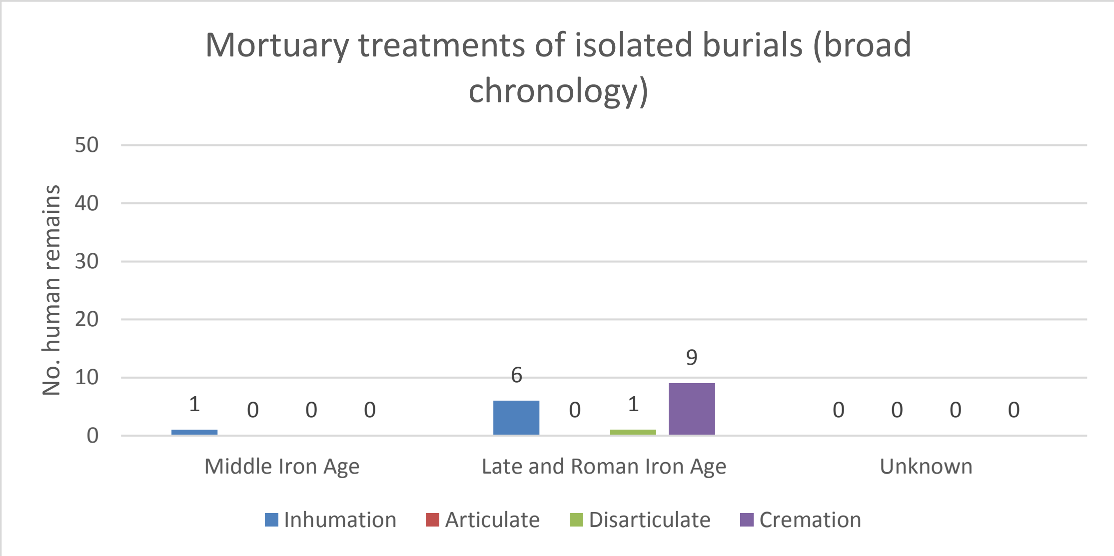
C. 22. Broad chronological division for cemetery sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Finer chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Early-Middle Iron Age transition	6	0	0	5
Middle Iron Age	11	0	0	0
Late Iron Age	63	0	0	188
Roman Iron Age (conquest and post-conquest)	23	0	0	23
Unknown	12	0	1	0

C. 23. Fine chronological division for cemetery sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Broad chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Middle Iron Age	1	0	0	0
Late and Roman Iron Age	6	0	1	9
Unknown	0	0	0	0

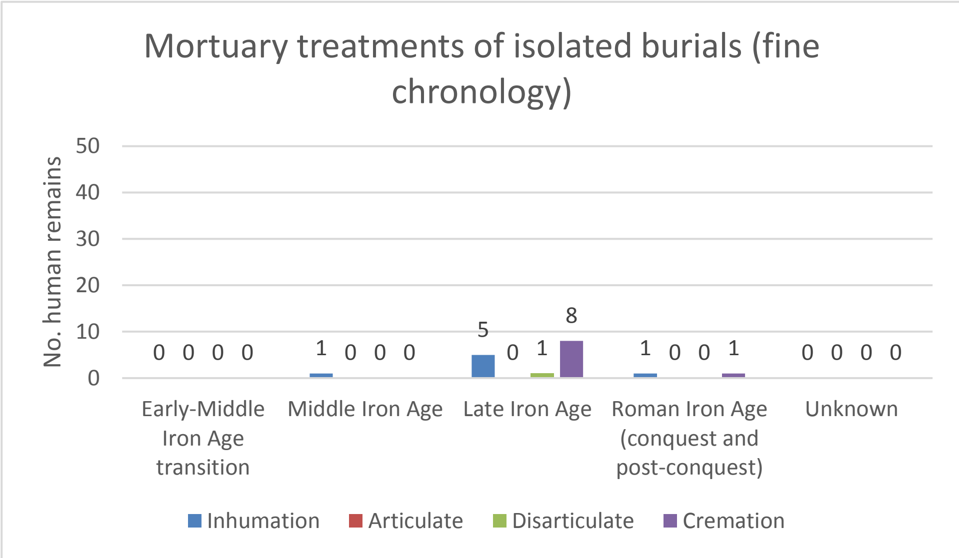
C. 24. Broad chronological division for isolated burials (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).



C. 25. Broad chronological division for isolated burials (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Finer chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Early-Middle Iron Age transition	0	0	0	0
Middle Iron Age	1	0	0	0
Late Iron Age	5	0	1	8
Roman Iron Age (conquest and post-conquest)	1	0	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0

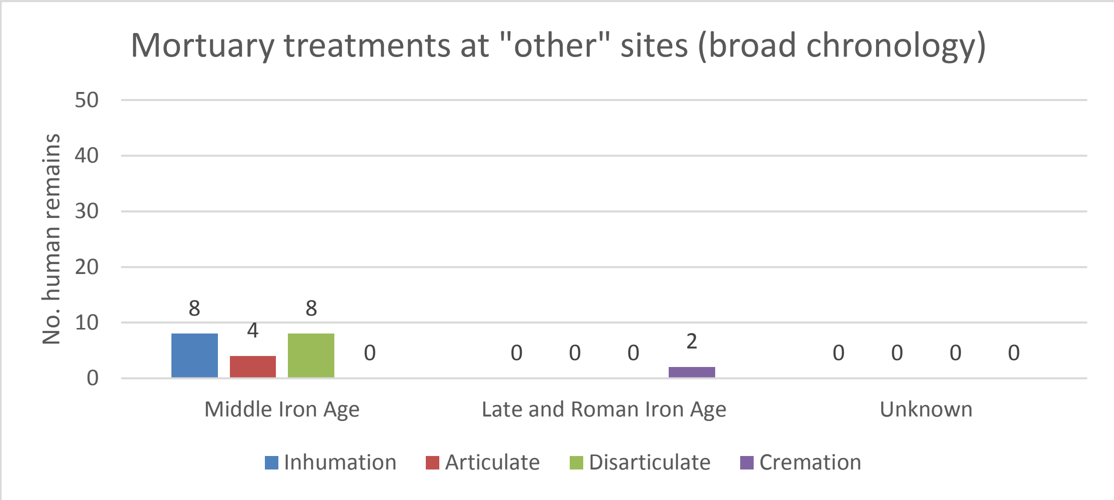
C. 26. Fine chronological division for isolated burials.



C. 27. Fine chronological division for isolated burials.

Broad chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Middle Iron Age	8	4	8	0
Late and Roman Iron Age	0	0	0	2
Unknown	0	0	0	0

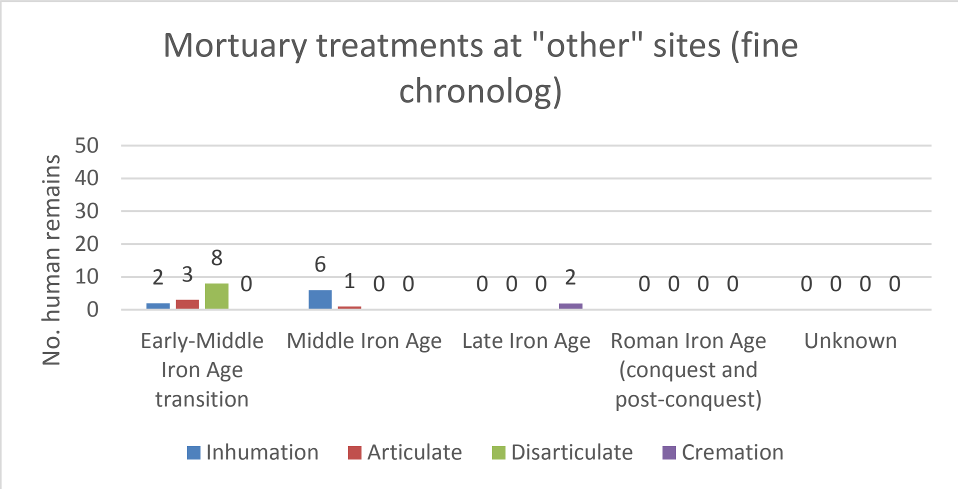
C. 28. Broad chronological division for "Other" sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).



C. 29. Broad chronological division for "Other" sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Finer chronology	Inhumation	Articulate	Disarticulate	Cremation
Early-Middle Iron Age transition	2	3	8	0
Middle Iron Age	6	1	0	0
Late Iron Age	0	0	0	2
Roman Iron Age (conquest and post-conquest)	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0

C. 30. Fine chronological division for "Other" sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).



C. 31. Fine chronological division for "Other" sites (excluding unknown treatments and contexts lacking bone).

Appendix D: Contextual and locational analysis supplementary and additional tables and figures

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	Total
Interior	66	11	170	0	247
Perimeter	75	6	129	1	211
Exterior	11	0	5	0	16

D. 1. Locations of human remains during the MIA.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	Total
Interior	49	3	18	136	206
Perimeter	60	0	7	15	82
Exterior	75	0	2	31	108

D. 2. Locations of human remains during the LIA and ERIA.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	Total
Interior	3	1	17	0	21
Perimeter	4	0	4	0	8
Exterior	2	0	0	0	2

D. 3. Locations of human remains during the MIA for $<Q_3$.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	Total
Interior	3	1	0	0	4
Perimeter	0	0	7	0	7
Exterior	4	0	0	5	9

D. 4. Locations of human remains during the LIA-ERIA for $<Q_3$.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	Total
Interior	43	6	137	0	186
Perimeter	19	0	27	0	46
Exterior	6	0	5	0	11

D. 5. Location of human remains from MIA hill-forts.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Interior	4	3	8	0	15
Perimeter	51	0	0	0	51
Exterior	57	0	2	0	59

D. 6. Location of human remains from LIA-ERIA hill-forts.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Interior	15	1	25	0	41
Perimeter	56	6	102	1	165
Exterior	5	0	0	0	5

D. 7. Location of human remains from MIA settlements.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Interior	45	0	10	1	56
Perimeter	9	0	7	15	31
Exterior	17	0	0	2	19

D. 8. Location of human remains from LIA-ERIA settlements.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Interior	0	0	0	0	0
Perimeter	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior	0	0	0	0	0

D. 9. Location of human remains from MIA cemeteries.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Interior	0	0	0	135	0
Perimeter	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior	0	0	0	26	0

D. 10. Location of human remains from LIA-ERIA cemeteries.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Interior	0	0	0	0	0
Perimeter	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior	0	0	0	0	0

D. 11. Location of human remain from MIA isolated burials.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Interior	0	0	0	0	0
Perimeter	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior	1	0	0	1	0

D. 12. Location of human remains from LIA-ERIA isolated burials.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Interior	8	4	8	0	0
Perimeter	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior	0	0	0	0	0

D. 13. Location of human remains from MIA "other" sites.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Interior	0	0	0	0	0
Perimeter	0	0	0	0	0
Exterior	0	0	0	2	0

D. 14. Location of human remains from LIA-ERIA "other" sites.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	96	6	84	4	190
Enclosing ditch	12	0	22	0	34
Rampart/Bank	4	0	5	0	9
Pit	95	8	242	2	347
Other ditch/gully	1	0	7	0	8
Post-hole	2	0	11	0	13
Midden	0	0	0	0	0
Other	3	1	36	0	40

D. 15. Contexts associated with human remains for the MIA.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	242	0	2	238	483
Enclosing ditch	9	0	7	0	16
Rampart/Bank	0	0	0	0	0
Pit	51	3	22	2	78
Other ditch/gully	4	0	4	0	8
Post-hole	1	0	0	0	1
Midden	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0

D. 16. Contexts associated with human remains for the LIA and ERIA.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	15	0	0	3	18
Enclosing ditch	2	0	1	0	3
Rampart/Bank	0	0	1	0	1
Pit	7	1	19	1	28
Other ditch/gully	0	0	0	0	0
Post-hole	0	0	2	0	2
Midden	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	2	0	2

D. 17. Contexts associated with human remains for the MIA for $<Q_3$.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	40	0	0	44	84
Enclosing ditch	0	0	6	0	6
Rampart/Bank	0	0	0	0	0
Pit	5	0	1	1	7
Other ditch/gully	0	0	3	0	3
Post-hole	0	0	0	0	0
Midden	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0

D. 18. Contexts associated with human remains for the LIA and ERIA for $<Q_3$.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	8	0	1	0	9
Enclosing ditch	6	0	0	0	6
Rampart/Bank	4	0	5	0	9
Pit	53	6	179	0	238
Other ditch/gully	1	0	4	0	5
Post-hole	0	0	7	0	7
Other	2	0	34	0	36

D. 19. Contexts associated with human remains for MIA hill-forts.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	109	0	2	0	111
Enclosing ditch	1	0	0	0	1
Rampart/Bank	0	0	0	0	0
Pit	2	3	12	0	17
Other ditch/gully	0	0	1	0	1
Post-hole	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0

D. 20. Contexts associated with human remains for LIA-ERIA hill-forts.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	66	6	83	1	156
Enclosing ditch	6	0	22	0	28
Rampart/Bank	0	0	0	0	0
Pit	40	2	63	2	107
Other ditch/gully	0	0	3	0	3
Post-hole	2	0	4	0	6
Other	1	1	2	0	4

D. 21. Contexts associated with human remains for MIA settlements.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	44	0	0	27	71
Enclosing ditch	8	0	7	0	15
Rampart/Bank	0	0	0	0	0
Pit	49	0	10	2	61
Other ditch/gully	4	0	2	0	6
Post-hole	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	0	0	0	1

D. 22. Contexts associated with human remains for LIA-ERIA settlements.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	15	0	0	3	18
Enclosing ditch	0	0	0	0	0
Rampart/Bank	0	0	0	0	0
Pit	1	0	0	0	1
Other ditch/gully	0	0	0	0	0
Post-hole	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0

D. 23. Contexts associated with human remains for MIA cemeteries

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	84	0	0	200	284
Enclosing ditch	0	0	0	0	0
Rampart/Bank	0	0	0	0	0
Pit	0	0	0	0	0
Other ditch/gully	0	0	0	0	0
Post-hole	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0

D. 24. Contects associated with human remains for LIA-ERIA cemeteries.

Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	6	0	0	0	6
Enclosing ditch	0	0	0	0	0
Rampart/Bank	0	0	0	0	0
Pit	1	0	0	0	1
Other ditch/gully	0	0	0	0	0
Post-hole	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0

D. 25. Contexts associated with human remains for MIA "Other" sites.

Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Grave	0	0	0	2	2
Enclosing ditch	0	0	0	0	0
Rampart/Bank	0	0	0	0	0
Pit	0	0	0	0	0
Other ditch/gully	0	0	0	0	0
Post-hole	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0

D. 26. Contexts associated with human remains for LIA-ERIA "Other" sites.

Associated Feature - Broad Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Settlement enclosure	26	0	25	0	51
Other enclosure	15	1	0	5	22
Round structure	7	0	14	0	21
Rectilinear structure	0	0	4	0	4
Irregular structure	1	0	1	0	2
Two-post structure	1	0	1	0	2
Multi-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Pyre site	0	0	0	0	0
Quarry/gully	59	6	88	1	154
Entrance	2	0	1	1	4
Unknown	2	4	10	0	16

D. 27. Association between feature types and human remains for the MIA.

Associated Feature - Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Settlement enclosure	6	0	7	1	14
Other enclosure	41	0	4	50	96
Round structure	12	0	0	0	12
Rectilinear structure	3	0	0	0	3
Irregular structure	0	0	0	0	0
Two-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Multi-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Pyre site	0	0	0	6	6
Quarry/gully	15	0	2	1	18
Entrance	52	0	0	1	53
Unknown	3	0	2	4	9

D. 28. Association between feature types and human remains for the LIA-ERIA.

Associated Feature - Broad Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Settlement enclosure	16	0	7	0	23
Other enclosure	2	0	1	0	3
Round structure	3	0	5	0	8
Rectilinear structure	0	0	0	0	0
Irregular structure	0	0	0	0	0
Two-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Multi-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Pyre site	0	0	0	0	0
Quarry/gully	0	0	5	0	5
Entrance	2	0	1	0	3
Unknown	0	0	1	0	1

D. 29. Association between feature types and human remains for MIA hill-forts.

Associated Feature - Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Settlement enclosure	3	0	0	0	3
Other enclosure	0	0	0	0	0
Round structure	8	0	0	0	8
Rectilinear structure	3	0	0	0	3
Irregular structure	0	0	0	0	0
Two-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Multi-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Pyre site	0	0	0	0	0
Quarry/gully	7	0	2	0	9
Entrance	51	0	0	0	51
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0

D. 30. Association between feature types and human remains for LIA-ERIA hill-forts.

Associated Feature - Broad Middle Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Settlement enclosure	10	0	18	0	28
Other enclosure	8	0	0	0	8
Round structure	4	0	9	0	13
Rectilinear structure	0	0	4	0	4
Irregular structure	1	0	1	0	2
Two-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Multi-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Pyre site	0	0	0	0	0
Quarry/gully	51	6	83	1	141
Entrance	0	0	0	1	1
Unknown	0	0	1	0	1

D. 31. Association between feature types and human remains for MIA settlements.

Associated Feature - Late and Roman Iron Age	Inhumation	Articulated	Disarticulated	Cremation	**Total**
Settlement enclosure	3	0	7	0	10
Other enclosure	28	0	3	23	54
Round structure	3	0	0	0	3
Rectilinear structure	0	0	0	0	0
Irregular structure	0	0	0	0	0
Two-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Multi-post structure	0	0	0	0	0
Pyre site	0	0	0	0	0
Quarry/gully	8	0	0	0	8
Entrance	1	0	0	0	1
Unknown	3	0	2	1	6

D. 32. Association between feature types and human remains for LIA-ERIA settlements.

Appendix E: Disarticulated remains analysis supplementary and additional tables and figures

Sites with disarticulated remains	County	**Total**	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Unknown
A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme	Kent	4	2	0	1	0	1
Balksbury Camp	Hampshire	1	0	1	0	0	0
Battlesbury Bowl	Wiltshire	23	15	8	0	0	0
Bury Hill	Hampshire	3	0	3	0	0	0
Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet	Kent	8	8	0	0	0	0
Copse Farm	W. Sussex	3	0	0	3	0	0
Danebury	Hampshire	337	88	229	19	0	1
Easton Lane	Hampshire	2	0	2	0	0	0
Gussage all Saints	Dorset	18	0	13	5	0	0
Harting Beacon	W. Sussex	4	0	4	0	0	0
Home Field, Down Farm, Sixpenny Handley	Dorset	1	0	1	0	0	0
Houghton Down	Hampshire	3	0	3	0	0	0
Kings Worthy Primary School	Hampshire	3	0	0	1	0	0
Little Somborne	Hampshire	5	0	5	0	0	0
Little Stock Farm	Kent	1	0	1	0	0	0
Litton Cheney	Dorset	1	0	0	0	0	1
Maiden Castle	Dorset	24	0	20	4	0	0
Micheldever Wood	Hampshire	12	0	9	3	0	0
Northumberland Bottom	Kent	5	0	0	5	0	0
Old Kempshott Lane	Hampshire	2	0	1	1	0	0
Owslebury	Hampshire	140	0	0	2	0	138
Poundbury	Dorset	2	0	0	0	2	0
Site A, Kennel Farm	Hampshire	2	2	0	0	0	0
Somborne Park Farm	Hampshire	1	0	0	1	0	0
Suddern Farm	Hampshire	93	0	93	0	0	0
The Bourne	Hampshire	1	0	0	1	0	0
The Caburn	E. Sussex	1	0	1	0	0	0
The Trundle	W. Sussex	3	0	3	0	0	0
White Horse Stone	Kent	9	9	0	0	0	0
Winnall Down	Hampshire	70	0	70	0	0	0

E. 1. Chronological and geographical distribution of sites with disarticulated remains.

Disarticulated Element A	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Post-conquest
Skull	48	180	19	0	0
Axial/Torso	21	75	7	0	0
Upper Limb	13	56	2	0	0
Lower Limb	34	119	11	0	0
Phalange	8	31	4	0	0
Unknown	0	7	5	2	0

E. 2. Composition of dataset for remains with known date, according to Disarticulated Element A scheme.

Disarticulated Element B	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Post-conquest
Cranium	38	128	17	0	0
Mandible	9	40	2	0	0
Vertebrae	8	24	2	0	0
Clavicle	3	8	0	0	0
Scapula	1	8	1	0	0
Ribs	3	14	2	0	0
Sternum	1	1	0	0	0
Humerus	9	25	2	0	0
Ulna	3	19	0	0	0
Radius	1	9	0	0	0
Carpal	1	2	0	0	0
Metacarpal	0	3	1	0	0
Phalanx	3	12	2	0	0
Pelvis	5	20	2	0	0
Femur	18	59	8	0	0
Patella	0	8	0	0	0
Tibia	9	33	2	0	0
Fibula	4	17	1	0	0
Tarsal	1	6	0	0	0
Metatarsal	3	8	1	0	0
Teeth	1	12	0	0	0
Unknown	3	12	5	2	0

E. 3. Composition of dataset for remains with known date, according to Disarticulated Element B scheme.

Disarticulated Element A	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA
Skull	33	128	9	0
Axial/Torso	16	38	5	0
Upper Limb	11	20	0	0
Lower Limb	21	56	4	0
Phalange	7	16	4	0
Unknown	0	2	1	2

E. 4. Composition of dataset for remains from hill-forts with known date, according to Disarticulated Element A scheme.

Disarticulated Element B	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA
Cranium	25	86	7	0
Mandible	8	30	2	0
Vertebrae	6	14	2	0
Clavicle	2	3	0	0
Scapula	1	5	1	0
Ribs	3	6	1	0
Sternum	0	1	0	0
Humerus	7	10	0	0
Ulna	3	6	0	0
Radius	1	4	0	0
Carpal	1	0	0	0
Metacarpal	0	1	1	0
Phalanx	3	8	2	0
Pelvis	4	9	1	0
Femur	12	31	2	0
Patella	0	0	0	0
Tibia	7	16	1	0
Fibula	2	8	1	0
Tarsal	1	4	1	0
Metatarsal	2	3	0	0
Teeth	0	12	1	0
Unknown	0	3	1	2

E. 5. Composition of dataset for remains from hill-forts with known date, according to Disarticulated Element B scheme.

Disarticulated Element A	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA
Skull	9	52	10	0
Axial/Torso	4	37	2	0
Upper Limb	2	36	2	0
Lower Limb	13	63	7	0
Phalange	0	15	0	0
Unknown	0	5	3	0

E. 6. Composition of dataset for remains from settlements with known date, according to Disarticulated Element A scheme.

Disarticulated Element B	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA
Cranium	8	42	10	0
Mandible	1	10	0	0
Vertebrae	1	10	0	0
Clavicle	1	5	0	0
Scapula	0	3	0	0
Ribs	0	8	1	0
Sternum	1	0	0	0
Humerus	2	15	2	0
Ulna	0	13	0	0
Radius	0	5	0	0
Carpal	0	2	0	0
Metacarpal	0	2	0	0
Phalanx	0	4	0	0
Pelvis	1	11	1	0
Femur	6	28	6	0
Patella	0	8	0	0
Tibia	2	17	1	0
Fibula	2	9	0	0
Tarsal	0	2	0	0
Metatarsal	0	5	0	0
Teeth	0	0	0	0
Unknown	3	9	3	0

E. 7. Composition of dataset for remains from settlements with known date, according to Disarticulated Element B scheme.

Disarticulated Element	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Unknown
Right side element	27	97	11	0	33
Left side element	19	74	5	0	38
Central element	57	192	17	0	29
Both sides	0	8	0	0	6
Unknown	21	96	13	2	35

E. 8. Anatomical sides present according to chronological phasing for all disarticulated elements in the dataset.

Disarticulated Element B for sides	EMIA		MIA		LIA		Conquest		**Total**	
	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right	Left	**Right**	**Left**
Cranium	2	2	7	8	2	1	0	0	**11**	**11**
Mandible	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	**4**	**1**
Vertebrae	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	**0**
Clavicle	1	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	**4**	**5**
Scapula	1	0	5	2	1	0	0	0	**7**	**2**
Ribs	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	**2**	**0**
Sternum	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	**0**
Humerus	4	3	13	5	1	0	0	0	**18**	**8**
Ulna	2	1	8	5	0	0	0	0	**10**	**6**
Radius	0	1	5	1	0	0	0	0	**5**	**2**
Carpal	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	**2**	**1**
Metacarpal	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	**1**	**0**
Phalanx	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	**4**	**0**
Pelvis	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	**2**	**3**
Femur	6	7	24	18	4	3	0	0	**34**	**28**
Patella	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	**4**	**4**
Tibia	4	2	6	12	1	0	0	0	**11**	**14**
Fibula	1	1	6	2	1	0	0	0	**8**	**3**
Tarsal	1	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	**4**	**3**
Metatarsal	2	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	**3**	**6**
Teeth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	**0**
Unknown	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	**1**	**0**

E. 9. Anatomical sides present according to Disarticulated Element B resolution.

Age Group 1 for Disarticulated remains	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Unknown
Infant	3	74	5	2	101
Sub-adult	35	71	6	0	7
Adult	51	212	17	0	30
Unknown	35	110	18	0	3

E. 10. Chronological phasing of disarticulated remains in Age Group 1.

Age Group 2 for Disarticulated remains	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Unknown
Infant	3	74	5	2	101
Child	20	26	3	0	3
Adolescent	14	35	2	0	4
Young Adult	8	43	4	0	2
Old Adult	3	15	2	0	1
Unknown	76	274	30	0	30

E. 11. Chronological phasing of disarticulated remains in Age Group 2.

Sex Age 1	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Unknown
Unsexed Infant	3	74	5	2	101
Male Subadult	0	0	0	0	0
Female Subadult	0	7	0	0	0
Unsexed Subadult	35	64	6	0	7
Male Adult	6	39	5	0	3
Female Adult	5	18	4	0	2
Unsexed Adult	40	155	8	0	25
Unknown	35	110	18	0	3

E. 12. Chronological phasing of sexed disarticulated remains in Age Group 1.

Sex Age 2	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Unknown
Unsexed Infant	3	74	5	2	101
Unsexed child	20	26	3	0	3
Male Adolescent	0	0	0	0	0
Female Adolescent	0	7	0	0	0
Unsexed Adolescent	14	28	2	0	4
Male Young Adult	3	17	4	0	0
Female Young Adult	0	9	0	0	0
Unsexed Younger Adult	5	17	0	0	2
Male Older Adult	0	10	0	0	1
Female Older Adult	2	1	2	0	0
Unsexed Older Adult	1	4	0	0	0
Unknown	76	274	30	0	30

E. 13. Chronological phasing of sexed disarticulated remains in Age Group 2.

Adult sexed individuals as represented by remains	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	All periods
Male	6	38	5	0	49
Female	5	18	4	0	27
Unknown	40	156	8	0	204

E. 14. Chronological phasing of sexed disarticulated remains in Age Group 2.

Appendix F: Inhumation analysis supplementary and additional tables and figures

Demographic profiles of inhumations	MIA	LIA/ERIA	Unknown
Infant	85	86	0
Sub-adult	36	28	1
Adult	110	177	6
Unknown	3	22	21

F. 1. Demographic profiles of inhumations in dataset according to broad chronology.

Demographic profiles of inhumations	MIA	LIA/ERIA	Unknown
Infant	85	86	0
Child	20	15	1
Adolescent	16	13	0
Young adult	52	82	2
Old adult	41	62	0
Adult (indeterminate)	17	33	4
Unknown	3	22	21

F. 2. Finer gradiation of age groups within the inhumation dataset by broad chronological scheme.

Demographic profiles of inhumations	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Unknown
Infant	17	68	63	23	0
Child	3	17	10	5	1
Adolescent	3	13	6	7	0
Young adult	7	45	35	47	2
Old adult	6	35	27	35	0
Adult (indeterminate)	2	15	26	7	4
Unknown	1	2	13	9	21

F. 3. Finer gradiation of age groups within the inhumation dataset by fine chronological scheme.

Demographic profiles of inhumations	MIA	LIA/ERIA	Unknown
Infant	4	1	0
Sub-adult	2	5	1
Adult	19	35	5
Unknown	1	2	1

F. 4. Demographic profiles of inhumations in <Q_3 dataset according to broad chronology.

Demographic profiles of inhumations	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Unknown
Infant	0	4	1	0	0
Sub-adult	1	1	0	5	1
Adult	7	12	20	15	5
Unknown	1	0	2	0	1

F. 5. Demographic profiles of inhumations in <Q_3 dataset according to fine chronology.

Demographic profiles of inhumations	MIA	LIA/ERIA	Unknown
Infant	4	1	0
Child	0	2	1
Adolescent	2	3	0
Young adult	7	11	2
Old adult	9	16	0
Adult (indeterminate)	3	8	3
Unknown	1	2	1

F. 6. Finer gradiation of age groups in <Q_3 inhumation dataset by broad chronological scheme.

Demographic profiles of inhumations	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Unknown
Infant	0	4	1	0	0
Child	0	0	0	2	1
Adolescent	1	1	0	3	0
Young adult	2	5	6	5	2
Old adult	4	5	9	7	0
Adult (indeterminate)	1	2	5	3	3
Unknown	1	0	2	0	1

F. 7. Finer gradiation of age groups in <Q_3 inhumation dataset by fine chronological scheme.

Demographic profiles of inhumations	MIA	LIA/ERIA	Unknown
Infant	4	1	0
Sub-adult	2	5	1
Adult male	5	20	4
Adult female	11	12	1
Adult (indeterminate)	3	3	0
Unknown	1	2	1

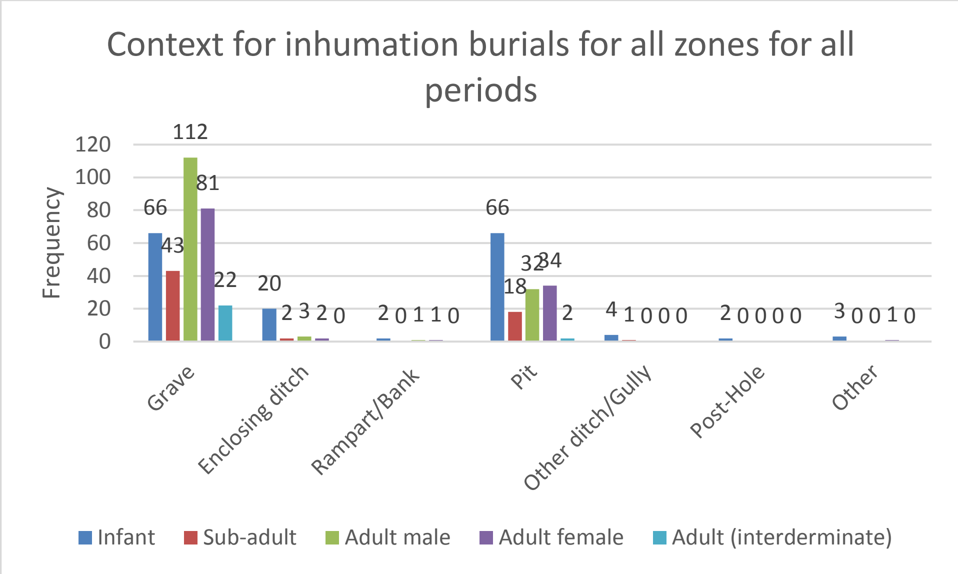
F. 8. Demographic profiles in <Q_3 inhumation dataset with reference to sex of adult deceased according to broad chronology.

Demographic profiles of inhumations	EMIA	MIA	LIA	ERIA	Unknown
Infant	0	4	1	0	0
Sub-adult	1	1	0	5	1
Adult male	2	3	11	9	4
Adult female	3	8	8	4	1
Adult (indeterminate)	2	1	1	2	0
Unknown	1	0	2	0	1

F. 9. Demographic profiles in <Q_3 inhumation dataset with reference to sex of adult deceased according to fine chronology.

Context all time periods	Grave	Enclosing ditch	Rampart/Bank	Pit	Other ditch/Gully	Post-Hole	Other	Unknown
Infant	66	20	2	66	4	2	3	5
Sub-adult	43	2	0	18	1	0	0	1
Adult male	112	3	1	32	0	0	0	1
Adult female	81	2	1	34	0	0	1	1
Adult (interderminate)	22	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Unknown	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

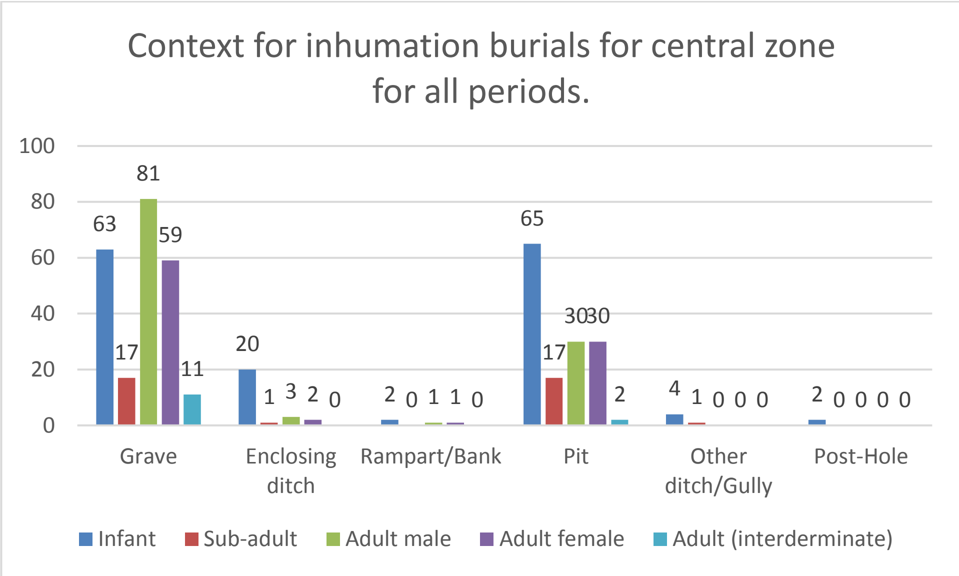
F. 10. Associated contexts for Infants, sub-adults and sexed adults for entire dataset.



F. 11. Associated contexts for Infants, sub-adults and sexed adults for entire dataset.

Context all time periods Central Zone	Grave	Enclosing ditch	Rampart/Bank	Pit	Other ditch/Gully	Post-Hole	Other	Unknown
Infant	63	20	2	65	4	2	3	5
Sub-adult	17	1	0	17	1	0	0	1
Adult male	81	3	1	30	0	0	0	1
Adult female	59	2	1	30	0	0	1	0
Adult (interderminate)	11	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Unknown	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

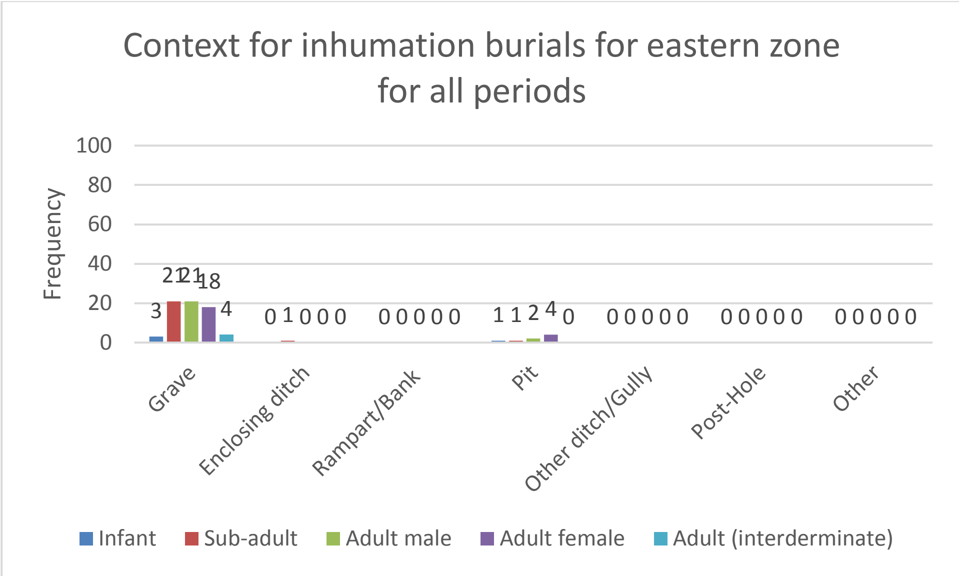
F. 12. Associated contexts for Infants, sub-adults and sexed adults for the central zone.



F. 13. Associated contexts for Infants, sun-adults and sexed adults for the central zone.

Context all time periods Eastern Zone	Grave	Enclosing ditch	Rampart/Bank	Pit	Other ditch/Gully	Post-Hole	Other	Unknown
Infant	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Sub-adult	21	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Adult male	21	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Adult female	18	0	0	4	0	0	0	1
Adult (interderminate)	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

F. 14. Associated contexts for Infants, sub-adults and sexed adults for the eastern zone.



F. 15. Associated contexts for Infants, sub-adults and sexed adults for the eastern zone.

Orientation for all inhumations for all periods	All	Adult Male	Adult Female
N	84	29	16
NE	50	18	15
E	54	16	16
SE	62	26	23
S	38	14	11
SW	33	11	9
W	31	11	7
NW	32	12	7
Unknown/Skull absent	193	12	16

F. 16. Orientation for all inhumations in the dataset for all periods.

Skull facing for all inhumations for all periods	All	Adult Male	Adult Female
N	44	22	9
NE	24	7	11
E	42	21	12
SE	25	9	7
S	21	7	10
SW	14	4	5
W	33	10	11
NW	24	10	12
Unknown	313	50	40
Skull missing	37	9	3

F. 17. Facing prevalence for all inhumations in the dataset for all periods.

Layout: Entire dataset	
Extended	52
Flexed	105
Crouched	140
Contracted/Possibly bound	44
Unknown	231

F. 18. Body positioning for entire dataset.

Layout: Entire dataset with broad chronological divisions	MIA	LIA/ERIA	Unknown
Extended	11	41	0
Flexed	34	71	0
Crouched	45	91	4
Contracted/Possibly bound	30	14	0
Unknown	114	93	24

F. 19. Chronological distribution of body positions for entire database.

Layout: Context all time periods	Grave	Enclosing ditch	Rampart/Bank	Pit	Other ditch/Gully	Post-Hole	Other	Unknown
Extended	47	0	0	4	1	0	0	0
Flexed	75	1	1	25	0	0	0	2
Crouched	98	3	0	35	1	0	1	2
Contracted/Possibly bound	22	1	1	20	0	0	1	0
Unknown	124	22	2	68	3	2	2	5

F. 20. Distribution of bodily positions by context for all periods.

Layout: Demographic profiles Age 1 Sex	Infant	sub-adult	Adult Male	Adult Female	Adult unsexed
Extended	6	5	25	13	3
Flexed	9	16	39	35	5
Crouched	35	16	46	34	6
Contracted/Possibly bound	1	6	17	20	0
Unknown	120	21	22	18	10

F. 21. Frequency of body positions by age group and sex for adults.

Position 1: Entire dataset with broad chronological divisions	MIA	LIA/ERIA	Unknown
Supine	32	92	0
Prone	10	10	0
Right Side	29	81	4
Left Side	46	28	0
Sitting	1	0	0
Unknown	116	99	24
Total	234	310	28

F. 22. Frequency of side preference for inhumations according to broad chronological division.

Position 1: Context all time periods	Grave	Enclosing ditch	Rampart/Bank	Pit	Other ditch/Gully	Post-Hole	Other	Unknown
Supine	101	0	0	21	1	0	0	1
Prone	11	2	0	7	0	0	0	0
Right Side	87	2	1	21	1	0	1	1
Left Side	41	1	1	30	0	0	1	0
Sitting	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Unknown	126	22	2	72	3	2	2	7
Total	366	27	4	152	5	2	4	9

F. 23. Frequency of side positions by contexts for all periods.

Position 1: Demographic profiles Age 1 Sex	Infant	sub-adult	Adult Male	Adult Female	Adult unsexed
Supine	14	14	59	32	5
Prone	3	4	7	6	0
Right Side	19	12	43	32	6
Left Side	13	11	19	28	3
Sitting	0	1	0	0	0
Unknown	122	22	21	22	10
Total	171	64	149	120	24

F. 24. Side preference by age groups for all periods.

All Durotrigian Graves Age 1	
Infant	35
Child/Sub-adult	9
Adult	109
Unknown	6

F. 25. Entire Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 1.

All Durotrigian Graves Age 2	
Infant	35
Child	3
Adolescent	6
Young Adult	63
Older Adult	32
Adult (indeterminate)	14
Unknown	6

F. 26. Entire Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 2.

All Durotrigian Graves Sex and Age 1	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	35
Subadult	1	4	4
Adult	59	44	6
Unknown	1	0	5

F. 27. Entire Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 1.

All Durotrigian Graves Sex and Age 2	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	35
Child	0	0	3
Adolescent	1	4	1
Young Adult	33	28	2
Older Adult	19	12	1
Adult (indeterminate)	7	4	3
Unknown	1	0	5

F. 28. Entire Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 2.

All Durotrigian Graves Orientation	All	Adult Male	Adult Female
N	13	4	4
NE	24	11	8
E	33	15	6
SE	32	17	11
S	10	2	3
SW	8	3	2
W	14	3	5
NW	9	3	3
Unknown	16	1	2

F. 29. Orientation prevalence for entire Durotrigian dataset.

All Durotrigian Graves facing	All	Adult Male	Adult Female
N	18	8	3
NE	14	5	8
E	10	5	2
SE	11	5	1
S	6	1	3
SW	4	1	1
W	8	1	3
NW	13	7	5
Unknown	64	21	14

F. 30. Facing prevalence for entire Durotrigian dataset.

	Left side of body	Right side of body	Prone or supine, legs flexed left	Prone or supine, legs flexed right
Male	4	22	5	13
Female	7	16	3	6

F. 31. Body side preference for entire Durotrigian dataset.

Hill-fort Durotrigian burials Age 1	
Infant	27
Child/Sub-adult	4
Adult	71
Unknown	5

F. 32. Hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 1.

Hill-fort Durotrigian burials Age 2	
Infant	27
Child	2
Adolescent	2
Young Adult	48
Older Adult	14
Adult (indeterminate)	9
Unknown	5

F. 33. Hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 2.

Hill-fort Durotrigian Graves Sex and Age 1	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	27
Subadult	0	2	2
Adult	41	29	1
Unknown	1	0	4

F. 34. Hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 1.

Hill-fort Durotrigian Graves Sex and Age 2	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	27
Child	0	0	2
Adolescent	0	2	0
Young Adult	27	20	1
Older Adult	8	6	0
Adult (uncertain)	6	3	0
Unknown	1	0	4

F. 35. Hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 2.

Hill-fort Durotrigian Graves Orientation	All	Adult Male	Adult Female
N	6	2	1
NE	12	6	5
E	27	11	7
SE	27	15	9
S	9	1	3
SW	7	3	1
W	10	2	3
NW	4	1	1
Unknown	5	0	1

F. 36. Orientation prevalence for hill-fort Durotrigian dataset.

Hill-fort Durotrigian Graves facing	All	Adult Male	Adult Female
N	12	5	3
NE	10	5	4
E	9	4	2
SE	8	3	0
S	4	0	2
SW	1	1	0
W	3	0	1
NW	8	3	4
Unknown	43	15	11

F. 37. Facing prevalence for hill-fort Durotrigian dataset.

	Left side of body	Right side of body	Prone or supine, legs flexed left	Prone or supine, legs flexed right
Male	2	15	4	7
Female	4	12	1	3

F. 38. Body side prevalence for hill-fort Durotrigian dataset.

Non-hill-fort Durotrigian Graves Age 1	
Infant	8
Child/Sub-adult	5
Adult	38
Unknown	1

F. 39. Non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 1.

Non-Hill-fort Durotrigian Graves Age 2	
Infant	8
Child	1
Adolescent	4
Young Adult	15
Older Adult	18
Adult (indeterminate)	5
Unknown	1

F. 40. Non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to Age category 2.

Non-Hill-fort Durotrigian burials Sex and Age 1	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	8
Subadult	1	2	2
Adult	18	15	5
Unknown	0	0	1

F. 41. Non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 1.

Non-Hill-fort Durotrigian burials Sex and Age 2	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	8
Child	0	0	1
Adolescent	1	2	1
Young Adult	6	8	1
Older Adult	11	6	1
Adult (uncertain)	1	1	3
Unknown	0	0	1

F. 42. Non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset classified according to sex and Age category 2.

Non-Hill-fort Durotrigian Graves Orientation	All	Adult Male	Adult Female
N	7	2	3
NE	12	5	3
E	6	4	1
SE	5	2	2
S	1	1	0
SW	1	0	1
W	4	1	2
NW	5	2	2
Unknown	11	1	1

F. 43. Orientation prevalence for non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset.

Non-Hill-fort Durotrigian Graves facing	All	Adult Male	Adult Female
N	6	3	0
NE	4	0	4
E	1	1	0
SE	3	1	1
S	2	0	1
SW	3	0	1
W	5	1	2
NW	5	4	1
Unknown	21	6	5

F. 44. Facing prevalence for non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset.

	Left side of body	Right side of body	Prone or supine, legs flexed left	Prone or supine, legs flexed right
Male	2	7	1	6
Female	3	4	2	3

F. 45. Body side preference for non-hill-fort Durotrigian dataset.

All Kentish grave inhumations Age 1	MNI
Infant	2
Child/Subadult	22
Adult	45
Unknown	3

F. 46. Kentish inhumation grave dataset classified according to Age category 1.

All Kentish grave inhumations Age 2	MNI
Infant	2
Child	10
Adolescent	12
Young Adult	17
Older Adult	20
Adult (indeterminate)	8
Unknown:	3

F. 47. Kentish inhumation grave dataset classified according to Age category 2.

All Kentish grave inhumations Sex Age 1	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	2
Subadult	5	3	14
Adult	20	21	4
Unknown	1	0	2

F. 48. Kentish inhumation grave dataset classified according to sex and Age category 1.

All Kentish grave inhumations Sex Age 2	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	2
Child	1	0	9
Adolescent	4	3	5
Young Adult	6	9	2
Older Adult	11	9	0
Adult (indeterminate)	3	3	2
Unknown	1	0	2

F. 49. Kentish inhumation grave dataset classified according to sex and Age category 2.

All Kentish grave inhumations orientation	All	Male	Female
N	11	1	5
NE	8	3	2
E	1	0	1
SE	10	5	4
S	11	5	2
SW	15	4	4
W	2	0	0
NW	5	2	1
Unknown	6	0	2

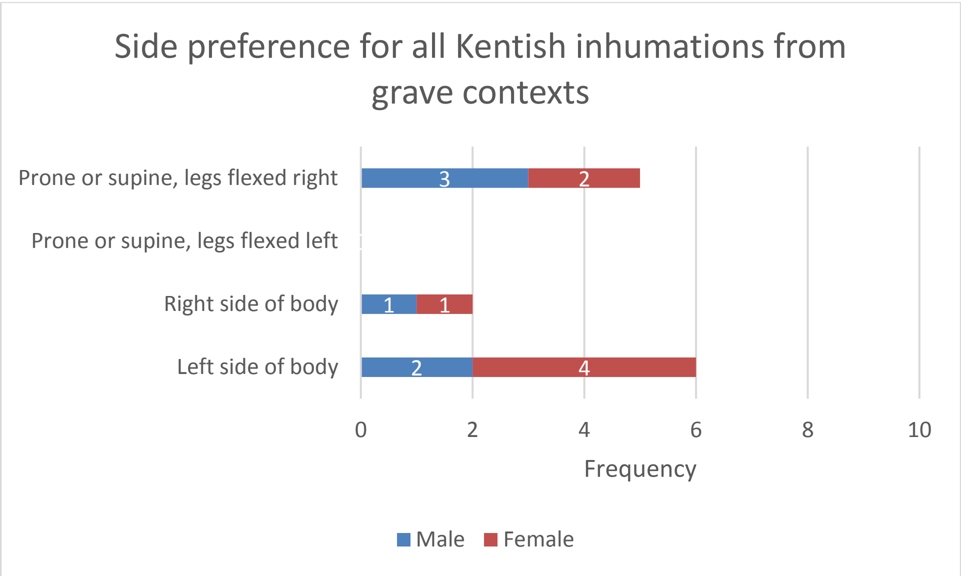
F. 50. Orientation prevalence for Kentish inhumation grave dataset.

All Kentish grave inhumations facing	All	Male	Female
N	10	5	2
NE	1	0	1
E	8	3	4
SE	4	0	3
S	5	3	2
SW	6	2	2
W	2	1	0
NW	5	2	2
Unknown	24	4	5

F. 51. Facing prevalence for Kentish inhumation grave dataset.

All Kentish grave inhumations Left V Right preference for body	Left side of body	Right side of body	Prone or supine, legs flexed left	Prone or supine, legs flexed right
Male	2	1	0	3
Female	4	1	0	2

F. 52. Side preference for all Kentish inhumations.



F. 53. Side preference for all Kentish inhumations.

Mill Hill, Deal (all inhumations) Age 1	MNI
Infant	1
Child/Subadult	12
Adult	27
Unknown	2

F. 54. Mill Hill inhumations classified according to Age category 1.

Mill Hill, Deal (all inhumations) Age 2	MNI
Infant	1
Child	8
Adolescent	4
Young Adult	12
Older Adult	12
Adult (indeterminate)	0
Unknown	5

F. 55. Mill Hill inhumations classified according to Age category 2.

Mill Hill, Deal (all inhumations) Sex Age 1	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	1
Subadult	2	2	8
Adult	11	14	2
Unknown	0	0	2

F. 56. Mill Hill inhumations classified according to sex and Age category 1.

Mill Hill, Deal (all inhumations) Sex Age 2	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	1
Child	1	0	7
Adolescent	1	2	1
Young Adult	6	5	1
Older Adult	5	7	0
Adult (indeterminate)	0	0	0
Unknown:	0	0	5

F. 57. Mill Hill inhumations classified according to sex and Age category 2.

Mill Hill, Deal Orientation	All	Male	Female
N	8	2	4
NE	5	0	2
E	0	0	0
SE	4	2	2
S	8	3	2
SW	11	3	3
W	1	1	0
NW	2	0	1
Unknown	3	0	0

F. 58. Orientation prevalence for Mill Hill inhumations.

Mill Hill, Deal Facing	All	Male	Female
N	7	4	2
NE	1	0	1
E	6	2	4
SE	1	0	1
S	2	1	1
SW	3	1	2
W	2	1	0
NW	5	2	2
Unknown	15	0	1

F. 59. Facing prevalence for Mill Hill inhumations.

LIA/ERIA grave inhumations Age 1	MNI
Infant	2
Child/Subadult	13
Adult	28
Unknown	3

F. 60. LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations classified according to Age category 1.

LIA/ERIA grave inhumations Age 2	
Age	MNI
Infant	2
Child	8
Adolescent	5
Young Adult	9
Older Adult	14
Adult (indeterminate)	5
Unknown	3

F. 61. LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations classified according to Age category 2.

LIA/ERIA grave inhumations Sex Age 1	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	2
Subadult	1	2	10
Adult	13	13	2
Unknown	0	0	3

F. 62. LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations classified according to sex and Age category 1.

LIA/ERIA grave inhumations Sex Age 2.	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	2
Child	0	0	8
Adolescent	1	2	2
Young Adult	4	4	1
Older Adult	7	7	0
Unknown	2	2	4

F. 63. LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations classified according to sex and Age category 2.

LIA/ERIA grave inhumations orientation	All	Male	Female
N	9	1	5
NE	5	2	2
E	0	0	0
SE	5	3	2
S	7	4	2
SW	11	4	3
W	0	0	0
NW	2	0	1
Unknown	7	0	0

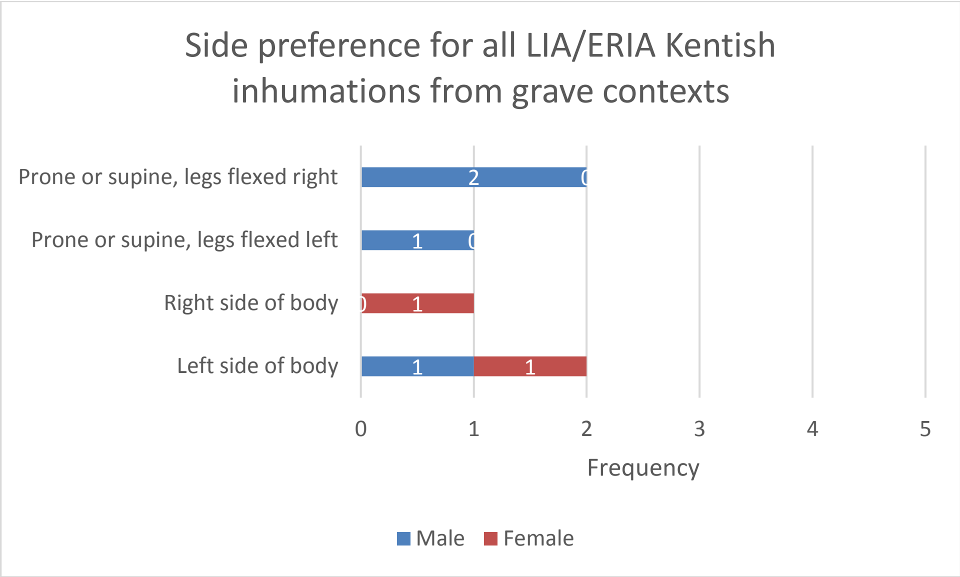
F. 64. Orientation prevalence for LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations.

LIA/ERIA grave inhumations facing	All	Male	Female
N	7	4	3
NE	1	0	1
E	5	1	4
SE	1	0	1
S	3	2	1
SW	4	2	2
W	1	1	0
NW	4	2	1
Unknown	20	2	2

F. 65. Facing prevalence for LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations.

LIA/ERIA grave inhumations Left V Right preference for body	Left side of body	Right side of body	Prone or supine, legs flexed left	Prone or supine, legs flexed right
Male	1	0	1	2
Female	1	1	0	0

F. 66. Side preferance for LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations.

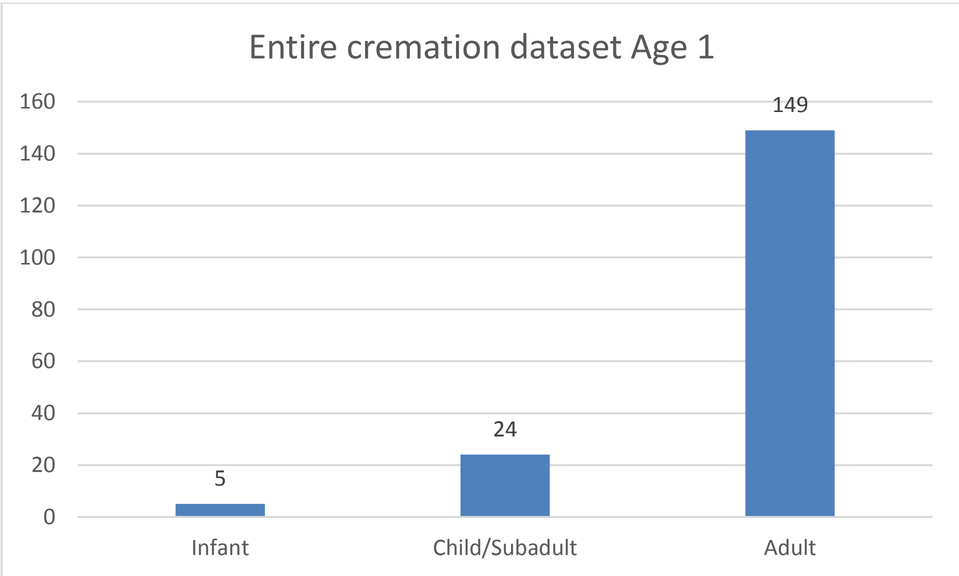


F. 67. Side preference for LIA/ERIA Kentish grave inhumations.

Appendix G: Cremation analysis supplementary and additional tables and figures

Entire cremation dataset Age 1	MNI
Infant	5
Child/Subadult	24
Adult	149
Unknown	55
Total	233

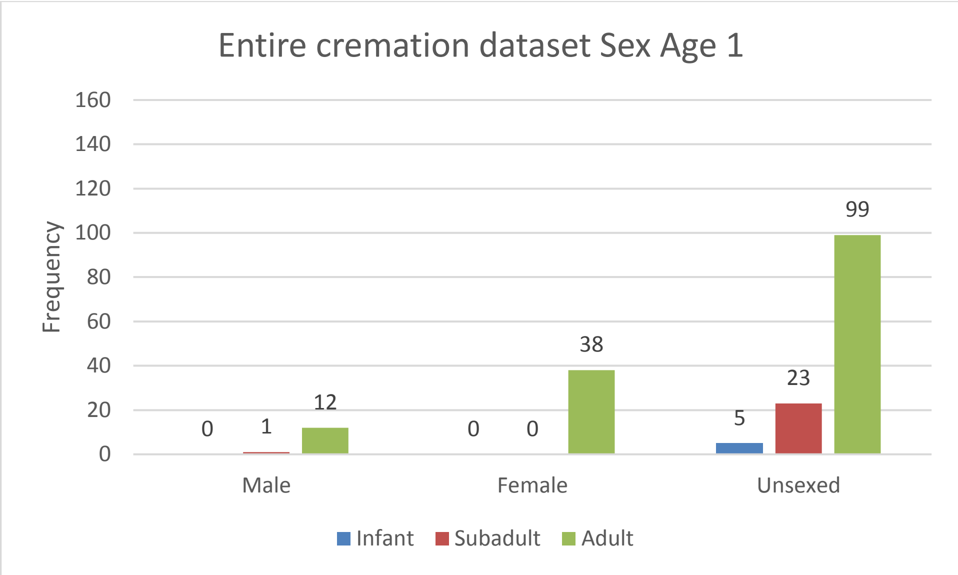
G. 1. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from all contexts in Age Category 1.



G. 2. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from all contexts in Age Category 1.

Entire cremation dataset Sex Age 1	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	5
Subadult	1	0	23
Adult	12	38	99
Unknown	0	2	53
Total	13	40	180

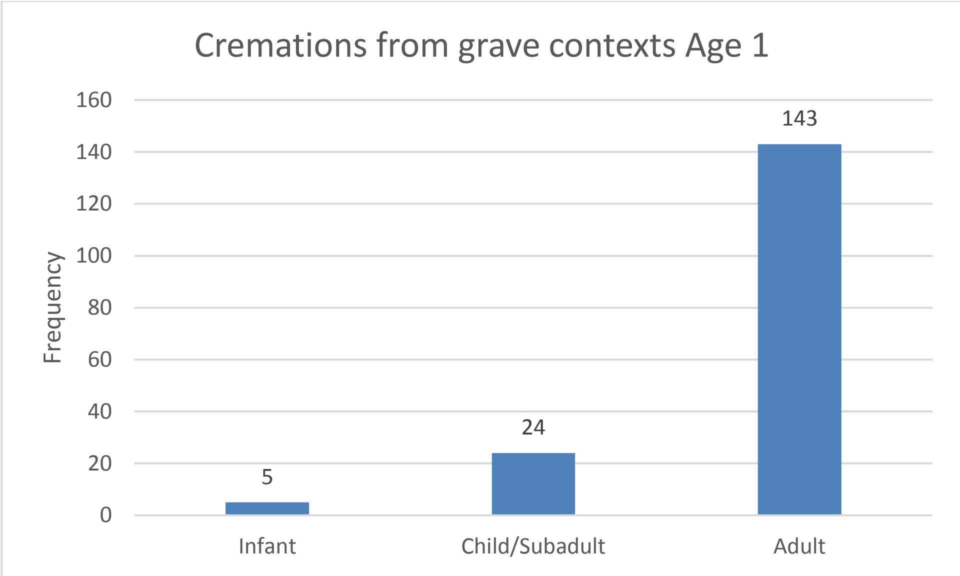
G. 3. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from all contexts in Age Category 1 in relation to biological sex.



G. 4. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from all contexts in Age Category 1 in relation to biological sex.

Cremations from grave contexts dataset Age 1	MNI
Infant	5
Child/Subadult	24
Adult	143
Unknown	53
Total	225

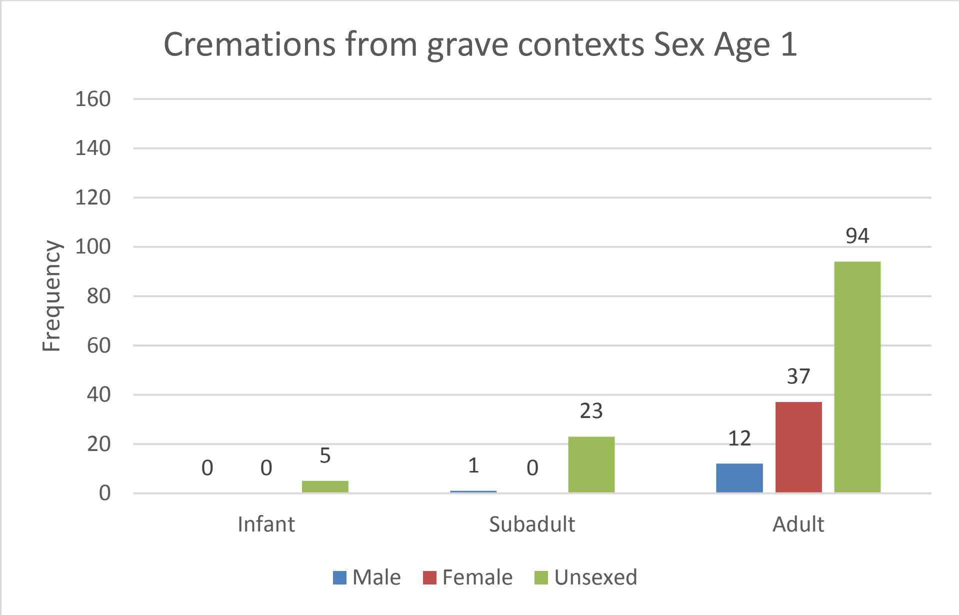
G. 5. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from grave contexts in Age Category 1.



G. 6. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from grave contexts in Age Category 1.

Cremations from grave contexts Sex Age 1	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	5
Subadult	1	0	23
Adult	12	37	94
Unknown	0	2	51
Total	13	39	173

G. 7. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from grave contexts in Age Category 1 in relation to biological sex.



G. 8. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from grave contexts in Age Category 1 in relation to biological sex.

Westhampnett dataset Age 1	MNI
Infant	1
Child/Subadult	13
Adult	93
Unknown	41
Total	148

G. 9. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from grave contexts from Westhampnett in Age Category 1.

Westhampnett dataset Sex Age 1	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	1
Subadult	1	0	12
Adult	3	22	68
Unknown	0	2	39
Total	4	24	120

G. 10. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from Westhampnett in Age Category 1 in relation to biological sex.

Non-Westhampnett grave contexts Age 1	MNI
Infant	4
Child/Subadult	11
Adult	50
Unknown	12
Total	77

G. 11. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from grave contexts from non-Westhampnett sites in Age Category 1.

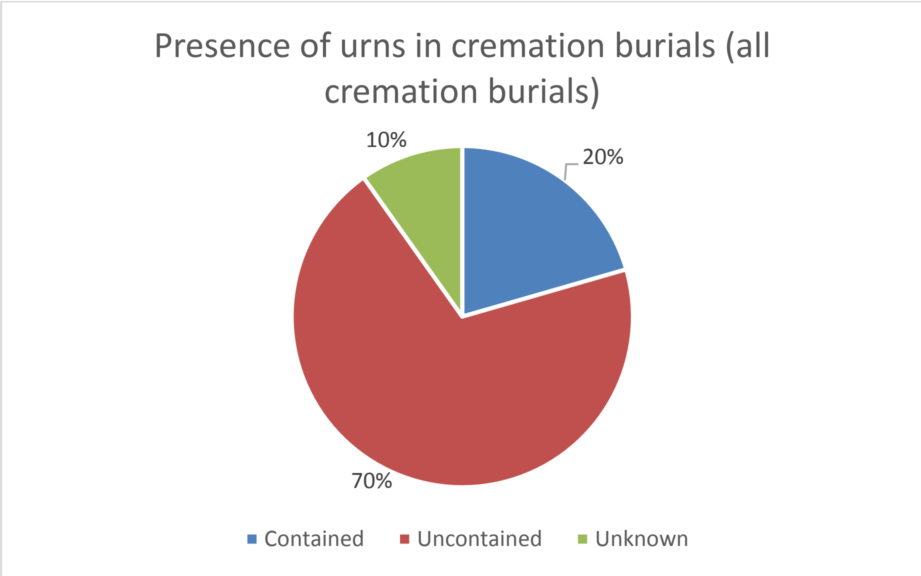
Non-Westhampnett grave contexts Sex Age 1	Male	Female	Unsexed
Infant	0	0	4
Subadult	0	0	11
Adult	9	15	26
Unknown	0	0	12
Total	9	15	53

G. 12. Analysis of demographic profiles of cremation deposits from non-Westhampnett sites in Age Category 1 in relation to biological sex.

Containers

Presence of urns (entire dataset)	No.	Adult male	Adult female	Unsexed adult	Sub-adult
Contained	46	4	9	16	10
Uncontained	156	8	28	74	18
Unknown	22	0	0	4	1
No cremated bone	27	0	0	0	0
Total	251				

G. 13. Prevalence of archaeologically detectable containers among entire sample from grave contexts.



G. 14. Prevalence of archaeologically detectable containers among entire sample from grave contexts.

Presence of containers (Westhampnett)	No.	Adult male	Adult female	Unsexed adult	Sub-adult
Contained	4	0	2	0	1
Uncontained	128	3	20	67	16
Unknown	16	0	0	1	1
No cremated bone	20	0	0	0	0
Total	168				

G. 15. Prevalence of archaeologically detectable containers from Westhampnett.

Presence of containers (non-Westhampnett)	No.	Adult male	Adult female	Unsexed adult	Sub-adult
Contained	42	4	7	16	9
Uncontained	28	5	8	7	2
Unknown	6	0	0	3	0
No cremated bone	7	0	0	0	0
Total	83				

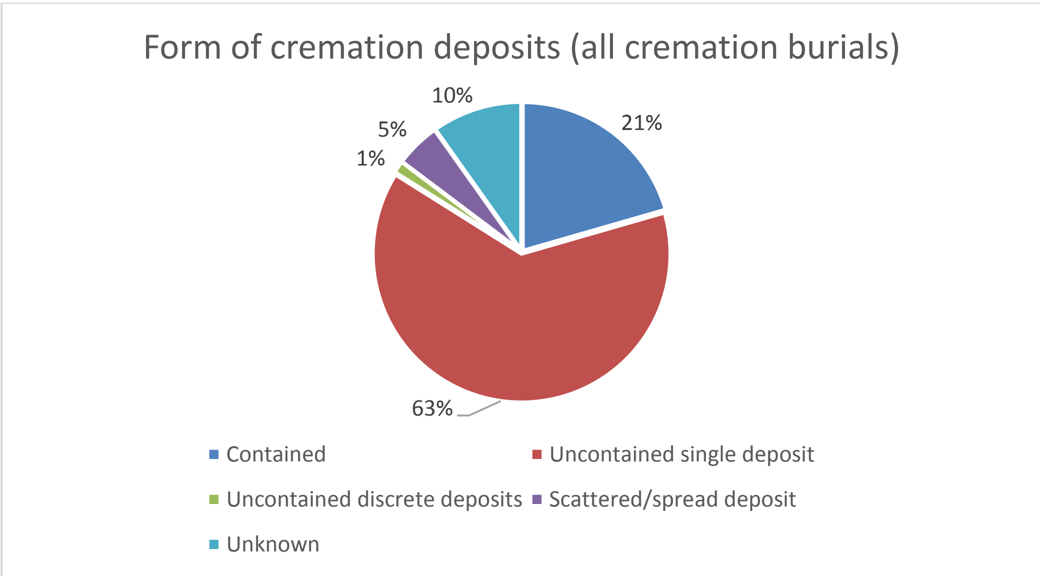
G. 16. Prevalence of archaeologically detectable containers from non-Westhampnett graves.

Form of container (all sites)	No.	Adult male	Adult female	Unsexed adult	Sub-adult
Ceramic vessel	37	4	9	15	9
Metal Plated Bucket	3	1	0	0	0
Casket/Box	5	1	1	3	0
Helmet	1	0	1	0	0

G. 17. Frequency of different types of containers employed for cremation deposits and associated demographic data.

Form of cremation (entire dataset)	No.	Adult male	Adult female	Unsexed adult	Sub-adult
Contained	46	4	9	16	10
Uncontained single deposit	142	7	25	67	16
Uncontained discrete deposits	3	0	1	2	0
Scattered/spread deposit	11	1	2	5	2
Unknown	22	0	0	4	1
No cremated bone	27	0	0	0	0
Total	251				

G. 18. Form of cremation among entire sample from grave contexts.



G. 19. Form of cremation among entire sample from grave contexts.

Form of cremation (Westhampnett)	No.	Adult male	Adult female	Unsexed adult	Sub-adult
Contained	4	0	2	0	1
Uncontained single deposit	121	3	18	63	12
Uncontained discrete deposits	3	0	1	2	0
Scattered/spread deposit	4	0	1	2	0
Unknown	16	0	0	1	1
No cremated bone	20	0	0	0	0
Total	168				

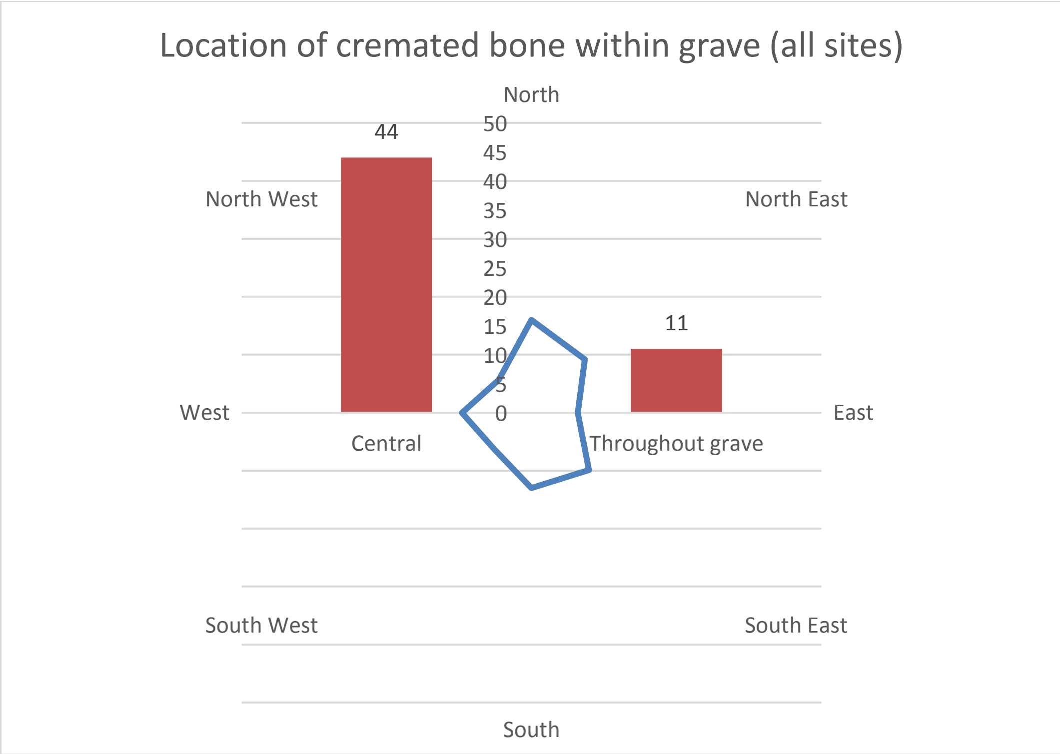
G. 20. Form of cremation at Westhampnett.

Form of cremation (non-Westhampnett)	No.	Adult male	Adult female	Unsexed adult	Sub-adult
Contained cremations	42	4	7	16	9
Uncontained single deposit	21	4	7	4	4
Uncontained discrete deposits	0	0	0	0	0
Scattered/spread deposit	7	1	1	3	2
Unknown	6	0	0	3	0
No cremated bone	7	0	0	0	0
Total	83				

G. 21. Form of cremation minus Westhampnett.

Location of cremated bone within graves (entire dataset)	Total	Adult male	Adult female	Unsexed adult	Sub-adult	Unknown
North	**16**	2	2	7	1	4
North East	**13**	1	4	3	3	2
East	**8**	0	2	5	0	1
South East	**14**	0	0	9	3	2
South	**13**	1	3	7	1	1
South West	**9**	1	0	5	0	3
West	**12**	0	5	5	1	1
North West	**8**	1	3	2	1	1
Central	**44**	2	9	21	3	9
Throughout grave	**11**	3	2	2	2	2
No cremated bone	**26**	0	0	0	0	26
Unknown	**77**	1	7	28	14	27

G. 22. Location of cremated bone within graves for entire dataset.



G. 23. Location of cremated bone within graves for entire dataset. The histograms represent the quantity of data for which cardinal points could not be determined, the central radar graph represents the quantity of data for which cardinal points could be determined.

Location of cremated bone within graves (Westhampnett)	**Total**	Adult male	Adult female	Unsexed adult	Sub-adult	Unknown
North	**9**	1	1	3	0	4
North East	**8**	0	2	3	2	1
East	**7**	0	1	4	0	1
South East	**13**	0	0	8	3	2
South	**10**	0	3	5	1	1
South West	**4**	0	0	3	0	1
West	**9**	0	4	5	0	0
North West	**6**	1	2	2	0	1
Central	**31**	0	4	19	1	7
Throughout grave	**2**	0	1	0	0	1
No cremated bone	**20**	0	0	0	0	20
Unknown	**50**	1	4	16	7	22

G. 24. Location of cremated bone within graves for Westhampnett data.

Location of cremated bone within graves (without Westhampnett)	**Total**	Adult male	Adult female	Unsexed adult	Sub-adult	Unknown
North	**4**	1	0	2	1	0
North East	**0**	0	0	0	0	0
East	**0**	0	0	0	0	0
South East	**1**	0	0	1	0	0
South	**1**	0	0	1	0	0
South West	**1**	0	0	0	0	1
West	**1**	0	0	0	0	1
North West	**0**	0	0	0	0	0
Central	**9**	2	3	2	1	1
Throughout grave	**4**	2	0	0	1	1
No cremated bone	**6**	0	0	0	0	6
Unknown	**27**	0	3	12	7	5

G. 25. Location of cremated bone within graves for non-Westhampnett data.

Quartiles for adult cremated bone	Mean no. grave goods	Quartile Weight (g)	Graves (N)
>Q_3	5.8	359.7	45
Median	5	167.3	44
<Q_1	2.4	59.2	88
Total	3.9	250	177

G. 26. Mean number of grave goods between quartile divisions of cremated bone.

No. of ceramic vessels	Mean weight of cremation
20+	434.5
18	360.6
17	0
16	39
15	0
14	174.1
13	0
12	104.34
11	254.74
10	143.31
9	0
8	0
7	94.39
6	0
5	411.05
4	455.31
3	209.42
2	298.68
1	216.59
0	224.89

G. 27. Mean weight of cremations by associated ceramic vessels.

Appendix H: Grave good analysis supplementary and additional tables and figures

Period	No. of contexts	No. contexts with grave goods
EMIA	39	4
MIA	189	35
LIA	358	259
ERIA	166	94

H. 1. Frequency of grave goods for cremation and inhumation locations.

Durotrigian grave good associations

Age 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	35	3	8.5	2.6	0.6	1
Child	3	3	100	2.6	0.3	3
Adolescent	6	6	100	4	1.3	8
Young Adult	63	38	60.3	2.2	1	9
Old Adult	32	21	65.2	1.5	0.7	3
Adult (indeterminate)	14	9	64.2	3.4	0.5	12

H. 2. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for all Durotrigian burials.

Age 1 Sex 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Sub-adult	31	7	22	2	0.2	2
Adult Male	41	24	58	1.9	0.8	4
Adult Female	29	17	58	1.8	0.5	4
Unsexed Adult	1	0	0	0	0	0

H. 3. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for all Durotrigian burials.

Age 2	No. individual s	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	27	3	11.1	2.6	0.6	1
Child	2	2	100	2	0	2
Adolescent	2	2	100	1	0	1
Young Adult	48	26	54.1	1.7	0.9	4
Old Adult	14	9	64.2	2	0.4	2
Adult (indeterminate)	9	6	66	2.3	0.3	4

H. 4. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for Durotrigian burials from hill-forts.

Age 1 Sex 2	No. individual s	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Sub-adult	31	7	22	2	0.2	2
Adult Male	41	24	58	1.9	0.8	4
Adult Female	29	17	58	1.8	0.5	4
Unsexed Adult	1	0	0	0	0	0

H. 5. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults by number of graves for Durotrigian burials from hill-forts.

Age 2	No. individual s	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	8	0	0	0	0	0
Child	1	1	100	4	1	4
Adolescent	4	4	100	5.5	2	8
Young Adult	15	12	80	3.5	0.9	9
Old Adult	18	12	66.6	2.1	0.9	2
Adult (indeterminate)	5	3	60	5.6	1	12

H. 6. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for Durotrigian burials from non-hill-forts.

Age 1 Sex 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Sub-adult	13	5	38	5.2	1.8	8
Adult Male	18	14	77	2.6	1	8
Adult Female	15	10	66	4.2	0.8	12
Unsexed Adult	5	3	60	2	0.6	2

H. 7. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for Durotrigian burials from non-hill-forts.

Age 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	1	0	0	0	0	0
Child	9	2	22	0.3	0.2	1
Adolescent	11	2	18	1	0	1
Young Adult	15	7	46	2.8	0.2	6
Old Adult	18	5	27	1	0.2	1
Adult (indeterminate)	7	4	57	4.5	1	8

H. 8. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for all Kentish formal burials.

Age 1 Sex 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Sub-adult	21	4	16	1.25	0.5	1
Adult Male	20	9	45	3.1	0.5	8
Adult Female	16	5	31	2.6	0.1	6
Unsexed Adult	4	2	50	1	0.5	1

H. 9. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for all Kentish formal burials.

Age 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	1	0	0	0	0	0
Child	8	1	1.2	1	0	1
Adolescent	4	1	25	1	0	1
Young Adult	12	7	58	2.8	0.3	6
Old Adult	12	4	33	1	0	1
Adult (indeterminate)	3	0	0	0	0	0

H. 10. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for Mill Hill.

Age 1 Sex 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Sub-adult	13	2	15	1	0	1
Adult Male	11	5	45	2	0.2	5
Adult Female	14	5	35	2.6	0.6	6
Unsexed Adult	2	1	50	0.5	0	1

H. 11. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for Mill Hill.

Age 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	2	0	0	0	0	0
Child	8	2	25	0.3	0.25	1
Adolescent	5	1	20	1	0	1
Young Adult	9	4	44	2.75	0.5	6
Old Adult	14	4	28	1	0.25	1
Adult (indeterminate)	5	2	40	7.5	1.5	3

H. 12. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for LIA and ERIA Kentish graves and grave goods.

Age 1 Sex 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Sub-adult	13	2	15	1	0	1
Adult Male	11	5	45	2	0.2	5
Adult Female	14	5	35	2.6	0.6	6
Unsexed Adult	2	1	50	0.5	0	1

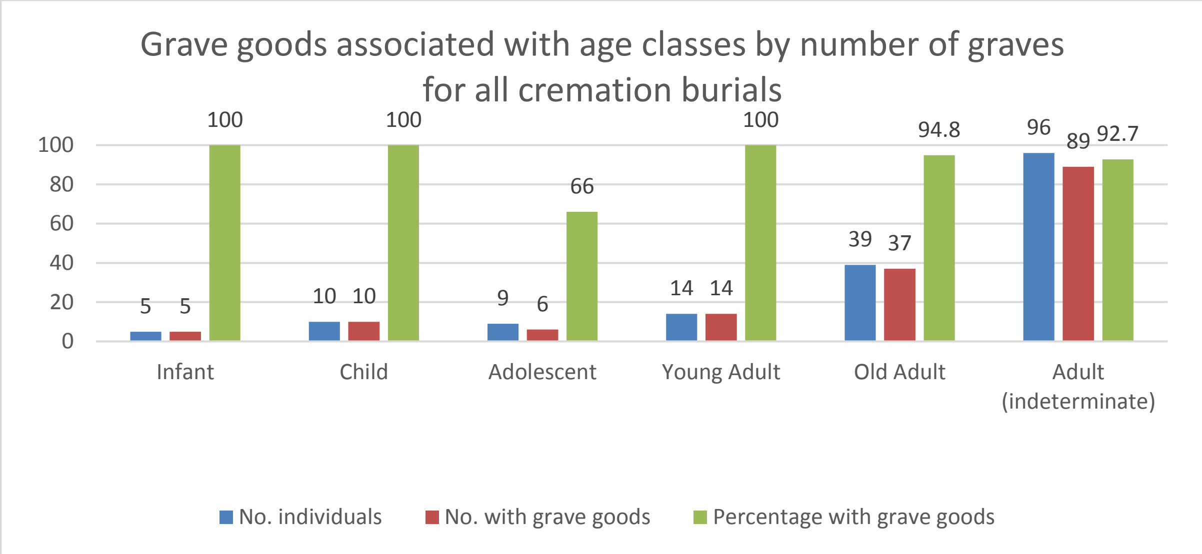
H. 13. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for LIA and ERIA Kentish graves.

Age 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	0	0	0	0	0	0
Child	4	1	25	2	0	2
Adolescent	1	1	100	2	0	2
Young Adult	6	1	16	10	0	10
Old Adult	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adult (indeterminate)	15	8	53	1.75	0	3

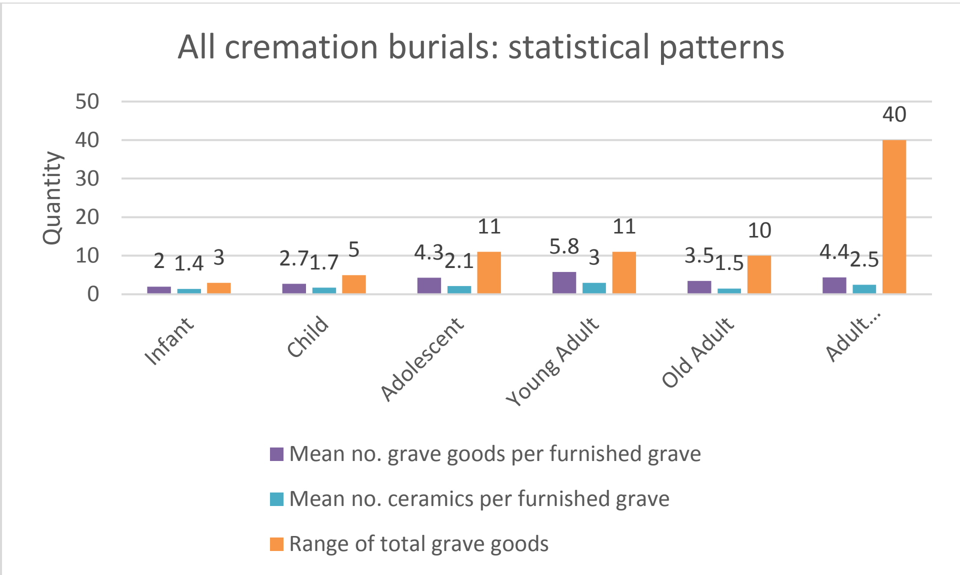
H. 14. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for SW inhumations.

Age 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	5	5	100	2	1.4	3
Child	10	10	100	2.7	1.7	5
Adolescent	9	6	66	4.3	2.1	11
Young Adult	14	14	100	5.8	3	11
Old Adult	39	37	94.8	3.5	1.5	10
Adult (indeterminate)	96	89	92.7	4.4	2.5	40

H. 15. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for all cremation burials.



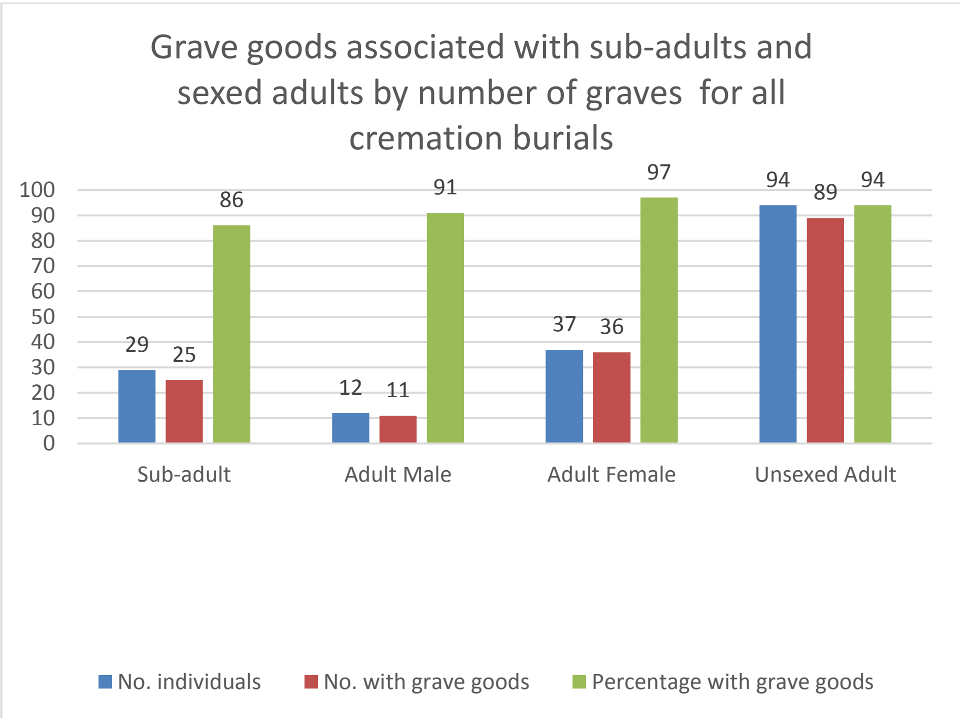
H. 16. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for all cremation burials.



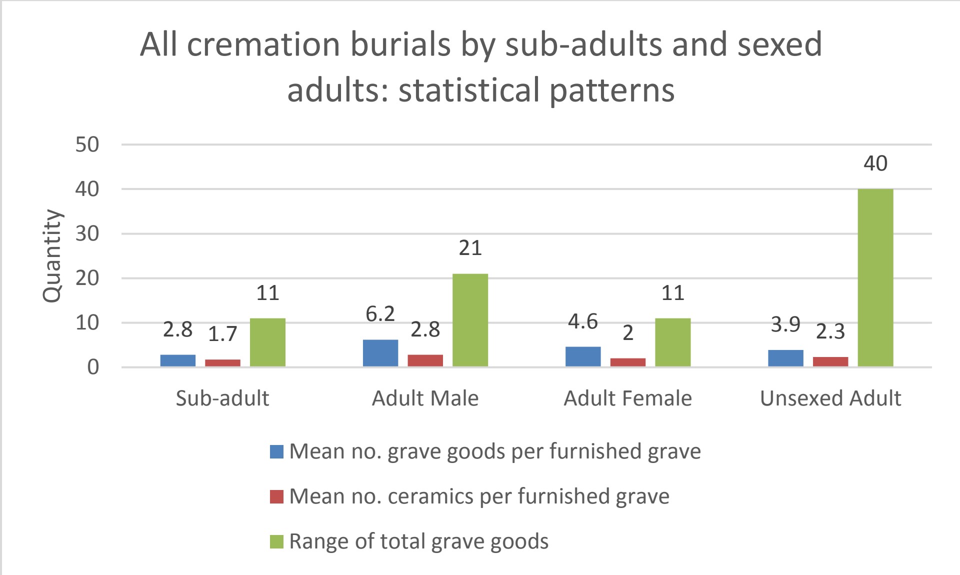
H. 17. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for by number of graves for all cremation graves.

Age 1 Sex 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Sub-adult	29	25	86	2.8	1.7	11
Adult Male	12	11	91	6.2	2.8	21
Adult Female	37	36	97	4.6	2	11
Unsexed Adult	94	89	94	3.9	2.3	40

H. 18. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for all cremation burials.



H. 19. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for all cremation burials.



H. 20. Statistical patterns for grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for all cremation burials.

Age 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	1	1	100	4	2	4
Child	7	7	100	2.2	2.2	5
Adolescent	3	3	100	6.3	2.6	11
Young Adult	7	7	100	4.5	0.85	5
Old Adult	31	29	93.5	3.5	1.5	10
Adult (indeterminate)	55	53	96.3	2.8	1.2	10

H. 21. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for Westhampnett.

Age 1 Sex 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Sub-adult	14	13	92	3.3	2	11
Adult Male	3	3	100	4.3	1	7
Adult Female	22	22	100	4	1.4	10
Unsexed Adult	68	64	94	2.8	1.8	10

H. 22. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for by number of graves for Westhampnett.

Age 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	3	3	100	1.6	1.3	2
Child	2	2	100	3.5	0.5	3
Adolescent	6	3	50	2.3	1.6	4
Young Adult	7	7	100	7.1	5.2	10
Old Adult	8	8	100	3.6	1.6	6
Adult (indeterminate)	41	36	87.8	6.9	4.5	40

H. 23. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for non- Westhampnett cremation burials.

Non-Westhampnett

Age 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Infant	3	3	100	1.6	1.3	2
Child	2	2	100	3.5	0.5	3
Adolescent	6	3	50	2.3	1.6	4
Young Adult	7	7	100	7.1	5.2	10
Old Adult	8	8	100	3.6	1.6	6
Adult (indeterminate)	41	36	87.8	6.9	4.5	40

H. 24. Grave goods associated with age classes by number of graves for non- Westhampnett cremation burials.

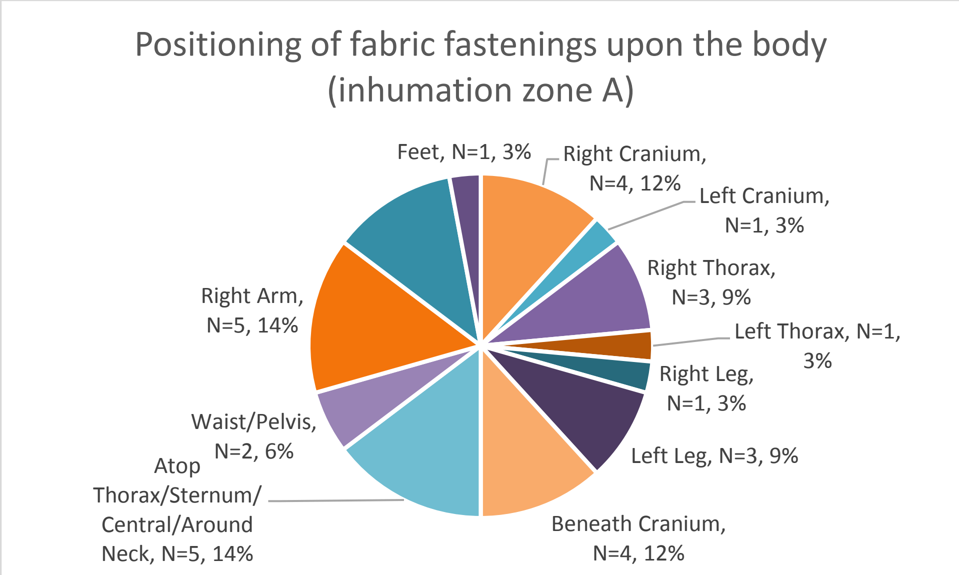
Age 1 Sex 2	No. individuals	No. with grave goods	Percentage with grave goods	Mean no. grave goods per furnished grave	Mean no. ceramics per furnished grave	Range of total grave goods
Sub-adult	15	12	80	2.3	1.4	4
Adult Male	9	8	88	6.8	3.5	21
Adult Female	15	14	93	5.7	3.1	13
Unsexed Adult	26	25	96	6.7	5.1	40

H. 25. Grave goods associated with sub-adults and sexed adults for non-Westhampnett graves.

Appendix I: Spatial analysis of grave goods supplementary and additional tables and figures

Fabric fastenings: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	4
Left Cranium	1
Right Thorax	3
Left Thorax	1
Right Leg	1
Left Leg	3
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	4
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	5
Waist/Pelvis	2
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	5
Left Arm	4
Right Hand	0
Left Hand	0
Feet	1
In surrounding grave	10
Unknown	5

I. 1. Location of Fabric fastenings in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).



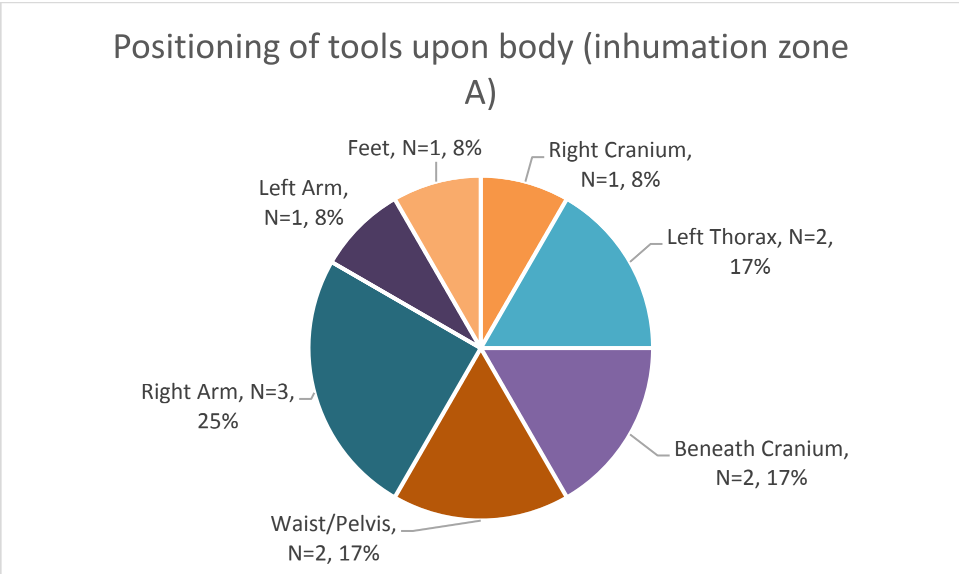
I. 2. Location of fabric fastenings in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Fabric fastenings: Inhumation (Zone B)	**Frequency**
Top Right of Grave	4
Top Left of Grave	0
Centre Right of Grave	1
Centre Left of Grave	3
Bottom Right of Grave	1
Bottom Left of Grave	1
Unknown	5

I. 3. Location of fabric fastenings in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Tools: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	1
Left Cranium	0
Right Thorax	0
Left Thorax	2
Right Leg	0
Left Leg	0
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	2
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	0
Waist/Pelvis	2
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	3
Left Arm	1
Right Hand	0
Left Hand	0
Feet	1
Unknown	4

I. 4. Location of tools in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).



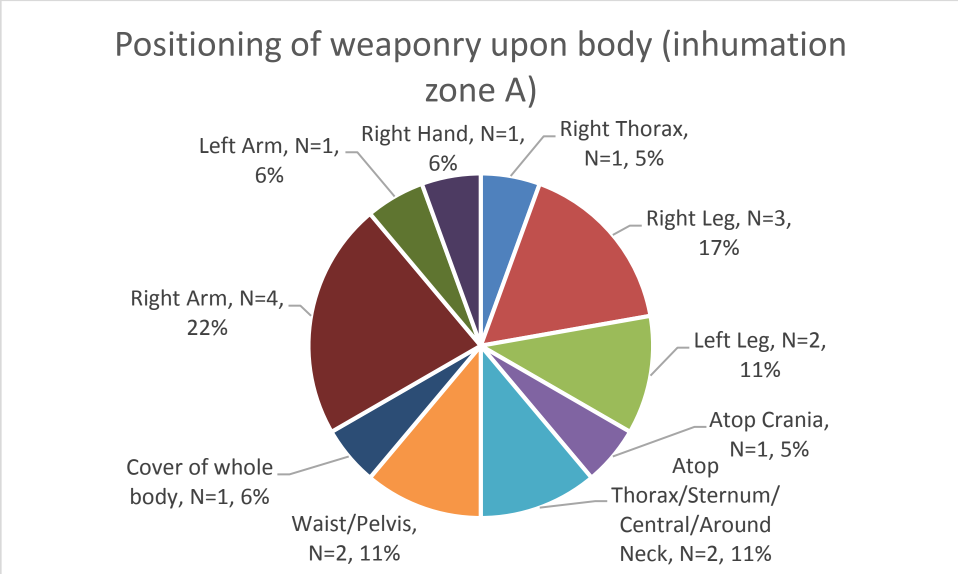
I. 5. Location of tools in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Tools: Inhumation (Zone B)	Frequency
Top Right of Grave	1
Top Left of Grave	0
Centre Right of Grave	0
Centre Left of Grave	0
Bottom Right of Grave	0
Bottom Left of Grave	0
Unknown	2

I. 6. Location of fabric fastenings in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Weaponry: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	0
Left Cranium	0
Right Thorax	1
Left Thorax	0
Right Leg	3
Left Leg	2
Atop Cranium	1
Beneath Cranium	0
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	2
Waist/Pelvis	2
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	1
Right Arm	4
Left Arm	1
Right Hand	1
Left Hand	0
Feet	0
In surrounding grave	13
Unknown	7

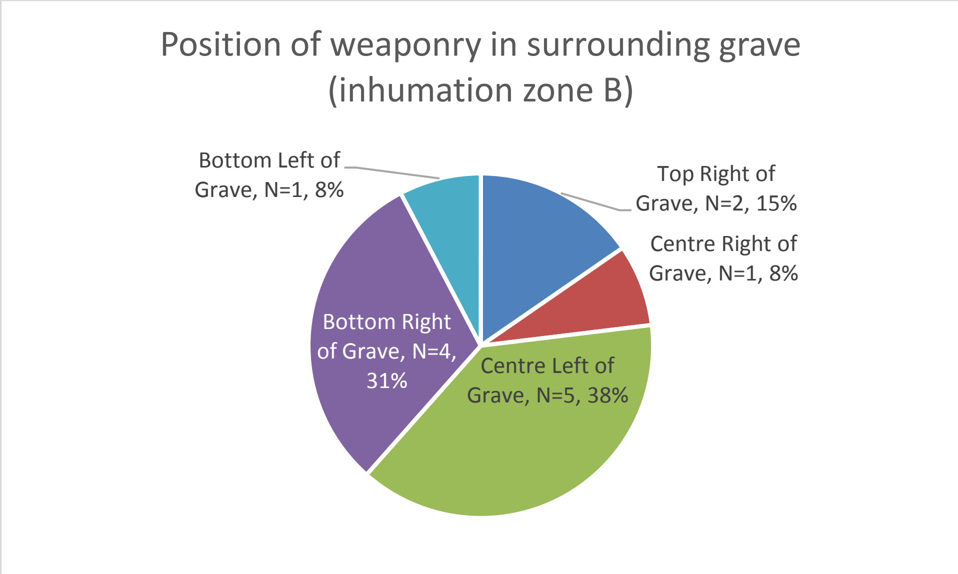
I. 7. Location of weapons in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).



I. 8. Location of weapons in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Weaponry: Inhumation (Zone B)	**Frequency**
Top Right of Grave	2
Top Left of Grave	0
Centre Right of Grave	1
Centre Left of Grave	5
Bottom Right of Grave	4
Bottom Left of Grave	1
Unknown	7

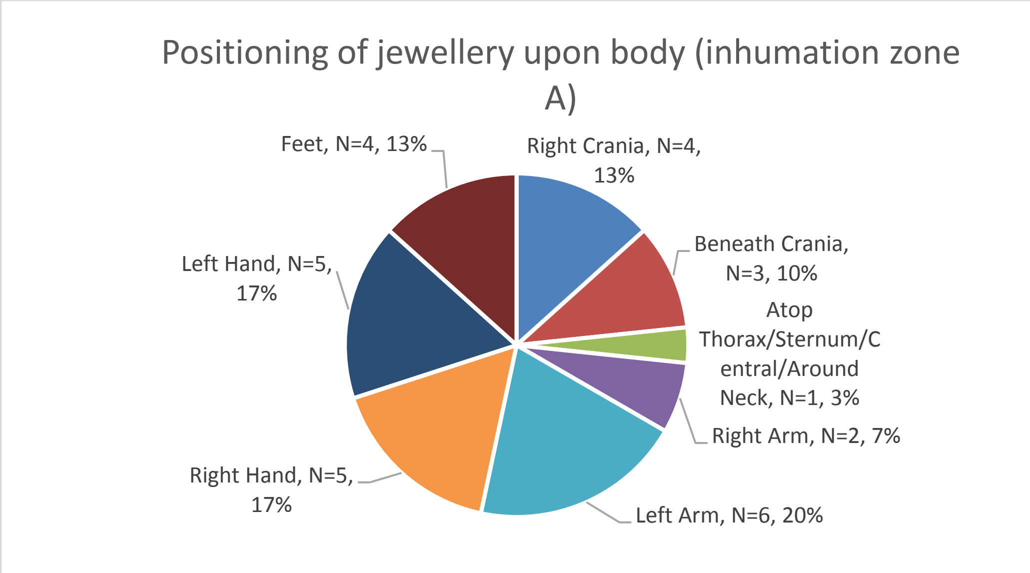
I. 9. Location of weapons in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).



I. 10. Location of weapons in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Jewellery: Inhumation (Zone A)	**Frequency**
Right Cranium	4
Left Cranium	0
Right Thorax	0
Left Thorax	0
Right Leg	0
Left Leg	0
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	3
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	1
Waist/Pelvis	0
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	2
Left Arm	6
Right Hand	5
Left Hand	5
Feet	4
In surrounding grave	2
Unknown	6

I. 11. Location of jewellery in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).



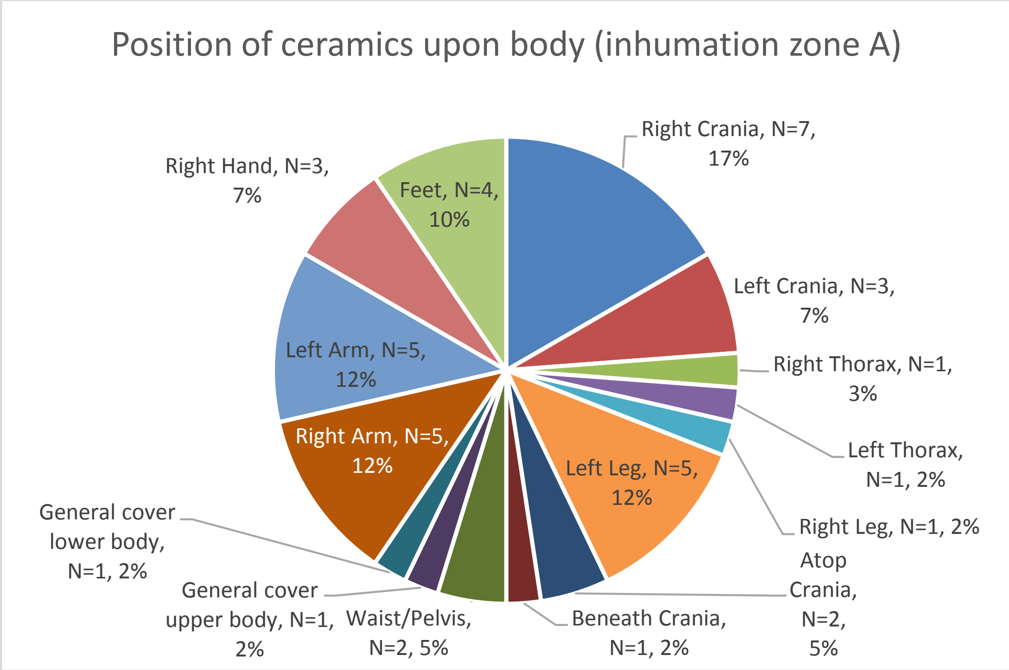
I. 12. Location of jewellery in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Jewellery: Inhumation (Zone B)	**Frequency**
Top Right of Grave	1
Top Left of Grave	1
Centre Right of Grave	0
Centre Left of Grave	0
Bottom Right of Grave	0
Bottom Left of Grave	0
Unknown	3

I. 13. Location of jewellery in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Ceramics: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	7
Left Cranium	3
Right Thorax	1
Left Thorax	1
Right Leg	1
Left Leg	5
Atop Cranium	2
Beneath Cranium	1
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	0
Waist/Pelvis	2
General cover upper body	1
General cover lower body	1
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	5
Left Arm	5
Right Hand	3
Left Hand	0
Feet	4
Surrounding Grave	26
Unknown	12

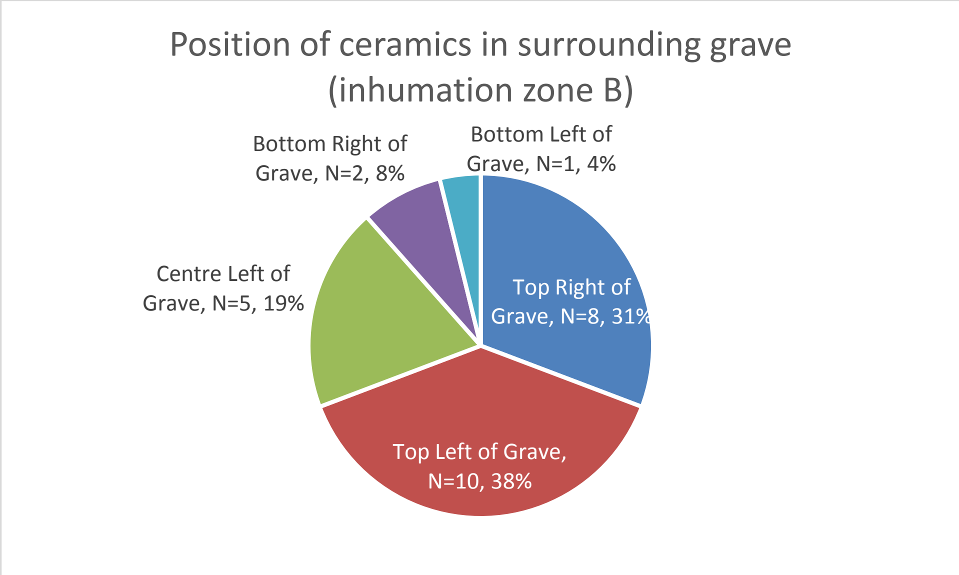
I. 14. Location of ceramics in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).



I. 15. Location of ceramics in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Ceramics: Inhumation (Zone B)	**Frequency**
Top Right of Grave	8
Top Left of Grave	10
Centre Right of Grave	0
Centre Left of Grave	5
Bottom Right of Grave	2
Bottom Left of Grave	1
Unknown	9

I. 16. Location of ceramics in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).



I. 17. Location of ceramics in all inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Fabric fastenings: Inhumation (Zone A)	**Frequency**
Right Cranium	1
Left Cranium	0
Right Thorax	2
Left Thorax	0
Right Leg	1
Left Leg	1
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	1
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	3
Waist/Pelvis	0
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	1
Left Arm	4
Right Hand	0
Left Hand	0
Feet	0
In surrounding grave	2
Unknown	0

I. 18. Location of fabric fastenings in Durotrigian inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Fabric fasteners: Inhumation (Zone B)	Frequency
Top Right of Grave	0
Top Left of Grave	0
Centre Right of Grave	0
Centre Left of Grave	2
Bottom Right of Grave	0
Bottom Left of Grave	0
Unknown	0

I. 19. Location of fabric fastenings in Durotrigian inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Tools: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	0
Left Cranium	0
Right Thorax	0
Left Thorax	2
Right Leg	0
Left Leg	0
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	0
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	0
Waist/Pelvis	1
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	3
Left Arm	0
Right Hand	0
Left Hand	0
Feet	0
In surrounding grave	0
Unknown	0

I. 20. Location of tools in Durotrigian inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Weapons: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	0
Left Cranium	0
Right Thorax	1
Left Thorax	0
Right Leg	3
Left Leg	0
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	0
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	1
Waist/Pelvis	0
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	0
Left Arm	0
Right Hand	0
Left Hand	0
Feet	0
In surrounding grave	0
Unknown	0

I. 21. Location of weapons in Durotrigian inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Jewellery: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	0
Left Cranium	0
Right Thorax	0
Left Thorax	0
Right Leg	0
Left Leg	0
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	1
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	1
Waist/Pelvis	0
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	1
Left Arm	3
Right Hand	5
Left Hand	2
Feet	4
In surrounding grave	0
Unknown	5

I. 22. Location of jewellery in Durotrigian inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Ceramics: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	7
Left Cranium	2
Right Thorax	1
Left Thorax	1
Right Leg	1
Left Leg	5
Atop Cranium	2
Beneath Cranium	1
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	0
Waist/Pelvis	2
General cover upper body	1
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	3
Left Arm	5
Right Hand	3
Left Hand	0
Feet	2
Surrounding Grave	21
Unknown	5

I. 23. Location of ceramics in Durotrigian inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Inhumation (Zone B)	Frequency
Top Right of Grave	3
Top Left of Grave	13
Centre Right of Grave	0
Centre Left of Grave	3
Bottom Right of Grave	2
Bottom Left of Grave	0
Unknown	5

I. 24. Location of ceramics in Durotrigian inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Fabric fastenings: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	0
Left Cranium	0
Right Thorax	1
Left Thorax	1
Right Leg	0
Left Leg	1
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	1
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	0
Waist/Pelvis	0
General cover upper body	1
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	3
Left Arm	1
Right Hand	0
Left Hand	0
Feet	0
In surrounding grave	0
Unknown	0

I. 25. Location of fabric fastenings in Kentish inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Weapons: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	0
Left Cranium	0
Right Thorax	0
Left Thorax	0
Right Leg	0
Left Leg	1
Atop Cranium	1
Beneath Cranium	0
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	0
Waist/Pelvis	1
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	2
Right Arm	3
Left Arm	0
Right Hand	0
Left Hand	0
Feet	0
In surrounding grave	5
Unknown	0

I. 26. Location of weapons in Kentish inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Inhumation (Zone B)	Frequency
Top Right of Grave	0
Top Left of Grave	0
Centre Right of Grave	0
Centre Left of Grave	1
Bottom Right of Grave	3
Bottom Left of Grave	1
Unknown	0

I. 27. Location of weapons in Kentish inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Ceramics: Inhumation (Zone A)	**Frequency**
Right Cranium	0
Left Cranium	2
Right Thorax	0
Left Thorax	0
Right Leg	0
Left Leg	0
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	0
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	0
Waist/Pelvis	0
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	1
Left Arm	0
Right Hand	0
Left Hand	0
Feet	0
Unknown	4
Surrounding Grave	4

I. 28. Location of ceramics in Kentish inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Ceramics: Inhumation (Zone B)	**Frequency**
Top Right of Grave	1
Top Left of Grave	1
Centre Right of Grave	0
Centre Left of Grave	2
Bottom Right of Grave	0
Bottom Left of Grave	0
Unknown	0

I. 29. Location of ceramics in Kentish inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Fabric fastenings: Inhumation (Zone A)	Frequency
Right Cranium	4
Left Cranium	1
Right Thorax	0
Left Thorax	0
Right Leg	0
Left Leg	0
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	2
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	1
Waist/Pelvis	0
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	0
Left Arm	0
Right Hand	0
Left Hand	0
Feet	1
In surrounding grave	7
Unknown	4

I. 30. Location of fabric fastenings in SW inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Fabric fastenings: Inhumation (Zone B)	Frequency
Top Right of Grave	4
Top Left of Grave	0
Centre Right of Grave	1
Centre Left of Grave	0
Bottom Right of Grave	1
Bottom Left of Grave	1
Unknown	4

I. 31. Location of fabric fastenings in south west inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Top Right of Grave	0
Top Left of Grave	0
Centre Right of Grave	0
Centre Left of Grave	4
Bottom Right of Grave	0
Bottom Left of Grave	0
Unknown	0

I. 32. Location of weaponry in south west inhumations.

Jewellery: Inhumation (Zone A)	**Frequency**
Right Cranium	5
Left Cranium	0
Right Thorax	0
Left Thorax	0
Right Leg	0
Left Leg	0
Atop Cranium	0
Beneath Cranium	1
Atop Thorax/Sternum/Central/Around Neck	0
Waist/Pelvis	0
General cover upper body	0
General cover lower body	0
Cover of whole body	0
Right Arm	1
Left Arm	0
Right Hand	0
Left Hand	0
Feet	0
In surrounding grave	2
Unknown	0

I. 33. Location of jewellery in south west inhumation graves (inhumation Zone A).

Jewellery Inhumation (Zone B)	Frequency
Top Right of Grave	1
Top Left of Grave	1
Centre Right of Grave	0
Centre Left of Grave	0
Bottom Right of Grave	0
Bottom Left of Grave	0
Unknown	0

I. 34. Location of jewellery in south west inhumation graves (inhumation Zone B).

Location in cremation graves of fabric fastenings	Frequency	Of which burnt
N of cremated remains	1	1
NE of cremated remains	1	0
E of cremated remains	0	0
SE of cremated remains	0	0
S of cremated remains	0	0
SW of cremated remains	0	0
W of cremated remains	2	0
NW of cremated remains	0	0
Depot Cimitiére	76	43
Urn	0	0
Unknown	5	0

I. 35. Location of fabric fastenings within cremation graves.

Location in cremation graves of tools	Frequency	Of which burnt
N of cremated remains	0	0
NE of cremated remains	0	0
E of cremated remains	0	0
SE of cremated remains	0	0
S of cremated remains	0	0
SW of cremated remains	0	0
W of cremated remains	0	0
NW of cremated remains	1	0
Depot Cimitiére	7	3
Urn	0	0
Unknown	1	0

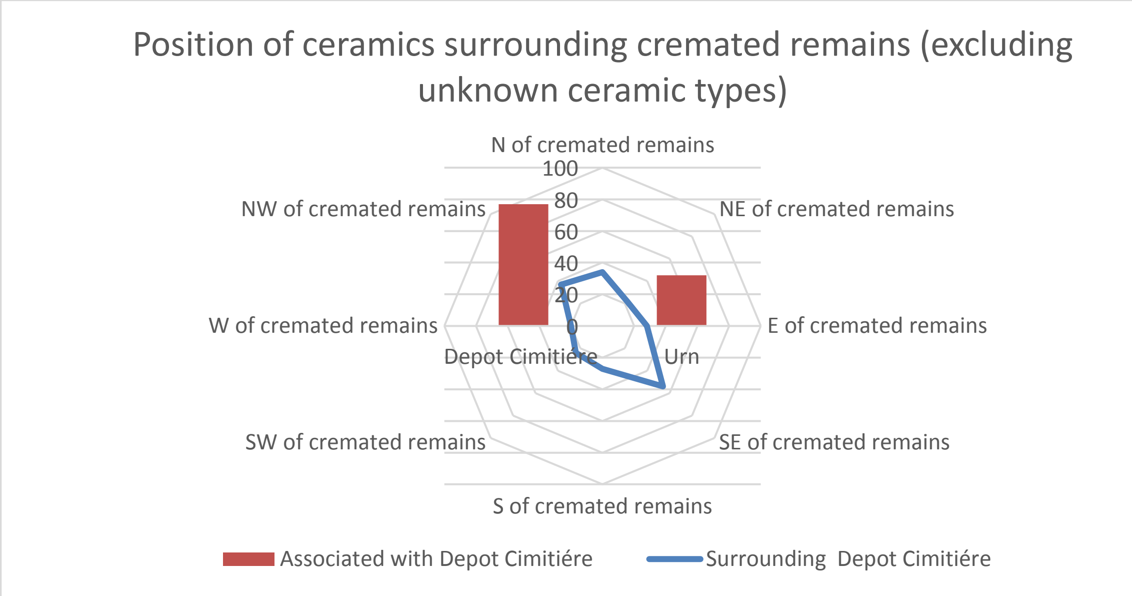
I. 36. Location of tools within cremation graves.

Location in cremation graves of jewellery	Frequency	Of which burnt
N of cremated remains	0	0
NE of cremated remains	0	0
E of cremated remains	0	0
SE of cremated remains	1	1
S of cremated remains	0	0
SW of cremated remains	0	0
W of cremated remains	0	0
NW of cremated remains	0	0
Depot Cimitiére	11	10
Urn	0	0
Unknown	1	1

I. 37. Location of jewellery within cremation graves.

Location of ceramics within cremation graves	Frequency	Of which burnt
N of cremated remains	34	0
NE of cremated remains	22	0
E of cremated remains	28	0
SE of cremated remains	54	0
S of cremated remains	27	0
SW of cremated remains	24	1
W of cremated remains	20	1
NW of cremated remains	37	0
Depot Cimitiére	77	0
Urn	32	2
Unknown	157	1

I. 38. Location of all ceramic vessels in all cremation graves.



I. 39. Location of all ceramic vessels in all cremation graves. The cardinal placement of ceramics, and their relative frequencies, is displayed with the blue line. The frequency of ceramics associated with the depot cimitiére or employed as urns, is displayed in orange in relation to one another.

Cremation graves	**Frequency**	**Of which burnt**
N of cremated remains	17	0
NE of cremated remains	8	0
E of cremated remains	14	0
SE of cremated remains	21	0
S of cremated remains	16	0
SW of cremated remains	17	1
W of cremated remains	12	0
NW of cremated remains	24	0
Depot Cimitiére	35	0
Urn	4	0
Unknown	61	1

I. 40. Location of all ceramic vessels in Westhampnett graves.

Location of ceramics within cremation graves	**Frequency**	**Of which burnt**
N of cremated remains	12	0
NE of cremated remains	8	0
E of cremated remains	6	0
SE of cremated remains	12	0
S of cremated remains	8	0
SW of cremated remains	12	1
W of cremated remains	11	0
NW of cremated remains	15	0
Depot Cimitiére	35	0
Urn	21	1
Unknown	55	0

I. 41. Location of all ceramic vessels in non-Westhampnett graves.

Appendix J: Sites in database and bibliographic reference

Site	Source	Site	Source
A2 Pepperhill to Cobham Road Scheme	Allen, Donnelly, Hardy, Hayden and Powell 2012	Maiden Castle	Wheeler 1943; Sharples 1991a
Adanac Park	Leivers and Gibson 2011	Manor Farm, Portesham	Valentin 2006
Alington Avenue	Davies, Stacey and Woodward 1985; Davies, Bellamy, Heaton and Woodward 2002	Micheldever Wood	Fasham 1987
Alkham	Philp 2014	Mill Hill, Deal	Parfitt 1995
Alton	Millett 1986	North Bersted, Bognor Regis	Taylor and Weale 2009; Taylor 2014
Balksbury Camp	Wainwright and Davies 1995	Northumberland Bottom	Askew 2006
Battlesbury Bowl	Ellis and Powell 2008	Norton	Seagar Thomas 2005
Beechbrook Wood	Brady 2006	Old Kempshott Lane	Haslam 2012
Bishopstone	Bell 1977	Owslebury	Collis 1968; 1970
Bridge	Farley, Parfitt and Richardson 2014	Portesham	Fitzpatrick 1996
Brisley Farm, Ashford	Johnson 2002; Stevenson 2013	Poundbury	Farwell and Molleson 1987
Bryher	Johns 2002-3	Poundbury pipeline evaluation	Davies and Grieve 1986
Bury Hill	Hawkes 1940	Poynter's Garden	Dudley 1961
Chilham Castle	Parfitt 1998	Saltwood	Riddler, Trevarthen and Mckinley 2006
Church Knapp, Wyke Regis	Leonard 2008	Sholden	Ogilvie and Dunning 1967
Cliffs End Farm, Isle of Thanet	McKinley, Leivers, Schuster, Marshall, Barclay, and Stoodley 2014	Site A, Kennel Farm	Chapman 2006
Coldswood Road (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipeline)	Egging Dinwiddy and Schuster 2009	Slonk Hill, Shoreham	Hartridge 1978
Copse Farm	Bedwin and Holgate 1985	Somborne Park Farm	Harding 2010
Cottingon Hill (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	Egging Dinwiddy and Schuster 2009	South Willesborough	Deeves 2007
Courtwick Lane, Littlehampton	Wallis 2010	St Lawrence	Stead and Jones 1969
Danebury	Cunliffe 1984b; 1991b	Stone Farm Bridleway	Riddler, Trevarthen and Mckinley 2006
Deal Cemetery	Parfitt 1999	Suddern Farm	Cunliffe and Poole 2000b
Easton Lane	Fasham, Farwell and Winney 1989	The Bourne	Andrews, Harding and Dinwiddy 2015
Ford Airfield	Place 2004	The Caburn	Curwen 1927

Gussage All Saints	Wainwright 1979	The Triangle Site, South Marston	Reynolds, Billson, McKinley, Mepham and Stevens 2014
Harting Beacon	Bedwin 1979	The Trundle	Curwen 1929
Hartsdown College	Gardner and Gibson 2010	Tollard Royal	Wainwright 1968
Hod Hill	Richmond 1968	Trethellan Farm	Nowakowski 1991
Home Field, Down Farm, Sixpenny Handley	Ellis 2012	Trevone	Dudley and Jope 1965
Houghton Down	Cunliffe and Poole 2000c	Tutt Hill, Westwell	Brady 2006
Hughtown, St Mary's	Ashbee 1954	Viables Farm	Millett and Russel 1982
Jubilee Corner	Aldridge 2005	Weatherlees WTW and Ebbsfleet Lane (Weatherlees-Margate-Broadstairs wastewater pipleline)	Egging Dinwiddy and Schuster 2009
Kings Worthy Primary School	Hawtin 2008	West Malling and Leybourne Bypass	Egging Dinwiddy and Schuster 2009
Langton Herring	Murden 2014	Westhampnett	Fitzpatrick 1997
Latchmere Green	Fulford and Creighton 1998	Westhawk Farm, Ashford	Booth, Bingham and Lawrence 2008
Latton Lands	Powell, Laws and Brown 2008	Weston Down Cottages	Gibson and Knight 2007
Lea Road, Wyke Regis	Dockrill 1981	Whitcombe	Aitken and Aitken 1990
Little Somborne	Neal 1980	White Horse Stone	Hayden and Stafford 2006
Little Stock Farm	Ritchie 2006	Winnall Down	Fasham 1985
Litton Cheney	Bailey 1967	Yarnbury	Cunnington 1933

J. 1. Sites in database and bibliographic source.

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