Inhumation in Iron Age Britain: exploring the evidence from East Yorkshire and south-west England.

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Abstract

The funerary archaeology of Iron Age East Yorkshire and Dorset have been extensively studied through the years, though usually in isolation through regionally-focussed studies. This thesis builds upon previous work by applying a comparative approach set within a post processual theoretical framework. Then through applying the theoretical framework to the analysis of the data, the project aims to explore gender, age, and social hierarchy in these two Iron Age societies. The thesis also aims to understand how people in Iron Age Britain used inhumation to relate to the dead, how both regions compare in terms of funerary practices, and to increase understanding of society and how it functioned in both regions. The results show that age, gender, one's role in society, and the manner of one's death all impacted the funerary rites used within the sphere of inhumation. As well as that, social exclusion, perhaps due to the manner of death, was indicated through orientation. There is more of a strict set of burial rites observed in East Yorkshire, as well as a more enforced gender binary. Dorset on the other hand appeared to have more of a focus on an age of majority, being around the ages of 15-18.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, without whom I would never have believed I could start, never mind complete this challenge.

Naomi Jane Jump 1956-2021

"Things are only impossible until they're not."

-Captain Jean-Luc Picard.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work, and I am the sole author.

This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other,

University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This thesis aims to carry out research into the burial practices in two regions of Iron Age England, Dorset and East Yorkshire (Fig 1:1), from the early Iron Age (800-400 BC) to the late Iron Age (150BC-AD43). This research, using a database will compare the inhumation practices from both regions to answer the question of why these two regions were the only two to practice inhumation consistently. There are earlier examples of databases and research, however, this has not been looked at again in recent times, with the knowledge of later works on the Iron Age. A comparison of the two regions has also not been undertaken in this manner and will add to understanding surrounding funerary practices in Iron Age England.



Figure 1:1 Case study areas.

1.2. Research Questions

- 1. How did people in Iron Age Britain use inhumation as a funerary practice in order to relate to their dead?
- 2. Why was inhumation consistently practised in only two regions of Iron Age
 Britain (Dorset and East Yorkshire)?
- 3. How do factors such as age and gender affect the way in which people of both regions were buried, especially in terms of the material record?
- 4. How do the funerary practices in both regions compare, and what can that tell us about societal differences across Iron Age Britain?

1.3. Aims

- To understand how communities in both Dorset and East Yorkshire used inhumation as a funerary practice to relate to the dead.
- II. To compare, contrast, and understand the differences and similarities between each region and to explore any factors that link the two.
- III. To use funerary rites practiced by these societies in order to further understanding of how these societies functioned in terms of social hierarchy based on age, gender, or other factors, and social exclusion/inclusion.

1.4. Objectives

- A. In order to achieve the aims, set out above, a database will be created of inhumations from these two regions. The database will then in turn be used to analyse any patterns in the data.
- B. The analysis will focus on intersectional aspects of identity such as age and gender, and their correlation with grave goods, orientation, etc.
- C. To compare, contrast, and understand the relationship between inhumation and society in both regions and to understand how different factors affected the deceased individuals' relationship between them and wider society.

2. Literature Review.

2.1. Iron Age Funerary Archaeology

2.1.1. Iron Age archaeology in the 20th Century

Over the years, Iron Age funerary archaeology has suffered from a lack of evidence. There is a very limited amount of physical remains left behind by the people who inhabited the British Isles during this time period. What evidence we do have really began to be excavated in the latter half of the 19th century, with the vast majority being recorded and preserved after the First World War. East Yorkshire is the only area in England where Iron Age graves regularly appear above the surface in the form of square ditch barrows, which explains why the rest of the country did not garner the attention of these early antiquarians (Harding 2016). Cunliffe (2005, 5) discusses that before this, "barrow-sacking in high Victorian style continued to produce finds from East Yorkshire". At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, however, J.R. Mortimer published reports on excavations that are more like the archaeology we know today.

One of the first true explorations of British Iron Age funerary archaeology took place at one of the first "modern" excavations in the history of British archaeology as a whole (Wheeler 1943; Wheeler 1955). The excavations at Maiden Castle hillfort in the 1930s and 1940s were perhaps some of the first excavations conducted in a style that is recognisable to modern day archaeologists; and, as such they remain an important source of evidence for insight into the Iron Age (Hawkes 1982, Russell 2019). Although many of the interpretations from Maiden Castle that were originally

given have been contested and disputed by modern archaeologists, the excavations remain ground-breaking in the world of Iron Age funerary archaeology; in terms of the number of burials and the quality of the excavation that revealed them, as well as the interpretation that Wheeler put forth (Russell 2019). In the south west, earlier excavations were of rudimentary quality. Indeed, Whimster notes in his 1981 report that only three cemetery sites had by then produced evidence of any reasonable quality.

In the north of the country, excavation during the 20th century continued to add to the amount of evidence compiled about the Iron Age. Excavations carried out in the late 19th and early 20th century by John Mortimer, in collaboration with William Greenwell, are particularly significant (Greenwell 1906; Mortimer 1905; 1911). In the 20th century, there was a growing number of archaeologists that held the opinion that at some point there had been an invasion, which was the root cause of the development of the Arras Culture in this area (Stead 1965; Clark 1966). Cunliffe (2005, 9) argues that these opinions were based on ideas of Victorian imperialism, something that pervaded much of archaeological thought during the period of these discoveries.

Between 1930 and 1931 Christopher Hawkes published two papers that according to Cunliffe changed the course of Iron Age archaeology in Britain. In these papers Hawkes disseminated the theory of a series of mass migrations coming into Britain from the continent (Hawkes 1931; Hawkes and Dunning 1931). These mass migrations began, according to Hawkes (1931, 64) in the seventh century BC and

then reached their height in the sixth century. This theory formed the basis of Hawkes' "ABC of the British Iron Age", a paper published in 1959 which would elaborate the ideas he posited earlier.

Over the 1930s, attention of British archaeologists was more focussed on the Iron Age than in previous decades, as Hawkes' ABC theory was refined; most of this refinement was based on pottery. Although the archaeological investigations into the East Yorkshire chariot burials were key to developing the theory because they formed the basis of Hawkes' "Eastern Second B" (Hawkes 1931, 181). This view, that the British Iron Age was split into three distinct parts (Iron Age; A, B, and C) did not change through the 1930s and into the 1940s and in some cases, beyond (Piggott 1955; Piggott 1966). The 1930s certainly saw many large-scale excavations, but the emphasis of archaeological investigation was still mainly on the pottery, other artefacts, and large scale earthen remains that pertained to the people of the time rather than human remains (Hodson 1962).

Through the next three decades Iron Age archaeology remained broadly secure in its invasionist theoretical framework, until the introduction of the 'New Archaeology' into Britain in the 1950s and 1960s. With this revolution in British archaeological theory, a new way of thinking about the Iron Age came into being. Grahame Clarke published his attack on the invasion hypothesis (Clark 1966). The old ways of thought surrounding the British Iron Age was very much rooted in the invasionist language that pervaded both history and archaeology during the first half of the 20th century (Clark 1966; Cunliffe 2005, 20). According to this new school of thought, where rich and exotic artefacts were found they were thought to be the result of wealth amongst

native leaders growing and not the result of an invasion (Clark 1966). This idea that invasion was the mother of innovation was rooted in imperialist ideals, something which this younger generation of archaeologists were rejecting (Clark 1966).

2.1.2. The first attempt at synthesis

It is really in the last thirty years or so that the study of British Iron Age funerary archaeology has developed into a much more significant area of study. As previously mentioned, Whimster's 1981 monograph, which is based on his 1979 doctoral thesis, focuses on providing a sense of some kind of order amongst the chaos that is the database of evidence surround Iron Age burials from across the country. Whimster in his comprehensive synthesis analysed over 1,000 burials, all of which were conducted using various different rites, including cremation and inhumation (Whimster 1979, 1). However, Whimster found that there was a lack of evidence for any particular rite becoming standard across the country, although there were a few regionally-specific rites such as the cist burials from Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly (Whimster 1979, 272). Fortunately for this study, the Arras burials of East Yorkshire have also been the focus of much archaeological investigation (Dent 1982; 1984; 1985; Stead 1976; 1986; 1991; Cunliffe 2005, 21).

The graphs and figures below show what the picture of Iron Age funerary archaeology was in the latter half of the 20th century, when Whimster published his synthesis. This data works as a foundation for the discussion, although there is a substantial amount of data which is now know that Whimster did not have. There were several different burial rites Whimster explored and noted, such as rampart and

ditch burials, pit burials, cave deposits, grave cuts, barrows, and cist burials. At the time, cremation was seen as the more popular rite for burial in the Iron Age, and this is backed up by graph 2, which shows that there were nearly 800 cremation burials that had been excavated by 1979.

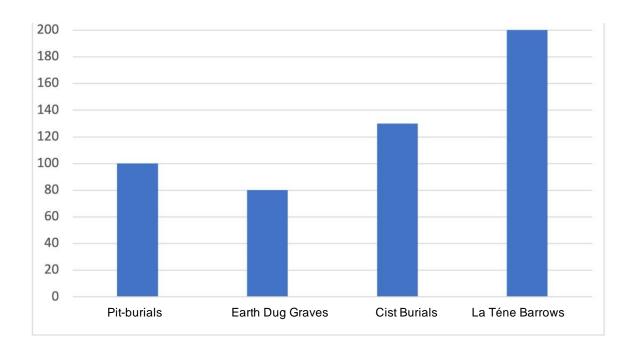


Figure 2:1 Inhumation burials from Whimster 1979 (PhD thesis).

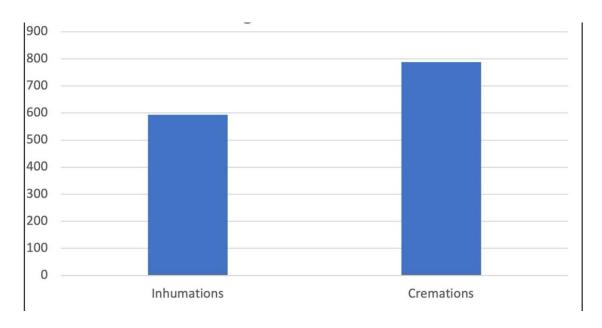


Figure 2:2 Distribution of inhumations versus cremations excavated at the time Whimster's 1979 report had been published.

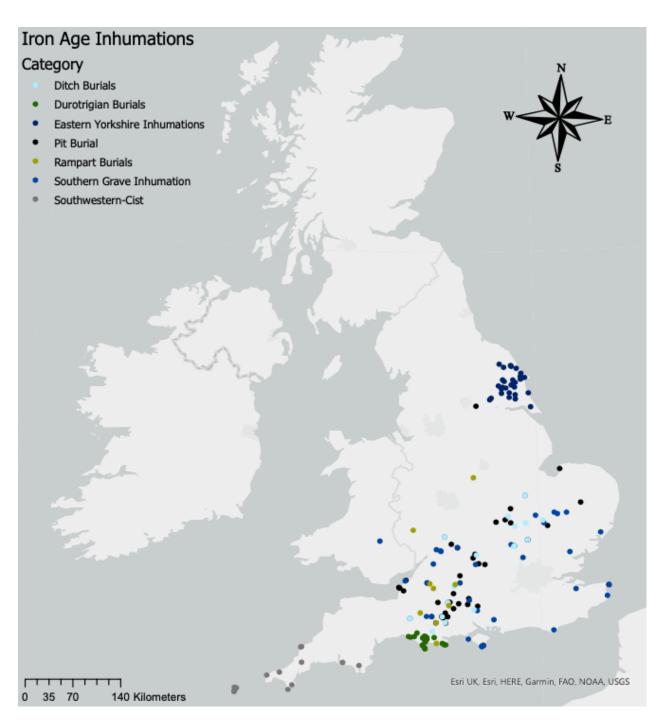


Figure 2:3 Distribution of inhumations.

2.1.3. Current Approaches in Funerary Archaeology.

This lack of evidence for a standard burial rite in Iron Age Britain, identified by Whimster, has led archaeologists to believe that excarnation was perhaps the most likely form of disposal of the dead across the country (Carr and Knüsel 1997; Madgwick 2008). Excarnation refers to the removal of flesh by any means (natural or manual), however in this context it refers mostly to the removal of flesh by sub-arial exposure (Booth and Madgwick 2016). Excarnation has been observed in several different communities around the globe, there is much ethnographic evidence from both the Americas and Asia with the indigenous American scaffold burials and the Tibetan sky-burials (Sprague 2005, 14-15; Gaspar 2012). This exposure would then, according to many archaeologists, have likely often been followed by some sort of purposeful disturbance of the remains.

It was thought, in Britain, that excarnation would most likely have taken place in a controlled environment, because it has been shown that human remains exhibit less modification than those of animals (Madgwick 2008; Harding 2016). However, this was based on the specific sites, and may not have been a practice as widespread as previously thought, there have been developments in the way excarnation is thought about more recently (Madgwick 2008; Madgwick and Booth 2016). There is still evidence that suggests that excarnation could sometimes have taken place in an enclosed environment, and this may have taken the form of, for example, a basket, cave, or a four-post granary (Carr and Künsel 1997). The four post granaries could have been used to protect grain stored in them from insects and other animals, Harding (2016) claims that it is likely an excarnation house would have done the

same for the human remains inside, thus the human remains are less disturbed than remains left to the elements with no protection, this is much the same way as any other enclosed space would have protected the remains. Excarnation is what many archaeologists currently believe to be the dominant form of mortuary rite across Britain during the Iron Age (Stead 1991; Carr and Knüsel 1997; Craig et al. 2005; Knüsel and Outram 2006; Redfern 2008; Darvill 2010; Booth and Madgwick 2016; Armit and Buster 2020).

After Whimster in 1981, there is a lack of large overarching work on specifically inhumation rites in Britain during the Iron Age until 2016 when Dennis Harding published his *Death and Burial in Iron Age Britain*. Harding (2016, 5) asks archaeologists to re-evaluate their definition of burial, and to challenge the idea that a particular set of burial rites existed in the Iron Age, or indeed any archaeological time period at all. Harding elucidates:

"Where such a recurrent form of burial is absent, rather than supposing that the rite adopted was one that fortuitously did not result in a permanent impact of the archaeological record, we should challenge the basic assumption that there should ever have been a regular and recurrent form of burial, as opposed to a variety of different ways of disposing of the dead, each according to custom, need, or circumstance."

(Harding 2016, 7)

This idea that there may not have ever been a prescribed set of burial rites, that the rites one was given in death may even have been individualised has rarely been considered. As Harding (2016) argues perhaps this has been the downfall of British

Iron Age funerary archaeology studies, in that we have been too focussed on trying to see a singular set of burial rites so that we cannot see the evidence in front of us. Harding (2016, 7-8) argues that archaeologists should instead acknowledge that burial and burial rites take many different forms. Harding identifies two key areas where the rites of inhumation are prevalent and almost continuous, the cemeteries pertaining to the Arras Culture of East Yorkshire and those that are thought to pertain to the Durotriges and are concentrated around the south west of the country.

The identification of these two areas highlights another problem in British Iron Age funerary studies, that is the idea of the country being made up of different tribal groups. This is a highly controversial topic in Iron Age studies in Britain, and one that has been contested heavily in the last few years (e.g. Moore 2011). In the 20th century, archaeologists were mostly of the opinion that the tribes mentioned by several classical authors were how Britain was organised in the late Iron Age, around AD43 (Hill 1995). Previously, more traditional models of the British Iron Age grouped the population into tribal groups. Tribal groups were thought to have been hierarchical in nature, and they exercised control over well-defined territories prior to the AD43 Roman invasion (Bintliff 1984). Late Iron Age coin distributions have been regarded as tribal signifiers, with the names that appear in Classical Roman texts applied (Russell 2010). The oppida, Late Iron Age earthworks, are traditionally used in this tribal model, in order to provide a tribal centre. Recently, this idea has been criticised due to the complex nature of social identity during the late Roman period (Moore 2011). There have also been attempts to challenge the simplistic use of classical texts to reconstruct past ethnicity where it has been recognised that identities changed as a direct response to the Roman conquest (Russell 2010;

Moore 2001). It has been argued that Roman expansion created new forms of social organisation, this can be referred to as 'tribalisation' or the creation of new kingdoms (Moore 2011). Despite this, the word 'tribe' is still used though it is poorly defined. There is also the question of the people living in Late Iron Age Britain, how did they define themselves? It is highly likely, according to Moore (2011) that the people actually living in each so-called tribal group were actually not impacted much by this organisation that the Romans applied to them. This lack of impact is evident in the material culture of each geographical region, if material culture has any link to the way the Iron Age people identified (Moore 2011).

The names of these tribes have for a long time, since the 16th century, provided archaeologists a set narrative for social organisation in the Iron Age in Britain, acting as a framework within which the archaeological record of the British Iron Age could be organised. This framework has remained, largely uncontested until more recent times. Moore (2011) argues that it was the 19th century imperialist mind-set that led to the theory that Britain was divided into tribal groups by the Romans. According to Moore (2011), it was this same imperialism that lead to the grouping of indigenous cultures into tribal groups.

The idea of the people living in Iron Age Britain being divided into tribes had significant impact on the study of Iron Age funerary archaeology in Britain.

Archaeologists have, throughout the centuries attempted to define a 'standard' burial rite for each tribal group (Parker Pearson 1999; Russell 2010; Papworth 2011; Harding 2016). It is highly likely, bearing past literature in mind, that this 'standard

burial rite' does not exist; the existence of homogenous tribal groups occupying the regions in which this study has been conducted also can be called into question. Given the results further discussed below, while there are definite patterns in the data, it is doubtful that society was as neatly divided as has been previously suggested. This is especially true of the Dorset area, where patterns are observable, but the overall data paints a far more heterogenous picture

In the last few years, there have been a few synthetic works on Iron Age burial, such as "Regional Patterns and the Cultural Implications of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Burial Practices in Britain." a PhD thesis by Nicole Roth (2016), and "Cultural" Behaviour or Natural Processes? A Review of Southern Britain Iron Age Skeletal Remains." A PhD thesis by Justine Tracey (2016). Roth's (2016) thesis investigates any potential regional differences in Iron Age mortuary practices, and to explore any cultural implications that could stem from any such differences. The thesis considers the burials using a systematic approach allowing Roth to assess the burial both regionally, and at a site level; this indicated a manner of disposal which was found to be regionally different. The study also considered the treatment of infants, which has been found to differ from that of adult individuals. Roth argues (2016, xiii) "The core concept is that Iron Age communities practised various ritual processes, each with a different purpose, but using the same medium - human remains". Tracey (2016) combined osteological and archaeothanatology in order to understand excarnation in the Iron Age archaeological record. Tracey (2016, xi) concludes that there are several ways in which people in the Iron Age disposed of their dead, writing that "intentional exposure, propitiatory deposits and intentional practices where the body was kept whole in death which ran in parallel with each another". Iron Age funerary

archaeology is dynamic field, with regional syntheses of burials, such as these two theses being written in the last few years.

2.2. Funerary Archaeology

2.2.1. Processual approaches to the dead – a critique of early mortuary archaeology

Chapman (2003, 305) argues "the more intensive and coherent analysis of death in its social context has only been a feature of this discipline for the last three decades"; Chapman, then goes on to mention James Brown's volume *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices* (1970). This was a collection of essays detailing the study of mortuary practices in American archaeology from the past through to the then present day. Chapman (2003, 306) refers to Binford's (1971) paper *Mortuary Practices: their study and potential* as the "bellweather paper"; the paper was split into two halves, the first of which was a critical summary of the way mortuary archaeology had been studied in the past (Binford 1971). Binford (1971, 6), in the first part of this paper explains the lack of literature that deals with burials as their own group of archaeological phenomena, with their own distinct variations. Binford is considered to be one of the archaeologists at the forefront of processual archaeology (Parker-Pearson 1999, 28).

Binford criticises the work of the earliest archaeologists stating that "Concern in these works had been with mortuary custom in the abstract or focused on particular categories of mortuary practices." (Binford 1971, 8). Binford was particularly critical of the idea that changes in human culture were the sole result of transmission and communication from person to person (Binford 1971; Chapman 2003, 306). The diffusionist approach, Binford asserts, was rooted in idealism; and in response to

this, Binford used the works of van Gennep and Hertz (a contemporary of van Gennep) in order to propose a hypothesis:

"other things being equal, the heterogeneity in mortuary practice which is characteristic of a single sociocultural unit would vary directly with the complexity of the status hierarchy, as well as the complexity of the overall organisation of the society with regard to membership units and other forms of sodalities"

Binford 1971, 14-15

By this, Binford meant that when archaeologists study mortuary practices, they must consider that there is a link between the dead individual's social rank and the number of relationships people have with the dead. As well as the social identity the individual maintained during their life, the mortuary practices employed would likely vary with the rank of social position that the individual held while they were alive (Parker-Pearson 1999, 28). Binford used these points to criticise the way that archaeologists had approached funerary practices in the past. In order to change this aspect of the discipline, and bring funerary archaeology further in line with 'New Archaeology', Binford employed different techniques, such as bringing in ethnographic data provided by the Human Relations Area Files (Parker-Pearson 1999, 28)

Binford, then attempted to evaluate this hypothesis. Binford asserted that our understanding of the social aspects of burial and funerary practice must also

consider the identity of the deceased in a social context (Binford 1971, Chapman 2003). This idea is a furthering of van Gennep's thoughts on ritual, identity, and memory. Binford however, did note that theory in this case had not yet developed far enough in order to set forth an explanation as to why there were certain similarities and differences in mortuary practices (Binford 1971, 9).

Binford employs the use of systems theory in order to explain why and how changes in mortuary practice take place, as well as the differences and similarities between certain mortuary practices. Binford also states, that social rank may play a part in mortuary practices. Alongside this, Binford offers three other possible reasons for differences and similarities in mortuary practice: 1) age, 2) sex, and 3) the different relationships the individual may have held within their particular social group. Binford adds that the circumstances surrounding the way in which individuals die may also influence the way that they are buried (Binford 1971, 17).

The paper by Binford did not analyse any archaeological data, instead taking a completely ethnographic approach to funerary study. Archaeological analysis was left to the other papers in the collection, although all of the authors used the same principles of symbol and ritual in order to change the way that mortuary practices were written about (Brown 1971; Saxe 1971). The papers in this volume align closely with the 'New Archaeology' or processualism which is often associated with Binford and his colleagues at the time (Binford 1971; Chapman 2003; Williams 2003).

Binford argued that more 'complex' societies, the settled farmers, tended to have the more complex mortuary practices (Binford 1971; Parker-Pearson 1999). The fewest

distinctions in mortuary practice were found in burials belonging to pastoralists, then hunter-gatherers, and then shifting agriculturalists (Binford 1971; Parker-Pearson 1999). There are issues here: the terms Binford uses (complex and simple) have since fallen out of use, as they have links to the older racist terms such as 'savage' and 'civilized' (Parker-Pearson 1999, 32). The idea of a 'simple' society simply does not have a place in modern archaeology, although it does not necessarily render the study useless.

Even though the processual approaches of Binford and other archaeologists were subject to criticism, such as that of Parker-Pearson (1999, 31), there was a significant improvement of theory and practice during this time (Hodder 1986, 13; Williams 2003, 4). Processual archaeology viewed mortuary practices as a reflection of social complexity and change; this idea was evidenced by use of ethnographic evidence, something which archaeology had perhaps neglected previously.

Another key figure in processual archaeology is Joseph Tainter, an American anthropologist who worked along the same sets of principles as Binford. Tainter conducted a cross-cultural study based on the idea that one culture will have many different forms of burial, and those forms of burial can be correlated to the social standing of the deceased (Ucko 1969; Tainter 1975; Parker-Pearson 1999, 31). Tainter performed an ethnographic analysis of 103 different societies in which, he found that several different funerary practices were most closely linked to the social rank of the deceased. These practices included the complexity of how the body was treated, complexity of the grave or tomb and the placement of the grave or tomb, how long the mortuary ritual took, the extent of material devotions, as well as human

sacrifice. Through this, Tainter devised the notion of energy expenditure. Using the idea of energy expenditure, Tainter found that the societal rank of the deceased individual correlated to the energy expended on their mortuary site in 90% of cases; this is in sharp contrast to grave goods which only marked societal rank in 5% of cases (Tainter 1975; Parker-Pearson 1999, 31). In search of this positivist way of measuring the way people are buried, Tainter ignored the ways in which people think; a more simplistic burial according the material record could have had extremely complex thought behind it (Parker-Pearson 1999, 32). Tainter missed the fact that what people do is inescapably linked with the thought processes behind those actions; a critique often levelled towards processualism, although the concept of energy expenditure is still considered potentially valid. (Parker-Pearson 1999, 32).

2.2.2. Post-processualism and mortuary practices

When processualism started to be criticised in the late 1970s and into the 1980s, a new school of theoretical archaeology was born. Post-processualism, as the name suggests, emerged in direct contrast to processual thinking. Although, according to Williams (2003, 4) post-processualism can still be criticised in almost the same way. Williams asserts that post-processual thought often viewed mortuary practices as a mask of society, rather than the mirror processualism thought of it as. Parker-Pearson argues:

"The reconstruction of social organisation through the identification of roles... can be challenged by the theoretical stance that social systems are not constituted *of* roles but *by* recurrent social practices"

Here we can see the fundamental shift between the processual belief that a person's role in society can be deduced by the way in which they were buried; and the post-processual idea that the way an individual is buried simply relates to their social position but is not a reflection of it (Parker-Pearson 1982, 101). Parker-Pearson goes on to explain that there are several cultures both in the archaeological record and modern ethnographic sources where the deceased enter a liminal zone between the living and the dead, and so their social role may change; not only this but there are also several cultures, such as the Lodogaa explained below, where the social role of the individual may be hidden due to the mortuary practices of that culture (Parker-Pearson 1982). Parker-Pearson notes the Lodogaa, where the dead are dressed as chiefs or other high-status individuals, and so their social role cannot be deduced from their burial alone (Parker-Pearson 1982, 101). This is also supported by Hodder (1980, 163) where he states that "practical social relations" could be changed and distorted in burial.

Furthermore, through this Parker-Pearson asserts that funerary practices should be considered as an expression of relationships with the dead which are created by the people who are burying them in an idealised fashion (Parker-Pearson 1982, 110). This is perhaps the biggest shift in the post-processual view of how burial should be interpreted and is very different from the processual viewpoint held by Binford and others. The theory discussed through the work of post-processualists is much more

cautious and sees the rejection of the certainty placed upon evidence that was present with the processual school of thought.

Williams (2003, 4) criticises post-processualism stating that the data used seemed to be only for creating "timeless models of symbolic systems and cosmologies" rather than to understand the relationship between burial sites and how they evolve as well as the "reproduction of history and memory". Williams (2003, 4) argues that post-processual thought sees commemoration as a given fact. Overall, however, it seems that the post-processual school of thought did open up avenues of further study when it comes to mortuary practices, more so than processualism with its focus on creating histories.

In the 1980s, structuralism emerged into the world of funerary archaeology as a key theoretical underpinning of the time. Parker-Pearson was a champion of structuralism, writing in 1982 'Mortuary practices society and ideology: an ethnoarchaeological study' in lan Hodder's collection of essays 'Symbolic and Structural Archaeology'. Parker-Pearson adapted the main ideas of structural archaeology, to identify structures or cultural systems within society, and applied this to mortuary archaeology. In his 1982 paper, Parker-Pearson analysed the mortuary practices in Cambridge during the year 1977, placing the results of this study a wider context of social change over the last 150 years. Parker-Pearson concludes that all archaeological evidence relates to how a society associates with different "symbolic systems" and that these associations which are expressed in a material form within the context of mortuary practice are an expression of social structure (Parker-Pearson 1982, 110). One of the main critiques of a structuralist approach to

archaeology is that it has a tendency to disregard the notion of agency, the human beings are directed by their own will, in favour of believing in rigid social structure (Darvill 2008; Conkey 2014).

2.2.3. Post post-processualism: current approaches to funerary archaeology

Even by the 2000s, Post-processualism had not yet suffered from the outright criticism that its predecessor did. In fact, the responses to this school of thought have been largely agreeable, according to Chapman (2003, 309). Certain theories within post-processual thinking have been widely accepted, such as Parker-Pearson's argument that the way in which someone is buried does not necessarily represent their societal role accurately (Chapman 2003).

In the last few decades, since the rise of post-processualism, there has been a rise in archaeology theory focussed on gender, and identity (Parker-Pearson 1999, 96). The archaeology of gender is perhaps one of the more recent areas of study, where archaeologists are exploring the nature of objects being associated with a particular gender (Parker-Pearson 1999, 97; Baker 2012, 53-54; Moen 2019b). During the last decade, there have been several new studies centred around the idea of gender, and identity in the mortuary record; the studies originate in different locations, showing that the idea of gender archaeology is becoming more widespread within the discipline of archaeology (Fulkerson 2017; Hoy 2019; Moen 2019; Hämäläinen 2020; Zuckerman 2020). Parker-Pearson noted the biases archaeologists have towards grave goods and gender, when the idea of feminist archaeology was just coming into archaeological thought:

"When trade goods were found in a male grave Winter considered that they indicated the man's involvements in long-distance exchange systems, whereas in a woman's burial such items were assumed to be gifts from male relatives. Quernstones in the graves indicated, in the case of women that their tasks included seed grinding, and, in the case of men, that they were involved with making the querns!"

Parker-Pearson 1999, 97.

The criticism here shows that archaeology was beginning to examine its previous biases towards different sexes, and that the rise of feminist archaeology in the late 1990s and early 2000s was pushing archaeological theory into a critical era, especially for mortuary archaeology where these gender biases are especially more apparent. This rise of feminist archaeology and the archaeology of gender was accompanied, a little later, by an idea of intersectionality; this is the acceptance of the various sections of identity, such as sexuality, gender, class, and race (Springate 2020). Indeed, the study of sexuality in archaeology came directly from feminist and gender archaeology and is now being examined more in recent years since it became less taboo (Springate 2020). This change started to occur in the early 2000s, and since then there has been a considerable amount of movement in queer archaeology (Gilchrist 1999; Blackmore 2011, 2015; Spencer-Wood 2011; Bolger 2012; Jorgensen-Rideout 2017; Dempsey 2019; Fernandez-Laso 2019; Wihlborg 2020).

In the past decade queer theory and intersectional approaches to archaeology have continued to advance challenging binaries such as sex and gender moving toward a more nuanced approach to identity. Challenging the "binary binds" of sex and gender - the belief in a two sex model of man and woman as well as a second binary bind that sex is a biological fact and that gender is a social construct is currently at the forefront of queer archaeology (Ghisleni et al. 2016). With particular reference to the British Iron Age Edwards and Pope (2012, 467) disseminate the idea that class and sex-based social hierarchies are not universally applicable to Iron Age British societies, moving away from modern biases and instead employing mortuary evidence in order to understand gender identity. Jordan (2016, 897) elucidated that "beginning by not beginning with men and women may allow us to open that maintain simultaneous differences... not to deny that men and women may have existed, or that certain artefacts may have conveyed a gendered meaning, but to refrain from excluding other routes to identity, personhood, or significance before analysis begins". Arnold (2016, 833-834) argues for the use of intersectionality, an approach commonly used in a modern context within gender studies, however, the rejection of social categories as a whole might be the most successful way to deconstruct the binary binds found within Iron Age archaeology. Intersectionality allows for both the possibility of gender within a binary but also those outside of such a binary,

Linked with this deconstruction of binary binds, and the use of intersectionality within archaeological theory are the ideas of personhood, identity, and agency. Giles (2012) criticises previous approaches to identity within archaeology, that identity was fixed, innate, driven by factors outside of the individual; "the key problem with many

of the above approaches is that they lack any concept of human agency: a sense that people's identity was affected by what they *did* over the course of their lives". In short, Giles (2012, 37) argues that a person's identity is shaped and formed throughout their lives (and even in their death) is influenced by the world around them, and their relationships within and with that world.

Adding further complexities to the study of Iron Age mortuary archaeology aDNA and the binary male/female model it could encourage, is becoming a far more common method of investigation. Crellin and Harris (2020, 44-45) present a new approach to the study of aDNA, by approaching aDNA in a way that does not allow for any binary models, in order to create an accurate understanding of the past, and to prevent modern biases from affecting archaeological investigation. Secondly by approaching identity in such a way that "does not privilege a particular mode of being human" and that does not cut the body off from its wider contextual environment. Understanding that the body, and identity, is a product of its environment and the separation from this environment is the cause of reducing the body "to the status of its nature, and thus DNA is the essence of this nature." Finally, Crellin and Harris (2020, 44) state that no one piece of evidence should be overly relied upon in interpretation, because this leads to dualisms, and an incomplete understanding of the past.

Crellin and Harris (2020), advocate for a framework rooted in an ontological position, which provides a theoretical underpinning that allows for the study of the human past without binaries, or biases. Such a post-humanist approach is starting to be advocated for across the discipline of archaeology; this approach allows for a

relational view of human identity and society, opening up for the potential for research in more than one sphere.

This intersectional approach to identity, personhood, and agency is a driving theoretical factor behind this thesis. An intercategorical method, analysing age, social status, and gender (both binary and otherwise) as inextricably linked is key to further understanding identity in both study areas. This thesis will use an intersectional approach to dissecting Iron Age burial practices in Dorset and East Yorkshire in order to better understand the societies in which said practices originated.

2.3. The Iron Age in Dorset.

2.3.1. The Durotriges in Historical Sources – The Roman Civitas

The region of Dorset that forms one of the study regions in this thesis is referred to being inhabited by a tribal group known as "the Durotriges" (Papworth 2011, 22). The hypothesis that this area and the people which inhabited it had a group, or tribal, name at all implies that they were a cohesive, homogenous group of people, not only this but it is suggested that they had a common identity as well (Papworth 2011). The results identified in the Dorset dataset seem to counteract this thought, while there are patterns observable; they do not seem entirely homogenous in nature, however, there does seem to be cultural cohesion but up to a point. During the Roman conquest of Gaul around 50BC, Julius Caesar describes the people who were living there as being divided into tribal groups, and it is clear from these accounts that there was a distinction in political organisation and leadership between the different tribes (Papworth 2011, 22). Caesar also described the tribes of Britain in a similar way to how he described the tribes of Gaul, describing them as warlike and uncivilised (Caesar VI. 13-15). It was thought that the tribes were split into different administrative districts, as they had been in Gaul, (see fig 1.) each district had their own administrative centre (Papworth 2011, 23).

Many of the sites from the Dorset region used in this study have their origins in the EIA (prior to 600BC), however the majority of the evidence used dates to the Late Iron Age (from the 1st century BC through to the Roman Period in AD43) (Gale 2010, 98, 119). In some cases, it is impossible to extract the LIA data from the Early

Roman data, as burial practices in Dorset remained fairly constant, even through to the first and second centuries AD.



Figure 2:4 Tribal groups of southern Britain, as traditionally defined (Cunliffe 1991, 160).

Regarding the Durotriges in particular, the modern-day town of Dorchester has been established, by both the Romans and later archaeologists, as their Roman administrative centre. Although, the tribal suffix *Durotrigum* does not appear in any historical sources, instead variant forms of *Durnonovaria* and *Durnovaria* appear in the Antonine Itinerary (Russell 2010, 30). Russell does go on to write that the idea that Dorchester was the administrative centre for the Durotriges in lieu of any official source is speculative in nature. There is nothing in any historical sources (such as a mile marker) to suggest that the city was a tribal centre, rather than just a town of import (Russell 2010, 30). The sources that do exist are few, and they are not

particularly descriptive, though they do prove that the Durotriges did exist in some form. Although they do not prove that Dorchester was anything more than an important town in Roman Britain, there is nothing to suggest that it was the administrative centre for the Durotriges. There are two sources (inscriptions in stones) which originate from Hadrian's Wall, and the original source of them is unknown, they read:

C DUROTRG... ENDINESIS

and:

CI DUROTRAG LENDINIESI...

According to Russell (2010, 30), this translates roughly to 'derived from the Civitas of the Durotrages / Durotriges at Lendinesis / Lendiniesis / Lindinis'. Russell then states that the spelling of Durotrages rather than Durotriges could possibly mean that the current spelling (Durotriges) is wrong or that the inscription cutter made a mistake. Although the latter is unlikely, according to Rivet and Smith (1979, 352), as a member of the civitas that would have been literate to the point of being tasked with cutting the inscription would have been unlikely to get the name of his own tribe wrong. Russell argues that the cutter may have simply been more familiar with the spoken word rather than the written version of the tribe. In any case, these two inscriptions do show that there was a group of people living in Roman Britain that identified with the name Durotriges (Russell 2010, 30).

Another written source that mentions the existence of the Durotriges is Ptolemy (Geographia), this is, chronologically the earliest mention of the word. Rivet and Smith (1979) analysed the sources Ptolemy used and concluded that they likely dated to the mid first century: in order to do this, Rivet and Smith used the town names that were included in the document, as well as those that were not. Excavations conducted in Dorchester during the early 1990s indicate that the Roman town was constructed later than its neighbours in other tribal areas (Woodward et al. 1993, 359). Dorchester is thought to have been built around AD65-70, which led archaeologists to believe that the Durotriges were hostile towards the incoming Romans, as this is much later than other *civitates* (such as: Silchester, Cirencester, and Exeter) in the south west (Gale 2003; Russell 2010, 31; Papworth 2011, 27). Ptolemy also mentions the legionary base of Usk in South Wales, which has been proven to pre-date Caerleon before AD74, using older sources such as Marinus of Tyre (Rivet and Smith 1979, 115). Therefore, it can be argued that Ptolemy was writing Geographia, using the recorded names of peoples living in the south west of Britain, written into older sources within twenty years of the Roman conquest (Papworth 2011, 26). Ptolemy wrote:

"to the west and south of these [the Belgae] are the Durotriges amongst whom is the polis of Dunium"

The size and archaeology of Dorchester suggests that this was indeed the *civitas* related to the area, although the previously mentioned *Lindinis*, actually refers to lichester, a town in south Somerset (Russell 2010, 30). *Dunium*, however, was thought to have been Maiden Castle by Mortimer Wheeler, although Rivet and Smith

theorise that Ptolemy was actually referring to Hod Hill as this hillfort is closer to the co-ordinates given by Ptolemy. Archaeologically speaking, however, during the Roman period, Dorchester presents itself as a more likely candidate for the *polis/civitas* due to its size, location, and layout (Papworth 2011, 26).

The archaeological and historical record pertaining to the people that inhabited the Dorset region during the Iron Age is thus unclear, and there are many areas where neither history nor archaeology are able to provide an answer to who the Durotriges were. It is likely that the inhabitants of Iron Age Dorset would not have considered themselves part of a distinct hierarchical tribal structure. They would more likely have co-existed in settlements in relatively close proximity as Papworth (2008, 374) and Russell and Cheetham (2017, 2-5) argue. This is evidenced in the results of the data analysis in this thesis.

2.3.2. Early Archaeological Work in Dorset

During the sixteenth century William Camden, John Leyland, and John Aubrey used historical accounts such as Ptolemy's *Geographia* in order to provide a link to the people of Dorset and their ancient ancestors (Papworth 2011, 30). In 1774, for example, Reverend John Hutchins reviewed these earlier texts for evidence pertaining to Dorset and the Durotriges. Charles Warne, in his 1872 volume, *Ancient Dorset*, wrote that every pre-Roman earthwork in Dorset could be attributed to the Durotriges, showing a wish to relate to ancient ancestors which was central to archaeology of the time (Papworth 2011, 30). These earlier descriptions of Iron Age archaeology tended to focus more towards large above ground monuments, such as the hillforts; John Leyland noted that South Cadbury had one been thought to have

been Camelot (Papworth 2011, 30). Archaeology of this type was romantic in nature and often focused on legendary figures in ancient British history, such as King Arthur of Camelot (Papworth 2011, 30-31).

It is in the latter half of the nineteenth century where we see a version of archaeological interpretation that is closer to what modern archaeologists believe today. Dorset has been a region of heavy archaeological focus since the earliest days of archaeological study, but in the late 1800s there were many archaeologists working in Dorset such as: General Pitt-RiversFox (Gale 2003, 95).

Perhaps one of the most distinguishable artefacts available to Late Iron Age studies are coins, and work on these first began later in the nineteenth century with a study on pre-Roman British coins conducted in the 1860s by Sir John Evans. After a series of similarities were discovered in this study, the idea that the Durotriges were a distinct people inhabiting Dorset was accepted by the archaeological community of the time (Evans 1864, 101-102; Papworth 2011, 30).

The first plans of Eggardon Hill, a hillfort in Dorset were drawn in 1774 by John Hutchins (fig 2:5), and this was improved upon by Charles Warne in the late nineteenth century. Warne's 1872 revision of Hutchins' plan included a more detailed study of the construction and form of the earthworks, as well as more consideration of surface features such as hut platforms and other finds that were associated with the Iron Age hillfort (Gale 2017, 1). This archaeological print was soon joined by several more before the latter half of the nineteenth century, when Richard Colt Hoare commissioned earthwork surveys of Gussage Cow Down, as well as a banjo

enclosure on Cranborne Chase; these surveys were some of the most detailed archaeological surveys conducted at the time (Papworth 2011, 31). During the survey work in 1816, at Ham Hill, Somerset, human remains were discovered by quarrymen; these too were recorded by Colt Hoare (Papworth 2011, 31). Although the plans of these hillforts that were drawn during this period of archaeological study are fairly basic in comparison to what can be achieved using modern-day survey techniques, they are still a valuable record of early work within Iron Age studies in Dorset, and archaeology as a whole (Papworth 2011, 31; Gale 2017; 1).

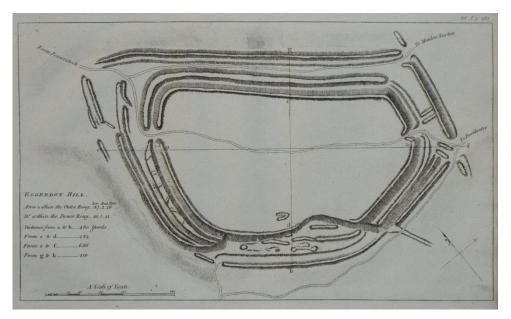


Figure 2:5 Hutchins' original plan of Eggardon Hill hillfort, Dorset, 1774.

During the nineteenth century there was a rise in antiquaries and collectors; there are few records of the finds that were made, such as the collection of artefacts collated by Henry Durden. The artefacts originated at Hod Hill, and the collection was started in 1841 with most of the finds being lifted in around 1858 when the hillfort was first being ploughed and then again in 1865 when cultivation started in the interior of the Roman fort (Longworth and Haith 1992, 151-160; Papworth 2011,

32). The first scientific excavation started at Hod Hill in the late 1890s, showed the Durden had dug into the unploughed areas. Professor Boyd-Dawkins, who was in charge of the 1897 excavations, was highly critical of Durden's work stating that both the hillfort and the Roman fortifications had been "ransacked by Mr Durden" (Boyd-Dawkins 1900, 57). This excavation at Hod Hill, and those at Glastonbury Lake Village, and Meare were part of the growing number of more scientific investigation into the archaeological past during the early twentieth century (Papworth 2011, 32).

2.3.3. Archaeology in Dorset during the early twentieth century

Although publication and the use of science still had not reached modern day standards, the records that were kept in the early twentieth century were much closer to those archaeologists use today. A prime example of early twentieth century archaeology is the excavations that took place on a prominent Iron Age site in Dorset, Hengistbury Head. The site was threatened with a housing development and the excavation that took place to preserve the archaeological material was a very early example of rescue archaeology (Bushe-Fox 1915, 5). The excavation took six months to complete; strip trenches were dug in order to cause as little damage to the archaeological potential of the site, and the speed at which the excavation took place, and the report was published was an excellent model for the time (Bushe-Fox 1915; Papworth 2011, 33).

During the 1920s and into the 1930s excavations continued to be carried out on large hillforts such as those at Ham Hill in 1923 which were led by Harold St George

Gray. The excavation focussed on the north west spur of the hillfort, and the results were published as interim reports in the Somerset Proceedings (St George Gray 1926). The reports do read as very close to modern-day excavation reports and include pictures of the site as well as drawings of the finds (St George Gray 1926, plate XIV). This shows that archaeology in the southwest, during the early twentieth century was setting the foundations for the reports of the latter half of the century.

Not only were techniques in excavation becoming more modernised, but techniques in archaeological survey were also growing more sophisticated than ever before. The work of Alexander Keiller and O.G.S Crawford in the realm of aerial photography was some of the most significant and pioneering work done in this era. Although the focus of their work was not necessarily restricted to Iron Age sites, more than a few were included in their synthesis of archaeological monuments in Dorset and Wiltshire. Hillforts such as Hod, Hambledon and Bradbury Rings; as well as settlements sites such as Gussage Cow Down and Nadder-Wyle Ridge were all photographed, this would become a forerunner for a lot of the non-intrusive survey work to come (Bowden 2001).

2.3.4. Maiden Castle and the Mid Twentieth Century

In the 1930s Christopher Hawkes (1959) published his ABC of the British Iron Age and it was this chronology that Mortimer Wheeler (1943) used in his excavation of Maiden Castle hillfort (fig 2:6). According to this chronology, hillforts like Maiden Castle were built by the 'Iron Age B' people, invaders from Spain and Brittany (Wheeler 1943, 381-387; Payne *et al.* 2006, 4; Papworth 2011, 33-34). Wheeler's

excavation of Maiden Castle remains significant even today, partially due to the sheer scale of the site, but also because it was one of the first major inland hillforts in Dorset to be excavated (Wheeler 1943). Hawkes (1944, 157) commented, when reviewing Wheeler's volume documenting the excavations that "The future will assuredly wonder rather, that in these years so magnificent a volume should have appeared at all".

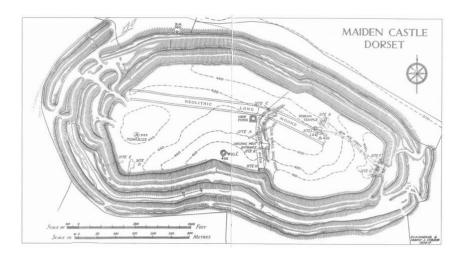


Figure 2:6 Wheeler and Gordon's site plan of Maiden Castle, Dorset, 1934-7 (Piggott 1978:58-9).

After the excavations finished at Maiden Castle, Wheeler's team went on to excavate two more inland Dorset hillforts, Poundbury and Chalbury Camp. At Chalbury Camp, the roundhouses that were revealed upon excavation were thought to have been abandoned during the last few years of the Iron Age A period, whereas the lack of settlement at Poundbury indicated difference in the way hillforts were used and occupied (Papworth 2011, 34). This was the first record of such a distinction in Dorset. There were several more important excavations that took place during the 1940s and 1950s, such as those at Blackmore Vale, the Isle of Purbeck and Allard's Quarry (Williams 1950, 34-56; Papworth 2011, 35). This era set the foundation for the future excavations that would take place in the 1960, 1970s, and 1980s. The

reports that came out of these excavations are recognisably more scientific than those their preceding archaeologists produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

2.3.5. Hod Hill and Beyond – The Late Twentieth Century

The initial excavations at Hod Hill took place during the late 1940s and then went through eight seasons of excavations from 1951 through to 1958. Directed by lan Richmond, earthworks of roundhouses were investigated as well as cut sections of ramparts. The work was published after Richmond's death and thus was written at a much earlier time explaining why the chronology was framed through the use of the ABC system (Richmond 1968). Archaeologists of the time were largely positive about the treatment of the Roman parts of the hillfort, however, there was a consensus that the pre-Roman occupation evidence was not well treated in the report. Wheeler (1968, 150) remarks "if looking back on what I have here written, I detect a recurrent sense of disappointment" and Hawkes (1969, 301) discusses "only re-examining of Hod... can now do justice to the pre-Roman story". The pottery section of the report was lacking as well as being examined within the then (and now) out of date ABC system. However, the earthwork surveys and excavated remains were of quality and revealed good survival archaeologically; this allowed a settlement pattern to be understood to a higher level of detail than any before (Papworth 2011, 36).

During the 1960s, the excavations taking place in Somerset on South Cadbury hillfort are particularly significant; this is due to the fact that they were ongoing whilst the ABC system was breaking down, and in 1964, Frank Hodson showed that attributing changes in culture to invasions from Europe was unsustainable (Hodson 1964, 99). The report, published in 2000 showed highly detailed and extensive excavations took place in the interior of the hillfort which was an attempt to show the extent of building activity organisation rather than simply focusing on rampart construction as earlier reports did (Papworth 2011, 37).

In the early 1970s Dr Geoffrey Wainwright excavated Gussage All Saints, a heavily plough damaged enclosure. Much like the site of Little Woodbury (excavated in 1938 by Dr Bersu) which he used as a comparison site, Wainwright chose to totally excavate Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979). This excavation showed that Gussage All Saints had been occupied from the Early Iron Age right through first century AD (Wainwright 1979). Although Little Woodbury and Gussage All Saints had very little in common, and so the comparison Wainwright attempted was perhaps redundant. However, the excavation was still significant as "taken together they may complement what is missing from each to furnish us with the fullest impression yet available of Iron Age settlement in Wessex" (Harding 1982, 449).

During the 1980s, the coming of developer funded archaeology prompted more exploration of the Dorset Iron Age than ever before, giving rise to many excavations all over the county, including Allington Avenue, Dorchester by-pass, and Poundbury (Sparey-Green 1987; Smith et al. 1997; Davies et al. 2002). Excavations now attempted to place sites within the context of their landscape, prompting extensive

excavations at hillforts such as Danebury, which is outside the study area, being followed by research into their wider environment (Cunliffe 2000). This is also true of the research carried out at Maiden Castle, where in the late 1980s some of Wheeler's trenches were reopened in order to analyse new samples and better understand the transition from the Neolithic through to the Roman period (Sharples 1991). Understanding the development of the east gate where an Iron Age cemetery had been discovered by Wheeler and his team was also a priority for the excavation. A landscape survey was then conducted, which used many archaeological techniques in order to better understand the hillfort and the environment surrounding it (Sharples 1991). Sharples was also instrumental in highlighting the differences in culture between areas within the Durotrigian zone (fig 2:7).

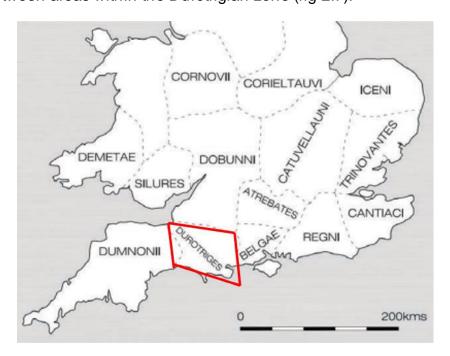


Figure 2:7 A map of tribal zones in Iron Age Britain with the Durotrigian zone highlighted roughly in red (Russell 2011, 28).

This era in archaeological practice saw the increase of different geophysical and survey techniques, meaning that larger areas of the landscape could be considered

in an archaeological report. Thus, this era also witnessed the upsurge in popularity of landscape archaeology. Hillforts were being considered in their wider context in the landscape and archaeology was focussed perhaps more on the meaning behind monuments rather than their construction (Papworth 2011).

2.3.6. The Twenty-First Century

During the first decades of the twenty-first century several large works were published each of them trying to understand the Durotrigian identity through the previously excavated material culture (Papworth 2008; Papworth 2011). These works rely on coin distribution, burial formation, and settlement patterns in order to piece together the differences and similarities to try and find a tribal identity (Gale 2003; Papworth 2008; Papworth 2011). Also, in the first half of the decade, the Durotriges project was launched by Professor Miles Russell of Bournemouth University, "the project was intended to move away from hillforts, a type of archaeological monument that has dominated the literature of this period, to see whether an examination of more open rural settlements could shed light on Iron Age tribal society" (Russell *et al.* 2013, 1). This shows a shift in the way that the Iron Age in Dorset was being examined archaeologically, however, there is still this pervading idea that the Iron Age in Britain was made up of tribal groups that were a distinct culture.

The idea that the notion of tribal groups may not be as cut and dry as it had been thought, is the central tenet behind Tom Moore's 2011 paper, wherein he states that the way the tribes are named may not have been how they actually identified as they

were formalised for the administrative purposes of the Roman Empire (Moore 2011).

If true, this could explain the sheer number of cultural differences (such as differences in burial rite, settlements) exhibited by the Durotriges, which has been a theme through all research done on the Iron Age in Dorset.

Also, in the last decade, there has been new research into how the hillforts were used, and the idea that they were the focus of the resistance against the invasion of Rome has been questioned. Reassessment of the remains discovered by Wheeler (1943), and evidence provided in the more recent investigations into Maiden Castle have shown that the siege and battle and the archaeological layers pertaining to the massacre might be revised. As a pervading aspect of Iron Age inhumation in Dorset seemed to have been the reuse of older earthworks, and so the human remains found by Wheeler may be reinterpreted (Sharples 1991, 125; Russell *et al.* 2014, 220-221; Russell *et al.* 2017, 108-109; Russell 2019, 327). Advancements in the field of osteology have certainly helped, since the days of Wheeler in the 1930s and 40s, the advent of radiocarbon dating proved that the individuals found in the war cemetery had died violent deaths but had done so over many different periods of time (Redfern 2011, 131-133; Russell 2019, 328).

From this, we can see the shift from belief that the Durotriges tribe, inhabitants of Iron Age Dorset, battled the Roman army in their hillforts to the idea that there may not have even been a people that called themselves "Durotriges" at all, although archaeologists continue to refer to the people who inhabited the Durotrigian zone as Durotriges (Gale 2003; Russell 2010; Papworth 2011).

2.3.7. Durotrigian Coinage

From the very early days of Iron Age study, coinage has been used in order to draw boundaries between tribal zones, many maps that show these boundaries use coin distribution to draw the boarders (Papworth 2011, 43). In 1984 Lyn Sellwood plotted the distribution of coins between three different tribal zones (fig 5), and here it can be seen that there is a clear delineation of tribal boarders as well as contact between the groups (Sellwood 1984).

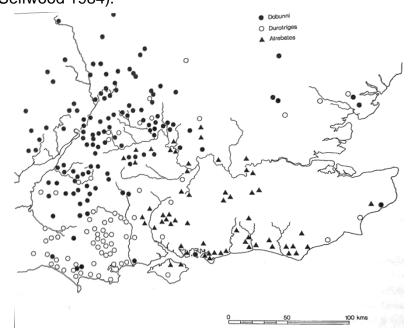


Figure 2:8 Distribution of Iron Age coins belonging to three tribal groups (Sellwood 1984,192).

Overall, between the tribal indicators available to us in the archaeological record of the Late Iron Age. By the middle of the nineteenth century there was already a link between certain coin types and the Durotriges (Evans 1864, 101-102; Warne 1872, 154; Papworth 2011, 55). Derek Allen (1968, 43-57) used the coins found at Hod Hill during previous excavations to create a description of Durotrigian coinage by making

comparisons with coins from other tribal zones, this work provided a base for later archaeologists to work from, (eg: Van Arsdell 1989, 347-351; Mays 1992). Haselgrove believes that the coins do not have any relevance to tribal groups, and instead theorises that they are simply regional differences, referring to the Durotrigian coins as 'south-western series' coins.

What coins were used for in the Iron Age is still a debated issue, there is a thought that the use of coins was purely for trade; it is widely accepted that coins served more as an expression of wealth (Allen 1976; Creighton 2000; Haselgrove 1987, 2005; Howgego 2013; Nash 1987; Wellington 2006; Bland *et al.* 2020). The fact that the coins were made of precious metals such as gold and silver, only reinforces the idea that they were being used to strengthen political power and to express high social standing (Bland *et al.* 2020, 64).

The precise dating of Durotrigian coins remains difficult, given that few stratified examples have been found during excavation. Although, the earliest coins tend to contain a higher percentage (80%) of silver where the later examples were cast from struck bronze (Papworth 2011, 56). Mays and Haselgrove (2000, 249) propose a three-phase progression of coinage being adopted by the Durotrigian people. The first phase began around Cranbourne Chase, and was then adopted in the Maiden Castle area, then finally around the time of the Roman Invasion, it spread to south Somerset (fig 2:9). Not only can the spread of coin distribution be compared with that of Poole Harbour pottery, but it can also be used to highlight the subdivisions that were present in the Durotrigian zone and the gradual adoption from east to west of pottery and coinage (Papworth 2011, 59).

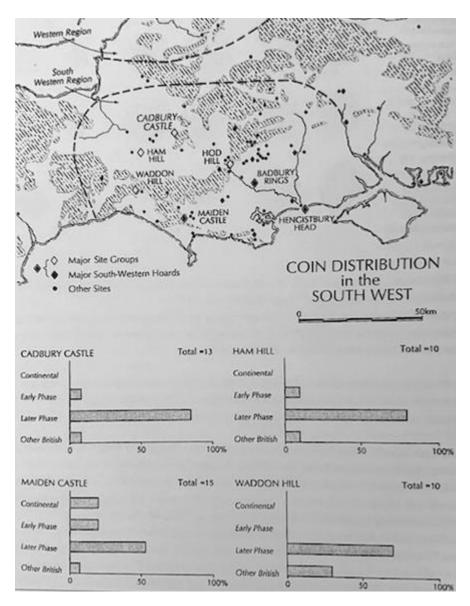


Figure 2:9 Coin hoards located in the Dorset environs (Haselgrove and Mays 2000, 249).

2.3.8. The Durotrigian Burial

Whimster (1981, 37) includes an entire chapter dedicated to the Durotrigian burials found in the south west, which displays a unique sub-tradition of burial rite. The funerary practice began in around the last few decades of the first century BC and then continued to the end of the first century AD, although there are some later examples (Whimster 1981, 45; Papworth 2011, 53; Harding 2016, 83). The issue with the term 'Durotrigian burial' is that, while the burials lie within the Durotrigian zone, they are not widespread within the area (fig 2:10).

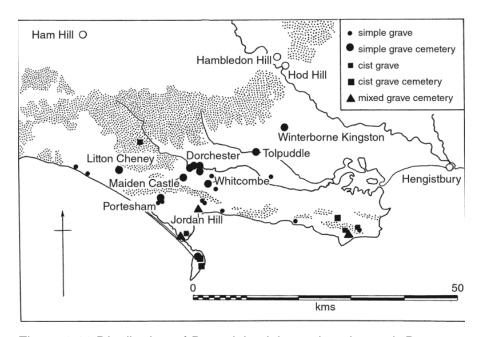


Figure 2:10 Distribution of Durotrigian inhumations in south Dorset (Harding 2016, 83).

The tradition includes crouched or flexed in inhumations in a shallow earth grave or, rarely, a stone lined cist. The individual is usually place on their right-hand side with

their head to the east; Durotrigian burials are also often found grouped into cemeteries such as that at the east gate of Maiden Castle (fig 2:7) (Papworth 2011, 53; Harding 2016, 83). Not only does the rite of inhumation itself set this tradition apart from the majority of funerary rites across Britain during the Iron Age, but the grave goods that are often associated with Durotrigian inhumations are unusual too. Goods such as pottery, joints of meat, jewellery, and mirrors are often found with burials that follow this tradition. Other personal items, such as toiletry sets, knives, and swords are also recovered from Durotrigian inhumations (Papworth 2011, 53-54). Pit burials found dating to around the first century BC are thought to have been the direct predecessors of the Durotrigian burial rite, and burials found at Max Gate and Allington Avenue are thought to be a later continuation of the same rite (Smith 1997, 291-292; Papworth 2011, 55).



Figure 2:11 A Durotrigian style inhumation from Poundbury (Wessex Archaeology 2013).

In conclusion the Durotriges of the later Iron Age appear to be a largely heterogenous amalgamation of familial groups, that may have had some practices in terms of burial rites, coinage, and material culture in common. The people inhabiting Dorset during the LIA were obviously influenced by Roman occupation, which occurred from AD43 onwards, it is impossible in some cases to distinguish between burials that date to the Iron Age, and those that date to the early Roman period; largely due to the fact that burials from this region lack close dating. This presents several concerns for this study that are not present when it comes to East Yorkshire.

2.4. The Iron Age in East Yorkshire

2.4.1. Historical Sources

East Yorkshire is referred to as the home of a tribe known as 'The Parisi' (Fig 1) (Halkon 2013). Much like the Durotriges, the Parisi are hypothesised as being a cohesive group, a culturally similar tribe that inhabited the area surrounding the Humber estuary (Halkon 2013). The Parisi are recorded by Ptolemy:

"Eboracon (Eboracum)

Legio VI Victrix (Victorious)

Camulodunum

Near a bay (gulf) suitable for a harbour (are) the Parisoi and the town (city) Petuaria."

(Ptolemy, Geographia 2.3.17)

The name 'Parisii' does also feature in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* but refers to the tribe that inhabited the area around modern-day Paris, France. Apart from some mentions of specific towns in the *Antonine Itinerary*, this is the only mention of the Parisi in ancient literature. There is a possibility that the two tribal groups may be connected in some way, either by migration of culture or people; this will be explored in greater detail below.



Figure 2:12 Distribution of Iron Age tribes in northern England, as traditionally defined, and their supposed locations (Cunliffe 2005, 211).

2.4.2. Antiquarianism to early archaeology in east Yorkshire

The interest and exploration of the Iron Age in east Yorkshire begins in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which is much the same as the rest of England; prior to this, Roman ruins were viewed mostly as building materials and were given little regard (Gaimster *et al.* 2007; Halkon 2013, 32). Leland did visit east Yorkshire, taking roads that followed the Roman ones, though he commented on Danes Graves "the 'Danish Field' observable for the many mounds for the slain" (Leland 1590), though he focussed mainly on earlier medieval ruins instead (Halkon 2013, 33). Camden is the first historian to pay proper attention to the Iron Age and Roman

archaeology in east Yorkshire and was also the first to equate the 'towns' that were mentioned by Ptolemy, and other documents dating to the Roman period such as the *Antonine Itinerary*, to those that still existed in Yorkshire in his time. The settlement of *Delgovitia*, which is a town name taken from the *Antonine Itinerary*, is mentioned as being "not farre from the banke, by Foulnesse a River of small account, where Wighton, a little Towne of Husbandry well inhabited now stood". The debate surrounding where *Delgovitia* actually was is, however, still on going, as with other towns mentioned by Camden and earlier Roman writers (Creighton 1988; Millett 2006; Halkon 2013).

Abraham De La Pryme in 1699 was the first antiquarian to comment on the mounds near Arras. He did intend to excavate the burial mounds believing them to be Roman in origin, however, he never actually fulfilled his intention (Halkon 2013). It was not until the early 1800s that the mounds were excavated by Stillingfleet, Hull, and Clarkson, where they made the discovery that the mounds dated to the Ancient Britons, later it would be found that the remains were Iron Age (Halkon 2013, 35). During the late eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century other discoveries pertaining to the Roman period and the Iron Age were made, during what was an explosion of antiquarianism and interest in antiquities in the north of England. These discoveries included one of the first scientific descriptions of pottery fabric, the excavation of one of the first Roman mosaics in East Riding, and in the 1730s a Roman road (Lister 1681–2, in Hutton et al. 1809, 518; Henrey 1986, 205; Williamson 1987; Halkon 2013, 36-8).

In 1721 the first recorded excavation of Iron Age barrows, Danes Graves, was recorded; several barrows were excavated (Stead 1979, 16; Halkon 2013, 41). Then in 1815 through to 1817 the aforementioned excavations at Arras occurred, dating the burial mounds identified by De La Pryme as 'Ancient British' in origin; also discovered during these excavations were several chariot burials. Further excavations were carried out at Arras in the 1850s, as well as some at the lowland barrow cemetery at Skipwith Common (Stead 1979; Halkon 2013, 42). Excavations in East Yorkshire focussed burial mounds continued into the late nineteenth century and through into the early twentieth century. These included the excavations as Danes Graves conducted by Mortimer where another chariot burial was discovered (fig 2) and North Grimston where an important Iron Age Burial accompanied by swords was excavated and wrongly dated as Roman by Mortimer (Mortimer 1905; Halkon 2013, 43).

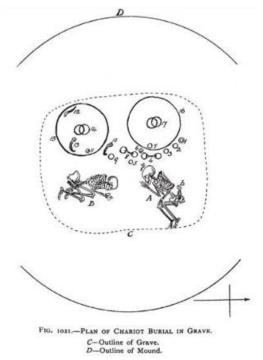


Figure 2:13 An illustration of the Danes
Graves chariot burial (Mortimer 1905, 359).

In 1836 the Roos Carr figures were discovered by labourers clearing a ditch, these wooden figures are among Yorkshires most celebrated finds, and have been more recently C14-dated to the Iron Age (Dent 2010, 101; Halkon 2013, 30). Warrior graves were also discovered at Bugthorpe and Grimthorpe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Stead 1979; Halkon 2013).

2.4.3. The early years of archaeology in East Yorkshire

A key figure in the development of a more rigorous method of archaeological work in east Yorkshire was Thomas Sheppard, who had been appointed Curator at Hull Museums and had been mentored by Mortimer (Halkon 2013). Sheppard was a major contributor to archaeology during this time, and he, along with Phillip Corder was responsible for excavating Throlam and discovering a major Roman pottery works there (Halkon 2013). During the 1930s, E.V. and C.W. Wright began excavating the foreshore of the Humber at North Ferriby where they, under the guidance of Corder, discovered imported wheel made pottery dating to the late Iron Age (Halkon 2013). A trial excavation was carried out in the same area, where more pottery and some brooches were found, but there was little structural evidence discovered. Corder suggested that this site was a trading post between the native inhabitants of the area and the wider Roman world (Corder and Davies Pryce 1938; Halkon 2013, 55-6). The site, which was highly significant laid dormant until the 1980s when work once again resumed under Ted Wright and Peter Didsbury (Crowther and Didsbury 1988; Halkon 2013, 56).

The 1950 discovery of pottery sherds at Staple Howe, Knapton, near Malton lead to an excavation of what is now known as a type-site for the British Iron Age (Brewster 1963; Halkon 2013, 57-8). At the time the excavations were taking place, it was believed that the site was a hilltop fortification for invaders from the continent; in the present day, however, this hypothesis has since been rejected (Hawkes 1963; Halkon 2013, 58). Brewster, who consulted on the Staple Howe pottery sherds, then began fieldwork at Garton Slack, which was being threatened by quarrying. Garton Slack turned out to be highly significant. Settlement remains of roundhouses and graves were excavated here, including the first modern excavation of a chariot burial (fig 2:14)

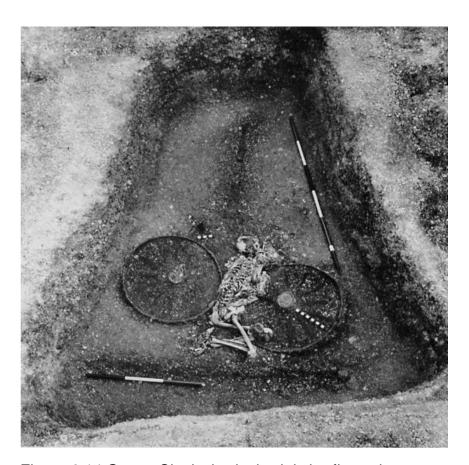


Figure 2:14 Garton Slack chariot burial, the first to be excavated by modern standards (Brewster 1971, plate XLII).

In the 1960s the East Riding Archaeological Society (ERAS) was founded, leading to further work and enthusiasm for archaeological investigation in the area. From 1963 onwards, the gravel extraction at Garton Slack was monitored, and any burials that were discovered there were cleared before they were destroyed, preserving the archaeological remains present at the site (Brewster 1980, 1; Dent 1983). Finds included chalk figurines and an iron currency bar. During this time work was being carried out at the medieval site of Ousethorpe, where a pit containing Iron Age pottery was excavated, although the full implications of this discovery was not fully understood (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 119). In the late 1950s and early 1960s, through to the 1970s, excavations took place in Hasholme Grange, and the so-called 'Pot Field', in which a complex of ditched enclosures and pottery sherds were found dating to the Iron Age with a furnace base dating to the Roman period (Manning 1975; Halkon 2013, 60).

In 1959-1961, I M Stead wrote a post-graduate thesis, *The La Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire*, which was published by the Yorkshire Philosophical Society in 1965. The book, despite it being highly influential and important in the world of the East Yorkshire archaeology, still mostly focusses on funerary archaeology and the section on settlement was omitted from the final published work (Stead 1979). Nonetheless, in spite of its short comings, the final work remains an excellent example of a comprehensive summary of the funerary archaeology associated with the Iron Age in East Yorkshire, something that had not been done before at the time the thesis was written.

Through the early days of archaeology, from the antiquarians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the early modern archaeologists of the early to midtwentieth century much of the attention surrounding the archaeological remains in east Yorkshire has fallen on those of a funerary nature, rather than the settlements. Archaeological investigation was also focussed heavily on the Wolds and, when the lowlands were explored, it was mainly in order to document the Roman roads (Wright 1990, 76; Halkon 2013, 62).

2.4.4. Iron Age archaeology in East Yorkshire, 1970-1999

In the mid-1970s there was a reform of local governments, and the Humberside County Council was set up. This meant that there was funding available for regionally based archaeological unit for the first time and so, the Humberside Archaeology Unit was formed. The unit then set about producing the *Survey of Archaeological Site in Humberside*, which catalogued archaeological remains in Humberside, using a variety of different sources such as: The Ordnance Survey, Yorkshire Archaeological society, and Hull Museum records. This work would then form the basis of the Humberside Sites and Monument Record, however the first major work focussing on archaeology from the Roman period and the Iron Age would be Herman Ramm's *The Parisi*, published in 1978. Ramm's work was a comprehensive overview of the tribe's history, including its origins. Ramm drew on knowledge gain from his years working for the Royal Commission, noting cropmarks, earthworks and various excavations (Ramm 1978).

Also of note is the excavation of a Roman fort at Hayton by Dr Stephen Johnson after a series of photographs revealed the forts existence in 1974. The fort was found to overlay an Iron Age settlement and was found to have dated to the Roman advance into Yorkshire, around AD71 (Johnson 1978). This is important, given the aforementioned tendency of archaeologists in East Yorkshire to focus on the funerary archaeology such as the barrow cemeteries.

During the gravel extraction at Garton Slack, a large barrow cemetery was discovered, totalling over 200 individual barrows. At the time the archaeologist attached to the quarry, whose purpose it was to watch as the quarrying took place and make sure any archaeology was properly excavated, was being phased out, however the discovery in 1975/6 was important enough for J.S. Dent to be employed for a further few years until 1981. Dent was able to maintain a watching brief in order to be able to access the site to excavate if necessary, the quarry owner was fully cooperative with archaeologists on the site. This co-operation between the archaeologists and the quarry owner was important, especially in 1984 when a chariot burial was discovered on site; not long after that, two more chariot burials were found (Dent 2017). The Garton Slack excavations also unearthed settlement data for the area (fig 2:15), something that had not been featured in great detail particularly in earlier archaeological work. J.S. Dent disseminated:

"Here at Garton-Wetwang, for the first time, was an extensive settlement in which diagnostic indigenous elements occurred in association with square barrows".

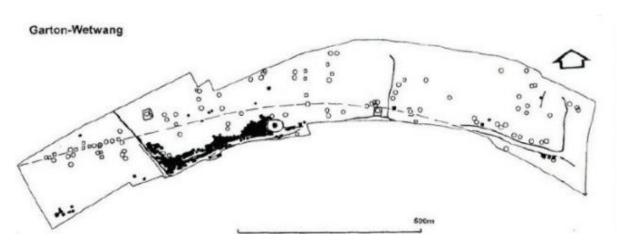


Figure 2:15 Iron Age settlement remains at Garton-Wetwang and the area excavated between 1970 and 1984, with roundhouses and post-squares shown open and, square barrows and ditches filled. A line of a presumed track is shown as a dotted line (Dent 2017, 62).

Between 1967 and 1979 over 700 Arras culture burials were excavated, mainly in the Wetwang Slack and Burton Fleming/Rudston Parishes. Also, between 1984 and 1987 five chariot burials were discovered which finally allowed archaeologists to use geophysical techniques in order to further understand the nature of such a burial and the results it would produce in terms of magnetometry (Stead 1991, 3). Obviously through this time, advancement in scientific techniques such as geophysics and radiocarbon dating allowed for the archaeological remains of the Arras culture to be properly dated and therefore understanding of the Iron Age in East Yorkshire was greatly increased. In particular, the reimagined volume by Stead, published in 1991 changed the 1979 thesis by increasing detail and scope adding a far more scientific approach, including a whole section on scientific analyses (Stead 1991). Alongside Stead's excavations the British Museum East Yorkshire Settlements Project (Rigby 2004) sampled pits in settlements which were revealed through the use of aerial

photography in order to provide a more accurate dating sequence for Iron Age Pottery of the region.

2.4.5. Current trends – archaeology in East Yorkshire 2000-2021

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, where previous archaeologists had focussed purely on funerary monuments left behind by the people who had once inhabited East Yorkshire, attention shifted towards settlement, economy, and diet. Archaeologists were more focussed on the lives of the people who had called this area of northern Britain home, rather than recording the monuments they left behind. This is evidenced by a 2005 paper written by Peter Halkon and Jim Innes, where the landscape and environment of East Yorkshire was examined throughout prehistory. The paper found that people living in East Yorkshire around the time the Parisi were supposed to have existed, had cleared significant amounts of forest in order to farm crops, cereals being a focus (Halkon and Innes 2005, 248).

During the Early Iron Age, there were dramatic changes to the landscape that took place in East Yorkshire; the coastline shifted, and new tidal inlets were created. These changes allowed the inhabitants of the region easy access to the trade routes (Halkon and Innes 2005, 247). Unlike the colder, wetter, Early Iron Age, the later Iron Age climate facilitated an increased amount of agricultural and settlement activity around East Yorkshire (Halkon and Innes 2005, 248), although there were large areas of managed woodland left along the Foulness valley in order to sustain the iron industry (Halkon and Innes 2005, 248). This deforestation in order to make way

for cereal crops is imitated in lowland areas making the landscape that the Parisi inhabited very open; this is, according to Halkon and Innes (2005, 248) a sharp contrast to what human activity is visible in the Early Iron Age. The article concludes stating that there was a multifaceted impact of environmental change during prehistory, including the Iron Age, especially the dramatic changes seen in the early Iron Age and late Bronze Age (Halkon and Innes 2005, 250).

This change from focussing on death and burial into studying the changes in physical environment and trying to understand the affect those changes would have had on people living in East Yorkshire during the later Iron Age is significant. The change heralded the shifting of focus from monumental death and burial into an archaeology more engaged with economy, settlement, and the individual aspects of those fields. This was also the start of day-to-day living being examined more frequently, rather than the extra-ordinary taking precedent, archaeologists in this period examined the ordinary much more readily.

Another aspect of day-to-day life in the Iron Age that was being studied during the early 2000s was diet, there were two studies published in 2006 and 2008 that aimed to understand the diet ordinary people in the Iron Age were consuming. The first study, from 2006 used carbon and nitrogen values for human and animal bone collagen from Wetwang Slack in order to ascertain the diet of people living there during the middle Iron Age (Jay and Richards 2006). While the technique used to analyse bone collagen levels is not new, this study does mark a change in the way the Iron Age in East Yorkshire was studied. Archaeologists had previously investigated the large cemeteries and the burial monuments found within them (Jay

and Richards 2006, 654). With new studies such as this one, archaeologists were focussing on the diet, economy, and settlements of the people that used those cemeteries.

The results of the study found that people living in Wetwang Slack during the Middle Iron Age had a diet that was high in protein that did not contain a significant amount of any sea food; due to the nature of the testing, this implies that seafood made up less than 10% of their diet. The study also showed the diet did not change according to sex, age, or status. Values indicated that the adult population of Wetwang Slack was not particularly mobile and only a few seem to move around or originated in another area (Jay and Richards 2006, 661). The study suggested that the diet being the same across sex, age, and status groups was unusual given that grave goods showed a stratified society, however, Jay and Richards (2006, 661) mention that there are ethnographic examples of such societies sharing similar diets.

Another paper which aimed to understand diet in the Iron Age was published in 2008, this study focussed on breastfeeding. Using the same technique of analysing bone collagen levels in infant remains, again from Wetwang Slack. This study found that there seemed to be restricted levels of breastfeed at Wetwang, and the levels of collagen found in bones suggested that infants were not breastfeed exclusively for their first year of life (Jay *et al.* 2008, 336). The data suggests that breastmilk was supplemented possibly by animal milk or a plant-based gruel (Jay *et al.* 2008, 336). This study was an important step towards where archaeology is as a discipline in the 2020s. Here we see a departure from the disciplines previous focus of the burial

monuments and chariot burial and instead there is a focus on the everyday life people may have experienced during the Iron Age.

This movement toward understanding life in the Iron Age also involved a new interest in ritual, art, and spirituality. Where archaeologists had been more focussed on the monumental aspects of death and burial, in the later 2000s there was an upsurgence in archaeologists that were trying to understand the ritual behind the monuments and the art that went alongside them. One such study was conducted by Melanie Giles in a 2008 paper entitled "Seeing red: the aesthetics of martial objects in the British and Irish Iron Age.".

In this paper Giles used weaponry found alongside individuals from various cemeteries of the East Yorkshire Iron Age, including Wetwang and Garton Slack, Rudston, Burton Fleming, Kirkburn, Cowlam, and Garton Station. Using the osteoarchaeological data from these sites, Giles concludes that only thirty-four out of the eight hundred and fourteen total burials showed any signs of a violent death (Brewster 1980; Stead 1991; Giles 2008, 66). Although, there may have been other individuals that died as a result of violence, as only the deepest wounds would leave any skeletal evidence (Giles 2008, 67). Giles also criticises past archaeologists for "pacification of the past", wherein these pacified models were a direct reaction to the stereotype of the war loving celt (Giles 2008, 66). Instead of this view of an egalitarian, peaceful society or the stereotypical opposite, Giles provides a more balanced understanding of the East Yorkshire Iron Age.

Giles discusses the use of art in order to maintain control over people, to show power and to instil admiration, and "covetousness" in recipients alongside a sense of defeat in that these gifts could never be matched (Giles 2008, 69). Giles (2008, 70) goes on to explain how the chariots found with certain individuals were both vehicles of communication and relation, as well as how they symbolised a hierarchical society in that they allowed some individuals the privilege of being driven. The chariots cemented societal roles and added to the performance of arrival through both aural and visual effects; they allowed other individuals to show off through the prowess and dexterity of driving the chariot (Giles 2008, 70). This approach, analysing society through the art and objects it produced was a new approach in archaeologists studying the East Yorkshire Iron Age. Giles adds to the understanding of what the Iron Age would have sounded and looked like through the use of the chariots and what was found with them. This metaphorical approach differed from previous ways of understanding archaeology, which was more so focussed on the physical remains.

This trend in exploring identity, economy, and settlement in the East Yorkshire Iron Age continued into the second decade of the twenty-first century. Though more prominent in this decade was the idea of landscape and how may have affected the people that inhabited it. This idea of landscape and identity is best explored in Melanie Giles' 2013 book "A Forged Glamour: Landscape, Identity and Material Culture in the Iron Age." Giles aims to understand the landscape of East Yorkshire and then through that the people that lived in the area during the mid to late Iron Age. In drawing together the study of landscape and material culture in order to further understanding of identity during the Iron Age, Giles is exploring these concepts through a new lens. Giles criticises early archaeologists in using

archaeological material in order to appeal to colonial ideals and furthering racial stereotypes. Giles theorises that these problematic approaches "stem from their simplistic attitude towards people, place and objects.". In this book Giles aims to understand identity in different way than archaeologists of the past had understood it, using the concept of agency to inform her assessment of the identity of the people who lived in the East Yorkshire Iron Age. Giles argues that:

"Archaeologists have therefore tended to focus on the key attributes which distinguish such groups – a burial rite, a distinctive type of pottery – rather than exploring what binds them in common with other people."

(Giles 2013, 31)

Instead of the notion that identity is controlled by external factors, Giles argues that identity is something that is innate to every person, and that one's identity is built upon by the actions one takes in the world (Giles 2013, 31).

Also, in the early 2010s Peter Halkon's seminal work "The Parisi: Britons and Romans in Eastern Yorkshire" was published, this book acted as a summary of much of the work previously undertaken by archaeologists studying the East Yorkshire Iron Age. In this work, Halkon touches on the debate surrounding the language used in order to describe communities inhabiting East Yorkshire during the Iron Age. Halkon (2013, 14) follows Moore's argument (2011), describing the term tribe as "worthy of some scrutiny" and "not always supported by archaeological

evidence". Halkon (2013, 14) concludes, however, by stating that the concentration of "particular traits in material culture... seem, however, to indicate a distinctive identity in the Iron Age and Roman periods". Halkon also aimed to bring together different streams of archaeology, such as landscape archaeology, in order to further the understanding of the era. In bringing together different forms of archaeological study, Halkon moved away from the more limited forms of work archaeologists had been doing in previous decades (Halkon 2013). This is also true of the 2017 collection of papers collated and edited by Halkon.

Overall, this period in archaeological study on the Iron Age in East Yorkshire can be summarised as being truly interdisciplinary and holistic in a way that archaeology in this area had not been before. Works published in the last ten years, apart from excavation reports perhaps, tend to bring together several streams of archaeological investigation, this can be seen in Halkon's 2013 and 2017 publications, as well as Chittock's 2016 thesis "Pattern and Purpose in Iron Age East Yorkshire.". Although the last few years has not been without excavation, such as those at Brough South which were conducted in 2017 and then the report published in 2020 (Moon et al. 2020). There have also been extensive excavations at Pocklington, including that of a chariot burial (Stephens and Ware 2020). Archaeology in the last ten years has further diversified through both its use of theory as well as scientific techniques that aim to deepen our understanding of the Iron Age in East Yorkshire.

2.4.6. Death and Burial in the East Yorkshire Iron Age

The burial monuments, and the remains contained within them have been the focus of many different studies centred around the Iron Age in East Yorkshire. This is due to the monuments being the most obvious remnants of the time visible to both the antiquarians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the archaeologists in more recent times. Many of the burials in this dataset date to the EIA and MIA (prior to the 2nd century BC). The most recent study, focussing solely on death and burial was conducted by Dennis Harding and formed part of his book entitled "Death and Burial in Iron Age Britain.". Harding argues that previously, archaeologists believed the square ditched barrows and chariot burials that form the foundation of burial rites in East Yorkshire during the Iron Age, originated on the continent. The La Tène barrows and chariot burials did have some similarities with those of the Yorkshire rite, and as such it was thought the rite migrated through immigration from France to Britain. Harding, however, states:

"The Yorkshire burials differed in significant detail from their continental counterparts and lacked any evidence for material imports"

(Harding 2017, 19)

Thus, in Harding's view, the early notion of some kind of immigration bringing the burial rite to East Yorkshire has since been disproven due to the differences between the continental rite and that of the Parisi. Nonetheless, Halkon (2013, 122) still

asserts that the burials have some kind of European origin, however, it is the square barrows that Halkon states "extends from the Czech Republic to the east and Dorset to the west.". Clearly, there is still some debate between archaeologists about the true origins of each part of the East Yorkshire burial rite. Nevertheless, the rite shared by the majority of the population in the Iron Age in East Yorkshire has been relatively well defined, whether it originated on the continent or not.

According to Stead (1991), Dent (1995; 2010) and Halkon (2013, 123) the square barrows can be defined by three groups:

- 1 large enclosures with no surviving central burial. These occupy earlier parts of the cemetery.
- 2 enclosures of varying size with shallow or (rarely) deep graves. These would occupy early and middle stages of the cemetery.
- 3 the enclosures are small; they are sometimes curvilinear with deep graves (0.6m and over). This represents the late stages of the cemetery.

The barrows do often have a surviving burial, and these are usually found to be crouched, or contracted as the size of the burial pit does not often accommodate for an extended individual (Whimster 1981, 109). Although, according to Whimster (1981, 111) a select number of graves from Burton Fleming were rectangular and long enough (around 6') to have been sufficient for an extended individual. The sites that have been recorded well enough to provide information relating to orientation of

the individual are limited. The current accepted theory being that the majority of individuals lie with their heads at north or north east, with a smaller number being positioned with their heads at south or south west (Whimster 1981, 119).

Perhaps the most recognisable form of burial during the Iron Age in East Yorkshire was the chariot burial, sometimes referred to as a 'cart burial'. This involved a two wheeled, horse drawn vehicle being deposited inside a grave along with an individual (sometimes alongside the horses that once drove the chariot) (Halkon 2013). Occasionally archaeologists referred to these as cart burials, although they were known as chariots first, as it is unknown whether or not they were used in warfare as the name 'chariot' suggests. However, this distinction is unnecessary as both chariot and cart have little difference in meaning. There have been 17 chariot burials found, prior to the Pocklington excavations, the first being discovered at Market Weighton, Arras, between 1815 and 1817, this is where the Arras Culture gets its name from (Halkon 2013, 20). The chariot burials do differ somewhat between themselves, there is one notable difference with one of the chariot burials from Wetwang Slack, the individual being female (Dent 1985, 88). Although, the rite is fairly consistent across the board.

In conclusion, this chapter has summarised previous archaeological work in both Dorset and East Yorkshire; in order to provide understanding of the background of research in both regions of England from the antiquarian phase in the renaissance through to the most recent research efforts in the 21st century. This literature review provides context as to where this thesis fits into in terms of where archaeological exploration of the Iron Age in England is at the current time. By summarising current

practices in theoretical archaeology this chapter also considers how these practices will drive this thesis.

3. Methods.

3.1. Introduction and theoretical approach.

This chapter summarises and justifies the main methods used in data collection and analysis, as well as synthesizing the main theoretical approach to the thesis.

3.2. Methods: Data collection

Using original published excavation reports from both regions (see reference list for full details), and unpublished archive reports specifically for Wetwang Slack, the Dorset dataset was obtained from a variety of sources (such as RCHME and HER, as well as grey literature due to the age of some of the reports). The data was added into a database created on Microsoft Access (fig 3.1.) The data will then be archived on a cloud service and will be available upon request. In order to adhere to time constraints, due to funding, the study was limited to certain sites within the regions of study – these are outlined in chapter 4. A total of 830 (644 from East Yorkshire and 186 from Dorset) individuals were included in the study: Isolated burials as well as those in cemeteries were recorded in the database - co-ordinates of each site (where available) were added. The categories used in the database were: sex, age, orientation, position, grave goods, direction the individual was facing, in order to focus on intersectionality and performance rather than osteobiographies and object history, including whether the individual was buried as a secondary inhumation. Age categories do differ from report to report; however, they are not so different as to cause system issues. The age categories used were: 0-5, 6-10, 11-14, 15-17, 18-25, 26-35, 34-44, and 45+ (the age categories are listed were created in order for the

data to be placed with the greatest amount of accuracy). In cases where the age estimate is different from the category (e.g.: 20-30) the individual was placed in the category that included the greatest portion of the estimate (e.g.: 20-30 was placed in 18-25), although this was rarely the case.

Where body position is defined differently, pictures and drawings taken from the original report, as well as any definitions given in the original report are used as references to aide with recording positions in a more homogenous way. Using Stead's (1991) categories (see table 5.1). Where there were partial or damaged individuals these were recorded as position unknown – this mostly applied to infants and younger individuals. For sexing – the sex recorded in the excavation report was assumed to be correct, due to the size of the database, availability of remains, and time constraints. For orientation and the side individuals were facing in order to simplify data only the four cardinal (north, east, south, and west) and intercardinal (north east, south east, north west, south west) were used. For all categories if the information needed was unknown the individual was recorded in the database as 'N/A'. In most cases these data were not included in the graphs, however, in cases where this data was pertinent it was included.

For grave goods, different categories order items were used in order to synthesize and simplify the data and to make it more quantifiable. The categories were: animal bone, bone point, brooch, tools, jewellery, mirror, personal dress/grooming, pottery, weaponry, misc., none. Where the 'misc.' category was used items were specified in text. These categories were used in order to cover the main types of grave goods given. The brooch category was separated in order to explore the link between

brooches and burial position/ curation. The pottery category does include whole pots and sherds – this is to simplify the data, the difference between the two is discussed further. Then once the information in the reports was broken down and added into the database, filters were applied on the database to create tables on Excel. The data in the tables on Excel were then translated into graphs using the same software. Bar graphs were used to analyse the data from most of the categories. For orientation and the side individuals were facing, radar graphs were used in order to better display the data.



Figure 3:1 An example of the database created on Access using excavation reports.

3.3. Methods: Data Analysis and theoretical underpinning.

The graphs generated from the database of individual burials give an understanding of differences in the way males and females, the old and the young, were buried. A post-processual theoretical framework was then used in order to further understand the implications of the data. Comparisons between older and younger individuals indicate if age was a factor in deciding what burial rites someone was given. Also

furthering what is understood of the relationship between individuals of different ages have with the wider society. The data was used to understand if there was a link between gender and more richly furnished graves, or if there was indeed any sort of social hierarchy involved with what grave goods were interred alongside certain individuals. The data between the two regions was compared to see if there was gender division or social hierarchies based on grave goods, sex, or age in either region or both. The existence of a social hierarchy was evaluated based on the above categories.

The analysis of the data was approached using queer theory as a primary theoretical viewpoint. A key tenet of queer theory is questioning the way in which archaeologists write and think about the past. It is important to understand that gender roles in the past may have been different to gender roles in the modern day or modern-day sexuality, and that these things would have influenced the past society (Dowson 2016). Oftentimes, archaeologists have in the past, assumed that the people we study were monogamous and heterosexual (Springate 2020, 95). This study in particular focuses on categories such as sex, (male/female) that are largely thought to be binary with gender being intertwined; the use of queer theory allows this study to be conducted without the biases that modern society places on how we perceive gender identity and sex (Springate 2020, 96). It is very important to recognise that categories such as this, when using queer theory to inform archaeological thought are not binary, an idea which is becoming increasingly recognised in Western society (Springate 2020, 96). Using modern examples of societies where gender identity and gender expression are non-binary aids understanding in how gender might have been viewed in societies that existed before Western norms. Gender is not an innate characteristic, and people's

perception and expression of their own gender is subject to change throughout the course of their life (Stryker 2019; Springate 2020, 97). Much of the early work in archaeology that examined how gender is constructed and understood essentialised gender into the male/female-man/woman binary (Conkey and Gero 1997). Queer theory, when applied to archaeological thought recognises that gender is performed and created within the context of a community; and therefore, applying queer theory to archaeology allows archaeologists to leave modern biases and thinking behind.

3.4. Further considerations.

3.4.1. Taphonomy and Human Remains

Human remains, with the exception of early hominid remains, are usually found in archaeological contexts as a consequence of human activity (more specifically ritual activity); because of this, both natural and cultural agents should be considered when discussing taphonomy (Roksandic 2002, 100). Roksandic (2002, 101) states that "the taphonomic behaviour of a cadaver is influenced by a large number of factors", these factors include cause of death, the state that the individual was in at death, age, sex, and pathology. There are also external factors that influence the taphonomic process such as burial environment, the length of time elapsed between death and burial, and how the body was treated prior to burial - these factors are all primarily cultural in nature (Garland and Janaway 1987; Roksandic 2002, 101). Understanding the influence non-cultural influences have on taphonomy allows for them to be identified, and thus eliminated from any interpretation.

Due to decomposition, there is a possibility for some slight movement of human remains as gases build up during the decomposition process. The amount of movement will depend on the amount of space available, as well as the position and condition of the remains when they were deposited. Thus, a fully fleshed individual will move differently to a fully skeletonized individual, meaning that both cultural processes such as excarnation (discussed in chapter 2) and natural processes such as decomposition will have an effect on body position (Roksandic 2002, 103).

3.4.2. Grave goods and gender

Prior to discussing grave goods, it is important, in this chapter particularly, to define the differences between gender and sex:

"Gender identity: an individual's self-conception as a man or woman or as a boy or girl or as some combination of man/boy and woman/girl or as someone <u>fluctuating</u> between man/boy and woman/girl or as someone outside those categories altogether. It is distinguished from actual biological sex—i.e., male or female."

"Sex: the sum of features by which members of <u>species</u> can be divided into two groups—male and female—that complement each other reproductively."

Encyclopedia Britannica, 2023

Not only is there a difference between gender identity and biological sex, but there are also other cultural factors that may impact how gender and sex are understood. Arnold (1995, 153) uses Spector and Whelans' (1989, 69-70) categories of gender designation in order to define:

"Gender role: describes what men and women actually do - their activity patterns, social relations and behaviours - in specific cultural settings."

"Gender attribution: refers to the biological, social, and/or material criteria people of a particular social group use to identify others as males, females, or any other culturally defined gender category (e.g., berdache, trans-sexual). The attribution may or may not conform to an individual's own sense of gender or the initial gender assignment made at birth by those observing the newborn's external genitals or chromosomes."

"Gender ideology: encompasses the meanings of male, female, masculine, feminine, sex, and reproduction in any given culture. These might include prescriptions and sanctions for appropriate male and female behaviour or cultural rationalisations and explanations for social and political relationships between males and females."

Parker Pearson (1999, 10) notes that the people in the past did not provide their dead with grave goods specifically for us to study their remains; instead, the dead were provided with items that reflected what was considered appropriate for the context of their death, for the mourners, and for the individual who was deceased. Grave goods might consist of items that belonged to the deceased, or those that were given as gifts to the individuals by the mourners; they may have been provided to aid the individual for the afterlife or given to prevent the dead from returning (Parker Pearson 1999, 7).

In conclusion, this chapter provides an overview of the approach taken in data collection and analysis, as well as the theoretical framework underpinning the thesis.

Queer theory serves as a primary theoretical underpinning for this thesis, challenging

traditional archaeological narratives and assumptions about gender and sexuality. While it is important to acknowledge biases any investigating archaeologists may have held in terms of gender/sex binary, it would have been largely impossible to reexamine each individual; and so the recorded sex of each was the one entered in the database (though where possible, it was verified by checking for any further reports).

In terms of data collection, data was selected from original excavation reports and entered into a database for analysis. The study focused on specific sites within the regions of interest, Dorset, and East Yorkshire. Categories such as sex, age, orientation, position, grave goods, and direction the individual was facing were recorded in the database to explore intersectionality and identity rather than focussing on osteobiographies and object history.

Data analysis was conducted using excel, with graphs used to provide visual representations of the data. The analysis aimed to understand differences in burial practices between males and females, and individuals of different age groups as well as to explore the relationship between individuals and the societies they were a part of. Queer theory primarily was then applied to further interpret the data and understand social hierarchies, gender roles, and individual identities within these societies.

4. The Cemeteries.

It is important that each site is examined within the context of both previous archaeological activities, as well as previous archaeological investigations. This chapter, therefore, provides a summary on the archaeological context of each site, as well as a further insight into the excavations carried out on the sites from the earliest through to the most recent.

4.1. Maiden Castle

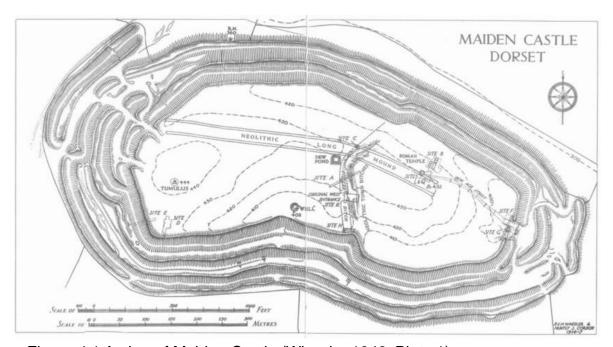


Figure 4:1 A plan of Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, Plate 1).

Maiden Castle hillfort (figure 4:1) is located in Dorset, just outside of Dorchester near Winterbourne St Martin, an area where hillforts are prolific; there are many close by to Maiden Castle (figure 4:2) (Lawson 1990, Sharples 1991, 11). The hillfort itself (figure 4:3) is expansive at 18.2 hectares total inside the hillfort during the Middle Iron Age. It was one of the most notable examples of a hillfort, and as such it has been studied extensively; the first reference to the site can be found in Camden's

Britannica, although the first modern excavation was conducted in the 1940s by Tessa and Mortimer Wheeler (Wheeler 1943). The next extensive fieldwork carried out at the hillfort was by Niall Sharples in the 1980s, whose aim was to further understand the development of the site during the Neolithic through to the Roman era (Sharples 1991, 3).

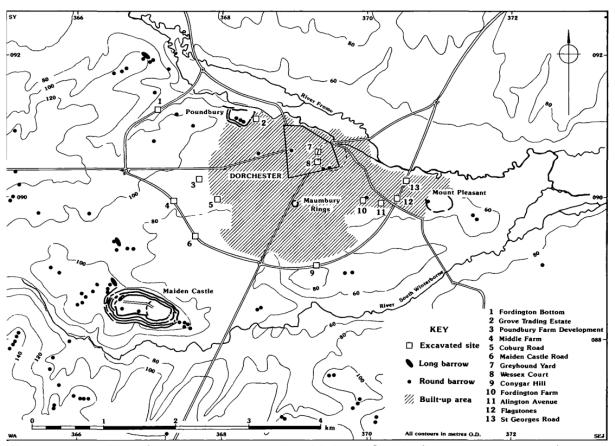


Figure 4:2 A plan of the area surrounding Maiden Castle (Lawson 1990, 273).



Figure 4:3 An aerial photograph of Maiden Castle, Dorset, looking south (Russell 2019, 326)

There is evidence for occupation at Maiden Castle stretching back to the Neolithic, where there may have been a double ditch enclosure. The first phase of the enclosure was created around 3800 cal BC, and did not see any significant change in use until 200 years later. The amount of remains suggest that there was a sharp increase in domestic activity at Maiden Castle during the middle Neolithic period (Sharples 1991, 254). During the Later Neolithic a secondary woodland appears atop the hill and a bank barrow was constructed as the site was abandoned for settlement. The hilltop was cleared and reverted back to grass during the Middle Bronze Age (Sharples 1991, 257). The hillfort was then settled during the Early Iron Age, around 600 BC, and continued to be intermittently inhabited until the decline of hillforts in the Late Iron Age.

The 'Iron Age B' and 'Iron Age C' cemeteries described by Wheeler in the 1930s excavation (figures 4:4 and 4:5) are found outside, and in between, the ramparts, with some of the burials in the 'Iron Age C' cemetery being described as having been conducted with "hasty ceremony after battle" (Wheeler 1943, 343). This interpretation has been questioned by Russell (2019, 340), who states that there is little or no evidence that Maiden Castle was occupied in any sort of substantial way after the first century BC, except for the Romano-British temple on the site and some other evidence of early Roman occupation (Todd 1984, 254-255); thus, there is no evidence for any sort of battle taking place at the site during the Roman invasion despite Wheeler's hypothesis that the battle occurred during that time. Wheeler, being rather antiquarian in his approached used the human remains found in the excavations (Wheeler 1943, 358).



Figure 4:5 A view of the eastern entrance and the 'war cemetery' during the Wheeler excavation (Wheeler 1943, Plate LII A).

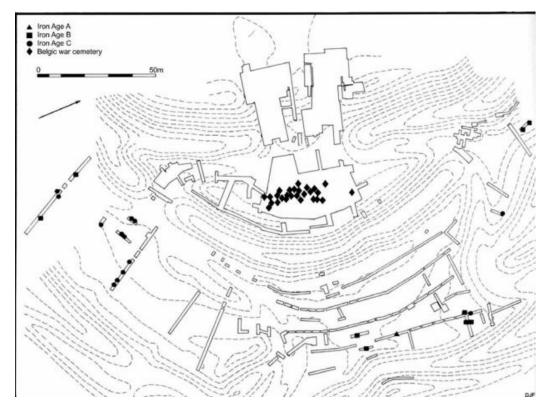


Figure 4:4 A plan of the eastern entrance showing each group of burials (Redfern 2011, 117).

In more recent year's significant work has been done, analysing the cemeteries and the individuals that were buried there. Several influential papers analysing the cemeteries have been published, some of them trying to further understand Wheeler's hypothesis of a 'War Cemetery' (e.g. Redfern 2011, Russell 2019). Redfern (2011) concludes that those individuals buried at the 'War Cemetery' did show evidence for previous episodes of interpersonal violence, although this was likely to have taken place on several occasions making it difficult to attribute to a certain conflict. Redfern and Chamberlain (2011) conclude that at least some of the evidence for interpersonal violence at Maiden Castle occurred in the middle of the first century AD due to the Roman invasion. This is evidenced by the presence of a Roman projectile weapon embedded in one of the many young males buried between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD (Redfern and Chamberlain 2011, 72). This interpretation has since been questioned (Russell 2019). The later work conducted on Maiden Castle, by Russell, Redfern, and Sharples tend to be influence by post-processualism, focussed on the ideas of personhood, identity, and more heterarchical model of authority.

4.2. Poundbury Camp

Poundbury hillfort (figures 4:6 and 4:7) lies four kilometres to the west of Dorchester, on an area of high ground near the river Frome, in an area of Dorset where hillforts are especially prevalent. The site was first excavated in 1939 where no evidence for occupation was found, however later investigations (conducted by CJS Green in the 1980s) suggest that the site was in fact a settlement site, which was very much

occupied, as evidenced by parch marks revealing ten circular features thought to be a small settlement (Papworth 2011, 74). There is evidence here for occupation from the Bronze Age through to the Romano-British period, including is a group of Late Bronze Age burial mounds, and a Middle Bronze Age enclosure.

There is evidence for occupation continuing from the Middle Iron Age and into the Late Iron Age, though the settlement was not large with only one or two houses being occupied at any one time. It is thought that Poundbury was maintained by a small community, that mainly lived outside the bounds of the enclosure (Papworth 2011, 75). During the Early Iron Age, Poundbury hillfort consisted of a single bank and ditch with an entrance to the south east. During the Late Iron Age, the hillfort, which grew out of the Bronze Age enclosure, shows signs of being refurbished and the inner rampart was changed from a box rampart to a glacis style as well as an outer bank and ditch (Papworth 2011, 75).

Poundbury was first excavated in 1914-1918 as construction of a prisoner of war camp uncovered Roman burials. During the 1940s further burials were uncovered by the construction of an extension of the previously built barracks. The site was then converted to a trading estate in 1964, during this phase of construction more late Roman burials were uncovered; it was then decided, in view of further development being expected, that trial excavations would go ahead in 1966 and 1967, led by C.J. Sparey Green. These trial excavations were followed up by a series of large-scale excavations occurring annually until 1976. Excavations by the original team continued in 1979, 1980, 1986, and 1987 (Farewell and Molleson 1993, 2).

There have been numerous investigations into various aspects of life within the Dorchester area. A lot of these investigations have used individuals from all of the Poundbury Camp cemeteries. Studies include stable isotope analysis in order to better understand variations in diet from the Iron Age though to the post-Roman period (Richards et al. 1998). As well as studies that further understanding into society and societal structure in the 1st - 5th centuries AD using burial patterns of sub-adults and adults in the Poundbury Camp Romano-British cemeteries (Molleson 1989), there have also been investigations into the origins of the lead content in individuals (Molleson et al. 1986), childhood morbidity studies (Rohnbogner and Lewis 2016), the diagnosis of thalassaemia in sub-adult skeletons (Lewis 2010), metabolic disease and trauma in sub-adults (Lewis 2009), the differences in rural and urban living (Redfern et al. 2015), Tuberculosis in non-adults (Lewis 2011), general health in the various cemeteries (Redfern and Roberts 2010) and many more (Reader 1974; Molleson 1982; Thould et al. 1983; Stuart-Macadam 1985; Molleson 1986; Stuart-Macadam 1987; Redfern 2003; Fuller et al. 2006; Redfern et al. 2011; Poniros 2021).

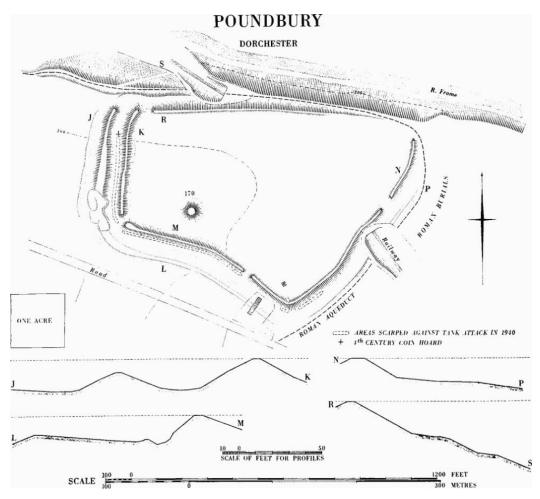


Figure 4:6 A plan of Poundbury hillfort (RCHM 1970, 484).

There are several phases of cemeteries at Poundbury, well into the Romano-British period and the later Saxon, fully documenting the transition from Romano-British to Early Christian in the fifth century (Papworth 2011, 178). The cemeteries lie at the foot of the hillfort, overlooking the river Frome. They were uncovered through a series of excavations that took place from the 1960s to the 1980s, during which over 1400 burials were discovered. Of these 1400 burials, 59 were dated, mostly by burial formation and grave good typology, to the Late Iron Age, and appeared to be typical of the time period. Most of the burials were dated to the Late Roman period (c. 4th century AD); there were only three burials dating to the post-Roman (the 5th-7th

centuries AD) (Richards *et al.* 1998, 1247-8). The site was first used as a formal burial ground in the 1st century AD (figures 4:8 and 4:9), of the 59 graves attributed to this period 28 were adult sized and 29 were smaller (Farewell and Molleson 1993).

The Iron Age crouched inhumation cemetery was kept in use into the Early Roman Period, as the grave goods found there suggest that this cemetery was used until the early 2nd century AD. During the late 2nd century through to the early 4th century AD there were several graves containing extended inhumations cut into the Enclosure 1 in both north and east arms; the northern cemetery contained 35 inhumations while the eastern cemetery contained 89 inhumations (Farewell and Molleson 1993, xii). At the end of the first quarter of the 4th century AD Enclosures 2 and 3 became the site of the main Late Roman cemetery; this was used likely until the end of the century at least (Farewell and Molleson 1993, xiii). In the 5th century AD, the main Late Roman cemetery went out of use and was covered by a settlement of around eight timber buildings, the settlement also continued to be inhabited during the 5th-7th centuries AD although there was no extensive cemetery found that was directly contemporary to the post-Roman era (Farewell and Molleson 1993, xiii).



Figure 4:7 An aerial view of Poundbury Camp hillfort, c.1930 (Dorset Museum).

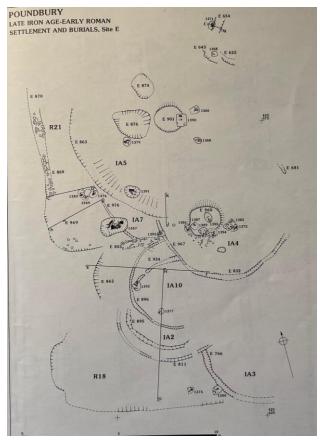


Figure 4:8 The late Iron Age and Early Roman cemetery at Poundbury site E (Farewell and Molleson 1993, 9).

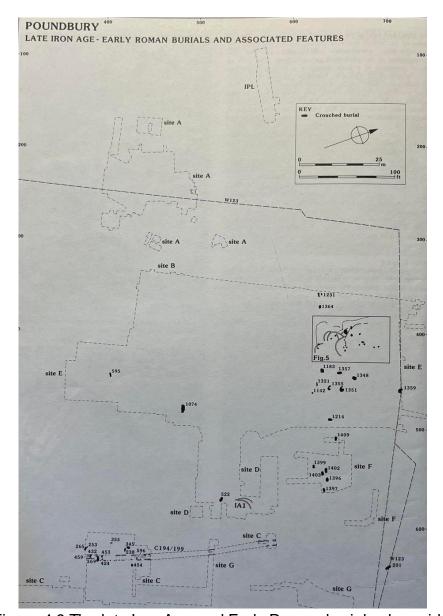


Figure 4:9 The late Iron Age and Early Roman burials alongside the associated features (Farewell and Molleson 1993, 8).

4.3. Tolpuddle – Puddletown Bypass (including Tolpuddle Ball)

The Puddletown Bypass (figures 4:10 and 4:11) scheme was initiated in 1976, although construction did not start until 1996. The aim of the bypass project was "to preserve, either in situ or by record features and sites of archaeological interest along the proposed road corridor". Oxford Archaeological Unit and Wessex Archaeology were appointed as Project Archaeologist and archaeological contractor for the project (Hearne 1999, 2-3). The by-pass runs to the north of the villages of Puddletown and Tolpuddle, before joining the Yellowham Hill dual carriageway to the west and the Bere Regis by-pass to the east. Sites along the route of the by-pass were also excavated in 1993 by Liverpool University.

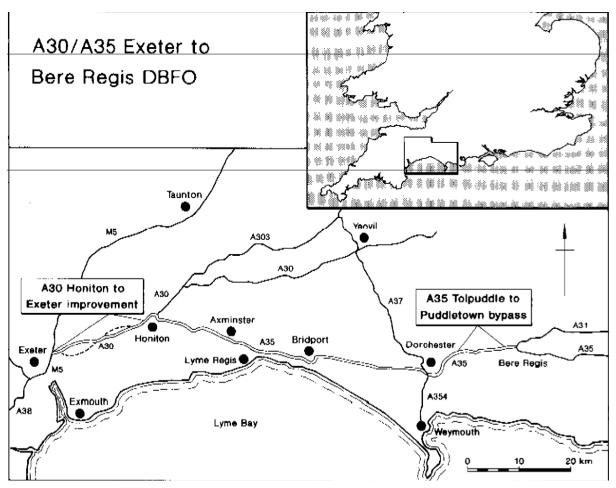


Figure 4:10 The route of the Tolpuddle-Puddletown by-pass (Hearne 1999, xii).

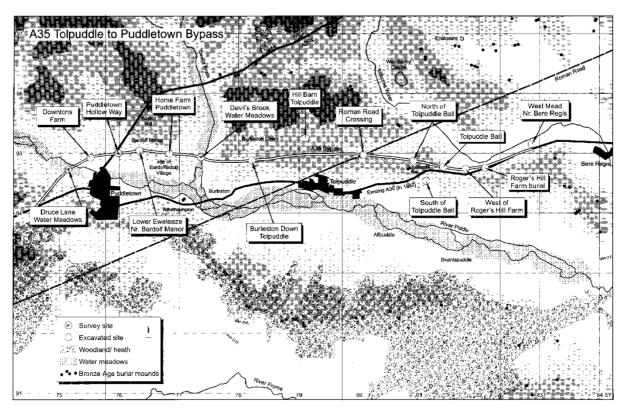


Figure 4:11 Archaeological sites highlighted along the route of the by-pass near Dorchester (Hearne 1999, 2).

The area (figs 4:10 and 4:11) contains numerous archaeological sites with signs of occupation throughout prehistory and the Romano British period. With Neolithic pits being the earliest evidence of settlement then barrows dating to the Bronze Age and the Iron Age hillforts at Weatherby Castle and Woodbury Hill as well as the burials excavated at Tolpuddle Ball. A cemetery dating from the Roman period through to the post-Roman period was discovered, also along the route of the by-pass (Birbeck 1999, 47). During the excavations at Tolpuddle Ball, 23 individuals (eleven adults, and twelve neonates) were discovered and dated to the Middle to Late Iron Age (Birbeck 1999, 47).

This burial ground (figure 4:12) is not referred to as a cemetery in the report, although the burials are within the same general area and date to the roughly the same period (Birbeck 1999, 47). The burials also mostly conform to the general idea of what a 'typical' Iron Age inhumation cemetery from the area would look like (Papworth 2011, 53). It has been hypothesised that the group of people buried here would likely have settled the Weatherby Castle hillfort (Hearne 1999).

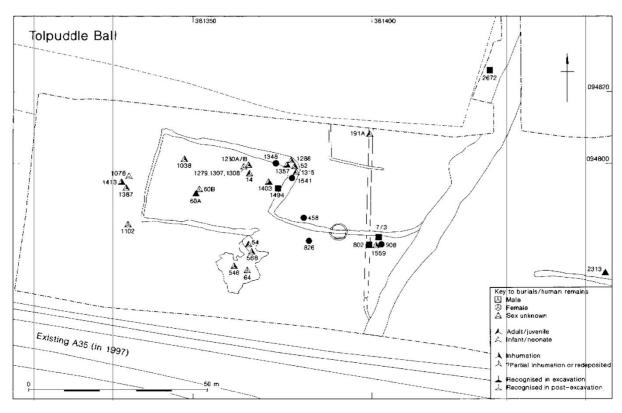


Figure 4:12 The burial ground discovered at Tolpuddle Ball (Hearne 1999, 46).

4.4. Alington Avenue

The excavations at Alington Avenue (figure 4:13) not only encompassed the large multiperiod main site but also two smaller adjacent sites to the north, Trumpet Major I (figure 4:14) and Trumpet Major II (figure 4:15). All three sites are situated just

outside of Fordington, c. 1km from Dorchester, Dorset (Davies et. al 2002). The first large-scale excavation took place in 1985 and two subsequent smaller excavations took place in 1986, and 1988. The excavations were carried out by Wessex Archaeology as a result of development being proposed in the area (Davies et. al 2002).

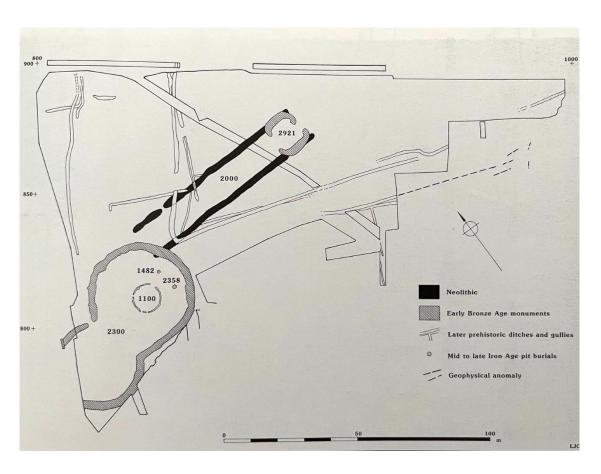


Figure 4:13 A plan of the major archaeological features at Alington Avenue (Davies et al. 2002, 13).

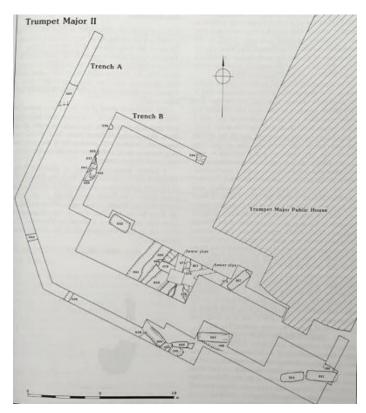


Figure 4:15 A plan of the major archaeological features at Trumpet Major II (Davies et al. 2002, 39).

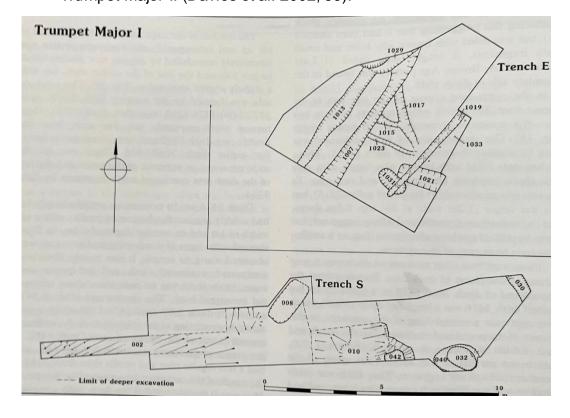


Figure 4:14 A plan of the major archaeological features at Trumpet Major I (Davies et al. 2002, 38).

Due to their proximity to Dorchester, these three sites are part of a rich archaeological landscape encompassing monumental earthworks, cemeteries, and the Roman town of *Durnovaria*. As such there is a wealth of previously explored remains that appear as crop marks and other such archaeological remains that are no longer visible on the surface. The landscape around Dorchester including the three sites excavated by Wessex Archaeology in 1985, 1986, and 1988 provided evidence for substantial activity from the Neolithic onwards (Davies et. al 2002). However, there are few remains from earlier periods, some flint tools have been found which represent the earliest hunter-gatherer communities that might have occupied the area (Woodward 1991, 127ff; Davies et. al 2002, 1).

In terms of Neolithic monuments Alington Avenue is only around 3.5km south-west of Maiden Castle, and only 1km from Maumbury Rings and Mount Pleasant, placing the site in a rich ceremonial landscape during the Neolithic period. Excavations which took place in Dorchester in 1984 also revealed another large Neolithic monument, a post-built enclosure which was constructed during the third millennium BC again, within 1km from Alington Avenue (Woodward et al. 1997, 23ff; Davies et al. 2002, 1).

There are also some remains dating from the Bronze Age along the ridge to the west of the main site, Bronze Age round barrows survived here as earthworks until the later part of the 20th century (Bellamy 1991; Sparey-Green 1994; Davies et al. 2002, 1). These round barrows are thought to have possibly represented the residual elements of a linear cemetery which was probably enclosed within a field system (Davies et al. 2002, 1). Mount Pleasant, 1km to the east of Alington Avenue,

continued in use throughout the Bronze Age, in a modified form with arable activity demonstrated in the environmental data gathered by excavations there (Wainwright 1979; Davies 2002, 1).

Outside of the hillforts, evidence for the Early and Middle Iron Age is scarce, there are some small settlements, one at Poundbury which is made up of an enclosure with houses and another small, enclosed settlement along Maiden Castle Road (Sparey-Green 1987; Bellamy et al. 1993; Davies et al. 2002). However, the landscape in the Middle Iron Age was becoming increasingly concerned with the ever-evolving, increasingly elaborate hillfort at Maiden Castle which appears to be where most of the local population were based, although there is a settlement outside of the eastern end of Poundbury Camp hillfort that continues into the later Roman period (Davies et al. 2002). Despite there being little evidence of use in the Early and Middle Iron Age, the land surrounding Alington Avenue appears to show intensive land use during the Late Iron Age. There are a series of burials, isolated settlement and boundary features that have been recorded in the area, all dating to the Late Iron Age (Davies et al. 2002, 3).

In AD65 the Roman town of *Durnovaria*, modern day Dorchester was founded; there are many archaeological remains dating to the Roman period surrounding the site of Alington Avenue including the amphitheatre at Maumbury Rings, about 1km to the west.

4.5. Rudston – Including Rudston Makeshift Cemetery, and Argam Lane

The excavations at Rudston (figure 4:16) first took place in a field known as Makeshift in the 1960s, and continued through to the 1970s, with the first trenches being excavated in 1967 and 1968. The site at Rudston was part of the Burton Fleming square barrow excavation project which was funding and organised by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments; between the two parishes of Burton Fleming and Rudston 250 burial were excavated (Stead 1991, 4).

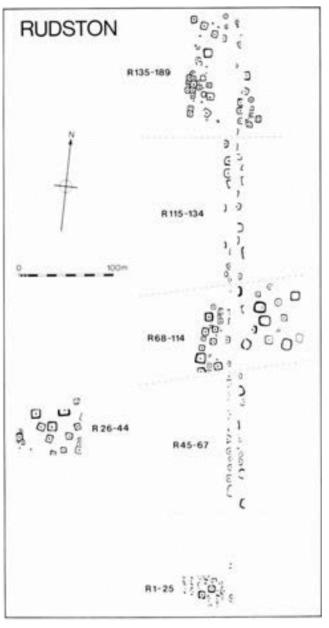


Figure 4:16 The Rudston site, relative positions or R1-R189 (Stead 1991, 7).

The burials excavated at Rudston were in graves that were cut into chalk gravel in the Yorkshire Wolds in one of the two main dry valley systems located there. The drainage in the Wolds is mostly subterranean apart from streams, known as gypseys, the longest of which is the Gypsey Race (figure 4:17). This stream has a well-defined course which directs it is easterly through the Great Wold Valley, it turns south at Burton Fleming and Rudston and then flows to the east towards the sea at Bridlington (Stead 1991, 5). The area is naturally abundant in ripening crops, meaning that there is a high concentration in crop marks due to the large numbers of archaeological remains located in the area. These archaeological remains include a Neolithic henge, four cursus monuments, a large monolith in Rudston churchyard and the sheer amount of Iron Age burials. According to Stead (1991, 5) the Gypsey Race could be the explanation for the many monuments and other archaeological remains, as it is one of the few sources of water that can be found in the Wolds. There was no evidence for earlier occupation within the specific field the Makeshift cemetery was located in (Stead, 1991). There are a small group of Roman villas south west of Rudston, for which the mouth of the Gypsey Race may have provided a small harbour (Ramm 1978, 49).

A small group of burials were excavated in 1976 (figure 4:18), the cemetery was enclosed on the south side by a pair of boundary ditches, the ditches ran along Agram Lane, after which the cemetery site was named (Stead 1991, 16). This cemetery was similar to the Makeshift burial site in that both appear to have been on open ground beyond a droveway. In this site, eight burials aligned with the boundary ditches and there were two others that could have been the beginnings of a parallel row. The boundary ditch to the north of the site is thought to not have been

contemporary as it is runs so close to the barrows, the boundary ditch to the south, however; curves in its path in order to perhaps accommodate barrows that were since lost (Stead 1991, 16-17). Stead (1991, 17) notes that a larger quarry, thought to be Roman, occupies much of the west side of the site although it stops before the south-west corner where the boundary ditches turn to the south.

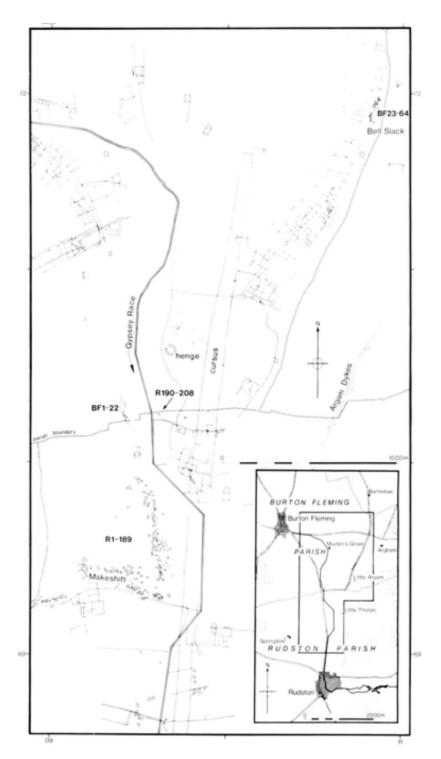


Figure 4:17 The Gypsey Race valley as it flows between Burton Fleming and Rudston, shown alongside archaeological features (Stead 1991, 2).

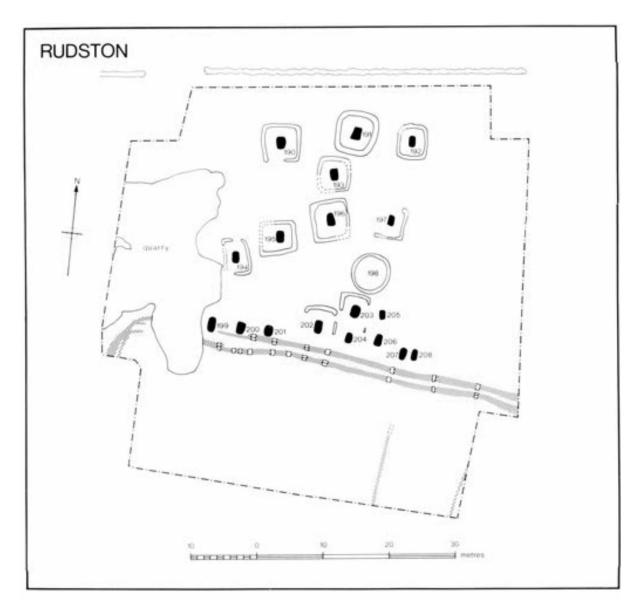


Figure 4:18 The Rudston Argam Lane site, showing burials R190-R208 (Stead 1991, 16).

4.6. Burton Fleming – Including Bell Slack

The group of burials opposite Agram Lane were excavated in 1972 (figure 4:19). There were 22 burials in this burial site, all of which were square with central graves; no secondary burials were found in any of the ditches. The burials were arranged, following the Gypsey Race, in two rows; although three barrows were found to be off to one side (Stead 1991, 17). There is a pit alignment cross the group of barrows to the south of the area that was excavated, this pit alignment appears to be somewhat parallel to the parish boundary. With both the pit alignment and the parish boundary coinciding it suggests that the barrow group is earlier than both (Stead 1991, 17).

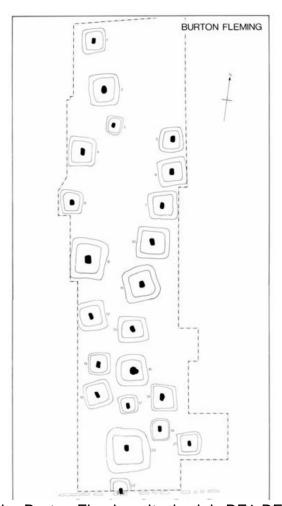


Figure 4:19 A plan of the Burton Fleming site, burials BF1-BF22 (Stead 1991, 18).

To the west of Agram Lane and Little Agram Farm, a complex droveway settlement starts its entrance is blocked by later ditches unlike the Agram Lane droveway which has a simple funnel shaped entrance (Stead 1991, 17). Aerial photography shows that the droveway is surrounded by settlement or cultivation plots which extend nearly 2 kilometres through the centre of the gravel valley to Bell Slack in the east and Brindale in the north. This settlement was partly excavated in the latter half of the 1970s and, although nearly no artefacts were found, it was dated to the Romano British period through the dating of potsherds. A group of square barrows were crossed by the droveway, these barrows were excavated in 1978 (figure 4:20) (Stead 1991, 17). 42 burials were excavated to the east of the droveway; they were crossed by later Romano-British ditches and various other features. Shallow soil coverage meant that aerial photography conducted in this area was of high quality, through the photographs, no rows of barrows were found although their overall distribution was aligned with the droveway and the alignment of the valley itself (Stead 1991, 17).

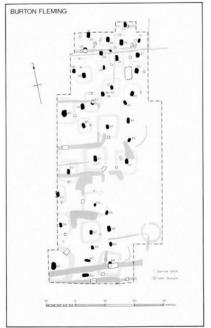


Figure 4:20 A plan of the Burton Fleming Bell Slack site, showing burials BF23-BF64 (Stead 1991, 19).

4.7. Garton Station

In the summer of 1984, the Garton Station barrow cemetery (figure 4:21) was discovered by way of aerial photography; the cemetery is located at the east end of a gravel valley that follows the route used by the Driffield railway line. It stretches west towards Garton Slack, through Wetwang Slack, through to Fimber (Stead 1991, 17). The site was then excavated in 1985 and 1986, there were many different barrows and enclosures that were excavated, only one of which was a cart burial. A few of the burials turned out to be Anglian, one of which was found to not have disturbed any earlier, Iron Age burial as the later burial cut through the central mound of the barrow. There were found to be nine burials dating to the Iron Age, four of which were round; this is unusual in the Arras Culture, even more unusual were the speared corpse burials that were found in each of these round barrows (Stead 1991, 17). Apart from the Anglian burials, there is no sign of occupation dating from any other time period at this site (Stead 1991, 17-24).



Figure 4:21 A plan of the Garton Station barrow cemetery showing GS1-10 and GS11-40 (Stead 1991, 22).

4.8. Kirkburn

After the Garton Station excavations in 1984, sites to the west and south were surveyed with the fluxgate gradiometer. One barrow which had been photographed by J.S Dent was large and had a central grave and was therefore considered promising – after the gradiometer results showed that it was likely to be a cart burial, it was excavated; a cart burial was indeed discovered in the central burial (Stead 1991, 24). The site and some neighbouring barrows were excavated in 1987, the excavation included barrows in the north west corner of the field and other further outlying barrows (figure 4:22) (Stead 1991, 24).

There were other archaeological features in the area around the cart burial, such as a quarry of unknown date with an adjoining ditch, and a further pair of ditches which crossed the site from Dorset through to the north east. One of the ditches was observed on the excavated platform belonging to barrow K6, suggesting that the ditches dated to an earlier period than the barrow cemetery (Stead 1991, 25). There is also evidence for a medieval strip field with furrows at intervals of 5.5 and 10.5 meters, there was also an Anglian burial in the upper filling of the cart burial (Stead 1991, 25).

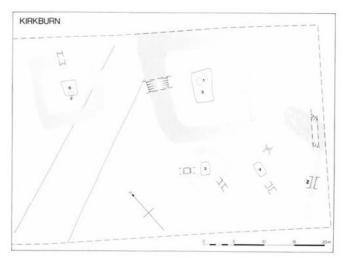


Figure 4:22 A plan of Kirkburn site 1 (Stead 1991, 25).

At the second Kirkburn site (figure 4:23), first recorded by aerial photography, half of a large ovular enclosure fell within the bounds of the excavation. The enclosure was about 47 meters in length and was defined by a shallow ditch, about 2 meters wide. To the centre of the eastern side of the ditch was a 6 meter wide causeway. The enclosure was dated to the Neolithic period by stripping the sides of the ditch in the entrance to the enclosure where a single sherd of Neolithic pottery was found (Stead 1991, 25). Three successive ditches were discovered in a trial trench which was excavated in an attempt to find the northern ditch of the Neolithic enclosure, none of these ditches were able to be dated. Just south of the presumed centre of the enclosure, a grave with an individual was located; the radiocarbon date suggested the individual dated from the Bronze Age.

Within the Neolithic enclosure were two very slight ring ditches, although they were hardly visible due to the ploughing the site has endured. The ring ditches each contained a grave with a skeleton of a horse inside – both of these were radiocarbon dated to the early Roman period, around the beginning of the second century AD, this would place these two horse burials about two or three hundred years later than the Iron Age burials at the site (Stead 1991, 27). The feature in the east of the oval enclosure was previously thought to be a square barrow, however, when it was stripped it was found to be a ring ditch. Stead, (1991, 27) states that ploughing may have distorted the side of the feature in the aerial photography. The features identification as a square has since been accepted by other archaeologists (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 112; Whimster 1981, 325-6). There was also a central pit, which produced nothing but two animal bones, the ditch on the west side produced a few Neolithic sherds, and was thought to date to the same time as the oval enclosure, a

barrow lying to the west of the enclosure was also thought to date to the same time as the Neolithic complex (Stead 1991, 27).

There was a second enclosure, a 17 meter square surrounded by a ditch with material in the upper filling suggesting an inner bank. No grave or any other feature was found inside the square, although a Urbs Roma coin and an Early Bronze Age sherd were found at the top of the ditch (Stead 1991, 25).

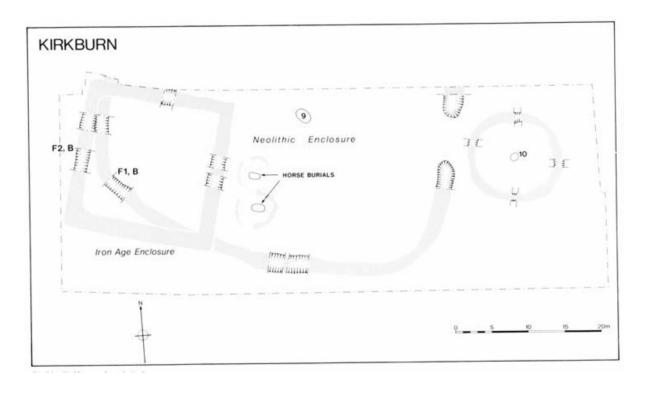


Figure 4:23 A plan of Kirkburn site 2 (Stead 1991, 26).

4.9. Wetwang Slack.

Wetwang Slack (figure 4:24) is another dry valley in the central Yorkshire Wolds, much like Bell Slack, this section of valley runs from east to west through the parish of Wetwang. Five kilometres through the dry chalk valley at Elmswell, Elmswell Beck arises and flows to the river Hull. As can be seen by the above sections, this area of Yorkshire is known for a rich history of prehistoric settlement, and subsequent excavation, such as those by J.R. Mortimer in the 19th century (Mortimer 1905; Dent 1981, 2). Other work in this valley includes a large Iron Age cemetery at Driffield and a Late Iron Age/Romano-British site at Blealands Nook (Mortimer 1905, 194-8; Dent 1981, 2).

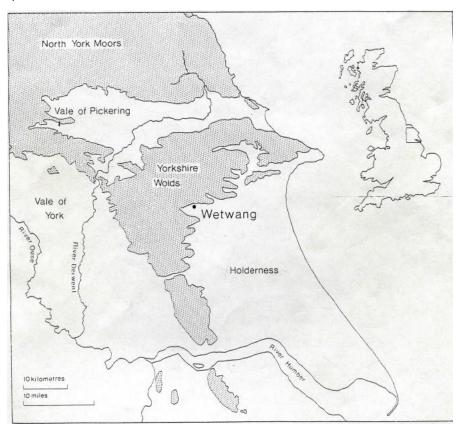


Figure 4:24 A map of the Yorkshire Wolds showing the Wetwang Slack site (Dent 1981).

This area of the Wolds has been subject to excavation as early as the 1850s with further investigation beginning in 1963 and continuing through to 1965, 1968, 1969, under T.C.M Brewster this series of excavations became a full-time project in 1970 until 1975. Though the first part of the project had focused on Garton Slack, the latter portion had extended into the Wetwang parish. After 1975, J.S. Dent took over the site, initially to see the ending of the excavation, as it was thought the site had been completely excavated, however even by 1981 finds were still being produced (Dent 1981, 3).

There are a few pieces of evidence dating to a period earlier than the Iron Age, a number of Bronze Age barrows, ring ditches, and a few cremations. The valley floor was not occupied in terms of a settlement during the Neolithic and the Bronze Age. The first site which was examined by Brewster in 1965 was a Bronze Age barrow which still survived in the form of a surface mound, it had been known previously (Mortimer 1905; Dent 1981, 3).

The extent of the remains from the Iron Age had not been fully realised even at the end of the excavations in the 1980s, the cemetery alone had taken a full four years to be investigated, and the buildings that were present at the site still had yet to be fully excavated (Dent 1981, 3). The cemetery (figure 4:25) contains a total of 448 individuals from the Iron Age, many of which were intact though some did suffer plough damages, a few only remained in small fragments of bone. More than half of these burials were encircled by enclosure ditches, with some secondary burials being included into the enclosure ditches, with a few enclosure ditches cutting other burials in turn (Dent 1981, 9). The site was reused throughout the Iron Age, in the

centre of the cemetery there is a Late Iron Age/Romano-British farm which disturbed many of the graves; in turn some earlier ditches were cut and disturbed by the cemetery (Dent 1981, 11).

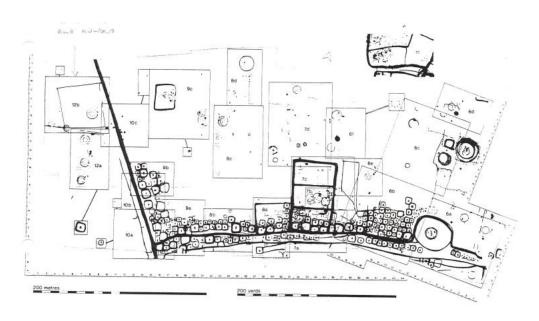


Figure 4:25 A detailed map of the entirety of the Wetwang Slack site (Dent 1981).

4.10. Bridport

Bridport, as it stands now, is a small market town about 14 miles to the west of Dorchester, the modern town centre is also about 1.5 miles in land from the coast of the English Channel at West Bay. In 1953 and 1954 a double burial of an elderly female and adult male were excavated (Farrar 1954; Farrar 1956; Whimster 1979, 30, 51, 56, 66, 126; Joy 2011, 475). The burial is one of a few mirror burials dated to

the Iron Age. There was staining along the female's jawbone which was thought to come from the handle of the mirror although Joy (2011, 475) states that this is not necessarily certain, as any of the bronze objects from within the grave could have caused this staining.



Figure 4:26 The location of Bridport (circled in red) relative to Dorchester.

4.11. Broadmayne

Broadmayne is another small Dorset town located just 2 miles south east of Dorchester, it is also the site of another isolated burial outside of a cemetery group, as is generally typical of Iron Age Dorset (Whimster 1979, 65). The grave was discovered through clearance work in 1967 and has been recorded as a mature

adult individual buried alongside a variety of grave goods including six pottery vessels of various different types (Whimster 1979, 65).

4.12. Burton Bradstock

Burton Bradstock is the site of two further isolated burials, located about 16 miles from Dorchester and only 0.5 miles in land of the English Channel as Chesil Beach. Two earth graves were discovered in proximity to Burton Bradstock in 1965, only one, however contained any dateable information. The single dated grave is that of an adolescent, the grave goods found in the grave consisted of pottery and a few iron fragments (Whimster 1979, 65).

4.13. Corfe Castle

Corfe Castle is a fortification, and a village which shares the name, located on the Isle of Purbeck south of Wareham. Though, the burials themselves were found about 1.1miles from the castle. Between 1895 and 1965 several inhumations were excavated from a tufa pit, which has been dated to the Mesolithic by way of the mollusc remains (Preece 1980). The inhumation burials were largely found inside of stone cists, in 1936 and 1938 several pieces of pottery were found alongside the burials (Whimster 1979, 343).

4.14. Dorchester

Dorchester, or *Dumovaria*, was the Roman *civitas* or regional capital; it was developed in the 1st century A.D. It is likely that much of the population that inhabited Dorchester at the time were the decedents of those who may have inhabited Maiden Castle. Dorchester is located on the banks of the river Frome and is surrounded by several hillforts such as Maiden Castle and Poundbury Camp. The Roman army first set up a military fort at the site which became Dorchester, this then would have drawn a population of merchants and other people who would follow the military forces and build houses and shops around forts. The population living inside Maiden Castle would then have moved to be closer to the *vicus* (town), due to the convenience offered by the resources there. Wheeler (1943) suggests that there was a ceremonial abandoning of Maiden Castle in favour of a new Roman town, however evidence from excavations within Dorchester suggests development much like other *civitates* such as Cirencester, Exeter, Wroxeter, and Leicester (Wacher 2004, 323-4).

In terms of excavation, work in Dorchester has been sporadic, occurring through the years from the mid 19th century through to the 21st century, with the most consistent exploration of the town being in the later 20th and the 21st centuries (Wacher 2004, 323-4). There is evidence of a few public buildings, which indicate the use of the town as a major Romano-British centre, such as an amphitheatre, bathhouse, and a possible forum (Wacher 2004, 323-4). The amphitheatre is situated at the nearby site of Maumbury Rings, a neolithic henge monument which was converted later into an amphitheatre, this was discovered before World War One in excavations conducted by H. St George Gray, the amphitheatre has been dated to the Claudian-Neronian period (Wacher 2004, 326).

Several hundred earth grave inhumations and a few stone cists were found to the south west, west, and east of the city during through the 18th to the 20th centuries, according to records these appear to belong to the 2nd to 4th centuries AD. Although some seem to be dated to the early 1st and 2nd centuries AD; these burials have strong characteristics that would date them to the later Iron Age, and are sometimes accompanied with pottery vessels that can be dated to the Iron Age typologically – the burials recorded in Dorchester by Whimster more than likely represent a very small sample of a much larger but ill-recorded group of burials that have been found in and around the town (Whimster 1979, 343-5).

4.15. Langton Matravers

Langton Matravers is a modern-day village on the Isle of Purbeck, Dorset. It is situated about 2 miles west of Swanage and 5 miles south east of Corfe Castle. The village itself dates to the 13th century AD. One cist and two earth graves were discovered at a site just outside of the village, known as Putlake Farm, during farm work in 1957. The burials were dated typologically using pottery remains found with one of the earth graves, further pottery remains were located with the individual found in the cist burial as well (Whimster 1979, 345).

4.16. Litton Cheney

Litton Cheney is located about 9 miles from Dorchester, the modern village lies at the bottom of chalk hills in the valley of the river Bride. On the higher ground near the village two ruined Bronze Age stone circles were discovered by Stuart and Cecily Piggott, though the majority of the stones are lost, there is one remaining sarsen stone on the inner lip of the larger circle (Piggott and Piggott 1939, 143-6). A later Iron Age settlement was found on another piece of higher ground, known as Pins Knoll, excavations there in 1959, 1963, and 1964 located a group of six inhumations (Bailey 1959, 124-126; Bailey 1967, 147-159; Whimster 1979, 346-7). The group would apparently represent a community burial ground, typical to the late Dorset Iron Age, the graves were furnished with pottery consistent with the late Iron Age such as bead rim bowls and iron brooches (Whimster 1979, 346-7).

4.17. Osmington

Osmington is a medieval village with routes tracing back to a charter written in 940AD, there are also three known Bronze Age barrows near the village as well as some field systems that also may date to the Bronze Age (Historic England). The modern village lies about 4 miles north east of Weymouth on the Jurassic coast.

During an excavation in 1926 a single inhumation was located in a chalk-cut grave, using the grave goods associated with the burial it was dated to the Iron Age (Whimster 1979, 347).

4.18. Portland

Portland is a tied island that lies off the Jurassic coast, the southerly most point is 5 miles south of Weymouth. There is evidence for settlement on the Isle of Portland dating back to the Mesolithic, at Culverwell. The fairly expansive site has a variety of evidence, such as burned stone and shell debris (Palmer 1999, 1-18). The evidence for settlement in the Iron Age is similarly as expansive, there have been numerous small burial plots found as well as one larger cemetery. However, due to the time in which many of the excavations took place, the quality of the excavation reports and the data they contain is not guaranteed to be up to the same standard as modern reports (Whimster 1979, 347-8). The majority of the Iron Age burials were found within stone cists, with some surviving pottery and metalwork providing dateable material (Whimster 1979, 347).

4.19. Whitcombe

Whitcombe is a small village located just 2 miles south east from Dorchester, excavations in 1965-1967 at a Romano-British settlement revealed 12 inhumations. Each burial was found in an earth grave, eight of the individuals were found alongside grave goods typically with Iron Age burials in the area, these grave goods included pottery, animal bone (such as pig, sheep, horse), and some metal work. One grave in particular contained an extensive collection of weaponry, including an iron sword, spearhead, hammer head leading to the belief that this may be the burial of a warrior of some form (Collis 1972; Whimster 1979, 440-441).

4.20. Conclusion

In conclusion, the cemeteries studied in this chapter provide a fascinating glimpse into the lives and deaths of ancient peoples in the Dorset and East Yorkshire areas. Cemeteries such as Maiden Castle, Poundbury Camp, Rudston, Burton Fleming, Dorchester, Garton Station, and Kirkburn each offer unique insights into burial practices, social structures, and the changing landscapes of the region over millennia. Overall, these cemeteries paint a complex and evolving picture of life and death in ancient Dorset and Yorkshire, showcasing the rich archaeological heritage of these regions.

The chapter seeks to further place these sites into context, both in terms of their archaeological remains but also in terms of the excavations that revealed said remains. Antiquaries such as Wheeler, Mortimer, and Pitt Rivers used human

remains to intuit race, and so much of the reports on the human remains from excavations dating to the 1800s through to the 1940s focus on race. Culture historians seek to use interpretations of burial rites (such as orientation) in order to place individuals into cultural groups. Of this, Stead is a prime example as he placed individual burials into groups – rite 'A', 'B', and 'C'. Field archaeologists, and those influenced by processualism, such as Halkon, Sparey-Green and Dent use data to make informed inferences on societal structure, hierarchy, and power.

Archaeologists such as Giles, Redfern, Russell, and Harding tend to be influenced by post-processual ideas of personhood, agency, intersectionality, and focus more on heterarchical power structures. Parker-Pearson, on the other hand while still firmly post-processual in approach focusses more on symbolism and ideology.

These theoretical, and societal, influences affect the way in which archaeologists interpret evidence and therefore it is important to understand the time and place investigations take place in.

5. Results: East Yorkshire

5.1. Introduction

This chapter will explore the results from the East Yorkshire cemeteries described in Chapter 7. There are a total of 645 individuals recorded in the data set, spread across 6 different cemeteries – this sample size is too small to justify mapping multivariate factors or using statistical significance tests. Wetwang Slack is the dominant cemetery numerically totalling 404 individuals, which is equal to 63% of the data set as a whole. The variables being considered in this chapter will be sex, age, orientation, the direction the individual faced, burial position, and grave goods; Wetwang Slack will also be considered separately to determine the degree to which it may skew the overall picture.

The constraints that are posed by a small and potentially incomplete dataset (the cemetery at Danes Graves is not included here) are fundamental considerations of this research endeavour. The sample size is limited by the nature of archaeological excavation and preservation; the data used in this study provides valuable but also inherently constrained insights into the past. Thus, this study has taken a qualitative approach which prioritises depth of analysis over an in depth statistical analysis. The small size of the dataset also presents difficulties for statistical analysis, which often requires a larger, more homogenous dataset in order to yield reliable results. It would have been inappropriate to attempt statistical analysis on a dataset such as this, being small and incomplete, due to the high chance for spurious results and then

skewed interpretations. Therefore, a qualitative approach was chosen, because an in depth exploration of individual data points (within their own contextual framework) allows for the complexities and intricacies inherent in archaeological material.

5.2. Sex

Somewhat surprisingly, there are significantly more female burials as opposed to male burials (Fig 5.1). In total, 47% of burials were female, 35% were male, and 19% of burials were of unknown sex. Of course, the excavation reports used vary in method of sexing, perhaps partly due to when each report was written and advances in sexing technique across the years. This could also be the reason for the high number of 'unknown' burials, many of which will be juveniles. The area in which the cemeteries are located is more than likely also partly responsible, as the Yorkshire Wolds are used quite heavily for quarrying which results in multiple damaged individuals, where sexing is impossible given the lack of, or state of, the remains. Nonetheless the predominance of female remains is striking.

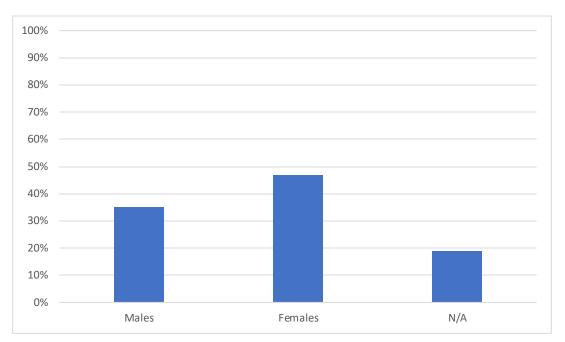


Figure 5:1 Distribution between the sexes in the East Yorkshire dataset (N = 645).

5.3. Age

There appears to be a bias towards the younger end of the spectrum as well as through the ages of 26-44 (Fig 5.2). Infant mortality rates would almost certainly be the cause of the high proportion (21%) of juveniles that are represented here, this will be broken down in a later section.

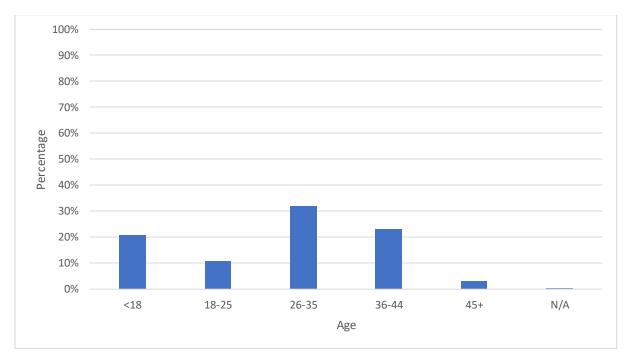


Figure 5:2 Percentage of different age ranges in the East Yorkshire dataset (N = 643).

The second smallest category is the young adult category, those between the ages of 18 and 25, which represents 11% of individuals (a total of 71 burials).

The 26–35-year-old category represents 32% of burials. There is a fair amount of evidence suggesting violent trauma also affected a large portion of the population, 21% of the population of Wetwang Slack (King 2012, 102). It is mainly male individuals that exhibit these wounds, and a majority of them appear to have recovered from their injuries (Harding 2015, 20). Sarah King states that these injuries

would likely have not come from any incidence of warfare as such, more so that these injuries were consistent with agriculture.

The second largest category is the 36-44 age group, which represents 23% of burials. While the 45+ category here represents just 3% of burials, with only 20 individuals thought to be over the age of 45.

5.3.1. Age according to sex.

Both sexes follow roughly the same pattern, with few individuals being recorded before the age of 18 (likely due to difficulties in sexing juvenile remains), and after 45+ (Fig 5.3). The largest age category is the 26-35 range, with around 40% of individuals of both sexes.

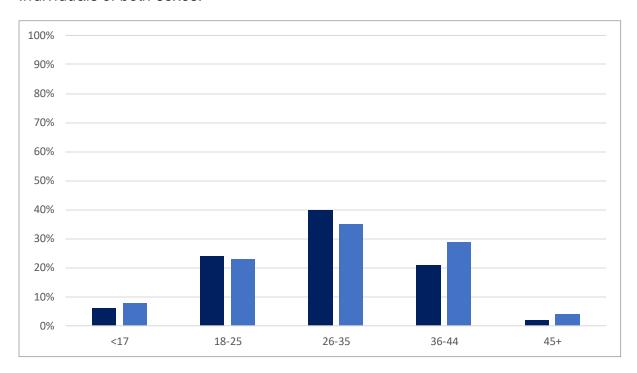


Figure 5:3 Percentage of different age ranges divided by sex in East Yorkshire. (N= 532). (Females are represented in dark blue, males in light blue).

Having gone through puberty, it is possible that females from the ages of 18-36 would be at risk from death in childbirth. Perhaps the males from the ages of 18-44 would be at risk from violence, although there is little evidence to suggest that this would be unique to the males (Redfern 2006).

5.4. Orientation

A substantial number of burials (70%) were buried with their heads to the north. East Yorkshire cemeteries are large, and this heavy bias towards are northernly orientation could be due to the desire for group cohesion as well as some kind of ritual practice pertaining to the beliefs of people in the region during the Iron Age (Fig 5.4). This overwhelming majority of people orientated towards the north, demonstrates that there was some form of consistent burial orientation associated with East Yorkshire during the Iron Age. It is possible that those buried outside of this rite did not fit in to the societal norm in some way, or that they had suffered from 'bad deaths', or they were perhaps buried too hastily to carry out the rite in the traditional way. It is also possible that those orientated towards the east were part of a different tradition entirely, perhaps linked to the position these individuals were buried in (see Figure 5.18).

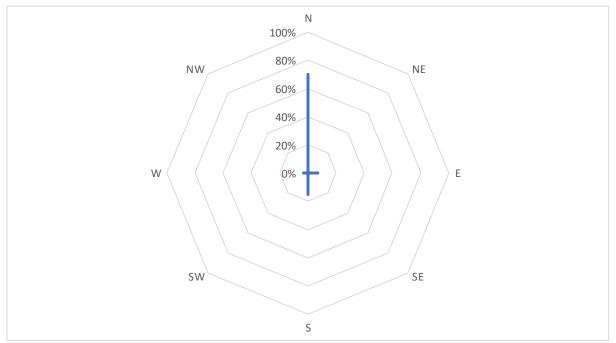


Figure 5:4 Direction in which the head of each individual was orientated. (N= 643).

There is little difference between the sexes as to which way individuals were orientated in death (Fig 5.5, 5.6), the overwhelming majority of both sexes seem to be buried with their heads towards the north (71% of females and 66% of males). This small difference suggests that sex had little bearing over which way one was orientated in death.

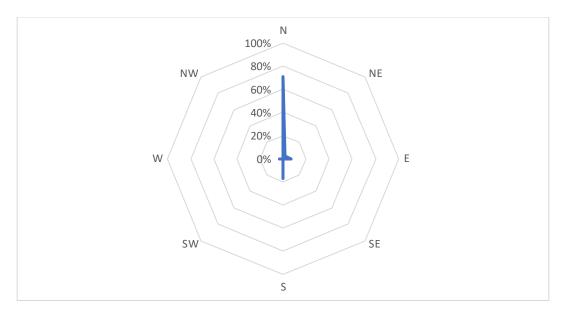


Figure 5:5 Direction in which the head of each female individual was orientated. (N=306).

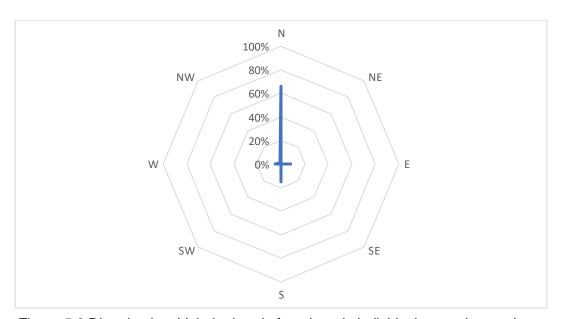


Figure 5:6 Direction in which the head of each male individual was orientated. (N= 226).

5.4.1. Orientation according to age.

Figure 5.7 represents the differences in the direction individuals are orientated according to their age. There are some variations in orientation across the age ranges, with the vast majority of individuals being orientated to the north between 49-79%. The 18-25 age group is the slight outlier here, in every other age range, more than 60% of burials are orientated to the north.

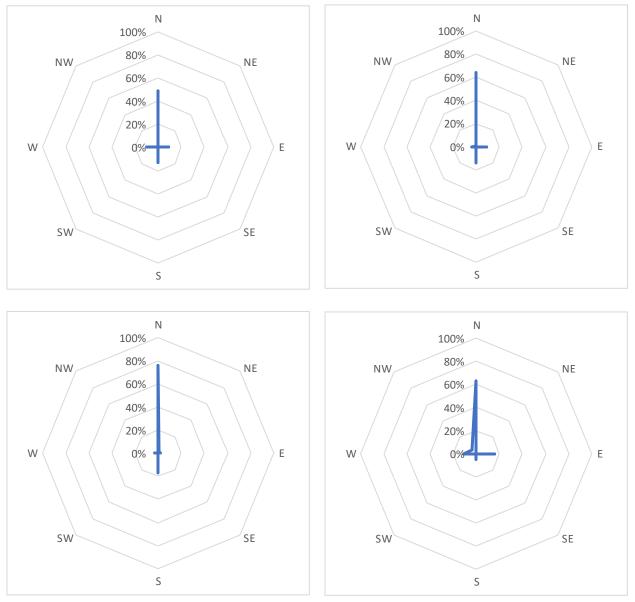


Figure 5:7 (Top left first) Orientation of individuals according to age 18-25 (N=166), 26-35 (N=266), 36-44 (N=149), 45+ (N=19).

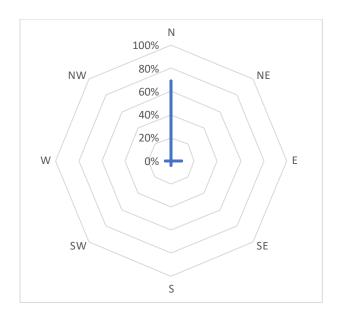
There are a few individuals buried with their heads orientated towards the east. The 45+ age group has the highest proportion of these burials at 16%. The other age ranges have between 2-9% of individuals buried towards the east. Although there are significantly fewer individuals aged 45+, which may impact results from this age group, these individuals could represent a difference in burial rite according to age and therefore perhaps status within society.

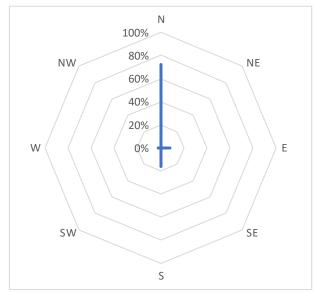
Southerly orientated burials are fairly consistent amongst the younger age ranges making up 13-17% of total burials. This suggests a somewhat standard burial rite amongst the younger groups, while the 45+ age group being the outlier once again with just 5% of individuals being buried orientated towards the south. This does suggest that age may have had some impact on burial rites.

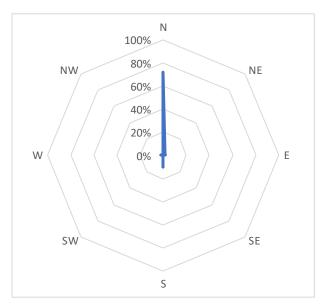
Westerly orientated burials are fairly uncommon. There are fairly few across each age group, usually below 10% of burials are orientated to the west.

5.4.2. Orientation according to sex and age.

The 18-25 year old female group shows a strong majority being orientated with their heads to the north (Fig 5.8) (69%). Just 9% are orientated with their head to the east, 4% to the south, and 5% to the west.







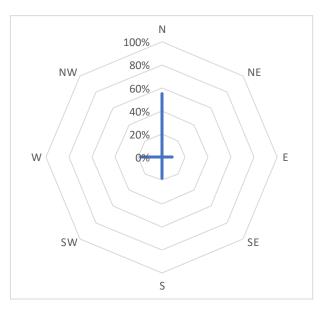


Figure 5:8 (Top left first) Orientation of female individuals according to age 18-25 (N=77), 26-35 (N=125), 36-44 (N=65), 45+ (N=11).

The 26-35 age group also shows a strong majority of individuals being orientated with their head to the north, with 72% of individuals being orientated as such (Fig 5.8). A further 8% of individuals were orientated with their heads to the east, 16% to the south, and 2% to the west.

72% of individuals in the 36-44 age group were also buried with their heads orientated to the north (Fig 5.8). 2% of individuals in this age category were orientated to the north east, east, and west. 10% of individuals were orientated south.

Just 55% of individuals in the 45+ age category were orientated with their heads to the north, significantly less than any other female age category, again indicating a special burial rite for older individuals (Fig 5.8). 9% of individuals were orientated to the east and 18% of individuals were orientated both south and west.

62% of males aged between 18-25 were buried with their heads orientated to the north, this is less than the same age group amongst females. 13% were orientated to the east and south and 10% to the west (Fig 5.9).

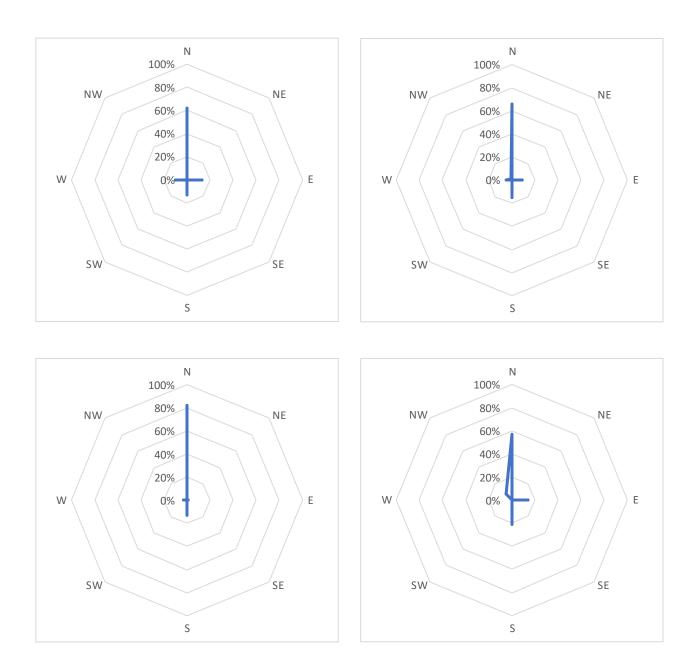


Figure 5:9 (Top left first) Orientation of male individuals according to age 18-25 (N=52), 26-35 (N=74), 36-44 (N=67), 45+ (N=14).

In the 26-35 age group 66% of male individuals were orientated with their heads to the north, again this is also less than the same age category in females (Fig 5.9). 9% were orientated to the east, 15% to the south, 5% to the west and 1% were orientated to the north west.

The 36-44 age group had 82% of individuals orientated to the north, 10% more than the equivalent female age category (Fig 5.9). Just 1% of individuals were orientated to the east, 13% to the south, and 3% to the west.

Again, the 45+ shows a slightly smaller majority being orientated to the north, with 57% of individuals being buried thus. This does perhaps support a different burial rite being reserved for those who are older (Fig 5.9). 14% of these individuals were buried orientated to the east, 21% to the south, and 7% to the north west.

5.5. Direction individuals faced.

The majority of individuals in East Yorkshire were buried facing east (60%) with 30% of burials facing west (Fig 5.10). Parker Pearson (1999) suggests that this reflects the tendency for roundhouses in the Iron Age to have their doorways opening to the east, suggesting that there was a link between life and death (see chapter 7).

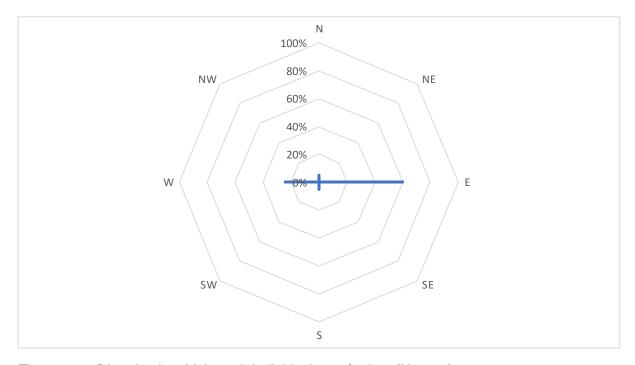
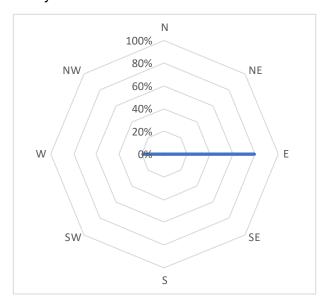
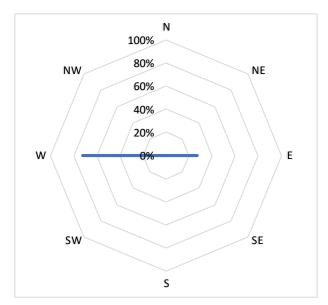
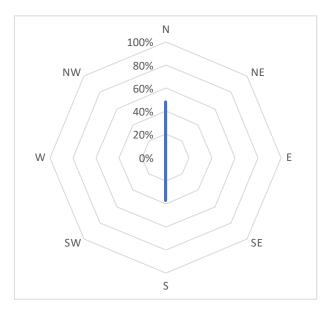


Figure 5:10 Direction in which each individual was facing. (N= 643).

Northernly orientated burials are most likely to face in an easterly direction (79%) (Fig 5.11). Southernly orientated burials are very likely to face in a westerly direction (72%) (Fig 5.11). Both easterly and westerly orientated burials are almost equally likely to face either south or north.







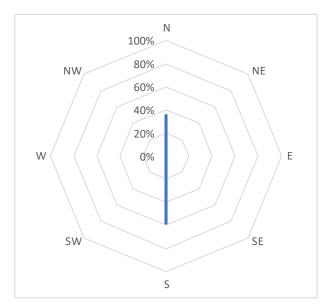
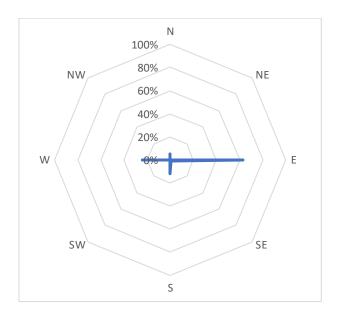


Figure 5:11 (Top left first) Direction in which the head of each northerly (N=453), southerly (N=99), easterly (N=46), and westerly (N=26) orientated individual faced.

5.5.1. Direction individuals were facing according to sex.

5% of both females and males were facing the north (Fig 5.12). 1% of males were facing the north east, 1% of females were facing the south east. 12% of females and 6% of males were buried facing the south. 24% of females and 23% of males were buried facing the west. 61% of males and 63% of females were buried facing east. This shows that there is little difference between the sexes in terms of direction they were buried facing.



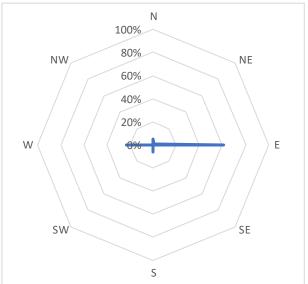
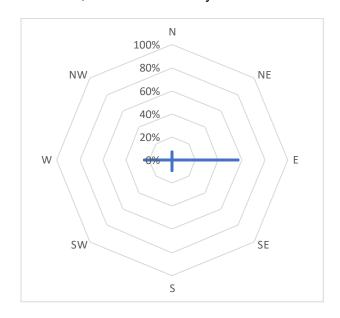
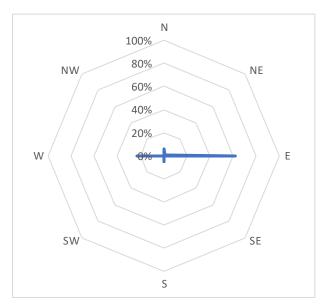


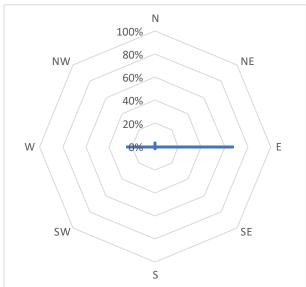
Figure 5:12 Direction in which each individual was facing according to sex. Females (N= 306) males (N=226).

5.5.2. Direction individuals were facing according to age.

Each group is largely similar to each other (Fig 5.13). The majority of individuals seem to consistently be facing to the east, 57% of 18-25 year olds, 62% of 26-35 years olds, 67% of 36-44 year olds, and 52% of 45+ year olds. Few individuals face the north, 7% of 18-25 year olds, 6% of 26-35 year olds, 3% of 36-44 year olds, and 5% of 45+ year olds. 9% of 18-25 year olds, 5% of 26-35 year olds, 2% of 36-44 year olds, and 5% of 45+ year olds face the south. 24% of 18-25 and 36-44 year olds face the west, with 23% 26-35 year olds and 16% of 45+ year olds facing thus.







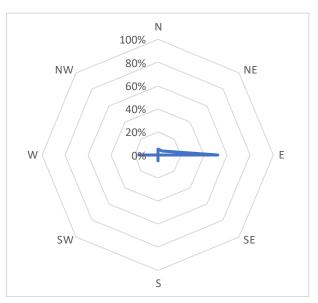


Figure 5:13 Direction in which each individual was facing according to age. 18-25 (N=152) 26-35 (N=234) 36-44 (N=149) 45+ (N=19).

There are a few deviations from these standard compass points, 1% of individuals from the 26-35 year old category and 5% from the 45+ year old age category faced the north east. 1% from the 36-44 year old age group faced the south east.

5.5.3. Direction individuals were facing according to age and sex.

8% of 18-25 year old females were buried facing the north (Fig 5.14). 56% were buried facing east, 7% were buried facing south, and 26% were buried facing west.

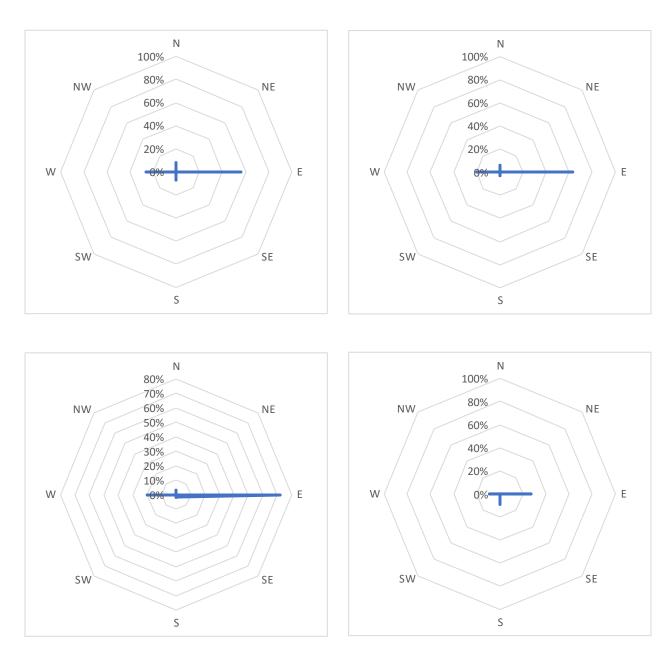


Figure 5:14 Direction in which each individual was facing according to sex and age. Females 18-25 (N=77) 26-35 (N=125) 36-44 (N=65) 45+ (N=11).

6% of 26-35 year old females were buried facing the north (Fig 5.14). 63% were buried facing the east, 3% facing the south, and 20% facing the west. 3% of 36-44 year olds were buried facing the north (Fig 5.14), 72% facing the east, 2% facing the south, and 20% facing the west. A further 2% were buried facing the south east. Both of these age groups are somewhat similar to the youngest, with a large majority facing the east, a smaller percentage facing both the south and north, and a slightly larger percentage facing the west. This suggests that age (after and up until a certain point) was not a differentiating factor in the directions people faced in burial.

No individuals over the age of 45 were buried facing the north, 27% were buried facing the east, with 9% facing both the south and west (Fig 5.14). This is quite different from the pattern observed in the younger age groups although the east still has the highest percentage of individuals facing it, there are no individuals buried facing north. The south seems to follow the same sort of pattern previously observed, but fewer individuals face the west. There are also a fair number of burials where either the orientation or the side on which they were lying were unknown or unrecorded leaving a large percentage out of the graph in this case.

8% of male individuals aged between 18-25 years old were buried facing the north (Fig 5.15). 60% were buried facing the east, 2% were buried facing the south, and 15% were buried facing the west. This is fairly similar to the same age group of females.

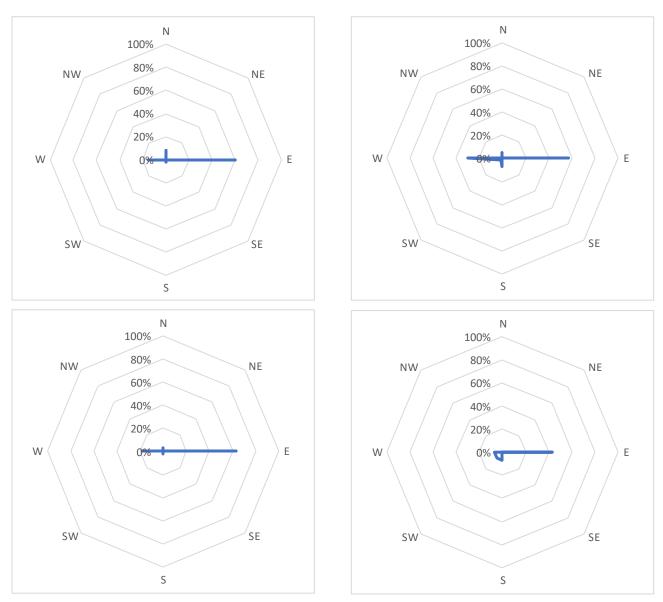


Figure 5:15 Direction in which each individual was facing according to sex and age. Males 18-25 (N=52) 26-35 (N=74) 36-44 (N=67) 45+ (N=14).

5% of males aged between 26-35 years old were buried facing the north (Fig 5.15), 57% facing the east, 7% facing the south, and 30% facing the west; again, this is fairly similar to the same age group in the females (Fig 5.15). A further 2% of males were buried facing the south west. In the 36-44 year old age group just 3% of males were buried facing the north, 63% facing the east, 2% facing south, and 18% facing the west. This is, again, mostly similar to the same age group in females.

Again, as with the same age group in females, the 45+ departs from the pattern observed in the younger three age groups (Fig 5.15). 0% of individuals were facing north, 43% were facing east, and 7% were facing south, south west, and west. This is reasonably similar to the females in this age group, although not without some differences, it does also suggest a different burial rite for older individuals.

5.6. Burial Position

Burials were found in a range of positions from contracted to extended (Table 5.1).

Individuals buried in a contracted position made up 14% of all recorded burials (Fig 5.16). 37% of individuals were found in a tightly crouched position. A little over 50% percent of individuals were recorded as being in some form of crouched position. Flexed individuals make up 20% of recorded burials. Burials in which the individual was recorded as being in an extended position made up 5% of all recorded burials.

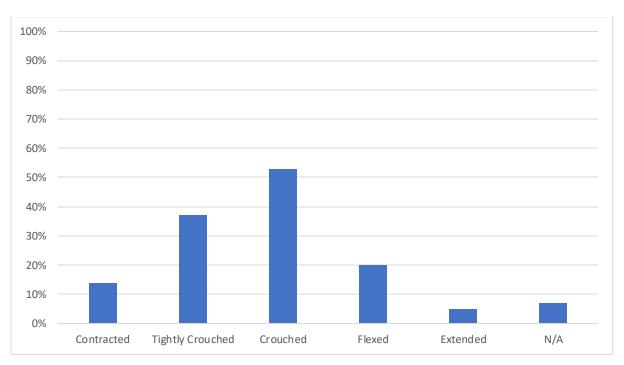


Figure 5:16 Burial position from the East Yorkshire dataset. (N=643).

Contracted	"More or less on its side with the knees touching
	the chest, all leg bones virtually parallel with the
	vertebrae. The arms usually sharply bent, with
	elbows just above waist level and the hands in
	front of the face. Such skeletons are so tightly
	contracted they would fit into a box only 0.35-0.4m
	wide and 0.7-0.85m long."
Tightly crouched	"More or less on its side knees drawn up in front of
	the chest; there is a definite but small angle
	between the femora and the vertebrae (say 15-
	40°). Hands in front of the face)".
Crouched	"Usually on its side with the knees drawn up to the
	level of the waist. The angle of the femora to the
	vertebrae is between 40 and 90°. Hands in front of
	the face".
Flexed	"Usually on its side with the legs together and the
	femora at an angle of more than 90° to the
	vertebrae. The hands are usually in front of the
	face."
Extended	"On its back with one or both legs more or less
	fully extended and the arms by the sides".

Table 5:1 Different forms of burial position (Stead 1991, 185)

5.6.1. Burial Position according to sex.

Both males and females were buried in some form of crouched position by an overwhelming majority (Fig 5.17). Flexed and contracted were the next most common positions to be buried in, with extended (both prone and supine) burials being far rarer. This is fairly indicative of burial position being part of a set rite that the vast majority of individuals followed, both male and female.

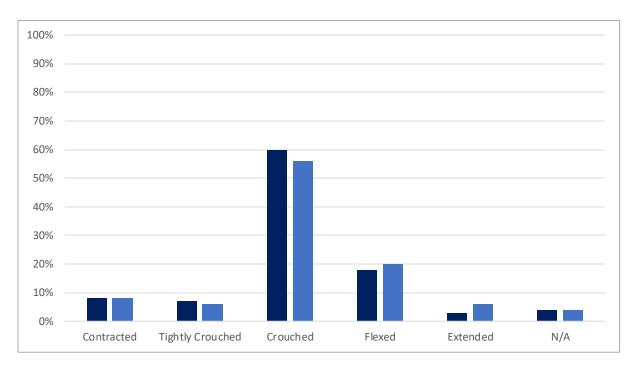


Figure 5:17 Burial position divided by sex (females in dark blue, males in light blue). (N= 532).

5.6.2. Burial position according to age.

Figures 5.18-5.21 represent the differences in burial position across the different age ranges, there seems to be little variation until the 45+ age group. Most individuals from the ages of 18-45 seem to be buried in a crouched position (making up 43-65% of burials across the age groups), with a contracted or flexed position being the next most common. There are very few extended burials across the younger age groups, only making up around 1-8% of burials, however, in the 45+ age group extended burials make up 21% of the total number of burials. This suggests that there perhaps was a different burial rite for the older population, although a much smaller sample size could impact results for this age group.

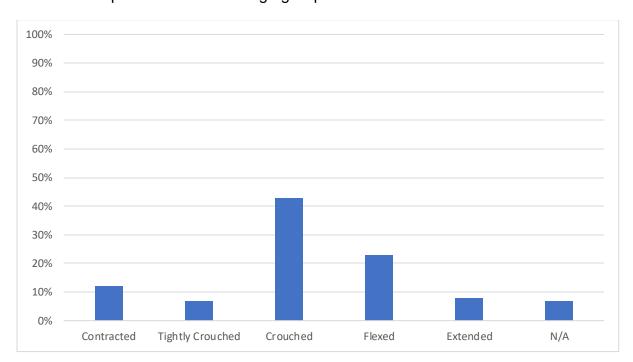


Figure 5:18 Burial position, according to age (18-25). (N=166).

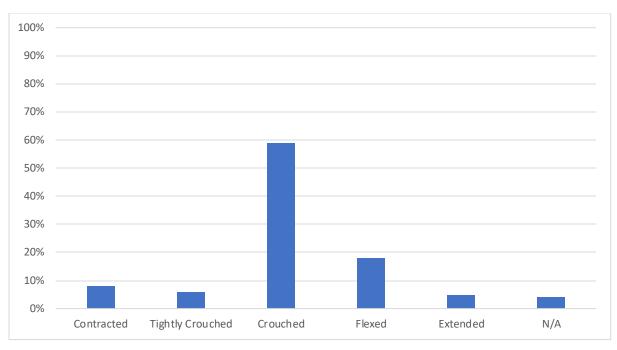


Figure 5:19 Burial position according to age (26-35). (N=226).

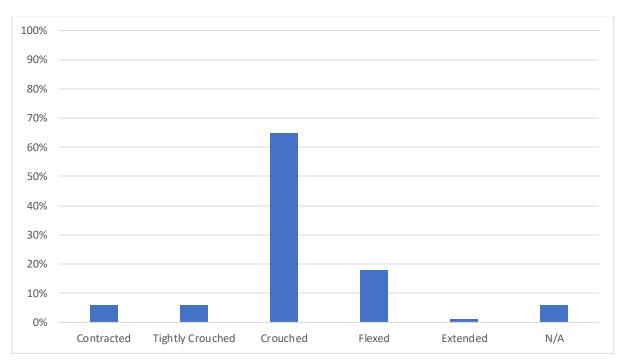


Figure 5:20 Burial position, according to age (36-44). (N=142).

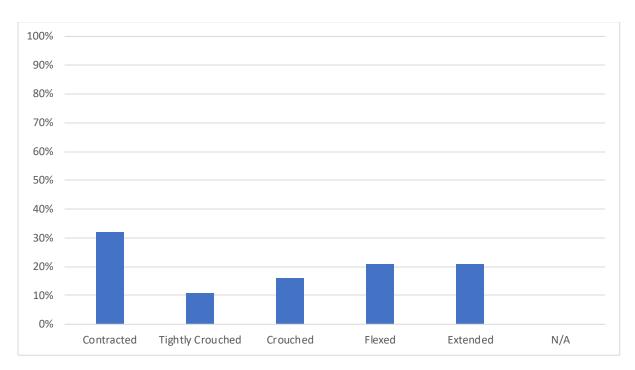


Figure 5:21 Burial position, according to age (45+). (N=20).

5.6.3. Burial position according to age and sex

When split by age and sex the female 18-25 year old age category (Fig 5.22) shows that 13% were buried contracted, 9% were buried tightly crouched, 43% were buried crouched, 26% were buried flexed and 4% were buried in an extended position. 5% of these individuals were recorded as position unknown, possibly to due to damage.

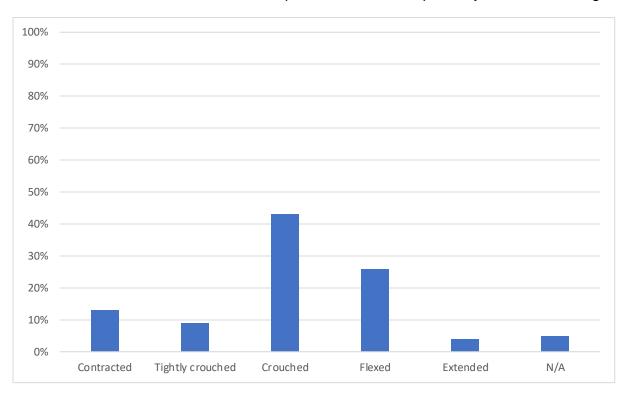


Figure 5:22 Female burial position, according to age 18-25. (N=77).

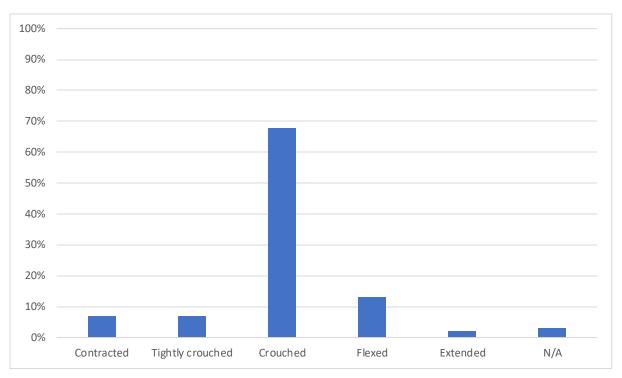


Figure 5:23 Female burial position, according to age 26-35. (N=125).

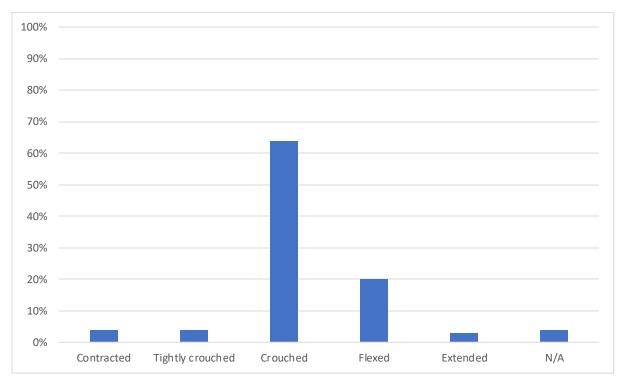


Figure 5:24 Female burial position, according to age 36-44. (N=70).

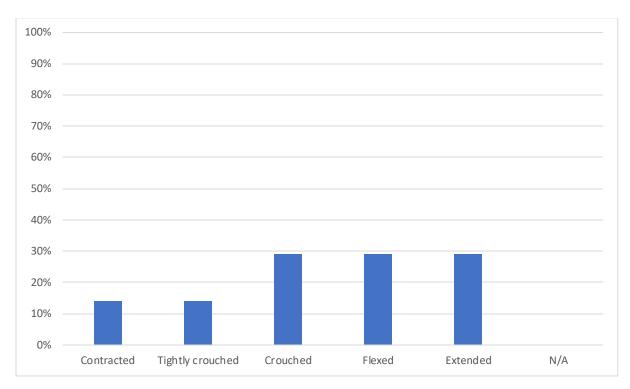


Figure 5:25 Female burial position, according to age 45+. (N=7).

The 26-35 age group (Fig 5.23) shows that 7% were buried contracted and tightly crouched, 13% were buried in a flexed position, and 2% were buried in an extended position. While a large majority (68%) of these individuals were buried in a crouched position. 3% were recorded as position unknown.

In the 36-44 age category 4% were buried as contracted and tightly crouched, 20% were buried in a flexed position, 3% in an extended position and 64% were buried in a crouched position (Fig 5.24). 4% were not able to be recorded.

The 45+ age group shows some interesting results with 14% being buried in a tightly crouched or contracted position. 29% of individuals being buried in a crouched, flexed, or extended position, and 0% of burial positions being unknown (Fig 5.25).

The 18-25 year old male group is similar to the same age category in females, 7% of these individuals were buried in a contracted position (Fig 5.26) a further 7% were buried in a tightly crouched position. 37% were buried in a crouched position, 16% in a flexed position, 13% in an extended position and 5% were unknown.

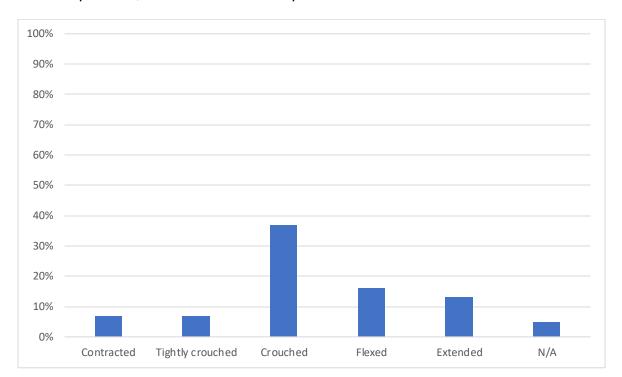


Figure 5:26 Male burial position, according to age 18-25. (N=52).

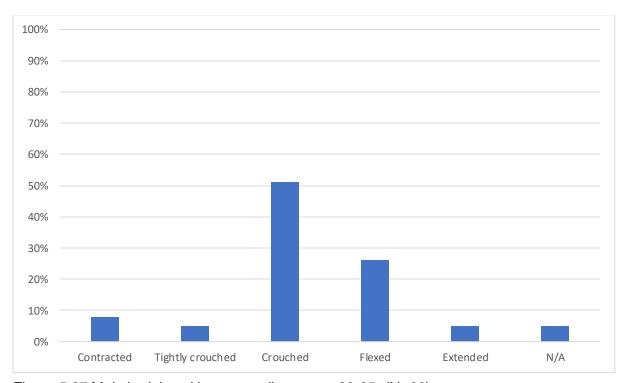


Figure 5:27 Male burial position, according to age 26-35. (N=80).

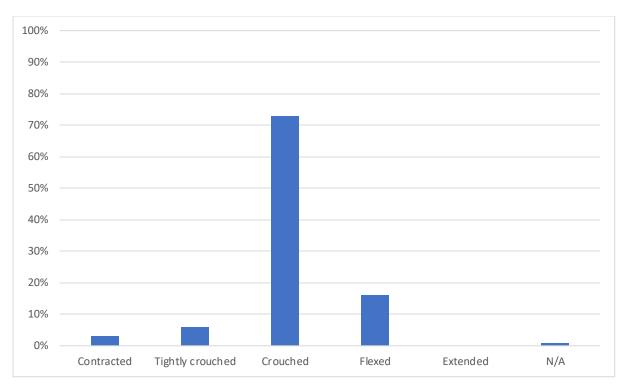


Figure 5:28 Male burial position, according to age 36-44. (N=60).

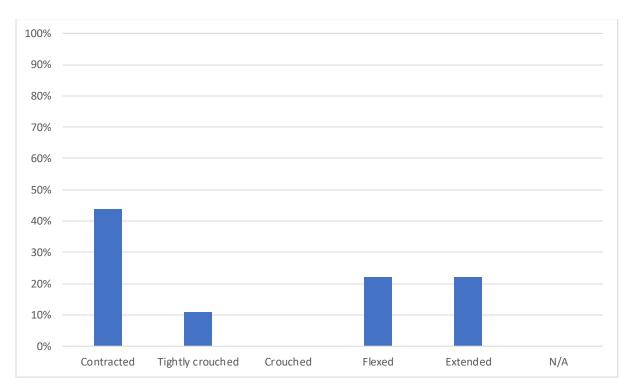


Figure 5:29 Male burial position, according to age 45+. (N=9).

In the 26-35 age group 8% were buried contracted, 5% tightly crouched, 51% crouched, 26% flexed, 5% extended, and a further 5% were unknown (Fig 5.27).

The 36-44 age group has an overwhelming majority of crouched burials, with 73% of individuals in this age category being recorded as such (Fig 5.28). 3% of burials were recorded as contracted, 6% as tightly crouched, 16% as flexed, 1% unknown. This is the only group of individuals (18+) to have 0% extended burials.

The 45+ is similarly interesting, there are no crouched burials in this group of individuals, the majority are buried in either a contracted (44%) or a tightly crouched (11%) position. This may suggest some sort of separate burial rite for males that are over 45 in this region (Fig 5.29). 22% of individuals are buried in a flexed and extended position. There are no unknown individuals in this age group.

5.6.4. Burial position according to orientation.

As seen in the first two graphs (Fig 5.30, 5.31), those buried with their heads orientated to the north and to the south were far more likely to be buried in a crouched position (59% of those orientated north, and 60% of those orientated south). On the other hand, those buried to the east and west were more likely to be buried in an extended position (41% of those orientated east, and 46% of those orientated west) (5.54, 5.55). Only 30% of those orientated to the east were buried in a crouched position, falling to just 4% of those buried orientated to the west.

Whereas those to the south and north were unlikely to be buried in an extended position (0.2% of those buried orientated north, and 0% of those buried orientated south). This suggests that the direction an individual was orientated in dictated somewhat the burial position of that individual. These results could also suggest that there may have been a shift in burial tradition, where individuals were buried orientated east in an extended position instead of north in a crouched position or vice versa.

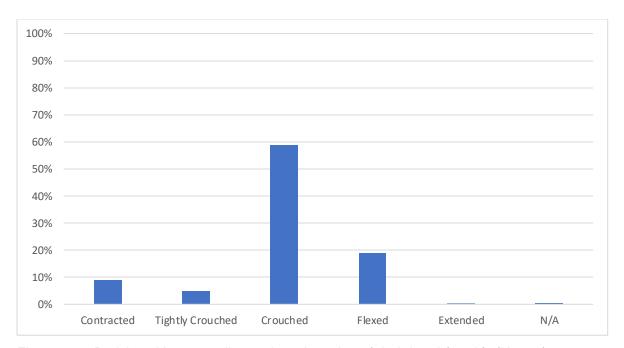


Figure 5:30 Burial position according to the orientation of their head (north). (N=453).

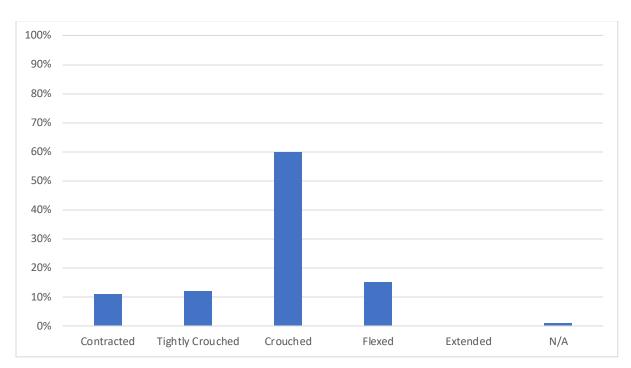


Figure 5:31 Burial position, according to the orientation of their head (south). (N=99).

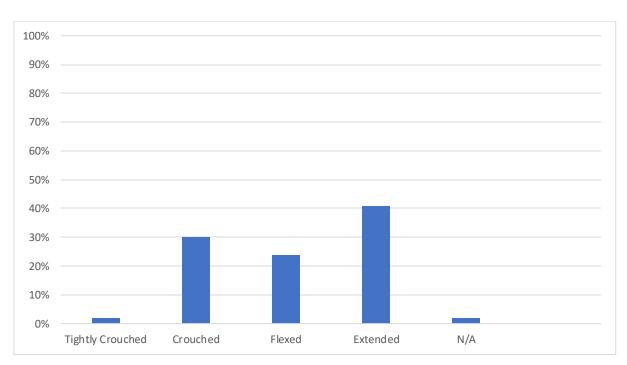


Figure 5:32 Burial position, according to the orientation of their head (east). (N=46).

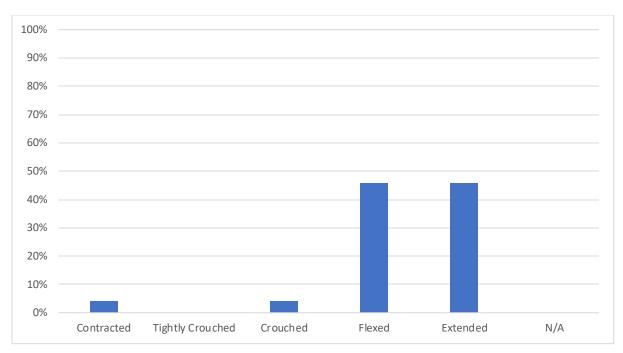


Figure 5:33 Burial position, according to the orientation of their head (west). (N=26).

A flexed burial position is fairly common across the board, ranging between 15-45% of burials. 15% of those buried orientated to the south, 19% to the north, 24% to the east, and 46% to the west were buried in a flexed position.

Contracted burials are less common than crouched, extended, and flexed burials but they are observed in northerly (9%), southerly (11%), and westerly (4%) orientated burials. No easterly orientated individuals were observed as being in a contracted position. Much like contracted burials, tightly crouched burials are observed in northerly (5%), southerly (12%), and easterly (2%) orientated burials; they are not observed in burials orientated to the west.

5.7. Grave goods.

Over 60% of individuals were found to have no grave goods at all (Fig 5.34). The most common kind of grave good is an iron brooch, which is often found in the skull area and could possibly represent the fastener for some kind of shroud or other type of binding. There are three instances in which copper-alloy, namely bronze, was used to make the brooch, which is an interesting deviation from the 91 iron (often composite) brooches that were given as grave goods.

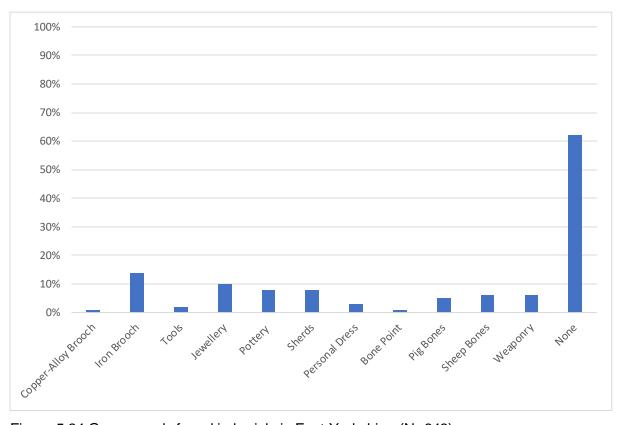


Figure 5:34 Grave goods found in burials in East Yorkshire. (N=643).

Animal bones and pottery make up 11% and 8% of all grave goods respectively, with sherds (broken pot, that may be deliberately or accidentally deposited) making up

another 8%. The quality of the pottery suggests that it is not the vessels themselves that were important to the burial ritual but rather what was contained within them (Stead 1991). Animal bones were usually found as a meat offering, comprising an animal whole joint such as a leg, however, there were several bone points found as well.

Jewellery makes up 10% of grave goods, including beads, necklaces, bracelets, and rings (including toe rings and earrings). This form of grave good could possibly indicate a societal elite: a group of people that were materially wealthy enough to give more precious items as grave goods other than the more standard pottery and animal bone. Jewellery was usually made of metal, glass, or shale. The most common metal was copper-alloy, for rings, and glass beads were a popular material for necklaces. Shale was used for bracelets. As shown in the graph below, jewellery was given to both males and females.

6% of graves included some form of weaponry including spearheads, swords, daggers, and knives, made almost exclusively of iron. There were four instances of a possible wooden shield.

Iron tools make up 4% of grave goods including those that were used in chariot burials, such as horse bits and the parts of the chariot itself. Iron pins were also included in this category – these could have been part of clothing or binding material. Tweezers were also found in more than one grave which perhaps could represent some sort of personal care and grooming taking places amongst people in this community.

There were two chalk spindle whorls found as grave goods. These make up just 0.3% of all grave goods.

5.7.1. Grave goods according to age

There is a clear distinction between those under the age of eighteen and those within the 'adult' ranges (18-45+) (Fig 5.35-5.39). 88% of individuals under the age of seventeen were found to be buried without any sort of grave good; this falls to between 50-60% in the adult categories; this suggests that there was perhaps some form of age of majority within Iron Age East Yorkshire that was reflected in burial.

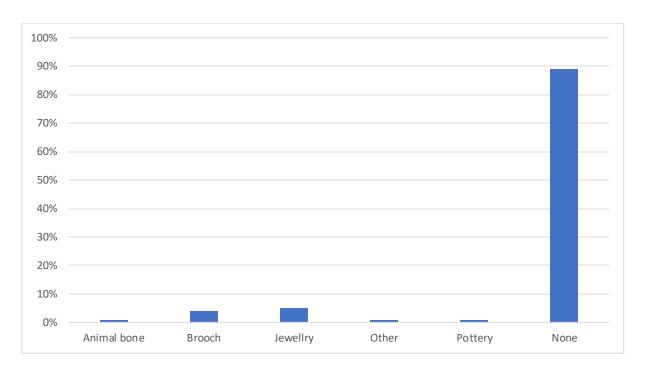


Figure 5:35 Grave goods, according to age (<18). (N=97).

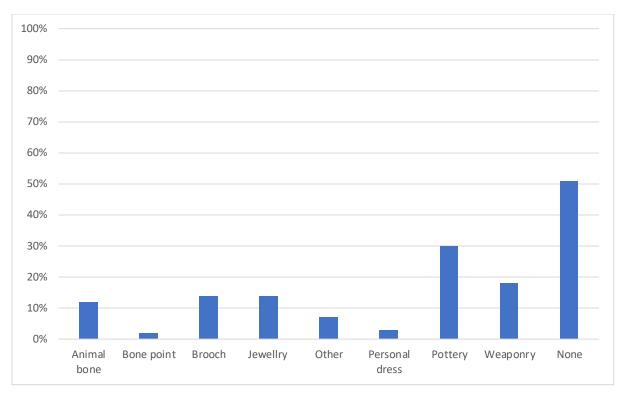


Figure 5:36 Grave goods, according to age (18-25). (N=133).

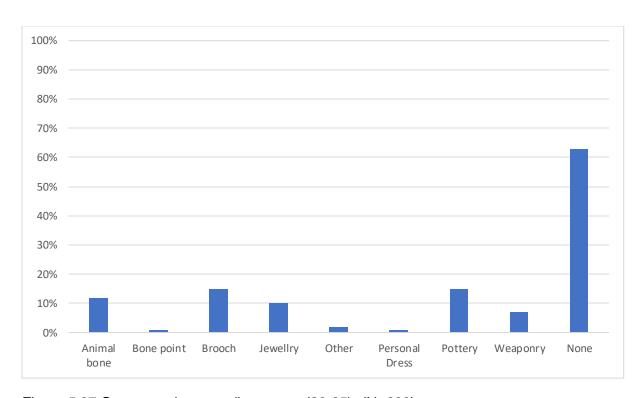


Figure 5:37 Grave goods, according to age (26-35). (N=233).

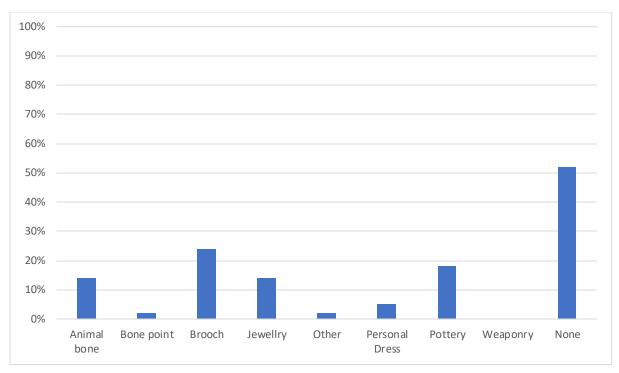


Figure 5:38 Grave goods, according to age (36-44). (N=131).

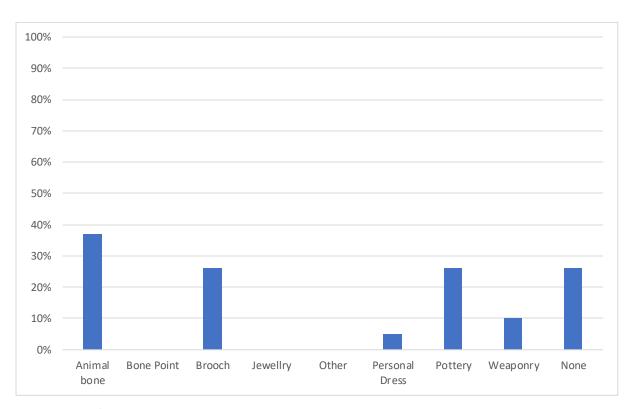


Figure 5:39 Grave goods, according to age (45+). (N=19).

The types of grave goods individuals receive also seem to be age dependant; weaponry falls by 10% in the older two age ranges, and jewellery also is absent from graves of individuals over the age of 45. This absence is likely due to the fact that there are twice the number of males in this age category as there are females, thus it is statistically likely that jewellery would not be present as a grave good in this age category.

Pottery, brooches, and animal bones are prevalent across all age ranges from the ages of 18-25. Pottery never falls below 15%, brooches never fall below 14%, and animal bones never fall below 13%. These three different types of grave good seem to be given consistently across sexes and ages, thus they represent a key portion of the burial ritual that Iron Age East Yorkshire had.

The 'other' category involves household personal items such as iron pins, spindle whorls, those items associated with chariots such as horse bits, iron tyres, nave hoops, linch pins, and terrets as well as tools such as tweezers, awls, and hammers. This category, it is fairly common throughout the age ranges, although it never reaches over 7% of all grave goods.

5.7.2. Grave goods according to sex

Interestingly both sexes were most likely to receive no grave goods at all (61% of females and 59% of males) (Fig 5.40). This is a fairly even split, suggesting a reason other than sex for an individual to receive no grave goods. Material wealth of the family could result in a less well-furnished grave, or perhaps the role of the individual within society may have dictated what grave goods accompanied the individual in death.

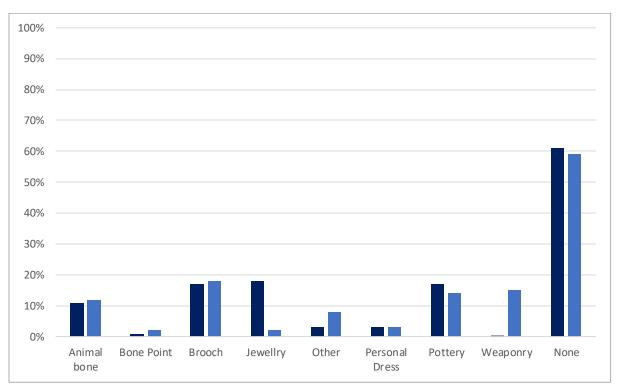


Figure 5:40 Grave goods, according to their sex (female dark blue, male light blue). (N=532).

Brooches were particularly common in graves of both sexes – 18% of males were buried with a brooch, and 17% of females were given a brooch. As stated above, this

could have been related to the fastening of some sort of binding material used to keep the individuals in a tightly crouched or contracted position.

Pottery (including whole pots and sherds) was also common, 17% of females and 14% of males were buried with some form of pottery. This could show some distinction between the sexes in terms of the grave goods that they received, however the difference is not particularly significant at only a 3% change between the sexes.

Animal bones were slightly more common in male graves rather than female, 13% of males were given animal bones whereas only 11% of females were given animal bones.

The sexes differ most in the jewellery and weaponry categories, only 2% of males receive some form of jewellery whereas 18% of females were given jewellery and 15% of males were accompanied by weaponry and just 0.3% of females (one individual) had weaponry as a grave good. It is possible, however, that those of unknown sex may have been a female with weaponry or a male buried with jewellery. Osteological sexing is notoriously difficult, and in the past archaeologists would often use grave goods to aid in sexing, applying modern gender biases to those in the past. Individuals such as R57 (Stead 1991, 194) very well may be female, however, due to contra-indications when sexing (exhibiting both male and female characteristics) it is impossible to say for sure either way without aDNA analysis, the samples of which are too degraded to tell. There are also issues when individuals are too damaged to be accurately sexed. This means that conclusions

involving sex and whether or not burials rites differed between the sexes are notoriously difficult to make, however, aDNA will help to definitively answer the question of sexing.

5.7.3. Grave goods according to age and sex

The youngest age range (<18) has not been counted as sexing those under the age of 18 is notoriously difficult and can often be inaccurate. Across each age group apart from 45+, it is most common for individuals to be buried without grave goods (Fig 5.41-5.66). It is important to note that there are only seven females in the 45+ age range, so it is difficult to know how representative that age group is of the burial rites over all.

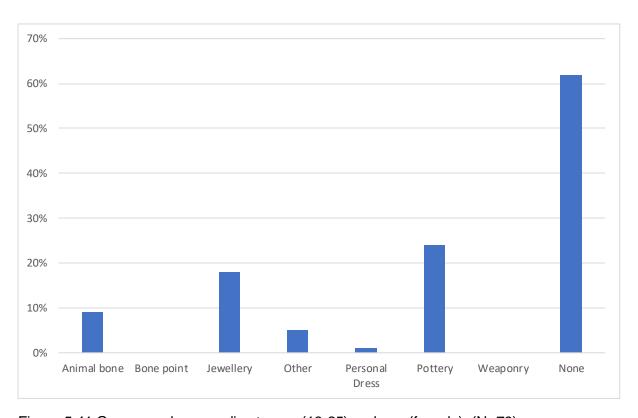


Figure 5:41 Grave goods, according to age (18-25) and sex (female). (N=79).

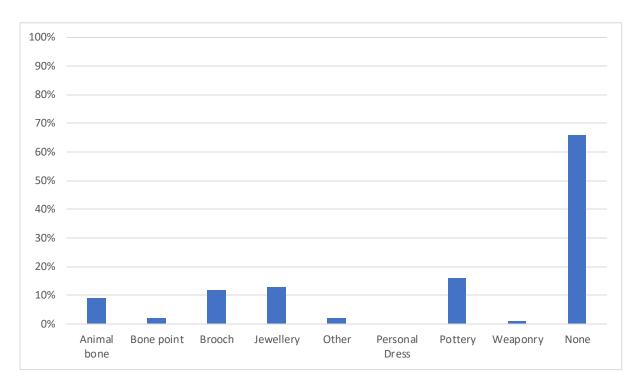


Figure 5:42 Grave goods, according to age (26-35) and sex (female). (N=122).

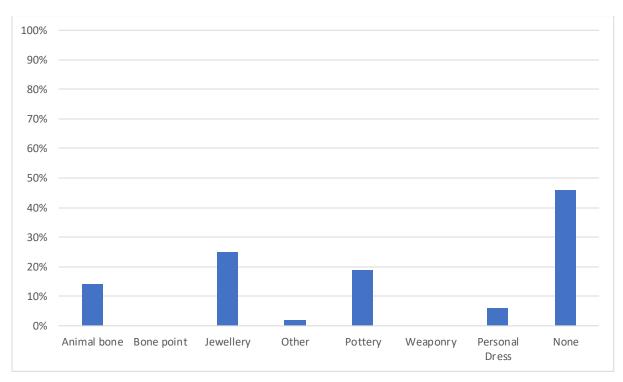


Figure 5:43 Grave goods, according to age (36-44) and sex (female). (N=65).

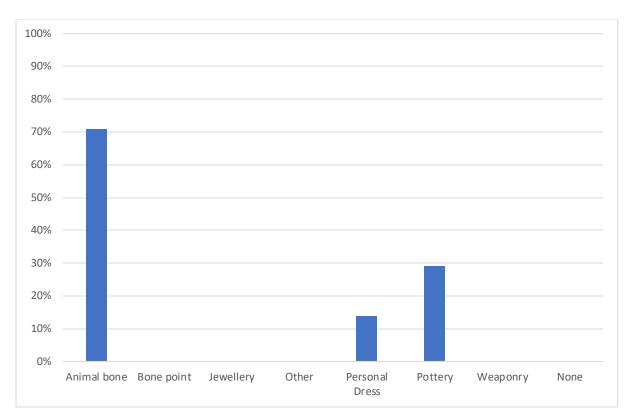


Figure 5:44 Grave goods, according to age (45+) and sex (female). (N=7).

Across every age group, animal bone (usually sheep or pig bones) remains a fairly common grave good. 9% of females aged 18-25, 11% of females aged 25-35, 14% of females aged 35-45 and 71% of females aged 45+ received animal bones as grave goods. These bones and the meat they would once have had on them may have been given to individuals for some sort of journey to the afterlife.

Also, a common grave good given to females of every age group were brooches; these were made of copper-alloy, or more commonly iron. As stated above, it is possible these were used to secure some kind of binding material such as a shroud (see Figure 5.71), as they were often fastened in front of the face or around the head

area. 18% of females aged 18-25, 12% of females aged 25-35, 21% of females aged 35-45, and 14% of females aged 45+ received a brooch.

Jewellery is another type of grave good that is commonly gifted to females across the younger age ranges, this includes rings (both earrings, finger rings, and toe rings), bracelets, necklaces, and beads. Rings were commonly made of copper or iron, bracelets were made of shale, copper, or jet, necklaces were made of beads, formed of amber, jet, or glass. It is interesting to note that none of the women in the 45+ age category received jewellery as a grave good. Jewellery is related to material wealth; between 10 and 25% of females in each age category received some form of jewellery. 18% of females aged 18-25, 13% of females aged 25-35, and 25% of females aged between 35-45. These grave goods could be representative of an elite class of women, making up between 10 and 25% of the female population in the East Yorkshire Iron Age.

Pottery (including whole pots and sherds) is another common grave good, it is probable that these pots held food stuffs, that would be given alongside the meat for the journey to the afterlife. Although pottery is slightly more common than animal bones, this could be due to the inclusion of sherds in this category. Sherds are pieces of broken whole pots that were unable to be put back together, thus there are likely to be more of this kind of pottery than whole pots. 24% of females aged 18-25, 16% aged 25-35, 19% aged 35-45, and 29% aged 45+ were provided with some kind of pottery as a grave good.

Only one female was provided with weaponry; this probable female, from the Makeshift Farm cemetery at Rudston, was aged between 25-35 years old, and the grave was furnished with an iron sword and an iron shield fitting. This individual is R163 and is recorded as a possible female.

The 'other' category for grave goods includes tweezers, tools, and spindle whorls used for weaving, as well as iron fragments which may have once been objects that over time were worn down so that they were unrecognisable upon excavation.

As with the females, it is most common for male individuals to be buried without grave goods in every age category apart from those 45+ (Fig 5.45-5.48). This could be due to the small sample size of the oldest age category, as there were only eight individuals in this group, or it could be due to societal respect for the elderly. In most cases around half of all individuals were buried with no grave goods, ranging from 49% in the 18-25 age range through to 58% in the 35-45 age group.

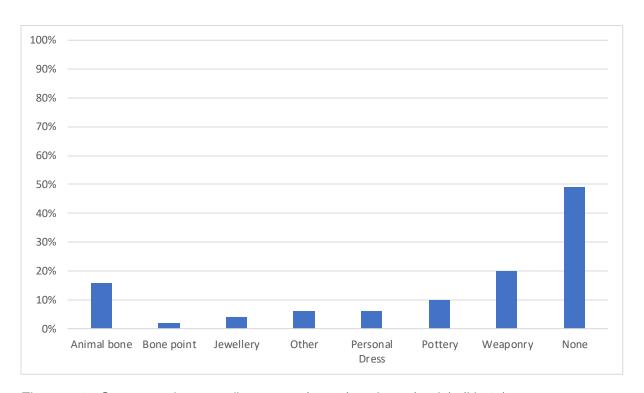


Figure 5:45 Grave goods, according to age (18-25) and sex (male). (N=49).

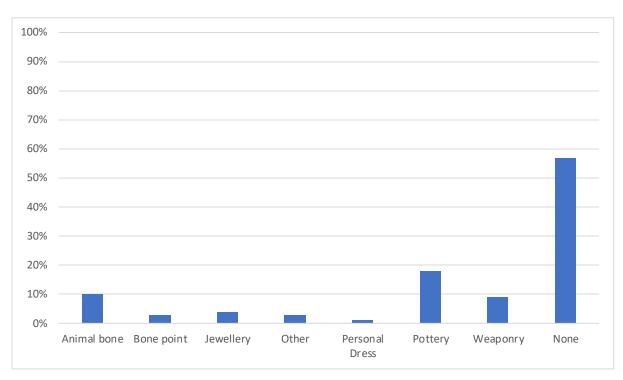


Figure 5:46 Grave goods, according to age (26-35) and sex (male). (N=79).

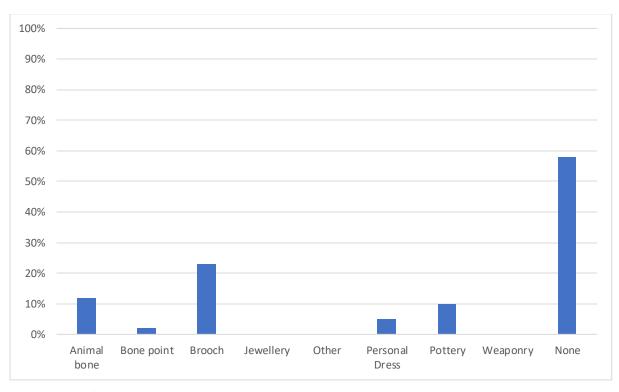


Figure 5:47 Grave goods, according to age (36-44) and sex (male). (N=60).

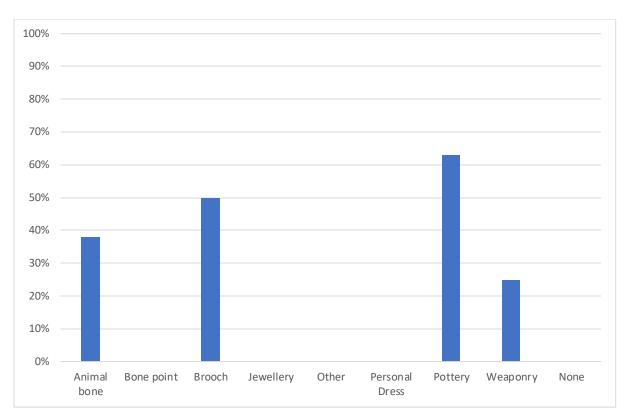


Figure 5:48 Grave goods, according to age (45+) and sex (male). (N=8).

Again, similarly to the females, males were given animal bones and thus, the corresponding cuts of meat, at a rate of around 10%. This ranged from 13% in the 25-35 and 35-45 age groups, through to 18% in the 18-25 age group and then to 38% in the 45+ age group. The animal bones in question were usually sheep, or pig, and the cuts given were often legs, shoulders, or pig skulls.

Brooches were another common grave good for males across all age groups. 8% of those aged 18-25, 23% of those aged 25-35 and 35-45, and 50% of those aged 45+. As stated above, these brooches were made from either iron or a copper alloy and were fastened usually in the area of the skull possibly to hold some kind of binding together for those burials that were in a tighter position (see graph 5.43).

Jewellery is not a common grave good for males, only 4% in both the 18-25 and 25-35 were given jewellery. None of the males in the 35-45 and 45+ category were given jewellery. The types of jewellery also differed from those given to females, rings (including toe rings and ear rings) were given to both males and females, however, bracelets, necklaces, and beads were not given to males. The rings were mostly made from metal, usually copper-alloy.

Grave goods given in the 'other' category changed from those given to females; there were no chalk spindle whorls buried with male individuals. Metal tools, such as tweezers and shanks were given to males. Chariot burials were also responsible for a portion of the grave goods in this category. There were multiple chariot burials which were buried whole thus all the objects included in these burials were included in this category. Other items such as iron pins were included, as well as iron fragments which may have once been identifiable objects that degraded post burial.

Pottery was a fairly common grave good. Once again this category includes both sherds and whole pots. The quality of the whole pots that were given as grave goods implies that rather than the pots themselves being the gift, it was what was contained within those pots. This was likely some form of food stuff that did not survive its time in the ground. 10% of those aged 18-25, 18% of those aged 25-35, 10% of those aged 35-45, and 63% of those aged 45+ were all provided with some form of pottery as a grave good.

Weaponry was a fairly common grave good for males, which is different for females possibly who did not receive any weaponry according to Stead (1991, 205). 20% of males aged between 18-25, 9% of males aged between 25-35, and 25% of males aged 45+ were given weaponry as grave goods. Interestingly, males aged between 36-45 were not provided with weaponry at all, which deviates from the expected burial tradition. The weaponry given as grave goods ranges from shield fittings to iron knives and daggers, all through to spearheads and swords. These could be weapons that the males owned during life, or perhaps could correspond to their manner of death.

5.7.4. Brooches as grave goods according to burial position

From this graph (Fig 5.49) we can see that the tighter burial positions such as crouched, contracted, and tightly crouched were more likely to receive a brooch as a grave good. It is significant that so few of those individuals buried in an extended position were given a brooch as a grave good; it is entirely possible that it was not thought of as a necessary part of the burial rite for those buried in this position. Perhaps these individuals were buried clothed. There are examples of individuals being buried with their sword across their backs. Thus, it is possible that these crouched individuals were bound with a shroud or other material in order to hold the position (Armit et al. 2013).

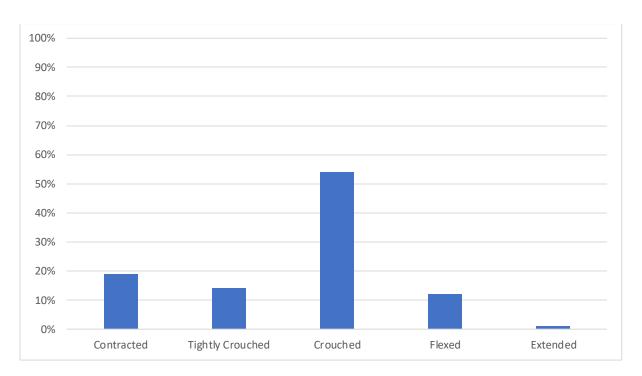


Figure 5:49 Positions of each individual that received a brooch. (N=100).

5.7.5. Grave goods according to orientation

As can be seen, animal bones are a fairly common grave good across southerly, easterly, and westerly orientated graves ranging from 10-19%; however, in northerly orientated graves animal bones are only found in 3% of graves (Fig 5.50-5.53).

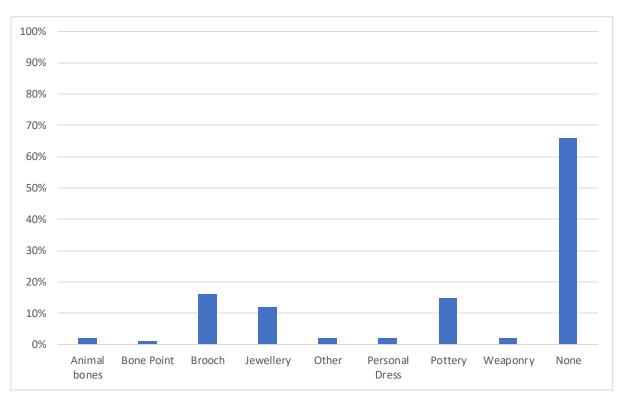


Figure 5:50 Grave goods individuals received according to orientation (north). (N=453).

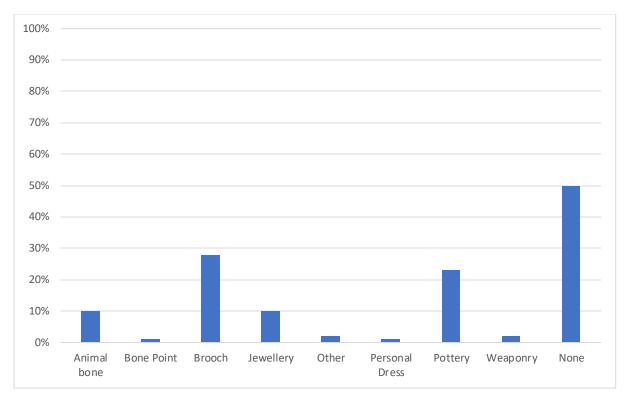


Figure 5:51 Grave goods individuals received according to orientation (south). (N=99).

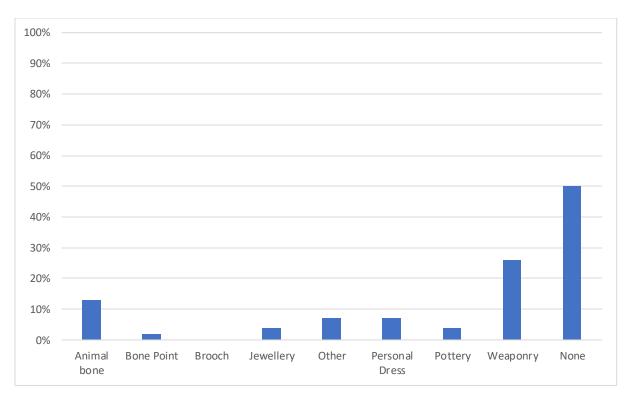


Figure 5:52 Grave goods individuals received according to orientation (east). (N=46).

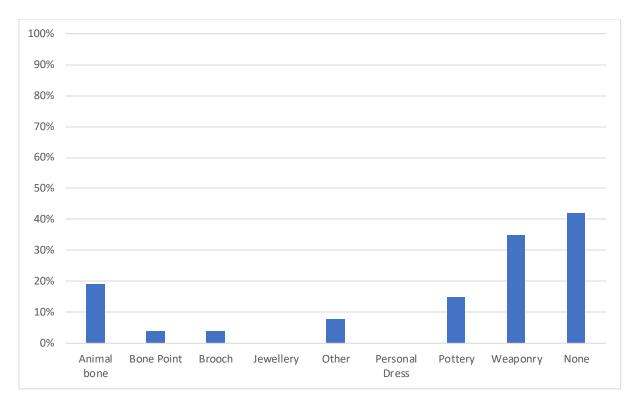


Figure 5:53 Grave goods individuals received according to orientation (west). (N=26).

Amongst southerly and northerly orientated graves, brooches are extremely common, 16% of northerly burials included a brooch and 28% southerly included a brooch as a grave good. Where only 4% of westerly burials included a brooch, and none of the easterly graves included a brooch as a grave good. It is possible that these graves represent a shift in burial traditions seen in a later point of the East Yorkshire Iron Age.

Jewellery is also fairly common amongst northerly and southerly orientated graves, at 12% of northerly graves including some form of jewellery and 10% of southerly orientated graves having jewellery included in them. However, only 4% of easterly graves had some kind of jewellery included in the burial and no westerly orientated graves had jewellery give as a grave good.

Consistently across all orientations it is most common to not receive any grave good at all, 66% of northerly orientated graves had no grave goods. 50% of southerly orientated graves had no grave goods. 50% of easterly orientated graves had no grave goods, and 42% of westerly orientated graves also had no grave goods. It is possible here that there is some kind of social hierarchy that dictated the sort of (if any) grave goods one received, although it does not appear that orientation of one's grave dictated this in any significant way.

The 'other' category here represents goods such as tools, fragments of metal, and chalk spindle whorls. The chariot burials that were found at cemeteries included in this study were also included in this category. Easterly burials had the most objects that fitted into this category, which included objects such as hammer heads and a copper ferrule. The chariot burials were all (100%) buried orientated to the north in keeping with the majority.

Pottery is also a common grave good across the board, apart from in burials orientated towards the east where just 4% of individuals were buried alongside some form of pottery (including whole pots and sherds). This percentage rises with northerly and westerly burials to 15% and then rises again with southerly burials to 23%. As stated above, it is possible that the easterly burials are part of a chronologically different burial rite which would explain the significant difference between these burials and the others.

Weaponry is found in only 2% of both northerly and southerly orientated graves, and in 26% of easterly orientated graves, as well as 35% of westerly orientated graves. This is a significant difference between the orientations. It is possible that warrior graves were orientated westerly in order to fulfil some part of a rite specific to those that were killed or fought in battle, or perhaps a completely chronologically distinct burial rite; in short this subset of burials is different, and highly significant.

5.8. Wetwang Slack.

Wetwang Slack makes up a large part of the overall dataset used for East Yorkshire; therefore, additional analysis using just the data from Wetwang Slack was conducted in chapter 5.10 in order to ascertain the influence of this site on the results overall. Wetwang Slack has burials using mainly 'rite A', 'rite b', and 'rite D', which are characterised by Stead (1991), and summarised below.

Rite A, which is thought to pre-date rite B is characterised as crouched or contracted individuals oriented north-south, facing east, with a durable object such as earthenware jars, brooches, bracelets, bead necklaces, and rings, with fewer items such as weapon or tools (Stead 1991; Giles 2013 69). Rite B is characterised by flexed or extended burials, oriented with their heads at the east or west, with a higher percentage of tools, and weapons, and a lower percentage of broches, and pottery (Stead 1991; Giles 2013, 70). Wetwang Slack also has a higher percentage of examples of 'rite D', which are described as being "secondary burials interred into the fill of the grave pit, the barrow mound, or surrounding enclosure ditch" by Giles, (2013, 71).

5.8.1. Sex

As seen in Figure 5.54 (see below), Wetwang Slack has a high percentage of burials that have been confirmed as female (51%). This is a higher percentage of confirmed female burials than in the overall graph (Figure 5.1) where 47% of burials were confirmed as female.

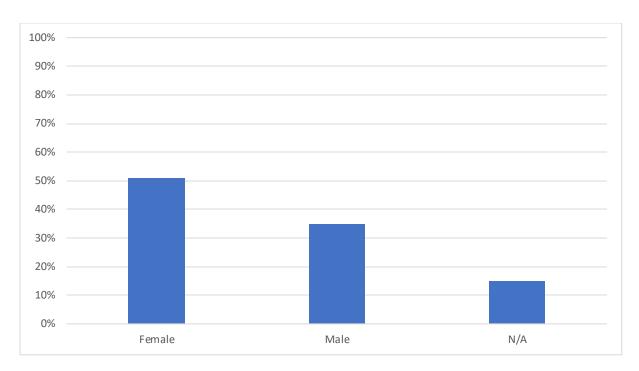


Figure 5:54 Distribution of sex at Wetwang Slack. (N=404).

The percentage of males at Wetwang Slack is 35%, which is exactly equal to the percentage of males in the overall data. The percentage of burials where the sex of the individual is unknown is lower at Wetwang Slack at 15% compared to 19% overall (see Figure 5.1).

5.8.2. Age

The main differences between the data for age at Wetwang Slack lies in the middle two age groups, 26-35 and 36-44, where there is a higher percentage of individuals in both categories at Wetwang Slack (36% and 28%, Figure 5.55) compared to the overall data (32% and 23%) (see Figure 5.2 for overall data). There are also significantly fewer individuals living to over 45, which fell from 3% to less than 1%, with just one individual being aged at 45 or over.

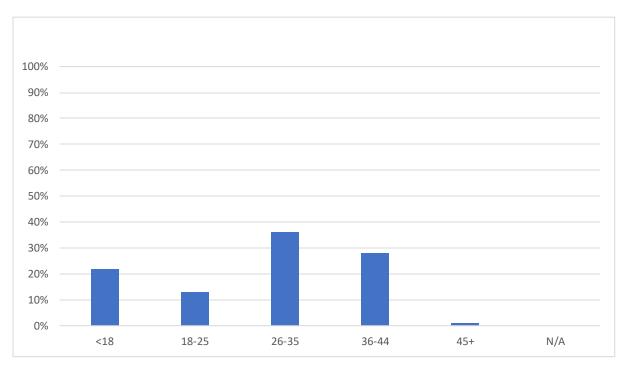


Figure 5:55 Distribution of age at Wetwang Slack. (N=404).

Both the younger two age categories are about the same, with 22% of individuals at Wetwang Slack being under the age of 18 (21% overall, see Figure 5.2). 18-25 year olds make up 13% of individuals at Wetwang Slack and 11% overall (Figure 5.2).

5.8.3. Position

Body position at Wetwang Slack appears to be very different from the results of the overall data (Fig 5.56, Fig 5.18). As can be seen by the graph below, a significant majority of burials were found in a crouched position, 69% compared to 53% in the overall data (Fig 5.56, Fig 5.18). What is perhaps the most significant difference here is the sharp decrease of those individuals buried in a tighter position, contracted, or tightly crouched (see table 5.1). At Wetwang Slack, contracted burials represent only 1% of burials, and tightly crouched burials represent 2% of burials; this is down from 14% and 37% in the overall data respectively.

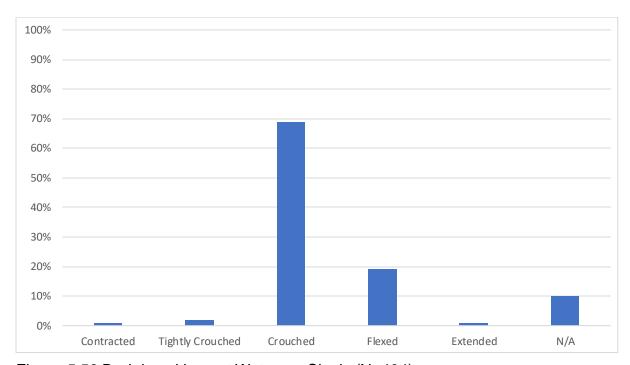


Figure 5:56 Burial positions at Wetwang Slack. (N=404).

The percentages of extended and flexed burials are different, between Wetwang Slack and the data as a whole. 5% of burials overall were extended, but this fell to 1% at Wetwang Slack. 20% of burials overall were flexed, this fell to 19% at Wetwang Slack.

5.8.4. Grave Goods

The most notable change in the grave goods found at Wetwang Slack relative to the database as a whole is that there is a 14% rise (from 62% to 75%) in the number of individuals not receiving any grave goods (Fig 5.57). This means that across the board there is a drop in percentage for all other categories of grave goods, apart from jewellery which rises by 1%.

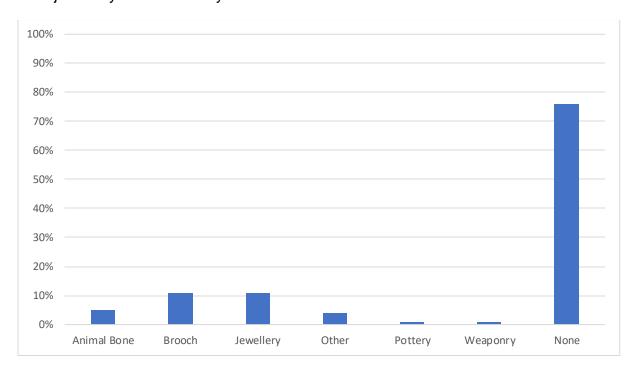


Figure 5:57 Grave goods at Wetwang Slack. (N=404).

All other categories of grave goods fall in percentage, animal bone falls from 11% to just 5%. Brooches fall from 14.5% to 11%. Pottery (including sherds) falls from 16% to just 1% and weaponry falls from 6% to 1%, this grave good type is mainly observed at Rudston Makeshift Cemetery and Burton Fleming.

5.8.5. Orientation

There are a few differences between Wetwang Slack and the overall data (Fig 5.5) in relation to orientation. There is a higher percentage, from 70% to 80%, of burials at Wetwang Slack orientated with their heads at north (Fig 5.58). There are fewer burials buried to the east and west, just 3% and 1% respectively, compared to 7% and 3% in the overall data. There are no burials buried to the north west, south west, south east, and just 1% buried to the north east. The percentage of those buried orientated with their heads to the south does not change, (15% of burials at Wetwang Slack and in the overall data set).

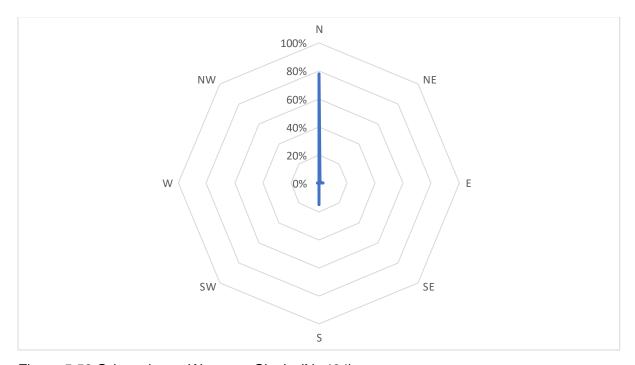


Figure 5:58 Orientation at Wetwang Slack. (N=404).

Wetwang Slack differs from the overall data in terms of burial position, there are more burials in a crouched position; there are also more female burials, and those aged between 26-35. There are more burials that do not receive grave goods, and a

higher percentage of burials oriented with their heads to the north. These differences highlight the need to look at major changes across the cemeteries – notably in the number of burials that are in an extended position, and those buried with weaponry.

5.9. Funerary treatment of individuals aged under 18

Due to the potential differences in burial treatment in those aged under eighteen (which is of course a very heterogeneous category), this section will focus purely on this age category.

5.9.1. Sex

Obviously, there are dramatic differences in the distribution amongst the sexes here. Sexing those who are younger than 18 years old by osteoarchaeological analysis is notoriously difficult and is very often inaccurate which means that there are likely to be much higher numbers of individuals that go unsexed in this data set rather than the overall data set (Fig 5.59). 59% of individuals aged under 18 years that are of unknown sex. Of those who could be sexed, 17% were females, and 24% were males.

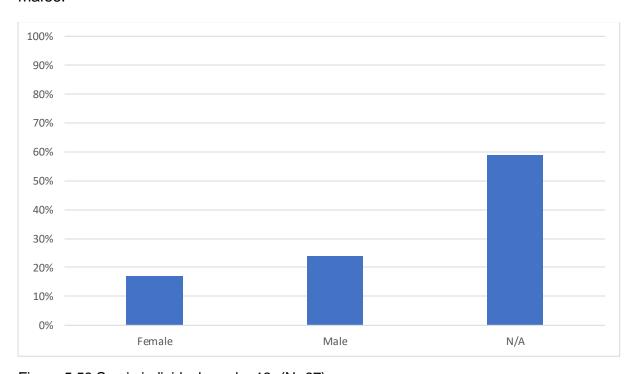


Figure 5:59 Sex in individuals under 18. (N=97).

5.9.2. Age

There is a high percentage of infants found in the burial record in East Yorkshire (Fig 5.60). Children under five represent 41% of all individuals aged under 18 across the sites in East Yorkshire. Those aged 6-10 represent 20% of individuals under 18, while individuals in the 11-14 age range represent 9%, and 15-17 year olds account for 21% of individuals.

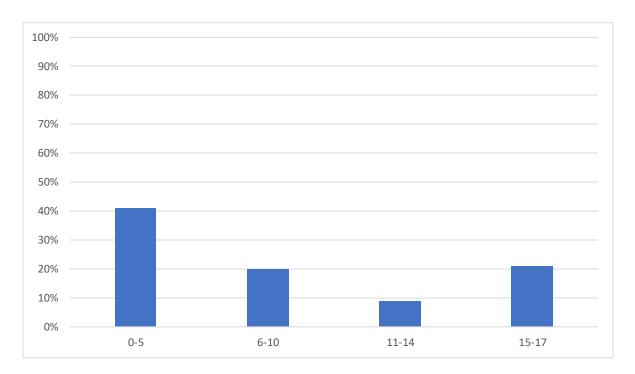


Figure 5:60 Age in individuals under 18. (N=97).

5.9.3. Grave goods

The most common form of grave good for those aged under 18 years old was jewellery, usually involving beads (Fig 5.61). Iron pins, perhaps used in clothing or a burial shroud were also found with individuals in this age category. Only 2% of grave goods in this age category were brooches, all of them made of iron. However, the most striking difference between this age category and the overall data, is the fact that 88% of individuals did not receive any grave goods at all. This is over 20% higher than the overall data.

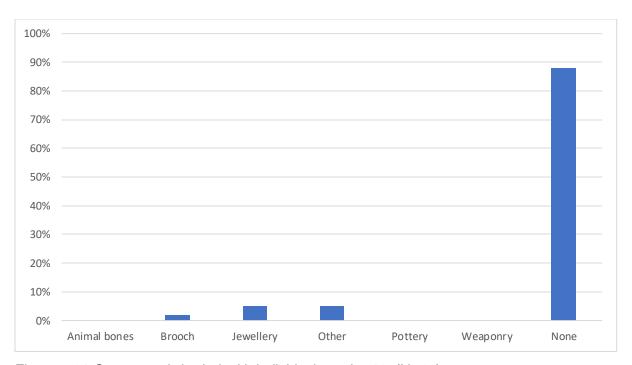


Figure 5:61 Grave goods buried with individuals under 18. (N=97).

The fact that none of the individuals in the 0-5 age category received grave goods is in line with expectations given that out of all individuals aged under 18, only 12% were buried with a grave good (Fig 5.62). This result does perhaps provide evidence in favour of an age of majority, where infants and younger children were not buried with grave goods out of belief that they were not old enough to receive them.

Alongside the data on secondary burials showing that 60% of these individuals were buried as a secondary burial, suggesting that it was expected the adult that they were buried with would provide everything necessary for the journey to the afterlife believed in by the people of the East Yorkshire Iron Age.



Figure 5:62 Grave goods buried with individuals aged 0-5. (N=40).

There are some grave goods introduced in the 6-10 age group; 5% (1 individual) of individuals received jewellery and 5% received a beehive quern, a form of quern stone used for the grinding of grain (Fig 5.63) (Darvill 2008, 393). The jewellery received by an 8-9 year old here was three bronze beads. Neither of these grave good types are observed anywhere else in the data set. Both grave goods were received by individuals that were recorded as being over the age of eight. 90% of individuals in this age category did not receive any grave goods.

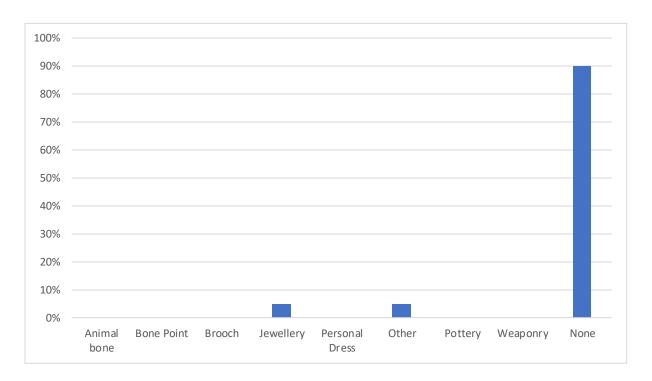


Figure 5:63 Grave goods buried with individuals aged between 6-10. (N=19).

Individuals in the 11-14 age category also received very few grave goods. Only one individual (accounting for 11% of individuals in this age group) received a grave good, which was a single ring-headed pin (Fig 5.64). The ring headed pin was a fairly common form of pin in both the La Tène I and the La Tène II periods and are unique to the British Iron Age (Dunning 1934, 272). The individual (R64) that was buried, at Rudston, with this pin was also recorded as being unsexed (Stead 1991, 196).

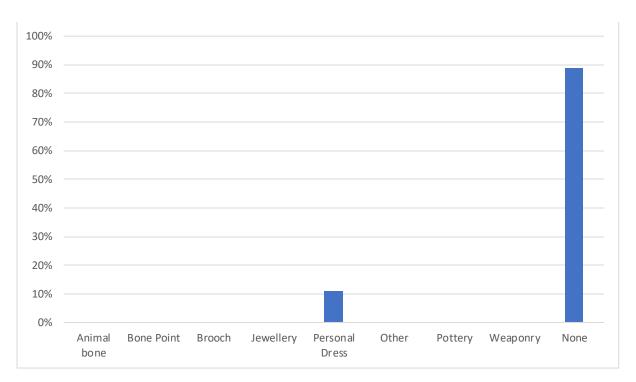


Figure 5:64 Grave goods buried with individuals between 11-14. (N=9).

Interestingly in the 15-17 year old age group there is a rise in the variety and number of grave goods received (Fig 5.65). There is some animal bone received (5%), 20% of individuals in this age category received jewellery, and another 5% received pottery. Still, an overwhelming majority, 75% of individuals, received no grave goods which is consistent with the data from this section and the overall data presented earlier in this chapter.

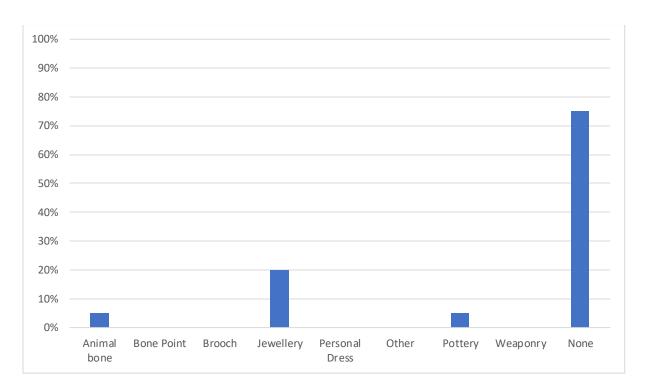


Figure 5:65 Grave goods buried with individuals aged between 15-17. (N=20).

5.9.4. Orientation

79% of individuals under the age of 18 were buried with their head orientated to the north, this is nearly a 10% increase from 70% of individuals in the overall data (Fig 5.66). 2% of individuals were buried orientated to the east, down from 7% in the overall data, and 13% of individuals buried to the south, down from 15% in the overall data. No individuals of this age group were buried to the west, north west, south west, south east, or north east. However, due to the nature of the remains in this category 7% of individuals did not have a known orientation.

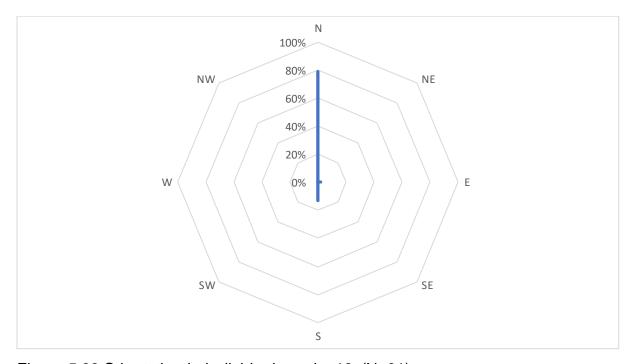


Figure 5:66 Orientation in individuals under 18. (N=91).

The overwhelming majority (83%) of individuals in the 0-5 age group are buried with their heads orientated to the north (Fig 5.67). 3% are orientated with their heads to the east, and 8% with their heads orientated to the south. This suggests that individuals buried alongside others were still orientated according to the prevailing tradition at the time.

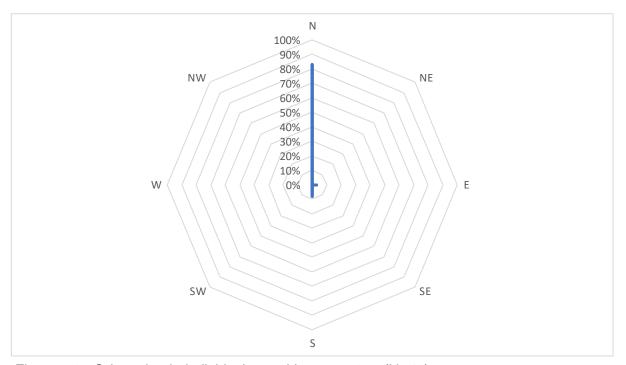


Figure 5:67 Orientation in individuals aged between 0-5. (N=40).

The 6-10 age group (Fig 5.68) is much the same as the 0-5s, where 90% of individuals are orientated with their heads to the north. A further 10% are orientated with their heads to the south. This follows the same pattern as the overall data, and also suggests that those buried as secondary burials (68% of 6-10 year olds) were orientated in much the same way as those they were buried alongside.

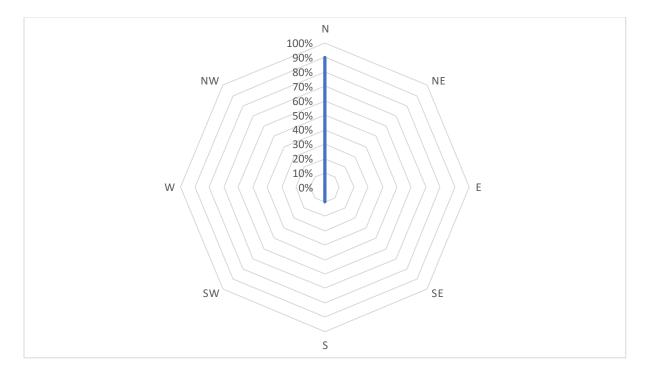


Figure 5:68 Orientation in individuals aged between 6-10. (N=19).

100% of individuals in the 11-14 age group were orientated with their heads to the north. Although This is a small group of individuals (only 9 in total), this is still an unusual result (Fig 5.69). It does deviate somewhat from the overall data, as well as the younger two age categories.

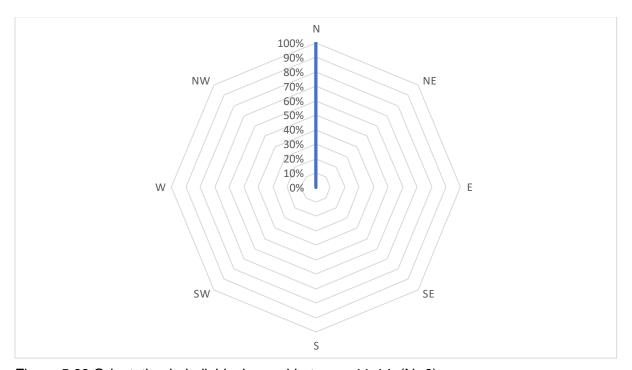


Figure 5:69 Orientation in individuals aged between 11-14. (N=9).

70% of individuals in the 15-17 year old category were buried with their heads orientated to the north, consistent with what is seen in the overall data, as well as what can be observed from the further breakdowns where there is a consistent majority of individuals orientated with their heads to the north (Fig 5.70). 15% of individuals were buried with their heads orientated south, and just 5% (one individual) was orientated with their head to the west.

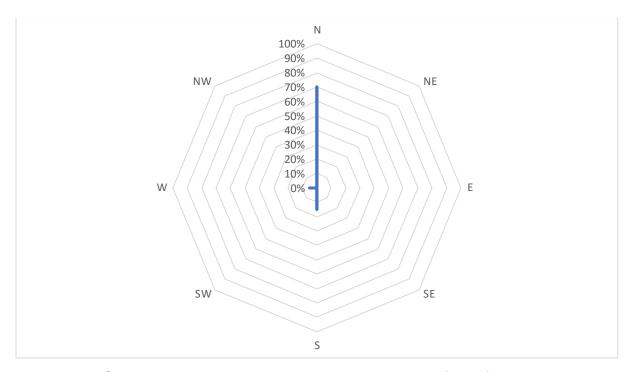


Figure 5:70 Orientation in individuals aged between 15-17. (N=20).

5.9.5. Position

Perhaps the most significant part of the data from this age category for position is the lack of burials being buried in the tightest two positions (Fig 5.71). There are no individuals buried contracted and only 3% are buried tightly crouched. This could suggest a lack of burial shrouds and curation of individuals under the age of 18. There were also no individuals buried in an extended position. 21% of individuals were buried flexed, and 54% of individuals were buried crouched. Due to the nature of these remains being very fragile and easy to damage and lose, 23% of individuals did not have a clear burial position.

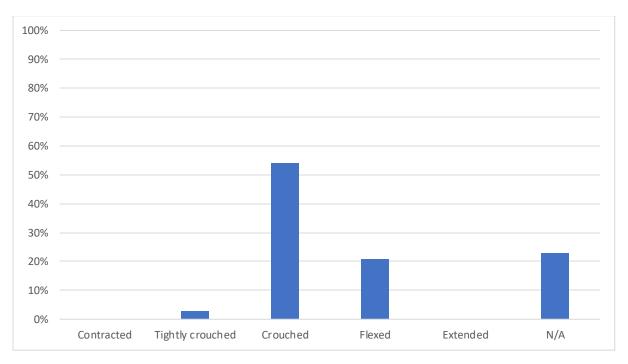


Figure 5:71 Body position in individuals under 18. (N=97).

Most individuals aged 0-5 were either crouched (40%) or flexed (20%) this does somewhat align with convention where about 50% of individuals in the overall data were found to be in a crouched position and 20% of individuals overall were found in a flexed position (Fig 5.72). Due to the nature of remains in this age group, there were a reasonable percentage where a position could not be recorded, likely due to damage.

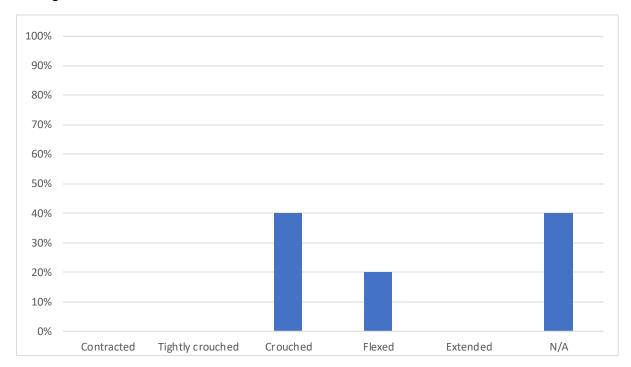


Figure 5:72 Body position in individuals between 0-5. (N=40).

The 6-10 age group shows slightly more variety in the positions in which they are buried (Fig 5.73). 11% of these individuals are buried in the tightly crouched position, 53% are buried crouched and 21% are buried in a flexed position. There are fewer remains where discerning their position is not possible, perhaps due to their relative durability compared to the remains of infants, just 16% of individuals were recorded as unknown in terms of burial position.

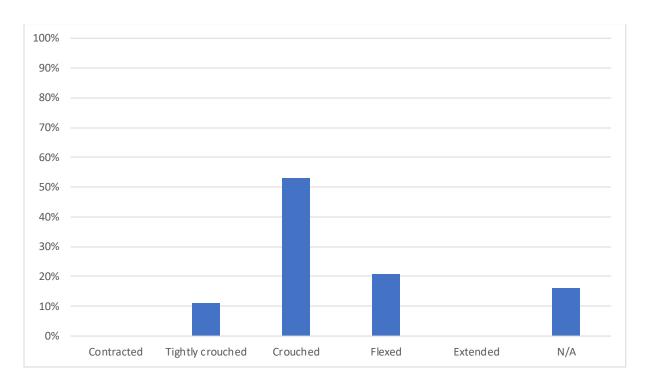


Figure 5:73 Body position in individuals aged between 6-10. (N=19).

The 11-14 age group is very similar to the 6-10 age group discussed above (Fig 5.74). 11% of individuals are buried in a tightly crouched position, 55% of individuals in a crouched position, and 22% of individuals in a flexed position. There is a lack of contracted burials amongst all age groups in the under eighteens suggesting perhaps, that this form of burial was reserved for those that were older – this may have correlation to curation. There are also no extended burials, which may relate to a chronologically different burial rite, suggesting that these individuals belong to a different time period than individuals buried in an extended position.

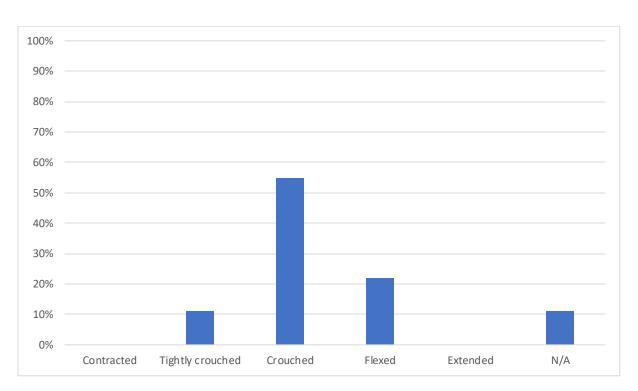


Figure 5:74 Body position in individuals aged between 11-14. (N=9).

This data (Fig 5.98) is slightly more consistent with what can be seen in the overall data, however, 0% of individuals aged 15-17 were buried in a tightly crouched position, which is a deviation from the 6% in the overall data. 25% were buried in a contracted position, which could indicate some kind of age of majority that was reached in order to be buried thus. 5% of individuals were buried in an extended position, this was also the one westerly orientated individual suggesting that this was a distinct burial rite. 40% of individuals were buried in a crouched position, 15% in a flexed position, and a further 15% were unknown.

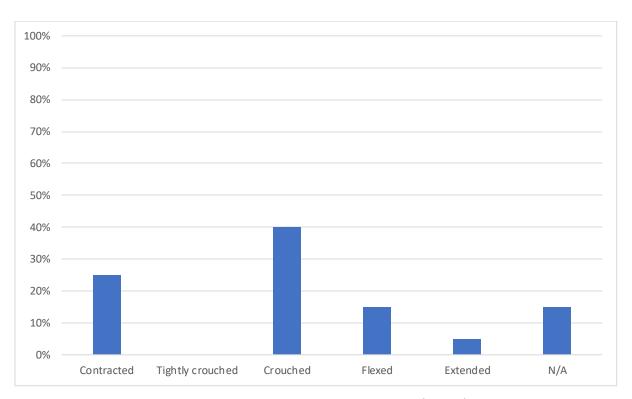


Figure 5:75 Body position in individuals between 15-17. (N=20).

5.9.6. Sex

No individuals in the youngest age category were assigned a sex. Although one individual from the 6-10 age group was assigned male (Fig 5.76). Although this male individual (74(6:272)), from Wetwang Slack, was recorded as being 10 or older.

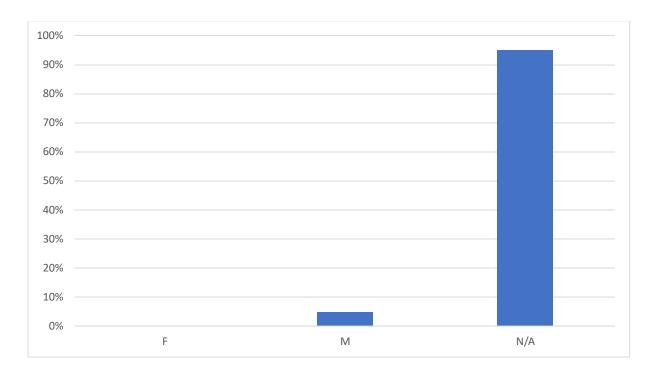


Figure 5:76 Body position in individuals aged between 6-10. (N=19).

In this age category (11-14), there is a rise in the number of individuals that are able to be sexed, this is not particularly surprising as more of these individuals would have been going through puberty thus making them easier to sex (Fig 5.77). 11% of individuals were found to be female, and 22% were found to be male, although 66% of individuals were still unsexed.

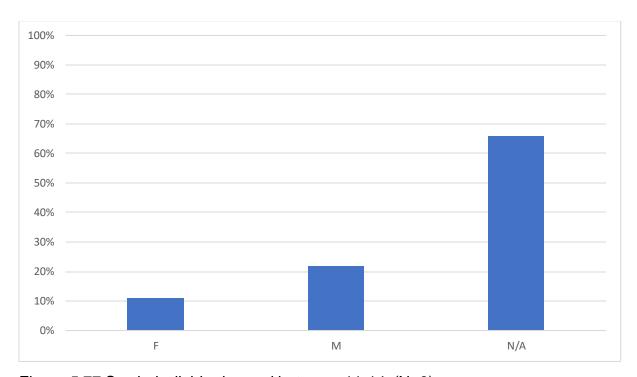


Figure 5:77 Sex in individuals aged between 11-14. (N=9).

In the 15-17 year old age group there is a rise in the number of individuals that are able to be sexed, this is almost certainly due to the fact that these individuals would have been in the later stages of puberty when there is more skeletal evidence for sex identification (Fig 5.78). 25% of this age group were found to be female, 35% male, and 40% were of unknown sex. This differs rather starkly from the overall data, where there are far more females than males.

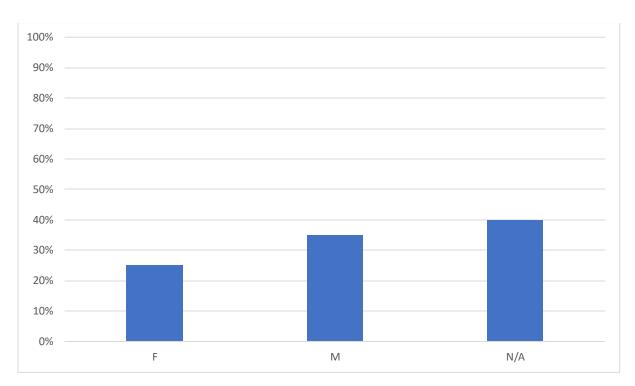


Figure 5:78 Sex in individuals aged between 15-17. (N=20).

5.9.7. Secondary burials

60% of individuals aged between 0-5 were excavated as secondary burials (Fig 5.79), within the grave, or ditch of another individual. DNA evidence would be able to confirm whether or not these individuals were buried with another member of their familial group. 68% of individuals aged between 6 and 10 were excavated as secondary burials, the difference could be that remains of individuals in this age group are more likely to survive than those of younger individuals. Just 22% of individuals aged between 11-14 were excavated as secondary burials, and 35% of those aged between 15-17. This is somewhat indicative of an age of majority; individuals belonging to the two older age groups are more likely to be buried in an individual grave.

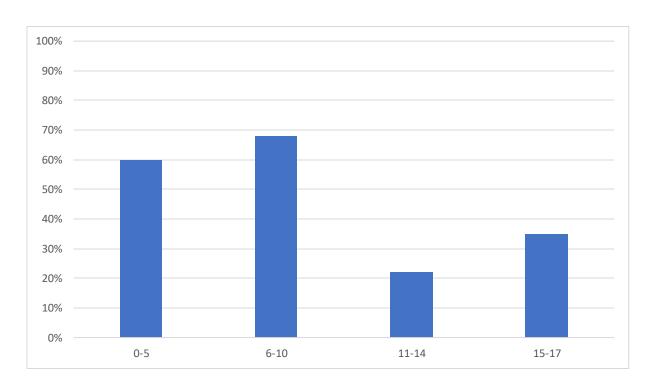


Figure 5:79 Percentage of individuals under 18 buried as secondary burials. (N=97).

5.10. Secondary Burials in the overall data

The practice of multiple interments into one burial site is well established in the European Iron Age. There are examples from Hallstatt cemeteries where secondary burials were dug into the body of the mound, which lead them to be vulnerable to damage by ploughing – this is theorised to be the cause of the 'elusive dead' from the British Iron Age (Harding 2016, 37). In East Yorkshire, secondary burials are often interred in the ditch of barrows, though this rite is reserved mostly for infants there are a few adult examples of it, suggesting that these people were thought of as somehow different (Harding 2016, 37).

5.10.1. Age

As is evidenced by the graph (Fig 5.80), more secondary burials are of individuals under the age of 18, 37%, and as shown in Figure 5.79 the majority of those are under the age of 10. Only 8% of secondary burials are of adults aged between 18-25, 30% are of adults aged 26-35, 17% are of adults aged 36-44. Just 1% of secondary burials are of adults aged 45+.

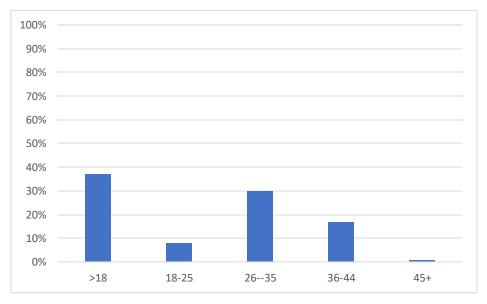


Figure 5:80 Ages of individuals buried as secondary burials. (N=133).

5.10.2. Sex

40% (53) of secondary burials are of female individuals, 31% (41) of males, and 29% (39) are of individuals of no known sex (Fig 5.81). This is likely due to the high percentage of children under the age of 10.

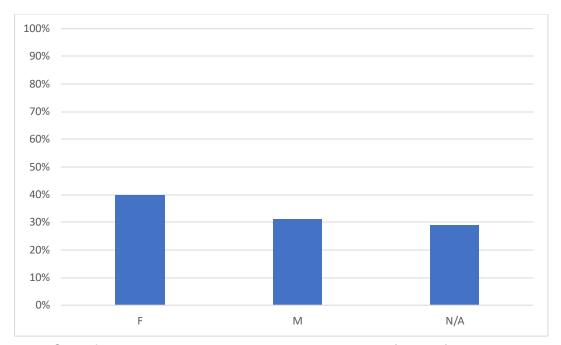


Figure 5:81 Sex of individuals buried as secondary burials. (N=133).

5.10.3. Orientation

Interestingly, given the number of secondary burials are located in the ditches of primary burial mounds, 76% of individuals are buried orientated with their heads to the north, just 8% of secondary burials are oriented with their heads to the east, 6% with their heads to the south, and just 2% with their heads to the west. This is largely in line with the overall data from East Yorkshire.

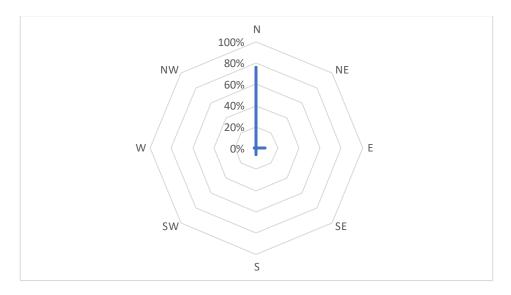


Figure 5:82 Orientation of individuals buried as secondary burials. (N=133).

5.10.4. Burial position

53% of individuals buried as a secondary burial were in a crouched position, 21% were in a flexed position, and 2% were tightly crouched. Given the number of infant and very young children buried as secondary burials, there were 23% of an unknown position, this could be due to the fragile nature of the remains of children, this will be discussed further in chapter 7.

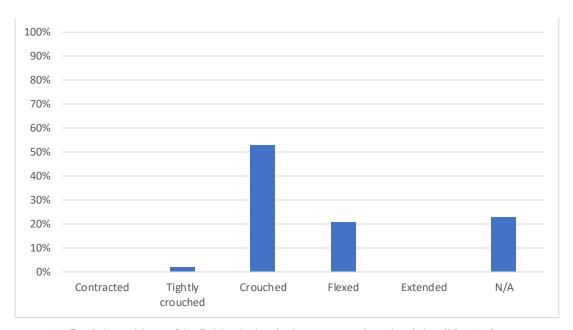


Figure 5:83: Burial position of individuals buried as secondary burials. (N=133).

5.10.5. Direction facing

The majority (54%) of individuals were facing east, which is in line with the overall data set (Fig 5.84). 5% were facing north, a further 5% were facing south, and 22% were facing west.



Figure 5:84 Direction individuals buried as secondary burials faced. (N=133).

5.10.6. Grave goods

87% of individuals buried as secondary burials did not receive a grave good, 0% of individuals received weaponry or a mirror (Fig 5.85). 1% received bone points, tools, or items related to personal dress. 2% received animal bones, a brooch, pottery, or a miscellaneous item. 5% received jewellery.

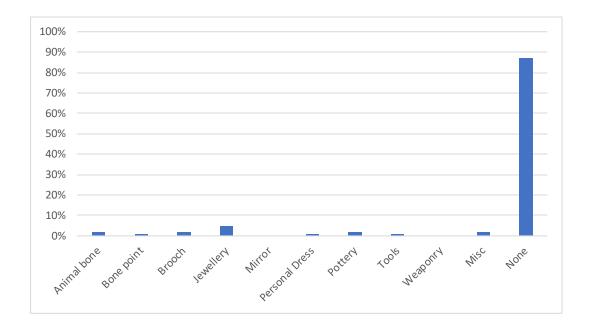


Figure 5:85 Grave goods buried as secondary burials received. (N=133).

5.11. Funerary treatment of individuals under 5

This chapter further investigates the funerary treatment of individuals aged under 5.

5.11.1. Age

58% of individuals aged under 5 in East Yorkshire were one year old or under. 22% were aged over one to two years old. 20% were aged between 3 and five years old.

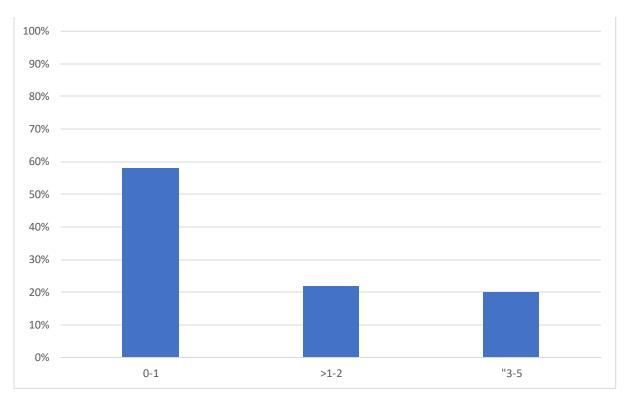


Figure 5:86 A further age break down for individuals under 5 (N=40).

5.11.2. Burial Position

61% of individuals aged one and under were in an unknown position, 17% were crouched and 22% were in a flexed position.

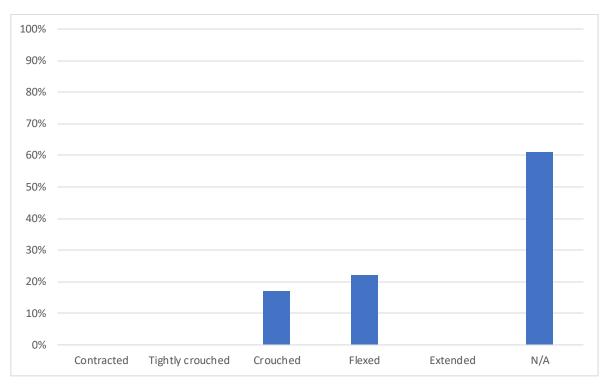


Figure 5:87 Burial position for individuals aged 0-1 (N=23).

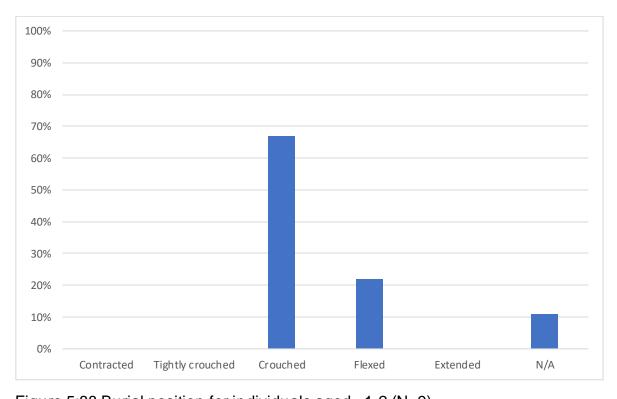


Figure 5:88 Burial position for individuals aged >1-2 (N=9).

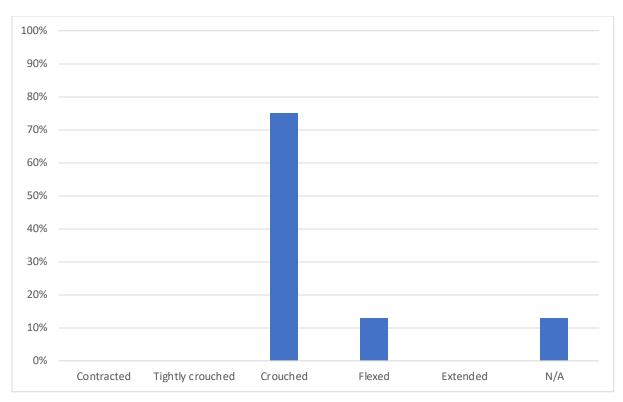
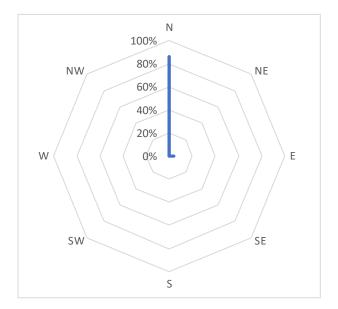


Figure 5:89 This graph shows burial position for individuals aged 3-5 (N=8).

Of individuals aged more than one through to two years old, 67% were found to be in a crouched position. 22% in a flexed position and 11% in an unknow position. 75% of individual aged between 3 and 5 years old were found in a crouched position, 13% in a flexed position and a further 13% in an unknown position.

5.11.3. Orientation

86% of individuals aged one and under were buried oriented north, 4% were oriented to the east.



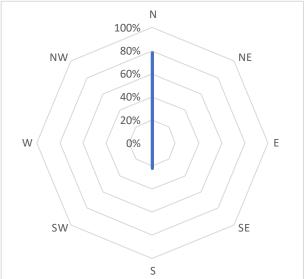




Figure 5:90 (top left first): Orientation for individuals aged 0-1, >1-2, 3-5 (N=23) (N=9) (N=8).

78% of individuals aged over one through to two years old were buried oriented to the north, 22% were oriented south. 88% of individuals aged between three and five were oriented to the north, 13% were oriented to the south.

5.11.4. Grave goods

None of the individuals under five received any grave goods.

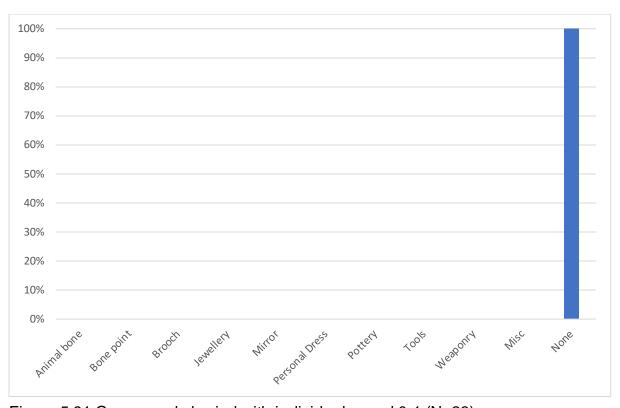


Figure 5:91 Grave goods buried with individuals aged 0-1 (N=23).

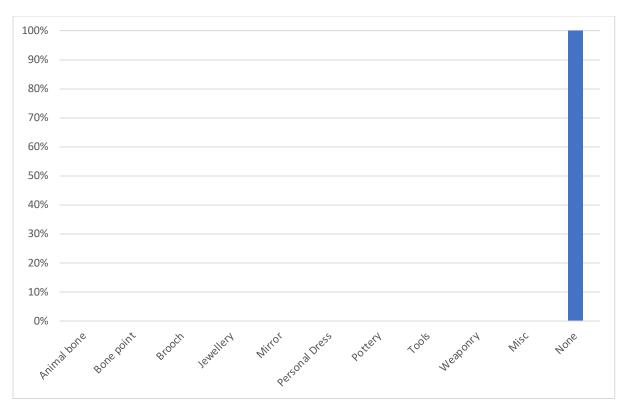


Figure 5:92 Grave goods buried with individuals aged >1-2 (N=9).

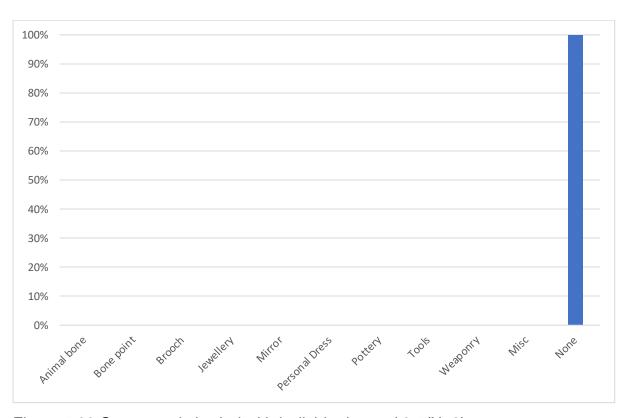
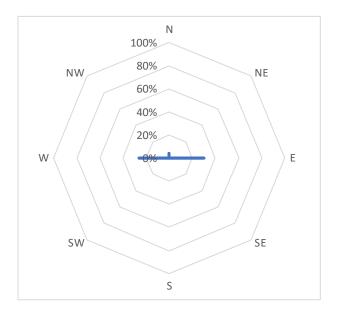
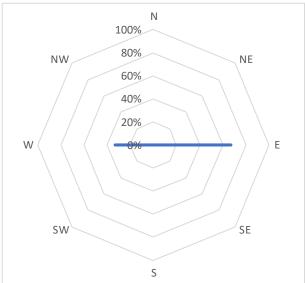


Figure 5:93 Grave goods buried with individuals aged 3-5(N=8).

5.11.5. Direction facing

4% of individuals aged between 0 and 1 were facing north, 30% faced east, and 26% faced west.





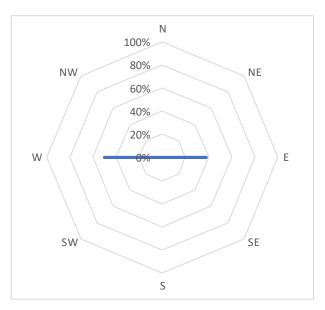


Figure 5:94 (top left first): Direction facing for individuals aged 0-1, >1-2, 3-5 (N=23) (N=9) (N=8).

67% of individuals aged over one through to two years old faced east, 33% faced west. 38% of individuals aged between 3 and 5 years old faced east, 50% faced west.

5.12. Conclusion

This chapter presents the results of the East Yorkshire cemeteries, focusing on sex, age, orientation, burial position, and grave goods of the 645 individuals studied.

Surprisingly, there are more female burials (47%) than male (35%), with 19% unknown. The majority of burials were oriented towards the north (70%), potentially indicating a consistent burial practice. A significant number of individuals were buried facing east (60%), possibly reflecting a link between life and death, as suggested by Parker Pearson. Contracted burials made up 14% of recorded burials, with the 36-44 age group showing the highest percentage of crouched burials (73%). The majority of individuals (60%) were buried without grave goods, with iron brooches being the most common grave goods found. Young individuals were more likely to be buried without grave goods, with jewellery being the most common grave good for those under 18.

There is a clear distinction between burials of individuals under 18 and adults, with 88% of those under 18 buried without grave goods compared to 50-60% of adults.

Additionally, there are differences in grave goods between sexes, with females more likely to receive jewellery and males more likely to be accompanied by weaponry.

Wetwang Slack is highlighted as the dominant cemetery, comprising 63% of the total dataset. Wetwang Slack stands out with a higher percentage of confirmed female burials (51%) and a different distribution of body positions compared to the overall data, with fewer contracted or tightly crouched burials.

6. Results: Dorset

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the database of burials in Dorset. Although Dorset is considered to have a fairly substantial number of inhumation burials, there are significantly fewer here than in East Yorkshire, comprising a total of 186 inhumations. Dorset also has very few cemeteries on the scale of those in East Yorkshire, with exception of Maiden Castle. Twenty cemeteries are included in this part of the database, the largest of which is Maiden Castle with a total of 51 inhumations. The chapter will explore sex, age, orientation, burial position, the direction the individual was facing, and grave goods.

6.2. Sex

Dorset has a fairly even split of males and females (Fig 6.1), with 32% of individuals being female, and 39% of individuals being male. There is a high percentage of individuals of unknown sex, 29%; this could be partly due to a substantial portion of the burials being excavated at a time when the science behind sexing skeletal remains was less well developed.

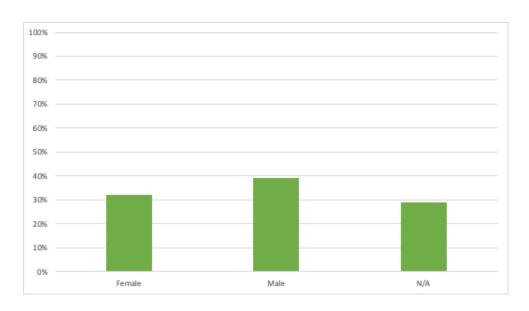


Figure 6:1 Distribution of sex in Dorset (N=186)

6.3. Age

Much like the above category, there is a relatively high percentage of individuals of an unknown age, 28% which is, (potentially) approximately in line with those of unknown sex (Fig 6.2). This again, could be due to the period of the excavations, or the condition of the remains.

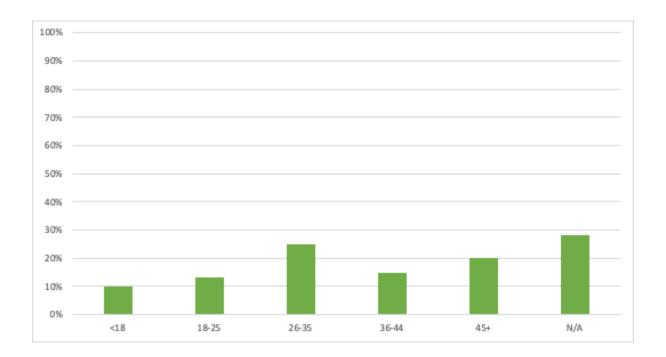


Figure 6:2 Distribution of age in Dorset (N=186).

When filtered by sex, the females from Dorset appear to have a much more even distribution across age categories ranging between 8%-18% (Fig 6.3). The youngest age category is the smallest, likely due to the difficulties in sexing those below the age of 18. Interestingly, the largest age category is those aged 45+, with 18% of

female individuals from Dorset. There is a far higher percentage here than in the same category from East Yorkshire (see chapter 7).

6.3.1. Age according to sex

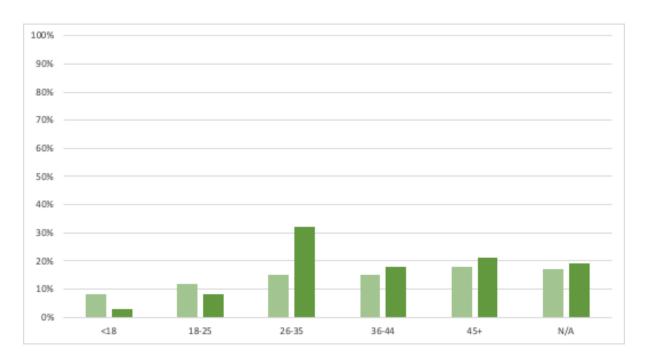


Figure 6:3 Distribution of age, according to sex (females in light green) in Dorset. (N=132).

The males follow a much more predictable pattern, the largest age category being those aged 26-35 which aligns with data seen in East Yorkshire (see chapter 7). 32% of male burials are aged between 26 and 34 years old. The second largest category is 45+, 21% of male individuals in Dorset fall into this category and 18% of females. The two youngest age categories here are very small, with the under seventeens accounting for only 3% of individuals and those aged between 18 and 25 being only 8%. The 36-44 age category accounts for 18% of individuals which is fairly similar across both sexes. Those of unknown age make up 19% of male individuals.

6.4. Orientation

Orientation refers to the direction in which an individual's head lies.

As seen by the graph below, there seems to be little standardisation in orientation in Dorset, with the exception of a clear avoidance of the south, and westerly orientations (Fig 6.4). As such, there does appear to be a bias towards the north and the east, where the majority of burials are orientated. The highest percentage of burials are orientated to the east, with 25% of individuals oriented thus; it is possible that this has some association with the rising sun (cross ref to discussion). 24% of individuals are oriented towards the south east, and 14% of individuals are orientated towards the north east. It is possible that the way that settlements were structured in Dorset influenced how the dead were buried, the smaller farmsteads (and thus potentially rather dispersed populations) meaning that there was little cohesion between groups of people (see chapter 7.4)

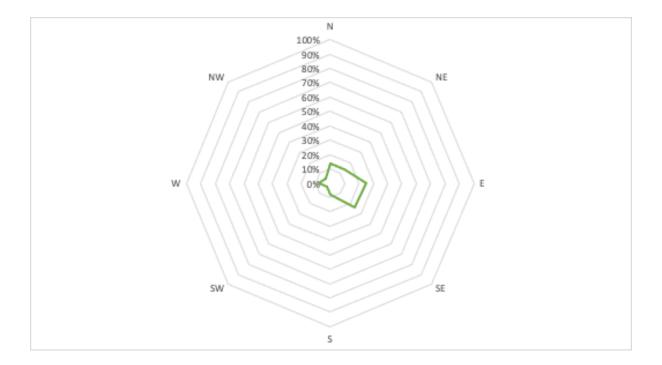


Figure 6:4 Orientation in Dorset. (N=153).

The westerly oriented (15% in total) burials could represent those individuals that suffered from 'bad deaths' or those that did not fit in with socially constructed norms of the time. Just 8% of individuals are buried oriented west. 3% to Dorset, and 4% to the north west. The fact that there is such a small percentage of these burials does point to them being considered outside the 'norm'. This will be further discussed in chapter 7.

6.4.1. Orientation according to sex

There is a slight difference between males and females when the orientation of their burials is considered (Fig 6.5). A higher percentage of females are oriented towards the north (17%) than males (9%) while more males are orientated towards the east (28%) compared to females at 20%.



Figure 6:5 Orientation for males (dark green) and females (light green) in Dorset (N=132).

The other compass points seem to be fairly even between the sexes, north east at 15% of females and 16% of males especially. The south east at 22% of females and males at 29%, south at 7% (females) and 10% (males), Dorset at 6% of males and 2% of females, and the west at 8% (females) and 2% (males), the north west at 5% of females and 0% of males all seem to be approximately the same. It is also worth noting the potential significant difference between males and females here where 15% of females were buried in a westerly orientation and only 8% of males were buried as such.

6.4.2. Orientation by age.

The youngest age category shown below (18-25) again, shows a bias against westerly orientated burials (Figure 6.6). 22% of burials were orientated to the north and north east, 13% to the east, 39% to the south east. 0% to the south, south west, or west and just 4% to the north west.

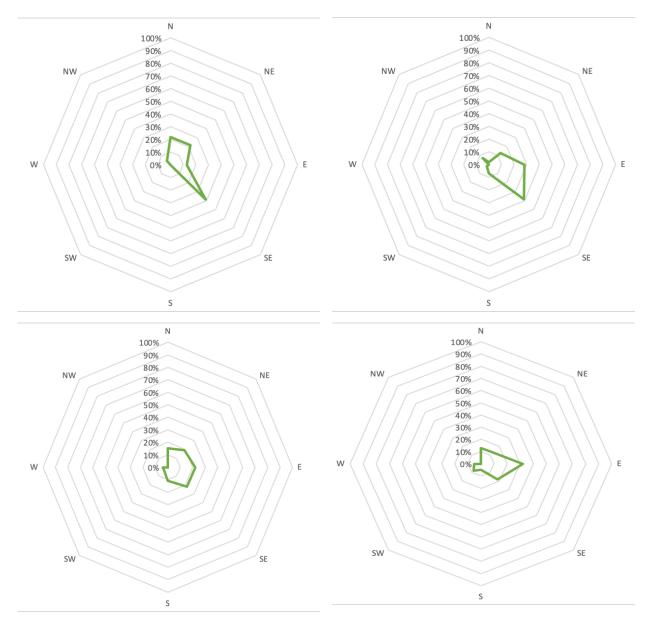


Figure 6:6 (Top left first) Directions the burials in Dorset were orientated between the ages of 18-25 (N=23), 26-35 (N=46), 36-44 (N=27), 45+ (N=38).

In the 26-35 age group, this same bias can be observed, with just 9% of individuals being buried in any westerly orientation (2% to the south west, and 7% to the north west) (see Figure 6.6). 2% of individuals were buried to the north, 13% to the north east, 28% to the east, 39% to the south east, 7% to the south.

Again in the 36-44 age category there is an obvious avoidance of the west, with just 4% of individuals being buried to the south west, and the same percentage being buried to the west (see Figure 6.6). 15% of individuals were buried orientated to the north, 19% were buried to the north east. 22% of individuals were orientated towards the east, and the same percentage were orientated to the south east. 11% of individuals were orientated to the south. 0% of individuals were orientated to the north west.

The oldest age category (45+) also showed an avoidance of the west, with just 5% of individuals being buried oriented to the west, and 8% being buried oriented to the south west (see Figure 6.6). The north and north east both had 13% of individuals being buried orientated in those ways. 32% of individuals were buried orientated to the east. 18% were orientated south east, and 5% of individuals were oriented to the south. Again, 0% of individuals were buried orientated north west.

6.4.3. Orientation by age and sex.

When split by sex, as well as age, the bias against westerly orientated burials is also evident as can be seen by the youngest age group (18-25) of females where just 8% were buried with their heads orientated to the west. 0% of individuals in this sex and age group were buried orientated to the south west and the north west. 23% of individuals were buried oriented to the north, 31% to the south east and north east, 8% were orientated to the east. Interestingly, 0% of female individuals aged 18-25 were buried orientated to the south.

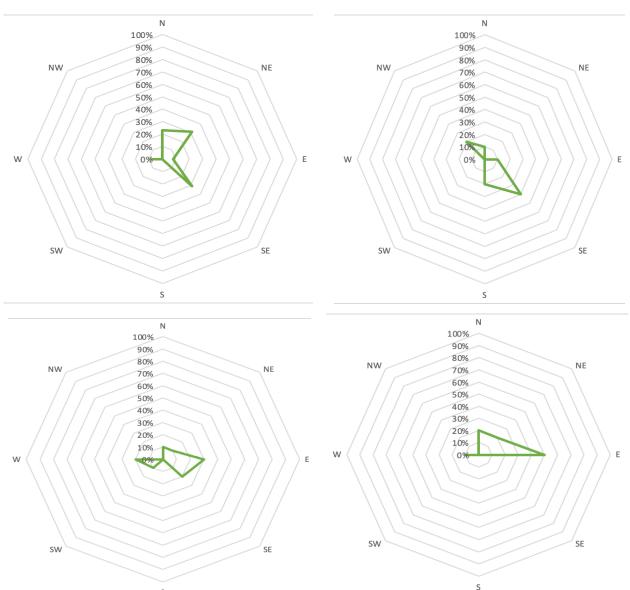


Figure 6:7 (Top left first), Directions in which females were orientated in Dorset between the ages of 18-25 (N=13), 26-35 (N=10), 36-44 (N=10), 45+ (N=10).

individuals buried in a westerly orientation (see Figure 6.7). Just 20% of individuals were buried to the north west, with 0% of individuals being buried to the west and south west. 10% of burials were orientated to the north, 0% to the north east, 10% to the east, 40% to the south east, and a further 20% to the south.

Interestingly, this avoidance of westerly orientations is not as clear in the 36-44 age group, where there are 10% of individuals buried orientated to the south west, and 20% of individuals buried to the west. It could be that westerly orientations were reserved for older members of the society, or perhaps the deaths that these individuals suffered may have been 'bad deaths' (see chapter 7) However, there is still a majority of individuals buried to the north (10%), north east (10%), east (30%), and south east (20%). With 0% of individuals being buried to the south and west.

As can be seen by Figure 6.13 the bias that is evident in the younger age groups can be observed here with only 10% of individuals being buried with their head orientated to the west, 0% of individuals were orientated to the south west, and north west. 20% of individuals were orientated towards the north, and north east. 50% of individuals were oriented to the east. While 0% of individuals were buried orientated to the south east, and south.

There are a few similarities between the males and females here. What is particularly evident is the same avoidance of the westerly orientations (see Figure 6.8 below). 67% of male individuals were buried with their heads orientated to the north. 33% of individuals were buried orientated to the north east. All other compass points were found to have 0% of individuals. This is an unusually small dataset, the reasons for this being the case will be further discussed in chapter?

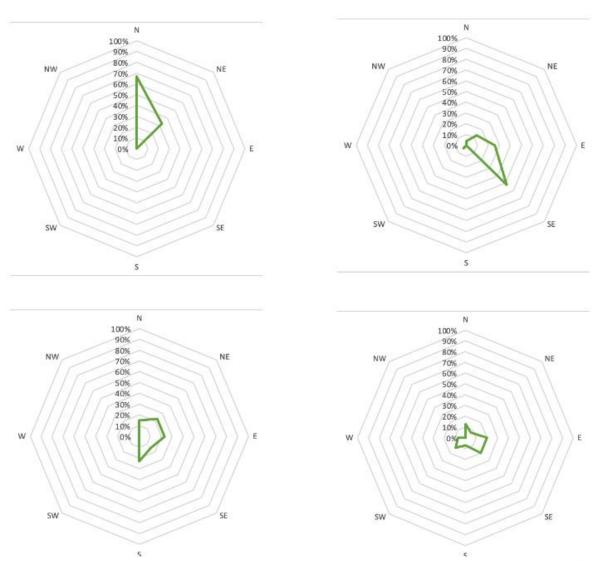


Figure 6:8 (Top left first) Directions male individuals in Dorset were orientated between the ages of 18-25 (N=3), 26-35 (N=23), 36-44 (N=13), 45+ (N=15).

Again, in the 26-35 year old age group only 4% of individuals were buried orientated to the south west, with 0% being orientated to the west and north west (see Figure 6.8). Whereas 52% of individuals in this age category were orientated to the south east, 26% to the east, and 13% to the north east. A further 4% were buried orientated to the north.

The 36-44 year old age category shows a similar avoidance of westerly orientations, no individuals were buried as such (see Figure 6.8). 15% of individuals were buried to the north and south east, 23% of individuals were found to be orientated to the north east, east, and south.

There is a large difference between male individuals in the 45+ age group when compared to the other younger age groups; here it can be seen that the bias against westerly oriented burials is not evident in this data (see Figure 6.8). There is a reasonably even spread in the data here, 20% of individuals were buried oriented to the east and south east. 13% of individuals were oriented to the north and south west. The west and north east both had 7% of individuals oriented as such. Only the north west had 0% individuals oriented towards it, however, this is not as stark an avoidance of the west as seen in the younger age groups of both sexes.

6.5. Direction

Direction refers to the direction in which each individual faced in their burial position.

A higher percentage of individuals were buried facing north (25%) compared with any other compass direction (Fig 6.9). North west was the second most common compass direction that individuals in the south west were buried facing with 14% of individuals.

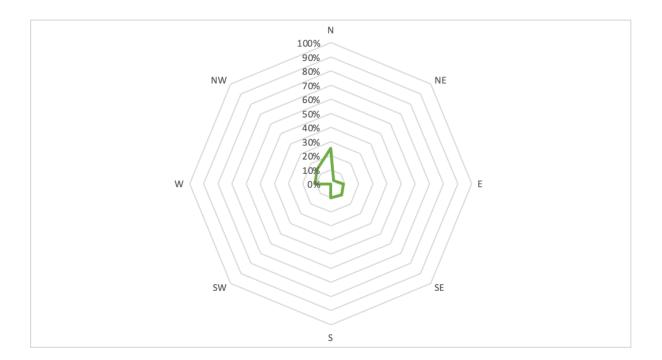


Figure 6:9 Direction individuals buried in Dorset were facing (N=186).

11% of individuals were buried facing the west and south east. 9% of individuals were buried facing the east, and 10% of individuals were buried facing towards the south. Just 3% of individuals were buried facing north east. 0% of individuals were buried facing towards the south west.

6.5.1. Direction by sex

Males and females follow a similar pattern, although there is a major difference in the percentages of individuals buried facing north, 10% of females and 29% of males were buried facing such. This is a substantial difference between the sexes, and could indicate that there may have been a separate burial rite for males in Dorset.

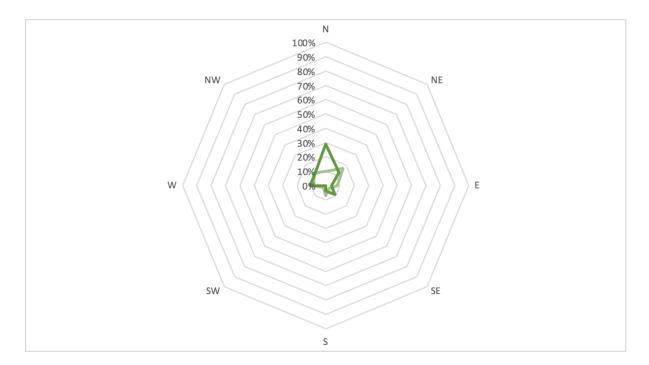


Figure 6:10 Direction males (dark green), and females (light green) buried in Dorset were facing (N=132).

17% of females and 13% of males were buried facing north east;, this is not a considerable difference between the two sexes. 8% of females were buried facing the east, 4% of males were buried such; again not a substantial difference. 3% of females were buried facing south, whereas 9% of males were buried facing south, this is a greater difference than the previous two compass points, and may

potentially indicate a difference in burial rite between the sexes. The south west seems to be avoided by both sexes, with only 2% of females being buried facing this direction, and 0% of males facing this direction. 11% of males, and 8% of females were buried facing the west. 12% of females and 11% of males were buried facing towards the north west.

6.5.2. Direction by age

The youngest age group that is to be explored here (18-25) shows no pattern (Figure 6.11), 0% of individuals were buried facing south east. 19% of individuals faced the north, 13% the north east, and 19% faced the north west. 6% faced the south, and another 6% faced the south west. 25% of individuals faced the west, and 19% faced the east.

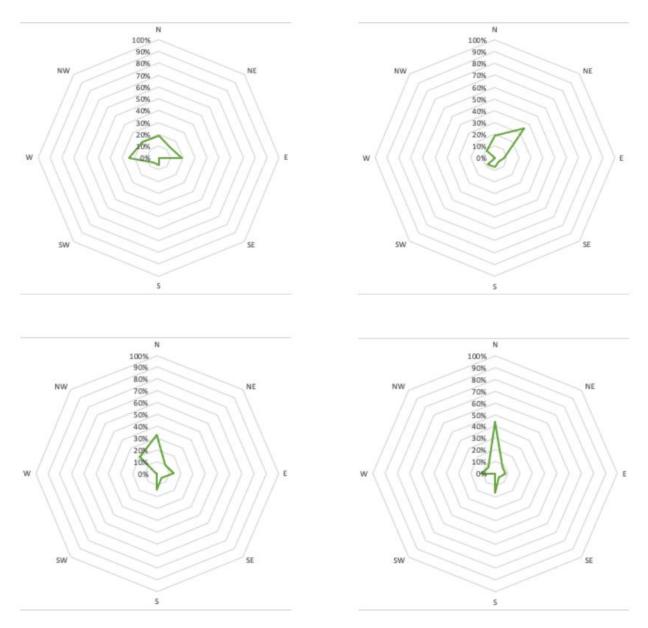


Figure 6:11 (Top left first) Directions individuals were buried facing between the ages of 18-25 (N=16), 26-35 (N=26), 36-44 (N=27), 45+ (N=25).

The 26-35 year old age group (Figure 6.11), unlike the previous age group, has 4% of individuals buried facing the south east. A further 8% of individuals are buried facing both south and south west. 19% of individuals are buried facing north, 35% of individuals are buried facing north east, and 9% north west. 8% of individuals are buried facing east, and, interestingly, 0% of individuals face the west.

In the 36-44 year old age group 0% of individuals were buried facing south west, unlike the two age groups before (Fig 6.11); 14% of individuals face south, and 5% of individuals face south east. 33% of individuals face north, 10% the north east, and 20% face the north west. 1% face west, and 14% face the east. There is an observable pattern here, in that the northerly directions (north, north east, and north west) do seem to have a higher percentage of individuals than the southerly compass points.

This pattern is true in the eldest age group, 45+ (Fig 6.11), where 44% of individuals faced the north, 8% faced the north east, and a further 8% faced the north west. In contrast, 16% face the south, 4% the south east, and 0% face the south west. 8% of individuals faced the east, and 12% faced west.

6.5.3. Direction by age and sex.

There does not appear to be a distinct pattern here, each age group seems to be quite vastly different from the others. Females aged 18-25 tend to be buried to the north west (15%) and west (8%), and the north east (8%) and east (8%), rather than the south (0%), south east (0%), south west (0%) and north (0%).

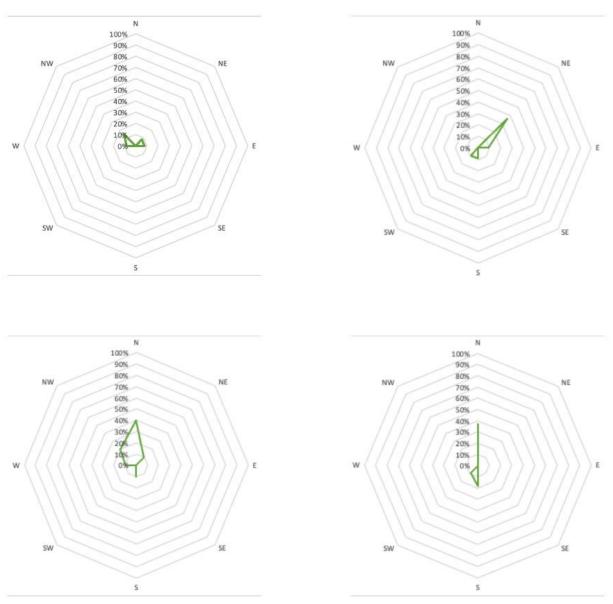


Figure 6:12 (Top left first) Direction each female faced between the ages of 18-25 (N=5), 26-35 (N=7), 36-44 (N=9), 45+ (N=7).

The 26-35 year old age group does not exhibit the same aversion to southerly facing burials as the younger age group does, 9% of individuals in this age group were buried facing the south and south west. Although no individuals were buried facing south east, the same as the previous age group. 0% of individuals were also buried facing north, whereas 36% of individuals were buried facing north east. A further 9% of individuals were buried facing east. No individuals were buried facing west and north west.

The 36-44 year old age group was again, different, with 10% of individuals being buried facing west, 40% of individuals buried facing north, and 20% of individuals buried facing north west. North east and south both had 10% of individuals being buried facing as such; this is somewhat similar to the previous two age groups. 0% of individuals were buried facing the east, south east, and south west; the last two being similar to the 18-25 year old age group.

Again, the 45+ year old age group is vastly different with 37% of individuals being buried facing the north, 18% of individuals being buried facing the south, and a further 9% of individuals buried facing the south west. No individuals were buried facing north east, east, south east, west or north west.

The stark differences between the female age groups suggest that age did affect the direction individuals were facing as they were buried.

Much like this age group in the female individuals, the male individuals from the ages of 18-25 do not appear to be buried facing the south, 0% of individuals are buried facing the south, south west, and south east (Fig 6.13). 33% of individuals are buried to the east, west, and northeast.

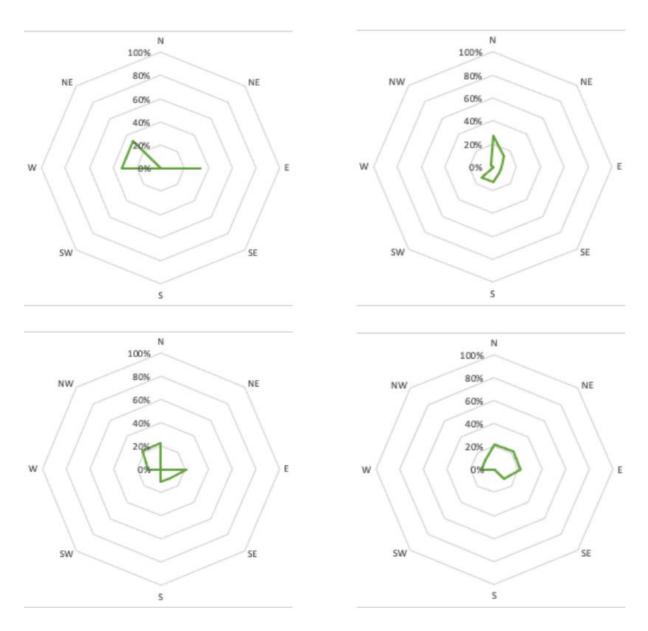


Figure 6:13 (Top left first) Direction each male faced between the ages of 18-25 (N=3), 26-35 (N=15), 36-44 (N=9), 45+ (N=9).

Again, as with the female 26-35 year old age group, the same age group of male individuals are buried facing completely different directions to those in the 18-25 year old age group (Figure 6.13). This age group does not show the same avoidance of the south, with 13% of individuals being buried facing the south and south west; as well as 7% of individuals being buried facing the south east. 27% of individuals face the north east, and 2% of individuals face the north west. 7% of individuals face east, and no individuals were buried facing the west.

The pattern of age groups being entirely different to one another continues with male individuals aged between 36-44 (Fig 6.13). In this age category, 11% of male individuals were buried facing the west; compared to 0% of individuals in the age category before shows a large difference. 22% of individuals were buried facing north, 0% of individuals were buried facing north east, and a further 22% of individuals were buried facing north west; all these again are very different both age groups previous. 11% of individuals were buried facing south and south east while 0% of individuals face the south west. 22% of individuals were buried facing east, and 11% of individuals were buried facing west.

The eldest age group here again are different from all others before, although there are some similarities observable here (Fig 6.13). 22% of individuals were buried facing north, 22% to the north east, and 11% to the north west. 0% of individuals were buried facing the south, 0% also were buried facing the south west; and a further 11% were buried facing the south east. 22% of individuals were buried facing the east and 11% of individuals were buried facing the west.

6.6. Burial Position

Of the 186 burials recorded, 16% were noted with no burial position; this could be due to taphonomic issues (such as acidic soil) or issues with excavations taking place before scientific methods such as recording. 29% of all recorded burials were found to be in a flexed position, (Fig 6.14) 27% of burials were recorded being in a crouched position; these two categories form the majority of burial positions for Dorset. They are also reasonably loose in terms of position which may suggest that a shroud or other binding materials were not used here. The definitions of burial positions used here have been standardised in order to correspond to those used by Stead (see table 5.1), however, due to the age of the excavation reports used a large amount of information was unavailable; all available images and information has been used here.

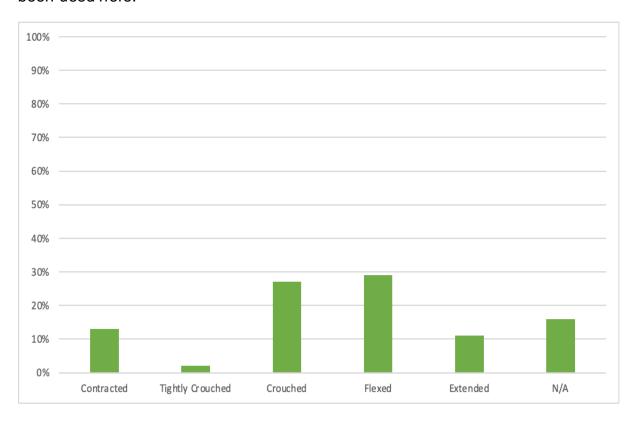


Figure 6:14 Burial position in Dorset (N=186)

13% of burials were found in a contracted position, and 11% of burials were in an extended position. Just 2% of burials were found in a tightly crouched position, which could help to confirm that the use of bindings in Dorset is unlikely, as the tighter burial positions were less common.

6.6.1. Burial position by sex

The burial positions in which the two sexes are buried show a reasonable difference; for example, far more females are buried in a crouched position than males (35% to 22%) (Fig 6.15). Male burials appear to be buried in a flexed position more than females, with 46% of males being buried in a flexed position, and 35% of females being buried flexed.

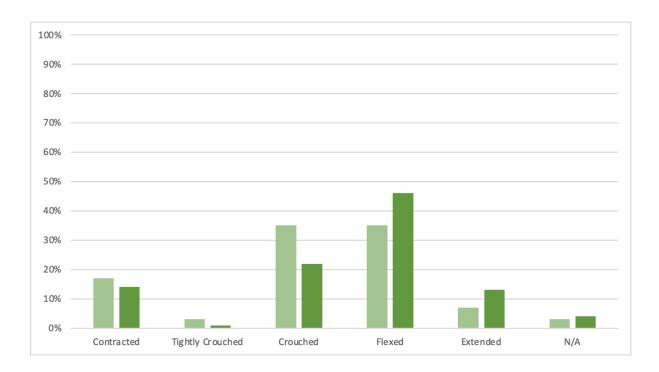


Figure 6:15 Burial positions of females (light green) and males (dark green) (N=132).

In both cases, few burials are found to be tightly crouched (3% of females and 1% of males). 17% of females are buried in a contracted position, where 14% of males are buried in the same position. Extended burials make up a small percentage of both males and female burials (7% of female burials and 13% of male burials).

6.6.2. Burial position by age

The majority of 18-25 year olds were found to be buried in a flexed position (54%), this is a looser form of burial position (see table 5.1) and is not indicative of the use of binding (further discussed in chapter?) A small percentage (7%) of individuals from this age category were found to be in a contracted position; 0% of individuals were tightly crouched, and no individuals from this age category went unrecorded. 29% of individuals were in a crouched position and 13% of individuals were found to be in an extended position.

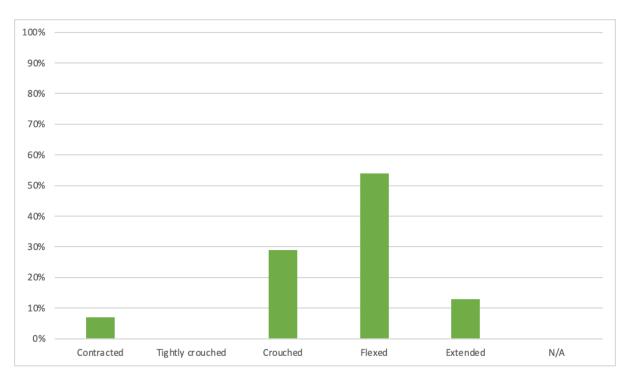


Figure 6:16 Burial positions of 18-25 year olds in Dorset (N=24).

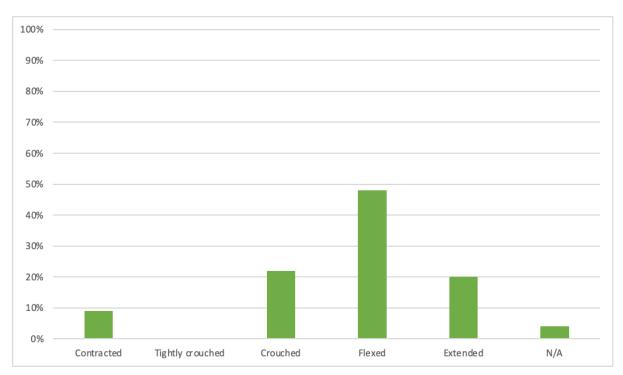


Figure 6:17 Burial positions of 26-35 year olds in Dorset (N=46).

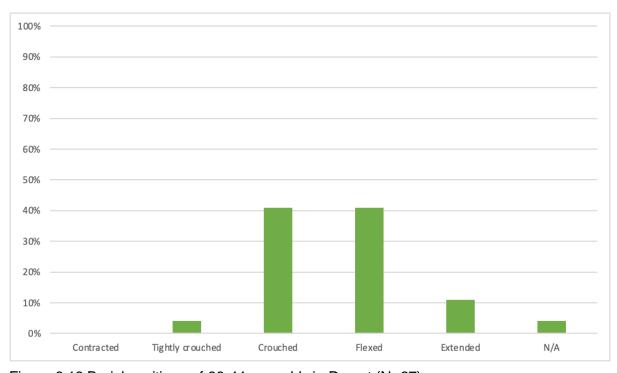


Figure 6:18 Burial positions of 36-44 year olds in Dorset (N=27).

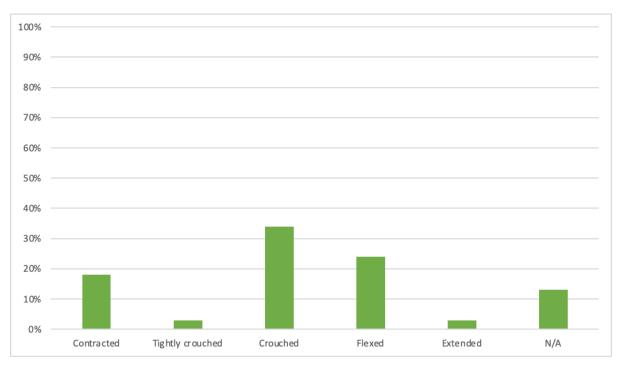


Figure 6:19 Burial positions of 45+ year olds in Dorset (N=38).

48% of 26-35 year old individuals in Dorset were found in a flexed position (see Figure 6.17), this is similar to the age category below, and again is a looser form of burial position; a further 22% of individuals were found in a crouched position, again a looser form of burial position. Just 9% were found to be contracted, and 0% of individuals were found in a tightly crouched position, this is again indicative of bindings not being used for the burials of younger individuals. 20% of individuals in this age category were found to be in an extended position, and in 4% of burials the position of the individual was unknown or went unrecorded.

0% of individuals in the 36-44 age group were found to be buried in a contracted position, just 4% were in a tightly crouched position. 11% were in an extended

position. 41% of individuals were found in either a crouched or flexed position.

Another 4% were unable to be recorded, likely due to damage.

In the 45+ category, 34% of individuals were found in a crouched position, 24% in a flexed position, 18% in a contracted position, 3% in either a tightly crouched or extended position and a further 13% were unable to be recorded.

6.6.3. Burial position by sex and age.

Amongst the 18-25 year old females there is a lack of the two tightest forms of burial position (see Figure 6.20), both contracted and tightly crouched burials are not present in this age and sex group (further discussed in chapter 7). 38% of burials from this group were found in the crouched position, 54% of burials were found in the flexed position, and 8% of burials were found in the extended position.

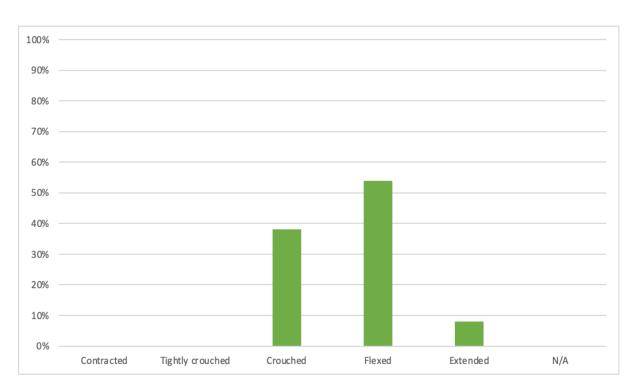


Figure 6:20 Burial position for 18-25 year old females in Dorset (N=13).

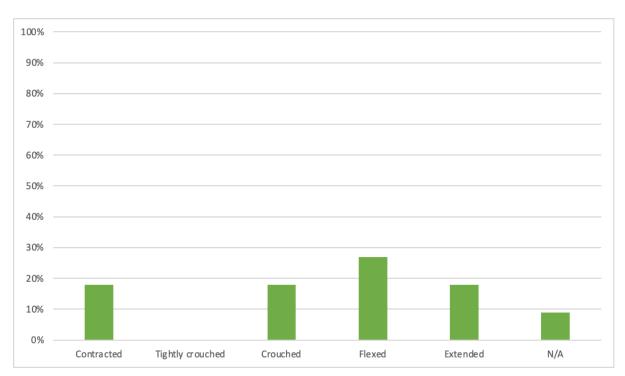


Figure 6:21 Burial position for 26-35 year old females in Dorset (N=11).

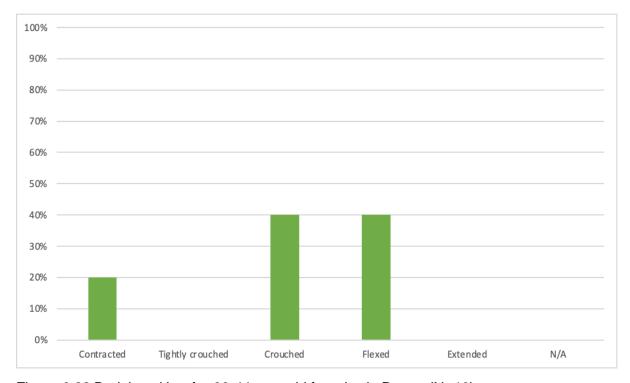


Figure 6:22 Burial position for 36-44 year old females in Dorset (N=10).

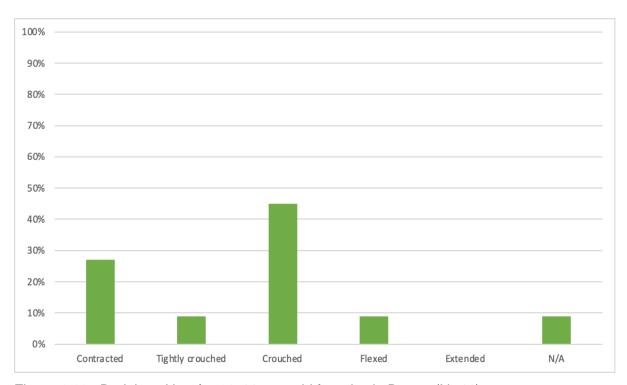


Figure 6:23 : Burial position for 36-44 year old females in Dorset (N=11).

The 26-35 year old females have more of the tighter bound burials, 18% of this age and sex group were found in a contracted position, although there were no tightly crouched burials (see Figure 6.21). 18% of individuals were buried in a crouched position, 27% in a flexed position, and a further 18% in an extended position. 9% of burials were recorded as having an unknown position, this could be due to damage or poor recording.

In the 36-44 age group, both the crouched and flexed positions dominate, 40% of individuals were found in each of the positions (see Figure 6.22). Just 20% of burials were found in a contracted position. None of the other burial positions feature in this group, and no burials in this group were recorded as having an unknown position.

A large percentage (45%) of 45+ year old females were found in a crouched position (see Figure 6.23), this is not particularly unusual although it does appear that an individual's age may have had some bearing on the position they were buried in (this will be further discussed in chapter 7) There were a few of the tighter burials positions present here 27% of burials were contracted, and 9% were found to be tightly crouched. 9% of burials were found in the flexed position, though there were no extended burials in this group. A further 9% of burials were recorded as being in an unknown position.

50% of the 18-24 year old males were buried in a flexed position, this is consistent with females of the same age group (see Figure 6.24), and again because the flexed position is a looser burial position this could indicate that bindings were not common in Dorset (see chapter 7). 20% of male individuals from this age group were found in an extended position. 10% of 18-25 year old males were buried in a contracted position, the same percentage were buried in a crouched position. There were no burials in a tightly crouched position. A further 10% of burials were in an unknown position.

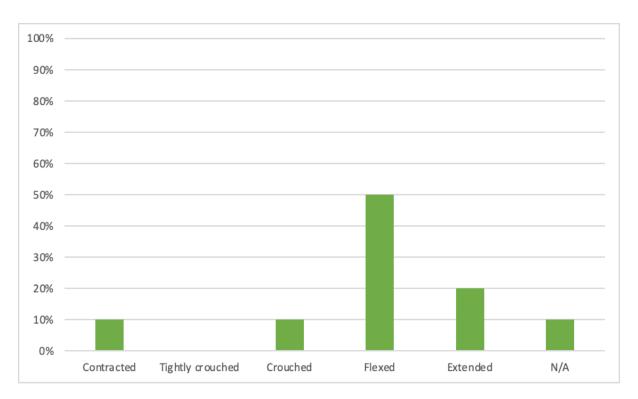


Figure 6:24 Burial position for 18-25 year old males in Dorset (N=10).

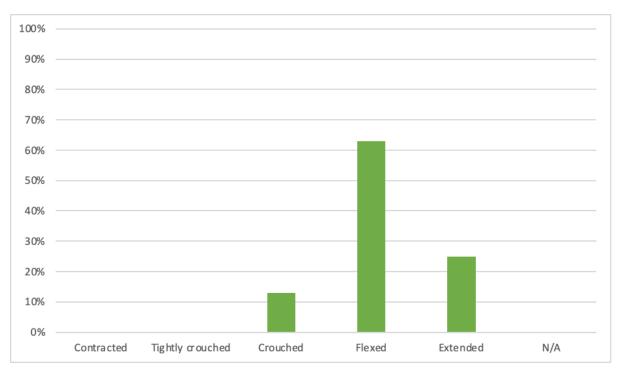


Figure 6:25 Burial position for 26-35 year old males in Dorset (N=16).

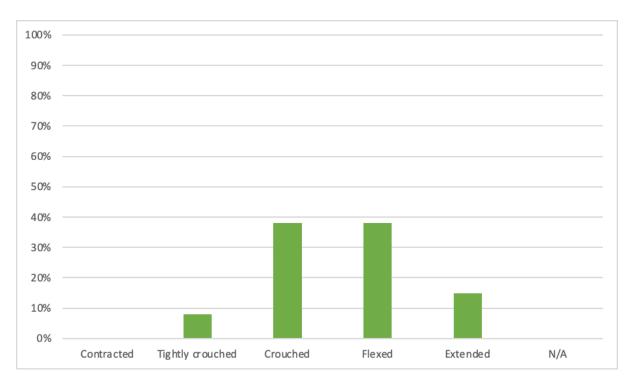


Figure 6:26 Burial position for 36-44 year old males in Dorset (N=13).

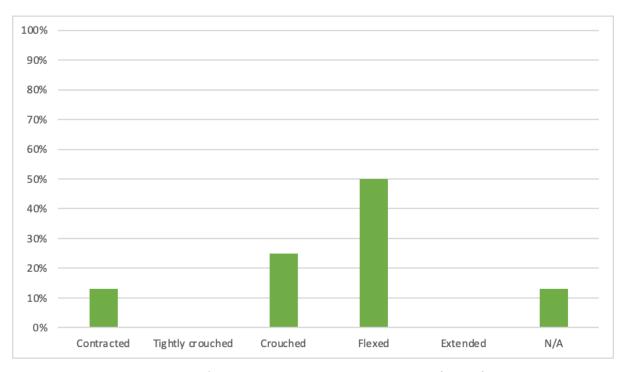


Figure 6:27 Burial position for 45+ year old males in Dorset (N=16).

A large majority (63%) of the 26-35 year old males were found to be in a flexed position, this is similar to the 18-25 year old males; although, it differs greatly from the same age category of females (see Figure 6.25). No individuals from this age category were found in a tightly crouched or contracted position; this differs from the 26-35 year old females, and the 18-25 year old males, both of these age and sex groups had burials found in a contracted position. 13% of males in this age group were found in a crouched position, and 25% in an extended position. 0% of burials were recorded as unknown.

38% of male individuals aged 36-44 were found in both a crouched position and a flexed position; this is largely consistent with the patterns seen in both males and

females so far, as it appears the people living in Dorset during the Iron Age favoured a looser form of burial position (see Figure 6.26. This pattern could indicate that those buried in a tighter position, such as the 8% of males in this age group that were buried in a tightly crouched position, were those that had a different burial rite applied to them (see chapter 7 for further discussion). 15% of individuals in this group were found in an extended position. No burials were recorded as unknown.

There were 13% of individuals buried in a contracted position in the 45+ age group, this is more than any other age group and may indicate the use of bindings being more common within the older population (see Figure 6.27). 25% of burials were found in a crouched position, 50% of burials were found in a flexed position, which may also indicate that those individuals that were buried in a tighter position were different from the rest of the population who were buried in a looser position. 13% of burials in this age group were recorded as being in an unknown position.

6.6.4. Body position according to orientation.

No individuals that were orientated with their heads towards the north were buried in a contracted position. 48% of individuals were buried in a crouched position, 24% in a flexed position, 10% in a tightly crouched position, and 5% in an extended position. A further 10% of individuals were recorded as position unknown, likely due to damage to the remains making ascertaining the position impossible (Fig 6.28).

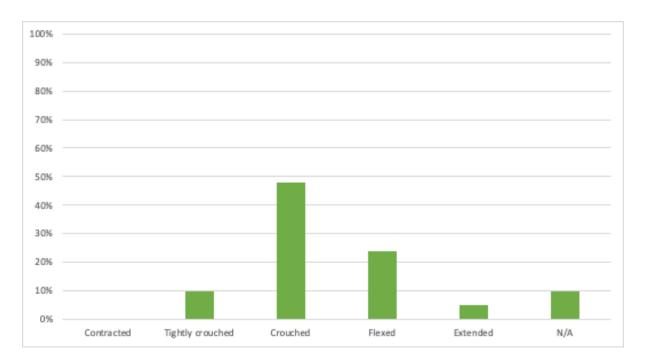


Figure 6:28 Body position according to orientation (North) (N=21).

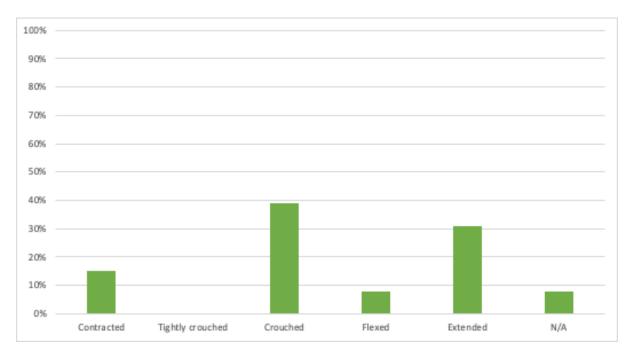


Figure 6:29 Body position according to orientation (South) (N=13).

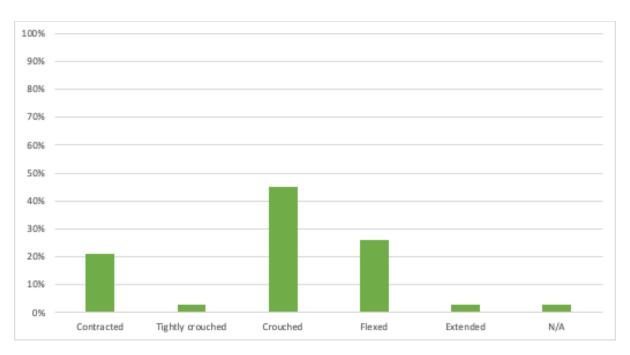


Figure 6:30 Body position according to orientation (East) (N=38).

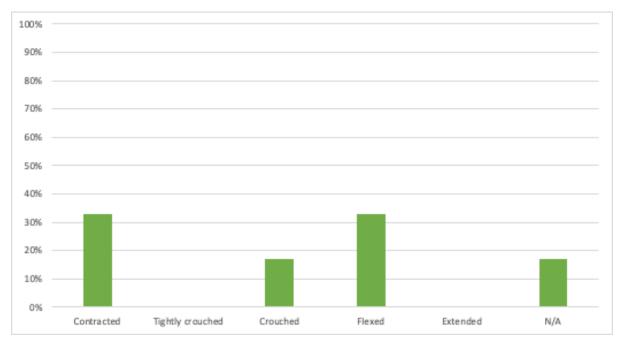


Figure 6:31 Body position according to orientation (West) (N=12).

15% of individuals orientated towards the south were buried in a contracted position, this is quite different from those buried in a northerly orientation, but is somewhat in line with easterly and westerly orientated burials. 39% of burials that are orientated southerly were buried in a crouched position, 31% in an extended position, and 8% were in a flexed position; a further 8% were unknown.

21% if individuals buried orientated to the east were found to be in a contracted position, again this is different from those buried in a northerly orientation but is similar to those buried orientated south. 3% were buried in a tightly crouched or extended position, 45% in a crouched position, 26% in a flexed position and a further 3% were buried in an unknown position.

Of those orientated towards the west 33% were in a contracted or flexed position; this is unusual when compared to other orientations above. Just 17% of individuals orientated to the west were buried in a crouched position, a further 17% were recorded as unknown. No individuals were buried in a tightly crouched or extended position.

6.7. Grave Goods

Overall, 40% of individuals were buried without any form of grave good, which is the largest group of individuals (Fig 6.32). 35% of burials were found with pottery given as a grave good, this was the most popular form of grave good. It is possible that the contents of the pottery were part of the burial rite, rather than the pottery itself; that the contents were the offering, rather than the container. However, without definite knowledge, whether or not that is the case, pottery has been counted here as a grave good.

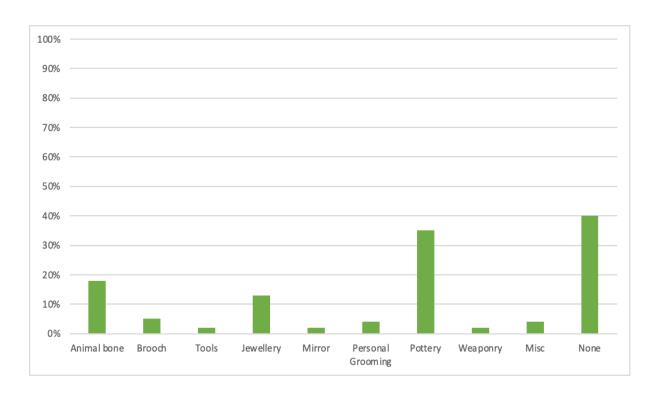


Figure 6:32 Grave goods given to individuals in Dorset (N= 186).

18% of individuals received some form of animal remains bone, this ranged from whole articulated remains of animals, through to joints of meat, and skulls. 13% of individuals received a form of jewellery as a grave good, including earrings,

bracelets, necklaces, armlets, and individual beads. Mirrors were given to 2% of individuals, and other personal grooming items were provided in 4% of graves.

Brooches were found in 5% of graves; this includes both those made of bronze and iron. Weaponry was found in 2% of graves, this category includes swords, shields, daggers, knives, spearheads, and arrow heads. Miscellaneous items were found in 4% of graves, these items include chalk spindle whorls and other grave goods that do not fit into the other categories.

6.7.1. Grave goods by sex

Between both sexes, receiving no grave goods is the most common burial rite, with 37% of females and 40% of males receiving nothing (Fig 6.33). From there, a fairly high percentage of both sexes received pottery (22% of females, and 33% of males); this category includes both whole pots and sherds of pottery, although these sherds are found to be deliberately placed in the grave.

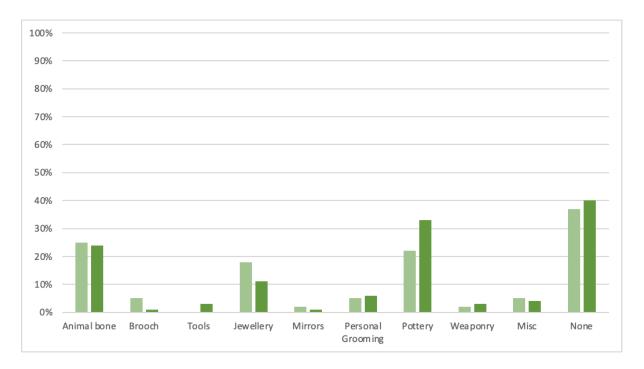


Figure 6:33 Grave goods given to females (light green) and males (dark green) in Dorset (N=186).

Animal bone was recorded in a high percentage of graves of both sexes, 25% of female graves and 24% of male graves. Brooches were found in 5% of female graves and 1% of male graves. Tools (such as hammers) were found in just 3% of

male graves and were not found at all in female graves. Jewellery was fairly common in graves of both males and females; 11% and 18% respectively. Mirrors were also found in graves belonging to males (1%) and females (2%). Items used for personal grooming and dress (such as earscoops, iron pins, and dress clasps) were found in 5% of female graves, and 6% of male graves. Weaponry (such as knives, daggers, swords, spearheads, and arrowheads) were found in graves belonging to both sexes (2% female graves and 3% of male graves). Miscellaneous items were also found in both female and male graves (5% of female graves, and 4% of male graves) (see chapter 7).

6.7.2. Grave goods by age.

17% of individuals in the 18-25 category were provided with animal bones as grave goods, there were varying species and bones within this category, such as: ox, domestic fowl, sheep and goat (Fig 6.34). 4% of individuals received a brooch; these brooches were usually made of bronze. 4% were provided with tools, such as a knife, 8% were buried with jewellery such as rings, necklaces, and bracelets, a further 4% were given weaponry. 8% were given miscellaneous items such as coins or gaming pieces and another 8% of individuals received no grave goods. The most common type of grave good was pottery, 25% of individuals received some form of pottery as a grave good there were some different types of pottery such as jars, and bowls as well as those made of black burnished ware and samian ware. No individuals received a bone point or a mirror.

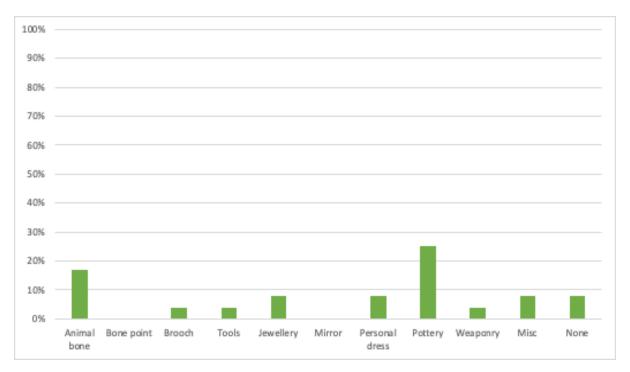


Figure 6:34 Grave goods received by individuals aged between the ages of 18-25 (N=24).

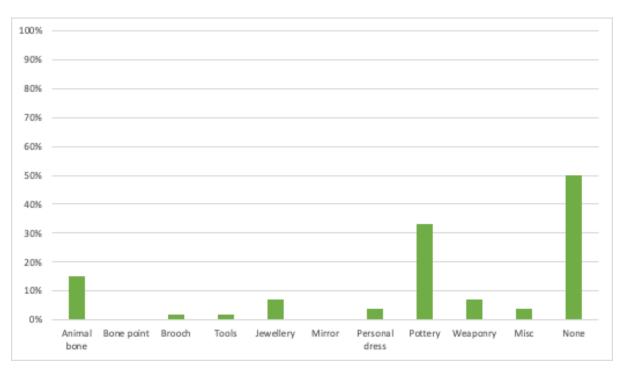


Figure 6:35 Grave goods received by individuals aged between the ages of 26-35 (N=46).

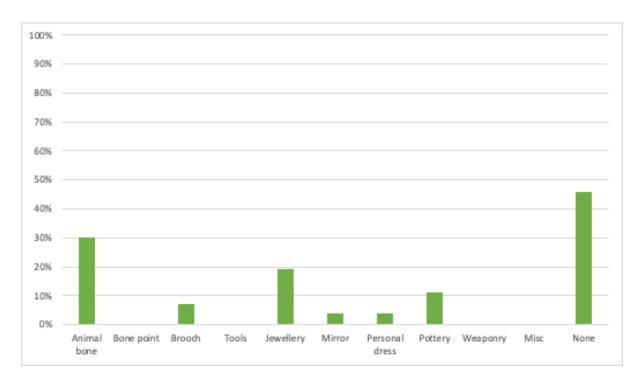


Figure 6:36 Grave goods received by individuals aged between the ages of 36-44 (N=24).

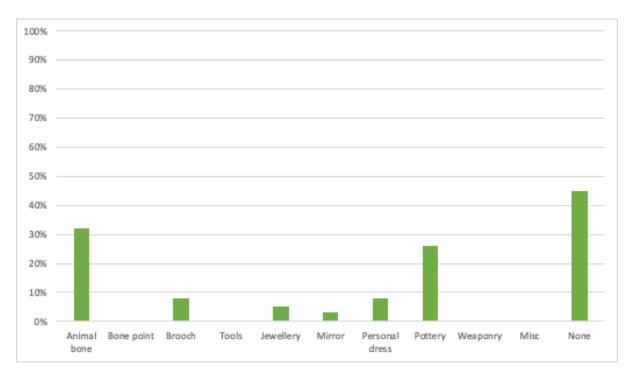


Figure 6:37 Grave goods received by individuals aged between the ages of 45+ (N=38).

50% of individuals between the ages of 26-35 received no grave goods at all, the highest amongst all other age groups. 33% of individuals received pottery, and 15% of individuals received animal bone as stated above there were several different forms and types of each of these categories of grave goods. 2% of individuals received a brooch or tools, 4% of individuals received an object to do with personal dress or grooming (such a tweezers or an ear scoop) a further 4% of individuals received a miscellaneous item, and 7% of individuals received jewellery or weaponry. No individuals received bone points or mirrors.

Much like the age group above 46% of individuals aged between 36-44 received no grave goods. 30% received animal bone, 19% received jewellery, 11% received

pottery, 7% received brooches, and 4% of individuals received either a mirror or object to do with personal dress. No individuals received a bone point, tools, weaponry, or any miscellaneous items.

In the eldest age group (45+) 45% of individuals received no grave goods, older adults seem to more frequently receive no grave goods; this could be due to the society at the time seeing a death of someone who is in their prime more worthy of receiving grace goods (further explored in chapter 7). 32% of individuals received animal bones, 26% of individuals received pottery, 8% received a brooch or an item used in personal dress, 5% received jewellery, and 3% received a mirror. No individuals received a bone point, tools, weaponry, or miscellaneous items.

6.7.3. Grave goods by sex and age.

35% of females between the ages of 18-25 received no grave goods (Fig 6.38). 18% received animal bone, jewellery or pottery. 6% received an item used for personal dress or grooming, a further 6% received a miscellaneous item. No individuals received a bone point, brooch, tool, mirror, or form of weaponry.

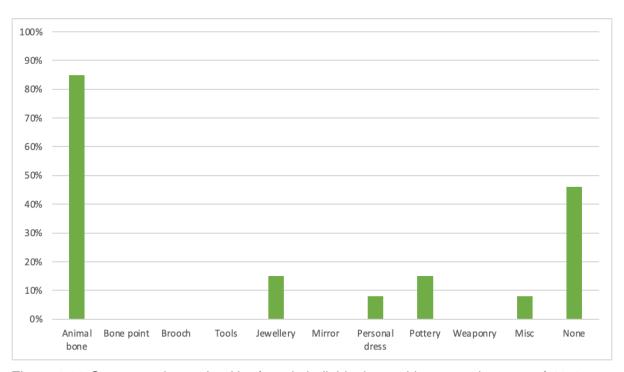


Figure 6:38 Grave goods received by female individuals aged between the ages of 18-25 (N=17).

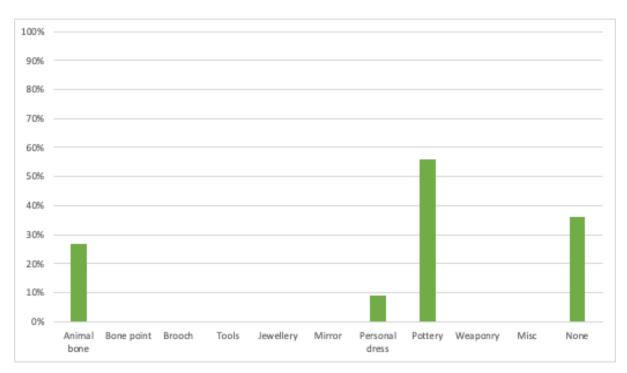


Figure 6:40 Grave goods received by female individuals aged between the ages of 26-35 (N=11).

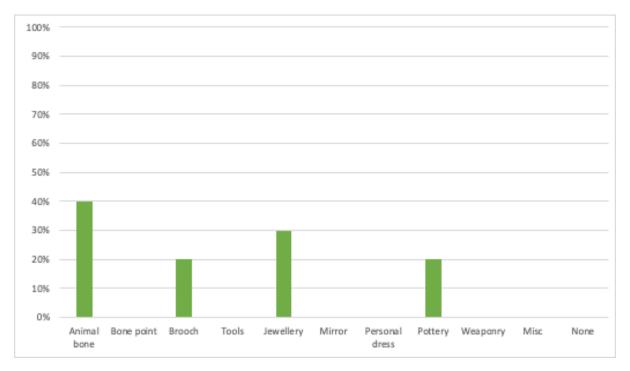


Figure 6:39: Grave goods received by female individuals aged between the ages of 36-44 (N=10).

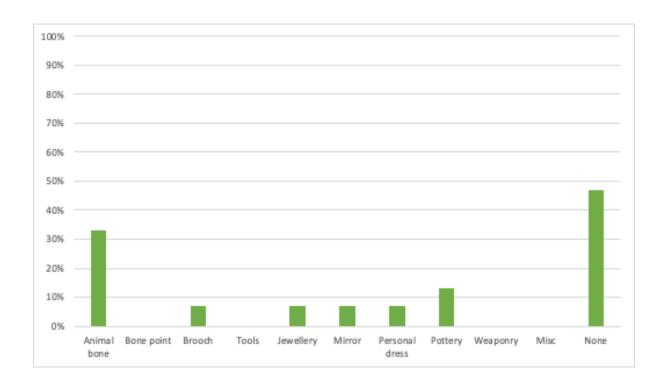


Figure 6:41 Grave goods received by female individuals aged between the ages of 45+ (N=15).

Over half (56%) of female individuals aged between the ages of 26-35 received some form of pottery as a grave good. 27% received an animal bone, and 9% received an item used in personal dress or grooming. 36% of individuals received no grave goods at all, and bone points, brooches, tools, jewellery, mirrors, weaponry, and other miscellaneous items were not received by an individual in this age group.

There were no females between the ages of 36-44 that received no grave goods.

40% received animal bone, 20% received a brooch, 30% received jewellery, and a
further 20% received pottery. 0% of individuals received bone points, tools, mirrors,
items used for personal dress, weaponry, or any other miscellaneous items.

In contrast to the above age group, 47% of individuals aged 45+ received no grave goods. 33% received animal bone, 13% received pottery, and 7% received brooches, jewellery, mirrors, or items used for personal dress and grooming. No individuals received bone points, tools, weaponry, or any other miscellaneous items.

In the youngest age group among males 60% of individuals did not receive any form of grave good, this is higher than the same age group in females. 30% of individuals received an item associated with personal dress; these include items such as hobnail boots, and an ear scoop. 20% received a miscellaneous item such as a coin or gaming piece. 10% of males between these ages received tools, pottery, or weaponry. No individuals received bone points, mirrors or brooches.

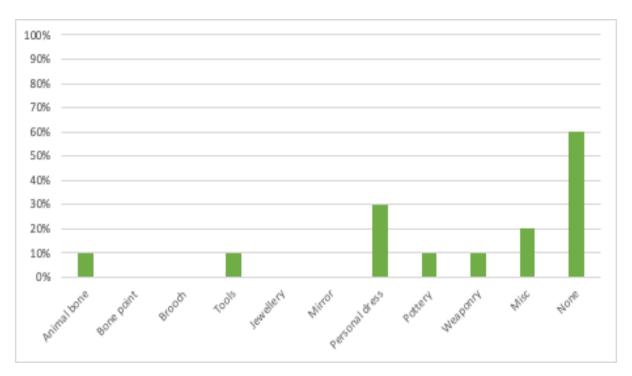


Figure 6:42 Grave goods received by male individuals aged between the ages of 18-25 (N=10).

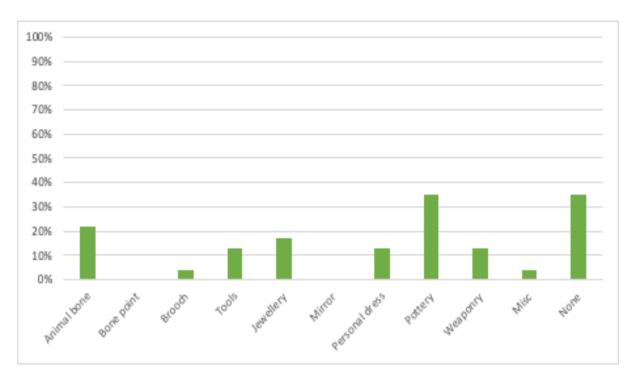


Figure 6:43 Grave goods received by male individuals aged between the ages of 26-35 (N=23).

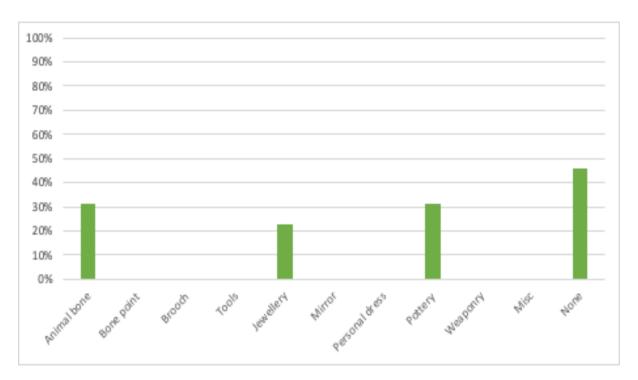


Figure 6:44 Grave goods received by male individuals aged between the ages of 36-44 (N=13).

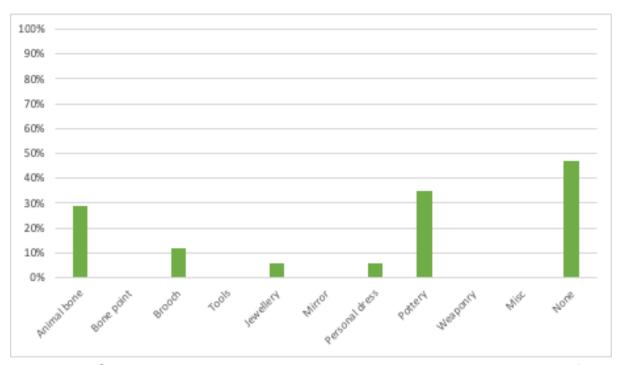


Figure 6:45 Grave goods received by male individuals aged between the ages of 45+ (N=17).

35% of male individuals aged between 26-35 received pottery as a grave good, these were recorded as whole pots and would presumably have held organic goods that the individual would be expected to use or consume on their journey to the afterlife as people in Iron Age Dorset may have believed. A further 22% received animal bones, again these were recorded as whole joints of meat, sometimes skulls and mandibles, or even whole animals. 17% of individuals received jewellery usually in the form of rings, and usually made of bronze or iron. 13% of males in this age group received tools, items used for personal dress, or weaponry. 4% of individuals received a brooch or other miscellaneous item. No individuals received a bone point, or mirror. 35% of males in this age group did not receive a grave good.

46% of male individuals aged between 36-44 did not receive a grave good. 31% received pottery, again whole pots or recorded as whole pots; another 31% of individuals received animal bones (presumably fleshed). 23% of individuals received jewellery. No individuals received a bone point, brooch, tools, mirror, an item used in personal dress, weaponry or any other miscellaneous item.

In the eldest age group amongst males (45+), 47% of individuals did not receive a grave good. 35% received pottery, 29% received animal bones, 12% received a brooch, 6% received jewellery, and a further 6% received an item used in personal dress. No individuals received a bone point, tools, a mirror, weaponry, or any other miscellaneous item.

6.7.4. Grave goods by orientation.

Nearly half (48%) of those individuals orientated towards the north did not receive grave goods (Fig 6.46). 29% received pottery, 24% received animal bones (although these were more than likely fleshed at the time), 10% received jewellery, and 5% received a brooch, item for personal dress, weaponry, or an item that was unable to be categorised. No individuals in this group received a bone point, tools, or a mirror.

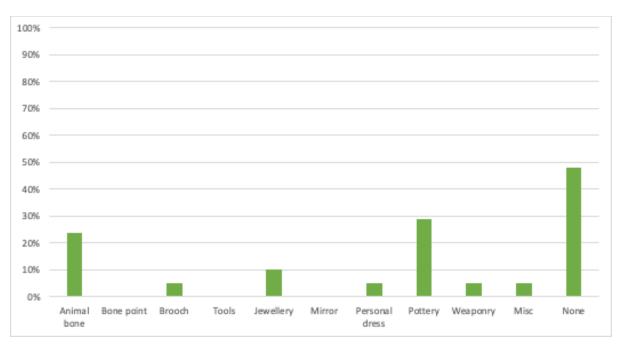


Figure 6:46 Grave goods received by individuals oriented north (N=21).

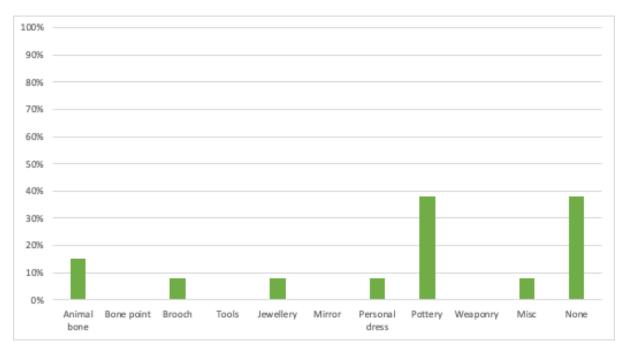


Figure 6:47 Grave goods received by individuals oriented south (N=13).

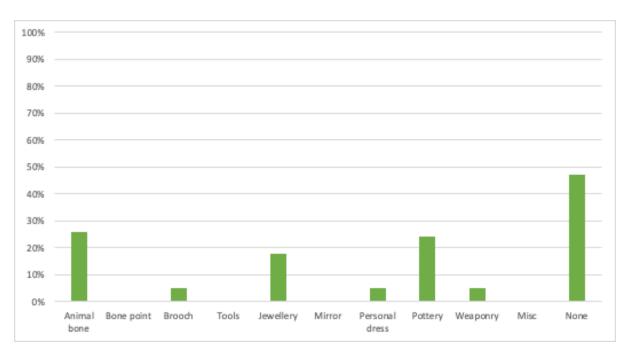


Figure 6:48 Grave goods received by individuals orientated East (N=12).

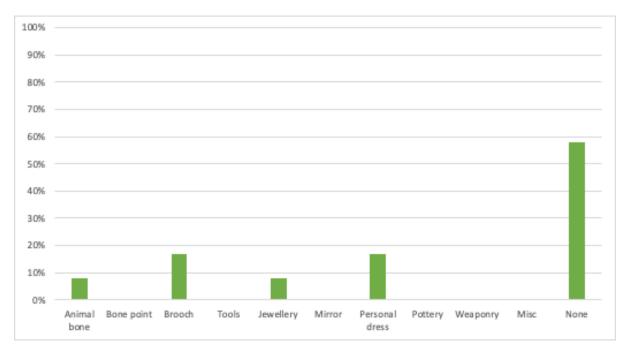


Figure 6:49 Grave goods received by individuals orientated West (N=38).

38% of individuals buried orientated to the south received no grave goods, a further 38% received pottery (Fig 6.47). 15% received animal bones, 8% received a brooch, jewellery, an item for personal dress (such as hobnail boots or an ear scoop), or a miscellaneous item such as a coin or gaming piece. No individuals received a bone point, tools, a mirror, or weaponry.

47% of individuals orientated to the east did not receive grave goods. 26% received animal bones, 24% received pottery, 18% received jewellery (Fig 6.48). 5% received a brooch, an item used for personal dress, and weaponry. No individuals received a bone point, tools, a mirror, or any other sort of miscellaneous item.

Over half (58%) of individuals orientated to the west were buried without grave goods (Fig 6.49). 17% received a brooch or an item associated with personal dress.

8% received animal bones or jewellery. No individuals received a bone point, tools, a mirror, pottery, weaponry, or any other miscellaneous item. Up until this orientation, there has largely been some kind of pattern; however, westerly orientated burials seem to differ in grave goods. A smaller percentage of individuals received animal bones than previously discussed, and no individuals received pottery which appears to be one of the more common grave goods. There was also an increase in the percentage of individuals receiving no grave goods at all, at 10% or more. This could suggest that westerly orientated burials were part of chronologically different burial rite.

6.7.5. Brooches received by burial position.

50% of individuals that received a brooch as a grave good were buried in a crouched position; as defined in table 5.1 this position is slightly more relaxed than a contracted or tightly crouched position. This is almost equivalent to East Yorkshire, although there are no tightly crouched burials represented here, there are fewer in Dorset overall. There are also fewer contracted burials here. This could suggest that brooches in Dorset were given as part of clothing or as more ornamental grave goods rather than serving the purpose of binding a burial shroud. More flexed burials received a brooch (20%), which could serve as evidence of this more ornamental nature.

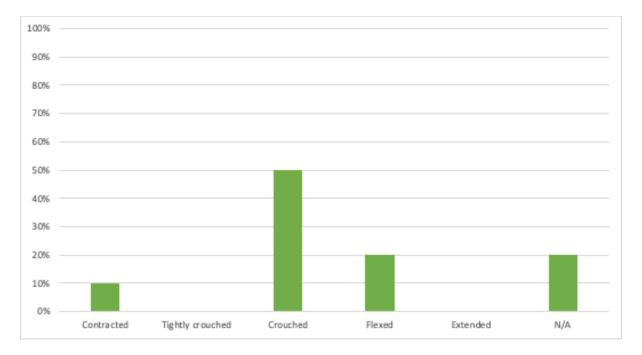


Figure 6:50 Body position of individuals that received a brooch as a grave good (N=10).

6.8. Funerary treatment of individuals under 18

Due to the difference in how individuals under the age of eighteen were treated this section will focus on these individuals.

6.8.1. Age.

The majority of individuals appear to be infants and young children up to the age of five years old, 74% of individuals under the age of eighteen were between the ages of 0 and 5; this does seem to be in line with expectations given that mortality rates in children tend to decrease after the first five years of life. There were only nineteen individuals recorded as being under eighteen years of age, 0% of these individuals were found to be between the ages of 6 and 10. The sample size in Dorset is much smaller and given the age of the excavations some individuals may have been aged incorrectly. 11% of individuals were aged between 11-14 and 21% of individuals were aged between 15-17.

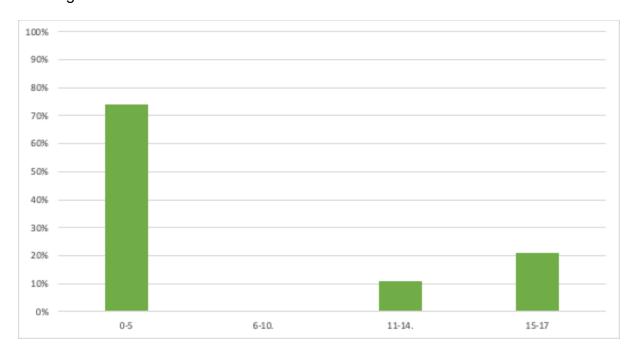


Figure 6:51 Ages of individuals under 18 (N=19).

6.8.2. Burial position.

Overall, the data from the under 18s is not particularly different from that of Dorset as a whole although there are a few areas of difference here. 16% of burials in this group are buried in a contracted position, 5% in a tightly crouched position, 47% in a crouched position, 16% in a flexed position, and 11% in an extended position.

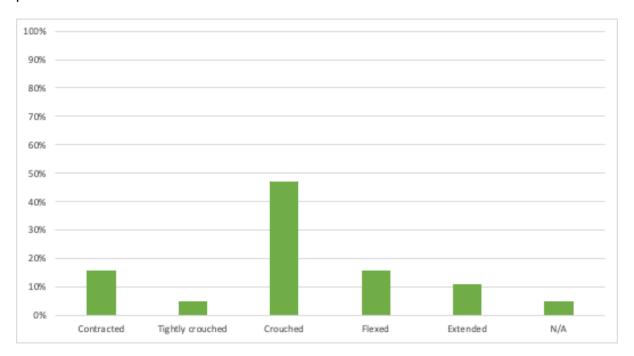


Figure 6:52 Burial positions of individuals under 18 (N=19).

50% of individuals aged between 0-5 were buried in a crouched position, 14% of individuals were buried in either a flexed or extended position, 7% of individuals were buried in a contracted position. A further 7% of individuals were recorded as unknown, 0% of individuals were buried in a tightly crouched position.

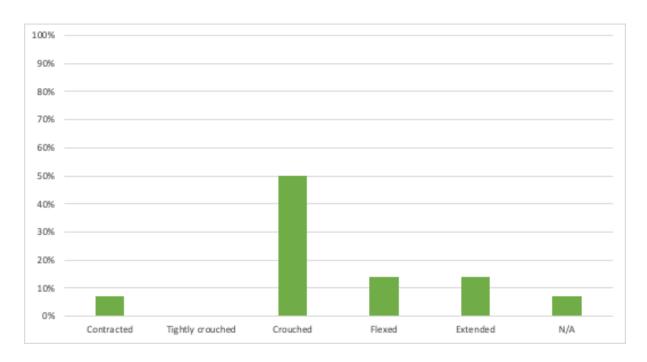


Figure 6:53 Burial positions of individuals aged 0-5 (N=14).

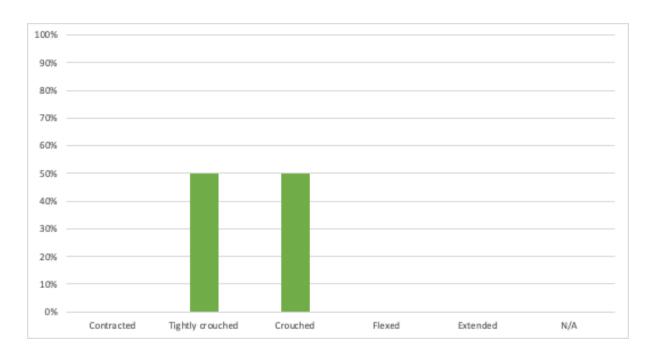


Figure 6:54 Burial positions of individuals aged 11-14 (N=2).

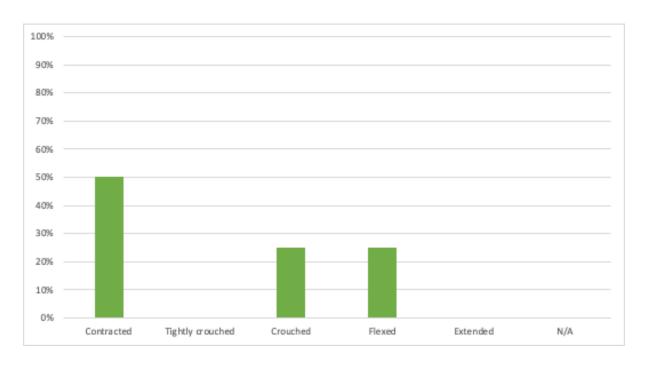


Figure 6:55 Burial positions of individuals aged 15-17 (N=4)

It is worth noting that the 11-14 category is extremely small with only two individuals represented here. Thus, it is not entirely unusual that 50% of individuals are tightly crouched and a further 50% are crouched.

There are a few more individuals in the 15-17 year age group, with 50% being buried in a contracted position, 25% in a crouched position, and a further 25% in a flexed position.

6.8.3. Orientation.

Overall, the data for under 18s in Dorset does not seem to be that much different from the data set as a whole, though like body position, there are some differences here. 16% of individuals under the age of 18 were orientated north, 21% were orientated either east or south east, 11% were orientated to the west, 5% were orientated to the north east, south, or north west. No individuals were orientated to the south west.

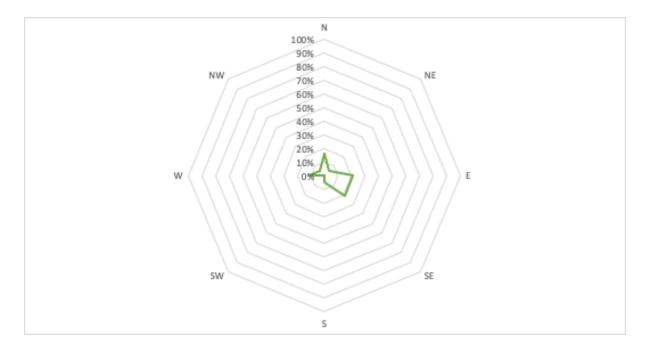


Figure 6:56 Orientation for individuals under 18 (N=19).

In the 0-5 age group 14% of individuals are orientated north, north west, or south east. 21% of individuals are orientated to the east, 7% to the south or north west. With no individuals being orientated to the south west or north east.

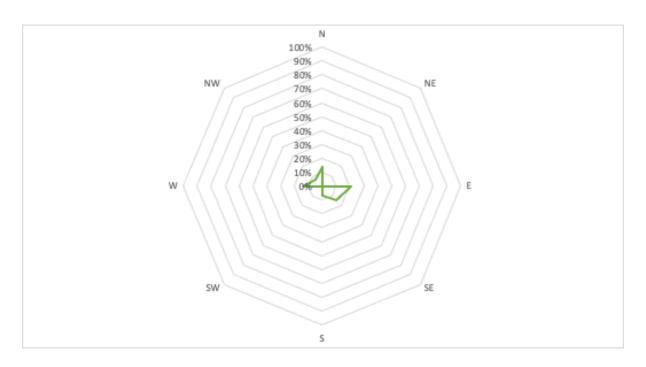


Figure 6:57 Orientation for individuals aged 0-5 (N=14).

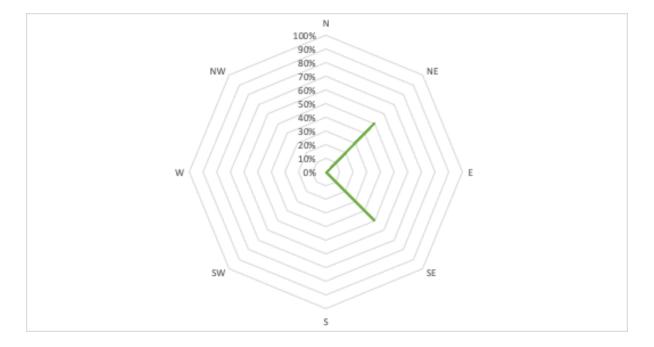


Figure 6:58 Orientation for individuals aged 11-14 (N=2).

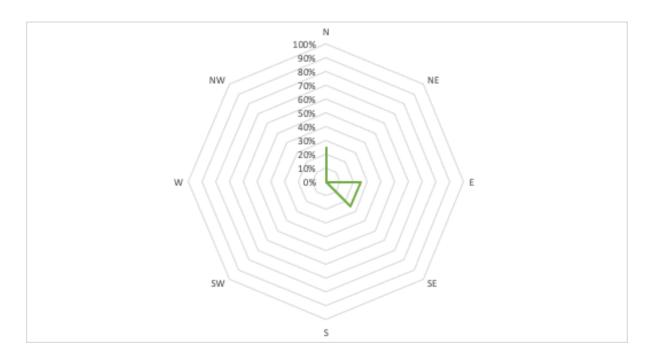


Figure 6:59 Orientation for individuals aged 15-17 (N=4).

One individual (50%) in the 11-14 age group was orientated to the north east, and one to the south east. This is fairly unusual compared to the other age groups, however, due to the size of the data set in this category, it is very difficult to compare.

25% of individuals in the 15-17 year old age group were orientated to the north, a further 25% to the east, and 25% more to the south east. 25% of individuals were also recorded as unknown. This is another fairly small age group consisting of only four individuals, while there are more individuals here than in the 11-14 age group it is still difficult to know whether or not this is entirely representative.

6.8.4. Grave goods.

26% of under 18s in Dorset received some form of pottery (usually in the form of a whole pot, bowl, or jar). 16% received jewellery, in the form of rings, necklaces, or beads (made of various materials such as clay, or faience). 11% received animal bone, this was likely fleshed at the time it was deposited and came in the form of lamb bones, horse bones, pigs bones from various parts of the animals. 5% received a brooch or a miscellaneous item. 57% of individuals received no grave goods.

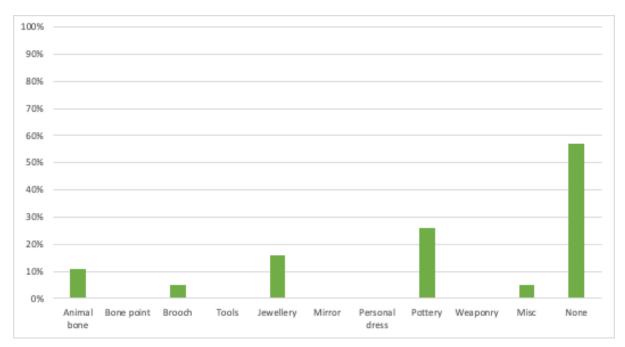


Figure 6:60 Grave goods received by individuals under 18 (N=19).

In the youngest age group, 64% did not receive any grave goods. 29% received pottery, 7% received a brooch, and a further 7% received jewellery. There is certainly a higher percentage of individuals in this age group who received no grave goods, although this does not seem to be unusual as across both areas this group of individuals tends to have a lower percentage receiving grave goods.

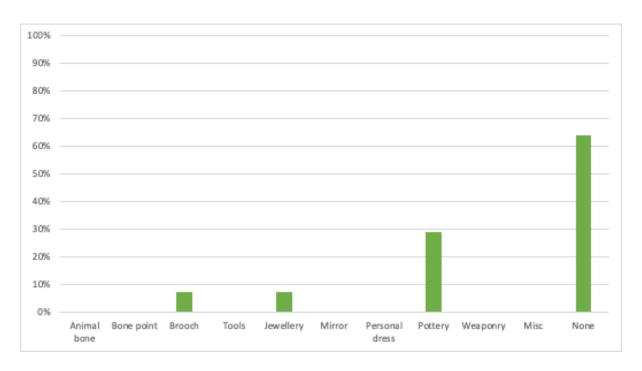


Figure 6:61 Grave goods received by individuals aged 0-5 (N=14).

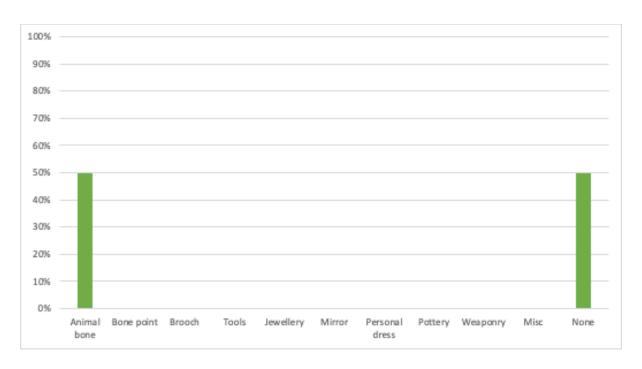


Figure 6:62 Grave goods received by individuals aged 11-14 (N=2)

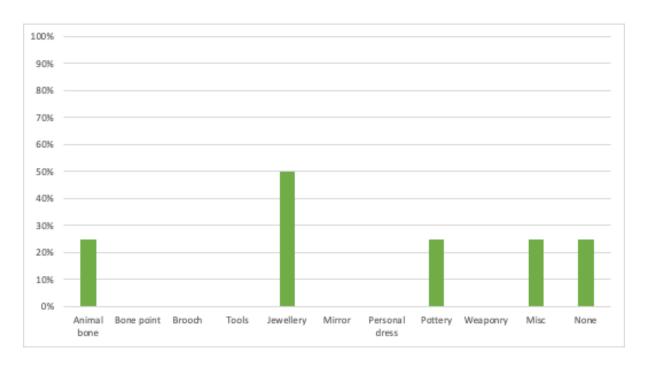


Figure 6:63 Grave goods received by individuals aged 15-17 (N=4).

In the 11-14 age group, there was only one grave good received; given the small sample size here, this means that 50% of individuals received animal bone. Another 50% of individuals received no grave goods at all.

In the 15-17 age group 50% of individuals received jewellery (in the form of a necklace and a bead), 25% received animal bones, pottery, and/or a miscellaneous item. A further 25% received no grave goods. It is hard to know whether these last two age groups are representative of the Iron Age in Dorset, given that the sample sizes in this study are so small, however, the results doe seem fairly in line with those in the East Yorkshire chapter.

6.9. Treatment of individuals under 5

This section further focusses on the differences between how individuals under the age of five were treated.

6.9.1. Age

For children under 5 the majority of these individuals appear to be aged under two years old, with 46% being aged between 0-1, 38% being aged over 1 to 2, and just 15% being aged 3-5 years old.

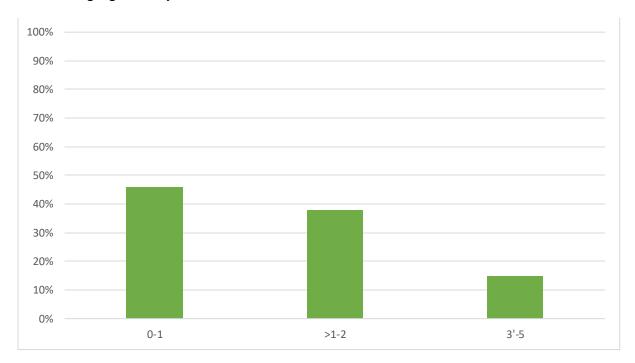


Figure 6:64 A further age break down for individuals under 5 (N=13).

6.9.2. Burial position

17% of individuals aged between 0-1 were buried in a contracted, or a flexed position (just one individual). 33% (two individuals) were buried in either a crouched or an extended position.

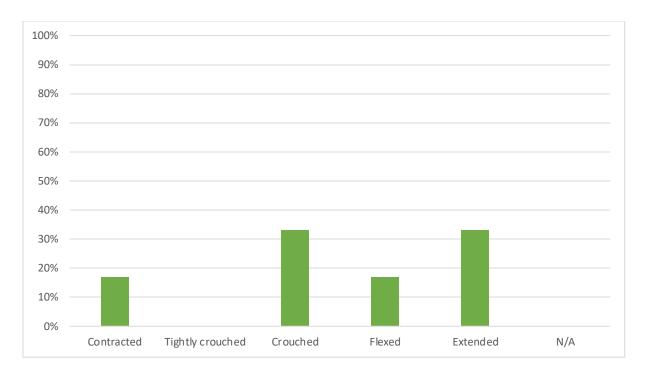


Figure 6:65 Burial position for individuals aged 0-1 (N=6).

40% (two individuals) were buried in a contracted position aged over 1-2. 20% (one individual) was buried in a crouched, flexed, or unknown position. Both individuals in the 3-5 age group were found to be in a crouched position.

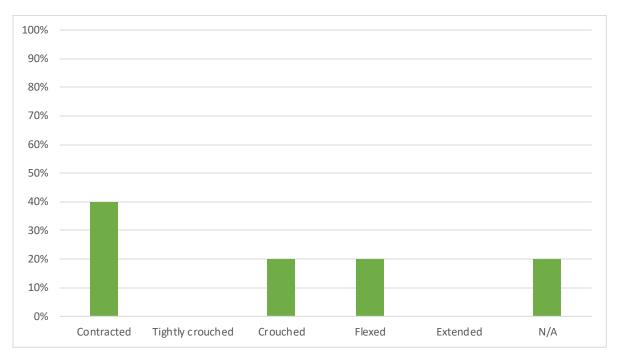


Figure 6:66 Burial position for individuals aged >1-2 (N=5).

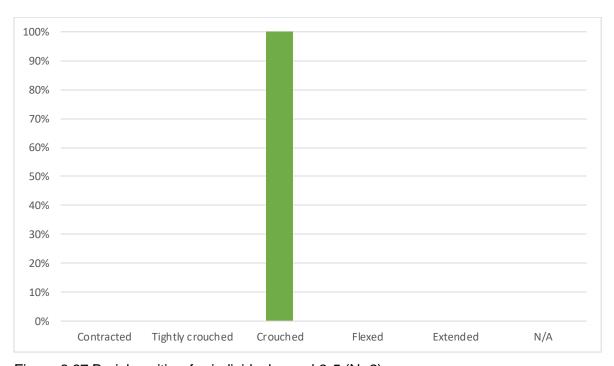
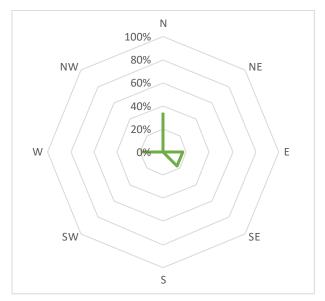


Figure 6:67 Burial position for individuals aged 3-5 (N=2).

6.9.3. Orientation

33% of individuals aged between 0-1 year old were buried oriented with their heads to the north. With 17% of individuals oriented to the east, south east, and west.



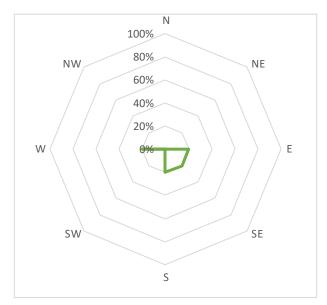




Figure 6:68 (top left first): Orientation for individuals aged 0-1, >1-2, 3-5 (N=6) (N=5) (N=2).

20% of individuals (one individual) aged more than one year old up to two years old were buried with their heads at east, south east, south, and west. One individual aged 3-5 was buried with their oriented to the east, and a further one individual was oriented with their head at north west.

6.9.4. Grave goods

The vast majority (67%) of individuals aged one year old and under were buried without grave goods. 33% of individuals (two individuals) were buried with pottery.

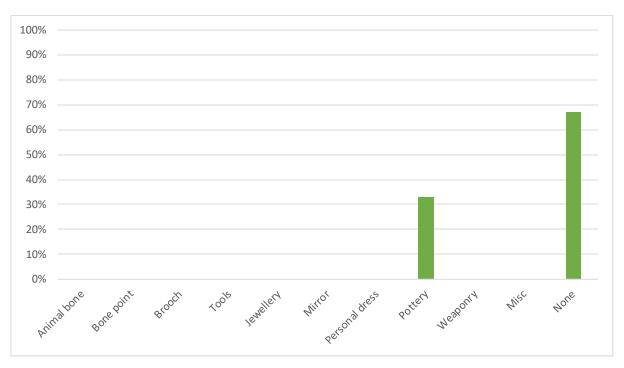


Figure 6:69 Grave goods buried with individuals aged 0-1 (N=6).

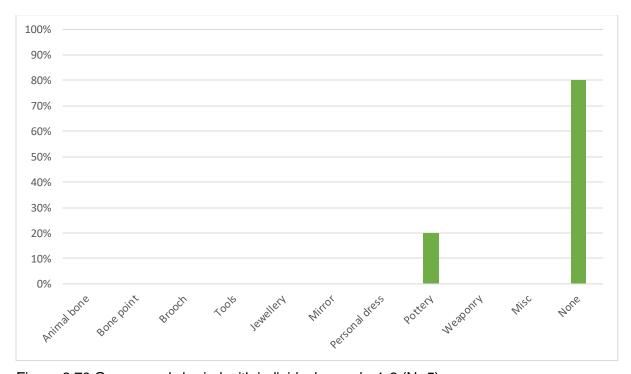


Figure 6:70 Grave goods buried with individuals aged >1-2 (N=5).

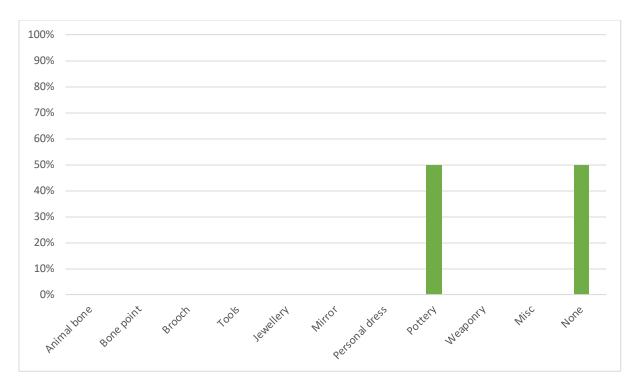
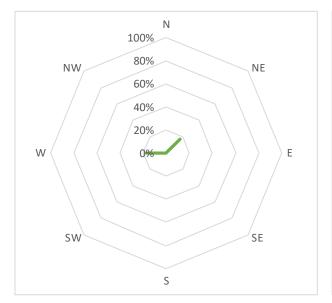


Figure 6:71 Grave goods buried with individuals aged 3-5 (N=2).

80% of individuals aged more than one year old to two years old were buried without grave goods. 20% (one individual) was buried with pottery. 50% (one individual) of individuals aged between three and five were buried with pottery, a further 50% without grave goods.

6.10. Direction facing

Just two individuals in the 0-1 age group were able to be recorded here, one facing the north east, and the other facing west.



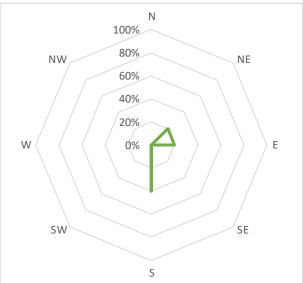




Figure 6:72 (top left first): Direction facing for individuals aged 0-1, >1-2, 3-5 (N=6) (N=5) (N=2).

40% (two individuals) aged more than one year up to two years were facing the south, 20% (one individual) was facing the north east, a further individual was facing

the east. One individual aged 3-5 was facing the north east, another individual was found facing the south.

6.11. Conclusion

This chapter presents the results from the database of burials in Dorset, focusing on sex, age, orientation, burial position, the direction individuals faced, and grave goods. The region has significantly fewer inhumation burials compared to East Yorkshire, with 186 inhumations across twenty cemeteries. Maiden Castle is the largest cemetery with 43 inhumations.

There is a fairly even split between males and females, with 32% female, 39% male, and 29% unknown sex. A high percentage of individuals also have an unknown age (28%). The orientation of burials in Dorset shows little standardization, with a clear avoidance of southerly and westerly orientations. North was the most common orientation, particularly for males.

Burial positions in Dorset vary, with flexed (29%) and crouched (27%) positions being the most common, suggesting a lack of shrouds or binding materials. Females are more often buried in a crouched position, while males are more likely to be flexed. Age seems to influence burial position, with 45+ year old females often buried in a crouched position.

Grave goods are less common in Dorset, with 40% of individuals buried without any.

Pottery is the most common grave good (35%), potentially containing offerings rather

than being the offering itself. The majority of individuals buried in Dorset are infants and young children up to age five, comprising 74% of individuals under eighteen.

7. Discussion

7.1. Introduction

This chapter will seek to interpret the results from both Dorset and East Yorkshire in chapters 5 and 6. Across both regions 829 individuals were included in their respective chapters, from 19 different cemeteries. The largest of these cemeteries is Wetwang Slack with 404 individuals, as stated in chapter 9 5 section 5.1; in Dorset the largest cemetery was Maiden Castle with 43 individuals.

7.1.1. Secondary Burials

As stated in section 5.12, the practice of multiple individuals buried in one grave site at different times is a somewhat commonly practised burial rite in the European Iron Age, with examples from Hallstatt being some of the earliest in the course of the Iron Age, as well as barrows in Haroué with secondary burials added into the mounds (Pope and Ralston 2011, 381). The Vix chariot burial is a particularly interesting example, as this burial includes a chariot similar to the examples found in East Yorkshire, although none of the East Yorkshire graves included a secondary inhumations as the Vix burial does (Pope and Ralston 2011, 384). In East Yorkshire, secondary burials are described by 'rite D', and are characterised as inhumation burials inserted into the mound, grave pit, or the enclosure ditch (Giles 2013, 71; Harding 2016, 37). Individuals inserted into the mound of the barrow would have left them to be vulnerable to damage by ploughing, this could, as stated previously be

the reason why the population from this time is referred to as 'the elusive dead' of the British Iron Age (Harding 2016, 37).

7.2. Attitudes to the afterlife

In comparison to continental Europe, Iron Age Britain has few inhumation burials, however, there is enough evidence to establish a fairly consistent series of different funerary rites (Whimster 1977; Cunliffe 2004, 543). The evidence from East Yorkshire is fairly extensive, encompassing several large barrow cemeteries, all with somewhat similar rites carried out at each of them. The evidence from Dorset, is far more sporadic, there are several smaller cemeteries; however, the rites provided to the dead in Dorset are consistent up to and even after the Roman invasion (Cunliffe 2004, 559). The ways in which individuals are buried, the funerary rites they are provided, are informative not only about the individual during life, but also the beliefs of the society about death; the attitudes towards the afterlife (Parker Pearson 1999, 5).

7.2.1. Body Position

The use of burial shrouds, or bindings in Iron Age Britain has been identified, at the site of the Broxmouth Hillfort in East Lothian, Scotland (Armit et al. 2013). Grave 3 is part of a group of individual burials outside of the main cemetery; the burial was that of a younger female, aged between 16-18 at the time of her death; she was buried in this same contracted position with a bone point found in the chest area which was

probably a fastening for the binding material (Armit et al. 2013, 83; Cooper et al. 2019).

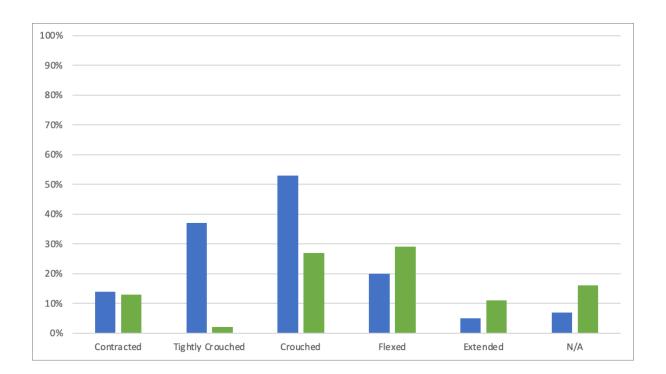


Figure 7:1 Burial position in East Yorkshire (blue, N=643) and Dorset (green, N=186).

In Dorset, the majority of burials were recorded as being in either a crouched (27%) or flexed (29%) position. These are, in terms of burials that are not extended, looser than burials found in a contracted or tightly crouched position. In East Yorkshire, 14% of burials were found in a contracted position, and 37% in a tightly crouched position. This could indicate that bindings or burial shrouds used to hold individuals in position were used more frequently in East Yorkshire.

In Dorset, 13% of burials were found in a contracted position which is roughly equivalent to the 14% of burials found in the same position in East Yorkshire - this

could indicate that some burials in Dorset did use bindings, although fewer than in East Yorkshire due to the smaller percentage of individuals found in a tightly crouched position (see below).

Only 2% of burials in Dorset were found in a tightly crouched position, whereas in

East Yorkshire 37% of burials were found tightly crouched. This suggests that in Dorset, perhaps the use of bindings or burial shrouds show some sort of social difference perhaps that the individuals buried in bindings were of a higher social status than those who were not bound. Fig 7:2 shows a female burial from Gussage All Saints (burial 204), this individual represents a minority of those in Dorset; she was

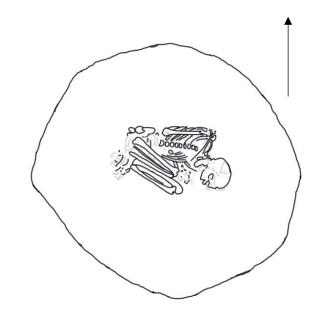


Figure 7:2 Burial 204, Gussage All Saints (based on Wainwright 1979, 34)

more than likely bound before she was buried (Wainwright 1979, 32). This female was also found to have had an extremely unusual pattern of dental wear, with her upper incisors and canines worn to the point where the pulp cavities were exposed; her lower teeth, however, were much less worn in comparison. The evidence suggests that this was due to a personal habit; perhaps some sort of intentional cultural practice (such as intentionally filing the teeth, although there is an absence of evidence to suggest this is the case here) that set her apart from the rest of her peers. Whether or not this societal difference informed the way she was buried is unknown; however, this female is certainly an anomaly in comparison to many of the burials at Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979, 167, 169-70).

In East Yorkshire, however, it might appear that bindings were part of the norm in terms of burial practice and may not show any difference in social status. Thus, it is possible that the use of bindings in East Yorkshire might have been a standard rite in order to enter the afterlife. Bindings could have been used in order to curate individuals prior to burial, or to store them for movement to a burial site, or even longer terms as mummified remains.

Over 50% of burials in East Yorkshire were in a crouched position, while in Dorset only 29% of burials were in a crouched position. These burials are described as being on their side with the legs folded at the level of the waist. This is the second loosest crouched position (the loosest being flexed 20% in East Yorkshire and 29% in Dorset), and is sometimes referred to as being the foetal position due to the fact that it resembles the position of foetuses in the womb; this position is also commonly seen when people are asleep. The fact that a crouched position is the most common singular burial position perhaps shows a desire to represent the dead as merely being asleep; this along with the possible link to the rising and setting of the sun (and the night that the sunset brings along with it) may imply that people in Iron Age Britain associated death with sleep.

In Dorset 11% of individuals were recorded as being in an extended position, while in East Yorkshire just 5% of individuals were recorded as such. This is likely due to the dates during which the cemeteries were in use, the East Yorkshire sites date generally earlier than those in Dorset which were active up to and past the Roman invasion (Stead 1991). Extended burials are part of the Roman burial tradition, which may have had some influence over the later burials found in Dorset (Toynbee 1971, 49). The fact that extended burials are present in the East Yorkshire record might

suggest a difference chronologically to burials found in East Yorkshire that are in the typical crouched/tightly crouched position. Whimster (1977, 322) suggests that these burials, with particular reference to Burton Fleming, are part of a later phase of the cemetery and are indeed evidence of a chronologically different burial tradition where the individual was oriented east/west or west/east and buried under smaller barrows usually with knives, iron swords, or spearheads as grave goods.

Burial position at Wetwang Slack appears to be very different from the overall data, for East Yorkshire, 69% of individuals were found in a crouched position compared to just 53% of the overall data (Figs 5.78 and 5.18). It is possible that this is due to chronological differences between the cemeteries; burials begin at Wetwang Slack from 420-245 cal BC and the last burials are dated to 200-130 cal BC, which means that this cemetery was active for 180-290 years (Jay et al. 2012; Giles 2013, 72). Wetwang Slack also has a few examples of 'rite B' and 'D' burials, both of which can be dated to being later practices chronologically (Stead 1991; Giles 2013, 72). There is also an argument to be made here that the differences in burial rites between Wetwang Slack and the rest of East Yorkshire be evidence against the theory that Iron Age Britain was a society split into homogenous tribal groups.

53% (Fig 5.106) of secondary burials are found in a crouched position, indicative of 'rite A' burials (Giles 2013, 69), which if 'rite D' was used primarily to locate individuals close to a relative or ancestor might be evidence that individuals buried as secondary inhumations were attempting imitate or honour past burial rites. 21% of secondary burials were found in a flexed position; this is primarily used by 'rite B' burials, and again could be evidence that individuals buried according to 'rite D' were trying to imitate earlier burials.

There are very few contracted, and tightly crouched individuals at Wetwang Slack which suggests that perhaps the use of bindings or the curation of individuals in order to maintain a tighter burial position occurred in smaller numbers here. It is possible that this practice only started to become popular after the cemetery fell out of use by the majority of the population, and that those individuals buried as secondary inhumations simply did not use bindings.

In Dorset, when split by age, the majority (54%) of 18-25 year olds were buried in a flexed position; this is not indicative of the use of bindings or a burial shroud. 48% of 26-35 year olds were also in a flexed position, 41% of 36-44 year olds were in a flexed position, and 24% of 45+ were also in a flexed position (see Figures 6.34-7). This could suggest that age also had some effect on the position in which individuals were buried in, in Dorset during this time, and could indicate differential treatment based on age.

Also in Dorset, 29% of 18-25 year olds were found in a crouched position, 22% of 26-35 year olds were found in the same position, 41% of individuals in the 36-44 year old age group were found in a crouched position, and 34% of individuals aged over 45 were found in a crouched position. These results could suggest that age may have informed the way people were buried and the beliefs surrounding the afterlife, and the necessary steps it took to be socially accepted. There are some reasonably large differences between age groups here, these results show that it is highly likely that the contracted position was a reserved burial rite, associated with age. Although it is not clear just by looking at these results exactly what excluded an individual from receiving this rite.

7.2.2. Orientation

Orientation and the movements of the sun have long been linked with roundhouses. There is a well-established body of theory suggesting that there was a separation of the north and south in these houses (Parker Pearson 1999, 49). The patterning of floor deposits that is sometimes revealed when the houses are excavated show the differential uses of the space (Parker Pearson 1999, 49). Distribution of peat-ash, pottery, animal bones and other signs of domestic life allow for establishing that activities were split between the north and south sides of these east facing houses (Parker Pearson 1999, 48). The left side of the house is the space in which more domestic activities would likely have taken place and is characterised by a simple earthen floor; the right is usually cleaner in terms of deposits, this side of the house also seems to include the sleeping quarters. Roundhouse doors being aligned to the solstices and equinoxes appear to show a great concern for these cosmologies, a belief that was likely prevalent to Iron Age society at the time. Parker Pearson (1999, 49) places these cosmological beliefs with regards to the organisation of the roundhouse in the context of the human life cycle with the east representing both life and death, however, this thesis has been heavily criticised (Pope 2007, 222) (see Figure 7.3), perhaps this is the reason so many burials in East Yorkshire and Dorset were orientated to the north.

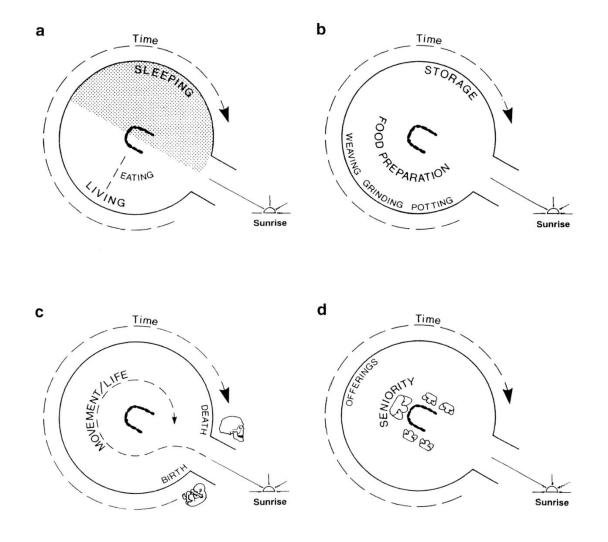


Figure 7:3: Interpretations of the use of space within Iron Age British roundhouses (Parker Pearson 1999, 49).

Oswald (1997, 93) argues that similar cosmological influences can be observed ethnographically through the locations of Mayan cities, the Yoruba, and the Hopi (an indigenous American ethnic group). The latter constructed dwellings in a circular manner with an eastern facing doorway, where individuals entering the home would do so on a sunwise path around a central hearth (Bersu 1940, 90; Oswald 1997, 93). The home was split and different activities would be carried out in different segments, according to wall posts arranged based upon a gender binary wherein

different areas correspond either to male or female. Using these ethnographic accounts, Oswald (1997, 94), infers that Iron Age roundhouses would have been split in much the same manner; based around the sun.

Deconstruction of this theory began not too long after it was accepted (with some degree of caution). There is an emphasis, within most criticisms of this theory, on the diversity that is present within the archaeological record which the model seems to disregard (Brück 1999b; Webley 2003; Pope 2007, 205). When tested at site level, the model seems at times to fall apart against archaeology that is far more complex than what is allowed within the model's bounds. Pope (2007, 205) argues that "the current author also found the model wanting when tested against large datasets". It is also argued that the use of cosmology strengthened the functional/ritual dualism within archaeology, as well as the model being static and synthetic which denies human agency (Brück 1999a 325; Brück 1999b; Webley 2003; Pope 2007, 205). According to Pope (2007, 222) there are serious issues within the cosmological approach used by Parker Pearson (1999):

"Often described as post-processual, the degree to which the model overlooks context is remarkable: be it in the uncritical application of structuralist theory, analogy and narrative; the disregard for taphonomy, agency, and regional variation; the marginalisation of the environment; or the over-reliance on a biased orientation dataset and a handful of cherrypicked sites."

Pope 2007, 222.

The East Yorkshire dataset in this study, however, does show a clear bias to an obviously northerly orientation, with 70% of burials being oriented thus. While the

same may not be said for the rest of the British Isles it is clear that, for this society, the orientation at which one was buried was significant in some way. This is less true in Dorset, where there is a much less distinctive pattern in terms of orientation in all cases. However, there are very few burials oriented to the west.

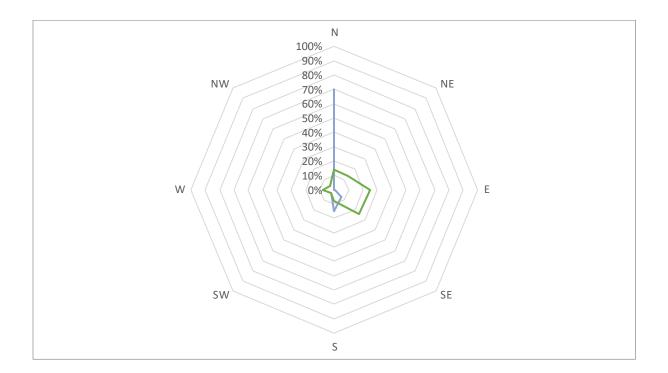


Figure 7:4 Orientation in East Yorkshire (blue, N=643) and Dorset (green, N=186)

In Dorset, again there is much less of a distinctive pattern in terms of burial position and orientation. However, there are some differences in the position in which people are buried according to orientation, for example 0% of individuals orientated with their heads to the north were buried in a contracted position and only 10% were buried in a tightly crouched position. While 48% were buried in a crouched position, and 24% in a flexed position. 5% were buried in an extended position. This suggests that northerly orientated burials were far more likely to be buried in a loose body position, or without the bindings necessary to maintain a tighter body position. Thus

it might be inferred that individuals buried orientated to the north were interred fleshed.

The results here could possibly suggest a cosmological link, however, this is slightly problematic due to the ambiguous nature of archaeological evidence. The issues surrounding the size of both datasets are compounded by their incomplete nature — while the sites chosen for this study have certainly not been cherrypicked for their data surrounding orientation, the issues above still stand. And therefore, it is impossible to conclude for certain that there any definite links to cosmology in relation to the way both regions oriented their dead. There is little here that confirms a cosmological reason for the pattern; there is even less evidence to be able to comment on the link between cosmology and social hierarchy. It is still important to note when (possible) coincidences such as the one presented above occur, and so cosmology has been discussed as a potential interpretation for the data above.

It is more likely for individuals orientated to the south to be in a looser body position. Unusually, 31% of these individuals were buried in an extended position, this is a far higher percentage than what is observed in any other orientation, and could suggest some kind of social differentiation. It may also be the result of a single familial group in a small cemetery choosing to bury their dead in an extended position orientated to the south, perhaps at a chronologically different time than those orientated to the north.

A much higher percentage of individuals orientated to the east in Dorset were found in a tighter body position, when both orientation and body position were considered, however; individuals were still more likely to be in a loose body position. This

suggests that, like those individuals with their heads at a northerly orientation, individuals buried orientated east were more likely to have been buried fleshed and without bindings or skeletonized in a loose body position. Although, a significant minority of individuals may have been buried with bindings, or buried skeletonized and in a tight position.

33% of individuals orientated west were buried in a contracted position. This is a far higher percentage than seen previously and suggests that the use of bindings or curation in order to achieve a tight burial position was more common in westerly oriented burials. It also suggests differences in the way individuals orientated to the west were treated in death which may allude to some form of social differences.

Another 33% of individuals were buried in a flexed position, and 17% were buried in a crouched position; this is somewhat in line with what can be observed above, although the percentage of individuals buried in a tighter position is far higher.

In East Yorkshire, there are far more distinctive differences in burial position and orientation. Extended burials tend to be orientated to the west (46%) and east (41%); there were no extended burials that were oriented to either the north or south; these results indicate a separate burial rite. Given that more of these extended burials are male, and are also provided with weaponry, it is possible that warrior graves were orientated westerly in order to fulfil some part of a rite specific to those that were killed or fought in battle. There are exceptions to this, there may have been females that were trained in martial arts please see below in section 7.5.4. It is also possible that extended burials were perhaps a completely chronologically distinct burial rite; this is Stead's (1991) rite 'B'. Westerly oriented burials exhibit the most differences

when compared to the other cardinal directions. Less than 10% of burials oriented to the west were buried in both a contracted and crouched position. No burials were found in a tightly crouched position. 46% of westerly oriented burials were found to be in a flexed position, and (as stated above 46% were extended). This might suggest a completely separate burial tradition, taking place in a singular cemetery or in a different chronology.

Individuals orientated to the north were largely found in loose burial positions suggesting that that individuals orientated thus were unlikely to use bindings necessary to hold a tight burial position; also, that they were likely to be buried either fully fleshed or skeletonized in a loose position. Individuals orientated to the south were also much more likely to be buried in a loose position. There were no extended burials amongst those orientated to the south. This again suggests that bindings were rarely used for southerly orientated burials.

Dorset again seems to be strikingly different from East Yorkshire, however, there is still a bias against the west which is observable here in every age group. Although each age group is quite different, the lack of westerly orientations is consistent. Apart from this, given the randomness of Dorset region orientations it is doubtful that age had any impact on the direction that each individual was buried in; in each age group there appears to be little pattern when the west is disregarded. Broadly, the east appears to be the orientation in which more individuals were buried in. This seems to follow a cosmological pattern where the east represents the rising of the sun, and so life, and the west could represent the setting of the sun and the afterlife (figure 7.1).

The head of a reasonably high majority of individuals being oriented in such a way might suggest that the pattern of the sun rising and setting may have had some influence over individuals in this region during the Iron Age, even if the age of these individuals had little influence. Again, as stated above it is impossible to conclude for certain whether there was a link between orientation and cosmology; issues with the datasets and criticisms by Bruck and Pope aside, any possible influence from cosmology is perhaps tenuous at best.

7.2.3. Grave Goods

A higher percentage of individuals in East Yorkshire were buried with no grave goods at all when compared to Dorset - in fact the majority of individuals in East Yorkshire were buried without grave goods (62%) whereas in Dorset only 40% (still a significant amount) were buried without grave goods. This could imply that in the East Yorkshire during the Iron Age grave goods were not considered as necessary to a 'good burial'.

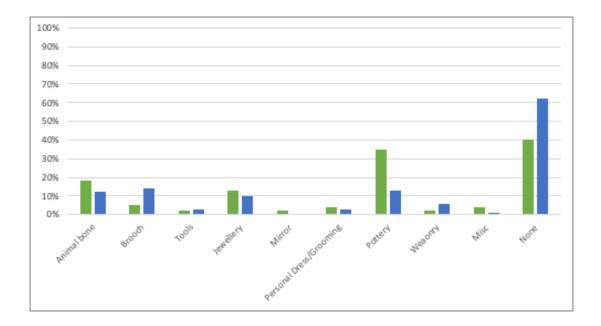


Figure 7:5 Grave goods given to individuals both in East Yorkshire (blue, N=643) and Dorset (green, N=186).

The most common type of grave goods in East Yorkshire was a brooch (15%) (either bronze or iron). This could be due to the fact that individuals were being bound in a burial shroud to maintain a tighter body position. Only 5% of individuals in Dorset received a brooch, which might suggest that burials in tighter body positions were excarnated or curated and then buried rather than the use of bindings; it is also

possible that the bindings were made out of rope or another textile which would not have survived.

Tools were found in 2% of graves in Dorset, and 3% of graves in East Yorkshire.

This is indicative of the idea that a person's individual identity is acquired through how they live their lives, and their interactions within society prior to their death. It makes sense to provide those that carried out a certain trade or purpose in society with the tools in order for them to continue their work after they die.

Jewellery was a slightly more common grave good in Dorset than it was in East Yorkshire, 13% of individuals were buried with jewellery in Dorset, and 10% in East Yorkshire. Though this form of grave good makes up a reasonable percentage of grave goods as a whole, suggesting that when individuals received grave goods, it was common either as a gift from mourners or as part of what individuals were buried wearing.

Mirrors were found only in Dorset, with 2% of individuals receiving them. The fact that they were not common suggests that they were not part of a 'standard' burial rite for the whole region and instead may have been gifts from individual mourners or they may have belonged to the deceased.

Items related to personal dress were found in both East Yorkshire (3%) and Dorset (4%). These included pins used in clothing, as well as items such as ear scoops or tweezers. These items would likely have either been part of the individual's own clothing in the case of hobnails or pins, but also may have been given as gifts for the individual to continue self-grooming in the afterlife.

In Dorset, a high (35%) percentage of individuals received pottery, this could have been used to store food stuffs for some kind of journey in the afterlife, as stated above. This form of grave good was much less common in East Yorkshire, with only 13% of individuals receiving pottery; 8% in the form of sherds and only 5% as whole pots. It is fairly likely, though not specified in the reports, that some of the sherds may have been placed in the graves deliberately, and that some of them were in the fill.

Nearly 90% of individuals in East Yorkshire buried as secondary inhumations did not receive grave goods this is in line with expectations given the number of infants and young children buried in this way. No such individuals received weaponry, or a mirror, and just 5% received a high status grave good such as jewellery. There are a higher percentage of female burials than there are males in this category, jewellery being the most common grave good for individuals buried as a secondary inhumation is not particularly surprising. This will be discussed further in more detail in section 7.5.

If grave goods were given at the time, in order to aid individuals on their journey to the afterlife, it is possible that they were not deemed necessary for individuals that were being interred with a relative or ancestor. Thus, the high percentage of individuals here not receiving grave goods.

Grave goods individuals receive can indicate beliefs in an afterlife (Parker Pearson 1999, 7). Across every age group, in East Yorkshire, animal bone (usually sheep or pig bones, representing joints of meat) remains a fairly common grave good amongst both males and females. These bones and the meat they would once have had on

them may have been given to individuals for the journey into the afterlife. It more likely that these animals had little to no significance, beyond foodstuffs.

50% of males aged 45+. It could be that these brooches were used in the curation and binding of individuals, and that male individuals over the age of 45+ were usually the ones to receive such burial rites. Although, there are reasonable percentages of other individuals (both male and female) that received a brooch suggesting that this rite may not have been entirely exclusive to just males over the age of 45.

In general, Dorset shows a much more diverse archaeological record in terms of animal bones; whole dogs, pigs skulls, and domestic fowl are all present in the burial record whereas in East Yorkshire it appears to be almost exclusively pig and sheep long bones present in the record. This suggests that burial rites in East Yorkshire may have been much more prescriptive in terms of the food given to individuals than those in Dorset. This could also imply a difference in the way each society treated animals in terms of their status in society; animals in Dorset may have been viewed as companions, whereas in East Yorkshire they may have just been viewed as a food source.

7.2.4. Direction Facing

Referring to the direction the individual was facing in their burial position. The directions individuals face in death may be related to the direction the spirit of the individual was intended to travel in, the location of the ancestral place the society believed in, although this is not always the case.

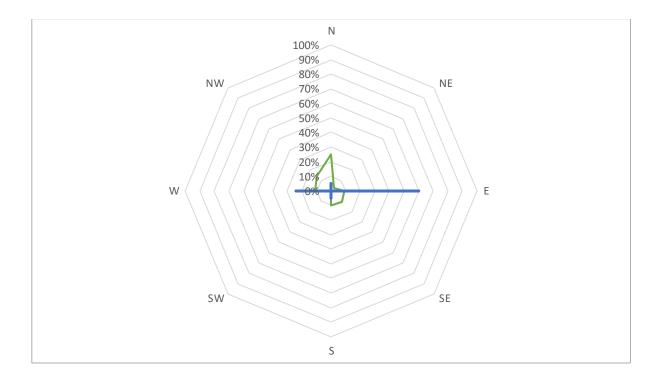


Figure 7:6 Directions individuals faced in East Yorkshire (blue, N=643) and Dorset (green, N=186).

East Yorkshire (see section 5.5), again, has a clearly observable pattern. With a reasonable majority of individuals buried facing to the east (60%); this alongside a very high percentage of individuals buried with their heads orientated to the north (70%) could imply a link with the rising and setting of the sun. This pattern may also be linked with the cosmology of Iron Age roundhouses outlined above. It is

somewhat of a coincidence that the direction individuals were facing as they were buried was almost the same as the entry point into houses at the time. While this may not apply to the Iron Age as a whole, since it does not seem to be the case for Dorset, cosmology appears to play at least some role in the burial rituals of the society inhabiting East Yorkshire at the time.

Dorset appears, at first glance to show very little pattern; there are a reasonable percentage of individuals buried facing the north (25%), which is quite considerably higher than the other compass points (see section 6.5). 14% of individuals were buried facing the north west, and a further 3% of individuals were buried facing the north east; meaning that 42% of individuals were buried facing broadly to the north. This may suggest that being buried to the north in some way was a more common funerary practice in Dorset, these burials may be those of a standard class of individual; while those buried facing the south, east, or west may be exceptional in some way. Whether or not burials facing the east, west, or south were of those individuals that were high in social status or individuals that were outcast socially will be discussed further below.

When sorted in specific age groups, again in Dorset there seems to be little pattern at first glance, however, it appears that as the ages of individuals increase so does the percentage of individuals facing north. These results suggest that in Dorset, age may have affected the burial rite individuals received, perhaps due to the manner of death. Older individuals are possibly more likely to have died of natural causes, which in society at the time may have been considered a 'correct' death; therefore, suggesting that facing north is indicative of a 'good' death. Across all age groups in

Dorset, there are few individuals found buried facing the south (including the south east and south west), suggesting that these directions may have been reserved for individuals who suffered a death outside of what was considered a 'good' or 'normal' death.

In East Yorkshire, consistently there is a majority of individuals facing east: 57% of 18-25 year olds, 62% of 26-35 years olds, 67% of 36-44 year olds, and 52% of 45+ year olds. This suggests that facing east was the marker of a standard burial rite one that most individuals in society at the time achieved. The fact that this is the direction in which the sun rises should not be ignored, although cosmology is a somewhat controversial theory, (see above) this is perhaps not a coincidence.

Very few individuals face the north and south, in East Yorkshire, between 2% and 9% for both directions across all age groups, this suggests that being buried facing such was outside the norm for society at the time, it is possible that the people suffering unusual or 'unlucky' death were buried as such.

Between 16-24% of individuals were buried facing the west, this is not as small a percentage as those facing the north or south but is still considerably smaller than those facing the east; being buried facing the direct opposite direction to the majority of people does suggest some social exclusion or difference. It is possible that these were the individuals that led a life of difference, one outside of the rest of society, be that in a positive or negative way.

There are many opportunities to represent social difference or exclusion in the manner in which someone is buried, and the direction people are laid to rest facing is one of them. In East Yorkshire, it appears that the majority of people buried in the Wetwang Slack and Garton Slack cemeteries are buried with their heads oriented

Yorkshire (see figure 7.7 on next page). Figure 7.7 shows a plan of the area surrounding the Wetwang Slack and Garton Slack cemeteries, in which the Green Lane earthwork is observable towards the north, while in the south some 80 roundhouses were discovered (Dent 1982, 447-453). The orientation of individuals with their heads to the north (where the boundary earthwork was a prominent feature in the landscape), facing east towards another boundary ditch may not have been a coincidence here. It may have represented the individuals leaving the land of the living (the settlement in the south) and journeying outside (over the boundary to the north or east).

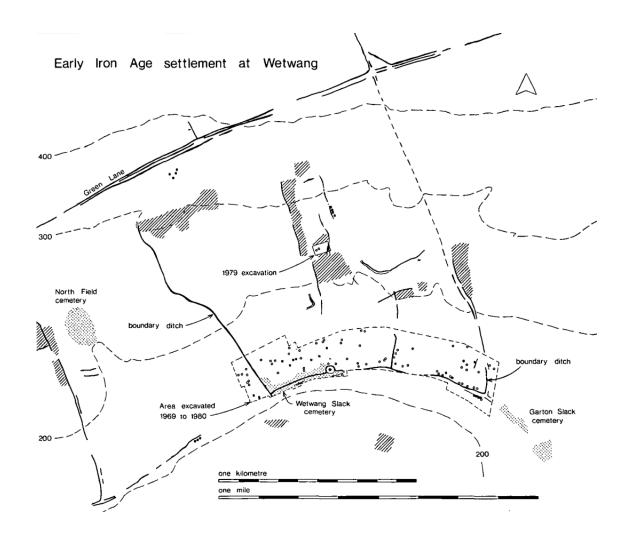


Figure 7:7 A plan of the Iron Age landscape showing Wetwang Slack, Garton Slack (no data for this cemetery in this thesis), individual barrows, and the Green Lane earthworks (Dent 1982, 449).

There is a significant majority of individuals that are secondary burials, oriented towards the north (76%, Fig 5.105). This suggests that these burials followed the rites common with 'rite A', where individuals were oriented north-south in a crouched position; even though 'rite D' is chronologically later than 'rite A' (Stead 1991, Giles 2013). There are a few individuals that are oriented east-west, which is indicative of 'rite B', although these individuals account for just 8% (east-west) and 2% (west-west). Perhaps these secondary burials, 'rite D', are imitating the earlier burials.

Of particular note is the secondary burial K2, a female between the ages of 25-35 — this female had almost reached full term in her pregnancy when she died (Giles 2012, 92-93). The cause of her death is not clear, it might have been due to eclampsia or infection which would have left no trace on her skeleton. It is the way she is buried, as a secondary burial to K6 which speaks to the attitudes surrounding death and burial held by the society she was a part of. K6 is a burial of another female, slightly younger being aged between 17-25, that died in similar circumstances as evidenced by the remains of a full-term foetus that were found in the position associated with birth. In the case of K6 the umbilical cord might have still been attached (Stead 1991, 136; Giles 2012, 93). No matter the exact cause of both of their deaths', K2 was brought to the same mound as her forbear and interred with her showing that the mourners remembered and understood the nature of both deaths. This provides an interesting insight into how death was viewed in East Yorkshire society during the Iron Age, it suggests emotion, thought, and care taken to provide comfort both to the mourners and those being mourned.

In conclusion, it appears that both societies had a set of burial norms that had to be followed, with equal care taken over secondary burials in East Yorkshire, it is possible that the people in both Dorset and East Yorkshire believed that these rites had to be followed in order to enter the afterlife. In both Dorset and East Yorkshire individuals were more likely to have been buried in a crouched position, some tighter than others, provoking the image of sleep. In East Yorkshire, burials tended to be in a more tightly crouched position, which is indicative of binding or excarnation being used in the funerary process due to the tightness of the position. This is also true of a smaller group of burials in Dorset. Extended burials in East Yorkshire were different for a few reasons, the orientation of these burials tended to be east-west,

and the grave goods they were provided were usually weaponry - this is indicative of a warrior class (discussed below).

Wetwang Slack differs only slightly from the rest of East Yorkshire, it is possible that given the sheer number of crouched burials and secondary inhumations present at Wetwang Slack, that these individuals were buried later and attempted to imitate their ancestors.

Orientation in East Yorkshire is much more consistent than in Dorset and might indicate a belief closely tied with cosmological patterns in the rising and the setting of the sun. The majority of people are oriented north-south and face the east, where the sun rises. It is possible that this is where the afterlife may have been located for the people of the East Yorkshire Iron Age. On the other hand, there is a possible tie with earthworks, in either case people in East Yorkshire oriented their dead consistently therefore using some mechanism to maintain this consistency. In Dorset the pattern is much less clear, however, the west seemed to be avoided; and there was an avoidance in facing south, this could indicate a belief in a 'good death' or 'bad death'.

As people aged in Dorset, it appears that their burial rites changed (this will be discussed in more detail below) it is possible that the steps individuals had to take in order to reach the afterlife changed as they progressed along their life course. Or that identity, formed through life experience and interactions with society in Iron Age Dorset informed the burial an individual received. This does not appear to be true in East Yorkshire.

In East Yorkshire the majority of individuals were not buried with grave goods; it is possible that grave goods were not necessary for entry to the afterlife, or the journey

to it. There is a difference between Dorset and East Yorkshire, in Dorset, more individuals had grave goods and there is more diversity in the types of grave goods received. Across both regions, pottery and animal bones are common, perhaps indicating food given to the dead in order to aid them on their journey to the afterlife.

7.3. Attitudes towards the elderly

There is evidence for the elderly receiving differing burial rites compared to younger adults. Elders within some communities could be treated much the same as the children in the same communities. For example in Spånga, an early Iron Age cemetery outside of Stockholm in Sweden, although there is relatively little osteological evidence present from the site it is clear that the elders of the community were buried with few grave goods (Welinder 2001, 174). In the Late Iron Age in the same area, no individuals over the age of 50 appeared to be buried, suggesting that a separate burial rite was provided (Welinder 2001, 174). It is possible that the elders in this community in East Yorkshire during the Iron Age were also provided a separate burial rite. Burying a reasonable percentage of elderly individuals in a manner that was quite different from the rest of the population within the cemeteries shows that they were set apart in some way.

7.3.1. Distribution of the elderly in Dorset and East Yorkshire

In contrast to the situation with younger individuals, discussed below, there is a considerably higher percentage of individuals 45+ in Dorset (20%) compared to East Yorkshire (3%). This could be a case of differential treatment of elders in the East Yorkshire Iron Age, much like the possible differential treatment of younger individuals in Dorset Iron Age. There are parallels for differential treatment of elderly individuals much as there is with the younger individuals, for example in indigenous Australian societies where individuals in their prime years were given a different funerary rite than those who were older (MacDonald 2001, 707; Bendann 1930).

There is also substantial evidence across Roman Britain for poor treatment of the elderly (Moore 2009, 155-168).

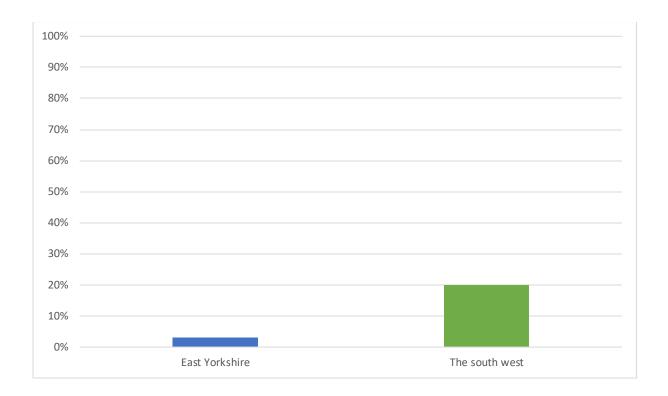


Figure 7:8 Percentage of individuals over the age of 45 in East Yorkshire (blue, N=643) and Dorset (green, N=186).

The 45+ year old age category in Dorset is more than quadruple the proportion of the same age group in East Yorkshire. This suggests that the society in Dorset likely buried their elderly dead alongside those of a younger age. The size of the male group, and female group suggests that both sexes were treated in largely the same way in terms of where they were buried and how this rite was carried out. Like the same age group in East Yorkshire, the female category here is smaller than the male category, though not by a great deal (see Figure 6.3). This is more than likely due to the reasons discussed above and does seem to follow the same pattern as the

younger age groups, where the female category is consistently smaller than the male group apart from the younger two age groups.

7.3.2. Grave goods.

In terms of grave goods, 46% of individuals aged between 36-44 received no grave goods, in Dorset. 30% received animal bone, 19% received jewellery, 11% received pottery, 7% received brooches, and 4% of individuals received either a mirror or object to do with personal dress. The rise in individuals not receiving grave goods in the older categories may represent the reaction of society to the death of an individual considered to no longer be in their prime.

In the eldest age group (45+), also in Dorset, 45% of individuals did not receive grave goods, 32% of individuals received animal bones, 26% of individuals received pottery, 8% received a brooch or an item used in personal dress, 5% received jewellery, and 3% received a mirror. 46% of individuals aged between 36-44 received no grave goods. 30% received animal bone, 19% received jewellery, 11% received pottery, 7% received brooches, and 4% of individuals received either a mirror or object to do with personal dress. The rise in individuals not receiving grave goods in the older categories may represent that their roles in society were age dependent, and so items such as tools, or weaponry were passed onto children as older individuals aged out of roles.

Mirrors were only provided to individuals in the older two age groups and may represent a more distinguished individual that perhaps had a specific role within society. Pottery and animal bones remain a common grave good as with all age groups before this. Brooches are also fairly common in the older two age groups, it is possible that the elders in this society were curated, perhaps as mummies, and the brooches used to hold remains together or in a certain position or to wrap them as 'mummy bodies'. Goods associated with material wealth such as jewellery, or goods associated with physical strength such as weaponry are not common in this age group, perhaps showing that there was a shift in societal role, or even identity when individuals reached a certain age.

47% of female individuals, in Dorset, when split by both sex and age, aged 45+ in Dorset received no grave goods much like burial 204 at Gussage All Saints (see Fig 7:2) this is very different to the younger group of females. 33% received animal bone, 13% received pottery, and 7% received brooches, jewellery, mirrors, or items used for personal dress and grooming. No individuals received bone points, tools, weaponry, or any other miscellaneous items. The fact that 33% of individuals in this age group were provided with animal bones that were more than likely fleshed when they were buried could suggest that these individuals were cared for by society, enough to provide a reasonable percentage of them with food.

As with the same age group of females, 47% of male individuals in Dorset, aged 45+ did not receive a grave good. 35% received pottery, 29% received animal bones, 12% received a brooch, 6% received jewellery, and a further 6% received an item used in personal dress. No individuals received a bone point, tools, a mirror,

weaponry, or any other miscellaneous item. As with the females aged 45+ it is possible that these individuals were seen as individuals that needed to be cared for by others, suggesting that those individuals that received grave goods were included in society enough for this to be observable in their burials.

Males aged between 36-44 were not provided with weaponry, in East Yorkshire, which seems to deviate from the norm, (especially as 25% of individuals aged over 45 received weaponry), it is possible that males of this age group had male children that inherited their weaponry, rather than them being buried with it. Or perhaps individuals aged over 45 would receive weaponry as a mark of material wealth, and the warrior role ended in the late 30s.

7.3.3. Burial position

In East Yorkshire there is little difference between age groups in terms of burial position (see Figures 5.40-3), most individuals seem to be buried in a crouched position which makes up between 43% and 65% of burials from all age groups. Either contracted or flexed burials are the next most common. The most obvious difference occurs with extended burials, from the age groups under 45+ extended burials make up a total of just 1-8%; they are obviously very unusual. In the 45+ year old age group, extended burials make up 21%, over twice that of the previous age groups. It is worth noting that the 45+ year old age group is made up of just 20 individuals, however it is clear that there is differential treatment here.

In East Yorkshire for the males aged 45+; individuals are buried in either a contracted 44%, a tightly crouched 11% position or 22% in both a flexed and

extended position. This is completely different to most of the age groups before. For females 14% of individuals are buried in a tightly crouched or contracted position. 29% of individuals are buried in a crouched, flexed, or extended position. Again, this is very different from the other age groups. It appears that amongst the elders, sex does somewhat have an effect on how individuals are buried. The contracted individuals could very well be mummies or curated corpses, as it is very difficult to envisage fully fleshed individuals being buried in such a position. This may imply that 'elders' are selected for curation and only buried later.

In Dorset, it appears that the diversity in burial positions increased as individuals aged, although this does not seem to change when split by sex. The youngest individuals appear to be mostly crouched or flexed, where the elder individuals appear to be buried in a wider range of positions, with the greatest diversity amongst the eldest age group. It is possible that there were certain steps or a certain role in society that individuals undertook in order to be buried in these different positions.

In terms of orientation, there is a relatively large percentage (15%) of individuals over the age of 45 in East Yorkshire that are buried with a westerly orientation; further evidence that age may have affected the rites that people were afforded when they were buried. Also, in this age group there are few southerly orientated burials (5%), suggesting that this orientation was saved for a certain group, which excluded most members of the older population.

In conclusion, there are many more elderly people in the archaeological record of Dorset which indicates that in East Yorkshire elderly people may have received burial rites not conducive to their remains surviving. This is evidence of possible differential treatment based on age. Society in Dorset seemed to bury their elderly

dead within the same areas as all the other age groups. Both sexes of elderly individuals were treated largely the same in Dorset as well.

In terms of grave goods, individuals in Dorset were provided with food items, which might be evidence of special care being taken to provide elderly individuals with sustenance for some kind of journey in to the afterlife. It is possible that in East Yorkshire individuals past the age of thirty five laid down their weapons as their role as warriors ended, although when individuals over the age of 45 died they were honoured as warriors.

More individuals in East Yorkshire were found in a tight body position indicative of curation, perhaps mummification, there is also a small group of possibly curated or mummified individuals in Dorset. In Dorset on the other hand, it is possible that there was an age of majority of some kind which allowed individuals of certain ages to be buried in certain positions.

7.4. Attitudes towards the young: funerary treatment of young adults and children

Age linked differences in the way individuals are buried is an important part of funerary rituals, and the way individuals of certain age groups are buried reflects the experience of their living counterparts in the society that they inhabited (Berseneva 2006, 179). Binford (1971, 233-4) explained that the limited social relationships of children outside of their immediate family is a factor in why children are often buried outside of community public space. Children were yet to be integrated into society properly, in contrast to adults that held rights, responsibilities, and duties to the communities they were a part of. The high infant mortality rate in many ancient societies may also have contributed to children being buried outside of the usual burial rites (Ucko 1969, 270-1; Berseneva 2006, 180). This section explores the differences in the way children were buried in East Yorkshire and Dorset during the Iron Age.

7.4.1. Distribution of young people in East Yorkshire and Dorset.

There are far more individuals under the age of 18 appearing in the East Yorkshire burial record, than there are in Dorset. 21% of inhumations in East Yorkshire were of those under 18, whereas in Dorset this falls to just 10%. Of the 21% in East Yorkshire 61% of individuals are 10 and under (41% under 5, of those 46% were aged between 0-1); in Dorset 74% of individuals are 5 and under. It is possible that communities in Dorset buried their children elsewhere, outside of the major cemeteries; there is evidence of Bronze Age people burying infants under the

foundations of houses, such as the site of Cladh Hallan, although there were also adult individuals present here (Parker Pearson et al. 2015, 531). This practice is also widely observed outside of the British Isles in Anatolia at the site of Çadır Höyük (Yildirim et al. 2018), as well as in Ancient Egypt (Baker et al. 2005, 11); therefore, it is entirely possible that there was a separate burial rite in place for younger individuals in Dorset. This can be observed in several sites associated with the Iron Age south west, such as at Danebury, therefore it is entirely possible this would have occurred at the sites looked at in this study (Tibbets 2008, 192). This differential treatment of younger individuals does not necessarily involve infants and younger children being placed under the floors of houses, although this is a well-known mortuary practice; it could be simply that these individuals were placed in midden pits, or any other place separate from the main cemetery sites. They could also have been excarnated or exposed to the elements.

Another possibility is that communities in Dorset region had a more strictly defined age of majority, or that people in the region at the time thought of non-adult people as being separate from those that were considered to have reached adulthood (Redfern 2007, 174). Binford (1971, 233-234) offers the explanation that, due to the limited social interactions of children outside of the immediate family, they are therefore less likely to be included in the wider society; this applies to the way in which children are buried as well as their general inclusion in society. The data from Dorset appears to accord with this theory, that children in this society were not included in the same burial rites as the adult population perhaps due to the particular age at which they died.

It is also possible that the skeletal remains of younger children and infants were simply missed in Dorset excavations or survived less well after burial. Infants and young children are obviously smaller and due to the fact that these bones are only just beginning to ossify, they are at a greater risk of damage and decay post-mortem (Baker et al. 2005, 11). These remains are also at higher risk of animal damage as well as bioturbation. Given that individuals aged 5 and under make up a sizable percentage of the under 18s this is perhaps somewhat likely.

The remains of an infant (see right Fig 7:9) aged between 6-12 months was discovered using photographic evidence during the Tolpuddle – Puddletown Bypass excavations; no on site records of individual 1559 exist (Loader and Hearne 1999, 60). The infant was found to be at the left hand of the adult female interred at the same time. This burial was very likely a reaction to the death of a child and, presumably, their mother; a traumatic incident, be it by accident or disease that would have affected their community greatly.

At the East Yorkshire sites, it appears that often, children and infants were possibly buried alongside family members as secondary burials; thus, they were buried in the same cemetery sites as the adult members of the society. Being

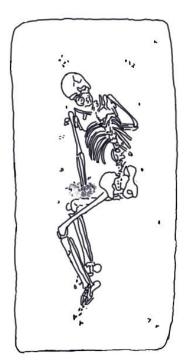


Figure 7:9 TP93 908 and 1559 (based on Loader and Hearne 1999, 60)

buried in such a way would increase the younger individual's chances of being identified and excavated properly from the grave (Giles 2012).

These two age groups <18, and 18-25 show quite striking differences in Dorset when compared to the same age groups in East Yorkshire. Females in Dorset under the

age of 18 account for 8% of burials, while males account for 3%. Death in childbirth could account for some females between the ages of 18-25 (which account for 11% of female burials), though certainly not all of these deaths would have occurred this way; it might account for the difference between the female and male figures from this age group. There is a fair amount of evidence across multiple time periods and regions that suggest females are less likely to reach middle age (when defined by the closure of cranial sutures); this is in line with the evidence provided by this sample from Dorset Iron Age (Bolsden et al. 2021, 135).

For the youngest age group (<18) it is possible that the observed discrepancies are evidence for preferential care (including feeding) of males, that the female infants, children, and adolescents received less care than their male counterparts resulting in more female deaths than males in Dorset during this time period. There is evidence of this phenomenon from Medieval populations, and the female mortality exhibited here could be evidence of this same phenomenon taking place in the Iron Age south west (Shapland et al. 2015, 275). The apparently heightened number of female deaths could also be due to the techniques used to sex prior to advancement with skeletal sexing, and the differences in preservation. Alternatively, some young males may have been treated differently in death, rather than in life; perhaps some of the males that died under the age of 18 were provided a separate burial rite that precluded them from being in the same cemetery as the rest of the population and thus more female burials are observed here than male.

Where orientation is concerned the percentage of 18-25 year olds buried orientated to the north (49%) in East Yorkshire, was quite significantly smaller than in other age groups, where over 60% of individuals were buried orientated as such. This could

suggest that age had some kind of effect on the burial rite an individual would receive. In many societies, both in the ancient world and in the modern there has been an age at which individuals are considered to be adults or an age at which they are considered individuals in their own right and are able to be socially included. It is possible that some of these individuals that were buried to the west in this category (10%), higher than in all other categories, was because some of these individuals died prior to reaching this age of majority and were therefore not considered to be part of society in full and so were provided a burial that reflected this. It is also possible that the death of a teenager was almost always considered to be a 'bad death', due to the differences within this category when compared with the rest of the data as a whole.

For individuals under the age of 18, both regions appear to be in line with what can be expected, according to Redfern (2007, 184), with the highest levels of childhood mortality being between 0-5 years. The smallest age category in Dorset is the childhood years (6-10), the same is observed in the sample used by Redfern (2007), Redfern (2007, 184) explains that this might be due to "temporal changes in age-at-death and the problems of using data from non-survivors". This data is also comparable with that from Roman historians, where a peak in mortality is observable in the first years of life, and then again after the age of 15. The size of the sample from Dorset is small, consisting of only 19 individuals, the adult data from the region shows that most individuals died between the ages of 26-35.

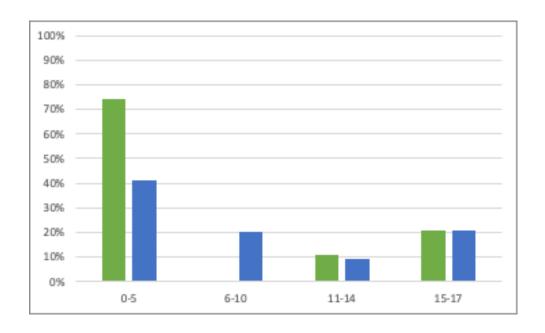


Figure 7:10 Ages of individuals under the age of 18 from the south west (green, N=19) and East Yorkshire (blue, N=97).

It is possible that there is a smaller peak in the 0-5 age group in East Yorkshire than the one in the Dorset data set because neonates and infants that died in shortly after birth in East Yorkshire were afforded a different burial rite than those that lived past the first few months. Evidence from the later Iron Age and the early Romano-British period suggests that infants that died shortly postpartum were associated strongly with the domestic sphere, that infants inhabited a different social space than those older than them (Millett and Gowland 2015, 186-7). It is possible that these social norms observed in the Romano-British period, where infants were buried within the social space of the living family, originated in the Iron Age in roundhouse inhumations; therefore, there is a smaller percentage of infants observed in East Yorkshire than in Dorset (Millett and Gowland 2015, 187).

The fact that there are nearly 100 individuals under the age of 18 in the East

Yorkshire sample shows that non-adults were very much included in burial rites. It is

evident that these individuals in Dorset, given that there are so few under the age of 18, may have been excluded from the same burial rites as adult individuals. It is possible that individuals under the age of 18 might have been buried inside the family space, such as under the floors of houses or in specially dug pits, or else not buried at all. Danebury is outside of the study area, there is evidence here that infants, that died at birth, were buried in a rite that was entirely unique to individuals of this age group (Cunliffe 1992, 76).

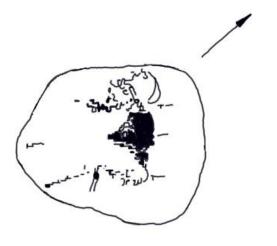


Figure 7:11 TP1357 - A neonate burial (based on Loader and Hearne 1999, 49)

Neonate burial 1357 (Fig 7:??, left) was discovered to have been interred in an enclosure ditch during the Tolpuddle – Puddletown Bypass excavations; the enclosure ditch was dated to the M-LIA and did not appear to have any substantial evidence for settlement (Loader and Hearne 1999, 27, 52). It is not unusual for individuals to be buried in previously existing features; two further burials

were discovered in the same ditch, another neonate, and an adult burial (Loader and Hearne 1999, 27). This could be evidence that this familial group chose to keep the remains of their deceased group members close to where they were residing, rather than burying as part of a larger cemetery.

7.4.2. Grave goods.

In Dorset, 58% of individuals under the age of 18 received a grave good; in East Yorkshire just 12% of individuals received a grave good. The lack of grave goods given to those under the age of 18 can again be explained by the differing social relationships between children and adults. Cooper et al. (2021, 58) explains that grave goods represent not only these social relationships but also markers of identity, which may be most apparent in adulthood, and objects required for the afterlife, which again may only be required in the afterlife. The Iron Age, compared to the Neolithic and Bronze Age, appears to be a period in which only a small proportion of infants and juveniles received grave goods (Cooper et al. 2021, 58).

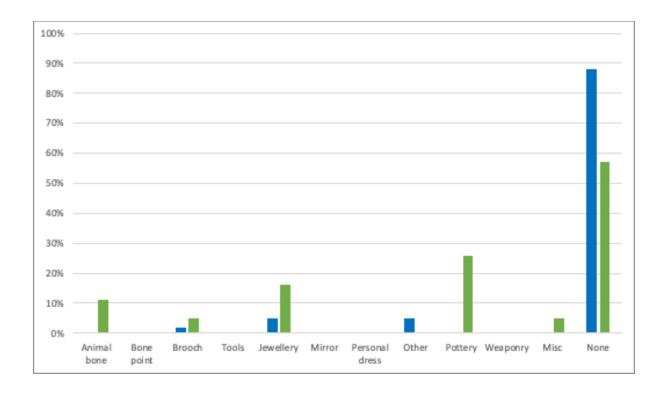


Figure 7:12 Grave goods given to individuals under the age of 18 in Dorset (green, N=19) and East Yorkshire (blue, N=97).

The types of grave goods given to infants and juveniles also must have depended on social relationships between these individuals and the society they were born into; as such some items were never provided to non-adults; these items were: weapons, containers, mirrors, and horse/chariot gear (Cooper 2021, 58). This is evidenced by the above graph, which shows that these items were not found in any non-adult grave in this study, instead non-adults seem to be more likely provided with pottery, jewellery, or animal bones.

In Dorset, the most common form of grave goods received by individuals under the age of 18 was pottery. 26% of individuals in this category received pottery, this could be in the form of a whole pot, jar, or bowl. Animal bones were also received in the form of lamb bones, horse bones, or pig bones; this could be a display of wealth from higher status individuals, or more likely a sign of care and emotion, showing that their children were of importance to the society as a whole enough so to receive food provisions in death. A further 16% received jewellery, and another 5% received a brooch; again, this could be a display of wealth to the wider community, although jewellery was most commonly received by individuals of the oldest age category, as explained further below. Depositing jewellery with a child could have been a token of the parent's love, a showing of how much they valued their child. It is likely that these items would not have been plentiful in a typical Iron Age household, and putting something like jewellery into a grave where the expectation is that it will never be seen again is certainly a statement.

When split by age further, in Dorset 64% of 0-5 year olds received no grave goods, 29% received pottery, 7% received a brooch, and another 7% received jewellery.

This is a higher percentage of individuals not receiving grave goods than any other

age group in the under 18s and is evidence of the social relationship between infants and young children and the wider society. It is possible that it was thought the youngest children would not need grave goods in order to enter the afterlife, or that these individuals were too young to have shown personality and so did not receive grave goods.

There are no individuals in Dorset that are between the ages of 6-10 years old, and so the next age group is the 11-14 year olds. There are only two individuals here; one individual received animal bone, and the other no grave goods at all. This could be indicative of material wealth, and possibly the lack thereof; or it could simply be differential treatment based on familial beliefs.

In the 15-17 year old age group, 25% of individuals received no grave goods. This is actually somewhat in line with the overall data, and the adult categories, although here the sample size is also very small with just four individuals. 50% (2 individuals), received jewellery, 25% received pottery, and a further 25% received animal bone. A higher percentage of individuals receiving grave goods indicates a change in the social status of individuals as they age and thus progress through society. It is likely that these individuals were contributing to the society as a whole by the age of 15/17 and that their social relationships were far more complex than the younger individuals covered previously.

In East Yorkshire, no individual under the age of 5 received a grave good (there are a total of 40 individuals in this age group which is a reasonably large sample size).

This is a strong indication that young children and infants in East Yorkshire were more than likely not considered to be full members of society as a whole and that

grave goods were given based on social relationships, makers of identity, and the afterlife as Cooper (2021, 58) suggests.

In the next age group (ages 6-10) 90% of individuals received no grave goods, again this is a much higher percentage than the overall data. 5% of individuals received jewellery, and another 5% received a beehive quern (used for the grinding of grain). This could indicate the age at which individuals started to form more diverse social relationships outside of the immediate family sphere as both of these grave goods were given to individuals over the age of eight. It is possible that much like in other past societies, individuals started to contribute to wider society from the ages of 8-10.

The sample size for the 11-14 age group in East Yorkshire is 9 individuals, of which 8 individuals (89%) did not receive grave goods; 1 individual (11%) received a ring headed pin. These pins were fairly common in both the La Tène I and II periods, and are unique to the British Iron Age; it is almost certain, given the presence of the pin that this individual was buried clothed, or perhaps in a burial shroud, and that the clothing or shroud did not survive. As noted above, the individual (R64) was buried at Rudston and is recorded as being unsexed, likely due to the fact that the individual was too young to be accurately sexed based on skeletal evidence.

As seen in Dorset, the oldest age group (15-17) has a higher percentage of individuals receiving grave goods, as well as a rise in the diversity of the grave goods. 5% of individuals received animal bone, 20% received jewellery, and 5% received pottery. 75% of individuals did not receive grave goods which is higher than the overall data but somewhat in line with expectations. This also supports the theory

that individuals who contribute more to society are more likely to be given grave goods.

7.4.3. Orientation

In East Yorkshire, 79% of individuals aged under 18 were buried with their heads oriented to the north, this is an increase of 9% on the overall data and could indicate that these individuals were part of the same burial rite chronologically. 13% of individuals were buried with their heads oriented south; this is likely evidence of the same burial tradition as those individuals oriented with their heads to the north. 2% of individuals were oriented east, these individuals may be part of a chronologically different burial rite than those buried with their heads oriented north/south. If individuals buried oriented to the east are part of a different burial tradition, the small number of individuals present in this dataset could suggest that infants, children, and young adults were buried in a different location during that time.

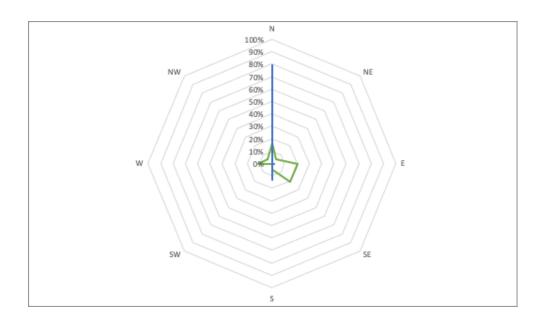


Figure 7:13 Orientation for individuals under the age of 18 in Dorset (green, N=19) and East Yorkshire (blue, 97).

In Dorset, it appears that individuals under the age of 18 were largely buried in the same orientations as the adults. There are only a few differences, although these do seem to be mostly in line when compared to the other age groups in figures 6.6-9.

When broken down into smaller age groups, again Dorset appears to be largely in line with expectations based on the adult age groups. With the sample sizes here being so small it is difficult to know whether or not these results are entirely representative of burial rites for infants, children, and young adults in Dorset Iron Age.

East Yorkshire is the same; when broken down into smaller age groups, the results are in line with what is observed above, as well as what can be observed in the adult age groups. There is a large majority oriented north in all age groups, and some few individuals oriented east/west or south.

7.4.4. Burial Position

In Dorset, the data for individuals under the age of 18 is largely similar to the overall data. There are more contracted than tightly crouched burials, though most burials are in a crouched position. Flexed burials do seem to be somewhat lacking, in the overall data nearly 30% of individuals were buried in a flexed position, whereas here this has fallen to just 16%; although, in terms of the actual body position, there is not a great deal of difference between a crouched and a flexed burial. The numbers of extended burials are the same.

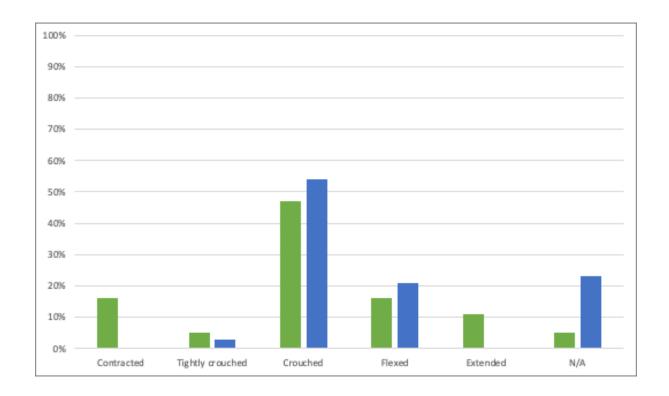


Figure 7:14 Burial position for individuals under the age of 18 in Dorset (green, N=19) and East Yorkshire (blue, N=97).

In East Yorkshire, however, the results of the under 18s category and the overall data are quite different. There is a distinct lack of burials in both a contracted and tightly crouched position, no individuals are buried in a contracted position and just 3% of individuals are tightly crouched. This might suggest that individuals under the age of 18 were unlikely to be curated and bound in order to retain a tighter burial position. There were also no individuals buried in an extended position.

When broken down into more specific age groups, individuals aged 0-5 seemed to be somewhat in line with the overall data. Although there is a higher percentage (50%) of individuals buried in a crouched position, and no individuals buried in a tightly crouched position. There are also fewer individuals buried in a flexed position.

The 15-17 age group presents an interesting set of data. 50% (2) individuals in this category are buried in a contracted position. It is possible that these two individuals would have been curated or bound in some way in order for their remains to retain such a tight position, this is perhaps indicative of a burial rite that was not necessarily linked to age. This could mean that the curation and binding of individuals in Dorset was more so a burial rite shared between a familial group or a group of individuals that were somehow set apart from their community. However, given that there are a total of 4 individuals in this age group, it is unlikely that this is representative of the overall population.

In East Yorkshire, the 0-5 age group somewhat is in line with the overall data, 40% of individuals were found in a crouched position, and 20% of individuals in a flexed position; both of these are similar to the overall data where 50% individuals were crouched and 20% of individuals were flexed. Another 40% of individuals were unknown, likely due to the nature of remains from individuals in this age category being fragile and unable to be recorded due to damage.

The 6-10 age group were also in line with the overall data, with more individuals being found in a tightly crouched position (11%) as well as 53% in a crouched position, and 21% in a flexed position. The 11-14 age group were also very similar: 11% in a tightly crouched position, 55% in a crouched position, and 22% in a flexed position. It is likely that, in terms of the way individuals were positioned, most received a fairly standard burial rite, regardless of age.

The 15-17 age group again presents some differences. There are no individuals found in a tightly crouched position, however, 25% were buried in a contracted position although this only accounts for five individuals it is still a significant

difference. It is possible here that these individuals may have been curated or bound, perhaps in a burial rite reserved for those that held a certain role in society that younger individuals were excluded from.

Many individuals buried as secondary inhumations are under the age of 18 (Fig 5.103), with the majority of them being under the age of 10 (Fig 5.102). It is fairly likely that the reason so many individuals under the age of 18 did not receive grave goods was because they were buried accompanied by adult individuals and therefore, grave goods were possibly deemed unnecessary in this case. This is consistent with 'rite D', where Giles (2013, 71) described the rite as being 'predominantly used for infants and juveniles, who are usually unaccompanied by grave goods.'

In conclusion, there is a fair amount of evidence that there was an age of majority in Dorset, perhaps around the age of about 15 years old. Very few infants and younger children are found in the main cemeteries in Dorset; it is probable that younger individuals (such as neonates and infants) were given different burial rites, and not placed in the main cemeteries as older individuals. Younger children were also much less likely to receive grave goods. However, other aspects of the 'standard' burial ritual were followed, such as body position, orientation, and the direction these individuals were facing. The grave goods (or lack thereof) are the biggest indicator of how individuals were viewed in society when they were alive, and the fact that individuals over the age of 15 seemed to receive a greater diversity and amount of grave goods indicates that there was a shift in the way they were viewed by society at this age.

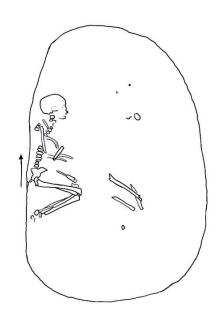


Figure 7:15 BF61 an adult female and possible sub-adult (based on Stead 1991, 218).

In East Yorkshire, by contrast, it appears that many younger individuals were placed into other graves as secondary inhumations, rarely as double burials (such as BF61, Fig 7:15 right). BF61 contains the remains of an adult woman, and a possible sub-adult, though the remains of the sub-adult are badly damaged (Stead 1991, 36). There are two further examples of this phenomenon, K6 and K2 from the Kirkburn excavations are both adult women buried with their children. In the case of K6 the child was at full term, and either was still born or died shortly after birth. K2 was buried with her near full term foetus. Both

individuals are discussed further below. This is evidence of the propensity to bury children and infants with an adult likely in order to relate these individuals to a family member or ancestor (Giles 2012, 71).

There are, however, a lack of children in both data sets, suggesting that in both areas that children, infants, and neonates were treated differently to adults. This differential treatment in East Yorkshire, as with Dorset is evidence that there was likely an age at which individuals were considered full members of society; where their identity was such that it was now considered fully separate from their familial group.

7.5. Attitudes towards gender: identity, roles, attribution, and the differences between sexes

There has long been an assumption of a strict gender binary in the pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain. It can be encapsulated in the idea that swords were found in male graves, and mirrors only found in female graves, which is critiqued by Jordan (2016, 870). Common in early archaeological analysis, there is some evidence that individuals were sexed based upon this sword/mirror binary, it must be noted that these remains have not been re-examined (Pope and Ralston 2011; Edwards and Pope 2013, 471; Jordan 2016, 878). Skeletal sex, while also not always definite, does not and should not presume to dictate how individuals and the society treated gender identity, or roles (Jordan 2016, 879).

7.5.1. Distribution of the sexes

The differences between the representation of the sexes is a lot smaller in Dorset (32% female compared to 39% male) than it is in East Yorkshire (47% female and 35% male burials in East Yorkshire). Dorset is much more in line with expectations, given the modern ratio is with 101 males to 100 females. At Wetwang Slack in particular, 51% of burials are confirmed to be females compared to 35% being male; which is somewhat higher than the overall data for East Yorkshire. This could suggest, perhaps, a more matriarchal society in East Yorkshire where females are more likely to appear in the burial records of the cemeteries excavated and recorded so far, although this is something that may be further resolved through future aDNA

analysis. On the other hand, it is possible that male individuals received a burial rite that left them unable to be detected in the archaeological record.

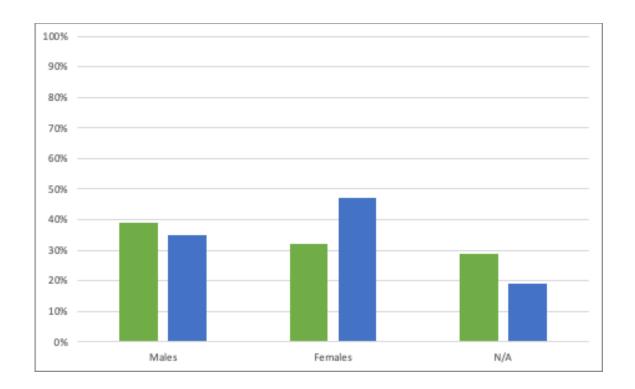


Figure 7:16 Sex data from both East Yorkshire (blue) and Dorset (green) (N=831).

There is a higher percentage (29% in Dorset, 19% in East Yorkshire) of individuals in Dorset that are unsexed, which is perhaps a result of skeletal decay due to taphonomic factors or the lack of more developed scientific practices involved with sexing from skeletal evidence during the time periods they were excavated. Soil types in Dorset may also be the cause of this decay, in the Poole basin and the south east of the county acidic sandy soils would have some effect on whether or not an individual remained intact enough to be sexed accurately (DCC n.d, 3). Many of the excavations in Dorset took place prior to the 1980s, when more advanced techniques in sexing using skeletal evidence were developed. The excavations in East Yorkshire were conducted mostly during the 1970s, 1980s, and the 1990s, thus

the techniques used for sexing individuals based on skeletal evidence were more scientifically rigorous. The results from aDNA analysis, in the COMMIOS project, will provide more information and confirmation of sexing in both East Yorkshire and Dorset.

A small majority of individuals at Wetwang Slack were confirmed to be female (51%), which is slightly higher than the overall data which had 47% of individuals being female (see Fig 5.76). 35% of individuals at Wetwang Slack were male, equal to the percentage overall. Wetwang Slack has certainly had an effect on the amount of individuals thought to be female, given that there was a higher percentage of female individuals at Wetwang Slack.

7.5.2. Age

In East Yorkshire, when split by sex, age follows roughly the same pattern as seen in the region as a whole. There are fewer males in both the 18-25 year old age group and the 26-35 year old age group; this could be due to the risks of childbirth having an impact on the results for females. In modern day society, it is generally accepted that females tend to outlive males; this is believed to be true due to both genetic and evolutionary factors as well as socio-cultural practices (Kalben 2013, 84). This difference in mortality rates between the sexes has been established since the 18th century, and it is generally accepted that there is greater male mortality (Kalben 2013, 84). It is therefore interesting that in the 18-35 age group, in the East Yorkshire Iron Age, there is a greater female mortality rate. There is evidence to suggest that women, more so than men, were found to have greater rate of osteoarthritis in the

hips, knees, and feet, which is indicative of repetitive intensive labour (Whittaker 2011, 235; Giles 2020, 86). This intensive labour could have affected female survival rates, alongside the risks associated with repetitive pregnancy.

Death in childbirth, while certainly a factor in the raised mortality rates of women, was not as common as is widely believed (Giles 2020, 86-87). More so, the risk of repetitive pregnancies, occurring in relatively short periods of time, and the physical toll and lessened resistance to disease could have possibly accounted for the observed raised mortality rates of young women of childbearing age (Giles 2020, 86-87). Just as, in males, interpersonal violence and a proneness to physical injury could have accounted for the raised mortality rates in males aged 26-35.

The 45+ year old age group in East Yorkshire is relatively very small, being about half the size of the same age group in Dorset. In this group there are fewer females than there are males, this is likely explained by the factors discussed above.

Repeated pregnancies occurring in short periods of time, as well as living a reasonably physically demanding life would likely have taken its toll on females as they reached this age.

In Dorset, there are far more males (32%) than females (15%) in the 26-35 year old age group; a strikingly different result than in East Yorkshire. This is likely to be accounted for by the results of the excavations at Maiden Castle, where 45% of all individuals are adult males, most of which are within this age range. Since Maiden Castle was excavated in the 1940s, there have been several re-examinations of the evidence the site has provided in terms of violence in this area of Britain during the Iron Age. Refern (2011) concludes that the cemeteries at Maiden Castle, especially the 'Belgic War Cemetery', represent moments of "catastrophic mortality", and

provide substantial evidence of warfare taking place in Dorset during the Iron Age. At least one of these episodes of mortality likely would have taken place during the Roman conquest of the British Isles. Without Maiden Castle, there are eleven individuals in this age category of whom 55% are female, and 27% are male; these results are far more similar to those from East Yorkshire.

7.5.3. Orientation

In East Yorkshire there is some differentiation between the sexes in terms of burial, orientation: 71% of females and 66% of males were orientated to the north; if northerly orientated burials represent a high social status this could, once again, be indicative of a more matriarchal society in East Yorkshire. However, if northerly orientated burials represent those of average social status, then the opposite would be true (Parker Pearson 1999). It is highly likely, however, given these results, that sex had little to no bearing over the orientation individuals were buried in, in the East Yorkshire Iron Age.

In Dorset, however, there is a more marked difference in burial orientation between males and females. This could be evidence of a society where sex is more important to the social hierarchy, wherein males and females were buried in different ways with regards to orientation than is evidenced in East Yorkshire. In Dorset, more females were buried orientated to the north (17% of females vs. 9% of males); more males are orientated to the east (28% of males compared to 20% of females). This may imply the existence of an elite warrior class of individuals, which given the evidence regarding grave goods would likely be made up of mostly males.

Again, for both sexes the west tends to be avoided, further indicating that this was associated with a 'bad death', or some other kind of social exclusion. It is possible, for example, that the females buried oriented to the west may have died in childbirth and were thus given a different rite than would normally have been provided due to this 'inauspicious' death. The fact that 15% of women were buried to the west where only 8% of men were could be evidence of this, since dying during childbirth in many societies, both modern and ancient, can be considered a particularly unlucky and untimely death. The west is where the sun sets, and so may have had associations with death, the antithesis of life, and so women who died bringing life into the world may have been oriented to the west because of this.

The fact that the larger percentage of westerly orientated burials are those of females could be evidence that this burial rite was largely reserved for females. The males buried in a westerly orientation would also likely have suffered an unlucky death, although given that several of the male burials showed evidence of violent physical trauma, it is unlikely that death by physical violence would have had any bearing on the direction these males were oriented (Redfern 2011a). Burials that were orientated to the west were also more likely to receive no grave goods (this will be further discussed in section 7.7.3), this is further evidence of these burials being those of individuals that died a 'bad', or inauspicious death rather than those of elites.

7.5.4. Grave goods

In East Yorkshire the percentages of males (59%) and females (61%) not receiving grave goods are fairly equal. This suggests that there is a reason, other than sex, for an individual to not receive grave goods; this could be personal preference, social status, role within society, or material wealth of the individual and/or their family. Parker Pearson (1999a, 53) asserts that in East Yorkshire the placement of pots was used to mark gender distinctions - males would have the pot placed by their feet, and females would have the pot placed by their head or hands. However, at Burton Fleming and Rudston this is only true of eight female individuals and four males; 1% and 0.6% respectively of the overall population represented in the database. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that this manner of gender distinction was widely used, if not just a coincidence.

Brooches were given to both males (18%) and females (17%) almost equally; if these brooches were used to fasten a burial shroud or bindings then this result would imply that both males and females received burial shrouds and bindings equally.

Where a greater divide can be seen between the sexes is in the weaponry and jewellery categories. 18% of females received jewellery, compared to only 2% of males; this does show a great difference between the sexes and possibly the way they were treated in life and death. It is implied by these results that to some females in the society at the time jewellery was important enough to be given to (or brought

with) them at burial. Whereas for males it was obviously not of as widespread importance. Again, this could be due to material wealth, and tastes of individuals.

In the case of R2 (Fig 7:17), this individual showed male characteristics in the shape

and size of their limbs; they also showed female characteristics in the anatomy of their skull. As such Stead (1991, 185) notes their sex as having contraindications. With a more feminine skull and "female grave goods" of a glass bead earring and shale bracelet (as can be seen in Fig 7:17) this individual could be an indication of the complexity of gender, identity, and personhood that existed in Iron Age East Yorkshire (Stead 1991, 127, 185).

Weaponry was provided to 15% of males and just 0.3% (1 individual) of females. The female individual in question is R57 and is described as a possible female, with contra-

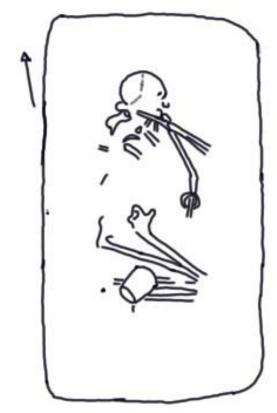


Figure 7:17 Burial R2 an individual noted as having contraindications when sexing (based on Stead 1991, 187).

indications at sexing as stated in chapter 5.9.1. Due to these issues when sexing the individual it is impossible without DNA testing to know whether or not the individual was biologically female or male. However, it is possible that this individual was a female and was provided with a sword, which implies less distinct gender roles.

When broken down into age groups, as well as sex each age group of females (apart from those aged 45+) in East Yorkshire, it is most common for individuals to be buried without grave goods (Fig 5.63-5.66). 62% of 18-25 year olds, 66% of 26-35

year olds, and 46% of individuals aged between 36-44 were buried without grave goods. The same is also true of male individuals, with 49% of individuals aged between 18-25, 57% of individuals aged 26-35, and 58% of individuals aged between 36-44 all receiving no grave goods. It is possible that this would have had nothing to do with material wealth and it was simply in accordance with burial rites in the region at the time It may also be due to the strict gender binary which seems to have been part of culture in the East Yorkshire Iron Age.

Jewellery in East Yorkshire is fairly commonly gifted to females across the younger age ranges (see results chapter). Although, no female individuals over the age of 45 received jewellery as a grave good, which may suggest that these individuals did not have the same material wealth as those younger individuals. For male individuals, jewellery was not a commonly received grave good. This may suggest that gender ideology in East Yorkshire was far more binary than in Dorset, where both males and females received jewellery fairly commonly, in East Yorkshire however, very few biologically male individuals received jewellery; it appears that it was reserved for some biologically female individuals.

24% of females aged 18-25, 16% aged 25-35, 19% aged 35-45, and 29% aged 45+ were provided with some kind of pottery as a grave good. 10% of males aged 18-25, 18% of those aged 25-35, 10% of those aged 35-45, and 63% of those aged 45+ were all provided with some form of pottery as a grave good. This includes both whole pots and sherds, it is possible that these pots would have held some kind of food that individuals would have been provided with much like animal bones in order to help them journey to the afterlife. The percentages of males and females are

relatively equal until the older two age groups, where more males receive pottery than females. It is possible that older males were more likely to have food provided to them, even in life, than females were and thus they were more likely to be provided with food in burial.

Only one female individual in East Yorkshire received weaponry as a grave good, R163 (Fig 7:18, right) located in the Makeshift Farm cemetery in Rudston, although this individual was only recorded as being a possible female (Stead 1991). It is

important to note that there were contra-indications surrounding the sex of this individual; suggesting that there is a possibility that this individual was actually biologically male. This would be in line with the stricter gender roles and ideology that is somewhat evident in East Yorkshire. Weaponry appears to be a fairly common grave good for biological males, 20% of males aged between 18-25, 9% of males aged between 25-35, and 25% of males aged 45+ were given weaponry as grave goods. This individual, however; could indicate that both men and women were trained in martial arts in the East Yorkshire Iron Age – it is also possible that this individual represents someone who identified outside of the binary binds of male/female man/woman and was honoured in their society as possibly both or neither. GS8 also shows female



Figure 7:18 Burial R163 a possible female burial with a sword (based on Stead 1991, 207).

characteristics in terms of the anatomy of their pelvis but displays more masculine

features in the anatomy of their skull with a heavy brow ridge, nuchal crest, and zygomatic arch extension (Stead 1991, 127; Giles 2012, 98-99). Though this individual (GS8) was buried without grave goods, it is possible that these two individuals are representatives of biological females that held an identity outside of the gender binary.

Fig 7:19 (right) is a grave plan of R57, the remains of this individual were poorly preserved. The individual was aged between 25-35 years old; they were buried with a spearhead and sword. This individual was one of a few, like R163, that were unable to be fully determined as either male or female. Stead (1991, 127) writes that "the sex... [of this individual] does not correspond with the grave goods mainly because the skulls are incompatible with the limbs." In the case of R57 the skull shows male characteristics where the limbs are slight, and more in line with expectations for females. The way that this individual identified themselves in life is entirely unknowable; whether they saw themselves as female, male, or outside of the gender binary it is

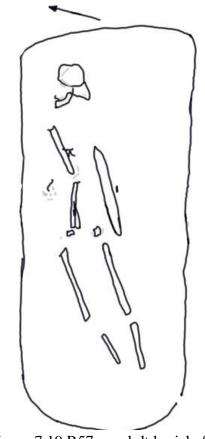


Figure 7:19 R57 an adult burial of undetermined sex, with sword (based on Stead 1991, 195).

impossible to tell. However, what is clear is that this individual's identity is linked, no matter their gender or biological sex, to the grave goods they were buried with – the sword and spear.

The burials of individuals, such as the ones above, that lie outside of what is expected for the binaries of male/female and 'man'/'woman' gives us an insight into how society viewed people that may not have appeared 'typical' (both in terms of physical appearance and the role they held in society) – that they were valued, cared for, and accepted by their communities.

In Dorset, some categories of grave goods have a larger difference between the sexes than others, although there is less of a distinct gender binary. It is somewhat likely that the society in Dorset used grave goods as a way of distinguishing the gender (or gender role) of some individuals. This would possibly have not applied to every individual in that society, however, the differences between the sexes are observable within the results.

Mirrors were found in 1% of male graves (1 individual) and 2% of female graves (1 individual). Items used for personal dress were given to 5% females and 6% of males. Weaponry was found in 2% of female graves (1 individual) and 3% of male graves (2 individuals). These grave goods may have been given on an individual basis as a representation of the deceased in life, and thus may not have factored in the individual's gender.

33% of males and 22% of females received pottery, representing a rather large distinction between males and females. It is possible that females were *providing* the pottery and possible associated food and were therefore less likely to receive pottery themselves. Jewellery also represents an area of differences between the sexes, 11% of males and 18% of females received jewellery - this could be in the form of beads, necklaces, bracelets, and rings. It is quite probable that this type of grave

good was given based on the deceased individual's tastes and/or material wealth rather than proving the existence of a gender binary. Tools, such as hammers, were found exclusively in male graves (3%), potentially implying the existence of some kind of gender roles related to craft specialisation in Dorset Iron Age.

When broken down by age group, 35% of females between the ages of 18-25 in Dorset received no grave goods (Fig 6.56). 18% received animal bone, jewellery, or pottery. 6% received an item used for personal dress or grooming, or a miscellaneous item. With so few individuals not receiving any grave goods, it is possible that individuals that died between these ages had fairly richly furnished graves, especially when compared to males of the same age group, where 60% of individuals did not receive any form of grave goods. It is possible that death in childbirth was a factor here, as this is a manner of death restricted to those individuals that are biologically female. It is possible that women who passed during childbirth were provided with grave goods more often than those who did not. Given the ages of these individuals, it is also possible that the death of a woman that had yet to conceive a child might have been viewed as a great tragedy and the loss of not just her life but also those lives she had yet bring into the world. No individuals received a bone point, brooch, tool, mirror, or form of weaponry.

In the youngest age group among males in Dorset 60% of individuals did not receive any grave goods. 30% of individuals received an item associated with personal dress; these include items such as hobnail boots, and an ear scoop. 20% received a miscellaneous item, including a coin and a gaming piece. 10% of males between these ages received tools, pottery, or weaponry. Weaponry, when it comes to males,

in Dorset is given exclusively to those aged between 18-35, which suggests that these individuals are what would make up the 'warrior class' in this society at the time. It is possible that these individuals died in battle, individuals buried at Maiden Castle represent a large percentage of individuals from this region. The cemetery is also made up of young males, a lot of which are buried with various forms of weaponry; 87% of males from the 'Belgic War Cemetery' show evidence of trauma (Redfern 2011, 121-2.). Despite evidence suggesting that the Iron Age as a whole was less violent than previously thought, it is possible that there were isolated cases of interpersonal violence occurring between different groups of people.

7.5.5. Burial position

In East Yorkshire, it appears that burial position was not particularly affected by the sex of the individual (see Figure 5.39). There were some differences between the sexes, though these were fairly minor; and both sexes followed roughly the same pattern. For both sexes a fairly high majority were buried in a crouched position (56% males and 60% females), indicating that this position was used for individuals regardless of sex. Contracted (8% both male and female) and flexed (20% male and 18% female) were the next most common positions; the small changes between the sexes here again indicate that sex was not a factor when it came to burial position. 6% of males and 3% of females were buried in an extended position, this is a small difference, although it is perhaps significant due to the fact that there are so few extended burials, extended burials may have been more common for males due to their manner of death.

In Dorset, however, there is a greater difference in burial position between the sexes, especially in the crouched and flexed positions. 35% of females and 22% of males were found buried in the crouched position, and 46% of males and 35% of females were found buried in the flexed position. 17% of females and 14% of males were found buried in the contracted position. Although these burials make up a small percentage of burials overall the difference between male and female is rather significant, 7% of females and 13% of males were found buried in the extended position. This is the same 2:1 ratio as observed in East Yorkshire; there may have been a move towards more males being buried in the later phases of the society.

Fig 7:20 (above, right) 908 is an example of an adult female burial from the Tolpuddle excavations. She was

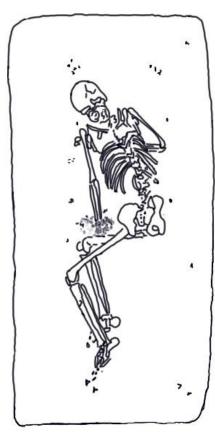


Figure 7:20 TP908 an adult female buried alongside the remains of a 6-12 month old infant (based on Loader and Hearne 1999, 49).

found in a flexed position; she is loosely curled around an infant burial (aged between 6-12 months old), the small mass of bones found by the adult female's left hand are all that remained of this individual. The adult female's head was oriented to the West, and she was buried with no grave goods. It is possible that she was placed in this position in order to symbolise that she was protecting her infant child. The relationship between TP908 and her infant, TP1559, was explored in section 7.4.

Again, just 3% of females and 1% of males were buried in a tightly crouched position, which is a very small difference, but it could be significant given that these

burials make up such a small percentage of burials overall. These results could indicate that sex did have a factor in the burial position of individuals in Dorset.

In East Yorkshire the differences between the age groups for females become apparent in the youngest and the oldest age groups. It is largely the same for the males, suggesting that age was more of a differentiating factor, although sex may have played some role in the funerary rites provided to individuals.

In the 18-25 year old group of females, 13% were buried contracted, 9% were buried tightly crouched, 43% were buried crouched, 26% were buried flexed and 4% were buried in an extended position. In the same age group for males 7% of individuals were buried in a contracted position (Fig 5.48) a further 7% were buried in a tightly crouched position. 37% were buried in a crouched position, 16% in a flexed position, 13% in an extended position. In these younger two age groups, a significant percentage of individuals are buried in a crouched position, these percentages are still far smaller than those of the middle two age groups where a large majority of individuals are buried in a crouched position. It is reasonably common, as evidenced here, for younger people to be buried in a different manner compared to older individuals.

In the age group 26-35 68% of individuals were buried in a crouched position. In the 36-44 age group of females, 64% were buried in a crouched position (Fig 5.46).

Amongst males, in the 26-35 age group 51% were found crouched, (Fig 5.49).

The 35-44 year old age group appears to be quite different from the females of the same age and the younger male age groups before it; with 73% of individuals in this age category being recorded as crouched (Fig 5.50). 3% of burials recorded as contracted, 6% as tightly crouched, 16% as flexed and none of the individuals here

were extended. This is unusual and suggests that males of this age group were treated differently compared to females of the same age and other males of differing ages. It is possible that males of this age suffered deaths that caused them to receive a quick burial, where they were unable to receive different rites which may have been too complicated to carry out such as binding, in order for them to be found in a tightly crouched or contracted position. Males aged 45+ were also likely curated as stated above.

In Dorset the youngest age group of females presents perhaps the most differences, there are no burials found in either a contracted or tightly crouched position. 38% of burials from this group were found in a crouched position, 54% of burials were in a flexed position, and 8% of burials were extended. For males of the same age group 50% were in a flexed position, 20% of male individuals from this age group were found in an extended position. 10% of 18-25 year old males were buried in a contracted position, the same percentage were buried in a crouched position. It is possible that females of this age group did not die in a manner that would afford them a burial using bindings or a burial shroud; these rites may have been reserved for those that died in a specific manner.

In the 26-35 year old age group the females 18% were found in a contracted position, although there were no tightly crouched burials (see Figure 6.39). 18% of individuals were buried in a crouched and extended position, 27% in a flexed position. A large majority (63%) of the 26-35 year old males were found to be in a flexed position, (see Figure 6.43). No individuals from this age category were found in a tightly crouched or contracted position, and 13% of males in this age group were found in a crouched position, and 25% in an extended position. These results show

that there are certainly differences between the sexes in terms of burial rites, 18% of females in this age group were found in a contracted position, which is perhaps evidence of bindings, or a shroud being used in order to maintain this position, whereas there were no males found in either of the two tighter positions. This could mean that unlike the younger age group, females in the older age groups died in a manner that afforded them these burial rites – such as in the case of Gussage 204 seen above in section 7.3.

7.5.6. Direction facing

In Dorset there is a greater amount of differentiation between the sexes than in East Yorkshire when the direction individuals faced is taken under consideration. This difference is apparent especially when it comes to individuals buried facing the north; 29% of male individuals are buried facing the north, while only 10% of female individuals are buried thus. This difference may be indicative of a burial rite reserved for only those individuals that suffered a death which was exceptional in some way, or for individuals of a certain social class.

There is also a slight difference between the sexes and south facing burials; 3% of females and 9% of males were found to be buried facing the south. This difference is much smaller than that of the north facing burials, although it could be another indication that males and females were treated differently in Dorset when it came to the direction they were buried facing. TP93 is one of the 3% of females buried in this manner, she faces south (there is no way to tell which direction the infant buried with

her faced) – the orientation in this case might be an expression of the tragedy that befell these two individuals.

However, the nature of individual cemeteries and settlements in Dorset, being of a much smaller scale than those from East Yorkshire, might mean that it is possible that each settlement group in Dorset had a different burial rite; this would explain the somewhat random nature of the results.

In East Yorkshire there is very little differentiation based upon sex. There is a large majority of both male (61%) and female (63%) individuals buried facing to the east, a few males (23%) and females (24%) buried facing the west, 5% of both males and females faced the north. There were some slight differences between the sexes; 1% of males faced north east where 0% of females faced thus. 1% of females, and 0% of males faced the south east. 12% of females and 6% of males faced south; this is the most significant difference between the sexes in East Yorkshire and might indicate that individuals buried facing towards the south may have suffered a death more common for females; grave goods (discussed below) may indicate whether or not the death suffered by these individuals was a 'good' or 'bad' death as the direction alone only shows that these individuals were buried against the majority.

In Dorset, in the 18-25 year old age group, both males and females show an aversion to being buried facing the south; 0% of individuals here were buried facing both the south, south west, or south east. This could suggest that being buried facing such was linked to age, or to a manner of death that could be linked to more elderly individuals. 0% of female individuals in this age group were buried facing the north. Females aged between 18-25 tended to be buried to the north west (15%) with 8% to the west, north east, and east. The east is the direction of the rising sun, and the

west is the direction in which the sun sets, given that 39% of individuals were buried to either the north west, west, north east, or east it could suggest an adherence to this cosmological pattern. 33% of male individuals in this age group are buried to the east, west, and north east; again, suggesting that there may have been some alignment with the rising and setting of the sun.

The 26-35 year old age group appears to be completely different from the previous age group: 18% of females and 20% of males were buried facing the south (including Dorset, and south east). This is suggestive of the south being reserved for those of a certain age, or those that died in a specific manner. 0% of female individuals in this age group were also buried facing north, whereas 36% of individuals were buried facing north east. A further 9% of individuals were buried facing east. No individuals were buried facing west and north west. Which presents a picture that is highly outside of what was expected. The same is true of the male population in this age group; 13% of male individuals in this age group were buried facing the south and south west; as well as 7% of individuals being buried facing the south east. 27% of individuals face the north, 13% of individuals face the north east, and 2% of individuals face the north west. 7% of individuals face east, and no individuals were buried facing the west. This could suggest that individuals in this age group were more likely to die in a way that was considered unlucky, perhaps in childbirth or due to interpersonal violence, or accidents that lead to a traumatic death.

In the 36-44 year old age group, 11% of males and 10% of females were buried facing south, which is quite a significant decrease from the 26-35 year old age group. This could indicate that being buried facing the south was something restricted to

individuals between those ages, or to a cause of death that more individuals in that age group suffered. It is possible that TP93, though her age is unclear was part of either this age or the 26-35 age group – given that she was buried facing south, and her death was likely traumatic this could indicate that facing south was reserved for those that experienced deaths that were viewed as negative. 10% of female individuals were buried facing west, 40% of individuals buried facing north, and 20% of individuals buried facing north west; no individuals were buried facing east.

In this age category, 11% of male individuals were buried facing the west; compared to 0% of individuals in the age category before shows that age may have had some effect on the direction individuals faced when they were buried, possibly due to the manner of death the individual suffered. 22% of individuals were buried facing north, 0% of individuals were buried facing north east, and a further 22% of individuals were buried facing north west; all these again are very different both age groups previous. A further 22% of individuals were buried facing east, and 11% of individuals facing west, again perhaps indicating that cosmology was followed by

In the eldest age group (45+) 27% of females were buried facing the south (including the south east, and south west), while just 11% of males were buried facing the same directions; this could indicate that both age and sex may have had some effect on the directions

individuals in this age group.

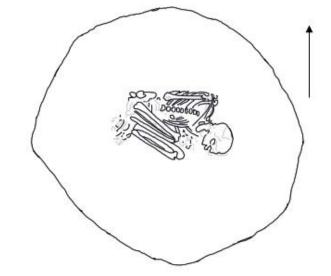


Figure 7:21 Burial 204 - an elderly woman buried at Gussage All Saints (based on Wainwright 1979, 34).

individuals were buried facing. Revisiting Gussage burial 204 here (pictured right, Fig 7:21), this elderly female is an example of a south facing burial. The increase in elderly female individuals facing the south could indicate that there was a need to mark these deaths as different; perhaps there was an extra layer of tragedy marked when a woman died. 37% of female individuals were buried facing the north, in this age group, something that is entirely different again to the rest of the age groups.

Again, this is an example of singling out elder female burials as different.

In male individuals 22% of individuals were buried facing north, 22% to the north east, and 11% to the north west, 22% of individuals were buried facing the east and 11% of individuals were buried facing the west.

In East Yorkshire, it appears that age and sex had very little effect on the direction individuals were facing; there is little difference between each sex and the age groups within. Except in the eldest age group where, for both sexes there was an observable difference; for each of the younger age groups a large majority (between 57% and 63%) of individuals were found to be buried facing towards the east. In the eldest age group this drops to 40% of females and just 27% of males being buried facing the East.

In conclusion, there is a smaller ratio between males and females in Dorset, more in line with the modern day and with expectations for the Iron Age. The difference between males and females in East Yorkshire, by contrast, is fairly extreme, and is indicative of males receiving burial rites that would preclude them from showing in the archaeological record. There is an even larger gap between males and females at Wetwang Slack, which could be evidence of females being more likely to be buried in the earlier part of the period with a shift to more males being buried later.

There are fewer females present in the archaeological record past the age of 45. It is possible that repeated pregnancies caused a weaker immune system, and therefore shortened the female life expectancy. It is also possible that females of this age group were laid to rest in a way that would make them unable to be seen in the archaeological record. Males over the age of 45+ were likely to have been curated in some way in East Yorkshire given that they were found in a tighter burial position. Individuals in this age group were also more likely to be found in an extended position; this could be evidence of a warrior class made up of mostly males. The evidence for any of the individuals buried in such a way dying as a result of trauma caused by interpersonal violence is limited; it is possible that the 'warrior' role in East Yorkshire was more ceremonial than practical.

There are far more males between the ages of 26-35 buried in Dorset. This is almost certainly due to the distorting influence of the 'Belgic War Cemetery' at Maiden Castle. This also indicates that males more so than females were engaged in interpersonal violence, however, debates over sexing of these individuals do occur. As stated above, the notion that the Iron Age was a time of great violence has been rightfully criticised in more modern archaeology, it is possible here that the adult males interred in the so-called 'Belgic War Cemetery' died as a result of an isolated incidence of interpersonal violence that occurred outside of the largely abandoned hillfort (Russell 2019, 336-341).

There also seems to be a gender binary in the grave goods individuals were given in East Yorkshire, even though both males and females receive grave goods in equal numbers. Weaponry seems to be given to males almost exclusively, while jewellery is given to females almost exclusively. Just one female is given weaponry as a grave

good, and this individual is marked as a possible female with contra-indications. Males and females in Dorset were also given grave goods in equal numbers, both mirrors and weaponry were given in almost equal numbers here, as well as jewellery. However, tools such as hammers were exclusive to male graves. Pottery also was given to males more than females, perhaps indicating that males were provided with food more than they provided.

Sex seems to have had little bearing on the way in which individuals are buried in East Yorkshire; in Dorset, however it appears that there may have been a sex based binary in place. It is possible that individuals in Dorset were buried in a westerly orientation, with more females receiving this rite it is possible that this manner of death could have been childbirth.

7.6. Material wealth and social hierarchy - inclusion, exclusion, and social difference

In the south east of England differences in terms of the complexity of burial and the size of settlement have been interpreted as a mirror of social status during the Late Iron Age (Cunliffe 2010; Peck 2013, 83). This evidence of a hierarchical society has been corroborated with sources from the time period in *De Bello Gallico* (V 11, 20-22), where Julius Caesar describes a fairly well established nobility in his 'invasion' of the south east of England; as well as the Greek geographer Strabo in the first century BC, although these sources are well known to be biased, and are certainly coloured by political aspirations of the authors. It is also entirely possible that social hierarchy in Iron Age Britain was limited to certain regions and was not applicable to either Dorset or East Yorkshire; this will be further discussed in relation to grave goods. Parker Pearson (1999) also asserts that it is possible that orientation was used to demarcate social difference, and that east-west orientated burials were reserved only for the highest ranked individuals (alongside grave goods including pig due to it being a high status feasting food).

7.6.1. Grave goods

50% of individuals in Dorset between the ages of 26-35 received no grave goods at all, the highest amongst all other age groups, and significantly higher than the younger age group. 33% of individuals received pottery, 15% of individuals received animal bone, 2% of individuals received a brooch or tools, 4% of individuals received an object associated with personal dress or grooming (such a tweezers or an ear

scoop) a further 4% of individuals received a miscellaneous item, and 7% of individuals received jewellery or weaponry. It may have been at this point in life that individuals' own material wealth or social status dictated what grave goods they were provided with, which is why there is a sharp rise in the percentage of individuals that did not receive any grave goods. It is also possible that these individuals would have had families, and instead of burying items of high material value with them, they left these items with their children.

56% of female individuals in Dorset aged between the ages of 26-35 received some form of pottery as a grave good. 27% received an animal bone, and 9% received an item used in personal dress or grooming. 36% of individuals received no grave goods at all. No individuals received bone points, brooches, tools, jewellery, mirrors, weaponry, and other miscellaneous items. It is interesting to note that female individuals from both this age group and the one before received more pottery, and animal bones than males. This could have implications for the gender roles and the gender binary this society had; it is possible that females were the ones who received food from males, and so were provided with food in death. This age group shows little material wealth, items such as jewellery may have been passed on to children or other family members.

In contrast, 35% of male individuals aged between 26-35 received pottery as a grave good, a further 22% received animal bones, 17% of individuals received jewellery usually in the form of rings, and usually made of bronze or iron. 13% of males in this age group received tools, items used for personal dress, or weaponry. 4% of individuals received a brooch or other miscellaneous item. No individuals received a bone point, or mirror. 35% of males in this age group did not receive a grave good.

Both males and females in these age groups have very similar percentages of individuals not receiving a grave good. Interestingly males in this age group appear to have been provided with more items associated with material wealth, such as jewellery or weaponry. It is possible that these males were killed in battle and were then honoured with grave goods that represent their contribution to society through dying in battle.

Every female aged between 36-44 in Dorset received a grave good. 40% received animal bone, 20% received a brooch, 30% received jewellery, and a further 20% received pottery. None of this group received bone points, tools, mirrors, items used for personal dress, weaponry, or any other miscellaneous items. It appears that these graves were furnished with items associated with material wealth, many individuals received items of jewellery such as necklaces and beads. Perhaps women of this age group were mourned deeply within their familial group; this could indicate older women being placed in a position of leadership or knowledge. This is also the youngest female age group where individuals are buried with brooches, these brooches may have been used in bindings in order to allow the individual to keep a certain body position.

46% of male individuals in Dorset aged between 36-44 did not receive a grave good, a highly significant change from the same age group in females, although this is fairly in line with the other male groups. 31% received pottery, another 31% of individuals received animal bones, 23% of individuals received jewellery. No individuals received a bone point, brooch, tools, mirror, an item used in personal dress, weaponry, or any other miscellaneous item. No individuals in this age group

received weaponry, despite the fact that it is overwhelmingly adult males that show signs of peri and ante-mortem injuries associated with interpersonal violence, suggesting that a fair percentage of this group of individuals would have fought and maybe died in battle (Redfern 2011). It is possible that these individuals had family members of fighting age and so passed their weapons down, or that the 'warrior role' ended in the late 30s. Despite the lack of weaponry present, these burials appear to be fairly well furnished, with many individuals receiving items of jewellery which are associated with material wealth.

Weaponry as a whole is rare in Dorset; only 2% of graves were found to contain items associated with weaponry, such as knives, daggers, hammerheads, spearheads, swords. In East Yorkshire, weapons are far more common with 6% of individuals having some sort of weapon, if not multiple weapons. It is possible that these weapons were used more as status symbols rather than a representation of the prevalence of interpersonal violence at the time.

Grave goods in Dorset change as the individuals get older, which implies a distinct change in social standing as individuals in Dorset age. In East Yorkshire on the other hand, it appears that sex, in conjunction age had an effect on the grave goods individuals received once they reached adulthood. In the youngest category only 8% of individuals did not receive a grave good. In Dorset 17% of individuals were provided with animal bones as grave goods, species such as: ox, domestic fowl, sheep and goat that were more than likely fleshed. 4% of individuals received a brooch; usually made of bronze. 4% received tools, such as a knife, 8% were buried with jewellery such as rings, necklaces, and bracelets, a further 4% were given weaponry. Items of jewellery, tools, and weaponry could be considered items that

show material wealth. The fact that these individuals were buried at all perhaps places them in a fairly high social class; the grave goods interred with them may have been placed there to emphasise this. 25% of individuals received some form of pottery as a grave good. Pottery tended to be made of black burnished ware and samian ware; there were also various types of pottery received such as jars, bowls, and jugs. It is somewhat likely that these individuals may have received these grave goods as gifts, given how young they were when they died.

Due to the fact that Wetwang Slack has a high proportion of secondary burials, 'rite D', there is a significant rise in the number of individuals that do not receive a grave good (75%, Fig 5.79). However, because of the high proportions of 'rite A' burials, the number of durable objects rise such as jewellery, and brooches - some pottery is observed although this falls from 16% to just 1% and so must occur in other cemeteries. There is also a fall in animal bones, weaponry, and tools; these items are associated with 'rite B' burials which are found particularly at Rudston (Agram Lane). This can be observed in Figs 5.72-5, where grave goods are sorted by orientation - pottery is found in more north-south oriented graves, and items such as weaponry are found more so in east-west oriented graves; 'rite A' and 'rite B'. Therefore, it is possible that the type of grave good individuals were given had little to do with the material wealth they had in life, but rather the accepted burial rite at the time of their death.

In East Yorkshire, it is possible that individuals buried oriented with their head at east or west were part of a warrior social class. 26% of easterly oriented burials received weaponry as a grave good, this rises to 35% of westerly oriented burials. This is

strikingly different from both northerly and southerly oriented burials. There is significant evidence for the presence of this class being present in Iron Age society in East Yorkshire (Stead 1991, 33; Halkon 2013, 79).

Few individuals received a brooch (4% of westerly oriented individuals, and 0% of easterly oriented individuals), which implies that binding and curation may not have taken place for easterly oriented individuals; it is possible that easterly oriented burials are chronologically different from north/south oriented burials, or that they are part of a different social class.

In Dorset, it does not appear that social class or the role individuals held in society was distinguished by the grave goods given to different orientations of individuals.

48% of graves orientated to the north did not receive grave goods, however, these graves appear to be reasonably well furnished, with just over half of these individuals receiving some kind of grave good as well as some pieces of jewellery and other higher status items such as weaponry being found in a fair percentage of graves.

Of the individuals orientated to the south, 38% of individuals received no grave goods, although more individuals orientated to the south received grave goods, fewer individuals were provided with higher status items such as jewellery, or weaponry. The percentage of individuals that received animal bones also fell quite considerably; this suggests that individuals oriented to the south may have been of a lower social status than those that were orientated north.

Of the individuals in Dorset that were orientated to the east, 47% did not receive a single grave good; although there were a higher percentage of individuals that did not receive a grave good, there are considerably more individuals receiving items that imply a high social status, or a fair amount of material wealth. Nearly 20% of individuals received a piece of jewellery which is indicative again of material wealth. Fewer individuals received animal bones than those orientated to the south, however, more individuals received pottery suggesting that an emphasis was placed on food stuffs across southerly, northerly, and easterly orientated burials.

Westerly orientated burials, however, show a great deal of difference in the grave goods that were provided. Over half, 58%, of the individuals in this group did not receive any grave goods. 17% received a brooch or an item associated with personal dress, 8% received animal bones or jewellery. No bone points, mirrors, pottery, weaponry, or any other miscellaneous items were given. This suggests that burials oriented to the west may have been part of a separate burial rite. Given that 17% of these burials were provided with a brooch, it could suggest that curation was a more prominent part of the burial process. The emphasis on providing individuals with food seems to decline with these burials, given that under 10% of individuals received animal bones, and no pottery was provided.

The differences in burial orientation between the results from East Yorkshire when compared to Dorset are quite striking (Figures 5.4 and 6.4). In Dorset there seems to be far less of a pattern than in East Yorkshire, where 70% of burials are orientated with their heads to the north, although northerly orientated burials still made up the highest percentage in Dorset. Both regions display an avoidance of westerly

orientations (15% in Dorset and 3% in East Yorkshire); it is possible that in both regions a westerly orientated burial represents a bad death, or perhaps some other sort of social difference. Parker Pearson (1999, 45) asserts that westerly orientated burials can be linked, in terms of social difference, with roundhouses oriented the same way. The nature of the evidence linking orientation with a bad death is ambiguous, it is important to note that Parker Pearson's assertion that roundhouse orientation and the way in which people were buried indicated social difference cannot be confirmed by looking at the evidence here. That being said, there are patterns in the data that are observable, and this interpretation could be one possible reason for this pattern to have occurred.

As shown in Figure 5.104, 40% of individuals buried as secondary inhumations are female, 31% are male, and 29% are unknown. As stated in section 5.12.2, the high number of individuals of unknown sex is likely due to the high percentage of non-adult individuals, particularly those under the age of 10 that are interred as secondary burials. It is possible that secondary inhumations were not a means of denoting social difference, given that these results are somewhat equal in nature. Although there is a higher percentage of females buried as secondary inhumations; this is more likely to be linked with sex than material wealth and social exclusion.

In conclusion, although Iron Age Britain is not considered to be particularly hierarchical, there does appear to be some areas where social exclusion and material wealth are emphasised. The patterns identified in this chapter appear to prove that society was reasonably stratified. In Dorset, there appears to be a hierarchy based on ages. There is an age majority where individuals appear to be accepted by society (as stated above, this appears to be around the age of 15);

however, there are also differences in the type and amount of grave goods individuals receive during their life course. This could imply that even adults, past the age of majority, changed in social status according to their age. In East Yorkshire, this appears to be more clearly linked with sex rather than age.

In Dorset it appears that orientation is not indicative of social exclusion, apart from westerly oriented burials. Across both regions, westerly orientations seem to be an indication of either a 'bad death' (perhaps in childbirth or in the course of interpersonal violence), or social exclusion of another kind. There are also suggestions of a warrior class of individuals in East Yorkshire, whose graves are characterised by an east-west orientation.

7.7. Key Conclusions.

In conclusion, the analysis of burial practices in East Yorkshire and Dorset reveals intriguing insights into the societal norms and beliefs of Iron Age communities.

Despite variations between the regions, certain patterns emerge that shed light on the cultural and spiritual aspects of these ancient societies.

In both regions, there is evidence of structured burial practices that likely held symbolic significance for the communities. The predominance of crouched and flexed burial positions, particularly in East Yorkshire, suggests a common belief or ritual related to the afterlife or the journey to it. The orientation of individuals, especially the preference for northerly burials in East Yorkshire, could indicate a possible symbolic association with cosmic forces or the cycle of life and death. The evidence for this is somewhat ambiguous, however, and the nature of the datasets used in this study prohibit any firm conclusions on this topic.

The presence of grave goods further illustrates the importance of burial rites and the perceived needs of the deceased in their journey to the afterlife. While Dorset shows a greater diversity in grave goods, East Yorkshire exhibits a trend towards minimal grave goods, suggesting a possible difference in beliefs regarding the afterlife or social status. Grave goods also show how individuals in Iron Age East Yorkshire and Dorset related to the wider environment around them – with majorities in both areas receiving few grave goods it is possible that material wealth did not play a prominent role in the shaping of identity. It is also possible that there were certain roles in

society where identity was linked to the objects an individual used, such as weaponry.

Gender also appears to have played a role in burial practices. Gender differences, particularly the association of weaponry with males and jewellery with females, reflect societal roles and perhaps status distinctions within these ancient communities. There are however, glaring exceptions to this rule, which not only show evidence of a life outside of the gender binary but also shows individuals that lived outside of what modern society deems typical were accepted and cared for by their wider community. It is possible that biological sex did not play a huge role in shaping identity for Iron Age individuals, allowing the for the existence and integration into society of those who might have lived outside of those binds.

A further key conclusion to this study is the role age played when it comes to an Iron Age identity; in both counties there is a clear differential treatment of those aged below 15. This implies that an individual's relationship with their society changed as they aged, making identity in the Iron Age largely fluid, ever evolving. An age of majority, where individuals start to craft their identity outside of their familial groups is implied by the lack of young people (specifically a lack of individuals below the age of 18) in the archaeological record for both regions, and the depositing of children and infants as secondary burials only compounds this.

Further evidence of this shifting identity is the curation and binding of elderly individuals, this is clear in East Yorkshire, though there is evidence of curation, binding, or mummification of the elderly dead in Dorset. There are far fewer elderly

individuals, found in the East Yorkshire dataset, this might be due to a differential burial rite being observed for these individuals; perhaps they were excarnated close whichever settlement they heralded from.

Overall, the study of these burial practices provides valuable insights into the cultural, social, and spiritual dimensions of Iron Age societies in these regions. The variations and commonalities observed in burial practices hint at the complexities of these ancient cultures and their beliefs about life, death, and the afterlife.

8. Conclusion

This thesis has addressed a series of questions surrounding the ideas of identity, society, and belief in the afterlife within Iron Age East Yorkshire and Dorset. Using the data from within previous excavation reports and translating it into a cohesive dataset in order to show the similarities and differences within these two regions and the people that inhabited them, conclusions have been drawn about gender, social hierarchy, and age and how both societies related to these concepts. How this thesis has addressed the aims set out in chapter 1 will now be considered.

In terms of gender, it appears that in East Yorkshire there was much more of a gender binary, where males overwhelmingly received weaponry more than females and females received far more jewellery than males. There are significantly more female than male burials found in the archaeological record in East Yorkshire, which could indicate that certain males in this society were more likely not to be buried, but to be disposed of in ways that do not leave an obvious archaeological trace. There is also evidence in East Yorkshire that males were more likely curated than females. More males, although weaponry was not exclusively associated with males, in both Dorset and East Yorkshire were found to be part of a 'warrior class' (or weapons burials) of individuals that received different burial rites than the rest of the society indicating a form of social hierarchy surrounding these individuals.

The way younger people in Dorset were treated is indicative of an age of majority, probably being around the ages of 15-17 years old. This is shown through grave goods, in the number of individuals receiving grave goods, and the diversity of these items. The age of majority is also shown in the fact that it seems the majority of

younger individuals that died in Dorset were not buried in the same place, if they were buried at all, as the adults and older individuals. In East Yorkshire, many younger individuals were buried as secondary inhumations; they also did not tend to receive grave goods, and it is possible that there was an age of majority here too.

There are many more elderly individuals represented in the archaeological record for Dorset than in East Yorkshire. This indicates that there was a different burial rite used for elderly individuals in East Yorkshire. The fact that more elderly individuals in East Yorkshire were found in a tighter body position may suggest curation or mummification. It is possible that excarnation was the dominant rite for older individuals in East Yorkshire. In Dorset, however, it seems that elderly individuals were treated more in line with the general population.

Although Iron Age Britain (at least in the Early and Middle Iron Age) is not usually now considered to be particularly hierarchical, however there does appear to be evidence of some form of social hierarchy in the regions studied, based mostly based upon age. This is evidenced in the way that individuals under the age of 15-17 were treated in Dorset, and the way that individuals over the age of 45 were treated in East Yorkshire. It also appears that westerly oriented individuals experience some form of social exclusion, perhaps due to a bad death. The presence of a 'warrior class' of individuals also implies some form of social hierarchy based on the duty individuals performed within society.

In conclusion, there were a strict set of burial rites that had to be followed in both regions, although the set of burial rites were much more strictly followed in East

Yorkshire rather than Dorset; it is likely that the people of both regions believed that these rites had to be followed in order to reach the afterlife. A crouched (tighter or looser) position, oriented away from the west (with north being the norm in East Yorkshire), facing away from the west, with grave goods indicative of a journey to the afterlife, status of the individual, or pertinent to the life of the individual seems to be how the vast majority of individuals in both societies were buried. There are variations upon this, depending on certain social differences mostly due to age (younger individuals in Dorset, and older individuals in East Yorkshire) and gender (with particular reference to East Yorkshire).

This comparative analysis has furthered understanding about how people in Iron Age East Yorkshire and Dorset used inhumation to relate to the dead through funerary rites, and beliefs associated with the afterlife. Differences and similarities between funerary practices in the two regions have been compared and contrasted, in order to better understand both societies. Funerary rites of both societies have been used in order to further the understanding of how these societies functioned in terms of social hierarchies based on gender, age, the duties individuals performed in the society as well as any factors that lead to social exclusion.

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9. Appendix 1: Data from Dorset

ID	Grid Reference	Location Name	Burial ID	Sex	Age	Orientation	Position	Side	Grave Goods	Grave Cut	Grave Depth	Reference	Notes
1	SY456906	Bridport	N/A	F	50+	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bronze mirror handle, small bead rim jar	N/A	N/A	Farrar, 1954, 90-94	Double burial with ID2 - exposed in a cliff fall c.1930- 34. Jaw of ID1 stained with bronze from mirror.
2	SY456906	Bridport	N/A	М	40-50	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bronze mirror, small bead rim jar	N/A	N/A	Farrar, 1954, 90-94	See ID1
3	SY726866	Broadmayne	N/A	N/A	25-55	Е	Supine	Left	Bead-rim jar, bead- rim bowl, cordonned foot-ring bowl, 2 shallow foot-ring bowls, shallow platter	N/A	N/A	Young, 1973, 45- 46; Figs 3-5	Single inhumation found during clearance work in 1967.
4	SY486895	Burton Bradstock	N/A	N/A	<20	NW	Contracted	Right	Bead-rim jar, bead- rim bowl, charcoal and iron fragments	N/A	N/A	Farrar, 1965, 114- 115	Two earth graves discovered - only one containing dateable grave goods
5	SY951804	Corfe Castle	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Pottery vessels	Pit	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 599	Several inhumations unrecorded - discovered between 1895 and 1965.

6	SY951804	Corfe Castle	N/A	N/A	N/A	N	N/A	Left	Pottery vessels	Pit	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 599	Recorded with scant detail, one of several inhumations found in Tufa Pit. Discovered between 1895 and 1965.
7	SY688910	Dorchester	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Extended	N/A	Bead-rim bowl, pot	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 585 and 579, Fig.44	Recorded with scant detail - part of double burial with ID8. Found c.1903.
8	SY688910	Dorchester	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Extended	N/A	Bead-rim bowl, pot	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 585 and 579, Fig.44	Recorded with scant detail - part of double burial with ID7. Found c.1903.
9	SY687901	Dorchester	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Two bead-rim bowls.	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 581-582	Several burials found in 1899 and earlier.
10	N/A	Dorchester	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Pottery	Cists/E arth graves	N/A	N/A	Several hundred inhumations unrcorded.
11	SY690900	Dorchester (Weymouth Ave.)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bead-rim bowl, cordonned cup	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 579-580, Figs. 35-36	Two burials discovered c.1905 and 1939. Details unrecorded see ID12.
12	SY690900	Dorchester	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bead-rim bowl, cordonned cup	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 579-580, Figs. 35-36	Two burials discovered c.1905 and 1939. Details unrecorded see ID11.

13	SY690900	Dorchester	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bead rim bowl (2), red-ware flask, white beaker	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset. 1970, 579-581, Figs. 37-38	Burial discovered in 1952 - details unrecorded.
14	SY698905	Dorchester	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Horse burial, two- link horse bit (bronze and bronze plated iron), two small bronze rings	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 574	Horse burial found within a major Romano-British Cemetery - discovered 1840. Report makes no mention of human remains.
15	SY702900	Dorchester	N/A	M	>20	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bead-rim jar	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 576-577, Fig. 15	One of a group of four inhumations discovered in 1960.
16	SY702901	Dorchester	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bead-rim bowl (2)	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 576, Figs. 8,9, 11-13	Unknown number of earth grave inhumations discovered during railway work c.1846. No recorded details.
17	SY704899	Dorchester	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Claudian handled jug, pennanular brooches, bronze La Tene III brooch, bead-rim bowls (3), globular Durotrigian bowl, Samian bowl (2)	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 577	Numerous graves discovered 1884 - details unrecorded.
18	SY706898	Dorchester	N/A	N/A	N/A	N	N/A	N/A	Bead-rim bowl, bead-rim bowls (2)	N/A	4.2m	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 578	Discovered c.1957 most details unrecorded.
19	SZ001783	Langton Matravers	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bead-rim bowl	Earth grave	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 602	Two earth graves, one cist found during farm construction in 1957 - details unrecorded.

20	SZ001783	Langton Matravers	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	Earth grave	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 602	Two earth graves, one cist found during farm construction in 1957 - details unrecorded.
21	SZ001783	Langton Matravers	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Two handled mug	Cist	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 602	Cist found during farm construction with ID19+20 in 1957 - details un recorded
22	SY541905	Litton Cheney	A	М	45-50	N	Flexed	Right	Bead-rim bowl, iron brooch	Earth grave	N/A	Bailey, 1967, 147- 159	Small community burial ground discovered during excavations of a later IA settlement - ID22 found lying with right arm bent to with hand to chin and left arm across body.
23	SY541905	Litton Cheney	В	М	<20	N	Flexed	Right	Iron clips, bronze studs (2), iron stylus, oval gaming pieces (10), circular gaming pieces (10), Samian and oyster shell, pig mandible, slingstone	Earth grave	N/A	Bailey, 1967, 147- 159	Small community burial ground discovered during excavations of a later IA settlement - arms across chest
24	SY541905	Litton Cheney	С	F	30	NW	Contracted	Right	None	Earth grave	N/A	Bailey, 1967, 147- 159	Small community burial ground discovered during excavations of a later IA settlement - hands together under the chin
25	SY541905	Litton Cheney	D	F	30	NW	Crouched	Left	None	Earth grave	N/A	Bailey, 1967, 147- 159	Small community burial ground discovered during excavations of a later IA settlement - head resting on hands
26	SY541905	Litton Cheney	E	М	50+	Е	Crouched	Right	Durotrigian jar, pennanular brooch, sheep bones	Earth grave	N/A	Bailey, 1967, 147- 159	Small community burial ground discovered during excavations of a later IA settlement - right arm across chest, left over the abdomen
27	SY541905	Litton Cheney	F	N/A	5	E	Crouched	Right	Bead-rim bowl, pennanular brooch, bronze bracelet, hinged brooch (tinned bronze with flattened bow)	Earth grave	N/A	Bailey, 1967, 147- 159	Small community burial ground discovered during excavations of a later IA settlement -

28	SY747821	Osmington	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Extended	N/A	One handled bead- rim beaker, iron nails (coffin)	Chalk cut	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 603	Single individual discovered 1926 - details unrecorded
29	SY687742	Portland	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bead-rim beaker, second century coins, disc-brooch, iron ingots	N/A	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 605	20-30 inhumations discvered 1835 and c.1860 - most were crouched or contracted majority belonging to second century AD - details unrecorded
30	SY695734	Portland	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Bronze mirror handle	Cist	N/A	R.C.H.M., Dorset, 1970, 605	Various inhumations in cists discovered 1734, 1860, c.1878, 1882, and 1933 - details unrecorded.
31		Tolpuddle	Adult burial (AB) 7/3	М	N/A	NE	Slightly flexed	N/A	Pottery (sherds)	Rectan gular chalk grave	0.14	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 46	Plough damaged due to shallow depth - age unrecorded.
32	SY814094 80	Tolpuddle	AB 458	N/A	N/A	S	Extended (prone)	N/A	Pottery (sherds)	Rectan gular	0.6	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 47	Plough damaged due to shallow depth - age and sex unrecorded.
33	SY814094 80	Tolpuddle	AB 802	N/A	N/A	W	Slightly flexed	Left	None	Sub- rectan gular	0.5	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 47	All finds from the fill of the grave were determined to be unrelated to the burial - age and sex unrecorded.
34	SY814094 80	Tolpuddle	YAB 826	F	19-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Sub- rectan gular	0.80	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 47	Context sheet describes something that may be an internal structure but this is unlikely.
35	SY814094 80	Tolpuddle	AB 908	F	N/A	W	Slightly flexed	Right	None	Rectan gular	0.90	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 47-50	Infant burial found in the same grave cut - also present were 35 iron nails suggesting a coffin.
36	SY814094 80	Tolpuddle	AB 1348	F	N/A	N	Tightly crouched	Right	Bronze ring, pottery (sherds)	Irregul ar	0.08	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 50	

37	SY814094 80	Tolpuddle	AB 1494	М	N/A	S	Crouched	Left	None	Sub- rectan gular	0.30	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 50	Grave appears to intersect a small phase 4 ditch but the stratigraphical relationship between them is unercertain.
38		Tolpuddle	YAB 2313	N/A	13-18	NE	Tightly crouched	Right	None	Sub- circular pit	0.70	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 50-51	
39	SY814094 80	Tolpuddle	AB 2672	М	N/A	S	Crouched	Left	Pottery (sherds)	Irregul ar	0.35	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 51	Cut appears too small - individuals head and feet forced against the edges of grave.
40		Tolpuddle	AB 5067	F	N/A	S	Extended - supine	N/A	Copper alloy coin, hobnails	Sub- rectan gular	N/A	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 51	Hobnails indicate presence of shoes, though there was no indication of a coffin.
41	SY814094 80	Tolpuddle	AB 1541	F	N/A	S	Crouched	Right	Bronze brooch, bowl	Sub- rectan gular	0.35	Heame and Birckbeck, 1999, 50	Grave cut into the top fill of the enclosure ditch 2894, spillage revealed human bone in situ.
42	SY669884	Maiden Castle	31	N/A	2	SE	Flexed	Right	Belgic bowl	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Double burial with ID43
43	SY669884	Maiden Castle	32	N/A	1	SE	Flexed	Right	Belgic bowl	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943q	Double burial with ID42
44	SY669884	Maiden Castle	Т3	М	25-30	E	Tightly flexed	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943,	Skull and upper vertabrae missing - dug out by old trench
45	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T4	М	40-50	NE	Flexed	Right	Lamb bones	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	J J ,
46	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T5	М	N/A	ENE	Tightly flexed	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Several serious injuries - fractures to left radius, left fibula - healed
47	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T6	F	30-40	NE	Flexed	Right	Belgic bead-rim pot	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943q	Pot inverted above feet
48	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T10	М	N/A	SSE	Flexed	Right	4 slingstones	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Two stones by skull, one by legs, one by left shoulder
49	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T11	М	25-35	ENE	Flexed - supine	Right	Ox bones	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Head facing right, legs flexed to NW
50	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T12	F	20-30	ENE	Flexed - supine	Right	Belgic pot	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Left humerous deformed
51	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T16	М	20-30	SE	Flexed - supine	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943,	A shallow grave - incomplete skull
52	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T20	М	25-35	SSE	Tightly flexed	Right	Bead-rim pot	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	

53	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T21	F	20-30	Е	Loosely flexed	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943,	
54	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T22	F	20-30	NE	Flexed	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Healed wound on frontal bone
55	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T25	М	25-35	NE	Flexed	Left	None	Oval pit	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Overlying grave T26.
56	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T26	F	N/A	NW	Flexed	Left	Half a pig's head	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Underlying grave T25.
57	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T27	F	N/A	SE	Flexed	N/A	Bronze toe ring	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Skeleton incomplete
58	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T28	F	25-35	S	Extended - supine	N/A	Headless lamb, full dog skeleton	Square	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Thought to be early Romano- British
59	SY669884	Maiden Castle	T29	F	N/A	E	Flexed	Right	Iron arrowhead	Oval	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Found in the make-up of the main counterscarp rampart.
60	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P2	М	N/A	NE	Flexed - supine	N/A	Pottery mug, bronze spiral ring	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Single cut extending along parietal bone - all facial bones, apart from mandible, missing
61	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P5	F	20-30	NE	Flexed	Right	Coin	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Single long cut along the line of the lamboid suture
62	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P6	М	25-30	SSW	Flexed - supine	N/A	Pottery bowl	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Fractured left parietal - no other sign of cuts
63	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P7	М	25-30	ESE	Extended - supine	N/A	Two pots	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Double burial with P7a. Long cut across the frontal bone, two short cuts on right parietal, left temporal squama pierced by weapon (possibly ballista bolt)
64	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P7a	М	20-30	ESE	Extended - supine	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Buried simultaneously with P7. Iron arrow head fixed in the twelfth thoracic vertebra, cut across right side of mandible. Trace of suture across right parietal.
65	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P8	М	N/A	ESE	Extended - supine	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Badly damaged due to agricultural operations
67	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P9	М	25-35	SE	Extended - supine	N/A	Lamb bones	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Three cuts along cranial vault
68	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P11	М	20-30	SE	Flexed - supine	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	
69	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P12	М	20-30	Е	Flexed - prone	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943,	Skeleton suggests very strong individual - skull extensively mutiliated (nine cuts and blows)
70	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P14	F	20-30	SE	Flexed - prone	N/A	Double iron ring, leg of lamb	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Possibly bound at time of death, piece of bone cut from occipital orbit by three blows.

71	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P16	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Three adult skeletons - badly damaged triple burial with P17/P18
72	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P17	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Three adult skeletons - badly damaged triple burial with P16/P18
73	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P18	М	20-30	SE	Extended - supine	N/A	Pot	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Three adult skeletons - badly damaged triple burial with P16/P17
74	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P19	F	25-30	SE	Extended - supine	N/A	Pot	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Neck dislocated at time of death - skull propped up - Double burial with P19a
75	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P19a	М	40-50	SE	Flexed - supine	N/A	Bronze ring, sheep bones	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Healed wound on left orbital - Double burial with P19
76	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P20	F	18-20	SE	Flexed - supine	N/A	Sheep bones	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943,	Traces of a severe wound on facial bones - healed
77	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P21	M	25-35	SE	Extended - supine	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Legs missing
78	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P22	М	25-35	Е	Loosley flexed	Left	Five pottery vessels, Iron axe head, iron knife, bronze ear scoop	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Double burial with P23 - one of P23's legs inbetween those of P22
79	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P23	М	25-35	ESE	Extended - supine	N/A	Five pottery vessels, Iron axe head, iron knife, bronze ear scoop	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Double burial with P22 - one of P23's legs inbetween those of P22
80	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P24	М	30-40	SE	Flexed	N/A	Two bowls, ox skull	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Double burial with P25 - Right leg under P25 - Skull smashed in by blows
81	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P25	М	50-60	SSW	Flexed	N/A	Two bowls, ox skull	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Double burial with P24 - Skull smashed in with blows - no evidence of sword cuts
82	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P26	F	20-30	ESE	Flexed - prone	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Double burial with P27 - Single long cut on the left parietal bone penetrating to the brain cavity
83	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P27	М	30-40	ESE	Extended - supine	N/A	Iron bracelet	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Double burial with P26 - small healed wound on the frontal bone and a long cut on the left parietal with cracks at its extremities and a superficial cut made before the severe one, removing a slice of bone near the mid-point of the sagittal suture
84	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P28	М	30-40	NE	Flexed - supine	Right	Ox bone, bronze ring	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	

85	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P29	M	25-35	NE	Flexed - prone	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Buried on top of P36 grave filled with the same material - not buried side by side
86	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P36	F	25-30	SE	Flexed - supine	Right	Pottery bowl, lid	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Buried underneath P29 grave filled with same matieral - not buried side by side - Skull is of a different type than the others particularly in facial skeleton - healed fracture of the left fibula
87	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P30	М	25-35	E	Supine - legs flexed	N/A	Bronze ring	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Legs flexed outwards, feet together - piece of bone from the mandible had been cut
88	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P33	F	N/A	NNE	Flexed - supine	Left	Shale armlet	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Skull missing
89	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P34	M	N/A	SW	Flexed	Right	Pottery bowl, three sling stones, iron dress clasp	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Rondelle of bone cut from the frontal bone by possible blow
90	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P37	F	25-35	S	Contracted	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Spine had been severed at the fifth lumbar vertebra at death
91	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P38	М	25-30	SE	Flexed - supine	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	
92	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P39	М	25-30	SE	Flexed	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	
93	SY669884	Maiden Castle	P40	F	25-35	N/A	N/A	N/A	Pot	N/A	N/A	Wheeler, 1943	Teeth markedly worn with some having been lost before death - skeleton was not well developed all crests of long bones sharp and prominent - Recovering from the falling side of an exploratory trench
94	ST998108	Gussage All Saints	31(6)	F	16-19	N	Slightly flexed - prone	Right	Flint	Cylindr ical pit	1.57	Wainwright, 1979, 32, 163	Right hand resting below the pelvis, evidence suggesting disuse and wasting of the left arm.
95	ST998108	Gussage All Saint	62(7)	F	20-25	N	Slightly crouched	Right	None	Cylindr ical pit	1.17	Wainwright, 1979, 32, 164	
96	ST998108	Gussage All Saints	204(8)	F	45+	E	Tightly crouched	Left	None	Cylindr ical pit	N/A	Wainwright, 1979, 32, 165	Body was likely bound before being placed in the pit - knees were drawn up tightly in front of the chest, both arms were bent either side of the rib cage and the head bent forward
97	ST998108	Gussage All Saints	205(5)	F	45+	Е	Lightly flexed	Right	None	Cylindr ical Pit	1.27	Wainwright, 1979, 32, 165	Left arm extended in front of the face and was slightly flexed, the right arm extended below the body, the legs were slightly bent

98	ST998108	Gussage All Saints	359(4)	M	45+	N	Lightly flexed	Left	None	Cylindr ical pit	1.25	Wainwright, 1979, 33, 166	Arms flexed in front of the chest, left hand being in front of the face, legs tightly bent at the knee
99	ST998108	Gussage All Saints	285(3)	М	20-25	NE	Lightly flexed - supine	Right	Iron fragments	Cylindr ical pit	N/A	Wainwright, 1979, 32, 164	Arms tightly flexed in front of chest, hands by the shoulders, and legs slightly bent-skeleton in top layer of pit. Marks of injuries caused by sharp implement recorded on skull and left arm
100	ST998108	Gussage All Saints	387(6)	M	35-45	N	Tightly crouched	Right	Dog bones, horse bones	Cylindr ical pit	1.97	Wainwright, 1979, 33-34, 164	Arms and legs flexed - arms in front of chest.
101	ST998108	Gussage All Saints	410(6)	F	35-45	Е	Lightly flexed - supine	Right	None	Cylindr ical pit	2.13	Wainwright, 1979, 34, 164	Individual on back, arms drawn up in front of chest, legs flexed
102	ST998108	Gussage All Saints	815(3)	М	35-45	S	Extended - supine	N/A	None	Rectan gular	0.54	Wainwright, 1979, 34-5, 166	Individual thought to date from the late 3rd C. AD. Coffin nails found around body with a stake hole at the top of the grave above the head
103	SY711881	Whitcombe	1.	F	N/A	NE	Contracted	Right	Pig bone, sheep bone	N/A	N/A	Whimster, 1979, 351	
104	SY711881	Whitcombe	2.	F	N/A	W	Contracted	Right	Yellow glass ring bead, pig bone, horse bone	N/A	N/A	Whimster 1979, 351	
105	SY711881	Whitcombe	3.	M	N/A	SE	Contracted	Right	Two pottery vessels	N/A	N/A	Whimster, 1979, 351-2	
106	SY711881	Whitcombe	4.	М	N/A	Е	Contracted	Right	Sheep bone, two pottery vessels	N/A	N/A	Whimster, 1979, 352	
107	SY711881	Whitcombe	5.	M	N/A	Е	Contracted	Right	Sheep bone, two pottery vessels	N/A	N/A	Whimster, 1979, 352	
108	SY711881	Whitcombe	6.	М	N/A	Е	Contracted	Right	Iron bracelet, sheep bone	N/A	N/A	Whimster, 1979, 352	
109	SY711881	Whitcombe	7.	М	N/A	Е	Contracted	Right	Sheep bone	N/A	N/A	Whimster, 1979, 352	

110	SY711881	Whitcombe	8.	F	c.16	E	Crouched	Right	Necklace - ten glass beads, one paste bead, two wooden beads, two pottery vessels, two Samian ware vessels	Rectan gular	N/A	Whimster, 1979, 352	Samian vessels dated to AD.90-110
111	SY711881	Whitcombe	9.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Whimster, 1979, 352	Badly plough damaged - buried near ID112
112	SY711881	Whitcombe	10.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Wimster, 1979, 352	Badly plough damaged - buried near ID111
113	SY711881	Whitcombe	11.	N/A	N/A	N/A	Contracted	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Whimster, 1979, 352	Badly plough damaged
114	SY711881	Whitcombe	12	М	c.27	SE	Crouched	Right	Iron sword, wooden scabbard, two iron suspension rings, iron spearhead, iron hammer head, iron tool, La Tene II brooch, bronze belthook, bronze fragment, chalk pommel	N/A	N/A	Whimster, 1979, 352	Also in: (Collis 1972, fig. 2)
115		Poundbury Camp	238	М	70	SW	Crouched	Right	None	Square	0.25	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 260	
116		Poundbury Camp	253	N/A	>12 Months	W	Crouched	Right	None	Rectan gular	N/A	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 260	
117		Poundbury Camp	265	F	17	SE	Contracted - Supine	Right	Green blue faince bead	Square	0.76	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 260	

118	Po	oundbury Camp	265A	N/A	>12 Months	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 261	Collected with 265 - identified by one bone
119	Po	oundbury Camp	345A	F	35	N	Crouched - Prone	N/A	None	Oval	0.40	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 263	Arms folded under chest
120	Po	oundbury Camp	355A	N/A	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	0.05	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 264	Poor preservation
121	Po	oundbury Camp	355B	N/A	N/A	W	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	0.12	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 264	Poor preservation
123	Po	oundbury Camp	369	F	50	E	Contracted	Right	None	Rectan gular	0.76	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 264	
124	Po	oundbury Camp	424	N/A	3	NW	Crouched	Left	None	Oval	N/A	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 267	
125	Po	oundbury Camp	432	М	>25	S	Contracted	Right	Copper alloy ring	Rectan gular	0.99	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 267	Ring associated with skeleton
126	Po	oundbury Camp	453	F	25	N	Supine	N/A	None	Rectan gular	0.84	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 268	Legs missing
127	Po	oundbury Camp	454	М	25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Oval	N/A	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 268	Only head and torso survivng

128	Poundbury Camp	459	М	>25	Е	Contracted	Right	None	Circula r	0.3	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 268	Right arm missing, legs disturbed
129	Poundbury Camp	522	N/A	13	SE	Crouched	Right	Animal bones, pig skull	Oval	0.7	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 270	Animal bones near left knee, pigs head near skull
130	Poundbury Camp	595	М	50	W	Contracted - Supine	N/A	None	N/A	0.55	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 273	
131	Poundbury Camp	1074	F	75	Е	Crouched	Right	None	Irregul ar	0.9	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 289	
132	Poundbury Camp	1142	F	40	Е	Crouched	Left	None	N/A	0.1	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 292	Grave badly disturbed, legs and pelvis missing
133	Poundbury Camp	1183	N/A	>25	Е	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	0.5	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 293	Only toe bones survivng
134	Poundbury Camp	1214	N/A	1.5	S	Crouched	Right	None	Oval	0.45	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 294-5	
135	Poundbury Camp	1348	М	55	S	N/A	Right	Sheep skull, 2x pottery vessels	Square	0.9	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 299	Grave goods by skull
136	Poundbury Camp	1351	F	25	SE	Crouched	Right	Four complete pots	Rectan gular	0.9	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 299	Pottery vessels placed around skull

137	Poundbury Camp	1355	М	45	E	Flexed - Supine	N/A	Pigs head	Oval	0.8	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 299	Pigs head at right shoulder
138	Poundbury Camp	1357	М	35	S	Crouched	Right	2x Pottery vessels	Irregul ar	0.6	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 300	One pottery vessle at head, one at feet
139	Poundbury Camp	1359	F	>25	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectan gular	0.5	Farewell and Molleson, 1993,300	
140	Poundbury Camp	1364	F	20-35	Е	Crouched	Left	None	N/A	0.55	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 300	Poor preservation
141	Poundbury Camp	1367	М	45	Е	Crouched	Right	Pottery vessel	Oval	0.8	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 300	Pottery vessel held in arms
142	Poundbury Camp	1389	N/A	<1	Е	Crouched	N/A	None	Oval	0.2	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 301	
143	Poundbury Camp	1390	N/A	<1	N	Extended - Supine	N/A	None	N/A	0.5	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 301	
144	Poundbury Camp	1391	N/A	<1	N/A	Extended - Supine	N/A	Pottery vessel	Oval	0.4	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 301	
145	Poundbury Camp	1392	N/A	<1	N	Crouched	Right	None	Irregul ar	0.2	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 301	

146	Poundbury Cam	p 1393	N/A	<1	W	Contracted - Prone	N/A	None	Oval	0.2	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 301	
147	Poundbury Cam	p 1399	M	>25	Е	Crouched	Right	None	Rectan gular	0.3	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 301	
148	Poundbury Cam	p 1402	F	40	SE	Crouched	Right	Animal bones, copper alloy rings x3,	Oval	0.33	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 301-2	Animal bones by left hand, one right on right hand thumb, one on first finger, one on third finger
150	Poundbury Cam	p 1403	F	45	W	Contracted	Right	Copper alloy brooch	Square	0.2	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 302	Copper alloy brooch near left shoulder
151	Poundbury Cam	p 1409	F	45	Е	Contracted	Right	Copper alloy ring, animal bones	Oval	0.6	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 302	Copper alloy ring on third finger of left hand, animal bones near right knee
152	Poundbury Cam	p W123	N/A	25-35	NW	Crouched	Right	Sheep leg, black burnished ware straight-walled dish	Rectan gular	0.3	Farewell and Molleson, 1993, 303	Sheeps leg over right foot, black burnished ware straight- walled dish near left foot
153	Flagstones	SF834	F	>18	E	Contracted	Right	Pot, animal bones	Pit	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 155	Animal bones and pot found in pit
154	Flagstones	SF835	M	45+	N/A	Contracted	Right	None	Pit	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 155	
155	Flagstones	SF72	F	>18	N/A	Contracted - Supine	N/A	None	Sub- Rectan gular	0.45	Smith et. al, 1997, 155	Grave cut by a substantial ditch (00011)
156	Flagstones	SF73	N/A	16-17	N/A	Contracted	Right	None	Pit	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 155	

157	Flagstones	SF74	M	>18	N/A	Contracted	Right	None	Pit	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 155
158	Fordington Bottom	472	N/A	>1	Е	Crouched	Left	None	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212
159	Fordington Bottom	509	N/A	>18	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212
160	Fordington Bottom	514	N/A	>18	N	Crouched	Right	Black burnished ware bowl, samian platter, sheep/goat bones	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212
161	Fordington Bottom	522	М	35+	E	Crouched	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212
162	Fordington Bottom	555	М	35-45	E	Crouched	Right	Iron rings x2	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212
163	Fordington Bottom	914	М	30-35	Е	Crouched	N/A	Black burnished ware bowl x2, pig bone	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212
164	Fordington Bottom	916	F	65+	N	Crouched	N/A	Goat/sheep bone, cow bone	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212
165	Fordington Bottom	918	М	N/A	E	Crouched - Supine	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212
166	Fordington Bottom	5009	F	65+	NE	Crouched - Supine	N/A	Goat/sheep bone	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212
167	Fordington Bottom	5011	F	17-20	NE	Crouched	Right	Iron finger ring	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997
168	Fordington Bottom	5018	F	30-40	SW	Crouched	Right	Black burnished ware bowls x2, pig bone	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212
169	Fordington Bottom	5111	M	25-35	E	Crouched	Right	Iron finger ring	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212

170	Fordington Bottom	5130	F	65+	N	Crouched	N/A	Sheep/goat bone	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212	
171	Fordington Bottom	222	F	17-20	W	Crouched - Supine	N/A	Iron hobnails x8	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212	
172	Fordington Bottom	250	N/A	65+	E	Crouched	Right	Sheep/goat bone	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212	
173	Fordington Bottom	444	М	35-45	N	Crouched - Supine	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212	
174	Fordington Bottom	920	N/A	17-25	SE	Crouched	Right	Iron brooch	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212	
175	Fordington Bottom	922	F	25-45	SE	Flexed	Right	Iron hobnails x87	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212	
176	Fordington Bottom	966	N/A	25-35	E	Crouched	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212	
177	Fordington Bottom	5128	F	35+	SE	Crouched	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Smith et. al, 1997, 212	
178	Alington Avenue	063	М	35-45	E	Flexed - Supine	Left	Pottery vessel	Rectan gular	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002, 122	Pottery vessel at left shoulder
179	Alington Avenue	1138	М	35-45	NE	Crouched	Left	None	N/A	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002, 122	
180	Alington Avenue	1817	М	35-45	NE	Flexed - Supine	Right	None	Rectan gular	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002, 122	
181	Alington Avenue	3214	F	25-35	SE	Flexed - Supine	Right	Pottery vessel, domestic fowl	Rectan gular	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002, 122	Pottery by left shoulder, domestic fowl by left pelvis
182	Alington Avenue	3227	F	35-45	W	Flexed - Supine	Left	Brooches x2	N/A	N/A	Davies et. al, 212, 122	Brooches by lower legs

183	Alington Avenue	3238	M	45+	SE	Flexed - Supine	Right	Domestic fowl, pig skull, hobnail boots	Sub- Rectan gular	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002, 122	Domestic fowl on pelvis, pig skull by feet, hobnail boots on feet
184	Alington Avenue	3408	F	35-45	SE	Crouched	Right	Domestic fowl, pig leg	Rectan gular	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002 122	Domestic fowl by head, pig leg by head
185	Alington Avenue	3964	F	35-45	N	Flexed - Supine	Right	Copper-alloy bracelet	Rectan gular	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002, 122	Copper-alloy bracelet on left wrist
186	Alington Avenue	4403	N/A	>18	W	Flexed - Supine	Left	Hobnail boots	N/A	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002, 122	Hobnail boots on feet
187	Trumpet Major	TM008	F	45+	NE	Crouched	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002, 122	Possible coffin
188	Trumpet Major	TM032	M	35-45	S	Flexed - Supine	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002, 122	
189	Trumpet Major	TM103	M	45+	SE	Flexed - Supine	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Davies et. al, 2002, 122	

10. Appendix 2: Data from East Yorkshire

ID	Grid reference	Location Name	Burial ID	Sex	Age	Orientation	Position	Side	Grave Goods	Grave Cut	Grave Depth	Reference	Notes
1	N/A	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R1	F	17-25	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Sherds	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 185	Forearm outstretched, hand near knees
2		Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R2	N/A	17-25	N	Flexed	Left	Pot, iron brooch, glass bead, shale bracelet, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 195	
3		Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R3	F	25-35	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Sheep bone	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 185	Coffin found - 1.05x0.5m
4		Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R4	F	17-25	N	Contracted	Left	Iron brooch, pot	Slightly Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 185	Pot in ditch
5		Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R5	F	17-25	N	Contracted	Left	Sherd	Slightly Rectangular	0.95	Stead, 1991, 185	
6		Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R6	F	35-45	N	Flexed	Left	Pot, sheep bone, sherd	Slightly Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 185	Pot found in sherds in front of face
7		Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R7	N/A	15-20	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	Iron brooch, sheep bone	Slightly Rectangular	0.9	Stead, 1991, 185-6	Iron brooch on skull, sheep bone by hands

8	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R8	F	45+	W	Extended	N/A	Pig bones	Rectangular	0.95	Stead, 1991, 188	Pig bones over hip and waist
9	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R9	М	17-25	N	Crouched - Supine	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 188	Cut by R8, ID8
10	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R10	N/A	2-3	N	N/A	Left	None	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 188	Only skull and traces of the R arm surviving
11	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R11	F	35-45	S	Contracted	Left	Pot, copper alloy brooch, sheep bone, pot	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 188	Coffin found, pot behind skull, brooch near back of skull, sheep bone in pot
12	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R12	N/A	35-45	N	Contracted	Left	Pot, sheep bone	Slightly Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 188	Pot in sherds near feet, sheep bone amongst pot sherds
13	Rudston Makeshift Cemtery	R13	N/A	N/A	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 188	Skeleton lost, age and sex unknown
14	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R14	F	25-35	N	Contracted	Left	Pot, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 188	Pot W of body, sheep bone over wrist
15	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R15	F	17-25	W	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 188	
16	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R16	F	25-35	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Pot, glass bead, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 188	In coffin, pot in front of face, glass bead under skull, sheep bone inside pot

17	Rudsto Makesl Cemete	nift R	R17	М	25-35	N	Crouched - Prone	Right	None	Rectangular	0.85	Stead, 1991, 188	Side of grave collapsed during the course of the burial
18	Rudsto Makesl Cemete	nift R	118	N/A	25-35	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	Pot, sheep bone	Slightly Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 188	Pot over chest, sheep bone inside pot.
19	Rudsto Makesl Cemete	nift R	219	F	17-25	N	Contracted - Supine	Right	Sherd	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 188	Contracted on back, knees drawn up on E with skull facing W
20	Rudsto Makesl Cemete	nift R	320	М	45+	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	Pot, Iron brooch, sheep bones, some animal vertabrae	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 188	Pot behind skull, iron brooch over neck, sheep bones in pot, animal vertebrae over body
21	Rudsto Makesl Cemete	nift R	321	F	35-45	N	Contracted	Left	None	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 188	
22	Rudsto Makesl Cemete	nift R	322	F	17-25	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	Pot, Iron brooch	Slightly Rectangular	0.9	Stead, 1991, 188	Pot in front of face, brooch on top of skull
23	Rudsto Makesi Cemete	nift R	223	F	17-25	W	Flexed - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.35	Stead, 1991, 188	
24	Rudsto Makesl Cemet	nift R	324	М	17-25	Е	Extended	Right	Iron sword, iron spearhead, pig bones	Rectangular	0.3	Stead, 1991, 188-191	Iron sword over body with tang on chest, iron spearhead in the SW corner of grave, pig bones between legs

25	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R25	М	45+	N	Contracted	Left	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 191	Pot adjoining ankles, iron brooch at back of neck, sheep bone in pot
26	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R26	N/A	25-35	W	Extended	Right	None	Rectangular	1.0	Stead, 1991, 191	Additional human femur under right arm
27	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R27	F	17-25	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone, sherds	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 191	Pot adjoining legs, iron brooch in front of face, sheep bone just outside pot, sherd in grave, sherd in ditch
28	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R28	F	25-35	E	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 191	
29	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R29	F	17-25	w	Extended	Right	Minute iron fragments	Slightly Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 191	Iron fragments over middle of body and R leg - both arms extended, leg extended but crossing grave diagonally with feet together in SW comer well above floor
30	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R30	F	17-25	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	Sherd	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 191	Sherd in grave
31	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R31	М	45+	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	Sherd	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 191	Sherd in grave
32	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R32	N/A	35-45	S	Contracted	Left	Pot, copper- alloy brooch	Slightly Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 191	Pot - broken in SE corner of coffin, copper-alloy brooch beyond skull in SW corner of coffin

33	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R33	F	25-35	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	Pot, Sheep bone	Slightly Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 191	Pot over feet, sheep bone in pot
34	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R34	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Right	Iron brooch, pot, sherds	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 191	Iron brooch in front of face, pot in ditch, sherds in grave, sherds in ditch
35	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R35	М	17-25	N	Contracted	Left	Brooch	Rectangular	0.4	Stead, 1991, 191	Brooch between wrist and knees, 1 arm fully extended with hand at feet
36	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R36	F	17-25	N	Contracted - Prone	Left	Brooch, sherds	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 191	Brooch between chest and knees, sherds in grave, one arm under chest, hand between legs
37	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R37	F	17-25	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Pot, iron brooch, iron fragments, sheep bone, sherd	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 191	Pot over right shoulder, iron brooch near right elbow, iron fragments over knees and legs, sherds in ditch
38	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R38	М	17-25	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	Iron pins, sherds	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 191	Coffin. One iron pin near feet and one between right shoulder and skull, two sherds in grave, one sherd in ditch
39	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R39	М	35-45	S	Contracted	Right	Pot, iron brooch, iron fragment (possible pin)	Rectangular	0.4	Stead, 1991, 191	Pot near feet, iron brooch over one forearm, fragment in front of skull
40	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R40	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, sherds	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 194	Iron brooch between chest and wrists, sherds in ditch

41	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R41	М	17-25	W	Tightly contracted	Right	Pig bones	Rectangular	0.2	Stead, 1991, 194	Pig bones near chin - Unusally tightly contracted
42	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R42	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.95	Stead, 1991, 194	
43	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R43	М	35-45	N	Tightly crouched	Right	Sherd	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 194	Sherd in grave
44	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R44	N/A	25-35	N	Crouched - Prone	Left	Pig bones	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 194	Pig bones to the east of skull and chest
45	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R45	М	45+	Е	Extended	Left	Iron knife	Rectangular	0.35	Stead, 1991, 194	Iron knife over right elbow
46	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R46	М	45+	S	Tightly crouched	Left	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 194	Pot by feet, iron brooch over skull, sheep bone in pot
47	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R47	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	Rectangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 194	No trace of skeleton
48	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R49	N/A	<18	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 194	Only legs survived
49	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R50	М	17-25	Е	Crouched	Right	Iron knife, iron spearhead	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 194	Knife under right hand, spearhead at the edge of grave above the level of the bones

50	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R51a	F	35-45	N	Disturbed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.2	Stead, 1991, 194	Double burial with R51b - legs seemed to have been moved while the bone was still articulated
51	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R51b	N/A	25+	S	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.2	Stead, 1991, 194	Double burial with R51a
52	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R52	F	15-20	W	Extended	Right	None	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 194	Few bones survived
53	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R54	F	17-25	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Copper-alloy ring	Rectangular	0.35	Stead, 1991, 194	Copper-alloy ring behind back just below shoulder level
54	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R55	М	17-25	Е	Extended	Left	None	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 194	
55	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R57	N/A	25-35	E	Extended	Right	Iron sword, iron spearhead, pig bones	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 194	Iron sword over, under, or at the side of body, tang on chest. Iron spearhead in SW comer of grave, pig bones near right elbow
56	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R58	N/A	25-35	E	Extended	N/A	Pig bones	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 194	Pig bones between knees
57	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R59	N/A	17-20	N	Flexed	Left	Shale bracelet	Rectangular	0.3	Stead, 1991, 194	Shale bracelet on fragments of forearm E of chest

58	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R60	F	25-35	N	Contracted	Left	Iron brooch, sherds	Rectangular	0.4	Stead, 1991, 194-6	Iron brooch in two pieces one on skull, the other on chest, sherds in grave
59	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R61	F	35-45	S	Crouched	Left	Sherds	Slightly Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 196	Sherds in grave
60	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R62	F	25-35	S	Contracted - Supine	Left	Sherd	Rectangular	0.3	Stead, 1991, 196	Sherd in grave
61	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R63	N/A	17-20	S	Tightly crouched	Left	Sherds	Slightly Rectangular	0.35	Stead, 1991, 196	Sherds in grave
62	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R64	N/A	12-15	N	Crouched - Supine	Right	Iron ring- headed pin	Rectangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 196	Iron ring-headed pin in front of face
63	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R68	F	25-35	W	Extended	Left	Sherd	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 196	Sherd in grave
64	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R69	F	17-25	N	Contracted - Prone	Left	Iron brooch, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 196	Iron brooch in front of face, sheep bone over left shoulder
65	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R70	F	25-35	Е	N/A	N/A	None	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 196	Little surviving
66	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R71	F	35-45	N	Flexed	Left	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone, sherd	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 196	Pot behind shoulder, iron brooch behind the back, sheep bone in pot, sherd in ditch

67	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R72	N/A	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Sherd	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 196	Sherd in ditch
68	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R73a	F	25-35	Е	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 196	Double burial along with R73b/ID69
69	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R73b	F	25-35	Е	Extended	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 196	Double burial along with R73a/ID68
70	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R75	N/A	35-45	Е	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	1.05	Stead, 1991, 196	
71	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R76	F	17-25	N	Flexed	Left	Iron brooch, pot, sherds	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 196	Iron brooch by left hand, pot in ditch, sherds in ditch, possibly in coffin
72	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R77	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, sherds, pot	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 196	Iron brooch at back of neck, sherds in grave, pot in ditch
73	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R78	М	25-35	Е	Flexed - Supine	Right	None	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 196	
74	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R79	N/A	25-35	Е	Extended	Right	Animal bone	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 196	Animal bone 0.2m above shoulder
75	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R80	F	25-35	S	Crouched - Supine	Left	Pot, sherds	Slightly Rectangular	0.35	Stead, 1991, 196-7	Pot in ditch, sherds in ditch

76	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R81	M	17-25	N	Crouched	Left	Sheep bone	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 197	Sheep bone lifted with human bone
77	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R82	М	25-35	S	Tightly crouched	Left	Pot, sherd, iron brooch, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 197	Pot over between legs and chest, sherd behind pelvis, iron brooch over right hand and in front of face, sheep bone behind waist
78	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R83	F	35-45	S	Crouched	Right	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 197	Pot in front of face, iron brooch over left wrist, sheep bone in pot
79	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R84	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Right	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone, sherds	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 197	Pot between rump and heels, iron brooch in front of face, sheep bone in pot, sherds in grave
80	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R85	F	17-25	N	Flexed	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.85	Stead, 1991, 197	
81	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R86	F	25-35	W	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 197	
82	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R87	М	17-25	E	Extended	Left	Iron dagger, iron hammerhea d, iron fragment	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 197	Iron dagger alongside right humerus, iron hammerhead left of hips, iron fragment in the filling in SW corner of grave
83	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R88	F	17-25	W	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 197	

84	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R89	F	25-35	N	Contracted - Supine	Right	None	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 197	
85	Rudston Makeshift Cemtery	R91	F	25-35	S	Crouched	Right	Pot, iron brooch, pot, sherd	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 197	Pot in sherds in a line within bottom end of coffin, iron brooch under neck, pot in ditch, sherd in ditch
86	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R92	F	35-45	E	Extended	N/A	Chalk spindle- whorl	Rectangular	1.1	Stead, 1991, 197	Chalk spindle- whorl east of right shoulder
87	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R94	М	17-25	S	Crouched	Left	Iron spearhead	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 197	Iron spearhead in the body, resting on the 12th thorcic and 1st lumbar vertebrae and under ribs - point found behind 9th thoracic vertebra
88	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R95	N/A	2-3	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.1	Stead, 1991, 197	
89	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R96	М	25-35	Е	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 197	
90	Rudston Makeshift Cemtery	R97	F	17-25	S	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 197	Iron brooch in front of face, sheep bone west of face
91	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R98	N/A	17-20	S	Crouched - Supine	Left	Sherds	N/A	N/A	Stead, 1991, 197	Sherds in grave

92	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R99	N/A	15-17	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 201	
93	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R100	F	17-25	Е	Crouched - Prone	Right	None	Rectangular	1.1	Stead, 1991, 201	
94	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R102	М	25-35	S	Crouched - Prone	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 201	Iron brooch over neck
95	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R104	F	17-25	N	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 201	
96	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R105	N/A	15	N	Contracted	Left	Sherds	Rectangular	0.35	Stead, 1991, 201	Sherds in grave
97	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R106	F	17-25	N	Crouched	Left	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone, sherd	Slightly Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 201	Pot in front of chest cradled by left arm, iron brooch on neck, sheep bone in pot, sherds in grave
98	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R107	М	45+	Е	Extended	N/A	Iron sword	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 201	Iron sword under body, handle under right shoulder and tip of blade under left hip
99	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R108	М	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.15	Stead, 1991, 201	
100	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R110	М	35-45	W	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 201	

101	Ruds Make Ceme	eshift	R111	N/A	7	N	N/A	Left	None	Rectangular	0.4	Stead, 1991, 201	
102	Ruds Make Ceme	eshift	R112	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 201	
103	Ruds Make Ceme	eshift	R114	М	17-20	N	Crouched	Right	Sherd	Recangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 201	Sherd in grave, head tilted back
104	Ruds Make Ceme	eshift	R118a	F	25-35	N	Contracted	Left	Pot, sheep bone	Slightly Rectangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 201	Double burial with ID105, R118b, two skeletons buried in same grave orientated in opposite directions. Pot north of right shoulder, sheep bone in pot
105	Ruds Make Ceme	eshift	R118b	F	16-20	S	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Slightly Rectangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 201	Double burial with ID104, R118a, two skeletons buried in same grave orientated in opposite directions. Iron brooch behind neck
106	Ruds Make Ceme	eshift	R119	F	17-25	S	Flexed	Left	Copper-alloy bracelet	Rectangular	0.15	Stead, 1991, 201	Copper-alloy bracelet on left forearm
107	Ruds Make Ceme	eshift	R125	F	15	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 201	

108	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R131	F	25-35	N	Contracted	Left	Sheep bone	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 202	Sheep bone at elbows
109	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R132	F	25-35	N	Crouched - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 202	
110	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R133	М	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 202	
111	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R134	F	35-45	N	Contracted	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 202	Iron brooch near right elbow
112	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R135	N/A	45+	N	Contracted	Right	None	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 202	
113	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R136	F	17-25	N	Contracted	Right	None	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 202	
114	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R137	F	25-35	Е	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 202	
115	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R138	N/A	35-45	W	Prone	Right	None	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 202	
116	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R139	N/A	17-25	Е	Extended/ Flexed	N/A	Iron sword	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 202	Only the skull survives

117	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R140	M	25-35	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Iron brooch, iron spearhead	Slightly Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 202	Iron brooch over hips, iron spearhead in pelvis
118	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R141	N/A	17-25	w	Flexed - Prone	Left	Iron awl, iron file, iron knife, antler tine, pig bones	Rectangular	1.0	Stead, 1991, 202	All tools found together behind the individual's back, pig bones south of back and over hips, others near tools
119	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R142	F	45+	W	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	1.05	Stead, 1991, 202	
120	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R143	M	17-25	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 202	Pot in sherds over knees, iron brooch over left arm, sheep bones amongst sherds at knees
121	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R144	M	25-35	W	Extended - Prone	Left	Iron sword, iron spearhead	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 202	Iron sword over body, tang resting on right shoulder, iron spear head near left foot
122	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R145	F	45+	Е	Extended	N/A	Charlk spindle whorl, sherd	Rectangular	1.25	Stead, 1991, 202	Chalk spindle whorl on or under body by right hip, sherd in grave
123	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R146	М	25-35	E	Flexed - Supine	Left	Iron sword, iron spearhead, bone point, pig bones	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 202	Iron sword over right arm, iron spearhead in front of face, bone point in chest, pig bones in front of and behind skull
124	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R147	M	15-20	N	Contracted	Left	None	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 204	

125	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R148	N/A	17-25	W	Extended	Right	Iron shield- boss, binding strip, sherds	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 204	Iron shield-boss to the south of the waist, binding strip near left knee, sherds in grave
126	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R152a	М	25-35	W	Extended	N/A	Iron spearhead	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 205	Double burial with ID126, R152b. Iron spearhead in ribs
127	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R152b	М	17-25	W	Extended	Left	None	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 205	Double burial with ID125, R152a
128	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R153	N/A	25-35	W	Flexed - Supine	Right	Iron dagger	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 205	Iron dagger alongside right humerus
129	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R154	М	17-20	E	Extended	Left	Iron sword, copper-alloy shank, iron spearhead, iron spearhead, iron hammer- head, iron tongs, iron coupler, possible wooden shield	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 205	Iron sword and copper-alloy shank by right hip, iron spearheads between the arms and tongs, iron hammer-head by right humerus, iron tongs over sword, iron coupler between the arms of the tongs
130	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R155	F	17-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.9	Stead, 1991, 205	
131	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R156	F	17-20	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.9	Stead, 1991, 205	In coffin

132	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R158	М	35-45	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 205	
134	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R159	F	25-35	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	Pig bones	Rectangular	1.1	Stead, 1991, 205	
135	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R160	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.85	Stead, 1991, 205	
136	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R161	М	15-20	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 205	
137	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R162	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 205	
138	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R163	F	25-35	E	Flexed - Supine	Left	Iron sword, iron shield fitting	Rectangular	0.95	Stead, 1991, 205	Grave goods not associated with female burial according to Stead. Iron sword south of hips, iron sield north of individual
139	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R164	М	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 205	
140	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R166	N/A	45+	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 205	

141	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R167	F	25+	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.95	Stead, 1991, 205	
142	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R169	F	35+	Е	Extended	Left	Pig bones	Rectangular	0.9	Stead, 1991, 205	Bow-legged. Pig bones alongside right arm.
143	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R170	M	25-35	Е	Extended/Flexed	N/A	None	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 205	Only skull fragments survive
144	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R172	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Pig bones	Rectangular	0.9	Stead, 1991, 206	Pig bones over shoulders and forearms in front of chest, traces of coffin
145	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R173	F	17-25	Е	Extended	Right	None	Rectangular	1.0	Stead, 1991, 206	
146	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R174	М	17-25	W	Extended	Right	Iron sword, seven iron spearheads, two bone points, two bone toggles, copper-alloy fragment, possible wooden shield	Rectangular	1.1	Stead, 1991, 206-7	Iron sword within right arm, spearheads scattered over body, bone points to the left of the pelvis, bone toggles over right hip, copper-alloy fragment within left humerus
147	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R175	M	17-25	W	Extended	Right	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 207	Iron brooch on left shoulder
148	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R176	М	17-25	Е	Extended	Right	Sherds	N/A	0.8	Stead, 1991, 207	Only half the grave excavated - other half under road

149	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R177	F	17-25	E	Tightly crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 207	
150	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R178	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Pot, iron brooch, pig bones	Rectangular	0.4	Stead, 1991, 207	Pot at feet, iron brooch over neck, pig bones inside pot
151	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R179	М	17-25	W	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 207	
152	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R180	F	35-45	S	Tightly crouched	Left	Pot, iron brooch	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 207	Pot in sherds by feet, iron broch in front of face
153	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R181	М	25-35	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 207	
154	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R182	N/A	25-35	Е	Extended	Left	Iron sword, sherds	Rectangular	1.3	Stead, 1991 207	Iron sword to north of back, tang at shoulder level, sherds in grave
155	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R183	F	17-25	Е	Extended	Right	Chalk spindle- whorl, copper-alloy ring	Rectangular	0.9	Stead, 1991, 207	Chalk spindle- whorl east of right shoulder, copper- alloy ring on toe of right foot
156	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R185b	N/A	2-3	S	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.15	Stead, 1991, 207	Three superimposed layers of bone R185a not enough detail, only two leg bone survive
157	Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R185c	N/A	4-6	S	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.2	Stead, 1991, 207	Three superimposed layers of bone R185a not enough detail, only two leg bone survive

158		Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R186	N/A	35-45	S	Contracted	Left	Pot, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 207	Pot south of skull, sheep bone in pot
159		Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R187	М	25-35	S	Contracted - Prone	Left	Pot, sheep bone, sherd	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 207	Pot broken over knees, sheep bone amongst sherds, sherd in grave
160		Rudston Makeshift Cemetery	R188	F	35-45	W	Flexed	Left	Pig bones	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 207	Pig bones between hands and waist
161	SE98200578 00	Garton Station	GS1	F	17-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.9	Stead, 1991, 219	
162		Garton Station	GS2	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.0	Stead, 1991, 219	
163		Garton Station	GS3	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.0	Stead, 1991, 219	
164		Garton Station	GS4	М	17-25	N	Flexed	Left	Iron shield fittings x2, iron spearheads x3	Rectangular	1.0	Stead, 1991, 219	Iron shield fittings over the skull and shoulders, one more over the legs and a loose rivet, iron spearheads 3- 4 in the filling pointing downwards, 5 near the feet
165		Garton Station	GS5	М	17-25	N	Crouched	Left	Iron spearheads x4, bone missile points x3, possible wooden shield	Rectangular	0.85	Stead, 1991, 219	No information about placement of grave goods

166		Garton Station	GS6	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron tyres x2, iron nave hoops x4, iron linchpins x2, iron horse-bits x2, copperalloy and iron terret, copper-alloy terrets x4, pig bones	Rectangular	1.4	Stead, 1991, 219	No information about placement of grave goods
167		Garton Station	GS7	М	25-35	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	Copper-alloy toe-ring, iron spearheads x10	Slightly Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 219	Copper-alloy toe- ring on one of the toes of left foot, spearheads 5,7,9 were in grave fill pointing down, 2,6,8 and 12 were in the same area immediately above the body, 4 was in the chest, and 3,10,11 were on the floor of the grave
168		Garton Station	GS8	F	17-25	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 219	
169		Garton Station	GS9	F	35-45	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 224	
170		Garton Station	GS10	М	25-35	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Iron sword, iron spearheads x14, Possible wooden shield	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 224	Iron sword behind back
171	SE980491	Kirkburn	K2	F	25-35	E	Crouched	Right	Base of a pot	N/A	0.25	Stead, 1991, 224	Pot near knees - superficial burial badly disturbed
172		Kirkburn	К3	M	17-25	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	Iron sword, copper-alloy and iron scabbard, iron spearheads	Slightly Rectangular	1.1	Stead, 1991, 224	Iron sword face down with the handle at the foot of the grave at the side of the skeleton, spearheads point

								x3, pig bones				down above skeleton's chest, pig bones in grave
173	Kirkburn	K4	М	25-35	NW	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	1.0	Stead, 1991, 224	
174	Kirkburn	K5	М	25-35	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	Iron tyres x2, copper-alloy nave-hoops, copper-alloy and iron linch pins x2, copper-alloy miniature terrets x2, copper-alloy terrets x2, copper-alloy terrets x5, copper-alloy strapunions x2, coat of iron mail, copper-alloy toggles x3, D-shaped lid, pig bones	Rectangular	1.25	Stead, 1991, 224	Cart burial
175	Kirkburn	K6	F	17-25	N	Flexed	Left	Copper-alloy stud, amber bead, hollow copper-alloy ring, jet bead	Rectangular	1.3	Stead, 1991, 224	Remains of infant under six months between pelvis and heels, copper- alloy stud west of mandible, amber bead wedged between C4 and C5 vertebrae, hollow copper- alloy ring over jet bead by left ear
176	Kirkburn	K7	F	17-25	N	Contracted - Prone	Right	None	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 224	

177		Kirkburn	K8	F	45+	N	Crouched/Flexed	Left	Pig bones	Rectangular	0.9	Stead, 1991, 224	Pig bones over the body - in two groups
178		Kirkburn	K9	М	17-25	Е	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.8	Stead, 1991, 224	Grave extends a further 0.3m down from level of skeleton - additional radius and ulna of adult buried articulated over K9
179	N/A	Burton Fleming	BF1	F	25-35	S	Tightly crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 211	Iron brooch on neck
180		Burton Fleming	BF2	M	25-35	S	Tightly crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 211	Iron brooch under front of skull
181		Burton Fleming	BF3	N/A	17-25	N	Contracted	Left	Sherd	Slightly Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 211	Sherd in grave
182		Burton Fleming	BF4	N/A	25-35	N	Crouched - Supine	Left	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.4	Stead, 1991, 211-2	Pot near edge of grave, iron brooch over left knee, sheep bone near feet
183		Burton Fleming	BF5	M	35-45	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.9	Stead, 1991, 212	Iron brooch north of right shoulder, left of skull
184		Burton Fleming	BF6	F	25-35	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone, sherd	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 212	Pot north of right shoulder, iron brooch adjoining north side of skull, sheep bone under pot, sherd in ditch
185		Burton Fleming	BF7	М	17-25	S	Tightly crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 212	Iron brooch south of right shoulder, behind skull
186		Burton Fleming	BF8	F	17-20	N	Crouched	Right	Sherds	Slightly Rectangular	0.3	Stead, 1991, 212	Sherds in grave
187		Burton Fleming	BF9	F	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, shale bracelet	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 212	Iron brooch on right shoulder, shale bracelet on left forearm

188	Burton Fleming	BF10	F	17-25	S	Crouched	Right	Copper-alloy brooch, copper-alloy bracelets x2, sheep bone, sherds	Rectangular	0.95	Stead, 1991, 212	Copper-alloy brooch between chin and right shoulder, copper- alloy bracelets one on each forearm, sheep bone near left knee, sherds in ditch
189	Burton Fleming	BF11	F	25-35	N	Crouched - Prone	Left	Iron brooch, copper-alloy bracelet, pot, sherds	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 212	Iron brooch near right shoulder, copper-alloy bracelet on right forearm, pot in ditch, sherds in ditch
190	Burton Fleming	BF12	N/A	35-45	N	Tightly crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.2	Stead, 1991, 212	
191	Burton Fleming	BF13	F	45+	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, sherd	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 212	Iron brooch east of right hand, sherd in ditch
192	Burton Fleming	BF14	М	35-45	S	Tightly crouched	Right	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.3	Stead, 1991, 212	Iron brooch corroded on to skull
193	Burton Fleming	BF15	N/A	25-45	S	Crouched	Right	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.2	Stead, 1991, 212	Iron brooch over neck
194	Burton Fleming	BF16	М	35-45	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Sherd	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 212	Sherd in ditch
195	Burton Fleming	BF17	М	17-20	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 212	
196	Burton Fleming	BF18	F	35-45	N	Tightly crouched - Prone	Left	Pot, iron brooch, sheep bone	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 212	Pot north of right shoulder, iron brooch at right shoulder, sheep bone east of right shoulder
197	Burton Fleming	BF19	N/A	35-45	N	Contracted - Supine	Right	Large sherds of pot, iron brooch, iron ring, glass bead fragment,	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 212	Large sherds of pot north of left shoulder, iron brooch west of right hand, iron ring on neck, glass bead fragment

									iron fragment, sheep bone				under pot, iron fragment under pot, sheep bone with pot
198		urton leming	BF20	М	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, sherds x2	Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 214	Iron brooch behind neck, two sherds in grave
199		urton leming	BF21	F	45+	N	Contracted	Right	Sheep bone	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 214	Sheep bone in centre of the grave, body squashed into SW quadrant
200		urton leming	BF22	N/A	25-35	N	Contracted	Left	None	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 214	
201	FI	urton leming Bell Slack)	BF23	F	25+	N	Contracted	Left	None	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 216	
202	FI	urton leming Bell Slack)	BF24	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Sherd	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 216	Sherd in grave
203	FI	urton leming Bell Slack)	BF25	М	17-25	N	Tightly crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 216	
204	Fl	urton leming Bell Slack)	BF26	М	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 216	
205	FI	urton leming Bell Slack)	BF27	N/A	15-20	N	Contracted	Left	None	Rectangular	0.55	Stead, 1991, 216	
206	FI	urton leming Bell Slack)	BF28	F	17-25	N	Crouched	Right	Pig bones, pot	Rectangular	0.85	Stead, 1991, 216	Pig bones over upper part of body, pot in ditch
207	FI	urton leming Bell Slack)	BF29	М	25-45	N	Contracted	Left	Iron brooch, pot	Slightly Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 216	Iron brooch over waist, pot in ditch
208	Fl	urton leming Bell Slack)	BF30	М	45+	NW	Flexed - Supine	Left	Sherd	Rectangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 216	Sherd in ditch
209	FI	urton leming Bell Slack)	BF31	М	45+	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 216	Iron brooch adjoining body west of hips

210	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF32	N/A	12-15	N	Tightly crouched - Supine	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.85	Stead, 1991, 216	
211	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF33	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.85	Stead, 1991, 216-7	
212	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF34	F	17-25	N	Contracted	Left	None	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 217	
213	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF35	M	45+	N	Contracted	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.95	Stead, 1991, 217	
214	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF36	F	17-25	N	Tightly crouched - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 217	
215	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF37	M	17-25	S	Contracted	Left	Pot	Slightly Rectangular	0.15	Stead, 1991, 217	Pot in sherds in front of face
216	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF38	N/A	13-16	N	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	0.5	Stead, 1991, 217	Disturbed, cut by 39 and 40
217	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF39	N/A	8-13	N	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	0.5	Stead, 1991, 217	Disturbed cut by 38 and 40
218	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF40	F	17-20	N	Crouched - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 217	Cutting 38 and 39
219	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF41	M	25-35	N	Contracted	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 217	Iron brooch in front of face
220	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF42	М	17-20	N	Crouched - Prone	Left	None	Rectangular	0.65	Stead, 1991, 217	
221	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF45	N/A	25-35	S	Tightly crouched	Right	Sherds	Rectangular	0.2	Stead, 1991, 217	Sherds in grave
222	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF46	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Sherds	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 217	Sherds in grave

223	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF47	N/A	17-20	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	Shale rings x2	Slightly Rectangular	0.3	Stead, 1991, 217	Two shale rings side by side in front of face
224	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF48	F	25-35	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Sheep bone	Rectangular	0.75	Stead, 1991, 217	Sheep bone immediately west of face
225	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF49	F	17-25	N	Crouched - Prone	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 217	
226	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF50	М	25-35	S	Contracted - Supine	Left	Sheep/Goat bones	Rectangular	0.4	Stead, 1991, 217	Sheep/Goatbones over body
227	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF51	N/A	25-45	S	Contracted - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.15	Stead, 1991, 217	
228	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF52	F	17-25	N	Contracted - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 217	
229	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF53	N/A	17-25	S	Contracted - Supine	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.3	Stead, 1991, 217	Iron brooch behind skull
230	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF54	М	25+	S	Contracted	Left	None	Rectangular	0.1	Stead, 1991, 217	
231	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF55	F	17-25	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	None	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 217	
232	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF56	М	25-35	N	Contracted	Left	Iron brooch, sherd	Rectangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 217	Iron brooch well to the north of the skull, sherd in ditch
234	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF57	F	17-25	N	Tightly crouched	Right	Pot	Rectangular	0.3	Stead, 1991, 217	Pot in ditch
235	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF58	М	35-45	N	Flexed - Supine	Left	Sheep bone	Rectangular	0.45	Stead, 1991, 217-9	Sheep bone in front of face
236	Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF59	N/A	25-35	N	Flexed	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 219	

237		Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF60	F	45+	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Pig bones	Slightly Rectangular	0.6	Stead, 1991, 219	Pig bones over legs
238		Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF61a	N/A	<18	N	Flexed	Left	Copper-alloy brooch, copper-alloy bracelet, x2 copper-alloy beads, shale ring	Rectangular	0.2	Stead, 1991, 219	Double burial with BF61b, copper- alloy bracelet in vicinity of chest, copper-alloy bracelet near brooch, copper- alloy beads near skull, shale ring near feet
239		Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF61b	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.2	Stead, 1991, 219	Double burial with BF61a
240		Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF62	F	25-35	Е	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.5	Stead, 1991, 219	
241		Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF63	М	25-35	Е	Flexed - Supine	Right	Iron knife, iron spearhead	Rectangular	0.7	Stead, 1991, 219	Iron knife between chest and right elbow, iron spearhead immediately south of heels
242		Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	BF64	N/A	>18	N	N/A	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.25	Stead, 1991, 219	Grave cut by later ditch - only part of skull surviving
243	N/A	Wetwang Slack	1(6:27)	F	20-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.23	Dent, 1981, 3	Coffin possible
244		Wetwang Slack	2(6:3)	N/A	2-6	N	Crouched - Supine	Right	None	Square	0.37	Dent, 1981, 3	Coffin unlikely
245		Wetwang Slack	4(6:4ii)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.41	Dent, 1981, 3	Coffin possible
246		Wetwang Slack	5(6:5i)	F	>18	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.27	Dent, 1981, 3	Coffin possible
247		Wetwang Slack	6(6:5ii)	F	30-40	S	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	N/A	Dent, 1981, 3	Partially disturbing 5(6:5i) coffin unlikely - secondary grave at the centre of barrow of burial 5

248	Wetwang Slack	8(6:6)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.48	Dent, 1981, 3	Coffin possible
249	Wetwang Slack	9(6:35)	F	20-25	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 4	
250	Wetwang Slack	10(6:7)	F	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.46	Dent, 1981, 4	Coffin possible
251	Wetwang Slack	11(6:31)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.84	Dent, 1981, 4	Coffin unlikely, secondary grave in ditch of burial 12(6:8)
252	Wetwang Slack	12(6:8)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.51	Dent, 1981, 4	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
253	Wetwang Slack	13(6:9i)	M	14	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.69	Dent, 1981, 4	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform - Partially disturbed by burial 14(6:9ii)
254	Wetwang Slack	14(6:911)	М	>45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.63	Dent, 1981, 4	Coffin possible - Secondary grave at the centre of the barrow of burial 13
255	Wetwang Slack	15(6:65)	F	20-25	N	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.76	Dent, 1981, 4	Coffin possible - Grave cut into boundary ditch
256	Wetwang Slack	16(6:41)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.46	Dent, 1981, 4	Coffin unlikely
257	Wetwang Slack	18(6:218)	F	16-18	N	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.68	Dent, 1981, 5	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
258	Wetwang Slack	19(6:219)	F	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	1.19	Dent, 1981, 5	Definite coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
259	Wetwang Slack	20(6:220	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.63	Dent, 1981, 5	Coffin possible
260	Wetwang Slack	21(6:235i)	F	20-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.66	Dent, 1981, 5	Coffin traces found - Barrow grave on platform
261	Wetwang Slack	22(6:235i i)	M	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 5	Coffin possible - Secondary burial at the centre of the barrow of burial 21(6:235i)
262	Wetwang Slack	23(6:243	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.61	Dent, 1981, 5	Coffin possible, iron brooch in front of chest - Barrow grave on platform

263	Wetwang Slack	24(6:245)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.68	Dent, 1981, 5	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
264	Wetwang Slack	25(6:265)	N/A	9-10	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.43	Dent, 1981, 5	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
265	Wetwang Slack	26(6:247	F	35-45	S	Crouched	Left	Chalk ring/bead	Rectangular	0.53	Dent, 1981, 6	Chalk ring/bead at left shoulder - Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
266	Wetwang Slack	27(6:327	F	25-35	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 6	Grave destroyed by quarry - secondary grave in the ditch of burial 26(6:247)
267	Wetwang Slack	28(6:259)	F	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.56	Dent, 1981, 6	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
268	Wetwang Slack	29(6:320)	М	16	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 6	Grave cut into boundary ditch destroyed by quarry
269	Wetwang Slack	30(6:255)	М	20-25	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.23	Dent, 1981, 6	Coffin possible - barrow grave on platform
270	Wetwang Slack	31(6:249i)	М	25-35	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 6	Burial completely disturbed by Burial 32
271	Wetwang Slack	32(6:249i i)	F	25-35	N	Tightly crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.74	Dent, 1981, 6	Secondary grave at the centre of the barrow of burial 31 - definite coffin traces
272	Wetwang Slack	33(6:312	М	35-45	S	N/A	Right	None	N/A	0.74	Dent, 1981, 6	Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 34, 61, and 62 - badly damaged by quarry
273	Wetwang Slack	34(6:251	М	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.68	Dent, 1981, 7	Coffin possible, iroon brooch behind skull - Barrow grave on platform
274	Wetwang Slack	35(6:300)	F	18-21	N	N/A	Left	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 7	Flat grave destroyed by quarry

275	Wetwang Slack	36(6:238)	F	24-25	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.89	Dent, 1981, 7	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
276	Wetwang Slack	37(6:229i	М	23	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.53	Dent, 1981, 7	Coffin possible - flat grave
277	Wetwang Slack	39(6:231)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.61	Dent, 1981, 7	Coffin possible - presumed flat grave cutting burial 40
278	Wetwang Slack	40(6:232)	F	35-45	N	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.28	Dent, 1981, 7	Coffin possible - presumed flat grave cut by burial 39
279	Wetwang Slack	41(6:211)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.74	Dent, 1981, 7	Coffin possible - presumed flat grave
280	Wetwang Slack	42(6:209i)	N/A	2-3	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.54	Dent, 1981, 7	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave cut by burial 43
281	Wetwang Slack	43(6:209i i)	М	35-45	N	Flexed	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.46	Dent, 1981, 8	Coffin possible - Flat grave cutting burial 42
282	Wetwang Slack	44(6:208)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.71	Dent, 1981, 8	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
283	Wetwang Slack	45(6:298)	М	20-25	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 8	Presumed secondary grave in the ditch of burial 46
284	Wetwang Slack	46(6:206)	М	20-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.07	Dent, 1981, 8	Definite coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
285	Wetwang Slack	47(6:192)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.51	Dent, 1981, 8	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
286	Wetwang Slack	48(6:207)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.71	Dent, 1981, 8	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
287	Wetwang Slack	49(6:224)	N/A	<6m	N	N/A	Left	None	Square	0.51	Dent, 1981, 8	Coffin unlikely - flat grave
288	Wetwang Slack	50(6:225)	N/A	6-8m	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	Square	0.23	Dent, 1981, 8	Coffin unlilkey - flat grave
289	Wetwang Slack	52(6:210)	N/A	<1 m	N	Crouched	Right	None	Square	0.35	Dent, 1981, 9	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave
290	Wetwang Slack	53(6:239	F	35-45	N	Flexed	Left	Quarter pig	Rectangular	0.81	Dent, 1981, 9	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform - quarter pig infront of body

291	Wetwang Slack	54(6:233)	F	20-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Square	1.07	Dent, 1981, 9	Coffin traces - Double burial with burial 55(west)
292	Wetwang Slack	55(6:233	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Square	1.07	Dent, 1981, 9	Coffin traces - iron brooch in front of chest - double burial with 54(east)
293	Wetwang Slack	56(6:213	М	20-25	N	Tightly crouched	Left	Iron staple	Rectangular	0.66	Dent, 1981, 9	Coffin possible, iron staple on face - presumed flat grave or secondary burial in ditch of Burial 57
294	Wetwang Slack	57(6:222)	F	35-45	N	Flexed	Left	Iron bracelet, iron tweezers	Slightly Rectangular	0.96	Dent, 1981, 9	Iron bracelet on left arm, iron tweezers behind skull, coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
295	Wetwang Slack	58(6:230	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.96	Dent, 1981, 9	Iron brooch on back, coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
296	Wetwang Slack	59(6:279	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.84	Dent, 1981, 9	Iron brooch in front of chest, coffin traces - Flat grave cut by ditch of burial 72
297	Wetwang Slack	60(6:240	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Copper-alloy bracelet, jet ring, iron bracket, iron brooch	Rectangular	0.91	Dent, 1981, 10	Copper-alloy bracelet, jet ring, and iron bracket on left wrist, iron brooch at left shoulder, coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
298	Wetwang Slack	61(6:253	М	35-45	S	Crouched	Left	Iron staple	Rectangular	0.86	Dent, 1981, 10	Iron staple in mouth, coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
299	Wetwang Slack	62(6:261)	М	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.84	Dent, 1981, 10	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
300	Wetwang Slack	63(6:319i)	М	25-35	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 10	Secondary grave in the ditches of Burials 30 and 68 destroyed by quarry

301	Wetwang Slack	64(6:319i i)	F	20-25	N/A	N/A	N/A	Copper-alloy ring, beads x3, iron tweezers	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 10	Copper alloy ring and beads by mandible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 30 and 68 destroyed by quarry
302	Wetwang Slack	66(6:319i v)	N/A	2.5-6	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 10	Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 30 and 68 destroyed by guarry
303	Wetwang Slack	67(6:263)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.48	Dent, 1981, 10	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
304	Wetwang Slack	68(6:267)	M	30-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.56	Dent, 1981, 11	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
305	Wetwang Slack	69(6:269	F	20-25	S	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.86	Dent, 1981, 11	Coffin possible, iron brooch in front of chest - Barrow grave on platform
306	Wetwang Slack	70(6:271)	F	35-45	S	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	1.08	Dent, 1981, 11	Coffin possible - Flat grave
307	Wetwang Slack	71(6:257)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.69	Dent, 1981, 11	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
308	Wetwang Slack	73(6:280)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Amber bead	Rectangular	0.76	Dent, 1981, 11	Coffin possible, amber bead at neck - Barrow grave on platform
309	Wetwang Slack	74(6:272)	М	>10	S	Tightly crouched	Left	None	Slightly rectangular	0.56	Dent, 1981, 11	Coffin traces - Barrow grave platform
310	Wetwang Slack	75(6:283)	N/A	2-2.5	N	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.56	Dent, 1981, 11	Coffin unlikely - flat grave
312	Wetwang Slack	76(6:284)	F	17-20	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.81	Dent, 1981, 11	Coffin possible - Flat grave cut by burial 75
313	Wetwang Slack	78(6:274)	F	>18	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.61	Dent, 1981, 12	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
314	Wetwang Slack	79(6:336)	F	20-25	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 12	Secondary burial in the ditches of burials 78, 90, and 91 - Damaged by quarry

315	Wetwang Slack	80(6:276)	F	17-20	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.91	Dent, 1981, 12	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
316	Wetwang Slack	81(6:330	F	35-45	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 12	Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 67 and 82 - Damaged by quarry
317	Wetwang Slack	82(6:296i)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.56	Dent, 1981, 12	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
318	Wetwang Slack	83(6:296i i)	N/A	14-18	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 12	Presumed secondary grave in mound of Burial 82 but totally disturbed by Burial 84
319	Wetwang Slack	84(6:296i ii)	М	35-45	E	Crouched	Left	Pig bone	Rectangular	0.43	Dent, 1981, 12	Pig bone against shins, coffin possible - Secondary grave at the centre of barrow of burial 82
320	Wetwang Slack	89(6:323)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.51	Dent, 1981, 13	Coffin traces, iron brooch on left ankle - Barrow grave on platform
321	Wetwang Slack	90(6:301	F	>45	S	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.39	Dent, 1981, 13	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
323	Wetwang Slack	91(6:301)	F	20-30	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.56	Dent, 1981, 13	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
324	Wetwang Slack	92(6:285	М	35-45	S	Flexed	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.94	Dent, 1981, 13	Coffin possible, iron brooch at shoulder - Barrow grave on platform
325	Wetwang Slack	93(6:299	F	25-30	N/A	Contracted - Supine	N/A	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.28	Dent, 1981, 13	Body arched legs bent back towards the head, no coffin - Flat grave
326	Wetwang Slack	94(6:291	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron ring x2	Rectangular	0.53	Dent, 1981, 14	Iron ring on first toe left foot and first toe right foot, coffin possible - Flat grave cutting fill of burial 95
327	Wetwang Slack	95(6:290)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.91	Dent, 1981, 14	Coffin traces - Flat grave cut by Burial 94

328	Wetwang Slack	96(6:287)	F	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.92	Dent, 1981, 14	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on a platform
329	Wetwang Slack	97(6:294)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.81	Dent, 1981, 14	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on a platform
330	Wetwang Slack	98(6:292	М	20-25	N	Flexed	Left	Iron sword, iron shield binding	Rectangular	0.82	Dent, 1981, 14	Iron sword laid along trunk, iron shield binding lying on face, coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
331	Wetwang Slack	99(6:419)	F	20-25	E	Crouched	Left	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 14	Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 98 destroyed by quarry
332	Wetwang Slack	100(6:31 6)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.63	Dent, 1981, 14	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave or secondary grave in the ditch of burial 101
333	Wetwang Slack	101(6:31 7)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, bone point	Rectangular	0.81	Dent, 1981, 15	Iron brooch and bone point both on lower chest, coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
334	Wetwang Slack	102(6:32 8)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Glass bead, jet bead	Slightly Rectangular	0.63	Dent, 1981, 15	Glass bead and jet bead by neck, coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
335	Wetwang Slack	103(6:33 9)	F	20-25	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.35	Dent, 1981, 15	Coffin traces
336	Wetwang Slack	104(6:32 1)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.86	Dent, 1981, 15	Coffin possible, iron brooch beneath face - Barrow grave on platform
337	Wetwang Slack	105(6:33 8)	M	25-35	N	N/A	Left	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 15	Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 106, destroyed by quarry
338	Wetwang Slack	106(6:32 5)	М	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.28	Dent, 1981, 15	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform

339	Wetwang Slack	107(WS VI 332)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.63	Dent, 1981, 15	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
340	Wetwang Slack	108(6:33 4)	F	20-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.35	Dent, 1981, 15	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
341	Wetwang Slack	109(6:51 1)	F	>45	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.53	Dent, 1981, 16	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burial 108, 127
342	Wetwang Slack	110(6:44 4)	N/A	8-10	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.58	Dent, 1981, 16	No coffin goods - Secndary grave in the ditches of burials 108, 127
343	Wetwang Slack	111(6:51 2)	M	>18	N	N/A	Left	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 16	Secondary grave in the ditches of burial 112 destroyed by quarry
344	Wetwang Slack	112(6:43 0)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.66	Dent, 1981, 16	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
345	Wetwang Slack	113(6:47 1)	F	17-25	E	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	1.09	Dent, 1981, 16	Coffin traces - Secondary grave in the ditches of Burials 102, 106, and 112
346	Wetwang Slack	114(6:47 3)	М	17-20	N	Crouched	Left	Bone finger- ring	Rectangular	1.14	Dent, 1981, 16	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
347	Wetwang Slack	115(6:34 6)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.84	Dent, 1981, 16	Coffin traces, iron brooch at right shoulder - Barrow grave on platform
348	Wetwang Slack	116(6:34 4)	F	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.79	Dent, 1981, 16	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
349	Wetwang Slack	117(6:34 2)	М	35-45	N	Flexed	Left	Iron brooch, quarter pig	Rectangular	0.84	Dent, 1981, 17	Iron brooch on chest, pig in front of body, coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
350	Wetwang Slack	118(6:34 0)	F	20-25	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.91	Dent, 1981, 17	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
351	Wetwang Slack	119(6:34 8)	М	20-24	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.92	Dent, 1981, 17	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform

352	Wetwang Slack	120(6:35 0)	М	20-25	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.89	Dent, 1981, 17	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
353	Wetwang Slack	121(6:42 6)	М	17-18	N	Crouched	Left	Iron pin	Rectangular	0.74	Dent, 1981, 17	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
354	Wetwang Slack	122(6:51 5)	М	>35	E	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.89	Dent, 1981, 17	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 121, 130, 131
355	Wetwang Slack	123(6:42 8)	F	20-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.71	Dent, 1981, 17	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
356	Wetwang Slack	124(6:34 3)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron bracelet	Rectangular	0.76	Dent, 1981, 17	Coffin traces, iron bracelet on left wrist - Barrow grave on platform
357	Wetwang Slack	125(6:43 2)	F	>18	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.18	Dent, 1981, 18	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
358	Wetwang Slack	126(6:51 4)	М	20-25	N	N/A	Left	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 18	Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 129 destoyed by quarry
359	Wetwang Slack	127(6:44 6)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.31	Dent, 1981, 18	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
360	Wetwang Slack	128(6:48 8)	М	20-25	S	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.27	Dent, 1981, 18	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
361	Wetwang Slack	129(6:48 0)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Pot, pig bone	Rectangular	0.46	Dent, 1981, 18	Coffin possible, pot with pig bone inside by feet - Barrow grave on platform
362	Wetwang Slack	130(6:43 6)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Pot, pig bone	Square	0.56	Dent, 1981, 18	Coffin traces, pot and pig bone in front of body - Barrow grave on platform
363	Wetwang Slack	131(6:43 9)	М	>18	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	N/A	Dent, 1981, 18	Coffin possible - badly disturbed by burial 132, barrow grave on platform
364	Wetwang Slack	132(6:43 8i)	F	35-45	N	Flexed	Right	Iron bracelet	Rectangular	0.66	Dent, 1981, 18	Coffin unlikely, iron bracelet on left wrist - Secondary grave at the centre of

												barrow of Burial
365	Wetwang Slack	133(6:43 8ii)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Right	Iron bracelet	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 19	Iron bracelet on right wrist- Secondary grave at the centre of barrow of burial 131
366	Wetwang Slack	134(6:44 1)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.86	Dent, 1981, 19	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
367	Wetwang Slack	135(6:47 4)	М	20-25	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.71	Dent, 1981, 19	Coffin unlikley - Barrow grave on platform
368	Wetwang Slack	136(6:47 6)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Pot, pig bone	Rectangular	0.71	Dent, 1981, 19	Coffin traces, pot in front of chest with pig bone inside - Barrow grave on platform
369	Wetwang Slack	137(6:47 8)	F	17-25	N	Crouched	Left	Iron bracelet	Rectangular	0.76	Dent, 1981, 19	Coffin traces, iron bracelet on left forearm - Barrow grave on platform
370	Wetwang Slack	138(6:52 1)	М	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	Iron brooch	Slightly Rectangular	0.96	Dent, 1981, 19	Coffin possible, iron brooch at right shoulder - Secondary grave in the ditches of Burials 137, 139, and 146
371	Wetwang Slack	139(6:48 1)	F	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	Necklace of glass beads	Rectangular	0.30	Dent, 1981, 19	Coffin possible, necklace around neck - Barrow grave on platform
372	Wetwang Slack	140(6:51 9)	N/A	2.5-6	N	Crouched	Right	None	N/A	0.45	Dent, 1981, 20	Coffin possible - Flat grave mainly destroyed by quarry
373	Wetwang Slack	141(6:52 0)	N/A	2.5-6	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.40	Dent, 1981, 20	Coffin possible- Flat grave
374	Wetwang Slack	142(6:49 0)	F	>35	S	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.53	Dent, 1981, 20	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
375	Wetwang Slack	143(6:54 5)	М	25-35	E	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.69	Dent, 1981, 20	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 152, individual crouched at the

												southern end on the grave
376	Wetwang Slack	144(6:54 3)	N/A	2.5-6	N	Crouched	Left	None	Square	0.51	Dent, 1981, 20	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 145 and 152
377	Wetwang Slack	145(6:54 3)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron pin	Rectangular	1.04	Dent, 1981, 20	Coffin traces, iron pin on right arm - Barrow grave on platform
378	Wetwang Slack	146(6:48 3)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Copper alloy rod, iron brooch	Slightly Rectangular	0.38	Dent, 1981, 20	Coffin possible, copper alloy rod in front of chest and iron brooch above shoulder - Barrow grave cutting an earlier pit on a platform
379	Wetwang Slack	147(6:48 5)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.53	Dent, 1981, 20	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
380	Wetwang Slack	148(6:50 9)	M	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.53	Dent, 1981, 21	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
381	Wetwang Slack	149(6:50 7)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.80	Dent, 1981, 21	Coffin possible, iron brooch at hip - Barrow grave on platform
382	Wetwang Slack	150(6:56 4)	N/A	<1	N	Flexed	Left	None	Square	0.30	Dent, 1981, 21	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 148
383	Wetwang Slack	151(6:56 3)	F	17	N	N/A	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.61	Dent, 1981, 21	Secondary burial in the ditches of burials 148 and 149. Pelvis and legs missing, probably disturbed by Burial 149
384	Wetwang Slack	152(6:50 5)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.51	Dent, 1981, 21	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
385	Wetwang Slack	153(6:49 2)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Square	0.19	Dent, 1981, 21	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on a platform
386	Wetwang Slack	154(6:53 5)	М	25-35	W	Flexed	Left	Sherds	Rectangular	1.19	Dent, 1981, 21	Coffin unlikely, sherds scattered

387	Wetwa Slack	ng 155(7:1)	F	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	Copper alloy earring, copper alloy bracelet x2, copper alloy brooch, necklace of glass beads	Rectangular	0.17	Dent, 1981, 22	in grave and beneath skull - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 155 Coffin traces, copper alloy earring against skull, copper alloy bracelet on left wrist and right wrist, copper alloy brooch beneath chin, necklace around neck - Barrow grave on platform
388	Wetwa Slack	ng 156(7:3)	F	25-35	N	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.28	Dent, 1981, 22	Coffin traces, foetus bones - Barrow grave on platform
389	Wetwa Slack	ng 158(7:20 2)	M	17-18	N	Crouched	Left	Iron pin	Square	0.52	Dent, 1981, 22	Coffin traces, iron pin at shoulder - Barrow grave on platform
390	Wetwa Slack	ng 159(7:31 2)	N/A	<1	Е	Flexed	Left	None	Square	0.43	Dent, 1981, 22	Coffin unlikely, secondary grave in the ditch of burials 158 and 160
391	Wetwa Slack	ng 160(7:19 6)	М	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	Copper alloy brooch, copper alloy bracelet	Rectangular	0.59	Dent, 1981, 22	Coffin possible, copper alloy brooch above trunk, copper alloy bracelet on left forearm - Barrow grave on platform
392	Wetwa Slack	ng 161(7:20 0)	M	35-45	N	Crouched	Right	Pig bone	Rectangular	0.51	Dent, 1981, 22	Coffin traces, pig bone in front of body - Barrow grave on platform
393	Wetwa Slack	ng 162(7:71 5)	N/A	<1	N	Flexed	Left	None	Square	0.64	Dent, 1981, 23	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 161 and 164
394	Wetwa Slack	ng 163(7:22 3)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.06	Dent, 1981, 23	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform

395	Wetwang Slack	164(7:20 4)	F	35-45	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.53	Dent, 1981, 23	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
396	Wetwang Slack	165(7:72 0)	F	12-14	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	1.26	Dent, 1981, 23	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditches of Burials 166 and 170
397	Wetwang Slack	166(7:19 8)	F	20-25	S	Crouched	Right	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.10	Dent, 1981, 23	Coffin possible, iron brooch in front of chest - Barrow grave on platform
398	Wetwang Slack	167(7:21 4)	N/A	14-18	S	Crouched	Left	Iron ring	Rectangular	0.65	Dent, 1981, 23	Coffin possible, iron ring against left arm - Barrow grave on platform
399	Wetwang Slack	168(7:29 3)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.63	Dent, 1981, 23	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
400	Wetwang Slack	169(7:21 6)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.74	Dent, 1981, 23	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
401	Wetwang Slack	171(6:20 6)	F	20-25	N	Flexed	Right	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.67	Dent, 1981, 24	Coffin possible, iron brooch under chin - Barrow grave on platform
402	Wetwang Slack	172(6:72 4)	М	18-20	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.75	Dent, 1981, 24	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave cut by Burial 173
403	Wetwang Slack	173(7:22 4i)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.74	Dent, 1981, 24	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
404	Wetwang Slack	174(7:23 6ii)	N/A	<1	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 24	Newborn infant secondary grave on barrow platform of burial 173
405	Wetwang Slack	175(7:23 6)	N/A	>18	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.89	Dent, 1981, 24	Coffin traces - Barrow grave damaged by later ditch, on a platform
407	Wetwang Slack	176(7:22 6i)	N/A	25-35	N	N/A	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.57	Dent, 1981, 24	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform, lower part of the body totally disturbed by Burial 177
408	Wetwang Slack	177(7:22 6ii)	N/A	8-10	N	Crouched	Right	Beehive quern	Square	0.56	Dent, 1981, 24	Coffin unlikely, head resting against upper

												stone of beehive quem - Secondary grave on barrow of Burial 176
409	Wetwang Slack	178(7:73 5)	М	25-35	N	N/A	Left	None	N/A	0.99	Dent, 1981, 25	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 176 and 179
410	Wetwang Slack	179(7:20 8)	F	25-30	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.44	Dent, 1981, 25	Coffin possible, iron brooch in front of face - Barrow grave on platform
411	Wetwang Slack	180(7:71 8)	М	35-45	S	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	1.14	Dent, 1981, 25	Coffin possible, iron brooch on chest - Barrow grave on platform
412	Wetwang Slack	181(7:28 8)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.78	Dent, 1981, 25	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
413	Wetwang Slack	182(7:72 5)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.25	Dent, 1981, 25	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 170
414	Wetwang Slack	183(7:41 0)	F	25-30	N	N/A	Left	None	N/A	0.66	Dent, 1981, 25	Coffin unlikely - Possible barrow grave on platform, all but head and neck destroyed by burial 184
415	Wetwang Slack	184(7:21 1)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.07	Dent, 1981, 25	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
416	Wetwang Slack	185(7:21 8)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.34	Dent, 1981, 25	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
417	Wetwang Slack	186(7:22 0)	М	35-45	w	Flexed	Left	Pig bones, sheep bones, animal bones	Rectangular	0.47	Dent, 1981, 26	Coffin traces, skeleton of young pig on north side, sheep/goat skeleton on south side, two animal bones under body - Barrow grave on platform
418	Wetwang Slack	187(7:24 2)	F	25-35	N	Tightly crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.40	Dent, 1981, 26	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
419	Wetwang Slack	188(7:20 9)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.05	Dent, 1981, 26	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform

420	Wetwang Slack	189(7:74 5)	N/A	7	N	Flexed	Left	None	Square	1.11	Dent, 1981, 26	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave or secondary grave on barrow platform of burial 188
421	Wetwang Slack	190(7:22 8)	F	20-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.71	Dent, 1981, 26	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
422	Wetwang Slack	192(7:23 2ii)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.84	Dent, 1981, 26	Coffin traces, iron brooch above right shoulder - Secondary grave on the barrow platform of burial 191
423	Wetwang Slack	193(7:23 8)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.74	Dent, 1981, 27	Coffin possible, iron brooch below left shoulder - Barrow grave on platforms, pelvis and legs disturbed by later pit
424	Wetwang Slack	194(7:71 6)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.60	Dent, 1981, 27	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
425	Wetwang Slack	195(7:23 4)	F	35-45	N	N/A	Left	None	Rectangular	0.70	Dent, 1981, 27	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform, only skull and left humerus not removed by later ditch
426	Wetwang Slack	196(8:11)	M	35-45	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.66	Dent, 1981, 27	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
427	Wetwang Slack	197(8:9)	М	20-25	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.56	Dent, 1981, 27	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
428	Wetwang Slack	198(8:58)	F	25-30	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.91	Dent, 1981, 27	Coffin possible - Flat grave
429	Wetwang Slack	199(7:75 1)	N/A	<1	N	N/A	N/A	None	Rectangular	0.53	Dent, 1981, 27	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 197 and 200
430	Wetwang Slack	200(8:7)	М	35-40	N	Crouched	Left	None	Square	0.39	Dent, 1981, 27	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
431	Wetwang Slack	201(7:23 0)	М	14-15	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.54	Dent, 1981, 28	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform

432	Wetwang Slack	202(7:72	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.11	Dent, 1981, 28	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 187, 201, and 203
433	Wetwang Slack	205(8:5ii)	F	>35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.20	Dent, 1981, 28	Coffin possible, iron brooch below left shoulder - Secondary grave on barrow platform of burial 204
434	Wetwang Slack	206(8:16	N/A	<1	N	Crouched	Right	None	Square	0.45	Dent, 1981, 28	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 207
435	Wetwang Slack	208(8:3ii)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.49	Dent, 1981, 28	Coffin possible - Secondary grave on barrow platform of burial 207
436	Wetwang Slack	209(8:13	F	30-35	S	Tightly crouched	Left	Blue glass beads	Rectangular	0.54	Dent, 1981, 29	Coffin traces, beads scattered over body - Barrow grave on platform
437	Wetwang Slack	210(8:1)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Necklace of glass beads, copper alloy ring, tweezers, copper alloy bracelet	Rectangular	0.54	Dent, 1981, 29	Coffin possible, necklace, copper alloy ring, and tweezers all hung from neck, copper alloy bracelet on right wrist - Barrow grave on platform
438	Wetwang Slack	211(8:40	F	25-35	s	Flexed	Right	Iron spearhead	Rectangular	0.17	Dent, 1981, 29	Coffin possible, iron spearhead across abdomen - Barrow grave on platform
439	Wetwang Slack	214(8:42i i)	F	30-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.74	Dent, 1981, 29	Coffin traces - Secondary grave on barrow platform of burial 213
440	Wetwang Slack	215(8:10 5)	М	30-40	N	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.80	Dent, 1981, 29	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 219
441	Wetwang Slack	216(8:78	F	20-25	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.40	Dent, 1981, 29	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave cut by ditch of burial 219
442	Wetwang Slack	218(8:15i i)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.03	Dent, 1981, 30	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of

												burials 207 and 219
443	Wetwang Slack	219(8:46)	F	25-30	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.48	Dent, 1981, 30	Coffn traces - Barrow grave on platform
444	Wetwang Slack	220(8:56	F	20-25	E	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.90	Dent, 1981, 30	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 219 and 221
445	Wetwang Slack	221(8:50)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.45	Dent, 1981, 30	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
446	Wetwang Slack	222(8:59)	М	35-45	N	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.45	Dent, 1981, 30	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
447	Wetwang Slack	223(8:53	F	35-45	N	Tightly crouched	Right	Iron brooch	Rectangular	1.07	Dent, 1981, 30	Coffin possible, iron brooch at left shoulder - Barrow grave on platform
448	Wetwang Slack	224(8:11 6)	М	17-18	N	Loosely flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.68	Dent, 1981, 30	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 222 and 230
449	Wetwang Slack	225(8:11 7)	F	>18	N	N/A	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.43	Dent, 1981, 31	Coffin unlikely - All but feet disturbed by burial 224 secondary grave in the ditches of burials 222, and 230
450	Wetwang Slack	226(8:48	F	35-40	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	1.01	Dent, 1981, 31	Coffin possible, iron brooch on skull - Barrow grave on platform
451	Wetwang Slack	227(8:44	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.37	Dent, 1981, 31	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
452	Wetwang Slack	228(8:83i)	М	>18	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.17	Dent, 1981, 31	Coffin unlikely - Double burial with 229, Barrow grave on platform
453	Wetwang Slack	229(8:83i i)	М	30-40	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.17	Dent, 1981, 31	Coffin unlikely - Double burial with 228, Barrow grave on platform
454	Wetwang Slack	230(8:79	F	30-40	N	Crouched	Right	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.31	Dent, 1981, 31	Coffin possible, iron brooch against chin -

												Barrow grave on platform
455	Wetwang Slack	231(8:12 1)	N/A	8-9	N	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.68	Dent, 1981, 31	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 230
456	Wetwang Slack	232(8:11 8)	N/A	6-7	N	Tightly crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	1.21	Dent, 1981, 31	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burials 230, and 236
457	Wetwang Slack	233(8:81	F	30-40	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.74	Dent, 1981, 32	Coffin possible, iron brooch in front of face - Barrow grave on platform
458	Wetwang Slack	234(8:12 3)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.35	Dent, 1981, 32	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
459	Wetwang Slack	235(8:16 7)	N/A	1	N	N/A	Left	None	Square	0.30	Dent, 1981, 32	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 236
460	Wetwang Slack	236(8:12 5)	F	35-45	S	Crouched	Right	Glass necklace, copper alloy bracelet, iron brooch	Rectangular	0.29	Dent, 1981, 32	Coffin possible, glass necklace around neck, copper alloy bracelet on right wrist, iron brooch at neck - Barrow
461	Wetwang Slack	237(8:85	F	>18	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.14	Dent, 1981, 32	grave on platform Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
462	Wetwang Slack	238(8:12 2)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.17	Dent, 1981, 32	Coffin possible - Flat grave
463	Wetwang Slack	239(8:16 4)	М	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	Pig bones	Rectangular	0.97	Dent, 1981, 32	Coffin possible, quarter pig in front of the body - Barrow grave on platform
464	Wetwang Slack	240(8:17 5)	F	>18	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.15	Dent, 1981, 32	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
465	Wetwang Slack	241(8:18 3)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.00	Dent, 1981, 33	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
466	Wetwang Slack	242(8:18 5)	F	35-45	Е	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	1.03	Dent, 1981, 33	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 243

467	Wetwang Slack	243(8:16 8)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.75	Dent, 1981, 33	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
468	Wetwang Slack	244(8:19 1)	M	25-35	Е	Flexed	Right	Copper alloy ferrule	Rectangular	1.12	Dent, 1981, 33	Coffin possible, large patch of charcoal behind head, copper alloy ferrule on chest - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 245
469	Wetwang Slack	245(8:17 0)	F	17-20	N	Crouched	Left	Copper alloy ring, jet ring, amber ring	Rectangular	0.47	Dent, 1981, 33	Coffin traces, rings in neck area - Barrow grave on platform
470	Wetwang Slack	246(8:17 7)	F	25-30	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.43	Dent, 1981, 33	Coffin unlikely - Barrow grave on platform
471	Wetwang Slack	247(8:18 6)	F	20-25	S	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.43	Dent, 1981, 33	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
472	Wetwang Slack	248(8:19 9)	F	20-25	S	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.42	Dent, 1981, 33	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
473	Wetwang Slack	249(8:19 2)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Necklace of glass beads	Slightly Rectangular	0.46	Dent, 1981,34	Coffin possible, necklace around neck - Barrow grave on platform
474	Wetwang Slack	250(8:17 2)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.60	Dent, 1981, 34	Coffin traces, iron brooch below pelvis - Barrow grave on platform
475	Wetwang Slack	251(8:12 5)	F	25-35	N	Crouched - Supine	Right	None	Rectangular	1.15	Dent, 1981, 34	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave
476	Wetwang Slack	252(8:10 2)	М	25-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.84	Dent, 1981, 34	Coffin traces, iron brooch at neck - Barrow grave on platform
477	Wetwang Slack	253(8:21 0)	М	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.80	Dent, 1981, 34	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 255
478	Wetwang Slack	254(8:21 3)	F	25-35	S	Tightly crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.71	Dent, 1981, 34	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
479	Wetwang Slack	255(8:20 5)	F	25-30	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.23	Dent, 1981, 34	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform

480	Wetwang Slack	256(8:28 2)	M	16-18	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 34	Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 257 destroyed by quarry
481	Wetwang Slack	257(8:20 7)	F	20-25	N	Flexed	Right	Necklace of glass beads, copper alloy ring	Rectangular	0.32	Dent, 1981, 35	Coffin traces, necklace and copper alloy ring around neck - Barrow grave on platform
482	Wetwang Slack	258(8:26 2)	F	14-17	S	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.25	Dent, 1981, 35	Coffin possible - Flat grave
483	Wetwang Slack	259(8:21 1)	М	30-35	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.44	Dent, 1981, 35	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
484	Wetwang Slack	260(8:22 3)	F	35-45	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.46	Dent, 1981, 35	Coffin unlikely - Barrow grave on platform
485	Wetwang Slack	262(8:26 6)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.35	Dent, 1981, 35	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
486	Wetwang Slack	263(8:22 1)	F	40-45	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.49	Dent, 1981, 35	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
487	Wetwang Slack	264(8:21 9)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.89	Dent, 1981, 35	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
489	Wetwang Slack	265(8:27 0)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.98	Dent, 1981, 36	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
490	Wetwang Slack	266(8:28 0)	М	45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.80	Dent, 1981, 36	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 268
491	Wetwang Slack	267(8:28 1)	N/A	<1	N	N/A	N/A	None	Square	0.44	Dent, 1981, 36	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 268
492	Wetwang Slack	268(8:26 8)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, glass bead	Square	0.45	Dent, 1981, 36	Coffin possible, iron brooch and glass bead at shoulder - Barrow grave on platform
493	Wetwang Slack	269(8:27 2)	F	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	Bone points x3	Slightly Rectangular	0.97	Dent, 1981, 36	Coffin traces, bone points arranged on either side of the body - Barrow grave on platform

494	Wetwang Slack	270(8:27 4)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, glass bead	Slightly Rectangular	0.89	Dent, 1981, 36	Coffin traces, iron brooch against chin, glass bead at shoulder - Barrow grave on platform
495	Wetwang Slack	271(8:27 6)	М	>35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.76	Dent, 1981, 36	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
496	Wetwang Slack	272(8:27 8)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	1.03	Dent, 1981, 37	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
497	Wetwang Slack	273(8:28 5)	F	35-40	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	1.06	Dent, 1981, 37	Coffin possible, iron brooch in front of face - Barrow grave on platform
498	Wetwang Slack	274(8:28 3)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Copper alloy brooch, glass necklace	Rectangular	0.59	Dent, 1981, 37	Coffin traces, copper alloy brooch below face, glass necklace behind shoulder - Barrow grave on platform
499	Wetwang Slack	275(8:32 0)	F	>18	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.51	Dent, 1981, 37	Coffin possible, iron brooch next to skull - Barrow grave on platform
500	Wetwang Slack	276(8:33 0)	N/A	<0.5	N	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.94	Dent, 1981, 37	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of 277
501	Wetwang Slack	277(8:32 2)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Pot, pig bone, glass bead	Rectangular	0.93	Dent, 1981, 37	Coffin possible, pot and pig bone in front of face, glass bead beneath right shoulder - Barrow grave on platform
502	Wetwang Slack	278(9:87)	F	30-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.05	Dent, 1981, 37	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 277
503	Wetwang Slack	279(9:6)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.29	Dent, 1981, 38	Coffin possible, iron brooch below the skull - Barrow grave on platform
504	Wetwang Slack	280(9:85	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.74	Dent, 1981, 38	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 279

505	Wetwang Slack	281(9:2)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.54	Dent, 1981, 38	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
506	Wetwang Slack	282(9:77	F	35-45	S	Flexed	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.22	Dent, 1981, 38	Coffin unlikely - Barrow grave on platform
507	Wetwang Slack	283(9:89)	М	>45	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.25	Dent, 1981, 38	Coffin possible - Flat grave
508	Wetwang Slack	284(9:79	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Right	Glass necklace	Rectangular	0.58	Dent, 1981, 38	Coffin possible, glass necklace around neck - Barrow grave on platform
509	Wetwang Slack	285(9:81)	F	18-21	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.23	Dent, 1981, 38	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
510	Wetwang Slack	286(9:4)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron pin x2, iron brooch	Rectangular	0.50	Dent, 1981, 38	Coffin traces, iron pin at left wrist and knee, iron brooch at neck - Barrow grave on platform
511	Wetwang Slack	288(9:86i i)	F	>45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	1.03	Dent, 1981, 39	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 294
512	Wetwang Slack	289(9:86i ii)	F	20-25	N	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	1.03	Dent, 1981, 39	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave overlying burial 288 in ditch of burial 294
513	Wetwang Slack	290(9:8)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.72	Dent, 1981, 39	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
514	Wetwang Slack	291(9:73)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.86	Dent, 1981, 39	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
515	Wetwang Slack	292(9:91	F	25-35	S	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.90	Dent, 1981, 39	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 291
516	Wetwang Slack	293(9:75)	F	25-30	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.92	Dent, 1981, 39	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
517	Wetwang Slack	294(9:10)	F	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.61	Dent, 1981, 39	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
518	Wetwang Slack	295(9:92)	М	30-35	N	Crouched	Left	Pig bones	Rectangular	0.41	Dent, 1981, 40	Coffin possible, pig humerus against left foot -

												Barrow grave on platform
519	Wetwang Slack	296(9:12 2)	F	20-25	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.61	Dent, 1981, 40	Coffin possilbe - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 286
520	Wetwang Slack	298(9:16 7)	N/A	6-7	N	N/A	Left	None	Square	0.38	Dent, 1981, 40	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 304
521	Wetwang Slack	299(9:16 8)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.82	Dent, 1981, 40	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 285 and 304
522	Wetwang Slack	300(9:17 0)	N/A	<1	N	N/A	N/A	None	Square	0.44	Dent, 1981, 40	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 304
523	Wetwang Slack	301(9:16 9)	F	25-35	Е	Crouched	Right	None	Square	0.80	Dent, 1981, 40	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 302
524	Wetwang Slack	302(9:14 3)	М	30-35	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.18	Dent, 1981, 40	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
525	Wetwang Slack	303(9:20 3)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.49	Dent, 1981, 40	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
526	Wetwang Slack	305(9:98)	F	25-30	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.21	Dent, 1981, 41	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
527	Wetwang Slack	306(9:13 8)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Square	0.61	Dent, 1981, 41	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 305
528	Wetwang Slack	307(9:10 4i)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.93	Dent, 1981, 41	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 305, partly disturbed by burial 308
529	Wetwang Slack	308(9:10 4ii)	F	17-18	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.90	Dent, 1981, 41	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 305, partly cut by burial 309
530	Wetwang Slack	309(9:96)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Rectangular	0.85	Dent, 1981, 41	Coffin traces, iron brooch at the left shoulder, buried with unborn infant

												- Barrow grave on platform
531	Wetwang Slack	310(9:13 1)	N/A	<1	N	N/A	Right	None	Square	0.52	Dent, 1981, 41	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 311
532	Wetwang Slack	311(9:94)	F	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.23	Dent, 1981, 41	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
533	Wetwang Slack	312(9:10 2)	М	25-30	N	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, copper alloy ring	Rectangular	0.75	Dent, 1981, 42	Coffin possible, iron brooch at left shoulder, and copper alloy ring at neck - Barrow grave on platform
534	Wetwang Slack	313(9:12 1)	F	>40	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.57	Dent, 1981, 42	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 312 and 346
535	Wetwang Slack	314(9:14 1)	F	25-35	N	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.68	Dent, 1981, 42	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 312 and 346
536	Wetwang Slack	315(9:10 0i)	F	>40	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.24	Dent, 1981, 42	Coffin possible - Presumed flat grave disturbed by burial 316
537	Wetwang Slack	316(9:10 0ii)	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.38	Dent, 1981, 42	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
538	Wetwang Slack	317(9:12 0)	F	25-30	E	Flexed	Left	Copper alloy ring	Rectangular	1.14	Dent, 1981, 42	Coffin unlikely, copper alloy ring on left hand - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 319
539	Wetwang Slack	318(9:13 9)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.66	Dent, 1981, 42	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 305 and 319
540	Wetwang Slack	319(9:11 8)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.18	Dent, 1981, 43	Coffin unlikely - Barrow grave on platform
541	Wetwang Slack	320(9:14 0)	F	30-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.96	Dent, 1981, 43	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 305 and 319

542	Wetwang Slack	321(9:14 2)	M	30-35	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.61	Dent, 1981, 43	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 305
543	Wetwang Slack	322(9:14 6)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.55	Dent, 1981, 43	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 319 and 341
544	Wetwang Slack	323(9:14 7)	N/A	8-10	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.45	Dent, 1981, 43	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 341
545	Wetwang Slack	324(9:14 5)	N/A	10-12	N	Flexed	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.55	Dent, 1981, 43	Coffin possible - Flat grave
546	Wetwang Slack	325(9:12 5)	F	20-25	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.22	Dent, 1981, 43	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
547	Wetwang Slack	326(9:20 0)	N/A	0.3-0.6	N	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.79	Dent, 1981, 43	Coffin possible - Flat grave
548	Wetwang Slack	327(9:22 3)	М	>45	S	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch	Slightly Rectangular	0.54	Dent, 1981, 44	Coffin traces, iron brooch below chin - Barrow grave on platform
549	Wetwang Slack	329(10:4 4)	F	35-40	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.68	Dent, 1981, 44	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 328
550	Wetwang Slack	330(10:4 0)	М	>18	N	Crouched	Right	None	Square	0.24	Dent, 1981, 44	Coffin unlikely - Barrow grave on platform
551	Wetwang Slack	331(10:5 2)	F	35-45	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.43	Dent, 1981, 44	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
552	Wetwang Slack	332(10:5 1)	М	14-15	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.45	Dent, 1981, 44	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
553	Wetwang Slack	334(10:5 0)	М	35-45	N	Flexed - Supine	N/A	None	Rectangular	0.63	Dent, 1981, 44	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burials 330 and 333
554	Wetwang Slack	335(9:20 5)	F	>18	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.34	Dent, 1981, 44	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
555	Wetwang Slack	336(9:20 6)	F	15-16	N	Flexed	Right	Shale necklace, iron rings x2	Slightly Rectangular	0.49	Dent, 1981, 45	Coffin unlikely, shale necklace and iron rings at

												neck - Barrow grave on platform
556	Wetwang Slack	338(9:20 1)	F	>18	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.54	Dent, 1981, 45	Coffin possible - Body largely destroyed by later ditch, flat grave
557	Wetwang Slack	339(9:28 9)	N/A	2.5-6	N	Flexed	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.50	Dent, 1981, 45	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 358
558	Wetwang Slack	340(9:28 8)	F	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.49	Dent, 1981, 45	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 358
559	Wetwang Slack	341(9:10 9)	М	>18	S	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.09	Dent, 1981, 45	Coffin posssible - Barrow grave on platform
560	Wetwang Slack	342(9:12 3)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.61	Dent, 1981, 45	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 319
561	Wetwang Slack	343(9:20 2)	F	25-35	S	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.95	Dent, 1981, 45	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 319
562	Wetwang Slack	344(9:11 5)	N/A	6-10	S	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.40	Dent, 1981, 45	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 345, disturbed by burial 343
563	Wetwang Slack	345(9:10 7)	М	12-16	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.09	Dent, 1981, 46	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
564	Wetwang Slack	346(9:10 5)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	Bone points x7	Slightly Rectangular	0.69	Dent, 1981, 46	Coffin traces, bone points around body - Barrow grave on platform
565	Wetwang Slack	347(9:11 2)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.50	Dent, 1981, 46	Coffin possible - Double grave, barrow grave on platform
567	Wetwang Slack	348(9:11 2)	F	>45	S	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.50	Dent, 1981, 46	Coffin possible - Double grave, barrow grave on platform
568	Wetwang Slack	349(9:11 3)	F	35-45	S	Crouched	Left	Iron bracelet	Rectangular	0.42	Dent, 1981, 46	Coffin unlikely - Possible secondary grave

												on platform of burial 350
569	Wetwang Slack	351(9:23 6ii)	М	>18	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.25	Dent, 1981, 46	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave on barrow platform of burial 350, disturbed by burial 352
570	Wetwang Slack	352(9:23 7)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.10	Dent, 1981, 46	Coffin possible - Secondary to burials 350 and 351
571	Wetwang Slack	353(9:12 7)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.32	Dent, 1981, 47	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 350
572	Wetwang Slack	354(9:11 6)	F	30-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.17	Dent, 1981, 47	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 357
573	Wetwang Slack	355(9:26 6)	F	35-40	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.64	Dent, 1981, 47	Coffin unlikely - Secondary burial on platform of burial 357
574	Wetwang Slack	356(9:26 0)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.52	Dent, 1981, 47	Coffin possible - Secondary burial on platform of burial 357
575	Wetwang Slack	357(9:20 7)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.43	Dent, 1981, 47	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
576	Wetwang Slack	358(9:25 8)	М	25-35	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.78	Dent, 1981, 47	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 357
577	Wetwang Slack	360(9:29 1)	F	>35	N	Crouched	Left	Bone point	Rectangular	0.46	Dent, 1981, 47	Coffin possible, bone point found among bones - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 359
578	Wetwang Slack	361(9:28 1)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.20	Dent, 1981, 48	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave
579	Wetwang Slack	362(9:28 0)	М	25-35	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.66	Dent, 1981, 48	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave
580	Wetwang Slack	363(9:27 9)	N/A	8-9	N	Crouched	Right	Copper alloy beads x3	Slightly Rectangular	0.20	Dent, 1981, 48	Coffin possible, copper alloy beads found beneath left shoulder - Flat grave

581	Wetwang Slack	364(9:27 2)	N/A	12-14	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.25	Dent, 1981, 48	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave on platform of burial 367
582	Wetwang Slack	365(10:3 5)	М	16-17	S	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.56	Dent, 1981, 48	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 367
583	Wetwang Slack	366(10:3 0)	F	30-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Square	0.45	Dent, 1981, 48	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 367 and 371
584	Wetwang Slack	367(9:27 1)	М	17-18	S	Flexed	Right	None	Rectangular	0.20	Dent, 1981, 48	Coffin unlikely - Barrow grave on platform
585	Wetwang Slack	368(9:29 0)	N/A	2.5-6	N	Crouched	Right	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 48	Coffin unlikely - Double burial with 369, secondary grave in the ditch of burial 359
586	Wetwang Slack	369(9:29 0)	N/A	8-10	N	Crouched	Left	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 48	Coffin unlikely - Double burial with 368, secondary grave in the ditch of burial 359
587	Wetwang Slack	370(9:25 7)	F	30-40	S	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.34	Dent, 1981, 49	Coffin possible - Flat grave
589	Wetwang Slack	372(9:26 1)	N/A	7-8	N	Flexed	Left	None	Square	0.21	Dent, 1981, 49	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 378
590	Wetwang Slack	373(9:26 2)	N/A	2.5-3	N	Flexed	Left	None	Square	0.15	Dent, 1981, 49	Coffin possible - Flat grave
591	Wetwang Slack	374(9:23 9)	N/A	5-6	N	Flexed	Left	None	Square	0.19	Dent, 1981, 49	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 350
592	Wetwang Slack	375(9:23 9)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.37	Dent, 1981, 49	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
593	Wetwang Slack	376(9:24 0)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Right	Necklace of glass beads	Rectangular	0.27	Dent, 1981, 49	Coffin possible, necklace around neck - Secondary grave on the barrow platform of burial 375
594	Wetwang Slack	377(9:24 9)	М	20-25	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.65	Dent, 1981, 49	Coffin possible - Flat grave

595	Wetwang Slack	378(9:24 8)	М	17-18	S	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.29	Dent, 1981, 49	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
596	Wetwang Slack	379(9:25 1)	М	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.58	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin possible - Presumed secondary to burial 378
597	Wetwang Slack	380(9:25 2)	N/A	8-10	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.69	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave on barrow platform of burial 378
598	Wetwang Slack	381(9:25 0)	N/A	8-9	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.40	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin possible - Secondary grave on barrow platform of burial 378
599	Wetwang Slack	382(10:4)	F	>35	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	1.12	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 378
600	Wetwang Slack	383(10:2 8)	М	35-40	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.04	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
601	Wetwang Slack	384(10:2 6)	М	>45	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.54	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
602	Wetwang Slack	385(10:3 4)	F	20-30	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.40	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave
603	Wetwang Slack	386(10:2 5)	М	>35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	1.03	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin possible - Secondary to the ditch of burial 384
604	Wetwang Slack	387(10:1 4)	N/A	2-2.5	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.40	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin possible - Flat grave
605	Wetwang Slack	388(9:25 4)	М	25-35	N	Extended - Supine	Right	None	Rectangular	0.34	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin unlikely - Barrow grave on platform
606	Wetwang Slack	389(9:26 3)	М	>35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.16	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave on barrow platform of burial 388
607	Wetwang Slack	391(9:24 3)	F	30-40	N	Crouched	Left	Pig bone	Slightly Rectangular	0.49	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin unlikely, pig bone beneath shins - Secondary grave in ditch of burial 397
608	Wetwang Slack	392(9:24 2)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.60	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in ditches of burials 390 and 397

609	Wetwang Slack	394(10:3i i)	F	30-40	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.50	Dent, 1981, 50	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
610	Wetwang Slack	396(10:2)	N/A	8-10	N	Crouched	Right	None	Square	0.22	Dent, 1981, 51	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 397
611	Wetwang Slack	398(10:1 9)	N/A	2-2.5	S	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.35	Dent, 1981, 51	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 397
612	Wetwang Slack	399(10:2 0)	F	25-30	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.20	Dent, 1981, 51	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave
613	Wetwang Slack	400(10:1 6)	F	>18	N	Crouched	Left	Copper alloy ring x2, iron pin	Slightly Rectangular	0.12	Dent, 1981, 51	Coffin possible, copper alloy rings at right and left foot, iron pin near neck - Barrow grave on platform
614	Wetwang Slack	402(10:5)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	Animal bones x2	Rectangular	0.06	Dent, 1981, 52	Coffin possible, one animal skeleton on the west and another on the east - Barrow grave on platform
615	Wetwang Slack	403(10:1	F	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.50	Dent, 1981, 52	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 402
616	Wetwang Slack	404(10:1 8)	F	25-35	N/A	N/A	N/A	None	N/A	N/A	Dent, 1981, 53	Coffin unknown - Secondary grave on the barrow platform of burial 402 destroyed by quarry
617	Wetwang Slack	405(10:1 5)	М	>18	S	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.09	Dent, 1981, 53	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
618	Wetwang Slack	408(10:7	N/A	0.3-0.6	N	N/A	Right	None	Square	0.56	Dent, 1981, 53	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 414
619	Wetwang Slack	409(9:23 2)	F	20-30	S	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.25	Dent, 1981, 53	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
620	Wetwang Slack	411(9:28 6)	N/A	<0.5	N	N/A	Right	None	Square	0.20	Dent, 1981, 53	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 414

621	Wetwang Slack	412(9:27 8)	N/A	0.5-1	N	Crouched	Left	None	Square	0.55	Dent, 1981, 53	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 414
622	Wetwang Slack	413(9:27 7)	М	>45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.73	Dent, 1981, 54	Coffin possible - Flat grave
623	Wetwang Slack	414(9:26 8)	F	>35	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.37	Dent, 1981, 54	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
624	Wetwang Slack	415(9:27 0)	F	35-40	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.35	Dent, 1981, 54	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave on the barrow platform of burial 414
625	Wetwang Slack	416(10:8)	М	25-35	N	Flexed	Left	None	Rectangular	0.97	Dent, 1981, 54	Coffin possible - Flat grave
626	Wetwang Slack	418(10:5 9ii)	F	35-45	N	N/A	Left	None	Rectangular	0.83	Dent, 1981, 54	Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 405 and 420 grave almost totally disturbed by burial 419
627	Wetwang Slack	419(10:5 9iii)	М	25-35	W	Crouched	Right	Pot	Rectangular	0.94	Dent, 1981, 54	Coffin possible, pot at east end of grave - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 405 and 420
628	Wetwang Slack	420(10:4 7)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.31	Dent, 1981, 54	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
629	Wetwang Slack	421(10:1 3)	М	20-25	N	Crouched	Left	Shale ring, bone ring	Slightly Rectangular	0.18	Dent, 1981, 55	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
630	Wetwang Slack	422(9:27 6)	N/A	1-1.5	N	Crouched	Right	None	Square	0.20	Dent, 1981, 55	Coffin unlikely - Flat grave
631	Wetwang Slack	423(9:22 0)	М	>18	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.23	Dent, 1981, 55	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
632	Wetwang Slack	424(9:28 5)	N/A	0	N	N/A	N/A	None	Square	0.35	Dent, 1981, 55	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditched of burials 423 and 425
633	Wetwang Slack	425(10:6)	М	>18	N	Crouched	Right	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.09	Dent, 1981, 55	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
634	Wetwang Slack	426(9:28 7)	М	15-17	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.63	Dent, 1981, 55	Coffin posible - Secondary grave

												in the ditches of burials 423 and 425
635	Wetwang Slack	427(10:1 0)	N/A	0	N	N/A	N/A	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.43	Dent, 1981, 55	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 425 and 429
636	Wetwang Slack	429(9:22 1)	F	25-30	S	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.49	Dent, 1981, 56	Coffin traces - Barrow grave on platform
637	Wetwang Slack	430(10:1 2)	N/A	0	N	N/A	N/A	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.40	Dent, 1981, 56	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 425 and 429
638	Wetwang Slack	431(10:9)	F	25-30	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.67	Dent, 1981, 56	Coffin possible - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 425 and 429
639	Wetwang Slack	432(10:4 9)	М	30-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.94	Dent, 1981, 56	Coffin traces - Flat grave
640	Wetwang Slack	433(10:5 4)	F	25-35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.36	Dent, 1981, 56	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
641	Wetwang Slack	434(10:6 0)	N/A	0	N	N/A	Left	None	Square	0.49	Dent, 1981, 56	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditch of burial 435
642	Wetwang Slack	435(9:22 4)	М	35-45	S	Crouched	Left	Pig bone	Rectangular	0.71	Dent, 1981, 56	Coffin traces, pig bone beneath right knee - Barrow grave on platform
643	Wetwang Slack	436(9:29 4)	N/A	0	N	Crouched - Prone	N/A	None	Sqaure	0.44	Dent, 1981, 56	Coffin unlikely - Secondary grave in the ditches of burials 435 and 437
644	Wetwang Slack	437(9:23 0)	М	35-45	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.47	Dent, 1981, 57	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
645	Wetwang Slack	438(9:22 6)	F	35-45	S	Crouched	Left	Iron brooch, copper alloy tags x2	Slightly Rectangular	1.07	Dent, 1981, 57	Coffin possible, iron brooch against spine, copper alloy tags at feet - Barrow grave on platform

646	Wetwang Slack	439(9:22 8)	F	25-30	N	Crouched	Right	None	Rectangular	0.68	Dent, 1981, 57	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
647	Wetwang Slack	442(7:71)	F	>35	S	Flexed	Right	None	Square	0.11	Dent, 1981, 57	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
648	Wetwang Slack	443(7:73)	N/A	10-12	N	Flexed	Left	None	Slightly Rectangular	0.13	Dent, 1981, 57	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
649	Wetwang Slack	445(8:11 9)	F	>35	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.26	Dent, 1981, 57	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
650	Wetwang Slack	446(10:8 0)	F	25-30	N	Crouched	Left	None	Rectangular	0.47	Dent, 1981, 58	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
651	Wetwang Slack	447(12:1)	F	35-45	NNE	Crouched	Left	None	Square	0.53	Dent, 1981, 58	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform
652	Wetwang Slack	448(12:1)	F	35-45	s	Flexed - Supine	N/A	None	Square	0.53	Dent, 1981, 58	Coffin possible - Barrow grave on platform